

The Narrator's Voice: Hellenistic Poetry and Archaic Narrative

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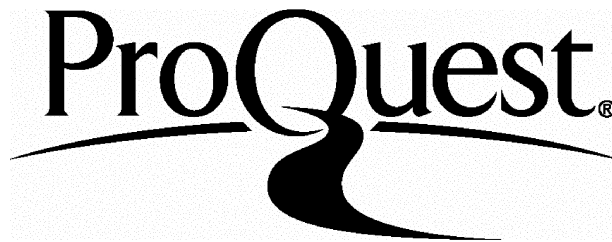
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Abstract

This thesis presents a comprehensive study of the ways in which the Hellenistic poets Callimachus, Theocritus and Apollonius of Rhodes use Archaic poetic models for the construction of their primary narrators (the first-level conduit of the events of the story to the audience). The broad approach of the thesis is correspondingly narratological, but it eschews the formalism of much previous narratological work, to produce a more complete view of the persona of the primary narrators in different texts. The thesis shows that the personas of primary narrators are highly developed in Archaic poetry, particularly outside hexameter epic, in poets such as Archilochus, Hesiod and Pindar. The nature of these primary narrators is studied in depth, close attention being paid to the portrayal of the relationship between the narrator and the historical author, the use of “quasi-biography” (indications of an external life for the narrator), the creation of an impression of *extempore* composition (“pseudo-spontaneity”), and the creation of the feeling for the audience of being admitted to a closed group (“pseudo-intimacy”). The particular adaptation of such features in Callimachus, Theocritus and Apollonius is examined in detail. Such features are regularly used in these poets to ironise their narrators, to allude to particular instances of these features in Archaic poetry, or to create Hellenistic analogues and developments of Archaic effects (e.g. Callimachus’ “mimetic” hymns). From these adaptations it is clear that Homer is not the exclusive model for Hellenistic poets, but that they draw extensively on non-epic Archaic poetry. The implications of such adaptations for Hellenistic poetics are also drawn out – “programmatic” passages of Hellenistic poetry strongly parallel Archaic models in function, and cannot be read as context-less statements of literary criticism, while the use of Archaic models from a variety of genres does not imply the rejection of genre and genre-norms.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Outline and Focus

The general topic of this project is the relationship between Hellenistic and Archaic poetry. In particular, I shall examine the figure of the primary narrator (i.e. the first-level conduit of the narrative to the audience, the “outer speaker” in a given poem, Hutchinson 2001:x) in Hellenistic poetry, and the ways in which Hellenistic poets use Archaic models to construct their primary narrators. The Hellenistic poets I shall study are Callimachus, Theocritus and Apollonius of Rhodes. They are the three leading figures of Hellenistic poetry at its height in the third century BC, the most important in terms of later influence (e.g. on Augustan Latin poetry) as well as the best preserved (in terms of numbers of lines). Their frequent allusions to one another and their interrelation further justify their selection. I make little reference, however, to the epigrams of Callimachus and Theocritus, because the project concerns the depiction and development of Hellenistic narrators, which are difficult to discern in such short poems. Comparative material from other Hellenistic poets will be brought in where relevant.

The Archaic models under investigation here are Archaic *poets* from the eighth to the fifth centuries BC,¹ e.g. Homer, Hesiod, the *Homeric Hymns*, Pindar, Bacchylides, as well as the fragmentary remains of Archaic epic, *iambos*, elegy, personal lyric and choral lyric. Previous studies have concentrated on Homer as an influence, while some scholars have argued for the central importance of Hesiod in the Hellenistic period (see 1.2 below). Non-epic Archaic poetry has, so far, been largely ignored in this regard. I aim to remedy this by studying one area where the influence of such poetry is particularly clear – the explicit foregrounding of development of primary narrators. This is much more common in Archaic lyric, for example, than Archaic epic. The Homeric epics make more prominent use of direct speech, and generally eschew the presentation of an intrusive narrator, avoiding such phenomena as

¹ The latest poets whom I treat are Bacchylides and Pindar who are still composing in the middle of the fifth century. Hence “Archaic” is used in this dissertation to refer to them and all earlier Greek poets.

emotional and evaluative language on the part of the primary narrator (as chapter 2 *Archaic Narrative* demonstrates). Nevertheless, the narrators to be found in Homer, the *Homeric Hymns* and fragments of Archaic epic provide important material for comparison with the more intrusive narrators of non-epic Archaic poetry, and reference to them will be found throughout this thesis.

Because this project concerns *primary* narrators, I do not deal with Hellenistic or Archaic texts of a dramatic nature, which have no primary narrator, nor with further embedded secondary narrators within the narrative of the primary narrator. Nor, because of lack of space, do I treat prose texts in either period. The focus is the relationship between the narrative poetic texts of both periods.

The project is structured as follows: in the *Introduction* (chapter 1) I survey previous approaches to the topic of the relationship between Archaic and Hellenistic poetry (1.2), defend the relevance of the study of narrator and voice (1.3), draw attention to relevant areas of the study of Hellenistic poetics and aesthetics which my study will affect (1.4), and outline the narratological terminology and approach which I employ in the thesis (1.5, 1.6, 1.7). Chapter 2 (*Archaic Narrative*) surveys the main features of Archaic narrators and the ways in which these personas are constructed (2.3), after challenging recent views of the differences between Archaic and Hellenistic poetry in terms of their performance-conditions and a shift from songs to books (2.1, 2.2). In the next three chapters (3. *Callimachean Narrators*, 4. *The Narrators of Theocritus* and 5. *Confidence and Crisis: The Narrator in the Argonautica*) I provide a systematic and thorough examination of the narrators in the respective Hellenistic poets and their adaptations and exploitation of Archaic models. Finally chapter 6 (*Contexts and Conclusions*) section surveys the approaches of the Hellenistic poets to their models, and draws out the implications for views of their interrelationship, aesthetic allegiances and broader characteristics of Hellenistic poetry.

A *caveat* is necessary. A large proportion of the texts in both periods is only preserved in fragments. Such fragmentary texts include such important works as Callimachus' *Aetia* and *Hecale*, and much of the output of Archaic poets such as Simonides and Stesichorus. Haslam (1994:99-100) draws attention to the small proportion of what there once was of Archaic poetry, and the continuing absence of complete poems by

many famous names (e.g. Alcman, Hipponax, Alcaeus). Nevertheless, these fragments remain important, and there is also a considerable body of well-preserved material – Homer, Hesiod, Pindar’s epinicians, Theocritus, the *Argonautica*, Callimachus’ *Hymns*. This very contrast, however, between fragmentary and better-preserved authors can lead to a skewed perception of which poets are most influential – whole texts inevitably yield more parallels and allusions than isolated half-lines in papyri with uncertain restorations. I shall try to avoid falling into this trap by not seeking to identify *one* author or set of authors as most influential. This has been one failing of some previous approaches to the general relationship of the two periods, a desire to demonstrate the primacy of allusions to one author or genre (see 1.2 below). Rather, I attempt to illustrate the *general* influence of Archaic poetry, while of course pointing out particularly important affinities with the style of particular poets. But the project is not primarily one which lists parallels and allusions – rather the focus is on the *ways* in which narrators are portrayed in Hellenistic poetry, and how these ways are adapted from the presentation of narrators in Archaic poetry.

Uncertain restorations and the indeterminacy of context of many fragments are further interpretative barriers which should be pointed out now. Parsons (1994:120-1) illustrates the dangers by pointing out the enduring, but phantom, presence of Agallis in Sappho F31, finally dismissed by the unnumbered *PSI* papyrus edited by Manfredi (1965:16-7). A lack of context is a particular problem for a project such as this one, which is based on asking “who is speaking?” in a given poem. Not knowing if the speaker is, e.g., a primary narrator or a character complicates much of the evidence. Hollis’ (1997:115-6) thought-experiment considering what the “next line” of the hypothetically fragmentary *ferream ut soleam tenaci in voragine mula* (Catullus 17.26) demonstrates the dangers which attempting to supply context and continuation present. The line is in fact the end of a poem, though in isolation it invites a subsequent line. We do, however, have enough material to make (cautious) speculation justifiable in many cases, and to be able to draw more secure conclusions from complete or more complete texts about who is speaking and what this means for the portrayal of Archaic and Hellenistic narrators.²

² In general on the problems of collecting, cataloguing and studying fragmentary texts see Most 1997.

1.2 Earlier Approaches

Much ancient literature clearly depends on the work of earlier authors which is imitated and transformed in various ways (Russell 1979:1). The density and type of allusions in Hellenistic literature seem different from that in earlier Archaic literature, characterised by a greater “self-consciousness” and demanding perhaps more detailed knowledge of the source text (Hopkinson 1988:8, Bing 1988:73 with n.38).³ Often these allusions take the form of reference to the precise wording of an earlier text, or depend on the application of an earlier meaning of a word, or mark a change in the meaning of a word used in an earlier text. Such close lexical allusions, in particular to Homer, have in the not-too-distant past become the main focus for an entire “school” of scholars working on Hellenistic poetry, whose founding texts are Giangrande’s (1967 and 1970). For this school, straightforward echoing of the model was “too rudimentary” for the Hellenistic poets (1970:46), so *oppositio in imitando* is characteristic of Hellenistic allusion (1967:85), which often takes the form of reference to Homeric *unica* or variant readings (1970:48-61). It is “the constant interplay between imitation and variation of Homer” (Williams 1978:4) which is thought the foundation of Callimachean (and more generally Hellenistic) literary style.

The consequences of this approach for the perception of the relationship between Hellenistic and Archaic poetry are profound. In very many cases, of course, there are clear allusions to Homeric variants, meanings and problems of interpretation (e.g. the use of the Homeric *unicum* κευθμός (*Il.*13.28), which Σ bT ad loc. report as doubted by some ancient scholars, by Callimachus at H.1.34 and Apollonius at *Arg.*3.1213 – cf. McLennan 1977:65). But the attention to lexical similarity to an earlier text is often given at the expense of other sorts of similarity and influence, even in the case of Homer, as Knight (1995:17) points out. Homeric subject-matter, situations, characters and scene structures should not be overlooked. Furthermore, concentration on lexical similarity and verbal echoes privileges the relationship between texts in the same metre, which leads in particular to the preoccupation with Hellenistic transformation of *Homeric* usage in Giangrandean commentators. When

³ On pre-Hellenistic allusions see Harvey 1957 and Davison 1955.

Williams (1978:74) finds ἀένναον πῦρ at Call.H.2.83 he remarks that Callimachus is “of course [n.b. the assumption here] varying the stock epic phrase ἀκάματον πῦρ”, noting that it occurs frequently at the verse-end, as does Callimachus’ phrase. Why, however, should the epic use be privileged over, e.g., the Pindaric phrase αἰενάου πυρός (P.1.6), used of the “eternal fire” of Zeus’ thunderbolts? Is the ἀκάματον πῦρ which Athena kindles from Diomedes’ helmet and shield at *Il*.5.4 so much closer to Callimachus’ description of Apollo’s sacrificial “eternal fire”? The distortions caused by the common metre and an almost exclusive concentration on Homer are clear.⁴

There has consequently been a long neglect of Archaic influence other than Homer’s on Hellenistic poetry. Some affinities have long been recognised – Smiley (1914)⁵ deals with the influence of Pindar on Callimachus (poets juxtaposed, though not with reference to style, as early as Palladas (4th century AD) at *AP* 9.175, as Newman 1967:45 notes), while some recent scholarship has concentrated on the influence of Hesiod in the Hellenistic period. Such criticism on Hesiodic influence has been bedevilled by the assumption that Hellenistic allusions are frequently *programmatic* and reveal the author’s literary-critical allegiances (though in fact, these are best indicated by the poet’s *practice*).

The chief Callimachean texts which are interpreted as literary-critical pronouncements with regard to Hesiod are the so-called *Somnium*, *Aetia* F2 (e.g. by Reinsch-Werner 1976:308-11),⁶ and most importantly ep.27 on Aratus (e.g. by Reitzenstein 1931:42ff.). So widely accepted are programmatic interpretations based on these texts that Beye (1982:7) can call Homer “*eskhatos*, extreme, probably in the sense of inimitable” and claim that “Hesiod, whom he calls ‘honey-sweet’, is constantly preferred as the model [sc. by Callimachus]”, without any explicit reference to ep.27. This masks the interpretative problems which attend Reitzenstein’s view of the epigram. He suggests (1931:44-6) emending the received text (with Scaliger) from οὐ τὸν ἀοιδὸν/ ἔσχατον (1-2) to οὐ τὸν ἀοιδῶν/ ἔσχατον, and taking this to mean Homer, “best of poets”, whom Aratus does *not* imitate.

⁴ Compare also the relegation of Pindar’s P.4 from the main sources of Apollonius’ *Arg.* in Mooney 1912:12-25, as one of the poems which introduced the Argonautic story “incidentally” (1912:13).

⁵ Usually cited as “Smiley 1919”.

⁶ On which see Cameron 1995:366-8.

Aratus chooses rather τὸ μελιχρότατον/ τῶν ἐπέων (2-3), which refers to Hesiod's embodiment of the stylistic ideal of sweetness (1931:47), in contrast to Homeric grandeur.

However there are serious problems with the alleged opposition between Homer and Hesiod in this epigram. As Cameron (1995:374-5) notes, ἔσχατος is simply not found without further qualification in the sense of "best". Reitzenstein's (1931:46) examples, e.g. τὸ δ' ἔσχατον κορυφοῦται/ βασιλεῦσι (Pindar, O.1.113-4), all have a context which determines the meaning (in this case κορυφοῦται, "comes to a peak"). Aratus has in fact ἀπεμάξατο (3), "skimmed off" (Cameron 1995:378), not τὸν ἀοιδὸν/ ἔσχατον, "the poet [sc. Hesiod, mentioned in line 1] down to the last detail" (Cameron 1995:377, following Kaibel 1894:120 on the received text) but τὸ μελιχρότατον/ τῶν ἐπέων, "the sweetest part [...] of his verses" (Cameron 1995:378-9), not "his sweetest epic" (so Reinsch-Werner 1976:326). Homer is a phantom presence in the epigram, and Hesiod is marked as a partial model, not the founder of a programmatically approved style. Regrettably the tendency to look for programmatic force in allusions, or even simply difficult passages, is widespread, as the treatment of the *Aetia*-prologue and the end of Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* makes clear (see 3.3.2 below).

In contrast to that with Hesiod, the relationship between Callimachus, Theocritus and Apollonius and Archaic lyric, iambic and elegiac poetry has usually been overlooked or marginalised (until very recently). Such poetry, however, is vitally important to the design and deployment of Hellenistic narrators, and a proper understanding of the operation of Hellenistic narrators can only be achieved through the consideration of the effect on them of their Archaic models. In this respect even the poetry of Homer, Hesiod and Pindar has been neglected. Accidents of preservation have, of course, played their part in skewing our perspective of which texts were influential in the Hellenistic period, but the approaches scholars have taken to Archaic poetry's use as a model in the Hellenistic period have also contributed to its relative neglect.

The rare attention that Archaic lyric, for example, has received as an influence on Hellenistic poetry has usually been unsystematic, given the form in which it appears – passing comments such as Cahen’s (1930: 153-4) on Callimachus’ H.4 having a structure reminiscent of Pindaric epinicians,⁷ or the occasional speculations about the relationship between Hellenistic “mimetic” poems and Archaic models (e.g. Sappho’s epithalamia, Wheeler 1930:218, Von der Mühl 1940:423; see 3.2.4 below). More dedicated treatments have often centred on the relationship between specific authors or texts, e.g. Smiley (1914), or Clapp (1913) on Theocritus and Pindar. Such approaches have concentrated on allusions to specific *passages* in Archaic texts. This can lead to the illusion that a complete list of passages alluded to can give a complete account of the influence of a particular author – Clapp (1913:315) restricts Pindaric influence on Theocritus to poems 16 and 17 (neglecting, e.g., Th.24’s relationship to Pindar’s N.1). As is the case with the concentration on lexical similarity between Homer and Hellenistic texts, such an approach does not allow for the breadth of types of possible influence.

Other approaches to the relationship have tended to be general and impressionistic. Newman (1967:47-8) develops Puelma Piwonka’s occasional references (1949:e.g. 254, 277, 281) to the adoption of lyric motifs or lyric *Liebesdichtung* in Callimachus’ *Iambi* to claim a general desire on Callimachus’ part for “a restoration of lyricism to [...] poetry” (1967:48). Gutzwiller (1981:8) suggests that Hellenistic epyllia exhibit a “sweetness and romanticism” characteristic of lyric. More pernicious are suggestions that particular poets or periods enjoy a “spiritual kinship”. This is Bulloch’s view (1992:332) with reference to Pindar and Callimachus, while Cairns (1979:13 n.59) suggests in passing that Pindar’s consciousness of himself as an *epigone* was one reason for his appreciation in the Hellenistic period. Austin (1967:14-17=1986:119-21) argues that Theocritus models himself after Simonides rather than Pindar in Th.16 largely because of their shared sceptical and pessimistic attitude. Such views are problematic because they can prevent further examination of the relationship – Bulloch (1992:332) comments that in Pindar “Callimachus spotted an artistic soul-mate, *not a literary model* [my italics]”.⁸ Callimachus was attracted by Pindar’s “oddity”

⁷ He notes the praise of Delos at either end of the hymn (1-27, 326-7) and an inserted myth. For criticism of the view cf. Mineur 1984:8.

⁸ Despite, e.g., the *Victoria Berenices*!

and “quirkiness”. Hutchinson (1988:13) would similarly grant the two poets a common “exciting sense of strangeness” (but little else that is shared).

There is a more profitable approach than vague assertions of spiritual affinities or the examination of allusions by Hellenistic poets to Archaic poetry (Bulloch 1992:331-2 presents the two as virtually the only alternatives), which has been taken up by some scholars. This is the study of the relationship between the *manner* of Archaic and Hellenistic poets. In the examination of technique, of the ways in which poets achieve particular effects, we can better discern how Pindar, for example, *is* a “literary model” for Callimachus. Not metrically, of course, but *stylistically*, in particular for the narratorial personas Callimachus develops.

The importance of lyric *manner* to Hellenistic poetry has not gone unnoticed – Parsons (1977:46) comments that in “some sense Callimachus’ normal manner is Pindaric: allusiveness, uneven tempo, mannerist distortions”. The uneven and “distorted” nature of Pindaric and lyric narrative is particularly clear in the phenomenon I shall term “unusual narrative emphasis”. This is the postponing or marginalisation of the “main event” in a narrative, which results in an asymmetric or “skewed” narrative where a greater part is devoted to what might be considered peripheral events. Such unusual narrative emphasis is common in non-epic Archaic narrative, as in Pindar’s P.4, where what might normally be taken as the “climax” of the Argonautic story is disposed of in two lines:

κτεῖνε μὲν γλαυκῶπα τέχναϊς ποικιλόνωτον ὄφιν,
ὦ Ἀρκεσίλα, κλέψεν τε Μήδειαν σὺν αὐτᾷ, τὰν Πελαιοφόνον· (249-50)

Far more attention is given to the Euphamid descent of the Battiads from the Argonautic visit to the Lemnian women (251-62) and Medea’s prophecy about Euphamos’ descendants (9-56). Bacchylides also displays a similar technique, ending his narrative “immediately before climactic point” (Carey 1995:102 n.26) at, for example, B.5.175, where Meleager’s mention to Heracles of his sister Deianeira is not followed by an account of their meeting, nor Heracles’ fate (also not told at B.16.31ff.). Such narrative skewing can be employed for obvious encomiastic purposes, as in the foregrounding of the encomiastically important Euphamos in P.4,

but it can also form a part of the creation of a pseudo-spontaneous narratorial persona, which itself can be put to a number of uses, e.g. the emphasis of the narrator's sincerity in encomiastic poems (see further 2.3.2.1 on pseudo-spontaneity below). The narrator of Herodotus' *Histories*, for example, is portrayed as an extemporising speaker by his dismissal with διαπρηξαμένους καὶ τὰλλα τῶν εἵνεκεν ἀπίκατο (1.2.2) of most of the Argonauts' exploits.

Unusual narrative emphasis has been connected in general terms with Archaic lyric by scholars such as Bühler (1960:198), who compares the abbreviated conclusion of Moschus' *Europa* with the end of the Pelops-myth in Pindar's O.1. At the end of the *Europa* lines 162-6 narrate Europa's seduction and subsequent childbirth, and the expected etymology of Europe is omitted. Bühler argues that this sort of narrative distortion is alien to Archaic epic, and that it is adopted as an epic technique in the Hellenistic period. Two other well-known Hellenistic examples are to be found in Callimachus. In the *Hecale* Theseus' breaking of the bull's horn is told in a parenthesis (F69.1) which is usually taken to indicate an abbreviated treatment of the struggle against the bull (e.g. Hollis 1990:215) in favour of a concentration on the meeting with Hecale, though the degree of asymmetry here may have been exaggerated (see 3.7 below). A clearer example is the following comment from the *Victoria Berenices* (SH264.1), which abbreviates the narrative of Heracles battling the Nemean lion:

αὐτὸς ἐπιφράσσαιτο, τάμοι δ' ἄπο μῆκος ἀοιδῇ

Both Archaic and Hellenistic examples should be contrasted with the striving after "full presentation" in the Homeric epics. The Homeric narrator gives the audience the impression that they are receiving an account of the story like the view they would have if they witnessed the events themselves (Richardson 1990:197-9). Hence the great lengths gone to to provide spatial and temporal continuity, e.g. the use of unobtrusive means to change scene (1990:110-19), and the unintrusive omission of details not deemed worthy of full narration (e.g. through the use of summaries, Richardson 1990:13). When the Homeric narrator leaves things out or passes quickly over them, attention is not drawn to their omission.

More recent scholarship has taken up the study of manner (broadly construed). Fuhrer (1992) has studied the adaptation of epinician conventions in Callimachus' three epinician poems (*Ia.8*, the *Victoria Berenices* and the *Victoria Sosibii*), and has drawn attention to the use of features of Pindaric style elsewhere in Callimachus (1988). The Archaic and Classical precedents for Callimachus' metaphors for poetry have been examined by Asper (1997), and, in a similar vein, the ways in which descriptions of poetic practice in Pindar are reflected in later poets (and others) have been explored by Richardson (1985). Hunter has produced two important recent studies on the literary texture of Hellenistic poetry, one on Apollonius (1993a), dealing at length with Apollonian transformations of Homer beyond grammatical word-play (e.g. of the epic narrator, 101-19, with significant recognition of Archaic lyric influence in this area, 116) and on Theocritus (1996), which explores the use in Theocritus of the texts and techniques of Archaic poets and Hellenistic perceptions of such poets (e.g. Pindar, Simonides, Homer in Th.16, 77-109). A number of important observations about the Archaic-Hellenistic relationship have recently been made by Cameron (1995, e.g. on Callimachus and Pindaric, Hesiodic and Homeric narrators, 369) and Schmitz (1999, on the similarities between the narrator-author gap in Pindar and Callimachus, 161), without co-ordinating these into a dedicated treatment.

I intend to build on this recent work by taking up the topic of the primary narrator in Hellenistic poetry, where the adaptation of Archaic models is all-pervasive. Hence I hope to deepen insights such as Parsons' on Callimachus' Pindaric manner, or Haslam's (1993:111) on Pindar helping us to understand Callimachus' "style and stance as a poet", by broadening out the study of the models of Hellenistic poetic voices beyond Homer, Hesiod and Pindar to include Archaic poetic narrative in general, and examining the Hellenistic adaptation of Archaic technique, function and persona.

1.3 Importance of Voice

Hunter (1993a:111) comments that no feature of Hellenistic poetical style has demanded more recent critical attention than the “constant demand of poet-narrators to be recognised as the controlling force behind the words of the text.” The narrator’s voice is a central aspect of Hellenistic literary production and its criticism, most importantly in Goldhill (1991, also 1986 on Theocritus). Any discussion of Greek (not only Hellenistic) poetic voice is indebted to Goldhill, but much work remains to be done on the appropriation and transformation of Archaic poems and voices in the Hellenistic period. Some scholars, however, have objected to attempts to point to models for the development of narratorial personas in Hellenistic poetry. Hutchinson (1988:12-13), for example, notes that in Pindar the “poet occupies a number of roles”, the handling of which is “appropriately complex”. He denies, however, any resemblance to Hellenistic play with poetic role and persona, chiefly on the grounds that *Pindar* has different generic and encomiastic aims – “one must bear Pindar’s interests in mind”. Whatever Pindar’s aims, though, his development of a narratorial persona in the epinicians, the topic of much recent scholarship, e.g. Lefkowitz (1991) and Carey (1995), provides an important model and cross-reference for Apollonius and Callimachus in particular, as this study will demonstrate.

The study of Hellenistic “voice” in terms of Archaic models can be justified in general terms. If Goldhill (1986:30-1) is right to connect Hellenistic concerns about the role of the poet (see below) with the anxious awareness of the monuments and literature of the past, exacerbated by the collection and cataloguing of the poetry of the Archaic and Classical periods, then establishing the precise relationship between Hellenistic and earlier poetical voices becomes of paramount importance. The narrators of previous poets help to create Hellenistic attitudes to the position of the poet, and provide the raw material to highlight the problems which arise, and deal with them.

This study is explicitly about the voice of the “narrator” rather than the “poet” because of the centrality of the relationship between narrator and author in both Archaic and Hellenistic poetry. The close connections between narrator and author

are of course marked by the use of the term “poet” to describe the primary narrator of a given work, but they also mask the precise degree to which the two are related, and so obscure study of the topic (Hutchinson 2001:x employs the term “narrator” to emphasise that “the speaker, *even when explicitly connected to the author* [my italics], is always a literary creation.”). The dependence of the narrator’s persona on biographical facts about the author is clear, for example, in both Pindaric epinicians which exploit Pindar’s Theban nationality (e.g. *Isthmian* 1) and in Callimachus’ *Iambi*. Such dependence is examined with the concept of “quasi-biography” (see 1.7 below). I employ the term “narrator” rather than “speaker” (employed by Miller 1993 with reference to Pindar and Bing 1995 with reference to Callimachus) to make explicit the narratological underpinnings of this project (see 1.5 below).⁹

Furthermore, the apparent paradox between the prominence of Hellenistic “poet-narrators” (cf. Hunter above) and the problematic status of the “poet”, his authority and the writing of poetry as argued by Seeck (1975:203) and Goldhill (1986:31-2), is resolved by considering the relationship between poet and narrator. The narrator in Hellenistic poetry becomes one strategy for foregrounding the problems of poetic authority (e.g. by casting doubt on the narrator’s credibility, as at Callimachus H.1.65, see 3.2.5 below), as well as for evading such problems. The advertising of the problem of “poetic truth”, for example, emphasises the separation of narrator and author, and hence protects the latter – poets do not lie, narrators do (cp. Solon F29). The problems associated with the position of the poet are deflected by placing a prominent narrator in the way, one who is both like and unlike the author.

The problems of the position of the poet are often linked to a “crisis” of poetry in the fourth century (Gelzer 1993), for which there is considerable scepticism on the grounds of lack of evidence (Henrichs 1993:173-8 attacking Gelzer 1993; Hutchinson 1988:2-3, Hopkinson 1988:11). However, the claim that the position and authority of the poet was a problematic one does not depend on the existence of this crisis, and can be separated from it. It seems, rather, to relate directly to the anxious awareness of the poetic output of previous poets, which is already expressed c.400BC by

⁹ Schmitz (1999:158-9) uses the term “implied author” to denote the narrator (in my sense) in the *Aetia*-prologue and mark his close relationship to the real author. But the term is used differently in much narratological writing (e.g. Chatman 1978, Richardson 1990) and is liable to confuse.

Choerilus of Samos (ἄ μάκαρ, ὅστις ἔην κείνον χρόνον ἵδρις ἀοιδῆς,/ Μουσάων θεράπων, ὅτ' ἀκήρατος ἦν ἔτι λειμών', F2.1-2 PEG). Poetic status and authority are at issue because of the problem of “what to sing?” given the mass of pre-existing literature – “the inheritance and what to do with it” (Parsons 1993:160). In Callimachus, Theocritus and Apollonius it is through experimentation with the possibilities offered by different types of narrator and their juxtaposition that such problems are overcome – new voices (appropriating Archaic voices) rather than simply new content.

The use of Archaic models in the depiction of such narrators is all-pervasive and instructive. The gap between narrator and author which is already present in Archaic poetry, and employed in a variety of ways (see 2.3 below) is exploited in Hellenistic poetry to avoid problems of poetic authority. This sort of transformation of Archaic models is typical – in the *Argonautica* we find the inscribing of some of the “difficulties of composition” a poet might have (e.g. selecting between different versions of a myth, or choosing what to include). This does not appear, as in earlier poetry, as a *foil*, with the narrator overcoming his struggles, but within an overall pattern of progressive narratorial decline (see chapter 5).

Such transformations and adaptations of Archaic voices should not be explained wholly in terms of general historical or literary-historical developments. Room should be made for the personal aesthetic choice of individual poets, as well as generic differences, alongside the positing of larger-scale phenomena such as changes in performance- or reception-conditions. The problems of poetic authority and the anxious awareness of previous poets seem more important to me than such changes in the circumstances of literary production and reception (see 2.1 below), but even here the temptation to refer everything to broad historical trends should be resisted. It is not simply because Theocritus *read* Homer, Pindar and Euripides, nor because he himself was *read*, nor even because of the collection of all of these authors in one place where they could be read, that Hellenistic poets became acutely aware of their relationship to the poetry of the past. It is as important that *Theocritus* read these poets, and responded with his own individual aims and artistic choices. Such a statement should be obvious, but the necessary indeterminacy which it introduces

(authorial aims and choices being difficult, if not impossible, to recover), is perhaps one reason for its neglect.

1.4 Voice, Genre and Poetics

1.4.1 Crossing of Genres

The adaptation of narrators and aspects of their voices from non-epic Archaic poetry in Hellenistic epic such as the *Argonautica* or other hexameter poetry such as much of the Theocritean corpus and Callimachus' *Hymns* should *not* simply be attributed to Hellenistic "crossing of genres" (Kroll's "Kreuzung der Gattungen", 1924:202-24; cf. "Mischung der Gattungen" at Deubner 1921:375), to wholesale rejection of the applicability of genre and genre-norms or to an attempt to demonstrate the emptiness of particular genres. DeForest (1994:4) follows Beye (1969) in characterising the *Argonautica* as an "anti-epic". But her view is based on the assumption that the *Argonautica* is an epic written in accordance with what she sees as the anti-epic aesthetics of Callimachus, as expressed in particular in the *Aetia*-prologue (1994:25-32). The prologue, however, as Cameron (1995:e.g. 339-61) has argued, is *not* about epic but about elegy (see further 3.3.2 below). Clayman (1980:51) thinks that "crossing of genres" in Callimachus' *Iambi* (e.g. *iambos* with rhetoric in 4, with epigram in 7 and 9) produces parodies, and that such generic mixture "demonstrates the emptiness of both [sc. genres]". The effect of many of the *Iambi*, however, depend more on the (iambic) self-ironising of the narrator, rather than genre-parody (see 3.5 below).¹⁰

The concept of "crossing of genres" is too rigid to describe the mixture of tones, styles, subjects, structures and language which we encounter not only in Hellenistic poetry but in ancient literature in general. It is also liable to mislead when characterised as a particularly Hellenistic phenomenon (as urged, e.g., by Rossi 1971:83-4). There is clearly generic experimentation before the Hellenistic period. This is apparent from, for example, Pindar. Didactic *gnomai* are found in the epinicians, and there are clear affinities between O.2 and the *threnos*, I.7 and martial

¹⁰ Beye (1993:191) describes, surely wrongly, Callimachus' *Hymns* as "parodies of the archaic Homeric hymns" on the grounds of their "juxtaposition of the incongruous", which may hint at "crossing of genres" (e.g. in generic *tone*).

poetry, and P.4 and both epic and Stesichorean “lyric epic” (Carey 1995:97 with n.21). Similarly, Simonides combines (separate) rhapsodic hymn and epic into one *elegiac* poem in the *Plataea* elegy (Parsons 1994:122).¹¹ Equally, some of the alleged generic experimentation of the Hellenistic period is not as clear-cut as sometimes made out – the “epinicians-in-elegiacs” of Callimachus (the *Victoria Berenices* and the *Victoria Sosibii*) should clearly be related to some degree to elegiac victory-epigrams written as early as the 6th century (e.g. ep.1 Ebert), as Fuhrer (1993:90-7) and Cameron (1995:150, following Fuhrer) point out. Hence the *form* of the epinicians seems less problematic.¹²

Furthermore, there are some clear generic distinctions in Hellenistic poetry between different genres – e.g. in the much lower level of narrator-prominence in the *Hecale* as compared to Callimachus’ elegiac poems (see 3.7 below), as noted by Heinze (1919=1960:375-6), and followed by Hunter (1993a:115) and Cameron (1995:440). The maintenance of such distinctions should prompt careful examination of what the combination of elements from different genres achieves, rather than being referred simply to a wider Hellenistic attitude to genre. Generic boundaries are not rejected as irrelevant in Hellenistic poetry – as Hinds (1987:116-7) urges in the case of Augustan Latin poetry, the combination of elements from distinct genres reveals a profound interest in genre-norms. Moreover, the effective combination of the manner and voice properly belonging to different genres, which is surely what we see in Hellenistic texts such as Callimachus’ *Hymns* (combining elements, to confine myself to the primary narrator, of rhapsodic hymn, epic, Pindaric epinician, Hesiodic didactic etc.) *depends* on the existence of generic boundaries and their recognition as valid and cogent. The *Hymns* of Callimachus are *not* generically anarchic – the precise combinations are harnessed to the overall structure and effect of each individual hymn.

¹¹ Though even in the case of the *Plataea* elegy there are generic precedents – long narrative elegies such as Mimnermus’ *Smyrneis* (cf. Bowie 1986:27-34), and the *nomos* (Obbink 2001:65-6).

¹² Callimachus’ elegiac epinicians should not simply be seen as extended victory-epigrams, however – they display many of the characteristics of choral epinician (Fuhrer 1993:82 with n.26, and see 3.3 and 3.4 below).

1.4.2 Aristotle and Genre-norms

The use of lyric, elegiac and iambic poetry, where the narrator often provides much of the *unity* in a given work (e.g. Pindaric epinicians), as a model for Hellenistic poetry in other genres should not be interpreted as a rejection of specific earlier literary-critical views of genre and genre-norms. The most important of these, of course, are Aristotle's, and there is a widespread critical assumption that Callimachus in particular, and poetry written according to his principles in general, was anti-Aristotelian in literary criticism (e.g. Hunter 1989:36, "fundamentally anti-Aristotelian"). It is often argued (most influentially by Brink 1946:14-19 and Pfeiffer 1968:135-8, 143-6) that Callimachus in the *Aetia*-prologue rejected the concept of Aristotelian unity,¹³ which implies a rejection of the unity of the Homeric epics (which Aristotle analyses and approves, cf. 1451a16-35 on Homeric superiority with regard to unity over *Heracleids* and *Theseids*). The *Aetia*-prologue, however, does not concern epic (3.3.2 below), nor, therefore, epic unity.

There is not sufficient space here to treat the entire topic of the relationship of Callimachean aesthetics to Aristotle,¹⁴ but the absence of unity as a critical concept in the *Aetia*-prologue, and the lack of hostility there to Aristotelian analyses of genre

¹³ Aristotelian unity is unity of *μῦθος* ("plot"): the *μῦθος* should concern a single, whole action, comprising of a logically/plausibly connected beginning, middle and end (1450b23-6), which is also *εὐδύνοπτον*, "easily seen as a whole" (1451a4-6). Note also Aristotle's warning that *Μῦθος δ' ἐστὶν εἰς οὐχ ὥσπερ τινὲς οἴονται ἓνα περὶ ἓνα ἢ πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἄπειρα τῷ ἐνὶ συμβαίνειν, ἐξ ὧν ἐνίων οὐδέν ἐστιν ἓν* (1451a16-7) and that *χρὴ οὖν, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις μμητικαῖς ἢ μία μίμησις ἐνός ἐστιν, οὕτω καὶ τὸν μῦθον, ἐπεὶ πρῶξεως μίμησις ἐστὶ, μῖα τε εἶναι καὶ ταύτης ὅλης* (1451a30-2).

¹⁴ I hope to publish a longer treatment of this topic in the very near future, covering such subjects as the scope of the *Poetics* itself, which does not omit didactic poetry, lyric, elegy etc. because Aristotelian criticism was *hostile* to such genres (which lack *μῦθος* in Aristotle's sense, which denotes representations of people in action, 1448a1) as, e.g., Halliwell (1986:283) suggests, but because of the implied superiority of tragedy and comedy, which are the peaks of development in their respective fields (1449a5-6). The superiority is not just one of more advanced *form*, but of effectiveness in moral education or *catharsis* (Simpson 1988:283-91). Such cathartic effectiveness is related directly to the presence of a *μῦθος*, representing people in action, hence Aristotle's concentration on those genres with an Aristotelian *μῦθος*. But this should imply no (aesthetic) criticism of the omitted genres. I shall also tackle the alleged disappearance of Aristotle's "esoteric" works in the Hellenistic period, and challenge the historicity of Strabo's account (13.1.54) of their survival in Scepsis. On the *argumentum ex silentio* for the disappearance of the *Poetics* see Lucas 1968:xxii-xxiii, Else 1957:337 n.125, Moraux 1973:15 n.36; on the problems with Strabo's account see Gottschalk 1972:340ff. and 1987:1083-88, and Grayeff 1974:71ff. In any case, Aristotle's *On Poets* would have been available in Alexandria, and it was clearly also a work on genre and genre-norms along the lines of the *Poetics* (Janko 1987:175, 1991:36-64).

should be emphasised. Time and again unity and continuity are paired in the scholarship on Callimachus and Aristotle. Lyne (1984:17) thinks that Callimachus in the *Aetia*-prologue opposes “what most ancient critics, certainly Aristotle, would deem a cardinal virtue: unity of plot, continuity of narrative technique (διηνεκές, (3))”, while Pfeiffer (1968:137) thinks that Callimachus and his followers, “rejecting unity, completeness and magnitude, [...] consciously aimed at a discontinuous form”. The reason is doubtless the phrase ἐν ᾧσιμα διηνεκές (*Aet.*-prologue 3). This is often taken as implying that the poem the Telchines wish Callimachus had written should have been unified (ἐν) as well as continuous (διηνεκές).¹⁵ This commits scholars to holding that ἐν ᾧσιμα διηνεκές is exactly equivalent to ἐν καὶ διηνεκές ᾧσιμα, “a unified and continuous song”. As Asper (1997:213) comments, this is most improbable with a numerical adjective. Such an implicit co-ordination of adjectives without καὶ would be more than just unusual, it would be absolutely impossible to recognise as such, given that a use *without* καὶ is the rule for numerical adjectives – there would be no reason for reader or hearer to think there had been a departure from the norm in this case.¹⁶ What Callimachus has not produced is “one continuous song” rather than “a unified *and* continuous song”.

Though there is no reference to unity, there is a reference to continuity in the prologue. The correct explanation of διηνεκές in ἐν ᾧσιμα διηνεκές is Cameron’s (1995:343ff.). He points out that it is not a standard rhetorical term, and that its closest parallels in poetry are the Homeric formula διηνεκέως ἀγορεύειν, “tell from beginning to end” (*Od.* 4.836, 7.241, 12.56), and the same phrase used more negatively in the *Argonautica* (at 1.649, 2.391 and 3.401). This suggests διηνεκές carries primarily connotations of fullness of detail and chronological continuity.¹⁷ Callimachus’ rejection of continuity, however, is not anti-Aristotelian. Although Aristotle thinks that a tragedy should represent a whole action, i.e. one with a beginning, a middle and an end (1450b23-6, see note 13), and that fineness of μῦθος lies in *order* as well as

¹⁵ Most clearly in DeForest 1994:28 where we read “Callimachus describes epic [!] poetry as “unified” and “continuous” (ἐν *and* [my italics] διηνεκές, *Aet.* 1.3).”, as Asper 1997:213 n.22.

¹⁶ Cf. Kühner-Gerth, *Grammatik der griechischen Sprache* (Hannover 1992 (=1904)) §405.4, 1.277 and Schwyzler-Debrunner, *Griechische Grammatik* (Munich 1939-1971) 2.180f d.

¹⁷ Cf. Koster 1970:117-19, Newman 1974:355.

magnitude (1450b36-51a6), so that the *μῦθος* must have these elements *in order*, it does not follow that a work as a whole, epic or tragedy, should proceed in chronological order or without a narrative break or pause (there is more than one type of continuity/discontinuity). This is because Aristotle's comments on order apply to the *μῦθος*, *not* to the whole work. The *μῦθος* is the soul of a work (cf. 1458a38-9), but also only a small part of it. This is clear from Aristotle's summary of the *μῦθος* of the *Odyssey*:

“Someone has been away from home for many years, with a god on the watch for him, and he is alone. Moreover affairs at home are such that his wealth is being consumed by the suitors, and his son plotted against. He arrives after much distress, makes himself known to some people, and attacks. He is rescued, his enemies annihilated.” (1455b17-23; Janko 1987:23)

Τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἐπεισόδια (1455b23). As long as they are οἰκεῖα or “integral” (1455b13) such episodes are an important part of a poem or drama. Episodes mean that the order of a work with a unified *μῦθος* need not be simple. This is confirmed by the practice of Homer, the approved model of epic in the *Poetics*. The *Odyssey* is not chronologically continuous, rather a large part is told in “flashback” by Odysseus. The content of this “flashback” (e.g. the Cyclops-episode) is, as the plot-summary shows, principally composed of “episodes”, which do not form part of the *Odyssey*'s *μῦθος*. Requirements about the order and unity of the *μῦθος* do not apply (straightforwardly) to the whole text, episodes and all, because the *μῦθος* is not the whole text.

1.4.3 Heracleodorus and Hellenistic Poetry

The recently published edition of Philodemus' *On Poems* 1 (Janko 2000) at last provides an intelligible text of several Hellenistic literary critics, many of whom are relevant for the study of Hellenistic (and Ciceronian and Augustan Latin) poetry. Most important with regard to genre is one Heracleodorus. This critic is unknown outside the Philodemus papyri (Janko 2000:155), and dates perhaps from the second

half of the third century BC.¹⁸ He is a euphonist, that is he finds the aesthetic value of poetry to reside in its sound, specifically in the sound that supervenes upon the word-order of a poem: “One must conclude that the euphony which supervenes is the particularity, but the contents and the words are outside (the art) and are common.” (F29 Janko).¹⁹ This position leads to a rejection of genre-divisions and distinctions of style as relevant to the merit of poetry (Janko 2000:155). Heracleodorus argues that there is no genre-specific diction or content, and that poets’ styles are not individuated.²⁰

τὴν μὲν ἐπικήν, ἐ[τέρ]α[ν] δὲ τραγικήν, ἄλ[λη]ν δ’ ἱαμβικήν ἢ κωμικήν
ἢ τίν’ ὅλως [ἐ]νιοι λέγου[σιν]”²¹ καὶ τὸ “μηδὲ νοήματα διαφέρειν τὰ κωμικὰ
καὶ τραγικὰ καὶ μελικὰ”, ²²καὶ τὸ “μηδεμίαν [δ]ιάλεκτον κωλύειν τὸν
ἀγαθὸν ποιητὴν διαφαίνειν κατὰσκευὴν [ἣ]ν ἂν ἔληται ποιεῖν”, καὶ τὸ
“μηδ[ὲ] χαρακτήρας ἰδιωθ[ῆ]ναι τῶν ποιητῶν”²³ (*On Poems* 1:192.13-24)

Indeed poetry is not divisible according to verse-forms, according to Heracleodorus: ὅλης ποιητικῆς [ἀμει]ροῦς ὑπαρ[χ]οῦση[ς], κατὰ τε μέ[τρ]α (*On Poems* 1:210.20-2=F17 Janko). Obscurity and irrelevance are permissible (because aesthetic value resides only in *sound*): “The verses are obscure, but enthrall us all the same” (F20 Janko=PHerc.1676 fr.3.20-2, from *On Poems* 2). The collapsing of generic distinctions by Heracleodorus, and the embracing of obscurity have recently been connected with the practice of Hellenistic poets:

¹⁸ Janko 2000:165 places Heracleodorus in the late third century, on the grounds that he is a more radical euphonist than the preceding target in *On Poems* 1, Andromenides, but less so than the following Pausimachus of Miletus, suggesting that Crates’ handbook, on which the order of *On Poems* 1 is based, was arranged chronologically. But there is considerable room for doubt about Heracleodorus’ date.

¹⁹ This fragment is from PHerc.1676.col.6.2-7, from *On Poems* 2 (not yet republished). Cf. also T1 Janko, “Crates misunderstands the views of Heracleodorus and those who share them; for they praise not the composition, but the sound which supervenes upon it.” (*On Poems* 5.col.24.27-32).

²⁰ The fragments of Heracleodorus come from a context where Philodemus is quoting and attacking the views which he cites – in many cases the subject and the content can be supplemented from other parts of the *On Poems*, where Philodemus recapitulates.

²¹ =F2 Janko, the rejection of diction varying with genre.

²² =F3 Janko, the rejection of content varying with genre.

²³ =F5 Janko, poets’ styles as not differentiated.

“[Heracleodorus] advocacy of the mixture of dialects, styles, and genres, and of fine-sounding but not necessarily intelligible σύνθεσις, finds its antecedent in the practice of poets like Callimachus and Lycophron.” (Janko 2000:164)

Close attention to the practice of Hellenistic poets in adapting earlier poets and genres will help to determine how accurate this characterisation is. Could Callimachus have been the inspiration for euphonist critics such as Heracleodorus? How does Hellenistic “obscurity” operate? Is it connected with production of fine-sounding clauses at the expense of sense?

1.5 Narratology and Primary Narrators

Any study of narrators or narrative must take account of the work of theorists of narrative such as Bal (1985), Genette (1980) and Chatman (1978). Some of the problems, limitations and advantages of their approach should be made clear.

The most basic of the distinctions which they employ, which I shall also take up, is that between the *story* (roughly, the sequence of actions or events of a narrative, along with the characters in those events) and the *discourse* (roughly, the particular expression of those actions or events).²⁴ The story is what a narrative is about, the discourse how it is told (Chatman 1978:19, 23-4). In narrative, as opposed to dramatic, works the events of the story are communicated to the audience by the narrator through his discourse. He is to be conceived of as having direct access to the story, and acts as a mediator between the audience and the story (Chatman 1978:33-4).

In its modern form it is generally characterised as a structuralist position, based on various structuralist and semiotic assumptions (most explicitly at Chatman 1978:17-34), and as part of an attempt to isolate the necessary components of a narrative (e.g. Bal 1985:8-10). Such a project with such a basis might be attacked in whole or in part. Culler (1981:169-87), for example, argues that the assumption of a story as an independent, “quasi-real” (my term) entity prior to the discourse ignores cases where the event themselves, constituents of the story, are presented as products of forces within the discourse (e.g. the guilt of Oedipus in *Oedipus Rex* as a necessary result of the interweaving of prophecies, the narrative coherence and the tragic force of the play, all aspects of the discourse). This casts into doubt the whole project of creating a “science of narrative” based on the priority of story to discourse (Culler 1981:186-7).

²⁴ The narratological terminology for story and discourse varies with each narratologist. I employ the terms used by Chatman (1978) and taken up by Richardson (1990) on the Homeric narrator. Bal (1985:5) terms Chatman’s *story* the “fabula”, his *discourse* the “story”, and adds a third category of “narrative text”, which I shall ignore. Genette (1980:27) uses *histoire* (translated “story” in Genette 1980) for Chatman’s *story*, *récit* (translated “narrative” in Genette 1980) for *discourse*. I disregard his third category of “narrating” (French *narration*). The story-discourse distinction goes back to the Russian Formalists, on whom see Chatman 1978:19-20.

Further attacks on the structuralist roots of narratology have been based on a tendency to over-schematise texts in geometric terms (particularly clear in Bal 1985 and de Jong 1987), and to press for the universal nature of various structural phenomena (Gibson 1996:5). Various (e.g. Wittgensteinian) objections might also be made to the idea that narrative is a communication (Chatman 1978:28), or is exhaustively defined by such a statement, or that it and its constituent elements have a “meaning” (Chatman 1978:22-7).²⁵

But, as Culler (1981:172) comments in his remarks on the priority of story to discourse, distinguishing between them is still a fruitful and indispensable way of proceeding, and is not invalidated by doubts about the “science of narrative” as a whole. One is not committed to accepting the entire superstructure by recognising the validity of a distinction between the author of a work and its narrator, or that between the content of a narrative and the way it is expressed. Accordingly I shall make occasional use of narratological distinctions, definitions and terminology, though attempting to avoid the obscurity which some narratological jargon can bring, and endeavouring to build a more complete and comprehensive picture of individual narrators than has often been the case in overly formalist narratological writing.²⁶

As mentioned above, my study will concern *primary* narrators of various kinds in Archaic and Hellenistic poetry, not *secondary* or embedded narrators, nor texts of a dramatic or mimetic nature, such as Theocritus 1.²⁷ I shall, however, deal with primary narrators whether they are characters in their narratives (e.g. the narrator of Archilochus F196a), or stand outside their narratives, as in the *Iliad*.²⁸ I shall also deal with monologues delivered by a character who is therefore the primary narrator, even

²⁵ What is Tristram Shandy in *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy* “communicating” (not much of the life, at any rate)? Does a joke “communicate meaning” between teller and hearer?

²⁶ A notable exception is Richardson 1990 on Homer.

²⁷ In terms of Genette’s “narrative levels”, I deal with narrators who are “extradiegetic” narrators, but not (exclusively) “intradiegetic” (Genette 1980:228-31).

²⁸ In Genette’s terms the narrator of Archilochus’ Cologne Epode (F196a) is “homodiegetic”, Homer “heterodiegetic” (Genette 1980:243-5, who picks out the Iliadic narrator as an example of the latter type).

where the discourse purports to be a description of the events of the story as they happen (e.g. Theocritus 3).

I shall extend the use of the term “narrator” to include the persona of the poet in parts of poems where he is not narrating a series of events, where these come in a poem which does contain a narrative. This is because these sections are often very important in the creation of the persona of the narrator, the persona thus created being exploited in the more straightforwardly narrative parts of the poem (a good example is the expression of ξενία for a patron by Pindar *outside* the telling of the “myth”, e.g. P.10.64-6 on his closeness to Thorax).

1.6 Narrator-prominence and its signs

All the narrators with whom I shall be dealing are to be found towards the overt end of the scale of “narrator-prominence”,²⁹ where the narrator’s presence or mediating role between story audience is marked to some degree. The clearest indications of narratorial prominence include explicit commentary on the events or characters in the story, first-person statements by the narrator, addresses by the narrator to the characters in the story, exclamations or other emotional reactions to the narrative etc. Even the Homeric narrator, often characterised as “objective” in various senses,³⁰ and who can be described in general as “self-effacing” (see 2.3.1 below), displays on occasion the most forceful markers of a narrator’s presence. He comments, for example, on Glaucus’ foolishness in exchanging his armour with Diomedes (*Il.*6.234–6), invokes the Muse at the beginning of both epics (including the use of the first-person form $\mu\omicron\iota$ at *Od.*1.1), and makes frequent addresses to Patroclus in *Il.*16 (see 2.3.4 below).³¹ Hence even those narrators who are relatively unimportant when compared to the intrusive narrators of the *Aetia* or the *Works and Days* are still a mediating presence between story and audience. We shall not meet any narratives where the narrator is so self-effacing and minimally mediating that nothing is recorded beyond the speech or verbalised thoughts of the characters (Chatman 1978:166), so that they can even be termed “nonnarrated” (Chatman 1978:147).

One particular device for the foregrounding of the narrator which has not attracted much critical study is the use of quasi-(auto)biography, which is a prominent feature in the characterisation of such overt narrators as are found in Pindar, Callimachus’ *Aetia* and even, in a slightly altered sense, the *Argonautica*. This is one aspect which the relatively self-effacing Homeric narrator largely avoids (2.3.1 below).

²⁹ Chatman’s concept (1978:146–266), used by Richardson (1990) as the organising principle of his work.

³⁰ Cf. the survey in de Jong 1987:14–26.

³¹ Cf. Richardson 1990:167–196 on the most prominent signs of Homeric narratorial presence.

1.7 Authors, Narrators and Quasi-biography

It is of central importance when tackling questions of the use, properties and attributes of a primary narrator or such a narrator's voice to establish the precise relationship of the narrator to the author of the text. Most importantly, the narrator of a text ought never to be (fully) identified with the historical author (Bal 1985:119, Genette 1980:213), an observation which is now a "commonplace of literary theory" (Chatman 1978:14).³² In some cases, of course, the narrator is clearly distinct from the author - most obviously when the narrator is a character within the work but the author is someone very different (Pip in *Great Expectations* is not Dickens). In such cases the audience or reader may receive a significant amount of "biographical" information about the narrator of various types, e.g. his name, various facts about his background or beliefs etc. This type of information, any reference to an "external" life for the narrator beyond his capacity as a narrator, I term "quasi-biography". Several such situations exist in both Archaic and Hellenistic poetry – e.g. the self-naming and extensive self-description of Simaetha (obviously to be distinguished from Theocritus) in Th.2. Quasi-biography coincides, particularly when extensively developed, with some of the most explicit signs of narrator-prominence.

Narratologists such as Chatman (1978:147-151) make a further distinction between the "real author", the flesh-and-blood creator of a text, the "implied author", the version of the author implied by the text and constructed by the reader from the text, and the "narrator", who speaks and relates the narrative to the audience.³³ Chatman (1978:148) follows Booth (1961:71-3) in illustrating the difference between real and implied authors by comparing various works by Henry Fielding - the impressions of the author which the reader receives (the "implied author") from *Joseph Andrews*, *Jonathan Wild* and *Amelia* are all different, though they share the same real author.

³² de Jong 1987:7-8 interprets Aristotle at *Poetics* 1460a5-11 as making "the first step in distinguishing between author (poet) and narrator."

³³ There is also a corresponding distinction between the various receivers of a narrative: the real, flesh-and-blood reader, the implied reader, and the narratee (cf. Chatman 1978:149-151). I do not employ these categories in this thesis.

It is the distinction between the *real* or historical author on one hand and the narrator which is of particular importance when we come to cases where there is a degree of identification of narrator and author.³⁴ In many cases narratorial quasi-biography coincides with (perhaps only apparent) facts about the author's life, e.g. the fact that Hesiod is the brother of one Perses (*WD* 633), and has sailed but once, to Euboea from Aulis, where he won a victory in song (*WD* 650ff.) may reflect or distort actual facts about the historical author's life.³⁵ The degree of identification or overlap can vary: given an audience aware that a particular poet is the author of a particular poem there will be a disposition among them to identify the poet with the speaker of any first-person statements not explicitly or obviously assigned to someone else. In particular, unassigned first-person narratives about the past seem autobiographical (the "autobiographical assumption"):

"first person narratives of past events...not embedded in a wider context are rare in Greek poetry....If the narrating first person is not explained or embedded, the such poetry looks (auto)-biographical." (Hunter 1999:144, cf. Bowie 1985:67)³⁶

The identification can be more explicit - the narrator and the real author may share a nationality, as in Pindar (most obviously at I.1.1-3), or a name, as where the *Theogony*'s narrator is explicitly identified as Hesiod (*Ἡσίοδον καλὴν ἐδίδαξεν αἰοιδὴν*, 22, and *τόνδε δέ με πρότιστα θεαὶ πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπον*, 24). It is important not to take these statements as *straightforward* biographical statements about the real author's life, and not simply because we cannot be sure that they are "true". Rather they have a

³⁴ In such cases the implied author constructed by the reader/audience will closely resemble the historical author, at least for an audience familiar with the historical author. For audiences unfamiliar with the real author, or relying only on texts by the author for their information about him, there is no way of being sure that the real author was in fact anything like he portrays himself in the text. But that the narrator resembles the implied author is written into the text, and that they both resemble the real author is the audience's usual assumption.

³⁵ Though Perses has been thought to be fictional (Bowie 1993:23). Cf. West (1978:33-40) for a review of the evidence and earlier views. It is of course possible that "Hesiod" was *not* the name of the historical author of the *Theogony*.

³⁶ The length, context and content of poetry may play a role in audience expectations about the relationship of narrator to author in the Archaic period (Bowie 1993:36). Political trimeters may have implied a closer relationship, and a greater faithfulness to the historical author's opinions, while drinking-songs might have been taken by the same audience as invented and the narrator much further from the historical author.

specific narrative or aesthetic purpose within the context of the poem. It is not that such biographical statements must be false, but that their truth-value is not relevant to literary analysis of the poems. They may well also be true, in their extra-poetic contexts, but within the poems they are best described as “quasi-autobiographical”.

The criterion, therefore, for first-person statements of the kind which assume some relationship between the subject of the statements and their historical author is not truth but *plausibility*. Pindar, for example, exploits this to associate himself (the historical Pindar) with his victors and express his ξενία for them. But it is more accurate to speak of the “projection” of a poet when this sort of first-person statement is made - the speaker is a persona of the poet, albeit one closely connected with the poet. Thus this persona is, in the case of Pindar, a Theban, a poet etc. But because certain facts are true both of the historical poet and the projection or persona, it does not follow that everything true or alleged to be true of the latter will hold for the former (as Genette 1980:28 recognises). When Pindar declares at P.3.77-9 that girls often sing to the Great Mother and Pan before his door at night, this ought not to be taken as evidence that there was a shrine next to his house. Critics should observe what purpose such a statement serves in the context of the poem, how *it suits Pindar* to characterise his persona in this way. Pindar cannot make ridiculous claims for his projection within the odes, statements which are plainly false, but he can exploit plausible falsities (or inaccuracies) for encomiastic and literary purposes.

The distinction between narrator and author has been challenged as anachronistic when applied to ancient literature, in particular Pindar. D'Alessio (1994:138) urges that:

“*Any* [my italics] distinction between the author’s literary portrait and his ‘real’, or ‘biographical’ image is anachronistic.”

He objects to derogatory comparisons (e.g. Lefkowitz 1991:96) between scholarly inference about Pindar from his poems and the misguided derivation of biographical data about Housman from *A Shropshire Lad* (Housman shares neither name nor county with his narrator). D'Alessio points out that Pindar’s literary persona cannot

be divorced from his social persona, and argues that Pindar's audiences really believed in his closeness to the gods, for example, which was one reason they were honoured when he praised them (1994:139). It is an exaggeration, however, to claim that there is no disjunction between narrator and author in Pindar, although D'Alessio is right to point out that literary persona and social (or real authorial) figure cannot be divided completely. One is certainly grounded on the other – Pindar's narrator in the epinicians certainly seems to exploit facts about Pindar's biography in the poems (e.g. at P.3.77-9, see above).

But the impression of *extempore* composition in Pindar's epinicians, exemplified by the break-off of an apparent digression at P.11.38-40 (ἦρ', ὦ φίλοι, κατ' ἄμευσίπορον τρίοδον ἐδινάθην...), demonstrates the separation of narrator and author. It is only because the audience knows that the *author* has not really "gone astray", and that this is a carefully constructed pose taken up by the *narrator* (Scodel 1996:67). Similarly, self-corrections by the narrator (artfully composed by the author), and transitions and connections which seem arbitrary on the level of the narrator, but which are clearly part of a greater authorial design (e.g. the narrator's "associative transition", with no explicit connection with what precedes, into the myth of Aeacus' part in building the Trojan walls in O.8.31ff., which is of obvious relevance in an Aeginetan ode, hence its inclusion by the *author*, Miller 1993:25-6), advertise the difference between the two, and the applicability of the distinction to Archaic poetry (see 2.3.2.1 below). The corresponding exploitation of the difference in the *Aetia*-prologue demonstrates its validity for Hellenistic poetry. "Callimachus", the narrator, can do things Callimachus, the historical author, cannot, e.g. converse with Apollo (Schmitz 1999:161; see 3.3.2 below).

The distinction between implied author and narrator has in turn been criticised recently as over-complicated and unnecessary or inapplicable to ancient epic, in particular the *Argonautica* (Byre 1991:216, Fusillo 1985:382), because, it is argued, it is usually very difficult to distinguish between the narrator and the implied author in such texts. Ancient epic is thought to be less likely to exhibit a conflict between the values or norms of the (implied) author and those of the narrator. This is the situation of the "unreliable narrator", where the distinction between implied author and narrator is most evident (so Chatman 1978:148-9). While a close identity of

values is certainly apparent in Homer, so that the narrator-implied author distinction is not very important for analysis of the *Iliad*,³⁷ this is hardly the case for the *Argonautica*. DeForest, for example, argues that there is a strong distinction to be made between Apollonius and the “Callimachean” narrator of his poem, a pedant, who mocks Homer (though the poet does not), and whose literary goals are not the same as the poet’s (1994:7-11). In short, the narrator of the *Argonautica* is “unreliable” (1994:91-2).³⁸ While I disagree with the details of DeForest’s analysis, the distinction between the implied author and the narrator is important in the analysis of Apollonius - the *narrator* is portrayed as undergoing a crisis of confidence and doubts about his own abilities (see chapter 5), in contrast to the implied author, who has engineered his narrator’s crisis for his own literary and aesthetic purposes.

³⁷ Cf. Richardson 1990:4, “Because the Homeric narrator is reliable and without question the implied author’s spokesman, the distinction between them is negligible in practice.”

³⁸ According to DeForest 1994:151 the narrator is scared of Medea (as expressed at *Arg.*4.1673-5) - surely we ought not to attribute a similar timidity to the implied author?

1.8 Summary of Aims

In this thesis I shall consequently demonstrate the following:

- that Callimachus, Theocritus and Apollonius owe a close technical and stylistic debt to Archaic poets. To do this, I shall present evidence of the influence on the construction of Hellenistic narrators in a more systematic way than has been the case in the past, and illustrate the relevant complexities and narrative experimentation in Archaic poets;
- that, correspondingly, Homer is not the exclusive model or influence on Hellenistic poetry, nor Hesiod the “preferred” model;
- that the perceived discontinuity between Hellenistic and earlier literature has been exaggerated, one principal cause being a lack of precision in describing pre-Hellenistic poetry and society as “oral”;
- that the primary narrator is a central concern of poets not just in the Hellenistic period, but in the Archaic also;
- how Archaic voices are developed and transformed in different ways by the different Hellenistic poets;
- how the patterns of similarity and difference within the appropriation of Archaic voices reflect both wider Hellenistic phenomena such as the “anxiety of influence” caused by the collections of previous literature in Alexandria and the individual aesthetic choices of the poets;
- that many scholarly perceptions of the relationship between the poets, and in particular their relationship to contemporary and earlier aesthetics are mistaken – attention to the practice of the poets in employing Archaic voices suggests no “anti-Aristotelian” commitments on the part of Callimachus. Similarly recent speculation about the relationship between radical Hellenistic euphonist theorists such as Heracleodorus can also be shown to be mistaken.

2. Archaic Narrative

This chapter is not meant as a complete or exhaustive study of all aspects of Archaic narrative (a PhD, or several, in itself), but as a survey of the main features which are relevant for a study of the adaptation of Archaic narrative models in the early Hellenistic period. Those features which are most widely employed by Callimachus, Theocritus and Apollonius will be sketched out, as those which can most clearly demonstrate their interest in, and exploitation of, Archaic narrators and narrative. This chapter will concentrate on those features which are largely to be found outside the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, whose narrative techniques and use of the narrator have been well studied (de Jong 1987, Richardson 1990), but constant reference will be made to Homer, as good comparative material, and a model (for avoidance as well as emulation) for both Archaic and Hellenistic poets.

Before tackling these aspects of Archaic narrative in detail, however, it is necessary to discuss more general issues of the transmission and performance of Archaic poetry, as confusion and inaccuracy on these points is one reason for the positing of a very sharp break between the character and context of Hellenistic poetry as opposed to earlier Greek literature.

2.1 Orality, Literacy and Discontinuity

There is widespread critical agreement that the poetry of the Hellenistic period is very different from that of preceding Classical and Archaic literature in a number of ways (e.g. in its sense of rupture from the past, and the consequent nature and degree of its allusiveness, Bing 1988:73-75; subject-matter and audience, Bulloch 1985b:543). It is also thought that there should be a corresponding rupture in the critical approaches we must employ as we “cannot approach fifth-century Athenian literature with the same critical positions one employs not only for Alexandrian but all other literature in the Western tradition” (Beye 1982:4). The “radical discontinuity” (Cameron 1995:27, criticising this view) posited is argued to be the result of a complex of various events and developments, e.g. the political upheavals and restructuring of the

Greek world in the fourth century (Bulloch 1985b:543). I have no desire to argue against the importance of the historical and political changes between the fifth and the third century as part of the general explanation for the characteristics of self-consciously epigonal Hellenistic poetry (Bing 1988:62), clearly different in many ways from earlier Greek literature. One feature, however, of the changes cited, which appears prominently in many conceptions of the rupture between Hellenistic poetry and the past, and which leads to an exaggeration of this discontinuity, should be re-examined. This is the oft-observed shift in the performance-conditions and media for the dissemination of poetry (Bulloch 1985b:543, Bing 1988:10-17, DeForest 1994:18-25).

It is often claimed that poetry in the Hellenistic period is no longer the public affair of the Archaic period (e.g. Bulloch 1985b:543), but has become restricted to private elites, and is self-consciously *literary*, its emphasis on itself as written marking a shift from a “song-culture” to a “book-culture” (Bing 1988:46-7, Herington 1985:3-4 for the terms). Poetry is now written to be read (or recited) rather than heard in public, the assumed conditions in the Archaic period. Several characteristics of Hellenistic poetry are typically conceived of as effects of this oral to literary shift, e.g. the marginalisation of heroes and the avoidance of a “heavy” style (Bing), and even some of the experimentation with voice and narrator (Bing 1993:189-94 on Callimachus’ *Hymn to Apollo*). Standing behind such views of the explanatory power of the shift to literacy is work such as Ong’s (1982, esp. 78-119) which argues that literacy effects a complete intellectual and cultural transformation – “writing restructures consciousness”,³⁹ the ways in which individuals in a literate society think are fundamentally different from ways of thinking in oral societies. With reference to Greece, Goody and Watt (1968:42-56) suggested literacy (in contrast to earlier oral Greek society) as the main cause of, among other things, democracy and philosophy. Recent scholarship has raised doubts about the ability of a shift from orality to literacy to explain such developments – Thomas (1992:20) objects to its application to antiquity with the powerful counterexamples of Rome (alphabet known in the seventh century BC) and Sparta (acquired writing but not philosophy). Graeco-Roman magical papyri from Egypt and Roman curses from Bath similarly argue against an intrinsic connection between writing and rationality.

³⁹ The title of Ong 1982 chapter 4.

If there are problems with literacy as an explanation of general intellectual development in the ancient world, these are even more pronounced when it is used to account for developments in literature. Hellenistic poetry, of course, *does* advertise its status as written literature in a way not found in the Archaic period (e.g. in the close association of Calliope and the historian Xenomedes at Callimachus F75.76-7, or the song ἦν νέον ἐν δέλτοισιν ἐμοῖς ἐπὶ γούνασι θῆκα in line 3 of the obviously Hellenistic or later *Batrachomyomachia*,⁴⁰ Bing 1988:19, 28). It is also self-consciously epigonal (itself a marker of difference) in its attitude to earlier literature (Gelzer 1993, Bing 1988:62-90), and this epigonal status has profound consequences for the types of poetry produced and their various characteristics (cf. Depew 1992, Konstan 1998 for the epigonal nature of Callimachus' *Iambi*). But it is misguided to attribute this fact simply to a shift from songs to books, as it is to characterise the Archaic period as "oral" without further qualification.

This characterisation goes back to the work of Parry (collected in Parry 1971) and Lord (1960) on the Homeric epics and their affinity with the oral poetry of Yugoslavia (and Havelock's related idea (e.g. 1963:39-44) that Greece was predominantly oral until the mid-fourth century).⁴¹ The assertions of a need for radically different critical approaches to poetry before the Hellenistic period (see Beye above) are themselves reminiscent of calls for such new approaches when tackling the oral Homer as revealed by Parry and Lord (e.g. Notopoulos 1949). It is their abiding achievement, of course, to have demonstrated the oral *descent* of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* – the background of oral composition and performance which explains the formulaic line-endings and noun-epithet combinations regularly used to complete particular metrical patterns, the repetitions of type-scenes and speeches etc. Neither, however, demonstrated that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were oral epics themselves, in the sense that they were composed wholly without the aid of writing, and so transmitted for some period of time (A. Parry 1966:201, Rutherford 1992:44; cf. Thomas 1992:40-4 on the non-identity of "formulaic" and "oral" poets).

⁴⁰ It clearly alludes to the *Aetia*-prologue (F1.21-2).

⁴¹ Havelock argued that oral communication dominated "all the important relationships and valid transactions of life" (1963:38) – Athenians learnt to write, if at all, as adolescents, and may not have had any more ability than being able to sign their names (1963:40).

Lord (1953:129-31, 1960:129-32) argued from the inability of Yugoslav bards who learned to read and write to compose orally (using the formulaic lines and fixed epithets of their oral background) that Homer himself, to have used the techniques of oral composition with such expertise, cannot have known how to write. Hence his positing of a “dictation-hypothesis”, where a scribe, or team of scribes, endeavoured to record the monumental Homeric epics (Lord 1953:131-33, 1960:124ff.). Kirk (1960:279), on the other hand, suggested that Homer imposed a definitive version of the epics on subsequent bards, and this was faithfully reproduced *orally*, without substantial change, before being written down some years later (perhaps first in the sixth century). Both are implausible – the probable laboriousness of early Greek writing in the seventh and eighth century makes it difficult to believe even a team of scribes could have recorded the *Iliad*, while the sheer size of the epics makes extensive oral transmission, *without change*, very unlikely indeed. Both of these hypotheses arise out of an acceptance of Lord’s idea that oral composers could not have known how to write (so A. Parry 1966:183-4). This is based on an unwarranted comparison with the Yugoslav situation (A. Parry 1966:212-5, Thomas 1992:44-7). Exposure to writing in the twentieth century automatically brings with it exposure to newspapers, magazines, cheap (and not-so-cheap) fiction etc., all of which can affect the style of a poem. This was not the case in Archaic Greece (A. Parry 1966:213). Further comparative study of other oral poetry suggests that the sharp break Lord suggests should be questioned, as there seems to be no dichotomy between an ability to compose orally and an ability to read and write in other oral traditions (Finnegan 1977:24, 70; Thomas 1992:49).

Hence Homer may well have used writing – indeed such a hypothesis seems much more plausible than those which posit a non-writing bard. If even this most “oral” of poets is to a certain extent also “literary”, then the distinction for later poets needs to be handled with care. Descriptions of poets such as Pindar as “oral”, in contrast to the “literary” poets of the Hellenistic period are particularly prone to mislead. He is usually described as “oral” in the sense that his poems were sung publicly to a large audience which received the work orally rather than in writing. But this is a very different sense of “oral” from that applied to Homer (i.e. the employment of a

formulaic system of noun-epithet combinations and repeated lines etc. to enable *extempore* composition). This too can lead to misunderstanding, particularly about the nature and status of the original performance (see below).

Pindar almost certainly used writing in production of his poems (Thomas 1992:115, Davison 1962:147-54, Havelock 1963:39). Writing had, of course, long been re-introduced into Greece (probably around the mid-eighth century, Murray 1993:95-8, Jeffery 1961:12-21), and very probably played a part in the creation, as well as the preservation, of the Homeric poems (A. Parry 1966:216, Rutherford 1992:44-7). The metrical complexity and strophic structure of Pindaric poetry, much more intricate and varied than the Homeric dactylic hexameter, makes the memorisation of large portions over a long period of time unlikely. It also suggests that a written copy and score played an important part at least in the *training* of a chorus to perform a Pindaric poem. There is also some evidence that patrons or cities kept written copies of epinician odes as heirlooms or valuable objects, as in the case of *Olympian* 7 (Σ ad O.7, Drachmann 1903-27:i.195.13-14).

There is some internal support for the use of writing by Pindar in the references in Pindar (and Bacchylides) to poems as permanent records or objects, e.g. ἄθανατον Μουσᾶν ἄγαλμα (B.10.11), and:

σὺν δ' ἀλαθείαι βροτῶν
κάλλιστον, εἴπ[ερ καὶ θάνηι τις,
λε[ί]πεται Μουσ[ᾶν] βαθυζώνων ἄθ[υρ]μα. (B.9.85-7)

This conception of the song as an object which will live on, alongside the promise of lasting fame which poets make to their patrons (because, as Pindar points out, ῥῆμα δ' ἐργμάτων χρονιώτερον βιοτεύει, N.4.6) implies a well-developed conception of literature as *written* and therefore lasting, which again calls the rigidity of the oral-literary distinction into question, and shows that poets before the Hellenistic period conceived of their work as “literature” which would persist (Kerkhecker 1999:12 with n.12 against Bing 1988:16, Rösler 1980:45-56). Future fame, and a spread across the Greek world, is also clear in Theognis’ promise to Cynus:

θοίνης δὲ καὶ εἰλαπίνῃσι παρέσση

ἐν πάσαις... (239-40)

...ἀλλὰ μελήσεις

ἄφθιτον ἀνθρώποις αἰὲν ἔχων ὄνομα,

Κύρνε, καθ' Ἑλλάδα γῆν στρωφώμενος... (245-7)

This sort of panHellenic fame is most easily explained as a result of a spread of written copies of Theognis' elegies, and writing seems to be the most plausible explanation of Theognis' comment about a σφρηγίς (19) to be placed on his verses (Gerber 1997:4).

Some scholars have posited a wholly oral dissemination of some Archaic poets, e.g. Alcaeus (MacLachlan 1997:139, Rösler 1980:77-91), seeing no trace there of any awareness of writing as a means of transmission. Nevertheless, even though there are no references as obvious as those in Pindar, Bacchylides or Theognis to permanent fame or a song as an object, there are oblique indications of an awareness of the possibilities of disseminating poetry through writing in poets such as Alcaeus.

2.1.1 Pseudo-intimacy and writing

The situation developed in Alcaeus (and also Sappho), where a poem is full of references to particular individuals, situations and locales which seem very “private” and local, may not simply be a *paradox* vis-à-vis the preservation of the poetry (cf. Rösler 1980:78). Why would such poetry interest those outside the circle? Precisely *because* of the portrayal of the circle and the feeling of “*pseudo-intimacy*” thus created for audiences outside the original, “private” audience (Scodel 1996:60). Scodel draws attention to the feeling of eavesdropping, of admission to the circle, which is produced by poetry such as Alcaeus' and Sappho's (1996:60-1). The seemingly private references play a large role in the appeal of the poetry for secondary audiences, which feels admitted to a “small, enclosed world” (Scodel 1996:61). Carey (1995:95-6) points out a similar effect in Pindar created by the prominence of the narrator's first-person statements and the emphasis on the relationship of ξενία between poet and patron which he terms “quasi-intimate”. Scodel (1996:62) draws a similar parallel to Pindar, referring to the oblique and implicit nature of much of the

encomiastic information in the epinicians (victor's name, event, place of victory etc.) – secondary audiences have to make some effort to reconstruct everything precisely, i.e. they are treated as if they knew the information already (as the original audience would have done). This “pseudo-intimate” effect is a particularly important Archaic characteristic adapted in the Hellenistic period.

The existence of secondary audiences at least suggests that writing may have been used in the dissemination of the poems (even if they were subsequently recited orally), and that even poets such as Alcaeus and Sappho may have composed with such audiences in mind.

2.1.2 Early signs of writing

The use of writing in the transmission of Archaic literature, and the conscious exploitation of this fact, can even be observed among one of the earliest Archaic poets, Hesiod (probably early seventh century). The self-correction of the *Theogony* in lines 11-12 of the *Works and Days* implies dissemination of the former poem by writing:

οὐκ ἄρα μοῦνον ἔην Ἐρίδων γένος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν
εἰσὶ δύω

This alludes to and corrects *Theog.*225ff., where we are told that Night bore, amongst others, Eris, who is called στρυγερή (226) and herself gives birth to an assortment of troubles for humanity. Now Hesiod (or the Hesiodic narrator) is of the opinion that there are two Erises – one bad, like that sketched out in the *Theogony*, and one good, who rouses the lazy, encourages healthy competition: ἀγαθὴ δ' Ἔρις ἥδε βροτοῖσιν (*WD* 24). In line 11 the particle ἄρα is used in a corrective sense, where a speaker changes his mind due to unforeseen circumstances, as at *Il.*16.60-3 (Most 1993:78-80).⁴² But, as Most (1993:81-2) shows, this sort of self-correction of another poem by the same poet assumes the persistence of that poem in an unchanged version. It is only because the previous poem is *stable* and unaltered that it can be used as a

⁴² In Homer this use is typical of the speech of *characters* – Hesiod transfers this to his narrator. (Most 1993:79).

standard by which to measure later opinion. This fixity, and the assumption of an opinion preserved beyond the point when it seemed right, implies the existence of written copies of the *Theogony*, and the dissemination of these copies. Hence the presence of other cross-referential passages in the *Works and Days* which point to the *Theogony* – e.g. the Prometheus-Pandora tales in both (*Theog.* 508-616 and *WD* 47-105), which are meant to establish a link between the two poems (Most 1993:86-91, Stein 1990:53). Again the variations here in the *Works and Days* are best understood as *variations* from the already fixed version existing in the written *Theogony*.

A different, but related indication of the fixity of the Hesiodic poems is noted by Scodel (1996:72-9), who argues that the self-correction in the *Theogony*, which as we have seen involves a change of mind due to unforeseen circumstances, implies a *narrative* explaining this change – a narrative about the unforeseen circumstances. She finds this in the story of the victory in the games of Amphidamas, which we are only told of in *WD* 654ff. A primary or “private” audience, with knowledge of Hesiod can be conceived of as knowing this, hence requiring no explanation. But this would only become obvious to a broader, secondary audience on rehearing or rereading the poem (given the long separation of self-correction and explanation in the *Works and Days*) – at that time the secondary audience would *also* know of the victory, and understand this as the explanation for the change of mind. The feeling of admittance to a closed group is in turn pseudo-intimate, but more importantly this effect is only achieved on *secondary* hearings or readings, suggesting the exploitation by Hesiod of a fixed text.

It is probably no exaggeration, then, to claim that *every* ancient author’s text which has come down to us (whether through manuscripts or papyri) goes back to a copy either written or dictated by the author himself (so Davison 1962:148-9).⁴³ I would press for this even in the case of such poets as Archilochus (cf. Davison 1962:150 for the suggestion that a contemporary, probably the poet, thought it worth preserving

⁴³ Indeed that is why we have such texts, in contrast to the loss of the vast majority of “folk” or popular poetry, which went unrecorded (Thomas 1992:105-7). We have very little of such material, and those early poets whom we do have are simply early examples of “higher” or “special” (in a variety of senses) poetry which poet or patron thought important enough to have recorded.

his verses),⁴⁴ who are thought of as very early in date (seventh century, West 1989-92:i.1). It may be objected that there is supposed to have been a lack of writing materials in this early period, and that the evidence for a fully-fledged book-trade is confined to the second half of the fifth century and later (cf. Davison 1962:219ff.). But, as Stein (1990:89) points out, a lack of papyrus could be made up by several alternative writing materials, such as bark, wax or particularly leather (Jeffery 1961:56-59, who notes the evidence of writing on *διφθέροι* from Hdt.5.58). This also indicates that what is being suggested is nothing like the later book-trade, but the gradual dispersal of a few copies of poems over a long period of time – hence the material itself need not have been ideal. Reading was not the principal form of reception – the texts will have been “keys” to performance (Thomas 1992:118-19), probably by self-selected individuals of some degree of musical and poetic competence, at symposia or other contexts. With the greater claims of panHellenisation in Pindar, for example, we can assume a much greater availability of convenient writing-materials and a correspondingly greater ease of obtaining poet’s texts.

⁴⁴ Stein (1990:88-90) cites some evidence for the use of writing in Archilochus, such as F185, the *σκυτάλη* fragment, which demonstrates Archilochus knew of writing, at least. More generally, however, her approach depends rather heavily on the dubious view that greater authorial/narratorial self-consciousness implies a use of writing. Cf. Thomas 1992:102-3 for criticisms of the crudity of the opposition between orality and literacy there, and the similarities to the sort of *Geistesgeschichte* to be found in Snell 1953.

2.2 Performance and Reperformance

The preceding re-assessment of the picture of “oral” Archaic poetry should in itself prompt a re-thinking of commonly-held views about Archaic poetry and the possibility of its difficulty, allusiveness etc. More importantly, it should prompt a re-examination of the performance of Archaic poetry, which should in turn modify our view of it and its relationship to Hellenistic poetry.

One consequence of a commitment to a strong distinction between oral and literary periods in Greek poetry is an unreflective assumption that occasional Archaic poetry was a one-off, oral business (apparent, e.g., in DeForest 1994:18-19 who does not distinguish between oral epic and subsequent “oral” poetry, contrasts “literary” Thucydides with Herodotus and cites Ong 1982 and Goody-Watt 1968 for the transformative power of literacy). To take Pindaric and Bacchylidean epinicians as an example, it is thought that these victory odes were composed solely for a specific occasion, to celebrate a victory at one of the Great Games, and performed at a more or less public gathering of citizens from the victor’s home city – a one-off, never-to-be-repeated show. This assumption is apparent, for example, in Bundy (1962:ii.35), who argues that Pindar would not include anything which the *original audience* might think irrelevant to the praise of the victor. It is also used as a critical tool, to rule out certain interpretations. Gerber (1982:26) responds with scepticism to Renehan’s (1969:219-21) suggestion that by πολύφατος ὕμνος at O.1.8 Pindar meant to suggest both πολυ-φατος (“glorious”) and πολ-υφατος (as if from ὑφαίνω, “I weave”), on the grounds that the *original audience* would not receive the word-play. Regardless of the merits of Renehan’s suggestion, Gerber’s reasoning is based on an assumption that the audience of the ode would hear it only once as it was sung, and would therefore be unlikely to understand the double meaning.

The picture, however, of a one-off performance of Pindar is awry. The epinicians of Pindar and Bacchylides abound in statements about the lasting fame victors will gain through song, e.g.:

καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγινόμενοις αἰεὶ πιφαύσκοι
σὰν Νεῖμῆαι νίκαν (B.9.81-2)

This awareness of future fame indicates, as has been noted, a dependence on writing. It also shows, however, that the original audience at the premiere of the victory ode is not the only one which Pindar and Bacchylides are composing for. Writing may underlie the preservation of their songs, but the instrument for the spread of the fame of victors is clearly the reperformance of the odes (Young 1983:40 with n.29).

Strong *prima facie* evidence for the reperformance of Pindar, for example, is to be found in the difficulty of his language, which suggests the poems were designed to be heard repeatedly (Scodel 1996:59-60). This can be supported by the idea often found in Pindar of the spread of his song across the Greek world:

ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάσας ὀλκάδος ἔν τ' ἀκάτῳ, γλυκεῖ' ἀοιδά,
στεῖχ' ἀπ' Αἰγίνας διαγγέλλοις.... (N.5.2-3)⁴⁵

This travelling song, which in turn spreads the victor's name, is best explained by the reperformance of the ode (with the help of a written copy – see above). This is confirmed by a passage from *Nemean* 4:

εἰ δ' ἔτι ζαμενεῖ Τιμόκριτος ἀλίῳ
σὸς πατὴρ ἐθάλπετο, ποικίλον κιθαρίζων
θαμὰ κε, τῷδε μέλει κλιθεῖς,
υἱὸν κελάδησε καλλίνικον... (N.4.13-16)

The victor's father is imagined as performing the victory-ode *several times*. Hence reperformance (though not always by the victor's family) is the mechanism for the spread of fame. This is also clear from the common contrast in Pindaric epinicians between the *komos* and the victory song (Bundy 1962:i.22-3). Here the victory revel, the transient, momentary celebration of victory contrasts with the song as a permanent record of achievement (1962:i.2). This permanence suggests both a text

⁴⁵ Cf. also I.2.44-6, I.4.37-42 (on the reperformance of Homer). "Implicit reference to subsequent performances is relatively common in Pindar" (Heath-Lefkowitz 1991:186). Cf. also Xenophanes F6D-K.

and reperformance from that text. At O.10.91-6 the victor who is not commemorated in song gains only βραχύ τι τεπνόν (93), missing out on the εὐρὸ κλέος (95) conferred by Pindar. The breadth of this fame, and the *contrast* between song and the transient, one-off *komos*, implies the reperformance of the song.

2.2.1 Choral or Monodic? A Critical cul-de-sac

The notion of in particular Pindaric reperformance can help to dissolve a recent debate about the original performance conditions of his epinicians – were they performed by a chorus (so the Pindar scholia, Burnett 1989, Carey 1989, 1991) or by a solo singer (e.g. Lefkowitz 1988=1991:ch.9, Heath 1988, Davies 1988, Heath-Lefkowitz 1991)? The trigger for the suggestion (Lefkowitz 1988:3-4=1991:193-4) that the odes might have originally been performed monodically was the fact that the great majority of first-person statements in Pindar seem to refer to the poet (or his narrator/persona), rather than the chorus (see 2.3.2.2 below), which is at least consistent with solo performance (Braswell 1992:47).

The debate, however, seems incapable of resolution, given the pattern of argument over individual passages which seem to indicate one hypothesis rather than another. For example, at the beginning of N.3 poet and young men are depicted as waiting for the Muses' song:

...ῥῶδατι γάρ
μένοντ' ἐπ' Ἀσωπίῳ μελιγαρύων τέκτονες
κώμων νεανίαι, σέθεν ὅπα μαϊόμενοι. (3-5)

τᾶς ἀφθονίαν ὅπαζε μήτιος ἀμᾶς ἄπο·
ἄρχε δ' οὐρανοῦ πολυνεφέλα κρέοντι, θύγατερ,
δόκιμον ὕμνον· ἐγὼ δὲ κείνων τέ νιν ὀάροις
λύρᾳ τε κοινάσομαι. (9-12)

This has been taken as good evidence for a choral performance of N.3 (e.g. by Carey 1991:197), given that the fiction of waiting here appears to involve the passing on of a song provided by the Muses to a waiting chorus. The solo hypothesis, however, can

be made to incorporate such passages – Heath-Lefkowitz (1991:186-8) argue that the passage refers to unison singing by the young men, but not to the epinician itself. The singing is conceived of as separate from the victory ode. An inverse example is provided by O.1.17-8 (ἀλλὰ Δωρίαν ἀπὸ φόρμιγγα πασσάλου/ λάμβαν',...), is most naturally taken to refer to the circumstances of performance, i.e. *solo performance* (Heath-Lefkowitz 1991:181-2), but can also be taken as figurative, within *choral performance* (Carey 1989:560).

That Pindar's epinicians were reperformed, and that Pindar shows awareness of the potential for reperformance is noted on both sides of this debate (Davies 1988:56-67, Heath-Lefkowitz 1991:186, Carey 1989:561), but the significance of this has not been grasped. Whatever the original performance-conditions of Pindaric and other epinicians (the background of which, at least, is choral, hence the triadic or strophic structure, though this cannot determine that they were performed chorally), the panHellenic and enduring fame promised to patrons is achieved through reperformance. This reperformance appears to have been monodic (as N.4.13ff. shows). Pindar and Bacchylides were aware of these secondary audiences, indeed they are the very mechanism for the achievement of the patrons' fame. Hence they are as important as the original performance. I suggest that one reason for the vagueness and comparative scarcity of references to the circumstances of the original performance (Herington 1985:28-30, Carey 1989:557-8; cf. Lefkowitz 1991:60 on the general and unspecific references in Pindaric epinicians, e.g. I.7) is the importance of reperformance, perhaps under very different conditions. The openness about the circumstances of performance facilitates monodic reperformance, which is the means of achieving lasting panHellenic fame. Occasionally, for some reason, Pindar might want to make more explicit reference to the circumstances of the original performance, as perhaps is the case at the beginning of *Nemean* 3, and occasionally might allude more explicitly to reperformance (as in *Nemean* 4).⁴⁶ Perhaps the term κῶμος, preferred to χορός in Pindar, is suitably vague and unspecific as to whether a chorus performing the ode is meant, or the victory-revel more generally (cp. Bremer 1990:55 who thinks the avoidance of χορός might be on religious grounds).

