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CALLIMACHUS

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CALLIMACHUS

AETIA · IAMBI · HECALE
AND OTHER FRAGMENTS

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY
C. A. TRYPANIS

MUSAEUS

HERO AND LEANDER

EDITED BY
THOMAS GELZER

TRANSLATED BY
CEDRIC WHITMAN



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CALLIMACHUS

INTRODUCTION

VERY little is known about the life of Callimachus either from his own writings, or from other sources.^a The available information, however, enables us to trace a bare outline.

The family of Callimachus came from Cyrene; and in fact the poet claimed to be descended from Battos, the founder of the city.^b His parents were called Battos and Megatime,^c and he himself was named after his grandfather, a Cyrenean general.^d According to Suidas, he married the daughter of a Syracusan called Euphraios, but her name is not given, and we are not told whether any children resulted from the marriage.^e

The date of the poet's birth is not known, and the

^a The main source for the life of Callimachus is Suidas, s.v. *Καλλίμαχος*. For other sources see Pfeiffer, *Callimachus*, ii, pp. xcvi ff.

^b *Hymn* ii, 65 with *Diegesis* and scholia to the line; Strabo xvii, 837.

^c The name of his mother, as given by Suidas, is Mesatma. This was amended to Megatima by Hemsterhuys. See also Wilamowitz, *Hell. Dichtung* i, p. 170; and Call. *Epigr.* xxxv (xxxvii L.C.L.). The epigrams are numbered according to the Pfeiffer edition.

^d Call. *Epigr.* xxi (xxiii L.C.L.).

^e The name of Callimachus' father-in-law is given by Suidas as Euphrates. This was emended to Euphraios by Kaibel. Suidas also mentions a sister of the poet named Megatima, and a nephew called Callimachus.

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only information about his arrival and establishment at Alexandria is that it took place during the reign of Ptolemy II (285–247 B.C.). He must have reached the capital of the Ptolemies poor,^a for he worked as a school teacher—a proverbially poor profession—before he was introduced to the court.^b We do not know when, or by whom, he was brought into contact with the court circle, but his life seems to have changed completely after that. He was commissioned to prepare the *Pinakes*, the great catalogue of the books of the Alexandrian library^c; his later court poetry betrays a close intimacy with the royal family.

Many modern scholars have seen Callimachus as the most characteristic representative of Alexandrian poetry, in fact the man “who personified in the purest manner the Hellenistic spirit.”^d But although his highly polished verse is to modern eyes the most interesting form of poetry of that period, it may not have been the most popular, or even the most sig-

^a It is not safe to assume with Wilamowitz (*Hell. Dichtung l.c.*) that Callimachus left for Alexandria after Ptolemy II had conquered Cyrene, because the wealth and splendour of Alexandria and her court were a constant attraction to poor and gifted men from all parts of the Hellenistic world.

^b Certain of his epigrams, in which he complains against poverty, probably belong to this period.

^c Hermocrates of Iasus, a famous authority on accents, is mentioned among the teachers of Callimachus, but we do not know where he attended his lessons. The older view that Callimachus may have visited Athens (see Mair, *Callimachus*, p. 2) is no longer tenable, now that Call. fr. 178. 32 f. has shown that he never travelled beyond the sea.

^d As we can see from *P. Oxy.* 1241, col. ii. 1, Callimachus never became *Prostates* (director) of the Alexandrian library.

^e Wilamowitz, *l.c.*

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nificant, in the opinion of his contemporaries. The traditional long epic appears to have finally won the day, and continued to be written up to the early Byzantine period, long after the activities of Callimachus and his school had ceased.^a

The literary controversy between the writers of long traditional epics and those who preferred the short and highly finished poem began before the days of Callimachus, probably with the poetry of Philetas, the great Coan scholar-poet and teacher of Ptolemy II, and continued long after the death of the Cyrenean master, if we are to judge from its echo in later epigrams.^b The details of this dispute escape us, but the quarrel between Callimachus and his pupil Apollonius—later known as Apollonius Rhodius—seems to have been one of the important episodes in it. The freedom with which Apollonius took over and re-fashioned in his own style whole passages of Callimachean poetry^c provides a likely explanation of the bitterness on the part of the older man, and suggests the turning of an objective literary discussion into a personal feud between teacher and pupil. However that may be, Apollonius is said to have left Alexandria for Rhodes on account of this quarrel, and not to have returned there for some years.^d It was during this dispute that Callimachus wrote a poem “of studied obscurity and abuse” called *Ibis*, in which he attacked Apollonius, comparing him

^a See Ziegler, *Das hellenistische Epos*, pp. 14 ff.

^b Cf. *Anth. Pal.* xi. 347. 5 ff.; xi. 322; xi. 321; xi. 130.

^c See Pfeiff. ii, p. xli, and vol. i *passim*.

^d Tradition records a reconciliation of the two, and that their graves were placed side by side. Cf. *Vit. Apollon. Rhod.* A, in Schol. ed. C. Wendel, p. 2. 5.

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with the bird Ibis, which was destructive and omnivorous "and polluted in every way what was clean and what was not its own."^a

As the date of the birth of Callimachus is not known, and the statement of Suidas on his death is unfortunately corrupt beyond restoration,^b it is only on the evidence of his own poems that we can rely for any more accurate dating. The only one of these to which a reasonably definite date can be attributed is the *Plokamos* (fr. 110). It treats of events of the year 246/5, and seems to have been written in its original form in the same year. But a *terminus post quem* can be found for three other Callimachean poems: (a) the *Galatea* (frs. 378-379), which speaks of the incursion of the Gauls into the Greek world in 278 B.C., must have been written after the event; (b) the *Ektheosis Arsinoes* (fr. 228), which concerns the deification of Queen Arsinoë, must have been composed after her death in 270 B.C.; and (c) *Hymn iv, On Delos*, which has a reference to Ptolemy II as θεὸς ἄλλος,^c a second god, must also have been composed later than 270 B.C., for he was deified only after the death

^a No fragments of the *Ibis* have survived. It was a short poem, but certainly not an epigram, as certain modern scholars believe, for it is included in the catalogue of the poet's works given by Suidas, in which no individual epigrams are mentioned. The curses which Callimachus pronounced there are not those which appear in Ovid's *Ibis*. The Greek original may well have been in elegiac metre; it was certainly not an iambic poem. Ancient witnesses speak of Apollonius as the man attacked in the *Ibis*: it is not, however, impossible that the Ibis was some other of Callimachus' opponents. (Cf. Pfeiff. i, p. 307, fr. 382.)

^b καὶ παρέτεψε (sc. his life) μέχρι τοῦ Ἐδεργέτου κληθέντος Πτολεμαίου δλυμπίδος δὲ ἴραξ' (272/69), ἧς κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος ὁ Ἐδεργέτης Πτολεμαῖος ἤρξατο τῆς βασιλείας.

^c This hymn also refers to the Gauls in l. 173.

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of the queen.^a Besides these, fr. 387 of an elegy in which the star of Berenice is mentioned may well have been composed after the *Plokamos*. So from the available evidence in the extant poems and fragments of Callimachus it is clear that he was active as a poet between the eighties and the forties of the third century B.C. If indeed the *Sosibiou Nike* (fr. 384) was written, as it appears, in honour of Sosibios, the future minister of Ptolemy IV, Callimachus may have been writing remarkable poetry even in the late forties of that century. However that may be, he is to be seen as one of the distinguished Alexandrian poets of the first generation, slightly younger than Theocritus^b and Aratus,^c and older than his pupil Apollonius, whom, however, he may have survived.

The most famous Callimachean poems were the *Aetia* and the *Hecale*. But his *Iambi* and his other shorter works display the same mastery of form, and occasionally a true poetic touch. On the whole the purity of his style (in spite of the use of rare words and forms), the variety and grace of his descriptions, the search for novelty (in the use of local or non-Panhellenic versions of myths, and the constant adaptation—but never verbatim repetition—of Homeric usages), and his peculiar irony, outweigh the grammarian's love for detail, and the antiquarian's taste for the rare and the unusual. For, in order to appreciate the poetry of Callimachus, we should bear in mind that he was a poet, a scholar and a critic, and that the three qualities were equally developed in him.

^a See U. Wilcken, *S.B. Berl. Akad.*, 1938, pp. 298 ff.

^b See Pfeiff. ii, pp. xlii f., and Herter, *Gnomon* xix (1943), pp. 325 ff.

^c Achill. *Vit. Arat.* 4, p. 78. 22 M: μέμηται γοῦν αὐτοῦ καὶ Καλλιμάχος ὡς πρεσβυτέρου.

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For the modern world perhaps the most moving of his poems are certain of his epigrams, and those which appeal least are his hymns. But there are passages in the extant *Aetia* which are comparable to much of the great poetry written in the Greek language.

Callimachus was also famous in antiquity as a scholar. Of his prose works the most celebrated was the *Pinakes*, the catalogue of the books in the great library of the Museum of Alexandria. It included everything from the Homeric manuscripts to the last contemporary cookery book; the exact number of lines, as well as the beginning of every work, were quoted.^a In view of the vast number of books then amassed in the library, the undertaking must have been enormous, influencing not only all subsequent bibliographers, but also the nature of the poetry of Callimachus. Besides the *Pinakes*, Callimachus wrote many other scholarly works,^b e.g. a chronological register of the Athenian dramatic poets, a study of Democritus' writings and language, numerous encyclopaedias (about nymphs, birds, games, winds, rivers), collections of paradoxa and glosses. According to Suidas, on whose authority too much reliance, needless to say, should not be placed on this point, Callimachus wrote more than 800 books!^c His scholarly activities may also be judged from the

^a See F. Schmidt, *Die Pinakes des Kallimachos*, 1922, and A. Koerte, *Hellenistic Poetry* (translated by J. Hammer and J. Hadas), pp. 84 ff.

^b On these see Pfeiff. i, pp. 328 ff., and Herter, *Pauly-Wissowa, R.E. Supplementband v*, 1931, pp. 386 f. The prose fragments of Callimachus are not included in this volume.

^c "Satirical dramas, tragedies and comedies" are among the poems Suidas attributes to Callimachus. No trace of these, however, has been recovered in papyri or other sources.

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distinguished men numbered among his pupils; they include Eratosthenes of Cyrene, Aristophanes of Byzantium, and Apollonius Rhodius.

It is probable that Callimachus produced at an advanced age a final full edition of his poetical works, which he prefaced with the famous *Answer to the Telchines* (fr. 1). It is the order of this edition which the present volume endeavours to follow. The hymns and epigrams were at the end of the complete works.^a In fact, the epigrams may even have been collected by some later grammarian, and added to the corpus of the Callimachean poetry. From there a number of them passed on to the *Garland of Meleager*, and thence to the *Palatine* and *Planudean Anthologies*, and other authors who quote them.

The fame and popularity of Callimachus must have exceeded that of every other Alexandrian poet, if we judge by the great number of Callimachean papyri—even greater than those of Euripides—and the constant quotations found in grammarians, metrists, lexicographers and scholiasts of late antiquity.^b To no other poet except Homer do the grammarians pay so much honour. Callimachus was studied by the Byzantine Greeks, and his poems seem to have survived till the fall of Athens to the Franks of the Fourth Crusade (A.D. 1205). After that only the hymns (which were included in the great collection of Homeric, Orphic and Proclean hymns) survived, and those of his epigrams included in the *Palatine* and *Planudean Anthologies* or quoted by some other author.

^a In the Loeb Classical Library these are available in the edition of A. W. Mair.

^b On the absence of Callimachean manuscripts among the Ptolemaic papyri see C. H. Roberts, "Literature and Society in the Papyri," *Museum Helveticum* 10 (1953), pp. 269 f.

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The oldest commentary known on the works of Callimachus belongs to the age of Augustus. It is by Theon, son of Artemidorus. Only one interpreter of Callimachus is known, called Salustius, who is of unknown date.

The *Diegeseis*, which have recently come to light, are of inestimable value for the knowledge of the subjects Callimachus treated in his poetry. Three separate *Diegeseis* have survived, all apparently going back to a common lost source, in which the arguments and other information on the poems of Callimachus were given.^a Of these the so-called *Milan Diegeseis* are the best preserved, though the *Diegeseis* of *P. Oxy.* 2263 on the *Artemis of Leucas*, and the so-called *Scholia Florentina* are equally important for the parts of the poems of which they treat. Later lexicographers (Suidas, *Etymologicum Magnum*, etc.) draw on the works of such commentators and interpreters for much of the Callimachean material they include.

* * * * *

The present volume is a selection from the fragments of the poetry of Callimachus. It includes only those fragments which make sense and can be translated. The text is based to a large extent on the excellent edition of Pfeiffer (vols. i-ii, Oxonii, 1948 and 1953). As the Loeb Classical Library does not allow an elaborate apparatus I avoid mentioning the source of each fragment; for this the reader should consult Pfeiffer.^b Only very significant *variae lectiones*

^a See Pfeiff. ii, p. xxviii and n. 1.

^b For the Callimachean papyri till 1965 consult R. A. Pack, *The Greek and Latin Literary Papyri*. Ann Arbor, 1965².

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are included, but the authors of supplements and emendations are always given.^a All reasonably certain papyrus readings are accepted in the text without indication. The numbering of the fragments and the verses is that of Pfeiffer's edition, in order to facilitate quotations. This obviously entails certain gaps in the numeration, where fragments or parts of fragments are not included in this edition. Thick letters mark the beginning, and a thick dash the end of a poem.

The translation has no claims to literary qualities. It is intended only as a help to the understanding of the text.

The short introductions and notes which accompany the individual poems are again mainly based on Pfeiffer, unless otherwise indicated, and for that reason only rarely are the sources quoted.

After Theocritus Callimachus is the most privileged among the Alexandrian poets in the matter of editions. First Bentley's collection of the Callimachean fragments, then Schneider's *Callimachea*—a milestone in the study of Alexandrian poetry—, after that the editions of the *Hymns* and *Epigrams* by Wilamowitz, and finally Pfeiffer's great edition, without doubt the most significant work in the field of Hellenistic studies. Moreover, all the great scholars of the present and of the last century have worked on Callimachus. The accumulation of their work, together

^a In the apparatus cod. = manuscript.

P = papyrus.

T = wooden tablet.

L. = E. Lobel.

Pf. = R. Pfeiffer.

Wil. = U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff.

Hu. = A. S. Hunt.

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with the many new papyrus fragments, has enabled us to recapture a more exact picture of the writings of this unique poet.

At this point I should like to express my thanks to Mr. E. A. Barber and Professor P. Maas for their valuable guidance and help.

C. A. TRYPANIS

EXETER COLLEGE
OXFORD, 1957

Editorial note (1978) : Since this volume was revised for the 1968 reprint, more papyri containing poems of Callimachus have come to light. The occasion of another reprint now provides an opportunity of inserting some bibliographical first-aid against the day when the new material can be systematically incorporated. Professor Trypanis has very kindly given permission for this to be done, and the addendum which follows has been compiled by Mr. A. H. Griffiths of University College, London.

G. P. G.

FRAGMENTS OF CALLIMACHUS : BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ADDENDUM

AETIA

Book I, fr. 17. 8-10 is now supplemented by *P. Mich.* inv. 3688, published by A. Henrichs in *Zeitschr. f. Papyrologie u. Epigraphik*, 4 (1969), pp. 23 ff.

Book II, fr. 46 : the remains of the middle portions of nine lines following this couplet are provided by *P. Sorb.* inv. 2248 fr. *a*, published by Cl. Meillier in *Rev. Ét. Grecques*, 89 (1976), pp. 74 ff. ; fr. *b* gives a surrounding context of fourteen lines for fr. 475, which is thus also likely to belong to *Aetia* Book II.

Book III : substantial fragments, partly meshing with fr. 383, were published by Cl. Meillier in *Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille*, 4 (1977) ; P. J. Parsons has shown in *Zeitschr. f. Papyrologie u. Epigraphik*, 25 (1977), pp. 1 ff. that the long poem (of perhaps 200 lines) whose outlines can be traced from these pieces, dealing with the victory in the Nemean Games of Queen Berenice's chariot team and including the story of the hospitality given to Heracles by Molorchus (frs. 55-59), very probably constituted the opening section of this book.

Book III, frs. 91-92 (the Melicertes story) : a previously unknown hexameter, possibly belonging to this *aetion*, was discovered in a palimpsest ms. of

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ADDENDUM

Herodian by H. Hunger (*Jahrb. d. Oesterr. Byz. Ges.* 16 [1967], p. 12); corrections to the text of this, and of further fragments from the same source, are made by M. L. West in *Maia*, 20 (1968), p. 203.

HECALE

The codex-fragment *P. Oxy.* 2529 seems to present fr. 334 as preceding fr. 248 at an interval of one line.

The long fr. 260 has been carefully scrutinized and re-edited by H. Lloyd-Jones and J. R. Rea in *Harvard Studies in Class. Philol.* 72 (1968), pp. 125 ff.

FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN LOCATION

Fr. 601 appears in *P. Ant.* 114 (*Antinoopolis Papyri*, vol. III), and may have come from the story of the Graces in *Aetia* I, frs. 3 ff.

Fr. 625 now appears in context in *P. Ant.* 113, and may also be ascribed to the *Aetia*: see the interpretation offered by A. W. Bulloch in *Class. Quart.* 20 (1970), pp. 269 ff.

Fr. 631 has turned up in a scrap of commentary published by F. Montanari in *Athenaeum*, 54 (1976), pp. 139 ff., and this new piece may help to establish the text.

A. H. G.

AETIA

INTRODUCTION

THE *Aetia* was an elegiac poem in four books, containing a series of aetiological legends connected with Greek history, customs and rites.^a The whole work was made up of some 7000 lines, but the length of the individual aetia, or causes, varied greatly.^b

The poet imagined himself carried in a dream from Libya to Mount Helicon, where the Muses instructed him in all manner of legendary lore. The extant fragments indicate that in the two first books the poet converses with the Muses, but that in Books III-IV the various stories were not connected by a fictitious dialogue, or by any other method.^c ^d The

^a Aetia, or the causes of myths, customs, etc., appear sporadically in many classical authors. Callimachus seems to have been the first to compile a whole work treating of them. The interest of the poet in aetia can be also seen from his *Iambi*, some of which are but aetia in iambic metre, and the *Hecate*, which is a grand "epic" aetion in hexameters.

^b Compare, e.g., fr. 64, *The Tomb of Simonides*, with frs. 67-75, *Acontius and Cydippe*.

^c The title of the poem may refer to the first part of the work, a practice not unknown in antiquity, as can be seen from Cato's *Origines*, which begin with the origins of Italian cities but later deal with their subsequent history.

^d See frs. 63*-64, 66-67 and 92*-93, 95-96. Ovid may have followed the example of *Aetia* i-ii in the structure of the *Fasti*, and Propertius in the fourth book of his elegies that of *Aetia* iii-iv.

* Fragment not included in this edition, but in Pfeiffer, *Callimachi Fragmenta*.

number of aetia contained in each book is unknown; it is evident that they received very varied treatment. This variety, together with the lively personal and realistic touches, introduced into the narrative by the poet, never allowed the work to degenerate into an arid handbook of obscure mythology.

It is probable that Callimachus prepared a revised second edition of the *Aetia* to be included in the edition of his collected works. As the last aetion of this second edition we find the *Plokamos* (fr. 110), which must have been earlier published independently.^a It was suitably altered to fit in with the general scheme of the revised edition.^b To this also belongs the extant Epilogue (fr. 112), the last line of which would otherwise be unintelligible: *αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ Μουσέων περὶ [ἐ]πειμὶ νομόν*. This can only refer to the transition from the *Aetia* to the *Iambi*, which follow in the collected works.

As a general introduction to his collected works (and perhaps as a more special introduction to the *Aetia*) Callimachus composed the *Answer to the Telchines* (fr. 1). In it he expounds his final and most polemic views on poetry.

The subjects of the last few aetia of Book III, and possibly of all those included in Book IV, are now known from the *Diegeseis*.

^a Cf. *P. Oxy.* 2258, no. 37.

^b Lines 79-88 (they do not appear in *P. Oxy.* 2258, no. 37), which introduce the aetiological element, must have been added then, and the last couplet of the poem (lines 94^a-94^b Pf.) was also omitted to make way for the new general Epilogue (fr. 112).

[ΑΙΤΙΩΝ Α']

1

(IN TELCHINAS)

Οἶδ' ὄτ' ἐμοὶ Τελχίνες ἐπιτρυζοῦσιν αἰοιδῆν,
 νήιδες οἱ Μούσης οὐκ ἐγένοντο φίλοι,
 εἶνεκεν οὐχ ἐν αἴεσμα διηλεκές ἢ βασιλ[η
 5 ἦ] ας ἐν πολλαῖς ἦρυσσ χιλιάσιν
 οὐς ἦρωας, ἔπος δ' ἐπὶ τυτθὸν ἐλ[ίσσω
 παῖς ἄτε, τῶν δ' ἐτέων ἢ δεκάς οὐκ ὀλίγη.
] καὶ Τελχίσιν ἐγὼ τόδε· "φύλον α[
] τήκειν ἦπαρ ἐπιστάμενον,
] ρεην [ὄλ]υγόστιχος ἀλλὰ καθέλκει
 10] πολὺ τὴν μακρὴν ὄμπνια Θεσμοφόρο[ς·

1 suppl. Vogliano.

^a The Telchines were described as inhabitants of Crete, Rhodes, Sicyon, Ceos or Cyprus. They were said to be the first workers in metal, but of ill report as spiteful sorcerers. Callimachus calls his literary enemies Telchines, using the word in the sense of "spiteful backbiters." The *Scholia Florentina* to this passage (Pfeiff. i, p. 3) give some of their names; among them are those of Asclepiades and Posidippus, the famous Alexandrian poets (mainly known to us through their epigrams in the *Palatine Anthology*), and of Praxiphanes of Mitylene, a distinguished contemporary grammarian and philosopher, against whom Callimachus wrote (cf. fr. 460*).

^b Θεσμοφόρος = Law-bringing Demeter.

^c According to Pfeiffer's reading of the *Scholia Florentina* in this mutilated passage (ll. 9 ff.) the short poems of Philetas of Cos (born c. 320 B.C. and in a sense the founder of the

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AETIA : BOOK I

1

(AGAINST THE TELCHINES)

(I know that) the Telchines,^a who are ignorant and no friends of the Muse, grumble at my poetry, because I did not accomplish one continuous poem of many thousands of lines on . . . kings or . . .
 5 heroes, but like a child I roll forth a short tale, though the decades of my years are not few. And I (say) this to the Telchines: ". . . race, who know how to waste away your heart. . . . of few lines; but
 10 bountiful Demeter^b by far outweighs the long^c . . . ,

Alexandrian school of poetry) and of Mimnermus of Colophon (fl. c. 630 B.C.—he is supposed to have introduced the amatory element into early Greek elegy) are compared with their longer compositions and judged superior. The "bountiful Demeter" could then be Philetas' narrative elegy *Demeter*, which recounted the wanderings of the goddess; the name of the long poem, with which it was compared, is lost. The "Large Woman" (l. 12) could be the *Nanno*, the famous elegy of Mimnermus, named after the Lydian flute-girl he is said to have loved (cf. Asclep. *Anth. Pal.* ix. 63), or even his historical poem *Smyrneis*. The κατὰ λεπτὸν [ῥήσιες?] may possibly be the "opera minora" of the poet. Many scholars, however, do not accept this interpretation and believe that the short poems of Philetas and Mimnermus are in this passage compared with long poems of other poets, which cannot be as yet identified. The "Large Woman" may in this case be the *Lyde* of Antimachus. (See also M. Puelma, "Die Vorbilder der Elegie'dichtung in Alexandrien und Rom," *Museum Helveticum*, 11 (1954), pp. 101 f.)

5

τοῖν δέ] θυοῖν Μίμνερμος ὅτι γλυκύς, αἱ κατὰ λεπτόν
] ἡ μεγάλη δ' οὐκ ἐδίδαξε γυνή.
] ὀν ἐπὶ Θρηήκας ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου [πέτοιτο
 αἵματι Πυγμαίων ἡδομένη γέρανος,
 15 Μασσαγέται καὶ μακρὸν οἰστεύοιεν ἐπ' ἄνδρα
 Μῆδον]· ἀ[ηδονίδες] δ' ὠδε μελιχρότεραι.
 ἔλλετε Βασκανίης ὀλοὸν γένος· αὐθι δὲ τέχνη
 κρίνετε,] μὴ σχοίνῳ Περσίδι τὴν σοφίην·
 μηδ' ἀπ' ἐμεῦ διφᾶτε μέγα ψοφέουσας αἰοιδὴν
 20 τίκτεσθαι· βροντᾶν οὐκ ἐμόν, ἀλλὰ Διός."
 καὶ γὰρ ὅτε πρῶτιστον ἐμοῖς ἐπὶ δέλτον ἔθηκα
 γούνασιν, Ἀπόλλων εἶπεν ὁ μοι Λύκιος·
 "] αἰοιδέ, τὸ μὲν θύος ὅττι πάχιστον
 θρέψαι, τῆ]ν Μοῦσαν δ' ὠγαθὲ λεπταλήν·
 25 πρὸς δέ σε] καὶ τόδ' ἄνωγα, τὰ μὴ πατέουσιν
 ἄμαξαι
 τὰ στείβειν, ἐτέρων δ' ἔχνια μὴ καθ' ὀμά
 δίφρον ἐλ]ῶν μηδ' οἶμον ἀνὰ πλατύν, ἀλλὰ κελεύθους
 ἀτρίπτο]υς, εἰ καὶ στενωτέρην ἐλάσεις.

- 11 suppl. Housman. 12 *ρήσιες*] suppl. Rostagni.
 13 suppl. e.g. L. : init. fort. μακρ]όν Pf. 16 init. suppl.
 Pf. : ἀ[ηδονίδες] Housman. 18 suppl. Housman.
 24 θρέψαι suppl. Pf. : τῆ]ν Hu. 25 e.g. suppl. Hu.
 26 δ' cod. 27 e.g. suppl. Hu. 28 suppl. Pf.
 6

and of the two poems the small-scale . . . and not the Large Woman taught that Mimnermus is a delightful poet . . . let the crane, delighting in the blood of the Pygmies,^a fly (far) from Egypt to the 15 land of the Thracians and let the Massagetæ^b shoot their arrows from a great distance at the Medes ; but poems are sweeter for being short.^c Begone, you baneful race of Jealousy ! hereafter judge poetry by (the canons) of art, and not by the Persian chain,^d 20 nor look to me for a song loudly resounding. It is not mine to thunder ; that belongs to Zeus." For, when I first placed a tablet on my knees, Lycian^e Apollo said to me : " . . . poet, feed the victim to be as fat as possible but, my friend, keep the Muse 25 slender. This too I bid you : tread a path which carriages do not trample ; do not drive your chariot upon the common tracks of others, nor along a wide road, but on unworn paths, though your course be

^a The Pygmies, a fabulous race of dwarfs on the upper Nile, were said to have been warred on and destroyed by cranes.

^b The Massagetæ were a Scythian people, to the east of the Caspian Sea. Like the Medes, they were famous archers and fought from a great distance " trusting their far-reaching bows " (Herod. i. 214).

^c If Housman's supplement ἀ[ηδονίδες] is right, it would mean short poems. ἀηδών " nightingale " in the sense of poem is used by Callimachus in *Epigr.* ii. 5.

^d The Persian chain, the *schoenus*, was a (Persian) land-measure used especially in Egypt ; its length was variously reckoned from 30 to 60 stades.

^e Epithet of Apollo, explained in various ways : the wolf-slayer, the Lycian god, or the god of light. We are also told that : " transfiguratus in lupum (λύκων) cum Cyrene concubuit " (Serv. ad Verg. *Aen.* iv. 177 ; cf. *Schol. Lond.* in Pfeiff. i, p. 7). Callimachus, who spent his early years in Cyrene, must have learnt there how to read and write.

30 τεπτίγω]ν ἐνὶ τοῖς γὰρ αἰείδομεν οἱ λιγὺν ἦχον
 θ]όρυβον δ' οὐκ ἐφίλησαν ὄνων."^a
 θηρὶ μὲν οὐατόεντι πανεῖκελον ὀγκήσαιτο
 ἄλλος, ἐγὼ δ' εἶην οὐλαχὺς, ὁ πτερόεις,
 ἃ πάντως, ἵνα γῆρας ἵνα δρόσον ἦν μὲν αἰείδω
 προίκω]ν ἐκ δίης ἡέρος εἶδαρ ἔδων,
 35 αὖθι τό δ' ἐκδύοιμι, τό μοι βάρος ὄσσον ἔπεστι
 τριγλώχιν ὀλοῶ νῆσος ἐπ' Ἐγκελάδω.
 οὐ νέμεσις.] Μοῦσαι γὰρ ὄσους ἴδον ὄθματι παῖδας
 μῆ λοξῶ, πολιοῦς οὐκ ἀπέθεντο φίλους.

29 suppl. Hu. 32 suppl. Hu. 34 προίκω]ν Schol.
 Theocr. : πρώκω]ν Th. Stanley. 37 init. suppl. Trypanis
 ex Call. *Epigr.* xxi. (xxiii L.C.L.) 5, cf. Call. *Hym.* iii. 64.

^a The "voice" of the cicala is frequently used in Greek poetry as a simile for sweet sounds. The cicala, according

2

(SOMNIUM)

Ποιμένι μῆλα νέμοντι παρ' ἵχμιον ὀξέος ἵππου
 Ἵσιόδω Μουσέων ἑσμός ὄτ' ἠντίασεν
 μ]έν οἱ Χάεος γενεσ[
] ἐπὶ πτέρης ὕδα[
 5 τεύχων ὡς ἑτέρω τις ἐὼ κακὸν ἦπατι τεύχει.

^a The fountain Hippocrene on Mount Helicon. According to the myth it was created by the hoof of Pegasus, the winged horse of Bellerophon. It was there the Muses

more narrow. For we sing among those who love
 30 the shrill voice of the cicala ^a and not the noise of
 the . . . asses." Let others bray just like the long-
 eared brute, but let me be the dainty, the winged
 one. Oh, yes indeed! that I may sing living on
 35 dew-drops, free sustenance from the divine air; that
 I may then shed old age, which weighs upon me like
 the three-cornered island ^b upon deadly Enceladus.
 But never mind! for if the Muses have not looked
 askance at one in his childhood, they do not cast him
 from their friendship when he is grey.

to Plato (*Phaedr.* 259), is the favourite of the Muses, and in Alexandrian poetry poets are compared to, or called after it (e.g. Theoc. i. 148; Posidip. *Anth. Pal.* xii. 98, etc.). The cicala was thought to sing continually without food or drink, or to subsist on a diet of air and dew; like the snake it was believed to cast away old age together with its dry skin.

^b The three-cornered island is Sicily, which Zeus is said to have hurled upon the giant Enceladus.

2

(THE DREAM)

. . . when the bevy of Muses met the shepherd
 Hesiod tending sheep by the foot-print of the fiery
 horse ^a . . . (they told him?) . . . the birth of
 5 Chaos . . . (at the water) of the hoof . . . that
 causing evil to another a man causes evil to his own
 heart.^b

appeared to Hesiod as he was tending his sheep. This fountain is to be distinguished from the Aganippe, also in Boeotia, mentioned by Callimachus in this part of the *Aetia*.

^b An adaptation of Hesiod, *Op.* 265.

CALLIMACHUS

3-7. 14

(GRATIAE)

3

] κῶς ἀρ[ις αὐλῶν
ῥέζειν καὶ στεφάνων εὐαδε τῷ Παρίῳ

1 suppl. Maas.

^a As King Minos of Crete was sacrificing to the Graces in the island of Paros, the death of his son Androgeos was announced to him. He continued the sacrifice, but bid the flute-player cease playing, and removed the garland from his own head. Thereafter the Parians sacrificed to the

4

καὶ νήσων ἐπέτεινε βαρὺν ζυγὸν ἀχένι Μίνως

5

τὸ μὲν θύος ἤρχετο βάλλειν

6

οἱ δ' ἔνεκ' Εὐρυνόμη Τιτηνιαὶς εἶπαν ἔτικτεν

^a As we know from the *Scholia Florentina* (Pfeiff. i, p. 13), the Muse told Callimachus that the Graces were daughters of Dionysus and the Naxian nymph Coronis. The poet had previously mentioned three other traditions concerning their birth: the first that they were daughters of Zeus and

10

AETIA

3-7. 14

(THE GRACES)

3

. . . why did it please the Parians ^a to sacrifice (to the Graces) without flutes and garlands . . . ?

Graces without garlands and flutes. The source of Callimachus for this action (frs. 3-7. 14) was Agias and Dercylos, the former an old writer of "Argolica," to whom was also wrongly attributed the epic poem *Nostoi*, the latter an Alexandrian reviser of Agias' work. (See Jacoby, *Fr. Gr. Hist.* iii B, 1950, pp. 7-10 and add. p. 757.)

4

. . . and Minos stretched the heavy yoke over the neck of the islands.^a

^a A reference to the sea-power of King Minos of Crete.

5

(Minos) began to cast the first offering.^a

^a Refers to the hair cut from the victim.

6

. . . others said that Eurynome the Titan ^a gave birth (to the Graces).

Hera; the second that they were daughters of Zeus and Eurynome (the daughter of the Titans Oceanus and Tethys), and the third that Zeus and Euanthe (the daughter of Ouranos) were their parents.

11

10]ες ἀνείμονες ὡς ἀπὸ κόλπου
μητρὸς Ἐλειθυίης ἦλθετε βουλομένης,
ἐν δὲ Πάρῳ κάλλη τε καὶ αἶδλα βεύδε' ἔχουσα
ἔστατ',] ἀπ' ὀσπλίγγων δ' αἰὲν ἄλειφα ρέει,
ἔλλατε νῦν, ἐλέγοισι δ' ἐνυψήσασθε λιπώσας
χεῖρας ἑμοῖς, ἵνα μοι πουλὺ μένωσιν ἔτος.—

12 suppl. Maas.

7. 19-21

(ARGONAUTARUM REDITUS ET RITUS
ANAPHAEUS)

7. 19

Κῶς δέ, θεαί, [Φοῖβῳ] μὲν ἀνὴρ Ἀναφαῖος ἐπ' αἰ-
σ[χροῖς]
20 ἦ δ' ἐπὶ δυ[σφήμοις] Λίνδος ἄγει θυσίην,
ἦ . . . τήνε[ι] τ' ὄν Ἡρακλῆα σεβί[ζ]η;
]επικ[.] ἦρχετο Καλλιόπη·
"Αἰγλήτην Ἀνάφην τε, Λακωνίδι γείτονα Θῆρη,
π]ρῶτ[ον ἐνὶ μ]νήμη κάτθεο καὶ Μινύας,
25 ἄρχμενος ὡς ἦρωες ἀπ' Αἰήταο Κυταίου'
αὐτ[ις ἐς ἀρχαίην ἐπλεον Αἰμονίην

19 [Φοβῳ] suppl. Trypanis: αἰσ[χροῖς] suppl. Körte.
20 suppl. Norsa et Vitelli. 21 ἦ[διστ'] ἦν ἐ[σθοντα τ]όν
prop. Barber. 24 suppl. Norsa et Vitelli.

^a A small island in the Cretan Sea, revealed to the Argonauts by Apollo, when caught by a storm on their way home (cf. Ap. Rh. iv. 1694 f.).

9 . . . naked as with the goodwill of Eileithyia ^a you came forth from your mother's womb, but in Paros you stand wearing fineries and shimmering tunics, and ointment always flows from your locks. Come now and wipe your anointed hands upon my elegies that they may live for many a year.

^a The goddess of childbirth.

7. 19-21

(THE RETURN OF THE ARGONAUTS
AND THE RITE AT ANAPHE)

7. 19

AND, O Goddesses, how it is that a man of Anaphe ^a 20 sacrifices (to Apollo) with shameful (words), and the city of Lindus ^b with blasphemy . . . pays honour to Heracles? . . . Calliope began: "First bring to mind Apollo Aegletes ^c and Anaphe, neighbour to 25 Spartan Thera, ^d and the Minyans ^e; begin when the heroes sailed back to ancient Haemonia ^f from Aeëtes, the Cytaean ^g . . . and he, when he saw the deeds

^b Town in the island of Rhodes, said to have been founded by Lindus, brother of Ialysus.

^c The radiant one, epithet of Apollo, whom the Argonauts invoked "because of the gleam seen from afar" (Ap. Rh. iv. 1716 f.).

^d The Aegean island now called Santorin.

^e The Argonauts were also called Minyae in Greek literature.

^f Thessaly.

^g King of Colchis, father of Medea. Cytaean here equals Colchian.

]εν, ὁ δ' ὡς ἶδεν ἔργα θυγατρ[ός
] ἔλεξε τάδε·

31 σο[] ἐποιήσαντό με φόρτον
σοῦσ[θε νήιο]ν ὃ σφε φέρει
αὔταν[δρον] ἥλιος ἴστω
καὶ Φάσις [ποταμῶν ἡμε]τέρων βασιλεύς

31 σο[σθε prop. Barber-Maas. 32 σοῦσ[θε prop.
Barber-Maas: νήιο]ν e.g. suppl. Pf. 33 dub. suppl. Wil.
34 suppl. Ed. Schwartz: πα]τέρων Wil.

10

μαστύος ἀλλ' ὄτ' ἔκαμνον ἀλητύι

^a In order to seize Jason and Medea, who fled from

11

οἱ μὲν ἐπ' Ἰλλυρικοῖο πόρου σχάσαντες ἐρετμά
λαὰ πάρα ξανθῆς Ἀρμονίης †ὄφιός†
5 ἄστυρον ἐκτίσαντο, τό κεν "Φυγάδων" τις ἐν-
ισποὶ
Γραικός, ἀτὰρ κείνων γλῶσσ' ὀνόμηνε "Πόλας."
οἱ δ[

⁴ ὄφιός codd.: τάφιον coni. Bentley.

^a The South-East Adriatic, off the shores of Illyria, modern Albania.

14

31 of his daughter . . . said this . . . "Hasten . . . they betrayed me. Hasten . . . (the ship) which carries him with all its men . . . let the sun be my witness and Phasis ^a the king of our rivers . . ."

^a The main river in Colchis, which flows into the Black Sea. It is in the Callimachean style to take an oath by the river of one's fatherland. Cf. fr. 194. 106; fr. 201. The sun was said to be the grandfather of Medea.

10

. . . but when (the Colchians) had tired of their wandering and their searching ^a . . .

Colchis with the golden fleece. See The Oxford Classical Dictionary, s.v. "Argonauts," for the main variants of the story of the return of the Argonauts.

11

. . . one band, dropping their oars by the Illyrian Strait, ^a built a small city near the stone of (the snake?)
5 fair Harmonia ^b; a Greek might call it "Of the Exiles," but in their own tongue it was named "Polae." The other band . . .

^b Harmonia, daughter of Ares and Aphrodite, was wife of Cadmus. She and her husband went in their old age to Illyria, and were turned there into stone serpents. The story of the return of the Argonauts is influenced by the geographical ideas of antiquity, as well as by the desire to bring the Argonauts in contact with places traditionally "Minyan."⁵

15

Φαιήκων ἐγένον[το
 ἔξιμόν ἄγων ἑτέροις [
 ἔκτισε Κερκυραῖον ἐδέθλιον, ἔνθ[εν ἄν' αὐτῖς
 5 στάντες Ἀμαντίνην ὤκισαν Ὠρικίην.
 καὶ τὰ μὲν ὡς ἤμελλε μετὰ χρόνον ἐκτελεέσθαι

4 ἔνθ[εν suppl. L., cett. e.g. Pf.

ἀμφίδυμος Φαίηξ

^a Corcyra had a double harbour in antiquity, the port of

Τυ]νδαρίδαι
]ς Δία πρῶτον ἵκοντο
] ἄλλους ἠτεσαν ἄ[θ]ανάτογς
 ἀοσ]σητήρας ἐνστείρ[.]ελέ . ο . . .
 5 ἀλλ' ὄγ' ἀνι]άζων ὄν κέαρ Αἰσονίδης
 σοὶ χέρας ἠέρ]ταζεν, Ἰήιε, πολλὰ δ' ἀπειλεῖ
 ἐς Πυθῶ πέ]μψειν, πολλὰ δ' ἐς Ὀρτυγίην,
 εἴ κεν ἀμιχθαλόεσσαν ἀπ' ἠέρα νηὸς ἐλάσσης·
] ὅτι σὴν, Φοῖβε, κατ' αἰσιμίην

1 suppl. L. 2 Δία Pf. : διὰ L. 3 ἠτεσαν ?
 Lobel: ἠτισαν ? Pf. 4 νηὸς ἀοσ]σητήρας ἐνστείρ[οιο τ]ε-
 λε[ί]ο[υς]. prop. Pf. 5 suppl. Pf. 6 suppl. Pf.
 7 suppl. L.

^a Castor and Polydeuces were sons of Zeus, according to

. . . they (reached the island)^a of the Phaeacians
 . . . leading a swarm . . . (he) built a Corcyrean
 5 settlement ; cast out again from there they founded
 Amantine in the land of Oricus.^b And these things
 were to be fulfilled thus long after . . .

^a Corcyra.

^b Oricus, a seaport town of Illyria Graeca, opposite Corcyra, now Ericho.

. . . the double Phaeacian (harbour).^a

Alcinoüs and that of Hyllus. According to Ap. Rh. iv. 1125 the Argonauts came to the harbour of Hyllus.

. . . the Tyndaridae^a . . . they first supplicated
 Zeus . . . and they asked the other Immortals to
 5 aid the ship of the well-built keel.^b But the son of
 Aeson,^c grieving at heart, was lifting his hands to
 you, Ieios,^d and was promising to send many gifts to
 Delphi and many to Delos,^e if you would drive away
 from the ship the misty cloud . . . that obeying
 10 your oracle, Phoebus, they loosened the hawsers and

Hom. Hymn. 33. 1 : here, and in Hesiod, they are the sons of Tyndareus and Leda. They were considered saviours of sailors in peril. ^b The *Argo*.

^c Jason, the leader of the expedition.

^d Epithet of Apollo derived from the invocation, *ιῆ* or *ιῆ παιῶν*.

^e "The Quail-island."

CALLIMACHUS

χλεύ . . . δει . . . ος ἀπεκρύψαντο λα[
10 νήστ[ι]ες ἐν Διοῦς ἡμασι Ῥαριάδος

10 dub. suppl. L.

^a The text is obscure but it appears that Callimachus is comparing the rite of Anaphe with a similar unknown rite

22-23

(SACRIFICIUM LINDIUM)

22

τέμνοντα σπορίμην αὐλακα γειομόρον

^a The outline of the story is that Heracles came upon a ploughing Lindian peasant, and asked him for food; when the man refused Heracles took one of his oxen, killed it and feasted on it, while the owner stood helplessly by cursing him. The name of the Rhodian peasant is not known, but in some of our sources the story of Thiodamas (frs. 24-25)

23

ἀστέρα, ναὶ κεραῶν ῥῆξιν ἄριστε βοῶν."
ὡς ὁ μὲν ἐνθ' ἠράτο, σὺ δ' ὡς ἀλὸς ἦχον ἀκούει
Σελλὸς ἐνὶ Τμαρίοις οὖρεσιν Ἰκαρίης,
ἠιθέων ὡς μάχλα φιλήτορος ὄτα πενιχροῦ,
5 ὡς ἄδικοι πατέρων νιέες, ὡς σὺ λύρης

^a Possibly a description of the fine bull slain. Cf. Theocr. xxv. 138 f.

20

AETIA

10 . . . fasting on the sacred days of the Rarian Demeter^a . . .

in which χλευασμός appeared in the cult of Demeter. Demeter was called Rarias from the field of Rarus, near Eleusis, where tillage was "first" practised, and which was sacred to Demeter.

22-23

(THE SACRIFICE AT LINDUS)

22

. . . a farmer cutting the seed furrow.^a

has been confused with that of the Lindian sacrifice, and Thiodamas is quoted as the man whose ox Heracles killed in Lindus. The citizens of Lindus are said to have sacrificed to Heracles ever after with blasphemous words. The "Lindian sacrifice" (according to others "The Rhodian sacrifice") became proverbial in the Greek world, and was applied to those who sacrificed blasphemously to the gods. E. A. Barber suggests that fr. 530 probably belongs to this action.

23

. . . the star,^a yes, o greatest tearer of horned oxen." Thus he was cursing there. But you as the Selloi^b on the mountain of Tmarus^c hear the sound of the Icarian Sea,^d or as the wanton ears of youths
5 hear a needy lover, or as unjust sons their fathers, or

^b Ancient inhabitants of Dodona, guardians of the oracle of Zeus.

^c A mountain in Epirus near the sanctuary of Dodona.

^d The part of the Aegean Sea named after Icarus, son of Daedalus, who on his flight from Crete was drowned there.

21

—ἔσσι] γὰρ οὐ μάλ' ἐλαφρός, ἃ καὶ λφ. ρς ουσε-
 χελέξ . . . —,
 λυ]γρῶν ὡς ἐπέων οὐδὲν [ὀπι]ζόμε[εν]ος

χαῖρε βαρυσκίπων, ἐπίτακτα μὲν ἐξάκι δοιά,
 20 ἕκ δ' αὐταγρεσίης πολλάκι πολλά καμών.—

6 suppl. Pfl., et totum versum parenthesisin esse conl. :
 Δ[ί]ως οὐ σ' ἔχε λέξ[ι]αι prop. Wil. 7 suppl. Wil.

24-25

(THIODAMAS DRYOPS)

24

σκῶλος ἐπεὶ μιν ἔτυψε ποδὸς θέναρ· αὐτὰρ ὁ πείνη,
 θυμαίνων λάχνην στήθεος εἶλκε σέθεν
 δραξάμενος· τὴν δ' ὄνα γέλωσ ἀνεμίγετο λύπη,
 εἰσόκε τοι τρίπολον νεῖδν ἀνερχομένῳ
 5 ὠμογέρων ἔτι πουλὺς ἀνὴρ ἀβόλησε βωωτέων
 Θειοδάμας· δεκάπουν δ' εἶχεν ἄκαιναν ὄγε,
 ἀμφότερον κέντρον τε βοῶν καὶ μέτρον ἀρούρης·
]ου ξείνων χαῖρε [.]μενων
]η μέγ' ἀρηγέτη προσ[.]s, αἶψα δ', ἄν-
 ωγα,
 10 εἴ τι κα]τρωμαδῆς οὐλάδ[ος ἐστὶ]ν ἔσω
 τόσσο]ν ὅσον τ' ἀπὸ πα[ιδὶ κακὴν β]ούπειναν ἐ-
 λά[σσαι,
 ἔξελε]. καὶ φιλήης [μνήσομ' αἰεὶ δό]σιος."

8 [συναυτο]μένων prop. Wil. 9 οὗτος δ]ῆ suppl. Wil.
 10-11 suppl. Wil. 12 ἔξελε suppl. Maas: οἶσον Wil.,
 cetera suppl. Castiglioni.

22

as you hear the lyre—for you are not at all mild^a
 . . . thus taking no heed of the baneful words . . .
 "Hail, armed with your heavy club, who performed
 20 by command labours six times two,^b and often many
 of your own free choice."

^a Linus, who instructed young Heracles in music, is said
 to have been struck by his pupil with a lyre and killed.

^b The twelve labours performed by Heracles at the com-
 mand of Eurystheus. Lines 19-20 may well be part of a
 prayer by a Lindian priest, in which Heracles is addressed.

24-25

(THIODAMAS THE DRYOPIAN)

24

. . . since a thorn had pricked him in the sole of his
 foot.^a But he,^b raging with hunger, grasped your
 chest and was pulling at the hair. And your laughter,
 5 Sire, was mixed with sorrow, until sprightly old Thio-
 damas, still a mighty man, while ploughing met you
 crossing the thrice-turned fallow. He held a ten-foot
 pole, both a goad for the oxen and a measure for the
 land . . . "good day, of friends . . . greatly prayed
 10 for . . . and at once, I bid you, if there is anything
 in the bag hung from your shoulder just enough to
 drive away great hunger from the child, bring it out ;
 and I will always remember your friendly gift." But

^a Heracles, on passing through the land of the Dryopes,
 and being in want of food for his young son Hyllus, unyoked
 and killed one of the oxen of King Thiodamas, whom he
 found at the plough. War ensued, the Dryopes were de-
 feated, and Hylas, son of Thiodamas, taken as hostage.
 Hence Heracles got the epithet Bouthoinas, Feaster on oxen
 (cf. Call. *Hymn* iii. 161). ^b Hyllus, the son of Heracles.

23

CALLIMACHUS

αὐτὰρ ὄγ' ἀγρεῖον [καὶ ἀμείλιχον ἐξ]εγέλασσε

17 οἳ κεν βρωσεῖοντες ἐμὸν παρίωσιν ἄροτρον
]ων
Λέπαργε

20 ἔκλυε (<—), τῶν μηδὲν ἐμοῦς δι' ὀδόντας ὀλίσθοι,
Πηλεύς

13 suppl. Wil. 20 (<καὶ> add. Wil.: τοι Bentley, qui
 scr. ὀλισθῆ: δὴ Meineke: τῶν (οὐ) μηδὲν—ὀλισθη Porson.

25

δειλαίοις Ἄσινεθσιν ἔπι τριπτῆρα πιάσσας

*τριπτῆρος ἀπάσας vel τριπτῆρες ἀρπάσας codd.: τριπτῆρα
 πιάσσας Barber.*

^a After the Dryopes were defeated they were forced to establish themselves in the Peloponnese. They were then

26-28

(LINUS ET COROEBUS)

^a According to the version of the myth we know, Psamathe, daughter of Crotopus, king of Argos, became mother of Linus by Apollo. In fear of her father she gave the child away, and a shepherd reared it as his own boy. Linus was killed by the king's dogs, and, when the secret of his birth was known to Crotopus, he condemned his daughter to death. In anger Apollo sent a plague upon Argos. When the

24

AETIA

17 he laughed in a coarse and callous way . . . whoever go hungry past my plough . . . Lepargus ^a . . . Peleus heard ^b . . . of which may none slip through my teeth . . .

^a The name of the ox killed.

^b Peleus and Telamon, sons of Aeacus and Endeis, slew their half-brother Phocus, son of Aeacus and Psamathe. Peleus "heard things said about him," because the women reproached him with the death of Phocus. Callimachus seems here to have in mind Pind. *Nem.* v. 14 f. According to the Schol. there was also a version that Peleus killed his wife Antigone. The cries of Thiodamas against Heracles seem to be compared with those of the women crying out against Peleus. Ovid, *Met.* xi. 269, tells us that Peleus, guilty of his brother's blood, went to Trachis (the fatherland of Thiodamas).

25

. . . when he had pressed down the pestle upon the wretched men of Asine.^{a b}

called *ἀσowieis* = not harmful; previously they had been considered destructive for plundering the land about Delphi. We do not know what Callimachus means by the pestle.

^b Frs. 508, 528 A*, 705 and 784 may belong to this part of the *Aetia*.

26-28

(LINUS AND COROEBUS) ^a

Argives consulted the Delphic oracle, they were told that they must propitiate Psamathe and Linus. This they did, and in addition to other honours women and maidens lamented Psamathe and Linus, which gave rise to the Linus song. They also named a month Lamb-month (*Ἀρνεῖος*), because Linus had been reared with the lambs, and held a sacrifice and a Lamb-festival (*ἑορτὴ ἀρνίς*), on which day

25

they killed any dogs that they found. As the plague did not cease, Crotopus, in accordance with an oracle, left Argos and founded a city in the Megarid which he called Tripodis-

26

Ἄρνεϊος μ[
 Ἄρνηδας [
 καὶ θάνε [
 τοῦ μενα[
 5 καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ ῥάβδῳ μῦθον ὑφαινόμενον
 ἀνέρες ε[
 πλαγκτὸν [
 ἤνεκές ἀεῖδω δειδεγμένους
 ουδεμένα[
 10 νύμφης αἰ[
 παιδοφόνῳ [
 ἦκεν ἐπ' Ἄρ[γείους
 ἦ σφεων [
 μητέρας ἐξεκένωσεν, ἐκούφισθεν δὲ τιθήναι
 15 οὐχ οὔτῳ [
 Ἄργος ἀνα[

27

ἄρνες τοι, φίλε κοῦρε, συνήλικες, ἄρνες ἑταῖροι
 ἔσκον, ἐνιαυθοὶ δ' αὐλία καὶ βοτάναι

26

con and dwelt there. (Cf. frs. 26-31a *Diegesis*, ll. 18 f., Pfeiff. ii, p. 108) The source of Callimachus was, as in frs. 3-7, 14, Agias and Dercylos.

26

5 ARNEUS^a . . . of the lambs^b and died . . . and the rhapsody woven . . . men . . . wandering . . . I received and sing continuously . . . of the nymph^c . . . child-killer^d . . . sent against the Argives^e . . . which . . . their . . . left the mothers with empty hands, and their nurses were lightened from their 15 burden . . . not thus . . . Argos . . .

^a The month of the Argives named after Linus.

^b The days in which they held the Lamb-festival and killed any dogs that they found or, according to certain sources, any dog which approached the market.

^c Psamathe.

^d Probably Crotopus.

^e Apollo sent Poine to punish the Argives. She carried away the children from their mothers, until she was slain by Coroebus.

5 ῥάβδων cod. v.l. 9 οὐδ' ἔμενα[ι vel οὐδὲ μὲν α[ut v. 4 prop. Hu. 12 suppl. Wil. et Koerte. 14 ἐξεκένωσαν, ἐκούφισσαν (vel ἐκούφισθησαν) δὲ τιθήνας codd. corr. Bergk et Bernhardy.

27

LAMBS, sweet boy, were your playmates, lambs your companions; your sleeping-place the folds and the pastures . . .

27

CALLIMACHUS

28

τόν σε Κροτωπιάδην

31 B

(DIANA LEUCADIA)

Τῶ]ς μὲν ἔφη· τὰς δ' εἶθαρ ἐμὸς πάλιν εἶρετο θυμὸς

suppl. L., at δ]ς excludi nequit.

^a One of the Muses, as, e.g., it was Calliope who spoke in fr. 7. 22, or Clio in frs. 4 f. and fr. 43. 56.

^b The Muses.

^c We now know what this action was about, from part of the *Diegesis* found in *P. Oxy.* 2263, which runs: "The wooden statue of Artemis in Leucas has a mortar on its head for the following reason. Inhabitants of Epirus . . . harassing . . . plundered Leucas. When they came to the sanctuary of Artemis they found the goddess crowned with a golden crown. In mockery they removed it, and put on (the head of) the goddess the mortar in which they had pounded garlic which they had eaten. . . . The Leucadians (a day

(Post fabulam *Dianae Leucadiae* neque fabularum neque fragmentorum ordo in lib. I constat.)

33

τετράεινον Δαμάσου παῖδα Τελεστορίδην

37

οὔη τε Τρίτωνος ἐφ' ὕδασιν Ἀσβύσταο
Ἡφαίστου λόχιον θηξ[α]μέγου πέλεκυν

2 suppl. Pf.

28

AETIA

28

. . . you, the descendant of Crotopus.^a

^a Linus, the grandson of Crotopus.

31 B

(DIANA OF LEUCAS)

Thus she ^a spoke; and straightway my heart asked them ^b again.^c

later) made another crown, and put it on (the statue) instead of the mortar, and when it fell off they nailed it on to the wooden statue. Then again three days later the crown which was placed . . ." This story is otherwise unknown. But as E. Lobel suggests (*The Oxy. Pap.* xx, p. 129) the Leucadians probably kept putting the crown back, but it would not stay there, so they consulted an oracle (*cf.* fr. 31 c* 5, Pfeiff. ii, p. 109) and were told to perpetuate the mortar.

(After fragment 31 B the sequence of the fragments attributed to the first book of the *Aetia* is unknown.)

33

TELESTORIDES, the four-year-old son of Damasus ^a . . .

^a The fragment is obscure. A child is a *βρέφος* up to the fourth year, when its first hair was dedicated.

37

. . . in such guise as, when Hephaestus had sharpened his axe to deliver you, you jumped in armour from

29

CALLIMACHUS

βρέγμ[α]το[ς] ἐκ δίφιο σὺν ἔντ[ε]σιν ἤλαο πατρός

3 suppl. L. : πατρός P, Παλλάς Maas.

^a Athene is said to have been born from the head of Zeus, which Hephaestus opened by a blow of his axe. Ἀσβύστης is used by Callimachus to describe the boundaries of Cyrene (cf. fr. 384. 6 and *Hymn* ii. 76 with schol.), hence I translate "Libyan." Triton may here be either the god

41

γηράσκει δ' ὁ γέρων κείνος ἐλαφρότερον,
κοῦροι τὸν φιλέουσιν, ἐὼν δέ μιν οἶα γονῆα
χειρὸς ἐπ' οἰκείην ἄχρῖς ἄγουσι θύρην

2 νέοι δέ μιν οἶα τοκῆα, vel ἐὼν δέ μοι οἶα γονῆα codd. v.ll.

AETIA

the divine head of your father by the waves of the Libyan Triton . . . ^a

of the Libyan lake Tritonis, or the Libyan river which joins the lake Tritonis with the sea. Ap. Rh. iv. 1309-1311, in imitation of Callimachus, describes Athene as washed after her birth by the Libyan nymphs in the waters of the Cyrenean Triton.

41

. . . that old man ages with a lighter heart, whom young boys love, and whom they lead up to his door by the hand like their own parent.^a

^a Cf. Tibull. i. 4. 79 f. Fr. 571 may belong to this part of the *Aetia*.

[ΑΙΤΙΩΝ Β']

(De ordine fragmentorum huius libri non constat.)

43

(DE SICILIAE URBIBUS) (ll. 12-83)

καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ τὰ μὲν ὅσα κερῆσι τῆμος ἔδωκα
 ξανθὰ σὺν εὐδόμοις ἀβρὰ λίπη στεφάνοις,
 ἄπνοα πάντ' ἐγένοντο παρὰ χρέος, ὅσα τ' ὀδόντων
 15 ἔνδοθι νείαιράν τ' εἰς ἀχάριστον ἔδν,
 καὶ τῶν οὐδὲν ἔμεινεν ἐς αὔριον· ὅσα δ' ἀκουαῖς
 εἰσεθέμην, ἔτι μοι μούνα πάρεστι τάδε.—

40

φθιν]οπυρίδες ὦραι
 ἴμη διὰ πεμφίγων <αἰ> ἐν ἄγουσι νέα.
 φήσω καὶ Καμάρναν ἔν' Ἰππαρις ἀγκύλος ἔρπει

οἶδα Γέλα ποταμοῦ κεφαλῇ ἔπι κείμενον ἄστν
 Λίνδοθεν ἀρχαίη [σ]κιμπ[τόμενο]ν γενε[ῆ],

14 παρὰ χρέος pap. ut voluerat Naeke: παραχρήμ' codd.

32

AETIA: BOOK II

(The sequence of the fragments in this book
 is unknown.)

43

(ON THE SICILIAN CITIES)

12 . . . for certainly all the soft amber ointments and
 the fragrant garlands I then put on my head swiftly
 breathed no more, and of all that passed my teeth
 and plunged into the ungrateful belly nothing re-
 mained till the morrow; but the only things which
 I still keep are those that I laid in my ears.

40 . . . the Autumn season . . . I shall also tell of
 Camarina,^a where winding Hipparis crawls . . .

46 I know of the city lying at the mouth of the river
 Gelas, boasting its ancient descent from Lindus,^b

^a Camarina, a Dorian colony (founded in 599 B.C.) in
 southern Sicily near modern Scoglitti.

^b Gela, a Dorian colony in southern Sicily, founded by
 Cretans and Rhodians (in 690 B.C.).

16 ἀκουάς codd.: -αῖς Bentley. 40 suppl. Maas. 47-49
 suppl. Hu.

33

Μινώην καὶ Κρήσσαν, Ἴνα ζείον]τα λοετ[ρά
 χεῦαν ἐπ' Εὐρώπης υἱεῖ Κ[ωκαλί]δες·

50 οἶδα Λεοντίνους . δεδρα[

καὶ Μεγαρεῖς ἔτερ[οι] τρὺς ἀ[πέ]γασσασα ἐκεῖ
 Νισαῖοι Μεγαρῆες, ἔχω δ' Εὐβοίαν ἐνισπεῖν

φίλατο κα[ί] κεστ[ο]ῦ [δ]εσπότη[ι]ς ἦν "Ερυκα·
 τάων οὐδεμῆ γὰρ ὄτ[ι]ς πο[τέ] τείχος ἔδειμε

55 νωνυμνὶ νομίμην ἔρχετ' ἐπ' εἰλαπίνην."

ὡς ἐφάμην· Κλειῶ δὲ τὸ [δ]εύτερον ἦρχ[ετο μ]ύθ[ου]
 χεῖρ' ἐπ' ἀδελφειῆς ὤμον ἐρεισαμένη·

"λαὸς ὁ μὲν Κύμης ὁ δὲ Χαλκίδος, ὃν Περιήρης
 ἦγαγε καὶ μεγάλου λῆμα Κραταιμένεος,

60 Τρινακρίας ἐπέβησαν, ἐτείχιζον δὲ πόλῃα

ἄρπασον οἰωνῶν οὐχὶ φυλα[σσο]μένοι
 ἔχθιστον κτίστησιν, ἐρωδιῶ[ς] εἰ μὴ ἐφέ]ρπει·

καὶ γὰρ ὁ βασκαίνει πύργον ἐ[γχειρό]μενον,
 γεωδαῖται καὶ σπάρτα διηνεκὲς εὔτε βάλωνται,

65 στεῖνεα καὶ λευρὰς ὄφρα τάμ[ωσιν ὀ]δούς.

μέρμν[ο]ν μοι πτερύγεσσι [.]ου τε
 νέοιο,

εἰ κοτετιξί[. . .]ην λαὸν ἔπαικον ἀ[γοις].

51 suppl. Pf. 53-54 suppl. Hu. 61-62 suppl.
 Hu. 63 suppl. Housman. 65 suppl. Hu.
 34

and Cretan Minoa,^a where the daughters of Cocalus poured upon the son of Europa boiling water for his bath.^b I know of Leontini^c . . . and the Megarians sent out there by the other Megarians, those of Nisa^d; and I can speak of Euboea^e and Eryx, beloved by the mistress of the charmed girdle.^f No one whoever once built a wall for any of these cities comes 55 to its customary feast without being named." So I said. And Clio went on to speak yet again, resting her arm upon her sister's shoulder: "The people whom Perieres and the great and arrogant Crataemenes led came in part from Cyme and in part from Chalcis; 60 they landed in Sicily and were building the walls of a city without guarding themselves against the *harpasos*,^g which is the most hostile of birds for builders if not followed by a heron; for it has an evil influence on a rising tower and on the measuring 65 cord, as the surveyors stretch it out to lay a narrow alley and a flat street. . . . may you go . . . the wings of a hawk . . . if you ever lead a people to a colony (in

^a City on the south coast of Sicily, near Selinus.

^b Minos pursued Daedalus to Sicily, where he found him in the house of Cocalus, king of Camicus. He demanded the surrender of Daedalus; Cocalus, pretending to agree, received Minos with a show of hospitality, and handed him over to his daughters to be bathed in the Homeric fashion. They killed him by pouring boiling water over him.

^c Leontini, a colony of Naxos (founded c. 729 B.C.).

^d Hyblaica Megara, near Syracuse, was founded by the Nisean Megarians of the Greek mainland.

^e Sicilian city near Syracuse.

^f Aphrodite, patron of the city of Eryx.

^g An unknown bird of prey.

66 πτερύγεσσι[ν ὑπ' αἰγυπι]οῦ τε vel μετ' ἱκετίν]ου τε suppl. Housman: ἐπ' αἰγυπι]οῦ Körte: ἐν αἰγυπι]οῦ Ehlers. 67 suppl. Housman: κοτ' ἐ(π)ὶ ξ[ε]ῖμην coni. Hu.

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ μόσσυνας ἐπάλξεσι [καρτυνθέ]ντας
οἱ κτίσται δρέπανον θέντο πε[ρὶ Κρόνι]ω,
70 —κεῖθι γὰρ ᾧ τὰ γονῆος ἀπέθρισε μήδε' ἐκείνος
κέκρυνται γύπη ζάγκλον ὑπὸ χθονίῃ,—
ε[. . .]τισαν ἀμφὶ πόλῃος· ὁ μὲν θε[.]ε-
σθαι

. . . .]ν, ὁ δ' ἀντιξέον εἶχε διχο[φροσύνην,
ἀλλήλοισ δ' ἐλύθησαν· ἐς Ἀπόλλ[ων]α δ' ἰόν]τες
75 εἶρουθ' ὀπποτέρου κτίσμα λέγοιτ[ο νέον].
αὐτὰρ ὁ φῆ, μήτ' οὖν Περιήρεος ἄ[στυ]ρ[ον εἶ]ναι
κεῖνο πολισοῦχου μήτε Κραταιμέ[νεος].
φῆ θεός· οἱ δ' αἰόντες ἀπέδραμον, εἶ[κ δ' ἔτι κεί]νου
γαῖα τὸν οἰκιστὴν οὐκ ὀνομαστὶ κ[αλε]ῖ,
80 ὦδε δέ μιν καλέουσιν ἐπ' ἔντομα δημοεργοί·

“ Ἰλαος ἡμετέρην ὄστις ἔδειμε πόλιν
ἐρχέσθω μετὰ δαῖτα, πάρεστι δὲ καὶ δὴ ἄγεσθαι
καὶ πλέας· οὐκ ὀλ[ί]γως α[ἰ]μα βοὸς κέχλυ[τ]αι.”
ὡς ἡ μὲν λίπε μῦθον, ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ καὶ [τὸ πν]θῆσθαι
85 ἤθελον—ἡ γὰρ μοι θάμβος ὑπετρέφετο—,
Κισσοῦσης παρ' ὕδωρ Θεοδαΐσια Κρη[σσαν ε]ρ[ορ]τήν
ἡ πόλις ἢ Κάδμου κὼς Ἀλιάρτος ἄγει
καὶ στυρὸν ἐν μούνοισι πολισμοσι [. . . .]θε[. .]ο-
τωνις

καὶ Μίνω μεγάλοις ἄγγεσι γαῖα φ[ορε]ί,

68 e.g. suppl. Hu. 69 suppl. Hu. 72 ε[ἰ]τ'
ἴσαν Hu. : ἦρισαν L. : θέ[λε]ν οὖνομα θ[ῆ]σθαι Hu. : θέ[λε]ν ἄστυ
λέγ[ε]σθαι Ehlers : Kalinka. 73 τὸ σφόδ[ρον] Hu. : διχο[φροσύνην]
vel [-στασίην] suppl. Hu. 74 suppl. Hu. : δὲ βάν]τες Pf.
75 suppl. Hu. 76 ἄ[στυ] ρ[εθῆ]ναι vel ἄ[στυ]ρ[ον εἶ]ναι
Hu. 77 suppl. Hu. 78 εἶ[κ δ' ἄρα κεί]νου Hu. : ἔτι Pf.
79 suppl. Hu. 83 ὀλ[ί]γως Hu. qui cetera suppl. : ὀλ[ί]-
36

a foreign land). But when the builders made strong
the wooden towers with battlements, and placed them
70 around the sickle of Cronus^a—for there in a cave is
hidden under the earth the sickle with which he cut
off his father's genitals—they quarrelled (?) about the
city. The one wished (?) . . . and the other in op-
position disagreed. They quarrelled with each other.
75 And they went to Apollo and asked to whom the new
foundation should belong. And he said that the
town should have neither Perieres nor Crataemenes
as patron. The god spoke, they heard and left ;
from then to this day the country does not invoke its
80 founder by name. And the magistrates invite him
thus to the sacrifice : ‘ May he, whoever it was who
built our city, be gracious, and come to the feast :
he may bring two and more. No little blood of an
ox has been spilt.’” So she stopped talking : and I
85 wanted to know this too—for my secret wonder grew :
“ Why does Haliartus,^b the Cadmean city, celebrate
the *Theodaesia*, a Cretan festival, by the waters of
Cissousa ?^c And only in the cities incense . . . and
the land of Minos^d brings it in great vessels . . . the

^a The city of Zancle, founded c. 725 b.c. in north-east
Sicily, later renamed Messene. Zancle means sickle, and it
was said that Cronus hid there the sickle with which he had
cut off his father's genitals. The sickle-shape of the bay,
on which the city was built, is thought to have given rise to
the name Zancle. ^b City of Boeotia.

^c Fountain in Boeotia, where the nymphs are said to have
washed Dionysus at his birth. The *Theodaesia* was a Cretan
festival in honour of Dionysus.

^d This may refer either to the whole of Crete, or to Cnossus
only.

79ς Pf. 84 καὶ [τὸ vel καὶ [τι] suppl. Hu. 86 suppl.
Hu. 89 suppl. Hu.

CALLIMACHUS

90 . . .]ωθεδετι κρήνη 'Ραδαμάνθυ[ς]τ[. . .]ν
 ἔχνια τῆς κείνου λοιπὰ νομογραφίης
 . . .]αμρον· ἐν δέ νυ τοῖσι σοφὸν τόδε τημ[

90 ΚΑ]ωθε Ρf.

^a According to one tradition Rhadamanthys, son of Zeus,

44-47

(BUSIRIS—PHALARIS)

44

Αἴγυπτος προπάρουθεν ἐπ' ἐννέα κάρφετο ποίας

^a Busiris, an Egyptian king, slaughtered on the altar of Zeus the foreigners who came to Egypt; he is said to have done so at the suggestion of the Cypriot seer Phrasios, who

45

τὴν κείνου Φάλαρις πρήξιν ἀπεπλάσατο

κεινος φάληρον: κείνου φάλαρος: φάληρος codd.: corr.
 Bentley. τάξιν v.l.

