

CALLIMACHUS

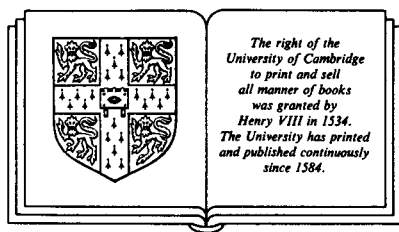
THE FIFTH HYMN

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND
COMMENTARY

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I OCCASION AND COMPOSITION OF THE POEM

The very first line of Callimachus' fifth 'hymn' establishes the theme and tone of the poem:

ὄσσαι λωτροχόοι τὰς Παλλάδος ἔξιτε πάσαι . . .

'You women who are bath-pourers of Pallas, all of you come out . . .'

The occasion is the celebration of Athena, which will involve a ritual bath, and the ceremony, the preserve of women, is about to begin; the voice which addresses the celebrants is never identified, but the speaker, the same throughout the poem, is presumably an official or priestess. More details soon emerge: the setting is Argos in the Peloponnese and Athena's statue is to be taken down in procession to the river Inachus, bathed and returned to the city. Only women may attend the ritual bath, and for them emergence of the cult-statue, presumably from its temple, is a divine epiphany (see on vv. 1 τὰς Παλλάδος, 3 καὶ ἁ θεός . . ., 35 φέρεται, 137 ἀτρεκέε, ἀλλὰ δέχεσθε, 139 ὀλολυγαῖς); for the celebration the Palladion *is* Athena and is so addressed (see on vv. 35–56), the horses and waggon which convey the statue are identified with Athena's actual horses and chariot (see on vv. 5–12), and the cult equipment is such as Athena actually uses (cf. on vv. 13–17, 29–32). We are witnesses, or participants, at the scene of the festival, and the poem recreates the religious enthusiasm of the occasion: vv. 1–32 summon the celebrants, giving instructions what equipment to bring, and insisting with mounting agitation on the imminence of Athena's arrival (2–3 the waggon-horses are neighing in anticipation, 14 the waggon's axle is creaking); 33–56 invoke Athena directly, assuring her that the ceremony will be properly conducted now that the celebrants are assembled, and addressing her with increasing agitation (33, 43 ἔξιθ' Ἀθαναία, 55 πότνι' Ἀθαναία, cὺ μὲν ἔξιθι) and appropriate epicletic epithets (43);

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57–136 tell a cautionary tale, the blinding of Tiresias who offended the goddess, both as a warning to the profane and, by implication, as encouragement to the pious and initiated; in 137–42 the emergence of Athena is briefly announced at last, the celebrants receive final instructions and the goddess a formal hymnal greeting.

Excitement and religious fervour dominate the mood of the poem, and Callimachus has been so successful in recreating the tension of the ceremony that some commentators have taken the *Bath of Pallas* as an actual cult hymn. Anna Fabri suggested that Callimachus was in fact under commission from Argos and that the Doric element in the language of the Hymn derives from practical circumstance (*hoc poematum Dorice scriptum est, quia tunc Argis erat Callimachus: ideoque cuncta illi gratificari volens eius dialecto utitur: neque enim perpetuo Aegyptum aut Cyrenen incoluit; nam et in Sicilia vixit*. Conveniently cited in Ernesti); more recently H. Staehelin argued that, while the poem was not an actual cult hymn, the tone of intense enthusiasm is too convincing not to have been the product of serious religious involvement (*Die Religion des Kallimachos* (Diss. Basel 1934) esp. 34–7, 54, 58ff.). The practical and methodological objections to this approach do not need to be detailed here;¹ Wilamowitz, *HD* I 182 can hardly be contested when he says: ‘jeder Unbefangene muss sehen, dass solche Gedichte in keiner Weise für den Kultus bestimmt sind und auch keine alten Kultlieder widerspiegeln’.² Ph.-E.

¹ Since the publication of *P. Oxy.* 1362 fr. 1 (= Call. fr. 178) it has been almost impossible to maintain that Callimachus ever left the continent of Africa (cf. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* II xxxix). I have considered some of the methodological issues involved in the question of ‘religious seriousness’ in a study of the Sixth Hymn in *AJP* 98 (1977) 97–123.

