The Poems of Callimachus

Translated by
Frank Nisetich

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS
Great Clarendon Street, Oxford OX2 6DP

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,
and education by publishing worldwide in

Oxford New York
Athens Auckland Bangkok Bogotá Buenos Aires Calcutta
Cape Town Chennai Dar es Salaam Delhi Florence Hong Kong Istanbul
Karachi Kuala Lumpur Madrid Melbourne Mexico City Mumbai
Nairobi Paris São Paulo Singapore Taipei Tokyo Toronto Warsaw

and associated companies in Berlin Ibadan

Oxford is a registered trade mark of Oxford University Press
in the UK and in certain other countries

Published in the United States
by Oxford University Press Inc., New York

First published 2001

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Data available

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
Data applied for

ISBN 0-19-814760-0
ISBN 0-19-815224-8 (pbk)

1 3 5 7 9 10 8 6 4 2

Typeset by Joshua Associates Ltd., Oxford
Printed in Great Britain
on acid-free paper by
Biddles Ltd., Guildford & King's Lynn

For Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones

Preface

'Translated' in the subtitle of this book means more than it usually means. It includes, in the case of the fragments, a good deal of presentation as well. The reason for this is twofold: the fragments are all we have of the poet's major works and enough has accumulated in recent years to make those works accessible, with some assistance, to the non-specialist. It has been my hope that those in need of such assistance the first time around will be able to dispense with it the second time, and go directly to the poetry.

There are over 800 fragments in Pfeiffer's edition. Seventy more appear in *Supplementum Hellenisticum*. I have translated those for which I could supply a context without bogging the reader down in details. There are tables at the back (pp. 333–7) showing where the fragments I have included may be found in the standard editions. Subtracting the overlap between them leaves approximately 180 fragments translated here.

Callimachus was a learned poet whose learning makes a complicated impression. Perhaps its most noticeable effect is the great number of proper nouns and adjectives, many of them exotic even to a Hellenist, that decorate his lines and make them resonant. These are beautiful, no doubt, but they may plunge the reader who cannot hear them or know what they mean into despair. They are explained in the Notes on the Text and in the Annotated Index of Names.

In rendering the fragmentary works, I have had to employ a number of signs. Three dots indicate that one or more words in a line of the original Greek cannot be made out in that place. A line of dots by itself means that at least one entire line is too damaged to render or has been utterly lost. The extent of such losses cannot always be determined. Uncertainty of a different kind is indicated by square brackets. These enclose words whose

original reading or content has been restored by conjecture or inferred from the context.

A perfectly preserved copy of the poems of Callimachus would make a uniform impression upon our eyes. *Hekale* and five of the six *Hymns* are written in hexameters, *Hymn* 5, all of the *Aitia*, the *Victory Song for Sosibios*, and most of the *Epigrams* in elegiac couplets. The *Iambi*, thanks to their metrical variety, would look somewhat different from the rest of the collection, but most of them would still resemble each other on the printed page. Little of this uniformity emerges here, for a number of reasons. Often what can be said in thirteen to seventeen Greek syllables takes half again as many or more to say in English. A natural consequence is the difficulty of rendering a Greek hexameter into a single line of English poetry that is not too crowded with syllables to be felt as a unit. Some feeling of unity can, I think, be sustained in a brief poem, and I have tried to sustain it in the *Epigrams*, where the line numbers are equal between Greek and translation, even if the content from line to line does not always correspond exactly.

It would have been ruinous to attempt such exactitude in the longer poems, where, for the most part, the number of lines in the translation exceeds that in the original. This would have been the case even if I had chosen to use an English line of roughly ten to twelve syllables; it is much more so the case because I have often resorted to lines much briefer than that, particularly in the longer *Hymns*. The *Hymn to Delos*, for example, is 326 lines long in the Greek, 494 in my translation. Taking only line numbers into account, it would appear that I have needed 50 per cent more room than Callimachus allowed himself; but I have not taken half again as many *words* as he, nor does the larger number of lines make for a longer poem in the reading. The shorter lines are meant to convey the speed of the original narrative. Whatever else may be said about long lines in English, they do not tend to move quickly. Homer's famous 'rapidity', in contrast, is sustained in a comparatively long line used thousands of times over and over. In the other *Hymns*, where the narrative element is less in evidence, the translation more nearly approximates the original in number of lines. *Hymn* 1, for example, is 96 lines long in

the Greek, 128 in my translation: a third (not a half) more lines of English than of Greek. And again, the English lines are often shorter than the hexameters they are rendering.

Occasionally in the *Hymns*, and very frequently throughout the fragments, I have resorted to what, for want of a better term, I shall call 'split lines'. It would, I think, be hazardous (if not pretentious) to claim that I have done this very consistently, but one or two general remarks are in order, if only to clear up misconceptions. In the first place, my decision to split a single English line so that it occupies two lines on the page but still counts as one has nothing to do with the shape of Callimachus' lines. It is meant, instead, to suggest the movement of his thought, which is often surprising and almost always unpredictable. This quality, clearly ascertainable in the *Hymns*, may well have been more characteristic of the fragmentary poems, especially the *Aitia*. The liberal use of split lines in the translation reflects, I hope, not only the fragmentary condition of the poems but also something of the character they possessed when they were whole. Callimachus not only avoids the trodden path, he also likes to change direction suddenly.

Translators of Greek poetry into English have now generally abandoned the traditional spellings of Greek proper nouns and adjectives. Regularity, however, has yet to settle in. 'Arcadia' appears in one translation, 'Arkadia' in another. The one place on the Greek peninsula may have either spelling, not only in translations but also in history books and atlases. I have kept Arcadia, maybe because I am not as anxious as I used to be to escape either the Romans who spelled it that way or Milton, Keats, and Tennyson, who made 'Arcady' of it. Similarly, readers of this translation will find 'Zephyrus' blowing in ancient Cyrene as 'Zephirus' blew in medieval England, in the lines of Chaucer. At the other end of the tonal register, every schoolchild hears sooner or later of the 'Phoenicians', those businessmen of antiquity. They belong that way in prose, and so they appear in mine. But in the verses of Callimachus, I call them 'Phoinikians', exotic as they need not be in a note or a comment. Rigid consistency in Graecizing would make this into a translation of 'Kallimakhos'; rigid consistency in Latinizing

would have 'Hercules' welcoming 'Diana' to Olympus in the third *Hymn*. 'Heracles' welcoming 'Artemis' in a poem by 'Callimachus' may not be consistent, but I find it less annoying than the alternatives. Subjectivity comes into play here but not, I trust, chaos. To sum up, I have in general transliterated Greek names in the manner that seems to have become obligatory, discarding Latinization except in cases where awkwardness legislates against it, or more seems to be lost than gained.

I have a few friends to thank for encouragement. Stephen Scully read *Hekale* as it appears here and saw that I needed to present the other fragmentary works in the same way. I have followed his advice in many other matters, small and large. My old friend and collaborator John Peck has been a source of strength and inspiration from the beginning. Hilary O'Shea's patience in waiting for this project to materialize is all the more appreciated for having been experienced by inference only. The book is better in a thousand places thanks to the intelligent and meticulous care lavished upon it by the copy-editor, Julian Ward. I am grateful to Rosanna Warren for inviting me to participate in her Translation Seminar at Boston University and to the editors of *Compost* for giving readers of my 'Bath of Pallas' what I hope has been an enticing preview of this new Callimachus. That Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones is not embarrassed to have it inscribed to him means more to me than I can say.

F.N.

Sudbury, Massachusetts
December 1999

Contents

Abbreviations

'C.' stands for Callimachus. Abbreviations of titles, editions, and commentaries cited in the Introduction are as listed below. A fuller list of abbreviations is given at the beginning of the Notes on the Text, p. 186.

Works of Callimachus

Ait.	*Aitia*
Ep.	*Epigram(s)*
H.	*Hymn(s)*
Hek.	*Hekale*
Ia.	*Iambus, Iambi*
VS	*Victory Song for Sosibios*

Editions and Commentaries

Hollis	A. Hollis, *Callimachus: Hecale* (Oxford, 1990)
Pf.	R. Pfeiffer (ed.), *Callimachus*, i: *Fragmenta* (Oxford, 1949)
Pf. ii	R. Pfeiffer (ed.), *Callimachus*, ii: *Hymni et Epigrammata* (Oxford, 1953)
SH	*Supplementum Hellenisticum*, ed. H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons (Berlin, 1983)

Titles

Cameron	A. Cameron, *Callimachus and his Critics* (Princeton, 1995)

Introduction

The joy of reading Callimachus is seldom mentioned, perhaps because it does not batten on controversy, which has loomed large in the history of his reception. The effect has been to reserve him, as Stendhal might say, 'for the happy few'. Meanwhile everyone recognizes his importance. It may be taken for granted here, in the interest of allowing his other qualities to come to the fore.

His learning is usually mentioned first, sometimes with approval, often with the reservation that it verges on the pedantic or, worse still, the vindictive: Callimachus appears as an erudite poet-critic with an axe to grind and enemies to crush. Such scenarios are always more entertaining when they involve actual historical figures. Enter now Apollonius of Rhodes, an epic poet who, according to the scenario, had the temerity to cultivate a genre loathed by Callimachus. He paid a heavy penalty, we are told, for differing with him.[1]

And yet this poet, dear to ancient and modern critics for his spite, is scarcely to be found in his own works. He seems to have arisen from a mere handful of passages, none of them purely polemical in its own right: an epigram, in which he says that he hates a certain type of poetry; an epilogue, in which he depicts Apollo coming to his defence against criticism; and a fragmentary prologue, in which he says, dramatically, that length and subject, in themselves, do not rise to the level of aesthetic criteria.[2] Add to these his often quoted quip, that 'A big book is a big evil',[3] and you have most of the internal evidence for his nasty disposition.

[1] The quarrel between C. and Apollonius, now generally recognized as myth, is still taken seriously by Peter Green, *Alexander to Actium* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1990), 201–5.

[2] *Ep.* 2; *H.* 2. 126–35; *Ait.* i. 1–28.

[3] 465 Pf., likely to be from a lost grammatical work. He also disliked the *Lyde* of Antimachus (398 Pf.) and wrote a work entitled *Against Praxiphanes* (460 Pf.).

That he enjoyed the society of kings and queens is another strike against him. He must have been a sycophant. How else can we account for his success at court? Sycophancy, often alleged, ends by being insinuated, even where it is least to be expected.[4] Encomiastic passages occur in his surviving works, but not that often, and the longest one is laced with humour.[5] If he wanted to flatter, he seems to have gone about it as no flatterer ever did, leaving us, at times, to scratch our heads over what, and even whom, he may be flattering.[6] Obsequiousness in a poet is usually aimed at something, a handout, an appointment, or, in the worst of times, survival itself, but that Callimachus needed help or wanted a job or feared for his life cannot be inferred from any reliable source, and seems unlikely on the face of it. Easy familiarity, not awkward dependence, marks his dealings with the great.

The best cure for these and similar distortions is to read the poet himself, free, as much as possible, from prejudice. The following Introduction is meant to facilitate that. Knowing something about the world in which he flourished will be helpful. Alexandria, his adopted home, was not a city on Greek soil. Callimachus himself came there from Cyrene; other talented Greeks arrived from other places. The Greek poets of the Hellenistic period, with foreign worlds all around them, felt a strong need to keep in touch with the sources of their own culture, nowhere more impressively embodied than in the great poetry of the past. It is their deep involvement with what they read and knew by heart and strove to preserve not only as poets but also as scholars that gives their own work its peculiar character. The richly allusive texture of that work no doubt delighted them, for it kept the past alive; but it also made things harder, for ancient readers as well as for us. In a way not true of earlier poets, we cannot appreciate what they wrote without paying attention to what they read.

In the case of Callimachus, we need to confront, also, the

[4] The last line of *H.* 2, for example: perfectly appropriate when addressed, as it must be, to Apollo, it turns sycophantic when addressed, as Green assumed it is, to King Ptolemy (*Alexander to Actium*, 180; see also 182).

[5] *H.* 4. 230–80. See also *H.* 1. 111–17.

[6] *H.* 4. 276–7 (what), *H.* 2. 31–3 (whom). See the Notes on the Text.

fragmentary condition of his work, to see him in perspective as well as to glimpse what we have lost, what might still be recovered. The last two sections of this Introduction (4 and 5) survey what is recovered here.

1. *Egypt and Cyrene*

In June of the year 323 BC Alexander the Great died in Babylon. The vast empire he had conquered stretched from the Balkans in the west to India in the east. To the south, it embraced the land of Egypt, taken, a mere eight years earlier, from the Persians. While in Egypt, Alexander had travelled to the oasis at Siwah to consult the oracle of Zeus Ammon, had chosen the site and drawn up plans for a new Greek city, to be called Alexandria, and had accepted the allegiance of a much older city, which lay to the west of Egypt, in Libya.

This was Cyrene, named for the Thessalian girl whom the god Apollo had brought there as his bride.[7] Dorian Greeks, according to tradition, had come later, following Aristoteles of Thera, also known as 'Battos', founder of the Battiad dynasty that ruled Cyrene until about a century before the arrival of Alexander.[8] One of the Battiad kings, Arkesilas IV, had been victorious in the chariot race in the Pythian Games sacred to Apollo; a Cyrenaean noble by the name of Telesikrates had also won a Pythian victory. The celebration of these events in three of Pindar's most splendid victory odes made Cyrene a city renowned in song.[9]

Alexander, an admirer of Pindar, could not have known, as he accepted Cyrene into his empire, that the city's greatest moment in the history of literature had yet to come. Born in Cyrene at about the time Alexander died, Callimachus would equal Pindar in fame and be second to none but Homer in influence.

The burning question raised by Alexander's death was, who

[7] Pindar, *Pythian* 9; *H.* 2. 100–16.

[8] Pindar, *Pythian* 5; *H.* 2. 75–99.

[9] Arkesilas: *Pythians* 4–5; Telesikrates: *Pythian* 9. These are 'epinician odes', songs written to celebrate victory (*nike*). In what follows, 'epinician' means 'having to do with victory, its occasion or its celebration in song'. It may appear as an adjective ('epinician themes') or by itself as a noun, designating a poem written in honour of a victory.

would inherit his domain? Would someone emerge capable of governing the whole empire, or would it break apart into separate kingdoms ruled by his successors, the men who had fought at his side? A quarter of a century later, the answer was clear: the empire had broken apart, the individual pieces, assembled in shifting patterns, held by Alexander's generals. One of these, his companion from youth, was Ptolemy, later known as Ptolemy I Soter ('Saviour'). In the moments and days following Alexander's death, Ptolemy secured Egypt for his portion.

One of the first things he had to deal with on his return to Egypt was political conflict in Cyrene. The city had pledged allegiance to Alexander but Alexander was dead and factions had arisen to dispute control. It may not have been clear at the time whether Ptolemy would succeed in holding Egypt,[10] or what Cyrene had to expect from the new situation. Ptolemy, through his agent Ophellas, worked out a settlement with Cyrene that lasted, with an interval of trouble, nearly forty years, until his own death, when troubles arose again. Cyrene, together with her extensive territory, had effectively been annexed to Egypt, without resort to might of arms (322–321 BC).[11]

Ptolemy declared himself king in 305 BC, founding a dynasty that was to endure for nearly three hundred years.[12] Callimachus would have been a child in Cyrene at the time of Ptolemy's return from Babylon, a youth when Ptolemy moved the seat of government from the ancient Egyptian city of Memphis to the new metropolis founded by Alexander (313). As a young poet,[13] he may have watched what Ptolemy was doing with keen interest, for it was clear that he intended to make Alexandria not only the capital of his empire but also a great centre of Greek

[10] His right to rule Egypt, replacing Cleomenes, the man left in control by Alexander, was in fact disputed by Perdiccas, who, at the time of Alexander's death, had the keeping of the king's seal. Perdiccas, regretting that he had allowed Ptolemy to proceed to Egypt, led an army against him in 321, the year after Ptolemy's annexation of Cyrenaica (Cyrene and its extensive territories); he was assassinated by his own officers when the invasion went awry.

[11] *Cambridge Ancient History*, vii/1. 36. Cyrene was to enjoy a measure of autonomy, with Ptolemy, 'general for life', theoretically in control, ruling through Ophellas.

[12] The last member of the dynasty, Cleopatra, died in 30 BC.

[13] *Ait.* 1. 48 indicates that he was devoted to poetry from an early age.

culture. Two of his measures to that end made possible the flowering of science and scholarship on a scale never seen before: the establishment of the Museum and the creation of the famous Alexandrian Library.[14] The latter was to have particular significance for Callimachus and the development of Greek poetry.

2. *Callimachus, Poet and Scholar*

Callimachus grew to manhood under Ptolemy I Soter (322–283 BC); he was, to judge from the remains of his poetry, on friendly if not intimate terms with Ptolemy II Philadelphos (co-regent with his father 285–283, sole king 283–246) and his dazzling sister-wife, Queen Arsinoë Philadelphos; and he was still writing at the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes (246–221), whose courageous and powerful wife, Berenike, hailed, like Callimachus himself, from Cyrene.

A notice in Tzetzes[15] suggests that Callimachus was close to the Ptolemaic dynasty from the very beginning. Tzetzes calls him a 'youth of the court', indicating, perhaps, that he belonged to the circle of 'royal pages' from whom Macedonian kings had traditionally selected future generals and advisers. Alexander the Great himself had been a royal page at the court of his father, Philip II.

That he came from the governing class of Cyrene is implied in the epitaph he wrote for his father (*Epigram* 29):

> You who walk past my tomb, know that I am son
> and father of Callimachus of Cyrene.
> You must know both: the one led his country's forces once,
> the other sang beyond the reach of envy.

We have here three facts (Callimachus was from Cyrene, his grandfather was a general, he himself a poet) and one boast (that he triumphed over envy). Apart from that, there is nothing in this particular poem that we can identify as biographical. It does not

[14] On these two institutions, see R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship: From the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford, 1968), 96–103, and P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford, 1972), i. 305–35.

[15] Testimonium 14.c in Pf. ii, p. xcvii.

even reveal the poet's father's name. Nor is the rest of his poetry more helpful in this regard: if it is facts we want, we must look for them elsewhere.

The fullest account of his life, the notice devoted to him in *Suidas*,[16] names 'Battos' as his father and 'Mesatma' as his mother. It calls him a 'scholar' (*grammatikos*), and lists as his teacher 'Hermocrates of Iasos'. It records that he married a woman from Syracuse and mentions his nephew, 'Callimachus the Younger, who wrote hexameter poetry about islands'.

So much for the simple facts, not all of them as simple as they might at first appear. The identification of the poet's father as 'Battos', for example, goes back to his adoption of a pseudonym in another epigram.[17] Similar reservations crop up as we read on:

> He was painstaking in the extreme, so much so as to write poems in every metre and to compose a great many books in prose. He wrote, in fact, more than eight hundred books . . . Before his introduction to the king, he was an elementary teacher in Eleusis, a village of Alexandria . . .

There are other indications that his output was vast, but it is hard to imagine how it could have filled 'eight hundred books'.[18] His alleged employment as a teacher raises problems of another kind. Elementary schoolteachers stood on the bottom rung of the social ladder; they were held in contempt, as we know not only from other sources but also from the opening of Callimachus' own fifth *Iambus*. We would not expect to find the grandson of a general teaching the kindergarten in a village school.[19] The

[16] '*Suidas*' (also called 'the *Suda*') is not a person but a book, a Byzantine lexicon dating from the 10th cent. Its entry on C. is Testimonium 1 in Pf. ii, p. xcv.

[17] *Ep.* 30. See Notes on the Text ad loc.

[18] The attribution of 3,500 or 4,000 books to Didymus is more fantastic but not less credible. According to Pfeiffer (*Classical Scholarship*, 275), it derives from the same source (the malicious humour of scholars in the Alexandrian Museum) that coined Didymus' nickname *Bibliolathas*, 'The Book-Forgetter', the author 'who had produced so many books that he could not remember what he had written'.

[19] A period of indigence has accordingly been inferred from *Ep.* 7, where he mentions the emptiness of his pockets, and *Ia.* 3, where he laments being poor. In the first, it is a lover's disappointing interest in money that reminds him of his poverty; in the second, yet another lover's greed. Both times he is broke in the same context, a good sign that his poverty is more likely to be feigned than real. It is a conventional pose (struck again in *Ep.* 3), not a personal fact.

episode probably belongs more to literature than to biography, going back to the jibe of a satirist or the joke of a comedian.[20]

The notice in *Suidas* turns out to be a blend of the reliable and the unreliable. Its uneven character is equally apparent in the list it gives of the poet's works:

> Among his books are the following: *The Coming of Io*; *Semele*; *Founding of Argos*; *Arcadia*; *Glaukos*; *Hopes*; satyric dramas; tragedies; comedies; lyric poems; *Ibis* (a poem intentionally obscure and abusive, against a certain 'Ibis', an enemy of Callimachus: but this was Apollonius of Rhodes, author of the *Argonautica*); *Museum*; *Pinakes of the Illustrious in Every Branch of Literature, and of What they Wrote*, in 120 books; *Pinax and Register of the Dramatic Poets Arranged Chronologically from the Beginning*; *Pinax of the Glosses and Compositions of Democrates*; *Names of Months According to Tribe and Cities*; *Foundations of Islands and Cities and their Changes of Name*; *On the Rivers in Europe*; *On Marvels and Curiosities in the Peloponnesos and Italy*; *On Changes of Names of Fish*; *On Winds*; *On Birds*; *On the Rivers of the Inhabited World*; *Collection of Wonders of the Entire World According to their Locations*.

Not the least remarkable thing about this list is the absence from it of *all* the poems translated here. Callimachus' most famous and influential work, the *Aitia*,[21] has no place in it; it says nothing of *Hekale*, the *Hymns*, *Iambi*, or *Epigrams*. The reason for these striking omissions may well be, as Rudolf Pfeiffer guessed, that the list originally formed part of an introduction to a collection of Callimachus' poems,[22] an introduction that would have enumerated the works of Callimachus, including those in prose, that were *not* to be found in the collection itself. The list, then, was originally a list of Callimachus' *other* works. How it made its way, without adjustment, into a bibliographical notice meant to stand on its own we can only imagine. The process seems too irresponsible to be deliberate.

[20] So also Cameron, 7. For other examples of jokes uttered on stage turning into 'facts' in ancient biographies, see M. Lefkowitz, *The Lives of the Greek Poets* (Baltimore, 1981). Low social status is often the charge made in such attacks: Euripides, for example, was belittled as the son of a woman who sold vegetables in the market-place. Philitas, a poet of the previous generation much admired by C., was made fun of in comedy at the beginning of the 3rd cent. BC (Cameron, 491).

[21] 'Causes', 'Explanations'. The word is the plural of *aition*.

[22] Pfeiffer, *Classical Scholarship*, 128.

Another troubling feature is the 'enemy' attacked in the poem entitled *Ibis*.[23] According to *Suidas*, Callimachus' ibis was Apollonius of Rhodes.[24] To glimpse what is at stake, we may turn to Strabo, who describes the ibis, an Egyptian bird, as follows:

> The tamest is the ibis, which resembles a stork in shape and size but appears in two colours, one like a stork, the other entirely black. Every crossroads in Alexandria is full of them, to advantage in some ways but in others not. It is helpful in that it preys on every sort of pest and picks up the garbage from the butchers' shops and bakeries, but a pest itself in that it eats anything, is full of filth, and is hard to keep away from what is pure and ought not to come in contact with pollution of any kind.[25]

Not a very attractive creature. Its identification with Apollonius of Rhodes would suggest that Callimachus conceived and expressed fierce enmity against a poet whose work was widely esteemed in the ancient world and has its admirers to this day.

But how reliable is the identification? There is no trace of it in the ancient record. On the other side, we now have fragments of a papyrus preserving an ancient commentary on the Prologue to the *Aitia* of Callimachus.[26] It contains a list of the 'Telchines' attacked by Callimachus not only for their dislike of his own poetry but also for their ignorance of what poetry ought to be. Apollonius of Rhodes is not among them. Now an 'ibis' need not be a 'Telchis' as well, but the fact remains that the only ancient list of Callimachus' literary adversaries that we have does not include the one poet whose name we would expect to find on it, if the identification in *Suidas* were reliable.[27]

[23] Represented by 381 and 382 Pf., a pair of scholia (ancient notes) to Ovid's *Ibis*, both labelled 'dubious' and neither preserving anything of C.'s wording. Pfeiffer concluded that the two fragments tell us 'almost nothing' about C.'s *Ibis*.

[24] There is one other witness to this effect, printed as Testimonium 23 in Pf. ii, pp. xcviii-xcix: an anonymous bibliographical epigram dating from the 6th cent. AD or later and referring to 'Apollonios the ibis' as the object of C.'s curses.

[25] Strabo 17. 2. 4, cited also, in support of the identification between Apollonius and the noxious bird, by J. Ferguson, *Callimachus* (Boston, 1980), 101.

[26] See the introductory remarks to the Prologue to *Ait.* 1–2, also the note to *Ait.* 1. 1.

[27] The contrast with the situation in regard to Ovid's *Ibis* is instructive. Not one syllable of C.'s *Ibis* survives (n. 23, above), yet, if *Suidas* and the anonymous epigrammatist (n. 24, above) are to be believed, it attacked Apollonius in particular; Ovid's poem of the same title is extant in its entirety and runs to over 600 lines, yet the man it attacked remains a complete mystery. Evidently, both poets were writing about the worst sort of person *imaginable*. A target was fleshed out for C., who had the reputation of a literary polemicist; for Ovid, who did not have such a reputation, no target was needed, so none was supplied. (The vicious actions described at *Ibis* 11–22 seem to be those of a real enemy, but nothing about them suggests that he is a scholar, critic, or rival poet.)

The papyrus itself is between seven and eight centuries older than *Suidas*; the information it contains appears to derive from sources older still. But the fact that it is older is not the only, or even the most cogent, argument in its favour. We need to ask, instead: which of the alternatives is borne out by a reading of the poets themselves?

The question is too complicated to answer fully, but two observations may be made. First, it is the critical pronouncements of Callimachus that have supplied the main evidence of enmity between the two poets. From Apollonius himself, we hear nothing,[28] not because he demurred but because, as an epic poet, he had no opportunity for voicing his aesthetic opinions, still less for taking a position in a literary controversy. Callimachus, on the other hand, cultivated genres that enabled him to engage in ostensibly personal 'asides' that had a long history in Greek poetry. When, for example, he brings his *Hymn to Apollo* to a close with a plug for his own poetic mastery, he is, for all his originality, following in the footsteps of the author of the Homeric hymn to the same god, who had taken care, in a famous passage, to remind his audience that they were hearing the best available song.[29] Pindar's claims to poetic supremacy are even more relevant in this connection. Apollonius was in no position to emulate them; Callimachus was, and took advantage of it.[30]

Second, the two poets happen to have treated the same legend in their major works. Apollonius devoted the four books of his epic to the voyage of the *Argo*; Callimachus dealt with episodes from the same voyage early in Book 1 of his *Aitia* and again in

[28] The anti-Callimachean epigram ascribed to him in a marginal scholion at *Palatine Anthology* 7. 41 is ascribed to 'Apollonius the Grammarian' (clearly to distinguish him from the famous poet of the same name) at *Pal. Anth.* 11. 275. According to Cameron (227–8), it dates from no earlier than the 10th cent. It is, to put it bluntly, too banal to have emanated from the pen of Apollonius.

[29] *H.* 2. 126–35, *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 169–73.

[30] But not, as far as we can tell, anywhere in *Hek.*, C.'s brief epic.

Iambus 8. The fragmentary state of the Callimachean texts puts certainty beyond reach, but what is there does not suggest a literary conflict with Apollonius. On the contrary, the techniques employed by the two poets in dealing with the same narrative material are not merely different from each other but also, in some respects, complementary.[31]

In spite of these shortcomings, the list in *Suidas* is not without value. Several of the titles it mentions are attested in the fragments of Callimachus.[32] Readers cannot help but notice the interest he shows throughout in islands, their names and their legends; in cities and their foundations; in the names of months; in winds, and birds, and rivers. It follows that his researches into these subjects were not undertaken for scientific reasons, or out of pedantic curiosity: he made use of what he learned, he turned it into poetry.[33]

He seems, as author of the *Pinakes*, to have made a good deal of material usable to others as well. Ptolemy I, determined that Alexandria should rival Athens as a centre of culture, evidently set an example of zeal in collecting books that was followed by his son and, with notorious efficiency, by his grandson, Ptolemy III Euergetes, who required all ships calling at his ports to surrender any texts on board for copying and for deposit in the royal collection.[34] The ships got the copies, the king's library the originals. The result of this and other measures was, to judge from the figures given by Tzetzes,[35] a library containing several hundred thousand books.[36] All this material needed sifting and

[31] And complimentary as well, if exact repetition of one poet's words by another is a sign of tribute: see the notes on *Ait.* 1. 101–2 and 219–20. For extensive imitation of C. by Apollonius, see the note to *Ait.* 1. 104–9. Further points of contact between the two poets are cited in the notes to *Ait.* 1. 82, 119–20, 125, 126, 133–4. At times one has the feeling that C. turned to *aitia* for the sake of the stories they involved, while Apollonius told his story, at least in part, for the sake of the *aitia* it put in his way. For complementarity in the handling of details, see text at *Ia.* 8.

[32] 404 Pf. (*On Winds*), 407 (*On Marvels*), 414–28 (*On Birds*), 429–56 (*Pinakes*), 457–9 (*Rivers of the Inhabited World*), 464, 580 (*Foundations of Islands and Cities and their Changes of Name*).

[33] So also Pfeiffer, *Classical Scholarship*, 135.

[34] Galen, *Corpus medicorum Graecorum* 5. 10. 2. 1, pp. 78 f., discussed and quoted by Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, i. 325–6, ii. 480–1 n. 147.

[35] Testimonium 14.a in Pf. ii, p. xcvii, discussed by Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, i. 328–9.

[36] 'Books' here means scrolls. The *Iliad* would fill twenty-four such 'books'.

arranging and cataloguing, and this Callimachus undertook to accomplish in the 120 books of *Pinakes*, as they came to be called.

The word means 'Tablets'. 'Catalogues' is close, but a little misleading: an entry in the *Pinakes* was no mere compilation of data. Callimachus decided to what category a particular work belonged. He identified its author and wrote a brief biography of him. For the dramas at least, he provided plot summaries. He quoted openings and gave the total number of lines for works of poetry. Where appropriate, he passed editorial judgement, determining whether a work was rightly or wrongly ascribed.[37] No doubt, in this process, literary quality itself was a criterion.

This massive scholarly enterprise makes itself felt in the poetry of Callimachus. It does not, however, fall upon the page with a thud or make the poet a bore. *Epigram* 55, for example, which could almost be taken for an entry in the *Pinakes,* is anything but stuffy. In it we find an ancient epic poet identified, at first, with reference to his native city: he is called simply 'the Samian'. We hear next of an episode from his biography, a visit from Homer himself, who is not named at this point but clearly meant ('the divine bard' can refer to no one else). Then come the characters treated in 'the Samian's' poetry, tantamount, thanks to the mythological resonance of their names, to a summary of contents. Finally, there is a witty comment on the ascription to Homer that his work has hitherto enjoyed. The names of both poets are now uttered outright, with devastating effect: how can one say 'Homer' and 'Kreophylos' in the same breath without a smile? The voice of the epigram, down to the last line, is that of the work itself, addressing the reader who has it in hand, freshly edited, one might presume, by Callimachus or one of his learned colleagues:

> 'I am the work of the Samian who once in his house
> entertained the divine bard. My subject is Eurytos,
> his agonies, and blond Ioleia. I am ascribed to Homer.'
> What a stroke, dear Zeus, for Kreophylos!

[37] On the *Pinakes* as 'a critical inventory of Greek literature', see Pfeiffer, *Classical Scholarship*, 128–31.

The editor-poet's wry comment implies that the work has survived not on its own merits but by hitching a ride on Homer's reputation. Once stripped of its ascription to Homer, it has lost much if not all of its claim to the reader's attention. It has, in fact, disappeared.

Sadly, most of Callimachus himself has also disappeared. Only the *Hymns* and *Epigrams* survive intact, the rest of what we have is in fragments. The situation, however, is not as bleak as it might have been. In recent times enough has come to light to enable us to see more of Callimachus than anyone has seen in the last eight hundred years.[38]

3. Disjecta membra poetae

The list of works given in *Suidas* is a clue to what we have lost. We know nothing of the six titles listed first,[39] next to nothing of the four genres following them. Tragedies and comedies were being composed at Alexandria in the lifetime of Callimachus. That he wrote comedies is feasible in itself, but the notice in *Suidas* is all we hear of them; so too for satyr plays. *Epigram* 59 indicates that he tried his hand at tragedy, apparently to little applause. The inclusion of 'lyric poems' among his works is more problematic. He employed lyric metres, but in so unlyric a manner that it seems a mistake to identify him as a lyric poet too.[40]

Besides the books that may have left nothing behind but titles or labels, there are those which survive in fragments only. The

[38] Since the beginning of the 13th cent., when the last known copy of *Hek.* perished: A. Hollis, *Callimachus: Hecale* (Oxford, 1990 (cited hereafter by author's name only)), 40. See note on *Hek.*, fr. 58.

[39] Three of the six do at least name subjects treated in the extant poems and fragments. Of these, Arcadia and Argos come up repeatedly (see, for example, *H.* 1 and *Ait.* 3. 4); for Io, see the Index of Names. Semele is in the background at *Ait.* 1. 209. Glaukos may be the Homeric hero mentioned by C. (see the Index of Names), or, as seems more likely, a different person, namely the Glaukos whose story was told by an older contemporary of C., Alexander Aetolus, in a poem entitled *The Fisherman*, in which Glaukos, a sea divinity, figured: J. U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina* (Oxford, 1925), 121–2, fr. 1; *The Fisherman*, in hexameters, may have been an epyllion (see pp. xxxii ff. below, on *Hekale*). Of *Hopes* there is no trace.

[40] For this and other reasons, the four poems classified as *Lyrica* in 226–9 Pf. are presented here as the last four *Iambi* (14–17). See below, n. 83.

recovery of these has come in two phases, the second of which is still in progress.

Two classes of fragments were gathered by scholars during the first phase: mere references to what the poet wrote and actual quotations of it. The latter were made by various ancient and medieval writers, for various reasons. Lexicographers, grammarians, metricians, and scholiasts, they found in Callimachus something useful to their purposes, and quoted it, sometimes naming him as author, sometimes identifying the work they were excerpting, sometimes transmitting no such information at all. These quotations, consisting of anything from a single word to a few lines, were, until the end of the last century, all that we had of the poet's lost work.

The second phase began with the discovery of papyri in the sands of Egypt, starting about a century ago. By 1949, when Pfeiffer's edition of the fragments of Callimachus appeared, a good deal had accumulated. Pfeiffer calculated the increment in his Preface: remains of some 2,000 lines had been recovered to date. Of the fragments previously known, the quotations described above, 162 could be discerned in the papyri.[41] The rest was new.

The new findings included fragments not only of primary but also of secondary material. An example of the latter is the ancient commentary already mentioned, containing a list of names for the 'Telchines' who appear in the opening line of the Prologue to the *Aitia*. In addition to ancient notes like these, explicating the poet's words themselves, are the so-called *Diegeseis* or 'Narratives', summaries of poems, composed, evidently, for students who either lacked the time to read Callimachus himself or needed assistance doing so. Dated to between the end of the first century BC and the end of the first century AD,[42] they quote

[41] This helped to identify the papyrus fragments. Papyri are not easy to read. They do not often come with author's name and title still legible. They seldom preserve even whole lines of poetry, let alone whole poems or continuous sections of poems. Under these circumstances, the trace in a papyrus of words quoted and attributed to C. by an ancient or medieval author provides a key to identification and, if the attribution included a title, to placement of the papyrus fragment and other fragments that can be determined to be related to it, through the physical evidence of the papyrus itself, or other means.

[42] Pf. ii, p. xxviii.

the opening lines of individual poems, then proceed to summarize the content of each. Although they are fragmentary themselves, sometimes hopelessly so, they yet provide help with the identification and placement of fragments; as they proceed from poem to poem, they enable us to form an idea of how Callimachus put his poetic books together.

We now have *Diegeseis* for *Hekale*, *Hymns* 1 and 2, the *Iambi*, and *Aitia* 3–4 (with a gap at the opening of *Aitia* 3, filled by other aids).[43] The availability of *Diegeseis* for *Hymns* 1 and 2, both of which happen to survive intact, enables us to assess the value of such ancient summaries as reconstructive tools for the poems that survive only in fragments. As this will have considerable bearing on the presentation of the fragments translated here, it is worth dwelling on.

At first glance, the two *Diegeseis* in question do not appear to amount to much. The summary of the first *Hymn* covers only lines 1–34 of the Greek text (1–44 of the translation), a little over one third of the poem.[44] After that, there is nothing. Had the poem itself not survived, we might have guessed from its *Diegesis* that Callimachus went on to describe the experiences of the infant Zeus in Crete,[45] but we would have no way of intuiting that he paused, in a playfully polemical passage, to deny that Zeus and his brothers divided the world among themselves by casting lots, or that he spent the last third of the poem dilating on the special relationship between Zeus and kings. Much of the poem's heart and soul, in other words, would have escaped us. The situation would be similar, if not worse, for *Hymn* 2.[46]

Suppose, however, that Callimachus' entire book of hymns had not survived intact, that all we had of it were scattered

[43] For sections of *Ait.* 1, most extensively at the beginning, we have the Florentine scholia, similar, in a number of respects, to the *Diegeseis*. The papyri involved are listed below, pp. 187–8.

[44] Pf. ii, p. 41.

[45] The *Diegesis* concludes with Rhea handing the newly born Zeus 'to Neda, one of the Oceanids, for carrying to Crete, that he might be reared in secret there' (Pf. ii, p. 41).

[46] The *Diegesis* for *H.* 2 (Pf. ii, p. 46), is fragmentary, breaking off when the summary has reached line 73 of the Greek text (85 of the translation), almost exactly two-thirds of the way. Had we only the *Diegesis*, we would not know (among other things) that *H.* 2 ended with Apollo's defence of the poet against Envy, the passage most frequently discussed by modern critics.

remnants possibly identifiable as coming from somewhere in an original collection whose existence we knew of only by report. Under those circumstances, the discovery of *Diegeseis* for the first two hymns would help a lot. We would know, for example, that in the original collection, *Hymn* 1 celebrated Zeus, *Hymn* 2 Apollo. Aided by the summaries themselves, we would be able to place a number of previously scattered fragments at least into their original poem and even to give some of them a context in which they might begin to make sense. We would not have the two hymns of Callimachus, but we would have a framework in which to view their surviving fragments, a way of glimpsing their original relations to each other.

Suppose, further, that we had not just *Diegeseis* for the first two lost hymns, but for all of them, as we do for all the *Iambi* and for *Aitia* 4. We would now know that Callimachus published a collection of hymns in which Zeus and Apollo led off, followed by Artemis, Delos, the Bath of Pallas, and Demeter. With the order in which the hymns appeared known for certain and the content of each known at least in outline, we would be able to place a number of fragments, with reasonable certainty, in the hymn to which they belonged. If there were more than a few such fragments assigned to each hymn, the poetry of each, and of all in relation to each, would be that much closer to apprehension than it was before the discovery of our *Diegeseis*: we would have a lot more, in sum, than a mere assortment of unassigned fragments.

Could we have guessed anything else? The author of a recent commentary on *Hymn* 6[47] has pointed out that the first two hymns deal with masculine deities, the last two with feminine, and the two in between with sister and brother twins, Artemis and Apollo, whose birth is the main subject of the *Hymn to Delos*. We could have divined as much from nothing but the summaries of the hymns in our hypothetical *Diegeseis*, but would we have perceived that this amounted to *a structural principle*? That in observing it we had penetrated, if only partially, into the poet's strategy for arranging his collection of hymns?

[47] N. Hopkinson, *Callimachus: Hymn to Demeter* (Cambridge, 1984), 13.

Perhaps, for the hypothetical *Diegeseis* would have provided us with something more: the opening line of each hymn, and with it, if we were astute enough to notice, yet another symmetry, supporting the one already observed. The same commentator on the sixth *Hymn* has noted that the two 'masculine' hymns at the beginning and the two 'feminine' ones at the end of the collection are 'mimetic': that is to say, they suggest the illusion of actual involvement in a ritual of some sort; the two hymns in the centre of the collection, the 'twin' poems, do not create such an atmosphere, reading, instead, like traditional Homeric hymns.[48] The commentator in question had, of course, all six fully preserved hymns in front of him. What he observed, however, might have been plain enough from the opening lines we would have found quoted in our hypothetical *Diegeseis*. The opening of *Hymn* 2 immediately evokes a scene:

> How Apollo's laurel sapling shook

while that of *Hymn* 3 strikes a more distant attitude:

> Of Artemis we sing (it is no light matter
> for singers to leave her out)

and the same is true of the other hymns. The first evokes the atmosphere of a symposium, the fifth and sixth that of rituals in honour of the goddesses Athena and Demeter, while the fourth, like the third, strikes the attitude of a poet celebrating a god, not that of a worshipper expecting the god's epiphany (as in *Hymns* 2, 5, and 6), or of someone at a party drinking in his honour (as in *Hymn* 1).

Depending on the number of fragments we had and on the amount of information imparted in our hypothetical summaries, we might also have ventured to posit yet another symmetry, reinforcing the ones already observed: maybe the twin poems in the centre differed from the others in length as well. Here we would have had to proceed more cautiously, for the two types of evidence on which we would be relying are not very good when it comes to length. It is often impossible to tell from papyrus fragments of a poem how long the poem was in its original state.

[48] Hopkinson, ibid.

Gaps occur whose extent cannot be determined; they may be large, they may be small.[49] So our fragments might not help us very much here; they would be unlikely, at any rate, to supply definitive proof. It is similar for the *Diegeseis*: the length of a *Diegesis* does not necessarily reflect the length of the poem it is summarizing. *Iambus* 7, for example, comes with a *Diegesis* twenty lines long while *Iambus* 17, summarized in less than three lines, need not have been shorter and may well have been longer.

Had we made such a guess, and then lived to see the discovery of a manuscript or a papyrus preserving all the *Hymns*, we would have found that we were right, but in much more detail than we could have known. The third *Hymn* is more than twice the length of either of the first two, the fourth more than twice that of either of the last two. There is steady mounting as we proceed through the collection, the second *Hymn* longer than the first, the third much longer than the second, the fourth considerably longer than the third. But after the fourth, the reverse occurs: the fifth is much shorter than the fourth, the sixth somewhat shorter than the fifth, but 5 and 6 are each longer than 1 and 2. Everything conspires to suggest both dynamic progression and static form: forward momentum throughout, with balanced pairs at either end bracketing a balanced pair in the centre.[50]

Callimachus' collection of *Hymns*, it emerges, is our earliest surviving example of *a poetic book*. He took meticulous care in its arrangement, an arrangement that has so far been described here in superficial terms only. Whatever its deeper aesthetic significance, we might well suspect that workmanship of this order is

[49] An exception is *Aet.* 3. 3, which, as we can tell from the papyrus, is missing only a few verses at the end.

[50] The mimetic character is much less pronounced in *H.* 1 than in *H.* 2, much more pronounced in the last two than in the first two, and most pronounced of all in the last. *Hymns* 5 and 6 are set apart from the whole collection by their Doric colouring, and the distinction is further marked by the use of the elegiac metre in 5 (the others are all in hexameters). The mimetic 1 and 2 are much more loosely related to each other in theme than the mimetic 5 and 6 which, as Hopkinson (*Demeter*, 13–16) has shown, form an intricate poetic pair. On the other hand, there are important ways in which 5 and 6 also differ from each other (ibid. 16–17). The most carefully articulated of all is 6: the final hymn shows *geometrical* symmetry in the disposition of its major sections (see the Note on Translating Callimachus, p. li below).

not likely to have been a one-time preoccupation on his part. The papyri of Egypt, with their shreds of poetry and their snippets of commentary and summary, have put us in a position to test that hunch on the lost works as well, though we cannot, of course, do so in the kind of detail or with the assurance possible for the *Hymns*.

When we turn from hypothetical situations to real ones, from poems that survive to poems in fragments, things are not as neat. Progress, however, is occurring. It depends not only on new discoveries but also on interpretation, continual assessment and reassessment of what we had before in relation to what has since come to light. Pfeiffer, for example, had a number of fragments before him that he could not assign to a known work of Callimachus. One of these, written in elegiac couplets, clearly celebrated a Nemean victory, but who the victor was, he could not tell. He guessed from the word *nympha* ('girl', 'bride') legible by itself in the second line that the victor might not be a man, might, indeed, be Queen Berenike, but further than that he could not go. He had to be content with assigning the fragment a number (383) and placing it in a section of his first volume entitled 'Epic and Minor Elegiac Fragments'.

We now know, thanks to the appearance of a new papyrus in 1976 and its interpretation, in the following year, by Peter Parsons, not only that the fragment is, indeed, the opening of an epinician for Queen Berenike, but also that the epinician itself was the lead poem in *Aitia* 3. It was already known that *Aitia* 4 concluded with the famous 'Lock of Berenike'. It now became clear that *Aitia* 3 and 4 were *framed* by poems honouring the same person, one introducing Book 3, the other concluding Book 4. That we have to do here with a pair of poetic books, not a random assemblage of poems, is also suggested, unevenly but unmistakably, by the *Diegeseis*.

Another elegiac fragment, given the title 'Mousetrap' and placed by Pfeiffer in a section of his first volume set aside for fragments known to have come from the *Aitia* but not from which book, has now been placed by the editors of *Supplementum Hellenisticum* in the same epinician.[51] Until now, all that the

[51] 177 Pf., 259 *SH*.

'Mousetrap' fragment seemed to have in common with the Nemean victory fragment was the elegiac metre, equivalent, under the circumstances, to nothing. Now we are reasonably certain that Callimachus recounted the poor old man Molorchos' triumph over the mice infesting his cottage (177 Pf.) together with Heracles' triumph over the Nemean lion in the epinician written by Callimachus for Berenike and opening with the lines Pfeiffer could not place (383 Pf.).

The *disjecta membra poetae*, 'scattered parts of the poet', are now both more numerous and less scattered than they were before.[52] And we are the beneficiaries.

4. *A Beauty of a Different Kind: The Poetry of Callimachus*

Unpredictability, freshness, perfection: these are among his qualities. His readers, evidently from the beginning, needed help in reading him.[53] He is not, for all that, a pedant. Lightness of touch is perhaps his hallmark, no matter how much weight he is handling. While we know very little about him, a distinct poetical personality comes to life in every line of him that we are lucky enough to have. With yet more luck, time will bring us more of him.

In the mean time, the following remarks may suffice to give an impression of his poetry. *Hekale*, the *Hymns*, and *Aitia* 1–2 are considered first in some detail; the other works after that, with attention shifted (though not completely) from literary to historical matters.

Some misconceptions are corrected on the way, but one prejudice, unmentioned so far, needs to be dealt with at once. We do not go to Callimachus for the tragic sublimity of Homer

[52] For the new fragments, see *SH*. The most important addition since Pf. ii is the papyrus analysed by Parsons and shown to belong to Berenike's victory poem (see P. Parsons, 'Callimachus: *Victoria Berenices*', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 25 (1977), 1–50, and see also the notes to *Ait.* 3. 1). Since the appearance of *SH*, many of the fragments of *Hek.* have been rearranged by Hollis, and this is reflected in the present translation. The presentation of *Ait.* 1–2 separately from *Ait.* 3–4 is, if correct, a major recent change; so too the placing of Pfeiffer's *Lyrica* among the *Iambi* (n. 40, above; n. 83, below). Both of these changes are likely to remain controversial.

[53] The papyrus preserving sixty lines of *Ait.* 3. 1 has interlinear scholia, though it dates to within a generation of the poet's death: Parsons, 'Callimachus: *Victoria*', 4–5.

or Sophocles, but the conclusion often drawn from this, that he is not, in the end, to be taken seriously, is unfair not only to him but also to prospective readers, who will find it easy enough, for other reasons, to miss what he does offer. The subtlety of his poetry and the fragmentary state of most of it are partly to blame. But even they cannot keep his vitality from being apparent, provided we pay attention. This is especially true of the first poem translated here.

Hekale

Near the end of the *Hymn to Apollo*, Envy sidles up to the god and whispers into his ear his dissatisfaction with the hymn now coming to an end:

> I don't like a poet who doesn't sing
> like the sea.

An ancient scholiast remarked at this point: 'With these words he answers those who faulted him for being unable to compose a large-scale poem (*mega poiema*), in response to whom he was forced to compose *Hekale*.'[54]

The remark credits Envy with a little more discernment than he deserves. His comment to the god on hearing the hymn rather resembles that of a boor who annoys a connoisseur during a chamber music concert, tugging at his sleeve and saying, in a whisper loud enough to be overheard: 'This stuff is OK but I'd prefer a symphony.' *Hekale*, moreover, does not read like something written to order or under constraint ('he was forced'). If not exactly a *mega poiema*, it is the longest poem Callimachus wrote or (hedging our bets) the longest story that he told in a single poem, a '*little* big poem', if you will. For that reason, and for its charm, it leads off the books gathered here.

Modern critics have devised a generic label for it, calling it an *epyllion* or 'miniature epic'.[55] Callimachus does not seem to have invented the genre,[56] if we may call it that, but he has given us

[54] Pf. ii, p. 53 (scholion to *H.* 2. 106).

[55] For the major characteristics of the Hellenistic epyllion, see Hollis, 23–6.

[56] Philitas' *Hermes*, composed in hexameters, may have been an epyllion. See Powell, *Collectanea*, 91–2, frs. 5–9. For Alexander Aetolus' *Fisherman*, see above, n. 39.

the earliest example that we can form an impression of. In its original condition, it may have been as much as 1,500 lines long, comparable, say, to one of the four books of Apollonius' *Argonautica*.

It is often remarked that heroics are out of place in the epyllion. Callimachus may have set or continued a trend here, but it is a mistake to fill the gaps in *Hekale* with large doses of the sort of irony we find in later poets, particularly Ovid.[57] The hero in question, Theseus, is on a dangerous mission when he meets Hekale; his heroic exploit, the defeat of the Marathonian bull, seems to have been dealt with briefly in comparison with homelier matters that evidently absorbed the poet's interest. But to conclude from this that Callimachus treated the hero and his deeds dismissively is another matter. That he did not do so appears likely from at least one piece of evidence, the appearance in the poem of Theseus' other heroic deeds. One in particular is worth dwelling on.

The killing of Kerkyon, who had killed her son, has an obvious personal meaning for Hekale. Callimachus seems to have had Theseus tell her about it knowing the effect it would produce. If so, his intention would be to gladden her, though neither he nor she could suspect that her wish, 'Gladly would I die, knowing that he's dead', will be fulfilled to the letter the very next day. This heroic exploit, at least, is woven dramatically and emotionally into the complex pattern of the story. It impinges on the life of the vivid old woman who is the centre of interest, and who, having seen better days, will die before Theseus can reward her for her gracious treatment of him. To judge from the fragments we have and from the *Diegesis*, her death touches him deeply.[58]

The point is not that the poem should be called *Theseus* or *Theseus and Hekale*, but that there is enough of him, even in the fragments, to highlight the delicacy of Callimachus in character portrayal. To miss it is to miss not only the sympathetic

[57] The story of Baucis and Philemon (*Metamorphoses* 8. 616–724) is, in many respects, modelled on *Hek.* It has, however, none of the pathos here claimed for C.'s poem.

[58] *Hek.* 223–7 (the hero's eulogy); 'Complaining that he had been cheated of his hopes . . .' (the *Diegesis*, describing his feelings on hearing the news of Hekale's death).

treatment of the Athenian hero but also something of the pathos in which the poet has steeped Hekale's fate, particularly the pathos of her last moments, spent with Theseus.[59] We are fortunate to have a fragment that intimates as much, though it comes from a later episode in the story. It describes the return of Theseus from Marathon, leading the bull along the road. He is on the way back to Athens, intending, as soon as he can, to return to Hekale's hut. The country people, terrified at the sight of him and the bull, are about to scatter. Here is what he says (135–42):

> 'Don't
> be afraid! Don't run away! Let someone go—
> your fastest runner—to town with the news
> for my father, Aigeus: how relieved
> he'll be to hear it! "It's Theseus,
> Theseus! He'll be here soon
> from watery Marathon, the bull with him,
> alive, on a leash."'

Callimachus depicts the young hero thinking, in his triumph, not of himself but of his father; he does not want him to remain a moment longer than necessary in fear for his son's safety.[60] That surely figures in the overall portrait of the sensitive and chivalrous youth whose interest in his hostess had encouraged her, the night before, to tell him (and us) the story of her life.

The pathos of the moment is heightened by the sequel: his thoughts are of his father, but it is Hekale whom he has lost while on his exploit. The next thing we hear him say, in the surviving fragments, will be:

> Whose tomb have you raised here?

It is, of course, Hekale's tomb. A brief eulogy by Theseus follows, and then Callimachus wraps up, giving the tale an *aition*:[61] Theseus, in gratitude to the old woman who had

[59] The pathos is heightened if, as suggested at lines 72–5, Theseus reminds Hekale of her dead husband in his youth.

[60] The lines evoke the earlier scene in the poem (text, between lines 16 and 19), when the father refuses to let the son go, for fear of losing him.

[61] Above, n. 21.

entertained him hospitably, establishes a deme and a festival named after her.

Hekale is not one of the *Aitia* Callimachus published in four books of elegiac verse, but it is like them in pausing to explain something, usually a cultural or religious phenomenon, an institution or a ritual or a feature of one.[62] Here he explains how the Attic deme Hekale got its name and accounts for the festival called Hekaleia. While the fragmentary state of the poem makes such pronouncements precarious, it seems as though, having told Hekale's story in such detail, and having interwoven her fate with that of Theseus, he could register this *aition* with a few brief strokes, and have done. But the reader will find a complicated other *aition* sandwiched between the conclusion of Hekale's story and that of the poem itself. We could never have told, from the *Diegesis* alone, that this *aition* was there; still less, had we known that it was there, could we have predicted the strange and amusing manner of its presentation.[63]

Hymns

Modern readers of ancient Greek 'hymns' need to be warned not to expect anything like what they may have heard being sung in church. At the same time, we must not throw the baby out with the bathwater: there *is* a religious dimension to this poetry. The tendency of Greek poets to delight in their gods, even to have fun with them, has probably done more than anything else to suggest that they could not have been religious. Joy and play have little enough to do with religion as most people experience it.

Some such religious blind spot may have caused modern readers to take a predominantly serious view of a passage we have already glanced at, the Epilogue of Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* (126–35):

[62] *Aitia* also occur in the other non-aetiological poems, e.g. at *H.* 1. 56–8, 2. 117–25, 3. 267–78, 4. 375–82, 5. 41–52; *Ia.* 7–11.

[63] *Hek.* 153–221. Similarly, the heart of the poem, the entertainment of the king's son by the impoverished old woman (41–124), is ignored in the *Diegesis* ('. . . received him as her guest. Next morning, Theseus rose at dawn and left . . .').

Envy whispered into Apollo's ear:
'I don't like a poet who doesn't sing
like the sea.' Apollo kicked
Envy aside and said: 'The Assyrian river
rolls a massive stream, but it's mainly
silt and garbage that it sweeps along. The bees
bring water to Deo not from every source
but where it bubbles up pure and undefiled
from a holy spring, its very essence.'
Farewell, Lord! Let Criticism go where Envy's gone!

Polemical tone and imagery expressing aesthetic preference evoke an atmosphere of critical warfare. Or do they? Apollo's rebuke of Envy draws a line, but whether Callimachus wants us to join battle over it is another question. We need to consider not only the rebuke itself but also the function it serves within the poem.

Everything about the poem, from its opening line to the moment Envy enters so rudely, has prepared us for the god's epiphany. We have seen the laurel sapling shake, the sacred palm tree nod, as if at the god's approach. We have heard the temple doors rattle: the god kicking them ajar. We have even heard the poet predict, 'We will see you, Lord who shoot from afar' (14). The confidence expressed so boldly receives an immediate endorsement: the young men, exhorted earlier, now respond to the music, their feet beating the earth to the rhythms plucked on the lyre. The sea has fallen silent at the sound of hymns such as this. Above all, in the longest section of the hymn, the climax of its celebration of the god, we have heard how they worship Apollo in the poet's home town, Cyrene. And now, what is left but for the god to appear? The moment of maximum poetic risk has arrived, the moment when a blunder would spoil everything. How introduce Apollo without bathos? Is he to alight on the roof of his temple?

In what may well be the most masterful negative stroke in the history of poetry, the problem is simply not dealt with: Apollo, we suddenly learn, has been on the scene for some time. The god of poetry's presence does not need to be stated outright because it is implicit in the exuberance, the exquisiteness of the poetry we

are hearing. When, suddenly, he has materialized, allowing the poem to conclude, it is in relation to his opposite: the poem ends, appropriately, with the introduction of the one character for whom, as a poem, it never began. Envy does not like it, and urges Apollo, for whom it was written, not to like it either! The answer, a kick in the pants, settles once and for all the question of the poem's quality. It is the god of poetry himself who kicks the critic away.

Callimachus, like Pindar, basks in the serenity of his own inspiration. Having no doubt that Apollo will enjoy his song, he lets the god choose his own company, confident that he will be the one preferred. Serenity and humour have blended here into a kind of poetic urbanity that may or may not be new in Greek literature but certainly is on display nowhere more beautifully than in the *Hymns* of Callimachus.[64]

Aitia 1–2

The title itself might lead us to expect something ponderous. Two books of 'Causes' or 'Explanations': what could that mean if not a heavy dose of instruction? It is not an enticing prospect. And yet, on entering Book 1, we encounter a kind of 'aetiology' that would have a hard time fitting into a philosophical dictionary, or any other reference work. Judging by Callimachus and Apollonius alone, it was a passion of the age.

Callimachus composed not only these but two more books of *Aitia*, apparently at different periods of his life. The fragmentary condition of Books 1 and 2 makes chronology, along with much else, very uncertain, but there are indications that the two were addressed and dedicated to Queen Arsinoë, who died in 268 BC. This would put Callimachus at about 50 when he published them, old enough to feel the approach of age, if not the crushing burden of it, as described in the Prologue (40–6). Queen Berenike played a similar role in the very different Books 3–4, published nearly a quarter century later, probably soon after Berenike became queen in 246.

[64] Anything in C., once noticed, draws attention to a counter-presence. *H.* 5 and *H.* 6, dwelling on the punishment of mortals, are more sombre than the others. A moment of familiarity with Athena, at lines 67–9, lightens *H.* 5; there is nothing of the sort in *H.* 6.

What are the *Aitia* like? 'Unpredictable' is one answer that has been given, 'chaotic' another: the collection has been called a ragbag, a vessel into which the poet threw anything he had on hand.[65] Now that the order in which Callimachus arranged the poems comprising Books 3 and 4 is known to us, and much of the original order of the *aitia* presented in Book 1 has been determined,[66] we are in a position to put these old charges to something of a test.

'Unpredictability' has already been admitted, but as a positive quality: it need not lead to chaos. The opening of the famous Prologue is as good a place as any to see it at work:

> The Telchines, who know nothing
> of poetry and hate the Muses, often
> snipe at me, because it's not a monotonous
> uninterrupted poem featuring kings
> and heroes in thousands of verses
> that I've produced, driving my song instead
> for little stretches, like a child,
> though the tale of my years
> is not brief.

The last thing we would expect to meet in a poem so introduced would seem to be 'kings and heroes'. Their banishment from the poem about to begin would strike a distinctly unheroic or unepic note, and this has led readers of the *Aitia* to assume that Callimachus here, as elsewhere, is denying an audience fed on epic fodder its usual fare.

But no such banishment has, in fact, been announced.[67] Not

[65] Green, *Alexander to Actium*, 180.

[66] There is less to go on in the reconstruction of Book 2. See Notes on the Text.

[67] The poem itself (like all the *Aitia*) is written in elegiac couplets, and the poets mentioned subsequently in the Prologue (Philitas and Mimnermus) are masters of elegy, not epic. The different approaches to elegy taken by each are, with maddening brevity, assessed in the sequel. Clearly, the right way to compose a poem *in elegiacs* is on the poet's mind, and the wrong way is that desiderated by the Telchines. The inclusion of Asclepiades and Posidippus among the Telchines is relevant in this context: elegiac poets themselves, they were fond of the *Lyde* of Antimachus, an *elegiac* (not epic) poem that C. considered a failure (398 Pf.). The importation of epic into the Prologue is due, in all likelihood, to the assumption that C. nursed a grudge against Apollonius of Rhodes, the greatest practitioner of epic since Homer. The same assumption has distorted interpretation of the Epilogue to *H.* 2. There is, on the face of it, no reason why a poet writing a hymn or a long elegy should feel compelled to apologize for not writing an epic. He responds to those who do not like the poem he is writing, not to those who think he should be writing a different kind of poetry altogether.

only has the sequel nothing to say against 'kings and heroes', but the poem itself no sooner gets underway than we find them in the limelight: Minos sacrificing to the Graces on Paros, Jason fleeing with Medea from Colchis aboard the *Argo*, Heracles listening to the curses of a farmer, and so on. Kings and heroes galore, but not presented in the usual way. That is the point.

The poet's quarrel is not with kings and heroes, nor with epic, nor even with thousands of verses. The two books before us must have run for a couple of thousand lines themselves. No, his salvoes are aimed at those who insist on a single unifying device, one story, perhaps, told exhaustively from beginning to end, if a long poem is to win approval. The issue is merely stated, not argued here. Leaving the poem itself to demonstrate that other means, new means, can sustain the Muse over a long distance, Callimachus, a little disingenuously, hastens to deal with an easier matter: the application of a poem's size alone as a criterion of its quality. Who would resort to such a standard? It is of a piece with appraising a song by its volume, allowing the screamer to defeat the singer. Only the clumsiest of critics would think of applying measures such as those.

The poet has finer calibrations in mind, and pays heed to them in composition, confident that his audience will appreciate what he is up to. Nor need that audience be tiny. How many people, after all, prefer the sound of asses to that of cicadas (36–40)? Enough listeners to our poem remain, once the audience has been shorn of such as *them*.

This is not to say that further culling does not lie ahead, or to deny that the poet goes on to up the critical ante, expecting a good deal of sophistication from his audience. It is only to point out that the Prologue serves a *complimentary* as well as a programmatic function, that it is inclusive as well as exclusive.[68] The dismissal of the Telchines is, in this respect, like the booting

[68] The point is easier for me to make after having heard Thomas Schmitz's paper '"I Hate all Common Things." The Reader's Role in Callimachus's *Aetia* Prologue', presented at Harvard on 8 December 1997.

of Envy from the scene in the Epilogue to Apollo's hymn. If *they* are gone, *we* would not choose to go with them. We remain, listening and enjoying what we hear. As in the Epilogue, we find ourselves in the best of company. The god of poetry himself had presided over the poet's beginnings (29–36):

> The very first time I sat down and put
> a writing tablet on my lap, my own
> Lykian Apollo said to me:
> 'Make your sacrifice
> as fat as you can, poet, but keep
> your Muse on slender rations. And see that you go
> where no hackneys plod: avoid the ruts
> carved in the boulevard, even if it means
> driving along a narrower path.'

The 'narrower path' takes the poet first to a dream in which he becomes young again. Transported to Mount Helikon, the dreaming poet engages in a conversation with the Muses, asking them questions and hearing their answers. In this way Callimachus constructs the framework for everything that follows in Books 1 and 2. He will draw attention to some peculiar feature of rite or cult, and one of the Muses will give the reason (*aition*) behind it. But just before the interrogation begins, at some point in the fragmentary text between the dismissal of the Telchines and the end of the Prologue, we meet what seems to be an appeal to the Muses (51):

> . . . remind me . . . of the answers . . .

The poet needs help remembering what he had heard in his dream. What could be more natural, or more in keeping with poetic convention? A closer look yields a surprise or two.

Ordinarily a Greek poet summons the Muses to help him remember the great deeds of gods and heroes in the distant past and to provide inspiration in recounting them. As 'Daughters of Memory', they are ideally suited, here as elsewhere, to play the part of reminders. But in the present instance they happen to be the ones who gave the answers in the first place. Callimachus, in effect, is asking them to repeat themselves! The conventional

appeal to the Muses for help with recollection is also put to use in an entirely novel way, having less to do with the psychology of inspiration[69] than with that of everyday experience: dreams are all too readily forgotten. The poet, like any dreamer, needs help remembering his dream. Finally, the casting of the divine visitation in the form of a dream has another effect, that of internalizing the Muses: they do not come to Callimachus from without, invading his personality as they had Hesiod's before him,[70] but from within.[71] Unlike Hesiod, who got his theme and his power to present it from the Muses, Callimachus tells the Muses what he wants to hear, and there are indications in both the scholia and the fragments that his questions are those of a person who is considerably informed on these matters already.[72] He is not, like Hesiod, starting from scratch.[73] A good deal of the poet's mischievous ingenuity peeps out at us, then, in those two fragmentary phrases, 'remind me . . . of the answers'.

Resort to literary convention always runs the risk of staleness. Callimachus, asking the Muses for help, gives a fresh turn to an old device. There is another example later in Book 1. Morning has come on the island of Anaphe, where the Argonauts found welcome anchorage during a spell of terrifying darkness. Again a formulaic note is sounded, but the old bell yields, on being struck by this poet, a tone never heard before (1. 127–9):

> Meanwhile Tito, lying beside
> the son of Laomedon, awoke
> to burden the neck of the ox

'The son of Laomedon' is Tithonos, 'Tito' is Eos, the Dawn. Zeus, in answer to Dawn's prayer, made Tithonos immortal, but

[69] As at *Iliad* 2. 484–93.

[70] Hesiod is introduced as 'model' for C. on Helikon at *Ait.* 1. 53–9.

[71] I do not mean to psychologize the experience described in the Prologue, but to draw a distinction between C.'s encounter with the Muses and Hesiod's. Dreams were divine to the ancients.

[72] The remarks of the Florentine scholiast quoted in the connecting text to *Ait.* 1, between lines 64 and 65 of the tranlsation ('having declared beforehand himself that they are said by some to be . . .'), imply that C. treated the Muses to a recital of his own researches on the topic in question. He tells them what he knows also at *Ait.* 2. 56–71.

[73] C. expresses something quite different from unqualified approval of Hesiod in *Ep.* 56. See also the notes to *Ait.* 1. 53 and 2. 158.

she had neglected to ask that he be ageless as well, with the result that he continued to live and to shrivel until there was almost nothing left of him, at which point Dawn put him in the bedroom and shut the doors.[74] According to a later source, surely known to Callimachus, she changed him into a cicada.[75] As Laomedon's son, he would be Priam's brother, which would make him an old man during the Trojan War, not to mention years after it; yet Book 11 of the *Iliad* and Book 5 of the *Odyssey* open with the formulaic description of Dawn rising 'from bed at the side of illustrious Tithonos'. Either the author of these great epics does not know of the withering senescence afflicting Tithonos, or he can conveniently forget it, his line meaning simply 'when morning came'. Callimachus, describing events that took place a generation *before* the Trojan War, has made a literally 'fresh' use of the ancient topos: *his* Tithonos is still in the bloom of youth. Within the dramatic framework of the poem itself, the expression has not yet frozen into a formula. Something of the like vivacity usually informs whatever Callimachus borrows from his predecessors.[76]

5. *Personalities and Personae*

Even in its fragmentary state, the work of Callimachus presents a gallery of personalities whose variety is unequalled anywhere in Greek literature. Gods and goddesses, kings and queens, heroes and peasants, poets and tourists, pimps and whores, lovers, critics, scapegoats, boastful hunters, Olympic victors, sacred envoys are but a few of the figures that pass before us. Birds and beasts, trees and bushes also have their say. Thanks to the conventions of the dedicatory epigram, we hear even from inanimate objects.

Only a sampling of such riches can be attempted here. We

[74] *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 218–38.

[75] Hellanicus, in F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Berlin–Leiden, 1923–58), 1. 4. 140. Cf. *Ait.* 1. 40–6 (C. himself longing to shed old age and become, through poetry, a cicada).

[76] The combination of the Homeric with a Hesiodic formula is another innovation. See Notes ad loc.

may begin near the top of the social register, with Queen Arsinoë, to whom Callimachus had addressed *Aitia* 1–2.

She was the daughter of Ptolemy I Soter and his mistress Berenike, who later became his queen, Berenike I. Unfortunately, only one poem addressed to her by Callimachus survives in full, and it was written after her death. This is *Epigram* 14, in which she appears as Aphrodite in her temple at Zephyrion. Even during her lifetime people had considered her an embodiment of the goddess of love, the equal, too, of Helen.[77] Such compliments would have been impossible, or cynical, had she not been a great beauty; and we know they were not cynical.

She seems to have been as sophisticated as she was beautiful. Her tutor had been Philitas, one of the founders of the Alexandrian school of poetry. He taught her well, to judge from her keen interest in the arts.[78] But the most impressive testimonial to her culture must be her enrolment by Callimachus among the Muses themselves.[79]

She was destined, however, for a life as dangerous as it was privileged and refined. Her father betrothed her at the age of 16 to Lysimachos, one of Alexander the Great's successors, 60 years old at the time. Following his death in battle, Arsinoë raised an army to secure thrones for the sons she had borne him. Until the era of the great Hellenistic queens, a woman at the head of armed forces was unheard of anywhere except in mythology or among barbarians. One thinks of the Amazon Penthesileia, who died in battle against Achilles at Troy, or of Artemisia, the Halikarnesian queen who fought for Xerxes against the Greeks.

Her second husband, Ptolemy Keraunos, was the son of her own half-sister. Keraunos means 'lightning bolt', and so he was, to judge from the speed with which he acted on his wedding day, tearing Arsinoë's younger sons from their mother's arms and killing them before her eyes. Arsinoë fled, first to the island of

[77] Theocritus 15. 110.

[78] See Cameron, 141–2. Theocritus 15 depicts her presiding, in the palace, over an elaborate display in honour of Adonis, including a pictorial tableau and poetic performance.

[79] *Ait.* 1, connecting text between lines 50 and 51 of the translation; *Ait.* 2, connecting text between lines 145 and 146.

Samothrace, then back to her home in Egypt where her brother, Ptolemy II, was now king.

Brother and sister were married sometime later, before 276 BC. A single line survives of a poem written by Callimachus to celebrate the occasion (392 Pf.): 'I begin to sing, stranger, of Arsinoë's wedding.' The phrasing suggests a hymnal proem, enabling us, perhaps, to hear the missing next phrase: 'I begin . . . *from the moment when* . . .' although, of course, we cannot imagine how it went on from there, if in fact it took such a turn. The address to the 'stranger' is also interesting. Presumably, members of the court were familiar with Arsinoë's recent past; an outsider might need filling in, opening the way for treatment of the queen's return to her homeland. He might also need to be made, in some delicate manner, sympathetic to the unusual character of this marriage, between brother and sister. We know that it was compared by others to the marriage of Zeus and Hera.[80]

However Callimachus celebrated the wedding, Arsinoë now becomes Arsinoë II Philadelphos,[81] her husband Ptolemy II Philadelphos. 'Philadelphos' means both 'sibling lover' and 'loving one's sibling'. The brother and sister pair were known, even during their lives, as the *Theoi Adelphoi*, 'Sibling Divinities'.[82]

It is the divine Arsinoë that we meet now. Callimachus had addressed the living queen at the end of *Aitia* 2, just before announcing that he would next cultivate poetry of a humbler sort. It was the *Iambi* that he had in mind; he could not have known, at the time, that Arsinoë would not live to read them. By an irony of fate that seems an irony of literary history as well, the lower form of poetry that he had told the living queen to expect

[80] Theocritus 17. 126–34 is encomiastic, Sotades fr. 16 Powell (*Collectanea*, p. 238), connected by Cameron (pp. 18–20) with Sotades fr. 1 Powell (*Collectanea*, p. 243), is satirically obscene.

[81] Historians quibble over exactly how much power Arsinoë wielded during her years as queen in Egypt (*c.*276–268 BC). The Egyptian sources for the period call her 'the female Pharaoh' and equate her with Isis.

[82] The precise balance between the sexual and the political in this union is, of course, unknown to us. Two relevant facts: no children were born to the brother–sister pair; Ptolemy had numerous mistresses, some of them famous.

from him took wing, partly in response to her death, and flew to heights it had never visited before. The transformation of the genre is well underway by *Iambus* 16, which describes her apotheosis.[83]

The inclusion of her deification among the *Iambi* is striking in itself. It borders on oxymoron to call the poem an elevated *iambus*, but so it is in such a collection. Callimachus makes it work, not only on its own merits but also in virtue of the position it occupies, following an *iambus* in which Apollo and Aphrodite are present, preceding another in which Apollo, with a kiss, turns a shepherd into a prophet.

These are characters from the end of the *Iambi*. The earlier poems feature a less exalted cast, closer to what we might expect of the genre. The poet in *Iambus* 3, for example, wins our sympathy at first. Indeed, readers have seen in him a portrait of Callimachus himself, as he was during his putative days of indigence, before the 'introduction to the king' mentioned in *Suidas*.[84] But as his complaint unfolds, his plight takes on a different colour. His inability to secure sexual favours from a youth whose mother sells them at too high a price for a poet to pay moves him in the end to regret his dedication to the Muses and its attendant poverty. So much for the high-mindedness he had professed in the beginning! A similar undercutting of the persona delivering the poem occurs in *Iambus* 5, where the 'friend' advises a pederastic schoolteacher to avoid erotic entanglements with his pupils. The only reason given for this laudable advice is the danger of getting caught.[85]

[83] Perhaps another indication (see the note to *Ia.* 14–17) that Pfeiffer's *Lyrica* (226–9 Pf.) were originally the last four poems in a collection of seventeen (not thirteen) *Iambi*. They fit nicely, at any rate, into a development that can be seen beginning with *Ia.* 8, which, as an epinician, would raise the tone of the sequence, if only momentarily; the scene rises to Olympus in *Ia.* 12; *Ia.* 13 engages in literary criticism, presenting Ion of Chios as the poet's model, replacing the earthier Hipponax of *Ia.* 1. The more pronounced rise in tone at *Ia.* 16, then, is not unprepared. The development cannot prove that the *Lyrica* belong among the *Iambi*, but it does make them seem at home there.

[84] See n. 19 above.

[85] C.'s homoeroticism is complex. On the biographical side, all we know is what *Suidas* tells us, that he married a woman from Syracuse. The longest of his surviving love poems (*Ait.* 3. 5) depicts the passion of a youth, Akontios, for a girl, Kydippe. Nearly all the homoerotic references in the *Iambi* are pejorative. But see, too, the note introducing the erotic epigrams (p. 294). Fraser (*Ptolemaic Alexandria*, i. 790–2) discussed the subject at

The poems are not, then, one-dimensional, like the *Iambi* of Hipponax, founder of the genre, whom Callimachus raises from the dead in the opening poem. To judge from the fragments we have, the original Hipponax had simply let his feelings out. They were what they were and nothing more, for all the colourfulness in which they were uttered. We hear no extra voice in Hipponax, as in Callimachus; he does not tempt us to view what he says in a different light, complicating what it means. And Hipponax's poems never formed part of a book in which the arrangement of individual *iambi* added still more for us to savour. Callimachus' *Iambi* are such a book.

So too is the later gathering of *Aitia*, with Queen Berenike II occupying the first poem of Book 3 and the last poem of Book 4. She was the daughter of Magas, a stepson of Ptolemy I. Magas had succeeded Ophellas as Ptolemy's agent in Cyrene, and like Ophellas he had tended to manage more or less on his own. The rupture was completed on the death of Ptolemy I, when Magas declared himself king of Cyrene. He even went so far as to lead his army against Egypt, but had to return without a fight because of a rebellion by the tribes to his west. For almost the entire duration of the second Ptolemy's reign (285–246 BC), Cyrene and Egypt went their separate ways. Before Magas died, however, he turned towards reconciliation with Egypt. His daughter, the young Berenike, would supply the means. He betrothed her to the son of Ptolemy II.

Like Arsinoë before her, Berenike did not walk easily into the palace in Alexandria and into marriage with the king of Egypt: she had to fight for her place there. She was, it seems, a fighter from the beginning, if we may judge from a passage in Hyginus, who paused a moment in his book on astrological matters to describe the queen whose lock of hair became a constellation in the sky. This is what he says:

Some, along with Callimachus, say that this Berenike was accustomed to raise horses and send them to the Olympic Games. Others say even more: that her father Ptolemy, stricken with terror by the multitude of

some length, more regretfully than the evidence then, or the times now, would seem to warrant. According to Green (*Alexander to Actium*, 182–3), C.'s homoeroticism was political.

his enemies, once sought safety in flight, but his daughter, as was her habit, leaped onto a horse and brought the rest of the army to a stand, killed several of the enemy herself, and drove the rest of them to flight, for which reason Callimachus called her 'great hearted'.[86]

We cannot tell what battles are meant here. Hyginus, vague in this matter, is mistaken in another: he gets the name of Berenike's father wrong, calling him Ptolemy instead of Magas. He may have been misled on this detail by Callimachus himself, who implies, in the opening lines of his epinician for Berenike, that she was the daughter of the previous Ptolemy on the throne.[87]

Hyginus also reports that Callimachus called Berenike 'great hearted' (*magnanimam*). Exactly the same Latin adjective appears in Catullus' translation of the 'Lock of Berenike'. The context here differs radically from the one adduced by Hyginus, having to do not with horses and battles but with marriage.[88] What we know of the events leading up to Berenike's wedding makes it easy to see why Callimachus admired her courage.

Magas, in making arrangements for Berenike's union with the future king of Egypt, did not take the feelings of his wife, Berenike's mother, Apama, into account. Upon his death, before the marriage had been finalized, Apama took matters into her own hands. She had another husband in mind for Berenike, 'Demetrius the Handsome', and sent for him immediately. He came, but things did not work out as Apama had planned. Demetrius took more interest in her than in her daughter, a fatal mistake, for the daughter was no ordinary girl. Word got out, also, of this unseemly affair between the widow of the late king and the fiancé of his daughter, and the rumour did not sit well with the army. Berenike herself trapped Apama and Demetrius in the bedroom together. From outside, she could tell that her mother was protecting Demetrius with her

[86] Hyginus, *Astronomica* 2. 24.

[87] See the note to *Ait.* 3. 1. 3–4. 'King Magas' and 'Berenike' appear but four lines apart in 388 Pf., a poem too poorly preserved to translate.

[88] *Ait.* 4. 17. 26–40. The rendering by Catullus refers vaguely to 'the noble deed by which you won a royal marriage, a deed to prove a man stronger than you, if another would dare it'. The mere glimpse that we get into the situation here may hint at the manner adopted by C. in dealing with Arsinoë's nuptials some twenty years before.

own body against the knives of the assassins admitted to dispatch him. Berenike shouted to them not to kill her mother, but only her treacherous lover. Having in this way restored the honour of the Cyrenaean royal household, she went on to become, as her father had wanted, the bride of Ptolemy III and queen of Egypt.[89]

The reunion of Egypt and Cyrene through the marriage of this young Cyrenaean princess must have meant something to the old Callimachus. He may well have spent his time, even since his own removal to Alexandria, between the two cities. His love of Cyrene certainly never abated. He expressed it most fully in the *Hymn to Apollo*, most intimately, perhaps, in a poem that does not survive, where he calls her 'my living mother'.[90] He wrote, too, a beautiful epigram lamenting the deaths of two noble Cyrenaean children (*Epigram* 32). Perhaps he had been involved in negotiations leading to the royal nuptials. It would not be the first time that a renowned Greek poet had performed a diplomatic service; the example of Simonides comes to mind.[91] We have seen that Callimachus may have had connections in both courts dating from his childhood.

