

The Curious Case of Erysichthon

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

BY

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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Advisor: Nita Krevans

December 2019

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Acknowledgments

First, I would like to thank the department for their support and especially the members of my committee: Nita Krevans, Susanna Ferlito, Jackie Murray, Christopher Nappa, and Melissa Harl Sellew. The seeds of this dissertation were planted in my senior year of college when Jackie Murray spread to me with her contagious enthusiasm a love of Hellenistic poetry. Without her genuine concern for my success and her guidance in those early years, I would not be where I am today. I also owe a shout-out to my undergraduate professors, especially Robin Mitchell-Boyask and Daniel Tompkins, who inspired my love of Classics. At the University of Minnesota, Nita Krevans took me under her wing and offered both emotional and intellectual support at various stages along the way. Her initial suggestions, patience, and encouragement allowed this dissertation to take the turn that it did. I am also very grateful to Christopher Nappa and Melissa Harl Sellew for their unflagging encouragement and kindness over the years. It was in Melissa's seminar that an initial piece of this dissertation was begun. My heartfelt thanks also to Susanna Ferlito, who graciously stepped in at the last minute and offered valuable feedback, and to Susan Noakes, for offering independent studies so that I could develop my interest in Italian language and literature. Finally, although not members of my committee, I am very grateful to Stephen Smith for

guiding me as a young teacher and to Douglas Olson, who had an important impact on my scholarly and professional development and who offered honest and detailed feedback on my work over the years.

The department at the University of Minnesota felt like a second home. This is a testament to the professors and graduate students. Whether attending an entertaining Thanksgiving dinner at the home of Stephen Smith and Christopher Nappa, having coffee with Nita Krevans, or enjoying a post-speaker meal at Douglas Olson's home, I always felt appreciated and valued. My fellow graduate students supported and listened to each other and made my time as a graduate student enjoyable. I would like to single out Cynthia Hornbeck, whose intellect I greatly admire and who guided me in my first year or so, and Rachael Cullick, to whom I have turned many times and whose social graces and kindness brighten every room. After this experience, my return to the Philadelphia area was somewhat isolating, but at least the Backyard Beans Coffee Co. was there to keep me energized with delicious coffee.

Finally, the completion of this dissertation would not have been possible without my friends, especially my *laotong* (Lori Foster), and my family. My parents, Paul and Brenda Torresson, stepped aside and allowed me to become whoever I wanted to be and selflessly made my education and the writing of my dissertation financially possible. I am also grateful to my parents-in-law, Nola and

Thomas Seaberg, for donating to the cause as well and for being my cheerleaders.

Last, but not least, I dedicate this dissertation to Ryan Seaberg, whose unfailing love and patience and considerable emotional and intellectual support have significantly contributed to my personal and scholarly growth, and to Holly (my Shih Tzu), who provided immense emotional support and who was by my side for the entirety of my classical education, since I received her as a Christmas present from my parents in my first semester of Middle School Latin and since she passed away when I was putting the finishing touches on this dissertation.

For Regulus

&

For Ilex (31 October 2000 – 6 October 2019)

portavi lacrimis madidus te, nostra catella,
quod feci lustris laetior ante tribus.
ergo mihi, Ilex, iam non dabis oscula mille
nec poteris gremio grata cubare meo.
tristis perpetua posui te sede merentem
et iunxi semper Manibus ipse meis,
moribus argutis hominem simulare paratam
perdidimus quales, hei mihi, delicias!
tu dulcis, Ilex, nostras attingere mensas
consueras, gremio poscere blanda cibos,
lambere tu calicem lingua rapiente solebas
quem tibi saepe meae sustinuere manus
accipere et lassum cauda gaudente frequenter...

Abstract

The rejuvenation of once-adult figures in Hellenistic poetry is unique. This transformation is especially apparent in Callimachus, where it functions both as a metapoetic and a political strategy. In rejuvenating gods and other figures of the tradition, Callimachus is able to rewrite or reinvent the tradition, all while working in the court of the first three Ptolemies, who themselves were in the process of legitimizing their new, Greek reign in Egypt. Thus, Callimachus' first four hymns, which include explicit and implicit references to the Ptolemies and various political events, focus on the birth and successful coming-of-age of the gods, while the final two hymns contain opposing, complementary inset narratives of mythic youths. In the fifth hymn, *Bath of Pallas*, Teiresias, the old seer of tragedy becomes a youth and in the sixth hymn, the *Hymn to Demeter*, Erysichthon, a father both before (in Hesiod) and after (in Ovid) Callimachus, is now a childless young man.

This dissertation focuses primarily on the sixth hymn. Whereas the first five hymns include successful birth and maturation tales, the six hymn is distinct for narrating just the opposite. Within a frame celebrating a ritual of Demeter is the tale of Erysichthon, who, together with his man-giants, barges into the goddess' sacred grove and attempts to chop down a tree. Disguised as the priestess Nicippe, Demeter is unsuccessful in changing Erysichthon's evil behavior, and so, punishes

the youth with insatiable hunger and thirst. From his entrance to the end of the narrative, Erysichthon regresses from man ($\varphi\omega\tau\alpha$, 45) to child ($\pi\alpha\bar{\imath}\varsigma$, 56), and finally, to infant ($\beta\varrho\acute{e}\varphi\varsigma$, 100). In this final stage, distraught at the financial consequences of his son's ravening hunger, Erysichthon's father wishes that Apollo had stricken down his $\beta\varrho\acute{e}\varphi\varsigma$ (96-110). Rather than pimping out his daughter for food (as in Hesiod and Ovid), Erysichthon lands at the crossroads, where he begs for filthy cast-offs from the feast (115).

Although this dissertation will likely be restructured in future iterations, at present, it largely follows the progression of the narrative as Callimachus himself unfolds it (rather than e.g. by genre). I take mainly a socio-cultural approach to Erysichthon's regression and examine each step through the lens of rites of passage. I begin with hunting, with which Callimachus is most clearly concerned in the *Hymn to Artemis* and especially the partner hymn of the *Hymn to Demeter*, *Bath of Pallas*, where the motif is a well-researched, clear example of a successful transition into adulthood through the marginal ground of the hunt. This is the foundation for my discussion of the negative inversion of this trajectory in the *Hymn to Demeter*, where I examine Erysichthon as failed "hunter" by exploring Callimachus' allusions and manipulation of the literary tradition in two key passages: Erysichthon's boar hunt and the lioness simile. The transition of Erysichthon from human to animal and the related, simultaneous regression from

youth to infant occurs during the hunt, and it is from this perspective that I analyze Erysichthon's destructive appetite. I argue that through his all-consuming hunger and thirst, Erysichthon slips into childhood or infancy, which the Greeks viewed negatively and regularly aligned with animals. The last chapter thus focuses on Erysichthon's final metaphorical transition into *brephos*, a weighty term—for which, see the appendix, where I lay out the use and significance of all pre-Callimachean attestations—applied to both animals and newborns and most frequently, the child exposed at birth. In this final chapter (VII), I consider the implications of exposure and the related motif of abortion, and in doing so, suggest a new reading for the end of Callimachus' Erysichthon narrative and the hymns as a collection.

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I. Introduction

μὴ μὴ ταῦτα λέγωμες ἢ δάκρυνον ἄγαγε Δηοῖ.

κάλλιον, ως πολίεσσιν ἔαδότα τέθμια δῶκε.

No, no let us not speak about the things which cause Deo to cry

Instead, how she gave fair laws to cities.¹

With these lines (17-8), Callimachus signals his departure from previous tales and highlights the centrality of Demeter Thesmophorus to the upcoming narrative about Erysichthon. Thesmophorus ("Bringer of Laws or Order") refers to the goddess' civilizing gift of agriculture. By attacking the goddess' grove, Erysichthon opposes this very principle so that appropriately, as Hunter and Fuhrer put it, "Erysichthon's punishment is to break those distinctions in social behavior, established by Demeter the θεσμοφόρος ["bringer of laws"]...which separate us from the animals."² It is in this light that I consider the unusual regression of Erysichthon in the *Hymn to Demeter* to which I will return to below.

The significance of Erysichthon's regression has been variously explained. For example, McKay (1962a) takes the image of a giant Erysichthon, who is later viewed as an infant by his father, to be an indication that the hymn is a

¹ Translations are my own, unless otherwise noted.

² (2002: 159), repeated from Hunter (1992: 32 with n66).

Callimachean comedy. Ambühl (2005) considers Erysichthon's regression as an aetiological tactic to renew the literary tradition. Very many characters, and figuratively, the poet himself in Hellenistic poetry undergo a transformation from adulthood to childhood, or as Ambühl calls it, "Verjüngung." Simply put, Callimachus draws on the metapoetic potential of the double meaning of νέος ("new"/ "young") and converts it into dramatic action.³ This "rejuvenation" of once-adult figures in epic has received a fair amount of attention, as has the famous image of Callimachus as child in the prologue to the *Aetia* and as a young man in the *Somnium*.⁴

For example, in an influential work, Snell explains the pervasiveness of children in Callimachus on the basis of the poet's own use of the etymologically-related terms παῖς ("child"), παίζειν ("play"), and παίγνιον ("plaything") to describe his poetry. Callimachus' self-conversion into a child in the *Aetia* prologue mirrors the playfulness of his poetry, and it was in the connection of childlike playfulness that Callimachean poetics was founded.⁵ From this article, other scholars have, as Ambühl has phrased it, "largely unthinkingly" adopted Snell's

³ (2005: 2).

⁴ Ambühl (2005: 1-23 and 365-413), who summarizes scholarship on the theme of the child and Callimachus, specifically as a method for poetic innovation.

⁵ Snell (1982a, 271-72=1948 258-9).

argument, which was biased by the Romantic concept of the child as a natural poet (in turn, influenced by Christian concepts of the innocent child).⁶

However, Ambühl convincingly argues that because the child in ancient Greece often carried negative connotations and because Hellenistic poets like Callimachus and Theocritus employed a range of ages as both negative and positive metapoetic markers, “the motif of the child needs to be checked carefully against the context and function it assumes in any given text.”⁷

Hence, the Telchines insult Callimachus in the *Prologue* “in accordance with the predominate ancient view” by emphasizing “his young age, his small size, and the accompanying physical or intellectual deficiencies” (fr. 1.1-6 Pf.):⁸

πολλάκι μοι Τελχῖνες ἐπιτρύζουσιν ἀοιδῆ,
νήιδες οἱ Μούσης οὐκ ἐγένοντο φίλοι,
εἶνεκεὶν οὐχ ἐν ἄεισμα διηνεκὲς ἢ βασιλῆ
.....]ας ἐν πολλαῖς ἥνυσσα χιλιάσιν
ἢ]ους ἥρωας, ἔπος δ' ἐπὶ τυτθὸν ἐλ[
παῖς ἄτε, τῶν δ' ἐτέων ἡ δεκὰς οὐκ ὀλίγη.

Often the Telchines croak at my song,

⁶ (2005: 10 with n35).

⁷ (2007: 379).

⁸ (2007: 380).

fools, no friends of the Muse,
because I did not complete one continuous poem on kings [...]
in many thousands of lines [or...] heroes, but [...] my tale **little by little,**
like a child, though the ten-count of my years is not small.⁹

However, as Ambühl shows, when Apollo tells young Callimachus to keep his Muses slender, the notions of childhood are positive since Callimachus figures as a “prodigy who in his first attempt at writing is already a poet” (fr. 1.21-24 Pf.):¹⁰

καὶ γὰρ ὅτε πρώτιστον ἐμοῖς ἐπὶ δέλτον ἔθηκα
γούνασιν, Ἀ[πό]λλων εἶπεν ὅ μοι Λύκιος·
‘.....]... ἀοιδέ, τὸ μὲν θύος ὅττι πάχιστον
θρέψαι, τὴν Μοῦσαν δ’ ὡγαθὲ λεπταλέην·

For when, for the very first time, I placed the tablet
On my knees, Lycian Apollo enjoined me thus:
“Singer, raise your victim to be as fast as possible,
But my good man, your Muse to be slender.”

According to Ambühl, the passage “does not invoke childhood as the ideal condition for poetic production,” as previously maintained, but shows

⁹ Translation after Acosta-Hughes and Stephens (2002).

¹⁰ 2007, 380.

Callimachus in the style of a young god or hero, who, by skipping the learning stages of childhood, “emerges prematurely as a full-fledged poet” on his way or arriving early to adulthood wherein lies “the ultimate state of perfection.”¹¹

Callimachus alludes to childhood again at the end of the prologue (fr. 1.32-8 Pf.):

ἄλλος, ἐγὼ δ' εἴην οὐλ[α]χύς, ο πτερόεις,
ἀ πάντως, ἵνα γῆρας ἵνα δρόσον ἦν μὲν ἀείδω
πρώκιον ἐκ δίης ἡέρος εἶδαρ ἔδων,
αὐθι τῷ δ' ἱερόδυοιμι, τό μοι βάρος ὅσσον ἔπεστι
τριγλάχιψν ὄλιοψν νῆσος ἐπ' Ἐγκελάδω.
..... Μοῦσαι γὰρ ὅσους ἴδον ὕθματὶ παιδας
μὴ λοξῶ, πολιοὺς οὐκ ἀπέθεντο φίλους.

I would be the small, the winged one,
ah, truly that I may sing feeding upon the moisture,
the morning dew from the divine air
and that in turn I may shed old age, which is weight upon me,
as is the tricorn island upon destructive Enceladus.

¹¹ (2007: 380).

[...] for whom the Muses look upon with favorable eye as children,
these they do not put aside when gray.

In this passage Callimachus does not literally wish to be a child once more but to gain immortality through poetry, even as he continues to write into his old age.¹²

This negative view of children is key to the regression of Erysichthon (see esp. VI.5). Of particular relevance here is the Greek conception of children as animals in need of “taming,” which was accomplished during the liminal period of youth and the marginal ground of the hunt. Ideally, the youth left behind the domain of the beasts for civilization. Evidence for hunting as a *rite de passage* and preparation for hoplite status is attested in Crete and Sparta and follows van Gennep’s model of separation from the community, a period of transition/liminality, and reintegration into a new community.¹³ Strabo, who quotes Ephorus (10.483-4), relates the custom where Cretan boys lived in the country for two months. There, they hunted animals, and adult lovers introduced them to sex. After returning to the city, the youth received gifts: weapons, symbolizing his status as warrior; a sacrificial ox, symbolizing his new ability to host and his entrance into the religious community; and a cup, symbolizing his

¹² Ambühl (2007), 381; Donzelli (1991), esp. 391-92. Note, however, that Ambühl does not seem to identify this immortality as a second youth while Donzelli does.

¹³ On the model, see (1960: 21). See Barringer (2001: 10-69) for an overview of literary and iconographic evidence of hunting-as-initiation in ancient Greece and pp. 12-4 for evidence in Crete and Sparta.

participation in symposia. Similarly, in the Spartan *krypteia*, described at Plu. *Lyc.* 28 and Σ Pl. *Lg.* 633b, young, minimally-equipped warriors hunted helots in the country at night. Plutarch (*Lyc.* 12.2-3) reports that hunting was required for participation in the feast and Libanius (*Or.* 5.23), for participation in a feast in Artemis' honor.¹⁴

Using these rites, passages from Xenophon and Plato, and mythological examples, Vidal-Naquet connected the Athenian *ephebeia* and initiatory hunting rituals.¹⁵ Though Vidal-Naquet's work has encountered criticism in recent years,¹⁶ hunting, initiatory or otherwise, is frequently represented in Greek iconography and literature of all periods.¹⁷ Athenian tragedy, in particular, is replete with hunting metaphors that, although differing from actual practice in significant ways,¹⁸ nevertheless highlights similar themes pertaining to the youth's passage

¹⁴ Similarly, according to Athenaeus (I.18a), in Macedonia no one could recline at the symposium unless he first killed a boar. Cf. the youth Autolycus, who sits rather than reclines (X. *Smp.* 1.8).

¹⁵ (1986: 106-22).

¹⁶ For example, Barringer (2001: 47-53) challenges the work for its failure to distinguish between reality and myth, since, in fact, textual evidence is late (4th c.), and points out that a hunting-war connection does not necessarily imply a coming-of-age ritual. Dodd (2013: xiii-xvi) (and contributors in general) take issue with the "uncritical application" of the initiation model and in particular, Vidal-Naquet. For example, Dodd (2013: 73-80) criticizes Vidal-Naquet's analysis of Neoptolemus as a model for youth initiation, since the same criteria can be applied to Odysseus himself, an adult male. However, an exception is made for texts involving Demeter and Dionysian rituals, for instance, whose initiatory characteristics are "far less controversial" (xv).

¹⁷ Note, for example, the amphorae depicted hunting youths and Dionysus by the Amasis Painter, on which see Isler-Kerényi (2007: 136-43).

¹⁸ See, for example, Barringer (2001: 8 and more fully 125-73), who notes that while hunting in both reality and myth revolve around war and sex, the metaphors often apply to males and females who violate sexual norms or do not fight in wars. However, one would expect this subversion of norms in tragedy. Afterall, other similarities remain, such as isolated time in the wild.

into adulthood. In particular, a young hunter is hunted or “sacrificed.”¹⁹ Such is the case for the title character in Euripides’ *Hippolytus* or Pentheus in Euripides’ *Bacchae*. Of special significance to the *Hymn to Demeter* (not to mention other hymns in the corpus) is the tale of the hunted god Dionysus, since Callimachus explicitly mentions him alongside Demeter: καὶ γὰρ τῷ Δάματοι συνωργίσθη Διόνυσος./τόσσα Διώνυσον γὰρ ἀ καὶ Δάματοα χαλέπτει, (“things that anger Demeter also anger Dionysus; for Dionysus became angry together with Demeter,” 71-70). In sacrificial ritual and myth, Dionysus is presented as hunter, but also both infant and animal in which form he is sacrificed (see under App. 5.2).

In Callimachus three purposes for hunting are represented: for food (e.g. *Dian.* 84-5), for protection (e.g. *Dian.* 153-7), and as a *rite de passage* (e.g. *Bath of Pallas*). Hunting, especially as a rite of passage, is certainly an important aspect of the Erysichthon tale. Other versions suggest as much. For instance, Skempis (2008) identifies Callimachus’ Erysichthon with the hunter Aethon (Erysichthon’s other name) in *SSH* 970.22 and speculates that the source of both is a list of Calydonian boar hunters, which included Erysichthon. Skempis’ theory is supported by Ovid’s incorporation of the tale into a hunting context in the eighth book of his *Metamorphoses*. There, Achelous tells the tale to Theseus and co. on their return

¹⁹ See Burkert (1983), who famously connects hunting to sacrificial ritual.

from the Calydonian boar hunt. Murray (2004) has shown that Ovid's allusions to Apollonius' *Argonautica* and Callimachus' *Hymn to Demeter*, as well as intratextual allusions in the eighth book of the *Metamorphoses* point to a conflation of tree-chopping and hunting.

While evidence for a hunting Erysichthon before Callimachus is lacking, the version in the *Hymn to Demeter* is clearly concerned with the motif. In the first place, the sixth hymn and its partner, *Bath of Pallas*, the only other hymn featuring a mythic youth rather than a young god and which narrates the tale of the divinely-favored hunter Teiresias (Chapter II), share numerous verbal parallels that highlight their opposition (Chapter III). More importantly, Callimachus' inclusion of the boar hunt and the lioness simile in the *Hymn to Demeter* itself suggests the importance of hunting to at least his version of the Erysichthon story (Chapters IV-V). The two details invite comparison with hunting narratives in the literary tradition, particularly hunting as a *rite de passage* and for protection. Unpacking these allusions reveals not only Erysichthon's failure in this liminal activity, but also Callimachus' manipulation of epic and tragic models and vocabulary.

The lioness simile, for instance, signals Callimachus' careful use of epic and tragedy, and I demonstrate that it is much more than a simple allusion to one particular simile in the *Iliad* (Chapter V). Although there may exist a tradition in

which Erysichthon actually hunts, here Callimachus assimilates him to the warrior for which hunting was a prerequisite and which metapoetically represents a style of poetics antithetical to Callimachus. Because Erysichthon as a hackneyed Homeric warrior plunders Demeter's sacred grove (i.e. Callimachus' preferred poetic style), Callimachus transforms him into the animal double of a heroic warrior, a lion; however, by alluding to the fallen lion in the parental lion similes, the poet characterizes Erysichthon not as a valiant warrior, but a warrior who seriously missteps and runs afoul of the gods. In this way, if Erysichthon represents poetasters who imitate Homer in unoriginal ways, Callimachus wittily, strategically, and allusively demonstrates how to use the tradition "correctly" by integrating epic figures and language into his sixth hymn in order to topple Erysichthon.

Blending epic and tragedy, the lioness simile marks the turning point in the narrative as Erysichthon now shifts from youth to infant, from young "hunter" to animal. Transitional in nature, the simile naturally segues into the narrative's most memorable aspect: Erysichthon's punishment, his gargantuan hunger and thirst. Callimachus' verbal allusions to tales of fertility and marriage in literary predecessors and within his own corpus highlight the erotic undertones of Erysichthon's animalistic hunger and indicate his failure to mature (Chapter VI). At the end of this chapter, I demonstrate how Erysichthon's animalistic hunger

aligns with Greek conceptions of childhood and infancy. The end result of Erysichthon's punishment is therefore a specific variation on the "hunter hunted." In the final chapter (Chapter VII), I consider various ritual and mythic aspects of Dionysus' infancy as an important subtext of the *Hymn*, and in doing so, offer a new interpretation of the puzzling end of Callimachus' version of the Erysichthon tale and consider the relevance of such an ending to the hymnic corpus, Callimachean poetics, and Ptolemaic Alexandria. By innovatively blending literary and technical texts and vocabulary, Callimachus crafts a unique punishment suitable for his Alexandrian audience.

Chapter II. Teiresias, the Model Hunter

II.1 Teiresias the Hunter in the *Bath of Pallas*

Inserted within the frame of the *Bath of Pallas* as a warning to the celebrants (both male and female),²⁰ a lengthy narrative describes the blinding of Teiresias, son of Everes and Chariclo, a favorite nymph of Athena.²¹ One day, while out with his hounds at midday, apparently hunting deer (91-2), Teiresias, on a quest for water to quench his powerful thirst, chances upon a naked Athena and Chariclo who are bathing in a spring on Mount Helicon. As a result of his transgression, Teiresias loses his sight, but is compensated with the gift of prophecy and a long life.

Several features indicate that Teiresias' hunting excursion is a *rite de passage*. His age is stressed by κῶρος ("boy") and παῖς ("child"): Chariclo refers to her son as κῶρος (85), the narrator refers to Teiresias as παῖς (82), and Athena declares

²⁰ ὅς κεν ἵδη γυμνὰν τὰν Παλλάδα τὰν πολιοῦχον/ τῷργος ἐσοψεῖται τοῦτο πανυστάτιον, 53-4. While the lines warn the men, Cheshire (2014: 64-82) notes that "Pallas the city guardian" applies equally to the women since they are responsible for the city's well-being and argues that they should see themselves in Chariclo in the following narrative which is, in fact, specifically directed at *them* (μέστα δ' ἐγώ τι/ ταῖσδ' ἐρέω, 55-6).

The warning, accepted as analogous to the narrative, is usually interpreted to threaten blindness, but the lines are rather vague. Cheshire (2014: 64 with n23) suggests that the lines may also threaten death or, comparing *Ap.* 2.12-5 the destruction of the city, or even exile. These interpretations are not mutually exclusive. As shown below, all are suitable for the narrative.

²¹ On the relationship between the frame and narrative and for earlier scholarship, see Ambühl (2005: 121-32).

that she does not enjoy taking away the eyes of children ($\pi\alpha\delta\omega\nu$, 118).²² This blinding as a result of sexual transgression, the encounter of the goddess in the bath (esp. *Lav. Pall.* 88), points to the tale as “one of transition, of sexual and generational passage.”²³ Additionally, Teiresias’ first beard symbolizes a transitional period and one of sexual ambiguity, which is reflected in the Hesiodic *Melampodia* (fr. 275 M-W) in his gender ambivalence,²⁴ a characteristic that links him to Callimachus’ Athena.²⁵ Finally, the mountains, where hunting, as well as

²² $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$ (87, 92, 118) and $\tau\acute{e}k\mu\nu$ (99) are used in a biological sense “my/your child,” and, as noted by Hopkinson (1984 *ad* 46), $\tau\acute{e}k\mu\nu$ (87) is commonly used when an older person is addressing a younger. Thus, these terms do not necessarily establish Teiresias’ age, but do emphasize the parental-child relationship so central to the hymn. Calame (2000: 189) understands both age and filiation and connects Teiresias in the narrative to participants in the frame ($\pi\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\varsigma$, 57 and e.g. $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\varsigma \ \Delta\varrho\epsilon\sigma\tau\omega\varsigma\delta\alpha\nu$, 34), whose youth would be appropriate for a chorus. On the various senses of these terms, see Golden (1990: 12-5). On the description of Teiresias’ youth, see Bulloch (1984: 228-9), Calame (2000: 188-90), and Ambühl (2005: 101-3).

²³ Hunter (1992: esp. 12, 24-5). As Segal (1997: 211) of Pentheus, Hunter adduces as parallels such well-known figures as Hylas and Narcissus, and adds Herodotus’ Gyges. Hadjittofi (2008: 14-5) later builds on Hunter (1992: 22-8), who compares Gyges’ spying on Candaules’ wife at Hdt. 1.8-12 to the Teiresias narrative, by analyzing illicit viewing and the gender dynamics in *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* as a precursor for both texts.

For a fuller bibliography on the erotic undertones of the passage and blinding and sexual transgression, see Ambühl (2005: 102, 111-12, esp. with n58). Ambühl draws a further connection between the pins ($\pi\epsilon\varrho\omega\varsigma$) that Athena removes to take a bath (*Lav. Pall.* 70) and Jocasta’s pins, which Oedipus uses to blind himself (S. OT 1268-70). Hadjittofi (2008: 15 with n4) compares Teiresias’ blindness to Anchises threatened with impotence.

²⁴ Ambühl (2005: 102 with notes 12-13), Morrison (2005: 42). For an overview of the versions of the Teiresias myth, see Ugolini (1995) and Ambühl (99-101).

²⁵ Ambühl (2005: 125 with n127). Athena has also been characterized as “a wholly masculine goddess” (mainly in the frame) (Depew: 1994: 415-23) and hyper-masculine (MacInnes 2005: 25). Hadjittofi (2008) argues that like the Ptolemaic queens, Athena is both a male warrior and, via allusions to the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, an erotic female. Morrison (2005) considers her masculine or “in some sense pre- or asexual” (40-41, 46) and extends the theme of sexual ambiguity to the narrator.

encounters with the divine, take place, may also represent Teiresias' liminal time in the wild.

II.2 Teiresias and Anchises

In addition to these signals, Callimachus' Teiresias alludes to various hunting figures of the tradition. It has been suggested that the *Bath of Pallas* narrative is modelled on the Anchises story in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*.²⁶ The two works are similarly structured: Teiresias and Anchises are alone (*Lav. Pall.* 75; *h.Ven.* 76) on a mountain and see a naked goddess. While Anchises is not hunting when he encounters Aphrodite, the mountain lion and bear skins on his bed demonstrate that he hunts (159-60). Either way, both men are involved in solo activities, such as hunting and lyre-playing (*h.Ven.* 80), which establish them as adolescents. Emphasis is placed on seeing what is forbidden, but their actions are unintentional (*Lav. Pall.* 78; *h.Ven.* 167), and both men receive gifts: a long life and prophecy (Teiresias) or glorious offspring (Anchises).²⁷ Both hymns also feature a period of negotiation between mortal and goddess and a *consolatio* (or defense)

²⁶ Hadjittofi (2008: 15-24). Hunter (1992: 12, 17) more briefly comments on the Homeric predecessor, specifically the rivalry between Athena and Aphrodite.

²⁷ Hadjittofi (2008: 18) suggests that Anchises keeps his sight because he averts his eyes during Aphrodite's epiphany.

from the goddess with mythological *exempla* citing a worse scenario and emphasizing the problematic human-divine relationship.

II.3 The Actaeon *Exemplum*

II.3.1 Teiresias and Actaeon in the Bath of Pallas

This brings us to a second hunter, whose fate Athena invites Teiresias and Chariclo to weigh against their own. The *exemplum* follows the shrouding of Teiresias' eyes by "night" (*παιδὸς δ' ὄμματα νὺξ ἔλαβεν*, 82) and Chariclo's lament (85-92). For the blinding of her son, the nymph blames Athena, divinities in general, and Mount Helicon, but Athena resents the accusation and cites "Cronus' laws" and the Fates (96-106). She then consoles Chariclo or defends herself by prophesying the fate of Actaeon, whose parents will have to collect pieces of his body (107-18), and by compensating Teiresias with prophecy and a long life (119-30).

Athena tactfully crafts her Actaeon story.²⁸ Like Teiresias, Actaeon is a youth (109), who hunts in the mountains (110-2, with Artemis), but one day, while hunting with hounds (114-5),²⁹ unwillingly (*οὐκ ἐθέλων*, 113 = 78) sees the

²⁸ Against the reading of the story as a *consolatio*, argued esp. by Depew (1994), Cheshire (2014: esp. 72) interprets it as a defense. On the rhetorical nature of Athena's response, see also, for example, Bulloch (1985 *ad* 100, 101-2), Morrison (2005: 37).

²⁹ For the similarities between Teiresias and Actaeon in *Lav. Pall.*, see, e.g. Heath (1992: 32-3) and Ambühl (2005: 134-6, who summarizes the line of previous scholarship from n162). McKay (1962:

goddess (Artemis) bathing.³⁰ In addition, both sons are defined by their relationship to their parents, especially their mothers, and with Thebes.³¹ Teiresias, first mentioned along with Thebes at the beginning of the narrative (57-9), is the son of Chariclo and Everes (*Eὐρείδα*, 106);³² Actaeon is the son of Aristaeus (108) and Autonoe, daughter of Cadmus (*Καδμηίς*, 107).

The *exemplum* is an example of the “future reflexive” narrative strategy,³³ which allows the poet to effectively rewrite the tradition by “eliminating” (rather, adapting) a previous mythical version by casting a new version in the future. The practice requires “constant negotiation between author and reader [or listener],” as they encounter allusions to familiar stories which the poet transforms and transposes to the future.³⁴ Thus, Athena prophesies her Actaeon variant that shares many details with multiple literary predecessors, but has no exact (extant)

46), Heath (1992: 33), and Ambühl (2005: 134) point out Callimachus’ apparent transformation of Teiresias into a hunter on the basis of Actaeon.

³⁰ Note also οὐκ ἐθέλων for the males in the frame (52). McKay’s (1962: 39) suggestion that Teiresias ἔτι μῶνος (75) can mean “still an only child” and therefore parallels Actaeon the only child (*μόνον*, 108) has been refuted on multiple occasions: Bulloch (1985 *ad* 75 n2); Heath (1992: 47n24), although he notes “an aural parallel”; Ambühl (2005: 134n163); and Stephens (2015 *ad* 75), who prints ἔτι μοῦνος from the mss. and suggests that just as Thersites, described by the homeric *hapax* ἔτι μοῦνος (*Il.* 2.212), talks while others are quiet, Teiresias alone hunts at the ill-omened midday hour.

³¹ Noted by Heath (1992: 32) and explored in detail by Ambühl (2005: 101-3, 134, 139-41).

³² Ambühl (2005: 139 n186) notes that Apollod. 3.6.7 traces Teiresias’ descent from the dragon teeth and in *Ba.* is an old man like Cadmus.

³³ For a bibliography on the technique of the “future reflexive,” a term coined by Barchiesi (1993), in Hellenistic literature, see Ambühl (2005: 132 n153) and in *Lav. Pall.* specifically, see Heath (1992: 33-4), Ambühl (2005: 132-4).

³⁴ Barchiesi (1993: 334).

parallels. The Actaeon story, along with the narrator's comment, "the story is not mine, but others'" ($\mu\nu\thetao\varsigma \delta' o\nu\kappa \dot{\epsilon}mu\varsigma, \alpha\lambda'\ \dot{\epsilon}te\varrho\omega\nu$, 56), invites the reader to consider Callimachus' version against others'.³⁵ The tradition presents a variety of Actaeons, all of whom have committed a crime. Early versions portray an Actaeon competing against Zeus for Semele (e.g. Stesich. fr. 236 *PMG*),³⁶ and Euripides provides the first extant example of Actaeon's direct confrontation with Artemis, which he molds to suit the message of the *Bacchae* (see II.3.2.1).³⁷ However, although a pre-Callimachean Actaeon may view Artemis' bath,³⁸ in the *Bath of Pallas*, Actaeon is innovatively innocent.³⁹

One point of this new detail is clear enough. Athena describes Actaeon's harsher punishment for the same unwitting offense in order to console her comrade.⁴⁰ On another level, the *exemplum* elevates the goddess. By combining

³⁵ On the various Actaeon legends, see esp. Lacy (1990), but also, Heath (1992: 5-9), Ambühl (2005: 135 n167-9), Stephens (2015: 237-8), Manakidou (2017: 192-3).

³⁶ Scholars have explored the intertexts. On Callimachus and Hesiod: Depew (1994), Ambühl (2005: 141-5), and Manakidou (2017: 192-3); Pindar: Ambühl (2005: 141-5), Manakidou (2017: 192-3); Euripides: Segal (1997: 166 n16), Heath (1992: 25-43), Hunter (1992: 22-8, esp. 23-4, 26, 28), Heyworth (2004: 153-7, esp. 157), Ambühl (2005: esp. 145-60, but also 208-23), Manakidou (2017: 191-2). Note also allusions to Euripides' *Melanipp. Sap.*: Kleinknecht (1939: 323 with n1) and Ypsilanti (2009), who compares the protagonist, gods, and horse imagery in *Lav. Pall.* with those in Euripides' *Melanipp. Sap.*

³⁷ On Actaeon and Pentheus in *Ba.*, see Segal (1997: 33-4, 79-80, 117, 166-7, 211), Heath (1992: 10-8), and summarized by Ambühl (2005: 147).

³⁸ Lacy (1990) pieces together the contours of a lost version where Artemis kills a lustful Actaeon. Heath (1992: 17) suggests that Callimachus "alter[s] Actaeon's error to match Pentheus' voyeurism," although he admits that the possible existence of a post-Euripides text is "knocking at the methodological front door like an annoying relative."

³⁹ McKay (1962: 46), Lacy (1990: 40), Heath (1992: 32-3), Ambühl (2005: 136).

⁴⁰ Bulloch (1985 *ad* 107-18), Depew (1994), Ambühl (2005: 136).

Actaeon's new innocence and traditional punishment, Athena turns Teiresias' blindness into a "testimonial" of her "humaneness and generosity in a world governed by cruel fate."⁴¹ The poet also underlines these details by updating Pherecydes' version of Teiresias and Athena. According to Apollod. 3.6.7 (=fr. 92a Fowler), Pherecydes' Athena physically blinds Teiresias (cf. "night" at *Lav. Pall.* 82) and Chariclo asks Athena to restore her son's sight. The changes in Callimachus distance Athena from the punishment in the former and stress the goddess' generosity in the latter.⁴² Finally, with the Actaeon story, Athena may rekindle an Iliadic rivalry with Artemis, for which the narrator prepares by creating an Artemisian Athena who bathes on quiet mountains and socializes with nymphs.⁴³ In the end, Athena (from her own perspective) is superior to Artemis not because Artemis is excessively cruel, but because the huntress is a terrible patron. By using the Homeric *hapax* ἐκαβολίαι (112), which alludes to Artemis' abandonment of another protégé and hunter –Scamandrius (*Il.* 5.49-58), killed by

⁴¹ Heath (1992: 34). Cheshire (2014: 73), taking Chariclo's pious relationship with Athena into account, sees the *exemplum* instead "as a testimonial to the goddess' willingness...to offer blessings to those women who have pleased her by their ritual devotion." This reading, while attractive, does not fully take into account the divine-mortal relationship in the Actaeon *exemplum* which Athena appears to be adducing as a foil. Is Cheshire's implication that Autonoe and Actaeon's relationship with Artemis was poor? Actaeon's was not. The only relationship specified is between Artemis and Actaeon, and it is positive (110-12).

⁴² Heath (1992: 30-1). Depew (1994: 425) interprets the change in Chariclo's response as the poet's way of "emphasiz[ing] instead the maternal feelings that are the source of Chariclo's suffering."

⁴³ Ambühl (2005: 137-8). The rivalry is realized in Callimachus as textual. For the relationship between *Dian.* and *Lav. Pall.*, see p.138 n177. Such rivalries also occur between, e.g. Apollo and Artemis in *Dian.* and Athena and Aphrodite in *Lav. Pall.*

Menelaus— Athena appears the better patron both in the Homeric texts (cf. Diomedes, Odysseus, Telemachus) and in Callimachus' fifth hymn.⁴⁴

II.3.2 The Bath of Pallas and the Bacchae

II.3.2.1 Actaeon and Pentheus

In the *Bacchae*, Actaeon is mentioned four times (229-30, 337-42, 1227-8, 1290-2). Early on in the drama, Cadmus advises Pentheus against hubristic behavior with a cautionary tale about his cousin Actaeon, who was shredded by his own hunting dogs after bragging that he was a better hunter than Artemis (337-42). Ignoring the warning, Pentheus subsequently is portrayed as metaphorically attempting to hunt Dionysus (e.g. 352), who is described as a wild animal (e.g. 434, 436), and ‘outhunt’ Dionysus by chasing down the Maenads, as if animals (e.g. 957-8), who were already successfully hunted by Dionysus.⁴⁵ Near the end of the *Bacchae*, the punishment flips the narrative. Dionysus becomes the hunter (e.g. 1146, 1189), and Pentheus, dressed in fawn skin (835),⁴⁶ becomes a metaphorical

⁴⁴ The parallel is noted by Bulloch (1985 *ad* 111-4, 112) and Stephens (2015 *ad* 112), but see esp. Ambühl (2005: 137-9), who pushes back on the destructive Artemis argument made by Heath (1992: 34) and Müller (1987: 62). Ambühl points out that the *Lav. Pall.* version is from the perspective of *Athena*, who does not name Artemis as the punisher (her role in *Dian.*).

⁴⁵ ‘outhunt’: Heath (1992: 11). The hunting metaphor in *Ba.* has been well studied. See, e.g. Otto (1965: 109, 191-2); Segal (1997: *passim*) and, cf. also Heath (1992: 14-5) and Thumiger (2006; 2007: 128-38).

⁴⁶ In some versions, Actaeon is metamorphosized into a deer (e.g. Hesiod, fr. 217A M-W); in others, Artemis throws a deer-skin on him (Stesich. fr. 236 PMG). Actaeon's metamorphosis is ambiguous in *Lav. Pall.*: ἀλλ' αὐταὶ τὸν ποὶν ἄνακτα κύνες/τουτάκι δειπνησεῦντι, 114-5.

beast (e.g. 1108) torn apart by the Maenads (described as dogs, e.g. 731-3) on Cithaeron, the very location of Actaeon's *sparagmos*, which "clinches the significance of Pentheus' death as a failure to cross from youth to manhood through the marginal ground of hunt and wild."⁴⁷

II.3.2.2 Pentheus and Teiresias

Like Teiresias, Pentheus is described as a young man.⁴⁸ He is called *παῖς* (e.g. 330, 507, 1226) and *νεανίας* ("youth," 274, 974).⁴⁹ In Agave's maenadic eyes, Pentheus is a young animal. She brags that she catches "a young son of a wild lion," (*λέοντος ἀγροτέρου νέον ἵνιν*, 1174). Later, Agave invites the maenads to feast on Pentheus, whom she sees as a young calf with recently sprouted hair on his cheek (*νέος ὁ μόσχος ἄρο-τι γένυν* ὑπὸ κόρυθ' ἀπαλότριχα/κατάκομον θάλλει, 1185-7). The young calf's hair has been compared to Teiresias' new beard (*ἄρτι γένεια/περικάζων*, 75-6), and *περικάζων* ("darkening"), primarily of grapes ripening, could be a "Dionysiac signal."⁵⁰ However, Teiresias is an actual hunting

⁴⁷ Segal (1997: 211).

⁴⁸ Hunter (1992: esp. 23-4) notes many of the similarities between the two texts and is followed and added to by Ambühl (2005: esp. 147-53).

⁴⁹ Note, however, that most instances of *pais* are familial: 213, 507, 1030, 1118, 1121, 1252. 330 is address, and 1226 might also be a familial use. Segal (1997: 161) appears to treat these as markers of age.

⁵⁰ Hunter (1992: 23) followed by Ambühl (2005: 150). On *περικάζων*, see Bulloch (1985 *ad* 75-6) and Stephens (2015 *ad* 75-6).

youth. By contrast, in the *Bacchae*, hunting is a metaphor and as a rite of passage, describes no particular character, but is “fractured among different characters.”⁵¹ Because Pentheus is also a king (666, 721, 769, 776, cf. Actaeon at *Lav. Pall.* 114) and a “man” (e.g. φονίου δ’ ἀνδρὸς ὕβριν, 555; ἀνδρὸς ἀνοσίου, 613), his age is ambiguous.⁵²

In addition, Pentheus’ disguise, tied to the ambivalence of Dionysus and coming-of-age rituals, can be linked to the sexual ambiguity of Teiresias.⁵³ In the *Bacchae*, Dionysus leads Pentheus to Cithaeron (1080); in *Bath of Pallas*, Athena asks Teiresias what “daimon” led him down the “harsh path” (“τίς σε.../...χαλεπὰν ὄδὸν ἄγαγε δαίμων;” 80-1).⁵⁴ In both texts, civilization is contrasted with the wilderness.⁵⁵ Pentheus leaves the city and heads to Cithaeron to spy on the women, and over the course of the hymn, Athena and Chariclo leave Thebes and travel through Boeotia into Mount Helicon. However, the two locations are

⁵¹ Thumiger (2007: esp. 135-6): where Pentheus is concerned, this implicit reference to the rituals of the adolescent who must reach adulthood serves not to point to the definition of a character – contrast Hippolytus, for instance – but to disturb a surface hiding unspeakable aspects of the character’s inner life.”

⁵² Seaford (1981: 268n152) notes the unusual application of youth to a tyrant. Segal (1997: esp. 158-214): “Pentheus stands ambiguously between youth and manhood, between the excitability and unreliability of adolescence and the firmness of adult manhood” (161). Dodds (1960 *ad* 973-6) infers from the Pentheus calf image at 1185-7 that he is “hardly more than a boy.”

⁵³ Ambühl (2005: 151).

⁵⁴ Hunter (1992: 23): “Like Pentheus, Teiresias is led by a god,” but note Bulloch (1985 *ad* 80-1) and Stephens (2015 *ad* 81) that *daimon* is often simply fate or chance. Indeed, fate is consistent with Athena’s deflection of blame in the *consolatio* or defense.

⁵⁵ On the dichotomy in *Ba.*, see Segal (1997: 78-124) and more recently, e.g. Thumiger (2007: 146-8).

diametrically opposed. Helicon is pure and associated with the Muses and nymphs, but Cithaeron is the site of gory events both in tragedy and Callimachus (e.g. Niobe at *Del.* 97-8).⁵⁶ In the end, Pentheus will never return alive from his liminal period in the wild, while Teiresias will prophesy for the Boeotians, Cadmus, and the sons of Labdacus (125-6). Finally, while Pentheus intentionally disguises himself to spy on the supposed sexual wantonness of the Maenads, Teiresias accidentally happens upon Chariclo and Athena in the bath. Callimachus therefore transforms the Actaeon story from a warning to a consolation or defense.

II.3.3 The Bath of Pallas and a Hesiodic Actaeon

Athena's bath with the nymphs near the Hippocrene (70-2) on Mount Helicon is a clear allusion to the Muses' bath in the same location in Hesiod's *Theogony* (1-8).⁵⁷ Therefore, a possible Hesiodic pretext for the Actaeon *exemplum* is attractive.⁵⁸ In *P.Oxy.* 2509 (=fr. 162 Most), almost unanimously attributed to the Hesiodic *Ehoiai*,⁵⁹ a goddess visits Chiron and his wife, a Naead nymph,⁶⁰ to

⁵⁶ Ambühl (2005: 149).

⁵⁷ On the poetics of the hymn, particularly *Dichterweih* and its relationship to the *Somnium* and Hesiod, see esp. Müller (1987: esp. 58-61), Heath (1992: 35-8), Ambühl (2005: 113-20; 365-85 and 409-13 *passim*). I do not intend to enter into this conversation.