² Similarly Herter, *RE* Suppl. V 433–4 ‘Die sechs Hymnen . . . sind rein literarische Erzeugnisse: sie sind nicht für den wirklichen Kultus bestimmt, sondern für die Rezitation im Kreise gelehrter Kunstverständiger, vor allem am Hof, und für die Lektüre; darüber kann heute kein Zweifel mehr herrschen’, and *RE* Suppl. XIII 230 ‘Die Hymnen sind vielmehr, einer wie der andere, rein literarisch wie schon einige vor Kallimachos und nach seiner Auffassung wohl bereits die homerischen

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Legrand demonstrated long ago (*REA* 3 (1901) 281–312) that the Fifth Hymn in particular would present insurmountable difficulties of timing and co-ordination if it was written for performance at the Argive festival itself; references to neighing horses (v. 2) and creaking axles (v. 14) are too hazardous for the poem to have been written in advance for a real ceremony, and in any case a liturgical text whose recitation comprehended the entire ceremony, from congregation of the celebrants to epiphany of the divinity, would be unique in practical ritual. The compass of the Fifth Hymn and the careful insertion of references to ceremonial particulars have to do not with realism, but verisimilitude. Indeed the very presence of such details betrays precisely the literary nature of our text. The point has been well made by Paul Friedländer in 'Vorklassisch und Nachklassisch' in *Das Problem des Klassischen und die Antike* (ed. W. Jaeger, Leipzig and Berlin 1931) 35f.: "Von den Bedingungen – kulturellen, staatlichen, gesellschaftlichen –, in denen archaische und klassische Dichtung erwuchs, ist die hellenistische frei. Sie muss erst Gemeinschaft um sich zu gründen versuchen, und muss den Lebenszusammenhang, der nicht mehr gegeben ist, mit Kunst hervorbringen. . . . Kallimachos stellt nicht in einen gegebenen Raum seine Dichtung, sondern er muss mit der Dichtung zugleich den Raum für sie schaffen . . . Dieses Hervorbringen des Nicht-Vorhandenen fordert starke Mittel. Pathetische Wortwiederholungen: . . . ἔξιτε ἔξιτε, κοῦθε κοῦθε, Aufruf, Aufforderung, Frage. Die Wahrnehmung wird betont, gerade weil sie (grob gesagt) nicht da ist.' The *Bath of Pallas* is not a hymn written for a ritual but a literary poem skilfully designed to create the illusion of a ceremony actually being performed.

Muster selber'. The attempt by Cahen, *C* 281 to argue for a more restricted 'epideictic' function for II, IV, V and VI 'en rapport direct avec la fête religieuse, en dehors pourtant de son programme cérémonial', seems to me likely only for the Hymn to Apollo (see also H. Herter, *Gnomon* 12 (1936) 454–9).

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The mimetic hymn, purporting to be what is actually said by an organiser of a celebration, belongs to a distinct class of Alexandrian experimental poetry, literary drama. Two of Callimachus' contemporaries, Theocritus and Herodas, particularly concentrated on this form, and although the origins of Hellenistic mime are not at all clear (though presumably the tradition of theatrical mime was an important antecedent),¹ we may certainly classify the *Bath of Pallas* with Theocritus' dramatic idylls, both pastoral and non-pastoral, and with Herodas' lively sketches of lower-class life. Both these authors show an interest in religious matters, Herodas in *Mime* 4 where two women make an offering at a temple of Asclepius, and Theocritus in *Id.* 15 where Gorgo and Praxinoa visit Ptolemy's palace and listen to a performance of the 'Adonis' at the Adonis festival. There are important differences between the Fifth Hymn and these poems since the latter are both dialogues and are more concerned with ecphrasis of the palace and temple decorations than with ceremonial itself; but interest in the psychology of religious feeling, even if at different levels, motivates each author, and in Callimachus the long narrative of Tiresias plays a similar part to the descriptions of statues and paintings in Herodas 4. In the Theocritean corpus *Id.* 18 the *Epithalamion for Helen* is closer in style and level to the *Bath of Pallas* as 'situation' poetry, though the idyll is only partially mimetic since it has a narrative introduction; closest in tone and style is *Id.* 2, the *Pharmaceutria*, also a dramatic monologue, and although a personal prayer as against the cult prayer of the Fifth Hymn the idyll nonetheless skilfully recreates a fervid emotional atmosphere and is similarly structured with a central narrative section.²

¹ Cf. I.C.Cunningham, *Herodas: Mimiambi* (Oxford 1971) 3-17, K.J.Dover, *Theocritus* (London 1971) liv-lxv.

² The two poems have some points of detail in common: the use of refrain, address to a second party other than the divinity, reference to circumstantial items of ceremonial equipment, and the use of atmospheric realism

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We should also not forget that the hymn form had long been used as a vehicle for a literary fictional occasion. The circumstances of composition and performance of the Homeric Hymns are unknown, but as Allen-Sikes-Halliday, *The Homeric Hymns* (Oxford 1936) lxxxvi point out, our critical evidence indicates that they are 'more literary and less devotional' than other early hymns of which we know. Sappho uses the hymn form in poems composed not for formal ritual occasions but for literary prayer (fr. 1, 2: cf. Denys Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Oxford 1955) 16f., 40ff.), and the 'hymns' which appear in the Theognis corpus (e.g. the introductory hymnal prayers to Apollo in 1-10, to Artemis in 11-14 and the Muses in 15-18, and the address to Apollo in 773-82) mark the complete separation of hymn from cult (cf. Wunsch in *RE* ix 158). In choral lyric (a genre to which Callimachus' three mimetic hymns are closely related) Pindar used the encomion form for poems which were almost certainly not performed as part of a religious celebration (e.g. *P.* 3, *I.* 2), and in tone and mode of writing he is often the precursor of Hellenistic hymnal style.¹