But why imagine the diplomat when we can read the poet? The two large-scale elegies that he wrote for Berenike and placed at the beginning and end of his last two books of *Aitia* are among his most impressive and characteristic works. The first is an epinician for the queen's victory in the Nemean Games. Here the narrative takes its initial impulse from the example of Pindar, but Pindar never wrote like this. In Pindar, the function of narrative is usually to draw a parallel between the victor honoured in the poem and some figure from the heroic past. How, or even whether, Callimachus applied the myth of Heracles and the Nemean lion to Berenike's praises, we cannot tell; too little of the poem remains for that. But what does remain gives a glimpse of the freedom with which he drew on his heritage. The end

[89] The account is based on Justin 26. 3. Berenike herself fell victim to palace intrigue twenty years later. See the introductory remarks to *VS* (p. 168).

[90] 602 Pf.

[91] His intervention had averted a war between between the Sicilian tyrants Hieron and Theron.

product, even in its fragmentary state, is an epinician like no other.

The closing elegy of *Aitia* 4 is also a poem unique in its kind. Berenike's lock of hair, cut and dedicated in gratitude for the return of her new husband from battle, is given a voice and speaks throughout. If it were still in the temple where it had been deposited, the poem in which it explains itself would be but another dedicatory epigram. Addressing us from its new home among the stars, it has a long story to tell, a spectacular journey to describe, and plenty of opportunity, one would think, for putting Berenike's virtues on display. But these, we find, are largely left to be inferred. We hear, instead, how the lock feels on being sundered for ever from its mistress. Immortal now, a denizen of heaven, it would rather be mortal again, and still on the queen's head!

Berenike was a real person, so too the general and minister of state, Sosibios, for whom Callimachus wrote a victory song, fragments of which survive and are translated here. The majority of characters portrayed in *Aitia* 3–4 are imaginary but not, as Callimachus himself might insist, unattested:[92] he found them somewhere on his wanderings in the byways of mythology, off the beaten track, where Apollo had told him to go for his poems; he brought back personalities and fates that are often exotic and always interesting. Among the most memorable are the two lovers Akontios and Kydippe. Callimachus, in the guise of a grateful, at times fastidious reader of an old chronicle, tells us their story in the fifth poem of *Aitia* 3, where, incidentally, the longest and best preserved of all his fragments will be found. A similar profusion of personalities enriches the sixty-three *Epigrams*, nearly every one a drama in miniature, its characters drawn, this time, from the motley world of Hellenistic Egypt and beyond.

Amid all these personalities, it is the shifting persona of the poet himself that exerts the most fascination. We do not often find him without some mask on—the artist's mask, not the bandit's; meant to reveal, not to hide. Even when he seems to be

[92] 'I sing of nothing unattested' (612 Pf.). We have no context for this utterance.

taking it off, giving us a glimpse of his face, we find it was only to put on another. One such tantalizing moment occurs in a passage near the opening of *Aitia* 2, where, of all things, he happens to be revealing one of his aetiological sources. The passion of the man comes out, engaging, civilized, happy. The best thing about the party he went to, he says, was the conversation (49–55):

> For what I put on my head at the time—
> expensive auburn ointments, fragrant garlands—
> faded on the spot, and the food
> that went between my teeth
> and into my ingrate belly, of that too
> nothing remained in the morning:
> what I put
> in my ears alone stays with me still

A Note on Translating Callimachus

All ancient poets are 'formalists', but some pay more attention to form than others, and Callimachus is second to none in this respect. This creates both challenges and opportunities for a translator, who must, when faced with some striking instance of formal perfection, decide whether to reproduce, approximate, or abandon it in despair.

A good example of the reproducible variety is the sixth *Hymn*, which opens with a ritual setting, progresses to a long narrative, then returns to the ritual setting. The opening and closing panels take 23 lines of Greek apiece, a total of 46. The narrative enclosed between these panels runs for exactly double that number of lines. Forty-six lines of ritual frame, equally divided between opening and closing, with 92 lines of mythical narrative in the centre: not likely the result of chance.[1] A translator's responsibility would seem to consist first in noticing the symmetry, secondly in doing something about it.[2]

Perfection on so large a scale does not pose much of a problem. Far more difficult, indeed all but impossible to transpose, is the perfection achieved in virtue of qualities peculiar to the source language, but alien to the target one. Greek and Latin are both highly inflected; English much less so. In Greek and Latin, meaning is indicated primarily by the form of words, secondarily by their position. The opposite obtains in English. Consequently, a Greek or a Roman poet had a good deal more freedom in placing his words: he could arrange them like pieces in a mosaic, to produce purely decorative patterns or patterns that reinforce, amplify, or even play against what the words themselves mean. The effects achieved are often observable on a

[1] Hopkinson, *Demeter*, 11.

[2] The numbers are different, the proportions the same, in my rendering. For another example, see on *H.* 2. 75–116, 92–9.

tiny scale, sometimes no more than a sentence or a clause. A single example may suffice.

Among the *Epigrams* of Callimachus are several that are famous, and justly so. Perhaps the most moving is the one he addressed to his dead friend, the poet Herakleitos of Halikarnesos (*Epigram* 34). Another, remarkable for its intricate beauty, is the one he wrote for Selenaie, the young girl who dedicated her nautilus shell to Arsinoë as Aphrodite of Zephyrion (*Epigram* 14). With these epigrams in front of them, and others either charming or biting or ingenious in one way or another, readers are not likely to pause very long over this one (*Epigram* 46):

> Philip here has put away his child,
> his great hope, Nikoteles, aged twelve.

It does not seem like much, in English; in Greek it is a good deal more. It says something amenable, more or less, to paraphrase; the problem for a translator is that, in Greek, it goes on speaking after that. I am not referring here to musicality or wit, the usual qualities lost in translation, but to something else, that is not heard, even in the original, but seen.

Here is the Greek text, transliterated:

> dodekete ton paida pater apetheke Philippos
> enthade, ten pollen elpida Nikotelen.

Substituting English equivalents for each of the words and keeping them in their original order yields the following:

> Twelve-years-old the child father has-put-away Philip
> here, the great hope, Nikoteles.

Translating the syntax, now, as well as the words, we have:

> The father, Philip, has put away his twelve-year-old child
> here, his great hope, Nikoteles.

Normal English puts the subject first, then the verb, then the object: Philip has buried Nikoteles. Things are different in the Greek. The name of the child being buried does appear at the end, but the name of the father burying him is not at the beginning.

The two characters in the drama occupy, instead, the climactic positions in each of the two lines, one acting (in the nominative case) and the other being acted upon (in the accusative case). To illustrate:

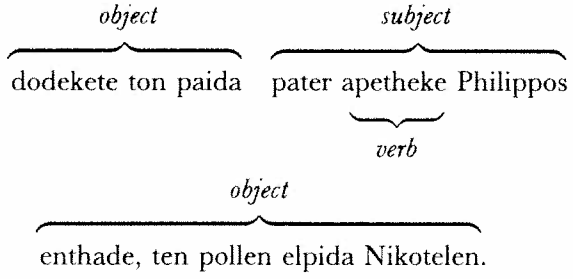
> Dodekete ton paida pater apetheke Philippos
> └ father's name (*subject*)
> enthade, ten pollen elpida, Nikotelen.
> └ son's name (*object*)

The disposition of the names lends a certain elegance to the poem. Nor is this an isolated touch: the epigram is full of similar patterns and figures.

Take, for example, the last three words of the first line. Occurring after the caesura, they stand rhythmically on their own. Syntactically, though, they are incomplete, consisting only of a subject and a verb. The subject is in two parts, a noun, *pater*, and a name in apposition to it, *Philippos*. In English, the meaning is 'the father . . . Philip', and the words must be uttered together. In Greek, they can be separated, as they are here: the verb governed by the subject (*apetheke*, 'has put away') is placed *between* its two components. The subject, then, encloses the verb:

> *subject*
> ⌒
> pater apetheke Philippos
> ⌣
> *verb*

The object, like the subject, has a name in apposition to it: 'the father . . . Philip' is matched by 'the child . . . Nikoteles'. But, unlike Philip, Nikoteles has more than one word describing him: he has eight, three placed before the unit containing the subject, and five placed after it, filling the entire second line down to his name:



The poem resembles a diamond whose facets multiply and repeat themselves as we turn it in the light. The subject ('the father . . . Philip') encloses the verb, the object ('the twelve-year-old child . . . here, his great hope, Nikoteles') encloses both. Syntax renders the external situation: a father is burying his son; the placing of words on the page mirrors the internal one, the *emotional* reality. The enclosure of the subject by the object tells us, without so much as a word, that the father performing the burial is buried in his grief.[3]

What is a translator to do when faced with effects like these? In the best of worlds, the answer would be: produce something recognizable as a poem, write, in other words, a real English epigram, achieving effects in English which, if not the same as those achieved in the original, yet retain something of its emotional intensity, aesthetic economy, and immediacy of recognition as a poem in its own right. The most obvious of these criteria are met, I suppose, in a version like this:

> His son dead at twelve, he put him here
> And felt his hopes all disappear.

The names are gone, but they could be added in a note, where so much else (alas!) has had to be supplied. The names, however, are not the only problem. There is another, harder to acknowledge: going in pursuit of 'a real English epigram' may have led to something tolerable here, but doing so in every

[3] Artificiality and sincerity still have a hard time keeping company in the critical intelligence. N. Hopkinson (*A Hellenistic Anthology* (Cambridge, 1988), 246–7), impressed by the formal qualities of the epigram, remarked that the situation it depicts might be fictional. Ferguson (*Callimachus*, 144) called it 'perfection in miniature' and went on to give it a grotesque interpretation (147).

instance would surely have produced more bad epigrams than good translations, and I cannot see who would benefit from that. Certainly not readers who want to know what Callimachus said. Whatever poetry there is in the translations that follow belongs, I hope, to Callimachus. If any of it is mine, my excuse would be that he moved me to it.

Bibliography

P. Bing, *The Well-Read Muse: Present and Past in Callimachus and the Hellenistic Poets* (Göttingen, 1988).

A. Bulloch, *Callimachus: The Fifth Hymn* (Cambridge, 1985).

Cambridge Ancient History, vii, pt. 1: *The Hellenistic World*, 2nd edn., ed. F. W. Walbank, A. E. Astin, M. W. Frederiksen, and R. M. Ogilvie (Cambridge, 1984).

A. Cameron, *Callimachus and his Critics* (Princeton, 1995).

J. Ferguson, *Callimachus* (Boston, 1980).

P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1972).

A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1965).

P. Green, *Alexander to Actium* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1990).

A. Hollis, *Callimachus: Hecale* (Oxford, 1990).

—— 'Teuthis in Callimachus' Aetia', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 92 (1992), 115–17.

N. Hopkinson, *Callimachus: Hymn to Demeter* (Cambridge, 1984).

—— *A Hellenistic Anthology* (Cambridge, 1988).

L. Koenen, W. Luppe, and V. Pagán, 'Explanations of Callimachean *aitia*', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 88 (1991), 157–64.

M. Lefkowitz, *The Lives of the Greek Poets* (Baltimore, 1981).

W. Mineur, *Callimachus, Hymn to Delos: Introduction and Commentary* (Leiden, 1984).

P. Parsons, 'Callimachus: *Victoria Berenices*', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 25 (1977), 1–50.

R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship: From the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford, 1968).

J. U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina* (Oxford, 1925).

Supplementum Hellenisticum, ed. H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons (Berlin, 1983).

R. Thomas, 'Callimachus, the *Victoria Berenices*, and Roman Poetry', *Classical Quarterly* 33 (1983), 92–113.

U. von Wilawowitz-Möllendorff, *Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1924).

F. Williams, *Callimachus: Hymn to Apollo* (Oxford, 1978).

The Poems of Callimachus

Hekale

The main episode of Callimachus' poem was the encounter between the young Athenian hero Theseus and the old woman Hekale. Ancient readers would have been familiar with the legend of Theseus' birth and early exploits, recounted or alluded to at various points in the narrative. The basic outline is as follows:

Theseus, born and raised in Troizen, had never met his father, Aigeus, the king of Athens, nor had his father ever seen him. Aigeus had made love to Aithra, the daughter of Pittheus, and had set out for Athens from Troizen, leaving behind a sword and a pair of sandals hidden under a stone, with instructions to Aithra that, in the event she gave birth to a boy, she should send him to Athens when he grew up. The sword and the sandals would serve as proofs of his identity.

In the mean time Medea had come to Athens and was living in the palace when Theseus arrived from Troizen, having killed a number of brigands on the way. Viewing the king's son, whom she alone recognized, as a threat to her ascendancy, Medea persuaded Aigeus to poison him.

The *Diegesis* reads:

> Having escaped the attempt on his life by Medea, Theseus was being carefully guarded by his father Aigeus, who had not expected the youth's sudden arrival from Troizen. In his desire, however, to go forth and overcome the bull ravaging the country around Marathon, Theseus, though under restraint, left the house in secret at about evening. Caught in a sudden downpour, he noticed a small house at the foot of the mountains: it belonged to a certain Hekale, an old woman, who received him as her guest. Next morning, Theseus rose at dawn and left for the country. When he had conquered the bull, he returned to Hekale's and found that she had died suddenly. Complaining that he had been cheated of his hopes, he performed after her death what [he had had in mind] to provide in return for her hospitality: he organized a deme which he named after her, and established a precinct of Zeus 'Hekaleios'.

The papyrus containing the *Diegesis* also preserves the opening line:

1
Once, in the uplands of Erechtheus, lived
an Attic woman

The second fragment strikes the principal theme, the old woman's hospitality. There is no way of telling what fell between the opening line and these two, if in fact they belong here:

2
and all travellers honoured her
for her graciousness: she kept her house unlocked

A few fragments apparently from early in the poem refer to Theseus' problems with Medea, mentioned in the opening sentence of the *Diegesis*. This one describes her recognition of Theseus:

3
but she realized
that he was Aigeus's son

Next come what appear to be the words spoken by Aigeus when he discovered, in the nick of time, that the youth he was about to poison was his own son. He has probably caught sight of the sword or the sandals, or both:

4
Wait a minute, Son! Don't touch that drink

Fragment 5 may have followed soon after. Aigeus says to Theseus:

5
I never thought you'd come

Either now in a kind of flashback or at some earlier point in the poem, Callimachus seems to have dealt with the birth and childhood of the great hero. The sword, the sandals, and the stone under which they were hidden appear in the next fragment:

6
For in Troizen under a hollow rock
he had put it with the sandals

Fragment 7 evidently preserves something of what Aigeus had said to Aithra before departing for Athens:

7
When the boy is able to lift up in his arms
the hollow stone, let him take the sword
forged in Aidepsos

Years later, Theseus raises the stone and finds

8
the sandals, unrotted by abundant moisture

According to Pausanias (1. 27. 7), Heracles visited Troizen and saw Theseus at the age of 7. Callimachus may have included that episode in his reminsicences of the childhood of Theseus; or perhaps someone else said of him

9
Clearly, this is no ordinary boy

Another fragment seems to recall Theseus' passage from a boy with his 'hair still uncut' (14 Ho.) to a youth about to embark on his first adventure, a trip to Delphi to dedicate the lock of his hair, now cut for the first time:

10
A child, you cut your hair to the skin

The ensuing fragments prepare the way for Theseus' encounter with Hekale. Theseus, eager to resume his heroic career, has heard of the plight of the people living around Marathon: an enormous bull is destroying their fields. The following fragment may come from a plea to his father (who wants to keep him safely at home) to let him go to Marathon,

11
where it was wreaking havoc

The plea continues in the next fragment, in which Theseus directly addresses his father's concerns:

12

So let me go, Father: you'll get me back safely

Aigeus was not persuaded. As we know from the *Diegesis*, Theseus had to slip out of the palace late in the day. The next fragment, describing a sudden change of weather, sets the stage for the meeting with Hekale, in whose house the young hero will seek shelter:

13

As long, then, as it was still broad day
and the earth was warm, so long
the dazzling sky beamed brighter than glass
and not a wisp of cloud drifted below,
the heavens spread cloudless . . .
but at the time when girls look to their mothers
for their evening meal, and take
their hands from their work, at that time . . .
first above Parnes, then further on
over the summit of thymy Aigaleos, it stood,
bringing a great downpour:
and twice as much . . .
of rugged Hymettos, and the air darkened,
lightning flashed . . .
As when, whirled . . .
over the Ausonian sea . . .
and from Merisos, the swift squall of Boreas
pounces on the clouds . . .

Theseus was not the only one caught in the storm, if the next two fragments belong to this part of the narrative. The first evidently describes a bird alighting, perhaps to take refuge. The poet sees it

14

bend its delicate knee

The second shows us other creatures responding to the sudden change in the weather:

15

and lizards took to their lairs

How Callimachus moved from the scene described in fragments 13–15 to the meeting between Theseus and Hekale we do not know. He may have turned to Hekale first, depicting her, like the animals, sensing the approach of the storm. She observes a sign, the behaviour of her lamp:

16

when snuff thickens
on the wick of a burning lamp, sputtering

We come now to the meeting of Theseus and Hekale. One fragment consists of a mere two words, the 'small house', evidently Hekale's, spotted by Theseus as the storm descends (26 Ho.). Even more scantily preserved is the actual entry of the hero into the house. The verb 'leaned' in one fragment (27 Ho.) refers, perhaps, to Theseus putting down his club. The same fragment contains the word 'sandals'. It is tempting to combine this with another, better preserved, to get the following picture, of Theseus inside the hut:

17

[he undid] his sandals and shook off his wet cloak

The next eight fragments describe Hekale's entertainment of her guest. Sometime after his entry, she

18

sat him down upon a couch

To make the couch (a humble piece of furniture) more comfortable, she provides it with padding:

19

a scanty rag, stripped from her bed
and shaken out

Once the guest is comfortably seated, the hostess proceeds to wash his feet and serve him dinner. Fire would be necessary both to warm the water and prepare the meal. Two fragments refer to the wood required:

20

she fetched down logs stacked long ago

21

dry wood . . . for splitting

Another depicts the end result:

22

Quickly, then, she removed the boiling pot

We then see her in the process of washing her guest's feet:

23

She poured it out, and drew more warm water

Now comes the meal:

24

She took from the bread bin and set before him
a generous helping of loaves, the kind
women cook deep in pits of ash for herdsmen

The bread seems to have been dark, made of

25

. . . . . .

cheap flour, the bran unsifted by the mill-woman

It was followed soon after by

. . . . . .

ripe and unripe olives, and the ones she'd put away
last autumn, to float, white, in the brine

From the Roman writer Pliny we learn that Hekale also served Theseus 'samphire' (38 Ho.) and 'sow thistle' (39 Ho.).

The meal over, we would expect the hostess to ask her guest who he is and where he is going. The next fragment preserves the end of what seems to have been a rather brief response by Theseus to such a question. The (feminine) 'guide' he refers to must be his divine patroness Athena. He ends by asking Hekale to tell him something about herself and her family:

26

'. . . I am going down to Marathon to . . .
. . . my guide on the way

. . . as you have asked me, Grandmother
. . . so I desire to hear a little something of you
. . . [why] you live, an old woman, in an isolated
[country] . . . family.'

Somewhere in a gap of about 32 lines between the end of fragment 26 and the beginning of fragment 28 we have what seems to be the opening of Hekale's reply:

27

'Why awaken a sleeping sorrow?
My poverty is not ancestral, my grandfathers
did not make me poor: would to god,
would to god I had one third

When the next fragment begins, Hekale has been talking for some 30 lines. This and the next three fragments come from the early part of her story, her days of prosperity. All of them recall her first encounter with her future husband, whom she would seem to have just mentioned in the line or two preceding:

28

'I was watching over my threshing floor,
trod round by oxen, when he came driving
from Aphidnai . . . looking like . . . sons of Zeus . . .
I remember his beautiful . . .
robe, the work of spiders, studded
with golden brooches, and underneath
he wore a chiton reaching to the ground

29

'and his hair came down long
in curls of the deepest blond

In the next fragment, Hekale might be noticing a similarity between the young Theseus, to whom she is speaking, and the young man her husband was the day she met him:

30

'somehow his cheeks too had a rich new growth
of down upon them, a bloom like helichryse

One further detail survives:

31

'he had a felt hat on, a new one
from Haimonia, surrounding his head, to guard
against the noonday heat

The next three fragments cover fifty lines of Hekale's life story, 20 in the first, 10 in the second, 20 in the third. Most of the lines, however, are too scantily preserved to render here. All three fragments deal with the change in Hekale's fortunes.

The first describes a sea voyage. It may come from Hekale's account of her husband's death:

32

'
. . . aboard ship . . .
to bring horses from minty Eurotas,
. . . wave . . .
. . . Cape Ma]lea, where . . .
. . . for he had set sail
as a shearwater winged its way by . . .
may [I] never . . .
or anyone who wishes me [well . . .
[set sail under auspices like that] . . .

In the next fragment, Hekale describes raising her two sons:

33

'I reared them on delicacies, and no one was
so . . . [favoured in] family [as they],
[not even those who] . . . abound in wealth
. . . in steaming hot baths they bathed
. . . when I bore my children:
they shot up like aspens by a mountain stream
. . . surpassing in stature
. . . they grew
[but even then Death] . . . had an eye on them

The next fragment opens with Hekale lamenting the death of someone. The few letters left of line 1 in the papyrus may refer to a first son, an 'older' one. She goes on to lament having lived long enough to see the death of yet another ('you too'), most likely a second, younger one. Further down she mentions the villain Kerkyon, who challenged passers-by to a wrestling match and killed the losers. He was evidently responsible for the death of Hekale's younger child:

34

'
Did I refuse to listen when Death
called me long ago, that I might tear
my chiton over you too not long after?
Kerk[yon . . . in wrestling bouts . . .
. . . of the city, who fled
Arcadia and settled here,
a bad neighbour to me
May I stick thorns in his shameless eyes
and him alive to feel it, then eat him raw
myself, if it is permitted

Hekale may have added, at or near this point in her tale:

35

'Gladly would I die, knowing that he's dead!

The next few fragments apparently continue the story of Hekale's misfortunes. One may glance back at an earlier period, before they began:

36

'An evil fate led me from Kolonai
to share the hearth of

Tantalizing references to 'kings' have occurred at various points in the earlier fragments, too poorly preserved to translate. In yet another such reference, these 'kings' appear responsible not only for Hekale's plight but for that of her neighbours as well:

37

'All night long we blame our kings
for the miseries we suffer: they've divided
all we have at home among themselves'

Hekale's story is either over or nearing its end in the next two fragments, the first of which is clearly in the poet's voice:

38

She shed a bitter tear

The second may be spoken by Hekale herself, apologizing for the length of her story:

39

'An old woman's lips are ever wandering'

Hekale's life story has now been told. Theseus' response to it may have taken its cue from her wish to avenge herself on Kerkyon (fragments 34–5), for the wish presumes that the murderous wrestler is still alive. But Kerkyon is dead, killed by Theseus on his way from Troizen to Athens. He had faced an equally cruel brigand just before, Skeiron, who forced passers-by to wash his feet; while they were busy with that, he kicked them over a precipice, into the jaws of a giant tortoise. We know that Callimachus mentioned Skeiron, probably in *Hekale* (59 Ho., 296 Pf.), though we cannot be certain at what point. He might have figured earlier in the poem, with Theseus' other youthful adventures (fragments 3–12); or the following fragment, in which, according to Hollis (pp. 210–11), Theseus makes as if to wash Skeiron's feet, may belong here, in the account of his exploits to Hekale. We seem to hear him quoting himself in conversation with Skeiron, pretending to co-operate, his real intention being to seize the monster by his feet a moment later and hurl him to his death:

40

'"Tell me, into which vessel
should I pour the water for bathing your feet,
and where should I get it?"'

The next fragment describes the place where Kerkyon killed his victims (Hekale's children among them) and where, presumably, Theseus gave him what he deserved:

41

inhospitable
wrestling grounds, reeking in blood and gore

The conversation over, hostess and guest retire for the night. Hekale says to Theseus:

42

'I'll lie within; I've a bed made for myself there.'

Morning has come:

43

when she saw that he too had risen

The next fragment gives us our last glimpse of Hekale, perhaps on her way out of the house, to say goodbye to Theseus. Callimachus talks to her directly:

44

You looked fine in your shepherd's hat, made
of felt, its brim reaching far around your head,
and in your hand a shepherd's stick

The two now part, Theseus to face the bull of Marathon, Hekale to die that same day.

The next few fragments deal with the bull of Marathon. The first is a line quoted in a letter of Cicero, without mention of author or title. It may well describe the bull facing Theseus,

45

vainly venting the rage in its horns on the air

We then have Theseus

46

forcing the beast's deadly horn down

Plutarch tells us that, after subduing the bull, Theseus drove it through Athens on display. Callimachus pictures man and bull together in the Attic countryside:

47

the one dragged, the other followed,
a reluctant traveller

The next fragment comes from a different source but may have been joined originally with the preceding one. Putting them together yields the following picture, of Theseus and the bull on their way to Athens and the country people reacting to the sight of them:

48

the one dragged, the other followed,
a reluctant traveller with a single horn—
the club had smashed the other. They saw
and trembled, and no one dared
look massive man or monstrous beast
in the eye, till Theseus' great voice
reached them from the distance: 'Don't
be afraid! Don't run away! Let someone go—
your fastest runner—to town with the news
for my father, Aigeus: how relieved
he'll be to hear it! "It's Theseus,
Theseus! He'll be here soon
from watery Marathon, the bull with him,
alive, on a leash."'
'Hië paiëon!'
they cried in response, and waited
till he came, and as he passed they pelted him
with leaves, more plentiful than those
the south wind strews
or the north wind, blowing in the month
when the leaves fall—the men from the fields
crowded round him in a circle, and the women
. . . flung their sashes over him . . .

It is possible that the women sang a hymn of praise at this point, and that the following fragment quotes them directly:

49

Gather round and hear me sing, women,
of Aithra, who bore a noble son.

Some 22 lines are missing between the end of fragment 48 and the beginning of fragment 50. Callimachus must have packed a good deal of matter into the missing lines, for by the start of the next fragment the scene has changed completely: the acclamation of Theseus has come to an end, he has proceeded to Athens, Hekale has died, and day has changed to night.

Two birds, both female, are now conversing in a tree. One is certainly a crow, the other possibly an owl. The crow has been speaking for some time, advising her interlocutor against taking bad news to someone, presumably Theseus. It is hard to imagine what bad news might be on her mind at this point, if not Hekale's death. The old woman may have prayed to die after learning of Kerkyon's death (fragment 35), and she may have learned of it just the day before (connecting text directly above fragment 41). Apart from that, everything has been going well up to this point for Theseus. Finding Hekale dead on his return will be his one disappointment.

The old crow reinforces her warning by telling a story in which she herself had brought an unwelcome message, to no less a person than Athena. It had happened eight generations earlier (crows traditionally lived nine human generations), in the time of Kekrops, the first king of Athens.

Hephaistos, in love with Athena, had pursued her once but only got so far as to sprinkle her thigh with his seed. The goddess, using a piece of wool, wiped it off and flung it to the ground. Earth took the seed in and bore a child, Erichthonios, whose name, fancifully derived from *erion* ('wool') and *chthon* ('earth'), reflects his origin. We hear from a scholion to *Iliad* 2. 547 that Callimachus told this story in the *Hekale*, though in what way and at what length we cannot determine. The 'etymology', at least, would be characteristic of him. He is also likely to have adapted the narration to the persona of the narrator: the old crow, having already offended Athena on an earlier occasion, would be wary of offending her again by dwelling on the grosser details.

The rest of the story, as told by Antigonus of Carystus, runs as follows: Athena, having hidden Erichthonios in a basket together with a pair of serpents, entrusted the basket to the three daughters of Kekrops, with the warning not to open it before she returned; she then left for Pallene to get a mountain for her new city.

All these details figure in the next fragment, near the end of which Callimachus alludes to something that had occurred still deeper in the past, the contest between Athena and Poseidon for possession of the city that would one day be Athens. Kekrops, evidently in serpent form,

bore witness to Athena's achievement (the creation of the olive tree) and so secured her the victory.

The extremely fragmentary opening lines may refer to the time when the crow enjoyed Athena's favour.

50

. . . . . .
the gods . . . . . Pallas
whose . . . for a long time I . . .
until the time when . . .
to the daughters of Kekrops . . .
secret, unutterable—his birth
I neither knew nor discovered . . .
[but, news reached] the birds, that Earth—
wouldn't you know it?—
had borne him to Hephaistos. Athena
was off, at the time, in Achaian Pallene,
fetching a bulwark for her town, won
by vote of Zeus
and the other twelve immortals, and confirmed
by the serpent's witness: then it was
the girls who guarded it conceived
their wicked plan . . . undid
the basket [latches] . . .

The crow, Athena's favourite bird at the time, had observed the girls opening the basket and had flown off to inform her of their disobedience. The next two fragments describe the encounter between Athena on her way back to Athens with the mountain on her shoulders, and the crow eager to deliver her report:

51

With a great chunk of Mount Hypsizoros
hoisted aloft, she was on her way to the town
when I met her, by the beautiful
ever-gleaming grounds of Lycean Apollo.

The goddess dropped her burden, pleased neither with the message nor the messenger:

52

She turned livid and fired a glance
aside, from under her brows, [at me]

Very little is legible in the opening lines of the next fragment. The old crow apostrophizes Athena, expressing, perhaps, a wish not to anger the goddess even further. Her punishment, banishment from the acropolis, may be on her mind, together with her replacement by the owl in Athena's affections.

53

. . . . . .
. . . May I never . . . your temper, Lady
. . . evil signs aplenty. Light-winged birds
would never . . . I wish I hadn't then . . .
So [it was that she exalted] your [race]
and put down mine . . .
But may you never fall
from favour! Athena's anger always
comes down hard.
But I
was a tiny chick then, [eight] generations ago . . .
. . . . . .

There are approximately 11 lines missing between this and the next fragment. We now discover why the crow considers Hekale's death bad news: the old woman used to feed her. After a number of gaps, we have 19 lines of Greek in a state of almost perfect preservation. The crow launches into a passionate prophecy, balancing the story of her own mistake in the past with the prediction of a similar mistake to be made by the raven in the future.

54

'May I only manage to keep dread hunger
from my belly!
. . . . . .
But Hekale . . .
. . . . . .
a porridge dripping groats of barley
to the ground

. . . [Ah,] you'll get no [thanks
for your au]dacity! . . .
. . . bringer of bad tidings. I hope
you're still alive then, so you may know
what inspiration the Thriai infuse
into this old crow! By the divine—
not yet have all the days (by this
shrivelled hide of mine, this
tree, dried out though it is), not yet
have all the suns
set foot in the west, scuttling
pole and axle: but there will come
an evening or a night or a noon or a dawn
when the raven, who now contends
with swans and milk and foam on the wave's crest
for whiteness of complexion, will don a plumage
gloomy, black as pitch, his messenger fee,
paid him by Phoibos when he blurts
his ugly tidings out: *Koronis, daughter
of Phlegyas, has taken up with Ischys,
breaker of horses.*' Sleep fell upon her
talking thus, and upon her listening.
But the two didn't sleep for long, for suddenly
it came, the chilly breath of dawn,
when the hands of thieves leave off
groping for prey: morning lamps light up,
someone drawing water at a well lets loose
his water-drawing song, a man whose hut
hugs the road wakes to the squeal
of wagon wheels, and gathering thick
and fast, there's the nuisance
. . . of blacksmiths asking for a light . . .

We have only a few fragments that can be assigned with certainty to the end of the poem. The crow evidently succeeded in persuading the other bird not to take the news of Hekale's death to Theseus, for in the next fragment Theseus appears not to know who has just been buried. He asks Hekale's neighbours, on his return,

55

Whose tomb have you raised here?

The next fragment may come from Theseus' eulogy of her:

56

Go, gentlest of women, along
the road heart-breaking pains travel not.
. . . . . Often of you,
Mother, . . . your hospitable hut
will come to mind, a place where all could rest

Plutarch (*Theseus* 14) tells us that Hekale's neighbours gave her the nickname 'Hekaline'. The next fragment may refer to their use of it in their own eulogy of her:

57

For that's the name
the villagers round about used to call her by.

The context may be different, however: we know from the *Diegesis* and from other sources that Theseus established a deme in Hekale's honour and dedicated a grove sacred to 'Zeus Hekaleios'; he also enjoined the people to celebrate a banquet every year, perhaps commemorating the humble meal Hekale had served him in her cottage. The people may have called her 'Hekaline' not in a eulogy at her funeral but repeatedly ever after, when summoning her to join them in that banquet, called in our final fragment

58

the yearly feast of the Hekaleia.

Hymns

HYMN 1: TO ZEUS

Zeus—what better theme when toasting him
than the god himself, ever great, ever lord,
who put the Pelagonians to flight and gave
justice to the sons of Uranos? But *how* are we
to sing of him? As Diktaian, or Lykaian?
I hesitate between the two: each
has its champions. Zeus, they say you were born
on the heights of Ida, and then again, Zeus,
in Arcadia: which ones, Father, are lying?
Cretans are always liars. Yes, Cretans
have even fabricated a tomb for you,
but you never died: you are for ever.
In Parrhasia, then, on a hill
ringed in deep underbrush, Rhea bore you—
and that is why the place is sacred
to this day: no pregnant beast, no woman
on the point of giving birth ever
violates it, though Apidaneans call it
Rhea's primordial childbed. Here, when your mother
had brought you forth and set you down
from her deep lap, she cast about for a stream
of water, to wash away the stains of birth
and bathe your limbs. But the wide Ladon
was not flowing yet, nor the Erymanthos,
purest of rivers; no, all of Azenis
still lay waterless: it would be known
for its waters in time to come. But then,
when Rhea loosed her belt, the moist Iaon lifted
many an old oak tree into the air

and the Melas carried many a wagon, and though
the Karion runs today, many a viper
pitched its lair upon it then, and a man would walk
over the Krathis and the pebbled Metope
thirsting, though plenty of water lay below.
So in her distress the Lady Rhea cried,
'Earth, be a mother too: you find it
easy enough.' The goddess spoke,
raised her mighty arm, and struck the mountain
with her staff. It split, and from the huge
chasm burst a mighty stream. She washed
your body in it, Lord, and swathed you,
and gave you to Neda, to bring
into a Cretan hiding place, to be reared
in secret (she was eldest of the Nymphs
who had helped her bear you, eldest
but for Styx and Philyra). And the goddess
sealed her thanks, naming that stream
the Neda, after her: and now, not far from where
the Kaukones keep their citadel, Lepreion
as they call it, she bursts into the sea,
and in her ageless waters
the descendants of the Lykaonian she-bear
quench their thirst.
When the nymph had left
Thenai behind (the Thenai, that is, near Knossos),
carrying you, Father Zeus, towards Knossos,
there, Lord, your navel cord dropped to earth—
now, ever after, the Kydonians call
the place it fell the Omphalian Plain.
The partners of the Kyrbantes, the Ash Nymphs
of Dikte, also took you into their arms,
Zeus, and Adresteia cradled you
in a golden winnowing fan, and you sucked
rich goat's milk from the udder
of Amaltheia, and ate of the honeycomb too.
For at that time all of a sudden
the Panakridian bee's produce materialized

on the heights of Ida, called today Panakra.
And round about you the Kouretes danced
a rapid wardance, clashing their arms
so Kronos' ears would catch the rattle
of their shields but miss your baby cries.
Raised in abundance, in no time at all
you shot, heavenly Zeus, into a youth, and down
quickly whiskered your cheeks. But though you were young
your thoughts were full of years. And that is why
your brothers, older than you, did not grumble
when you took heaven for your special home.
The ancient poets, however, had no regard
for truth at all: they said that lots decided
their homes for the gods three ways, but who
would draw lots over Olympus and Hades—who
but someone completely naïve? It makes sense
to draw for equal shares: here
they are as far apart as they could be.
May the lies *I* tell have the charm
of plausibility! It was not chance
that made you King of Gods, but the deeds
of your hands, the might, the power
you stationed by your throne. You chose
far the most prominent of birds
to be the bearer of your signs
(send my friends propitious ones!). You picked
the greatest of men to favour: not for you
the master mariner, the wielder of arms,
or even the poet: you simply left
other matters for other, smaller gods
to attend to, and took into your care
the rulers of cities, under whose hand
is the farmer, the spearman, the rower,
and everything: what doesn't fall
under the ruler's might? Smiths, for example,
belong, in our songs, to Hephaistos,
warriors to Ares, hunters to Artemis Chitone,

and those skilled in the lyre's moods to Phoibos.
But 'Kings are from Zeus', for there is nothing
godlier than Zeus' lords. Kings, then,
are your choice. You gave them cities to protect
and sat down on the cities' heights to see
which ones guided their people
with crooked judgements, which with straight.
You poured riches upon them
and prosperity enough. On all, but not
the same amounts. We can infer as much
from our lord's case, for he outstrips them all
by far. By evening he completes
what he conceived at dawn (his greatest plans
by evening, his smaller ones at once). Others
take a year for this, several years for that,
while for others you yourself utterly
deny accomplishment and crush desire.
Farewell, Son of Kronos, high above all,
Giver of good, Giver of security. Who
could sing of your achievements? He hasn't
been born, he won't be: sing
of Zeus' achievements?
Farewell, Father,
again farewell. Give us
virtue and wealth. Prosperity
knows not how to lift men high
without virtue, nor virtue without wealth:
give us virtue and prosperity together!

HYMN 2: TO APOLLO

How Apollo's laurel sapling shook, how the whole
temple shook with it! Back, *back*, all who have sinned!
The doors are rattling: it must be
Apollo striking them with his gleaming foot.
Can't you see? All of a sudden
the Delian palm nodded with joy, and now

the swan is singing, high in the air, his lovely song.
Up now, bars, swing free of the gates!
Let them go, bolts: the god is no longer distant.
And you, young men, begin the singing and dancing.
Not on everyone, but only on the noble
shines Apollo's light. He who has seen the god
is great, he who hasn't is of no account.
We will see you, Lord who shoot from afar,
and never be of no account! Let the boys
keep the lyre thrumming, keep their feet
beating the ground as Apollo steps
into their midst, if they are to marry
and attain old age one day, if the wall
is to remain standing on its ancient foundations.
Nice work, boys: the tortoise is no longer sluggish!
Silence, as you listen to Apollo's song!
Silence falls upon the sea when singers glorify
lyre or bow, implements of Lykoreian Phoibos.
The wail of Thetis crying for Achilles
dies when *hië paiëon, hië paiëon* reaches her ears.
Even the weeping rock lets go her grief,
the stone in Phrygia fixed, alive, for ever—
marble now, a woman before, gaping in sorrow.
Sing *hië hië*! It's bad to contend with gods.
The man who contends with gods would contend
with my king. The man who contends with my king
would contend with Apollo. Apollo will honour
my chorus: it sings to his liking.
His is the power, who sits at the right hand
of Zeus. And the chorus will sing of Phoibos
not for a mere day, not straining for a theme:
who finds it hard to sing of Phoibos?
Gold is Apollo's cloak, gold his clasp
and lyre and Lyktian bow and quiver, golden too
his sandals. Apollo basks in gold, basks
in possessions: Pytho bear me witness!
Always handsome, always young, never, even slightly,
have his feminine cheeks darkened with down,

his hair distils fragrant drops of unguent
to the ground: Apollo's curls shed no oil
but Panacea herself. In the city where those
dewdrops fall to earth, all things are safe.
And no one ranges as far as Apollo
in the arts. He hones the archer's skills,
the singer's too (bow and song belong to Phoibos),
the prophetess and prophet look to him, from him
physicians learn to put death off for a while.
And he's been god of pastures ever since the time,
upon the banks of Amphryssos, burning with desire
for young Admetos, he reared his mares
to bear the yoke. Readily will a herd of cows
grow great, and she-goats won't lack kids
but guard the flocks they mother if Apollo
glances on them as they graze, nor will ewes
lack milk or offspring: lambs will tug at their udders
and those who have borne but one will soon bear two.
And men have measured out their cities
following Phoibos: Phoibos ever takes delight
in the founding of cities, Phoibos himself
weaves their foundations. At the age of four
he started, sinking his first foundations
in beautiful Ortygia, near the circular lake.
Artemis hunting dawn to dusk supplied him
heads of Kynthian goats, while Apollo
plaited the altar, building its base
with horns, making the altar itself of horn,
and horns wattled the sides he raised around.
So Phoibos contrived to get his first foundations going.
And Phoibos drew the thoughts of Battos
to my fertile city: appearing as a raven
on the Founder's right, he led the people
into Libya, and promised walls for our kings.
Nor does Apollo ever break his word.
Apollo, many call you *Boëdromios, Klarios*
is your name to many, and everywhere
you've many an appellation: following the way

of my fathers, I call you *Karneios*. Karneios,
Sparta first reared you a shrine, Thera next,
and now, in the third place, Cyrene's city.
The sixth generation from the son of Oedipus
came with you and settled Thera. Then,
leaving Thera behind, sound Aristoteles
made you a home in the Asbystian land.
He built you a beautiful temple, made the city
bloom in holidays throughout the year
as many an ox, Lord, falls to his haunches
for the last time. *Hië hië Karneios,*
over and over again: your altars bear
the dappled flowers gathered by the Horai
in spring, when Zephyrus sprinkles the dew,
in winter sweet saffron snows upon them. Ever streaming
fire burns forever to your glory, never
do its ashes graze on charcoal kindled yesterday.
Joy brimmed in Phoibos' heart the day
his men, clothed in Enyo's might, with the fair
women of Libya looking on, danced
under the spell of that Karneian season.
Not yet were they able to make the journey,
those Dorians, to Cyre's springs; they lived
in wooded Azilis still. The Lord himself
saw them, showed them proudly to his bride
from where he stood, atop
the high horn of Myrtoussa, even where
she'd killed the lion, plunderer
of Eurypylos' cattle. Apollo had not seen
a troop of dancers more like gods
nor had he built in any city on a scale
as grand as in Cyrene's, remembering
how he'd ravished her away. And for their part
the Battiadai adored no god more than Phoibos.
Hië hië paiëon is your refrain:
the Delphians invented it, the day your skill
at shooting the golden bow appeared:
prodigious the beast, fearsome the snake you met

and slew on the road to Pytho, firing arrows
thick and fast, while the people cheered you on:
'*hië hië paiëon:* hurl your shaft!' Your mother
bore a champion the instant she bore you.
And ever since that time we sing of you this way.
Envy whispered into Apollo's ear:
'I don't like a poet who doesn't sing
like the sea.' Apollo kicked
Envy aside and said: 'The Assyrian river
rolls a massive stream, but it's mainly
silt and garbage that it sweeps along. The bees
bring water to Deo not from every source
but where it bubbles up pure and undefiled
from a holy spring, its very essence.'
Farewell, Lord! Let Criticism go where Envy's gone!

HYMN 3: TO ARTEMIS

Of Artemis we sing (it is no light matter
for singers to leave her out) to whom the bow shot
and the hare hit and the chorus thronged
and sporting in the mountains are a delight:
beginning at the moment when, a girl still,
she climbed her father's knees, and said to him
'Daddy, let me stay a virgin for ever
and let me be very famous, more than Phoibos,
and give me a bow and arrows—no, wait,
Father, I won't ask *you*
for a quiver and a big bow: the Kyklopes
will make them for me, right away,
arrows and bow, a pretty crescent—
but let me carry the torch and wear
my blouse broidered on the edge and reaching
to the knee, so I can kill wild beasts.
And give me sixty Oceanids, all
nine-year-olds, all still girls too young
for marriage, to be my dancing partners.

And give me twenty nymphs to go with me, daughters
of Amnisos, who will tend to my hunting boots
and mind my swift hounds
when I tire of shooting lynxes and stags.
And give me all the mountains to roam—
whatever *city* you want me to have
is fine with me: it won't be often
Artemis comes to town. I'll haunt
the mountains and visit the cities of men
only when I hear women in the throes
of labour crying for my help—the Fates
made me their helper
the moment I was born, because
my mother felt no pain
in birth or pregnancy, but brought me
from her body without effort.' And when
she had said all this, the child, eager
to grasp her father's beard, reached
again and again, trying
to touch it, without success. Her father
smiled and nodded, and stroked her, saying
'What do I care for Hera's jealousy,
when goddesses bear me children like you!
Have all that you want so badly, my girl,
and other presents bigger still your father
will give you—not just a single tower,
but thirty cities for your own: thirty cities
that won't know how to worship
anyone but you, and be the towns of Artemis.
Many another will be yours to share
with other gods, inland cities, islands too,
and in them all will groves and altars
of Artemis abound, and you will be
Protectress of Streets and Harbours.' He spoke
and sealed his promise with a nod. Off she went
to Crete's White Mountain, coifed in forests,
and thence to Ocean. There she made
a choice of nymphs to be her own, many,

all nine-year-olds, all girls still too young
for marriage. And the river Kairatos
rejoiced, and Tethys too,
to see their daughters serving Leto's daughter.
She went to the Kyklopes next
and found them on the isle of Lipara (Lipara
today, but then its name was Meligounis).
They stood at the anvil of Hephaistos, working
on a mighty project, a trough, soon,
for Poseidon's horses, but at that moment
a mass of fire in their midst. The nymphs
were stunned at the sight (grim
monsters big as Ossa's crags, a single eye
the size of a shield with four ox hides
stitched to its rim flashing dreadful glances
from under each one's brow) and the sound of them
(the anvil's echo crashing afar, the giant
bellows blasting away, the giants themselves
groaning at their work). Mount Aitna
let loose a cry, Trinakrië, home
of the Sikanians, joined in, Italy
moaned across the strait, and Corsica
bellowed in response as, hefting their hammers
over their shoulders, they smote
the red-hot bronze
and iron blazing from the furnace, their nostrils
snorting in rhythm to the blows. No wonder
Ocean's daughters lost their nerve
and dared not look them in the eye or listen
to the noise they made! Even
daughters of the gods, long past
their own childhood, never look on them
without trembling. When any of their girls
disobeys her mother, she calls 'Kyklopes!
Arges! Steropes!' to frighten her child,
and from the innermost corner of the house
Hermes emerges, his face blackened with soot,
and wastes no time scaring that girl

out of her wits. She'll hide her eyes
behind her hands then, and run for cover
to her mother's skirts. Not so
were you, Maiden, even at the age of three
when Leto came carrying you in her arms
to get your presents from Hephaistos, and massive
Brontes dandled you in his lap: you grasped
the shags of hair sprouting from his breast
and plucked them out with all your might,
and to this day the whole mid-region
of his chest is hairless, like the temples
of a man when mange has settled in
and ravaged them. So now you were anything
but shy at speaking to them: 'Come, Kyklopes,
make me too a Kydonian bow, and arrows,
and a hollow case to hold the shafts, for I too
am a child of Leto's, like Apollo. And if
I take a deadly wild beast or savage brute
in the hunt, you Kyklopes will have
something to eat.' You asked, they obliged,
and in no time, Goddess, you had your gear.

And then, setting out quickly
to get your hounds, you came
to Pan's tent in Arcadia. He was slicing
chunks of Mainalian lynx meat at the time, to feed
his bitches and their pups. The bearded god
gave you a pair of dogs half-white, three
whose pelts were reddish brown,
one with spots (all these would drag
even a lion homeward, still alive,
their teeth fastened to his throat, trying
to force his head back), and seven Spartan bitches
faster than wind, quickest on the track
of fawn or hare that never shuts his eyes,
hunting the stag to where he sleeps, the porcupine
to his lair, or following the prints
of the gazelle. And on the way back
(your hounds rushing beside you),

you came upon deer frisking in the foothills
of the Parrhasian mountain, marvellous hinds
endlessly grazing the banks of a torrent
paved in black pebbles—bigger than bulls,
with gold glinting from their horns. Sudden
wonder filled your heart
and you spoke to it, saying 'Now *here*
are hunting trophies worthy of Artemis!'
They were five in all. In a flash, without
the help of hounds, you rounded up four
to draw your chariot. The fifth escaped,
with Hera's blessing, over the river Keladon
and on to the Keryneian Hill, there
to be a future prize of Heracles.

Artemis, Virgin, Killer of Tityos, golden
were your arms and sash, golden
the chariot you harnessed, golden
the bridles you slipped over your deer. But where
did all those horns and wheels
first set out to carry you? To the banks
of Thracian Haimos, home of the storm wind
whirling down from the north
to chill the bones of coatless men. And where
did you cut pine for your torch, from what flame
did you kindle it? On Mysian Olympus,
and the breath that set it ablaze came from fire
never quenched, your father's lightning bolts.
And how many times, Goddess,
did you test your silver bow? You shot
first at an elm tree, second
at an old oak, third at an animal, and fourth
at no animal: a city of criminals
was your target now, people
guilty, over and over, of sins
against each other, sins against strangers. Fools,
they have your wrath to contend with now, a bitter
dough to swallow. Pestilence feeds
on their livestock, frost nips at their crops,

their old men shear their hair in grief
for sons dead, their women die
blasted in childbirth or, escaping,
bear not one child able to stand up straight.
Not so the ones on whom you smile and show
your favour, whose fields bring forth
abundant grain, whose cattle multiply,
whose homes flourish. Only bodies full of years
are carried to their funerals. Strife
that tears to pieces even the well-run household
leaves their families untouched. Around
a single table loaded with offerings, wives
of brothers and husbands of sisters take their seats.
May any true friend of mine, Lady, be at home
in their company, may I as well,
and may I always busy myself with song
and make my theme the marriage of Leto,
and you especially, Mistress, and Apollo,
and all your exploits, your hounds and bow,
your chariot that wafts you, a wonder to see, aloft
when you drive to Zeus' home. There,
in the vestibule, waiting for you,
Hermes Akakesios takes your weapons,
Apollo takes (or used to take, in the days
before mighty Alkeides came) whatever
beast you bring. Now Phoibos has that chore
no longer, for the Anvil of Tiryns stands
at the door and does not move, waiting
for you to fetch some fat morsel home. All the gods
break out in endless laughter over him, even
his mother-in-law, and she the loudest,
to see him haul a huge bull
from your chariot, or a wild boar
by the hind legs, at its last gasp,
and to hear him giving you
his crafty advice: 'Keep on shooting
at beasts that do harm, so mortals
may call you saviour, as they call me. Let deer

and rabbits graze the hillsides. What harm are deer
and rabbits capable of? It's boars, boars
that savage crops and saplings. And oxen
also do a lot of damage: shoot at them too.'
That's the gist of it. And then he quickly
sets to work, preparing his barbecue.
He may have got divinity seared
into his limbs under Phrygia's oak,
but it didn't burn his appetite away—
he still has that belly
Theiodamas met while ploughing long ago.
Meanwhile the daughters of Amnisos
unharness your deer and rub them down
and bring them bales of fast-growing clover
to browse on, mown in the meadow of Hera
and fed to Zeus' horses also. And then
they fill the golden troughs with water
so your hinds may slake their thirst. You yourself
enter the house of your father, and all the gods
clamour for you to sit beside them, but
it's by Apollo that you take your place.
And when the nymphs encircle you in dance
by the springs of Egyptian Inopos,
or in Pitane (for Pitane also
belongs to you), or at Limnai,
or where, Goddess, on your way from Scythia
you came to make your home
in Alai Araphenides, renouncing
the rites of the Taurians—at that time
may no oxen of mine
toil under a stranger's yoke, ploughing
his four-acre plot for hire. I know
they would return to their own stable lame,
their heads bowed down, even if
they were Stymphaians, nine years old, hauling
with their horns, the stoutest breed by far
for ploughing the earth deep: heavenly
Helios will not drive by

that lovely dancing—he stops his chariot
to gaze on it, and the day keeps getting longer.
Which of the islands, now,
what mountain, what harbour, what city
pleases you the most? Which of the nymphs
was closest to your heart, what heroines
have been your friends? Tell me, Goddess,
and I will sing of it to others.
Of islands Doliche, of cities Perge,
of mountains Teÿgeton, and the harbours
of Euripos have been your favourites.
And more than any other nymph, you loved
Gortynian Britomartis, the sharp-eyed
killer of fawns for whom Minos once
scoured the mountains of Crete, overcome
with desire. She hid from him
now under shaggy oaks, now in the meadows.
For nine months he haunted cliffs and crags
and never quit the hunt until, one day,
he almost had her in his grasp. Diving
into the sea from a lofty promontory, she lighted
among fishing nets, which saved her. The Kydonians
ever after have called her Diktyna,
and the mountain from which she dived
they call Diktaion, and they reared altars
and offered sacrifices to her. On her day
the garlands they don are of pine or mastic—
myrtle they avoid, for at the time
the girl was fleeing, a myrtle shoot
had caught in her robes, and myrtle
has been disgusting to her ever since.
Oupis, Queen, Bright-eyed, Bringer of Light,
the Cretans even call you by her name.
And you befriended Cyrene,
daughter of Hypseus, and gave her, once,
a pair of hunting dogs—she took first place
beside the tomb in Iolkos with them. And then
it was the blond wife of Kephalos, son

of Deïoneus, you made your hunting partner,
Mistress, and they say you loved
the beautiful Antikleia
as much as your own eyes. These were first
to carry lightning bows
and quivers full of arrows, wearing the strap
over the right shoulder, the naked
breast always peeping out on that side.
How fond you were, also, of Atalanta,
the strong runner, the boar-slaying daughter
of Arcadian Iasios, whom you taught
harrier-hunting and sharp-shooting. Not one
of the Kalydonian boar's pursuers feels
any misgivings about her: the signs of her success
came to Arcadia, the tusks of the beast
still to be seen there. And I suspect
not even Hylaios or Rhoikos, dolts
though they are and full of hatred,
would fault her shooting, even
in the House of Death. Their flanks,
spattered with the blood that stained
the ridges of Mainalos, would prove them false.
Farewell, Mistress adored
in many a temple, many a city! You are Chitone
in the heart of Miletos, for it was you
Neleus made his guide, leading his ships there
from Athens. You have your throne,
pre-eminent, on Chesion
and by the Imbrasos, and in your shrine
Agamemnon hung his ship's rudder, hoping
to break the spell you cast
over the winds, when the Achaian ships,
chafing for Rhamnusian Helen's sake,
were trying to sail, to bring
destruction on the city of the Teukrians.
It was to you that Proitos built a pair
of temples—one the Girl's Shrine, because
you gathered his girls to him

from wandering the mountains of Azenia,
the other in Lousa, the Gentle One's,
for it was you that freed
his children of the fierceness in their hearts.
Even the Amazons, lovers
of violence, once reared a wooden image
in your honour, under an oak by the sea
in Ephesos, and Hippo performed the sacrifice,
and then they danced, Lady Oupis, a war dance
around it, first in armour,
holding their shields, then fanning out
in wide choral rings, and music played,
to keep the songs bursting from their throats
in unison, the high thin wail of reed pipes
(it was before people had learned
to hollow out the bones of fawns, an art
of Athena's hateful to deer):
and the echo sped
to Sardis, to the Berekynthian meadow,
the rapid thud of their feet, the rattle
of their quivers answering. And later,
around that wooden image, rose
a spacious sanctuary—dawn
will never look upon a godlier
or richer one: it would put Pytho in the shade.
With that in mind, no doubt, Lygdamis threatened
to plunder it, his wits gone,
his heart full of outrage. He came with a host
of mare-milking Kimmerians, equal in number
to the sands, those men who sprawl
along the Bosporos, the strait
of the cowgirl, daughter of Inachos. How far
from the mark he was, that fumbling king
who was not destined—neither he nor any
of those whose wagons crowded
the meadow of Kaÿster—to go home again!
Thus do your arrows guard Ephesos for ever.
Farewell, Lady of Mounichia,

Lady of the Harbour, farewell, Pheraia.
May no one slight great Artemis
(Oineus slighted her altar, and there came
no pleasant struggle to his city), or dispute
her skill in shooting stags, her archery
(the son of Atreus boasted, and paid the price),
or make advances to the Virgin Goddess
(neither Otos nor Orion sought
a match that turned out good for them),
or spurn her yearly dance
(Hippo refused to circle her altar, and wept):
Farewell, Queen, farewell! And do welcome my song!

HYMN 4: TO DELOS

Come, my heart: when is the time
to raise your voice and sing
of sacred Delos, cradle of Apollo?
No doubt every one of the Cyclades, holiest
of islands that jewel the sea, deserves a hymn
but Delos claims first pick
of the Muses' gifts, for she was first to bathe
and swaddle Phoibos, Lord of Songs, she
first hailed him as a god. Do not
the Muses hate the singer
who fails to sing of Pimpleia? Likewise
Phoibos hates the one who forgets his Delos.
Here and now Delos shall have
her due of song from me, and I shall earn
Kynthian Apollo's approval
for taking his dear nurse to heart.
Well, then, swept by wind and wave
but not by the plough, and more
likely to offer a perch for petrels
than a course for horses, she has her place
in the sea. Whirling in mighty currents
around her, he wipes off the foam

skimmed from the Ikarian main. So too
the weary wandering fisherman
has come to rest on her. But no one
grudges her her pride of place
among the islands, when they meet
to visit Ocean and Titanian Tethys. Off she goes,
leading the way: Phoinikian Kyrnos (not,
herself, despicable) follows
in her footsteps and waits on her,
Makridian Abantian Ellopië, beautiful Sardo,
and the island where Kypris first swam ashore
and now preserves, in payment for safe harbour.
Towers gird all these on every side
but Delos has Apollo. Tell me about
a sturdier bulwark! The blast
of Strymonian Boreas may splinter walls
and batter foundations: a god never trembles.
Dear Delos, such a champion stands guard over you.
  But if a great many songs
in circulation now have you for their theme,
what are my options? What
would you like to hear? Is it how
in the abyss of time ago some mighty god
wielding the forked weapon
forged for him by the Telchines
shattered the mountains
and made them islands in mid-sea, prying
them up by the roots and launching them
seaward with a spin? These, then,
he fastened to the sea's bottom, rooted
in the depths, never
to think of the mainland again. But you
were never pinned, never compelled, but sailed
the ocean stream at your own whim. Your name
in that olden time was Asterië, who shot
like a star from heaven into the deep, escaping
the embrace of Zeus. And all that while
till golden Leto set foot upon you,

you were Asterië, not Delos. Often then
sailors leaving Troizen's sea-pummelled harbour
on the way to Ephyra
sighted you in the Saronic Gulf, but on the way
from Ephyra saw you no longer
in the same place, for you had dashed
to the narrows of booming Euripos, and the same day
you quit the sea off Chalkis, swimming
as far as Cape Sounion
of the Athenians, or to Chios,
or the sea-drenched island breast of Parthenië
(later to be known as Samos), where the nymphs
of Mykale who neighbour Ankaios made you their guest.
But once you had offered ground
for Apollo to be born on, sailors
called you Delos, fittingly: for then,
no longer sailing out of sight, you let
your feet take root
in the Aegean Sea, and there you stayed.
  Even Hera's rage failed
to make you tremble: at all
whom Zeus' love got with child she fumed
and brayed most fearfully, at Leto most of all,
for she alone would bear a son to Zeus
dearer than Ares. And so she took up watch
in the bright sky herself, burning with anger
immense, beyond description, and denied
Leto access there, worn though she was
with labour pangs. And to keep guard on earth
she posted a pair of sentries: fiery Ares,
crouched on the high peak of Thracian Haimos
in full armour, scanned the continent
sprawling below, his team of horses tethered
by the cave of Boreas, seven chambers deep;
over the islands rising from the sea
her other guard kept watch,
the daughter of Thaumas, who sprang
to the height of Mimas and perched on it, alert.

There they waited, threatening
any city on whose mercy
Leto threw herself, and turned
them all from thoughts of receiving her.
Arcadia fled from her,
Auge's holy Mount Parthenion fled, the aged
Pheneios fled behind her, fled too the whole
Pelopeïs bordering on Isthmos
except, of course, Aigialos and Argos:
they were no paths for Leto's feet,
Inachos being Hera's territory. Down
the same road with them fled Aonië
and after her went Dirke and Strophië,
holding the hand of black-pebbled Ismenos
their father, and, further still behind, Asopos
followed, lame from the lightning stroke.
And all of a sudden the earth-born nymph Melië
stopped whirling in dance, her cheeks pale,
her breath caught in dread
for the fate of her tree, her agemate, when she saw
Helikon's hair shaking.
Tell me, Muses,
Goddesses of mine, is it true that trees
and nymphs were born together?
'Nymphs rejoice
to see the trees shoot up; they wail
to see them fail.'
Full of anger
at them all, Apollo, still in the womb,
spoke prophetically to Thebe,
and made this threat:
'Why this impudence, Thebe? Why
tempt fate? Stop forcing me to prophesy
when I would rather not! Pytho's tripod
is no concern of mine as yet, nor has
the huge snake died—that bearded serpent,
winding all the way from the river Pleistos,
still grips snowy Parnassos in nine coils.

All the same, here's something
to sting your ears
more than it would, coming from my oracle:
Go on: flee! I'll get you soon enough
and soak my arrows in your blood! Children
of yours have a mother whose tongue is offensive.
You're unfit, and so is Kithairon, to be
my cherished nurse. Pious myself, I'd have
the pious tend to me.'
So, then, he spoke, and Leto turned around
and went on. But when the cities of Achaia
and Poseidon's lover Helike, and Boura,
where Dexamenos, son of Oikeus, keeps his oxen,
turned at her approach,
back, to Thessaly, she took her way.
But Anauros fled, and great Larisa,
and the peaks of Cheiron, and even
Peneios fled, churning through Tempe.
Still was the heart in you without feeling,
Hera, nor did you break down
and pity her, when she raised both her arms
and cried, in vain: 'Nymphs of Thessaly,
river daughters, tell your father to still
his thundering rapids, wreathe
your fingers in his beard and beg him to allow
Zeus' babes to be born in his water!
Peneios of Phthia, why
vie with the winds right now? Mounted
a thoroughbred, have you, O Father? Always
so swift of foot, are you?
Or is it only on *my* account you speed away
today, and all of a sudden
make like a bird? No response! O heavy
burden of mine, where am I to carry you?
I need to know: my strength is wearing out.
O Pelion, where Philyra lay in the arms
of her lover, stay, stay—
you at least: how often on your slopes

even fierce lionesses
have brought forth their cubs, born in the wild!'
Peneios, however, did answer her
even while he wept:
'Necessity, Leto, is a great goddess.
I do not bolt, Lady,
from your childbearing (there are others
I could mention, women who have bathed
in my stream after giving birth): but Hera
hurls threats thick and fast at me. Look
over there, and see what sort of spy
crouches on the mountain top, ready to pounce.
He'd have no trouble ripping me up by the roots.
What will I oppose him with?
Do you enjoy thinking of Peneios ruined?
Let it come, then!
I will face it, for your sake, even if
it means wandering for ever, parched,
reduced to a trickle, the sole laughing stock
among rivers of the world! Here I am:
why say more? Only summon Eileithyia!'
He spoke, and checked his mighty current. But Ares
hoisted the summit of Pangaion
from its base and made as if to heave it
onto his waves, scuttling his stream. And then
he roared on high and struck
his shield with the point of his spear, banging
a war song on it. The crags of Ossa
trembled, the plain of Krannon
and the wind-ravaged outskirts of Pindos
and all Thessaly danced in terror, such
thunder clanged from his shield.
As when the smouldering inner deeps of Aitna
heave in convulsion—Briareos, the giant
underground, shifting onto his other shoulder—
and the ovens of Hephaistos
rattle with the shock, and the bronze works
pinched in his tongs smash against them

as the cauldrons hammered in fire
careen into the tripods, and all
breaks out at once: such was the sound
the great shield made. All the same
Peneios stood his ground,
no less determined
than before, and reined in his streams
until the daughter of Koios called to him:
'Take care, and save yourself—
yes, save yourself! Do not, in pity for me,
come to harm. Your kindness will be rewarded.'
She spoke and made her way,
painfully, to the islands in the sea.
But they had no welcome for her
as she came—neither the Echinades
with their shimmering harbours, nor
Corcyra, friendliest
of the lot: for Iris, perched
on lofty Mimas, glared at them all
and sent them packing with her threats.
As fast as they could, all
whom Leto approached fled with the current, away.
And now she was heading toward the primeval
Meropian isle of Cos, sacred bower
of the heroine Chalkiope. But her son's voice
made her stop: 'No, Mother,
do not bear me there. There's nothing,
to be sure, wrong with the island, nor
do I have anything against it,
shining and rich in flocks
if any island is. It's only that
some other god is meant by the Fates
to belong to it, sprung of the high race
of Saviour Gods: beneath his diadem
will come—not unwilling to be governed by
a Macedonian—both the two lands
deep in earth's interior
and the islands flung over the sea, his sway

reaching the world's margins
to west and east, where Helios mounts
his speeding horses. And he
will have his father's ways.
And there will come a day when he and I
will face a common menace
out of the vast west, when those
latter-day Titans, raising
barbarian dagger and Celtic war against
the Greeks, descend on them
like snowflakes, or as the stars in number
when they graze the heavens in blazing hordes,
[and the] child[ren known as] "Dorians"
[returning from Tempe will look with wonder . . .]
on Krisaian plain and [chasms of Amphissos]
thronged with men on every side, and see
the fat smoke rise
from the neighbouring town ablaze, and now
no longer a matter of mere report, they will glimpse
enemy ranks in the distance
attacking *my* temple,
swords and shameless baldrics
and loathsome shields destined
to play them foul
in the end, those Galatian fools:
some will be my prize, others his,
the king's, whose mighty efforts
shall make them trophies by the Nile,
shields that saw their owners die gasping
in the fire. Such, O Ptolemy yet to be,
are the prophecies that Phoibos makes to you:
and in all the days to come
greatly will you praise the seer in the belly.
Attention, now, Mother!
There is an island on the water, shining,
slender, roaming the waves. Her feet have yet
to touch the ground. She floats
on the current like a stem of asphodel, winds

from south and winds from east
blowing her hither and thither, and the sea
sweeps her where he wishes:
give birth to me on her, for she will welcome you.'
Even while he spoke, the other islands
ran scattering over the waves
but you, Asterië, lover of song and dance,
were on your way south from Euboia
to see the wheeling Cyclades, and not far
on your way, for still behind you streamed a trail
of seaweed from Geraistos. But as soon
as you saw her, you came to a stop
[. . . . . .]
and said, unintimidated, pitying
the goddess bent in the pains of labour:
'Deal with me as you please,
Hera: I care nothing for your threats.
Leto, cross over to me, cross over to me now.'
So you spoke, and she let go
the long pang of her wandering with a sigh
and sat down by the stream
Inopos, abounding then in waters sprung
from the earth, in the season when the Nile
comes at his greatest, cascading
down the Ethiopian plateau.
She untied her belt, leaning
backwards, her shoulders
against the trunk of a palm tree, utterly
exhausted, her skin glistening with sweat,
and said, in a whisper almost,
'Why, boy, why so hard
on your mother? Here, darling,
is your island, sailing on the sea.
Be born, boy, be born
and come, gently, from the womb.'
But not for long, O bitter wife of Zeus,
did all this escape your notice! Such
a messenger sped to your side

and sputtered it out, breathless, half in haste
and half in terror: 'Hera,
glorious Hera, far the first of goddesses,
I am yours, and all that's mine is yours
who sit in power
over Olympus, Lady whose hand we dread
and rightly so, as no other female's.
Mistress, here is cause
truly for anger: Leto is untying her belt,
she's found herself an island.
All the others turned from her in disgust.
Asterië hailed her by name as she was passing by,
Asterië, the sea's filthy broom!
But enough about her: come,
Mistress, stand by your servants now,
for yours is the power
while we but tread the earth at your command.'
That said, down she sat
at the foot of the golden throne
like one of Artemis' hounds, a hunting
bitch crouched at her feet
with ears bolt upright, alert
for any sign of the goddess's displeasure.
So the daughter of Thaumas plopped down
by the throne, nor does she ever
forget her place, not even when
sleep's oblivious wings drift over her—
right near the corner of the mighty seat
she drops off, her head
tilting a little to the side. She never
loosens her belt, either, or steps
out of her hunting boots, for fear
her mistress might suddenly call on her—
her mistress, from whose heart
now burst a flood of bitter anger:
'That's the way, baggage of Zeus, that's
the way for the likes of you:
make love on the sly first

and then give birth in hiding!
Even poor drudges at the mill-wheel drop
their brats in better places, not like you
who lie down beside the whelping seals
on desolate rocks
doused by the waves. At what Asterië
has done, however, I nurse
no anger, nor can I feel resentment,
though deserved—it *was*
wrong of her to cater to Leto. But still
I cherish in my heart a deep regard for her:
rather than trample my bed, she fled
from Zeus' arms into the sea's.'
She spoke, and now the swans,
Apollo's future companions, most musical
of birds, birds of the Muses, leaving behind
Maionian Paktolos, flew in circles
seven times around Delos (later
the child god strung his lyre
with seven strings, to match the seven songs
they sang wheeling overhead): the eighth
they never reached, for out he sprang
and far and wide the nymphs of Delos, daughters
of the ancient river, sent
the sacred cry of Eileithyia
volleying—the high-pitched ululation
struck the brazen sky, without offence
to Hera, whose anger Zeus assuaged.
And now did the roots of you
turn, every one of them, golden, Delos,
and your wheel-shaped lake
brimmed all day in gold, your birthday shoot,
the olive sapling, bloomed into gold
and from the bottom up deep Inopos churned
with eddies of pure gold. And you yourself
took the child from the golden ground
and placed him on your lap
and said: 'O mighty Earth! Laden with altars,

with cities, with produce: you continents
fat with riches, you islands skirting them:
here, and such, am I: a poor place
to turn a plough, and yet
Apollo will be called *Delian* from me
and no other land will know
such love from any god—not Kerchnis
from mighty Poseidon of Lechaion,
not Mount Kyllene from Hermes,
not Crete from Zeus—as I shall have
from Apollo. And my wandering days are over!'
So, then, you spoke, and Apollo
sucked sweet milk from your breast.
'Most Sacred of Islands' now
and 'Nurse of Apollo's Youth'—so
are you known. On you
Enyo never treads, nor Hades, nor
the steeds of Ares: no, instead
the wheeling year bestows its offering
of tithes and first-fruits, all the cities send
their dancing troupes to do you honour—
from east and west and south, wherever
they have their homes allotted,
they come, and so do those
that live beyond the strand
of Boreas, famed for their longevity.
From them begins the journey
of stalks and sacred handfuls of wheat
that come to you
via the Pelasgians next, arriving
at Dodona from the distant north
among the men who sleep aground and tend
the ever-ringing cauldron. And next they reach
the city of Iros, the mountains of Malis.
From there to the rich Lelantine Plain
of the Abantes they come by sea,
and then it isn't far
from Euboia, whose harbours are your neighbour.

Long ago they first arrived, gifts
from the fair-haired Arimaspians, brought
by Boreas' daughters, Oupis
and Loxo and Hekaërge the blest,
and in their entourage were youths, the flower
of their people, unmarried,
who never left for home again, but lie
in blessedness and have their glory to this day.
For the girls of Delos, when their hearts
are troubled by the sound
of wedding songs, lay locks of hair
till then uncut, in honour
of those ancient virgins, and the boys
of Delos start the ritual by offering
the first harvest of their cheeks
to those unmarried youths of old.
Fragrant Asterië, round and about you
the islands made a circle, a dancing choir.
Never are you silent, never hushed
when curly-headed Hesperos
passes over you, but always he can hear
the sound of voices then—of boys
singing the song of Olen, the old man
of Lykia, who came as sacred envoy
from the Xanthos, and of girls
who make the solid ground
reverberate beneath their dancing feet.
And then it is the holy statue of Kypris
so ancient, so famous,
bows under heaps of garlands.
Theseus erected it, on his way from Crete
with children aboard. Remember:
they escaped the menacing bellow
of Pasiphaë's brute son and left behind
his coiled lair, the labyrinth,
to dance around your altar, Lady,
circling to the tune of harps
as Theseus led the way.

And ever since, the Kekropidai
have sent to Phoibos the rigging of that ship, eternal
tribute to their sacred mission.
Asterië, laden with altars,
heaped with prayers: what merchant
plying the Aegean Sea sails his ship past you?
No winds are strong enough, no urgency
is pressing enough: they furl
their sails and will not leave
until they've spun, whipped
with blows around your altar, huge
but shaken by the dancing; will not leave
until they've bitten
the sacred olive trunk, their hands
twisted behind their backs—all in a game
a Delian nymph contrived to make Apollo smile.
Farewell, flourishing hearth
of islands, farewell to you
and Apollo and Leto whom he delivered!

HYMN 5: THE BATH OF PALLAS

All who pour water for the bath of Pallas,
come out, come out! Just now I heard
the mares of the goddess whinny: she too
is anxious to go! Hurry, then,
blond daughters of Pelasgia, hurry:
never has she washed even her own powerful arms
without first routing the dust
from their flanks—even when she came
from the savage Giants
and all her armour reeked in spattered gore.
Before anything else, she slipped the yoke
from their necks, rinsed their sweat and grime
in the streams of Ocean, and sponged away
the foam that flecked their cheeks
from champing the bit. Come,

daughters of Achaia, and never mind bringing
perfumes or jars (listen:
that's the sound of axles grating),
no perfumes, attendants on the bath of Pallas,
no jars (Athena has no use for tinctured ointments),
and, please, no mirrors: she always looks beautiful.
Not even when Paris was judging
the contest on Mount Ida
did our great goddess steal a glance
at gleaming brass or the glassy whirls of Simoeis.
Hera didn't either, unlike Aphrodite,
who pored over her mirror
and often rearranged the same curl, twice.
Arriving (like the twin stars of Lakedaimon
by the banks of Eurotas) with twice
sixty double stades of sprinting behind her,
Athena took a plain oil, the produce
of her own tree, and worked it
skilfully into her skin, suffusing it,
O my friends, with the colour of a rose
or a pomegranate seed in spring. Bring her
something masculine, then: the pure olive ointment
Kastor prefers, the salve, too, of Heracles.
And bring her golden comb, so she may smooth
her hair back, shimmering now she has dried it.
Come out, Athena! Here is a troupe
to your heart's liking, daughters
of the grand house of Arestor. And the shield
of Diomedes is on its way, Athena,
even as custom prescribes. Eumedes, a priest
and favourite of yours, taught it to the Argives
long ago: aware of a plot against his life
brewing among the people, he took
your sacred image and fled to the Kreian mountain
and there, Goddess, on the Kreian mountain
he settled, placing you high among cliffs
called *Pallatides* to this day.
Come out, Athena,

city destroyer, helmed in gold, thrilled
by the clash of horses and shields!
We'll have no water drawn today: today,
Argos, drink from springs
and not from the river! Today, servants,
take your pitchers to Physadeia
or to Amymona, daughter of Danaos: down
from the nurturing mountains Inachos will flow,
bearing gold and flowers on his currents—
a bath for the beauty of Pallas.
But as for you,
men of Pelasgia, beware of seeing the queen,
even unwillingly. The man who sees
Pallas, guardian of cities, naked
looks upon this town of Argos
for the last time.
And now, Lady Athena,
do come out. Meanwhile I'll tell these girls
a story, not my own: I heard it from others.

It happened, children, once upon a time
in Thebes: Athena loved a single nymph,
Teiresias' mother, more, much more
than any of her friends, and never
parted from her. Even when she made her way
to old Thespiai or Haliartos, driving
her horses over the farmlands of Boiotia,
or to Koroneia, where her fragrant grove
and altars lie by the stream Kouralios,
often the goddess placed her at her side
in the chariot, and there would be
no chatter or laughter among the others,
no joining hands for the joy of dancing
when Chariklo did not lead the way.
But, all the same, tears in plenty
lay stored up for her, friend though she was
and dear to Athena's heart.
Once, then,

on Mount Helikon, near the Spring of the Horse
the two of them loosed the pins of their robes
and started to bathe. The stillness of noon
held the mountain. The two of them
were bathing together, the hour was noon,
a deep stillness held that mountain. Alone
but for his hounds, his chin
darkened by his first beard, Teiresias
happened onto the sacred spot. A burning
thirst led him straight to the stream,
poor fool: he saw, unwillingly,
what he shouldn't have seen. Athena's anger
blazed: 'Well, son of Eueres,
who'll never leave this place with your eyes:
what harsh power brought *you* here?' she said,
and night fell on the boy's eyes. He stood
fixed to the spot, unable to speak—
his knees gripped with anguish, his voice
caught in his throat. Chariklo broke the silence:
'What have you done to my boy, Lady?
Is this the sort of friends you goddesses are?
You've robbed him of his eyes!
Ruined child, you saw Athena's breast and more
but you won't see the sun again!
What grief, what pain! O mountain,
O Helikon, unbearable sight to me now!
You've given much, haven't you,
for a little: a deer, a gazelle or two,
for the eyes of my son!' She went on,
both arms wrapped about her child, keening,
mourning like a nightingale, a mother
crying bitterly. And the goddess took pity
on her friend: 'Reconsider, noble Lady,
all that you have said in anger. It was not I
who made your child blind. Athena
takes no joy in plucking out the eyes
of children: the laws of Kronos
have decreed it so. *Whoever catches sight*

of an immortal, when the god himself
does not choose to be seen, pays
a great price. And what is done, noble Lady,
cannot be undone: the thread of Fate
was spun for him this way
the instant you bore him. You are paying now,
son of Eueres, what you've always owed.
How many burnt offerings will the daughter of Kadmos
and Aristaios make, praying one day
to see their only son, the young Aktaion,
blinded! He will be great Artemis' hunting companion
but neither hunting in her company
nor shooting in the mountains at her side
will save him then, when, unwillingly, he sees
the lovely goddess bathing. His own
hunting bitches will dine on him,
their former master. His mother will go,
searching under every bush
for her son's bones. "Most happy,
most fortunate" she will say *you* were, to get
your son back, blind, from the mountains.
No more lamenting, then, my friend: this is not
the only gift he will receive, thanks
to my love for you. I will make him
a seer renowned in ages to come, a prince
of seers, superior to all others.
He will understand the birds,
which ones are lucky, or fly to no purpose,
or signal, in flight, a gathering evil.
Many an oracle will the Boiotians,
Kadmos, and, in later times, the great
Labdakidai hear from him. A mighty staff
will I give him too, to guide his steps
wherever he goes. He will die full of years,
my gift as well. In the world below
he alone will keep his mind intact,
honoured by Hagesilas, Lord of the Dead.'

She spoke

and nodded, and what Pallas says with a nod
is done, for to Athena, alone of his daughters,
Zeus has granted this: she has all
her father's powers. No mother bore her,
you who tend her bath, but the head of Zeus,
and Zeus' head never bends to a lie.

But here she is, here at last: Athena!
Receive the goddess, maidens
whose task it is: acclaim her,
call on her in prayer, cry your cries!
Hail, Goddess! Bless Argos of Inachos.
Hail to you, on your way out!
Return, driving your horses back again,
and preserve entire this land of Danaos!