^a Phalaris, tyrant of Acragas (570-554 B.C.) was notorious for his cruelty, especially for the hollow brazen bull in which

46

πρῶτος ἐπεὶ τὸν ταῦρον ἐκαίνισεν, ὃς τὸν ὄλεθρον
 εὔρε τὸν ἐν χαλκῷ καὶ πυρὶ γιγνόμενον

38

AETIA

90 fountain of Rhadamanthys^a . . . remaining traces
 of his legislation^b . . ."

had left Crete, and came to live with Alcmena in Boeotia, after the death of Amphitryon.

^b Rhadamanthys was proverbial for his justice and one of the judges of the dead.

44-47

(BUSIRIS—PHALARIS)

44

EGYPT was dry for nine years formerly.^a

foretold that the nine-year sterility of the Egyptian soil would cease, if a foreigner was sacrificed every year at the altar of Zeus. Phrasios was the first to be sacrificed by the king. Heracles is reputed to have killed Busiris.

45

PHALARIS followed his example.^a

his victims were confined and roasted alive. The example he followed was that of the Egyptian king, Busiris. (See note to fr. 46.)

46

. . . because it was he that devised the death through bronze and fire, who first handselled the bull.^a

^a Perillos, who constructed the bronze bull, was the first person whom Phalaris had thrown into it. (See fr. 45, n. a.)

39

CALLIMACHUS

48

ὡς τε Ζεὺς ἐράτιζε τριηκοσίους ἐμνατούς

^a In the reign of Cronus, Zeus is said to have made secret

49

Τάμμew θυγατέρος

^a There were three daughters of Tammes or Athamas, the Boeotian, or, according to other sources, Thessalian hero: Helle, Themisto and Euryclea. It is not known about

51

οὔνεκεν οἰκτεῖρειν οἶδε μόνη πολίων

AETIA

48

. . . and how Zeus loved passionately for three hundred years.^a

love to Hera for three hundred years. Hephaestus was the child of that union.

49

. . . (of) the daughter of Tammes.^a

which of them Callimachus is speaking here. The poet may also be referring to Area, daughter of Athamas, the founder of Teos.

51

. . . since she is the only town which knows how to pity.^a

^a The reference is to Athens, often celebrated in Greek poetry for her humanity and hospitality.

[ΑΙΤΙΩΝ Γ']

Ordo fabularum in posteriore huius libri parte narratarum (fr. 64-85) certus est; cetera libri tertii fragmenta quae illis fabulis assignari nequeunt (fr. 55-59) ante illam seriem continuam collocavi.

55-59

(MOLORCHUS)

55

τὸν μὲν ἀρισκυδῆς ἐδνις ἀνήκε Διός
 Ἄργος ἔθειν, ἴδιόν περ ἐὼν λάχος, ἀλλὰ γενέθλη
 Ζηνὸς ὅπως σκοτή τρηχὺς ἄεθλος ἔοι

^a The lion of Nemea.

^b Argos was sacred to Hera.

^c Heracles was the son of Zeus and Alcmena. While on his way to kill the lion of Nemea, Heracles, we are told, came to Cleonae. There he was the guest of a poor man named Molorchus who, when about to sacrifice to the gods, was asked by the hero to put it off for thirty days: if by

57

αὐτὸς ἐπιφράσσαιτο, τάμοι δ' ἀπο μῆκος αἰοιδῆ·
 ὅσσα δ' ἀνειρομένῳ φῆσε, τὰδ' ἐξερέρω·

AETIA : BOOK III

(The sequence of the fragments in Book III is unknown until fr. 63.)

55-59

(MOLORCHUS)

55

THE quick-tempered consort of Zeus unloosed him ^a to ruin Argos, though her allotted portion, ^b and as a hard labour to the unlawful offspring of Zeus. ^c

then Heracles did not return Molorchus was told to sacrifice in his honour; if on the other hand he did return the sacrifice was to be in honour of Zeus the Saviour. Heracles came back victorious upon the thirtieth day, and found Molorchus preparing the sacrifice, which was then held in honour of Zeus the Saviour. Heracles left Cleonae, and brought the lion's body to Mycenae.

57

HE may suggest to himself, ^a and cut short the song's length. But I will relate all he (*sc.* Heracles) answered to the questions (of Molorchus): "Father,

^a Probably the reader of the poem.

“ ἄττα γέρον, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πα[ρῶν ἐν δ]αιτὶ μα-
θῆσει,
νῦν δὲ τὰ μοι πείρη Παλλά[ς] ”
3 suppl. Wil. 4 Παλλά[ς] ἔειπε θεή e.g. suppl. Wil.

58

ἄξονται δ' οὐχ ἵππον ἀέθλιον, οὐ μὲν ἐχίνον
βουδόκον

59

5 καί μιν Ἀλητεῖδαι πούλῳ γεγειότερον
τοῦδε παρ' Αἰγαίῳνι θεῶ τελέοντες ἀγῶνα
θήσουσιν νίκης σύμβολον Ἴσθμιάδος
ζήλω τῶν Νεμέηθε· πίτυν δ' ἀποτιμήσουσιν,
ἢ πρὶν ἀγωνιστὰς ἔστεφε τοὺς Ἐφύρη.

νύκτα μὲν αὐτόθι μίμνεν, ἀπέστιχε δ' Ἄργος ἑῷος·
οὐδὲ ξεινοδόκῳ λήσαθ' ὑποσχεσίης,
20 πέμψε δέ οἱ τῶ[ν] ὄρηα, τίεν δέ ἐ ὡς ἕνα πηῶν·
νῦν δ' ἔθ' [ἀ]γ[ε] [στείη]ν οὐδαμὰ παυσομένην
19 ξεινοδόκῳ Wil. : -δόκον P. 20 suppl. L. δέ μιν ὡς
Maas. 21 e.g. suppl. Pf.

^a The Corinthians, named after Aletes, the founder of Corinth.

old man, the rest you will learn while present at the feast, but now you will hear what Pallas (told me ?)^a

^a Heracles is here repeating to Molorchus the prophecy his protectress, Athene, had told him.

58

. . . and they will take as a prize not a racing horse, not a cauldron large enough to contain an ox . . . (but a wreath of celery).^a

^a Probably part of the prophecy concerning the Nemean games, and the prizes awarded to the winners.

59

5 . . . “ and the sons of Aletes,^a holding games much older than these at the sanctuary of the god Aegaeon,^b will set it^c as a token of the Isthmian victory in rivalry with the Nemean games. And they will remove from honour the pine-tree, which formerly crowned the competitors in the games of 18 Ephyra ”^d . . . he^e spent there the night, but walked away to Argos^f at dawn. Nor did he forget his promise to his host^g ; he sent him the mule and honoured him as one of his kin. And, still now, the ritual, not about to cease . . .

^b Posidon. The Isthmian games.

^c The wreath of celery.

^d Ancient name of Corinth.

^e Probably Heracles, spending the night at Cleonae.

^f Callimachus considered Heracles an “ Argive.”

^g Molorchus. Nothing is otherwise known about the gift of a mule by Heracles to Molorchus. Mules were, however, a possible gift in return for hospitality. Cf. fr. 85. 5.

(SEPULCRUM SIMONIDIS)

Οὐδ' ἄν τοι Καμάρινα τόσον κακὸν ὀκκόσσοι ἀνδρός
κινηθεῖς ὀσίον τύμβος ἐπικρεμάσαι·
καὶ γὰρ ἐμὸν κοτε σῆμα, τό μοι πρὸ πόλης
ἔχ[ευ]αν

Ζῆν³] Ἀκραγαντῖνοι Ξεῖνι[ο]ν ἄζόμενοι,
5 ἱφι κ]ατ' οὖν ἤρευεν ἀνὴρ κακός, εἴ τιν' ἀκούεις
Φοίνικα πτόλιος σχέτλιον ἠγεμόνα·
πύργῳ δ' ἐγκατέλεξεν ἐμὴν λίθον οὐδὲ τὸ γράμμα
ἠδέσθη τὸ λέγον τὸν με Λεωπρέπεος
κεῖσθαι Κήϊον ἀνδρα τὸν ἱερόν, ὃς τὰ περισσά
10 καὶ] μνήμην πρῶτος ὃς ἐφρασάμην,
οὐδ' ὑμέας, Πολύδευκες, ὑπέτρεσεν, οἷ με μελάθρου
μέλλοντος πίπτειν ἐκτὸς ἔθεσθέ κοτε
δαιτυμόνων ἀπο μόνον, ὅτε Κραννώνιος αἰαῖ
ᾠλισθεν μεγάλους οἶκος ἐπὶ Σκοπάδας.

3 suppl. L. 4 init. suppl. Pf. 5 suppl. Barber.
10 suppl. L., in init. ἦδη (= ἦδεα) καὶ dubitanter Pf.

^a Lake near the city of Camarina in Sicily. An oracle had advised the citizens "Μὴ κίνοι Καμάριναν," "Do not move lake Camarina," but they drained the lake, and the city was later captured. In consequence this oracle became a proverb used about men who do harmful things to themselves.

^b Simonides of Ceos, the great lyric and elegiac poet (c. 556-468 B.C.), is supposed to be speaking here from his tomb.

(THE TOMB OF SIMONIDES)

Not even (the draining of) Camarina ^a would threaten so great an evil as the removal of a pious man's tomb. For once an evil man tore down by force my tomb, which the citizens of Acragas threw up for me before their city in awe of Zeus the Hospitable, ^b Phoenix—you may have heard of him—the wicked general of the city. ^c And he built my tombstone into a tower, nor did he reverence the epitaph which said that I, the son of Leoprepes, the sacred man of
10 Ceos was buried there, who (knew) rare things . . . (and) was the first to devise a system of memory (?) ^d; nor did he fear you and your brother, Polydeuces, who once called me alone of the banqueters out of the hall which was about to fall, when alas! the palace of Crannon fell upon the great Scopadae. ^e

He died in Sicily, and was buried outside the city of Acragas.

^a This war was between Syracuse and Acragas, but the date is unknown, as well as any details about Phoenix.

^d Perhaps a reference to the system of memorizing that Simonides is said to have invented. Cf. also Simon. fr. 78 Diehl².

^e When Simonides was entertained at a great banquet by the powerful Scopadae of Crannon in Thessaly, two young men are said to have stood at the door of the hall and called him out. No sooner had the poet left the building than it came crashing to the ground, killing hosts and guests alike. The two young men were said to be Castor and Polydeuces, the Dioscuri, who called the poet out in time to save him.

65-66

(FONTES ARGIVI)

65

Αὐτομά[της .] εὐναῆς ἐπών[υμον, ἀλ]λ' ἀπὸ σ[εῖ]ο
 λούονται λοχίην οἰκέτιν [.]ης

1 suppl. Vogliano. σ[εῖ]ο suppl. Maas.

^a Daughter of Danaus, who gave her name to a fountain of Argos. Water was drawn from that fountain for washing away the discharge after childbirth. The source of Calli-

66

ἠρώσσαι [. . .]ῆς Ἰασίδος νέπ[ο]δες·
 νύμφα Π[οσ]ειδάωνος ἐφυδριάς, οὐδέ μὲν Ἥρης
 ἀγνὸν ὑφαινόμεναι τῆσι μέμηλε πάτος
 στήναι [πά]ρ κανόνεσσι πάρος θέμις ἢ τεὸν ὕδωρ
 5 κὰκ κεφαλῆς ἱρὸν πέτρον ἐφεζομένας
 χεῦσθαι, τὸν μὲν σὺ μέσον περιδέδρομας ἀμφί·
 πότνι' Ἀμυμώνη καὶ Φυσάδεια φίλη
 Ἴππη τ' Αὐτομάτη τε, παλαιάτα χαίρετε νυμφέων
 οἰκία καὶ λιπαραὶ ῥέιτε Πελασγιάδες.

1 [βαλ]ῆς (=βαλιῆς) Barber: suppl. L. 2 suppl. L.
 4 suppl. L. 9 -γιάσω? Maas.

^a Iasis = Io the daughter of Iasus, and grand-daughter of Argus.

65-66

(THE FOUNTAINS OF ARGOS)

65

FAIR-FLOWING (water), called after Automate,^a but from you they draw water for washing a slave who has given birth

machus for frs. 65-66 is probably again Agias and Dercylos (see n. ^a on fr. 3).

66

. . . heroines, children of . . . Io.^a Nor was it proper, o water-nymph bride of Posidon, that the maidens that were to weave the pure robe of Hera should stand by the weaver's rods, before sitting on 5 the sacred rock about which you flow, and pouring your water over their head.^b Venerable Amymone, and beloved Physadea and Hippe and Automate,^c hail, most ancient homes of nymphs; flow, brilliant Pelasgian ^d maidens.—

^b The fountain Amymone is addressed, and its part in the cult of Hera at Argos described.

^c Physadea, Hippe and Automate were all fountains of Argos, said to have been discovered by the daughters of Danaus, after whom they were named.

^d Pelasgian here means "Argive" maidens. The water of the fountains is called nymphs in true Alexandrian style.

CALLIMACHUS

67-75

(ACONTIUS ET CYDIPPA)

67

Αὐτὸς Ἔρως ἐδίδαξεν Ἀκόντιον, ὁππότε καλῆ
ἦθετο Κυδίππη παῖς ἐπὶ παρθενικῆ,
τέχνην—οὐ γὰρ ὄγ' ἔσκε πολύκροτος—ὄφρα λέγο[
τοῦτο διὰ ζωῆς οὐνομα κουρίδιον.

5 ἢ γὰρ, ἄναξ, ὁ μὲν ἦλθεν Ἰουλίδος ἢ δ' ἀπὸ Νάξου,
Κύνθιε, τὴν Δήλῳ σὴν ἐπὶ βουφονίην,
αἶμα τὸ μὲν γενεῆς Εὐξαντίδος, ἢ δὲ Προμηθ[ίς,
καλοὶ νησαίων ἀστέρες ἀμφοτέροι.

πολλὰ Κυδίππην ὀλίγην ἔτι μητέρες υἱοῖς
10 ἐδνήστωι κεραῶν ἦτεον ἀντὶ βοῶν·
κείνης ο[ὕ]χ' ἑτέρῃ γὰρ ἐπὶ λασιόιο γέροντος
Σιληνοῦ νοτίην ἔκετο πιδυλίδα
ἠοὶ εἰδομένη μάλιον ῥέθος οὐδ' Ἀριήδης
ἐς χ[ορὸν] εὐδοῦσης ἀβρὸν ἔθηκε πόδα·

3 fort. λέγοιτ[ο] legi potest. 4 κουρίδιος, si λέγοιτο v.
3, exspectat L. 7 suppl. L. 11 suppl. L. 12 πη-
γυλίδα P: πηδυλίδα vel potius πιδυλίδα Pf. 14 suppl. L.

^a Briefly the story is this. Acontius, a handsome youth of Ceos, saw Cydippe with her nurse at the yearly festival at Delos. Falling in love at sight, he followed her to the temple of Artemis, where he threw in the way of her attendant an apple inscribed with the words: "I swear by Artemis to marry Acontius." The attendant handed the apple to Cydippe, who read the inscription, and, realizing the oath by which she was unintentionally binding herself, threw it

50

AETIA

67-75

(ACONTIUS AND CYDIPPE) ^a

67

Eros himself taught Acontius the art, when the youth was ablaze with love for the beautiful maiden Cydippe—for he was not cunning—that he might gain for all his life the name of a lawful husband.
5 For, Lord of Cynthus,^b he came from Iulis^c and she from Naxos to your ox-sacrifice in Delos; his blood was of the family of Euxantius,^d and she was a descendant of Prometheus,^e both beautiful stars of the islands. Many mothers asked for Cydippe, still a
10 child, as bride for their sons, offering horned oxen as gifts. For no one with a face looking more like dawn came to the moist spring of old hairy Silenus, nor set her delicate foot in dance when Ariete^f was asleep.

away. The father of Cydippe arranged a different marriage for his daughter; but always when the time for the marriage arrived, Cydippe was seized by a mysterious illness. Three times this happened, but the fourth time the father went to Delphi to consult Apollo, and learnt that the whole mystery was due to the oath by which his daughter had unwittingly bound herself. By the advice of Apollo, Cydippe's father fulfilled his daughter's vow. Cf. Aristænetus, *Ep.* i. 10, and Ovid, *Heroides* 20 and 21.

^b Apollo. Cynthus, the hill in Delos where Apollo was born.

^c City of Ceos, birthplace of Simonides and Bacchylides.

^d Son of Minos and Dexithea, some of whose children are supposed to have established themselves in Ceos.

^e Son of Codrus, the king of Attica; after killing his brother Damasichthon, he fled to Naxos, where he is supposed to have died.

^f Ariadne, the daughter of Minos and Pasiphaë, who followed Theseus to Naxos, and who was honoured there. The spring of Silenus in Naxos is otherwise unknown.

51

CALLIMACHUS

68

μέμβλετο δ' εἰσπνήλαις ὀπότε κοῦρος ἴοι
φωλεὸν ἢ ἐλοετρὸν

69

πολλοὶ καὶ φιλέοντες Ἄκοντίῳ ἦκαν ἔραζε
οἰνοπόται Σικελὰς ἐκ κυλίκων λάταγας

1 Ἄκοντίῳ Maas: Ἄκόντιον cod.

^a The reference is to the "cottabos," a game played in a variety of ways with the last drop of wine in the cup, which

70

ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τόξου
αὐτὸς ὁ τοξευτῆς ἄρδιν ἔχων ἑτέρου

^a The beauty of Acontius had wounded many with the

72

ἄγραδε τῷ πάσῃσιν ἐπὶ προχάνησιν ἐφόιτα

^a Acontius was afraid to appear before his father and

73

ἀλλ' ἐνὶ δῆ φλοιοῖσι κεκομμένα τόσσα φέροιτε
γράμματα, Κυδίππην ὅσσ' ἐρέουσι καλήν.

^a Lovers wrote the names of their favourites on trees and

AETIA

68

. . . lovers noticed him,^a when as a youth he went to school or to the bath.

^a Acontius. Perhaps fr. 534 refers to Acontius on his way to the bath.

69

. . . and many lovers of Acontius, when drinking, tossed from the cup to the ground in his honour the last drops of wine in the Sicilian manner.^a

was cast in reference to some beloved person, at the drinking parties of antiquity. The form described here is otherwise unknown.

70

. . . but the archer himself,^a feeling the point of an arrow from the bow of another.

arrows of love, until he was himself wounded by the beauty of Cydippe.

72

. . . for that reason^a he frequented the countryside on every pretext.

would take every opportunity of going out into the country to avoid him.

73

. . . but on your bark may you bear so many carved letters as will say that Cydippe is beautiful.^a

other objects together with the epithet *Kalos*, *Kalé*, "beautiful."

λιρὸς ἐγὼ, τί δέ σοι τόνδ' ἐπέθηκα φόβον;

τιδες, ὅταν δε cod.: corr. Bentley. ἐπέσεισα Meineke:
ἐπέθηκα Schneider.

ἦδη καὶ κούρῳ παρθένος εὐνάσατο,
τέθμιον ὡς ἐκέλευε προνούμφιον ὕπνον ἰαῦσαι
ἄρσειν τὴν τάλιν παιδί συν ἀμφιθαλεῖ.

- Ἡρῆν γάρ κοτέ φασί—κύνον, κύον, ἴσχεο, λαιδρῆ
5 θυμέ, σύ γ' ἀείρη καὶ τά περ οὐχ ὀσίη·
ᾠναο κάρτ' ἔνεκ' οὐ τι θεῆς ἴδες ἱερὰ φρικτῆς,
ἐξ ἂν ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἥρυγες ἱστορίην.
ἦ πολυιδρεΐη χαλεπὸν κακόν, ὅστις ἀκαρτεῖ
γλώσσης· ὡς ἐτεὸν παῖς ὅδε μαῦλιν ἔχει.
10 ἠΰοι μὲν ἔμελλον ἐν ὕδατι θυμὸν ἀμύξειν
οἱ βόες δξείαν δερκόμενοι δορίδα,
δειελινῆν τὴν δ' εἶλε κακὸς χλόος, ἦλθε δὲ νοῦσος,
αἴγας ἐς ἀγριάδας τὴν ἀποπεμπόμεθα,
ψευδόμενοι δ' ἱερὴν φημίζομεν· ἦ τότ' ἀνιγρή
15 τὴν κούρην Ἀΐδew μέχρῃς ἔτηξε δόμων.
δεύτερον ἐστόρνυντο τὰ κλισία, δεύτερον ἢ πα[ί]ς
ἐπὰ τεταρταίῳ μῆνας ἔκαμνε πυρί.

6 κάρ(θ)' coni. Hu.: <μάργ' Wil. 7 ἐξ ἂν ἐπεὶ divisit
Housman.

^a The reference is to the *ἱερὸς γάμος*, or secret marriage of Zeus and Hera, first mentioned in the *Iliad*, xiv. 294 ff.

^b The mysteries of Demeter.

^c *Μὴ παιδί μάχαιραν*, "Do not give a knife to a child," was a Greek proverb.

... shameless I, why have I imposed upon you this fear? ^a

^a Probably part of a soliloquy of Acohtius.

... and already the maiden was bedded with the boy, as ritual ordered that the bride should sleep her pre-nuptial sleep with a boy whose parents were both alive. For they say that once upon a time Hera ^a—
5 dog, dog, refrain, my shameless soul! you would sing even of that which is not lawful to tell. It is a great blessing for you that you have not seen the rites of the dread goddess, ^b or else you would have spewed up their story too. Surely much knowledge is a grievous thing for him who does not control his tongue; this man is really a child with a knife. ^c

- 10 In the morning the oxen were to tear their hearts seeing before them reflected in the water the sharp blade. ^d But in the afternoon an evil pallor came upon her; the disease seized her, which we banish on the wild goats and which we falsely call the holy disease. ^e
15 That grievous sickness then wasted the girl even to the Halls of Hades. A second time the couches were spread; a second time the maiden was sick for seven months with a quartan fever. A third time they

^a The heads of the oxen were held over lustral water when about to be sacrificed. The reference is here to the pre-nuptial sacrifice which was to take place in the morning, but on the previous afternoon Cydippe fell ill.

^b Epilepsy. *Καρ' αἴγας ἀγρίας* was a wish for exorcizing sickness, by charming it away from men to wild animals.

τὸ τρίτον ἐμνήσαντο γάμου κάττα, τὸ τρίτον αὐτ[ε]
Κυδίππην ὀλοὸς κρυμὸς ἐσωκίσατο.

20 τέτρατον οὐκέτ' ἔμεινε πατὴρ εἰ[. . .]φ[. .]ο[

Φοῖβον· ὁ δ' ἐννύχιον τοῦτ' ἔπος ἠυδάσατο·

“ Ἀρτέμιδος τῇ παιδί γάμον βαρὺς ὄρκος ἐνικλᾷ·

Λύγδαμιν οὐ γὰρ ἐμῇ τῆμος ἔκηδε κάσις

οὐδ' ἐν Ἀμυκλαίῳ θρύον ἔπλεκεν οὐδ' ἀπὸ θήρης

25 ἔκλυζεν ποταμῷ λύματα Παρθενίῳ,

Δήλῳ δ' ἦν ἐπίδημος, Ἀκόντιον ὀππότε σὴ παῖς

ῶμοσεν, οὐκ ἄλλον, νυμφίον ἐξέμεναι.

ὦ Κήυξ, ἀλλ' ἦν με θέλης συμφράδμονα θέσθαι,

. .]ν[. .] τελευτήσεις ὄρκια θυγατέρος·

30 ἀργύρῳ οὐ μόλιβον γὰρ Ἀκόντιον, ἀλλὰ φαεινῷ

ἠλεκτρον χρυσῷ φημί σε μειξέμεναι.

Κοδρείδης σύ γ' ἄνωθεν ὁ πενθερός, αὐτὰρ ὁ Κείος

γαμβρός Ἀρισταίου Ζηνὸς ἀφ' ἱερέων

Ἴκμιου οἶσι μέμ[η]λεν ἐπ' οὔρεος ἀμβώνεσσιν

35 πρηϋνεῖν χαλεπὴν Μαίραν ἀνερχομένην,

αἰτεῖσθαι τὸ δ' ἄημα παραὶ Διὸς ᾧ τε θαμεινοὶ

πλήσσονται λινέαις ὄρτυγες ἐν νεφέλαις.”

18 αὐτ[is] Hu. : αὐτ[ε] Pf. 20 ἐς Δελφίον ἀρ[as] distinguere
sibi visus est Hu. 21 ἐμνύχιον conl. M. Pohlenz.

29 νῦν γε? Pf. : ῥίμφα? Trypanis: πάντα Hu. 34
suppl. Hu.

thought of marriage; a third time again a deadly
20 chill settled on Cydippe. A fourth time her father
could endure it no more, but (set off to Delphian?)
Phoebus, who in the night spoke and said: “A
solemn oath by Artemis frustrates your child's
marriage. For my sister was not then vexing
Lygdamis,^a neither in Amyclae's^b shrine was she
weaving rushes, nor in the river Parthenios^c was
25 she washing her stains after the hunt; she was at
home in Delos when your child swore that she would
have Acontius, none other for bridegroom. But,
Ceyx, if you will take me for your counsellor, you
30 will fulfil the oath of your daughter. . . . For I say
that in the person of Acontius you will not be ming-
ling lead with silver, but electrum^d with shining gold.
You, the father of the bride, are sprung from Codrus^e;
the Cean bridegroom springs from the priests of
Zeus Aristaeus the Icmian,^f priests whose business
35 it is upon the mountain tops to placate stern Maera^g
when she rises, and to entreat from Zeus the wind
whereby many a quail is entangled in the linen nets.”

^a A king of the Cimmerians, who burnt the temple of
Artemis at Ephesus, c. 670 B.C.

^b In Laconia, by the river Eurotas.

^c River in Pontus, a haunt of Artemis.

^d Not amber, but the metallic alloy of gold and silver.

^e The last king of Athens.

^f Aristaeus, son of Apollo and Cyrene, who, when Ceos
was suffering from pestilence, owing to the heat of the Dog-
Star, went there and built an altar to Zeus Icmæus or
Icmius, i.e. Zeus as God of Moisture, and established an
annual sacrifice for him and Sirius on the hills of the island.
Ever after Zeus caused the Etesian Winds to blow for forty
days after the rise of Sirius. Hence Aristaeus was worshipped
in Ceos as Zeus Aristaeus.

^g The hound of Erigone. As a star = Sirius, or else Pro-
cyon.

ἦ θεός· αὐτὰρ ὁ Νάξον ἔβη πάλιν, εἶρετο δ' αὐτὴν
 κούρην, ἣ δ' ἀν' ἐτώσ παν ἐκάλυψεν ἔπος
 40 κῆν αὐ σῶς· [. . .] λοιπόν, Ἄκόντιε, σείτο μετελθεῖν
]ηνιδιην ἐς Διονυσιάδα.
 χῆ θεὸς εὐορκεῖτο καὶ ἤλικες αὐτίχ' ἐταίρης
 εἶπον ὕμνηταίους οὐκ ἀναβαλλομένους.
 οὐ σε δοκέω τημοῦτος, Ἄκόντιε, νυκτὸς ἐκείνης
 45 ἀντί κε, τῇ μήτρης ἤψαο παρθενίης,
 οὐ σφυρὸν Ἴφικλειον ἐπιτρέχον ἀσταχύνεσσιν
 οὐδ' ἂ Κελαυνίτης ἐκτεάτιστο Μίδης
 δέξασθαι, ψήφου δ' ἀν ἐμῆς ἐπιμάρτυρες εἶεν
 οὔτινες οὐ χαλεποῦ νήιδές εἰσι θεοῦ.
 50 ἐκ δὲ γάμον κείνοιο μέγ' οὔνομα μέλλε νέεσθαι·
 δῆ γὰρ ἔθ' ὕμέτερον φῦλον Ἄκοντιάδαι
 πούλυ τι καὶ περίτιμον Ἰουλίδι ναιετάουσιν,
 Κεῖε, τεὸν δ' ἡμεῖς ἱμερον ἐκλύομεν
 τόνδε παρ' ἀρχαίου Ξενομήδεος, ὅς ποτε πᾶσαν
 55 νῆσον ἐνὶ μνήμη κάτθετο μυθολόγῳ,
 ἀρχμενος ὡς νύμφησιν ἐναίετο Κωρυκίησιν,
 τὰς ἀπὸ Παρνησοῦ λίς ἐδίωξε μέγας,
 Ὑδροδοσαν τῶ καὶ μιν ἐφήμισαν, ὥς τε Κιρῶ[δης]
 .]ρ[. .]θυσ[.]τρ[. .] ὥκεεν ἐν Καρύαις·

40 ὁ τ[ε] Housman. lacun. inter 40 et 41 indicat Grain-
 dor. 43 εἶδον P: corr. Pf. ἦδον Wil. 45 τῇ G.

Murray: τῆς P. 58 e.g. suppl. G. Murray. 59 ἡρωῶς
 εὐφ[ί]τρου prop. Barber.

So spoke the god. And her father went back to
 Naxos, and questioned the maiden herself; and she
 40 revealed in truth the whole matter. And she was well
 again. For the rest, Acontius, it will be your business
 to go . . . to Dionysias.^a So faith was kept with the
 goddess, and the girls of her age straightway said their
 comrade's marriage-hymn, deferred no longer. Then,
 45 I deem, Acontius, that for that night, wherein you
 touched her maiden girdle, you would have accepted
 neither the ankle of Iphicles^b who ran upon the corn-
 ears, nor the possessions of Midas of Celaenae.^c And
 my verdict would be attested by all who are not
 50 ignorant of the stern god.^d And from that marriage
 a great name was destined to arise. For, Ceon, your
 clan, the Acontidae, still dwell numerous and
 honoured at Iulis.^e And this love of yours we heard
 from old Xenomedes,^f who once set down all the
 55 island in a mythological history, beginning with the
 tale of how it was inhabited by the Corycian^g
 nymphs, whom a great lion drove away from Par-
 nassus; for that reason also they called it Hydrussa,^h
 60 and how Cirodes . . . dwelt in Caryae.ⁱ And how

^a i.e. Naxos.

^b Iphiclus, or Iphicles, son of Phylacus, father of Podarces
 and Protesilaus, was proverbial for his speed of foot. He
 could run over a cornfield without bending the ears.

^c Midas of Celaenae in Phrygia, proverbial for his
 wealth.

^d Eros.

^e In Ceos, birthplace of Simonides and Bacchylides.

^f Ceon chronicler, who lived c. 450 B.C.

^g Nymphs of the Corycian cave on Parnassus.

^h "Having water."

ⁱ It is unknown who is supposed to have inhabited the
 island between the Corycian nymphs and the Carians. No
 connexion is mentioned between Ceos and any of the towns
 called Caryae (in Laconia, Arcadia and Lycia).

60 ὡς τέ μιν ἐννάσσαντο τέων Ἀλαλάξιος αἰεὶ
 Ζεὺς ἐπὶ σαλπύγων ἱρὰ βοῆ δέχεται
 Κᾶρες ὁμοῦ Λελέγεσσι, μετ' οὐνομα δ' ἄλλο βαλέ-
 σθ[αι]
 Φοῖβον καὶ Μελίης ἱνις ἔθηκε Κέως·
 ἐν δ' ὕβριν θάνατόν τε κεραύνιον, ἐν δὲ γόητας
 65 Τελχίνας μακάρων τ' οὐκ ἀλέγοντα θεῶν
 ἠλεὰ Δημόνακτα γέρων ἐνεθήκατο δέλτοις
 καὶ γρηῖν Μακελώ, μητέρα Δεξιθέης,
 ἄς μούνας, ὅτε νῆσον ἀνέτρεπον εἶνεκ' ἀλ[ι]τρῆς
 ὕβριος, ἀσκηθεῖς ἔλλιπον ἀθάνατοι·
 70 τέσσαρας ὡς τε πόλης ὁ μὲν τείχισσε Μεγα-
 κ[λ]ῆς
 Κάρθαιαν, Χρυσούς δ' Εὐπ[υ]λος ἡμιθέης
 εὐκρηνον πολιέθρον Ἴουλίδος, αὐτὰρ Ἀκαί[ος]
 Ποιήσαν Χαρίτων ἴδρυμ' ἐνπλοκάμων,
 ἄστυρον Ἀφραστος δὲ Κορή[σ]ιον, εἶπε δέ, Κεῖξ,
 75 ξυγκραθέντ' αὐταῖς ὄξιν ἔρωτα σέθεν
 πρέσβυς ἐτητυμῆ μεμελημένος, ἔρθεν ὁ πα[λ]ιδός
 μῦθος ἐς ἡμετέρην ἔδραμε Καλλιόπην.—

62 βαλεισθ[αι] P : βαλέσθαι L : καλείσθ[αι] conl. Hu. 68
 suppl. Wil. 70 suppl. Hu. 71 Εὐπ[υ]λος Hu., sed possis
 60

they settled in the country whose offerings Zeus Alalaxius^a always receives to the sound of trumpets —Carians and Leleges^b together; and how Ceos, son of Phoebus and Melia, caused it to take another name. Withal the insolence and the lightning death
 65 and therewith the wizards Telchines^c and Demonax who foolishly disregarded the blessed gods, the old man put in his tablets, and aged Macelo, mother of Dexithea, the two of whom the deathless gods alone left unscathed, when for sinful insolence they over-
 70 threw the island. And how of its four cities Megacles built Carthaea, and Eupylus, son of the heroine Chryso, the fair-fountain city of Iulis, and Acaeos Poeessa, seat of the fair-tressed Graces, and how
 75 Aphrastus built the city of Coresus.^d And blended therewith, (?) O Cean, that old man, lover of truth, told of your passionate love; from there the maiden's story came to my Muse.

^a Of the war-cry.

^b Carians and Leleges (according to Herod. i. 171 the Carians were "formerly called Leleges") spread in pre-historic times to the islands of the Aegean.

^c The story in outline is that the Telchines, mythical craftsmen and wizards, provoked the wrath of the gods. So Zeus and Posidon "sent the land and all the host of the people into the depths of Tartarus" (Pind. *Paeans* iv. 42 ff.), but spared Dexithea and her sisters, daughters of Damon (here called Demonax), because they had entertained Zeus and Apollo. Macelo in the scholia on Ovid's *Ibis* is the sister of Dexithea, not her mother. Dexithea became mother of Euxantius by Minos of Crete.

^d The founders of the Cean Tetrapolis are otherwise unknown.

etiam Εὐπ[υ]λος vel Εὐπ[ο]λος. 72 suppl. Pf. : Ἀκαί[ρος] von Arnim. 73 ἴδρυμ' propos. Wil. : εἶρυμ' (= εἶρυμ') A. D. Knox. 74 suppl. Hu. fin. versus omnino incertus. 75 αὐταῖς P : ἀνταῖς conl. Maas.

CALLIMACHUS

76-77

(ELEORUM RITUS NUPTIALIS)

76

Ἐἴπ' ἄγε μοι

ἔστισε Πισαίου Ζηνός οπισπ[. . .]ιθην

2 ἔς τί σε quæstio aetii prop. W. Morel: ἔς τί σε Πισαίου Ζηνός σπῖς παραβῆ; (*quousque te praetereat Iovis P. veneratio?*) prop. Barber.

77

Ἥλιον ἀνάσσεσθαι, Διὸς οἰκίον, ἔλλιπε Φυλεῖ

^a Apparently it was customary at some stage at Elis for a bride-to-be to be visited before marriage by an armed warrior. Callimachus explains the rite by a reference to the following story. After Heracles had cleaned out Augeas' stables, the king refused to pay him, and when Augeas' son Phyleus, appointed to arbitrate, decided against his father,

78

(HOSPES ISINDIUS)

Ἦφελος οὐλοὸν ἔγ[χος, Ἰσίνδιε
μηδ[

1 ἔγ[χος Pf. Ἰσίνδιε Barber.

^a Callimachus apparently explained here why the Ionians barred the inhabitants of Isindus, also an Ionian city of Asia Minor, from the festival of the Panionia. Aethalon, an

AETIA

76-77

(NUPTIAL RITE OF THE ELEANS)

76

Come tell me . . . Zeus of Pisa.^a

^a The Olympian Zeus. Pisa, a fountain at Olympia (Strabo viii. 3. 31), which gave a name to Olympia itself.

77

(Heracles) left Elis, the home of Zeus, to Phyleus to reign over.^a

he was driven out of the country. Heracles marched against Elis, sacked it and installed Phyleus as king. But, as very many Elean men had been killed in battle, Heracles obliged their widows to sleep with his own soldiers. Thus a great number of children were born. He also established the Olympic games, and was said to have been the first to compete in them.

78

(THE ISINDIAN GUEST)

You should have . . . the destructive (weapon?).^a

Isindian, is said to have killed his guest. The gap in the *Diegesis* suggests that a whole action may be lost between fr. 78 and fr. 79.

(DIANA LUCINA)

Τεῦ δὲ χάριν [.]ο[κικλήσ]κουσιν
 suppl. Maas.

^a Callimachus is explaining why women invoke Artemis at childbirth. According to the *Diegesis*: "The women who have difficulty in childbirth invoke Artemis, although a

(PHRYGIUS ET PIERIA)

10 αἰδοῖ δ' ὡς φοί[νικι] τεὰς ἐρύθουσα παρειὰς
 ἦν]επες ὄφ[θαλμο]ῖς ἔμπαλι [. . . .]ομεν[

 16 ἦν γὰρ τοῖσι Μυ]ρῶντα καὶ οἱ Μίλητον ἔναιον
 συνθεσί]η, μού[νης ἠγὼν ἐς] Ἄρτέμιδος
 ξυνῆ π]ωλε[ίσθαι Νη]ληϊδος· ἀλλὰ σὺ τῆμος
 βουκτ]ασ[ι]ῶν ἀρ[τὸν πιστο]τέρην ἔταμες,
 20 ἔνδει]ξας καὶ Κύπριν ὅτι ῥητήρας ἐκείνου
 τεύχει τοῦ Πυλίου κρέσσονας οὐκ ὀλίγως·
 ἐξείσαι πολέξ[ς γὰρ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέροιο μο]λοῦσαι
 ἄστ]ξος ἀπρήκτ[ους οἰκαδ' ἀνήλθον ὁδοῦς

10-11 suppl. Pf. 16-23 suppl. Maas-Barber, praeter 19
 βουκτ]ασ[ι]ῶν ἀρ[τὸν Pf.

^a Apparently words spoken by Phrygius.

^b Pieria.

^c Ionian city in Asia Minor.

^d Nestor.

^e The story briefly is the following: The cities of Miletus

(DIANA THE GODDESS OF CHILD-BIRTH)

For what reason do they invoke (?) ^a

maiden; either because . . . was born, or because Ilithyia, at the command of Zeus, conferred this special honour upon her, or because, when her mother was giving birth to Apollo, it was she who relieved the pains."

(PHRYGIUS AND PIERIA)

10 But,^a reddening your cheeks with shame, as with
 16 scarlet dye, you^b said with your eyes . . . There
 was an agreement between the inhabitants of
 Myus^c and Miletus, that they could frequent in
 common only the temple of Milesian Artemis. But
 you then made a more trustworthy covenant than
 20 that made by the sacrifice of oxen, and proved that
 Cypris creates much greater orators than the famous
 one of Pylos^d; for many embassies, having come
 from both the cities, returned to their homes un-
 successful.^e

and Myus were constantly at war, but even so the women and maidens of Myus were allowed to take part in the procession in honour of Artemis at Miletus. At that festival Phrygius, the son of Neleus, king of Miletus, fell in love with Pieria, a noble maiden from Myus. As a result of this love-affair the war between the two cities ceased, and Aphrodite was proved a more eloquent statesman and ambassador than all those the two cities had employed in the past.

(EUTHYCLES LOCURUS)

Ἥλθες ὄτ' ἐκ Πίσσης, Εὐθύκλεες, ἀνδρας ἐλέγξας

^a This story refers to the Locrians of southern Italy; the *Diegesis* says: "He (sc. Callimachus) says that Euthycles, the Olympic victor, who was sent as an envoy and returned home with some mules, the gift of a host, was falsely charged with receiving them on the understanding that he would do harm to the city. For that reason they voted to damage his statue. But, when a plague fell upon the city, the people

ἔνθεν ἀνερχόμε[vos] πάλιν [οἴκαδε
 5 δῶ]ρον ἀπηναιούς ἤλθες ὀρή[as ἀγων·
 ὡς] δέ σ' ἐπὶ ῥήτρησι λαβεῖν κα[τὰ πατρίδος εἶπε
 δῆ]μος [ἐπ'] ἀφνειοῖς αἰὲν ἀπαρχόμενος,
 πάντες ὑπὸ ψηφίδα κακῆν βάλον· ἦν δ' ἀπὸ [χαλκοῦ
 εἰκόν]α σὴν αὐτῆ Λοκρῖς ἔθηκε [πόλ]ις,
 10 πλ]άσται Τεμεσαῖον ἐπειπ[
 ἔρ]γα μελισσῶν ἀμφὶ σολοιτυπ[
 π]ολλά τε καὶ μακάρεσσιν ἀπεχ[θεῖα ῥέξαν ἀνι]γροί·
 τ]ῷ σφισιν ἐν χαλεπῆν θῆκ[ε τελεσφο]ρίην
 ὄν]τινα κικλήσκουσιν Ἐπόψ[ιον,] ὅστις ἀλιτροῦς
 15 αὐγάξειν ἰθαραῖς οὐ δύναται λογάσιν

4 init. suppl. L. : [οἴκαδε Barber-Maas. 5 suppl. L.
 6 suppl. Barber-Maas. 7 δῆ]μος dub. suppl. L. [ἐπ']
 suppl. Pf. : [ὑπ'] L. 8 init. suppl. Pf. : [χαλκοῦ Barber-
 Maas. 9 [πόλ]ις dubitanter Pf. 10 suppl. dubi-
 tanter Pf. 11 ἐρ]γα L. 12 suppl. Barber-Maas.
 13 suppl. L. 14 sq. suppl. L. 15 καθαραῖς codd.

(EUTHYCLES THE LOCRIAN)

EUTHYCLES,^a when you came from Pisa,^b having defeated men (at the games).^c

learned from Apollo that it had been sent on account of the dishonour done to Euthycles. Therefore they honoured his statue equally to that of Zeus, and, moreover, they set up an altar . . . at the beginning of the month."

Callimachus has drawn upon other occasions on stories of the Epizephyrian or Western Locrians, cf. frs. 635* and 669.

^b Pisa = Olympia. ^c He was winner of the pentathlon.

4 . . . from there,^a returning (home), you came bringing driving-mules as a gift. And when the people, who always choke with indignation against the rich, said that you received them on condition to harm your fatherland, they all voted secretly against you. And to the (bronze) statue, which the Locrian city
 10 itself had set up in your honour . . .^b the villains did many things that the gods hate. For that reason,
 15 he who is called Eposios,^c who cannot look upon the sinful with glad eyes, set upon them an evil harvest (?)

^a From the city to which he was sent as an ambassador.

^b Probably the material and the method of construction of the statue were described in ll. 10-11. Temesa, a city in Bruttium, was famous in antiquity for its bronze, and was at one stage conquered by the Epizephyrian Locrians.

^c "The Watcher from Above," adjective of Zeus and Apollo, and even collectively of all the gods (ἐπόψιοι θεοί, Soph. *Philoct.* 1040).

Fr. 114 may well belong to Book III.

ΑΙΤΙΩΝ Δ'

(The sequence of the aetia in Book IV is known from the *Diegeseis*. But as the papyrus of the *Diegeseis* is mutilated at the beginning the *Delphic Daphnephoros* may not have been the first action of this

86 (?)—87

(DAPHNEPHORIA DELPHICA)

86

Μοῦ]σαί μοι βασιλη[ἀεί]δειν

init. suppl. Norsa-Vitelli, fin. Maas.

87

Δειπνιάς ἔνθεν μιν δειδέχεται

^a After Apollo had killed the serpent at Delphi, he and his comrades are said to have cleansed themselves in the river Peneus. Then the god cut a branch off a bay-tree which grew in the vale of Tempe, made a garland from the same tree and returned to Delphi (cf. fr. 89 Pf.). In com-

AETIA : BOOK IV

book. One, and even two, may have preceded it, and fr. 177, *The Mousetrap*, may have well been one of these; cf. Pfeiff. i, p. 501 and p. 503, Addenda to frs. 84-86 and 177. 4-6.)

86 (?)—87

(THE DELPHIC DAPHNEPHORIA)

86

MUSES, sing for me . . . the king (?)

87

. . . thereafter Deipnias (the village) has welcomed him.^a

memoration of this the Delphians sent yearly to Tempe an architheoros accompanied by noble youths, who after sacrificing to the god returned to Delphi wearing garlands of bay-leaves. The village Deipnias was in Thessaly near Larissa, and it was alleged to have been the place where Apollo first tasted food (ἐδειπνησεν) on his way back from Tempe after he had cleansed himself from the slaughter of the serpent.

CALLIMACHUS

90

(ABDERA)

"Ενθ', "Αβδηρ', οὐ νῦν [. . .] λέω φαρμακὸν ἀγινεῖ
 μ[ε π]λέω(ν) tempt. Barber.

^a According to the *Diagnosis*: "In Abdera a slave, bought in the market, is used to purify the city. Standing on a block of grey stone, he enjoys a rich banquet, and so fed to the full he is led to the gates called Prurides. Then he goes round the walls in a circle purifying in his own person the city, and then the *basileus* and the others throw stones at

91

(MELICERTES)

'Α[όνι' ὦ] Μελικέρτα, μῆς ἐπὶ πότνια Βύνη
 suppl. Maas.

^a According to the *Diagnosis*: "After Ino threw herself into the sea with her child Melicertes, the body of the child was washed up on a shore of Tenedos. The Leleges, who once lived there, set up an altar in his honour. On it the city performs the following sacrifice when in great danger: a woman kills her baby and at once blinds herself. This practice was abolished later, when the descendants of Orestes inhabited Lesbos." Ino, daughter of Cadmus, was driven

93

(THEUDOTUS LIPARENSIS)

Νέκταρος ἀ[.]ν γλύκιον γένος ηραπεδο[
 κ[. . .] δονηδῦ[.]s ἀμβροσίης

^a The story Callimachus treated in this aetion refers to a siege of Lipara (the city of the largest of seven volcanic

70

AETIA

90

(ABDERA)

THERE, Abderos, where now . . . leads (me) a scapegoat.^a

him until he is driven beyond the boundaries." Abdera was a Greek city in Thrace near the mouth of the river Nestos. In this fragment "Αβδηρ' may be either "Αβδηρε, the eponymous hero of the city, or "Αβδηρα the city itself. The slave who was used as scapegoat appears to be speaking in this fragment.

91

(MELICERTES)

AEONIAN Melicertes, Queen Byne on one (anchor?)
 . . . ^a

mad by Hera together with her husband Athamas. Upon seeing her husband kill Learchus, one of her two sons, she jumped into the sea carrying her other son Melicertes. They were both transformed into deities. Melicertes is called Boeotian (Aonian = Boeotian) presumably because Ino was the daughter of Cadmus, king of Thebes. The form *Byne* is Boeotian, used here instead of Ino. Children were said to be the "anchors," the safeguards, of the parents; a ship riding on one anchor was not considered safely moored (*cf.* fr. 191. 47 and Herodas i. 41).

93

(THEUDOTUS OF LIPARA)^a

A RACE sweeter than nectar . . . ambrosia. The islands off north-eastern Sicily) by the Tyrrhenians, during which they promised to sacrifice to Apollo the most courageous Liparian warrior. After their victory they sacrificed one called Theudotus.

71

CALLIMACHUS

ὑμέας γαῖ' ἀνέδ[ωκε, τ]ὰ καὶ τερπνίστατα πᾶ[ντων
 νεῖσθε διὰ γλώσ[σαν γλεύ]κεος ὄσσα πέρα.
 5 δαίλαιοι, τυ[τθόν] μιν ἐπὶ πλ[έ]ον ἢ ὅσον ἄ[κρον
 χεῖλος ἀναγλ[.]π[. . .]ρ ἀναινομένου
 ἀνδρὸς ἀνου[.]s ἐπέτασεν [

94
 (LIMONIS)

94
 Τὸν νεκρ[ὸ]ν [.] τ[.]υβατονιστωαεω

^a The two extant fragments of this action (94-95*) are untranslatable. According to the *Diegesis*, the first line of which is also badly mutilated, Hippomenes, a descendant of

96
 (VENATOR GLORIOSUS)

Θεοὶ πάντες κομποῖς νεμεσήμονες, ἐκ δέ τε πάντων
 "Ἄρτεμις α[

^a According to the *Diegesis*: "A huntsman . . . upon killing a boar said that it was not fitting for those who

97
 (MOENIA PELASGICA)

Τυρσηνῶν τείχισμα Πελασγικὸν εἶχέ με γαῖα
 πελαργικὸν cod.

^a The Pelasgi seem to have been a north Aegean people, uprooted by Bronze Age migrations. The Greeks came to use their name for all "aboriginal" Aegean populations,

AETIA

earth sent you up and most delightful of all things, that are beyond sweet new wine, you go across the tongue. Poor wretches, a little further than the tip of the lip . . . a man refuses . . .

3-5 e.g. suppl. L.

94-95
 (LIMONIS)^a

Codrus, king of Athens, "shut up his daughter Limone, who had been secretly seduced, in a chamber with a horse, and by this means killed her. And for this reason in Athens there is a place called 'The Horse and the Girl.' And the father struck with a spear the man who had seduced her, and tied his body to a horse, which dragged it through the city."

96
 (THE BOASTING HUNTSMAN)

ALL the gods are angry with braggarts, but most of all Artemis . . .^a

surpass Artemis to dedicate (their trophies) to her; so he dedicated the boar's head to himself, hanging it on a black poplar. He lay down to sleep under the tree, and the head fell and killed him."

97
 (THE PELASGIAN WALLS)

THE land held me, a Pelasgian wall, built by the Tyrhenians.^a

and they were sometimes identified with the Tyrreni. This action, according to the *Diegesis*, spoke "of the boundaries (?) set round Athens by the Pelasgi, and of the wall which they made."

(EUTHYMUS)

Εὐθύμου τὰ μὲν ὄσσα παρὰ Διὶ Πίσαν ἔχοντι

^a The extant fragment is too incomplete to be translated. According to the *Diagesis*: "In Temese, a hero who was left behind from the ship of Odysseus laid a tribute upon the people of the place and their neighbours that they should bring him a bed and a maiden ready for marriage and with-

(IUNONIS SAMIAE SIMULACRUM
ANTIQUISSIMUM)

οὐπω Σκέλμιον ἔργον ἐύξοον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τεθμόν
δηραιοῖν γλυφάνων ἄξοος ἦσθα σανίς·
ὦδε γὰρ ἰδρύνοντο θεοὺς τότε· καὶ γὰρ Ἀθήνης
ἐν Λίνδῳ Δαναὸς λιτὸν ἔθηκεν ἔδος

1 εἰσοξάνα vel εἰς ξάναον codd.: em. Bentley. τεθμοὶ Is. Voss, Bentley. 2 δὴ νεό||γλυφον ἀναξ θεᾶς codd.: δηραιοῦ γλυφάνῳ ἄξοος Bentley: γλυφάνων Τουρ: δηραιοῖν (ad τεθμόν) Bergk. 4 λίθον vel λείον codd.: em. Is. Voss.

^a Scelmis is said to be the first to carve a statue for Hera at Samos. He is otherwise unknown.

^b Danaus was held to be a descendant of Zeus, who, upon quarrelling with Aegyptus, fled with his daughters to Argos. There are many versions of the myth.

(EUTHYMUS)^a

out looking back go their ways. In the morning her parents would take her away a woman and no longer a maid. Euthymus, the boxer, did away with this tribute . . ." Temese was a city of Bruttium founded by the Ausonians. The name of the companion of Odysseus is said to be Polites (or according to Paus. vi. 6. 11 Lycus). Euthymus was three times an Olympic victor in boxing (Ol. 74, 76 and 77). There was a Greek proverb referring to this story, 'Ὁ ἐν Τεμέσῳ ἦρως, The hero of Temese.

(THE OLDEST STATUE OF THE
SAMIAN HERA)

. . . the well-carved work of Scelmis^a had not yet (been dedicated), but according to the old custom you were a plank not carved by chisels; for thus did they then set up the (effigies of the) gods. In fact Danaus^b had placed at Lindus^c the simple statue of Athene . . .^d

^a City of Rhodes.

^d According to the *Diagesis*: ". . . the wooden image of Hera took the form of a statue when Procles was *archon basileus*. The wood out of which it was shaped . . . they say from Argos . . . was brought over in old days still no more than a plank and quite unfashioned, because the art of statuary was not then advanced any further."

CALLIMACHUS

101

(IUNONIS SAMIAE SIMULACRUM
ALTERUM)

"**Ἡρη τῇ Σαμῆι περι μὲν τρίχας ἄμπελος ἔρπει**

^a According to the *Diegesis*: "It is said that the Hera of Samos has a vine winding round her hair and a lion's skin at her feet. They were spoils, as it were, of Heracles and Dionysus, the unlawful children of Zeus." We do not

102

(PASICLES EPHESIUS)

"**Ἡσύμνας Ἐφέσου, Πασίκλεες, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ δαίτης**

^a According to the *Diegesis*: "He (*i.e.* Callimachus) says that Pasicles, archon of Ephesus, was attacked when leaving a banquet. The assailants were in difficulty on account of the darkness, but when they approached the temple of Hera,

103

(ANDROGEOS)

"**Ἡρωσ ὦ κατὰ πύρμναν, ἐπεὶ τόδε κύρβις αἰίδει**

^a The *Diegesis* explains: "The so-called 'Hero of the Stern' is Androgeos. For in days of old, before the Piraeus was built, the anchorage of Phaleron was where ships used

AETIA

101

(THE OTHER STATUE OF HERA
AT SAMOS)

A VINE-BRANCH runs round the hair of the Samian Hera.^a

know if this is supposed to describe the work of Scelmis, or some other statue dedicated to Hera at Samos. On Samian coins of c. 600 B.C., on which the wooden statue of Hera is depicted on the one side, there is also a plant that might well be a vine, and on the other a lionskin.

102

(PASICLES OF EPHEBUS)

You were archon of Ephesus, Pasicles, but from a banquet.^a

Pasicles' mother, who was a priestess (there), heard the noise of the pursuit, and ordered a lamp to be brought out. And in this way they got a light and killed her son.^a

103

(ANDROGEOS)

O HERO of the stern, since a pillar sings this.^a

to anchor." Nothing is known about this pillar or its inscription. Androgeos was said to be the son of Minos, and a guardian of the stern of ships.

CALLIMACHUS

104

(OESYDRES THRAX)

Οἰσῦδρεω Θρηῆκος ἐφ' αἵματι πολλά Θάσσιο

^a The reference may be to the wars between the Parians

105

(SYRMA ANTIGONES ?)

.]δε[.....]υ[.....]ιδετωνδ[

^a Pfeiffer suggests that this quotation in the very mutilated *Diagesis* may refer to an action on the "Syрма of Antigone," a place at Thebes, where Antigone was thought

106

(GAIUS ROMANUS)

ῚΩδ' ἐ[σθλοῖ] γείνεσθε, Πανελλάδος ᾧδε τελέσσαι

ἐ[σθλοῖ] suppl. Barber.

^a According to the *Diagesis*: "(Callimachus) says that, during the siege of Rome by the Peucetii, the Roman Gaius leapt from the walls and killed their leader. He was wounded in the thigh, and later was complaining that he limped. But when his mother rebuked him, he ceased worrying." Nothing is certain about the war, or the person of Gaius to whom Callimachus is here referring. It is, however, possible

AETIA

104

(THE THRACIAN OESYDRES)

BECAUSE of the blood of the Thracian Oesyδres many (evils befell the people of ?) Thasos.^a

and the Thracians in Thasos, which took place in the 7th century B.C.

105

(THE "SYRMA" OF ANTIGONE ?)^a

to have dragged the body of Polynices to the pyre of his brother Eteocles. Even the flames of the pyre are said to have split into two.

106

(THE ROMAN GAIUS)^a

Thus be brave, (on behalf) of Greece thus . . . to accomplish . . .

that the Peucetii are the Etruscans, in which case the lame hero would be Horatius Cocles (*cf.* Dion. Hal. *A.R.* v. 25. 3 and Clem. Al. *Strom.* iv. 56. 3 (vol. ii, p. 274. 10 St.)). From other similar stories appearing in later Greek and Roman writers it can be concluded that the mother told her son something to the effect of: "Do not worry, my son; every step you take will remind you of your own valour."

(ANCORA ARGUS NAVIS CYZICI RELICTA)

Ἄργῳ καὶ σέ, Πάνορμε, κατέδραμε καὶ τεὸν ὕδωρ

παροσμε P: corr. W. Morel.

^a According to the *Diegesis*: "He (*i.e.* the poet) says that when the Argonauts went ashore at Cyzicus to fetch drinking-water they left there the stone which they had been using as an anchor, because it was too light, and took on a heavier one. The first was later dedicated to Athene." Cyzicus, the Milesian colony on the "island" of Arctonnesus among the Myso-Phrygian populations, was a great commercial centre. Practically all the shipping of the Propontis came to its two harbours in order to avoid the inhospitable northern shore. It was connected with the myth of the Argonauts in the manner described by the *Diegesis*. The

(COMA BERENICES)

Πάντα τὸν ἐν γραμμαῖσιν ἰδῶν ὄρον ἧ τε φέρονται

7 κῆμὲ Κόνων ἔβλεψεν ἐν ἡέρι τὸν Βερενίκης
βόστρυχον ὃν κείνη πᾶσιν ἔθηκε θεοῖς

7 ἧ με codd.: κῆμὲ (?) Maas.

^a The *Lock of Berenice* is mainly known from the translation by Catullus (66). The *Diegesis* summing up the poem writes: "He (*i.e.* Callimachus) says that Conon set the lock of Berenice among the stars, which she had promised to dedicate to the gods on (her husband's) return from the Syrian war." Berenice was the daughter of Magas, king of Cyrene, who was the son of Berenice I, wife of Ptolemy I. The Syrian war referred to is the Third Syrian War (247-246 B.C.). Upon

(THE ANCHOR OF THE ARGO ABANDONED AT CYZICUS)

AND to you also, Panormus, came Argo, and your water.^{a b}

"Panormus" mentioned in the fragment might be either the city Cyzicus, or its eponymous hero. The fountain from which the Argonauts are said to have drawn water at Cyzicus was called "Artacia."

^b The *Lock of Berenice* and the Epilogue were probably added to the second edition of the *Aetia*. If this is so, in its original form the work may have finished with an action referring to the story of the Argonauts (108), as it also began with a similar story (fr. 7. 19 ff.).

(THE LOCK OF BERENICE)^a

1 HAVING examined all the charted (?) sky,^b and where 7 (the stars) move . . . Conon saw me also in the air, the lock of Berenice, which she dedicated to all the gods

the departure of Ptolemy III for that war, Berenice, his wife, vowed to the gods to dedicate a lock of her hair on his safe return. This she dedicated in the temple of Arsinoë Aphrodite at Zephyrium, from where the lock mysteriously disappeared. Thereupon Conon, the court astronomer, pretended to identify it with the group of stars, thenceforth known as Coma Berenices, lying within the circle formed by Ursa Major, Bootes, Virgo and Leo. The title of the poem is conjectural, and the fragments are assigned to their place on the evidence of Catullus. The lock is speaking in the style of certain dedicatory epigrams, in which the offering itself speaks.

^b On the charts of the stars the sky was divided by lines into sections. This is probably the meaning of ἐν γραμμαῖσιν.

40 σὴν τε κάρην ὤμοσα σόν τε βίον

ἀμνάμων Θεῆς ἀργὸς ὑπερφέρεται,
45 βουπόρος Ἀρσινόης μητρὸς σέο, καὶ διὰ μέσσου
Μηδείων ὀλοαὶ νῆες ἔβησαν Ἄθω.

τὶ πλόκαμοι ῥέξωμεν, ὄτ' οὖρα τοῖα σιδῆρω
εἴκουσιν; Χαλύβων ὡς ἀπόλοιτο γένος,
γειόθεν ἀντέλλοντα, κακὸν φυτόν, οἱ μιν ἔφηναν

50 πρῶτοι καὶ τυπίδων ἔφρασαν ἐργασίην.
ἄρτι νεότμητόν με κόμαι ποθέεσκον ἀδελφεαί,
καὶ πρόκατε γνωτὸς Μέμνονος Αἰθίοπος
ἵετο κυκλώσας βαλιὰ πτερά θῆλυς ἀήτης,
ἵππος ἰοζώνου Λοκρίδος Ἀρσινόης,

55]ασε δὲ πνοιῆ με, δι' ἡέρα δ' ὕγρον ἐνείκας
Κύπριδος εἰς κόλπους [] ἔθηκε
αὐτὴ μιν Ζεφυρίτις ἐπὶ χρέος

Κ[ανωπίτου ναίετις ἀ]ἰγιαλοῦ.

ὄφρα δὲ] μὴ νύμφης Μινωίδος ο[

60]ος ἀνθρώποις μόνον ἐπι[

55 η[ρπ] lacuna capere non videtur. tamen vix aliud atque
ἡ[ρπ]ασε in textu et ἀρπασθῆναι in scholiis fuisse potest.
57 in fine hex. (aut init. pentam. ?) suppleri potest (ἐ)πεμφε
vel (προ)ήκε(ν) Pf. 58 suppl. Vitelli. 59 init. suppl.
Vitelli, sed fort. σῆμα δὲ] et δ[φρα ? Pf. 60 in fine inter-
punnxit L., etsi nullum exemplum coniunctionis ἀλλά quinto
loco positae exstare videtur.

^a The lock swears by the head and life of the queen that it has been cut off against its will.

^b This may refer either to the Sun, who was a son of Theia and Hyperion, or to Boreas, a grandson of Theia.

^c Probably refers to Mount Athos; it would be, strictly speaking, the obelisk of Queen Arsinoë II (*cf. fr. 228. 47*).

40 . . . I took an oath by your head and by your life ^a
. . . the bright descendant of Theia ^b is carried over

45 . . . the obelisk of Arsinoë your mother, ^c and through
the middle of Athos the destructive ships of the Per-
sians sailed. ^d What can we do, locks of hair when such
mountains succumb to the iron? Oh that the whole

50 race of the Chalybes ^e would perish, who first brought
it to light, an evil plant rising from the earth, and
who taught (men) the work of the hammer! When
(I was) newly shorn my sister-locks were mourning

for me. At once the brother of Memnon the Aethio-
pian, the gentle breeze, the steed of Locrian Arsinoë
of the violet girdle, ^f moving his swift wings in

55 circles dashed and seized me with his breath, and
carrying me through the humid air he placed me . . .
in the lap of Cypris. Aphrodite Zephyritis who
dwells on the shore of Canopus ^g (chose) him herself

. . . for that purpose. And so that not only the
. . . of the Minoan bride ^h . . . should (cast its
60 light) on men, but I too, the beautiful lock of Berenice,

βουπόρος means "ox-piercing." We do not know why it was called thus.

^a Xerxes on his way to Greece cut a canal through the isthmus joining Mount Athos with the Chalcidice, so that his ships could avoid the rough seas off the promontory.

^e A Scythian race established near the river Thermodon, reputed to be the inventors of ironwork.

^f Zephyr, who was a half-brother to Memnon. They were both sons of Eos. Queen Arsinoë is here called Locrian, because of her temple at Zephyrium, the promontory near Canopus.

^g Queen Arsinoë after her deification was called Aphrodite Zephyritis.

^h A reference to the constellation called the Crown of Ariadne. Ariadne, daughter of Minos, was abandoned by Theseus in Naxos. Dionysus is said to have loved her, and set up a crown of stars in her memory.

φάεσ]ιν ἐν πολέεσσιν ἀριθμῖος ἀλλ[ᾶ
καὶ Βερ]ενίκεῖος καλὸς ἐγὼ πλόκαμος,
ὑ]δασι] λουόμενόν με παρ' ἀθα[νάτους ἀνιόντα
Κύπρι]ς ἐν ἀρχαίοις ἀστρον [ἔ]θηκε νέον.

67 πρόσθε μὲν ἐρχομεν . . μετοπωρινὸν Ὠκεανόνδε

75 οὐ τὰδε μοι τοσσῆνδε φέρει χάριν ὄσσον ἐκείνης
ἀσχάλλω κορυφῆς οὐκέτι θιζόμενος,
ῆ]ς ἀπο, παρθενίη μὲν ὄτ' ἦν ἔτι, πολλὰ πέπωκα
λίτᾶ, γυναικείων δ' οὐκ ἀπέλαυσα μύρων.

61 φάεσι]ν Eitrem: τείρεσι]ν Maas, Kuiper (prob. longius spatio). in fin. φαείνω L.: φανείην Vitelli: γένωμαι Maas.

(EPILOGUS)

...]ιν ὄτ' ἐμῇ μουσα τ[...]άσεται
...]τροῦ καὶ Χαρίτων [...]ρία μοιᾶδ' ἀνάσσης
...]τερης οὐ σε ψευδομ[ένω στό]ματι

1 ἀε[ῖ]δειν Platt. τ[ι κομπ]άσεται G. Murray: τ[ι τεχν]άσεται vel καμ]άσεται Coppola. 2 πλού]τροῦ καὶ Χαρίτων [κοσμή]τρια, μαῖα δ' ἀνάσσης A. Platt de Venere cogitans (πλου] longius spatio): Βάτ]τροῦ (?) E. Bignone: [κηδεύ]τρια, μαῖα Coppola, de Cyrene: [κομμώ]τρια Gallavotti, de Calliope Musa. 3 ἡμε]τέρης G. Murray, cett.: ὑμε]τέρης von Arnim et Wil. Iovem in vv. 1-7 loqui arbitrati: ψευδον[P emend. et suppl. Maas: ψεῦδον [ἐπ' οὐνό]ματι G. Murray (ὄτ' οὐ. Platt): [ὄτε στό]ματι, Ellis: [ὄναρ στό]ματι Coppola: [ὑδος πό]ματι Gallavotti: ἔπος στό]ματι Barber.

be counted among the many stars. Washed in the waters (of the Ocean), and rising close to the immortals, Cypris set me to be a new star among the
67 ancient ones . . . Proceeding to the Ocean . . . late
75 autumn . . . The joy of these honours cannot outweigh the distress which I feel that I no longer shall touch that head, from which when (Berenice was) still a maiden I drank so many frugal scents, but did not enjoy the myrrh of the married woman's (hair).^{a b}

^a Married women used stronger perfumes.

^b In Catullus (ll. 79-88) there is a nuptial rite, which probably comes from the second edition of the *Plokamos*, prepared when the poem was added as a last action to the *Aetia*.

62 suppl. Vitelli. 63 ὑ]δασι] Vogliano: κύμασι] Vitelli (fort. longius, δάκρυσι non capit lacuna). fin. et 64 suppl. Vitelli.

(EPILOGUE)^a

" . . . when my Muse . . . and of the Graces . . . and (mother) of our queen^b . . . not with a false (?)"

^a The epilogue is highly problematic. Besides Zeus another deity is invoked, as can be seen from ll. 7 ff. Various suggestions have been made (e.g. Platt suggested Aphrodite, Gallavotti the Muse Calliope), but Coppola's, that the poet is here invoking Cyrene (nymph and city), appears the most probable. On various other views see H. Herter, *Zeitbericht über die Fortschritte der Klass. Altertumswissenschaft (Bursian)*, cclv (1937), pp. 140 ff.

^b It is not clear which queen is here addressed, Arsinoë or Berenice. The mention of the Graces recalls the beginning of the *Aetia* (frs. 3-7).

πάντ' ἀγαθὴν καὶ πάντα τ[ε]λ[ε]σφόρον εἶπεν [
 5 κείν . . τῷ Μοῦσαι πολλὰ νέμοντι βοτὰ
 σὺν μύθους ἐβάλοντο παρ' ἵχθιον ὀξέος ἵππου.
 χαῖρε, σὺν εὐεστοῖ δ' ἔρχεο λωϊτέρη.
 χαῖρε, Ζεῦ, μέγα καὶ σύ, σάω δ' [ὄλο]ν οἶκον ἀνά-
 κτων.
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ Μουσέων πεζὸν [ἔ]πειμι νομόν.—

10 ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΧΟΥ ΑΙΤΙΩΝ Δ'

4 εἰπέ μοι ὡς περ Coppola: εἶπεν [δοιδός] | κείν[ος] Mair et
 Maas: εἶπ' ἐν [δοιδῆ] Barber. 5 fort. κείν[ου]—πελλά coni.
 Maas. 7 -τέρη Gallavotti. 8 [ὄλο]ν suppl. Hu.:
 [έμό]ν Ellis et Wil. 9 potius πεζόν (quam os) in P legit
 L.: suppl. Hu. νόμον Kapsomenos.

(mouth?) fully good and fully fruitful he said you
 (were) . . . to whom the Muses, as he tended his
 5 many sheep by the footprint of the fiery horse, told
 stories.^a Fare well, and return with greater pros-
 perity.^b Hail greatly thou too, Zeus, and save all
 the house of the kings. But I will pass on to the
 prose pasture of the Muses.^c

^a The reference is again to Hesiod, as in fr. 2.

^b The goddess invoked, probably Cyrene (nymph and city), or the Muse Calliope.

^c This can only mean the *Iambi*, which followed in the collected works of Callimachus, and indicates that the whole epilogue (fr. 112) was written for the final edition of the *Aetia*. Cf. Horat. *Sat.* ii, 6, 17 "Musa pedestris" and *Epist.* ii, 1, 250.