⁴⁶ It also seems possible, *pace* Carey 1991:199 n.22, that there might have been some variety in the original performance-conditions from Cyrene to Sicily, Pella to Rhodes and 498 to 446 BC (first and last datable Pindaric odes).

The importance of reperformance provides another explanation as to why the first-persons in Pindar refer to the poet (or his narrator/persona) – the subsequent reperformances by solo singers. It also explains why both the choral and monodic hypotheses can get a foothold in the Pindaric evidence. Even if, then, Carey (1989:562) is right to say that the victory odes were “intended for choral delivery”, it is clear that they were *also* intended for *solo* delivery, and this latter delivery is the means for the achievement of fame. It is the excessive concern with the “premiere” (Carey 1989:561) which is the central problem in the choral-monodist debate, but one which reperformance should lessen.

Furthermore, in terms of the oral-literary dichotomy, designing poems for reperformance, to be heard repeatedly, takes us a long way towards the situation of reading and rereading poems. It is obviously not identical, and the collection of a great store of Greek literature in the Alexandrian Library obviously makes Callimachus’ ability to access repeatedly Pindar’s odes very different to that of Pindar’s fifth-century audiences, but it does license approaches to Archaic literature which investigate their allusiveness, the role of the narrator and the existence of a “literary” personality (*pace* D’Alessio 1994:138). Archaic poetry, for the most part, was not meant to be heard just once, nor was the premiere the only occasion for which poets wrote (*pace* Bundy 1962:ii.35 on Pindar). This demonstrates that even for Archaic poetry it is true that to privilege the first performance of a poem as exclusively or primarily constitutive of the meaning of the poem is entirely bogus when assessing the work as art (though it may be of historical interest), and it is something which critics ought to have weaned themselves off long ago.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Which is not to say that attempts to study what the effect of ancient literature was “in performance” (primary or secondary) cannot be extremely fruitful – cf. Thomas 1992:117ff.

2.3 Persona

The conclusions above about the nature of the “orality” of Archaic poetry, and the probable circumstances of the performance of Pindar, should close (though not eradicate) the perceived gap between third-century and earlier literature. Charges of an anachronistic application to Archaic poetry of such critical concepts as literary allusion can be seen to be unfounded. Most importantly for this study, the considerations above make conceptual room for the idea that Archaic poets could develop personas which were central to the organisation, function and value of their poems, and that, moreover, such personas could be consistent across different poems, and be received as consistent and unified by audiences (both primary and secondary). The reperformance of Archaic poetry, probably using written texts as keys, and the consequent dissemination of poetry across the Greek world, suggests that audiences could hear (and perhaps sometimes, in the case of interested professionals or patrons, read) different works by, e.g., Hipponax, and realise that the narratorial guise taken on in these different works was largely the same. Indeed many of the effects striven for in the poems were probably a result of this consistent persona. “Hipponax” was not merely perceived in the Hellenistic period, when Callimachus presents the dead iambicist as visiting Alexandria in *Ia*.1, but by Archaic audiences also. The importance of this narratorial personality in the Archaic poets makes them important models for the Hellenistic poets, with their own particular interest in narrators and poetic authority (see 1.3 above).

2.3.1 Visibility and Centrality

The centrality of the personality of the narrator to the control and purpose of Archaic poetry varies considerably between poets and genres. The most important division with regard to the adaptation of Archaic narrators by Hellenistic poets is that between epic (principally Homer and the *Homeric Hymns*) on one hand, and Hesiod and non-hexameter Archaic poetry on the other. That the Homeric narrator is an ever-present controlling force in the narrative of the *Iliad* has been clearly demonstrated by de Jong (1987), who shows how the primary narrator selects, arranges and presents the narrative to the audience, e.g. in the use of γάρ-clauses to

anticipate an audience question by explaining decisions or events (e.g. *Il*.1.54-5, explaining why Achilles calls an assembly, de Jong 1987:91-3). The story does not “tell itself”. But it is also clear the narrators of both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* do not *foreground* themselves – they do not use their narratorial personas as a principal method of structuring their epics, nor are the epics about them. The narrators are there, of course, but they are self-effacing.

This relatively low level of narrator-prominence (to which there can be exceptions, e.g. in the rare narratorial apostrophes to characters to arouse audience sympathy, e.g. to Patroclus in *Il*.16, Parry 1972:10-15, Block 1982:15-22, Richardson 1990:170-74 – see 2.3.4 below) is apparent from formal characteristics such as the scarcity of narratorial first-person statements, or the absence of self-naming.⁴⁸ It is also clear in the very small amount of quasi-biography in Homer. Quasi-biography, any reference to an external life for the narrator, beyond the simple capacity to narrate, draws attention to the narrator by providing the audience with apparent information on the narrator’s name, appearance, relations, history etc. But in Homer we are not told any such information. The only quasi-biography is the very oblique deduction that the narrator is telling his story a long time after the events of the Trojan War and its aftermath, as the οἶοι νῦν βροτοί-passages⁴⁹ indicate (de Jong 1987:44).

The *Homeric Hymns* have, for the most part, a similarly unprominent narrator, first-person statements, for example, being largely confined to the standard opening and closing formulas such as ἄρχομ’ αἰεῖδεν (e.g. HH2.1) and αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σεῖο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ’ ἀοιδῆς (e.g. HH2.495). They are also correspondingly lacking in quasi-biography, with the exception of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*,⁵⁰ which embeds a description of the narrator within itself:

⁴⁸ Indeed the self-effacement extends to presenting a character’s thoughts in the form of conversations with his θυμός, to avoid drawing attention to the mediating presence of the narrator, and his implied privileged knowledge (Richardson 1990:131-2). But even the Homeric narrator is much more prominent than narrators in “nonnarrated” narratives (see 1.6 above).

⁴⁹ E.g. *Il*.5.302-4, 13.378-85, 13.445-9, 20.285-7.

⁵⁰ Another exception (as also in its use of apostrophe) is HH8 to Ares, with a much more developed prayer on the part of the narrator for self-restraint, but this is very much later, probably by Proclus (West 1970:303-4). I leave aside the question of the unity or division of HH3, on which see Janko 1982:99-100 and Miller 1986:ix-xi. Note that both the “Delian” and “Pythian” sections display exceptional characteristics when compared to the rest of the corpus (see below).

“ὦ κοῦραι, τίς δ’ ὑμῖν ἀνὴρ ἥδιστος ἀοιδῶν
 ἐνθάδε πωλεῖται, καὶ τέφ’ τέρπεσθε μάλιστα;”
 ὑμεῖς δ’ εὖ μάλα πᾶσαι ὑποκρίνασθ’ ἀμφ’ ἡμέων·
 “τυφλὸς ἀνὴρ, οἰκεῖ δὲ Χίῳ ἔνι παιπαλοέσση,
 τοῦ πᾶσαι μετόπισθεν ἀριστεύουσιν ἀοιδαί.”
 ἡμεῖς δ’ ὑμέτερον κλέος οἴσομεν ὅσον ἐπ’ αἶαν
 ἀνθρώπων στρεφόμεσθα πόλεις εὖ ναιεταώσας· (169-75)

The narrator here is blind, comes from Chios, and travels across the earth, spreading the fame of the Deliades. But this quasi-biography is not the only way in which the hymn is exceptional,⁵¹ as its use of apostrophe demonstrates. In the *Homeric Hymns* most addresses by the narrator are either invocations at the beginning of the hymn, or come as part of the closing prayers bidding farewell to the god. In the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, however, we find the apostrophising of Leto at 14-18 in a narrative on the birth of Artemis and Apollo, of Apollo himself in 19-29 where he is asked how he should be sung of, then also in 140-50, describing his wealth, and in 216-86, where Apollo’s travels are directly addressed to him, with repeated vocatives (at 229, 239, 277) and second person verbs.

The anomalous nature of this hymn, when compared to the other *Homeric Hymns*, makes it dangerous to employ it as paradigmatic of the function of *Homeric Hymns* (as Bergren 1981 attempts to do with regard to the centrality of apostrophe and its role in bringing about an epiphany of the god hymned). But its unusually prominent narrator only serves to bring into sharper relief the correspondingly self-effacing epic narrators elsewhere in Archaic poetry. The narrator of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* also reflects some of the characteristics of narrators outside epic, and it may be partly under their influence that the hymn’s narrator has been brought into the foreground.

In several Archaic poets and across different genres, it is clear that the narrator is much more central to the conception of poetry, and in particular to where its attention should be directed, than is the case in Homer. I mean by this that, though in different ways in different poets, in, for example, Archilochus, Hesiod, Sappho

⁵¹ It also displays peculiarities of structure in the Delian part (Janko 1981:16-8).

and Pindar we find not only the cultivation of narratorial visibility much greater than that usual in epic, but that the narrator himself/herself is now a subject for narrative, and commands the attention of the audience. While in Homer the narrator may only “step from behind the curtain” (Richardson 1990:168) infrequently, in the case of many Archaic poets the narrator has taken the stage.

2.3.1.1 Quasi-biography

An approximate index of the greater visibility of narrators outside Archaic epic, and the corresponding transformation of the narrator into a subject for narrative, can be provided by a survey (not meant as exhaustive) of the quasi-biography in Archaic texts.

The Hesiodic narrator, for example, as noted above (1.7), makes extensive reference to an external life: he has a brother and father (*WD* 633), an inheritance of which he has been partly cheated (*WD* 35-39), and one sole experience of sailing (*WD* 650ff.). In the *Theogony* the narrator even names himself (*Theog.* 22). Alongside this factual information, we also find, particularly in the *WD*, the explicit expression of the opinions and reactions of the narrator to these events (Dover 1964:106). The Hesiodic narrator reproaches Perses on the question of their inheritance, as well as the βασιλῆες who have judged the case (*WD* 37-41), and is portrayed as considering his brother (μέγα νήπιε Πέρση, *WD* 286, 633) to be lazy and in need of constant advice:

...μή πως τὰ μέταζε χατίζων
πτώσσης ἀλλοτρίους οἴκους καὶ μηδὲν ἀνύσσης.
ὥς καὶ νῦν ἐπ’ ἔμ’ ἦλθες· ἐγὼ δέ τοι οὐκ ἐπιδώσω
οὐδ’ ἐπιμετρήσω ἐργάζεω, νήπιε Πέρση,... (*WD* 394-97)

This full emotional life on the part of the narrator also extends to reactions to his own narratives, as the wish at *WD* 174-76 not to live in this Age of Iron demonstrates.

In non-hexameter Archaic poetry there is also a great deal of quasi-biographical material. This is true of almost all types – *iambos*, Lesbian lyric, choral lyric, sympotic elegy, and political poetry. The fragmentary nature of much of this poetry often makes absolute certainty about whether the primary narrator is speaking impossible (see 1.1 above), hence also about whether we are dealing with quasi-biography (as opposed to statements about a character within a narrative). Nevertheless, there are sufficient fragments with a great enough context to make some progress.

In Archilochus and Hipponax there are extensive first-person sexual narratives recounting the sexual exploits of the narrator (e.g. παρθένον δ' ἐν ἄνθε[σιν]/ τηλ]εθάεσσι λαβών/ ἔκλινα...., Archilochus F196a.42ff.; also F54, F82, Hipponax F17, F92, F104). There are also other quasi-biographical details in Archilochus, such as narratorial participation in a battle (F98), and the narrator's abandonment of his shield (F5), as well as the expression of emotion and desire. The narrator (if it is the narrator who speaks) in F20 bewails the woes of the Thasians (κλαίω τὰ Θασίων, οὐ τὰ Μαγνήτων κακά), while that in F19 gives his opinion on the riches of Gyges (οὐ μοι τὰ Γύγεω τοῦ πολυχρύσου μέλει, F19.1).⁵² Less non-sexual material has been preserved from Hipponax, but there is some, including fragments depicting the narrator's poverty (32, 34, 36), two of which also contain self-namings (Ἰππώνακτι, F32.4, Ἰππῶναξ, F36.2, the former in the voice of the narrator),⁵³ something not found in Archilochus. There are also expressions of opinion, such as the speaker's view of Critias in Hipponax F30:

οὐ μοι δικάίως μοιχὸς ἀλῶναι δοκεῖ
Κριτίης ὁ Χῖος... (1-2)

Narratorial opinion and emotion are also to the fore in the personal lyric of Sappho:

οἱ μὲν ἱππῶν στρότον οἱ δὲ πέσδων
οἱ δὲ νάων φαῖς' ἐπ[ι] γὰν μέλαι[ν]αν
ἔ]μμεναι κάλλιστον, ἔγω δὲ κῆν' ὄτ-
τω τις ἔραται· (F16.1-4)

⁵² Cf. also F24 (speaker's pleasure at safe homecoming of friend), F114 (opinion on generals).

⁵³ Cf. also F37, F79.9, F117.4.

τᾶς κε βολλοίμαν ἔρατόν τε βᾶμα
 κάμάρυγμα λάμπρον ἴδην προσώπω
 ἦ τὰ Λύδων ἄρματα.... (F16.17-19)

The narrator is very much the centre of attention here – first-persons and the expression of strong opinion and emotion make the speaker much more prominent than is the case in Homer. But the quasi-biography in Sappho is fuller than the mere evocation of desire. At F1.20, F65.5, F94.5 and F133 (b) there are self-namings, revealing the primary narrator's name, though in all cases it is at least likely that the speaker of the name is not the primary narrator herself. There is also a possible narratorial self-description in F58.13ff., though the fragmentary nature of the text prevents certainty:

πάντα χροά γήρας ἦδη
 λεῦκαι δ' ἐγένοντο τρίχες ἐκ μελαίναν
]αι, γόνα δ' [ο]ὐ φέροισι

As well as the common description of love for various women (e.g. Atthis in F49), in Sappho there is also some biographical information about the primary narrator's family. In F98 (a) the narrator speaks about her mother (ἅ γάρ με γέννατ, line 1), while F98 (b) addresses one Cleis, whom the *Suda* (Σ 107, iv 322f. Adler) and *P.Oxy.*1800 fr.1 say was Sappho's daughter. Herodotus (2.135) reports that Sappho abused her brother Charaxus in a song after he freed the prostitute Rhodopis.

In the political poems of Alcaeus, such as F69, there is also considerable quasi-biography. In F69 the narrator tells us of the financial support of the Lydians for an attempt to enter Ἴρι / ἐς πόλιν (3-4), which seems to be connected to an attempt to overthrow Pittacus, tyrant of Mytilene. In F130B the narrator describes his exile and the fact that he now lives μοῖραν ἔχων ἀγοῖωτίκων (line 2). In the same fragment the narrator speaks of his father and grandfather (F130B.5). Another poem (F350) seems to have been addressed to Alcaeus' brother, on returning from fighting with the Babylonians (Strabo 13.2.3). There is also an apparent self-naming, preserved in F428A.1 (Ἄλκαος σάος).

Other Alcaic poems make their sympotic setting explicit, and we find exhortations to addressees to get drunk with the narrator (e.g. F38A), or to pour perfume over the narrator's head and *grey* chest (F50.2, suggesting the age of the narrator). Similar sympotic subject-matter is to be found in the fragments of Anacreon, which concentrate on the narrator's loves (e.g. Cleobulus in F357 and F359) and his drinking (καλοῖς/ ὑποπίνοντες ἐν ὕμνοις, F356 (b).4-5).⁵⁴

In Anacreon there is also mention of a sister in F370 (ἐμὴν ἀπαλὴν κάσιν), though it is impossible to be certain that this was spoken by the primary narrator. F381 (b) may preserve a first-person narrative about the narrator dropping his shield (cf. Archil.F5):

ἀσπίδα ρίψας ποταμοῦ καλλιρόου παρ' ὄχθας

Again, the lack of a context makes it impossible to determine the full significance of this fragment. More certain are the references to the narrator's age in F418 (κλῦθι μεο γέροντος) and in particular F395, which forms an example of extensive narratorial self-description:

πολιοὶ μὲν ἡμῖν ἤδη
κρόταφοι κάρη τε λευκόν,
χαρίεσσα δ' οὐκέτ' ἦβη
πάρα, γηραλέοι δ' ὀδόντες,
γλυκεροῦ δ' οὐκέτι πολλὸς
βίотου χρόνος λέλειπται· (1-6)

In Solon, by contrast, we find quasi-biography more akin to that found in Alcaeus' political poems. This is true both of the elegiac fragments, where the narrator can claim to have arrived from Salamis (F1.1), exhibit his nationality ("Ἀττικὸς οὗτος ἀνὴρ, F2.4), boast of his political achievements (F5), and make reference to his age (γηράσκω, F18), and of the iambics (both trochaic tetrameters and iambic trimeters), where the narrator can defend his refusal to become a tyrant (F32), incorporate his

⁵⁴ Further probable narratorial love in, e.g., F346, 358, F389, F396, and wine in, e.g., F373, F383, F396.

name into an imagined speech of condemnation – οὐκ ἔφυ Σόλων βαθύφρων (F33.1), and again boast of his political achievements:

ταῦτα μὲν κράτει
ὁμοῦ βίην τε καὶ δίκην ξυναρμόσας
ἔρεξα (F36.15-17)

Further Archaic elegiac quasi-biography can be found in Theognis, or, more accurately the “Theognidean” collection of elegiac verse. Even if much of the collection cannot with certainty be attributed to “Theognis of Megara” (West 1974:40), the very fact that the material duplicated from other poets (e.g. the similarity of 227-32 to Solon F13.71-6) is duplicated from *Archaic* poets (e.g. even Euenus, suggested author of 467-96, 667-82, 1341-50, probably dates from the first half of the fifth century, West 1989-92:ii.66) justifies consideration of the collection as a whole as evidence of narrators in Archaic elegy. There is considerable variety in the identity of different Theognidean narrators. This is clear from, e.g., the female narrator of 257-60, who complains about her husband, but also from the variety of narratorial names and nationalities. The narrator in 19-38 names himself and claims to be from Megara (Θεόγνιδός ἐστιν ἔπη/ τοῦ Μεγαρέως; 22-3), while that in 1211-16 claims to be from a city Ληθαίῳ κεκλιμένη πεδίῳ (1216).⁵⁵ In 1209-10 the narrator claims a different name and current city:

Αἴθων μὲν γένος εἰμί, πόλιν δ' εὐτείχεα Θήβην
οἰκῶ, πατρώας γῆς ἀπερυκόμενος.

The common context of giving advice to Cynus/Polypaides, regular addressee in Theognis,⁵⁶ allows for other quasi-biographical elements, e.g. the evocation of the friendship/erotic relationship with Cynus (e.g. 371-2). Other erotic involvements are suggested in, e.g., 261-6, where the narrator has been usurped by an inferior man, and in the largely paederastic “book 2” (1231-1389). Theognidean narrators are also found drinking (e.g. 467-96, 503-8), in poverty, clear in 351-4, 619-22, and 649-52,

⁵⁵ Though that may be a reference to the underworld, cf. τὸ Λήθης πεδίων, Aristophanes *Frogs* 186, Plato, *Republic* 10.621a (Gerber 1999a:357).

⁵⁶ And taken as an indication of authenticity by West (1974:41, 60), though this is hardly reliable (Gerber 1999a:7).

and expressing fears (e.g. for the political future of his city, 39-52), likes (χαίρω δ' εὖ πίνων καὶ ὑπ' αὐλητῆρος αἰείδων, 533), and desires (653-4).

In Simonides' elegies the narrator can address his ψυχή and declare that he can no longer be a guardian due to his becoming older (fr.eleg.21.3ff.), while F519B.fr.1 seems to tell of the narrator's meeting with Pan. In Bacchylides there are references to the Cean nationality of the narrator, which is implied B.2.*init.* and explicit in the characteristically third-person description of the narrator as a "honey-tongued Cean nightingale" at B.3.97-8. In Pindar we find the narrator claiming himself to have seen a victory himself (O.10.100ff.), declaring his kinship with the Aegidae of Sparta (P.5.72ff.), having his possessions guarded by Alcmaeon (P.8.56ff.), and declaring his nationality (I.1.*init.*).

The greater concentration on the narrator, on the figure of the "poet" in Archaic poetry other than epic, has, of course, been noted before: Snell describes the change as "the emergence of the poets as individuals" (1953:44), which indicates a new awareness of individuality and aspects of mental life, Tsagarakis (1977:1-2, with n.8) charts a move from "objective" epic to "subjective" lyric through intermediate didactic, and Stein (1990:1-3) takes greater "authorial self-consciousness" in Archaic poets such as Archilochus, Hesiod and Sappho as indicating the influence, and the dissemination, of writing. I should emphasise here that I am deeply sceptical about the capacity of greater narratorial visibility and centrality to document intellectual, social or historical developments, as well as about the individual theses of Snell and Stein. Snell depends for his view of the intellectual development of the Greek mind on the highly questionable idea that Homer was not able to understand the soul as opposed to the body (1953:9-17, 69), which relies on inflexible lexical analysis of terms for mind and body (Lloyd-Jones 1971:9ff.). Stein, on the other hand, unquestioningly inherits a view from Parry and Lord that such self-consciousness is incompatible with writing (a view which itself assumes the rigid "oral"-*"literary"* dichotomy challenged above), and as such argues for an explanation in terms of a change in the "communication-conditions", i.e. the spread of writing (1990:1-3).

But the problems with such approaches are more general – the different generic functions and contexts of the different works of different poets, as well as their own

individual aesthetic aims, make explanations of the differences between poets and periods in terms of broader developments of the kind illustrated above very insecure. It seems very probable that most of the differences between epic, e.g. Homer, and the works of Sappho or Archilochus can be accounted for as constraints imposed by the type of poetry being composed, or as conscious choices by individual authors. That Homer himself was an influence on the attention one paid to one's narrator is probably indicated by the lack of quasi-biography in the fragments of Stesichorus, and the low level of narrator-prominence. Stesichorus was Ὀμηρικώτατος ("Longinus", *On the Sublime* 13.3), and reported as *epici carminis onera lyra sustinentem* (Quintilian 10.1.62), hence he adopted the attitude to the role of the narrator he found in his epic models (Hutchinson 2001:117). This tells us nothing about his use of writing, his own place in the intellectual development of Greece, or his date. The differences between the narrators of the martial elegies of Tyrtaeus and the erotic material in Theognis, both performed at symposia (Bowie 1986:15-22), should be referred to the different subject-matter, audiences, and functions of the poems involved (but not different performance-conditions, *pace* West 1974:11-13, nor different levels of literacy or intellectual capacity). Equally, the differences in the degree and type of Pindaric and Bacchylidean narrators (Pindar using first-person statements in his epinicians much more often than Bacchylides in his – cf. the third-person description quoted above) strongly suggest that personal artistic preference was an important factor.

Nevertheless, the differences in attitude to narrators and to their place in poems were, as I shall show, important to Hellenistic readers of these texts, and to the Hellenistic poets who found models for imitation, adaptation and exploitation in the different narrators of Archaic poetry.

2.3.2 Autobiography

The above survey of quasi-biography suggests that in non-epic Archaic poetry, although there can be narrators who are clearly not to be associated with the historical author (e.g. the female speakers in Alcaeus F10, Anacreon F385, Theognis 257-60, Charon in Archilochus F19), in most cases narrators are *based* on their historical authors (Carey 1986:67). This seems clearly to be true of Alcaeus, Sappho,

Pindar, Bacchylides, Solon and the (genuine) poems of Theognis, and probable for Archilochus, Hipponax and Anacreon.⁵⁷ There may even have been such a grounding of narrator on author in the longer narrative non-sympotic elegies on the foundations of cities such as the *Smyrneis*, if Bowie (1986:29) is right to suggest Mimnermus F14 (οὐμὲν δὴ κείνοι γε μένος καὶ ἀγήνορα θυμὸν/ τοῖον ἐμέο προτέρων πεύθομαι, 1-2) is to be attributed to that poem. It is important to emphasise once more that such grounding does not amount to identity (see 1.7 above). The narrator should still be separated from the author, and this separation was clearly well-established and important in the functioning of Archaic poetry. This is clear from the phenomenon of pseudo-spontaneity.

2.3.2.1 Pseudo-spontaneity

Many Archaic lyric poems contain elements which give the impression of *extempore* composition, as if the poet is still composing while the song is under way, even though it has clearly been carefully designed in advance (“oral subterfuge”, Carey 1991:551). Amongst the most explicit pseudo-spontaneous devices are self corrections (Scodel 1996:64), such as the break-off:

ἦρ', ὦ φίλοι, κατ' ἀμευσίπορον τρίοδον ἐδινάθην,
ὀρθὰν κέλευθον ἰὼν τὸ πρὶν· ἢ μέ τις ἄνεμος ἔξω πλόου
ἔβαλεν, ὥς ὅτ' ἄκατον ἐνναλίαν; (P.11.38-40)

Pindar here, as often, imitates a speaker “who is deciding where his poem shall go, stopping himself from going on too long or treating an inappropriate subject” (Scodel 1996:64), even though the audience realises this must have taken place in the past. This is an aspect of the separation of author and narrator in lyric (Miller 1993:21-2, Scodel 1996:67, Schmitz 1999:161 and see 1.7 above) – the narrator can appear to have gone astray because the audience knows the poem is in fact artfully constructed by the author. This sort of break-off is extremely common in Pindar, whose epinicians, as for many other features of Archaic poetry, provide the fullest

⁵⁷ We can probably add Alcman also, at least in some poems – cf. the self-naming in F17.1 and F39.1. Note, though, that the chorus is plainly the speaker in F1 (the *Louvre Partheneion*).

evidence for pseudo-spontaneity. A variety of reasons is given for the abandonment of particular narratives or topics, e.g.:

1. Piety – O.1.52ff. (ἔμοι δ' ἄπορα γαστρίμαργον μακάρων τιν' εἰπεῖν· ἀφίσταμαι), O.9.35ff. (ἀπό μοι λόγον/ τοῦτον, στόμα, ῥῖψον'), O.13.91 (διασωπάσομαί οἱ μόρον ἐγώ'), N.5.14ff. (αἰδέομαι μέγα εἰπεῖν ἐν δίκῃ τε μὴ κεκινδυνευμένον...).
2. Length - P.4.247-8 (μακρά μοι νεῖσθαι κατ' ἀμαξιτόν...), N.4.33ff. (τὰ μακρὰ δ' ἐξενέπειν ἐρύκει με τεθμός...), N.10.4ff. (μακρὰ μὲν τὰ Περσέος ἀμφὶ Μεδοίσας Γοργόνας...), I.1.60-63 (πάντα δ' ἐξειπεῖν...ἀφαιρεῖται βραχὺ μέτρον ἔχων ὕμνος), I.6.56 (ἔμοι δὲ μακρὸν πάσας <ἀν>αγήσασθ' ἀρετάς).
3. Size/Inability – N.4.70-1 (ἄπορα γὰρ λόγον Αἰακοῦ/ παίδων τὸν ἄπαντ' μοι διελθεῖν), N.10.19-20 (βραχὺ μοι στόμα πάντ' ἀναγήσασθ'...).
4. Irrelevance/Straying - P.10.4 (τί κομπέω παρὰ καιρόν;), P.10.51ff. (κώπαν σχάσον, ταχὺ δ' ἄγκυραν ἔρεισον χθονί...), N.3.26ff. (θυμέ, τίνα πρὸς ἄλλοδαπάν/ ἄκραν ἐμὸν πλόον παραμείβεται;).
5. Avoiding Tedium – O.2.95ff. (ἀλλ' αἶνον ἐπέβα κόρος...), N.7.53ff. (κόρον δ' ἔχει/ καὶ μέλι καὶ τὰ τέρπν' ἄνε' Αφροδίσια).

Many of these types are also found in other Archaic poets, e.g. the pious break-off at Ibycus F282A (i).22ff. (καὶ τὸ μὲν οὐ φατόν ἐστιν...), the self-accusations of irrelevance at Semonides F10 (τί ταῦτα διὰ μακρῶν λόγων/ ἀνέδραμον;) and Hesiod, *Theog.*35 (ἀλλὰ τί μοι ταῦτα περὶ δρῶν ἢ περὶ πέτρην;), and the instruction to the Muse at Bacchylides 5.176-8 (λευκώλενε Καλλιόπα,/ στᾶσον εὐποίητον ἄρμα/ αὐτοῦ). Those which portray the narrator as having gone off course make the most explicit reference to the song as an ongoing composition, but even those which reject a tale already told on moral grounds portray the narrator as having made a decision to turn his narrative in a different direction, as if the poem could only be redirected, rather than rewritten (Carey 1995:100). The potential reaction of an audience to an ongoing song is suggested by the mentions of tedium or κόρος. These

are, of course, supposed to anticipate and prevent such reactions, but their presence aids the production of pseudo-spontaneity.

The functions of pseudo-spontaneity are various. One particularly prominent use to which it is put, both in encomiastic and hymnal poems, is to stress the sincerity of the narrator. In poems praising men, such as those of Pindar, the fiction of *extempore* composition is used to counterbalance the monetary relationship between patron and poet, so that it appears that praise for the victor has just entered the narrator's mind (Scodel 1996:69). The sudden, unpremeditated nature of the praise makes it seem genuine, rather than paid for. This can be seen in the numerous passages in Pindar which prefer the "straight vaunt" over more long-winded praise, e.g. ἀφθόνητος δ' αἶνος Ὀλυμπιονίκαις/ οὗτος ἄγκειται. τὰ μὲν ἀμετέρα/ γλῶσσα ποιμαίνειν ἐθέλει,/ ἐκ θεοῦ δ' ἀνὴρ σοφαῖς ἀνθεὶ παραπίδεσσιν ὁμοίως⁵⁸ (O.11.7-10, Bundy 1962:i.19 with parallels). This Pindaric emphasis on the sincerity of his praise mirrors the stress on the relationship between poet and patron as one of *xenia* (cf. P.10.64-6), which itself counteracts the true (monetary) relationship, and itself suggests the praise is sincere (Lefkowitz 1991:32-37).

Narratorial sincerity is also the aim of a pseudo-spontaneous feature of the Archaic *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, where the strikingly unusual apostrophe to Leto in lines 14ff. (see above for the anomalous use of apostrophe in this hymn, and its unusual nature in general) gives the impression of deep and sincere feeling on the part of the narrator (Miller 1986:19). The apostrophe might seem irrelevant to the greater purpose of the hymn, and to have intruded "spontaneously" but this very impression makes the praise of Leto appear sincere.

Pseudo-spontaneity also gives the author considerable control over what to include in a poem and how to structure a work. The impression of *extempore* composition in Pindar, for example, allows the inclusion of "rejected" material, such as the explanation of Pelops' ivory shoulder which is condemned as impious in O.1 – we hear the myth, even as it is rejected (the grounds of rejection, of course, also present the narrator as a particular sort of personality, Carey 1995:97-100, and see 2.3.4

⁵⁸ I.e. "my tongue is eager to shepherd (lengthy) praises of Olympic victors, but inspiration will do just as well" (Bundy).

below). This sort of structure is made possible by the pseudo-spontaneous pose of the narrator.

This pose, and the maintenance of it, seem a good explanation for the inclusion in some Pindaric epinician myths of material which seems either irrelevant or problematic with regard to the encomiastic purpose of the poem, e.g. the puzzling narration in Pythian 11 of the matricide of Orestes as the culmination of the myth:

ἀλλὰ χρονίῳ σὺν ᾿Αρει
πέφνεν τε μάτερα θῆκε τ' Αἴγισθον ἐν φοναίῃς. (36-7)

This “getting carried away” with the narration is part of the creation of the pseudo-spontaneity in this ode – the narrator goes too far, and this is immediately marked for the audience by the narrator’s statement that he has digressed (P.11.38-40, quoted above). This pseudo-spontaneous pose is exploited in the same poem to include a series of *gnomai* at P.11.25ff. which are strongly reminiscent of unpremeditated speech in their linear continuity without overall coherence (Miller 1993:50). This narratorial “spontaneity”, which ends with a *gnome* about the dangers of greatness – ἴσχει τε γὰρ ὄλβος οὐ μείονα φθόνον/ ὁ δὲ χαμηλὰ πνέων ἄφαντον βρέμει (P.11.29-30), has in fact ended with a thought which anticipates the considerations of the final triad concerning the αἶσα τυραννίδων, and success and the avoidance of envy on the part of victor, who finds ὄλβος in more co-operative efforts (τῶν γὰρ ἀνὰ πόλιν εὐρίσκων τὰ μέσα μακροτέρῳ/ ὄλβῳ τεθαλότα, P.11.53), revealing the careful design of the author (Miller 1993:50-3).

Often, however, such “narrative momentum” (Miller 1993:23) as we see at P.11.36-7 is not flagged, and in such cases it is not so much the creation of pseudo-spontaneity as the exploitation of it which we are dealing with. At P.8.48ff. the mention of Adrastus and his situation after the battle of the Epigonoι at Thebes seems irrelevant, and the narrator simply changes the subject. But they are relevant from the *author’s* point of view, anticipating as they do the comments on the changeability of fortune in the famous final triad of P.8 (Miller 1993:31-34).

The presence of pseudo-spontaneous devices such as those sketched out above is perhaps one reason for the exaggeration of the “orality” of the Archaic and Classical periods, in opposition to which views of the “literacy” of the Hellenistic period are developed. Such pseudo-spontaneity, however, is most common in poems furthest removed from spontaneity – e.g. the carefully rehearsed and constructed epinicians of Pindar or the choral *partheneia* of Alcman, requiring the co-ordination of a trained chorus (Scodel 1996:63-4). This contrasts with the distinct lack of such “pseudo-oral” features in, e.g., the Homeric epics, which are clearly much closer to genuinely oral poetry than *Pythian* 4 is. When the Homeric narrator makes explicit a reference to the exclusion of irrelevant material, this is achieved through the much less pseudo-spontaneous device of *praeteritio* at *Il*.2.488ff.⁵⁹ Homer did not feel it necessary, unlike later Archaic poets, to construct an “oral” setting for his poems.

2.3.2.2 Autobiography and Consistency

Although, then, there is clear exploitation of the gap between narrator and author in Archaic poetry, the fact that the majority of Archaic narratorial personas are based on the historical author has numerous important consequences. Chief among these is the *consistency* of such personas across time and across different works. The clearest extant example of such a persona is Pindar’s. There has been extensive discussion in Pindaric scholarship about the different types of first-person statement made by the narrator, and a division of these into “epinician” and “biographical” (Most 1985:117), or into those made by the poet *qua* laudator and the poet *qua* poet (Fowler 1987:101), which goes back to Bundy’s statement that “when Pindar speaks proudly in the first person this is less likely to be the personal Pindar of Thebes than the Pindar privileged to praise the worthiest of men” (1962:i.3).⁶⁰ Most develops this division and argues that in *Pythian* 2, for example, it is only with hymn-like χαῖρε in line 67 that the first-person statements function as those of Pindar the historical individual rather than Pindar the poet (1985:98-9).

⁵⁹ πλεθὺν δ’ οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μυθήσομαι οὐδ’ ὀνομήνω, / οὐδ’ εἴ μοι δέκα μὲν γλῶσσαι, δέκα δὲ στόματα’ εἶεν, / φωνὴ δ’ ἄρρηκτος....

⁶⁰ Cf. also Willcock 1995:67 quoting Lefkowitz 1980a:35 (=1991:133) on “the poet in his professional role”.

This division, however, between the biographical and the professional roles of the poet is an unhelpful one in analysing the ways in which the narrator's persona is created and exploited. All of the narrator's statements are made by a consistent and unified persona, which is, in its entirety, useful for the control, structure and function of the ode. All of the statements are made by "Pindar", the narrator based on the author, not some by the historical author and others by an uncharacterised voice of praise. The narrator as *xenos* of the laudandus and his family enables praise and implies sincerity (ταῦτα, Νικάσιππ', ἀπόνειμον, ὅταν/ ξεῖνον ἐμὸν ἡθαῖον ἔλθῃς, I.2.47-8), as does the pseudo-spontaneity and occasional digressiveness sketched out above (evident in P.11 both during the series of *gnomai* at 25ff. and in the break-off at 38-40). Truth is guaranteed by the narrator's strong moral outlook (τό γε λοιδορῆσαι θεοῦς/ ἐχθρὰ σοφία, O.9.37-8), and his intimacy with the Muses (ᾠή πότνια Μοῖσα, μᾶτερ ἀμετέρᾳ, N.3.1). The narrator's presentation in general as undergoing but overcoming struggles (e.g. against φθόνος, N.4.36ff.) matches the pattern of πόνος followed by ἡσυχία of the successful athlete, which can be exploited to associate the two very closely and further aid the impression of truth, sincerity and *xenia* (note the first-person plurals):

τῷ καὶ ἐγώ, καίπερ ἀχνύμενος
 θυμόν, αἰτέομαι χρυσέαν καλέσαι
 Μοῖσαν. ἐκ μεγάλων δὲ πενθέων λυθέντες
 μήτ' ἐν ὀρφανίᾳ πέσωμεν στεφάνων,
 μήτε κάδεα θεράπευε· (I.8.5-7)

It is misleading, therefore, to divide Pindaric statements by function into "biographical" and "epinician" – all of the statements made by the primary narrator build up the consistent personality of the narrator which is exploited for a variety of encomiastic and other purposes, such as the control and structure of the myth and ode, clear in the ability of a digressive narrator to include "irrelevant" material, or abandon its telling. This type of aesthetic aim demonstrates that Fowler (1987:101) is right to cast doubt on Bundy's (1962:i.4) presentation of Pindaric self-consciousness and self-reference as merely a function of the encomiastic situation in which Pindar finds himself. It *is* put to encomiastic ends, of course, but these are not the only Pindaric aims. Furthermore the frequent use of autobiography in the creation of a

narratorial persona is not simply a product of the encomiastic situation, as the example of Bacchylides shows – it is a *Pindaric* strategy. Bacchylides chooses, instead, not to have constant narratorial self-reference, and there is far less characterisation of the narrator than in Pindar (D'Alessio 1994:127 n.33) – only in B.5.9ff. (characteristically in the third-person), 12.4-7 (ἐς γὰρ ὀλβίαν/ ξείνοισί με πότνια Νίκα/ νᾶσον Αἰγίνας ἀπάρχει/ ἐλθόντα κοσμήσαι θεόδματον πόλιν...) and 13.221ff. (τῶι καὶ ἐγὼ πίσυνο[ς/ φοινικοκραδέμενις [τε Μούσαις/ ὕμνων τινὰ τάνδε νηρόπλοκον δόσιν/ φαίνω, ξενίαν τε [φιλά-/γλαον γεραίρω/ τὰν ἐμοὶ, Λάμπων, σ[ὺ πορὼν...]).⁶¹ It is Bacchylides, perhaps, who takes on a “conventional” encomiastic role. These different poetic strategies, furthermore, should be related to broader differences between the poets which suggest different overall aims in their respective epinician poems (cf. Most (unpublished) who stresses Pindar’s greater concern with “individualisation”, stressing the victor over the city, and the poet as his *xenos*, with the inevitable attendant φθόνος, compared with Bacchylides’ desire to “integrate” the victor, hence his stress on the *polis* and the victor within the *polis*).

My view of the consistency of the Pindaric narratorial persona commits me to the view that the first-persons in the odes refer to this narrator (to “the poet” as most scholars would have it). The evidence is strong – as Burton (1962:146) notes, no first person singular pronoun in Pindar demonstrably refers to the chorus or chorus-leader as distinct from the poet, and Lefkowitz (1963, 1991, 1995) has further argued that no first-person pronoun or verb, singular or plural, refers to the chorus in Pindaric epinician – a “virtually monodic form” (Lefkowitz 1991:70-1). Such first-person statements referring to the poet can be distinguished from choral first-persons in other Pindaric genres such as *partheneia*, which are typified by much greater self-description of the members of the chorus. The rigidity of this distinction has been challenged (D'Alessio 1994:118-27), but Lefkowitz’s main proposition that the vast majority of first-person statements in Pindaric victory-odes refer primarily to the poet, has been largely accepted (e.g. by Carey 1995). D'Alessio (1994:127ff.) suggests that though the first-persons usually refer to the poet, they can be “exemplary” on occasion, encompassing the victor and the audience as well as the speaker, as at N4.41ff. (ἐμοὶ δ’ ὁποῖαν ἀρετάν/ ἔδωκε Πότμος ἄναξ,/ εἴ οἱδ’ ὅτι χρόνος ἔρπων

⁶¹ Lefkowitz (1991:35) posits Pindaric influence on Bacchylides 13, which stresses the narrator’s bonds of *xenia* with the patron.

πεπρωμέναν τελέσει), and considers it theoretically possible that there could be a first-person referring to chorus or community (1994:127). Even if such reference is possible, and in no case is the evidence compelling, it is clear that the Pindaric “I” does *not* vary violently in reference as has been suggested by Slater (1969:89), who thinks the Pindaric “I” “implies in fact a vague combination of Pindar, chorus and chorus leader”.⁶²

The ultimate guarantee of this consistency of the narratorial persona is the autobiographical grounding of the narrator. In the case of Pindar such autobiography can be as subtle as an allusion to the Theban nationality of the narrator (Μᾶτερ ἐμόν, τὸ τεόν, χρύσασπι Θήβα, I.1.1) or an explicit reference to a previous work of the author’s, as at N.7.101-104 (τὸ δ’ ἐμὸν οὐ ποτε φάσει κέαρ/ ἀτρόποισι Νεοπτόλεμον ἐλκύσαι/ ἔπεσι), which is most plausibly explained as indicating a previous composition (Carey 1995:93). The reference to delay in meeting a commission at O.10.*init.* clearly plays with the fact that Pindar was an encomiastic poet much in demand. Pindar also clearly refers to a previous ode for a patron in the midst of a very personal passage expressing the narrator’s closeness to the laudandus:

τῷ μὲν διδύμας χάριτας
εἰ κατέβαν ὑγίειαν ἄγων χρυσέαν κόμον τ’ ἀέθλων Πυθίων αἰγλαν
στεφάνοις,
τοὺς ἀριστεύων Φερένικος ἔλεν Κίρρα ποτέ,
ἀστέρος οὐρανίου φαμὶ τηλαυγέστερον κείνῳ φάος
ἐξικόμαν κε βαθὺν πόντον περάσαις. (P.3.72-6)

The mention of Phereikos points the audience to the author’s earlier celebration of that horse’s victory in the Olympic Games (*Olympian* 1). The consistency of persona exploited here, dependent on facts about the author’s biography, is possible because of the reperformance of Pindaric odes around the Greek world to a number of audiences over time, and the concurrent diffusion of texts of Pindar. Hence there would have been “a Pindaric corpus before the age of the book” (Carey 1995:90).

The evidence for narratorial consistency across texts and time is clearest for Pindar, because of the state of preservation of Archaic poetry, but as we have seen is likely in

⁶² For a similar view cf. Gentili 1990:20-1. Anzai 1994 thinks the “I” is always choral.

the case of Hesiod, who refers to the *Theogony* at the beginning of the *Works and Days*, and several other Archaic poets. The first-person sexual narratives of Archilochus and Hipponax seem to feature the same characters (e.g. Lycambes and his daughters, Bupalus and Arete) in several poems, making it likely that the narrator was a consistent character, probably based on the author. The political poems of Alcaeus and Solon display similar political opinions and allegiances across different poems, while the image of the poetess Sappho in a circle of female friends with whom she develops strong attachments is to be found in several different poems. There may have been, of course, considerable variety within these consistent personas, with poets emphasising one aspect or another of the overall picture depending on the purpose or audience of the poem (e.g. in Pindar the Sicilian odes with their emphasis on the greatness of kingship compared to the doubts about the αἶσα τυραννίδων in P.11). Some types of poem may have had much weaker connections between narrator and author (e.g. those on sympotic themes such as wine, Bowie 1993:36), or generally have excluded biographical material about the narrator (e.g. epic, and possibly choral poetry, where Carey 1995:92ff. notes the far greater prominence of the narrator in Pindar as compared to Alcman, Ibycus and Bacchylides). But in general it seems possible to generalise (cautiously, because of the fragmentary evidence) that in Archaic poetry outside Homer the principal narratorial persona of an author was based on that author, and united several works by the same poet.

The *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* provides an unusual and instructive example of such grounding of the narrator on the “historical author”. The description of the narrator as a “blind man from Chios” (169-75) is anomalous within a hexameter hymn, and is often taken as the source of the later tradition of Homer as a blind Chian (e.g. Allen-Halliday-Sikes 1936:226). But such an anomalous description in a hymn which linguistic evidence shows cannot be by Homer nor by the late sixth-century Cynaethus to whom it is also attributed (Janko 1982:114-5),⁶³ would serve no purpose. Why would an anonymous poet insert such a reference, and claim about himself πᾶσαι μετόπισθεν ἀριστεύουσιν αἰοδαί (HH3.173, Burkert 1979:57)? This reference to the best of poets is, as Burkert notes, to Homer, to an already existing

⁶³ Cynaethus is named as the author by the scholia to Pindar N.2.1c (Drachmann 1903-27:iii.29, 12-18).

tradition about Homer as a Chian, similar to the reference in Simonides fr.eleg. 19.1 (τὸ κάλλιστον Χῖος ἔειπεν ἀνὴρ, introducing *Il*.6.146). The poet of the hymn has adopted the device of grounding the narrator on the biography of the “historical author” which was to be found in Archaic poetry outside Homer, and put it to use as a claim on Homeric authorship.

2.3.3 Narrator and Muse

The principal narratorial personas of different poets were also developed through the depiction of their relationship to the Muses. In Homer, for example, the narrator is explicitly subordinate to the Muse, and wholly dependent on her for his knowledge of the events of the story (ὑμεῖς γὰρ θεαί ἐστε πάρεστε τε ἴστε τε πάντα/ ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἶον ἀκούομεν οὐδὲ τι ἴδμεν, *Il*.2.485-6). This is the way the relationship is constructed throughout the epic, not just in the Catalogue of Ships (*pace* Bowie 1993:13-14), as the questions put to the Muses both explicitly (*Il*.2.761-2, 11.218-20, 14.508-10, 16.112-3) and implicitly (e.g. *Il*.5.703-4, 8.273, Minton 1960:304) indicate. It is true, however, that the epic is not the expression of the Muse (Bowie 1993:12) nor narrated *by* the Muse (*pace* Lenz 1980:27, Rabel 1997:19ff.). The relationship is portrayed as one of communication (Murray 1981:96-7). In the *Iliad* the Muse is first invoked, then the narrator asks: Τίς τ’ ἄρ σφωε θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι; (1.8), further directing the Muse as to where the narrative should begin. The Homeric narrator plays an active role in the telling of the narrative, as is implied in the self-description of Phemius:

αὐτοδίδακτος δ’ εἰμί, θεὸς δέ μοι ἐν φρεσὶν οἶμας
παντοίας ἐνέφυσεν (*Od*.22.347-8)

This indicates an awareness of the narrator’s own part in the composition and performance of song.⁶⁴ Indeed in one sense the Muses are a way for the poet to comment on his narration, to reflect on his own role as narrator (de Jong 1987:46). The Homeric narrator is no unconscious instrument of the divine. Nevertheless, the

⁶⁴ Cf. also *Od*.8.44-5.

pay-off for the formal subordination of the narrator is in Homer omniscience – the narrator has complete access to the story (ἴστε τε πάντα).

In Hesiod we find a similar picture of dependence, particularly in the description of Hesiod's initiation by the Muses at the beginning of the *Theogony* (e.g. ἐνέπνευσαν δέ μοι αὐδὴν/ θέσπιν, 31-2), and in the invocations of them at *Theog.*104ff., 965ff. But there is also more characterisation of the narrator (see 1.7 above), and a greater stress on his contribution and control of his song.

The narrator's own contribution to his songs is apparent in the *Theogony* immediately after the initiation by the Muses, where we find a break-off which makes reference not to the Muses, but to the narrator: ἀλλὰ τί ἦ μοι ταῦτα περὶ δρῶν ἢ περὶ πέτρην; (line 35), and then what is most naturally taken as a self-apostrophe by the narrator: Τύνη, Μουσάων ἀρχώμεθα (36), restarting the “hymn to the Muses” which opens the *Theogony*. Hence, though the αἰιδός is Μουσάων θεράπων (*Theog.*100), it is clear that this means he is the free servant, not the slave, of the Muses.⁶⁵ Furthermore in the invocation to the Muses at *Theog.*104ff. which ends this “hymn” it is the narrator who directs the Muses as to the subject of his song:

κλείετε δ' ἀθανάτων ἱερὸν γένος (105)

εἵπατε δ', ὥς τὰ πρῶτα θεοὶ καὶ γαῖα γένοντο (108)

ταῦτά μοι ἔσπετε Μοῦσαι, Ολύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσιν
ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ εἶπαθ', ὅ τι πρῶτον γένετ' αὐτῶν. (114-5)

In the *Works and Days*, after an invocation of the Muses, and an invitation to them to sing of Zeus there comes at lines 9-10 an address to Zeus:

κλῦθι ἰδὼν αἰών τε, δίκη δ' ἔθυνε θέμιστας
τύνη· ἐγὼ δέ κε, Πέρση, ἐτήτυμα μυθησαίμην.

⁶⁵ As Murray 1981:96-7 notes, citing the contrast of the θεράπων and the δράστας at P.4.287.

This both indicates the narrator's subordinate position to the greatest of the gods, but also claims a space for "Hesiod" – the advising of Perses (Stein 1990:49-50). Moreover, the self-correction at *WD* 11ff. of *Theog.*225f. on Eris appears not to depend on the Muses, nor do they appear in the transition from Pandora and Prometheus to the Myth of Ages (*WD* 106-7) nor where the narrator proclaims:

Νῦν δ' αἶνον βασιλεῦσιν ἐρέω φρονέουσι καὶ αὐτοῖς· (*WD* 202)

The autonomy and independence implied here should probably be interpreted as something like the "double motivation" of Phemius in the *Odyssey*. At lines 661-2 the narrator declares that he will tell Perses of the will of Zeus (concerning ships):

ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς ἐρέω Ζηνὸς νόον αἰγιόχοιο·
Μοῦσαι γάρ μ' ἐδίδαξαν ἀθέσφατον ὕμνον ἀεΐδειν.

While the first line here recalls the previous transitions, the second makes it clear that the narrator's contribution to the song, and his abilities, ultimately depend on the Muses.

In Hesiod we also find the explicit raising of the problem of the authority of the narrator and his claims to truth (implicitly in Homer through the Muses as *guarantors* of truth/knowledge):

ἴδμεν ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα,
ἴδμεν δ', εὖτ' ἐθέλωμεν, ἀληθέα γηρύσασθαι. (*Theog.*27-8)

The fact that the Muses claim for themselves the ability to speak falsely as well as truly is clearly not a destabilising of Hesiod's own narratorial authority, but used as a foil to stress his own truthfulness, perhaps in contrast to the epics of Homer (Davison 1962:146-7, Bowie 1993:20-2). A similar function can perhaps be guessed at for Solon F29 (πολλὰ ψεύδονται ἄοιδοί) and is clear in Xenophanes' accusation (F11D-K) that Homer and Hesiod attribute improper behaviour to the gods. These accusations of falsehood are, however, implied claims of one's own truthfulness and authority. In the Hellenistic period problems of poetic and narratorial authority are to the fore (see 1.3 above) and used to ironise and undercut one's own narrators (e.g. in

Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus*, see 3.2.5 below). An important Archaic precursor to this experimentation with authority, truth and voice is to be found in Pindar's *Olympian* 1, though it hardly amounts to the problematising of poetic authority found in Callimachus or Apollonius.

Pindar stresses the power of poetry to deceive (O.1.28-9) and make the unbelievable believable (30-2), and then echoes, in the final praise of Hieron, the language used of poetry's power to convince one of falsehoods:

δεδαιδαλμένοι ψεύδεσι ποικίλοις ἐξαπατῶντι μῦθοι (29)

Χάρις.../ ἐπιφέρεισα τιμὰν καὶ ἄπιστον ἐμήσατο πιστόν (30-1)

πέποιθα δὲ ξένον
μὴ τιν' ἀμφότερα...κυριώτερον
τῶν γε νῦν κλυταῖσι δαίδαλωσέμεν ὕμνων πτυχαῖς.
θεὸς ἐπιτροπος ἐὼν τεαῖσι μήδεται
ἔχων τοῦτο κᾶδος... (103-107)

There then follows an echo of a passage from Hesiod on the persuasiveness of kings:

τὸ δ' ἔσχατον κορυφούται
βασιλεῦσι. (O.1.113-14)

ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες· ὃ δ' ὄλβιος, ὃν τινα Μοῦσαι
φίλωνται· γλυκερὴ οἱ ἀπο στόματος ῥέει ἀυδή. (*Theog.*96-7)

Again, as in the case of the Muses' boast of potential falsehoods in the *Theogony*, the echoes in Pindar should not be taken as subverting the praise of the ode, by suggesting that the narrator, or his laudandus, are lying. The parallels operate by recalling *for contrast* the lies of other men and poets (Gerber 1982:158). But they also serve to suggest, perhaps, that Hieron is *capable* of lies, but has no need of them – a further encomiastic level. This play with ideas of truth and persuasiveness, and the interaction with this passage of the *Theogony*, is adopted by Callimachus in the *Hymn to Zeus*, but with much more disruptive effects.

It is difficult to ascertain the precise relationship of narrator to Muse in *iambos*, because of the fragmentary nature of the evidence, but it seems clear that the narrator's dependence is not so great as in epic, probably because of the largely non-mythic subject-matter, which centres around the actions of a persona probably grounded on the historical author and related in the first person. The Muses do not have to be invoked for what one did oneself. Hence we find in Archilochus self-motivated openings for poems such as F168 (Ερασμονίδη Χαρίλαε,/ χρῆμά τοι γελοῖον/ ἐρέω, πολὺ φίλταθ' ἐταίρων,/ τέρψεται δ' ἀκούων) and F185 (ἐρέω τιν' ὕμιν αἶνον, ὦ Κηρυκίδη), where the narrator announces the theme in the first person without recourse to the Muses. Nevertheless the Muses are ultimately responsible for even the poetic gifts of an iambicist (Μουσέων ἐρατὸν δῶρον ἐπιστάμενος, Archilochus F1.2),⁶⁶ and, of course, available to parody epic, as in Archilochus F117 and Hipponax F128.

The poems of Solon, the Theognidean corpus, and the poetry of Anacreon all support the hypothesis that the narrator is rarely portrayed as dependent on the Muses when the subject-matter is non-mythic. Though Solon F13 begins with a prayer to the Muses (κλῦτε μοι εὐχομένω, 2), this does not invoke them in their capacity as givers of knowledge, inspiration or narrative, but as deities on the model of Zeus or Athena, capable of granting wishes for prosperity and popularity (ὄλβον μοι πρὸς θεῶν μακάρων δότε καὶ πρὸς ἀπάντων/ ἀνθρώπων αἰεὶ δόξαν ἔχειν ἀγαθήν, 3-4). They are not needed, however, to provide Solon with knowledge of the political situation in Athens. Nor are they needed in Theognis to provide the narrator with knowledge of his relationship with Cyrnus, nor with the advice which the corpus as a whole furnishes a variety of addressees. When they appear, at 15-18, it is in connection with their song at the wedding of Cadmus, hence in a mythological context. Similarly in Anacreon there is no certain example of an invocation of the Muses, who are not required to provide the narrator with his sympotic subject-matter. This contrast between mythological subject-matter which requires the Muses, and "contemporary" poetry which does not is explicit in Ibycus F282 (a).23ff. (an encomium for Polycrates of Samos):⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Though the fragment is, of course, elegiac.

⁶⁷ Though Ibycus does a good job of including much material he professes he wishes not to sing about.

καὶ τὰ μέ[ν ἄν] Μοῖσαι σεσοφί[σ]μέναι
 εὖ Ἑλικωνίδ[ε]ς ἐμβαίεν λόγῳ[ι·
 †θναπ[ό]ς δ' οὐ κ[ε]ν ἄν[η]ρ
 διερὸς [...]] τὰ ἕκαστα εἴποι...

Ibycus' subject, in contrast, will be Polycrates. In Alcman, however, we find a much more explicit dependence on the part of the speaker on the Muses as the source of song, and guarantors of its appeal, e.g.:

Μῶσ' ἄγε Καλλιόπα, θύγατερ Διός,
 ἄρχ' ἐρατῶν φεπέων, ἐπὶ δ' ἕμερον
 ὕμνῳ καὶ χαρίεντα τίθη χορόν. (F27)

The Muses are also asked to make the dance (χορόν) appealing. The context of this, as of many Alcmanic fragments, is choral, and one function of the Muse-addresses in such songs is to establish the chorus as the speaker:

Μῶσ' ἄγε Μῶσα λίγη πολυμελές
 αἰὲν ἀοιδὲ μέλος
 νεοχμὸν ἄρχε παρσένους ἀείδην. (F14 (a))

κἀμὰ παίγνια παρσένω[ν] μάλι[σ]τ' ἀείσατ[ε] (F11.25)

In none of the invocations of the Muses in Alcman is it explicit that the Muses will provide the mythological *matter* for the song, but given the presence of the Hippocöontidae as a negative exemplum probably related at length in the *Louvre Partheneion* (F1), this seems a likely function. The association of the Muses with dance (cf. ἄρχεσίμολπον of the Muse, Stesichorus F250) is of course to the fore in choral compositions.

In Stesichorus the Muses seem to be invoked as the providers of narrative, though the expression “with me” in F210.1 draws attention to the role of the narrator at what is probably the beginning of his *Oresteia*:

Μοῖσα σὺ μὲν πολέμους ἀπωσαμένα πεδ' ἐμεῦ
κλείουσα θεῶν τε γάμους ἀνδρῶν τε δαίτας
καὶ θαλίας μακάρων (F210)

Narrators had, of course, already appeared in oblique cases at the beginning of mythological narratives (Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, *Od.*1.1). The Muses were also probably used as guarantors of truth in Stesichorus' *Palinode*, which rejected the myth of Helen as told in Homer and Stesichorus' *Helen*, and which probably began:⁶⁸

δεῦρ' αὖτε θεὰ φιλόμολπε (F193.9-10)

Given that the Homeric version is rejected as untrue (οὐκ ἔστ' ἔτυμος λόγος οὗτος, F192.1), it seems likely the Muse was invoked to certify the corrected version. Feeney (1991:15-6) speculates that the αὖτε above may indicate that the Muse is being asked to authenticate the rejection of the very narrative Muse and narrator produced in the earlier *Helen*. The role of the Muse in the *Helen* must, however, remain open, as must the precise means by which the rejection of the previous version was effected in the *Palinode*, and how the Muse was involved (it is surely too much to extrapolate the Muse's influence from ἄτε μουσικὸς ὢν ἔγνω τὴν αἰτίαν [sc. of his blindness], Plato, *Phaedrus* 243a).

Little can be made of the role of the Muses in Sappho or Alcaeus. In the former they are often paired with the Graces (e.g. F53, F103.5, F128), and their presence requested (δεῦρο δηῦτε Μοῖσαι χρύσιον λίποισαι, F127), but lack of context obscures their function. The imperative ἐννεπεῖ which can be discerned at F103.1, and what may be a request for Calliope herself to relate a narrative (αὐτὰ δὲ σὺ Καλλιόπα, F124), hint at the Muses as providing the material for narrative, but there is no such invocation in connection with surviving narrative portions of Sappho such as F44 or F44A. In Alcaeus there is no certain example of a Muse-invocation, but the character of the beginning of one poem (the opening of the second poem of Book one, schol.A in Heph.*Poem.*p.170 Consbruch) indicates a degree of narratorial autonomy:

⁶⁸ Note, however, the claim of Chamaeleon (*POxy.*2506 fr.26.col.i.2-11, Stesich.F193) that there were two *Palinodes*, and that the one against Hesiod began χρυσόπτερε παρθένε (F193.11). But this "Hesiodic" *Palinode* was probably never *known* thus (Woodbury 1967:160-2).

χαῖρε, Κυλλάνας ὁ μέδεις, σὲ γάρ μοι
θῦμος ὕμνην, τὸν κορύφαις' ἐν αὐταῖς
Μαῖα γέννατο Κρονίδα μίγαισα
παμβασίλῃ (F308 (b).1-4)

The use of θῦμος here is more than “interessante” (De Martino-Vox 1996:iii.1235) – it marks an important difference in the characterisation of the narrator as compared to the *Homeric Hymns*, in particular HH4 to Hermes. Certainty as to whether the Homeric or Alcaic hymn to Hermes is earlier is impossible (Page 1955:255, Campbell 1967:297), but comparison may still be profitable:

Ἑρμῆν ὕμνει Μοῦσα Διὸς καὶ Μαιάδος υἱόν,
Κυλλήνης μεδέοντα καὶ Ἀρκαδῆς πολυμήλου,
ἄγγελον ἀθανάτων ἐριούνιον, ὃν τεκε Μαῖα... (HH4.1-3)

Page thinks (1955:254-5) that the verbal similarities (e.g. Κυλλάνας ὁ μέδεις~Κυλλήνης μεδέοντα) can be accounted for as “conventional formulas” so that no borrowing need be involved (so also Campbell 1967:297). But the fact that in Alcaeus we have not the invocation of a Muse to sing of Hermes, as in the *Homeric Hymn*, but a declaration of a personal desire to sing, using the same verb (ὕμνην~ὕμνει) suggests that Alcaeus may be deliberately varying the Homeric model. The Alcaic narrator emphasises his own role in the production of the song by figuring the impulse to sing as his own. The concurrent use of χαῖρε at the beginning of a hymn, when it is conventional at the end of hymns (De Martino-Vox 1996:iii.1236), demonstrates a similar reversal of usual practice in the *Homeric Hymns*. This cannot be taken as proof of the priority of the *Homeric Hymn*, of course, but the similarities (and inversions) demand more explanation than the usual appeal to conventionality.

Such variations on normal hymnal practice might be characterised as “proto-Hellenistic”, as such experimentation has been in the case of the new fragments of Simonides (Parsons 1994:122 on fr.eleg.10-17). Here too hymnal closing formulas are adapted for a new purpose:

ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν νῦν χαῖρε, θεῶς ἐρικυδέος υἱέ
 κούρης εἰν]αλίου Νηρέος· αὐτὰρ ἐγώ
 κικλήσκω] σ' ἐπῖκουρον ἐμοί, πολυώνυμ]ε Μοῦσα,
 εἴ πέρ γ' ἀν]θρώπων εὐχομένω]ν μέλεια· (fr.eleg.11.19-22)

The narrator bids farewell to Achilles, “the son of the Nereid”, and moves on to another topic, using a formula which itself recalls the ends of *Homeric Hymns* (αὐτὰρ ἐγώ – cf. HH2.495, HH3.545f., Parsons 1992:32), and an address to the Muse to act as his “helper”. As Parsons (1992:32, 1994:122) points out, this combines in one poem the proemial hymn and epic narrative of rhapsodic tradition – the Muse is invoked at the beginning of the “epic” section. Further differences can be discerned from the past – the “hymn” is to Achilles (as opposed to a god proper), while the “epic” seems to be about not the distant past but the battle of Plataea (e.g. ἀνδρῶ]ν, οἱ Σπάρτη]...δούλιον ἦμ]αρ, fr.eleg.11.25, Parsons 1992:32), and the form is elegiac.

Most importantly, from our point of view, the narrator characterises his Muse as his ἐπῖκουρος, portraying the poem as their joint enterprise, with the Muse as the narrator’s military auxiliary (Rutherford 2001:45; cf. the same meaning for ἐπῖκουρος at O.13.97, Stehle 2001:109-10), which emphasises the narrator’s own contribution, particularly compared to Homer’s subordination, given ἀν] [δρὸς].../ ὃς παρ’ ἰὸ]πλοκάμων δέξατο Πιερίδ]ων/ πᾶσαν ἄλ]ηθει]ν at fr.eleg.11.15-17 on Homer’s commemoration of the generation of Achilles. Aloni (2001:95) explains the contrast in terms of a difference of subject-matter similar to that observed above – Homer relies on the Muses for the truth of events to which he was not a witness, but Simonides does not depend on them so completely as he did witness the Persian War.⁶⁹ But the narrator still needs the Muses, as suggested by the military metaphor, and his imploring that “if you ever heeded prayers” ἔντυνο]ν καὶ τόνδ]ε μελ]ῖφρον]α κ[όσμον ἀο]ιδῆς/ ἡμετ]έρης (fr.eleg.11.23-4, Obbink 2001:71). The help the Muse provides will ensure the quality of the song hence future memory (ἵνα τις [μνή]σεται, fr.eleg.11.24), which recalls the Muses as guarantors of the song’s appeal in Alcman above.

⁶⁹ As did his primary audience, so that in one sense the narrator is *not* in this case the audience’s only way of accessing the “story” (given by the Muses), Stehle 2001:111.

With Pindar and Bacchylides it becomes possible to go beyond speculation on isolated fragments to see how a narratorial persona is built up in terms of a relationship with the Muses. Though the narrator-Muse relationship in the epinicians is consistent, it is not uniform, and allows for different aspects to be stressed in different poems. In general the epinicians are presented, like the victories they celebrate, as possible only through the agency of the divine. But there is considerable room for familiarity and play, which is one of the most striking elements of the depiction of the Muses in Pindar.

ὦ πότνια Μοῖσα, μᾶτερ ἀμετέρᾳ, λίσσομαι...

τᾶς ἀφθονίαν ὄπαζε μήτιος ἀμᾶς ἄπο·
 ἄρχε δ' οὐρανοῦ πολυνεφέλα κρέοντι, θύγατερ,
 δόκιμον ὕμνον· ἐγὼ δὲ κείνων τέ νιν ὁάροις
 λυρὰ τε κοινάσομαι.... (N.3.1, 9-12)

The narrator of *Nemean* 3 begins as a suppliant of the Muse (cf. λίσσομαι in Pindaric requests to the divine at O.12.1, P.1.71), who is a “queen” (emphasising her divinity, cf. Hera, *Il*.1.551 etc.), announcing that the chorus is awaiting her song.⁷⁰ He then bids that she begin a hymn, which he will pass on to the chorus. Hence he is depicted as an intermediary, a conduit between Muse and audience. This recalls the situation of the subordinate narrator in Homer, and is developed elsewhere in Pindar (e.g. Μοῖσαις γὰρ ἀγλαοθρόνοις ἐκὼν/ Ὀλυνθιαθιδαισὶν τ' ἔβαν ἐπίκουρος, O.13.96-7 and outside the epinicians in μαντεύεο, Μοῖσα, προφατεύσω δ' ἐγὼ, F150; αἰοίδιμον Πιερίδων προφάταν, *Pae*.6.6; ἐμὲ δ' ἐξαίρετο[ν/ κάρυκα σοφῶν ἐπέων/ Μοῖσα ἀνέστασ', *Dith*.2.22-4). At the same time, however, the narrator uses ὦ with the vocative of the Muse. This use indicates impatience, familiarity or lack of reserve and demonstrates that the narrator is treating the Muses as “his own familiar friends” (Scott 1905:32-3).⁷¹ Scott notes that Pindar is the first Greek poet to use ὦ of the

⁷⁰ See 2.2.1 above for the debate on who sang N.3.

⁷¹ See further on the use of the vocative and ὦ in various Greek authors Giangrande 1968, Williams 1973, Scott 1904, 1903, Gildersleeve-Miller 1903.

Muses.⁷² In N.3 this is coupled with a claim of kinship (μᾶτερ ἀμετέρᾳ) which further characterises the narrator as an intimate of the Muses. This intimacy explains why the Pindaric narrator can, in I.2, even imagine the Muse as a madam pimping her songs (οὐδ' ἐπέρναντο γλυκεῖαι μελιφθόγγου ποτὶ Τερψιχόρας/ ἀργυρωθεῖσαι πρόσωπα μαλθακόφωνοι αἰοδαί, 7-8). In N.3 his own abilities are emphasised by the unusual phrase “grant...from my skill” in line 9 – the Muse is asked to make possible the expression of the narrator’s ability.

Hence even where the relationship appears unequal there are elements suggesting the importance of the narrator and his close connections to the Muses. These are also to the fore when the epinician is portrayed as their joint labour (already implied in the request to grant abundance of song from one’s *own* skill in N.3, Pfeijffer 1999:255):

Μοῖσα δ' οὕτω ποι παρέστα μοι νεοσίγαλον εὐρόντι τρόπον
Δωρίῳ φωνὰν ἐναρμόξαι πεδίλῳ (O.3.4-5)

ἄγ' ἔπειτ' Αἴτνας βασιλεῖ φίλιον ἐξεύρωμεν ὕμνον (P.1.60)

Both the image of the Muse standing beside the poet and the idea that the poet and Muse are joint producers of the song were to be taken up in the Hellenistic period.

There are also passages where the Muses seem to perform duties which are necessary, though in some sense ancillary to the narrator’s, hence suggesting a greater contribution on the part of the narrator:

ἐμοὶ μὲν ᾧν
Μοῖσα καρτερώτατον βέλος ἀλκᾷ τρέφει (O.1.111-2)

τοῦτο γέ οἱ σαφέως
μαρτυρήσω μελίφθογγοι δ' ἐπιτρέποντι Μοῖσαι. (O.6.20-1)

⁷² At O.10.3, O.11.18, I.6.57 in addition to N.3.1.

The first passage in particular is reminiscent of the Muse as ἐπίκουρος in Simonides fr.eleg.11 above, as they tend the narrator's βέλος, a military task. But it is the narrator who is to fire this arrow. In the second it is the narrator who bears witness as the Muses "approve" (Race (1997:i.105) translates ἐπιτρέποντι "assist"). Their approval is indispensable, of course, but the primary action is the narrator's.

The narrator is kept in the foreground through regular imperatives to the Muses. Despite the Homeric precedent, the frequency and tone of the commands contribute to the picture of a narrator on close terms with the Muses:

Μοῖσα, τὸ δὲ τεόν, εἰ μισθοῖο συνέθεν παρέχειν
φωνὰν ὑπάργυρον, ἄλλοτ' ἄλλα ταρασσέμεν (P.11.41-2)

Here the Muse herself seems to have accepted the commission for the ode, and so certain duties which would ordinarily be the narrator's are transferred to her. The narrator, by telling her what she should do, sounds like a narrative superior, relating her options – ἢ πατρὶ Πυθονίκῳ/ τό γέ νυν ἢ Θρασυδάῳ (P.11.43-4). A similar hierarchy is implied in P.4 in another reversal of the conventional roles of narrator and Muse in epic, where the narrator promises to give the topics of the song to the Muses, rather than receiving them from the Muses (O'Higgins 1997:116):

ἀπὸ δ' αὐτὸν ἐγὼ Μοῖσαισι δώσω
καὶ τὸ πάγχρυσον νάκος κριοῦ (67-8)

This implied hierarchy is also to be found in other passages where the narrator directs the Muse to another section of the ode:

Μοῖσα, καὶ πὰρ Δεινομένει κελαδῆσαι
πίθεό μοι ποινὰν τεθρίππων (P.1.58-9)

ἔλα νῦν μοι πεδόθεν (I.5.38)

The second instruction uses the image of the "chariot of the Muses", and introduces a series of questions (λέγε, τίνες Κύκνον, τίνες Ἑκτορα πέφνον..., I.5.39) which recall Homeric questioning of the Muses about the deaths of heroes (e.g. at *Il.*11.218-

9). The use of the imperative at the beginning, however, portrays the narrator's obtaining of information from the Muse as one where he is very much in control – *he* seems to steer the course of the poem (Lefkowitz 1991:39). Narratorial control can even extend to driving the chariot of song itself:

ὦ Φίντις, ἀλλὰ ζεῦξον ἤδη μοι σθένος ἡμιόνων,
ᾗ τάχος, ὅφρα κελεύθῳ τ' ἐν καθαράῳ
βάσομεν ὄκχον... (O.6.22-4)

πέποιθα ξενία προσανέι Θώρακος, ὅσπερ ἐμὸν ποιπνύων χάριν
τόδ' ἔζευξεν ᾠρμα Πιερίδων τετράορον (P.10.64-5)

εἶην εὐρησιεπὴς ἀναγεῖσθαι
πρόσφορος ἐν Μοισᾶν δίφρῳ (O.9.80-1)

In the latter two passages the chariot is explicitly the Muses' and the driver clearly the narrator. Similar stress is placed on the action of the primary narrator when different metaphors are employed. The narrator can be the helmsman of the Muse – Αἰακῷ σε φάμι γένει τε Μοῖσαν φέρειν, N.3.28 – addressed to himself in answer to the self-apostrophe θυμέ, τίνα πρὸς ἄλλοδαπάν/ ἄκραν ἐμὸν πλόον παραμείβει; in 26, or their archer (again in self-apostrophe):

ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐκαταβόλων Μοισᾶν ἀπὸ τόξων
Δία τε φοινικοστερόπαν σεμνόν τ' ἐπίνειμαι
ἀκρωτήριον ᾠλιδος (O.9.5-7)

The foregrounding of the narrator and his role in the production of the poem is also achieved by relieving the Muses of some of the functions they play in earlier poets. At the beginning of the Catalogue of Ships at *Il.*2.484ff. there is a strongly marked transitional passage, where the Homeric narrator addresses the Muses to request the names of the leaders of the Greeks, and to avoid telling the *πληθύν* (488). In Pindar, however, the narrator often refers to himself instead of the Muse in transitional passages (Lefkowitz 1991:28):

ἵσταμαι δὴ ποσσὶ κούφοις, ἀμπνέων τε πρίν τι φάμεν. (N.8.19)

μακρά μοι νεῖσθαι κατ' ἀμαξιτόν· ὥρα γὰρ συνάπτει· καί τινα
οἶμον ἵσαμι βραχύν (P.4.247-8)

In P.4.247-8 we can see further use of chariot-imagery, again with the Pindaric narrator himself holding the reins.

That this particular emphasis on the narrator is a Pindaric, rather than generic, strategy is indicated by the comparatively more subordinate Bacchylidean narrator in his epinicians. The narrator characterises himself as Μοῦσαν γε ἰοβλεφάρων θεῖος προφάτης (B.9.3) and ἀδυεπὴς ἀνα-/ξιφόρμιγος Οὐρανίης ἀλέκτωρ (B.4.7-8), and describes Hesiod as πρόπολος/ Μουσῶν (B.5.192-3), descriptions which recall the narrator as intermediary in Homer and in some Pindaric passages (see above). There is less variety, however, in Bacchylides in the way the relationship is presented. The Muses can be invoked in epic fashion (ὕμναι, γλυκύδωρε Κλεοῖ, B.3.3), and their role as providers of information is explicit, outside the epinicians, at 15.47:

Μοῦσα, τίς πρῶτος λόγων ἄρχεν δικαίων;

The Muses can also inspire and guarantee the excellence of the song:

τὰν εἰκ' ἐτύμως ἄρα Κλειῶ
πανθαλῆς ἐμαῖς ἐνέσταξεν φρασίν,
τερψιεπεῖς νιν ᾠοῖδαι
παντὶ καρύξοντι λαῶν. (B.13.228-31)

The narrator, then, is portrayed as dependent on the Muses for the quality and material of his song, and rarely suggests a more important role for himself. It is the Muses, for the most part, who are in control, as when Clio is described as helmsman of the narrator's thoughts (contrast the Pindaric use of this image above):

ὥσει κυβερνήτας σοφός, ὕμνοάνα-
σ' εὐθύνε Κλειοῖ
νῦν φρένας ἀμετέρας (B.12.1-3)

The narrator does occasionally approach a “Pindaric” independence, as when breaking off a narrative in B.10 (τί μακρὰν γ[λ]ῶ[σ]σαν ἰθύσας ἐλαύνω/ ἐκ τοῦ ὁδοῦ; 50-1), or directing Calliope to halt her chariot in B.5.176-8. There is nothing, however, which resembles the careful development of intimacy with the Muses in Pindar – no claims of kinship or familiar addresses. This is consistent with the less prominent primary narrator in Bacchylides and the organisation of the epinicians along different lines, and probably with different purposes, from Pindar’s (cf. Most (unpublished)).

The range of presentation of the relationship of narrator to Muse available to the Hellenistic poets was therefore broad. There were some generic differences of course, chiefly between poems about the mythological past and those about the narrator’s present, which made different demands of the Muses. But it is the differences in the autonomy of the narrator from Homeric subordination to the self-motivation stressed particularly in Pindar (with the necessary *caveat* about distortions due to the accidents of preservation), which is particularly important in the development of Hellenistic narrators such as that in the *Argonautica*.

2.3.4 Emotion and Evaluation

The features to be covered in this section are several – expressions of opinion or moral judgement by the primary narrator, vocabularies of “emotional” language, exclamations by the narrator and the apostrophe of characters. Here too there is a contrast between Homer and non-epic Archaic poetry.

As evaluation and judgement are forceful signs of narrator-prominence, they are generally eschewed by the unobtrusive narrators of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. *Gnomai* on the human condition, for example, are rare in the mouth of the Homeric narrator. When these appear, e.g. at *Il.*16.688-90, it is to heighten the *pathos* of a scene, and emphasise the narrator’s emotional involvement, in this case with Patroclus’ fatal decision to disobey Achilles’ orders (Richardson 1990:144-5). Such generalisations are more usually expressed by the characters, and this division between narrator and characters can also be seen in their discrete vocabularies – there is a large class of

emotional and evaluative language which the narrator tends to avoid (Krarup 1948, Griffin 1986). Even so common a word like κακός is predominantly a speech-word in Homer (in a ratio of 5:1 compared to narrative, Griffin 1986:39). The Homeric narrator can, of course, express an emotional reaction to an event, e.g. in the use of exclamations with νήπιος (e.g. *Il*.2.37-8), which imply the pity of the narrator (Richardson 1990:161-2). Even here, however, there is a distinction to be found between speech and narrative – the similar exclamations with σχέτλιος are only once found outside speech, at *Od*.21.28-9, expressing outrage at Heracles' murderous abuse of *xenia*.

The Homeric narrator also, on occasion, apostrophises his characters. The most notable series of apostrophes are in *Il*.16, where Patroclus (not addressed outside *Il*.16) is spoken to directly by the narrator on eight occasions.⁷³ These apostrophes are often thought to be accounted for by their metrical convenience (e.g. by Nitzsch 1860, Bonner 1905, Matthews 1980, Yamagata 1989), but there are serious problems with this view. Genesis does not explain function (cf. Edwards 1987:38), and there is a marked frequency of apostrophe to characters at emotionally charged moments, as in the case of Patroclus. The characters (leaving aside gods) addressed are few – in the *Iliad* Patroclus, Menelaus (seven times),⁷⁴ Achilles (once),⁷⁵ and Melanippus (once),⁷⁶ in the *Odyssey* only Eumaeus (fifteen times).⁷⁷ Hence the bulk of the addresses are to Patroclus, Menelaus and Eumaeus. All three are presented as peculiarly sensitive and sympathetic characters (Parry 1972:10-21: Patroclus μέλιχρον αἰεὶ according to Briseis, *Il*.19.300; Menelaus' kindness at *Il*.6.52ff.; Eumaeus' hospitality and loyalty clear from his treatment of Odysseus in *Od*.14). Their status as such, and the response of the audience, is guided by the narrator's direct addresses. But these do not quite work, as Block (1982:8-9) suggests, by having the explicit emotion of the narrator guide that of the audience.

⁷³ 16.20, 584-5, 692-3, 744, 754, 787-8, 812-3, 843.

⁷⁴ 4.127-9, 4.146-7, 7.104, 13.603, 17.679, 17.702, 23.600.

⁷⁵ 20.2.

⁷⁶ 15.582.

⁷⁷ 14.55, 165, 360, 442, 507, 15.325, 16.60, 135, 464, 17.272, 311, 380, 512, 579, 22.194.

In fact Homeric apostrophe to characters is remarkably free of emotional content. This is clear in the case of the Eumaeus-addresses, but even at the emotional climax of *Il.*16.812-3 (ὅς τοι πρῶτος ἐφῆκε βέλος, Πατρόκλεες ἱππεῦ,/ οὐδὲ δάμασσ') the apostrophe does not lay bare the narrator's feelings, as Richardson (1990:171-2) emphasises. It is nothing like the Virgilian narrator's emotional address to Nisus and Eurylaus (*Aen.*9.446-9). The emotion of the audience created by Homeric apostrophes operates because they are *transgressive* (already seen by Henry 1905:8, "not obviously natural" to address dead heroes as though present). Richardson (1990:173-4) explains the operation of the apostrophes in terms of Genettian narrative levels – narrator and audience are on one level (both "extradiegetic", Genette 1980:260), while the characters are on another ("intradiegetic", Genette 1980:228-9). The address of a character by the narrator enables the audience to cross to the narrative level of the characters – the audience's sympathy is engaged by bringing them closer to the characters.⁷⁸

The *Homeric Hymns* have, in general, similarly self-effacing narrators, but there are some differences in the expression of emotion and judgement. Their status as hymns brings with it certain changes – the narrator is characterised as pious enough to hymn a particular god, who is invoked and prayed to for prosperity or success. To this end gods can be described as σεμνήν (e.g. HH2.1). But even beyond this "generic" piety the narrators of the *Homeric Hymns* are portrayed as reacting emotionally more often than those of the Homeric epics. The fairly rigid distinction between the vocabularies of the Homeric narrator and characters is less pronounced (Krarup 1948:16).⁷⁹ In Homer αἰνός and its cognates are predominantly found in speech (Hunter 1993a:110), as in the *Homeric Hymns*, but the three examples in narrative all occur in HH2 (90, 254, 305), giving the hymn a more emotional colouring. Of the longer *Homeric Hymns* HH2 is the only one to use the words αἰδώς (predominantly in speech in Homer, Krarup 1948:14-5) and σέβας (exclusively in speech in Homer, Griffin 1986:40), both significantly in the mouth of the narrator at HH2.190.⁸⁰ Given the

⁷⁸ The apostrophes have other effects, of course – cf. Frontisi-Ducroux 1986:17-27 for the closeness of Homeric narratorial apostrophe to Muse-invocations.

⁷⁹ I take into account here only the longer and earlier *Homeric Hymns*: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 19.

⁸⁰ Σέβας does not appear elsewhere in the major hymns, αἰδώς only appears once more, in speech, at HH2.214.

relatively small amount of examples of these words, more significant is the distribution of κακός in the *Homeric Hymns* (15 examples omitting HH16.4). This drops, when compared to Homer, from a ratio of 5:1 in favour of speech to just 1½:1. Μάλα is used mainly by characters in Homer (Griffin 1986:45), but is four times more common by the narrator in HH3 (15 examples), twice as common in HH2 (6 examples), equally divided between speech and narrative in HH5 (4 examples), and exclusively in speech in HH4 (9 examples), giving a roughly equal overall distribution. There can also be striking reversals as compared to Homeric distribution – πῆμα (45 examples in speech against 2 by the narrator) appears exclusively in the mouth of the primary narrator in the *Homeric Hymns* (all in HH3, of the monsters Typhaon and the Pythian serpent).

Nevertheless it is clear that the distinctions have not been discarded altogether: in the *Homeric Hymns* the affective ῆ (almost always a speech-word in Homer, Griffin 1986:45) is only used by the characters in the *Homeric Hymns* (11 examples), χόλος (mainly in speech in Homer, Griffin 1986:43), appears 4 times out of 5 in characters' speeches, νηλής (mainly in speech in Homer, excluding the formulaic νηλεῖ χαλκῶ and νηλεὲς ἦμαρ, Griffin 1986:40) exclusively in speech (twice, HH4.385, 5.245).

In some respects the narrators of the *Hymns* are *less* prepared to react to their narratives than Homer – we find no examples of exclamations with σκέτλιος or even νήπιος. Both words are confined to speech, with the exception of νήπιον at HH4.152 (not in an exclamation). *Gnomai* are also rare (exceptions to be found in HH2 at 111, 480ff., 486ff.), and the closest a narrator come to “moralising” are the comment ψευδόμενοι at HH1.6 (of the false accounts of Zeus' birth), and the statement τοὺς δ' ῆγε κακὸς μῦθος at HH7.8, on the unfortunate kidnappers of Dionysus.

This general picture of narrators who make only occasional use of devices of emotion and judgement is obviously different from that to be found in Archaic *iambos*, elegy and lyric (long characterised as “subjective” in opposition to “objective” epic, see 2.3.1.1 above). Narratorial *gnomai*, for example, are ubiquitous in Theognis, and common in Pindar, Solon and Semonides. The differences between epic and lyric (broadly construed) are to be explained largely in terms of genre, as mentioned above. The martial elegies of Tyrtaeus and Callinus, for example, exhort and

encourage young men to battle, and promote unity and confidence in the citizenry. Hence the narrator is more emotionally engaged than in Homer. There are regularly comments on what is τιμῆεν...καὶ ἀγλαόν (Callinus F1.6), καλόν (Tyrtaeus F10.1, or ἥδ' ἀρετῇ (Tyrtaeus F12.13), as well as what is αἰσχρόν (F10.26, F11.19). These evaluative words reveal that speech-words in Homer are regularly employed by the narrator in these elegies (cf. also in Tyrtaeus οὐλομένη, F7.2; κακότης F10.10, speech-words in Homer, Hunter 1993a:110,⁸¹ Krarup 1948:13). Although it makes little sense to compare the narrator- and character-vocabularies in genres where there is comparatively little speech, the use of these words shows that these narrators more commonly express their judgement than is the case in Archaic epic. Their emotional involvement in the martial exhortations they give is thus marked, as it is by their regular address of νέοι (e.g. Callinus F1.1ff., Tyrtaeus F10.15ff., F11.10ff.). This is akin to the apostrophe of characters in Homer, given that the elegies were very probably performed at symposia, rather than to a gathering of citizens before a battle (Bowie 1986:15-18).

The unHomeric use of affective vocabulary by the narrator could be reproduced for most non-epic Archaic poets, to a greater or lesser degree.⁸² More important, however, is the co-ordination of this and other devices to create a “moralising” persona in various non-epic Archaic poets. This is apparent in the paraenetic situation developed in several poets, such as Theognis, who recommends and suggests against various forms of action and behaviour to his addressee, and by extension the audience, e.g. μηδὲν ἄγαν σπεύδειν· πάντων μέσ' ἄριστα to Cyrnus (333). Related to this sort of advising of an addressee (also to be found, e.g., in some elegiac fragments attributed to Archilochus, such as F15 to Glaucus on the friendship of an ally), is the persona adopted in Solon of a political adviser. Here the political situation can be presented in emotional language, e.g. in F4 the affective words ἄδικος (7), ὕβριος (8), ἀδίκους (11), κακὴν...δουλοσύνην (18), κακά (23, 31), κακόν (26). These words characterise the danger which Athens faces, leading up to a *gnome*

⁸¹ Though cf. *Il*1.2 for οὐλομένην at a significant point in the *narrative*.

⁸² E.g. in Archilochus the primary narrator commonly uses cognates of κακός (at F5.4, F11.1, F13.5, F20, F126.2 (twice), F128.6, F130.1, 4, F133.4, F195) – their absence in the speech of characters is primarily related to the monologic character of the genre.

on Δυσνομία and Εὐνομία (F4.31ff.) which emphasises the benefits of the latter and encourages its adoption by the citizenry.