Thus although Callimachus is the first to write hymns in the mimetic style specifically as illusory enactments or recreations of the festivals of Apollo (Hymn II), Athena, and Demeter (Hymn VI), these poems do not mark a radical break

(with *Id.* 2.35 cf. v 2f., 29ff. and 137ff.). L. Deubner, 'Ein Stilprinzip hellenistischer Dichtkunst', *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum* 47 (1921) 376-8 attempted to argue that *Id.* 2 was actually the forerunner and inspiration of II, v and VI: his arguments are unconvincing since they rest on unprovable assumptions about the dating of *Id.* 2 and of v and VI (see below Section v p. 39).

¹ Aptly expressed by F. Dornseiff, *Pindars Stil* (Berlin 1921) 85 'Hier ist nämlich ganz deutlich die Vorstufe einer Haupteigentümlichkeit des hellenistischen, profan-künstlerischen Hymnos... Sie sind halb mimisch-chorisch, halb episch-rezitativisch, sie spielen leicht romantisch mit der Fiktion, Begleitgedicht zu einer heiligen Handlung zu sein, und schildern sie doch zugleich, eine höchst kunstvolle Stilmanier, kraft deren es in der Schwebe bleibt, ob der Dichter oder der Festordner eines Chores spricht, ob das δρώμενον Wirklichkeit oder Annahme ist.'

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with tradition, for all that they are some of the most masterly examples of a mode in which several Alexandrians were experimenting. Later Bion was to follow with his *Adonis*, a ritual lament, and one of his pupils with the *Bion* (Pseudo-Moschus 3).

Callimachus' mimetic hymns were clearly written for recitation before an educated audience associated with the royal court at Alexandria, but this does not mean that they should be regarded as fictitious in every respect. In presenting a work such as the Fifth Hymn Callimachus will have presupposed that his listeners were well acquainted with festivals of this kind and perhaps even knew something of the Argive ceremony.¹ What we know of bathing ceremonies shows that the details mentioned by Callimachus were thoroughly characteristic of actual ritual. The *Bath of Pallas* (our sole source for the Argive ceremony) describes a ritual in which the statue was taken from its temple to the river, bathed and anointed by women attendants and returned to the city, and the underlying practice, κόσμησις ἀγαλμάτων, is one with which we are familiar from many parts of the Greek world (though our evidence is often fragmentary and late). Formal cleansing (γάνωσις) of statue and sanctuary was generally an annual matter involving washing down with water, sponging, oiling (χρίσις) and anointing with perfume (μύρον); a procession of the statue carried around on a waggon and accompanied by χοροί seems often to have followed.² Amongst many inscriptions from Delos one, *IG xi*²

¹ Cf. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Bion von Smyrna: Adonis* (Berlin 1900) 10–12 (= *Reden und Vorträge* I (1925⁴) 298ff.) who rightly emphasises that Bion's poem was written as a recital text for dramatic presentation before a knowledgeable audience.

² On the whole process of γάνωσις see H. Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* (Leipzig 1884) III 200ff. In Rome such cleansing of the temple of Capitoline Jupiter was the first duty of the censors on taking office: Plut. *Mor.* 287B διὰ τί οἱ τιμηταὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαμβάνοντες οὐδὲν ἄλλο πράττουσι πρότερον ἢ τὴν τροφὴν ἀπομιθεῖναι τῶν ἱερῶν χηνῶν καὶ τὴν γάνωσιν τοῦ ἀγάλματος;

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161A (279 B.C.), a temple account, refers in a short space to: 90f. εἰς κόμην τῷ ἀγάλματι . . . , τὴν ἄμαξαν ἥ ἀγεται τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Διονύσου Θεοφάντῳ ἐπισκευάσαντι . . . , 92f. ἔλαιον . . . μύρον ῥόδινον . . . , 93f. εἰς τοὺς χοροὺς τοὺς γενομένους τοῖς Λητωῖσι καὶ τοῖς Ἀρτεμισίῃσι καὶ τὸν τῇ ὀγδόῃ δαΐδες . . .¹ The κόμησις of female divinities often took the form of a cult ritual which involved washing the statue in the sea or a river. Few of these ceremonies are attested for us in any detail, but the one about which we have the most evidence, the Athenian Plynteria, seems to have been very similar to the Argive festival of the Fifth Hymn: the wooden statue of Athena Polias was stripped of its dress and jewellery, taken in procession with a guard of ephebes out of the city to Phaleron, bathed in the sea under the direction of two girls called πλυντρίδες or λουτρίδες, re-dressed and ornamented and returned to the temple.² Most of the other bathing ceremonies of which we know involved Hera and seem to have been connected with purification, or restoration of virginity, after her Sacred Marriage with Zeus;³ however, at Ancyra Athena appears again, this time accompanied by Artemis, in a double bathing ceremony which involved carriage in a waggon down to a lake.⁴ Surprisingly we have little explicit testimony that Aphrodite was the object of bath

¹ See T.Homolle, 'Comptes et inventaires des temples déliens en l'année 279', *BCH* 14 (1890) esp. 496–511 and the full citations and discussion in P.Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale* (Paris 1970) 198ff. on Artemis and 249ff. on Hera.