⁵⁸ The suggestion was first made by Depew (1994) and advanced by Ambühl (2005: 141-5).

⁵⁹ See Depew (1994: 413n24). Lobel (1964) attributed the fragment to the *Ehoiai* and was followed by all—Casanova (1969), Janko (1984), Depew (1994), Ambühl (2005: 141-5), Hunter (2005: 257-8), Most (2007), Manakidou (2017: 193), and Stephens (2015: 237-8)—except Merkelbach/West, on which see West (1985 with n88).

⁶⁰ ἐνθα δ' ἐναὶε/ Χείρων νηϊδ' ἔχων νύμφην θυμαρέ' ἀκοιτιν, 2-3.

prophecy the birth of Dionysus as an explanation for the death of Actaeon (Chiron's pupil), who was killed by his dogs, or as a caution so that Chiron neither kills nor keeps Actaeon's dogs.⁶¹ The goddess informs Chiron that the dogs will accompany Dionysus in the mountain until he is welcomed on Olympus,⁶² but later return to him forever. After removing the madness from the dogs, who lament Actaeon, the goddess leaves.

Several correspondences between the texts have been identified. The participants are similar. First, the goddess is, again, almost unanimously agreed to be Athena, because she is described as "daughter of the great aegis-wearing Zeus," (*αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς κούρη μεγ[άλοιο, line 13]*) and typically acts as her father's messenger.⁶³ Moreover, both passages treat Athena as "Zeus' second self, his surrogate."⁶⁴ In *Bath of Pallas*, Athena's special relationship to Zeus is highlighted. Because she was born from the head of Zeus, who does not agree to falsehoods, she alone can nod and bring about a result (131-6). Furthermore, Athena in the

⁶¹ The former: e.g. Depew (1994); the latter, Casanova (1969: 34, 39, 43-4), who prefers the second of his two proposals (that Chiron not keep the dogs).

⁶² Casanova (1969: 34 with n3) suggests [Πία]ο[νησοῖο at v.8, which would suit Dionysus, over Lobel's ν[η]ο[ιτό]φυλ[λον].

⁶³ Athena: see Depew (1994: 413n23), Ambühl (2005: 142n195), Stephens (2015: 237). Artemis: Casanova (1969: 33-4) argues that 1) v.13 "non ha valore univoco" and can equally apply to Artemis and 2) v.14 (the goddess' ability to remove madness from the dogs) reflects the role of Artemis Ήμερασία or Ήμέρα (cf. Call. *Dian.* 233-6). The second argument is unconvincing because none of the passages adduced as parallels (*Il.* 9.536; *Od.* 6.151, 20.61) include the key epithet ("aegis-wearing").

⁶⁴ Depew (1994: 414-5).

fifth hymn reflects Zeus's role in the Hesiodic *Melampodia*. Neither Athena nor Zeus blinds Teiresias, but do compensate him with gifts. In the *Melampodia*, Hera blinds him (ὅθεν Ἡρα μὲν αὐτὸν ἐτύφλωσε, fr. 211 Most=fr. 275 M-W), and according to Σ^{HQ} *Od.* 10. 494 (cf. 92b Fowler), Hera grows angry and *maims* Teiresias (ἡ μὲν Ἡρα ὀργισθεῖσα ἐπήρωσεν). Thus, as in the Artemis/Athena rivalry discussed above, Athena appears again the gentler goddess by "distanc[ing] herself from Hera's immediate and vindictive response" in the earlier version.⁶⁵ Second, in both texts, Athena addresses a Chariclo. At Pi. *P.* 4.182, a Chariclo is with Chiron, and according to the scholiast, Chiron's wife is usually called Chariclo (a different one), but is called a Naead by Hesiod (fr. 163 Most = 42 M-W).⁶⁶

What is important here is not consolation, but Athena's prophetic message from Zeus, in whose way Actaeon stood, about the future birth of Dionysus.⁶⁷ If Pindar is added as an intermediary, prophecy is "cubed" ("Prophezeiung in dritter Potenz"), as a relationship is then established among Callimachus, Hesiod, and

⁶⁵ Depew (1994: 415).

⁶⁶ Σ^{BDEGQ} Pi. *P.* 4.182 (=fr. 42 M-W = 163 Most) ὁ δὲ Ἡσίοδος Ναϊδα φησὶ τὸν Χείρωνα γῆμαι.

⁶⁷ Consolation: esp. Depew (1994: 412-5). Prophecy: Ambühl (2005: 141-5), who points out (p. 143) that nothing in the surviving frr. indicates a *consolatio*. Casanova (1969: 36, 43-6), followed by Lacy (1990: 28) also stresses prophecy and take the reference to Dionysus' birth as an sign that Actaeon died as a result of his competition with Zeus over Semele.

Pindar.⁶⁸ Two Pindaric odes are relevant to *Bath of Pallas*. In the fourth Pythian ode, where Chariclo and Chiron are named, Medea predicts the foundation of Cyrene. And in *P. 9*, Chiron prophesies to Apollo the birth of his son Aristaeus (father of Actaeon) by Cyrene. Pindar borrowed material for this ode from the Cyrene *Ehoia*, where *P.Oxy.* 2509 is probably located. Significantly, both Athena and Chiron prophesy the birth of a half-god (Dionysus and Aristaeus). Callimachus is concerned with both of these texts or their characters—Aristaeus and Cyrene, in particular—and the element of prophecy in his *Hymn to Apollo* and *Acontius and Cydippe* (frr. 67-75 Pf.).

In the end, the Actaeon *exemplum* also allows the poet to allusively create a triad of prophetic deities: Athena, Apollo, and Dionysus. Athena has been tied to Apollo within the Callimachean corpus.⁶⁹ A parallel between *Bath of Pallas* and *Acontius and Cydippe* clearly links Athena's prophetic abilities to Apollo's.⁷⁰ The “night” that blinds Teiresias alludes to Apollo's “nightly word” (*ἐννύχιον...επός*, fr. 75.21 Pf.), which foreshadows the vision that Athena

⁶⁸ Ambühl (2005: 143-5). Similarly, Lacy (1990:28): “Archaic genealogical literature actually made the story of Actaeon one element of a larger saga in which the step-by-step destruction of the Theban house-Actaeon, Semele, Ino and Melicertes, and Pentheus-is instrumental in the birth and establishment of Dionysus, a structure to which Pindar and Nonnos allude.”

⁶⁹ Ambühl (2015: 141-5) summarizes the intertexts.

⁷⁰ Ambühl (2005: 144-5). Similarly, Heath (1992: 38), but without references to other texts.

gives to Teiresias.⁷¹ The mention of Aristaeus in *Bath of Pallas* (108) creates a further link between programmatic texts. In Pi. *P.* 9.59-65, Aristaeus is associated with both Apollo and Zeus.⁷² In *Acontius and Cydippe*, Apollo explains that Cydippe is sick because her parents are attempting to marry her to another man not favored by Artemis. The god goes on to describe how Acontius is a worthy match since he is descended from Zeus Aristaeus (fr. 75.21-37 Pf.). Aristaeus' connection with Zeus is also established in an Apollonius passage that alludes to the *aition* of Etesia in *Acontius and Cydippe*. Priest Aristaeus, gifted by the Muses, assists the inhabitants of Ceos with a drought and establishes a cult of Zeus (2.498-527). This Apollonius passage appears in the context of Phineus' blinding, an intertext of Teiresias' blinding in the fifth hymn.⁷³

Using the Actaeon story, Ambühl connects the prophecies of Athena and Dionysus.⁷⁴ For example, Athena's speech follows the argumentation structure of Dionysus' at the end of the *Bacchae* (1340-1).⁷⁵ Both deities are born from Zeus, and both appeal to the god. However, the gods' prophecies differ, since Athena

⁷¹ Metapoetically, Apollo's nightly speech and Teiresias' night vision, as it were, may represent the time for production of poetry. On night as poetry time, see Spanoudakis (2002:69) and Murray (2004: 214 with n18). On the importance of Apollo in the development of effective speech, see VI.5.

⁷² All three receive the title *Nomios*. Callimachus applies it to Apollo at *Ap.* 47. On *Nomios*, see VI.4.1.

⁷³ Harder (1993: 108n41) and (2012 *ad* 75.32-7, 75.33-7).

⁷⁴ (2015: 153-160). Cf. Müller (1987: 63-4) who opposes Dionysian and Callimachean-Palladic inspiration.

⁷⁵ Noted also by Hunter (1992: 24).

prophesies a glorious future for Teiresias, though his life in the underworld is comparable to Cadmus'. Ambühl further argues that the Apolline-Dionysian prophetic abilities of Teiresias in the *Bacchae* (discussed below) are combined in the *Bath of Pallas* in Teiresias' ability to both spontaneously prophesy and read bird signs (123-6), which, according to Ambühl, reflects the combination of Palladic-Apollonian "techne" and Dionysian inspiration that characterizes Callimachus' poetry.

II.4 Much to Do with Dionysus. Teiresias and Dionysus: Death & Rebirth

Because the Ptolemies claimed descent from and ostentatiously celebrated Dionysus, it is odd that Callimachus dedicates no hymn to the deity, especially given a possible Homeric antecedent. The queens' self-portrayals as Aphrodite have raised similar questions.⁷⁶ But as Callimachus slyly incorporates Aphrodite, so Dionysus. The god's story is felt in multiple hymns, as we will see. In *Bath of Pallas*, much like Euripides in his "romantic tragedies," Callimachus overlaps a coming-of-age tale with ritual death and rebirth. The poet does so through various allusions to epic and tragedy.

⁷⁶ See, e.g. Hadjittofi (2008)

II.4.1 Chariclo's Lament

As discussed above, Callimachus imports imagery from the *Bacchae*, specifically Penthean images by way of Euripides' Actaeon and the Dionysian similarity between their stories in general. Ambühl makes the interesting suggestion that by beginning the *exemplum* with the patronymic "Cadmean" (ά Καδμηίς, 107)—followed by "Aristaeus" (Ἀρισταῖος) in 108 and eventually, "Actaeon in his prime," τὸν ἀβατὰν Ακταίονα, in 109—the narrator creates an intentional ambiguity intended to invoke the similar Dionysiac fate of all four of Cadmus' daughters and their sons: Semele/Dionysus, Autonoe/Actaeon, Agave/Pentheus, Ino/Melicertes.⁷⁷ Indeed, Callimachus may even allude to another sister more directly. Autonoe's collection of Actaeon's bones in the fifth hymn (115-6) in the thicket (δουμώς) echoes Cadmus' collection of Pentheus' body at *Ba.* 1216-1221.⁷⁸ The two texts are further bound by a verbal echo, for after Cadmus describes how he discovered Pentheus' body scattered "in the glens of Cithaeron" (ἐν Κιθαιρῶνος πτυχαῖς, 1219) and "in the woods difficult to discover" (ἐν ὕλῃ κείμενον δυσευρέτω, 1221), he mentions that he "saw Autonoe, who once bore Actaeon to Aristaeus and Ino, wretched ones driven wild, still in the thicket" (ἀμφὶ δουμοὺς) (1227-29).

⁷⁷ (2005: 146-7). Callimachus treats the last story, which is unfortunately two mere frr. (frr. 91-2 Pf.).

⁷⁸ Bulloch (1985 *ad* 116), Ambühl (2005: 152-3).

With this echo, Callimachus also transforms Autonoe's maenadic raving in the bushes after Pentheus' *sparagmos* to grieving while she searches the bushes for her son's bones, just as Euripides transforms Agave's raving to grief when she realizes that she is holding the pieces of her son Pentheus in her arms.⁷⁹ This grief the poet then transfers to Chariclo, who mourns Teiresias in tragic fashion. Like Dionysus's shout ($\alpha\nu\varepsilon\beta\omega\eta\sigma\nu$, 1079) to the maenads to punish Pentheus, which is met with quiet (1084-5), Chariclo cries out in a quiet, sacred setting ($\alpha \nu\mu\varphi\alpha \delta' \dot{\varepsilon}\beta\omega\alpha\sigma\varepsilon$, 85).⁸⁰ She also declares that she will never again walk on Helicon, which exacts too high a price for the loss of a few measly deer. The accusation flips those of Euripidean characters blaming mountains for saving an exposed child, e.g. Oedipus, who not only blames the mountain (S. *OT* 1391-3), but (as Chariclo also blames Athena), also the shepherd (S. *OT* 1349-55).⁸¹ Chariclo's lament may also imitate the lament of Agave (*Ba.* 1383-5).⁸²

Furthermore, Chariclo's nightingale lament ($\mu\acute{a}t\eta\varrho \mu\grave{e}v \gamma\omega\varrho\bar{\alpha}n \text{ o}\bar{\iota}tov$ $\dot{\alpha}\eta\delta\omega\eta\bar{\iota}\omega\nu/\dot{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon \beta\omega\bar{\eta} \kappa\lambda\acute{a}i\omega\sigma\alpha$, 94-5) echoes the tale of Procne and Philomela,

⁷⁹ On the "thickets" as a place "where people wander when in distraction," either from madness or grief, see Bulloch (1985 *ad* 116).

⁸⁰ This observation is made by Ambühl (2005: 148-9). She also compares the shouting of the maenads during the *sparagmos* ($\bar{\eta}v \delta\grave{e} \pi\grave{a}\sigma'\grave{\omega}\mu\bar{\eta} \beta\omega\bar{\eta}$, 1131).

⁸¹ E. *Ph.* 801-5, 1604-6, *IA* 1284-91. On the personification of the landscape in the exposure tales, see Huys (1995: 191-5).

⁸² Bulloch (1985 *ad* 90), Heath (1992: 30), Ambühl (2005: 153).

who also lurk behind the laments of mothers in tragedy.⁸³ It is worth noting here, too, the Dionysian undertones, i.e. Procne's cutting up, boiling, and serving of her son to her husband (see App. 5.2.2). Even with knowledge of former versions of the Teiresias tale, each of these scenarios (in addition to the sexual transgression discussed above) leads the reader to expect a negative outcome. The poet thus brings the reader as close as possible to a reenactment of the kind of tragedy which reflects only half of Dionysus' story: death without rebirth.

II.4.2 A Dionysian Teiresias

But Teiresias is not one of Artemis' protégés, who meet gruesome deaths; he is Athena's and, in a sense, Dionysus'. Like Artemis, Dionysus associates with hunters, particularly ephebes who are not yet equal participants in symposia, but who carry game and wine into the *polis*. On amphorae of the sixth century B.C. by the Amasis Painter, Dionysus is depicted in scenes alongside dogs and young hunters who are sprouting beards.⁸⁴ The negative implications of this relationship are realized in the *Bacchae*, and such an outcome looms at the opening of the

⁸³ On the image, a "poetic commonplace," see Bulloch (1985 *ad* 94-5) and Stephens (2015 *ad* 94). Hunter (1992: 20-2), followed by Ambühl (2005: 156 with n253 for a fuller bibliography on elegiac threnody in *Lav. Pall.* and tragedy), sees the nightingale lament as a reference to the elegiac meter of the poem, which imitates threnody in Attic tragedy. Hunter (1992: 24), followed by Ambühl (2005: 153 with n238), also supposes an allusion to Euripidean Agave's lost lament.

⁸⁴ Isler-Kerényi (2007: 136-43).

narrative in Callimachus' fifth hymn. When Teiresias bursts on the scene, he is "with his dogs," (ἀμᾶ κυσὶν, 75-6). This detail alerts the reader to the possibility of Actaeon-style doom, but when Actaeon appears, his fate is presented as a foil to Teiresias'.⁸⁵ Instead of becoming a deer, he kills them: δόρκας ὀλέσσας/καὶ πρόκας οὐ πολλὰς φάεα παιδὸς ἔχεις, 91-2. Teiresias is thus modeled on Pentheus' foil, Dionysus, who is on the mountain with dogs in fr. 162.8-9 and portrayed as a youth in the *Bacchae*.⁸⁶

In the *Bacchae*, while both Pentheus and Dionysus are represented as young hunters, Dionysus is a "“hunter’ in a truer and more literal sense than Pentheus ever was."⁸⁷ In *P.Oxy.* 2509, Dionysus, likely hunting, wanders with Actaeon’s hounds before heading to Olympus. In the *Bacchae*, he wears a fawn skin (24, 137) and is a “wise hound-leader,” a successful hunter, who drives his hounds (i.e. the maenads) against the beast (ό Βάικιος κυναγέτας/ σοφὸς σοφῶς ἀνέπιηλ’ ἐπὶ θῆρα/ τόνδε μαινάδας/1189-91), and “the king-hunter” (ό γὰρ ἄναξ ἀγρεύς, 1192). Also, as mentioned above, it has been argued that Teiresias’ beard (ἄρτι γένεια/περικάζων, 75-6) recalls the hair of Pentheus-as-calf. However, Pentheus’ hair is like a wild beast’s (πρέπει γ’ ὥστε θὴρ ἄγραυλος φόβῃ, 1188), while

⁸⁵ Bulloch (1985 *ad* 114), Ambühl (2005: 135).

⁸⁶ Hunter (2005: 258) and (1992: 23-4). Beyond these comments, as far as I know, much has been said about Teiresias and Actaeon/Pentheus, but very little about Teiresias and Dionysus.

⁸⁷ Segal (1997: 33).

Teiresias' "ripening" beard better reflects "wine-cheeked" Dionysus (*οἰνωπὸν γένυν*, 438).⁸⁸ Indeed, elsewhere, in his *Cretans*, Euripides brings together the two words when Pasiphae describes what the bull is not, a handsome bridegroom (13-6): *οἰνωπὸν ἐξέλαμπε περικαίνων γένυν*, fr. 427e.15.⁸⁹

Teiresias and Dionysus can be linked in other ways. In *P.Oxy.* 2509, Actaeon is an obstacle to Dionysus' birth, and in the *Bacchae*, Pentheus and his mother are obstacles to Dionysus' acceptance in Thebes as the child of Zeus. Teiresias, however, follows the god. Cadmus and Teiresias discuss how to honor the god (*Ba.* 170-209); Teiresias, holding a thyrsus and wearing a fawn skin and ivy, is also willingly dressed in Dionysian garb (176-7, 249); and the seer, though old, feels young and attempts to dance (190).⁹⁰ When Pentheus accuses Teiresias of introducing a new god and persuading Cadmus to join him (248-62), Teiresias defends Dionysus and advises Pentheus to honor the new god, whose greatness he prophesies will spread throughout Greece (266-327).

Teiresias even shares his prophetic abilities with Dionysus. The old Teiresias tells Pentheus: "This god is a prophet," since Bacchic madness inspires

⁸⁸ Segal (1997: 175-6) argues that the two words for hair, *κόμη* and *φόβη*, also describe wild foliage, so "Pentheus becomes virtually part of the forest."

⁸⁹ Bulloch (1985 *ad* 75-6) notes that in this passage and two others (*TGF* 171 F12 and P. N. 5.6) "the image is established gradually" by either *οἰνωπὸν* or *ὄπωρον*, but that Call. uses the verb alone and emphasizes it by placing it at the beginning.

⁹⁰ Ambühl (2005: 157) wonders if this passage is a precursor for the rejuvenation of Callimachus' Teiresias.

prophecy (298-301).⁹¹ Yet Teiresias delivers the truth “within the limits of intelligible discourse,” whereas Dionysus relies on “ecstasy, wild cries, unintelligible speech.”⁹² Furthermore, both prophets maintain a connection to Apollo. Although Teiresias is a mystic of Dionysus, his augury reflects his association with Apolline prophecy, and Teiresias connects Dionysus to Delphi with his dancing on Parnassus (306-9).⁹³

Pentheus threatens the prophets’ respective spheres of influence. Within the same speech (343-57), Pentheus orders some to hunt down the stranger, and another, to overturn Teiresias’ augury with levers (*μοχλοῖς*) (347-8).⁹⁴ The king echoes this attack plan on Dionysus’ sacred space, where the maenads are raving, when he asks the stranger if he should overturn the mountains of Cithaeron with levers (*μοχλοὺς*) or his hands (949-50), but the stranger dissuades Pentheus when he explains that there are the shrines of the Nymphs and the abode of Pan (951-2). Fittingly, the maenads repeat these strategies when trying to cast him from the pine, first by attempting to use oak branches as levers (again, *μοχλοῖς*, 1103-4) and successfully, by dislodging the tree with their hands (1109-10).

⁹¹ μάντις δ' ὁ δαίμων ὅδε τὸ γὰρ βακχεύσιμον/ καὶ τὸ μανιώδες μαντικὴν πολλὴν ἔχει/ ὅταν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἔλθῃ πολὺς/λέγειν τὸ μέλλον τοὺς μεμηνότας ποιεῖ.

⁹² Segal (1997: 292-8, esp. 294, 296), who also discusses how the *manteis* use their own modes of discourse to etymologize names.

⁹³ On Dionysus and Apollo in *Ba.*, see Ugolini (1995: 202-4).

⁹⁴ On the levers and other tools in the *Ba.*, see Segal (1997: 61-4).

II.4.3 Teiresias' Nightly Vision

The final similarity that I wish to discuss occurs between not only Teiresias in the *Bath of Pallas* and Dionysus in the *Bacchae*, but also Callimachus' Teiresias and other figures in tragedy. The common motif of seeing/light and blindness/darkness is unsurprisingly very prominent in the *Bath of Pallas*. Teiresias is out hunting at midday (μεσαμβριναὶ δ' ἔσαν ὥραι, 73),⁹⁵ and when he sees Athena, "night" takes his eyes (παιδὸς δ' ὤμματα νὺξ ἔλαβεν, 82). Chariclo first blames Athena for taking away the eyes of her son (ὤμματά μοι τῷ παιδὸς ἀφείλεο, 87), who will no longer see the sun (ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀέλιον πάλιν όψεα, 89), and then the mountain for stealing his eyes in exchange for the deer he killed (δόρκας ὀλέσσας/καὶ πρόκας οὐ πολλὰς φάεα παιδὸς ἔχεις, 91-2). Athena responds that eye-stealing is not her pastime (παίδων ἐγὼ δ' οὐ τοι τέκνον ἔθηκ' ἀλαόν/ οὐ γὰρ Αθαναίᾳ γλυκερὸν πέλει ὤμματα/ ἀρπάζειν, 98-100), that Actaeon's parents would happily take a blind son (τυφλὸν),⁹⁶ and that Autonoe would tell her how fortunate she is to receive her son from the mountains blind

⁹⁵ Primarily, the hour and stillness signify the danger of encountering a deity and a time of poetic inspiration. See Bulloch (1985 *ad* 72 with n5) and Stephens (2015 *ad* 72-4). Cf. Ambühl (2012 *ad* 96a,7), who notes that, as in *Lav. Pall.* and *Cer.*, the boastful hunter falls asleep and is killed by the boar's head in the afternoon.

⁹⁶ πόσσα μὲν ἀ Καδμῆις ἐς ὕστερον ἐμπυρα καυσεῖ, / πόσσα δ' Αρισταῖος, τὸν μόνον εὐχόμενοι/ παιδα, τὸν ἀβατὰν Ακταίονα, τυφλὸν ἰδέσθαι, 107-9.

(οὐλβίσταν δ' ἐρέει σε καὶ εὐαίωνα γενέσθαι/ ἐξ ὀρέων ἀλαὸν παῖδ' ὑποδεξαμέναν, 117-8). Though blind, Teiresias will prophesy and achieve fame (μάντιν ἐπεὶ θησῶντιν ἀοιδιμον ἐσσομένοισιν, 121) and live a long life (128), and though dead, he will remain conscious (καὶ μόνος, εὗτε θάνη, πεπνυμένος ἐν νεκύεσσι/ φοιτασεῖ, 129-30).

Teiresias' journey through darkness and into the light, so to speak, is roughly reflected by Dionysus' own transitions in the *Bacchae*, where the opposition is closely linked to death and rebirth.⁹⁷ After Pentheus locks up Dionysus in the dark inner parts of the house (547-9, 610-1), the god reemerges with an earthquake and burst of light (585-603). At the same time, the chorus describes the remnant of Semele's incineration, the fire around her tomb (596-9).⁹⁸ Dionysus then appears before the chorus, and the leader, believing herself to be all alone (μονάδ' ἔχουσ' ἐρημίαν, 609), declares, "O greatest light" (ὦ φάος μέγιστον, 608). This scene recreates the god's first appearance in the world. Dionysus' birth from fire and escape from the house in light are clearly connected at 596-9. Euripides establishes the importance of Dionysus' birth from the beginning: "I, Dionysus, child of Zeus, have come to this Theban land, I whom Semele, daughter of Cadmus,

⁹⁷ The topic is well-covered by Segal (1997: 94, 154-6, 169-70, 222-3), and, on the ritual background, Seaford (1981: 256-8), (1996 *ad* 576-641, 606-9, 607, 608, 616-37, 630-1).

⁹⁸ πῦρ οὐ λεύσσεις, οὐδὲ ἀυγάζῃ,/ Σεμέλας ἴερὸν <τόνδ'> ἀμφὶ τάφον,/ ἀν ποτε κεραυνόβολος ἔλιπε/ φλόγα Διὸς βροντά;

bore, delivered by flashing fire," ("Ηκω Διὸς παῖς τήνδε Θηβαίαν χθόνα/ Διόνυσος, ὃν τίκτει ποθ' ἡ Κάδμου κόρη/ Σεμέλη λοχευθεῖσ' ἀστραπηφόρω πνοῇ1-3). The image is then repeated throughout the drama, e.g. he is snatched from lightning, an "immortal fire" (*πυρὸς ἐξ ἀθανάτου*) and placed in Zeus' thigh, (523-5, cf. 88-98, 242-3, 242-3, 286-7). The images of darkness are also linked. For example, the similarity between Dionysus' protection from Hera in Zeus' thigh and from Pentheus in the dark is established by the verbal echo and metrical similarities: *περόναις κουπτὸν ἀφ'* "Hρας, ("hidden with pins from Hera,"98); *σκοτίαις κουπτὸν ἐν εἰρκταῖς,* ("hidden in a dark enclosure,"549).⁹⁹ In the first scenario, Dionysus is born the son of Zeus; in the second, he proves himself to be the son of Zeus to Thebes.

Flashes of light also spell doom for Pentheus and his house.¹⁰⁰ Coming out of his dark prison, the god orders, "Light the flashing lamp of lightning; burn to cinders, burn to cinders Pentheus' house" (*ἄπτε κεραύνιον αἴθοπα λαμπάδα, σύμφλεγε σύμφλεγε δώματα Πενθέος*, 594-5). Pentheus compares the bacchants' insolence to blazing fire (*ἥδη τόδ' ἐγγὺς ὥστε πῦρ ύφάπτεται/ ὑβρισμα βακχῶν*, 778-9). Then, on the way to the mountain, the chorus requests that

⁹⁹ Segal (1997: 155).

¹⁰⁰ Segal (1997: 155) distinguishes between the "life-giving" and "destructive" sides of Dionysus, who has "affinities with both darkness and light, and with the positive as well as the dangerous side of both."

Dionysus “appear as a bull, many-headed serpent, or lion flaming with fire,” (φάνηθι ταῦρος ἡ πολύκρανος ἵδεῖν/ δράκων ἡ πυριφλέγων/ ὁρᾶσθαι λέων, 1017-9). Finally, when Dionysus shouts to the maenads to punish Pentheus, “a light of a sacred fire” (φῶς σεμνοῦ πυρός) stretches between the sky and earth (1082-3).

Despite the light, Pentheus is figuratively in the dark. Believing that the stranger escaped, Pentheus rushes into the house with a dark sword, but in the courtyard Bromius creates a light (φῶς, 630),¹⁰¹ so Pentheus attacks the “shining air” (φαεννὸν <αἰθέρ>, 631), as if slaughtering the stranger; however, the house falls, and an exhausted Pentheus drops his sword (627-36). Seaford connects this scene, along with others, to the experience of initiates into the mysteries, in which a period of darkness and fear was followed by light, which was associated with the birth of a divine child.¹⁰² Similarly, the chorus is “stricken with fear,” (ἐκπεπληγμέναι φοβῶ, 604) and is trembling (τρόμον, 607) right before they recognize their “greatest light” (φάος μέγιστον, 608). And when Pentheus emerges from the palace dressed as a maenad, his demeanor is changed and he sees two suns, all experiences of the

¹⁰¹ Instead of the more accepted φάσμα, Seaford (1996 with note *ad* 630-1) prints φῶς, which seems to suit the light imagery in the immediate context and can be compared to similar passages elsewhere, e.g. S. *Ant.* 964. However, either printing alludes to the ritual background, since initiates into the mysteries also saw *phasmata*, as Seaford himself points out (1981: 259).

¹⁰² Despite the methodological feud between the two scholars, Segal (1997: 155n53) acknowledges Seaford’s interpretation as possible. On the identity of the divine child, see VII.3.1. The maenads call on one of the possibilities (Iacchus) at 723-6. On the mystic light as a child, see Seaford (1996 *ad* 608), who cites, e.g. S. *Ant.* 1146-52, E. *Ion* 1074-81, Pi. O. 2.53, S. *El.* 1224.

initiate;¹⁰³ however, contrary to the initiates' "rebirth" and unlike Dionysus, who is restored, Pentheus becomes the sacrifice.¹⁰⁴

A similar sequence occurs in *Bath of Pallas*, as Teiresias, unlike Pentheus, successfully moves from darkness/death to prophetic vision/rebirth.¹⁰⁵ In addition to Chariclo's funeral lament and the extinguishing of Teiresias' "lights" (φάεα) in exchange for the "deer" (δόοκας, originally ζόοξ, but popularly connected with δέοκομαι),¹⁰⁶ Callimachus' language also evokes numerous passages about death from the epic and tragedy.¹⁰⁷ The poet's use of νὺξ ("night") rather than a more regular word for darkness, such as σκότος, is striking.¹⁰⁸ "Night," often "black," formulaically covers the eyes of fallen warriors (e.g. 5.659, 13.580; cf. the suitors' future death, *Od.* 20.351-2) or dazed warriors who near and bounce back from death in the *Iliad* (e.g. ἀμφὶ δὲ ὅσσε κελαινὴ νὺξ ἐκάλυψε, 5.310, of Aeneas=

¹⁰³ Seaford (1981: 259-60). Ambühl (2005: 152) contrasts Pentheus' delusional vision of the two suns, which ends in his death and Teiresias' inability to see the sun, but "higher view."

¹⁰⁴ So Segal (1997: 170), who sees the potential for Pentheus' rebirth when Dionysus tells him that he will return in his mother's arms (966-70), but that scenario "ends in disaster and disintegration."

¹⁰⁵ Similarly, Ambühl (2005: 159): "Wie Pentheus erfährt auch Teiresias im *Bad der Pallas* eine unfreiwillige 'Initiation', die jedoch nicht zum Tod, sondern zu einer Statuserhöhung führt, da der Geblendete zum Seher geweiht wird."

¹⁰⁶ Bulloch (1985 *ad* 91-2) and Hunter (1992: 20-2, esp. 20), who also reads the language of debt in the hymn as "an amplification of the epitaphic topos that life is 'lent' to us, and that sooner or later death calls in the loan." See also Cheshire (2014: 68), who suggests that Teiresias' inability to speak and move, along with his exit from the hymn as an active participant, adds to this sense.

¹⁰⁷ For sources (epic and tragedy) on νὺξ and death, see Bulloch (1985 *ad* 82).

¹⁰⁸ McKay (1962: 104) attempts to reconstruct an Antimachus parallel, which Bulloch (1985) does not acknowledge and Ambühl (112 with n64) rejects.

11.356, of Hector).¹⁰⁹ νὺξ is also attested as a (rare) metaphor for Teiresias' blindness in Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannos*, which establishes Oedipus as the perfect foil for Callimachus' Teiresias.¹¹⁰ Oedipus speaks to Teiresias what will become a Callimachean echo: "You are nourished by one night so that you can harm neither me nor another, whoever sees the light," (μιᾶς τρέφει πρὸς νυκτός, ὥστε μήτ' ἐμὲ/μήτ' ἄλλον, ὅστις φῶς ὁρᾷ, βλάψαι ποτ' ἄν, 374-5). The irony, of course, is that Teiresias, the prophet of Apollo (e.g. 409-10), "sees" clearly (e.g. 747), and Oedipus, whose fate is in the hands of Apollo (e.g. 376-7), is "blind" in his mind to the truth (e.g. Teiresias: τυφλὸς τά ὥτα τόν τε νοῦν τά τ' ὄμματ' εἰ, 371). More to the point, Oedipus' blindness is explicitly described in terms of death. After looking on the light for the last time (1183), Oedipus blinds himself, which is described later by Euripides as a "murder of the eyes" (ἐς ὄμμαθ' αὐτοῦ δεινὸν ἐμβάλλει φόνον, *Ph.* 61), and the chorus laments with a dirge (*OT* 1218-22) and declares that Oedipus would have been better off dead than living while blind

¹⁰⁹ On their nearness to death: Aeneas (Καί νύ κεν ἐνθ' ἀπόλοιτο ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Αἰνείας, /εὶ μὴ ἄρ' ὀξὺ νόησε Διὸς θυγάτηρ Αφροδίτη, 5.311-2) and Hector ("Εκτωρ ἔμπνυτο.../...καὶ ἀλεύατο κῆρα μέλαιναν, 11.359-60; Diomedes to Hector: ἐξ αὖ νῦν ἔφυγες θάνατον κύον, 11.362); cf. Idaeus who escapes death when Hephaestus covers him in darkness, (οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ κεν αὐτὸς ὑπέκφυγε κῆρα μέλαιναν, /ἀλλ' Ἡφαῖστος ἔρυτο, σάωσε δὲ νυκτὶ καλύψας, 5.22-3). Aphrodite's rescue of Aeneas from "night" and Hephaistos' of Idaeus with "night" bears some resemblance to Teiresias' avoidance of death (Actaeon style) and the work of "night."

¹¹⁰ Ambühl (2005: 111n57) notices the pre-Callimachean metaphor that Bulloch (1985 *ad* 82.2) misses, but does not make further comments about the passage in particular. Ambühl does, however, briefly discuss the Teiresias-Oedipus foil. For an overview of and sources for the well-covered motif in *OT*, see, e.g. Ugolini (1995: 191-5).

(1368). Oedipus echoes the chorus and wants to go back to Cithaeron to die, as it was intended (1449-54).

In some ways, Oedipus and Teiresias are similar. Both are blind because of a sexual transgression,¹¹¹ and a *daimon* drives them to misfortune (*Lav. Pall.* 80-1; *OT* 1300-2, 1328).¹¹² However, Teiresias' transgression is completely unintentional, while Oedipus, though committing crimes unaware, continues in his obtuseness in the face of sage advice. And although Oedipus portrays himself as innocent in *Oedipus at Colonus* (e.g. 547-8, 964) and receives compensation,¹¹³ his life is described as long and difficult, which is markedly at odds with Teiresias' compensation. The rare poetic adjective ἀλαός ("blind"), which describes Teiresias in *Bath of Pallas* (98, 118) and the *Odyssey* (10.493, 12.267), is also applied to Oedipus (S. *OC* 150, 244, 1449; E. *Ph.* 1531). However, in two instances, his long, terrible life is also stressed. For example, Antigone tells her father to leave the house, though blind (οὕμι μάτην φέρων, *Ph.* 1531) and describes him as "dragging out a long-suffering life" in the darkness (οἵ εἴτι δώμασιν ἀέριον οὕμασι σκότον/σοῦσι βαλὼν ἔλκεις μακρόπονον ζόαν, 1533-5).¹¹⁴ By contrast, in

¹¹¹ Heyworth (2005: 157), Ambühl (2005: 111). On the topic in *OT* and other tales, see Devereux (1973).

¹¹² Heyworth (2005: 155n32), Ambühl (2005: 111).

¹¹³ Ambühl (2005: 111).

¹¹⁴ Cf. *OC* 149-51: ἐγένετο ἀλαῶν οὕματων/ἀρά καὶ ἡσθα φυτάλμιος; δυσαίων/μακραίων θέσης ἐπεικάσαι.

addition to his privileged existence after death, Teiresias receives a long life from Athena ($\delta\omegaσ\tilde{\omega}$ καὶ βιότω τέρμα πολυχρόνιον, 128). Similarly, a life that is very long ($\piολυχρόνιον$), along with fertility in crops, animals, and households, is granted to those whom Artemis favors (...οὐδ' ἐπὶ σῆμα/ ἔρχονται πλὴν εὔτε πολυχρόνιόν τι φέρωσιν, *Dian.* 131-2).

Once dead, Teiresias will assume the qualities of his epic self. Athena ends her speech with a promise: “and when he dies, he alone being wise among the dead will go to and fro,” (καὶ μόνος, εὔτε θάνη, πεπνυμένος ἐν νεκύεσσι/ φοιτασεῖ...129-30). As has been pointed out,¹¹⁵ Callimachus is alluding to Circe’s description of Teiresias. Circe tells Odysseus to go to Hades to consult Teiresias, the blind seer whose wits remain intact (*Od.* 10.490-3), and goes on to describe Teiresias: “Persephone gave reason to him even when dead, that he alone be wise, but the others as shadows dart about,” (τῷ καὶ τεθνήστι νόον πόρε Περσεφόνεια,/οἴω πεπνῦσθαι, τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ ἀίσσουσιν, 494-5).

In the fifth hymn, Teiresias’ prophetic abilities are still in the future. At present, he is a “blind child” (τέκνον...ἀλαόν, 98; ἀλαὸν παῖδ’, 118) rather than the “blind seer” (μάντηος ἀλαοῦ, *Od.* 11.493). Given the coming-of-age focus of the hymn, then, the description of Teiresias as πεπνυμένος (“wise”) may be

¹¹⁵ e.g. Bulloch (1985 *ad* 129) and Ambühl (2005: 109-10 with n48)

doubly relevant. Chiefly Homeric,¹¹⁶ $\pi\epsilon\pi\nu\nu\mu\acute{e}\nu\circ\varsigma$ describes various figures who have matured and, in particular, learned to speak well. The granting of this gift by Athena, rather than by Persephone,¹¹⁷ calls to mind Telemachus, another of her proteges, who is described, more than any other character, with the term $\pi\epsilon\pi\nu\nu\mu\acute{e}\nu\circ\varsigma$. It has been suggested that Telemachus is an implicit parallel for Teiresias, since Athena pities both of their mothers and saves Telemachus from death at the hands of the suitors and Teiresias from death-like darkness.¹¹⁸ But the youths are also similar in their progression towards effective speech, which correlates with their arrival into adulthood. It has been argued that $\pi\epsilon\pi\nu\nu\mu\acute{e}\nu\circ\varsigma$ marks Telemachus' movement away from childhood towards adulthood, as he "grows into his epithet" and learns not only how to speak wisely and transform his words into deeds, but also when not to speak.¹¹⁹ At the same time, he ceases to be $\nu\acute{\eta}\pi\iota\circ\varsigma$ ("childish, a child"), which characterizes childish speech (e.g. *Il.* 4.31-2) or a warrior childish in his ignorance of his fate and careening towards his demise (e.g. Patroclus, *Il.* 16.35-46). In this light, Teiresias' transition from speechlessness

¹¹⁶ Bulloch (1985 *ad* 129). $\pi\acute{e}\pi\nu\nu\mu\acute{e}\iota$ appears at Pl. *Men.* 100a; Arist. *EE* 1234a3; *Rh.* 3.17.6, which refer back to Homer. Otherwise, only at Hes. *Op.* 731; Thgn. 29, 309; Anaxarch. fr. 1.

¹¹⁷ Bulloch (1985 *ad* 129) suggests that Teiresias' wisdom in Hades as a gift from Athena is Callimachus' innovation, since [Apollod.] 3.6.7 does not include the detail in his description of Pherecydes' version. Ambühl (2005: 109-10) notes that by changing the giver, Callimachus incorporates the tradition into the hymn.

¹¹⁸ So Bulloch (1985 *ad* 75, 43?, 92, 93-5, 204n1) Ambühl (2005: 139 with notes 184-5).

¹¹⁹ Heath (2001).

to famous prophet may be seen as sign of maturity and effective speech, a quality which he alone maintains even in death.

Chapter III. The Hunter and the “Hunter”

III.1 The Diptych-Hymns

The six hymns are generally agreed to have been deliberately arranged by the poet.¹²⁰ While the entire collection is an intertextual network, the mimetic (2, 5, 6) and non-mimetic (1, 3, 4) hymns are more regularly read against the poems in their respective categories.¹²¹ The fifth and the sixth hymns, in particular, have received considerable attention because they exhibit large structural parallels and are the only two written in Doric. The two hymns are established “companion pieces” that should be read with and against each other.¹²² In what follows, I will explore the contrasting images of Teiresias as successful hunter and Erysichthon as failed hunter.

¹²⁰ For a relatively recent summary of the scholarship on the arrangement of Callimachus’ hymns (and other poems), as well as his role as editor, see Ukleja (2005: 21-5).

¹²¹ On the connections between the collection of hymns, see the overview in Ambühl (2005: 233-5), who compares *Lav. Pall.* and *Cer.*, on the one hand, and the divine children, on the other. See also Ukleja (2005: 24), whose study uniquely? considers H4 in the context of *all* the hymns: “Dabei werden die Ähnlichkeiten innerhalb der jeweiligen Gruppe hervorgehoben, ohne dass die Beziehungen der mimetischen Hymnen zu den nicht-mimetischen geprüft würden. Dadurch entsteht der Eindruck, dass die kallimacheische Hymnensammlung aus zwei verschiedenen Hymnengruppen besteht, die kein einheitliches Ganzes bilden und die genauso gut getrennt voneinander stehen könnten.”

¹²² McKay (1962: 106-24; 1962a: 1, 66-9) was the first to consider the fifth and sixth hymns “companion pieces.” Hopkinson (1984: 13-7) charts the structural and contextual parallels of the “contrasting and complementary pieces.” Müller (1987: 46-64), dubbing the correspondences “unparalleled” (“Der Grad der Übereinstimmung beider Hymnen ist ohne Parallele”), read the hymns as metaphors symbolizing Callimachus’ poetic program. Hunter (1992), Hunter and Fuhrer (2002: 157-61, 178-9), Heyworth (2004: 153-7), and Ambühl (2005: 204-23) followed. Hadjittofi (2008: 24-6) adds *h.Ven.* and *h.Dem.* as background diptychs.

III.2 The “Good” and the “Bad” Hunter

If the *Bath of Pallas* tells the tale of successful initiation into adulthood, integration into the community, and the promise of a better afterlife, its foil, the *Hymn to Demeter*, does just the opposite. On the one hand, Teiresias, who is modeled on Dionysus, endures a metaphorical death and rebirth, matures successfully, and thereupon receives gifts, which simultaneously integrate him into the social and religious life of the Theban community and include the promise of a kind of life after death. On the other hand, Erysichthon, the anti-Dionysus, experiences a reverse rite of passage; thereby, unable to contribute to his *polis* in any capacity, he is cast out.

The locus for these transitions, as described in the introduction, is the hunt, a place where boundaries between not only youth and adulthood, but also animal and human are destabilized. While Teiresias is clearly portrayed as a young hunter, Erysichthon embarks on a perverted hunting expedition which results in the loss of both his civic and human identity and so, animalized, the hunter will be hunted. Accordingly, as both hymns are concerned with a rite of passage, markers of age are prominent. In the *Hymn to Demeter*, Erysichthon is a youth.¹²³

¹²³ For discussions of Erysichthon’s age/treatment of his youth, see, e.g. McKay (1962a: 72, 88, 95, 98-100), Hopkinson (1984: 9, 14 with n2, 24, 26), Müller (1987: 71, 74), and esp. Ambühl (2005: 162-91). In keeping with the interest in realism in Hellenistic poetry, e.g. Zanker on this hymn (1987: 187-9), early research (1960s-80s) tends to psychologize about Erysichthon’s youth, e.g. McKay (1962a: 88): “he is presented...as ‘a crazy, mixed-up kid’, the son of a good family who yields to an

This feature is likely innovative and probably designed to create another parallel with Teiresias,¹²⁴ since in all other known versions Erysichthon has a daughter, Mestra, or is not mentioned and instead his father, Triopas, is the offender.¹²⁵ However, the descriptions of their young age differ fundamentally. While Teiresias sports a new beard, his “Dionysian signal,” Erysichthon, a “shameless man” ($\alpha\nu\alpha\delta\epsilon\alpha\varphi\omega\tau\alpha$, 45), mingles with men of giant-like strength “in their prime” ($\varepsilon\nu\alpha\kappa\mu\tilde{\alpha}$, 33). Furthermore, after Erysichthon threatens Demeter (50-5), the narrator calls him a “child” ($\varepsilon\tilde{\iota}\pi\tau\epsilon\nu\circ\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$, 56).¹²⁶ Finally, the social invitations and excuses of Erysichthon’s mother not only imply that Erysichthon is a youth who appears, like his comrades, to be “in his prime,” but also spotlight his failure

insane notion, is not prepared to lose face before his servants when challenged...There is a spirit of modernization and realism abroad here.” Ambühl, who criticizes the approach (2005: 162), compares Erysichthon to figures in the literary tradition.