HYMN 6: TO DEMETER

Sing, women, as the sacred basket returns,
sing the refrain: *Hail, Demeter,*
Goddess of nurture, Goddess of plenty!
You uninitiates there! Gaze
on the sacred basket as it returns
at street level only. No looking down on it
from that roof, or from anywhere above—
girl, woman, even one who has let
her hair stream loose: no, not even
when we spit from lips parched with fasting.
Just now Hesperos glanced from the clouds
(when, *when* is it coming?), Hesperos, who alone
persuaded Demeter to drink when she came
tracking her daughter, stolen without trace.
Lady, how could your feet carry you
even to the sunset, even to the Blacks, and where
the golden apples hang? All that time
you neither drank nor ate, you didn't even bathe.
Three times you crossed the foaming swirls

of Acheloios, just as often forded each of the rivers
streaming for ever, three times sat on the ground
near the well Kallichoros, sunburnt and thirsty,
and ate nothing, and didn't even bathe.
But no, let us not dwell on these things,
that made Deo weep: better, to tell how she gave
cities their sanctioned laws, better
how she was first to reap the stalks
and toss the sacred handfuls of wheat
among the oxen for trampling, in the days
when Triptolemos learned her noble art: better, to tell
(and so to warn against transgression) how she made
the evil son of Triopas seem a shadow.

The Pelasgians had not yet moved to Knidos
but lived still in sacred Dotion, where they kept
a lovely grove so dense with trees
an arrow would barely have shot through it.
The pine grew there, and tall elms, the pear,
the fine quince-apple, and water amber-tinted
bubbled up in ditches. The goddess
was as mad about the place as she was
about Eleusis, as mad for Triopas as for Enna.
But when their own good genius
turned against the Triopidai, from that moment
a bad idea held Erysichthon in its grasp.
He came in a rush with twenty men, all
in the prime of life, all built
like giants, strong enough to uproot
an entire city, armed with double-bladed axes
and hatchets to match: shamelessly
they burst into Demeter's sacred grove.
There was a black poplar tree, huge, reaching
to the sky. Around it, at noon, the nymphs
would gather for play. The first to be struck,
it cried in anguish, and the others heard
its cry. Demeter felt the wound,
the pain of her sacred wood, and asked,
in anger: 'Who dares cut down my beautiful trees?'

And then she took the form of Nikippa,
her chosen priestess in the town.
With wreaths and poppy stalks in hand,
she came, her temple key
slung from her shoulder, and spoke
gently to him, for all his impudence:
'Child, those trees you are chopping
belong to the gods. Do stop, child,
child whose parents dote on you, cease
what you are doing and restrain
your men as well, or Lady Demeter,
whose sanctuary you are plundering,
may take offence.' But glaring at her
more grimly than a lioness
who has just borne cubs in the Tmarian mountains
glares at a hunter (there is no fiercer look),
'Back off,' he said, 'or I'll plant
my axe in *your* hide! As for these trees,
they'll roof my dining hall, where I plan
to feast my friends day and night,
to their hearts' content.' So spoke the boy,
and Nemesis took note
of his evil words. Demeter blazed with anger,
became the goddess she was, her feet
on the ground, her head grazing Olympus.
Half dead at the sight of her, his men
scurried away at once, leaving
their brazen axes in the trees. She let them go,
mere tools as they were in the hands
of their master. But for him, sullen as ever,
she had this message: 'Yes, by all means,
build your hall and feast in it,
you dog, you cur: banquets upon banquets
await you there.' And with those words
she lit on his punishment: a cruel, savage
hunger engulfed him on the spot, burning,
overpowering, a vast disease blighting
his vitals. Poor man, no matter how much he ate,

so much he craved again. Twenty servants
piled his plate, twelve drew his wine.
Dionysos, you see, was as incensed at him
as Demeter (what angers Demeter angers
Dionysos too). His parents, unable, for shame,
to let him go to dinners and parties, invented
one excuse after another. The sons
of Ormenos came with an invitation
to Itonian Athena's contests: 'Sorry,'
his mother said, 'he's not at home.
He went to Krannon yesterday
to collect a debt, a hundred oxen.'
Polyxo came, Aktorion's mother,
her son's wedding on her mind, hoping Triopas
and Erysichthon would attend together:
with a heavy heart, weeping, she answered
'Triopas can come, but Erysichthon
has been in bed nine days now, wounded
by a boar in the glens of Pindos.'
Poor mother, what lie did you not tell
for love of your son? There was a banquet:
'Erysichthon's on a trip.' A marriage:
'Erysichthon's injured. A discus hit him',
or 'He's had a fall', or 'He's off on Othrys
counting his flocks.' Meanwhile
inside the house, hour after hour
that feaster devoured everything in sight.
His evil belly leaped as he fed it
more and more—and all that food, falling
into it as into the sea's maw,
brought no joy, served no purpose. Like snow
on Mount Mimas, like a wax doll in the sun
only more quickly, he wasted away, down
to his very sinews. Skin and bones
were all that remained of him now.
His mother cried, his two sisters
groaned aloud, so too the nurse
who had suckled him, and the housemaids,

dozens of them. And Triopas himself
tore out his grey hair, calling on Poseidon
to no avail: 'Father, no father to me, look,
look at him, third in the line of descent
from you, if I'm your son by Aiolian Kanaka
and this miserable nursling
is mine. Better had he died
blasted by Apollo, better had I buried him
with my own hands! Instead, he sits
before my eyes, Hunger personified. Either
cure him of his hideous malady or take
and feed him yourself: my tables
have given up. My sheepfolds are widowed,
my barnyards empty of cattle now:
the cooks have refused him
nothing. They've even unyoked the mules
from their rumbling wagons. He's eaten the cow
his mother was raising for Hestia, he's eaten
my prizewinning racehorse, my horse of war,
and Russet Tail, who kept the mice in line.'
While the halls of Triopas still brimmed
with possessions, only his own family
knew of the evil. But when his teeth
had drained the deep chambers
of their wealth, then at the crossroads
the king's son sat down, a beggar
scrounging for scraps and table scourings flung away.
Let him you hate, Demeter,
be no friend of mine, or live next door to me:
those cursed by the gods are my enemies too.
It's time, maidens and mothers, to sing,
sing in refrain: *Hail, Demeter,*
Goddess of nurture, Goddess of plenty!
And as the four white horses come
bringing her sacred basket, so will
the great goddess, ruling far and wide,
come bringing us a bright spring,
a bright summer, winter, and autumn, and keep us

safe throughout the year. And as we pace
the city barefoot and with hair unbound,
so shall we always keep our feet and heads
free from all harm. And as the winnow bearers
come bringing winnows full of gold,
so shall we acquire gold without limit.
Now, let those who are uninitiated
go with us as far as the city's hearth;
initiates, proceed to the goddess—
all, that is, who are under sixty. As for those
who are afflicted (the woman who stretches her hand
to Eileithyia, the woman in pain), it is enough
to go as far as they can without hardship. One day
Deo will grant them everything in full,
even to arrive at her temple.

Farewell, Goddess. Preserve this city in harmony
and riches too, and let the fields
abound in produce of all kinds: nourish
the oxen, bear fruits, bear grain, bring the harvest,
and nurture peace, so the man who sows may reap.
Smile on me, Goddess most honoured, Goddess most
powerful!

Aitia 1–2

Callimachus dreams that he is a young man again, a shepherd tending his flock on Mount Helikon. There he meets the Muses, as Hesiod had before him. The first two books of *Aitia* consist in a series of questions and answers, Callimachus asking why a certain custom obtains in a certain place, the Muses giving the reasons or causes (*aitia*) that explain it. Questions and answers in both books appear to have followed one another without interruption (see on 1. 193). The stories were strung together, not marked as separate poems.

We have a number of other clues to the poet's procedure. Though he addressed his questions to the nine Muses collectively (1. 74), they did not answer together, but one Muse at a time (1. 76). The evidence suggests that each of the nine Muses took a turn once in each book (1. 76, note), so that Books 1 and 2 would originally have contained nine answers each, for a total of eighteen.

The situation is not as clear for the number of *aitia* involved. Calliope's first answer, for example, is directed to *a pair* of questions (1. 74–6); she gives not one but two *aitia* (1. 77–136, 137–55). And then a third follows, whether an extra with a similar theme contributed by Calliope or an offering by Callimachus himself (1. 156–79), we cannot determine. In sum, while it remains a fair guess that the Muses answered the poet eighteen times, how many *aitia* were delivered on each occasion is unpredictable.

PROLOGUE AND DREAM

Books 1 and 2 of the *Aitia* are introduced by a Prologue in which the poet both answers his critics (the 'Telchines', as he calls them) and sets the stage for what follows.

Interpretation of the Prologue is riddled with difficulties. Not only has the text itself suffered severe damage, making it impossible to be certain what Callimachus wrote throughout, but even where we can tell

what he wrote we often have a hard time deciding what he was referring to. Fortunately, we get some help on both counts from the fragmentary remains of several ancient commentaries. Among the most important of these are the so-called Florentine and London scholia printed by Pfeiffer in his first volume together with the fragments they concern; others appear in the *Addenda* to his second volume.

The Florentine scholia begin (like the *Diegeseis*) with quotation of the Prologue's opening line. They go on to supply names for the 'Telchines' answered by the poet. The list includes persons we might have expected, such as Praxiphanes: we know that Callimachus wrote against him in a separate book (460 Pf.). Asclepiades and Posidippus also appear on the list: they had both praised the *Lyde* of Antimachus, a famous poem described by Callimachus elsewhere as 'a fat piece of writing, and not smart' (398 Pf.). Two of the persons listed are otherwise unknown: they shared the name 'Dionysius'. Of the remaining three names, none can be read, though it is clear from the traces that Apollonius of Rhodes was not among them.

After listing the names of the Telchines, the Florentine scholia go on to make a critical observation:

> And he cites in comparison those poems of Mimnermus the Colophonian and Philitas the Coan, which are of a few lines only, saying that they are better than their works in many lines . . .

The next entry hints at the structural function of the Prologue within the first two books of *Aitia*. We learn that Callimachus recounted

> how, in a dream, newly bearded, he met the Muses on Helikon and got from them the explanation of causes (*aitia*) . . . taking the beginning of his discourse from them . . .

Callimachus' meeting with the Muses is reminiscent of the opening of the *Theogony*, where Hesiod also meets the Muses on Helikon and gets from them the subject of his song. Unlike Hesiod, Callimachus does not proceed immediately to the encounter. He deals with his critics first:

> The Telchines, who know nothing
> of poetry and hate the Muses, often
> snipe at me, because it's not a monotonous
> uninterrupted poem featuring kings
> and heroes in thousands of verses
> that I've produced, driving my song instead

> for little stretches, like a child,
> though the tale of my years
> is not brief.
> Well, here's what I say
> to the Telchines:
> 'Born eaters
> of your own hearts, [the Coan poet]
> was not, admittedly, a man of few verses
> but all the same his bountiful Demeter far
> outweighs the woman he celebrated
> at length.
> And of the two books
> Mimnermus wrote, not the one that tells
> of the big woman, but the one composed
> with a delicate touch, displays
> the poet at his sweetest.
> Let the crane
> who revels in the blood of Pygmies fly
> far from Egypt, and the Massagetai
> shoot at the Mede long range: nightingales
> are sweeter like this.
> To hell with you, then,
> spiteful brood of Jealousy: from now on
> we'll judge poetry by the art,
> not by the mile. And don't expect a song
> to rush from my lips with a roar:
> it's Zeus' job, not mine, to thunder.'
> The very first time I sat down and put
> a writing tablet on my lap, my own
> Lykian Apollo said to me:
> 'Make your sacrifice
> as fat as you can, poet, but keep
> your Muse on slender rations. And see that you go
> where no hackneys plod: avoid the ruts
> carved in the boulevard, even if it means
> driving along a narrower path.'
> And so I sing for those
> who love the shrill cicada's cry, and hate

the clamour of asses. Let someone else,
loud as any long-eared brute, bray
for their amusement. As for me,
I would be small and winged—yes,
even so, to sing
with dew upon my lips, the food
of morning culled from air divine, shedding
the years that weigh on me
like Sicily on Enkelados.
The Muses
won't repulse in grey old age
the man on whom they smiled in his youth.

The text begins to break off at this point, leaving only the ends of the next two lines. They refer, perhaps, to Apollo's swan, which, when it can

. . . no longer stir its wing
. . . [sings] most effectively then.

Evidently the poet has no fear that his powers will decline.

The papyrus fragment in which the reply to the Telchines is preserved ends here. What comes next, after a gap of undeterminable size, is a series of disconnected words commented on in the London scholia printed in Pfeiffer's first volume and in two sets of other scholia printed in his second. These words (scholars call them 'lemmata') were used by Callimachus at some point in the Prologue beyond the lines just rendered; how much is missing before (or even between) them, we cannot tell.

Among the words quoted both in the London and the other scholia, one is of particular importance for appreciation not only of the Prologue but also of the structure of *Aitia* 1–2. The word is 'tenth' (1. 41 Pf.). It would mean next to nothing to us were it not for the commentaries, which gloss it with mention of 'Arsinoë' and the information that Callimachus called her a 'tenth Muse' (Pf. i, p. 7; ii, p. 102). Such an allusion to her in the Prologue would have the effect of dedicating the first book to her. Her appearance later in the Epilogue as the poet's 'Queen' and 'Muse' (*Ait.* 2. 146–7) frames the two books.

Further lemmata follow 'tenth' in the London scholia: the adjective 'high pitched', a trace of 'Arcadia', of 'send', the incomplete phrase 'as among ancestral . . .', and, finally, 'a beauty of a different kind' (1. 42–5 Pf.). We get the impression that the Prologue contained a good deal more than we can guess at the present time. The impression is strengthened when we turn to the lemmata found in the other scholia in Pfeiffer's second volume. The first set gives the intriguing sequence

. . . remind me . . . of the answers . . .

In the missing portion of the text in which these words once figured, Callimachus seems to have described falling asleep and dreaming of his encounter with the Muses. Awake now, and preparing to report what he has heard in his dream, he wants the Muses to remind him of it.

Additional scholia in Pfeiffer's second volume preserve other words used by Callimachus in this portion of the Prologue, packed, apparently, with learned references. We find 'Aganippe', glossed as 'a fountain on Helikon' (2a. 16–17). Callimachus called her

maiden daughter of Aonian Permessos

From words and phrases suggesting the topography of the fabled mountain summit we move to others adumbrating what went on there during Callimachus' dream: 'conversation' and 'response' appear in tantalizing succession (2a. 44–7). And then, other words impossible at the moment to fit into a coherent scheme: 'Hymettos', (2a. 49); a word that often means 'white' but is glossed here as 'black' (2a. 52); the bare suggestion of 'bosom' (2a. 61) and 'offspring' (2a. 62), of 'high feasting' (2a. 65), and, at the end, the relative pronoun in the genitive plural, referring, possibly, to the Muses (2a. 67).

Such are the words isolated for comment by the ancient scholiasts. Beyond them we have nothing but a single fragment, preserved in a different papyrus. Exactly how it figured in the Prologue we cannot tell, but what it means is clear enough. Callimachus looks back to his predecessor's experience on Mount Helikon:

When the Muses swarmed up to Hesiod
the shepherd, grazing his flock
where the swift horse left its print . . .
[they told him] . . . of Chaos born . . .
. . . wa]ter [bursting] at heel . . .
and that 'Evil devised against another
eats the heart of its deviser'
. . . . . .

AITIA 1

1. First Question: The Graces on Paros

From the poet's dream the Florentine scholia move directly to the opening line of the first *aition* in Book 1:

60 . . . why the Parians want
no oboes, no garlands at their sacrifice

According to the scholiast, Callimachus accounted in his first *aition* for a peculiarity in the worship of the Graces on the island of Paros. He did so with a story:

> When Minos, son of Zeus and Europa, ruler of the seas, was offering a sacrifice to the Graces on Paros, news was brought to him of the death of his son Androgeos. But he neither neglected the sacrifice to the Graces, but finished it, nor offended against the death of his son, but stopped the oboist and set aside his garland: and in this way the custom has endured among the Parians.

Callimachus seems to have dwelt at some point on the career of Minos, leading up, possibly, to his conquest of Paros:

62 and Minos stretched a heavy yoke
on the neck of the islands

We have, next, a snippet of description, the king worshipping the Graces just before the news of his son's death arrives:

64 he was at the beginning, sprinkling

This is all we have from Callimachus himself concerning Minos. The Florentine scholiast summarizes the rest of what the Muse told him in this section:

> These matters, then, he says he heard from Clio, and also about the birth of the Graces, that they are daughters of Dionysos and Koronis, a Naxian nymph, having declared beforehand himself that they are said by some to be daughters of Hera and Zeus, by others of Eurynome (daughter of Ocean) and Zeus, and by others of Euanthe (daughter of Uranos) and Zeus. He got that story from Agias and Derkylos. It occurs also in Aristotle, in his *Constitution of the Parians*.

We glimpse the roads and byroads explored by the learned poet in his reading; some idea also of the poetry he fashioned from these sources emerges, but it is sadly incomplete. Nothing survives of Clio's account of the birth of the Graces ('that story'); presumably, it would have taken precedence over the other accounts, those given by the poet 'beforehand', as the scholiast says. Of these, only a line remains:

65 others say Eurynome the Titaness bore them

How the first *aition* concluded we cannot tell. Pfeiffer guessed that it drew to a close in the initial lines of the following fragment, all of them virtually illegible. When readable text emerges nine lines into the fragment, it is with reference to the birth of the Graces again. This time the poet speaks to them directly:

66 . . . how you came, with Eileithyia's blessing,
from your mother's womb, naked—
but on Paros
you wear fineries and shimmering tunics
. . . and from your ringlets ointment
70 ever streams:
be gracious now,
and wipe your shining hands
on my elegies, that they may stay me
73 many a year
. . . . . .

2. Second Question: Examples of Ritual Abuse

The prayer for help with his poetry ('be gracious now') may well have served as prelude to tackling yet another question; at any rate, the Florentine scholia next quote the opening line of a new *aition* and go on as follows:

> He asks why on (the island of) Anaphe they sacrifice to Apollo with insults to one another, and why in Lindos . . . they sacrifice to Heracles with curses. Accordingly, Calliope for the first time tells how Jason from the Colchians . . .

The text breaks off here, before it can give the relevant summary, but the mention of 'Anaphe' and the final phrase, 'Jason from the Colchians', are enough to give us our bearings.

A. The Argonauts on Anaphe

Just before the end of their famous adventure, when they have escaped from Colchis and are sailing towards home with the Golden Fleece on board, Jason and the Argonauts are overtaken by a sudden darkness that swallows the world and the heavens from view. Jason prays to Apollo, who appears, gleaming in the darkness. The light radiating from Apollo reveals the presence of an island, and there the *Argo* anchors for the night. Next day the Argonauts, grateful to the god who had saved them, build an altar and offer sacrifice to Apollo *Aigletes* ('the Radiant'). They also call the island where they had taken refuge *Anaphe*, 'the (isle) that rose up into appearance'. In this way both the name of the island and the epithet of the god honoured in its cult are explained (Apollonius, *Argonautica* 4. 1689–1718).

But it is not yet clear why Apollo Aigletes should be worshipped on Anaphe 'with insults'. This question involves not only Jason and his fellow sailors but also Medea, the Colchian princess who had betrayed her father Aietes out of love for Jason, had helped him steal the Golden Fleece, and had fled with him from Colchis. We know from Apollonius that Jason and Medea were finally married on the island of Scheria (*Argonautica* 4. 1128–69) and that the queen of Scheria, Arete, had given Medea twelve handmaidens as a wedding present (1221–2). It is the subsequent behaviour of these handmaidens that accounts for the ritual insults in Apollo's worship: during or after the sacrifice to Apollo Aigletes, they laugh and scoff at the men, and the men reciprocate (1719–30).

By the time all this occurs, the Argonauts are no longer in danger of being overtaken by their Colchian pursuers. But this is not the case at the beginning of Callimachus' account. Here, after the introductory questions, we come upon the most dreadful of the Colchians, King Aietes himself, commanding his forces to go after Jason:

> But why, goddesses, does the Anaphaian sacrifice
> [to Apollo] with insults, and Lindos
> make offering . . . to Heracles with curses?
> . . . so Calliope began:
> 'Aigletes and Anaphe, neighbour to Lakonian Thera,
> set down in your memoir first, and the Minyans,
> beginning with how the heroes
> were sailing back to ancient Haimonia
> from Kytaian Aietes

The first half of the next line is obliterated in the papyrus. When it resumes, Aietes is the subject:

> . . . but when he saw
> the deeds of his daughter . . . he said

The 'deeds of his daughter' would include, of course, the theft of the Golden Fleece, which could not have occurred without Medea's complicity; but another, more heinous crime, may also be meant: the murder of her brother Apsyrtos. We know from a scholion to Euripides' *Medea* (8 Pf.) that Callimachus, somewhere in his work, perhaps here, not only mentioned the murder but also placed its occurrence before Jason and Medea left Colchis. It may have figured, then, in the following speech by Aietes, which is so poorly preserved, however, that barely an outline of it emerges. It concludes, clearly enough, with an oath, calling on the Sun God and the greatest of Colchian rivers, probably as witnesses to the injustices the king has suffered:

> '. . . Ionians, an ev[il] race . . . [killed] . . .
> . . . everything overthrown
> . . . sold me
> . . . the ship that carries him
> and his men . . .
> Helios be my witness
> and Phasis, king of our rivers'

The Argonauts are sailing as fast as they can towards the Bosporos, retracing the route they had taken on their way to Colchis. The Colchians sent after them by Aietes, not knowing which way they have gone, divide into two contingents, one going by way of the Danube, the other by way of the Bosporos (9 Pf.). Callimachus told what happened to both contingents.

We have two fragments dealing with the Colchians who go by way of the Danube. The first describes their feelings on failing to overtake the Argo:

> but when they wearied of roaming in search

Eventually they give up looking and settle down:

> Now these, dropping their oars
> in the Illyrian Sea, near the stone

of blond Harmonia's serpent, founded a town—
a Greek would call it 'Exiles'
but in their own tongue it's named 'Polai'.
While those . . .

A gap of some thirty lines separates this from the next extant fragment, which concerns the Colchians who took the right route. These eventually catch up with the Argonauts on the island of Corcyra, identified here and in Apollonius with Homer's Scheria, home of the Phaiakians. According to Apollonius, the Colchians demand that the king of Scheria, Alkinoos, hand Medea over to them (*Argonautica* 4. 1000–7). Alkinoos puts them off for a day, deciding that night, in conversation with his wife Arete, that he will hand the girl over only on condition that she is still a virgin and so belongs still to her father (ibid. 1104–9). When Alkinoos has fallen asleep, Arete sends a messenger to Jason, urging him to marry Medea immediately (1110–20). In the end, then, Alkinoos refuses to surrender Medea and the second contingent of Colchians has to give up as well. Afraid to return home empty-handed, they appeal to Alkinoos for permission to settle where they are, on Scheria (1206–10).

How much of this Callimachus included in his account cannot be determined. The fragment we have apparently describes the actions of the Colchian leader, whose demand has been denied:

among the Phaiakians . . . leading
his men in a swarm . . .
he founded
a settlement on Corcyra, and from there
he led them away again, to live
in Orikian Amantine—
but all that
lay ahead, in the future
. . . . . .

So the Colchians who settled on Corcyra left again later. We have no more concerning them from Callimachus himself, but a few traces of his treatment of Corcyra survive. We know from a passage in Strabo that he called the island Scheria (13 Pf.), but the elder Pliny adds that he also called it Drepane (14 Pf.). Callimachus, as we know from *Suidas*, wrote a book with the title *Foundations of Islands and Cities and their Changes of Name*. We do not know the extent to which he indulged

that interest here, or whether Apollonius, who provides alternative explanations of the name Drepane ('Sickle Island') at *Argonautica* 4. 982–92, is following or supplementing Callimachus. For us, Callimachus takes leave of Corcyra with one more fragment, a phrase describing the island's harbour as

Phaiakian, with two entrances

We next come upon the *Argo* north of Crete, enveloped, now, in the darkness whose dispersal will lead to the institution of the cult of Apollo Aigletes. In Apollonius, nearly five hundred lines, packed with incident, fill the interval since the *Argo* left Corcyra (*Argonautica* 1223–1701). If Pfeiffer's estimate is correct, Callimachus took no more than six lines to bring her here.

A very poorly preserved papyrus fragment gives us glimpses of the effect the darkness has on members of Jason's crew. Lynceus, famed for his eyesight, seems to have been mentioned first; if *his* eyes could not penetrate the darkness, no one else's could. He is followed by his brother Idas. Then comes the moment

when Tiphys knew not . . . how to steer . . .

because his guide, the constellation Ursa Major,

. . . Nonakrinian
Callisto, unbathed in the streams of Ocean,

is hidden in the gloom. After this, we have only broken bits of text:

They were afraid . . .
the hand of Polydeukes . . .
stopped rowing . . .

Different members of the crew appeal to different gods, apparently in succession:

. . . the sons of Tyndareus
. . . were first, turning to Zeus

And then the others

. . . beseeched the other gods
. . . to bring help, [save] the sturdy [ship] . . .

But the god who comes is the one invoked by Jason—Apollo, called *Hiëios* here from the ritual cry addressed to him:

but the son of Aison, full of grief,
raised his hands to you, Hiëios, and swore
many an offering to Pytho, many
to Ortygia, if you would drive
the swirling darkness from the ship
. . . for it was thanks to you, Phoibos,
and your oracle, that they had loosed
the cables, drawn lots for seating
at the oars . . . [and] smote the bitter sea:
[having reared an altar] . . . named
'Embarker's' after you . . . in Pagasai
. . . . . .

Only three fragments from the rest of the *aition* survive. The first belongs to the description of Apollo appearing in answer to Jason's prayer. The radiant god takes his stand

upon the Melanteian rocks

and soon afterwards, if not simultaneously,

the cloud was cloven

According to Apollonius (4. 1709–12), the god's bow gleams so brightly that it illuminates the darkness, enabling the Argonauts to see Anaphe for the first time. More spectacularly, Apollodorus (1. 9. 26) has Apollo, standing on the rocks, fire an arrow into the sea; a ray of lightning flashes down and the island comes into view.

Callimachus' depiction of the scene pre-dates both of these and may have differed from them in one detail. In them, the island exists already; the Argonauts cannot see it simply because it is hidden in the darkness. But we have another later account, that of Conon, according to whom the moment when the island becomes visible and the moment it is born are one and the same (*FGrH* i. 26. 49. 2):

> Apollo, holding his bow above them, put all their dread to flight and, as the radiance streamed down, the earth reared an island from the deep.

This may come closest to the way Callimachus described the scene. Pfeiffer located it just before the last fragment we have, where he felt there was room for a few lines. In those missing lines, then, Callimachus perhaps described the island of Anaphe rising, at Apollo's command, from the bottom of the sea.

Our last fragment brings us to morning on Anaphe. It begins, appropriately, with the goddess of dawn, who sleeps with her beloved Tithonos:

. . . . . .
Meanwhile Tito, lying beside
the son of Laomedon, awoke
to burden the neck of the ox

Callimachus must have moved very quickly to the sacrifice offered by the Argonauts in thanks to Apollo, for in the next two lines, most of which are obliterated, appear the phrases

. . . with the women servants . . .
. . . the gift of Alkinoos' wife . . .

These are Medea's handmaidens. Their ridicule of the Argonauts is just discernible in the broken remains of the next three lines:

. . . Phaiakian women, who . . .
delight . . . taking pleasure
in raillery . . .

The fragment ends with mention of Demeter, prompted, perhaps, by a similarity between the obscure cult on Anaphe and the famous one at Eleusis:

. . . took and hid away,
fasting on the days of Rarian Deo
. . . . . .

B. Heracles in Lindos

We turn now from ritual abuse on Anaphe to the companion question (75–6): why they curse when sacrificing to Heracles in the Rhodian city of Lindos. The transition to this topic is lost, the Florentine scholia breaking off where we left them, with 'Jason from the Colchians . . .' The relevant story is told by a number of later writers, among them Apollodorus (2. 5. 11. 8):

Heracles, on his way across Asia, put in at Thermydrai, the harbour of the Lindians, and having loosed one of the oxen from the wagon of a herdsman, he sacrificed it and feasted on it. The herdsman, unable to defend himself, stood on a mountain and called down curses: and for that reason even now when they sacrifice to Heracles they do so with curses.

All the other versions of the story feature not a herdsman but a ploughman, described in the following line, perhaps at the very moment the hungry Heracles catches sight of him:

137 a farmer cutting a furrow for seeding

Whether Callimachus quoted any of the ribald language used by Medea's handmaidens and the Argonauts on Anaphe is uncertain; he did let the angry ploughman of Lindos vent his spleen. The next fragment opens just as his tirade is coming to a close. The ox killed by Heracles was evidently his favourite:

'the star—yes, and aren't you heroic
at tearing oxen apart!'
So he cursed, and you
listened to him
as the Sellian in the Tmarian mountains
listens to the sound of the Ikarian Sea,
or the lewd ears of young men
to a penniless lover, or bad sons
to their fathers, or you yourself
to the lyre (you're too
impatient for that):
so, paying
his curses no heed
. . . . . .

According to Conon (*FGrH* i. 26. 11), Heracles dismissed the ploughman's curses with the remark that he had never tasted a better meal than the one he ate while listening to them. A trace of that is perhaps discernible in what is left of the next few lines:

. . . because of [a meal] like that . . .
. . . the food . . .

When the condition of the text improves a moment later, someone is speaking in the first person. Pfeiffer guessed that Calliope is here quoting the Lindian priest of Heracles telling how they proceed with the sacrifice:

'our native land of Lindos . . .
we prop a bull, uncarved, on forked stakes . . .'

The last bit we have of this *aition* is a perfectly preserved elegiac couplet, perhaps from the Lindian priest, still being quoted by Calliope; or maybe it is an aside by the poet himself, wryly classifying the gluttonous exploit he has just described among the *parathla* or 'side tasks' of Heracles:

Hail, wielder of the heavy club! Twelve times
you toiled on demand, but over
and over at your own initiative!

C. A Similar Story

The Florentine scholia pick up again in what appears to be a discussion of how the Lindian cult evolved. After 'and this [custom has remained] among them', we find

. . . and an[other tale] similar [to the one just told] is set beside it, how [Heracles, fleeing] from Ai[tolia] fell in with Theiodamas . . .

The scholia in their damaged condition do not reveal how Callimachus managed the transition to the new story, or even who (Calliope? the dreaming poet?) appended it. Apollonius tells the story briefly in the first book of the *Argonautica* (1213–18). Its purpose there is to account for the presence of Hylas, Heracles' beloved. A scholion to the passage in Apollonius goes into more detail:

> Heracles . . . coming to Dryopia with his son Hyllos . . . met Theiodamas and, his son being hungry and his teacher Lichas left behind, asked him for a little food. But Theiodamas refused and Heracles, full of anger, seized one of his oxen, killed it, and ate it. Theiodamas went to the city and made war against Heracles, reducing him to the necessity of arming even his wife Deianeira; it is reported, also, that he suffered a wound in the chest at that time. But he eventually triumphed, killed Theiodamas, took his son Hylas captive, and caused the entire race to relocate on account of its brigandage . . . of these things Callimachus too makes mention.

The last remark refers, probably, to the presentation of the story here. We have an unusually long and well-preserved portion of it. Opening in the third person, it quickly modulates to the second. The 'baby' mentioned is Hyllos, named in the scholion quoted above:

When a thorn pierced
the sole of his foot:
but the baby
in a hungry fit
took hold of the hair on your chest
and pulled.
And then you were torn
between laughing and crying, until
you reached a field, ploughed
three times before, then let to lie
and now being ploughed again, the ploughman
a vigorous old man, still worth his salt,
Theiodamas:
he had a spike
ten feet long, a goad for his team,
a rod to measure his land.

At this point the text breaks up. Heracles' greeting is partially preserved, followed by his request for aid:

'. . . Greetings . . . of strangers . . .
. . . prayed for so! . . .
. . . without delay, come, if you've anything
in the wallet slung over your shoulder
to save a child from starving,
give it to me: I'll never forget
the friendly gesture.'
But Theiodamas
laughed in his face and meanly
. . . . . .

The rudeness of Theiodamas' behaviour is clear, but what he goes on to say now is only partially preserved and hard to interpret: 'of oxen' appears at the end of one line, 'bulls' at the end of the next; after that comes a line obliterated except for one syllable at its end, so we have

nothing to give the ensuing line a meaningful context. It refers to someone, in the plural,

who may walk beside my plough, hungering

There is now another line with only one syllable at its end, and then, at the end of the next line, the sole word 'Lepargos' in the vocative case. It means 'with gleaming coat' and is commonly attested as a name for bulls and cows. Has Theiodamas finished his rude dismissal of Heracles with an order to his favourite ox, 'Come along now, Shiny', or is this the narrator, addressing the ox Heracles picks out for dinner? We cannot tell. After a gap, the text reappears in the midst of a demurral by the narrator: he (or she) would rather not repeat what Theiodamas had to say as he watched Heracles take his ox apart:

may none of *that* slip through my teeth

The papyrus fragment trails off here, but one further bit belonging to this part of the poem survives, quoted in a Byzantine dictionary. At some point, Callimachus referred to Heracles' having

pulverized the wretched Asinensians

The lexicographer who quoted this went on to explain:

> . . . it is said that Heracles forced the piratical Dryopes to move from the regions around Pytho and resettle in the Peloponnesos, in order that, with a great number of people living around them, they would be prevented from evil-doing; and that they are named *Asineis* because they no longer do harm (*sinomenous*) as before.

To judge from this, Callimachus in telling the tale of Theiodamas explained why the Dryopians live where they live now and also how their town Asine got its name.

The Florentine scholia, which have enabled us to arrange the preceding fragments in their original order, fade out at this point. Fortunately, there is another guide to take us deeper into Book 1.

3. Linos and Koroibos

It was already known from a note to a poem in the *Palatine Anthology* (29 Pf.) that Callimachus told the story of Koroibos in *Aitia* 1, but at what point he told it was still unclear at the time Pfeiffer published his

first volume. A papyrus fragment printed in his second volume (26–31a, pp. 107–8) preserves the remains of a Callimachean *Diegesis*. In its fifth line Pfeiffer discerned traces of the phrase 'Lindian curses'. The latter section of the next line is empty, indicating that the summary of the *aition* dealing with the rites in Lindos (and, implicitly, with Heracles and Theiodamas) came to an end there. Two lines later the new *Diegesis* continues with the phrase, 'He asks for what reason . . .'. There is then a gap of some ten lines, in which the summary of the next *aition* must have been given but in which nothing can now be read; the text resumes with what are clearly the summarist's final comments on the tale of Linos and Koroibos:

> . . . they established a city named Tripodiskon. For these reasons the Argives during the month called the 'Month of the Lamb' kill any dogs they happen to meet. Callimachus took the story from Agias and Derkylos . . .

Pfeiffer concluded that the dreaming Callimachus asked the Muses why the Argives called a certain month the 'Month of the Lamb'. The Muse who answered evidently clarified other matters in process of dealing with that one. To place them all in context, we need to set the myth of Linos before us.

Following is the version found in Conon (*FGrH* i. 26. 19):

> Psamathe, daughter of Krotopos, conceives and bears a child by Apollo; in terror of her father, she exposes the infant, which she has named Linos. A shepherd took him in and raised him as his own. One day the dogs of the flock tore him to pieces. Psamathe, distraught, is detected by her father, who condemns her to death, thinking that she had been corrupted and was falsely accusing Apollo. Apollo, angered by the death of his beloved, punishes the Argives with plague, and when they consulted him about deliverance he replied that they must propitiate Psamathe and Linos. Now they honoured them in various ways, and in particular they sent women with girls to lament Linos: and these, mingling lamentations with entreaties, bewailed both their own misfortunes and those of Linos and Psamathe. And in this way the dirge for Linos became famous, Linos being sung of in every dirge since then by later poets. And they got the name 'Month of the Lamb' because Linos had been reared with the lambs; they perform the 'Lamb' sacrifice too, and observe the 'Lamb' festival, on whose day they kill any dogs they happen upon. And even so the evil did not abate, until Krotopos in accordance with an oracle left Argos; having founded a city in the Megarid and having named it Tripodiskion ('Little Tripod'), he settled there.

Pausanias (1. 43. 7–8) gives a more complicated version, including a number of details that turn up in the fragments of Callimachus. There are also differences between the two accounts. Conon, for example, has Apollo inflict a plague on the Argives; Pausanias has him send a demon named, appropriately, Vengeance. She avenges the death of Apollo's son by snatching Argive children from their mothers. In Conon, the Argives attempt to deal with the plague in the usual fashion, consulting Apollo, presumably in his oracle at Delphi, and then following the instructions received; in Pausanias, an Argive by the name of Koroibos confronts Vengeance and kills her. Apollo responds by sending a plague, so the Argives continue to suffer. Koroibos then goes to Delphi and offers to pay the penalty for killing Vengeance. The priestess of Apollo, however, does not take up his proposal; instead, forbidding him to return to Argos, she orders him to leave, carrying a tripod from the god's sanctuary; he must then build the god a temple and himself a home in the place where the tripod should happen to fall to the ground. The tripod does so at Mount Gerania in Megara, and it is there that Koroibos finally settles, in a village called Tripodiskoi ('Little Tripods'). We know from Stephanus of Byzantium (31 Pf.) that Callimachus mentioned Tripodiskoi somewhere in the *Aitia*, most likely in the section dealing with Linos and Koroibos.

Such is the story. Exactly how Callimachus told it cannot be determined at present. The sole extant papyrus fragment is very poorly preserved, most of its lines consisting only of a few syllables at the beginning of each. We can make out what seem to be features of the rite performed at Argos:

> 180 The Lamb's Month . . .
> Days of the Lamb . . .

then a glance at Linos' fate:

> 182 and he died . . .

followed by a reference to the presentation of his story by rhapsodic bards:

> 183 and the tale woven to the teller's wand

We might have expected all this to be delivered by the Muse in answer to the dreaming poet's question, but it turns out to be in his voice, not in hers:

184 a song come down to me, forever on my lips . . .

Perhaps Callimachus set what he knew already, from his familiarity with poetic tradition, beside what the Muse told him on Helikon, culled, as the scholiast noted, from the chronicles of Agias and Derkylos. Whatever the situation, we next meet a reference to Linos' mother, the tragic Psamathe:

185 of the girl . . .

Then comes the demon Vengeance, the

child-killer . . .
[Apollo] sent upon the Argives . . .
who made their mothers
desolate, and relieved their nurses
190 not in a way [they had hoped for] . . .

So ends the papyrus fragment. In addition to it, we have from Stobaeus a perfectly preserved couplet, but in whose voice it is, and how it fits into the structure of the *aition* as a whole, cannot be determined. It addresses Linos:

191 Lambs were your playmates, dear boy, lambs
your comrades, your bed the folds and pastures

*

The *Diegesis* preserving the end of the previous tale goes on to quote the opening line of another, the next to occur in Book 1, and a Michigan papyrus confirms the placing of the one that followed it. For the rest, ancient testimony guarantees only a place, not a placing, in Book 1. At least three of the remaining *aitia* in Book 1, like 'Linos and Koroibos', have to do with conflicts of various sorts between mortals and immortals.

4. The Goddess with the Mortar on her Head

Fragment 31b–e (Pf. ii, pp. 108–11) is patched together from several sources, beginning with the opening line quoted in the *Diegesis*. The summary that follows provides the framework into which a number of

other pieces appear to fit. Most of these are from an Oxyrhynchan papyrus. One, surviving in quotation, was tentatively placed by Pfeiffer after the opening line, to give two lines of Greek text:

So she spoke, but another question
to ask them leapt to my mind—
195 the Artemis [in Leukas], what happened to her

The *Diegesis* reads as follows:

> The wooden statue of Leukadian Artemis has a mortar on its head for this reason: men of Epirus . . . coming to land, were plundering Leukas. And, entering the temple of Artemis, they found the goddess crowned with a golden garland: this they took away, replacing it, by way of insult, with a mortar they had used for crushing garlic which they ate. Next day the Leukadians fashioned a garland and put it in place of the mortar, and when it fell down they nailed it to the wooden statue. But again three days later, the garland which was placed and . . . remained . . .

The legible parts of the Oxyrhynchan papyrus fit in nicely with the conclusion of this story. Repeated attempts by the pious Leukadians to crown the goddess properly were unsuccessful: the garland kept falling off, to be found

196 in the morning, at her feet . . .

The fragment continues

197 when, three days later, this . . .

happened again, the Leukadians decided to consult Apollo's oracle. They

198 went [to Delphi]: Apollo [said] . . .
'The maiden is pleased . . .'

Artemis liked having the mortar on her head, so there it stayed.

5. The Goddess with a Bandage on her Thigh

Artemis with a mortar on her head seems to have been followed by Athena with a bandage on her thigh. The one goddess had her statue on the island of Leukas, the other in Teuthis, a village in Arcadia. The

similarity between the two *aitia*, like that between the Lindian sacrifice and the Theiodamas episode, is one reason why Callimachus might have placed them together.

An indication that he did so is provided by the Michigan papyrus referred to above, in which the story of Teuthis, who gave his name to the Arcadian village, is told. Hollis concluded that this papyrus is in fact a fragmentary Callimachean *Diegesis*. The papyrus is poorly preserved, but we can tell that the summary of the tale of Teuthis was preceded in it by another summary at the end of which the name 'Apollo' appears twice in the space of three lines, a good indication that the *aition* summarized there was that of the Leukadian Artemis, which ends, as we have seen, with the Leukadians asking Apollo what to do and with the god giving his response.

Hollis reconstructed the opening of the summary contained in the Michigan papyrus as follows:

> For in Teuthis in Arcadia there is a wooden statue of Athena, having a bandage wrapped about its thigh as if upon a wound, for the following reason . . .

The rest of the Michigan *Diegesis* is too fragmentary to render here. Fortunately, Pausanias told the story in full (8. 28. 4–6). Teuthis was an Arcadian who came with troops under his command to join the Greeks assembled at Aulis for the expedition against Troy. When continual bad weather kept the fleet from sailing, he quarrelled with Agamemnon and decided to take his men and go home. At that point, Athena came down from Olympus in the guise of a certain Melas, son of Ops, and attempted to prevent Teuthis from leaving. Teuthis, losing his temper, struck the goddess in the thigh with his spear and proceeded to lead his forces back to Arcadia. Once at home, however, he dreamed of Athena wounded in the thigh and after that a plague fell on the town which, alone in Arcadia, now suffered from famine. Eventually, on the advice of oracles from Dodona, Teuthis had a statue of Athena fashioned, wound and all, and the famine was lifted. Pausanias says he saw the statue himself, its thigh wrapped in a purple bandage. A scholion to the passage in Pausanias adds that Callimachus also mentioned the statue of bandaged Athena.

A single fragment of the *aition* survives. It begins with a description of Arcadia as a land too rugged for ploughing. In Pausanias' version of the story, Athena sends a famine that is alleviated soon after; Callimachus appears to have connected that temporary famine with the permanent

condition of the region, inhospitable to agriculture. In Arcadia, one would be well advised to prefer harvesting timber

. . . to cutting the earth.

Not to do so, would be to resemble

. . . Glaukos the Lykian—his wits blasted,
he took armour worth nine oxen in return
for armour worth a hundred
. . . better
an axe, biter with both mouths,
than a mattock . . . to work as a cutter
instead of a digger: the soil
of the land is *that* stubborn! You wouldn't
scatter seeds upon it, or plant slips,
the two gifts of Methymnaios born in secret:
no other land is so good at bearing
wild oaks, primeval acorn feasting
for Azenians!
It was from here
there went a general upon a time
to Aulis. . . . He had a falling out,
a mighty quarrel with the sons of Atreus
and was on his way back home, when—
O daughter of Zeus—you intervened . . .
. . . . . .

*

6. Telestorides

Of the remaining fragments known to belong in Book 1 (32–42 Pf.), only four (32, 33, 37, 41) preserve the words of Callimachus himself, the others consisting merely of references to material he treated in this book. Fragment 32 is too poorly preserved to render. Fragment 33 refers to a distant relative of Penelope's:

Telestorides, four-year-old son of Damasos

though in what context cannot be determined. Penelope brings to mind the Trojan War; Telestorides, possibly her grandfather, need not do so. But the story of Teuthis, as we have seen, takes place just as the war is beginning; fragments 34–5 have to do with the Locrian maidens, whose tale unfolds after it ends.

7. The Locrian Maidens

In fragment 34 all we learn is that Callimachus mentioned *Phalakre* in the first book of the *Aitia*. Phalakre, one of the three peaks of Mount Ida at Troy, had supplied Paris with timber for the ships in which he sailed on the fateful journey that brought Helen and destruction from Greece (Lycophron, *Alexandra* 24). For this reason, a branch of wood from Phalakre is among the weapons with which the people of Troy might kill any of the Locrian maidens they could catch (ibid. 1170). The connection between these Locrian maidens and Troy is clarified in a pair of scholia (35 Pf).

The first of these explains the phrase 'swift Aias, son of Oileus', at *Iliad* 13. 66:

> Aias was a Locrian by birth, from the city of Opous, and his father was Oileus. It was he who after the sack of Troy became the cause of destruction for the Greeks. For he defiled Cassandra, the daughter of Priam, though she was Athena's suppliant, in the goddess's precinct, with the result that the goddess turned the eyes of her wooden statue to the ceiling and roused great storms against the Greeks when they were on their way home and were near Euboia, so that many of them perished. But Aias, having swum across to the rocks known as Gyradai, boasted that he had been saved unbeknownst to the gods. Poseidon, offended, split the rock asunder and hurled Aias to the waves. His corpse drifted to Delos where Thetis, in pity, buried it. But Athena even so did not relent in her wrath, but compelled the Locrians to send maidens chosen by lot to Ilion, every year for a thousand years. The story is found in Callimachus in the first book of the *Aitia* and, in abbreviated form, in Homer, in the fourth book of the *Odyssey* (499–511).

The second scholion explains the phrase 'grief for many women' in Lycophron (*Alexandra* 1141):

> A plague having taken hold of Locris on account of the unlawful marriage inflicted by Aias on Cassandra, the god decreed that they send maidens every year for a thousand years to Troy for Athena. And those who were sent were killed by the Trojans. For the Trojans, advancing to meet them, stoned them; and if any escaped and came in secret into Athena's temple, these became priestesses for the rest of their lives. And they burned those who had been killed with wild, leafless timber, and cast their bones from Mount Traron of Troy into the sea. And the Locrians sent others again. Callimachus too makes mention of this story.

How much of this Callimachus presented is unknown. Pfeiffer warned against assuming that he presented it all. The angry deities, Athena and Poseidon, recall the wrathful Apollo of the Linos story. Aias raping Cassandra in Athena's temple is a much more serious example of sacrilege than the pirates stealing the golden crown of Leukadian Artemis, but both are sacrileges, and a wooden statue figures in each. The ritual of the Locrian maidens, with its peculiar details, such as the branch from Phalakre, instrument of death, could have supplied material for an *aition* as recherché as any we have seen so far.

8. The Birth of Athena

We come now to the last two fragments definitely known to have had a place somewhere in Book 1. The first addresses Athena:

> As you were then, near the waters
> of Triton Asbystes—Hephaistos
> had his birthing axe sharpened—
> when you sprang, armed
> from the forehead of your divine father

We do not know what occasioned this reminiscence of Athena's birth on the shores of Lake Tritonis, in Libya, not far from Cyrene. It may have figured in a passage dealing with the Argonauts, who come there both in Pindar (*Pythian* 4. 20–3) and Apollonius (*Argonautica* 4. 1391). Apollonius even describes the birth of Athena on the site, echoing, when he does so, Callimachus' description of the same event. The description may belong, then, earlier in the book, in the *aition* covered by our lines 74–136, though it is also possible that Callimachus turned to Athena at some later point, in some other context.

9. Old age

The last fragment picks up a strand from even earlier. Callimachus had complained in the Prologue of the burden of old age (lines 44–6). At some later point in Book 1, he had occasion to imagine an alleviating circumstance:

That old man ages more lightly whom boys love
and bring as their own father, by the hand
all the way to his door

AITIA 2

1. Peleus on Ikos; Heroes Summoned Anonymously

The format of Book 1, in which the poet asked questions answered by the Muses, each speaking in turn, is modified momentarily at the opening of Book 2: we find, instead of a Muse, a mortal interlocutor. Callimachus is at a symposium, seated beside a like-minded guest from the island of Ikos. It is to him that he puts his questions.

The host of the symposium was probably named in the opening lines, now lost. We know who he was, however, from Athenaeus, who identifies him as a certain Pollis, an Athenian resident in Alexandria. Though far from home, Pollis keeps up the traditions of his native land:

A
Nor was he caught unawares
on Opening Morning or when Orestes' Pitchers
let the slaves unwind:
and to observe
the anniversary of Ikarios' child—
your day, Erigone, mourned
by the women of Attica—he set a feast
and summoned his friends, among them now
a foreigner who was visiting Egypt, just arrived
on private business, an Ikian by birth:
I shared a couch with him, purely
by chance, though I wouldn't doubt

Homer's saying, that a god always brings
like to like.
Like me, he looked with horror
on Thracian drinking, gulping the wine
with jaws agape, and took delight instead
in the little ivycup.
When the bottle came round
the third time, and I'd got to know
his name and family, I said to him:
'Well, it rings true enough,
the old saying, *Wine wants not only*
its share of water, but also
its share of talk! Let's you and I,
Theogenes, toss ours in right now, a drug
against this tiresome drinking!
They don't pass it around in ladles,
you know, and as for the waiters, don't bother
glancing at *them* for it, a free man
begging a stubborn slave.
Tell me
what I'm dying to hear from you:
Why do you Ikians worship Peleus,
the Myrmidon king? *What* has Thessaly
to do with Ikos, and *why* . . . does the girl
with an onion . . .
in the hero's procession . . .

Peleus, king of Phthia in Thessaly, had died on Ikos. In his honour and presumably at his tomb, the Ikians perform a curious ritual the details of which intrigue Callimachus. He has just mentioned one of them: the girl carrying an onion. The text of the poem breaks up just as he appears to be apologizing for his ignorance:

'as those who know inform me, [sailors] . . .
[I don't know myself] . . .
her, who [ran] around your [island] . . .
nor have I heard of such another . . .
[though I spend my life]
with ears at the ready,

for those willing to tell.'
Thus I, and he . . .
'Happy three times over, and lucky
as few people are, if yours is a life
ignorant of seafaring! As for me,
I've been more at home among the waves
than a seagull

Of the answer he went on to give to Callimachus' questions nothing survives except, perhaps, this reference to Peleus, who

B

'had not yet become
lord of the Phthians'

The next fragment opens with eleven lines, less than the last third of each surviving in barely legible condition. They contain, however, a number of traces suggesting the end of the Ikian's speech. At line 2 of the papyrus text there may be a reference to the *koureion*, a rite in which 4-year-old boys (*kouroi*) lay locks of their hair at the tomb of a hero, and the word 'tomb', clearly legible at line 4, seems to confirm it. The mention of Thetis, wife of Peleus, in line 6 suggests that the tomb may belong to the hero about whose worship on the island Callimachus had enquired. We then come upon him expressing his appreciation for the answer he got from the Ikian:

C

For what I put on my head at the time—
expensive auburn ointments, fragrant garlands—
faded on the spot, and the food
that went between my teeth
and into my ingrate belly, of that too
nothing remained in the morning:
what I put
in my ears alone stays with me still

The ensuing lines are too poorly preserved to enable us to guess exactly how the poet managed the transition from mortal to immortal interlocutor. Fortunately, when we find him talking to the Muses again, the general context is clear enough. Having learned from the Ikian why the hero Peleus is worshipped on Ikos, he thinks of another

problem in regard to hero cult: why, he now asks, do they invoke the founding hero anonymously in the Sicilian city of Zankle?

The question as to that particular practice is preceded by an elaborate display of familiarity with customs elsewhere. The poet knows, for example, how the Naxians invoke their hero:

. . . 'Come, Theokles, to Naxos'

and that the Thapsians call on theirs with

. . . the cry, 'O Thapsos!'

and after a pair of lines too fragmentary to render here we find him thinking of yet another Sicilian town:

Nor will I leave out Kamarina
where Hipparis winds his crooked way

After three more lines that are virtually obliterated in the papyrus, the catalogue of cities about which the poet is adequately informed continues in full swing:

I know the city lying by the mouth
of the Gelas, proud of her ancient lineage
sprung from Lindos,
and Cretan Minoa
where the daughters of Kokalos
treated Europa's son
to a boiling bath.
I know of Leontinoi . . .
and one set of Megarians
sent there by another, those of Nisaia.
I can tell
of Euboia and Eryx, loved by the Lady
of the Witching Belt: in none of these
does he who built the walls
ever come to his feast unnamed.'
I finished there
and Clio, her hand upon her sister's shoulder,
began her second answer:
'The one folk
from Kume, the other from Chalkis, led

by Perieres and mighty Krataimenes,
having set foot on Trinakrië
were in process of walling their city
without precautions—they forgot
the *harpasos*, a bird builders hate
most of all, unless a heron follow it: it casts
an evil eye on the tower soaring
and the cords measuring, when surveyors
lay them down, plotting out
alleyways and thoroughfares. See to it
that you go [blest] by the wings of a hawk, if ever
. . . you lead a people to new lands.
But when
the builders had reared
towers and battlements in a ring
encircling Kronos' reaping hook (for there,
caverned below, hidden underground,
lay the sickle Kronos used
to lop his father's genitals)
[they deliberated] about the city, the one . . .
. . . but the other was against it
and stood his ground, so there was
no end in sight.
They went to Apollo,
asking which one should give his name
to the new foundation. But the god replied,
"The town belongs neither to Perieres
nor to father Krataimenes."
The oracle received,
they went their ways, and ever since,
the land has summoned its founder
not by name, the officiants, instead,
calling him like this:
Come to the feast,
you who built our town, come
in good cheer, bringing, if you like,
two or more: no small pool of blood

waits where the ox has fallen.'
She stopped there
but wonder kept on growing in me: I wanted
additional knowledge:
'Why does Haliartos,
the city of Kadmos, celebrate
the Cretan Theodaisia
by the stream Kissousa, and . . .
incense, only in the cities . . .
and the land of Minos offers it
in huge censers . . .
. . . the spring of Rhadamanthys . . .
traces of his legislation, left
. . . and now among them, this piece of wisdom . . .
. . . . . .
having borne her son, Dionysos Zagreus
. . . . . .

The fragment contines for another fifteen lines, too damaged to render here.

2–7. Other Cities, Other Myths

The rest of Book 2 is mostly lost. A few fragments that we know belonged to it suggest that cities continued to hold the poet's interest. Stephanus of Byzantium tells us that 'Kyneteia, a city of Argos' appeared in Book 2 (50 Pf.). Two references to Epaphroditus' *Commentary on Book II of Callimachus' Aitia* inform us that Delphi (52 Pf.) and Dodona (53 Pf.) were both subjects of *aitia* there. Mention of a 'daughter of Athamas' (49 Pf.) may have figured in an account of the founding of Teos; the phrase is quoted in a scholion to *Iliad* 9. 193, with ascription to 'Callimachus in *Aitia* 2'. A lone fragment celebrates the renown of Athens as a place of refuge:

2

because, alone among cities, it knew
how to pity

Sikyon, ancient Mekone, known to Hesiod (*Theogony* 535–6) as the place where gods and mortals had their fateful meeting, may also have

received treatment in the lost portions of Book 2, a book in which Callimachus seems to have turned on several occasions to events having to do with the foundation of the present world-order:

3

to look again upon Mekone, abode
of the Blessed Ones, where the gods
cast lots, when first they divided
the honours among them, fresh from war
against the Giants

We cannot tell for certain whether these lines occurred originally in Book 2, but the next fragment, dealing with events preceding the establishment of Zeus' sovereignty, certainly did. We read in Homer that Zeus and Hera, unbeknownst to their parents, made love before their marriage (*Iliad* 14. 296). That would have been during the reign of Kronos, the brutal inauguration of which is alluded to above (89–92). Callimachus puts the emphasis on how long Zeus had to wait. The fragment starts in mid-sentence, as if it were quoting someone who told

4

how Zeus spent three hundred years
hungering

Our last three fragments before the Epilogue suggest that Callimachus ended Book 2 with a section devoted to the Sicilian city of Akragas. The fragments have to do, directly or indirectly, with Phalaris, an historical figure whose reign as tyrant of Akragas can be dated between *c.*570 and 550 BC. Phalaris was notorious for his cruel treatment of strangers: he roasted them alive in a brazen bull. Callimachus seems to have suggested that he modelled his behaviour on that of another king, also notorious for his savagery against strangers, the Egyptian Busiris, whose bloody career was brought to an end by Heracles.

The story of Busiris is told in a number of ancient sources. Egypt had been suffering from drought for nine years when a certain Phrasios arrived from Cyprus and informed the king that he could placate the wrath of Zeus by offering a stranger's blood upon the god's altar every year. Busiris, grateful for the information, promptly offered Phrasios himself as the first victim from abroad. He then continued offering other foreign victims year after year.

The first of our three remaining fragments evidently comes from the early part of the story:

5

Before that time, for nine years
Egypt lay parched

How much space Callimachus gave the story of Busiris cannot be determined. The next fragment draws the parallel between him and his Sicilian counterpart:

6

Phalaris modelled his own deed on his

Busiris made his first victim the man who had suggested to him the idea of sacrificing strangers. Phalaris acted in similar fashion. The brazen bull was not his own idea. According to a number of ancient sources, it was the work of a certain Perillos. The author of the *Parallela minora*, falsely ascribed to Plutarch, speaks of a cow instead of a bull, saying that Perillos brought it to Phalaris 'in order that he might burn strangers alive in it' (op. cit. 39 A). Phalaris thanked Perillos by making him the bull's first victim:

7

For he who made the bull of death in bronze
and fire was first to try it out

8. Epilogue

Book 2 seems to have ended with Phalaris. At any rate, we now have a papyrus in which the last of the Phalaris fragments appears, followed, after a gap and at the bottom of the same page, by a new fragment, written in the same hand, of what looks to be part of the original Epilogue of the book:

A

so evils come to mortals
from evils, and the powers of death
swirl around them: even the blown husk
has nowhere to hide

The text of the opening is doubtful, but the gist of the whole is clear. 'Evils . . . from evils' glances back, to the Busiris–Phalaris section of this book, with its ingenious villains punished by their own devices, then all the way to the opening of Book 1, the Prologue as we have it, where, at its conclusion, 'Evil devised against another | eats the heart of its deviser' (1. 58–9) and, at its opening, the spite of the Telchines turns on themselves (1. 10–11). Nor is that all: the Prologue had depicted the poet's dream, in which he began his conversation with the Muses on Mount Helikon. We find, now, someone, presumably the poet, who is

139 . . . not asleep . . .

Evidently, at the end of Book 2, the sleeping poet awoke and his dialogue with the Muses came to an end. The text is extremely fragmentary, but three lines further down appears the phrase

140 . . . delightful vision . . .

a backward glance, perhaps, at the whole experience embodied in *Aitia* 1–2. Next we come upon a line that was quoted, centuries later, by Artemidorus in his *Interpretation of Dreams*, another sign that the fragment before us had to do with dreaming or, more precisely, with waking from a dream. The poet, reflecting on what he has received from the Muses, describes, as it applies to himself, the nature of divine generosity:

141 *small to small* is ever
the gods' way of giving

Again, the text is very broken, but clear traces of a major recapitulation emerge:

. . . the dream . . .
. . . beginning from the Muses . . .
145 . . . [to?] when the goddess's [voice] left off . . .
. . . . . .

So reads the newly discovered fragment of the Epilogue. Exactly how it fused with the portion of the Epilogue published earlier by Pfeiffer (section B, below) cannot be determined. Both parts are alike in looking back to the beginning. Callimachus had alluded to Queen Arsinoë in the Prologue, where the scholia indicate that he had then called her a 'tenth Muse'. He speaks to her now, at the end, in the same terms.

The opening of his address is very poorly preserved; as it progresses, however, we find that though he speaks to Arsinoë directly he is, himself, at one remove, not in the first but in the third person. Callimachus as he is now, awake, recalls the boy he had been in his dream, conversing with the Muses on Mount Helikon. He then closes with a quick glance forward, to his next poetic venture:

B

146 . . . when my Muse . . .
. . . and of the Graces . . . of my Queen
. . . with lips that do not lie . . .
he called you noble in all
150 and fruitful in all . . .
. . . with whom the Muses shared
their stories as he grazed his many sheep
where the swift horse left its print:
Farewell, and be on your way with even
155 greater prosperity.
A big farewell
to you too, Zeus, and may you keep
safe the house of our lords entire.
As for me,
the pasture where the Muses *walk*
is where I'm heading now.

Iambi

1. FOR THE WISEST OF THE WISE

In the first of his *Iambi* Callimachus adopts the persona of Hipponax returned from the dead and in that guise urges certain 'men of learning' (attached, perhaps, to the Alexandrian Museum) not to vie with one another for pre-eminence. The *Diegesis* quotes the opening line and summarizes the fable used by 'Hipponax' to press his point:

> He imagines the dead Hipponax summoning the men of learning to the temple known as Parmenion's Sarapidion: when they have come in droves, he advises them against envying one another, recounting how Bathykles the Arcadian, on the point of death, distributed the rest of his property and then handed over to Amphalkes, his middle son, a golden cup in particular, with the instruction that he should bestow it on the best of the Seven Wise Men. Amphalkes then, going to Miletos, tried to give it to Thales as the one superior to the others, but Thales sent him off to Bias of Priene, who sent him off to Periander of Corinth, who sent him to Solon the Athenian, who sent him to Chilon the Lakedaimonian, who sent him to Pittakos of Mytilene, who sent him to Kleoboulos of Lindos. And the latter having sent the cup back again to Thales, Thales, having won the prize for the best twice, dedicated it to Didymean Apollo. Wherefore, he advised . . . [not] to contend . . . with one another . . .

The opening is well preserved:

> Listen to Hipponax! That's right:
> I'm back from hell, where an ox
> sells for a penny. I'm back,
> loaded with *iambi*
> aimed not at old Boupalos . . .

A line of Greek is missing between lines 5 and 6 of the translation. Perhaps, after 'aimed not at old Boupalos', the poet continued 'but at you

> . . . O men of today! . . . feather brains . . .

The words 'of Dionysos', 'of the Muses', and 'of Apollo' occur in the next two lines of the papyrus, too fragmentary to render here. When the text resumes, 'Hipponax' is summoning his audience to the temple of Sarapis ('the Sarapidion') mentioned in the *Diegesis*:

> 'Come on,
> all together now, to the temple
> outside the walls, where the gaffer
> who dreamed up 'Panchaian Zeus
> of olden times' is scribbling books,
> babbling blasphemies

The next fourteen lines of the Greek are too fragmentary to make out. A number of tantalizing traces (Greek, line 12: 'for within'; 14: 'altars'; 15: 'to Hades') suggest a continuing description of the situation as the crowd gathers outside the temple. There may have been a programmatic statement of some sort (Greek, line 17: 'Muse'; 21: '*iambus*'), perhaps even a word in defence of the book about to begin, warning the audience against condemning it as 'unmetrical' (Greek, 23). The text then becomes legible again:

> Apollo! Gentlemen! Look at them,
> swarming there—like flies around a goatherd,
> wasps out of the ground, Delphians
> after a sacrifice! Hekate, what a mob!
> 'Baldy', out of breath, will puff away,
> hoping not to be stripped of his cynic rags!
> Be quiet, now! And take down my speech!
> Once upon a time, a long while ago,
> there was
> (now don't turn
> your nose up at me, my good friend,
> I won't be long: I too
> am pressed for time, but it's
> the rapids of Acheron
> must whirl *me* away)
> there was
> a man of Arcadia, Bathykles, happy,
> possessed of everything that moves a man

or god to thank his lucky stars. But when
he was gazing over the brink, nearing
the end of a good life, confined
to his bed (arthritis had him down),
he called his sons (all of them
ready to go girl crazy) and said
(his body, like a drinker's, propped
on his elbow, straining, eyes raised
to the ceiling) . . . 'Children, my anchors
as I slip away

In the ensuing gap (approximately 15 lines), Bathykles entrusted the golden cup to 'his middle son, Amphalkes' to give to 'the best of the Seven Wise Men' (*Diegesis*). We now find him launched on the quest described in the *Diegesis*:

To Miletos, then, he sailed: Thales
had got the nod, a shrewd fellow, known
(among other things) for tracing out
the little stars that dot the Wain
and help Phoinikian sailors steer the waves.
The relic from before the moon
found the old man (a bird
of good omen presiding over the scene)
in Didymean Apollo's temple, pointer
in hand, sketching
figures in the dirt—a circle
with a scalene triangle inscribed in it,
Phrygian Euphorbos' discovery, who taught
all who cared to know
(those down on their luck, that is)
the virtues of a meatless diet.
He came upon him there, and said . . . taking
that cup of pure gold
out of his pouch: 'My father
wanted this bestowed upon the wisest
of you wise men, the famous Seven: and I
award the prize to you.' The old man struck
the ground with his stick

and gave his answer, his free hand
scratching out his beard:
'For my part,
I won't accept; for yours, if you're
determined to obey his orders,
Bias . . .'

A gap of approximately twenty lines occurs at this point. If, as seems likely, Callimachus introduced the Seven Wise Men in the order given by the *Diegesis*, Periander would have followed Bias, then Solon and Chilon, who appear together in a line quoted by an ancient grammarian:

66 Solon, who sent him off to Chilon

After Chilon, Amphalkes visited Pittakos and Kleoboulos, who sent him back to Thales. Another line from this portion of the narrative is quoted by the same grammarian as above:

67 and back again it came to Thales

The cup has now come full circle. According to the *Diegesis*, Thales finally dedicated it to Didymean Apollo, implying that wisdom is best ascribed to the gods. We owe our last two lines from this section of the poem to Diogenes Laertius, who quotes them in his biography of Thales. The wise man's dedicatory epigram read:

68 The god who gives the Neleans advice
now owns the goblet won by Thales twice

Some twenty more lines of the poem survive on papyrus, most of them too fragmentary to translate. Pfeiffer thought they had to do with the men of learning contending among themselves. They might also describe the reaction of the audience to the appearance of a poet like Callimachus/Hipponax:

70 'Madman!' they shout when they see him:
'Run for it! Run! He's dangerous!'
. . . . . .

The poet (if it's he) is dangerous, but straightforward. The following lines, perhaps, contrast him with an adversary of a different sort:

72 But your Korykian will curl his tongue
like a drinking dog and gape
behind your back, saying . . .
. . . . . .

The poem closes with fragmentary phrases suggesting the portrait of an impoverished poet, most likely Hipponax himself:

75 . . . he alone took the Muses up
. . . chewing green figs
. . . . . .

In the end, we find him thinking of his return to Hades:

77 . . . Charon's . . .
. . . Time to sail back
. . . . . .

2. HOW MEN GOT THEIR VOICES

The second *Iambus* tells a tale from Aesop. The *Diegesis* reads:

> The other animals used to share in speech with mankind, until a swan petitioned the gods for deliverance from old age, and a fox had the temerity to say that Zeus ruled unjustly. From that moment Zeus transferred their speech to human beings, and men became loquacious. Eudemos, he says in mockery, got the voice of a dog, and Philton of an ass, and, also in mockery, he called Aesop a Sardian.

The opening survives intact:

> It was the time when birds
> and fish and quadrupeds conversed
> just like the mud-pies of Prometheus

A gap of as many as seventeen lines occurs at this point in the papyrus. According to Pfeiffer, the missing lines would have described the swan's embassy to the gods, mentioned in the *Diegesis*. When the text resumes, we seem to hear the fox bringing its complaint to an end. Things were better

in the days of Kronos, and even earlier . . .',
5 it [said], and . . .

In the rest of the poem, the poet himself appears to be the speaker. His words are addressed to a certain Andronikos:

> Granted, Zeus is just, but that decree
> of his was not, depriving the beasts
> of language . . . (as if we didn't have
> enough to spare, to spread around) . . .
10 . . . of men: Eudemos has a dog's voice,
> Philton an ass's, a parrot's went to . . .
> and our tragic actors talk like fishes
> in the sea: the whole human race
> has been garrulity and babble ever since
15 that time, O Andronikos. So
> Aesop of Sardis said, whose tune
> was not a hit among the Delphians.

Aesop had recited a fable berating the Delphians for the practice alluded to in *Iambus* 1. 14–15. Enraged, the Delphians hurled him over a cliff or stoned him to death. The writer who speaks the truth (like the 'Madman' in the previous poem, perhaps) risks offending his audience.

3. MONEY IS THE MAN

The fox in the previous poem apparently preferred the past, when Kronos ruled, to the present, when Zeus is king. We meet a similar sentiment here: the poem opens with the wish to have been born in an earlier, better age. The *Diegesis* reads:

> He finds fault with the present for belonging more to wealth than virtue, and accepts the earlier period as being of the opposite persuasion from this. He also takes a swipe at a certain Euthydemos for putting his youthful good looks to profitable use (his mother had arranged a meeting between him and a rich man).

The poem itself is for the most part poorly preserved. The *Diegesis* quotes the opening line:

> I wish I'd lived, Apollo, before my time

but from there almost to the end the surviving papyri afford us only tantalizing glimpses. The phrase 'mightily you . . .' in the second line of the papyrus perhaps began a passage in which the poet described the good old days, when the power of Apollo (god of poetry) was more in evidence than it is now. The ensuing lines, at any rate, seem to describe the present as the opposite of the past. What was above then, now

7 . . . must lie below
. . . we dwell

(perhaps) in a time when

9 . . . life has turned topsy-turvy

and (again, perhaps) a young man drops everything,

10 . . . Phoibos, to go whoring

Six more lines surviving in broken bits bring us to the heart of the matter:

17 . . . alas, my indigence!

The next line addresses someone, perhaps Euthydemos:

18 . . . since you went astray

Six lines later we find

24 . . . just so Euthydemos' mother

a trace, perhaps, of the scene sketched in the *Diegesis*: the mother introducing her son to the rich man. We then hear of the consequences for the poet unable to compete financially:

25 . . . now they've nothing to do with me

and, in the most intriguing passage of the poem, we get this glimpse of a scene confirming, perhaps, the poet's worst fears:

26 . . . 'Hello,' I said, when we met
. . . He gave me his right hand . . . my heart
. . . said he'd see me during the holidays
and . . .

What the poet has to offer is not enough:

30 . . . I had a good education, even
. . . thought a glimpse of virtue dawned on me
. . . and the gods twiddling their thumbs
. . . the bastard, rotten to the core . . .

The best-preserved lines occur at the end, a fantastic outburst by the disillusioned poet:

. . . I'd have been better off
35 tossing my hair for Cybele
to the drone of Phrygian oboes, or wearing
my robe to my ankles, lamenting
Aphrodite's man, 'Adonis! Oh, Adonis!'
Insane, I chose the Muse instead
40 and now must lie where I've made my bed.

4. DISPUTE BETWEEN THE OLIVE AND THE LAUREL

We return to the theme of the opening poem, assertion of one's supremacy. The poem is better preserved than any of the other *Iambi*, but even so there are things in the *Diegesis* that do not appear in the extant portions:

> The poet was arguing with one of his rivals when a certain Simos who happened to be near by interrupted the two of them, as if he were their equal. The poet calls him a Thracian . . . a stealer of boys. And he appends the following fable: how a laurel and an olive tree that grew near each other on Mount Tmolus were arguing about their pre-eminence, and each had listed the useful qualities belonging to it. But as they kept on arguing at length, an old bramble bush that grew near them interrupted: 'Stop, before we become a joy to our enemies.' Looking askance at her, the laurel says, 'Talk about insults! So you are one of us, are you?' . . .

Either the author of this summary assumed the context of an argument between the poet and 'one of his rivals', or he found it depicted in the portions of the poem that are now unreadable, at the beginning, where there is only a little space, or at the end, where there is more space but not more certainty. Equally undeterminable is the point in the poem

where the unfortunate Simos was called 'a Thracian' and 'a stealer of boys'.

'Thracian' could mean 'barbaric, crude', but in view of its pairing with 'stealer of boys' it is likely to have had a pederastic connotation as well: pederasty was thought to have been introduced among the Thracians by Orpheus. Its presence in *Iambus* 4 would have linked it with the poems preceding and following it.

The opening plunges us *in medias res*: Simos, the 'son of Charitades', has just intruded into the argument mentioned in the *Diegesis*:

> What? You too, one of us,
> is that it, son of Charitades? . . .

After four illegible lines, the poem continues:

> Hear the fable: Once upon a time,
> say the Lydians of old, a laurel
> quarrelled with an olive on Tmolus . . .
> and the lovely tree . . .
> shaking its young branches . . .

The last two lines refer, perhaps, to the laurel. If so, the next two lines of Greek, too fragmentary to render here, may have contained her challenge to the olive. We hear from the olive next:

> 'Consider me the least of all trees
> . . . . . .
> a poor thing . . .'
> . . . . . .

Then from the laurel:

> 'Foolish olive . . .
> . . . . . .
> The god who has his home on Delos . . .

A gap of a line or so occurs here. When the text resumes, the laurel is in full swing:

> 'Your left side's as white
> as a snake's belly, your right's
> exposed, bombarded by the sun.
> Is there a house whose doorpost I
> do not adorn? A seer, a sacrificer
> who does not carry me? The Pythia
> sits on laurel, sings of laurel,
> makes her bed of laurel.
> Foolish olive, didn't Branchos set
> the children of the Ionians, smarting
> under Apollo's ire,
> back on their feet again
> with a touch of laurel
> and two or three mystical utterances?
> I grace the feast, I join
> the Pythaïstai, I am the prize: it's me
> the Dorians pluck and bring
> from Tempe's peaks
> to Delphi for Apollo's sacred games.
> Foolish olive, I know not pain,
> the undertaker's paths
> are alien to me, for I
> am holy: no human beings
> tread me down, for I
> am sacred. But it's with you
> they drape their heads as they proceed
> to burn a corpse
> or stick it in the ground, it's you
> they tuck under the ribs
> of the lifeless thing.' She stopped
> and said no more.
>
> The mother
> of the ointment answered, unperturbed:
> 'Most lovely one of all, just like
> Apollo's swan, you kept
> the loveliest of all my claims
> to sing of last: may I never
> weary doing what you mention there!
> Those whom Ares has cut down
> I follow to the end . . .
> . . . . . .
> When children bear a white Tethys

or grizzled Tithonos
to the grave, I myself go with them
and strew their path. I take
more joy in them than you in your parade
from Tempe. Which brings to mind
that "prize" you mentioned: how am I not
a nobler prize than you? Shall we compare
Olympia with Delphi?
Silence, I think, is better. You'll hear
no mumbled praise or censure, not
from me at any rate,
but a long while ago, a pair
of birds sat twittering
in my branches—the chatterboxes! Here's
the gist of what they said:
"Well then, who discovered laurel?
Earth . . . and . . .
like ilex, like holm, like galingale, like pine.
And whose creation was the olive?
Pallas Athena's, when she strove
for Attica against the Lord
of the Sea Wrack, and the primeval man,
a serpent below, judged between them.
Strike one for the laurel!
Next, of the gods
who live for ever, which one
honours the olive, which the laurel?
Apollo the laurel, Athena
the olive she created. *A tie*:
I make no distinction between gods.
Then what is the laurel's fruit,
of what use is it to me? Better not
eat it, better not
drink it, better not rub it in.
From the olive comes, first, the tasty
morsel called an olive cake, and then
there's oil for ointment,
and finally the *kolymbas*

gulped, once, by Theseus himself. That's
Strike two for the laurel!
Now, whose leafy branches
do suppliants hold in their hands?
The olive's, of course:
Strike three for the laurel!"
(Goodness, they never tire
of their chatter! Sassy crow,
aren't your lips sore?)
"Whose trunk do they preserve on Delos?
Why, the trunk of the olive
that gave Leto respite"'

. . . . . .

So she spoke. The laurel's heart stung
at her words and swelled up
more than before, aching to join
battle again, until
a bramble bush sprouting
in the gravel not far from where
the two trees grew piped in: 'Won't
we put an end to our wrangling, if only
not to give our enemies
something to rejoice in? No more
cursing one another, so shameful, really . . .'
But the laurel cast
a sideward glance at her, a bull's glare
and said: 'Talk about insults!
So you are one of us, are you?
God forbid! My gorge rises
at the sight of you!
. . . No, by Phoibos! No, by the Lady
of Clashing Cymbals!
No, by Paktolos!'

. . . . . .

5. ADVICE TO A PEDERASTIC SCHOOLTEACHER

He lampoons a schoolteacher by the name of Apollonios (Kleon, according to others) for debauching his own pupils, exhorting him, in the guise of one concerned, to cease doing it, lest he be caught.

So reads the *Diegesis*. The doubt as to the addressee's identity indicates that it was not clearly stated in the poem itself, and, indeed, no trace of his name appears in the fragments. As an elementary schoolteacher, however, he is close to the lowest of the low in society, and the opening lines rub it in:

Listen, friend (advice is a sacred thing—
here's some from the heart) . . .
Since it's your fate [to teach] the ABC's . . .
not in the best way . . .

The next seventeen lines are too fragmentary to render. When the text picks up again, the speaker is launched into his advice:

keep that up and you'll pay for it:
the fire you've kindled, then, before
it flames up huge,
while still it tiptoes over the ash—
put it to sleep. Rein in
your frenzied horses, don't round the post
a second time: they'll smash
the car and fling you head over heels
into the dust.
No kidding, friend:
I'm your Bakis and your sibyl, your laurel
and your oak. But figure it out
yourself, don't apply for help to Pittheus:
. . . even a deaf man would get the point.

The poem continued for another thirty-five lines, too fragmentary to translate.

6. ZEUS' STATUE AT OLYMPIA

Another poem addressed to a particular person. The *Diegesis* describes the situation:

An acquaintance of his being on the point of departure to see the statue of Olympian Zeus in Elis, he describes for him the length, height, and width of the pedestal, of the throne, of the footstool, and of the god himself, and how great [had been] its cost, and that the sculptor was Phidias of Athens, son of Charmides.

We cannot tell from this whether the 'acquaintance' in question asked for the information or simply found himself treated to it.

Like *Iambus* 4, the poem opens abruptly:

The Zeus of Elis, by Phidias

There is a gap at this point, twenty lines in which we can make out only a word or two. They might have clarified the context of the opening line, or left it to be inferred. When we can read the Greek again, the speaker is describing the dimensions of Phidias' masterpiece:

and the throne's golden base . . . extends
. . . twenty feet in width

Little if anything can be made of the next twelve lines, after which we find

and the god himself rises five
cubits higher than the throne.
. . . Nike and . . .

In the next legible segment, the speaker varies his approach, fancifully letting one group of statues, the Seasons perched on top of Zeus' throne, compare themselves with another, the Graces, also standing there:

For the virginal Seasons say
they are shorter than those six-footers
by no more than a peg.

He then comes to a subject more likely to interest the vulgar tourist than the aesthete:

45 Now, for the cost (you'll lap this up
from me, I'm sure)—it's
. . . incalculable . . .
. . . in gold

Ten lines with nothing legible follow here. Then, in the closing lines, we find mention of 'Phidias' (59), 'Athena' (60), and 'Phidias' father' (61). The poem ends with

62 . . . be on your way.