² For detailed description and citation of sources see L.Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1932) 17–22, H.W.Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (London 1977) 152–5.

³ Thus in Nauplia, Samos, Plataea: see M.P.Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* (Leipzig 1906) 44–56. Also in Mesopotamia (Aelian, *NA* 12.30).

⁴ Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* 255f. Our source is a fifth-century Christian one and tempting parallels with the Argive ceremony (Athena, Artemis ~ Athena, Chariclo) cannot be pressed even though the ritual itself was doubtless an old one; commentators have noted that the ceremony was orgiastic and may have derived from the Phrygian cult of the Magna Mater.

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ritual, even at Paphos, though in myth and the visual arts she is frequently associated with the sea.¹

Thus even though we know nothing about the Argive festival,² and indeed know little about the cult of Athena at Argos at all (see Section II below pp. 14–17), our evidence of similar ceremonies elsewhere permits us to reconstruct the ritual in outline from the Fifth Hymn itself.³ On the day of the festival the women of Argos assembled ready for procession (vv. 1–4 etc.); there is no strong reason to think that the ceremony, or any part of it, was restricted to women of particular class or age (as was the Demeter festival of the Sixth Hymn, vv. 128–33), unless the first line ὄσσαι λωτροχόοι . . . πᾶσαι is taken as being implicitly exclusive (i.e. referring to all who qualified as initiates rather than to the bath officials specifically). The question whether the festival was restricted to women of unmarried status has to remain open; only v. 34 παρθενικαί offers any textual support for this, but the word occurs in a phrase which is a standard periphrasis for ‘daughter’ (see Commentary ad loc.), and although ritual celebration of virgin goddesses was often

¹ In Sicyon the temple of Aphrodite was barred to all except the two servants of the god, one of whom was titled λουτροφόρος. We know that in the early third century B.C., at least, the temple of Aphrodite Pandemos at Athens was cleansed annually, but the cult image seems to have been washed in position: *IG* II² 659.24 καὶ περιελείψαι τοὺς βωμοὺς καὶ πιττῶσαι τὰς [ὀροφὰς] καὶ λούσαι τὰ ἔδη· παρασκευάσαι δὲ καὶ πορφύραν ὀλκήν . . . (cf. Deubner, *Attische Feste* 215f.). For a useful survey of the evidence for all divinities see R. Ginouvès, *Balaneutikè* (Paris 1962) 283–98 ‘Bains de statues et de divinités’, and cf. also E. Fehrle, *Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum* (Giessen 1910) 170–6.

² The introductory note in the ancient scholia is of no demonstrable value since it contains nothing which could not be derived from the text of the Hymn.

³ It should be emphasised here that Cahen’s extraordinary conclusion (*Hymnes de Callimaque* (Paris 1930) 218–20) that the Fifth Hymn deals with Athena’s arrival in Argos by chariot from Olympia is completely erroneous and is based on misinterpretation of ἔξιτε in vv. 1–2 and failure to realise that the waggon (v. 14) was a standard vehicle in ceremonies of this kind.

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restricted to virgins, the presence in the accompanying myth of Tiresias' mother Chariclo suggests that virginity was not required for Argive Athena's bath attendants.¹ When the women were assembled (33-4) the statue, the Palladion, was placed on the waggon (14) and drawn by horses (mares, naturally) down to the river Inachus. The Palladion was accompanied by an important relic, the shield of Diomedes (35), doubtless as a symbol of protection while the city's talisman was away from the temple (see Commentary on 35-42). In the Athenian Plynteria ephebes went with the procession to Phaleron; there is no explicit mention in the Hymn of similar military accompaniment for the Palladion, but the aetiological myth of Eumedes (36-42) might be taken as implying an escort, and the use of warrior epithets in the address to Athena which closes the myth (43-4) might imply an armed procession which included cavalry (44 ἵππων) and ritual banging of shields (44 κακέων . . . πατάγωι).² Men were excluded from the ritual bath even if not from the procession (51-4, 57-136), and the river was reserved exclusively for the ceremony (44-51). Before the statue was bathed the horses, and possibly the waggon, were washed in the river (5-12 the first attribute of Athena (see Commentary), mention of which is logical only if it arises from part of the actual ritual: see Commentary ad loc.). The Palladion was stripped of its costume, whether before it left the temple as in the Athenian Plynteria or at the river as the Tiresias narrative suggests (70-2), bathed, and then given formal κόμηνε with plain oil and a ritual comb (18-32 the second attribute of Athena, explicitly designed to reinforce instructions given to the celebrants in 13-17). As at Athens the statue will then have been reclothed and driven back to the city; mention of the battle against the Giants in 7f. may be due to

¹ See also Commentary on 45 ὑδροφόροι, 47 αἱ δῶλαι.