A different sort of moraliser is found in iambic fragments where the primary narrator is reproaching his target:

πάτερ Λυκάμβα, ποῖον ἐφράσω τόδε;
τίς σὰς παρήειρε φρένας
ἦς τὸ πρὶν ἠρήρησθα; νῦν δὲ δὴ πολλὺς
ἄστοῖσι φαίνειαι γέλως. (Archil.F172)

It seems that Lycambes has wronged the narrator (ὄρκον δ' ἐνοσφίσθης μέγαν/ ἄλλας τε καὶ τράπεζαν, F173), probably in connection with marriage to his daughter (cf. Hor. *Epodes* 6.11-14). This situation, very probably reproduced in Hipponax with reference to Bupalus (cf. Pliny *NH*.36.4.12), of a narrator who is wronged and then upbraids his target(s), portrays the narrator as morally superior to them, at least. In Hipponax we find several fragments recommending that someone be treated as a φαρμακός (F5, F6, F7, F8, F9, F10). The moral stance of the primary narrator is undercut somewhat by the depiction in many iambic poems of the narrator's sexual and scatological misadventures, which arouses humour at the narrator's expense (and that of his targets). Nevertheless, the self-characterisation of iambic narrators as moralisers remains, and several fragments preserve their reproaches and moral commentary (e.g. Hipponax F26 on the impoverishment of one man through his extravagance).

Both the giving of advice and the self-characterisation of the narrator as wronged are prominent elements of the moralising persona of Hesiod in the *Works and Days*. Perses, brother of the primary narrator, has carried off the greater share of their inheritance (*WD* 37-8), with the support of the βασιλῆες or "leaders" (οἱ τήνδε δίκην ἐθέλουσι δικάσσαι, 39) whom he derogatorily describes as δωροφάγοι (39) and νήπιοι (40). At *WD* 248ff. the narrator warns these βασιλῆες to pay attention to Zeus' punishment of those who practise σχέτλια ἔργα (*WD* 238).⁸³ The upbraiding of both the βασιλῆες and Perses characterises the narrator as morally superior to

⁸³ Note here too the use of the Homeric speech-word σχέτλιος.

them, as does his advising of Perses, who is instructed καὶ νῦ Δίκης ἐπάκουε (275) – the narrator is the mouthpiece of Right. A further mark of the narrator’s moral separation from the rest of mankind comes in his reaction to his own narrative at *WD* 174-76, where he wishes he had not been born in the fifth generation:

μηκέτ’ ἔπειτ’ ὄφελλον ἐγὼ πέμπτοισι μετεῖναι
ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλ’ ἢ πρόσθε θανεῖν ἢ ἐπειτα γενέσθαι.
νῦν γὰρ δὴ γένος ἐστὶ σιδήρεον·

The ability to comment upon humanity as a whole demonstrates that the Hesiodic narrator is a moraliser, while also justifying the advice the narrator gives to addressee and audience.

The reaction to narrative found in Hesiod is most prominent in Archaic poetry as a marked feature of the principal narratorial persona in Pindar’s epinicians. On several occasions the narrator evaluates the propriety or ethical content of a myth (Carey 1995:97-8), which contributes to an impression of the narrator across the epinicians as pious and respectful of the gods. Most famously, of course, in *Olympian* 1 the Pindaric narrator sets himself against previous versions of the story of Pelops’ ivory shoulder and the reason for his father’s punishment. So emotional is the narrator about this variation from tradition that he declares his intention to Pelops himself, a rare example of a Pindaric address to a non-divine character:⁸⁴

υἱὲ Ταντάλου, σὲ δ’ ἀντία προτέρων φθέγξομαι... (O.1.36)

The reason for Pindar’s rejection of the tale of the dismemberment and eating of Pelops is also phrased in emphatic language:

ἐμοὶ δ’ ἄπορα γαστρίμαργον μακάρων τιν’ εἰπεῖν· ἀφίσταμαι
ἀκέρδεια λέλογχεν θαμινὰ κακαγόρους. (O.1.52-3)

The traditional version is to call Demeter a γαστρίμαργος, “glutton”, and so be a κακάγορος or “slanderer”. Such language portrays previous poets as blasphemers,

⁸⁴ The only parallels are P.4.175 (Periclymenus), N.7.86 (Heracles), I.1.55 (Amphitryon), I.8.21-3 (the nymph Aegina).

and the narrator makes it clear that it is impossible (ἄπορα, ἀφίσταμαι) for him to do the same. A similarly powerful description of the narrator's rejection of a myth is to be found, as Carey (1995:98) points out, at O.9.35ff. where the myth of Heracles fighting the gods is equated to the vilification of the gods (λοιδορῆσαι, O.9.37), which amounts to ἐχθρὰ σοφία (O.9.38), "hateful poetry". Elsewhere Pindar's narrator ostentatiously avoids improper narrative at O.13.91 (διασωπάσομαι οἱ μόρον ἐγώ, on Bellerophon) and N.5.14ff. where he will not tell of a deed ἐν δίκῃ...μὴ κεκινδυνευμένον (14, the murder of Phocus).

Pindaric judgements of narratives are usually made in the first person (ἀφίσταμαι, O.1.52; μοι, O.9.35; διασωπάσομαι, O.13.91; αἰδέομαι, στάσομαι, N.5.14, 16) and the prominence of this moral first person in Pindar, which portrays the evaluation of the myth as the personal reaction of the narrator, is unusual in epinician and choral lyric (Carey 1995:98). Carey suggests that Pindar may be drawing on personal lyric, rather than, e.g., the epinicians of Simonides for this emphatic personal response to a myth. In Alcaeus F298, for example, the narrator proclaims that it would have been much better (πόλυ βέλτερον, 4) for the Greeks to have killed Locrian Ajax, τὸν θεοβλήβεντα (5), using this as a parallel for the homicidal political action which should be taken on Lesbos (1-3). Other potential Archaic models for the strength of feeling in the Pindaric judgements suggest themselves. In Simonides F542 the saying of Pittacus is rejected by the narrator as inaccurate (οὐδέ μοι ἐμμελέως τὸ Πιττάκειον/ νέμεται, 11-2), who goes on to declare that he will not find fault with someone who is not bad (οὐδὲ μὴ μιν ἐγώ/ μωμήσομαι, 36-7), while in F581 the opinion of Cleobulus is even more harshly treated (μωροῦ/ φωτὸς ἅδε βουλά, 6-7).⁸⁵ While these are not reactions to myths, the fragments do respond to previous thinkers, and strength of feeling (in F581) and the personal terms in which F542 is expressed are reminiscent of Pindar. Similarly the comments in Xenophanes on the narrator being more deserving than an athletic victor are forcefully expressed in the first person (οὐκ ἐὼν ἄξιος ὥσπερ ἐγώ· ῥώμης γὰρ ἀμείνων/ ἀνδρῶν ἢ δ' ἵππων ἡμετέρη σοφίη, F2.11-12D-K), while those on the portrayal of the gods suggest such

⁸⁵ The genre of the two Simonidean fragments is uncertain – they are not from epinicians, at least. F542 may be from an encomium (Σιμωνίδης πρὸς Σκόπαν, Pl.Pr.339a7).

mythic treatments might have been emotionally treated in the complete text (e.g. ...θεῶν ἀθεμίστια ἔργα/ κλέπτειν μοιχεύειν τε καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀπατεύειν, B 12.1-2).

In Pindar's epinicians the moral evaluation of myths in the first person, alongside the widespread use of the first person in *gnomai* (cf. O.3.43-5, P.3.105-11, Carey 1995:96-7), are clearly part of an attempt to establish the narrator's sincerity in the context of praise, and to portray poetry as a moral activity in which the narrator excels as a moral authority. Hence both the narrator's praise and his moral pronouncements are given extra validity. This mechanism is particularly reminiscent, as Carey (1995:97) points out, of the situation in the *Works and Days*.

Bacchylides' epinicians present us with a strikingly different approach to the persona of the narrator in general and of the use of emotion and evaluation in particular. Since Pindaric and Bacchylidean epinicians are of the same genre and date, generic and historical explanations are insufficient to account for the differences between them. Rather we must appeal to the different aesthetic (i.e. artistic rather than literary-critical) aims of the poets. In Bacchylides there is far less use of the first person, which is generally confined to its usual role in choral lyric as a transitional device found at the beginning and end of poems (in contrast to the more widespread Pindaric first-persons), as Carey (1995:92) notes. Correspondingly, expressions of the bond of *xenia* between narrator and laudandus in Bacchylides are far less often in the first person (Carey 1995:95). This is also true of *gnomai*. Most strikingly of all, however, is that narratorial reaction to myths in Bacchylides takes a very different form. Rather than being expressed in first-person statements emphasising the moral authority of the narrator (and his evaluation of the myth), we find the use of exclamations and emotional language to portray the sympathy of the narrator and the pathetic nature of the myth.

In B.9 the narrator reacts to Archemorus' death as an omen of the bloody result of the Seven's expedition against Thebes by declaring ὦ μοῖρα πολυκρατές (15), while he exclaims ἄ τρισευδαίμων ἀνὴρ (B.3.10) of Hieron when describing his Olympic chariot-victory.⁸⁶ Hutchinson (2001:333) thinks that such (pseudo-) spontaneous

⁸⁶ Blass (*app.crit.* Maehler 1982-97:i.126) similarly suggested ἄ δύσφρονες, ἦ μεγάλαισιν ἐλπίσιν/ πνε<ι>οντες (B.13.157-8) of the Trojans' misplaced confidence during the absence of Achilles.

reactions are more typical of elegy and *iambos* than lyric, citing Hipp.117.6 (ἄ μάκαρ). We might also add ἄ τάλας ἄνθρω (Semon.7.76). A further Bacchylidean narratorial exclamation can be found in B.16: ἄ δύσμορος, ἄ τάλαιν' (30), of Deianeira's fatal plan to regain Heracles' affection. Although this exclamation does not come from an epinician, it illustrates the continuity of style from Bacchylides' epinicians to the dithyrambs and the corresponding consistency of the primary narrator in both sets of poems. The most remarkable Bacchylidean exclamation is perhaps that at B.17.119, where the narrator uses the word φεῦ, a word most natural in the speech of characters in drama (Maehler 1982-97:ii.206) and not found in earlier lyric nor in Pindaric epinicians (Hutchinson 2001:333), to express his feeling at Minos' reaction to Theseus' return. This striking transfer to the mouth of the primary narrator of a dithyramb demonstrates the different Bacchylidean narratorial persona – one who expresses emotion in order to elicit a similar reaction in the audience, in contrast to the ostentatious moral evaluations of Pindar.

3. Callimachean Narrators

3.1 Introduction

In Callimachus “stories are always presented in such a way that the reader is repeatedly reminded of the fact that this is a story and that some effort is being made to tell it” (Harder 1992:390). This flagging of narrative status and narrator ranges from the subtle ironies and self-criticism of the *Iambi*, to the intrusive scholar-poet of the *Aetia*, and the careful modifications and expansions of Archaic hymnal voices in the *Hymns*.

The plural in this chapter’s title is meant to stress the great variety and subtle differentiation of voice in Callimachus, within a single poem, within a collection such as the *Hymns*, and between different works. One obstacle to the perception of this variety is the homogeneity often assumed in Callimachean poetry (and Hellenistic poetry more generally) as “scholarly”, obscure, difficult. Erudition or scholarship is an important aspect of Hellenistic narratorial voices (Goldhill 1991:327-8), but a central reason for a simple characterisation of such voices as “scholarly” is inattention to the relationship between author and narrator, and the nature of narratorial “projections” of the author. This is particularly the case with Callimachus.

Callimachus is the most obvious example of the Alexandrian ποιητὰ ἅμα καὶ κριτικοί, the compiler of the *Pinakes*, and writer of the Ἑθνικὰ ὀνομασίου. He must, it is thought, have been bookish, thorough, a “scholar”. But simply to regard the scholarship of a narrator or a text as an expression or display of erudition of the author is to ignore the subtle uses to which scholarship can be put in Callimachus (and indeed Hellenistic poetry): to satirise pedantry (e.g. in *Ia*.6 (F196), cf. Kerkhecker 1999:171), to undercut the narrator’s authority (e.g. in *H*.1.60ff., see 3.2.5 below), to jar with the characterisation of the narrator otherwise developed (e.g. in *H*.6.63, see 3.2.10 below).

The concept of quasi-biography is extremely helpful here. The primary narrator in Callimachus is generally (not always – Hipponax, e.g., speaks in *Ia*.1, F191) a

projection of the historical Callimachus, or rather exploits aspects of the biographical Callimachus to construct a persona. This is not to speak of Callimachus as straightforwardly the speaker in his works (so Hutchinson 1988:67f. on H.2, criticised by Harder 1992:389 n.21). The degree of connection of narrator to author is variable: strong in the *Aetia* and *Iambi*, where it is legitimate to describe the speaker as “Callimachus” (so Kerkhecker 1999:49, 60-3 and *passim* on the *Iambi*), but less so in the *Hymns* (cf. the exaggeration of Cameron 1995:439 quoted below under 3.2.2), and hardly at all in the *Hecale*. However, even where “Callimachus” is the speaker, the gap between narrator and author is often exploited. Hence Kerkhecker (1999:58) assigns the complicated failure and inconsistency of the fable in *Ia.2* (F192) not to Callimachus, the author, “but to his speaker”, i.e. “Callimachus”.

Scholarship is but one aspect of the biographical Callimachus which can be played up for the construction of the persona. It is not an indicator that we are hearing the “authentic” voice of Callimachus. Unfortunately, its presence, in different forms, in the *Hymns*, *Iambi*, *Hecale* etc. is one reason for the erroneous extension of the so-called principles of the *Aetia*-prologue to form a thoroughgoing Callimachean poetic manifesto covering all types of poetry. Scholarship in Callimachus is taken to be an expression of the poetic *credo* of the scholar-poet of the *Aetia*. But, as will be made clear, even in the *Aetia* there are subtle modulations of voice and scholarship, nor is the persona there a flawless portrayal of the historical Callimachus. The voices of Callimachus are many more than merely that of the learned professor.

The Callimachean narrators it is easiest to form a complete picture of are those of the *Hymns*, because of the length of the poems and their preservation in the manuscript tradition. Hence a large proportion of this chapter concentrates on them. By contrast, the other group of wholly extant Callimachean poems, the *Epigrams*, does not receive a dedicated treatment. This can be justified in terms of their relationship to Archaic poetry and the character of their narrators. Often the narrators are minimally developed (e.g. ep.57, 37, 38, 39), so that they are among the closest Hellenistic poems to “nonnarrated” works (see 1.6 above). Elsewhere, study of the narrator would amount to little more than identification of the speaker, often only on the grounds of the “autobiographical assumption” (e.g. ep.20). Where there is quasi-

biography which is more extensively developed, the epigrams will be discussed (e.g. poverty in ep.32, 46, poetological language in ep.27).

The *Epigrams* in general display a considerable amount of play with epigrammatic convention. The bronze cock on which ep.56 purports to be inscribed, and which is the speaker of the poem, is only a *reproduction* of the “real” victorious cock, so that it claims ignorance of “its” achievements (οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε/ γινώσκω, 1-2), and comically proclaims its trust in Euainetos who set it up, and from whom it heard of the victory. The play with the conventions of dedicatory epigram is clear, both in the treatment of the conventional speaker, and in the epigram’s status as an “inscription”. In ep.15 we have not the epitaph which itself purports to be inscribed on the tomb, but the depiction of the passer-by’s reading of the name of the dead person, Timonoë, and his reaction (Walsh 1991:96). In ep.3 the convention of delaying the passer-by walking past a tomb in order for him to read the epitaph is reversed when Timon the notorious misanthrope is the speaker (Walsh 1991:81):

Μὴ χαίρειν εἴπῃς με, κακὸν κέαρ, ἀλλὰ πάρελθε·
ἴσον ἐμοὶ χαίρειν ἐστὶ τὸ μὴ σὲ γελᾶν.

Such play with epigrammatic convention is extremely deft, but for the most part it falls outside the topic of this study, the relationship of Hellenistic narrators to Archaic narrative. Nevertheless, the observation that the *Epigrams* are less influenced in this regard than other Callimachean genres, is important.

3.2 The Hymns

3.2.1 Book

The *Hymns* of Callimachus as we have them have a clear unity, which is widely, and rightly, held to be the poet's creation (Harder 1992:385, Haslam 1993:115, Hopkinson 1984:13, Pfeiffer 1949-53:ii.liii, Cameron 1995:255, 438-9). The sequence of the *Hymns* is the same in both MSS and papyri (Hopkinson), and there are careful patterns of continuation, opposition, resemblance and difference developed (Hopkinson 1984:13-17, Haslam 1993:115ff., Harder 1992:394). Patterns, juxtaposition and similarity in the narrators through the collection should be added to the links structuring the book.

3.2.2 Voice

A poem with an obliquely indicated setting and a voice intermittently reminiscent of a scholar (H.1) is followed by one with an explicitly mimetic form which seems spoken by Callimachus the Cyrenean (H.2). This gives way to an in some ways more conventional, but also garrulous αοιδός in H.3, who cannot end the hymn, then in H.4 a narrator who addresses himself (in Pindaric fashion) in a series of expanded priamel (as if the hymn never actually begins). Two shorter mimetic hymns follow, one where the narrator is present at a largely female festival (H.5), another where the narrator appears to be female (H.6).

Mood, tone and voice shift between and within poems - "the texts just will not stay still, not be pinned down." (Haslam 1993:113). The celebrant at an Apollo-festival becomes Callimachus at the Carneia in Cyrene in H.2, the numinous Demeter terrifying Erysichthon and his sacrilegious companions gives way to the comedy of social manners and Erysichthon's embarrassed parents, a naïve narrator quotes a goddess who sounds like the scholarly Callimachus of the *Aetia* (κῶον, κῶον, H.6.63 and F75.4) and alludes to disputed passage of Homer (H.6.114-15 as alluding to *Il*.22.487ff., Astyanax as a beggar, rejected by Aristarchus, see Σ A (Aristonicus) ad loc.). "In the *Hymns* the surface meaning is always running up against subtextual countercurrents." (Haslam 1993:112).

The narrators in the *Hymns* are not so strongly characterised as the scholarly narrator of the *Aetia*, nor so closely associated with the historical Callimachus, most clearly in H.6, where all the first-person statements are closely connected to the circumstances of the Demeter-ritual (e.g. 6.6 – πτύωμες, 6.17 – λέγωμες, 6.124 – πατεῦμες), which appears to have been reserved for women (cf. 6.1, 129-30 and see below), so that the narrator seems female (Bing 1995:34-7). Nevertheless it is an exaggeration to claim, with Cameron (1995:439), that: “The first person in the hymns normally refers to the poet only insofar as he counts himself one of the worshippers addressing the god in question”. There is in fact considerable play with the historical Callimachus in the *Hymns*, though in different forms and to different degrees from the *Aetia*, often through the use of scholarship.

3.2.3 Performance

Callimachus’ recent commentators are determined in their view that the *Hymns* were not publicly performed, but are “literary” texts designed for consumption within the Museum (Williams 1978:2-3, Bornmann 1968:xii-xiii, Mineur 1984:10, Bulloch 1985a:4-5, 8, 12, Hopkinson 1984:37, Hutchinson 1988:63). They follow Wilamowitz (1924:i.182) and Herter (1931:434), and the demonstration of Legrand (1901 esp. 281-98) that the mimetic hymns, at least, could not have been meant to be simultaneous with the rituals they purport to describe. Cameron (1995:63) characterises this as “dogmatism” (cf. Cairns 1992:13ff.), and attempts to revive Cahen’s idea (1929:281, followed by Fraser 1972:ii.916 n.289) that the *Hymns* may have been performed publicly at festivals, but on the fringe, outside their “formal framework”, citing the parallel of Horace’s *carmen saeculare* (Cameron 1995:65, cf. Fraenkel 1957:382).⁸⁷ He challenges the dogma of “festival and library” (1995:65) as the only possible circumstances for poetry in the Hellenistic period, doubting that Hellenistic poetry was an exception to the tradition of Greek poetry written for performance (1995:64).

Williams (1978:2-3) anticipates such an appeal to a possible public performance, in the case of H.2, citing Mair (1955:18-19) for the view that it would be a matter

⁸⁷ The Horatian parallel is also noted by Newman 1967:350

“rather of personal curiosity than of literary interest” if we learnt that a poem had been performed at a public occasion. This is both true, in a sense, and misleading, but also usefully points us to an assumption which commentators other than Williams share with Cameron, of the central importance of the original performance-conditions (often privileged in criticism of Archaic poetry) to interpretation of the poem.

It is true that the first performance matters little in terms of the critical appreciation of the text – critics proceed initially from the text as they have it, and are justified in doing so because Hellenistic poetry is so obviously designed to be read. But it is misleading insofar as it suggests a complete break with poetry which we know *was* performed publicly, e.g. that of the Archaic period (cf. Cameron 1995:64-5 on the exaggeration of the difference between Archaic and Hellenistic performance). But this in turn is not, as Cameron would have it, primarily because Hellenistic poetry, like Archaic poetry, was *performed* (though this may also be true), but because Archaic poetry, like Hellenistic poetry, is obviously designed for secondary audiences (Scodel 1996:61, and see 2.1 and 2.2 above). Archaic poetry was *written*, and designed for reperformance.

The commentators’ desire to make Callimachus’ *Hymns* readers’ texts, or texts for private consumption, betrays a concern that public poetry, performed before a larger audience could not look like this - too difficult, clearly designed for reading. And this in turn betrays a concern that the *first*, the *primary* performance of a poem largely determines its form and nature - it cannot have been performed, because it is designed “in the first place” to be read (or recited). But it should be clear, from the parallel of Pindar’s epinicians, that a dense, difficult poem, designed to be fully appreciated only with multiple reception, can have an original, public performance.

But the possibility does not imply that they *were* performed publicly. Therefore, while Cameron is right to point out more potential performance-conditions than performance before the “urban masses” or for a tiny Court elite (1995:56, cp. Zanker 1987:18), he is perhaps guilty of presenting public performance and reading as the only alternatives. The targets of his criticism, however, maintain *recitation* (i.e. performance of a kind, though “private”) as a possibility (e.g. “declamation”,

Hopkinson 1984:37, “clearly written for recitation”, Bulloch 1985a:8), and are even prepared to sketch out more complete (e.g. H.4 as a *genethliakon* for Philadelphus, performed at a Museum banquet, Mineur 1984:11ff.) or more public occasions (Bulloch 1985a:4 n.2 calls Cahen’s idea (1929:281) for hymns “en rapport direct avec la fête religieuse” likely). Such suggestions allow for a degree of performance, and a range of performance-conditions, which may have approached what Cameron terms “public”. How many people have to be at a performance before it ceases to be private? How strict do the admittance criteria have to be? How learned does an audience member have to be to be a member of an “elite”? Compare the “semi-private celebration” (Cairns 1992:14) at which a singer performs the “Adonis” in the palace at Alexandria, with an audience comprised partly of ordinary Alexandrian women (Theocritus 15).

One reason for Cameron’s position is a desire to place H.2 at the Carneia in Cyrene, with “my king” at H.2.26-7 as Magas, on the grounds that ἐμὴν πόλιν in 65 refers to Cyrene, and ἡμετέροις βασιλεῦσιν in 68 to the Battiad kings (1995:408). The date would then be early - c.270 (1995:409). But this is itself to overlook the full range of possible occasions, public and private, for the *Hymn to Apollo*. Given the state of tension and intermittent war between Cyrene and Egypt for over twenty years from the early 270s (Hölbl 2001:39, 45, Green 1990:146, 148), it is perfectly plausible for a Battiad Cyrenean poet (cf. ep.35) living in Alexandria to be commissioned to write a hymn *imitating* the Carneia at Cyrene and implicitly claiming it for Egypt (note that Magas rebelled against Ptolemaic rule). This opens up the possible dates for the hymn, explains the “long account of Cyrene in so short a hymn”, cited by Cameron (1995:408) as suggesting performance at Cyrene, and gives added point to Callimachus’ claim to Battiad heritage (cf. Cahen 1930:46-7, 69-70 on the Ptolemies being placed in H.2 in a line of succession to the Battiads).

Such a motivation for H.2 allows for a wide range of performance circumstances - from a very select gathering of Court or Museum, to a much broader audience of Alexandrians, hence from “private” to “public”. It would be interesting to know if and where the *Hymn to Apollo* was performed, and would settle disputes about the reference of ἐμῷ βασιλῇ (26, 27), but the possibility of public performance, as our knowledge of it in the case of Pindar’s epinicians, should not distract us from aspects

of the texts more amenable to study, such as voice. For all the relative certainty with which commentators and critics speak, we cannot be very sure about the first occasion of Callimachus' *Hymns* (cf. Cairns 1992:15 on the openness of possible contexts for Hellenistic hymns). But this fact matters less than many think.

3.2.4 Mimesis and Lyric Poetry

The “mimetic” hymns of Callimachus are 2, 5, and 6. The term “mimetic” is used in this way to describe a narrator who does not stand in the conventional relationship of narrator to audience in a hymn, but appears as a fictional character who addresses himself or other fictional characters, rather than the audience of the hymn (Harder 1992:386), in the case of the *Hymns* one who presents himself as a participant in a ritual, and gives the audience the sense of witnessing a festival in progress.⁸⁸ Along with mime (Bulloch 1985a:6), lyric and elegiac poets have often been cited as models for this effect: Sappho's epithalamia (Wheeler 1930: 218, Von der Mühl 1940:423), Alcman F1 and F30 (Von der Mühl 1940:423), Xenophanes F1D-K (Herter 1956:37), Theognis (Dornseiff 1939:24-5, as part of a much older history),⁸⁹ choral lyric, in particular Pindar (Dornseiff 1921:85, Hopkinson 1984:3, Bulloch 1985a:7), and hymn and epinician (Depew 1993:58). Albert (1988:46), on the other hand, concludes his survey of previous scholarship by categorising, in Archaic poetry, only Archilochus F8 (possibly also F105/106), Anacreon F356 (rightly arguing the two halves are from one poem, *contra* Von der Mühl 1940:423), Alcman F3 (possibly also F30) and a few fragments of Sappho as mimetic. However his definition of a mimetic poem is effectively one with “Szenerieveränderung”, “change in the setting” (Albert 1988:24-5), which unnecessarily restricts his scope (cf. Schenkeveld 1990, Harder 1992:385), and does not allow for a clear picture of the development of mimetic poems from certain aspects of earlier non-mimetic poetry.

A more systematic survey of aspects in Archaic poetry resembling the mimetic effects in Callimachus, and why such aspects have been cited as models by scholars, may

⁸⁸ The term is not ideal (Hunter 1992:13) but it is now widespread, and hence a convenient term for an unusual effect (*pace* Cairns 1992:10).

⁸⁹ Albert 1988:33-36 rightly rejects Xenophanes F1D-K (“Xenophanes seems to be describing an ideal symposium, not one actually in progress”, Gerber 1999a:415) and the Theognis-corpus as mimetic.

help to clarify the main points of contact between Callimachean mimesis and earlier poetry. Mimetic poems, such as the *Hymn to Apollo*, have a narrator who speaks, at least some of the time, as if witnessing an event, not just reciting a poem. This in turn tends to transport the audience to another locale, and gives them the impression of witnessing the same event. Several phenomena in Archaic poetry seem relevant: pseudo- or quasi-intimacy (cf. Carey 1995:96, Scodel 1996:61), pseudo-spontaneity (Scodel 1996:64ff.), references to the circumstances of the performance or setting of lyric poetry, and the ambiguity of the speaker in choral poetry and epinician (cf. Hopkinson 1984:3 n.2, Bulloch 1985a:7).

Scodel (1996:61) suggests that poetry such as Alcaeus' may have been intended for a wider secondary audience than merely that of the friends to whom it appears to be addressed (see 2.1.1 above). The effect on such a secondary audience of references to matters of "local" interest, is to give an impression of eavesdropping, which is akin to the mimetic setting of some Callimachean hymns. The audience eavesdrops on the narrator's presence and behaviour at a festival. In poems such as Alcaeus F38A (πῶνε [καὶ μέθυ' ᾧ] Μελάνιπ' ἄμ' ἔμοι...) a secondary audience feels it is admitted to a symposium. In Callimachus' mimetic hymns the audience feels itself admitted to a particular, local, often restricted ritual (e.g. in H.6, seemingly set at the exclusively female Thesmophoria).

Pindaric epinicians are also pseudo-intimate (see 2.1.1 above) and designed for reperformance (see 2.2 above). On such a reperformance, in changed circumstances, perhaps in an entirely different location, passages such as P.5.77-81 are mimetic:

πολύθυτον ἔρανον
 ἔνθεν ἀναδεξάμενοι
 ἝΑπολλον, τεῶ,
 Καρνῆι', ἐν δαιτὶ σεβίζομεν
 Κυράνας ἀγακτιμέναν πόλιν·

At the original performance, probably at the Carneia at Cyrene (Farnell 1932:168, D'Alessio 1994:123 n.19; Burton 1962:135-6 is more cautious), these lines refer to the wider context of the performance of the song. But subsequently they *evoke* this

setting, and give the reader or audience the sense of being at the Carneia themselves. This effect is not as powerful or sustained as that in Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*, which also purports to be set at the Carneia (see 3.2.6 below), but is similar. It is important to realise that this is a deliberate effect in Pindar, as in earlier lyric. Bing (1993:190) suggests that encountering Archaic and Classical occasional poetry as text, with the clarity of voice which would have been apparent in performance confused by the silence of the book-roll, may have triggered Callimachus' experimentation with voice in his mimetic hymns. But some of this ambiguity is designed - if P.5 *was* choral, and σεβίζομεν (80) spoken by a chorus of Cyreneans, this would not have been apparent on monodic reperformance in Athens, Syracuse or Aegina, and hence the voice confused. This again demonstrates the dangers of asserting that the differences between Archaic and Hellenistic poetry are largely to be explained in terms of a shift from songs to books.

Clearly fictional addresses also exist in lyric, such as those in Anacreon F356, which is hardly meant to follow accurately the degeneration of a symposium, but to evoke such a progress (cf. Albert 1988:51-2):

- (a) ἄγε δὴ φέρ' ἡμῖν ᾧ παῖ
κελέβην, ὅκως ἄμυστιν
προπίω, τὰ μὲν δέκ' ἐγχεάς
ὔδατος, τὰ πέντε δ' οἴνου
κυάθους ὡς ἀνυβρίστως
ἀνὰ δηῦτε βασσαρήσω.
- (b) ἄγε δηῦτε μηκέτ' οὔτω
πατάγω τε κάλαλητῶ
Σκυθικὴν πόσιν παρ' οἴνῳ
μελετῶμεν, ἀλλὰ καλοῖς
ὑποπίνοντες ἐν ὕμνοις.

These addresses are not in fact addressed to the audience of the symposium at which the poem is recited, but give them the impression of eavesdropping on a more rowdy version which the narrator is attending - they are mimetic. Similarly, the setting of some sympotic elegy is clearly fictitious (Bowie 1993:28-9), e.g. Archil.F4.6-9 (set on a ship, performed at a symposium, Bowie 1986:15-8).

Archaic pseudo-spontaneity, the (false) impression that the poet is still composing while the song is under way (2.3.2.1 above), also resembles mimesis, insofar as the audience feels present at the composition of the poem, as when the Pindaric narrator, for example, breaks off a narrative and asks what direction to take (e.g. P.11.38-40). Similar is the effect of inserted “beginnings” such as O.1.17f. (ἀλλὰ Δωρίαν ἀπὸ φόρμιγγα πασσάλου/ λάμβαν’) and Bacchylides F20B.*init.* which portray a song which is in fact already under way as not yet begun in earnest:⁹⁰

ὦ βάρβιτε, μηκέτι πάσσαλον φυλάσσω
 ἐπτάτονον λιγυρὰν κάππαυε γάρυν
 δεῦρ’ ἐς ἐμὰς χέρας⁹¹

Here what is mimicked is the act of beginning the song itself. This seems to find an echo in the *Hymn to Apollo* where the narrator bids the chorus dance and play (12ff.) and sing a paean (25), which then appears to follow (see below). Most striking of all the examples of fictional statements in lyric relating to songs as if they had not yet begun is the opening of Pindar’s N.3 (extensively quoted in 2.2.1 above), which like the *Hymn to Apollo* portrays the narrator as awaiting a choral song. There the narrator asks the Muse to come to Aegina (1-3) because the chorus is eagerly awaiting the song (3-4). The narrator then asks the Muse to provide him with an abundance of song, and to begin a hymn for Zeus (9-12). This hymn, which the narrator will impart to the chorus (κοινάσομαι 12), is the epinician itself (see N.1.4-5 where the epinician in praise of ἀελλοπόδων... ἵππων is called a ὕμνος...Ζηνὸς Αἰτναίου χάριν). But the ode, sung by the chorus, must already be under way. When this ode was reperformed monodically the quasi-monodic first-person statements proclaiming a chorus awaiting a song from the Muse will have been mimetic - the audience will have been given the impression that the narrator is present at a different performance and context, to which they are being admitted as eavesdroppers.

One obvious difference between these lyric passages and the situation in Callimachus’ mimetic hymns is that the scene to which the audience is transported in

⁹⁰ Cf. also Alcman F3 fr.1.1ff.

⁹¹ Noted very incidentally by Albert (1988:48 n.130) who seems to suggest that Bacchylides F20B amounts to a Szenerieveränderung on the part of the speaker himself, comparing also Pindar N.1.7, P.2.67f., and Bacchylides 5.9ff., but makes little use of this material.

Callimachus is more than just that of another song or similar context. Rather they are taken to a ritual or festival. Nevertheless, references to the setting or performance of a lyric song, particularly if public, can approach the Callimachean situation. When Alcman in his *partheneia* has his female chorus describe the beauty of their leaders, such as Agido (F1.40ff.) and Hagesichora (F1.51ff.), describe their actions (Α[σ]τυμέλεια δέ μ' οὐδὲν ἀμείβεται,/ ἀλλὰ τὸν πυλεῶν' ἔχουσα F3.64-5), and challenge the audience ἦ οὐχ ὀρήϊς; (F1.50), this effectively evokes the setting of the song. Again, on reperformance, such statements are not merely descriptive but mimetic.

Furthermore, remarks about the progress of a public song can closely resemble those about the progress of a public festival, as in *Pythian* 6. The poem begins with a plural imperative – 'Ακούσατ', and suggests that the narrator, chorus and audience are participating in a procession (προσοιχόμενοι, 4) along the Sacred Way at Delphi, past the treasuries of the Greek states to the temple of Apollo (ὀμφαλὸν ἐριβρόμου/ χθονὸς ἐς ναῖον, 3-4). Indeed, because this ode is monostrophic, and lacks first-person singular forms, it has been suggested it is a genuine processional ode, recited alongside a victory-procession.⁹² Whether this was the case or not, "the actual treasuries are replaced by a metaphorical storehouse of songs" (Race 1997:i.312), the ἐτοῖμος ὕμνων/ θησαυρὸς (6-7). A comment about the setting of the poem becomes one about the poem itself. Song and situation blend.

Another aspect of the lyric and particularly Pindaric influence on Callimachean mimesis discerned by Bulloch (1985a:7) and Hopkinson (1984:3) relates to the alleged ambiguity of the Pindaric "I". A forerunner of the Callimachean situation of a narrator who is also a celebrant is found in Pindaric first-persons thought to be able to refer to the chorus or chorus-leader (putting us "at" the performance), or the victor, as well as the poet or his persona (e.g. in the narration of the myth). This view of the Pindaric "I", which develops Slater's approach (1969:89) I have argued, following Lefkowitz (e.g. 1991), to be largely mistaken. Even if first-person statements can have, for example, an exemplary function for the victor or the

⁹² Cf. Burton 1962:15, 24, Heath 1988:192, who remarks that P.6 and N.2 are the only Pindaric epinicians without first-person forms. He must mean first-person singular (cf. ἀναπλίζομεν, P.6.3).

audience, the primary reference is to the narrator of the poem (see 2.3.2.2 above). Pindaric first-person statements are co-ordinated towards the production of a consistent and coherent persona.

Hopkinson (1984:3 n.2) comments that in Pindar “it is usually possible to distinguish [presumably within one poem] between these two voices [sc. chorus’ and poet’s], which Call. merges into one”, followed by Calame (1993:48) and Bing (1993:190) who see a confusion in Callimachus of voices which would have been clear on the original performance of a lyric poem. Bing explicitly links this confusion with approaching lyric poems as *texts*, obscuring the original distinctions. But in the case of epinicians, at least, these distinctions are illusory - the first-persons refer to the poet.

It is the Hellenistic view of lyric voice which is important. The scholia to Pindar *do* invoke a choral speaker for epinician first-persons, but only rarely, to resolve interpretative difficulties (e.g. Σ ad P.5.72/96a Drachmann 1903-27:ii.183, cf. D’Alessio 1994:117-18 with n.3, Lefkowitz 1991:78-81, 180). This suggests that that Hellenistic readers generally understood the speaker of Pindaric epinicians to be the poet. Nevertheless controversy over specific passages may have attracted the interest of Callimachus, as it did in other cases (e.g. the interpretation of Homer). But it should be emphasised that Callimachean ambiguity of voice in his mimetic poems can hardly be taken straightforwardly as a *misreading* (deliberate or not) of epinician first-persons, given the general clarity of such first-persons, even on a reading of the poems. If ambiguity between chorus and poet was an inspiration for Callimachus’ mimetic hymns, this seems much more likely in poems such as Alcman F3 or Pindar *Paean* 6 (cf. D’Alessio 1994:124-6, Tsagarakis 1977:55-60). But even these poems seem less important a model than the mimetic effects of pseudo-intimacy and pseudo-spontaneity, particularly on the reperformance, or reading, of lyric poetry.

3.2.5 Hymn 1

Ζηνὸς ἔοι τί κεν ἄλλο παρὰ σπονδῆσιν ἀείδειν
λῶιον ἢ θεὸν αὐτόν, ἀεὶ μέγαν, αἰὲν ἄνακτα,
Πηλαγόνων ἐλατῆρα, δικασπὸλον Οὐρανίδησι;
πῶς καὶ μιν, Δικταῖον ἀείσομεν ἢ Λυκαῖον; (1-4)

With respect to the *Homeric Hymns* there is both continuity and change here. The first word establishes the subject of the hymn, as in many *Homeric Hymns*,⁹³ but the poem also opens with two questions. This is a significant shift. No *Homeric Hymn* begins in this way, and indeed only HH3, in both its Delian and Pythian sections, preserves any narratorial questions (3.19ff., 3.207ff., both “how shall I sing of you?”, neither as a beginning).⁹⁴ HH1.1-7, however, presumes that one or more questions have been asked of Dionysus, significantly concerning his birthplace, which were probably near the beginning of the hymn. Other hexameter verse does not produce any parallels for this sort of beginning, but Callimachus also begins *Hymn 4* with a question (see 3.2.8 below).

These shifts represent alterations to the normal hexameter hymnal voice of the Archaic period to be found at the very beginning of a hymn which would have stood first in any collection of Callimachus’ *Hymns*. The questions by the narrator immediately draw attention to their speaker, and also mark a change towards a more autonomous and self-motivated narrator – the questions are not to a god, nor is there a request for assistance or information from the Muses. The more independent voice characterises the narrators of Archaic elegy, and also Pindar (2.3.3 above).

There are several examples of opening questions outside hexameters in Archaic poetry. In Archilochus F172.1ff. the narrator asks Lycambes what he meant by his actions, and who unhinged his wits. Theognis 351-2 and 649-50 both begin with

⁹³ E.g. HH2, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32.

⁹⁴ The *Homeric Hymns* usually have the name of the god in the accusative, along with one of several phrases such as ἄρχοι’ ἀείδειν (e.g. HH2.1) *vel sim.*. Some have an epic-like address to the Muse to sing of the god (e.g. HH.4.1, HH5.1).

questions to the personified Poverty, while in 825-30 the narrator asks his fellow symposiasts⁹⁵ how they can stand singing.⁹⁶ Alcaeus F383 asks if the weapons of Dinnomenes still lie in the Myrsineon (addressee unnamed), F119.1 reads τίς τ' ὦ ποῦ (perhaps to Pittacus), Sappho F213C=Alcaeus F306D=Anacreon F347A col.ii.9 has τίς ἔρωτος in a first line, and Anacreon F417.1ff. asks a πῶλε Θρηκίη why she flees.⁹⁷ The most important parallels are, however, from Pindar. At the beginning of O.2 the narrator asks Ἀναξιφόρμιγγες ὕμνοι whom they should celebrate, while the opening of I.7 similarly asks Thebe which of her glories she took most delight in. This theme of the choice of subject for the song bears a general resemblance to the second of the questions in H.1 on whether Zeus should be sung of as Dictaeon or Lycaean. Closer still is the opening of, significantly, Pindar's own *Hymn to Zeus*:

Ἴσμηνὸν ἢ χρυσαλάκατον Μελίαν
 ἢ Κάδμον ἢ Σπαρτῶν ἱερὸν γένος ἀνδρῶν
 ἢ τὰν κυανάμπυκα Θήβαν
 ἢ τὸ πάντολμον σθένος Ἡρακλέος
 ἢ τὰν Διωνύσου πολυγαθέα τιμὰν
 ἢ γάμον λευκωλένου Ἀρμονίας
 ὑμνήσομεν;

The theme is again the choice of subject for the song, and notably as in Callimachus the addressee here is not explicit, and there is a plural future verb of singing in an opening question in a hymn to Zeus.⁹⁸ That the addressee is not explicit in Callimachus is another oddity – opening questions are usually *to* someone: the Muses, the god being hymned, one's song or oneself. Though Pindar F29 has no explicit

⁹⁵ So Gerber 1999a:293 n.2 following B.Bravo, *Annales Littéraires de l'Univ. de Besançon* 429 (1990):41-51 (*non vidi*).

⁹⁶ Callinus F1.1f. upbraids the νέοι with questions about their idleness and lack of courage, Mimnermus F1.1f. asks what life or pleasure there can be without Aphrodite (with no explicit addressee), and Solon F36.1-2 asks whether he stopped before achieving his goals (with no explicit addressee) but these are not certainly from the beginning of poems.

⁹⁷ Again questions which may not stand first in their poems: Sappho F135 has the narrator ask Irana why the swallow wakes her, Anacreon F363 asks why the unnamed addressee is aflutter, Anacreon F412 asks an unnamed addressee if the speaker can go home, Simonides F506 asks who today has so often been crowned in victory (addressee not explicit), Apollodorus F701 asks who has come to the door of the speaker, and Pratinas F708 begins with a series of questions about din and dancing (probably from a satyr-play). Anon. F1008 asks the Muse why Samians bear a grudge.

⁹⁸ Though ἀείσομεν may be a short vowel aorist, or ambiguous between aorist and future - cf. McLennan 1977:29-30.

addressee, in common with some of the apparent opening questions listed in nn. 96 and 97 (e.g. Mimn.F1.1f., Solon F36.1-2, Anacr.F412, Sim.F506), in the majority of cases this is probably because of the fragmentary state of preservation of the poems involved. The addressee will probably have been named or indicated soon after the question. There are two cases closely parallel to that in Callimachus with regard to the addressee:

Τί κάλλιον ἀρχομένοις(ιν ?) ἢ καταπαυομένοισιν
ἢ βαθύζωνόν τε Λατώ
καὶ θοᾶν ἵππων ἐλάτειραν ἀεῖσαι; (Pindar F89a)

τί κάλλιον ἀρχομένοισιν
ἢ καταπαυομένοις ἢ τὸ ποθεινότατον; (Dionysius Chalcus F6)

The Pindaric opening is from a prosodion or processional ode, and there seems to be a clear allusion to this in Callimachus (Zeus as Πηλαγόνων ἐλατῆρα, line 3). Given the close similarity of the Dionysius passage (which may end an elegy, as it ends Athenaeus at 15.702b-c) the Pindaric opening may quickly have become proverbial - it is apparently parodied at *Knights* 1264-6, the scholia to which preserve F89a, or may itself have been based on a common way of beginning songs (the Dionysius fragment is also quoted by Eustathius ad *Il.*18-570 who calls it παροιμώδης). The questions in these two passages are, as the opening two questions in Callimachus, “rhetorical”, that is they expect or demand no answer. Whether Pindar’s prosodion or Dionysius made clear to whom such a question might be addressed, the question has an informal, familiar aspect when compared to questions to the Muses *vel sim.* This informal tone, together with the fact that Dionysius Chalcus was a writer of sympotic elegy, fit in well with the setting of H.1, established in the first line, a symposium (παρὰ σπονδῇσιν, Hopkinson 1988:122, Harder 1992:390).⁹⁹ The opening two questions in H.1 are to the fellow symposiasts the hymn assumes. The plural ἀείσομεν in line 4 thus continues the sympotic situation from the first line, as the narrator identifies himself with his fellow-drinkers and together “they” ask a further question, which again has no explicit addressee. This sympotic situation at the beginning of a poem is not unparalleled, even in poems not normally associated with

⁹⁹ Hence H.1 can be seen as obliquely developing a mimetic situation (Harder 1992:387).

the symposium (cf. I.6.*init.*), but it is again unusual in the context of a hexameter hymn.

It is only in line 7, after the narrator has powerfully expressed his great confusion (μάλα 5), and given the two alternatives of Cretan Ida or Arcadia (lines 6-7) that we get a more conventional question to Zeus, concerning which of the traditions about his birth is true. Here we are close to the form of HH1.1-7, where the narrator recounts the claims about Dionysus' birthplace, clearly following a question (γάρ in HH1.1), presumably to the god himself. But in the Homeric Hymn the narrator condemns the false versions himself - ψευδόμενοι (line 6), whereas Callimachus' narrator turns to Zeus. Zeus himself answers in line 8 - "Κρήτες ἀεὶ ψεύσται" (Harder 1992:388), and the narrator enthusiastically (καὶ γάρ) agrees in apostrophe to the god (which confirms Zeus as the speaker of the Cretan proverb):

καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὦ ἄνα, σεῖο
Κρήτες ἐτεκτίναντο· σὺ δ' οὐ θάνες, ἔσσι γὰρ αἰεὶ. (8-9)

Does the fact that the narrator is so ready with a corroborating fact - the existence on Crete of a *tomb* of Zeus mean that he had enough knowledge at his disposal to answer his own question? Even here, where a question to the god subordinates the narrator after two unusual sympotic self-motivated questions, it may be subtly implied the narrator has other sources of information, and thus a measure of independence. This narratorial autonomy is brought further to the fore later in the hymn.

The direct address to Zeus which begins in line 7 continues for the rest of the hymn. The following vocatives are found: Ζεῦ (6, 7, 46), πάτερ (7, 94), Ζεῦ πάτερ (43), οὐράνιε Ζεῦ (55), ὦ ἄνα (8), ὦνα (33), Κρονίδη πανυπέρτατε (91). There are also very frequent second person verbs, pronouns and adjectives, as both the γόναι (10-54) and ἄρεταί (55-90) of Zeus are related to him in direct address. This is a distinct shift with regard to most of the *Homeric Hymns*, as only HH3 has this kind of extended address. This apostrophising draws attention to the narrator. It is a device for establishing a particular relationship with an object or being, one which helps to constitute the persona of the speaker. For example, "One who successfully invokes

nature is one to whom nature might, in its turn, speak. He makes himself poet, visionary” (Culler 1981:142). But whereas the animating presuppositions of apostrophe (Culler 1981:138-41), which depicts the object or being addressed as potentially capable of response are exploited in HH3 to engineer an epiphany of the god hymned (Bergren 1982:90-5), in Callimachus’ *Hymn to Zeus* interest centres around the careful modulations of Archaic hymnal and related voices which are possible within the narrator’s voice. A concern with the visibility of the narrator is particularly apparent in lines 60-65:

δηναιοὶ δ’ οὐ πάμπαν ἀληθέες ἦσαν ᾠδοί·
 φάντο πάλον Κρονίδησι διάτριχα δώματα νεῖμαι·
 τίς δέ κ’ ἐπ’ Οὐλύμπῳ τε καὶ Ἴαδι κλῆρον ἐρύσσει,
 ὃς μάλα μὴ νενίηλος; ἐπ’ ἰσαίῃ γὰρ ἔοικε
 πήλασθαι· τὰ δὲ τόσσον ὅσον διὰ πλεῖστον ἔχουσι.
 ψευδοίμην ἰόντος ἃ κεν πεπίθοιεν ἀκουήν.

The narrator of H.1 here rejects a particular version of a myth, where Zeus and his brothers are allotted their different realms by lot. As Fuhrer (1988:53-60) notes, this strongly recalls Pindaric rejections of myths, in particular that in O.1.25ff. (again a poem at the beginning of a (Hellenistic) book). The Pindaric narrator there opposes himself to the traditional version where Pelops’ ivory shoulder was given to him after Demeter had eaten his original one at a cannibalistic feast organised by Pelops’ father, Tantalus. As Callimachus’ narrator opposes himself to the δηναιοὶ...ᾠδοί, Pindar’s speaks ἀντία προτέρων (O.1.36).

The rejected myths in both Pindar and Callimachus are rejected as *false* - H.1.60 announcing that previous poets “spoke not altogether *truly* (ἀληθέες)”, O.1.28-34 arguing that “in men’s talk stories are embellished beyond the true account and deceive by means of elaborate lies” and that Χάρις can make even the unbelievable believable. After the rejection in Callimachus we are told the rejected myth in 61, which also reflects O.1.47-51, where we hear of the rejected cannibalising of Pelops from an envious neighbour (ἔννεπε κρυφᾷ τις αὐτίκα φθονερῶν γειτόνων..., 47).

As Fuhrer (1988:59) comments, Callimachus is here exploiting “Pindar’s technique of interweaving personal statements into the narrative”. The narratorial visibility thus

achieved is something very different from that in the *Homeric Hymns*, even the exceptional *Hymn to Apollo*, and engineered through the importation of lyric elements into the hymnal voice in H.1. But although Fuhrer is right to see O.1 as the proximate model for Callimachus here, we should not neglect the use of this type of rejection to characterise the narrator in other poems of Pindar, as well as other lyric and Archaic poetry. In Pindar such rejections (e.g. at O.1.52, O.9.35ff., N.5.14-17), usually couched in the first person, form part of the careful construction of a broader “moral” persona (see 2.3.4 above). Such a persona is also to be found in, for example, the *Works and Days*, and implied by the situation of Solon’s political poems and Theognis’ advice.

However, unlike Apollonius, Callimachus in H.1 does not exploit this moralising aspect of Archaic narrative voices to construct another “moralist”. Emotional and evaluative language generally eschewed by the Homeric narrator, but much more common in Archaic lyric, elegy and *iambos*, appears in 63 – ὃς μάλα μὴ νενίηλος in a question on who would draw lots for Hades. Μάλα is rare outside speech in the Homeric epics, though not in the *Homeric Hymns* (see 2.3.4 above), while νενίηλος is a *hapax* (so McLennan 1977:100), and glossed by Hesychius as τυφλός, ἀπόπληκτος, ἀνόητος, and the scholia as ὁ ματαιόφρων, ὁ ἐστερημένος τοῦ αἰόλλειν καὶ κινεῖν τὸν νοῦν. But this type of language is part of a suggestion, as Fuhrer (1988:57-8) notes, that the rejected myth is not only false, but also implausible. If only an utter fool would draw lots for Olympus and Hades, would the gods have done so? It is plausible and reasonable (ἔοικε 63) to draw lots for things which are ἐπ’ ἰσαίῃ (63), but, by implication, not for outcomes so wide apart (64). Rationalistic motivations replace moralistic ones.

This characterisation is in one sense capped by the first-person wish (ψευδοίμην) in 65 to tell lies that persuade the listener’s ear. But this also marks a more intrusive and disruptive intrusion by the narrator. As Fuhrer (1988:59-60) sees, Callimachus has in 62-5 reversed the notion in O.1.28-34 that the rejected myth was *plausible* or believable.¹⁰⁰ But more importantly, Callimachus has also altered the implications for his own narrator’s authority of the mention of lies and the question of poetic truth.

¹⁰⁰ Fuhrer 1988:60-1 comments that the opening of the hymn also stresses the importance of “common-sense reasoning”.

In O.1, as shown in 2.3.3 above, the Pindaric narrator stresses the power of poetry to deceive (28-9) and make the unbelievable believable (30-2), and echoes, at the end of the poem, the language used of poetry's deceptive power (δεδαιδαλμένοι, 29 ~ δαιδαλωσέμεν, 105; ἐμήσατο, 31 ~ μῆδεται, 107 – see 2.3.3 for fuller quotation). In Callimachus, however, there is no *contrast* between the falsehoods of others and one's own truth. At H.1.65 the narrator associates the possibility of convincing falsehood *directly with himself*. While this might be acceptable for the Muses in the *Theogony* 26-28, it is striking when expressed by the narrator himself. Such a deliberate undercutting of one's authority is another remarkable change in the narratorial voice when compared to Archaic hexameters or lyric encomiastic verse such as Pindar's. All the more so, because H.1 is clearly encomiastic (McKay 1962a:13ff.) – most explicitly at 85ff. where “our ruler” is mentioned, with clear echoes of the description of Zeus himself at 57.¹⁰¹ And here we have another change from Pindar – instead of the grand public praise of the epinician, a form which turned the choral hymning of gods to the praise of mortal men, we have oblique praise in a hymn to a god, transferred to the private context of the symposium.

One reason for a close critical association of Callimachean narrators with the poet himself has been the scholarship displayed in various texts. In H.1 there is a variety of scholarly knowledge on display. Lines 18ff. show a close knowledge of the rivers of Arcadia (cf. Callimachus' Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένη ποταμῶν in the *Suda*, T1.19Pf.), there is etymological play with Κούρητες at lines 52-4, while the “they say”-statements (φάσι 6 on the alleged birth of Zeus on Cretan Ida, φάντο 61 on earlier accounts of the allotting of divine realms) might be said obliquely to suggest a dependence on written sources,¹⁰² as also the use of inferential ποθι at line 38 (see 5.1.2 below). But in general the “scholar” in H.1 is much more obliquely developed than in the *Aetia*. Nevertheless, the presence of erudition, alongside the private symposium evoked, the praise of Ptolemy and the intrusive narrator, all point to more of an association with the historical author than is allowed by Cameron (3.2.2 above). The gap between the two is not as great as it is in other *Hymns*, but equally

¹⁰¹ Surely Philadelphus, hence the stress on a myth where Zeus' elder brothers do not begrudge him the overlordship of the gods.

¹⁰² Though φάσι in line 6 may merely cover up a Callimachean invention – McLennan 1977:33 observes there is no other record of Zeus' birth on Ida in Crete.

there is no explicit identification. This can be seen as a deliberate openness as to the figure of the narrator in the poem that would have stood first in the collection.

3.2.6 Hymn 2

In contrast to the *Hymn to Zeus* the setting evoked for the *Hymn to Apollo* is public – the Carneia, a festival of Apollo as celebrated in Cyrene, Callimachus’ homeland. As in H.1, the setting is obliquely indicated, revealed through the narrator rather than by him. But in H.2 the audience is given a sense of witnessing the festival in progress, so there is rather more of a setting to be constructed. This, however, is not fully revealed until some way into the hymn. A Cyrenean poem might lead us to expect a closer relationship between narrator and author, and this proves to be the case. Here too there is a gradual development.

The *Hymn to Zeus* began with questions, the *Hymn to Apollo* begins with exclamations:

Οἶον ὁ τῶπόλλωνος ἐσεῖσατο δάφνινος ὄρηξ,
οἶα δ’ ὅλον τὸ μέλαθρον· ἐκάς, ἐκάς ὅστις ἀλιτρός.

Again, no *Homeric Hymn* begins in this way. Exclamations of this type are rare in the primary narrative in the Homeric epics, and never occur in the *Homeric Hymns*. Griffin 1986:46 finds 147 examples of the word οἶος in characters’ speeches in Homer, but only 16 in the primary narrative, in no case resembling the emotional exclamations found in speeches or here in Callimachus. All of the parallels from Homer quoted by Williams 1978:15 ad H.2.1 for adverbial οἶον introducing an exclamation are from characters’ speeches (*Il.*17.471 (Alcimedon to Automedon), 13.633 (Menelaus to Pisander), 15.287 (Thoas to assembly), 21.57 (Achilles to himself)). There are no narratorial exclamations of similar form in Hesiod. There are some narratorial parallels in Pindar and Bacchylides (e.g. O.9.89, N.4.93, I.6.62, B.16.30, B.17.119), though none begins a poem.

The opening exclamations and the breathless ἐκάς, ἐκάς ὅστις ἀλιτρός (massed “h” sounds convey the breathlessness, Bing 1993:183) bidding sinners depart form part of the mimetic lines 1-8. The hymn purports to be a direct commentary on the events outside Apollo’s temple as they happen, and the most dramatic moment has

been chosen – just before Apollo’s epiphany, which several signs indicate is imminent (Williams 1978:15). Hence the narrator’s excited exclamations.

The tone of excited anticipation continues in the next lines (3-5):

καὶ δὴ που τὰ θύρετρα καλῶ ποδὶ Φοῖβος ἀράσσει·
οὐχ ὀράας; ἐπένευσεν ὁ Δῆλιος ἡδύ τι φοῖνιξ
ἐξαπίνης, ὁ δὲ κύκνος ἐν ἡέρι καλὸν ἀεῖδει.

Line 3 opens with καὶ δὴ, here “now”,¹⁰³ followed by an inferential use of που,¹⁰⁴ which here does not, as often in Hellenistic poetry, mark the comments of a “scholar”,¹⁰⁵ but conveys the narrator’s emotion – Apollo “must be” knocking at the door. As if for confirmation of his inference, the narrator asks a fellow worshipper¹⁰⁶ “do you not see?” at the beginning of line 4. More signs follow: the Delian palm sways and the swan sings. But the *Delian* palm is also something of a disruptive presence here. Later in the poem it is clear the hymn is set at the Carneia in Cyrene, yet line 4 seems to be firmly set in the Aegean. This is probably a deliberate ambiguity to be attributed to the implied author, rather than the narrator. Callimachus’ narrator is excitedly naming the indications that Apollo is about to appear, but he has been made to describe one of these in such a way as to mislead the audience. The most attractive resolution of the ambiguity is to surmise, with Maass (1890:403) that the palm at Cyrene was propagated from that on Delos, and could legitimately, if not unambiguously, be called “Delian”.¹⁰⁷

Lines 6-8 mark a slight development in the voice of the narrator:

αὐτοὶ νῦν κατοχῆς ἀνακλίνασθε πυλάων,
αὐταὶ δὲ κληῖδες· ὁ γὰρ θεὸς οὐκέτι μακρὴν·
οἱ δὲ νέοι μολπὴν τε καὶ ἐς χορὸν ἐντύνασθε.

¹⁰³ Cf. Williams 1978:18.

¹⁰⁴ It “makes the utterance a conjecture” (Williams 1978:18).

¹⁰⁵ See below in 5.1.2.

¹⁰⁶ “An imaginary bystander” (Williams 1978:19) does not quite do justice to the mimetic setting.

¹⁰⁷ For other explanations of Δῆλιος cf. Williams 1978:19. Calame (1993:47 n.17) thinks it places us, initially, on Delos.

The imperatives in 6 and 8 to the bars and bolts, and in particular to the νέοι to sing suggest that he might be a “master of ceremonies” of sorts, not merely an excited worshipper. It may be, of course, that these are the redundant commands of an excited celebrant, and that these things take place entirely without his intervention. Nevertheless, the character of the narrator is thus subtly given another dimension through the suggestion he has a measure of control over the events of the festival.

The worshipper is to the fore in the next lines with the *gnome* on the good seeing Apollo (9-10) and the plural verbs in line 11 in apostrophe to Apollo:

ὀψόμεθ'... καὶ ἐσσόμεθ' οὔποτε λιτοί.

The narrator is subsumed into the larger body of worshippers who “will not be lowly”. Another wish for song (as well as dance) from the νέοι follows in 12-15, but now in the third person, and when the song begins the narrator’s personal reaction suggests the “master of ceremonies” has receded:

ἡγασάμην τοὺς παῖδας, ἐπεὶ χέλυσ οὐκετ' ἀεργός. (16)

Here again the development in the setting of the poem is obliquely indicated, by the narrator’s sudden reaction, in an “instantaneous” aorist which expresses “emotions just conceived” (Williams 1978:28). This portrayal of a reaction to the developments in the setting of the poem is again unlike anything in the *Homeric Hymns*, but bears some resemblance to the pseudo-spontaneous reactions in Archaic poetry, e.g Pindar’s narrator reacting in outrage at his own myth (O.9.35ff.) or Bacchylides’ emotional narratorial exclamations during his myths (such as B.16.30 on Deianeira’s plan, see 2.3.4 above).

The “master of ceremonies” appears to return with the command to silence in 17:

εὐφημεῖτ' αἰόντες ἐπ' Ἀπόλλωνος ἀοιδῇ.

Another imperative bids the chanting of the traditional Apolline refrain in 25:

ἰὴ ἰὴ φθέγγεσθε·

But in between these two directions, another aspect of the voice of the narrator in H.2 has surfaced, that of the poet knowledgeable in myth. Mythic narrative enters the hymn for the first time. The mention of song in 17 prompts a mention of ᾠοῖδοί in 18, and in οὐδὲ Θέτις Ἀχιλῆα κινύρεται (20) we meet two familiar figures of epic narration, who are swiftly followed by Niobe in 22-4, who herself features in Achilles' exemplum to Priam in *I*.24.603ff. In the allusive reference to Niobe (ὁ δακρυόεις ἀναβάλλεται ἄλγεα πέτρος, 22) and the Iliadic triad Thetis-Achilles-Niobe, we should discern the beginning of a greater grounding of the narrator on the figure of a poet, a teller of mythical narratives. This poetical aspect becomes more closely associated with the historical Callimachus in the next lines:

κακὸν μακάρεσσιν ἐρίζειν.
ὃς μάχεται μακάρεσσιν, ἐμῷ βασιλῆι μάχοιτο·
ὅστις ἐμῷ βασιλῆι, καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι μάχοιτο. (25-7)

The first-person singular possessive adjective ἐμός appears for the first time in this hymn, both times with reference to “my king”. Though these references follow a religious *gnome* in 25 and a wish in the optative that whoever fights with the king fight with Apollo, this takes us away from the worshipper and towards the poet. The implied praise for the king in these lines recalls the encomiastic function of the *Hymn to Zeus* (cf. 85ff. and 55ff., discussed above), and hence the figure of the praising poet.¹⁰⁸

More importantly, after the gradual association of the narrator with the persona of a poet, there come the final lines of the proem to the hymn, which deal with the chorus:

τὸν χορὸν ὠπόλλων, ὃ τι οἱ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀείδει,

¹⁰⁸ The precise identity of the king here is of little importance in the establishment of the narrator's voice - for a summary of the views cf. Williams 1978:36. The main candidates are Ptolemies Philadelphus and Euergetes (Pfeiffer 1949-53:i.xxxviii-xxxix, following Σ ad H.2.26). Cameron (1995:408) adds Magas (see 3.2.3 above).

τιμήσει· δύνανται γάρ, ἐπεὶ Διὶ δεξιὸς ᾗσται.
οὐδ' ὁ χορὸς τὸν Φοῖβον ἔφ' ἐν μόνον ἤμαρ ἀείσει,
ἔστι γὰρ εὐθυμνος· τίς ἂν οὐ ρέα Φοῖβον ἀείδοι; (28-31)

Why this attention to the chorus? The narrator previously expressed a concern for the νέοι to sing and dance lest they displease Apollo (12-15),¹⁰⁹ but the lines quoted come significantly just before “the hymn proper” (Williams 1978:3) of lines 32-96, at the very end of the mimetic opening. Williams (1978:35) suggests that the command ἦ ἦ φθέγγεσθε in line 25 is directed at the chorus, ordering them “to sing the paean”. Though he thinks it is *Callimachus* who sings 32-96 (1978:3), I suggest that we should take the command in 25, and the attention to the chorus which follows it, as engineering a deliberate ambiguity about the speaker/singer of the rest of the hymn. Bing (1993:186) thinks there is definitely a choral song in H.2, but that its *beginning* is obscure,¹¹⁰ and suggests that it may be best to take 25-96 as the speaker’s *perception* of that song (1993:188). In fact the ambiguity carefully developed is closely related to the lyric models Callimachus is adapting, and the nature of voice there.

The imperative ἦ ἦ φθέγγεσθε comes at the beginning of the section which ends the mimetic opening. This is normally a refrain in *choral* compositions, paeans to Apollo:

ἦ ἰὲ Παιάν, ἦ ἰέ· Παιάν
δὲ μήποτε λείποι. (Pindar *Pae.*2 (F52b).35-6, 72-3, 107-8)

Moreover it can represent, as Williams’ expression “to sing the paean” hints, the singing of a longer choral hymn to Apollo, rather than the mere utterance of the refrain ἦ ἦ:

καὶ ἠπαιήον' ᾄδον,
οἱοί τε Κρητῶν παιήονες, οἷσί τε Μοῦσα
ἐν στήθεσσι νύθηνκε θεὰ μελίγηρυν ἀοιδήν. (HH3.417-9)

¹⁰⁹ So Williams 1978:37.

¹¹⁰ Cp. Cairns 1992:10 who thinks all of Callimachus’ hymns are choric.

The paean these several Cretans sing together, which resemble those blessed with poetic talent, must amount to more than the repetition of the refrain.¹¹¹ In Callimachus a command to a chorus to sing, echoing the refrain of choral paeans to Apollo, followed by lengthy comments about the chorus' song pleasing Apollo, at the margin of the mimetic frame and where the hymn begins in earnest, raises the question: who speaks/sings 32ff.? This is *not* a question about the performance of the hymn (on which see 3.2.3 above), but about the fiction which the hymns constructs.

At the beginning of Pindar's N.3 (see 3.2.4 and 2.2.1 above), there is a plea by the narrator to begin a choral song (which must have already been under way). H.2 seems closely analogous, as a narrator appears to give way to a chorus. Just as the narrator's character was beginning to be fleshed out, he appears to recede from view altogether. This view is supported by the character of 32ff. After the exclamations, questions, apostrophes and first-persons of the opening, we find only one address (to the audience in 35) and one plural first-person in 47 in lines 32-68. Long descriptive passages abound, such as 42-6 and:

χρύσεια τ' ἀπόλλωνι τό τ' ἐνδυτὸν ἢ τ' ἐπιπορπίς
 ἢ τε λύρη τό τ' ἄεμμα τὸ Λύκτιον ἢ τε φαρέτρη,
 χρύσεια καὶ τὰ πέδιλα· πολύχρυσος γὰρ Ἀπόλλων.
 καὶ δὲ πολυκτέανος (32-35)

A change of style need not *imply* a change of speaker, and we have, of course, moved from mimetic frame to hymnal narrative,¹¹² but it is *consistent* with such a change. With the possibility that the speaker of the hymn proper is a chorus, the plural verb *κυκλήσκομεν* in 47 takes on another aspect, being particularly apt for a choral speaker. There is also a similar plural towards the end of the hymn, significantly in connection with the refrain for Apollo:

ἰὴ ἰὴ παιῆον ἀκούομεν... (97)

¹¹¹ For a cognate of *παιάν* representing a choral hymn to Apollo, cf. Bacchylides 17.128-9: ἡῖθεοι δ' ἐγγύθεν/ νέοι παιάνιξαν ἐρατῶι ὀπί.

¹¹² Although throughout the narrative part of the *Hymn to Zeus* we find apostrophe and first-persons. See above.

This refers in one aspect to the ritual setting of the poem, but might be taken as referring more directly to a chorus singing the paeon. But to declare this definitively “choral” would be to simplify the effect in the hymn – it is ambiguity about the speaker which is created, not certainty. The speaker of 32ff. still maintains connections to the narrator of the mimetic opening grounded to some degree on the poet. After the descriptive passage 32-5 cited above, Pytho is cited as evidence for the assertion that Apollo is *πουλυκτέανος* – *Πυθῶνί κε τεκμήραιο* (35). This sort of address to the audience is not to be found in the *Homeric Hymns*, though something similar occurs in the *Iliad* (4.223-5, 4.429-31, 5.85-6, 15.697-8, 17.366-7, Richardson 1990:174-78). More importantly, the shift in sense of the verb from Homeric “ordain” to “judge” marks a shift towards a scholarly voice. In particular this recalls the voice of H.1.85-6: *ἔοικε δὲ τεκμήρασθαι/ ἡμετέρῳ μεδέοντι*, where again evidence is adduced in support of the narrator’s assertion.¹¹³ In 39-40 we find a *correctio* which again suits a scholarly narrator close to the historical poet – *οὐ λίπος Ἀπόλλωνος ἀποστάζουσιν ἔθειραι,/ ἀλλ’ αὐτὴν πανάκειαν*,¹¹⁴ as does the parenthesis in 44, quoted above.¹¹⁵ Such a parenthetical remark resembles a scholar’s gloss, and indeed has been suspected on such grounds (by Ruhnken, cf. Schneider 1870:10 *app.crit.*, Williams 1978:46) but should be referred to a degree of continuity with the narrator earlier in this hymn.

An ambiguity is maintained between a narrator resembling Callimachus and a chorus. This situation, which combines a choral paeon with apparently solo song, without making the relationship precise, recalls *Arg.*2.701ff.:

ἀμφὶ δὲ δαιομένοις εὐρὺν χορὸν ἐστήσαντο,
καλὸν Ἰηπαιήον Ἰηπαιήονα Φοῖβον
μελπόμενοι· σὺν δέ σφιν ἐὺς πάις Οἰάγοιο
Βιστονίη φόρμιγγι λιγείης ἤρχεν ᾠοιδῆς·

¹¹³ Cf. also Aratus, *Phaenomena* 17-18: *ἐμοὶ γε μὲν ἀστέρας εἰπεῖν/ ἢ θέμις εὐχομένῳ τεκμήρατε πᾶσαν ᾠοιδῆν*.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Lapp 1965:97 for *correctio* in Callimachus.

¹¹⁵ Parenthesis is “a regular feature of the Alexandrian poetic style” (Williams 1978:46). Cf. Lapp 1965:52-3.

A singing and dancing chorus sings (μελπόμενοι) a paean, and with them (σὺν δέ σφιν) Orpheus begins a song on the lyre. Are the chorus merely chanting “Ie Paeon”, or is their contribution more genuinely poetic? Does Orpheus direct the chorus in its song? His song contains an *action* for the refrain (711-12 – the Corycian nymphs crying Ἰήϊε, “healer”), and might be described as a paean. This passage and the ambiguity over the speaker of H.2.32ff. play with the different voices of choral lyric as understood in the Hellenistic period. Indeed the arguments reflected in the scholia over the speaker of certain passages in Pindar’s epinicians, in particular P.5.72ff., are key in understanding the ambiguity of the speaker in H.2.32ff. (Depew 1993:66).

Pythian 5 celebrates the Pythian chariot-victory of Arcesilas IV, a Battiad king of Cyrene, in 462 BC. In common with H.2, it is closely associated with the festival of the Carneia for Apollo (where it may have been performed), and pays particular attention to Apollo. The ode is echoed in H.2 extensively (Smiley 1914:54-9), particularly in 32ff. where the speaker is ambiguous between narrator and chorus. At P.5.60-9, for example, Apollo is praised as ἀρχαγέτας or colony-founder (60), and giver of good government (67), as a healer (who gives βαρειᾶν νόσων/ ἀκέσματ’, 63-4), as god of music (65) and ruler over an oracle (68-9). This is echoed in H.2.43-6, quoted above, where we are told bards and song belong to Apollo (ᾠοιδόν, 43, ᾠοιδή, 44), as does prophecy (θριαὶ καὶ μάντιες, 45) and healing (ἱητροί, 46).¹¹⁶ Apollo ἀρχαγέτας, first in Pindar, is delayed by Callimachus until lines 55ff.:

Φοῖβω δ’ ἐσπόμενοι πόλιας διεμετρήσαντο
 ἄνθρωποι· Φοῖβος γὰρ ἀεὶ πολίεσσι φιληδεῖ
 κτιζομένησ’, αὐτὸς δὲ θεμελίια Φοῖβος ὑφαίνει.

In both Pindar (P.5.80-93) and Callimachus (H.2.73ff.) there follows a narrative of the foundation of Cyrene by Battus and Apollo’s festival the Carneia. The most important resemblance as regards the voice in Callimachus is between P.5.72ff. and H.2.71ff. Both passages are in apostrophe to Apollo Carneius (Ἄπολλον.../ Καρνήι’, P.5.79-80; Καρνεῖε, H.2.72), apparently at the Carneia (τεῶ, Καρνήι’, ἐν δαιτὶ σεβίζομεν, P.5.79-80; ἦ ἦ Καρνεῖε πολύλλιτε, H.2.80). Both describe the

¹¹⁶ Smiley 1914:55 noted the similarity of H.2.43-6 to P.5.63-5, and Williams 1978:45 the similarity to H.2 of the Pindaric stress (at P.5.63-9) on Apollo’s versatility followed by his role in the foundation of Cyrene. Neither notes the close structural parallels and breadth of resemblance.

foundation of Cyrene by Battus, called Ἀριστοτέλης (P.5.87, H.2.76), via Sparta (ἀπὸ Σπάρτας, P.5.73; ἐκ...Σπάρτης, H.2.74) and Thera (Θήρανδε, P.5.75; ἐκ...Θήρης, H.2.75). In both Battus at Cyrene founds shrines (κτίσεν δ' ἄλσεα μείζονα θεῶν, P.5.89; δεῖμε δέ τοι μάλα καλὸν ἀνάκτορον, H.2.77) and institutes festivals (εὐθύτομόν τε κατέθηκεν Ἀπολλωνίαις/ ἄλεξιμβρότοις πεδιάδα πομπαῖς, P.5.90-1; ἐν δὲ πόλῃ θῆκε τελεσφορίην ἐπετήσιον, H.2.77). The Carneia abounds in sacrifices (πολύθυτον ἔρανον, P.5.77, πολλοὶ...ταῦροι,¹¹⁷ H.2.78-9). But the closest verbal parallel, and the most important in terms of the voice in H.2, is between τὸ δ' ἐμὸν γάρβειν and ἐμοὶ πατέρες (P.5.72, 76) in Pindar and ἐμοὶ πατρώιον οὕτω at H.2.71 at the beginning of the respective passages.

Callimachus thus claims it is in the manner of his forefathers to call Apollo “Carneius”. This comes after the explicit identification of the narrator as a Cyrenean in 65 (ἐμὴν πόλιν, that of Battus), and his kings as Cyrenean (ἡμετέροις βασιλεῦσιν, 68), which itself marks the end of the descriptive, largely impersonal, ambiguously “choral” lines 32-64. This points us firmly towards the “historical person...of the poet” (Calame 1993:44).¹¹⁸ But Callimachus’ claim recalls Pindar’s own claim about his forefathers - apparently Aegidae who came from Thera to Cyrene (ἵκοντο Θήρανδε φῶτες Αἰγείδαι/ ἐμοὶ πατέρες, P.5.75-6). Pindar’s claims is much discussed – how could a Theban claim to be descended from Theran and Cyrenean Aegidae? The scholia reflect what may well have been controversial in Callimachus’ day:

ὁ λόγος ἀπὸ τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν Λιβύων ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ (Σ ad P.5.72/96a Drachmann 1903-27.ii:183)

The difficulty is explained away by invoking the possibility of a choral speaker. This is highly significant. Williams (1978:68-9), followed by Lefkowitz (1991:178-9), suggests Callimachus by the mention of “the sons of Oedipus”, i.e. those descended from *Thebans*, “is probably alluding again to the controversial passage of Pindar, *P.*5.72-5 [...] and accounting for the Theban connection with Thera which it seems to attest.” Callimachus not only does this, he also places in the “hymn proper”, with

¹¹⁷ This also varies the ἱππόκροτον...ὁδόν of P.5.92-3.

¹¹⁸ Calame 1993:45 wonders if Callimachus is exploiting his nationality and his father’s *name* to construct a Battiad ancestry and a close association with Apollo.

its ambiguous, perhaps choral, speaker, a passage which alludes to a Pindaric passage whose speaker was itself debated – poet or chorus. Furthermore the allusions come precisely when the speaker appears to be most closely identified with the poet, and less with the chorus. The broad Pindaric situation in the epinicians of choral form with personal voice is thus reproduced in Callimachus.

The *Hymn to Apollo* is thus intimately related to *Pythian* 5. And there is a further relationship which is suggested by the passages in question, never to my knowledge made explicit. If Pindar is the speaker in P.5.72ff., and claiming descent from the Theban Aegidae who assisted in the establishment of the Dorians in Amyclae near Sparta (cf. I.7.12-15), Aegidae who were subsequently involved in the foundation of Thera and Cyrene, and Callimachus' claim ἐμοὶ πατρώιον οὕτω is taken in its strongest sense as referring Callimachus being a Battiad,¹¹⁹ Callimachus in effect suggests a blood relationship with both the founder of Cyrene, and his poetic model. The verbal echo points us to a claim about genealogy to stand alongside the literary allusion.

Lines 65-83 of the *Hymn to Apollo* confirm, some way into the poem, the setting of the hymn as the Carneia at Cyrene. They also represent a greater grounding of the narrator on the biography of Callimachus as Cyrenean and Battiad than in the other *Hymns*. The figure of the narrator is kept before the audience by lines 97-104, which gives an aetiology for the cry ἦ ἦ παιῆον in apostrophe to Apollo (second-person pronouns, adjectives or verbs in 99, 100, 101 (2), 103, 104), which succeeds the address to Apollo Carneius in 69-84.

Given the prominence of the narrator in this hymn, and his being grounded upon the biography of the historical Callimachus, it is necessary to tackle the question of the views on poetry many have deduced from the final lines 105-113. Are they meant as a poetic programme of the historical Callimachus?

ὁ Φθόνος Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπ' οὕατα λάθριος εἶπεν
 “οὐκ ἄγαμαι τὸν ἀοιδὸν ὃς οὐδ' ὅσα πόντος ἀείδει.” 105

¹¹⁹ So Williams 1978:67 following Herter, *RE* suppl.V.439. Cf. ep.35.1 – Βαττιάδεω παρὰ σῆμα φέρεις πόδας εἰ μὲν ἀοιδὴν.

τὸν Φθόνον ὠπόλλων ποδί τ' ἤλασεν ὦδέ τ' ἔειπεν·
 “Ἀσσυρίου ποταμοῖο μέγας ῥόος, ἀλλὰ τὰ πολλὰ
 λύματα γῆς καὶ πολλὸν ἐφ' ὕδατι συρφετὸν ἔλκει.
 Διοί δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὕδωρ φορέουσι Μέλισσαι, 110
 ἀλλ' ἥτις καθαρὴ τε καὶ ἀχράαντος ἀνέρπει
 πίδακος ἐξ ἱερῆς ὀλίγη λιβὰς ἄκρον ἄωτον.”
 χαῖρε ἄναξ· ὁ δὲ Μῶμος, ἴν' ὁ Φθόνος, ἔνθα νέοιτο.

This is “possibly the most controversial passage in the extant works of Callimachus” (Williams 1978:86), and has proved particularly puzzling and open to interpretation because on the surface “the verses have little or no connection with what precedes” (Bundy 1972:42).¹²⁰ This has led to two approaches – to treat it as a functionless statement of literary criticism (e.g. McKay 1962a:15, Williams 1978:85ff., Meillier 1979:91ff.), or to consider the passage in its context within the hymn (Bundy 1972, Köhnken 1981, Cameron 1995:403-9). The latter is surely the correct method because, as Richardson (1985:384) says of Pindar, a poet’s “statements are primarily functional in the sense that they fulfil a specific purpose within the particular contexts in which they occur: they cannot be understood apart from the poems of which they are an integral part.” This dictum is often acknowledged, even by those who employ the former approach (e.g. by Asper 1997:110), but seldom applied.

The most influential interpretation of the passage is Williams’ (1978:85-89).¹²¹ He takes it that there is a general statement about Callimachus’ poetics here, arguing that the conception which lies behind the passage is of Homer as πόντος, his Hellenistic epic imitators as the ποταμός, with Callimachean poetry as the πίδαξ. The sea is the source of all waters (cf. *Il.*21.192-7), and essentially pure (so Erbse 1955:424), while οὐδ’ ὅσα, which Williams translates as “not even as great as” implies a qualitative comparison as well as the explicit quantitative one, based on purity: “πόντος is large, and pure; the ποταμός is large, and impure; the spray from the πίδαξ is small, and pure” (1978:87). He thinks that Apollo tacitly approves of the sea, while condemning

¹²⁰ So great is the apparent discontinuity that the passage has been suspected as an interpolation, replacing the original epilogue, as following a lacuna in 104, or as later addition poorly fitted to its surroundings (Bundy 1972:42 with notes). But the discontinuity is only apparent – “for all its segregation, we must recognize that the section is an integral part of the poem, making an issue of the hymn’s diminutiveness and belligerently framing the terms in which that is to be construed.” (Haslam 1993:117).

¹²¹ For earlier views cf. Williams 1978:86.

the river and favouring the spring. The reason for thinking the sea represents Homer here is the comparison often made between Homer and the sea as the “ultimate source” (cf. D.H.*Comp.*24, Quintilian 10.1.46, *Coll.Alex.*187-8, see further the Appendix to Williams 1978).

Williams is followed by Asper 1997:123ff. Out of a concern that all of the passages cited for the Homeric comparison to the ocean are later than Callimachus, he describes what he terms the “Temachos-schema” which he discerns in the Hellenistic period and before. He sees H.2.105-112 as another example of the same idea of Homer as ἀρχή from which poets take something exemplified by Aeschylus’ description of his tragedies as τεμάχη from Homer at Athenaeus 8.39.347E (Asper 1997:121ff.). The three-term comparison of Homer-imitators-Callimachus which he thinks the sea-river-spring implies he also discerns in Th.7.45-8 and the *Aet.*-prologue (1997:191ff.).

There are serious problems with these views in general and in detail. As Köhnken (1981:416-7) notes, followed by Cameron (1995:405), Williams’ translation of οὐδ’ ὅσα as “not even” implies that the poet sings “even less than the sea”, which makes little sense. In fact οὐδέ is here an “emphatic negative” (cf. Denniston² 1950:197-8), and the meaning of Phthonos’ complaint, “I do not admire the poet who positively refuses to sing as much as the sea” (Cameron 1995:405). There is therefore no implied qualitative comparison.

Both Williams and Asper assume that Apollo’s tacit approval of the sea, agreeing to this extent with Phthonos, but as Cameron (1995:404) points out, Apollo *kicks Phthonos away* (107) - compare Θέμιν καὶ Ζῆνα.../ ὑπτίῳ παίσαντες ἄνθρωποι ποδί (*Ia.*12.62-3, spoken by Apollo), a *rejection* of Themis and Zeus. The structure of the passage suggests that, at best, Apollo rejects the sea as *irrelevant*, making no reference to it and picking up Phthonos’ mention of its size in the rejected river. That the sea might have less positive connotations than Williams and Asper allow (following Erbse 1955), is suggested by Poliakoff (1980:43-5), who cites *Ia.*2.12-3, Aeschylus *Cb.*585-7 and Propertius 3.3.15-16, 21-25. The sea can be populated by bombastic tragedians, monsters, and embody danger. A more negative comparison with the sea

in a similar poetological context can be found at Pindar F94b.76-78, evidently a model for Callimachus:

μὴ νῦν νέκταρ[.....]νας ἐμῶς
διψῶντ' αἶ[.....]παρ' ἄλμυρόν
οἴχεσθον·

The addressees are told not to go in search of the salty water of other singers after the nectar of the partheneion of Pindar (Poliakoff 1980:43). This too emphasises what is clear from the Callimachean passage itself – the main comparison is between the river and the spring, with the sea strongly associated with the former. In another important model for the end of the *Hymn to Apollo*, ignored by Asper and neglected by Williams, there is another clear antithesis:

ἔστε μὲν αὐτὸς ἄπινον ἀπὸ κρήνης μελανύδρου,
ἦδύ τί μοι ἐδόκει καὶ καλὸν ἦμεν ὕδωρ·
νῦν δ' ἦδη τεθόλωται, ὕδωρ δ' ἀναμίσγεται ὕδει·
ἄλλης δὲ κρήνης πίομαι ἢ ποταμοῦ. (Theognis 959-62)

A spring (κρήνη) becomes muddied, leading the speaker to express a wish to drink from another spring, rather than the river (ποταμός) which the previous spring has become. The water of the pure spring is καλὸν...ὕδωρ, in contrast to the muddy ποταμός, precisely the same contrast as the principal contrast in H.2.105ff.

One reason for minimising the relevance of these models for Callimachus is to insist on a three-term comparison with the “Homeric” sea as receiving tacit approval.¹²² But the evidence for this is weak. Not only are all of the passages which Williams cites later than Callimachus, they all make an explicit *comparison* between Homer and the sea. Williams is contending, however, as Cameron (1995:404) notes, that the sea can stand metaphorically for Homer. Giangrande (1982:59-60) asserts that the sea is a well-established metaphor for Homer in antiquity, but this claim is not only

¹²² Asper 1997:117 doubts the relevance of F94b.76-8 on account of its fragmentary nature, the lack of a quantitative comparison, the lack of a comparison of spring and sea in Callimachus, the comparison of two bodies of fresh water in H.2, the allegedly positive aspects of the sea in Callimachus, the lack of reference in Callimachus to potability etc. There is a corresponding emphasis on *I*.11.495 as a model. Here again we meet the understandable but misguided obsession with Homer in the criticism of Hellenistic poetry.

unsupported, it is also unlikely, given the universal use of an explicit comparison in passages considerably later than Callimachus. At least one metaphorical use might be expected.

The Temachos-schema is no help. As we have seen, the participation of the sea in a triad is hardly stressed in Callimachus. More importantly, there is no indication in the *Hymn to Apollo* that the sea is the *source* for the spring or the river (in contrast to the other passages Asper cites): there is no “slice” or “splinter” conception in H.2.105-112. But the most problematic aspect of this kind of approach is precisely that it ignores the function of the passage in its context, and instead relies on what is in effect allegorising of the most unwarranted kind: an internally consistent interpretation, though based on no evidence, which neglects the original context and function of the passage and bears a striking resemblance to the triumphant allegorisers of passages such as H.2.105ff. and *Arg.*3.932 as Callimachus’ and Apollonius’ attacks on one another whom Williams himself condemns (1978:89, 97).¹²³ Asper 1997:123 asserts that his interpretation has the status “einer poetologischen Allegorese” to be triggered by the metaphor of the sea singing, but it is clear that such allegorising is the critic’s, not the poet’s.

The end of the *Hymn to Apollo* does not refer to Callimachean aesthetics and the place of Homer and his imitators within them – it has a specific purpose within the hymn, and is meant to refer to its own virtues. It functions as a break-off, with close hymnic and lyric parallels. It is to be taken with the *envoi* in line 113 (χαῖρε ἄναξ· ὁ δὲ Μῶμος, ἵνα ὁ Φθόνοϋς, ἔνθα νέοιτο) rather than the main body of the hymn (Bundy 1972:86). This explains the discontinuity with the *action* of the ritual cry in the preceding lines, as Bundy’s long review of hymnal form shows that “between the hymnal envoi and the main body of the hymn no linear connection exists other than that implied by the sequence: invocation, praise, and prayer with salutation” (1972:86).¹²⁴ The break-off at the end of the hymn apologises for the brevity of the song, using φθόνοϋς to restate the poem’s worth at its end, while portraying the poet

¹²³ For the allegorical interpretations of these passages cf. Bundy 1972:40.