FRAGMENTA INCERTI LIBRI
AETIORUM

114

(STATUA APOLLINIS DELII)

“ Δῆλιος ὠπόλλων; ”] “ ναί, Δῆλιος. ” “ ἦ σὺ γε
 5 πη[χέων
 ἐννέα δῖς; ” “ τόσσων,] ναί μὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐμέ. ”
 “ χρύσεος ἐπλάσθης; ”] “ ναί, χρύσεος. ” “ ἦ καὶ
 ἀφα[ρῆς; ”
 “ ναί, μούνον περί με] ζῶμα μέσον στ[ρέφεται. ”
 “ τεῦ δ’ ἐνεκα σκαυῆ μὲν εἴ]χεις χερὶ Κύνθιε τ[όξον,
 τὰς δ’ ἐπὶ δεξιτερῆ] σὰς ἰδανὰς Χάριτας; ”
 10 “] ἴν’ ἀφρονας ὕβριος ἴσχω
 τοῖς ἀ]γαθοῖς ὀρέγω. ”

4-5 suppl. Maas. 6 χρύσεος ἐπλάσθης] Maas: ἀφα[ρῆς Pf.
 7 ναί, μούνον (Pf.) περί με] Barber: στ[ρέφεται L. 8 τεῦ—μὲν
 suppl. Pf., cett. L. 9 τὰς—δεξιτερῆ] suppl. Pf. 10 suppl.
 Maas. 11 suppl. L. Maas.

^a The statue of Apollo at Delos held the Graces in the right hand and the bow in the left. The explanation given

FRAGMENTS FROM THE AETIA
WHICH CANNOT BE ATTRIBUTED
WITH CERTAINTY TO ANY
SPECIAL BOOK

114

(THE STATUE OF APOLLO AT DELOS)

“ ARE you the Delian Apollo? ” “ Yes, I am the
 5 Delian. ” “ Are you eighteen cubits high? ” “ That
 is right, by me (the god). ” “ Made of gold? ”
 “ Yes, made of gold. ” “ And unclad? ” “ Yes,
 only a belt goes round the middle of me. ” “ For
 what reason in your left hand, Cynthian, do you hold
 the bow, and in your right hand your comely
 10 Graces? ”^a “ . . . To hold back the stupid from
 being insolent . . . I offer to the good. ”

was that the god was more inclined to offer blessings than to inflict punishment. Apollo is called Cynthian after Cynthus, the mountain of Delos. The poet is addressing the statue in this fragment. On this aetion see R. Pfeiffer, “ The Image of the Delian Apollo and Apolline Ethics, ” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xv (1952), pp. 21 f.

CALLIMACHUS

115

(ONNES)

[.]υνη· λάβρη δὲ παρ' Ἡφαίστοιο καμίνους
 ἔτραφεν αἰράων ἔργα διδασκόμενοι.
 Ὀννης μὲν νῦν ηχι[]εισιμ[]αν[]
 λαοῖσιν, τότε δ' ἦν ψ[]αν[]
 15 ἦστο τετὴν κάθοδον θηεῦμερο[]ς
 τω δὲ σιδηρείας ἱμα[]]ς ἀντυγάδ[]ας
 ἄς αὐτοὶ χάλκευσαν ἐπ' ἄκμοσιν Ἡφ[]αίστοιο
 γεντ[] . .]κ[] . .]τειν νεκ[]]νσ[]

119

Μηκώνην μακάρων ἔδρανον αὖτις ἰδεῖν,
 ἦχι πάλους ἐβάλοντο, διεκρίναντο δὲ τιμάς
 πρῶτα Γιγαντείου δαίμονες ἐκ πολέμου.

° Mecone is the old name for Sicyon, the city on the northern coast of the Peloponnese; Zeus, Posidon and

177

(MUSCIPULA)

5 ἀστὴρ δ' εὐτ'] ἄρ' ἔμελλε βοῶν ἀπο μέσσαβα
 [λύσειν
 αἴλιος], ὃς δυθμὴν εἰσιν ὑπ' ἡελίου
] ὥς κείνος Ὀφιονίδησι φαεῖνει
] θεῶν τοῖσι παλαιότεροις,

5 ἀστὴρ εὐτ'] et [λύσειν suppl. Norsa-Vitelli, δ' propter spatium et [λύσειν Pf. 6 suppl. Blomfield.

90

AETIA

115

(ONNES)

11 AND they^a grew up secretly by the furnaces of Hephaestus, learning the art of the hammer . . . Onnes now . . . but then . . . sat looking out for your re-
 16 turn . . . iron shields which they themselves forged on the anvils of Hephaestus.

^a The story is not clear, and otherwise unknown. It may well be that Onnes and Tottes are here identified with the Cabiri, the non-Hellenic deities, who promoted fertility and protected sailors, and the historic centre of whose worship was Samothrace.

119

. . . to see again Mecone, seat of the Blessed Ones, where the gods drew lots and first distributed the honours after the war against the Giants.^a

Pluto are said to have drawn lots there for the kingdoms of the Earth, the Sea and Hades.

177

(THE MOUSETRAP)^a

5 AND when the evening-star^b which comes at sunset was about to release the leather straps from the necks of the oxen . . . as he (*sc.* the sun) shines on the descendants of Ophion^c . . . the older gods

^a Nothing is known about the invention of the mousetrap. We do not know what the story in this aetion is about, or who the persons mentioned in it are.

^b αἴλιος = bringing to the fold; the planet Venus.

^c The gods overthrown by Zeus lived ever after in darkness. Ophion was ruler of the universe before Cronos.

91

- 10]τηρι θύρην· ὁ δ' ὅτ' ἔκλυεν ἤχ[ήν,
]ῆς ἰαχ' ἐπ' οὖς ἐλάφου
 ..]υμνο[. . . .]μεν ὄσον ἀκουέμεν, ἦκα δ' ἔλ[εξεν·
 "ὄχληροὶ τί πο[τ'] ἀδ γείτονες ἡμέτερον
 ἦκατ' ἀποκνα[ί]σοντες, ἐπεὶ μάλα [γ'] οὐ τι φέ-
 ρο[ν]τες;
 ξ[εῖνοις κωκυμούς] ἔπλασεν ὑμμε θεός."
 15 ὡς ἐνέπων τῷ [μ]ὲν ἔργον, ὃ οἱ μετὰ [χερ]σὶν
 ἔ[κειτο,
 ρῦψ]εν, [ε]πεί σμίνθοις κρυπτόν ἔτευχε δόλον·
 ἐν δ' ἐτίθει παγίδεσσιν ὀλέθρια δειλάτα δοιαῖς
 . . .]ιν[. . . .]ε[. . .] μίγδα μάλευρον ἐλών
 ..]ντ[. . .]φιτα[. .]α[.] θανάτόνδε κά-
 λ[εσσε
 20]γειη[. . . .]α[. .]ωσιν ἐπι
 ..]ημ[. . . .]σκή[.]ατιρξ[
 πολλάκις ἐκ λύχνου πῖον ἔλειξαν ἕαρ
 ἀλκαίαις ἀφύσαντες, ὅτ' οὐκ ἐπὶ πῶμ[α τεθείη
 ..]μαις καί[. .]ἀλη[. .]ι[. .] πότ' ἐξ ἑτέρου
 25 ..]λησ[. . . .]λοιο τὰ τ' ἀνέρος ἔργα πενιχροῦ
 . . .]οιον[. . .]σπληρους κυτ[.]συπ .
 ..]εισμογα [. ὠ]ρχήσαντο
 βρέγματι, καὶ καθῶν ἦλασαν ὄρον ἄπο.
 ἀλλὰ τὸδ' οἱ σίνται βρα[χέ]η ἐνὶ νυκτὶ τέλεσσα
 30 κύντατον, φ̄ πλεῖστ[ον] μήνατο κέινος ἐπι,
 ἀμφ[ιά] οἱ σισύρην τε κακοὶ κίβισίν τε διέβρον·
 τοῖσι δὲ διχθαδίους εὐτύκασεν φονέας,
 ἰπὸν τ' ἀνδίκτην τε μάλ' εἰδότα μακρὸν ἀλέσθαι.
 92

- . . . the door. But he, as he heard the noise (of the mice), like the (dappled ?) hind to whose ears comes the cry of (a lion-cub) from afar . . . and he said
 12 softly : "Tiresome neighbours, why did you come again to ravage our house ? for certainly you bring nothing (good). God created you to be a bane to
 15 the guests (?)." Saying this he put down the work he was doing, for he was preparing a secret (implement) to trick the mice. And in the two traps he placed a fatal bait . . . taking flour mixed with . . . called them to death. . . . Often they drew the fat oil from the lamp with their tails, and licked it when the lid was not in place . . . from another
 25 . . . the tasks of a poor man . . . they danced on (his) head and drove away sleep from his eyes. But
 30 this was the most shameless deed, and the one for which he was most angry, that the thieves achieved within a short night. The rogues gnawed at his pauper's rags, the goat's hair cloak and the wallet. He prepared for them a double killer, a mousetrap, and a catch which is able to make a long jump" . . .

^a Presumably the kind of trap which knocks the mouse on the head as he nibbles the bait.

- 9 in init. e.g. ξῶσέ τι δὴ κυση]τήρι temptavit Pf. : finem suppl. Norsa-Vitelli. 10 βαλ]ῆς Maas : ὀκη]ρῆς Norsa-Vitelli. ὡς ὅτε τις βαλ]ῆς prop. Barber. 11 fort. σκ]ῆμοι[s Pf. : σκ]ῆμοι[s, [με]ῖ]νε] μὲν prop. Barber. ἔλ[εξεν suppl. Maas. 12 suppl. Pf. (aut τῷ[δ'] ?). 13 suppl. Pf. 14 ξ[εῖνοις Pf. : δ]εμοῖς Barber. 15 τὸ [μ]ὲν L. [χερ]σὶν ἐ[κειτο suppl. Maas. 16 ρῦψ]εν e.g. suppl. L. : ἦκ]εν (sc. ἐκ χειρῶν) Pf. 19 suppl. Barber. 23 exit, e.g. suppl. Körte. πῶμ[ατ' ἔκειτο Norsa-Vitelli. 25 σ]ῆλησ[αν π]ῆ-λοιο Maas. 27 κλ]ισμὸν i.e. κλισμὸν Pf. : exit. suppl. L. 29 βρα[χέ]η et τέλεσσα Maas : τέλεσσα Norsa-Vitelli. 30 φ̄ πλεῖστ[ον] dist. et suppl. L. 31 ἀμφ[ιά] suppl. Maas. 32 e.g. suppl. Maas.

178-184

(ICUS)

178

ἥως οὐδὲ πιθοιγίς ἐλάνθανεν οὐδ' ὅτε δούλοις
 ἡμᾶρ Ὀρέστειοι λευκὸν ἄγουσι χρές·
 Ἰκαρίου καὶ παιδὸς ἄγων ἐπέτειον ἀγιστύν,
 Ἀτθίσιω οἰκτίστη, σὸν φάος, Ἡριγόνῃ,
 5 ἔς δαίτην ἐκάλεσσεσιν ὀμηθέας, ἐν δέ νυ τοῖσι
 ξείνον ὃς Ἀίγυπτῳ καινὸς ἀνεστρέφετο
 μεμβλωκῶς ἰδίον τι κατὰ χρέος· ἦν δὲ γενέθλην
 Ἰκιος, ᾧ ξυνήν εἶλον ἐγὼ κλισίην
 οὐκ ἐπιτάξ, ἀλλ' αἶνος Ὀμηρικὸς, αἰὲν ὁμοῖον
 10 ὡς θεός, οὐ ψευδής, ἐς τὸν ὁμοῖον ἄγει.
 καὶ γὰρ ὁ Θρηϊκίην μὲν ἀπέστνυγε χανδὸν ἄμυστιν
 οἰνοποτεῖν, ὀλίγῳ δ' ἦδετο κισσυβίῳ.

11 ἀπέστνυγε P codd. : ἀνήγατο cod. v.l. 12 ζωροποτεῖν
 codd. v.l.

^a In Egypt Callimachus was the guest of Pollis, an Athenian, who had settled in that country. In his home Pollis scrupulously kept the festivals of his native Athens. On this particular occasion, the festival celebrated was that of the *Aiora*, which was instituted in connexion with the epidemic of suicide among the women of Attica after Erigone, daughter of Icarus, hanged herself. Among the guests of Pollis was a merchant, Theogenes, from the small island of Icos, one of the Magnesian islands. Callimachus questions him about the cult of Peleus in Icos, and the relations of that island with Thessaly.

^b The *Pithoigia* were the first day of the *Anthesteria*.

^c The "Feast of the Pitchers" was celebrated on the second day of the *Anthesteria*. The *Anthesteria* were celebrated on the 11th (*Pithoigia*), 12th (*Choes*) and 13th (*Chytroi*) of the month Anthesterion. The myth was that Orestes came to Athens during the celebration of a public

178-184

(ICOS) ^a

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Nor did the dawn of the Opening of the Jars ^b pass unheeded, nor the day whereon the Pitchers of Orestes bring a white day for the slaves.^c And when he kept the yearly ceremony of Icarus' child, your day, 5 Erigone, lady most lamented by Attic women,^d he invited to a banquet his friends, and among them a stranger who was newly visiting Egypt, having come on some private business. He was an Ician ^e by birth, and I shared a couch with him—not by design, 10 but the saying of Homer is not false that God ever brings like to like.^f For he too hated the greedy Thracian draught ^g of wine, and liked a small cup.

festival, and the king of Athens ordered that a pitcher of wine (χοῦς) be given to each guest separately, so that he would not appear inhospitable, but at the same time an unpurified murderer would not eat and drink with the others. On that day slaves enjoyed great licence, hence "a white day" for the slaves.

^b Icarus, an Athenian, was taught the knowledge of the vine by Dionysus. He was killed by some peasants to whom he had given wine. His daughter Erigone, guided by her dog Maera, found his grave on Mt. Hymettus. In her grief she hanged herself on a tree over her father's grave. Erigone became the constellation Virgo, her father Bootes or Arcturus, and Maera became Sirius. Dionysus caused a plague of madness to fall upon the Athenian women, who hanged themselves as Erigone had done. To end the plague the festival of the *Aiora* was founded, which was called "Eudeipnos."

^c Icos, an island off Thessalian Magnesia.

^d *Od.* xvii. 218.

^e The custom of draining the cup was considered Thracian and barbarian.

- τῷ μὲν ἐγὼ τὰδ' ἔλεξα περιστείχοντος ἀλείσου
 τὸ τρίτον, εἶτ' ἐδάην οὖνομα καὶ γενεήν.
 15 " ἢ μάλ' ἔπος τὸδ' ἀληθές, ὃ τ' οὐ μόνον ὕδατος
 αἶσαν,
 ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ λέσχης οἴνος ἔχειν ἐθέλει.
 τὴν ἡμεῖς—οὐκ ἐν γὰρ ἀρυστήρεσσι φορεῖται
 οὐδέ μιν εἰς ἀτ[ρην]ῆς ὄφρ' οἶνος οἰνοχόων
 αἰτήσεις ὁρώων ὅτ' ἐλεύθερος ἀτμένα σαίνει—
 20 βάλλωμεν χαλεπῷ φάρμακον ἐν πόματι,
 Θεύγενες· ὅσα δ' ἐμεῖο σέθεν πάρα θυμὸς ἀκούσαι
 ἰχαινεῖ, τάδε μοι λέξον [ἀνειρομέν]ω.
 Μυρμιδόνων ἐσσηνα τί πάτριον ὕμμι σέβεσθαι
 Πηλέα, κῶς Ἰκῶ ξυν[ὰ τὰ Θεσσαλικά,
 25 τεῦ δ' ἐνεκεν γήτειον ἰδ[. .]υτ[. . .]ρτον ἔχουσα
 ἦρωος κα[θ]ῶδου πα[ῖς
 εἰδότες ὡς ἐνέπου[σιν
 κείνην ἢ περὶ σὴν [
 οὔθ' ἐτέρην ἔγνωκα· τί
 30 οὔατα μυθεῖσθαι βουλομέν[οις ἀνέχων."
 τ[αὐτ'] ἐμέθεν λέξαντο[ς
 " τρισμάκαρ, ἢ παύρων ὄλβιός ἐσσι μέτα,
 ναυτιλῆς εἰ νῆν ἔχεις βίον· ἀλλ' ἐμὸς αἰὼν
 κῦμασιν αἰθυῖης μάλλον ἐσωκίσατο
 13 τὸδ' cod. v.l. 15 ἢ γὰρ cod. v.l. : ἦν ἄρ' Porson.
 18 suppl. Grenfell-Hu. (vel ἀτ[ρην]ῆς, ἀτ[ρην]ῆς, ἀτ[ρην]ῆς).
 22 suppl. Grenfell-Hu. 23 suppl. Grenfell-Hu. 24 suppl.
 e.g. L. 25 ἀρτον suppl. Grenfell-Hu. : fort. κα[θ]ῶδου? i.e.

οὐδ' ἔτι τὴν Φθίων εἶχεν ἀνακτορήν

εἶλεν cod. v.l.

- To him I said this, as the beaker was going round for
 the third time, when I had learnt his name and de-
 15 scent : " Verily this is a true saying that wine requires
 not only its portion of water, but also its portion of
 talk. So—for talk is not handed round in ladles, nor
 will you ask for it by gazing at the haughty brows of
 the cup-bearers, at a time when the free man favns
 20 upon the slave—let us, Theogenes, put talk in the
 cup to mend the tedious draught ; and do tell me in
 answer to my question what my heart yearns to
 hear from you : Why is it the tradition of your
 country to worship Peleus, king of the Myrmidons ?
 30 What has Thessaly to do with Icos? ^a . . . holding
 ears ready for those who want to tell a story.
 When I had thus spoken . . . " Truly, thrice blessed
 one, you are happy as few are, if you lead a life
 which is ignorant of sea-faring. But the home of my
 life is more among the waves than the sea-gull."

^a It appears that in Icos it was customary to celebrate the
 day of the death of Peleus, who is reputed to have been killed
 there.

sectivum porrum Pf.

26 suppl. Grenfell-Hu. (vel

πα[ρ]θένος) : κα[θ]ῶδου Wil.

27 suppl. Grenfell-Hu.

28 ἢ Grenfell-Hu. : ἢ περὶ σὴν [δέδρομε νήσον, ἀλα e.g. Pf.

30 -μέν[οις ἀνέχων vel παρέχων vel ὑπέχων e.g. Pf. 31 suppl.

Grenfell-Hu. 32 ἐστὶ codd. : corr. F. Jacobs. μέγα

codd. : corr. Bentley. 33 ναυτιλῆσιν ἢν ἔχεις codd. :

ναυτιλῆς ὅς νῆν Bentley : εἰ A. Nauck.

. . . nor was he yet ruler of the inhabitants of
 Phthia.^a

^a The reference is probably to Peleus.

(HYPERBOREI)

4]σιν ἐτήσια, σὺν δ[ε]κ[α]τ[α]ίῳ
]ουσιν διὰ πέτευρα [φόρ]ῳ

]ν υἱες Ὑπερβορέων
 10 Ῥιπαίου πέμπουσιν ἀπ' οὖρεος, ἦχι μάλιστα
 τέρπουσιν λιπαραὶ Φοῖβον ὄνοσφαγαίαι·
 Ἑλλήνων τὰ γε πρῶτα Πελασγικοῖ Ἑλλοπιῆς
 ἐξ Ἀριμασπέης δειδέχεται κο[μ]μ[ε]δῆς.
 ἔνθεν] ἐπὶ πτόλις τε καὶ οὐ[ρεα Μαλίδος αἴης
 15 στέλλουσιν Νάου θῆγτες ἀ[νιπτό]ποδες
] ὅτις φηγοῦ [

3 suppl. L. 4 suppl. L. 11 init. suppl. L. :
 fin. suppl. J. D. P. Bolton; cf. Hes. fr. 134 et fr. 212, etiam
 Steph. Byz. v. Ἑλλοπία. 12 suppl. L. 13-14 suppl.
 Barber-Maas.

^a The Hyperboreans were a legendary race of Apollo-worshippers living in the far north, highly revered by the Greeks. Offerings from them arrived at the Delian shrine, not carried by the Hyperboreans themselves, but passed "from city to city" until brought to Delos by the men of Tenos. They were said to sacrifice donkeys in honour of Apollo.

(THE HYPERBOREANS) ^a

3 . . . yearly, along with the tribute of the tenth . . .
 they (send) the divine planks . . . the sons of the
 Hyperboreans send from the Rhipaean ^b Mountains
 10 where the rich sacrifice of donkeys pleases Phoebus
 particularly. Of the Greeks the Pelasgian Ellopians ^c
 first accept these conveyed by the Arimaspi.^d From
 there, the servants of Zeus Naïos ^e with unwashed
 feet send them to the cities and the mountains of
 the land of Malis ^f . . .

^b The Rhipaean Mountains were east of the river Istrus (Danube).

^c By these Callimachus means the "Dodonaean" (cf. Herod. iv. 33. 2). There were, as J. D. P. Bolton pointed out, two districts called *Ellopia*, one around Dodona, the other in Euboea (cf. Steph. Byz. s. Ἑλλοπία). For the former cf. Hes. fr. 134, called Pelasgic (cf. Hes. fr. 212) here, to distinguish it from the Euboean or "Abantian" Ellopia (cf. Hes. fr. 186 and Call. *Hymn* iv. 20).

^d The Arimaspians are said to have been a tribe of the Hyperboreans, or, according to other sources, their neighbours.

^e The Zeus of Dodona was also called Zeus Naïos. The Selloi, the priests of the Dodonaean Zeus, were called ἀνιπτόποδες, "with unwashed feet."

^f The area of the Greek mainland which faces the north-western tip of Euboea.

IAMBI

INTRODUCTION

A BOOK of iambic poems, of approximately one thousand lines, followed the *Aetia*.^a It consisted of thirteen poems of miscellaneous content and character. They were included in one book because the metres in which they were written were all iambic or choliambic.^b There is no internal or external evidence for the dating of any of these poems or in support of Dawson's view that *Iambi* i and xiii were written at a later date as an introduction and epilogue to this group of poems.^c

^a See fr. 112. 9.

^b Even *Iambus* xii, which is written in a catalectic trochaic trimeter, would have been considered as written in an "iambic" metre by certain ancient metricians; cf. Hephaest. vi. 2, p. 18. 11 C. In fact, "iambic" is here used as a generic term, in contrast with the elegiac and melic metres of other Callimachean "books."

^c C. M. Dawson, *The Iambi of Callimachus*, especially p. 143, and Pfeiff. ii, p. xxxvii.

ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΧΟΥ ΙΑΜΒΟΙ

IAMBUS I

Iambus i is in its present condition an obscure poem. It appears to be a dramatic monologue by Hipponax of Colophon, to whom tradition ascribes the invention of the choliambic metre, in which the poem is written. The content of *Iambus* i is given thus by the *Diegesis* :

(Callimachus) imagines the dead Hipponax as summoning the scholars to the shrine of Parmenion, called the Sarapideum. When they came in droves (Hipponax) bade them not to be jealous of one another, telling them how the Arcadian Bathycles on his deathbed disposed of all his property, and in particular of a golden cup, which he handed over to Amphalces, his middle son, to give to the greatest of the seven sages. Amphalces came to Miletus and offered the cup to Thales, but Thales sent it to Bias of Priene, and he to Periander of Corinth. Periander passed it on to Solon of

^a Dawson, *Yale Class. Studies*, xi (1950), p. 148, believes that *Iambi* i and xiii are later works, written when Callimachus prepared the final edition of his collected works. There is, however, very little evidence in support of this view: the "tone of assured pre-eminence and self-confidence with which the poet speaks," and the fashion of finishing a "book" with a poem on literary criticism, hardly prove the point.

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* Ἀκούσαθ' Ἰππώνακτος· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλ' ἤκω

^a Callimachus is a Hipponax *redivivus*, who comes from
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IAMBUS I

Athens, who passed it on to Chilon the Lacedaemonian; he dispatched it to Pittacus of Mitylene and he to Cleobulus of Lindus. Then from Cleobulus the cup came back again to Thales, who, having received the award twice, dedicated it to Didymean Apollo. Accordingly (Hipponax) said (you scholars should not be so critical) of one another . . . or quarrel (so bitterly?) . . .

At the end of the poem Hipponax returns to Hades (ll. 96 ff.).

There is no indication as to the date of the poem ^a; the dialect is a literary Ionic. Callimachus derived the story of the cup of Bathycles from Leandrios of Miletus, a writer of *Milesiaca*.^b With the exception of Euhemerus,^c no other person mentioned can be identified, though no doubt they must have been well-known literary or comic figures of the day.

Neither Euhemerus, called "old," nor the "Sarapideum before the walls" can help in dating *Iambus* i, as the date of Euhemerus is uncertain (see Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.* vi. 952 f.), and the Sarapideum mentioned here is not one of the known Alexandrian sanctuaries of Sarapis (see Pfeiff. ii, pp. xxxix f.).

^b Cf. Diog. Laert. i. 28. The exact date of Leandrios is unknown, as well as any details about his life.

^c See note on l. 11.

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LISTEN to Hipponax,^a for indeed I have come from Hades to admonish the Alexandrian scholars. Hipponax of Ephesus, c. 550 B.C., famous iambographer.

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ἐκ τῶν ὄκου βοῦν κολλύβου πιπρήσκουσιν,
φέρων ἱαμβον οὐ μάχην αἰείδοντα
τὴν Βουπάλειον [

ἔς τὸ πρὸ τείχευς ἱρὸν ἀλέες δεῦτε,
10 οὐ τὸν πάλαι Πάγγαιον ὁ πλάσας Ζᾶνα
γέρων λαλάζων ἄδικα βιβλία ψήχει.

26 ὤπολλον, ὧνδρες, ὡς παρ' αἰπόλῳ μυῖαι
ἢ σφήκες ἐκ γῆς ἢ ἀπὸ θύματος Δελφοί,
εἰληθὸν [ἔσ]μεύουσιν· ὦ Ἐκάτη πλήθευς,
ὁ ψιλοκόρηστος τὴν πνοὴν ἀναλώσει
30 φυσέων ὅκως μὴ τὸν τρίβωνα γυμνώσῃ·
σωπὴ γενέσθω καὶ γράφεσθε τὴν βῆσιν.
ἀνὴρ Βαθυκλῆς Ἀρκάς—οὐ μακρὴν ἄξω,
ὦ λῶστε μὴ σίμαινε, καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' αὐτός
μέγα σχολάζω· δεῖ με γὰρ μέσον δινεῖν
35 φεῦ φ]εῦ Ἀχέροντος—τῶν πάλαι τις εὐδαίμων
ἐγένετο, πάντα δ' εἶχεν οἰσιν ἄνθρωποι
θεοὶ τε λευκάς ἡμέρας ἐπίστανται.
ἦδη καθί[ειν οὐτ]ος ἦνί³ ἤμελλεν

2 ὄκου P: ὄκο vel οἴκων codd. corr. Bentley. 28 suppl.
Pf. 35 suppl. Pf.: σοὶ Z]εῦ L. 38 καθί[ειν Pf.,
Snell. οστ]ος Knox, L.

^a The cheapness of things in Hades was proverbial. Cf. Call. *Epigr.* xiii. (xv L.C.L.) 6.

^b The sculptors Bupalos and Athenis of Clazomenae were attacked by Hipponax.

^c This, according to the *Diegesis*, is τὸ Παρμενίανος καλοῦ-

the place where they sell an ox for a penny,^a armed with iambic verses, which do not sing the feud with Bupalos,^b but . . . come, gather at the shrine outside the walls,^c where the old man who invented the ancient Panchaeian Zeus babbles and scribbles his im-
26 pious books^d . . . O Apollo, the men swarm round in droves like flies about a goatherd, or wasps from the ground, or the Delphians returning from a sacrifice,^e what a crowd, O Hecate!^f The bald man will exhaust
30 his breath blowing, that he may not be left without his threadbare cloak (?).^g Silence! and write down my tale: "A man of Arcadia, Bathycles—I will not tell a long story (don't turn up your nose at me, my good fellow), for not even I have much time to spare, as I
35 must whirl back to the heart of Acheron,^h oh dear, oh dear—was one of the happy men of old times; he had all those things by which men and gods know a lucky day.ⁱ When he was about to sink into long (sleep?)^j—

μενον Σαραπίδειον. It is, therefore, none of the known sanctuaries of Sarapis in Alexandria.

^d Euhemerus of Messene claimed to have sailed down the Red Sea, and round the south coast of Asia. In his book *Ἐπερὰ Ἀναγραφῆς*, the island of Panchaea was described with its cities and temples and the stele on which Zeus was supposed to have inscribed his *res gestae*, but the author was attacked as a godless liar.

^e The Delphians were said to hang around the altar and carry away huge slices of the animals sacrificed, so that the actual person sacrificing was often left without anything to eat.

^f Ancient chthonian goddess, frequently confused with Artemis and Selene.

^g This passage is still obscure.

^h River of Thesprotia in southern Epirus, reputed to lead to Hades.

ⁱ The λευκαὶ ἡμέραι (the white, the happy days) were celebrated in Attica. Cf. fr. 178. 2.

^j Death.

ἐς μακρὸν [ὑπνον]—καὶ γὰρ ἐ[σθλ]ὸς ἔζωσε—,
 40 τῶν' [.] τοὺς μὲν ἔνθα, τοὺς δ' ἔνθα
 ἔστησε τοῦ κλιωτῆρος· εἶχε γὰρ δεσμ[ός]
 < >

μέλλοντας ἤδη παρθένους ἀλυνδεῖσθαι.
 μόλις δ' ἐπά[ρας] ὡς πότης ἐπ' ἀγκῶνα
]ν ὁ Ἀρκ[ὰς κ]ἀνὰ τὴν στέγην βλέψας

46 ἔ]πειτ' ἔφ[ησε
 " ὦ παῖδες ὦ ἐμαὶ τῶπιόντος ἀγκυραι

[Desunt versus fere 15 in P]

ἔπλευσεν ἐς Μίλητον· ἦν γὰρ ἡ νίκη
 Θάλητος, ὅς τ' ἦν ἄλλα δεξιὸς γνώμην
 καὶ τῆς Ἀμάξης ἐλέγετο σταθμῆσασθαι
 55 τοὺς ἀστερίσκους, ἧ πλέουσι Φοίνικες.
 εὔρεν δ' ὁ Προσέληνος αἰσιῶ σίττη
 ἐν τοῦ Διδυμέος τὸν γέροντα κωνήῳ
 ξύοντα τὴν γῆν καὶ γράφοντα τὸ σχῆμα,
 τοῦξέυρ' ὁ Φρυξὺς Εὐφορβος, ὅστις ἀνθρώπων
 60 τρίγωνα καὶ σκαληνά πρῶτος ἔγραψε
 καὶ κύκλον ἐπ[. . .] κηδίδαξε νηστεύειν

39 [ὑπνον] Trypanis (cf. *Anth. Pal.* vii. 91. 4): [ἄλος] e.g. Pf.: [Ἀιδῶν] Snell: ἐ[σθλ]ὸς Pf. 41 post v. 41 lacunam vidit Maas. 43 suppl. L. 44 Ἀρκ[ὰς suppl. Pf.: κ]ἀ L. 46 ἔ]π suppl. Hu. ἐφ[η Crusius: ἔφ[ησε Pf., Snell. 53 ὅς τὸν ἄλλα vel ὅς ἄλλα codd.: ὅς τ' ἦν ἄλλα Bentley. 61 ἐπ[αγε] temptaverat Pf.

for he had lived virtuously (?)— . . . he placed his sons some on the one side and some on the other of the bed
 41 —for he was held down by arthritis . . . ready by
 42 now to take their brides. Lifting himself with an effort up on his elbow, as one who drinks . . . the
 46 Arcadian man, and looking at the ceiling . . . he then said: "Children, anchors of me who am passing away . . .

[About 15 lines missing]

52 he^a sailed to Miletus. For Thales^b was the winner: he was clever in other things, and was also said to
 55 have mapped out the little stars of the Wain,^c by which the Phoenicians sail their ships. And the Arcadian^d by happy chance found the old man in the shrine of Didymeian Apollo,^e scratching the earth with a staff, drawing the figure which the Phrygian Euphorbos^f
 60 had devised, who was the first to draw both unequal-sided triangles and the circle . . . and taught men to

^a Amphalces, son of Bathycles.

^b Thales of Miletus, the earliest Greek philosopher. His most famous feat in astronomy was his prediction of the solar eclipse of 28th May 585 B.C.

^c Ursa Minor, the Lesser Bear, by which the Phoenicians sailed, while the Greeks sailed by Ursa Major.

^d The word used here means "Prelunar," for the Arcadians were said to be "older than the moon."

^e The temple of Apollo at Didyma, or Didymi, near Miletus. See fr. 229.

^f Euphorbos was a Trojan, slain by Menelaus, of whom Pythagoras of Samos declared himself to be a reincarnation. The mathematical achievements here attributed to Pythagoras are referred to with such brevity that the meaning is exceedingly obscure. The figure which Thales is found drawing appears to be the inscribing of a right-angled triangle with its corners in a semi-circle, which was attributed to Thales or Pythagoras, in other words the demonstration of the theorem that "the angle in a semicircle is a right angle."

τῶν ἐμπνεόντων· οἱ δ' ἄρ' οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν,
 οὐ πάντες, ἀλλ' οὓς εἶχεν οὔτερος δαίμων.
 πρὸς δὴ μιν ᾧδ' ἔφησε . [

65 ἐκεῖ[νο] τοῦλόχρυσον ἐξ[ελῶν πῆρης·
 " οὐμός πατήρ ἐφέιτο τοῦ[το τοῦκπωμα
 δοῦ[ναι], τίς ὑμέων τῶν σοφ[ῶν ὀνήιστος
 τῶν ἐπτά· κῆγὼ σοὶ δίδωμι[ι πρωτῆον."
 ὁ δ' ἦκα τῶ] σκίπῳνι τοῦδα[φος ξύων

70 καὶ τ]ῆν ὑπήγην τῆτέρη [καταβήχων
 ἐξείπε· " τῆν δόσω μὲν [οὐκ ἔγωγ' ἄξω·
 σὺ δ' εἰ τοκεῶνος μὴ λδ[γοις ἀπειθήσεις,
 Βίης [

[Desunt versus fere 20 in P, quorum hi quattuor
 alias afferuntur]

Σόλων· ἐκείνος δ' ὡς Χίλων' ἀπέστειλεν

75 πάλιν τὸ δῶρον ἐς Θάλητ' ἀνώλισθεν

" Θάλης με τῶ μεδεῦντι Νείλεω δήμου
 δίδωσι, τοῦτο δις λαβὼν ἀριστῆον."

ἀλλ' ἦν ὀρή τις, " οὗτος Ἀλκμέων " φήσει
 79 καὶ " φεύγε· βάλλει· φεύγ' " ἔρει " τὸν ἄνθρωπον."

62 οἱ τὰδ' οὐδ' codd. : οἱ δ' ἄρ' οὐχ Niebuhr. 63 ἔσχεν
 codd. 64 παῖς Βαθύκλῆος e.g. suppl. Diels. 65 ἐκεῖ[νο]
 suppl. Hu., fin. e.g. suppl. Pf. 66 suppl. Pf. e *Dieg.* vi. 8.
 67 δοῦ[ναι] suppl. Housman. fin. suppl. Hu. 68 e.g.
 suppl. Pf. 69 ὁ δ' ἦκα τῶ] et [ξύων suppl. Maas : ἐτυψε
 δέ]—τοῦδα[φος πρέσβος Pf. : alii alia. 70 init. suppl. Hu.,

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abstain from living things^a . . . but they did not
 obey him ; not all, but only they who were possessed
 65 by the evil spirit. To him he said thus . . . having
 drawn from his bag the cup of solid gold : " My
 father bade me give this cup to the wisest of you
 seven (sages) ; and I give you the prize." And he,
 70 scratching calmly the ground with his stick, and
 stroking his beard with his other hand, answered :
 " (I for one will not accept) the gift ; if you are not
 74 going to disobey your father's command, Bias^b . . .

[About 20 lines missing in the papyrus, of which
 4 are known from other sources]

75 Solon.^c And he sent it to Chilon^d . . . and again the
 gift returned to Thales. . . . " Thales dedicates this
 prize, which he was awarded twice, to the protector
 of Neleus' people "^e . . . But if one sees him he^f
 will cry : " He is mad as Alcmeon,"^g and " Flee," he^h
 82 will say, " he strikes, flee the man " . . . and the

^a According to some, Pythagoras enjoined abstention from
 all animal food, according to others, he limited his prohibition
 to the ploughing ox and the ram.

^b Son of Teutamios from Priene, one of the " seven sages."

^c The great Athenian statesman and poet (c. 640-560 B.C.),
 one of the " seven sages."

^d The Spartan ephor (556/5 B.C.), later accepted as one
 of the " seven sages."

^e According to Attic tradition, Neleus, the son of Codrus,
 was the founder of Miletus. Ll. 76-77 quote the dedicatory
 epigram on the votive offering.

^f We do not know about whom Callimachus is speaking.

^g Alcmeon, son of Amphiaraus and Eriphyle, and Orestes
 were the proverbial madmen and matricides of the Euripidean
 tragedies.

finem Pf.

71 e.g. suppl. Diels.

72 e.g. suppl.

Pf.

75 πάλιν cod. : πολὸν v.l.

111

CALLIMACHUS

82 ὁ δ' ἐξόπισθε Κω[ρ]υκαῖος ἐγγάσκει
τὴν γλῶσσαν ἴελων ὡς κύων ὅταν πίνῃ,
καί φησι

83 εἰλῶν Hu. : ἔλκων Maas.

^a Probably the man mentioned in ll. 78 ff. The inhabitants of Corycus in Asia Minor were notorious for mingling with

IAMBUS II

THE content of *Iambus* ii is given by the *Diegesis* as follows: All other animals shared speech with mankind, until the swan went to the gods with the request that old age should be abolished, and the fox ventured to assert that Zeus was not ruling justly. From that time Zeus transferred their power of speech to men, and they became loquacious. He

^a The basic elements of the story are also to be found in "Aesop" (*Fab.* 383 Halm); but more light is shed by Philo (*De confus. lingu.* 6 ff. (ii, p. 231 C.-W.)), who seems to have had Callimachus, or his source, in mind when writing: "there is another (fable) . . . about the community of language of the animals . . . for it is said that all animals of the land, sea and air had once a common language, and spoke to one another in the manner in which Greeks speak to the Greeks and the barbarians to the barbarians, until a surfeit of the good things they enjoyed landed them in a desire to acquire the impossible; they sent ambassadors

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Ἦν κείνος οὐνιαυτός, ᾧ τό τε πτηνόν

^a Animals are said to have possessed speech under the rule of Cronos.

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IAMBI

eavesdropper ^a behind, gapes curling (?) his tongue like a drinking dog, and says . . .

the captains of ships at anchor in the harbour, and then, having overheard where the ship was sailing for, attacking and plundering the vessel. Consequently "any busybody, or anyone, who tries to listen in on those who are conversing privately and in secret, is called a Corycian" (Strabo xiv. 644).

IAMBUS II

(*i.e.* the poet) says, mocking at them, that Eudemos acquired a dog's, and Philton a donkey's voice.

The outline of the fable ^a and the satirical turn Callimachus gives to it are clear, but neither Eudemos nor Philton has been as yet identified. ^b

The metre is choliambic, and the dialect a literary Ionic.

demanding immortality, the abolition of old age and eternal youth. They said that already one kind of animal, the snake, had received this gift, for it divested itself of old age and acquired its former youth. They also said that it was not proper that the higher animals should be in an inferior position to any baser animal, or all to one. They were duly punished for their insolence by the immediate gift of many languages. From that moment they cannot hear one another, on account of the division of their common language into many tongues."

^b Even if Eudemos were the Eudemos of Call. *Epigr.* xlvii (xlviii L.C.L.), as Coppola suggested (*Cirene*, pp. 45 and 82), or the man who "curls his tongue like a drinking dog" of *Iambus* i. 82 f., we still have no definite information about him.

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It was the time ^a when birds and creatures of the

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καὶ τοῦν θαλάσση καὶ τὸ τετράπουν αὐτως
ἐφθέγγεθ' ὡς ὁ πηλὸς ὁ Προμήθειος

[Non plus quam 17 vv. deesse possunt inter 3 et 4]

τὰπὶ Κρόνου τε καὶ ἔτι τὰ πρὸ τη[
5 λ[. .]ουσα καὶ κως [.]υ σ[.]νημεναις [
δίκαιος ὁ Ζεὺς, οὐ δίκαια δ' αἰσυνμένων
τῶν ἔρπετων μὲν ἐξέκοψε τὸ φθέ[γμα,
γένος δὲ τ[.]υτ[. .]ρον—ὡσπερ οὐ κάρτος
ἡμέων ἐχόντων χητέροις ἀπάρξασθαι—
10 . .]ψ ἐς ἀνδρῶν· καὶ κυνὸς μὲν Εὐδήμος,
ἄνου δὲ Φίλτων, ψιττακοῦ δὲ [ρήτηρες
οἱ δὲ τραγωδοὶ τῶν θαλάσσαν οἴκεύντων
ἔχουσι φωνήν· οἱ δὲ πάντες [ἄνθρωποι
καὶ πουλύμυθοι καὶ λάλοι πεφ[ύκασιν
15 ἐκεῖθεν, ἀνδρόνικε· ταῦτα δ' Αἴσωπος
ὁ Σαρδιηνὸς εἶπεν, ὄντιν' οἱ Δελφοὶ
ἄδοντα μῦθον οὐ καλῶς ἐδέξαντο.—

2 αὐτως Pf. : αὐτῶ vel οὕτως codd. 3 Προμηθεὺς
codd. : Προμήθειος Blomfield (-ηος ?) : Προμηθῆος Bentley :
Προμηθεῖος (gen.) Bergk. 4 τῆ[σδ' ἀρχῆς ? Pf. : τῆ[ς 'Ρείης
Barber. 5 λ[έγ]ουσα καὶ κως [ο]ῦ σ[υ]νήμεν αἰσ[χύνῃ Kapsomenos.
7 suppl. von Arnim et Platt. 8 τρυτο cum vestigiis
non convenit, post ut fort. η : [χ]ῆρον ? Pf. 10 ἔτρεψ[
von Arnim : ἡμειψ[Platt. 11 suppl. von Arnim. 12
suppl. Wil. 13 sq. suppl. Platt.

IAMBUS III

The *Diagesis* sums up the poem as follows :
He criticizes the period as valuing wealth more than virtue,
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sea and four-footed animals could talk in the same
way as the Promethean clay^a . . .

[Not more than 17 lines missing]^b

4 in the time of Cronus, and even before . . . Just is
Zeus, yet unjust was his ruling when he deprived
the animals of their speech, and—as though we
were not in a position to give part of our voice to
10 others^c—(diverted) it to the race of men (defective
in this way ?). Eudemos, therefore, has a dog's voice,
and Philton a donkey's, (the orators)^d that of a parrot,
and the tragedians have a voice like the dwellers in
the sea.^e And for this cause, Andronicus,^f all men
15 have become loquacious and wordy. Aesop of Sardis
told this, whom the Delphians did not receive well^g
when he recited his tale.

^a Man, who according to the myth was fashioned by
Prometheus out of clay.

^b In this lacuna (of c. 17 lines) must have fallen the em-
bassy of the swan to Zeus, of which we hear in the *Diagesis*.

^c Man has always spoken more than he should, according
to the poet.

^d In view of the fact that the *Diagesis* does not mention
any other name, the supplement by von Arnim of *ρήτηρες*,
the orators, is very probable, for oratory, like dramatic poetry,
was in decline in the days of Callimachus.

^e The fish.

^f Andronicus, to whom the poem is addressed, is unknown.

^g Aesop is said to have rebuked the Delphians for hanging
about the altar and carrying away large slices of the sacrificed
animals; the infuriated populace forced him over a cliff,
pelting him with stones. Cf. also fr. 191. 26 ff.

IAMBUS III

and accepts the preceding period (as superior), in which the
opposite view prevailed. He also criticizes a certain Euthy-

demus for exploiting his youth and beauty for profit, after being introduced to a rich man by his mother.

Callimachus alludes to Hesiod (*Op.* 174), who considered the past superior to the present, and begins the poem with a wish (l. 1) that he had lived in that better past. We do not know who Euthydemus was, but it appears he was a young

^a Other rivals appear in *Iambi* iv (Simos) and v (Apollonius or Cleon) and in *Epigr.* xxviii (xxx L.C.L.).

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Εἴθ' ἦν, ἀναξ ὤπολλον, ἠνίκ' οὐκ ἦα
]αι καὶ σὺ κάρτ' εἰ[. .]μασθε

] . ν μοι τοῦτ' ἄν ἦν ὀνήϊσ[το]ν

35 . . .] Κ[υβή]βη τὴν κόμην ἀναρρίπτειν

Φρύγα πρὸς ἀλλὸν ἢ ποδῆρες ἔλκοντα

"Αδωνιν αἰαί, τῆς θεοῦ τὸν ἄνθρωπον,

ἰηλεμίξειν· νῦν δ' ὁ μάργος ἐς Μούσας

ἔνευσα· τοίγαρ ἦν ἔμαξα δεν[. .]σω.—

2 φίλαι τε Μοῦσαι Maas. εἰ[τι]μάσθε Puelma. 34 suppl.
Hu. 35 suppl. L.

^a i.e. in other, older times.

^b Cybele, the Lydian form for Cybele, the great mother-goddess of Anatolia. Primarily she was a goddess of fertility, but also cured disease, gave oracles and protected her people

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man whom Callimachus admired, and who was lured away by the wealth of a rival.^a The poem ends on a pessimistic note (ll. 34 ff.): a life devoted to the Muses can never bring the wealth which is necessary in a materialistic age.^b

The metre is choliambic, and the dialect a literary Ionic, similar to that of *Iambi* i and ii.

^b On Callimachus' poverty see *Epigr.* xxxii. (xxxiv L.C.L.) 1, *Epigr.* xxviii (xxx L.C.L.) and *Epigr.* xxxi (xxxiii L.C.L.), and Wilamowitz, *Hell. Dichtung* i, pp. 171 ff.

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LORD Apollo, would that I had lived when I was not^a (and the . . . Muses) and you were greatly
34 honoured (?) . . . it were better for me . . . tossing my
hair, to honour Cybebe^b to the sound of the Phrygian
flute^c or in trailing robe, alas!, to mourn Adonis,^d
the slave of the goddess.^e But now, fool that I was,
I inclined to the Muses. I will, therefore, have to
eat (?) the dough I kneaded.^f

in war. The Greek world associated her with Demeter, and perhaps with a native *Μήτηρ Θεῶν*, Mother of the Gods.

^c Ecstatic states, inducing prophetic rapture and insensibility to pain, were characteristic of the worship of Cybele. The Phrygian music played on the flute, said to have been invented by Marsyas, was thought to induce ecstatic and Bacchic rapture.

^d Adonis, son of Cinyras, king of Cyprus, by an incestuous union with his daughter Myrrha, beloved by Aphrodite, who was killed while hunting by a boar. Lamentation at the death of Adonis was a feature of the annual festival in his honour.

^e Aphrodite.

^f Probably a reference to the proverb: ἦν τις ἔμαξε μᾶζαν, ταύτην καὶ ἐσθιέτω, "one eats the dough one kneads," equivalent to: "I have made my bed, and I must lie on it."

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IAMBUS IV

THE *Diegesis*, which is not complete, gives the following information about *Iambus* iv:

The poet was disputing with one of his rivals, and a certain Simos, who happened to be close by, broke in on their discussion, trying to show himself their equal. Callimachus says he is a Thracian . . . he is a thief of beautiful boys. And he adds the tale about the dispute for supremacy between the laurel and the olive which grew side by side on Mount Tmolus. They recounted their different useful qualities; then, as the dispute continued, an old bramble-bush—for she was growing near by—said: "Cease, before we become a source of joy to our enemies." The laurel stared at it . . . and said: "You foul disgrace, as though you were one of us! . . ."

Nothing is known about Simos, the son of Charitades.^a The theme of this tree-fable—modest merit competing with arrogant self-assertion—is a usual folk-tale motif. In its simplest form we can find it in "Aesop."^b In the framework

^a He was not necessarily of Thracian origin. The word is used as an insult, and perhaps even because of the paed-erastic associations with Orpheus. See Pohlenz, *Philol.* xc

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Εἷς—οὐ γάρ;—ἡμέων, παῖ Χαριτάδew, καὶ σὺ

ἔκουε δὴ τὸν αἶνον· ἐν κοτῆ Τμώλω
δάφνην ἐλαίῃ νεῖκος οἱ πάλαι Λυδοὶ
λέγουσι θέσθαι· καὶ γὰρ
καλὸν τε δένδρεον

8 καὶ γὰρ Hu.

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IAMBUS IV

of the fable Callimachus introduces the device of *εἰρωνεία*, which enables the olive-tree to enumerate its virtues and avoid the charge of arrogance by attributing the details of its defence to a pair of birds, chattering in its branches; he also employs the technique of the *ἀγών*.

But the poet does not follow closely any formal *ἀγών*-scheme, for the laurel's points are not refuted one by one by the olive, which only after receiving the final insults turns them to her advantage, and enumerates—apparently in reverse order—her merits.

The language is a literary Ionic dialect, and the metre choliambic. As certain points in this poem recall the *Hecale* (l. 77 the meal of Theseus at Hecale's hut, fr. 248; ll. 61 f. the chattering birds, those of the *Hecale*, fr. 260. 15 f.), it has been assumed that it was written later than the famous epyllion; but that is not certain.

(1935), p. 121, n. 3. Simos of Call. *Epigr.* xlviii (xlix L.C.L.) appears to be another man.

^b *Fab.* 385 and *Fab.* 116 (Halm).

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You also (claim)—is that not so?—son of Charitades,^a to be one of us. . . . Well, listen to this tale. Once upon a time the ancient Lydians^b say the laurel had a quarrel with the olive on Tmolus^c . . . a beautiful tree

^a The name of the man was Simos, as we know from the *Diegesis*. He is otherwise unknown.

^b Lydia was a territory in the west of Asia Minor, centred in the lower Hermus and the Cayster valleys.

^c Mountain of Lydia.

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10 σείσασα τοὺς ὄρπηκας

[Desunt in P fort. non plus quam 9 versus]

15 τάλαινα[
 ἐμεῦ πα[
 τῆ δ' αὐτί[ς
 " ὄφρων ἐλαίη
 ἐγὼ δεμ[
 20 ὁ Δῆλον οἰκέων
 καί μεν τ[

ᾠριστερὸς μὲν λευκὸς ὡς ὕδρον γαστήρ,
 ὁ δ' ἠλιοπλήξ ὃς τὰ πολλὰ γυμνοῦται.
 τίς δ' οἶκος οὐπερ οὐκ ἐγὼ παρά φληῆ;
 25 τίς δ' οὐ με μάντις ἢ τίς οὐ θύτης ἔλκει;
 καὶ Πυθίη γὰρ ἐν δάφνῃ μὲν ἴδρυται,
 δάφνην δ' αἰεὶ καὶ δάφνην ὑπέστρωται.
 ὄφρων ἐλαίη, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας οὐ Βράγχος
 τοὺς τῶν Ἰώνων, οἷς ὁ Φοῖβος ᾠ[ργίσθη,
 30 δάφνη τε κρούων κῆπος οὐ τομ[]ς
 δις ἢ τρις εἰπὼν ἀρτεμέας ἐποίησε;
 κ]ῆγὼ μὲν ἢ 'πὶ δαίτας ἢ 'ς χορὸν φ[οι]τέω
 τὸν Πυθαϊστῆν· γίνομαι δὲ κάεθλον·
 οἱ Δωριῆς δὲ Τεμπόθεν με τέμνουσιν
 35 ὀρέων ἀπ' ἄκρων καὶ φέρουσιν ἐς Δελφούς,
 ἐπὴν τὰ τῶπόλλωνος ἴρ' ἀγινῆται.
 ὄφρων ἐλαίη, πῆμα δ' οὐχὶ γινώσκω
 οὐδ' οἶδ' ῥκ[οίη]ν οὐλαφηφόρος κάμπτει,
 120

10 . . . after shaking her young boughs . . . (she said?)

[Not more than 9 lines missing]

22 . . . the left ^a side is white like the belly of a water-
 snake, the other, which is mostly exposed, scorched
 by the sun. What house is there where I am not
 25 beside the doorpost? What seer or priest fails to
 carry me? In fact the Pythian priestess has her
 seat on laurel, laurel she sings, and she has laurel
 for a couch. Stupid olive, did not Branchus ^b make
 whole the sons of the Ionians, with whom Phoebus
 30 was angry, by striking them with laurel, and ut-
 tering two or three times his mystic spell (?)? And
 I go too to the feasts and Pytho's dance,^c and I
 35 am the prize of victory.^d The Dorians cut me on the
 hill-tops of Tempe and carry me to Delphi, whenever
 Apollo's festival is celebrated.^e Stupid olive, I know
 no sorrow nor the path trod by the carriers of the

^a The reference is to the olive and the difference of colour between the upper and under surface of the leaves. The laurel is poking fun at the olive, which is here compared to a slave wearing an *ἐξωμίς*, a garment which left the right shoulder exposed to the sun.

^b Branchus the seer (see fr. 229) is supposed to have cleansed the Milesians from a pest by throwing laurel branches over their heads, and chanting a mystic chant.

^c The Athenians sent an embassy (*θεωρία*) to Delphi, the participants in which were called *Πυθαῖοι*.

^d The crown at the Pythian games was originally of oak-leaves, and later of laurel to commemorate the purification of Apollo.

^e Cf. frs. 86 f. Every ninth year laurel-bearing boys led by an *ἀρχιθέωρος* carried from Tempe in Thessaly laurel branches to Delphi to commemorate the purification of Apollo at Tempe after slaying the snake Python (cf. fr. 87).

20 suppl. Pf.
 32 suppl. Hu.

29 suppl. Wil.
 38 suppl. Wil.

30 suppl. Pf.

ἀγνή γάρ εἰμι, κοῦ πατεῦσί μ' ἄνθρωποι,
 40 ἱρή γάρ εἰμι· σοὶ δὲ χῶπότ' ἄν νεκρὸν
 μέλλωσι καίειν ἢ [τά]φ[ω] περιστέλλειν,
 αὐτοὶ τ' ἀνεστέψ[αντο χ]ῶπὸ τὰ πλευρά
 τοῦ μὴ πνέοντ[ος . . .] παξ ὑπ[έ]στ[ρωσαν]."
 ἢ μὲν τάδ', οὐκέτ' ἄλλα· τὴν δ' ἀπήλ[λαξε
 45 μάλ' ἀτρεμαίως ἢ τεκοῦσα τὸ χρίμα·
 "ὦ πάντα καλή, τῶν ἐμῶν τὸ κ[ἀλλιστον
 ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ κύκνος [ὡς
 ἦεις· οὔτω μὴ κάμοιμι]
 ἐγὼ μὲν ἄνδρας, οὗς Ἄρη[ς ἀνήλωσε
 50 συνέκ τε πέμπω χῶπὸ
]ων ἀριστέων, οἱ κα[
 ἐγὼ] δὲ λευκὴν ἠνίκ' ἐς τάφον Τηθύν
 φέρουσι παῖδες ἢ γέροντα Τιθωνόν,
 αὐτὴ θ' ὀμαρτέω κῆπι τὴν ὁδὸν κείμει·
 55 γηθέω δὲ πλείον ἢ σὺ τοῖς ἀγινεῦσιν
 ἐκ τῶν σε Τεμπέων. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐμνήσθης
 καὶ τοῦτο· κῶς ἄεθλον οὐκ ἐγὼ κρέσσων
 σεῦ; καὶ γὰρ ὦγών οὖν Ὀλυμπίη μέζων
 ἢ ἔν τοῖσι Δελφοῖς· ἀλλ' ἄριστον ἢ σωπῆ.
 60 ἐγὼ μὲν οὔτε χρῆσθον οὔτε σε γρύζω
 ἀπηγὲς οὐδέν· ἀλλὰ μοι δὴ ὄρνιθες
 ἐν τοῖσι φύλλοις ταῦτα τινθυρίζουσαι
 πάλαι κάθηνται· κωτίλον δὲ τὸ ζεύγος.
 τίς δ' εὔρε δάφνην; γῆ τε καὶ κα[. . .]σ[
 65 ὡς πρίνον, ὡς δρῦν, ὡς κύπειρον, ὡς πεύκην.

41 suppl. Hu. 42 suppl. Hu. 43 εἰσά]παξ
 temptavit Hu. : fort.—ὦ πό]παξ—interiectio indignantis Pf.
 cett. suppl. Hu. 44 suppl. L. 46 suppl. von Arnim.
 47 [ὡς Ἀπόλλωνος e.g. suppl. Pf. 48 [ι ποιοῦσα dub.
 122

40 dead, for I am pure, and men do not tread on me, for
 I am holy. But you, whenever men are to burn a
 corpse or lay it in a grave, they use for wreaths to
 wear, and (alas! (?)) they strew you under the sides
 of him who breathes no more." So much the one said
 and no more. But the oil-bearing tree got rid of her
 45 opponent ^a (?) very quietly: "Friend, fair in all
 respects, like the swan ^b . . . you sang my greatest
 beauty at the end of your song. May I never tire
 50 doing thus. I escort the men whom Ares slays (?),
 and beneath . . . of princes, who . . . and when
 the children carry to the grave a white-haired Tethys,^c
 or some old Tithonus,^d it is I who go with them and
 55 lie strewn on the path; and I find more joy in this
 than you in those who bear you from Tempe. But
 since you spoke of this too, am I not better than you
 as a prize? For certainly the Olympic ^e games are
 greater than those held at Delphi. Silence is best.
 60 For my part I say no word of praise or blame for you.
 But two birds which have long been perched in my
 leaves mutter all this—they are a chattering couple:
 'Who brought forth the laurel?' 'Earth and . . .
 65 just like the ilex, the oak, the galingale and the pine.'

^a ἀπαλλάξαι τοὺς κατηγοροῦς was a term used in the law-courts, meaning to get rid of one's opponents.

^b The swan was supposed to sing its sweetest song just before its death.

^c Daughter of Earth and Heaven, sister of Ocean; became consort of Ocean and bore the Rivers and the three thousand Oceanids; here used as an example of longevity.

^d Tithonus, type of extreme longevity.

^e The crown at the Olympic games was of wild olive, the *Kotinos*.

suppl. Pf. : [ἀκούουσα e.g. L.
52 suppl. Hu.

49 suppl. e.g. Trypanis.

τίς δ' εἶδ' ἐλαίην; Παλλάς, ἦμος [ἦρ]μζ[ε
 τῷ φυκιοίκῳ κῆδίκαιζεν ἀρχαίοις
 ἀνὴρ ὄφισ τὰ νέρθεν ἀμφὶ τῆς Ἀκτῆς.
 ἐν ἡ δάφνη πέπτωκε. τῶν δ' ἀειζῶων
 70 τίς τὴν ἐλαίην, τίς δὲ τὴν δάφνην τιμᾶ;
 δάφνην Ἀπόλλων, ἡ δὲ Παλλάς ἦν εἶδρε.
 ξυνὸν τόδ' αὐταῖς, θεοὺς γὰρ οὐ διακρίνω.
 τί τῆς δάφνης ὁ καρπός; ἐς τί χρήσωμαι;
 μήτ' ἔσθε μήτε πίνε μήτ' ἐπιχρίση.
 75 ὁ τῆς δ' ἐλαίης ἐν μὲν ἴαλιτιτωῖ μάσταξ
 ὁ στ[έμφυλο]ν καλεῦσιν, ἐν δὲ τὸ χριμα,
 ἐν [δ' ἡ κολ]υμβὰς ἦν ἔπωγε χῶ Ἐησεύς·
 τ[ὸ δ]εῦ[τερ]ον τίθημι τῇ δάφνη πτῶμα.
 τεῦ γὰρ τὸ φύλλον οἱ ἰκέται προτείνουσι;
 80 τὸ τῆς ἐλαίης· τὰ τριῖ ἡ δάφνη κεῖται.
 (φεῦ τῶν ἀρτύτων, οἶα κωτιλίζουσι·
 λαιδρῆ κορώνη, κῶς τὸ χεῖλος οὐκ ἀλγείς);
 τεῦ γὰρ τὸ πρέμνον Δῆλιοι φυλάσσουσι;
 τὸ τῆς ἐλαίης ἡ ἀνέπαυσε τὴν Λητώ.

66 suppl. Wil. 76 suppl. Diels. 77 init. suppl.
 Knox: κολ]υμβὰς iam Diels. ἔπωγε (vix ἔρωγε) L.: ἔπιγε
 (vix ἔρωγε) Knox. 78 suppl. Hu. 83 suppl. Hu.

^a The reference is to the story of the contest between
 Athena and Posidon for the possession of Attica. Posidon

'Who brought forth the olive?' 'Pallas, when she
 contended for Attica with the Sea-weed Dweller in
 old times, with a snake-tailed man as judge.'^a 'One
 70 fall against the laurel.'^b 'Which god honours the
 laurel, which the olive-tree?' 'Apollo honours the
 laurel, Pallas the olive, which she herself discovered.'
 'This is a tie, for I do not distinguish between gods.'
 'What is the laurel's fruit? What use can I make of
 it?' 'Do not use it for food or drink or ointment.'
 75 But the olive's fruit is first the food (of the poor?),
 the olive-cake, as they call it, second (it produces)
 oil, and third the pickled olive which even Theseus
 swallowed.'^c 'I count this a second fall for the
 laurel.' 'Whose is the leaf that suppliants offer in
 80 appeal?' 'The olive's.' 'The laurel has had three
 falls now.' (Alas! those creatures, how they chat-
 ter on! Shameless crow, does not your lip grow
 sore?) 'Whose trunk do the Delians preserve?'
 84 'The olive's, which gave rest to Leto . . .'^d . . .

smote a rock on the Acropolis and produced a salt pool
 (θάλασσα). Then Athena, calling Cecrops, who was repre-
 sented as having the lower part of his body in snake form,
 to witness her possession (κατάληψις), produced an olive.
 Finally Zeus appointed the twelve gods as arbiters, who
 decided in favour of Athena.

In this passage, however, Cecrops is said to be the only
 judge.

^b The picture comes from the wrestlers who were beaten
 when thrown thrice on the ground.

^c The κολυμβὰς, which was offered by Hecale to Theseus.
 Cf. fr. 248.

^d According to a rarer version of the myth Leto, when
 giving birth to Apollo in Delos, rested against the trunk of an
 olive tree. Cf. Call. *Hymn* iv. 262. No satisfactory suppl-
 ement of lines 85-91 has been suggested. It seems, however,
 probable that there the olive took up in reverse order the
 first three claims of the laurel to superiority.

CALLIMACHUS

85]οι πολῖται κ[]τι τῷ δήμῳ
]τανουν ἔστεφέν μιν ἡ δάφνη
]α θαλλῶ καλλίνικος ἡλαίη
]υφανητε κήπι τὴν ὄγχυην
]τερην τιν' αἰνεῖται
 90]ικουτεκοι μάντεις
]ν οὐτ' ἐπὶ φλυῆς
 φ]ημι τὴν δάφνην."
 ὡς εἶπε· τῇ δ' ὁ θυμὸς ἀμφὶ τῇ ῥήσει
 ἤλγησε, μέζων δ' ἢ τὸ πρόσθεν ἠγγέ[ρ]θη
 95 τ]α δεύτερ' ἐς τὸ νεῖκος, ἔστε τιμ[
 βάτος τὸ τρηχὺ τειχέων π[. .]δ[. .]να
 ἔλεξεν (ἦν γὰρ οὐκ ἄπωθε τῶν δενδρέων).
 " οὐκ ὦ τάλαινα πανσόμοισθα, μὴ χαρταί
 γενώμεθ' ἐχθροῖς, μηδ' ἐροῦμεν ἀλλήλας
 100 ἀνολβ' ἀναιδέως, ἀλλὰ ταῦτά γ' [. .]β[. .]μ[. .];"
 τὴν δ' ἄρ' ὑποδράξ ὅλα ταῦρος ἡ δάφνη
 ἔβλεψε καὶ τὰδ' εἶπεν· " ὦ κακὴ λώβη,
 ὡς δὴ μὲ ἡμέων καὶ σύ; μὴ με ποιήσαι
 Ζεὺς τοῦτο· καὶ γὰρ γειτονεῦσ' ἀποπνίγεις
 105]ς οὐ μὰ Φοῖβον, οὐ μὰ δέσποιναν,
 τῇ κ]ύμβαλοι ψοθεῦσιν, οὐ μὰ Πακτ[ωλόν

IAMBUS V

ACCORDING to the *Diegesis* :

He (*i.e.* Callimachus) attacks in iambs a school-teacher called Apollonius, or according to others one named Cleon, for shamefully abusing his own pupils, bidding him in the guise of a well-wisher not to do this, lest he be caught.

Clearly Callimachus did not mention the name of the teacher in his poem. This iambus was written, at least in parts, in 126

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93 So she spoke ; and the other was pained by her
 speech, and roused in her heart more than before to
 95 fight a second time, until . . . a bramble-bush spoke,
 the thorny . . . of the walls—for it was not far off
 from the trees : " Wretches, let us stop, lest we
 100 should give pleasure to our foes ; let us not rashly
 say evil (things) of one another ; but . . . " The
 laurel-tree looked grimly at it like a wild bull and
 said : " You disgraceful wretch, you pass yourself
 off as one of us ? Preserve me, Zeus, from that !
 105 For even having you near me stifles me . . . No, by
 Phoebus, by the Lady for whom the cymbals clash,^a
 no, by Pactolus ^b . . . "

^a Cybele, see fr. 193, note b.

^b River in Lydia whose sources are in Mount Tmolus. To swear by the river of your fatherland is in the Callimachean style ; *cf.*, *e.g.*, frs. 7. 34, and 201.

86 κα]τὰ νοῦν L. 92 suppl. Hu. : ἀπαντα πίπτειν ταῦτα φ] *e.g.* Crusius. 94 ἠγγέ[ρ]θη Pf. : ἠγγέ[ιρ]εν L. 95 fines versusum 95 sq. valde incerti. 106 suppl. Pf.

IAMBUS V

an allegorical quasi-oracular style, which provided Choeroboscus and others ^a with an adequate example of ἀλληγορία, *i.e.* the technique of saying one thing while implying another in matters too delicate to be treated openly in public. It is

^a *Cf.* Spengel, *Rhet. Gr.* iii. 245. 6 and Pfeiffer's notes on ll. 23-29.

not known who this Apollonius (or Cleon) was, nor is there any indication as to the date of the poem.^a

^a It is not clear if Pittheus (l. 33) is a reminiscence of *Hecale* fr. 237*, which would point to a later date for this poem.

195

Ἦ ξεῖνε—συμβουλή γὰρ ἔν τι τῶν ἱρῶν—
ἀκουε τὰπὸ καρδίας,
ἐπεὶ σε δαίμων ἄλφα βήτη[α
οὐχ ὡς ὀνήστον . [

22 ὡς δ' ἂν σε θωῆ λάβοι·
τὸ πῦρ δὲ τῶνέκασσας, ἄχρισ οὐ πολλῇ
πρόσω κεχώρηκεν φλογί,
25 ἀλλ' ἀτρεμίζει κήπι τὴν τέφρην οἴ[χ]ρει,
κοίμησον. ἴσχε δὲ δρόμου
μαργώντας ἵππους μηδὲ δευτέρην κάμψης,
μή τοι περὶ νύσση δίφρον
ἄξωσιν, ἐκ δὲ κύμβαχος κυβιστήσης.
30 ἦ, μή με ποιήσης γέ[λω].
ἐγὼ Βάκισ τοι καὶ Σίβυλλα καὶ δάφνη
καὶ φηγός. ἀλλὰ συμβαλεῦ

2 sq. suppl. Roberts. 25 suppl. Norsa-Vitelli. 30
suppl. Norsa-Vitelli.

^a Apollonius or Cleon, see introduction.

^b Callimachus uses here ironically the proverb: *ἱερὸν συμβουλή*, "advice is a sacred thing," which was said about those who give advice "with a pure heart, and with no fraud."

128

The dialect is a literary Ionic, and the metre a choliambic trimeter followed by an iambic dimeter.^b

Frs. 210* and 213* may belong to this iambus.

^b On this see Pfeiff. *Philol.* lxxx (1933), p. 268. We now know that Hipponax composed poetry in the same metre. Cf. Fraenkel, *C.Q.* xxxvi (1942), pp. 54 f.

195

LISTEN, friend^a—for advice is held one of the sacred things^b—to my heartfelt warning^c . . . since Fate (has decreed that) you (teach) abc . . . not as the
22 best . . . you would thus be punished. But as long
25 as the fire^d you kindled has not grown into a great
25 flame, but still lies calm and moves among the ashes,
quench it. Hold back from their running the wild
horses, and do not race a second time round the
course, lest they should shatter your chariot on the
30 turning-post,^e and you tumble forth headlong: Ah!
make me not a laughing-stock. For you I am Bacis,^f
Sibyl,^g the laurel-tree and the oak.^h Come, solve the

^a *ἀκουε τὰπὸ καρδίας*, "listen to my heartfelt warning," is a second proverb woven into the beginning of the poem.

^b The fire of love.

^c The turning-post in the racecourse was the most dangerous point.

^d A Boeotian prophet.

^e The Sibyl was originally a single prophetic female variously localized, and legends of her wanderings account for her presence at different spots. As early as Heraclides Ponticus (c. 390–310 B.C.) she became pluralized, and the term gradually became generic.

^h The laurel-tree and the oak were the two prophetic trees of antiquity. The one was sacred at the oracle of Apollo in Delphi, the other at the oracle of Zeus at Dodona.

129

CALLIMACHUS

τῶνιγμα, καὶ μὴ Πιτθέως ἔχε χρεῖην·
ῥον]τι καὶ κωφεῖ λόγος.

34 suppl. Maas; cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 322 ff.: λῶει] τι Barber.

^a The soothsayer (cf. fr. 237*) and diviner who solved

IAMBUS VI

The *Diegesis* reads thus:

(Callimachus) describes to an acquaintance of his, who was sailing to see the statue of Olympian Zeus at Elis, the length, height and width of the pedestal, the throne, the footstool and of the actual (statue of the) god; in addition he states the amount it cost, and that the Athenian Phidias, son of Charmides, was the sculptor.