7. THE STATUE FROM THE SEA

The next five poems form a series: each presents an *aition*.

Iambus 7, like *Iambus* 6, has to do with a god's statue. The *Diegesis* is extensive:

> 'Hermes Hand to Hand' is worshipped in the city of Ainos in Thrace for the following reason: Epeios, prior to fashioning the wooden horse, had fashioned a (statue of) Hermes which the river Scamander, in flood, had swept over and washed away. The statue was carried over the sea till it was offshore near Ainos, whence certain fishermen drew it out in their net. When they beheld it, they were disappointed in their catch and attempted to split it up and burn it to warm themselves but, striking it, they managed to do no more than leave the impression of a wound in its shoulder, and they were completely exhausted; next they tried to burn it whole, but the fire merely poured around it. Giving up, they cast it back into the sea. But when they caught it in their net again, thinking it was a god or belonged to a god, they set up a shrine for it on the shore and made it an offering of their catch, passing the statue 'from hand to hand' among them. Finally, advised by an oracle of Apollo, they welcomed the statue into their city and worshipped it equally with the gods.

The poem evidently accounted for the cult title borne by the statue: *Hermes Perpheraios*, 'Hermes Hand to Hand'. The statue speaks throughout:

Hermes Hand to Hand am I (that's how
the Ainians worship me), a minor
. . . opus from the spear-shy
carpenter of the horse

From here to line 41 the text is too fragmentary to render. Traces of words and phrases occur that seem to fit the story as given in the *Diegesis*. At line 13 we meet 'the Scamander in a boil'. 'Downstream' 2 lines later may come from a description of the statue's journey to the sea. Line 17 seems to have 'me in their nets'. There are a pair of addresses to 'divinities of the sea' at lines 19 and 23. These could be appeals for help, whether by the fishermen hauling or by the statue itself, eager to come to land again. The imperative 'ward off destruction' at 25 seems to fit the latter context better: the statue praying for deliverance.

After that comes a gap of thirteen lines (26–38). Partially readable text resumes at 39 with someone 'glancing once at the stars'. There might be a reference to 'fire' in 40. The first half of 41 reads 'The tale broke off'. Perhaps the fishermen have been telling stories around the fire at night. By 42 we seem to have reached the point in the story where they try to use the statue for firewood. The statue defends itself:

42 from slender kindling:
I [worked] against that [flame] . . .
with my incantations:

There is hardly enough room for the fishermen to realize that there is something peculiar about the statue, yet that seems to be the train of thought:

45 and they said . . .
'No, don't put it back in [the fire]'

The summary in the *Diegesis* would suggest that at this point the fisherman decide to throw it back into the sea:

47a He spoke, and . . .

(possibly) advised that they cast

47b me into the sea . . .

Following a gap at the end of line 47b, we have

48 a spear-fisherman came.

None of the fishermen being singled out in the *Diegesis*, we can only guess at the role played by this one. There is no gap between his arrival and the last sentence that can be made out before the poem ends; it describes the second attempt by the fishermen to catch some fish:

49 They hurled, but again from the brine

The text trails off just before the second appearance of the statue in the net.

8. VICTORY SONG FOR POLYKLES OF AIGINA

According to the *Diegesis*, Callimachus in this poem described a peculiar athletic contest held on the island of Aigina, and then told a myth that accounts for it:

> A victory song for Polykles of Aigina, who won in the Amphora Race there. The contest was as follows: at the end of the stadium they put an amphora full of water; the contestant, empty-handed, runs up to it, picks it up, and runs back, winning the race if he gets back with it first. For the Argonauts, putting in at Aigina, had contended there with one another in speed at water-drawing. It is called 'The Water-carrying Contest'.

Apollonius of Rhodes, relying, perhaps, on Callimachus, fills in some of the details: the Argonauts, landing at Aigina, in need of water but also anxious to take advantage of the prevailing wind, competed with one another in a race to supply the ship with water, and the Aiginetans have imitated them ever since (*Argonautica* 4. 1765–72).

Callimachus makes the victory song a vehicle for the presentation of an *aition* again in *Aitia* 3. 1. All we have of the present poem is the opening line, quoted by the *Diegesis*:

> Once, as the south wind blew softly, the *Argo*

9. YOU TOO, HERMES?

We have to do, again, with a statue of Hermes. Like the statue in *Iambus* 7, it speaks for itself. The *Diegesis* reads:

> The lover of a handsome youth named Philetadas, on seeing, in a small palaestra, a statue of Hermes in a state of erection, asks whether his condition is not due to Philetadas. Hermes replies that he is Etruscan in origin, accounts for his erection by telling a mystical tale, and says that the man loves Philetadas with ignoble intentions

According to Herodotus (2. 51), it was 'the Pelasgians' on Samothrace who first depicted Hermes with an erect phallus. For Callimachus, however, 'Pelasgian' and 'Etruscan' are one and the same (*Ait.* 4. 7). Herodotus adds that the 'Pelasgians' (Callimachus' 'Etruscans', the original inhabitants of Samothrace) tell a certain 'sacred tale' that accounts for Hermes' ithyphallic condition. This is surely the same as the 'mystical tale' mentioned in the *Diegesis* to our poem. One clue to its original content is found in Cicero, who says (*On the Nature of the Gods* 3. 56) that statues of Hermes were ithyphallic because Hermes had once become aroused on seeing the beautiful goddess Persephone. This must have figured in what Hermes (or his statue) told the pederast, who asked him at the opening of our poem

> Hermes, bearded one, why is your hose
> aimed at your whiskers, not at your toes? . . .

10. GODDESSES WHO DON'T DISCRIMINATE

In this poem, fourth in the sequence of iambic *aitia*, Callimachus dealt with two different goddesses, Aphrodite and Artemis. The *Diegesis* reads:

> In Aspendos of Pamphylia a boar is sacrificed to Aphrodite Kastniē for the following reason: Mopsos, leader of the Pamphylians, on his way out to hunt vowed that he would make an offering to Aphrodite if he were lucky. He fulfilled his vow accordingly, when he had slain a boar. And ever since that time the Pamphylians do the same. For

Mopsos would not have hunted boar, if the goddess were not pleased with that. He also praises Artemis of the Eretrians, because she does not reject anything sacrificed to her.

All we have from Aphrodite's part of the poem is the opening line, quoted by the *Diegesis* and by Strabo, who continues quoting and paraphrasing two or three more lines:

10a

Aphrodite of Kastnion surpasses
all Aphrodites (there's more
than one, you know) in wisdom . . .
she alone admits the sacrifice of swine.

How much space Callimachus devoted to Aphrodite cannot be determined. What he had to say about 'Artemis of the Eretrians', the other goddess mentioned in the *Diegesis*, comes to us from an entirely different source, a note to Aristophanes explaining why Artemis is called 'Kolainis' in Eretria: the name derives from the sacrifice to Artemis by Agamemnon of a one-horned (*kolos*, whence *Kol-ainis*) ram. To support his argument, the commentator cites Callimachus by name and quotes the following lines from him:

10b

Agamemnon, as the story goes,
founded her cult, to whom they sacrifice
beasts with no tails, beasts with one eye

The blemish of Agamemnon's ram apparently accounts for the goddess's willingness to accept these less than perfect offerings.

11. 'UP FOR GRABS'

In this poem (fifth and last in the aetiological sequence) Callimachus not only explained the origin of a certain proverbial expression but also corrected a common misquotation of it. The *Diegesis* reads:

> The proverb 'The goods of Konnaros are up for grabs' is misquoted: 'Konnidas' is the correct name. It derives from the following source: Konnidas, a resident alien at Selinous, having grown rich from operating a brothel, used to say during all that time that he would distribute his property between Aphrodite and his friends. But when he had died, his will was found to include the clause 'The goods of Konnidas are up for grabs'. Consequently, the people, issuing from the theatre, seized his property. Selinous is a city in Sicily.

'When the will was read, the people seized both his prostitutes and his money': so ends another summary of the story, derived from the historian Timaeus, who is likely to have been Callimachus' source. The tale of Konnidas evidently came to a grotesque conclusion.

Several ancient sources preserve the proverb explained by the tale, but of Callimachus' poem only the opening line survives, quoted by the *Diegesis*. Konnidas, speaking from his tomb by the river Hypsas, addresses the passer-by, asking him, apparently, to pause a moment and hear him out:

No, by the river Hypsas, don't
[hasten, you] who [pass] my tomb

12. DIVINE AND HUMAN BIRTHDAY PRESENTS

Iambus 11 apparently ended with a mob leaving the theatre to seize the property of a dead brothel-keeper. *Iambus* 12 evokes well-wishers bringing presents for the birth of a child. We move from death and greed to birth and generosity. From there, it is only a step to immortality. The *Diegesis* reads:

> This poem was written for the seventh-day celebration of a little daughter born to Leon, an acquaintance of the poet; in it he says that the song sung by Apollo surpassed the gifts given by the other gods to Hebe.

The gods, honouring the seventh day of Hera's daughter Hebe, had competed to see which one would give her the most beautiful gift. Apollo offered a poem which, according to the *Diegesis*, took the prize. In the text itself, Apollo asserts the standard claim made for all great poetry, that the gifts given by the other gods will pass away but his will not. The implication is that Leon's daughter also has received, in the poem of Callimachus, an imperishable gift.

The poem opens, appropriately, with the goddess of childbirth:

Artemis, [who haunt] the Cretan plain
of Amnisos, [the mountain of] Dikt[yna . . .

Only the initial syllables of the next three lines of Greek can be read. In the last, the word for 'hearth' appears, referring, perhaps, to the hearth of Leon: during the ceremony, known as the *amphidromia*, the infant would be carried around the hearth and the gifts presented by members and friends of the family. After a gap of unknown length, there are traces hinting of divine personalities, summoned, evidently, by the poet to the scene at Leon's house: the Fates, Themis, and, where the text picks up again, perhaps Apollo, who,

. . . telling the truth,
says he knows the Cretan tomb
is empty, and that he is
no slayer of his father's serpent:

Whatever this may mean, it forms a prelude to what follows now, a prayer to the Fates in behalf of Leon's daughter:

smile, then, O Goddesses, upon
my wishes for this girl . . .

and the beginning of his song, his present to her:

I will sing,
Muse, something for the little one . . .

Now comes the divine parallel to the mortal occasion, the celebration for Hebe:

When . . . Hera [was observing]
her daughter's seventh day . . . the gods
on Olympus . . . [strove to see]
who would especially honour
[the child], whose gift to her would be
most beautiful . . .
Her father Zeus was
not to be slighted . . . The girl
Tritonis brought her many a toy
of cunning workmanship, bright
and multicoloured. Many . . .
a present came from the Lord

of the Isthmos, carried
from the [depths] of the sea . . .
. . . . . .
toys more glorious than gold . . .
limitless . . .

Three lines too fragmentary to render are followed at this point by a variation in the catalogue of divine visitors: one goddess, who could not come herself, sent gifts instead. This would be Demeter,

alone . . . mourning
her daughter . . . stolen away . . .
. . . . . .

The catalogue then resumes with Hephaistos:

and there came . . .
the workman . . . bringing
everything . . .
. . . . . .

When all the gods have gathered, the contest begins:

They vied among themselves, then,
over their gifts,
in friendly rivalry.
O Delian Apollo,
[disdaining] the treasures
stored for you in ancient Pytho . . .
. . . . . .
. . . you said:
'
. . . . . .
. . . but I will come up with
a different gift.
Phoibos, now
you've need of an art
that will triumph over
Hephaistos' lovely things.
Well, then:
the ants, those "dogs of India",
will bring up on their wings

from deep in the earth
their fetch of gold, and gold
will often grace
the houses of the wicked,
spurning the ancient . . .
and men, with a flick of their soles
tossing Justice and Zeus aside . . .
will fawn on honoured gold . . .
but the gifts of Athena
and the other gods, though wrought
to perfection by the sculptor's tool,
will drop to oblivion
as time hustles on:
my gift to the girl,
most beautiful of all, [will last]
as long as my chin is free of hair
and ravening wolves prey on kids'

The poem went on for sixteen more lines, too fragmentary to render here. The word 'to imitate' seems to appear at one point in the Greek text (77) and, possibly, 'I will fashion' a line later. Apollo's song has evidently ended and Callimachus seems to be speaking again in his own voice, perhaps overtly drawing the parallel between Apollo's poem and his own. Another reference to Crete (Greek, line 82) and, in the last surviving line (86), another invocation, addressed perhaps to Artemis, suggest that the closing of the poem recalled its opening.

13. RESPONSE TO CRITICISMS

In this poem Callimachus responds to those who criticize him for the formal variety (*polyeideia*) of his poetry by saying that he is following the example of Ion the tragic poet; he adds that no one faults a carpenter for fashioning various articles.

So reads the *Diegesis*. The man it mentions, Ion of Chios, was a fifth-century poet much admired in the Alexandria of Callimachus' day. He had composed not only tragedies but many other types of poetry as well. A scholion to Aristophanes, quoted by Pfeiffer, calls him 'a poet of dithyrambs and tragedies and lyrics' and goes on to say that 'he wrote

comedies too, and epigrams and paeans and hymns and drinking songs and encomia and elegies' and a number of prose works, listed by title.

Unfortunately, the section of the poem in which Callimachus brought up Ion in defence of his own poetic versatility is extremely fragmentary. As for the carpenter analogy, there is room for it to have occurred in the lost parts of the poem but no certainly identifiable traces in what remains.

Apollo, who played the central role in the previous poem, appears again now, at the opening, invoked together with the Muses:

O beautiful Muses, and Apollo
to whom I pour libations

An unknown number of lines is missing between the opening, quoted by the *Diegesis*, and the continuation of the text in the papyrus. The first ten lines of the continuation itself are too scantily preserved to render here. When the text becomes legible, the poet is turning to a critic, who attacks

. . . on the ground that I
'have not consorted with Ionians
and never went to Ephesos . . .
Ephesos, the source
of fire for those whose wits
would kindle with the skill
to spout in sparkling choliambs.
But you,' he goes on, 'if something takes
your fancy or stirs your belly,
. . . . . .
into the fabric it goes . . .
and out comes a prattle,
Ionic and Doric and
the two mixed up together! How much
will you dare? Your friends
will lace you into a straitjacket
if they're wise, and then drink
to their own sanity. But *you*—
you're crazy down to your fingertips! . . .'

After two illegible lines in the papyrus (22–3), we find Callimachus responding. His language has a legalistic ring to it:

Well, my good friend, [I won't
let] the case be decided
by default, [I will speak up,]
hear me out . . .

For most of the next five lines, the text is too fragmentary to render. When legibility returns (line 30 of the papyrus), Callimachus is carrying on dramatically, challenging his accuser to identify the 'law' he has allegedly broken:

Tell me who decreed . . .
'You there, compose elegiacs!
Epic's for you, and as for you,
the gods want you to be a tragedian!'
No one, in my opinion . . .

A gap of nine or ten lines occurs at this point. When legible text resumes (Greek, line 40), the poet seems to be on the same subject, the 'law' he is alleged to have broken:

But as it is, you're talking nonsense
. . . a rule like this . . .

Again the text breaks up. In the six scantily preserved lines (Greek, lines 42–7) appearing in the gap between our lines 31 and 32 traces of what Callimachus said about Ion can perhaps be made out: 'not only' (one of the genres he cultivated?), 'tragedians' (of whom he was one?), 'the pentameter' (of his epigrams?), 'to the Lydian oboe' (his elegiac poems?), 'the strings' (of his lyre?). What comes next (Greek, line 48) suggests that Callimachus praised Ion's versatility, matched, evidently, by his mastery in each kind of poem:

. . . for the thing . . . was fashioned
perfect and foursquare

The result pleased the Muses:

. . . and the goddesses . . .
. . . were content . . .

There is a sudden shift, now, from the Muses' approval of Ion to the bickering among contemporary poets:

. . . a poet with rage in his horns
spiting a fellow poet . . .
. . . looks into his background
and calls him a slave, a used one at that,
and brands . . . a tattoo into his shoulder

We come next to the unfortunate results, the disgust of the Muses and the inevitable impoverishment of poetry:

[The Muses], as a result, not
to associate with bad men . . .
themselves took flight, trembling
for their reputations.
This is the reason
poets no longer have resources
at their fingertips, but scratch,
hungry for bits and pieces
like [tourists on Delos, who pick]
at the bark of Leto's olive,
where she rested.

The poem concludes defiantly, casting the words of the critic back in his teeth:

[As for me,]
I won't [give up . . .]
I sing
though I haven't consorted with Ionians
and never went to Ephesos,
Ephesos, the source
of fire for those whose wits
would kindle with the skill
to spout in sparkling choliambs!

14. YOUNG BOYS IN FLOWER

This poem is the converse of *Iambus* 5. To use the ancient pederastic terminology, the earlier poem warned 'the lover' (*erastes*), the later warns 'the beloved' (*eromenos*). In the first, a schoolteacher is cautioned

against letting his passion for boys bring him to ruin; in the second, handsome boys are advised to be careful, though in exactly what way we can only guess. The cautioning poet, according to the *Diegesis*, put the myth of the Lemnian women before the boys and left them to draw the lesson from it:

> He speaks to young boys in flower: Lemnos, happy of old, fell on evil days when the women attacked the men. You too, then, have an eye to the future.

The Lemnian women had offended Aphrodite by neglecting her rites. The goddess afflicted them with a foul odour, driving their husbands to seek other companions. The women killed them in revenge. Lemnos remained without men until Jason and the Argonauts arrived and married the women. Whether the arrival of the *Argo* on Lemnos figured in the poem itself cannot be determined; if it did, it would have forged a link with *Iambus* 8. The wrath of Aphrodite here contrasts with her complacency in *Iambus* 10.

But all we have is the opening:

> If any place [was happy, it was] Lemnos
> long, long ago

15. PARTYING TILL DAWN

This poem, like the previous one, delivers a command, not, however, to be careful, as before, but to revel all night long. The *Diegesis* calls it

> A drinking song in honour of the Dioskouroi. He sings of Helen too, and bids her to receive the sacrifice. The poem is also an exhortation to his drinking partners, to stay awake.

The poem opens, like *Iambus* 13, with Apollo and the Muses:

> Apollo's with the chorus:
> that's the lyre
> I hear!
> And Love's astir
> in every breast: Aphrodite
> is on the scene as well!
> . . . . . .

We do not know how many lines are missing between the opening and what follows now. When the text resumes, we are in the midst of the exhortation mentioned in the *Diegesis*. The one who 'stays awake' has a pair of rewards in prospect, the first of which would be his as a matter of course. This is the *pyramous*, a cake of roasted wheat and honey, described in a scholion to Aristophanes as the prize for staying awake till dawn. The second he would usually have to win in a different contest, the Sicilian game called *kottabos*: tossing the remaining drops of wine from one's cup into a basin. Here the prize for hitting the target is a kiss, awarded on the spot:

> and cheerfulness . . . come
> to revel all night . . .
> And he who keeps
> unsleeping eyes
> alert till we sign off
> will take the cake
> and win the prize
> at tossing heeltaps: he will kiss
> whatever girl he wants, whatever boy
> he wants, of all those here.

The *Diegesis* also mentions Helen, whose association with Queen Arsinoë in Alexandrian cult and literature may have made her appearance in this poem meaningful in view of what happens in the next. The papyrus trails off just as her brothers, the Dioskouroi, enter the poem:

> O Kastor . . .
> and Polydeukes
> . . . . . .

It is a pity that we do not know what Callimachus went on to say to the Dioskouroi in this light-hearted poem, for they seem to have played a major role in the solemn one that follows.

16. ARSINOË DEIFIED

The *Diegesis* gives a very general summary of the poem's contents, rounded out with one or two details:

Deification of Arsinoë: he says that she was snatched up by the Dioskouroi and that her altar and sacred precinct were established near the Emporium.

The Dioskouroi rescued their sister Helen from death, bringing her into the company of the gods. Callimachus evidently had them do the same for Queen Arsinoë, with some support from cult as well as literature. Arsinoë was not only the wife but also the sister of the reigning king, Ptolemy II Philadelphos. She had, then, the same relation to Ptolemy as Helen had to the Dioskouroi, with whom Ptolemy shared a temple in Alexandria.

Exactly how Callimachus depicted the seizure of the Queen's soul by the Dioskouroi cannot be determined, though we catch a glimpse of it at lines 4–7. The similar wafting away of Queen Berenike's lock at *Aitia* 4. 17. 51–64 is better preserved and may, perhaps, give us an idea how the poet proceeded here.

Callimachus had spoken to Arsinoë in the Epilogue to the first two books of the *Aitia*, just before announcing that he was proceeding to 'the pedestrian pasture of the Muses', proceeding, that is, to the *Iambi*. The death of the queen in the mean time (1–3 July 268 BC) seems to have inspired the present poem. Almost lyrical in rhythm and all but lyrical in emotional intensity, it represents Callimachus' most daring experiment with the limits of the genre.

Again, the poet opens with Apollo and the Muses:

Let the god lead [the Muses
apart from whom
I have no song

So reads the opening line, quoted in the *Diegesis*. Only the last third or so of each of the next three lines of Greek can be made out:

3 [let them tread] in Apollo's footsteps . . .
. . . could I . . . dance at his direction.

Whatever was missing here, it must have prepared for the sudden turn taken now. The poet speaks directly to the dead queen:

5 O bride, already on its way, under
the starry Wain . . . past the moon
your stolen soul was speeding

So things transpired in heaven. On earth, a different picture:

. . . lamentation keen . . . a single voice
and this . . . 'our queen gone'
10 . . . What was the sorrow
drowned [our light]?

The poet seems to have answered his question in the ensuing lines:

. . . pain
12 overflowing taught us

Arsinoë's designation as 'bride' and as 'our queen' a moment before prepares the way for Ptolemy, husband and king. He enters the poem as the dead queen's principal mourner. The lines are fragmentary, affording only a glimpse of the royal funeral:

. . . and the great husband, for his wife
. . . fires to blaze, an offering
15 . . . the delicate water
. . . facing the altars of Thetis
. . . Thebes
. . . . . .

Almost nothing can be made of the next twenty-two lines. When the text becomes legible again, we are in the midst of a breathtaking passage in which the poet describes the spread of the news from Egypt. It comes to Pharos first, island haunt of the sea god Proteus, just off the coast of Alexandria:

18 So the rumour, all too true, came to the ears
of Proteus.

Proteus is close enough to hear the sounds of lamentation. Another divine being, Philotera, the queen's own sister whose death and deification had occurred the year before, learns of the tragedy in another way:

And she, Philotera,
20 saw the smoke
riding the wind in curling billows
. . . . . .
or mid-way over
the Thracian Sea, and thought
of a pyre, just as she left

Sicilian Enna and the hills of Lemnos
on her way from Deo.

Philotera, in process of departing Lemnos, comes to a stop, alarmed. The poet then speaks, as in lines 4–6, to Arsinoë:

She knew nothing,
as yet, of you, swept from our midst
by the gods: [it was her ignorance]
speaking, thus . . .

Philotera's words are addressed to another goddess, Charis, who lives on Lemnos:

'Sit, Charis,
on the highest peak of Athos. Scan
the distance, see if it's fires
on the plain, or . . .
Who has died?
What city bursts into flames?
How afraid I am!
But fly! on the south wind,
the south wind . . . now clearing the sky.
Is it my Libya come to harm?'
So spoke the goddess
but Charis, alighting
on the snowy lookout point they say
comes closest to the polestar, glanced
towards the beacon of Pharos
and her heart sank
as she cried . . .
'Yes, yes, a great evil . . .
The smoke is coming from your city.'

The ensuing lines are too poorly preserved to allow more than a glimpse of Philotera's reaction to what she has just heard. She seems to think that Pharos, perhaps its famous lighthouse, is on fire:

She spoke . . . [and Philotera said . . .
'Alas, my city . . .
. . . . . .

She still did not understand
and Charis said to her,
sadly:
'Weep not, I beg you,
for the land: the Pharos you love
is not ablaze, nor . . .
but I did hear
what I wish I hadn't: dirges
in your city . . . not as if for commoners . . .
the earth, but something great . . .
They cry for your sister, born
of the same womb with you: it is she
who has died, and the cities of Egypt,
wherever you look, are cloaked in black . . .'

The papyrus trails off here, leaving us unable to guess how the poet dealt with the other matter mentioned in the *Diegesis*, the establishment of Arsinoë's cult and sacred precinct. It would fit nicely at the end, preparing the way for the next poem, the recent and local religious instauration here looking forward to the ancient and distant one described there.

17. BRANCHOS

Thales had dedicated the cup of wisdom to Apollo as oracular god of Didyma in the first poem of the book (see 1. 68–9 above); now, in the last, we hear the tale of Didyma's establishment. The *Diegesis* reads:

> Apollo comes from Delos to a small place of Miletos which is called 'sacred wood', where Branchos was.

The *Diegesis*, for some reason, is unusually curt: most of the story is left untold. Fortunately, we can supplement this summary from a number of other sources.

According to the first of these, a Latin grammarian named Terentianus Maurus writing *On the Letters, Syllables, and Metres of Horace*, 'Callimachus sang a hymn to Apollo and Zeus', telling how 'the god, smitten with chaste love of the shepherd Branchos, taught him how to draw prophetic lots'. Branchos, then, was a shepherd when he met Apollo; he emerged from the encounter a shepherd no more. As often happens in mythology, he was transformed by a god's love.

Two other ancient accounts provide additional details. According to Varro (cited in a scholion to Statius), the shepherd boy kissed the god; according to Conon (*FGrH* i. 26. 33. 4), the god kissed the boy. Conon locates the encounter 'where the altar of Apollo Philesios was established'. The epithet *Philesios* describes Apollo as god 'of the kiss'. Conon goes on to say that after being kissed by Apollo Branchos 'became skilled in the mantic art in Didyma and prophesied for the place'. Varro (loc. cit.) locates the encounter 'in the woods', and adds that, 'having kissed Apollo, Branchos received a garland and a wand (of laurel) and began to prophesy'.

The opening line sounds very much like the beginning of 'a hymn to Apollo and Zeus', as our first author, Terentianus, characterized the source of his information about Branchos. The line is quoted by the *Diegesis*:

Gods most worthy of song,
Apollo and Zeus, sires
of Didyma!
. . . . .

After a gap of unknown length between the opening and the point at which the poem continues in the papyrus fragment, we come upon Apollo assuring Branchos

'. . . should accursed plague light on your livestock,
it would turn away
[and the herd]
would graze on green pastures

Branchos had put in a brief appearance in *Iambus* 4, delivering the Milesians from a plague (20–5). Here Apollo is investing him with the power to do so.

The next two lines of the papyrus are so damaged we would hardly be able to make out what they contain were it not for the context supplied by our three ancient authors. The surviving traces indicate that Apollo is bringing Branchos' days as a shepherd to a close, inaugurating the new era in his life:

'[Let someone else]
tend to this [shepherd's skin]: it's yours
from your great-grandfathers
to attend [rather to this]

His new role will be to prophesy at Didyma, where he and the god have met. As if to counter the boy's astonishment at being given so great a responsibility, Apollo goes on to tell him who he really is. He hails from the god's own priestly clan at Delphi:

'Yes, truly,
from Daites your paternal line
is traced, and through your mother you go back
. . . to Lapithes' noble race.'

The god's assurances evidently have the intended effect. Branchos enters upon his new career:

. . . At this
his heart leaped: planting
a sprig of laurel
near the double springs
in the wood where you first appeared to him,
[he vowed] the lovely grounds to you.

The poem closes (for us) on the hymnal note with which it began:

Farewell,
Lord of the Dolphin!
I call you so,
remembering how you rode
from Delos to Miletos on a dolphin's back
. . . . . .

Aitia 3–4

Aitia 3 and 4 differ in a number of ways from *Aitia* 1 and 2. The conversation between Callimachus and the Muses which provided the structure of 1 and 2 is abandoned. Instead of two long poems in which different stories follow one another as the Muses respond to the poet's questions, we have a series of discrete poems arranged in a pair of books.

The opening poem of Book 3 and the closing poem of Book 4, each substantial in length and each devoted to Queen Berenike II, frame what falls between. Certainty regarding the principles Callimachus observed in selecting and arranging the poems within this framework is for the most part unattainable. We can tell that he alternated longer poems with shorter ones. Occasionally we can glimpse patterns of thematic variation, changes in focus, and contrasts of tone. The effects are evident to some extent in Book 3, which is, at the moment, the better preserved of the two.

AITIA 3

1. Victory Song for Berenike

Aitia 3 opened with a poem approximately two hundred lines in length celebrating the victory of Berenike II in the chariot race at the Nemean Games. Its most salient feature was a myth that dealt with the events leading to the establishment of those games by Heracles. Most of this narrative is missing, along with the conclusion of the poem itself, but a number of ancient references help with restoration. One of the fullest of these, appearing in a Latin commentary on Virgil's *Georgics*, summarizes the encounter between the founding hero and a poor old man, Molorchos, who entertained him in Kleonai before and after his famous exploit:

> Molorchos was the host of Heracles, with whom he stayed when he was on his way to kill the Nemean lion. On the point of sacrificing the one ram in his possession in order that he might entertain his guest more generously, he was interrupted by Heracles who asked him to keep the ram in reserve, to sacrifice later, either to him as a god if he were victorious or to his spirit if he were defeated. When, after slaying the lion, Heracles had fallen asleep (either through the hatred of Hera, who begrudged him divine honours, or through mere exhaustion), he awoke and made up for the loss with marvellous speed, and donning a garland of wild parsley, the same that is used by Nemean victors [. . .] he came upon Molorchos preparing a sacrifice to the dead (the ram, indeed, having already been sprinkled with the preliminary barley meal). Heracles then established the Nemean festival which was renewed, in later times, by the Seven Against Thebes to honour the dead Archemoros. But mention is made of Molorchos in Callimachus, in the books of his *Aitia*. (54 Pf.)

At least one of the details mentioned here makes more sense when supplemented by another of the extant versions of the story, that of Apollodorus (2. 5. 1), according to which Heracles, setting out against the lion, had told Molorchos to sacrifice to him as a hero (i.e. as a dead man) if he failed to return within thirty days. He arrives back in the nick of time, on the thirtieth day. The 'loss' referred to above would seem, then, to have been a loss of time: Heracles came close to sleeping through his own deadline.

The poem opens in Pindaric fashion, with announcement of the victory and expression of the need to celebrate it. Callimachus addresses Berenike herself, allusively rather than by name. The address, in the opening line of the opening poem, has the effect of dedicating the book to her:

A
A gift of thanks to Zeus and to Nemea
is owing now . . . a song for the victory
your horses won, bride, sacred blood
of the Sibling Gods—
for just now
from the land of Danaos
to Helen's island, where Pallene's seer
shepherds his seals, came
the word of gold:
they ran past

the tomb of Opheltes, their breath
warming the shoulders
of no charioteers in front of them . . .
and as they ran like the wind, no one
saw anyone pacing beside them

The next fragment introduces the Nemean lion, sent by Hera to make life hard on Heracles. Unable to punish Zeus himself, she turns against the son he has had by another woman:

B

Hera, fuming with anger,
had let him loose on Argos, her own
beloved Argos, so Zeus' son, sired
in darkness, would face a brutal contest

Exactly how the story got under way we cannot tell, but the next fragment sets us down in the midst of it: Heracles has met an old day-labourer named Molorchos. He is now in conversation with him, describing the devastation of the countryside through which he has just passed on his way to Nemea in quest of the lion:

C

'I found a wilderness of thorns
. . . all the way
to your farm, whose wall
. . . I stripped of parsley . . .
[I'd be obliged] . . . if you
would tell me why . . .'
said Heracles,
and the old man
replied:
'[May the gods] grant
that prayer you uttered earlier
. . . and may the lion
who destroyed [my son] perish . . .
and the goddess who slew . . .
I'll stoke your belly
when I can feed my fire again . . .
Right now I have no timber,

damn it! Such a plague
Nemea's laboured under this whole month!
Her young vines are running riot, unpruned . . .
The she-goat eager to get at the clover
bleats, penned inside the gates
. . . the he-goat you wouldn't care to meet . . .
. . . not one of whose [kids], catching sight
. . . of Zeus' eagle, shudders . . .
. . . herds yearning for pasture
. . . as if besieged by enemies
closing in . . .

The portion of the poem in which Molorchos invited Heracles to spend the night with him is missing, together with the old man's entertainment of him. At some point, a woman, of whom we know nothing, mother, apparently, of a child of whom we also know nothing, enters Molorchos' hut:

D

. . . she came into the house
holding a wooden fork up . . .
. . . and gave her child a share.

The fragment goes on to present us with a minor *aition* to complement the major one: the Nemean Games go back to Heracles, the mousetrap to Molorchos; Heracles subdues the lion ravaging the countryside, Molorchos the pests plaguing his household. Where Heracles is when Molorchos confronts the mice, we cannot say. The hour is not late:

It was the moment when [the star],
the folding star that rises
at sunset, was about to loosen
the straps and let the oxen
retire for the night, the moment
. . . when the sun dawns
. . . on Ophion's brood and the elder gods
in the world below
[. . . there came a scraping at] the door:
as when a lion cub roars in the distance
and the sound, barely heard, reaches

the trembling doe's ears,
he caught the noise
and said, in a whisper:
'Nuisances!
Why have you come again to nibble
at what I've got? I'm sure you aren't bringing
anything of your own! A god
devised you, to be the groan of hosts!'
With that
he dropped what he was doing
and got to work on his plan, his secret
trick for mice.
In a pair of traps he set
deadly bait, balls of darnel flour
and hellebore rolled together
. . . death hidden in the mixture
. . . . . .
Often, when the lid was off,
they had licked the rich oil of his lamp,
skimming it up on their tails
or when they rifled his other chest
and the poor man's labours
. . . scurrying under his bed
of rugged stone
. . . they danced on his brow
and drove sleep from his eyes,
but of all
the afflictions they brought on him
in the brief night, this galled him most:
they ate his clothes, the pests! Devoured
his goatskin wrap and pouch.
But he had a pair
of killers ready for them, spring
and dead-weight poised to snap
and crush from afar.
. . . . . .

By the opening of the next fragment, hero and old man have passed the night and Heracles is now talking to Molorchos before setting out to face the lion. The fragment gives us a glimpse of what he promised to do for Molorchos, if he succeeded; and of what Molorchos was to do, if he failed:

E

'. . . poverty . . .
. . . .
. . . to me, old man . . .
. . . .

F

. . . when I've killed the monster
or should I call it
the bane of the Argives
. . . [who dwell by] the roaring torrent . . .
. . . beside the well of great Danaos . . .
. . . . . .
. . . just let me get [my club] into action . . .
. . . you'll soon have herds of cattle
. . . though the odds are even more against [me] . . .
. . . I'll show that Zeus fathered a son
. . . but should I fall
beneath [the grim lion's] teeth . . .
. . . . . .
. . . for hospitality's sake . . .
. . . [sacrifice] to me the one
beast [in your possession . . .]'
. . . . . .

Heracles then went on to kill the lion and return to Molorchos, crowned with wild parsley and wearing the lion's skin over his shoulders. How much attention Callimachus devoted to the heroic deed itself we cannot determine. By the time the next fragment begins, Heracles has apparently been telling Molorchos what happened at Nemea. The conversation between old man and hero has been interrupted at some point by Callimachus himself, still speaking in his own voice in the first three lines of the fragment, after which he modulates back to his role as narrator:

G

let him find out on his own, and save
my song some length: but what the hero told
the old man in reply, I'll set down here:
'You'll hear all that, Father,
later, at the feast;
for now, here's what
Athena said to me . . .

Athena continues speaking in the following fragment, in the midst of what seems to be a prophetic utterance. She is on the point of naming the garland of wild parsley that will crown victors in the future Nemean Games (yet another *aition*), when the fragment trails off:

H

'"They'll leave the contest not with a horse
for prize, or a cauldron big enough
to hold an ox . . .

Athena's prophecy, reported by Heracles to Molorchos, evidently comes to an end after line 117 of the next fragment, our last:

I

"And the sons of Aletes, though
the contest they hold before Aigaion their god
is older by far, will make it
the token of triumph
in the Isthmian Games, stripping,
in rivalry, the pine that used to crown
contenders at Corinth, of its honour"'

. . . . . .

Callimachus, speaking in his own voice again, then brings the myth to a quick conclusion:

. . . sating his heart,
he spent the night there, and left
for Argos in the morning:
nor did he forget
his promise to his host,

but sent him the mule, and honoured him
as one of his own.

We catch in these lines some hints of an episode missing from the extant fragments: Heracles had evidently promised to send Molorchos a mule from Argos. Parsons conjectured that he had borrowed it, perhaps to ride on his way to Nemea, perhaps to use as bait for the lion. The mule sent to Molorchos from Argos would then be a replacement; the loss of the original mule, to the lion's attack most likely, would have occurred in the missing portion of the narrative.

The last legible line of the fragment alludes to the major *aition* of the poem, the holding of the Nemean Games in commemoration of Heracles' victory at Nemea:

And to this day
the sacred rite, never ceasing

. . . . . .

Callimachus is likely to have returned to Berenike in the end, but how he did so, and how he brought the poem itself to conclusion, we have no way of knowing.

2. The Attic Thesmophoria

The first poem culminates in the establishment of one rite, the second accounts for a feature peculiar to another. We move from Berenike in triumph to Demeter in anger, from Heracles favoured by the virgin Athena to an anonymous girl who stirred the Divine Mother's wrath, presumably because she has seen something she should not have seen:

. . . anger seized the goddess
. . . distress weighing on her thoughts
. . . the queen, incensed at the girl.
And that is the reason—
look for no other—Athenian virgins
are utterly forbidden
before they've married and taken a man
to look with their own eyes
on the rites of Deo Thesmophoros.

3. The Tomb of Simonides

Callimachus next adapts the device, familiar in epigrams, in which a dead person, speaking in the inscription on his or her tomb, addresses the passer-by. The situation is more complex here, as the dead person involved, the famous poet Simonides of Keos, describes the destruction of his memorial, tombstone and all. We cannot tell, then, from where he is speaking, or to whom.

The poem opens with an allusion to a proverb, 'Disturb not Kamarina'. The people of Kamarina in Sicily, wanting to drain the marshy Lake Kamarina in order to protect themselves from pestilence, had once consulted 'the god' and received the response, 'Disturb not Kamarina: she is better left unmoved.' Ignoring the divine warning, they drained the lake. As a result, the city became vulnerable to attack over the open ground where the lake had once protected her.

The proverb applies to those who persist in doing what will bring them harm or is better left undone. In our poem the dead Simonides applies it to the conduct of Phoinix, the Akragantine general who had destroyed his tomb. Engaged in a war with Syracuse at the time, Phoinix had wanted the stones from the poet's monument built into a defensive tower. Like the people of Kamarina, he went ahead with his project. The city fell to her enemies afterwards.

The poem closes with reference to a famous story, a previous instance of divine favour that should have served as warning to Phoinix. The fullest version of it occurs in Cicero (*On the Orator* 2. 86). Simonides, the story goes, once attended a party given by the great Thessalian dynast Skopas. He had performed a song commissioned by Skopas for the occasion, but Skopas, after the performance, told him he would pay him only half of the fee agreed upon previously; he could seek the rest of it, if he cared to, from Kastor and Polydeukes, to whom he had given equal space in the song. Soon after this, in the midst of the festivities, Simonides was summoned outside. A pair of young men had appeared at the door and asked for him urgently. He left the building and found no one waiting for him, but at that instant the building collapsed, killing all within. The dead being crushed beyond recognition, proper burial would have been impossible had not Simonides himself identified each by utilizing a mnemonic technique, said to be his own invention: he was able to supply the correct names from an exact recollection of where each member of the company had been seated in the moments before the building collapsed.

As a recipient of divine favour, Simonides contrasts with the anonymous girl, object of Demeter's wrath, in the previous poem. As a native of Keos, he looks ahead to the poem after next, in which we meet the Keian hero Akontios and get a large dose of Keian lore.

The text of the papyrus breaks up before an *aition* is registered, leaving us to guess what it might have been:

Afraid, as they say, to *Disturb Kamarina*?
Then don't
disturb the tomb
of a man dear to the gods!
Mine
was demolished, once: an evil man
named Phoinix (maybe you've heard of him),
a general tough as nails,
threw it down
and cobbled it into a tower, *my* tombstone
reared before their city
to the glory of Zeus Xenios
by the Akragantines—
whose inscription
(that the son of Leoprepes, a man
from Keos, genius, inventor
of memory, lay there) he ignored, nor did he feel
the least bit afraid of *you*
and your brother, Polydeukes,
who saved me once,
got me out
of that hall, doomed
to collapse, the only one
of all those feasting in there
when, alas! the Krannonian palace
came down on the great Skopadai.
O Lords . . .
. . . . . .

4. The Fountains of Argos

The masculine personae of the previous poem yield to a cast of feminine characters: the daughters of Danaos, immortalized as fountain nymphs in the vicinity of Argos.

According to tradition, when Poseidon had afflicted the country with drought, Danaos sent his fifty daughters to search for water. At least four of the girls (Physadeia, Amymona, Hippe, and Automate) succeeded in finding it. Amymona, the most famous of them, gave herself to Poseidon in love and was rewarded by him with the spring named for her, located at Lerna about three miles (5 km.) from Argos. Her role in the cult of Hera at Argos may have supplied Callimachus with the principal *aition* of this poem. At any rate, we learn that the girls who weave the robe for Hera's cult statue in her temple at Argos must not do so before bathing in Amymona's spring.

The opening of the poem is missing. We can perhaps add a phrase to it with the help of an ancient commentary on Antimachus, quoted in Pfeiffer's notes: 'Callimachus says that women recently delivered do not bathe in water from the Physadeia, but from the Automate . . .' To illustrate his point, the commentator went on to quote (and so to preserve for us) a couplet from Callimachus' poem (our first three lines). Just before the fragment begins, then, Callimachus, addressing Automate, may have said 'not from Physadeia',

> O fair stream named for Automate,
> but from you
> they draw water when they'd wash
> a slave tainted in childbirth . . .

Between these lines and the papyrus fragment preserving the rest of the poem, there is a gap of unknown length. The papyrus fragment itself opens with the conclusion of a sentence it does not preserve, calling the four fountain nymphs

> heroines . . . descended from Io.

From here the poet goes on to address Amymona in particular, and to conclude with a resonant farewell to her and her sisters:

> Nor is it right, O bride of Poseidon,
> nymph of the waters, for those
> who must weave the robe of Hera

> to stand by the weaver's rods until
> they've poured your water
> over their heads, seated
> upon your sacred rock, your stream
> cascading all around it:
> Hail, Lady Amymona
> and dear Physadeia, Hippe and Automate,
> hail, primeval haunts of nymphs,
> and go on flowing, radiant daughters of Pelasgos!

5. Akontios and Kydippe

We come now to the best preserved of all Callimachus' fragmentary poems. About two-thirds of it survives, just over 100 of the approximately 150 lines that it must have had in its full form.

Section A contains the opening of the poem, section H the conclusion. The *Diegesis* is fragmentary, lacking the usual quotation of the opening line but preserving sufficient traces in the summary portion to enable us to assure the poem its position at this point in the book. As to the sequence and context of the fragments presented in sections B–G, we can only guess, assisted by other sources dependent, presumably, on Callimachus himself. The most important of these occurs in Aristaenetus 1. 10. It describes how the youth Akontios, hopelessly in love with the girl Kydippe, tricked her into uttering an oath she could not retract:

> Selecting a Kydonian apple to deceive her with, he inscribed words around it and rolled it stealthily before the feet of her attendant . . . and the girl, taking it and running over the writing with her eyes, read out as follows: 'By Artemis, I will marry Akontios.' Even as she was going through it, and though it was both an unwilling and a supposititious expression of love, she felt ashamed and cast it away from her.

The trick itself is not actually described in any of the extant portions of the poem. We learn from lines 63–72 (of the translation) that Artemis heard Kydippe's oath and held her to it, unwitting though it was. The fragmentary *Diegesis* also quotes the oath (exactly as we find it in Aristaenetus), another indication that it must have occurred in a part of the poem now lost. The whole story unfolds as if for its own sake, though various *aitia* occur in the telling, all of them dealing with

matters that relate to the history and culture of Keos and Naxos, island homes of the two lovers.

Poseidon's love for Amymona in the preceding poem prepares the way somewhat for the introduction of a love poem at this point. The Keian connection, touched on in the Simonides poem, now comes to the fore.

The poem opens with a reference to the inspired trick:

A

Eros himself instructed young Akontios,
burning for the girl Kydippe,
in the art of love (at least,
he wasn't a schemer before), helped him . . .
earn the name of husband
till his dying day.
To your rites on Delos
he came, Apollo, and she as well—
he from Ioulis, she from Naxos;
the blood of Euxantios in his veins,
of Promethus in hers—the two of them
beautiful stars of the islands.
Even when
Kydippe was little, many a mother
prayed that her son would marry her
and followed up those prayers
with oxen sacrificed.
No other girl
approached the dripping stone
of shaggy old Silenos with a face
more like the dawn, no other
danced for Ariadne's slumber on feet
as delicate
. . . . . .

The two following fragments deal with Akontios before he falls in love with Kydippe. The first describes his attractiveness:

B

When the boy went to school
or to bathe, the hearts of lovers
beat faster

The second gives us a glimpse of his inaccessibility to his admirers, depicted, like the revellers in *Iambus* 15, playing the Sicilian game called *kottabos*. Those who played for a kiss from Akontios met with disappointment:

C

And many a party-goer, hooked on Akontios,
shook the drops from his cup
to the ground

At some point in the narrative, the tables turn. Akontios falls in love:

D

but now
the shooter is the shot, he has
another's barb in him

Falling in love seems to make him nervous. According to Aristaenetus, he dreads being seen by his father:

E

which is why, on any
pretext whatever, off he went to the country

We next find him, probably in the country, cutting the name of his beloved into the trunks of trees:

F

But have in your bark enough letters carved
to say, 'I love Kydippe.'

The last of these glimpses before the denouement may come from a soliloquy spoken by the distraught lover:

G

Madman that I am, why
have I frightened you so?

By the opening of the next section, which brings the poem to conclusion, Akontios has played his trick and it has taken effect. Kydippe's father has betrothed her to someone else, but marriage with anyone other than the unknown Akontios is now impossible, thanks to Artemis, who keeps causing the bride to become ill just before her marriage.

The long section opens with the sort of topic that is grist for the mill in a collection of poems called *Aitia*. Kydippe's people practise a peculiar marriage custom:

H

And the girl had already spent the night
with a boy at her side—
a girl *has* to, on Naxos,
before she marries, and the boy
she sleeps with must have both parents living,
all because Hera, once upon a time,
as legend has it...
That's far enough!
You dog, you cur: you'll make
songs even of forbidden themes.
It's a good thing
you haven't seen dread Demeter's rites:
you'd belch them out too.
Knowing a lot
is dangerous, when a man can't curb his tongue—
a knife, truly, in a child's hands.
And now,
the evening before
the oxen would tear their hearts
to see, at dawn, the sharp blade
mirrored in the waters, the girl turned
deathly pale, the sickness
we bid go plague the mountain goats
and falsely label 'sacred' came on
and nearly finished her.
A second time
the nuptial couch was strewn, a second time
the girl fell sick, a quartan fever

lasting seven months.
For the third time
they thought to marry her: that third time
a deadly chill pierced Kydippe.
Her father
didn't wait for the fourth time . . . [he went]
to Apollo at Delphi, and the god
spoke to him, in a dream:
'A heavy oath
in the name of Artemis bars
your daughter's marriage.
At the time
my sister wasn't off dealing with Lygdamis,
or plaiting rushes in her temple at Amyklai,
or washing the stains of the hunt
in the stream Parthenios: no,
she was on the scene in Delos, when your daughter
swore that she would marry Akontios,
and no other.
O Keyx, if it's me
you come to for advice . . .
fulfil her oath.
You won't be mingling
lead with silver, but electrum
with gleaming gold—
yours the strain
of ancient Kodros, while he,
your Keian son-in-law, is scion
of that race of priests, who worship
Aristaian Zeus the Ikmian, climbing
the mountain tops
when baleful Maira rises, to blunt
her onset and beseech the god
for the breeze that brings
quail fluttering by the thousands
into linen nets.'
So spoke the god,
and Keyx, returning to Naxos, asked

the girl herself, who told him everything
exactly as it happened,
and was healed . . .
And you, Akontios, all you had to do
was go to Dionysos' island . . .
for your [bride]:
the goddess had her oath
abided by, and the girl's friends
were singing wedding songs already.
I doubt,
Akontios, that you would trade the night
you touched her virgin belt
for ankles swift as Iphikles', skimming
ears of grain, or all
the treasure Midas Kelainites
heaped himself:
and anyone who's had
a taste of that harsh god's power
will second what I say.
And from that union
a mighty name was destined to arise:
the Akontiadai, your descendants, abounding
to this day in numbers and in glory
in Ioulis,
and the tale
of your passion came to my ears
from old Xenomedes, who once set down
the whole island
in a mythological memoir, beginning
from the moment Korykian
nymphs settled there, driven
from Parnassos by a huge lion (it was from them
the island got the name Hydroussa),
and how Kirodes . . . came to live
in Karyai; and after him
came Carians and Leleges, whose trumpets
ever welcome Zeus of the Battle Cry
to the sacrifice, and how the son

of Phoibos and Melië, Keos,
changed the island's name;
then crime,
and death by lightning strike,
and the sorcerers, Telchines,
and Demonax, that fool
who left the gods out of account—
all these the old man set down
in his tablets, along
with aged Makelo and her daughter,
Dexithea, the only ones
the gods spared when they destroyed
the island for its wickedness;
and of its four cities
he told how Megakles
built Karthaia, and Eupylos the son
of Chryso the demi-goddess
raised Ioulis of the fountains,
and Akaios founded Poiessa where
the long-haired Graces are,
and Aphrastos Koresia town,
and he told the story,
Akontios, of your sharp love
and the pain it gave you, that old man
tending the truth, from whom
the girl's tale ran to my Calliope.

6. The Marriage Rites at Elis

The marriage theme is taken up again, fresh from its treatment in the previous poem, but with a very different emphasis. We have to do not with a private love affair but with war and politics. The poem is set in Elis, where Olympia, site of the Olympic Games, was located. The background is available from a scholion to *Iliad* 11. 700. We see from it that Heracles must have figured large in the sixth poem of *Aitia* 3, as he had in the first:

> Heracles at Eurystheus' behest had cleansed the dung of Augeas but when he asked him for his pay, Augeas kept refusing, arguing that

he had done it upon demand. But Phyleus, the son of Augeas, being made arbitrator in the dispute, found against his father, who took offence and drove him from the land. Heracles then, making war against Elis, destroyed it and, having summoned Phyleus from Doulichion, handed the kingship over to him. There being now a dearth of men because of the great number who had perished in the war, Heracles caused the wives of the dead to cohabit with the men of his army, and, many being born in this way, he established the Olympian contest in honour of Zeus, and was himself the first to participate in the contests. The story is found in Callimachus.

The last statement must refer to our poem. A solitary figure in the opening poem of *Aitia* 3, Heracles is leading an army now. The poor old man who treated him hospitably then contrasts with the wealthy king who treats him now with contempt. The one's reward is matched by the other's punishment. In both poems, the hero appears as a founder of athletic festivals: the Nemean there, the Olympian here. Symmetry and counterpoint suggest that Callimachus placed these poems deliberately, each opening its half of the book.

What exactly the marriage rite resulting from Heracles' actions consisted in remains out of reach, but a phrase in the fragmentary *Diegesis* summarizing the poem may hint at it: '(Callimachus) says . . . that an armed man . . .' An armed man may have had some role to play in the marriage of Elean girls, his presence there recalling that long-ago mass marriage of Elean widows to conquering warriors. The custom intrigued Callimachus, who accounted for it in this poem.

We can tell from the *Diegesis* that the poem opened with an appeal to someone for information:

> Come, tell me . . .
> . . . Pisaian Zeus . . .

Our second snippet comes from a Pindaric scholiast, who quoted it:

> Elis, home of Zeus, he left
> to Phyleus, to rule over

It is probably Augeas who has 'left' his kingdom to his son. There might have been irony in the original context, as Augeas did not 'leave' his kingdom willingly.

7. The Isindian Host

Hospitality is again the theme. This time, as in poem 3, we have to do with the breach of it.

Of the poem itself, almost nothing survives: the first half of a hexameter and the opening word of the following pentameter, identifiable as the opening couplet of the seventh *aition* of Book 3 from the equally fragmentary quotation in the *Diegesis*, in the summary portion of which the word 'Isindian' is about all that is legible, furnishing a clue to the context, if nothing else. We read in Ovid of 'the Isindian host who robbed Aithalos of his life, and whom Ionia, remembering, even now bars from her rites' (*Ibis* 619–20). A scholion to the Ovidian passage adds a little more: because of that one Isindian's crime, Ionia bars all Isindians from her sacrifice.

The 'rites' and the 'sacrifice' mentioned in these Latin texts must refer, as Pfeiffer guessed, to the festival of the Panionia. We now have the outlines of Callimachus' poem. It explained why citizens of Isindos, an Ionian city in Asia Minor, could not join with other Ionians in celebrating the Panionia.

The poem opened, evidently, with a dramatic wish, addressed to the criminal host himself:

> O that you hadn't . . . your deadly sword . . .

8. Artemis, Goddess of Childbirth

The goddess who heard Kydippe's oath and held her to it is now the subject of an *aition* of her own. Unfortunately, only the opening phrase of the poem, quoted in the *Diegesis*, survives. It introduces a question:

> Why . . . do they summon

The *Diegesis* goes on to tell us what the question was, and how it was answered:

> In summary fashion, he says that women having difficulty in childbirth summon Artemis to their aid although she is a virgin because . . . [when] she was born, or because Eileithyia, commanded by Zeus, bestowed this distinction upon her, or because she delivered her own mother from her pangs when she bore Apollo.

We can supplement the gap in the first *aition* ('because . . . [when] she was born') from Callimachus' *Hymn* 3 (27–35): women call on Artemis to help them in labour because her mother Leto had borne her without pain.

9. Phrygios and Pieria

This is Callimachus' *Romeo and Juliet*, but with a happy ending. Although the poem itself survives only in bits and pieces, background for its appreciation is available from Aristaenetus and Plutarch (both cited in Pfeiffer's notes).

Phrygios is the son of the king of Miletos. His city, a great cult centre for the worship of Artemis, has been at war with Myous, the home town of Pieria. The warring parties have agreed, however, that the women and girls of Myous be allowed to go in procession to Miletos to participate in the worship of Artemis there. It is on one such occasion that Phrygios first sees Pieria and falls in love with her.

The first nine lines of the fragment are too badly damaged to render here. Apparent convergences between a number of phrases in the papyrus and the summary we find in Aristaenetus seem to indicate that Phrygios has been speaking to Pieria since about line 3, possibly earlier. According to Aristaenetus, Phrygios asks Pieria 'to take heart and say . . . what I might do to please you most, and I will gladly fulfil your request twice over'. When at line 10 the papyrus becomes a little more legible, we find someone, perhaps the narrator, addressing Pieria, telling us how she looked as she began answering Phrygios:

> Cheeks ablush, as with shame, and eyes
> looking away, you spoke . . .
> . . . . . .

We have a paraphrase of Pieria's response in Aristaenetus: 'Grant, O King, that I and my kinsmen may come without fear into this blest city whenever we wish.'

Aristaenetus and Plutarch both say that Phrygios understood the girl's response as an expression of desire for peace between their two cities. Appreciating her patriotism, which seems to have added fuel to the fire of his love for her, Phrygios evidently promised to secure a permanent and comprehensive truce. Apart from that, very little is clear or certain.

The following lines may be addressed to Phrygios. They look backward to the partial truce the cities themselves had agreed upon, then forward to the full cessation of hostilities, wrought by love:

> . . . only for going to the temple
> of Artemis . . . in Miletos, but you
> cut an agreement then
> more binding than the oath
> sanctioned by an ox's blood, sure proof
> that Aphrodite teaches eloquence
> mightier by far than Nestor's:
> think
> of all those diplomats
> shuttling between the towns
> and coming up with nothing!

As in the case of 'The Tomb of Simonides (poem 3)', the fragmentary condition of the poem leaves us to wonder what *aition* or *aitia* Callimachus presented in it.

10. Euthykles of Western Lokroi

Euthykles the Olympic victor closes the book, as Berenike the Nemean victor had opened it.

The appearance of athletic victors in the opening and closing poems has the effect of framing everything in between, but the framing poems themselves are in many ways the counterparts of each other. Berenike enjoys the fruits of her victory; Euthykles is deprived of his, thanks to the spite of his fellow citizens. The *Diegesis* summarizes the story:

> He says that Euthykles, the Olympic victor, having been sent as an ambassador and having returned home with mules he had received as a gift from someone who had entertained him abroad, was falsely accused of taking the gift against the city's interest: whereupon they condemned his statue to be disfigured. But when a plague fell upon them, the citizens learned from Apollo that he had afflicted them for their dishonour to Euthykles.

Euthykles' mules, given to him by his host, recall the mule sent by Heracles to his. The disfigurement of his statue reminds us of the wrecking of Simonides' tomb. Poet and victor, both favoured by the gods, illustrate the theme 'Dishonour done to a mortal dear to the gods is avenged by them'.

The *Diegesis*, describing the people's compensation to Euthykles, may hint at the *aition* presented in the poem:

> They honoured Euthykles' statue equally with that of Zeus, and having constructed an altar in addition to it . . . at the beginning of the month.

The tenth poem, in other words, may have accounted for a rite performed in Western Lokroi, in the presence of Euthykles' statue, 'at the beginning of the month'.

The opening line describes Euthykles on his first return, from the Olympic Games, where he won in the pentathlon:

> When, Euthykles, you came victorious
> from Pisa
> . . . . . .

The final fragment shows him coming home on another occasion, that of his disgrace. The fragment ends as Zeus, 'the Watcher', is about to vindicate him:

> returning . . . you arrived with a gift
> of draft mules:
> and the people burst
> into an uproar, crying
> that the mules were part of a deal
> against them, and choking (as always)
> at the sight of the rich,
> they put you on trial
> and came to an ugly vote:
> the statue
> Lokroi herself had raised of you
> . . . . . .
> and many another outrage
> hateful to the gods in bliss, until the one
> they call the Watcher,

> who cannot gaze on doers
> of evil with cheerful eyes, sent them
> a harvest of pain
> . . . . . .

AITIA 4

1. The Delphic Laurel Procession

The *Diegesis* is defective at the opening of Book 4. It quotes the line

> A
> Muses . . . king [. . .] for me to sing . . .

and then identifies it as 'the first elegy' only to break up before we can tell from it what 'the first elegy' contained. After that, there is a gap of seven lines, enough room either for a lengthy summary of the first poem or for the introduction of a second one. The text picks up again in the midst of an explanation:

> . . . For Apollo, having, as a child, overcome the serpent at Pytho, washed his hands in the river Peneios . . . cutting off a laurel growing beside it . . . he put it around his . . .

Whether this takes leave of the first or the second *aition* of Book 4, the rite involved is easily identified: Apollo and the serpent, the river Peneios, and the laurel all belong together in the Delphic Laurel Procession (*Daphnephoria*).

We have only one fragment that we can say for certain belonged to Callimachus' presentation of this *aition*. The background against which we must place it is recoverable from a passage in Theopompus (115 *FGrH* 80):

> The river Peneios flows through the midst of Tempe . . . a good deal of shade is produced along the river by the trees growing beside it and the branches hanging from them . . . and there it is that the sons of the Thessalians say Pythian Apollo was purified in accordance with a command of Zeus, after he had shot the Pythian serpent with his bow . . . and that, having crowned himself with this laurel from Tempe and having taken a branch of this same laurel into his right hand, he went to Delphi . . . and still even today every ninth year the

Delphians send their nobly born children, one of them serving as the chief ambassador of the group. And they, having assembled at the site in Tempe and having performed a magnificent sacrifice there, depart for home wearing garlands from the same laurel tree . . . and that road by which they travel is called 'Pythian', and it leads through Thessaly . . .

Callimachus' poem accounted, in whole or in part, for this elaborate ritual. Our one fragment from it deals, however, only with a single facet of the whole subject. It survives not on the papyrus with the *Diegesis* but in a Byzantine lexicon, under the entry for *Deipnias* ('Dinnerville'):

Deipnias, a village of Thessaly near Larisa, where they say Apollo first partook of food, when he was returning, purified, from Tempe. And there is a custom that the boy who conveys the laurel dine when he arrives here.

The lexicographer then quotes, and identifies as taken from 'Callimachus, Book 4', the phrase

B

where Deipnias has welcomed him

The connection between the name of the village and Apollo's breakfast there seems to have been among the *aitia* presented in the poem.

2. Human Scapegoats at Abdera

Apollo was purified in the previous poem; here an entire city secures purification in another way. According to the *Diegesis*, the poem told how

in Abdera a slave bought for the purpose provides the purificatory offering on the city's behalf: taking his stand on a plinth of grey stone and partaking of a sumptuous feast, he is led, when he has sated himself, to the gates called *Prurides*; next, outside the wall, he goes round in a circle, purifying the city thereby, and then he is pelted with stones by the king and the others until he is driven beyond the boundaries.

The *Diegesis* quotes the fragmentary opening line which is all we have of the poem:

There, Abderos, where now [your city] . . .
leads out a scapegoat

Whether Callimachus accounted for the ritual as a whole or for some particular feature of it, we cannot tell.

3. Ritual Infanticide in Tenedos

The *Diegesis* provides us, again, with a fragmentary opening line. It speaks to Melikertes and mentions his mother, Ino, and also alludes to a proverb: 'Two anchors are better than one.' The anchors in the poet's mind here, as at *Iambus* 1. 36–7, are children, the ships they secure parents, and it is unsafe to ride secured by one only. Ino had two, and lost both. According to the *Diegesis*, Callimachus reported that

when Ino cast herself into the sea together with her child Melikertes and the body of Melikertes washed up onto the shore of Tenedos, the Leleges who once lived there made an altar to him, upon which the city, whenever threatened with grave danger, makes an offering of the following sort: a woman sacrifices her child and then blinds herself immediately. The custom was abandoned later, when the descendants of Orestes settled in Lesbos.

The fragment reads:

O Melikertes, Lady Ino, relying on one [anchor]

Callimachus may have accounted for the rite on Tenedos and for its eventual abandonment.

4. Human Sacrifice in Lipara

Traces of the words 'Lipara' and 'Etruscan' in the fragmentary *Diegesis* enabled Pfeiffer to identify Callimachus' lost narrative from a scholion to a passage in Ovid (*Ibis* 463–4):

The Etruscans, besieging the Liparian citadel, vowed that they would sacrifice to Apollo the bravest of the Liparensians if the god made them victorious. And when they had gained the victory, they fulfilled their promise, sacrificing to him a certain man by the name of Theudotus.

The poem opened with a passage comparing nectar and ambrosia with something unidentifiable from the text in its present condition:

> A race sweeter than nectar . . .
> . . . than ambrosia,
> earth put you forth, and over the tongue
> you go, most delightful of all things
> that excel in sweetness.
> Alas, a little
> beyond lip's edge . . . a man
> refusing . . .
> . . . . . .

As to the precise nature of the *aition* or *aitia* presented in the poem, we have no clue.

5. Leimonis Seduced and Punished

Leimonis was the daughter of Hippomenes, a descendant of Kodros, the last king of Athens. The first element in his name, 'Hippo-', means 'horse', a fact that may have figured in Callimachus' shaping of the story. According to the *Diegesis*, Callimachus in this poem told how the father

> killed his daughter Leimonis, who had been secretly seduced, by locking her in a room with a horse: whence comes the name in Athens of the place 'Of the Horse and the Girl'. And he speared the man who had seduced her and tied his corpse from a horse, to be dragged through the city.

The explanation of the place-name probably indicates the principal *aition* of the poem. The only readable portion of the opening line, quoted by the *Diegesis*, is the first two words:

> The corpse . . .

The poem evidently opened with the punishment of the girl's seducer. The rest of the story is encapsulated in a fragment from the same papyrus as that in which the previous *aition* is preserved; it contains only the key words:

> father . . .
> weeping . . .
> alas . . .
> 'Of the Horse
> and the Girl' . . .

6. The Boastful Hunter

Hunting is the special province of Artemis, and those who forget it suffer from her wrath. Such a one was the subject of the next poem. According to the *Diegesis*, it told how a certain hunter,

> having taken a boar in the hunt, said afterwards that there was no reason why those who surpassed Artemis should dedicate their catch to her, and in his own honour he hung the boar's head from a poplar tree, under which he fell asleep and died when the head fell on him.

The living man killed by the dead boar may recall the dead man dragged by the living horse in the previous poem. Nothing, however, survives but the opening line and the first word of the next:

> The gods all resent boasting, especially
> Artemis . . .

Of the *aition* presented in the poem we can only guess. It may have accounted for some feature of the place in Poseidonia (Paestum), Italy, where the irreverent hunter met his bizarre end. Diodorus Siculus (4. 22. 3) mentions a rock there that was connected with the story, evidently a tourist attraction.

7. The Pelasgian Walls

The *Diegesis* quotes the opening line:

> The land possessed me, 'The Pelasgian Wall',
> reared by Etruscans

The accompanying summary tells us little: that the poem 'recounted the story of the Pelasgian boundaries at Athens and the wall built by them (i.e. the Pelasgians)'. To judge from this, the poem accounted for the name of the walls.

8. Ritual Deflowering of Virgins

We met an Olympic victor, Euthykles of Western Lokroi, in Book 3, poem 10; we meet another now, Euthymos, also of Western Lokroi. The opening line, quoted by the *Diegesis*, may have glanced at his athletic exploits:

What Euthymos achieved in Zeus' Pisa

but the summary concerns what he did later, on his return from the Games in 472 BC, victorious, for the third time, in the boxing competition. He put in at the Italian town of Temesa, where, the *Diegesis* says,

> a hero left behind by the ship of Odysseus exacted a tribute from the people of the place and their neighbours, that they provide him with a bed and a maiden ready for marriage and go away, leaving her behind, without looking back; next morning the parents would bring home a woman instead of a girl. Euthymos the boxer put an end to this tribute . . .

According to Pausanias (6. 6. 7–11), Odysseus' shipmate (the 'hero' in the *Diegesis*) had raped a girl of Temesa and the Temesans had stoned him to death. But the dead man's ghost took vengeance on the people, killing them in such numbers that they almost abandoned the town. Finally, consulting the Delphic oracle, they learned that they must placate the ghost in the manner described. Euthymos arrived in Temesa as one such girl was being left for the ghost to ravish. He fell in love with her, donned his armour, defeated the ghost, drove it into the sea, and married the girl himself.

The poem may have accounted for the expression 'the Hero in Temesa', or for the abandonment of his propitiation.

9. Hera's Primordial Statue on Samos

The opening of the *Diegesis* is missing here, leaving us without the usual quotation of the poem's first line. The summary portion furnishes enough information, however, to enable us to identify four lines quoted by Eusebius (who names the author but not the work quoted) as belonging here: quotation and summary both have to do with the same subject. First, the summary:

> . . . The wooden image of Hera became like a statue in form during the archonship of Prokles. The piece of wood, from which it had been made . . . they say . . . was brought . . . from Argos . . . in ancient times, completely unfinished, a mere plank still, as the art of statuary had not yet advanced.

The opening sentence, repeated almost verbatim by Clement of Alexandria, apparently describes the result of a sculptor's contribution, working on the ancient piece of wood; at the same time, it suggests some sort of miracle. Whatever the case, it probably holds the clue to the poem's *aition*: how the block of wood got to Samos, why it was sacred to Hera, how and when it came to resemble the goddess to whom it was consecrated.

According to Pfeiffer, Callimachus addressed the unfinished piece of wood in a lost opening couplet; the lines quoted by Eusebius pick up from there:

not yet the smooth work of Skelmis
but, in the old-fashioned way, a mere
plank unchipped by the chisel
is what you were:
that's how they set up their gods
in olden times.
Danaos, you know,
left a plain Athena at Lindos

10. Hera's Other Statue on Samos

We met Euthykles' statue in the last poem of Book 3 and Hera's primitive statue in the poem before this one. Now we have to do with a third statue, a more elaborate image of Hera, possibly the one ascribed to Skelmis in the previous poem.

All we have of the poem itself is the opening line, quoted by the *Diegesis*:

A vine winds about the hair of Samian Hera

The *Diegesis* adds another detail: the Samian Hera had a lion skin at her feet, 'spoils of (her victory over) Zeus' bastard children, Heracles and Dionysos' (the lion skin representing Heracles, the vine Dionysos). Perhaps Callimachus accounted for the details of iconography by

tracing them to Hera's disgust with the children born of Zeus' dalliances.

11. Pasikles of Ephesos

Hera continues to be on the poet's mind: Pasikles' mother was a priestess of Hera in Ephesos. One would think that this would secure her son the goddess's favour, but it turned out otherwise. According to the *Diegesis*, Callimachus in this poem said

> that Pasikles, archon of the Ephesians, in process of leaving a banquet, was attacked by certain men who were hindered (from carrying out their purpose) by the darkness; but when they passed the temple of Hera, Pasikles' mother, a priestess, alarmed by the noise of the chase, ordered that a lamp be brought to her; and the attackers, happening by chance upon the light, took her son's life.

The opening line, quoted by the *Diegesis*, is all we have of the poem:

> You were in charge of Ephesos, Pasikles,
> but from the banquet

We have no clue as to the *aition* presented in the poem.

12. Androgeos

It is possible that we have again to do with a statue, this time of Androgeos, son of Minos, whose murder in Attica led to the tribute laid upon Athens by Minos: to send seven of her noblest sons and seven of her noblest daughters every year to feed the Minotaur in Crete.

Here Androgeos, for reasons unknown to us, appears as the tutelary deity of the sterns of ships. We cannot tell for certain, but it is likely that sailors kept a statue of him there. In our poem, Callimachus possibly pictured such a statue mounted on a pillar bearing an inscription. Part, at least, of the inscription is recorded by the poem itself, in the opening line, quoted by the *Diegesis*:

> 'O Hero of the Stern'—since that's the way
> the column sings of you

The *Diegesis* then identifies the hero with Androgeos, and goes on to explain that ships used to anchor at Phalerum in the days before the

Athenian harbour, Piraeus, was built. Pausanias records that 'Androgeos the Hero' had an altar at Phalerum (1. 1. 4). Callimachus in this poem may have connected the cult of Androgeos in the ancient harbour with his veneration aboard ship, but how we do not know.

13. Oisydres of Thrace

The *Diegesis* says that the Thasians besieged the Parians for their murder of the Thracian Oisydres. Presumably the avenging Thasians were of Thracian extraction themselves. Paros and Thasos were at war in the seventh century BC.

The *Diegesis* gives us the opening line:

> For the blood of Thracian Oisydres
> many . . . of Thasos

After a gap in the text of the *Diegesis*, we find a reference to 'the god' (presumably Apollo) making a decree in answer to a request for an oracle. But the passage as a whole is too fragmentary for reconstruction either of the story or the *aition* it presented.

14. 'Antigone's Dragging'

Here the *Diegesis* fails us almost completely. The quoted opening line is mutilated beyond recovery and the summary portion is almost as fragmentary, preserving, however, one or two precious hints, enough, at least, to have enabled Pfeiffer to identify the subject dealt with by Callimachus in this poem.

The hints are the name 'Antigone' and traces of letters suggesting 'love of her brother', 'offerings for the dead', and 'so that even there . . .' Ovid, naming Callimachus as his authority for the information, describes how the flame consuming the bodies of Antigone's rival brothers Eteocles and Polynices on the same pyre divided in two, as if to carry their enmity beyond life itself (*Tristia* 5. 5. 33–9). Pausanias (9. 25. 2) adds that a certain place in Thebes was called 'Antigone's Dragging' because Antigone had dragged the body of Polynices there, to the pyre of Eteocles, and placed him on it. The two passages, taken together, suggest an *aition*: why the Thebans called that place 'Antigone's Dragging'.

tracing them to Hera's disgust with the children born of Zeus' dalliances.

11. Pasikles of Ephesos

Hera continues to be on the poet's mind: Pasikles' mother was a priestess of Hera in Ephesos. One would think that this would secure her son the goddess's favour, but it turned out otherwise. According to the *Diegesis*, Callimachus in this poem said

> that Pasikles, archon of the Ephesians, in process of leaving a banquet, was attacked by certain men who were hindered (from carrying out their purpose) by the darkness; but when they passed the temple of Hera, Pasikles' mother, a priestess, alarmed by the noise of the chase, ordered that a lamp be brought to her; and the attackers, happening by chance upon the light, took her son's life.

The opening line, quoted by the *Diegesis*, is all we have of the poem:

> You were in charge of Ephesos, Pasikles,
> but from the banquet

We have no clue as to the *aition* presented in the poem.

12. Androgeos

It is possible that we have again to do with a statue, this time of Androgeos, son of Minos, whose murder in Attica led to the tribute laid upon Athens by Minos: to send seven of her noblest sons and seven of her noblest daughters every year to feed the Minotaur in Crete.

Here Androgeos, for reasons unknown to us, appears as the tutelary deity of the sterns of ships. We cannot tell for certain, but it is likely that sailors kept a statue of him there. In our poem, Callimachus possibly pictured such a statue mounted on a pillar bearing an inscription. Part, at least, of the inscription is recorded by the poem itself, in the opening line, quoted by the *Diegesis*:

> 'O Hero of the Stern'—since that's the way
> the column sings of you

The *Diegesis* then identifies the hero with Androgeos, and goes on to explain that ships used to anchor at Phalerum in the days before the

Athenian harbour, Piraeus, was built. Pausanias records that 'Androgeos the Hero' had an altar at Phalerum (1. 1. 4). Callimachus in this poem may have connected the cult of Androgeos in the ancient harbour with his veneration aboard ship, but how we do not know.

13. Oisydres of Thrace

The *Diegesis* says that the Thasians besieged the Parians for their murder of the Thracian Oisydres. Presumably the avenging Thasians were of Thracian extraction themselves. Paros and Thasos were at war in the seventh century BC.

The *Diegesis* gives us the opening line:

> For the blood of Thracian Oisydres
> many . . . of Thasos

After a gap in the text of the *Diegesis*, we find a reference to 'the god' (presumably Apollo) making a decree in answer to a request for an oracle. But the passage as a whole is too fragmentary for reconstruction either of the story or the *aition* it presented.

14. 'Antigone's Dragging'

Here the *Diegesis* fails us almost completely. The quoted opening line is mutilated beyond recovery and the summary portion is almost as fragmentary, preserving, however, one or two precious hints, enough, at least, to have enabled Pfeiffer to identify the subject dealt with by Callimachus in this poem.

The hints are the name 'Antigone' and traces of letters suggesting 'love of her brother', 'offerings for the dead', and 'so that even there . . .' Ovid, naming Callimachus as his authority for the information, describes how the flame consuming the bodies of Antigone's rival brothers Eteocles and Polynices on the same pyre divided in two, as if to carry their enmity beyond life itself (*Tristia* 5. 5. 33–9). Pausanias (9. 25. 2) adds that a certain place in Thebes was called 'Antigone's Dragging' because Antigone had dragged the body of Polynices there, to the pyre of Eteocles, and placed him on it. The two passages, taken together, suggest an *aition*: why the Thebans called that place 'Antigone's Dragging'.

15. Gaius the Roman

As with poems 4, 6, and 8, we are in the west, this time at Rome. The *Diegesis* summarizes the poem:

> Callimachus says that when the Peuketians were attacking the walls of Rome, Gaius, one of the Romans, leaping down on their leader killed him but was wounded himself, in the thigh; and that afterwards, when he was bothered by his limp and rebuked for that by his mother, he ceased to feel bad about it.

The content of the mother's 'rebuke' is recoverable from parallels to the story found in Cicero (*On the Orator* 2. 249), Stobaeus (3.7.28), and others: 'Every step you take, my son, will remind you of your bravery.' The *aition* presented in the poem is lost. As for the poem itself, we have only the fragmentary opening, quoted by the *Diegesis*:

> So . . . should you be for all of Greece,
> so to achieve

16. The Anchor of the *Argo*, Left at Kyzikos

According to the *Diegesis*, the poem told how

> the Argonauts putting in at Kyzikos for water left there the stone which they were using as an anchor because it was too light—and that this stone was later set up as a dedication to Athena—and took up another, heavier one.

The poem evidently explained why that particular stone ended up in a temple of Athena, protector of Jason, leader of the Argonauts.

Again, we have only the opening line, quoted by the *Diegesis*. It addresses 'Panormos', the harbour 'Always Fit for Mooring In', apparently another name for Kyzikos:

> To you too, Panormos, and to your water
> came the *Argo*

The dedication of the *Argo*'s original anchor stone to Athena paves the way, perhaps, for the dedication of Berenike's lock in the next poem.

17. *Coma Berenices*

Aitia 4 ends, as *Aitia* 3 began, with Queen Berenike II. There the queen's own athletic victory was celebrated, here her husband's recent military triumph furnishes, indirectly, the occasion for a poem. The *Diegesis* quotes the opening line and gives a brief summary:

> He says that Conon placed the lock of Berenike among the stars: she had promised to dedicate it to the gods upon [Ptolemy's] return from the war against Syria.

The expedition referred to is the Third Syrian War (247–246 BC). More of the background appears in Hyginus (*Astronomica* 2. 24):

> When Ptolemy had married Berenike . . . and had set out a few days later to attack Asia, Berenike vowed to cut a lock of her hair if Ptolemy were to return victorious; in accordance with this vow, she placed the dedicated lock in the temple of Aphrodite Arsinoë at Zephyrion, and did not find it there the next day; when the king was disturbed by what had happened, Conon the astronomer . . . eager to curry favour with him, said that the lock appeared to have been stationed among the stars; and he pointed out a certain shapeless group of seven stars and claimed that they were the lock.

Conon's timely 'discovery' gave Callimachus the idea for a poem. In it, the severed lock itself finds a voice, as often happens with dedicated objects in epigrams. It bewails its separation from Berenike's head and describes how it was snatched from Arsinoë's temple by divine agency and given a place in the heavens.

The poem survives in Callimachus' Greek and in a Latin translation by Catullus. The Greek text is fragmentary, the Latin fully preserved. In those places where we can match the one with the other, the Roman translator seems to have followed his Greek original with a fair degree of accuracy. Differences, however, do occur between translation and original, in sufficient number and of a kind to caution us against assuming that in those places where Callimachus' words have vanished Catullus has invariably given us a literal clue to what they were.

Whether Catullus also kept things in their original order is another question, impossible to answer in the present state of our knowledge. Pfeiffer assumed that he did, and on that assumption he used the Latin version as a guide to the placing and numbering of the surviving fragments of Callimachus' Greek. The result at least enables us to see

and experience the fragments in a poetic context. For that reason I have adopted Pfeiffer's arrangement here, though it may eventually prove to be, in one particular or another, more Catullan than Callimachean. Callimachus' own words, where we have them, are rendered poetically; where they are lacking, Catullus, rendered into prose, fills the gap. Some splicing at the seams between Greek original and Latin version was unavoidable and has been kept to a minimum.