¹²⁴ Though the discontinuity should not be exaggerated – see Haslam 1993:117 above, Poliakoff 1980:45 n.6 for structural parallels, Calame 1993:51 for the “musical isotopy” which runs through hymn and epilogue.

as under attack from critics. All of this is familiar from lyric. For the apology for brevity or incompleteness Bundy (1972:88-92) compares O.13.42ff. (“When it comes to your many victories, I would not know how to count the pebbles of the sea”), and N.4.69-72 (“it is impossible for me to go through all of Aeacus’ descendants”).¹²⁵ Break-off formulae at the end of songs can be found at B.10.51ff. and O.2.95ff., while the worth of a song is restated at its end in O.1.115b-16 (Pindar foremost in σοφία), O.10.97-99 (Pindar has drenched the Locrians with honey), and P.4.298-9 (Damophilos will testify to Pindar’s παγὰν ἀμβροσίων ἐπέων).¹²⁶ Φθόνοσ appears at the end of poems at P.7.19, P.11.54 (φθονεροί), B.5.188.¹²⁷ But the closest parallel for the end of H.2 is the end of *Olympian* 2 (Bundy 1972:88):

πολλά μοι ὑπ’ ἀγκῶνος ὠκέα βέλη
 ἔνδον ἐντὶ φαρέτρας
 φωνάεντα συνετοῖσιν· ἐν δὲ τὸ πᾶν ἐρμανέων 85
 χατίζει. σοφὸς ὁ πολλὰ εἰδὼς φυᾶ· μαθόντες δὲ λάβροι
 παγγλωσσία κόρακες ὥς ἄκραντα γαρύετον

Διὸς πρὸς ὄρνιχα θεῖον·

...

ἀλλ’ αἶνον ἐπέβα κόρος 95
 οὐ δίκᾳ συναντόμενος, ἀλλὰ μάργων ὑπ’ ἀνδρῶν,
 τὸ λαλαγῆσθαι θέλων κρυφόν τε θέμεν ἐσλῶν καλοῖς
 ἔργοις· ἐπεὶ ψάμμος ἀριθμὸν περιπέφευγεν,
 καὶ κεῖνος ὅσα χάρματ’ ἄλλοις ἔθηκεν,
 τίς ἂν φράσαι δύναιτο; 100

The final lines excuse the brevity of the ode, pointedly out of a desire to avoid κόρος (95-6). Lines 86ff., on the other hand, present the poet as under attack - an eagle assailed by chattering crows.

¹²⁵ Cf. also I.6.53-6.

¹²⁶ Cf. also N.8.46ff. and Bacchylides 3.95-98.

¹²⁷ Cf. also B.10.46-7: τὸ μὲν κάλλιστον, ἐσθλόν/ ἄνδρα πολλῶν ὑπ’ ἀνθρώπων πολυζήλων εἶμεν. This makes explicit the thought behind the portrayal of Φθόνοσ in H.2.

Callimachus' apology for the brevity of H.2 gains point from lines 30-1, which asserted the chorus would not sing ἐφ' ἑν μόνον ἦμαρ (30), described Apollo as εὐθυμνος (31), and implied the ease of singing extensively about Apollo – τίς ἄν οὐ ῥέα Φοῖβον αἰείδου; (31). The 546 lines of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* also stand behind the apology. But as Köhnken (1981:421) notes, φθόνος, μῶμος and the related κόρος, as in O.2, usually prompt the cessation of the song - the poet ends his poem to avoid φθόνος. In H.2 it is Φθόνος, in a neat Callimachean reversal, who wants the song to go on forever.

As for the “poet under attack”, Callimachus turns the Pindaric break-off into a drama (Bundy 1972:87). Envy or φθόνος is no longer merely the feeling which a song may produce in the audience, but personified as ὁ Φθόνος (105), conversing with Apollo and expressing his reaction to the song within the song itself (οὐκ ἄγαμαι..., 106). This forms an example of the “concretisation” of lyric themes and *topoi* in Hellenistic poetry (cf. Lefkowitz 1991:158 on Call.F114.9 concretising O.14.10, and see 6. *Contexts and Conclusions* below). The scene of criticism moves from a suggested comparison of poet and critics to an eagle and crows (O.2.87-8) to a more fully developed scene presenting a personification of envy and a dialogue with Apollo which explicitly refers to the poet (τὸν αἰοιδόν, 106). The dramatic technique and a greater concreteness are also to be found in the *Aetia*-prologue. This process confirms that the situations of H.2.105-12 and the *Aet.*-prologue are fictional (Lefkowitz 1980b:8), and probably do not record historical reactions to the respective poems (Schmitz 1999:154ff., and see 3.3.2 below).

3.2.7 Hymn 3

After one hymn with an oblique setting and another explicitly mimetic, the *Hymn to Artemis* has no trace of mimesis (Harder 1992:387). In other ways too this hymn seems more like a *Homeric Hymn* - three times as long as the *Hymn to Zeus*, naming the god with the first word,¹²⁸ and seemingly sung by a conventional ἀοιδός:

Ἄρτεμιν (οὐ γὰρ ἐλαφρὸν ἀειδόντεσσι λαθέσθαι)
ὕμνέομεν, (1-2)

“Not forgetting Artemis” bears a general resemblance to expansions of the *Homeric Hymns*’ μνήσομαι such as οὐδὲ λάθωμαι (HH3.1, see further Bornmann 1968:4), and the verb ὑμνεῖν appears at HH4.1, 9.1, 14.2, 31.1. But amid similarity, difference - ὑμνεῖν in the first line in the *Homeric Hymns* is always what the *Muses* are requested to do (though the narrator is subject of the future ὑμνήσω HH3.19, 207). Here, with the singer as subject, ὑμνέομεν resembles rather μνήσομαι (e.g. HH3.1) or ᾄσομαι (HH6.2) or ᾄρχομαι ἀείδειν (e.g. HH2.1). The parenthesis in line 1 is also unusual, immediately drawing attention to the narrator, almost before the song itself has begun (rather odd after just *one* word, as Bornmann 1968:4 sees).

The plural verb recalls the end of HH1.17-8 (σ’ ἀοιδοὶ/ ᾄδομεν ἀρχόμενοι). The ends of *Homeric Hymns* are further picked up by ᾄρχμενοι ὥς in H.4.4, which recalls (in addition to HH1.17-8) ἀρξάμενος at HH5.293, 9.9, 18.11, 31.18. It also recalls the beginnings of certain Hellenistic narratives: ᾄρχμενος ὥς (Call. F7.25, F75.56); Ἄρχόμενος σέο (*Arg.*1.1). As Bornmann (1968:6) notes this appears to suggest an ordered *ab initio* narrative, though this is not what we get. A main concern of the hymn is also established - where to begin and end, and how long to go on. And also set is the pattern for the voice – aspects of the largely impersonal narration of an ἀοιδός as in Homer and the *Homeric Hymns* set against intrusions such as the parenthesis of the first line.

¹²⁸ Cf. n.93 above, Bornmann 1968:4.

But then we hear little from the narrator himself - line 5 introduces a long speech of Artemis (6-25) where she requests various characteristics (eternal virginity 6, many names 7, bow and arrows 8, cult-names 11, a retinue 12ff. etc.) from Zeus, which usurps the normal hymnal narratorial account of divine attributes and ἀρεταί (Bornmann 1968:xxviii, Haslam 1993:112), as at HH4.13ff., for example. For Artemis' request of virginity etc. there is a lyric model - Sappho F44A=Alc.F304.5-7:

νή τὰν σὰν κεφάλαν, ἃι πάρθενος ἔσσομαι
 ἄδμης οἰοπόλων ὀρέων κορύφαις' ἔπι
 θηρεύουσ' ἄγι καὶ τάδε νεῦσον ἔμαν χάριν.

But in Sappho this does not seem to replace the hymnal ἀρεταί, nor is Artemis a little girl, as she is in H.3 (παῖς ἔτι κουρίζουσα 5), reeling off a series of insistent requests – δός μοι (6), δὸς (8), δὸς δέ μοι (13, 15, 18) - “gimme” (Haslam 1993:111). Before Zeus' reply in 30-38, which continues the domestic tone (Hera's anger (29-31) transferred “in termini borghesi”, Bornmann 1968:xxviii), the narrator speaks again. In 26-9 he reveals himself as privy even to Artemis' desire to touch her father's beard (γενειάδος ἤθελε πατρός/ ἄψασθαι, 26-7) and her inability to do so (πολλὰς δὲ μάτην ἐτανύσσατο χεῖρας, 27).

The knowledge displayed here is greater than that in the other *Hymns* (Harder 1992:393). In H.3 this is less problematic as the narrator is more like the conventional αἰοιδός of epic, unfixed in space and time (contrast the celebrant of H.2, 5 and 6), and portrayed as a mouthpiece of the goddess, to whom he addresses questions:

τίνα δ' ἔξοχα νυμφέων
 φίλαο, καὶ ποίας ἡρώιδας ἔσχες ἐταίρας;
 εἰπέ, θεή, σὺ μὲν ἄμμιν, ἐγὼ δ' ἑτέροισιν ἀείσω. (184-6)

Such first-person statements (also at 136, 137, 175, 222 – see below) are one way in which the narrator intrudes on his narrative in this hymn (see in general Harder 1992:392 n.31), here compounded by the narrator operating explicitly as the spokesman of the goddess. This intrusion is particularly prominent from 72 onwards, where the narrator first addresses Artemis. This apostrophe is maintained almost

throughout the rest of the hymn,¹²⁹ and encompasses questions to Artemis, at 113, 116 and 119 about various formative events in her childhood. Indeed, an affectionate tone, as if prompted by Artemis as a charming infant, is created with the switch to apostrophe in 72ff.:

κοῦρα, σὺ δὲ προτέρω περ, ἔτι τριέτηρος ἐοῦσα,...
βρόντεώ σε στιβαροῖσιν ἐφессαμένου γονάτεσσι,
στήθεος ἐκ μεγάλου λασίης ἐδράξαιο χαίτης... (72, 75-6)

The narrator addresses Artemis as if she was *still* a young girl (κοῦρα, contrast πότνια 136, 210, 225, 259), and tells her, as a proud parent might, that even at three years old (ἔτι τριέτηρος ἐοῦσα), she was not only not scared of one of the who scare goddesses αἱ μάλα μηκέτι τυτθαί, 64), but prodigiously ripped out some of his hair. The tone continues as the narrator emphatically tells Artemis that she was μάλα θαρσαλέη (80) when she asked the Cyclopes for her weapons. This too is a domestication of a hymnal feature – the du-Stil (*pace* Bornmann 1968:xx), one more common in lyric than Homeric hymns (except for the anomalous HH3).

Explanatory parentheses and indications of time also draw attention to the narrator:

τοὺς [the Cyclopes] μὲν ἔτετμε
νήσφ ἐνὶ Λιπάρῃ (Λιπάρη νέον, ἀλλὰ τότε ἔσκεν
οὔνομά οἱ Μελιγουνίς) (46-8)

τὸ δ' ἄτριχον εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν
μεσσάτιον στέρνοιο μένει μέρος (77-8)

Both the aside and the action are, strictly speaking, tangential to the narrative. This is also the case where the narrator parenthetically adds μετὰ καὶ κύνες ἐσσεύοντο in 98 to a mention of Artemis' departure, having spent 89-97 on a catalogue and praise of these dogs. Similarly superfluous is καὶ γὰρ Πιτάνη σέθεν (172) added to a

¹²⁹ E.g. vocatives/nominatives for vocatives at: 72, 86, 110, 119, 136, 137, 152, 173, 186, 204, 210, 225, 228, 240, 259, 268; second-person verbs: 76, 77, 86, 87, 99, 103, 111, 112, 116, 117, 119, 120, 122, 124, 129, 141, 144, 148, 168, 169, 174, 185, 189, 206, 210, 215, 217, 230, 234, 236.

mention of nymphs dancing round Artemis at Pitane.¹³⁰ H.3 has more parentheses than any other Callimachean hymn (Bornmann 1968:l, Lapp 1965:53 with list).

This narratorial involvement is unusual in the *Homeric Hymns*, and more characteristic of Archaic non-epic poetry such as Pindar's epinicians or the *Works and Days* (see 2.3 above). It is also apparent when narrator goes further than the formalised request for favour or success at the end of many *Homeric Hymns* (cf. HH.1.17ff., 2.490ff., 6.18ff., 11.5, 15.9 etc.) when he expresses a personal concern, with first-person forms, about his cattle when Artemis dances with her nymphs (so delaying the spectating Helios, lengthening the day):¹³¹

μὴ νειὸν τημοῦτος ἐμαὶ βόες εἵνεκα μισθοῦ
τετράγυον τέμνοιεν ὑπ' ἀλλοτρίῳ ἀροτῆρι·
ἦ γάρ κεν γυιαί τε καὶ αὐχένα κεκμηῦται
κόπρον ἔπι προγένονιντο (175-178)

Bornmann (1968:83-4) does not take this as quasi-biography, implying that the narrator owned cattle, but as a general statement (with a variety of the general first person) of what would happen to them if ploughing on such a long day. In any case, it hardly points us towards the *author*, though if quasi-biographical this would fix the αἰδός more than any other passage of the hymn, and mark another difference from Homer and the *Homeric Hymns*, where quasi-biography is largely avoided (2.3.1 above), in contrast to Hesiod and Archaic lyric, elegy and *iambos* (2.3.1.1 above).

Hesiod is also echoed in the wish concerning the narrator's friends and himself at 136ff., again expressed with the first person:

πότνια, τῶν εἴη μὲν ἐμοὶ φίλος ὅστις ἀληθής,
εἴην δ' αὐτός, ἄνασσα, μέλοι δέ μοι αἰὲν αἰοιδῇ·

Compare the fervent wish at *WD* 270-1, again with first-persons:

¹³⁰ Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.597, 'ne fuge me -' *fugiebat enim* for a similar device.

¹³¹ For a poetological interpretation of this passages (rightly criticised at Asper 1997:228) see Bing 1988:84ff.

νῦν δὲ ἐγὼ μὴτ' αὐτὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποισι δίκαιος
εἶην μὴτ' ἐμὸς υἱός·

Moralising is also in evidence in the emphatic line-beginning judging Λύγδαμιν ὑβριστής (252), and the exclamation about him (on exclamations see above on H.2.*init.*):

ᾧ δειλὸς βασιλέων, ὅσον ἤλιτεν (255)

In similarly unHomeric fashion the narrator is prepared to use emotional vocabulary such as μάλα (e.g. 64, 80), ἦ (e.g. 177), οὐ νέμεσις (64) and σχέτλιοι (124), passing comment on the inhabitants of unjust cities, which the narrators in Homer and the *Homeric Hymns* (to a lesser extent) generally avoid (Griffin 1986:40, Richardson 1990:158-166, and see 2.3.4 above). Perhaps most striking of all the indications of changes in the hymnal voice from the *Homeric Hymns* is the comment at 222ff.:

οὐδὲ μὲν Ὑλαῖόν τε καὶ ἄφρονα Ῥοῖκον ἔολπα
οὐδέ περ ἐχθαίροντας ἐν Ἰαίδι μωμήσασθαι
τοξότιν·

This is reminiscent (note ἔολπα ~ ἔλπομαι) of the Pindaric narrator's reaction to myths such as that of Odysseus, as at N.7.20-21, though there, in contrast to Callimachus, disagreement is registered:

ἐγὼ δὲ πλεον' ἔλπομαι
λόγον Ὀδυσσέος ἢ πάθαν διὰ τὸν ἄδυεπὴν γενέσθ' Ὅμηρον·

Pindar uses such musings to characterise himself as truthful in contrast to Homer, and to portray himself as pious, therefore sincere (2.3.4 above). The narrator of H.3 is similarly depicted by H.3.222ff. But despite the narratorial visibility thus achieved, the narrator is not very closely tied to facts about Callimachus' biography (e.g. being Cyrenean), or to the hymn's setting, in contrast to the other hymns. The only aspect which might be thought to point us in such a direction is the scholarship on display in H.3, such as some of the explanatory parentheses discussed above.

Alongside these should be placed the aetiologies of Brontes' bald patch (77-9, displaying extensive knowledge about divine physiology), the avoidance of myrtle in the rites of Britomartis on Crete (201ff.), the invention of the pipe (244-5, with the intrusive temporal reference οὐ γάρ πω, 244), the etymologies in 197ff. (Cretan Δίκτυνα and Δικταῖον), the "they say"-statement about Artemis' love for Anticleia (φασί, 210)¹³² and the agricultural aside on the suitability of Stymphaeian cattle (178-80). The main effect of such learning is not to remind the audience or reader of *Callimachus*, but to characterise the narrator as verbose (most unCallimachean) – "Callimaco si finge prolioso" (Bornmann 1968:lii on 198ff.). He has time to inform us of the best ploughing cattle (in 178-80), to repeat Pitane superfluously in 172, to tell us the old name of Lipare (47-8) etc. Such asides would not be strongly felt were it not for the wider concern in the hymn for ending, or rather *not* ending (Haslam 1993:114). Following the first two short hymns in the collection, when the reader meets 136-7 (quoted above), an address to Artemis, together with a wish for favour to the narrator and his friend, and an assertion that song will be his concern forever, the end seems nigh. But then the narrator specifies what will be in the song (τῇ ἐνὶ μὲν (138), ἐν δὲ (138, 139, 140)) – the marriage of Leto, Artemis' name, Apollo, Artemis' labours, her hounds, bow and chariots. This might simply be an expanded coda, and the hymn about to end (see Bornmann 1968:xxxi-xxxii). But then, with the verbal sleight of hand of ἐνθα (142) we are at the house of Zeus, and the hymn continues.

Again at 225ff. the end seems to have been reached, with vocatives piling up and a farewell to the goddess (Haslam 1993:114):

πότνια πουλυμέλαθρε, πολύπτολι, χαίρε Χιτώνη
Μιλήτω ἐπίδημε·

Again the reader is disappointed - there are still over forty lines to come. Nor are these the only false endings. The address to Artemis as Ἄρτεμι Παρθενίνη Τιτυοκτόνε and describing the golden equipment of the goddess at 110ff. *sounds* like the end of the account of Artemis hunting, but then a series of questions (113ff.)

¹³² Rare in the *Homeric Hymns* - only at HH4.471, HH3.67, used by characters, and by the narrator only at HH1.2 of an alternative birthplace of Dionysus. Cf. also λέγονσι in the same context HH1.5.

continues the narrative (Haslam). Another series of questions at 183ff. has the tone of a new beginning, a continuation: τίς δέ νύ τοι..., “which *now*...”.

But this verbosity is obviously affected. There are also conspicuous shows of brevity,¹³³ recalling the pseudo-spontaneity of lyric:

ἔννεπες· οἱ δ' ἐτέλλεσαν· ἄφαρ δ' ὠπλίσσαο (86)

Thus the narrator skips over the construction and description of Artemis' bow, arrows and quiver. Similar is the summary account of the slaying of the serpent and the obtaining of the Golden Fleece at P.4.249-50. But unlike in Pindar, where such unusual narrative emphasis serves to highlight what is important in a particular myth (i.e. the Euphamid and Argonautic heritage of Arcesilas), here the reader's expectations of a usual component of an epic ὅπλοποιία are confounded (Bornmann 1968:xviii). As if to advertise the arbitrary brevity, there follows a long catalogue of Artemis' dogs in 90-97, which itself sets the reader up for a surprise – Artemis has no need of her dogs to capture the deer (νόσφι κυνοδρομῆς, 106, Haslam 1993:113).

This affected prolixity is related to the narrator's pseudo-spontaneity. The many questions the narrator asks Artemis, particularly those at 183ff. where the narrator portrays himself as awaiting Artemis' answers, present his song as an ongoing composition. This pseudo-spontaneity is particularly clear when the narrator corrects himself:

ὄπλα μὲν Ἑρμείης Ἀκακήσιος, αὐτὰρ Ἀπόλλων
θηρίον ὅττι φέρησθα· πάροιθέ γέ, πρὶν περ ἰκέσθαι
καρτερόν Ἀλκεΐδην (143-45)

“Apollo takes whatever beast..., *at least he used to*...”. This is a pose – the narrator has plenty to say in the following lines about Heracles and his appetite for Artemis' animals (Heracles recommends she hunt not only the ambiguous σύες, 156, but even βόες, a κακὸν μέγα, 157). Similarly the hounds, bow and chariot named in 140ff. in the false ending set us up for the whole tale of Artemis and the receipt of her prey -

¹³³ Note also Artemis' compact abstracts in 6-7 with Bornmann 1968:xxviii.

the narrator is not really extemporising. Neither, of course, were the pseudo-spontaneous narrators in Pindar or Bacchylides (2.3.2.1). But there is an important difference. In Archaic epinicians the pose of pseudo-spontaneity suggests narratorial sincerity, and allows control of the epinician's structure of the ode, by emphasising important narrative elements, and omitting the irrelevant. In the *Hymn to Artemis* the purpose appears to be the depiction of the narrator himself as one who does not know when to stop. As Bornmann notes, the expanded coda recommending not to anger Artemis is “un espediente nuovo per accennare di scorcio a quanti più miti possibili” (1968:xxxv). Even at the very end, the narrator wants to get in as much as he can:

πότνια Μουνιχίη λιμενοσκόπε, χαῖρε Φεραίη.
μή τις ἀτιμήσῃ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ Οἶνεϊ
βωμὸν ἀτιμήσαντι καλοὶ πόλιν ἦλθον ἀγῶνες·
μηδ' ἐλαφηβολίην μηδ' εὐστοχίην ἐριδαίνειν·
οὐδὲ γὰρ Ἀτρεΐδης ὀλίγω ἔπι κόμπασε μισθῶ·
μηδέ τινα μνᾶσθαι τὴν παρθένον· οὐδὲ γὰρ Ὠτός,
οὐδὲ μὲν Ὠαρίων ἀγαθὸν γάμον ἐμνήστευσαν·
μηδὲ χορὸν φεύγειν ἐνιαύσιον· οὐδὲ γὰρ Ἴππῶ
ἄκλαυτεῖ περὶ βωμὸν ἀπείπατο κυκλώσασθαι·
χαῖρε μέγα κρείουσα καὶ εὐάντησον ἀοιδῇ. (259-68)

An ending, but one that sounds like a beginning. The catalogue of myths relating to Artemis resembles the priamels which often begin poems or hymns, lyric and Homeric, where the narrator selects the theme of song from one of many, e.g. the catalogue of Theban glories enumerated in *I.7.init.*, the opening of Pindar's *Hymn to Zeus* (F29), again with a Theban list, or the catalogue of Apollo's love at HH3.207ff. (before the narrative of the Pythian hymn). The Callimachean reversal should be considered in the context of the collection of *Hymns*. The *Hymn to Artemis* follows the brief H.2, with its elaborate break-off at the end, extolling the virtues of the brief and good hymn over the long and poor, and demonstrating the favourable reception of the song on the part of Apollo. Here we have hymned Apollo's *sister*, his rival (cf. καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ Λητωιάς ὥσπερ Ἀπόλλων (83), σὺ δ' Ἀπόλλωνι παρίζεις (169), ῥέα κεν Πυθῶνα παρέλθοι [sc. Ephesus] (250)). Here, however, there is merely a prayer for the song to be met with Artemis' favour (268). Is the effusive narrator of H.3 a joke at Artemis' expense, given her unmusicality (when compared to her brother?), and

the final advice on avoiding her anger tongue-in-cheek? Or is the narrator who will not give up portrayed as one concerned not to avoid giving offence to Artemis by treating her brother better (cf. Haslam 1993:117), so that the coda, and the prayer for favour, gain added significance? If so, it should be noted that the next hymn in the collection is in turn to Apollo (effectively), with Artemis reduced to a solitary mention (H.4.229, in a simile), and constructed as one giant deliberation as to what to sing (recalling the end of the *Hymn to Artemis*).

Bornmann (1968:xxvi) suggests it is futile to look for a unifying factor or central theme in H.3, and proposes the *Aetia*, with its disparate episodes, as a parallel. In one sense this is fair. Not, however, because the *Aetia* and the *Hymn to Artemis* both lack unity, but because such unity as they have is derived from an interest in the depiction and development of their respective narrators. Nevertheless, though erudition is a characteristic of both, they are different. The narrator of the *Aetia* is not portrayed as prolix, nor ironised to the same degree.

3.2.8 Hymn 4

The *Hymn to Delos* responds in many ways to the preceding hymn (Haslam 1993:117). There Artemis, here Apollo again (Δῆλον, Ἀπόλλωνος, 2; Δῆλος δ' Ἀπόλλωνι, 24). There a narrator presented as prolix, his hymn feigning its end several times, here a non-ironised narrator who begins with a striking question to himself, and frames the whole song as a deliberation (i.e. as a sort of *beginning*). Artemis is systematically marginalised in H.4, and the narrator of H.4 should be seen in terms of Artemis against Apollo, as well as in relation to the narrator of H.3.

After the ἀοιδός of the *Hymn to Artemis* (cf. H.3.1), we read in H.4 Φοῖβον ἀοιδάων μεδέοντα (5). Mineur (1984:55) objects to Mair's (1955:85) translation of ἀοιδάων as “minstrels”, commenting that nothing suggests the masculine here, so that “songs” must be right (though citing the possible parallel of Xenophanes F6.4D-K for ἀοιδάων as “minstrels”). But there might be a deliberate ambiguity here, given the attention in the opening lines to the narrator, and the subsequent:

ὥς Μοῦσαι τὸν ἀοιδὸν ὃ μὴ Πίμπλειαν ἀείσῃ
ἔχθουσιν, τῶς Φοῖβος ὅτις Δῆλοιο λάθεται. (7-8)

This in itself echoes the final lines of H.3 on not incurring the anger of Artemis, and in the light of the less-than-perfect narrator of her hymn, and her treatment in H.4, we might wonder about the allegiance of the ἀοιδός there and here – to Φοῖβον ἀοιδάων μεδέοντα?

In any case, the account of Apollo's birth in H.4 seems to airbrush Artemis out of the myth. Leto is described as if she was to bear only Apollo (οὔνεκα μούνη/ Ζηνὶ τεκεῖν ἤμελλε φιλαίτερον Ἄρεος υἱά, 57-8), and suffers greatly in childbirth, neither of which squares with:

ἧσί με Μοῖραι
γεινομένην τὸ πρῶτον ἐπεκλήρωσαν ἀρήγειν,
ὅτι με καὶ τίκτουσα καὶ οὐκ ἤληγῃσε φέρουσα

μήτηρ, ἀλλ' ἁμογῆτι φίλων ἀπεθήκατο γυίων. (H.3.22-5)

This alludes to Artemis as Eileithyia, and to the tradition that, born on the day before Apollo, she assisted at his birth (cf. D.L.ii.44). But Leto in H.4 has no assistance from Artemis or Eileithyia. Instead, the Deliades sing the Ἐλειθυίης ἱερὸν μέλος (H.4.257). The precocious Artemis-child of H.3 (5, 72) is outdone by her brother, who not once but twice prophesies *ex utero* at H.4.88-98 and 162-95. The narrator's question in 24 - τί δὲ στιβαρώτερον ἔρκος;, and his exclamation τοῖός σε βοηθός ἀμφιβέβηκεν in 27, imply that Artemis' Ephesus, a topic near the end of H.3, is not so well-defended as Delos (cf. Ἐφέσου γὰρ ἀεὶ τεὰ τόξα πρόκειται, H.3.258), for all that ῥέα Πυθῶνα παρέλθοι (H.3.250). Furthermore one of Artemis' cult-names, Οὔπις (cf. H.3.204, 240) is appropriated as the name of one of the original Deliades (H.4.292), and where Artemis appears in H.4, it is in a simile at 228ff. But she is not even the topic of comparison, but appears peripherally as the *owner* of the dog to whom Iris is compared. Mineur (1984:137) discerns her, well hidden, in τὰ Ζηνὸς...τέκνα at H.4.111, which only serves to confirm her unimportance in the hymn. Some, however, have seen her in the final farewell:

ἰστίη ᾧ νήσων εὐέστιε, χαῖρε μὲν αὐτή,
χαίροι δ' Ἀπόλλων τε καὶ ἣν ἐλοχεύσατο Λητώ. (325-6)

Thus the *paradosis* seems to bid farewell to “she whom Leto bore”, i.e. Artemis. Given her absence in the rest of the hymn, this has been suspected, and emended away, the best suggestion being Wilamowitz's ἣν ἐλοχεύσαο Λητώ (followed by Pfeiffer's text; “...y aquella, Leto, a la que tú, Delos, asististe”, Fernández-Galiano 1976-80:400 ad λοχεύομαι). But Mineur, uncomfortable with the rapid changes of subject, suggests following Verdenius (*apud* McKay 1962b:169 with n.3; McKay suggests *Artemis* as the midwife) and keeping the text as it stands, translating “and may Apollo fare well and Leto, whom *he* [my italics] delivered”, because in H.4 Apollo himself “without help from Eileithyia or anybody else ‘jumped forward’ from Leto's womb.” (Mineur 1984:252). We can extend this insight – the ambiguous phrasing of the final lines *alludes* to Artemis, but has Apollo usurp his sister's midwifery of her mother.

Into this background fits the narrator, not presented as prolix and a subject for self-irony as in H.3. The Archaic and lyric models used in H.4 are correspondingly not used to satirise the narrator, but to draw attention to his difference from that of H.3. The style is much more lively and engaging, as demonstrated by the treatment of places Leto visits. This is invested with more variety than the catalogue of Leto's wanderings at HH3.30-44. Callimachus does not merely list the places, but places Iris on Mimas (67, mentioned in the catalogue at HH3.39) as a guardian, and describes the flight of towns, hills and rivers (φεῦγε μὲν Ἀρκαδίη, φεῦγεν δ' ὄρος ἱερὸν Ἀὔγης/ Παρθένιον, φεῦγεν..., 70-5). When the nymph Melia, at the sight of Helicon shaking ὑπόχλοον ἔσχε παρειήν/ ἥλικος ἀσθμαίνουσα περὶ δρυός (80-1), the narrator intervenes "out of his concern for Melia" (Mineur 1984:118) by asking the Muses a question about the relationship between nymph and oak. This emotional involvement is characteristic of the hymn, and further enlivens the account of Leto's wanderings. The question to the Muses is followed by Apollo's first speech from the womb, and his condemnation of Thebes (88-98), the narrator's challenge to Hera (106ff.), and the scene of Leto and Peneios (see below).

The contrast with the style of H.3 can also be brought out by the different purpose to which slowing the narrative and surprising the audience are put in H.4.228ff. Iris has excused herself for having failed to prevent Asteria from offering Leto assistance (218-227). There then follows a lengthy simile (228-232), where Iris is compared to a hunting-dog of Artemis, ever ready to receive the call of the goddess. But this section is extended further – Iris never forgets her seat, even when sleeping (233-4), but sleeps by the throne with her head bent (235-6). Nor, we are told, does she loose her girdle or hunting-boots in case Hera gives her a command (237-9). Then, at last, after 12 lines "of frustrating interlude" (McKay 1962b:163) Hera replies. Why the delay? McKay (1962b:162) thinks the audience anticipates Hera's punishment of Asteria, and Callimachus is striving for suspense. But what follows the long characterisation of Iris is real surprise that Hera does not delay *Leto* further – in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* her labour lasts ἐννῆμαρ τε καὶ ἐννέα νύκτας (91), to which the narrator there devotes lines 91-114. Leto's travails are only eased when *Iris* fetches Eileithyia to Delos. Hence in Callimachus the concentration on the scene prepares the audience for further delay, which does not materialise, Apollo's birth following swiftly on the

end of Hera's speech at 249ff., and so ultimately forms a *replacement* for the delaying of the birth. But this play with audience and model does not undermine the narrator.

Our attention is drawn to the narrator at the very opening of the hymn:

Τὴν ἱερήν, ὦ θυμέ, τίνα χρόνον ἤηποτ' αἰεῖσεις
Δῆλον, Ἀπόλλωνος κουροτρόφον; (1-2)

While postponing the god's name until the second line in a hexameter hymn is unconventional (Mineur 1984:49, Janko 1981:9), more remarkable still is the self-apostrophe of the narrator (no similar opening in the other *Hymns*, nor the *Homeric Hymns*). Mineur (1984:49) objects to the suggestion of Giangrande (1968:58-9) that this is a pointed imitation of Pindar's O.2.89 θυμέ· τίνα and N.3.26 θυμέ, τίνα because "elsewhere in *Delos* the part Pindar plays as a source of reference is rather restricted" and "the combination of words is in fact rather meaningless." But Mineur bases this view of Pindaric reference principally on the use of lyric vocabulary (1984:22), and an opposition to attempts to see a lyric structure in H.4 (1984:8-9), which leads him to ignore the context and function of the self-apostrophe. While there is perhaps no direct reference to a particular *passage* in Pindar, there is the prominent use of a Pindaric technique. Pindar addresses himself at the beginning of a poem at O.1.4 φίλον ἦτορ, O.9.6ff. (imperatives), O.10.1ff. (imperative), and can question himself about the subject of a song (O.2.89-90 – "θυμέ, at whom do we shoot?", N.3.26ff. – "θυμέ to what headland are you driving?").

The address to the Ἀναξιφόρμιγγες ὕμνοι in O.2.1ff. and the subsequent questions about what god, hero and man to sing about combine these usages. The address approaches self-apostrophe, and again concerns the selection of a subject for song. That this device was particularly prominent in *Pindar* is indicated by the nature of narratorial self-apostrophes in other Archaic poets: Archilochus F128 (to θυμέ, telling himself to resist foes), Theognis 213-4, 695-6, 877-8, 1029-36 (to θυμέ, possibly the addressee of the poem rather than poet, with *advice*), Ibycus F317(b) ("always, ὦ φίλε θυμέ, as the long-winged purplebird" – context unclear), Simonides fr.eleg.21.3 (ψυχ[ή], possibly to addressee, declaring "I cannot be your watchful guardian"). Significantly none of these other self-apostrophes comes in the context

of the selection or control of material for a poem or narrative, but of *advising* the θυμός.

The self-address immediately focuses attention on the narrator, and points him up as autonomous, not requiring to ask the god hymned or the Muses for inspiration. Even when he turns to ask the Muses a question, he describes them with a possessive pronoun:

ἐμαὶ θεαί, εἶπατε Μοῦσαι,
ἦ ῥ' ἔτεδ' ἐγένοντο τότε δρύες ἡνίκα Νύμφαι; (82-3)

This claim of ownership of Muse *being invoked* is without precedent (so Mineur 1984:118). The closest parallel is Pindaric: ὦ πότνια Μοῦσα, μήτερ ἀμετέρα (N.3.1), and Callimachus may intend a similar claim of kinship. The question to the Muses, followed by their answer in 84-5 (Mineur 1984:117), reminds the reader of the structure of *Aetia* 1-2. Even if the *Hymn to Delos* was originally written before *Aetia* 1-2, a collected edition of the *Hymns* would have come after it. If the narrator of *Aetia* 1-2 was “Callimachus”, the narrator of H.4 is thus also associated, for a reader of the *Hymns* as a collection, with “Callimachus”. Though such a persona could be undermined and treated ironically (especially in the *Iambi* – see 3.5.1 below), it is perhaps one reason here for the more straightforward treatment of the narrator. It is also consistent with, though hardly implies, performance at a Museum occasion such as that suggested by Mineur (H.4 as *genethliakon* 1984 *passim*, rightly criticised by Griffiths 1988:231).

The relatively autonomous narrator thus portrayed is mitigated to a certain extent by the framing of most of the hymn as a deliberation (so Harder 1992:387, with comments on how this resolves the problem of the narrator’s omniscience), again of the sort often found at the *beginning* of a poem (compare the endings of H.3, in particular its priamel-like catalogue at 259-68):

εἰ δὲ λίην πολέες σε περιτροχώσιν ἀοιδαί,
ποίη ἐνιπλέξω σε; τί τοι θυμῆρες ἀκοῦσαι;
ἦ ὥς τὰ πρῶτιστα μέγας θεὸς οὔρεα θείνων
ἄορι τριγλώχινι...

νήσους εἰναλίας εἰργάζετο (28-32)

The rest of the hymn follows on from this question about whether (ἦ ὥς) to sing about the fixing of the islands. This parallels HH3.25ff. (Harder 1992:387 n.15), where the narrator asks Apollo whether he should tell of Leto giving birth to him on Delos:

ἦ ὥς σε πρῶτον Λητώ τέκε, χάρμα βροτοῖσι...

Lines 19-29 of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* “dramatize a process of poetic decision-making” (Miller 1986:23). In HH3, however, there is a stronger sense of starting the narrative by going back to the beginning, *after* the question has been put to the god. Lines 30ff., following the question, begin as a catalogue of peoples (ὅσσους Κρήτη τ’ ἐντὸς ἔχει, 30), but by 45 have become a catalogue of places (τόσσον ἔπ’ ὠδίνουσα Ἐκηβόλον ἔκετο Λητώ, see Miller 1986:32-3), but in any case take us back to Leto’s wanderings, the beginning of the narrative. The sense that the question has been answered and the narrative selected is strong. The return to the start is also apparent in the similar selection of song later in HH3, at 207ff., where again the narrator asks Apollo how to sing of him, introducing the narrative chosen thus:

ἦ ὥς τὸ πρῶτον χρηστήριον ἀνθρώποισι
ζητεύων κατὰ γαῖαν ἔβης, ἑκατηβόλ’ Ἀπολλων; (214-5)

The next line takes us to Pieria, the beginning of Apollo’s travels (Πιερίην μὲν πρῶτον, 217). In H.4, however, the narrative follows directly on the question, without returning to the beginning, as if it was still part of the question itself:

νέρθε δὲ πάσας
ἐκ νεάτων ὥχλισσε [sc. Poseidon] καὶ εἰσεκύλισε θαλάσση;
καὶ τὰς μὲν κατὰ βυσσόν, ἔν’ ἠπείροιο λάθωνται,
πρυμνόθεν ἐρρίζωσε· σὲ δ’ οὐκ ἔθλιψεν ἀνάγκη... (32-35)

The question, and the narrative of Poseidon’s fixing of the islands, *continues* through καὶ τὰς μὲν (34), which is balanced by σὲ δ’ (35), which begins the narrative of Apollo’s birth on Delos. Many priamels, however, have a much sharper break

between potential subjects and that chosen. The catalogue of Theban glories on which Thebe is questioned at Pindar I.7.*init.* is broken off ἀλλὰ παλαιὰ γάρ/ εὔδει χάρις (16-17), and praise of the victor follows instead. The blurring of the distinction between the deliberative question and the selected narrative seems designed to structure the rest of the hymn as a deliberation. Such a strategy in H.4 has a parallel in Pindar's framing of much of P.3 as the apodosis of a counterfactual conditional (what Pindar *would* pray for, if it were right (2-3), cf. Young 1968:28-33).

Apart from the opening self-apostrophe, and the deliberation in 28ff., attention is kept on the narrator in the opening section of the hymn through a first-person promise to give Delos her share of song (ἀποδάσσομαι, 9) to gain praise (for με, 10) from Apollo, and the rhetorical question in 24 and exclamation in 27 (quoted above) which portray the narrator as a praiser of Delos, and, more obliquely, Apollo. Indeed the encomiastic function of the narrator is more explicit in H.4 than in any other of the *Hymns*, as the longest Ptolemaic passage in the *Hymns* (165-90) indicates, predicting the birth of Philadelphus on Cos, the Celtic attack on Delphi, and the Celtic rebellion against Philadelphus. This may explain in part why the narrator is not comprehensively undercut in the manner of H.3.

Scholarship is also put to a different purpose in H.4 as compared to H.3. Parentheses such as that on the old name of Lipare at H.3.47-8 were peripheral to the main narrative, but even such elements in H.4 as the parenthesis about Samos – οὐπω γὰρ ἔην Σάμος (49), and the etymology of Delos in 52ff. are “central” – following naturally in a *Hymn to Delos* from singing about how Poseidon made the islands in the sea (30ff.), with a narrative set so long ago that even Apollo has not yet been born. But this aetiological and etymological lore is not so much a typically Hellenistic display of erudition as part of the more serious dimension to Hellenistic interest in aetia and local myths and heroes, which could form a link between the present and a splendid past (Cairns 1979:13, Zanker 1987:16). The etymologies above, and in particular the closing section of the hymn on modern Delian ritual (275-324), are meant to emphasise the links between the mythic and Hellenistic Delos. Pointing up a connection between past and present need not coincide with a Delian connection for the first performance of the hymn, particularly as it seems to build on the final part of the Delian part of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (146-164, which evoke a Delian

festival with a chorus of Δηλιάδες etc.). But it provides a more plausible explanation for the final section than Mineur's suggestion that the rites connect to H.4 as a birthday poem (the ἀμφιετείς ἀπαρχαί, 278, referring to the usual birthday-gifts sent to the Ptolemies, the rites of passage of the Delian youths, 269ff., and sailors, 316ff. as relating to Callimachus as a fresher in the Museum etc., Mineur 1984:222), part of a misguided general programme to relate as much as possible in the hymn to its original performance (see 3.2.3 above).

As in H.3 from 72ff., after an opening in *er-Stil*, there is almost constant apostrophe in H.4 from 27ff., where the narrator addresses Δῆλε φίλη in an exclamation about her protector. This emotional employment of apostrophe is a marked feature in H.4, marking the narrator out as more involved with his narrative than Homeric or *Homeric Hymn* narrators (though the Homeric narrator does occasionally apostrophise characters, see 2.3.4 above). It also plays a more central role in the structuring of the poem than in H.3 – the successive addresses to Delos form the framework of the story (Mineur 1984:6-7), and mark the different stages of the song. There is also more variety in addressee and purpose than in H.3 – there only Artemis was addressed, here (in addition to the opening self-apostrophe), we have Delos, the Muses, Hera, and the oblique optative farewell to Leto and Apollo in 326 (and see below for the quasi-narratorial address by Apollo to Philadelphus at 188ff.).

In the address at 106ff. to Hera there is a marked accusatory tone:

Ἥρη, σοὶ δ' ἔτι τῆμος ἀνηλεὲς ἦτορ ἔκειτο
οὐδὲ κατεκλάσθης τε καὶ ὥκτισας, ἥνικα πῆχεις
ἀμφοτέρους ὀρέγουσα μάτην ἐφθέγγατο τοῖα...

This in itself is unusual, as an apostrophe generally indicates narratorial sympathy towards the subject addressed (Mineur 1984:134), as in Homer (e.g. to Patroclus). But, despite maintaining the formality of the non-ὦ vocative (see Scott 1903, 1904, 1905, Gildersleeve-Miller 1903, Giangrande 1968), there is also more emotional content than in Homeric apostrophes (see 2.3.4) – Hera's heart is ἀνηλεὲς (the Homeric equivalent, νηλής, is only used by *characters* of people/hearts, and only appears in speech in the *Homeric Hymns*; see 2.3.4), and she “feels no compassion”. Similar language is also put to powerful description of Hera reacting to Leto's

pregnancy – σπερχομένη μέγα δὴ τι καὶ οὐ φατόν (60) which is “an extremely strong expression” (Mineur 1984:99). It echoes two passages of Pindar (σπέρχεσθαι in Homer only approaches the meaning of “to be angry” at *Il.*24.248):

ἀλλὰ θεῶν βασίλεια

σπερχθεῖσα θυμῷ πέμπε δράκοντας ἄφαρ. (N.1.39-40)

ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν Πυθῶνάδ’, ἐν θυμῷ πῖσαις χόλον οὐ φατόν ὀξεία μελέτα
(O.6.37)

In N.1 Hera is not unaware of Heracles’ “illegitimate” birth (as in H.4 of Leto’s pregnancy) by one of the women αἰ Διὶ παίδας/ ἐξέφερον (H.4.56-7), while in O.6 Evadne cannot conceal her pregnancy (by Apollo) from Aipyros (O.6.35), who *can* beat down his unspeakable anger. Mineur (1984:99) fails to note the N.1 echo, and does not draw attention to the similar context of O.6.

The heightened emotional tone is sustained through the speeches of the distressed Leto in 109ff., which differ from any found in the *Homeric Hymns*, being “substantially Tragic in content” (Mineur 1984:136). Leto appeals to the Thessalian nymphs to beseech Peneios (περιπλέξασθε γενεῖω/ λισσόμεναι, 110-11), then addresses him herself, Πηνειὲ Φθιῶτα, τί νῦν ἀνέμοισιν ἐρίζεις; (112). But she recognises his speed is on account of her (114-15), and not normal, hence his not heeding her: πεποίησαι δὲ πέτεσθαι/ σήμερον ἐξαπίνης; ὁ δ’ ἀνήκοος (115-16). These last three words may be a narratorial interjection between Leto’s speeches (so Mair 1955:95), but hardly one which punctures the tone of the passage (contrast the learned asides of H.3). Nor does the wider situation of the speech, the flight of rivers, hills and nymphs before Leto, described as “weird” by Hutchinson (1988:37), negate its effect.

Leto then addresses her unborn child in terms emphasising her suffering and her helplessness, ὦ ἐμὸν ἄχθος,/ ποῖ σε φέρω; μέλει γὰρ ἀπειρήκασι τένοντες (116-17). Again, the anthropomorphic physicality of the god thus emphasised is not *incongruous*, but adds to the scene’s effect (Hutchinson). She then pleads with Pelion (118-20), when we are surprised – *Peneios*, who had been racing the winds, answers Leto δάκρυα λείβων (121). His flight is not his fault – Ἀναγκαίη μεγάλη θεός (122), and μοι Ἥρη/ δαυιλὲς ἠπείλσεν (124-5). But there is nothing to be done – τί

μήσομαι; ἢ ἀπολέσθαι/ ἡδὺ τί τοι Πηνειόν; (126-7) – but endure his fate: ἔτω πεπρωμένον ἡμᾶρ (128), ἡνίδ' ἐγὼ τί περισσά; (132). He will suffer for Leto, even if he is the least honoured of rivers (129-31). This confounding of audience expectation (Haslam 1993:118) does not undercut the narrator (contrast the “endings” of H.3), but adds to the effect of Peneios' self-sacrifice (cf. *Poetics* 1450a33-35 on tragic *περιπέτειαι*, which bring about the most powerful emotional effects, along with recognitions).

The threat Ares poses to Peneios is conveyed in the longest passage (133-147) of sustained grandeur in the *Hymns*, the style almost denoted by ὑπόθε:

ὑπόθε δ' ἐσμαράγησε καὶ ἀσπίδα τύψεν ἀκωκῇ
 δούρατος· ἡ δ' ἐλέλιξεν ἐνόπλιον· ἔτρεμε δ' Ὀσσης
 οὔρεα καὶ πεδίον Κραννώνιον αἶ τε δυσσαεῖς
 ἐσχατιαὶ Πίνδοιο, φόβῳ δ' ὠρχήσατο πᾶσα
 Θεσσαλίη· τοῖος γὰρ ἀπ' ἀσπίδος ἔβραμεν ἦχος. (136-140)

There follows an extensive simile of the noise Ares' shield makes, like Aetna shaken by Briareus' movement, the tools of Hephaestus crashing against each other (recalling the impressive description of Aetna in P.1.20ff.) – τῆμος ἔγεντ' ἄραβος σάκεος τόσος εὐκύκλοι (147). But Peneios stands his ground:

Πηνειὸς δ' οὐκ αὔτις ἐχάζετο, μίμνε δ' ὁμοίως
 καρτερὸς ὡς τὰ πρῶτα, θαῶς δ' ἐστήσατο δίνας (148-49)

The scene of Leto and Peneios in itself should be reason enough to doubt the general application of βροντᾶν οὐκ ἐμὸν ἀλλὰ Διὸς (*Aet.*-prologue 20, see 3.3.2 below). Elsewhere, such a tone is regularly neutralised or destroyed, as in H.6 where we move to bourgeois comedy after divine epiphany (see below). But here there is only a slight modification. Peneios is released from his duty by a compassionate Leto in 150-2 – the threats of Ares have been to this degree empty.

The next section, encompassing the νήσους/ εἰναλίας (153-4), and Cos in 160ff., also has the “authentic tone of grandeur” (Hutchinson 1988:38-9), but here the narrator hands over to the unborn Apollo for over thirty lines. Letting Apollo speak is a strategy elsewhere in Callimachus (the end of H.2, the beginning of the *Aetia*),

and here too he can achieve effects more difficult through the primary narrator. In this case the situation is stranger still because Apollo prophesies *ex utero*, which further distances this from ordinary panegyric (Hutchinson 1988:39; cf. Theocritus 17). Cos is reserved for θεὸς ἄλλος (165), an oblique reference to Philadelphus, who is part of the Σαωτήρων ὑπατον γένος (166), a nod at Ptolemy Soter and Berenice (Fraser 1972:ii.367-8 n.229), which is followed by an indication of the extent of Ptolemaic rule (168-9). Apollo follows this with another heightened description (varied now by being in the mouth of the god) of the Celtic threat to Delphi (171ff.), whose presence at Delphi is vividly described in terms of the ranks and weaponry which can be seen there (ἀλλ' ἤδη παρὰ νηὸν ἀπανγάζονται φάλαγγας/δυσμενέων, ἤδη δὲ παρὰ τριπόδεσσιν ἐμεῖο/ φάσγανα καὶ ζωστήρας ἀναιδέας ἐχθομένας τε/ ἀσπίδας... 181-4), but whose defeat is described more obliquely – τέων [sc. shields] αἱ μὲν ἐμοὶ γέρας (185). There then comes an allusive mention of the Celtic threat to Philadelphus himself (Mineur 1984:177-8), and an address to the future Ptolemy:

ἐσσόμενε Πτολεμαῖε, τά τοι μαντήια φαίνω. (188)

An address in an encomiastic passage such as this one would normally be made by the primary narrator (even in Pindar's P.4, where Medea predicts Battus' visit to Delphi, the narrator himself addresses him, 59). Apollo's address is not only novel, but if spoken by the poet at a performance with Philadelphus present, usurps his function even more directly, by addressing a member of the audience being praised.

The narrator is also prepared to share his duties with Delos. After Apollo's birth, the narrator turns to Delos to report her now changed state:

χρύσεά τοι τότε πάντα θεμέλια γείνετο, Δῆλε,
 χρυσῷ δὲ τροχόεσσα πανήμερος ἔρρεε λίμνη,
 χρύσειον δ' ἐκόμησε γενέθλιον ἔρνος ἐλαίης,
 χρυσῷ δὲ πλήμυρε βαθὺς Ἴνωπὸς ἐλιχθεῖς. (260-63)

The anaphora at the line-beginnings emphasises effectively Delos' new honour, and this amounts to Delos' epiphany (so Mineur 1984:213). But then Delos herself, taking Apollo χρυσεόιο ἀπ' οὐδeos (264), the earth now newly golden, proclaims her

own further honours. Delos is hard to till (268), but Apollo will be called Δήλιος after her (269), and no land will be so loved ὡς ἐγὼ Ἀπόλλωνι (273). Finally she confirms: καὶ ἔσσομαι οὐκέτι πλαγκτή (273). Thus the narrator avoids repeating himself, by placing the fixing of Delos, already mentioned by him at 51-54, in the mouth of the island herself.

3.2.9 Hymn 5

The opening four lines of the *Hymn on the Bath of Pallas* establish it as mimetic (see 3.2.4 above). They also point us, obliquely, to the *rite* described – the washing (λωτροχόοι, 1) of Athena’s statue (τᾶς Παλλάδος, 1)¹³⁴, the *location* – Argos (Πελασγιάδες, 4),¹³⁵ the *situation* – just before the arrival of the goddess (ἅ θεὸς εὐτυχὸς ἔρπειν, 3) and the *addressee* – the “companions of the bath”, those to take part in the rite. Hence the voice too seems certain, a “master of ceremonies” directing these λωτροχόοι to come out (ἔξιτε, 1, 2) and to hurry (σοῦσθε, 4). This voice of a religious official is also strongly in evidence in 13ff. and 29ff., ordering (οἴσετε, 17, 31) what should not and what should be brought to the rite by the λωτροχόοι, who are addressed as such in 15, and are the main referent of the vocatives Ἀχαιιάδες (13) and ὦ κῶραι (27). The “master of ceremonies” then addresses Athena on behalf of this company of women awaiting her:

ἔξιθ' Ἀθαναΐα· πάρα τοι καταθύμιος ἵλα,
παρθενικαὶ μεγάλων παῖδες Ἀρεστοριδᾶν (33-4)

This recalls the commands to the λωτροχόοι in lines 1 and 2 (ἔξιτε). Further commands are issued to water-carriers (μὴ βάπτετε, 45), and Argos itself (πίνετ' ἀπὸ κρανῶν μὴδ' ἀπὸ τῷ ποταμῷ, 46), while Argive males are warned not to look on Athena (Πελασγέ,/ φράζεο μὴ οὐκ ἐθέλων τὰν βασίλειαν ἴδης, 51-2). In general, the voice in H.5 has been thought “single” (Haslam 1993:125) and the speaker “the same throughout the poem” (Bulloch 1985a:3), though Cahen (1929:396) thinks the poet’s “personnalité” in H.5 is “vague”. But in fact it seems clear that there is a deliberate ambiguity of speaker and speaker’s sex in the hymn, one which reflects important aspects of the deity to which it is dedicated.

¹³⁴ Statue and goddess are identified in H.5 *pace* Hutchinson 1988:33f. – see Bulloch 1985a:111, McKay 1962a:55.

¹³⁵ Further confirmed by Ἀργείων (36), Ἄργος (45), τῶργος (54).

In view of the female addressee, the restriction of the washing-rite to women, and the similar pattern of the myths of Teiresias and Actaeon, where a male intrudes on all-female bathing, the possibility that the religious official is female has been considered (McKay 1962a:51, Bulloch 1985a:3 (“official or priestess”), Harder 1992:389 n.21). Further support for this thesis might be derived from the character of the myth, which concentrates on the reaction of a mother to the blinding of her son, and which emphasises his youth (darkening cheeks, 82, παιδός, 82, φάεα παιδός, 92, παῖδα, 93, τέκνον, 98, παίδων, 99), in a way which might be thought appropriate in a female narrator. This use of παῖς resembles that in H.6 of Erysichthon even at his most savage, which can be seen as a mark of the female narrator there (Bing 1995:36 n.31). Poor use of mythic exempla might also be regarded as a mark of inferior narrators, e.g. the citing of Endymion and Iasion as fortunate lovers by the goatherd in Theocritus 3.49-51. Hence this could also be attributed (by male poets) to female narrators, as in the awkward catalogue of heroes who do not share Adonis’ privileges in the song of the γυνή ᾠοιδός in Theocritus 15, and perhaps also the apparent infelicity of the exemplum in H.5.17ff., where the Judgement of Paris, despite Athena’s defeat, is cited as an occasion when she did not use a mirror.

More relevant, however, is the allusion in Chariclo’s exclamation ὦ ἐμὲ δειλάν (89) to a lyric poem with a female narrator but a male author (Alcaeus F10 (b).1 ἔμε δειλάν, ἔμε παῖσαν κακοτάτων πεδέχοισαν). Not only is the sentiment of the Alcaeus fragment appropriate to Chariclo’s state of mind (her son has just been blinded in front of her), but the use of the accusative case is very rare with ὦ (so Bulloch 1985a:200). The shared rare use seems to guarantee this as an *allusion*, rather than a coincidence (though, as Bulloch notes, ἔμε δειλάν in Alcaeus might be governed by a verb now lost). Chariclo’s words allude to the question of the sex of the narrator. This is a concern elsewhere in the poem. In particular, several aspects point us to a narrator closely grounded upon the author, Callimachus, and therefore to a *male*.

At the beginning of the hymn, after the opening four lines and before the “master of ceremonies” continues commanding in 13ff., lines 5-12 tell us that Athena never washed herself before her horses, not even when she returned from battle with the γηγενέων (8). The lines form a novel type of hymnal *descriptio* of the god’s attributes

(Depew 1993:67), but they may also be seen as *parenthetic* (Hunter 1992:15-16). They are normally taken as addressed to the celebrants (so Bulloch 1985a:115-6), as the lines before and after them, but they do not follow neatly on the command to the Πελασγιάδες to hurry: “Hurry, fair-haired daughters of Pelasgus, hurry! (4) *Never did Athena wash her mighty arms before...* (5ff.)”. An explanatory parenthesis would often have γάρ, but this may have been omitted to maintain the ambiguity of the narrator. This would then be a “Callimachean” aside at the very start of the poem. In contrast, the parenthesis in 13 – συρίγγων αἶώ φθόγγον ὑπαξονίων – functions as part of the mimetic setting of the hymn, but this is itself juxtaposed with the explanatory οὐ γὰρ Ἀθαναία χρίματα μεικτὰ φιλεῖ in 16, which in turn resembles a scholarly aside. Scholarship is also to the fore in the information we are given about the ἔθος Ἀργείων (36) taught by Eumedes. The repetition in 40-1 – Κρεῖον δ’ εἰς ὅρος ὠκίσσατο/ Κρεῖον ὅρος, portrays the narrator as responding to audience incredulity or confusion by emphasising the particular antiquarian or novel variant being followed (see McKay 1962a:67-8 for the possible alterations to established myth here). This is followed by an etymology of the Pallatid rocks (41-2).

All this could be borne, and incorporated into a narrator not strongly tied to the author, if not for lines 55-6:

πότνι Ἀθαναία τὸ μὲν ἔξιθι· μέστα δ’ ἐγὼ τι
ταῖσδ’ ἐρέω. μῦθος δ’ οὐκ ἐμός, ἀλλ’ ἐτέρων.

This ἐγὼ speaks like a poet (ἐρέω, cf. *Il.*2.493), and has sources (ἐτέρων) for his narrative (which accounts for his omniscience, cf. Harder 1992:390 n.27). The lines point to the narrator’s “own personal and original use of [sources]” (Cameron 1995:439), rather than disavowing responsibility for a morally or factually dubious tale. Hence the parallels Bulloch (1985a:161-2) and Bundy (1972:66) cite for disclaimers of moral responsibility are not relevant – unlike Aratus 637 and *Arg.*4.984f. there is no *apology* to the god involved. The narrator here merely says he will tell a tale μέστα, or “in the meantime”. The teller of “stories while U wait” is a long way from the director of the ritual of earlier in the hymn. The fictionality of the mimetic situation is maintained (ταῖσδε) but flagged as such (Haslam 1993:125). Its status as the frame for the myth, rather than as a narrative interlude, is made clear in

137, after the myth's close: ἔρχετ' Ἀθαναΐα νῦν ἀτρεκέες [my italics]. Only *now* is Athena “really” to emerge (Haslam 1993:124-5). But this only serves to confirm that it is Athena who has been waiting for the narrator, not the narrator for Athena.

It is on the basis of these lines that Haslam (1993:125 n.31) opposes the idea of a female narrator, and Cameron sees the only first-person statement in the *Hymns* referring to Callimachus *qua* poet. But the narrator of H.5 cannot be taken straightforwardly as “Callimachus”. The final lines of the poem, following the statement of Athena’s imminent arrival, echo hymnal closings with χαῖρε, but also divine epiphanies, at which χαῖρε is the standard greeting (Bulloch 1985a:256):

χαῖρε θεά, κάδευ δ' Ἄργεος Ἴναχίω.
χαῖρε καὶ ἐξελάοισα, καὶ ἐς πάλιν αὖτις ἐλάσσαις
ἵππως, καὶ Δαναῶν κλῆρον ἅπαντα σάω. (140-2)

The arrival of Athena calls to mind the warning to Πελασγέ in 51ff.:

ὅς κεν ἴδῃ γυμνὰν τὰν Παλλάδα τὰν πολιοῦχον,
τῶργος ἐσοψεῖται τοῦτο πανυστάτιον. (53-4)

While it is true that the mythic exemplum of Teiresias and the epithet γυμνὰν make explicit only that men were banned from the *bath* as opposed to the procession (Bulloch 1985a:11), hence opening up the possibility of “Callimachus” looking upon Athena in safety, given our complete ignorance of the actual rite described (possibly invented by Callimachus – Hunter 1992:14) we should not assume the statue was clothed until it reached the river. In any case, the role of the narrator as “master of ceremonies”, and the constant address to females, still raise the question of how “Callimachus” could be witnessing such a festival. The ambiguity of the narrator between priestess and “poet” extends to ambiguity in the apparent *function* of the narrative. It follows (in 57ff.) closely on the warning about unintentional male sight of Athena, and as such might naturally be taken as a “cautionary tale” (Bulloch 1985a:163). But it is explicitly addressed and told to *females* – ταῖσδε (56). The παῖδες of 57 (an expression which again figures the narrator as a more senior “master of ceremonies”) are the λωτροχόοι of the ceremony (a cautionary tale to those who cannot offend?). This might be taken as implying there are no males present even at

the procession, so that the warning to men would be a ritual warding off of the profane (cf. ἐκάς ἐκάς ὅστις ἀλιτρός, H.2.2), not directed at men actually present (so too perhaps the command to the ὑδροφόροι in 45ff. – are we to imagine women present *qua* water-carriers?). Hence the warning in 51-54, and the myth which follows, point to the speaker and (his/her) sex. In this respect, narrator reflects characters, as sexually ambiguous characters are to the fore there.

Perhaps appropriately for a story for παῖδες, the myth begins in folktale fashion – “once upon a time there was a nymph whom Athena loved...” – Ἀθαναΐα νύμφαν μίαν ἔν ποκα Θήβαις/ πουλύ τι καὶ περὶ δὴ φίλατο τᾶν ἑταρᾶν (57-8). This sort of characteristic might be taken as indicative of naïve, perhaps female narrative (cf. Griffiths 1988:233 on H.6.41 ‘τίς μοι καλὰ δένδρεα κόπτει;’ ~ “who’s been eating my porridge?”). In any case, the narrator immediately focuses on Chariclo, whose psychology is a central subject of interest, and the relationship with Athena which brings her grief. There is extensive repetition of this friendship in the opening section of the myth (57-9, 65-7, 69), and the length devoted to this aspect, in contrast to the briefer description of the blinding itself (see below) is akin to Archaic unusual narrative emphasis (see 1.2 above).

The leisurely pace continues when the myth proper (ποκα again in 70), the fateful meeting with Teiresias, is narrated. The atmosphere of the scene of Athena and Chariclo bathing is built up by repetitive, unemotional description (71-4) of place which “enacts the monotony of the sultriness” (Bulloch 1985a:177) of the midday heat on Helicon:

μεσαμβρινὰ δ’ εἶχ’ ὄρος ἀσυχία.
ἀμφοτέραι λώνοντο, μεσαμβριναὶ δ’ ἔσαν ὦραι,
πολλὰ δ’ ἀσυχία τῆνο κατεῖχεν ὄρος. (72-4)

A slightly more emotional tone is found when Teiresias arrives, described as ἄρτι γένεια/ περκάζων (75-6), the place as ἱερόν (76). The next two lines draw more attention still to the narrator:

διψάσας δ’ ἄφατον τι ποτὶ ῥόον ἤλυθε κράνας,
σχέτλιος· οὐκ ἐθέλων δ’ εἶδε τὰ μὴ θεμιτά· (77-8)

Here we have more emotional language – ἄφατον τι (surely focalised by the thirsty Teiresias, the nearest he gets to speaking) and in particular the narrator’s exclamation σκέτλιος, usually confined to characters’ speeches in Homer (see 2.3.4 above). The narrator concentrates on the consequences of the blinding rather than the incident itself (Bulloch 1985a:178), which is related first in Athena’s words. When she speaks, the myth and the hymn take a striking turn, and form a remarkable example of Callimachean experimentation with hymnal tone and the depiction of the divine. Nothing in the description of the close friendship of Athena and Chariclo, even the foreshadowing of the latter’s misery (68) has prepared us for the brutality of Athena’s speech (which she makes χολωσαμένα περ, 79, a further level of irony):

τίς σε, τὸν ὀφθαλμῶς οὐκέτ’ ἀποισόμενον,
ὦ Εὐηρείδα, χαλεπὰν ὁδὸν ἄγαγε δαίμων; (80-1)

Even before she has formally addressed Teiresias with his patronymic (which points us to his other parent, next to Athena), Athena describes him as now forever blind, an oblique but startling way of conveying the blinding (Bulloch 1985a:188: “abrupt and coldly precise”). She asks which δαίμων has led him here, which makes her sound oddly like a Homeric mortal, unable to tell which divinity is responsible for particular actions (e.g. Odysseus, *Od.* 9.381 θάρσος ἐνέπνευσεν μέγα δαίμων).¹³⁶ This makes the blinding seem inevitable, and beyond Athena’s control, which suits her attitude in her speech of self-defence at 97ff., but also casts her in a peculiar light.

The narrator then mentions Teiresias’ blindness in terms which recall death – παίδος δ’ ὄμματα νύξ ἔλαβεν (82).¹³⁷ Chariclo’s address to Teiresias also sounds as if he is dead –οὐκ ἄελιον πάλιν ὄψεαι (89), as does the narrator’s description of her as γοερᾶν οἶτον ἀηδονίδων/ ἄγε βαρὺ κλαίοισα (94-5), as Bulloch notes (1985a:198, 206). This anticipates the parallel tale of Actaeon, who *is* killed after a similar encounter, and effectively conveys the level of grief of Chariclo. Her challenge to Athena (85-92) is emotional and psychologically convincing, if rhetorically able (e.g.

¹³⁶ Contrast the omniscience in this regard of the Homeric narrator and the gods (Griffin 1986:36).

¹³⁷ This recalls Homeric descriptions of death such as ὅσσε κελαινὴ νύξ ἐκάλυπεν, e.g. *Il.* 5.310 (Bulloch 1985a:190).

the expanding tricolon in 89-90), but this should not be interpreted as undermining the force of the passage (*pace* Hutchinson 1988:36). She upbraids Athena directly (85-7) on the grounds of abuse of their friendship, addresses her stricken son (τέκνον ἄλαστε, 87), exclaims to herself (89), and then challenges Helicon itself (90ff.). The quick succession of addressees ending in the mountain, as if it was responsible for blinding Teiresias as compensation for hunted animals (91-2), fits in well with someone trying to make sense of what has just happened (Bulloch 1985a:194).

The narrator tells us that Athena is moved by pity for Chariclo (θεὰ δ' ἐλέησεν ἐταίραν, 95), flagging her response as a *consolatio*. But though Athena employs many of the stock arguments of the *consolatio* (Haslam 1993:122), such as that the done cannot be undone (103-4), Fate was responsible (104-5), things could have been worse (105ff.), the situation is not all bad (119ff.), she begins by defending *herself*. Is it not odd for a god to be placed in the dock in her own hymn? McKay (1962a:75) argues as if the point of H.5 is to justify the ways of Athena to men. But in her own words? Athena has already described the event as if some unidentifiable malign force was responsible (δαίμων), now she explicitly claims she was not responsible (ἐγὼ δ' οὐ τοι τέκνον ἔθηκε ἀλαόν, 98), because Κρόνιοι δ' ὦδε λέγοντι νόμοι (100). This legalistic defence continues with what sounds like a quotation from a *lex deorum*.¹³⁸

ὅς κε τιν' ἀθανάτων, ὅκα μὴ θεὸς αὐτὸς ἔληται,
ἀθρήσῃ, μισθῶ τοῦτον ἰδεῖν μεγάλῳ. (101-2)

The use of the word ἰδεῖν by Athena in this context is rather tactless, but not compared to the supposedly consolatory part of her response, in particular the exemplum of Actaeon, which is markedly, and intentionally, grotesque. This parallel myth Athena begins in rhetorical fashion, emphasising πόσσα...ἔμπυρα.../ πόσσα (107-8) Actaeon's parents will burn to παῖδα...τυφλὸν ἰδέσθαι (108), which is both oracularly riddling (Hunter 1992:28) but also punning. But still worse is to come – Actaeon is to be torn apart by his own hounds (115), and τὰ δ' υἱέος ὅστέα μᾶτηρ/ λεξεῖται δρυμῶς πάντας ἐπερχομένα (115-6). Chariclo they will call ὀλβίσταν and εὐαίωνα (117). This is “sick” (Haslam 1993:123).

¹³⁸ Bulloch (1985a:212): “formally legalistic”, with parallels.

Though the inappropriateness of the exemplum and Athena's telling of it are mitigated somewhat by the account of Teiresias' compensation (119-36), the *consolatio* is *supposed to be* poor, and we are told why by the narrator in 134-5:

μάτηρ δ' οὐτις ἔτικτε θεάν,
ἀλλὰ Διὸς κορυφά.

Athena has (and is) no mother, hence she cannot understand Chariclo's maternal emotions, nor console her adequately for her son's loss (Bulloch 1985a:52, Hopkinson 1988:121). The undermining of the god being hymned gives this part of the hymn a novel and disruptive tone, and raises questions about the tone elsewhere, and about the hymn's "seriousness". While it is clear Callimachus has toned down some of the more savage aspects of Pherecydes, such as Athena blinding Teiresias τῶν χειρῶν ([Apollodorus] 3.6.7=FGH Hist I 3.92a), the manner in which what remains is presented is clearly meant to startle and disrupt. This disruption and experimenting with the presentation of gods extends to Athena's sex and sexuality.

Teiresias sees Athena naked, and this is described by Chariclo as some (sexual) compensation (Hunter 1992:25): εἶδες Ἀθαναΐας στήθεα καὶ λαγόνας,/ ἀλλ'... (88-9), that is to say he sees her breasts and genitals. This sort of description, and the male intrusion upon female nudity, is incongruous when applied to *Athena*, and much more appropriate to Artemis and Actaeon (Depew 1993:68). As Haslam (1993:124, following Wilamowitz 1924:ii.23) argues against Bulloch (1985a:19ff.), the roles of goddess and hunter in H.5 are "custom-made" for Artemis and Actaeon, and "creakingly uncomfortable" for Athena and Teiresias. The fact that H.5 is the earliest extant example of the bath of Artemis is coincidental. We have already been told at length of Athena's manliness (Griffiths 1988:232, Depew 1993:68-9) – her μεγάλως...πάχεις (5), her contempt for mirrors (17ff.), her gigantic athleticism (δὲ ἐξήκοντα...διαύλως, 23), and her anointing herself with ἄρσεν [n.b.]...ἔλαιον (29), as used by the archetypally masculine Castor and Heracles (30). Bulloch (1985a:131ff.) thinks that the lines on Athena's beauty are modified by Theocritean and Homeric intertexts, so that they in fact suggest that she enjoys a sort of Artemisian beauty. He discerns at H.5.23-8 an allusion to Theocritus 18.22-32, where Helen's friends praise

her beauty, and describe themselves as running by the Eurotas and anointing themselves ἀνδριστί (23). Hence in Callimachus Athena combines, like Helen, athleticism with great beauty. The comparison of Athena's healthy athlete's glow to rose or pomegranate, symbols of Aphrodite, Bulloch takes (1985a:139) as "extra validification" of Athena's female beauty, while he thinks (1985a:142) H.5.31-2 alludes to *Il.*14.175ff., Hera's preparation to seduce Zeus, implying that Athena can be similarly sexually attractive.

Bulloch (1985a:46) criticises Callimachus for his "readiness...to rely on allusion to establish his point" which "reveals an inherent weakness in his mode of writing". But intertexts rarely have this indispensable inverting role, more reminiscent of the *Argonautica*, in the *Hymns* (Haslam 1993:111). We should read the allusions to Helen, Aphrodite and Artemis as ironic, as they come in the context of the Judgement of Paris, which Athena famously *lost*. Her huge arms and athleticism are emphasised. Allusions to Artemis, Hera and Helen only conspire to make her seem, by comparison, more masculine still.

Athena's observer is also sexually ambiguous. Teiresias was usually thought to have been blinded by Hera for his view of which sex enjoyed sexual intercourse more, because he had been both man and woman, and his initial change of sex took place after disturbing two snakes coupling (Hesiod *Melampodia* F275 M-W). In H.5 he sees not only Athena naked, the masculine warrior goddess, but also presumably his own mother (λυσσάμενα (dual, 70), λῶντο, 72). This, and the sexually ambiguous parties involved, make this situation very different from the usual (probably original) version of the Actaeon-myth with sexually aggressive male and feminine virgin huntress. This change is also marked by the ambiguity as to the sex of the narrator.

Is the hymn, then, "serious", whether as an attack on the coherence of traditional religion and its values (e.g. through the problematic, wronged but uncompensated Chariclo, Bulloch 1984:228-9) or a more straightforward hymn of praise, or is it an example of an attitude to myth similar to our own, myth as narrative pabulum (Griffiths 1988:232)? The difficulties in answering these questions are in large part caused by the terms in which they are phrased. We should not import modern views of what tone or manner religion should be approached or described in (i.e. "serious",

with little room for humour, still less parody), to Hellenistic religion (Hunter 1992:32). This hymn, along with Callimachus' *Hymns* in general, could be treated as an index of changes in attitude, without *documenting* the precise changes involved, which can have a much wider range than rejection, disbelief or even criticism (Hunter 1992:32-34). Regarding myth as a storehouse of narrative open for experimentation and innovation need not exclude a commitment to the deities involved *qua* deities rather than characters in narrative. The passages in H.5 pointing to the odd nature of Athena's femininity, and her grotesque *consolatio*, are consistent with aspects of the goddess herself – her pseudo-masculinity, and lack of any connection with motherhood. More problematic, perhaps, is her speech of self-defence. But this too can be explained as an indication of the impossibility of accounting for some actions or events, beyond an ascription to δαίμων – even gods' mythological proxies are incapable of such explanation. Such views *can* be combined with humour, irony, even parody, and with "belief" in traditional religion and its "values" (*pace* Bulloch 1984:229). It is often thought that Ovid's "serious" passages in the *Metamorphoses* (e.g. the creation myth in book 1, the speech of Pythagoras in 15) cannot be meant as such, given their juxtaposition with myths showing the gods and their offspring in the worst possible light (Coleman 1971), but the juxtaposition itself should perhaps point us to the complexities of attitude and tone to be found in ancient religion as well as ancient literature (and to the inadequacy of the categories "serious" etc.).

3.2.10 Hymn 6

Hymn 6 is clearly meant to form a pair with *Hymn 5*, the two sharing several striking correspondences (Hopkinson 1984:13-16). Consequently, their respective narrators have been thought very similar: a “Narrating Voice, combining indefinably the roles of devotee, ‘master of ceremonies’ and poet.” (Hopkinson 1984:13). However, far from being “nebulous and uncharacterised” (Hopkinson 1984:3), the voice of H.6 is much more unified than that of H.5, without its ambiguity about the speaker’s sex, or its blending of master of ceremonies and “Callimachus”. The voice of H.6 is definitely female (McKay 1962a:119, Bing 1995), a celebrant at a Demeter-festival, and portrayed as strongly “moralising” and emotional, using various Archaic texts and models to effect this. The narration of the myth also shows characteristics consistent with this voice, though as might be expected in Callimachus, there are tensions and contradictions to be found in the hymn.

The female context is established in 4-6, by the address to uninitiated women, and the mention of fasting, which recalls the second day of the women-only Thesmophoria:

μηδ’ ἀπὸ τῷ τέγεος μηδ’ ὑπόθεν αὐγάσσησθε
μὴ παῖς μηδὲ γυνὰ μηδ’ ἅ κατεχεύατο χαίταν,
μηδ’ ὅκ’ ἀφ’ αὐαλέων στομάτων πτύωμες ἄπαστοι.

Throughout the hymn only women are addressed (Bing 1995:34 n.24), and the first-person verbs are all plural, including the speaker together with the women addressed, most revealingly in 124 – ἀπεδίλωτοι καὶ ἀνάμπυκες ἄστν πατεῦμες – where the ἄμπυκες are headbands typically worn by women (Bing 1995:34). Among the further indications of the feminised voice noted by Bing (1995:35-36) are the similes of the lioness in 50-2 and the doll in the sun in 91-2, the narrator’s questions to the mothers at 10ff. and 83, the description of Erysichthon as παῖς (56) even at his most savage, the periphrasis for his wet-nurse in 95, and his being lamented by women at 94-5. So thoroughly female is the setting that even the horses in 120 are female (αἰ...ἵπποι).

The “primitive folktale character” (McKay 1962b:7) of the myth should also be related to the female voice of the hymn. The narrative is lacking in erudite parentheses, in contrast to much Callimachean narrative, and devices such as “they say”-statements, often marking a “scholarly” narrator, are here employed in Homeric vein, along with a superlative in a statement about the natural world (λέαινα/ὠμοτόκος, τῶς φαντὶ πέλειν βλοσυρώτατον ὄμμα, 51-2, cf. *Il.*17.674, also about animal sight). Furthermore, Erysichthon’s companions are man-giants with superhuman strength – ἀνδρογίγαντας ὅλαν πόλιν ἄρκιος ἄραι (34), and Demeter arrives on the scene in classic folktale fashion – τίς μοι καλὰ δένδρεα κόπτει; (41, Griffiths 1988:233, see above). The affinities of this narrative to the folktale are conveniently demonstrated by the Coan folktale of “Myrmidoniá and Pharaoniá” in Dawkins (1950:334-40).

There are, of course, subtle allusions in H.6 to earlier literature, e.g. Homer (the description of an Odyssean *locus amoenus* in 26ff. is followed by the Iliadic violence of Erysichthon and his companions armed πελέκεσσι καὶ ἀξίναισιν (35), borrowed from *Il.*15.711). But these should be attributed to the *implied author* rather than the narrator. We are not to think of these allusions as those of the female narrator, consciously introducing Homeric reminiscences into her speech at the Thesmophoria, but as pointing to the scholarship of the author. This is one way to reconcile the views of Howald (1943:56), who would attribute the geographical oddities in 13ff. (Demeter thrice crossing Achelous and the ever-flowing rivers) to the “primitive knowledge” of the female narrator and Hunter (1992b:20 w. n.3) and Griffiths (1988:233), who regard this as a learned puzzle. Such a statement can simultaneously characterise the narrator as geographically uncertain, but the author as constructing a riddle. The large gap between author and narrator in H.6 can be used to produce jarring effects, as we shall see, as when Demeter sounds like the “Callimachus” of the *Aetia* (H.6.63~*Aet.*F75.4, see 3.2.2 above).

The mimetic nature of H.6 is clear from the beginning where the narrator instructs the γυναῖκες (1) to say Δάματερ μέγα χαῖρε πολυτρόφε πουλυμέδιμνε (2), indicating the scene is a Demeter-festival and the speaker a celebrant there. This convenient quotation of the refrain also reveals the fictionality of the situation, designed to convey the setting to the audience or reader. The same phrase is repeated in 119,

again in another instruction (118), which resumes the mimetic frame after the conclusion of the myth. After this resumption we get much more detail about the ceremony and scene, where four white horses carry the basket (120-1), the women walk barefoot and with hair loose through the city (124), the uninitiated are able to go as far as the *πρυτανήια* (128), and the old and pregnant need only go as far as they can (130-2). The setting seems to be the Thesmophoria (Hopkinson 1984:35-6), but the location is not revealed to us, in contrast to H.2 and H.5. Attempts to locate the hymn in a particular city have not been successful and seem misguided (Hopkinson 1984:37-9).

H.6 is also different from the other mimetic hymns in tone – no breathless excitement conveyed by asyndeton and short sentences, but anaphora, parallel clauses and largely end-stopped opening and closing lines, producing the feeling of “weariness” (Hopkinson 1984:16). But there are still several features which mimic a spontaneous and authentic speech at a festival, such as the use of deictic articles in 1-4 (*τῷ καλάθῳ.../.../τὸν καλάθον.../...τῷ τέγεος*), which portray the narrator as seeing these objects before her (Hopkinson 1984:77, Williams 1978:21-2). The progression of thought in 7ff. is also reminiscent of patterns of ordinary speech:

Ἕσπερος ἐκ νεφέων ἐσκέψατο (πανίκα νεῖται),
 Ἕσπερος, ὅστε πιεῖν Δαμάτερα μῶνος ἔπεισεν,
 ἀρπαγίμας ὅκ’ ἄπυστα μετέστιχεν ἵχνια κώρας.

Hesperus marking the time of the coming of the basket leads to Hesperus’ role in consoling Demeter which in turn leads on (in 10ff.) to the grief of Demeter at the loss of Persephone. The implied “that reminds me” has certain affinities with “associative transitions into myth” in Pindar, also utilised to create the impression of an extemporising speaker (Miller 1993:26-7, and see 1.7 above). The break-off at 17 is also pseudo-spontaneous.

Most strikingly, however, the narrator is characterised as strongly moralising, emotional and judgemental. This may be related to her being female, but in any case demonstrates extensive use of Archaic “moral” voices. The narrator sympathises with Demeter in 10ff. by addressing her, and in the same vein declares *μὴ μὴ ταῦτα λέγωμες ἃ δάκρυον ἄγαγε Διοῖ* (17). This also recalls, however, break-offs in order

to avoid transgression, such as O.9.35ff. (ἀπό μοι λόγον/ τοῦτον, στόμα, ῥῖψον; see 2.3.4 above). The narrative which the narrator finally tells is explicitly cautionary (contrast H.5), ἵνα καὶ τις ὑπερβασίας ἀλεηται (22). This recalls the last line of the *WD* (828), on the happy man ὄρνιθας κρίνων καὶ ὑπερβασίας ἀλεείνων (West 1969:8, Hopkinson 1984:99, Hunter 1992:30 with n.59). The myth ends with a moralising couplet reminiscent of *WD* 346-8 on the κακὸς γείτων:

Δάματερ, μὴ τήνος ἐμὶν φίλος, ὅς τοι ἀπεχθήσ,
εἴη μὴδ' ὁμότοιχος· ἐμοὶ κακογείτονες ἐχθροί. (116-7)

The language in which the myth is related is strongly “moral” and judgemental throughout. The craft taught to Triptolemus is ἀγαθάν (21), Erysichthon’s counsel is χείρων (32), his companions are ἀναιδέες (36). He himself is described as a κακὸν καὶ ἀναιδέα φῶτα (45), and his speech is κακάν (56). Demeter is angry ἄφατόν τι (57), and similarly Erysichthon is βαρύν (62), “angry”. Demeter devises πονηρά (65) for him, and his resulting hunger is χαλεπὸν and ἄγριον (66). So wretched is his situation the the narrator calls him σκέτλιος (68) and describes him as δειλαίῳ (93). His stomach is also κακά (88), and his situation a κακόν (112). Such vocabulary, avoided by the Homeric narrator, is reminiscent of the moralising persona of Archaic elegy and *iambos*, as well as the *Works and Days* and Pindaric epinicians (see 2.3.4 above).

But this involved narrator, reacting and judging her own narrative, is employed to produce strange effects. Erysichthon begins the myth as a *contemptor divum*¹³⁹ (Gutzwiller 1981:40) and a companion of giants (34, quoted above) who has a look fiercer than a lioness’ (50-2) and threatens Demeter, disguised as a priestess, with death (χάζευ...μή τοι πέλεκυν μέγαν ἐν χορῇ πάξω, 53). But at the very moment when he damns himself out of his own mouth he is described as a *child*:

εἶπεν ὁ παῖς, Νέμεσις δὲ κακὰν ἐγράψατο φωνάν. (56)

This shift is surely *not* to be rationalised as implying that Erysichthon is a giant child (McKay 1962b:72, 93-4), but an example of privileging the expression of emotion

¹³⁹ Taken up and expanded, but not invented, by Ovid in *Met.* 8.

over consistency of character (for a similar privileging of other aims in the *Argonautica* cf. Hunter 1987:129ff. on Medea, 1993:12ff. on Jason). The narrator expresses her sympathy for Erysichthon, despite his savagery, and it is tempting to take this as an indication of her sex. Further sympathy is expressed by σχέτλιος, ὅσσα πάσαιτο τόσων ἔχεν ἡμερος αὐτῆς in 68 (Gutzwiller 1981:44). But at this point another shift occurs – in the following lines the narrator’s concern seems to be the logistics of feeding Erysichthon’s ravaging hunger (εἵκατι δαῖτα πένοντο, δώδεκα δ’ οἶνον ἄφυσσον, 69) and then the social embarrassment of his parents (αἰδόμενοι γονέες, 73). After a catalogue of the excuses Erysichthon’s mother has to employ, the narrator addresses her sympathetically:

δειλαία φιλότεκνε, τί δ’ οὐκ ἐψεύσαο, μήτερ; (83)

But this sympathy is as much for the social discomfort the situation causes her as the state of her son (Gutzwiller 1981:45). Alongside this shift the mood alters from that created by the numinous epiphany of Demeter (Δαμάτηρ δ’ ἄφατόν τι κοτέσσατο, γείνατο δ’ ἅ θεύς/ ἴθματα μὲν χέρσω, κεφαλὰ δέ οἱ ἄψατ’ Ὀλύμπω, 57-8) to one of “delicate social comedy” (Hollis 1970:133). But it is important to recognise the variety of tone here, and in the voice of the narrator – comedy of manners is not the only mode employed in H.6.

The sympathetic depiction of Erysichthon’s family and household grieving for him (94-5), and the impassioned but vain appeal of Triopas to his father Poseidon (οὐκ αἰόντα, 97), who would rather his son was dead (αἶθε γὰρ αὐτὸν/ βλητὸν ὑπ’ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐμαὶ χέρες ἐκτερέϊξαν, 100-1) is itself undercut by a catalogue of Erysichthon’s effect on the household livestock:

ἀλλὰ καὶ οὐρήας μεγαλᾶν ὑπέλυσαν ἀμαξᾶν,
καὶ τὰν βῶν ἔφαγεν, τὰν Ἑστία ἔτρεφε μήτηρ,
καὶ τὸν ἀεθλοφόρον καὶ τὸν πολεμήιον ἵππον,
καὶ τὰν μάλουριν, τὰν ἔτρεμε θηρία μικκά. (107-110)

Hopkinson (1984:108) comments that this list of animals and the repetition of καί “have of themselves no hint of jocularity”, but juxtaposed with the preceding pathos

they puncture the atmosphere. This deflating effect must mean that the speech ends at 106 (cf. Hopkinson 1984:164 for the debate), and that the narrator speaks 107-110 (so Gutzwiller 1981:47, though she thinks that 107-10 reveal Triopas has lied about the exhaustion of his household, revealing him as more concerned with his estate than his son).

The most striking change of tone, however, is that at the very end of the myth. Erysichthon is pictured begging at a crossroads:

καὶ τόχ' ὁ τῷ βασιλῆος ἐνὶ τριόδοισι καθῆστο
αἰτίζων ἀκόλως τε καὶ ἐκβολὰ λύματα δαιτός. (114-15)

This recalls the beggar Odysseus of the second half of the *Odyssey*, and there are close verbal parallels to *Od.* 17.219-22, where Melantheus addresses Eumaeus, mocking Odysseus (Gutzwiller 1981:48, Hopkinson 1984:170). But a king's son begging also calls to mind Andromache's vision of the fate of Astyanax in *Il.* 22.487ff., where he is pictured trying to obtain scraps from his father's friends. Erysichthon's inability to satisfy himself also echoes Astyanax – χεῖλεα μὲν τ' ἐδίην', ὑπερώην δ' οὐκ ἐδίηνε (*Il.* 22.495). This passage was to be rejected as unseemly by Aristarchus, so Callimachus may have been alluding to it because it was already controversial. In any case, this allusion should be classed as authorial, rather than narratorial. This pathetic picture is followed by the moralising of 116-17 (quoted above), "Demeter, let not him you hate be a friend or neighbour of mine. I hate evil neighbours." The tone of this comment, in spite of the previous sympathy shown by the narrator, is selfish and self-satisfied. McKay (1962a:50) finds in it the "contempt of self-righteous suburbia", and the lines form something of a joke. The passage of Hesiod to which they allude (*WD* 346ff.) stresses that bad neighbours are a plague, and that οὐδ' ἄν βοῦς ἀπόλοιτ', εἰ μὴ γείτων κακὸς εἴη (348). Erysichthon, of course, is a literal threat to any neighbour's cattle (Reinsch-Werner 1976:372, Hunter 1992:30-1).

As well as "concretising" a passage of Hesiod, the couplet also forms an example of unusual narrative emphasis. Instead of hearing about Erysichthon's death, which would presumably have been by autophagy (of which McKay 1962b:124 finds intimations) as in Ovid, the narrator hopes his type does not move in next door. Just

as the tale appears to have reached its climax, with Erysichthon resorting to λύματα δαιτός (115) the narrative is broken off (McKay 1962b:125). This only adds to the impression that the myth can end now that a feeling of narratorial self-satisfaction has been achieved, and also casts the preceding interest in Erysichthon's plight (both emotional and logistical) into a peculiar light. Archaic matter and manner are transformed to alter the perspective from which we must view the hymn.