² In Sparta Athena Χαλκίοικος was celebrated by a procession of armed young men: Polyb. 4.35. Cf. Wilamowitz, *HD* II 18.

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the fact that in Argos as at the Athenian Panathenaea the war was depicted on the peplos.¹

No more than this can be inferred from the text of the Hymn,² but we may take it as established that although the Fifth Hymn was not designed for performance at the actual Argive ceremony it was none the less full of realistic detail. Callimachus' audience will certainly have recognised that the ceremony in which the poet was inviting them to participate imaginatively was typical of such bath rituals; what will probably have been new and entertaining to them is the particular Argive festival and the myth associated with it, for knowledge of which Callimachus drew on his antiquarian researches in the Alexandrian Library.

Finally, we should not rule out the possibility that the setting of the Hymn in Argos had some connection with the Ptolemaic royal family's interest in tracing their descent back to the best Macedonian ancestry. From the time of Ptolemy I propaganda that the Ptolemaic line was very closely connected to that of Alexander the Great and the Macedonian royal family was widely disseminated, the key ancestor for the Ptolemaic and Macedonian lines being Argaeus.³ Although

¹ See Commentary on vv. 7f., 70 πέπλων. As Wilamowitz, *HD* II 14 pointed out, if the Argive ceremony, like the Athenian, involved clothing the statue in a new peplos the Ἐνδυμῆτις referred to by [Plut.] *de mus.* 1134c may have been part of this ritual.

² We may wonder whether a beauty contest preceded the festival; this would give an added dimension to the second mythological exemplum in vv. 18–28, the Judgement of Paris. Theophrastus fr. 111 Wimmer (= Athen. 609f) records that at Elis the festival of Athena was preceded by an ἀγὼν κάλλους the winner of which led the procession to her temple. Competitions were an important feature in the Athenian Panathenaea, including one for εὐανδρία in which physical appearance was important: see A. Brelich, *Paides e Parthenoi* (Rome 1969) 338ff. and cf. Deubner, *Attische Feste* 34.

³ For the concern over the ancestry of Ptolemy I and the important link to the main Macedonian line through his mother Arsinoë or, according to clever rumour, even through Ptolemy being the bastard son of Philip II, see K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* IV 2 (Berlin 1927²) 176–7, W. W. Tarn, 'Two notes on Ptolemaic history', *JHS* 53 (1933) 57–68. The

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the town of Argos with which the Argeads were connected was actually situated in northern Macedonia, it was the practice even in the fifth century to give them a more romantic and flattering origin by making Peloponnesian Argos their homeland and thus giving them an ancient and impeccable Dorian descent, through Temenus, from Heracles and Dionysus. This ancestry, based on an early member of the family fleeing from Argos to Macedonia, is recorded as early as Herodotus 8.137, Thucydides 2.99.3, and, in a variant form, Euripides, *Archelaus* (fr. 228-64 Nauck); Isocrates, *Philip* 32 could even say to Philip Ἄργος μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ κοὶ πατρίς ἥς δίκαιον τοσαύτην σε ποιέεσθαι πρόνοιαν ὅσην περ τῶν γονέων τῶν αὐτοῦ. Contemporaries of Callimachus emphasised this Doric, Argive connection: Theocritus 17.16-27 stressed the descent of Ptolemy I and Alexander the Great jointly from Heracles; at Theocritus 15.96ff. the Adonis-song for the festival at the Ptolemaic royal palace is sung by the daughter of an Argive (v. 97); and in Theocritus 24 (which is given no specific setting) it is Argos that is most prominent as the place where Alcmene and Heracles are renowned (cf. vv. 78, 104ff.).¹ Callimachus' Fifth Hymn contains no overt political references, but Argos was a place of unusual significance for his Ptolemaic patrons, and their interest in Heracles as an ancestor may be behind the, to us puzzling, reference to Eumedes at vv. 35-42 (see Commentary).

importance of this ancestry was such that Satyrus, in his work on the demes of Alexandria, traced the full genealogy from the Ptolemies back through Heracles to Dionysus: see the summary quoted in Theophilus (*FGrHist* 3C 631 F 1) now supplemented by *P. Oxy.* 2465 fr. 1. Many of the demes of Alexandria were given names from the generations of this Macedonian royal genealogy: see P.M.Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972) 144-5 and notes.