Most spectacular of all Callimachus' *Aitia*, the constellation explained by it still bears the name *Coma Berenices*, The Lock of Berenike:

1 He who conned the sky mapped out
from end to end on charts, the wheeling
courses of the stars,

2–7 *their risings and their settings, how the burning brilliance of the scorching sun is dimmed, how constellations retire at determined intervals, how sweet love charms Diana down from heaven, banished to a cave on Mount Latmus: that same man,*

7/8 Conon, noticed me in the heavens,
Berenike's lock, that she had dedicated
to all the gods,

10–13 *her smooth arms raised in prayer, when the king, glorying in his recent marriage, had gone to plunder the Assyrian country, bearing*

13/14 [tokens of nocturnal struggle]

14–25 *waged for her maiden spoils. Are new brides truly averse to Venus? Are the joys of their parents frustrated by feigned tears shed in torrents as they step into the bedroom? By the gods, their lamentations are not sincere! My queen taught me as much with her many complaints, when her new husband was on his way to grim battles. Or were you grieving in abandonment not for your empty bed but for your tearful separation from a dear brother? How deeply the pain bit into your saddened heart! How distraught you were, your whole mind in turmoil! And yet I had surely known that you were*

26 [full of courage]

26–40 *from the time you were a girl. Or have you forgotten the noble deed by which you won a royal marriage, a deed to prove a man stronger than you, if another would dare it? But what sad words you spoke on that occasion, when you sent your husband off! How often you wiped the tears from your eyes! What powerful god wrought the change in you? Or is it that lovers wish to be no long distance from their beloved? And then it was that you promised me to all the gods, with sacrifice of bulls, in behalf of your sweet husband, should he return. And in no time at all he had captured Asia and added her to Egypt's territories. For these exploits I, duly placed in heavenly company, fulfil an old-fashioned vow in a novel way. Unwillingly, O Queen, I parted from your head, unwillingly*:

40 I swear, by your head and by your life—

41–3 *no light oath: let him who slights it suffer as he should! But who insists on matching himself against iron? Even that mountain was uprooted, the region's greatest, over which*

44 Theia's shining grandchild flies,
45 your mother's, Arsinoë's obelisk, and through
the middle of Mount Athos sailed
the murderous ships of the Medes.
What are mere locks of hair to do
when mountains like those
yield to iron?
May they die,
the wicked Chalybes
who first brought steel to light,
an evil flower
sprouting from the earth—die, those
50 who first invented hammering!
My sister tresses
were mourning me, just then cut off,
when Ethiopian Memnon's brother
swept in, his dappled wings awhirr,

a gale of softness,
Lokrian Arsinoë's steed, who snatched me up
in a breath of wind
and bore me through the gleaming air
to the lap of Kypris, and laid me there . . .
chosen for that task
by Zephyritis herself . . . who has her home
on the Canopian shore.
And then,
to keep the Minoan bride's [crown] . . .
. . . from [shining] alone upon men . . .
but that I too,
Berenike's beautiful lock, might join
the lights studding the heavens,
Kypris placed me among them, wet
from my first ocean bath and rising
near the gods, to shine
a new star cluster with the old.

65–7 *For between the constellations of Virgo and cruel Leo, next to Lycaonian Callisto, I turn to my setting, tardy Boötes following*

67 on our way oceanward . . . late in the autumn.

69–74 *But though the gods step over me at night, and dawn restores me to grey Tethys (Quiet, Rhamnusian maiden: let me speak here, for I shall not hide the truth for fear of anything, not even if the stars revile me with hostile words, to keep me from unfolding, sincerely, the secrets of my heart)*:

I am not so delighted
with all that,
as I am grieved
that I shall never touch
that head again, from which I drank,
when she was still a maiden, many
a draught of ordinary oil
and tasted not of womanly perfumes.

89–94 *But see to it, O Queen, when, beholding the stars, you worship divine Venus on festal days, that I am not without my share of ointment: ply me, rather, with generous gifts. Let the stars fall from the sky, so I but be a lock of hair on the queen's head! Orion could glower next to Aquarius then, for all I'd care!*

Victory Song for Sosibios

Callimachus composed at least three victory odes, two of which he placed in collections of other poems: the one for Queen Berenike II (*Aitia* 3. 1) and the one for Polykles of Aigina (*Iambus* 8). Fragments of the present poem, for Sosibios of Alexandria, survive in a number of papyri, preceded, in one of them, by the *Coma Berenices*. Whether it ever had a place in a poetic book arranged by Callimachus himself cannot now be determined.

The poem was evidently known to Athenaeus, whose description (4. 144e) of an 'elegiac epinician' written by Callimachus 'for Sosibios' most likely refers to it. Of the original 100–110 lines, fewer than 60 survive, many of them illegible.

From the poem itself, we learn that Sosibios was victorious in a number of athletic contests, chief among them the chariot races in the Nemean and Isthmian Games. It is also clear from what Callimachus says that he was a man of wealth and position. But the poet is not our only source of information about him. We know that he was priest of the deified Alexander in 234–233 BC, some five or six years after Callimachus himself must have died. Later still, he was regent and minister for Ptolemy IV Philopator, who became king in 221. He seems to have helped the new king get rid of his powerful mother, the same Berenike for whom Callimachus, more than twenty years earlier, had written the two impressive poems that frame *Aitia* 3–4 (Polybius 5. 36, 15. 25). It was largely due to his diplomatic and military activities that the Fourth Syrian War turned out well for Egypt (220–217 BC). Sosibios was still close to the centre of power near the end of the century, when, according to Polybius (15. 24–5), by tampering with the will of Ptolemy IV, who died in 204, he got himself appointed regent for Ptolemy V. He himself must have died soon after, perhaps in 203, some forty years since Callimachus had written this poem for him.

The date of the poem cannot be fixed more precisely than that. Fraser called it 'probably the last from Callimachus' pen, later even than the *Coma Berenices*' (*Ptolemaic Alexandria*, ii. 1005).

It is often remarked that the poem lacks the mythical narrative that is a familiar feature of the victory odes of Pindar and Bacchylides. In this

it differs from the other two victory songs composed by Callimachus, but in other ways (observed both here and in the notes) it is typical of the genre. The thrill and excitement of a triumph at the games appear right at the beginning, prelude, as always in this kind of poetry, to a celebration:

And . . . let us pour libations . . .

. . . . . .

for the man whose chariot has come
garlanded, lately, at Ephyra—
the Asbystian steed
still has the din . . . of axles
ringing in its ears, and I
thrill at the announcement, as if
I were there, feeling
song leap to my lips:
Hail, Divinity
bestriding the land between two seas! By you
the children sprung of ancient Sisyphos
take their oaths.
There, where Pelops' island
blends with sacred Isthmos (Kromnites
on one side, Lechaion on the other), judgement
of hand and foot and speeding horse
is straightest, for fairness runs faster there
than gold—gold, man's evil blessing . . .

About four lines are missing from the papyrus at this point and the next five contain nothing that can be made out. When the poem picks up again, we are in the midst of a transition from the Isthmian to the Nemean Games. Sosibios' triumph in the latter moves the Nile itself to utterance:

[. . . he rushed to Nemea,] there to combine
Argive garlands with those of Peirene—
all that a denizen of Alexander's land,
and a man living on the Kinyps too, might know
Sosibios is doubly crowned
by either child, the brother of Learchos

and the one reared on Myrina's milk,
and that the Nile
swollen with the year's fertility
might have this to say:
'Here's a noble recompense
from my nursling!
. . . for none has ever
brought home the prize
. . . from these death celebrations
. . . [Sure, I am] great, and no man knows
my source, and yet, in one regard
I have been paltrier
. . . than those whom the white ankles of women
easily cross, or a child
on foot, not wetting his knees'

There is a gap of approximately eight lines at this point. When the text resumes, the Nile has finished and someone else is speaking. This turns out to be Sosibios himself, exulting in his earlier, less important successes, in the Panathenaea and, earlier still, the Ptolemaea in Egypt:

'—and there, in Athens, under the sacred roof,
vases on display: not ornaments, but witnesses
to my wrestling—that I felt no fear
grappling with men, but gave the party
wending its way to Athena's temple
something to sing about, making the place
ring to Archilochos' refrain;
and in the double race,
run, son of Lagos, in your presence, I took
my first chances, and won, Ptolemy . . .
putting to shame . . . in the dust'

After a gap of some thirteen lines, the text resumes in the midst of yet another quotation, this one by a third party whose identity can only be guessed. He seems to be an Argive. To judge from what he says, Callimachus has been dwelling for some time on the ways in which Sosibios has thanked the gods for his successes. We have already seen him dedicating his Panathenaean prizes to Athena. Here he seems to have donated precious garments to the Graces whose naked statues

stood in Hera's temple at Argos. The word 'both' at the opening probably refers to his victories in the Isthmian and Nemean Games. The honour paid implicitly to Hera would make sense in that context, since Hera is the great goddess of Argos, where the Nemean Games were held:

'The stranger took them both: no longer
shall we set the daughters of Eurynome down
naked in Hera's temple.'
A man speaking so
will move his audience to sing.

Sosibios' gift to the Graces is not the only one that has been on the poet's mind: a second offering, its exact nature unknown, must have been mentioned earlier. Callimachus not only returns to it now but also gives it a voice (the fourth, apart from his own, to be heard in the poem) by quoting the dedicatory verses Sosibios had left with it:

As for me,
I know of the one
offering by hearsay, but the other
I saw myself, on the shore
of the Kasian Sea, where the Nile's
farthest foot is set:
'I come
from Cyprus—Sidonian merchants
brought me here'

Another gap of about thirteen lines precedes the last surviving segment of the poem. It has a number of strong Pindaric echoes, stating, again, the standard epinician theme that victory moves the poet to sing and going on from there to dwell on the victor's moral qualities. Though blest with wealth and distinguished by his noble use of it, Sosibios remains in control of himself, above the vice of *hybris* that might easily move a man in his position to take on airs of superiority:

And him whose victories
move us to sing, the people's friend
who does not forget the man in the street
(rare enough
in a man of wealth

if his mind soar not above fortune): *him*
I cannot praise as he deserves, still less
forget: both ways lies
the people's censure, to be feared

. . . . . .

Epigrams

EROTIC POEMS

1

Up and down the hillsides, on the track
of every rabbit, every deer—that's your hunter,
Epikydes, braving frost and snow. But if someone says,
'There it is, wounded!', he leaves it alone.
My passion is like his: expert at chasing
what runs away, it passes by what doesn't.

2

I hate recycled poetry, and get no pleasure
from a road crowded with travellers this way and that.
I can't stand a boy who sleeps around, don't drink
at public fountains, and loathe everything vulgar.
Now you, Lysaniës, sure are handsome... But before I've repeated
'handsome', Echo's 'and some . . . one else's' cuts me off.

3

How fine a lover's charm Polyphemos hit on!
By god, that Cyclops knew his stuff.
Poetry, Philip, shrinks a lover's swelling,
poetry's a drug for every ill.
Only hunger—good for nothing else—is as good
at rooting out the craze for boys.
When Eros comes on strong, I let him have it:
'You might as well clip your wings, sonny!
I'm not afraid of you. I have at home
both charms against your cruel wounds.'

4

Half my soul's living still, half's in Love's or Death's
clutches—I don't know which, only that it's gone.
Is it chasing one of the boys again? Over and over
I've warned them, 'Have nothing to do
with that runaway.' Steered by lust, worthy of stoning,
she's off, I know, on her usual rounds.

5

Fill the cup: time for another toast 'To Diokles'
and leave the water out! His looks (handsome,
all too handsome) demand it neat. If anyone disagrees,
I'm the only connoisseur of beauty here!

6

Hate him four times over, if he hates me, love him
if he loves me—Theokritos, I mean, the dark beauty
just now ripening on his chin. Hear me, Zeus: by Ganymede,
you too were a lover once. Need I say more?

7

I *know* my pockets are empty. By the Graces, Menippos,
don't tell me my own dream! It hurts and hurts
hearing you, my friend, remind me of it. Of all
that comes from you, this is least like a lover.

8

If, Archinos, I sang at your door on purpose,
never forgive me; but if I couldn't help it,
let it go. Wine at full strength and love are to blame,
the one for dragging, the other for keeping me there.
Nor did I shout, 'It's so-and-so son of so-and-so', but kissed
the doorpost: if that's a crime, I'm guilty.

9

There's something hidden here, yes, by Pan,
by Dionysos, there's fire under this ash.

Careful, now: don't get too close! Often a river
eats away at a wall, bit by bit, invisibly.
Even so, Menexenos, I fear you'll slip
under my skin and topple me into love.

10

'You will be mine, Menekrates! Meanwhile, play hard to get',
I said on the twentieth of June, and on the tenth (or so)
of July the bird came willingly to hand. He's mine,
Hermes, all mine: the twenty days are OK.

11

Kallignotos swore to Ionis he would never love
anyone, male or female, more than her.
He swore, but it's true, what they say: the vows
of lovers never reach the ears of the gods.
Now he burns for a boy, and the poor girl
(as they also say) is out in the cold.

12

Is it you, Kleonikos of Thessaly? By the sun's rays,
I couldn't tell. Where in the world have you been?
Nothing but hair and bones! Has the god I worship
got you in his clutches? Is that what's happened?
I knew it: Euxitheos was the one. You saw him too
and had no eyes for anything else.

13

The guest kept his wound hidden. How painful
the breath he drew (did you notice?)
at the third toast, and the petals drooping
from the man's garlands littered the floor.
He's done to a turn. By god, that's plain as day:
I've been there myself, I know the way.

DEDICATORY POEMS

14

A conch long ago, but now, Kypris of Zephyrion,
I am your gift, Selenaië's first offering—
a nautilus that plied the seas, holding the wind
in my own sails, by my own halyards
when it blew, churning with my feet for oars
when Galenaië stilled the shimmering waves (I'm named,
you see, for what I did) until, pitched up on the beach
at Ioulis, I became, Arsinoë, your admired toy,
and the time (my sailing days are over now)
when the brooding halcyon stowed her egg in my chambers
came to an end. But favour the daughter of Kleinias, for she
is well-behaved and hails from Aiolian Smyrna.

15

The Graces are four: in addition to The Three, one
has just been cast and still breathes of perfumes.
Blest among all is radiant Berenike,
without whom even the Graces lack grace.

16

Kallistion, wife of Kritias, offered me, a lamp
prized for my twenty nozzles, to the Canopian god,
as vowed for her daughter Apellis. Look on my radiance
and say: 'Hesperos, how art thou fallen!'

17

Lyktian Menitas
resigns and leaves
this, his bow: 'Here,
Sarapis, it's yours
together with my quiver.

As for the arrows,
ask the Hesperitai.'

18

Thales' daughter Aischylis stands in Inachean Isis' temple
just as her mother Eirene vowed she would.

19

To Demeter of Thermopylai
for whom Pelasgian Akrisios built this temple,
and to her Daughter in the world below
Timodemos of Naukratis made this offering,
worth a tenth
of his profits, for so he vowed to do.

20

These gifts to Aphrodite
are from Simon (who got around): a portrait of herself,
the sash that hugged
her breasts, the *tympanon*
. . . . . .
and the *thyrsoi* the poor woman . . .

21

Artemis, Phileratis has had this statue made for you.
Accept it, Lady, and keep her safe.

22

For you, Lord, Lion-strangler, Boar-slayer, I, an oak club, from
'Who?' Archinos. 'Of?' Crete. 'Got it.'

23

Do come again, Eileithyia, when Lykainis calls,
bringing as successful a delivery as this.
So may your fragrant temple have this offering
for a girl now, another later for a boy.

24

Acknowledge, Asklepios, that the vow Akeson
made for his wife Demodike's recovery is hereby
'Paid in full'. If you forget and bill me again,
this tablet says it's my receipt.

25

Euainetos put me here, saying (I don't know myself)
that he dedicates me to the sons of Tyndareus,
a bronze cock in return for a victory I won. Just so:
the son of Phaidros, grandson of Philoxenos has
spoken.

26

Simos son of Mikkos gave me to the Muses, asking for
success in school, and they, like Glaukos, gave
a great gift in return for a little. So I'm set here,
my mouth open twice as wide as the Samian's, I,
Tragic Dionysos, listening to schoolboys recite
for the millionth time, 'The lock is sacred . . .'

27

Call me Pamphilos, stranger, and add that I've
been posted here as a truly comic witness
to the victory of Rhodian Agoranax, scorched not in love
but like a half-roasted fig or the lamps of Isis.

28

Eudemos to the gods of Samothrace: the salt-tub
on which he rode out the great storms of his debts
a sprinkle at a time. Here it is, O citizens:
the votive of a man who survived on salt.

EPITAPHS

29

You who walk past my tomb, know that I am son
and father of Callimachus of Cyrene.
You must know both: the one led his country's forces
once,
the other sang beyond the reach of envy.

30

You are walking past the tomb of Battiades, well versed
in the art of song, of mixing wine and laughter
perfectly.

31

Tell me, is Charidas buried here? 'If it's the son
of Arimmas of Cyrene you mean, he's here.'
Charidas, how is it down there? 'Darkness.' What of
return?
'A lie.' And Pluto? 'A myth.' We're done for, then.
'I've given you the truth. If you prefer
a pleasantry, beef's a penny a pound in Hades.'

32

At dawn we buried Melanippos, and while the sun
was setting the maiden Basilo died
by her own hand, unable to live once she had placed
her brother on the pyre. The house of their father
Aristippos looked upon evil doubled, and all Cyrene
plunged
in grief, seeing that home of noble children orphaned.

33

If you search for Timarchos in Hades, to find out
anything about the soul, or how you will exist again,
search for the son of Pausanias of the deme
Ptolemaïs: you will find him among the blest.

34

Your death, a casual remark, moved me to tears,
for I recalled, Herakleitos, how often you and I
put the sun to bed with our talking. But all that's left
of you is ashes now, my friend in Halikarnesos.
Your *Nightingales* are alive, though: Hades who rips
all things away will never lay a hand on them.

35

The visitor was short, his epitaph will be also:
'Theris son of Aristaios, of Crete' is all I've room for.

36

A nymph has seized the goatherd Astakides of Crete
from the mountain, and now Astakides is blest.
No more, no more 'of Daphnis' shall we shepherds sing
under the oaks of Dikte, but always 'of Astakides'.

37

The daughters of the Samians often miss
Krethis and her gossip—best of playmates,
sweetest partner on the job, never silent. But she
sleeps out here the sleep that waits for all.

38

Not on land died Naxian Lykos, but in the waves
beholding ship and life drowned together
as he sailed on business from Aigina. Now he is a corpse
adrift and I, his tomb, with only his name
in my keeping, blurt out the warning: 'Sailor, shun
commerce with the sea when the Kids are setting.'

39

You who pass by the tomb of Kimon of Elis,
know you are passing the child of Hippaios.

40

Timonoë? By the gods, I wouldn't have known you
had not the name of your father Timotheus come next
on the stele, and Methymna, your city. And here's
Euthymenes—
your husband, widowed and, I'm sure, full of grief.

41

Here Saon son of Dikon of Akanthos sleeps
the sacred sleep: of the good, never say 'die'.

42

Menekrates of Ainos, so your stay with us was brief!
But what destroyed you, O best of visitors?
What killed the Centaur too? 'I sleep the sleep
that comes to all, but insolent wine brought it on'.

43

If you come to Kyzikos, it's small trouble to find
Hippakos
and Didyme, for in no way obscure is the family.
And you must say to them a painful word, but say it
all the same: I hold their son, Kritias, here.

44

Who knows tomorrow's luck? There you were, Charmis,
right before our eyes yesterday, and today
we were burying you, weeping. Your father Diophon
saw nothing more painful than that.

45

If only swift ships had never been invented! We wouldn't
be crying now for Sopolis, son of Diokleides.
Somewhere on the sea his corpse is tossing while
we pass, instead, a name on an empty tomb.

46

Philip here has put away his child,
his great hope, Nikoteles, aged twelve.

47

With slender means I earned a slender livelihood,
no crime on my hands, no harm to anyone. Dear Earth,
if I, Mikylos, ever smiled on evil, now is the time
you and the others may come down heavily upon me.

48

Priestess of Demeter once and then of the Kabeiroi,
and after that of Dindymene, Sir,
an old woman, now dust, I was . . .
in charge of many young women.
I had two sons. At a ripe old age I closed my eyes
and died in their arms. Farewell and pass on.

49

Mikkos supported Phrygian Aischre, his beloved nurse,
throughout her life in every way, and now
that she has died, he puts her here, for posterity to see.
So the old woman is thanked in full for her breasts.

50

Who were you, shipwrecked traveller? Leontichos found
your corpse here on the beach, and piled this grave
with a tear for his own hazardous life: he too,
like a gull, roams the restless sea.

51

Timon, darkness or light: which do you hate now you are dead?
'Darkness, for there are more of *you* in Hades.'

52

Out of here now, and never mind 'Farewell'!
You keep your distance and I'll fare well enough.

53

Saying 'Goodbye sunlight!', Kleombrotos of Ambrakia
dived from a high wall into Hades, not because
he faced an evil worse than death; no, he had read
one book of Plato's, the one about the soul.

DISPLAY PIECES

54

A stranger from Atarneus once asked Pittakos
of Mytilene, son of Hyrrhas, as follows:
'There are two girls, Sir, I'm interested in,
one like myself in wealth and birth,
the other my superior. Tell me, Father,
which is better? Which one should I marry?'
Said Pittakos, pointing with his old man's stick:
'They'll tell you all you need to know:'
(in the place where three roads came together
were children whipping tops to a whirl)
'go where they lead you.' So the man took
a stand closer by and heard them urging,
'Stay on your own side!' Grasping the omen,
he shied away from bigger things.
As he led the humble girl home for his bride,
see that you too, Dion, stay on your own side!

55

'I am the work of the Samian who once in his house
entertained the divine bard. My subject is Eurytos,
his agonies, and blond Ioleia. I am ascribed to Homer.'
What a stroke, dear Zeus, for Kreophylos!

56

The song is Hesiod's in theme and style, but it isn't
Hesiod to the last drop: No, the man of Soloi
has skimmed the sweetness and left the rest. Hail,
delicate discourses, token of Aratus' vigilance.

57

Theaitetos has gone his own way—and if, Bacchos,
this new path brings him none of your ivy crowns,
others will hear their names on the crier's lips
a moment only: *his* art is Greece's boast for ever.

58

A small speech, Dionysos, for the poet who has
done well: 'I win,' says it all for him
but ask the one to whom you sent no inspiration:
'How did it go?', and 'Not so hot, so far' is his reply.
Let that be the language of a man guilty of wrongdoing
while one or two syllables, Lord, suffice for me!

59

Orestes of old was lucky. Mad in other ways,
Leukaros, he was not mad in mine
nor did he put his Phokian sidekick to the test
that proves a friend: had he produced
one drama only, he'd have found himself alone.
I did, and I no longer have Pyladeses to spare.

60

A hero billeted upon Aëtion of Amphipolis, here
I am, a little tutelary at a little doorway, armed
with a sword only, and a coiled snake. Furious
at a horse fancier, he has me guard his house *on foot*!

61

Courage, goats of Kynthos. The bow and arrows
of Cretan Echemmas that emptied the vast mountain
of you now lie on Ortygia, at Artemis' side, and there's
an end to it: the goddess has made a truce.

[62]

The cup of undiluted wine drained twice in a row
has left us without that heavy drinker, Erasixenos.

[63]

I hope you spend your nights, Konopion, as I have,
lying, thanks to you, on this chilly porch.
I hope you spend your nights, bitch, as I have,
with no pity from you, even in a dream.
The neighbours commiserate, but you—not even in a
dream.
Regret's around the corner, though: it comes with age.

Notes on the Text

The Notes are of three kinds: (1) notes that identify the sources of the fragments, (2) notes that provide information necessary to understanding, (3) notes that engage in interpretation. Categories (2) and (3) sometimes overlap; (3) has been kept to a minimum.

Notes of the first kind appear at the head of each fragment, labelled SOURCE. These are greatly simplified, giving only the basic information. They are meant as reminders that the major poems of Callimachus, such as we have them, exist in widely scattered bits and pieces. The discovery, identification, and placement of these bits and pieces bears on their appreciation, but, in general, readers whose main interest is in the poetry itself may glance at the notes on sources and proceed to those that follow.

Further information (with cross-references) on many individuals and places will also be found in the Index of Names (pp. 315–32).

The following abbreviations designate the works of Callimachus ('C.') throughout the notes:

Ait.	*Aitia*
Ep.	*Epigram(s)*
H.	*Hymn(s)*
Hek.	*Hekale*
Ia.	*Iambi*
VS	*Victory Song for Sosibios*

Editions and commentaries are referred to as follows.

Callimachus

Hollis	A. Hollis, *Callimachus: Hecale* (Oxford, 1990)
Pf.	R. Pfeiffer (ed.), *Callimachus*, i: *Fragmenta* (Oxford, 1949)
Pf. ii	R. Pfeiffer (ed.), *Callimachus*, ii: *Hymni et Epigrammata* (Oxford, 1953)
SH	*Supplementum Hellenisticum*, ed. H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons (Berlin, 1983)

Other Abbreviations

Cameron	A. Cameron, *Callimachus and his Critics* (Princeton, 1995)
Davies	M. Davies, *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Göttingen, 1988)
Et. Gen., *Et. Gud.*, *Et Mag.*	Byzantine dictionaries: see below
FGrH	F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, 15 vols. (Berlin–Leiden, 1923–58)
GP	*The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams*, ed. A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page (Cambridge, 1965)
MW	R. Merkelbach and M. West, *Fragmenta Hesiodea* (Oxford, 1967)
PA	*The Greek Anthology*, trans. W. R. Paton, 5 vols. (Loeb: London and Cambridge, Mass., 1916–18)
Suidas	*Suidae Lexicon*, ed. A. Adler, 5 vols. (Leipzig, 1928–38)
West	M. West, *Iambi et Elegi Graeci* (Oxford, 1989–92)
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

For bibliographical and other information on the Byzantine dictionaries, *Etymologicum Genuinum* (*Et. Gen.*), *Etymologicum Genuinum* AB (*Et. Gen.* AB), *Etymologicum Gudianum* (*Et. Gud.*), and *Etymologicum Magnum* (*Et. Mag.*), see Hollis, pp. 51–3, 61–2.

The grammarians, metricians, scholiasts, and other ancient authors identified here by name or name and title only are for the most part quoted in the corresponding notes of Pfeiffer's edition, where fuller details are provided.

Citations of Pindar are taken from B. Snell and H. Maehler (eds.), *Pindarus*, i: *Epinicia* (Leipzig, 1987); ii: *Fragmenta* (Leipzig, 1989); of Bacchylides from B. Snell and H. Maehler (eds.), *Bacchylides* (Leipzig, 1970). Other works cited in abbreviated form appear in the Bibliography (p. lvi).

Papyri

The papyri preserving the fragments of C. rendered here are described in Pf. ii, pp. ix–xxvi, in *SH* ad loc., and (for *Hek.* only) in Hollis, pp. 48–51.

Papyri Containing *Diegeseis*

As the *Diegeseis* or ancient summaries of C.'s poems are almost always referred to in the following notes without indication of their sources, I

append a list of the papyri preserving them, together with the portions of C.'s poetry summarized in each. Line numbers are those of the translation.

1. *P. Med.* 18:
   Ait. 3. 5–10 (*Diegeseis* for *Ait.* 3. 1–4 are missing) (= 67–85 Pf.)
   Ait. 4, *Ia.*, *Hek.* (= 86–377 Pf.)
   H. 1. 1–44, *H.* 2. 1–85
2. *PSI* 1219 (Florentine Scholia):
   Ait. 1. 1–179 (= 1–25 Pf.)
3. *P. Oxy.* 2263:
   Ait. 1. 180–99 (= 26–7; 31b + 731, 31c Pf.)
4. *P. Mich.* Inv. 6235 (the Michigan *Diegeseis*):
   Ait. 1. 200–17 (= 276 *SH*)

The *Diegeseis* for *H.* 1 and *H.* 2 appear in Pf. ii, p. 41 and p. 46. The others preserved in the papyri numbered 1–2 above are printed in Pf. together with the portions of the text they summarize. Number 3 appears in Pf. ii, pp. 107–11. For number 4, see the articles by Koenen, Luppe, and Pagán and by Hollis, listed in the Bibliography.

HEKALE

Hollis printed 155 fragments known to have come from *Hek.* Of these, according to Hollis (p. 269), only the first 83 are likely to reflect 'the order of the narrative'. More than a few of these, however, consist in a mere word or two, some not even in that. Only fragments substantial enough to contribute to the unfolding of the story without unwieldy commentary are translated here; omission of the others accounts for the discrepancy between my numbering and Hollis's (see Comparative Tables). In all, I have rendered 64 of the 83 fragments whose arrangement is reasonably certain (combining fragments in six instances, noted where they occur).

A list of papyri for *Hek.* appears in Hollis, pp. 48–51. The most important other source is the Byzantine lexicon known as *Suidas*, discussed, along with the other Byzantine lexica listed above, in Hollis, pp. 41–4, 51–3. For fuller references to the modern editors and scholars cited here, see Hollis.

Numbers followed by 'Ho.' are those of the fragments in Hollis; the translated fragments are designated by number alone. Here and throughout the Notes, partial lines are designated by numbers with

'a' or 'b'. Thus, 66a = the first part or half of line 66, 66b = the second part or half of line 66.

1

SOURCE 1 Ho., 230 Pf. (*P. Med.* 18, the *Diegesis*, which quotes the opening line of the poem about to be summarized).

1 *in the uplands of Erechtheus*: the mountainous country surrounding the plain of Marathon, north of Athens. Erechtheus, son of Earth, was a mythical king of Athens. See on line 184.

2

SOURCE 2 Ho., 231 Pf. Quoted in a scholion to Aristophanes, with attribution to 'C. in *Hek.*'.

4 *for her graciousness*: as hostess: one of the main themes of the poem.

3

SOURCE 4 Ho., 232 Pf. Quoted, with ascription to C., in *Et. Gen.* AB and in a scholion to Aristophanes. The last three words of the Greek text are quoted by Ammonius from 'C. in *Hek.*'.

4

SOURCE 7 Ho., 233 Pf. Quoted, with ascription to C., in an anonymous treatise *On Barbarism and Solecism*. Assigned to *Hek.* by Hecker.

5

SOURCE 8 Ho., 234 Pf. Quoted in *Suidas*, assigned to *Hek.* by Kapp.

6

SOURCE 9 Ho., 235 Pf. Quoted, with ascription to C., in *Et. Gen.* AB and a scholion to Lycophron.

9 *in Troizen*: Aigeus had gone to Delphi to ask Apollo what to do about his childlessness. He was told 'not to loosen the wineskin' before returning to Athens. Puzzled, he went to Troizen on the way back, to ask Pittheus (see on *Ia.* 5. 33) what the oracle meant. It was then that he got involved with Aithra, who bore him Theseus.

7

SOURCE 10 Ho., 236. 1–2 Pf. The first line of the Greek text is quoted in a scholion to the *Iliad*, the second, with assignment to *Hek.*, in Stephanus of Byzantium; the two were combined by Hecker.

13 *Aidepsos*: a town in northern Euboia, famed for iron and bronze work.

8

SOURCE 11 Ho., 236. 3 Pf. Quoted, with ascription to C., in *Suidas*. On its separation from the previous fragment, see next note.

14 I follow Hollis in detaching 236. 3 from 236. 1–2 Pf. The preservation of the sandals from the effects of moisture would be more likely to be noticed upon their recovery than soon after their placement under the stone (Hollis, p. 147, citing M. L. West), the situation obtaining in the previous fragment, where Aigeus appears to be giving his instructions to Aithra.

9

SOURCE 13 Ho., 345 Pf. Quoted in *Suidas*, assigned to *Hek.* by Maas.

10

SOURCE 15 Ho., 281 Pf. Quoted, with ascription to C., in *Et. Gen.* AB and in *Suidas*.

11

SOURCE 16 Ho., 283 Pf. Quoted, with ascription to C., by 'Zonaras'.

12

SOURCE 17 Ho. (*P. Oxy.* 2216 recto). Only line 4 of the papyrus fragment, supplemented by 281. 4 *SH* and 238. 4 Pf. (quoted, with ascription to 'C. in *Hek.*', by Ammonius), is represented here, the thirteen remaining lines being too fragmentary to translate. The size of the gap between this and the next fragment cannot be determined precisely.

13

SOURCE 18 Ho., 238. 15–32 Pf. Lines 3–18 of the Greek text (22–36 of the translation) appear in *P. Oxy.* 2216 verso (see on fr. 12 above). The first two lines of 18 Ho. (19–21 of the translation), obliterated in the papyrus, are quoted without ascription in *Suidas*; they fit, as Hollis put it (p. 156), 'conveniently on to the beginning of the verso'. Line 6 (24–6 of the translation) is quoted with ascription to C. in a scholion to the *Odyssey* and by Eustathius.

27 *Parnes*: the highest mountain in Attica, part of the range of mountains between it and Boiotia.

28 *Aigaleos*: a series of hills, stretching from the foot of Mt. Parnes towards the strait of Salamis.

34 *the Ausonian sea*: ancient name for the Sicilian sea, between Sicily and Crete.

35 *Merisos*: a mountain in Thrace, north of Greece.

The fragment trails off with two lines too poorly preserved to render.

14

SOURCE 24 Ho., 311 Pf. Quoted in *Suidas*, assigned to *Hek.* by Hecker, placed here by Hollis on the basis of context.

15

SOURCE 136 Ho., 336 Pf. Quoted in *Suidas*, assigned to *Hek.* by Hecker, to C.'s description of the storm by Weinberger.

16

SOURCE 25 Ho., 269 Pf. Quoted by Herodian and Choeroboscus with ascription to 'C. in *Hek.*'.

39–40 *when snuff thickens*: the formation of snuff or fungus on the wick of a lamp was a traditional sign of impending rain.

17

SOURCE 27 Ho., 282 *SH* (*P. Oxy.* 2529 recto) + 28 Ho., 239 Pf. The two fragments were combined by Webster. The second is quoted, with ascription to C., in *Et. Gen.* AB. The verso contains 36 Ho. (= our fr. 25): here Theseus has just entered Hekale's house, there the hostess feeds her guest.

41 *[he undid]*: Webster's conjecture.

18

SOURCE 29 Ho., 240 Pf. Quoted, with ascription to C., in *Et. Gen.* AB; the entry concludes, 'so [also] Salustius on the *Hekale* of C.', a good indication that the line came originally from *Hek.*

19

SOURCE 30 Ho., 241 Pf. Quoted in *Suidas*, assigned to *Hek.* by Hecker.

20

SOURCE 31 Ho., 242 Pf. Quoted in *Anecdota Graeca* (Paris) with ascription to 'C. in *Hek.*'.

45 *fetched down*: the firewood was stored aloft to facilitate drying.

21

SOURCE 32 Ho., 243 Pf. Quoted in *Suidas*, with ascription to C.

22

SOURCE 33 Ho., 244 Pf. Quoted in *Suidas*, assigned to *Hek.* by Ruhnken.

23

SOURCE 34 Ho., 246 Pf. Quoted in *Suidas*, assigned to *Hek.* by Meineke and Hecker.

24

SOURCE 35 Ho., 251 Pf. The two lines of Greek are quoted separately in *Et. Gen.* AB, each with ascription to C. The first line occurs in a gloss of the word here rendered 'bread bin'. Mention of 'the poor bread bin of the hospitable old woman' by Gregory of Nazianzus alludes, probably, to this part of *Hek.* The two lines were joined by Naeke.

25

SOURCE 36 Ho., 283 *SH*, 248 Pf. (*P. Oxy.* 2529 verso: see on fr. 17 above) + 37 Ho., 334 Pf. (quoted, with ascription to C., in *Suidas*). The first line of the papyrus fragment is obliterated, the second contains only one legible word, rendered 'bran' here. This word occurs in the same number and case in 37 Ho., a good sign that 37 Ho. and the second line of 36 Ho. are the same, and so they are treated here. Another line of the papyrus, too fragmentary to make out, is missing between lines 52 and 53 of the translation.

26

SOURCE 40 Ho., 285. 1–6 *SH*, 253. 1–6 Pf. (*PSI* 133 recto). For the ascription to *Hek.*, see on 28.

59 *[why]*: a guess based on the context only.

60 *[country]*: Pfeiffer's conjecture, suggested by the context.

27

SOURCE 158 Ho. + 41 Ho., 682 Pf. + 254 Pf. 158 Ho. (the opening question) is quoted, with ascription to C., in a scholion to Sophocles; Naeke observed that it suited Hekale responding to Theseus. Hollis (p. 320), citing numerous parallels for the connection of thought, suggested combining 158 Ho. with 41 Ho., and I follow him here. Fr. 41 Ho. (lines 62–4 of the translation) is quoted in *Et. Gen.* AB, without ascription; the last four words of it ('would to god, | would to god I had one third'), however, are quoted, and ascribed to C., in a scholion to Dionysius Thrax.

28

SOURCE 42 Ho. (285. 7–12 *SH*, 253. 7 Pf., 253. 8–12 Pf.) + 43 Ho. (293 Pf.). Fr. 42 Ho. = *PSI* 133 verso (the recto contains 26). The first line of the papyrus fragment (65–66a of the translation) is quoted by Choeroboscus with ascription to 'C. in *Hek.*'. Fr. 43 Ho. is quoted, with ascription to C., in a scholion to Apollonius of Rhodes; the phrase here rendered 'a chiton reaching to the ground' is ascribed in *Suidas* to 'C. in *Hek.*'. Hollis suggested that 43 Ho. might have filled out the incomplete line at the end of 42 Ho.

65 *I was watching*: the verb may also be third person plural, in which case perhaps Hekale's servants are the subject: 'they were watching'.

67 *Aphidnai*: an Attic deme, west of Marathon.

sons of Zeus: difficult to construe. Perhaps the man resembled a king in appearance; 'Kings', runs a famous line of Hesiod, 'are from Zeus' (*Theogony* 96).

29

SOURCE 44 Ho., 376 Pf. Quoted in *Suidas* and assigned to C. by Ruhnken, to *Hek.* by Hecker.

30

SOURCE 45 Ho., 274 Pf. The first line of the Greek text is quoted, with ascription to 'C. in *Hek.*' in *Suidas*; the second (incomplete) line, quoted, without ascription, in *Suidas*, was ascribed to C. and joined with the first line by Hecker.

75 *helichryse*: evidently, the yellow flower of the ivy vine. The young man's beard is blond.

31

SOURCE 46 Ho., 304 Pf. Quoted, with transposition of the penultimate word to the opening, and omission of the last word altogether (to make a pair of complete hexameters), in a scholion to Sophocles. The penultimate word was put back in place by Toup and the last word added by Naeke (reproducing a phrase

quoted without ascription in Hesychius). Valckenaer attributed the fragment to *Hek.*

32–34

Fragments 32–4 are preserved in a pair of interlocking papyri: *P. Oxy.* 2377 recto has fr. 32, the verso has fr. 34; fr. 33 is preserved in column i of *P. Oxy.* 2376, column ii of which preserves line openings for ten of the lines preserved in 2377 verso. Portions of the three fragments were attested before discovery of the papyri, some with ascription to C. The fifty lines contained in the three fragments 'pose', as Hollis (p. 187) put it, 'some of the most intricate problems to face an editor of the *Hecale* in our present state of knowledge'. The argument in favour of the present arrangement, made by Hollis (pp. 187–9), is too complicated to set forth here.

32

SOURCE 47 Ho., 286 *SH* (*P. Oxy.* 2377 recto). Line 6 of the papyrus (80 of the translation) is supplemented by the previously known but unplaced 639 Pf. (quoted, with ascription to C., in a scholion to the *Odyssey* and in Eustathius). The fragmentary lines 9–10 of the papyrus (83–4 of the translation) were previously attested in 327 Pf. (quoted without ascription in *Suidas*, first attributed to *Hek.* by Hecker).

79 *aboard ship*: four lines of papyrus text precede, too fragmentary to translate.

82 *Malea*: the south-eastern tip of the Peloponnesos, famed for its winds, dangerous to ships.

84 *shearwater*: a seabird whose appearance was thought to portend bad weather.

85–7 The bracketed words do not reflect emendations of the text, which is obliterated; they derive, instead, from the possible content of the lost portions as divined by the editors of *SH.*

The papyrus fragment continues with nine more lines too damaged to render.

33

SOURCE 48 Ho., 287. 1–10 *SH* (*P. Oxy.* 2376, column i). Most of the opening line of the papyrus (= 337 Pf.) was quoted in *Suidas* and assigned to *Hek.* by Hecker. Other previously known portions

occur at lines 3 (366 Pf.), 5 (247 Pf.), and 7 (284 Pf.) of the papyrus (lines 90, 91, and 93 of the translation).

89–90 On the words in brackets, see the note to lines 85–7 above. Only a few letters are left in the line of papyrus text between 90 and 91.

96 *[but even then Death]*: that 'death' might be the subject of the verb preserved in the papyrus was guessed by the editors of *SH*; 'but even then' reflects, it seems to me, the resulting context.

34

SOURCE 49 Ho., 287. 11–30 *SH* (*P. Oxy.* 2377 verso); the beginnings of lines 7–16 of the papyrus (100–6 of the translation) are also preserved in column ii of *P. Oxy.* 2376. Previously known portions of this fragment occur at lines 2–3, 9–10, and 14–15 of the papyrus text (97–9, 102–3, and 104–6 of the translation). The first two of these are ascribed to C., the first (350 Pf.) in *Suidas*, the second (294 Pf.) in a scholion to Aristophanes; the third (368 Pf.), quoted in *Suidas*, was attributed to *Hek.* by Hecker.

97–8 *when Death | called me long ago*: highly poetic: she has lived too long.

99 *you too*: evidently, in conversation with Theseus, she apostrophizes her dead son.

100 *Kerkyon*: two persons are known to have been so named, one, from Eleusis (in Attica), the son of Poseidon or Hephaistos, the other, from Arcadia, the son of Agamedes.

101–2 *who fled | Arcadia and settled here*: C. seems to have conflated the two Kerkyones (see note immediately above) into one, an Arcadian who moves to Attica.

104–6 *May I stick thorns*: intensity of feeling boils over into the wish for a gruesome revenge. Hekale is perhaps more emotional here than anywhere else in the poem (see on lines 97–8, 99 above).

There are five further lines in the papyrus fragment, with only a few letters discernible in each.

35

SOURCE 161 Ho., 591 Pf. Quoted, with attribution to C., in a scholion to Aeschylus. Barigazzi attempted to match this line with the third of the five lines trailing off at the end of the previous fragment, but the suture is faulty at one point. That the line

came there is called a 'faint possibility' by Hollis, who added (p. 322), 'the sense would be excellent'.

36

SOURCE 51 Ho., 300 Pf. Quoted, with ascription to C., in a scholion to the *Odyssey*.

108 *Kolonai*: an Attic deme, west of Marathon, not far from where the deme Hekale, a little to the north-east, may have been situated.

109 *to share the hearth of . . .*: with whom she went to live is not clear; perhaps her husband.

37

SOURCE 54 Ho. + 53 Ho., 329 Pf. + 275 Pf. Fr. 54 Ho. (line 110 in the translation), quoted in *Suidas*, was attributed to *Hek.* by Hecker; 53 Ho. (the remainder of the translation), quoted with ascription to C. in *Et. Gen.* AB, was attributed to *Hek.* by Kapp. Hollis (p. 207) suggested linking the two in reverse order, as here.

110 *All night long*: only four dactyls of Greek text, not quite a full line.

38

SOURCE 57 Ho., 313 Pf. Quoted in *Suidas*, referred to *Hek.* by Naeke and Hecker. Hecker thought it might belong to the parting scene between Hekale and Theseus (in the vicinity of our frs. 43–4).

39

SOURCE 58 Ho., 310 Pf. Quoted in *Suidas*, first attributed to *Hek.* by Ruhnken.

40

SOURCE 60 Ho., 245 Pf. Quoted in *Suidas*, attributed to *Hek.* by Schneider.

41

SOURCE 62 Ho., 328 Pf. Quoted without ascription in *Suidas* and Eustathius. Ruhnken was the first to ascribe it to C.; Naeke recognized that it came from a description of Kerkyon's wrestling ground in *Hek.*

42

SOURCE 63 Ho., 256 Pf. Quoted in *Suidas*, attributed to *Hek.* by Hecker.

43

SOURCE 64 Ho., 257 Pf. Quoted in *Suidas*, referred to *Hek.* by Schneider.

121 *had risen*: occurrence of the same verb in the *Diegesis* ('Theseus rose at dawn') may indicate that the fragment belongs in a description of the morning after the conversation between the hero and the old woman.

44

SOURCE 65 Ho., 292 Pf. Quoted, with ascription to C., in a scholion to Apollonius of Rhodes; that it belongs in *Hek.* was seen by Valckenaer.

45

SOURCE 165 Ho., 732 Pf. (Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 8. 5. 1). First assigned to the description of the Marathonian bull in *Hek.* by Haupt.

46

SOURCE 67 Ho., 258 Pf. Quoted, with ascription to C., in *Et. Mag.* and in *Suidas*; referred to the Marathonian bull by Buttmann.

47

SOURCE 68 Ho., 259 Pf. Quoted, with ascription to C., in a scholion to Apollonius of Rhodes; referred to the Marathonian bull by Buttmann and Naeke.

48

SOURCE the preceding fragment + 69 Ho., 288. 1–15 *SH*, 260. 1–15 Pf. (*P. Rain.* vi, the so-called Vienna Tablet, column i). Barigazzi and Hollis joined the two. Most of line 6 of the Vienna Tablet (136–7 of the translation) was quoted, with ascription to C., in *Suidas*.

135–42 See Introduction, section 4.

142 *Hië paiëon*: here, as often, a cry of victory. See on *H.* 2. 26, 123.

145 *leaves*: the ancient equivalent of confetti.

149–50 *and the women | . . . flung their sashes over him . . .*: these words are quoted, without ascription, in *Suidas* (the Vienna Tablet breaks off at the end of 149).

49

SOURCE 78 Ho., 371 Pf. Quoted in *Suidas*; attributed to *Hek.* by Toup and Ruhnken. Hollis (p. 262) would place it either here or later in the story, when Theseus has returned in triumph to Athens.

152 *Aithra*: daughter of Pittheus, mother of Theseus.

50

SOURCE 70 Ho., 288. 16–29 *SH*, 260. 16–29 Pf. (the Vienna Tablet, column ii). The first line of the column is totally obliterated, the second nearly so, the third (153 of the translation) preserves only two words.

156 *the daughters of Kekrops*: Aglauros, Herse, and Pandrosos. Kekrops, first king of Athens, was born from the Earth; he had a human torso, but was a serpent from the waist down.

159 *[but, news reached]*: these words reflect Hollis's guess at 'the general sense' (p. 235).

160 *wouldn't you know it?*: typical scepticism, expressed in regard to illegitimate infants whose mothers would like to father them off on the gods. For a good example, see Euripides, *Ion* 1523–7.

162 *Achaian*: because it was settled by Achaians driven ashore there on their return from the Trojan War.

166 *the serpent's witness*: Kekrops seems to be entirely serpentine here. See on line 156 above.

167 *the girls who guarded it*: the daughters of Kekrops. See on line 156 above.

169 *[latches]*: a conjecture by Gomperz.

51

SOURCE 71 Ho., 289 *SH*, 261 Pf. Three lines of Greek, the first one and a half quoted, with ascription to C., in *Et. Gen.*, the second in a scholion to Sophocles. The two halves were joined and the resulting three lines placed in the crow's narrative by Kapp.

170 *Mount Hypsizoros*: located by Pliny the Elder (*Natural History* 4. 36) in the region of Pallene (see line 162 with n. above).

173 *grounds of Lycean Apollo*: an anachronistic reference to the Lyceum, a sanctuary of Apollo dating from much later than the dramatic time of the crow's story.

52

SOURCE 72 Ho., 374 Pf. Quoted without ascription in *Suidas*. Ascribed to C. by Ruhnken, to *Hek.* by Hecker. Pfeiffer referred it to Athena at this moment in *Hek.*

175 *[at me]*: this phrase is suggested by context only.

53

SOURCE 73 Ho., 288. 30–43 A *SH*, 260. 30–43 Pf. (the Vienna Tablet, column iii). The first five lines of the tablet are obliterated. A single word, 'crows', is partially legible at the end of line 6. The translation begins at line 7 (176).

179 The bracketed words derive from the textual emendation ventured, with precautions, by Lloyd-Jones. If they reflect what C. wrote here, the crow would be speaking in a friendly way to her traditional enemy, the owl.

184 *[eight]*: translates the textual conjecture of Gomperz. As Hollis observed (p. 242), it would fit the situation nicely: according to the *Marmor Parium*, Aigeus, during whose reign the poem is set, is the eighth king of Attica (the sequence being Kekrops, Kranaos, Amphiktyon, Erichthonios, Pandion, Erechtheus, Pandion II, Aigeus).

The last line of the Greek text is illegible but for one letter.

54

SOURCE 74 Ho., 288. 43 B–69 *SH*, 260. 44–69 Pf. Lines 1–17 (beginnings of verses only) of the Greek text are preserved in *P. Oxy.* 2398; 1–6 (middle of verses only) in *P. Oxy.* 2437; 3–17 in *P. Oxy.* 2217; 14–28 in the Vienna Tablet, column iv. The opening line (346 Pf.) was quoted in *Suidas* and attributed to *Hek.* by Ruhnken. Hollis printed an entire page (99) of citations from this portion of the poem known before the discovery of the papyri. Three of these, all in *Suidas*, contain the ascription 'C. in *Hek.*': the first quoted lines 10b–11a of the Greek text (196b–197 in the translation), the second 10b–11 (197–8), the third 25 and the first word of 26 (216–17).

187 *Hekale*: this is the only occurrence of the heroine's name in the surviving fragments.

190–1 The bracketed words render textual conjectures by Lloyd-Jones.

194 *the Thriai*: three Parnassian nymphs, nurses of Apollo; they practised divination by casting pebbles.

195 *By the divine—*: a standard way of introducing an oath. The name of the god called to witness the oath is suppressed out of respect.

201 *pole and axle*: the sun rides in a chariot.

208–10 *his ugly tidings*: Koronis, pregnant by Apollo, made love in that condition to a mortal man (Ischys). Apollo, informed of her indiscretion by the raven, punished her with death, but saved her unborn child, Asklepios.

209 *Phlegyas*: son of Ares and king of the Lapithai.

Ischys: son of Elatos and lover of Koronis.

55

SOURCE 79 Ho., 262 Pf. Quoted, with ascription to C., in *Et. Gen.* AB. Attributed to *Hek.*, and to Theseus in this context, by Nacke.

56

SOURCE 80 Ho., 263 Pf. Quoted in its entirety in *Suidas*, with the descriptive phrase 'concerning the dead Hekale'. The first two lines are quoted, with ascription to C., in *Et. Mag.*

226 *your hospitable hut*: the hospitality theme again (see on line 4 above).

57

SOURCE 81 Ho., 342 Pf. Quoted in *Suidas* with the ascription 'C. in *Hek.*'.

58

SOURCE 83 Ho., 264 Pf. The fragment consists in the last three words of line 340 of a poem called *Theano* by Michael Choniates, archbishop of Athens for twenty or thirty years up to the conquest of the city by the Franks in 1205. This Michael is the last person we know to have been in possession of a copy of *Hek.* in its entirety, and he often echoes it in his own writings. The reference in his *Theano* to an annual feast in memory of Hekale being the only evidence we have for the occurrence of such a feast, Reitzenstein conjectured that Michael knew of it from C., and Pfeiffer, pointing to echoes of Callimachean phrasing in lines 339 and 340 of Michael's poem, affirmed the correctness of the guess.

HYMNS

Commentaries are cited by author's name only (Williams for *H.* 2, Mineur for *H.* 4, Bulloch for *H.* 5, Hopkinson for *H.* 6). For full details, see the Bibliography. Cross-references to other lines and notes within the *same* hymn are given by line-numbers alone.

On the arrangement of the *Hymns*, see Introduction, section 3.

1. To Zeus

3 *Pelagonians*: the Giants ('earthborn ones', from *pelos*, 'earth', and *gon-*, 'born').

4 *the sons of Uranos*: the gods.

5 *As Diktaian, or Lykaian*: on Mt. Dikte (in Crete) or Mt. Lykaion (in Arcadia)?

10 *Cretans are always liars*: a proverb and a paradox, uttered by Epimenides, who was Cretan.

11 *a tomb for you*: on Mt. Yuktas, near Knossos.

13 *Parrhasia*: a region in Arcadia.

16–18 *no pregnant beast, no woman*: sexual intercourse, giving birth, and dying were thought to entail pollution and so were banned from sacred enclosures.

18 *Apidaneans*: the ancient Arcadians. The name is given an etymology by Dionysius Periegetes (415): '*Apidaneans* . . . Arcadians . . . because it (sc. Arcadia) has no (*a-*) springs (*pidakes*) . . .'

23–33 A catalogue of rivers in Arcadia.

25 *Azenis*: part of Arcadia, near the border with Elis.

46 *Styx*: oldest of the daughters of Ocean; also a river in Arcadia.

47–8 *that stream | the Neda*: a river, forming the boundary between Elis and Messenia.

49 *Kaukones*: descendants of Kaukon, son of Lykaon.

Lepreion: a town in Elis, about five miles (8 km.) from the river Neda.

52 *the Lykaonian she-bear*: Callisto.

54 *Thenai*: the name of two different towns, one in Arcadia and one in Crete, beside the Omphalian Plain.

Knossos: a city in central Crete, on its northern shore.

57 *the Kydonians*: Cretans.

58 *the Omphalian Plain*: in Crete, near Thenai.

59 *Kyrbantes*: the Corybants, originally ecstatic devotees of the Asiatic mother goddess Cybele.

Ash Nymphs: the *Meliai*, who sprang from the blood of Uranos when it splashed upon the earth (Hesiod, *Theogony* 187).

61 *Adresteia*: a Cretan nurse of Zeus (originally an Asiatic mother goddess).

64 *Amaltheia*: a fabulous she-goat; nectar flowed from one of her horns, ambrosia from the other.

66 *Panakridian*: of Panakra (see next note).

67 *Panakra*: a mountain on Crete.

68–71 Kronos, fearing to be supplanted by his children as Uranos had been by his (see on *Ait.* 2. 89–92), swallowed each as it was born. The last, Zeus, was saved by Rhea who, according to Hesiod (*Theogony* 459–87), bore him in Crete and hid him there.

68 *the Kouretes*: not the same as the Kyrbantes (59), but here treated by C. as if they were.

The Kouretes were originally young warriors (*kouroi*) of Crete, whose dance in armour every year in the grotto of Mt. Ida summoned Zeus ('the greatest *kouros*') to bless the coming year.

72–5 Gods mature quickly.

76 *your brothers, older than you*: Zeus is the last of the six children born to Kronos and Rhea. His brothers are Hades and Poseidon, his sisters Hestia, Demeter, and Hera (Hesiod, *Theogony* 453–7). Homer makes Zeus the oldest (*Iliad* 13. 355).

78 *the ancient poets*: both Homer (*Iliad* 15. 187–93) and Pindar (*Olympian* 7. 54–61) have the gods casting lots for their spheres of power.

78–9 *had no regard | for truth at all*: the lies of poets are a commonplace.

86–9 *It was not chance | that made you King of Gods*: C. adopts Hesiod's version of Zeus' rise to power, as depicted in the *Theogony*.

87–8 *the deeds | of your hands*: Zeus secures his reign by his victory over the Titans (*Theogony* 617–731) and over Typhoeus (820–68).

88–9 *the might, the power | you stationed by your throne*: Might and Power, children of Styx, sit by Zeus' throne and never leave his side (*Theogony* 385–8).

90–1 *the most prominent of birds*: Zeus' bird is the eagle.

103 *Chitone*: Artemis wears a *chiton*. See note to *H.* 3. 15.

105 *'Kings are from Zeus'*: quoted from Hesiod, *Theogony* 96 and literally applicable to the Ptolemies, who claimed descent from Zeus through their ancestor Heracles.

114 *our lord*: identified in the scholion (Pf. ii, p. 45) as 'Ptolemy' and usually taken to mean Ptolemy II Philadelphos. The word for 'lord' employed here (*medeon*) is applied only to Zeus in Homer (see note immediately above).

121 *Farewell*: each of C.'s hymns ends with a similar farewell to the god.

130 *give us virtue and prosperity together*: so end *Homeric Hymns* 15 (to Heracles) and 20 (to Hephaistos).

2. To Apollo

1 *laurel*: sacred to Apollo: see *Ia.* 4.

6 *the Delian palm*: Leto grasped a palm tree when she gave birth to Apollo on Delos (*Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 117). 'Delian' here is generalized; it does not designate the site of the hymn's performance.

7 *the swan*: sacred to Apollo: see *H.* 4. 375–83, *Ia.* 4. 44–7.

10 *young men*: we are to imagine a chorus of young men assembled to worship Apollo, performing, perhaps, a variety of his favourite song, the *paian*.

21 *the tortoise*: the lyre, now playing.

24 *Lykoreian*: from Lykoreia, either the summit of Mt. Parnassos or a village on it.

25 *Achilles*: killed, according to some sources, by Apollo.

26 *hië paiëon, hië paiëon*: the refrain used in the paian (see on 10), hailing Apollo as 'healer' or 'saviour' or 'helper' (*paiëon*, *paian*). See on 123.

27 *the weeping rock*: Niobe, transformed into a rock while grieving for the deaths of her six sons, slain by Apollo's arrows, and her six daughters, slain by Artemis' in retaliation for her boast, that she was more fortunate in her twelve children than Leto, mother of Apollo and Artemis, in her two.

30 *Sing hië hië!*: addressed to the chorus.

It's bad to contend with gods: a comment on the fate of Niobe, who contended with Leto (see on 27).

32 *my king*: identified in the scholion (Pf. ii, p. 50) as Ptolemy III Euergetes (reigned 246–221 BC). If, as seems likely, the poem was performed at Cyrene, a better candidate would be Magas (see Introduction, section 5).

32–3 *The man who contends with my king | would contend with Apollo*: this would have special point if Magas is the king referred to: he was a priest of Apollo.

39–41 *gold . . . gold . . . golden . . gold*: gods and gold, radiant and imperishable, belong together in Greek poetry, where gods tend to appear in a golden ambience, wearing, using, and carrying items fashioned of gold.

40 *Lyktian*: equivalent to 'Cretan'. Cretans were famed for archery.

47 *Panacea*: the goddess 'All-healing', often depicted as the daughter of Apollo's son Asklepios.

55 *Amphryssos*: a river in Thessaly.

56 *Admetos*: son of Pheres, king of Pherai, in Thessaly. According to Euripides (*Alcestis* 1–7) and others, Apollo was compelled by Zeus to serve a mortal man, Admetos, in punishment for killing the Kyklopes. C. gives the god's servitude an erotic motivation.

66 *At the age of four*: see on *H.* 1. 72–5.

67 *sinking his first foundations*: evidently, Apollo plants the goat horns brought to him by Artemis (69–70) upright in the ground and uses these as the 'warp' of his altar, across which he weaves the horizontal 'woof', also of goat horns. Since the vertical horns support the horizontal ones, they can be playfully referred to as 'foundations'.

71 *the altar*: later known as one of 'The Seven Wonders of the World'.

74 *to get his first foundations going*: C. here uses a verb that means 'rouse' or 'wake up' but comes to mean, in prose, 'erect' or 'rear' (see on 67).

75–116 The celebration of Cyrene, both the city and the girl for whom it was named, has the chronological structure of a Pindaric myth: it opens with events from the middle of the story (75–9: the colonization of Cyrene by immigrants from Thera under the leadership of Battos), reaches the end of the story (80–99: the worship of Apollo Karneios in Cyrene) in the centre, and comes to a close with its earliest episodes (100–16: events preceding the arrival of the immigrants, including adornment of the city by Apollo, Cyrene's exploits on the site, her arrival there).

75 *Battos*: Aristoteles (as at 88), son of Polymnestos, founder of the Cyrenaean royal family, to which C. belonged. Commanded by the Delphic oracle, he led a colony from Thera to Cyrene. According to Herodotus (4. 155), it was the oracle that first called him 'Battos', a Libyan word that meant 'king'. He had originally gone to Delphi to ask Apollo to cure his stutter. Apollo, knowing that Aristoteles was destined to be called 'Battos' in Libya one day, spoke to him as if he already were so. This is the account Herodotus gives of the name 'Battos', preferring it to the one current among the Therans and the Cyrenaeans, that he was given the name because he stuttered (as if *Battos* derived from *battarizein*, 'to stammer, stutter').

76 *as a raven*: Apollo is often associated with ravens.

78 *into Libya*: according to Herodotus (4. 156–7), the Theran immigrants mistakenly settled on the island of Platea, off the coast of North Africa ('Libya'). Two years later, under the guidance of Apollo's oracle again, they migrated to 'Aziris' ('Azilis' in this hymn) on the mainland. That move seems to be what C. is describing here, substituting Apollo as raven for the oracle in Herodotus.

our kings: the kings of Cyrene (not Egypt: see on 32). C. speaks here as a citizen of Cyrene *and* as a member of the Battiad family. See *Ep.* 30.

80 *Boëdromios*: 'Bringing assistance', a widely attested epithet of Apollo, connected with the festival of the Boëdromia in Attica.

Klarios: 'of Klaros', referring to Apollo's temple and oracle at Klaros (in Colophon, Asia Minor).

82 *appellation*: an attempt to preserve something of the play here on the similarity between *Apollon* and *polloi* ('many').

83 *Karneios*: epithet of Apollo as god of the Karneia, a Dorian festival observed in Cyrene.

86 *The sixth generation from the son of Oedipus*: Theras, who left Sparta for Calliste (renamed Thera in his honour), was the great-great-grandson of Polynices, son of Oedipus, the famous king of Thebes who killed his father Laios and married his mother Jocasta. The genealogy is given in Herodotus 4. 147 and in the scholion (Pf. ii, p. 52).

88 *sound Aristoteles*: emphatic: there was nothing wrong with the founder of Cyrene. By calling him, in his capacity of city-founder, 'Aristoteles' instead of 'Battos' (see on 75) and by insisting that he was 'sound' when he left Thera, C. is implicitly denying that he went to Apollo to obtain a cure for his stammer, that his stammer was cured on arrival in Africa by a frightening encounter with a lion (scholia to lines 65 and 76 of the Greek text, in Pf. ii, pp. 51–2), or that he had any such problem at all. The ancients felt more strongly about stammering than we do. It had 'extremely disreputable connotations' (Williams, p. 70).

92–9 Apollo's worship in Cyrene. This is the exact centre of the entire Cyrenaean section (see on 75–116): seventeen lines precede, seventeen follow, in the English; in the Greek, twelve precede and twelve follow.

95 *Horai*: the Seasons, daughters of Zeus and Themis, named Eunomia, Dike, and Eirene (Law, Justice, Peace) in Hesiod (*Theogony* 902) and Pindar (*Olympian* 13. 6–7).

96 *Zephyrus*: the west wind.

101 *clothed in Enyo's might*: armed for battle. The *paian* was sometimes performed by men in armour (see on 10).

105 *Cyre*: the fountain of Apollo, in Cyrene.

106 *Azilis*: a site in Libya, occupied by the future Cyrenaeans before their move to Cyrene. See on 78.

107 *his bride*: Cyrene.

109 *Myrtoussa*: 'Myrtle Hill', in Libya, to the west of Cyrene, perhaps as far as 62 miles (100 km.) from Azilis. Gods are far-sighted.

111 *Eurypylos*: a legendary Libyan king, offered his kingdom as prize to anyone who could do away with the lion plaguing it.

115 *how he'd ravished her away*: Apollo, desiring Cyrene as soon as he saw her wrestling a lion in Thessaly, had swept her away to her new home in Libya (Pindar, *Pythian* 9. 26–70).

116 *the Battiadai*: descendants of Battos, including C. himself. See on 78.

117 *Hië hië paiëon*: see on 26.

120 *the beast . . . the snake*: Python, the giant serpent that guarded Delphi before Apollo's arrival there.

123 *hië hië paiëon*: there were several etymologies of Apollo's ritual cry in circulation in antiquity. The one C. presents here is that *hië hië paiëon* derives from the shout of encouragement given by the Delphians to the child (in some versions infant) Apollo as, bow and arrows in hand, he faced the enormous serpent: *hiei, hiei, pai, ion* ('Shoot, shoot, child, your arrow').

126–34 The celebrated Epilogue (see Introduction, section 4 (p. xxxv)).

126 *Envy*: the Greek here is *Phthonos* (personified). See below, notes on *Ait.* 1. 24 and *Ep.* 29. 4.

127–8 *who doesn't sing | like the sea*: Envy faults C. for the limited scope of his poetry; but C. here, as elsewhere, prefers the 'little' to the 'big' (see the Prologue to *Ait.* 1–2, and *Ait.* 2. 16, with notes).

129 *The Assyrian river*: the Euphrates.

131–4 *The bees | bring water to Deo*: poets were often compared with bees and the similarity between *meli* ('honey') and *melos* ('song') made the analogy between the two even more appealing. In this passage the bees are both the insects to which poets were compared and the actual priestesses called 'Bees' who carried water in a ritual honouring Deo.

135 *Criticism*: to be taken in its pejorative sense only: the Greek is *Momos*, literally 'Blame' or 'Censure'.

3. To Artemis

14 *let me carry the torch*: Artemis' title 'Bringer of Light' reflects her identification with the moon.

15 *my blouse*: the *chiton*, worn while hunting. From it Artemis gets her epithet *Chitone*.

17 *Oceanids*: daughters of Ocean.

31 *their helper*: Artemis was assimilated to Eileithyia.

37 *her father's beard*: grasping the beard, like touching the knees (6), is a supplicatory gesture.

55 *White Mountain*: there was a range of 'White Mountains' in western Crete.

59 *the river Kairatos*: in Crete, near Knossos.

78 *Sikanians*: the aboriginal Sicilians.

92 *Arges! Steropes!*: two of the three Kyklopes.

94 *Hermes:* impersonating the Kyklopes.

101 *presents from Hephaistos*: Hephaistos is Artemis' older half-brother. Presents were given to a child by relatives seeing it for the first time. See *Ia.* 12.

102 *Brontes*: third of the three Kyklopes (see on 92).

110 *Kydonian*: Cretan: Cretans were famed for their archery.

120 *Mainalian*: from Mt. Mainalos, in Arcadia.

127–32 *seven Spartan bitches*: Spartan hounds were famed for their hunting prowess.

135 *the Parrhasian mountain*: in the south-west corner of Arcadia. 'Parrhasian' is equivalent to 'Arcadian'.

145 *with Hera's blessing*: Hera looks forward with pleasure to the trouble Heracles will have pursuing this prize. See on 146–7; also *Ait.* 3. 1. 14–17.

the river Keladon: evidently the 'torrent' described at 136–7 above (*keladon* describes the sound of rushing water). The Keladon was a tributary of the Alpheus, in western Arcadia.

146–7 The third Labour imposed by Eurystheus on Heracles was to capture and bring to Mycenae the golden-horned 'Keryneian hind', sacred to Artemis.

146 *the Keryneian Hill*: in northern Arcadia.

148 *Tityos*: a Giant, son of Zeus and Elara, who attempted to rape Leto and was killed by Artemis according to Pindar (*Pythian* 4. 90), by Artemis and Apollo together according to Apollodorus (1. 4. 1).

148–51 *golden . . . golden . . . golden*: see on *H.* 2. 39–41.

157 *your torch*: see on 14.

158 *Mysian Olympus*: a mountain in Mysia, a region of Asia Minor between Phrygia to the north and Lydia to the south.

194 *Hermes Akakesios*: Hermes is called *akaketa* at *Iliad* 16. 185 and *Odyssey* 24. 10, where the meaning is obscure. The scholion on *Akakesios* (Pf. ii, p. 62) reads 'from a mountain of Arcadia or because he (Hermes) is the cause of nothing bad', the latter interpretation involving the derivation of *Akakesios* from *a-kakos* 'not bad'.

196 *Alkeides*: 'Descendant of Alkaios', according to Apollodorus (2. 4. 12), the original name of Heracles. Alkaios was the father of Amphitryon, whose wife Alkmene became the mother of Heracles by Zeus.

198 *the Anvil of Tiryns*: Heracles. Tiryns was an ancient city on the Argive plain, about a mile (1.5 km.) from the sea, home to Heracles during the period of his vassalage to Eurystheus, when he was performing his famous Labours.

201–2 *even | his mother-in-law*: Hera, reconciled with him at last (see on 145). Hera is the mother of Hebe, to whom Heracles is married upon entry to Olympus as a god.

217 *under Phrygia's oak*: site of the death and transfiguration of Heracles. According to the scholion (Pf. ii, p. 63), 'Phrygia' is the name of a hill in Trachis, where Heracles was burned on the pyre.

219–20 *that belly | Theiodamas met while ploughing long ago*: see *Ait.* 1. 156–79.

221 *the daughters of Amnisos*: Artemis' nymphs (cf. 20–3).

232 *Egyptian Inopos*: the river Inopos was thought to have a subterranean connection with the Nile.

233 *Pitane*: a township of Sparta, on the Eurotas river, with a temple of Artemis.

234 *Limnai*: a town on the border between Lakonia and Messenia, where there was a temple of Artemis called 'The Limnaion' and from which Artemis got her epithet 'Limnatis'.

237 *Alai Araphenides*: a deme on the coast of Attica, due east of Athens. Artemis had a temple there.

238 *the Taurians*: a people living in the mountainous south-west region of the Crimea who practised human sacrifice in their worship of Artemis.

244 *Stymphaians*: from Stymphai, a village in Epirus. The cattle of Epirus were known for their prodigious size.

256 *Doliche*: 'Long Island', i.e. Ikaria, off the coast of Lykia. There was a temple of 'Artemis Tauropolos' on its west coast, with a wooden image of the goddess. Perhaps this explains her preference, otherwise surprising.

Perge: a city in Pamphylia, not far from the coast, where there was a famous ancient temple of Artemis.

257 *Teÿgeton*: a mountain rising above the Spartan plain, a favourite haunt of Artemis, rich in wild game.

257–8 *the harbours | of Euripos*: one of these, on the Boiotian side, would be Aulis, where Agamemnon offended Artemis (see on 314–20).

260 *Gortynian*: from Gortyn, a city in south-central Crete.

Britomartis: originally a Cretan virgin goddess, here demoted to the status of a nymph beloved of Artemis.

269 *the Kydonians*: inhabitants of the town of Kydonia; not generalized to mean Cretans, as at 110 above.

270 *Diktyna*: here fused with Britomartis, was originally a goddess in her own right, worshipped at Kydonia (see note immediately above) and other places in Crete. Her name and that of the mountain from which she dived (271–2) are here explained as deriving from the *diktya* ('nets') that saved her.

272 *Diktaion*: a Cretan mountain.

280 *the Cretans even call you by her name*: testifies to the absorption of the cult of Britomartis by that of Artemis (see on 260).

282 *Hypseus*: king of the Lapithai in Thessaly; father of Cyrene.

283–4 *she took first place | beside the tomb in Iolkos with them*: Cyrene was a formidable huntress before Apollo brought her from Thessaly (where Iolkos was) to Libya (see above, *H.* 2. 106–15). She seems to have competed at the funeral games of Pelias in Iolkos, but the exact nature of the contest is not clear.

285 *the blond wife of Kephalos*: Prokris, daughter of Erechtheus, the king of Athens. Artemis gave her a hound that always caught its prey (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 7. 753–5). Mention of her husband calls her tragic death to mind: mistaking her for a beast in the forest, Kephalos hurled the spear that never missed its mark (another gift from Artemis).

286 *Deïoneus*: king of Phocis, father of Kephalos.

288 *Antikleia*: perhaps, later, the mother of Odysseus.

294 *Atalanta*: daughter of Iasios of Arcadia. Rejected by her father, who preferred a boy, and exposed as an infant, she was nursed by a she-bear and grew up in the wild, a virgin huntress, like Artemis herself.

294–301 The Kalydonian Boar Hunt. Oineus, king of Kalydon, neglected to honour Artemis, who sent a huge boar to ravage the land. Atalanta came from Arcadia and joined in the hunt, winning the affection of Oineus' son Meleagros, who awarded the boar's spoils to her. His maternal uncles resented that a woman should be honoured so, and a fight broke out over the matter. Meleagros, defending Atalanta's claims, killed his uncles and died himself soon after, victim of his mother's wrath.

296 *Iasios*: see on 294.

297–9 C. appears to be denying that anyone disputed Atalanta's claims (see on 294–301).

298 *Kalydonian*: of Kalydon, a city in Aitolia, in west-central Greece.

302 *Hylaios or Rhoikos*: Centaurs, killed by Atalanta when they tried to rape her.

307 *Mainalos*: a mountain in Arcadia.

309 *Chitone*: epithet of Artemis. See on 15.

311 *Neleus*: son of Kodros, the last king of Athens; said to have founded Miletos (Herodotus 9. 97; see *Ia.* 1. 68).

313 *Chesion:* cape on Samos.

314 *Imbrasos*: river on Samos.

314–20 Artemis, offended by Agamemnon, kept the Greek fleet becalmed at Aulis. See on 367.

318 *Rhamnusian*: epithet of Helen as 'daughter of Nemesis'. Nemesis was worshipped at Rhamnous, a deme in the north-east corner of Attica.

320 *Teukrians*: Trojans.

321 *Proitos*: king of Tiryns, whose daughters went mad either for rejecting Dionysos or for offending Hera. Their cure is usually ascribed in ancient sources to the seer Melampous.

324 *Azenia*: a region in southern Arcadia.

325 *Lousa*: a town in Arcadia.

328 *Amazons*: mythical female warriors, often defeated in conflict with Greek heroes (e.g. Bellerophon, Heracles, Theseus,

Achilles). Their name was derived from *a-maza* ('lacking a breast') and alleged to have originated from the practice of removing one breast to facilitate hurling the javelin.

331 *Hippo*: Amazon queen, identical with the famous Hippolyta, the capture of whose girdle constituted the Ninth Labour of Heracles.

342 *Berekynthian*: in Phrygia.

344–8 The temple of Artemis at Ephesos. The city is called 'temple keeper of the great Artemis' in Acts 19: 35.

349–50 *threatened | to plunder it*: the Kimmerians burned the temple of Artemis at Ephesos, a fact C. appears to forget here.

352 *Kimmerians*: forced from their homeland north of the Black Sea by nomadic Scythians, the Kimmerians invaded Ionia and Lydia and, having won two great battles in 714 BC, kept the whole of Asia Minor in terror for much of the next century. Not to be confused with the mythical Kimmerians of Homer (*Odyssey* 11. 13–19).

354 *Bosporos*: 'The Strait of the Cow': there were two, the Kimmerian Bosporos or northern strait connecting the Black Sea with Lake Maeotis (the Sea of Azov) and the Thracian Bosporos or southern strait connecting the Black Sea with the Propontis (the Sea of Marmara). The former is referred to here.

355 *the cowgirl*: Io.

359 *Kaÿster*: a river in Lydia.

361 *Mounichia*: in the Piraeus or harbour of Athens, site of an ancient sanctuary of Artemis.

362 *Pheraia*: title of Artemis from Pherai in Thessaly, where she was identified with Hekate.

364 *Oineus*: king of Kalydon. See on 294–301.

367 *the son of Atreus boasted, and paid the price*: according to some versions of the story, Agamemnon boasted that he was a better hunter than Artemis herself. In retaliation, Artemis not only stranded the Greek fleet gathered at Aulis for the journey to Troy, but also refused to let the winds blow until Agamemnon had sacrificed his daughter Iphigeneia to her.

369 *Otos*: a giant, son of Poseidon and Iphimedeia. He and his brother piled Mt. Pelion on Mt. Ossa in an attempt to scale Olympus and dislodge the gods. Artemis, offended by his advances to her, caused his death.

Orion: a giant and a mighty hunter, said by Aratus (*Phenomena* 637–44) to have grabbed Artemis' robe when he was hunting on Chios. Artemis split the hills and set the Scorpion (installed later, along with Orion, in the zodiac) against him, causing his death.

372 *Hippo refused to circle her altar*: Hippo's refusal to dance around the altar is puzzling in view of lines 328–44, which describe the institution of Artemis' Ephesian cult by Hippo and her Amazons, with dancing emphasized at lines 332–5. Hippo was eventually killed by Heracles.

4. To Delos

2 *to raise your voice*: adopting Mineur's emendation (pp. 50–2).

11 *Pimpleia*: Pieria, in Thessaly, near Mt. Olympus, named for the nymph Pimpleïs, mother of the Muses by Pieros.

27–8 *the islands . . . meet | to visit*: the islands go to visit their parents (see next note). This sounds odd in English, but not in Greek, where islands, cities, and springs are readily identified with the nymphs or goddesses who give them their names.

28 *Ocean and Titanian Tethys*: progenitors of the gods at *Iliad* 14. 201.

29 *Kyrnos*: Corsica, inhabited in early times by Carthaginian ('Phoinikian') traders.

32 *Makridian Abantian Ellopië*: Euboia, called *Makris* ('Long Island') on account of its length, and 'Abantian' from the Abantes (descendants of Abas), who inhabit it in Homer (*Iliad* 2. 536; see on *Ait.* 1. 101). Ellopië, here used of the whole island, strictly designates its northern district.

Sardo: Sardinia.

38 *Strymonian*: from the river Strymon in Thrace.

47 *the Telchines*: according to Tzetzes, Bacchylides (52) made the Telchines children of Nemesis, daughter of Tartaros, but 'some others say they are children of Earth and Sea'. Both genealogies point to primordial beings, whose birth antedates the present world order. This, along with the fact that they founded the art of metallurgy, accounts for their mention here. There is no trace

of the maliciousness attributed to them at *Ait.* 1. 1–28 and *Ait.* 3. 5. 121–31.

57–8 *Asterië, who shot | like a star*: the Greek for 'star' is *aster*.

64 *the Saronic Gulf*: bounded by Argolis, the Isthmos of Corinth, and Attica.

68 *you quit the sea off Chalkis*: the strait of Euripos (see Index of Names) is too narrow for Asterië to pass through, so she turns around and exits the strait, travelling south.

69 *Cape Sounion*: the southern tip of Attica.

70 *Chios*: a large island in the eastern Aegean, off the coast of Lydia.

71–2 *Parthenië*: 'Isle of the Virgin', an ancient name of Samos.

73 *Mykale*: mountain on the Lydian mainland, east of Samos.

Ankaios: a mythical king of Samos.

made you their guest: see on 27–8.

76 *called you Delos, fittingly*: explained by the 'etymology' inferred in the next line.

77 *no longer sailing out of sight*: the name *Delos* suggests 'visibility', 'manifestation', 'conspicuousness', 'shining'. So too Asterië, the earlier name of the island (see on 57–8).

97 *the daughter of Thaumas*: Iris. Thaumas is one of the children of Pontos (the sea); by his consort the Oceanid Elektra, he is father not only of Iris but also of the Harpies (Hesiod, *Theogony* 265–9), known for their viciousness (*Argonautica* 2. 187–93).

103–292 The world flees from the pregnant Leto, leaving her no place to bear her children. A fantastic passage, in which rivers and mountains and islands and large pieces of territory pick up and leave at the approach of the goddess in distress. For one factor easing the bizarreness, see on 27–8; Asterië's status, before and after the passage, as both a being endowed with personality and a self-propelled island moving from place to place also helps.