Iambus vi was a *propemptikon*, a poem to wish "bon voyage" to a departing friend. As far as we can see there is little poetic inspiration here: the object is the display of a great deal of erudite detail, as well as a peculiar sense of humour in setting that kind of material in immaculate verse. The sources of the poet are unknown.^a Phidias, the great Athenian sculptor of the 5th century B.C., was the artist of the famous gold and ivory statue of the Olympian Zeus. He represented the god seated, his bending head almost touching the roof of the cella of the temple; at the top of his throne were two three-figure groups, the Graces and the Horae. The excavations of Olympia have uncovered the site where the statue stood, and it is now clear that the base of the

^a Probably some earlier *Periegesis* of Elis, or even a copy of the official records of the construction of the famous statue.

IAMBI

riddle and seek no Pittheus^a to explain it . . .
speech (benefits) both the hearing and the deaf man.

the oracle given to Aegeus, to whom he gave his daughter in marriage. He was also the teacher of Théseus, who was born from that marriage.

IAMBUS VI

statue was 6.65 m. broad; consequently Callimachus used in his description a foot of c. 0.330 metre. According to modern calculations based on this iambus the throne must have been 9.90 m. high and the god 12.375 m. high.^b The proportion of throne to statue was therefore three to five, and that is what can be also seen on the extant Elean coins on which the statue is represented. One interesting point emerges from the measurements Callimachus gives. The groups of the Horae and the Graces do not seem in the iambus to protrude above the head of the god, whereas in the description of Pausanias (v. 11. 7) they are expressly said to do so. The description of Strabo (viii. 353. 4), on the other hand, supports Callimachus. Each figure of these groups was c. six feet high, so the two groups must have been most impressive and substantial.^c

The dialect of *Iambus vi* is literary Doric, and the metre iambic trimeters alternating with ithyphallics, the metre employed in *Iambus vii*.

^b On these, as well as the other measurements derived from this iambus, see Pfeiff. *J.H.S.* lxi (1941), pp. 4 ff.

^c If the throne was 9.90 m. high, and the Graces and Horae 1.98 m., the two together would be 11.88 m. as against the height of the statue, 12.375 m.

Ἄλειος ὁ Ζεὺς, ἀ τέχνα δὲ Φειδία

37 αὐτὸς δ' ὁ δαίμων πέντε τᾶς ἐφεδρίδος
παχέεσσι μάσσων
]μετὶ δὲ Νίκα [

παρθένοι γὰρ ὦραι
τᾶν ὀργυιαίων ὄσσον οὐδὲ πάφ[σα]λο[ν]
φαντὶ μειονεκτεῖν.
45 τὸ δ' ὦν ἀναισίμωμα—λίχνος ἐσσι γάρ
καὶ τό μεν πυθέσθαι—
.....] μὲν [ο]ὐ [λ]ογιστόν οὐδ [..]ε[

61] δ' ὁ Φειδία πατήρ.
προσκύσας] ἀπέρχευ.—

43 suppl. L. 47 suppl. L. 62 suppl. Maas,
cf. Soph. *Philoct.* 1408.

^a The celebrated Athenian sculptor, born c. 490 B.C., who was commissioned to design the marble sculptures of the

IAMBUS VII

THE *Diegesis* reads:

Hermes Perpheraios is worshipped in Aenus, the Thracian city, for the following reason: Epeus^a carved before the wooden horse a Hermes, which the Scamander swept away

^a Epeus, the mythical sculptor of the Wooden Horse of Troy, is said to have carved other statues of Hermes too. Cf. Paus. ii. 19. 6.

(The statue of) Zeus is in Elis, the art is that of 37 Phidias^a . . . and (the image of) the god himself is five cubits^b higher than the throne . . . and a Nike^c 42 . . . for the maiden Horae^d say that they are not a peg smaller than (the Graces?), six feet^e high . . . 45 and as for the cost, for in your thirst for knowledge you ask this too from me . . . it is impossible to 61 calculate, nor . . . and the father of Phidias. . . . (having made obeisance), go.^f

Parthenon. He was primarily a bronze-worker, but acquired much of his fame from his skill at chryselephantine statues, most famous of which were the Athena Parthenos and the Zeus of Olympia. Phidias must have gone to Elis after 432, when the Parthenon was completed. He went there in exile owing to political charges against him by the opponents of Pericles.

^b The statue itself was therefore 12.375 m.

^c Zeus was represented holding a Nike, a winged victory, in the palm of his hand.

^d Goddesses of the Seasons in Greek mythology.

^e The foot Callimachus uses is probably the so-called "Phidonian foot," c. 330 mm. long.

^f These words (cf. Call. *Epigr.* xi. [xli L.C.L.] 6), as well as the first lines of the poem, are addressed directly to his departing friend.

IAMBUS VII

in a large flood. The statue was carried from there to the sea off Aenus, where some fishermen hauled it up in their net. When they saw it they grumbled about the catch, and attempted to split it up into firewood and build themselves a fire; but they succeeded in doing no more than make a wound-like dent in the shoulder when they struck it; they were unable to split it up completely. And so they tried to

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burn it whole, but the fire flowed around it (without burning it). They gave up, and threw it into the sea, but when they hauled it up in their nets again they believed it to be divine, or to belong to some divinity, and established a shrine for it on the shore, and offered the first fruits of their catch, (passing) the image around from one to the other. And in accordance with an oracle of Apollo they (received) it into their city and honoured it like a god.

This poem is an aetion, explaining the name *Perpheraios* as derived from the ritual of passing the statue from man to

^a Cf. Call. *Epigr.* v, xxi, xxiv (vi, xxiii, xxvi L.C.L.). This poem and *Iambus* ix are the only two extant Greek poems

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Ἑρμῆς ὁ Περφεραῖος, Αἰνίων θεός,
 ἔμμι τῷ φυγαίχμα
 ἐκ Φωκίδος] πάρεργον ἵπποτέκτον[ος·
 δεξιὸς] γὰρ [ὦ]νήρ
 5 0 - 0 - σκέπαρνον

3-4 suppl. Maas: [ὦ]νήρ suppl. L.

^a Callimachus in this iambus wishes to explain the name of the god as derived from the ritual of passing the statue from man to man.

IAMBUS VIII

According to the *Diegesis*, *Iambus* viii was:

An epinician poem for Polycles of Aegina, who won the *Diaulos Amphorites* in his native land. The contest is as follows: At the end of the stadium is placed an amphora full of water up to which the contestant runs empty-handed; he picks up the amphora and retraces his steps, and if he arrives first he wins. This contest derived from the following

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man. In a sense it is also an *aetiology*, in which Hermes makes his power manifest by relating the story. The statue itself is speaking here in the style of certain sepulchral dedicatory epigrams.^a

The interest of Callimachus in local traditions or rarer versions of panhellenic myths is manifest here again. The figure of Hermes appears on the coins of Aenus.

The dialect of the poem is basically Doric, but certain Aeolic, perhaps Cyrenean, elements are also evident. The metre is iambic trimeters alternating with ithyphallics.

which in the style "of a speaking monument" extend beyond the epigram, or "short" elegy.

197

I AM Hermes Perpheraios,^a the god of Aenus,^b a by-product of the man of Phocis who shunned the fight,^c (but) built the horse. For the man was clever (in using ?) the carpenter's axe.

^a City in Thrace.

^b Epeus, the traditional constructor of the wooden horse of Troy, was notorious for his cowardice.

IAMBUS VIII

fact: The Argonauts landed at Aegina and strove to outdo one another while procuring water. The contest is called the *Hydrophoria*.

Iambus viii appears to have been one further effort on the part of Callimachus to adapt the traditional epinician ode to simpler recitative metres,^a and to add the aetiological element

^a Cf. fr. 384 and fr. 383, both in elegiacs.

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CALLIMACHUS

to this type of poetry.^a Apollonius, who mentions this contest as the last event in the Argonauts' journey home, is presumably following Callimachus.^b

^a Probably he followed in this the precedent of Bacchylides (cf. Snell, *Hermes*, lxvii (1932), pp. 1 f.).

^b *Argon.* iv. 1765 f. The festival in which this contest

198

Ἄργῳ κοτ' ἐμπνέοντος ἠκαλον νότου

^a In Apollonius Rhodius too (*Argon.* iv. 1769), the fair breeze made the Argonauts compete in bringing water to the

IAMBUS IX

THE content of *Iambus* ix is given as follows by the *Diagesis*:

The lover of a handsome youth called Philetadas saw the ithyphallic statue of a Hermes in a small palaestra, and asked if his condition was not due to Philetadas. But the Hermes answered that he was of Tyrrhenian descent, and that he was ithyphallic because of a mystic story. On the other hand (he said) his questioner loved Philetadas with evil intent.

We do not know who Philetadas was, or whether, as Koerte suggested,^a he was a favourite of Callimachus, in which case the lover of *Iambus* ix would be the poet himself. The mocking and satirical tone, however, points rather to a rival, or an

^a *Arch. f. Papyr.* xi (1935), p. 240.

^b Cf., e.g., fr. 97.

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The dialect of *Iambus* viii was a literary Ionic and the metre probably a stichic iambic trimeter.^a Frs. 220, 222, 223 and 596* may belong to this poem.

took place (at Aegina) was called the *Hydrophoria*; it was in honour of Apollo and was celebrated in the local month Delphinios. The water was drawn from the fountain Asopis.

^a As only the first line has survived we cannot be certain if it is a stichic iambic trimeter, or an epodic metre.

198

THE Argo once, the south wind gently blowing.^a

ship. This competition gave rise to the contest of the *Hydrophoria* (see introduction).

IAMBUS IX

enemy of the poet. Herodotus (ii. 51) speaks of the Pelasgian origin of the ithyphallic Hermes. Pelasgians were frequently identified with Tyrrhenians in antiquity and even by Callimachus himself.^b

The mystic story explaining the origin of the ithyphallic Hermes is unknown. The poem is composed in the form of a dialogue between the lover of Philetadas and the Hermes. This form was used by Callimachus in his epigrams and also in the *Aetia* (fr. 114. 4 f.).

The dialect is presumably a literary Doric and the metre a catalectic iambic trimeter. Fr. 221 may belong to this poem.^c

^c The similarity of *Iambus* ix to *Iambus* vii is clear; they both treat of the cult of Hermes, and in both instances the statue is the source of information.

137

Ἐρμᾶ, τί τοι τὸ νεῦρον, ὦ Γενειόλα,
ποττᾶν ὑπήγαν κοῦ ποτ' ἔχνησον ;

2 suppl. L. in fine fort. βλέπει Maas.

IAMBUS X

THE *Diegesis* says :

At Aspendus in Pamphylia a boar is sacrificed to Aphrodite Castnia for the following reason: Mopsus, a leader of the Pamphylians, when setting out to hunt vowed to her that, if he were lucky, he would sacrifice whatever he caught first. And so, when he caught a wild boar, he fulfilled his promise. From then to this day the Pamphylians do the same. For, if it had not pleased the goddess, Mopsus would never have hunted the boar. The poet also commends Artemis of Eretria because she rejects nothing that is sacrificed to her.

The sacrifice of swine to Aphrodite was not universal among the Greeks, but, in spite of what Callimachus asserts in l. 4, in Argos a festival was held called *Hysteria*, The Slaying of Pigs, in which that animal was sacrificed to the goddess.^a The tradition that Aspendus in Pamphylia (which was near Mount Castnion, whence Aphrodite Castnietis derived her name) was an Argive colony, established there by Mopsus,

200 A

Τὰς Ἀφροδίτας—ἢ θεὸς γὰρ οὐ μία—
ἢ Καστινήτης τῷ φρονεῖν ὑπερφέρει
πάσας,
ὅτι μόνη παραδέχεται τὴν τῶν ὑἴων θυσίαν.

2 sq. in versus redegit Meineke.
versus redigendis nondum constat.

4 de his verbis in

138

LONG-BEARDED Hermes, why is your penis (pointing ?)
to your beard and not to your feet ^a . . . ?

^a Statues of ithyphallic Hermae stood at the entrances of palaestrae in antiquity.

IAMBUS X

may well link the cult of the Castnian goddess with that of Argos. The hatred of the goddess towards swine was explained by her hatred of the animal that killed her favourite Adonis. As we can see from the *Diegesis*, Callimachus is again ^b treating two similar cults in the same poem. After Aphrodite Castnietis, he spoke about the cult of Artemis Colaenis, worshipped at Amarynthus in Euboea, near Eretria. The cult of the latter goddess seems also to have been popular in Attica, and various efforts have been made to explain the derivation of the name Colaenis. Callimachus appears to have favoured the suggestion that the origin of the name was due to the sacrifice of a mutilated ram (κρινὸς κόλος) by Agamemnon on his way to Troy.

The dialect is a literary Ionic, and the metre iambic trimeters.

^a Athen. iii. 95 f.

^b Cf. *Aetia* frs. 22-25.

200 A

THE Aphrodite of Mount Castnion ^a—for the goddess
4 is not one—is the wisest of all (as she alone allows the
sacrifice of swine).^b

^a Mountain in Pamphylia in Asia Minor. On a relevant inscription see D. Hereward, *J.H.S.* lxxviii (1958), pp. 64 f.

^b Line four as printed in the text is in prose.

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200 B

τὴν ὠγαμέμνων, ὡς ὁ μῦθος, εἶσατο,
τῇ καὶ λίπουρα καὶ μονῶπα θύεται

^a Of Artemis Colaenis (see introduction).

IAMBUS XI

THE *Diegesis* runs:

The proverb "The goods of Connarus are anyone's prey" is wrongly quoted. You should say "Connidas." For this is the source of the proverb: Connidas, a settler from abroad in Selinus, acquired wealth as a brothel-keeper, and in his lifetime used to say that he would divide his property between Aphrodite and his friends. But, when he died, his will was found to say: "The goods of Connidas are anyone's prey." Consequently the people left the theatre, and plundered the property of Connidas. Selinus is a city of Sicily.

This is another aetiological poem, describing the origin of the proverb "The goods of Connidas are anyone's prey." At

^a See also *Iambus* iv, where from the address to the son of

201

Ἄλλ' οὐ τὸν Ὑψᾶν, ὅς τὸ σᾶμά μεν

^a Connidas (on whom see introduction) is speaking from his tomb on the bank of the river Hypsas, now called Belice,

IAMBUS XII

THE *Diegesis* states:

This (poem) is written for the seventh-day celebration of the birth of a little girl whose father Leon was a friend of the

140

IAMBI

200 B

. . . whose effigy,^a as the story goes, Agamemnon dedicated, and to whom even tail-less and one-eyed animals are sacrificed.

IAMBUS XI

the same time Callimachus takes the opportunity of showing the scholarly character of his poetry by correcting the popular misquotation of the proverb. The poem starts by Connidas speaking from his tomb, in the style of certain sepulchral epigrams. In all probability it later developed into a direct narrative by the poet.^{a b}

The word *σᾶμα* of l. 1 points to the use of a Doric literary dialect, appropriate for a story from Selinus. The metre is a brachycatalectic iambic trimeter, an unusual Greek metre.

Charitades the poet proceeds to the direct narrative of the dispute of the laurel and the olive.

^b The source of Callimachus in this story may have well been Timaeus of Tauromenium (c. 356-260 B.C.), because his version agrees with that given by the *Diegesis*. Cf. fr. 148*: Jacoby, *Frag. Gr. Hist.* iii B (1950), p. 642.

201

BUT nay, by Hypsas, you who (pass) my tomb.^a

which flowed by the city of Selinus to the south-west coast of Sicily. In true Callimachean fashion Connidas swears by the river of his motherland (see note *b* on *Iambus* iv. 106).

IAMBUS XII

poet; in it he says that the hymn sung by Apollo was superior to all the gifts brought to Hebe by the other gods.

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This is a birthday poem, unique in its kind in Greek literature.^a The occasion was the *Amphidromia*, a rite according to which a child was carried round the hearth on the fifth, seventh or tenth day after its birth, and gifts were presented by relatives and friends.^b The divine example introduced by the poet adds to the importance of this poem. The festival for the *Hebdoma* of Hebe is, however, not mentioned elsewhere. The object of the poem is firstly to pay a

^a It has nothing in common with the brief birthday poems in the *Palatine Anthology*.

^b The naming of the child could also take place upon that occasion. The celebration for the child of Leon fell upon the seventh day, a day sacred to Apollo.

^c See Lobel (*Hermes*, 1935, p. 42) and Maas (*Gnomon*, xii, 1936, p. 97); poems in trochaic metres, used already from

202

Ἄρτεμι Κρηταίων Ἀμνισοῦ πέδον
 ἣ τε Δικτ[υ]νναίων ἀμφέπεις ὄρος
 τιμῆ [. . .]
 ἣ σε του[. . .]
 5 ἵστη Λιέοντος

 9 καὶ ὕ]μμες ὦ κά[λ]λιστα νήθουσαι μυ[. . .]

 15 ἔστιν οἰκ[. . .]ι[. . .] ἀψευδέα λέγων
 καὶ τάφο[ν τὸ]ν Κ[ρ]ῆτα γινώσκειν κενόν
 φησὶ καὶ πατρῶων οὐ κτείνειν ὄφιν.
 142

IAMBI

compliment to his friend Leon—who is otherwise unknown—and secondly to praise poetry, and point out its superiority over any form of material wealth.

As the gift of Callimachus was this poem, it is a rather obvious compliment to himself that he is presenting the best gift of all. The poet must have given the final touches to the poem in the seven days between the birth and the *Hebdoma* of the child, for he speaks in l. 20 about a "little maid."

The metre is a catalectic trochaic trimeter :

- υ - σ̄ - | υ - | - σ̄ - υ -

and the dialect a literary Ionic.^c

Fr. 204* may possibly belong to this poem.

the days of Archilochus by iambographers, were included in the Alexandrian editions of their iambic works.

202

1 ARTEMIS^a (who dost haunt) the Cretan plain of Amnisonis and (Mount) Dicte^b . . . honoured . . . and you, 15 most beautifully spinning; . . . speaking true words and he says he knows the Cretan tomb (of Zeus)^c is empty, and that he did not kill his father's snake (?).^d

^a Invoked here as Artemis Ilithyia, goddess of childbirth.

^b Mountain sacred to Zeus in eastern Crete.

^c The "tomb" of Zeus was alleged to be in Crete. Cf. Call. *Hymn* i. 8.

^d The passage is obscure.

2 e.g. suppl. Pf. 5 ἵστη L. : Λιέοντος Pf. 9 suppl. Barber. 15 οἰκ[ιστ]ῆρσιν Barber. 16 suppl. L.

143

τοῦνεκ' ἀντήσ[αιτε], πρηξαίαι θεαί,
 τῆσδ' ἐτῆς εὐχῆ[σι . . .]αιισομαι
 20 Μοῦσα τῆ μικκῆ τι τε[. . .]ηναι μελ[
 ἦνικ' ἀρ[τύο]υ[σ]α τὴν γενεθλίην
 ἐβδόμην Ἡρ[η] θ[υ]γατρὸς ἡμέρην
 ἦ[γε]ν οἱ δ' Ὀλυμπον ἦρ[ε]σαν θεοί
 ἦ[μεν]ο[ι] τίς παιδ[α καλ]λίστη δόσει
 25 πρ[επ]τὰ τιμήσει τ[.]ερο[
 Ζεὺς πατήρ οὐ φαν[
 πολλὰ τεχνήεντα ποικ[ί]λα γλ[υφῆ]
 παίχνια Τριτωνίς ἤνεικεν κόρ[η]
 πολλὰ [καὶ Ἀπ]ίου πυλωρὸς ἀχένος

33 παίχνια χρυσοῖο τιμήσ[τ]ερ[α]

45 οἱ δ' εἰ[. . . γ]λυκεῖαν ἀλλήλοισ ἔριν
 θέντες ἡμιλλῶντο δω[τί]νη[ς] πέρι.
 Δ[ήλι] ὤπολλον, σὺ δ' ἔσκαλ[. . .]εμ[
 ὄσσα] τοι Πυθῶνος ἀρχα[ίης] ἔ[σ]ω
 δω[μάτων] ἔκειτο [. . .]επον ρυ[

] ἐφ[θέγ]ξω τ[ά]δε

“ . . .]χεισθ[. . .]οισ[.]οισιν α[. . .]τε[. . .]ερα
 55 .]εσθ', ἐγὼ δ' ἄλλην τιν' ο[. . .]ησ[ω . . .]εν.
 χρεὼ σοφῆς ὦ Φοῖβε πε[ιρ]ᾶσθαι τέχνης,
 ἦτις Ἡφαίστεια νικήσει καλά.

18 suppl. Maas. 19 suppl. L. ἐτῆς divisit et i sub-
 scripsit Pf. 21 suppl. Smiley. 23 ἦ[γε]ν Barber. ἦρ[ε]-
 144

Wherefore, accept, gentle goddesses,^a this earnest
 19 request . . . Muse, I will sing for the little maid
 . . . once when Hera was celebrating the feast of the
 seventh day of her daughter's^b birth, the gods sitting
 on Olympus quarrelled, who would honour the child
 with the most beautiful gift . . . Father Zeus . . .
 27 Tritonis^c brought many toys of cunning workman-
 ship shrewdly carved, and many came from the
 33 guardian of the (Apian) Isthmus,^d . . . toys more
 45 precious than gold. . . . The gods in amicable rivalry
 vied with one another in offering gifts. But you,
 Delian Apollo, . . . all your treasures which were
 stored in the house of ancient Pytho^e . . . you said
 56 the following . . . “ Phoebus, you must try your
 skilful art which will surpass the masterpieces of

^a The goddesses of birth, presumably here the Fates, as can be surmised from the δ κά[λλ]ιστα νήθουσαι of l. 9.

^b Hebe, see introduction.

^c Athene. According to an old legend the goddess was born from, or at the banks of the Libyan lake Τριτωνίς, or from Triton, a torrent in Boeotia, or from a spring of the same name in Arcadia; the name Τριτωνίς is also connected with the word τριτώ, which in Aeolic means head. Cf. also fr. 37.

^d Posidon, master of the Corinthian Isthmus. The Peloponnesus was called Ἀπία after Apis, a mythical king of Argos.

^e The sanctuary of Delphi was famous for the rich offerings it had received from Greeks and Orientals.

σαν Pf. 24-25 suppl. Pf. 27 sq. suppl. Hu. γλ[υφῆ]
 Barber. 28 κόρ[η] Hu. κόρ[η] ruellias nuper natae vel
 fort. κόρ[ας] ruellas? Pf. 29 suppl. Barber. 45 ἴσοι Pf.
 in contentione paros ἡμιλλῶντο (cf. ἰσάμμοι). 46 δω-
 [τί]νη[ς] πέρι suppl. Maas. 48 ὄσσα suppl. Pf. : τῶν δ L.
 cett. suppl. L. 49 suppl. Barber: κτη[μάτων] L. 54 ff.
 Apoll. loquitur. 55 δ[ικχ]ήσ[ω] δόσω feram vel δ[η]λήσ[ω]
 praeparabo e.g. Pf. 56 suppl. L.

αὐτικά χρυσὸν μὲν Ἴνδικοὶ κύνες
 βυσσόθεν μύρμηκες οἴσουσι πτεροῖς·
 60 πολλάκις καὶ φαῦλον οἰκῆσει δόμον
 χρυσός, ἀρχαίους δ' ἀτιμήσει [.]ς.
 καὶ Δίκην καὶ Ζῆνα καὶ [. . .]ρν[. . .]α[. . .]ας
 ὑπτίῳ παίσαντες ἄνθρωποι ποδί
 χρυσὸν αἰνήσουσι τίμον κ[ακόν
 65 τὴν Ἀθηναίης δὲ καὶ ἐτέρων δόσιν,
 καίπερ εὖ σμίλησιν ἠκριβωμένην,
 ὁ πρόσω φοιτέων ἀμαυρώσει χρόνος·
 ἦ δ' ἐμὴ τῇ παιδί καλλίστη δόσις,
 ἔστ' ἐμὸν γένειον ἀγνεύη τριχός
 70 καὶ ἐρίφοις χαίρωσιν ἄρπαγ[εσ λ]ύκ[ο]ι "

59 suppl. C. Bonner. 61 [τρόπου]ς Barber, Morel :
 [τόπου]ς vel [νομού]ς Bonner : [νόμου]ς Trypanis. 62 καὶ
 Νόμον σέβας temptavit Bonner. 64 κάλλιστον κερκόν v.l. P.
 68 καλλίστη suspectum editoribus. 70 κήριφων χαίρωσιν
 ἀρπαγ[ῆ] prop. Maas.

IAMBUS XIII

ACCORDING to the *Diegesis* :

In this poem, in answer to those who criticized him for the variety of the poetry he writes, (Callimachus) says that he is copying the tragic poet Ion. Indeed neither does one criticize a craftsman for producing utensils of different kinds.

This poem, which concludes the book of the *Iambi*, deals with literary criticism, and, though in a fragmentary condition, betrays the polemical spirit of its author. Callimachus defended himself against the criticism of πολυεῖδεια, of com-
 146

Hephaestus.^a For example the ants, the Indian dogs,^b will bring gold from the depths of the earth on 60 their wings, and often shall the home in which it settles be base : it will pay no regard to ancient (customs ?). Mankind, kicking with spurning foot both Dike^c and Zeus and . . . will praise gold, an 65 honoured evil (?); the gift of Athene, and of the others,^d though splendidly chiselled, will lose its lustre as time passes on. But my most beautiful gift to the child,^e while my cheeks and chin are still smooth 70 and free of hair, while the ravening wolves delight in kids . . . "

^a The songs of Apollo will surpass even the most excellent goldsmith's work of Hephaestus. From ll. 54 ff. Apollo appears to be speaking.

^b The Indian ants were said to be "larger than foxes, but smaller than dogs" (Herod. iii. 102). The sand they dug up, when making their nests, was said to be full of gold.

^c The personification of Order and Right.

^d We do not know what these are.

^e The song. The poet compares the immortality of (great) poetry with the transitory splendour of material gifts.

IAMBUS XIII

posing poems in too many genres, by putting forward the "classical" example of Ion of Chios (born c. 490 B.C.) who was admired in Alexandria and included in the Alexandrian canon of the tragedians; he also wrote comedies, dithyrambs, lyric poetry, paeans, hymns, encomia, elegies, epigrams, scolia and a number of prose works.^a

Neither the *Diegesis*, nor the legible fragments of the

^a See A. von Blumenthal, *Ion von Chios* (1939), and F. Jacoby, *C.Q.* xli (1947), pp. 1 ff.

CALLIMACHUS

iambus, give any indication as to who were the critics Callimachus attacked here. No doubt Apollonius Rhodius and the Telchines of *Aetia* fr. 1 should be counted among them.

203

Μοῦσαι καλάι κάπολλον, οἷς ἐγὼ σπένδω

7
 ὁ Μίμ[ερμος]

11 ἐκ γὰρ [. οὐτ'] "Ἴωσι συμμείζας
 οὐτ' Ἐφεσον ἐλθὼν, ἥτις ἐστι [.]αμ[
 "Ἐφεσον, ὅθεν περ οἱ τὰ μέτρα μέλλοντες
 τὰ χολὰ τίκτειν μὴ ἀμαθῶς ἐναύονται.
 15 ἀλλ' εἴ τι θυμὸν ἢ πὶ γαστέρα πνευσ[
 εἴτ' οὖν ἐπ[. . .] ἀρχαῖον εἴτ' ἀπαι[,
 τοῦτ' ἐμπέπλεκται καὶ λαλευσ[
 Ἴαστὶ καὶ Δωριστὶ καὶ τὸ σύμμεικτον.
 τεῦ μέχρι τολμᾶς; οἱ φίλοι σε δήσ[ουσι,
 20 κῆν νοῦν ἔχωσιν, ἐγχεύουσι τὴν [
 ὡς ὑγιείης οὐδὲ τῶνυχι ψαύεις

31 σὺ πεντάμετρα συντίθει, σὺ δ' ἦ[ρῶο]ν,
 σὺ δὲ τραγωδεῖν ἐκ θεῶν ἐκληρώσω;
 δοκέω μὲν οὐδεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ το[.]δ[. .]κεψαί

[Inter vv. 33 et 34 9 vel 10 versus desunt]

40 τὰ νῦν δὲ πολλὴν τυφεδῶνα λεσχαίνεις

IAMBI

The dialect is a literary Ionic, and the metre a stichic choliambic trimeter.

Frs. 215 and 218 may belong to this poem.

203

1 FAIR Muses and Apollo, to whom I make libations
 7 (with my songs?) . . . Mimnermus^a . . . neither
 11 having mixed with the Ionians, nor having come to
 Ephesus (of many tongues (?)), Ephesus which in-
 15 spires those who will write seasons skilfully.^b But if
 something (appeals) to the heart or the stomach,
 . . . this has been interwoven and they (?) speak
 . . . Ionic and Doric and a mixture of both. How
 far dare you go? Your friends will bind you, and,
 20 if they have sense, will pour out (a libation to Sanity),
 as you don't touch sanity even with your finger-tips
 31 . . . who said "Do you compose pentameters and you
 epics; the gods have allotted that you write trage-
 dies"? Nobody, I believe, but . . .

[9 or 10 lines missing in the papyrus between
 lines 33 and 34]

40 but now you chatter much nonsense . . . poet is

^a The great poet of Colophon; see fr. 1. 11.

^b The writers of choliambos or seasons take Hipponax of Ephesus as their model.

7 suppl. Crusius. 11 suppl. L. 12 πᾶμφ[υλος
 vel πᾶμφ[υλος? Pf. 16 ἀπαρτη[θέν L. Radermacher:
 ἐτ[ῶς]—ἀπαρ[τισθέν Barber. 31 suppl. Crusius, Knox.
 33 τὸ[δ]ε σκέψαι Knox.

52] αοιδὸς ἐς κέρας τεθύμωται
 κοτέω]ν αοιδῶ κήμέ δει[.]ταπραχ[
] δ[ύ]ρηται τήν γενήν ἀνακρίνει
 55 καὶ δοῦλον εἶναί φησι καὶ παλίμπρητον
 καὶ τοῦ πρ[.]ου τὸν βραχίονα στίζει,
 ὥστ' οὐκ αικε[.]υσιν α[. . .]λ[. . .]υσαι
 φαύλοισ ὀμιλεῖν [.]ν παρέπτησαν
 καῦται τρομεῦσαι μὴ κακῶς ἀκούσασι.
 60 τοῦδ' οὐνεκ' οὐδὲν πῖον, ἀλλὰ λιμηρά
 ἕκαστος ἀκροῖς δακτύλοισ ἀποκνίζει,
 ὡς τῆς ἐλαίης, ἣ ἀνέπαυσε τὴν Λητώ.
 μηθ[.]ν αἰείδω
 οὔτ' Ἐφέσον ἐλθὼν οὔτ' Ἴωσι συμμείξας,
 65 Ἐφέσον, ὅθεν περ οἱ τὰ μέτρα μέλλοντες
 τὰ χολὰ τίκτειν μὴ ἀμαθῶς ἐναύονται.

53 suppl. Knox.

54 suppl. L.

52 angry against poet to the point of assaulting him.
 . . . examines his descent, and says he is a slave,
 and a good for nothing slave, passing from hand to
 hand, and . . . brands his arm so that . . . to
 associate with vile people . . . they, too, flew past
 60 him, fearing lest they be spoken of badly . . . There-
 fore, each one scrapes off with the tips of his fingers
 not rich things, but hungry morsels, like those
 scraped off the olive-tree that gave Leto rest.^a Nor
 do (?) I sing,^b either having come to Ephesus, or
 65 having mixed with the Ionians, Ephesus which inspires
 those who will write scazons skilfully.

^a The sacred olive-tree, which gave rest to Leto (see note on fr. 194. 84), was shown in Delos, and visitors scraped off tiny bits of the trunk.

^b Callimachus is here speaking about himself, and probably uses the very words with which his opponents assailed him.

IAMBORUM FRAGMENTA INCERTAE
SEDIS, 215-223

215

ἦτις τραγωδὸς μουσα ληκυθίζουσα

^a May belong to fr. 203. *ληκυθίζω* means to declaim in a hollow voice as though speaking into a *λήκυθος*, an oil-flask.

216

ἔβηξαν οἶον ἀλίβαντα πίνοντες

οἶνον cod. v.l.

218

Μούση γὰρ ἦλθον εἰς ὄβδην

219

οὐ πρῶν μὲν ἡμῖν ὁ τραγωδὸς ἤγειρε

220

καὶ τῶν νεήκων εὐθύς οἱ τομώτατοι

152

(IAMBIC FRAGMENTS WHICH CANNOT
BE ATTRIBUTED WITH CERTAINTY
TO ANY OF THE IAMBI, 215-223)

215

. . . the tragic muse, which making a booming noise.^a

216

. . . they coughed like those who drink vinegar.

218

. . . for they came in sight of the Muse (?)

219

. . . the tragedian did not stir for us (?) . . . just now.^a

^a May belong to fr. 203.

220

. . . and the most ardent youths at once.^a

^a Possibly from fr. 198.

153

CALLIMACHUS

221

αἰτοῦμεν εὐμάθειαν Ἑρμῆνος δόσιν

222

οὐ γὰρ ἐργάτιν τρέφω
τὴν Μοῦσαν, ὡς ὁ Κεῖος Ἑλίου νέπουσ

^a Simonides of Ceos, the great lyric and elegiac poet (c. 556-468 B.C.) was proverbial for his stinginess. Hyllichu

223

κοῦχ ᾧδ' Ἀρίων τῷπέσαντι παρ Διί
ἔθυσεν Ἀρκὰς ἵππος

^a Arion is the famous horse of Adrastus, reputed to be the offspring of Posidon and Demeter, when she in equine form

IAMBI

221

. . . we ask for zeal for learning, the gift of Hermes.^a

^a Probably comes from fr. 199. Hermes was a general patron of literature.

222

. . . for I do not bring up my Muse a labourer as the Cean descendant of Hyllichus (did).^a

was the founder of the family τῶν Ἑλιχιδῶν, to which Simonides belonged.

223

ARION, the Arcadian horse, did not rage thus at the shrine of Apesantian Zeus.^a

was seeking her daughter near Thelpusa in Arcadia. Apesas is a hill near Nemea. This may belong to fr. 198.

LYRIC POEMS

INTRODUCTION

THE *Diegeseis* place four lyric poems between the *Iambi* and the *Hecale*. Three of these are quoted in antiquity under their own titles, but are never mentioned as part of a separate book of Callimachean MEAN. Pfeiffer suggests Πρὸς τοὺς Ὀρπαίους, *To Beautiful Boys*, as title for the first.^a The other three are the Παννυχίς, *The Night-Festival*, the Ἐκθέωσις Ἀρσινόης, *The Deification of Arsinoë*, and Βράγχος, *Branchus*.

^a He quotes the *Diegesis*. This poem is never mentioned by any ancient author.

[ΜΕΛΗ ?]

[ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΩΡΑΙΟΥΣ ?]

THE title, *To Beautiful Boys*, is by no means certain, but is suggested by Pfeiffer because of ll. 1 f. of the *Diegesis* :

(The poet) addresses the beautiful boys. Lemnos, happy of old, became unhappy when the women attacked the men. Therefore, you (plural), too, should have regard to the future.

As we can see from the *Diegesis*, the poem referred to the myth that the women of Lemnos murdered all the men of the island, because they had taken to themselves concubines (or possibly in this version beautiful boys) from Thrace, after Aphrodite had plagued the women with a foul odour, because

226

Ἡ Λήμνος τὸ παλαιόν, εἴ τις ἄλλη

^a *i.e.* before the women attacked and slew the men.

ΠΑΝΝΥΧΙΣ

THE title of the poem, *Pannychis*, means night-festival, or vigil. The *Diegesis* describes it as :

A drinking-song in honour of the Dioscuri. He (*i.e.* Callimachus) also celebrates Helen, and asks her to accept the sacrifice. He also exhorts the fellow-drinkers to lie awake.

160

LYRIC POEMS

TO BEAUTIFUL BOYS (?)

they had neglected her rites. Hypsipyle, daughter of King Thoas, governed the island, and received the Argonauts, with whom she and her women mated, and thus the island was repopulated. The admonition to the beautiful boys in this poem remains obscure. It can either be "carpite diem," for bad fortune succeeds happiness, or else beware of neglected women, for they may harm you.

The metre is phalaecean, probably stichic. There is no evidence as to the length or the date of the poem.

226

LEMNOS in ancient times,^a if ever there was a (happy) island, (was happy) . . .

PANNYCHIS

The metre is epodic, described in antiquity as "Fourteen-syllable Euripidean" (Εὐριπίδειον τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάσύλλαβον). There is no indication as to the length or date of the poem.

161

"Ἔνεστ' Ἀπόλλων τῶ χορῶ· τῆς λύρης ἀκούω·
καὶ τῶν Ἐρώτων ἡσθόμην· ἔστι κάφροδιτή·

θυμηδίνην [] δεῦτε παννυχ[
5 ὁ δ' ἀγρυπνήσας [ἡνεκὲς] μέχρι τῆς κο[ρώνης]
τὸν πυραμοῦντα λήψεται καὶ τὰ κοττάβεια
καὶ τῶν παρουσῶν ἣν θέλει ᾧν θέλει φιλήσει.
ὦ Κάστωρ [ἵππων δμητόρες] καὶ σὺ Πωλύδ[ευκες]
καὶ τῶν ἀ[οίκων ῥύτορες] καὶ ξένω[ν ὄδηγοί

4 παννυχ[ίειν vel παννυχιστοί Wil. 5 [ἡνεκὲς] suppl.
Pf.: fin. suppl. Wil. 7 χον P: corr. Pf. 8 [ἵππων
δμητόρες] e.g. Maas. fin. suppl. Wil. 9 ἀ[οίκων Wil. ῥύ-
τορες e.g. Maas. ξένω[ν Wil. ὄδηγοί e.g. Maas.

^a The epiphany of the gods Apollo, Aphrodite and the Eroses (in the plural, in true Alexandrian manner), gives a realistic touch to the beginning of the poem, reminiscent of Call. *Hymn* ii. We do not know how many lines are missing between ll. 2 and 4.

^b It is not known what the κορώνη was. The word literally meaning "crow" seems here to be used in the sense of "culmination" or "fulfilment." The fragment speaks of the cottabos game, which was of Sicilian origin and played

ΕΚΘΕΩΣΙΣ ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ

The poem is a lament on the sudden death of Queen Arsinoë, sister and wife of Ptolemy II Philadelphos. The title *Ektheosis Arsinoes* is preserved by the *Diegesis*, which reads:

Deification of Arsinoë. (The poet) says that she was snatched up by the Dioscuri, and that an altar and a holy enclosure were established in her honour near the Emporion.^a

APOLLO is in the choir; I hear the lyre. I also felt
2 the presence of the Eroses; Aphrodite too is here ^a
4 . . . come hither, revellers (?), and he who has kept
awake till the height of the festival (?) ^b will take the
cake of roasted wheat and honey, and the cottabos
prize ^c; and he will kiss whom he wishes of the girls
and boys present. O Castor, and you, Polydeuces,^d
(tamers of horses), (protectors of the homeless) and
(guides) of the guests . . .

at banquets after the tables were cleared away. One of its more popular forms consisted of throwing heel-taps into a metal basin, but there were many variations of the game, as can be seen in its description by Athenaeus, xv. 665 d ff. There we are also told (xv. 668 c) that "they used to keep themselves awake as long as possible by dancing" (*cf.* fr. 69 with note).

^c We do not know what the cottabos prizes were in this instance. According to Athenaeus (xv. 667 d) eggs, cakes, nuts, raisins, or (xv. 668 d) ribbons and apples and kisses were presented as prizes. Here the cottabos prize seems to be different from the *πυραμοῦς*, a kind of bread covered with sesame, and the kisses.

^d Castor and Polydeuces, the Dioscuri, sons of Tyndareus and Leda, brothers of Helen (*cf.* fr. 64. 11, with note).

THE DEIFICATION OF ARSINOË

As the queen died on the 9th of July 270 B.C., the poem cannot have been written very much later.

Apollo is invoked and asked to lead the chorus of the Muses, without whose aid the poet proclaims he is unable to sing. The mutilated condition of the papyrus does not allow us to follow the exact development of the poem, but in

^a A quarter of the city of Alexandria near the harbour.

ll. 40 ff. we find the queen's younger sister Philotera, who was already dead and honoured as a goddess (l. 52), asking Charis to fly to the top of Mount Athos in order to find out the origin of the huge column of smoke that came rolling across the surface of the Aegean Sea. Charis complied with the request of the goddess, and then told Philotera that the smoke came from the funeral pyre of her sister Arsinoë, who had just died, and that all the Egyptian cities were mourning for the death of the queen. The papyrus breaks off at that

228

Ἄγέτω θεός—οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ δίχα τῶνδ' αἰίδειν
 π]ροποδεῖν Ἀπόλλων
]κεν δυνάϊμαν
 κατὰ χεῖρα βάσαι,
 5 νύμφα, σὺ μὲν ἀστεριαν ὑπ' ἄμαξαν ἦδη
 Ἀνάκων ὑπο κλεπτομέν]α παρέθει(ς) σελάνα
 διχομήνιδι - - -] ἀτενεῖς ὄδυρμοί
] μία τοῦτο φωνά
 Ἄρσινω]α βασιλεια φρούδα
 10 ἀστῆρ - - - | - - - - τ]ε παθῶν ἀπέσβη;
 ἀ δ]έ χύδαν ἐδίδασκε λύπα
] μέγας γαμέτας ὀμύνω
]αν πρόθεσιν πύρ' αἶθειν

1 ἔγω v.l. codd. 2 suppl. Wil. 4 ἀχείραβαμοισαι P; suppl. e schol. et corr. Wil. 6 Ἀνάκων ὑπο Barber. κλεπτομέν]α (sc. Arsinoë) e schol. et e.g. ἀνετείλαο vel ἐπανέρχεο Pf.: παρέθει(ς) Wil. 7 suppl. Wil. 9 Ἄρσινω] Barber: ἀμετέρα] Pf. e.g. 10 ἀστῆρ suppl. Barber: τ] suppl. Wil. 11 suppl. e schol. Wil. 12 μέγας Pf.

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point, so we do not know whether the formal deification of Arsinoë was described here, or whether the poem concluded with the setting up of the altar and precinct in her honour.

The metre is a stichic archebouleion:

— — — — — | — — — — — | — — — — —

A diaeresis appears after the third anapaest, and a caesura after the two short syllables of the second anapaest.^a

^a In ll. 41 and 57 we find the caesura after the first short syllable. The last syllable of the line is usually long.

228

LET the god^a lead—for without them^b I (cannot) sing
 — . . . Apollo to show the way . . . I could . . .
 5 stepping in accord with his hand^c . . . O bride,^d
 already up under the stars of the Wain, . . . snatched
 away (by the Dioscuri), you were speeding past the
 (full) moon . . . loud laments . . . one voice (said
 10 this) . . . Queen (Arsinoë) has gone . . . having
 suffered what, was (our star) quenched? . . . and
 over-flowing grief taught . . . the great husband^e
 for his wife . . . to light fires as an offering (?) . . .

^a Apollo.

^b The Muses and Apollo.

^c The Muses dancing and singing with Apollo are here visualized by the poet as described in the Introduction to Hesiod's *Theogony* (ll. 1 ff.).

^d The queen, or rather the soul of the queen, is imagined here as snatched away by the Dioscuri and travelling beside the full moon under the stars of the Wain.

^e The king, Ptolemy II Philadelphos.

165

15] λεπτόν ὕδωρ
Θέτ[ιδος τὰ πέραια βωμῶν
]ωδε Θήβα .

35] πρόλις ἄλλα τευξεῖ
]φέρει θάλασσαν
]ἄ παναγῆς ε[. . .]ς·
]ν τὰ τάλαντα [. . .]·
]ων τὰ καλὰ π[. . .]ἄ

Πρωτῆι μὲν ὠδ' ἐτύμοι καταγό[ντο φάμαι.
40 σαμάντριαν ἃ δὲ πυρᾶς ἐνόησ' ἰ[ωάν,
ἂν οὐλα κυλιδομένην ἐδίωκ[ον αἰραι

< >

ἦδ' ἄμ μέσα Θρηϊκίου κατὰ νῶτα [πόντου
Φιλωτέρα· ἄρτι γάρ οἱ Σικελὰ μὲν Ἔννα
κατελείπετο, Λαμνιακοὶ δ' ἐπατεύ[ντο βουνοί
45 Δηοῦς ἀπο νεισομένα· σέο δ' ἦν ἀπ[υστος,
ᾧ δαίμοσιν ἀρπαγίμα, φάτο δ' ἠμιδ[
" ἔξεν Χάρι τὰν ὑπά[τ]αν ἐπ' Ἄθω κολῶ[ναν,
ἀπὸ δ' αὔγασαι, ἐκ πεδίου τὰ πύρ' αἰ σαπ[
τ]ίς ἀπώλετο, τίς πολίων ὀλόκαντος ἀ[ίθει.
50 ἐνι μοι φόβος· ἀλλὰ ποτεῦ· νότος αὔ[τος οἰσεῖ,
νότος αἰθριος· ἦρά τι μοι Λιβύα κα[κούται; "
τάδ' ἔφα θεός· ἃ δ' ὅποτε σκοπιᾶν ἐπ[έπτα
χιονώδεα, τὰν ἀπέχειν ἐλάχιστ[ον ἄρκτου

15 suppl. Wil. e schol. 39 suppl. Wil. 40 suppl.
Wil. 41 suppl. Wil. inter 41 et 42 versum deesse in P
vidit Wil. 42 suppl. Wil. 44 suppl. Wil. 45 νεισο-
μενας· P: corr. Maas. ἀπ[υστος suppl. Wil. 47 suppl.
Wil. 49 suppl. Wil. 50 e.g. suppl. Barber. 52 ἄλλ'
P: ἃ δ' Maas. fin. suppl. Wil. 53-57 e.g. suppl. Wil.

15 shallow water . . . that faces the altars of Thetis ^a
39 . . . Thebes ^b . . . Thus the true report was carried
down to Proteus. ^c But she, Philotera, ^d noticed the
smoke, the indicator of the funeral pyre, which was
carried by the breezes as it rolled curling . . . and
along the mid-surface of the Thracian ^e Sea. For a
short time ago she had left Sicilian Enna, ^f and was
walking on the hills of Lemnos returning from her
45 visit to Deo. ^g But she knew not of you ^h (sc. of your
death), O stolen by the gods, and said . . . "Charis, ⁱ
sit on the top of Mount Athos, and see if the fire
comes from the . . . plain . . . which city has perished,
50 which city all on fire sends forth this light? I am
anxious. But fly off. The south wind, the clear
south wind will itself carry you. Can it be that my
Libya is being harmed?" Thus spoke the goddess.
And she (i.e. Charis), when she flew onto the snow-
covered peak, which is said to be the nearest to the

^a According to the scholia the altar of Thetis was "on an island near Alexandria," probably the island of Pharos itself.

^b The Egyptian Thebes. These lines may refer to the chain of fires that were lit from the Pharos to Thebes at the death of the queen. In the following lines (17 ff.) the scholia seem to suggest that the great qualities of the dead queen were mentioned. Lines 34-39 are too fragmentary to translate.

^c According to Homer (*Od.* iv. 355) Proteus, a minor sea-god, herdsman of the flocks of the sea, lived on the island of Pharos. This was at the entrance to the great harbour of Alexandria.

^d Philotera was the younger sister of Queen Arsinoë, and had died before her, and was already deified when the poem was written. ^e The Aegean Sea.

^f City of Sicily with a famous temple of Demeter.

^g Demeter. Philotera is here treated as a "synnaos" or "synhedros" of Demeter. ^h Arsinoë.

ⁱ Charis, wife of Hephaestus, lived with her husband on the island of Lemnos.

Δαίμονες εὐμνότατοι, Φοῖβέ τε καὶ Ζεῦ, Διδύμων
γενάρχα

μηδ' ἀγέλαις τετρ]απόδων λοιμὸς ἐπέλθη κατάρατος
ἄρπαξ,

κοῦρε ποθήη³] ᾧ τρις ἐμο[ί]. χῶ μὲν [. .]λείτας ἀπό
κεν τράποιτο,

μηλα δ' ὑπ' εὐ]ηπε[λ]ίης πείονα χλωρὴν βοτάνην
νέμοιτο·

5 β]αίτη[ς] ἐτέρ[ω] τῆσδε μελέσθω· [σὺ] δέ καὶ
προπάππων

]οδ[.]κ[.]υσλ[. .]θιν ὄμαρτεῖν· ἐτ[ε]ὸν γάρ
ἔστω

ἢ γενέθλη] τοι πατρόθεν τῶν ἀπὸ Δαίτε[ω], τὸ δέ
πρὸς τεκούσης

αἰμ' ἀνάγεις ἐ]ς Λαπίθην α[. . . .] δ' ἔλκεις μί[α]ν
εὐγένει[α]ν.

Φοῖβε, σὺ μὲν το[ι]ά]δ' ἔφη[ς· το]ῦ δ' ἐπὶ δῶ[ροις]
ἀνέπαλτ[ο θ]υμὸς·

10 αὐτίκα δὴ τ]οι τέμ[ε]ν[ο]ς [κα]λὸν ἐν ὕλῃ, τόθι πρῶ-
τον ᾤφθη,

εἶσατο κρην]έων διδύ]μων ἐγγύθι, δάφνης κατὰ
κλῶνα πῆξας.

1-7 suppl. Barber-Maas, praeter τετρ]απόδων L. et β]αίτη[ς]
ἐτέρ[ω] Barber. 3 χῶ μὲν (sc. λοιμὸς) ὀπλίης ἀπό κεν
τράποιτο dub. prop. Trypanis; apud Hesych. ὀπλίης· Λοκροὶ
τοὺς τόπους ἐν οἷς συνελθόντες ἀριθμοῦσι τὰ πρόβατα καὶ τὰ
βοσκήματα· χῶ μὲν [ὀπ]λείτης Barber-Maas. 8 suppl.
Barber. 9 suppl. Barber-Maas praeter ἀνέπαλτ[ο θ]υμὸς

O gods, who are well worthy of song, Phoebus and Zeus, the founders of Didyma^a . . . "The accursed and snatching plague^b shall (?) never fall upon the
3 flocks of animals, O youth thrice beloved to my heart; and it (the plague) would turn away, from . . . and the fat flocks would graze in prosperity on the green
5 grass. Let another take care of this shepherd's coat of skins . . . For it is true that your family on your father's side is descended from that of Daites,^c and on your mother's side (you trace back your blood to) Lapithes^d and from . . . you derive one (equal) nobility." (Phoebus), you said such words, and his
10 heart was raised by the gifts.^e And (at once), where you^f first appeared in the wood (he^g dedicated to you) a beautiful holy precinct near the double fountain,^h and stuck in the earth the branch of the bay-

^a Didyma, or Didymi, the oracle near Miletus dedicated to Apollo and Zeus.

^b These words are spoken (till l. 8) by Apollo. Branchus could cleanse those affected by "the snatching plague"; see fr. 194. 28 f.

^c Machaereus, a priest of Apollo at Delphi, who killed Neoptolemus, was the father of Daites, and forefather of Branchus.

^d Lapithes was a son of Apollo and Stilbe, daughter of Peneus.

^e We are told that when Branchus was kissed by Apollo in the wood, and had received the gifts of a crown and a bay-tree branch, he began to utter prophesies. The "sacred crown" was later kept in the adyton of the temple at Didyma.

^f Apollo. ^g Branchus.
^h The etymology of the name Didyma is explained by the double fountain.

L. [σ]οῦ Pf. 10 τέμ[ε]ν[ο]ς [κα]λὸν L. cett. Barber-Maas.
11 εἶσατο Barber-Maas. cett. Pf.

CALLIMACHUS

εἶλαθι, Δελφί[νι] ἀ[ν]αξ· οὐν[ο]μα γὰ[ρ] τοι τόδ' ἐγὼ
κατάρχω,
εἵνεκεν Οἰκούσ]μον εἰς ἀ[σ]τυ σε δελφίς ἀπ' ἔβησε
Δήλου.

12-13 suppl. Pf. praeter εἶλαθι Barber-Maas.

^a Apollo Delphinus was worshipped in the outskirts of the city of Miletus.

LYRIC POEMS

tree. May you be propitious, Lord Delphinus ^a; for I begin from this name of yours, because a Dolphin brought you ^b from Delos to land at the city of Oecus ^c . . .

^b Once again tracing the etymology of a name back to a myth.

^c If the supplement is correct then the city of Oecus must be another name for Miletus, or the oldest part of the city, founded by the hero Miletus, son of Apollo.

HECALE

INTRODUCTION

THE *Hecale*, an epic poem, described the victory of Theseus over the bull that devastated the district of Marathon in Attica. But in the foreground Callimachus set the figure of Hecale, an aged, impoverished woman of noble descent, in whose hut Theseus took refuge from a storm, while on his way to Marathon to overcome the bull. The main source which the poet used was an *Atthis* (a chronicle of the history of Attica), possibly that of Philochorus on which Plutarch also relied for the same story, related by him in the *Life of Theseus* 14 :

Theseus, wishing to be actively employed, and at the same time to win the favour of the people, went out against the Marathonian bull, which was causing no small annoyance to the inhabitants of the Tetrapolis, and he overcame the bull, and drove it through the city to exhibit it, after which he sacrificed it to Apollo Delphinus. Hecale, and the legend of her reception and entertainment (of Theseus), seem to be not quite without some portion of truth. For the demes round about used to meet and hold a Hecalesian festival in honour of Zeus Hecalus, and honoured Hecale, whom they called by the pet name Hecaline, because when she entertained Theseus, who at the time was quite young, she addressed him as an old woman would, and greeted him with that sort of pet names. When Theseus was setting out to the contest she vowed on his behalf to offer a sacrifice to Zeus if he came back safe. She died, however, before his return, and received the above-mentioned honours in return

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HECALE

for her hospitality, by order of Theseus, as Philochorus relates.^a

But this story was treated by Callimachus in a free and poetic manner, as we can see from the *Diegesis*, which runs :

Theseus, after escaping the treacherous plot of Medea, was carefully guarded by his father, to whom the stripling had been restored unexpectedly from Troezen. Wishing to set out and overcome the bull that ravaged the country round Marathon, and being detained, he secretly left his house at evening. As an unexpected rainstorm broke out, he noticed on the edge of the land a small hut belonging to an old woman called Hecale. (He took refuge there) and was entertained as a guest. He rose at early dawn, set out for Marathon, overcame the bull, and returned to Hecale. To his astonishment he found her dead, and, sighing for the hopes that were belied, what he had promised after her death he would do to repay her hospitality, this he did. He established a deme which he named after her, and set up a sanctuary to Zeus Hecaleios.

It is impossible to reconstruct the course of Callimachus' narrative in any detail. It appears, however, that the emphasis fell on the visit of Theseus to the humble hut of Hecale, which is in accordance with the practice of Alexandrian poetry, in which the great heroes of the past were on the whole represented in scenes of their ordinary everyday life (to which realistic and humorous touches were added), and not when performing great "heroic" deeds. The description of Theseus' visit to Hecale was considered very successful in late antiquity and often imitated by other poets (e.g. Ovid, *Met.* viii. 620 f. ; Ps.-Virgil, *Moretum*, etc. See Wilamowitz, *Hell.*

^a Philochorus of Athens, the most famous of the *Atthidographers*, who lived at the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 3rd century B.C.

Dichtung, i, p. 189). In fact the *Hecale* became very famous and was read, copied, paraphrased and commented on up to the thirteenth century A.D.

The conversation between Hecale and Theseus gave the opportunity to Callimachus to introduce a number of stories about the birth, childhood^a and deeds of Theseus, and other narratives about the former life and position of Hecale. It appears that the actual struggle with the bull was treated briefly; the reception of Theseus by the countryfolk after his victory has survived in frs. 259 and 260. 1-15.

The pleasure Callimachus took in narrating independent episodes can be also seen from fr. 260. 16 ff., which includes the story of Erichthonius and the daughters of Cecrops, as well as the story of the wrath of Pallas against the crows, on account of the bad news they brought to her, and how Apollo turned the raven from white to black. We do not know, however, how these stories were connected with the general trend of the narrative. When Theseus returned the next day victorious to Hecale's hut, he found her dead, and instituted the Δείπν' Ἐκαλείου in her memory. He also set up a sanctuary to Zeus Hecaleios and established a deme which was named after her. Thus Callimachus ends the *Hecale* in an aetion which explains these three events.

^a The story was that Aegeus, king of Athens, being childless, consulted the oracle at Delphi. To interpret the oracle which he received, he went to consult Pittheus of Troezen. Here he became father of Theseus by Aethra, daughter of Pittheus. Leaving Troezen before the birth of Theseus, Aegeus hid his sword and shoes under a rock, telling Aethra that, when their son was able to raise the rock and remove the sword and shoes, she was to send him to Athens with these tokens of recognition. This duly took place, and Theseus was recognized as the son of Aegeus.

The scholiast to Callimachus, *Hymn* ii. 106 says : ἔγκαλεῖ διὰ τούτων τοὺς σκώπτοντας αὐτὸν μὴ δύνασθαι ποιῆσαι μέγα ποίημα, ὅθεν ἠναγκάσθη ποιῆσαι τὴν Ἐκάλην. ("In these verses he attacks those who mocked him for not being able to write a long poem; for this reason he was forced to compose the *Hecale*.") How far the *Hecale* was a "big poem" is, of course, unknown. In the complete edition of the poet's works it did not fill more than one book, and can therefore not have exceeded by much the 1000 lines which on the average were the length of a Callimachean "book." Nothing is known about the date of its composition, but, if it was an answer to his critics, it must have been written after the first edition of the *Aetia* had circulated. Moreover, the highly finished style of the extant fragments points to a work of full maturity. The parts of the *Iambi* that seem to depend on the *Hecale* (e.g. fr. 194. 61 ff.) are of little help in this matter, because the dates of the *Iambi* are equally uncertain. The *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius depend on the *Hecale* in many points (see Pfeiffer i, *passim*), and this refutes the view that the *Hecale* was composed as an answer to Apollonius in the great (and apparently later) controversy between him and his teacher Callimachus.

EKAΛH

(Fr. 230-263 ad ordinem
narrationis)

230

* *Ἀκταίη τις ἔβαιεν Ἐρεχθέος ἔν ποτε γουνῶ*

^a Fabulous king of Athens, son of the Earth and reared by Athene. "A hill of Erechtheus" = a hill in Attica. The demos of Hecale was probably situated on the eastern slopes

231

*τίον δέ ἐ πάντες ὀδῖται
ἦρα φιλοξενίης· ἔχε γὰρ τέγος ἀκλήιστον*

^a Hecale, who was proverbial for her hospitality. The myth gave rise to the false etymology of the name which we

232

τοῦνεκεν Αἰγέος ἔσκεν *ἦ δ' ἐκόησεν,*

^a Medea.

233

ἔσχε τέκος, μὴ πίθι

180

HECALE

(The fragments follow the sequence of the narrative
till fr. 263.)

230

ONCE on a hill of Erechtheus ^a there lived an Attic woman.

of Mount Brilessos, somewhere near the present village "Koukounari."

231

. . . and all wayfarers honoured her ^a for her hospitality; for she kept her house open.

find in Suidas (*s.v.* Ἐκάλη) ἢ πρὸς αὐτὴν καλοῦσα, and in *Etym. Gen. A* (Reitz. *Ind. lect.* Rostock, 1890/1, p. 14) *παρὰ τὸ εἰσκαλεῖν ἢ εἰς καλήν.*

232

. . . (but) she ^a understood that he ^b was the son of Aegeus.

^b Theseus. The fragment comes from the "Μηδείας ἐπιβουλή."

233

. . . hold back, child, do not drink.^a

^a The poison, which Medea attempted to give Theseus. These are probably words spoken by Aegeus to Theseus.

181

CALLIMACHUS

234

παρέκ νόον ειλήλουθας

^a Probably words spoken after the "recognition" by

235

ἐν γάρ μιν Τροιζῆνι κολουραίῃ ὑπὸ πέτρῃ
θῆκε σὺν ἀρπίδεσσιν

^a Aegeus.

236

εὐτ' ἂν ὁ παῖς ἀπὸ μὲν γυαλὸν λίθον ἀγκάσσασθαι
ἄρκιος ἢ χεῖρεσσιν, ἐλὼν Αἰδῆψιον ἄορ
(καὶ τὰ) πέδιλα, τὰ μὴ πύσε νήχυτος εὐρώς

3 suppl. Naeke.

^a Theseus; see introduction. Probably quoting words spoken by Aegeus to Aethra.

238

4 τῷ (ῥα), πάτερ, μεθίει με, σόον δέ κεν αὐθι δέχοιο

[10 versus desunt]

15 ὄφρα μὲν οὖν ἐνδῖος ἔην ἕτι, θέρμετο δὲ χθών,
τόφρα δ' ἔην ὑάλιο φαάντερος οὐρανὸς ἦνοψ
οὐδέ ποθι κνηκίς ὑπεφαίνετο, πέπτατο δ' αἰθήρ
ἀννέφελος· σ[
μητέρι δ' ὅππ[ότε
20 δειελὸν αἰτίζουσιν, ἄγουσι δὲ χεῖρας ἀπ' ἔργου,
τῆμος ἄρ' ἔξ[

4 (ῥα) Kassel: (νυ) Nickau. 19 suppl. L.

182

HECALE

234

... you have come unexpectedly.^a

Aegeus to Theseus, about his unexpected arrival from Troezen; see introduction.

235

... for in Troezen he ^a put it ^b under a hollow stone together with the (soldier's) boots.

^b The sword; see introduction. The sword and the boots were the *γνωρίσματα*, the tokens of recognition.

236

... whenever the child ^a should be strong enough to lift up with his arms the hollow stone; having seized the sword of Aedepsos ^b . . . and the boots, which the abundant dripping mould had not rotted

^b City of Euboea. Euboea was well known in antiquity for its iron and copper mines. According to a tradition copper was first found there.

238

4 . . . therefore father, let me go; you would again receive me alive and well . . .^a

[10 lines missing]

15 . . . while then it was still midday, and the earth was warm, for so long the brilliant sky was clearer than glass, nor was a wisp of vapour to be seen, and cloudless stretched the heavens . . . but when to (?)
20 their mother . . . (the daughters) ask for the evening meal, and take their hands from work,^b then . . .

^a See K. Nickau, *Philologus*, cxi (1967), pp. 126 f. Probably part of a dialogue between Theseus and his father before he set out for Marathon; cf. *Diog.* x. 26.

^b Spinning and weaving.

183

πρῶτον ὑπὲρ Πά[ρνηθος,] ἐπιπρὸ δὲ μᾶσσον ἐπ'
ἄκρου

Αἰγαλέως θυμόεντος, ἄγων μέγαν νετόν, ἔστη·
τῷ δ' ἐπὶ διπλόον [

25 τρηχέος Ὑμηττ[οῖο
ἀστεροπαῖ σελάγιζον
οἴ[ο]ν ὅτε κλονέ[ι]

Αὐσφ[ι]ον κατὰ π[ό]ντον

ἢ δ' ἀπὸ Μηρισοῖο βοῆ βορέαο κατὰιξ

30 εἰσέπεσεν γεφέλ[η]σιν

22 suppl. L.
28 suppl. L.

25 suppl. L.
30 suppl. Pē.

26 suppl. L.

239

διερῆν δ' ἀπεσεύσατο λαίφην

240

τὸν μὲν ἐπ' ἀσκάντην κάθισεν

241

αὐτόθεν ἐξ εὐνήs ὀλίγον ῥάκος αἰθύξασα

242

παλαίθετα κᾶλα καθήρει

^a Hecale.

first over Parnes,^a and then farther forward and larger on the summit of thyme-covered Aegaleos,^b stood (the cloud?) bringing much rain . . . and thereupon a double . . . of rugged Hymettus^c . . . lightning was flashing^d . . . as when . . . on the Ausonian Sea^e . . . and the swift northern squall 30 from Merithus^f fell upon the clouds.

^a The highest mountain of Attica, situated to the north of Athens.

^b A low mountain range of Attica to the west of Athens.

^c The celebrated mountain of Attica to the east of Athens.

^d This can only be the description of the storm that obliged Theseus to take refuge in the hut of Hecale.

^e The sea of Sicily. According to Strabo (ii. 123) the Ausonian Sea extended from Sicily to Crete.

^f Mountain of Thrace. The north wind coming from Thrace was famous for its violence in ancient Greece.

239

. . . and he^a cast off his wet garment.

^a Theseus. This and fr. 240 have *Od.* xiv. 48 ff. as their pattern.

240

. . . she^a made him^b sit on the humble couch.

^a Hecale.

^b Theseus.

241

. . . having at once snatched a small tattered garment from the bed.

242

. . . and (she)^a took down wood stored away a long time ago.

CALLIMACHUS

243

δανά ξύλα [] κέασαι

244

αἶψα δὲ κυμαίνουσαν ἀπαίνυτο χυτρίδα κοίλην

^a Probably warming the water for the foot-bath of Theseus.

245

φράσον δέ μοι, εἰς ὃ τι τεύχος
χεύωμαι ποσὶ χύτρα καὶ ὀππόθεν

^a Theseus is speaking to Hecale.

246

ἐκ δ' ἔχεεν κελέβην, μετὰ δ' αὖ κερὰς ἠφύσατ' ἄλλο

247 ^a

^a See fr. 284 A.

248

γεργέριμον πίτυρὶν τε καὶ ἦν ἀπεθήκατο λευκὴν
εἰν ἀλὶ νήχεσθαι φθινοπωρίδα

^a Hecale. Frs. 248 and 251 are part of the description of the meal Hecale offered Theseus. Cf. fr. 194. 77. Cabbage

186

HECALE

243

. . . dry wood . . . to cut.^a

^a Cf. *Od.* xiv. 418.

244

. . . (she) swiftly took off the hollow, boiling pot.^a

Cf. *Od.* x. 360 f. Frs. 244-246 are all that is left from the scene of the foot-bath.

245

. . . but tell me into what vessel am I ^a to pour the water for my feet, and from where.

246

. . . she ^a emptied the tub, and then she drew another mixed draught.

^a Hecale.

247 ^a

^a See fr. 284 A.

248

. . . olives which grew ripe on the tree, and wild olives, and the light-coloured ones, which in autumn she ^a had to put to swim in brine.

and wild vegetables were also offered to Theseus during the rustic meal.

187

251

ἐκ δ' ἄρτους σιπήθηεν ἄλις κατέθηκεν ἐλοῦσα
οἶους βωνίτησιν ἐνικρύπτουσι γυναῖκες

^a Hecale.

253

ἐ]s Μαραθῶνα κατέρχομαι ὄφρα κ[]παρ[.
Παλλὰς] δὲ καθηγῆταιρα κελεύθου.
τὼς ἄρ' ἐμεῦ μεμάθ]ηκας ἄ μ' εἶρεο· καὶ σύ [γε]
μαῖα
λέξον, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐμοί] τι ποθῆ σέο τυτθὸν ἀκοῦσαι
5] γρηῦς εἰ[ρη]μαίη ἐνὶ ναίεις
[32 fere versus desunt]

δινομένην πέρι βουσῖν ἐμὴν ἐφύλασσον ἄλῳα.
τὸν δ' ἀπ' Ἀφιδνάων ἵπποι φ[έρον
εἴκελον, οἷ τ' εἶεν Διὸς υἱέε]s,
10 μέμνημαι καλὴν μὲν α[
ἄλλικα χρυσεῖησιν ἐεργομένην ἐνετῆσιν,
ἔργον ἀραχνῶων [

1 in it. suppl. Vitelli. fort. κ' [ἀ]π[α]ρ[ω Pf. 2 suppl.
Vitelli. 3 sq. e.g. suppl. Vitelli. σύ [γε] suppl. Pf.
5 suppl. T. Lodi. 8 φ[έρον suppl. Vitelli. ἡ βασιλεῦσιν
e.g. prop. Pf. 9 ἡ θεῶ ἀντῶ e.g. suppl. Pf.

^a Fragments 253-256 are parts of the conversation Theseus had with Hecale, probably during and after their meal. Theseus is speaking in ll. 1-6.

254

οὐ γάρ μοι πενίη πατρώϊος, οὐδ' ἀπὸ πάππων
εἰμι λιπερνῆτις· βάλε μοι, βάλε τὸ τρίτον εἶη
188

251

... and from the bread-box she ^a took and served loaves in abundance, such as women put away for herdsmen.

253

... " I ^a go down to Marathon, so that ... and (Pallas) leads the way. (You have thus learnt from me) what you asked me. And you, good mother, (tell me, for I also) wish to hear you for a while (speaking) 5 ... you live an old woman in a lonely ... "

[About 32 lines missing]

"they guarded my threshing floor, trod in a circle by the oxen.^b Horses (brought) him from Aphidnae,^c looking 10 like ... and who were Zeus' sons ... I remember the beautiful ... mantle held by golden brooches, a work of spiders "^d ...

^b Fr. 255 Pf. Cf. V. Bartoletti, *Studi di fil. cl.* xxxi (1959), p. 3.

^c Probably Hecale is speaking here. We do not know about whom she is speaking. Aphidnae was one of the demes of Attica.

^d May refer to patterns woven in the cloth, like the work of Arachne (cf. Ovid, *Met.* vi. 5 ff.), the Lydian woman, daughter of Idmon of Colophon, so skilled in weaving that she challenged Athene to a competition. When Athene destroyed her web, she hanged herself, and the goddess turned her into a spider.

254

... " for poverty was not in my family, nor was I a pauper from my grandparents.^a O that I, O that I had a third of ... "

^a Hecale is here speaking, presumably about her earlier life.

CALLIMACHUS

255 ^a

^a See fr. 253, l. 7.

256

λέξομαι ἐν μυχάτῳ· κλισίῃ δέ μοί ἐστιν ἐτοίμη

^a Hecale, speaking to Theseus. In all probability, if we are to judge by the Homeric pattern of Odysseus at the hut

257

ὡς ἔμαθεν κάκεινον ἀνιστάμενον

^a Hecale.