As the disconcerting comment at 116-17 sits awkwardly at the end of the myth, so the comment at the beginning also disturbs:

ἀλλ' ὅκα Τριοπίδαισιν ὁ δεξιὸς ἄχθετο δαίμων,
τουτάκις ἂ χείρων Ἑρυσίχθονος ἄψατο βωλά· (31-2)

This is puzzling because it seems that a “good” δαίμων (contrast the δαίμων δ' ἕτερος at P.3.34 which brings about Coronis' downfall) has simply become angry with the Triopidae, thus bringing about Erysichthon's misfortune. The passivity of Erysichthon and his family in the lines above, twice the objects of verbs performed by abstract nouns is strange in a myth which is explicitly told to prevent *acts* of transgression – ἵνα...τις ὑπερβασίας ἀλέηται (22). Again this raises questions of how we should take H.6 (cf. Bulloch 1984:220-5). Is it meant as an attack on religion, or as an expression of profound doubts, in the light of the smugness of the narrator and the apparent capriciousness of the δαίμων in 31?

H.6 presents us with yet more Callimachean experimentation with ways of depicting the divine – at the end the exclusivity which characterises the initiate and various Greek rituals is presented as self-satisfaction, and the observations of Hesiod on the dangers of the κακὸς γείτων as selfish. But this is hardly to expose such rituals or moralising as a “sham”. Callimachus brings out, in arresting fashion, the central concern with the self and the individual in much Greek ethical thought, but paradoxically this allows the reader/audience to “become” an initiate, and participate in the ritual (Bing 1995:37). This would have been even more powerful if the audience, as is likely, was principally male. This is therefore a further extension of the pseudo-intimate effect of Archaic poetry, giving the audience the feeling of

attendance at a closed group (see 3.2.4 and 2.1.1 above). Here, though, the feeling is not just of eavesdropping, but of complete absorption into another sex.

3.3 The *Aetia*

3.3.1 Introduction

The *Aetia* begins with a great many first-person statements portraying the narrator as under attack from various detractors (μοῖ Τελχῖνες ἐπιτρύζουσιν ἄοιδῇ, F1.1), and defending himself in direct speech (Τελχῖσιν ἐγὼ τόδε, F1.7). The first-person narrative about the past suggests autobiography (by the “autobiographical assumption”, see 1.7 above), as the narrator tells us of a youthful meeting with Apollo. Several other aspects suggest a strong connection between narrator and poet (see 3.3.3 below). The prologue immediately focuses attention on the narrator, who is never to recede into the background throughout the *Aetia*.

Study of the primary narrator of the *Aetia* is complicated by the fragmentary state of much of the poem, which often makes certainty about the speaker impossible – I shall concentrate on the better preserved sections. A different initial problem is presented by the interpretation of the prologue, which is often (and wrongly) taken as a relatively straightforward declaration of Callimachus’ aesthetics (e.g. by Brink 1946, Pfeiffer 1968 and Lyne 1984).

3.3.2 The Function of the Prologue

As Cameron (1995:104-132) shows, it is much more likely that the prologue (F1) as we have it is the original prologue to the *Aetia*, i.e. *Aetia* 1-2, not added to a “collected” edition or second edition of the work late in Callimachus’ life. This second or collected edition of the *Aetia* is but a conjecture of Pfeiffer’s, not otherwise documented, but hallowed by repetition (Cameron 1995:104-5). “Collected” editions are impossible while texts are in the form of papyrus rolls, except in so far as they are kept in the same box (Cameron 1995:109-113). New prefaces to every other ancient continuation of an earlier work are added to the added books, not the whole work, e.g. in the case of the *Ars Amatoria*, where there is a merely a new preface, a couplet linking *Ars* 2 and the new book, *where the new section is added* (so also with Polybius,

Diodorus Siculus, Vitruvius – Cameron 1995:114-18). *Aetia* 3-4 would, on this view, be a *continuation* of the *Aetia*, added at a later date, analogous to the continuation of the *Ars Amatoria* through the addition of book 3, and implying no alteration of the original work, just as *Ars* 3 does not lead Ovid to remove the couplet linking *Ars* 1 and 2, which implies two books, nor the elaborate sphragis concluding book 2.

This implies that the prologue is not “late” nor can it be taken straightforwardly as a product of the poet’s old age (i.e. over sixty, Pfeiffer 1928:333), despite the references to age in the prologue (τῶν δ’ ἐτέων ἡ δεκάς οὐκ ὀλίγη, F1.6, γῆρας, F1.33). This is not because poets and writers in antiquity could describe themselves as “old” when much younger (as Cameron 1995:174-81 argues), but because of the *gap* between narrator and author, even in such a quasi-biographical text. It is clear that a *narrator* could claim to be old, when the historical author was no such thing (Schmitz 1999:159-61). The non-identity of author and narrator is exploited in Archaic lyric (see 2.3.2.1 above), and is probably so used in the *Aetia*-prologue (Schmitz 1999:161).

When we examine the prologue carefully, several indications of the disjunction between the narrator and the historical author, between “Callimachus” and Callimachus of Cyrene, become clear. As Schmitz (1999:158) emphasises, “Callimachus” can converse directly with mythical wizards, the Telchines (ἔλλετε Βασκανίης ὁλοὸν γένος, F1.17), and receive advice directly from Apollo (Ἀ[πό]λλων εἶπεν ὃ μοι Λύκιος, F1.22). But these are not to be conceived as historical but *fictional* situations (Lefkowitz 1980b:8) – the author did not really meet Apollo, nor does he really converse with wizards.

But might there not be some relationship between the Telchines and real criticism of the *Aetia*? Such a relationship cannot be ruled out (Schmitz 1999:153-4), but the assumption that the prologue *must be* based on real, historical criticism is dubious. The list of Telchines in the *Scholia Florentina* is probably deduced (or guessed) from the text (Cameron 1995:185), and the appearance there of the epigrammatists Asclepiades and Posidippus is probably because of the disagreement concerning the *Lyde* with Asclepiades (*AP* 9.63=Antim.T14Wyss) and Posidippus (*AP* 12.168=Antim.T15Wyss) on one side and Callimachus (F398) on the other

(Lefkowitz 1980b:8-9, 1981:124-5). The list almost certainly does not record independent evidence about Callimachus' "targets".

Nor is the style of the prologue better evidence for its reflecting historical criticism. The greater precision when compared to Archaic scenes of "the poet under attack" (e.g. the end of O.2) with which Callimachus depicts his opponents, as Telchines who have criticised him for not writing ἐν ᾧσμοι διηγεκέες (F1.3), and to whom he replies at length with an injunction to judge poetry τέχνη/...] μὴ σχοίνω Περσίδι (F1.17-18), and a detailed account of his meeting with Apollo, should be related to the greater "concreteness" with which lyric themes and *topoi* are treated in Hellenistic poetry (see 3.2.6 above, and 6. *Contexts and Conclusions* below).

Nor is it true to suggest that the poem works better if real criticism is assumed (Hutchinson 1988:82). Consideration of the function of the prologue within the *Aetia* as a whole illustrates how it forms an integral part of the elegy, without the need to refer outside the text.

One of the functions, perhaps the central function, of any prologue to a speech or poem is to operate as a *captatio benevolentiae* (Schmitz 1999:157), to get the audience on one's side. This function seems hardly debatable in the case of the *Aetia*, whatever else it is meant to achieve. This helps us better understand the form and structure of the *Aetia*-prologue – the Telchines are never heard, rather their criticism is reported indirectly, so that they appear as shadowy grumblers, in contrast to Callimachus' open and direct speech. The positive aspects of Callimachus' poetry are placed in the mouth of Apollo, the poet thus avoiding boastfulness (Hutchinson 1988:80), while the opposition of Callimachus to his critics is structured by means of several pointed antitheses: the ignorant Telchines, no friends of the Muse (1-2) and Callimachus, the Muses' friend since childhood (37-8); the braying donkey and the delicate cicada (29-30); the fat victim and the slender Muse (23-4) etc. (Hutchinson 1988:83-4, Cameron 1995:130) All this serves to dramatise Callimachus' situation as one where his poetry has been *unjustly* criticised by ignorant detractors, unaware that its qualities have been recommended to him by the god of poetry himself. These detractors are also irrational and bestial, as ἐπιτρύζουσιν (F1.1) suggests, only elsewhere used of animals, and based on τρύζητε at *Il*.9.311, describing the "croaking" of those around

Achilles (Cameron 1995:340, Andrews 1998:4-5). There are only two sides in the prologue – these Telchines or Callimachus – and this serves to win the audience for Callimachus.

It is not important from the point of view of the rhetorical function of the lines (as a *captatio*) that they approve qualities universally desirable in all poems (Hutchinson 1988:81). Given that antitheses are more effective the more polarised they are, we need not assume accuracy or truth as a principal concern here, but only dramatic/rhetorical effectiveness. It aids the drama and the force of the antitheses and oppositions to talk of Callimachus' poetry in general being under siege (ἄοιδῇ (1), σοφίην (18)) but there is no need to assume therefore either that Callimachus had received or felt he would receive much criticism for the *Aetia* or that he thought all poetry should be exactly as recommended in the prologue. As Hutchinson (1988:83-4) points out, the pointed antithesis between delicate, light and brief and long, grand and thundering suits his rhetorical purpose in the prologue, but need hardly be taken as a reasoned representation of his poetry, and indeed obscures the importance of the grandiose in his work, and the variety of tone which its exploitation allows him. Shifts in tone from a grander manner are apparent in *Hecale* F69-F74 where the epic capture of the bull and subsequent φυλλοβολία in F69 gives way to the more comic reminiscences of the crow, particularly in F74. But these changes illustrate the fact that Callimachus is prepared to employ a far greater tonal range than that implied by delicate poetry which never thunders.

This internal function, to emphasise the qualities of the *Aetia* itself, means it is not necessary to posit a role for the *Aetia*-prologue in a debate about how to write elegy, or on the merits of the *Lyde*, as Cameron (1995:232, 303-338) does, to replace the flawed hypothesis of the debate on epic (e.g. Brink 1946:16, who moves from documented disagreement of Asclepiades and Posidippus with Callimachus on Antimachus (on the *elegiac Lyde*) to deduce this must concern “the Cyclic Epic”), for which there is little evidence. This view has been comprehensively attacked by Cameron (1995 *passim*), who, among many other arguments, points out the discussion of the relative merits of *elegies* by Philetas and Mimnermus in the prologue (F1.9ff., Cameron 1995:307-8), the illusory nature of much “orthodox”, “anti-Callimachean” Hellenistic epic (1995:263-302) and the epic nature of the *Hecale* itself

(1995:437-53). But, as Schmitz (1999:153) notes, Cameron shares, for the most part, the assumption of those he targets that the reference of the prologue to extratextual people and events can be identified. This assumption is unnecessary, particularly when the rhetorical function of the prologue is considered - the *Aetia*-prologue is about elegy, not epic, but that elegy is the *Aetia*.

3.3.3 “Callimachus”

3.3.3.1 Aetia 1-2 and Aetia 3-4

The first two books of the *Aetia* are structured around a dialogue with the Muses (Parsons 1977:49, Harder 1988:2), where the narrator asks questions about various arcane topics (κῶς δέ, θεαί, F7.19) and receives answers from individual Muses (ἦρχετο Καλλιόπη, F7.22). This dialogue appears to be set in the context of a dream (κ]ατ’ ὄναρ σ(υ)μείξας ταῖς Μούσαις, Schol.Flor. 16) the aged narrator has about meeting the Muses on Helicon as a boy (ἀρ]ιγένειος ὢν, Schol.Flor.18), modelled on Hesiod’s meeting with the Muses (Ποιμένι μῆλα νέμοντι παρ’ ἵχνιον ὀξέος ἵππου/ Ἡσιόδῳ Μουσέων ἐσμὸς ὅτ’ ἠντίασεν, F2.1-2, Cameron 1995:130-32). But “Callimachus” also speaks at length in learned fashion in the report of this dream-dialogue (e.g. F43.40-55 on the Sicilian cities). This changing of speaker makes assessment of the secondary narrators in *Aetia* 1-2 particularly difficult (e.g. it is not clear who addresses Athena in F37^{inc.sed.}*Aet.*1).

The second two books abandon this Muse-dialogue (Parsons 1977:49-50, Cameron 1995:108), perhaps because “Callimachus” wakes up at the end of *Aetia* 2 (Cameron 1995:138): οὐχ εὖδων, SH253.7 (cf. *app.crit.*), ὄναρ¹⁴⁰ ὁππότ’ ἔληξε θεῆς, SH253.14. *Aetia* 3-4 consist of separate elegies, such as the *Victoria Berenices* (SH254-268), the *Cydippe* (F67-F75) and the *Coma Berenices* (F110). This allows for different speakers (Harder 1998:111), such as the lock of Berenice’s hair in the *Coma Berenices*, and also entails differences in the presence and presentation of the narrator. “Callimachus” is more to the fore in *Aetia* 1-2, where the dialogue form allows a more uniform

¹⁴⁰ Suppl. Cameron.

portrayal. Nevertheless, there are still many similarities between the two sets of books, e.g. in the scholarly character of “Callimachus”.

3.3.3.2 Quasi-biography in the *Aetia*

The fact that the *Aetia* begins with a first-person narrative about a past event makes the poem quasi-biographical. The recollected dream-dialogue with the Muses in *Aetia* 1-2 also fits into this pattern, and there is even an embedded first-person narrative about a past event in F178,¹⁴¹ where the narrator recounts a conversation at a symposium to the Muses, which surely ended with the comments of “Callimachus” to the Muses in F43.12ff. about only recollecting what he had heard at a symposium (καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ τὰ μὲν ὅσσα καρήατι τῆμος ἔδωκα/ ξανθὰ σὺν εὐόδοις ἀβρὰ λίπη στεφάνοις,/ ἄπνοα πάντ’ ἐγένοντο παρὰ χρέος..., Cameron 1995:134-35).

The subject-matter of the prologue, quarrels about poetry, strongly recalls the historical Callimachus, or the picture of himself he chose to present in his poems. The narrator presents himself as criticised for not writing a particular type of *poem* (ἐν ᾧισμα διηνεκές, F1.3), and Apollo addresses the youthful “Callimachus” as ἀοιδέ (F1.23). This self-presentation as a poet continues beyond the prologue – ἔλλατε νῦν, ἐλέγοισι δ’ ἐνιψήσασθε λιπώσας/ χεῖρας ἐμοῖς, ἵνα μοι πουλὺ μένωσιν ἔτος (F7.13-14). The Telchines, Βασκανίης ὀλοὸν γένος (F1.17), themselves recall Callimachus’ epitaph for himself (ep.21), where Callimachus names himself (1) and claims ὁ δ’ ἤειπεν κρέσσονα βασκανίης (4). The direction of the echo is impossible to ascertain, but the epigram more probably echoes the prologue, rather than *vice versa*. The idea of “envy” also echoes Φθόνος at the end of the *Hymn to Apollo*.

There may have even been a self-naming in the *Aetia* itself, along the lines of that at *Theog.*22 (αἶ νύ ποθ’ Ἡσίοδον καλὴν ἐδίδαξαν ἀοιδήν), which is clearly the model for the *Somnium* of the *Aetia* (F2, quoted above). If F602inc.sed. is from the *Aetia*, and spoken by the primary narrator, he is explicitly given the same nationality as Callimachus:

¹⁴¹ Which probably began *Aetia* 2 (Zetzel 1981:31-3).

δέσποιναι Λιβύης ἡρώϊδες, αἱ Νασαμώνων
αὖλιν καὶ δολιχὰς θῖνας ἐπιβλέπετε,
μητέρα μοι [sc. Cyrene] ζώουσιν ὀφέλλετε

A Battiad connection (cf. ep.35) on the part of the narrator, which Callimachus plays with elsewhere (H.2), may be hinted at by Clio's wish that he go with a better bird of omen than the *barpasos* εἰ...λαὸν ἔποικον ἄγοις (F43.67). Battus was led by Apollo in the form of a raven to found Cyrene (H.2.65-66).

The most consistent aspect of the characterisation of "Callimachus", as indicated above, is an interest in scholarship and the arcane. This is explicit in *Aetia* 1-2 in the questions "Callimachus" asks the Muses (κῶς ἄν[ις] αὐλῶν/ ῥέζειν καὶ στεφέων εὖαδε τῷ Παρίῳ, F3.1-2), as well as the information he offers himself (οἶδα Γέλα ποταμοῦ κεφαλῇ ἔπι κείμενον ἄστν/ Λίνδοθεν ἀρχαίη [σ]κ[ι]μπ[ι]τόμενον γενε[ή], F43.46-7). Given the change in the framework of *Aetia* 3-4, this aspect of the narrator is indicated in slightly different ways. "Callimachus" gives us his source for the story of Acontius of Cydippe – παρ' ἀρχαίου Ξενομήδεος (F75.54), and then summarises his history of Ceos in F75.55-77. The fact that this source is now a prose history, rather than the Muses marks a change in the autonomy of the narrator (see 3.3.3.5 below).

Erudition in the *Victoria Berenices* is also related more peripherally:

Ζηνί τε καὶ Νεμέη τι χαρίσιον ἔδνον ὀφείλω,
νύμφα κα[σιγνή]των ἱερὸν αἶμα θεῶν,
ἡμ[ε]τερο[.....]ων ἐπινίκιον ἵππων.
ἀρμοῖ γὰρ Δαναοῦ γῆς ἀπὸ βουγενέος
εἰς Ἑλένη[ς] νησίδ]α καὶ εἰς Παλληνέα μά[κ]ντιν,
ποιμένα [φωκάων], χρύσειον ἦλθεν ἔπος... (SH254.1-6)

These periphrases fulfil the formal requirements of the epinician (on which see Hamilton 1974:15) in providing information about the victory, the victor, the victor's homeland, the victor's father and the Games where the victory was won (Fuhrer 1992:86). But they also mark a loss of the "documentary function" of Archaic

epinicians (Führer 1992:88-9, 135). The information is conveyed not to broadcast it, but to characterise the narrator as learned, and to present an “inclusive” challenge to the audience or reader. The allusive references *invite* decoding by the reader or audience. Schmitz (1999:155-6, 165-70) argues convincingly that the references in the *Aetia*-prologue to the poetry of Mimnermus and Philetas, to an ongoing debate between narrator and detractors, and the erudition and allusiveness of passages such as the opening of the *Victoria Berenices*, operate by giving the reader the impression of admission to a closed group (given the context of facts already well-known to the “group”), and prompting the reader to decode periphrases which, when decoded, further associate the reader with the author. The affinities with Archaic pseudo-intimacy should be clear.

Other quasi-biographical comments apparently connecting the narrator with the external world and the historical Callimachus are to be found in both *Aetia* 1-2 and 3-4. Most infamously perhaps, we are told that the narrator has apparently never travelled in F178.32-34 (*Aet.*2), long taken, wrongly, to be genuine autobiographical evidence (see 3.5.2). In F75 the narrator characterises himself as a Greek, participating in Greek customs, but dissenting from general Greek opinion about epilepsy with first-person plural verbs:

ἦλθε δὲ νοῦσος,
αἶγας ἐς ἀγριάδας τὴν ἀποπεμπόμεθα,
ψευδόμενοι δ' ἱερὴν φημίζομεν (12-14)

Later in same fragment, “Callimachus” hints that he has been in love:

ψήφου δ' ἄν ἐμῆς ἐπιμάρτυρες εἶεν
οἵτινες οὐ χαλεποῦ νήιδές εἰσι θεοῦ. (48-49)

In general the quasi-biography found in the *Aetia* goes far beyond anything found in Homer, Apollonius (though the narrator of the *Argonautica* is presented as a scholar, and a Greek) or the *Hecale* – epic narrators are much less closely grounded on their respective historical authors.

3.3.3.3 Pius Callimachus

Ἦρην γάρ κοτέ φασι – κύον, κύον, ἴσχεο, λαιδρέ
θυμέ, σύ γ' ἀείσῃ καὶ τά περ οὐχ ὀσίη· (F75.4-5)

In this way “Callimachus” breaks off a potentially impious tale in the *Cydippe*, in doing so adopting the predominantly Pindaric techniques of self-apostrophe (see 3.2.8) and ostentatious abandonment of the unsuitable (see 2.3.4), particularly clear at O.9.35ff.:

ἀπό μοι λόγον
τοῦτον, στόμα, ῥίψον·

Fuhrer (1988:53-4, 58) notes that in Pindar the primary motivation of such passages is to present the poet as pious, but thinks that in Callimachus the emphasis is on a display of virtuosity and discontinuity of narrative. But in Callimachus too the narrator is thus presented as pious, even though this may not have the directly or indirectly encomiastic function of piety in Pindar. The self-address itself draws attention to the narrator (Harder 1990:299), and in particular to his control of the narrative, which the narrator goes on to allude to:

ἦ πολυιδρεΐη χαλεπὸν κακόν, ὅστις ἀκαρτεῖ
γλώσσης· ὥς ἔτεδὸν παῖς ὅδε μαῦλιν ἔχει. (F75.8-9)

Far from endangering anyone, or his narrative, the narrator has deftly moved from preparations the night before the wedding to the sickness of Cydippe the following day (in F75.10ff.), and alluded to the action of the Naxian custom of making the bride sleep in the company of a young boy on the night prior to her wedding-day (a detail from the *ἱερὸς γάμος* of Zeus and Hera).

That a pious, moralising narrator is a deliberate effect of such a self-apostrophe is confirmed by F24.20-1, which again has “Callimachus” preferring pious silence:

ἔκλυε <—>, τῶν μηδὲν ἐμὸν δι' ὀδόντας ὀλίσθοι,
Πηλεΐδης

This alludes to another Pindaric passage N.5.14ff., where the Pindaric narrator shrinks from telling of the murder of Phocus by Peleus and Telamon, the event alluded to in the *Aetia* (Trypanis 1958:25, Fuhrer 1988:65-6). Again, this allows allusion to a myth without giving it a full treatment. It also plays an important role in characterising the narrator as a moraliser, as is also apparent from the gnomic material in the *Aetia*. Archaic models are once more to the fore here – in F2.5 “Callimachus” adapts Hesiod (*WD* 265): τεύχων ὡς ἑτέρῳ τις ἐφ’ ἑκατὸν ἥπατι τεύχει (Pfeiffer 1949-53:i.9, Trypanis 1958:8), and in F96.1-2 comments:

Θεοὶ πάντες κομποῖς νεμεσήμενες, ἐκ δέ τε πάντων
Ἄρτεμις

These comments, like the ostentatious silences above, characterise the narrator as “pious”. This is both inclusive, putting both narrator and audience “in the right”, and fitting for a poet whose narrators often associate religious or ethical purity with poetic excellence (e.g. ep.7; τὸ μὲν θύος ὅτι πάχιστον/ θρέψαι, τῇλιν Μοῦσαν δ’ ὠγαθὲ λεπταλέην, *Aet.*F1.23-4). The figure of Apollo, often closely associated with “Callimachus”, seems particularly important in this regard.

A related aspect is the expression of strong opinion in emphatic terms, as when “Callimachus” announces to Acontius:

οὐ σε δοκέω τημοῦτος, Ἀκόντιε, νυκτὸς ἐκείνης
ἀντί κε, τῇ μήτρης ἥψαο παρθενίης
οὐ σφυρὸν Ἰφίκλειον... (F75.44-46)

Harder (1990:300) compares the invocation of the narratee or an unnamed third-party (τις) in Homer (*Il.*17.366-67, 16.638f.) as potential eye-witnesses, but the closest parallels again seem to be the emphatic use of first-person statements in Pindar to comment upon a myth (e.g. N.7.20-1 on Odysseus, and see 2.3.4 above).

3.3.3.4 Addresses and Emotion

Related to this expression of opinion is the use of emotional or evaluative language, particularly clear in the *Cydippe* (F67-F75). In addition to that in the break-off at F75.4ff., discussed above, where the narrator calls himself a dog, and his soul shameless, the bulls about to be sacrificed before the wedding of Cydippe are described as “to tear their hearts”, θυμὸν ἀμύξειν (F75.10, Harder 1990:304), while the narrator’s profession of opinion about Acontius on his wedding night contains the evaluative χαλεποῦ (F75.49, see above). His words on Xenomedes also employ affective language (Harder 1990:305-6):

εἶπε δέ, Κεῖε,
ξυγκραθέντ’ αὐταῖς ὄξυν ἔρωτα σέθεν
πρέσβυς ἐτητυμῖη μεμελημένος (F75.74-76)

Acontius’ love is “sharp”, while Xenomedes is a “lover” of truth. Expressive of narratorial emotion too is the address to Acontius here, also to be found at F75.40-1, 44ff., and 51ff., and perhaps also originally when he fell in love, and when Artemis decided to help him, to judge from the addresses at these points in Aristaenetus (who follows Callimachus closely) at 1.10.20 and 1.10.46 (Harder 1990:307).¹⁴² These features contrast strongly with those parts of the *Cydippe* which concentrate on Cydippe herself, which are related much more objectively, with much less narratorial involvement (Harder 1990:306).

This type of emphatic evaluative language is also to be found in *Aetia* 1-2. In F24 Hyllus is described as ὁ πείνη/θυμαίνων (1-2), where again there is an address to a character (τὴν [sc. Heracles] δ’ ὦνα γέλωσ ἀνεμίσγετο λύπη, 3). Thiodamas’ response to Heracles’ appeals for food are also described evaluatively – ἀγρεῖον [καὶ ἀμείλιχον ἐξ]εγέλασσε (13). This language is more appropriate in the mouth of “Callimachus”, who surely speaks here (*pace* Massimilla 1996:294 [Muse], D’Alessio

¹⁴² In fact addresses by the narrator are a regular feature of the aetia in *Aetia* 4: F90, F91, F93, F100 etc. Cf. Harder 1990:307 with n.58, 1998:109.

1996:ii.404 n.83 [poet or Muse]). Narratorial involvement is particularly evident in *Aetia* 1-2, on the other hand, where “Callimachus” expresses a personal reaction to the responses of the Muses (Harder 1988:12-13):

τῶς μὲν ἔφη· τὰς δ’ εἶθαρ ἐμὸς πάλιν εἶρετο θυμός (F31b)

Even more explicit is:

ὦ[ς] ἢ μὲν λίπε μῦθον, ἐγὼ δ’ ἐπὶ καὶ [τὸ πυ]θέσθαι
ἥθελον – ἦ γάρ μοι θάμβος ὑπετρέφε[ετ]ο – (F43.84-5)

3.3.3.5 The Muses and Autonomy

One set of secondary narrators deserves special mention – the Muses. They are particularly in evidence, of course, in *Aetia* 1-2. Naturally, they share many of the characteristics of the scholarly “Callimachus”. Calliope muses on what the Greeks would have called a Colchian settlement and records its Colchian name (F11.5-6). Their knowledge is, of course, great – Clio not only knows why at Zancle the founders are not invited to the feast, but knows about the details of their quarrel (F43.73ff.) and can quote the form of words employed at Zancle (“whoever it was who built our city...”, F43.81-3). She is also careful to include, in a scholarly parenthesis, details about the sickle Cronus used to castrate his father, and an allusion to the etymology of Zancle (κεῖθι γὰρ ᾧ τὰ γονῆος ἀπέθρισε μήδε’ ἐκεῖνος/ κέκρυπται γύπη ζάγκλον ὑπὸ χθονίῃ, F43.70-1). The Muses are also prepared to pass judgement on characters, as at F23.6 to Heracles: ἐσσι] γὰρ οὐ μάλ’ ἐλαφρός (*pace* Hutchinson 1988:45, 47 who seems to think Callimachus is speaking).

In *Aetia* 1-2, in contrast to the complete dependence of the Homeric narrator on the Muses (*Il.*2.485f., see 2.3.3 above), there is “an erudite scholar seeking...the solution of some recondite problems about anomalies and curiosities”, and from the Muses “a business-like concentration on the facts” (Hutchinson 1988:44). Though the Muses are more knowledgeable than “Callimachus”, their erudition is of a similar type, and

“Callimachus” can himself offer them detailed information (e.g. in F43). Their relative equality is emphasised by the manner of Calliope’s reply in F7:

Αἰγλήτην Ἀνάφην τε, Λακωνίδι γείτονα Θήρη,
πρῶτον ἐνὶ μνήμῃ κάτθεο καὶ Μινύας,
ἄρχμενος ὥς ἦρωες ἀπ’ Αἰήταο Κυταίου
αὐτίς ἐς ἀρχαίην ἔπλεον Αἰμονίην (23-26)

Here there is a reversal of conventional invocatory language, where the *narrator* usually requests that the Muse recount a tale by asking “call to mind...” (D’Alessio 1996:ii.386 n.49).

There may be a suggestion in *Aetia* 3-4 of a greater independence from the Muses, given the abandonment of the dialogue-framework, and the opening of book 3 with an address, not to a Muse, but Berenice in SH254.1-3 (quoted above in 3.3.3.2).

Berenice operates as a surrogate Muse, as well as being the victor. Beginning with an invocation of the victor is very rare in Pindaric epinicians – only I.4 begins in this way.¹⁴³ It is usually divinities that are addressed (including the eponymous nymphs of victorious cities),¹⁴⁴ and here we can see Berenice addressed in a quasi-divine capacity as ἱερὸν αἶμα θεῶν (SH254.2). Following the Muse-dialogue, the address to Berenice as a divinity, standing at the front of the two remaining books points significantly to her usurping of the Muses’ central role (she frames *Aetia* 3-4, as the last action is the *Coma Berenices*). She was obviously thought appropriate to the role – she is the fourth, and most important, Grace in ep.51.

The scholarly partnership of Muses and “Callimachus” gives way to a direct access on the narrator’s part to scholarship, as contained in the history of Xenomedes. The summary of this in F75 begins significantly:

ὅς ποτε πᾶσαν

¹⁴³ Willcock 1995:74 thinks this is probably accidental, given the frequent mention of the victor at the beginning of the odes.

¹⁴⁴ The Muses are invoked at the beginning of an ode in O.10, P.4, N.3 and N.9.

νήσον ἐνὶ μνήμῃ κάτθετο μυθολόγῳ,
ἄρχμενος ὥς... (F75.54-6)

This is strongly reminiscent of the way in which Calliope began her first response to the narrator's questioning in book 1. But now historians are the source whence tales come ἐς ἡμετέρην...Καλλιόπην (F75.76-7). Calliope has been reduced to a mute metonymy for the poem. The possessive ἡμέτερην further indicates that the relationship of dependence on the Muses, already transformed into one of a professor and pupil has altered further in favour of the autonomous poet. Nevertheless, the Muses did play some role in *Aetia* 3-4 (there are possible addresses to them at F76, F86, F112.3ff., though the last is controversial, Pfeiffer 1949-53:i.124), and with the final line he passes to the Μουσέων πεζὸν...νομόν (F112.9). Though the Muses may have been marginalised in 3-4 in comparison to 1-2, they were hardly rejected or discarded.

3.4 *Victoria Sosibii*

F384, like the *Victoria Berenices* another elegiac epinician, but unlike it not incorporated into the *Aetia*, shares with *Aetia* 3-4 its variety of speakers and generic play with epigram and epinician (Fuhrer 1992:171). The text is again fragmentary with the loss of lines after lines 15, 34, 41 and 50. Nevertheless much of the structure can still be ascertained. The primary narrator speaks lines 1-8, and quotes the announcement of an Isthmian victory in 9ff., and speaks again in 21-28. There then follows the quotation of a speech by the river Nile in 28ff., which has given way by 35ff. to a speech by the victor Sosibius himself (Fuhrer 1992:156-57 *contra* Barigazzi 1951:416). In 44-5 the last part of a speech can be read which is probably by an Argive, if the Heraion mentioned in 45 is that in Argos (D'Alessio 1996:ii.681 n.10, Fuhrer 1993:81). The primary narrator again speaks in 46-49, introducing the quotation of a dedicatory epigram, the first line of which can be read in 50. Finally the primary narrator speaks again in 53ff. in praise of the victor.

The primary narrator is the speaker, then, in 1-8, 21-28, 46-49, 53-60 (Fuhrer 1993:95 n.95). The narrator is tied to the historical Callimachus by the reference to seeing one of Sosibius' dedications δ παρ ποδὶ κάτθετο Νείλου/ νειατίῳ (48-9), i.e. in Egypt, and perhaps by the fact that he has only heard of the Argive dedication (47), which may play with the "non-travelling Callimachus" (cf. F178.32-4, and 3.5.2 below). Erudition is evident in the periphrastic reference to the Isthmian and Nemean Games in 25-6: ἀμφοτέρῳ παρὰ παιδί, κασιγνήτῳ τε Λεάρχου/ καὶ τὸ Μυριναῖον τῷ γάλα θησαμένῳ. More importantly, the narrator is depicted as excitedly repeating the victory announcement at 7-8: σημερινὸν δ' ὥσεί περ ἑμὸν περι χεῖλος ἄϊσσει/ τοῦτ' ἔπος ἡδεῖη λεχθὲν ἐπ' ἀγγελίῃ. The news to be repeated is described with the evaluative term "sweet". The narrator also expresses emotion in the praise of Sosibius in 53ff., where he is described as generous and μικρῶν οὐκ ἐπιληθόμενον (54). He declares that this is rare indeed in a rich man (55-56), and then breaks off the praise by announcing that δεῖδια γὰρ δήμου γλῶσσαν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις (58) – he is afraid whether he praises Sosibius sufficiently or not (οὔτε τὸν αἰνήσω τόσον ἄξι[ο]ς οὔτε λάθωμαι, 57).

This is another Hellenistic “concretisation” of a lyric theme, clearest in Pindar, of the tedium which can affect the audience after praise for the victor: αἶνον ἐπέβα κόρος (O.2.95).¹⁴⁵ Against this Pindar can also oppose the impossibility of praising a victor sufficiently, which is encomiastic in itself, as at O.2.98-100.

The praise of the generosity of Sosibius also has clear epinician precedents: ἐντί τοι φίλιπποι τ' αὐτόθι καὶ κτεάνων ψυχὰς ἔχοντες κρέσσονας/ ἄνδρες (N.9.32, D'Alessio 1996:ii.689 n.26). But more remarkable than the narrator's use of epinician models is the employment of these, and other characteristics of primary narrator here and in other works of Callimachus, by the *other* speakers in F384.

The voice of the victor is particularly important. The *Victoria Sosibii* contains a catalogue of earlier victories, something which is common in Pindar (Führer 1993:87), but in Callimachus this catalogue is spoken *by the victor*. This never occurs in Pindar or Bacchylides. Sosibius echoes in particular N.10.35f. in referring to Athenian victories by means of the jars awarded (F384.35ff., Führer 1993:87-8). He combines this with a reference to the victory-song of Archilochus:

ἡδὺ βοῆσαι
νῆδ' ἐπὶ Γλαυκῆς κῶμον ἄγοντι χορῶ
Ἄρχιλόχου νικαῖον ἐφύμνιον (F384.37-9)

This alludes to the opening of O.9:

Τὸ μὲν Ἀρχιλόχου μέλος
φωνᾶεν Ὀλυμπία, καλλίνικος ὁ τριπλὸς κεχλαδῶς (1-2)

Führer (1993:89) suggests that Sosibius may even make a philological point with ἐφύμνιον, which must refer to the refrain, which indicates that the Pindaric lines should be read as meaning that only the refrain τήνελλα καλλίνικε was sung three times, rather than the whole song (cf. Σ ad O.9.1 Drachmann 1903-27:i.266-8 for the different ancient views).

¹⁴⁵ Cf. also P.1.82, P.8.32, N.10.20.

A speaking victor is unlike anything in choral epinician, but it is probably related to another genre, agonistic epigram. In epigrams commemorating victories in the Games, the victor, or his statue, are often represented speaking - ep. 34, 35, 36, 50, 68, 70 Ebert (Fuhrer 1993:94). This element is part of a wider epigrammatic presence in F384, clearest in the quotation of two dedicatory epigrams, e.g.:

“Κυπρόθε Σιδόνιός με κατήγαγεν ἐνθάδε γαῦλος...” (50).

3.5 The *Iambi*

The *Iambi* represent the most extensive experimentation in Callimachus with quasi-biography and a persona grounded on biographical facts (or assumptions) about the author, and explicitly take an Archaic poet as a model. Alongside Hipponax we find also Archilochus (of course), choral lyric and epigram. I shall not take the poems one by one, because of the very fragmentary state of preservation of many of the poems (especially 8-11), and because the *Iambi* is a carefully designed poetry-book, which has as its primary concern speakers, their self-irony, and their development (Hunter 1997:47, Kerkhecker 1999:294-5). That it is a poetry-book designed thus by the author is clear from the careful metrical, dialectical, structural and thematic patterns which unite the collection (e.g. metre: stichic sczons (1-4), epodes (5-7), stichic metres (8-13 – assuming 8 to be stichic); “ring-composition” of 1 and 13 – cf. Kerkhecker 1999:282-85, Clayman 1980:46-9, Dawson 1950:142-3). That the *Iambi* were thirteen in number, and excluded the μέλη, is strongly suggested by the quotation of only 1-13 as *Iambi*, and the distinct metres of the μέλη (as Kerkhecker 1999:279 notes). These lyric poems, though not mentioned by the *Diegesis*, are attested in the *Suda* (v. Καλλίμαχος, T1.12Pf.). Their separateness from the *Iambi* is confirmed by the fact that *Iambus* 13 looks to 1 in “metre, theme, and detail” (Kerkhecker 1999:278). These opening and closing poems close off the *Iambi*.

3.5.1 Speakers and Self-Irony

3.5.1.1 *Iambi* 1-6

The first voice we hear in the *Iambi* is not Callimachus’, but Hipponax, returned from Hades – Ἀκούσαθ’ Ἰππώνακτος (F191.1). This self-naming by the returned Archaic poet is typical – he names himself at Hipp.F36.2, F37, F79.9, F117.4. Interestingly, no self-naming survives from the fragments of Archilochus. Clayman (1980:56-7) thinks that this “re-incarnated” Hipponax “is none other than Callimachus himself”, on the grounds of the Alexandrian setting and audience. Scholars (φιλολόγους, *Dieg.* VI.3) and poets (κα]τηύλησθ’.../...Μουσέων...’Απόλλωνος, F191.7-8) are summoned to the Sarapideion of Parmenio (F191.9-11 and *Dieg.* VI.3-4), outside the

walls of Alexandria (Kerkhecker 1999:22-3). But the naming of the speaker advertises that this is *not* Callimachus, and the character of the audience implies that Callimachus, ποιητὴς ἄμα καὶ κριτικός, is contained within it (Kerkhecker 1999:34). The lesson which Hipponax is trying to teach these gathered scholars, to avoid quarrelling (ἤκουσι δ' αὐτοῖς κατ' εἵλας ἀπαγορεύει φθονεῖν ἀλλήλοις, *Dieg.* VI.4-6), also has particular point if one of *their* number is the poet who portrayed himself under attack from the Telchines and Phthonos, and himself derided the *Lyde* (F398).¹⁴⁶

This Hipponax, however, is different. He comes φέρων ἱαμβον οὐ μάχην ἀεῖδοντα/ τὴν Βουπάλειον (F191.3-4). He has abandoned his traditional target (ὁ μητροκοίτης Βούπαλος σὺν Ἀρήτῃ, Hipp.F12). His invective is no longer to protect the community by attacking a threat to it, as Archilochus is thought to do (Brown 1997:69), nor to avenge what is presented as a personal affront, as the Archaic Hipponax appears to have done (Brown 1997:87-8). He teaches a moral lesson, so that his audience will avoid quarrels, using the tale of Bathycles' cup and its treatment by the Seven Sages (F191.31ff.). So far were they from squabbling that each passed it to another of the group as the possession of the greatest of their number. This tale itself may have been used by the Archaic Hipponax (F63 and F123 mention two of the Seven Sages, cf. Depew 1992:319, Hunter 1997:48). If so, the shift to its use as an *exemplum* of how to behave is a marker of the difference between the new Hipponax and the old – moral instruction replaces straightforward insult (Kerkhecker 1999:34).

There is still plenty of scope for invective, however – Euhemerus is described as τὸν πάλαι Πάγχαιον ὁ πλάσας Ζᾶνα/ γέρων λαλάζων ἄδικα βιβλία ψήχει (F191.10-11), and Hipponax appears to take his leave in a very iambic manner – ἴτω κυσω (F191.98; cf. Kerkhecker 1999:47 with n.223). But the “targets” in *Iambus* 1 are general and unspecified – no scholar is named (Kerkhecker 1999:44). There is to be no replacement for Bupalus. In the *Iambi* as a whole there are few explicit targets (*pace* Clayman 1980:58), and the invective is indirect and oblique (Clayman 1980:59), as

¹⁴⁶ Nor is it true to say (*pace* Depew 1992:320) that the voices of Hipponax and Callimachus cannot be separated, despite the framing of the tale of Bathycles' cup as an aetiology, and the learning displayed by Hipponax (Dawson 1950:23) – this does not introduce ambiguity between Callimachus and Hipponax. The Archaic Hipponax *already* seemed “Hellenistic” in his learning and allusiveness, “a kind of proto-Hellenistic poet” (Brown 1997:87n.34).

compared to the more forceful approach of Archaic *iambos* and its customary objects of abuse (exemplified by Hipp.F12, quoted above in 3.5.1.1). Andronicus (indirectly, as addressee), Eudemus and the rest in *Iambus* 2 are “attacked” only as members of the human race, Euthydemus in *Ia.3* as an example of the general greed of the age, which the narrator seems to share, the teacher (unnamed) in *Ia.5* is advised ἐν ῥῥοι εὐνοίας (*Dieg.*VII.23). *Ia.6-12* have no real target.

One particularly important aspect of the indirectness of Callimachus’ *Iambi* is irony at the narrator’s expense. In *Ia.1* Hipponax appears to include iambicists in his condemnation of quarrelling scholars – ἵαμβον ὅστις (F191.21), and by implication attacks Callimachus the scholar-poet (and writer of *iambi*). But, of course, because Callimachus is the author of *Ia.1*, now turned to advice and against strife, he is acting as Hipponax is preaching (Kerkhecker 1999:34). This is the first example of a feature which runs throughout the collection. Often this self-irony derives from the gap between the narrator and the recommendations of the new Hipponax in *Ia.1*, and the book as whole represents a movement on the part of “Callimachus” (who first appears as the narrator in *Ia.2*) towards this new Hipponactean ideal, finally attained in *Ia.13* (as Kerkhecker 1999:291-3 demonstrates).

In *Ia.2* the narrator is “Callimachus”, as the *Diegesis* does not specify another speaker (parenthetic φησὶν VI.29). The mention of Aesop as the *source* of the animal-fable told there (ταῦτα δ’ Αἴσωπος/ ὁ Σαρδηνὸς εἶπεν, F192.15-16) does not indicate Aesop is the narrator (*pace* Clayman 1980:17), but marks a further example of the unArchaic indirectness of the *Iambi* (Kerkhecker 1999:59). There the receipt of animal voices by humans is framed as an aetiology (ἐκεῖθεν, F192.15) for men’s loquacity (πάντες.../ καὶ πολὺ μῦθοι καὶ λάλοι πεφύκασιν, F192.13-14), which they *already* exhibited before the transfer: ὥσπερ οὐ κάρτος/ ἡμέων ἐχόντων χητέροις ἀπάρξασθαι (F192.8-9). Zeus also takes away *speech* from animals (το φθέγμα, F192.7), but gives men their *voices* (φωνήν, F192.13). This “complicated failure” is the narrator’s (Kerkhecker 1999:58), and shows us that the joke here is partly on him – he gets carried away with his invective (he too is loquacious, see 3.5.3 below), and this overcomes concern with logic and consistency. But the abuse of Eudemus, Philon, and the tragedians (F192.10-13) also demonstrates that the “Callimachus” is

not yet the new Hipponax – he still indulges in literary polemic and initiates, or perpetuates, quarrels.

The gap between the new Hipponax and “Callimachus” is clearer still in the next two *Iambi*, where he is again the narrator. *Ia.3* is cast in the form of prayer, as are Archilochus F108 and F26 (to Apollo), and Hipponax F3a (to Hermes) and F40 (to Malis/Athena). But the difference from Archaic *iambos* is marked by a difference in the function of the prayer – in Archilochus and Hipponax the prayers were *for* something, here the narrator seems simply to complain about the present valuing of wealth over virtue (*Dieg.*VI 34-5), and wishes to have lived in the past: Εἴθ' ἦν, ἄναξ ὀπολλον, ἡνίκ' οὐκ ἦα (F193.1). This criticism of the times also has Archaic models, such as Hesiod's wish to have avoided the Iron Age (*WD* 174-6, Trypanis 1958:174, and see 2.3.4).

But such moralising is given a novel personal twist – the narrator is really worried about his poverty (με· φεῦ· τὸν ἄκληρο[ν, F193.17, Kerkhecker 1999:70 with n.40), and in particular the effect this had on his relationship with Euthydemus (Kerkhecker 1999:71ff.). Euthydemus exploits his youth for profit (κεχρημένον τῇ ὥρᾳ πορισμῶ, *Dieg.*VI.39), having been introduced to a rich man by his mother (ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς πλουσίῳ συσταθέντα, *Dieg.*VI.39-40), in preference to the now scorned narrator, who does not even receive basic courtesy from them (ὥσ[περ] Εὐθύδημον ἢ μήτηρ/ .. .]. ἀνα· νυν οὐδὲ πῦρ ἐναύουσιν, F193.24-5). The irony at the narrator's expense, following his complaint about the greed of the age and its dishonouring of the Muses, in contrast to the past (perhaps Μοῦσαι καὶ σὺ κάρτι' ἐ[τ]ιμᾶσθε, F193.2 – cf. Kerkhecker 1999:65), is clear when he complains:

] ν μοι τοῦτ' ἄν ἦν ὀνήϊσ[το]ν
]υ[]]Κ[υβή]βη τὴν κόμην ἀναρρίπτειν
 Φρύγ[α] πρ[ὸς] αὐλὸν ἢ ποδῆρες ἔλκοντα
 ᾿Αδω[ν]ιν αἰαῖ, τῆς θεοῦ τὸν ἄνθρωπον,
 ἠλεμίζειν· γῦν δ' ὁ μάργος ἐς Μούσας
 ἔνευσα· (F193.34-39)

It would not only be “best” but “most profitable” (ὀνήϊσ[το]ν) to be a (famously wealthy) follower of Cybele (Kerkhecker 1999:80 with n.91). Furthermore dancing to the Phrygian *aulos*, and lamenting Adonis are para-musical activities (Kerkhecker 1999:80) – better to do these things than follow the Muses. He too would reject them, having been μάργος to follow them, and only stops himself because he must lie in the bed he has made: τοίγα[ρ] ἦν ἔμαξα δευ[.]σω (F193.39).

The next poem, *Ia.4*, is presented as an attack on one Simos, παῖ Χαριτάδεω (F194.1), but interest again focuses on the narrator (*pace* Clayman 1980:28-9). Most of the poem is taken up with the fable of the laurel and the olive, who are interrupted by the bramble (F194.96ff.), as “Callimachus” (ὁ ποιητής, *Dieg.*VII.2) and an interlocutor are by Simos. But the bramble, like Simos, is a bit-part player. The real concern is who the primary narrator, “Callimachus”, is more like – the laurel or the olive. The laurel is vitriolic (ὄφρων ἐλαίη [F194.18, 28, 37] is her refrain) and rhetorical (e.g. *repetitio* F194.24-5, repetition of name F194.26-7, emphatic use of synonyms F194.37-8 [Clayman 1980:26]), but the narrator clearly wants us to identify the olive as the better parallel. She is sophisticated and ironic (Clayman 1980:27), does not resort to simple abuse (contrast her opening ὦ πάντα καλή, F194.46, with the laurel’s refrain), and responds to the laurel’s arguments in reverse order, exposing their inherent weaknesses: while the laurel may be the prize at the Pythian Games (F194.33), the olive is the prize at the Olympics (καὶ γὰρ ὡγὼν οὖν Ὀλυμπίη μέζων/ ἣ ἔν τοῖσι Δελφοῖς; F194.58-9). The olive uses her own “fable”, the conversation between two birds, and reflects the style of the narrator (both employ self-interrupting parentheses – οὐ γάρ; (narrator, F194.1), φεῦ τῶν ἀτρύτων, οἷα κωτιλίζουσι [olive, F194.81]). Both the conversation of the birds and the self-interruptions reflect the wider works of the historical Callimachus – the conversation in the *Hecale* (F71-F74) between the crow and the owl (Dawson 1950:54), and the pseudo-spontaneous, pseudo-oral manner of the *Iambi* (see 3.5.3 below). Further echoes of the *Hecale*, hence of Callimachus, are to be found in the mention of the different food the olive can provide (F194.75-77), where we are pointed explicitly to Theseus (ἦν ἔπωνε χῶ Θησεύς, F194.77), who is fed with a variety of olives at *Hecale* F36.4-5 (Kerkhecker 1999:105). Leto leaning against an olive-tree (F194.84), also mentioned by the olive, recalls the *Hymn to Delos* (4.262).

But in fact the narrator is like the laurel. *She* challenges the bramble in words strikingly like those of the narrator to Simos:

ὦ κακὴ λώβη,
ὥς δὴ μί' ἡμέων καὶ σύ; (laurel, F194.102-3)

Εἷς – οὐ γάρ; – ἡμέων, παῖ Χαριτάδεω, καὶ σύ (narrator, F194.1)

The narrator is betrayed by his own fable, and his self-characterisation as the olive is undercut.¹⁴⁷ This in itself is in marked contrast to the olive, whose fable and carefully controlled arguments secure her victory. The narrator still has much of the old-fashioned iambicist in him, represented here by the abusive laurel (Clayman 1980:27), and has yet to become like the new Hipponax. *Ia.4*, like *Ia.1*, will be referred back to by *Ia.13*, where “Callimachus” completes his development.

In the next poem, *Ia.5*, there seems to be some progress made towards the Hipponactean goal. Advice is being given by “Callimachus” to a teacher ἐν ἥθει εὐνοίας (*Dieg.VII.23*), to abandon his erotic involvement with his pupils (“quench the fires of love”, F195.22-6, cf. *Dieg.VII.23-4*) lest he be caught (μὴ ἄλῶ, *Dieg.VII.24*, cf. “hold back the horses, lest you crash”, F195.26-9). Appropriately enough, *Ia.5* has a formal Hipponactean model in Hipp. F118 – both are epodes (choliamb and trimeters, trimeters and dimeters respectively), begin with an apostrophe followed by an ἐπεὶ-clause justifying the outburst, and claim to give advice (Bühler 1964:237, Clayman 1980:31):

ᾠ ξεῖνε – συμβουλή γὰρ ἔν τι τῶν ἱρώων –
ἄκουε τὰπὸ καρδίας,
ἐπεὶ σε δαίμων ἄλφα βῆψα (F195.1-3)

ὦ Σάνν', ἐπειδὴ ρῖνα θεό[συλιν φορ]εῖς
καὶ γαστρὸς οὐ κατακρα[τεῖς,

τοῦς μοι παράσχες, []

¹⁴⁷ This means the narrator cannot simply be said to “be” the laurel (Kerkhecker 1999:114).

σύν τοί τι βουλευσαι θέλω (Hipp.F118.1-2, 5-6)

In Hipponax advice is a cover for abuse (λαιμῶι δέ σοι τὸ χεῖλος ὡς ἔρωιδιοῦ, Hipp.F118.3), and many have assumed the same situation in Callimachus (Bühler 1964:239-40, Clayman 1980:31, cf. *Dieg.* VII.20-1 Γραμματο[δ]ιδάσκαλ[ο]ν,...ἰαμβίζει, translated “attacks in iambs a school teacher” by Trypanis 1958:126). But Hipponactean advice also recalls the situation of the new Hipponax in *Ia.1*, and the pseudo-oral response to his audience ἄ, μή με ποιήσης γέλω (F195.30) also recalls Hipponax in *Ia.1*: ὦ λῶστε μή σίμαινε (F191.33). “Callimachus” in fact speaks indirectly (his addressee, in contrast to Hipponax’s, is unnamed, Bühler 1964:238), and only alludes to the teacher’s situation, though “quenching fires” as a metaphor for putting an end to desire is hardly the riddle “Callimachus” characterises it as in F195.31ff. (ἐγὼ Βάκις τοι καὶ Σίβυλλα καὶ δάφνη, 31). But it is impossible to say whether the poem later descended to abuse, as in Hipponax, or revealed some more personal or selfish motivation on the part of the narrator other than altruistic advice, as very little remains of F195.35-68 (Kerkhecker 1999:141-2).

Ia.6 is perhaps the best example of sending up the poem’s speaker, again “Callimachus”. A friend is sailing to Elis to see the statue of Zeus, so “Callimachus” describes it to him. But this *propempticon* has no interest in wishing the traveller a safe arrival and return, nor does it profess how the narrator will miss him (Kerkhecker 1999:173). Instead the narrator relates objective data to his friend: διηγεῖται μῆκος ὕψος πλάτος βάσεως θρόνου ὑποποδίου αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὅση ἢ δαπάνη (*Dieg.* VII.27-30); αὐτὸς δ’ ὁ δαίμων πέντ[ε] τ[ε]τ[τάρ]ῃς ἐφεδρ[ί]δος/ παχέεσσι μάσσων (F196.37-8). Hence the narrator is also uninterested in making the *ekphrasis* vivid and lifelike - no description here like:

Ἐν καὶ Φρίξος ἔην Μινυήιος ὡς ἑτεόν περ
εἰσαῖων κριοῦ, ὁ δ’ ἄρ’ ἐξενέποντι εἰκῶς.
κείνους κ’ εἰσοιρόων ἀκέοις, ψεύδοιό τε θυμόν,
ἔλπομενος πυκινήν τιν’ ἀπὸ σφείων ἐσακοῦσαι
βάξιν, ὃ καὶ δηρόν περ ἐπ’ ἐλπίδι θηήσαιο. (*Arg.* 1.763-67)

The figures in *Ia.6* only come to life to argue about size (Kerkhecker 1999:179):

παρθένοι γὰρ ᾤωνται

τᾶν ὀργυιαῖαν ὅσσον οὐδὲ πάσ[σα]λ[α]ν
φαντὶ μειονεκτεῖν. (F196.42-4)

This is not a straightforward display of dry erudition, nor a parody of didactic (Dawson 1950:72, Clayman 1980:34-5), but a satire on the speaker (Kerkhecker 1999:179), who fails to give the friend what he wants, as a traveller (best wishes, good luck) and as a reader (vividness). He sends him on his way with statistics and a bare ἀπέρχεν (F196.62, the end of the poem).

3.5.1.2 *Iambi* 7-11

In the *Iambi* there is then an interruption of the development of “Callimachus”, as we meet a variety of speakers in *Ia*.7-11, and the poems become more fragmentary (and somewhat different in character – Hutchinson (1988:55) finds in them much more generic transgression). In *Ia*.7 a statue of Hermes speaks (Ἑρμῆς ὁ Περφεραῖος, Αἰνίων θεός,/ ἔμμι, F197.1-2), *Ia*.9 is a dialogue between an ἐραστής (*Dieg*.VIII.34) and another statue of Hermes,¹⁴⁸ while *Ia*.11 is spoken by one Connidas.¹⁴⁹ So little is preserved of *Ia*.8 and 10 that it is difficult to be sure of the speakers, though perhaps F200B, from *Ia*.10, is easiest to attribute to “Callimachus”: τὴν ὠγαμέμνων, ὥς ὁ μῦθος, εἴσατο/ τῇ καὶ λίπουρα καὶ μονῶπα θύεται, where the scholarly “they say”-statement might suggest some play with the historical Callimachus.

In *Ia*.7-11 there are also traces of humour at the speaker’s expense. Hermes describes himself as a πάρεργον (F197.3) of Epeus (builder of the Trojan Horse), not his main achievement, while the poem as a whole transforms the epigrammatic speaking object (Dawson 1950:82) into a narrator who gives his origins and attributes, thus echoing hexameter hymns (Kerkhecker 1999:183), and stresses his own physicality and rough treatment (Kerkhecker 1999:195-6): σ]κ ἔ παρνον (F197.5), καταμεψάμενοι τὸν βόλον πρὸς ἀλέαν σχίζειν τε αὐτὸν καὶ παρακαίειν αὐτοῖς

¹⁴⁸ Hence there is no primary narrator. The “lover” is unlikely to be “Callimachus”, given the anonymous ἐραστής in the *Dieg*. (Kerkhecker 1999:205), and because the “autobiographical assumption” does not straightforwardly operate where there is no primary narrator.

¹⁴⁹ Surely the narrator throughout the poem *pace* Trypanis 1958:141 who thinks *Ia*.11 “later developed into a direct narrative by the poet.”

ἐπεχείρουν (*Dieg.*VIII.6-8). In *Ia.11* another speaker of epigrammatic convention (Dawson 1950:104) is made into an emotional figure who cannot stand misquotations by passers-by (so Kerkhecker 1999:216):

Ἄλλ οὐ τὸν Ὑψᾶν, ὃς τὸ σᾶμα μευ (F201)

τημένως λέγεται παροιμία ἄρπαγὰ τὰ Κοννάρου· Ἐκοννίδα γὰρ χρὴ
λέγειν. (*Dieg.*IX.13-14)

The dead Connidas swears by a local river, and thus personalises and enlivens the conventional dead speaker of sepulchral epigram (Kerkhecker 1999:215). His pride in his proverbial status sits awkwardly next to his erstwhile profession – πλουτήσας ἐκ πορνοβοσκίας (*Dieg.*IX.16-17). Much humour will doubtless have been derived from this.

Ia.8 was an epinician in iambics for one Polycles of Aegina, and Kerkhecker (1999:203-4) suggests on the basis of the epinician *Victoria Sosibii* (F384) and victory-epigrams where the victor speaks (Führer 1993:95), and the surrounding statue-as-speaker poems in the *Iambi* that the narrator is a statue of the victor. But this is hardly secure (*pace* Kerkhecker 1999:204) – the ambiguity of the speaker may be deliberate. Though statues speak in 7 and 9, the latter poem is a *dialogue*, with two speakers – perhaps *Ia.8* had two speakers in a different sense? The first line of poems in the *Iambi* usually establishes speaker and situation (Kerkhecker 1999:288, 148-9 on opening couplets with a similar function in epodic *Iambi*). But this is not the case in *Ia.8*:

Ἀργώ κοτ' ἐμπνέοντος ἥκαλον νότου (F198)

Even if *Ia.8* was not stichic, it seems unlikely that the narrator would have been made clear in the following line. The *Diegesis* contains no indication, even oblique, about the narrator's identity. Perhaps, given that *Ia.8* is an epinician, and fulfils, for example, the “informative” function of conventional epinicians (Führer 1992:210),¹⁵⁰

¹⁵⁰ The aetiology of the event also has epinician forebears – O.10 (Heracles founds the Olympics), B.9.10-24 (the founding of the Nemean Games). Cf. Führer 1992:211 n.792, and Maehler 1993 for other Pindaric aetia.

this was in imitation of the occasional ambiguity of the narrator perceived in Pindaric epinicians, where the chorus was thought to speak for a variety of subjects (Lefkowitz 1991:81-4):

ὥς ἀπὸ τοῦ χοροῦ τὸ πρόσωπον μιμουμένου τοῦ νενικηκότος (Σ ad P.8.55-6, Drachmann 1903-27:ii.214.13-14)

As well as not specifying the speaker, *Ia.8* is striking with regard to its epinician status in its narrative opening. Fuhrer (1992:209 with n.787) suggests B.9 and Pind.P.3 as parallels, but even they contain some epinician scene-setting before the narrative begins (Kerkhecker 1999:202-3). More remarkable still is that this epinician is in an iambic metre and in the *Iambi*. Was it composed for a real victory (as was the *Victoria Berenices*)? Was it composed thus, circulated independently, *then* incorporated into the collection of *Iambi*? This might also explain the different use of the first line and the opening in this poem as compared with others on the book. In any case, the poem loses any occasionality it had with its incorporation (Fuhrer 1992:212), and has strong connections with the poems around it – e.g. aetiology (in *Ia.7-11*, Fuhrer 1992:208, Kerkhecker 1999:203). There is no evidence on which to decide the question of the victory's reality.

Fuhrer (1992:214-5) suggests the choice of metre was because this epinician was not commissioned, indicating a more personal involvement than in Pindar (which is one of the ways in which *Ia.12* seems to operate), hence F222 on the mercenary Muse (οὐ γὰρ ἐργάτιν τρέφω/ τὴν Μοῦσαν, 1-2). But the model for those lines, Pindar's I.2 (ἅ Μοῖσα γὰρ οὐ φιλοκερδὴς πω τότ' ἦν οὐδ' ἐργάτις, 6), *was* from a commissioned poem, so it may be that *Ia.8* is in iambics and the *Iambi* because of a common concentration on the narrator (Kerkhecker 1999:203), perhaps undercutting him.

3.5.1.3 Iambi 12-13

With the last two *Iambi* (12 and 13) we return to “Callimachus” and to better preserved poems (Kerkhecker 1999:218). *Ia.12* is another poem which purports to be

occasional – for the seventh-day celebration of one Leon’s daughter (*Dieg.* IX.25-28). Here we seem to be very far from iambic abuse:

τοὔνεκ’ ἀντησ[αίτε], πρηεῖαι, θεαί,
τῇσδ’ ἐτῆς εὐχῇ[σι].. αἰσομαι
Μοῦσα τῇ μικκῇ τι τε.. ηναι μελῖ (F202.18-20)

“Callimachus” will sing (n.b.) for the little girl. This song contains a mythic exemplum, the song of Apollo for the newborn Hebe, which was her finest gift, as Apollo himself declares:

ἡ δ’ ἐμὴ τῇ παιδὶ καλλίστη δόσις·
ἔστ’ ἐμὸν γένειον ἀγνεύη τριχός
καὶ ἐρίφοις χαίρωνσιν ἄρπαγ[ες] λυκ[ο]ι (F202.68-70)

Song is immortal, and unburdened by the evils gold brings (F202.58ff.), so that Apollo’s gift even Ἡφαίστεια νικήσῃ καλά (F202.57). This, by implication, applies also to “Callimachus” song for Leon’s daughter – it will last, and is the greatest gift. The self-irony here derives from the domestication and private setting of this song (Kerkhecker 1999:246-9), itself reflected in Apollo’s song (cf. the toys Athena brings, F202.27-8), and perhaps the pose of the poor poet – did “Callimachus” offer a song because he affected to have nothing else (Kerkhecker 1999:248-9 with n.191)?

Archaic sentiments about the immortalising power of poetry in public or panHellenic contexts (e.g. Pindar N.1.6: ῥῆμα δ’ ἐργμάτων χρονιώτερον βιοτεύει, Theognis 245-7; cf. 2.1 above) are transferred to the private celebration for a little girl. The contrast between Apollo’s song and the offerings of Hephaestus (F202.56ff.), and perhaps a narrator’s pose of poverty, should be set against characterisations such as Pindar’s of wealth unused: οὐκ ἔραμαι πολὺν ἐν μεγάρῳ πλοῦτον κατακρύψας ἔχειν,/ ἀλλ’ ἐόντων εὖ τε παθεῖν καὶ ἀκουσαι φίλοις ἐξαρκέων (N.1.31-2). The inclusion of a mythic parallel for the narrator’s song also has a precedent in the paradigmatic myth in choral lyric (Kerkhecker 1999:247, e.g. Pindar’s *Hymn to Zeus* (F29-F35) and the song of Apollo and the Muses, about the weddings of Zeus, at the wedding of Cadmus, Snell 1953:73-4, 81), but again the context in *Ia.12* is private, rather than

public festival. This move from public to private should also be discerned in the friendship expressed through the poem by the narrator for Leon, a “friend” of the poet (Λέοντι γνωρίμῳ τοῦ ποιητοῦ, *Dieg.* IX.27-8), where naming him produces a pseudo-intimate effect (Kerkhecker 1999:221) similar to that in monody (see 2.1.1 above). This is another domestication of Pindaric expressions of ξενία for his patrons, which is very public and political in nature, often associating the Pindaric narrator, and his poetry, with the continued political success of kings, e.g. Hieron of Syracuse:

εἴη σέ τε τοῦτον ὑψοῦ χρόνον πατεῖν,
 ἐμέ τε τοσσάδε νικαφόροις
 ὀμιλεῖν πρόφαντον σοφία καθ’ Ἑλλαντας ἐόντα παντᾶ. (O.1.115-16)

In *Ia.12* the iambic metre seems to mark this personal involvement of the narrator, rather than marking him as a poet of invective, while in the final poem in the collection “Callimachus” completes his progress. As he was one of the scholars Hipponax addressed in *Ia.1*, he is now attacked by one such critic, and addresses him. We are at a symposium, obliquely indicated in the first line (Μοῦσαι καλαὶ κᾶπολλον, οἷς ἐγὼ σπένδω, F203.1; cf. H.1.1, Kerkhecker 1999:252). This sympotic opening is probably spoken by “Callimachus” (Kerkhecker 1999:252-3 *contra* Pfeiffer 1949-53:207), given its lack of abuse. When the text resumes the critic is attacking, and one of the markers of his and his criticism’s dubious status is his abuse of the convivial symposium. The narrator, therefore, is probably *recalling* an incident in the past, and quoting the conversation *verbatim*, as in Archilochus F196a.

The extant criticisms are Callimachus’ ignorance of Hipponax’s Ephesus (οὐτ’ Ἐφεσον ἐλθὼν, ἥτις ἐστὶ ἀμ./ Ἐφεσον, ὅθεν περ οἱ τὰ μέτρα μέλλοντες/ τὰ χολὰ τίκτειν μὴ ἀμαθῶς ἐναύονται, F203.12-14) and mixing dialects in the *Iambi* (λαλευσ[...]./ Ἰαστὶ καὶ Δωριστὶ καὶ τὸ σύμμεικτον, F203.17-18). “Callimachus” responds in the manner of his Hipponax in *Ia.1* – he points out the deleterious effects of professional envy, such as that exemplified by his critic:

ἄ]οιδὸς ἐς κέρας τεθύμωται
 κοτέω]ν ἀοιδῷ κῆμὲ δει..ταπραχ...[
]δ[ύ]γῃται τὴν γενὴν ἀνακρίνει

καίῃ δοῦλον εἶναι φησι καὶ παλίμπρητον
καὶ τοῦ πρ.....ου τὸν βραχίονα στίζει,
ὥστ' οὐκ αἰκεῖ[.....]υσιν ἀλλ' υῖσαι
φάυλοις ὀμι[λ]εῖ[ν.....]ν παρέπτησαν
καὐταὶ προμεῦσαι μὴ κακῶς ἀκούωσι· (F203.52-59)

Envy brings violence (cf. *Ia*.1, F191.79: καὶ ‘φευγε· βάλλει· φευγ’ ἐρεῖ ‘τὸν ἄνθρωπον.’, Kerkhecker 1999:269 n.114), and keeps away the Muses (the αὐταὶ of 59). There are close verbal parallels with *Ia*.1 – e.g. ὦ λῶστε (*Ia*.1, F191.33) ~ ὦ λῶστ’ (*Ia*.13, F203.24, the beginning of the reply of “Callimachus”, Depew 1992:325, Clayman 1980:46), and a possible quotation of F191.25-6 at F203.91-2 (line-endings [πέ]πλον, τὰς [Μο]ῦσας (F191.91-2), πέπλ[ον, τὰς Μοῦσας (F203.25-6, Kerkhecker 1999:260). “Callimachus” is now lecturing the scholars (Kerkhecker 1999:270). He also echoes the reasoned argument of the olive in *Ia*.4 by turning the critic’s arguments against him (even quoting his comments about Ephesus back to him at F203. 64-6), and quoting from his speech (ὡς τῆς ἐλαίης, ἥ ἀνέπαυσε τὴν Λητώ, F203.62 ~ F194.84). The laurel has become the olive.

3.5.2 Quasi-biography and “Callimachus”

Despite the fragmentary state of the *Iambi* we can usually be sure of the identity of the speaker. This is because the first line normally identifies the speaker if he is not “Callimachus” (*Ia*.1, 7, 11). If the narrator *is* closely grounded on the historical author, this is often apparent from the poem, but in any case we can assume “Callimachus” is the speaker by the “autobiographical assumption” (see 1.7 above).

This can often be supported by the *Diegesis*, which suggests that it takes the narrator of an iambus to be “Callimachus” when it does not name or otherwise specify a subject for the actions it describes in a poem (as in *Ia*. 2, 3, 5, 6, 10, 13), or explicitly states this is ὁ ποιητής (*Dieg*.VII.2 [*Ia*.4], τοῦ ποιητοῦ, *Dieg*.IX.27-8 [*Ia*.12]). When the speaker is clearly *not* “Callimachus”, this is usually indicated, in addition to the first line the *Dieg.* quotes, either by direct reference, as to the anonymous ἐραστής (*Dieg*.VIII.34 [*Ia*.9]), or by extensive use of the passive (*Dieg.* to *Ia*.7).

There is considerable play with biographical facts or beliefs about the historical Callimachus in the *Iambi*. This is perhaps clearest in *Ia.4*, where there are clear references in the speech of the olive to the *Hecale*, and clear affinities of style with “Callimachus” in *Ia.4* and the *Iambi* as a whole (see 3.5.1.1 above). In general the picture of a quarrelling Callimachus picks up the impression built up in different way in various Callimachean poem that Callimachus was engaged in, or affected by, literary controversies (e.g. the *Aet.*-prologue). This interest in poetic debates is an important part of the persona of “Callimachus” in the *Iambi*, and seems likely to have been based in some manner on facts about the historical author. This feature of “Callimachus” is to the fore in *Ia.13*, where the narrator portrays himself as under attack from an unnamed critic for various features of the *Iambi* (e.g. its mixture” of dialects, F203.16-18), and of its author, chief of which is his not travelling (οὐτ’ Ἐφεσον ἐλθών, F203.12). This biographical “fact” makes it clear how such “facts” can arise and become part of a poetic persona. At *Aet.*F178, an interlocutor of “Callimachus” declares to him:

τρισμακάαρ, ἦ παύρων ὀλβιός ἐσσι μέτα,
ναυτιλίας εἰ νῆιν ἔχεις βίον· ἀλλ’ ἐμὸς αἰών
κύμασιν αἰθυίης μάλλον ἐσφκίσατο (32-34)

This has long been taken to be an indication that Callimachus never travelled as far as Greece or Asia Minor, but has recently been doubted (Cameron 1995:211) – it is naïve to identify narrator and author so completely. This is fair, but there must be some reason why Callimachus plays, at least twice in his most “autobiographical” works, with this idea of not having travelled. Perhaps he often expressed a *dislike* for travel (not easy in the ancient world, Kerkhecker 1999:173): “I never travel.” But a dislike of travelling implies at least limited travel. Perhaps Callimachus alludes to a common topic of conversation, or a commonly expressed opinion.¹⁵¹ In any case, realising that F178 does not demonstrate Callimachus’ non-travelling, does not license inferences such as that the *Hecale* implies a visit to Attica (Cameron 1995:212), or ep.24 on the Thracian Rider-god travel to Thrace (Cameron 1995:211) – could the ubiquity of such statues not have been recorded in some ethnographical work in the Library?

¹⁵¹ These are not the only possibilities, of course, but serve *exempli gratia*.

The idea of Callimachus as never travelling may also be played with in *Ia.6*, a “failed” *propempticon* describing the statue of Olympian Zeus at Elis – a statue described in minute detail by a famous non-traveller (cf. Kerkhecker 1999:174 n.137)? Is this why the poem fails to wish the traveller *bon voyage* or *bon retour*? Can Callimachus get nothing right when it comes to travelling?

Other such biographical “facts” (distortions, assumptions, variously caused) in the *Iambi* include a close association with poetry, poverty, scholarship, erotic involvements and perhaps the tradition that Callimachus had been a teacher. His being a poet, in particular his having a relationship with the Muses (Μοῦσαι γὰρ ὅσους ἴδον ὄθματι παίδας/ μὴ λοξῶ, πολιοῦς οὐκ ἀπέθεντο φίλους, *Aet.*F1.37-8, dialogue with the Muses in *Aetia* 1-2), and Apollo (Ἀ[πό]λλων εἶπεν ὁ μοι Λύκιος, *Aet.*F1.22, cf. end H.2), are important in *Ia.3* (ὁ μάργος ἐς Μούσας/ ἔνευσα, F193.38-9), 12 (Δῆλι’ ὥπολλον, σὺ, F202.47, εἶκ’ ἄναξ, F202.79), and 13 (Μοῦσαι καλαὶ κἄπολλον, οἷς ἐγὼ σπένδω, F203.1).

Ia.12 may (Kerkhecker 1999:248-9) and *Ia.3* certainly does, play with Callimachus’ alleged poverty (again, an elastic and conveniently relative concept, as well as a *topos* with regard to lovers and poets). In *Aet.*F112.5-6 “Callimachus” (not Hesiod, Cameron 1995:371) is a shepherd boy τῷ Μοῦσαι πολλὰ νέμοντι βοτά/ σὺν μύθους ἐβάλλοντο παρ’ ἱχνίον ὀξέος ἵππου, 5-6), therefore poor, while the narrator of ep.46 claims to have both remedies against love, poetry and poverty (4-7).¹⁵² “Callimachus” is both a poet, and poor. Another common characteristic of “Callimachus”, his scholarship, is exploited by the pedantically exact description in *Ia.6*, and the indication of a source for a narrative in *Ia. 2* (Aesop, F192.15-17) and 4 (the Lydians, F194.7-8), and perhaps also *Ia.10* (F200B –ὡς ὁ μῦθος).

Most intriguing, perhaps, is the address to a teacher of *Ia.5*. This seems suggestive in the light of the *Suda*’s statement that Callimachus γράμματα ἐδίδασκεν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι, κωμυδρίῳ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας (T1.7-8Pf.). This testimony has been doubted (Cameron 1995:5-6), particularly because it does not sit well with Callimachus’

¹⁵² Cf. also ep.32.1 – μεν πλούτου κενεαὶ χέρες.

apparent Battiad heritage. It is quite possible that this poem itself gave rise to the account in the *Suda* (Cameron 1995:226), perhaps explaining why Callimachus would know and could advise an elementary teacher (σε δαίμων ἄλφα βῆτ[α, F195.3), which is how he is presented in the *Suda* – γράμματα ἐδίδασκεν. But perhaps “teacher” was a comical or satirical jibe commonly made at Callimachus’ scholarship, or some more prestigious tutoring at some time in his life. If so, *Ia.5* may allude to it. Perhaps some of the self-irony lay there – Callimachus the scholar-poet of the Museum presenting himself as a teacher alongside his addressee, turning a jibe into flesh.¹⁵³

3.5.3 Inscribing Orality

Archaic *iambos* was orally performed (though not so composed), and Callimachus’ *Iambi* carefully recreate this oral context. *Ia.1*, for example, is mimetic in the manner of H.2, 5, 6, and the situation, a lecture by Hipponax *redivivus*, is established by the opening words – Ἀκούσαθ’ Ἰππώνακτος (F191.1). The Hellenistic *Iambi* are generally assumed not to be oral – why else bother to *recreate* the context (Kerkhecker 1999:290 n.109). The *Iambi* could have been, indeed probably were, recited (Cameron 1995:64). But, *pace* Kerkhecker, this is not quite the irrelevance it seems. If the *Iambi* were recited by Callimachus before an audience of Alexandrian scholars, this would have affected the original reception of *Ia.1*, or 13. But *Ia.1* will not have been performed outside the walls of Alexandria, at a temple of Sarapis. This is one fundamental break from Archaic *iambos*. And, of course, the *first* recitation does not (and should not) set the poem’s meanings and interpretations in stone.

Here again, the break with Archaic poetry is not a complete one. Was there no fictionality about the scenes evoked in Archaic poetry? Of course there was (see 2.3.2.1 and 3.2.4 above). Was Archilochus F89 performed (composed?) while enemies attacked? No. It too creates a context for itself, though it was performed orally at a symposium or other gathering. Here again there is something in common with the *Iambi* – Archaic iambic poetry (particularly that of Hipponax?) was not

¹⁵³ Again, I mean this scenario *exempli gratia*, to demonstrate the openness which the fragments and the *Suda* present.

written for one performance (to Alexandrian scholars or citizens of Ephesus), but to be re-performed and re-read (whether during performance or privately). Archaic poetry was not designed (solely) for a one-off show (see 2.2 above).

Nevertheless, the oral contexts in which Archaic *iambos* had been originally performed had disappeared by the Hellenistic period. The inclusion of an oral context in the *Iambi* marks a break with the past – the *Iambi* are self-conscious imitations, rather than straightforward further examples of the genre (Konstan 1998:136). The final poem in the collection even goes so far as to claim that a contemporary, Hellenistic poet can only compose in these genres, imitate them, if he is able enough to recreate the occasions in which they were performed. This is the point of the echoes of Plato's *Ion*, and the idea of one poet being limited to one type of poetry (F203.31-33) – Callimachus' poetry (*contra* Plato) *is* a τέχνη, and he can write in any genre, because he can reproduce their original contexts (Depew 1993:64, 1992:327). Going to Ephesus (F203.64-6) will not license such poetry – the context of *iambos* has to be created and included along with the *Iambi*.

The most basic example of an oral situation is in *Ia.9* – a dialogue. But signs of a pseudo-oral, pseudo-spontaneous situation are to be found in much of the collection. In *Ia.1* Hipponax reacts to the audience, as if extemporising, just after beginning the tale of Bathycles' cup:

ἄνῆρ Βαθυκλῆς Ἀρκάς – οὐ μακρὴν ἄξω,
ὦ λῶστέ μὴ σίμαινε, καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' αὐτός
μέγα σχολάζ[ω] δεῖ με γὰρ μέσον δινεῖν
φεῦ φεῦ Ἀχέροντος – (F191.32-35)

An audience-member is imagined as turning up his nose, and Hipponax responds to tell him he has little time and must return to Hades (“alas, alas” – cf. φεῦ in *Ia.3* at F193.17 where the narrator laments his poverty). Such self-interruption and parenthesis is already a feature of Archaic *iambos* (Kerkhecker 1999:36, Pfeiffer 1949-53:i.166 ad F191.32-35, Hipp.F36.1-2: ἐμοὶ δὲ Πλοῦτος – ἔστι γὰρ λίην τυφλός –/ ἐς τῷκί' ἐλθὼν οὐδάμ'), and the technique of pseudo-spontaneity is apparent in much Archaic literature (see 2.3.2.1 above). Self-interruptions can be used to give the impression the audience/reader is overhearing a conversation, as in *Ia.4* (Εἶς – οὐ

γάρ; – ἡμέων, παῖ Χαριτάδεω, F194.1), or to characterise a monologue as spontaneous (ᾠ ξεῖνε – συμβουλὴ γάρ ἐν τι τῶν ἱρῶν – / ἄκουε, F195.1-2). “Reacting” to the audience is also to be found in *Ia.5* (ἄ, μή με ποιήσης γέλω, F195.30) and 6, where the pseudo-orality is more oblique:

τῷ δ' ὦν ἀναισίμωμα – λίχνος ἐσσι [γάρ
καὶ τό μευ πυθέσθαι – (F196.45-6)

The narrator hints that some facial expression or other indication prompts him to tell his addressee the cost of the statue. The oral context of *Ia.6* is indicated in other ways too – the conversational final imperative (ἄπερχε, F196.62), the colloquial language employed (ὅσσον οὐδὲ πάσι[σα]λόν, F196.43, Kerkhecker 1999:160).

But it is not only the general situation of the *Iambi* which is thus created – the inclusion of an oral setting for the poems can be used in specific poems for particular effects. In *Ia.2*, for example, the fable is confused, a superfluous aetiology for why men are πούλυμθοι καὶ λάλοι (F192.14), to which is added an illogical piece of invective – κύνος μὲν Εὐδημος, / ὄνου δὲ Φίλων... (F192.10-11). The narrator has got carried away (Kerkhecker 1999:58), but this is to be expected, as he is a man, and therefore loquacious. Orality and aetiology combine to send up the speaker. *Ia.4* operates in a similar manner, if more subtly, as its conversational situation, with the narrator responding to Simos' interruption with a fable, leaves room for this pseudo-extemporising speaker to go on too long, or to get the fable wrong. This is of course what happens – the laurel challenges the bramble, as the narrator Simos, and “Callimachus” makes himself seem more like the irascible and defeated tree than the rational olive.

3.6 The Lyrics

The four lyric poems of Callimachus (F226-F229) are in stichic or epodic metres (F227 is epodic, though not set out as such by Pfeiffer [Trypanis 1958:161, Cameron 1995:165]). There is no attempt to reproduce the complicated strophic structure of Pindaric odes, nor even the simpler stanzas of Sappho, and metrically they most resemble the *Iambi* of which they have often been considered a part (e.g. by Cameron 1995:163ff.). Nevertheless they are separate (see 3.5 above). Their metrical simplicity is to be explained by the fact that they were not sung (Wilamowitz 1912:543).

They are not well preserved, and have attracted little recent interest from scholars (less than three full pages in Lehnus 1989:138-40; Hutchinson 1988:84 n.114 cites F228 as an example of the grandiose but omits a discussion on the grounds of space). The work that has been done has been largely concerned with the date of the poems, particularly F228, *The Deification of Arsinoë*, and the reconstruction of the text and its basic sense (e.g. Wilamowitz 1912, Pfeiffer 1926).¹⁵⁴ There has been little in the way of analysis of voice, narrative or other literary aspects of the poems, with the exception of Di Benedetto 1994 (who demonstrates the careful use in F228 of Andromache's learning of Hector's death in *Il.*22), and the notes to the recent Italian edition in D'Alessio 1996.

There are good indications from the *Diegesis*, using the approach outlined in 3.5.2 above, that all the narrators in the lyric poems are a projection of the historical author, though the amount of quasi-biography seems to have been much smaller than in the *Iambi*. This fact, and the lack of emphasis on narratorial self-irony, are a further mark of their difference from the *Iambi*. In general it can be said that the lyric poems bear no more resemblance to Archaic lyric in terms of narrator and voice than other works of Callimachus, such as the *Hymns* or the *Aetia*, with several features observable in the lyrics being paralleled outside them. This demonstrates the general influence of Archaic lyric in particular (and Archaic poetry more broadly) on

¹⁵⁴ Burr Thompson (1964:163) introduces F227 as a parallel for a plaster relief of an Alexandrian night-festival; O'Sullivan 1976 concentrates on ἄπτε at F228.43; Grenfell-Hunt 1899 is only incidentally concerned with the poems.

Callimachus, which is not confined to genres bearing a metrical affinity (cf. the elegiac epinician *Victoria Berenices*).

Little can be made of the narrator in F226, of which only the opening line remains. The opening of F229, an invocation of the Δαίμονες εὐσυνότατοι Zeus and Apollo, is conventional, while the other two lyrics begin in striking fashion. F227 is mimetic (D'Alessio 1996:ii.657 n.5, Wilamowitz 1912:538, cp. Albert 1988:77-8 with unhelpful reference to *Szenenerieveränderung*): "Ενεστ' Ἀπόλλων τῷ χορῷ τῆς λύρης ἀκούω. The narrator seems to be at a festival, and reports the gods whose presence he feels. This is pseudo-spontaneous, and he adds καὶ τῶν Ἑρώτων ἡσθόμην ἔστι κάφροδίτη in the next line. There was perhaps also a mimetic address to the revellers – there is an imperative δεῦτε at F227.4 followed by παννυχί, which Wilamowitz (*app.crit.*, Pfeiffer 1949-53:i.217) suggested might have been παννυχίσταί. The poem breaks off with an address to ᾧ Κάστορ and σὺ Πωλύδευκες (8), and probably went on to address Helen (καὶ Ἑλένην ὕμνεϊ, καὶ παρακαλεῖ τὴν θυσίαν δέξασθαι, *Dieg.*X.7-8).

F228 also begins with gods, but to hand over leadership of the song to them:

Ἀγέτω θεός – οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ δίχα τῶνδ' αἰεῖδεν
πῖροποδεῖν Ἀπόλλων
]κεν δυνάϊμαν (1-3)

Thus, despite the use of the first-person forms in 1 and 3, the narrator subordinates himself to the Muses (hence the plural τῶνδ' in 1) and Apollo, who will show the way (2). This emphatic entrusting of the song to the gods has some antecedents (see below), but may be specifically related here to the question of the narrator's omniscience. The narrator addresses the dead Arsinoë (νόμφα, σὺ μὲν..., 5), and knows that she was speeding ἀστερίαν ὑπ' ἄμαξαν ἤδη (5). Moreover, he knows about the *perceptions* of gods such as the (recently deified) Philotera:

σαμάντριαν ἃ δὲ πυρᾶς ἐνόησ' ἱψῶν,
ἄν οὐλα κυλινδομένην ἐδίωκτον αὔραι (40-1)

He knows her whereabouts (Lemnos, 44) and what she *did not* know about – Arsinoë's death (45). Therefore she asks Charis to investigate, and the narrator also

has full knowledge of their conversation. This level of knowledge of the divine mind may have prompted the opening of the poem. Surrendering narratorial autonomy to divinities to gain complete knowledge is reminiscent of Homer, where the proems, and *Il.*2.485-6, make it clear that the narrator is receiving his narrative from the Muses, but thereby gains complete access to the events of the story (see 2.3.3 above).

Callimachus also exploits a particular passage of Homer in F228, where Andromache learns of Hector's death (Di Benedetto 1994:273-4). Both the Homeric and the Callimachean passages are about the death of a character and the laments thus prompted (*Il.*22.361-437 ~ F228.5-39), then concentrate on the situation of a close female relative of the dead person (Andromache, *Il.*22.437ff. ~ Philotera, F228.40ff.). In neither case does she witness the death, but perceives a sign (*Il.*22.447 ~ F228.40), and in both cases the woman feels faint (*Il.*22.466 ~ F228.55). But there is a clear difference in the situation of F228, which marks a deification as well as a death, rather than a straightforward loss. This modifies the tone created by the poem, as compared to its Homeric model. The pathos is lessened, an intermediary, Charis, is introduced to find out what the sign signifies, and she is the one who feels faint, not Philotera (Di Benedetto 1994:275). The modification of Andromache's fainting in the *Il.* into "crying out, feeling faint" (θυμολιπῆς ἐβόασε, F228.55) further marks the shift from the Homeric situation.

But the poem is still emotional in tone – Arsinoë is regularly addressed: 5-7, possibly 18ff. (Wilamowitz restores σὺ δὲ καὶ at the beginning of 18 *e var.lect.Schol.* [*app.crit.*, Pfeiffer 1949-53:i.219]), σέο δ' ἦν ἄπ[υστος, ᾧ δαίμοσιν ἀρπαγίμα (45-6). These addresses are meant to arouse pathos – Arsinoë has been "snatched away" by the gods, and the language used to describe the reaction to her death is likewise emotional: ἄτενεῖς ὀδυρμοί (F228.7), χύδαν ἐδίδασκε λύπα (F228.11). But the level of pathos created in the Andromache-scene is diffused in Callimachus as the pace is lessened. The rapidity of Homer (from Andromache's general fear, to imagined danger for Hector, to seeing the corpse in just over ten lines, 453-465) is slowed: general doubts in 47-51, Charis sent to investigate in 56ff., with the revelation of the reason for the mourning only in 73f. (Di Benedetto 1994:276). There is even time for the narrator to provide us with some geographical information:

ἀ δ' ὅποτε σκοπιᾶν ἐπέπτα
χιονώδεα, τὰν ἀπέχειν ἐλάχιστον ἄρκτου
ἦκει λόγος (F228.52-4)

But, though being used to modify Homer, this is also reminiscent of the epics: of the three narratorial uses of “they say”-statements in Homer, two are of facts of geography (*Il.*2.783, *Od.*6.42). There is also difference – Homer never uses λόγος in such a statement, but almost always employs φασί. In general we can say that there is little scholarly obscurity in F228 (Proteus stands for Pharos in 39-41, hardly a riddle), and little pseudo-spontaneity, despite the self-interruption of οὐ γὰρ in the first line.