¹ For the possible Ptolemaic setting of Theocritus' *Heracliscus* (*Id.* 24), and its connection with Ptolemaic ancestry, see Ludwig Koenen, *Eine agonistische Inschrift aus Ägypten und frühptolemäische Königsfeste* (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 56: Meisenheim 1977) 79-86.

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II ATHENA, TIRESIAS AND ARGOS

The first line of the Fifth Hymn identifies the Argive cult-statue as the famous Palladion from Troy (see Commentary on v. 1 τῶς Παλλάδος). Early tradition, from the *Little Iliad* on, had it that after the Greeks besieging Troy learned of the protection afforded by the Palladion, Diomedes and Odysseus succeeded in stealing the talisman and making the city vulnerable to attack;¹ after the sack the departing Greeks took the statue with them, and various states in historical times claimed to possess the authentic image, amongst others Argos, Sparta, Athens and Rome (see Nilsson, *GGR* I 435f.). The Argive claim to own the Trojan Palladion was based, naturally, on the part played in the theft by the city's own hero Diomedes (Paus. 2.23.5, Plut. *Mor.* 302D), who on his return after the Trojan war also dedicated the temple of Athena Oxyderkes at Argos in thanks for her lifting the darkness from his eyes in an incident at Troy (*Il.* 5.127; Paus. 2.24.2).² Diomedes was intimately associated with both Athena and Argos (Preller-Robert, *GM* II 302-6, Roscher, *LM* I 1023-7), but the ancient sources have no more to tell us about the Argive Palladion and the temple in which it was housed; about the relic of Diomedes' shield we have no information beyond the bare mention in our Hymn (see Commentary on vv. 35-42). Modern archaeological investigations have added little to our knowledge. In 1956 W. Vollgraff published the full results of his 1902-6 excavations and

¹ For a convenient summary of the most important material see Frazer on Ovid, *Fasti* 6.421; also Jebb-Pearson on Sophocles, *Lacaenae* (*The Fragments of Sophocles* II 34-6). For a full survey see Roscher, *LM* III 1301-33.

² At Sparta the temple of Athena Ophthalmitis was said to have been founded by Lycurgus because the Lacedaemonians saved him from losing his one remaining eye (Paus. 3.18.2). Preller-Robert, *GM* II 303 suggest that Pausanias' explanation of Argive Athena's Oxyderkes title was his own notion, and that the name in fact derived from the belief that the real Palladion could roll its eyes (Virg. *Aen.* 2.172f. and Servius on *Aen.* 2.166).

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the sanctuary of Athena Oxyderkes seems to have been identified on the slopes of the Aspis hill (which adjoins the higher main citadel, the Larisa) next to the temple of Apollo Pythaeus; amongst several other temples to Athena mentioned by Pausanias the one on the Larisa, close to the temple of Larisaean Zeus (Paus. 2.24.3), has been identified by an inscription as being that of Athena Polias.¹ Scholars have debated which of these two sanctuaries is likely to have housed the Palladion, and Wilamowitz (*HD* II 14), Kleinknecht (*LP* 311f.) and Cahen all accept the Oxyderkes temple.² However there are strong grounds for thinking that the Palladion stood in the main Larisa temple of Athena Polias: it is in this sanctuary that excavation revealed a terracotta representation of an armed Athena, Argive coins depict a Palladion placed on a hill which resembles the Larisa citadel, and Paus. 2.25.10 reported that in the temple of Athena at Lessa, between Argos and Epidaurus, was a wooden image *exactly like the one on Argive Larisa* (ξόανον οὐδὲν τι διάφορον ἢ τὸ ἐν ἀκροπόλει τῇι Λαρίσῃ).³ This evidence, slight though it is, seems difficult to resist, and we should probably allow that Diomedes' shield was brought separately from its temple, that of Athena Oxyderkes, to that of Athena Polias whence the Palladion would move in procession to the

¹ W. Vollgraff, *Le Sanctuaire d'Apollon Pythéen à Argos* (Paris 1956) 51-76 'Le temple d'Athéna Oxyderkes'. For Athena Polias see W. Vollgraff, *Mnemosyne* 57 (1929) 208, 217, and for a more recent editing of the inscription see *SEG* 11 (1954) 314.

² Wilamowitz assumes, reasonably, that Diomedes' shield was likely to have been housed in the temple which he founded and inferred the location of the Palladion from its association here with the shield; Kleinknecht erroneously argued that Palladion and shield were the same object (see Commentary on vv. 35-42). Cahen gives no reason for his identification.

³ For the terracotta see W. Vollgraff, *Le Sanctuaire d'Apollon Pythéen à Argos* 53f.; for the coins see F. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, *A Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias* (1885-7) 39f. Vollgraff had originally argued for the Palladion in the Oxyderkes temple (see *Mnem.* 57 (1929) 218f.), but later changed his mind (*Bull. de l'Acad. Roy. de Belgique Cl. des Lettres* (1938) 39 n. 4).