¹²⁴ Cahen (1929: 373), McKay (1962a: 72), Gutzwiller (1981: 39). Hopkinson (1984: 14 with n2, 23-4) first makes the connection with Teiresias. Ambühl (2005: 162, 164-5 with n292) suggests a “Kontamination” (possibly already in Hesiod, whose version takes place in Athens) between the Thessalian Erysichthon and the eponymous, pious Athenian Erysichthon who died young and childless (possibly alluded to at *Cer.* 19-20).

¹²⁵ On the various versions of the tale, see esp. McKay (1962a: 5-60), Hollis (1970: 128-32), Fehling (1972), Hopkinson (1984: 18-31), and Müller (1987: 65-76, 1988). In Hes. fr. 43a, Lyc. 1393-6, Ov. *Met.* 8.738-878, Erysichthon has a daughter. In Diod. 5.61, Triopas commits the crime and E. is unmentioned.

¹²⁶ Demeter as Nicippe addresses Erysichthon as $\tau\acute{e}kvov$ (x3 at 46-7), which is typical of an older person to a younger and not necessarily indicative of age. For this use, see McKay (1962a: 72 with n2) and Hopkinson (1984 *ad* 46). However, as noted by Stephens (2015 *ad* 45), the anaphora, taken with $\pi\alpha\varrho\alpha\psi\chi\iota\sigma\alpha$ (“consoling”), may indicate youth and the goddess’ “motherly concern.” $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ does not necessarily indicate the age of Erysichthon either, as McKay (1962a: 72) suggests, since it may reflect the narrator’s perspective, as Bing (1995: 36n31) points out. Ambühl (2005: 163-4) suggests that the contradictions in Erysichthon’s age can be read as intertextual signals to other versions of the Erysichthon myth and other literary figures.

to engage in the activities of that age group. Although an exact age cannot be pinpointed, Callimachus' Erysichthon is clearly unmarried and somewhere between childhood and adulthood (cf. VI.2.2.1), an age masterfully exploited for its ambiguity by the poet of ambiguity himself.

The structural parallels between Callimachus' last two hymns lead the reader/listener to expect similar stories. Both narratives begin with a description of an idyllic setting that is important to the goddess (*Lav. Pall.* 70-4; *Cer.* 25-30), but numerous Homeric allusions in the *Hymn to Demeter* foreshadow a different entrance. For example, the water "bursting forth," ($\alpha\nu\epsilon\theta\nu\epsilon$ 29), echoes the seething Scamander (*Il.* 21.234) and Thracian sea (*Il.* 23.230).¹²⁷ Indeed, where Teiresias, led by thirst, goes alone with hounds, Erysichthon intrudes intentionally and shamelessly ($\alpha\nu\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\epsilon\varsigma$) with twenty "man-giants" ($\alpha\nu\delta\varrho\gamma\iota\gamma\alpha\tau\alpha\varsigma$) armed with two kinds of axes (31-6):

ἀλλ' ὅκα Τριοπίδαισιν ὁ δεξιὸς ἄχθετο δαίμων,
τουτάκις ἀ χείρων Ἐρυσίχθονος ἄψατο βωλά.

σεύατ' ἔχων θεράποντας ἐείκοσι, πάντας ἐν ἀκμῇ,

¹²⁷ Hopkinson (1984 *ad* 28, 29), van Tress (2004: 174). On the "Iliadic" first part of the narrative, see Gutzwiller (1981: 39-44), Hopkinson (1984: 6-8 and *passim*), van Tress (2004: 173-4). Gutzwiller (1981: 42) argues that Callimachus' "deflating" of Erysichthon from his initial parodic entrance as Homeric hero is innovative, but Euripides does something similar with Pentheus in his failed rite-of-passage. On Pentheus as "would-be warrior," see Segal (1997: esp. 176, 189- 204, 212). On Pentheus' reverse rite-of-passage, see also II.4.2, V.2.2.2, V.2.2.4.

πάντας δ' ἀνδρογίγαντας ὅλαν πόλιν ἀρκίος ἄραι,
35 ἀμφότερον πελέκεσσι καὶ ἀξίναισιν ὑπλίσσας,
 ἐς δὲ τὸ τᾶς Δάματρος ἀναιδέες ἔδραμον ἄλσος.

But when their good daimon became vexed with the Triopidae

A bad idea got hold of Erysichthon.

He rushed with his twenty henchmen, all in the prime of life,

All man-giants capable of lifting a whole city

Armed with both two-edged axes and axes

And shamelessly they ran into the grove of Demeter

He has a “bad idea” (*χείρων...βωλά*, 32) to chop down trees to build a hall where he will provide endless feasts for his companions (54-5). Although both Teiresias and Erysichthon are influenced by a *δαίμων* (“daimon”), Teiresias’ is equivalent to fate or luck that leads him to an important moment in his life, while Erysichthon’s is closer to *ἄτη* (“delusion sent by the gods on account of rash behavior”) that actively turns on him¹²⁸; Teiresias’ is undescriptive (*τίς...δαίμων*, “what daimon,” 80-1), whereas Erysichthon’s is *δεξιὸς* (“good”), which, as has been suggested, may refer to the *ἀγαθὸς δαίμων* (*agathos daimon*) cult that was

¹²⁸ So Hopkinson (1984 *ad* 31-2) and Bulloch (1985 *ad* 80-1). Hopkinson (1984: 15) includes *Lav. Pall.* 80-1 ~ *Cer.* 31-2 in his list of correspondences. McKay (1962a: 88-90) less clearly contrasts the two passages.

popular in Alexandria—legendarily founded by Alexander when he slayed the ἀγαθὸς δαίμων serpent—and most likely established under Ptolemy I.¹²⁹ The ἀγαθὸς δαίμων, a protective spirit of the city and house, is associated with Zeus or Dionysus (e.g. Ath. 15.693) and variously represented by symbols of fertility, either a serpent or a man holding a bowl, cornucopia, poppy, or ears of corn,¹³⁰ items which are of course associated also with Demeter (e.g. disguised as Nicippe, she holds a poppy at *Cer.* 44). However, this δαίμων becomes vexed with the Triopidae (31) so that appropriately, Erysichthon will embody its opposite.

The structural correspondences between *Cer.* 31 and 32 demonstrate that Erysichthon lacks not only divine favor, which is not the case for Teiresias, but also good sense.¹³¹ Already here, at the beginning of the narrative and with the first mention of Erysichthon, we may detect the first allusion to Erysichthon's inappropriate hunt. Erysichthon's bad plan (ά χείρων...ἄψατο βωλά) resembles such phrases as βουλὴ δὲ κακὴ νίκησεν ἔταίρων ("the evil counsel of my comrades won out," *Od.* 10.46, of the companions' cracking open Aeolus' bag of winds) and τοῖσιν δὲ κακὴ φρεσὶν ἤνδανε βουλή, ("the evil counsel delighted

¹²⁹ Fraser (1972: 2.355-6). On the foundation myth and the *daimon's* relationship with Egyptian myth, see Ogden (2014 with n1 for an updated bibl. on *agathos daimon*).

¹³⁰ e.g. LIMC Agathodaimon 3 (serpents, cornucopia, bowl), 5a (cornucopia), 31 (serpent and corn-ears)

40 (poppies).

¹³¹ Stephens (2015 *ad* 31-2): ὅκα ~ τουτάκις, Τριοπίδαισιν ~ Ἐρυσίχθονος, ο δεξιὸς...δαίμων ~ α χείρων...βωλά, ἄχθετο ~ ἄψατο.

their hearts," *Od.* 14.337, of the crew's plan to reduce Odysseus' Cretan alter-ego to slavery by replacing his clothes with tattered garments).¹³²

Each of these (a disobedient crew and a beggar) suits Erysichthon in their own way, but a third option derives from a passage echoed by Callimachus elsewhere in the hymn, namely the cattle of the sun in book twelve of the *Odyssey*.¹³³ Callimachus may actually set up this allusion with a verbal echo to a passage at the very beginning of the epic, if ἥσθιε at *Cer.* 88 (Erysichthon eating a lot) recalls ἥσθιον in the same *sedes* at *Od.* 1.8-9 (the men eating the cattle of Helios).¹³⁴ In book twelve, Odysseus heeds the words of Teiresias and Circe and advises that they not stop at Thrinacia, the island of Helios (*Od.* 12.270-6), but Eurylochus appeals to the crew's desire to rest and eat decently and argues that the nightly winds will destroy the ship. Overcome by the majority (278-93), Odysseus tells the Phaeacians: καὶ τότε δὴ γίγνωσκον ὁ δὴ κακὰ μῆδετο δαίμων, ("and then I knew for sure that some *daimon* was definitely contriving evil," 295). Like ἀχθέτο ("became vexed"), μῆδετο ("was contriving") suggests that the *daimon* is an active agent. This resemblance is not convincing in itself, since *daimons* who

¹³² So McKay (1962a: 89-90; only citing *Od.* 10.46) and Hopkinson (1984 *ad* 31-2), who also suggest other possible influences.

¹³³ Bulloch (1977: 104-6), followed by Stephens (2015 *ad* 67) and Harder (2017: 107-8), but overlooked by Hopkinson. Faraone (2012: 61) simply mentions the episode as one example of a tale about divine punishment that the hymn recalls.

¹³⁴ So Harder (2017: 108), who also suggests that *Cer.* 88 recalls *Od.* 9.292 and 17.358.

plot and bring evil appear formulaically in the *Odyssey* (e.g. 3.166=12.295, 18.256=19.129); however, as in Callimachus, a “bad plan” follows shortly after this *daimon*. The subject is not the plan, but Eurylochus, (Εὐρύλοχος δ' ἔτάροισι κακῆς ἐξάρχετο βουλῆς, “Eurylochus began to give my comrades evil counsel,” 339), who suggests to the companions after they have eaten everything in the ship that they should eat Helios’ sacred cattle, since dying of hunger is the worst (341-2):

πάντες μὲν στυγεροὶ θάνατοι δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι,
λιμῷ δ' οἴκτιστον θανέειν καὶ πότμον ἐπισπεῖν.

All deaths are loathsome to wretched mortals

But dying by hunger and bringing on death is most pitiable.

Eurylochus concludes his speech by arguing that they should risk the anger of Helios (εὶ δὲ χολωσάμενός τι... 348), who might destroy them at sea rather than starve (350-1):

βούλομ' ἀπαξ πρὸς κῦμα χανῶν ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὀλέσσαι,
ἢ δηθὰ στρεψύγεσθαι ἐὼν ἐν νήσῳ ἐρήμῃ.

I am willing to lose my life once for all gulping against the wave
than to waste away for a long time on a desert island

As Bulloch has pointed out, στρεύγεσθαι (“to waste away”) is a rarity, attested before Callimachus here; at *Il.* 15.512, which, inasmuch as it concerns the battle of the ships, may also be considered an intertext, as discussed below; and Timotheus PMG 791.82, who appears to be influenced by *Od.* 351, since the speaker is in distress from choking on sea water.¹³⁵ Callimachus uses the word to describe the immediate effect of Demeter’s punishment (66-7):

αὐτίκα οἱ χαλεπόν τε καὶ ἄγριον ἔμβαλε λιμόν
αἴθωνα κρατερόν, μεγάλα δ’ ἐστρεύγετο νούσω¹³⁶

Immediately on him she cast a harsh and savage hunger

Burning and strong, and he was distressed by a great disease.

The likelihood that Callimachus is alluding to *Od.* 350-1 is suggested by the similarity in contexts—λιμός (“hunger”), slaughter of cows, violation against divine property—the correlating sequence of δαίμων and βουλή, the Homeric “pattern and rhythm,” and the echo between νήσω and νούσω. In this way, as Bulloch convincingly suggests, Callimachus “ironically (and rather grimly)” inverts the

¹³⁵ On Timotheus’ use of στρεύγεσθαι and the “great rarity” of the term, see Bulloch (1977: 104-5 with n6). For the possibility that Callimachus simultaneously alludes to *Il.* 15.512, which is not considered by Bulloch beyond the phrasing that it shares with *Od.* 351 (105 with n7), see below.

¹³⁶ These two lines are packed with allusions to multiple texts in and outside of the Callimachean corpus, on which see IV.3, V.2.1.4.1, VI.1.3.1.

sequence of events in the cattle of the sun passage and highlights “the agonizing extension” of Erysichthon’s hunger.¹³⁷

Thus, the lines preceding the entrance of Erysichthon into the sacred grove foreshadow his fate later in the hymn when he is “distressed by a great disease.”

The two pairs of lines (*Cer.* 31-2, 66-7) not only recall the cattle of the sun episode, but also form a clear contrast with Teiresias. An angry Athena (χολωσαμένα...Αθάνα, 79) addresses Teiresias (80-1):

τίς σε, τὸν ὄφθαλμώς οὐκέτ’ ἀποισόμενον
ὦ Εὐηρείδα, χαλεπὰν ὄδὸν ἄγαγε δαίμων;

What *daimon* led you down this harsh path,

Son of Everes, who no more will bring back his eyes?

Here, as mentioned above, Teiresias’ *daimon* differs from Erysichthon’s, but the poet also seems to be playing with χαλεπός. The “harsh path” (χαλεπὰν ὄδὸν) on which Teiresias has travelled while he is out hunting and which leads him to lose his eyesight becomes Erysichthon’s “harsh hunger” (χαλεπόν...λιμόν),

¹³⁷ (1966: 105-6 with n8). Bulloch (106 with notes 9-10) further suggests that Callimachus influences Apollonius’ use of στρεψύγεσθαι (4.384, 621, 1058), especially at 4.621, since the Argonauts, unlike Erysichthon (68), are unable to eat or drink because they suffer from the stench emitted by the Eridanus river into which Phaethon fell. The amber tears of Phaethon’s nymph sisters, the Heliades, and their enclosure in poplars recall the amber-like water in the grove at *Cer.* 28 (unnoted by Bulloch) and the nymph-poplar (37). At 1058, however, A.R. may deliberately turn from Callimachus’ use.

which will be described by his father as “the evil cow-hunger that sits in his eyes” (κακὰ βούβρωστις ἐν ὄφθαλμοῖσι κάθηται, 102) after he glares at Demeter “more harshly than a lioness at a hound-leading man [a hunter] in the Tmarien mountains,” (τὰν δ’ ἄροις ὑποβλέψας χαλεπώτερον ήὲ κυναγὸν/ῶρεσιν ἐν Τμαρίοισιν ὑποβλέπει ἀνδρα λέαινα, 50-1) and further provokes her “unspeakable” anger (Δαμάτηρ δ’ ἄφατόν τι κοτέσσατο, 57; initially, χωσαμένα, 41, after he chops the tree).¹³⁸

All three passages invoke the gods’ anger, but in the fifth hymn, when Athena asks about the *daimon*, Teiresias has already hunted the deer in normal fashion. Because of a *daimon* and a bad plan, Erysichthon, like Odysseus’ companions who slaughter the cows, attempts to chop down a sacred forest, which results in his hunger-induced slaughter of animals. Furthermore, Chariclo suggests that Teiresias’ eyesight is compensation for the deer, word play between δοοκάς and δέοκομαι,¹³⁹ but he gains prophetic vision. Erysichthon, on the other hand, keeps his eyes, but therein is an animal, singularly focused on food (102).

¹³⁸ On the parallel between the goddesses’ anger, see McKay (1962a: 85) and Hopkinson (1984: 15). The former identifies the tone of *Cer.* 41 and 57 as anger; of *Lav. Pall.* 79 as ambiguous (pity/anger), but appears to settle on pity; however, the text suggests that Athena pities Teiresias only after Chariclo intervenes. The main difference between the two passages would seem to be that Demeter is angry a second time.

On line 102 as “sits in his eyes” rather than “before his eyes,” both suggested as valid by Hopkinson (1984 *ad* 102), see Renahan (1987: 251), followed by Stephens (2015 *ad* 102).

¹³⁹ Callimachus uses ζοοκός (*Dian.* 97) in a non-punning context. In fact, the words are unrelated, on which see Bulloch (1985 *ad* 91-2) and Beekes (2010 s.v.).

Now we may turn to the youths' actual entrance into the groves. The atmosphere in the grove scene in the sixth hymn is charged with images of war as militarized tree-felling replaces the hunting in the fifth hymn. In the lioness simile (V.), a rare figure of speech in Callimachus and another epic feature, the poet seems to underscore Erysichthon's lack of involvement in actual hunting against Teiresias' engagement in the activity. Instead of leading the dogs (*ἀμᾶ κυσίν*, *Lav. Pall.* 75), Erysichthon is the animal glaring at the dog-leader (*κυναγόν...ἄνδρα*, 50-1). Instead of hounds, Erysichthon has a pack of ax-wielding men "capable of lifting a whole city" (34). Instead of killing a deer, he begins to chop a sacred tree (39) and threatens to stick an ax in Demeter's skin (53).¹⁴⁰

Although axes were amongst the hunting weapons in ancient Greece and a *πέλεκυς* can be used in hunting,¹⁴¹ Callimachus emphasizes its martial use. The *ἀξίνη* is attested twice with the *πέλεκυς* only in contexts of war: in a list of military

¹⁴⁰ Here, too, Callimachus depicts Erysichthon as a warrior. Gutzwiller (1981: 43) and Hopkinson (1984 *ad* 53) note that *χάζεο* is Iliadic (e.g. 16.707, 17.13) and *ἐν χροῖ πάξω* alludes to *Il.* 8.298 and 15.315, of arrows lodged in the flesh. The "great axe," (*πέλεκυν μέγαν*), however, is previously attested at *Od.* 5.234; 9.391 and Arist. *Mech.* 853b.14. At *Od.* 5.234, Calypso gives Odysseus the ax to chop trees in order to build a boat. It has been argued that the description of the grove at *Cer.* 25-9 echoes numerous *loci amoeni*: Theoc. 7 (McKay 1962a: 77-8), Calypso's wood at *Od.* 5.238-40 and Alcinous' orchard at *Od.* 7.112-21 (Cahen 1930: 263-4), the location of Melantheus' meeting with Odysseus at *Od.* 17.208-11 (Bullock 1977: 111), and Sappho, e.g. Aphrodite's grove in fr. 2 Voigt (Gutzwiller 1981: 40). If Callimachus is alluding to Calypso's grove, he does so ironically. Erysichthon is chopping trees without the goddess' permission in order to build a dining hall and turns Odysseus' great ax back against a goddess.

¹⁴¹ E.g. E. fr. 530.5-6 (Ancaeus has the weapon for the Calydonian boar hunt). For iconography, see Barringer (2001: 157, 182, 186, 200), who only cites a few examples, and Anderson (1985: 76-9) on the "Alexander sarcophagus," which includes scenes that "probably commemorate historic royal hunts." In one scene Persian men raising aloft their battle-axes against a panther and lion.

weapons (*πολλοὺς...πελέκεις καὶ ἀξίνας*, X. *Hel.* 3.3.7) and in a scene from the battle at the ships (*όξέσι δὴ πελέκεσσι καὶ ἀξίνησι μάχοντο*, *Il.* 15.711).¹⁴² Given the sixth hymn's engagement with epic and the similarity between the two lines, Callimachus very likely borrows from *Il.* 15.711.¹⁴³ The lioness simile, as we will see in chapter V, follows sequentially from this battle-at-the ships reference. In this context, too, we might understand Callimachus as alluding to *στρεύγεσθαι* at not only *Od.* 351, but also *Il.* 15.512, where Ajax encourages his men to fight in close combat, since it is better to live or die than to drag out conflict at the ships against inferior men.¹⁴⁴ This allusion to the ships would give a doubly ironic spin to Erysichthon's punishment (*μεγάλαι δ' ἐστρεύγετο νούσωι*, 67). Thus, Callimachus casts Erysichthon and his men as epic warriors, but that they are also

¹⁴² *ἀξίνη* is itself attested infrequently (ca. 10 times) before Callimachus in passages describing war (e.g. Hdt. 7.64.1, X. *An.* 7.1.17) or cutting wood (X. *An.* 1.5.12). McKay (1962a: 91) suggests that by adding *ἀμφότερον* to his line, Callimachus "underlines the offensive character of the weapons in the Homeric source."

¹⁴³ So McKay (1962a: 91), Gutzwiller (1981: 41), Hopkinson (1984 *ad* 35), and van Tress (2004: 174). Stephens (2015 *ad* 35) also compares *Il.* 13.612, but the word there is *πέλεικον* (not *πέλεικυς*), the ax-handle on which the *ἀξίνη* is set (*ο δ' ὑπ' ἀσπίδος εἴλετο καλὴν/ ἀξίνην εὐχαλκὸν ἐλαῖνῳ ἀμφὶ πελέκω*).

Van Tress (2004: 171-2) argues that he poet in this Homeric allusion, as in others, is indeed "establish[ing] a heroic tone" only to later "distance his poetry from epic" with an "unepic," "unheroic" portrayal of Erysichthon.

¹⁴⁴ *βέλτερον η ἀπολέσθαι ἔνα χρόνον ηὲ βιῶναι/ η δηθὰ στρεύγεσθαι ἐν αἰνῇ δηιοτῆτι/ ὁδ' αὔτως παρὰ νηυσὶν ὑπ' ἀνδράσι χειροτέροισιν*, 15.511-3. ("It is better to either perish once for all or to live, rather than waste away for a long time in grim battle in this way beside the ships under the hands of lesser men.")

to be imagined as twisted hunters can be supported by allusions to successful hunters in the tradition.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁵ Further evidence can be found in Ov. *Met.* 8, which situates the Erysichthon narrative in a hunting context, as Achelous tells the tale to Theseus and co. on their return from the Calydonian boar hunt. Ovid's allusions to A.R. and Callimachus and intratextual allusions in *Met.* also point to a conflation of tree-chopping and hunting. For more on the subject, see Murray (2004: esp. 232-6) and n136 below.

Chapter IV. Erysichthon's "Boar Hunt" and its Pretexts

IV.1 Erysichthon "Wounded"

A positive hunting narrative, which serves as a foil for Erysichthon's participation in socially-, religiously-, and age-*inappropriate* activities, is fabricated by the rogue's mother in a series of lies.¹⁴⁶ Comprising a full fifteen lines (72-86), four invitations and fictitious responses illustrate the various obligations of a Greek youth. The latter two, dealt with quickly (83-6), are generic invitations—a feast ($\delta\alpha\iota\nu\epsilon\nu$ εἰλαπίναν τις, “someone was throwing a feast,” 84) and a wedding ($\ddot{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\tau\acute{o}$ τις νύμφαν, “someone was taking a wife,” 85)—and, with the exception of Mt. Othrys (86) where he counts sheep,¹⁴⁷ are met with vague scenarios in which Erysichthon is abroad or sustains injuries during athletic or heroic pursuits, such as discus-throwing or charioteering. The first two scenarios, however, are described in greater detail and involve real Thessalian places and

¹⁴⁶ The lies are interpreted as comedic, e.g. McKay (1962a: 111-12), Zanker (1987: 188), which may be part of it. Following e.g. Müller (1987: 18) and Constantinou (2014: 171-2), I am more concerned with the social/communal implications of the lies.

¹⁴⁷ As Hopkinson (1984 *ad loc*) and Stephens (2015 *ad loc*) note, at Hes. *Th.* 629-34, the Titanomachy takes place between Othrys (the Titans' dwelling) and Olympus (the gods' dwelling). On Erysichthon as chthonic figure, see V.2.2.2. Apollonius claims the mountain for “positive” poetic figures. At A.R. 2.509-15, after Cyrene gives birth to Aristaeus in Libya, Apollo takes him back to Thessaly to be raised in Chiron's cave. Once grown up, the Muses arrange his marriage, teach him healing and prophecy, and make him the protector of their sheep in Phthia and Othrys.

people, who are potentially even Erysichthon's relatives.¹⁴⁸ The first of the two excuses underscores Erysichthon's responsibilities to a particular religious community. When the Ormenidae invite Erysichthon to the games of Itonian Athena, his mother specifies that her son is collecting a debt of a hundred oxen in Crannon (74-7).

The second specific excuse emphasizes a different societal expectation for young men (77-82):

ἢνθε Πολυξώ,
μάτηρ Ἀκτορίωνος, ἐπεὶ γάμον ἀρτυε παιδί,
ἀμφότερον Τριόπαν τε καὶ υἱέα κικλήσκοισα.
80 τὰν δὲ γυνὰ βαρύθυμος ἀμείβετο δακρύοισα.
‘νεῖται τοι Τριόπας, Ἐρυσίχθονα δ’ ἥλασε κάπρος
Πίνδον ἀν’ εὐάγκειαν, ο δ’ ἐννέα φάεα κεῖται.’

Polyxo came,

the mother of Actorion, since she was arranging a marriage for her child inviting both Triopas and his son.

But crying, the heavy-hearted woman answered her.

¹⁴⁸ See Hopkinson (1984 *ad* 75, 77) and Stephens (2015 *ad* 75, 77-78). Ormenus, the nephew of Aeolus, was Triopas' maternal grandfather. Polyxo may be Ormenus' daughter-in-law. On Triopas' obscure genealogy, see Hopkinson (1984: 30-1).

Triopas is going, but a boar wounded Erysichthon
in fair-valleyed Pindus, and for nine days he has been sick."

Within the space of two lines, Callimachus packs potentially three allusions to three different passages, one Pindaric, two Homeric. The first two background passages are well-known successful hunting coming-of-age narratives. The third, by hinting at a figure who commits a sacrilegious deed and receives his just deserts, suggests an appropriate parallel for Erysichthon who, in fact, behaves in a manner completely contrary to the characters in the first two passages.

IV.2 Ἐρυσίχθονα δ' ἥλασε κάπρος: Odysseus' Boar Hunt as a Foil

Erysichthon's encounter with and wounding by a boar recalls Odysseus' boar hunt,¹⁴⁹ famous already in antiquity. Euripides, for example, parodies the scene at *El.* 573-4, where the old man recognizes Orestes by the scar he received from a fawn that he and his sister were chasing in the courtyard as children. Callimachus' allusion to the hunt is likely for several reasons. The detailed nature of the first invitation and excuse suggests that the detailed second invitation and

¹⁴⁹ Hopkinson (1984 *ad* 81); Murray (2004: 215n22); Ambühl (2005: 174), who mentions the allusion in order to point out Erysichthon's connection to Autolycus; Skempis (2008: 377n44), who quotes Ambühl's observation that the boar hunt is in the same context as Odysseus pretending to be Aithon. Skempis (2008) connects Erysichthon with the hunter Aithon in *SSH* 970.22 and posits a lost list of Calydonian boar hunters, which would have included Erysichthon, as the common source.

excuse also refer to specific scenarios. Verbally, Callimachus' ἥλασε κάποιος ("a boar wounded," 81) varies the Homeric expression σῦς ἥλασε (19.393-4=21.219-20, 23.74), which describes Odysseus' wounding.¹⁵⁰ Furthermore, Autolycus, Odysseus' maternal grandfather, is connected with Erysichthon through Mestra in Euripides' satyr play *Autolycus* in which the title character steals a girl (most likely Mestra) from her father (Erysichthon) and replaces her with a silenus or satyr.¹⁵¹ Finally, Erysichthon is already a foil for Odysseus, in particular Odysseus as a beggar (e.g. *Cer.* 16, 67, 88, 114-5), elsewhere in the *Hymn to Demeter*.¹⁵²

An exploration of Odysseus' boar hunt will illustrate the liminality of this type of expedition as well as its ultimate goal. Like the heroic Calydonian boar hunt, Odysseus' boar hunt in the wild has been understood as an heroic endeavor that not only parallels his future as a warrior and suitor-slayer, but also prepares him for that future.¹⁵³ As such, the boar hunt is also a coming-of-age initiatory process that entails a separation from the community, transitional period, and reintegration into the community.¹⁵⁴ In the course of the interaction between

¹⁵⁰ So Hopkinson (1984 *ad* 81).

¹⁵¹ cf. Ov. *Met.* 8.738: Erysichthon's daughter is "Autolyci coniunx." For a reconstruction of Euripides' *Autolycus*, see Pechstein (1998: 39-122, esp. 118-22).

¹⁵² See esp. Bulloch (1977: 108-12) and Levaniouk (2000). See also under V.2.1.4.1, VI.3.2.1., VII.2.1.

¹⁵³ See, e.g. Rutherford (1992 *ad* 390-1, 410, 454) and Alepidou (2017: 18-25).

¹⁵⁴ Felson-Rubin and Sale (1983: esp. 141-52), Rutherford (1992 *ad* 410, on ήβήσας), Alepidou (2017: 21-4). The hunt of the boar, in particular, may be connected to coming-of-age rituals. According to Ath. I.18A,

Odysseus and Eurycleia (*Od.* 19.361-507), we learn that Autolycus was given the responsibility of naming Odysseus, a newborn “much prayed-for” (*πολυάρητος*, 404) on a visit to Ithaca (399-404).¹⁵⁵ Autolycus names the child and then says that when Odysseus comes of age (*ήβήσας*, 410) and visits him at Parnassus, he will give him gifts and send him home (405-12). These details alone—the naming of the child and gift-giving—will become significant later in the *Hymn to Demeter* when Erysichthon is viewed as *bephos*.¹⁵⁶ At present, it should simply be noted that Autolycus’ naming of his grandchild indicates the significance of his presence in the upbringing of the child (cf. Chiron under IV.3), and *ήβήσας* establishes Odysseus’ trip as a rite of passage. Additionally, as discussed in the introduction, the gifts, to be sure, which are actually given after the hunt, represent his entrance into adulthood.

Once at his grandfather’s house and after a day-long welcoming feast (413-27), Odysseus heads out to the hunt with Autolycus’ sons, representatives of the family who can “certify his manliness,” and hounds (428-66).¹⁵⁷ Rather than

¹⁵⁵ On the significance of *πολυάρητος*, see section V.1.

On *πολυάρητος*, see Rutherford (1992 *ad* 404). On the importance of the maternal family to boys’ initiation and the connection of naming to rites of passage, see, e.g. Bremmer (1978: 7-9, 15-6), Felson-Rubin and Sale (1983: 147), followed by Alepidou (2017: 22-3).

¹⁵⁶ See VII.3.2.

¹⁵⁷ On the sons as representatives, see Felson-Rubin and Sale (1983: 146-7). On the importance of hounds for hunting boars, see Pi. fr. 234 (a tenacious dog is necessary for hunting a boar: *κάποιω δὲ βουλεύοντα φόνον κύνα χρή/τλάθυμον ἔξευρεῖν*) and X. *Cyn.* 10 (an entire section devoted to boar hunting that also emphasizes the importance of bringing a variety of hounds). Even Artemis requires hounds. Callimachus devotes a full ten lines to her collection of a variety of hounds, which

hunting for food or protection, the trio invades the space of a dangerous wild animal, in this case a boar, "highly suitable to a test of manhood."¹⁵⁸ Accordingly, Odysseus' confrontation with the boar imitates an Iliadic battle scene.¹⁵⁹ For example, as the first one to rush against the boar, Odysseus behaves like a warrior in an *aristeia* (e.g. *Il.* 16.307-8). He also casts his spear through the animal's right shoulder (cf. *Il.* 11.253, 17.49). Finally, the death of the boar verbally echoes the death of Patroclus' horse (*Il.* 16.469). In the process, the boar lacerates Odysseus' thigh with its tusk. When the hunting party returns to Autolycus' palace, Autolycus and sons dress Odysseus' wound, which will become a scar, a "symbolic seal of initiation;" bestow upon him gifts for his bravery; and send him home, where he truthfully boasts about his adventure to his parents.¹⁶⁰ Odysseus repeats this sequence as an adult. After fighting in Troy, Odysseus returns home with gifts and narrates his story.¹⁶¹ But to be truly reintegrated into Ithaca again, he must "hunt" the suitors, which his successful boar hunt also foreshadows.¹⁶² In

even bring live lions back to the grotto (87-97). cf. Achilles Pi. N. 44-9, also noted by Stephens 2015 *ad Dian.* 91-2. Note that Pindar does not mention hounds in Achilles' lion pursuit, but perhaps their presence is implied, since he does specify that Achilles hunts *without* hounds when chasing deer (see below). If only Erysichthon had hounds on his "hunt."

¹⁵⁸ Felson-Rubin and Sale (1983: 145, 147). The lion is the other animal hunted for this purpose.

¹⁵⁹ Rutherford (1992 *ad* 451, 454), de Jong (2001 *ad* 428-56), Alepidou (2017: 19-21).

¹⁶⁰ Felson-Rubin and Sale (1983: 147).

¹⁶¹ The two are also foils, as Rutherford (1992 *ad* 390-1) point out. His return from the hunt is "straightforward and joyous" (e.g. 461, 463), but from his wanderings "secret and circuitous." In the first episode, he receives a name; in the second, his identity is hidden.

¹⁶² Alepidou (2017: 25-7).

the deaths of both the boar and Antinous (19.452-3, 22.15-6), the point soars right through their shoulder and neck respectively,¹⁶³ which happens elsewhere in the *Odyssey* only when the hero hunts the stag as if a warrior (10.162).¹⁶⁴

These significant aspects of Odysseus' hunt are in retrograde in the *Hymn to Demeter*. It has been argued that *kairos* (what is appropriate), *kosmos* (order, usually moral), and *hubris* ("wanton violence") apply to "virtually all Greek hunting tales."¹⁶⁵ A violation of *kairos* and *kosmos* with an act of *hubris* precludes reintegration into society as an adult and entails death, dishonor, and separation. Odysseus' observance of *kairos* and *kosmos* and his ability to prove himself as a successful warrior in the hunt are followed by his reintegration into society as an adult and are closely linked to his success in war and the μνηστηροφορία ("suitor-slaughter"), after which he sheds his rags and returns to his position in Ithaca. On the contrary, the lie of Erysichthon's mother, which indicates the appropriate use of the hunt, draws attention to her young son's disregard for the appropriate activity and contrasts his hubristic behavior as warrior in an inappropriate setting. As a result, he is not reintegrated into society, but cast out as a beggar.

¹⁶³ τὸν δ' Ὁδυσεὺς οὔτησε τυχῶν κατὰ δεξιὸν ὀμονού/άντικρῳ δὲ διῆλθε φαεινοῦ δουρός ἀκωκή τὸν δ' Ὁδυσεὺς κατὰ λαιμὸν ἐπισχόμενος βάλεν ίῷ/άντικρῳ δ' ἀπαλοῖ δι' αὐχένος ἥλυθ' ἀκωκή

¹⁶⁴ The verbal parallel is noted by Alepidou (2017: 21 with n137). On the similar imagery in the stag-hunting episode, see Scodel (1994).

¹⁶⁵ Felson-Rubin and Sale (1983: esp. 140-2).

The mother's focus on a particular aspect of the hunt—the wounding—has similar connotations. Odysseus' recovery from a severe leg wound, from which other heroes fail to recover (e.g. Achilles and Adonis), indicates a kind of rebirth, while the scar, a mark of courage and strength symbolically acquired from the powerful boar, represents the completion of his initiation into adulthood and foreshadows his future military prowess.¹⁶⁶ Along with the story it represents, Odysseus' scar, like his name, is a crucial part of his identity that leads to recognition. Erysichthon's sickness, on the other hand, stunts his growth, bodes death, and deprives him of identity as he assumes not the strength, but the gluttony of an animal which plummets him into obscurity. The next part of the mother's lie evokes similar images and brings us back to Erysichthon's home.

IV.3 Πίνδον ἀν' εὐάγκειαν: Erysichthon, the Plunderer

Pindus, a mountain range at the edge of western Thessaly, is attested twice in literature as hunting ground, especially for lions.¹⁶⁷ Given Callimachus'

¹⁶⁶ On leg wounds, which may be relevant to tales of birth from the thigh (e.g. Dionysus), and initiation and for further bibliography on the subject, see Bremmer (1978: 11-3). On the scar, see Felson-Rubin and Sale (1983: 145-6). Both are followed by Alepidou (2017: 24).

¹⁶⁷ Pindus is mentioned a handful of times before Callimachus in descriptions of Thessaly's geography. Hopkinson (1984 *ad* 82) cites the two passages which concern the animals living on Pindus: Pi. *P.* 9.15-22 and X. *Cyn.* 11.1-2, where Pindus is listed amongst the mountains capable of nourishing such wild animals as lions. X. does not specifically mention boars in his list. Cf. Pi. *N.* 3.43-9 (see below).

engagement with Pindar's ninth *Pythian* elsewhere, especially in his *Hymn to Apollo*,¹⁶⁸ which is established to be a foil of the *Hymn to Demeter*,¹⁶⁹ and given that εὐάγκειαν (“fair-valleyed”), a *hapax* in Callimachus describing Pindus, is lifted from Pindar N. 5.46 (ἐν εὐάγκεῖ λόφῳ, “on a fair-valleyed ridge;” the only other attestation),¹⁷⁰ it is reasonable to surmise that Callimachus is alluding to Pi. P. 9 in the first half of line 82. If so, the poet implicitly contrasts Cyrene and Erysichthon.¹⁷¹ In Pindar's ninth *Pythian*, Cyrene, whose father Hypseus was born “in the famous glens of Pindus” (Πίνδου κλεενναῖς ἐν πτυχαῖς, 15), rejects the loom and dining with companions (18-9) in favor of killing wild beasts, which provides protection for her father's cows (20-3):

20 ἀλλ' ἀκόντεσσίν τε χαλκέοις
φασγάνω τε μαρναμένα κεράιζεν ἀγρίους
θῆρας, ἢ πολλάν τε καὶ ἡσύχιον
βουσίν εἰρήναν παρέχοισα πατρώαις

But with bronze javelins and a sword

Fighting she “plundered” wild beasts,

¹⁶⁸ Williams (1978 on 47, 91), Ambühl (2005: 143 with n200), and VI.4.1.

¹⁶⁹ Müller (1987: 27-45).

¹⁷⁰ On whether εὐάγκεια is a noun or adjective, see Hopkinson (1984 *ad* 82) and Stephens (2015 *ad* 82), but the irrelevance of this debate to the issue at hand precludes its further discussion.

¹⁷¹ See also VI.4 for further discussion on the relationship between Pi. P. 9, Call. Ap. and Cer.

surely affording much quiet and peace

for her father's cows

One day, Apollo spots Cyrene “wrestling with a mighty lion alone without weapons,” (*λέοντί.../όβριμω μούναν παλαίοισαν/ ἀτερ ἐγχέων*, 26-8). The language and weapons “raise the huntress to the level of a warrior” comparable to Achilles, who from age six while living on Mt. Pelion (on the other (eastern) side of Thessaly) “bring[s] slaughter upon wild lions in battle and slay[s] boars,” (*μάχα λεόντεσσιν ἀγροτέροις ἔπρασσεν φόνον,/ κάπρους τ’ ἔναιρε*) before carrying them to Chiron (Pi. N. 43-9);¹⁷² he also impresses Athena and Artemis by chasing deer without dogs and nets (50-2). Like Erysichthon, both Cyrene and Achilles behave as warriors at a young age, but the crucial difference is that, like Odysseus, they are doing so in the context of initiatory hunting. In the case of Achilles, as with Odysseus, the hunt is preparation for war. After the section on Achilles' hunting, for instance, the poet briefly describes Chiron's upbringing of Jason and Asclepius (52-5) before transitioning to the centaur's rearing of Achilles and “strengthening his spirit in all things fitting” so that he battle successfully at Troy (56-63).

¹⁷² Carey (1981 *ad* 20-25).

For Cyrene, the hunt is also initiatory. She is unmarried when Apollo sees her wrestling the lion, and the ode describes the union of Apollo and Cyrene as matrimonial.¹⁷³ However, unlike the male warriors' hunts, Cyrene's hunt functions both as warrior preparation and as a means of protection.¹⁷⁴ While Cyrene herself is not a warrior, as the eponymous nymph, she produces victors in militaristic athletic events, such as the present subject of Pindar's praise, Telesicrates, the "Pythian victor with bronze shield" (*χαλκάσπιδα Πυθιονίκαν*, 1-4) who brings glory to Cyrene (71-5). Though this race in armor has obvious connections to war,¹⁷⁵ the athletic event in the ode emphasizes peace. The poet underscores this point in the description of Cyrene's protection of her father's cows, a quality which she passes on to her son Aristaeus, an Apollo or Zeus, who, like his mother, as both hunter (Agreus) and shepherd (Nomius), protects the flocks (59-65) and "open[s] up the perfect order, established by Zeus."¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³ e.g. ὡς ἄρε τε πῶν ἔντυεν τερπνὰν γάμου κραίνειν τελευτάν, 66. The comments of Carey (1981 ad 20-25) regarding Cyrene's chosen activities as an indication of her spurning marriage have been rightly rejected by, e.g. Calame (1990: 301=2014: 309) and Jakob (1994-1995: 427).

¹⁷⁴ As Alepidou (2017: 22) notes, "Young Odysseus does not hunt out of necessity; on the contrary, hunting in his case is described as a planned activity. There is not a marauding animal going into the cultivated area of men, but men are the ones who invade the realm of the animal."

¹⁷⁵ Cf. the same epithet ("brazen-shielded") of Ares (*χάλκασπις...Ἄρης*, Pi. I. 7.25) who brings death upon the victor's uncle while he heroically defends his country. The poet equally extols the heroic accomplishments of nephew (in athletics) and the uncle (in war), who shares his nephew's crown (23-36).

¹⁷⁶ Calame (2014: 309).

This aspect of Cyrene's hunt is of great significance to the Hellenistic poets and in Callimachus, is handled in the *Hymn to Apollo*, which features both Cyrene and Nomius.¹⁷⁷ The latter is assigned to Apollo whose oversight of the flocks and herds ensures their fertility (47-54),¹⁷⁸ and Cyrene's slaughter of wild animals as protection for her father's cows is transformed into her slaughter of "the plunderer of Eurypylus' cows" (90-2):

90 τοὺς μὲν ἄναξ ἴδεν αὐτός, ἐῃ δ' ἐπεδείξατο νύμφη
στὰς ἐπὶ Μυρτούσσης κερατώδεος, ἥχι λέοντα
Τψηὶς κατέπεφνε βοῶν σίνιν Εὐρυπύλοιο.

These the god himself saw, and to his bride pointed out
While he stood upon horned Myrtussa, where Hypseus' daughter
Slew the lion, the plunderer of the cattle of Eurypylus.

It is also notable that Callimachus moves the slaying from Thessaly to Cyrene. In doing so, Callimachus transfers "the triumph of the first state of civilization" to his home, and by replacing Cyrene's father with Eurypylus (indigenous ruler of Libya), presents "Cyrene's great fait accompli in Libya as the advent of a new royal

¹⁷⁷ On Callimachus' use of Pi. P. 4, 5, and 9, see Calame (2014: 313-16, 328-31).

¹⁷⁸ On this passage, see VI.4.

power that imposes herding and grazing in a region menaced by savagery.”¹⁷⁹ The theme of “plundering” is repeated in both Pindar and Callimachus. In the Pindar passage cited above, Cyrene’s slaughter of the wild animals is described in martial terms (κεράιζεν ἀγρίους/θῆρας, “she was plundering wild beasts,” 21-2). In all previous attestations of the word, κεραίζω is used in the context of war, specifically the slaughtering of enemy or plundering of a city (e.g. *Il.* 2.861, 24.245, *Od.* 8.516). As will be discussed in chapter V, the verb is also used in Homeric similes of lions plundering cattle or a farmstead (*Il.* 5.557, 16.752). In each case, the “lion” is killed. By applying this word to Cyrene, Pindar gives the passage heroic overtones, but also inverts the destructive lion imagery in the *Iliad*. The plundering lion becomes the wild animal plundered/killed.

The hunters/protectors in both passages (Pi. *P.* 9.20-3 and Call. *Ap.* 90-2) are turned on their head in the *Hymn to Demeter* when an animalized Erysichthon, who is specifically compared to a lioness, destroys his family’s cows and other animal assets (105-10) with his “cow-hunger” (βούβρωστις, 102), a disease which may recall the famine-demon (Βούβρωστις), who attacked herd animals.¹⁸⁰ This

¹⁷⁹ Calame (2014: 314) refers here to Acesandrus’ *History of Cyrene* (FGrH 469, f. 1.3-4) in which Eurypylus offers his kingdom as a prize to whomever can kill the lion.