258

θηρὸς ἐρωήσας ὀλοὸν κέρας

^a Fragments 258–260. 1–15 treat of the fight of Theseus with the bull and his victory over it.

259

ὁ μὲν εἶλκεν, ὁ δ' εἶπετο νωθρὸς ὀδίτης

260

...] ἑτέρον περιάπτε καὶ εἰν ἄορ ἦκεν [ὡς ἴδον, ὡς ἅμα πάντες ὑπ[έ]τρρεσ[α]ν ἠδ[ὲ] φόβη]θεν

1 omnia incertissima.

2 ἠδ[ὲ] φόβη]θεν e.g. suppl. Pf.

190

HECALE

255 ^a

^a See fr. 253, l. 7.

256

... I ^a will sleep in a corner (of my hut); a couch is ready for me.

of Eumaeus, Theseus slept by the fire, and Hecale is referring here to her own usual bed.

257

... as she ^a saw him ^b also getting up.

^b Theseus, who also woke up early in the morning to set out against the bull of Marathon.

258

... having bent to the earth the terrible horn of the beast.^a

259

... he was dragging (the bull), and it was following, a sluggish wayfarer.

260

... the other (strap) he fastened (?) and put in his sword ... when they saw it they all trembled and

191

ἄνδρα μέγαν καὶ θῆρα πελώριον ἄντ[α ἰ]δέσθαι,
 μέσφ' ὅτε δὴ Θησεύς φιν ἀπόπροθι μακρὸν αὔσε·
 5 " μῖμνετε θαρορήεντες, ἐμῶ δέ τις Αἰγεί πατρί
 νεύμενος ὃς τ' ὠκιστος ἐς ἄστυρον ἀγγελιώτης
 ᾧδ' ἐνέποι—πολέων κεν ἀναψύξειε μεριμνέων—
 Θησεύς οὐχ ἑκάς οὗτος, ἀπ' εὐύδρου Μαραθῶνος
 ζῶν ἄγων τὸν ταῦρον." ὁ μὲν φάτο, τοὶ δ' αἰόντες
 10 πάντες ἰὴ παιῶν ἀνέκλαγον, ἀθι δὲ μίμνον.
 οὐχὶ νότος τόσσην γε χύσιν κατεχεύατο φύλλων,
 οὐ βορέης οὐδ' αὐτὸς ὅτ' ἐπλετο φυλλοχόος μείς,
 ὅσα τότε ἀγρώσται περί τ' ἀμφί τε Θησεῖ βάλλον,
 οἳ μιν ἐκυκλώσαν]το περισταδόν, αἱ δὲ γυναικες
 15 στόρησιν ἀνέστεφον

[22 fere versus desunt]

" καὶ ῥ' ὅτ' ἐπροφ[.] ἐφ' ὃν ἄν τιν' ἕκαστοι
 Οὐρανίδαι . ἐπάγοιεν ἐμῶ πτερῶ· ἀλλά ἐ Παλλάς
 τῆς μὲν ἔσω δηναίωγραφῆ δρόσον Ἐφαιστοιο
 20 μέσφ' ὅτε Κεκροπίδ[ησι]ν] ἐπ[.] λ[ᾶ]αν
 λάθριον ἄρρητον, γενεῇ δ' ὅθεν οὔτε νιν ἔγνω
 οὔτ' ἐδάην, φήμη δὲ κατ' ὠγγύιους εφαν[.]υται

3 suppl. Gomperz. 7 ὡς T: corr. Pf. 14 suppl.
 Gomperz. 17-19 multa adhuc incerta. 19 δηναίωγ
 ἔφη Gomperz. 20 suppl. Gomperz: ἐπ[αλέα θήκατο]
 prop. Barber.

^a Exclamation of joy (hurrah!), especially used in the cult of Apollo.

^b The φυλλοβολία was the custom of pelting the victors in games with leaves, or leafy crowns, as a token of applause.

^c The reference is to the birth of Erichthonius, son of

shrank from looking face to face on the great hero and the monstrous beast, until Theseus called to them from afar: "Have courage and stay, and let the swiftest go to the city to bear this message to my father Aegeus—for he shall relieve him from many cares: 'Theseus here is close at hand bringing the bull alive from Marathon rich in water.'" So he said, and, when they heard, they all cried out: "IE PAIEON"^a and stayed there. The south wind does not shed so great a fall of leaves, nor the north wind, even in the month of falling leaves, as those which in that hour the countryfolk threw all around and over Theseus,^b the countryfolk who . . . encircled him, while the women . . . crowned him with girdles . . .

[About 22 lines missing]

18 " . . . But Pallas left him,^c the seed of Hephaestus, long (?) within (the chest), until for the sons of Cecrops . . . the rock, . . . secret, unutterable, but I neither knew, nor learnt whence he was by descent, but a report (spread?) among the primeval birds,

Hephaestus. Athena wished to rear him secretly. She therefore "shut him up in a chest (κίστη) and gave him to the daughters of Cecrops, Agranlos, Pandrosos and Herse, with orders not to open the chest until she herself came. Having gone to Pellene, she was bringing a hill in order to make a bulwark in front of the Acropolis, when two of Cecrops' daughters opened the chest, and saw two serpents with Erichthonius. As Athene was bringing the hill which is now called Lycabettus, a crow (κορώνη) met her, and told her that Erichthonius was discovered. Athena, when she heard it, threw down the hill where it now is, and told the crow that, for her bad news, she must never enter the Acropolis" (Amelesagoras in Antig. Caryst. *Hist. Mirab.* c. xii, cf. Apollod. iii. 14, Ovid, *Mét.* ii. 551 ff.).

οἰωνούς, ὡς δῆθεν ὑφ' Ἡφαίστω τέκεν Αἴα.
 τουτάκι δ' ἢ μὲν ἔῃς ἔρυμα χθονὸς ὄφρα βάλοιτο,
 25 τὴν ῥα νέον ψήφω τε Διὸς δυοκαίδεκά τ' ἄλλων
 ἀθανάτων ὄφιος τε κατέλλαβε μαρτυρίησιν,
 Πελλήνην ἐφίκαεν Ἀχαιίδα· τόφρα δὲ κούραι
 αἰ φυλακοὶ κακὸν ἔργον ἐπεφράσσατο τελέσσαι,
 κίστης [] δεσμά τ' ἀνεΐσαι.

[22 fere versus desunt]

οὕτως ἡμετέρην μὲν ἀπέπτυσεν, οὐδὲ γενέθλην
 40 [] ἀλλὰ πέσοιο
 μηδέ ποτ' ἐκ θυμοῖο. βαρὺς χόλος αἰὲν Ἀθήνης·
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τυτθὸς παρέ[ην γ]όνος· [ὀ]γδ[ο]άτ[η] γάρ
 ἦδη μοι γενεὴ πέλ[εται], δεκάτη δὲ τοκεῦσι

[8 fere versus desunt]

γαστέρι μόνον ἔχοιμι κακῆς ἀλκτῆρια λιμοῦ
 [8 versus mutili sequuntur]

46 καὶ κρῖνον κυκεῶνος ἀποστάξαντος ἔραζε·
 48 [] κακάγγελον· εἶθε γὰρ [εἴ]ης
 κεῖνον ἔτι] ζώρουσα κατὰ χρόνον, ὄφρα τ[ὸδ' εἰδ]ῆς
 50 ὡς Θριαὶ τὴν γρηῖν ἐπιπνεῖουσι κορώνην.

25 δε T: τε Gomperz. 39-41 οὕτως ἢ χ' ἑτέρην μὲν
 ἀπέπτυσεν οὐδὲ γενέθλην | ἡμετέρην ἔκλειψε [τό]σ[ο]ν [θεό]ς· ἀλλὰ
 πέσοιο | μηδέ ποτ' ἐκ θυμοῖο prop. Barber. 42-43 suppl.
 Gomperz. 48 e.g. suppl. Pf.: φήμην Ἀπόλλω[ν]ι prop.
 Barber. 49 e.g. suppl. Pf.: τ[ὸ γ' εἰδ]ῆς Barber.

^a The reference is to the story of the contest between Athena and Posidon for the possession of Attica. See note on fr. 194. 66 ff. The speaker appears to be the crow.

^b The crow is still speaking. According to Hesiod (fr. 171 Reitz.) the crow lives the length of ten human generations. Aegeus was thought to be the eighth successor of Cecrops, so the dating seems to fit in admirably.

that Earth forsooth bore him to Hephaestus. Then she, that she might set up a bulwark for her land,
 25 which she had newly obtained by vote of Zeus and the twelve other immortals,^a and by the witness of the snake, was coming to Pellene in Achaia. Meanwhile, the maidens that watched the chest planned to do an evil deed . . . undoing the fastenings (of the chest) . . .

[About 22 lines missing]

39 thus she rejected our (race ?), nor . . . But may you never fall from her favour; the anger of Athene is ever grievous. But I was present as a little one, for this is my eighth generation,^b but the tenth for my parents.

[About 8 lines missing]

may I have (this ?) alone as protection for my belly against evil hunger^c . . .

[3 mutilated lines follow]

46 and barley-groats, that dripped from the posset^d upon
 48 the earth . . . messenger of bad news^e . . . O that you were still alive then to know this: how the
 51 Thriae^f inspire the old crow

^a Fr. 346 Pf.; cf. *P. Oxy.* nos. 2437 and 2398.

^b Here the reference seems to be to the barley-groats, that had dropped on the ground from the posset, the potion in which barley-oats, grated cheese, wine, honey and certain "magical" drugs were mixed. Barley, we are told by ancient sources, was a food eaten by crows.

^c On the bad news the crow brought to Apollo and how it was punished, see note *d* on p. 197.

^f The Thriae were nymphs of Mount Parnasus, three in number, who had nursed Apollo when young, and who were considered teachers of divination.

ναὶ μὰ τὸν—οὐ γὰρ . . . πάντ' ἤματα—ναὶ μὰ τὸ ρι-
κνὸν

σῦμφαρ ἐμόν, ναὶ τοῦτο τὸ δένδρεον ἀδὸν ἐόν περ,
οὐκ ἤδη ρυμόν τε καὶ ἄξονα καυάζαντες
ἠέλιοι δυσμέων εἶσω πόδα πάντες ἔχουσι·

55 δει]ελος ἀλλ' ἢ νῦξ ἢ ἔνδιος ἢ ἔσση ἤως,
εἴτε κόραξ, ὃς νῦν γε καὶ ἂν κύκνοισιν ἐρίζοι
καὶ γάλακι χροίην καὶ κύματος ἀκρῶ ἄώτῳ,
κυάνεον φῆ πίσσαν ἐπὶ πτερόν οὐλοῶν ἔξει,
ἀγγελίης ἐπίχειρα, τὰ οἷ ποτε Φοῖβος ὀπάσσει,
60 ὀππότε κεν Φλεγυάο Κορωνιδὸς ἀμφὶ θυγατρὸς
"Ἰσχυὶ πληξίππῳ σοπομένης μιερόν τι πύθηται."
τὴν μὲν ἄρ' ὡς φαιμένην ὕπνος λάβε, τὴν δ' αἰούσαν.
καδδραθέτην δ' οὐ πολλὸν ἐπὶ χρόνον, αἴψα γὰρ
ἦλθεν

στιβήεις ἀγχαυρος, ὅτ' οὐκέτι χεῖρες ἔπαυροι
65 φιλητέων· ἤδη γὰρ ἐωθινὰ λύχνα φαεῖνει·
ἀεῖδει καὶ ποῦ τις ἀνὴρ ὕδατηγὸς ἱμαίων·
ἔργει καὶ τιν' ἔχοντα παρὰ πλόον οἰκίον ἄξων
τετριγῶς ὑπ' ἄμαξαν, ἀνιάζουσι δὲ †πυκνοὶ †
δμῶοι χαλκῆες κωφώμενοι ἐνδρον ἀκουήν

51 ναὶ μὰ τὸν = fr. 351 Pf. 51-54 P. Oxy. 2398. 55
suppl. Gomperz. 64 ἀγχαυρος T: corr. Pf. 67 παρο-
πλοον T: περίπλοον cod.: corr. Gomperz. 68 πυκνοὶ
Gomperz, fort. πυκνοῖς (Pf.). 69 ultima linea lectu diffi-
cillima, satis incerta.

^a The name of the god is not mentioned out of piety.

^b We do not know who is speaking. There is some indi-
cation (ἀλλ' ἐκαλ[in P. Oxy. 2398. 3, and the *Suda s.v. ναὶ μὰ*

ἢ μὲν ἀερτάζουσα μέγα τρύφος ὑψίζωνος

1 ὑψίζωνου codd.: corr. Bentley.

Yes by ^a — ? — yes by my old shrivelled skin, ^b yes by
this tree though dry, all the suns have not yet dis-
appeared in the West with a broken pole and axle.^c
55 But it shall be evening or night, or noon, or dawn,
when the raven,^a which now might vie in colour
even with swans, or with milk, or with the finest
cream of the wave, shall put on a sad plumage, black
as pitch, the reward that Phoebus will one day give
60 him for his message, when he learns terrible tidings
of Coronis, daughter of Phlegyas, that she has gone
with Ischys, the driver of horses." While she spoke
thus, sleep seized her and her hearer.^c They fell
asleep, but not for long; for soon the frosty early
dawn came, when the hands of thieves are no longer
65 seeking for prey; for already the lamps of dawn
are shining; many a drawer of water is singing the
Song of the Well,^f and the axle creaking under
the wagons wakes him who has his house beside the
highway, while many (?) a blacksmith slave, with
hearing deafened, torments the ear . . .

τὸν . . . καὶ Ἐκάλη εἶπε) that it may be Hecale. If that
were so, the dry tree may be the staff she was holding (cf. fr.
292 and *Iliad* i. 234 f.).

^c Presumably a way of saying either (a) that the speaker
is not yet dead, or (b) that the end of the world has not yet
come.

^d Ll. 55-61, however, seem to be the prophecy of the old
crow, in which it predicted the turning of the raven's plumage
from white to black as a punishment for the news which it
brought to Apollo regarding Coronis, who, being with child
by Apollo, sinned with Ischys, son of Elatos.

^e Another bird, possibly a younger crow, hearing the old
crow speaking throughout the night?

^f The ἱμαίων was the song of the drawers of water.

. . . and she (sc. Athene), high-girdled, was going up

CALLIMACHUS

268

ἔστιν ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα καὶ ὀπτήτειρα κάμινος

269

ὀππότε λύχνου
δαιομένου πυρόεντες ἄδην ἐγένοντο μύκητες

^a This occurs, we are told, before a storm.

270

γέντο δ' ἀλυκρά

271

σὺν δ' ἡμῖν ὁ πελαργὸς ἀμορβεύεσκεν ἀλοίτης

^a May be part of the crows' talk (*cf.* frs. 260. 16 ff. and 261). It is uncertain why the stork is called ἀλοίτης, an

272

ἄνδρες ἐλαιηρὸς Δεκελειόθεν ἀμπρεύοντες

ἐλαοὶ vel -οὶ codd. : ἐλαιηρὸς Barber : ἄνδρες δ' ἡλαιοὶ Sylburg : ἄνδρες δ' Εἰλέαιοι Rutherford : ἐλαστρούσαν? Reitzenstein : ἐλαιολόγοι Diels : δέλαιοι Pf., sed potius obiectum exspectes.

273

Ἄπόλλωνος ἀπανγή

200

HECALE

268

. . . there is water and earth and a baking furnace.^a

^a May refer to the simple household utensils of Hecale. *Cf.* frs. 341 and 344.

269

. . . when plenty of red-hot snuffs of the wick had been formed as the lamp was burning.^a

270

. . . they became warm.

271

. . . and the avenging stork was journeying with us.^a
avenger, possibly because in parts of Greece he who killed a stork was condemned to death. *Cf.* Plin. *Nat. Hist.* x. 31.

272

. . . men hauling from Decelea (jars?) of oil.^a

^a After ἐλαιηρὸς Barber, *e.g.*, suggests κεράμους (*cf.* Hip. *Mul.* ii. 114 ἐλαιηρὰ κεράμια) in the following line.

273

. . . the brilliant light of Apollo.

201

274

ἄρμοῖ που κάκείνω ἐπέτρεχε λεπτὸς ἴουλος
ἀνθει ἐλιχρύσω ἐναλίγκιος

1 ἐπέτρεχεν ἀβρὸς codd. v.l.

275

πάσχομεν ἄσθηνοι· τὰ μὲν οἴκοθε πάντα δέδασται

276

δέκα δ' ἄστριας αἴνυτο λάτρον
αἴνυτο codd. : prob. ἄρνυτο Pf.

277

βόες ἦχι γέγειαι
ἀνθεα μήκωνός τε καὶ ἦνοπα πυρὸν ἔδουσι

278

τοῦνεκα καὶ νέκυες πορθμήμιον οὔτι φέρονται
μούνη ἐνὶ πτολίων, ὃ τε τέθμιον οἰσέμεν ἄλλους
δανοῖς ἐν στομάτεσσι

1 νέκυος cod. v.l. 2 sq. ἐπιπτολίστε θυμῶνησσε μεν.
ἀλλ' οὐ σάνοις codd. : ἐνὶ—ἄλλους corr. Casaubonus. 3
(δ)ανοῖς Pf.

^a According to common belief the city of Hermione in the
202

274

. . . a delicate down, like the blossom of the gold-
flower,^a was just spreading, I ween, on his cheeks too.

^a ἐλίχρυσος also means the flower of the ivy; cf. fr. 253. 8.
We do not know about whom this is said.

275

. . . we miserable paupers suffer; and at home all
our belongings have been divided out.

276

. . . he took ten knuckle-bones as a prize.^a

^a This must be a child, but we do not know who is referred
to.

277

. . . where ancient cows eat the flowers of the poppy
and shining wheat.

278

. . . that is why in this city^a alone even the dead
receive no coin as fare, which it is the custom for
others to carry in dry mouths.

Argolid. But Suidas (*s.v.* πορθμήμιον) tells that the people of
Aegialos, near Sicyon, were excused by Demeter from the
fare paid to Charon for transport across the river Acheron.
This was because the inhabitants of that region informed
the goddess about the fate of Persephone, when Hades had
snatched her away.

203

279

αὐτίκα Κενθίππην τε πολύκρημνόν τε Πρόσυμναν

^a Part of Argos, so called (according to the traditional false etymology of the name) because Bellerophon there ἐκέντησε τὸν Πήγασον. Cf. P. Oxy. xxx (1964), p. 91.

280

καὶ δόνακι πλήθοντα λιπῶν ῥόον Ἀστερίωνος

^a A river near the Heraion of Argos. We do not know

281

τὸ δ' ἐγκυτὶ τέκνον ἐκέρσω

^a Theseus, when visiting Delphi, is supposed to have shorn the front part of his head. This style of cutting the

282

ὀκκόσον ὀφθαλμοὶ γὰρ ἀπενυθέες, ὅσσον ἀκουή
εἰδυλῆς

283

ἔν' ἔλληρα ἔργα τέλεσκειν

ἔργα codd. : πολλὰ v.l.

284 ^a

^a See fr. 284 A.

279

. . . presently Centhippe ^a and craggy Prosymna. ^b

^b Region near the Heraion of Argos.

280

. . . and having left the stream of Asterion, ^a full of reeds.

who left the stream of Asterion. It might have been Theseus on his way to Athens from Troezen.

281

BUT you have been shorn to the skin, child. ^a

hair (which was dedicated to the god) was later called *θησηῆς*.

282

. . . for the ears are as well informed as the eyes are ignorant. ^a

^a Cf. fr. 43. 16 f. and fr. 178. 30.

283

. . . where he did harmful deeds. ^a

^a The reference is probably to the harm the bull had caused to the Tetrapolis of Marathon.

284 ^a

^a See fr. 284 A.

(= 337 + 366 + 247 + 284 + 350 + 294 + 368 + 639 + 327)

τὼ μὲν ἐγὼ θαλέεσσω ἀνέτρεφον οὐδέ τις οὕτως

] γενέθλην

] ῥυδὸν ἀφνύονται

] ετο νη . . . 5

5] τινθαλέοισι κατικμήναιτο λοετροῖς

] ανε παῖδε φερούση.

τὼ μοι ἀναδραμέτην αἶτε κερκίδες, αἶτε χαράδρης

[Desunt versus fere 15]

ἤρνεόμην θανάτοιο πάλοι καλέοντος ἀκοῦσαι
μὴ μετὰ δὴν ἵνα καὶ σοὶ ἐπιρρήξαιμι χιτῶνα;

[Desunt versus 3]

10 Κέρκ[νον] παλαίσμασι πέ[
φθει] ἄστεος, ὅς ῥ' ἔφυγεν μὲν
Ἀρκαδίην, ἡμῖν δὲ κακὸς παρενάσσατο γείτων

[Desunt versus 2]

τοῦ π[
αυτῆ [] ζῶοντος ἀναιδέσιν ἐμπήξαιμι

15 σκώλους ὀφθαλμοῖσι καί, εἰ θέμις, ὠμὰ πασαίμην.

* * *

ἵππους καιτάεντος ἀπ' Εὐρώταο κομίσσαι

] κῆμα κ[

] εια . . ν ὀθιδ[

] αἰθυίης γὰρ ὑπὸ πτερύγεσσω ἔλυσαν

20 πείσματα· τῆ<ς> μήτ' αὐτ[ὸς
μ]ήθ' ὅτις ἄμμι βεβουλ[

1 = fr. 337.

3 = fr. 366.

4 νηδύς vel νηλής L.

5 = fr. 247.

7 = fr. 284.

8-9 = fr. 350.

12 = fr.

206

(= 337 + 366 + 247 + 284 + 350 + 294 + 368 + 639 + 327)

THESE two I brought up on dainties, nor did anybody else in such a manner . . . abundantly rich . . .
5 they should be drenched in a warm bath . . . carrying the children . . . these two of mine ran up like aspens, which in a ravine (?) . . .

[About 15 lines missing]

was I refusing to hear death calling me a long time ago, that I might soon tear my garments over you too (dead) . . . ?

[3 lines missing]

10 Cercyon^a (?) . . . wrestlings . . . city, who fled from Arcadia and took up residence near us, a bad neighbour . . .

[2 lines missing]

15 may I pierce his impudent eyes with thorns while he is still alive, and, if it be not a sin, eat him raw
16 . . . to bring horses from the Eurotas plentiful in mint . . . the wave . . . for they unloosened the
20 hawsers under the wings of the sea-gull; with this omen may I neither myself (set sail), nor a person who has (undertaken a commission ?) for me.

† The text of fr. 284 A is based on *P. Oxy.* 2376 and 2377. These papyri show that probably a woman, whom we cannot yet identify, is speaking, but the content of her speech is still obscure. They show also that fr. 639 belongs to the *Hecale*, and what the correct metre of fr. 327 was. It is not known whether lines 1-15 precede lines 16-21 or if they immediately follow them.

^a Probably a reference to the robber Cercyon, who had come from Arcadia, and was killed by Theseus near Eleusis.

294.

14-15 = fr. 368.

14 τοῦ μὲν ἐγὼ ζῶοντος

codd.

16 = fr. 639.

19-20 = fr. 327.

CALLIMACHUS

285

Δηώ τε Κλυμένου τε πολυξείνοιο δάμαρτα

* Clymenus is Hades, his wife Persephone, and Deo is

286

αὔτις ἀπαιτιζουσαν ἐὴν εὐεργέα λάκτιν

287

ἠ ἄφαρον φαρώσει, μέλει δέ φιν ὄμπνιον ἔργον

ἀφαρώσει vel ἀφαρώσει codd. σφιν vel σφίσιν codd.: corr. Bentley. Ὀμπνίου Hecker.

288

Σκύλλα γυνή κατακάσα καὶ οὐ ψύθος οὔνομ' ἔχουσα
πορφυρέην ἤμησε κρέκα

^a Nisus, legendary king of Megara, had a lock of purple hair on his head, on which depended his life and the fate of the city. His daughter Scylla cut this off, and betrayed the

289

ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν αἰπαλός τε καὶ ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἔφηλος

208

HECALE

285

. . . and Deo, and the wife of Clymenus ^a the hospitable.

Demeter. This fr. may be connected with the cult of Demeter in Hermione. Cf. fr. 278 and fr. 705.

286

. . . demanding again her well-made ladle.

287

. . . or (?) they plough unploughed land and they are at work on the corn.

288

Scylla, a whore, having no untrue name, cut the purple lock.^a

city to Minos, king of Crete, who had besieged it. Nisus was turned into a sea-eagle, Scylla into a bird *ciris* pursued by him (on *ciris* see D'A. Thompson, *Gloss. of Gk. Birds*, s.v.; fr. 113*, Ps.-Virgil, *Ciris*, Ovid, *Met.* viii. 1 ff.

289

. . . but you are hideous and your eyes have white spots on them.

209

CALLIMACHUS

291

ἦνίκα μὲν γὰρ φαίνεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ταῦτα†
[αὐτοὶ μὲν φιλέουσ', αὐτοὶ δὲ τε πεφρίκασιν,]
ἔσπεριον φιλέουσιν, ἀτὰρ στυγέουσιν ἑῶν

1 ἦνίκα μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα (ταὐτὸ Barber) φαίνεται ἀνθρώποις
Hecker, alia alii. 3 ἀτὰρ στ. codd. : ἀποστ. v.l.

292

ἔπρεπέ οἱ προέχουσα κάρης εὐρεία καλύπτρη,
ποιμενικὸν πῖλημα, καὶ ἐν χερὶ χαῖον ἔχουσα†

293

στάδιον δ' ὑφέεστο χιτῶνα

294^a

^a See fr. 284 A.

295

σὺν δ' ἄμυδις φορυτόν τε καὶ ἵπνια λύματ' ἄειρεν

ἀείρας codd. v.l.

298

ἐπεὶ θεὸς οὐδὲ γελάσσαι
ἀκλαυτὶ μερόπεσσιν οὐζυροῖσιν ἔδωκεν
210

HECALE

291

. . . but when the same star (?)^a appears to men [the
selfsame people love and loathe]; at eventide they^b
love, but at dawn they hate it.

^a Possibly the morning and the evening stars.

^b Bentley thought the reference was to the newly-wed.

292

. . . the wide hat, stretching out beyond the head,
a shepherd's felt headgear, suited her, and in her
hand a stick.^a

^a Probably part of the description of Hecale.

293

. . . and under he wore a long tunic.^a

^a Probably part of the description of Theseus, when he
arrived at Athens.

294^a

^a See fr. 284 A.

295

. . . and together he collected the rubbish and the
dung.

298

. . . for god did not give miserable mortals even the
possibility of laughing without crying.

211

Αἴσηπον ἔχεις, ἐλικώτατον ὕδαρ,
 Νηπείης ἢ τ' ἄργος, αἰδιμὸς Ἀδρήστεια,

2 ἡδ' cod. v.l. : ἡτ' Bentley.

^a Adrastea, a name for Nemesis, daughter of Zeus and Ananke, one of the most puzzling of Greek goddesses, owing

ἔκ με Κολωνάων τις ὀμέστιον ἤγαγε δήμου
 τῶν ἐτέρων

1 ἐκ μὲν codd. : corr. Porson et Buttmann.

^a Meaning and text are as yet obscure. τῶν ἐτέρων may not refer to Κολωνάων, but to δαίμων (according to Naeke's

βουσόον ὃν τε μύωπα βοῶν καλέουσιν ἀμορβοί

οἷ νυ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα παναρκέος Ἡελίοιο
 χῶρι διατμήγουσι καὶ εὐπόδα Δηιώνην
 Ἀρτέμιδος

^a Daughter of Demeter. Cf. Serv. in Verg. *Ecl.* iii. 26 : novimus eandem esse Proserpinam quam Dianam. And in magical papyri we meet with "Artemis-Persephone." We
 212

. . . you who are mistress of Aesepus, the very black water, and the plain of Nepea, Adrastea, famous in song.^a

to the wide divergence between her mythology and her position in cult and morals. Aesepus was a river near Cyzicus in Asia Minor, and the plain of Nepea was near by.

. . . and from the deme of the other Coloniae somebody brought me to live in the same house.^a

emendation of δήμου), one of the evil daemons (*cf.* fr. 191. 63). If it refers to the deme of Colonos, there were two in ancient Attica, the Ἀγοραῖος in the city, and the Ἰππείος to the west of the city of Athens : we do not know to which the fragment refers, nor who is speaking here.

. . . the ox-driving gadfly, which the herdsmen call the goad.

. . . who distinguish Apollo from the sun that shines on all alike, and fair-footed Deione^a from Artemis.

do not know about whom the poet is speaking, nor what his views on the matter were. Hecate was also said to be a daughter of Demeter by Zeus (*cf.* fr. 466*), and the identification of Artemis-Hecate was made in Ephesus.

304

ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ κεφαλῇ νέον Αἰμονίηθεν
μεμβλωκὸς πύλημα περίτροχον ἄλκαρ ἔκειτο
ἴδεος ἐνδίοιο

305

Λιμναίῳ δὲ χοροστάδας ἦγον ἑορτάς

^a In the days of Theseus, the oldest festivals in honour of Dionysus were said to have been held ἐν Λίμναις, a marshy area to the south of Athens.

309 (dub.)

ποσὶ δ' ἀνελθεῖν
ἄγκος ἐς ὑψικάρηνον ἐδίξετο· πᾶσα δ' ἀπορρώξ
πέτρη ἔην ὑπένερθε καὶ ἄμβασις οὐ νύ τις ἦεν.

1 ποσὶ δ' ἀδ' ἐλθεῖν codd.: corr. Toup et Valckenaer.

^a The subject of ἐδίξετο is unknown. Bergk considers

310

ἀείπλινα χεῖλεα γρηγός

312

ἄκμηνον δόρποιο

313

ἀλυκὸν δέ οἱ ἔκπεσε δάκρυ

214

304

. . . and there encircled his head a round felt hat, lately come from Haemonia ^a; it was a guard against the midday heat.

^a Thessaly. Hats from Thessaly were large. It is not known to whom the fragment refers.

305

. . . they held feasts celebrated with choral dances in honour of the Dionysus of Limnae.^a

309

. . . on foot (he?) ^a tried to climb the high-peaked hill. All the rocks below were sheer, and there was no path upwards.

this fragment spurious, and attributes it to the *Mythica* (cf. Babrius, p. 219 Cr.), and indeed the style of l. 3 is most unlike Callimachus.

310

. . . the lips of an old woman are never still.

312

. . . without having tasted food.

313

. . . a salt tear fell from him.

215

CALLIMACHUS

318

σχέτλιαι ἀνθρώπων ἀφραστύνες

319

ἡέρος ἀχλύσαντος

320

βέβυστο δὲ πᾶσα χόλοιο

321

γαμβρός Ἐρεχθῆος

^a Boreas, who carried off his bride Orithyia, daughter of King Erechtheus, from the Areopagus, or the banks of the

322

γέντα βοῶν μέλδοντες

βοός cod. v.l.

327 ^a^a See fr. 284 A.

328

ἦχι κονίστραι
ἄξεινοι λύθρῳ τε καὶ εἴαρι πεπλήθασι

^a This may refer to the "palaestra of Cercyon" near

329

νυκτὶ δ' ὄλη βασιλῆας ἐλέγχομεν
216

HECALE

318

. . . evil stupidities of men.

319

. . . the air having become dark.

320

. . . she was stuffed with anger.^a^a Cf. fr. 374.

321

. . . the son-in-law of Erechtheus.^a

Ilyssus, or, according to a rarer version of the myth, from Mount Brilessos in Attica.

322

. . . cooking the limbs of oxen.

327 ^a^a See fr. 284 A.

328

. . . where unfriendly wrestling-arenas are full of gore and blood.^a

Eleusis, where the robber is supposed to have wrestled with the passers-by, and killed them. Cf. fr. 284 A.

329

. . . we abuse kings all night long.^a

^a Cf. fr. 275 (and fr. 284 A). It is possible that, as in Hesiod, unjust kings were attacked.

CALLIMACHUS

330 + 325

πότμον ἐλυνύσειε, δύνη <δ'> ἀπόθεστον ἀλάλκοι
coniunxit Dilthey.

331

ἐπήλυσιν ὄφρ' ἀλέοιτο
φώριον

333

ἐπικλινές ἐστι τάλαντον

^a Cf. Π. xix. 223.

334

εἰκαίην τῆς οὐδὲν ἀπέβρασε φαῦλον ἀλετρῖς

335

ἠέρος ὄγμοι

336

έρπετὰ δ' ἰλυοῖσιν ἐνέκρυφεν

337 ^a

^a See fr. 284 A.

HECALE

330 + 325

. . . that (he ?) might stop misfortune,^a and ward
off despised misery.

^a It possibly refers to Theseus, who, by conquering the
bull of Marathon, saved the inhabitants of the Tetropolis.

331

. . . that he might avoid an attack by robbers.

333

. . . the scales are tipped.^a

334

. . . (flour) taken at random, from which the mill-
woman did not clear the dross.^a

^a Cf. fr. 260. 46.

335

. . . the paths of the air.^a

^a Or the mist, the haze.

336

. . . the reptiles hid in their holes.^a

^a This may refer to the time of the year, or even to the
storm.

337 ^a

^a See fr. 284 A.

CALLIMACHUS

338

Θείας ἀμνάμων

339

Κλεωναίοιο χάρωνος

341

Κωλιάδος κεραμῆς

342

τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτήν

κωμῆται κάλεον περιηγέες

1 αὐτῆς vel αὐτῆ vel αὐτοί codd.: αὐτήν Hemsterhuys,
Ruhnken.

343

οὐδ' οἶσιν ἐπὶ κτενὸς ἔσκον ἔθειραι

344

λάτρων ἄγειν παλίνορσον ἀεικέα τῷ κεραμῆι

220

HECALE

338

. . . a descendant of Theia.^a

^a The winds were the progeny of Theia. Cf. fr. 110. 44, where the same words appear in reverse order.

339

. . . of the lion of Cleonae.^a

^a Place in the Argolid. Here the reference seems to be to the lion of Nemea.

341

. . . potters of Colias.^a

^a Part of Attica where pottery was made. Cf. frs. 268, 344.

342

. . . for that is what the neighbours around called her.^a

^a The reference is to Hecale. The fragment can belong either to the beginning, or to the end, of the poem.

343

. . . nor they who had hair at their penis.

344

. . . to bring a shameful slave (or hired servant) back to the potter.

221

CALLIMACHUS

366 ^a

^a See fr. 284 A.

368 ^a

^a See fr. 284 A.

371

Αἴθρην τὴν εὐτεκνον ἐπ' ἀγρομένης ὑδέοιμι
ἐν ἀγρ. Bernhardt, Hecker, Wil.

374

ἡ δὲ πελιδνωθεῖσα καὶ ὄμμασι λοξὸν ὑποδράξ
ὄσσομένη

1 fort. ὄμμασι scr., ut semper in *Aetivis*.

^a The fragment may refer either to Medea, or to Athene

375

θῆκε δὲ λαᾶν

σκληρὸν ὑπόκρηνον

376

ὅς τε φόβησι

ξανθοτάταις ἐκόμα

HECALE

366 ^a

^a See fr. 284 A.

368 ^a

^a See fr. 284 A.

371

. . . may I celebrate the fruitful Aethra ^a among all those women gathered (here).

^a Daughter of Pittheus and mother of Theseus (see introduction). The speaker of this encomium is unknown.

374

. . . and she, turned pale, and her eyes looking grimly askance.^a

at the time when she was told that Erichthonius was discovered (fr. 260. 16 ff.).

375

. . . and (he ?) placed a hard stone under (his ?) head.^a

^a We do not know to whom this refers.

376

. . . who had very fair hair.^a

^a Who is here described is unknown.

MINOR EPIC AND ELEGIAC
POEMS

(No *Diegesis* has survived for any of these poems. Their full content, therefore, as well as their exact place in the edition of the poet's collected works, is unknown.)

CARMINA EPICA ET ELEGIACA
MINORA

ΓΑΛΑΤΕΙΑ

A POEM by Callimachus called *Galatea* is quoted by Athenæus (vii. 284 c). It appears that the Galatea of this poem is the Nereid, with whom the Cyclops had fallen in love,^a but we know nothing about the manner in which Callimachus treated the story. As the poem was in hexameters, it may well have been an epic poem, and for that reason Pfeiffer attributed to the same work the epic fragment 379, which speaks about the Gauls. The Γαλάται, the Gauls, were said to be descended from Galates, the son of the Nereid Galatea, and there is no other epic poem by Callimachus of

378

ἢ μᾶλλον χρύσειον ἐν ὀφρύσιν ἱερὸν ἰχθύν
ἢ πέρκας ὅσα τ' ἄλλα φέρει βυθὸς ἄσπετος ἄλμης

1 ἐπ' conii. Meineke, Schneider.

379

οὓς Βρέννος ἀφ' ἐσπερίοιο θαλάσσης
ἤγαγεν Ἑλλήνων ἐπ' ἀνάστασιν,

^a The leader of the Gauls in their expedition against Greece in 279/8 B.C. He was wounded at Delphi, and com-

MINOR EPIC AND ELEGIAC
POEMS

GALATEA

which we know, except the *Hecale*, to which this fragment certainly does not belong. If this view is correct, then the poem must have treated of the legend of Galatea, of Galates and the expedition of the Gauls against Greece in 279/8 B.C., an expedition which Callimachus also mentions in his Hymn on Delos.^b This would establish a *terminus post quem* for the dating of the poem. Fragment 592, in which Athene Pronaos of Delphi is mentioned, may belong to the same poem.

^a Cf. Theocr. *Id.* xi and Call. *Epigr.* xlvi. (xlvii L.C.L.) 1.

^b *Hymn* iv. 171 ff.

378

On rather the sacred fish with golden brow,^a or the perch, and all other things the ineffable depth of the sea bears.

^a Probably the gilthead, *Chrysophrys aurata*.

379

. . . those whom Brennus^a led from the western sea to the destruction of the Greeks.

mitted suicide during the general retreat of the Gauls northwards, when they were attacked by the Thessalians.

THE only mention of a work by Callimachus called *Γραφείον* occurs in an anonymous treatise on metres (Anonym. Ambrosian. *De re metrica, Anecd. Var. Graec.*, 1886, p. 224, 5 f.), which also quotes the only extant fragment. The meaning of the title, as indeed the nature and length of the work, is

380

εἶλκυσε δὲ δριμύν τε χόλον κυνὸς ὄξύ τε κέντρον
σφηκός, ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων δ' ἰὸν ἔχει στόματος

2 στόματος Schneider et Bergk: στομάτων codd.

^a The fragment refers to Archilochus (*fl. c.* 725 B.C.), the

[ELEGIA IN VICTORIAM NEMEAËAM ?]

THIS appears to be an epinician poem, composed in elegiacs like *The Victory of Sosibios* (fr. 384), which follows. It is on a victory in the chariot race at Nemea, but we do not know who the victor was. Sosibios, or even Queen Berenice, the daughter of Magas, has been suggested. It may well be that this and the poem on the victory of Sosibios are en-

383

Ζηνί τε καὶ Νεμέη τι χαρίσιον ἔδνον ὀφείλω,
νύμφα κα[
ἡμ[ε]τερο[
ἄρμοι γὰρ Δαναοῦ γῆς ἀπο βουγενέων (?)

2 Κα[ρωπίτ-? Pf. 3 suppl. L. 4 γῆς ἀπὸ βου-
γενέσεως vel γῆ ὡς ἀπὸ βουγενέως vel γῆς ἐπὶ γενέας codd.: γῆς
ἀπο βουγενέων (?) Pf.: γῆς ἐπὶ βουγενέως Schneidewin.

230

unknown. *Γραφείον* in the days of Callimachus meant "archive," and various views as to the content of the work have been expressed. Some believe it was a collection of epigrams on poets, others a kind of criticism of poets, a work of a literary-historical nature. Dilthey (*Cydlippe*, p. 17, n. 1) compared it to the *Imagines* of Varro.

380

. . . he drew (?) the keen anger of the dog and the sharp sting of the wasp; his mouth has the venom of both.^a

iambic and elegiac poet of Paros, the alleged inventor of the iambic metre.

[ELEGY ON A NEMEAN VICTORY ?]

deavours of Callimachus to revive the ancient lyric epinician ode in a "modern" elegiac metre. As in the poem on the victory of Sosibios, the narrative may have moved from the events at the games of Greece to events in Egypt.

The length, date and title of the poem are unknown.

383

1 . . . I owe to Zeus and Nemea some token of grati-
4 tude^a . . . for lately from the (bee-producing^b (?))

^a The opening line is in the Pindaric manner. Nemea was, like Olympia, sacred to Zeus.

^b Bees were called *βουγενεῖς*, because it was thought that they were born from the bones of bulls. The passage is, however, obscure and the text as yet uncertain; one source, however, mentions that bees were thus produced in Nemea.

231

6 εἰς Ἑλένη[ς νησιδα

ἄσθμασι χλι[αίνοντες - - -] ἀλλὰ θεόντων
10 ὡς ἀνέμων οὐδεὶς εἶδεν ἀματροχιάς.

16 εἰδυῖαι φαλιὸν ταῦρον ἠλεμισαί

5 εισελενη[P.: εἰς Ἑλένη distinxit L.: εἰς Ἑλένη[ς νησιδα
Barber. 9 suppl. Maas.

ΣΩΣΙΒΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΗ

THIS is an encomiastic elegy on Sosibios. In the extant fragments we are told that Sosibios won the boys' double race (*dioulos paidon*) at games, presumably the *Ptolemaea* in Egypt (l. 41), established in honour of Ptolemy I; that later he won the men's contest in wrestling at the Panathenean games, although he was not yet a full-grown man but still an *ageneios*, i.e. under 20 (ll. 37 f.); and that finally, as a man of great wealth and importance (cf. ll. 53 ff.), he won the chariot races at the Isthmian and at the Nemean games. Moreover, he was the first Egyptian Greek to win this double victory, for which the river Nile expresses its satisfaction (ll. 27 ff.). We can also gather that the votive offerings of Sosibios to temples in Greece and Egypt were mentioned (ll. 44 ff.) in the poem, presumably offerings to commemorate his victories in the great Greek games.

This Sosibios can be no other than the famous minister of

^a Sosibios was responsible for the murder of Queen Berenice, the queen repeatedly celebrated in the poetry of Callimachus. But this poem on Sosibios may have been written

9 land of Danaus^a (to Helen's island^b (?)) . . . hot and panting . . . but as they ran no one saw their chariot-tracks, invisible like those of the winds . . .
16 Knowing how to bewail the white-foreheaded bull.^c

^a The land of Danaus is Argos; Nemea belonged to the Argives.

^b Probably the island now called Nelson's Island, near the mouth of the Nile.

^c Apparently the maidens of the Nile are here described as bewailing Apis, the sacred bull worshipped in Egypt, cf. Tib. i. 7. 28 te (*sc.* Nile) canit atque suum pubes miratur Osirim | barbara, Memphiten plangere docta bovem.

THE VICTORY OF SOSIBIOS

Ptolemy IV, later *Pseudepitropos* of Ptolemy V. Already a man of importance in the reign of Ptolemy III, he became a leading figure in Alexandrian politics under Ptolemy IV, and is even said to have forged the king's testament at his death. But he did not survive the king long, for he is supposed to have died c. 202, shortly after the new king's accession. If, according to the poem, Sosibios won the *dioulos paidon* in the *Ptolemaea*, he must have been a boy after 279/8, when the games were established, and a man of great importance in the forties of the third century B.C., when the poem could have been written by Callimachus as an old man. In the forties Egypt and Cyrene were under the same rule and so the river Cinyps (ll. 24 f.) could have been mentioned as a definition of the western extremities of the kingdom. Moreover, the general tone of flattery fits in with Callimachus' servility towards the powerful,^a and in Polybius

before the event. It is, however, noteworthy that no mention of living Ptolemies occurs in any of its extant fragments.

v. 37. 11 there is a reference to the love of Sosibios for horses.^a There can be little doubt that Callimachus, when writing this elegy, had in mind the great epinician odes of Pindar, Simonides, Bacchylides and possibly that of Euripides on the many victories of Alcibiades (*cf.* Plut. *Vit. Alcib.* 11 (p.

^a The points of style that led Wilamowitz and Pfeiffer to suggest an early date for this poem are by no means convincing, and the reference in Athenaeus iv. 144 e is not clear or definite enough to over-rule the other internal evidence

384

Καὶ [

ὦ τὸ μὲν ἐξ Ἐφύρης ἄρμα σελινοφόρον
 5 νεῖον ἀπ' οὖν μέμβλωκεν· ἔτι χνόον [οὔασι κείνου
 ἄξονος Ἀσβύστης ἵππος ἔναυλον ἔχει.
 σημερινὸν δ' ὡσεὶ περ ἐμὸν περὶ χεῖλος αἴσσει
 τοῦτ' ἔπος ἠδείη λεχθὲν ἐπ' ἀγγελίῃ·
 "δαῖμον ὅς ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἀλιζώνοιο κάθησαι
 10 στείνεος, ἀρχαίοις ὄρκιε Σισυφίδαίς,
 ἐν ποδὶ ληγοῦσης Πελοπηίδος ἱερὸν ἰσθμόν,
 τῇ μὲν Κρωμνίτην τῇ δὲ Λέχαιον ἔχων,

5 suppl. Barber.

^a νεῖον = νεωστὶ can be used not only about things which "recently" took place, but also about events which happened some years ago; *cf.* Plat. *Gorg.* 503 c Περιμλέα τὸν νεωστὶ (more than twenty years ago) τετελευτηκότα.

^b Ephyræ was the old name of Corinth. The reference is

234

196 n)). If, as has been suggested, Callimachus was deliberately trying in this poem to remould in the "new style" the old epinician ode, the complete absence of the mythological element in any of the extant fragments is indeed striking.

for a late dating. See Maas, *Pancarpeia, Mélanges Henri Grégoire*, i, p. 447 (*Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, ix, 1949).

384

1 AND . . . for whom (*i.e.* Sosibios) in the past the chariot
 5 had come back ^a (to Egypt) from Corinth, bringing
 the celery wreath ^b; the Asbystian ^c horse still hears
 the sound of (that) axle ringing in its (ears). And,
 as though it were to-day, these words that were said,
 when the sweet news came, jump to my lips: "O god,
 who art seated on either side of the sea-girt pas-
 10 sage,^d and by whom the old Corinthians ^e swore;
 thou, master of the sacred isthmus at the extremity
 of the land of Pelops, with Cromna on the one side
 and Lechaeon on the other,^f where ability in hand

to the victory of Sosibios at the chariot-race of the Isthmian games, where the prize was a celery wreath.

^c The Asbystae lived in Cyrenaica, but the word is loosely used as an equivalent of Libyans. Libyan horses were famous for their speed.

^d Posidon, master of the Isthmus of Corinth. Here he may be invoked as "hippeios," master of horses.

^e The Corinthians were called Sisyphidae, after Sisyphus the mythical founder of the city.

^f In historic times the two sea-ports of Corinth were called Lechaeon (on the gulf of Corinth) and Cenchreae, presumably here called Cromna (on the Saronic Gulf).

235

ἔνθα ποδῶν ἵνα χειρὸς ἵνα κρίσις ὀξέρο[ς ἵππου
 ἰθυτάτη, χρυσὸν δ' εὐδική παραθεῖ,
 15 χρυσὸν ὃν ἀνθρώποισι καλὸν κακὸν ἔτραφ[ε μ]υ[ρ]-
 μη]ξ."

[Desunt versus fere 5 in P]

ἔς Νεμέην ἔσπε]ρσεν, ἐπ' αὐτίκ[α δ' ἄλ]λα σέλινα
 τοῖς ἀπὸ Πειρήνης ἤγαγεν Ἀ[ργο]λικά,
 ὄφρα κε Σωσιβίων τις Ἀλεξάνδρου τε πύθηται
 γῆν ἐπὶ καὶ ναῖον Κίνυφι διστεφέα
 25 ἀμφοτέρω παρὰ παιδί, κασιγνήτω τε Λεάρχου
 καὶ τὸ Μυριναῖον τῷ γάλα θησαμένω,
 θηλυτάτον καὶ Νεῖλο[ς ἄ]γων ἐνιαύσιον ὕδωρ
 ὠδ' εἴπη· "καλά μοι θρεπτός ἔτεισε γέρα
 οὐ] γάρ πῶ τις ἐπὶ πτόλιν ἤγαγ' ἄεθλον
 30 διπλόον ἐκ] ταφίων τῶνδε πανηγυρίων
 κ]αὶ πουλὺς, ὃν οὐδ' ὄθεν οἶδεν ὀδεύω
 θνητός ἀνὴρ, ἐνὶ γούν τῶδ' ἔα λιτότερος
 κε[ίνω]ν, οὐς ἀμογητὶ διὰ σφυρὰ λευκὰ γυναικῶν
 καὶ πα]ῖς ἀβρέκτω γούνατι πεζὸς ἔβη"

[Desunt versus fere 8]

13 suppl. L. 15 μ]υ[ρμη]ξ Pf. : conf. Paul. Silent.
Beprhr. St. Soph. 768 (Friedl.) ἤρσσε μύρμηξ Trypanis. ἔ-
 τραφ[ε Maas, cf. Call. fr. 110. 49. 21 ἔς Νεμέην ἔσπε]ρσεν
 suppl. Barber, cett. suppl. L. 22 suppl. L. 27 suppl.
 Maas. 29 suppl. Hu. 30 suppl. Trypanis. 31 κ]αὶ (vix
 ν]αί) Pf. 33 suppl. Pf. : ἄλλων] Früchtel. 34 suppl. L.

^a At the Isthmian games.

^b If the supplement ἔτραφ[ε μ]υ[ρμη]ξ is correct, there is an allusion here to the story that the Indian ants, when making their nests, turned up sand full of gold. Cf. fr. 202. 58 f.

^c The prize at the Nemean games was also a celery wreath.

^d Pirene, the sacred fountain of Corinth, is here mentioned instead of the city of Corinth and the Isthmian games.

and foot and fiery horse is most fairly judged ^a—and
 15 fair judgement outruns gold, gold a beautiful evil the
 ants (reared ^b ?) for man . . ."

[About 5 lines missing]

21 he (hurried to Nemea) and swiftly he added more
 celery from the Argolid ^c to that he had gained from
 Pirene,^d so that the people of Alexandria and those
 living on the banks of the river Cinyps ^e may learn
 25 that Sosibios received two crowns near-by the two
 sons—the brother of Learchus and the child that the
 woman of Myrina suckled ^f—and so that the Nile may
 say as it brings each year its most fertilizing water :
 "A beautiful reward has my nursing ^g paid back to
 30 me . . . for till now no one had brought a (double ?)
 trophy to the city from these sepulchral festivals ^h
 . . . and, great though I am, I, whose sources no
 mortal man knows, in this one thing alone was more
 insignificant than those streams which the white
 ankles of women cross without difficulty, and children
 pass over on foot without wetting their knees . . . ⁱ"

[About 8 lines missing]

^a The river Cinyps flowed at the western end of the kingdom of the Ptolemies; beyond it stretched the land of the Carthaginians.

^b The "brother of Learchus" was Melicertes, in whose honour the Isthmian games are said to have been established. The "child that the woman of Myrina suckled" is Opheltes-Archemoros, who was commemorated by the games of Nemea. He was the foster-child of Hypsipyle, daughter of Myrina, after whom the town Myrina of Lemnos was named.

^c Sosibios was born in Egypt.

^d All great Greek athletic games and festivals were said to have been established in commemoration of the death of mythical kings and heroes.

^e The rivers of Greece, Italy and the islands could, of course, not compare with the Nile in wealth of water or fame.

- 35 " —καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίους γὰρ ἐπὶ στέγος ἱερὸν ἦνται
 κάλπιδες, οὐ κόσμου σύμβολον, ἀλλὰ πάλης—
 ἄνδρας ὅτ' οὐ δέισαντες ἐδώκαμεν ἡδὺ βοήσασιν
 νῆον ἐπὶ Γλαυκῆς κῶμον ἄγοντι χορῶ
 Ἀρχιλόχου νικαῖον ἐφύμνιον· ἐκ δὲ διαύλου,
 40 Λαγείδῃ, παρὰ σοὶ πρῶτον ἀεθλοφορεῖν
 εἰλάμεθα, Πτολεμαῖε, τεῆ π[άτε]ρ ἡνίκ' ἔλεγχ[ε] . "

[Desunt versus fere 13]

- " ἀμφοτέρων ὁ ξείνος ἐπήβολος· οὐκέτι γυμνάς
 45 παῖδας ἐν Ἡραίῳ στήσομεν Εὐρυνόμης."
 ὡς φαμένω δώσει τις ἀνὴρ ὁμόφωνον αἰοιδῆν.
 τοῦτο μὲν ἐξ ἄλλων ἔκλυον ἱερὸν ἐγώ,
 κείνῳ γε μὴν ἴδον αὐτός, ὃ παρὰ ποδὶ κάτθετο Νείλου
 νειατίῳ, Κασίην εἰς ἐπίκωμος ἄλα·

41 suppl. L. 46 ὁμοφρονος P: ὁμόφωνον Hu. (Wil.):
 ὁμόφωνος ἀμοιβήν conl. L. 49 κασίου P: Κασίην Wil.

^a Amphorae, full of oil, were prizes at the Panathenean games.

^b At the Panathenean games παῖδες, boys, ἀγένοιοι, youths under 20, and ἄνδρες, men, took part. It appears that Sosibios, while still a youth under 20, took part in the wrestling contest of the full-grown men at Athens and was victorious.

^c It appears that Sosibios is speaking here. Ll. 35-36 must be one of the usual Callimachean parentheses.

^d *Glauce* is here equivalent to γλαυκάπις, i.e. Athene. This custom of a κῶμος, an ode sung at a festive procession to celebrate the victory, was apparently Athenian.

- 35 " for in Athens too the jars are kept in a sacred temple,
 not as ornaments, but as a token of prowess at wrest-
 ling ^a—when not fearing the full-grown men ^b we ^c
 gave to the chorus, leading a revel to the temple of
 Glauce,^d the opportunity to sing a sweet ode, the song
 40 of victory by Archilochus.^e Ptolemy, son of Lagus,^f
 near-by you first we chose to win a prize of victory for
 the double course,^g when . . . "

[About 13 lines missing]

- " . . . the stranger ^h has been victorious in both.
 45 We will no longer set up the (statues of the) daughters
 of Eurynome ⁱ nude in the temple of Hera."^j After
 he has said this someone will (sing in concert with
 him?). I heard from others ^k about that offering,
 but I saw myself the one he (i.e. Sosibios) dedicated
 at the outermost branch of the mouth of the Nile
 50 . . . on a visit to the Casian Sea.^l " From Cyprus a

^e The song of victory by Archilochus with the refrain τῆρελλα καλλίνικε was also sung in honour of the victors at Olympia.

^f The reference is to the *Ptolemaea*, the games established in 279/8 B.C. in Egypt in honour of Ptolemy I Soter.

^g This is the *diavlos paidon*, a race of two laps round the stadium, in which boys competed. It must have been the first victory of Sosibios in athletic games.

^h Sosibios, who was not born in Greece but in Egypt. We do not know who is speaking here. ⁱ The Graces.

^j The famous Heraion at Argos. The offering is much more likely to have been statues of the Graces robbed than garments for extant nude statues of the daughters of Eurynome. (On the representation of the Graces as nude see fr. 6.) This offering may well have been in commemoration of his victory at Nemea, for the Nemean games were for a time under the control of the Argives.

^k Callimachus had never travelled beyond Egypt.

^l This votive offering must have been set up near the temple of Zeus Casios, which was situated near Pelusium.

50 " Κυπρόθε Σιδώνιός με κατήγαγεν ἐνθάδε γαῦλος "

[Desunt versus fere 13]

καὶ τὸν ἐφ' οὗ νίκαισιν αἰείδομεν, ἄρθμα δῆμῳ
 εἰδῶτα καὶ μικρῶν οὐκ ἐπιληθόμενον,
 55 παύριστον τό κεν ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἀφνειῷ τις ἴδοιτο
 ὄτι μὴ κρείσσων ἢ νόος εὐτυχίης·
 οὔτε τὸν αἰνήσω τόσον ἄξιός οὔτε λάθωμαι
 — δεῖδια γὰρ δήμου γλώσσαν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις —,

54 εἰδοσαυκεπιμικρων P: καὶ μικρῶν G. Murray et L.: τὸν
 μικρῶν Hu.

^a The votive offering, probably a chariot, speaks in the well-known style of certain dedicatory epigrams. It pro-

384 A

ιερά, νῦν δὲ Διοσκοουρίδew γενεή

[ELEGIAE FRAGMENTUM INCERTAE
 SEDIS]

WE do not know from which poem this fragment comes.

388

Φωκαέων μέχρῃς κε φανῆ μέγας εἰν ἀλλ' ἰδύδρος,
 10 ἄχ|ρι τέκη Παλλά[ς κῆ γάμος] Ἄρ[τ]έμιδι,
 . . .]s ἀεὶ παρῆριστ[α μέ]ρειν α[. . .] Βερενίκη

9 μενη P codd.: φανῆ corr. Maas. 10 ἄχ|ρι Pf., cett.
 (γάμος vel πόσις) suppl. Hu.

^a When Phocaea, the most northern Ionian city in Asia
 240

Sidonian merchant-ship brought me here . . . " ^a

[About 13 lines missing]

and him ^b we celebrate for his victories, friendly to
 55 the people, and forgetting not the poor, a thing so
 rarely seen in a rich man, whose mind is not superior
 to his good fortune. I will not praise him as much as
 he deserves, nor forget him—for I am afraid of the
 people's tongue in either case— . . .

bably said that the bronze used for the offering was brought
 from Cyprus by a Phoenician ship.

^b Sosiblos.

384 A

. . . sacred, but now the family of Dioscorides.^a

^a Dioscorides was the father of Sosiblos.

[UNPLACED FRAGMENT OF AN ELEGY]

It has been suggested that it may belong to a poem on Magas
 and his daughter Berenice, the wife of Ptolemy III.

388

9 . . . till the great red-hot iron of the Phocaeans, sunk
 in the sea, appears,^a till Pallas gives birth to a child,
 and Artemis enters wedlock ^b . . .

Minor, was besieged by a Persian army in 540 B.C., the in-
 habitants decided to leave the city for the west, and, throwing
 a red-hot lump of iron in the sea, vowed never to return as
 long as the lump rested under water (Herod. i. 165).

^b Athene and Artemis, the virgin goddesses, were the
 proverbial examples of perpetual virginity.

241

CALLIMACHUS

[IN ARSINOES NUPTIAS ?]

THE fragment indicates that the poem started by celebrating the wedding of Arsinoë to Ptolemy II, which probably took place in 275/4 B.C. Scholars have attributed it to an epitha-

^a The only other epithalamion in Greek elegiacs we know of was probably also on the wedding of Queen Arsinoë. It was written by the poet Posidippus (cf. Milne, *Catalogue of*

392

Ἄρσινόης, ὦ ξεῖνε, γάμον καταβάλλομ' αἰδεῖν

MINOR EPIC AND ELEGIAC POEMS

[ON THE WEDDING OF ARSINOË ?]

lamion for the occasion, but that is by no means certain. It may have been written either in hexameters or elegiacs.^a

the Lit. Pap. Brit. Mus., 1927, no. 60). But Callimachus may here again be trying to compose in "modern" elegiacs a kind of poem which was traditionally written in lyric metres or hexameters.

392

I START, O stranger, singing of the wedding of
Arsinoë.

FRAGMENTS OF EPIGRAMS

(The following fragments are quoted by various writers from the *Epigrams* of Callimachus. There is some ground for supposing that Callimachus published a separate volume under this title.)

EPIGRAMMATUM FRAGMENTA

393

ἄτὸς ὁ Μῶμος
ἔγραφεν ἐν τοίχοις "ὁ Κρόνος ἐστὶ σοφός."
ἤνιδε κοῖ κόρακες τεγέων ἐπι "κοῖα συνῆπται"
κρώζουσιν καὶ "κῶς αἴθι γενησόμεθα."

² σοφός cod. : καλός v.l. 3 κοῖ codd. : κοῖ Wil. : καὶ Fabricius.

^a Momos, the personification of reproach.

^b Just as lovers used to write the names of their favourites on walls, accompanied by the adjective *kalos* (beautiful), so here even Momos praises Diodorus, and calls him "wise."

^c Cronos was the nickname of Diodorus, son of Aminias, from Iasos, one of the later philosophers of the Megarian school. The nickname indicated "an old fogey."

394

θεὸς δὲ οἱ ἱερὸς ὕκης

398

Λύδη καὶ παχὺ γράμμα καὶ οὐ τορόν

^a The elegy written by Antimachus of Colophon (born 246

FRAGMENTS OF EPIGRAMS

393

MOMOS ^a himself used to write on the walls ^b : "Cronos ^c is wise." Look, even the crows on the roofs ^d croak : "what (different) things are joined together?" ^e and "how shall we be hereafter?" ^f

^d The epigram implies that his doctrines were so current that even the crows on the roofs discussed them.

^e This refers to the classification of sentences or propositions into simple (*ἀπλᾶ*), and adjunct (*συνημμένα*) and complex (*συμπελεγμένα*). An adjunct sentence (*κοῖα συνῆπται*) is, e.g. : "If it is daytime, there must be light."

^f This refers to Diodorus' argument for immortality, which was connected with the denial of the possibility of motion.

394

. . . the sacred hykes ^a (was?) a god to him.

^a A sea fish, possibly the red mullet or the rainbow-wrasse. Cf. fr. 378.

398

. . . the *Lyde* ^a (is) a fat and inelegant book.

c. 444 B.C.) on the Lydian girl he loved, which was greatly admired by the opponents of the Callimachean school.

CALLIMACHUS

399

Ἔρχεται πολλὸς μὲν Αἰγαίου διατμήξας ἀπ' οἰνηρῆς
 Χίου
 ἀμφορεύς, πολλὸς δὲ Λεσβίης ἄωτος νέκταρ οἰνάνθης
 ἄγων

1 διατμήξας cod. : διατήξας v.l. 2 Λεσβίην cod. : corr.
 Bentley. ἄωτονέκταρ cod. : corr. Pf. init. v. 3 fort. στάμνος
 Maas.

400

Ἄ ναῦς, ἃ τὸ μόνον φέγγος ἐμὴν τὸ γλυκὸν τῆς ζῴας
 ἄρπαξας, ποτί τε Ζανὸς ἰκνεῦμαι λιμενοσκόπῳ

401

Ἡ παῖς ἢ κατάκλειστος,
 τὴν οἱ φασὶ τεκόντες
 εὐναίους ὀαρισμούς
 ἔχθειν ἴσον ὀλέθρῳ·

4 ἔχειν codd. : corr. Scaliger.

FRAGMENTS OF EPIGRAMS

399

MANY a two-handled jar comes, having cut through
 the Aegean from wine-bearing Chios, and many a
 jar without handles bringing the nectar of the Les-
 bian vine.

400

SHIP, that snatched from me the only sweet light of
 my life, I entreat you by Zeus, watcher of harbours

401

THE cloistered maiden who, her parents say, hates
 marriage talk even as death.

FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN
LOCATION

FRAGMENTA INCERTAE SEDIS

467

ἐδείμαμεν ἄστεα μορτοί

468

γράμματα δ' οὐχ εἴλισσεν ἀπόκρυφα

471

Μοῦσαι νιν εἰς ἐπὶ τυννὸν ἔθεντο
(γούνασι)

2 suppl. Toup.

475

αἰεὶ τοῖς μικκοῖς μικὰ διδοῦσι θεοί

480

ἀρχόμενοι μανίην δξυτάτην ἔχομεν

483

μή με τὸν ἐν Δωδῶνι λέγοι μόνον οὔνεκα χαλκὸν
ἤγειρον

^a There was a proverb about the garrulous : τὸ Δωδωναίων

FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN
LOCATION

467

WE mortals built cities.

468

BUT he did not unwind secret writings.

471

THE Muses sat him a small child on their (knees).

475

THE gods always give small things to small men.

480

OUR madness is most acute at the start.

483

MAY he not say this of me, that I only beat the
bronze at Dodona.^a

χαλκίον, the bronze gong at Dodona, the ancient oracle of
Zeus in Epirus.

CALLIMACHUS

485

ὁ δ' αἰείδων Μάλῳς ἦλθε χορός

^a There was a sanctuary of Maloeis Apollo outside the

486

δημηχθέα Χέλλωνα κακόννημόν τε Κόμητα

^a Neither Chellon nor Comes is otherwise known.

488

Ἄτράκιον δῆπειτα λυκοσπάδα πῶλον ἐλαύνει

^a If the line does not refer to a chariot at some race, ἐλαύνει should mean "rides."

489

οἳοί τε βιοπλανῆς ἀγρὸν ἀπ' ἀγροῦ
φουτῶσιν

^a This fragment may come from the *Hecale*.

491

μείον ἐδάκρυσεν Τρωίλος ἢ Πρίαμος

^a Troilus, son of Priam, who was slain by Achilles. (If

492

Φοῖβος Ὑπερβορείσιν ὄνων ἐπιτέλλεται ἱροῖς

^a A legendary race of Apollo-worshippers, living in the far north. Offerings from them arrived at Delphi and Delos. In Delphic legend Apollo spent the winter months with the
254

FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN LOCATION

485

. . . and the Lesbian ^a chorus came singing.

city of Mitylene in the island of Lesbos, in a place called Μάλῳς (τόπος).

486

Chellon, whom the people hated, and ugly-shinned Comes.^a

488

. . . afterwards he drives ^a a Thessalian foal by the wolf-bit.^b

^b A jagged bit for hard-mouthed horses was called a λύκος, a wolf.

489

. . . like those who wander from field to field to get their vagabond living.^a

491

Troilus ^a wept less than Priam.

you die young and soon, you will weep less than if you live long.)

492

Phoebus visits the Hyperboreans ^a for the sacrifice of asses.

Hyperboreans, who sacrificed asses in his honour. Cf. fr. 186.

255

CALLIMACHUS

493

εἶ σε Προμηθεύς
ἔπλασε, καὶ πηλοῦ μὴ ἔξ ἑτέρου γέγονας

^a Prometheus, one of the Titans, the ancient and popular demi-god, developed in common belief into a supreme craftsman. As master-craftsman he is supposed to have made

494

ἄκαπνα γὰρ αἰὲν αἰδοί
θύομεν

495

Νισαίης ἀγλίδες ἀπ' Ὀργάδος

^a Possibly among the things offered to Theseus by Hecale in the *Hecale*.

498

τῷ περὶ δινῆεντ' Ἀκμονίδην ἔβαλεν
περιδινῆεντ' Bentley.

499

οὐκ ἔσχεν
ἄλλ' ἑπακουούς

500

φοιτίζειν ἀγαθοὶ πολλάκις ἦιθεοὶ
εἰς δάρους ἐθέλουσιν
256

FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN LOCATION

493

. . . if Prometheus has moulded you, and you are not made of another clay.^a

man from clay, or, according to another version of the myth, from clay and parts of other animals.

494

. . . for we singers always sacrifice ^a without burnt offerings.

^a To the Muses.

495

. . . heads of garlic ^a from Nisaeon Orgas.^b

^b Nisa was the port of Megara and Orgas a place in the Megarid.

498

. . . round which he placed (?) the revolving son of Acmon.^a

^a Ouranos was the son of Acmon; Acmon was the aether, or, according to another version of the myth, Oceanus.

499

. . . but he did not have listeners.

500

. . . noble youths often like to indulge in love-talk.

257

CALLIMACHUS

502

ἦν μο(ύ)νη ρύετο παῖς ἀμαλή

508

ὄσον βλωμοῦ πίνος ἠράσατο

512

καὶ γλαρίδες σταφύλη τε καθιεμένη τε μολυβδῖς

515

ξείνος Ἐχιδναῖον νέρθεν ἄγων δάκετον

^a Heracles, who dragged Cerberus, the monstrous dog,

516

τῶν ἔτι σοὶ δεκάφνια φάτο ζωάγρια τείσειν

519

ἀλλὰ θεῆς ἦτις με διάκτορον ἔλλαχε Παλλάς

^a The owl, which served as messenger to Athene.

520

εἰ δέ ποτε προφέροιντο διάσματα, φάρεος ἀρχὴν

προφοροῖντο conl. Schneider.

258

FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN LOCATION

502

. . . whom ^a the tender maiden alone was protecting.
^a Probably a city, or a land.

508

. . . as much as he ^a desired a rich morsel of bread.
^a About a person or animal that was hungry.

512

. . . and the chisels and the plummet of a level and the sinking plumb of a mason's line.

515

. . . the foreigner.^a bringing the monstrous son of Echidna from below.

guardian to the entrance of the lower world, away. Cerberus was the offspring of Typhon and Echidna.

516

He said he would still pay you tenfold ransom for them.

519

. . . but of the goddess, her, Pallas, who received me ^a by lot as her messenger.

520

. . . if ever they were to set the warp in the loom, the beginning of a cloth.

259

CALLIMACHUS

522

δύπται δ' ἔξ ἀλὸς ἐρχόμενοι
ἔνδριοι καύηκες

523

τὸ δ' ἐκ μέλαν εἶαρ ἔδαπτεν

524

Εἰνατίην ὁμόδελφυν ἐπ' ὠδίεσσιν ἰδοῦσα

^a ἐπ' ὠδίεσσιν might mean "while in labour," when it must refer to Hebe, the sister of Ilithyia (goddess of birth), watching Ilithyia give birth to Eros, who according to a rare version of the myth was her son; or it might mean "beside

526

οὐδὲ βοῆ κήρυκος ἐλίυσεν

527 A

ὄν τε μάλιστα βοῶν ποθέουσιν ἐχίνοι

530

χολῆ δ' ἴσα γέντα πάσαιο

533

ΛΑΟΙ Δευκαλίωνος ὅσοι γενόμεσθα γενέθλης
πουλὸν θαλασσαιῶν μυηδότεροι νεπέδων

^a Fr. 496 Pf., which with fr. 533 Pf. forms an elegiac couplet; cf. J. Irigoin, *Rev. des Ét. gr.* lxxiii (1960), pp. 260

FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN LOCATION

522

. . . diving terns, coming at midday from the sea.