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Inachus.¹ Location of the Palladion in the Polias temple is not without importance for interpretation of the Fifth Hymn: we should beware of assuming that Athena Oxyderkes had anything to do with the Argive Palladion cult or has any bearing on our text.²

Although it is unfortunate how little we know about the practical circumstances of the Argive cult of Athena and the background to the *Bath of Pallas* there is, or should be, a salutary side-effect: we should be the more aware that at various points in the poem we probably lack certain crucial items of information which Callimachus could take for granted in his contemporary audience. Furthermore, although Callimachus himself had probably never visited the Argolid and experienced at first hand the cult of which he writes, he did have available major sources of information about Argos and its religious practices which are lost to us. One work in particular seems to have been used by Callimachus: the Ἀργολικά of Agias and Dercylus is known to have been his source in the *Aetia* in the episodes dealing with the Graces (fr. 3-7), Linus and Coroebus (fr. 26-31), and the Fountains of Argos (fr. 65-6),³ and it is a reasonable assumption that Callimachus may have used the same source for the *Bath of Pallas*.⁴ The *Argolica* was a prose work in at least three books, written in mild Doric dialect and dealing with matters of myth (for example Heracles, the Trojan war) and

¹ The placing and wording of v. 35 φέρεται δὲ καὶ ἁ Διομήδεος ἄσπις are not inappropriate for this interpretation: the shield is already present with the celebrants *before* the Palladion emerges from its temple and 'is being carried'.

² McKay's interpretation, for example, suffers throughout from an over-enthusiastic preoccupation with eyes.

³ See respectively the Florentine Scholium 35-6 (Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* I 13), the Diegesis in *P. Oxy.* 2263 fr. 1 col. II 6-8 (Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* II 108), the commentary to Antimachus fr. 179, in *Papiri della R. Università di Milano* vol. primo, ed. A. Vogliano (Milan 1937) no. 17 col. II 14-16 (Pfeiffer on fr. 65).

⁴ The suggestion was first noted by B. Wyss, *Antimachi Colophonii Reliquiae* (Berlin 1936) 88 n. 15.

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cult; almost nothing is known about the authors, but Dercylus is generally assumed to be the reviser or supplementer of the earlier work of Agias, and the new edition of Agias' work may have appeared only recently and become the standard work on Argos when Callimachus wrote.¹ In the *Aetia* fr. 65–6 Callimachus drew on Agias and Dercylus for information about cult practices connected with the main water-sources of Argos, from one of which, the *Argolica* tells us, women called Ἡρεΐδες carried water back to Hera (cf. Hesych. s.v. Ἡρεΐδες: κόραι αἱ λουτρὰ κομίζουσαι τῇ Ἡρᾷ); the similarity of subject-matter makes it very probable that Callimachus used the *Argolica* also for information about the Argive bath festival of the Palladion, though we have no explicit evidence for this.

Callimachus may well have derived more from Agias and Dercylus than just the cult. When the festival organiser has finished summoning the Argive celebrants and invoking Athena she turns to the cautionary tale with the words μῦθος δ' οὐκ ἔμός, ἀλλ' ἑτέρων (v. 56). The disclaimer is standard, as also is the general phraseology which leaves any actual source unidentified (see Commentary on vv. 55f.), but the plural ἑτέρων is notable. This plural could be generalising, but metrically ἑτέρου would have been equally possible (and more likely if his source had been Pherecydes as many commentators have assumed: see below) and we should consider the possibility that the Tiresias myth was in fact the cult myth associated with the actual Argive festival and that Agias and Dercylus reported this in their *Argolica*.

The version of the blinding of Tiresias narrated in the Fifth Hymn is particularly unusual.² The account more frequently

¹ For surviving fragments of the *Argolica* see Jacoby, *FGrHist* 3b 305 (pp. 7–10 and 757), and for background and discussion *FGrHist* 3b (Kommentar) pp. 17–24 and 3b (Noten) pp. 10–13. Callimachus' pupil Istros also wrote an *Argolica* (*FGrHist* 3b 334 F 39), and this may possibly reflect a particular interest in Argos on Callimachus' part.

² L. Brisson, *Le Mythe de Térésias* (Leiden 1976) is disappointing on the

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given is that first found in Hesiod, *Melampodia* fr. 275, according to which Zeus and Hera, quarrelling about whether the man or the woman derived more pleasure from sexual intercourse, turned for arbitration to Tiresias (who had been both man and woman); when Tiresias adjudged that the woman receives nine times as much pleasure as the man, Hera blinded him but Zeus gave him the gifts of prophecy and long life. This was the version to be found subsequently in Dicaearchus (fr. 37 Wehrli), Clearchus (ap. Phlegon, *Mir.* 4 in Jacoby, *FGrHist* 2B 257 F 36), Ovid, *Met.* 3.316ff., [Apollod.] 3.6.7, Hygin. *fab.* 75 etc.¹ Only one author before Callimachus is known to have given the account involving Athena, the fifth-century Athenian mythographer Pherecydes, who is reported in two sources (=Jacoby, *FGrHist* 1 3 F 92):