¹⁸⁰ On Βούβρωστις and Erysichthon, see Faraone (2012). His theory is rejected by Overduin (2015 on 409), who only states that his reading “does not stand up here.” βούβρωστις also takes away the sheep of a woman in an epic fragment (*ep. adesp.* fr. 4.19-21 Powell), on which see Overduin (on 409).

outcome is foreshadowed with Callimachean *variatio* when Demeter asks him to stop *plundering* her holy place (*παύεο καὶ θεράποντας ἀπότρεπε, μή τι χαλεφθῆ/πότνια Δαμάτηρ, τὰς ἵερὸν ἐκκεραῖζεις*, 48-9).¹⁸¹

Callimachus further plays with this imagery in a very complex and allusive way. With *λέοντα... βοῶν σίνιν Εὐρυπύλοιο*, Callimachus appears to refer to Heracles, here assimilated to a lion.¹⁸² The rare *σίνιν* is attested of a person or, at A. Ag. 718, a destructive lion alluding to a person.¹⁸³ The image of the lion Heracles ravaging Eurypylus' cattle calls to mind the lioness-like Erysichthon, who destroys his own family's domestic animals. The two figures can be linked elsewhere in Callimachus in passages where the unflattering, gluttonous, heroic version of Heracles makes an entrance and deeply contrasts with the new, encomiastic Heracles from whom the Ptolemies traced their descent.¹⁸⁴ For example, in the *Hymn to Artemis*, the young goddess for the first time enters Olympus (142-69), where Hermes takes her weapons and Apollo takes her catch—but the poet

¹⁸¹ On the apparent Callimachean coinage, see Hopkinson (1984 *ad loc*) and Stephens (2015 *ad loc*).

¹⁸² So, too, Spanoudakis (2002: 288): “That Heracles in Call. may be assimilated to a beast (here a lion) falls within tradition.”

¹⁸³ Williams (1978 *ad* 92) notes that word occurs in the same position in Αὐτόλυκον πόλεων κτεάνων σίνιν Ἀγρεῖ κοιλῷ, which Powell, *Coll. Alex.* 247 attributes to Antimachus Teius. (This would be another link between Erysichthon and Autolycus!) However, the mss. reading of A. Ag. 718 is “a more obvious model,” where the *σίνιν* is a lion that may refer to Paris, probably reflected in Lycophron’s description of Paris as δόμοις/ σίνιν (538-9), which is an argument against the emendation to ἴνιν.

¹⁸⁴ On the two sides of Herakles and his transformation, see Harder (1993: 102-3; 2010: 102; commentary), Massimilla (1996: pp. 292-4), Ambühl (2004: 23-47). He is similarly treated by Theocritus in *Idylls* 24 and 25.

corrects himself; Heracles (the “Tirynthian anvil”) waits eagerly before the gates to eat whatever rich food the huntress brings. He instructs the goddess to bring boars and bulls for him to eat because they destroy fields and to leave deer and hares alone. In addition to their unusual cravings, Heracles and Erysichthon are characterized by their gargantuan appetites. Erysichthon’s desire to provide feasts in abundance (*ἀδην*, 55) echoes Heracles’ gluttony (*ἀδηφαγίης*, 160). Here, a poetic footnote points to a further story of Heracles the glutton:

οὐ γὰρ ὅγε Φρυγίη περ ὑπὸ δονὶ γυῖα θεωθείς
160 παύσατ’ ἀδηφαγίης. ἔτι οἱ πάρα νηδὺς ἐκείνη,
τῇ ποτ’ ἀροτριόωντι συνήντετο Θειοδάμαντι.

For although under the Phrygian oak his limbs had been deified

He did not cease from his gluttony. Still to him was that stomach

With which he once met Thiodamas while he was plowing.

Callimachus treats the tale of Thiodamas in his *Aetia* (frr. 24-5 Pf.) after the episode of the Lindian farmer (frr. 22-3 Pf.).¹⁸⁵ The latter presents a barbaric and gluttonous Heracles analogous to the figure in the *Hymn to Artemis*, while the former depicts a civilization-bringing hero. In the first *aition*, Heracles, motivated by greed, kills

¹⁸⁵ On Apollonius’ *contaminatio* of the two episodes, see Clauss (1993: 189-90 with n20 for further bibliography).

the ox of a Lindian farmer. Unwilling to listen to the famer, Heracles is compared to a Sellian in the Tmarien mountains (23.3), just as Erysichthon is compared to a lioness in the Tmarien mountains when he ignores Demeter's warning. In the second *aition*, Heracles asks the farmer Thiodamas for food for his starving young son Hyllus. When Thiodamas refuses and laughs, Heracles kills him and civilizes the Dryopes, Thiodamas' tribe.

The updated version of Heracles appears also in the *Victoria Berenices*. When he returns after thirty days from successfully hunting the Nemean lion to the hut of Molorchus, who promised a feast which his limited means would not allow him to provide, Callimachus further slims down the hero by refusing to narrate the details of the (undoubtedly skimpy) feast. Metapoetically, the transformation of Heracles into a "truly Callimachean hero" in Molorchus' hut contrasts with Erysichthon, "who did not learn his lesson to respect Callimachean poetics."¹⁸⁶ For the purpose of this study, it should be noted that as the gluttonous version parallels Erysichthon, so, too, does the positive image of Herakles, the heroic hunter of the Nemean lion and civilizer, contrast Erysichthon.

¹⁸⁶ Ambühl (2004: 42-3). Cf. McKay (1962: 118, 121): "Hungry Erysichthon...is a highly suitable substitute for the gluttonous Herakles." McKay (1962a: esp. 63-7 treats Erysichthon/Herakles as comic, which is rejected by Benvenuti Falciai (1976: 44). On the metapoetics of Erysichthon, see also Müller (1987: 58) and Murray (2004).

Beyond the trope of gluttony and the verbal parallels between the *Hymn to Artemis* and the *Hymn to Demeter*, the “plundering lion of Eurypylus’ cows” in the *Hymn to Apollo* can be tied to Erysichthon on other grounds. Eurypylus, the son of Poseidon and Celaeno, is the indigenous king of Cyrene. At Pi. P. 4.33 Poseidon, disguised as Eurypylus, (so Eurypylus-Poseidon) gives Euphemus the clod of earth that eventually leads to the foundation of Cyrene At A.R. 4.1561, Eurypylus is the incarnation of Poseidon. But this is only one of several Eurypyli, sons of Poseidon. Given Callimachus’ fondness of genealogical puzzles and his practice of alluding to two or more figures with the same name (e.g. Linus),¹⁸⁷ it is probable that here, too, he alludes to Eurypylus, son of Poseidon and Astypalaea by adapting a passage of Philitas’ *Demeter* (fr. 16 Spanoudakis), which very likely treated the reception of Demeter on the island and Heracles’ sack of Cos, which would have ended in defeat, on his way back from Troy during the reign of Eurypylus’ sons, Chalcon and Antagoras.¹⁸⁸ The possibility of such an allusion is strengthened when we consider that the *Hymn to Apollo* bears numerous resemblances to Philitas’ poem, which is unsurprising since both poems celebrate

¹⁸⁷ On the different Linuses, see Stephens (2002-3).

¹⁸⁸ So Spanoudakis (2002: 388): “In 85-96 the lion’s ravage and the settlement of the Dorians at Eurypylean Cyrene may be adapted from the advent of Heracles and the Heraclidae on Eurypylean Cos.” On fr. 16, earlier versions of Heracles’ attack on Cos, and the sources supporting the attack in Philitas (primarily Σ Theoc. 7.5-9f), see pp.189-92.

the poets' similar homelands, Cyrene and Cos.¹⁸⁹ Each of these texts—Pi. P. 4 and 9, Philitas' *Demeter*, Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*, and Apollonius' *Argonautica*—falls under the same umbrella: encomia that highlight characters who advance or protect vegetative and human fertility, often as shepherds or hunters.

In the final hymn, Callimachus literally moves this motif to the edges, i.e. the frame, and flips it in the narrative. The *Hymn to Demeter* therefore deviates from Philitas' *Demeter* and, in fact, appears to have been designed in opposition.¹⁹⁰ After narrating the traditional story about Demeter, Callimachus breaks off: μὴ μὴ ταῦτα λέγωμες ἀ δάκρυον ἄγαγε Δηοῖ, 17. This *Abbruchsformel* most likely indicates Callimachus' refusal to imitate Philitas' *Demeter* and instead, forge a new path. In most versions, Eurypylus is the son of Poseidon and Astypalaea.¹⁹¹ In Hes. fr. 43a.55-65 MW, however, he is the son of Poseidon and Mestra. It is from Hesiod's version that Callimachus works.¹⁹² Most famously, Callimachus alludes to the Coan story with λιμόν/ αἴθωνα κρατερόν (“strong and burning hunger,” 66-7), which refers both to Erysichthon's nickname (Αἴθων) and a description of his hunger, placed in the same *sedes* in the *Catalogue*: τὸν δ' Αἴθων' ἐκάλεσσαν

¹⁸⁹ On the relationship between the two poems, first suggested by Pfeiffer (1968: 284), see Spanoudakis (2002: 173-93), who details Callimachus' numerous lexicographic borrowings.

¹⁹⁰ Spanoudakis (2002: 297, 293-99 on Philitas' *Demeter* and Callimachus' sixth hymn). On line 17, see also under V.1 and VI.2.1.3.

¹⁹¹ See e.g. Σ^A Il. 14.255b (claiming its derivation from Pherecyd. 78 Fowler); Apollod. 2.7.1; Paus. 7.4.1 (of his brother Ancaeus).

¹⁹² Kyriakou (1995: 228-9), Spanoudakis (2002: 297).

ἐπ]ών[ν]μ[ο]ν εῖνεκα λιμοῦ/αἱθωνος κρατεροῦ, (“they also called him Aithon, so named because of his strong and burning hunger,” 5-6). However, by eliminating the woman catalogued, Mestra, not to mention Poseidon; exchanging Triopas, the former villainous woodchopper, for Erysichthon; and pushing the family back from Cos adjacent-territory (i.e. Knidos, 24) to Thessaly, Callimachus “seems to take aim at Erysichthon’s descendants who hosted Demeter in exemplary fashion in P.’s poem.”¹⁹³ Though these descendants (Eurypylus, Chalcon and Antagoras) are eliminated from his hymn, I argue that Heracles maintains an allusive presence. Given Erysichthon’s resemblance to Heracles elsewhere, in particular, the “plunderer of Eurypylus’ cattle” and the *Hymn to Demeter*’s homage to Hes. fr. 43a, we are perhaps meant to imagine Erysichthon himself in the role of the Hesiodic Heracles, who “sacked a lovely city [i.e. Cos] and *plundered* the villages,” (*ἐπραθεν ίμερόεντα πόλιν, κε[ρ]άϊξε δὲ κώμας*, 62). Callimachus moves backwards through Hesiod’s version—from Heraclean sacking to Erysichthonian gluttony—and has his Heraclean Erysichthon destroy himself without ever bringing him near any location cherished by the Ptolemies and the Hellenistic poets.

IV.4 ο δ' ἐννέα φάεα κεῖται: Erysichthon and Tityus

¹⁹³ Spanoudakis (2002: 297).

As Bulloch tentatively suggests, Callimachus may refer here to the punishment of Tityus, who for his attempted rape of Leto lies over nine *plethra* while two vultures tear his liver (*Od.* 11.576-81).¹⁹⁴ In addition to the general correspondences between Erysichthon and Tityus (gigantism and offense against a goddess), Bulloch adduces as support the Homeric structure of the Callimachean phrase, which also corresponds lexically to 11.577: ὁ δ' ἐπ' ἐννέα κεῖτο πέλαθος. The shared words are by no means unusual, as Bulloch notes; however, ἐννέα and κεῖσθαι are only attested in proximity in these two passages and in Matro's Homeric parodies, where Tityus is also to be eaten:

καὶ Τίτυον εἶδον, λίμνης ἐρικυδέα γόγγον,
κείμενον ἐν λοπάδεσσο· ὁ δ' ἐπ' ἐννέα κεῖτο τραπέζας,

I also saw Tityus, the famed conger eel of the sea
lying in stewing-pots; he lay over nine tables.¹⁹⁵

(trans. Olson-Sens; fr. 1.36-7 O-S=SH 534=Ath.4.135c-d)

¹⁹⁴ (1977: 106-8). Bulloch notes that the suggestion is “extreme speculation,” but is followed by Ambühl (2005: 200n446) and Harder (2017: 106-8), who strengthens the speculation by pointing out Callimachus’ possible allusion to the nearby Tantalus episode. The rare word τοσσάκι (*Cer.* 14)—though Harder accidentally transliterates *toutakis* (from *Cer.* 32)—may allude to its use at *Od.* 11.586 and the grove (*Cer.* 25-9), to Tantalus’ environment (*Od.* 11.588-92). In this context, the nearby Καλλιχόρω (*Cer.* 15) could recall καλλιχόρου (*Od.* 11.581), a Homeric *hapax* describing the location of Leto’s rape by Tityus.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Matro’s other parodic Tityus: καὶ σικυὸν εἶδον, γαίης ἐρικυδέος νύόν, / κείμενον ἐν λαχάνοις· ὁ δ' ἐπ' ἐννέα κεῖτο τραπέζας, “And I saw a cucumber, the son of famous earth, lying among the vegetables; he lay over nine tables,” fr. 4 Olson-Sens= SH 537 = Ath. 3.73e.

καὶ Τιτυὸν εἶδον, Γαῖης ἐρικυδέος νίόν,
κείμενον ἐν δαπέδῳ ὁ δ' ἐπ' ἐννέα κεῖτο πέλεθρα,
(*Od.* 11.576-7)

I also saw Tityus, the famed son of Gaia
lying on the ground; he lay over nine *plethora*.

These parodies of Tityus in Matro, whose *floruit* was the late fourth or early third century, are unsurprising, given the popularity of the subject in sixth- and fifth-century Attic vase paintings.¹⁹⁶ Bulloch's hypothesis becomes stronger still, if we consider Tityus' death, which is omitted by Homer, but alluded to by Matro in the next two lines: τῷ δὲ μετ' ἵχνια βαῖνε θεὰ λευκώλενος ἵχθὺς | ἔγχελυς, ἦ Διὸς εὔχετ' ἐν ἀγκοίνῃσι μιγῆναι ("in his tracks came a white-armed goddess-fish/the eel, who claims to have spent time in the arms of Zeus," 39-9).¹⁹⁷ Although the "white-armed goddess-fish, an eel" must be Hera, her actions, i.e. following in Tityus' tracks, brings to mind Leto's daughter, the huntress Artemis, who slays Tityus after his assault on her mother.¹⁹⁸ That Artemis is portrayed as *hunting* Tityus

¹⁹⁶ Greifenhagen (1959: 5-32), Shapiro (1980: 284).

¹⁹⁷ Trans. Olson-Sens. This is not to suggest that Callimachus necessarily considered Matro's parody, but to illustrate motifs associated with Tityus. See Clauss (1993: 187-8), for a similar use of a Matro parody in his reading of Heracles' hunger at A.R. 1.1207-10.

¹⁹⁸ Olson-Sens (1999 on 1.36-9).

is even clearer in that ode so programmatically important to Callimachus and Apollonius (*Pi. P.* 4.90-2):

καὶ μὰν Τίτυὸν βέλος Ἀρτέμιδος θήρευσε κραιπνόν,
ἐξ ἀνικάτου φαρέτρας ὀρνύμενον,
ὢφρα τις τᾶν ἐν δυνατῷ φιλοτάτων ἐπιψαύειν ἔραται.

And surely the swift arrow of Artemis hunted Tityus

As it rushed out of her unconquerable quiver

So that a person desire to aspire to loves in his league

These words are spoken by a crowd of onlookers when Jason first appears in the agora dressed as a hunter. As famously noted by Vidal-Naquet, several features establish that Jason is in a liminal period, the ambiguous phase of adolescence.¹⁹⁹

He has long hair (82-3), a symbol of adolescence; he has just left behind the mountains where the half-beast Chiron (and his wife Chariclo) educated and Chiron's daughters raised him (76, 102-3), and is now standing in the civic space (85); and he wears double clothing (*ἐσθὰς...ἀμφοτέρα*, 79), the native Thessalian fashion and the leopard skin (80-1), which demonstrates his liminal status between the wild, where he has hunted, and the city, where he must reclaim the kingship

¹⁹⁹ (1986: 108), followed by e.g. Segal (1986: 57-8)

after twenty years under Chiron's training (104-8). Pindar therefore tells the Tityus tale at a turning point in the young hunter's life and can thus be interpreted as a warning for Jason and the Argonauts and after their success, a foil.

Callimachus refers to Artemis as "Tityus-slayer" (Ἄρτεμι ...Τίτυοκτόνε, 110) in a significant location in Artemis' coming-of-age tale in the *Hymn to Artemis*: right after her first "hunt" (98-109) and right before the hymn restarts when as queen (137) she enters Olympus. Verbal echoes between the *Hymn to Artemis* and *Hymn to Demeter* contrast the divine huntress' successful rite of passage and Erysichthon's failed passage. The detail about the young Artemis' twenty maidservants (ἀμφιπόλους Ἀμνισίδας εἴκοσι νύμφας) who assist in her hunting endeavors by caring for her hunting boots and hounds (15-7) and deer team (162-7) is inverted in the image of Erysichthon's twenty attendants (θεοάποντας ἐείκοσι, 33), who accompany him on his twisted "hunt," and the twenty who bring an animalized Erysichthon food (εἴκατι δαῖτα πένοντο, 69).²⁰⁰ These parallels only

²⁰⁰ Hopkinson (1984 *ad* 33) notes the three passages and comments on twenty as "a standard number for groups of followers." Standard or not, the number can plausibly be read as an intratextual signal, especially because the context for both is hunting, and Artemis and Demeter have complementary roles reinforced by verbal parallels (see under VI.3.3.1). McKay (1962a: 91-2) suggests *Od.* 4.778 (suitors against Telemachus) and *Od.* 4.530 (men against Agamemnon) as pattern-setters and is followed by Harder (2017: 107). Gutzwiller (1981: 40-1) compares the line to warriors running into battle with companions, e.g. *Il.* 7.208 and reads "having twenty attendants" as a substitute for Homeric expressions such as the Trojans following Hector into battle at *Il.* 11.344. But perhaps σεύω, occurring only two or three times in the hymns—a possible third (at *Lav. Pall.* 4 with Stephens 2015 *ad loc*) has disputed etymology—also has a parallel in *Dian.* Erysichthon rushes into the grove with his attendants to chop the trees (σεύατ' ἔχων θεοάποντας...) and Artemis'

underscore Erysichthon's deviation from hunting norms that are followed by the huntress herself as she makes her way into adulthood. Instead, much like Tityus, Erysichthon, a failed hunter who violates Demeter, will be "hunted" by that divinity.

In the course of Erysichthon's mother's lies, then, Callimachus alludes to two successful hunting stories—first, a coming-of-age tale and second, a coming-of-age tale as well as a story of hunting for protection, both of which are connected to the foundation of Cyrene. But his alleged illness sets him against these figures and Cyrene by aligning him not with the successful hunters, but the hunted. In the next chapter, we will see just how Callimachus transforms Erysichthon into the hunted.

dogs rush after her (*μετὰ καὶ κύνες ἐσσεύοντο*, 98) as she embarks on her first hunt, i.e. to catch the deer (98-109).

Chapter V. The “Hunter Hunted”

V.1 Erysichthon πολύθεστε

The transition of Erysichthon from human to animal and his simultaneous regression from youth to infant are most apparent in the poet's comparison of Erysichthon to a glaring lioness protecting its cubs. Already before the simile, Callimachus foreshadows such a fate. Nicippe's attempts to warn Erysichthon establish a familial tone and pave the way for the effects of his animalistic hunger on his household (45-9):

45 φᾶ δὲ παραψύχοισα κακὸν καὶ ἀναιδέα φῶτα.

‘τέκνον, ὅτις τὰ θεοῖσιν ἀνειμένα δένδρεα κόπτεις,

τέκνον ἐλίνυσον, τέκνον **πολύθεστε** τοκεῦσι,

παύεο καὶ θεράποντας ἀπότρεπε, μή τι χαλεφθῆ

πότνια Δαμάτηρ, τὰς ιερὸν ἐκκεραΐζεις.’

She spoke calming the evil and shameless man.

“Child, you who are cutting down the trees dedicated to the gods,

Child, cease, child much prayed for by your parents,

Stop and turn away your attendants, lest mistress Demeter

become at all angry; it is her sacred grove you are plundering.

The importance of the (only) son to his family is stressed with the *hapax* πολύθεστε, which alludes to two other only male children, both described with the same uncommon adjective πολυάρητος. The *hapax* has been interpreted as one of numerous intertextual signals between the *Hymn to Demeter* and the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*.²⁰¹ Specifically, Demeter's words recall the "late-born" (Ὄψιγνος, 165), "much prayed for" (πολυέυχετος, 165; πολυάρητος, 220) Demophoon, the infant son of king Celeus and queen Metanaira. The frame of Callimachus' hymn primes the reader for such an echo since the narrator condenses and adapts the material from the *Homeric Hymn*. In both versions, Demeter, while lamenting the loss of her daughter, wanders around and finally sits, thirsty and unbathed, by a well (*h.Cer.* 47-50, 98-100; *Cer.* 12-6).²⁰² In the *Homeric* version, Demeter is sitting at the well when she is invited by Callidice, one of Celeus' daughters, to become Demophoon's nurse, to nourish him and raise him to the "full measure of youth," (εἰ τόν γ' ἐκθρέψαιο καὶ ἥβης μέτρον ἵκοιτο, 166=221). Demeter instead attempts to make Demophoon immortal by burning him in the fire and anoints him with ambrosia rather than feeding him milk or grain (233-41). Though Demophoon does not become immortal, he receives a hero cult (263-8). In Callimachus' version

²⁰¹ Hopkinson (1984: esp. pp. 91-5), Bing (1995: 32 with n14), Konstan (1996: 80), Ambühl (2005: 189 with notes 391-2), Giuseppetti (2012: 112-3). On Demophoon, see also VI.2.2.2 and VII.3.1.

²⁰² Instead of travelling for nine days and sitting down at the Maiden's Well, the Callimachean Demeter crosses three times the river Achelous, fords three times other rivers, and sits down three times at the well of Callichoron (the location of Demeter's temple at *h.Cer.* 270-2).

the usual story is derailed ($\muὴ\ \muὴ\ ταῦτα\ λέγωμες\ ἀ\ δάκρυον\ ἄγαγε\ Δηοῖ$, “no, no let us not speak about the things which cause Deo to cry,” 17), and the narrator moves into a tale of transgression and punishment.²⁰³ Thus, $\piολύθεστε$ Erysichthon appears to echo Demophoon and by extension, the child of the Mysteries, but when Demeter reveals herself in epiphany, her head touching Olympus, her anger is directed not towards another (Metainara at *h.Cer.* 251-4), but Erysichthon (57-8).²⁰⁴

In addition to reworking the *Homeric Hymn*, Callimachus may allude to Odysseus, another “much prayed-for” infant and only son, referred to as such in Eurykleia’s boar-hunt flashback, which is recalled by the lie of Erysichthon’s mother (*Cer.* 81). The description of Odysseus as “much prayed-for” verbally parallels and is in the same *sedes* as that of Demophoon ($\piολυάρητος\ δε\ τοι\ ἔστιν$, *Od.* 19.404; $\piολυάρητος\ δέ\ μοι\ ἔστιν$, *h.Cer.* 220).²⁰⁵ Yet as seen in IV.2, Erysichthon is no young Odysseus. The lie of Erysichthon’s mother merely foregrounds her son’s failure to hunt, successfully come of age, and marry. Instead of building and preserving a home like the “much prayed-for” Odysseus, Erysichthon fails to

²⁰³ On line 17, see also under IV.3 and VI.2.1.3.

²⁰⁴ On the epiphany echo, see Bing (1995: 31), Ambühl (2005: 181-2). On Erysichthon as the foil of the infant in the Mysteries, see VII.3.1.

²⁰⁵ $\piολυάρητος$ is attested twice elsewhere in verbally and thematically dissimilar passages: of a god coming down from the sky at *Od.* 6.280-1 and of a bad situation prayed against or cursed at Thgn. 1.819-20.

mature and single-handedly destroys the household. Accordingly, Callimachus appears to exchange πολυάρητος for πολύθεστε, which is believed to be coined by analogy with ἀπόθεστος ("despised," *Od.* 17.296), an Homeric *hapax* probably derived from ἀπό + θέσσασθαι ("prayed against") and next attested in Callimachus (fr. 325 Pf.).²⁰⁶ The adjective ἀπόθεστος is applied to Argos, Odysseus' hunting hound which Odysseus himself never had the chance to enjoy, but other young men used in hunting (291-5). With Odysseus gone, the once marvelous hunting hound lays ἀπόθεστος and uncared for in piled-up ass and oxen dung (296-323). After recognizing Odysseus, even in his beggar disguise, Argos dies (326-7). If Callimachus is alluding to this passage, Nicippe's warning foreshadows Erysichthon's similar fate as an actual beggar at the crossroads, an unclean location where food scraps are tossed.

Taken together, these three passages appropriately merge at a crucial turning point in the narrative. Nicippe's word conveys Erysichthon's choice between two fates: one that entails divine favor, maturation, and prosperity and another that is filthy and animalistic. The poet immediately indicates Erysichthon's path towards the latter fate in the following lines.

V.2 The Lioness Simile: a Prism of Allusions

²⁰⁶ See Pfeiffer on fr. 325, Hopkinson (1984 *ad loc.* with n1), Rengakos (1992: 38-9), and Stephens (2015 *ad loc.*).

50 τὰν δ' ἄρ' ύποβλέψας χαλεπάτερον ἡὲ κυναγόν
 ἀρεσιν ἐν Τμαρίοισιν ύποβλέπει ἄνδρα λέαινα
 ἀμοτόκος, τᾶς φαντὶ πέλειν βλοσυρώτατον ὅμμα,
 ‘χάζευ’, ἔφα, ‘μή τοι πέλεκυν μέγαν ἐν χροῖ πάξω.
 ταῦτα δ' ἐμὸν θησεῖ στεγανὸν δόμον, ὃ ἔνι δαῖτας
55 αἰὲν ἐμοῖς ἑτάροισιν ἄδην θυμαρέας ἀξῶ.’

Glaring at her more fiercely than a lioness who has prematurely delivered
cubs

glares at a huntsman [lit. hound-leading man] in the Tmarien mountains

-(when) her eyes, they say, are most terrible-

‘Back off,’ he said ‘lest I stick my great ax in your skin.

These (trees) will make my hall tightly-covered, where

I will always bring a surfeit of tasty treats for my bros.

This is the turning point in the narrative. Simultaneously alluding to epic and tragedy,²⁰⁷ the simile bridges the offense and the punishment, shifts focus from warlike violence to familial concerns, and initiates the transformation of the

²⁰⁷ Epic: Renéhan (1987: 250, 252), Hopkinson (1984: 123-6), Rengakos (1992: 34 on βλοσυρός), van Tress (2004: 175-6), Konstantinou (2012: 134n1), Stephens (2015 *ad Cer.* 50-2, cf. *Del.* 120). Tragedy: Müller (1987: 15 with n31, cf. 35), Bing (1995: 35), Ambühl (2005: 210, 217), Giuseppetti (2012: 114). Neither: Harder (2017: 104-5) mentions the simile as an example of Callimachus' characterization of Erysichthon. For even further implications of the simile, see under VII.4.

violent hunter into the animal. On the one hand, the mere use of a simile, which is introduced in Homeric style, is a clear indication of Callimachus' engagement with epic.²⁰⁸ However, while the rarity of the simile in Callimachus has often been noted,²⁰⁹ as has its dependence on *Il.* 17.133-6,²¹⁰ to my knowledge, nobody has examined the context of the Iliadic reference.²¹¹ The particular simile to which Callimachus is thought to allude belongs in fact to a nexus of parental similes that portrays the relationship between Patroclus and Achilles. Because Callimachus already alludes to the *Iliad* repeatedly in the first part of the narrative, it is possible to see that he is stringing together various scenarios in the *Iliad* to create an ironic punishment for Erysichthon. Behaving the lion-like warrior, Erysichthon will become the beast.

But while simile and warrior-as-hunter may derive from epic, the lioness herself, along with her glare, bring us into the realm of tragedy by drawing on the metaphor of the woman as lioness, which is itself adapted from the parental lion similes of the *Iliad* to reflect the Athenian view of woman as “other.” As I will show, Callimachus takes advantage of the treatment of animals—or rather, people

²⁰⁸ See Hopkinson (1984: 6-7). Cf. Bing (1988: 123-4), discussed below, on Callimachus' application of the epic simile to opponents (e.g. Ares) of his aesthetic, represented by Delos and Apollo, in *Del.*

²⁰⁹ e.g. Hopkinson (1984 *ad* 50-2); van Tress (2004: 175), who comments that “the reader should immediately sit up and take notice”; Stephens (2015 *ad* 50-2); Harder (2017: 105).

²¹⁰ Hopkinson (1984: 123-6), van Tress (2004: 175-6), Konstantinou (2012: 134n1), Stephens (2015 *ad* 50-2).

²¹¹ Only Konstantinou (2012: 134n1) makes any further connection (to *Il.* 18.316-22).

likened to or become animal—in both genres to transition and transform Erysichthon into an animal.

V.2.1 The Lioness Simile and Homeric Epic

V.2.1.1 Homeric Lion Similes and Callimachus' Simile

Read simply, the simile correlates the vicious animal and Erysichthon's violent response and presents Demeter as the hunter. From this perspective, the danger that the hunter poses to the lioness indicates Demeter's unwelcome prevention of Erysichthon's actions and may foreshadow her subsequent punishment of Erysichthon. But this reading is not the only possibility. Like the Homeric similes on which it is modeled, the lioness simile is not so simple. For example, in the third book of the *Iliad*, Paris appears wearing a leopard skin and challenges the best Greeks to fight (16-20); the feline clothing and boldness of Paris lead us to expect that Paris will be the lion in the simile, but it is Menelaus, who eyes Paris in his feline skin like a hungry lion finds the carcass of a stag or goat which he eats greedily while being attacked by dogs and youths (21-9). Therefore, the simile ironically reverses the narrative.²¹² Just so, the bad hunting expedition in the sixth hymn leads the reader to expect Erysichthon in the role of the hunter

²¹² Lonsdale (1990: 50).

attacking the animal whose gender, protection of young cubs, and anger, seem to better suit Demeter, who becomes furious and reveals herself in epiphany in the next lines (57-8).²¹³

In addition to the multifaceted readings it affords, the Homeric simile is a useful tool for Callimachus' transition of Erysichthon into animal, inasmuch as it assimilates warrior to beast. In the *Iliad*, the warrior's appearance and behavior reflect the beast's.²¹⁴ For example, Ajax, who is subsequently compared to a "burning lion" (*αἴθωνα λέοντα*, 548), "retreat[s] after glancing about at the battle throng like a wild beast," (*τρέσσε δὲ παπτήνας ἐφ' ὄμιλου, θηρὶ ἐοικώς*, 11.546). Furthermore, the beast's emotions and cognition mirror the warrior's.²¹⁵ As Clarke puts it, "the mental and emotional state of the fighting animal can be assimilated to that of the fighting man more closely than would ever be possible in a culture like our own."²¹⁶ For instance, the beast can be "manly in spirit" (*ἀγήνοι θυμῷ*, 24.42) or "high-minded" (*μέγα φρονέων*, 11.325, 16.824). Yet the power of the beast that also characterizes the warrior can turn to recklessness. In this way, the lion simile indicates that the warrior is deviating from human values and will

²¹³ Noted e.g. by Stephens (2015 *ad* 50-2).

²¹⁴ On physical appearance see, e.g. Scott (1974: 62), Clarke (1995: 145-6).

²¹⁵ Briefly noted by Scott (1974: 61-2); detailed by Lonsdale (1990: 33-8, 42-6 with tables on 133-5); and discussed, for example, by Clarke (1995), who expands on the topic to discuss "Homer's portrayal of the ethical and psychological problems of heroism;" Heath (2005: 43-51), who is mainly interested in speech, which separates man from animal; and Pratt (2007: 32).

²¹⁶ (1995: 146).

destroy himself.²¹⁷ Thus, as we will see below, the poet describes Patroclus' folly and ruin by comparing him to different lions.

Finally, the early Erysichthon narrative incorporates the subject matter pertaining to Homeric lion similes in general. Along with boars, lions are compared "almost exclusively" to warriors with whom they are "essentially identical,"²¹⁸ and the majority of the lion similes are about hunting or herding.²¹⁹ Over half of the developed lion similes concern the marauding lion, but some describe a vulnerable lion who is chased away by men and dogs from a herd, threatened by a hunter, or even hunted.²²⁰ The simile alluded to at *Il.17.133-6* concerning the struggle over Patroclus' corpse is just one of fifty lion similes in the epic and belongs to a chain of similes that begins with the lion similes describing Patroclus in battle in book sixteen and Achilles' reaction to Patroclus' death in book eighteen. Although Homeric similes fall roughly into three categories—simple (e.g. 24.572), developed parallel to the scene (e.g. 11.292ff), and developed

²¹⁷ Clarke (1995: esp. 150-9). Similarly, Heath (2005: 166): "The *Iliad* suggests that heroic nature itself brings with it the risks of losing touch with the human, especially in the madness of anger and battle."

²¹⁸ Scott (1974: 58), Lonsdale (1990: 1).

²¹⁹ Lonsdale (1990: 10, 41) tabulates that over half of the similes (125/226) in the *Iliad* pertain to animals, belong to battle narratives, and concern hunting and herding. Of the fifty lion similes, twenty-seven lions attack domesticated animals and twenty-six of these occur in the *Iliad*. The marauding lion only dies twice (5.558, 12.46).

²²⁰ Lonsdale (1990: 1-2 with n5) specifies that 55% describe a marauding lion. Others, e.g. Scott (1974: 60-1), also note or discuss the two sides of the simile (hunter and hunted).

independently or in contrast with added details (e.g. 4.482-9)—²²¹ much has been gained—not least a deeper appreciation of the bard’s skill—from interpreting similes as a “co-ordinated system,” and the relationship between the Patroclus similes has not gone unnoticed.²²² As I will show, Callimachus also interpreted the similes in this fashion, since in both the *Hymn to Demeter* and *Hymn to Apollo* he draws on not only the themes of the lion similes in general, e.g. hunting and herding, but also the Patroclus sequence in particular.

V.2.1.2 of Lions and Trees

Callimachus sets up a comparison between Patroclus and Erysichthon by alluding to the battle at the ships. As discussed at III.2, the entrance of Erysichthon and his men into the grove verbally echoes the manner in which the Trojans and Greeks fight: ἀμφότερον πελέκεσσι καὶ ἀξίναισιν ὄπλισσας, (“Armed with both two-edged axes and axes,” *Cer.* 35); ὁξέσι δὴ πελέκεσσι καὶ ἀξίνησι μάχοντο, (“they were fighting with sharp two-edged axes and axes,” *Il.* 15.711). Callimachus foreshadows the severity of Erysichthon’s offense by drawing this line from the end

²²¹ Shipp (1972: 208).

²²² This is the label of Clarke (1995), but the approach is not new. For analyses of the sequences of lion similes concerning Patroclus, see esp. Moulton (1977: 76-86, 96-9), Schnapp-Gourbeillon (1981: 81-4, cf. a fuller treatment of Diomedes the lion 95-131), and Lonsdale (1990: 49-70). Scott (1974: 56-62; cf. the more detailed analysis of similes by book in 2009: esp. 145-73). Mills (2000: esp. 5-7) provides a well-written overview of the feasibility of this kind of system in oral poetry.

of book fifteen when the situation is most dire for the Greeks. This is the moment when the enemies switch from distance fighting to close combat around a specific Greek ship (Protesilaus') which Hector has just managed to grasp (704-15). Just before this point, Homer infiltrates the minds of each side to report that the Greeks believe their doom to be imminent and the Trojans, their success (699-703). After zooming out to display the close combat, Homer zooms back in to Hector grasping the ship and spurring the Trojans on (716-26), which causes Ajax to fear for his life and give ground (727-9). The book ends with the image of Ajax spearing the onrushing Trojans after he had exhorted the Greeks to fight harder because they lack a defending wall or fortress; their backs are to the sea (730-46). Enter Patroclus.

In book fifteen Hector (275, 630) and the Trojans (592) are the lions. In book sixteen Patroclus joins the rank of lions, but at the start of the book, he is introduced in the inferior position to which he will return at the point of his death at the end of book sixteen and throughout book seventeen. Patroclus approaches Achilles and is “shedding hot tears” (*δάκρυα θερμὰ χέων*, 3), another passage fittingly repeated verbatim only in the context of his death at 18.17 (of Antilochus bringing the news of Patroclus’ death to Achilles) and 18.235 (of Achilles seeing Patroclus dead for the first time).²²³ Achilles asks him why he is crying and

²²³ The tears are compared to water flowing from a spring. The spring detail further links Patroclus to the Myrmidons, on which see Scott (2009: 170).

compares him to a little girl tugging at her mother's dress (16.7-11). This simile sets in motion a series of parental similes in which Achilles or an Achilles substitute plays the role of the parent and Patroclus, the child, even though Patroclus is clearly established as the elder of the two (11.787).²²⁴ The comparison of Patroclus to a κούρη/νηπίη ("little girl," 16.7-8) becomes μέγα νήπιος ("exceedingly foolish," 46) after he asks to fight in Achilles' armor, which is then reinforced with μεγ' ἀάσθη/ νήπιος ("fool, he was very much blinded," 685-6) at the moment that he disobeys Achilles' orders, to which I will return below.²²⁵

With Achilles' permission, Patroclus takes to the field and routs the Trojans. Patroclus is first compared to a lion in his *aristeia* in which he confronts Sarpedon (16.483-91):

ἢριπε δ' ὡς ὅτε τις δρῦς ἢριπεν ἦ ἀχερωίς,
ἡὲ πίτυς βλωθρή, τήν τ' οὔρεσι τέκτονες ἄνδρες
485 ἐξέταμον πελέκεσσι νεήκεσι νήιον εῖναι
ὡς ὁ πρόσθ' ἵππων καὶ δίφρου κεῖτο τανυσθείς,
βεβρυχώς, κόνιος δεδραγμένος αίματοέσσης.
ἢύτε ταῦρον ἔπεφνε λέων ἀγέληφι μετελθών,

²²⁴ On the age inversion, see e.g. Pratt (2007: 36), but, as Mills (2000: 11-5) points out, the role alternates, since elsewhere (e.g. 11.786-9), Patroclus is the protector. On the other parental similes, see V.2.2.4c

²²⁵ On the repeated announcements of or allusions to Patroclus' death, already at 11.602-4, see, e.g. Scott (2009: 157-9) and Brügger (2018 *ad* 46-7).

αἱθωνα μεγάθυμον, ἐν εἰλιπόδεσσι βόεσσι,
ῳλετό τε στενάχων ύπὸ γαμφηλῆσι λέοντος,
490 ὡς ύπὸ Πατρόκλω Λυκίων ἀγὸς ἀσπιστάων
κτεινόμενος μενέαινε

And he fell as when an oak falls or a white poplar,
Or a tall pine, which in the mountains carpenters
Cut down with newly-sharpened axes to be ship-timber.
So he before his horses and chariot lay stretched out,
Bellow, grasping at blood-red dust.
Just as a lion after going among a herd slays a bull,
Fierce and great-hearted among the cattle of rolling gate,
And he perishes groaning under the jaws of the lion,
Thus under Patroclus the leader of the Lycian shield-warriors
Slain was wrestling

What is noteworthy here is the blend of similes. The marauding lion simile reiterates the tree-felling imagery. The link between the two is even clearer earlier in the epic when twins are compared to two lion cubs who grow up in the forest, snatch cows and sheep, and then, slain by men with a sword, fall like felled firs

(5.554-60). As Lonsdale notes, the similes are presented as an “organic unit” because the lions fall like the trees under which they were raised.²²⁶ In the Patroclus-Sarpedon sequence the two similes are presented in reverse order (tree, then lion) and are only loosely connected (cf. 17.53-69, a tree felled by a tempest followed by a lion simile). The tree-felling simile describing Sarpedon is also formulaic, since it likewise describes the death of Asius (13.389-93 = 16.483-7), but in that scenario, a lion simile does not follow.

Callimachus seems to be influenced by these interlocking and adjacent similes, since he too blends tree-felling, hunting, and the savage lion in an *Iliad*-inspired context. In Homer, the tree-felling similes are a part of a larger nexus of similes describing the production of various cultural instruments, such as oars or, as in Sarpedon’s case, ships.²²⁷ The comparison of Sarpedon’s death to the felling of lofty trees for a cultural product is honorific; metapoetically, the hero is immortalized as his death becomes material for poetic production.²²⁸ Accordingly, Patroclus is at the edge of glory when he kills the mighty warrior. Homer’s

²²⁶ (1990: 55, cf. 111-12 on the similar combination of tree and boar similes at 12.132-50).

²²⁷ On tree and carpentry similes, see Janko (1992 on e.g. 13.178-80, 389-93, 389-91 15.410-13) and Rood (2008), who discusses the metapoetic implications and helpfully breaks the similes down into three stages: the tree felled (24-33), hauled from the mountain (33-5), and worked by the shipwright (36-41). On the category of tree similes, which always describe a dead, dying, or unmoving warrior, see also Scott (1974: 70-1; 2009: 22-3).

²²⁸ So Rood (2008: esp. 29-30): “The craftsman cuts down a tree and makes it into a cultural instrument—oar, spear, chariot wheel, or ship—that helps men fight the wars in which, in turn, they are cut down and made by the poet into cultural heroes.”

subsequent comparison of Patroclus to the lion doubles the effect, as Patroclus becomes the dominant animal—previously, Patroclus and Sarpedon were equally-matched vultures (428-30)—and kills the “greathearted” bull.²²⁹

Callimachus transfers the violent death of the warrior to the tree itself. The effect depreciates Erysichthon’s actions, as he is not heroically felling a mighty warrior, but chopping down the poplar for unproductive purposes; metapoetically, he is the enemy not of a valiant Trojan, but the poetics that the poplar represents, and is attempting to transform Callimachean poetics, i.e. the grove, into some sort of stale poetics, i.e. a banquet hall.²³⁰ Similarly, while the lion simile glorifies Patroclus, the lioness simile that follows the tree-chopping attempt does not glorify Erysichthon, but signals his transformation into an animal. For instance, as we will see, *αἱθωνα* (488), which is used to describe Sarpedon as bull, as well as other heroes as animals, will soon qualify Erysichthon’s hunger (67). Callimachus, then, borrows and manipulates Homer’s characterization of a successful warrior.

²²⁹ Noted, e.g. by Scott (2009: 162-3 with n103 for others, 170), but he reads the sequential similes as juxtaposed. The tree simile is purposeful and represents “the calculations of Achilles and the controlling plan of Zeus;” the lion simile, “raw instinct,” which leads Patroclus astray.

²³⁰ On the hymn’s poetics, see Müller (1987: 27-45), followed and furthered by e.g. Murray (2004: esp. 212-6). Apart from occasionally buttressing points with comments on poetics, I do not intend to head down the metapoetic road.

V.2.1.3 Disobedience and Divine Warning: an Apollonian Demeter

While Erysichthon does not yet imitate Patroclus, who at this point is behaving like a typical Homeric hero, his subsequent disobedience seems to have suggested to Callimachus a like fate for Erysichthon. As Patroclus will go too far and fall, so, too, will Erysichthon. Accordingly, the narratives follow a similar course. Patroclus is famously given specific directions by Achilles, who commands him to “obey” (*πείθεο*, 83), to drive the Trojans away from the ships and then return (16.87-9, 95-6). Achilles fears that were Patroclus to continue fighting towards Troy some god may enter battle; he names, in particular, Apollo, who loves the Trojans (91-4). Indeed, Apollo will become a dangerous foe, nay the slayer, of Patroclus and, as we will see, an implicit enemy and destroyer of Erysichthon.