523

. . . and he devoured the black blood.

524

. . . having seen Ilithyia, her sister, while in labour.^a

another woman who was in labour," and might then refer to Leto, or even to Hebe herself, who bore sons to Heracles. *Εἰνατίη* was a Cretan epithet of Ilithyia.

526

. . . nor did the voice of the herald rest.

527 A

. . . which the stomachs of the oxen especially desire.^a

^a The fragment may come from the *Hecule*.

533

WE, the race of stones, who are descended from Deucalion, much more silent than the children of the sea.^a

439 f. There is a deliberate ambiguity in ΛΑΟΙ, for it means both "stones" (λάοι) and "people" (λαοί).

CALLIMACHUS

534

καί ῥα παρὰ σκαιοῖο βραχίονος ἔμπλεον ὄλπιον

^a Visitors to the baths or the gymnasium took with them

538

Μουσέων δ' οὐ μάλα φιδὸς ἐγώ

539

φιαρὴ τῆμος ἀνεσχευ ἔως

544

⊖ - ⊖ - ⊖ - ⊖] τοῦ μεθυπλήγος
φροίμιον Ἀρχιλόχου.

ita div. Maas. trim. choliamb. et hemiepes.

546

κρήνη

λευκὸν ὕδωρ ἀνέβαλλεν

547

ὕδατινον καίρωμα (< - >) ὑμένεσσιν ὁμοῖον

lac. ind. Pf., <φέρειν> vel sim.

549

ἔχοιμί τι παιδὸς ἐφολκόν

ἔχοιμι δέ τι cod. : δέ del. Bentley.

FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN LOCATION

534

. . . and from the left arm a full flask.^a

a flask of oil. This fragment may belong to the *Acontius and Cydippe* action (frs. 67-75).

538

I AM not at all miserly of my songs.

539

. . . then the bright dawn rose.

544

. . . the prelude of wine-stricken Archilochus.

546

. . . (the) fountain was throwing up white water.

547

. . . a transparent web . . . like a membrane.

549

. . . may I have something to entice a boy.

CALLIMACHUS

550

ὁ πρὸ μῆς ὄρης θηρίον οὐ λέγεται

551

καὶ τὸν ὅς αἰζήων ἔγραε κηδεμόνος
<ἦπαρ>

1 τόνος cod. dist. Bergk, Wil.: γόνος—κηδεμόνα codd. v.l.
2 suppl. Maas.

552

Βριλησσοῦ λαγόνεσσιν ὀμούριον ἐκτίσαντο

λαγόνεσσαν ὀμούριον ἐκτίσαντο Bentley: λαγόνες εἰσι νόμου
ὄν ἐκτίσαντο codd.

553

καὶ κυάμων ἀπο χεῖρας ἔχειν, ἀνιῶντος ἔδεστοῦ,
κῆγγώ, Πυθαγόρης ὡς ἐκέλευε, λέγω

^a The followers of Pythagoras, the Samian philosopher who migrated to Croton in the late sixth century B.C.,

554

Τόν με παλαιστρίταν ὀμόσας θεὸν ἐπτάκις φιλήσειν

^a Hermes is the god of the palaestra. This is probably

264

FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN LOCATION

550

. . . the animal which is not mentioned before the first hour.^a

^a The ape, if mentioned at night, was thought to bring bad luck. The first hour was c. seven o'clock in the morning

551

. . . and him who devoured the liver of the protector of mankind.^a

^a The eagle which devoured the liver of Prometheus.

552

. . . bordering on the flanks of Brilessos^a they built.

^a Mountain of Attica. The fragment may come from the *Hecale*.

553

. . . and to keep hands off the beans, a vexatious food, I too command as Pythagoras ordered.^a

abstained from certain food, including beans. The *κόσμοι* here may be the lots by which public officers were elected.

554

HAVING sworn that he would kiss me (?) the god of the palaestra, seven times.^a

the beginning of an epigram in "Archilochian" metre, in which the effigy of the god speaks.

265

CALLIMACHUS

556

νυμφίε Δημοφών, ἄδικε ξένε

* Demophon, son of Theseus, when returning from the Trojan war met in Thrace the princess Phyllis, who fell in love with him. He left her, promising to return when he had

557

εἶτε μιν Ἀργείων χρῆν με καλεῖν ἀάτην

571

αἴθε γάρ, ὦ κούροισιν ἐπ' ὄθματα λίχνα φέροντες,
Ἐρχίος ὡς ὑμῖν ὤρισε παιδοφιλεῖν,
ὠδε νέων ἐρώπτε· πόλιν κ' εὐάνδρον ἔχοιτε

572

ἀρότας κύματος Ἀονίου

* The Boeotian Sea. The Boeotians were called Aones. The furrowers of the sea are probably fishermen.

586

εἰ θεὸν οἶσθα,
ἴσθ' ὅτι καὶ ῥέξαι δαίμονι πᾶν δυνατόν

587

ἑπτὰ σοφοὶ χαίρουτε—τὸν ὄγδοον, ὥστε Κόροιβον,
οὐ συναριθμέομεν—

266

FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN LOCATION

556

. . . bridegroom Demophon,^a unjust guest.
settled his affairs in Athens; but she, weary with waiting, hanged herself, and was turned into an almond tree, which put forth leaves when later Demophon came back and embraced it.

557

. . . or I should have called her (?)^a the ruin of the Greeks.

^a Probably Helen.

571

. . . would that you, who cast lewd eyes upon boys, might make love to the young in the manner ordained by Erchios.^a You would have a city of noble men.

^a Erchios is otherwise unknown.

572

. . . furrowers of the Aonian^a wave.

586

. . . if you know a god, know also that it is possible for a god to achieve everything.

587

. . . seven sages, hail—the eighth like Coroebus,^a we do not include—

^a Coroebus, son of Mygdon, a Phrygian hero of the epic cycle, was proverbial for his stupidity.

267

CALLIMACHUS

588

πάλαι δ' ἔτι Θεσσαλὸς ἀνὴρ
ῥυστάζει φθιμένων ἀμφὶ τάφον φονέας

591

τεθναίην ὄτ' ἐκείνον ἀποπνεύσαντα πυθοίμην

592

χῆ Παλλάς, Δελφοί νιν ὄθ' ἰδρύνοντο Προναίην

593

μέσφα Καλαυρείης ἦλθεν ἐς ἀντίδοσιν

597

θηρὸς ἀερτάζων δέρμα κατωμάδιον

599

ἀντὶ γὰρ ἐκλήθης Ἰμβρασε Παρθενίου

^a A river of the island Samos. The river was called Par-

601

ἐν Δίῃ· τὸ γὰρ ἔσκε παλαιότερον οὐνομα Νάξω

268

FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN LOCATION

588

. . . and still, as in ancient times, the Thessalians
drag the murderers round the tomb of the dead.

591

. . . may I die, when I learn that he has expired.

592

. . . and Pallas, when (?) the Delphians were setting
her (statue) up as Pronaea.

593

. . . until he came to exchange Calauria.^a

^a The island off the East Argolid, now known as Poros.

597

. . . hanging on his shoulder the skin of the wild
beast.^a

^a Probably Heracles, who hung the lion-skin on his
shoulder.

599

. . . for you were called Imbrasos, instead of Par-
thenios.^a

thenios because Hera, we are told, bathed in it when still a
maiden.

601

. . . in Dia ; for this was the earlier name for Naxos.^a

^a Possibly to be connected with frs. 3-7.

269

CALLIMACHUS

602

δέσποιναι Λιβύης ἡρωίδες, αἱ Νασαμώνων
 αὐλιν καὶ δολιχὰς θίνας ἐπιβλέπετε,
 μητέρα μοι ζώουσαν ὀφέλλετε

^a The local Libyan nymphs and goddesses are invoked.

604

νόθαι δ' ἤμθησαν αἰοδαί

^a It may refer to the music which the composers of dithyrambs are said to have corrupted.

607

μὴ σύ γε, Θεϊόγενης, κόψας χέρα Καλλικώωντος;

^a Callicoon is said to have betrayed the city of Samos (or Miletus) to Priene (according to others the island of Syros to the Samians), and the butcher Thiogenes, a native of the

611

Καλλιχόρῳ ἐπὶ φρητὶ καθέζεο παιδὸς ἄπυστος

ἄπυστος codd. : corr. Naeke.

^a Demeter, when searching for her daughter Persephone, who had been abducted by Hades, sat at the well Callichoron

612

ἀμάρτυρον οὐδὲν αἶδω

270

FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN LOCATION

602

. . . heroines, mistresses of Libya,^a who watch over the home and the far-stretching shores of the Nasamones,^b make greater my flourishing mother.^c

^b The Nasamones lived to the south-west of Cyrene along the shores of the Great Syrtis.

^c Cyrene, the motherland of Callimachus.

604

. . . and bastard songs flourished.^a

607

. . . was it really you, Thiogenes, who cut the hand of Callicoon? ^a

betrayed city, cut off the traitor's hand when buying meat at his shop, saying: "You will betray no other city with this hand."

611

. . . you sat at the well Callichoron, without news of your child.^a

of Eleusis. There the women of the city are said to have first formed a chorus and sung to the goddess.

612

I SING nothing that is not attested.^a

^a One more proof of the "erudite" nature of the Callimachean poetry.

271

CALLIMACHUS

618

Ῥήγιον ἄστν λιπῶν Ἰοκάστῳ Αἰολίδαο

^a Iocastos, son of Aeolus, was the founder of Rhegium.

620

ἄγνωτον μηδὲν ἔχοιμι καλόν

ἄγνωστον vel ἀνάγνωστον v.l. codd.

620 A

ἔσκειν ὄτ' ἄζωστος χᾶτερόπορπος ἔτι

^a An "ungirdled girl" was 9 years old.

^b Spartan girls wore a short dress with their right shoulder

621

εἶμι τέρας Καλυδῶνος, ἄγω δ' Αἰτωλὸν Ἄρηα

^a Probably the beginning of an epigram in which a shield speaks, describing the picture of the hunt of the Calydonian boar. Artemis, to whom Oeneus, king of Calydon in Aetolia,

625

ἠβανὴν οὐ τι κατὰ πρόφασιν

626

τῶν οὐκ ἀγαθῶν ἐρυσίπολιν

(φω)τῶν Lobeck : (καί) τῶν Schneider.

272

FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN LOCATION

618

. . . having left Rhegium, the city of Iocastos, son of Aeolus.^a

620

. . . may I not keep concealed anything that is good.

620 A

. . . when (she) was still ungirdled,^a and wearing a short dress with one buckle.^b

free. This may be also a reference to the habit of leaving the right shoulder free, when training at the gymnasium.

621

I AM a Calydonian portent, and I bring Aetolian war.^a

had not sacrificed, sent a wild boar to ravage the country. Meleager, the son of Oeneus, gathered huntsmen and hounds from many cities and killed the boar. There are various versions of this myth.

625

. . . not on a small pretext

626

. . . defender of the city of the wicked.^a

^a Probably about a hero or a daemon, not about Athens, to whom the epithet ἐρυσίπολις is usually attributed.

273

CALLIMACHUS

628

ἄνωγε δὲ πορθμέα νεκρῶν

630

κρηνέων τ' Εὐρώπῃ μισγομένων ἑκατόν

637

χαλεπή μῆνις ἐπιχθονίων

ἐπι χθονίων Bergk: ἐπ(ε)ι χθονίων Lloyd-Jones.

638

ἴλαθί μοι φαλαρῆτι, πυλαιμάχε

639^a

^a See fr. 284 A.

644

νόμον δ' ἦειδεν Ἄρηος

646

αἰ δὲ βοοκρήμιοι παρ' ἀγκύλον ἴχνος Ἀράθου

Ἀραΐθου codd.: corr. B. Niese.

648

ἄψ ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντος ὀδεύετον

^a River of Boeotia.

FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN LOCATION

628

. . . do you order the ferryman of the dead.^a

^a Charon, the ferryman of the dead. ἄνωγε is apparently an unusual imperative instead of ἀνωχθε.

630

. . . and a hundred fountains mingling with Europe.^a

^a A fountain in Epirus.

637

. . . severe is the wrath of men.

638

. . . be propitious to me, (Athene) of the bossed helmet, defender of the city gates.

639^a

^a See fr. 284 A.

644

. . . he was singing the chant of Ares.^a

^a Probably the song (elsewhere described as a paean) sung before going into battle.

646

. . . and, near the winding course of steep-banked Arathus,^a they.

^a River of Epirus.

648

. . . they two were journeying back to the river Thermodon.^a

CALLIMACHUS

650

ἔστιν μοι Μάγνης ἑννεάμυκλος ὄνος

651

μέσσαβα βοῦς ὑποδύς

652

τὴν μὲν ὃ γ' ἐσπέρμηγεν Ἐρινύι Τιλφωσαίῃ

^a Despoina was born to Posidon by Demeter Erinys, worshipped in Arcadia as the water-nymph Tilphousa. Accord-

655

καὶ τριτάτῃ Περσεῖος ἐπώνυμος, ἧς ὀρόδαμον
Αἰγύπτῳ κατέπηξεν

658

ἐν δὲ θεοῖσιν ἐπὶ φλογὶ καιέμεν ὄμπας

669

ὃς < > Ἴταλὴν ἐφράσαθ' ἁρμονίην

lacunam indic. Pf. ὃς τ' Böckh: ὡς Diehl.

276

FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN LOCATION

650

I HAVE a strong (?) ass from Magnesia.^a

^a Probably Magnesia in Thessaly. The word ἑννεάμυκλος also means "nine-years old."

651

. . . the ox having shouldered the yoke.

652

. . . he begat her by the Tilphosian Erinys.^a

^a ing to another version of the myth Tilphousa was a fountain in Boeotia and not in Arcadia.

655

. . . and a third called after Perseus,^a from which he planted a cutting in Egypt.

^a A tree called "Mimusops" in botany, planted by Perseus in Memphis according to the myth.

658

. . . and to burn on the flame cakes made of meal and honey for the gods.

669

. . . who . . . invented the Italian scale.^a

^a The Western Locrian Xenocritus is said to have invented the Italian musical scale.

277

CALLIMACHUS

670

πτέρνη θ' ἵππος ἐλαυνόμενος

ἵπποις cod.: ἵππος Bentley (praeunte Anna Fabri?).

672

Κολχίδος ἐκ καλάμης

^a Colchis, at the east end of the Euxine Sea, south of the

673

ἢ ὑπὲρ ἀσταλέων Χαρίτων λόφον

ἀσταλερόν codd. v.l.: ἀσταλέων conl. Ruhnken.

676

ζορκός τοι, φίλε κοῦρε, Λιβυστίδος αὐτίκα δώσω
πέντε νεοσμῆκτους ἄστριας

^a Probably part of a conversation between Aphrodite and

677

τὸ δὲ σκύλος ἀνδρὶ καλύπτρη
γιγνόμενον, νιφετοῦ καὶ βελέων ἔρυμα

^a This probably refers to the lion-skin Heracles wore. As the owner is here called a "man," it can either be part of a

278

FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN LOCATION

670

. . . and the horse driven by the heel.^a

^a Possibly the potter's wheel is here the horse, driven (turned) by the foot.

672

. . . of Colchian ^a flax.

Caucasus mountains, according to an ancient tradition a colony of the Egyptians.

673

. . . or over the rough hill of the Graces.^a

^a Probably a hill in the Cyrenaica.

676

I WILL give you at once, dear boy, five newly-polished
knuckle-bones of a Libyan gazelle.^a

Eros, in which the mother is promising her son this gift in order to wound somebody with his arrows.

677

. . . and the skin serving as a cover to the man, a
protection against snow and missiles.^a

speech in which Heracles speaks about himself, or of a speech by Omphale, in which case ἀνδρὶ would mean "to my husband."

279

CALLIMACHUS

680

ὕπειρ ἄλα κείνος ἐνάσθη,
Ἄλκαθού τις ἄπυστος

^a Son of Pelops and Hippodamea, a king and hero of

681

νηφάλιαι καὶ τῆσιν αἰεὶ μελιθδέας ὄμπας
λήττειραι καίειν ἔλλαχον Ἡσυχίδες

^a The Eumenides, the Furies, to whom no libations in wine were made.

682

τί δάκρυον εὐδον ἐγείρεις;

687

δαῖμον, τῇ κόλποισιν ἐπιπτύουσι γυναῖκες

δαίμων cod.: δαῖμον Bentley, cf. fr. 384. 9 et Ap. Rh. iv. 1579.

688

ἐπὶ τρύγα δ' εἶχεν ἔδωδῆ

ἔδωδῆν codd.: ἔδωδῆ coni. Schn.

689

Πάν ὁ Μαλειήτης τρύπανον αἰπολικόν

280

FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN LOCATION

680

. . . he was obliged to live beyond the sea, one who knew not Alcahoos.^a

Megara. We do not know who the man was "who knew not Alcahoos." *τὸς* is here used in the sense of a relative pronoun.

681

. . . and those ^a to whom the sober ^b Hesychian ^c priestesses had the duty always to burn sweet sacrificial cakes.

^b The priestesses who offered libations of water and not of wine are called "sober," like the water-libations themselves.
^c The "Hesychidae" were a family of Athens.

682

. . . why do you wake up dormant tears?

687

. . . goddess, for whom the women spit on their bosoms.^a

^a Women exorcized Nemesis by spitting on their bosoms.

688

. . . and he had new wine to accompany his food.

689

PAN of Mount Malca,^a the goatherd's screw.^b

^a Probably the Arcadian mountain.

^b To be taken in an obscene sense.

281

CALLIMACHUS

690

ἰύζων δ' ἄν' ὄρος

694

ἀεὶ δ' ἔχον ἔντομα σηκοί

695

πιπρήσκει δ' ὁ καλὸς πάντα πρὸς ἀργύριον

κακὸς cod. v.l.

^a Cf. fr. 193; *Epiigr.* xxx. (xxxii L.C.L.) 1, and probably

701

δέδαεν δὲ λαχαιμένον ἔργα σιδήρου

705

εἰς Ἀσίην Ἀλυκὸν τε καὶ ἄμ πόλιν Ἑρμιονῶν

^a These three cities of the Argolid can either be connected with the *μετοικισμός* forced on the Dryopes by Heracles (cf.

713

ἔνθ' ἀνέμων μεγάλων κῦμα διωλύγιον

714

κουφοτέρως τότε φῶτα διαθλίβουσιν ἀνῖαι,
ἐκ δὲ τριηκόντων μοῖραν ἀφείλε μίαν,

² ἀφῆκε cod. v.l.

FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN LOCATION

690

. . . crying out on the mountain.

694

. . . and the sanctuaries always had victims.

695

. . . the handsome sell everything for money.^a

Epiigr. xxviii and xxxi (xxx and xxxiii L.C.L.), from which it appears that Callimachus was himself a poor lover.

701

. . . and taught how to dig (the) iron (metal).^a

^a Cf. fr. 110. 49 f. and fr. 115. 12 f.

705

. . . to Asine and Alycos and about the city of Hermione.^a

fr. 24/5), or with the *Hecale*, where cities of the Argolid are also mentioned.

713

. . . there, the far resounding wave, caused by strong winds.

714

. . . worries then weigh less on a man, and of thirty parts one is removed, when he blurts out his troubles

CALLIMACHUS

ἢ φίλον ἢ ὄτ' ἐς ἄνδρα συνέμπορον ἢ ὄτε κωφαῖς
 ἄλγεα μαψαύραις ἔσχατον ἐξερύγη

4 εξερρύη codd. : em. Pf.

715

ὁ δρόμος ἱερὸς οὗτος Ἀνούβιδος

^a The path leading to the temple.

716

Καλλίστη τὸ πάροιθε, τὸ δ' ὕστερον οὖνομα Θήρη,
 μήτηρ εὐίππου πατρίδος ἡμετέρης

719

θεῶ τ' ἀλλάγμα νόμιον
 δοῦναι

^a We do not know about which god Callimachus is speak-

724

πτωχῶν οὐλὰς ἀεὶ κενεή

οὐλαι vel οὐλαι codd. : οὐλὰς Hecker. κεναί codd. : κενεή
 Porson.

284

FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN LOCATION

to a friend, or a fellow-traveller, or even finally to the
 deaf gusts of wind.

715

. . . this is the sacred drive ^a of Anubis.^b

^b An Egyptian god with the head of a dog, who was identified with Hermes by the Greeks.

716

. . . of old called Calliste, her later name Thera,
 mother of our fatherland of good horses.^a

^a Cyrene, the poet's motherland, was a colony of Thera,
 the island of the Aegean, to-day called Santorin.

719

. . . to offer the god ^a the usual cry.

ing. It could be Ares, or Zeus, or Dionysus or even other less
 important gods.

724

. . . the wallet of the poor is always empty.^a

^a A proverbial saying about the greedy.

285

CALLIMACHUS

725

καὶ ὡς λύκος ὠρυόμην

731

τὴν θεὸν Ἄρτεμιν οἶ' ἔπαθεν

^a See fr. 31 n.

784

οὐδ' ὅσον μύτης στυγερῶν ἐμπάζετο μύθων

^a Probably Heracles.

FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN LOCATION

725

. . . and may I howl like a wolf.

731

. . . the goddess Artemis, what she suffered ^a . . .

784

Nor did he ^a heed in the very least ^b the loathsome words.

^b Literally: "as much as a fly."

MUSAEUS
HERO AND LEANDER

PREFACE

My interest in Musaeus' poem was awakened when I observed that the poet, in narrating the sad romance of Hero and Leander, not only, as a true follower of Nonnus, made verbal borrowings from the authors who comprised the educational background of a *γραμματικός* of this late period, but also shaped the course and motivation of whole scenes by modeling them on famous antecedents to which he made clear allusions. Among these antecedents in particular he used the meeting of Odysseus and Nausicaa in the *Odyssey* and the encounter of the lovers in Plato's *Phaedrus*. As he was also found to cite the *Hymns* of Proclus, it was easy to guess that he was familiar with the interpretations in the light of which Homer and Plato were understood and employed in late Neoplatonism, and therefore that his allusions to these authors and his significant blending of this pair of authorities—exactly what we find in the poems of Proclus himself—amounted to more than merely external literary borrowing. So the question posed itself whether the poem had an allegorical meaning expressed through these allusions in the manner we already knew well from Proclus. As a proposal for research during my residence at the Center for Hellenic Studies in Washington in 1966-1967 I set myself to extend my researches into Christ-

ian Neoplatonism. This was even more urgent because Musaeus in his poem made considerable use of Nonnus' *Paraphrase of St. John's Gospel* and sporadic use of the *Paraphrase of the Psalms* by Pseudo-Apollinarius. The catalogue drawn up by Johannes Golega of the literary authorities used in this latter paraphrase coincided remarkably closely with those used by Musaeus. At that time I was not thinking of publishing a text of my own; I had merely put together for my own use a selection of readings based on the variants recorded by Arthur Ludwich.

Then, through the kind intervention of the Director of the Center, Prof. Bernard M. W. Knox, I received an invitation from the Loeb Classical Library to prepare the present edition for this series, in which Musaeus had not yet appeared. At first it seemed that an adequate text for ordinary reading of the 343 frequently reprinted lines could be relatively quickly prepared on the basis of available information. But it then became clear that the language and style of Musaeus and his use of literary authorities had not yet been independently examined, but only treated in passing as an afterthought to research on Nonnus and his school. The readings and the stemmatic relations of the mss. had been thoroughly dealt with by Ludwich, but deeper investigations were still needed to establish adequate criteria, when there were textual difficulties, for judging the individual characteristics of Musaeus in his own distinct place in the school of Nonnus. The results of my research on this topic have been published in *Museum Helveticum*, for which I am grateful to the editors. This research could not have been completed without the generous assistance of Prof.

John H. Finley, who as Master welcomed me on two visits to Eliot House in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and made it possible for me to consult the rich stocks of the Widener Library of Harvard University; nor without the generosity of the directors of the Byzantine departments of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington D.C., who granted me unlimited access to the fine library of their magnificent Institute. I owe especial thanks to Professor Ihor Ševčenko, to the late Romilly J. H. Jenkins of Dumbarton Oaks, and to Professor William M. Calder III of Columbia University, New York, who invited me to read a paper at both their institutions and discuss it with them; they have given me further help with valuable references. I have also gratefully used information generously put at my disposal by Professor Martin Sicherl, Münster i.W. (at that time at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, N.J.) concerning his unpublished research on the Latin translations of Aldus Manutius, and by Professor Alan Cameron of King's College, University of London, concerning an unpublished papyrus of Triphiodorus.

It has been a great pleasure to work with Professor Cedric H. Whitman of Harvard University, who undertook the difficult task of translation. His elegant verses subtly reproduce the preciousness of the late antique original, and for the English reader will be the special attraction of this edition. I am indebted to him for admirable observations on the meaning of the text; moreover he has been prepared to be totally un-selfassertive and, in the frequent cases where the meaning was only loosely discernible and the rendering could be doubtful, to accept

my conception in the interest of a unity of interpretation. Accordingly if despite every precaution inaccuracies remain, the responsibility falls on me. Finally I owe special thanks to my fellow-student at the Center for Hellenic Studies, David B. Robinson of the University of Edinburgh, who out of friendship took upon himself the task of improving the style of the part of my introduction that was written in English, and of translating into English by far the greater part of it, and also all of the notes.

My remarks on the allegorical interpretation of the poem in the Introduction and the Notes are kept apart from the remainder of the interpretation of the poem, in such a way that the reader who wishes to give his attention entirely to the literary presentation of this famous romance can skip them without more ado, and enjoy without hindrance the poem as a work of literature.

ZÜRICH, March 1969

Shortly before I had completed the preparation of this edition in Zürich the edition of Pierre Orsini (Paris 1968) appeared. It was still possible for me to include in my text his results and the points of difference. At that time however an immediate start could not be made with the printing, and as the opportunity has now presented itself, the editor of the Loeb Classical Library has kindly allowed me to take into account in addition the work that has since been published. This was all the more necessary, since among the reviews of Orsini's edition two especially weighty contributions have appeared, those of Rudolf Keydell and Giuseppe Giangrande (both 1969), who have brought in their turn new

opinions and new material to bear on the constitution and the explanation of the text. Further the first fascicle of the *Lexikon zu den Dionysiaka des Nonnos*, which is being prepared under the direction of Werner Peek, has since then been published; this work, together with the Index verborum to Augustin Scheindler's edition of the *Metabole of the Gospel of St. John* (Leipzig 1881), will constitute an indispensable tool for all research in the field of later Greek Epic.

Finally the monumental *Commentary on Musaeus* of Karlheinz Kost has also now appeared (Bonn 1971). It is the fruit of an extraordinarily wide-ranging and industrious effort extending over more than ten years. The study of this bulky volume, slowed by the pressure of my other work, necessitated a further delay in the completion of this edition. Kost deals comprehensively with all questions concerning the poet's identity and date, his material, his means of expression, his style, his sources, and associated topics, as well as with the history and interpretation of his text in modern times, and his influence through the Middle Ages up to the present day. He has collected, for the history of the majority of words, expressions, concepts and motifs used by Musaeus, parallels and illustrations beginning with Homer and continuing far beyond the time of Musaeus, together with references to modern discussions, and has dealt with several in a number of excursuses. The little that I was able to take over from it, within the scope of this edition, in order to supplement and amend the introduction, apparatus criticus and explanatory notes, can give no adequate impression of the wealth of the material there offered.

Unfortunately, precisely in the field which is of most concern in such an edition as this, even after the latest efforts of these three learned interpreters, we are still far from a generally accepted consensus of opinion. Their suggestions for the solution of a relatively large number of specific problems of textual criticism and of interpretation of meaning lead to conclusions which are somewhat frequently widely divergent. This shows only how insufficient, in the final analysis, our material is for textual criticism in the case of unique or peculiar expressions in this short poem, and there is no immediate possibility of this situation being improved. Therefore I have not felt myself prompted to make substantial changes in the constitution of my text as against the suggested solutions which I have discussed and argued for in my *Bemerkungen*. On the other hand I have in the apparatus criticus gone beyond the material adduced to support my own conclusions and considerably increased the references to different solutions and to the parallels on which these are based, so as not to mislead the reader by the deceptive semblance of a certainty beyond dispute.

For his help in the translation into English of the additional notes, in the preparation of the final text of the introduction and in proof-reading I wish to thank Mr. Jean Parry, assistant in the department of classics in Bern.

THOMAS GELZER

BERN, April 1972

INTRODUCTION

I. THE POET AND HIS WORK

The Poet

WE have no biographical information about the epic poet Musaeus^a beyond the fact that in the superscriptions of some manuscripts^b he is called γραμματικός. In the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. this title was borne by several authors whose works, in verse and in prose, we still possess. They are scholars and teachers learned in the rhetoric, poetics and philosophy of their time, and expert in the scholarly interpretation of the classical prose- and verse-authors, in particular of Homer, the orators and the philosophers.

Clues for dating Musaeus can be gathered from the comparison of his poem with other surviving writings.^c The most striking clue is the use that he

^a Most of the topics discussed here have been treated by me in more detail in an article, "Bemerkungen zu Sprache und Text des Epikers Musaios," *Mus. Helv.* 24 (1967), 129-148 and 25 (1968), 11-47. I refer to this below as "*Bemerkungen*."

^b All the material is in A. Ludwich, *Ueber die Handschriften des Epikers Musaios* (Vorlesungsverzeichnis, Königsberg Sommer 1896), 5.

^c On this see R. Keydel, "Musaios 2," *Real-Encyclopädie*, 16, 1 (1933), 767-769; L. Castiglioni, "Epica Nonniana," *Rend. Ist. Lomb. Torino*, ser. 2, vol. 45 (1932), 309-337.

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made of the *Dionysiaca* and of the *Paraphrase of St. John's Gospel* by Nonnus of Panopolis. He takes over from Nonnus near-complete verses, parts of verses, words, constructions and modes of expression, so that his poem almost gives the impression of being a cento of Nonnus.^a The *Paraphrase* by Nonnus can be dated on theological grounds certainly later than A.D. 428, probably later than 451.^b

In essential aspects of his poetic technique, on the other hand, Musaeus diverges from Nonnus. These are the use he makes of rhetorical ornament and of grammatical learning.^c Besides Nonnus he demonstrably imitated other authors,^d from whose works in

^a Cf. L. v. Schwabe in his edition, iv sq.; A. Wifstrand, *Von Kallimachos zu Nonnos* (=Skrifter . . . Vetenskaps Societeten i Lund, 16, 1933), 193.

^b J. Golega, *Studien über die Evangeliendichtung des Nonnos von Panopolis* (=Breslauer Studien z. histor. Theologie, 15, 1930), 106 sq., 144.

^c A. Wifstrand, *op. cit.*, analysed and recorded the similarities and divergences between Nonnus and his successors, in particular Musaeus, in all important points of metre and style; on Musaeus see esp. pp. 193-198.

^d The following authors for certain: (1) poets: Homer, *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, *Hymn to Aphrodite*, *Batrachomyomachia*; Hesiod, *Theogony* and *Erga*; Bacchylides; Aeschylus; Euripides; Aratus; Lycophron, Apollonius Rhodius, Callimachus and the Bucolici (besides Theocritus: Moschus, Ps.-Theocritus 27, the "Oaristys"); the Manethoniana; Dionysius Periegetes and Dionysius Bassaricus; Oppian, *Haliëutica*; Quintus Smyrnaeus; St. Gregory Nazianzenus. (2) Prose authors: Plato; New Testament; Achilles Tatius and probably Aristaenetus. Proofs and references: Kost 43 sq.; for Sappho, Pindar, other lyric poets and those of the *Anthologia* and for other epigrammatists see Kost's commentary *passim*, and, for Ps.-Apollinarius, the following note. Of special interest for the interpretation of Musaeus are the borrowings from Aratus, St. Gregory Nazianzenus (also used

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the same way he took over expressions and parts of verses. Among these other works is the *Paraphrase of the Psalms* of Pseudo-Apollinarius, which can be dated, again on theological grounds, to the period 460-470.^a Musaeus therefore probably wrote at the earliest in the last third of the fifth century A.D. The list of the authors quoted by the paraphrast of the Psalms shows a remarkable coincidence with those quoted by Musaeus; this is a clear indication of Musaeus' cultural background. This paraphrast is in turn used by other poets who at the same time also quote Musaeus (these include Colluthus, Christodorus and Johannes Gazaeus).

Musaeus was probably a Christian.^b Not only did he borrow from St. Gregory Nazianzenus and the two Bible paraphrases; he also alludes to the Gospels (Mus. 139~Luke 11. 27; Mus. 183 sq.~Matth. 10. 26~Mark 4. 22~Luke 8. 17~Nonn. *met.* Jo. 18. 97), to the Epistle to the Romans (Mus. 228~Rom. 4. 11) and to a Canonical prohibition of the Church (Mus. 178).^c He also knows Plato and the *Hymns* of Proclus (Mus. 56~Procl. *Hy.* 7. 31).^d He was

by Nonnus in his *Dionysiaca*), Lycophron (following C. v. Holzinger) and the Manethoniana which Kost has discovered or to which he has assigned their proper significance.

^a J. Golega, *Der homerische Psalter* (Studia Patristica et Byzantina, 6, 1960), 25 sq., 104. This paraphrase quotes Nonnus too. That it is earlier than Musaeus is not proved, but is likely.

^b Doubtful only by J. Geffcken, *Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums* (Heidelberg 1929), 305, Anm. 155; but he does not deny it and produces no arguments.

^c For establishment of this point, for which I must thank the late R. J. H. Jenkins, see the evidence in *Bemerkungen*, 136 sq.; see Explanatory Notes below, on line 177.

^d A. Ludwig, "Musaïos und Proklos," *Jahrb. f. class.*

probably therefore a Christian Neoplatonist. Thus he has much in common with the circle of poets, orators and philosophers of the time of Anastasius I (491-518). Procopius (c. 465-528) and his followers in the school of Gaza show an especially large number of stylistic similarities to Musaeus.^a Among the authors of that period the Egyptian Colluthus quoted Musaeus^b; so did Christodorus of Coptus (about 500) in his descriptions. Procopius and the Gazaeans,

Philologie, 133 (1886), 246-248, established the relation of the passages but reversed the chronological order; less striking parallels are Mus. 275, cp. Procl. *Hy.* 1. 26; Mus. 330, cp. Procl. *Hy.* 7. 34; see Explanatory Notes to line 56. Proclus is also cited by Nonnus in his *Metaphrasis* and by the paraphrast of the Psalms.

^a Good survey in K. Seitz, *Die Schule von Gaza* (Diss. Heidelberg 1892), especially 37 sq.

^b That Colluthus used Musaeus, and not vice versa, is almost certainly proved by Kost, 17 sq., who shows that the former's allusions point to various parts of the latter's poem, whereas in his own they are confined to three clearly defined passages, *i.e.* Helena's reception scene (Colluth. 254 sq.: 255 ~Mus. 260-263, 257 ~Mus. 78, 265-266 ~Mus. 172-173), the second part of Paris' speech (Colluth. 293 sq.: 293 ~Mus. 83, 295 ~Mus. 203, 296 ~Mus. 142, 297 ~Mus. 157) and the transition (Colluth. 303-305 ~Mus. 160-172). That Musaeus should have picked out just these few lines of Colluthus in order to quote them at various places in his whole poem is very unlikely. Besides, Colluthus "trivializes" the pointed use of Musaeus' wording. Triphiodorus also has parts of verses in common with Musaeus (listed in Ludwig's edition). Since Wernicke (1819), who noted the frequent coincidences of phrasing in Triphiodorus and Nonnus, it has been assumed that Triphiodorus was a follower of Nonnus and in his turn was copied by Colluthus. Now Prof. A. Cameron has called my attention to an unpublished papyrus of Triphiodorus which on purely palaeographical grounds would be dated to the third or fourth century A.D. Triphiodorus' many divergences from Nonnus' metrical rules have long been noticed

like Christodorus, are also Christians and Neoplatonists, and, in so far as they wrote verse, followers of Nonnus. Several of them have the title *γραμματικός*, as has also Philoponus, the Christian Neoplatonist of the Alexandrian school, who wrote a work attacking Proclus, probably about 529.^a Musaeus would be quite at home in this learned company, and so it is very likely that he is identical with the addressee of two letters which we possess by Procopius of Gaza (Nos. 147 and 165 ed. Garzya-Loenertz). Procopius in another letter (No. 1) quotes the poem about Alpheus and Arethusa (*A.P.* 9. 362) which is modelled in its turn on the epyllion of Musaeus.^b Procopius addresses Musaeus as an honoured master and thanks him (No. 147) for a book which he, apparently by his interpretations, has turned into a work "inspired by the Muses" in the Neoplatonic sense (cp. Proclus, *in Remp.* 1. 180 sq.). It seems that this must have been a Neoplatonic commentary or paraphrase, now lost to us; to have written a work of this kind would

and brought Wifstrand (*op. cit.* 75) to the conclusion: "Were it not for the numerous phrases and parts of verses which he has clearly taken from the *Dionysiaca*, one would even be inclined to place him earlier than Nonnus." The possibility therefore arises, though it is unlikely on other grounds, that this papyrus makes both Nonnus and Musaeus followers of Triphiodorus. But the dating of papyri purely on palaeographical grounds has in many cases proved at least as uncertain a criterion as the establishment of a relative or absolute chronology on grounds of allusions and adoptions of formulae. [See now Pap. Oxy. 2946, vol. 41.]

^a L. G. Westerink, *Anonymous Prolegomena to Platonic Philosophy* (Amsterdam 1962), xiii, xx.

^b R. Holland, "De Alpheo et Arethusa," in: *Commentationes Otto Ribbeck* (Leipzig 1888), 412-414. The writer of this poem, like Colluthus and Triphiodorus, followed the metrical rules of Nonnus less rigidly than Musaeus.

correspond well with Musaeus' training and interests. Procopius had correspondents in Alexandria, where he had studied in his youth. He may have met Musaeus there. If that is correct, then Musaeus was probably somewhat older than Procopius and an already recognized authority in the circle of scholars and orators of the time of Anastasius I. Under Justinian (527-565) Musaeus is quoted by Johannes Gazaenus, Paulus Silentiarius, epigrammatists such as Agathias and Macedonius Thessalonicensis II, and later by many Byzantine authors.

The Story of Hero and Leander

The lover who swims over water to join a beloved whom for some reason he cannot otherwise reach, and who finally meets his death in this way, is the subject of an ancient and widely distributed legend; its origin of course can hardly be pinpointed. But in the version about Hero and Leander it is a typical local legend,^a tied to the special circumstances of its location on the Hellespont. In antiquity the narrowest point of the Hellespont was between Sestos and Abydos, although today this is only the second narrowest point as a result of coast-erosion. Strabo (64 B.C.-A.D. 19) in his *Geography* (13. 22. 591) describes the currents at that point.^b Admittedly

^a Fundamental is L. Malten, *Motivgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur Sagenforschung III, Hero und Leander*, *RhM*, 93 (1949), 65-81, excepting only that he takes over without proof the *fable convenue* of a "Hellenistic source" and regards the rise of the story as likely in the third century B.C.

^b Of these in Musaeus the only remaining mention is in the name Ἑλλησποντος ἀγάρροος (208), which is a literary reminiscence of *Iliad* 2. 845 (cf. 12. 30); see explanatory note on line 4. On Musaeus' lack of observed detail see below.

in the poetic versions as we have them by Ovid and Musaeus the local topography is completely ignored, except in one characteristic detail. The story takes place at the tower of Hero. Strabo mentions this tower, although in his time it was already a ruin (Antipater, *A.P.* 7. 666. 2 sq.).^a If there were perhaps at an earlier date beacon-lights on various of the promontories of the Hellespont (some of which were crowned with temples), then the story of Hero is especially linked with this tower because it was a beacon-tower (Mus. 23 sq.). There is still today a lighthouse at Abydos. The first lighthouse in antiquity was built about 280 B.C. on the Pharos off Alexandria. Others were built later. Our story, therefore, in the version we have, at least, seems to stem at the earliest from the third century B.C. It is moreover unlikely that the story arose as soon as the lighthouse was built; it is much more likely that when the beacon on the lighthouse, like Hero's lamp, had gone out, and the tower was abandoned, then a new αἴτιον could be invented to explain the tower's purpose, preserving only a rather vague memory of its former beacon-fire. The story of Hero and Leander may have become known to a poet from the description of the abandoned tower by a local historian or a geographer; the poet was on the look-out for new material. The story is like those which Parthenius collected in his small book for Cornelius Gallus as material for poetic treatment (sometime after 50 B.C.).

^a What is now called "Leander's Tower" is on the Bosphorus. It can only have been erroneously linked with this story much later, when "Hero's Tower" was no longer standing. For Antipater see below.

The earliest evidence for the story,^a the Greek evidence included, all points to the Rome of the end of the Republic and the reign of Augustus. Virgil (*Georg.* 3. 258 sq.) and Horace (probably; *Epist.* 1. 3. 3 sq.) allude to the story without naming Hero and Leander. They assume that the story is known to their readers. The first certain mention of the story in Greek poetry occurs in two epigrams about the Hellespont by Antipater of Thessalonica (*A.P.* 7. 666; 9. 215), who from about 13 B.C. was *cliens* of L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, to whose sons Horace probably dedicated his *Ars poetica*.^b Strabo too several times spent considerable periods in Rome between 44 B.C. and 7 B.C. The first detailed treatment of the story preserved is in Ovid's *Heroides* (Epistles 18 and 19).

In contrast to a few small differences in the detail of the narrative, there are some surprisingly close similarities of wording between Ovid and Musaeus. Since it is not likely that Musaeus used Ovid, scholars have wished to infer the existence of a common Hellenistic antecedent which both poets followed.^c But most of the completely certain coincidences are

^a The testimonia are collected and reprinted in H. Färber's edition, 30-91.

^b C. Cichorius, *Römische Studien* (Leipzig/Berlin 1922), 325-332, and G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Roman World* (Oxford 1965), 124 sq.

^c This "reconstruction" was expressly described as such by E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer* (Leipzig 1876), 133 sq.; then it was taken to greater lengths by J. Klemm, *De fabulae quae est de Herus et Leandri amoribus fonte et auctore* (Diss. Leipzig 1889) and G. Knaack, "Hero and Leander," in: *Festgabe F. Susemihl* (Leipzig 1896), 46-82, who tried to foist their "reconstructed" poems onto an Alexandrian poet (Callimachus). Later "reconstructions" rest on these, as, e.g., that of E. Sittig, "Hero," *Real-Encyclopädie*, 8 (1913), 914 sq.

confined to the field of conventional elements in erotic narrative, and belong not to the content of this story but to usages found in love-stories elsewhere, which the two authors may easily have come upon independently.^a So far no traces of this story are to be found in any known Hellenistic poet. Two severely damaged papyrus fragments of the Imperial period do not permit conclusions to be drawn about any older poem used as a model.^b If then we must

^a G. Schott, *Hero und Leander bei Musaios und Ovid* (Diss. Köln 1957), 80 sq., shows that Musaeus did not model himself on Ovid, and so does Kost, 19 sq. Among the coincidences between Ovid and Musaeus the most striking (*Ov. Epist.* 18. 148 "idem navigium, navita, vector ero" ~ Mus. 255, where however Musaeus also uses another known model, i.e. Nonn. *met. Jo.* 6. 83) certainly cannot be simply interpreted away, and so others also may point to a common model. But, considering the basic difference in literary genre between Ovid's elegiac letters and Musaeus' epyllion, from the few detailed points no further conclusions can be drawn about the nature of an original, which in any case is hardly to be looked for in genuine Hellenistic circles, but among Greek literati in Rome at the end of the Republic. Musaeus can hardly be used as evidence in its "reconstruction," not least because he has evidently completely transformed the story following other, known models; see below. Schott indicates (pp. 113 sq.) that Musaeus did use many Hellenistic poets, in particular bucolic poets, as a source of verse-formulae; these poets however nowhere mentioned Hero and Leander, any more than did Musaeus' other models. Even so Schott still seems to believe in a "Hellenistic" poem as a common model.

^b In Pap. Oxy. 864 Fr. 6 (Vol. 6, p. 172), probably third century A.D., containing florilegia from various authors, none of the stories can be identified for certain; the trimeters included should therefore not be ascribed to any given poet; see R. Keydell, *Prolegomena*, 2 (1953), 139 sq. In Pap. Rylands 486 (Vol. 3, p. 98), probably first century A.D., there are incoherent scraps of ten hexameters (reprinted in Färber,

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reckon with a poetic treatment of the theme as the common source for familiarity with the content of the story of Hero and Leander, and for some of the formal coincidences of presentation in later Latin and Greek versions, then its author presumably was one of those Greeks, such as Parthenius, Antipater, Strabo, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Caecilius of Calacte, who in the second half of the first century B.C. resided in Rome as guests or clients of members of refined society; this may then account for the fact that it quickly came to the notice already of those Roman poets, such as Virgil, Horace and Ovid, who frequented the same circles.

The further witnesses for the story down to the second century A.D. are all Latin authors: the geographer Pomponius Mela, the poets Ovid, Lucan, Silius Italicus, Statius, Martial and the orator Fronto.

p. 30). The widely differing attempts at reconstruction by Roberts, Snell, Page, Colonna, Pasquali, and the suggestions of R. Merkelbach in Schott, *op. cit.* 56-69, are totally uncertain, and almost all start from the postulate that there was a "Hellenistic" Hero-Leander poem which must be reconstructed. It is certain that a character called Λάανδρος is twice mentioned; he is addressed in the vocative (VV. 6, 9, cf. Mus. 86, 301); the Evening Star is also addressed in the vocative (V. 5; it is merely mentioned by Mus. at 111); the word τηλέσκοπος appears (V. 10, Mus. 237). Whether the form Λάανδρος, which is nowhere else used for the Leander of our poem (Λέανδρος, Λείανδρος; note the etymology Λά-ανδρος from λαφός: Bechtel, *Die historischen Eigennamen des Griechischen*, Halle 1917, 279), is a pseudo-archaism or an error of the scribe (C. H. Roberts, ed. pr.), or even whether it can be certain that it denotes our Leander, is impossible to decide. Certainly it was not a model for any version of the story known to us. (The form Λήανδρος occurs on coins of Severus Alexander (A.D. 222-235): Kost 573, n. 54.)

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Latin authors also predominate as later witnesses down into the Middle Ages. Greek poets (as opposed to prose authors)^a take up the story again only after Musaeus.^b Knowledge of the story seems to have spread from Rome. Probably at the games given by Titus in A.D. 80 for the dedication of the Flavian Amphitheatre an aquatic mime was performed including Leander's swim (Mart. *Liber spectac.* 25),^c and Fronto speaks to Marcus Aurelius of a "fabula histrionibus celebrata," clearly a popular mime, which did not please him (*Epist.* V. 241 v. d. Houten). The first pictorial representations^d are in some houses of the "fourth style" (from the time of Nero) at Pompeii. Then follow individual scattered representations on small objects. Hero and Leander are more frequently shown on later imperial coins of the cities of Abydos and Sestos, and also on medallions and gems. By comparison with the well-known stories of the best of classical literature, the diffusion of the story is limited, and, as far as literary treatment is concerned, clearly restricted to a circle of connoisseurs and otherwise to interested inhabitants of the story's locality.

^a There is mention of a Philostratus in the *Argumenta to Ovid's Heroides* of Antoninus Volscus (arg. xviii: 15th century, Färber, p. 84). On Ps.-Hippolytus Romanus see below.

^b The *Cento* of Homer, *A.P.* 9. 381, ascribed by Stadtmüller to Leon Philosophus (c. A.D. 900), is certainly later than Musaeus (cf. V. 11 and Mus. 286).

^c Cf. L. Friedländer, *M. Val. Martialis Epigrammaton Libri mit erklärenden Anmerkungen*, vol. 1 (Leipzig 1886), 134 sq.

^d Now collected by C. Carcopino, Art. "Leandro" in *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica classica e orientale*, vol. 4 (1961), 515-517, and by Kost on Mus. 25, 246, 252, 254 sq., with notes.

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The Presentation of the Story in Musaeus' Poem

Unlike Ovid, Musaeus presents his story in a very straightforward manner. He uses none of the traditional artifices of epic composition (reminiscence, prediction, blended or parallel narratives), which were also especial favourites of love-literature; he uses only pure narrative and direct speech. No secondary character is individualized; the chronological sequence of events is strictly preserved without sudden transitions or overlapping.

The arrangement is transparently logical and orderly. An elaborate prooemium in two parts (1-15, 16-27) is followed by a treatment of the story in three parts (28-231, 232-288, 289-343); each of these three parts is divided in turn into a longish introduction (28-54, 232-255, 289-309), a main section (55-220, 256-283, 309-341) and a short conclusion (221-231, 284-288, 342-343). The transitions are not hidden but clearly marked by the formulas of introduction and conclusion.

In contrast to the practice of Nonnus,^a Musaeus in the scene of the meeting of the two lovers uses direct speech to give them two pairs of speeches (123-127, 135-157 and 174-193, 203-220), following the traditional Homeric manner of representing a conversation, just as Quintus Smyrnaeus did before him and Colluthus after him. In addition he models the individual scenes of his love-story on literary antecedents which he fuses into a combined development. As for Imperial love-literature, there are striking adaptations from Achilles Tatius, whom Nonnus had used earlier. In this way too Musaeus

^a Cf. Wifstrand, *op. cit.* (in note a, page 298), pp. 141-151; Triphiodorus too has the "Homeric" pairs of speeches.

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clothes borrowings from Achilles' theory of love in Nonnian words. Achilles' influence can be seen particularly in the description of Hero's beauty (55-57 ~ Ach. Tat. 1. 4. 2, cp. 4. 1. 8), in the development of the effects of love (92-98 ~ Ach. Tat. 1. 4. 4), in the schematism of the description, contained there in the words of advice given by the slave Satyros, of the stages of their coming together (112 sq. ~ Ach. Tat. 2. 4. 3 sq., cp. 4. 7. 8), in the reaction of the girl (120 sq. ~ Ach. Tat. 1. 10. 6) and in the example of Omphale (150 sq. ~ Ach. Tat. 2. 6. 1 sq.), even though Musaeus may perhaps have derived some of his adaptations indirectly through Nonnus.^a But he uses Aristaeus as well, and, like the parallels with passages in other ancient novels,^b all confined to this first scene, most of these are stock motifs of love-literature which are so very common that it is difficult to infer the intentional echo of any particular work. For Hero's fall to her death he goes back to Lycophron's equally short account of the *Liebestod*

^a Cf. Schott, *op. cit.* (in note a, page 305, above), 113 sq. Far more allusions than the ones quoted here can be found throughout Kost's commentary.

^b Musaeus has in common with the schema of ancient novels only the first scene, the meeting of the lovers at a festival, for which Plato provided the common motifs. All the certain coincidences of wording with the commonplaces of love-literature are confined to this scene. The other motifs typical of the novel—forcible separation of the lovers, separate adventures, testing of the woman's chastity, ultimate union and marriage—are absent from Musaeus. His lovers come together without interruption right from the beginning, but end in death. On the common conception of love see Schott, *op. cit.* 118 sq., and note b, page 310. Parallels from other erotic literature are given by Ludwig on ll. 93 sq. and by Kost *passim*.

of Oenone (341 sq. ~ Lycophr. 65 sq.). But of the antecedents to which he expressly alludes by quotation there are two in particular that Musaeus used directly for the portrayal of his two characters and for his treatment of the story. The first is the arrival of Odysseus at the island of the Phaeacians in the *Odyssey* (Books 5 and 6).^a Musaeus adapts his model with the events in a reversed sequence to suit his story: the meeting of Hero and Leander (Odysseus and Nausicaa)—Leander's swim (Odysseus in the sea)—the Storm. The second model is provided by the encounter and the experiences of the two lovers in Plato's *Phaedrus* (249 D sq.), to which already his erotic models point back in the portrayal of the effect of beauty, by way of the eyes, on the soul (Mus. 94 sq., cp. Ach. Tat. 1. 4. 4 etc., Pl. *Phaedr.* 251 B). Leander takes the role of the lover, Hero of the beloved. The reaction of the beloved as described by Plato (*Phdr.* 255 E) is the backbone of the story: "Like the lover [Mus. 84 sq.], though less passionately [Mus. 158 sq.], he desires to see his friend [Mus. 63 sq., 101 sq., 169 sq.], to touch him [Mus. 114 sq.], kiss him [Mus. 133] and lie down by him [Mus. 221 sq.]"^b Musaeus alludes clearly and in detail to

^a For more material on this see *Bemerkungen*, 31 sq., where also the grammatically learned "Homerisms" are collected; and see below in the Explanatory Notes.

^b Compare the schema of the "quinque lineae amoris" (in Greek the ἡδονῆς κλίμαξ), significantly not precisely followed in Leander's case: visus, allocutio, tactus, osculum sive suavium, coitus; E. R. Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (2. Aufl., Bern 1954), 501. Plato's theory of love, with variations, is the basis of the novels, and in its turn itself goes back to older formulations; cf. F. Lasserre, *ερωτικοὶ λόγοι*, *Mus. Helv.* 1 (1944), 169-178.

both his models at central points in his poem (Mus. 90 sq. ~ *Phdr.* 250 B sq., 255 C; Mus. 135 sq. ~ *Od.* 6. 149 sq.). He plays upon or paraphrases further passages of his models at many other points. Where these two stories yield nothing to help his narrative, he falls back on other passages of his authors; for example, for the union of the lovers (Mus. 260 sq.) he falls back on Odysseus and Penelope (*Od.* 23. 205 sq.) and Zeus and Hera (*Iliad* 14. 342 sq.), and for the self-sacrifice for love (Mus. 338 sq.) on the *Symposium* (Pl. *Smp.* 179 B sq.). He modelled especially on Plato his description of the experiences of the awakening and the growth of love, although he also uses words and expressions from Homer, the lyric poets, the tragedians, and later erotic literature up to, and including, Nonnus. Clearly Musaeus took over the story of Hero and Leander only in general outline, and then himself shaped it to a plan of his own based on these other literary antecedents.

The sections into which he breaks up his presentation of the story are strikingly disproportionate. He takes up 203 lines, almost two thirds of the whole poem, for the first section, the awakening of love (28 sq.), with the first meeting (30-108) and the conversation of the lovers (109-231). The second section, the union of the lovers, has only 56 lines, the third, with the successive deaths of the pair, only 54. He gave the lion's share to the least dramatic section, the first, which ends with mutual understanding but without direct action, while the most pathetic section, the third, is little more than sketched. The awakening of love is presented four times, in the first section in the young men (69 sq.), in Leander (86 sq.) and in Hero (158 sq.), in the second section

again in Leander (239 sq.), while the emotions appropriate to the union of the lovers (266 sq.) and to the drowning of Leander (324 sq.) are not mentioned at all, and Hero's feelings before her suicide are barely hinted at (335 sq.).

Musaeus' Language and Style

The language in which Musaeus tells his story is highly elaborate and literary, but his turns of phrase are only in very few places original. That is intentional and corresponds to the literary taste of the time; it is a learned style, and as such an entirely artificial mixture of elements which Musaeus drew from Nonnus and his other models and blended with each other. It includes words, forms and constructions which at this time were long since dead. For this reason, just as in Nonnus, a degree of uncertainty appears in the use of cases and moods, and occasional involuntary Byzantinisms escape Musaeus just as they escaped Nonnus. He proves himself to be a *γραμματικός* by the introduction of Homeric words in lost senses and of "glosses" based on recondite learned explanations.^a His sentence-structures also seem

^a I accept (against Schwabe and others until Kost) for *πλώε* 229 the meaning "swam" and take this to be a conscious Homerism. Homer uses *πλώειν* only in the sense of "swim" as against *πλέειν* "to sail" (W. Schulze, *KZ*, 40 (1907), 120 sq.), whereas in later authors (including Nonn. *D.* 4. 115, 4. 244, 26. 177, 31. 91) *πλώειν* is used for sailing. Accordingly *πλωτήρ* 2 means "swimmer," not "sailor," as also in Opp. *H.* 2. 196 (fishes) and in Nonn. *D.* 23. 296 sq. (a dolphin), 23. 305 (a bull), and in those places where with swimming corpses (*D.* 25. 73, 39. 229) and swimming armour (*D.* 23. 107) he clearly hints at the sense of *πλώων* in *Il.* 21. 302, although *πλωτήρ* means also "seaman"; see Aristoph. *Ecol.* 1087.

occasionally to follow rare Homeric peculiarities. He goes further in this than Nonnus. The ambition of these *poetae docti* is never to introduce new words and constructions except according to the recognized rules, and their success, in which Musaeus richly participated, was for these to be accepted and taken over by later authors. Verbal citations were marks of respect (Horace, *Ars poetica* 47 sq.).

In metre Musaeus is the most devoted follower of Nonnus, whose intricate metrical rules he breaks occasionally precisely at places where he is either quoting models word for word, Homer above all, or aiming at a special figure of style or assonance. The metrical system of Nonnus, first reconstructed step by step with laborious counter-checking by modern scholars,^a is an extension of the rules of the refined Hellenistic metrics already practised in Alexandria. In the late Imperial form of this metrical system it is already the case that rules based on accentuation hint at the changes in the pronunciation of the spoken word which made themselves felt in the historical development of the Byzantine and Modern Greek languages. But essentially—like the puristic but in the same way linguistically questionable metrics of the "syllable-marking" Meister-singer, or the much greater virtuosity of Baudelaire and the young Verlaine—it is an artificial, pedantic discipline modelled on classical works that reflected an earlier state of the language; a discipline to which poets of the importance of Crinagoras of Mytilene, the creator of "court poetry" under Augustus, and the epic poet Quintus of Smyrna did

^a For the literature see *Bemerkungen*, 133 sq.; for the system itself see page 329, note b, below.

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not submit themselves, probably from choice. To this extent this metrical discipline is a peculiarity of a "school" of *poetae docti* who employed it with ostentatious pride as one weapon among others in their armoury of education peculiar to a *γραμματικός*. In a hexameter bound by these rules very few standardized metrical variations remain possible. "Overlong" composite words steadily gain the upper hand.^a In the end, for all the euphony sought for and achieved, the result of the extreme regimentation is a striking monotony.

The shape of Musaeus' writing is dominated by his effort to adorn his diction with figures of style and assonance. Other considerations seem to be to a large extent subordinated to this. He cultivates devices for external assonance, anaphora, repeated words at sentence-, verse-, or colon-beginnings, alliteration, rhyming colon-, sentence- and verse-endings. He especially loves figures in word-order such as hyperbaton and chiasmus, and syntactical figures such as antithesis, parenthesis, and asyndeton in the speeches. Following a fashion of the period of Anastasius I which is especially strongly marked in Colluthus, the sentence is chopped into short cola in order to facilitate the introduction of these figures. Long sentences are produced by stringing short cola one on to another, their monotony being avoided by variations

^a With H. Fränkel in his edition of Apollonius Rhodius and with P. Friedländer in his Paulus Silentarius I think now (as against *Bemerkungen* 144, n. 90), that it is correct to write 67 *περιπολλόν*, 213 *ἀφεδόντα* as one word, and accordingly 41 *πυριπνέοντας*, 216 and 309 *βαρυννέοντας* (-τες), 333 *ἐπαγρόπνοιον*. Perhaps even 204 *πυριπαφλάλιτο* ought to be taken as one word. See the corresponding notes in the apparatus to the text.

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in construction (*cf.* Mus. 1-13, 44-54, 84-89, 274-286). The construction and intelligibility of a sentence are often sacrificed to the decoration of details. In its use of figures, its peculiarities of syntax and its specific commonplaces of love-literature, Musaeus' poem strikingly resembles the *Declamations* of Procopius and the display-speeches and poems of the other Gazaeans.^a Musaeus shares with them a manner in which rare metaphors and similes are seldom so thought out as to present a picture from life, but are often combinations of disparate antecedents, and consequently almost incomprehensible (*cf.* Mus. 56-66).^b

A general lack of vividness and clarity is a dominant feature of Musaeus' style, which is in sharp contrast to the markedly naturalistic Hellenistic epyllion and to the rhetorically detailed descriptive passages of Nonnus, and is particularly striking when his handling of such themes is compared with that of his immediate antecedents in erotic literature. Admittedly Musaeus employs long sections of his short poem on descriptions of persons and things: Hero (twice: 30-41, 55-68), the secret union (274-283), winter (293-299) and the storm (309-319). Even so there is not a single instance of a vivid detail. Of Hero one hears only that she is radiant, roseate (a mere simile) and lovely. In addition she is of distinguished descent (30), and her parents, who have destined her to be a priestess, are three times mentioned (125, 180, 190)—but who are they? We never actually hear their names. Leander is made to give his name and country (185); he confines himself to doing just that (209, 220) though the reader knows

^a Material in: *Bemerkungen*, 137 sq., 17, 21 sq.

^b *Cf.* Seitz, *op. cit.* (in note a, page 300), 41 sq.

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both already, with no extra information about his father or his family. Of Abydos, Sestos, the festival, the temple of Aphrodite, the tower and the chamber of Hero, the Hellespont and its shores we are given not the slightest picture. Leander, who takes part in the festival as a "citizen of neighbouring Abydos" (50, 208 sq.), is subsequently, despite this information, described without correction as "a wanderer, a stranger and not to be trusted" (177 sq.) and "a roaming alien" (181, cf. 337); all this fitted Odysseus better. The Hellespont, which is narrow enough to allow Leander to see the lamp on the opposite shore and to swim across (238 sq.), is regularly described as the "sea" (16, 32, 190, 206, 234, 245 etc.), and at the end Hero searches for him "over the broad back of the sea" (336=Il. 2. 159). The description of the night of love in the tower consists solely of a lengthy enumeration of all that is lacking to make it a true marriage (274-283).

The Poem as a Christian Neoplatonist Allegory

Several of the features of this poem that are strange from a poetic point of view—the logical schematism of the arrangement, the disproportion of the parts, the total lack of vividness in the presentation and the frequent repetitions and variations of the same motifs—are probably to be explained as technical requirements for the conveyance of a "higher" meaning which Musaeus concealed allegorically beneath the surface of the love-story he narrated. This is not the place to justify this interpretation or even to present it in detail; a full-scale

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commentary would be necessary.^a A few hints must suffice.

In using a love-story for the symbolic representation of transcendental truths Musaeus stands in a long tradition, richly documented at an early date on pagan and Christian sarcophagi. A literary witness, not far removed in time, is the anonymous Christian-Neoplatonist interpreter of Heliodorus' novel about the lovely Chariclea; his work is cast in the form of a reported "Platonic" dialogue.^b In the "Ovidius moralizatus" of the Latin Middle Ages Ovid's frivolous love-stories are given an edifying interpretation which makes them suitable for the adornment of Christian cathedrals.^c

Hero and Leander appear first to figure in allegory in a list of mythological names contained in an account of the vulgar-gnostic Christian sect of the Perates given in the *Refutatio Omnium Haeresium* which used to be ascribed to Hippolytus Romanus (p. 110. 8-13 Wendland).^d These names are associ-

^a I am preparing a book on this subject.

^b Text: "Fragmentum Marcianum" ed. R. Hercher, *Hermes*, 3 (1869), 382-388; see K. Praechter, *Die Philosophie des Altertums* (Ueberweg-Praechter, 12. Aufl. 1926), 671 sq.; cf. H. Dörrie, "Die griechischen Romane und das Christentum," *Philologus*, 93 (1938), 273-276.

^c On the depiction of the story of Pyramus and Thisbe (Ov. *Met.* 4. 55-166) on the capital of a column in the ambulatory of the Münster at Basle (end of the twelfth century) see A. Goldschmidt, *Der Albanipsalter in Hildesheim und seine Beziehung zur symbolischen Kirchenskulptur des XII. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin 1895), 72 sq.; O. Immisch, "Pyramus und Thisbe" in Roscher's *Mythologisches Lexikon* 3. 1 (1897-1909), 3340. Thisbe=the soul, Pyramus=the healer, the wall=original sin, the lion=the devil; and a life is sacrificed for love.

^d This work, which was ascribed first to Origen, then to

ated with "Epos as "intermediary" (δύναμις μέση) in the heavenly hierarchy. As a Christian Neoplatonist Musaeus belongs to a line whose most considerable representatives in Alexandria were Clement, Origen and Synesius, and in which the Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita took his place probably not much later. The name Musaeus is otherwise rare, but is that of the mythical singer from Eleusis often mentioned by Plato and regarded by the Neoplatonists as the pupil or son of Orpheus; it could be a deliberately chosen pseudonym.^a

Musaeus used Homer and Plato as models in the composition of his poem. We have good information about the contemporary Neoplatonic interpretation of these authors, in particular from the commentary of Proclus on Plato's *Republic*, which goes into detail on Homer, and from the commentary of Hermias of Alexandria on Plato's *Phaedrus*. How Homer and Plato under their Neoplatonic interpretations were in turn used in the poetic presentation of Neopla-

Hippolytus (antipope against Callistus in A.D. 218), is probably not by the latter, but was used by him in the composition of a work of his own of which a fragment survives; see P. Nautin, *Hippolyte contre les hérésies, fragment, étude et édition critique* (=ét. et textes pour l'histoire du dogme de la trinité 2, Paris 1949), 19-39.

^a This was suggested to me in conversation by the late P. Von der Mühl of Basle. From Kost, p. 16, n. 22, who does not approve of the suggestion, I learn now that it had already been made by Guil. Canter, *Novarum lectionum libri VIII* (Antwerp 1571), 55 sq., and later by U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Die griechische Literatur und Sprache* (Leipzig/Berlin 1912), 219, E. Sittig, *op. cit.* (in note c, page 304), 910, and F. Norwood, *Hermathena*, 50 (1937), 240 and *Phoenix*, 4 (1950), 9. Testimonia in O. Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta* Berlin 1922), 50 sq., 166-172.

tonic doctrine can be seen from the *Hymns* and *Epigrams* of Proclus.^a

Allegorical composition rests on the theory accepted already by Origen, that every serious text must be interpreted on three levels of understanding. Beyond the superficial level, the second is the "moral" level. On that level love is interpreted as the love found in marriage (cf. Mus. 220, 274 sq.). Plutarch in his *Amatorius* had already re-interpreted Plato's *Phaedrus* in this way. But the highest and most important level is the "theoretical," that is to say, theological, interpretation. On this level, the three sections of the poem represent the life of a philosophical soul—Leander—according to the pattern which the Neoplatonists found in the *Phaedrus*. The first part (28-231) represents the soul's life in heaven before birth, in which it is by its original vision of its own god chosen and called to follow him in the heavenly procession; the second part (232-288) is its life on earth, where recollection effected through love leads it to exaltation and mystic union with its god; the third part (289-343) is its release from the chains of the body and the foreshadowing of its reward in the afterlife in the highest and culminating union with God. Neoplatonically interpreted this refers to the "first birth" (πρώτη γένεσις; Mus. 44 sq.) from the "origin" (ἀρχή) to the place of the "allotting" (ἀξίως) of the god whom the soul follows (Mus. 55 sq.), where it follows him first in its "abiding" (μονή; Mus. 84 sq.), then is brought to its real "birth" (γένεσις) into the material world in his

^a Parallels in the hymns in E. Vogt, *Procli Hymni* (=Klassisch-philologische Studien, 18, Wiesbaden 1957), in the epigrams in T. Gelzer, *Mus. Helv.* 23 (1966), 1-36.

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"procession" (πρόσδος; Mus. 227 sq.); from the material world, through the "inspiration" (ἐνθουσιασμός) which comes with "recollection" (ἀνάμνησις; Mus. 232 sq.), it can return to the "reversion" (ἐπιστροφή; Mus. 251 sq.) which consists in a mystic vision (Mus. 272 sq.) until in the end it achieves complete and final unity with its origin—"reinstatement" (ἀποκατάστασις; Mus. 289 sq., 343; cf. Procl. in *Tim.* 3. 291. 6 sq.; Herm. in *Phdr.* 89. 8 sq.). Musaeus clearly takes these experiences of the soul from the life of the Christian "inspired philosopher" as it is lived by an ascetic monk, according already to Macarius the Egyptian († c. 390), St. Gregory of Nyssa († 394) and later on to Nylus of Ancyra († c. 430), Theodoretus of Cyrrhus († 438) and others. The call (42 sq.), the choosing (84 sq.), the instruction (123 sq.), the illumination (234 sq.), baptism with fire and water (244 sq.), consecration (256 sq.), mystic exaltation (268 sq.) and redemption (293 sq.) are thus represented with the help of a system of complicated equivalences produced by exegesis between concepts and formulae of very diverse origins; these equivalences cannot be fully expounded here.