F228 concentrates instead on the careful evocation of a tone between celebration and mourning, and as a poem about a beginning, as well as an end, it is transitional. The move of Arsinoë from the human to the divine spheres is carefully handled, and there is no trace of any divine attributes in the extant verses (D'Alessio 1996:659 n.8). She is addressed instead as νύμφα, not even as queen, let alone goddess (Wilamowitz 1912:533, Pfeiffer 1926:168). Reference to her as divine *outside* Callimachus only began after her death (Pfeiffer 1926:171), so that F228 is something of a bridge to the deified Arsinoë. A model for this move is included in the poem in the shape of Philotera, the sister of Arsinoë, who has died, been deified, and *is* called a goddess (*pace* D'Alessio 1996:666 n.31): τὰδ' ἔφα θεός (F228.52) – the papyrus punctuates after θεός, giving these words to Philotera, which is more natural in any case.

The final lyric poem, F229, presents Apollo speaking to Branchus, giving him instructions and gifts. It is likely that Branchus was depicted as a young man (Barber-Maas supply the vocative κοῦρε ποθήτ'] at the beginning of F229.3 (*app.crit.* Trypanis 1958:170), and a shepherd: χλωρὴν βοτάνην νέμοιτο/...τῇσδε μελέσθω (F229.4-5). This recalls the situation at the beginning of the *Aetia*, where Apollo speaks and instructs the young Callimachus (F1.22ff.), who was associated with the shepherd Hesiod (cf. F2.1), and is referred to in very similar terms in F112.5-6 (Cameron 1995:371). Though the nature of the conversations is different (prophecy and the foundation of Didyma as opposed to advice about poetry), the similarities prompt questions about the relationship between the two passages. Does the *Aet.*-prologue allude to the religious/prophetic setting of F229, involving Apollo, as it does to the poem of Parmenides (Asper 1997:74ff., Knox 1999:282-5)? Or is it that the *Branchus*

is playing with “facts” about the biography of “Callimachus”, associating speaker and subject? If the latter is the case, this would represent a greater use of quasi-biography in F229 than in the other lyric poems. In any case, the apostrophe of Apollo apparent in F229.9ff. (e.g. ὦφθης, 10) is striking in view of the regularity of apostrophe to this particular god (e.g. HH3, the only god addressed in the *Il.*, apart from the Muses – see 2.3.1 and 2.3.4 above).

3.7 The *Hecale*

Heinze (1919=1960:375-6) observed that while in his elegies Callimachus never allows the reader to forget the narrator, there is no trace of such narratorial intrusion in the epic *Hecale*. He is followed by Hunter (1993a:115) and Cameron (1995:440), who claims that the first person, narrator, and narratorial apostrophe are “entirely absent from the *Hecale*”. The presentation, on his view, is very different from that in the *Aetia* – “the ‘objective’ epic manner”. Caution is required. It is clear, on one hand, that the *Hecale*’s narrator *is* much less intrusive than that of the *Aetia*, or those of the *Hymns* (no trace of pseudo-spontaneity, no narratorial self-corrections, no self-apostrophe, no break-offs etc.) and there is no good reason to take any first-person statement as spoken by the narrator – F138 λίποιμι and F142 μέμβλετό μοι are entirely without context, while ὕδέοιμι in F78, which might look a good candidate, is part of a celebration of Aethra before a group of women (ἐπ’ ἀγρομένης) and most unlikely to be narratorial. But the situation is not as clear-cut as Cameron suggests for apostrophes by the narrator.

Hollis (1990:149) suggests “the poet [is] apostrophizing his character” in F15 (τὸ δ’ ἐγκυτὶ τέκνον ἐκέρσω), which is usually taken to refer to Theseus’ peculiar youthful haircut. In the light of F13 (τοιοῦτον γὰρ ὁ παῖς ὅδε λῆμα φαίνει), again seemingly referring to Theseus, which the demonstrative pronoun and present tense suggest is spoken by another character about the young Theseus, and the possibility that Theseus himself is narrating the events of his early life to Hecale (Gutzwiller 1981:51),¹⁵⁵ an address by a character is perhaps more likely. The use of the term τέκνον also suggests speech, and would indicate an unusual degree of narratorial emotion (as well as indicating Theseus’ age). F65 may also contain an apostrophe:

ἔπρεπέ τοί προέχουσα κάρης εὐρεῖα καλύπτρη,
ποιμενικὸν πίλημα, καὶ ἐν χειρὶ χαῖον ἔχουσα

¹⁵⁵ Hollis (1990:148) follows Pfeiffer (1949-53:i.229) in taking F12-15 as narrated (sc. by the primary narrator) in flashback after a recognition of Theseus by means of the tokens in Troezen. But he admits that “we know very little about this part of the poem.”

It is not clear here whether *τοι=tibi* or the particle, but it is more likely to be a narratorial apostrophe as this is a description of Hecale's appearance *in the past*, and *τοι=tibi* is more common in Callimachus (Hollis 1990:213). However, the address could be that of a character recollecting the dead Hecale near the end of the poem. It is also unclear whether the address to Nemesis in F116 (Αἴσηπον ἔχεις, ἐλικώτατον ὕδωρ,/ Νηπίης ἥ τ' ἄργος, αἰδιδίμος Ἀδρήστεια) is by a character or the primary narrator. F137 (†ἀφ' ὕμέων† κοκύνῃσι καθήμενῃ ἀρχαίῃσι) is a possible address to a bird, which it would be more natural to regard as a character's, but the narrator cannot be ruled out. There is an address to an animal in F149 (καὶ ἀγλαὰ πίσεα γαίης/ βόσκειο), which may be the Marathonian bull (Hecker¹⁵⁶ *apud* Hollis 1990:317), and spoken by the narrator (so Hollis 1990:317). But this may be an address by a character, e.g. by Hecale to an animal near her hut. The one certain narratorial apostrophe (F172inc.sed.=F611inc.sed.Pf. – Καλλιχόρῳ ἐπὶ φρητὶ καθέζο παιδὸς ἄπυστος) is not certainly from the *Hecale* (Hollis 1990:329 favours the epic, Pfeiffer (1949-53:i.417) the *Aetia*).

These possibilities must modify our view of the objective, epic narrator of the *Hecale*. The differences from the elegiac and hymnal voices of Callimachus should not be exaggerated so as to shut down possible interpretations of context-less fragments. This is particularly true when Homeric addresses to characters (e.g. to Patroclus) are taken into account. The Homeric model brings us to the question of the *Hecale*'s genre. How like Homer should we expect it and its narrator to be? It is often characterised as an “epyllion”, which might be taken as grounds for expecting a greater divergence from what is characterised as “fully-fledged” Homeric epic.

The term “epyllion”, however, is a suspect one, and the category it denotes largely illusory when applied to Hellenistic literature. Allen (1940) rightly attacked the view exemplified by Crump (1931:22-4) that an epyllion was a short narrative poem relating in an erudite fashion an obscure myth about a hero or heroine (as opposed to a god), including a digression, with speech prominent. His grounds were that the term is not an ancient one in the sense required (1940:4-6), and that the characteristics of “epyllion” were not exclusive to it, but shared by other genres or not exhaustively definitive of “epyllion” (e.g. the alleged obscurity of subject-matter,

¹⁵⁶ *Commentationum Callimachearum Capita duo* (1842):79-148 on the *Hecale* (*non vidi*).

1940:15). Allowing for Allen's criticism, there have been more recent attempts to defend the "epyllion" as a literary category by Hollis (1990:23-26) and Gutzwiller (1981:2-9). Gutzwiller (1981:3) justifies her defence of the category on the grounds of shared characteristics (brevity, use of hexameter, telling a story), but also finds a stylistic unity to Hellenistic epyllia: "epic written in the leptotic style advocated by Callimachus" (1981:9). This involves the subversion of "the archaic ideal" (1981:5) and a conscious contrast with Archaic epic. Hollis (1990:25-6), on the other hand, continues to invoke shared characteristics, such as being named after a female character, exploring her emotions in depth, featuring direct speech, a selective narrative style and the use of flashbacks.

But neither approach can save the epyllion. Hollis' characteristics hardly amount to a unified concept – elegiac poems were also commonly given women's names (*Lyde*, *Leontion*, *Cydippe* – Cameron 1995:449), and gave space to their emotions, while direct speech, flashbacks and selective narrative are common in several genres (all three in lyric, the former two in Homer). There is not enough to hold the epyllion together even as a family-resemblance concept (Wittgenstein 1967:32e §67; cf. Kerkhecker 1999:8 n.50 on "genre"), where no one feature need be shared by all the objects governed by a particular term. Furthermore, Gutzwiller's definition cannot distinguish epyllion from the *Argonautica*, and this demonstrates the category is bogus. Her attempts to find a tonal unity also founder on the variety of tone among poems held to be epyllia (as Hollis 1990:24 recognises – the *Europa* may be "charming", but this hardly does for the *Hecale*, or Euphorion).

The reason for the persistent desire to defend the epyllion, even as a "subdivision" of epic (Gutzwiller 1981:4) is the nature of Latin "epyllia", such as the *Ciris* or Catullus 64, and the belief that their poets must have had a Greek model (Hollis 1990:25). But the affinities of these later poems, and of such lost works as Cinna's *Zmyrna* or Calvus' *Io*, only point us to the non-existence of the category in earlier Greek literature. These poems *do* seem to have a Greek model, namely the *Europa* (Cameron 1995:452), but even here there is an important difference. The *Europa*, like the *Hecale*, lacks an intrusive, very visible narrator (Hunter 1993a:114-5), in contrast to Latin epyllia. This is one of the "significant differences between the Alexandrian epyllia and

later Latin epyllia” (Gutzwiller 1981:2) and one which demonstrates that “epyllion” is a category which we should abandon when discussing the *Hecale* and its narrator.

The *Hecale*, then, is epic. This is apparent in the style and language of the poem. Several linguistic indications, for example, show that Callimachus’ “*Hecale* approaches Homer much more closely than do the hexameter *Hymns*” (Hollis 1990:12), such as the use of a Homeric hexameter as far as the bucolic diaeresis at F74.22 (=Od.15.494), the greater frequency of “epic τε” in the *Hecale*, and the unique occurrence of pleonastic δέ τε *metri gratia* at F113.2 (Hollis 1990:12 n.6). There is also no extravagant dislocation of word-order in the *Hecale* (Hollis 1990:14 n.12 contrasts the *Hecale* with *Aet.*F1.33ff. and *Victoria Sosibii* F384.31-2), and a likely greater preponderance of similes of some length (cf. F18.3ff., 48.7ff., 69.11ff.). There were probably lengthier descriptions than elsewhere in Callimachus (e.g. F18 on the coming of the storm), and we have fragments of the narration of the epic battle against the bull:

πολλὰ μάτην κεράεσσιν ἐς ἡέρα θυμήναντα (F165 inc.auct., surely from the battle)

θηρὸς ἐρωήσας ὀλοὸν κέρας (F67)

ὁ μὲν εἶλκεν, ὁ δ’ εἶπετο νωθρὸς ὀδίτης (F68)

οἰόκρωτος ἕτερον γὰρ ἀπηλοΐησε κορυβή.

ὥς ἴδον, ὦ[ς] ἅμα πάντες ὑπέτρεσαν, οὐδέ τις ἔτλη

ἄνδρα μέγαν καὶ θῆρα πελώριον ἄντα ἰδέσθαι (F69.1-3)

Hollis (1990:11) calls F69.2-3 “highly traditional” in its use of such Homeric models as *Il.*14.294 (ὥς δ’ ἴδεν, ὥς...) and the common epic “nor did anyone...”-pattern (cf. also Hollis 1990:219-20). These epic features are largely to be exemplified via Homer, as the only fully extant Archaic epics, but several characteristics of the *Hecale* seem specifically “Homeric”: its unity of plot, and the nature of that unity, the prominence of direct speech, the low-level of narrator-prominence (e.g. little emotional/evaluative language). These characteristics confirm my contention (see

1.4.2 above) that Callimachean aesthetics are not anti-Aristotelian. Nor is *Aetia*-prologue about epic – Callimachus’ epic resembles Homer’s.

The extensive use of direct speech is clear from the fragments of the conversation of Theseus and Hecale (F40ff.), which seems to have taken up a large part of the epic:

ἦγκας ἅ μ’ εἶρεο καὶ σύ [γε] μαῖα
ἦ τι ποθὴ σέο τυτθὸν ἀκοῦσαι
ἦρρηῦς ἐρημαίῃ ἐνὶ ναίεις (F40.3-5)

The conversation of the crow and the owl (?) is also given ample space (F70-74), and if Theseus himself narrated his early years in Troezen (with the obvious Homeric parallel of *Od.*9-12), the proportion of speech to narrative will have been great. The language used in these speeches is much more powerful, expressive of emotion and judgement than that of the primary narrator:

τὼ μὲν ἐγὼ θαλέεσσιν ἀνέτρεφον οὐδὲ τις οὕτως (F48.1)

τὼ μοι ἀναδραμέτην ἄτε κερκίδες, αἶτε χαράδρης
πλουλὺ δὲ μήκει
ἴον [ῆ]έξαντο
] ἐπεμαίετο παισίν· (F48.7-10)

ἥρνεόμην θανάτοιο πάλαι καλέοντος ἀκοῦσαι
μὴ μετὰ δὴν ἵνα καὶ σοὶ ἐπιρρήξαιμι χιτῶνα; (F49.2-3)

αυτῇ] ζώντος ἀναιδέσιν ἐμπήξαιμι
σκώλους ὀφθαλμοῖσι καί, εἰ θέμις, ὦμὰ πασαίμην (F49.14-15)

The images of rearing children with “dainties” (F48.1) and of them springing up like aspens (F48.7-10) express Hecale’s love for her children. The latter recalls ὁ δ’ ἀνέδραμεν ἔρνεϊ ἴσος (*Il.*18.56, 437), spoken by Thetis about Achilles, who was also to die prematurely (Hollis 1990:196-7). The expression of a wish to blind Cercyon, and eat him raw (F49.14-15) also recalls a Homeric mother with dead children (Hecuba on Achilles, *Il.*24.212-3), while the description of eyes as “shameless”

(ἀναιδέσιν) and the use of θέμις (a Homeric speech-word, Griffin 1986:38) mark the use of evaluative language much less common in the mouth of the primary narrator. The speech of the crow displays similar characteristics (e.g. κακὸν ἔργον, F70.13). Those context-less fragments which use similar vocabulary, such as F125 (σχέτλια ἀνθρώπων ἀφραστύες) seem likely to be from direct speech, here perhaps an expression of Theseus' inability to thank the now dead Hecale (Hollis 1990:308, who notes *Dieg.*xi.2-3 ἐπιστε[νάξ]ας ὡς ἐψευσμένος τῆς προσδοκίας). The narrator is, however, prepared to employ colloquial language, such as βέβυστο, “was stuffed”, of being full of anger in F126, and perhaps Homeric speech-words such as δύη (four times in the *Odyssey*, always in speeches) – δύην ἀπόθεστον ἀλάλκοι (F131). However, though this is not certainly narratorial, it seems likely that if it is, it is focalised by a *character*, given the use of the word in the *Odyssey* to describe Odysseus' suffering (real or fictitious), and its description as ἀπόθεστον or “unwanted”. The use of speech-words in passages focalised by characters has a Homeric precedent (e.g. *Il.*24.582-86, cf. de Jong 1987:110-14). The narrator also seems prepared to use low words such as κατακάσα (F90).

The *Hecale*'s non-intrusive narrator is also anonymous, like the Homeric narrator. There is little quasi-biography in the epic, and no strong connection to Callimachus. The one feature which might be taken as quasi-biographical, the employment of Attic vocabulary (e.g. ἀσκάντης, F29, σιπύη, F35.1; cf. the extensive knowledge of Attic geography and religion, Hollis 1990:8-9), is better related to the Attic setting of the poem.

The text also displays considerable learning, generally not in the form of learned parentheses, portraying the narrator as “scholarly”, but in forms consistent with an anonymous epic narrator. “They say”-statements are not employed (nothing can be made of ὑδέουσιν, without a context, at F151), nor is πού, to construct a scholarly narrator (narratorial F74.25, probably by character F45.1). Much of the erudition comes in the subtle evocation of Homeric and other literary scenes and contexts, e.g. the echoing of Thetis in the *Iliad* by Hecale (F48.7-10, see above) or of Achilles by the crow (δ] <ε>ίελος ἀλλ' ἦ νῦξ ἦ ἔνδιος ἦ ἔσετ' ἥως, F74.14, echoing *Il.*21.111-12, Achilles' prophecy of his death). This “aesthetic” (as opposed to “scholarly” or

“pedantic”) employment of learning can be attributed to the story-telling ability of the epic narrator.

The narrator’s occasional explanations are also straightforwardly epic in nature. That at F9.1 (ἐν γάρ μιν Τροϊζῆνι κολουραΐηι ὑπὸ πέτρῃ/ θῆκε σὺν ἄρπίδεσσιν) follows from an event in the main narrative (the sword by which Aegeus recognised Theseus), while that in F69.1 (quoted above) fills in a detail in the main narrative initially omitted. Neither characterises the narrator as “scholarly” and both have Homeric precedents (e.g. the mention that the Dioscuri are dead at *Il*.3.243-4, explaining their absence from Troy, and the explanation, filling in an ellipsis, about the Bear-star, τὴν γὰρ δὴ μιν ἄνωγε Καλυψώ, διὰ θεάων,/ ποντοπορευέμεναι ἐπ’ ἄριστερὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντα (*Od*.5.276-77), Richardson 1990:145-47). These explanations do, however, draw attention to the narrator, as a forceful sign of narrator-prominence (Chatman 1978:228).

An exception to this picture of the *Hecale*’s narrator may be found at F85 (οὐδὲ Διωνύσῳι Μελαναίγῃι δῖι, τὸν [πο]τ’ Ἐλευθήρ/ εἷσατο, Λιμναίῳι δὲ χοροστάδᾳς ἦγον ἑορτάς), a mythological *correctio*, but this may be an aside of the Athenian crow’s on ancient Athens (or of the garrulous Athenian Hecale, cf. F58) rather than that of the primary narrator. In any case, neither it nor the mythological point of information on free passage to Hades (F99), nor the comment in F117 (βουσόον ὃν τε μύωπα βοῶν καλέουσιν ἄμορβοί) are as jarring or intrusive as some of the scholarship in some of the *Hymns* (e.g. the aside on Lipare’s names at *H*.3.46-8). More problematic in this respect is the mythological polemic in F103:

οἳ νυ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα παναρκέος Ἥελιοιο
χῶρι διατμήγουσι καὶ εὖποδα Δηώϊνην
Ἀρτέμιδος

But this too may be spoken by a character (perhaps the crow?), as the parallel of *Ciris* 303ff. indicates (Hollis 1990:291), spoken by Carme on the debate about Britomartis’ fate. The fragmentary nature of the *Hecale* makes it impossible to be sure. But the epic’s simpler style (e.g. word-order, see above) and the approachability of the extant sections (Hollis 1990:4) suggest it is unlikely to have contained a great deal of obscure erudition on the part of the narrator.

Nevertheless, this is still a Hellenistic poem, and no Homeric pastiche. The use of Attic vocabulary, its neologisms and linguistic experimentation, and the employment of comic alongside tragic elements set it apart. More important is its variety of tone. Within 22 lines the epic moves from the heroic battle of Theseus and the bull (F69) to the peculiar tale of how the crow became black (F71-F74). The entertainment of Theseus by Hecale, where she “attempts to fulfill her duties as hostess in the heroic manner” (Gutzwiller 1981:54) reflects almost every aspect of entertainments such as that of Odysseus by Circe (*Od.*10.352-72, Gutzwiller 1981:54-5), but in an incongruously simple and rustic setting (Gutzwiller 1981:55-58). The pathos of Hecale’s raising of her children (F48, quoted above), only to be killed by Cercyon, and her desire for revenge (F49, quoted above), give way to the crow’s account of personal misfortune, which Hutchinson (1988:60) regards as a parody of Hecale’s situation (an exaggeration).

Differences are also to be found in the concentration on Hecale, significantly the eponym of the epic, rather than the conventional hero Theseus. Many have assumed that the treatment of the battle with the bull was accordingly brief – Hollis (1990:215) observes that the breaking of the bull’s horn is related in a parenthesis in F69.1. This would form an example of unusual narrative emphasis, more common in Archaic non-epic poetry. However, F67-F69 (with F165, all quoted above) suggest this may have been more extensively treated than often allowed. If the capture of the bull *was* briefly related, this would form a rare example of non-epic manner (as opposed to matter, e.g. *πελιδνωθεῖσα* in F72.1 from Alcaeus F298.25, cf. Gutzwiller 1981:58-9 for F42 as recalling Sappho F152 etc.) in the epic. Another aspect, however, of the concentration on Hecale which does seem to form a break with epic norms is the beginning of the epic itself:

Ἄκταίη τις ἔναιεν Ἐρεχθέος ἔν ποτε γουνῶι (F1)

Hecale receives the first mention in the first line of the poem. Cameron (1995:440) regards this as standard procedure, “the poem began, *as an epic should* [my italics], *in medias res, without even invoking the Muse* [my italics]”. But this is a striking divergence from Homer, and Greek epic in general, though there is the parallel of the *Argonautica*

(see 5.1.4 below). It may be that the Muse received a mention in the following lines: “tell *her* story, Muse”, or “tell how Theseus and she met...”, but in any case her removal from the first line is significant. Was the epic narrator of the *Hecale* unepically independent from the Muse? Or is the absence of an invocation of the Muse precisely part of a strategy of narratorial invisibility? When Apollonius’ narrator marginalises the Muses, he does so with a bold initial first-person statement – μνήσομαι (*Arg.*1.2).

The close mimicking of epic, particularly Homer, alongside differences of tone and treatment, should not be taken as part of a *hostile* attitude on the part of Callimachus to epic or epic values. Such an attitude is taken as emblematic of epyllion by Gutzwiller (1981:5; *Hecale* “anti-epic” 49, 62), while Zanker (1977) sees the *Hecale* as subverting the Aristotelian analysis of epic, largely based on Homer. Hutchinson (1988:61), on the other hand, finds in the depiction of Theseus “undiluted heroism”, in contrast to the “bizarre and exaggerated tone” of *Hecale*’s desire for revenge (1988:59), and the “wild fantasy and burlesque” of F74, so that the principal effect is incongruous juxtaposition and violent changes of tone. All of these approaches seem exaggerated or misguided. The *Hecale* is full of pathos and emotion (esp. F48, F49), which is hardly grotesque, though also of humour, charm and oddity (F74), though not exclusively so. It is difficult to comment on the effect of the changes between scenes, but to judge from the *end* of the crow’s speech, with its long time-description it is unlikely that the shift was designed to jar:

τὴν μὲν ἄρ’ ὥς φαμένην ὕπνος λάβε, τὴν δ’ αἴουσσαν.
καδδραθέτην δ’ οὐ πολλὸν ἐπὶ χρόνῳ, αἶψα γὰρ ἦλθεν
στιβῆεις ἄγχαυρος, ὅτ’ οὐκέτι χεῖρες ἔπαγροι
φιλητέων· ἦδη γὰρ ἑωθινὰ λύχνα φαίνει,
αἰδεῖ καὶ πού τις ἀνὴρ ὕδατηγὸς ἱμαῖον... (F74.21-25)

Formally the *Hecale* is very Homeric (and Aristotelian), but its domestication of Theseus and his presentation in a rustic setting is hardly his emasculation (cf. F67-F69, esp. F69.3 Theseus as the ἄνδρα μέγαν, and the φυλλοβολία in F69.10ff., his killing of Sciron and Cercyon, F59-F62) or a rejection of the values he represents (what are those? Are heroic or Archaic values unchallenged in Homer?). Describing his presentation thus is as inaccurate as characterising his heroism as “undiluted” or

unchanged. Rather the hero is *transformed* here, as in Hellenistic poetry more generally – myth and mythological characters are re-made to suit a different age and different roles. But their very use forms a type of acceptance, even if they are to be radically altered, or undercut (cf. Bulloch 1993:128-9). Theseus meets an old woman who has undergone a type of tragedy (cf. Hutchinson 1988:57, for Hecale’s experience as “half-tragic”), and who, though poor and rustic, treats him in heroic manner. This is to extend the subject-matter and agents of epic, though not without precedent (Hecale was once prosperous, F41, and Eumaeus in the *Od.* forms an obvious model for her hospitality), and not to breaking-point (*pace* Zanker 1977). Part of the motivation for presenting Theseus in such a context may be the feeling that such heroes of the distant past *were* more like Hecale than Philadelphus the urban sophisticate (cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 1.198-99: *dum nova Roma fuit,/ dum casa Martigenam capiebat parva Quirinum*). Hence the *Hecale* would be realism, not rejection.

3.8 Overview

The centrality of the voice of the primary narrator to the poetry of Callimachus is clear. The narrator is regularly made prominent through the use of formal devices such as the opening narratorial questions of H.1, the exclamations which begin H.2 or the use of extensive quasi-biography. More importantly, the primary narrator is used to create broader effects, such as the developing ritual scenes of the mimetic hymns, and to provide unity to a work (e.g. *Aet.* 1-2) or a book (e.g. the *Iambi*, where the collection charts the progress of the narrator towards the Hipponactean ideal recommended in the first poem).

There is extensive variation in the degree to which the narrator is based on the historical author. This is clear from the variation within the *Hymns*. H.1 has little quasi-biography and no explicit identification of narrator and author, but aspects such as the erudition displayed by the narrator recall the historical author. H.2 has a narrator much closer to the author, with a correspondingly greater use of quasi-biography. The narrator develops gradually, at times seemingly a worshipper, the master of ceremonies and the “poet”. A careful ambiguity is also maintained as to the identity of the narrator in relation to the chorus which appears to sing in H.2. This plays with the ambiguities thought to be present in Archaic poetry, particularly Pindar’s P.5, with a choral form but a personalised voice. H.3 has little quasi-biography, and the narrator does not appear to resemble the author. H.4 has a narrator closely associated with the Muses, who fulfil a similar interlocutory role as in the *Aetia*, implying a narrator close to the author. In H.5 the narrator’s identity is ambiguous between female worshipper/priest and male author, which reflects the sexual ambiguity of the characters. In H.6 the narrator is explicitly not the author but a female worshipper, and any erudite allusions have to be referred to the implied author.

In the *Aetia* the narrator is clearly closely related to the historical author, as indicated by the extensive quasi-biographical material such as nationality, dislike of travel and perhaps self-naming. The *Iambi* display primary narrators which are usually even closer to the historical author. There is a great deal of quasi-biographical material,

such as erotic involvements, a dislike of travel, being a teacher, quarrelling about poetry. In the *Lyrics* there is much less quasi-biography, although the narrator does resemble the historical author to a degree. In the *Hecale*, however, there is no quasi-biography, the prominence of the narrator is very low, and there seems to be no connection to the author.

The importance of Archaic (non-epic) narratorial voices to Callimachus' narrators is apparent in the generally high-level of narrator-prominence, the exploitation of the relationship of narrator and author, and the corresponding gap between them. Archaic poems exploit the gap to create a fiction of *extempore* composition, Callimachus uses the gap to create narrators with ambiguous identities (e.g. in the *Hymns*), and to ironise his narrators. This creation of self-irony well illustrates the complex adaptation of Archaic voices in Callimachus.

Archaic "moralising", for example, is harnessed to undercut the authority of the narrator in H.1. The narrator rejects a myth in a manner reminiscent of Pindar, but in doing so strongly implies his own account may not be true, and that he aims at plausibility, rather than truth. This in itself develops Archaic passages about the potential falsity of some poetic accounts. But such passages were foils to emphasise an Archaic narrator's own truth. In Callimachus they are used to ironise the narrator. In H.6 we also find "moralising" and echoes of Archaic poetry (Hesiod). The narrator is presented in such a way, however, as to emphasise the simplicity of her moral attitudes, and their self-centred nature.

There is a widespread concern in Callimachus to account for the knowledge of the narrator – to give his "sources". These can be scholarly, such as Xenomedes in *Aetia* F75, or divine, such as the Muses in *Aetia* 1-2. In the *Hymns* the knowledge the narrators display varies according to their hypothetical sources – the narrator in H.3 resembles an epic *αοιδός*, which permits omniscience on the model of the Homeric narrator (with the Muses behind him), while the narrator in the obliquely indicated sympotic setting of H.1 avoids direct speech in his narrative and relies on surmise (Harder 1992:392-3). Those in H.2 and H.5 are similarly strongly fixed in their mimetic settings, but their extensive knowledge can be accounted for by portraying

their narratives as part of a pre-existing mass of stories or as explicitly not the narrator's (H.2.30f., H.5.55f., Harder 1992:391).

Such a concern should be related to the problem of the authority and status of the poet in Hellenistic poetry. The detailing of sources, the regular undercutting of narratorial authority and the creation of narrators with ambiguous identities are all at the same time expressions of a concern about how to create new poetic voices and strategies for the creation of such voices. Nevertheless, not all narrators in Callimachus are presented ironically or undercut. The narrator in the *Hecale* is not ironised, nor is that of H.4. Both poems demonstrate that Callimachus is prepared to include passages of heightened tone which is not subsequently punctured.

Callimachus' mimetic hymns are among the most important texts for illustrating the use of Archaic narratorial voices and effects in Hellenistic poetry. They develop Archaic effects such as pseudo-intimacy created by the reperformance or rereading of Sappho's poetry, the fiction of ongoing *extempore* composition in Archaic poetry (e.g. Pindar's epinicians), and the fictionalised settings or developments in Archaic poetry (e.g. Archilochus). This appears more likely than the mimetic hymns being prompted by ambiguity about first-person statements in Pindar, or the mere fact of encountering Archaic poetry as text.

The adaptation of Archaic models also helps to demonstrate that the so-called "programmatic" passages in Callimachus do not form a literary-critical manifesto. Models for the function, position and imagery of the end of H.2, for example, reveal that it restates its own poetic worth at the end of the poem (in 105-13), a function familiar from Archaic poetry. The scene is more concrete than its Archaic equivalents, but it plays the same role. The *Aetia*-prologue too, at the beginning of the *Aetia*, operates as a *captatio*. Though it too is a more concrete scene, it should be explained in terms of its function within the *Aetia*. Callimachean aesthetics, such as they are, are revealed by Callimachean practice, not in a dedicated "programme".

4. The Narrators of Theocritus

4.1 *Mime, Monologue and Primary Narrators*

4.1.1 The Corpus and its Groups

The extant Theocritean corpus of some thirty poems (excluding the epigrams) contains a wide variety of material encompassing bucolic poetry, hymns, erotic poems, encomiastic verse and epic. Some of this material, at least, is of doubtful authenticity, either clearly not by Theocritus (e.g. Th.27) or with little to support such an ascription (e.g. Th.25, Gow 1950:ii.439). However, as in many cases the doubtful poems can help illustrate aspects of Theocritus' experiments with voice, being at the very least good evidence of his reception and understanding (or misunderstanding, cf. Th.9 and 4.4.5 below), only those poems which are too brief to be of use in a study of primary narrators (e.g. Th.19, and the epigrams), will be ignored.

The nature of the collection as it stands makes analysis of the different patterns and trends in the use of narratorial voice difficult – the collection was never meant to stand as a poetry-book on its own (contrast the *Hymns* of Callimachus), though parts of it have been thought to form such a group (e.g. various groupings of more or less “bucolic” poems, such as Th.1-7, Lawall 1967). The earliest, perhaps third-century, collection of Theocritus' poetry may even have *advertised* its variety and heterogeneity, which may be the force of the term εἰδύλλιον (from εἶδος, “type” or “kind”, cf. Gutzwiller 1996:130). Because of the complicated nature of the collection, and its piecemeal development (cf. Gutzwiller 1996:123-8 with appendix), I shall treat it thematically, rather than by taking each individual poem in order.

The poems display a great variety of voices and speakers, from a lovesick goatherd (Th.3) to a Syracusan poet strongly recalling the historical Theocritus (Th.28),¹⁵⁷ to an

¹⁵⁷ I assume that Theocritus was so called, was born in Syracuse and worked for a time at Alexandria. See Dover (1971:xix-xxi) for a convenient summary of the evidence.

ambiguous figure of uncertain relationship to the author (Th.7). The poems might be grouped into a number of different categories which often cut across each other:

1. Narrator is a character clearly not the author (Th.2, 3, 9, 12, 20).
2. Narrator is closely associated with the author (Th.11, 13, 16, 17, 28).
3. Narrator is vaguely associated with the author (Th.6, 7, 18, 21, 29, 30).
4. Narrator resembles an epic or hymnal αοιδός (Th.22, 24, 25).
5. Narrator is “choral” (Th.26).
6. Narrator is unprominent (Th.6, 8, 18, 23, 27).
7. Mimes/dialogues without a primary narrator (Th.1, 4, 5, 10, 14 and 15)

These divisions are merely some of the more obvious narratological ones – the poems could be further divided as to their “bucolic” or rustic setting or subject-matter, the prominence of love as a theme, their similarity to epic, or their metre (the majority are in hexameters, but Th.8 employs elegiac couplets at 33-80, and Th.28-30 are in a variety of lyric metres). The degree and manner of the adaptation of Archaic poetry, e.g. in the adaptation of some of the features we have seen in Callimachus (moralising persona, relationship of author to narrator, pseudo-intimacy etc.), likewise vary greatly across these different poems. The impression of variety is undoubtedly increased by the nature of the collection, clearly not the design of the author, but the polyphony and variety of voices, including Archaic ones, employed by Theocritus is still an integral element in his poetry.

4.1.2 Narrative and Mime

Those poems of Theocritus which will be studied will be those with a primary narrator, whose narrative is introduced “without quotation marks” (Hutchinson 2001:x), and who forms the first-level mediator of the story for the audience. This means excluding those dialogue poems or “mimes” of Theocritus where there is no mediating narrator and a dramatic setting is developed, i.e. Th.1, 4, 5, 10, 14 and 15 (group 7 above).

These dramatic poems form one strategy for avoiding many of the problems of voice and viewpoint which concerned Hellenistic poets (Seeck 1975:203-7, Goldhill

1986:29-32), a way of portraying human behaviour and engaging with earlier literary treatments without becoming involved in the difficulties of the authority and status of the poet (see 1.3 above). But these problems, and Theocritus' approach to them, are in fact particularly clear in those poems where there *is* a primary narrator. It is in these poems that Theocritus' concern with differing points of view and competing voices is at its most apparent – e.g. when frame is played off against inset and the authority of the primary narrator fractured (Goldhill 1991:254 on Th.11, and see 4.4 below). It is also in these poems that clear comparisons can be made with Archaic models and with the contemporary poetry of Callimachus and Apollonius in their use of primary narrators.

The dramatic monologues in the Theocritean corpus (Th.2, 3, 12, 20, 29), for example, show marked similarities to the mimetic hymns of Callimachus. Though the situation is in one sense “dramatic”, the audience only has access to the events of the story through the sole speaker, who should therefore be designated the primary narrator. In all five of the monologues the situation is “mimetic” in the sense that the audience is left to deduce the setting from the narrator's words (cf. Hopkinson 1988:154 on Th.2). Th.2 is set at the casting of a spell against the narrator's lover (φίλον καταδήσομαι ἄνδρα, 3), Th.3 for the most part outside Amaryllis' cave (τί μ' οὐκέτι τοῦτο κατ' ἄντρον/ παρκύπτουσα καλεῖς, 6-7), Th.12 at the return of the narrator's *eromenos* (Ἦλυθες, ὦ φίλε κοῦρε, 1), Th.20 before an audience of shepherds (ποιμένες, εἶπατέ μοι τὸ κρήγυον, 19), and Th.29 at a symposium (μεθύνοντας, 2, Gow 1950:ii.505, Hunter 1996:176).¹⁵⁸ The situation in Th.20 and 29 is static, while that in Th.2 and 3 clearly develops as the narrators react to “present events”. Simaetha in Th.2 first instructs her slave and then upbraids her for her carelessness in carrying these instructions out: ἀλλ' ἐπίπασσε/ Θεστυλί. δειλαία, πᾶ τὰς φρένας ἐκπεπότασαι; (18-9), while the goatherd in Th.3 wishes to be the bee which flies past him (αἶθε γενοίμαν/ ἅ βομβεῦσα μέλισσα, 12-3, Dover 1971:113), and feels his eye twitch (ἄλλεται ὀφθαλμός μευ ὁ δεξιός, 37). In Th.12, however, in contrast both to the developing action of Th.2 and 3, and the static Th.20 and 29, it is not so much the situation that changes as the thought of the narrator. In the movement from delight in the opening lines, to the wish for immortality in lines 10-

¹⁵⁸ As Hunter (1996:176) notes the symposium is the setting for most Theognidean paederastic verse, as probably also for Alcaeus, who is quoted at the beginning of the poem (F366). Cf. also Call. H.1.1.

21, to the comments about Diocles and the Megarians (27-37), the poem seems to depict the speaker's state of mind (Cairns 1972:30) and its changing state (Walsh 1990:18-20).

The oblique indication of the setting, the development of the scene, and the depiction of a ritual in Th.2 all parallel Callimachus' mimetic hymns.¹⁵⁹ But one major difference lies in the treatment of the audience. In Th.2, for example, the rite depicted is a *private* one, a spell against a lover. This contrasts with the public festivals portrayed in Callimachus (e.g. the Cyrenean Carneia in H.2). Furthermore in Callimachus the audience is treated as if present at the rite itself (οὐχ ὀράας;, H.2.4) and plural imperatives such as εὐφημεῖτ' (H.2.17) "include" the audience of the hymn (even where the ritual audience is female, as in H.6). In Theocritus, however, the audience is *eavesdropping* – the primary narrator is "unaware" of their presence, and confines his/her speech to very restricted silent "interlocutors" – Thestylis in Th.2, Tityrus and Amaryllis in Th.3, the *eromenos* in Th.12 and 29, and the shepherds in Th.20. The private setting for these Theocritean monologues resembles that of Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus*, set at a private symposium (παρὰ σπονδῆσιν, H.1.1). But there the setting is not much developed, nor is there a strongly felt private addressee.

The closest parallel is the pseudo-intimacy created in Archaic poetry such as Sappho's, where the (secondary) audience feels transported to a private setting or group of friends, without being explicitly included in that circle (again, eavesdropping without the knowledge of the narrator). When Sappho bids Abanthis sing, evoking a private gathering of women (κέλομαι σ' ἄ[είδην/ Γο]γγύλας [᾽Αβ]ανθι, F22.9-10) it not only the names but the setting of the poem which make the audience feel it has access to a normally closed world. The specific addressees in sympotic poetry (e.g. πῶνε [καὶ μέθυ ᾧ] Μελάνιππ' ἄμ' ἔμοι, Alcaeus F38A.1) play a similar role: the audience feels admitted to a private situation, but one in which its presence is not acknowledged (see 2.1.1 above). As if to mark its connection with this type of sympotic poem, Th.29 begins with a quotation from such a poem of Alcaeus ("Οἶνος, ᾧ φίλε παῖ," λέγεται, "καὶ ἀλάθεα", 1 – cf. Alcaeus F366).

¹⁵⁹ Note also the female narrator of Th.2 next to that of H.6.

4.2 Quasi-biography, Characterisation and the Monologues

It is in the dramatic monologues, where the narrator is not a projection of the author, that the most explicit quasi-biographical material is to be found, though only in one (Th.2) do we hear the *name* of the narrator (Simaetha, Th.2.101). Because Th.29 displays a closer association between narrator and historical author, I discuss it at length in the next section, though in terms of the degree of quasi-biography it is in line with the other dramatic monologues.

In Th.2, 3 and 20 (clearly an imitation of Th.3, Gow 1950:ii.364), there is extensive self-description of the physical appearance of the narrator, e.g.:

ἦ ῥά γέ τοι σιμὸς καταφαίνομαι ἐγγύθεν ἡμεν,
νόμφα, καὶ προγένειος; (3.8-9 – a goatherd)

ὄμματά μοι γλαυκᾶς χαροπώτερα πολλὸν Ἀθήνας (20.25 – an oxherd)

In Th.2, the sorceress Simaetha describes rather the effect of her love on her appearance (τὸ δὲ κάλλος ἐτάκετο, 83, cf. also 88ff.). In Th.12, however, though there is extensive first-person narration, little in this vein is revealed to the audience, the poem concentrating rather on the wishes of the narrator for his future love. In fact, of all of the monologues Th.12 has the most subtly characterised narrator. The nature of the speakers of Th.2, 3 and 20 is clearly and quickly identified: Simaetha proclaims that she will bind her faithless lover with fire-spells at Th.2.10, then addresses the Moon, while the goatherd of Th.3 announces his intention to serenade Amaryllis and asks Tityrus to mind his goats (1-3). The narrator of Th.20 quotes Eunica's dismissive reproach that he, an oxherd, would want to kiss her (20.2-10). But the rusticity of the narrator of Th.12 is less obvious – apparent from the nature of the similes in 3-9 ("as spring is sweeter than winter, as apple than sloe, as the ewe deeper of fleece than the lamb...") and his manner of expression in 23-4: ἐγὼ δέ σε τὸν καλὸν αἰνέων/ ψεύδεα ῥινὸς ὑπερθεν ἀραιῆς οὐκ αναφύσω (Giangrande 1986:42).

In all of the monologues, alongside narration of the “present” feelings and actions of the narrator (see 4.1.2 above), there is much on the background to the current situation – Simaetha tells us of her recent abandonment (4ff.), her original infatuation (76ff.), her seduction (40-1, 100ff.), the discovery of her betrayal (145ff.) etc. Similarly in Th.3.28-34 we are told of the signs of a lack of love from Amaryllis, in Th.12.1-2 that the absence of the lover is at an end, and in Th.20.1-18 of Eunice’s disdain and the oxherd’s anger. But in contrast to these latter three monologues, this background information does not seem to be used to satirise Simaetha (Dover 1971:95). Her sentence structure is simple, as is her vocabulary, and the emotional language she employs (τάλας, 4, τάλαιναν, 40, δειλαιάς, 83) is appropriate for one betrayed in love and executing her revenge. The magical, ritual setting of the poem accounts for such elements as the hymn-like farewell to the Moon (165f.). When she mentions a mythic parallel (Theseus and Ariadne) at 45-6 by using a “they say”-statement (φαντί, 45), this is not “scholarly” (contrast the use in the *Argonautica*), but suggests rather only a vague familiarity with the legend. The wider world of Simaetha, and therefore a certain pseudo-intimacy, is effectively rendered by the mention of the names of various other characters: not only Thestylis (1), who appears to be her slave, but also ἃ τῶν βούλοιο καναφόρος ἄμμιν Ἀναξώ (66), and ἃ τε Φιλίστας/ μάτηρ τᾶς ἀμᾶς αὐλητρίδος (145-6) etc. This should be placed alongside the pseudo-intimate nature of the monologue setting itself.

In the other monologues, too, the narrators speak as befits their characters, e.g. in the rustic similes of Th.12.3-9, or the goatherd’s love-gift of apples at Th.3.10-11. But in these poems the narrators are also ironised by their words and situation. The goatherd of Th.3 is engaged in a rustic version of an urban *paraclausithyron* (κωμάσδω, 1, Gow 1950:ii.64, Dover 1971:112), the cave of Amaryllis replacing the city-house, the collapse outside the cave (and predicted death by wolves) replacing the lover’s sleep on the doorstep (Hunter 1999:107, 128-9). Not only is the goatherd out of place in such a situation, there is also further irony, for example, in his attempts at a heightened tone in his song (3.40-51). Here he cites various mythological exempla, which he naively takes to parallel his situation. He thinks of Hippomenes, for example, as having offered apples as love-tokens for Atalanta (Th.3.40-2), as he himself has done (Gow 1950:ii.73), rather than as instruments for distracting her in a race. This naïve “re-writing” of myth, alongside the less-than-happy ending of all five

of the myths he cites (at least in some versions, Hunter 1999:123), marks his words as ironising. This is further heightened by his presentation as an initiate into the mysteries Iasion knew in a mock ritual address (ὄσ' οὐ πεισεῖσθε, βέβαλοι, 51, thus including Amaryllis), which playfully refers to Amaryllis' ignorance of love with the goatherd, a doubtful privilege (Hunter 1999:128).

A similar ironising of the speaker is achieved in Th.20, which as a whole is strongly imitative of Th.3 (Gow 1950:ii.364). He too ends his speech with the citation of mythic exempla of love for oxherds (Th.20.34ff.): Adonis, Endymion, Attis and Ganymede. The first two he shares with the goatherd of Th.3 (who cites Bias, Adonis, Endymion, Hippomenes and Atalanta, and Iasion). Again, the unhappy endings of three, at least, of Th.20's myths is unfortunate, but still more ironic is the claim that Eunice, for rejecting him, is ἡ Κυβέλας κρέσσων καὶ Κύπριδος ἢ δὲ Σελάνας (43), which suggests the oxherd thinks of himself as a worthy consort of goddesses. He has already claimed to have brighter eyes than Athena (25, quoted above), and to explain Eunice's unwillingness he asks whether the gods have taken away his beauty:

ἄρά τις ἐξαπίννας με θεὸς βροτὸν ἄλλον ἔτευξε;
καὶ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τὸ πάροιθεν ἐπάνθεν ἀδύ τι κάλλος (20-1)

But the truth is perhaps somewhat different, as Eunice's reproach suggests: χεῖλεά τοι νοσέοντι, χέρεις δέ τοι ἐντὶ μέλαιναι, / καὶ κακὸν ἐξόσδεις (9-10). This oxherd has a much inflated opinion of himself and his beauty, but the poems which his rustic boasts echo undercut him. He claims about himself that τὸ στόμα δ' αἶ πακτῶς ἀπαλώτερον (26),¹⁶⁰ a comically rustic comparison which recalls the Cyclops' description of Galatea as λευκότερα πακτῶς (Th.11.20), but also Sappho's phrase πακτιδος ἄδυμελεστέρα (F156). The oxherd's language resembles that of another rustic lover with no hope of satisfaction, and also bathetically transforms Sappho's harp into a vat of cream-cheese. This ironic attitude to rusticity is also to be found to a degree in Th.12 (Giangrande 1986:42-4), but the most important element there is the lover's self-delusion (Hunter 1996:186ff. and see 4.5 below).

¹⁶⁰ Though the adjective is uncertain, Gow 1950:ii.367.

4.3 Narrator and Author

4.3.1 Nicias (Th.11, 13, 28)

In contrast to the monologues, in those poems where the narrator is to be associated to some degree with the author quasi-biography is often more oblique, though even within this class of poem there is variety. In Th.11, 13, and 28 we are given oblique indications of the narrator's nationality, and more importantly his friends. The Cyclops, long associated with Sicily (cf. Thuc.6.2.1, Hunter 1999:226), is described as ὁ παρ' ἀμῖν (Th.11.7), "my countryman", while the distaff which the narrator addresses in Th.28 is similarly ἀμμετέρας...ἀπὸ χθόνος (28.16), its city the νάσω Τρινακρίας μύελον (28.18). But we hear nothing about the appearance or the name of the narrator.

The narrator is filled out, however, by his relationship to his friend Nicias, addressee of Th.11 and 13. He is described as a doctor (Th.11.5, Th.28.19-20) and also beloved of the Muses and Graces (Th.11.6, Th.28.7). His wife, Theugenis, is named twice in Th.28 (13, 22), and the narrator predicts her future fame as εὐαλάκατος (28.22) when she has received her distaff. This is to be a token of their friendship, reminding her of τὸ φιλαοίδω...ξένω (28.23), explicitly marking the narrator as a poet. Furthermore, he describes himself as about to engage on a journey (28.5) to Miletus (πόλιν ἐς Νείλεος ἀγλάαν, 28.3) to place this distaff in Theugenis' hands (28.9).

It seems preferable (*pace* Gow 1950:ii.495) not to take this piece of quasi-biography literally, but in the same manner as Pindaric statements of his song travelling (e.g. ἐπὶ πάσας ὀλκάδος ἔν τ' ἀκάτω, γλυκεῖ ἀοιδά,/ στεῖχ', N.5.3-4). The narrator of Th.28 complicates the image by portraying *himself* as also travelling, which appears also to develop Pindaric passages where the narrator speaks of himself as having travelled to the victor's house, e.g. ἔσταν δ' ἐπ' αὐλείαις θύραις/ ἀνδρὸς φιλοξείνου καλὰ μελπόμενος/ ἔνθα μοι ἀρμόδιον/ δεῖπνον κεκόσμηται (N.1.19-22).

Such images of welcome at the house of a friend are also reflected in Th.28 where the narrator imagines being favourably received: ὅπως ξένον ἔμον τέρψοι ἴδων κἀντιφιληθέω (28.6). But the title of the poem itself is Ἀλακάτα, and though certainty is impossible as to the title's antiquity, it is very apt. Hence it is not the distaff but the *Distaff* which the narrator is sending, and it is this which will win Theugenis fame and attest to her friendship with a poet. The address to ὦ φιλέριθ' ἀλακάτα (28.1) then also becomes an address to the poem itself, which further recalls Pindaric addresses such as that in N.5 (quoted above, cf. Hopkinson 1988:172 for later parallels). The narrator can be said to be travelling with his poem as he is inscribed within it.

The narrator of Th.13 begins by correcting an earlier misapprehension he shared with Nicias, that love was created only for them (13.1-4). This, and the announcement in Th.11 that the only cure for love is poetry (11.1-4) have led to speculation about the poems being different forms of consolation for a lovesick Nicias (cf. Gow 1950:ii.209), but in the absence of external evidence it seems best to regard both such situations as quasi-biographical settings which the poems themselves construct. In any case, Th.11 begins by pointing out Nicias' dual status as doctor and poet (11.5-6), argues that poetry is the only drug for love, and ends by claiming that Polyphemus did himself more good by singing than by spending gold (11.80-1), another reference to the medical profession. An assumption that *Nicias*, as opposed to a hypothetical patient of his, is in love seems therefore unwarranted.

Nicias' role as addressee in Th.11 and 13, alongside his presence in Th.28, itself develops Archaic models. Though Th.11 and 13 are often referred to as "poetic epistles" (e.g. Gow 1950:ii.208), the evidence for such "epistles" in Greek poetry is very weak (Hunter 1999:261), and the best parallel for Nicias' role is the role of the addressee in Archaic lyric and elegiac sympotic poetry (Bowie 1996:95). In neither Th.11 nor 13 is there any indication of "sending" the poem (Hunter), and a poem addressed to an individual, citing mythological exempla for love can be paralleled from the Theognidean corpus:

παιδοφιλεῖν δέ τι τερπνόν, ἐπεὶ ποτε καὶ Γανυμήδους
ἦρατο καὶ Κρονίδης ἀθανάτων βασιλεύς,

οὕτω μὴ θαύμαζε, Σιμωνίδη, οὐνεκα κἀγὼ
ἔξεφάνην καλοῦ παιδὸς ἔρωτι δαμείς. (Theognis 1345-6, 1349-50)

West (1989-92:ii:66) cautiously attributes these lines to one Euenus (F8c), but they are still to be dated to the fifth century and hence provide a good example of the sort of sympotic address Theocritus is developing.

Theognis also provides an important parallel for Nicias in a different sense: Cynus, the addressee of a large proportion of the corpus. Whatever the merits of Cynus' presence in a poem as an indication of its authenticity (see 2.3.1.1 n.56 above), his name connects the narrator of the elegies in which it appears much more closely to the historical Theognis. In both ways, then, Nicias recalls the function of Cynus.

Two more poems in addition to Th.11 and 13 begin with addresses to named individuals – Th.6 and Th.21. In neither case is the narrator very visible (though the narratorial frame has an important function in Th.6, see 4.4.2 below). Th.6 begins by addressing a statement about the meeting of Damoetas and Daphnis to Ἄρατε (6.2), while Th.21 (which Gow 1950:ii.369 suspects as post-Theocritean) begins with a gnome about poverty addressed to one Diophantus: Ἄ πενία, Διόφαντε, μόνα τὰς τέχνας ἐγείρει (21.1). The Aratus of Th.6 is perhaps to be identified with the person mentioned in Simichidas' song in Th.7 as in love with Philinus (7.98), whom Simichidas addresses with erotic advice (Ἄρατε, 7.122). As all the commentators note (Gow 1950:ii.118-9, Dover 1971:141-2, Hunter 1999:243), there is little evidence to support an identification with the poet of the *Phaenomena*. In fact, the mention of Aratus in Th.7 may be part of the play with the relationship of Simichidas to Theocritus (see below), given his address in Th.6, particularly if this is meant to convey (or to purport to do so) the feelings of the historical author for Aratus as Bowie (1996:95) suggests.¹⁶¹

¹⁶¹ Bowie further suggests that Th.7 is meant in similar fashion to convey Simichidas' feelings for καλὸς Ἀμύντιχος (7.132), one of his companions (1996:96-98).

4.3.2 Encomia (Th.16, 17)

In contrast to the Nicias-poems, Th.16 and 17 contain less to connect the narrator directly with the historical Theocritus, though such an association is still attractive. The narrator of Th.16 is a praise-poet bemoaning modern unwillingness to employ poets and praising the ruler of Syracuse, Hiero II (Ἱέρων προτέροις ἴσος ἡρώεσσι, 16.80), while the narrator in Th.17 is engaged on an encomium of Ptolemy Philadelphus (ἀνδρῶν δ' αὖ Πτολεμαῖος ἐνὶ πρώτοισι λεγέσθω, 17.3). Both situations suggest a professional poet associated with Sicily and Egypt, hence pointing us towards the historical author. But there is much less background detail or quasi-biography in these two poems, despite the relatively high degree of narratorial intrusion. There are first-person forms in Th.16 at 4 (twice), 6, 9, 14, 66, 67, 68 (twice), 73, 101, 106 (twice), 107, 108, 109, along with the regular expression of opinion and desire, e.g.: αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τιμὴν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων φιλότητα/ πολλῶν ἡμιόνων τε καὶ ἵππων πρόσθεν ἐλοίμαν, 16.66-7. So central is the figure of the narrator in Th.16 that Austin comments that “the poetic self becomes the real subject of the poem” (1986:108), though it is a misunderstanding to suggest that the laudandus is therefore displaced (so Austin 1986:122). In Th.17 we find, for example, regular apostrophe of various figures: the Muses (17.1), Aphrodite (17.45-50), Deipyle, mother of Diomedes (53-4), Ptolemy himself (17.56-9, 135-7), as well as very many first-person forms.¹⁶² But there is little quasi-biography except for an explicit self-characterisation as “poet” or “bard”:

ἄμμες δὲ βροτοὶ οἶδε, βροτοὺς βροτοὶ αἰδῶμεν (Th.16.4)

ἔσσεται οὗτος ἀνὴρ ὃς ἐμεῦ κεχρήσετ' ἀοιδοῦ (Th.16.73)

ἥρωες, τοὶ πρόσθεν ἀφ' ἡμιθέων ἐγένοντο,
ῥέξαντες καλὰ ἔργα σοφῶν ἐκύρησαν ἀοιδῶν·
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ Πτολεμαῖον ἐπιστάμενος καλὰ εἰπεῖν
ὑμνήσαιμ' (Th.17.5-8)

Both narrators, then, show some affinity towards the hymnal or epic ἀοιδός-narrators of Th.22, 24 and 25, particularly clear in the case of Th.17. This is a

¹⁶² In lines 1, 2, 7, 8, 11, 135, 136, 137.

“hymn” for Ptolemy (cf. ὕμνήσαιμ’ above), with a hymnal close strongly reminiscent of the *Homeric Hymns*. But the most striking difference within these different Theocritean narrators is the much greater intrusion to be found in Th.16 and 17 as compared both with Th.22, 24, and 25 and with the *Homeric Hymns* themselves (see 2.3.1 – note that Th.17 restricts first-person forms to the beginning and end of the poem in the manner of most *Homeric Hymns*, cf. n.162). Nevertheless, the only other (very unusual) piece of quasi-biography in either poem is the presentation in Th.16 of the ἡμετέρας Χάριτας (16.6) in terms reminiscent of begging children, who return home empty-handed, σκυζόμεναι γυμνοῖς ποσὶν (16.8, Merkelbach 1952:314-8, Hunter 1996:92-3), but who are also said to reside κενεῶς ἐν πυθμένι χηλοῦ (16.10), a reference to an anecdote about Simonides, who kept one chest for money and another for χάριτες, “thanks” (T22 Campbell 1982-93.iii, Σ ad Ar.Pax 695ff., Hunter 1996:100). In any case the narrator is briefly figured as a sort of “Fagin” who sends songs out to provide for him, a striking domestication of the Archaic lyric praise-poet’s “sending out” of his song across the sea (Hunter 1996:93, and see N.5.3-4 above).

4.3.3 Παιδικά (Th.29, 30)

Different again from the preceding poems are the last two poems in the collection, the paederastic (and lyric) 29 and 30, which provide much “information” about the narrator. Strictly speaking, Th.29 is a monologue, which obliquely indicates its setting (see 4.1.2 above) and is addressed to the narrator’s *eromenos* (as is Th.12, another paederastic poem). Hence its quasi-biography ought also to be compared to the significant amount in the other monologues (see above). But its similarity in metre and dialect to Th.30 (both in Aeolic, 29 in the “Sapphic fourteen-syllable” of Sappho’s second book, 30 in the “Greater Asclepiad” of Sappho’s third; cf. Hunter 1996:172), as well as its treatment of the narrator mean it is also better examined alongside it.

The first-person narrative suggests a connection to the author (by the “autobiographical assumption”), as does the subject-matter, love. Callimachus’ epigrams, for example, are much more likely to be spoken by “Callimachus” if erotic

(the only exception being ep.25, which contains no reference to narrator or addressee, and narrates the betrayal of Ionis entirely in the third person). As opposed to Th.12, there are no indications here of a rusticity which might tell against an association with Theocritus, and the poem is often taken (e.g. by Gow 1950:ii.504) as addressed to a boy to whom *Theocritus* is devoted. The quasi-biographical material here emphasises the narrator's attraction to the boy (τὸ γὰρ αἶμις τὰς ζοῖας ἔχω/ζὰ τὰν σὰν ιδέαν, 29.5-6), his love and the pains the boy causes him (τὸν φιλέοντ' ὀνίαις δίδων, 29.9), his having been overcome by Eros (κᾶμε μόλθακον ἐξ ἐπόησε σιδαρῖω, 29.24), and his willingness to do anything for his love (νῦν μὲν κἀπὶ τὰ χρύσια μᾶλ' ἔνεκεν σέθεν, 29.37). The picture is one of complete (and one-sided) infatuation, which makes the likelihood of the narrator's plea that the boy be faithful, with the promise of a lasting friendship in the future, seem very remote, and provides much of the irony in the narrator's words (see 4.5 below). We also learn of the relative ages of the narrator and his lover (ἀλλ' αἶ μοί τι πίθοιο νέος προγενεστέρω, 29.10), though their position as *erastes* and *eromenos* is clear enough in any case.

Th.30 begins with an exclamation by the narrator about his affliction (τῷδε νοσήματος, 30.1) which turns out to be a passion for a boy. He has been suffering for two months (30.2), and the sickness comes and goes (30.5), but he predicts that soon there will be no escape even in sleep (30.6). This is because of an incident ἔχθες (30.7): the boy glanced at the narrator, with the result that ἔμεθεν δὲ πλέον τὰς κραδίας ὥρος ἐδράξατο (30.9). Again, as in Th.29, the first-person narration and the subject-matter suggest, at least, an association with the historical author.

There then follows the most surprising aspect of the quasi-biography in the poem – the narration of a conversation with the narrator's own θυμός. The narrator reproaches his θυμός with the inappropriateness of such behaviour at his age (Th.30.12-15), which Hunter compares to the fathers of comedy lecturing their sons (1996:182, citing e.g. Terence, *Ad.*685-95). The θυμός, in contrast, appeals to reason – Eros is the θεός ὃς καὶ Δίος ἔσφαλε μέγαν νόον (30.30) – in defence of its passionate behaviour (Hutchinson 1988:169, and see further 4.5 below).

4.3.4 Thalysia (Th.7)

Perhaps the most important (and most famous) play with quasi-biography, the autobiographical assumption and the relationship between narrator and author in Theocritus is that in Th.7, the *Thalysia*. The poem begins with a first-person statement:

Ἦς χρόνος ἀνίκ' ἐγὼν τε καὶ Εὐκρίτος εἰς τὸν Ἄλεντα
εἵρπομες ἐκ πόλιος, σὺν καὶ τρίτος ἄμμιν Ἀμύντας. (7.1-2)

This statement is about the *past*, which not only distances the narrative (Goldhill 1991:226), but also strengthens the impression that the first person refers to a narrator closely connected to the historical author, by the autobiographical assumption (see above). The fact that the narrator comes ἐκ πόλιος (7.2) and is a friend of the Coan aristocracy (7.4-7, Hunter 1999:153), further supports the view that the narrator is “Theocritus”, as later does the narrator’s address of an addressee of Theocritus (Aratus, 7.122, cf. Th.6.2 and see above) in a “bucolic” *song*. It comes, then, as a surprise when the narrator is addressed by Lycidas as Σιμιχίδα (7.21). There are parallels, as Bowie (1985:67) notes, for Greek poems which open with a first-person which is later revealed as not referring to the poet (e.g. Archilochus F19), but such an effect in a narrative about the past is most akin to that in Plato’s *Lysis* or *Republic* where the fact that the narrator is Socrates (rather than Plato) is only revealed some way into the works (Hunter 1999:145).

There have been numerous attempts to establish the relationship between Simichidas and Theocritus (or “Theocritus”), e.g. the suggestion that the identity is complete, and Simichidas is perhaps an alias (rather than a disguise) for Theocritus, rather as Sicelidas for Asclepiades (used at Th.7.40), the view favoured by Gow (1950:ii.128-9), or that there is probably a complete disjunction between the two (Hutchinson 1988:203-4), or that Simichidas is Theocritus’ fictional delegate, who meets another fictional character, Lycidas (Bowie 1985:77), because Theocritus himself could not converse with a figure from Philetan pastoral (which Bowie suggest Lycidas is). The identity of Lycidas is another problematic aspect of the poem (see 4.4.3 below), but the absence of any evidence for the existence of pastoral poetry by Philetas tells against Lycidas’ fictionality being the main reason for that of Simichidas.

It is clear (*pace* Hutchinson) that there is *some* relationship between Simichidas and Theocritus (Hunter 1999:146). I suggest that the ambiguity about Simichidas' status is deliberate: a bucolic poet from the city who addresses the addressees of Theocritus and strives to emulate Philetas and Asclepiades is meant to recall, at least, the Syracusan poet. But the name of Simichidas (Rosenmeyer 1963:63, Seeck 1975:199-200, Goldhill 1991:230), as well, perhaps, as the unique setting on Cos, prevent a simple identification – there is no good evidence for thinking the name was ever used by Theocritus outside Th.7 itself. It is worth noting, therefore, that the figure of Simichidas in Th.7 is subtly ironised, principally through Lycidas and the poetic “initiation” he engineers (see 4.4.3 below), complementing the complex literary texture of the poem (encompassing epic, didactic, sympotic lyric and *iambos*, Hunter 1996:23-27). This effect is altered by introducing the problem of the relationship of the narrator to the author (perhaps already present in the naming of Εὔκριτος (Th.7.1) as one of Simichidas' *companions*), hence also the reference of the irony. Given the resemblance which Hunter (1996:24-5) notes between Simichidas' comments about Philinus (Th.7.117-24) and the dismissal of Neobule in Archilochus F196a.24-31 (τό τοι καλὸν ἄνθος ἀπορρεῖ, Th.7.121~ἄνθος δ' ἀπερρήκε παρθενήϊον, Archilochus F196a.27), as well as the anecdote about Archilochus' “bucolic” initiation by the Muses (T3 Gerber 1999b, Hunter 1999:150) which parallels another important element of Th.7, I suggest the name Simichidas is meant to recall “Simonides”. Not, however, the lyric poet of Ceos, but the iambicist of Amorgos. Though for the sake of convenience, and on the authority of Choeroboscus (in *Etymologicum Magnum* 713.17=T5 Gerber 1999b), his name is now spelled “Semonides”, the spelling with an iota is far more common. There is some evidence in the fragments of Semonides for first-person iambic narrative ridiculing or satirising the narrator (cf. F16, 17, 23, 24, cf. Brown 1997:77) – the reminiscence of his name would give extra point to the ironising of Simichidas in Th.7. Simichidas' comment (96-7) about his love for Myrto, for whom the Loves ambiguously sneezed (good luck or bad?, Σ Wendel ad loc., Hunter 1999:180), is further complicated if Simichidas recalls Se-/Si-monides the notorious misogynist (F7).

The evidence for such an association is not overwhelming, but there are some features of Th.7 which can be taken to support it. Semonides was originally a Samian and wrote a *History of Samos* (*Suda* iv.360.7 Adler under Συμμίας Ῥόδιος, T2 Gerber

1999b). This connects him with the clearest alias in Th.7, Sicelidas/Asclepiades ἐκ Σάμῳ (40). The proximity of Amorgos (in the south-eastern Cyclades) to Cos makes contact between the two islands plausible (Simichidas is not explicitly a Coan in Th.7). Semonides' extant fragments make regular use of "rustic" comparisons and imagery (e.g. F14 οὐκ ἂν τις οὕτω δασκίοις ἐν οὖρεσιν/ ἀνὴρ λέοντ' ἔδεισεν οὐδὲ πάρδαλιν/ μοῦνος στενυγρῇ συμπεσὼν ἐν ἀτραπῷ, and the "animal-women" of F7). The song of Simichidas recalls *iambos* not only in the comments about Philinus, but in its treatment of Pan. As Gow (1950:ii.158) the σκίλλαι with which Simichidas hopes the Arcadians will not flog Pan (106-8) are among the instruments used to flog φαρμακοί in Hipponax (...ῥαπίζοντες/ κράδησι καὶ σκίλλησιν ὥσπερ φαρμακόν, F6). The wish that an unhelpful Pan find himself in winter Ἡδωνῶν...ἐν ὥρεσι (111) and Ἔβρον παρ ποταμὸν τετραμμένος (112) reproduces not only the general form of curse poetry (Hunter 1999:185) but the cold Thracian locale which the narrator of Hipponax F115 imagines for his target:

κὰν Σαλμυδ[ησσ]ῷ γυμνὸν εὐφρονέσ[τατα]
 Θρήϊκες ἀκρό[κ]ομοι
 λάβοιεν – ἐνθα πόλλ' ἀναπλήσει κακὰ
 δούλιον ἄρτον ἔδων –
 ῥίγει πεπηγόν' αὐτόν· (5-9)

There may in Th.7 be a more direct reference to this iambic curse than Gow (1950:ii.159) or Hunter (1999:185) suggest. Simichidas should not simply be identified with Semonides. Simichidas is obviously related to the historical author to some degree. But the openness of the explicit non-identity with Theocritus is made clear by possible associations such as that with Semonides, supported as it is by the use of *iambos* and iambic self-irony in Th.7.

4.4 Voice and Viewpoint

Any discussion of voice and its relationship to points of view in Hellenistic poetry, in particular Theocritus, is indebted to the work of Goldhill (1986, 1991) on polyphony and the use of effects such as framing narratives and inset songs. Goldhill himself builds explicitly on Seeck's view (1975:203) that such effects are the result of the problematic status of writing poetry and the figure of the poet in the Hellenistic period, which Goldhill attributes (1986:30-1) to the anxious awareness of the monuments and literature of the past. The content and the variety of voice and narrative within that literature triggered extensive experimentation with their own narrators and the presentation of competing speakers and voices. This is particularly clear in Theocritus in such poems as Th.26, which adapts Archaic choral compositions (see below). But an engagement with Archaic uses of voice and narrator should be related even to examples of Hellenistic polyphony which do not seem so obviously connected to Archaic models, such as the framing narratives and inset songs of Theocritus.

The presence of more than one voice in Alcman's choral songs (F3.1-9, where "the narrator might appear to be speaking as an individual member of the chorus who has heard *others* [my italics] singing" (Hutchinson 2001:106), against the more straightforwardly choral F3.61ff.), the separation of chorus from chorus-leader in Alcman F1 (Hutchinson 2001:77), the deliberately changed status of Pindaric epinician first-persons on reperformance (see 2.2 above), the scholarly opinion reflected in the Pindar scholia that first-persons could on occasion refer to the victor or the chorus as well as the poet, should all be borne in mind when considering Hellenistic and Theocritean polyphony. The key *difference*, however, in the handling of these multiple voices is that in the Hellenistic period, as Goldhill has emphasised, they become the vehicle for the undermining of the authority of the poet or the primary narrator.

4.4.1 Frame and φάρμακον (Th.11)

In Th.11 the words of the primary narrator frame (1-18, 80-1) a song of Polyphemus. Though this narrator is to be closely associated with the author, his authority does not go unchallenged by the song which he quotes (ἄειδε τοιαῦτα, 11.18). In particular, though the narrator tells us Polyphemus τὸ φάρμακον εἶρε (11.17), Polyphemus' song suggests he is far from cured, as he berates Galatea for rejecting him (11.19ff.), announces that he will change his appearance for her (11.50ff.) and complains that his mother does little to help his romancing (11.67ff.). Furthermore, singing is also a *symptom* of his love: ὁ δὲ τὰν Γαλάτειαν ᾄδων/ αὐτὸς ἐπ' αἰόνοιο κατετάκετο φυκιοέσσας (11.13-4). Hence the long debate about whether the Cyclops is “cured”, and suggestions such as Dover's (1971:174): the Cyclops *eventually* found a remedy by *persisting* in singing. But in fact the tension between frame and inset is intentional, as Goldhill (1986:34) points out. The word φάρμακον itself is ambiguous, meaning “poison” as well as “remedy”, and the narrator's descriptions of Polyphemus similarly open: οὕτω γοῦν ῥάιστα διᾶγ' ὁ Κύκλωψ (11.7), οὕτω τοι Πολύφαμος ἐποίμαινεν τὸν ἔρωτα/ μουσίσδων, ῥᾶον δὲ διᾶγ' ἢ εἰ χρυσὸν ἔδωκεν (11.80-1).

The language of “shepherding love” and “feeling better” is not the language of a final cure (Hunter 1999:220), despite the Cyclops “finding a cure” in line 17. A different meaning for φάρμακον, something like “palliative”, is revealed for the narrator's words by the song he quotes.¹⁶³ The meaning of the frame is altered by the inset, and the frame is vital in creating the ambiguity of the scene as a whole (Goldhill 1991:254). The primary narrator's words are not presented as providing straightforward access to the events of the story, but must be checked against the words of a character.

4.4.2 Narrator to Character (Th.6)

Th.6 was clearly written after Th.11 and reworks and reverses various elements (Hunter 1999:244, Köhnken 1996:179ff.). The same characters, Polyphemus and Galatea, reappear in Th.6, though without scene-setting or introduction, and

¹⁶³ Though the precise translation of φάρμακον, “remedy”, “cure”, “palliative” etc. has caused problems, it should be rendered in English by “drug”, another suitably ambiguous word with connotations of dependence and continuing affliction as well as of treatment and cure.

Polyphemus sits piping at Th.6.8-9, recalling his song in Th.11. Where Polyphemus had consoled himself with the possibility of finding another woman in Th.11 (εὐρήσεις Γαλάτειαν ἴσως καὶ καλλίον' ἄλλαν, 76), now he uses this against Galatea herself (ἀλλ' ἄλλαν τινὰ φαμί γυναῖκ' ἔχεν, Th.6.26). Where he wasted away before (κατετάκετο, Th.11.14), now she does so (τάκεται, Th.6.27, cf. Köhnken 1996:179). But of particular importance here is the development of a play with different speakers, their authority and the interpretation of characters' actions.

Th.6 begins, as Th.11, with the words of the primary narrator directed at the addressee of the poem, named in the second line of the poem (Νικία, Th.11.2, Ἄρατε, Th.6.2). But where Th.11 has 18 lines before the song of Polyphemus, there are only 5 in Th.6. The primary narrator in Th.6 is far less visible than that in Th.11 – there are no first-person forms (contrast Th.11: ἐμὶν, 2, οἶμαι, 5, ἀμῖν, 7), nor any gnomic musings (Οὐδὲν ποττὸν ἔρωτα πεφύκει φάρμακον ἄλλο/.../ἢ ταὶ Πιερίδες, 11.1-3), nor the emotional descriptions of the narrator in Th.11 (ὀρθιαῖς μανίαις, 11; ἔχθιστον ἔχων ὑποκάρδιον ἔλκος, 15). The narrative of the narrator is spare: Damoetas and Daphnis, briefly described, once gathered the herd together in one place, at a spring at noon in the summer, and sang. Daphnis sings first (6.6-19),¹⁶⁴ as though he were a witness (Köhnken 1996:179) of the courtship of Polyphemus and Galatea, and then Damoetas replies, after one transitional line from the primary narrator (6.20), *in persona Polyphemi* (6.21-40, Gow 1950:ii.118). At the end of this song, the narrator tells us in a further five lines that the two kissed and exchanged gifts. Hence the structure of Th.6 is similar to that of Th.11 – narrative frame around a song of Polyphemus, but with the added complexity of another singer, and the *impersonation* of the Cyclops.

The impersonal, unobtrusive third-person narration of the primary narrator is reminiscent of much of that of the Homeric narrator, and stands in contrast to the more involved songs of Daphnis and Damoetas. But it is particularly appropriate because of the shifts in speaker in the poem. From the bare narrative of the frame we pass to that of Daphnis, the “witness” of the courtship. His song is addressed to the

¹⁶⁴ As he had proposed the match, 6.5, the filling in of an ellipsis which (exceptionally) does draw attention to the narrator.

Cyclops, as the narrator's had been to Aratus – Πολύφαμε (6.6), ὦ Πολύφαμε (6.19), and describes, in the third person, the behaviour of Galatea. She pelts his flock, and calls him unlucky in love and a goatherd (6.6-7). But this secondary narrator is more emotionally engaged than the primary narrator: τάλαν τάλαν (6.8) he calls Polyphemus, points out (ἴδε, 6.9) her pelting of his dog, and warns him not to let the dog bite Galatea (6.13-4). But though he may be more concerned for Polyphemus, his third-person narration as a witness leaves open Galatea's real feelings, which are made ambiguous by his statement that she καὶ φεύγει φιλέοντα καὶ οὐ φιλέοντα διώκει (6.17). Is her affection genuine, or is she teasing Polyphemus, like the girls of Th.11.77-8 (Hunter 1999:244)?

His formal anonymity is his role as witness of the events he describes also problematises his testimony. Damoetas sings *in persona Polyphemi*, so it is legitimate to ask whether Daphnis also sings *in persona*. The possibilities are several. Daphnis may be *the* Daphnis, the bucolic “hero” of Th.1, who might have been able to have been a true witness to Polyphemus' courtship, or he might be Odysseus, Polyphemus' most famous visitor (Hunter 1999:245-6, with more suggestions). If the latter, such statements as τὺ νιν οὐ ποθόρηθα (6.8) become bitterly ironic (and prophetic), and suggest that the report of Galatea's love is hardly trustworthy.

From third-person primary and then secondary narrators we move to the impersonation of Polyphemus himself, who carefully answers each of Daphnis' points (Köhnken 1996:177-8). Here we learn of Polyphemus' interpretation of Galatea's behaviour: hearing that he has another woman she ζαλοῖ μ', ὦ Παιάν, καὶ τάκεται, ἐκ δὲ θαλάσσης/ οἰστρεῖ παπταίνουσα ποτ' ἄντρα τε καὶ ποτὶ ποίμνας (6.27-8). He presents her as in the position he had in Th.11. The emphasis in his song is on *his* creation of this changed situation: εἶδον, “I saw” (6.21), he begins, and claims αὐτὸς ἐγὼ κνίζων πάλιν οὐ ποθόρημι (6.25), σίξα δ' ὕλακτεῖν νιν καὶ τῶ κυνί (6.29) – *he* has altered the behaviour of his dog, αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ κλαξῶ θύρας (6.32, though this puts him in the passive/female position). But because Daphnis' role is never determined, so that we cannot gauge the value of his evidence, we cannot be sure whether Polyphemus *has* done all that he claims. The very point-by-point response to Daphnis may indicate that he is defending himself by accepting Daphnis'

broad description of events and claiming responsibility for them, without any implication that these events are actually *true*.

The final five lines of the poem, where the primary narrator returns, might have pointed us to the reliability or unreliability of one or other of the songs, to give us a clue in reconstructing what Galatea's behaviour "really" was or what it might mean. But this frame again serves to underline the preceding ambiguity, rather than resolve it, and pointedly fails to provide any resolution of the problems of the inset songs. Neither song is ranked above the other, despite this being formally a song-contest, and the poem ends: νίκη μὲν οὐδ'άλλος, ἀνήσσαντο δ' ἐγένοντο (6.46). Neither of the singers is victorious, and none of the speakers is allowed to claim definitive authority.

4.4.3 Disguise and Ambiguity (Th.7)

As noted above, Th.7 is narrated by one Simichidas, who tells of a past meeting with an ἐσθλὸν...ἄνδρα (7.12):

οὔνομα μὲν Λυκίδαν, ἧς δ' αἰπόλος, οὐδέ κέ τις νιν
ἤγνοίησεν ἰδὼν, ἐπεὶ αἰπόλῳ ἔξοχ' ἐώκει. (7.13-4)

This peculiar description of a goatherd who looks extremely like a goatherd suggests to the audience that Lycidas may be more (or less) than he seems, and a variety of identities has been put forward for him, e.g. Apollo (Williams 1971), or a character from Philetan pastoral (Bowie 1985). Dover (1971:148-50) considers four possibilities: a real goatherd with a genius for poetry, a real poet with a penchant for dressing as a goatherd, a real poet whom Theocritus has chosen to present as a goatherd, and a wholly imaginary character. He thinks the choice is between the latter two, and finally favours the last (1971:150), because of "the poet's insistence that Lykidas was a real goatherd". This is an application of Gow's reservations about theories about Lycidas' identity which forget that Theocritus insists he *is* a goatherd, as well as looking conspicuously like one (1950:ii.130). This is also one of Bowie's reasons (1985:70-1) for rejecting Williams' idea (1971:137) that Lycidas is Apollo – Apollo is not a goatherd.

But the point of view of the primary narrator is key here, as it is to much of the interpretation of this poem. Whatever the precise relationship between Simichidas and Theocritus, there is no straightforward identity – it is *Simichidas* who calls Lycidas a goatherd, not Theocritus. Again, the assertions of the primary narrator in Theocritus do not have a claim to definitive truth. Simichidas, as Seeck (1975:198-9) points out, is *not* omniscient, and his first-person narration is vital in maintaining the ambiguity over Lycidas’ identity, crystallised in lines 13-14 above. There is no external narrator to strip away the disguise (Goldhill 1991:228-9). The use of a primary narrator allows information to be related to the audience about Lycidas’ appearance, and his smell (reeking of fresh rennet, 7.16), which would not have been possible in a mime or dialogue without a framing narrative (Seeck 1975:198-9). But by making the narrator a character within the narrative itself, the identity of Lycidas remains open.

A similar situation in *Pythian* 4 may help to clarify the effects here. In the prophecy of Medea (i.e. the narration by a character of an event in the past, rather than that of the primary narrator), she recounts the meeting of the Argonauts, in particular Euphamos, with a god. First she declares: θεῷ ἀνέρι εἰδομένῳ γαῖαν διδόντι/ ξείνια πρῶραθεν Εὐφάμος καταβαίς/ δέξατ’ (P.4.21-3), then expands her description of this stranger:

τουτάκι δ’ οἰοπόλος δαίμων ἐπῆλθεν, φαιδίμαν
 ἀνδρὸς αἰδοίου πρόσωπιν θηκάμενος (P.4.28-9)

He then claims to be Eurypylus (first king of Libya): φάτο δ’ Εὐρύπυλος Γαιαόχου παῖς ἀφθίτου Ἐννοσίδα/ ἔμμεναι (P.4.33-4). It is often thought (e.g. Race 1997:i.265, Braswell 1988:90ff.) that this god must be Triton, particularly in view of the location of the meeting: Τριτωνίδος ἐν προχοαῖς/ λίμνας (P.4.20-1), and the confident statement of the scholia (ὁ Τρίτων Εὐρυπύλῳ ὁμοιούμενος Κυρήνης βασιλεῖ ad P.4.29, Drachmann 1903-27:ii.104). But this is a statement by a character, a secondary narrator, not “Pindar”, the primary narrator. Medea’s prophetic status makes her words more reliable, but neither the identity of the god, nor the fact that he *is* a god, can be read off as simply as often suggested. If even in *Pythian* 4, then, all

the more so in Th.7, where the primary narrator is a character without the prophetic and semi-divine status of Medea.

The meeting of Simichidas and Lycidas as a whole has clear affinities with a meeting with a god, in particular of a *Dichterweihe* or poetic initiation (Williams 1971:37). It displays various characteristics of a meeting with a god, e.g. the time of day (noon – μεσαμέριον, 7.21, Cameron 1963:301-2, cf. Teiresias in Call.H.6), and of an initiation, e.g. the handing over of a staff (cf. *Theog.*29ff.): ὁ δέ μοι τὸ λαγωβόλον (7.128). But there are numerous oddities. Unlike Hesiod before his initiation (ἄρνας ποιμαίνονθ', *Theog.*23), Simichidas is *already* a poet (ἐγὼ Μοισᾶν καπυρὸν στόμα, 7.37; Hunter 1999:149). The staff which Lycidas gives Simichidas is not a poet's staff but a herdsman's crook (Cameron 1995:416), and one which is *crooked* (ροικὰν δ' ἔχεν ἀγριελαίω/ δεξιτερᾷ κορύναν, 7.18-9), with awkward associations of lies and dishonesty, e.g. in Hesiod (cf. *WD* 219ff., Hunter 1999:164). But most important of all are the attitudes of Lycidas and Simichidas.

Simichidas presents himself as modest, saying that “all say I am the best of singers” (7.37-8), but that he does not believe it, and considers himself as yet no match for Sicelidas and Philetas (7.38-40): βάτραχος δὲ ποτ' ἀκρίδας ὥς τις ἐρίσδω (7.40). Immediately, however, Simichidas the narrator reveals that he spoke ἐπίταδες, “with a purpose”. This, and the use of οὐ...πω, “not yet” (7.39) with reference to his rivalry of Sidelidas and Philetas shows his modesty to be feigned (Segal 1974:130-1). Lycidas replies, ἀδὺ γελάσσας (7.42), with the ambiguous description of Simichidas as πᾶν ἐπ' ἀλαθείᾳ πεπλασμένον ἐκ Διὸς ἔρνος (7.44), πεπλασμένον suggesting also “invented”, “made up” (Hunter 1999:163), and what has been taken as an expression of poetic principles:

ὥς μοι καὶ τέκτων μέγ' ἀπέχθεται ὅστις ἐρευνῇ
ἶσον ὄρευσ κορυφᾷ τελέσαι δόμον Ὀρομέδοντος,
καὶ Μοισᾶν ὄρνιχες ὅσοι ποτὶ Χῖον ἀοιδόν
ἀντία κοκκύζοντες ἐτώσια μοχθίζοντι. (7.45-8)

In other words, Lycidas hates those poets who do not realise their inferiority to Homer, and enviously complain about him (Hutchinson 1988:202). Because, however, Simichidas modesty is feigned, and he thinks only that he vies with Sicelidas

and Philetas like a frog against grasshoppers *for now*, there is a hint that Simichidas may be the target here (Segal 1974:135). Lycidas agrees ironically with Simichidas' assessment of his inferiority – “you are a sapling fabricated for truth” – and then goes on to hint that he is aware that Simichidas' modesty is false. This is marked by his mocking smile at 7.42, the Homeric formula ἡδὺ γέλασσας being used generally of mocking laughter at someone else's expense (e.g. *Il.*2.270, the Greeks at Thersites, cf. Cameron 1995:412-5). Lycidas is hinting that it is Simichidas who fancies himself as a rival to Homer (Cameron 1995:417-8).

This ironic attitude of Lycidas, as well as his position as a character in a dramatic situation (Hutchinson 1988:203, Cameron 1995:421), mean we must abandon “programmatically” interpretations of Lycidas' words (Goldhill 1991:230). The most recent is that of Asper (1997:191ff.) who argues that the images of the builder and the birds of the Muses chattering against Homer fit into the three-term comparison he calls the “Τέμναχος-schema” (Homer–misguided rivals–“Callimachean” poet), which he also applies to Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* (see 3.2.6 above). But the fact is that Lycidas' reply is firmly tied to its context within the poem, and takes up the substance of Simichidas' speech. There is no “programme” here.

This Theocritean “initiation”, which presents the initiator regarding the primary narrator ironically, but which does not determine the identity of either figure involved should be related again to the avoidance in Hellenistic poetry and in Theocritus of definitive narratorial or poetic authority. We do not know who Lycidas is, nor the precise relationship of Simichidas to Theocritus, so we cannot be sure of the meaning of Lycidas' irony or the degree of self-deprecation in the feigned modesty and ironising of Simichidas.

4.4.4 Narrator and Chorus (Th.18, 26)

Th.18 and 26 form the most explicit examples of Theocritus' use of the Archaic and choral past, though they employ very different strategies to do so. Th.18 has 8 lines of introduction by the primary narrator, with little intrusion, followed by the quotation of the wedding-song for Menelaus and Helen, while Th.26 seems to be a choral hymn purporting to be sung by a boy-chorus (Cairns 1992:11-12).

The quotation of the epithalamium of Helen in Th.18 marks the distance of the primary narrator from Sparta and the “original” singing of the song. Though there is some evidence for Archaic epithalamia in hexameters (Sappho F105-6, Hunter 1996:151), the quotation in hexameters of an Archaic Spartan song sung by women (cf. the lyric *partheneia* of Alcman) also jars and points to the differences between the “original” performance and the Hellenistic “reading” of the song (Hunter 1996:165). This distance and difference are central to the poem, and to the presence of the narrator’s frame.

Though there seems to be a close parallel for the structure of Th.18 in Bacchylides 20, which also places us in heroic Sparta, at the singing of a wedding-song (for Idas and Marpessa), the quotation of τοιόνδε μέλος (B.20.3) is not preserved, and as such the similarities to Th.18 must remain uncertain. There is, however, another Archaic Spartan parallel to that of primary narrator and choral speaker, that of Alcman’s F3. There, as noted above, the poem begins with the words of what seems like an individual waiting for the song of the chorus:

Μώσαι Ὀλυμπιάδες, περί με φρένας
 ἰμέρωι νέας ἀοιδᾶς
 πίμπλατ’ ἰθύῳ δ’ ἀκούσαι
 παρσενήϊας ὁπός
 πρὸς αἰθέρα καλὸν ὕμνιοισᾶν μέλος¹⁶⁵

The first-persons in the remainder of the song closely resemble those statements by the chorus in Alcman F1. The situation of an individual waiting for a song to begin can also be paralleled from Pindar (N.3.*init.*, see 2.2.1 above), but in view of Alcman’s nationality and his female chorus, F3 seems the more important example. In both Alcman and Pindar the situation is a fiction – the song has already begun, but the narrator affects that it is still to start. In Th.18, however, the “solo” voice at the beginning of the song has become that of a narrator far removed in time and place from the chorus. The frame now points us to the fictionality of the whole song.

¹⁶⁵ Suppl. (e.g.) Campbell 1982-1993:ii.378.

It seems that the epithalamium is presented as a fragment *discovered* by the primary narrator.¹⁶⁶ Th.18 begins Ἐν ποκ' ᾠρα, which has caused much scholarly debate. Gow (1950:ii.349) finds the particle “puzzling” and considers explaining it as marking a transition from a lost/unwritten proem, or as a response to some preceding and unknown circumstance. Hunter (1996:149), most recently, views it as marking the poet’s control over his narrative – indicating the point at which the narrator has chosen to begin his narrative. But perhaps it should be taken as genuinely inferential, as “so” or “then”, and as obliquely constructing the “setting” for the poem: the “discovery” of a fragment of Spartan song. The narrator is portrayed as inferring or remarking that it was “thus, *then*” that the Spartans girls celebrated the wedding of Helen. The reading ᾠρα of the MSS at line 7 (Gow prefers ᾠμα from the Antinoe papyrus) would form another example of this realisation about the distant past.