Disregarding Achilles’ advice, Patroclus directs his horses and Automedon, his charioteer, to press on after the Trojans (684-91). Called to death by the gods, Patroclus slays numerous men (692-7), and under his guidance, the Greeks have the destruction of Troy within their grasp (698-9); however, upon Troy’s walls stands Apollo “thinking destructive thoughts towards him” and aiding the Trojans (700-1). When Patroclus three times puts his foot on the city wall, Apollo thrice pushes him back (702-4). On Patroclus’ fourth attempt, Apollo warns him to “fall back” (*χάζεο*, διογενὲς Πατρόκλεες..., 707), since neither he nor Achilles is

fated to take Troy (705-9). Patroclus obeys, initially (710-1), but after Apollo inspires Hector to pursue Patroclus and creates havoc amongst the Greeks (724-32), Patroclus kills Cebriones, Hector's charioteer and half-brother, with a stone, which knocks his eyes out of his head and causes him to fall (733-43). The manner of Cebriones' death leads Patroclus to mock him by comparing his fall from the chariot to a diver groping after oysters, an unappetizing food (744-50).²³¹ Patroclus is then compared to a lion for a second time when he fights with Hector, who is also compared to a lion, over Cebriones' body (16.751-61):

Ως εἰπὼν ἐπὶ Κεβριόνη ἥρωι βεβήκει
οἷμα λέοντος ἔχων, ὃς τε σταθμοὺς **κεραΐζων**
ἔβλητο πρὸς στῆθος, ἐή τέ μιν ὕλεσεν ἀλκή·
ώς ἐπὶ Κεβριόνη, Πατρόκλεες, ἀλσο μεμαώς.

755 “Ἐκταῷ δ’ αὐθ’ ἐτέρωθεν ἀφ’ ἵππων ἄλτο χαμᾶζε.
τὰ περὶ Κεβριόναο λέονθ’ ώς δηρινθήτην,
ῶ τ’ ὅρεος κορυφῆσι περὶ κταμένης ἐλάφοιο,
ἄμφω πεινάοντε, μέγα φρονέοντε μάχεσθον·
ώς περὶ Κεβριόναο δύω μήστωρες ἀυτῆς,

760 Πάτροκλός τε Μενοιτιάδης καὶ φαίδιμος Ἐκταῷ,

²³¹ On the image and its relationship to the passage, see Rabel (1993); to an earlier Patroclus fishing simile at 16.406-8, see Scott (2009: 161-2, 165).

ἴεντ' ἀλλήλων ταμέειν χρόα νηλέι χαλκῷ.

Thus having spoken he went for the warrior Cebriones
With the rush of a lion, who while plundering the farmstead
Has been stricken upon the breast, and his courage destroyed him.
Thus upon Cebriones, Patroclus, did you leap furiously eager.
And Hector in turn on the other side from his horses leapt to the ground.
For Cebriones the two contended like two lions
That fight on mountain peaks for a slain deer
Both hunger, both being high-minded.
Thus for Cebriones the two authors of the war-cry
Patroclus, son of Menoetius, and famous Hector
Were desiring to cut each other's skin with the ruthless bronze.
Because Cebriones' death leads to the involvement of Hector, who will kill
Patroclus, the wounded lion foreshadows Patroclus' death.²³² Meanwhile, encircling
the mountain lions, the Trojans and the Greeks clash like two winds snapping
branches in a forest in the mountain glens (763-71). The description of the fight
continues (16.772-5):

²³² Schnapp-Gourbeillon (1981: 82).

πολλὰ δὲ Κεβριόνην ἀμφ' ὄξέα δοῦρα πεπήγει
ἰοί τε πτερόεντες ἀπὸ νευρῆφι θορόντες,
πολλὰ δὲ χερμάδια μεγάλ' ἀσπίδας ἐστυφέλιξαν
775 μαρναμένων ἀμφ' αὐτόν.

And around Cebriones many sharp spears had fixed
And winged arrows that sprang from their strings
And many great boulders struck hard against the shields
While men battled around him.

Eventually, the Greeks remove Cebriones' body and take his armor (781-2), as “Patroclus leap[s] upon the Trojans bent on evil things,” (Πάτροκλος δὲ Τρωσὶ κακὰ φρονέων ἐνόρουσε, 733). Patroclus, “equivalent to quick Ares” (θοῶ ἀτάλαντος Ἀρη, 784), leaps on the enemy three times, as he had before when putting his foot on the wall; this time, however, receiving no warning with his fourth attempt, “he rushe[s] like a *daimon*” (ἐπέσσυτο δαίμονι ἵσος, 786). And this time, Apollo strikes Patroclus so that his eyes spin, knocks off his helmet, and loosens his corselet; his spear is broken, his shield falls; “delusion seize[s] his mind and his limbs [are] loosed under him, and he st[ands] stunned” (τὸν δ' ἄτη φρένας εῖλε, λύθεν δ' ὑπὸ φαίδιμα γυῖα,/στῆ δὲ ταφών, 805-6). At that, Euphorbus wounds Patroclus with a spear, and after removing it, runs away (806-15). Overcome,

Patroclus at last draws back ($\varepsilon\chi\alpha\zeta\epsilon\tau\omega$) into his circle of comrades (816-7), but it is too late.

As mentioned twice now, Callimachus begins his narrative with an allusion to the battle at the ships, which lays the groundwork for a story reminiscent of Patroclus' disobedience. As Patroclus was driven towards Troy by Zeus and foolish behavior (16.684-91), so Erysichthon is motivated by both a *daimon* and a bad idea. The involvement of Apollo in Patroclus' demise is especially pertinent to the *Hymn to Demeter*, since the goddess assumes Apollo's vengeful *Iliadic* role. This is unsurprising, since the rearranging of the divinities' qualities is part of Callimachus' technique. For instance, in his *Hymn to Artemis*, the poet instigates a sibling rivalry by transferring details about Apollo in, for example, the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* to Artemis,²³³ and, as we saw at II.3.1, Athena in the *Bath of Pallas* somewhat resembles Artemis. Likewise, while Apollo in the second hymn adopts many of the qualities of Philitas' peaceful Demeter,²³⁴ Demeter in the sixth hymn assumes the stance of Apollo in the *Iliad*.

It has been argued that in the *Hymn to Demeter*, Callimachus models Nicippe, Demeter's priestess, on Chryses, Apollo's priest, as well as their

²³³ Ambuhl (2005: 275-84)

²³⁴ Spanoudakis (2002: 173-93).

interactions with Erysichthon and Agamemnon, respectively.²³⁵ The verbal parallels in the descriptions of the priest and priestess strongly suggest that Callimachus has the *Iliad* in mind. As Chryses comes to the Greek ships “holding in his hands wreaths of far-shooting Apollo on a golden scepter” (στέμματ' ἔχων ἐν χερσὶν ἐκηβόλου Απόλλωνος/χρυσέω ἀνὰ σκῆπτρω, 14-5), Nicippe appears to Erysichthon with “wreaths in her hands and a poppy,” a symbol of Demeter (γέντο δὲ χειρί/στέμματα καὶ μάκανα, 43-4). Though not an unusual vocabulary item, στέμματα (“wreaths”) is only attested three times in Homer—all in the first book of the *Iliad* (1.14=373; στέμμα at 28), all referring to Chryses—and once in Callimachus; the three instances of στέμματα (*Il.* 1.14=373; *Cer.* 14) are also in the same *sedes*.²³⁶ If these parallels are not convincing enough, Callimachus’ word (a *hapax*) for “priestess” is ἀράτειραν (42), which he likely coins and Apollonius imitates (1.312, 3.252). The word must be based on the Homeric ἀρητήρ (“priest”), which before Callimachus only appeared three times in the *Iliad*, where it twice refers to Chryses (1.11, 94) and once to Hypsenor (the Trojan priest of the river

²³⁵ Bulloch (1977: 102-4) discusses the verbal parallels and general resemblance, which was first suggested by Gundert (1970: 119). Bulloch is followed by e.g. DeForest (1994: 49n6) and Stephens (2015 *ad* 43-4). At A.R. 1.311-3, the priestess (ἀράτειρα) of Artemis approaches Jason. DeForest (1994: 49) interprets the scene as a parody of the Homeric episode.

²³⁶ Bulloch does not note the singular form at *Il.* 28 or the metrical similarity.

Scamander), whom Eurypylus slays (5.78).²³⁷ Aristotle's citation of ἀρητήρ in his explanation of neologisms guarantees its rareness (*Po.* 1457b.33-5).

Furthermore, the events in the two texts are very similar. The angry responses of Apollo and Demeter occur at the beginning of the epic and the narrative, respectively. In the *Iliad*, Apollo is angry at a king (ο γὰρ βασιλῆι χολωθεὶς, 1.9) and in the *Hymn to Demeter*, the goddess is angry at the prince (χωσαμένα, 41, cf. ἄφατόν τι κοτέσσατο, 57) and indirectly, the king (Triopas) himself, since a *daimon*'s displeasure with the Triopidae is partly responsible for Erysichthon's behavior in the first place (Τοιοπίδαισιν ο δεξιὸς ἔχθετο δαίμων, 31). Both Chryses/Apollo and Nicippe-as-Demeter suffer a like grievance.²³⁸ Chryses comes to the Greek ships with a ransom to free his daughter (1.12-3), whom Agamemnon refuses to return, and Erysichthon is chopping at a particular poplar (ἥς δέ τις αἴγειρος, 37), which cries out when struck (ἄ προτα πλαγεῖσα κακὸν μέλος ἵαχεν ἄλλαις, 39). Because the personified poplar's description

²³⁷ Bulloch (1977: 104n5) speculates that the adjective δαμοσίαν ("public," 43) which describes ἀρητειραν was suggested by δῆμω ("by the people"), at the end of *Il.* 5.78 (ἀρητήρ ἐτέτυκτο, θεὸς δ' ὡς τίετο δῆμω, "he was made a priest, and was honored as a god by the people."). If so, Erysichthon is in the position of yet *another* Eurypylus (this one a Thessalian king).

²³⁸ Bulloch does not discuss the matter of their suffering nor does he make the specific point about the reference to the deity in the divine officials' speeches.

echoes Kore's rape in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, Callimachus' Demeter is also allusively upset about the loss of her daughter.²³⁹

Chryses and Nicippe cite the deity in their request. Chryses requests that Agamemnon return his daughter and receive the ransom with reverence to Apollo (1.20-1), and Nicippe asks Erysichthon to desist chopping so that Demeter not become angry (49-50). In both cases, the sacred official's requests are rebuffed. Erysichthon responds to Nicippe, "Draw back...lest [he] stick a great ax in [her] skin" ($\chi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\nu\ldots\mu\acute{\eta}$ τοι πέλεκυν μέγαν ἐν χροΐ πάξω, 53), and Agamemnon tells Chryses to stay away from the ships (1.26-7), "lest [his] scepter and the wreath of the god not protect [him]," ($\mu\acute{\eta}$ νύ τοι οὐ χραίσμη σκῆπτρον καὶ στέμμα θεοῖ, 28 and cf. 32). As a result, Apollo inflicts upon the Greek army a νοῦσος ("plague," 1.10), which Achilles later refers to as a λοιμός (a *hapax* in Homer) when he wonders if, along with war, it will destroy the Greeks ($\varepsilon\acute{i}$ δὴ ὁμοῦ πόλεμός τε δαμᾶ καὶ λοιμὸς Αχαιούς, 1.61). Demeter sends a λιμός ("hunger," 66) upon Erysichthon, and he suffers from the νοῦσος ("disease," 67).²⁴⁰

In the epic-colored section of the Erysichthon narrative, Callimachus simultaneously draws on books one and sixteen of the *Iliad*. As Callimachus picks

²³⁹ On the poplar's similarity to Kore, see Bing (1995: 31-2), followed by Ambühl (2005: 181) and Stephens (2015 *ad* 39). See also VI.2.2.2.

²⁴⁰ As will be discussed in VI.3.3.1, this play on λοιμός/λιμός is significant, as it ties together numerous texts and links the *Hymn to Demeter* to the *Hymn to Artemis*.

up on the offense to the daughter in book one of the *Iliad*, so does he seem to allude in book sixteen to Patroclus' famous ill-advised attack on the favored city of Apollo, who in Troy's early days either herded its cattle or built its walls (*Il.* 21.446-9; Ov. *Her.* 16.181-2). This aspect of Erysichthon's attack cannot derive from book one, because Chryses actually says to the Greeks: "to you may the gods...grant to sack the city of Priam," (ύμῖν μὲν θεοὶ δοῖεν.../ἐκπέρσαι Πριάμοιο πόλιν, 1.18-9). Also, since Chryses does not directly warn the Greeks about Apollo's response, Nicippe appears to echo Achilles, while Demeter remains aligned with Apollo. In book sixteen, Achilles issues a clear warning about Apollo. As mentioned above, he tells Patroclus to obey (*πείθεο*, 83); to not go on to Troy (92), "lest from Olympus one of the everlasting gods step in; far-working Apollo loves them very much" (*μή τις ἀπ' Οὐλύμποιο θεῶν αἰειγενετάων/ ἐμβῆῃ· μάλα τούς γε φιλεῖ ἐκάεργος Απόλλων*, 93-4); but to come back (*ἀλλὰ πάλιν τρωπᾶσθαι*, 95). The sense of Nicippe's warning is similar; she first tells Erysichthon to "stop" (*παύεο*, 48), "lest mistress Demeter become at all angry" (*μή τι χαλεφθῆ/ πότνια Δαμάτηρ*, 48-9), and commands him to "turn back his henchmen" (*θεοάποντας ἀπότρεπε*, 48).

Erysichthon and Patroclus are guilty of the same crime: plundering (rather, attempting to plunder) a place sacred to a divinity. Nicippe informs Erysichthon as much; he risks angering "mistress Demeter, whose holy place [he] plunders,"

(πότνια Δαμάτηρ, τὰς ἵερὸν ἐκκεραΐζεις, 49). Here, Callimachus coins a compound (ἐκκεραΐζεις), which is based on and takes advantage of the semantic overlap of the Homeric κεραΐζω.²⁴¹ Of the words for “plundering,” Callimachus chooses the less common one and the only one that is used for humans and lions (or any animal).²⁴² As we saw IV.3, Callimachus alludes to κεραΐζω in Pi. *P.* 9.20-8 and Hes. fr. 43a.55-65 MW at *Ap.* 92 with σίνιν (“plunderer”), which, I argued, has an intertextual relationship with Erysichthon.²⁴³ The ambiguity of κεραΐζω derives from Homer, where it describes the sack of the city or chambers (*Il.* 16.830, 22.6, 24.245; *Od.* 8.516), Achilles’ slaughter of Trojans (2.861, 21.129), or lions’ plunder of farmsteads (*Il.* 5.557, 16.752).²⁴⁴ At *Il.* 5.557, the twin lion cubs, who then fall like trees, plunder a farmstead, but κεραΐζω is not applied to the warriors compared to the cubs. Thus, the plundering lion and city-sacking imagery only overlap with Patroclus, who “while plundering the farmstead” is overcome by his own valor, (σταθμοὺς κεραΐζων/έβλητο πρὸς στῆθος, ἐή τέ μιν ὥλεσεν ἀλκή, 752-3), which

²⁴¹ See Hopkinson (1984: 6 and *ad loc*), who writes that Demeter “finishes with the resounding Iliadic ἐκκεραΐζεις (49) to stress the unnatural violence of desecration,” and Stephens (2015 *ad loc*). The compounded form is then used in a passage echoing Call. (*AP* 9.312.2).

²⁴² πέρθω and the related πορθέω are more common. Κεραΐζω is least common overall (e.g. once in Hes. and twice in Pi. vs. three and eight attestations of πέρθω in those respective authors) and appears eight times in Homer (cf. the twenty-four instances of πέρθω or πορθέω). Σίνομαι is not common, but only describes men (*Il.* 24.45, *Od.* 11.112=12.139); the Cyclopes, called “men” (*Od.* 6.6), and Charybdis (*Od.* 12.114).

²⁴³ Theocritus appears to be influenced by Callimachus’ second and sixth hymns, since his Nemean lion plunders people like a flooding river (25.201-3).

²⁴⁴ Cf. Hdt. 7.125 (lions plundering camels).

Homer transfers to the sacking of Troy in Hector's vaunting over the dying Patroclus ("Patroclus, you said, I suppose that you would plunder our city," Πάτροκλ', ἦ που ἔφησθα πόλιν κεραϊξέμεν ἀμήν, 830). Callimachus rearranges these details by, for instance, removing the marauding lion from its simile and transferring its behaviors to the second part of the narrative. Erysichthon's war-like plundering of the grove prompts the lioness simile, which is the gateway to Erysichthon's punishment that involves the plundering of his family's animals.

Other parallels reinforce this reading. After Erysichthon is compared to the lioness, he tells Demeter to "Draw back...lest [he] stick a great ax in [her] skin" (χάζευ...μή τοι πέλεκυν μέγαν ἐν χροῖ πάξω, 53). While the phrase ἐν χροῖ πάξω ("stick in the skin") does not pertain to Patroclus—though it is Homeric (of arrows in the skin of youths launched by Teucer, 8.298 and by men at the battle at the ships, 15.315)— χάζευ only appears in the same *sedes* in the same form in passages concerning Patroclus. At 16.707, after pushing him back from the walls three times, Apollo tells Patroclus to "draw back" (χάζεο). The form appears in a similar passage, but a different *sedes* at 5.440, where Apollo tells Diomedes to draw back after that warrior, like Patroclus, leapt at him three times. There, Apollo instructs Diomedes about the difference between mortals and gods (441-2). This encounter between Diomedes and Apollo demonstrates the issue involved in the interactions between Patroclus and Apollo and Erysichthon and Demeter. All

attempt to overstep the boundary between mortal and immortal, and in the case of Patroclus and Erysichthon, are punished.²⁴⁵ The point is perhaps reinforced when Euphorbus, the second to harm Patroclus, tells Menealaus to “draw back, and leave [Patroclus’] corpse,” (χάζεο, λεῖπε δὲ νεκρόν, 17.13). If Callimachus has these passages in mind, he ironically transfers the command to Erysichthon, who is behaving hubristically against a goddess.

V.2.1.4 Erysichthon’s Homeric Punishment

V.2.1.4.1 Erysichthon’s Homeric Hunger: the Beggar and the Lion

In constructing Erysichthon’s attack, Callimachus recycles the language and images of the *Iliad* in general (vocabulary bolded above) and of the Patroclus sequence in particular. The same is true for Erysichthon’s punishment, which evokes the hungry lion similes in the *Iliad* in general and various scenes concerning Patroclus specifically. As discussed at IV.3, Callimachus reworks the Hesiodic version in which Erysichthon is called Αἴθων “because of his strong and burning hunger,” (τὸν δ’ Αἴθων’ ἐκάλεσσαν ἐπ]ών[υμο]ν εἶνεκα λιμοῦ/αἴθωνος κοατεροῦ, fr. 43a.5-6 MW). Additionally, because Odysseus may imitate Erysichthon when he calls himself Αἴθων (*Od.* 19.183), the *Odyssey* has been

²⁴⁵ Erysichthon’s chthonic nature and gigantism, discussed below, further reinforce his hubris.

interpreted as another source for the hunger of the Callimachean Erysichthon.²⁴⁶

In particular, Bulloch has argued that, along with other echoes from this passage,²⁴⁷

the “leaping up” of Erysichthon’s “evil stomach” (*κακὰ δ’ ἐξάλλετο γαστήρ/αἰεὶ μᾶλλον ἔδοντι*, 88-9) may be inspired by Melantheus’ taunting of Odysseus: “but

skulking throughout the country, he wishes by begging to feed his insatiable

stomach,” (*ἀλλὰ πτώσσων κατὰ δῆμον/βούλεται αἰτίζων βόσκειν ἦν γαστέο’ ἄναλτον*, 17.227-8). As has been pointed out, *EM* s.v. suggests (incorrectly)

that ἄναλτον, an uncommon word, was derived from ἀλλεσθαι.²⁴⁸ If Callimachus

believed the two were related, he may be thinking about this passage when he

describes Erysichthon’s stomach as “leaping up” (*ἐξάλλετο*). But I argue that

Callimachus is pulling in more than these verbal parallels. With βόσκειν, which,

incidentally, Triopas also uses of Erysichthon (104), Melanthius’ taunt characterizes

Odysseus as an animal. Furthermore, Melanthius’ comment about Odysseus’

stomach channels a motif that runs throughout the *Odyssey*. Earlier in the epic the

γαστήρ motif appears in an animal context when a comrade-less, ship-less

²⁴⁶ On Odysseus as beggar and the influence of the passage on *Cer.*, see Bulloch (1977: 108-112) and under VI.3.2.1. and VII.2.1. On Odysseus as Αἴθων and beggar, his impersonation of Erysichthon, and the γαστήρ motif, see Levanouk (2000: 36-51), accepted and furthered by e.g. Murray (2004: 215-6). For the social and erotic implications of the name, also discussed by Levanouk, see VI.3.

²⁴⁷ (1977: 108-12)

²⁴⁸ Bulloch (1977: 110 with notes 19-21), Hopkinson (1984 *ad* 88). In fact, the word is probably related to ἀλδαίνω and Latin ‘alere’ (“to nourish”), on which see Beekes (2010 s.v.). It is attested three times in Homer, all describing Odysseus (17.228; 18.114, 364).

Odysseus emerges naked from the bushes in Phaeacia to seek Nausicaa's help

(6.130-4):²⁴⁹

130 βῆ δ' ἕμεν ὡς τε λέων ὁρεσίτροφος ἀλκὶ πεποιθώς,
 ὅς τ' εἰσ' ύόμενος καὶ ἀήμενος, ἐν δέ οἱ ὅσσε
 δαίεται· αὐτὰρ ὁ βουσὶ μετέρχεται ἢ ὄιεσσιν
 ἢ μετ' ἀγροτέρας ἐλάφους· κέλεται δέ ἐ γαστὴρ
 μήλων πειρήσοντα καὶ ἐς πυκινὸν δόμον ἐλθεῖν·

And he went like a mountain-nourished lion trusting in his might,

Which goes drenched with rain and beaten by wind, and its eyes burn in his
head

But it goes among cattle or sheep or after wild deer. And its stomach orders
It to go into the well-constructed fold and to make an attempt on the sheep.

Beggar-Odysseus as Αἴθων and his comparison to the lion here and elsewhere (e.g. 17.126-31, 22.401-6) recall the lion similes in the *Iliad*, as does the motif of the γαστήρ,

²⁴⁹ If Harder (2017: 108) is correct in her suggestion that ἤσθιε at *Cer.* 88 (Erysichthon eating a lot) recalls the verb in the same *sedes* at *Od.* 1.8-9 (eating the cattle of Helius), 9.292 (the Cyclops eating Odysseus' men like a lion) and 17.358 (the beggar Odysseus in his palace), there is another overlap between lion-simile (9.292) and Odysseus (17.358), who himself is compared to the lion when he kills the suitors (e.g. 22.401-6).

which may drive men not only towards food, but also the sea and war (17.286-9).²⁵⁰

In one of those similes, ἐξάλλεται (one of four instances of the word) appears in the same *sedes* as and is most grammatically similar to Callimachus' ἐξάλλετο.²⁵¹ After acquiring special powers from Athena (5.121-32), Diomedes reenters battle with three times his former might and is compared to a lion who leaps over a sheepfold (αὐλῆς ύπεροάλμενον), routs and presumably kills a bunch of sheep,²⁵² and leaps back out (αὐτὰρ οἱ ἐμμεμαὼς βαθέης ἐξάλλεται αὐλῆς), (136-43). If we understand the taunt in this context, then ἐξάλλετο, which some editors emend,²⁵³ not only alludes to *Od.* 17.228, but also the lion imagery in both epics. Like the lion who leaps out after slaughtering a bunch of peaceful sheep, Erysichthon's leaping stomach will destroy his family's sheep, horses, and other animals (105-10).

²⁵⁰ So Levaniouk (2000: 40-1 with n50): "Like Homeric lions...[beggar-Odysseus and Hesiodic Aithon] are victims of a hunger...just as hungry lions are driven to face torches and spears, so 'hungry' humans are driven to undertake risks."

Odysseus, telling Eumeus that he has suffered much at sea and war: γαστέρα δ' οὐ πως ἔστιν ἀποκρύψαι μεμανίαν/οὐλομένην, ἦ πολλὰ κάκ' ἀνθρώποισι δίδωσι, τῆς ἐνεκεν καὶ νῆες ἐύζυγοι ὄπλιζονται/ πόντον ἐπ' ἀτρύγετον, κακὰ δυσμενέεσσι φέρουσαι.

²⁵¹ The other three instances of ἐξάλλομαι (all ἐξάλμενος) in Homer are also in the *Iliad* in books from which Callimachus otherwise draws: 15.571 (Menelaus asking Antilochus to leap out and strike a Trojan at the battle at the ships) 17.342 (Aeneas leaping out in front in battle after being inspired by Apollo to go after Patroclus' corpse), and 23.399 (Diomedes leaping out in front in the chariot race).

²⁵² On the fate of the sheep (driven together or killed in a heap), see Kirk (1991 on 141, 142-3), who prefers the latter.

²⁵³ On the various suggestions for emendations, see Bulloch (1977: 110n19) and Hopkinson (1984 ad 88). After rejecting suggested emendations and "find[ing] none of the proposed explanations [for ἐξάλλετο] entirely satisfactory," the latter nevertheless finally accepts ἐξάλλετο and cites its prior use in the same *sedes* at *Il.* 5.142.

We find a similar overlap with beggar-Odysseus as Αἴθων and the αἴθων lion in the *Iliad*. So, while echoing his hungry Hesiodic self and Odysseus, Callimachean Erysichthon's "burning hunger" (λιμόν/αἴθωνα, 66-7) simultaneously reflects the fiery lion of the Iliadic simile.²⁵⁴ The hunger that drives the lion to attack at *Od.* 6.130-4 and the beggar to beg similarly characterizes the warrior's actions in the *Iliad* similes and thus may be read as another source for the punishment of Erysichthon, who behaves with the recklessness of a warrior.²⁵⁵

The word is applied to hungry lions in two similes. In the first, the lion is very hungry, but does not obtain the food it desires. This simile occurs during the battle at the ships soon after Ajax urges the Greeks not to drag out conflict (στρεύγεσθαι, *Il.* 15.512), which, as seen at III.2, is possibly applied by Callimachus to Erysichthon's punishment (μεγάλαι δ' ἐστρεύγετο νούσωι, 67). Despite his exhortation, Ajax soon retreats during this battle (546-7) and is first compared to a beast in general (θηρὶ ἔοικώς) and then a hungry, fiery lion (548-57):

ώς δ' αἴθωνα λέοντα βοῶν ἀπὸ μεσσαύλοιο

ἐσσεύαντο κύνες τε καὶ ἀνέρες ἀγροιῶται,

²⁵⁴ For the erotic implications of αἴθων, which, following Levaniouk (2000: 31-2), I translate as "fiery" or "burning" rather than "tawny," see VI.3. The word is also applied to a lion's skin (10.24=178), horses (2.839=12.97) bulls (16.488, *Od.* 18.372), and eagles (15.690), but only the two lion similes emphasize the animal's hunger.

²⁵⁵ Lonsdale (1990: 65): "For the warrior, the desire for glory is as much a motivating appetite as animal flesh is for the lion."

550 οἵ τέ μιν οὐκ εἰῶσι βοῶν ἐκ πῖαρ ἐλέσθαι
πάννυχοι ἐγρήσσοντες· ο δὲ κρειῶν ἐρατίζων
ιθύει, ἀλλ' οὐ τι πρήσσει· θαμέες γὰρ ἄκοντες
ἀντίον ἀίσσουσι θρασειάων ἀπὸ χειρῶν,
καιόμεναι τε δεταί, τάς τε τρεῖς ἐσσύμενός περ·
555 ἡῶθεν δ' ἀπονόσφιν ἔβη τετιηότι θυμῷ·
ὡς Αἴας τότ' ἀπὸ Τρώων τετιημένος ἦτορ
ἥιε πόλλ' ἀέκων· περὶ γὰρ δίε νησὶν Ἀχαιῶν.

As a fiery lion from the fold of oxen
Is driven off by dogs and rustic men
who do not allow it to seize the grade-a cow of the herd
watching throughout the whole night. And the lion eagerly desiring flesh
presses on, but does not accomplish a thing. For frequent javelins
fly against him from bold hands,
and flaming torches, from which he flees although being eager
and at dawn he goes far away with sorrowing heart
So then did Ajax sorrowful at heart back away from the Trojans
Very unwillingly, for he greatly feared for the ships of the Greeks.

In the second simile, the lion successfully obtains its desired food. When Hector will not back off from Patroclus' corpse ($\delta\pi\sigma\omega\delta'$ οὐ $\chi\alpha\zeta\varepsilon\tau\circ$ πάμπαν, 18.160), which the Aiantes are attempting to protect (163-4), he is compared to a very hungry, fiery lion, which shepherds fail to drive off from a carcass ($\omega\varsigma\delta'$ ἀπὸ σώματος οὐ τι λέοντ' $\alpha\imath\theta\omega\nu\alpha$ δύνανται/ποιμένες ἄγραυλοι $\mu\acute{e}\gamma\alpha$ $\pi\epsilon\iota\eta\acute{a}\alpha\eta\tau\alpha$ δίεσθαι, 161-2).

While multiple figures dressed as beggars and/or compared to hungry lions seem to have inspired Erysichthon's hunger, Patroclus has a sustained presence in the *Hymn to Demeter*, since Erysichthon's punishment is partly modelled on several different passages concerning the death of Patroclus: the final showdown between Patroclus and Hector (16.823-8) and the protective mother and young animal imagery (17.1-8, 132-7; 18.318-23).²⁵⁶ In both instances, the allusions build on the relationship between Apollo and Demeter, as described above, and bring together the *Hymn to Apollo* and the *Hymn to Demeter* as a contrasting pair.

V.2.1.4.2 Erysichthon's Homeric Thirst: the Spring

As Callimachus incorporates the hunger motif of the lion simile, so he alludes to the thirst of a lion and a boar. After Hector approaches and drives a bronze spear

²⁵⁶ On the allusions to the chariot race, which is relevant to Patroclus' death only insofar as it takes place during his funeral, see VI.4.2.

through Patroclus' belly, which causes him to fall (818-22), Patroclus is a lion no more, but like Sarpedon at the beginning of the book, is compared to the inferior animal (823-8)²⁵⁷:

ώς δ' ὅτε σῦν ἀκάμαντα λέων ἐβιήσατο χάρη,

ὡς τ' ὕρεος κορυφῆσι μέγα φρονέοντε μάχεσθον

825 **πίδακος** ἀμφ' ὄλιγης· ἐθέλουσι δὲ πιέμεν ἄμφω·

πολλὰ δέ τ' ἀσθμαίνοντα λέων ἐδάμασσε βίηφιν·

ώς πολέας πεφνόντα Μενοιτίου ἀλκιμον υἱὸν

Ἐκταῷ Πριαμίδης σχεδὸν ἔγχεϊ θυμὸν ἀπηύρα

And as a lion overpowers an untiring boar in battle,
When the two being high-minded fight on mountain peaks
For a small spring, and they both wish to drink
But the lion overcomes by his force him panting a lot
Thus did Hector take away up close with his spear
The life of the brave son of Menoetius who had killed many.

²⁵⁷ The connection between the deaths of Sarpedon and Patroclus is made by e.g. Moulton (1977: 105). Schnapp-Gourbeillon (1981: 82-3) comments on the shift in power and notes the uniqueness of the boar-lion simile; only here does a boar meet a lion and die at the paws of a predator. On the frequent interchangeability of boars and lions, which appear together in five similes (e.g. 12.41-9), see Scott (1974: 58-60), who points out, however, an important difference: only lions pursue and kill other animals.

Hector then vaunts, “Patroclus, you said, I suppose, that you would plunder our city” (*Πάτροκλ'*, ἢ που ἔφησθα πόλιν κεραϊξέμεν ἀμήν, 830). And the Trojan women that Patroclus would have carried off to Greece, Hector boasts that he will protect, while Patroclus will remain in Troy where vultures will devour him (831-6).²⁵⁸ The narrative comes full circle when Hector calls Patroclus a “fool” (*νήπιε*, 834) and inverts Achilles’ warning by imagining that Achilles told his friend not to come back to the ships until he had defeated Hector (837-42). Patroclus, who is surprisingly still alive, retorts that Hector slew him third, only after Apollo and Euphorbus; assures him that he could slay twenty Hectors; and foretells his death at the hands of Achilles (843-54). “Leaving behind manliness and youth,” (*λιποῦσ'* ἀνδροτῆτα καὶ ἥβην), Patroclus dies (855-7).

The poet easily winds in and out of the animal and human by applying the same vocabulary to both spheres. For example, in the simile at *Il.* 823-8, Patroclus is compared to a boar “panting a lot” (*πολλὰ...ἀσθμαίνοντα*, 826). Elsewhere, *ἀσθμαίνειν* describes only warriors: the final gasps of charioteers, killed by Antilochus, as they fall from the chariot into the dust (5.585, 13.399) and of others (10.496, 21.182), or men (Odysseus and Diomedes) panting while running (10.376). The application of the word to the boar is therefore unique. Patroclus seems to get

²⁵⁸ On the relevance of animal consumption of humans in *Cer.*, see VII.1.

his just deserts since he, rather than the charioteer (Cebriones) over whom he vaunts, now pants.²⁵⁹ Indeed, the poet seems to suggest here, as elsewhere, that Patroclus' raging destruction effects his death by echoing the thirsty boar's "panting a lot" ($\piολλα...ασθμαίνοντα$) at the beginning of line 826 with Patroclus' killing of "many" ($\piολέας πεφνόντα$) at the start of line 827.

Callimachus borrows this implied cause and effect, but, just as with the comparison of the warrior to a hungry lion, removes the image from the simile and applies it directly to Erysichthon's punishment. Erysichthon's hubris and obsession with quantity (e.g. δαῖτας/ αιὲν ἐμοῖς ἔτάροισιν ἄδην θυμαρέας ἀξῶ, "I will always bring a surfeit of tasty treats for my bros," 54-5) result in extreme thirst.²⁶⁰ Twelve servants are needed to draw his wine (69), but, like Patroclus, his thirst is never quenched because the spring is similarly out-of-reach. Via the *Hymn to Apollo*, Callimachus indirectly incorporates into Erysichthon's punishment the famous boar-lion simile and the fight over a "small spring" ($μάχεσθον/πίδακος$ ἀμφ' ὄλιγης, 824-5). An Homeric *hapax*, $\pi\bar{i}\delta\alpha\xi$ is thereafter attested only at E. *Andr.* 285

²⁵⁹ It is perhaps noteworthy that immediately prior to (Asius') charioteer's death at 13.399, Asius' death is described with the same formulaic simile used of Sarpedon's.

²⁶⁰ On the thirst motif in Callimachus' hymns, see Ukleja (2005: 87, 92, 94-8, 103) and under V.1 and VII.3.3.1.

and Hdt. 4.198.2, both relevant to the hymn,²⁶¹ before Callimachus picks it up in the *sphragis* of his *Hymn to Apollo* (105-12):

105 ο Φθόνος Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπ' οὐατα λάθριος εἶπεν·

'οὐκ ἄγαμαι τὸν ἀοιδὸν δις οὐδ' ὅσα πόντος ἀείδει.'

τὸν Φθόνον ώπόλλων ποδὶ τ' ἥλασεν ὕδε τ' ἔειπεν·

Ἄσσυρίου ποταμοῖο μέγας ύδος, ἀλλὰ τὰ πολλά

λύματα γῆς καὶ πολλὸν ἐφ' ὕδατι συρφετὸν ἔλκει.

110 Δηοῖ δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὕδωρ φορέουσι μέλισσαι,

ἀλλ' ἥτις καθαρή τε καὶ ἀχράντος ἀνέρπει

πίδακος ἐξ ἴερῆς ὄλιγη λιβάς ἄκρον ἄωτον.'

Envy said secretly into the ears of Apollo,

"I do not admire the singer who does not sing as much as the sea."

Apollo struck Envy with his foot and spoke thus,

²⁶¹ Each passage is relevant for Callimachus. At E. *Andr.* 285 (in a choral passage), Athena, Aphrodite, and Hera bathe in the springs of Ida before going to meet Paris who is a young herdsman at the cow-stalls, σταθμοὺς...βούτας, (280-2), but see also *Andr.* 116. The passage at Hdt. 4.198.2, of the springs watering the soil of Cyrene, Libya, "akin to the best of the lands of Demeter that produce grain," (αὗτη δὲ ὁμοίη τῇ ἀρίστῃ γέων Δήμητρος καρπὸν ἐκφέρειν), is followed by a description of the fertility in Cyrene at 4.199. As Williams (1978 ad 65) and Spanoudakis (2002: 273) note, this and other sections on Cyrene (4.23, 4.150-65) considerably influenced Callimachus in his composition of *Ap.* 65-96. As we saw with *bryphos* (App. 4), Hdt. may be Homericizing with πῖδαξ, but Asheri (2007) does not note it.

Spanoudakis (2002: 291-3), suspecting the influence of Philitas' *Demeter*, suggests that πῖδαξ is "very possibly of Philitan provenance" and that Callimachus' replacement of ὄλιγης with ἴερῆς "may depict the divine ambience in the Philitan scenery."

"The current of the Assyrian river is great, but it drags

Much filth of the earth and much refuse on its waters.

Not from anywhere do bees bring water to Deo,

But whatsoever springs up pure and undefiled

From a holy spring, a small droplet, top-shelf water.

The poet varies *πίδακος ἀμφ' ὄλιγης* in the last line of the Homeric simile by replacing *ὄλιγης* with *ἰερῆς* and transferring *ὄλιγη* to *λιβάς*, thereby miniaturizing its precedent.²⁶²

Erysichthon does not receive water droplets from Bees, which are understood to be both symbols of poets and a title of Demeter's priestesses.²⁶³ On the contrary, he has twenty servants preparing his food and twelve drawing his wine (69). More importantly, "all the food," later becoming "filth" (*λύματα*, 115) after he is cast out, that "flow[s] down" into Erysichthon's stomach "as into the depth of the sea," (*τὰ δ' ἐς βυθὸν οἴα θαλάσσας/ ... κατέρρεεν εἴδατα πάντα*, 89-90), invokes the image diametrically opposed to the "small droplet from the

²⁶² Williams (1978 *ad* 112), who notes the first attestation of *λιβάς* in tragedy, e.g. *E. Andr.* 116. *λιβάς* was probably suggested to Callimachus by *Andr.* 116 (*τάκομαι ως πετρίνα πιδακόεσσα λιβάς*), which describes Andromache throwing her arms in supplication the statue of Thetis. This is the only attestation of *πιδακόεσσα* before the second century A.D. As Lloyd (2005 *ad* 116) notes, the word recalls the more common *πολυπῖδαξ*, an epithet for Ida (e.g. *Il.* 14.157-8), and the image, inspired by such passages as *Il.* 16.2-4 (mentioned above: the comparison of Patroclus' tears to a spring of black water which trickles down a rock) and *S. Ant.* 823-33 (Niobe). Cf. Niobe, the weeping rock at Call. *Ap.* 22-4.

²⁶³ On these two interpretations, see Williams (1978 *ad* 110) and Murray (2004: 212 with notes 15-6).

spring,” i.e. the “great flow of the Assyrian river” (Ασσυρίου ποταμοῖο μέγας ρόος) and the filth (*λύματα*) it carries.²⁶⁴ Thus, Callimachus, in his portrayal of Erysichthon—followed possibly by A.R. in his portrayal of Heracles (see excursus)—heightens the importance of the hunger motif in Patroclus’ marauding lion similes, and the thirst motif in the boar-lion simile. While Homer compares Patroclus to a boar never to slake its thirst, Callimachus animalizes Erysichthon whose thirst and hunger will never be satisfied.²⁶⁵

V.2.1.5. The Parental Similes

The struggle over water at the end of book sixteen establishes the tone for the interconnected hunting and herding similes describing the fight over Patroclus’ body in book seventeen.²⁶⁶ Of the similes in book seventeen, I am most concerned with the two parental similes, which are picked up by a third parental simile in book eighteen. Like the lion similes, the parental similes have been read as a connected group and are particularly common in the relationship between

²⁶⁴ This connection was first made by Müller (1987: 27-45), who reads the hymns as metaphors for Callimachean poetics, and followed by Murray (2004: 212-3).

²⁶⁵ On the Homeric and Callimachean influence of this theme on Apollonius, see the excursus.

²⁶⁶ So Lonsdale (1990: 79), who notes that hunters and hounds occur in book seventeen at “a much higher frequency than in any other book of the *Iliad*” and compares the fight over Patroclus’ body to that over Calydonian boar spoils.

Achilles and Patroclus.²⁶⁷ As with the herding side of the lion simile group, the parental group juxtaposes the violence of the epic and the world beyond epic where “shepherds tend their flock and small children play.”²⁶⁸ The parental similes derive from a “secondary” theme because they are “less regularly or specifically emphasized,” but they are no less important, especially for initially illustrating the Achilles-Patroclus relationship about which the narrative in the first seventeen books is “strangely silent.”²⁶⁹

Achilles first presents himself as parent (a mother bird) of the whole army (her nestlings) at *Il.* 9.323-6. We then, as mentioned above, see Achilles responding to Patroclus who is crying like a little girl (16.7-11).²⁷⁰ Patroclus plays the lion for a

²⁶⁷ On parental-child similes as applied to Achilles and Patroclus, see e.g. Moulton (1974: 391; 1977: 100-06), Ledbetter (1993: 483-5), Mills (2000: esp. 7-8, 13-5), Pratt (2007: 35-8), and Brügger (2018 *ad* 7-11).

Moulton (1977: 101, 116) notes the nine instances of the parental simile as applied to Achilles, Patroclus, or both (9.323-27; 16.7; 17.4, 133, 175; 18.56-7=18.937-8; 18.318; 23.222) and that the bard “co-ordinates major images over substantial segments of the narrative in the service of consistent characterization.”

²⁶⁸ Porter (1972: 19) examines how various simile groups highlight the tragedy of war through juxtaposition and is built on by Mills (2000: esp. 4-5 with n6, 7, 10, 16) who explores the parental similes as a “counterpoint below the surface of the darker themes of violence and destruction.”

²⁶⁹ So Mills (2000: 7, 14), who aptly explains this kind of rarer simile with her own: they are “like the tips of the iceberg that stand out while the themes of the narrative run on like the large part of the iceberg underwater. The simile ‘tips’ look separate from one another and from their base, but are, in fact, inseparable from one another and the themes they embody.”

²⁷⁰ On these two similes, see e.g. Moulton (1977: 103), who connects the two similes by arguing that Achilles’ pain in book nine will worsen with Patroclus, and Mills (2000: 8, 13), who sees the “unfailing parental care” in the mother bird simile as inverted with the “nagging, persistent child.” However, as Gaca (2008) convincingly argues, the crying girl should be read in the context of war in which mothers and children are separated. In this light, Achilles is sympathetic rather than sarcastic in his comparison.

book before his error lands him in the position of the endangered lion cub. In the absence of Achilles, other Greeks fill his parental role.²⁷¹ The opening of book seventeen reveals Menelaus standing over Patroclus's corpse (1-8):

Οὐδ' ἔλαθ' Ἀτρεός υἱόν, ἀρηίφιλον Μενέλαον,
Πάτροκλος Τρώεσσι δαμεὶς ἐν δηιοτῆτι.
βῆ δὲ διὰ προμάχων κεκορυθμένος αἴθοπι χαλκῷ,
ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' αὐτῷ βαῖν' ὡς τις περὶ πόρτακι μήτηρ
5 πρωτοτόκος κινυρή, οὐ πρὸν εἰδυῖα τόκοιο·
ὡς περὶ Πατρόκλῳ βαῖνε ξανθὸς Μενέλαος.
πρόσθε δέ οἱ δόρυ τ' ἔσχε καὶ ἀσπίδα πάντοσ' ἐίσην,
τὸν κτάμεναι μεμαῶς ὃς τις τοῦ γ' ἀντίος ἔλθοι.

And it did not escape the notice of the son of Atreus, dear-to-Ares Menelaus,

That Patroclus was killed by the Trojans in battle.

And he went through the champion warriors fitted out with flashing bronze,

And stood over him as over a calf stands mooing sadly a mother cow

²⁷¹ Moulton (1977: 101), Mills (2000: 8-9).

Who has given birth for the first time, previously knowing nothing of
birthing

So around Patroclus went yellow-haired Menelaus.

In front of his body he held his spear and perfectly round shield
Eagerly desiring to slay whoever came to face him.