The central point is naturally the meaning of love. Other important notions include the light (Mus. 224, cf. St. John 1. 4 sq.) that shines in the darkness (Mus. 211, 227 sq., 238 sq., 309 sq.), represented here by Hero's lamp (Mus. 6 sq., 210 sq., 236 sq.). All the events take place by night (3, 109 sq., 230 sq., 282 sq., 309 sq.); day rules only at the beginning (44 sq., the "origin") and at the end (335 sq., the "redemption"). The lamp guides Leander's life (25, 218, 239 sq., 256 sq.) and as a witness (1, 223, 236; μαρτυρήν) it spreads the message (6 sq., 222, 235 sq.);

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ἀγγελίη) of heavenly love (8 sq., 40). The catalogue of those who flock together from all over the world to the festival represents the mass of the Called (Mus. 44 sq. ~ Ps.-Apollinarius, *met. Psalm. προβ.* 63 sq., the catalogue of the peoples on the occasion of the miracle of Pentecost). Many young men fall in love with Hero (Mus. 69 sq.), but only one, Leander (86 sq.), finds his love returned (221 sq.). He is the soul "which best follows after God and is most like him" (Pl. *Phdr.* 248 A i sq., cp. Mus. 112 sq.) and at its first birth "is to be a philosopher and a lover of beauty" (*Phdr.* 248 D 1 sq.). Alone among that number he is initiated into the highest mysteries and admitted to the supreme vision (*Phdr.* 249 c 3 sq., Herm. in *Phdr.* 172. 5 sq., Mus. 272 sq.), as, in the parable of the wedding-feast that represents the Kingdom of Heaven (Matth. 22. 2 sq., cp. Mus. 42 sq.), it is said of those invited to the feast (Matth. 22. 9 sq., cp. Mus. 44 sq.) "For many are called, but few are chosen" (Matth. 22. 14, cp. Pl. *Phaedo* 69 c). The other young men are "the other souls" who "follow after [cp. Mus. 72], all yearning for the upper region but unable to reach it" (Pl. *Phdr.* 248 A, cp. Mus. 80 sq.). The marriage that is not a marriage (274 sq.) signifies the mystery of this love (142 sq.). The mystic ineffability of this union which is set in the highest region and is perceptible only to the pure *Noûs* is represented by means of a precise imitation of the paradoxes through which St. Gregory Nazianzenus expresses the mystic double nature of Christ (Mus. 274 sq. ~ Greg. Naz. *carm.* 1. 1, 2, 62 sq., *P.G.* 37. 406, cp. Matth. 22. 42 sq.).^a The

^a This immediate model, which is especially interesting for the Christian-Neoplatonic interpretation of this poem, was

tower by the water (Mus. 24 sq., 32, 187 sq., 335 sq.) is the Church (*Pastor Hermae*, vis. 3. 2. 4 sq.), and on the top of the tower, in the height of heaven (187, 260), the vision of the *unio mystica* in the realm of the mind (*νοῦς*) of God (273) is represented as a *ἱερός γάμος* (Mus. 272 sq., cf. *Il.* 14. 342 sq. with Proclus, in *Remp.* 1. 132-141). The three intermediaries, *ἔρως* (Mus. 240 sq.), the light of truth (Mus. 234 sq., cf. *Pl. Rep.* 508, 532 B, *Tim.* 39 B, cp. Procl. in *Alc.* 33. 14 sq., 153. 4 sq.) and silence, the symbol of belief (Mus. 261, 280, cf. Procl. *Theol. Plat.* 4. 9, p. 193. 52 sq.) lead the soul purified of all that is material (Mus. 264 sq.) to the vision in the place ruled by night, the symbol of truth in the "region above the heavens" (*Pl. Phdr.* 247 c sq.; Mus. 282, cf. *Herm. in Phdr.* 147. 16 sq.). At the redemption the last coverings fall away, namely love, the light of belief, and the soul, which are all only "intermediaries" (Mus. 14 sq., 329 sq.; cf. Procl. in *Alc.* 30. 18 sq., 43. 7 sq., 51. 8 sq.), so that only the highest, most primordial and godlike element of the soul remains (*Herm. in Phdr.* 157. 5 sq.). The help given by God to this *ἁμοίωσις θεῷ* (*Pl. Theaet.* 176 B, cp. *Herm. in Phdr.* 101. 16) is represented by the *ἐπαποθνήσκειν* (*Pl. Smp.* 179 D sq.) of Hero, who likewise strips herself of her last covering *χιτῶν* (340 sq., cf. Procl. in *Alc.* 138. 12) before the two finally reach their culminating union (342 sq., cf. Procl. in *Alc.* 247. 9 sq.).

discovered by Kost, 484, who, by adducing it, explained the use, foreign to Nonnus' practice, of the two *ἀλλ'* in the same verse (see note *d*, page 298, above). We can now understand, I think, why Musaeus chose to follow this example in spite of the metre.

The Influence of Musaeus in Modern Times^a

Musaeus' poem already enjoyed very high esteem in Italy in the fifteenth century, as the large number of manuscripts from that period demonstrates. It was often used as an introduction to Greek literature.^b Musaeus was often identified, as he himself probably intended, with the archaic poet of Eleusis. In Venice Aldus deliberately printed *Μουσαῖον τὸν παλαιότατον ποιητὴν* before all the other classical authors.^c Julius Caesar Scaliger, in his famous rationalistic *Poetics*, set Musaeus far above Homer and Orpheus.^d But Isaac Casaubon and then Scaliger's son Joseph rightly placed him with Nonnus and Paulus Silentiarius. Two printings, one by Aldus with a Latin translation of his own,^e one by Fran-

^a Bibliography on the later influence of Musaeus since M. H. Jellinek, *Die Sage von Hero und Leander in der Dichtung* (Berlin 1890) is given in her edition by E. Malcovati, v sq., xvi-xxiii, with additions by her in *Athenaeum*, n.s. 40 (1962), 368 sq., by R. Keydell, *Prolegomena*, 2 (1953), 140, V. Galiano, *Emerita*, 19 (1951), 328 sq. (Spanish literature), H. Färber in his edition 98 sq., Orsini xxv sq., Kost 69-85 and throughout his commentary.

^b Cf. D. J. Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice* (Cambridge, Mass. 1962), 40 sq., 117, 120 sq., 237 sq.

^c A. Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce et l'hellénisme à Venise* (Paris 1875), 55 sq., and note *e*, below.

^d J. C. Scaliger, *Poëtices libri VII* (Leyden 1561), 214; Scaliger compares many individual passages or lines, among them rightly Mus. 135 sq. with *Od.* 6. 149 sq.

^e Prof. M. Sicherl informs me that the Latin version is not the work of Marcus Musurus, as has been hitherto assumed (e.g. by Geanakoplos, *op. cit.* (in note *b*, above), pp. 120 sq.); the ms. sent to the printers, which is now among the papers of Beatus Rhenanus at Sélestat (101, 2), is demonstrably the translator's own draft, and the handwriting shows it is by Aldus Manutius himself. On the printing of this edition see note *a*, page 342, below.

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cesco de Alopa in Florence with a text by Janus Lascaris, secured a rapid distribution for the poem before the end of the fifteenth century. The story had long been known from Ovid, and is preserved in medieval vernacular versions in Italian, Dutch and German. But from the sixteenth century onwards translations and adaptations of Musaeus appear in most European literatures. There appeared almost simultaneously in Spain a "Historia de Leandro y Hero" by Juan Boscán Almogáver (1540), in France a free adaptation by Clément Marot (1541) and in Germany the rhyming tale by Hans Sachs "Die unglückhaft Lieb Leandri mit Fraw Ehron" (1541). In Italy Bernardo Tasso, the father of Torquato, published a paraphrase in 1555. Towards the end of the century in England Christopher Marlowe began a baroque poem of enormous conception, "Hero and Leander," of which by 1592 he had completed two cantos. After his death George Chapman completed it with four more "Sestiads" (2376 lines altogether) and published it in 1598. In subsequent periods the theme was treated in a great variety of poetic forms: ballads, epics, plays, and also in parodies and travesties^a; in musical form in operas, cantatas, melodramas, ballets; and finally in the visual arts. In Italy it became fashionable to publish versions of Musaeus on the occasion of great weddings.

But of the countless treatments in all languages a few works by celebrated poets may be selected for mention. Friedrich Schiller in 1801 composed a Ballade of 260 lines, "Hero und Leander," rhetorically ornamented with learned trimmings. The

^a Cf., e.g., E. Segal on Góngora's satirical poem, *Comparative Literature*, XV. 4 (1963).

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tragedy in five acts, "Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen" (Waves of the Sea and of Love: 1831), into which Franz Grillparzer interwove many religious and philosophical themes of his own, alludes in its title to its origin in Musaeus (Mus. 245 sq.). Lord Byron made the story famous in another way. To match Leander himself, he swam the Hellespont in an hour and ten minutes on 3 May 1810, though admittedly by day and in the direction of Leander's return crossing, already noted by Strabo to be the easier direction. He displayed his pride in this sporting achievement in a poem "Written after Swimming from Sestos to Abydos," in several letters, and in allusions in his "Bride of Abydos" (canto 2, stanza 1) and "Don Juan."

Hermann Koechly used Latin to express a careful judgement on Musaeus' poem^a which elegantly appraises the charm of the story as it is handled by Musaeus. The last part of this has been quoted countless times since: "Though the poem is not free from the faults of its time, nor from the empty bombast of the school of Nonnus, nevertheless it has great charm and life, and breathes an air of the frenzy of passionate love. It may not unjustly be called the last rose of the fading garden of Greek literature."

Far below the heights of literature, the theme of the rash swimmer who against all odds sought his beloved across the water occupied the imagination of composers and singers in almost all tongues throughout Europe from Sweden to Italy and from

^a H. Koechly, *De Musaei grammatici codice Palatino* (Festgabe Philologenversammlung Heidelberg 1865=Opuscula philologica I (Leipzig 1881), 447-468), vii.

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Ireland to the Ukraine. In the broad stream of traditional folk-poetry dependence on Musaeus can of course no longer be demonstrated. The German ballad traceable from the sixteenth century inspired Engelbert Humperdinck to compose his fairy-opera "Die Königskinder" (with libretto by E. Rosner), which had its world première in New York in 1910.

II. TRANSMISSION, TREATMENT AND EDITING OF THE TEXT

The Transmission of the Poem

Modern editions are based on the collations of: Hermann Koechly, who described the ms. P and thereby cleared up most of the problems of the poem's orthography^a; Carl Dilthey, who for his edition employed collations of 16 mss. (partly made by others) and based his text on four of them (B, V, NP); Arthur Ludwich, who described 26 mss. and two *editiones principes* (likewise partly from other scholars' collations), classified them in a *stemma*^b and published a selection of their readings in his edition (1912); and recently of P. Orsini, who was able to verify from photographs some uncertain readings of four mss. (BVNA), and of K. Kost who collated again two mss. (VH) and the *editiones principes*.^c The present edition is not based on any collations of my own. A. Ludwich published the Scholia in B from a collation by T. W. Allen.^d

Ludwich's classification of the mss. is now gener-

^a H. Koechly, *op. cit.* (in note a, page 325, above).

^b A. Ludwich, *op. cit.* (in note b, page 297, above), p. 11.

^c P. Orsini in his edition, xxxv sq., K. Kost, 64.

^d A. Ludwich, *Scholia Graeca in Musaei carmen* (Vorlesungsverzeichnis, Königsberg Sommer 1893).

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ally accepted; he showed that the older mss. represent a three-branched tradition, as follows: (1) B with its copy F1 (lines 250-343); (2) P and N, which are copies of a common ancestor; (3) V. None of these branches gives the whole poem; in none of them do the lines that each transmits stand in the same order as in any other branch.^a The readings of the archetype must be reconstructed so far as possible from these older mss. There are also a greater number of humanist mss. of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.^b These are all contaminated from different branches of the tradition. Some of them show considerable agreements with the Aldine *editio princeps*; this whole group goes back essentially to the B-branch. Others go back to a damaged ancestor (lines 1-245 only) which was closely related

^a Nevertheless PN and V have lines 331 sq., which are missing in B, while B has 325, which is missing in PN and V. PN and V therefore, which are also all written with two lines of the poem to each line of the ms., go back eventually to a common *hyparchetype*. This is not recognized in Kost's sketch of a *stemma*, p. 57. Kost gives in addition (pp. 63 sq.) throughout his apparatus criticus (although not in his commentary) only the readings of P, and not those of N, on the ground that these two witnesses are very similar. But there is no sufficient ground for preferring either one of these certainly very similar but not identical manuscripts, which represent together one common ancestor. In order to make the apparatus criticus more lucid one ought to indicate the common readings of P and N by a *siglum* denoting this common ancestor, and probably those of PN and V by one denoting the *hyparchetype*. But this will be possible only when all three of them have been systematically recollated for that purpose.

^b Since Ludwich's researches a few additional *mutuli* have come to light; see *Bemerkungen*, 132, n. 25. Kost (p. 580, n. 173) gives a list of twelve mss. which were not yet known to Ludwich.

to V. Lascaris' *editio princeps* shows influences of both the B and the PN group. Finally there is a whole series of mss. copied from ancestors that are preserved, whether from mss. or from early printings. The *eliminatio codicum* proves therefore that the text must be based on the readings of mss. B, PN and V as representatives of the three branches of the tradition. Carl Dilthey and Enrica Malcovati have maintained this correctly. The contaminated humanistic mss. and the *editiones principes* cannot be used to reconstruct the archetype; their good readings are nevertheless humanists' conjectures which deserve mention as such^a; these mss. must therefore be reported selectively so far as they are known. The copies of preserved ancestors can be left completely aside.

The tradition is bad. At least 25 errors in the

^a R. Keydell, *Prolegomena*, 2 (1953), 138 and *Gnomon*, 41 (1969), 738 sq., and K. Kost, 56, emphasize that the "good readings" of the later mss. and of the editions of Aldus and Lascaris which do not appear in BPNV could not all be treated as conjectures but should be based on independent tradition. They assume thereby that these improvements imply a knowledge of Nonnus which is more than one could expect from scholars of the XVth century. But the minutiae on which this assumption rests seem to me in themselves insufficiently good evidence. In addition the relative interdependence of these late witnesses is still too little understood for us to be able to ascertain, even approximately, at what point such readings as are independent of the four old manuscripts could perhaps have entered the tradition as we have it, or even for us to be able to characterize as such a supposed independent branch of the tradition. Until greater clarity can be achieved on this point we must in any case continue to use the same eclectic procedure as before in the selection of such variants, whether it is a question of humanist conjectures or perhaps after all of an older independent tradition.

archetype must be reckoned with in 343 lines. Errors become especially frequent towards the end of the poem; the archetype seems to have been unreadable or damaged here. But the scribes of the older mss. seem in most cases to have let the errors stand as they found them, so that the presence of the error can be detected and the error relatively easily corrected. The most essential tool for correction is comparison with the other authors whom Musaeus cites or who cite Musaeus. Next in importance is recognition of Musaeus' special learning as a *γραμματικός*; its influence can often be detected in his use of strikingly learned points.^a Part of this learning is Nonnian metrics, though Musaeus diverges from the Nonnian rules on identifiable grounds.^b Recourse

^a Some material in *Bemerkungen*, 33 sq. G. Giangrande, *JHS*, 89 (1969), 139 sq., pays special attention to this question also, but I do not feel myself able to follow him in all his conclusions.

^b The metrical rules of Nonnus are now comprehensively described by R. Keydell, *Nonni Panopolitani Dionysiaca* vol. 1 (Berlin 1959), 35*-42*; cf. A. Scheindler, "Metrische und sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Musaios' de Hero et Leandro," *Ztsch. f. die österr. Gymnasien*, 28 (1877), 161-177; for divergences of Musaeus from Nonnus see Wifstrand, *op. cit.* (in note a, page 298); 131 sq., 193 sq. and *passim*. The presentation of the rules takes up about eight pages in Keydell. The most important, given according to the terminology of P. Maas, *Griechische Metrik* (3rd ed. Leipzig 1929; translated as *Greek Metre* by H. Lloyd-Jones, Oxford 1962, corrected reprint 1966), are as follows. For the calculation of word-lengths not only single words, but also "word-groups" with internal relationships, such as preposition and noun, or epithet and proper name, must be taken into account. There are no lines with spondees in the fifth foot. Every line has a principal caesura, usually "feminine"; where there is a "masculine" caesura there is a secondary caesura after the fourth longum or after the fourth

biceps or after both, but not after the fifth longum ; where there is a feminine caesura there is seldom a secondary caesura after the fourth or the fifth longum. In the first half of the line words that begin before the second longum, where there is a masculine caesura never, and where there is a feminine caesura, seldom, end after the first syllable of the second biceps where this is disyllabic. Monosyllables stand at the end of the line only when a bucolic diaeresis precedes. Word-end is generally avoided after the first brevis of the fourth dactyl and after the second and fourth biceps if these consist of a single syllable. Disyllables with two long syllables seldom stand with their second syllable as a longum ; not at the second longum when the first is a noun, virtually never at the fourth. Two spondaic words can only follow each other in the same line if they are separated by the masculine caesura. Words consisting of a single long syllable stand neither in a biceps, nor at the third, fourth or sixth longum ; at the first longum only when there is a secondary caesura before the principal caesura, at the fifth when there is punctuation after the bucolic diaeresis. Words of more than one syllable at the end of the line usually have long final syllables. Words of two or more syllables at the end of the line are paroxytone or perispomena, never proparoxytone or oxytone (except *ἀνρός, ἀνρώ*). Before the masculine caesura stand as a rule paroxytones, seldom perispomena ; before the feminine caesura no oxytone stands unless there is a secondary caesura after the second longum. Lengthening of short final syllables by position never occurs in the biceps, never in third or fifth longum, seldom in the sixth, in the second and fourth never after a monosyllabic biceps, and after a disyllabic biceps only occasionally in words of three or more syllables. Nouns in *-oi* and *-ai* are similarly treated except at the beginning of the line. Short final vowels with a consonant are never lengthened by position in any biceps except the first, though in monosyllabic words also in the second ; in the longum seldom after a monosyllabic biceps except in trisyllabic oxytones and perispomena at the beginning of the line. *Νῦ ephelkustikon* is almost never used for position-making. Hiatus, shortening of vowel before vowel, and elision are limited to a few traditional examples. Nonnus himself breaks these rules when he quotes classical predecessors such as Homer *et al.* and on other determinate grounds.

to the relevant parallels and learned interpretations is therefore essential for the restoration of the text, and occasionally even for the simple comprehension of it. The parallels and learned interpretations are often more important than the variants in the mss.

Editions

Since the Renaissance Musaeus has been very frequently republished ; at least 77 editions, to my knowledge, appeared before the edition by C. Dilthey.^a E. Patzig investigated the relationships between the older editions.^b After the two *editiones principes* by Aldus Manutius and Janus Lascaris the following are the most important :

- Demetrius Dukas, Cretensis, Alcalá (Complutum) 1514.
 Johannes Froben, Basle 1518 (with Latin translation).
 Henricus Stephanus, Geneva 1566 (in: *Poetae Graeci principes heroici carminis et alii nonnulli*, pars 2, 419-427, with variants in the margin ; his text is based on the Lascaris edition and is the foundation of all later editions).

He treats the rules less strictly in his *Paraphrase of St. John* than in the *Dionysiaca*. Musaeus diverges from them occasionally according to principles of his own. I have discussed the individual cases in *Bemerkungen* ; literature is cited there pp. 135 sq. ; on Musaeus' metrics see *ibid.* pp. 38 sq. ; and page 343, note b, below, and Kost 53 sq.

^a Kost, 592 sq., counts 52 editions and 81 additional printings of texts before Dilthey in a list which completes mine but itself contains a few omissions by comparison with mine.

^b M. J. E. Patzig, *De Musaei grammatici emendatione* (Diss. Leipzig 1870), 4-12.

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- Andreas Papius, Antwerp 1575.
- Daniel Pareus, Frankfurt 1627 (with Latin translation, detailed commentary with parallel passages from other poets, especially Nonnus, and index).
- David Whitford, London 1655 (and 1659) (Musaeus with Bucolic poets, with Latin translation).
- Joh. Heinrich Kromayer, Halle-Magdeburg 1721 (2nd ed. Leipzig 1725, 3rd ed. Gotha 1731) (Musaeus with the Ovidian letters with an introduction, notes by C. Barth, Weitz, Voëtius, Heumann, Schoettgen, Gesner, Bergler, Groebel, and an index; collected results of earlier scholarship).
- Matthias Röver, Leyden 1737 (introduction, Latin translations [by several hands], notes, scholia printed for the first time, readings from seven mss. [often falsely reported, according to Dilthey], and index).
- Joh. Schrader, Leeuwarden 1742 (2nd, enlarged edition by Gottfr. Heinr. Schaefer, Leipzig 1825) (with conjectures by Peter Francius, notes, animadversiones; text based on Röver).
- Ludw. Heinr. Teucher, Leipzig 1789 (2nd ed. Leipzig 1795, 3rd ed. Halle 1801).
- Carl Friedrich Heinrich, Hanover 1793 (with notes; text based on Röver).
- Franz Passow, Leipzig 1810 (introduction, fragments of the Eleusinian Musaeus, German translation, critical notes; text based on Heinrich).
- F. S. Lehrs, Paris 1840 (2nd ed. 1862), publ. by A. Firmin Didot (in: *Hesiodi carmina* etc., with Latin translation; text based on Passow, with corrections by other scholars).

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A broader basis of mss. classified according to modern scholarly methods is employed in the following scholarly editions (listed with some important reviews):

- Carl Dilthey, Bonn 1874, with a complete index. (The preface, written after the printing of the text, contains many additional proposals for emendations. Review: K. Lehrs, *Jenaer Literaturzeitung*, 1 (1874), 508 sq.)
- Ludwig v. Schwabe, Tübingen 1874 (= *Festgabe Philologenversammlung "De Musaeo Nonni imitatore liber"*; text based on Dilthey with emendations of Schwabe's own; introduction; huge collection of parallel passages from Nonnus and others; excellent observations on language, metre, word-formation etc. Review: E. Rohde, *Jenaer Literaturzeitung*, 4 (1877), 206 sq.)
- Arthur Ludwich, Bonn 1912 (photog. reprint Berlin 1929) (= *Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Uebungen*, hsg. v. H. Lietzmann, 98) (introduction, text with select variants and scholia; much other material; Ovid's two Epistles. Review: H. Tiedke, *BPhW*, 33 (1913), 1185 sq.)
- Enrica Malcovati, Milan 1947 (introduction, text with Italian translation and notes. Review: R. Keydell, *Prolegomena*, 2 (1953), 137 sq.)
- Hans Färber, Munich 1961 (with German translation; text without apparatus but with brief critical notes based on Ludwich and Malcovati; complete collection of testimonia for the Hero-Leander story; abundant notes. Review: H. Hunger, *AAHG*, 15 (1962), 224 sq.)
- Pierre Orsini, Paris 1968 (introduction, text with

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French translation, notes; verbose and not always trustworthy but with some good details. Reviews: R. Keydell, *Gnomon*, 41 (1969), 738 sq. and G. Giangrande, *JHS*, 89 (1969), 139 sq.)

Karlheinz Kost, Bonn 1971 (with introduction, text, and German translation, commentary, appendix with bibliography and list of earlier editions, 612 pp.).^a

^a No review of Kost's edition has yet been published; I propose therefore to make on his text and apparatus a few points of significance for its use in the preparation of this edition. His text is not meant to be a substitute for a new critical edition, but only to constitute a basis for his interpretation; it does not quite reach the standard of his commentary. He too has not carried out a new collation of all the mss., and gives in his apparatus only a selection of manuscript variants according to the principles of Dilthey and Malcovati, but even more limited than theirs. In the classification (see note *a*, page 327) and evaluation (see note *a*, page 328), of the manuscripts he comes in a few points to different conclusions from those suggested here. He deliberately keeps his apparatus short. In the apparatus not all the readings are reported which he then quotes and discusses in his commentary, so that one must always look there too. In particular the following important readings which are reported by Ludwich (or Orsini) do not appear in his apparatus: on l. 228 $\mu\eta\ \tau\epsilon\ \Omega$ $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\ B$ $\mu\eta\ \delta\epsilon\ T$ $\mu\eta\ PN$ (only p. 429 $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\ B$ $\mu\eta\ PN$); on l. 270 $\delta'\ \Omega$ ($\delta\epsilon\ T$) $\theta'\ E$ τ' Ald. (only p. 476 his choice " τ' mit Ald. ($\theta'\ E$; $\delta\epsilon\ T$)" but nowhere $\delta'\ \Omega$, while otherwise he always carefully indicates the variations between $\tau\epsilon$ and $\delta\epsilon$); on ll. 319 sq. Ludwich's indication that ll. 319-321 in PN are after 328, with Orsini's additional information that 319-320 are missing and 321 is written after 328 in N¹; on 325 from Ludwich's and Orsini's note "om. PNVU" he gives only "om. PV," and precisely this transposition and this omission are not even mentioned in his discussion of the disputed order of the lines 319 sq. (pp. 525 sq.), whereas otherwise he lists throughout his apparatus verses which are missing or transposed in the mss., and even

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There is also a new Index:

Domenico Bo, *Musaei Lexicon*, Hildesheim 1966.

Bibliography

The literature up to 1912 is summarized in the introduction to Ludwich's edition, and to 1931 by R. Keydell in *JAW*, 230 (1931), 123-125; the results of work up to 1970 are included in the commentary of Kost. Many suggestions for the improvement or understanding of the text are scattered in commentaries on other authors or in discussions of late Greek Epic.^a In addition to those already cited the following works contain useful contributions:

missing single words; on l. 336 $\epsilon\varsigma\ PN$ $\epsilon\tau'\ \Omega$, not mentioned in the commentary either. Further divergences are occasionally to be found in his text and apparatus from what he then accepts in his commentary: l. 178 he prints in his text $\epsilon\mu\omicron\iota$ $\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\tau\eta\tau\iota\ \mu\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\eta\varsigma$ without any indication in his apparatus, while on p. 373 he prints and prefers $\epsilon\mu\eta$ but in turn without quoting any manuscript reading; perhaps it is only through a misprint that in l. 216 $\beta\alpha\rho\upsilon\mu\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ is printed in the text (but l. 309 $\beta\alpha\rho\upsilon\ \mu\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma$) which is contrary to his decision to divide into two words on p. 418; the decision for $\delta\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\iota$ in l. 198 is rightly denoted as Graefe's choice on p. 395 while in the apparatus ad loc. only Ludwich is mentioned, and similarly the addition of $<\delta'\ >$ in l. 333 is correctly attributed to Dilthey on p. 539 while in the apparatus again only Ludwich's name appears. Apart from divergences in individual cases (they are to be found in the list on pp. 338 sq. below) he has come to different decisions from my own in the following matters. He divides some words which were probably thought of at this time as compounds (see note *a*, page 314), and he reckons with lacunae in the tradition after ll. 33, 46, 286, 333 but not with transpositions of lines in ll. 319 sq., 331 sq. Line 79 is forgotten in his translation.

^a Works on later Greek epic are very fully listed by R. Keydell, *op. cit.* (in note *b*, page 329), 29*-35*.

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- L. Castiglioni, "Museo, Ero e Leandro," *BFC*, 27 (1920), 68.
- C. F. Graefe, "Coniectanea in Musaeum" (Programme St. Petersburg 1818, printed in *Coluthi Raptus Helenae* ed. J. D. v. Lenep, 2nd ed. by H. Schaefer, Leipzig 1825, 259 sq).
- H. v. Herwerden, "Ad poetas Graecos," *Mnemosyne*, n.s. 14 (1886), 28-32.
- J. D. v. Lenep ("animadversiones ad Coluthum aliosque scriptores veteres," in his edition 1747, reprinted in Schaefer, *l.c.* 133-147).
- A. Ludwich; his writings down to 1912 listed in his edition p. 9; in addition: "Zu Musaios," *RhM*, 69 (1914), 569 sq. and "Nachwort zu Musaios" in: *Hundert Jahre A. Marcus und E. Webers Verlag 1818-1918* (Bonn 1919), 101-104.
- T. W. Lumb, "Hero and Leander," *CR*, 34 (1920), 165 sq.
- P. Maas, "Nonniana," *Byz.-neugr. Jahrb.* 3 (1922), 130-134 and 4 (1923), 12 sq.
- L. Mader, "Zu Musaios' Hero und Leandros," *BPhW*, 40 (1920), 1006-1008.
- E. Merone, "Omerismi sintattici in Museo," *GIF*, 8 (1955), 299-313.
- M. Schmidt, "Verbesserungsvorschläge . . ." *RhM*, n.s. 26 (1871), 182 sq.
- F. A. Wernicke, (Commentary on) *Τρυφιοδώρου ἄλωσις Ἰλιού*, ed. Leipzig 1819, *passim*.
- M. L. West, "Zu Musaios," *Philologus*, 106 (1962), 315 and 110 (1966), 167.
- A. Wifstrand, *Eranos*, 28 (1930), 103 sq.
- A. Zimmermann, *H. u. L., ein Epos des Grammatikers M.* (with Ovid's Epistles), in German with critical notes on the text (Paderborn 1914).

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TEXT AND TEXTUAL NOTES OF THIS EDITION

1. The notes to this text are not conceived as representing a full apparatus criticus; that, with our present knowledge, would be an impossible undertaking without a new comprehensive scrutiny of the manuscripts. These notes give only a selection of manuscript readings, conjectures and references to parallels of form or content in other authors; this is meant to achieve a double purpose; first to indicate the origin of the readings and conjectures here chosen and to adduce the material necessary for their justification and explanation, and secondly to draw the reader's attention to problems and uncertainties in the constitution of the text and, in a selection of instances, to offer in addition the basis for the substantiation of conclusions other than those here arrived at. Consequently no notes will be found on passages where the indubitably correct reading is preserved in at least one of the older manuscripts, or where a trivial corruption of the tradition has been in my opinion removed beyond dispute. In cases where verses are missing or transposed in single manuscripts and branches of the tradition, the fact is recorded only in those instances in which the order is, in my opinion, rightly disputed and this information could contribute to the justification of divergences from the traditional order of lines (ll. 319 sq., ll. 331 sq.).^a Similarly reference to the sometimes far-

^a Omissions and transpositions are noted by Ludwich, *op. cit.* (in note *b*, page 297, and in his edition, as well as, partly on the basis of their own collations of manuscripts, by Orsini and Kost. But nowhere are these indications reliably complete throughout. That justifies for this edition

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reaching assumptions made by earlier editors about lacunae, interpolated lines and necessary transpositions is made not in the apparatus but in the following list. On the other hand references to parallels, models, or imitations are freely added where they are essential, as is frequently the case, to substantiate decisions on stylistic grounds.

2. In order to disencumber the notes the variants of the seven most recent scholarly editions are put together in a synoptical list which at the same time affords an easy review of their scope and achievements. The following compilation aims at a complete enumeration of all the instances where this edition departs from the text of the editions by Dilthey 1874 (D), Schwabe 1876 (S), Ludwig 1912 (L), Malcovati 1947 (M), Färber 1961 (F), Orsini 1968 (O), Kost 1971 (K). Again neglected are purely orthographic variants (including capitalization) based mostly on changing conventions in the rendering of Greek texts, different punctuations, and obvious misprints. Also excluded are emendations and different readings suggested by the same editors in their apparatus or published elsewhere, but not actually printed in their texts. These will be produced, together with their other emendations if they seem still relevant, at their place in the notes to the text.

4 γάμων έννυχον: -ος -ος DSO || 5 νηχόμενον: οίχου- DS, συμυχόμε- L || 5 τε: δέ DS || 12 δ' έφύλαξεν: τε φύλ- O, τ' έφύλ- K || 13 χαλεπόν: -αίς DSLFO || 17 ανά: ίσα DSMK, έά LFO || 18 ξυνέηκεν: ξύνωσεν DSLFOK || 32 από: † από S || 33 τε: δέ SLMFOK || lac. after l. 33 LK || 38 'Αφροδίτην: † 'Αφρ- S, μετ' 'Αθήνην L || 41 πυρπιέοντας: πυρι πνιέοντας K || 45 ναιετδέ-

a selection of those few which are relevant for the constitution of the text.

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σκον: -τάσσκον SLMFOK || lac. after l. 45 LK || whole l. 46 † S || l. 47 put after l. 50 D || 53 άθανάτων άγέμεν: -τοιων άγεν DSLMFK, -τοιων άγέμεν O || 54 lac. after δοσον, and <μοῦνον> with the rest of l. 54 as l. 54a D || 54 άγειρόμενοι: -μένων LMFOK || 58 χιονής... παρεής: -έων... -ών O || 66 εύρατο: -ρετο D || 67 περιπολλόν: περι πολλόν LMFK || 67 άριστεύουσα: -σασα O || 69 άνδρών: αυτών DSLMFOK || 74 άστν: άστρον LF || 77 ή: και D || 81 ήμετέρην: -ρους D || 83 όπάσσοις: -σαις DSLMF || 84 άλλοθεν: -οθε δ' MK, -οτε δ' LF || 91 άνικήτην: άνηκέστου D || 94 άπ' όφθαλμοῦ βολάν: δι' δ. πυλάων D || 98 άριστον: άπιστον DS || 101 ελέλιζεν: -ξεν O || 104 άγλαΐην: άγγελι- L || 106 έπαγγέλλουσα: -γγελλούσα O || 118 θαρσαλή: -λέως O || 124 κέλευθον: κέλευσον DLO, κάλεσσον S || 125 άπόειπε: άλίεψε DSLMFO || 126 οῦ σοι έοικε: οῦκ έπέοικε DSLF || 129 θηλείης: θηλυ- τέρης DO || 131 άπειλήσῃσι: -λείουσι DSLMFOK || 134 βεβολημένος: δεδοημένος S || 138 μήτηρ: γαστήρ D || 143 'Αφροδίτη: Κυθερείη LMFK || 146 Κυθέρειαν: 'Αφροδίτην SLMFK || 148 ίκέτην: έπέτην D || 151 εκόμισσεν: -ιζεν D || 155 χολωσαμένης: χολωου- DSLMFK || 158 άνανομένην: -μένην DSLMFOK || 159 έπι: έο DSL || 162 έξεσεν: -εεν DLMFOK || 166 και: δε DSLMFK || 173 αποστάζουσα: άπανγάζ- L || 178 έμοι: έμη DSO || 179 question mark after άμφαδόν O || 181 πολύφοιτος: περίφ- S || 186 έμοι: έχω DSLMFK || 187 άμφιβόητος: άμφιδόν- D || 188 μούνη: -νη F || 193 ήμερόφονος: -μόφοιτος S || 193 ήχη: ήχω DS || 198 δαμάσσας: -μάζει SLMF || 199 άκέσσειται: άκείεται DSL || 204 πυρι παφλάζιτο: περιπαφλά- LO || 204 άπλοον: εύπλ- DS || 205 χείμα: χέμα O || 210 ένα: τῶα DSLOK || 213 άμεδόντα: άνέ δόντα DSLMFOK || 215 πατριδος: Κύπριδος DSLF || 216 βαρυπνιέοντας: βαρῶ πνιέοντας S || 217 θυμόν: μόνον L || l. 218 put after l. 212 S || 218 ήγεμονη: ήμοχη DSL || 219 ει έτεόν δ': ει δ' έτεόν γ' O || ll. 224-229 excluded D || 225 άνέσαντες: άνύσ- D, όμόσ- S, όρίσ- LMF || 227 έόν: έβη SLF || l. 228 excluded S || 228 μηδέ: μή τι DSLMFOK || 228 πύργου: πυραού D || 229 δήμον: πορθμόν DS || 235 φαινομένην: -ων DSLMFK || 236 πολυκλαύτοι: -κλαύστοι M (not 334) O, -λλίστοι DS || 237 τηλέσκοπον: -σκόπον DLMFK || 243 άείρας: άγείρας D || 244 τοίοις ήν: τοίοισι DSM, τοίοισιν O, τοίοις οι LF || 246 έστιν: στενωόν O || 247 λάξιο: άξιο DSLFOK || 253 έξ έδρω: έξώρω DSMFOK, έξάλτο L || 255 αυτόματος (cp. 327): -μάτη DSLK || 257

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λεπταλέας : λευγαλέης M || 263 ἔπι : ἐπι D || 266 βαθυστρώτους ἐνι λέκτροις : β-ων ἐπι λ-ων DS || 267 φιλόγορας : ἤτορας DLF || 270 τ' : δ' DSLMO || 272 τὰδ' ἔειπεν : † ταδτ' εἶπεν S, παρέπεισεν LFO || 273 ἀριστονόου : ἀρεσσινόου D, ἀκεσσιπύου S || 276 ἤστραψε : -πτε DSLMFK || 276 εὐνή : -νή MFO || 278 ἔεισε : -δε DSLMFOK || l. 281 excluded D, put after 273 S || 283 ἀργυρώτους ἐνι λέκτροις : εὐστρώτων ἐπι λ-ων D, † ἀργυρώτων ἐπι λ-ων S || 285 ἐννηχίαν : παν- D || 293 lac. after l. 286 DSLK || 293 καὶ τότε : ἀλλ' ὅτε DLMFO || 293 lac. after ἀλλ' ὅτε, and <δὴ τότε> with the rest of l. 293 as l. 293a D || 296 χειμέριοι : -ιον S || 297 τυπτομένης : -νη SFO || lac. after l. 297 LM || 298 θυβάδι : θυβάδι DO || 301 πύργου : λύχνου DS || 309 βαρυννείοντες : βαρὺ πνείοντες SK (not 216) || 310 χειμέριοις προΐησαν : -ίης προΐησαν M, -ίαις ῥοθίοισιν D || 310 ἀέλλας : ἀήται S, ἰωῶς LMF || 312 δὴ τότε καὶ : καὶ τότε δὴ DSLMF, δὴ τότε δὴ || 315 ἡχῆ : ἡχῶ DS || 317 ἐφέπεν : ἀφ- DS || lac. after l. 321 SL || l. 322 after l. 321 DSLMFOK || 324 ὄρη : ὄρκω DSLF, ὄρη O || 326 ἀνδρητον : ἀδόν- MK || 326 ἀκοιμήτων : ἀκνήτ- D, ἀνικήτ- S || 327 αὐτόματος (cp. 255) : -μάτη LK || lac. after l. 330 DSLOK || 330a <Ἡρώ> . . . O || ll. 331-332 excluded MF || 332 θέσπισσε Λεάνδρου : -ισσεν ἀκοίτου O || 333 εἰσέτι : ἡ δ' ἔτι MF || 333 ἐπαγρῆνοιον : ἐ-σι δ' LK, ἐπ' ἀγρ-σι δ' DS, ἐπ' ἀγρ-σιν O || 334 πολυκλαύτοις : -κλύστ- D, -κλαύστ- O || ll. 335-336 after l. 334 DSLMFOK || 335 ἤλυθεν : -θε δ' LMFOK || 336 ἐς : ἐπ' DSMOK || 342 καδ δ' Ἡρώ : καδδ' Ἡ. DMFOK, καὶ διερχῆ L ||.

3. The manuscripts of Musaeus,^a so far as we can see from the more or less precise investigations which have been made so far, fall into three groups of different value for the establishment of the text :
(a) the older manuscripts up to the XIVth c., all in *codices miscellanei*, representing three lines of the

^a Full details in Ludwig, *op. cit.* (in note b, page 297), 1-4; on the classification see *Bemerkungen*, 131 sq., and above, pp. 326 sq. Orsini in his edition (xxxii sq.) is astonishingly unclear. On Kost's classification and use of the mss. see note a, page 327 and note a, page 334; for additional mss. see note b, page 327.

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transmission, of which two (PN and V) on their side go back to a common *hyparchetype*.^a

B Barocc. 50, Bodleian., Oxford, first half of the Xth c., with scholia

F1 Estensis II-C-12, Modena, early XIVth c. (cont. ll. 250-343, derived, perhaps indirectly, from B)

N Neapolitan. II-D-4, bibl. Naz. Napoli, XIVth c.

P Palatin. Gr. 43, Heidelberg, XIVth c.

V Vatican. Gr. 915, Roma, early XIVth c.

The readings of B, PN, V are presented in the notes as completely as possible (within the limitations given above).

(b) the humanist manuscripts of the XVth (and XVIth) c., dividing into two groups :

H E (XVth c.), T (XVIth c.), all closely connected but not identical with the Aldine edition

A G I J L Q R X, *codices mutili* (cont. ll. 1-245 with omission of 101 s.), all XVth c., whose text is derived from an exemplar closely connected with V and included (in Italy) in the expanded *corpus hymnorum*^b

C F2, *codices mutili* (cont. ll. 1-245) more closely connected with V (F3, ll. 246-249 added by a later hand in order to connect F2 and F1)

The good readings of these manuscripts are most

^a See note a, page 327 above. If the source of the scholia in B is considered as an independent line of the tradition (see Ludwig, introduction to his edition, p. 9), there are even four represented in the older mss.

^b For references, and four further *mutili* from the *corpus hymnorum*, see *Bemerkungen*, 132, n. 25.

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probably humanist conjectures, mostly anonymous, which will be referred to in the notes as "hum.," mostly without mentioning manuscript sigla.

(c) the late manuscripts (XVth to XVIIIth c.) copied from two kinds of still extant originals :

copies of manuscripts : U V^o (of V), K (of F = F2 + F3 + F1)

copies of printed texts : D S W (of the Aldine), O Y (of Dukas' ed. 1514), Z (XVIIIth c., probably of Portus' ed. 1629).

The readings of these manuscripts are neglected.

In addition to the manuscripts there exist two *editiones principes* :

Aldina (Ald.), printed by Aldus Manutius in Venice, before the 1st of Nov. 1495 (with a Latin translation by himself in later copies, added not before 1497).^a

Laskarina (Lask.), printed by Francesco de Alopa in Florence between 1494 and 1496 (its text assigned almost certainly to Janus Lascaris).^b

These two editions were obviously prepared independently, as the Aldina goes with the group of B, the Laskarina also with that of PN in characteristic points. Which of them was earlier cannot be determined now and is irrelevant.

Indirectly transmitted are eight verses found in the *Historiarum Variarum Chiliades* by Jo. Tzetzes (2nd

^a For the Latin translation by Aldus himself see page 323, note e, above. It is printed in a type not met before 1497 in such a way that it corresponds to the Greek text page by page and can be bound between the pages of the Greek ; see V. Scholderer, *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century now in the British Museum*, part V (London 1924), 552 sq.

^b See V. Scholderer, *op. cit.* part VII (London 1930), 667.

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half XIIth c.), *i.e.* Mus. 63-65 (*Hist.* 10. 520-522) and Mus. 148-152 (*Hist.* 2. 438-442). Tzetzes follows closely B or a manuscript very similar to it, but he tries to correct mistakes by conjectures of his own (cp. 151 note). Further, one verse is found in an anonymous late rhetorical treatise, *i.e.* Mus. 1 (Anon. π. τῶν τοῦ λόγου σχημάτων, *Rhet. Gr.* VIII 657. 21 Walz).^a

4. Emendations accepted in the text or mentioned in the notes are to the best of my knowledge assigned to those who first proposed them, whereas later assenters are mentioned only in special cases. The options made by the editors since 1874 are shown in the preceding list. Those emendations which, so far as I know, are original to me are indicated by the initials T. G.

5. In the notes the following abbreviations are used with a special connotation :

hum. = reading of one or more of the humanist manuscripts of the XVth (or XVIth) c. (= anonymous humanist conjecture, see 3(b)).

mss. = reading common to all the manuscripts B, PN, V, except the one(s) separately designated in the same note (see 3(a)).

schol. = scholion in B (see 3(a)).

The indication "metre" is added, where conjectures or manuscript readings are chosen or refuted for metrical reasons.^b

THOMAS GELZER

^a This quotation is indicated by Kost, p. 90.

^b See page 323, note b, above, and notes below on Mus. 13, 38, 54, 74, 146, 204, 213, 225, 327, 342.

ΜΟΥΣΑΙΟΥ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΟΥ
ΤΑ ΚΑΘ' ἩΡΩ ΚΑΙ ΛΕΑΝΔΡΟΝ

Εἰπέ, θεά, κρυφίῳν ἐπιμάρτυρα λύχρον ἐρώτων
καὶ νύχιον πλωτῆρα θαλασσοπόρων ἕμεναίων
καὶ γάμον ἀχλυόεντα, τὸν οὐκ ἴδεν ἀφθίτος Ἥως,
καὶ Σηστόν καὶ Ἄβυδον, ὅπη γάμον ἔνυχον¹
'Ἡροῦς

νηχόμενόν τε Λέανδρον ὁμοῦ καὶ λύχρον ἀκούω, 5
λύχρον ἀπαγγέλλοντα διακτορίην Ἀφροδίτης,
'Ἡροῦς νυκτιγάμοιο γαμοστόλον ἀγγελιώτην,
λύχρον, Ἐρωτος ἄγαλμα, τὸν ὠφέλεν αἰθέριος Ζεὺς

¹ γάμον ἔνυχον Ludwich, constr., cp. 75 and pap. Oxv. 2.
214 r. 10 s. : -ος -ος MSS. (with full stop after 'Ἡροῦς).

^a "Goddess" = the Muse (cf. Nonn. *D.* 1. 1 ~ *Il.* 1. 1).

^b The lamp as witness of secret love is a long-standing motif in love-stories; cf., e.g., Aristoph. *Ecol.* 1 sq.; *A.P.* 5. 4 sq.

^c Sestos, a town on the Thracian Chersonese (the Gallipoli peninsula) and Abydos in Mysia, Asia Minor, both lie near the entrance to the Hellespont (the present-day Dardanelles), Sestos a little nearer to the Sea of Marmara. Both towns are already mentioned together in the *Iliad* (2. 836). The distance across at the narrowest point is today 1350 metres. The currents out of the Sea of Marmara are very rapid, and soon made a sorry sight of Xerxes' bridge structures (*Hdt.* 7. 36). One did not, therefore, in practice strike directly across. The crossing-points are a little outside the towns;

MUSAEUS
HERO AND LEANDER

TELL of the lamp, O goddess,^a the witness of hidden loves,^b

And of the one who swam by night, to sea-borne spouses,

And the darkling marriage-bond, unseen by deathless Dawn.

And Sestos and Abydos,^c where I hear of the midnight bridals

Of Hero, of Leander swimming, and thereto of the lamp,

The lamp that beacons forth Aphrodite's ministry, Courier of night-wed Hero, furnisher-forth of wedding,

The lamp, love's glory; would Zeus of the aether had brought it,

from Abydos one crossed from a point eight stades N.E. above the town in the direction of the Sea of Marmara (*Polyb.* 16. 29. 13 sq.). From Sestos one went to Hero's tower, S.W. of the town, and let oneself be carried by the current from there. From Abydos the swim was more difficult because one had to cross the currents (*Strabo* 13. 1. 22 C. 590 sq.); cf. *Malten, op. cit.* (in note a, page 302), pp. 71 sq. According to Antipater of Thessalonica (*A.P.* 7. 666. 3), in Augustan times only ruins of Hero's tower were left. A corresponding tower on the other shore near Abydos is mentioned by Horace (*Epist.* 1. 3. 4; cp. *Strabo, loc. cit.*).

ἐννύχιον μετ' ἄεθλον ἄγειν ἐς ὁμήγυριν ἄστρον
 καὶ μιν ἐπικλῆσαι νυμφοστόλον ἄστρον Ἐρώτων, 10
 ὅττι πέλεν συνέριθος ἐρωμανέων ὀδυνάων,
 ἀγγελίην δ' ἑφύλαξεν ἀκοιμήτων ὑμεναίων
 πρὶν χαλεπὸν¹ προΐησιν ἀήμεναι ἐχθρὸν ἀήτην.
 ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι μέλποντι μίαν συνάειδε τελευτήν
 λύχρου σβεννυμένοιο καὶ ὀλλυμένοιο Λεάνδρου. 15
 Σηστός ἔην καὶ Ἀβυδος ἐναντίον ἐγγύθι πόντου.
 γείτονές εἰσι πόλεις· Ἔρωσ δ' ἀνὰ² τόξα τιταίων
 ἀμφοτέραις πολίεσσιν ἓνα ξυνέηκεν³ ὀιστὸν
 ἠΐθεον φλέξας καὶ παρθένον· οὐνομα δ' αὐτῶν
 ἱμερόεις τε Λεάνδρος ἔην καὶ παρθένος Ἡρώ. 20
 ἠ μὲν Σηστόν ἔναιεν, ὁ δὲ πολιέθρον Ἀβύδου,
 ἀμφοτέρων πόλιων περικαλλέες ἀστέρες ἀμφω,
 εἴκελοι ἀλλήλοισι. σὺ δ', εἴ ποτε κείθι περήσεις,

¹ ὁ hum. (apographa of Ald.) Dilthey: τ' V Kost, τε φαλ- PN Orsini, om. B.

² χαλεπὸν BV, adjective as 129, 147, 285, 290, 296, 340 Wifstrand, or adverb as 88, 311: -πῆσι P, -ποῖσι N; -παῖς Koechly with the assent of Tiedke (metre).

³ ἀνὰ mss., cp. Opp. H. 2. 90: ἐὰ Lehrs, cp. 149, Nonn. D. 16. 2; ἴσα Dilthey, cp. Rufin. A.P. 5. 97. 1, Nonn. D. 41. 420; ἄμα Graefe.

⁴ ξυνέηκεν mss., cp. Pl. A 8 and Eustath. ad l. (ed. Rom. p. 21. 40 ss., cp. p. 22. 8 s.): ξύνωσεν Dilthey, cp. Nonn. D. 35. 134 s., 5. 560 s. etc.

⁵ Turning (the lamp) into a star, *κατασηρισμός*, is an old motif; its most famous use is in the *Coma Berenices* in Bk. IV of Callimachus' *Aitia* (fr. 110 Pfeiffer), translated by Catullus (66); for the love-lamp as a star see Callimachus, *Epigr.* 56. Here the lamp is the "guiding star" of Leander's life (212, 218). Cf. this vol., pp. 80-85.

After the nightlong struggle, to the congress of the
 stars,^a
 And named it for invocation, bride's escort, star of
 loves, 10
 For it was fellow and helper of maddened love's
 anguish,
 And watched over the message of sleepless
 hymenaeals,
 Before the enemy wind blew, harsh with its gales.
 But come, and, with my singing, sing of the end they
 shared,
 The quenching of the lamp and Leander's perishing. 15
 Sestos there was and Abydos opposite, near to the
 sea.
 Neighbouring cities they are; and Love, upstraining
 his bow,
 Shot forth a single shaft into both cities together,
 Kindling a youth and maiden; and their names were
 these:
 He was Leander, quickener of desire, and the
 maiden, Hero. 20
 She dwelt in Sestos, and he in the city of Abydos,
 Of each of their two cities each the fairest star,^b
 Like to each other; but you,^c if ever you journey
 thither,

^b The "stars" of their towns are described on the model of Callimachus' Acontius and Cydippe (*Aitia* IV, fr. 67. 5 sq.), ὁ μὲν ἦλθεν Ἰουλίδος, ἠ δ' ἀπὸ Νάξου, καλοὶ νησάων ἀστέρες ἀμφοτέρου—see on vv. 200 sq. and pp. 50-51 of this vol.

^c Vv. 23-27. The reader is addressed, in the same way as the traveller in some epigrams on gravestones (or on a cenotaph for people drowned at sea); for such epigrams see, e.g., the one by Antipater of Thessalonica on Hero and Leander's tomb (A.P. 7. 666, see n. on v. 4 above) and A.P. 7. 236 sq.; but at 86 and 301 Leander is addressed, which is quite different; see on v. 86.

δίξέο μοί τινα πύργον, ὅπη ποτὲ Σησιτιάς Ἡρώ
 ἴστατο λύχρον ἔχουσα καὶ ἠγεμόνευε Λεάνδρω· 25
 δίξέο δ' ἀρχαίης ἀλιγηχέα πορθμὸν Ἀβύδου
 εἰσέτι που κλαίοντα μόρον καὶ ἔρωτα Λεάνδρου.
 Ἄλλὰ πόθεν Λεῖανδρος Ἀβυδόθι δώματα ναίων
 Ἡροῦς εἰς πόθον ἦλθε, πόθῳ δ' ἐνέδησε καὶ αὐτήν;
 Ἡρώ μὲν χαρίεσσα Διοτρεφὲς αἶμα λαχοῦσα 30
 Κύπριδος ἦν ἱέρεια· γάμων δ' ἀδίδακτος εἶσα
 πύργον ἀπὸ προγόνων παρὰ γείτονι ναῖε θαλάσση,
 ἄλλη Κύπρις ἄνασσα, σαοφροσύνη τε¹ καὶ αἰδοί.
 οὐδὲ ποτ' ἀγομένησι συνωμίλησε γυναιξίν,
 οὐδὲ χορὸν χαρίεντα μετήλυθεν ἤλικος ἦβης 35
 μῶμον ἀλευομένη ζηλήμονα θηλυτεράων—
 καὶ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀγλατῆ ζηλήμονές εἰσι γυναῖκες—,
 ἀλλ' αἰεὶ Κυθήρειαν Ἰασκομένη Ἀφροδίτην²
 πολλάκι καὶ τὸν Ἔρωτα παρηγορέεσκε θυηλαῖς

¹ τε MSS. Linge Graefe, cp. Paul. Sil. *Soph.* 995, Pl. *Phdr.* 253 D 7; δὲ hum. Ald. Lask. most modern editors (with stop before σαοφροσύνη Schwabe, or lac. after 33 Ludwich).

² Ἀφροδίτην MSS., for the hiatus cp. *Il.* I 389, *Od.* θ 337, *Hom. Hy. Ven.* I etc., Q. S. 13. 343; conjectures, e.g. *φρεσί* Κύπριω Graefe; μετ' Ἀθήνην Ludwich.

^a "Kypris" and "Kytherea" are titles of Aphrodite already found in Homer, taken from her cult-centres in Cyprus (46) and Cythera (47). Hesiod (*Theog.* 188 sq.) describes how Aphrodite was born from the foam (ἀφρός) which had formed around the genitals of Uranus (Οὐρανῆς, 40) which Kronos had cut off and thrown into the sea (Θαλασσαίη, 249 sq., 320), and how she first went to Cythera (hence the title Κυθήρεια), then to Cyprus (hence the title Κύπρις). Herodotus (I. 105) describes the sanctuary of Aphrodite Urania in Askalon as the oldest, and those in Cyprus and Cythera as Phoenician foundations from there;

Seek me a tower out, where once Hero of Sestos
 Stood, holding the lamp, and pointed the way for 25
 Leander;
 And seek the sea-resounding strait of ancient
 Abydos,
 Which still laments, I fancy, Leander's fate and
 love.
 But whence did it arise that Leander, who dwelt at
 Abydos,
 Came to desire for Hero, and bound her too in
 desire?
 Hero the beautiful, heiress of Zeus-engendered
 blood, 30
 Was priestess of Aphrodite,^a and being unschooled
 in love's ways
 Dwelt by the neighbouring sea in an ancestral tower,
 A second Cyprian goddess,^b in chastity and shame-
 fastness.
 Never did she mingle among the gatherings of
 women,
 Nor enter the graceful dance of young girls of her
 years, 35
 Shunning the word of blame,^c the envious word of
 women,
 For always at sight of beauty women are envious.
 Yet ever as she appeased Aphrodite the Cytherean
 Often she would assuage Love too with sacrifices

cf. M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte d. griech. Religion* (3rd ed. Munich 1967), 519 sq.

^b Hero is first (33, 67 sq.) compared with Aphrodite and described as excelling the other women, then is addressed herself as such by Leander (135 sq.), just as Nausicaa is first compared with Artemis and later addressed as such (*Od.* 6. 102 sq., 149 sq.).

^c Hero, like Nausicaa, averts μῶμος (*Od.* 6. 273 sq.).

μητρὶ σὺν Οὐρανίῃ φλογερὴν τρομέουσα φαρέτρην. 40
ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὧς ἀλέεω πυριπνέοντας¹ ὀιστοῦς.

Δὴ γὰρ Κυπριδίῃ πανδήμιος ἦλθεν ἑορτή,
τῆν ἀνὰ Σηστόν ἄγουσιν Ἀδώνιδι καὶ Κυθερείῃ.
πασσυδίῃ δ' ἔσπευδον ἐς ἱερὸν ἡμᾶρ ἰκέσθαι, 45
ὄσσοι ναιετάεσκον² ἀλιστεφέων³ σφυρὰ νήσων,
οἱ μὲν ἀφ' Αἰμονίης,⁴ οἱ δ' εἰναλίης ἀπὸ Κύπρου·
οὐδὲ γυνή τις ἔμμενεν ἀνὰ πτολίεθρα⁵ Κυθήρων,
οὐ Λιβάνου θυόεντος ἐνὶ περὺνέσσι χορεύων,

¹ πυριπνέοντας hum. Ald. most modern editors, cp. note on l. 204: πυρὶ πνέοντας mss. (πνέον- P¹N) Schwabe, cp. Nonn. D. 42. 200.

² ναιετάεσκον mss., a regular v.l. in Homeric mss. (cp. ad H. B 539, Od. ο 385 etc., Meister, *homer. Kunstsprache*, 65), cp. Mus. 39, 291, Keydell with hesitation; this verb is not in Nonn.: -άσκον Lask. later hum. Lobeck all modern editors since Schwabe.

³ ἀλιστεφέων hum. Casaubonus, cp. Nonn. D. 13. 455: ἀλλ(λ)ιτρεφέων mss., ἀλιστρεφέων hum.

⁴ Αἰμονίης mss., cp. Nonn. D. 44. 2, Coluth. 17, 219: Αἰολίης Sittig, cp. Nonn. D. 13. 388.

⁵ ἀνὰ πτολίεθρα (πολ- P¹) NP² Lask., cp. A. R. 1. 825: ἐν πτολίεσσι other mss.

^a Οὐρανίῃ, an epithet of Aphrodite (see on 31), is connected by Plato with heavenly Ἔρως (*Symp.* 180 D sq.) in contrast with Aphrodite Πάνδημος and earthly love ("vulgivaga").

^b Adonis divided the course of the year between the two goddesses who loved him, Aphrodite in the upper world and Persephone in the underworld. His festivals celebrated his death and his return. There is a famous description of the festival for his death in Theocritus, *Idyll* 15; the celebrations in Alexandria for his return are described by Jerome, Origen and Cyril; cf. A. S. F. Gow, *Theocritus* vol. 2 (Cambridge 1952), p. 264. On Kythereia see on v. 31.

^c All the places in the following list have famous cults of

Together with his Heavenly mother,^a fearing his quiver of flame. 40

But still she did not escape the fire-breathing arrows. For lo, the public festival of the Cyprian goddess was come

Which they celebrate in Sestos to Adonis and Cythereia.^b

And in full host they hastened to come to the sacred day,

All those whose dwellings lay at the feet of the sea-crowned islands, 45

Some from Haemonia,^c some from Cyprus that lies in the sea;

Neither was there woman who tarried in the cities of Cythera,

Nor dancer in the winged heights of incense-bearing Lebanon^d;

Aphrodite. Haemonia is a literary name for Thessaly after its mythical king Haemon, father of Thessalos (Strabo 9. 5. 23 C. 443 sq.). In Thessaly various places, e.g. Larisa, Pharsalos, and Metropolis, had old cults of Aphrodite; see M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung* (Leipzig 1906), 378 and Kost, 214; on Cyprus and Cythera see on v. 31 above.

^d Libanos, today Mt. Lebanon, is the highest mountain in central Syria, famous in the Old Testament for its cedars and their fragrance (e.g. LXX, Hosea 14. 6 sq.; Cant. 4. 14 sq.); the Greek geographers down to Strabo give surprisingly inaccurate descriptions of it (Strabo 16. 2. 16 sq. C. 754 sq.). On its slopes, east of Byblos, stood the famous sanctuary of Aphrodite of Aphaka on the river Adonis (Lucian, *Syr. D.* 8 sq.); after its destruction by Constantine its cult was still being secretly continued in Helioupolis under Anastasius I (*Suda*, s.v. Χριστόδωρος X 525). At the end of antiquity Lebanon was a place of refuge for the heathen; see Honigmann, "Libanos 2," *Real-Encycl.* 13. 1 (1926), 1-11. For Adonis and Aphrodite's dance on Mount Lebanon see Nonn. D. 4. 81 sq.

οὐδὲ περικτιόνων τις ἐλείπετο τῆμος ἑορτῆς,
 οὐ Φρυγίης ναέτης, οὐ γείτονος ἀστὸς Ἀβύδου, 50
 οὐδέ τις ἠιθέων φιλοπάρθενος· ἢ γὰρ ἐκείνοι
 αἰὲν ἁμαρτήσαντες, ὅπη φάτις ἐστὶν ἑορτῆς,
 οὐ τόσον ἀθανάτων¹ ἀγέμεν² σπεύδουσι θυηλάς,
 ὅσον ἀγειρόμενοι³ διὰ κάλλεα παρθενικάων.

Ἡ δὲ θεῆς ἀνὰ νηὸν ἐπώχλετο παρθένος Ἴρω⁴ 55
 μαρμαρυγὴν χαρίεσσαν ἀπαστράπτουσα⁴ προσώπου
 οἷά τε λευκοπάρητος ἐπαντέλλουσα Σελήνη·
 ἄκρα δὲ χιονέης φοινίσσετο κύκλα παρειῆς⁵
 ὡς ῥόδον ἐκ καλύκων διδυμόχροον· ἢ τάχα φαίης 60
 Ἴροῦς ἐν μελέεσσι ῥόδων λειμῶνα φανῆναι·
 χροὴ γὰρ μελέων ἐρυθθαίνετο· νισσομένης δὲ
 καὶ ῥόδα λευκοχίτωνος ὑπὸ σφυρὰ λάμπετο κούρης.
 πολλαὶ δ' ἐκ μελέων χάριτες ῥέον· οἱ δὲ παλαιοὶ

¹ ἀθανάτων mss. Ald. Lask. : ἀθανάτοις V most modern editors.

² ἀγέμεν B Ald. Lask., cp. 288, II. H 418, 471 etc. : ἀγεῖν mss. most modern editors.

³ ἀγειρόμενοι mss. schol. ἀθροίζόμενοι, cp. II. II 207, Od. δ 686 etc., constr. 286 : ἀγειρομένων hum. Ald. Lask. some editors with the assent of Tiedke (metre) ; ἀγείρονται Schwabe.

⁴ ἀπαστράπτουσα BV schol. ἀπαστράπτουσα τῷ προσώπῳ, cp. Procl. *Hy.* 7. 31 : ἐπ- PN (with προσώπῳ N), cp. Nonn. *D.* 18. 74.

⁵ παρειῆς Wernicke, cp. 161, Nonn. *D.* 10. 180 etc. : -ὠν mss. (but with χιονέης mss., corr. with χιονέων hum.).

^a Phrygia several times changed its size and its frontiers in antiquity. The part here mentioned seems to be the *Φρυγία ἢ πρὸς Ἑλλάσποντον* (Xen. *Cyr.* 2. 1. 5 etc.) or "Little Phrygia," the western part which was separated from the eastern part of Phrygia at the end of the Vth century B.C. (cp. Strabo 12. 4. 2 sq., C. 563 sq. and W. Ruge, *Real-Encycl.* 20. 1 (1941), 801 sq.). To this region belongs the Trojan Aphrodite, who is the ancestor of the Aeneadae (cp. Hom. *Il.* 352.

Neither did any of those dwelling round then miss
 the festival,
 No dweller in Phrygia,^a no citizen of neighbouring
 Abydos, 50
 Nor yet any of the youths who loved maidens ; for
 they,
 Following always wherever there is rumour of festival,
 Are eager, not so much to make sacrifice to the
 immortals,
 As to foregather for sake of the maidens' beauty.
 But she through the goddess' temple was passing,
 maiden Hero, 55
 Flashing a lightning of lovely radiance from her
 face,^b
 Even as Selene of the fair white cheeks, when she
 is rising.
 And crimson shone, high on the curves of her snowy
 cheek,
 As the rose from the bud comes twy-coloured ; ah,
 you might well nigh
 Say that a meadow of roses appeared in Hero's limbs ; 60
 For the flesh of her limbs blushed, and as she moved
 roses
 Flashed also from round the ankles of the white-
 robed girl.
 Many the graces that flowed from her limbs ; the
 men of old

5. 311 sq., 20. 180 sq., 302 sq. ; *Hymn to Aphrodite* 196 sq.) ; for the Aeneadae in Scepsis in the Troad see Strabo (13. 1. 52 sq., C. 607 sq.).

^b "Radiance," *μαρμαρυγή* = the light of the truth (Pl. *Rep.* 515 c, 518 A) ; the "lightning," which is a quotation from Proclus, *Hy.* 7. 31 (there from the face of Athena), is the radiance of the beloved (Pl. *Phaedr.* 254 b) which recalls the vision of κάλλος ; see on v. 94.

τρεις Χάριτας ψεύσαντο πεφυκέναι· εἰς δέ τις
ἼΗροῦς

ὀφθαλμὸς γελῶν ἑκατὸν Χαρίτεσσι τεθήλει. 65
ἀτρεκέως ἱέρειαν ἐπάξιον εὔρατο Κύπρις.

Ὡς ἢ μὲν περιπολλὸν¹ ἀριστεύουσα γυναικῶν,
Κύπριδος ἀρήτειρα, νή διεφαίνετο Κύπρις.
δύσατο² δ' ἠθιέων ἀπαλὰς φρένας, οὐδέ τις ἀνδρῶν³
ἦεν, ὃς οὐ μενείειν ἔχειν ὁμοδέμνιον ἼΗρώ. 70

ἢ δ' ἄρα, καλλιθέμεθλον ὄπη κατὰ νηὸν ἀλάτο,
ἔσπόμενον νόον εἶχε καὶ ὄμματα καὶ φρένας ἀνδρῶν.
καὶ τις ἐν ἠθιέοισιν ἐθαύμασε καὶ φάτο μῦθον·

“Καὶ Σπάρτης ἐπέβην, Λακεδαίμονος ἔδρακον
ἄστν,⁴

ἦχι μῦθον καὶ ἄεθλον ἀκούομεν ἀγλαϊάων· 75
τοίην δ' οὐ ποτ' ὄπωπα νήν ἰδανὴν θ'⁵ ἀπαλήν τε·
ἢ τάχα Κύπρις ἔχει Χαρίτων μίαν ὀπλοτεράων.
παπταίνων ἐμόγησα, κόρον δ' οὐχ εἶδρον ὀπωπής.

¹ περιπολλὸν Schwabe, cp. A. R. 2. 437, 2. 472, 3. 427: περι πολλὸν V: π. πολλῶν mss.

² δύσατο mss., cp. A. R. 4. 865, Nonn. *met. Jo.* 13. 115, Pl. *Phdr.* 255 c 3: δίσσατο Teucher, cp. 29.

³ ἀνδρῶν mss., cp. 72 s.: ἀντρῶν Diltthey, cp. Nonn. *met. Jo.* 7. 112, most modern editors.

⁴ ἄστν mss., cp. II. B 801 etc.: ἄστρον Ludwich (metre, but cp. 227).

⁵ νήν ἰδανὴν θ' Diltthey, cp. Call. fr. 114. 9 Pfeiffer, νήν ἰδανῆν θ' B: other mss. various meaningless corrupt readings.

^a Three Graces since Hesiod (*Theog.* 907); the play on the word (cf. 307 sq.) and the related exaggeration of the number is a stock motif of erotic writing (cf. Strato, *A.P.* 12. 181. 1 sq.; Nonn. *D.* 34. 36 sq.; Aristaenetos 1. 10 sq. etc.). The stock motifs of two-coloured roses and graces in the eyes are used in just the same way in Procopius' *Declamations* (see *Bemerkungen*, 138, n. 61).

^b Sparta, famous for the beauty of its women, of whom Helen was one, already had the epithet “of beautiful 354

Falsely fabled three Graces born^a; either single
laughing

Eye of Hero blossomed forth with a hundred Graces. 65
Cypris had verily found for herself a worthy priestess.
So she far, far excelling among women,
Priestess of Cypris, revealed herself Cypris anew.

And she entered the tender hearts of the youths, nor
was there any

Man who was not in rage to possess Hero as bed-
mate. 70

She then, wherever she strayed through the fair-
founded temple,

Had following her the mind and eyes and hearts of
the men. 75

And many a one of the youths marvelled and spoke
these words:

“I have been even to Sparta,^b seen the city of
Lacedaemon,

Where we hear tale of the contest and battle-fray
of beauty; 75

But never saw I such a girl, lovely and delicate.

Ah, Cypris likely possesses one of the younger
Graces!

As I beheld I anguished, but found no surfeit of
gazing.

women” in the *Odyssey* (13. 412). Heraclides Lembos (second century B.C.) talks of the exceptional esteem accorded to beauty at Sparta (fr. 2, *FHG* 3. 168=Athen. 13, 566a). Beauty contests are known to have occurred in several other places at festivals as “Kallisteia” in honour of the gods; see M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung* (Leipzig 1906), 57, 94, 336. But precisely for Sparta no Kallisteia are attested. Here perhaps athletic contests for girls are meant; for such contests Sparta was famous, and they accounted for the beauty of its girls (cp. Propert. 3. 14. 1 sq.; Ovid, *Epist.* 16. 149 sq.).

αὐτίκα τεθναίνην λεχέων ἐπιβήμενος Ἡροῦς·
 οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ κατ' Ὀλυμπον ἐφιμείρω θεὸς εἶναι 80
 ἡμετέστην παράκοιτιν ἔχων ἐνὶ δώμασιν Ἡρώ.
 εἰ δέ μοι οὐκ ἐπέοικε τετὴν ἱέρειαν ἀφάσσειν,
 τοίην μοι, Κυθήρεια, νέην παράκοιτιν ὀπάσσειν.¹
 Τοῖα μὲν ἠβέων τις ἐφώνεεν· ἄλλοθεν² ἄλλος
 ἔλκος ὑποκλέπτων ἐπεμήγατο κάλλει κούρης· 85
 αἰνοπαθὲς Λεῖανδρε, σὺ δ', ὡς ἴδες εὐκλέα κούρη,
 οὐκ ἔθελες κρυφίοισι κατατρύχειν φρένα κέντροις,
 ἀλλὰ πυριβλήτοισι δαμείς ἀδόκητον διστοῖς
 οὐκ ἔθελες ζῶειν περικαλλέος ἄμμορος Ἡροῦς.
 σὺν βλεφάρων δ' ἀκτίσιν ἀέξετο πυρρός Ἐρώτων 90
 καὶ κραδίη πάφλαζεν ἀνικητῶν πυρὸς ὄρμη—
 κάλλος γὰρ περίπυστον ἀμωμήτοιο γυναικὸς
 ὀξύτερον μερόπεσσι πέλει πτερόεντος διστοῦ·
 ὀφθαλμὸς δ' ὁδὸς ἐστίν· ἀπ' ὀφθαλμοῦ βολάων
 κάλλος³ ὀλισθαίνει καὶ ἐπὶ φρένας ἀνδρὸς ὀδεύει.— 95
 εἶλε δέ μιν τότε θάμβος, ἀναιδείη, τρόμος, αἰδώς·

¹ ὀπάσσειν mss., cp. Nonn. *D.* 33. 128, 42. 395, 47. 401: —as Ald. Lask. most modern editors.