This would mean that Th.18 crystallises a Hellenistic “reaction” to a lyric text, and would form a poetic counterpart to the cataloguing of and scholarship on Archaic literature being carried out in the Alexandrian Library. Bing (1993:190-94) has speculated that one of the triggers for the play with ambiguities of voice in Callimachus’ *Hymn to Apollo* may have been the encountering of Archaic and Classical poetry *as text* rather than in performance. In Th.18 we see portrayed just this sort of encounter with a past “text”, but with very different results. The voices of the two sections, frame and song, are not confused but firmly demarcated.

Whether or not the frame of Th.18 is to be read a “scholar’s” reaction to a lyric text, the primary narrator’s introduction serves to emphasise the difference between the setting of the song, and its “original” reception, and the present reading. This is also apparent in the use of Stesichorus’ *Helen* in the quoted song, pointed out by the scholia (ἐν αὐτῷ τινα εἴληπται ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου Στησιχόρου Ἑλένης, Argum. Th.18, p.331 Wendel). Theocritus seems to draw on the portrayal of the wedding of Helen and Menelaus in the *Helen* (F187, Hunter 1996:150-1). But this again brings home the *differences* between the Spartan wedding-song and Th.18, and between their audiences: Stesichorus, of course, was famous for his *slander* of Helen (Plato, *Phdr.*243a,

¹⁶⁶ Cf. the discovery of the *Meropis* by Apollodorus of Athens (c.180-110 BC) in his *Περὶ θεῶν* (Henrichs 1993:187-9). The *Meropis* is probably sixth-century rather than third (Henrichs 1993:189-92, on the basis of its narrative and diction).

Isocr.*Hel.*64), which allegedly left him blind, and caused him to write his *Palinode* (F192). For *Spartans*, however, Helen was not the faithless betrayer of Menelaus and lover of Paris, but a good and faithful wife (Griffiths 1972:25). The Archaic Spartan audience of an Archaic choral wedding-song for Helen would have had *this* faithful Helen in mind. But Th.18, in contrast, adapts a text which depicts the other, “Homeric” Helen, who abandoned her husband, in the reconstruction of a song celebrating the faithful Spartan Helen. As in Callimachus, surface meaning runs up against subtextual countercurrents.

The presence of the primary narrator in the frame is vital: he is marked as not a member of the original audience of the song, and hence his audience is also different. For a Hellenistic audience or reader, as for modern readers (e.g. Effe 1978:75-6), Helen is, at least, ambiguous, at worst faithless. *We* cannot put aside Homer, unlike the putative Spartan audience. This, of course, makes some of the statements of the song within Th.18 seem bitterly ironic, e.g. κῆς ἔτος ἐξ ἔτεος, Μενέλαε, τεὰ νυὸς ἄδε (15). But they also emphasise the differences between the Archaic past and the Hellenistic present, between a narrator who knows and combines conflicting mythic traditions, and a “naïve” audience that is ignorant of the Helen of the *Iliad* (cf. Hunter 1996:165-6).

In contrast the sharp separation of voices and emphasis on distance in Th.18, Th.26 *imitates* a choral speaker. This poem is another to have long been the subject of academic puzzlement. It begins by plunging immediately into a narrative about the discovery and death of Pentheus (Dover 1971:264), and ends with a hymnal closing, before which the speaker expresses sentiments which have discomfited several readers:

οὐκ ἀλέγω· μηδ' ἄλλος ἀπεχθομένω Διονύσῳ
 φροντίζοι, μηδ' εἰ χαλεπώτερα τῶνδε μογήσαι,
 εἴη δ' ἐνναετῆς ἢ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἐπιβαίνου·
 αὐτὸς δ' εὐαγεόμι καὶ εὐαγέεσσιν ἄδοιμι.
 ἐκ Διὸς αἰγιόχῳ τιμὰν ἔχει αἰετὸς οὔτως.
 εὐσεβέων παίδεσσι τὰ λῶια, δυσσεβέων δ' οὔ. (26.27-32)

The speaker emphatically announces his unconcern at Pentheus' fate, and that of similar offenders. Gow (1950:ii.475) rightly singles out this passage as the *crux* for the interpretation of the whole poem. He takes the speaker to be "the poet" – this assumption is the cause of much of the critical difficulty concerning the poem. These lines are much more easily understood if the narrator is not thought of as a projection of the historical author, but as much more closely connected with the Dionysiac context of the poem. One such narrator is the boy-chorus suggested by Cairns (1992). Cairns (1992:10) assimilates Th.26 to the *Hymns* of Callimachus, which he thinks have choral speakers. While there is some play with choral speakers in the *Hymns*, most notably in H.2, the narrators are much more complex and varied than Cairns suggests (see 3.2 above). In Th.26, however, a choral speaker is more plausible.

The problematic lines 27-32 are textually uncertain, and Cairns (1992:12) plausibly suggests that the reference to age in line 29 is a pointer to a *chorus* "nine years old or entering on the tenth", i.e. a chorus of boys. The Antinoe papyrus has the first-person form ἐπιβαίην in line 29, and therefore probably read εἶην at the beginning of the line (Gow 1950:ii.482), so that the speaker may be talking about himself, though this is hardly certain. The narrator then adds εὐσεβέων παίδεσσι τὰ λῶια, δυσσεβέων δ' οὐ (26.32), which has special point if the narrator is supposed to be composed of such children.

A boy-chorus would also help to explain the simple worldview expressed arrestingly here – there can be no sympathy with those who transgress against the gods. The narrator is "without compassion" (Dover 1971:264). This is all the more startling because of the immediately preceding narrative of Pentheus' death, which arouses the sympathy of the audience, as well as being grotesque. Right at the start the emphasis is on the mother-son relationship of Agave and Pentheus (μάτηρ μὲν κεφαλὰν μυκήσατο παιδὸς ἐλοῖσα, 20). Her maternal roar, as she kills her son, is compared to that of a lioness with cubs, i.e. *protecting* her offspring (21). There then follow lines on his dismemberment (22-24), and the blood-spattered return to Thebes:

ἐς Θήβας δ' ἀφίκοντο πεφυρμένοι αἵματι πᾶσαι,
ἐξ ὄρεος πένθημα καὶ οὐ Πενθήα φέροισαι. (20-26)

Much in this poem builds on Euripides' *Bacchae*, of course (cf. Dover 1971:263-4 for a useful comparison), but the reversals here are particularly important for gauging the narratorial voice in Th.26. In Euripides the dismemberment of Pentheus (1114-1136), also begun by Agave and again grotesque and unpleasant, precedes Agave's taking of her son's head, again with emphasis on their relationship:

κράτα δ' ἄθλιον,
ὅπερ λαβοῦσα τυγχάνει μήτηρ χεροῖν (1139-40)

This head then becomes the focus of the next scene of Agave's return, where she imagines that Pentheus' head is a lion's (1168ff.), and of the scene where Agave presents her son's head to her father (1216ff.), where she finally realises whose head it is (1280ff.). This sequence of events is obviously full of *pathos*, but in Th.26 Agave *first* takes her son's head, and then the full account of the dismemberment follows. After the narrative of Pentheus' death, then, instead of the pathetic scene arousing sympathy of the *Bacchae*, we meet with the bare statement οὐκ ἀλέγω (Th.26.27).

The simplicity and harshness of this view seems best accounted for by a narrator who is not "Theocritus", but in some manner different. The effect of a pathetic narrative followed by a discomfiting moral pronouncement is familiar from Callimachus' *Hymn to Demeter*, where the picture of Erysichthon at the crossroads is followed by a wish not to have such a man as a neighbour. The narrator there is female, hence marked as different, and the peculiar moralising of Th.26 should also be taken as a marker of the "difference" of the narrator. Here the narrator is a child, hence the simplicity of the moral stance. Cairns (1992:12 with notes) points out that young, hence sexually pure, children were pleasing to the gods, but this "purity" can also express itself as unsympathetic to the actions of those who are not so pure. The effect here is not one of exposing the hypocritical nature of the moralising narrator, as happens in Callimachus' *Iambi*, but of revealing the true nature of the moraliser, and their difference from the audience of the poem, which *does* feel sympathy as the fate of Pentheus is described.

In *form* the emphatic first-persons in Th.26, e.g. οὐκ ἄλέγω, placed at the beginning of a line, recall those in Pindar: ἀφίσταμαι, O.1.52, στάσομαι, N.5.16.¹⁶⁷ But the situation in Pindar is very different: there the narrator expresses an *unwillingness* to believe or relate a particular myth, rather than a lack of compassion. Indeed the ostentatious avoidance of a tale (in N.5) which reveals a darker side to some Aeginetan heroes (the killing of Phocus by Peleus and Telamon) points to a more complex conception of morality, wrongdoing and the status of the wrongdoer. The strength of emotion in Th.26 at the punishment of sacrilege recalls that in Alcaeus F298:

δρά]σαντας αἰσχύν[νον]τα τὰ μῆνδικα,
 ...]ην δὲ περβάλοντ' [ἀν]άγκα
 αὖ]χενι λα[β]ολίωι π[.]αν·
 ἦ μάν κ' Ἰ' Ἀχαιοῖσ' ἦς πόλυ βέλτερον
 αἰ τὸν θεοβλ[ά]βεντα κατέκτανον· (1-5)

But in Alcaeus myth is used as an *exemplum* for what political action should be taken on Lesbos. In Th.26 the voice of the engagé citizen has been transferred into the mouths of “pure”, but compassionless, boys.

4.4.5 Reception and Misunderstanding (Th.8, 9, 27)

That even the pastoral imitations of Theocritean poetry kept the frame and inset pattern familiar from the bucolic poems (and part of a more general diptych structure, Pretagostini 1980) is shown by the clearly post-Theocritean Th.27. This seems to be missing some lines at the beginning, and consists mainly of a dialogue between Daphnis and a girl, whom the former seduces. There then follow five lines of narrative, with little sign of the narrator, then two puzzling lines:

δέχνυσο τὰν σύριγγα τεὰν πάλιν, ὄλβιε ποιμάν·
 τῶν δ' αὖ ποιμναγῶν ἑτέρεην σκεψώμεθα μολπάν. (27.72-3)

¹⁶⁷ The lyric and in particular Pindaric connections here are further strengthened if Cairns (1992:22-3) is right to suggest that Th.26 may be based on a lost dithyramb by Pindar, and that the scholia's (to O.2.86-8, N.5.20f.) identification of Pindar and an eagle stands behind the sudden reference to an eagle in line 31.

This complicates considerably the interpretation of the poem, as it implies a further frame beyond that of the narrator of 67-71, where the speaker of 72-3 and the shepherd he mentions both sing. Edmonds (1912:331), thus suggested that 72-3 represent a judge's verdict, inviting the victor of a song competition to sing again, having heard two songs. This, however, implies a very long song (Gow 1950:ii.493), and neither this, nor suggestions such as that of Ahrens (1874:414-15) that the lines are a subscription to a collection of bucolic poetry are convincing (Gow 1950:ii.492-4). Perhaps the general answer lies in the poor imitation of Theocritus' experimentation with framing effects as well as dramatic poems.

We have an example of such a poor and confused imitation of variations of voice in Theocritus in Th.9. It begins with an address by the narrator to Daphnis: Βουκολιάζεο, Δάφνι (9.1), and further instructions (e.g. χοῖ μὲν ἀμᾶ βόσκειντο καὶ ἐν φύλλοισι πλανῶντο, 9.4) which strongly suggest the narrator is one speaker in a dramatic scene (so Gow 1950:ii.185), where Daphnis is to sing first, then Menalcas (9.2). After Daphnis' song of lines 7-13, the narrator declares:

οὕτω Δάφνις ᾄσειεν ἐμὶν, οὕτω δὲ Μενάλκας (9.14)

This shifts the audience's perception of the situation. Now it seems as if the narrator is relating a narrative about the past. If this were the only indication that the narrative was about the past, the audience might be able to rationalise the initial addresses and instructions as part of a narratorial apostrophe, and hence "timeless", and the narrator external (heterodiegetic) despite the difficulty of ἐμὶν in 14. But after the song of Menalcas, the narrator firmly ties himself to the scene of the singing:

τοῖς μὲν ἐπεπλάταγῃσα καὶ αὐτίκα δῶρον ἔδωκα (9.22)

He gives gifts to Menalcas and Daphnis, one of which Menalcas uses straightaway (9.27). Hence the narrator is definitively revealed as internal (homodiegetic), and this leaves the opening of the poem awkwardly standing in a different mode from the rest of the work. It seems likely that this is as a result of an unsuccessful attempt to

reproduce Theocritean use of a framing narrative introducing a song-contest as in Th.6. This likelihood is strengthened because the song of Menalcas in Th.9 seems to be, like that of Damoetas in Th.6 (also as the second singer), sung *in persona Polyphemi* (Hunter 1999:250): Αἴτνα μᾶτερ ἐμέ, κῆγὼ καλὸν ἄντρον ἐνοικέω/ κοίλαις ἐν πέτραισιν· ἔχω δέ τοι ὅσσ' ἐν ὀνείρῳ (9.15-6). This pattern is unhappily combined with the dramatic structure of such poems as Th.10.

A more successful imitation of such a narrative into song-contest is to be found in Th.8. As in Th.9 the two protagonists are Daphnis and Menalcas, but here the narrator places their meeting in the past, even distancing it with a “they say”-statement in line 2 (ὥς φαντί). The narrator also tells of the introduction of a third party to judge the proceedings, a goatherd whom the boys Daphnis and Menalcas call over (28-32). Hence the twin offices of narrator and judge in Th.9 are divided between the primary narrator and a character. This means there are no jarring shifts such as that in Th.9.

4.5 Self-Irony

The presentation of multiple points of view and the inclusion of different and competing voices within poems, as well as the literary texture of such poems and their use of Archaic poetry, are often employed in Theocritus to ironise the speaker. This is clear, for example, in Th.7, where Lycidas' words juxtaposed with the primary narrator Simichidas' behaviour suggest the latter's false modesty. In turn in Th.11, the secondary narrator Polyphemus is ironised by his echoes of Sappho (λευκότερα πακτᾶς, Th.11.20 from Sappho's πάκτιδος ἀδυμελεστέρα, F156 – cf. also Th.20.26 and see 4.2 above) and anticipations of the *Odyssey* (οὔτις, Th.11.38; καιόμενος δ' ὑπὸ τεῦς καὶ τὰν ψυχὰν ἀνεχοίμαν/ καὶ τὸν ἐν' ὀφθαλμόν, τῷ μοι γλυκερώτερον οὐδέν, 52-3; αἶ κά τις σὺν ναῖ πλέων ξένος ᾧδ' ἀφίκεται, 61; Goldhill 1991:249-50). His words point us to the gap between his misunderstanding of his attractiveness and the audience's truer perception of it – the girls who giggle in line 78 are more likely to do so in mockery than in flirtatiousness (Hunter 1999:242).

This figure of the deluded lover is also to be found in some of Theocritus' primary narrators, namely those in Th.12, 29 and 30. In the first of these poem the speaker is a rustic (Giangrande 1986:42), but the irony at his expense is not so much that of the countryman striving unsuccessfully after a manner beyond him in what purports to be what Giangrande (1986:36-7) terms an ἐπιβατήριον (or *Willkommgedicht* welcoming a friend after a journey – Cairns 1972:20 prefers the term “prosphonetikon”), e.g. in the bathetic 23ff. after the strange vision of 10-23, but of a lover whose hopes are exposed as vain (Hunter 1996:192). There is some humour at the expense of a rustic who begins by echoing Sappho (ἦλυθες, ὦ φίλε κοῦρε· τρίτη σὺν νυκτὶ καὶ ἡοῖ/ ἦλυθες· οἱ δὲ ποθεῖντες ἐν ἡματι γηράσκουσιν, Th.12.1-2 from ἦλυθες, †καὶ ἐπόησας, ἔγω δέ σ' ἐμαϊόμαν/ ὃν δ' ἔψυξας ἔμαν φρένα καιομέναν πόθῳ, Sappho F48 Voigt), but also declares ἐγὼ δέ σε τὸν καλὸν αἰνέων/ ψεύδεα ῥινὸς ὑπερθεν ἀραιῆς οὐκ ἀναφύσω (Th.12.23-4). But the fact that the *eromenos* has only been absent for two days tells against the ἐπιβατήριον hypothesis, as it is much more likely that the *eromenos* has been with another *erastes*, as Hunter (1996:189) argues, particularly because of the parallel from Theognis (αὔθις ἐπὶ σταθμοὺς ἦλυθες

ἡμετέρους, 1250). Hence it is not an inability to master such a poem-type which is humorous.

In fact the chief focus of the poem's irony is the emptiness of the narrator's wishes. He hopes that when he is dead someone will tell him: ἡ σὴ νῦν φιλότης καὶ τοῦ χαρίεντος αἶτεω/ πᾶσι διὰ στόματος, μετὰ δ' ἡθέοισι μάλιστα (Th.12.20-1). His hopes for fame for undying mutual love are undercut by his Archaic model here, Theognis 237-54, where Theognis promises Cyrnus immortality (θοίνης δὲ καὶ εἰλαπίνῃσι παρέσση/ ἐν πάσαις, πολλῶν κείμενος ἐν στόμασιν, 239-40), but also accuses Cyrnus of deceit (λόγοις μ' ἀπατάς, 254; Hunter 1996:190). The fame the narrator wishes for himself and his *eromenos* is also ironised by their anonymity in Th.12, in marked contrast to that of Cyrnus, as Hunter (1996:192) points out.

In Th.29 we meet another lover, but this time the irony (rather as in Callimachus' *Iambi*) is at the expense of his moralising. This poem again adapts Archaic moralising, whether sympotic, as in the opening quote from Alcaeus (F366),¹⁶⁸ or paederastic, e.g. from Theognis. In addition to the opening Alcaic proverb, the narrator offers his *eromenos* several gnomes: "Love lightly tames the hearts of men", 23-4; "we grow old before we can spit", 27-8; "Youth once gone is past recovery", 28-9; "Youth wears wings, and we are slow to catch the winged", 29-30. The main thrust of these comments, that youth is fleeting, takes up several elegies in Theognis, as Hunter (1996:176 with n.46) points out, e.g. 1299-04, 1305-10, where the brief youth of the *eromenos* is the principal reason why he should yield to his lover. In these Theognidean verses, however, there is no ironising of the speaker – the speaker desires his *eromenos* and pleads with him to yield. In Th.29, in contrast, the narrator affects to give his advice from higher motives:

ἀλλ' αἶ μοί τι πίθοιο νέος προγενεστέρῳ,
τῷ κε λώιον αὐτός ἔχων ἔμ' ἐπαινέσαις. (10-11)

The narrator characterises his advice as authorised by his seniority, and later as by a desire to remain (non-sexual) friends with his *eromenos* when he is older:

¹⁶⁸ The Alcaic poem may also have been paederastic, as Th.29, but this cannot be confirmed (Hunter 1996:172).

ὅπως, ἄνικα τὰν γένυν ἀνδρεῖαν ἔχης,
ἀλλάλοισι πελώμεθ' Ἀχιλλεῖοι φίλοι. (33-4)

But the advice the narrator gives, which he also characterises as for the benefit of his *eromenos* (ἄγαθος μὲν ἀκούσεται/ ἐξ ἄστων, 21-2), is to abandon his flitting from tree to tree (14-15) and be faithful: πόησαι καλίαν μίαν ἐνν ἑνὶ δενδρίῳ (12), and to “return his love”: καὶ μοι τῶραμένῳ συνέραν ἀδόλως σέθεν (32). The narrator’s motivations are baser than he claims, as the opening of the poem reveals:

κῶταν μὲν σὺ θέλῃς, μακάρεσσιν ἴσαν ἄγω
ἀμέραν· (7-8)

As Hunter (1996:180) notes, this willingness on the part of the *eromenos* is sexual compliance, and the hyperbole of the narrator’s delight when he is allowed sexual access implies that it is this which motivates his advice. In fact, however, it is not only the lecherous moralising which ironises the speaker here, but also the futility of his advice, given the emphasis on the present promiscuity of the *eromenos* (Hunter 1996:178). The comparison with Achilles, the self-characterisation of the narrator as Heracles (37-8) and the threat not to come when the *eromenos* calls (39-40),¹⁶⁹ are all in vain: ἐξ ἀτέρῳ δ’ ἄτερον μάτης (15). The narrator is in no position to advise the *eromenos*, being in the grip of sexual desire, and with nothing to distinguish him from the mass of lovers.

As noted above, Th.30 depicts a narrator afflicted with a passion for a boy, and conducting a conversation with his own θυμός. Much of the humour in the poem derives from the θυμός’ reasoned defence of its passion, pointing out that trying to defeat Eros is like trying to count the stars (i.e. impossible, 25-7), and that Eros conquered Zeus and Aphrodite, let alone the narrator’s θυμός (28-32). As a whole, of course, the θυμός defiant reply to its “owner” embodies the narrator’s point, that he cannot control his θυμός, but the strong separation by the narrator of himself from his θυμός, and the latter’s superior reasoning, ironises the narrator. Hunter, in his

¹⁶⁹ Which must refer, as Hunter (1996:176-7) argues, to a time when the *eromenos* has grown up, as in the Achilles comparison.

analysis of Th.30, finds the reasoning with the speaker's θυμός in Pindar F123 particularly close to the Theocritean situation (1996:183-4), though he notes the θυμός is unlikely to have replied. He also notes, in passing, that the earliest address to a θυμός or similar organ in an erotic context may be in Simonides fr.eleg.21 (1996:183). This parallel seems particularly important.

In Simonides, the narrator is telling his ψυχή that he can no longer be its guardian:

οὐ δύναμαι, ψυχ[ή,] πεφυλαγμένος εἶ[ναι] ὀπηδός·
 χρυσῶπιν δὲ Δίκ[ην] ἄζ]ομαι ἀχνύμενος,
 ἐξ οὗ τὰ πρῶτιστ' αὖ νεο[τρεφέ]ων ἀπὸ μηρῶν
 ἡμετέρης εἶδον τέρμ[ατα πα]ιδείης, (fr.eleg.21.3-6)

West (1993:11) comments that this is clearly a love poem – despite feeling that the love is “somehow discreditable”, the narrator cannot help himself. This is close to the situation developed in Th.30. The narrator is addressing his externalised self, not someone else (e.g. a friend whom the passionate narrator can no longer protect, nor an *eromenos*). He confesses that he can no longer guard his ψυχή, even though he has “respected Right” ever since the end of his boyhood. The end of this period of righteousness and self-protection is probably to be accounted for by sexual attraction for an *eromenos* (note the sensuous description of adulthood in lines 5-6, West 1993:11). The narrator can no longer be the guardian of his own soul because he is in love, and has surrendered control of his soul. But the very fact of this loss of control, which the poem implies is the narrator's *very first*, suggests that his “guardianship” may always have been bogus. If the narrator was never affected by a passion, then his “self-control” is no self-control at all (cf. Angelo in *Measure for Measure*).

This would also be close to the ironising of the speaker in Th.30. It may be that the ψυχή replied in Simonides (παρθενία replies to a bride in Sappho F114.2). In any case, the response in Theocritus seems a natural extension from the Archaic poem. Furthermore, if Simonides fr.eleg.21 *was* a model for Th.30, it suggests that the narrator of Th.30 has never had control of himself or his θυμός, which further ironises the speaker. The narrator who externalises his desire as a disease (τῷδε

νοσήματος, 1), and the cause of the latest outburst (παρίων ἔδρακε λέπτ' ἄμμε δι' ὀφρύων, 7) and his lack of self-control, is himself revealed as at fault.

4.6 Lyric and Epic

4.6.1 Lyric to Epic (Th.24)

Th.24, of course, alludes to and adapts more than one text and type of poem (Hunter 1996:11-13), though its principal model is Pindar's *Nemean* 1 (Gow 1950:ii.415), which also narrates the strangling of Hera's snakes by the infant Heracles.¹⁷⁰ For example, Ἡρακλέα as the very first word is a hymnic feature (21 out of 33 *Homeric Hymns* begin with the name of the god, HH15 begins Ἡρακλέα), as is following this with a participial phrase (Gutzwiller 1981:14). The image of Alcmena "filling both [Heracles and Iphicles] with milk" (line 3) alludes to the gluttonous Heracles of comedy (Hunter 1996:11), while Gutzwiller (1981:11-12) points out the epic affinities of the shield in which the twins are placed in lines 4-5, and the brief mention of Amphitryon's having taken it from Pterelaus (cf. *Il.*15.427-8). Alcmena's lullaby in lines 7-9, which echoes Danaë's words to the infant Perseus in F543.21-2 of Simonides, forms a lyric echo juxtaposed with these epic elements.

A more complex relationship with earlier texts is apparent in the use of γαλαθηνόν at Th.24.30-1, where the narrator tells us that the snakes wound themselves around Heracles:

περὶ παῖδα
ὀψίγονον, γαλαθηνόν ὑπὸ τροφῷ, αἰὲν ἄδακρυν·

The word γαλαθηνόν appears with the same meaning, "suckling", in Simonides F553:

<Εὐρυδίκας>
ἰοστεφάνου γλυκεῖαν ἐδάκρυσαν
ψυχὰν ἀποπνέοντα γαλαθηνόν τέκος.

¹⁷⁰ Also told by Pindar in *Pae.*20, which Th.24 also draws on (Dover 1971:252, Gutzwiller 1981:10).

This narrates a snake's killing of Archemorus-Opheltes, in whose honour the Nemean Games were founded (Apollodorus 1.9.14, Pausanias 2.15.3). It is precisely this Simonidean description which Theocritus' principal model in Th.24, Pindar's *Nemean* 1, also echoes in precisely the same scene (Heracles' strangling of the snakes):

ἀγχομένοις δὲ χρόνος
ψυχὰς ἀπέπνευσεν μελέων ἀφάτων. (N.1.46-7)

This emphasises the difference between Opheltes and Heracles, and by reversing the foundation myth of the games, replaces “death with promise and defeat with victory” (Kirkwood 1982:246).¹⁷¹ Hence the allusion to Simonides also alludes to Pindar's own allusion to the same Simonidean passage, thus suggesting that though Theocritus' Heracles may be unweaned, he is no more an Opheltes than Pindar's Heracles. This complex of associations, and the fact that γαλαθηνόν means “suckling” in both Sim.F553 and Th.24.31 makes less likely Hunter's suggestion (1996:27 n.104) that the word is taken from the γαλαθηνῶ/...ῆτορι of Perseus in Simonides F543.8-9, where the word means “babyish”.

Even the allusion to Simonides, then, involves *Nemean* 1, and it is the transformations of the Pindaric model which are most important for the appreciation of Th.24. As Gow (1950:ii.415) observes, the Theocritean version emphasises the domestic rather than the heroic, e.g. in the opening scene where Alcmena sings her children a lullaby, the conjugal bed scene at 24.34ff. where Alcmena nags her husband to investigate the noise of the children and the strange light, and the description of the woman by the corn-mills waking the servants in house (50ff.). But this domestication is itself a development of hints in Theocritus' Pindaric models (Gutzwiller 1981:10-11) – in both N.1 and *Pae*.20 Alcmena leaps ἄπεπλος (N.1.50; *Pa*.20.14) from her bed, in the former case to fight off the snakes, in the latter out of fear, and the ἀμφίπολοι flee in panic in *Pae*.20.¹⁷²

¹⁷¹ Kirkwood quotes from F.L. Williams' 1976 Cornell PhD diss., “A Critical Edition of Nemean Odes 1-4 of Pindar” (*non vidi*).

¹⁷² They do not, *pace* Dover (1971:252), “come running” – they are running away: φύγον (*Pae*.20.17).

More striking in terms of variation from Pindar is the “epicisation” of the Pindaric narrative. Whereas the narrative of N.1 is swift and selective, with extensive play with words for pace and speed (Rose 1974:158-60), Th.24 is more even and more leisurely. In N.1 Hera sends the snakes ἐπεὶ...αὐτίκα (35), “as soon as”¹⁷³ Heracles is born and ἄφαρ (40), the snakes intend to wrap their ὠκείας γνάθους (42) around the children. Then there follows the more static, and more extensively described, vignette of Heracles strangling the snakes – he lifts his head, first makes trial of battle, and holds the two snakes in his two inescapable hands, having seized them by their necks. At this point the Pindaric narrator says, strikingly that “*time* squeezed the life from their unspeakable bodies” (N.1.46-7, quoted above).

The narrative then speeds up again with ταχύ in 51, where the Theban princes enter. In Theocritus the pace is much more even. He fills out the simple statement in Pindar that Heracles was laid in his saffron swaddling-clothes at N.1.38 into a full-scale ten-line scene of Alcmena putting her children to bed and even singing them a lullaby. There follows a very epic-like description of time at lines 11-12 (recalling *Il.*18.487-9, *Od.*5.273; Gow 1950:ii.417), before Hera sends her snakes. Similarly in Th.24 there are six lines of description of the snakes (they have rippling-steel blue coils, writhe their murderous bellies along the ground, flash fire from their eyes, spit venom, 24.14-19). The Pindaric description, on the other hand, is typically very compressed. The narrator focuses on a single prominent feature to stand for the whole, in this case the snakes’ “quick jaws”. N.1’s simple ἐκκόλεσεν (N.1.60) becomes in Theocritus a four-line long address by Alcmena to Teiresias to “tell her the worst”, which is followed by a six-line re-assurance by Teiresias of Alcmena and prediction of her own fame.

This creation of an “epic” veneer from a selective lyric narrative is made easier by N.1’s being, in Slater’s (1979, 1983) terminology, an “epic narrative” which proceeds in strict chronological sequence, without narrative ring-composition in time. Hence Theocritus can describe the events at fuller length and a more even pace than Pindar does, without having to deal with the awkwardness of a narrative that repeats itself. But the epicisation of the lyric model amounts to more than making the pace more even. Many of the changes from N.1 seem designed to minimise the presence of the

¹⁷³ So Braswell (1992:58), who takes it as equivalent to ἐπεὶ τάχιστα.

primary narrator, e.g. the switch from indirect speech (where the mediating role of the narrator is clearer) for the prophecy of Teiresias in N.1.61-72 to direct quotation in Th.24.73-100. In N.1, before the narrative of Heracles and the snakes begins, there are a great many first-persons drawing attention to the primary narrator, e.g. the quasi-biographical statement about visiting the victor:

ἔσταν δ' ἐπ' αὐλείαις θύραις
 ἄνδρὸς φιλοξείνου καλὰ μελπόμενος,
 ἔνθα μοι ἀρμόδιον
 δεῖπνον κεκόσμηται (N.1.19-22)

The narrative itself is introduced by a first-person statement of the narrator's attachment to his subject, and his reviving of an old tale:

ἐγὼ δ' Ἡρακλέος ἀντέχομαι προφρόνως
 ἐν κορυφαῖς ἀρετᾶν μεγάλαις, ἀρχαῖον ὀτρύνων λόγον (N.1.33-4)

In the fully extant parts of Th.24, however, there are no first-persons by the primary narrator, though the poem may have ended with a hymnal prayer for victory, if the fragmentary lines preserved on the Antinoe papyrus are genuine (cf. Griffiths 1996:113ff.), and a marginal note to line 171 suggests the narrator made a first-person request for victory to Heracles. In any case, the explicit role of the primary narrator is much reduced. In many ways, then, the adaptation of a lyric model in Th.24 forms the inverse of the treatment of an epic model in Th.13 (see below). But what is created in Th.24 is not precisely an “epic” – its length is much less, and despite its metre and its affinity to a hymn, it also stands as a Hellenistic analogue to such Archaic works as Pindar's *Pythian* 4 and Stesichorus' “lyric epics”, works with an epic *veneer*, which are not epics.¹⁷⁴ One such marker of a difference from Homer, at least, is the use of evaluative and emotional language by the primary narrator. Descriptions such as αἰνὰ πέλωρα (13), κακὸν πῦρ (18), κακὰ θηρί' (23), ἀναιδέας...ὀδόντας (24), οὐλομένοις ὀφίεσσι (29), δεινὰ πέλωρα (59) employ

¹⁷⁴ One might even include the *Homeric Hymns* in this category of “para-epic”. They are not “epyllia”, however – see 3.7 above.

adjectives much more common in the speeches of characters than in the mouth of the primary narrator (Griffin 1986:39-40, 48).

4.6.2 Epic to Lyric (Th.13)

In contrast to the lyric made epic of Th.24, in Th.13 the pattern is reversed: an epic subject is taken up in a short, selective narrative reminiscent of lyric, in a poem with an addressee, further demonstrating its affinities with Archaic lyric and elegy (Hunter 1999:262). The story of the Argonauts' visit to Cius, the loss of Hylas and the abandonment of Heracles is "epic" by virtue of being part of the Argonautic saga, but there is also probably an immediate epic model for Theocritus in the form of Apollonius' account at the end of *Arg.*1. The priority of the two accounts has long been debated. Köhnken (1965) thinks Theocritus wrote first, but argues principally from unreliable external evidence such as the *Lives* of Apollonius (1965:13-17), and the complexity and superiority of Apollonius' version (1965:17-25), which seems clearly a misunderstanding of two poems of different lengths and genres (Griffin 1966:301).

Others have tried to establish the relative priority of the texts through such means as the analysis of animal similes in the respective poems (Effe 1992), but the most compelling evidence is perhaps the fact that Theocritus also adapts (in Th.22) the first episode of *Arg.*2 in such a way that Th.22 (set on the Black Sea coast) *follows* Th.13 (set in the Propontis) and assumes events from Th.13 such as the loss of Heracles (Hunter 1996:59-60). Th.22 also seems to draw on elements of the Apollonian Hylas-episode, but generally to avoid verbal repetition from Th.13 (Hunter 1996:60-2). This cross-referential Theocritean treatment of two Argonautic episodes which are adjacent in Apollonius, then, suggests *Apollonius* wrote first (Hunter 1999:264-5), *pace* Cameron (1995:430-1) who thinks that the succession of episodes in Apollonius means he is combining two disparate Theocritean narratives.

Ultimately, however, the question of priority does not greatly affect the analysis here. Apollonius will stand as a good example of what an Argonautic version of a Hylas-episode would be, even if he in fact wrote second, and his adaptations of Th.13 (and 22) would then be parallel to Theocritus' handling of N.1 in Th.24. Knowledge of Apollonius as a model would give Th.13 and its treatment here some "edge"

(Hutchinson 1988:196), but it is not indispensable. In any case, I shall concentrate on differences of manner, rather than detail or content.

Apollonius' account has the Argonauts arrive in Cius at *Arg.*1.1177, the episode ending with the end of the book at 1.1362, when the Argonauts reach Amycus. There are long descriptions, e.g. the search by Heracles for a tree with which to make an oar (1.1187-1206), several speeches (Polyphemus to Heracles, 1.1257-60, Telamon to Jason, 1.1290-95 and 1.1332-35, Glaucus to the Argonauts, 1.1315-25, Jason to Telamon, 1.1337-43), and epic similes, such as that of the enraged Heracles compared to a bull stung by a gadfly (1.1265-72).

Th.13, in contrast, is only 76 lines long, and though it concentrates on the story of Hylas, it actually narrates in lines 16-24 the gathering of the Argonauts (οἱ δ' αὐτῶ ἀριστῆες συνέποντο/ πασᾶν ἐκ πολίων προλελεγμένοι, 17-8) and the whole of the Argonautic journey to Colchis, albeit in very compressed form. Line 16 ἀλλ' ὅτε τὸ χρύσειον ἔπλει μετὰ κῶας Ἰάσων echoes both the opening of its immediate epic model, χρύσειον μετὰ κῶας ἐύζυγον ἤλασαν Ἀργῶ (*Arg.*1.4; Hunter 1999:271) and a non-epic treatment of the Argonautic saga: οὐδέ κοτ' ἄν μέγα κῶας ἀνήγαγεν αὐτὸς Ἰήσων (Mimnermus F11.1), thus advertising its double nature. These lines form, then, an abbreviated version of *Arg.*1-2, and also allude to a non-epic treatment of the *return* from Colchis. The manner of this abbreviated Argonautic narrative also recalls another brief treatment, again of the events at Colchis and the return thence at P.4.249-55:

κτεῖνε μὲν γλαυκῶπα τέχναις ποικιλόντων ὄφιν,
ὦ Ἀρκεσίλα, κλέψεν τε Μήδειαν σὺν αὐτᾷ, τὰν Πελαιοφόνον· (249-50)

Hence the brief summary of the first half of the *Arg.* in Th.13 also suggests the whole of the epic. *Pythian* 4 is also echoed by the description of the Argonauts' passing through the Clashing Rocks and arriving in Colchis:

ἄτις κυανῆαν οὐχ ἄψατο συνδρομάδων ναῦς
ἀλλὰ διεξάιξε βαθὺν δ' εἰσέδραμε Φᾶσιν,
αἰετὸς ὦς, μέγα λαῖτμα, ἀφ' οἷ τότε χοιράδες ἔσταν. (Th.13.22-4)

δίδυμαι γὰρ ἔσαν ζωαί, κυλινδέσκοντό τε κραιπνότεραι
 ἢ βαρυγδούπων ἀνέμων στίχες· ἀλλ' ἤδη τελευτὰν κεῖνος αὐταῖς
 ἡμιθέων πλόος ἄγαγεν. ἐς Φᾶσιν δ' ἔπειτεν
 ἦλυθον (P.4.209-12)

But Th.13 is more compressed yet than Pindar's description – the Clashing Rocks and the arrival in Colchis are juxtaposed with the gathering of the Argonauts. Not even rowing is required to move away from Pagasae, in contrast to P.4.200ff. (Hunter 1999:276).¹⁷⁵ Compression and swiftness when compared to Apollonius are also evident. The speed with which Hylas finds a pool in Th.13 (τάχα δὲ κράναν ἐνόησεν, 39) contrasts with the separation of his setting out from his arrival in Apollonius by a digression on Thiodamas (Hunter 1999:276). It also shows that the evening out of pace in Th.24 as compared to N.1 is not simply a regular feature of Theocritus' style – quicker, choppiier, more "lyric" narratives are also in his range. Th.13 begins with an address to Nicias and a gnome on love, illustrated by the *exemplum* of Heracles (which recalls the introduction of a Heracles-myth as an *exemplum* for no mortal being fortunate in all things in Bacchylides 5), then narrates Heracles' love for and education of Hylas, then juxtaposes (ἄλλ', 16) the summary of the expedition in 16-24, returning then to the episode at Cius for the rest of the poem.

The brevity and selectivity of Th.13, alongside its juxtaposition of episodes, draws attention to its narrator. We have already seen that there is considerable quasi-biography in this poem, notably in the address to Nicias, which foregrounds the narrator, but even though there is no narratorial first-person or apostrophe outside the first four lines,¹⁷⁶ the narrator remains prominent. Strikingly, particularly when compared to the epic version of Apollonius, there is no direct speech by any of the main protagonists in the narrative in Th.13, and the only line of direct speech is 52 (κουφότερ', ὦ παῖδες, ποιείσθ' ὅπλα· πλευστικὸς ὄυρος), which quotes what a sailor might say on seeing a shooting star. This comes as part of a simile comparing Hylas' fall to a falling star, but the unusual embedded quotation only points to the distance

¹⁷⁵ Campbell (1990:118) oddly suggests that the ease of the Argonauts travel in Th.13 suggests their great fortitude.

¹⁷⁶ Another Theocritean observation of a separation between frame and inset.

of the narrative style of Th.13 from epic, and to the avoidance of long epic speeches. Instead the narrator is before us as a mediating presence, reporting the cries of Heracles and Hylas:

τρὶς μὲν Ὑλᾶν ἄυσεν ὅσον βαθὺς ἤρυγε λαιμός,
τρὶς δ' ἄρ' ὁ παῖς ὑπάκουσεν, ἀραιὰ δ' ἔκετο φωνά (58-9)

By putting himself firmly between the audience and the words of the characters, the faintness and distance of Hylas' cries is emphasised, as is the futility of Heracles'. By describing Heracles as with a word (ἤρυγε from ἐρεύγεσθαι) which can mean “bellow” and “roar” (Hunter 1999:283), the actions of animals (e.g. bulls, *Il.*20.403), while also not quoting Heracles' actual words (save the bare Ὑλᾶν, 58), makes Heracles appear bestial. The narrator refuses to articulate Heracles' words.

The narrator in Th.13 is also prepared to pass comment on the narrative itself, as when he declares σχέτλιοι οἱ φιλέοντες (66), motivated by the plight of Heracles (cf. also Heracles μαινόμενος and the χαλεπὸς...θεὸς, 71). This sort of vocabulary, eschewed by the Homeric narrator (see 2.3.4 above), does, however, appear in Apollonius. In his version of the Hylas-episode, the primary narrator describes Heracles' killing of Hylas' father with the adverb νηλειῶς (1.1214), its cognate νηλής being exclusively a speech-word in Homer when used of people (Griffin 1986:40; see 2.3.4 above). More importantly the Apollonian narrator describes the sons of Boreas, who are to be killed by Heracles, as σχέτλιοι (1.1302). In the *Argonautica* too there is a more intrusive voice than is usual in Homer. But the narrator of Th.13 is even more prominent.

4.6.3 Doubling up (Th.22)

Th.22, appropriately enough for a poem about twins, has a double nature and two models, lyric and epic. The poem first celebrates Polydeuces in a narrative about his meeting with Amycus, king of the Bebrycians (27-134). It appears to engage with Apollonius' telling of the same meeting at the beginning of *Arg.*2 (see 4.6.2 above for the question of priority), and the Hylas-episode at the end of *Arg.*1. The second part, hymning Castor (137-211), develops elements of the fight between the Dioscuri and

the Apharidae as told in Pindar's *Nemean* 10. At the beginning and end of the poem there are introductory (1-26) and concluding (212-223) sections, appropriate to a hymn.

These different sections, and differences between them in terms of style and tone have led some scholars (e.g. Gow 1950:ii.384-5) to consider Th.22 as a composite of originally separate sections. But more plausible internal reasons can be found for this variation – the opening section, which is a “Hymn to the Dioscuri” represents an internalisation of the proem-function of a *Homeric Hymn* vis-à-vis a full-blown epic narrative (Hunter 1996:50). The differences, too, between the Polydeuces and Castor sections can be explained in terms of the different attitudes to the divine which they embody, and differences in their adaptation of their Archaic and Hellenistic models.

The narrator is particularly prominent in the opening “hymn” in lines 1-26. The first word of the poem is a first-person verb, ὕμνέομεν (1), which is repeated at the beginning of line 4. The Dioscuri are apostrophised in lines 17-18 in their capacity as savers of ships, and again as ὦ ἄμφω θνητοῖσι βοηθοί, ὦ φίλοι ἄμφω (23) in lines 23ff. At this point the narrator asks which of them he should begin with, again employing first-person forms, and decides on Polydeuces. This type of explicit narratorial presence does reappear in the rest of the poem, but only at very specific points.

For most of the Polydeuces-episode, the narrator is relatively invisible. An exception is the placing of the meeting with Amycus in the context of the wider Argonautic journey at the very beginning:

Ἡ μὲν ἄρα προφυγοῦσα πέτρας εἰς ἔν ξυνιούσας
Ἀργὼ καὶ νιφέντας ἀταρτηρὸν στόμα Πόντου (Th.22.27-8)

The brief summary of the previous events, and the particle ἄρα, marking the narrative as being a result of the narrator's decision to celebrate Polydeuces first (Gow 1950:ii.387), point us to the narrator. But there then follow some 23 lines of description, e.g. of the wanderings of the Dioscuri (34-43), and the figure of Amycus (35-52). The conversation that follows, though strikingly novel in its use of

stichomythia (without parallel in epic narrative, Gow 1950:ii.391), means the narrator recedes completely into the background in lines 54-74. The narrative then speeds up with gathering of the Bebrycians and Argonauts summarised in lines 75-9, before it concentrates on the fight between Amycus and Polydeuces. This is described in detail in lines 80-114, with little intrusion from the narrator, until the fight reaches its climax. At this point the narrator intervenes with a question to the Muse:

πῶς γὰρ δὴ Διὸς υἱὸς ἀδηφάγον ἄνδρα καθεῖλεν;
 εἰπέ, θεά, σὺ γὰρ οἶσθα· ἐγὼ δ' ἑτέρων ὑποφήτης
 φθέγγομαι ὅσσοι ἐθέλεις σὺ καὶ ὅπως τοι φίλον αὐτῇ. (115-17)

This sort of question to the Muse has epic forebears, such as that at *Il*.1.8f. (Dover 1971:245), but in coming at a climactic point in the narrative, the closest parallel is perhaps the question to Patroclus at *Il*.16.692-3 (ἐνθα τίνα πρῶτον, τίνα δ' ὕστατον ἐξενάριξας), shortly before his death. But the narrator of *Th*.22 draws even more attention to himself, advertising his role as mediator between the Muse (and therefore the events of the story) and the audience. The narrator then proceeds, at the very end of the Polydeuces-narrative, to address Polydeuces himself (ὦ πύκτη Πολύδευκες, 132), thus informing him that he did not kill Amycus, but secured a promise from him not to molest strangers.

This civilised resolution to the conflict is very different from the end of the fight in Apollonius, where Amycus is killed (τοῦ δ' ἀθρόος ἔκχυτο θυμός, *Arg*.2.97), and then the Bebrycians attack the Argonauts (2.98ff.), only to be defeated, and to suffer invasion by Lycus and the Mariandyni (2.139-40). Nor is this the only difference from *Th*.22 – there is no narratorial intrusion as explicit as the Muse-question, self-characterisation and apostrophe of Polydeuces. The speeches in Apollonius are also handled in much more conventional epic means, in contrast to the stichomythia of *Th*.22.54-74. Several elements, of course, are drawn from the Apollonian account, e.g. the characterisation of Amycus as a sacrilegious Giant (Τιτυῶ ἐναλίγκιος ἀνὴρ, *Th*.22.94) fighting against an “Olympian” (Διὸς υἱός, *Th*.22.95):

ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἦ ὀλοοῖο Τυφώεος, ἥε καὶ αὐτῆς
 Γαίης εἶναι ἔικτο πέλωρ τέκος, οἷα πάροιθεν
 χωομένη Διὶ τίκτεν· ὁ δ' οὐρανίῳ ἀτάλαντος

The Polydeuces-episode, as mentioned above, also draws on the Hylas-story as told in the *Argonautica* (Hunter 1996:61-3). The description of Amycus, for example, particularly his wearing of lion-skin (ὑπὲρ νώτοιο καὶ αὐχένος ἥωρεῖτο/ ἄκρων δέρμα λέοντος ἀφημμένον ἐκ ποδεώνων, Th.22.51-2), a typical marker of Heracles, recalls the Heracles of Apollonius. So too does the discovery of a *locus amoenus* while out exploring in wooded countryside while the rest of the Argonauts are engaged on other activities, precisely the situation of Heracles in the Hylas-episode in the *Argonautica*. But as Hunter (1996:60) observes, Th.13 and 22 avoid repeating each other, with different descriptions of passing through the Clashing Rocks, the Argonauts etc.¹⁷⁷ Though the narrator of Th.22 is prominent, the manner of his visibility, and the overall nature of the narrative (generally even pace, full descriptions) is very different to that of Th.13.

Where the Polydeuces-part of Th.22 has the *Argonautica* firmly in mind, the Castor-section is very different. Once more we begin with narratorial intrusion, in the transitional passage between the Polydeuces and Castor sections:

καὶ σὺ μὲν ὕμνησαί μοι, ἄναξ· σὲ δέ, Κάστορ, ἀείσω,
Τυνδαρίδῃ ταχύπωλε, δορυσσόε, χαλκεοθώρηξ (Th.22.135-6)

The verb ὕμνησαι picks up the first line of the poem, while the declaration ἀείσω points back to the narrator's decision to sing of Polydeuces first (Πολυδεύκεα πρῶτον ἀείσω, 26). Such an intrusion in a transitional passage has clear precedents, e.g. in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (lines 165ff., 207ff.) or Pindar's epinicians (see 2.3.3 above). The narrator continues in this prominent vein with the summary of earlier events in lines 137-40:

Τὼ μὲν ἀναρπάξαντε δῶω φερέτην Διὸς υἱὼ
δοιᾶς Λευκίπποιο κόρας· δισσὼ δ' ἄρα τώγε
ἐσσυμένως ἐδίωκον ἀδελφεὼ υἱ' Ἀφάρῃος,
γαμβρῷ μελλογάμῳ, Λυγκεὺς καὶ ὁ καρτερὸς Ἴδας.

¹⁷⁷ The only exception is ἐκβάντες δ' ἐπὶ θῖνα (Th.13.32, Th.22.32) – Hunter 1996:61.

This reflects the beginning of the Polydeuces-episode, of course, which also started with a summary. But this summary points us to the narrator even more, given that this summarises events which are properly part of the episode of the Dioscuri against the Apharidae as a whole (the imminent marriage of the Apharidae to the daughters of Leucippus, their being seized, the pursuit of the Dioscuri), whereas the earlier summary specified where in the wider Argonautic narrative the episode with Amycus took place. In any case, this pace of narrative is not sustained. When the four heroes leap from their chariots, and the audience expects battle, we receive only words (Sens 1996:188). Lynceus makes a long speech, beginning in line 145, which only ends at 180. This is to reject Wilamowitz's suggestion (1906:191-2, taken up by Gow 1950:ii.402) that there is a lacuna after 170, and that the speech after that point should be given to Castor rather than Lynceus (the MSS mark no change of speaker). In fact ὁμαίμος (175) can mean "relative" as well as "brother", Wilamowitz' chief point against regarding the whole speech as Lynceus' (Hunter 1996:70, cf. also Sens 1996:190 n.18). After the speech, the fight between Lynceus and Castor is described in lines 181-204, where Castor kills Lynceus, and then Zeus Idas.

The narrative reverses in manner, detail and mood that of N.10.55-90. Where Th.22 is explicit that the reason for the fight was the seizing of the daughters of Leucippus by Castor and Polydeuces, N.10 is vague (Ἰδας ἀμφὶ βουσὶν πως χολωθείς, N.10.60). Th.22 presents us with a Lynceus who argues cogently against fighting (ἡμῖν τοι Λεύκιππος ἐὰς ἔδνωσε θύγατρας/ τάσδε πολὺ προτέροις, Th.22.147-8), that it is unseemly of the Dioscuri to have bribed Leucippus (γάμον δ' ἐκλέψατε δώροις, 151), and that if they must fight one death is enough (ἄλις νέκυς ἐξ ἑνὸς οἴκου/ εἷς, 176-7). He is met with silence from Castor, and then death. When his brother Idas takes his father's gravestone to attack Castor to avenge his brother (μέλλε κασιγνήτοιο βαλεῖν σφετέρω φονῆα, 209), he is killed by Zeus. The impression in Th.22 is of a hero (Lynceus) at odds with his harsh environment (Sens 1996:189), and attempting diplomacy in an age of war, and against insurmountable and unintelligible divine power (Hunter 1996:69-70). Lynceus is the object of pity. But in N.10 the emphasis is on the brotherly feeling of *Polydeuces* for Castor (contrasts *Idas'* reaction in Th.22), with which Pindar's narrative begins and ends, the sacrifice of half of Polydeuces' immortality for his brother (N.10.55-59, 73-90 – Castor is first

killed by Idas, N.10.59-60). It is on the bestowal of this immortality that the Pindaric narrative concentrates – the speeches in N.10 are those of Polydeuces over his dying brother (76-9) and the explanation of the possibility of salvation for Castor (80-88), which produces no doubt in Polydeuces’ mind (N.10.89-90). The Pindaric narrative is otherwise swift, e.g. *λαιψηροῖς δὲ πόδεσσιν ἄφαρ/ ἐξικέσθαι, καὶ μέγα ἔργον ἐμησαντ’ ὠκέως* (N.10.63-4, cf. N.1 above). The arrival at the tomb of Aphareus to the death of both Apharidae is narrated in seven lines (N.10.66-72).

The fraternal feeling of Polydeuces for Castor has been transferred in Th.22 to Idas, and also to Lynceus, concerned to reduce the death-toll. But in the harsh environment of Th.22, this comes to nothing: οὐ μὰν οὐδὲ τὸν ἄλλον ἐφ’ ἐστίῃ εἶδε πατρώῃ/ παίδων Λαοκόωσα φίλον γάμον ἐκτελέσαντα (Th.22.205-6). The differences between the Pindaric and Theocritean atmospheres is clear from the similarity of the gnome which follows the deaths of the Apharidae in both poems (Hunter 1996:66):

χαλεπὰ δ’ ἔρις ἀνθρώποις ὁμιλεῖν κρεσσόνων. (N.10.72)

οὕτω Τυνδαρίδαις πολεμιζέμεν οὐκ ἐν ἐλαφρῷ (Th.22.212)

But whereas in Pindar the Apharidae were the aggressors (cf. N.1.63-4, quoted above), in Th.22 they do not deserve their deaths, and are the wronged party. Hunter (1996:69-70) is right, however, to emphasise that this is not to be read as a condemnation of the Dioscuri, or Castor in particular. Polydeuces is presented as a civilising influence in Th.22 against Amycus, and as upholding part of the accepted moral code (the treatment of guests), whereas the Dioscuri together are presented in their capacity as rescuers of ships in the opening “hymn” in lines 1-26. The juxtaposition of the actions of a god acting inexplicably, unfairly and ultimately unintelligibly represents another aspect of the divine (Hunter 1996:70). Hellenistic poets elsewhere portray the unfortunate fate of the innocent at the hands of the gods (e.g. in Callimachus, Teiresias in H.5, and in a different sense, Erysichthon in H.6; see 3.2.9 and 3.2.10 above), and the fact that such poets could depict gods working outside easily comprehensible modes of behaviour ought not to be used as evidence that their attitude to the gods was not “serious” (this is again to come up against the

inadequacy of the term). A god who acts unfairly is not necessarily a god being satirised or sent up, but merely a god acting as gods sometimes do, mysteriously.¹⁷⁸

4.6.4 Epic and Lyric (Th.25)

Th.25 is another combination of epic and lyric, but in a very different sense from Th.22.¹⁷⁹ Here we find not an intrusive *narrator* amid epic narrative, or summaries of previous events pointing us to the narrator, but episodes of epic narrative juxtaposed. Th.25 is divided into three sections, 1-84 (subtitled ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΓΡΟΙΚΟΝ in some MSS), where Heracles converses with a rustic about the location of Augeas' stables, and is led there by him, 85-152 (subtitled ΕΠΙΠΩΛΗΣΙΣ in some MSS), where Heracles, Augeas and Phyleus observe the vast herds of Augeas, and 153-281 (without a subtitle), where Phyleus and Heracles converse, and Heracles tells of his slaying of the Nemean lion. The first section, and the poem as a whole, begins abruptly,¹⁸⁰ and assumes a question or similar by Heracles:

Τὸν δ' γέρων προσέειπε βοῶν ἐπίουρος ἄροτρεύς,
παυσάμενος ἔργοιο τό οἱ μετὰ χερσὶν ἔκειτο· (Th.25.1-2)

Gow (1950:ii.442) notes the parallel with the opening of Homeric books such as *Od.9* (τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς, 1), but the key difference is that *Od.9* begins with a reply to a question put by Alcinous at the end of *Od.8*. In Th.25, however, we miss the presence of this earlier question. This discontinuity is also apparent with the other sections of Th.25 – between sections 1 and 2 the situation has changed, the rustic departed and been replaced by new companions for Heracles, Augeas and Phyleus. None of this is narrated. At the beginning of the third section Augeas is no longer with the other two, who have now left the farmlands εἰς

¹⁷⁸ It is perhaps not so much the “mysteriousness” of divine action in H.5 and Th.22 which puzzles modern readers, as its ultimate unfairness – but this is more to do with Christian ideas about divine justice than with the Hellenistic hymns, as Hunter (1996:73) rightly stresses.

¹⁷⁹ I leave aside the question of its authenticity – Gow (1950:ii.439-41) notes it cannot with any certainty be attributed to Theocritus. If it is not Theocritus' it represents a continuation of, and variation from, the experimentation with Archaic ways of telling stories which Theocritus was engaged upon.

¹⁸⁰ Chryssafis (1981:27) calls this “typical” of Hellenistic epic, but neither the *Arg.*, with its address to Phoebus, nor even the *Hecale*, plunging *in medias res*, characterise themselves as *fragments* from a larger narrative.

ἄστυ (25.153). Again, more ellipsis. If the subtitles of the sections are meant to recall those of Homeric books or book-sections, as seems plausible (cf. Ὀδυσσέως πρὸς Εὐμαίον ὁμιλία for *Od.*14, Gow 1950:ii.442; Ἐπιπώλησις Ἀγαμέμνονος for *Il.*4.223ff., Gow 1950:ii.451), these are books without interconnecting narratives.

This sort of juxtaposition recalls the sudden shifts of lyric narrative more than the continuous narration of Homer, but within the sections themselves there is little in the way of narratorial intrusion. The majority of the first section is taken up with the speeches of Heracles and the rustic, the only substantial portion of narrative being 62-77 where the pair walk together and encounter the dogs. The second section is without speeches, but again without much in the way of narratorial intrusion, and a very detailed description of Heracles fending off the bull (145-49). The final section is similarly free of intrusion, the majority being taken up with the speeches of Phyleus and particularly Heracles' secondary narrative about the Nemean lion. The only real exception to this invisible narrator is the comment χαλεπὸν δ' ἑτέρου νόον ἴδμεναι ἀνδρός (67),¹⁸¹ which is clearly focalised by the rustic ("he longed to ask him [Heracles], but hesitated and caught his words as he spoke in case he spoke out of turn...", Th.25.64-6). But the juxtaposition itself of these episodes points to a figure arranging and juxtaposing them. In view of the otherwise unintrusive narrator, and the subtitles to the individual sections (has the third been lost?), perhaps we are meant to think of the activity of an editor or arranger of poems as much as that of a conventional narrator. The form of Th.25 may allude, then, to the scholarly activity being carried out in Alexandria.

¹⁸¹ A sentiment with a lyric model – τίς κα, τίς ποκα ῥά ἀλλὰ νόον ἀνδρὸς ἐπίσποι;, Alcman F104 – (Gow 1950:ii.449). Unfortunately the wider context is lost.

4.7 Overview

In Theocritus, as in Callimachus, the prominence of the primary narrator in several poems is again clear, as is the play with the relationship of narrator to author, and the ironising of several Theocritean narrators. The greater visibility of the primary narrator in several Theocritean poems as compared to Homer points to the use of Archaic models other than the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, as do the subtle variations in the projection of the historical author in the narrator. The use of the gap between narrator and author and moralising passages reminiscent of some Archaic narrators to ironise or undercut the primary narrator's authority resembles some of the effects in Callimachus, and should be seen partly in terms of a wider Hellenistic concern with poetic authority.

The narrator is strongly connected to the historical author in 11, 13 and 28, where the common addressee, Nicias, suggests the narrator is "Theocritus" (recalling the "unifying" function of Cynus in Theognis), as does the narrator's Sicilian nationality in 11 and 28. The persona of a professional poet associated with Sicily and Egypt developed in 16 and 17 again recalls the historical author, while the subject-matter of 29 and 30 (love), alongside their anonymous first-person narration, implies a close relationship of narrator to author. The most extensive play with the identity of the narrator and his connections to the historical Theocritus are of course to be found in 7, which shares the framework of first-person narration. The narrator also addresses addressees of Theocritus (Aratus in Simichidas the narrator's inset song, 7.102), and strives to emulate Asclepiades and Philetas.

The name of the narrator, however, is explicitly not "Theocritus". The setting is Cos (rather than Sicily or Alexandria). The name may be meant to resemble that of the iambic poet Semonides, while there are echoes of *iambos* elsewhere in the poem. Furthermore the first-person narration by an internal (homodiegetic) narrator enables the creation of ambiguity about the identity and attitude of Lycidas, who seems to be initiating the narrator in some manner, but may regard him ironically. Hence the audience is presented with an initiation without being sure of who the narrator is, who is initiating him or what his attitude is to the initiate.

The presentation of the narrator in this manner in 7 both ironises him and fractures his authority – he cannot present a definitive account of the meeting with Lycidas nor of the precise attitude Lycidas displays. Both the ironising of the primary narrator and the fracturing of his authority are important elements in several Theocritean poems. In 6 the primary narrator’s outer frame carefully avoids choosing between the two inset songs (ostensibly sung in competition – ἔρισθεν, 6.5), which underlines the ambiguity over the meaning of Galatea’s behaviour as presented in the inset songs. In 11 the inset song of Polyphemus modifies the narrator’s description of Polyphemus’ condition and points us to the ambiguities of the narrator’s description and of vocabulary such as φάρμακον.

There is ironising of the narrator even where the narrator is not closely connected to the historical author, as in the monologues 3 (a rustic *paraclausithyron*), 12 (a record of self-delusion), 20 (a narrator with over-inflated opinions of himself). The portrayal of these narrators in the monologues is achieved with extensive quasi-biography, also displayed in 2 (where Simaetha is not presented in a particularly ironic manner), and 29 (where the narrator is ironised – his moralising is exposed as a sham).

The monologues (2, 3, 12, 20, 29) closely resemble Callimachus mimetic hymns, which develop the Archaic phenomena of pseudo-intimacy and pseudo-spontaneity. The fact that the setting of the Theocritean monologues is private, however, brings them even closer to the situation of (for example) Sappho’s poems, presenting the relations and emotions felt within a private, closed group.

In Callimachus’ mimetic H.2 part of play is an ambiguity as to the identity of the speaker (chorus or “poet”) which develops similar perceived ambiguities in Archaic poems with an individualised speaker which were initially performed by a chorus. Th.18 also presents the juxtaposition of a singular voice and that of a chorus, but keeps the voices separate and firmly demarcated, using the characteristically Theocritean technique of the inset song within an outer frame to present a version of a text from the distant past – a Spartan wedding-song for Helen and Menelaus. The presentation in terms of frame and inset points to the difference between the putative audiences of the two parts – a Spartan audience with a Spartan conception

of a faithful Helen, and a Hellenistic audience whose Helen is modified by her presentation in the Homeric poems. The Spartan song is presented as a fragment from the past whose significance is radically altered in the Hellenistic period. A related presentation of “fragments” is perhaps to be discerned in the discrete, unconnected sections of 25.

In 26 we also find a Theocritean use of a choral voice, and of Archaic moralising. The boy-chorus of the poem expresses itself in first-person statements which recall Pindaric moralising first-persons. But the unsympathetic condemnation of Pentheus which follows the pathetic description of his death reverses the structure and function of the depiction of Pentheus’ death in Euripides’ *Bacchae*. Instead of ending with Pentheus’ mother taking her son’s head, then discovering what she has done, eliciting *pathos*, 26 ends with the arresting and uncomfortable declaration of the chorus that it does not care about Pentheus’ fate. This points us to the immaturity as well as the purity of the narrator (who is thus ironised). This recalls the effect of the moralising in Callimachus’ H.6.

We can also observe Theocritus’ adaptation of specific textual models in, for example, his treatment of Pindar’s N.1 in 24, where the prominent narrator of the epinician recedes into the background. In contrast, 13 may “lyricise” the epic *Argonautica* of Apollonius in a way reminiscent of Pindar’s own lyric *Argonautica*, *Pythian* 4. The Polydeuces-section of 22 probably also adapts the *Argonautica*, though in contrast to 13 the pace is fairly even and the descriptions full. The narrator, however, is prominent. In the Castor-section of 22 there are reversals of another Pindaric ode, N.10. Where N.10 concentrates on the brotherly feeling of Polydeuces for Castor, in 22 we hear a lengthy speech by Lynceus, which indicates that the Dioscuri are responsible for the quarrel. The culpability of the Dioscuri depicted represents part of Theocritus’ experimentation with the presentation of the divine in 22 (where the Dioscuri are also saviours of ships and Polydeuces a civilising influence). Again, this recalls Callimachean hymns such as H.5 and H.6.

5. Confidence and Crisis: the Narrator in the *Argonautica*

5.1 The Apollonian Narrator

5.1.1 Introduction

Apollonius' narrator is of course much more prominent than Homer's (Hunter 1993a:106), and exploits many of the devices identified above in 1.6 above to make the narrator's presence obvious. There are regular narratorial first-person statements,¹⁸² comments on and judgements about the events in his narrative,¹⁸³ addresses to the audience and characters,¹⁸⁴ and prominent passages of indirect speech.¹⁸⁵ Hunter (1993a:101-151) provides an important survey of such Apollonian devices with particular reference to Homeric precedents. He points out that such precedents do exist, albeit limited, for narratorial judgement, the narrator's first person, addresses to characters, aetiology etc. But there has clearly been a shift in Apollonius towards a greater visible involvement on the part of the narrator to his narrative. The discrete Homeric narrator- and character-vocabularies of emotive and evaluative language (see 2.3.4 above) are confused, but not entirely abandoned, in the *Argonautica* (Hunter 1993a:109-11). The narrator invests his exclamations and character-addresses with more emotion (e.g. δεσμούς ἀνελύετο φωριαμοῖο/ ἐξελέειν μεμαυῖα, δυσάμμορος of Medea; cf. Griffin 1986:47-8).

¹⁸² E.g. μνήσομαι (1.2), ἐγὼ...μυθησαίμην (1.20), μνησώμεθα (1.23).

¹⁸³ E.g. the description of Erinyes' seeing the murder of Apsyrtus, ὀλοφώνιον ἔργον (4.476), and the narrator's explanation of Jason's subsequent behaviour in line with ἡ θέμις αὐθέντησι δολοκτασίας ἰλάεσθαι (4.479). Note that ἡ θέμις is never used by the Homeric narrator (Griffin 1986:38).

¹⁸⁴ Audience addressed at 1.725-6, 1.765ff., 2.171ff., 3.1265, 4.238, 4.428, 4.997; characters addressed at 4.1383 (Argonauts), 4.1483ff. (Canthus), 4.1763-5 (Theras, so Fränkel *app.crit.* Vian 1974-81:iv.145, Fusillo 1985:377), 4.1773ff. (Argonauts). The related device of narratorial exclamation *about* characters is found at 1.1302 (Boreads), 2.66 (attendants of Amycus), 2.137 (Bebrycians), 2.1028 (king of Mossynoikoi), 3.809, 3.1133 (both Medea), 4.875 (Peleus), 4.916 (Butes), 4.1524 (Mopsus). There are also several addresses to gods, e.g. to Eros (4.445ff.).

¹⁸⁵ E.g. the strikingly unusual report of Aietes' address to the Colchians (3.579-605). For a detailed discussion of this and other important examples cf. Hunter (1993a:143-8).

The formal devices Apollonius exploits to engineer this development of and difference from Homer have been carefully delineated, but work remains to be done on their co-ordination in the characterisation of the narrator. The “personality” of the narrator is carefully and strikingly developed in the *Argonautica*, in a manner which exploits, alongside Hellenistic models, Archaic narrators other than Homer’s.

Apollonius maintains the Homeric “formal anonymity” (Hunter 1993a:120) of the epic narrator. We are not told specific biographical details such as his name or important events or facts about his life (contrast, e.g., Hesiod’s *Works and Days*). That said, it is possible to infer various things about the Apollonian narrator from oblique indications in the text, such as his being a male Greek (cf. 2.1021-25 on the Mossynoikoi: ὅσσα δ’ ἐνὶ μεγάροις πεπονήμεθα, κείνα θύραζε/ ἀψεγάως μέσσησιν ἐνὶ ῥέξουσιν ἀγυιαῖς./.../.../ μίσγονται χαμάδις ξυνῇ φιλότῃτι γυναικῶν.), living long after the Argonauts (cf. 4.1764 on the colonisation of Thera taking place a long time after the days of Euphamos).¹⁸⁶ But the most important elements in this oblique characterisation of the narrator are his presentation as a scholar and someone prepared to react morally and emotionally to his narrative. In these areas both Hellenistic and Archaic models are in operation – the moralising persona recalls those to be found in Hesiod, Archaic monody, elegy, *iambos*, and in Pindar, while Callimachus and the erudition of Hellenistic scholar-poets are evoked by the *Argonautica*’s scholarly narrator.

The prominence of the Apollonian narrator is achieved partly through the formal features outlined above, but also through the presentation of a different sort of narrative about the narrator himself. This differs from earlier autobiographical comments or details about the narrator, but exploits them as models for the development of a “crisis” of the narrator. This does not purport to tell us facts about the narrator’s life, but does present the narrator undergoing a progressive loss of his early confidence in the *Arg*. It is to the examination of this “crisis” that I shall devote much of this chapter. Unlike the formal features of the voice of the Apollonian narrator it has attracted little critical comment.

¹⁸⁶ Not wholly without precedent in Homer as the οἶοι νῦν βροτοί-passages show (e.g. *Il*.5.302-4), de Jong 1987:44-5, and see 2.3.1 above.

5.1.2 A Scholar

One of the most obvious characteristics of the *Arg.*, and one which sets it apart from the Homeric epics, is the great deal of scientific, ethnographical and particularly aetiological information which the narrator provides for his audience (Goldhill 1991:327-8). The purposes of this information are various. Fusillo (1985:137-42) portrays the unHomeric connection of narratorial present and mythological past which takes place in Apollonius' aetia as a "betrayal" of Homeric epic, shattering the fiction of the "absolute past" maintained in Homer, while Zanker (1987:120-4) stresses the use of aetiology to provide a "sense of cultural continuity" for Alexandrian intellectuals. Another important role of such information, which will concern us here, is to "fill out" the persona of the narrator.

This is a narrator who has, as a result of his own researches, or those of his fellow scholars, come to know a great deal about the extant signs of the Argonautic voyage: **names** (such as the Magnesian coast still called the *Aphetae Argous* after the departure thence of the Argonauts, 1.591); the islands called the *Strophades* from the turning there of the Boreads in their pursuit of the Harpies, 2.296-7; or the "Cave of Medea" where the marriage of Jason and Medea takes place, 4.1153-5), **monuments** (such as the grave-mound of Cyzicus, still visible, 1.1161-2; or the altar to *Homonoia* set up after the Argonauts see Apollo at dawn, 2.717-19), and **natural phenomena** (such as the Etesian winds, instituted by Zeus because of Aristaeus, 2.498-526; or the skin-coloured pebbles in the beach on Aethalia, from the scrapings of sweat by the Argonauts, 4.654ff.).¹⁸⁷

The narrator often adopts the tone of an ethnographer, noting with interest the customs and habits of the peoples the Argonauts encounter on their travels. Of the Mossynoikoi he comments: ἀλλοίη δὲ δίκη καὶ θέσμια τοῖσι τέτυκται (2.1018), before telling us of their fondness for public sex and similar oddities. Just before this, the narrator has related information about the economic system of the Chalybes (2.1002-9), and the birth-pains of the Tibareni (2.1011-14). His statement about the

¹⁸⁷ For further examples cf. Fusillo 1985:116-36 and his categorisation of Apollonian aetia.

Amazons – οὐ γὰρ ὁμηγερέες μίαν ἄμ πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἄνὰ γαῖαν/ κεκριμέναι κατὰ φύλα διάτριχα ναιετάασκον (2.996-7) – has the flavour of a scholar's correction of a common misconception about Amazonian demography. The description of Colchian death-customs at 3.200-8, hanging corpses from trees rather than burning or burying them, is hardly the best of omens for the Argonauts, but the narrator's observation that because they bury their women, the air and earth have an equal portion, suggests he is as interested in the peculiarities of the practice as the effect it might have on Jason.¹⁸⁸

The myth of the Argonauts itself and the events within it are depicted as though they are the product of scholarly research. In the Catalogue, for example, we meet several “they say”-statements which indicate that the narrator is relying on written sources, from which he is building and selecting, for the material of his song (Hunter 1993a:106, 127): “*they say* that by the music of his songs Orpheus charmed the stubborn rocks...” (1.26-7), “*bards relate* [κλείουσιν ᾠδοί] that Caeneus, still alive then, perished at the hands of the Centaurs” (1.59-60), “nor do we learn [πυθόμεθ] that mighty-hearted Heracles disregarded Jason's summons” (1.122-3), “Lernus we know [ἴδμεν] was the son of Proetus son of Nauplius” (1.135-6).¹⁸⁹

Two more turns of phrase also contribute to the creation of the scholarly persona of the narrator – the particle *που* (and the similar use of *ποθι*) and the rider *εἰ ἐτέον γε πέλει κλέος* at 1.154. The latter comes in the Catalogue of Argonauts, and is attached by the narrator to Lynceus' ability to see even under the earth. Stinton (1976:63) considers various possible functions for this phrase: indication of

¹⁸⁸ Further ethnography at: 1.1058-61 - customary funeral games for Cyzicus; 1.1075-7 - meal-grinding for sacrificial cakes at common mill in Cyzicus; 1.1138-9 - Phrygians worship Rhea with tambourine and drum; 1.1354-1357 - Kians still search for Hylas; 2.507 - Haemonians call Aristaeus Nomios and Agreus; 2.526-7 - Keans offer sacrifices before rising of Dog-star; 2.1174-76 - Amazon worship with horse-sacrifice; 4.319-322 - Scythian etc. ignorance of ships; 4.477-79 - the proper way to expiate treacherous murders; 4.1210ff. - settling of Colchians among Phaeacians, subsequent movements; 4.1720-1730 - abusive rites of Apollo Aigletes on Anaphe; 4.1770-2 - custom of water-carrying race on Aegina. Much of the material here probably builds on the work of Apollonius' approximate contemporary Nymphodorus of Amphipolis, who wrote a *Νόμιμα Βαρβαρικά* (RE XVII:1623-5, Fusillo 1985:180 n.18), as did Callimachus. But it is used in the *Arg.* as part of the creation of the scholarly persona of the narrator.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. Vian 1974-81.i.246 and Hunter 1993a:106 n.25 for the “genealogical fiddling” (Hunter) which is concealed by such expressions. This does not invalidate their use as part of the characterisation of the scholarly narrator.

hyperbole, voicing of a poetic disclaimer disavowing responsibility, expression of incredulity, underlining of a supernatural characteristic, drawing attention to a mythological variation. Whatever its precise force, given its position in the Catalogue, alongside several other markers of the scholarly persona, it seems the sort of remark a scholar might make about a striking “fact” uncovered in his researches. The realisation that it plays its part in figuring the narrator as a scholar means we need not read it as authorial scepticism about the truth of the myth. It points use instead to the critical approach the narrator is portrayed as having towards the sources and previous accounts from which he constructs his narrative.

A similar effect is produced by the narrator’s use of the particle *που*. According to Denniston (1954²:490-1) the particle conveys “a feeling of uncertainty in the speaker. Hence, further, *που* is used ironically, with assumed diffidence, by a speaker who is quite sure of his ground.” Neither this description, nor Hunter’s comments (1989:199) that, “A. frequently distances himself from his narrative in this way [sc. by using *που* and other devices], as though he were reporting events of which he himself was not the author and for whose veracity he takes no responsibility....”,¹⁹⁰ quite capture the main narratorial use in the *Arg.* In Apollonius the particle *που* has the flavour of someone making an inference from existing information. In particular, it is often used in deductions about the motivations, thoughts or feelings of the protagonists. At 1.633-7, for example, we read, after the narrator has told us of the Thracian threat to the Lemnian women:

τῷ καὶ ὅτ’ ἐγγύθι νήσου ἐρεσσομένην ἴδον Ἀργῷ,
 αὐτίκα πασσυδίῃ πυλέων ἔκτοσθε Μυρίνης
 δῆια τεύχεα δῦσαι ἐς αἰγιαλὸν προχέοντο,
 Θυιάσιν ὠμοβόροις ἔκειλαι· φὰν γὰρ που ἰκάνειν
 Θρήικας·

The implication is that the narrator has sources for the Thracian threat, the Lemnian women’s rushing out to meet the Argonauts etc., but does not have an *explicit*

¹⁹⁰ Cf. Hunter 1993a:108 for a similar view of *που* used “for a kind of documentary verisimilitude: the poet is not inventing the facts of his story, but interpreting material for which he is not really responsible....”. Feeney 1991:65 n.23 quotes as applicable to Apollonius Denniston on Herodotus’ use of the particle, “Herodotus is fond of divesting himself of the historian’s omniscience, and assuming a winning fallibility” (Denniston 1954²:491 n.1).

account of the motivation behind their armed greeting.¹⁹¹ This inferential use of *που* by the narrator, in most cases of the motivation or thought of characters (including gods), is also present at: 1.996 (inference that the Earthborn were nurtured by Hera as a trial for Heracles), 1.1023 (inference that the Doliones imagined the Macrians had landed), 1.1037 (inference that Cyzicus believed he was beyond danger), 1.1140 (inference that Rhea inclined her heart to pious sacrifices), 2.607 (inference that the Argonauts breathed more easily having come through the Clashing Rocks), 3.926 (inference that Mopsus could see how the meeting of Jason and Medea would end), 4.557 (inference about Zeus' reaction (anger) to Apsyrtus' murder), 4.1457 (inference about the Argonauts' happy words to each other after discovering water).¹⁹² There is a very similar use of *ποθι* at 4.319,¹⁹³ where the narrator deduces the reason for the reaction of the shepherds on the north-west coast of the Black Sea, who abandoned their flocks νηῶν φόβῳ (317):

οὐ γάρ πω ἀλίας γε πάρος ποθι νῆας ἴδοντο,
οὗτ' οὖν Θρήϊξιν μιγάδες σκύθαι, οὐδὲ Σίγυννοι.... (4.319-20)

At 3.225 *ποθι* is also used, though not of the motivation or thought of a character, in the description of the four perennial fountains in the palace of Aeetes:

καί ρ' ἡ μὲν ἀναβλύεσκε γάλακτι,
ἡ δ' οἶνω, τριτάτη δὲ θυώδει νᾶεν ἀλοιφῇ
ἡ δ' ἄρ' ὕδωρ προρέεσκε, τὸ μὲν ποθι δυομένησιν
θέρμετο Πληιάδεσσιν.... (3.223-226)

Campbell (1994:207) thinks that *που* here means “reportedly”, and indicates that, “the poet cannot vouch for the accuracy of his story (so *που* often).” But here again, as in the comments above on *που*, there has been insufficient attention paid to these

¹⁹¹ The “existence” of these sources is implied by the text, but because we are dealing here with the characterisation of the narrator, rather than the researches carried out by the real author, it does not follow that we ought to be able to point to the narrator's sources, or tease out his favourite historians.

¹⁹² The particle is also used by the narrator in similes at 1.537, 3.758, 3.1283, 3.1399. In general the use of *που* in the similes gives them a contingency or openness which is not found in Homer, where similes are more straightforwardly offered as comparisons for what is being described. Cf. Hunter 1993a:109 and 130-1 for the problems of similarity and difference thus uncovered.

¹⁹³ For cases where *ποθι* is used in a different local sense in Apollonius and other Hellenistic poets cf. Campbell 1994:207.

expressions as used by the scholarly narrator. It is not the poet but his narrator who attaches *ποθι* to the warming of the springs at night, and this is much less a profession of authorial scepticism or uncertainty than it is an indication that the narrator is to be thought of as having sources on which he draws for his narrative. We are to think that there may be a gap in previous accounts on the character of this fourth stream of water, the particle pointing us to the scholarly inference the narrator makes about its nature, by adducing data from elsewhere. As Hunter (1989:122-3) points out, there may be an allusion to “the spring of Helios” in North Africa (given Aetes’ ancestry), which is described at *Hdt.*4.181, and moved between icy coldness at noon and boiling heat at midnight. “Well,” says the narrator, “there is silence on this fourth spring, but given the behaviour of the ‘spring of Helios’, we can assume it gets hot at night.” This inference is marked by *ποθι* – “no doubt”, “I suppose”.

It is more accurate, then, to describe *πov* as a device for characterising, and hence foregrounding, the *narrator* than it is to say that it “advertises the poet’s own role” (Hunter 1993a:108). It does indeed point us to the controlling and organising force behind the narrative, but this is primarily the narrator, who approaches his sources with a careful and critical eye, and makes measured conclusions about the motivation of the characters in his epic.

The human, scholarly narrator thus constructed is very different from the omniscient Homeric narrator. As Richardson (1990:124) points out, the narrators of the *Il.* and the *Od.* display three kinds of omniscience or privileged knowledge: that of events/facts which the characters could not know about, an ability to see into the characters’ minds, and foreknowledge of the future.¹⁹⁴ Now, of course, Apollonius’ narrator does display these types of knowledge to a degree – he knows about the intrigue on Olympus and the intervention of Eros at the beginning of book 3, of which his characters know nothing, he can tell that Jason is regularly plunged into despair and ἀμηχανίη, and he knows of the fate of the descendants of Euphamos

¹⁹⁴ Examples of the three types of knowledge in Homer, respectively: the narrator knows exactly the wounds warriors receive, the progress of weapons through the body (e.g. *Il.*5.65-8); he displays knowledge of characters’ private thoughts at, e.g., *Il.*10.372, 5.166-8 (verbalising their intention/giving reason for action); the narrator anticipates future events in the story at, e.g., *Il.*12.173-4 (Hector will break through the wall) and after it at, e.g., 12.8-35 (Poseidon and Apollo will destroy the wall of the Greeks). Cf. Richardson 1990:125-139.

(4.1757-64) even though τὰ μὲν μετόπιν γένετ' Εὐφήμειο (1764). But in the first half of the *Arg.*, at least, such knowledge is portrayed as the result of the narrator's researches. He does not have *universal* access to the events of the story (in the narratological sense) or to the workings of the minds of his characters, because he is depicted as constructing his narrative from previous versions and information about the past.

This difference from Homer is closely related to the difference in the relationship of the narrator to the Muses. In Homer, the narrator is wholly dependent on the Muses for his knowledge of the events of the story, but the pay-off for this subordination is omniscience (*Il.*2.485-6, see 2.3.3 above). He does not have to make inferences about the motivation of his characters in the manner of the Apollonian narrator, because he has privileged knowledge of the workings of their minds. In Apollonius, however, the relationship is portrayed, initially at least, as very different – much more equal and allowing the narrator to rely as much, if not more, on written sources and previous tradition as on the Muses. This area is explored more fully below in *Μοῦσαι δ' ὑποφήτορες* (5.1.4), but the change from Homeric omniscience to Apollonian research strongly suggests that Beye's view (1982:19) that the narrator occasionally appears omniscient must be modified. Inferences such as that at 4.557 about Zeus' anger at the murder of Apsyrtus reveal that there is no universal omniscient access on the narrator's part to the sphere of the gods. Those passages, cited by Beye, that do display privileged knowledge of the gods, such as 4.1198-1200 (nymphs singing and dancing in honour of Hera) or 4.1706 (the appearance of Apollo Aigletes), are to be interpreted as verifiable by the narrator's implied sources. The implication is that he has good evidence for such statements, evidence which is in some way incomplete he feels it necessary to mark with an inference using *που* or *ποθι*.

One final aspect of the scholarly narrator of the *Arg.* which deserves comment is the common "exegesis" of Homeric and other poetical works which the narrative appears to contain. The *Arg.* often appears to allude to controversial Homeric passages, e.g. at 3.113-4:

...εἴ μιν ἐφεύροι.

εὔρε δὲ τόνγ' ἀπάνευθε Διὸς θαλερῇ ἐν ἄλωϊ,

This appears to reflect a controversy over *Il.* 4.88-9 εἴ που ἐφεύροι/ εὖρε..., where Zenodotus (according to Σ A to *Il.* 4.88) wrote εὖρε δὲ τόνδε at the end of 88, omitting 89. Though there is some debate as to the validity of individual cases, where it is difficult to be sure that a controversy dates back to the time of Apollonius, it is clear that there are many such allusions in the *Arg.*¹⁹⁵ There are also cases of Pindaric “exegesis” – the description of Jason at 3.1282-3 (ἄλλα μὲν Ἄρει/ εὔκελος, ἄλλα δὲ που χρυσάορφ Ἀπόλλωνι) appears to reflect P.4.87-8, where Jason is compared to Apollo and χαλκάρματος...πόσις Ἀφροδίτας. Given that the latter could be interpreted as Hephaestus as well as Ares, this may allude to controversy about the meaning of the Pindaric comparison (Hunter 1989:241).

What is important for our purposes is the role of the narrator in this “exegesis”. Above we saw that in Callimachus’ *Hymn to Demeter*, for example, we had to attribute such scholarship to the implied author, rather than the narrator, because of the wider characterisation of the narrator. Here, however, we are in a situation more akin to that in the *Aetia*. Because of the mass of scholarly information displayed by the narrator in the *Arg.*, and the impression given that he is constructing his narrative from several written sources, allusions to controversial passages of Homer and other poets ought to be taken as part of the portrayal of the narrator as a scholar.

This in turn points us to the debt the Apollonian narrator owes the Callimachean narrator of the *Aetia*. Though several features of the *Arg.* recall Callimachus’ *Hymns* (e.g. the hymnal opening and closing, Hunter 1993a:116), the portrayal of a scholar constructing a narrative from existing sources recalls the position of “Callimachus” in *Aetia* 1-2, deriving information most obviously from the Muses, but also recalling conversations such as that with Theogenes, the Ician guest, of whom he asked Μυρμιδόνων ἐσσῆνα τί πάτριον ὕμμι σέβεσθαι; (F178.23). The type of scholarship on display in the *Aetia* and the *Argonautica* is also similar – aetia (of course), in particular of rituals, customs, monuments and names (see above). There are other obvious similarities, not least in the intrusive, largely autonomous narrator of both

¹⁹⁵ In general on this topic and the problems associated with dating controversies in the scholia to the early Hellenistic period cf. Rengakos 1994.

works. But the narrator of the *Argonautica* undergoes a development unparalleled in Callimachus (even allowing for the differences between *Aetia* 1-2 and 3-4).

5.1.3 A Moralist

Despite the absence of biographical facts about the narrator, the audience of the *Arg.* forms a picture of the narrator as being closely involved with his narrative, commenting upon the action and reacting emotionally to it. This forms an important element in the visibility of the Apollonian narrator, and demonstrates the clear use of Archaic moralising and emotional narrators.

There is a limited amount of judgemental commentary by the narrator in Homer, and the comments that are to be found are sparing in the direct expression of emotion on the part of the narrator (see 2.3.4 above). *Gnomai* are usually restricted to the speech of characters, and where the primary narrator makes them they usually appear in the third person (e.g. *Il.*16.688-90). In the *Arg.*, in contrast, such *gnomai* are often made by the narrator in the first person (Hunter 1993a:106), characterising them as his personal response to the events of the narrative, and figuring him as a complex moral personality. When describing the speed with which Athena comes to the aid of the Argonauts about to pass through the Symplegades, the narrator compares the speed of a traveller's thoughts of home, and adds a comment about travelling with a heavy heart:

ὥς δ' ὅτε τις πάτρηθεν ἀλώμενος, οἷά τε πολλὰ
πλαζόμεθ' ἄνθρωποι τετληότες, οὐδέ τις αἶα
τηλουργός, πᾶσαι δὲ κατόψιοι εἰσι κέλευθοι... (2.541-3)

The rather pessimistic tone of this comment is also in evidence at 4.1165-7, where the narrator remarks, after explaining that Jason and Medea wanted to marry in Thessaly, not Phaeacia:

ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὔποτε φύλα δυηπαθέων ἀνθρώπων
τερπωλῆς ἐπέβημεν ὅλῳ ποδί· σὺν δέ τις αἰεὶ
πικρὴ παρμέμβλωκεν εὐφροσύνησιν ἀνίη.