The simile is reversed when Menelaus, having slaughtered Euphorbus and attempting to strip his armor, is compared to a lion breaking the neck of a heifer (17.61-9); however, in less than fifty lines, after Apollo has inspired Hector to action (70-81), Menelaus hesitantly leaves the corpse like a lion driven from a farmstead (108-13).²⁷² He seeks the help of Ajax as Hector strips Patroclus' armor (114-27). Hector falls back at the approach of Ajax (128-31), who assumes the protective parent position (132-7):

Αἴας δ' ἀμφὶ Μενοιτιάδῃ σάκος εὐρὺν καλύψας
έστήκει ὡς τίς τε λέων περὶ οἴσι τέκεσσιν,
ῳ̄ ρά τε νήπι' ἄγοντι συναντήσωνται ἐν ὕλῃ
135 ἀνδρες ἐπακτῆρες· οὐδέ τε σθένει βλεμεαίνει,
πᾶν δέ τ' ἐπισκύνιον κάτω ἔλκεται ὅσσε καλύπτων·
ὡς Αἴας περὶ Πατρόκλων ἥρωι βεβήκει.

²⁷² On the reversals and contrasts within these three similes, see Lonsdale (1990: 79-80).

But Ajax sheltered the son of Menoetius with his wide shield
and stood like a lion over its offspring,
one that huntsmen encounter while it leads its young
in the forest. And it exults in its strength,
and draws down its whole brow covering its eyes.

So went Ajax around the warrior Patroclus.

Together, the protective cow and lion similes pave the way for Achilles' grief in book eighteen.²⁷³ Leading the lamentation among the Greeks and "placing his man-slaying hands on the chest of his comrade" (18.316-7), Achilles is likened to a lion (318-23):

πυκνὰ μάλα στενάχων ὡς τε λὶς ἡγένειος,
ὡς ὁρά θ' ὑπὸ σκύμνους ἐλαφηβόλος ἀρπάσῃ ἀνήρ
320 ὕλης ἐκ πυκινῆς· οὐ δέ τ' ἄχνυται ὕστερος ἐλθών,
πολλὰ δέ τ' ἄγκε' ἐπῆλθε μετ' ἀνέρος ἵχνι ἐρευνῶν,
εἴ ποθεν ἔξεύροι· μάλα γὰρ δοιμὺς χόλος αἰρεῖ·
ὡς ὁ βαρὺ στενάχων μετεφώνεε Μυρμιδόνεσσιν.

²⁷³ Moulton (1977: 101, 105-6); Lonsdale (1990: 80-1).

Groaning very frequently as a well-bearded lion,
Whose cubs a deer hunter snatched away
From the thick forest. And when it comes back later it grieves
And many mountain glens it traverses searching for the tracks of the man
If he should find him somewhere. For very fierce anger comes upon it.
So groaning deeply was he speaking among the Myrmidons.

As the *Iliad* weaves in and out of the martial and domestic, warriors “swing between the two poles of violence...and caregiving.”²⁷⁴ This simile demonstrates the importance of Achilles’ care-giving, which drives his violent behavior in the rest of the epic, as he resumes the “parental burden” that he had set down when he ceased fighting.²⁷⁵ With the loss of Patroclus, Achilles becomes less maternal, as in the bird and girl similes, and more paternal, especially in his interactions with Priam, “the epitome of fatherhood,” which bring him to mourn his own father.²⁷⁶

Considered individually, each simile adds a particular meaning to Callimachus’ narrative. For instance, Callimachus’ allusion to the simile comparing Achilles to grieving lion at 18.318-23 may recall the *Homeric* version of

²⁷⁴ Mills (2000: 9).

²⁷⁵ Mills (2000: 8-9, 13-5). Pratt (2007:37), citing this simile and 18.98-116, argues that unlike Menelaus and Ajax who stand over the young, Achilles, who was previously “too selfishly focused on his own concerns,” realizes the importance of parent-child relationship only after the loss of Patroclus.

²⁷⁶ Pratt (2007: 34-8, esp.37-8), who also discusses Achilles’ transition from child to adult.

the hymn, in which another absent parent (Demeter) lost her child (Persephone),²⁷⁷ and foreshadow the parents' loss of Erysichthon. But when taken as a group, i.e. the full corpus of similes that describe Patroclus' transformation from marauding lion into helpless cub, the similes imbue the *Hymn to Demeter* with deeper meaning by signaling a similar shift from aggressive behavior to familial loss. Since the narrative already follows a familiar Iliadic course, the lioness simile foreshadows Erysichthon's fate. Though imitating a marauding lion/warrior, Erysichthon is certainly not parental like the lioness, but merely defiant about a hall that he will never build. As I will discuss further below (V.2.2), he plays the lioness for other reasons, and, as we will see in chapter seven (VII.4), he will become the *brepbos* that evokes the misshapen newborn cub ($\omega\mu\sigma\tau\kappa\sigma$, 52), cf. Callimachus' application of the term *brepbos* to the lion cub that Phalaecus picks up while out hunting (App.6.3.2). He, of course, like the cubs that Achilles searches for in vain, will come to a bad end. Finally, Callimachus transfers simile to narrative by applying the two sides of the marauding lion simile, attack and protection, war and peace, to his complementary hymns to Demeter and Apollo. As we will see at VI.4, through verbal parallels, Callimachus creates a foil between the marauding

²⁷⁷ Konstantinou (2012: 134n1).

Erysichthon, who, like the Patroclus cub, is “hunted” rather than protected, and images of peace and protection under Apollo (*Ap.* 47-54).

What I hope to have shown is that the rare simile in the *Hymn to Demeter* is much more than a glancing echo of an Homeric simile, which itself belongs to an entire chain of parental similes, but a flashing signal to a broader context, where warriors behave like animals and animals like warriors. Callimachus takes advantage of the vocabulary that overlaps simile and narrative and reinterprets the comparison of the warrior to a lion as a cause and effect relationship. Erysichthon’s warlike behavior is not valorized through a lion simile. On the contrary, the marauding lion and the Homeric hero are out of place in Callimachus inasmuch as they oppose the images of peace and fertility (e.g. as represented by the herding of animals in the *Hymn to Apollo*) which symbolize his poetic program and the Ptolemaic regime. Therefore, Callimachus transforms Erysichthon into a hunted version of this wild enemy not merely through a simile about a threatened lion, but by reassigning the motifs associated with the lion simile to Erysichthon’s punishment.

V.2.2 The Lioness Simile and Tragedy

V.2.2.1 The Lioness in Tragedy

Callimachus expands on the characterization of Erysichthon as a destructive, wild animal through allusions to tragedy. The blending of tragedy into the simile is apparent in Callimachus' transformation of the lion into the lioness (*λέαινα*), which is first attested at A. Ag. 1258 and Hdt. 3.108.4. The lion in epic is always grammatically masculine (*λέων* or *λίς*), even when describing a woman. For instance, an angry Hera tells Artemis that "Zeus made her a lion against women," (ἐπεὶ σὲ λέοντα γυναιξὶ/ Ζεὺς θῆκεν, *Il.* 21.483-4), a passage which Callimachus challenges (*Dian.* 20-31).²⁷⁸ And the lion cubs who are nourished in the mountains have a μήτηρ ("mother") rather than a *λέαινα* (*Il.* 5.554-5). Since this simile indicates that the mother, rather than the father, raises the cubs, it is assumed that the parental similes (cited above) compare Ajax and Achilles to lionesses, even though the animal is grammatically masculine.²⁷⁹

Sophocles draws on the protective lion similes in his *Ajax* (986-7), where Teucer fears that an enemy will snatch away Ajax's son after Ajax's death like a hunter snatches a cub from a lioness and leaves her barren.²⁸⁰ Sophocles' Ajax is an update of the marauding warrior/lion of the *Iliad* since he attempts to kill a (perceived) enemy and then cattle, but he is uniquely the only attested example of

²⁷⁸ Ambühl (2005: 261-2), Petrovic (2007: 225-6), Stephens (2015: 105).

²⁷⁹ See Konstantinou (2012: 128 with notes 3-5) for ancient and modern commentators and translators who interpret the gender as feminine.

²⁸⁰ δῆτ' αὐτὸν ἄξεις δεῦρο, μη τις ὡς κενῆς/σκύμνον λεαίνης δυσμενῶν ἀναπράσῃ. Thumiger (2014: 95-6).

a man referred to as *λέαινα*. At the very least, then, Callimachus is not original in adapting the Homeric passage and applying *λέαινα* to a male; in fact, Ajax's actions are so relevant to the narrative in the *Hymn to Demeter* that Callimachus may very well also have Ajax the lioness in mind. In each narrative, the character does not get their way. Ajax feels that he deserves Achilles' armor, which Agamemnon and Menelaus award to Odysseus, so Ajax wants to kill them, but Athena causes Ajax to go insane and kill the Greeks' spoils, the cattle and herdsmen. Similarly, Erysichthon wants a dining hall, but denied, threatens to stick an ax in Nicippe's skin. Demeter therefore curses Erysichthon with "cow hunger," and he kills his family's animals. In the end, both Ajax and Erysichthon can be imagined as an animalized sacrifice.²⁸¹

The *λέαινα* in tragedy when applied to a woman is equally as relevant to the *Hymn to Demeter*. As Konstantinou argues, these attestations of *λέαινα* also developed from the same two epic parental similes; however, now grammatically feminine and applied to a woman, the *λέαινα* is not the protective parent, but the destroyer of the household, a change which reflects the cultural beliefs of Athenian society in which woman is viewed as "other."²⁸² The two clearest examples of

²⁸¹ On Ajax as substitution for animal sacrifice to the gods, see Thumiger (2014: 94-5); on Erysichthon, see VII.5 and cf. n572.

²⁸² 2012. Perhaps because she is interested in woman as lioness, Konstantinou does not mention the Ajax passage. She focuses on A. *Ag.* 1258-61, E. *Med.* 187-9; and Soph. fr. 269a. The parallels between S. *Aj.* and Call. *Cer.* have, as far as I know, not been noted.

lioness as a metaphor for the “other” are Aeschylus’ Clytemnestra and Euripides’ Medea. Clytemnestra is a lioness amongst many lions in the *Oresteia*. The “central reference-point for the recurrent lion image of the play” is the lion-cub story at Ag. 717-36.²⁸³ In the story, a man brings a lion cub into his house and nurtures it “in his arms like a suckling child.” The cub fawningly responds according to “the demands of its stomach” ($\gamma\alpha\sigma\tau\varrho\circ\dot{\varsigma}$ $\grave{\alpha}v\acute{a}\gamma\kappa\alpha\iota\varsigma$), but once full grown, shows the nature of its parents by creating a feast of flocks and bloodying the house, which causes much sorrow for its inhabitants. While Aegisthus is portrayed as an unheroic “powerless lion” (Ag. 1224) and Agamemnon, the “noble lion” (Ag. 1259), the woman, Clytemnestra, is a destructive “two-footed lioness” ($\delta\acute{\iota}\pi\ou\varsigma$ $\lambda\acute{e}\alpha\iota\varsigma\alpha$, 1258) who goes inside to sacrifice “sheep,” i.e. Agamemnon (1057);²⁸⁴ however, she is neither the heroic, marauding lion nor the protective parent of the *Iliad*; rather,

One may take issue with the idea that Achilles in the lion simile is a protective parent. Rather, like the $\lambda\acute{e}\alpha\iota\varsigma\alpha$ who destroys the household, Achilles, at least at this point in the narrative, has brought grief to the Greeks and himself, since his departure from fighting led to the battle at the ships and Patroclus’ death.

²⁸³ Knox (1952: 22), followed by e.g. Heath (1999: 38) and Konstantinou (2012: 129). The lion cub may primarily refer to either Helen or Paris, on which see Knox (1952) and Nappa (1994). For interpretations of $\delta\acute{\iota}\pi\ou\varsigma$, see Konstantinou (2012: 130-1), who connects “two-footed” to the lion’s placement of its front feet on its prey, as seen in Greek iconography.

²⁸⁴ On the sheep-slaying and other similarities between the cub and Clytemnestra, see Knox (1952: 21-2). The lioness metaphor is most consistently attested of Clytemnestra and her slaughter of Agamemnon. At E. *El.* 1163-4, Clytemnestra is likened to a lioness roaming the woods, and at Lyc. 1107, Clytemnestra’s actions, referred to as “the offensive housekeeping of the lioness” ($\lambda\upsilon\pi\varrho\grave{\alpha}\nu$ $\lambda\acute{e}\alpha\iota\varsigma\eta\varsigma\ldots o\acute{i}kou\varrho\acute{\iota}\alpha\mathfrak{v}$), also incorporates her destruction of the house.

she is akin to the lion cub, but as female, the power she wields in her destruction of the household is inappropriate and aggressive.²⁸⁵

This improper, active role as embodied by the term *λέαινα* is also apparent in Euripides' characterization of Medea.²⁸⁶ In a passage full of tragic irony, the nurse likens Medea's glowering at servants who attempt to address her to the look of a bull and a lioness with cubs (*καίτοι τοκάδος δέργμα λεαίνης/ἀποταυροῦται δμωσίν, ὅταν τις/μῆθον προφέρων πέλας οῷμηθή,* 187-9). On the one hand, the combination of animals may depict Medea as both the attacker and the victim (cf. E. fr. 689.3-4, of a bull's look when attacked by a lion). On the other, the protective lion image of the *Iliad* is absorbed into the description, but is expanded with the bull image to stress just the opposite. As was the case with the "two-footed lioness" Clytemnestra, an added detail ("she behaves like a bull," *ἀποταυροῦται*) renders the lioness Medea a home wrecker, much like Aeschylus' lion cub, rather than the protector. Indeed, by the end of the play, Jason complains about "the sorts of things [he] suffers from this polluted and child-slaying lioness" (*οἵᾳ τε πάσχομεν ἐκ τῆς μυσαρᾶς/καὶ παιδοφόνου τῆσδε λεαίνης;*, 1406-7).

Euripides more specifically uses the lioness to portray Medea as an anti-Athenian woman. After Medea kills her children, Jason calls her a lioness and links

²⁸⁵ Konstantinou (2012: 129-31, 139).

²⁸⁶ On the following analysis of Medea, see Konstantinou (2012: esp. 131-4).

the image to her foreignness and transgression of acceptable Greek female behavior (1339-43):

οὐκ ἔστιν ἥτις τοῦτ' ἀν Ἑλληνὶς γυνὴ
1340 ἔτλη ποθ', ὡν γε πρόσθεν ἡξίουν ἐγὼ
γῆμαι σέ, κῆδος ἔχθρὸν ὀλέθριόν τ' ἐμοί,
λέαιναν, οὐ γυναῖκα, τῆς Τυρσηνίδος
Σκύλλης ἔχουσαν ἀγριωτέραν φύσιν.

There is no Greek woman who would have ever dared
These things, yet I thought you worthy of marriage
over them, a hateful and destructive union for me,
you, a lioness, not a woman, possessing a nature
more savage than the Tyrrhenian beast, Scylla.

Medea is not Greek and not a woman, but the “other.” The aggressive glare of the lioness, in particular, opposes the passive gaze of the ideal Athenian woman.

V.2.2.2 Erysichthon the Lioness as “Other”

It has been contended that Callimachus alters the gender of the lion and, in particular, alludes to the description of Medea as lioness with cubs (187-9) so that the words of the hymn’s narrator (a female) resonate more deeply with an all-

female audience.²⁸⁷ However, the negative implications of the λέαινα and its context in Callimachus' literary predecessors suggest that the word choice is illustrative of Erysichthon's character. Konstantinou remarks that the lioness' gaze in the *Hymn to Demeter* "implies that it becomes more crystallized later on, but the metaphor lacks...the subtle criticism of social attitudes towards women's active gaze."²⁸⁸ While Callimachus does strip these negative associations with gender, since he does not operate under Athenian ideology and such criticism would not suit poetry written for the Ptolemaic court, I argue that he maintains the notion of the "other," as embodied by the lioness, both in terms of his own poetics and in creating poetry for a new regime.

In Callimachus' literary predecessors the lioness is lumped together with other monstrous and chthonic creatures. In *Medea*, as quoted above, the title character is represented as both lioness and Scylla. The two creatures are essentially interchangeable in Medea's retort to Jason to go ahead and call her a lioness and a Scylla (*πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ λέαιναν, εἰ βούλῃ, κάλει/καὶ Σκύλλαν ἢ Τυρσηνὸν ὥκησεν πέτραν*, 1358-9). In the *Bacchae*, the chorus declares that Pentheus is not born from a woman, but descended from "some lioness" or the

²⁸⁷ Bing (1995: 35). The similarity between E. *Med.* 187-8 and the lioness simile is noted also by Hopkinson (1984 *ad* 52), Müller (1987: 15 with n31, cf. 35), Ambühl (2005: 217 n560), and Giuseppetti (2012: 114).

²⁸⁸ (2012: 133-4 with n1).

"Libyan Gorgons," (οὐ γὰρ ἐξ αἴματος/γυναικῶν ἔφυ, λεαίνας δέ τινος/ ὅδ' ἡ Γοργόνων Λιβυσσᾶν γένος, 988-91).²⁸⁹ In other passages, a female monster with or without lion parts is referred to as a lioness. In Euripides' *Electra*, Chimaera is "a fire-breathing lioness" (πύρπνοος... λέαινα) who flees from Pegasus and Bellerophon (473-5), and in Lycophron, Scylla, a "savage dog" (ἀγοίαν κύνα, 45), is also called a "bull-slaying lioness" (ταυροσφάγον λέαινα, 47). In each of these examples, the *λέαινα* is essentially an insult directed towards a female perceived as monstrous. The trend crosses the boundaries of genre and continues into Middle Comedy. In Anaxilas fr. 22 K.-A., hetairai are considered to be a more lawless, vicious race than the *λέαινα*, Charybdis, Sphinx, Chimaera and other female monsters; at Men. *Mis.* 311, the lioness is associated with foreignness, perhaps of the slave girl (βάρβαρος, λ[έ]αινά τις); and in the pseudo-Menandrian *Monostichoi* the savagery of female is equated with that of the lioness (ἴση λεαίνης καὶ γυναικὸς ὠμότης, 374).²⁹⁰ This interpretation of the lioness becomes common enough that in

²⁸⁹ Ambühl (2005: 208-21, esp. 210 and 217) compares Theoc. 26, in which Agave roars like a lioness with cubs as she carries off Pentheus' head. Ambühl supposes the priority of Theoc. 26 and outlines several points of contact between the *Hymn to Demeter* and Theoc. 26, both of which are also influenced by the *Bacchae*. On the relationship between the *Hymn to Demeter* and the *Bacchae*, see V.2.2.4 and VII.3.1.

²⁹⁰ This last, late quotation is cited by Konstantinou (2012: 133 with n1) as an example of how the metaphor became part of everyday speech and "a way of conceptualizing and categorizing the 'otherness' of women." She also cites *Mon.* 453 in which a lion replaces lioness: λέοντι κρεῖττον ἡ γυναικὶ συμβιοῦν, "It is better to live with a lion than a woman."

Theocritus scorned lovers attribute the cruelty of Love (3.15-7) and the lover (23.19) to being nurtured by a lioness.

Callimachus seems to borrow the literary interpretation of the lioness as a codeword for the monstrous, chthonic, inhuman, foreign— in short, the “other”— in order to characterize Erysichthon in similar fashion. Such a portrayal is in keeping with the details of the narrative in which Erysichthon is directly or allusively compared to chthonic or dangerous beings. Such beings are allusively integrated into the simile itself, specifically in the parenthetical remark about the lioness’ gaze : “Her eyes, they say, are most terrible,” ($\tau\acute{a}\varsigma$ φαντὶ πέλειν βλοσυρώτατον ὄμμα, 52). The phrase βλοσυρώτατον ὄμμα may be Callimachus’ reinterpretation of the Homeric *hapax* βλοσυρῶπις (*Il.* 11.36), whose second element - ω πις is cognate with ὄμμα.²⁹¹ The *hapax* describes the fierce look of the Gorgon, which is pictured on Agamemnon’s shield alongside Terror and Fear ($\tau\bar{\eta}$ δ’ ἐπὶ μὲν Γοργὼ βλοσυρῶπις ἐστεφάνωτο/δεινὸν δερκομένη, περὶ δὲ Δεῖμός τε Φόβος τε, 36-7). Through this allusion (and with the addition of the superlative), Callimachus renders the lioness’ gaze more dangerous and powerful and creates in Erysichthon a hybrid monster.

²⁹¹ So Renahan (1987: 252), who is followed by Stephens (2015 *ad* 52). The *hapax* is absolute before Callimachus.

The same connotations are present in the Homeric and Hesiodic attestations of the adjective βλοσυρός.²⁹² In the *Iliad*, βλοσυρός, of the fierce expressions of Ajax (7.212) and Hector (15.608), is another word overlapping warrior and beast. The latter example is similar to Callimachus' lioness description. As the Trojans rush towards the ships like lions eating raw flesh (Τρῶες δὲ λείουσιν ἔοικότες ὡμοφάγοισι/νηνσὶν ἐπεσσεύοντο, 592-3), Zeus rouses and grants glory to Hector, in particular, who "rage[s] like Ares" (μαίνετο... ὥς...Ἄρης) or a destructive fire in the woods (603-6, 610-1). While raging, Hector becomes bestial as he foams at the mouth and "his eyes burn brightly under his fierce brows" (ἀφλοισμὸς δὲ περὶ στόμα γίγνετο, τὰ δέ οἱ ὄσσε/λαμπέσθην βλοσυρῆσιν ὑπ' ὀφρύσιν, 607-8). That βλοσυρός is used interchangeably of terrifying creatures and figures of war is clear in the Hesiodic *Scutum*: Fear (147), Ares (191), lions (175), and the dreadful-looking Fates (250).

In addition to these figures, the *Hymn to Demeter* contains references to the Giants, who are "earth-born" (Hes. *Th.* 183-6; cf. Call. *Lav.Pall.* 8) and like other earth-born creatures, can be understood as a human-animal amalgamation. On the Altar of Zeus at Pergamon, for instance, some Giants have legs with snake heads

²⁹² Hopkinson (1984 ad 52) notes the Homeric and two of the Hesiodic instances of the adjective, but does not discuss the thematic significance.

and are pictured among other similar creatures (e.g. monsters with lion heads).²⁹³ Erysichthon appears both in the list of giants and on the Gigantomachy (east) frieze as an enemy of Demeter.²⁹⁴ The tradition of Erysichthon as a giant is probably known to Callimachus.²⁹⁵ In the *Hymn to Demeter*, the description of Erysichthon recalls giants of the literary tradition. As we saw at IV.4, the detail that Erysichthon lies in bed for nine days echoes the punishment of the giant Tityus, who, according to Σ A.R. 760-2b, which cites Pherecydes (fr. 55 Fowler), is “earth-born” ($\gamma\eta\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\varsigma$) because his mother was impregnated by Zeus and placed in the earth as protection against Hera. The scholiast (760-2c) also relates a version in which Earth gives birth to Tityus after Elara perishes because she is unable to carry Tityus to term on account of his size. The scholiast is incredulous about the second birth and, citing Call. fr. 595 Pf. as an authority, suggests that the story

²⁹³ On the Altar of Zeus, see e.g. Pollitt (1986: 97-110), who suspects that the animalistic giants may have been influenced by Hesiod’s Typhoeus or Typhon, other earth-born creatures (*Th.* 821-7).

²⁹⁴ On Erysichthon in the frieze, see McKay (1962a: 93), Queyrel (2005: 52, 55, cf. 52-8 for other figures, such as Tityus and Hecate, also on the east frieze).

²⁹⁵ This tradition is alluded to above all with the description of his attendants as $\alpha\nu\delta\varrho\omega\gamma\gamma\alpha\tau\alpha\varsigma$ (34). On Erysichthon as giant, see esp. McKay (1962a: 91-8, esp. 93 with notes 5-6 for earlier consensus on E. as giant) and Ambühl (2005: 164 with n291 for further bibliography, 200-202, 210). McKay associates all the “big” things (e.g. the great tree, 37; ax, 53) with Erysichthon’s size and interprets Erysichthon *brephos* as comic (100). Some of McKay’s ideas, e.g. that Demeter’s epiphany at 58 is meant to match Erysichthon’s gigantism, have been soundly rejected by e.g. Ambühl (2005: 201n447). The goddess’ growth is typical in epiphany.

derives from the notion that all monstrous things or wild beasts are born of the earth.²⁹⁶

The clearest signal, however, is the *hapax ἀνδρογίγας*. Erysichthon, whose name fittingly means “one who tears up the earth,”²⁹⁷ rushes out with his “men-giants” to chop down large trees. This act is correlated with the destruction of cities at the hands of other giants through the description of Erysichthon’s attendants whose strength enables them to overturn a whole city (*σεύατ’ ἔχων θεράποντας ἐείκοσι, πάντας ἐν ἀκμῇ, πάντας δ’ ἀνδρογίγαντας ὅλαν πόλιν ἀρκίος ἄραι,* 33-4). These lines draw on a *topos* in which an opponent of a deity is characterized as a giant, an enemy of Olympus.

On the one hand, this passage is frequently taken as an allusion to Capaneus’ shield on which is pictured an “earth-born giant carrying the whole city on his shoulders after tearing it up from its foundations with crowbars,” (*γίγας ἐπ’ ὕμοις γηγενῆς ὅλην πόλιν/φέρων μοχλοῖσιν ἐξανασπάσας βάθρων, E. Ph. 1131-2*).²⁹⁸ The shield itself is described amongst others which depict similar

²⁹⁶ δοκεῖ δὲ ἡ ἱστορία ἀπίθανος εἶναι καὶ ἀπιστος, ὅτι ἐκ δευτέρου ή Γῆ ἐγέννησε τὸν Τίτυον. ἀλλ’ ἐροῦμεν, ὅτι οἱ ποιηταὶ τοὺς τερατώδεις κατὰ τὸ σῶμα Γῆς εἶναι φασιν. οὗτω γὰρ καὶ φασιν. οὗτω γὰρ καὶ Καλλίμαχος τὰ δεινὰ τῶν θηρίων Γῆς εἶναι ἔφη.

²⁹⁷ On the meaning of Erysichthon’s name, see McKay (1962a: 38-9); Hopkinson (1984: 21, 28); Ambühl (2005: 183 with n367), who observes that Erysichthon’s name is contrasted in the frame by farmer Triptolemus (19-21); and Harder (2017: 101). Lyc. 1396 refers to the etymology: γατομοῦντος Αἴθωνος “Aithon, plougher.”

²⁹⁸ Suggested by McKay (1962a: 92) and Hopkinson (1984 *ad* 34), but see especially Bornmann (1992), who is followed by Ambühl (2005: 164n291, 201n447) and Stephens (2015 *ad* 34). Cf. A. *Sept.* 424, where Capaneus is a hubristic γίγας who boasts in a similar way. E. transfers the giant to the

wild creatures (e.g. a lion skin, 1120; one hundred snakes, 1135) and is taken as an indication of Thebes' sufferings (1133). However, Capaneus himself, who is compared to Ares, falls like Erysichthon from great heights because of hubris. After boasting that not even Zeus would stop him from bringing down the city's towers, Zeus strikes him with lightning and he falls to the ground from the ladder which he had propped against the walls (1172-86).²⁹⁹

On the other hand, Ambühl has suggested that Callimachus simultaneously alludes to a similar description of Pentheus as giant in Euripides' *Bacchae*.³⁰⁰ The context of this description is equally as noteworthy. Pentheus as "a murderous giant rivaling the gods" is closely associated with his family's chthonic origins and "a monster with savage gaze, not a mortal man" (538-44).³⁰¹ Much like the giant on

shield and adds the detail about the city on its shoulders. McKay also sees an allusion to Parthenopaios, an ἀνδρόπαιος ἀνήρ (A. *Th.* 533), but Hopkinson argues that ἀνδρογίγας is a coordinative compound, while ἀνδρόπαιος is not. Moreover, the prefix -ἀνδρ- is not uncommon, so the connection is weak. In what way the band is like the second element (-gigas) is unclear. McKay takes size as the emphasized quality, but certainly other aspects of a giant could be read here.

²⁹⁹ Bornmann (1992: 16) suggests that Demeter's head touching Olympus and feet on the ground (ἴθματα μὲν χέρσω, κεφαλὰ δέ οἱ ἄψατ' Ολύμπω, 58) is an allusion to the scattering of Capaneus' limbs ("hair to Olympus, blood to the earth, κόμαι μὲν εἰς Όλυμπον, αἷμα δ' ἐς χθόνα, 1184). Bornmann's suggestion appears to be accepted by Ambühl (2005: 201n447).

³⁰⁰ Ambühl (2005: 210-1 with notes 487-9) connects Erysichthon the giant to Pentheus at 542-4 and 945-50.

The resemblance between Pentheus and Capaneus at E. *Ph.* 1130-33 and A. *Sept.* 424 is recognized by Segal (1997: 130-131 with n14). Cf. the description of Hippomedon at E. *Ph.* 127-30 ("terrible to look at...much like an earth-born giant"), which Segal incorrectly attributes to Capaneus.

³⁰¹ ἀναφαίνει χθόνιον/ γένος ἐκφύς τε δράκοντός/ ποτε Πενθεύς, ὃν Έχιών/ ἐφύτευσε χθόνιος,/ ἀγριωπὸν τέφας, οὐ φῶτα βρότειον,/ φόνιον δ' ὥστε γίγαντ' ἀντίπαλον θεοῖς.

On the chthonic and its association with beast/monster/giant in the *Bacchae*, see Segal (1997: 128-37, 151-7, and *passim*).

Capaneus' shield in Euripides' earlier drama, Pentheus suggests prying up Cithaeron with levers or his hands and carrying the mountain on his shoulders (945-50), an idea which echoes Pentheus' earlier orders to overturn Teiresias' augury with levers (347-8).³⁰²

As representatives of chaos and enemies of the divine, this assortment of monstrous and chthonic characters are in Callimachus convenient symbols of a detested poetic style and political adversaries.³⁰³ For instance, in the prologue Callimachus aligns the Telchines (i.e. his critics), who are much like the giants (e.g. in their act of hubris against Zeus) and who “mutter” (*ἐπιτρύζουσιν*) like animals, with the braying of asses and opposes them to images of himself and his poetics, such as Callimachus the child educated by Apollo, his song, and the pure chirping of the cicada.³⁰⁴ In the *Hymn to Delos*, this hostile role is assumed by Ares and Hera who attempt to prevent the birth of Apollo, who is eventually born on Delos, a symbol of Callimachean poetics.³⁰⁵ In each case, the creature is the enemy of the old chaotic order against which Callimachus positions himself.³⁰⁶ This opposition is also

³⁰² See under II.4.2.

³⁰³ This use of the motif is by no means unique to Callimachus. Lechelt (2014) explores the motif as a tool used by a sample of poets (from Hesiod to Ovid) to situate themselves within the literary tradition and how their manipulation of the motif reflects their own poetics, political culture, and the relationship between the two. See pp. 77-103 and below for examples in Callimachus.

³⁰⁴ In general, see Ambühl (2005: 386-8 with n95-6), Harder (2012 on fr.1 with bibliography) and Lechelt (2014: 78-86 with bibliography).

³⁰⁵ Bing (1988). See also under VII.3.3.2.

³⁰⁶ A similar example occurs at *Dian.* 46-86. On the relevance of these passages to the exposure motif, see under VII.3.3.2.

realized on a political level. For example, Apollo's defeat of the chthonic Python symbolizes Ptolemy's defeat of the Gauls (mythically represented as Titans), who attack Delphi.³⁰⁷

Numerous overlapping points between the *Hymn to Delos* and the *Hymn to Demeter* suggest that giant Erysichthon also belongs to the same pre-, anti-Apollonian old order.³⁰⁸

The ability of Erysichthon's henchmen to lift a city evokes Ares, who lifts the peaks of Pangaeum and intends to throw them into the river Peneius so as to prevent him from assisting Leto (133-5). Instead, Ares crashes his shield and various locations in Thessaly—Ossa, Crannon, and Pindus—tremble in response (135-40). The latter two recur in the hymns only in the excuses of Erysichthon's mother. Erysichthon collects oxen at Crannon (75) and is wounded by a boar on Pindus (82). Ossa is associated with Otus and Ephialtes, who attempt to war against the Olympians by stacking Ossa on Olympus and Pelion on Ossa and whom Apollo kills before they reach

³⁰⁷ Bing (1988: 128-43). As Bing also notes (126n57), the attack of the Cimmerians and Lygdamis against Artemis' sacred Ephesus (*Dian.* 251-8) closely resembles the attack on Apollo's holy place. The attack of Erysichthon and co. on Demeter's sacred place seems to me to be essentially equivalent. If so, the historical nature of the attacks in *Del.* and *Dian.* may indicate that behind Erysichthon is another historical figure whom I have suggested elsewhere to be Magas. On the conflation between the Titans and Giants, see Lechelt (2014: 4-5 with n20, 96n268). Cf. Zeus battling the Pelagonians (*Jov.* 3), and Athena, the “unjust earth-born ones” (*Lav. Pall.* 8). Pelagonians (“mud-born”) and the earth-born ones may refer to either the Titans or the Giants, on which see Stephens (2015 *ad loc.*)

³⁰⁸ On the opposition between the aborted/prematurely-birthed/exposed Erysichthon and the delayed birth of Apollo, see under VII.5.

adulthood (*Od.* 11.305-20). In the *Hymn to Artemis* the Cyclopes, who “glare fiercely” (δεινὸν ὑπογλαύσσοντα) from under their single eyebrow, resemble the peaks of Ossa (51-4). Though “Ossa” does not occur in the *Hymn to Demeter*, Erysichthon’s intended banquet hall, built from a tree that reaches the sky (37), recalls Otus and Ephialtes’ geographical Legos,³⁰⁹ while his glaring like a lioness recalls the Cyclopes’ glare.³¹⁰ Even Mimas, likely located in Asia Minor rather than Thessaly, occurs only in these two hymns. In the *Hymn to Delos*, Hera sends Iris to Mimas’ peak to prevent Leto from giving birth to Apollo on the islands (66-7, 157). As if borrowing Hera’s attempts against Leto and Apollo, Demeter’s punishment causes Erysichthon to waste away like snow on Mimas (91-2), a passage that resembles Daphnis wasting away like snow under various mountains/giants (*Theoc. Id.* 7.72-7).³¹¹

Another correspondence between the two hymns is the use of epic simile. In the *Hymn to Delos*, Ares’ loud shield-crashing is compared to the trembling of Mt.

³⁰⁹ So Ambühl (2005: 200-2), who draws convincing parallels between Erysichthon and the carpenter in *Id.* 7 who wants to build a house as high as the top of Oromedon, which is ambiguously a mountain or a giant. She points to similar conflations in Call., e.g. Mimas (*Cer.* 91), Encelados (fr. 1.36 Pf.), and Briaereus under Etna (*Del.* 141-3). Given these correspondences, the nine-year old Otus and Ephialtes, who are nine cubits wide and nine fathoms tall (*Od.* 11.311-2), are as relevant as Tityus to the length of Erysichthon’s sickness (82), on which see IV.4.

³¹⁰ Bornmann (1968 on 54) and Stephens (2015 on *Dian.* 54) on the similar meanings of ὑπογλαύσσω (first in Call.) and ὑποβλέπω, as suggested by ancient comments.

³¹¹ Call. ως δὲ Μίμαντι χιών...έτάκετο; Theoc. χιών ως τις κατετάκετο. The parallels are noted by Hopkinson (1984 *ad loc.*) and Stephens (2015 *ad loc.*). On the erotic connotations of this passage, see VI.3.2. The mountains at Theoc. 76-7 are Haemus, Rhodope, Athos, and Caucasus. Haemus and Rhodope, according to Ov. *Met.* 6.87-9, offended Zeus and were turned into mountains. According to ΣΛΥΕΑΤ on Theoc. 76/77d, Athos was a giant/mountain and son of a Rhodope and Poseidon. At Ov. *Met.* 8.799-803, Caucasus is the home of Famine who torments Erysichthon.

On the allusive presence of Hera in the *Hymn to Demeter*, see VII.3.3.2.

Etna and the subsequent clanging of Hephaestus' instruments when Briareus, the giant underneath, moves onto his other shoulder (141-7).³¹² This, the longest simile in Callimachus, links Ares with epic (e.g. via the Homeric epithet θοῦρος, "furious," 64), and, as a symbol of a tired style rejected by Callimachus, Ares is antithetical to Delos, which, as "Apollo's nurse" (*Απόλλωνος κουροτρόφος*, 276), is called the "holiest of islands" (*νησάων ἀγιωτάτη*, 275) and on which Ares' horses do not tread (*οὐδὲ ἵπποι ἐπιστείβουσιν Ἀρην*, 277).³¹³ In the same hymn, two other similes likewise characterize evil anti-Apollo, anti-Ptolemy, anti-Callimachean figures.³¹⁴

The lioness simile, which has these same thematic and poetic connotations, brings us to a final parallel. In the *Hymn to Delos*, Leto laments that in the mountains of Pelion even lionesses give birth (118-20). In addition to reusing the same creature (the only other occurrence in the hymns), Callimachus again links the lioness to her misshapen cubs (*ῳμοτόκους ὠδῖνας*). The significance of the cubs will be explored at VII.4. For now, I wish only to emphasize that the lioness' home is in Thessaly, land of Ares and the Gigantomachy. Moreover, the consistent negative

³¹² Stephens (2015 on 134-47) points to the comparable image in the Cyclopes episode in *Dian.* of the noise of Hephaestus' anvil, which the nymphs fear, but Artemis does not.

³¹³ So Bing (1988: 123-4).

³¹⁴ Bing (1988: 124). Iris is likened to Artemis' hounds as she awaits Hera's orders (*Del.* 228-39), and the Gauls are compared to snowflakes, as in the *Iliad*, or a bunch of stars (175-6).

characterization of the lioness in the tradition would tend to indicate that Thessaly is no home for Apollo. For this reason, Leto must flee.

V.2.2.3 Erysichthon's Home as "Other": Wild Thessaly

In discussing the portrayal of Thebes as "dramatically 'other'" or as a "figurative *topos*" on the Athenian stage, Zeitlin writes: "Thebes...provides the negative model to Athens's manifest image of itself with regard to its notions of the proper management of city, society, and self. As the site of displacement, therefore, Thebes consistently supplies the radical tragic terrain where there can be no escape from the tragic in the resolution of conflict."³¹⁵ Thebes is the land where tragic figures are imprisoned, exiled, or killed and do not produce heirs. Such, for example, is the fate of Pentheus. The single exception, Zeitlin argues, is Oedipus, who is "redeemed—but only in Athens and through his conscious choosing of Athens over Thebes."³¹⁶

Callimachus similarly creates a new "other" and a new "Greece," an opposition which aligns with Callimachus' strategy of "de-centering Greece" in favor of Cyrene, Egypt, and other territories important to the Ptolemies.³¹⁷ In the

³¹⁵ 1986: 102

³¹⁶ 1986: 120.

³¹⁷ On the "movement south" and "de-centering Greece" in Callimachus, see Acosta-Hughes and Stephens (2012: 148-203). See also Manakidou (2017) on Cyrene/Egypt as the 'new Argos' through

world of the hymns, Thessaly, as the land of wild animals and vicious anti-Callimachean characters, may be categorized as the “other” or the “anti-Egypt” from which the poet moves figures that symbolize his aesthetic. For this reason, Apollo’s birth cannot take place in Thessaly, where lionesses give birth and Ares hurls mountain peaks and shakes Thessaly like a giant. Leto travels south and gives birth to Apollo on Delos.³¹⁸ In the *Hymn to Apollo*, the god moves even further south. As Calame has shown, Apollo moves from his relationship with Admetus in Thessaly to the sibling relationship in Delos to his marriage to a nymph, whom Apollo removed from Thessaly, in Cyrene. Through this southern movement Apollo transitions “from a pre-civilized state to city-civilization...from a transient relationship with an immature young man in a wild context to a permanent union with a woman on stable ground, marked by city and temple.”³¹⁹ It is also noteworthy that once in Cyrene, the eponymous nymph eliminates the wild (the plundering lion) from the civilized land (90-2). Meanwhile, in the *Hymn to Demeter*, Callimachus casts the beastly Erysichthon *back* into the wilds of Thessaly (Dotium)

a “complicated genealogical map” in *Bath of Pallas*. For similar comments, see Boychenko (2017). This would be yet another way in which the final two hymns are foils.

³¹⁸ On the opposition between Ares and Apollo and Thessaly and Delos, see Bing (1988: 91-143). Ambühl (2016a; 2016b), examines the influence of the Thessalian section in Call. *Del.* on Latin poetry. In her discussion of Lucan’s macabre Erichtho, a “direct, literary descendant of Callimachus’ Ares,” Ambühl (2016a: 307) comments: “Thessaly...emerges as the quintessential ‘other-landscape’ or even ‘anti-landscape.’”

³¹⁹ (1993: 42), followed by Acosta-Hughes and Stephens (2012: 157).

from Cos-adjacent Cnidos (24), which was of Apollonian and Ptolemaic interest (Theoc. *Id.* 17.68-70).³²⁰

V.2.2.4 Erysichthon and Pentheus: the Animalized Tragic Hunter

The *Bacchae* is now a well-established pretext of not only the *Bath of Pallas*, but also the *Hymn to Demeter*.³²¹ Callimachus most clearly signals the pretext in the *Hymn to Demeter* in his explanation for Erysichthon's extreme hunger and thirst: "things that anger Demeter also anger Dionysus; for Dionysus became angry together with Demeter," (καὶ γὰρ τῷ Δάματοι συνωργίσθη Διόνυσος./τόσσα Διώνυσον γὰρ ἀ καὶ Δάματοα χαλέπτει, 71-70). The two divinities are likewise connected with their attributes (bread and wine) and each other at *Ba.* 274-85.³²² Ambühl has convincingly outlined numerous parallels between the two texts. Both rogues fail to recognize the divinities, ignore their warnings, and threaten them with death; both, in turn, are punished in similar ways. Their families are

³²⁰ On Cnidos, see Hunter (2003 *ad* 68-70), Hopkinson (1984: 24 with n2 and *ad loc.*), and Stephens (2015 *ad loc.*). *Cer.* 24 refers to another version (reported at D.S. 5.61) where Triopas, after being cast out of Dotium for chopping down Demeter's trees, settles in Cnidos, where he founded a temple of Apollo.

³²¹ Faraone (2012: 61) on *Cer.* only recognizes the similarity in offense against a divinity. Heyworth (2002: 155-7) and (especially) Ambühl (2005: 145-60, 208-14) connect both hymns with the *Bacchae*.

³²² Ambühl (2005: 208-9). Heyworth (2002: 156-7) comments that *Cer.* 69-71 points to the similarity in the divinities' response, but does not specifically indicate *Ba.* 274-85 as an intertext.

ruined, but, the city and the servants are spared, since Pentheus and Erysichthon are scapegoats who return to the status of child or infant.³²³

Now I venture further to bind Erysichthon and Pentheus more closely together. As one of the most famous tragic examples—and most often studied—of the hunter hunted and since he is “hunted” by Dionysus, Pentheus is a highly suitable tragic model for Erysichthon. As we saw in the discussion of the Actaeon *exemplum* in the *Bath of Pallas* (II.3.2.1), Pentheus is portrayed in the *Bacchae* as an inappropriate hunter who attempts both to hunt Dionysus who is likened to an animal and ‘outhunt’ the same divinity in his pursuit of the animalized Maenads; in the end, however, Dionysus, the “wise hunter” (*Ba.* 1189-90), hunts Pentheus, who has been transformed into animal. Whereas in epic, warrior is compared to animal via simile in order to comment on some behavior, in tragedy the separation between animal and human is completely confused or dissolved.³²⁴ This dissolution is effected, in part, first through generic animal terms, such as ἄγριος. For example, Teiresias describes Pentheus as ἄγριος (361) for the first time after Pentheus commands some to overturn Teiresias’ augury with levers and others to hunt

³²³ (2005: 209-11). Heyworth (2002: 155, 157) previously, but very succinctly, notes all the same similarities except the sparing of city and servants and Pentheus and Erysichthon as scapegoat and child. On the youths’ punishment, see also VII.3.1.

³²⁴ As described in App. 5.2, this confusion may derive from animal sacrifice, which is repeatedly represented in tragedy as the sacrifice of a human and in ritual of an animalized Dionysus. On sacrifice in *Cer.*, see VII.5.