² ἄλλοθεν mss., constr. cp. Aen. *Gaz. ep.* 1. 6 ss.: —οθε δ' hum. Zimmermann, cp. *Q. S.* 9. 176, 12. 197; —οτε δ' Ludwig, cp. *Achil. fr.* 7. 7 Diehl³ (a displaced δ' after ἔλκος 85 in PN Kost).

³ κάλλος mss. Schrader, cp. 92 s., *Pl. Phdr.* 251 b 1, *Ach. Tat.* 1. 4. 4: ἔλκος hum. Ald. Lask., cp. *Ov. Epist.* 16. 276, *Ach. Tat. ibidem*, *Mus.* 84 s.

^a Leander is addressed in "epic apostrophe" (86 and 301) as is, e.g., Menelaus (*Il.* 4. 146 etc.) and Eumaeus (*Od.* 14. 55, 165 etc.); see on v. 23, above.

^b The eye as the way Beauty enters the soul is described by

Instantly let me die, but first mount the bed of Hero!
 I would feel no desire to be a god in Olympus 80
 Had I but in my house Hero for my wife.
 But if it is not permitted to me to touch your
 priestess,
 Send me, O Cythereia, a young wife such as she."
 So said many a youth, and others from every side,
 Hiding the wound, raged maddened by the girl's
 beauty. 85
 But you, dread-suffering Leander,^a when you saw
 the glorious girl,
 You had no will to consume your heart with secret
 goadings,
 But vanquished, all unlooked-for, by the fire-smitten
 arrows
 You had no will to live in loss of lovely Hero.
 Under the glance of her eyes, love's firebrand grew
 fiercer 90
 And your heart seethed at the charge of indomitable
 fire—
 For the far-renowned beauty of woman without flaw
 Comes to mortal men keener than a winged arrow,
 And its pathway is the eye^b; out of the eye's
 glances
 Beauty glides, and journeys into the hearts of men— 95
 Then awe, shamelessness, tremor, shame seized him;

Plato (*Phaedr.* 250 d sq., 255 c). κάλλος (see on v. 56) leads to the *μανία* of *ἔρωτος* (249 d, cf. *Mus.* 84 sq.); this alone awakens the soul to true vision (250 b sq., cf. *Mus.* 142, 145, 240 sq.). This awakening of "love at first sight," in echo of Plato, is a stock erotic motif (*Achil. Tat.* 1. 4. 4; 1. 9. 4 etc.; see Rohde, *Roman* (1st ed.), 148 sq., and the Introduction, pages 310 sq.). The subsequent inner strife (*Mus.* 96 sq.) is described by Plato by the allegory of the soul as a charioteer and pair (*Phaedr.* 253 c sq., 254 b sq.).

ἔτρεμε μὲν κραδίην,¹ αἰδῶς δὲ μιν εἶχεν ἀλῶναι,
 θάμβεε δ' εἶδος ἄριστον, ἔρωσ δ' ἀπενόσφισεν αἰδῶ.
 θαρσαλέως δ' ὑπ' ἔρωτος ἀναιδείην ἀγαπάζων
 ἡρέμα ποσσὶν ἔβαινε, καὶ ἀντίος² ἴστατο κούρης· 100
 λοξὰ δ' ὀπιπέων δολερὰς ἐλέλιζεν ὀπωπὰς
 νεύμασιν ἀφθόγγοισι παραπλάζων φρένα κούρης.
 αὐτὴ δ', ὡς ξυνέηκε πόθον δολόεντα Λεάνδρου,
 χαίρειν ἐπ' ἀγλατήσῳ³· ἐν ἡσυχίῃ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ
 πολλάκις ἱμερόεσσαν εἶν ἐπέκρυψεν⁴ ὀπωπὴν 105
 νεύμασι λαθριδίοισιν ἐπαγγέλλουσα Λεάνδρω,
 καὶ πάλιν ἀντέκλιεν. ὁ δ' ἔνδοθι θυμὸν ἰάνθη,
 ὅττι πόθον ξυνέηκε καὶ οὐκ ἀπεσεῖσατο κούρη.
 "Ὀφρα μὲν οὖν Λεάνδρος ἐδίξετο λάθριον ὄρην,
 φέγγος ἀναστεῖλασα κατήιεν εἰς δύσιν Ἥως, 110
 ἐκ περάτης δ' ἀνέτελλε⁵ βαθύσκιος Ἔσπερος ἀστήρ.
 αὐτὰρ ὁ θαρσαλέως μετεκίαθεν ἐγγύθι κούρης,
 ὡς ἴδε κυανόπεπλον ἐπιθρῶσκουσαν ὀμίχλην·
 ἡρέμα δὲ θλίβων ῥοδοειδέα δάκτυλα κούρης
 βυσσόθεν ἐστεναχίζεν ἀθέσφατον. ἡ δὲ σιωπῆ 115

¹ κραδίην Franciscus, cp. 107, 167, Ach. Tat. 1. 4. 5: -ίη or -ίη mss. (καρδ- PN).

² ἀντίος hum. Dillthey, cp. II. P 31, Nonn. D. 36. 83: ἀντίον mss.

³ ἀγλατήσῳ mss., cp. 37, [Apoll.] met. ps. 96. 2 (cp. 218 note): ἀγγελήσῳ Ludwig.

⁴ ἐπέκρυψεν mss., cp. Nonn. D. 17. 346 (ms.), Pl. Phdr. 254 D 6: ἀπέκρυψεν B; ἐκρυψεν Hermann.

⁵ ἀνέτελλε hum. Lask. Röver Patzig, Nonn. has only this form: ἀνέτειλε mss.; -φηνε V¹ hum., -φαινε V² hum., -βαινε d'Arnaud.

He trembled at heart, and shame possessed him to be
 so conquered.
 He wondered at the surpassing form, and love
 drove out shame.
 And boldly at love's command embracing shame-
 lessness,
 Quietly he stepped forward and stood facing the girl; 100
 And peering sidelong, he darted quivering, con-
 spiring glances,
 With voiceless gestures turning astray the heart
 of the girl;
 But she, when she recognized Leander's ensnaring
 desire,
 Rejoiced in his splendid charms; and quietly she
 also
 Once and again bent on him her own love-quicken-
 ing gaze, 105
 With furtive gestures sending her message to
 Leander,
 And turned away again. And his heart glowed
 within him,
 That the girl knew his longing, and had not brushed it
 away.
 While then Leander was seeking the hour of secrecy,
 The day, furling her light, was going down to
 setting, 110
 And off the horizon rose deep-shadowed the evening
 star.
 But now full of boldness he came near to the girl,
 When he saw the darkness leaping on in deep blue
 robe,
 And gently pressing the rose-like fingers of the girl,
 Sighed inexpressibly from the depths of his heart;
 but she in silence, 115

οἰά τε χωρομένη ῥοδέην ἐξέσπασε χεῖρα.
 ὡς δ' ἐρατῆς ἐνόησε χαλῖφρονα νεύματα κούρης,
 θαρσαλέη¹ παλάμη πολυδαίδαλον εἴλκε χιτῶνα
 ἔσχατα τιμήντος ἄγων ἐπὶ κεύθεα νηοῦ.
 ὀκναλέαις² δὲ πόδεσσι ἐφέσπετο παρθένος Ἡρώ 120
 οἰά περ οὐκ ἐθέλουσα, τῶσπιν³ δ' ἀνενείκατο φωνῆν
 θηλυτέροις ἐπέεσσι ἀπειλείουσα Λεάνδρω·

“Ξεῖνε, τί μαργαίνεις; τί με, δύσμορε, παρθένον
 ἔλκεις;

ἄλλην δεῦρο κέλευθον,⁴ ἐμὸν δ' ἀπόλειπε χιτῶνα.
 μῆνιν ἐμῶν ἀπόειπε⁵ πολυκτεάνων γενετήρων· 125
 Κύπριδος οὐ σοι ἔοικε⁶ θεῆς ἰέρειαν ἀφάσσειν·
 παρθενικῆς ἐπὶ λέκτρον ἀμήχανόν ἐστιν ἰκέσθαι.”

Τοῖα μὲν ἠπειλήσεν ἑοικότα παρθενικῆσι.
 θηλείης δὲ Λεάνδρος ὄτ' ἔκλυεν οἴστρον ἀπειλήσας,
 ἔγνω πειθομένων σημήμια παρθενικάων— 130
 καὶ γὰρ ὄτ' ἠιθέοισιν ἀπειλήσασιν⁸ γυναῖκες,

¹ θαρσαλέη Wernicke, -η V hum., cp. 120, Nonn. D. 26. 75, 36. 224: -λέως MSS.

² ὀκναλέαις V hum. Lask.=Nonn. D. 32. 265, cp. 118: -λέως MSS.

³ τῶσπιν Imanuel Passow=Mosch. Eur. 134=Nonn. D. 6. 345=Coluth. 169, 265, 305, 329: τῶσπιν MSS.

⁴ κέλευθον MSS., cp. 175, Xenoph. B. 7. 1, Parm. B. 2. 4, Emp. B. 35. 15, 115. 8 Diels-Kranz⁷: κέλευσον Koechly; κάλεσον Patzig.

⁵ ἀπόειπε MSS. Leuzius Patzig, cp. Il. Γ 406 and Eustath. ad l. (ed. Rom. p. 430. 10 s.), Il. T 35 (cp. 18, 225, 244 notes): ἀλέεωε Heinrich, cp. Od. a 433 etc., Nonn. D. 4. 66, most modern editors; ἀπόλειπε hum. Teucher; ἀπόλειπε Jacobs.

⁶ οὐ σοι ἔοικε MSS., cp. Q. S. 2. 309, 5. 227 etc., Nonn. D. 41. 336, met. Jo. 6. 150, 18. 58: οὐκ ἐπέοικε Dillthey, cp. 82, 143.

⁷ ὄτ' hum. Lask., cp. Nonn. D. 35. 230: ὡς MSS.

⁸ ἀπειλήσασιν hum. T. G., cp. Nonn. D. 22. 292, 29. 84 s.:

Like one who is angry, drew away her rosy hand.
 But when he saw in the lovely girl the signs of
 yielding,

With bold hand he pulled at her richly broidered
 gown

Leading her into the farthest coverts of the lordly
 temple.

And on shy, tremulous feet the maiden Hero
 followed, 120

Like one who is unwilling, and she lifted her voice
 so,

Threatening Leander with words of the kind that
 women use:

“Stranger, what madness is this? Why, wretch, do
 you drag me, a maiden?

Come, seek you another way, and release my gown.
 Shun the wrath of my parents, rich in many posses-
 sions. 125

It is unfit you touch the priestess of the goddess
 Cypris,

It is beyond contrivance to come to the bed of a
 virgin.”

Such were the threats she uttered after the way of
 maidens.

But when Leander had heard the goad of her girlish
 threat,

He recognized the tokens of maidens as they sur-
 render; 130

For so it is that whenever women threaten youths

ἀπειλήσασιν B, (ἐπ-) εχθαίρουσι MSS.; ἀπειλείουσι hum. Lask. most modern editors; -λείουσι Ald.

Κυπριδίων δάρων ἀντάγγελοι εἰσιν ἀπειλαί—
παρθενικῆς δ' εὐδομον ἔυχροον αἰχένα κύσσας
τοῖον μῦθον ἔειπε πόθου βεβολημένος οἴστρω·

“Κύπρι φίλη μετὰ Κύπρι, Ἀθηναίη μετ'
Ἀθήνην—

οὐ γὰρ ἐπιχθονίησιν¹ ἴσθιν καλέω σε γυναιξίν,
ἀλλὰ σε θυγατέρεσσι Διὸς Κρονίωνος εἴσκω—,
ὄλβιος, ὅς σε φύτευσε, καὶ ὄλβιή, ἣ τέκε μήτηρ,
γαστήρ, ἣ σε λόχουσε, μακαρτάτη· ἀλλὰ λιτάων
ἡμετέρων ἐπάκουε, πόθου δ' οἴκτειρον ἀνάγκην·
Κύπριδος ὡς ἱέρεια μετέρχεο Κύπριδος ἔργα·
δεῦρ' ἴθι, μυστιπόλευε γαμήλια θεσμὰ θεαίνης·
παρθένον οὐκ ἐπέοικεν ὑποδρήσασιν Ἀφροδίτῃ,²
παρθενικαῖς οὐ Κύπρις ἰαίνεται. ἦν δ' ἐθελήσῃς
θεσμὰ θεῆς ἐρόντα καὶ ὄργια κεδνὰ δαῆναι,
ἕστι γάμος καὶ λέκτρα· σὺ δ', εἰ φιλέεις Κυθέρειαν,³

¹ ἐπιχθονίησιν Ald. Lask.: -νίης B³ hum. Passow; -νίων mss.

² Ἀφροδίτῃ hum. Ald., cp. Nonn. *D.* 48. 297: Ἀφροδίτην mss.; Κυθέρειν Ludwich (cp. 146 note).

³ Κυθέρειαν mss., cp. Hes. *Th.* 169, A. R. 1. 742, for the metre Christod. *A.P.* 2. 386: Ἀφροδίτην Papius Ludwich (metre; L. supposed the ends of ll. 143 and 146 to be interchanged).

^a Vv. 135 sq. The lover honours the beloved as a god (*Phaedr.* 251 A, 255 A). Leander's speech (135 sq.) is modelled on *Od.* 6. 149 sq. (see on v. 33). In addition there is a quotation from St. Luke's Gospel (Luke 11. 27 μακαρία ἡ κοιλία ἣ βαστάσασά σε said there to Jesus, cf. Luke 1. 42 said to Mary). The Gazaeans likewise quote Homer and the New Testament in the same sentence (see Seitz, *Schule von Gaza* (note a, page 300, above), p. 51).

^b Vv. 141 sq. Leander persuades Hero to resemble her

Threatening its very self is herald of Love's converse.
And kissing the maiden's throat, fragrant and fair
of skin,

He spoke these words, stricken with the stinging of
desire :

“ Dear Cypris next after Cypris, Athena next after
Athena—^a

For I will not call you equal of women who walk
the earth,

But liken you to the daughters of Zeus, Cronus'
son—

Happy is he who fathered you, happy the mother
who bore you,

Most blessed the womb that brought you to birth !
But give ear

To these my prayers, and take pity on desire's
necessity ;

Since you are Cypris' priestess, attend to the works
of Cypris.^b

Come, conduct the mystery, the marriage laws of
the goddess ;

It is not fitting a virgin attend on Aphrodite.

Cypris takes no pleasure in virgins ; if you are
willing

To learn the amorous laws of the goddess, and her
goodly rites,

Here is our couch, our wedding ; but you, if you
love Cythereia,

personal divinity, like the lover in the *Phaedrus* (253 B ; for the process of *πέθεω* cf. *Mus.* 130, 164 sq.). For this *Mus.* uses a stock erotic appeal formulated by Nonnus (*D.* 42. 371 sq.) and at the same time echoes a famous passage of Homer (*Il.* 5. 427). Love is a mystery (142, 145), just as in the *Phaedrus* (250 B sq., 254 B) the vision leads to the mystery of *ἔρω*s ; see more on v. 94.

θελεῖνων ἀγάπαζε μελίφρονα θεσμόν Ἐρώτων.
 σὸν δ' ἰκέτην με κόμιζε καί, ἦν ἐθέλης, παρακοίτην,
 τὸν σοι Ἔρωσ ἤγρευσε ἐοῖς βελέεσσι κιχῆσας,
 ὡς θρασὺν Ἡρακλῆα τοὸς χρυσόρραπις Ἑρμῆς
 θητεύειν ἐκόμισσε Ἰαρδανίῃ ποτὲ νύμφῃ.¹
 σοὶ δ' ἐμὲ Κύπρις ἐπεμφε, καὶ οὐ σοφὸς ἤγαγεν
 Ἑρμῆς.

παρθένος οὐ σε λέληθεν ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας Ἀταλάντη,
 ἣ ποτε Μειλανίωνος ἐρασσαμένου φύγεν εὐνήν
 παρθενίης ἀλέγουσα· χολωσαμένης δ' Ἀφροδίτης,
 τὸν πάρος οὐκ ἐπόθησεν, ἐνὶ κραδίῃ θέτο πάσῃ.
 πείθεο καὶ σύ, φίλη, μὴ Κύπριδι μῆνιν ἐγείρης.”

¹ Ἰαρδανίῃ (ἰορδανίῃ mss.) ποτὲ νύμφῃ (-ῃ mss.) mss. Koehly: ἰορδανίην ποτὲ νύμφην B, Ἰαρδανίην ποτὶ νύμφην Tzetzes hum. Ald. Lask.

² χολωσαμένης B hum. Ald. Lask. (χολωσαμ- V hum.), cp. *Il.* Γ 414 s., *Opp. H.* 3. 404 (after ἐρασσαμένην 3. 403, cp. *Mus.* 154): χολωομένης Patzig (Nonnus has only χολώομαι) most modern editors; χωμ- NP.

^a Vv. 150 sq. Mythological examples of persons who without any intention on their part, or contrary to their intentions, were subdued by Aphrodite; the “daughter of Iardanus” was Omphale, Queen of Lydia. At the command of Zeus Hermes sold Heracles to her to be her slave, as punishment for his theft of the Delphic tripod (*Apollod. Bibl.* 2. 6. 2 sq.; *Ach. Tat.* 2. 6. 1 sq.). The contrast between *ἔρωσ* and *σοφία* (152 sq.) also occurs in Procopius (*Decl.* 7. 50).

^b The Arcadian huntress Atalanta guarded her virginity. Already Euripides, in his *Meleager* (Fr. 530. 4 N.²), calls her a *Κύπριδος μίσσημα*. There were two main versions of the tale of how she was nevertheless finally caught by a man. According to the one which is used here by Musaeus the

Embrace the tender law of the heart-beguiling
 Loves,
 And gather me up, your suppliant, and if you will,
 your husband,
 Whom Love hunted down for you, overtaking me
 with his arrows,
 As Hermes the swift of the golden staff once brought
 the bold
 Heracles to be slave of the daughter of Iardanus.^a
 But Cypris sent me to you; shrewd Hermes brought
 me not.
 You have heard of Atalanta, the maid from Arcadia,^b
 Who on a time shunned the bed of Milanion, who
 loved her,
 Careful of her maidenhood; but Aphrodite in
 anger
 Put him in all her heart, whom first she did not
 desire.
 You too, beloved, yield; do not wake wrath in
 Cypris.”

Arcadian shepherd Meilanion served her in a self-sacrificing manner. He was famous for his *φιλοπονία* which was eventually successful (*Xen. Cyneq.* 1. 6; cp. *Ovid, Ars am.* 2. 187 sq.). The wrath of Aphrodite is not directly attested in connexion with this version. Also in the other, Boeotian, version Atalanta hates marriage (*Hes. Fr.* 73 sq. M.-W.). Her suitors had to engage in contests with her; if they failed they were killed. Hippomenes (*Tzetzes, Hist.* 12. 943 mistakenly talks of Hippomedon) while running let fall three golden apples, which Atalanta eagerly picked up and so lost the race (*Hes. loc. cit.*). Aphrodite had given him the apples and suggested the plan. Although in the Boeotian story Aphrodite's wrath is attested (*Apollod. Bibl.* 3. 9. 2; *Hygin. Fab.* 185; *Propert.* 1. 1. 9; *Ovid, Met.* 10. 681 sq.), Musaeus, despite *Tzetzes*, does not seem to follow this version here. For possible Hellenistic antecedents see *Kost*, 346 sq.

Ὡς εἰπὼν παρέπεισεν ἀναινομένην¹ φρένα κούρης
 θυμὸν ἐρωτοτόκοισι παραπλάγξας² ἐνὶ³ μύθοις.
 παρθευική δ' ἄφθογγος ἐπὶ χθόνα πῆξεν ὀπωπῆν 160
 αἰδοῖ ἐρευθιώωσαν ὑποκλέπτουσα παρεΐην,
 καὶ χθονὸς ἕξεσεν⁴ ἄκρον ὑπ' ἴχνεσιν, αἰδομένη δὲ
 πολλάκις ἀμφ' ὤμοισιν ἐὼν συνέεργε χιτῶνα—
 πειθοῦς γὰρ τάδε πάντα προάγγελα, παρθευικής δὲ
 πειθομένης ποτὶ λέκτρον ὑπόσχεσις ἐστὶ σιωπῆ—, 165
 ἤδη καὶ⁵ γλυκύπικρον ἐδέξατο κέντρον Ἐρώτων,
 θερμετο δὲ κραδίην γλυκερῶ πυρὶ παρθένος Ἑρώ,
 κάλλει δ' ἱμερόντος ἀνεπτοίγητο Λεάνδρου.
 ὄφρα μὲν οὖν ποτὶ γαίαν ἔχεν νεύουσαν ὀπωπῆν,
 τόφρα δὲ καὶ Λεϊάνδρος ἐρωμανέεσσι προσώποις 170
 οὐ κάμειν εἰσορόων ἀπαλόχροον αὐχένα κούρης.
 ὀψὲ δὲ Λεϊάνδρω γλυκερῆν ἀνενείκατο φωνὴν
 αἰδοῦς ὕγρον ἐρευθὸς ἀποστάζουσα⁶ προσώπου·
 "Ἔεινε, τεοῖς ἐπέεσσι τάχ' ἂν καὶ πέτρον⁷ ὀρίνας.

¹ ἀναινομένην mss., cp. Pl. *Phdr.* 253 c ss.: -μένης hum. Ald. Lask., cp. (Pl. N 788) Nonn. D. 24. 170, 35. 31 etc., most modern editors.

² παραπλάγξας (-άξας) mss., cp. *Od.* 7 187, *Opp. H.* 2. 236, *Mus.* 154, 155: -πλάζων Dilthey, cp. 102, Nonn. D. 14. 161, 42. 322.

³ ἐνὶ mss., cp. Nonn. D. 31. 280, A. R. 3. 549, Castiglioni: εὖ Koechly, cp. Nonn. D. 8. 369, 22. 322, *Mus.* 185, 210, 212.

⁴ ἕξεσεν V Schwabe, cp. Nonn. D. 47. 189, 34. 287: -ἔσειν mss. most modern editors.

⁵ καὶ BV, cp. 39, 201: δὲ καὶ PN; δὲ Koechly most modern editors.

⁶ ἀποστάζουσα (ὑπό- PNV) mss., cp. *Joh. Gaz.* 2. 301 (*Christod. A.P.* 2. 146), *Greg. Naz. carm.* 2. 2. 6. 77 (*P.G.* 37. 1548), *Aesch. Suppl.* 578, *Call. hy. Ap.* 39 Kost, Pl. *Phdr.* 251 v, 255 c: ἀπαντάζουσα Ludwig, cp. Nonn. D. 48. 319.

⁷ πέτρον hum.: -ραν mss.

• Vv. 160 sq. Love now awakens in Hero as it did in

So he spoke and persuaded the girl's heart, though
 denying,
 Leading her spirit astray with love-engendering
 words.
 Speechless, the maiden fixed her gaze upon the
 ground,^a 160
 Modestly abashed, hiding away her flushing cheek,
 And with her feet she smoothed the ground's surface,
 again
 And again chastely closing her gown about her
 shoulders;
 For these are all harbingers of compliance, and a
 girl's
 Silence, when she is won, is her promise to the couch
 of love. 165
 Now she too had felt the Loves' bitter-sweet sting,
 And the maiden Hero glowed in her heart with sweet
 fire,
 And trembled at the beauty of Leander, quickener
 of desire.
 So as she kept her eyes drooping toward the earth,
 Leander also the while, his countenance mad with
 love, 170
 Wearied not with gazing at the girl's soft-skinned
 throat.
 Then at last she lifted up her sweet voice to Leander,
 Letting fall slowly the moist blush of shame from
 her face:
 "Stranger, likely with your words you might rouse
 even a stone.
 Leander (86 sq.), just as in the *Phaedrus* (255 A sq.), where
 the beloved when he is treated like a god (see on v. 135)
 overcomes his shame and "possesses that counter-love which
 is the image of love" and "feels a desire like the lover's, yet
 not so strong" (255 D sq.).

τίς σε πολυπλανέων ἐπέων ἐδίδαξε κελεύθους; 176
 ἦμοι,¹ τίς σε κόμισσεν ἐμὴν εἰς πατρίδα γαίαν;
 ταῦτα δὲ πάντα μάτην ἐφθέγγασα· πῶς γὰρ ἀλήτης
 ξείνος ἐὼν καὶ ἄπιστος ἔμοι² φιλότῃτι μινεῖς;
 ἀμφαδὸν οὐ δυνάμεσθα γάμοις ὁσίοισι πελάσσαι·
 οὐ γὰρ ἐμοῖς τοκέεσσιν ἐπεύαδεν· ἦν δ' ἐβελήσῃς 180
 ὡς ξείνος πολύφοιτος ἐμὴν εἰς πατρίδα μίμνεν,
 οὐ δύνασαι σκοπέεσσαν ὑποκλέπτειν Ἀφροδίτῃν·
 γλώσσα γὰρ ἀνθρώπων φιλοκέρτομος, ἐν δὲ σιωπῇ
 ἔργον ὃ περ τελείει τις, ἐνὶ τριόδοισιν ἀκούει.
 εἰπέ δέ, μὴ κρύψῃς, τεὸν οὖνομα καὶ σεο πάτριν· 185
 οὐ γὰρ ἐμόν σε λέληθεν, ἔμοι³ δ' ὄνομα κλυτὸν
 Ἡρώ.

πύργος δ' ἀμφιβόητος ἐμὸς δόμος οὐρανομήκης,
 εἰ ἐνὶ ναιετάουσα σὺν ἀμφιπόλῳ τινὶ μούνη⁴
 Σησιτιάδος πρὸ πόλης ὑπὲρ βαθυκύμονας ὄχθας
 γείτονα πόντον ἔχω στυγεραῖς βουλῆσι τοκῆων. 190
 οὐδέ μοι ἐγγὺς ἔασιν ὀμήλικες, οὐδέ χορεῖαι
 ἠιθέων παρέασιν· αἶε δ' ἀνὰ νύκτα καὶ ἡῶ
 ἐξ ἀλὸς ἠνεμόφωνος ἐπιβρέμει οὐασιν ἠχῆ."

¹ ἦμοι Ludwich: αἶμοι mss.

² ἔμοι hum. van Herwerden, cp. *Il. Z* 165, *Od. τ* 266:
 ἐμῇ (-ῆ) mss. (cp. *Hom. Iy. Ven.* 150, where also this is
 an iotacism of the late mss. of the *corpus hymnorum*).

³ ἔμοι V = *Od. τ* 183, cp. *Mus.* 220: ἔχω mss.

⁴ μούνη mss., cp. *Od. ψ* 227: -νῆ PN Franciscus.

• Vv. 177 sq. As "a vagabond, a stranger and not to be trusted" Leander may not marry Hero against the will of her parents. Mus. here paraphrases the Canonical prohibition of the Church forbidding τέκνα τῶν κληρικῶν from marrying an ἐθνικός ἢ αἰρετικός (178 = ξείνος ἐὼν καὶ ἄπιστος); see Introduction, page 299.

Who was it taught you the paths of devious utter-
 ance? 175
 Alas, who was it brought you here to my fatherland?
 You have spoken all this vainly; for how could you,
 a vagabond,
 A stranger and not to be trusted,^a mingle in love
 with me?
 We cannot openly come into a righteous marriage,
 For it was not my parents' will; and if you should
 wish 180
 As a roaming alien to come and stay in my father-
 land,
 Yet you cannot conceal the love-goddess in darkness,
 For the tongue of men is loving of jibes; and that
 same deed
 That a man does in silence, he hears of in the cross-
 ways.
 But tell me, do not hide it, your name and your
 fatherland; 185
 Mine is no secret to you, my well-known name is
 Hero.
 My house is a tower high as the heavens, and the sea
 roars round it,
 And there I, making my home with a single maid-
 servant,
 At the edge of Sestos' city above the deep-waved
 shore,
 Have for my neighbour the sea, by my parents'
 hateful will. 190
 Neither are near me girls of my age, nor any dances
 Of youths at hand; but always throughout the night
 and the dawn,
 From the sea the wind-voiced sound thunders in my
 ears."

Ὡς φαιμένη ῥοδέην ὑπὸ φάρει κρύπτει παρειήν
 ἔμπαλιν αἰδομένη, σφετέρους δ' ἐπεμέμφετο μύθοις. 195
 Λείανδρος δὲ πόθου βεβωλημένος ὀξεί κέντρῳ
 φράζετο, πῶς κεν ἔρωτος ἀεθλεύσειεν ἀγῶνα—
 ἄνδρα γὰρ αἰολόμητις Ἔρως βελέεσσι δαμάσσας¹
 καὶ πάλιν ἀνέρος ἔλκος ἀκέσσειται². οἷσι δ' ἀνάσσει
 αὐτὸς ὁ πανδαμάτωρ βουληφόρος ἐστὶ βροτοῖσιν. 200
 αὐτὸς καὶ ποθέοντι τότε χραίσμησε Λεάνδρῳ—
 ὀψὲ δ' ἀλαστήσας πολυμήχανον ἔννεπε μῦθον·
 “Παρθένε, σὸν δι' ἔρωτα καὶ ἄγριον οἶδμα
 περήσω,
 εἰ πυρὶ παφλάζοιτο³ καὶ ἄπλοον ἔσσειται ὕδωρ.
 οὐ τρομέω βαρὺ χεῖμα⁴ τήν μετανεύμενος εὐνήν, 205
 οὐ βρόμον ἠχήμεντα περιπτώσσοιμι θαλάσσης·
 ἀλλ' αἰεὶ κατὰ νύκτα φορεύμενος ὑγρὸς ἀκοίτης
 νήξομαι Ἑλλησποντον ἀγάρροον· οὐχ ἔκαθεν γὰρ
 ἀντία σεῖο πόληος ἔχω πτολίεθρον Ἀβύδου.

¹ δαμάσ(σ)ας mss. Lask. Stephanus, constr., cp. 38 s., 211 s.: -ἀξεί B Ald. Graefe most modern editors.

² ἀκέσσειται mss., cp. Nonn. *D.* 29. 141 (34. 73); ἀκέσειται Graefe.

³ πυρὶ παφλάζοιτο mss., cp. Nonn. *D.* 24. 23, Mus. 91, 246 s. (probably one word, cp. 41, 213, Introduction, p. 314, note a): περιπαφλ- Ludwich (metre).

⁴ χεῖμα PNV Graefe, cp. Nonn. *D.* 4. 116, Schwabe: χεῖμα B mss. d'Arnaud, cp. Q. S. 5. 14, *A.P.* 7. 391. 1, Nonn. *D.* 39. 246; βαθὺ χεῖμα Koechly.

^a Vv. 198 sq. Ἔρως is a healer (Plato, *Phaedrus* 252 v, *Symposium* 189 d). At the same time Musaeus paraphrases, even in analogous verb-forms, the proverb “the injurer will also be the healer” (δὲ τρώσας (καὶ) ἰάσεται *Paroem. Gr.* 2. 763 L-Schn.), originally an oracle for Telephus, who had been wounded by Achilles and had to be healed by the same

Thus she spoke and hid her rosy face in her mantle,
 Filled once more with shame, and angry at her own
 words. 195
 But Leander, stricken through with the keen goad of
 desire,
 Was taking heed how he might win the struggle of
 love;
 For devious-minded Love, having conquered a man
 with his shafts,
 Will cure the man's wound again^a; and for those
 to whom he is lord
 He himself the all-conqueror is councillor for
 mortals^b; 200
 He himself then also helped Leander in his yearning.
 And at last, after distraction, he spoke words full
 of contrivance:
 “Maiden, for the sake of your love I will cross even
 the wild surges,
 Even should they seethe with fire, and the water be
 closed to ships.
 I fear no heavy storm, journeying to your bed, 205
 I would not cringe before the resounding crash of
 the sea;
 But always by night, I your husband, wet and sea-
 tossed,
 Will swim the strong-flowing Hellespont; for not far
 off
 Opposite your city is mine, the city of Abydos.

weapon (Schol. Aristoph. *Nub.* 919; Hygin. *Fab.* 101; Apollod. *Epit.* 3. 19 sq.); this proverb is often used in erotic connections; see Kost 393 sq.

^b Vv. 200 sq. αὐτός, here repeated, is an echo of the famous, much imitated line of Callimachus (fr. 67. 1) αὐτὸς Ἔρως ἐδίδαξεν Ἀκόντιον (see on v. 22); cf. also Plato, *Symp.* 179 A 7.

μoδovov ἐμοὶ ἔνα¹ λύχνov ἀπ' ἠλιβάτου σεὸ πύργου 210
 ἐκ περάτης ἀνάφαινε κατὰ κνέφας, ὄφρα νοήσας
 ἔσσομαι ὀλκὰς Ἐρωτος ἔχων σέθεν ἀστέρα λύχνov,
 καὶ μιν ὀπιπεύων, οὐκ ὀψεδύοντα² Βοώτην,
 οὐ θρασὺν Ὀρίωνα καὶ ἄβροχov ὀλκὸν Ἀμάξης,
 πατρίδος³ ἀντιπόροιο ποτὶ γλυκὺν ὄρμον ἰκοίμην. 215
 ἀλλὰ, φίλη, πεφύλαξο βαρυπνεύοντα⁴ ἀήτας,
 μὴ μιν ἀποσβέσσωσι—καὶ αὐτίκα θυμὸν ὀλέσσω—,
 λύχνov, ἐμοῦ βιότοιο φασφόρον ἡγεμονῆα.⁵
 εἰ ἔτεόν δ'⁶ ἐθέλεις ἐμὸν οὔνομα καὶ σὺ δαῖναι,
 οὔνομά μοι Λεῖανδρος, ἐυστεφάνου πόσις Ἡροῦς.⁷ 220
 Ὡς οἱ μὲν κρυφίῳσι γάμοις συνέθεντο μιγῆναι,
 καὶ νυχίην φιλότητα καὶ ἀγγελίην ὑμεναίων
 λύχνov μαρτυρήσῃσι ἐπιστώσαντο φυλάσσειν,
 ἣ μὲν φῶς ταυῦειν, ὁ δὲ κύματα μακρὰ περιῆσαι.

¹ ἔνα mss., cp. for the hiatus *Il.* Ψ 6, O 710, *Od.* μ 154 etc., for the expression *Hom. hy. Merc.* 284, *Od.* ψ 227, *Nonn. D.* 31. 280 s., *Mus.* 18, 64: τῶα Lennep most modern editors.

² ὀψεδύοντα taken for a compositum (metre) as Paul. *Sil. H.S.* 854 (Friedländer), ὀψέ δύνοντα Canter, cp. *Od.* ε 272: ὀψομαι δύντα mss.

³ πατρίδος mss.: Κύπριδος Dilthey.

⁴ βαρυπνεύοντα mss., cp. 309: βαρὺ πνεύοντα V hum. Lask. Dindorf Schwabe.

⁵ ἡγεμονῆα mss., cp. 25, [Apoll.] *met. ps.* 131. 35 (cp. 104 note): ἡμοχῆα Dilthey, cp. *Nonn. D.* 24. 267.

⁶ εἰ ἔτεόν δ' mss. Graefe, cp. *Nonn. D.* 7. 178 etc., *Mus.* 90, 104, 338 for the position of δέ, for the (Homeric) hiatus Keydell, *Nonnus*, p. 41*: εἰ δ' ἔτεόν γ' Wakefield; εἰ ἔτεόν γ' Passow, cp. *Od.* π 300, ω 259; εἰ δ' ἔτεώς Zimmermann.

⁷ Vv. 212 sq. Leander sets his own "guiding star," the lamp, in direct contrast to the stars by which Odysseus guided
372

Only, light me a single lamp from your lofty tower 210
 Off the horizon through the dark, that when I see it
 I shall become Love's vessel, with a star from you,
 your lamp,^a
 And keeping my watch on that, not on late-setting
 Boötes,
 Nor bold Orion, nor the track of the Wain untouched
 by the sea,
 Let me come to sweet haven in your land on the
 farther shore. 215
 But, beloved, have a care of the heavily blowing
 winds,
 Lest they should quench the lamp, and I forthwith
 should lose
 My life—your lamp, light-bearing conductor of my
 existence.
 And if you also truly desire to know my name,
 Leander is my name, husband of fair-crowned
 Hero.^b 220
 Thus they made their compact to join in secret union,
 And pledged their nightly love and the tidings of
 their bridals
 In trust to the witnessing of the lamp, to watch over,
 She to stretch forth the lamp, and he to cross the
 long waves.

himself; there is an explicit allusion to *Od.* 5. 272 sq. See on v. 319. Aratus too (584 sq.) cited the line about the late setting of Boötes, which occurs in autumn from the end of September to the end of October. This would be the time, therefore, at which the storm in the *Odyssey* occurred, and likewise the storm in prospect of which Leander refused to feel afraid (205, 300 sq.).

^a ἐυστεφάνος is a standard epithet of goddesses, especially of Aphrodite (*Od.* 8. 267; *Hom. Hym. Ven.* 6, 175, 287; *Hes. Theog.* 196). Hero is a second Aphrodite (33, 68, 135).

παννυχίδας δ' ἀνέσαντες¹ ἀκοιμήτων ὑμεναίων
 225 ἀλλήλων ἀέκοντες ἐνοσφίσθησαν ἀνάγκη,
 ἣ μὲν ἔδν² ποτὶ πύργον, ὃ δ' ὄρφναίην ἀνὰ νύκτα.
 μηδὲ³ παραπλάζοιτο, λαβῶν⁴ σημήια πύργου
 πλῶε βαθυκρήτιδος ἐπ' εὐρέα δῆμον Ἀβύδου.
 παννυχίων δ' ὄρων κρυφίους ποθέοντες ἀέθλους
 230 πολλάκις ἠρήσαντο μολεῖν θαλαμηπόλον ὄρφνην.
 Ἦδη κυανόπεπλος ἀνέδραμε νυκτὸς ὀμίχλη
 ἀνδράσιν ὕπνον ἄγουσα καὶ οὐ ποθέοντι Λεάνδρω.
 ἀλλὰ πολυφλοίσβοιο παρ' ἠιόνεσσι θαλάσσης
 235 ἀγγελίην ἀνέμιμνε φαεινομένην⁵ ὑμεναίων
 μαρτυρίην λύχνου πολυκλαύτοιο δοκεύων
 εὐνήης δὲ κρυφίης τηλέσκοπον ἀγγελιώτην.
 ὡς δ' ἶδε κυανῆς λιποφεγγέα νυκτὸς ὀμίχλην,
 Ἦρῶ λύχνον ἔφαινε. ἀναπτομένοιοι δὲ λύχνου
 240 θυμὸν Ἔρωσ ἔφλεξεν ἐπειγομένοιοι Λεάνδρου.

¹ ἀνέσαντες B Koechly Ludwich (*Rh. M.* 69 [1914], 569 s.), cp. *H.* N 657, Ξ 209 and Eustath., ad l. (ed. Rom. pp. 952. 59, 979. 5 s.), Apollon. *Soph.* 32. 13: ἀνύσαντες mss.; ἀναθέτες Rohde; ὀμόσαντες Schwabe; ὀρίσαντες Ludwich earlier.

² ἔδν mss., cp. 260: ἔβη Schwabe, cp. 259.
³ μηδὲ (μήδε) B, μή δὲ hum., cp. *Od.* θ 414, π 372, σ 147 etc., *Triph.* 150 etc.: μή FN; μή τι V most modern editors (with stop before ε δ' or ἣ μὲν in 227).

⁴ λαβῶν (*Z.* XVIIth cent.) Bergler; for the nautical expression cp. Naum. 1. 41, 6. 39 (ed. Dain), Giangrande: βαλῶν mss., with πύργω (B's reading), cp. Naum. 3. 2 and Nonn. *D.* 14. 165, 37. 601, 48. 126 etc., Giangrande; λαθῶν V.

⁵ φαεινομένην (φαεινο-) Nodell (φαεινο-) Passow, cp. 237 and 210 s., 230 s., 276 ss., 282 ss.: -ων mss., cp. φαεινοτέρους ὑμεναίους Nonn. *D.* 5. 562, Schwabe.

^a Vv. 233 sq. Leander feels the same emotions as Plato's

Then pressing each other to night-long festals of
 225 sleepless wedlock,
 Unwillingly, but of need, they parted from one
 another,
 She up to her tower, and he through darkness of
 night.
 Lest he should wander astray, he took the tower's
 landmark
 And swam to the wide region of deep-founded
 Abydos.
 And yearning for the secret bouts of night-long
 conversings
 230 Often they prayed for the dark, their bridal atten-
 dant, to come.
 And now the gloom of the night, in darkling robe,
 arose,
 Bringing sleep to men, but not to yearning Leander.^a
 But all along the shores of the sea with its great
 foaming,
 He was awaiting the gleaming signal, tiding of
 235 spousal,
 Watching for the testimony of the much lamented
 lamp,
 And the messenger seen from afar of the secret
 marriage-bed.
 But when she saw light fading in the gloom of dark-
 hued night
 Hero lit the lamp; and when the lamp was illumined,
 Love fired the spirit of the hastening Leander; 240
 lover when parted from his beloved (*Phaedr.* 251 π). His
 racing mind cannot sleep at night for remembering the *καλός*
 and he runs, his soul *ποθοῦσα* (*Mus.* 230, 233), to the places
 where he expects to see him who has *κάλλος*, and only when
 he sees him again (here the light of the lamp, 239 sq.) he
 recovers (243 sq.).

λύχνῳ καιομένῳ συγκαίετο· πὰρ δὲ θαλάσῃ
 μαινομένων ῥοθίων πολυηχέα βόμβον ἀκούων
 ἔτρεμε μὲν τὸ πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δὲ θάρσος αἰέρας
 τοίοις ἦν¹ προσέλεκτο² παρηγορέων φρένα μύθοις·

“ Δεινὸς Ἔρωσ, καὶ πόντος ἀμείλικος· ἀλλὰ θα-
 λάσσης
 ἐστὶν ὕδωρ, τὸ δ’ Ἔρωτος ἐμὲ φλέγει ἐνδόμυχον
 πῦρ.”

λάξεο³ πῦρ, κραδίη, μὴ δειδιθι νήχυντον ὕδωρ.
 δευρό μοι εἰς φιλότητα· τί δὴ ῥοθίων ἀλεγίζεις;
 ἀγνώσσεις, ὅτι Κύπρις ἀπόσπορος ἐστὶ θαλάσσης,
 καὶ κρατεῖ πόντοιο καὶ ἡμετέρων ὀδυνάων;”

Ὡς εἰπὼν μελέων ἐρατῶν ἀπεδύσατο πέπλα
 ἀμφοτέραις παλάμῃσιν, ἐὼ δ’ ἔσφιγξε καρῆνῳ,
 ἠϊόνος δ’ ἔξ ὤρτο,⁴ δέμας δ’ ἔρριψε θαλάσῃ.
 λαμπομένου δ’ ἔσπενδεν αἰεὶ κατεναντία λύχνου
 αὐτὸς ἐὼν ἐρέτης, αὐτόστολος, αὐτόματος⁵ νηὺς.

Ἦρώ δ’ ἠλιβάτοιο φασσφόρος ὑψόθι πύργου,
 λεπταλέαις αὐρησιν ὄθεν πνεύσειεν ἀήτης,

¹ τοίοις ἦν T. G., cp. *Od.* ε 355, α 5, constr. cp. A. R. 4. 833: τοίοιαι mss.; -οισιν Hilberg; -οις οἱ Ludwich.

² προσέλεκτο B, cp. *Od.* μ 24 and Eustath. ad l. (ed. Rom. p. 1706. 11 s.); προσλέ-προλέ- mss.

³ λάξεο mss., cp. 167, 204, *A.P.* 12. 132. 11 s., *A.P.* 6. 190. 1, Giangrande: ἄξεο Graefe, most modern editors.

⁴ ἔξ ὤρτο (ἐξώρτο mss.), cp. A. R. 1. 306 (Fränkel): ἐξάλτο Ludwich.

⁵ αὐτόματος mss., cp. 327 and Eustath. ad *Il.* E 749 (ed. Rom. p. 604. 43 ss.) (Keydell αὐτὸς στόλος, αὐτόματος masc.); αὐτομάτη Dilthey with Tiedke's assent (metre)=Nonn. *met.* Jo. 6. 83, cp. Antip. Thess. *A.P.* 7. 637. 4.

^a Vv. 244 sq. Leander arouses “his own heart” before the swim as Odysseus does in the water (*Od.* 5. 355 sq., 376 sq.).

^b Cypris-Aphrodite is Οὐρανίη and Θαλασσαίη (see on

He burned with the burning lamp; and now beside
 the sea,

Hearing the far echoing thunder of the raying surf
 He trembled at first, but then raising his courage up
 Spoke in such words as these, comforting his own
 heart^a:

“ Dread is love, and the sea implacable; yet is the
 water

The sea's, while the fire of love, lurking within,
 consumes me.

Seize the fire, my heart, fear not the full-flowing
 water.

Come then, forth to love! What care you for the
 surge?

Do you not know that Cypris is offspring of the sea,
 And is mistress over the deep and over our suffer-
 ings?^b”

Thus he spoke, and stripped the clothes from his
 lovely limbs

With both his hands and knotted them up around
 his head,^c

Rushed from the strand and flung his body into the
 sea.

Always he strove in his course straight on for the
 flaring lamp,

His own oarsman, his own escort, himself his ship.

Hero bearing the light high on her lofty tower,
 From wherever the wind might blow with its subtle
 breathings

v. 31, 40, 320). She is summoned as Εὐπλοία, Ποντία, Λιμενία before sea-voyages or in rough seas (*A.P.* 5. 11; 5. 17; 9. 143 sq. etc.).

^c Vv. 252 sq. Leander ties his clothing above his head before swimming like Odysseus (*Od.* 14. 349 sq.).

φάρεϊ πολλάκι λύχνον ἐπέσκεπεν, εἰσόκε Σηστοῦ
 πολλά καμῶν Λεϊάνδρος ἔβη ποτὶ ναύλοχον ἀκτῆν.
 καὶ μιν ἔον ποτὶ πύργον ἀνήγαγεν· ἐκ δὲ θυράων 280
 νυμφίον ἀσθμαίνοντα περιπτύξασα σιωπῇ
 ἀφροκόμους ραθάμυγγας ἔτι στάζοντα θαλάσσης
 ἤγαγε νυμφοκόμοιο μυχοῦς ἐπι παρθενεῶνος·
 καὶ χροά πάντα κάθηρε, δέμας δ' ἔχρισεν¹ ἐλαίω
 εὐόδμω ροδέω, καὶ ἀλίπνοον ἔσβεσεν ὀδμῆν.
 εἰσέτι δ' ἀσθμαίνοντα βαθυστρώτοις ἐνὶ λέκτροις
 νυμφίον ἀμφιχυθεῖσα φιλήνορας ἴαχε μύθους·
 "Νυμφίε, πολλὰ μόγησας, ἂ μὴ πάθε νυμφίος
 ἄλλος,
 νυμφίε, πολλὰ μόγησας· ἄλις νύ τοι ἀλμυρὸν ὕδωρ
 ὀδμῆ τ'² ἰχθυόεσσα βαρυγδούποιο θαλάσσης·
 δεῦρο, τοσοῦ ἰδρώτας ἐμοῖς ἐνικάτθεο κόλποις."
 "Ὡς ἢ μὲν τὰδ' ἔειπεν,³ ὁ δ' αὐτίκα λύσατο μίτρην,
 καὶ θεσμῶν ἐπέβησαν ἀριστονόου⁴ Κυthereίης.

¹ ἔχρισεν anon. conj. in Pareus, cp. *Od.* γ 466, κ 364, 450 etc.; ἔχρισεν MSS., cp. *Il.* Ψ 186 etc.

² τ' Ald.: δ' MSS.

³ τὰδ' ἔειπεν Wernicke, cp. Nonn. *D.* 5. 366, *met. Jo.* 13. 100, 18. 1, τὰδε εἶπεν V: τ(οι)αῦτ' ἔειπεν PN, ταῦθ' εἶπεν B; προσέπεισεν Schwabe; παρέπεισεν or (*Rh. M.* 69 [1914], 570) προέπεισεν cp. Nonn. *met. Jo.* 11. 131, Ludwig; τὸν τοῖα μὲν εἶπεν, cp. Zimmermann.

⁴ ἀριστονόου MSS., cp. Nonn. *met. Jo.* 19. 183: ἀ(μ)ερων- Lehrs, cp. Nonn. *D.* 33. 67, *met. Jo.* 8. 125; ἀπιστων- or ἀλιτρον- Rohde; ἀρεσσων- Dilthey; ἀκεσαιπόνου Schwabe; ἀριστοπόνου Ludwig, cp. *A.P.* 9. 466. 2.

^a Vv. 268 sq. Leander is twice greeted with the words πολλὰ μόγησας almost exactly as Odysseus describes himself to Nausicaa (*Od.* 5. 449, cf. 5. 223).

^b The θεσμά of Aphrodite have already been described as

Sheltered often the lamp with her cloak, until
 Leander
 With hard toil came to Sestos' beach, the haven of
 ships.
 And she led him up to her tower, and there, before
 the portals 260
 Silently folding her arms around her panting bride-
 groom,
 While still he was dripping the foaming drops of the
 sea,
 Led him to the deep recesses of her maiden's bridal
 chamber,
 And purified all his skin, and anointed his body with
 oil
 Sweetly scented with rose, and quenched the smell
 of the sea. 265
 And while he still breathed hard on the bed of deep
 coverlets
 Closely embracing her bridegroom she cried these
 loving words:
 "Bridegroom, heavy toiler,^a as no other bridegroom
 has suffered,
 Bridegroom, heavy toiler, enough now of briny
 water
 And the smell of fish from the sea with its heavy
 thunderings, 270
 Here on my breasts repose the sweat of your
 labouring."
 Thus she spoke these words, and forthwith he loosed
 her girdle,
 And they entered into the rites of most wise
 Cythereia.^b

mysteries (142 sq.); on the allegories of "Silence" and "Night" (280 sq.) see Introduction, page 322.

ἦν γάμος, ἀλλ' ἀχόρευτος· ἔην λέχος, ἀλλ' ἄτερ
ὑμνων·

οὐ Ζυγίην Ἥρην τις ἐπευφήμησεν αἰείδων,
οὐ δαίδων ἤστραψε σέλας θαλαμηπόλον εὐνή,¹
οὐδὲ πολυσκάρθμῳ τις ἐπεσκίρτησε χορείῃ,
οὐχ ὑμέναιον αἶεσε² πατήρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ·
ἀλλὰ λέχος στορέσασα τελεσσιγάμοισιν ἐν ὥραις
Ζυγίη παστὸν ἔπηξεν, ἐνυμφοκόμησε δ' Ὀμίχλη,
καὶ γάμος ἦν ἀπάνευθεν αἰδομένων ὑμεναίων.
Νυξ μὲν ἔην κείνοισι γαμοστόλος, οὐδέ ποτ' Ἡὼς
νυμφίον εἶδε Λεάνδρον ἀριγνώτοισ ἐνὶ λέκτροις·
νήχετο δ' ἀντιπόροιο πάλιν ποτὶ δῆμον Ἀβύδου
ἐννυχίων ἀκόρητος ἔτι πνείων ὑμεναίων.
Ἥρῳ δ' ἔλκεσιπέπλος εἶους λήθουσα τοκῆας³
παρθένος ἡματιή, νυχίη γυνή. ἀμφότεροι δὲ
πολλάκις ἠρήσαντο κατελθέμεν⁴ εἰς δύσιν Ἡῶ.

¹ εὐνή Graefe, cp. Nonn. *D.* 45. 87 : -νήν mss.

² αἶεσε Ald. Lask., cp. *Od.* φ 411 : αἶεδε mss. most modern editors.

³ λήθουσα τοκῆας mss., cp. *Il.* Ξ 296, *A.P.* 9. 381. 11, constr. cp. 54 : either λήθεσκε (cp. *Il.* Ω 13) or lac. after 286 Graefe.

⁴ κατελθέμεν hum. Ald. Lask. schol. κατελθεῖν, cp. Nonn. *D.* 42. 52, Mus. 231 : κατελκέμεν (μεθ- V) mss.

^a Vv. 274 sq. Partly using the same words, a similar enumeration of all that was missing of the customary rituals of marriage is found on a grave-epigram by Antonius Thallus for a bride who died on her wedding-day (Garland of Philip, about A.D. 10, *A.P.* 7. 188). For the quotation of the paradoxa from St. Gregory Nazianzenus' *Carm.* 1. 1. 2. 62 sq. (*P.G.* 36. 406) see Introduction, pages 321 sq.

^b Ἥρη Ζυγίη (cf. Ap. Rhod. 4. 96 ; *A.P.* 7. 188. 4), else-

Wedding it was, but without a dance ; bedding, but
hymnless.^a

None glorified in song Hera the union-maker,^b 275
Nor did the attendant gleam of torches flash on the
bed

Nor was there any who gambolled and sprang in
leaping dance,

Nor father nor lady-mother intoned the hymenaeal ;
But laying ready the couch in the hour of consum-
mation

Silence made fast the bed ; Gloom was the bride's
attendant, 280

And it was a marriage afar from the singing of
hymenaeals.

Night was their wedding's furnisher-forth, nor did
ever Dawn

Behold the bridegroom Leander in the well-known
marriage-bed ;

But he swam back to the town of Abydos on the
other shore

Still breathing unsated desire for the night's
embraces. 285

Hero of the trailing robes, in secrecy from her
parents,^c

Was maiden by-day, by night a wife ; and both
lovers

Prayed again and again for the day to go down to
setting.

where usually called *Τελεία*, is protectress of marriage ; cf. M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der Griech. Rel.* 429 sq.

^c Hero unites herself with Leander εἶους λήθουσα τοκῆας just like Hera and Zeus in the *Iliad* (14. 296) φίλους λήθοντε τοκῆας. This line is cited also in the *Cento Homericus*, *A.P.* 9. 381. 11 for the same " secret union " ; see Introduction, page 307, note b, and page 322.

Ὡς οἱ μὲν φιλότῃτος ὑποκλέπτοντες ἀνάγκην
 κρυπταδίῃ τέρποντο μετ' ἀλλήλων Κυθερείῃ. 290
 ἀλλ' ὀλίγον ζώεσκον ἐπὶ χρόνον, οὐδ' ἐπὶ δηρὸν
 ἀγρύπνων ἀπόναντο πολυπλάγκτων ὑμεναίων,
 καὶ τότε¹ παχρήντος ἐπήλυθε χείματος ὦρη
 φρικαλέας δονέουσα πολυστροφάλλυγας ἀέλλας,
 βένθεα δ' ἀστήρικτα καὶ ὑγρὰ θέμεθλα θαλάσσης 295
 χειμέριοι² πνείοντες ἀεὶ στυφέλιζον ἀῆται
 λαίλαπι μαστίζοντες ὄλην ἄλα τυπτομένης³ δὲ
 ἤδη νῆα μέλαιναν ἐφείλκυσε⁴ διψάδι⁵ χέρσω
 χειμερίην καὶ ἄπιστον ἀλυσκάζων ἄλα ναύτης.
 ἀλλ' οὐ χειμερίης σὲ φόβος κατέρυκε θαλάσσης, 300
 καρτερόθυμε Λεάνδρε, διακτορήν δὲ σὲ πύργου⁶
 ἠθάδα σημαίνουσα φαεσφορίην ὑμεναίων
 μαυομένης ὠτρυνεν ἀφειδήσαντα θαλάσσης,
 νηλεῆς καὶ ἄπιστος. ὄφελλε δὲ δύσμορος Ἴηρὼ
 χείματος ἰσταμένιοιο μένειν ἀπάνευθε Λεάνδρου 305
 μηκέτ' ἀναπτομένη μιννώριον ἀστέρα λέκτρων·
 ἀλλὰ πόθος καὶ μοῖρα βιήσατο· θελγομένη δὲ

¹ καὶ τότε Schwabe, cp. Nonn. *met. Jo.* 10. 81, *D.* 4. 207 etc.: ἀλλ' ὅτε mss.

² χειμέριοι mss., cp. 13, 299, 310, Nonn. *D.* 47. 361 s.: -μέριον d'Orville, cp. 13, 88, 311.

³ τυπτομένης (-νῆ V) mss., cp. 61: lac. after 297 Koechly; -μένη d'Orville.

⁴ ἐφείλκυσε (ἐπέλκ-) Brunck (ἐφέλκ-) d'Arnaud (ἐφείλκ-) Dilthey, cp. 118): ἐπέκλυσε(ν) mss., ἀπ- hum. Lask.; ἀπέκλασε Ald.; ἀνέκλυσε d'Orville Lennep.

⁵ διψάδι Mazzarella-Farao Brunck Schwabe, cp. Nonn. *D.* 16. 373, *met. Jo.* 21. 55 etc.: διχθάδι mss. (-χάδι V) some editors; ἠθάδι Lennep, cp. 302.

⁶ πύργου B Ald., cp. 210, 228, 256: λύχου mss. Lask., cp. 6, 223, 236.

And so they, concealing the compelling need of their
 love,
 Joyed with one another in their secret goddess of
 love. 290
 But they lived only a little time, nor did they long
 Enjoy the sleepless marriage that cost much journey-
 ing. 290
 Then indeed the season of frosty winter came on,
 Driving along the shuddering blasts in whirl on
 whirl;
 The abysses were dislodged, and the wintry gales
 with their blowing 295
 Steadily battered the sodden foundations of the
 sea,
 With whirlwind scourging the whole brine; and the
 mariner
 From its beaten flood already had drawn up his black
 ship
 To dry land, shunning a wintry sea, not to be
 trusted.
 But fear of the sea in winter storm did not restrain
 you, 300
 Brave-hearted Leander; the ministry of the tower,
 Signalling the familiar uplifted light of spousal,
 Spurred you on unsparing, reckless of the maddened
 sea.
 Pitiless light that failed your trust! Would that
 hapless Hero
 Once winter was begun had remained far from
 Leander, 305
 No longer lighting the short-lived star of the bed of
 love.
 But yearning and fate forced her on; and in her
 beguilement

Μοιράων ἀνέφαινε καὶ οὐκέτι δαλὸν Ἐρώτων.

Νύξ ἦν. εὔτε μάλιστα βαρυννείοντες¹ ἀῆται
 χειμερίαις πνοιῆσιν ἀκοντίζοντες ἀέλλας²
 310 ἀθρόον ἐμπίπτουσαν ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης,
 δὴ τότε καὶ³ Λεῖανδρος ἐθήμονος ἐλπίδι νύμφης
 δυσκελάδων πεφόρητο θαλασσαίων ἐπὶ νώτων.
 ἤδη κύματι κύμα κυλίνδετο, σύγχυτο δ' ὕδωρ,
 αἰθέρι μίσηγοτο πόντος, ἀνέγρετο πάντοθεν ἠχὴ
 315 μαρναμένων ἀνέμων· Ζεφύρω δ' ἀντέπνεεν Εὐρος,
 καὶ Νότος εἰς Βορέην μεγάλας ἐφέηκεν⁴ ἀπειλάς·
 καὶ κτύπος ἦν ἀλίσστος ἐρισμαράγοιο θαλάσσης.
 αἰνοπαθῆς δὲ Λεάνδρος ἀκηλήτοις ἐνὶ δύναις
 319 Ἄτθιδος οὐ Βορέην ἀμνήμονα κάλλιπε νύμφης⁵.
 322 πολλάκι μὲν λιτάνευε Θαλασσαίην Ἀφροδίτην,
 320

¹ βαρυννείοντες mss., cp. 216: βαρὺ πνείοντες V Lask. Schwabe.

² ἀέλλας (V likely reading) Dilthey (ἀέλας hum.), cp. Nonn. *D.* 11. 436 s., 32. 153 s., 39. 377 s. etc., Mus. 294, 297, *Il.* N 334 with Eustath. ad l. (ed. Rom. p. 935. 19 s.): ἀήτας mss., ἀῆται hum. Ald. Lask.; ἰωὸς hum. Ludwig, cp. *Il.* A 307 s.; ἀπειλάς Graefe; ἐς ἀκτάς or ἀλήτας or ἰωάκας Ludwig; ἀντῶς Zimmermann, cp. *Q.* S. 13. 329.

³ δὴ τότε καὶ V, cp. Call. *hym.* 4. 307, Giangrande: δὴ τότε mss. (with the addition of *περ* after Λεῖανδρος B Ald. Lask.); καὶ τότε δὴ Koechly, cp. *Il.* A 92, *Od.* ω 147, 149; δὴ τότε δὴ M. L. West and T. G. (*Bemerkungen* 20), cp. Nonn. *D.* 22. 299, Orph. *A.* 1270 (codd.), Opp. *C.* 2. 271, *Q.* S. 10. 224 (cod. V, vulg.), but cp. Call.

⁴ ἐφέηκεν BP: ἀφ- NV.

⁵ Transposition T. G.: 319-321 put after 328 P, 319-320 missing and 321 put after 328 N¹.

^a The three Moirai, Klotho, Lachesis and Atropos (already in Hes. *Theog.* 904 sq.) are according to Plato (*Rep.* 617 b sq.) daughters of Ananke (cf. Mus. 289, 307). The wedding-torch becomes the torch of death, a stock motif in erotic literature (cp. Ach. *Tat.* 1. 13. 6; Ovid, *Epist.* 21. 174 etc.)

She showed forth the torch of the Fates,^a no longer
the Loves'.

Night came down. When most the heavily blowing
winds,

Hurling their blasts like javelins with stormy
breathing,

All together descend on the surf-edge of the sea,

Then, then also Leander, in hope of his accustomed
bride,

Was borne on the back of the fiercely shrieking sea.

Now wave wallowed on wave, the water was all
turmoiled,

Sea mingled with upper air, and everywhere rose the
sound

Of warring winds^b; Eurus blew hard against
Zephyrus,

And Notus hurled mighty menacings against Boreas,
And the din was unrelenting of the loud-thundering
sea.

Leander, dire suffering in the inexorable coils,^c

Left not Boreas unmindful of the maid of Attica^d;

Once and again he prayed to sea-born Aphrodite,^e

and in funeral epigrams (*A.P.* 7. 712. 5 sq., 7. 182. 8 sq. etc.);
for more parallels see Kost 511 sq.

^b Vv. 316 sq. The four winds struggle with each other as
they do in the storm in the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 5. 295 sq., 331 sq.).

^c Vv. 319 sq. Leander prays to the gods while swimming,
like Odysseus to the river-god (*Od.* 5. 445 sq.), but without
result—in emphatic contrast, as at 212 sq.

^d Boreas carried off Oreithyia, daughter of Erechtheus, from
the Ilissus and carried her to his homeland of Thrace, where
she bore him Kalais and Zetes (Hdt. 7. 189; Pl. *Phaedr.*
229 b sq.; Ap. Rhod. 1. 211 sq.; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.15.1).

^e Aphrodite of the Sea (cf. 31 sq., 250) is called Θαλασσαίη
also by Nonnus (*D.* 42. 496 and frequently) and by Procopius
(*Decl.* 3. 3 sq.).

πολλάκι δ' αὐτὸν ἀνακτα Ποσειδάωνα θαλάσσης, 321
 ἀλλά οἱ¹ οὐ τις ἀρηγεν, Ἔρωσ δ' οὐκ ἦρκεσε
 Μοίρας. 323
 πάντοθι δ' ἀγρομένοιο δυσάντηϊ κύματος ὄρμη²
 τυπτόμενος πεφόρητο, ποδῶν δέ οἱ ὠκλασεν ὄρμη,³ 325
 καὶ σθένος ἦν ἀνόνητον⁴ ἀκοιμήτων⁵ παλαμῶν.
 πολλή δ' αὐτόματος⁶ χύσις ὕδατος ἔρρεε λαίμῳ,
 καὶ ποτὸν ἀχρήσιτον ἀμαιμακέτου πῖεν ἄλμης.
 καὶ δὴ λύχνον ἀπιστον ἀπέσβεσε πικρὸς ἀήτης
 καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ ἔρωτα πολυτλήτοιο Λεάνδρου. 330
 Ἦλυθεν⁷ ἠριγένεια, καὶ οὐκ ἶδε νυμφίον Ἴρω.
 πάντοθι δ' ὄμμα τίταων ἐς⁸ εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης,⁹ 336
 νείκεσε δ' ἀγριόθυμον ἐπεσβολήσιν ἀήτην.
 ἤδη γὰρ φθιμένοιο μόρον θέσπισσε Λεάνδρου
 εἰσέτι¹⁰ δηθύνοντος· ἐπαγρύπνοισιν¹¹ ὄπωπαῖς
 ἴστατο κυμαίνουσα πολυκλαύτοισι μερίμναις, 334

¹ ἀλλά οἱ Ald. Lask. hum.: ἀλλ' (without οἱ) mss.

² ὄρμη (-ῆ -η) mss. = Nonn. *D.* 32. 156, cp. *Od.* ε 320, A. R. 2. 1118: ὀλεῖσθαι Ludwig, cp. Nonn. *D.* 11. 459, *met. Jo.* 21. 52 etc.; either 324 ὄρηγ, or 325 ῥάμη, or ἀλεῖ instead of ὄρμη Graefe.

³ L. 325 missing in PNV.

⁴ ἀνόνητον Graefe, cp. Nonn. *D.* 14. 168, 20. 163, 39. 309 etc. and *Od.* ε 416 (cp. ἀνόνητον V): ἀδόνητον (ἀδύνα-) mss., cp. Paul. *Sil. H.S.* 273 Kost.

⁵ ἀκοιμήτων Ald. Lask., cp. 12, 225: ἀκνήτων mss.; ἀνικήτων Schwabe.

⁶ αὐτόματος mss.: -μάτη Diltthey with the assent of Tiedke (metre), cp. 255.

⁷ ἦλυθεν mss. Koechly, cp. 309: ἦλυθε δ' B Ald. Lask.

⁸ ἐς PN constr. with ὄμμα τίταων Nonn. *D.* 38. 318 s., *met. Jo.* 17. 2 etc.; ἐπ' BV, from the Homeric formula ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης *Il.* B 159 etc. (10 times in *Il.* and *Od.*).

⁹ Transposition of *Il.* 335-336 T. G.: 331-332, missing in B¹, were reintegrated by Koechly, who put a lac. after 330, Hunger would insert them after 335, Malcovati and Färber reject them; Terzaghi puts 331 after 326.

Once and again to Poseidon himself, lord of the
 sea. 321
 But no one helped him, and Love could not fend off
 the Fates. 323
 As the wave on every side hunted him with resistless
 charge
 He was beaten and hurled along, and the thrust of his
 feet grew slack, 325
 And profitless was the strength of his unresting
 hands.^a
 A great gush of water of itself poured into his throat,
 And he swallowed a worthless draught of the
 irresistible brine.
 Then lo, a bitter gust blew out the faithless lamp,
 And with it the life and love of hard-suffering
 Leander. 330
 Dawn came, the early-born, and Hero saw no
 bridegroom^b; 335
 She strained her eyes everywhere over the sea's
 broad back, 336
 And with great curses reviled the wild-tempered
 wind; 331
 For already she divined the fate of Leander, perished,
 Still, still delaying his coming; with sleepless eyes
 She stood, in a swelling tumult of grief and anxious-
 ness 334

^a Vv. 325 sq. Odysseus also has his legs fail under him and his strength seem to fade (*Od.* 5. 406, 416).

^b Right from the beginning (2 sq.) it is emphasized that the union takes place only by night (cf. 282 sq.)—on the symbolism of Night and Day see Introduction, page 320.

¹⁰ εἰσέτι BV, cp. 27, 266: εἰ δέ τι PN Ald.; ἡ δ' ἔτι Lask.

¹¹ ἐπαγρύπνοιον P (cp. 213): ἐπ' ἀ-σι (-πνύσιν) B ἀγρῖ- N mss.; ἐπ' ἀ-σι δ' Diltthey; ἐ-σι δ' Ludwig.

εἶ που ἐσαθρήσειεν ἀλωόμενον παρακοίτην 337
 λύχνου σβεννυμένοιο. παρὰ κρηπίδα δὲ πύργου
 δρυπτόμενον σπιλάδεσσιν ὄτ' ἔδρακε νεκρὸν ἀκοίτην,
 δαιδαλέον ῥήξασα περὶ στήθεσσι χιτῶνα 340
 ροιζήδον προκάρηνος ἀπ' ἠλιβάτου πέσε πύργου.
 κὰδ δ' Ἡρώ¹ τέθνηκε σὺν ὀλλυμένῳ παρακοίτη,
 ἀλλήλων δ' ἀπόναντο καὶ ἐν πυμάτῳ περ ὀλέθρῳ.

¹ κὰδ δ' Ἡρώ (κὰδδ', κὰδ') mss., cp. *Il.* Ω 725, Nonn. *D.* 40. 113, Triph. 228 (*Mus.* 241 παρ δέ): καὶ διερώ Scheindler; καὶ διερῆ or καὶ διερῆ Ludwich, cp. *Od.* ζ 201 (metre).

^a Leander is here once again described as "straying" (at 337 as at 177 sq.; cf. *Od.* 5. 448) and is torn on the rocks like Odysseus (*Od.* 5. 401 sq., 426 sq.).

^b *Vv.* 342 sq. In Plato those who love to the end are

Still hoping to see somewhere her husband straying,^a 337
 Now that the lamp was quenched. And when at the
 foot of the tower
 She saw her husband, a dead body flayed by the tide-
 rocks,
 Tearing away her embroidered robe from round her
 breasts, 340
 And sweeping headlong down she fell from the lofty
 tower;
 And Hero lay in death beside her dead husband,
 And they had joy of each other even in their last
 perishing.^b

rewarded and remain united (*Phaedr.* 256 A sq., *Phaedo* 68 A). To die following the beloved's death (*ἐπαποθνήσκειν*, *Symp.* 179 E sq.) is especially pleasing to the gods.

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