103–9 The reaction of Arcadia and Argolis to Leto's plight.

104 *Auge's holy Mount Parthenion*: Auge, daughter of Aleos of Tegea, pregnant by Heracles, fled her father and bore her son Telephos on Parthenion (Maiden's Mount), on the border of Arcadia and Argolis.

105 *Pheneios*: obscure: a river god, or a city identified with its eponymous founder? 'Pheneos', named at *Iliad* 2. 605, was a city in northern Arcadia. The founder himself seems unlikely, all those who flee being features of the landscape or their divine projections (see on 27–8).

105–6 *the whole | Pelopeïs bordering on Isthmos*: obscure: perhaps the Peloponnesos east of Arcadia is meant, i.e. Argolis.

107 *except, of course, Aigialos and Argos*: they would have fled, had Leto approached them; they are, however, so closely associated with 'Argive Hera' (as she is often called) that Leto chose not to bother appealing to them.

Aigialos: apparently denotes the neighbourhood of Sikyon, near the Isthmos, west of Corinth. See next note.

109 *Inachos*: Argive river, father of Aigialeus, who gave his name to Aigialos.

109–44 The reaction of Boiotia.

110 *Aonië*: the scholion (Pf. ii, p. 68) says this means Thebes; in fact it designates the entire region of Boiotia.

111 *Dirke and Strophië*: a pair of Boiotian rivers; Dirke, at Thebes, was famous, Strophië is still obscure.

112 *Ismenos*: a river flowing past Thebes in Boiotia.

113 *Asopos*: a Boiotian river, south of Thebes. Also the river god, whose daughter Aigina was carried off by Zeus. See next note.

114 *lame from the lightning stroke*: Asopos, going after his daughter, was driven back by Zeus' lightning bolts.

115 *earth-born*: the *Meliai*, of whom Melië is one, sprang from the Earth splashed by the blood of Uranos (Hesiod, *Theogony* 187).

118 *her tree, her agemate*: according to a famous passage in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (259–72), each mountain nymph is born together with its own tree, flourishes and withers with it, and dies when it dies.

119 *Helikon's hair shaking*: the mountain's 'hair' would be its trees: the mountain shakes its head, refusing Leto sanctuary? Or are its trees waving because it is in flight, like the rest of Boiotia?

119–23 The poet digresses a moment, to wonder about the relationship between nymphs and their trees.

121–3 *Nymphs rejoice . . .*: the jingle is even more prominent in the Greek, where the rhyme of the verbs is reinforced by the exact replication of the structure of line 84 in line 85.

124 *still in the womb* See on *H.* 1. 72–5.

125 *Thebe*: daughter of Asopos, eponymous nymph of Thebes.

128–33 *Stop forcing me to prophesy*: Apollo defends making a prophecy now, before his official installation as prophetic god at Delphi (Pytho). We are used to hearing him prophesy from there, not from Leto's womb.

131 *the huge snake*: Python. See on *H.* 2. 120, 123.

132 *Pleistos*: a small river flowing past Delphi from Mt. Parnassos into the Corinthian Gulf.

138–9 *Children | of yours*: this could refer to any Thebans, all of whom have Thebe for their mother in the sense that the city is a 'mother' to its citizens.

139 *a mother whose tongue is offensive*: Niobe. See on *H.* 2. 27.

140 *Kithairon*: a Boiotian mountain, site of Oedipus' exposure and of Pentheus' death at the hands of his own mother and aunts. Though these events lie in the future, they are present to Apollo, who considers the mountain already polluted, hence unfit to be his birthplace.

144–7 Leto evidently goes south from Boiotia, crosses the Isthmos of Corinth, and continues moving west into Achaia.

145 *Poseidon's lover Helike, and Boura*: towns and eponymous nymphs at once (see on 27–8). Helike as lover of Poseidon is attested only here; the town of that name was a centre of his worship. Boura and Helike both disappeared from sight, Boura demolished by an earthquake in 373/2 BC, Helike submerged in the resultant tidal wave. They may be chosen for mention here to imply that some, at least, of those who rejected Leto were eventually punished for it.

145–6 *Boura . . . oxen*: C. hints at the etymology of 'Boura' as place for 'oxen' (*boöstasis*).

146 *Dexamenos, son of Oikeus*: more wordplay: Dexamenos ('Receiver'), son of Oikeus ('House-dweller'), had received the centaur Eurytion, either as guest or as bridegroom, into his house, but Eurytion misbehaved and was killed by Heracles (Apollodorus 2. 5. 5). See also on *Ep.* 42. 3.

148–220 Leto in Thessaly.

148 *back . . . she took her way*: the meaning is back *from Achaia*, which she has just approached in vain, not back *to Thessaly*, which she has yet to visit.

149 *Anauros*: a river in Magnesia (coastal Thessaly).

Larisa: chief city of Thessaly.

150 *the peaks of Cheiron*: Mt. Pelion (see on 169), site of Cheiron's birth (alluded to at 169–70). Cheiron was a Centaur, son of Kronos and Philyra.

151–220 Leto and Peneios. Not everyone in Thessaly is guilty of rejecting Leto.

151 *Peneios*: the largest river in Thessaly.

159 *Zeus' babes*: Apollo and Artemis. Artemis is mentioned directly only once in the poem, at 343.

160 *Phthia*: Thessaly.

169 *Pelion*: a mountain in eastern Thessaly.

170 *her lover*: Kronos (see on 150).

193 *Ares*: Hera's sentinel, watching over the mainland (90–4).

194 *Pangaion*: a mountain to the north, in Thrace, about 120 miles (190 km.) from Tempe (see on *H.* 2. 109).

205–6 *Briareos, the giant | underground*: a Hundred-hander in Hesiod (*Theogony* 149), a giant in later literature, as here. Pindar puts Typhon under Aitna (*Pythian* 1. 15–20), C. himself in another poem (*Ait.* 1. 46) puts Enkelados there.

217 *the daughter of Koios*: Leto. Koios is a Titan.

221–320 Leto's reception among the islands.

224–5 *the Echinades | with their shimmering harbours*: islands located where the river Acheloios empties into the Corinthian Gulf. Build-up of silt from the Acheloios had done away with their harbours by C.'s time, another implicit example, perhaps, of punishment for rejecting Leto (see on 145).

227 *Iris*: see on 97.

232–3 *the primeval | Meropian isle of Cos*: for the primordiality of islands, see 44–54 and the note to 47.

Meropian: Merops was mythical king of Cos.

233–4 *sacred bower | of the heroine Chalkiope*: daughter of Eurypylos, king of Cos, who was married to Heracles there.

235–89 Cos did not reject Leto: it was never asked to receive her! See on 151–220.

241 *some other god*: Ptolemy II Philadelphos.

242–3 *sprung of the high race | of Saviour Gods:* 'Saviour Gods' was the official title of Ptolemy I Soter and his queen, Berenike I, parents of Ptolemy II Philadelphos.

243–50 A brief description of the empire ruled by Ptolemy II Philadelphos. According to an inscription (*Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, ed. W. Dittenberger (Leipzig, 1903), 54), Ptolemy III inherited from Ptolemy II the kingship of Egypt, Libya, Syria, Phoenicia, Cyprus, Lykia, Caria, and the Cyclades.

245–6 *the two lands | deep in earth's interior*: Upper and Lower Egypt.

252 *he and I*: Apollo deals with the Gauls at Delphi (254–73), Ptolemy deals with them in Egypt (274–7).

253–4 *a common menace | out of the vast west*: Celtic tribes from the Balkans invaded Greece and attacked Delphi in 280/79 BC.

255 *latter-day Titans*: the equation of barbarians with Titans, enemies of Zeus and the order he establishes, goes back to Pindar's first *Pythian* ode.

256 *Celtic war*: see on 253–4.

260–1 Two lines of the Greek text are all but missing here, due to corruption. Word-beginnings are legible at the opening of each ('child-', 'Dori-'), but virtually nothing beyond. My translation follows Pfeiffer's reconstruction of the context.

the children known as "Dorians": participants in the Daphnephoria. See *Ia.* 4. 27–30; *Ait.* 4. 1.

262 *Krisaian plain*: Krisa was a town on the coastal plain below Delphi, south of Amphissa (see next note).

[chasms of Amphissos]: Mineur's conjecture (p. 173). Amphissos, son of Apollo and Dryope and probably eponymous hero of Amphissa, described by Herodotus (8. 32) as a 'city above the Krisaian plain'.

265 *the neighbouring town*: Kallion or Kallipolis, sacked and burned by a contingent of the main Gallic force.

266–72 The Gauls ('Galatians' in Greek) attempting to plunder Delphi were driven north by the combined forces of the Boiotians, Phokians, and Aitolians; later they were annihilated in battle by Antigonus Gonatas.

273 *some will be my prize, others his*: the phrasing suggests that Ptolemy and Apollo were both victorious over the Gauls, but the two 'victories' differed radically from each other. The Greeks, attributing their triumph over the Gauls (266–72) to Apollo's favour, fixed the captured shields to the frieze of his sanctuary in Delphi. Ptolemy's trophies (line 275) came from Gallic mercenaries he himself had hired, who turned against him.

276–7 *shields that saw their owners die gasping | in the fire*: exactly how Ptolemy's treacherous Gallic mercenaries perished is hard to determine. The vagueness, appropriate to a prophetic utterance, would not have filtered out as much information for the original audience as it does for us.

277 *Ptolemy*: Ptolemy II Philadelphos, reigned from 283 to 246 BC.

292–6 Asterië-Delos, last depicted in her wandering (54–73), appears again, still wandering.

294 *the wheeling Cyclades*: see on 454–5.

296 *Geraistos*: a promontory on the southern tip of Euboia.

298 The second halves of lines 200–1 of the Greek text are almost entirely missing.

307–10 *Inopos*: see on *H.* 3. 232.

313 *against the trunk of a palm tree*: the Delian palm appears in Greek literature as early as the *Odyssey* (6. 162–3). The *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* has Leto embracing a palm tree as she gives birth to the god (117). In later literature, two additional trees grace the birth scene, at times together, forming a trio with the palm, at times singly, paired with it: the laurel and the olive (the former added probably under Delphic, the latter under Athenian influence).

321 *bitter wife of Zeus*: Hera.

322–3 *Such | a messenger*: Iris. See 227–9.

343 *Artemis'*: see on 159.

347 *the daughter of Thaumas*: see on 97.

371–4 See 56–9.

375 *the swans*: see on *H.* 2. 7.

378 *Maionian*: Maionia is the Homeric name for Lydia.

385 *the ancient river*: presumably the Inopos (307–10).

391–7 *golden . . . gold . . . gold . . . gold . . . golden*: for all the gold, compare *H.* 2. 39–41 (and note), 3. 148–50.

393–4 *your birthday shoot, | the olive sapling*: C. accounts for the presence of the sacred olive tree on Delos by making it a birthday present to Apollo, presumably from his half-sister Athena (see on 313). Mention of the olive here prepares the way for the Delian ritual described at 485–91.

406–7 *Kerchnis . . . Lechaion*: Kerchnis is the eastern harbour of Corinth (on the Saronic Gulf), Lechaion the northern (on the Corinthian Gulf). There were cults of Poseidon in both places.

408 *Mount Kyllene*: in Arcadia, birthplace of Hermes.

409 *not Crete from Zeus*: C. seems to have forgotten the dismissal of Crete's claim to be the birthplace of Zeus at *H.* 1. 7–14.

413–91 We turn from Delian myth to Delian ritual.

415–16 *On you | Enyo never treads, nor Hades*: a roundabout way of saying that armed conflict ('Enyo') and dying ('Hades') were not allowed on Delos. In fact, both dying and giving birth were forbidden there (Thucydides 3. 104. 2), for fear of pollution (see on *H.* 1. 16–18).

418–23 Epigraphic evidence attests to the abundance of gifts sent from everywhere to honour Apollo on Delos. A famous passage in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (146–50, quoted in Thucydides 3. 104. 4) refers to Ionians singing, dancing, and boxing there.

423–53 Hyperboreans at Delos. The Hyperboreans (see on 424–5) were a fabulous people, described by Pindar as worshippers of Apollo living a carefree life far to the north, in a place inaccessible to ordinary mortals (*Pythian* 10. 29–44).

423 *they come, and so do those*: slightly deceptive, suggesting that Hyperboreans continue to travel to Delos in person on a regular basis, when in fact the only Hyperboreans to reach Delos were the ones whose arrival is described at 438–45.

424–5 *that live beyond the strand | of Boreas*: a *figura etymologica*, explaining the name 'Hyperboreans' as derived from *hyper* ('beyond') and *Boreas* ('the north wind'). Pindar does the same at *Olympian* 3. 31.

famed for their longevity: according to Pindar (*Pythian* 10. 41–2), they do not suffer from illness or from old age. In these respects they resemble Hesiod's men of the Golden Age, who fall asleep

at the end of their lives, never having experienced debility or decrepitude (*Works and Days* 109–19).

426–37 *From them begins the journey*: the misleading implication (see on 423) is corrected: not the Hyperboreans themselves, but the things they send, continue to arrive on Delos. C.'s account of the passage of the sacred offerings from the Hyperboreans to Delos has much in common with that of Herodotus (4. 33).

427 *stalks and sacred handfuls of wheat*: repeated, with the necessary adjustments, at *H.* 6. 27–8.

430 *Dodona*: in Epirus, site of what was thought to be the oldest oracle in Greece. Achilles prays to 'Pelasgian Zeus, Lord of Dodona' (*Iliad* 16. 233–5).

431 *among the men who sleep aground*: the priests of Dodona, called 'Sellians' in the prayer of Achilles cited in the note immediately above. C. uses the name in the singular at *Ait.* 1. 141.

431–2 *and tend | the ever-ringing cauldron*: originally, Zeus uttered his answers in the rustling of the leaves of his sacred oak; later, a cauldron, mounted so as to make a kind of wind chime, was the vehicle of delivery.

433 *Iros*: a town in Malis, the region directly opposite the northern tip of Euboia. The offerings have come south-east from Dodona, through Thessaly, and are now due north of Boiotia.

434 *the rich Lelantine Plain*: between Chalkis and Eretria, two cities approximately in the middle of Euboia, on the shores of the Euripos.

435 *of the Abantes*: see on 32.

436 *and then it isn't far*: the distance from the point in Euboia mentioned in 434–5 to Delos is about 110 miles (180 km.).

438–45 *gifts . . . brought*: origin of the sacred offerings: the Hyperborean maidens bring them to Delos.

439 *Arimaspians*: a fabulous northern people, evidently identified here with the Hyperboreans.

440–1 *Oupis | and Loxo and Hekaërge*: the names of the Hyperborean maidens reflect their association with Apollo and his sister Artemis: 'Oupis' is a name borne by the goddess herself (as above, at *H.* 3. 279), 'Loxo' recalls Apollo's epithet 'Loxias', 'Hekaërge' is the feminine form of *Hekaërgos*, often applied to Apollo and translated 'who shoots from afar' (as at *H.* 2. 14).

444 *who never left for home again*: their failure to return is not explained in any extant ancient source.

444–5 *but lie | in blessedness and have their glory to this day*: the tomb of Oupis and Hekaërge has been identified on Delos.

448–53 *lay locks of hair*: the Delian girls make their offering at the tomb of the Hyperborean girls (see note immediately above), the Delian boys at that of the Hyperborean boys.

454–5 *round and about you*: an *aition*, accounting for the position of the Cyclades 'around' Delos. Cyclades means 'encircling'.

456–78 The festival of the Apollonia on Delos. The Athenians vowed to send a sacred mission to Apollo on Delos every year if Theseus (see Index of Names) returned safely from his journey to Crete, his purpose accomplished. On the way back, he put in at Delos. There he sacrificed to Apollo and dedicated to the god's temple a statue of Aphrodite given to him by Ariadne (see on *Ait.* 3. 5. 19); he then led the fourteen youths and maidens he had rescued from the Minotaur in a dance imitating the windings of the labyrinth. This dance, which came to be called the *geranos* ('crane'), was performed on Delos by the Athenians as part of the Apollonia.

457 *Hesperos*: the chorus of Delian maidens performed at night (Mineur, p. 237).

460 *Olen*: according to Pausanias (9. 27. 2), the most ancient of the authors of hymns, which he wrote for the Delians; one of them, to Eileithyia, dealt with the birth of Apollo, a fitting subject for commemoration at a Delian festival.

461 *Lykia*: in south-west Asia Minor, between Caria and Pamphylia, east of Rhodes.

462 *Xanthos*: a river in Lykia.

465 *the holy statue of Kypris*: Aphrodite; see on 456–78. Mineur (p. 240) detected an allusion to Arsinoë II Philadelphos, identified, even while still living, with Aphrodite. See Introduction, section 5.

468–9 *on his way from Crete | with children aboard*: see on 456–78.

471 *Pasiphaë's brute son*: the Minotaur ('Minos Bull'), borne by the wife of Minos, Pasiphaë, who mated with a bull.

473 *to dance around your altar, Lady*: addressed to Delos and referring to the *geranos* (see on 456–78), danced around the famous Altar of Horns (*H.* 2. 71), which belongs in the first place to Apollo, but its location on Delos makes it hers too.

476 *the Kekropidai*: descendants of Kekrops: the Athenians.

477–8 *have sent to Phoibos*: the Athenians, in fulfilment of their vow (see on 456–78), sent a ship with offerings to Apollo on Delos every year. On board the ship were the youths and maidens who would perform the *geranos*. According to tradition, they travelled in the very ship used by Theseus on his mission to Crete. See next note.

477 *the rigging of that ship*: an example of synecdoche (naming only part when the whole is meant)? Or a wry allusion to the discussion, still carried on in C.'s day, whether the sacred ship of the Athenians was still the ship of Theseus, though all its original boards had had to be replaced? Or both synecdoche and allusion?

479 *laden with altars*: applied by the poet to Delos here, by Delos herself to Earth at 399.

485–91 *until they've spun . . .*: C. is our only source for this peculiar ritual. The scholion (Pf. ii, p. 73), a mere paraphrase, is of no help. Rites in which a tree is bitten are attested in European folklore (Mineur, p. 248).

489 *the sacred olive trunk*: see on 393–4.

494 *Leto whom he delivered*: Leto asks Apollo to be born at 319–20; he obliges her at 383.

5. The Bath of Pallas

1–40 The ancient statue of Athena in Argos (treated in the poem as if it were the goddess herself) is to be bathed in the river Inachos. There are signs that the goddess is about to emerge from her temple and begin her journey to the river. The Argive women who will bathe her are urged to leave their homes and assemble for the rite.

1 *Pallas*: the famous wooden statue of armed Athena, the Palladion, housed, originally, at Troy; according to the legend, Troy would not fall as long as the Palladion remained in her keeping (Ovid, *Fasti* 6. 427). It was stolen by Odysseus and Diomedes (*Little Iliad*: Davies, p. 52, lines 23–4). Diomedes, an Argive hero closely associated with Athena in the *Iliad*, brought the

Palladion home with him from Troy and installed it in the temple of Athena Polias (Protectress of the City) on the citadel of Larisa in Argos (Bulloch, pp. 14–15).

2 *I heard*: the speaker throughout is a priestess or female officiant at Athena's ritual.

3 *the mares of the goddess*: the horses and the wagon they will draw are equated with the horses and the chariot of the goddess herself. As the horses will go all the way to the river and be on the scene when the goddess bathes, they must not be masculine: their feminine gender is specified in the Greek.

5 *Pelasgia*: Argos, here named for its most ancient denizen, Pelasgos, king in Argos, according to Aeschylus (*Suppliants* 251–3) before the arrival of Danaos. See on *Ait.* 3. 4. 15.

7–8 *first routing the dust | from their flanks*: this detail is due to the ritual context: the horses were bathed first, then the statue.

9–10 *the savage Giants*: a hint, perhaps, that the battle of gods and Giants was depicted on the robe of the Argive Palladion, as it was on that of the Athenian.

16 *Achaia*: Argos is called 'Achaian' in Homer.

22 *Paris*: son of Priam, the young Trojan prince selected to serve as judge in the famous beauty contest in which Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite competed. Aphrodite won.

25 *Simoeis*: a river at Troy.

26 *Hera . . . Aphrodite*: the other two contestants (see on 22).

29 *the twin stars*: Kastor and Polydeukes, brothers of Helen, known as the *Dioskouroi* or 'Sons of Zeus', transformed, later, into the Gemini of the zodiac; 'star' is a word often applied to anyone illustrious (see, for example, *Ait.* 3. 5. 11).

Lakedaimon: Sparta.

29–31 Athena's athleticism is emphasized. The Dioskouroi were patrons of athletes.

30–1 *twice | sixty double stades*: about 30 miles (48 km.).

37–9 *ointment . . . salve . . . comb*: to be used for the ritual bathing of the statue. Everything needed for the rite is on hand.

38 *Kastor*: see on 29.

41–69 *Come out, Athena!*: the celebrants having assembled, the goddess, still in her temple, is urged to come out and join them.

41–2 *Here is a troupe | to your heart's liking*: the right participants are also on hand (see next note).

43 *the grand house of Arestor*: 'a distinguished clan in Argos', according to the scholion (Pf. ii, p. 75). Arestor, son-in-law of Inachos and father of Argos, who sailed on the *Argo*, was a national Argive hero.

43–4 *and the shield | of Diomedes is on its way*: presumably, to join the procession escorting the Palladion. For Diomedes, see on line 1 above. C., our only source for the preservation of the epic hero's shield in his home town, does not clarify the role played by it in the ritual. But see on 45–52.

45 *even as custom prescribes*: a direct assurance of ritual propriety, capping those delivered indirectly (37–9, 41–2).

45–52 *Eumedes . . .*: according to the scholion (Pf. ii, p. 75), the events described here took place when the descendants of Heracles were returning to Argos; Eumedes, priest of Athena, was suspected of wanting to entrust her statue, the Palladion, to them, together with sovereignty over the city from which they had been driven by Eurystheus, the persecutor of Heracles. Eumedes took the Palladion from Athena's temple and fled with it. Bulloch (pp. 146–7) inferred that he was protected from the suspicious crowd by Diomedes, whose shield he took with him. Now, when the Palladion again leaves its sanctuary, the shield is again brought along, providing symbolic protection.

49 *the Kreian mountain*: unidentified.

52 *Pallatides*: also unidentified.

53 *helmed in gold*: see *H.* 2. 39–41 (with note), 3. 148–51, 4. 391–7.

53–4 *thrilled | by the clash of horses and shields*: appropriate to Athena as a war goddess (8–10); perhaps also alluding to an escort of cavalry and armed men, who banged their shields as part of the ritual (Bulloch, p. 11).

62–7 *as for you . . . beware of seeing*: ritual ban: no member of the male sex may witness the bath of the goddess. See on 3.

63 *Pelasgia*: see on 5.

64 *unwillingly*: repeated twice later: the violation of a taboo is inexorably punished, the intention of the violator being of no consequence.

69 *a story, not my own: I heard it from others*: serves to divest the narrator of responsibility, in case the story offends the goddess, and to hint at a source, the plural ('others') pointing, perhaps, to the Argive chronicle of Agias and Derkylos, which we know C. mined for his *Aitia* (Book I, text between 64 and 65).

70–167 A cautionary tale: the blinding of Teiresias.

71–2 *a single nymph,* | *Teiresias' mother*: her name is withheld until 83.

75 *Thespiai*: a city in south-central Boiotia, due west of Thebes. For Haliartos, see Index of Names.

77 *Koroneia*: a town in north-central Boiotia, west of Lake Kopaïs, not far from Iton, site of a temple to Itonian Athena and of an annual festival with military competitions in her honour.

78 *the stream Kouralios*: for the location, see note immediately above. If the name means 'Maiden's Brook', it would reflect Athena's assocation with it.

87 *the Spring of the Horse*: Hippocrene.

89 *The stillness of noon*: a dangerous time, when divinities may appear.

92–3 *Alone* | *but for his hounds*: Teiresias has been hunting.

97 *unwillingly*: see on 64.

101 *power*: for *daimon* in this sense, see on *H.* 6. 42–4.

114 *a deer, a gazelle or two*: killed, presumably, by Teiresias while hunting (see on 92–3).

123 *the laws of Kronos*: equivalent to 'ancient laws': Kronos ruled the world before Zeus and the Olympians were born.

127–8 *And what is done, noble Lady,* | *cannot be undone*: seems to anticipate a request from Chariklo to reverse the blinding of her son. She makes such a request in Apollodorus (3. 6. 7).

132 *the daughter of Kadmos*: Autonoë.

133 *Aristaios*: husband of Autonoë.

134 *Aktaion*: son of Autonoë and Aristaios, young Theban hunter whose fate is described below (135–43).

138 *unwillingly*: see 64 and 97.

139–40 *his own* | *hunting bitches will dine on him*: gives special point to the presence on the scene of Teiresias' hunting dogs (92–3).

146–7 *this is not* | *the only gift*: i.e. not being punished in the manner of Aktaion.

148–58 *I will make him* | *a seer renowned*: Teiresias becomes the most famous of all prophets.

156 *Labdakidai*: descendants of Labdakos: the Theban royal family, including Oedipus, whose famous encounter with Teiresias occurs in Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*.

160 *he alone will keep his mind intact*: Homer makes this privilege, retention of consciousness in the underworld, a gift to Teiresias from Persephone, goddess of the dead (*Odyssey* 10. 493–5). C. here has Athena bestow it.

161 *Hagesilas*: a rare title for Hades, meaning, perhaps, 'Leader (*hagesi-*) of the Folk (*laos*)'. The 'folk' in question would be the dead, often imagined as numerous.

164–5 *she has all* | *her father's powers*: Hesiod describes her as her father's equal in spirit (*menos*) and counsel (*Theogony* 896).

165–6 *No mother bore her*: Athena's mother, Metis ('cunning intelligence'), was fated to bear a son mightier than his father; Zeus, having impregnated Metis, avoided the consequences by swallowing her (Hesiod, *Theogony* 886–900) and giving birth to Athena from his own head (ibid. 924–6). See *Ait.* 1. 219–23.

168–75 *But here she is*: the Palladion emerges from the temple, the procession begins.

6. To Demeter

1–32 Ritual setting. The second day of Thesmophoria, a day of fasting, is about to end. Female worshippers of Demeter are waiting for the return of the sacred basket, which had been taken earlier from the temple for a procession around the city. The city in question is unidentified. For more on Thesmophoria, see the notes to *Ait.* 3. 2. On the structure of the hymn, central narrative framed by ritual panels, see A Note on Translating Callimachus, para. 2 on p. li.

1 *the sacred basket*: the *kalathos*, a 'basket of narrow base and wide rim, used for ritual purposes mostly in the eastern part of the Greek world; attested in cults of Gaia, Artemis, Tyche, and the Horae' (Hopkinson, p. 41). It contains unspecified ritual objects.

3 *Goddess of plenty*: the Thesmophoria had mainly to do with securing the fertility of the earth.

4 *You uninitiates there!*: these may participate in the rite, but only up to a point. Here they are allowed to see the basket, but not its contents, which even initiates are forbidden to see (8–10).

8–10 The initiates let down their hair and fast in imitation of Demeter, who neglected to care for herself during the period of separation from her daughter Persephone.

12 *when, when is it coming?*: the basket, due to return at any moment, is not yet in sight.

13 *persuaded Demeter to drink*: a reference to the *kykeon* (a mixture of barley groats, pennyroyal, and water) drunk (apparently in the evening) by Demeter at Eleusis.

14 *her daughter*: Persephone, abducted by Hades and installed, later, as Queen of the Underworld.

15–23 The wanderings of Demeter in search of Persephone.

16 *even to the sunset, even to the Blacks*: Ethiopians, as early as Homer (*Odyssey* 1. 22–4), were located at both the eastern and western extremities of the world.

16–17 *and where | the golden apples hang*: the garden of the Hesperides ('Maidens of Evening'), located in the west, beyond Ocean (Hesiod, *Theogony* 215–16). The tree of golden apples, guarded by a dragon, was a wedding gift from Earth to Hera.

20 *Acheloios*: a river flowing through Aitolia into the Corinthian Gulf, identified, here and occasionally elsewhere, with Ocean (see note immediately above), the river surrounding the world.

22 *the well Kallichoros*: located just outside the gate of Demeter's sacred precinct at Eleusis. The name means 'Of Fair Dancing', presumably because women danced around it in commemoration of Demeter's visit there.

25–30 Demeter (Deo) as founding goddess of civilization: with agriculture come law and a settled way of life.

30 *Triptolemos*: son, according to some sources, of Keleus, king of Eleusis; named in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* as 'wise' (153) and as one of the princes of Eleusis to whom Demeter teaches her mysteries (ibid. 473–9). Later, according to Athenian tradition, he spread the knowledge of agriculture throughout the world.

32 *the evil son of Triopas seem a shadow*: the Greek text here is obliterated except for one word. I have rendered the conjecture of Wilamowitz-Möllendorff (*Hellenistische Dichtung*, ii, 30 n. 2), quoted by Hopkinson (p. 99).

son of Triopas: Erysichthon, whose name is apparently withheld until 44, when the narrative is well under way.

33–160 A cautionary tale: the punishment of Erysichthon, who offended Demeter.

33 *Knidos*: a city in Caria (in Asia Minor), south of Halikarnesos, north of Rhodes.

34 *Dotion*: a plain in eastern Thessaly, south of Mt. Ossa.

41 *Triopas . . . Enna*: Triopas is named, rather oddly, instead of 'the place' (40) he keeps for Demeter. In contrast, 'Enna' easily stands for both the town in Sicily and the nymph whose name it bore.

42–4 When a divinity decides to destroy someone, it usually inspires its victim to bring about his/her own ruin. Here, for some unspecified cause (insolence, perhaps, occasioned by the great wealth of the house, mentioned at 157–8), a divine power (see next note) moves Erysichthon to actions that result in ruin for him and his family.

42 *their own good genius*: '*dexios daimon*' in the Greek: a *daimon* determines the fate, destiny, or luck of a person or group of people. See *H.* 5. 101.

43 *the Triopidai*: literally, the sons of Triopas; here, the Thessalians under his leadership.

52 *at noon*: the hour of epiphany. See on *H.* 5. 89.

60–1 *wreaths . . . stalks . . . key*: emblems of her authority as priestess and hence representative of Demeter herself.

98–100 *Dionysos . . . Demeter*: Dionysos and Demeter (drink and food) are often associated. See on *Ait.* 1. 209.

103 *Ormenos*: founder of Ormenion in eastern Thessaly; as nephew of Aiolos, king of Thessaly, he would be related to the Triopidai through Kanaka (138).

104 *Itonian Athena's contests*: see on *H.* 5. 77.

105 *his mother*: unnamed.

108 *Polyxo*: the name is attested elsewhere in Greek literature, but who this Polyxo is is unknown. C. may have invented her and her son Aktorion.

119 *Othrys*: a mountain in Thessalian Phthiotis, west of Euboia's northern tip.

138 *Kanaka*: daughter of Aiolos (hence 'Aiolian') and mother of Triopas.

139 *nursling*: the haughty Erysichthon of 70–8 has been reduced to the dependency of a babe in arms.

151 *Hestia*: goddess of the hearth, worshipped in every household. Her neglect signifies the ruin of the family.

153 *Russet Tail*: '*malouris*' in the Greek text may be the household pet's name (as I've taken it) or merely a word for 'cat'.

157–8 *the deep chambers | of their wealth*: see on 42–4.

161–92 Return to the ritual setting (see on 1–32).

162 *be no friend of mine or live next door to me*: it is dangerous to associate with enemies of the gods, who often involve the innocent in their punishment of the guilty.

167 *the four white horses*: a white animal is often recommended or required for ritual purposes, white being a lucky colour.

168 *her sacred basket*: see on line 1 above.

172–3 *and as we pace | the city*: spoken, apparently, in the voice of the women who have accompanied the sacred wagon in its procession around the city (see on 1–32).

173 *barefoot and with hair unbound*: 'Loose hair and bare feet are commonly prescribed in ritual' (Hopkinson, p. 41). The prohibition may be due to the magical principle of sympathy: sandals tied or hair bound up might 'tie the hands' of the powers beseeched, keep them from doing what they are asked or expected to do by those participating in the rite.

175 *the winnow bearers*: those who carry the *likna*, 'scoop-shaped baskets used for winnowing, carried especially in Dionysiac processions as symbol of fertility' (Hopkinson, p. 42). For the connection between Demeter and Dionysos, see on 98–100.

176 *full of gold*: gold containers are attested for splendid rituals, but not golden ritual objects in such containers, as here, a possible sign that C. is using 'gold' poetically rather than literally, to suggest the presence of the divine. See on *H.* 2. 39–41. Perhaps, more simply, the golden grain is meant.

180 *to the goddess*: that is, into her temple (as at 186).

182–3 *the woman who stretches her hand | to Eileithyia*: recalls the prohibition at *H.* 1. 16–18.

187 *Farewell, Goddess. Preserve this city*: a quotation, adjusted for dialect, from the final line of *Homeric Hymn* 13 (to Demeter). See on *H.* 1. 128.

AITIA 1–2

The papyrus fragments are supplemented at various points by quotations and summaries in ancient grammarians, metricians, and scholiasts, noted by Pfeiffer. They are noted here when they bear on the ascription or placing of a fragment. Except where indicated otherwise, square-bracketed words and phrases in the translation of *Ait.* 1–2 render guesses from the context.

Prologue and Dream

The second quotation of an opening line in the Florentine scholia occurs not with the summary mention of the poet's dream (explanatory text, before line 1 of the translation (p. 62)) but with the introduction of the first question put to the Muses (connecting text at and following lines 60–1), and the next one after that with the introduction of the second question and its *aitia* (connecting text after line 73). To judge from this, the poet's reply to the Telchines and his dream were originally melded together into a single introductory section, and so they are presented here. This differs from the common view, that Book 1 opened originally with the poet's dream, the 'Reply to the Telchines' (1–50) being added years later as a Prologue to all four books of *Aitia* in a new, collected edition. For full discussion, see Cameron, pp. 104–32.

On the meaning and function of the Prologue, see Introduction, section 4.

1–50: SOURCE 1 Pf. (*P. Oxy.* 2079).

1 *The Telchines*: see the notes to *H.* 4. 47 and to *Ait.* 3. 5. 121–31, 123.

7 *for little stretches*: first of several expressions in the Prologue of a preference for the small and the delicate in poetry. Others occur at 16–19, 31–3, and 41.

8–9 *though the tale of my years | is not brief*: inserted verbatim by Agathias, a sixth-century Byzantine poet, into one of his own erotic epigrams (*PA* 5. 282. 4).

11 *[the Coan poet]*: Philitas. The Florentine scholiast, paraphrasing the argument here, mentions 'Philitas the Coan' together with 'Mimnermus the Colophonian'. Mimnermus' name appears in line 11 of the Greek text; Philitas' has disappeared. The logical place for it is in the gap at the opening of line 9 of the Greek text. The supplement adopted here is Wimmel's, defended by Cameron (pp. 309–10).

Philitas, born *c.*340 BC on the island of Cos, became tutor of Ptolemy II Philadelphos, who was also born on Cos (*H.* 4. 232–43). Strabo (14. 657) described him as 'a poet and a critic'. He wrote, in addition to poetry, a treatise entitled *Miscellaneous Glosses* (rare words). His preference for 'leanness' in poetry was transferred later to his person, with the result that he was thought to have been so light he had to wear lead in his boots to avoid being blown away by the wind.

13 *Demeter*: C. does not actually call her by name, using her epithet 'Thesmophoros' instead, in an apparent allusion to the famous *Demeter* of Philitas, a poem in elegiac couplets that described the wanderings of the goddess in search of her daughter Persephone.

14–15 *the woman he celebrated | at length*: the Greek text is fragmentary and obscure. All that can be made out at this point is an article and an adjective in the accusative case, feminine gender, meaning, literally, 'the big' or 'the tall'. The reference is to some work by Philitas, characterized, for us, only by its size or the size of its subject, presumably a woman, and denigrated in comparison with the poet's *Demeter*, mentioned with praise in the previous line. Philitas sang of his love for a woman named Bittis, but in what poems and at what length is still unknown.

16 *Mimnermus*: of Smyrna, lived in the seventh century BC. He wrote elegiac poetry, apparently of two kinds: his famous *Nanno* was a collection of love poems, his *Song of Smyrna* a celebration of that city and her victory in battle against the Lydians (14 West). The first would be light and discontinuous, the second a continuous narrative dealing with serious subjects, perhaps in the manner desiderated by the Telchines (lines 1–6). The *Song of Smyrna* may have included the foundation of the city by the Amazon of the same name; if it did, she could be the 'big woman' to whom C. alludes (17).

19–20 *the crane . . . Pygmies*: Homer compares the oncoming Trojan army to a flock of cranes flying off to do battle with the Pygmies (*Iliad* 3. 3–7).

20 *Pygmies*: 'Fist-shaped men'. Herodotus (2. 32. 6–7) mentions little black-skinned men living in the wilderness south of the Libyan desert.

21–2 *the Massagetai . . . the Mede*: the Massagetai lived east of the Caspian Sea. Cyrus the Great ('the Mede') died trying to subdue them. According to Herodotus (1. 214), the battle began with both sides discharging arrows 'at a distance'.

22 *nightingales*: poems. See *Ep.* 34.

24 *Jealousy*: the Greek word here (*Baskanië*) has several meanings, all of them applicable to the Telchines: 'sorcery or witchcraft', 'malignity', 'jealousy'. The same word, unpersonified, occurs at *Ep.* 29. 4. Compare *H.* 2. 126.

29–36 Virgil alludes to this passage in *Eclogue* 6. 3–5.

30–1 *my own | Lykian Apollo*: the adjective 'Lykian' perhaps reinforces the feeling of intimacy between C. and Apollo: Apollo was thought to have transformed himself into a wolf (*lykos*) when he mated with the nymph Cyrene, who gave her name to C.'s birthplace.

37 *the shrill cicada's cry*: the cicada had a long history of association with poetry, beginning with Homer who compared the voices of the old men at Troy to that of the cicadas (*Iliad* 3. 146–53). According to Plato (*Phaedrus* 259), some members of the first generation of men to experience the gift of the Muses were so enchanted by it that they went on singing for ever, forgetting to eat or drink and dying without noticing it. From them arose 'the race of cicadas', who, like their ancestors, do not eat or drink but only sing. After they die, their souls return to the Muses and report to them on how they are honoured among mortals.

42–6 *to sing | with dew upon my lips*: C. continues with his emulation of the cicada: it was thought to feed only on dew (Hesiod, *Shield of Heracles* 395; Theocritus 4. 16) and to shed old age when discarding its husk (Aristotle, *History of Animals* 8. 17 ($600^{b}16$–$601^{a}10$)).

44–5 *shedding | the years*: the wish to be free of old age is granted, at least momentarily, for in the dream that he goes on to describe he appears as a young man, 'newly bearded', as the Florentine scholiast put it (explanatory text, before line 1 of the translation (p. 62)).

46 *Enkelados*: one of the giants who warred against the gods. Zeus smote him with a thunderbolt and buried him under Sicily. Sicily figures large in *Ait.* 2.

50 *[sings]*: for the swan singing most beautifully at the end of its life, see *Ia.* 4. 44–7.

51: SOURCE lemmata in the scholia to *Ait.* 1, fr. 1a. 24–5 (in Pf. ii, p. 101).

remind me . . . of the answers: the appeal is addressed to a plural subject, most likely the Muses who, he has just told us (46–9), will not abandon him. My reconstruction of the context here follows Cameron (pp. 119, 129). See also Introduction, section 4.

52: SOURCE lemmata in the scholia to *Ait.* 1, fr. 2a. 20, 25, 30 (in Pf. ii, p. 103).

maiden daughter: the spring Aganippe, located, according to Pausanias (9. 29. 5), 'on Helikon, to the left as you approach the grove of the Muses'.

Aonian: 'Boiotian', as at *H.* 4. 110.

Permessos: a Boiotian river.

53–9: SOURCE 2 Pf. (*P. Oxy.* 2208). The opening couplet, quoted without ascription by Fronto, was first assigned to C. and the beginning of *Ait.* 1 by Hecker. The scene is reminiscent of the opening of the *Theogony*.

53 *when the Muses swarmed up to Hesiod*: this may strain the Greek, but the usual interpretation, that the Muses constitute a 'flock', is too demeaning, especially as Hesiod plays the role of shepherd in the scene evoked (*Theogony* 22–34). The literal sense of the noun involved (*hesmos*) is 'swarm'. Hesiod is overwhelmed.

55 *the swift horse*: Pegasus.

56 *Chaos*: the yawning gap or void named by Hesiod (*Theogony* 116) as the first cosmic entity to be born.

57 *wa]ter [bursting] at heel*: Hippocrene (see Index of Names).

58–9 *Evil devised . . .*: an echo of Hesiod, *Works and Days* 265. It also recalls what C. had said of the Telchines at 10–11.

AITIA 1

1. First Question

60–1: SOURCE 3 Pf. (*PSI* 1219, 21, the Florentine scholia). The last three words of the first line of the Greek text are all that remains of its quotation in the Florentine scholia. The second line, surviving in a quotation by Hephaestion, is placed here because it fits the context perfectly; it is also known to have been quoted from early in *Ait.* 1 (Cameron, p. 127).

61 *oboes . . . garlands*: both regular features at a normal Greek animal sacrifice.

62–3: SOURCE 4 Pf. Quoted by Cyril, who names C. as author, and placed here by Pfeiffer on the evidence of the Florentine scholia (connecting text between lines 61 and 62 of the translation: '. . . Minos . . . ruler of the seas . . .').

62 *Minos*: Minos returns at *Ait.* 2. 62–5, 110–20 (115).

64: SOURCE 5 Pf. Quoted, with ascription to C., in a scholion to *Iliad* 9. 219 and placed here by Pfeiffer on the evidence of the Florentine scholia ('When Minos . . . was offering a sacrifice to the Graces . . .').

sprinkling: hairs were cut from the victim before it was killed; these were then sprinkled into the fire as a preliminary to the sacrifice.

65: SOURCE 6 Pf. Quoted in its entirety, but without ascription, in a scholion to *Iliad* 18. 398; the first two-thirds of it are quoted, with ascription to C., by the grammarian Apollonius Dyscolus. Pfeiffer put it here on the evidence of the Florentine scholia (connecting text between lines 64 and 65 of the translation: '. . . they are said by some to be daughters of Hera and Zeus, by others of Eurynome . . .').

66–73: SOURCE 7. 9–14 Pf. (*P. Oxy.* 2167 + *PSI* 1217), the first eight lines too fragmentary to render. Line 12 of the Greek text (69–70a of the translation) is ascribed in *Et. Gen.* AB to 'C. in Book 1 of the *Aitia*'.

67 *Paros*: one of the Cyclades, west of Naxos.

69–70 *and from your ringlets ointment | ever streams*: the ancient Greeks anointed statues of the gods.

71 *your shining hands*: C. blurs the distinction between the goddesses as statues and as living persons. Their hands would be shining from the ointments they have applied themselves (compare Athena in *H.* 5. 32–40) or from the ointments applied by their worshippers (see note immediately above).

73 The next four lines of the fragment (7. 15–18 Pf.) are illegible. Pfeiffer guessed that they may have contained the transition to the next *aition*.

2. Second Question

A

74–89: SOURCE 7. 19–34 Pf. (*PSI* 1217). The opening line is preserved also in quotation in the Florentine scholia.

74–6 *But why, goddesses . . . so Calliope began*: note that the question is addressed to the Muses collectively but answered by only one of them. The same situation obtains at 193–4.

76 *so Calliope began*: Clio supplied the first answer (Florentine scholia, connecting text between lines 64 and 65 of the translation), Calliope here gives the second. The Florentine scholia add that she is answering for the first time now (connecting text between lines 73 and 74). C. himself tells us when Clio gives her second answer, namely at *Ait.* 2. 72–3, where she is, again, the first Muse to speak. Evidently, each of the nine Muses answered C.'s questions once in each book.

77 *Anaphe*: a small island in the Cretan Sea, next to the larger island of Thera (modern Santorini).

Lakonian Thera: the Lemnian descendants of Euphemus the Argonaut migrated to Tainaron in Lakonia. From there they went to the island of Calliste, renamed Thera after their leader Theras. See on *H.* 2. 86.

78 *set down in your memoir first*: the phrasing recalls C.'s description of his source (a local chronicle) at *Ait.* 3. 5. 108–10.

the Minyans: Minyas, son of Poseidon, who migrated from Thessaly, home of Jason, to Orchomenos in Boiotia; Thessalian heroes, like Jason and most of his crew, were often called 'Minyans'.

81 *Kytaian Aietes*: son of Helios, Aietes ruled the city of Aia in Colchis, on the river Phasis, inland from the extreme eastern shore of the Black Sea. Aia was also known as Kyta, whence 'Kytaian'.

82 *he said . . .*: at the same juncture in Apollonius' narrative (4. 228–35), Aietes threatens the Colchians with dire consequences should they fail to bring Medea back for punishment. A scholion to Lycophron (*Alexandra* 1022) indicates that he made similar threats in C.'s version, but whether he did so in the course of the ensuing speech (83–9) or somewhere else, we cannot tell.

83 *Ionians*: in Greek literature the 'barbarians' of the East (Persians, Colchians, and others) are depicted as knowing what they know of 'Greeks' from their contact with the Ionian branch of the race only. Accordingly, Aietes, a 'barbarian' king, refers to Greeks in general as 'Ionians'.

[killed]: Pfeiffer's suggested supplement, based on an ancient commentary to this section of the poem (*P. Berol.* 11521, line 24 (p. 19 in Pf.)), a reference, perhaps, to the murder of Apsyrtos.

88 *Helios*: regularly invoked to witness an oath. The relationship between him and Aietes (see on 81), however, adds weight.

89 *Phasis*: see on 81. Pfeiffer noted that C. prefers having his characters swear by their native rivers.

90: SOURCE 10 Pf., a fragment of a hexameter quoted, with ascription to C., in a scholion to Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica* 1. 1353. Pfeiffer followed Hecker in placing it here, adding only that it fits very well into the context.

91–6: SOURCE 11 Pf. (*P. Oxy.* 2167). Except for the final phrase ('While those . . .'), these lines are quoted by Strabo (1. 46), with ascription to C., in the midst of a passage summarizing the travels of the Colchians who went in pursuit of Medea.

92 *the Illyrian Sea*: the south-east Adriatic, off the shores of modern Albania.

the stone | of blond Harmonia's serpent: Harmonia, daughter of Ares and Aphrodite, was married to Kadmos (Pindar, *Pythian* 3. 86–95). Having left Thebes after the death of their grandson Pentheus, Kadmos and Harmonia came to Illyria where they

were transformed into serpents, stone serpents according to Nonnus (*Dionysiaca* 44. 116–18) and, apparently, C. here.

94–5 *a Greek . . . 'Polai'*: quoted, again, by Strabo (5. 216), who identifies 'Polai' as an ancient city 'founded by the Colchians sent in pursuit of Medea . . . as C. said'.

97–102: SOURCE 12 Pf. (*P. Oxy.* 2168).

98–100 *he founded . . . he led them away again*: whoever he was, he would have been quite old if the town to which he led his fellow Colchians already had the name C. gives it in 101, since it could not have been so named until after the Trojan War (see on 101) which took place a generation later than the voyage of the *Argo*.

100–1 *to live | in Orikian Amantine*: quoted, with ascription to C., by Stephanus of Byzantium.

101 *Orikian Amantine*: a town on the coast of Epirus, opposite Corcyra. 'Orikian' may refer to the earlier inhabitants of the region, the people of Orikos, a town on the coast of Epirus, north of Corcyra. Stephanus of Byzantium glosses 'Amantia' as 'a region of the Illyrians near Orikos and Corcyra, founded by the Abantians on their return from Troy'. In the process of relocation the Abantians (who originated from Euboia) saw their name corrupted to Amantians, which in turn led to the naming of their settlement 'Amantine'. Whether the immigrating Colchians found the town already called Amantine, or built or took up residence in a town that would be called Amantine later, we cannot tell; it seems clear, though, that their own name dropped from sight.

101–2 *but all that | lay ahead, in the future*: these words are repeated verbatim at Apollonius of Rhodes 1. 1309; a scholion there identifies them as taken from C.

103: SOURCE 15 Pf. Quoted, with ascription to C., in a scholion to Dionysius Periegetes and (partially) in another to Apollonius of Rhodes 4. 983, both having to do with Corcyra.

104–9: SOURCE 17. 8–17 Pf. (*P. Oxy.* 2079+*P. Oxy.* 2167), 250 *SH*. The first seven lines of Greek text are illegible, the next three are supplemented in 250. 8–10 *SH*. My reconstruction of the context follows the editors of *SH*, according to whom Apollonius at *Argonautica* 4. 1694–1705 'imitates everything' here and in the sequel (110–24). The Argonauts, having spent the night on Crete, set sail in the morning (4. 1689–93). At this point in both

narratives the sudden darkness envelops the world (Apollonius, 1694–8: C., 104–6), plunging the Argonauts into despair (1699–1701: 107–9) until Jason calls on Apollo (1701–5: 114–18) and the god responds (1706–12: 125–6).

104 *Tiphys*: son of Hagnias, a Boiotian, helmsman of the *Argo*.

105 *Nonakrinian*: from Nonakris, mother of Callisto.

106 *unbathed in the streams of Ocean*: Hera, still jealous of Callisto, made Ocean swear never to allow her constellation (Ursa Major) to bathe in his waters.

110–24: SOURCE 18 Pf. (*P. Oxy.* 2167, 2168). Pfeiffer inferred that there might not be a gap between this and the preceding fragment. The editors of *SH* have since reinforced the connection between the two. They identify 251 *SH* as a Callimachean commentary, containing a paraphrase of 18. 6–8 Pf. (= 115–17) and an explanation of 18. 8 Pf. (118: 'swirling darkness'). In the midst of this explanation, the commentary cites 17. 8–10 Pf. (= 105–7), confirming the close relationship between the two fragments.

115 *Hiëios*: see on *H.* 2. 26, 123.

119–20 *for it was thanks to you, Phoibos, | and your oracle*: according to Pindar (*Pythian* 4. 163–4), the quest of the Golden Fleece was undertaken at Apollo's command, delivered from Delphi. Apollonius begins the *Argonautica* with Apollo's oracle predicting the triumph of Jason. The Argonauts at this point are but two stops from home. C. contrives, near the end of the adventure, to hark back to its beginnings.

124 *Pagasai*: the port of Iolkos, point of departure for the *Argo*.

125: SOURCE 19 Pf. Quoted, without ascription to C., by Choeroboscus. Both Apollonius (4. 1706–7) and Apollodorus (1. 9. 26. 1) have Apollo standing here, in answer to Jason's prayer. 'It is highly likely', commented Pfeiffer, 'that Apollo brought aid immediately upon completion of Jason's prayer.'

Melanteian rocks: located (according to *Et. Gen.* AB) around Thera and named for Melas, son of Naxos (founder of the island of the same name), who was shipwrecked there when on his way from Naxos to Thera.

126: SOURCE 20 Pf. Quoted, with ascription to C., in *Anecdota Graeca* and in a number of Byzantine dictionaries. Pfeiffer placed it here, noting Jason's reference to the darkness at 118 and using

Apollonius 4. 1696–1710, which was evidently modelled on C., to establish the context.

127–36: SOURCE 21. 3–10 Pf. (*P. Oxy.* 2209). Lines 1–2 of the Greek text are illegible, line 3 is quoted, with ascription to C., in a scholion to Lycophron, *Alexandra* 941.

127–9 *Meanwhile Tito . . . the ox*: a variation on two epic passages: *Iliad* 11. 1 = *Odyssey* 5. 1 (Dawn rising from beside Tithonos at the break of day) and Hesiod, *Works and Days* 580–1 (Dawn setting men on their way and oxen to their labours).

127 *Tito*: a feminine form of Titan, applied to Dawn (*Eos*) because she belonged to the oldest generation of divinities. Helios, the Sun, is often called simply *Titan* in Latin poetry.

128 *the son of Laomedon*: Tithonos. See Introduction, end of section 4.

131 *Alkinoos' wife*: Alkinoos, king of Scheria, and his wife Arete, hosts of Jason (text, before lines 74 and 97) and, a generation later, of Odysseus (*Odyssey* 6–12).

133–4 *taking pleasure | in raillery*: the simplest account is that of Apollodorus, who says that Medea's handmaidens 'mocked the heroes playfully' when all were feasting after the sacrifice to Apollo Aigletes. Ever since, the women on Anaphe have resorted to mockery during the sacrifice (1. 9. 26). According to Conon, the women had been drinking and the mockery occurred during an all-night revel after the sacrifice to Apollo (*FGrH* i. 26. 49. 3). The heroes answered with jokes of their own, and ever since then the Anaphaians, in imitation, have ridiculed each other during the festival. Apollonius links the mockery more closely to the ritual itself by having the women laugh at the heroes while they are tending to Apollo's sacrifice (4. 1719–30).

135–6 *took and hid away, | fasting . . .*: as Pfeiffer noted, C.'s phrasing here recalls the mystical Eleusinian formula quoted by Clement of Alexandria at *Protrepticus* 2. 21. 2 ('I fasted . . . I took from the basket . . . I put back into the basket . . .').

Rarian: from the Rarian Plain, at Eleusis, sacred to Demeter (Deo).

B

137: SOURCE 22 Pf. Quoted, with ascription to C., in *Et. Gen.* B.

138–55: SOURCE 23 Pf. (*P. Berol.* 11629 B recto). Lines 153–5 are quoted, with ascription to C., in a scholion to Pindar, *Nemean* 3. 42c. The Lindian sacrifice is clearly the subject (151–2), Heracles the main character (153–5), with someone cursing at him for killing and eating an ox (138–9). The Florentine scholia locate the *aition* of the Lindian sacrifice, in which all these things figure, after that of the Anaphaian sacrifice (connecting text after line 73 of the translation (p. 67)) and before the Theiodamas story (connecting text after line 155 (p. 75)).

138 *the star*: object of a verb not preserved. A possible supplement: '[you destroyed] the star [of my herd].'

141 *the Sellian*: priest-prophet of Zeus in his oracle at Dodona, near the western edge of continental Greece.

142 *the Ikarian Sea*: some 360 miles (580 km.) to the south-east of Dodona (see note immediately above), on the other side of the Greek peninsula and across the Aegean.

145–6 *or you yourself | to the lyre*: Heracles killed his music teacher, Linos, by hitting him on the head with a lyre (Apollodorus 2. 4. 9).

153 *Twelve times*: alluding to the famous 'Twelve Labours'.

C

156–78: SOURCE 24 Pf. (*P. Berol.* 11629 B verso; perhaps nineteen verses are missing between recto and verso). Line 7 of the Greek text (167–8 of the translation) is quoted, with ascription to C., in a scholion to Apollonius, *Argonautica* 3. 1323, line 20 (= 177), also with ascription to C., in a scholion to Pindar, *Nemean* 5. 14. Placement of the Theiodamas episode here is guaranteed by the Florentine scholia (connecting text after line 155 of the translation (p. 75)).

159–60 *the hair on your chest*: compare *H.* 3. 102–6.

179: SOURCE 25 Pf. Quoted, under the entry for *Asinensians*, in *Et. Gen.* Placed here by Pfeiffer because it fits the context of the Theiodamas episode: Theiodamas was a Dryopian, the Dryopians were forced by Heracles to relocate after the hero defeated their leader (scholion to Apollonius, connecting text between lines 155 and 156 of the translation (p. 75)).

Asinensians: their town, Asine, is situated in the Argolid, on the coast, south of Argos and Nauplia.

3. Linos and Koroibos

The song for Linos (not to be confused with the Linos alluded to in 145–6) appears as early as *Iliad* 18. 570. The scholia at that point quote a number of songs featuring the phrase 'O Linos'. In some of these, Linos is said to have been killed by Apollo and lamented by the Muses. According to Pausanias, he was the most accomplished singer who had ever lived; Apollo killed him because he rivalled the god in song. The discrepancies between this version from Book 9 (29. 6) of Pausanias and the one from Book 1 summarized in the text are glaring, only slightly eased by the failure of Pausanias to mention, in the earlier passage, that the son of Apollo who was killed by dogs, avenged, and lamented happened to be called Linos!

A general description of the circumstances in which the Linos lament was performed appears in Hesiod (fr. 305 MW). Here his mother is not Psamathe, but the Muse Urania, who 'bore her son, Linos much beloved, whom all mortal singers and players of the lyre lament at feasts and dances, calling on Linos as they begin and as they end'.

180–90: SOURCE 26 Pf. (*P. Ryl.* 13). Line 5 of the Greek text (183 here) is quoted by Eustathius with ascription to C., lines 5 and 8 (183–4), also with ascription to C., in a scholion to Pindar, *Nemean* 2. 1.

183 *the teller's wand*: the rhapsode's staff: Hesiod was given one by the Muses, investing him with the power of song (*Theogony* 30–2).

191–2: SOURCE 27 Pf., quoted, with ascription to C., in Stobaeus (4. 24, 46); applied to Linos first by Hecker and placed in this *aition* by Pfeiffer on the basis of context (see Conon's summary: Linos 'reared with the lambs').

4. The Goddess with the Mortar on her Head

193–5: SOURCE 31b in Pf. ii, p. 108 (*P. Oxy.* 2263) + 731 Pf. (= line 195), quoted, without ascription, in Choeroboscus and several Byzantine dictionaries; attributed to C. by Meineke.

193 *So she spoke, but another question*: the transition between the answering of one question and the asking of another takes place within a single line in the Greek text, suggesting that *Ait.* 1 and 2 ran continuously from an opening to a closing line, without separation of *aition* from *aition*.

195 *[in Leukas]*: Pfeiffer's conjecture. Leukas is an island in the Ionian Sea, between Corcyra to the north and Ithaca to the south, west of Aitolia.

196–9: SOURCE 31c Pf. (*P. Oxy.* 2261), placed here by Pfeiffer, following Lobel, who saw from the *Diegesis* (connecting text after line 195 of the translation: '. . . and when it fell down . . . But again three days later . . .') that it preserved the end of the Leukadian story. My reconstruction of the context relies on the notes to the fragment in Pf. ii, p. 109.

5. The Goddess with a Bandage on her Thigh

200–17: SOURCE 276 *SH* (*P. Oxy.* 14 + *P. Mich.* Inv. 4761 c, combined, edited, and elucidated by the editors of *SH*). The text of the Michigan *Diegesis* (*P. Mich.* Inv. 6235) is presented by Koenen, Luppe, and Pagán in *ZPE* 88; Hollis's treatment of it appears in *ZPE* 92. My interpretation of the fragment relies on the editors of *SH*.

201 *his wits blasted*: Homer comments that Zeus deprived Glaukos of his wits on this occasion (*Iliad* 6. 234).

202–3 *worth nine oxen . . .*: Homer is also C.'s source for the relative values in number of oxen (*Iliad* 6. 235–6).

209 *the two gifts of Methymnaios*: wheat and grapes, both bestowed by Dionysos, here called Methymnaios, 'God of Wine' (*methy*).

born in secret: the first *Homeric Hymn to Dionysos* (7) says that Zeus bore Dionysos 'in hiding from Hera'. Compare *Ait.* 3. 1. 16–17.

211 *primeval acorn feasting*: an acorn diet is a conventional feature of primitive existence as imagined by the ancients (e.g. Cicero, *Orator* 31; Juvenal 6. 10).

212 *Azenians*: Arcadians (see on *H.* 1. 25). According to Hesiod, fr. 161 MW, the Arcadians descend from Pelasgos; their primitiveness is noted again at *Ia.* 1. 43.

213 *a general*: Teuthis.

6. Telestorides

218: SOURCE 33 Pf. Quoted by Joannes Laurentius Lydus with ascription to 'C. in Book 1 of the *Aitia*'.

218 *four-year-old son*: the age is perhaps ritually signficant: this was the age of transition from infancy to childhood, marked by the first cutting and dedication of hair. See *Ait.* 2, connecting text between lines 48 and 49 of the translation.

8. The Birth of Athena

219–23: SOURCE 37 Pf. Three lines of Greek text, the first (a hexameter) was quoted by Stephanus of Byzantium with ascription to 'C. in Book 1 of the *Aitia*', the second and third (a pentameter and hexameter) with ascription to C., in a commentary preserved in an Oxyrhynchan papyrus. Pfeiffer combined the two quotations.

219–20 *near the waters | of Triton*: repeated, verbatim, by Apollonius in a passage also describing the birth of Athena (*Argonautica* 4. 1311).

220 *Triton Asbystes*: Lake Tritonis, in the land of the Asbystians (see Index of Names). 'Tritogeneia', Athena's epithet in Homer, was understood to mean 'Born at (Lake) Tritonis'. Athena herself is called 'Tritonis' by Apollonius at *Argonautica* 1. 109 and by C. at *Ia.* 12. 17.

220–1 *Hephaistos | had his birthing axe sharpened*: Hephaistos split Zeus' forehead with an axe, enabling Athena to be born. According to Pindar (*Olympian* 7. 34–8), the birth takes place on Rhodes.

222–3 See on *H.* 5. 165–6.

9. Old Age

224–6: SOURCE 41 Pf. Quoted, with ascription to 'C., Book 1 of the *Aitia*', in Stobaeus (4. 50).

AITIA 2

1. Peleus on Ikos; Heroes Summoned Anonymously

A

1–46: SOURCE 178 Pf. (*P. Oxy.* 1362), included by Pfeiffer among those fragments to which he could not assign a definite place in the *Aitia*. The determination of the contents of *Ait.* 3–4 by Parsons (see on *Ait.* 3. 1) has since narrowed the possibilities: there is no room for A in *Ait.* 3–4, so it must belong somewhere in *Ait.* 1–2. The case for assigning it to the opening of Book 2 is set forth by Cameron (pp. 133–40). Lines 11–14a of the Greek text (13–17 of the translation) are quoted, with ascription to C., by Athenaeus in the passage where Pollis is identified (11. 477c).

2–6 Pollis, though in Alexandria, observes the Athenian Anthesteria ('Festival of Blossoming'). It occurred over a period of three days, the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth of the month Anthesterion in early spring.

2 *Opening Morning*: the first day of the festival, named for the 'Opening' of the wine jars.

Orestes' Pitchers: the second day, named 'Pitchers' for the pitchers of wine drunk by the celebrants commemorating the arrival of Orestes in Athens.

3 *let the slaves unwind*: the second day was a day of freedom for slaves.

3–6 Pollis invites his friends to feast on the third day, named 'Pots' for the pots of boiled grain and honey eaten by the celebrants.

4 *Ikarios' child*: Erigone, named in the next line. Dionysos taught Ikarios (from Ikaria, a village in Attica) the art of making wine. When Ikarios shared the new potion with his fellow villagers, they became drunk for the first time, thought themselves poisoned, and killed him.

5 *your day, Erigone*: Erigone went searching for her father and, on finding his corpse in a well, hanged herself. Athenian girls commemorated her death by swinging on swings. The ritual, called *Aiora* ('Swinging'), also took place on the third day of the Anthesteria.

8 *a foreigner*: his name is delayed until 23.

12 *Homer's saying*: C. echoes *Odyssey* 17. 218.

14 *Thracian drinking*: the custom of draining the cup in one gulp. Thracians were known for their lack of restraint.

16 *the little ivycup*: the Greek noun here is *kissybion* (*kissos* = ivy), used at *Odyssey* 9. 346 to describe the vessel in which Odysseus offers wine to the Cyclops. It also means a mixing bowl; when used of a cup, it denotes a vessel both rustic and big (though not, perhaps, from the perspective of a Cyclops). According to

Cameron (pp. 135–7), the apparent inappropriateness of the adjective 'little' hints at the programmatic character of these lines, suitable in a poem introducing the book. For other examples of C.'s preference for 'smallness', see *Ait.* 1. 7 and 41, also the ending of *H.* 2.

21 *its share of water*: ancient Greek drinkers diluted their wine.

31 *Myrmidon*: the troops of Achilles, son of Peleus, are called Myrmidons in Homer.

Thessaly: Phthia, home of Peleus and Achilles, was often equated with Thessaly (as at *H.* 4. 160).

32 *Ikos*: a small island in the Aegean Sea, east of Thessalian Magnesia, north of Euboia.

33 *with an onion*: Pfeiffer observed that an onion played an important role in a cult of the town of Pelusium, a city located at the easternmost mouth of the Nile and named, according to some ancient sources, for Peleus. Onions figured in rites of purification. The 'squill of Epimenides' (Theophrastus, *Research on Plants* 7. 12. 1), for example, was named for the famous Cretan diviner who purified Athens after the killing of the conspirators led by Kylon. According to Theophrastus, it had the power to ward off mischief (ibid. 7. 13. 4).

39 *[though I spend my life]*: based on the paraphrase of this passage by Strabo (9. 438), who goes on to quote, naming C. as author, the next three words of the Greek text (= lines 40–1 here).

45–6 *more at home among the waves | than a seagull*: quoted, with ascription to C., in a scholion to Aratus, *Phenomena* 299. Compare *Ep.* 50.

B

47–8: SOURCE 184 Pf., quoted by Ammonius with ascription to C. but without mention of the poem from which it is taken. Pfeiffer thought it very likely that it came from the Ikian guest's response to C.'s questions.

48 *lord of the Phthians*: the Myrmidons (31) come from Phthia.

C

49–120: SOURCE 43 Pf. (*P. Oxy.* 2080). Lines 12–17 of the Greek text of section C (49–55 here) are identified by Stobaeus (2. 4) as coming from *Ait.* 2.

54–5 *what I put | in my ears alone*: the emphasis on hearing is evidence, perhaps, that sections A and C come from the same poem (see 40).

56 *Theokles*: of Chalkis, founder of Naxos and Leontinoi (line 65).

Naxos: a town on the eastern coast of Sicily, just south of the toe of Italy (not to be confused with the island of the same name at *Ait.* 3. 5. 8).

57 *Thapsos*: presumably the eponymous founder of Thapsos, on the eastern coast of Sicily, just north of Syracuse. Thucydides, however, names Lamis as the founder (6. 4. 1).

59 *Hipparis*: a river in southern Sicily.

60 *the city*: Gela, named for the river Gelas mentioned in the next line, was located on the southern coast of Sicily, roughly halfway between Kamarina and Akragas.

62 *sprung from Lindos*: Gela was co-founded by Antiphemos, a Rhodian, and Entimos, a Cretan.

Cretan Minoa: a city, named for Minos, located on the southern coast of Sicily, north of Akragas and south of Selinous.

63–5 *the daughters of Kokalos . . .*: Daidalos, having earned the enmity of Minos for helping Theseus escape the labyrinth, flew from Crete to Sicily. There he was received by Kokalos, the king of Kamikos. When Minos came in pursuit, Kokalos, pretending hospitality, entrusted him to his daughters to bathe. They killed him in the fashion indicated.

64 *Europa's son*: Minos. Europa was the daughter of Agenor and the sister of Kadmos. Zeus, in the form of a bull, took her from her home in Tyre to Crete. There she bore him Minos.

65 *Leontinoi*: a city north of Syracuse, somewhat inland from the eastern coast of Sicily, founded by Theokles of Chalkis (see on 56 above).

66 *one set of Megarians*: colonists of Megara Hyblaea. See next note.

67 *there*: Megara Hyblaea, on the east coast of Sicily, north of Syracuse and Thapsos, founded by colonists setting out from Leontinoi where they had landed from Nisaia, a city near Megara, east of Athens.

68 *Euboia*: a city in the south-eastern corner of Sicily, east of Syracuse, founded by colonists from Leontinoi and named for

the large island of Euboia in which Chalkis, home of the founder of Leontinoi (see on 65), was located.

Eryx: a city in the north-western corner of Sicily, not far from the coast, founded by the Elymi, thought to have come there from Troy (Thucydides 6. 1. 3), and named after Eryx, son of Aphrodite and so half-brother of Aeneas, the Trojan hero; site of a famous cult of Aphrodite.

68–9 *the Lady | of the Witching Belt*: Aphrodite. Her belt, described at *Iliad* 14. 214–17, makes the wearer irresistible.

72 *her hand upon her sister's shoulder*: Calliope may be the sister referred to: she gave the second *aition* at *Ait.* 1. 76 above.

73 *her second answer*: we know from the Florentine scholia (*Ait.* 1, connecting text between lines 64 and 65 of the translation) that Clio gave the first *aition* in Book 1. A number of conclusions follow: (*a*) the two books are balanced, each opening with an *aition* delivered by Clio; (*b*) the balance is complex: the Prologue, without an *aition*, is matched by the Ikian's response, a prologue with an *aition*, but not the official opening *aition*, which is delivered by Clio now. See also on *Ait.* 1. 76.

74 *Kume*: Cumae, the oldest Greek city in Italy, near Naples, founded by Greeks from Chalkis in Euboia.

75 *Perieres and . . . Krataimenes*: Perieres led the colonists from Kume, Krataimenes those from Chalkis, the two together colonizing Zankle.

77 *their city*: Zankle, as may be inferred from the context, especially at 91. Zankle, later renamed Messana, was located on a bay on the extreme north-west corner of Sicily.

79 *the harpasos*: a bird of prey, otherwise unknown.

89–92 *Kronos' reaping hook . . .*: myth, etymology, history, and geography combine in this intricate passage. Kronos had used a reaping hook or sickle to sever the genitals of his father Uranos. The tradition according to which he had then hidden the notorious instrument at Zankle (see on 77) is due to the influence of etymology: the native Sicilians named the site Zankle from the shape of its harbour, *zankle* being the Sicilian word for a sickle. C. presents the etymology here, employing the Greek word for the instrument in 89 (*drepanon*, 'reaping hook') and the Sicilian at 91 (*zagklon*, 'sickle'). See *Ait.* 1, connecting text above line 103 of the translation. The story, told by Hesiod in *Theogony* 154–210, accounts for the transition of power from Uranos to Kronos.

93 *[they deliberated]*: Pfeiffer's guess: the verb cannot quite be made out.

96 *they went to Apollo*: Apollo's oracle at Delphi, frequently consulted by Greek cities on the matter of colonization.

110–20 Cretan connections with Sicily (62–5) are matched by Cretan connections with Boiotia. For Haliartos (110), see Index of Names.

112 *the Cretan Theodaisia*: a festival in honour of Dionysos, who was born twice, once in Crete (see on 120) and again in Thebes (see next note).

113 *Kissousa*: a fountain outside the walls of Haliartos, where his 'nurses' (the Maenads) washed the infant Dionysos after his second birth.

114 *incense, only in the cities . . .*: perhaps 'of Boiotia and Crete'. According to Plutarch (*Lysander* 28. 4), the Haliartans pointed to the incense-bearing *storax* growing near the spring of Kissousa as proof that the Cretan Rhadamanthys had once lived among them. See next note.

117 *Rhadamanthys*: brother of Minos. He went from Crete to Boiotia where he married Alkmene, the mother of Heracles, after the death of her husband Amphitryon. See next note.

118 *traces of his legislation*: Rhadamanthys, known for his justice in life, becomes judge of the dead in Hades. The chthonic character of the Cretan turned Boiotian hero matches that of the god mentioned in 120.

Between 119 and 120, twelve lines are totally lost, twelve survive with opening syllables or letters only.

120 *Dionysos Zagreus*: the chthonic Dionysos, son of Zeus and Persephone, born in Crete; killed and eaten by the Titans, he is reborn in Thebes as the son of Semele, daughter of Kadmos.

2–7. Other Cities, Other Myths

2

121–2: SOURCE 51 Pf. The fragment is quoted in a scholion to Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus* (258) as coming from 'C., at the end of Book 2 of the *Aitia*'.

3

123–7: SOURCE 119 Pf. Line 1 of the Greek text (123–4a here) is quoted with ascription to C. by a scholion to Pindar, *Nemean* 9. 123b, the rest comes from a papyrus (*P. Oxy.* 2210) in which lines 8–19 of the Greek text of 43 Pf. (= 49–55 here, minus four lines of illegible Greek preceding) are also preserved.

123 *Mekone*: located in the northern Peloponnesos, west of Corinth. The name means 'poppy', source of opium. Demeter is said to have found the plant there. In Hesiod (*Theogony* 536), Mekone is the site of the 'division' between gods and mortals: the place where they came to their settlement. Prometheus prepared a meal for both. Making the bones of a slaughtered ox appear more attractive than the edible portions, he offered Zeus a choice between the two. Zeus chose the savoury but worthless bones and ever since then mortals have sacrificed to the gods in this way, wrapping the bones in fat and burning them for the gods while consuming the meat themselves. The tale as told by Hesiod presupposes a time when mortals and immortals dined together, a time that came to an end as the result of Prometheus' trickery. It was a time, also, when there were no women: Zeus devised woman later, to avenge himself on the mortals championed by Prometheus.

123–4 *abode | of the Blessed Ones*: Sikyon (Mekone) appears in Pausanias 2. 7–12 as a place full of shrines to nearly all the gods.

124–5 *where the gods | cast lots*: C. at *H.* 1. 78–88 denies that the gods divided the universe among them by casting lots, as we find them doing in Homer (*Iliad* 15. 189–93). There is, as Pfeiffer observed, no contradiction here: the division of *realms and powers* takes place after the triumph over *the Titans*, and it is Zeus himself who does the allotting (Hesiod, *Theogony* 885). What we have here is an allotment of *honours* after a later triumph, over *the Giants*.

4

128–9: SOURCE 48 Pf., quoted in a scholion to *Iliad* 1. 609 with ascription to 'C. in Book 2 of the *Aitia*'.

5

130–1: SOURCE 44 Pf., quoted in *Et. Gen.* B with attribution to C. but without reference to the poem from which it is taken.

130 *for nine years*: the nine years of drought in Egypt is the first thing mentioned in Ovid's brief treatment of the story of Busiris at *Art of Love* 1. 647–52. Ovid went on immediately from there to speak of Phalaris (653–6). We know from Plutarch and a scholion to Lycophron (see on next fragment) that C. treated Phalaris in *Ait.* 2. The connection between Busiris and Phalaris in Ovid is a good sign that C.'s Busiris fragment belongs here, where Pfeiffer put it.

The turn to Phalaris and Akragas brings us back to Sicily, subject of the first official *aition* of the book (see on 73).

6

132: SOURCE 45 Pf., from a scholion to Lycophron, *Alexandra* 717, with ascription to 'C. in Book 2 of the *Aitia*'.

7

133–4: SOURCE 46 Pf., 252 *SH*. Quoted in a scholion to Pindar, *Pythian* 1. 95 as coming from C. and referring to 'Perilaos' as both deviser of the bull and first to be burned in it. Fr. 252 *SH* is from a papyrus, only the first two lines of which, identical with 46 Pf., are legible.

8. Epilogue

A

135–45: SOURCE 253 *SH*, on the same papyrus page, and written in the same hand, as the previous fragment (252 *SH*). I follow Cameron (pp. 137–40) in linking it with the portion of the Epilogue previously known (112 Pf. = section B). Line 11 of the Greek text of 253 *SH* (= 141–2 here) is quoted with ascription to C. by Artemidorus, *Interpretation of Dreams* (4. 84).

141 *small to small*: possibly programmatic. See on 16.

145 *[voice]*: suggested by the editors of *SH*.

B

146–59: SOURCE 112 Pf. (*P. Oxy.* 1011), printed in Pf. as the Epilogue to *Ait.* 1–4. For the proof that it concluded *Ait.* 1–2 instead, see Cameron, pp. 141–62.

146–7 *my Muse . . . my Queen*: identified by Cameron (pp. 141–2, 160–2) as Arsinoë. The return to her at the end has the effect of framing *Ait.* 1 and 2. See *Ait.* 1, connecting text between lines 50

and 51 of the translation (p. 64). Arsinoë's role in the poetry of C. is summarized in section 5 of the Introduction.

151–3 These lines refer to the entire fictional framework of *Ait.* 1–2. While Hesiod (in *Ait.* 1. 53–9 above) and C. (in *Ait.* 1, explanatory text before line 1 of the translation (p. 62)) both meet the Muses on Helikon, it is the dreaming C., not Hesiod, who hears their stories.

153 *where the swift horse left its print*: repeated verbatim from *Ait.* 1. 55: the Epilogue echoes the Prologue again (see on 146–7; also connecting text between lines 138 and 139 of the translation (p. 94)).

154–5 *Farewell . . .*: each of C.'s six hymns ends with a similar 'Farewell', addressed, in each case, to a divinity. Arsinoë's status as 'Muse' (146) enables the poet to speak to her in hymnal phrases.

158 *the pasture where the Muses walk*: what have they been doing up to now, if not walking? Hesiod's Muses *dance* on the *summit* of Helikon (*Theogony* 7); presumably, they are *not* still dancing when they meet him, for they *walk* (ibid. 10) to that encounter and the encounter itself takes place *beneath* the mountain (ibid. 23). Has C. met them at a higher elevation?

158–9 A reference to the *Iambi*, a less elevated kind of poetry than that now being left behind. C. is thinking not of the next poem a reader would find on turning the page (an anachronism) or changing scrolls (something out of his control) but of the next collection of poems he plans to produce.

IAMBI

The sequence of poems is guaranteed by the *Diegeseis*. These include, in every case, a quotation of the opening line of the poem followed by a summary of its content.

In all but four instances (*Iambi* 2, 13, 15, 17) the opening line is also preserved in a papyrus containing all or part of what survives of the poem in addition to the quoted line. The identity between the poem so continued and the poem described in the *Diegesis* is, in these cases, certain. In the four cases where the papyrus fragments begin at some point later than the quoted opening line, the connection between the two is confirmed by the duplication, in the fragments, of the content

summarized in the *Diegesis* and by identity of metre between the quoted opening and the lines of the fragment in question. Three of the poems excerpted and summarized in the *Diegeseis* (8, 10, 11) have not yet been supplemented by papyrus finds.

The first four poems are written in the choliambic metre thought to have been invented by Hipponax, the first five in the Ionic dialect traditionally employed by writers of *iambi*. Variations in dialect, noted as they occur, are attacked by the poet's critics in *Ia.* 13.

The titles of 1–13 are mine. Pfeiffer gave the titles to 14, 15, and 16; 17 was called *Branchos* by Hephaestion.

With but one exception (*Ia.* 2. 5), words enclosed in square brackets are suggested by context only.

1

SOURCE 191 Pf. Most of the poem is preserved in *P. Oxy.* 1011, a large portion in *P. Oxy.* 1363. Lines 74–7 of the Greek text (66–9 here) come from fragments known before the discovery of the papyri.

1 *Hipponax*: of Ephesos, writer of *iambi*, who flourished near the end of the sixth century BC. The name, occurring in the first line of the first poem, declares the tradition in which and against which the poet measures himself.

3 *sells for a penny*: the cheapness of commodities in Hades was proverbial. See *Ep.* 31.

4 *iambi*: Hipponax, like Archilochos and Semonides before him, wrote *iambi*, 'lampoons', to judge from their remains. 'Lampoons', however, is far too narrow a translation of *iambi* as C. conceives of them here and throughout the book.

5 *Boupalos*: the target of the living Hipponax' ire. 'Hold my coat: let me hit Boupalos in the eye', runs a famous couplet (fr. 120 West).

8 *the gaffer*: Euhemerus, author of a novel entitled *Sacred Scripture*. It described an imaginary voyage to a group of islands in the Indian Ocean.