Dionysus (346-57).³²⁵ In addition, humans and their feelings may be animalized through specific vocabulary, e.g. Pentheus “feeding on hope” ($\varepsilon\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\nu\delta'$ $\varepsilon\beta\acute{o}\sigma\kappa\epsilon\tau\omega$, *Ba.* 617). Finally, the figures are referred to as specific animals, e.g. bull (D. at e.g. 920, 922) and lion (D. 1018-9, P. 989).³²⁶ Seen as an animal, Pentheus is hunted. For instance, Agave brags that she has “caught this young cub of a wild lioness without snares,” ($\varepsilon\mu\alpha\varphi\alpha\tau\acute{o}\nu\delta'$ $\ddot{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\beta\acute{o}\chi\omega\nu<\lambda\acute{e}\o\nto\varsigma\dot{\alpha}\gamma\acute{q}\o\te\acute{q}\o\nu>$ $\nu\acute{e}\o\nu\dot{\iota}\nu\iota\nu$, 1173-4).³²⁷

Likewise, in the *Hymn to Demeter* Erysichthon embarks on his own perverted hunt, as we have seen, in his attempt to chop down Demeter’s sacred grove and in his threat to stick an axe in Nicippe’s skin.³²⁸ Accordingly, Erysichthon is characterized as an animal. The clearest intertextual signal of this transformation is, as Ambühl has noticed, the lioness image (*Cer.* 50-2) and Pentheus as the offspring of a lioness (*Ba.* 989).³²⁹ The threat of the hunter towards the lioness in the simile foreshadows Erysichthon’s fate, but Erysichthon is

³²⁵ Segal (1997: 56) points out the connection between Pentheus’ behavior and this first instance of $\dot{\alpha}\gamma\acute{q}\iota\o\varsigma$.

³²⁶ Segal (1997: pp.) discusses the blurring between human and animal. On the language used to do so, see Thumiger (2007: 1-9; 2014: 84-7). For further methods of turning human into animal, see App.5.2.

³²⁷ Cf. *Ba.* 1139-42, 1195-6, 1212-5, 1278, 1283-4; Pentheus is also seen as other kinds of animals, e.g. snake (539) and calf (1185).

³²⁸ The lies of Erysichthon’s mother, which draw attention to E’s absence from typical male activities, such as athletics (85-6), may also recall Pentheus’s failure in similar activities, on which see Segal (1997: 158-210).

³²⁹ (2005: 210 with n486).

“hunted” in a way that suits his offense against Demeter. As a result of his aggressive behavior, Erysichthon is afflicted with “savage hunger” (*ἄγριον...λιμόν*, 66) that forces him to “hunt” his family’s animals.³³⁰ This “evil cow-hunger” (*κακὰ βούβωστις*, 102) prompts Triopas to beg his father to “feed” (*βόσκε*, 104) Erysichthon the *brepbos*, a term which, as we will see in the final chapters, is perfectly in keeping with the motif of the hunter hunted.

³³⁰ Erysichthon’s “hunting” in his attempts to ease his savage hunger may also recall Philoctetes. Constantinou (2014: 189-90) comments on the similarities between the socially-isolated Erysichthon and Philoctetes. For instance, the *βούβωστις* that wastes away Erysichthon’s body (92-3) recalls the gnawing (*βαρυβρώς*) plague that eats away at Philoctetes’ skin (693). And like Erysichthon, whose carnivorous ways oppose the grain goddess, Philoctetes feeds his *gaster* through hunting of animals rather than grain (708-11). These parallels seem more likely since, as Hopkinson (1984 *ad loc.*) and others have noticed, *κακογείτονες* (“bad neighbors,” 117), which describes Demeter’s enemies (i.e. Erysichthon), occurs previously only at S. *Ph.* 692 of the isolated Philoctetes.

Chapter VI. For the Love of Food: Erysichthon's Animalized Hunger

VI.1. Introduction

As we have seen, Callimachus emphasizes Erysichthon's failure to cross over into adulthood by drawing extensively on hunting myths of the tradition, especially those in which the hunter becomes animalized and is hunted. After Erysichthon shows his bestial nature, the offended goddess treats him no differently than an animal by cursing him with carnivorous hunger and insatiable thirst, both of which reflect his opposition to agricultural fertility, i.e. the goddess herself, and therefore render the youth permanently infertile. Through allusions to the overlapping motif of agricultural and human fertility in the hymn's literary models, as well as his own poems, Callimachus emphasizes the infertility of Erysichthon from several different angles. In this chapter, I will explore Erysichthon's failed passage into adulthood and infertility within the text itself, in relationship to its literary pretexts, and against other texts in the Callimachean corpus.

VI.2 Fertility and Infertility in the *Hymn to Demeter* and its Literary Models

VI.2.1 Narrative and Frame

VI.2.1.1 The Ritual

The *Hymn to Demeter* equally concerns agricultural and human fertility. In the frame of the hymn, women celebrate rites of Demeter. These rites contain elements of both the Thesmophoria and the Eleusinian Mysteries.³³¹ While the focus of the Thesmophoria was to ensure the agricultural and human fertility of the *polis* and that of the Mysteries, to guarantee a better afterlife, both rituals are based on the same myth: Hades' abduction of Persephone, Demeter's subsequent mourning and wandering, and the return of Persephone to her mother. This sequence is tied to the cycle of seasons. The return or "rebirth" of Persephone coincided with the rebirth of agriculture in the spring.

VI.2.1.2 Demeter and co. vs. Erysichthon

It is well established that the inset Erysichthon narrative is a foil for the frame.³³² The participants' hope for fertility is expressed in their refrain: Δάματε, μέγα χαῖρε, πολυτρόφε πουλυμέδιμνε ("Hail, Demeter, much-nourishing one, one bringing much corn," 2=119). The narrator also speaks about a basket (κάλαθος, 3), which at the end is revealed to be carried by four horses and to represent the goddess' favor for another propitious year (120-23). Other "baskets

³³¹ On the hymn's various ritual elements and the potential locations and occasions of performance, see Hopkinson (1984: 32-43), Müller (1987: 77-88), Bing (1995: 34), and Stephens (2015: 264-7).

³³² Bulloch (1977: 98-9), Müller (1987: 27-30, 78-9), Ambühl (2005: 178-9), Faulkner (2011b), and Stephens (2015: 264). The ritual background of *h.Cer.* is likewise debated. The Mysteries, the Thesmophoria, and the Haloa have all been suggested.

full of gold" ($\chi\varphi\nu\sigma\omega\pi\lambda\varepsilon\alpha\lambda\iota\kappa\nu\alpha$) represent the gold the women will receive (126-7). Human fertility also comes into play. Initiates are supposed to walk to Demeter's shrine (129-30), but pregnant women and other women in pain will receive the goddess' favor even if they are unable to reach the shrine (130-3). The hymn ends with the narrator's requests for prosperity, favor, and peace towards the city, fields, cattle, and herself (134-8).

In order to receive the goddess' benefits and in honor of the goddess' beneficence, the women fast (6) in imitation of Demeter's long period of fasting while she mourned her daughter (8-16). The fasting of the participants and Demeter is diametrically opposed to Erysichthon's gluttony. Callimachus signals this opposition through the transitions into and out of the narrative.³³³ By moving into the transition to the narrative immediately after the description of Demeter's fasting, the poet signals the importance of the motif of hunger and thirst in the Erysichthon narrative, while the transition itself (19-21) foreshadows the participants' reward at the end.³³⁴ Similarly, at the end of the narrative, Erysichthon as a filthy beggar sitting at the crossroads—literally, “three roads”—(114-5) recalls unbathed Demeter sitting at the well three times (15-6), an echo which “highlights his role as a negative *exemplum*;” at the same time, the hubris

³³³ Faulkner (2011b). Some of Faulkner's observations were previously made by Ambühl (see below).

³³⁴ Faulkner (2011b: 86). On this transition, see also below.

and hunger that results in the begging is immediately counteracted by the ritual participants who end their pious fasting and are rewarded with plenty.³³⁵

VI.2.1.3 Erysichthon: Enemy of Agriculture

The poet explicitly and implicitly establishes the narrative as a foil of the frame in the first transition (17-22):

μὴ μὴ ταῦτα λέγωμες ἀ δάκρουν ἄγαγε Δηοῖ.
κάλλιον, ως πολίεσσιν ἔαδότα τέθμια δῶκε.
κάλλιον, ως καλάμαν τε καὶ ίερὰ δράγματα πράτα
20 ἀσταχύων ἀπέκοψε καὶ ἐν βόας ἥκε πατῆσαι,
ἀνίκα Τριπτόλεμος ἀγαθὰν ἐδιδάσκετο τέχναν.
κάλλιον, ως (ἴνα καί τις ύπερβασίας ἀλέηται)
...

No, no let us not speak about the things which cause Deo to cry

Instead, how she gave fair laws to cities.

Instead, how she first cut stalk and handfuls

of holy ears of corn and made oxen tread on them,

when Triptolemus was taught the good skill.

³³⁵ Faulkner (2011b: 89-90). On the relevance of thirst and filth to the narrative, see also under V.2.1.4.2, VII.3.3.1, VII.5.

Instead, how (so that one may avoid overstepping)

...

The first and final two (fragmentary) lines of the transition address the narrative to, respectively, Demeter so as to avoid upsetting her and the audience (participants and listeners/readers) as a warning.³³⁶ While these lines explicitly establish the narrative as a negative counterpart to the frame, the second proposal, the tale of Triptolemus (19-21), implicitly foreshadows Erysichthon as an enemy of agricultural fertility.³³⁷ As Ambühl has shown, Triptolemus, as the quintessential farmer who receives the gift of agriculture, on which civilized society depends (hence, Demeter Thesmophorus, “Law-Giving,” line 18),³³⁸ represents the opposite of “earth-wrecker” Erysichthon who is punished with a pre-civilized hunger for meat and excluded from civilized society.³³⁹ The two figures are even contrasted with verbal parallels. The verb *πατῆσαι* (20), of the cows’ threshing of grain, recurs in the middle-passive (when it means “to eat”) of

³³⁶ Line 17 carries a lot of weight. It establishes both a very different kind of story that includes comic elements and Callimachus’ rejection of a stale story told by his literary predecessors. On the first issue, see McKay (1962a: 63), who interprets the narrative as comedy. However, this view has been modified, and the narrative is now understood to be a mixture of several of genres, on which see n469. On the second issue, see esp. Bing (1995: 29-33) and Spanoudakis (2002: 294-5).

³³⁷ On the opposition between Erysichthon and Triptolemus, see esp. Ambühl (2005: 183-6), but also Faulkner (2011b: 86).

³³⁸ On Demeter Thesmophorus, see also Hopkinson (1984: 35-6 and *ad loc.*) and Hunter (1992: 32 with n66 for Greek passages).

³³⁹ Callimachus very likely also alludes to a tradition in which Erysichthon becomes a cannibal (the exact opposite of Demeter Thesmophorus), on which see VII.1.

Erysichthon's desire for food (*πάσαιτο*, 68), which is then called "evil cow-hunger," (*κακὰ βούβωστις*, 102) in opposition to Triptolemus' "good skill" (*ἀγαθὰν...τέχναν*, 21).³⁴⁰ Immediately after the Triptolemus passage, the narrator announces a cautionary tale for the narrative, which is completely contrary to all the figures and details in the frame. Thus, the Triptolemus reference, as well as the other details of the frame, already lead the reader to expect a narrative about infertility, both agricultural and human.

VI.2.2 The Literary Pretexts: Erysichthon, Persephone, and Mestra

As an enemy of agriculture, Erysichthon becomes infertile. Callimachus lays the groundwork for such a tale by rewinding his version to a pre-marital liminal period and by altering two of his models, the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* and the Hesiodic *Ehoiai* (fr. 43a), both of which involve erotic subjects that Callimachus manipulates in his characterization of Erysichthon.

VI.2.2.1 Erysichthon's Age

³⁴⁰ For further discussion of this parallel and others at 134-7, see Ambühl (2005: 183 with n369, 185-6). Faulkner (2011b: 86 with n49), who seems to have overlooked Ambühl, makes similar points, but contributes the verbal parallel (between 20 and 68) and suggests that 68 is meant to recall 20, since *πατῆσαι* replaces more common words for trampling (e.g. *τρίβειν*). On the rarity of *πατῆσαι*, see Hopkinson (1984 *ad loc.*).

Various clues indicate that Erysichthon is of pre-marital or marriageable age. The most obvious is the poet's elimination of Mestra, who will be discussed further below. Additionally, attendance at weddings is amongst Erysichthon's social obligations (77-9, 85), but because his sickness prevents him from attending, his mother lies that he is involved in activities typical of a pre-marital youth. The first, more specific example is especially informative. In response to Polyxo's invitation (77-9), Erysichthon's mother lies that her son has been wounded by a boar, which, as we have seen, recalls Odysseus' liminal hunt. Moreover, the hunger that prevents Erysichthon from attending the wedding is paralleled by a different sickness that keeps Cydippe from marrying in *Acontius and Cydippe* (fr. 75.14-5), a tale with which the hymn shares numerous links.³⁴¹

More subtle indications of Erysichthon's age occur in the opening scene when Erysichthon and his henchmen attack Demeter's grove. The description of Erysichthon's "men-giant servants" as ἐν ἀκμῇ ("in their prime," 33) brings to mind the related senses of peak agricultural and human fertility, both of which suit the ritual background of the hymn.³⁴² ἀκμή can indicate peak strength, as well

³⁴¹ Faulkner (2011b: 80). On the relationship between the two texts, see further below. While the excuses in response to the second invitation—Erysichthon is wounded by a discus, falls from a chariot, and is counting flocks—may indicate activities of a pre-marital youth, they are also regular social obligations of an adult male and therefore too generic to connect with mythical youths.

³⁴² Hopkinson (1984) translates ἐν ἀκμῇ "in the prime of strength," which reflects the men-giants' ability to lift up a city (34); Stephens (2015) translates the same phrase "in the prime of life," which,

as marriageable age, and, in fact, according to Plato (*R.* 460e-461a), for example, the two overlap. In the ideal city anyway, the prime time (μέτριος χρόνος ἀκμῆς) for men to marry is thirty and to bear children, right after he passes his peak running speed (τὴν ὁξυτάτην δρόμου ἀκμὴν) to age fifty-five. This prescribed age, he continues, is the prime time for body and mind (ἀμφοτέρων...αὕτη ἀκμὴ σώματός τε καὶ φρονήσεως).³⁴³ Corollary uses of ἀκμή in vegetation underscore the point, e.g. ripe corn (τὸν σῖτον ἐν ἀκμῇ, Th. 4.2) or a fully-blooming willow (ἀκμὴν...τῆς ἄνθης, Pl. *Phdr.* 230b).

VI.2.2.2 Erysichthon and Persephone

As we have seen in the previous chapters, Erysichthon's attack on the grove evokes a failed rite of passage through allusions to both successful and unsuccessful youthful hunters of the tradition. In the same way, Callimachus alters the traditional tale of the rape of Persephone as told in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* as a way of foreshadowing the permanence of Erysichthon's youth.³⁴⁴ In

like her translation of *brepbos* as “offspring,” reflects the variety of senses that Callimachus tends to cram in one word.

³⁴³ Cf. E. *Alc.* 315-16, where Alcestis fears that a stepmother will ruin her daughter's chances for marriage “in the prime of youth” (ἐν ἡβῆς ἐν ἀκμῇ), and Isoc. 7.37, where the entrance into manhood correlates with the prime age/vitality and is contrasted with childhood: Ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ οὐκ ἐν μὲν ταῖς παιδείαις πολλοὺς τοὺς ἐπιστατοῦντας εἶχον, ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς ἄνδρας δοκιμασθεῖεν, ἐξῆν αὐτοῖς ποιεῖν ὅ τι βουληθεῖεν, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς ἀκμαῖς πλέονος ἐπιμελείας ἐτύγχανον ἡ παιδεῖς ὄντες.

³⁴⁴ On the relationship between *h.Cer.* and *Cer.*, see Hunter (1992: 9-11), Depew (1993: 70), Haslam (1993: 119n14), Bing (1995: 29-33), Ambühl (2005: 177-91), Ukleja (2005: 100-1), and Faulkner

effect, Erysichthon's ludicrous hunt replaces the rape of Persephone, as he violates a tree-nymph rather than carrying off a maiden to become his wife. Callimachus' engagement with the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* is already implied by the frame, where Demeter's refusal to eat, drink, and bathe echo the goddess' same behavior in the Homeric version.³⁴⁵ But with line 17, Callimachus declares his departure from the traditional narrative. From a literary perspective, Callimachus' reworking of the rape of Persephone story indicates his "deliberate distancing" from his Homeric model and/or his deviation from Philitas' *Demeter*, which also treated the myth.³⁴⁶

Callimachus begins his narrative with a brief description of the grove, a *locus amoenus* complete with shade, trees, and bubbling waters (25-9).³⁴⁷ At the end

(2011b). Bulloch (1977: 99-101; 117n27) examines the structural similarities between *Cer.* and the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus*, and apart from one similarity between the Demeter hymns, notes that Call. uses *h.Cer.* "very little." For the sake of brevity, in this section I will mainly cite Bing, who expands on initial comments in Hunter and Haslam. Ambühl summarizes Hunter through Bing (180-2). On her important contributions, see Triptolemus (above) and under VII.3.1.

³⁴⁵ *Cer.* 12 and 6, 15-16 echo *h.Cer.* 49-50 and 200-1 respectively. See Bing (1995: 30-1). Hunter (1992: 10) refers to *Cer.* 7-17 as a "small-scale re-writing" of *h.Cer.*, a comment which Spanoudakis (2002: 295 n135) regards as "sweepingly simplistic."

³⁴⁶ On "deliberate distancing" from *h.Cer.*, see Bing (1995: 29-33). Cf. Hunter (1992: 10 with n2). On Callimachus' rejection of the worn-out topic in Philitas through the reworking of similar themes and images, see Spanoudakis (2002: 293-303, esp. 293-5 on the frame), although Callimachus' rivalry with Philitas was detected as early as Cessi (1908: 124-5). For a very detailed overview and further bibliography, see Ambühl (2005: 191-7). See also Murray (2004: 216) on her metapoetic reading of line 17 as Callimachus' rejection of the narrative strategy in which the narrative mirrors the frame.

³⁴⁷ On the grove as a *locus amoenus* and its similarity to *loci amoeni* in Homer, Sappho, and Theoc., see n127. On the grove in Theoc. 7, its similarity to *Cer.* (with which it shares the same trees), and its likely dependence on Philitas' *Demeter*, see Spanoudakis (2002: 244-73 *passim*; 295-6) and Ambühl (2005: 197-8).

of the description, the poet sets his narrative against the Persephone tale in his literary predecessors by equating his *locus amoenus* with Eleusis and Triopas with Enna, a location of Persephone's rape: θεὰ δ' ἐπεμαίνετο χώρω/ ὅσσον Ἐλευσῖνι,
Τριόπᾳ θ' ὅσον ὄκκόσον Ἔννᾳ. ("The goddess was as crazy about the place as much as she was about Eleusis, about Triopas as about Enna," 29-30).³⁴⁸ The poet's linking of places encourages a comparison of the grove in the sixth hymn with the *locus amoenus* in the *Homeric Hymn*. It should be remembered that the features of the *locus amoenus* mirror human fertility and that the *locus amoenus* is therefore often the setting of a violent erotic encounter. In general, the trees, waters, and nymphs in Demeter's sacred grove have sexual overtones;³⁴⁹ in particular, the "beautiful sweet apples" (καλὰ γλυκύμαλα, 28) are before Callimachus attested

³⁴⁸ So Hunter (1992: 10-11 with notes 3-4). Later sources, e.g. Ov. *Met.* 5.385-405, situate Persephone's rape in Enna, Sicily, where her mother was also worshipped. I follow the translations of Hopkinson (1984) and Stephens (2015) for Τριόπᾳ and Ἔννᾳ. On the question of whether the nouns refer to places or people, see Hopkinson (*ad loc.*) and Stephens (2015 on 29-30). Perhaps the inextricable link between Enna and its eponymous nymph encourages the listener to remember (in this hymn, anachronistic) Triopion, which was, after all, established by Triopas. Rejecting the apparent interpretation that ἐπεμαίνετο has erotic undertones (see Hopkinson and now Stephens *ad loc.*), Ambühl (2005: 180-1) suggests an allusion to *h.Cer.* 386 (ἢξ' ἡύτε μαινάς...), where Demeter's joy over reuniting with her daughter in Eleusis is compared to a maenad rushing through the forest. In this way, Call. would connect his grove with both the reunion and the rape, thereby stressing the significance of the myth as a foil for his own narrative.

³⁴⁹ So Bing (1995: 32n12): "The inviolate grove with its burgeoning fruit trees...bubbling spring...and frolicking nymphs...is, of course, a standard emblem of virginity." Cf. Teiresias' accidental invasion of Athena's bath on Helicon (II.4.3). On the influence of the (related) groves in Call. *Cer.*, Philitas' *Demeter*, and Theoc. *Id.* 7 on Propertius' love elegies and Longus' erotic novel, see Spanoudakis (2002: 59-66). Prop. 3.1.1-2 explicitly links the groves of Call. and Philitas.

only twice and in erotic contexts.³⁵⁰ Similarly, in the *Homeric Hymn*, Persephone is frolicking in a meadow with flowers, some of which are associated with the erotic, such as roses and the narcissus (6-7).³⁵¹ The fertility of the flowers, moreover, mirrors that of the girl, who is accordingly described as “flower-faced,” (*καλυκώπιδι*, 8), a “sweet offshoot,” (*γλυκερὸν θάλος*, 66), and Hades’ “blooming wife” (*θαλερὴν...ἄκοιτιν*, 79).³⁵²

The plant-like Persephone, who is playing with nymphs (*παίζουσαν κούρησι σὺν Όκεανοῦ βαθυκόλποις*, 5), is transformed in Callimachus into a poplar around which nymphs play (*ἥς δέ τις αἴγειρος.../τῷ δὲ ἐπὶ ταὶ νύμφαι ποτὶ τῶνδιον ἔψιώντο*, 37-8).³⁵³ This detail about the Nymphs’ *play* may also suggest the liminal nature of the grove. The theme is developed more fully in the *Homeric Hymn* when Persephone plucks the narcissus, which is described as a “beautiful toy” (*καλὸν ἄθυρμα*, 16) and a “trick for the flower-faced maiden” (*δόλον*

³⁵⁰ The two attestations are also cited by Hopkinson (1984 *ad loc.*). Sapph. fr. 105a.1 Voigt (of the famous reddening sweet-apple out of reach on the highest branch), which influenced Theoc. 11.39 (Polyphemus’ endearing nickname for Galatea, similarly out-of-reach). Both passages, in turn, inspire Longus 3.33-4 (Daphnis plucks the μῆλον, rather than the γλυκύμηλον, from the highest branch for Chloe). For a recent summary of the erotic connotations of the μῆλον, see e.g. Wasdin (2018: 94-6 with bibliography). On this connotation elsewhere in Call., see fr. 75a Harder, where Acontius tricks Cydippe into marrying him by inscribing an oath on an apple.

³⁵¹ Foley (1994 on 5-14).

³⁵² Foley (1994 on 5-14). Similarly, Bing (1995: 31n11).

³⁵³ On the nymphs as another symbol of Persephone’s virginity and preparation for marriage, see Foley (1994: 220-1 and on 5-14) and Bing (1995: 32n12). Ambühl (2005: 181) adds that each location is a “Tummelplatz der Nymphen.” On the tree-nymph and the Erysichthon story in Call., A.R., and Ov., see Murray (2004: esp. 208-12).

καλυκώπιδι κούροι) that is grown by Gaia according to Zeus' will to bring about Hades' abduction of Persephone (8-9). Persephone's plucking of the "toy" is symbolic of her childhood,³⁵⁴ since toy dedications symbolized the end of a girl's childhood.³⁵⁵ The hymn then goes on to describe Hades' abduction of Persephone and her time in the underworld, which reflect marriage rituals and a *hieros gamos*.³⁵⁶

The above correspondences between Callimachus' *Hymn to Demeter* and the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* strongly suggest that Erysichthon's invasion of the grove and his attempt to chop down a particular tree reworks Hades' rape of the plant-like Persephone.³⁵⁷ Indeed, Callimachus essentially reproduces the initial abduction scene in the *Homeric* version. Like Hades, Erysichthon rushes into a peaceful, erotic setting and assaults a plant/female (*h.Cer.* 17 ὄφουσεν; *Cer.* 33 σεύατ'). As Kore wails (όλοφυρομένην) and "crie[s] out with a shrill voice," (ἰάχησε δ' ἄρ' ὄφθια φωνῆι, 20), so does the ax-stricken tree "cry a troubled song to the others," (κακὸν μέλος ἰάχεν ἀλλαῖς, 39). Initially, no one hears Kore crying

³⁵⁴ Prytz-Johansen (1975: 82).

³⁵⁵ van Gennep (1960: 130). On the connection with Persephone, see Suter (2002: 75-76, 97-8).

³⁵⁶ For example, Hades' abduction reflects Attic marriage ceremonies where the bride is carried off in a cart to a new home, and the eating of the pomegranate seed recalls marriage rituals where spouses sit next to each other (as Persephone and Hades in the hymn, 343) and openly share food and drink as an exchange of gifts. On this interpretation, the pomegranate seed represents a *hieros gamos*, a ritual marriage for the promotion of fertility. For further details and a convenient summary of previous scholarship, see Suter (2002: 72-117).

³⁵⁷ Most of the following parallels are first noted by Bing (1995: 31-2), though Hunter (1992: 10) recognized the parallels between the screams and the responses, but the latter is interpreted differently by Bing, on which see below.

out to Zeus except Hecate and Helios (21-7), although Demeter soon hears her voice or the echo of her voice ($\tauῆς δ' ἔκλυε πότνια μήτηρ$, 38-9; cf. 67-8) and feels pain ($\όξὺ δέ μιν κραδίην ἄχος ἔλλαβεν$, 40); in the Callimachean version, “Demeter sense[s] that her sacred wood suffers” ($\άσθετο Δαμάτηρ$, $\ότι οἱ ξύλοι$ $\ίερον ἄλγει$, 40).³⁵⁸ Finally, Demeter in both Hymns responds in anger (*h.Cer.* 91 χωσαμένη, cf. 82-3; *Cer.* 41, $\εἶπε δὲ χωσαμένα$) and asks who is responsible for the respective offenses (*h.Cer.* 72-3; *Cer.* 41).

The unsettling difference between the two hymns is, of course, that Erysichthon rushes into the *locus amoenus*, which has hostile undertones that the Homeric version lacks (e.g. boiling up amber-like waters, 28-9),³⁵⁹ and begins chopping down the tree, not to lead it away as his wife, but to build a hall for feasting. Here, as with the Mestra *Ehoia*, Callimachus condenses a long narrative into a few lines. It is altogether possible that Callimachus conflates Hades’ abduction of Persephone with a passage from the Demophoon episode, which he also reworks in his hymn.³⁶⁰ Agreeing to nurse Demophoon, Demeter declares that

³⁵⁸ In *h.Cer.*, the poet emphasizes hearing over seeing. While Hecate (57-8) and Demeter (68) hear Persephone’s scream, Helios alone, it is implied, sees the abduction (69-81). On the motifs of “seeing” and “hearing” and the significance of these senses to the Mysteries, see Foley (1994 on e.g. 51-89). Callimachus’ Demeter does not see Erysichthon’s violation either. Hunter (1992: 10) incorrectly sees a difference between the responses to the scream. That no one hears Persephone scream only appears to be initially true.

³⁵⁹ See Hopkinson (1984: 5 and on 29).

³⁶⁰ On Demophoon, see V.1 and VII.3.1.

she will be a fine nurse capable of protecting the infant, since she “knows an antidote much stronger than the woodcutter” (*οἴδα γὰρ ἀντίτομον μέγα φέρτερον ύλοτόμοιο*, 229). As has been suggested, this *ύλοτόμος* may have influenced Callimachus’ version of the Erysichthon myth.³⁶¹

In this way, Erysichthon’s attack on Demeter’s grove allusively integrates violence against Demeter’s beloved daughter and her nursling. As an enemy of these figures, then, Erysichthon’s fate follows a fitting trajectory. After a brief exchange between Demeter and Erysichthon, which recalls, in part, the Demophoon episode of the *Homeric Hymn*, Demeter punishes Erysichthon with λιμός (hunger, 66), which, in the *Homeric* variant is only a temporary famine (310-1).³⁶² In Callimachus, this curse prevents the youthful Erysichthon, enemy of the fertile grove, from marrying and producing offspring and instead forces him back into animalistic infancy. And so, Callimachus transforms a would-be erotic story into Erysichthon’s ravenous consumption of food.

³⁶¹ Haslam (1993: 119n114), Bing (1995: 33), Ambühl (2005: 182). Some sort of similar violence against plants is implied also by *ύποταμνόν* (228). On the meaning of these words, see Richardson (1974 *ad loc.*), Foley (1994 on 212-30 with n53), and Faraone (2001). Cf. *ύλοτόμοι* in a simile describing the Argonauts’ slaughter of earth-born creatures (A.R. 1.1003). This passage may be relevant in light of the tree-violating Argonauts’ “Erysichthon-like tendencies,” on which see Murray (2004: 216-23).

³⁶² On the hunger parallel, see Haslam (1993: 119n114); Bing (1995: 32), who notes that the hunger-punishment is expressed “in markedly different ways;” and Faulkner (2011b: 88-9), who remarks that “the inversion is pointedly ironic.”

VI.2.2.3 Erysichthon and Mestra

Due to the fragmentary state of the *Ehoiai*, the influence of the Mestra episode on the *Hymn to Demeter* is more difficult to trace.³⁶³ This difficulty is compounded by Mestra's notable absence from Callimachus' version of the Erysichthon tale. Regardless of the absence of her person, her presence is still felt. Just as Callimachus collapses the Eurylochus episode into his Erysichthon character (IV.3), so, too, does he eliminate the Mestra episode and reapply its sense to Erysichthon.

Certain passages have been read as echoes of the Hesiodic tale. Ambühl has argued, for instance, that the mother's first lie about Erysichthon's whereabouts, Erysichthon's collection of a debt of a hundred cattle ($\tau\acute{e}\lambda\theta\circ\varsigma\ \grave{\alpha}\pi\alpha\iota\tau\eta\sigma\tilde{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\tau\circ\varsigma$, 77), alludes to the argument between Sisyphus and Erysichthon (Hes. fr. 43a.18-78 M.-W.).³⁶⁴ Sisyphus had promised a hundred of something (possibly herds of cattle), sheep, and goats as bridal gifts in exchange for Mestra's marriage to his son Glaucus³⁶⁵; however, Mestra escapes the arrangement by transforming herself into an animal, an ability gifted to her from Poseidon, and feeds her father

³⁶³ For discussions and reconstructions of texts concerning Mestra, see IV.2-3.

³⁶⁴ (2005: 171-2). For the possibility that $\grave{\alpha}\pi\alpha\iota\tau\eta\sigma\tilde{\omega}\nu$ alludes to a *hapax* in the chariot race (*Il.* 23.597), as suggested by Harder (2017: 110), see VI.4.2.

³⁶⁵ $\acute{\nu}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma]\chi\epsilon\tau[\circ]$ $\mu\nu\varrho\iota\alpha\ \acute{\epsilon}\delta\eta\alpha/ \acute{\varepsilon}]\kappa\alpha\tau\circ\varsigma[.....].\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\varrho\alpha\ \delta\omega[/]\cdot\omega\eta[..]\beta\circ\omega\tilde{\nu}\ \grave{\alpha}[\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha]s\ \grave{\epsilon}\varrho\mu\acute{\mu}\kappa\omega[\nu/$ ποίμνας τ' εἰρο]πόκων οἴων ἡ[δ' αἰπ]όλι' αἰγῶν, fr. 43a.21-4 M.-W.

with the bridal gifts.³⁶⁶ The subsequent argument between Sisyphus and Erysichthon is arbitrated by Athena, and while the outcome is unclear, mules (*οὐρήων*) and half-donkeys (*ἡμιόνους*) are involved (fr. 43a.45-6 M.-W.). Callimachus, then, may allude not only to Sisyphus' collection of animal debt, but also the mules, which Erysichthon consumes after they are untied from the wagons, (*ἀλλὰ καὶ οὐρῆας μεγαλᾶν ύπέλυσαν ἀμαξᾶν*, 107).³⁶⁷

In the Hesiodic *Catalogue* (cf. Erysichthon's daughter at Ov. *Met.* 8.741-2), Mestra provides for her father through her metamorphic gift from Poseidon, but in the *Hymn to Demeter*, Poseidon does not listen to Triopas' desperate prayer (97), so Erysichthon empties the provisions in his own household.³⁶⁸ As Levaniouk points out, in the *Catalogue*, Erysichthon breaks the aristocratic code of reciprocity, of which gift exchange and marriage transactions were a part, by failing to exchange his daughter for the bride gifts. In the *Hymn to Demeter*, she continues,

³⁶⁶ Only some of these details survive in the fragments. fr. 43a.29-33 attests to her transformation and escape to her father. The detail about Poseidon can be inferred from the testimony of Philodemus (fr. 43c M.-W.), and Mestra's transformation specifically into an animal can be inferred from the scholia on Lycophron (fr. 43b M.-W.).

³⁶⁷ The mule correspondence is suggested by Kakridis (1975: 22n7) and followed by Ambühl (2005: 172 with n323). Hopkinson (1984 *ad loc.*) notes the parallel form at *Il.* 10.84, and Rengakos (1993: 125) suggests an allusion to the same passage. It is possible that the other kind of mule is indirectly incorporated, if Call., in fact, alludes to the mule fetus (*βρέφος ἡμίονον*, *Il.* 23.265) with *brephos* at *Cer.* 100.

³⁶⁸ Ambühl (2005: 172-3 with n326) notices a possible parallel between fr. 43a.21 (*ύπέσ]χετ[ο] μυοία* *ξδνα*) and *Cer.* 88 (*ἥσθιε μυοία πάντα*), which would set the endless supply of food in fr. 43a in opposition to the limited resources in Triopas' house. For the numerous interpretations of the hymn's unheeding Poseidon, including the possible relationship with Poseidon and Mestra in fr. 43a, see n471.

since Erysichthon violates this code by consuming his family's possessions, he becomes a beggar at the crossroads—"the ultimate form of a non-reciprocal relationship."³⁶⁹

But begging is not the only consequence of property loss. The mother's excuses reveal that the hymn, just as much as the *Catalogue*, is concerned with aristocratic gift exchange, specifically marriage. Therefore, when Erysichthon gobbles up the family's property, his parents are unable to participate in a marriage transaction. Erysichthon literally eats up his chances for marriage and closes off any possibility for legitimate heirs. To emphasize this point, Callimachus appears to reapply the erotic aspects of the *Catalogue*, the marriage transactions and Poseidon's abduction of Mestra, to Erysichthon's ravening hunger, which destroys his chances for procreation. Moreover, having eliminated Mestra's metamorphic assistance, Callimachus also does away with Mestra's craftiness so that Erysichthon is forced to rely on his γαστήρ alone.³⁷⁰

VI.3 Erysichthon's Carnal Desire

³⁶⁹ (2000: 44). On the social and economic implications of the name "Aithon," specifically regarding the begging of Odysseus, who assumes the name "Aithon," see esp. pp. 43-51.

³⁷⁰ Thus, Call. diverges from the representation of Odysseus-Aithon. Levaniouk (2000: 41) argues that Odyssues "seems to perform at once the role of Aithon and the role of Mestra: he may complain about the 'accursed belly,' but through his craftiness he always finds a way to survive." In this way, Odysseus is like the hungry poet who relies on skill to survive. On the metapoetic implications of Odysseus-Aithon and Call.'s Erysichthon, see Murray (2004: 214-6).

VI.3.1 *Cer.* 65-8

Without any guile and only a belly, Erysichthon becomes no different than an animal (or a child, as we will see below). In this way, the lion similes in the *Iliad* (and to a lesser extent, the *Odyssey*), are even more relevant to Callimachus' portrayal of Erysichthon, for the poet blends the hungry lion image of epic into the Hesiodic Aithon. In doing so, Callimachus intensifies the gluttony of Erysichthon's Hesiodic counterpart and emphasizes the innovative infertility of his animalized Erysichthon by referring to his hunger in erotic terms. The erotic nature of the youth's gluttony is suggested at the very moment that he receives the punishment (65-8):

ἀ μὲν τόσσον εἰποῖσθε οὐσίχθονι τεῦχε πονηρά.

αὐτίκα οἱ χαλεπόν τε καὶ ἄγριον ἔμβαλε λιμόν

αἴθωνα κρατερόν, μεγάλα δὲ στρεψύγετο νούσω.

σχέτλιος, ὅσσα πάσαιτο τόσων ἔχεν ἷμερος αὔτις.

Having said as much, she prepared grievous things for Erysichthon.

Immediately on him she cast a harsh and savage hunger

Burning and strong, and he was distressed by a great disease.

Miserable one, as much as he ate, the desire for as much again lay hold of him.

As Levaniouk has convincingly shown, *αἴθων* (< *αἴθω*, “kindle”) integrates the qualities of fire (“fierce, fiery”), and when applied to animals, indicates their “persistent and often frustrated desires.”³⁷¹ Just as the verb (“burn” in the middle) can be a metaphor for erotic desire (e.g. *αἴθεσθαι τῷ ἔρωτι*, X. *Cyr.* 5.1.16; *αἴθετο* *ἔρωτι*, *Theoc.* 7.102), especially that which is “unconsummated, forbidden, or unattainable,” so, too, does the adjective develop this meaning, but for animals.³⁷²

As we saw at V.2.1.4.1, Erysichthon’s λιμόν *αἴθωνα* recalls the *αἴθωνα λέοντα* from two similes in the *Iliad*. The first, *Il.* 11.548-57, compares Ajax to a “fiery lion” (*αἴθωνα λέοντα*, 548), who although driven off by dogs and men, nevertheless “eagerly desiring flesh presses on, but does not accomplish a thing,” (οὐδὲ κρειῶν ἐρατίζων/ιθύει, ἀλλ’ οὐ τι πρήσσει, 551-2). The second, *Il.* 18.157-64, compares Hector, whom the Aiantes fail to keep from Patroclus’ corpse, to a “fiery

³⁷¹ On the semantics of *αἴθων*, see Levaniouk (2000: 26-36, esp. 33-5), who soundly rejects *LSJ* (“prob. of colour, ‘red-brown, tawny’ since ‘sleek, shining’ or ‘fiery, fierce’ do not suit all cases”). Levaniouk is preceded in this rejection by Beeke (1995/1996: 16): “There is no reason to resort to colour: it misses the point of the epithet, which stresses the visible health and strength of the animal.” However, Levaniouk (30-2) also (rightly, I think) argues that the word indicates an animal’s *behavior* and opts for “fiery, fierce” over “sleek, shining” for animals (though not absolutely for metals), a sense which is accepted by Beeke.

³⁷² The metaphor is especially clear at *Theoc.* 2.133-4: Ἔρως δ' ἄρα καὶ Λιπαραίω/πολλάκις Ἀφαίστοι σέλας φλογερώτερον αἴθει, (“Eros often kindles a flame more blazing than Hephaestus on Lipari.”)

Levaniouk (2000: 33-6). On the various connotations of the verb in Call. fr. 67.1-3 Pf. and that passage’s relationship to *Cer.*, see below on *Acontius and Cydippe*. Levaniouk (34n26) notes fr. 67.1-3 as an example of unattainable love and also discusses *αἴθων* and associated erotic language in the *Iliadic* lion similes, but does not connect any of these passages directly to *Cer.* or, apart from a few passing comments, discuss the erotic connotations of the word as they apply to *Cer.*, since her focus is primarily on Odysseus-Aithon as beggar.

lion...hungering greatly" (*λέοντ' αἱθωνα... μέγα πεινάοντα*, 161-2). While in the simile the lion is apparently not prevented from reaching the carcass, it has to face the onslaught of the shepherds and therefore cannot dine in peace.³⁷³ Moreover, the subsequent lines reveal in retrospect that the lion is probably not able to drag the carcass away and appease its hunger, since in the narrative, Achilles' shout scares away the Trojans and allows the Greeks' to rescue Patroclus' corpse (165-238).

While this second simile ostensibly bears no connections to erotic desire, Achaeus and Euripides later link hunger and the absence of *eros*. Athenaeus reports that Achaeus in his *Aithon* (TrGF 20 F 6) wrote, "Since in an empty stomach there is no love of the beautiful, for Cypris is bitter for the hungry," (ἐν κενῇ γὰρ γαστὶ τῶν καλῶν ἔρως/οὐκ ἔστι πεινῶσιν | γὰρ ή Κύπρις πικρά, 6.270c). If the satyr-play treats Erysichthon, Callimachus may develop his partially-comic representation of Erysichthon's frustrated desire for food from Achaeus.³⁷⁴ On the other hand, Callimachus may simply repeat in allusive fashion a commonplace idea. For instance, as Athenaeus goes on to say, Euripides borrows the notion from Achaeus: "Cypris hangs around the full, and not the hungry," (ἐν πλησμονῇ τοι Κύπρις, ἐν πεινῶντι δ' οὐ, 6.270c=E. fr. 895).

³⁷³ So Levaniouk (2000: 35).

³⁷⁴ On Callimachus' use of satyr-play and potential allusions to Achaeus' *Aithon* in particular, see McKay (1962a: 22-6), Hopkinson (1984: 20), Ambühl (2005: 174-7). The assumption that *Aithon* treats Erysichthon depends on Hes. fr. 43a.5-6 M-W.

Callimachus himself immediately hints at the erotic aspect of *αἴθων*, since he refers to Erysichthon's gluttony as "longing" (*ἱμερος*). Taken with the surrounding language, especially ἀ...εἰποῖσ' (65) and ἔμβαλε (66), *ἱμερος* evokes the formulaic Homeric phrase "Having spoken, the goddess cast sweet longing in his/her heart," (*ὡς εἰποῦσα θεὰ γλυκὺν ἴμερον ἔμβαλε θυμῷ*, *Il.* 3.138, *h.Ven.* 142). The first instance (*Il.* 3.138) does not have sexual connotations, since Iris causes Helen to long not only for her husband, but also her city and parents. However, in the second passage (*h. Ven.* 142) Aphrodite casts longing on Anchises, who is then seized with desire (*Ἀγχίστην δ' ἔρος εἶλεν*, 143), which itself is a chain reaction of Zeus' revenge on Aphrodite, ("But Zeus cast sweet longing into *her* heart to sleep with a mortal man," *τῇδε καὶ αὐτῇ Ζεὺς γλυκὺν ἴμερον ἔμβαλε θυμῷ / ἀνδρὶ καταθνητῷ μιχθήμεναι*, 45-6; cf. 53). Additionally, at Theoc. 7.72-7, a passage with correspondences to Callimachus' Erysichthon (as discussed briefly below), the presence of the river Himera (*Ιμέρα*) at the lover's melting combines *ἱμερος* (*Cer.* 68) and Erysichthon's melting (*Cer.* 91-3).³⁷⁵

VI.3.2 *Cer.* 91-3

³⁷⁵ On Theocritus' pun on *Ιμέρα/ἱμερος*, which may owe something to Stesichorus' alleged homeland and his associations with the beginnings of bucolic poetry, see Hunter (1999: *ad loc.* and p.65), who, however, does not mention the parallel at *Cer.* 68.

Callimachus turns again to the simile to describe how Erysichthon's "burning hunger" melts his body (91-3):

ώς δὲ Μίμαντι χιών, ώς ἀελίω ἔνι πλαγγών,
καὶ τούτων ἔτι μέζον ἐτάκετο, μέστ' ἐπὶ νεύρας
δειλαίω όινός τε καὶ ὄστέα μῶνον ἐλείφθη.

Like snow on Mimas, like a wax doll in the sun

Still more than these was he melting away as far as his sinews

To the wretched one only skin and bones were left.

Like the lioness simile, this passage alludes to numerous texts, including, in particular, the *Odyssey*, several of Theocritus' *Idylls*, and the poet's own *Acontius and Cydippe*. In alluding to these poems, Callimachus packs the simile with not only literary foils or counterparts, but also a variety of motifs derived from technical fields, such as geography or medicine. In using these different angles, Callimachus portrays Erysichthon's infertility in a manner especially suitable to his highly-learned Alexandrian audience.