These remarks form a distinct shift away from the much less emotionally involved Homeric narrator. In particular, they are reminiscent of Archaic narrators in Pindar (Hunter 1993a:111, 116) and Hesiod. The explicit connection made by the narrator in

the first person to his own situation recalls the Hesiodic narrator's wish not to have lived in the Iron Age at *WD* 174-6 and Pindaric statements such as that at N.8.35ff., which records the narrator's reaction to the unjust winning of Achilles' arms by Odysseus:

εἴη μή ποτέ μοι τοιοῦτον ἦθος,
Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἀλλὰ κελεύθοις
ἀπλόαις ζωᾷς ἐφαπτοί-
μαν...

When Apollonius' narrator is moved to offer a judgement on the morality or propriety of a myth or character, we are again reminded in particular of the strongly characterised "moral authority" of Pindaric epinicians. Even the narrator's remark in the Catalogue concerning Meleager recalls similar assessments of a character's ability or worth in Pindar:

τοῦ δ' οὐτὶν' ὑπέρτερον ἄλλον οἶω,
νόσφιν γ' Ἡρακλῆος, ἐπελθέμεν, εἴ κ' ἔτι μοῦνον
αἰθερί μένων λυκάβαντα μετετράφη Αἰτωλοῖσιν. (1.196-198)

Pindar uses the first person to express his opinion about the extent of Odysseus' suffering at N.7.20-1:

ἐγὼ δὲ πλεον' ἔλπομαι
λόγον Ὀδυσσεός ἢ πάθαν διὰ τὸν ἀδυεπῆ γενέσθ' Ὀμηρον·

Apollonius also takes up the Pindaric concern for the propriety of tales, in order to characterise his narrator as morally engaged with his narrative.¹⁹⁶ His refusal to tell of the rites the Argonauts performed on Samothrace at 1.919-21 recalls Pindaric silences such as that on fate of Bellerophon at O.13.91:

τῶν μὲν ἔτ' οὐ προτέρω μυθήσομαι· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴ
νῆσος ὁμῶς κεχάροίτο καὶ οἱ λάχον ὄργια κεῖνα
δαίμονες ἐνναέται, τὰ μὲν οὐ θέμις ἄμμιν ἀεῖδεν. (*Arg.*)

¹⁹⁶ Also apparent at 2.844-5, 4.984-5 and 4.1510-12, passages which are also used to depict the "crisis" of the narrator.

διασωπάσομαι οἱ μόρον ἐγώ (Pindar)

In both cases the pious avoidance of a narrative is expressed by first-person verbs as very much the narrator's own reaction based on the moral propriety of telling the narrative. The emphatic first-person beginning at *Arg.*4.249 similarly recalls Pindaric moralising first-persons, though Apollonius is exploiting his model here as part of the portrayal of the “crisis” of the narrator (see 5.1.6 below):

μήτ' ἐμέ θυμὸς ἐποτρύνειεν αἰεΐδειν.
ἄζομαι αὐδῆσαι (4.249-50)

Here ἄζομαι αὐδῆσαι recalls statements such as ἀφίσταμαι (O.1.52) and in particular N.5.14-16, in meaning, function and form:

αἰδέομαι μέγα εἰπεῖν ἐν δίκῃ τε μὴ κεκινδυνευμένον,
πῶς δὴ λίπον εὐκλέα νᾶσον, καὶ τίς ἄνδρας ἀλκίμους
δαίμων ἀπ' Οἰνῶνας ἔλασεν. στάσομαι.

As Pindar “is ashamed” (αἰδέομαι) to tell (εἰπεῖν), Apollonius' narrator “is in awe” (ἄζομαι) of telling (αὐδῆσαι) – both again using an emphatic first-person verb at the beginning of a line. Pindar will not tell of the murder of Phocus, Apollonius of the rites Medea performed for Hecate.

Pindar seems the clearest model for Apollonius' moralising first-person narration, as he is for Callimachus' experimentation with a moralist narrator in the *Aetia* (see 3.3.3.3 above). Pindaric pious and explicit silences are reproduced and closely paralleled in terms of structure and purpose. There is good *prima facie* evidence for Pindar as a model for Apollonius, as the writer of an *Argonautica* himself (*Pythian* 4), of which there are significant echoes at the beginning of the epic (cf. *Arg.*1.*init.* with P.4.68-72, Hunter 1993a:123-5). But it is also clear that Pindar himself was building on other Archaic poets, e.g. Hesiod, Alcaeus and possibly Simonides (see 2.3.4 above). While the evidence is most complete for the Pindaric moralising narrator, other potential models should be borne in mind.

One such neglected model is Bacchylides. The emphasis on the pathetic nature of narratives and the narrator's sympathy for them is clear in Bacchylides, in marked contrast to Pindar's evaluation of myth (see 2.3.4 above). Alongside the adoption of Pindaric moralising, we find in Apollonius the exploitation of emotional exclamation such as that found in Bacchylides. Some Apollonian exclamations have clear Homeric parallels, such as those with νήπιος (e.g. *Arg.*2.66 on the attendants of Amycus; cf. *I.*2.37-8 on Agamemnon – both subjects being ignorant of the true future). Even in this kind of explanation, however, we find a more emotional tone than in Homer. At *Arg.*2.137 the Bebrycians are called νήπιοι because they do not know of the πῆμ' αἰδήλον (2.138) which is befalling them – both πῆμα and αἰδήλος are predominantly speech-words in Homer. Σχέτλιος-exclamations which are normally confined to characters' speech in Homer (see 2.3.4 above) are employed by the Apollonian narrator. Some can approach the parodic, as in the description of the king of the Mossynoikoi as σχέτλιος (1.1028) who suffers only a temporary incarceration for poor judicial decisions (Hunter 1993a:108). Others are more emotional and more sympathetic, e.g. the Boreads as σχέτλιοι (*Arg.*1.1302) on account of the στυγερὴ τίσις (1.1302) which Heracles will exact for the χαλεποῖσιν...ἔπεςσιν (1.1301) they attack Telamon with.

Narratorial sympathy for the pathetic situation of his characters, and the parallel with Bacchylidean exclamation, are particularly clear in the following examples:

ὦ μέλαι, ζήλοιό τ' ἐπιμυγεῶς ἀκόρητοι (*Arg.*1.616)

ἤδη καὶ δεσμοὺς ἀνελύετο φωριαμοῖο,
ἐξελέειν μεμαυῖα, δυσάμμορος. (*Arg.*3.808-9)

The latter passage describes Medea considering suicide by poisonous drug. This is particularly reminiscent in terms of character, situation and vocabulary of the narrator's comment about Deianeira's plan to win back Heracles' love through a love-charm at B.16.30 – ἃ δύσμορος, ἃ τάλ[αι]ν' οἶον ἐμήσατ'ο. The former exclamation describes the situation of the Lemnian women, who were driven to kill all Lemnian men after rejection by them. This too expresses the narrator's emotion in a manner which recalls Bacchylides. It is also used to produce a more complex tone.

As Hunter (1993a:112) argues, it comes as part of the narrator's account of the Lemnian women (2.609ff.), which is juxtaposed with that which Hypsipyle gives to Jason (2.793ff.). Hunter notes the more convincing emotional tone of Hypsipyle's narrative, and calls the narrator's exclamation "arch", expressing an "ironic distance between the narrator and his tale". This subversion of the narrator's emotional honesty through the retelling of his narrative by a character resembles the playing off of frame and inset in some Theocritean poems (e.g. Th.11, see 4.4.1 above).

The effects produced by this exclamation, however, seem more complex still. While there may be a pun in 1.616 (ἄκόρητοι ~ ἄ-κόρη) suggesting the inappropriate behaviour of the Lemnian women (Hunter 1993a:112 n.49), the cry itself bemoans the same condition which afflicts Medea in Euripides' *Medea*. The Lemnian women are ζήλοιο...ἄκόρητοι, "insatiate in their jealousy", and Medea is portrayed as suffering from similar sexual jealousy. She would agree with Jason's plans for the future εἴ σε μὴ κνίζοι λέχος (*Medea* 568). She is like women in general:

ἀλλ' ἐς τοσοῦτον ἤκεθ' ὥστ' ὀρθουμένης
εὐνῆς γυναῖκες πάντ' ἔχειν νομίζετε,
ἣν δ' αὖ γένηται ξυμφορά τις ἐς λέχος,
τὰ λῶστα καὶ κάλλιστα πολεμιώτατα
τίθεσθε. (*Medea* 569-73)

The Lemnian women have suffered ξυμφορά τις ἐς λέχος – their abandonment in favour of Thracian slave-girls. But the Apollonian narrator's cry does not merely point to the parallel with Medea's future rejection by Jason. Jason himself speaks the words quoted above from the *Medea*. The narrator's description of the situation of the Lemnian women recalls Jason's own (future) view of Medea's behaviour. This further marks the narrator of the *Argonautica* out as a male, and as a male commenting on the behaviour of women, further complicates the Bacchylidean "sympathy" he expresses for the Lemnian women.

5.1.4 Μοῦσαι δ' ὑποφήτορες

The shifting relationship of narrator to Muses in the invocations in books 1, 3 and 4 of the *Arg.* has often been noted (Hunter 1993a:105, Feeney 1991:90-2, Goldhill 1991:292-4, Hunter 1987:134, Beye 1982:15-17) though many critics treat the relationship as unified and constant, so that passages concerning the Muses from the end of the poem can elucidate the beginning of the epic (both Clauss 1993:17-18 and Vian 1974-81:i.239 ad 1.22 think the Muses act as Apollonius' ὑποφήτορες when he questions them in books 2, 3 and 4). Fusillo (1985:374) states explicitly that the relationship is stable. But it is clear that the relationship *does* change – the “brash, ‘modern’ self-confidence” (Hunter 1993a:105) of the opening of book 1 gives way to the speechless poet of the beginning of book 4, unable to decide how to describe Medea's flight from Colchis, hence in need of assistance from the Muse.

Previous studies have largely concentrated on the relationship between narrator and Muses as developed through the three invocations.¹⁹⁷ But there is a linear development of the relationship *throughout* the epic, and it is inextricably linked to the use of various other intrusive techniques, these forming what amounts to another narrative running alongside that of the quest for the Golden Fleece – a picture of the “crisis”¹⁹⁸ of the narrator of the epic, a progressive “loss of confidence” in his own abilities to tell the story of the Argonauts.

To begin at the beginning:

Ἀρχόμενος σέο, Φοῖβε, παλαιγενέων κλέα φωτῶν
μνήσομαι, οἳ Πόντοιο κατὰ στόμα καὶ διὰ πέτρας
Κυανέας βασιλῆος ἐφημοσύνη Πελῖαιο
χρῦσειον μετὰ κῶας ἐύζυγον ἤλασαν Ἀργῶ. (*Arg.* 1.1-4)

¹⁹⁷ Goldhill 1991:292-3 notes Paduano Faedo 1970 does not spot the complexity and development of the narrator-Muse relationship through the different invocations, but himself ignores the development *throughout* the epic.

¹⁹⁸ Originally Feeney's term (1991:90), with reference to the Muse-invocations in the *Arg.*

This is where we would expect the Muses to appear in an epic – there is an invocation to the Muse or Muses in the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, the *Thebais* of the Cycle and Antimachus, the Cyclic *Epigoni* and Choerilus’ *Persica*.¹⁹⁹ But not in the *Argonautica*. Their place has been usurped by the first-person statement μνήσομαι, which recalls the openings of the *Homeric Hymns* (see 2.3.1 above). We do find an address to Apollo here – Φοῖβε – but this is no straightforward replacement of one musical deity by another. The address to Apollo does not resemble the opening Muse-invocations in Archaic epic, which are requests for information using the imperative (Murray 1981:90-1). Rather the impression is of a declaration of where the epic is to begin (with Apollo, or rather his prophecy – “such was the oracle Pelias heard”, 5). In this respect too the invocation resembles the *Homeric Hymns*, which state the divine subject of the hymn at the beginning of the poem, without invoking the deity for inspiration. But it is the marginalisation and delaying of the Muses which is particularly striking.

The verb the narrator uses – μνήσομαι – at the beginning of the epic is precisely that which the Homeric narrator uses of the Muses’ activity – μνησαίαθ’ (*Il.*2.492, Feeney 1991:90). This transfer underlines the suggestion that the relationship of the Apollonius’ narrator to the Muses is not the same as that in Archaic epic.

The Muses only appear after another bold first-person statement - νῦν δ’ ἄν ἐγὼ γενηέν τε καὶ οὐνομα μυθησαίμην/ ἥρώων (1.20-1). They have been displaced from the beginning of the epic where we might expect them, and of them the narrator declares his wish:

Μοῦσαι δ’ ὑποφήτορες εἶεν ἀοιδῆς (1.22)

The interpretation of this short wish is controversial. There are two main camps. The traditional interpretation is that ὑποφήτορες means “inspirers” (Seaton 1888, Mooney 1912:69, Gow 1950:ii.311, 397-8; Ardizzoni 1967:103, Vian 1974-81:i.239, Hunter 1993b:3 (translation), Campbell 1994:3), so that the Muses play in 1.22 the same role that they play in ancient literature in general, as the source of the poet’s inspiration.

¹⁹⁹ Clauss 1993:17 notes of ancient Greek epics only the *Ilias Parva* (F1 EGF) began without mentioning or alluding to the Muses.

This view was challenged by Gercke (1889:135-6),²⁰⁰ who saw a more assertive declaration of poetic independence – the Muses as the “interpreters” of the poet. More recently a similar position has been taken by Paduano Faedo (1970:377-82), Paduano (1972:95 n.21, dangerously close to Gercke’s biographising), Feeney (1991:90), Goldhill (1991:292), and Hunter (1993a:125, contrast his translation’s (1993b) “inspirers”). This view finds support in the lexica, as LSJ and now Montanari both suggest the translation “interpreters” or “ministre”. There have also been attempts at compromise between the two camps – Fusillo (1985:365-6) suggests “collaboratrici” (alongside “ministre”), which allows the Muses a more positive role vis-à-vis the poet than that of subordinate “interpreters”, and Clauss (1993:17-19) characterises the interpreting Muses as Apollonius’ research assistants, verifying the truth of the poet’s narrative.²⁰¹

The principal reason for the first position, ὑποφῆτορες as “inspirers”, is that the alternative would entail a complete reversal of the normal poet-Muse relationship, where the poet is the conduit for the knowledge of the Muses to the audience (Pindar F150 μαντεύεο, Μοῖσα, προφατεύσω δ’ ἐγώ; Theocritus 22.116-7 εἰπέ, θεά, σὺ γὰρ οἶσθα, ἐγὼ δ’ ἐτέρων ὑποφῆτης/ φθέγξομαι), at least where the subject-matter is mythological (see 2.3.3 above). This is deemed “unacceptable” by various critics: “le Muse *non potrebbero* [my italics] essere invocate altrimenti dal poeta, se non quali ‘ispiratrici’ o ‘suggeritrici dal canto’” (Ardizzoni 1967:103).²⁰² This sort of critical unease should not be dismissed without a second thought, but it hardly amounts to compelling argument. However, there are some parallels which are cited in support the “inspirers”-view: ps.-Manetho *Apotelesmatica* 2.295 and 3.326 Koechly, to which should be added F30.64 Heitsch, where Wilamowitz restored ὑποφῆτορι Μοῦσῃ, “with the Muse to inspire him” (Page 1942:559). But these parallels are problematic – the last is an uncertain supplement to a text from the fourth century AD, and in

²⁰⁰ With dubious biographical hypotheses about Apollonius composing a palinode in 4.1381ff. after criticism of 1.22 by Callimachus and Theocritus.

²⁰¹ He compares the role of the Muses in the *Aet.*-prologue and the proem of the *Phaenomena*, where Aratus states ἐμοὶ γε μὲν ἀστέρας εἰπεῖν/ ἢ θέμις εὐχομένῳ τεκμήρατε πᾶσαν ἀοιδὴν (17-8). But in Aratus the narrator is still subordinate to the Muses. Χαίροιτε δὲ Μοῦσαι in 16 uses a “deferential optative” suggesting “the tone of a suppliant” (Kidd 1997:173), and εὐχομένῳ in 18 indicates this is a prayer to the divine. This is very different from *Arg.*1.22, which is not formally an invocation of the Muses.

²⁰² Cf. also Campbell 1994:3 on the “absurdity” of the “interpreters”-view.

neither of the earlier (second century AD) ps.-Manetho passages does ὑποφήτορες mean “inspirers”. Paduano Faedo (1970:381) points out that the meaning, in 2.295, at least, is closer to “cause”:

ναὶ μὴν καὶ Πυρόεις οἴκοις θεοῦ Ἐμάωνος
οὐλοᾷ μηδομένους στέρνων ἔντοσθεν ἔθηκεν,
ἄγρια τ' ἐν πραπίσιν βουλευματα ποικίλλοντας,
πρὸς δὲ κακοφροσύνησιν ἀεὶ μερόπεσσι συνόντας,
ὥς δὴ καὶ τ' ἄλλοις ὑποφήτορας ἔμμεν ἀνιῶν (2.291-5)

This seems to have developed from the “intermediate” sense of ὑποφήτωρ/ὑποφήτης – taking from one and passing on to the other – highlighting the latter aspect over the former in this different astrological context. The other parallel routinely adduced, 3.326, does not seem to be securely a parallel for “inspirers” at all:

οἱ δ' ἄρα καὶ παίδων ἡγήτορες, ἐν σοφίῃ τε
πολλὸν ἀριπρεπέες μύθων ὑποφήτορες ἐσθλῶν. (3.325-6)

Are those who are “greatly distinguished in wisdom” the *inspirers* of good stories? Might they not be the *interpreters* of such stories for the παῖδες mentioned in 325? Gow himself is not sure – in his note to Th.16.29 he confidently cites both ps.-Manetho examples as parallels for ὑποφήτορες as “inspirers”, but in his note to 22.116f. he writes, “ὑποφήτορες [at *Arg*.1.22], elsewhere usually equivalent to ὑποφήται [i.e. “interpreters”] (*AP* 14.1, *Maneth*.3.326 [my italics], *p.Ox*.1015.1), seems to mean *inspirers* (cf. *Maneth*. 2.295, Mooney on *Ap.Rh*.1.22)”. LSJ cite it in their note to ὑποφήτωρ=ὑποφήτης.

The parallels for the “interpreters”-view are more numerous and rather better. In the *Arg*. itself ὑποφήτης, cognate of ὑποφήτωρ,²⁰³ is used to mean “interpreter” at 1.1311, as also in Apollonius’ contemporary, Theocritus, at 16.29, 17.115 and 22.116-7, quoted above. At *AP* 14.1.9 we find the phrase Πιερίδων ὑποφήτορας, “interpreters of the Muses”, i.e. poets. In *P.Oxy* 1015.1, a panegyric poem, one Theon is called the

²⁰³ Seaton’s suggestion (1888:84) that ὑποφήτωρ at *Arg*.1.22 is the “correlative” of ὑποφήτης is merely an assertion, unsupported by argument, as revealed by the limiting “here”, pointing out the arbitrariness of his view (Paduano Faedo 1970:380).

ὑποφήτορα παῖδα of Hermes, that is his “interpreter”. This meaning also appears at Porphyry *De Philosophia ex Oraculis* 158.7 (=Eusebius *PE* 5.8.7) – θνητοῖς ἐσσομένων ὑποφήτορες.²⁰⁴

The “interpreters” view also accounts better for the subordinate aspect of the term ὑποφήτορες indicated by the prefix ὑπό, as Paduano Faedo (1970:381) points out. If the Muses occupy an intermediate position analogous to that of the poet in normal conceptions of the relationship, this makes good sense of ὑπό, indicating a degree of dependence to the highest element in the hierarchy, in this case the narrator. But most versions of the view that ὑποφήτωρ means “inspirer” fail to account for this aspect – if the Muses are the inspirers of the poet to whom are they ὑπό?

Some more complex interpretations of ὑποφήτορες at *Arg.*1.22 do take the prefix into account. Beye thinks that the Muses are playing a similar role vis-à-vis the poet as Apollo’s priest vis-à-vis the garbled message he gives to the Pythia, “Here Apollonius is Apollo; what he declares is the raw, divine truth; the Muses in effect will make into art, and hence intelligible.” (1982:15).²⁰⁵ Albis offers a very similar interpretation, but in his view the Muses interpret Apollo’s oracular truth and turn it into poetry, thus providing verses for Apollonius, to be thought of as a lower element in this hierarchy of inspiration (1996:20-1). He cites Plutarch’s use of the terms ὑπολέγω and ὑποβολεύς to suggest ὑπο- can indicate support as well as subordination. Hence the Muses are ὑποφήτορες in the sense of “interpreters” with reference to Apollo, “inspirers” or “prompters” in relation to Apollonius. But despite the superficial resemblance of the names of the god and the poet, and the allusion to the Delphic oracle at *Arg.*1.5, there is no reason why we should see the ultimate source of inspiration at the beginning of the epic as Apollo, whether identified with the poet or not. The displacement of the Muses, the brevity of their mention in 1.22, the reticence about the role of Apollo should all prompt uncertainty about the precise workings or nature of the relationship to the Muses here.

²⁰⁴ Clauss 1993:17 n.13, who notes the Porphyry/Eusebius example, also adds Nonnus *Paraphrasis Sancti Evangelii Joannei* 5.157.

²⁰⁵ Cf. Theon the ὑποφήτωρ of Hermes at *POxy.*1015.1 above.

This uncertainty may well have been shared by contemporary audiences and readers of the *Arg.* The shift in position from the beginning of the poem may have been disconcerting in terms of epic norms,²⁰⁶ and their relegation to the bare wish that they be the ὑποφῆτορες of the αἰοιδή, may not have made it obvious what the Muses' role was to be in the *Arg.* Whom/what exactly would they be interpreting (Poet? Poem? Apollo?), and to whom (Poet? Audience?)? Though the wish at *Arg.* 1.22 comes at the head of a catalogue, it does not resemble equivalent Homeric Muse-invocations, as Fusillo (1985:366) emphasises.²⁰⁷ The fact that the Muses in epigram are closely associated with writing (Bing 1988:15ff.) may only have complicated matters. There is not much to guide the audience on how to take the wish that the Muses be “interpreters”. This raises the further questions as to the *mechanism* and *occasion* of the Muses' interpretation – what interpretative work are the Muses doing for the audience, and when are they doing it?²⁰⁸ What intermediary is or need there be between the audience/reader and the *Arg.*?

The iconographical evidence which Paduano Faedo (1970:382-6) cites suggests that the Muses might simply be the *audience* of the poem – any interpretative work presumably being for their own benefit. The normal iconographical, as poetical, relationship is dominant Muse-subordinate poet, but in skyphos A of Berthouville Bernay we find the poet Aratus pictured as lecturing the Muse, taking on the stance, attitude, clothing, and implements of the Muse in the mosaic of Monnus at Treviri, who is in a dominant position vis-à-vis a subordinate Aratus. This Heliconian audience is perhaps not entirely ridiculous, when the most significant members of the real audience of the *Arg.* are considered – figures of importance in the Museum and Ptolemaic court. Poets and Ptolemies could be described as Muses or in similar terms: in Callimachus, Berenice is a Fourth Grace at ep.51 and acts in the *Victoria Berenices* as a quasi-Muse (SH254.1ff.). Sappho as the Tenth Muse appears at *AP* 7.14, 7.407, 9.189, 9.506. Sex, of course, eases the identification in those cases, as it complicates it for Callimachus or Philadelphus.

²⁰⁶ Though we are of course hampered by the loss of much material. It would be particularly useful to have the first twenty lines of the *Hecale*. Cf. 3.7 above.

²⁰⁷ Cf. also Campbell 1983:1, “a mere scrap for the Muses at the head of a factual [*sic*] Catalogue”.

²⁰⁸ DeForest 1994:40 n.11 suggests, “Apollonius may call on them as interpreters to assist the reader to understand his allusive and puzzling poetry” – but *when*?

A neglected passage of Catullus provides a parallel for *Arg.*1.22 and suggests another, more attractive, possibility:

*sed dicam vobis, vos porro dicite multis
milibus et facite haec charta loquatur anus* (68A.45-6)

Here the Muses are almost the narrator's scribes (note *charta*), who will record and pass on Allius' help to Catullus.²⁰⁹ Perhaps Apollonius intends something similar in *Arg.*1.22 – the Muses as his “intermediaries” as much as his “interpreters”, passing on his song to others. The Muses as emblems of the written tradition again seem relevant in this connection (Bing 1988:15-20, Fusillo 1985:370-4). The obvious dependence of the narrator on written sources, particularly clear in the Catalogue which follows immediately on 1.22 (see 5.1.2 above), supports the idea that the Muses are there being strongly associated with recording the poem. In the Catullus passage, it seems that the Muses are engaged in the production of the written text. If something like this is also true of Apollonius, we can see a different meaning being given to the traditional view of the poem as the joint product of the poet and the Muses. In 1.23 we find a first-person plural, immediately after the wish in 1.22: *μνησώμεθα*. The Muses are characterised as contributing to the production of the narrative, but in a subsidiary “technical” role, facilitating the creation of the text, rather than inspiring it, or supplying its content. This is close to Fusillo's translation of *ὑποφῆτορες* as “collaboratrici”.

The parallel from Catullus ought to disperse the unease that attaches to the reversal of the poet-Muse relationship which the “interpreters”-view, which seems broadly along the right lines, implies. But whatever the precise details of the relationship of narrator to Muses at the beginning of the epic, it is clearly different from that in previous poets: “non deve sfuggire il profondo mutamento della loro funzione [sc. the Muses' function] nell'epos apolloniano” (Livrea 1973:389). The positional

²⁰⁹ Cf. Ellis 1876:326, “The Muses are here the recorders of the poet, who dictates to them the verses in which the noble deeds of Allius are to be handed down to posterity.” Ellis, Fordyce 1961, and Syndikus 1990:262-3 all note the reversal of the normal poet-Muse relationship (as exemplified by Callimachus H.3.186 and Theocritus 22.116), Fordyce and Syndikus both dismissing, without argument, *Arg.*1.22 as a parallel.

marginalisation of the Muses, the narrator's first-person statements, the advertising of a reliance on previous versions mean the primary role of the narrator in the production of his narrative is very much to the fore here. The narrator is much more autonomous than his predecessors, and "in control".

5.1.5 The Apollonian Narrator in Control

When we look beyond the opening lines and the Catalogue, we can still the confident, autonomous narrator in operation. This persona is particularly clear in three break-offs, which express the narrator's control of his material in a manner similar to those in Pindar (see 2.3.2.1 above) and Callimachus (e.g. F75.4ff.). The first comes at 1.649-50:

ἀλλὰ τί μύθους
Αἰθαλίδεω χρεῖώ με διηνεκέως ἀγορεύειν;

Thus the narrator moves from telling us of the herald Aethalides' powers and fate, and returns to his role in the main narrative. The motivation for this break-off seems to be internal – no Muses are needed.²¹⁰ As we have seen above, at 1.919ff. the narrator uses the excuse of piety to break off telling the audience about the rites on Samothrace.²¹¹

τῶν μὲν ἔτ' οὐ προτέρω μυθήσομαι· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴ
νῆσος ὁμῶς κεχάροιτο καὶ οἱ λάχον ὄργια κείνα
δαίμονες ἐνναέται, τὰ μὲν οὐ θέμις ἄμμιν ἀείδειν.

The narrator claims to be forced by θέμις to avoid singing of the rites. This contributes to the creation of a moral persona, but also forms an expression of the narrator's ability to control the material he allows into his narrative. Similarly, Callimachus' pious intervention in F75.4ff. (σύ γ' αἰΐση καὶ τὰ περ οὐχ ὁσίη) in fact subtly points to a myth not told, and the control he thus wields over his poem (see

²¹⁰ This break-off is reminiscent of that at *Theog.*35.

²¹¹ Cf. 2.3.2.1 for "pious" break-offs in Archaic poetry.

3.3.3.3 above). The Apollonian narrator's control is expressed by the first-person verb *μυθήσομαι* (1.919) and by the measured farewell (*κεχάροιτο*) to Samothrace and its gods.²¹²

The avoidance of impiety appears easily achieved, and appears to cause the narrator no problems. This will not be the case later in the poem. A similar unproblematic control seems expressed by the break-off at 1.1220 of a digression on Thiodamas, father of Hylas, returning to the narrative of the latter's disappearance:

ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τηλοῦ κεν ἀποπλάγξειεν ᾠοιδῆς.

This stress on the *ᾠοιδῆ* and its proper arrangement keeps the focus firmly on the narrator. The control expressed by the narrator is reminiscent of the Pindaric narrator's explicit control over the direction of his song, e.g. through imperatives to the Muses (see 2.3.3 above). His importance, and the consequent sidelining of the Muses, is also apparent in the digression on Cyrene at 2.500ff. This is framed by two "they say" statements:

Κυρήνη πέφαταί τις ἔλος πάρα Πηνειοῖο... (2.500)

Καὶ τὰ μὲν ὧς ὑδέονται (2.528)

These, in common with those in the Catalogue, suggest that the source of the digression is not the Muses, but the narrator's own learning, acquired from reading other poets and historians (cf. 5.1.2 above). And in this digression we meet the Muses again for the first time since 1.22 – at 2.510-11:

τῷ καὶ ἀεξηθέντι θεαὶ γάμον ἐμνήστευσαν
Μοῦσαι, ἀκεστορίην τε θεοπροπίας τ' ἐδίδαξαν

But they are not invoked or asked for information, rather they feature as *characters* in a digression. Juxtaposed with the framing "they say"-statements which appear to place the source of the digression elsewhere, there is a strong sense here that the Muses are

²¹² This recalls the ends of hymns, e.g. *χαῖρε* at HH4.579, 5.292. The farewell also marks the passage as strongly transitional, marking the move from Lemnos to Cyzicus.

not of central importance. They do not even appear as characters in the main Argonautic narrative, but as the teachers of Aristaeus, son of Apollo and Cyrene, which distances them still further. This distance from the narrative of the Argonauts is not maintained in book 4.

5.1.6 The Crisis of the Narrator

The confident, autonomous, controlling persona begins to give way towards the end of book 2, after the death of Idmon, in connection with his worship:

εἰ δέ με καὶ τὸ
χρειῶ ἀπηλεγέως Μουσέων ὑπο γηρύσασθαι,
τόνδε πολισσοῦχον διεπέφραδε Βοιωτοῖσιν
Νισαίοισι τε Φοῖβος ἐπιρρήδην ἰλαεσθαι... (2.844-847)

For the first time in the epic the autonomy of the narrator appears in doubt. Not only is there mention of an external compulsion (με.../ χρειῶ) to tell a narrative in full, this is also to be Μουσέων ὑπο, “with the Muses’ help” (Hunter 1993b:55).²¹³ The narrator is for the first time subordinate to the Muses to some degree. The contrast with the autonomous narrator of earlier in the epic is more pointed because of the conditional – “if I have to tell all this...” – as if the narrator was now unsure of what he should allow into his narrative (contrast the break-offs discussed above). When the narrator has finished telling us whom the Boeotians and Nisaeans in fact worship, we meet another disconcerting passage:

Τίς γὰρ δὴ θάνεν ἄλλος; ἐπεὶ καὶ ἔτ’ αὖτις ἔχευαν
ἥρωες τότε τύμβον ἀποφθιμένου ἐτάροιο.
δοιὰ γὰρ οὖν κείνων ἔτι σήματα φαίνεται ἀνδρῶν.
Ἀγνιάδην Τίφυν θανέειν φάτις (2.851-854)

The Muses first reappear in something like their traditional role in 2.844ff., and hot on their heels comes the first request by the narrator for information. But it is not

²¹³ Hutchinson 1988:94, and Seaton 1912:158, who translates “at the bidding of the Muses”, take Μουσέων ὑπο with χρειῶ, so that the compulsion itself comes from the Muses.

clear whom he is addressing. Zyroff (1971:423ff.) makes this a “rhetorical question”, that is without a strongly felt addressee (but she groups these generally under “Apostrophes to the Reader”). Paduano-Fusillo (1986:333-5) take it as by the narrator to himself. However Homeric precedent for such questions without an explicit addressee would suggest these are questions to the *Muses*, as at *Il*.5.703-4 (so also Mooney 1912:200).²¹⁴ The likelihood that the Muses are being addressed is increased by their presence immediately before these lines as the “guides” of the narrator. There then follows at 2.854 a “they say”-statement concerning Tiphys, helmsman of the *Argo*. Earlier in the epic, in the Catalogue and the digression on Cyrene, this type of statement appeared to indicate the narrator was deriving his information from drier and more bookish sources than Mount Helicon. But here the effect is different. Hutchinson (1988:93-4) observes a delicate play with the poet’s role and his erudition which consequently “breaks up an atmosphere”.²¹⁵ But the real disruption here is of the confident narrator of the early part of the *Argonautica*. The narrator for the first time appeals for an explanation from the Muses, ultimately an action for the existence of a second tomb. Whereas in the *Aetia* such a request for aetiological knowledge was part of the characterisation of a scholarly narrator more on a par with the Muses, here the change from autonomous poet to questioner of the Muses indicates rather a subordination of the narrator. The disruption of the confident persona is further achieved by the answer to the identity of the second dead Argonaut being provided by φάτις. This is the first time an event in the main Argonautic narrative has been attributed in this way (previous “they say”-statements have been used of background to the Catalogue or digressions such as that on Cyrene).²¹⁶ This both suggests that the narrator cannot vouch for the death of Tiphys to the same degree as other events in the Argonautic narrative, and makes the audience wonder whether it was the Muses who were addressed in 2.851. If so, they seem not to have replied.

²¹⁴ Minton 1960:304 argues convincingly that the questions in Homer without a specified addressee are directed at the Muses, on the grounds that they are *requests for information* analogous to the explicit Muse invocations of the proems to both epics and *Il*.2.484, 2.761-2, 11.218-20, 14.508-10, 16.112-3. The Muses then provide the answer for the narrator.

²¹⁵ Hutchinson finds the disruption in the initial reluctance (2.844ff.) to include the information about the worship of Agamestor instead of Idmon, incongruously associated with inspiration by the Muses, followed by another question apparently to the Muses, which reveals itself motivated by the existence of two tombs, and the final ascription of the answer to φάτις.

²¹⁶ Noted by Hutchinson 1988:303.

It is at this point, then, that the “crisis” of the Apollonian narrator begins. He ceases to be the unquestioned autonomous controller of his narrative, confidently including or excluding material as he sees fit, but dependent on the Muses, unsure of some facts about his narrative. *Part* of the motivation for the disruption of the narratorial persona here at 2.844ff. is to reflect the crisis which the Argonauts themselves undergo at this point. With Idmon and in particular Tiphys dead (ἄτλητον δ’ ὀλοῶν ἐπὶ πῆματι κῆδος ἔλοντο, 858), they are thrown into despair (ἀμηχανίησιν ἄλως προπάρειθε πεσόντες, 860) and hopelessness:

κατήμυσαν δ’ ἀχέεσσιν
θυμόν, ἐπεὶ μάλα πολλὸν ἀπ’ ἐλπίδος ἔπλετο νόστος. (862-3)

This is the most desperate stage in the expedition so far – the Argonauts are on the point of giving up, even though it seems they cannot return to Greece. Jason himself is at a similarly low ebb, at 2.892-3 he fears that καταυτόθι δ’ ἄμμε καλύψει/ ἀκλειῶς κακὸς οἶτος, ἐτώσια γηράσκοντας. The narrator’s discomfiture reflects the ἀμηχανίη of his heroes.

At 2.1090-2 the narrator asks more questions, again without specifying their addressee:

Τίς γὰρ δὴ Φινῆος ἔην νόος, ἐνθάδε κέλσαι
ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖον στόλον; ἦ καὶ ἔπειτα
ποῖον ὄνειαρ ἔμελλεν ἐλδομένοισιν ἰκέσθαι;

Here too there is argument about the addressee – Muses (Mooney 1912:213), narrator himself (Paduano-Fusillo 1986:359), “rhetorical question” (Zyroff 1971:424-5). This uncertainty is perhaps intentional. Apollonius has raised the problem of the precise relationship of the narrator to the Muses and here we are unable to determine whether the narrator addresses himself, as the confident autonomous narrator of the early part of the epic might have been expected to do (recall the regular self-apostrophe in Pindar’s epinicians, and those at *Aet.*F75.4, *Call.*H.4.1), or the Muses,

in the Homeric manner.²¹⁷ In one sense the function of the questioning is clear, as Paduano-Fusillo (1986:359-61) note “la domanda...segna un forte stacco prima dell’importante episodio dell’isola di Ares..., e crea attesa nel lettore”. But it hardly clarifies the relationship of the poet to the Muses.

This relationship is again to the fore in the invocation of Erato at the beginning of book 3:

Εἰ δ’ ἄγε νῦν, Ἑρατώ, παρά θ’ ἵστασο, καὶ μοι ἔνισπε,
ἔνθεν ὅπως ἐς Ἴωλκὸν ἀνήγαγε κῶας Ἰήσων
Μηδείης ὑπ’ ἔρωτι. σὺ γάρ καὶ Κύπριδος αἶσαν
ἔμμορες, ἀδμήτας δὲ τεοῖς μελεδήμασι θέλγεις
παρθενικάς· τῷ καὶ τοι ἐπήρατον οὔνομ’ ἀνήπται. (3.1-5)

Part of the reason for the invocation of the Muse at this midpoint in the narrative is to mark a change of subject (to love as a principal theme). It also emphasises the importance of the second half of the epic, where the adventures of the Argonauts are completed. The invocation also appears to determine the relationship of poet and Muse as one of approximate equality – Erato is to “stand beside” the poet.²¹⁸ This recalls Pindaric passages such as O.3.4-5 and in particular the beginning of Pindar’s Argonautic poem *Pythian* 4 (Σάμερον μὲν χρή σε παρ’ ἀνρδὶ φίλω/ στᾶμεν, 1-2; cf. Hunter 1989:96), where the Muse is similarly represented as standing beside the poet. But the imperative to “tell to me”, the first acknowledged request for information from the Muses, confirms what the end of book 2 had led us to suspect – the autonomous narrator of the first two books is no more. This invocation figures him as dependent on the Muses, in particular Erato, who has privileged knowledge, it seems, not only by being the Muse of love. The statement that she charms unmarried girls with her μελεδήματα and shares in the power of Cypris surely suggests that she may have a hand in the infatuation of Medea, herself an unmarried girl.

²¹⁷ A further possibility is that the narrator verbalises the audience’s own thoughts – “It is as if the author says, ‘These are the questions which you must be asking yourselves.’” (Zyff 1971:425).

²¹⁸ “The poet allots an ‘equal’ role to his Muse” – Hunter 1989:95. Hunter thinks poet and Muse are being represented as standing rhapsodes.

This invocation appears, in fact, to have resolved the problem of the narrator's relationship to the Muses, which arose towards the end of book 2 – for the remainder of book 3 there is no further development of the crisis, no indication of a *further* loss of confidence or autonomy. But the self-confidence of the narrator takes another blow at the beginning of book 4, and the crisis continues apace from there. The narrator no longer seems engaged in a Pindaric partnership with the Muse as in book 3, but hands over narration entirely to her:

Αὐτὴ νῦν κάματόν γε, θεά, καὶ δήνεα κούρης
 Κολχίδος ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, Διὸς τέκος. ἦ γὰρ ἔμοιγε
 ἀμφασίῃ νόος ἔνδον ἐλίσσεται ὁρμαίνοντι,
 ἥέ μιν ἄτης πῆμα δυσίμερον, ἦ τόγ' ἐνίσπω
 φύζαν ἀεικελίην, ἥ κάλλιπεν ἔθνεα Κόλχων. (4.1-5)

The models being exploited and transformed here are various. The opening invocations of both Homeric poems are alluded to in the doubling of θεά (recalling *Il*.1.1) and ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα (recalling *Od*.1.1). But the narrator here goes further than Homer – the Muse, presumably Erato, is to sing αὐτὴ, “herself” (Feeney 1991:91).²¹⁹ The narrator in the *Argonautica* appears to subordinate himself further than even the Homeric narrator, who is inspired by the Muse to sing. The reason for this subordination (note the explanatory γὰρ in line 2) is the narrator's inability to decide how to describe Medea's leaving of Colchis, as ἄτης πῆμα δυσίμερον or φύζαν ἀεικελίην. There is a parallel for this consideration of motivation in Pindar's P.11, as Hunter (1987:134) notes:

πότερόν νιν ἄρ' Ἰφιγένει' ἐπ' Εὐρίπῳ
 σφαχθεῖσα τῆλε πάτρας ἔκνισεν βαρυπάλαμον ὄρσαι χόλον;
 ἦ ἐτέρῳ λέχει δαμαζομέναν
 ἔννυχοι πάραγον κοῖται; (P.11.22-5)

In Pindar the force of these questions, which are probably another example of Pindaric self-apostrophe, is to highlight the dangers of power, without any strong sense that there is a conflict between the alternative explanations of Clytemnestra's

²¹⁹ Albis, on the strength of the double allusion to the Homeric epics, calls the invocation in *Arg*.4 the “most Homeric” in Apollonius, despite the unusual αὐτὴ (1996:93).

behaviour.²²⁰ But in the *Argonautica* the fact that the narrator is not sure of how to *describe* the main events of his narrative and the characters in it (in contrast to the weakness and lack of knowledge pleaded by Homer at *Il.*2.484-93, as Hunter 1987:134 notes), marks a further decline in the powers of the narrator. As Feeney (1991:91) observes, the poet (better, “narrator”) is claiming that he can no longer account for the motivations of a character he created in the previous book.

The words used to describe the narrator’s uncertainty here recall descriptions of Medea in love. At 3.284 ἀμφοσίη, which affects the narrator in 4.3, seizes Medea’s soul, immediately after she has been shot by Eros, and at 3.452 the verb ὥρμαιν’ is used of Medea in her newly infatuated state. Again, as in 2.844ff., the narrator seems affected by the behaviour and emotions of his characters.

The narrator’s plea to Erato, however, does not seem to be answered, just as in 2.854 the mention of φάτις leads to doubts that the Muses heard the narrator’s appeal in 2.851. The “pious” break-off of the rites of Hecate at 4.247ff. makes it clear we are dealing with the same narrator, concerned with the propriety of his narrative (see 5.1.3 above), albeit with diminished powers and confidence:

καὶ δὴ τὰ μέν, ὅσσα θυγλὴν
κούρη πορσανέουσα τιτύσκειτο, μήτε τις ἵστωρ
εἶη, μήτ’ ἐμὲ θυμὸς ἐποτρύνειεν αἰδεῖν.
ἄζομαι αὐδῆσαι

The restriction of access to knowledge of the rites obviously cannot apply to the divine Muses, so the speaker here must be the narrator of the previous three books.²²¹ The tone of this break-off, however, is markedly different to the examples in book 1, and emphasises the narrator’s loss of control. The wish that his θυμός not urge him to sing of the rites implies a lack of control of one’s θυμός, one more reminiscent of the dangerous force portrayed in Euripidean tragedy than the externalised but controllable θυμός or καρδία of Homer.²²² But the closest parallel

²²⁰ Cf. Young 1968:12-15 on P.11 extolling the virtues of the middle estate as opposed to tyranny.

²²¹ Note also the address to the Muses at 4.552ff., the apology at 4.984ff. and the declaration of obedience to them at 4.1381, all of which would make little sense if spoken by Erato.

²²² Cf. further Walsh 1990:4ff.

for this reference to one's θυμός in a pious break-off is F75.4ff. of the *Aetia*, where Callimachus dramatically portrays his narrator's control of narrative as well as of θυμός. In contrast to the mini-drama in Callimachus, the bare wish that one's θυμός not sing impiously of forbidden rites leaves it very much in the reader's/audience's mind that control of it is probably beyond the narrator.

The emphatic first-person statement ἄζομαι αὐδῆσαι at the beginning of line 250, is modelled on such Pindaric first-persons as ἀφίσταμαι or στάσομαι in similar contexts (see 5.1.3 above), but here the stress is on the great awe that strikes the narrator from outside, rather than the narrator's own decision to remain silent. The great difference between the self-motivated and largely autonomous Pindaric narrator, in control of the material he includes and excludes, makes the subordination of the Apollonian narrator even more striking.

The question of the narrator's relationship to the Muses arises again at 4.445ff.:

Σχέτλι' Ἔρωσ, μέγα πῆμα, μέγα στύγος ἀνθρώποισιν,
 ἐκ σέθεν οὐλόμεναί τ' ἔριδες στοναχαί τε γόοι τε,
 ἄλγεα τ' ἄλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖσιν ἀπείρονα τετρήχασιν.
 δυσμενέων ἐπὶ παισὶ κορύσσεο, δαῖμον, ἀερθεῖς,
 οἷος Μηδείη στυγερὴν φρεσὶν ἔμβαλες ἄτην.
πῶς γὰρ δὴ μετιόντα κακῶ ἐδάμασσεν ὀλέθρῳ
Ἄψυρτον; τὸ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐπισχερὸν ἦεν ἀοιδῆς.

Though this outburst is against Eros, here explicitly the cause of Medea's erotic madness, it is difficult to separate him from the figure of Erato, the Muse of Love, invoked at the beginning of books 3 and 4, and described in terms reminiscent of Eros as one sharing in Cypris' power and affecting unmarried girls (3.3-5). Zyroff (1971:50-1) takes it that the reader will assume this is as much a condemnation of Erato as of Eros. That Eros is playing a very similar role to the Muse of Love is suggested by the question put to him at 4.450-1, underlined above, on the means by which Apsyrtus was put to death, and the subsequent mention of the next stage in the song in 452. But the substance of the outburst, the strife and lamentation which come from Eros/Erato seems to indicate that the narrator, who invoked Erato in

book 3 *because of* her special powers, is now uncomfortable with their effects. Nevertheless it is clear that the narrator needs Eros/Erato, as the plural ἡμιν in 452 indicates – the poem is their joint product (Zyroff 1971:51).

This dependence on the Muses is again to the fore at 4.552ff. where the narrator asks several questions of the Muses (note the plural – is Erato by herself now not enough?) about the Argonauts reaching the Stoichades. Shortly after this statement of dependence on the Muses for the details of the Argonautic return there is the account of the Argonauts' entry into the Eridanus at 4.596ff., and the narrator's explanation of the amber in the river as the dried tears of the Heliades. But he then adds: Κελτοὶ δ' ἐπὶ βόξιν ἔθεντο (4.611) and proceeds to offer an alternative *action* for the amber as the tears of Apollo. This, in contrast to earlier "they say"-statements characterising the narrator as learned, prompts questions about the confidence of the narrator in the Muses, who are presumably the source of the first *action*, given his dependence on them since the advent of the "crisis". The possibility of tension or mistrust between narrator and Muses, first apparent in the outburst to Eros, is perhaps to be discerned in the portrayal of Orpheus defending the Argonauts against the temptations of the Sirens.

They are described as λίγειαί, common epithet of the Muses,²²³ in 4.892, they ἠδείησιν/ θέλγουσαι μολπήσιν (4.893-4) and turn out to be the daughters of Τερψιχόρη, Μουσεῶν μία (4.896). In the *Od.* the Sirens speak like Hesiodic Muses – ἴδμεν γάρ τοι πάνθ' ὅς' ἐνὶ Τροίῃ εὐρείῃ/.../ ἴδμεν δ', ὅσσα γένηται ἐπὶ χθονὶ πούλυβοτείρῃ (12.189-91) – compare the anaphora of ἴδμεν at *Theog.* 27-8, probably an echo of these lines (Heubeck-Hoekstra 1989:128). But disaster is prevented by Orpheus, who begins a song to fill the ears of the Argonauts, and triumphs with his lyre over the Sirens: παρθενικὴν δ' ἐνοπὴν ἐβίησατο φόρμιγξ (4.909). Might this triumph of the Homeric φόρμιγξ over the female song of relatives of the Muses not represent a transfer to the narrative of the problematic relationship of narrator to Muse?²²⁴ Feeney (1991:92) suggests that the Herossae in 4.1305ff. form a similar

²²³ Cf. Alcman F14a.1, Stesichorus F240, "Terpander" F7, HH17.1, HH20.1 etc.

²²⁴ Beye 1982:18 notes that at *Arg.* 2.701-13, "Apollonius so thoroughly identifies himself with Orpheus as to – so to speak – snatch the lyre from his hands and sing." Cf. Hunter 1993a:149-51 for detailed discussion of the interplay of voices in that passage.

transfer to the narrative of the narrator's *dependence* on the Muses. He suggests that they too speak like the Muses, in their anaphora of ἴδμεν in 4.1319-20, and that the subject-matter of their knowledge is the events of the *Argonautica* (ἐποιχομένους χρύσειον δέρος and ἕκαστα/ ὑμετέρων καμάτων etc., 1319-20).²²⁵ They also prevent not just the failure of the expedition, but of the epic itself:

καί νύ κεν αὐτοῦ πάντες ἀπὸ ζωῆς ἐλίσσθεν
ῥώνυμοι καὶ ἄφαντοι ἐπιχθονίοισι δαῖναι
 ἥρῳων οἱ ἄριστοι ἀνηγύστω ἐπ' ἀέθλω (4.1305-7)

At this point, when the Argonauts might die without fame, their task uncompleted, the Herossae appear to Jason. If they had not only would the ἄεθλος of the Argonauts have remained unachieved, but also that of the narrator. It is not just the rescue of the Argonauts, but of the *Argonautica* that the Herossae effect (Feeney 1991:91-2).

Alongside the problems of the narrator's dependence on the Muses his loss of control is also emphasised. At 4.982ff. he begins to tell and then breaks off an action for the name of Drepane (Corfu). This action is reportedly what φάτις reports (4.984), but before telling it the narrator apologises to the Muses: ἴλατε Μοῦσαι,/ οὐκ ἐθέλων ἐνέπω προτέρων ἔπος (4.984-5). The tale is not his (it is “of the past”) and he tells it “unwillingly”. So far have we moved from the autonomous, controlling narrator who confidently excluded material he wished not to incorporate (cp. 1.919-21, also a “pious” break-off) that this narrator has to narrate stories he is unwilling to tell!

The final mention of the Muses in the *Argonautica* marks the complete reversal from the wish in 1.22 that they be the interpreters of the narrator's song:

Μουσάων ὅδε μῦθος· ἐγὼ δ' ὑπακουὸς αἰείδω
 Πιερίδων, καὶ τήνδε πανατρεκέες ἔκλυον ὁμφὴν (4.1381-2)

²²⁵ Cf. ὑμετέρων καμάτων (4.1776) at the end of the epic.

The narrator is now explicitly merely the conduit for the μῦθος of the Muses, and he is ὑπακουὸς Πιερίδων, “obedient to the Muses”. This account is of the carrying of the *Argo* across Libya. Feeney (1991:92) feels that the attempt to authenticate this fiction through an appeal to the all-knowing Muses is, after the “poet’s earlier self-generating authority” a sure way of undermining it. Most prominently, however, the appeal to the authority of the Muses emphasises the failings of the narrator, his dependence on others and the illusory nature of his autonomy in the early part of the epic. The question, presumably to the Muses, at 4.1387-8 seems particularly pointed in this regard:

δύην γε μὲν ἦ καὶ οἰζὺν
τίς κ’ ἐνέποι, τὴν κείνοι ἀνέπλησαν μογέοντες;

“Who could tell...?”, the narrator asks. But he has just declared this is μῦθος Μουσάων, something the Muses *have told*. Rather this question, in common with the statement of subordination to the Muse, and indeed the “crisis” of the narrator as a whole, points us to the inability of the narrator to tell the entire Argonautic narrative. Here he avoids telling it by suggesting that no-one could tell it, and in 4.1390-2 relies on exclamations to get him to Lake Tritonis.

When the narrator proclaims in a hymnic address to the Argonauts at the very end of the epic, ἤδη γὰρ ἐπὶ κλυτὰ πείραθ’ ἰκάνω/ ὑμετέρων καμάτων (4.1775-6), explaining that no ἄεθλος befell the Argonauts as they sailed from Aegina to Thessaly, it seems clear that we have come not only to the end of ὑμετέρων καμάτων, but also of ἡμετέρων καμάτων. The narrator of the *Arg.* began with unprecedented confidence, declaring his autonomy from the Muses, but by book 4 was reduced to complete obedience to the Muses, even attempting to hand over his narration to them. The labours of the *Arg.* have been as much his as the Argonauts’.²²⁶ But just as no ἄεθλος befell his heroes, none troubles the narrator in the last few lines.

²²⁶ In the first-person singular ἰκάνω we might discern some irony, given the stress in book 4 on the dependence of the narrator on the Muses to narrate the story, and indeed save the Argonauts from ruin. But Albis 1996:119 posits a return of narratorial confidence here. Any confidence there is, however, is the confidence of an exhausted sailor as he enters the harbour at home, relieved that his travails are over.

5.2 Overview

5.2.1 Narrator and Characters

One very clear and important pattern in the *Arg.* is the assimilation of the narrator's experience to the characters'.²²⁷ In general this should be related to the "mainstream critical topos" (Spentzou (forthcoming):5) that the poet's narrative reflects the Argonautic voyage (Beye 1982:14, Goldhill 1991:287, Albis 1996:ch.3). The narrator's crisis can also be seen in these terms.

The narrator often feels emotions analogous to those of the characters and in various ways their situation often reflects his.²²⁸ Various characteristics of the style of the primary narrator are replicated by his characters when they act as secondary narrators: Phineus' prophecy in book 2 has a distinctly scholarly character, displaying detailed geographical (2.360ff.) and ethnographical knowledge (2.373ff. on the Amazons, the Chalybes and the Mossynoikoi), matters which also attract comment from the primary narrator (2.996ff. – see 5.1.2 above). Phineus breaks off a narrative in similar fashion to the primary narrator at 2.390-1 (cf. 1.649), and uses *θέμις* as an excuse to omit material (2.311ff., cf. 1.921 and above in 5.1.3). Argos too appears scholarly, relating important information about the rivers of Europe (4.282ff.), building from an explicitly written source (the inscribed pillars in Colchis). Aietes (3.314, 401) and Jason (3.493-4, 1096ff.) employ break-offs and carefully exclude irrelevant details. The characters even narrate secondary *Argonauticas* within that of the primary narrator: Jason tells Lycus all of their adventures to that point (2.762-71), even including a Catalogue of Argonauts. Medea gives Circe a Colchian *Argonautica* at 4.731ff.

²²⁷ Compare the sexually ambiguous narrator and similarly ambiguous characters in Callimachus' *Hymn to Athena*.

²²⁸ This is not (*pace* Albis 1996:27) "one effect of powerful inspiration" along the lines of the "chain of possession" in Plato's *Ion*, where the poet "enthusiastically" takes on the characters' experiences. The Platonic conception of inspiration is peculiar, and very different from that in epic (Murray 1981:87-9), and in particular the *Arg.* as Albis almost admits: "These [*Arg.* 1.18-22] might seem not to be the words of a possessed bard, but, rather, those of a literary poet who has done his research, and is taking the credit for the version of the myth that follows; hence the emphatic use of the personal pronoun *ἐγώ*." (1996:37).

Most importantly in terms of the narrator's crisis is the fact that this reflects the characters' own struggles. The first indication of the narrator's loss of confidence comes at one of the darkest hours for the Argonauts – the double death of Tiphys and Idmon in book 2 (see 5.1.6 above). The strongly parallel scene in book 4, where Mopsus and Canthus die (1485ff.), confirms the close relationship between narratorial and Argonautic travails. In both cases a seer (Idmon, Mopsus) is killed by an animal (boar, snake), a second Argonaut also dies (Tiphys, Canthus), the Argonauts' problems associated with the ship (no helmsman, no way out of Tritonis), and resolved by the action of a god (Hera, Triton). In both cases the Argonauts seem helpless – at 2.858-64 they are seized by ἀμηχανίη, at 4.1538-40 they wander aimlessly, without a plan (οὐτινα μῆτιν/...ἔχον, 1538-9). In book 2 the narrator reflects Argonautic despair through his uncertainty about what he should include in his narrative and his subordination to the Muses, in book 4 he is not sure whether θέμις should prevent him mentioning that even Παιήων finds it difficult to cure snake-bites: εἴ μοι θέμις ἀμφαδὸν εἰπεῖν (4.1511).²²⁹

The move from autonomy to dependence which characterises the narrator's loss of confidence is apparent in a number of places in the epic. The two episodes of the Symplegades (2.549-610) and the Planctae (4.922-964) mark a clear change from a triumph of human skill, particularly that of Tiphys, to a complete dependence by the Argonauts on the gods (Byre 1991:223-4, Albis 1996:113). Euphamos, who releases the dove to fly through the rocks (562), and encourages the Argonauts (2.588-9), and Tiphys, who is in overall command (556-7), are key elements in the passage through the Symplegades. This is in sharp contrast to the Argonauts' passing through the Planctae, where the Argonauts' success is entirely the result of the help of Thetis and the Nereids, the latter passing the ship from one to another as if playing with a ball (4.948-954).

The Argonauts' dependence on females in the latter passage echoes the narrator's opening independence from, and subsequent subordination to, the Muses. Jason too conforms to this pattern. He pointedly abandons women at the beginning of the epic

²²⁹ At 1.919-21 θέμις had been confidently given as the narrator's reason for remaining silent about the Samothracian rites.

(e.g. his mother, whom he instructs not to embarrass him by the ship, 1.303-5; and Iphias, priestess of Artemis, ἡ μὲν λίπετ' αἰδομένη παρακλιδόν, οἷα γεραῖη/ ὀπλοτέρων, ὁ δὲ πολλὸν ἀποπλαγχθεὶς ἐλιάσθη, 1.315-6). Eventually, of course, he comes to depend on the assistance of Medea in the second half of the epic. She engineers his success and joins the male preserve of the *Argo* in book 4, as do the Phaeacian handmaidens Arete gives her (4.1221-2).

The parallels between Jason and the Apollonian narrator are deeper still. Spentzou (forthcoming) characterises Jason, whose liking for words is clear (3.188-90), as a hero who “wants to be a poet and plot t/his epic [*sic*] as seems best” (p.5), and Medea as his Muse, possessing the knowledge he requires (the drugs to protect him during Aietes’ trials) to complete the epic as he desires.²³⁰ The dependence of Jason and the Argonauts on the female – νόστον ἐπετραπόμεσθα γυναιξίν²³¹ – coincides with the primary narrator’s dependence on the Erato in books 3 and 4, as Spentzou (forthcoming:16) also notes.

There is a striking parallel for this in Pindar’s *Pythian* 4, where Jason is also a narrator:

ἀλλ' ἐν ἔκτῃ πάντα λόγον θέμενος σπουδαῖον ἐξ ἀρχᾶς ἀνὴρ
 συγγενέσιν παρεκοινῶθ' (P.4.132-3)

At P.4.217 he is described as σοφός and knowledgeable in ἐπαιδαί, words strongly reminiscent of poetic skill (Albis 1996:89). Medea, as O'Higgins 1997:112-16 ably demonstrates, is clearly Muse-like. She engages in a hymnic/prophetic exchange with Apollo and the Pythia at the beginning of the poem (P.4.1-69) and is described as having “breathed out” her words (ἀπέπνευσ' ἀθανάτου στόματος, P.4.11). This recalls the inspirational breath of the Hesiodic Muses (*Theog.*31-2) and the Muse-like Sirens, alone described by the phrase ἀπὸ στομάτων in the *Od.* (O'Higgins 1997:114).

²³⁰ Spentzou is reticent with passages explicitly depicting Medea as Muse but there are several, e.g.: τόφρα δὲ Μηδείης ὑποθημοσύνησιν Ἰήσων/ φάρμακα μυθήνας ἡμὲν σάκος ἀμπεπάλυνεν (3.1246-7) as Jason prepares; αὐτὰρ Ἰήσων/ μνήσατο Μηδείης πολυκερδέος ἐννεσιῶων (3.1363-4) as Jason fights the Earthborn warriors. This subordination to female knowledge is very reminiscent of the normal poet-Muse relationship.

²³¹ *Arg.*3.488 – principally Medea, but as Albis 1996:109-11 notes Jason (μυθήσομαι 4.1335) acts as a “poet” and intermediary, deriving his knowledge from the goddesses and passing it on to the mortal Argonauts. To this example should be added Orpheus, who asks for knowledge from the Muse-like Hesperides (of whom there are three, recalling the Graces, companions of the Muses) at 4.1411ff.

In *Pythian* 4 Medea takes up a prominent position as the (secondary) narrator of the first part of the poem (P.4.13-56). But her narrative is subsumed and controlled by the primary narrator's, who explicitly begins the narrative again at P.4.70-1, just as Medea in her capacity as a character is controlled by Jason (with Aphrodite's help: λιτάς τ' ἐπαοιδὰς ἐκδιδάσκησεν σοφὸν Αἰσονίδαυ/ ὄφρα Μηδείας τοκέων ἀφέλοιτ' αἰδῶ, ποθαινὰ δ' Ἑλλάς αὐτάν/ ἐν φρασὶ καιομέναν δονέοι μάστιγι Πειθοῦς, P.4.217-9; O'Higgins 1997:119-20). In the *Argonautica*, however, there is another reversal – the initial control of the narrator is surrendered to the Muses in book 4, and the epic is impossible to read without recalling the future events of Euripides' *Medea* (Hunter 1989:18-9), which demonstrate the “untameability” of Medea (Spentzou (forthcoming):24-5).

5.2.2 Narration and Composition

The relationship of the portrayal of the crisis of the narrator in Apollonius to Archaic poetry is therefore complex. Various Archaic patterns are reversed, not least the depiction of the narrator overcoming difficulties to achieve success. Furthermore the depiction of the narrator's struggles in the *Arg.* inscribes the process of composition, or at least a model for it, into the epic, which also seems to develop and transform Archaic models (i.e. the fiction of spontaneous oral composition in many Archaic poems).

In various Archaic poets, e.g. Pindar in his epinicians, we find the narrator depicted undergoing πόνος to achieve success. This is often described in terms of athletic endeavour (e.g. N.4.36-8), which parallels the pattern of effort followed by victory of the patrons of the epinician poems. The narrator can even be described as going on a sea-journey where misadventure and digressions are clearly possible (e.g. P.10.51-4). But in Pindar, as in Archaic poetry in general, any such narratorial dangers are overcome, and function as a foil to stress the skill of narrator (and therefore author) in overcoming them.

In Apollonius, however, the narrator's dependence on others is greatest at the end of the epic. The initial confidence gives way to subordination and self-doubt. Such a prominent reversal of the Archaic pattern must be connected with the status of the poet in Hellenistic poetry and the concern to experiment with voice (see 6. *Contexts and Conclusions* below). But it also provides the audience with an image of the difficulties which an author must endure in the composition of an epic, and the process of composing that epic.

The crisis of the narrator depicts a narrator losing confidence in his own ability to tell his story, but simultaneously depicts a narrator trying various different means to reach the conclusion of his narrative (including complete subordination to the Muses). This reflects the Argonauts' own use of whatever means at their disposal (women, treacherous murder, expiation) to succeed in their quest. It can also be taken to reflect the (real) author's endeavours to create the poem of which the Argonautic narrative and the narrator's crisis are both parts. Self-doubt about narrative ability should be set alongside the presentation of alternative aetia and the inclusion of rejected material (Fusillo 1985:385) as pointing the audience to the ways in which the poem might have been put together.

The process of composition which is so inscribed is not, however, a record of how the *Arg.* was actually composed, nor does it tell us anything about the difficulties Apollonius actually faced. It is rather a model of the composition which is written into the *Arg.* And it is very much a literate process which is written in. In contrast to Callimachus' *Iambi*, which construct an oral setting for themselves, and to the Archaic fiction of *extempore* composition which many poems develop (see 2.3.2.1 above), the *Argonautica* portrays itself as having been written. The narrator himself is depicted as a scholar (see above), constructing his narrative from a variety of written sources, selecting between alternative explanations of features of the contemporary landscape. The narrator's crisis is not that of a poet in performance (*pace* Albis 1996:10), but of a narrator uncertain whether he can recover the narrative from the distant past, and complete the writing of the epic.

6. Contexts and Conclusions

The extensive use and adaptation of Archaic poetry by Callimachus, Theocritus and Apollonius is clear. A large proportion of the Hellenistic texts under consideration engage with major features of the narratorial voices of Archaic poetry. Callimachus' *Hymns* and Apollonius' *Argonautica*, for example, both experiment with Archaic moralising. These features are taken up and transformed in the Hellenistic poets to create effects and narratorial personas which are often very different from their Archaic models. The narrator of the *Argonautica* is portrayed as concerned about the propriety of his narrative (5.1.3), as are the narrator of the *Works and Days* or *Olympian* 1, but this is part of a co-ordinated portrayal of a narrator in crisis, eventually unable to exclude inappropriate material from his epic (5.1.6). This use of a prominent narrator reminiscent of the narrators of Archaic didactic, monody, *iambos* and Pindaric epinician (2.3.4) demonstrates the importance of texts other than Homer and genres other than hexameter epic in the Hellenistic period.

The Hellenistic poets under consideration engage with Archaic texts other than Homer at a variety of levels. Certain Hellenistic poems are clearly related to particular Archaic texts which they vary and adapt. Theocritus 24 transforms into a domesticated "epic" the pacy, selective narrative of *Nemean* 1 (4.6.1). The variation of narrative pace in the Pindaric poem is reduced, as is the prominence of the narrator, to create a poem with a much more "epic" veneer than its Archaic model. Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* alludes to Pindar's *Pythian* 5 in language and setting, and plays with the question of the speaker in Pindaric epinicians (3.2.6). It may even suggest a blood-relationship between Battiad Cyrenean and Aegid Theban poets. Alongside such close textual allusion we should place small-scale developments of Archaic features such as the concretising of Archaic imagery, motifs and *topoi* which is regularly found in the Hellenistic poets. Generalised pictures of the poet under attack in Archaic poetry (e.g. the end of *Olympian* 2), overcoming the dangers of $\phi\theta\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ and $\kappa\acute{o}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ are developed into more sharply defined scenes of criticism with named detractors, such as the Telchines in the *Aetia*-prologue or the personified $\Phi\theta\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ of the end of the *Hymn to Apollo* (3.2.6, 3.3.2). More specific elements of Archaic poems undergo a similar process of literal interpretation – a Hesiodic *gnome*

about a κακὸς γείτων becomes a neighbour (Erysichthon) who really is a threat to one's cattle (3.2.10). Eros, whose ἀστραγάλαι are madness and uproar in Anacreon (F398), is found playing with golden knucklebones with Ganymede in Apollonius (*Arg.*3.114ff., Hunter 1989:109).

Particular techniques of Archaic narrative are also adopted in Hellenistic poetry. The break-off, familiar from a variety of authors such as Hesiod, Semonides and Pindar (2.3.2.1) is extensively used by the primary narrator in the *Argonautica*, and appears in Callimachus in the *Aetia* (F24.20, F75.4ff., SH264) and is also adapted in the scene at the end of the *Hymn to Apollo* (3.3.3.3, 3.2.6). Techniques associated with particular poets are also employed, such as the Pindaric self-apostrophe at the beginning of H.4 (3.2.8), or the Pindaric “pious” rejection of myth in Callimachus at H.1.60ff. and F75.4ff. (Fuhrer 1988; 3.2.5, 3.3.3.3), which is also adapted in Apollonius at 4.982ff., the apology for one etymology of the name of Drepane (5.1.6). Bacchylidean pathetic exclamation (2.3.4) is taken up by the narrator of the *Argonautica* (5.1.3). It remains difficult, however, to associate the use of a particular device with the influence of a particular author on account of the large amount of Archaic material lost.

More important are the broader patterns of the adaptation of striking characteristics of Archaic narrative and narrators, and the effects produced in Archaic poetry, which demonstrate the importance of Archaic poetry as model in the Hellenistic period, and the continuing importance of poetic voice.

The play with the identity of the narrator in Hellenistic poems such as Th.7 or Call.H.5 develops the prominent use of the gap between narrator and author in Archaic non-epic poetry. The much greater use of quasi-biography in Archaic poetry outside epic (2.3.1, 2.3.1.1), the clear non-identity between narrator and author in some Archaic poems (e.g. Alcaeus F10, Archil.F19), and the construction of a narratorial persona based on the historical author in several Archaic poets (e.g. Archilochus, Hesiod, Pindar; 2.3.2.2) are harnessed to create a careful ambiguity about certain Hellenistic narrators, e.g. in Th.7 (4.3.4). Certain quasi-biographical facts recall facts about the historical author's life (e.g. the narrator's addressee in Th.7), others are explicitly different (e.g. the narrator's name in Th.7).

The frequent close relationship between narrator and author in Archaic poetry (2.3.2, 2.3.2.2) is taken up in several Hellenistic poems such as the *Aetia*, the *Iambi*, Th.11, 13, 28. Such poems take up the use of quasi-biography in Archaic poems to build up a picture of the narrator strongly recalling that of the historical author. Often the particular devices employed recall Archaic models, such as the unifying, quasi-biographical addressee Nicias in Th.11, 13 and 28 (compare Cynrus in Theognis). The depiction of narrators close to their historical authors has a number of purposes, including ironising the narrator, pointing to the difference between narrator and author, providing a fictional delegate within the text, and as part of the creation of a pseudo-intimate effect.

In Hellenistic poems such as the majority of Callimachus' *Iambi*, a narrator close to the historical author is presented ironically. In *Ia*.6, for example, it seems likely that Callimachus' apparent dislike of travel (3.5.2) is alluded to in the comically incompetent *propempticon* which seems unconcerned with its addressee's safety, and which consists principally of a list of the measurements of Zeus' statue at Elis, a disappointing guidebook (3.5.1.1). The distortions of biographical facts about the author in such poems have a probable model in Archaic *iambos*, where the narrator may well have strongly recalled the historical author, though presented in more outrageous and amusing narratives, which often produced humour at the narrator's expense (2.3.1.1, 2.3.2). Hence even the situation of self-irony is reproduced in the Hellenistic poems.

The fact that the narrator is often closely modelled on the historical author, but still distinct, is important in several Hellenistic poems. A narrator who resembles the author, but is still explicitly marked as different, can be used to foreground, but also evade, problems of poetic authority and status. In Th.7 the primary narrator Simichidas recalls Theocritus, but his name, the setting of the poem, the echoes of *iambos* and the ambiguity about Lycidas point to the ultimate non-identity of narrator and author (4.3.4, 4.4.3). Hence the ironic presentation of Simichidas, the uncertain attitude of Lycidas and the uncertain meaning of the meeting between the two can be read as referring to contemporary questions about how poetic narrative was authorised, and how new poets might attain a status similar to that of their predecessors, without associating these doubts directly with Theocritus and his own

narrative. The author has a delegate within the text, to whom concerns about authority and status are deflected.

The wide variety of Archaic models for the relationship between narrator and Muse (2.3.3) is also adapted in Hellenistic poetry as part of the widespread ironising of the narrator, and the depiction of problems of poetic authority (of which the ironising of the narrator is itself a marker). In the *Argonautica*, for example, the narrator begins as independent and self-motivated, requiring only incidental assistance from the Muses, which recalls the peripheral role of the Muses in Archaic poetry where the narrator could claim autopsy of the events being described (5.1.4). The *Argonautica* reverses this, of course, by depicting a self-motivated autonomous narrator where the subject-matter is explicitly mythological. Such a narrative about the distant mythic past would usually have required the inspiration of the Muses in Archaic poetry (2.3.3).

The *Argonautica* of course portrays the narrator as undergoing a gradual decline from this initial independence from the Muses, utilising a number of Archaic models to effect this. The motivation for the narrator's concern with the propriety of his narrative, which recalls Archaic moralising narrators, is very different in book 1 from book 4 – the confidence with which the narrator excludes inappropriate material has disappeared by the time the narrator includes a narrative about Drepane which he tells “unwillingly” (4.982ff.). The relationship with the Muses progresses from independence, or at least superiority, through a Pindaric partnership with Erato at the beginning of book 3, to complete subordination to the Muse (reminiscent of Homer) in book 4 (5.1.6).

The use of Archaic models in the *Argonautica* of course illustrates the differences between the poetry of the Hellenistic and Archaic periods. There is a Pindaric precedent of a sort for the narrator's struggles embodying those of the Apollonian narrator's characters – in Pindaric epinicians the efforts of the narrator are often described in terms which recall the labours of the victor (5.2.1). But this is not presented as the gradual decline of the narrator's own abilities to tell his story. There is no clearer evidence of the problems of poetic authority in the Hellenistic period, nor of the strategies employed to depict them and overcome them. The narrator is not closely associated with the author in the *Argonautica*, and the struggles of the

narrator cannot be read as the author's own decay from autonomy to subordination. However, though there are very few references to an external life of the narrator in the *Argonautica*, the depiction of the narrator's crisis throughout the epic can be seen as the most novel Hellenistic adaptation of quasi-biography. There is a strong sense of the narrator's presence, and his development, despite the absence of a name, a city, a physical description. The narrator's ability to narrate takes centre stage.

The mimetic hymns of Callimachus and the monologues of Theocritus are closely related and develop the striking Archaic effects of pseudo-intimacy and pseudo-spontaneity (3.2.4, 4.1.2). The inclusion into a group which is brought about by ostensibly "private" references to named individuals, their loves, desires etc. in Sappho, or to the particular circumstances surrounding a victory, and the victor's ancestry in Pindar, is a vital component in the assurance of the fame which Archaic poets promise themselves (Sappho F55) or their patrons (e.g. B.9.81-2). This is achieved through reperformance (2.2). The transportation of the audience to a different setting on such reperformances to secondary audiences is closely paralleled by Hellenistic poems such as Th.2 or Call.H.2 which take the audience to the performance of (respectively) private and public rituals (4.1.2, 3.2.6). The sense of an ongoing development of such a scene adapts the pseudo-spontaneity evoked by Archaic poems which portray the beginning of a song which has already started (e.g. B.F20B), or which pretend that they are still being composed, and their course decided, despite being carefully constructed in advance (e.g. P.11.38-40; 2.3.2.1).

Archaic pseudo-spontaneity is also adapted to include in many Hellenistic a picture of the composition of the poem. This can be pseudo-oral, as in Callimachus' *Iambi*, where Hipponax, narrator of *Ia.1* is portrayed as reacting to the audience (F191.32-35; 3.5.3). This closely resembles the pseudo-spontaneity of Archaic poems which pretend that they are still being composed *extempore*, but it also marks the difference between, for example, Archaic and Hellenistic *iambos*. This is not simply because the latter was encountered as *text*, in contrast to the original oral reception of the former (Hellenistic *iambos* might have been performed, e.g. recited), but because the complex contexts in which Archaic *iambos* was originally performed had disappeared. Nevertheless, the affinities between the effects produced in both model and

adaptation should also alert us to the continuity involved. A change in the contexts for poetry has not led to a complete rupture.

The process of composition included in Hellenistic poetry can also be of writing – the narrator of the *Argonautica* comes across as a scholar carefully constructing his narrative from pre-existing sources, which are eventually to include the Muses (5.1.2). Th.18 appears to record a Hellenistic encounter with a text from the distant past, and exploits the differences in the hypothetical audiences of ancient and contemporary text.

The effect of pseudo-intimacy and the sense of inclusion it gives an audience or reader is vital for the understanding of Hellenistic poetry and the function of its allusiveness. In the Hellenistic poets we have been considering, it is clear that there are several references and periphrases which are included so as to be decoded. Topical and “private” references, which are portrayed as to be understood by those within the group are often to be found (3.3.3.2). The quasi-biographical information which fills out the persona of a narrator, or connects him with the historical author, is regularly used in this way. The audience is given the sense of being in close contact with the actual author of the narrative which they are hearing or reading. Narratorial erudition is often used as part of the creation of this feeling of association, as when it suggests that the narrator is a scholar, recalling the historical author, or when it is used as part of the careful construction of literary echoes (e.g. in the *Hecale*) which “include” the audience. Those who see the allusions are further brought “within the group”.

This inclusiveness, which is for example to be found in Callimachus in the scene of the “poet under attack” from the Telchines in the *Aetia*-prologue, or the periphrases at the beginning of the *Victoria Berenices* (3.3.3.2), should be contrasted with the “unremitting tenebrosities of Lycophron” (Hutchinson 1988:6) as they are by Schmitz (1999:170). The sheer length of the *Alexandra*, and its unremitting nature, obscure periphrasis after obscure periphrasis, should be recognised as producing a very different effect from the references and allusions in Callimachus, Theocritus and Apollonius.

From the above survey we can see that Homer and Hesiod are not the “preferred model” (though obviously still important) for the construction of primary narrators in Callimachus, Theocritus and Apollonius. In such a central aspect as narratorial voice there are a wide range of influential texts and genres, including Archaic *iambos*, elegy, choral and personal monodic lyric, the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, the *Works and Days* and the *Theogony*. The features of these Archaic texts which the Hellenistic poets adapt show considerable overlap, and this should probably be referred to broader developments such as the anxiety of influence, the consequent problems concerning the position and status of the poet and the poetic voice, as well as to obvious considerations such as chronological, geographical and personal contact and contiguity.

There are some differences between the narratorial voices of poems in the same genre, such as the *Hecale* and the *Argonautica* where the narrators must be placed at opposite ends of the spectrum of narrator-prominence in Hellenistic poetry. Such differences should be referred to the personal aesthetic choice of the different poets. But the broader similarities in the adaptation of Archaic narrative voices and the similar concerns between the three poets in this study (e.g. with the authority of narrator and poet, ironic presentation of narrators etc.) lead one to suspect common literary-critical ground.

There is no clear pattern of metrical affinity between Hellenistic poems and their adaptation of Archaic narrators. This is clear from, for example, Callimachus’ *Lyrics*, which show no more similarity to Archaic lyric narrators (already a wide range) than Callimachus’ other poems (3.6). In some cases, however, there is clearer generic affinity between Hellenistic poem and Archaic voice, e.g. in the *Hecale* and its very Homeric, unprominent narrator (3.7). But the best illustration of the breadth of Archaic genres which can be adapted by a single text is perhaps Callimachus’ *Hymns*. The variety of influencing genres there is clear (and probably meant to be clear) from the opening questions of the *Hymn to Zeus*, which immediately signals its difference from its most obvious metrical and generic model, the *Homeric Hymns* (3.2.5).

This brings us to the question of genre (1.4). We are now in a position to make some conclusions about the potential relationship between Callimachus, Theocritus, and

Apollonius, and the anti-genre theories of the Hellenistic critic Heracleodorus. Janko (2000:164) raised the possibility of a connection between Callimachus and Lycophron and Heracleodorus' stance on the acceptability of obscurity and the mixture of generic diction, style and content (based on his view that the aesthetic value of poetry resides in its sound). It is clear, however, from the operation of topical references in Callimachus as an *inclusive* strategy, which depends for its success on the decoding of references and allusions by the audience, that Callimachus does not privilege sound over sense by being "obscure". Several Callimachean passages are, of course, learned, allusive and occasionally perplexing. Not, however, to the point of unintelligibility. They invite decoding, hence including the audience (3.3.3.2). This is the *opposite* effect to that created by the mass of obscure periphrases to be found in the *Alexandra*. That poem might justifiably be described as an antecedent to the views of Heracleodorus.²³² But not Callimachus.

Janko (2000:164 n.3) further connects Heracleodorus with Callimachean "mixing genres", which he takes Callimachus to be defending himself against in *Ia*.13. But the charge of πολυείδεια (cf. *Dieg*.9.34) to which the Callimachean narrator portrays himself as responding is clearly one of "writing in many genres" not "mixing genres". Hence the example of Ion of Chios (*Dieg*.9.35-6), writer of tragedies, comedies, dithyrambs, lyrics, paeans, hymns, encomia, elegies, epigrams, scolia, prose (Jacoby 1947:5ff.), a good parallel for the breadth of Callimachean production (epic, elegy, epigram, hymns, epinicians, scholarly prose, iambics, lyrics, as well as tragedies, comedies, satyr-plays according to *Suda* K 227.24-5 Adler), and the parallel of the craftsman (ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸν τέκτονά τις μέμφεται πολυειδῆ σκεύη τεκταινόμενον, *Dieg*.9.37-8). The point is that one does not criticise a craftsman for making several different utensils of different kinds (e.g. a knife, a corkscrew, scissors), corresponding to different poems in different genres. The reference is not to some ancient forerunner of the Swiss army knife.

The example of Heracleodorus is instructive because it helps us see precisely what Hellenistic "crossing of genres" (1.4.1) is *not*. It is not the indiscriminate combination

²³² It has been suggested that the *Alexandra* is not by Lycophron but by pseudo-Lycophron (cf. Fraser 1979, Fraser in OCD³ under "Lycophron"), writing later than the third century BC. Could it not be inspired by Heracleodorus' euphonist doctrines? Could it parody such views?

of diction, metre and content directed only towards the production of pleasing sounds. It does not imply the *collapse* of generic distinctions, nor their abandonment (it depends on a recognition of the validity of such distinctions). Callimachus, for example, does “mix” generic diction, but not indiscriminately. We find several words from Attic Old Comedy in the *Hecale* (e.g. ἄσκάντης, F29). But here again this is not *indiscriminate* mixing – the poem is of course set in *Attica*, hence an admixture of Attic vocabulary, as represented in an Attic genre, might be thought a neat way of revealing the location of the poem (Cameron 1995:443-4). The mixture is connected to one aspect of the content of the poem, its setting, not its “euphony”.

The conception of generic distinctions as valid, the avoidance of the sort of generic anarchy which Heracleodorus’ position implies, is also clear in Theocritus and Apollonius. There too there is generic *experimentation*, but this is not such as to destroy the generic categories involved. The *Argonautica* adopts several features of the narrator’s voice more familiar from non-epic Archaic poetry (e.g. the explicit moralising), and echoes hymnal expressions at its beginning, but still remains an epic.

These conclusions about the place of genre in the poetics of Callimachus, Theocritus and Apollonius should be placed alongside the fact that Callimachus’ aesthetics are clearly not “anti-Aristotelian”, as demonstrated by the Aristotelian plot of the *Hecale*, a unified epic. Some measure of literary-critical variation might be discerned between Callimachus and Apollonius given the comparative lack of a unified Aristotelian plot in the *Argonautica*, and the much greater prominence of the narrator, which could be seen as a deliberate variation from Aristotle’s approved model, Homer. Such variation cannot, I believe, be checked against the “programmatic” passages of Hellenistic poetry which I have argued have specific context-related functions which prevent their interpretation as chapters in a Hellenistic literary-critical manifesto. The adaptation of Archaic narrative voices in the three Hellenistic poets we have been considering suggests relative literary-critical unanimity amongst them. But certainty is impossible. It may well be that the greater prominence of the narrator in the *Argonautica* reflects the relative chronology of Callimachus and Apollonius, with the influence of the *Aetia* and its intrusive narrator, and its adaptations of Archaic narratorial voices, making their presence felt in the *Argonautica*. Again, cross-generic influence does not mean the abandonment of genre or its rejection.

Janko (2000:190) comments that in the Hellenistic period “there was a powerful movement to regain the old unity of μουσική, a concept which, until the later fourth century, had embraced both the tune and the words performed to it”. The complex of music, dance and song which made up Archaic lyric had disappeared by the mid-third century (Cameron 1995:147-8). But Hellenistic critics such as Heracleodorus and Hellenistic poets such as Callimachus, Theocritus and Apollonius display *opposite* attitudes to such Archaic poetry and its relevance for contemporary poetry. The former treat all poetry as if it were *music*, and subordinate sense and content to sound, while the latter engage with the manner, techniques and narrative voices of Pindar, Sappho and the rest, to display the relevance of Archaic poetry as a literary, not musical, model.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

Works of Reference:

<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> (Berlin 1972-)
<i>CHCL</i>	Easterling, P., Knox, B. (eds.). <i>Cambridge History of Classical Literature: Greek Literature</i> (vol. 1, Cambridge 1985)
<i>LSJ</i>	Liddell, H.G., Scott, R., Stuart Jones, H., Mackenzie, R. (eds.). <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> (9 th edition, with a revised supplement, Oxford 1996)
Montanari	Montanari, F. (ed.). <i>Vocabolario della lingua greca</i> (Turin 1995)
<i>OCD</i> ³	Spawforth, A., Hornblower, S. (eds.) <i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> (3 rd edition, Oxford 1996)
<i>RE</i>	<i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (Stuttgart 1893-)

Editions of ancient texts or collections of fragments:

Adler	Adler, A. (ed.). <i>Suidae lexicon</i> (Stuttgart 1967-71)
<i>Coll.Alex.</i>	Powell, J.U. (ed.). <i>Collectanea Alexandrina</i> (Oxford 1925)
Consbruch	Consbruch, M. (ed.). <i>Hephaestionis Enchiridion</i> (Leipzig 1906)
D-K	Diels, H. Kranz, W. (eds.). <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> (6 th edition, Berlin 1951)
EGF	Davies, M. (ed.). <i>Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> (Göttingen 1988)
<i>FGrHist.</i>	Jacoby, F. (ed.). <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (Berlin 1923-30, Leiden 1940-58)
Heitsch	Heitsch, E. (ed.). <i>Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit</i> (2 vols., Göttingen 1961-4)
Janko	Fragments of Heraclitus in Janko 2000 (see below)
Koechly	Koechly, A. (ed.). <i>Manethonis Apotelesmaticorum</i> (Leipzig 1858)

M-W	Merkelbach, R., West, M. (eds.). <i>Fragmenta Hesiodica</i> (Oxford 1967)
Pack ²	Pack, R.A. <i>The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Graeco-Roman Egypt</i> (2 nd edition, Michigan)
PEG	Bernabé, A. (ed.). <i>Poetae Epici Graeci</i> (Stuttgart and Leipzig 1996)
Pf.	Pfeiffer 1949-53 (see below)
PLF	Lobel, E., Page, D. (eds.). <i>Poetarum Lesbiorum fragmenta</i> (Oxford 1955)
PMG	Page, D. (ed.). <i>Poetae melici Graeci</i> (Oxford 1962)
SH	Lloyd-Jones, H., Parsons, P. (eds.). <i>Supplementum Hellenisticum</i> (Berlin and New York 1983)
SLG	Page, D. (ed.). <i>Supplementum Lyricis Graecis</i> (Oxford 1974)
Voigt	Voigt, E.V. (ed.). <i>Sappho et Alcaeus fragmenta</i> (Amsterdam 1971)
Wendel	Wendel, C. (ed.). <i>Scholia in Theocritum vetera</i> (Leipzig 1914)

Fragments of Archaic lyric are cited according to the numbering of PLF (Sappho and Alcaeus), PMG or SLG, unless otherwise indicated. Fragments of Archaic elegy and iambus are cited according to the numbering of West 1989-92. Fragments of Callimachus are cited according to the numbering of Pfeiffer 1949-53, except for the *Hecale* (from Hollis 1990). The provenance of all other fragments is indicated.

Ancient authors and works

Apollonius of Rhodes

Arg. *Argonautica*

B. Bacchylides

Call. Callimachus

Aet. *Aetia*
H. *Hymns*
Ia. *Iambi*
Dieg. *Diegeses* (on Call. *Aet.* 3-4, *Ia.*, *Lyrics*, H.1-2=
P.Med. 18 = 211 Pack²)

	Schol.Flor.	<i>Scholia Florentina</i> (on Call.Aet.F1, in Pfeiffer 1949-53.i)
Hesiod	<i>WD</i> <i>Theog.</i>	<i>Works and Days</i> <i>Theogony</i>
Hipp.	Hipponax	
HH	<i>Homeric Hymns</i>	
Isocr.	Isocrates	
	<i>Hel.</i>	<i>Helen</i>
Pind.	Pindar	
	O.	<i>Olympians</i>
	P.	<i>Pythians</i>
	N.	<i>Nemeans</i>
	I.	<i>Isthmians</i>
	<i>Pae.</i>	<i>Paeans</i>
	<i>Dith.</i>	<i>Dithyrambs</i>
Sim.	Simonides	
	fr.eleg.	elegiac fragment
Th.	Theocritus	
Thuc.	Thucydides	

All other abbreviations follow LSJ (ancient authors, texts)²³³ or *L'Année Philologique* (journals). All other works are referred to by author and date of publication.

²³³ Lewis, C.T., Short, C. (eds.), *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford 1879) for Latin authors, texts.

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