9 *Panchaian*: of Panchaia, the principal island described by Euhemerus in his novel (see note immediately above). There Euhemerus found a column with the deeds of Uranos, Kronos, and Zeus inscribed on it. According to 'Euhemerism', the gods were originally great human beings whose people honoured them first with gratitude, later with worship.

14–15 *Delphians after a sacrifice*: the people of Delphi were notorious for snatching portions of the sacrificial victims offered to Apollo by consultants of the god's oracle.

15 *Hekate*: according to Hesiod, daughter of Koios and Asteriē. Theocritus (2. 12) calls her 'Hekate of the Underworld', and the scholion to Theocritus cited at 466 Pf. quotes C.: 'Zeus mingling with Demeter sired Hekate who excels the gods in might and greatness.' This would make her the sister of Persephone, goddess of the dead. Her chthonic associations probably explain why she comes to the lips of Hipponax now: he belongs himself in the underworld and must soon return there (see 20–5).

16–17 *'Baldy'*: Callimachus/Hipponax singles out one member of the crowd, evidently a bald cynic philosopher who would compete with the poet for the audience's attention. The Cynic's trademark was his threadbare cloak.

18 *And take down my speech!*: a touch of realism: he will not have the chance to repeat his lesson (see 20–5).

24 *Acheron*: a river of the underworld.

26–69 According to Diogenes Laertius (1. 28), C. found the story of Bathykles and his cup in Maiandrius of Miletos.

34–5 *propped | on his elbow*: the ancients dined and drank reclining.

36–7 *Children, my anchors | as I slip away*: children secure continuance of the family; in this sense, they are 'anchors' to their parents. See *Ait.* 4. 3.

38–42 *Thales*: Milesian philosopher and scientist, best known for predicting an eclipse of the sun that occurred in 585 BC.

42 *and help Phoinikian sailors*: according to Aratus (*Phenomena* 37–9), the Phoenicians pilot their ships by Ursa Minor, the Greeks by Ursa Major.

43 *The relic from before the moon*: Amphalkes, the Arcadian named as Bathykles' son in the *Diegesis* (Arcadians were thought to predate the moon).

46 *in Didymean Apollo's temple*: Apollo had an important oracle at Didyma (see Index of Names). Out of use since its destruction by the Persians *c.*494 BC, it had been administered by the priestly clan of the Branchidai, by whose name the town itself was commonly known and who were descended from Branchos

(see *Ia.* 4. 20–5, *Ia.* 17). Restoration of the temple began *c.*300 and continued for many centuries, during which the oracle was administered by Miletos. Ptolemy II Philadelphos was an important benefactor of Miletos and Didyma during the period 279–259. While Thales lived early enough to have frequented the older temple at Didyma, C. seems to have the restored one in mind, probably with an eye towards pleasing Ptolemy. See on 68–9.

50 *Phrygian*: an anachronism for Trojan.

Euphorbos: a character in the *Iliad*, who wounded Patroklos (16. 806–15, 849–50) and was killed by Menelaos (17. 59–60, 79–81). Here he is identified with Pythagoras, the mystical philosopher-geometrician who claimed to be his reincarnation.

53 *the virtues of a meatless diet*: Pythagoras preached vegetarianism.

65 *Bias*: of Priene (on the Carian coast, east of Samos), one of the Seven Wise Men listed in the *Diegesis*.

66–7 The grammarian who quotes these lines (Choeroboscus) names C. as author of each. The *Diegesis* secures their placing here.

66 *Solon*: famous Athenian lawgiver and poet, one of the Seven Wise Men listed in the *Diegesis*.

Chilon: of Lakedaimon (Sparta), another of the Seven Wise Men listed in the *Diegesis*.

68–9 Diogenes Laertius (1. 28–9) not only identifies C. as the source of his quotation but also gives it a context identical with the one described in the *Diegesis*, securing its placement here.

68 *The god who gives the Neleans advice*: Apollo in his oracle at Didyma, confirming the *Diegesis*, according to which C. had Thales dedicate the cup of Bathykles to 'Didymean Apollo', i.e. to Apollo in his temple at Didyma. But Diogenes Laertius (1. 29) quotes a Milesian inscription (taken, possibly, from Maiandrius: see note on lines 26–69 above), according to which Thales dedicated the cup to 'Delphinian Apollo', i.e. to Apollo as lord of a different shrine, on the outskirts of Miletos. The change represents 'updating' of the tale by C., reminding his audience of the Didymean temple's restoration if not actually putting Thales, anachronistically, in the restored temple; it reflects Ptolemaic interest in the site, and Ptolemaic philanthropy (see on 46). The emphasis on Didyma and Apollo in this poem sets the tone for much that follows in the *Iambi*. The

restoration of the temple, for example, involved revising its charter legend, told by C. in *Ia.* 17.

the Neleans: the people of Miletos, said to have been founded by Neleus.

70 *'Madman!' they shout*: compare *Ia.* 13. 15–20.

72–4 *your Korykian*: Korykians were known for hanging out at the harbour, eavesdropping on the conversations of sailors and merchants. Obtaining information in this way, they would then lie in wait for ships.

76 *green figs*: the food of animals or slaves, a reference to the poverty of poets in general (see *Ia.* 3) and to that of Hipponax in particular, who complained of having to dine on 'figs and barley, the fodder of slaves' (frs. 26–26a West).

77–8 *Charon*: the boatman who ferries the souls of the dead into Hades. See 20–5.

The poem continued for perhaps seventeen lines.

2

SOURCE 192 Pf. Lines 1–3 are quoted by Clement of Alexandria and placed here because the *Diegesis* of the poem cites the opening line as Clement gives it. The rest of the poem is preserved in *P. Oxy.* 1011.

1–2 *birds | and fish and quadrupeds*: animal fable is at home in this kind of writing: Semonides of Amorgos (one of the Cyclades), like Hipponax an early writer of *iambi*, had accounted for the different characters of women by ascribing to each a different animal origin (fr. 7 West).

3 *the mud-pies of Prometheus*: human beings, moulded, according to mythology, out of mud by Prometheus, son of the Titan Iapetos and the Oceanid Klymene, champion and (in some myths) creator of the human race.

4 The fox, complaining of Zeus' rule, prefers the earlier regime of Kronos, known in mythology as the Golden Age.

5 *[said]*: suggested by the surviving traces of the Greek.

8–10 The missing portion may have described the transfer of voices '[from the race of beasts . . . to that] of men'.

10–11 *Eudemos . . . Philton*: unidentified. A plausible supplement at the end of 11 would give the parrot's voice to 'the rhetoricians'.

15 *Andronikos*: also unidentified.

16 *Aesop of Sardis*: the legendary author of animal fables, identified by Herodotus (2. 134) as a slave from Samos. According to the *Diegesis*, C. 'mocks' Aesop by calling him 'a Sardian'. 'Sardian' could mean 'huckster'.

3

SOURCE 193 Pf. Lines 1–13 and 24–39 of the Greek text are preserved in *P. Oxy.* 1011, lines 5–24 in *P. Oxy.* 2215. The line numbers of the translation correspond with those of Pfeiffer's text.

17 *alas, my indigence!*: see Introduction at note cue 84.

24 *Euthydemos*: the youth named in the *Diegesis*. For another mercenary lover, see *Ep.* 7.

32 *and the gods twiddling their thumbs*: the current remoteness of the gods from human affairs is a common feature in mythological contrasts between wicked present and idyllic past.

35 *Cybele*: the great Mother Goddess of Anatolia, whose devotees practised ritual self-castration.

38 *Adonis*: handsome youth loved by Aphrodite. Killed by a wild boar, he was lamented in an annual festival.

4

SOURCE 194 Pf. Most of the poem is preserved in *P. Oxy.* 1011, which has a gap of no more than nine lines after line 12 of the Greek text (= line 7 of the translation). Pfeiffer, following Lobel, inserted *P. Oxy.* 2215, fr. 2, 1–8 into the gap. The inserted portion, consisting only of room for a first line and nothing but fragmentary opening words for the ensuing seven, is represented in lines 9–11 of the translation.

2 *son of Charitades*: presumably a poet or critic or both, otherwise unknown.

5 *Tmolus*: a mountain in Lydia.

8 *Consider me . . .*: this line, quoted by Trypho (with ascription to C. as author and the olive as speaker) in his work *On Tropes* as an example of urbane self-disparagement or affectation, was placed here by Pfeiffer.

10 *Foolish olive*: *P. Oxy.* 2215, line 5, repeated, in the same position, at lines 7 and 16 of *P. Oxy.* 1011 (= 28 and 37 in Pf., 20 and 31 of the translation), a good sign that the insertion here of *P. Oxy.* 2215 (see above) is correct.

11 *The god*: Apollo, worshipped on Delos, where he was born; his favourite plant is the laurel.

13–14 *your right's | exposed, bombarded by the sun*: the laurel implies that the olive belongs to the lowest social class: poor people and slaves wore the *chiton exomis* or 'tunic with one sleeve'.

17 *The Pythia*: Apollo's priestess. Inspired by the god, she uttered his oracles at Delphi.

20 *Branchos*: subject of *Ia.* 17. Loved by Apollo, who gave him the gift of prophecy, Branchos founded the oracle at Didyma referred to at *Ia.* 1. 46 (with note). For his genealogy, see the notes to *Ia.* 17. 10–12.

21 *the children of the Ionians*: the people of Miletos, afflicted with a plague sent by Apollo.

24–5 *laurel | and . . . mystical utterances*: Clement of Alexandria, citing Apollodorus of Corcyra, tells us that Branchos got rid of the plague by 'showering the people with branches of laurel' and having them repeat after him a series of meaningless words (*bedu, zaps, chthom, plektron, sphinx: knaxzbich, thuptes, phlegmo, drops*). Clement's conclusion ('Callimachus also mentions the story, in his *Iambi*') may refer to this passage.

27 *the Pythaïstai*: members of a delegation sent by the Athenians to Apollo at Pytho (Delphi).

I am the prize: winners at the Pythian Games received a garland of laurel.

28 *the Dorians*: the 'nobly born children' sent by the Delphians to Tempe every ninth year in the ritual known as the *Daphnephoria* (see *Ait.* 4. 1).

51–2 *Tethys . . . Tithonos*: two examples, divine and human, of extreme old age. For Tithonos, see Introduction, end of section 4.

58–9 *Shall we compare | Olympia with Delphi?*: the prize for winners at Olympia was a garland of wild olive. The Olympic Games were the oldest of the great athletic festivals. Sacred to Zeus, the greatest of the gods, they enjoyed the greatest prestige.

63–6 *a pair | of birds*: for a similar episode, a pair of birds conversing, see *Hek.* 153–221.

68 The end of the line of Greek (64) cannot be read, leaving us to imagine who joined with Earth to produce the laurel and the other plants mentioned in the next line.

69 *like ilex, like holm . . .*: the repetition of 'like' in the list of plants emphasizes that there was nothing special about the laurel's first appearance. The olive, in contrast, appeared as a miracle wrought by a mighty goddess contending with a mighty god. See next note.

70–4 *whose creation was the olive?*: Athena contended against Poseidon for possession of what would become the city of Athens. The god of the sea, in the form of a horse, striking the rock with his hoof, produced a salt-water spring; Athena elicited the olive tree from the ground. The umpire, Kekrops ('the primeval man, | a serpent below'), decided for Athena.

75 *Strike one for the laurel!*: substituting baseball for wrestling imagery (in the Greek, the laurel takes a series of wrestling falls).

89–90 *the kolymbas | gulped*: it was easy to discount the laurel for being neither edible nor potable nor of use as an ointment (84–5), not so easy to praise the olive on all three counts: one does not *drink* olives, as Theseus (*epone*) does here. Kronos bolts his children down at *Theogony* 459, but there the verb appears in compound form (*katepine*). Perhaps a hero drinks where ordinary mortals would only taste or savour. And there would be something to drink: the olive involved, the *kolymbas* ('the swimmer'), was steeped in brine. It is evidently the variety served by Hekale to Theseus (*Hek.* 53–4). Here, then, is another possible allusion to C.'s epic (see on 63–6).

95 *Strike three*: the laurel 'strikes out'; an ancient wrestler's third fall would mean defeat (see on line 75).

96–101 *Goodness, they never tire . . .*: the crow goes on, as if unaware that the match is over (see note immediately above).

100–1 *the olive | that gave Leto respite*: repeated, almost verbatim in the Greek, at *Ia.* 13. 50–1. The 'respite' is from the pangs of labour. In the more familiar version of the story, Leto gave birth to Apollo on Delos, holding onto the trunk of a palm tree (*Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, 115–19). The palm tree plays a similar role in *H.* 4, where the olive appears a little later, as Apollo's birthday present (see the notes to *H.* 4. 313, 393–4).

101–2 The olive continues speaking for eight more lines too poorly preserved to render here.

108–11 Paraphrased in the *Diegesis*.

115–16 Quoted in the *Diegesis*.

119–20 *the Lady | of Clashing Cymbals*: Cybele (see on *Ia.* 3. 35).

121 *Paktolos*: see on *Ait.* 1. 89.

An unknown number of lines is missing between 121, where the papyrus (*P. Oxy.* 1011) becomes illegible, and eleven more lines preserved in two different papyri (*PSI* 1216 and *P. Ryl.* 485). Pfeiffer guessed that in the eleven additional lines (too fragmentary to render here) the fable has ended and an epilogue is in progress. A note in the right margin of *PSI* 1216 and a *koronis* (see note to *Ia.* 15. 8, below) in the left margin of *P. Ryl.* 485 indicate that the poem itself ended at the eleventh additional line.

5

SOURCE 195 Pf. The poem in Pfeiffer's text runs to 68 lines. Lines 1–7 are preserved in *P. Ryl.* 485; 1–68 in *PSI* 1216; 54–63 in *P. Oxy.* 2171. Only the legible portions are rendered here. Line numbers correspond with those in the Greek text.

The metre changes from choliambic trimeter alone (used in the first four *Iambi*) to choliambic trimeter followed by iambic dimeter. We now know that Hipponax (see *Ia.* 1) had employed this metre.

22 *keep that up and you'll pay for it*: the reason why he should change his ways is stated more bluntly in the *Diegesis* ('lest he be caught'). See the Introduction at note cue 85.

23–6 *the fire you've kindled*: a familiar image for sexual passion. See *Ep.* 13. 5.

27 *your frenzied horses*: another image for sexual passion, most familiar, perhaps, in Plato's contrast between the good and the bad horses driven by the charioteer of the soul (*Phaedrus* 246b, 253c–254e).

31 *Bakis*: mentioned several times in Herodotus as source of oracles quoted.

sibyl: a woman who prophesies under the spell of a god. The most famous sibyls were those at Delphi and Cumae.

31–2 *your laurel | and your oak*: oracular plants, the laurel being sacred to Apollo, the prophetic god of Delphi, the oak to Zeus, god of the oracle at Dodona.

But figure it out: oracles tended to be enigmatic if not downright obscure, and so were in need of interpretation.

33 *Pittheus*: son of Pelops and king of Troizen, well known for his ability to interpret oracles (see on *Hek.* 9).

6

SOURCE 196 Pf. Lines 1–21 are preserved in *PSI* 1216; 22–49 in *P. Oxy.* 2171; 58–62 in *P. Oxy.* 2171. Except for 1, quoted in the *Diegesis*, all the lines are fragmentary, most too damaged to translate. Line numbers of the translation correspond with those of the Greek text.

The poem is written in iambic trimeters alternating with ithyphallics, and in a literary Doric dialect (the previous poems all being in Ionic, the dialect of Hipponax: C. has begun the dialectal variations for which he will be attacked in *Ia.* 13).

1 *The Zeus of Elis*: the famous chryselephantine statue of Zeus at Olympia by the Athenian sculptor Phidias (*c.*465–425 BC) is described by Pausanias (5. 11) and Strabo (8. 353–4). It was huge, the god's head reaching 40.6 feet (12.375 m.) above the floor of the temple housing him.

37–8 *five | cubits*: about 7.5 feet (2.29 m.).

the throne: Phidias depicted the god seated.

39 *Nike*: Phidias' Zeus held a statue of a winged Nike (Victory) in the palm of his hand.

42 *Seasons*: the *Horai*, daughters of Zeus and Themis. See on *H.* 2. 95.

43 *those six-footers*: the statues of the Graces.

62 *be on your way*: it is hard to tell whether this means, 'Now that I've told you everything you need to know, set off on your journey' or, 'Once you've seen all that, leave for home'.

7

SOURCE 197 Pf. Lines 1–14 are preserved in *P. Oxy.* 2171; 11–25 and 39–51 in *P. Oxy.* 661 (26–38 are lost). Line numbers of the translation correspond with those of the Greek text.

The metre is the same as that used in *Iambus* 6, above. The dialect is similar, Doric, but with traces of Aeolic.

3 *spear-shy*: Epeios was known for his cowardice in battle (Lycophron, *Alexandra* 931).

4 *carpenter of the horse*: Epeios built the Trojan horse (*Odyssey* 8. 492–3).

8

SOURCE 198 Pf. The line is also quoted, with ascription to C., in *Et. Gen.* A. That C. had dealt with 'the amphora contest' somewhere in his *Iambi* was known earlier from a scholion to Pindar, *Olympian* 7. 86.

The sole surviving line is in iambic trimeter. The dialect (as in *Iambi* 1–5) is Ionic.

9

SOURCE 199 Pf. The two lines survive in *P. Oxy.* 2221 and in a scholion to Nicander.

The poem is written in iambic trimeter catalectic. The dialect is Doric.

1 *hose*: *neuron* in the Greek. The above-mentioned scholion to Nicander cites C. as authority for the information that *neuron* ('string', 'sinew') sometimes means *aidoion* ('privates', 'penis').

10

SOURCE 200a–b Pf. The opening line of 200a (literally, 'The Aphrodites—for the goddess is not one—') is quoted in the *Diegesis* and by Strabo (9. 438), who introduces it as belonging to C. and coming from his *Iambi*. The concluding sentence of the *Diegesis*, together with identity of metre, guarantees that 200b (quoted, with ascription to C., in a scholion to Aristophanes) belongs in the same poem with 200a.

The metre is iambic trimeter, the dialect Ionic.

1 *Kastnion*: a mountain in Pamphylia.

4 *she alone*: among 'Aphrodites': all the other 'Aphrodites' would reject swine as responsible for the death of Adonis (see on *Ia.* 3. 38).

6 *her cult*: the cult of Artemis Kolainis, mentioned in the *Diegesis* as 'Artemis of the Eretrians'. Eretria was located in Euboia, due east of Aulis, where Agamemnon offended Artemis. See on *H.* 3. 367.

11

SOURCE 201 Pf. (the line quoted in the *Diegesis*).

The metre, a brachycatalectic iambic trimeter, is unattested elsewhere. To judge from the spelling of the Greek for 'tomb' in the one surviving line, the poem was written in Doric.

1 *by the river Hypsas*: near Selinous. For the form of the oath, see on *Ait.* 1. 89.

2 *you] who [pass] my tomb*: funerary epigrams are often spoken from the tomb by the dead person to someone passing by. See *Ait.* 3. 3; *Ep.* 29, 30, 39.

12

SOURCE 202 Pf. Lines 1–6 of the Greek text are preserved in *P. Oxy.* 2218; 7–86 in *P. Oxy.* 1011; 57–70 in the Michigan papyrus (*P. Mich.* Inv. 4947) printed in Pf. ii, pp. 118–19.

The metre is trochaic trimeter catalectic, felt by ancient poets and metricians to be a variety of iambic. The dialect is Ionic.

1 On Artemis as goddess of childbirth, see *H.* 3. 27–35.

2 *[the mountain of] Dikt[yna]*: see on *H.* 3. 270.

4 *the Cretan tomb*: the so-called 'tomb of Zeus' on Crete. C. himself denies that Zeus ever died (*H.* 1. 10–12).

6 *no slayer of his father's serpent*: as puzzling in Greek as it is in English. If Apollo is referred to, the 'father' in question would be Zeus. Apollo is known to have killed a serpent, namely Python (*H.* 2. 117–25), but Python has nothing to do with Zeus.

7–9 Diction and tone are reminiscent of Pindar.

11 *her daughter's seventh day*: Hebe, Hera's daughter, at her *amphidromia*.

17 *Tritonis*: Athena. See on *Ait.* 1. 220.

20–1 *the Lord | of the Isthmos*: Poseidon, god of the sea. The Isthmos is that of Corinth.

34 C. perhaps addresses Apollo as 'Delian' because that would bring the god's own birth to mind.

36 *ancient Pytho*: i.e. Delphi, famed for the splendour of its buildings, treasures, and works of art. Apollo *could* bring a gift of the sort brought by the other gods and rivalling them in splendour, but he chooses not to.

36–7 Three lines of Greek occur in the gap, too fragmentary to render.

41–71 The lines of Greek translated here are the ones preserved in the Michigan papyrus mentioned above. The corresponding portion of *P. Oxy.* 1011 is much more fragmentary.

43 *those "dogs of India"*: Herodotus (3. 102) describes ants 'smaller than dogs but bigger than foxes' that live in the Indian desert. The sand they burrow into is full of gold.

49–52 The mythical Golden Age would come to mind in the contrast briefly suggested here between ancient and contemporary, between a time when men honoured Justice and the present, when they spurn it. The Golden Age knew nothing of the evils caused by gold in historical times.

60 Apollo, for ever young, is always beardless (*H.* 2. 43–4).

13

SOURCE 203 Pf. Line 1 of the Greek text is quoted in the *Diegesis*, lines 2–66 survive in *P. Oxy.* 1011.

The metre is choliambic, the dialect Ionic.

1–2 Apollo and the Muses appear again together in *Ia.* 15 and 16. The present invocation suggests a banquet setting. Perhaps the poem was originally delivered at a party.

4–15 C.'s model Hipponax (see *Ia.* 1) was from Ephesos (lines 5–6) and wrote poems choliambic in metre (9) and Ionic in dialect (4). C. had done likewise in the first four *Iambi*, but broke the pattern after that, switching to the Doric dialect (lines 14–15) and introducing other metres. The present poem adheres to the Hipponactean standard, as if to remind us that the poet can 'behave' when he wants to.

16–20 *Your friends | will lace you into a straitjacket*: this is the second time a charge of insanity has been levelled in the *Iambi*. The first, *Ia.* 1. 70–1, is too fragmentary to allow for identification of the person so charged. Here it is clear that the charge is aimed at C. himself. The programmatic relationship between the poems (see previous note) perhaps enables us to infer that a *poet* was charged with being mad in both.

21–4 These lines are very poorly preserved. The bracketed portions are mere guesses at the possible sense.

21 *my good friend*: another echo of *Ia.* 1 (line 21). See notes on lines 4–15, 16–20 above.

25–9 Defending the *polyeideia* mentioned in the *Diegesis*.

32–3 *the thing . . . was fashioned*: *what* was so fashioned? Each of Ion's works in the various poetic genres? If so, the implication is that the critic should censure C. not for cultivating numerous genres as Ion had but for failing to cultivate each of them *as well* as Ion had. Criticism of versatility in and of itself is superficial: quality is what counts.

40 *brands a tattoo*: branding was a form of punishment inflicted on slaves.

50–1 *Leto's olive*: see on *Ia.* 4. 100–1. The repetition is, perhaps, another sign of the programmatic character of this poem.

53–8 Repeating 4–9, but with a twist: the critic's figurative language there is taken literally here. Travelling to Ionia has nothing to do with being able to use Ionic choliambs to good effect!

14–17

The following four poems appear in Pfeiffer's edition under the title *Lyrics* with a question mark placed after it. 'Lyrics' are listed among the works of C. in *Suidas* (Introduction, between note 20 and 21) and the poems themselves are written in metres that appear in lyric contexts elsewhere.

These are the principal reasons for considering them as a collection, or part of a collection, of lyric poems, separate from the *Iambi*. The metrical evidence is considered below; as for the authority of *Suidas*, it is hardly decisive and, on the other side, there is no ancient citation of anything from a separate book of lyrics by C.

The case for considering 14–17 not as lyric poems from a different book but as the last four poems in a book of seventeen *Iambi* is set forth at length by Cameron (pp. 163–73). It rests on an impressive array of facts, the most significant of which is this: no indication of a break of any kind appears in the *Diegesis* between *Ia.* 13 and the poems numbered 14 to 17 here. After the summary of 17, the word *Hekales* appears, signifying that what comes next is the summary 'of the *Hekale*'. There is no such title after 13, announcing that what follows is a summary of the contents 'of the *Lyrics*' or any other such collection. The *Diegesis* was evidently composed by someone summarizing the contents of a book in which 14–17 followed 13 immediately. Whoever he was, he had before him in *Iambi* 1–17 a continuous work that came to an end, in the manuscript he was summarizing, just before the *Hekale* began, and no sooner.

Cameron also proved that the metres of 14–17 do not pose a problem. Where we can tell, not one of the four poems has anything exclusively 'lyric' about it. While each of the metres involved is found earlier in lyric contexts, C. has employed it either by itself line after line (stichically) or in combination with a different line, each appearing

alternately (epodically), not in stanzas in the manner of the lyric poets. There is no evidence that C. wrote anything at all in stanzas.

What the book gains structurally and thematically from having 14–17 included in it may not, perhaps, justify the inclusion, but it certainly makes a strong impression in its favour. Thematic links between 17 and some of the earlier poems have already been observed (see the notes to 1. 68–9; 4. 20). Additional connections between 14–17 and the earlier poems (see on 13. 1–2) will be pointed out in the introductions and notes to follow, and the reader no doubt will notice others. One small point, having to do with structure, may be worth observing here: the inclusion of 14–17 shifts the sequence 7–11 to exact centre within the *Iambi*, giving the book an aetiological core.

14

SOURCE 226 Pf. The opening line is quoted (without ascription to any particular author) in *P. Oxy.* ii. 220 and in the *Diegesis*.

The metre is phalaecean, used by C. epodically in *Ep.* 20 and by Theocritus stichically in *Epigram* 22, neither of which has anything 'lyric' about it. Catullus (36. 5, 40. 2) actually refers to his own poems in phalaeceans as '*iambi*'. The dialect cannot be determined from the little that remains.

Pfeiffer's title comes from the opening of the *Diegesis*.

1 The bracketed words are a guess prompted by the *Diegesis*.

15

SOURCE 227 Pf. The *Diegesis* quotes the opening iambic dimeter, Hephaestion the opening iambic dimeter plus the remainder of the first two lines as Pfeiffer prints them (1–4 here). The rest is preserved in a Berlin papyrus (*P. Berol.* 13417 B 1–13).

The metre, iambic dimeter alternating with ithyphallic, is virtually identical with that employed in *Iambi* 6–7. The dialect has an Ionic colouring.

Athenaeus (15. 668c), quoting lines 5–7 of the Greek text almost verbatim, refers to them as coming from 'Callimachus, in his night festival (*en pannychidi*)', whence Pfeiffer supplied the title *Pannychis*, 'Night Festival'.

1–4 For similar signs of divine presence on the scene, see *H.* 2. 1–10.

8 *till we sign off*: C.'s phrasing here, literally 'until the *korone*', is obscure. *Korone* means 'crow' (the bird). Following a reference in Pfeiffer's notes, I have taken it as equivalent to *koronis*, the sign placed in an ancient text to indicate the end of a poem or book.

'Until the *korone*' suggests 'until we put the *koronis* to our revelling'.

10 *at tossing heeltaps*: there is another reference to the *kottabos* at *Ait.* 3. 5. 24–6.

11–12 *whatever boy | he wants*: the pederastic theme again, but, apparently for the first time in the *Iambi*, without negative connotations. This may be due in some measure to the presence of Apollo, who will appear as the chaste lover of Branchos in *Ia.* 17.

16

SOURCE 228 Pf. Lines 1–38 (1–17 here) and 39–75 (18–57 here) are preserved in *P. Berol.* 13417 A, recto and verso.

The metre is archeboulean, named for Archeboulos who seems to have been the first to employ it stichically, as C. does here. The dialect is Doric.

Pfeiffer's title, 'The Deification of Arsinoë', comes from the opening of the *Diegesis*. For Arsinoë, see Introduction, section 5.

1–3 Apollo is called *Moisagetas* ('Leader of the Muses') in Pindar, fr. 94c.

7 *stolen*: by the Dioskouroi. Euripides speaks of Helen being 'stolen' from the grasp of her would-be murderers at *Orestes* 1498. Here the soul of Arsinoë is, like Helen in Euripides, transported to the heavens. On her worship as 'Kypris of Zephyrion', see the notes to *Ait.* 4. 17. 55–64 and *Ep.* 14.

16 *the altars of Thetis*: a scholion in the margins of the papyrus mentions an 'island where there are altars of Thetis'. This might be Pharos (see on 40).

17 *Thebes*: the Egyptian city.

19 *Proteus*: Menelaos, husband of Helen, encountered Proteus on Pharos (*Odyssey* 4. 355). Pharos is called 'Helen's island' in *Ait* 3. 1. 6. Helen, who figured in the previous poem, may have figured in this one also, if only implicitly.

20 *the smoke*: of the funeral pyre.

23 *the Thracian Sea*: the northern Aegean, south of Thrace.

24–5 Philotera is imagined moving very swiftly: C. has her *just* leaving Sicily *and* Lemnos though the two islands are more than 500 miles (800 km.) apart.

25 *Lemnos*: the island of Hephaistos, where he fell, hurled from Olympus by Zeus (*Iliad* 1. 591–4). The chief city of the island was named Hephaistias for him and his worship was prominent there.

26 *Deo*: Demeter, worshipped at Enna.

29 *Charis*: wife of Hephaistos (see on 25). It is Charis who welcomes Thetis to the house of Hephaistos when she comes to ask the smith god to fashion new armour for her son Achilles (*Iliad* 18. 369–92), whom she has just lamented as doomed to die (ibid. 52–64). The aggrieved mother in the *Iliad* and the anxious, soon to be aggrieved sister in C. are both welcomed by Charis, whose name means 'grace' (often that of poetry).

30 *Athos*: connected with Arsinoë also at *Ait.* 4. 17. 45–50. Again, as at 24–5, we get the impression that these beings move from place to place almost instantaneously: Mt. Athos is about 40 miles (65 km.) from Lemnos.

36 *my Libya*: Philotera's half-brother Magas was king of Cyrene in Libya, home, also, of C.

40 *Pharos*: an island off the coast of Alexandria, site of the lighthouse completed by Ptolemy II (*c.*279 BC) and known as one of the Seven Wonders of the World.

45–6 A gap of six lines (60–5 in the papyrus), legible only in their openings.

51 *dirges*: a hint, perhaps, at the character of the present poem, yet another poetic genre in the *Iambi* (animal fable in 2, epinician in 8, birthday poem in 12).

17

SOURCE 229 Pf. The opening line (1–3 here) is quoted in the *Diegesis*, the rest of the fragment preserved in *P. Oxy.* 2172.

The metre is a catalectic choriambic pentameter, possibly invented by C. himself. The dialect is Ionic.

1–3 *Gods most worthy of song*: the oracle at Didyma (see on *Ia.* 1. 46, 68–9) was dedicated to Apollo and Zeus. In the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (132) the newly born god announces, 'I will prophesy the unerring will of Zeus'. The prophetic Apollo is his father's voice to men.

4–6 *plague*: Apollo's ability both to bring plague and to take it away is as old as the *Iliad.*

10–12 *your paternal line*: we seem to have the outlines of a typical hero tale. The child, raised in humble circumstances, turns out to be of noble, even divine, lineage. Branchos' father, Smikros, had been brought up by a goatherd.

10 *Daites*: son of Machaereus and a priest of Apollo at Delphi.

12 *Lapithes*: son of Apollo and Stilbe, daughter of Peneios. Branchos was thus descended from Apollo himself.

15 *the double springs*: accounting for the name of the place, Didyma ('double' or 'twin').

16 *in the wood*: confirms the location mentioned in the *Diegesis* and by Varro.

20 The *Diegesis* also has Apollo arriving from Delos.

The papyrus trails off with ten more lines. Only a few letters at the end of each are discernible in the last six; the first four have traces suggesting that the poem ended with further references to the cult of Apollo at Didyma.

AITIA 3–4

Aitia 3 contained ten poems (possibly eleven: see below, on 3. 6); *Aitia* 4 had seventeen (possibly eighteen: see connecting text at 4. 1). In length, the two books were comparable, comprising approximately a thousand lines each.

AITIA 3

P. Oxy. 2211 guarantees the sequence of poems 2–5, the *Diegeseis* that of poems 5–8. For poems 5–7, the summary portions of the *Diegeseis* are too scantily preserved to be rendered. According to Pfeiffer, the summarizer either omitted poem 9, the tale of Phrygios and Pieria, or summarized it elsewhere, in a missing portion of his text (there is a gap, sufficient to accommodate a summary, in the text of the *Diegesis*, lines 14–24, between the summaries of poems 7 and 8; Pfeiffer supplemented line 26 of the *Diegesis* to yield 'friendship between the Myousians and the Milesians', a glance, if it is correct, at poem 9, the tale of Phrygios and Pieria). *P. Oxy.* 2212 has clear traces of the names 'Phrygios and Pieria' in its penultimate line; its final line is identical

with the opening line of poem 10 as quoted in the *Diegesis*, securing the sequence of poems 9–10. For the placing of poem 1, see below.

1. Victory Song for Berenike

Sections C, D, and E–F are less fully preserved than their translation here may suggest. Words in brackets reflect in the main the supplements offered by the editors of *SH*; these are based, where possible, on traces of Greek in the papyri and on the context, often reconstructed from ancient sources.

We know that C. dealt with Molorchos 'in the books of his *Aitia*' (54 Pf.). Two papyri (*P. Oxy.* 2170 + *PSI* 1218, *P. Oxy.* 2212) containing fragments of the poem in which Molorchos figured (177 and 59. 1–11 Pf.) appear in company with other fragments from *Ait.* 3 and 4, a good indication that the poem belonged to one or the other of those two books. But the contents of Book 4 (known from the *Diegesis*) exclude it, and the Byzantine lexicon quoting the opening of section B mentions Book 3 as its source. These and other indications led Parsons ('Callimachus: *Victoria*': see Bibliography) to the conclusion that the poem originally formed part of *Ait.* 3. We know that poem 10 ended Book 3. There being no room for the present poem anywhere but at the beginning of Book 3, that is where Parsons placed it.

The Lille Papyrus (*P. Lille*), published in 1976, contains four new fragments with sixty lines of C. identified by Parsons as parts of a single poem, an epinician in honour of Queen Berenike's victory in the chariot race at the Nemean Games. Sections A, C, and E–F are from *P. Lille*. Reasons for including and placing the other sections (known before the discovery of *P. Lille*) are too complicated for presentation here. For discussion, see Parsons and *SH*.

My division of the poem into sections reflects, for the most part, the presentation of the fragments in *SH*. In matters of interpretation I am very much indebted to both Parsons and *SH*.

A

SOURCE 254 *SH* (*P. Lille* 82. 1a).

2–3 *the victory* | *your horses won*: on Berenike's career, see Introduction, section 5. The date of the victory celebrated in the poem is unknown.

3–4 *sacred blood* | *of the Sibling Gods*: the phrasing suggests that Berenike II and her husband Ptolemy III are (*a*) children of Ptolemy II and Arsinoë II (the 'Sibling Gods') and (*b*) brother and sister themselves (as again at *Ait.* 4. 17. 14–25). Neither is the case. Ptolemy III was Ptolemy II's son not by his sister and later wife Arsinoë II but by his first wife, Arsinoë I. Berenike II was the daughter neither of Ptolemy II nor of Arsinoë II but of Magas (stepson of Ptolemy I) and Apama. Husband and wife had the same grandmother (Berenike I), but different grandfathers and fathers. As Parsons put it, the *Theoi Euergetai* ('Benefactor Gods', Ptolemy III and Berenike II) present themselves as children of the *Theoi Adelphoi* ('Sibling Gods', Ptolemy II and Arsinoë II). C. obliges them here.

5 *the land of Danaos*: Nemea, near Argos, home of the hero Danaos.

6 *Helen's island*: Pharos. Menelaos in his wanderings after the Trojan War had put in here, with Helen (*Odyssey* 4. 355).

Pallene's seer: Proteus, with whom Menelaos had wrestled (*Odyssey* 4. 454–9), having suffered considerably from the stench of the seals in his flock (ibid. 441–6). In Homer, Proteus is simply Egyptian; C. alludes to a different tradition, perhaps older, that Proteus migrated to Egypt from Pallene.

9 *the tomb of Opheltes*: Opheltes is the original name of Archemoros (see 54 Pf.), who died bitten by a serpent at the time when Adrastos, leader of the Seven Against Thebes, came to Nemea. Adrastos refounded the Nemean Games in the dead boy's honour.

Fr. 254 *SH* trails off with the remains of nine lines too poorly preserved to render here. There are, however, a number of intriguing traces: a rare adjective with the sense 'well-woven' in line 13 of the Greek, and an adjective with important Callimachean associations, meaning 'slender, delicate, refined', at line 15 (see on *Ait.* 1. 7 and 2. 16). These and other hints led R. Thomas in *Classical Quarterly* (see Bibliography) to argue that in the lines missing from this section of the poem C. had described a finely woven tapestry or robe offered possibly to Hera in honour of Berenike's victory at Nemea. An offering to Hera would be appropriate for a winner in the Nemean Games, for Nemea was situated in the Argolid, land sacred to Hera (see on *H.* 4. 107). The phrase 'before, in Argos' at line 12 of the

Greek may have referred, as Thomas thought, to the Argive girls who weave the robe for Hera's cult statue in her temple in Argos. The possibility that C. mentioned these girls here is enhanced by their appearance later at *Ait.* 3. 4. 6–12.

Thomas went on to suggest that the weaving in question depicted Heracles' Nemean adventure. C.'s telling of that adventure in the next section of the poem may have occurred, then, in the form of an ecphrasis, an elaborate poetic description of the work of pictorial art presented by the queen to the goddess in gratitude for her victory.

Of the nine lines untranslated here, only one (line 16 in *SH*, 30 in Parsons) can be read with any certainty; it describes a feminine plural subject as 'skilled at bewailing the white-flecked bull'. According to Thomas, this amounts to 'Egyptian women'. The bull they lament would be Apis, identified with the god Ptah in life and with Osiris in death.

B

SOURCE 267 *SH* (55 Pf.). All three lines of the Greek text are quoted and ascribed to C. in the scholion to Pindar, *Nemean* 10. 1c; the first line is quoted and assigned to *Ait.* 3 in *Et. Gen.* A. Whether they belong here, or even in this poem, is impossible to say for certain. Parsons suggested placing them here.

14–15 For Hera taking similar action in a similar mood for similar reasons, see *H.* 4.

16–17 *Zeus' son, sired | in darkness*: Zeus, in the guise of Alkmene's mortal husband, made love to her; Heracles was the child born of their union.

C

SOURCE 257. 15–37 *SH* (*P. Lille* 76 + 79). The first fourteen lines of the fragment are too poorly preserved to render here.

21 *parsley*: C. appears to be laying the groundwork for an *aition*: this will become the plant that supplies Nemean victors their garlands. At this point, Heracles plucks and (perhaps) eats it; later, in the portion of the narrative not surviving but summarized in 54 Pf., he crowns himself with it after slaying the lion.

28 *[my son]*: not in the papyrus text, but we know from a scholion to Statius, *Thebaid* 4. 160, that the Nemean lion had killed Molorchos' son.

29 *the goddess*: perhaps Athena, named at 107.

30 *I'll stoke your belly*: Heracles' inordinate appetite again. See *H.* 3. 197–220, *Ait.* 1. 156–79.

38 *you wouldn't care to meet*: evidently, because of his smell.

39–40 Before the lion arrived, kids ventured out of their pens. There they would have to be on the alert for predatory birds (such as the eagle); now they are too afraid of the lion to go out at all.

D

SOURCE 259 *SH* (= 177 Pf., *PSI* 1218).

53 *Ophion's brood and the elder gods*: the primeval gods displaced by Kronos, who was in turn displaced by Zeus. Ophion, whose name recalls *ophis* (serpent), reigned on Olympus with his consort Eurynome before Kronos.

54 *in the world below*: that the sun sets on earth to shine for the pious or the noble dead in the underworld is a commonplace of the mystical tradition (Pindar, *Olympian* 2. 61–2, fr. 129. 1–2; Aristophanes, *Frogs* 455–9; Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 11. 23).

59 *in a whisper*: either so as not to awaken or disturb his guest, or so as not to alarm the mice about to be entrapped, or both.

69–70 Two lines occur here, too poorly preserved to render.

E–F

SOURCES 260 (lines 6 and 9), 260 A *SH* (*P. Lille* 78b, 78a. 1).

86 *poverty*: presumably that of Molorchos.

99 *for hospitality's sake*: an important theme in this book. See poems 3 (line 10 with note) and 6.

100 *[sacrifice] to me*: see the summary of the story in 54 Pf.

G

SOURCE 264 *SH* (57 Pf., *P. Berol.* 11629 A).

102 *let him find out on his own*: we don't know who this is. Pfeiffer guessed it was the reader or the listener. The sudden intrusion of the poet himself, to effect a termination or abbreviation of the myth in progress, is reminiscent of Pindar.

105–6 *You'll hear all that . . .*: Molorchos, like the audience (see note immediately above), must wait for the information he wants.

107 *Athena*: as the hero's protector, Athena often appears in vase paintings, standing by while Heracles wrestles the lion. It is possible (as Parsons observed) that in the missing portion of the poem that described the lion-killing, C. had Athena not only

witness it but also foretell what Heracles' victory would mean to future generations.

H

SOURCE 268 *SH* (58 Pf.). Quoted, with ascription to C., in *Et. Gen.*

108–10 The structure of the fragmentary sentence ('not with . . . or with . . . for prize') suggests that it continued 'but with' and then named the prize in question, the crown of wild parsley. See on 21.

I

SOURCE 265. 5–10, 17–21 *SH* (59 Pf., *P. Oxy.* 2212 + *P. Oxy.* 2169).

111 *the sons of Aletes*: the Corinthians, descended from Aletes, son of Hippotas, an early king of Corinth. See on 117.

112 *the contest they hold*: the Isthmian Games.

Aigaion: Poseidon.

113 *older by far*: the Isthmian Games were thought to commemorate the death of Ino's infant son Melikertes, which would place their establishment in the second generation after the founding of Thebes; the Nemean Games would date, originally, from the time of Heracles, in the fourth generation after the founding of Thebes; their second foundation, by Adrastos (see on 9), occurred two generations later.

it: the parsley used to crown victors in the Nemean Games. See on 108–10.

115 *the Isthmian Games*: a Panhellenic contest, held every two years in honour of Poseidon (see on 112, 113, 117).

117 *at Corinth*: in the Isthmian Games. Corinth, a Dorian city on the neck of land (the Isthmos) connecting the Peloponnesos with the rest of Greece, is often named as the site of the Isthmian Games though they actually took place at Isthmia, 10 miles (16 km.) to the east.

117–18 There is a gap in the papyrus here, eight lines too scantily preserved to render, though Athena is clearly mentioned in one line (13) and Molorchos in another (16).

119 *he spent the night there*: the subject is Heracles. This would be his second night with Molorchos.

120 *Argos*: the home of Eurystheus, Heracles' enemy, who laid upon him each of his famous 'labours'. Each time he has accomplished one of these, the hero reports to Eurystheus in Argos. So now, after this one.

124 *the sacred rite, never ceasing*: four lines follow, too fragmentary to render.

2. The Attic Thesmophoria

SOURCE 63. 6–12 Pf. (*P. Oxy.* 2211).

Thesmophoria in honour of Demeter occurred throughout the Greek world. An agrarian ritual, limited to women only, it was named for the deposits (*thesmoi*) carried (*phoroi*) by the women performing it. These deposits consisted of the putrefied remains of piglets sacrificed and thrown into pits in the earth the previous year. The women would fetch them from the pits and place them on altars; later, they would be mixed with seed and scattered on the ground, evidently to enhance fertility. In Athens the festival took place in the Thesmophorion, near the Pnyx (place of assembly) for three days in the Attic month Pyanopsion (late October–early November). On the first day new piglets were sacrificed. There was a fast on the second day, observed in an atmosphere of solemn gloom thought to commemorate Demeter's sorrow for the loss of her daughter Persephone. The festival culminated on the third day with sacrifices and banqueting in honour of *Kalligeneia* ('Goddess of Beautiful Birth').

The first five lines of the papyrus fragment, too poorly preserved to translate, seem to have been crowded with characters: line 1 mentions a child, 3 a woman, 4 an old woman and a neighbour. What all these persons had to do with one another cannot be determined now. The goddess herself appears in line 6 of the papyrus fragment (the first line rendered here); she is followed soon after by the girl who rouses her fury.

9 *Deo Thesmophoros*: 'Deo, Goddess of the Thesmophoria'.

3. The Tomb of Simonides

SOURCE 64 Pf. (*P. Oxy.* 2211).

10 *Zeus Xenios*: Zeus, God of Strangers, who watches over the relations between hosts and guests. Simonides, a Keian, was a foreigner in Akragas. The honour paid to him in death by the

Akragantines showed their devotion to Zeus Xenios. Conversely, the behaviour of Phoinix in dismantling his tomb is a slight to that god.

13–14 *inventor | of memory*: an allusion, perhaps, to the mnemonic device that enabled Simonides to identify the dead banqueters.

16 *your brother*: Kastor.

21 *Krannonian*: located in Krannon.

22 *Skopadai*: literally, 'Sons of Skopas', here with the meaning 'Skopas and his family'.

23 *O Lords*: Kastor and Polydeukes.

A few lines, perhaps only three, are missing at the end of the fragment.

4. The Fountains of Argos

SOURCE 65–6 Pf. 65 Pf. (1–3 of the translation), is quoted by the commentator on Antimachus, 66 Pf. (the remainder of the translation) is preserved in *P. Oxy.* 2211.

4 *heroines, descended from Io*: their father Danaos belongs to the fourth generation descended from the union between Zeus and Io. 'Heroines' has a religious meaning here: they are indigenous goddesses.

6–7 *for those | who must weave the robe of Hera*: Argive virgins. See the note to *Ait.* 3. 1. 9.

15 *and go on flowing, radiant daughters of Pelasgos*: the waters of the fountains and the nymphs that inhabit them are inseparable. The actual father of the nymphs was Danaos. To call him 'Pelasgos' instead is to give his daughters as old a place in the land as possible (see on *H.* 5. 5).

5. Akontios and Kydippe

A

SOURCE 67 Pf. (*P. Oxy.* 2211).

1–5 Apart from 71, this is the only reference to the trick in the surviving fragments.

6–7 *To your rites on Delos | he came*: as frequently happens in ancient romantic literature, the boy first catches sight of the girl at a religious festival. See *Ait.* 3. 9.

8 *Ioulis*: see on 131–8.

9–10 *blood of Euxantios . . . of Promethus*: both boy and girl are of noble lineage, the ancestors of each playing significant roles in the foundation of their native cities: Euxantios, the son of Minos and Dexithea, became king of the island of Keos after its destruction by the gods (lines 129–31 with notes); Promethus, son of Kodros of Athens (77), in a manner typical of Greek colonization stories, had settled in Naxos after killing his brother.

17 *Silenos*: an old satyr, known paradoxically both for wisdom and perpetual drunkenness; he is companion and tutor of Dionysos, god of wine and ecstasy, in whose company he is often found in art and literature. Nothing is known of his 'dripping stone' on Naxos, or the ritual involving it, but Naxos, famed for its wine, was a favourite place of Dionysos (see next note).

19 *Ariadne's slumber*: Ariadne, daughter of Minos, fled from Crete with Theseus on his way back to Athens after killing the Minotaur. The fugitive lovers put in at Naxos, where Ariadne fell asleep on the beach; while she slept Theseus set sail for home, leaving her behind. It was then that Dionysos appeared and made her his bride. C. is evidently referring to some sort of choral performance in her honour by Naxian girls.

B–G

Until the discovery of the pair of papyri in which the two longest sections of the poem (A and H) are preserved, we had only a scattering of quotations by ancient authors interested in points of diction or peculiar practices (B–G).

C.'s Akontios in B–D resembles Ovid's Narcissus (*Metamorphoses* 3. 351–417).

SOURCES B: 68 Pf.; quoted, with ascription to C., in *Et. Gen.* AB. C: 69 Pf.; quoted, with ascription to C., in Athenaeus 15. 668b. D: 70 Pf.; quoted, with ascription to C., in *Et. Gud.* p. 189, 13. E: 72 Pf.; quoted, with ascription to C., in *Ait.* 3, in a scholion to Sophocles, *Antigone* 80. F: 73 Pf.; quoted, with ascription to C., in a scholion to Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 144. G: 74 Pf.; quoted, with ascription to C., in Hesychius.

22 *lovers:* young men. C.'s noun here, *eispneles*, is glossed in the quoting source as equivalent to *eromenos* (see the note introducing C.'s erotic epigrams (p. 294 below)). This would make Akontios 'the desire (not only of the desiring but also) of the desired'.

33 *'I love Kydippe'*: literally 'Kydippe is beautiful (*kale*)'. See on *Ep.* 2. 5.

H

SOURCE 75 Pf. (*P. Oxy.* 1011).

41 *as legend has it...*: the three dots are meant to signal the narrator's sudden intrusion, not (as elsewhere here) to indicate a gap in the text.

41–7 The *aition* of the Naxian marriage custom just described is suddenly terminated, ostensibly for reasons of piety (compare Pindar, *Olympian* 9. 35–40, *Nemean* 5. 14–18). By the moment it breaks off, however, we have heard enough to know where it was heading. A famous passage in Homer (*Iliad* 14. 294–6) reveals that Zeus and Hera, without the knowledge of their parents, had made love before they were married. The Naxians evidently thought that the conduct of the god and goddess before their marriage accounted for the conduct of Naxian brides described by C. here. Discrepancies between myth and custom make the *aition* problematic, however: the Naxian boy and bride are not brother and sister, like Zeus and Hera, nor do they constitute the couple to be married, or have sexual intercourse before marriage, or come together unbeknown to their parents. The Naxian parents, in fact, not only know what is happening, they also provide that it happens. The inconsistencies between the myth and the custom it is supposed to account for may in fact account for something else: the sudden termination of the *aition* itself. The narrator's offended piety masks C.'s own desire to bypass the inconsistencies, to register rather than tell the *aition*. The pre-marital liaison between Zeus and Hera had not made Homer blush, nor was it a secret; C. even tells us elsewhere (*Ait.* 2. 128–9) that it went on for three hundred years.

42 *You dog, you cur*: exactly the same words are spoken by the enraged Demeter to the impious Erysichthon (*H.* 6. 90).

44 *dread Demeter's rites*: the initiate in the Mysteries of Demeter at Eleusis was bound by a sacred oath not to reveal the experience to anyone.

52–4 *the sickness*: epilepsy.

60 *Her father*: Keyx, mentioned by name below (72, 87).

66 *my sister*: Artemis.

dealing with Lygdamis: see *H.* 3. 349–60 and accompanying notes.

67 *Amyklai*: a town on the banks of the Eurotas, south of Sparta.

69 *Parthenios*: a river that flowed through Paphlagonia to the south coast of the Black Sea; its name, 'The Maiden's Stream', reflects its association with Artemis, The Maiden Goddess.

71 *swore that she would marry Akontios*: Kydippe would have read the inscription on the apple aloud (reading aloud was the norm in antiquity); the goddess, hearing, held her to the commitment.

77 *Kodros*: the last king of Athens; father of Kydippe's ancestor Promethus (see on 9–10).

78–86 *your Keian son-in-law*: an elaborate tribute to the ancestry of Akontios, who belonged to a family of priests on Keos. Aristaios, son of Apollo and Cyrene, came to the aid of Keos when it was afflicted by the Dog Star with pestilence or drought. He climbed to a mountain top and built an altar there to the Dog Star and Zeus Ikmios ('Zeus, Bringer of Moisture'). In response to his prayers and sacrifice, Zeus sent a cooling breeze to relieve the island. Ever after, on the hills of Keos, the islanders have sacrificed to the Dog Star and Zeus Ikmios, and the god sends the Etesian winds for forty days after the Dog Star rises.

80 *Aristaian Zeus the Ikmian*: see note immediately above. Zeus was called 'Aristaian' on Keos because of the role played by Aristaios in summoning him to the aid of the Keians.

82 *Maira*: Sirius, the Dog Star. The name is related to the verb *marmairein*, 'to flash, sparkle, gleam'.

91 *Dionysos' island*: Naxos. See on 17 and 19.

97 *ankles swift as Iphikles'*: Iphikles (Iphiklos elsewhere) was the son of Phylakos and the father of Protesilaos and Podarkes, both of whom sailed with the Greeks against Troy. The name of his second son, Podarkes ('Swift-footed'), carries on the tradition of his speed. Hesiod says that he could run over ears of grain

without damaging them (fr. 62 MW; similarly, Virgil on Camilla, *Aeneid* 7. 808–9).

99 *Midas Kelainites*: the famous king with the golden touch lived in Kelainai (in Phrygia).

101 *that harsh god's power*: the reference is to Eros, the god who 'instructed' Akontios (line 1).

108 *Xenomedes*: a Keian, chronicler of local history, who flourished *c.*450 BC. C. names him here as the source of the story just told and of the information about to be imparted.

111–12 *Korykian | nymphs*: there was a 'Korykian cave' on Mt. Parnassos, formerly the home of the nymphs referred to.

114 *Hydroussa*: 'Watery'. Nymphs and fountains go together.

115–16 *and how Kirodes . . . came to live | in Karyai*: the name Kirodes is not elsewhere connected with Keos, nor do we know of any connection between the island of Keos and any of the towns called Karyai in Laconia, Arcadia, and Lykia. The gap in the text is half a line long; but for it, we might know who, according to Xenomedes, occupied Keos between the arrival of the Korykian nymphs (111–14) and that of the Carians and Leleges (116–17).

117 *Carians and Leleges*: early immigrants to Keos from the coast of Asia Minor.

118 *Zeus of the Battle Cry*: according to Herodotus (5. 119), the Carians are the only people who honour Zeus as a war god.

119–20 *the son | of Phoibos and Meliē*: the name *Meliē* can be personal, as here, or generic, of the nymphs. The girl named here is not the nymph of the same name mentioned in *H.* 4. 115.

121 *changed the island's name*: presumably from Hydroussa (114) to Keos. C., though relying on Xenomedes here, was himself an expert on this subject: see *Ait.* 1, connecting text between lines 102 and 103 of the translation.

121–31 A rapid summary of the myth of the destruction and restoration of Keos by the gods.

Until the discovery of the papyrus preserving this fragment, we had only four sources for the events involved: Bacchylides (1), Pindar (*Paian* 4 = fr. 52d), Ovid (*Ibis* 475 (= 473 in the Oxford Classical Text), with scholia), and Nonnus (Dionysiaca 18. 35).

The myth, reconstructed from these scattered witnesses, seems to have run as follows.

The Telchines, driven from their original home on Rhodes, settled in Keos with their chief or king Demonax, father of Makelo and Dexithea and other daughters. Zeus, determined to destroy the Telchines for their wickedness (they had blighted the crops on Rhodes, either with poison or by the baleful influence of the evil eye), came to Keos with Apollo, both gods in disguise. Makelo (in response, perhaps, to a prophetic dream) went with her sisters away from her father's home to the coast of Keos, where they met Zeus and Apollo. Though she had but little and was in distress herself, Makelo, thinking the strangers mere mortals, entertained them hospitably. In return, the gods saved her and her sisters from the lightning bolts that now fell from the sky, destroying Demonax and the rest of the people. Three days later, Minos arrived with a host of armed men, married Dexithea, and departed for Crete, leaving half of his army behind to protect her. Nine months later, Dexithea bore Euxantios (9–10), who, on growing up, declined to share his father's Cretan kingdom with his half-brothers, choosing instead to return to Keos and be king there.

121 *crime*: C.'s word here is *hybris*.

123 *and the sorcerers, Telchines*: we know from a citation in *Et. Mag.* 445, 9 that C.'s source for the story, Xenomedes, had etymologized the name 'Telchines', connecting it with *thelgines*, which comes in turn from the verb *thelgein*, 'to enchant, bewitch'. C. may be glancing at that *figura etymologica* here.

124–5 *Demonax*: leader of the Telchines (see on 121–31), here characterized as a despiser of the gods.

128 *aged Makelo and her daughter*: C. and, evidently, Xenomedes here differ from the other sources (see on 121–31), in which Makelo is the oldest of Demonax' daughters, not their mother.

129 *Dexithea*: 'She Who Welcomes a God'. The girl's name reflects her role in the myth summarized above, in the note on 121–31.

131–8 *four cities*: Hellenistic writers were fond of describing the foundations of cities. Here C. rapidly touches on those of the four chief Keian towns (Karthaia, Ioulis, Poiessa, Koresia). Nothing is known of the founders named.

138 *Koresia*: perhaps 'Girls' Town', named for the girls (*korai*), i.e. Dexithea and her sisters, who met Zeus and Apollo there (see on 121–31).

142 *the girl's tale ran to my Calliope*: perhaps with tongue in cheek, C. imagines the Muse reading Xenomedes. On the new importance of reading in the Hellenistic era, see Bing, *The Well-Read Muse*.

6. The Marriage Rites at Elis

SOURCE 76 Pf. (the opening line quoted in the *Diegesis* + *P. Oxy.* 1011) and 77 Pf. (quoted, with ascription to C., in the scholion to Pindar at *Olympian* 10. 55c).

The structural niceties observed in the introductory remarks may have some bearing on the question whether a poem is missing at this point. As Parsons observed, there would be no gap (and no poem missing) if the line of the papyrus fragment (*P. Oxy.* 1011. 78 = 76.1 Pf.) is identical with the line quoted in the *Diegesis*. The papyrus fragment is doubtfully read and Pfeiffer matched its opening to the line quoted in the *Diegesis* with the warning that 'everything in it is most uncertain'.

1 *Come, tell me*: these words are clearly read as the opening of the *aition*, quoted in the *Diegesis*, but only possibly read in the papyrus fragment (see paragraph above).

2 *Pisaian*: of Pisa; equivalent to Olympian.

7. The Isindian Host

SOURCE 78 Pf. (*P. Oxy.* 2213, quoted also in the *Diegesis*).

8. Artemis, Goddess of Childbirth

SOURCE 79 Pf. (the fragmentary opening line, as quoted in the *Diegesis*).

9. Phrygios and Pieria

SOURCE 80. 10–11 Pf. (*P. Oxy.* 2212), 80 and 82. 17–23 Pf., as reconstructed in Pf. ii, p. 113. On the omission of the poem's summary from the *Diegesis* and the evidence for its placing here, see the introductory note to *Ait.* 3.

8–9 *eloquence | mightier by far than Nestor's*: aged Nestor is the model of a copious orator in Homer.

10. Euthykles of Western Lokroi

SOURCE 84 Pf. (*P. Oxy.* 2212, quoted, also, in the *Diegesis* as the opening line of *Ait.* 3. 10) + (for lines 3–17) 85 Pf. (*P. Oxy.* 2213).

1 *When, Euthykles, you came victorious*: in the pentathlon, sometime in the late sixth or early fifth century BC. For another Olympic victor, also from Western Lokroi, see *Ait.* 4. 8.

3–17 This fragment (85 Pf.), readable only from its fourth line onwards and preserved in a separate papyrus, is placed here because its contents (the mules, the accusation, the outrage to the statue, the god's response) match the story told in the *Diegesis* for this poem.

10–11 *the statue | Lokroi herself had raised*: the city had a bronze statue of him set up in a prominent place, most likely in gratitude to him for the glory he had brought to her by winning at the Olympic Games.

14 *the Watcher*: not Apollo, as in the *Diegesis*, but Zeus.

AITIA 4

The *Diegesis*, though fragmentary, secures the order of all the poems in *Ait.* 4.

Words in square brackets reflect guesses based on the context and made or mentioned, with one exception (at 17. 60), by Pfeiffer.

1 (A and B) The Delphic Laurel Procession

SOURCES A: 86 Pf. (*Diegesis*); B: 87 Pf. (quoted by Stephanus of Byzantium).

A For Apollo and the Pythian serpent, see *H.* 2. 117–25.

B **1** *Deipnias*: place-names are accounted for also in *Ait.* 4. 5, 14 and, possibly, 6.

2. Human Scapegoats at Abdera

SOURCE 90 Pf. (*Diegesis*).

1 *Abderos*: it is not clear in the Greek whether the poet addresses the city, Abdera (on the coast of Thrace, just north of the island of Thasos), or its eponymous founder, Abderos.

[your city]: the subject required, as Pfeiffer observed, if we opt for the founder as addressee.

3. Ritual Infanticide in Tenedos

SOURCE 91 Pf. (*Diegesis*).

Tenedos is a small island in the Aegean Sea, east of Lemnos, south of the Hellespont, visible from ancient Troy.

1 *Lady Ino*: one of the four daughters of Kadmos. Having seen the older of her two sons, Learchos, killed by his own father, Athamas, Ino lost her mind and plunged with Melikertes, the younger one, into the sea. This was her punishment by Hera, who was angry at her for nursing the infant Dionysos, son of Zeus and Semele. Dionysos in gratitude to Ino changed her into the sea goddess Leukothea; Melikertes also became a god, called Palaimon afterwards. For the epinician significance of the myth, see on *Ait.* 3. 1. 113; *VS* 22.

4. Human Sacrifice in Lipara

SOURCE 93. 1–7 Pf. (*P. Oxy.* 2170, fr. 1). The *Diegesis*, through its quotation of the broken opening line, secures the placement here of the papyrus fragment with the same opening. The fragment is eighteen lines long, but poorly preserved down to (and including) line 7 and surviving only in half-lines after that.

6–7 *a man | refusing*: indicates, perhaps, that Theudotus (whose name means 'Gift of God' or 'Gift to God'), for all his bravery in battle, was a reluctant victim.

5. Leimonis Seduced and Punished

SOURCE 94 Pf. (*Diegesis*), 95 Pf. (*P. Oxy.* 2170, fr. 2. 1–5).

6. The Boastful Hunter

SOURCE 96 Pf. (*Diegesis* + *P. Oxy.* 2170, fr. 2. 6–7). The *Diegesis* quotes the opening line, the papyrus fragment preserves the same line and the first word of the next.

7. The Pelasgian Walls

SOURCE 97 Pf. (*Diegesis*).

1–2 *The land possessed me*: the speaking wall suggests an inscription. The meaning of the past tense cannot be determined.

'the Pelasgian Wall', | reared by Etruscans: there was a tendency to identify 'Pelasgian' with 'Etruscan' (see the introductory remarks to *Ia.* 9). Etruscans figure also in *Ait.* 4. 4.

8. Ritual Deflowering of Virgins

SOURCE 98 Pf. (*Diegesis*).

9. Hera's Primordial Statue on Samos

SOURCE 100 Pf. Quoted in Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 3. 8. 99ab.

1 *Skelmis*: presumably the first to fashion a statue of Hera on Samos; nothing further is known about him.

5–6 *Danaos . . . Lindos*: Danaos, representative of primordial times (see on *Ait.* 3. 4. 15), apparently stopped at Rhodes on his way from Egypt to Argos.

10. Hera's other Statue on Samos

SOURCE 101 Pf. (*Diegesis*).

1 *Hera*: for Hera's feelings about Heracles, see *Ait.* 3. 1. 14–17. Her resentment over Zeus' infidelity with Semele resulted in the destruction not only of Semele but also of her sister Ino (see on *Ait.* 4. 3. 1).

11. Pasikles of Ephesos

SOURCE 102 Pf. (*Diegesis*).

12. Androgeos

SOURCE 103 Pf. (*Diegesis*).

13. Oisydres of Thrace

SOURCE 104 Pf. (*Diegesis*).

1 *Oisydres*: otherwise unknown.

2 *many . . . of Thasos*: the three dots here indicate a gap not in the text but in the syntax. The noun modified by 'many' probably occurred in the next line (now lost). 'Evils' is a good guess. Thasos is an island off the coast of Thrace, about 240 miles (390 km.) north of Paros.

14. 'Antigone's Dragging'

SOURCE 105 Pf. (*Diegesis*).

15. Gaius the Roman

SOURCE 106 Pf. (*Diegesis*).

No one knows for certain who the 'Peuketians' are; guesses include Gauls, Etruscans, Samnites.

16. The Anchor of the *Argo*, Left at Kyzikos

SOURCE 108 Pf. (*Diegesis*).

2 *the Argo*: C. had touched on the story of the Argonauts in *Ait.* 1. 74–136 and in *Ia.* 8.

17. *Coma Berenices*

SOURCES 110 Pf., Catullus 66.

The fragments of the Greek text (110 Pf.) between lines 1 and 40 happen to have survived through quotation in various ancient

sources (1: *Diegesis*; 7/8: scholion to Aratus, *Phenomena* 146, with ascription to C.; 13/14: Agathias, *PA* 5. 294. 18; 26: see note ad loc.; 40: *Et. Gen.* B, with ascription to C.); after that, on papyrus (44–64: *PSI* 1092; 65–78: *P. Oxy.* 2258 c, fr. 1; 89–94: *P. Oxy.* 2258 c, fr. 2). Lines 65–6, 68–74, and 89–94 in the papyri, too poorly preserved to render, are supplemented from Catullus. On the omission of lines 79–88 (Catullus), see the note to lines 75–8. Line numbers are keyed to Pf., not (as usually) to the translation itself.

2–7 (Catullus) *Diana down from heaven*: alludes to the love of Selene (the moon) for the shepherd Endymion, with whom she met secretly in a cave on Mt. Latmus in Caria.

7/8 *Conon*: mathematician and astronomer, born on Samos, worked in Italy and Sicily before coming to Alexandria. Most famous for the feat described here, he also wrote on intersecting conics and corresponded with Archimedes. (He is not to be confused with Conon the mythographer, who lived two centuries later).

to all the gods: the phrase suggests a pantheon as the first stop for Berenike's lock, but no such temple is attested in Alexandria. (Line 9 of Catullus, continuing the description of the lock and sharing in content with line 8 of C.'s Greek, is omitted from the translation.)

13/14 *[tokens of nocturnal struggle]*: the similarity in sense between the Latin of Catullus at 66. 13 and the Greek of Agathias led Pfeiffer to suspect that Agathias' words were lifted from C. at this point, and for that reason he inserted them here. For another example of Agathias incorporating C.'s words into his own verse, see on *Ait.* 1–2, Prologue, 8–9.

14–25 (Catullus) *a dear brother*: the same exaggeration as at *Ait.* 3. 1. 3–4.

26 *[full of courage]*: translates *megathymon*, inserted into the text at this point by Pfeiffer, who took his cue from the Latin equivalent *magnanimam*, applied to Berenike by Catullus in line 26 of his translation and by Hyginus in a different context (see Introduction, at note cue 88).

26–40 (Catullus) *the noble deed by which you won a royal marriage*: see Introduction, between note cues 88 and 89.

fulfil an old-fashioned vow in a novel way: vowing a lock of hair for the safe return of a loved one from war goes back to Homeric

times (*Iliad* 23. 144–51); not many such dedications end up in the sky.

41–3 (Catullus) *that mountain*: Mt. Athos. The Persians under Xerxes, invading Greece, had cut a canal through the isthmus connecting Mt. Athos with Macedonia.

44 *Theia's shining grandchild*: Boreas. Theia is a Titan, sister and wife of Hyperion to whom she bore the Sun, the Moon, and the Dawn.

45–50 *your mother's, Arsinoë's obelisk*: honorific: Berenike's actual mother was Apama, not Arsinoë (see on *Ait.* 3. 1. 3–4). Mt. Athos resembles an obelisk in shape, but why it is called 'Arsinoë's obelisk' here is unknown. It figures also at *Ia.* 16. 30.

the wicked Chalybes: Scythians who lived on the shores of the Black Sea. Their discovery of ironworking made possible the manufacture of weapons of war, which may explain why C. calls them 'wicked' here.

50–5 *when Ethiopian Memnon's brother . . . snatched me up*: C. differs here from Hyginus, according to whom Berenike herself placed the severed lock in the temple. C., more dramatically, has the lock, immediately upon its being cut, seized and taken by Zephyrus (see next note), acting on Arsinoë's orders, to her temple (see on 55–64).

Ethiopian Memnon's brother: Zephyrus, the west wind, and Memnon, the black warrior who went to Troy after the death of Hector and was killed there by Achilles, were half-brothers, both sons of the Dawn. '*Zephyrus*' is an appropriate messenger for '*Zephyritis*' to send.

Lokrian Arsinoë's steed: we do not know why Arsinoë is called 'Lokrian' here. 'Arsinoë' in this line, 'Kypris' three lines and 'Zephyritis' five lines further down all refer to the same person.

55–60 *to the lap of Kypris*: that is, to the temple of the deified Arsinoë at Zephyrion. Arsinoë, after her death, was worshipped as a goddess and identified with Kypris (Aphrodite).

Zephyritis: the deified Arsinoë is called 'Zephyritis' from her temple at Zephyrion.

And then: the next stage in the lock's journey: from Arsinoë's temple to the heavens.

the Minoan bride's [crown]: the constellation known as *Corona Borealis*: Dionysos put Ariadne's wedding garland (*corona*) in the heavens to honour her, his 'Minoan bride'. See on *Ait.* 3. 5. 19.

[shining]: supplied from the context.

65–7 (Catullus) *cruel Leo*: the Nemean lion made its way to the heavens as the constellation Leo (a link, perhaps, with the opening poem of *Ait.* 3).

Lycaonian Callisto: the constellation Ursa Major.

tardy Boötes: the constellation of the Herdsman (variously identified) sets just before dawn. (Line 68 of Catullus, continuing the description of Boötes and seeming to overlap in content with line 67 of the papyrus, is omitted from the translation.)

69–74 (Catullus) *Tethys*: in Homer, the consort of Ocean. Here equivalent to 'the sea'.

Rhamnusian maiden: Nemesis, who might resent the lock's preference (expressed in the immediate sequel) for a mortal over an immortal abode.

75–8 *many | a draught of ordinary oil*: girls used unscented oils, mature women resorted to perfumed varieties (compare *H.* 5. 15–40). Berenike would have graduated from one to the other upon marrying Ptolemy, but the lock, shorn so soon after the marriage, did not have time to savour the change! We know from Athenaeus (15. 689a) that both Arsinoë and Berenike were fond of expensive ointments.

(Lines 79–88 of Catullus 66 are omitted here. There is no place for them in the papyrus we have, thought by Pfeiffer to preserve an earlier version of the poem written for the occasion and then revised by C. later for publication in the *Aitia*. The extra lines represented in the Latin translation would derive, on this view, from C.'s later version, which, for some reason, has not survived while the earlier one has. Other theories have been put forward, including the possibility that the lines represent a contribution by Catullus himself.)

89–94 (Catullus) *Orion . . . Aquarius*: there are traces of these names (and of scarcely anything else) in the text of the papyrus. As Orion and Aquarius are actually 100 degrees apart, the point seems to be, 'Let confusion reign in the heavens, provided my wish is granted'.

VICTORY SONG FOR SOSIBIOS

SOURCE 384 Pf. *P. Oxy.* 2258, the main source for the first 34 lines of the Greek text, omits line 8. The rest of the fragment is preserved in *P. Oxy.* 1793, containing lines 6–13 (including the omitted line 8), 23–30, and 36–61 (36–63 of the translation), where the fragment trails off. The gap between lines 34, where *P. Oxy.* 2258 ends, and 36, where *P. Oxy.* 1793 picks up again, is closed by the quotation of 35–6 (Greek text and translation) in a scholion to Pindar, *Nemean* 10. 35–6.

1 *let us pour libations*: lines 1–3 of the Greek text are nearly totally obliterated, making it impossible to determine whether these 'libations' are literal or metaphorical or both. For the song = libation metaphor, see Pindar's sixth *Isthmian*.

3 *garlanded, lately, at Ephyra*: the first of several hints dropped over the next eight lines, that the poet is celebrating a victory in the Isthmian Games. Allusive as opposed to direct registering of such details is typical of victory odes.

Asbystian: there is another reference to Cyrene at 20.

8 *Divinity*: Poseidon, patron of the Isthmian Games.

9 *the land between two seas*: the Isthmos of Corinth, with the Corinthian Gulf on one side of it and the Saronic Gulf on the other.

10 *the children sprung of ancient Sisyphos*: the people of Corinth, founded by Sisyphos, son of Aiolos.

11 *Pelops' island*: the Peloponnesos, named for Pelops, son of Tantalos.

12 *Kromnites*: the southern port of Corinth, in the Saronic Gulf. A scholion to Lycophron 522 traces Kromnites to 'Callimachus in his *Victory of Sosibios*' and identifies it with Kromna. It is more familiar under its other name, Cenchreae.

17 The bracketed words translate editorial supplements based on context, information contained in the scholia to the poem, and four letters of Greek text. The direct mention of Nemea, if in fact it occurred here, contrasts with the allusiveness of C.'s previous (see on 3) and subsequent (18, 22–3) references to the victories in question.

18 *Argive garlands with those of Peirene*: 'Argive' alludes to the Nemean Games (held in the Argolid and administered, according to the Pindaric scholia, by the Argives) and 'Peirene' to the Isthmian Games (see below). The entire expression is thus equivalent to 'garlands won in the Nemean with garlands (already won) in the Isthmian Games'. Only the verb survives in the text of *P. Oxy.* 2258, the rest of the line being recovered from its quotation in a marginal scholion, which glosses the phrase 'from Peirene' with 'from Corinth and the Isthmos, since Peirene is a spring in Corinth' (Pfeiffer ii, p. 121).

19 *Alexander's land*: Alexandria, the capital of Ptolemaic Egypt.

20 *the Kinyps*: a river separating Cyrenaean from Carthaginian territory in North Africa. Lines 19–20, allusively describing the eastern and western limits of Sosibios' fame, also indicate the eastern and western limits of the Ptolemaic empire, Cyrene and Egypt being under one rule in the 240s BC, when the poem was written.

21–2 *Sosibios is doubly crowned | by either child*: yet another oblique reference to the festivals in question (see on 17). The children involved are even more indirectly named next.

22 *the brother of Learchos*: Melikertes, in whose honour the Isthmian Games were founded. See on *Ait.* 4. 3. 1. Depicting winners at the games as beneficiaries of the god or hero presiding over them is typical of the victory ode.

23 *the one reared on Myrina's milk*: a very allusive way of saying 'Opheltes' (see on *Ait.* 3. 1. 9). His nurse was not Myrina but Hypsipyle, who was from the town of Myrina on the western coast of Lemnos, named for her mother, wife of the Lemnian Thoas.

26–8 *none has ever*: Sosibios is the first Egyptian Greek to win the chariot race (the most prestigious prize) in both the Nemean and Isthmian Games.

28 *these death celebrations*: the Isthmian and Nemean Games, founded in honour of the dead Melikertes and Opheltes.

29–34 The point seems to be that the Nile, so much greater in size than any of the rivers of Greece, has been inferior to them in glory until now.

29 Line 31 of the Greek text lacks the opening one-and-a-half feet. The bracketed words are supplied from the context.

35–44 The movement from more recent and more important to earlier and less important achievements is typical of the epinician ode. Less familiar in such contexts is the bestowal of praise by someone other than the poet. The allocation of that praise to a pair of speakers (here, the victor himself; at 45–47, someone else) is yet another innovation.

36 *vases on display*: amphorae of olive oil, considerably valuable not only in themselves but also for their contents, were the prizes for victory at the Panathenaea. Sosibios honoured Athena by dedicating his trophies to her.

36–7 *witnesses | to my wrestling*: refers to an inscription of some sort, naming Sosibios as victor and dedicator of his prize.

38 *grappling with men*: there were three classes of competitors: *paides* (boys), *ageneioi* ('beardless' youths under 20), and *andres* (men). Sosibios, probably a youth at the time, competed in the men's division. C. may have in mind the example of another wrestler, celebrated by Pindar: Epharmostos, who, though entitled to compete in the youths' division, was forced by the judges to contend against men (*Olympian* 9. 89–94).

41 *Archilochos' refrain*: the cry '*tenella kallinike*', repeated with the brief song by Archilochos ('Hail, Lord Heracles, you and Iolaos, spearmen both'). Pindar at the opening of *Olympian* 9 (see note immediately above) contrasts it with the more elaborate victory ode of his own day.

42 *son of Lagos*: Ptolemy I Soter.

in your presence: Ptolemy I died in 283 BC; the Ptolemaea, in which Sosibios competed, were first held in 279. See on 22.

44 *putting to shame*: an epinician commonplace: the winner is glorified, the loser shamed (Pindar, *Olympian* 8. 67–71, *Pythian* 8. 81–7).

45 *the stranger*: Sosibios, an Egyptian Greek, would be a stranger or foreigner to a Greek of the mainland.

47 *naked*: see *Ait.* 1. 66–8.

47–8 *a man speaking so | will move his audience to sing*: eagerness to sing in response to the news of victory (as at 5–8) is a standard epinician topic. Here it is varied: people will sing when they hear not of the victory itself but of the victor's gratitude for it.

52 *the Kasian Sea*: an oblique reference to the sea off Pelusium (modern Tell el-Farama), at the easternmost mouth of the Nile, where a temple of Zeus Kasios was located.

53–5 *I come . . . brought me here . . .*: quoted, with ascription to C., in a scholion to Aristophanes, *Birds* 598. C. is fond of letting objects speak for themselves. See *Ia.* 7, 9; *Ait.* 3. 3; *Ait.* 4. 7, 17; *Ep.* 14, 16, 22, 25–7, 38, 60. The text of the quoted dedication breaks up before Sosibios himself is named in it. See on 36–7.

54 *Sidonian*: from Sidon, a Phoenician city on the coast of Lebanon.

61 *I cannot praise as he deserves*: another epinician motif: the victor in an epinician, like the god in a hymn, offers the poet more material for praise than he can exhaust. See *H.* 1. 121–3.

62–3 *both ways lies | the people's censure*: the two ways are: (1) pressing on, in spite of the inexhaustibility of the theme, into endless and tactless encomium, or (2) neglecting praise altogether. The first bores the audience and rouses scepticism as to the claims made for the victor by the poet (see, for example, Pindar, *Pythian* 1. 81–4), the second violates the basic moral principle of epinician poetry, that achievement demands recognition. Both are epinician commonplaces. (The part of the poem preserved in *P. Oxy.* 1793 continues from here with three illegible lines followed by yet another thirteen-line gap.)

EPIGRAMS

There is no evidence that C. collected his epigrams into a book. Most of them survive because they were included in ancient anthologies. In 1577 Nicodemus Frischlin published twenty-five culled from the Byzantine collection known as the *Planudean Anthology*, first printed in 1494. The much larger *Palatine Anthology* (*PA* in the following notes), unknown until it came to the attention of scholars in 1606 and not finally printed until the nineteenth century, contained, in addition to the 25 already excerpted by Frischlin, another 36 epigrams by C., bringing the total to 61. These new epigrams were added by a succession of editors as they were identified to the twenty-five already printed by Frischlin, yielding an order (adhered to in Pfeiffer's edition) that has nothing to do either with the chronology of their composition

or with the themes they treat. In addition, we have two epigrams that were not included in any of these anthologies but were quoted, one (14) by Athenaeus and the other (55) by Strabo.