ἦν δὲ παρὰ Θηβαίοις μάντις Τειρεσίας Εὐήρου καὶ Χαρίκλους νύμφης, ἀπὸ γένους Οὐδαίου τοῦ Σπαρτοῦ, γενόμενος τυφλὸς τὰς ὁράσεις. οὐ περὶ τῆς πηρώσεως καὶ τῆς μαντικῆς λέγονται λόγοι διάφοροι. ἄλλοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ θεῶν φασι τυφλωθῆναι, ὅτι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἃ κρύπτειν ἤθελον ἐμήνυε. Φερεκύδης δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναῖς αὐτὸν τυφλωθῆναι. οὐσαν γὰρ τὴν Χαρίκλῳ προσφιλῇ τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ () γυνήν ἐπὶ πάντα ἰδεῖν· τὴν δὲ ταῖς χερσὶ τοῦς ὀφθαλμοῦς αὐτοῦ καταλαβομένην πηρὸν ποιῆσαι· Χαρίκλου δὲ δεομένης ἀποκαταστῆσαι πάλιν τὰς ὁράσεις μὴ δυναμένην τοῦτο ποιῆσαι τὰς ἀκοὰς διακαθάρασαν πᾶσαν ὀρνίθων φωνὴν ποιῆσαι συνεῖναι, καὶ σκηπτρον αὐτῷ δωρήσασθαι κράνειον, ὃ φέρων ὁμοίως τοῖς βλέπουσιν ἐβάδιζεν.

[Apollod.] 3.6.7

πηρωθῆναι δ' αὐτόν (φησι) Φερεκύδης ἰδόντα τὴν Ἀθηναῖν λουομένην ἐν τῷ () παρθένον ὑπάρχουσαν καὶ κορευθεῖσαν ὑπ' Ἀπόλλωνος εἰς τὸ () καίεσθαι μέλλειν ὑπὸ Εὐήρου τοῦ πατρὸς () εἰς ἄνδρα μεταβαλέσθαι γνώμη τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μίαν τὴν () γενέσθαι . . .

Schol. T *Od.* 10.493

Both texts are lacunose but complete enough to show that in

Athena–Tiresias version and fails to consider any comparative material. Cf. below.

¹ Phlegon, *Mir.* 4 also lists Callimachus among those who told this version; Pfeiffer itemises this as fr. 576 but we may wonder whether Phlegon was not confused. For a full list of sources see Roscher, *LM* v 182ff.

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outline Pherecydes' account was very similar to that of Callimachus, and modern scholars have assumed that Callimachus was consciously drawing on the mythographer for an unusual version of a standard story.¹ Further support for this has been found in the fact that Callimachus seems to characterise Athena with features more appropriate to Artemis than to the unfeminine warrior-goddess: Wilamowitz, *HD* II 23 'Passt es sich für Athena im Walde zu spazieren und in einer Quelle zu baden oder für die Jägerin Artemis? Hat Athena wie jene einen Chor von Gespielen um sich? Und ist der Abklatsch nicht deutlich, wenn Teiresias auf die Jagd gehen muss?' And with that flourish Wilamowitz concludes that Pherecydes made up his story from that of Artemis and Actaeon, an incident which Callimachus himself mentions in the course of the narrative (vv. 107–18); he was tentatively followed by Cahen (p. 232) and by L.Radermacher, *Mythos und Sage bei den Griechen* (1938) 51f. However Wilamowitz' argument that the Tiresias–Athena encounter is based on the Actaeon–Artemis story is weak, since the bath of Artemis is not mentioned before the Fifth Hymn itself, and some scholars have argued that it is the Artemis story which Callimachus has remodelled on the basis of the Athena myth.² In any case the assumption that feminine attributes and associations are unsuitable for Athena needs examining more closely.

Modern accounts of Athena and the cults associated with

¹ Thus, for example, Wilamowitz, *HD* 24 'Wenn er eine Fabel des Pherekydes hervorzieht, so tut er dasselbe wie mit der arkadischen Zeusgeburt im ersten Hymnus . . . er überrascht also auch hier seine Hörer: den Fund des Gelehrten nutzt der Dichter aus'. Cahen p. 232 'le récit de Phérécyde avait quelque chose d'une histoire rare et curieuse, et se recommandait par là au poète érudit.' McKay, *PP* 26–54 has even made this supposed waywardness of Callimachus the basis for his strange interpretation of the Hymn, even though it involves assuming without evidence that pseudo-Apollodorus misreports Pherecydes, and misreading a crucial word in Callimachus (see Commentary on v. 87 ἀφείλεο).

² See Commentary on vv. 107–18. Wilamowitz again asserted, without warrant, the early authority of the bath of Artemis in *GH* I 400f.