Not enough information survives to make a chronological arrangement of the epigrams anything more reliable than guesswork. They do fall into a number of thematic categories, listed by Gow and Page (see below) as 'Erotic Poems', 'Dedicatory Poems', 'Epitaphs', and 'Epideictic (literary display) Pieces'. Though they overlap at times, these categories are employed here and the epigrams themselves presented and numbered as they are in *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams*, edited by A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page ('GP' in the following notes). 'Pf.' refers to Pf. ii throughout this section of the Notes.

Most of the epigrams are in elegiac couplets; other metres are noted as they occur.

With only a few exceptions, nothing is known of the persons named in the epigrams beyond what the epigrams themselves reveal.

Erotic Poems

Eight of these thirteen epigrams (nine if Ganymede, a mythical example, is included) give the names of youths who are the objects of an older man's (or god's) erotic interest. Such a youth is called in Greek an *eromenos* ('desired, beloved'), the older man in love with him an *erastes* ('lover').

For each *eromenos* named in C.'s erotic epigrams (2, 5– 10, 12), the poet himself is the *erastes* involved (he shares that role, in the last example, with another); he is the *erastes* in *Epigrams* 1, 3, and 4 also, where the object(s) of his affection are unnamed. That leaves only 2 (11 and 13) in which someone other than the poet figures as the *erastes*.

All but two (4 and 11) are addressed to someone: five of those in which the name of the *eromenos* is given are addressed to him (2, 7, 8, 9, 10), the other three (5, 6, 12) to different persons. Whether, and to what extent, the erotic epigrams reflect C.'s own experiences is uncertain.

1

SOURCE 31 Pf., *PA* 12. 102.

Horace included a translation of this epigram in his *Satires* (1. 2. 105–8).

3 *Epikydes*: a fairly common name.

5 *my passion*: of the thirteen love epigrams, only two (1 and 13) are not explicitly homoerotic.

2

SOURCE 28 Pf., *PA* 12. 43.

1 *recycled poetry*: the Greek has 'the cyclic poem', referring to poems like the *Cypria, Little Iliad*, and *Aithiopis*, post-Homeric narratives of events falling before, between, and after Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. C. would have disliked the Cyclic poems for their clumsy imitation of Homer and their lack of originality. In the present context, their popularity among the unsophisticated might tell against them too.

3 *a boy*: C.'s word here is *eromenos* (see above).

5 *Lysaniës*: a man of this name is said by *Suidas* to have taught, together with C., grammar to Eratosthenes. An erotic connection between this Lysaniës and C. seems unlikely as such attachments were usually formed between a younger and an older man (see above). C. appears to have used the name of another coeval, the poet Theocritus, in a similar way, as a pseudonym for a real or an imagined beloved. See on *Ep.* 6. 2. C.'s asseveration contains a vulgarism (*naichi*, 'sure'), and the whole statement is framed as if the poet were declaring in the poem what might be seen written on walls, vases, monuments, or even trees: the common erotic graffito declaring that 'So-and-so is handsome (*kalos*)' or 'beautiful (*kale*)'. The modern equivalent, though it differs in naming both parties, is 'So-and-so loves so-and-so'. For a heterosexual example, see *Ait.* 3. 5. 32–3.

6 *Echo*: there is an approximate rhyme, reversing the sequence of sounds, between what C. says in line 5 (*naichi kalos*) and what those very words suggest to him at the end of line 6 (*allos echei*). The repetition of *kalos* in the original utterance prepares the way for mention of 'Echo', though not for the clever turn given to it. The latter, prompted (it seems to me) by the commonness of the expression itself, puts a neat cap to the preceding catalogue of things the poet cannot enjoy or make use of precisely because others enjoy or make use of them.

3

SOURCE 46 Pf., *PA* 12. 150.

1 *Polyphemos*: the Cyclops encountered later by Odysseus (*Odyssey* 9). Theocritus 11 depicts him as a lover, singing of his hopeless passion for the sea nymph Galatea.

3 *Philip*: a Coan doctor by the name of Philip is known to have been practising medicine in Alexandria in 240 BC.

3–4 *swelling . . . drug*: medical terminology.

6 *the craze for boys*: there is no distinction made between homosexual passion, mentioned here as the poet's own, and heterosexual passion, felt by the Cyclops (see on line 1).

10 *both charms*: poetry and hunger. The poet's poverty here (and in *Ep.* 7) is more likely to be conventional than autobiographical (see Introduction, note 19).

4

SOURCE 41 Pf., *PA* 12. 73.

Quintus Lutatius Catulus adapted this epigram into Latin (Aulus Gellius 19. 9. 14).

5 The Greek text is corrupt at the opening of this line. Catulus names a certain 'Theotimus' as the one in search of whom his soul has gone, and it is possible that a name (not necessarily Theotimos) was once read here.

5

SOURCE 29 Pf., *PA* 12. 51.

1–2 The imperatives are second person singular, addressed, perhaps, to a servant at the symposium.

1 *Diokles*: another handsome boy (*eromenos*), with whom the poet is in love.

2 *and leave the water out*: normally, the ancients diluted their wine with water. Here, toasting a beloved, the wine is taken neat.

2–3 *handsome, | all too handsome*: see on *Ep.* 2. 5.

6

SOURCE 52 Pf., *PA* 12. 230.

1 *Hate him . . . love him*: addressed to Zeus, though we do not know it until line 3.

2 *Theokritos*: perhaps a pseudonym, borrowed from the poet Theocritus, for a real or a fictitious lover of C.'s. See on *Ep.* 2. 5.

3 *Ganymede*: son of Tros. Zeus fell in love with him and carried him off to Olympus where he became cup-bearer to the gods.

4 *a lover once*: of Ganymede. See note immediately above.

7

SOURCE 32 Pf., *PA* 12. 148.

1 *my pockets are empty*: see on *Ep.* 3. 10.

Menippos: another *eromenos*, whether real or imaginary. The *eromenos* more interested in money than in love is attacked in *Ia.* 3.

2 *don't tell me my own dream!*: a proverbial expression, equivalent to 'Don't tell me what I already know'.

8

SOURCE 42 Pf., *PA* 12. 118.

1 *Archinos*: another *eromenos*, loved by the poet, evidently, from the distance.

I sang at your door: the poet seems to have gone, unaccompanied, from a drinking party to the house of Archinos.

3 *wine at full strength*: a hint that he was toasting Archinos earlier in the evening (see on *Ep.* 5. 2).

4 *the one . . . the other*: love . . . wine.

5 *so-and-so son of so-and-so*: one gave one's full identification (name and father's name) when seeking to enter a house or join a party. C. implies that he was content to stay outside, remaining, in spite of his condition, well-behaved.

9

SOURCE 44 Pf., *PA* 12. 139.

1–2 *by Pan, | by Dionysos*: Pan might cause the sudden disturbance of feeling ('panic') the poet fears; Dionysos, god of wine, hints at the setting (a drinking party) and, possibly, at his tipsiness (and vulnerability) right now.

3 *don't get too close!*: the *eromenos* here is perhaps more obliging than he ought to be.

5 *Menexenos*: evidently, the *eromenos* on this occasion. See next note.

I fear you'll slip: adopting the second of the two interpretations proposed by GP (ii. 164). In the first, there would have to be

three parties involved: C. talking to Menexenos about an unnamed *eromenos*.

10

SOURCE 45 Pf., *PA* 12. 149.

1 *Menekrates*: another *eromenos*.

3 *the bird*: the Greek has an ox being yoked to the plough.

4 *Hermes*: the god responsible for a lucky find.

11

SOURCE 25 Pf., *PA* 5. 6.

1 *Kallignotos . . . Ionis*: otherwise unknown; if 'Ionis' alludes to Io (see on lines 3–4), both names would appear to be imaginary.

2 *male or female*: see on *Ep.* 3. 6.

3–4 *the vows | of lovers*: Zeus, caught in the act of being unfaithful to Hera with Io, swore that he had not made love to her. According to a fragment of Hesiod (124 MW), he then made all similar oaths taken by lovers free of sanction.

12

SOURCE 30 Pf., *PA* 12. 71.

1 *Kleonikos of Thessaly*: evidently someone C. met at a symposium. For another foreigner attending a party in Alexandria, see *Ait.* 2. 7–13.

3 *the god I worship*: Eros.

5 *Euxitheos*: another *eromenos*.

You saw him too: a surprising development, perhaps ironical: C., in love with Euxitheos too, is taking it better than Kleonikos is.

13

SOURCE 43 Pf., *PA* 12. 134.

1 *his wound*: see *Ep.* 3. 10.

3 *at the third toast*: the first libation at a symposium was made to Olympian Zeus, the second to the Heroes, and the third to Zeus the Saviour. Perhaps the guest despairs of being 'saved'.

4 *garlands*: customary at symposia.

5 *done to a turn*: in the fire of love. See *Ep.* 11. 5.

Dedicatory Poems

The dedicators appear, for the most part, real (as opposed to imaginary) persons, but the nature of C.'s acquaintance with them remains conjectural.

14

SOURCE 5 Pf., quoted by Athenaeus (7. 318b).

1 *Kypris of Zephyrion*: the deified Arsinoë II Philadelphos. See Introduction, section 5; also *Ia.* 16 and the notes to *Ait.* 4. 17. 55–64.

2 *I am your gift*: as often happens in dedicatory epigrams, the dedicated object itself speaks, addressing, usually, the reader or the passer-by, here the divinity to whom it has been dedicated.

Selenaië: the poem itself tells us that she was the daughter of a certain Kleinias (line 11), that she journeyed from her home in Smyrna (12) to Alexandria, perhaps stopping at Ioulis (7), where the conch here dedicated was found.

3 *a nautilus*: the poem dwells next on the habits of the Argonaut or Paper Nautilus as described by Aristotle in his *History of Animals* (622^b).

3–6 'In between its tentacles it has a certain amount of web-growth . . . thin and like a spider's web. It uses this structure, when a breeze is blowing, for a sail, and lets down two of its feelers alongside as rudder-oars' (Aristotle, loc. cit., translated by D'Arcy Thompson). In actuality, as GP observed, the nautilus propels itself backwards by 'squirting water from its funnel' (ii. 169).

6 *Galenaië*: a Nereid. Her name means 'Calm'.

6–7 *I'm named, | you see, for what I did*: 'nautilus' means 'sailor'.

8 *Ioulis*: the harbour of the town was given the name 'Arsinoë' by Ptolemy II.

11 *Kleinias*: see on line 2.

12 *Smyrna*: modern Izmir, a city in Lydia, on the west coast of Asia Minor, at the head of the Hermaic Gulf. It was refounded, possibly by Arsinoë's first husband, Lysimachos.

15

SOURCE 51 Pf., *PA* 5. 146.

1 *The Graces*: three in number, until now, when a fourth joins them. The poet again (see on *Ait.* 1. 71) identifies the goddesses with their statues, and vice versa. Evidently, the fourth, new statue has been placed in the vicinity of the other three.

2 *has just been cast*: the statue in question is of bronze.

and still breathes of perfumes: see on *Ait.* 1. 69–70.

3 *Berenike*: most likely Berenike II, wife of Ptolemy III. See Introduction, section 5; *Ait.* 3. 1, and 4. 17.

16

SOURCE 55 Pf., *PA* 6. 148.

1 *Kallistion*: the name is formed from the superlative of the adjective *kalos* ('beautiful'). The neuter gender is common in women's names; the diminutive suffix probably expresses affection. All we know about her, her husband Kritias, and her daughter Apellis, is what the epigram tells us.

me: see on *Ep.* 14. 2.

2 *the Canopian god*: most likely Sarapis, who had a temple at Canopus. *Ep.* 17 also records a dedication to Sarapis.

3 *as vowed*: the mother evidently prayed in her daughter's behalf, promising a gift to the god in the event her prayer was answered. The temple of Sarapis at Canopus (see note immediately above) was famed 'for cures effected on those who slept there' (GP ii. 173); perhaps Apellis has recovered from an illness in this way.

17

SOURCE 37 Pf., *PA* 13. 7.

First of the epigrams (in both Pf. and GP) to abandon the elegiac couplet: the metre is iambic dimeter catalectic.

1 *Lyktian Menitas*: evidently, a Cretan mercenary. Cretans were still being employed as archers in foreign armies in the time of Caesar (*Gallic Wars* 2. 7).

3–6 *bow . . . quiver . . . arrows*: the tools of his trade, dedicated to the god upon his retirement.

7 *ask the Hesperitai*: i.e. ask those in whose bodies the arrows will be found. The Hesperitai are either simply 'Westerners' or inhabitants of the town Hesperis (renamed Berenike in honour of Berenike II), modern Benghazi, westernmost of the important cities of Cyrenaica, in North Africa. The battle(s) against the Hesperitai in which Menitas had participated cannot be identified, though it would appear, from the dedication of his weapons to Sarapis, that he fought for Egypt.

18

SOURCE 57 Pf., *PA* 6. 150.

1 *Aischylis stands*: the epigram is phrased as an inscription on the base of the statue or figurine representing the girl.

Inachean Isis: Isis, the Egyptian goddess sometimes appearing as a cow or with a cow's head, was often identified with Io, daughter of Inachos, who fled in the form of a cow from Argos to Egypt.

2 *vowed*: perhaps the dedication commemorates the girl's marriage, for which her mother had prayed to Isis, who was, in part, a marriage goddess. See on *Ep.* 16. 3.

19

SOURCE 39 Pf., *PA* 13. 25.

The metre is a unique combination of iambic dimeter catalectic (as in *Ep.* 17) and archilochean.

1 *Demeter of Thermopylai*: the Amphictyonic Council met twice a year at Thermopylai, with sacrifice to Demeter in the temple there (Strabo 9. 420). Thermopylai, the pass between the Euripos channel and Mt. Callidromus, was the site of the famous battle of 480 BC.

2 *Akrisios*: king of Argos, father of Danaë, grandfather of Perseus, founder, according to Strabo (note immediately above), of the original Amphictyonic Council.

3 *her Daughter*: Persephone, Queen of the Dead.

4 *Timodemos*: evidently a merchant: he comes from Naukratis, and has travelled recently to the Greek mainland (Thermopylai).

Naukratis: a Greek city on the east bank of the Canopic branch of the Nile, founded as a trading station in the seventh century BC and still an important commercial centre in C.'s time.

20

SOURCE 38 Pf., *PA* 13. 24.

The metre is a combination of iambic dimeter catalectic and phalaecean hendecasyllabic. The text of the epigram is too

damaged to allow for certainty as to the tone: sympathetic or scornful?

1 *These gifts to Aphrodite*: evidently, the tools of Simon's trade (prostitution). See on *Ep.* 17. 3–6.

2 *Simon*: the woman's name, in the neuter gender (see on *Ep.* 16. 1), means 'snub-nosed'.

who got around: the same adjective (*periphoitos*) is applied to the 'boy' in *Ep.* 2. 3.

4–5 The text is corrupt from the second half of 4 to the end of 5. To make matters worse, a line is missing between them.

4 *the tympanon*: GP's tentative suggestion for the ending of line 4: the kettledrum, used in the worship of the Great Mother and of Dionysos.

5 *thyrsoi*: Richard Bentley's conjecture: the *thyrsos* (*thyrsoi* in the plural), carried by worshippers of Dionysos, was a wand wreathed in ivy and vine leaves and having a pine cone at the top.

the poor woman: the Greek adjective *talaina* may denote boldness as well as wretchedness.

21

SOURCE 33 Pf., *PA* 6. 347.

1 *Phileratis*: the name is attested only here.

2 *keep her safe*: in childbed? See *H.* 3. 27–35.

22

SOURCE 34 Pf., *PA* 6. 351.

1 *Lion-strangler, Boar-slayer*: Heracles, victorious over the Nemean lion and the Erymanthian boar, two of his famous Twelve Labours.

I, an oak club: see on *Ep.* 14. 2.

2 *'Who?'*: the deity to whom the dedication is being made, impatient, evidently, with the formulaic process, interrupts the dedicator and hastens things along.

Archinos: not likely to be identical with the *eromenos* of *Ep.* 8.

23

SOURCE 53 Pf., *PA* 6. 146.

3 *this offering*: unspecified in the Greek, but the common dedication after successful childbirth would be an article of clothing.

24

SOURCE 54 Pf., *PA* 6. 147.

1 *Asklepios*: son of Apollo and Koronis (see on *Hek.* 207–10), god of medicine.

Akeson: the name (meaning 'Healer') is attested in an inscription from Cyrene.

4 *this tablet*: those who were cured of an illness or injury recorded their cure on a plaque and left it in the god's precinct.

25

SOURCE 56 Pf., *PA* 6. 149.

1 *(I don't know myself)*: C. appears to be playing with the epigraphic convention: the dedicated object (line 3) can speak (see on *Ep.* 14. 2) but its 'knowledge' is limited to the content of the dedication itself.

3 *a victory I won*: cockfighting became popular in Greece after the Persian Wars. C. continues playing with the convention: 'I' must denote the living cock that won the fight, yet it is the bronze cock that speaks, dropping, apparently, the modesty expressed in line 1.

Just so: the inscription is an accurate record.

4 *the son of Phaidros, grandson of Philoxenos*: completing, rather grandly, the identification of the dedicator, Euainetos (line 1). Someone so fully named must be credible!

26

SOURCE 48 Pf., *PA* 6. 310.

1 *Mikkos*: a fairly common name, derived from *mikros* ('small').

me: the dedicated object (see on *Ep.* 14. 2) is a tragic actor's mask.

3 *So I'm set here*: in the schoolroom where Simos performed or read his lessons.

4 *the Samian's*: a reference to 'the Samian Dionysos', a statue of Dionysos, with open mouth, on Samos. Actors' masks were always open-mouthed. See next note.

5 *Tragic Dionysos*: Dionysos as the god of the theatre, and of tragedy in particular. The mask in question would have been

worn by an actor impersonating the god himself. Dionysos appears as a character on stage in Euripides' *Bacchae*.

6 *'The lock is sacred . . .'*: Euripides, *Bacchae* 494.

27

SOURCE 49 Pf., *PA* 6. 311.

1 *me*: the object (see on *Ep.* 14. 2) is a comic mask or facsimile of one, dedicated (perhaps to Dionysos) in commemoration of a victory won in the theatre by the actor who wore it or one like it.

Pamphilos: 'Loved of All' or 'All-loving': typical name of the young man whose love affairs figure in the plot of a comedy. The mask *should* represent that character, but there is evidently a problem (see on 3–4).

2 *a truly comic witness*: one we can believe, 'comic' having the sense 'deriving from a comedy' rather than 'humorous'. But see next note.

3–4 The mask of Pamphilos should be that of a young man pining with love and therefore pale, but the one being dedicated is wrinkled (like a fig) and nearly black (like an oil-burning lamp), more suitable to an old man. 'Truly comic' in the previous line may mean 'humorous' after all.

3 *the victory of Rhodian Agoranax*: actors, like dramatists, competed against each other. The dedication of a mask in particular points to an actor, not a dramatist. 'Agoranax' is a name common on the island of Rhodes.

4 *the lamps of Isis*: carried, perhaps, in rituals of the goddess.

28

SOURCE 47 Pf., *PA* 6. 301.

1 *the gods of Samothrace*: the Kabeiroi, sons or grandsons of Hephaistos, worshipped in mystery rites.

2 *the great storms of his debts*: the metaphorical storms explain the dedicator's gratitude to the Kabeiroi in particular: they protected seafarers.

3 *a sprinkle at a time*: evidently, he economized by limiting what he put on his bread to salt.

4 *who survived on salt*: the intended sense, but in Greek the meaning could also be 'who was saved from the sea'.

Epitaphs

29

SOURCE 21 Pf., *PA* 7. 525.

1 *my*: C.'s father is speaking.

2 *Callimachus of Cyrene*: C., as commonly, was named after his grandfather.

3 *led his country's forces once*: the military career of C.'s grandfather cannot be dated precisely. Cyrene submitted to Alexander the Great in 331 BC and revolted against the rule of Ptolemy I in 313.

4 *beyond the reach of envy*: see on *Ait.* 1. 24.

30

SOURCE 35 Pf., *PA* 7. 415.

1 *Battiades*: C.'s pseudonym, taken literally as 'son of Battos' in later times but more likely to mean 'descendant of Battos' and to indicate connection with the royal family of Cyrene (in power down to the reign of Arkesilas IV, which ended *c.*440 BC). The use of a pseudonym in line 1 and the boasts in 2 point to a sympotic context. C. may have been challenged, at a party, to toss off an epitaph for himself.

31

SOURCE 13 Pf., *PA* 7. 524.

1 *Tell me, is Charidas buried here?*: apparently the passer-by, having read the name of the deceased on the tombstone, finds it hard to believe that Charidas is dead.

1–2 *the son | of Arimmas of Cyrene*: the name of Charidas' father and his father's home town probably indicate that both are real people, but nothing is known of them beyond what we read here.

3 *return*: a reference to reincarnation, a doctrine or belief as opposed to 'a myth' (line 4).

4 *Pluto*: Hades, consort of Persephone, Goddess of the Dead.

6 *beef 's a penny a pound*: see on *Ia.* 1. 3.

32

SOURCE 20 Pf., *PA* 7. 517.

Magistrates with the names Melanippos (line 1) and Aristippos (5) appear on coins of Cyrene (5).

2 *Basilo*: the sister's name may be a shortened form of a compound (e.g. 'Basilodika'), aristocratic (*basil-* means 'king') like that of her father and brother.

5–6 *all Cyrene plunged | in grief*: the family was evidently prominent.

33

SOURCE 10 Pf., *PA* 7. 520.

1 *Timarchos*: possibly the philosopher mentioned in Diogenes Laertius 6. 95, a pupil of Cleomenes living in Alexandria.

2 *about the soul*: a typical philosophical subject, whence the assumption that Timarchos was a philosopher. One could have asked him about the soul when he was alive; he would answer the question now as one speaking *from experience*.

or how you will exist again: see on *Ep.* 31. 3.

3–4 *the deme | Ptolemaïs*: in Alexandria.

4 *you will find him among the blest*: compare *Ep.* 31. 3–4.

34

SOURCE 2 Pf., *PA* 7. 80.

2 *Herakleitos*: not to be confused with the philosopher of the same name.

4 *Halikarnesos*: a Greek city on the coast of Caria, north of Cos, home, also, of the historian Herodotus.

6 *Nightingales*: possibly the title of a collection of poems by Herakleitos. Only one of his poems survives, an epitaph for a woman from Knidos in *PA* 7. 465.

35

SOURCE 11 Pf., *PA* 7. 447.

1 *The visitor*: there is a hint of pathos (he never returned).

2 *Theris son of Aristaios, of Crete*: apart from the fact that he died away from home (line 1), this is all we know of him.

is all I've room for: the tombstone itself (not, as usually, the person whose grave it marks) is speaking. It is evidently too small to accommodate a copious epitaph.

36

SOURCE 22 Pf., *PA* 7. 518.

1 *A nymph has seized*: i.e. translated to another life.

the goatherd Astakides of Crete: otherwise unknown. Seizure by a nymph, however, suggests that he was handsome.

3 *Daphnis*: known as the inventor of pastoral poetry. Astakides was either a greater poet than Daphnis, or a more inspiring theme (i.e. handsomer: see on line 1), or both.

37

SOURCE 16 Pf., *PA* 7. 459.

1 *daughters of the Samians*: immigrants from Samos, perhaps, living and working (line 3) in Alexandria.

2 *Krethis*: known only here.

3 *on the job*: the Greek (*synerithon*) may, but need not necessarily, refer to wool (*erithos*) working.

38

SOURCE 18 Pf., *PA* 7. 272.

1 *Naxian Lykos*: beyond his origin in Naxos and his involvement in maritime commerce (line 3), nothing is known of him.

3 *Aigina*: an island in the Saronic Gulf, off the coast of Attica, south of Salamis.

6 *the Kids*: stars in the constellation Auriga. Their setting in early December marked the onset of the stormy season.

39

SOURCE 60 Pf., *PA* 7. 523.

2 *the child of Hippaios*: the Greek here (*pais*) may mean 'son' as well as 'child'. If it means 'child', the epitaph would seem to have been commissioned by the bereaved father, and the situation would elicit pathos in the reader. This seems to me more likely than the other possible interpretation, that having been the son of Hippaios is the most that can be said for Kimon.

40

SOURCE 15 Pf., *PA* 7. 522.

1–2 Compare *Ep.* 12. 1–2.

1 *Timonoë?*: the name is unattested elsewhere.

By the gods, I wouldn't have known you: the poem voices the thoughts of a person ('I') reading an epitaph, the details of the epitaph emerging one by one, beginning with the name of the deceased ('Timonoë').

2 *Timotheus*: the father, unlike the daughter, has an extremely common name.

3 *Methymna*: a city on the north coast of Lesbos.

41

SOURCE 9 Pf., *PA* 7. 451.

1 *Akanthos*: a number of towns bore this name, the best known of them located on the easternmost prong of the triple peninsula of Chalkidike, which juts into the Aegean from Macedonia.

42

SOURCE 61 Pf., *PA* 7. 725.

1 *Ainos*: a Thracian town. Thracians were known as heavy drinkers (see *Ait.* 2. 13–15).

3 *the Centaur*: 'wine destroyed the Centaur too' (*Odyssey* 21. 295) became a proverb. It refers to Eurytion, one of the Centaurs (monstrous creatures, half human, half horse) invited to the wedding of Peirithoös and Hippodameia. Crazed with wine, the Centaurs attempted to rape the bride and the other women present. They were defeated in a brawl with their hosts, the Lapithai. According to Homer (ibid. 295–304), the drunken Eurytion was not only beaten but also mutilated.

43

SOURCE 12 Pf., *PA* 7. 521.

1 *If you come to Kyzikos*: the epitaph speaks to the passer-by, bidding him or her to carry news of the death it records to the parents of the deceased.

44

SOURCE 14 Pf., *PA* 7. 519.

3 *your father Diophon*: absence of a husband's name suggests that Charmis died young.

45

SOURCE 17 Pf., *PA* 7. 271.

1 *We*: indefinite, referring either to the dead man's relatives and friends or to the general public. See on line 4.

3–4 See *Ep.* 38.

4 *we pass*: suggests that the cenotaph stands on the roadside, where it is read by passing travellers, most of whom would be unacquainted with the deceased.

46

SOURCE 19 Pf., *PA* 7. 453.

See the 'Note on Translating Callimachus' (p. li).

1 *here*: in the tomb.

47

SOURCE 26 Pf., *PA* 7. 460.

3 *Mikylos*: the name is derived from *mikros* ('small'). Unaccompanied by patronymic or place of origin, it appears to be fictitious.

4 *and the others*: euphemistic, referring to the gods of the underworld.

may come down heavily: the usual prayer would be that Earth rest lightly on the deceased.

48

SOURCE 40 Pf., *PA* 7. 728.

The metre is an archilochean followed by a phalaecean hendecasyllable.

1 *the Kabeiroi*: see on *Ep.* 28. 1–2.

2 *Dindymene*: Cybele, the Great Mother goddess, called Dindymene, probably, from Dindymon in the Troad, where she was worshipped.

3 *I was . . .*: there is room for about six syllables at the end of this damaged line, which is unlikely to have given the name of the deceased. According to GP, that 'may have stood above the epitaph' (ii. 201), presumably together with her husband's name.

49

SOURCE 50 Pf., *PA* 7. 458.

1 *Mikkos*: see on *Ep.* 26. 1.

Phrygian Aischre: the mention of her ethnic indicates that she was a slave.

3 *he puts her here, for posterity to see*: evidently, Mikkos has equipped the tomb with a picture of Aischre, most likely a sculptural relief.

50

SOURCE 58 Pf., *PA* 7. 277.

1 *Who were you, shipwrecked traveller?*: a double reversal: of the usual situation in epitaphs, where the deceased speaks to the passer-by, revealing who he or she had been in life (e.g. *Ep.* 29, 30, 39); and of the usual situation for those who died at sea, where the name is available but the body is not (*Ep.* 38, 45).

51

SOURCE 4 Pf., *PA* 7. 317.

1 *Timon*: of Athens, the famous misanthrope. He lived, according to Plutarch (*Life of Antony* 70), in the late fifth century BC, and was often the butt of jokes by Aristophanes and other comic poets.

2 *more of you*: the dead (referred to euphemistically in Greek as *hoi pleiones*, 'the more', 'the majority') outnumber the living.

52

SOURCE 3 Pf., *PA* 7. 318 (*PA* 313–20 are all epigrams purporting to be epitaphs of Timon, of which 317 and 318 are ascribed to C.).

1 *never mind 'Farewell'*: usually, it is the dead person who says 'farewell' to the living one who has paused to read the epitaph. Here Timon, in another double reversal of funerary conventions (see on *Ep.* 50. 1), not only does not want the passer-by to approach his tomb (line 2) and read his epitaph, but also does not want to hear 'farewell' addressed *to himself*.

53

SOURCE 23 Pf., *PA* 7. 471.

1 *Kleombrotos of Ambrakia*: the story of his suicide was often told, and C.'s epigram frequently quoted. He cannot be identified more precisely than he is here. Ambrakia, his home town, was in southern Epirus.

4 *one book of Plato's*: evidently *Phaedo*.

Display Pieces

54

SOURCE 1 Pf., *PA* 7. 89.

1 *Atarneus*: a town on the coast of Asia Minor, due east of Mytilene (line 2).

Pittakos: statesman and lawgiver, one of the Seven Wise Men (see the *Diegesis* to *Ia.* 1), who lived *c.*650–570 BC.

2 *Mytilene*: a city on the east coast of Lesbos, home, also, of the poets Sappho and Alcaeus.

7 *his old man's stick*: old men are often depicted walking with the aid of a cane or stick.

16 *Dion*: a common name.

55

SOURCE 6 Pf., Strabo 14. 638.

1 *I am the work*: the epigram is framed as an 'address to the reader' of an ancient poem which speaks for itself (see on *Ep.* 14. 2).

the Samian: Kreophylos. See on line 4.

2 *the divine bard*: Homer.

2–3 *My subject is Eurytos . . . and blond Ioleia*: Eurytos, king of Oichalia, offered his daughter Ioleia as prize to anyone who could defeat him in archery. His refusal, when defeated by Heracles, to give up Ioleia led to his own death and to the destruction of his city. All this formed the subject of the poem presenting itself to the reader. See next note.

3 *I am ascribed to Homer*: according to *Suidas*, Homer, in return for the hospitality shown to him by Kreophylos (1–2), gave him a copy of his poem, *The Sack of Oichalia* (Testimonia and fragments in Davies, pp. 149–53).

4 *Kreophylos*: an early epic poet from Samos, whose date, closer to 700 than to 600 BC, is uncertain.

For more on this epigram, see Introduction, section 2.

56

SOURCE 27 Pf., *PA* 9. 507.

1 *Hesiod's in theme and style*: didactic and epic, like Hesiod's *Works and Days*.

2 *Soloi*: a city on the coast of Cilicia, north of the island of Cyprus. Aratus is the poet meant (see end of next note).

4 *delicate discourses*: the noun *resies*, elsewhere always applied to speaking, never to singing, is an odd way of referring to a 'song' (line 1). Cameron (p. 322) detected a pun on Aratus' name, deliberately misspelled (with an 'e' instead of an 'a') in the epigram to give *resies Aretou*: 'utterances of the inutterable').

token of Aratus' vigilance: another double entendre: literally, the vigilance is that of Aratus the stargazer, who kept awake at night studying the heavens, the subject-matter of the poem C. has in mind here (the *Phenomena*); figuratively, it is that of the poet, who never nodded in maintaining the high calibre of his art. Aratus (*c.*315–240 BC) lived for a time at the court of Antigonus Gonatas in Pella, capital of Macedonia, and also at the court of Antiochus in Syria. In addition to writing poetry of his own, he edited the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

57

SOURCE 7 Pf., *PA* 9. 565.

1 *Theaitetos*: a poet, possibly a friend of C.'s. Six of his epigrams survive (GP i. 182–3).

has gone his own way: avoiding, as C. himself, the paths trodden by others (see *Ep.* 2. 1–2; *Ait.* 1. 33–6).

1–2 *Bacchos . . . your ivy crowns*: evidently, Theaitetos has failed to win a poetry contest, not necessarily in drama (see on *Ep.* 26. 5), as all the contests in Alexandria were held under the auspices of Bacchos (Dionysos).

58

SOURCE 8 Pf., *PA* 9. 566.

1 *Dionysos*: see on *Ep.* 57. 1–2.

2 *'I win'*: presumably in a poetry contest.

59

SOURCE 59 Pf., *PA* 11. 362.

1 *Mad in other ways*: Orestes, pursued and driven to distraction by the avenging spirits of his mother's blood, became the prototype of the madman.

2 *Leukaros*: the name is attested elsewhere, but to whom it refers here is unknown.

3 *his Phokian sidekick*: Pylades, son of Strophios of Phokis, always at Orestes' side, the model faithful friend.

6 *I did*: according to *Suidas* (see Introduction above, section 2 and n. 16), C. wrote 'satyr dramas, tragedies, comedies'.

and I no longer have Pyladeses to spare: often interpreted to mean that the sure way to lose your friends (see on line 3) is to compete against them in dramatic contests. But as there is no reference to winning and losing but only to producing, and as there can be no hint of 'competition' between Orestes and Pylades, I suspect that C. is playfully putting himself down: whereas Pylades bore with his friend's madness, C.'s friends cannot bear with his!

60

SOURCE 24 Pf., *PA* 9. 336.

An unusual epigram, in which the dedicated object finds fault with the dedicator. See on *Ep.* 50 and 52.

1 *A hero billeted*: and therefore not able to determine the conditions of his stay to his own liking. See on lines 2–3, 4.

Aëtion: a common name.

Amphipolis: a city in southern Thrace, not far from where the river Strymon empties into the Aegean.

2 *I am*: the statue or relief of the hero is speaking (see on *Ep.* 14. 2).

2–3 *armed | with a sword only*: as a hero (line 1), he ought to have a spear.

and a coiled snake: the snake is a common feature in reliefs of heroes (both have chthonic associations, the hero being a powerful ghost).

4 *on foot*: the final insult: a hero ought to be mounted on horseback.

61

SOURCE 62 Pf., *PA* 6. 121.

1 *Kynthos*: a mountain on the island of Delos.

2 *Echemmas*: another Cretan archer, a hunter rather than a soldier (see on *Ep.* 17. 1).

the vast mountain: overstatement: Kynthos is more a hill than a mountain (elevation 387 feet (118 m.)).

3 *at Artemis' side*: the goddess of hunting receives the hunter's offering.

4 *a truce*: between the hunter and the hunted.

[62]

SOURCE 36 Pf., *PA* 7. 454.

Attributed in *PA* to C. not by name but with the phrase 'by the same' (author who wrote *PA* 7. 453 = *Ep.* 46), which Pfeiffer took for an erroneous guess. Pfeiffer faulted the poem for metrical reasons and GP (ii. 214) for an instance of incorrect usage in the second line. The epigram is unlikely to be C.'s.

2 *Erasixenos*: nothing further is known about him. The first element of his name (*Erasi-*, 'lover') and the fact that he took his last two drinks neat (see on *Ep.* 5. 2 and 8. 3) may hint at the context.

[63]

SOURCE 63 Pf., *PA* 5. 23.

In the *Planudean Anthology*, this epigram is ascribed to Rufinus, in *PA* it occurs in a series of epigrams the first of which is ascribed to Rufinus and all the others, with the exception of this one, to 'the same' (i.e. Rufinus). Pfeiffer objected to the repetitions as unworthy of C. GP have 'no confidence' in the epigram's Callimachean authorship (ii. 215).

1 *Konopion*: 'a characteristic type of name or nickname for a hetaera' (GP ii. 215). It means 'gnat'.

2 *on this chilly porch*: the epigram is a 'paraclausithyron' or 'song by the door', the complaint of the *exclusus amator* or lover locked out.

Annotated Index of Names

Most of the following names are only briefly identified here. For further information, see the notes to the passages cited or, in the case of the fragmentary works, either the notes to the passages cited or the remarks accompanying their occurrence in the text of the translation, or both. Where more than one citation is given, an asterisk (*) designates the one most fully explained in the notes or accompanying remarks. Names with 'q.v.' after the citation are identified by C. himself.

Some names that do not actually occur in the text of the translation (e.g. 'Hippocrene', 'Rhodes') are included here because C. alludes to them or because they occur elsewhere. Persons named in the *Epigrams* are identified, where appropriate, by their conventional roles only; for more on them, see the notes to the epigram in question. Citations are given for all but names that occur with great frequency throughout the text (e.g. Apollo, Zeus).

Abantes, Abantian, a people inhabiting Euboia: *H.* 4.32*, 4. 435

Abderos, founder of Abdera, city of Thrace: *Ait.* 4. 2. 1

Achaia, the north-western portion of the Peloponnesos, north of Arcadia and west of Argolis: *H.* 4. 144, 5. 16

Achaian, one of Homer's names for the Greeks who sailed against Troy: *H.* 3. 317

Acheloios, Aitolian river: *H.* 6. 20

Acheron, river of the underworld: *Ia.* 1. 24

Achilles, son of Thetis, hero of the Trojan War: *H.* 2. 25

Admetos, son of Pheres, Thessalian king loved by Apollo: *H.* 2. 56

Adonis, handsome youth, loved by Aphrodite: *Ia.* 3. 38

Adresteia, Cretan nurse of Zeus: *H.* 1. 61

Aegean, the sea between Greece and Asia Minor: *H.* 4. 79, 481

Aesop, legendary author of animal fables: *Ia.* 2. 16

Aëtion, dedicator: *Ep.* 60. 1

Agamemnon, son of Atreus (*H.* 3. 367*), leader of the Greeks in the Trojan War: *H.* 3. 315; *Ia.* 10b. 5

Agoranax, dedicator: *Ep.* 27. 3

Aidepsos, town in northern Euboia: *Hek.* 13

Aietes, son of Helios, father of Medea: *Ait.* 1. 81

Aigaion, Poseidon: *Ait.* 3. 1. 112

Aigaleos, a range of hills in Attica: *Hek.* 28

Aigeus, son of Pandion, great-grandson of Erechtheus, king of Athens, father of Theseus: *Hek.* 6, 138

Aigialos, the neighbourhood of Sikyon, on the south-eastern shore of the Corinthian Gulf: *H.* 4. 107

Aigina, an island off the Attic coast, south of Salamis: *Ep.* 38. 3

Aigletes, epithet of Apollo: *Ait.* 1. 77

Ainians, of Ainos: *Ia.* 7. 2

Ainos, a town in Thrace, at the mouth of the river Hebrus: *Ep.* 42. 1

Aischre, deceased: *Ep.* 49. 1

Aischylis, daughter of dedicatrix: *Ep.* 18. 1

Aison, father of Jason: *Ait.* 1. 114, q.v.

Aithra, mother of Theseus: *Hek.* 152

Aitna, a famous volcano near the north-east coast of Sicily: *H.* 3. 76, 4. 204

Akaios, founder of Poiessa: *Ait.* 3. 5. 136, q.v.

Akakesios, epithet of Hermes: *H.* 3. 194

Akanthos, town in Chalkidike: *Ep.* 41. 1

Dorians (*cont.*)
Sparta, Elis, Argos, Corinth, and other sites on the Peloponnesos; also on Crete and Thera: *H.* 2.105, 4. 260; *Ia.* 4.28
Dotion, plain in eastern Thessaly: *H.* 6. 34

Earth, *Gaia*, consort of Uranos (Heaven), first of beings to emerge from Chaos, mother of gods and men and all living creatures: *Hek.* 159; *H.* 1. 36; *Ia.* 4. 68; *Ep.* 47. 2
Echemmas, dedicator: *Ep.* 61. 2
Echinades, islands in the Corinthian Gulf, at the mouth of the river Acheloios: *H.* 4. 224
Echo, echo, personified: *Ep.* 2. 6
Eileithyia, 'the Releaser', goddess who delivers women from the pangs of childbirth: *H.* 4. 192, 386, 6. 183; *Ait.* 1. 66; *Ep.* 23. 1
Eirene, dedicatrix: *Ep.* 18. 2
Eleusis, a small town in Attica, west of Athens. Here Demeter, reunited with her daughter, established the Eleusinian Mysteries, her most famous cult: *H.* 6. 41
Elis, a plain in the north-western Peloponnesos, site of Olympia: *Ia.* 6. 1; *Ait.* 3. 6. 3; *Ep.* 39. 1
Ellopië, northern Euboia: *H.* 4. 32
Enkelados, Giant, pinned beneath Sicily: *Ait.* 1. 46
Enna, a city in central Sicily, where Demeter was worshipped: *H.* 6. 41; *Ia.* 16. 25
Enyo, goddess of war: *H.* 2. 101, 4. 416
Ephesos, an Ionian city on the west coast of Asia Minor, at the mouth of the river Kaÿster: *H.* 3. 331, 360; *Ia.* 13. 5, 54; *Ait.* 4. 11. 1
Ephyra, ancient name of Corinth: *H.* 4. 63; site of the Isthmian Games: *VS* 3
Epikydes, addressee: *Ep.* 1. 3
Epirus, north-west Greece, bounded by the Pindos mountain range in the east and the Gulf of Ambrakia in the south
Erasixenos, deceased: *Ep.* 62. 2
Erechtheus, son of Earth, mythical king of Athens: *Hek.* 1
Erigone, daughter of Ikarios: *Ait.* 2. 5
Eros, desire; personified, god of desire: *Ait.* 3. 5. 1; *Ep.* 3. 7
Erymanthos, Arcadian river: *H.* 1. 24
Erysichthon, son of Triopas, guilty of sacrilege against Demeter, who inflicts insatiable hunger upon him: *H.* 6. *passim*
Eryx, city in north-western Sicily, sacred to Aphrodite: *Ait.* 2. 68
Etruscans, indigenous people of pre-Roman Italy: *Ait.* 4. 7. 2
Euainetos, dedicator: *Ep.* 25. 1
Euboia, a long island, extending from the Gulf of Pagasai in the north almost to the tip of the island of Andros in the south, separated from the eastern coast of Greece by the strait of the Euripos: *H.* 4. 293. Also a town in Sicily: *Ait.* 2. 68
Eudemos, unidentified, with a dog's voice: *Ia.* 2. 10. Also, dedicator: *Ep.* 28. 1
Eueres, son of Udaios, one of the 'Sown Men' (*Spartoi*) who sprang from the earth when Kadmos sowed the dragon's teeth: *H.* 5. 99, 131
Eumedes, priest of Athena in Argos: *H.* 5. 45
Euphorbos, Homeric figure, reincarnated as Pythagoras: *Ia.* 1. 50
Eupylos, founder of Ioulis: *Ait.* 3. 5. 133, q.v.
Euripos, the strait between Euboia and northern Boiotia: *H.* 3. 258, 4. 67
Europa, daughter of Agenor, sister of Kadmos, carried off by Zeus in the form of a bull: *Ait.* 2. 64
Eurotas, a river at Sparta: *Hek.* 80; *H.* 5. 30
Eurynome, daughter of Ocean and Tethys: *Ait.* 1. 65; mother of the Graces: *VS* 46
Eurypylos, mythical king in Libya before the arrival of Cyrene: *H.* 2. 111
Eurytos, mythical king of Oichalia, located, perhaps, in Euboia; slain by Heracles: *Ep.* 55. 2
Euthydemos, *eromenos* whose mother sells his favours: *Ia.* 3. 24
Euthykles, victor in pentathlon at Olympia: *Ait.* 3. 10. 1

Euthymenes, husband of deceased: *Ep.* 40. 3
Euthymos, victor in boxing at Olympia: *Ait.* 4. 8. 1
Euxantios, ancestor of Akontios: *Ait.* 3. 5. 9
Euxitheos, *eromenos*: *Ep.* 12. 5

Fate(s), the three Moirai: for each individual born into the world, Klotho spun the thread of life, Lachesis measured it, Atropos cut it: *H.* 3. 30, 4. 241, 5. 128

Galatian, Gallic: *H.* 4. 266–72
Galenaië, a Nereid (daughter of the sea divinities Nereus and Doris): *Ep.* 14. 6
Ganymede, son of Tros, abducted by Zeus: *Ep.* 6. 3
Gelas, river in southern Sicily: *Ait.* 2. 60–1
Geraistos, promontory in southern Euboia: *H.* 4. 296
Giants, Earth, angered by the defeat of the Titans, bore the Giants to avenge them. The gigantomachy or battle of gods and Giants was won by the gods: *H.* 5. 9; *Ait.* 2. 127
Glaukos, son of Hippolochos, a Lykian warrior, ally of the Trojans: *Ait.* 1. 201; *Ep.* 26. 2. The famous conversation between him and Diomedes (*Iliad* 6. 119–231) concludes with the two warriors exchanging gifts of unequal value, Glaukos receiving bronze armour in return for gold (232–6)
Gortynian, from Gortyn, a city in south-central Crete: *H.* 3. 260
Graces, Euphrosyne, Thalia, Aglaia, often associated with the Muses and with Aphrodite: *Ait.* 2. 147; *Ep.* 7. 1, 15. 1. On their parentage, see *Ait.* 1, connecting text between lines 64 and 65 of the translation

Hades, son of Kronos and Rhea, lord of the underworld, god of death and, often, equivalent to death itself: *H.* 4. 416; *Ep.* 31. 6; also, the abode of the dead: *H.* 1. 81; *Ep.* 33. 1
Hagesilas, epithet of Hades: *H.* 5. 161
Haimonia, another name for Thessaly.
Iolkos, home of Jason and starting point for the voyage of the *Argo*, was located there: *Hek.* 77; *Ait.* 1. 80
Haimos, name of a river and a mountain in northern Thrace, west of the Black Sea, south of the Danube: *H.* 3. 154, 4. 91
Haliartos, a city in northern Boiotia, east of Thebes, on the shores of Lake Kopaïs below Mt. Helikon; site of a sanctuary of Athena: *H.* 5. 75; *Ait.* 2.110
Halikarnesos, a Greek city on the coast of Caria: *Ep.* 34. 4
Harmonia, daughter of Ares and Aphrodite, wife of Kadmos: *Ait.* 1. 93
Harpasos, a bird of prey: *Ait.* 2. 79
Hekaërge, one of the three Hyperborean maidens: *H.* 4. 441
Hekale, the heroine of C.'s poem of the same name: *Hek.* 187 and *passim*
Hekaleia, festival in honour of Hekale: *Hek.* 230
Hekate, underworld goddess: *Ia.* 1. 15
Helen, daughter of Zeus and Leda, wife of Menelaos, full sister of Polydeukes, half-sister of Kastor. Her elopement with the Trojan prince Paris precipitated the Trojan War: *H.* 3. 318; *Ait.* 3. 1. 6
Helike, Achaian city, inhospitable to Leto: *H.* 4. 145
Helikon, a famous mountain in western Boiotia, haunted by the Muses: *H.* 4. 119, 5. 87, 112
Helios, son of Hyperion and Theia, god of the sun: *H.* 3. 247, 4. 249; *Ait.* 1. 88
Hephaistos, son of Zeus and Hera, god of the forge, craftsman to the gods
Hera, daughter of Kronos and Rhea, sister and wife of Zeus. See also 'Samian'
Heracles, son of Zeus and Alkmene, greatest of the Greek heroes. See also Alkeides, Tiryns
Herakleitos, addressee, deceased: *Ep.* 34. 2
Hermes, son of Zeus and Maia, born on Mt. Kyllene in Arcadia, messenger of the gods: *H.* 3.94; *Ia.* 7. 1, 9. 1; *Ep.* 10. 4. See also Akakesios
Hesiod, Boiotian poet, author of the *Theogony*, the *Works and Days*, and other poems in dactylic hexameters; lived,

Kokalos, king of Kamikos (in south-western Sicily, near the river Halycus): *Ait.* 2. 63
Kolonai, an Attic deme, west of Marathon: *Hek.* 108
Konopion, addressee: *Ep.* 63. 1
Koresia, a town on Keos: *Ait.* 3. 5. 138
Koroneia, a town in north-central Boiotia: *H.* 5. 77
Koronis, daughter of Phlegyas, unfaithful to Apollo: *Hek.* 208
Korykian, of Korykos, a city on the coast of Cilicia north of Cyprus: *Ia.* 1.72. Also, of a cave on Mt. Parnassos: *Ait.* 3. 5. 111
Kouralios, a stream flowing by Koroneia: *H.* 5. 78
Kouretes, young warriors of Crete: *H.* 1. 68
Krannon, a town in northern Thessaly, between the Peneios and Enipeus rivers: *H.* 4. 200, 6. 106
Krannonian, of Krannon: *Ait.* 3. 3. 21
Krataimenes, leader of colonists from Chalkis to Zankle: *Ait.* 2.75
Krathis, Arcadian river: *H.* 1. 33
Kreian mountain, unidentified, presumably in the vicinity of Argos: *H.* 5. 49
Kreophylos, epic poet from Samos: *Ep.* 55. 4
Krethis, Samian girl, deceased: *Ep.* 37. 2
Krisaian, of Krisa, a town on the coastal plain below Delphi: *H.* 4. 262
Kritias, husband of dedicatrix: *Ep.* 16. 1. Also, father of deceased: *Ep.* 43. 4
Kromnites, the southern port of Corinth: *VS* 12
Kronos, son of Uranos and Gaia: *H.* 1.70; *Ait.* 2. 89–92*; *Ia.* 2. 4; consort of Rhea, who bears him the first generation of the Olympian gods: see note on *H.* 1. 76; father of Cheiron: *H.* 4. 169–70
Kume, Greek city in Italy, near Naples: *Ait.* 2. 74
Kydippe, Naxian girl, loved by Akontios: *Ait.* 3. 5, *passim*
Kydonian, from Kydonia, a town in the north-west corner of Crete; sometimes equivalent to Cretan: *H.* 1. 57, 3. 110, 269
Kyklopes, Arges, Brontes, and Steropes, the three sons of Uranos and Gaia (Hesiod, *Theogony* 139–41), one-eyed giants who, in gratitude for their release, gave Zeus his thunder and lightning (ibid. 501–6). Apollo slew them because they had supplied Zeus with the thunderbolts he used to kill Asklepios: *H.* 3. 11, 62, 91, 109, 114. Not to be confused with the savage solitary one-eyed giants of whom Polyphemos (*Ep.* 3. 1–2), encountered by Odysseus, was one
Kyllene, a mountain in eastern Arcadia, birthplace of Hermes: *H.* 4. 408
Kynthian, from or of Kynthos: *H.* 2. 70, 4. 15
Kynthos, a mountain or hill on Delos: *Ep.* 61. 1
Kypris, 'the Cyprian', Aphrodite, named for Cyprus, where she first arrived after coming to birth in the sea: *H.* 4. 33, 465; *Ait.* 4. 17. 55–64; *Ep.* 14. 1
Kyrbantes, Corybants, ecstatic devotees of Cybele: *H.* 1. 59
Kyrnos, Corsica: *H.* 4. 29
Kytaian, of Kyta (= Aia), in Colchis, on the eastern shore of the Black Sea: *Ait.* 1. 81
Kyzikos, an important Greek commercial city on the Arktonnesos peninsula in the southern Propontis (Sea of Marmara), between the Black Sea and the Hellespont: *Ait.* 4. 16; *Ep.* 43. 1

Labdakidai, descendants of Labdakos, founder of the Theban royal line: *H.* 5. 156
Ladon, Arcadian river: *H.* 1. 23
Lagos, father of Ptolemy I: *VS* 42
Lakedaimon, Sparta (on which see below): *H.* 5. 29
Laomedon, Trojan king, father of Priam and Tithonos: *Ait.* 1. 128
Lapithes, son of Apollo, ancestor of Branchos: *Ia.* 17. 12
Larisa, city in north-eastern Thessaly, on the river Peneios: *H.* 4. 149
Learchos, son of Ino, killed by his father: *VS* 22, and note on *Ait.* 4. 3. 1*

Lechaion, the northern harbour of Corinth: *H.* 4. 407; *VS* 13
Lelantine plain, in the middle of Euboia: *H.* 4. 434
Leleges, immigrants to Keos from Asia Minor: *Ait.* 3. 5. 117
Lemnos, an island in the north-east Aegean, due west of Troy: *Ia.* 14. 1, 16. 25
Leontichos, sailor who buries anonymous sailor: *Ep.* 50. 1
Leontinoi, a city in Sicily, north of Syracuse: *Ait.* 2. 65
Leoprepes, father of the poet Simonides of Keos: *Ait.* 3. 3. 12, q.v.
Lepreion, a town in Elis: *H.* 1. 49
Lesbos, a large island in the eastern Aegean, just south of the Troad
Leto, daughter of Koios, mother, by Zeus, of Apollo and Artemis: *H.* 3. 61, 100, 112, 188; 4, *passim*
Leukaros, addressee: *Ep.* 59. 2
Leukas, an island, site of a temple of Artemis: *Ait.* 1. 195
Libya, region of North Africa west of Egypt, where Cyrene, birthplace of C., is located: *H.* 2. 78; *Ia.* 16. 36
Limnai, a town, site of a temple of Artemis: *H.* 3. 234
Lindos, one of the three chief cities on the island of Rhodes: *Ait.* 1. 75, 151, 2. 62, 4. 9. 6
Lipara, an island north of Sicily: *H.* 3. 63. Also, a city on the largest of the Lipari islands, just north of Sicily: *Ait.* 4. 4
Lokroi, a Greek colony located on the south-eastern end of the Italian peninsula: *Ait.* 3. 10. 11
Lousa, a town in Arcadia: *H.* 3. 325
Loxo, one of the three Hyperborean maidens: *H.* 4. 441
Lycean Apollo, Apollo as god of the Lyceum: *Hek.* 173
Lydians, of Lydia, in western Asia Minor, north of Caria: *Ia.* 4. 4
Lygdamis, leader of the Kimmerians who invaded Asia Minor in the seventh century BC and sacked the famous temple of Artemis at Ephesos: *H.* 3. 349; *Ait.* 3. 5. 66
Lykaian, of Mt. Lykaion, in Arcadia: *H.* 1. 5
Lykainis, dedicatrix: *Ep.* 23. 1
Lykaonian, of Lykaon, father of Callisto: *H.* 1. 52
Lykia, in south-west Asian Minor: *H.* 4. 461
Lykian Apollo, Apollo, god of Lykia, or the wolf (*lykos*) god: *Ait.* 1. 30–1
Lykoreian, of or from Lykoreia, on Mt. Parnassos: *H.* 2. 24
Lykos, deceased: *Ep.* 38. 1
Lyktian, from Lyktos, a village in northern Crete, inland, east of Knossos: *H.* 2. 40; *Ep.* 17. 1
Lysaniës, *eromenos*: *Ep.* 2. 5

Mainalian, of Mainalos: *H.* 3. 120
Mainalos, a mountain in Arcadia: *H.* 3. 307
Maionian, Lydian: *H.* 4. 378
Maira, Sirius, the Dog Star: *Ait.* 3. 5. 82
Makelo, wife of Demonax: *Ait.* 3. 5. 128
Makridian, referring to Euboia: *H.* 4. 32
Malea, south-eastern tip of the Peloponnesos: *Hek.* 82
Malis, region opposite northern Eubia: *H.* 4. 433
Marathon, coastal plain, about 26 miles (42 km.) north of Athens, site of the battle in which the Athenians defeated the Persians in 490 BC: *Hek.* 55, 141
Massagetai, people living east of the Caspian Sea: *Ait.* 1. 21
Mede, the Medes, who lived south-west of the Caspian Sea, were conquered by Cyrus the Great and incorporated into the Persian empire. In Greek literature, 'Mede' often means 'Persian': *Ait.* 1. 21–2, 4. 17. 45–50
Medea, Daughter of Aietes; Colchian princess and witch who falls in love with Jason and flees with him aboard the *Argo*
Megakles, builder of Karthaia: *Ait.* 3. 5. 132, q.v.
Megarians, colonists of Sicily, from Nisaia, near Megara: *Ait.* 2. 66
Mekone, ancient Sikyon, west of Corinth: *Ait.* 2. 123

Melanippos, deceased: *Ep.* 32. 1
Melanteian rocks, around Thera: *Ait.* 1. 125
Melas, Arcadian river: *H.* 1. 30
Melië, 'Ash Tree'. The name may designate any particular ash-tree nymph: *H.* 4. 115; *Ait.* 3. 5. 120
Meligounis, ancient name of Lipara: *H.* 3. 63–4, q.v.
Melikertes, son of Athamas and Ino: *Ait.* 4. 3. 1
Memnon, son of the Dawn: *Ait.* 4. 17. 50–5
Menekrates, *eromenos*: *Ep.* 10. 1. Also, deceased: *Ep.* 42. 1
Menexenos, *eromenos*: *Ep.* 9. 5
Menippos, *eromenos*: *Ep.* 7. 1
Menitas, dedicator: *Ep.* 17. 1
Merisos, a mountain in Thrace: *Hek.* 35
Meropian, referring to Merops, mythical king of Cos: *H.* 4. 233
Methymna, a city on Lesbos: *Ep.* 40. 3
Methymnaios, Dionysos: *Ait.* 1. 209
Metope, Arcadian river: *H.* 1. 33
Midas Kelainites, Midas of Kelainai, in Phrygia: *Ait.* 3. 5. 99
Mikkos, father of dedicator: *Ep.* 26. 1. Also, dedicator: *Ep.* 49. 1
Mikylos, deceased: *Ep.* 47. 3
Miletos, Greek city on the coast of Caria, south of the river Maeander: *H.* 3. 310; *Ia.* 1. 38
Mimas, a promontory near Erythrae, in Asia Minor, opposite Chios: *H.* 4. 98, 6. 127
Mimnermus, elegiac poet: *Ait.* 1. 16
Minoa, city in southern Sicily: *Ait.* 2. 62
Minoan Bride, Ariadne: *Ait.* 4. 17. 55–60
Minos, son of Zeus and Europa, king of Crete: *Ait.* 1. 62; 2. 115. Pursues Britomartis: *H.* 3. 261. Killed: *Ait.* 2. 63–5*
Minyans, Thessalians, descended from Minyas: *Ait.* 1. 78
Mounichia, site of sanctuary to Artemis: *H.* 3. 361
Muses, goddesses of poetry, daughters, according to Hesiod (*Theogony* 915–17), of Zeus and Mnemosyne (Memory). For another genealogy, see note on *H.* 4. 11
Mykale, a mountain in Lydia: *H.* 4. 73
Myrina, town on Lemnos: *VS* 23
Myrmidon, the people of Peleus: *Ait.* 2. 31
Myrtoussa, 'Myrtle Hill', west of Cyrene: *H.* 2. 109
Mysian Olympus, mountain in Mysia: *H.* 3. 158
Mytilene, city on the east coast of Lesbos: *Ep.* 54. 2

Naukratis, Greek city on the Nile, 52 miles (83 km.) south-east of Alexandria: *Ep.* 19. 4
Naxos, one of the Cyclades, south-east of Delos: *Ait.* 3. 5. 8; sacred to Dionysos: *Ait.* 3. 5. 91. Also, a town in Sicily: *Ait.* 2. 56
Neda, a nymph: *H.* 1. 42; a river: *H.* 1. 47–50
Neleans, Milesians: *Ia.* 1. 68
Neleus, founder of Miletos: *H.* 3. 311
Nemea, a valley in the territory of Kleonai, north of Argos, south of Corinth, site of the Nemean Games which were sacred to Zeus and held every two years: *Ait.* 3. 1. 1; *VS* 17
Nemesis, Retribution: *H.* 6. 79
Nestor, elder chieftain among the Greeks fighting at Troy: *Ait.* 3. 9. 9
Nike, Victory: *Ia.* 6. 39
Nikippa, priestess of Demeter: *H.* 6. 58–9, q.v.
Nikoteles, deceased: *Ep.* 46. 2
Nile, the great river of Egypt: *H.* 4. 275; *VS* 23, 52
Nisaia, a city near Megara, east of Athens: *Ait.* 2. 67
Nonakrinian, of Nonakris, mother of Callisto: *Ait.* 1. 105

Ocean, son of Uranos and Gaia (Heaven and Earth), father of the rivers and the Oceanids. In Homer, a river encircling the world: *H.* 3. 56, 4. 28, 5. 13
Oceanids, daughters of Ocean: *H.* 3. 17
Oedipus, the famous Theban king: *H.* 2. 86
Oikeus, father of Dexamenos: *H.* 4. 146
Oineus, king of Kalydon, father of Meleagros: *H.* 3. 364, and see note on *H.* 3. 294–301*
Oisydres, murdered Thracian: *Ait.* 4. 13. 1
Olen, poet from Lykia, author of oldest hymns: *H.* 4. 460
Olympia, site of the Olympic Games, in Elis, in the north-western Peloponnesos, near the river Alpheus: *Ia.* 4. 59
Olympus, mountain on the Greek peninsula, between Macedonia and Thessaly. The Olympian gods live on its summit
Omphalian plain, in Crete, named for Zeus' navel cord: *H.* 1. 58
Opheltes, boy who died at Nemea: *Ait.* 3. 1. 9
Ophion, primordial deity who reigned before Kronos: *Ait.* 3. 1. 53
Orestes, son of Agamemnon who avenged his father's murder by killing his mother. He went first to Delphi, then to Athens, where he was finally freed of the consequences of his matricide: *Ait.* 2. 2; *Ep.* 59. 1
Orion, giant hunter, slain by Artemis: *H.* 3. 369
Orikian, of Orikos, a town on the coast of Epirus: *Ait.* 1. 101
Ormenos, relative of Erysichthon: *H.* 6. 103
Ortygia, another name for Delos, site of Apollo's birth: *H.* 2. 68; *Ait.* 1. 117; sacred, also, to his sister Artemis: *Ep.* 61. 3
Ossa, a Thessalian mountain, south of the river Peneios: *H.* 3. 70, 4. 199
Othrys, a mountain in Thessaly, west of the northern tip of Euboia: *H.* 6. 119
Otos, a giant, slain by Artemis: *H.* 3. 369
Oupis, a name for Artemis in Ephesos, Sparta, and elsewhere: *H.* 3. 279, 332. Also, a Hyperborean maiden: *H.* 4. 440

Pagasai, port of Iolkos: *Ait.* 1. 124
Paktolos, a river near Sardis, capital of Lydia: *H.* 4. 378; *Ia.* 4. 121
Pallas, Athena: *Hek.*. 153; *H.* 5, *passim*
Pallatides, unidentified cliffs of the 'Kreian mountain' (for which see above): *H.* 5. 52
Pallene, the western promontory of Chalkidike (the peninsula that projects into the Aegean Sea from Macedonia): *Hek.* 162; *Ait.* 3. 1. 6
Pamphilos, lover in a comedy: *Ep.* 27. 1
Pamphylia, a plain, east of Lykia, bounded by what is now the southern coast of Turkey, settled by Greeks from about 800 BC
Pan, son of Hermes and Dryope, born on Mt. Kyllene in Arcadia: *H.* 3. 119; *Ep.* 9. 1
Panacea, goddess of healing: *H.* 2. 47
Panakra, Cretan mountain: *H.* 1. 67
Panakridian, of Panakra: *H.* 1. 66
Panchaian, of Panchaia, a fictional island: *Ia.* 1. 9
Pangaion, Thracian mountain: *H.* 4. 194
Panormos, Kyzikos (for which see above): *Ait.* 4. 16. 1
Paris, son of Priam, eloped with Helen, causing the Trojan War: *H.* 5. 22
Parnassos, a mountain of the Pindos range, with the plain of Krisa and the high valley of Delphi on its southern slope: *H.* 4. 133; *Ait.* 3. 5. 113
Parnes, mountain in Attica: *Hek.* 27
Paros, one of the Cyclades islands: *Ait.* 1. 67
Parrhasia, a region of Arcadia: *H.* 1. 13
Parrhasian, of Parrhasia, i.e. Arcadian: *H.* 3. 135
Parthenië, ancient name of Samos: *H.* 4. 71
Parthenion, mountain between Arcadia and Argolis: *H.* 4. 104
Parthenios, river in Paphlagonia, south of the Black Sea: *Ait.* 3. 5. 69
Pasikles, of Ephesos, killed by thieves: *Ait.* 4. 11. 1
Pasiphaë, wife of Minos and mother of the Minotaur: *H.* 4. 471
Pausanias, father of deceased: *Ep.* 33. 3
Pegasus, winged horse, sprung from the blood of Medusa. See Hippocrene, above
Peirene, a spring in Corinth: *VS* 18
Pelagonians, the Giants: *H.* 1. 3
Pelasgia, Argos (for which see above): *H.* 5. 5
Pelasgian, descended from Pelasgos or

Sibyl, prophetic woman: *Ia.* 5. 31
Sicily, a large island to the south of the tip of Italy, roughly tri-cornered in shape, colonized extensively by Greeks from 735 BC on: *Ait.* 1. 46. See also Trinakriē
Sidonian, of Sidon, a Phoenician city on the coast of Lebanon: *VS* 54
Sikanians, the aboriginal people of Sicily: *H.* 3. 78
Silenos, an old satyr, companion of Dionysos: *Ait.* 3. 5. 17
Simoeis, a river at Troy: *H.* 5. 25
Simon, dedicatrix: *Ep.* 20. 2
Simos, dedicator: *Ep.* 26. 1
Sisyphos, son of Aiolos, founder of Corinth: *VS* 10
Skelmis, ancient sculptor: *Ait.* 4. 9. 1
Skopadai, children of Skopas, a Thessalian dynast: *Ait.* 3. 3. 22
Smyrna, a city in Lydia (modern Izmir): *Ep.* 14. 12
Soloi, birthplace of Aratus: *Ep.* 56. 2
Solon, of Athens, one of the Seven Wise Men: *Ia.* 1. 66
Sopolis, deceased: *Ep.* 45. 2
Sosibios, victor: *VS* 21
Sounion, the southern tip of Attica: *H.* 4. 69
Sparta, chief city of the Peloponnesos, on the river Eurotas: *H.* 2. 84
Spartan, of Sparta: *H.* 3. 127–32
Spring of the Horse, Hippocrene (on which see above): *H.* 5. 87
Steropes, one of the three Kyklopes: *H.* 3. 92
Strophiē, Boiotian river: *H.* 4. 111
Strymonian, of the Strymon, a Thracian river: *H.* 4. 38
Stymphaians, from Stymphai, a village in Epirus: *H.* 3. 244
Styx, an Oceanid, assists Rhea at the birth of Zeus: *H.* 1. 46

Taurians, worshippers of Artemis in the Crimea: *H.* 3. 238
Tegea, a city in south-eastern Arcadia
Teiresias, son of Chariklo and Eueres, great Theban prophet: *H.* 5. 72, 94
Telchines, mythical craftsmen-sorcerers, originally of Rhodes, later of Keos: *H.* 4. 47; *Ait.* 3. 5. 121–31*. Critics of C.'s poetry: *Ait.* 1. 1. 10
Telestorides, distant relative of Penelope: *Ait.* 1. 218
Tempe, a narrow valley in northern Thessaly, between Mts. Olympus and Ossa: *H.* 4. 151, 261; *Ia.* 4. 29, 56
Tethys, consort of Ocean. As daughter of Uranos and Gaia (Heaven and Earth), she belongs to the second generation of living beings to come into existence after Chaos: *H.* 3. 60, 4. 28. Equivalent to an old woman: *Ia.* 4. 51
Teukrians, Trojans: *H.* 3. 320
Teÿgeton, a mountain, south of Sparta: *H.* 3. 257
Thales, of Miletos, one of the Seven Wise Men: *Ia.* 1. 38*, 67, 69. Also, father of girl whose statue is dedicated: *Ep.* 18. 1
Thapsos, a city on the eastern coast of Sicily: *Ait.* 2. 57
Thasos, an island off the coast of Thrace: *Ait.* 4. 13. 2
Thaumas, father of Iris: *H.* 4. 97*, 347
Theaitetos, poet, unsuccessful in contest: *Ep.* 57. 1
Thebe, eponymous nymph of Thebes (in Boiotia): *H.* 4. 125
Thebes, chief city of Boiotia, home of Niobe, Teiresias, and Oedipus, birthplace of Dionysos and Heracles: *H.* 5. 71. Also, a city in Upper Egypt: *Ia.* 16. 17
Theia, a Titan, mother of the Sun, Moon, and Dawn: *Ait.* 4. 17. 44
Theiodamas, king of the Dryopians, slain by Heracles: *H.* 3. 220; *Ait.* 1. 156–79*
Thenai, name of two towns: one in Crete, *H.* 1. 54; the other in Arcadia
Theodaisia, festival of Dionysos: *Ait.* 2. 112
Theogenes, the guest from Ikos: *Ait.* 2. 23
Theokles, of Chalkis, founder of Sicilian cities: *Ait.* 2. 56
Theokritos, *eromenos*: *Ep.* 6. 2
Thera, modern Santorini, southernmost of the Cyclades, about 62 miles (100 km.) due north of Crete: *H.* 2. 84–9; *Ait.* 1. 77
Theris, deceased: *Ep.* 35. 2
Thermopylai, pass between the Euripos channel and Mt. Callidromus: *Ep.* 19. 1
Theseus, son of Aigeus and Aithra, greatest Athenian hero, who sailed to Crete and killed the Minotaur, delivering Athens from the necessity of paying tribute to Minos: *Hek. passim*; *H.* 4. 456–78*; *Ia.* 4. 90
Thesmophoros, epithet of Demeter: *Ait.* 3. 2. 9
Thespiai, Boiotian city: *H.* 5. 75
Thessaly, a region in northern Greece, enclosed by Mts. Olympus, Ossa, Pelion, Othrys, and Pindos: *H.* 4. 148; *Ait.* 2. 31; *Ep.* 12. 1
Thetis, a sea goddess, mother of Achilles by Peleus: *H.* 2. 25; *Ia.* 16. 16
Thrace, roughly the region between Macedonia to the west and the Propontis to the east, bounded in the south by the northern shore of the Aegean Sea
Thriai, nymphs who practised divination: *Hek.* 194
Timarchos, deceased: *Ep.* 33. 1
Timodemos, dedicator: *Ep.* 19. 4
Timos, deceased: *Ep.* 51. 1
Timonoë, deceased: *Ep.* 40. 1
Timotheus, father of deceased: *Ep.* 40. 2
Tiphys, helmsman of the *Argo*: *Ait.* 1. 104
Tiryns, ancient city on the Argive plain: *H.* 3. 198
Titans, the children of Uranos and Gaia, including Kronos and Rhea, who precede the Olympian gods: *H.* 4. 255
Tithonos, son of Laomedon: *Ait.* 1. 128. Equivalent to an old man: *Ia.* 4. 52
Tito, the Dawn: *Ait.* 1. 127
Tityos, a Giant, slain for attempting to rape Leto: *H.* 3. 148
Tmarian mountains, named for Mt. Tmaros, in Epirus, in western Greece: *H.* 6. 72; *Ait.* 1. 141
Tmolus, a mountain in Lydia: *Ia.* 4. 5
Trinakriē, Sicily's earlier name: *H.* 3. 77; *Ait.* 2. 76
Triopas, son of Poseidon and Kanaka, father of Erysichthon: *H.* 6, *passim*
Triopidai, Thessalians, led by Triopas: *H.* 6. 43
Triptolemos, Eleusinian hero: *H.* 6. 30
Triton Asbystes, Lake Tritonis: *Ait.* 1. 220. See entry for 'Asbystes', above
Tritonis, Athena: *Ia.* 12. 17
Troizen, a city in Argolis, south-east of Epidaurus: *Hek.* 9; *H.* 4. 62
Tyndareus, king of Sparta, husband of Leda and father, by her, of Klytaimestra and Kastor; Leda's other children, Polydeukes and Helen, were sired by Zeus. 'Sons of Tyndareus' refers to Kastor and Polydeukes both, although, strictly speaking, the description fits only Kasor: *Ait.* 1. 110; *Ep.* 25. 2

Uranos, the Sky; as consort of Gaia, the Earth, he fathers the Titans, the generation of gods preceding that of the Olympians

Wain, the constellation Ursa Minor (*Ia.* 1. 41) or Ursa Major (*Ia.* 16. 6), the Lesser and the Greater Bear, called 'Wains' because they appear to wheel together around the north pole (Aratus, *Phenomena* 27)
White Mountain, in western Crete: *H.* 3. 55

Xanthos, a river in Lykia: *H.* 4. 462
Xenomedes, chronicler of Keian history: *Ait.* 3. 5. 108

Zagreus, Dionysos as son of Zeus and Persephone: *Ait.* 2. 120
Zephyrion, a promontory, located midway between Alexandria and Canopus: *Ep.* 14. 1
Zephyritis, the deified Arsinoë: *Ait.* 4. 17. 55–64
Zephyrus, the west wind: *H.* 2. 96
Zeus, son of Kronos and Rhea, chief god of the Olympian pantheon and god of the Olympic Games. His weapon and emblem is the lightning bolt. Though

Numbering of Fragments and Epigrams: Comparative Tables

Readers interested in whether a given fragment has been translated here, and where to find it, may consult the following tables.

Hek. is cited throughout by fragment number. Consecutive GP numbers are not given for the *Epigrams* because they coincide exactly with the numbering adopted in the translation.

Fragments

Ho. (*Hek.* only)	Trans. (fr. nos.)	Ho. (*Hek.* only)	Trans. (fr. nos.)
1	1	41	27
2	2	42 + 43	28
4	3	44	29
7	4	45	30
8	5	46	31
9	6	47	32
10	7	48	33
11	8	49	34
13	9	51	36
15	10	54 + 53	37
16	11	57	38
17	12	58	39
18	13	60	40
24	14	62	41
25	16	63	42
27 + 28	17	64	43
29	18	65	44
30	19	67	46
31	20	68	47
32	21	68 + 69	48
33	22	70	50
34	23	71	51
35	24	72	52
36 + 37	25	73	53
40	26	74	54

Ho. (*Hek.* only)	Trans. (fr. nos.)	Ho. (*Hek.* only)	Trans. (fr. nos.)
78	49	136	15
79	55	158+41	27
80	56	161	35
81	57	165	45
83	58		

Pf., Pf. ii	Trans.	Pf., Pf. ii	Trans.
1	*Ait.* 1. 1–50	48	*Ait.* 2. 128–9
1a. 24–5 (ii)	51	51	121–2
2a. 20, 25, 30 (ii)	52	55	*Ait.* 3 1. 14–17
2	53–9	57	1. 102–7
3	60–1	58	1. 108–10
4	62–3	59	1. 111–24
5	64	63	2
6	65	64	3
7. 9–14	66–73	65–6	4
7. 19–34	74–89	67	5. 1–20
10	90	68	5. 21–3
11	91–6	69	5. 24–6
12	97–102	70	5. 27–9
15	103	72	5. 30–1
17. 8–17	104–9	73	5. 32–3
18	110–24	74	5. 34–5
19	125	75	5. 36–142
20	126	76	6. 1–2
21. 3–10	127–36	77	6. 3–4
22	137	78	7
23	138–55	79	8
24	156–78	80. 10–11	9. 1–2
25	179	80+82. 17–23 (ii)	9. 3–12
26	180–90	84	10. 1–2
27	191–2	85	10. 3–17
31b (ii)	193–4	86	*Ait.*4. 1A
31c (ii)	196–9	87	1B
33	218	90	2
37	219–23	91	3
41	224–6	93. 1–7	4
43	*Ait.* 2. 49–120	94	5. 1
44	130–1	95	5. 2–5
45	132	96	6
46	133–4		

Pf., Pf. ii	Trans.	Pf., Pf. ii	Trans.
97	*Ait.* 4. 7	236. 1–2	*Hek.* 7
98	8	236. 3	8
100	9	238. 4	12
101	10	238. 15–32	13
102	11	239	17
103	12	240	18
104	13	241	19
105	14	242	20
106	15	243	21
108	16	244	22
110	17	245	40
		246	23
112	*Ait.* 2. 146–59	247	33
119	*Ait.* 2. 123–7	248	25
177	*Ait.* 3. 1. 44–85	251	24
178	*Ait.* 2. 1–46	253. 1–6	26
184	*Ait.* 2. 47–8	253. 7, 8–12	28
		254	27
191	*Ia.* 1	256	42
192	*Ia.* 2	257	43
193	3	258	46
194	4	259	47
195	5	260. 1–15	48
196	6	260. 16–29	50
197	7	260. 30–43	53
198	8	260. 44–69	54
199	9	261	51
200 a–b	10	262	55
201	11	263	56
202	12	264	58
203	13	269	16
		274	30
226 (*Lyrica*)	14	275	37
227 (*Lyrica*)	15	281	10
228 (*Lyrica*)	16	283	11
229 (*Lyrica*)	17	284	33
		292	44
230	*Hek.* 1	293	28
231	2	294	34
232	3	300	36
233	4	304	31
234	5	310	39
235	6	311	14

Pf., Pf. ii	Trans.		Pf., Pf. ii	Trans.	
313	*Hek.*	38	371		49
327		32	374		52
328		41	376		29
329		37			
334		25	384	*VS*	
336		15			
337		33	591	*Hek.*	35
342		57	639		32
345		9	682 (+ 254)		27
346		54			
350		34	731	*Ait.* 1.	195
366		33			
368		34	732	*Hek.*	45

SH	Trans.		*SH*	*Trans.*	
250. 8–17	*Ait.* 1.	104–9			
			281. 4	*Hek.*	12
252	*Ait.* 2.	133–4	282		17
253		135–45	283		25
254	*Ait.* 3. 1.	1–13	285. 1–6		26
257. 15–37	1.	18–43	285. 7–12		28
259 (= 177 Pf.)	1.	44–85	286		32
260	1.	86–7	287. 1–10		33
260 A	1.	88–101	287. 11–30		34
264 (= 57 Pf.)	1.	102–07	288. 1–15		48
265 (= 59 Pf.)	1.	111–24	288. 16–29		50
267 (= 55 Pf.)	1.	14–17	288. 30–43 A		53
268 (= 58 Pf.)	1.	108–10	288. 43 B–69		54
			289		51
276	*Ait.* 1	200–17			

Epigrams

Pf.	*PA*	Trans. (= GP)	Pf.	*PA*	Trans. (= GP)
1	7. 89	54	32	12. 148	7
2	7. 80	34	33	6. 347	21
3	7. 318	52	34	6. 351	22
4	7. 317	51	35	7. 415	30
5	(in Athenaeus 7. 318b)	14	36	7. 454	62
			37	13. 7	17
6	(in Strabo 14. 638)	55	38	13. 24	20
			39	13. 25	19
7	9. 565	57	40	7. 728	48
8	9. 566	58	41	12. 73	4
9	7. 451	41	42	12. 118	8
10	7. 520	33	43	12. 134	13
11	7. 447	35	44	12. 139	9
12	7. 521	43	45	12. 149	10
13	7. 524	31	46	12. 150	3
14	7. 519	44	47	6. 301	28
15	7. 522	40	48	6. 310	26
16	7. 459	37	49	6. 311	27
17	7. 271	45	50	7. 458	49
18	7. 272	38	51	5. 146	15
19	7. 453	46	52	12. 230	6
20	7. 517	32	53	6. 146	23
21	7. 525	29	54	6. 147	24
22	7. 518	36	55	6. 148	16
23	7. 471	53	56	6. 149	25
24	9. 336	60	57	6. 150	18
25	5. 6	11	58	7. 277	50
26	7. 460	47	59	11. 362	59
27	9. 507	56	60	7. 523	39
28	12. 43	2	61	7. 725	42
29	12. 51	5	62	6. 121	61
30	12. 71	12	63	5. 23	63
31	12. 102	1			

Index

For names occurring in the translation itself, see Annotated Index of Names.