VI.3.2.1 The Homeric Pretext for Erysichthon's Melting

The first comparison, the melting of the snow on a mountain, almost certainly alludes to the Homeric simile which describes Penelope's reaction to the false tale just told by her husband under his pseudonym Aithon (*Od.* 19.204-9):

τῆς δ' ἄρ' ἀκουούσης ώέε δάκρυα, τήκετο δὲ χρώς·
205 ώς δὲ χιῶν κατατίκετ' ἐν ἀκροπόλοισιν ὅρεσσιν,
 ἦν τ' Εὔρος κατέτηξεν, ἐπὴν Ζέφυρος καταχεύῃ·
 τηκομένης δ' ἄρα τῆς ποταμοὶ πλήθουσι ώέοντες·
 ώς τῆς τήκετο καλὰ παρήια δάκρυ χεούσης,
 κλαιούσης ἐὸν ἄνδρα παρήμενον.

While she listened, tears were streaming, and her skin was melting,

As snow melts on lofty mountains,

Which the East Wind melts, after the West Wind poured it down.

And while it melts, the rivers swell with flowing waters.

So her beautiful cheeks were melting, while she was pouring forth tears,

And lamenting her husband who was sitting right next to her.

Similarly, prior to the Aithon tale, Penelope tells the stranger that she “melts away her heart longing for Odysseus,” (ἀλλ' Ὁδυσῆ ποθέουσα φίλον κατατίκομαι ἥτος, 19.136). Several different aspects of Penelope's melting are relevant to the *Hymn to Demeter*. On the one hand, the contexts of the Homeric passages suggest

Callimachus' engagement with one of the central themes of the epic. As Levaniouk has shown, Odysseus' adoption of the name "Aithon" is appropriate since, deprived of his household, the wandering Odysseus is always in the dependent, "hungry" position of a beggar who is "burning" to return home and, in this case, "burning" to regain the household through revenge. Unlike Erysichthon, however, Odysseus does not beg for food, but much like a poet, receives goods in exchange for services rendered rather than through the traditional aristocratic rules of reciprocity.³⁷⁶

Erysichthon is also deprived of his household, but whereas the Aithon story reveals an Odysseus intent on acquiring goods to replenish his household, Erysichthon empties his own house. In this way, Erysichthon more closely echoes the young suitors who diminish Odysseus' household with their inappropriate feasting, an issue which is broached and repeated at the beginning of the epic and later is resumed right before Odysseus returns to the city as a beggar. Specifically, the suitors slay Odysseus' animals (goats, sheep, and oxen) and recklessly drink wine (1.91-2, 106-8; 2.55-8; 4.318-21; 17.180-2).³⁷⁷ Moreover, the slaughter of the

³⁷⁶ (2000: 43-51). The verb used for this form of "begging" is ἀγνοτάζω rather than αἰτίζω. Cf. Bulloch (1977: 108-12), who shows that Erysichthon becomes the type of beggar that Melanthius assumes Odysseus to be.

³⁷⁷ In the meantime, the suitors' behavior is evoked by the companions' slaughter of Helios' cows. On the thematic connection between the two groups, see, for example, de Jong (2001 on 12.260-425, 12.394-8). For a comparison of the companions and Erysichthon, see III.2.

animals is specifically linked to their failure to participate in the appropriate form of marriage exchange. Telemachus bemoans the suitors' refusal to bring bride-gifts to Penelope's father and instead eat up Odysseus' animals (2.50-8), and Penelope herself later criticizes the suitors' actions by detailing the appropriate behavior for suitors: bringing animals, providing a banquet, and giving gifts (18.276-80; cf. 17.532-7).

When speaking to Odysseus-Aithon, Penelope links the melting away of her heart and her longing for Odysseus' return to this destruction of the household, which is clearly identified as a violation of the aristocratic marriage norms (19.130-7). In this way, having, like the suitors, destroyed his own household and marriage prospects, Erysichthon fittingly melts like snow. At the same time, Erysichthon's fate, specifically his "cow-hunger," recalls that of the house-destroyers since they, too, inappropriately devour animals and become like oxen in their deaths.³⁷⁸

VI.3.2.2 Geographical and Meteorological Considerations

In addition to the economic consequences implied by the context of the simile, the details of the simile itself are also thematically relevant to the *Hymn to*

³⁷⁸ e.g. 22.297-301 (The suitors flee like cattle from Athena); 22.362-3 (Medon hides under a recently-flayed ox skin); 22.401-6 (After slaughtering the suitors, blood-smeared Odysseus is compared to a lion who has just fed on an ox in the farmstead).

Demeter. In particular, Callimachus may specifically allude to the meteorological occurrence of mountain snows melting into rivers, which results in the fertility of the soil.³⁷⁹ This phenomenon is well-attested of the Nile. In an Aeschylean fragment attributed to *Memnon*, the speaker identifies Ethiopian mountain snows that are melted by the sun as the origin of the abundant waters of the Nile and the fertile soil of Egypt, which “springs up life-bringing grain of Demeter” (fr. 126a/300?). This hypothesis is repeated at the opening of Euripides’ *Helen* (1-3) and *Archelaus* (fr. 228.2-5).³⁸⁰ The popularity of this view is clear from Herodotus’ rejection of it (2.22).³⁸¹ Callimachus’ inclusion of such a reference is more likely if we consider the exploration of the Nile in Ethiopia under Ptolemy II. In fact, in the *Idyll* thematically and aesthetically associated with the *Hymn to Demeter*, Theocritus may allude to the contemporary interest in the Nile’s sources: ἐν δὲ θέροι πυμάτοισι παρ’ Αἰθιόπεσσι νομεύοις/πέτρᾳ ὑπὸ Βλεμύων, ὅθεν οὐκέτι Νεῖλος ὁρατός, 7.113-4).³⁸² And in Callimachus’ *Victory of Sosibius*, the Nile itself says, “no mortal man knows whence I come,” (fr. 384.31-2 Pf.).

³⁷⁹ Cf. Thphr. CP 2.1.3, 3.23.4 on the benefits of melting snow for the soil.

³⁸⁰ According to D.S. 1.38, Euripides developed this view from his teacher Anaxagoras (cf. Anaxag. fr.90.8, 91.8). Like Hdt. (below), D.S. rejects the opinion.

³⁸¹ He also rejects two other (what he considers) less plausible opinions that the Etesian Winds cause the flooding of the Nile or that the ocean is the origin of the river (2.20-1).

³⁸² On the Theocritus passage, see Gow (1952 on 114) and Hunter (1999 *ad loc.*). See also D.S. 1.37, who dates the beginnings of accurate knowledge about Ethiopia to Philadelphus’ military expedition.

Thus, while the rivers overflowing from abundant snows in the Homeric simile represent, in part, Penelope's unrestrained emotional response to a story about her husband with whom she is about to reunite, the melting of Erysichthon is a direct result of his longing for food. In addition, the popular story about the fertility of Egypt, of which Callimachus was undoubtedly aware, is inverted in the hymn. Erysichthon's snow on Mimas does not melt into overflowing, grain-bringing rivers; rather, his melting is a reaction to his consumption of filthy rivers, i.e. endless animals and wine, described immediately before the simile (88-90).³⁸³

Fittingly, the absence of moisture bookends his punishment. In response to Erysichthon's blatant disregard of Nicippe's warning, Demeter reveals herself and addresses him as "dog, dog," (κύον κύον, 63). The anaphora recalls κύντατον ("hottest"), which refers to the year of famine-nearing drought brought by Demeter as she mourned for her daughter (*h.Cer.* 305-11), and foreshadows his punishment.³⁸⁴ Eventually, Erysichthon soaks up all the moisture: "his teeth dr[y]

For an overview of operations in and interactions with Ethiopia under Philadelphus and Euergetes III, see Snowden (1970: 107-8, 126-8; cf. 104 and 156 on the tragedians' comments on the origins of the Nile).

³⁸³ On the relationship of *Cer.* 88-90 to the Assyrian river at the end of *Ap.*, see V.2.1.4.2. On the negative connotations of Mimas, see V.2.2.2.

³⁸⁴ Hopkinson (1984 *ad loc.*), Ambühl (2005: 184). On the foil with fr. 75.4, see below.

up the deep household resources," ($\alpha\lambda\lambda'$ ὅκα τὸν βαθὺν οἴκον ἀνεξήραναν ὁδόντες, 113).³⁸⁵

The Homeric simile of melting of mountain snows recurs in not only the *Hymn to Demeter*, but also the description of the frustrated lover in Theocritus' *Thalysia*.³⁸⁶ The mountains and oak trees on the river Himera sing a dirge for the oxherd Daphnis who melts like snow under Haemus and other mountains on account of his love for Xenea (7.72-7).³⁸⁷ The (aforementioned) parallels between the melting of Daphnis and Erysichthon suggest a Callimachean twist on the lover's demise.³⁸⁸ Furthermore, much like the mountain snows that melt and bring fertility to Egypt's fields, in both Callimachus and Theocritus the melting snows give way to springtime. In the *Thalysia*, Comatas is fed by bees in a chest and works in the springtime (83-5), and in the *Hymn to Demeter*, the basket signals the coming

³⁸⁵ $\alpha\lambda\lambda'$ ἀνεξήραναν frequently refers to parched soil, e.g. *Il.* 21.343-9 (the plain parched after the dead are burned) and Thphr. *CP* 3.6.4. Cf. *Hdt.* 7.109.2 (pack animals dry up a large lake). For additional senses of this line, see Hopkinson (1984 *ad loc.*).

³⁸⁶ For these and later adaptations of the Homeric simile, see Hopkinson (1984 on 91). Both Q.S. 7.229-30 and [Sen.] *HO* 729-30 appear to combine the East wind from the Homeric simile and the sun from Call.

On the possibility that the image is mediated to Call. and Theoc. through Philitas' *Demeter*, which may have also included medical language, see Spanoudakis (2002: 299) and below.

³⁸⁷ ο δὲ Τίτυρος ἐγγύθεν ἀσεῖ/ώς ποκα τᾶς Ξενέας ἡράσσατο Δάφνις ο βούτας,/χώς ὄρος ἀμφεπονεῖτο καὶ ως δρύες αὐτὸν ἐθορήνευν/Ιμέρα αἵτε φύοντι παρ' ὄχθαισιν ποταμοῖο,/εὔτε χιῶν ως τις κατετάκετο μακρὸν ύψος Αἴμου/ἡ Ἀθω ἡ ρόδόπαν ἡ Καύκασον ἐσχατώντα.

³⁸⁸ Haemus and Athos are similar to Mimas in that they all double as giants and mountains, and, as seen above, Himera parallels Erysichthon's desire at *Cer.* 68. Cf. Q.S. 7.229-30 of Deidameia who melts away after her husband dies in battle.

The transition from melting snow to springtime with Comatas may also occur in *Cer.*

of Demeter and spring, followed by the other seasons (120-3).³⁸⁹ In both poets, this cycle of seasons is linked to the death and rebirth imagery in the Mysteries (in Call., particularly the divine child), and in Callimachus, as we will see in the next chapter, the seasons are linked to the same imagery in the exposure motif.³⁹⁰

VI.3.3 Erysichthon's Melting Disease: the Sixth Hymn and *Acontius and Cydippe*

The attendant details of the melting snow imply that Erysichthon suffers from a disease. In fact, it is possible that the poet is drawing on the physiological effects of gluttony. Aristotle, for example, describes how Dionysius' sudden break from overconsumption of wine causes him to waste away and the abundant residues in his body to melt like snow through the heat of digestion (*Pr.* 28.1).³⁹¹

At the same time, Callimachus alludes to corresponding symptoms in additional

³⁸⁹ On the Theocritean passage, so Berger (1984: 17): "Daphnis melting in desire (and swelling the flood) merges first with the river and then with the far-off snowy mountaintops, an image that not only fades him into the distance but also serves as a harbinger to the spring that blossoms in the story of Comatas." The enclosure of Comatas in a λάρναξ (cf. Perseus at Simon. fr. 271.1 Poltera) and his nourishment by bees (cf. Iamus at Pi. *O.* 6.44-7) evokes the exposure motif. See Hunter (1999 on 78-89) on the possible comparison between Comatas and Daphnis, who was exposed as an infant.

³⁹⁰ On the relationship between the exposure theme, the vegetative cycle, and the Mysteries, see App.5.2. In Erysichthon are the overlapping images of death/winter/exposure (without rescue or rebirth). On Erysichthon as a foil for the successful "rebirth" exposure story, which is possibly implied in the frame, see VII.3.1.

³⁹¹ On the technical details of the passage, see Centrone (2015: 322-3).

On Erysichthon's disease, see also Hopkinson (1984 on 92, 92-3) and Spanoudakis (2002: 299, 408).

texts concerning erotic desire, and, in doing so, underscores gluttony as an inversion of love. In these other texts, the snow simile is gone (although cf. πᾶσα...ἐψύχθην χιόνος πλέον, Theoc. 2.106), but the lover still melts as if from a disease. For example, in Theocritus' eleventh *Idyll*, Polyphemus wastes away (κατετάκετο) from a wound in his heart while singing about Galatea (13-6). This *Idyll* demonstrates the Hellenistic poets' interest in medicine and their interaction with doctors.³⁹² Theocritus addresses Nicias, who is both doctor and poet, and explains that the remedy (φάρμακον) for love is not a topical drug or magical ointment, but song (1-6).³⁹³ He then proceeds to narrate how Polyphemus discovered this remedy and poke fun at unnecessary doctors' fees (17-8, 80-1). Demonstrating his awareness of medical treatment for the disease of *eros*,³⁹⁴ Theocritus assumes the voice of the doctor. In epigram 46 (on which see below under children and food), which is in dialogue with the Polyphemus *Idyll* and a thematic inversion of the *Hymn to Demeter*, Callimachus also plays the poetic

³⁹² Philitas, Callimachus, Apollonius, and Theocritus all display their knowledge of contemporary medical discoveries. For examples and discussion concerning the topics of this study, see Oppermann (1925), Most (1981), Spanoudakis (2002: 236-8 with n83 for further bibliography), Lang (2009), and Rynearson (2009:357-62), Cairns (2016: 216-42).

³⁹³ Οὐδὲν ποττὸν ἔρωτα πεφύκει φάρμακον ἄλλο,/Νικία, οὐτ' ἐγχριστον, ἐμὶν δοκεῖ, οὐτ' ἐπίπαστον,/ἢ τὰὶ Πιερίδες· κοῦφον δέ τι τοῦτο καὶ ἀδύ/γίνετ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώποις, εὔρειν δ' οὐ ύπαριν
ἔστι./γινώσκειν δ' οἷμαί τυ καλῶς ἴατρὸν ἔόντα/καὶ ταῖς ἐννέα δὴ πεφιλημένον ἔξοχα Μοίσαις.

³⁹⁴ On *eros* as a disease, see the overview in Faraone (1999: esp. 43-9). Comparing the language of the *Idyll* to Sicilian amulets with inscribed incantations, Faraone (2006) argues that *pharmakon* refers not only to a medical remedy (an herbal application) to cure *eros*, but also a magical ointment to ward off the demonic Eros. On the complex relationship between medicine and magic, see also Faulkner (2011a: 181-2) and Rynearson (2009).

doctor by framing erotic desire as a medical illness. In doing so, he draws on previous literary examples, such as Plato and Sappho, while incorporating contemporary medical discoveries and discourses.³⁹⁵

That Erysichthon's disease should be construed as a variation on the erotic disease can be shown by its numerous parallels with *Acontius and Cydippe*, a tale of frustrated desire that is later resolved. In this fragmentary *aetion*, whose gaps are fortunately deducible thanks to Aristaenetus' summary, Acontius is pierced with Eros' arrow and subsequently falls in love with Cydippe after spotting her near the temple of Artemis at a festival of Apollo in Delos. According to Callimachus, Eros teaches Acontius the skill of love (fr. 67.1-3), which refers to the trick with the apple. Acontius tosses an apple, plucked from a grove of Aphrodite, with the inscription, "By Artemis I promise to marry Acontius," and when Cydippe, who is sitting in Artemis' sanctuary, reads the note, she is bound by the oath.³⁹⁶ However, her parents repeatedly attempt to marry her to other suitors, and Cydippe falls ill three times before her father Ceyx consults Apollo and learns that Artemis is angry about the violation of the oath. Ceyx returns home and marries

³⁹⁵ On the influence of Sappho (esp. 31 Voigt) and Euripides (*Hippolytus*), see e.g. Rynearson (2009: *passim*). On Plato's, see VI.5.

³⁹⁶ Many of these details are supplied from Aristaen. 1.10.24-40. In Call., the oath to Artemis survives in Apollo's oracle (fr. 75.22-9).

his daughter to Acontius, which results in the creation of the eponymous race, the Acontiads (fr. 75).

VI.3.3.1 The Complementary Roles of Artemis and Demeter

Verbal parallels underscore the ironic nature of Erysichthon's frustrated desire. As the boy Acontius "burn[s] for the beautiful maiden Cydippe," (καλῆ/ηθετο Κυδίπιπη παῖς ἐπὶ παρθενικῆ, fr. 67.1-2), Erysichthon burns for food (λιμόν/αἴθωνα, 66-7).³⁹⁷ As Cydippe suffers from a disease (νοῦσος, fr. 75.12) that causes her to become pale and waste away (ἡ τότ' ἀνιγρή/τὴν κούρην Α[ίδ]εω μέχρις ἔτηξε δόμων, fr. 75.14-5) and Acontius wastes away from desire (ἐκτακεὶς δὲ τὰ μέλη..., Aristaen. 1.10.51-2), Erysichthon "[is] afflicted with a great disease," (μεγάλα δ' ἐστρεύγετο νούσῳ, 67), i.e. the burning hunger, and wastes away to his skin and bones (ἔτι μέζον ἐτάκετο... 92-3).³⁹⁸

The thematic similarities between the two narratives are no less revealing. In both narratives, the youths offend a goddess and contract an illness that prevents attendance at wedding(s) (fr. 75.10-20; *Cer.* 77-82, cf. 85-6).³⁹⁹ As

³⁹⁷ Levaniouk (2000: 34n26) indirectly makes this connection.

³⁹⁸ Hopkinson (1984 on 92). Faulkner (2011b: 80-1) notes the verbal parallel between *Cer.* 92 and fr. 75.14-5 and suggests that this and other parallels (noted below) between the texts indicate that the hymn, just as the *action*, is Callimachus' response to the *Lyde*, the elegy written by his literary rival Antimachus. On Callimachus' reaction to the *Lyde* in *A&C*, see Cameron (1995: 303-7).

³⁹⁹ Faulkner (2011b: 79-80) briefly makes these connections in discussing Antimachus' *Lyde*.

Rynearson has shown, in *Acontius and Cydippe*, the diseases sent by Artemis imitate the effects of an erotic charm (here, the apple) which, much like the ineffective medicinal-magical *pharmakon* in Theocritus' eleventh *Idyll*, is a *pharmakon* that both generates sickness in Cydippe and cures Acontius of his lovesickness.⁴⁰⁰ Like a magical spell, the apple succeeds in transferring Acontius' symptoms to Cydippe (e.g. their melting, as described above), thereby doubling their experiences (e.g. their silence, as described below) and even their appearance (as beautiful stars, fr. 67.7-8).⁴⁰¹

The doubling of their symptoms, in particular, belongs to the realm of sympathetic magic, most famously depicted in Theocritus' second *Idyll* where the slighted Simaetha desires to reproduce her suffering in her beloved, e.g. melting ($\tauὸ δὲ κάλλος ἐτάκετο$, 83; cf. 29 below); she does so by casting a spell, which itself mirrors the desired effects e.g. melting of wax and of her beloved, ($ώς τοῦτον τὸν κηρὸν ἐγὼ σὺν δαίμονι τάκω, / ως τάκοιθ' ύπ' ἔρωτος οἱ Μύνδιος αὐτίκα Δέλφις$, 28-9).⁴⁰² Here, too, the trouble begins with Artemis, since Simaetha catches the erotic disease when she first sees her beloved at the goddess' festival (64-86). And

⁴⁰⁰ (2009: esp. 341-3). On apples in erotic spells, see Faraone (1999: 69-78).

⁴⁰¹ For these and other examples of the doubling, see Rynearson (2009: 347-51).

⁴⁰² Rynearson (2009: 351-5).

again Artemis participates in producing the sickness when Simaetha invokes Artemis-Hecate-Selene (10-6, 33-6) to carry out her magical requests.⁴⁰³

In these respects, the *Hymn to Demeter* may be regarded as a negative counterpart of *Acontius and Cydippe*, while three figures (Nemesis, Demeter, and Hecate) in the hymn may recall the role of Artemis, who is identified elsewhere with Nemesis, Hecate, and Selene and appears as a complement of Demeter in the third hymn. The apple and its attached note may correspond to Nemesis, who jots down Erysichthon's threatening speech to Demeter ($\varepsilon\bar{\iota}\pi\epsilon\nu \circ \pi\alpha\bar{\iota}\varsigma$, Νέμεσις δὲ κακὰν ἐγράψατο φωνάν, 56). The recordings of Nemesis, wittily identified with Artemis at *Dian.* 64 (οὐ νέμεσις),⁴⁰⁴ evoke the records of unjust deeds on Zeus' *deltos*, from which he doles out punishments (e.g. A. fr. 281a.21; E. fr. 506.1-4)⁴⁰⁵ and the *deltos* of the love-sick Phaedra, whose message results in the downfall of Hippolytus.⁴⁰⁶ Additionally, given the erotic overtones of the first part of the narrative, Demeter's subsequent curse may be interpreted as a spin on erotic sympathetic magic, for rather than suffering from an erotic disease, Erysichthon

⁴⁰³ On magic in *Id.* 2, esp. Artemis as magic goddess and Hecate-Selene-Artemis, see Petrovic (2007: 1-52, esp. 3-10).

⁴⁰⁴ With the pun at *Dian.* 64, Call. opposes little Artemis' bravery and the Oceanids' fear of the Cyclopes.

⁴⁰⁵ See Hopkinson (1984 *ad loc.*) for further examples and details.

⁴⁰⁶ Rynearson (2009: 356-7) argues that Phaedra's *deltos* is the "tragic analogue" of the apple, since "like Acontius' apple, the *deltos* resembles both a curse tablet and a binding erotic spell, of which the curse is the negative mirror image." On the resemblance between the erotic spell and curse, see Faraone (1999: esp. 49-55).

becomes parched and thirsty as if contracting an extreme version of Demeter's physical state while she mourned her daughter (*Cer.* 16). Furthermore, Erysichthon's melting like a wax doll may allude to an erotic magic ritual, such as that employed with divine assistance by Simaetha against her beloved (Theoc. 2.28-9; cf. S. as a doll at 110).⁴⁰⁷

Finally, while a "tender-hearted" Hecate in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* assists the goddess in her search for Persephone (24, 51-8, 438-40), in Callimachus' hymn a grim Hecate indirectly participates in punishing Erysichthon when he sits at the crossroads (*ἐν τοιόδοισι*) begging for garbage cast out from feasts (114-5). At the crossroads, purification offerings were cast out (and were often eaten by beggars), dogs were sacrificed, and cakes were offered at the new moon for Hecate, who in these capacities is associated with Artemis and Selene.⁴⁰⁸ Rather than invoking this goddess in a magic ritual, as Simaetha invokes Artemis-Hecate-Selene in her curse against her lover (Theoc. 2. 10-6, 33-6),⁴⁰⁹ Demeter's "magical" curse transforms Erysichthon into the beggar who eats Hecate's cast-outs at the

⁴⁰⁷ So Gow (1952 on 110), Hopkinson (1984 on 91), and Stephens (2015 on 91), who also suggests the possibility that the image refers to a similar kind of sympathetic ritual—the violator, along with his offspring and possessions melt like the wax—described in the Cyrene Foundation Decree, on which see Faraone (1993).

⁴⁰⁸ See esp. Ar. *Pl.* 594-7 and Σ Ar. *Pl.* 594, noted also by Hopkinson (1984 on 114). For Hecate and dog sacrifices, see Theoc. 2.12 with Gow (1952 *ad loc.* for further passages).

⁴⁰⁹ Cf. A.R. 3.477-8, 528-33, 1029-41 for similar connections between Hecate and drugs, magic, and the moon.

crossroads and, at the same time, into the thing cast-out, whether a dog or an exposed infant or aborted fetus. In this latter respect, three *kourotrophic* deities—Demeter, Artemis, and Hecate—team up against Erysichthon.⁴¹⁰

The complementary roles of Artemis and Demeter as bringers of disease can be situated in the pairing of *loimos* and *limos* in Greek thought. They are first paired in Hesiod's *Works and Days*. Following a description of rewards for the just and straight-judging, such as agricultural fertility and a lack of famine (225-37), we learn about punishments allotted by Zeus “for those whom evil hubris and wicked deeds are a concern” (οἵς δ' ὑβρις τε μέμηλε κακὴ καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα) and punishments for an entire city on account of the bad behavior of one man (238-41). Hesiod goes on to detail these punishments (242-5):

τοῖσιν δ' οὐρανόθεν μέγ' ἐπήγαγε πῆμα Κρονίων,
λιμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ λοιμόν· ἀποφθινύθουσι δὲ λαοί
οὐδὲ γυναικες τίκτουσιν, μινύθουσι δὲ οἴκοι

245 Ζηνὸς φραδμοσύνησιν Όλυμπίου

And upon them down from the sky the son of Cronus brings great miseries

⁴¹⁰ Hecate *kourotrophos* (Hes. *Th.* 450; A.R. 3.861); Artemis *kourotrophos* (D.S. 5.73.5-6) because she discovered how to heal small children and the foods suitable for infants. While the term *kourotropos* is not used, the two goddesses are combined in this role as they watch over women giving birth (Ἄρτεμιν δ' ἐκάταν γυναι-κῶν λόχους ἐφορεύειν, A. *Supp.* 676-7).

Famine paired with pestilence. And the people perish.

The women do not give birth, and the households diminish by Olympian
Zeus' plans.

Herodotus also pairs *loimos* and *limos* as the cause of Crete's desolation after the
two afflict the Cretans and their flocks and herds (7.171.2).⁴¹¹

Callimachus assigns to Artemis and Demeter the power over these twin
afflictions, which lead to similar outcomes. That this is the case can be confirmed
by the verbal echoes between their two hymns. In the *Hymn to Artemis*,
Callimachus promotes Artemis to city goddess so that she is no longer only a
mistress of beasts (33-5).⁴¹² She begins by shooting at an elm, an oak, and a wild
animal before directing her arrow towards an unjust city (122-8):

ἀλλά τμιν εἰς ἀδίκων ἔβαλες πόλιν, οἴ τε περὶ σφέας

οἴ τε περὶ ξείνους ἀλιτήμονα πολλὰ τέλεσκον.

σχέτλιοι, οῖς τύνη χαλεπὴν ἐμμάξεαι ὄργήν.

125 κτήνεά φιν λοιμὸς καταβόσκεται, ἔργα δὲ πάχνη,

κείρονται δὲ γέροντες ἐφ' υἱάσιν, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες

ἢ βληταὶ θνήσκουσι λεχωῖδες ἢ ἐ φυγοῦσαι

τίκτουσιν τῶν οὐδὲν ἐπὶ σφυρὸν ὁρθὸν ἀνέστη.

⁴¹¹ Cf. the argument ensuing over whether *loimos* or *limos* appeared in a verse foretelling the Athenian plague (Th. 2.54.2-3).

⁴¹² On this transformation, see e.g. Petrovic (2007: 197-21).

But you shot into a city of the unjust, who to themselves
And to strangers did many wicked things.
Miserable ones, against whom you would inflict your harsh wrath.
Upon their herds and flocks pestilence feeds, upon their cultivated lands,
frost,
And old men cut their hair in mourning for their sons, and the women
Either die stricken in childbirth or, if they have escaped that,
Give birth to children of whom not one stands up on a straight ankle.

Callimachus here reassigned the roles of two different gods. On the one hand, Artemis adopts her brother's role as sender of *loimos* in the *Iliad* (1.61),⁴¹³ and on the other, she bears the responsibility given to Zeus in Hesiod's *Works and Days* (225-47).⁴¹⁴

Callimachus reworks the same motifs in his *Hymn to Demeter*, as if providing a specific example of the injustice described in Hesiod and his *Hymn to Artemis*. Erysichthon's hubris, like the unjust city, leads to divine wrath (41, 57), but instead of sending *loimos*, Demeter sends *limos* (66-8):

αὐτίκα οἱ χαλεπόν τε καὶ ἀγριον ἔμβαλε λιμόν

⁴¹³ On the reworking of the beginning of the *Iliad*, see Stephens (2015 on 117-21, 120-21, 125).

⁴¹⁴ She both punishes the unjust and rewards the just (121-35).

αἱθωνα κρατερόν, μεγάλα δ' ἐστρεύγετο νούσω.

σχέτλιος, ὅσσα πάσαιτο τόσων ἔχεν ἵμερος αὐτις.

Immediately on him she cast a harsh and savage hunger

Burning and strong, and he was distressed by a great disease.

Miserable one, as much as he ate, the desire for as much again lay hold of him.

Yet this *limos* mimics *loimos* in its destruction of the entire household on account of the hubris of one man, as in Hesiod. Like the *loimos* feeding on herds, Erysichthon feeds on his family's livestock (cf. *βόσκε*, 104). Erysichthon's depletion of the animals and destruction of the household inverts not only the image of plenty in the frame of the *Hymn to Demeter*, but also the results of Artemis' favor: much corn, numerous animals, a full house, long lives (129-32).⁴¹⁵

The result is the same in both hymns. The old men's mourning for their sons (*Dian.* 126) becomes exemplified by Triopas throwing his hands on his grey hairs over Erysichthon's inevitable fate (καὶ δ' αὐτὸς Τριόπας πολιαῖς ἐπὶ χεῖρας

⁴¹⁵ Verbal echoes occur also here. For example, as noted also by Stephens (2015 on *Dian.* 130), both goddesses bring corn: φέρει στάχυν, *Dian.* 130; φέρει στάχυν, *Cer.* 136. Erysichthon eats the four-footed beasts which increase under Artemis' favor (τετραπόδων in the same position at *Dian.* 131 and *Cer.* 106). The household increase (εὖ δ' οἶκος ἀξέεται, *Dian.* 131) is decreased (οἶκον ἀνεξήρανταν ὄδόντες, *Cer.* 113). Cf. as also noted by Stephens (2015 on *Dian.* 132 and *Del.* 282), the long life of Teiresias (Erysichthon's foil) and those favored by Artemis (πολυχρόνιόν: *Dian.* 132; *Lav. Pall.* 128).

ξβαλλε, 96). Moreover, the punishments of both *kourotrophic* goddesses harm children. Artemis' striking down of women in childbirth is echoed by Triopas' unfulfilled wish that Erysichthon be struck down by Apollo (*αἱθε γὰρ αὐτόν/ βλητὸν ύπ’ Απόλλωνος ἐμαὶ χέρες ἐκτερέιξαν*, 100-1).⁴¹⁶ As we will see in VII.4, the death of the women and the crippling of children are paralleled by the images of abortion and exposure evoked here.

VI.3.3.2 Apollo and Demeter as Foils

Acontius and Cydippe's disengagement from social obligations, in which they were previously involved (67.5-22ish), is accompanied by shame and silence. Aristaenetus' account reveals that Acontius is ashamed to cry during the day and avoids his father by fabricating reasons to visit the countryside (1.10.48-54). Acontius' shame is mirrored by Cydippe's concealment of the oath through silence.⁴¹⁷ However, Cydippe's silence is broken when her father consults Apollo. The role of Apollo is key here. Apollo's "diagnosis" reflects his role as healer (*Ap.* 45-6), while his role as the god of poetry returns speech to Cydippe and allows the couple to pass into adulthood through marriage, the cure for the couple's erotic

⁴¹⁶ The verbal echo is noted by Stephens (2015 on *Dian.* 127; *Cer.* 101). On the medical aspect of the term, see VII.4.

⁴¹⁷ On the doubling of their silence and/or shame, see Rynearson (2009: 350, cf. 346).

disease.⁴¹⁸ Moreover, Apollo acts in his capacity as colonizer, since his response results in the foundation of an eponymous race. The increase in the house represents political stability, which, in accordance with Ptolemaic ideology, is also dependent on the couple's love.⁴¹⁹

The inverse situation occurs in the *Hymn to Demeter*, where social activities are also an important component of Erysichthon's upbringing. Again, separation from these obligations is accompanied by shame and silence. In the hymn, however, the *parents* are ashamed of their child and actively *prevent* his marriage with their excuses (*αἰδόμενοι γονέες, προχάνα δ' εὐρίσκετο πᾶσα*, 73), while Erysichthon is silenced and separated from society not by the erotic disease, but by insatiable hunger. Notably and ironically, speech—more specifically, eloquent speech—is necessary for attendance at the first events to which Erysichthon's parents refuse to send their son: *οὐτε νιν εἰς ἐράνως οὐτε ξυνδείπνια πέμπον*, 72.⁴²⁰ At the end of the hymn, a speechless Erysichthon lands at the crossroads, where he accepts filthy scraps from feasts (*αἰτίζων ἀκόλως τε καὶ ἔκβολα λύματα δαιτός*, 115), which recall the Muse-less feasts that Erysichthon

⁴¹⁸ Similarly, Rynearson (2009: 347, 349, 361-2), less the coming-of-age aspects.

⁴¹⁹ On this theme in *Aetia* 3 and 4 and its relevance to the Ptolemies, see Harder (2012: 2.544-5).

⁴²⁰ σύνδειπνον- «a together meal» used of the feast at Pl. *Sym.* 172b and used by Lysias instead of symposium, according to Ath. 8.365b (= Lys. fr. 66). For Callimachus' variation on the word, see Hopkinson (1984 on 72). ἐράνως, at, for example, *Od.* 1.226 and 11.415, in both cases together with two other kinds of feasts (*γάμος* and *εἰλαπίνη*), to which Erysichthon is also invited (78, 84). Beekes (2010) defines it as “meal on joint account, meal of friends.”

inappropriately wanted to provide for his companions (έταῖροι) in a hall built exclusively for excessive eating (ταῦτα δ' ἐμὸν θησεῖ στεγανὸν δόμον, ω̄ ενὶ δαῖτας/ αἰὲν ἐμοῖς ἔταροισιν ἀδην θυμαρέας ἀξω̄.'54-5).

The realm of speech and poetry, which accompanied the banquet and was associated with initiation into adulthood and society,⁴²¹ belongs to Apollo. As we have already seen in the fifth hymn, Athena's prophetic abilities and the vision which she bestows on Teiresias, who becomes πεπνυμένος, echoes Apollo's prophecy in *Acontius and Cydippe*.⁴²² In the second hymn, speech is no less significant to the youth's development and is harmonized through the accompaniment of Apollo's instrument. Gifted to Apollo by Hermes, the lyre, in particular, as Johnston has shown in her analysis of the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, is appropriate for Apollo, the god of "vocal skills" and for skillful poets because it allows them to speak/sing.⁴²³ Following Bremmer, Johnston also stresses the importance of the lyre for young men at the symposium because it was used to accompany songs about "the deeds of mythical and historical heroes, examples

⁴²¹ See also under the introduction.

⁴²² On πεπνυμένος as an indication of Teiresias' maturation through the acquisition of speech, see II.4.3.

⁴²³ (2003: 164): "The lyre, then, is an instrument associated with speech, and for those who know how to play it properly, with significant speech. In contrast, the new instrument that Hermes invents to replace his lyre, the syrinx, not only is not credited with the power to 'speak' itself but by its very nature as a wind instrument prevents the man who plays it from speaking, either."

that they should look up to in their own life.”⁴²⁴ While the context is not a symposium, but ritual praise in honor of Apollo, the lyre as an accompaniment of speech and maturation is clearly outlined by Callimachus himself at the approach of the god (8-16):

οἱ δὲ νέοι μολπήν τε καὶ ἐς χορὸν ἐντύνασθε.
ώπόλλων οὐ παντὶ φαείνεται, ἀλλ' ὅτις ἐσθλός
10 ὁς μιν ἴδη, μέγας οὗτος, ὃς οὐκ ἴδε, λιτὸς ἐκεῖνος.
 ὁψόμεθ', ὡς Ἐκάεργε, καὶ ἐσσόμεθ' οὕποτε λιτοί.
 μήτε σιωπηλὴν κίθαριν μήτ' ἄψιφον ἵχνος
 τοῦ Φοίβου τοὺς παῖδας ἔχειν ἐπιδημήσαντος,
 εἰ τελέειν μέλλουσι γάμον πολιτήν τε κερεῖσθαι,
15 ἐστήξειν δὲ τὸ τεῖχος ἐπ' ἀρχαίοισι θεμέθλοις.
 ἡγασάμην τοὺς παῖδας, ἐπεὶ χέλυς οὐκέτ' ἀεργός.

Young men, get ready for the song and the dance.

Apollo does not shine upon all, but whoever is good.

Whoever sees him, this man is great; whoever does not, that one is insignificant.

⁴²⁴ Johnston (2003: 167) quoting Bremmer (1990: 138).

We will see you, O far-working one, and we will never be insignificant.

The young men should keep neither the cithara silent

nor the foot noiseless while Apollo is around,

if they are going to celebrate a marriage or cut off

and if the city is going to stand firm upon its ancient foundations.

I admire the boys, since the tortoise shell is no longer lazy.

With χέλυς, the poet alludes to the origins of the lyre while stressing its original silence (ἀεγρός).⁴²⁵ Although an invention originally played by Hermes (*H. Herm.* 39-61)⁴²⁶, the lyre becomes Apollo's *timē* because of his beautiful speech (*H. Herm.* 478-9). As he hands it over, Hermes instructs Apollo to bring the lyre to the feast (δαῖτα θάλειαν), dance (χορὸν ἴμερόεντα), and revel (φιλοκυδέα κῶμον) (480-2). In the hymn, the youths are instructed to prepare for song (and dance) (8), and the sound of the lyre (and movement of foot) (12) is a requirement for marriage and long life, from which the third Hesiodic condition logically follows: the success of the city.

⁴²⁵ On the paradox of the voiceless, living vs. tuneful, dead tortoise, see Stephens (2015) and Williams (1978) on line 16. Williams observes that Callimachus adds to the paradox with ἀεργός («not working»). The tortoise is no longer lazy with its new job.

⁴²⁶ Check and cf. lines 54-6. Λίκνον at HHH 21 (with Richardson) and H1.47-8 and H6.126 (with commentaries). Incorporate into the section on the frame: double meaning of baskets carried in procession for Demeter and cradle.

As the *Hymn to Apollo* demonstrates, the god's presence or approval is crucial to the health and maturation of the youth. *Acontius and Cydippe* is one such example of the god's involvement. In this way, the love story directly opposes the narrative in the *Hymn to Demeter*. Triopas' desire that Apollo shoot down his son is a verbal inversion of Apollo's warding off of disease (*Cer. Ap.*). Whereas Apollo's intervention prevents Cydippe's death, his notable absence in the *Hymn to Demeter* demonstrates that Erysichthon's strange love of food is a sickness beyond healing. At the same time, as a representative of the wrong kind of poetics, Erysichthon is deprived of speech, which, from a sociological perspective, parallels his failure to cross over into adulthood and enter into the aristocratic community. Rather, Erysichthon's exposure, unlike those under the protection of Apollo in the literary tradition, especially those of Iamus and Ion which result in an eponymous race (App. 3.2, 5.4; cf. 5.6.4, 5.7.4), precludes the production of offspring. Reversing the message of *Acontius and Cydippe*, the destruction of the household signifies political instability (or threats to the Ptolemies and their propaganda to present themselves as if an eponymous race).

These shortcomings, in turn, correlate with the sphere of Demeter, as the growth or depletion of the household is linked to agricultural fertility. In the love story, the creation of the Acontiads is closely linked with vegetative fertility. Apollo assures Ceyx that Acontius is a quality husband since he is descended from

the priests of Zeus Aristaeus the Icmian; he goes on to describe the Cean festival in which the priests avert summer's dangerous, hottest days, associated with the July rising of the dog-star (Sirius)—referred to as “grievous Maera,” $\chi\alpha\lambda[\varepsilon]\pi\eta\nu$ Μαῖον—by sacrificing on the mountain-tops just before the star's rising and to Zeus, who sends the cooling Etesian Winds (fr. 75.32-7).⁴²⁷ This account suggests that the *Abbruchsformel* at fr. 75.4-9, in which the poet chastises himself with “dog, dog,” (κύον, κύον) for his garrulity and refrains from telling some sort of unsuitable or trite tale about Hera, equates the wrong kind of poetics with agricultural infertility. A line of this self-rebuke has been established as metrically and metapoetically parallel with Demeter's reprimanding of Erysichthon (“Ηρην γάρ κοτέ φασι— κύον, κύον, ἵσχεο, λαιδόε/ θυμέ...fr. 75.4-5; ναὶ ναί, τεύχεο δῶμα, κύον κύον, ώ ἔνι δαῖτας/ ποιησεῖς, Cer. 63-4), a correspondence strengthened by the poet's expression of gratitude that he never witnessed the rites of the two goddesses (fr. 75.6-7).⁴²⁸ Now even another link can be established. As

⁴²⁷ On the Cean ritual, see Burkert (esp. 109-11) and Harder (2012 *ad loc.*). For the related sacrificial rituals and myths, some of which are told by Callimachus (e.g. Actaeon at *Lav. Pall.* 107-18 and Linus at frr. 25e-f, 26, 30), see Burkert (1983: 83-134). The sacrifice or exposure of a *brepbos* appears in at least two of these myths (Thyestes and Harpagus) and may occur in Callimachus' treatment of the Linus myth (see under *brepbos*). In this light, the exposure/sacrifice of Erysichthon the *brepbos*, who is connected to the dog-star, may echo this kind of ritual.

⁴²⁸ The connection, made by Durbec (2005) and followed by e.g. Faulkner (2011b: 79), depends on the metapoetic interpretations of e.g. Müller (1987) and Murray (2004). Others read the *Abbruchsformel*, particularly the story about Hera (and possibly her relationship with Zeus), as Callimachus' response to a distasteful poem by Sotades. On this interpretation, see the summaries of scholarship by Durbec (2005) and Harder (2012 on 75,4).

mentioned above, “dog, dog” in the *Hymn to Demeter* equates Erysichthon with the heat and drought that accompanies the rising of the dog-star; accordingly, he withers away from his “grievous hunger,” (χαλεπόν...λιμόν, 66). At the conclusion of the hymn, the ritual participants, celebrating agricultural fertility, keep their distance from this dog, whose exposure at the crossroads has sacrificial overtones.⁴²⁹

VI.4 Fertility in the *Hymn to Apollo* and Infertility in the *Hymn to Demeter*

VI.4.1 Apollo Nomius

The dependence of the youth and the city on the presence and guidance of Apollo is expanded in the *Hymn to Apollo* to the pastoral domain (*Ap.* 47-54):

Φοῖβον καὶ Νόμιον κικλήσκομεν ἐξέτι κείνου,
ἐξότ’ ἐπ’ Αμφρυσσῶ ζευγίτιδας ἔτρεφεν ἵππους
ἡιθεόν ύπ’ ἔρωτι κεκαυμένος Ἀδμήτοιο.

ὅεῖα κε βουβόσιον τελέθοι πλεόν, οὐδέ κεν αἴγες
δεύοιντο βρεφέων ἐπιμηλάδες ἥδιν Ἀπόλλων

βισκομένησ’ ὀφθαλμὸν ἐπήγαγεν: οὐδ’ ἀγάλακτες

⁴²⁹ On Erysichthon as sacrifice or *pharmakos*, see VII.5.

οὐες οὐδ' ἄκυθοι, πᾶσαι δε κεν εἶεν ὑπαρχοι,
η δέ κε **μουνοτόκος διδυμητόκος αἴψα γένοιτο.**

We call him Phoebus and Nomius ever since the time when,

By the Amphrysus he reared the horses yoked in pairs

On fire from his desire for the youth Admetus.

Easily would the herd of cattle multiply, nor would the she-goats

Pastured with the sheep lack offspring upon which

Apollo set his gaze while they grazed: neither milk-less

Nor infertile would the ewes be, but all would be suckling lambs

And she with one offspring would quickly become a mother of twins.

The reverse image appears in the *Hymn to Demeter* (99-104):

...αὐτὰρ ἐμεῖο

100 τοῦτο τὸ δείλαιον γένετο **βρέφος.** αἴθε γὰρ αὐτόν

βλητὸν ύπ' **Απόλλωνος** ἐμαὶ χέρες ἐκτερέϊξαν.

νῦν δὲ **κακὰ βούβρωστις** ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι κάθηται.

ἢ οἱ ἀπόστασον χαλεπὰν νόσον ἡέ νιν αὐτός

βόσκε λαβάν.

...and if this wretched offspring is mine.

If only, stricken by Apollo, my hands had buried him.

But now evil ox-hunger sits in his eyes.

Either remove from him this grievous sickness, or take him and
you yourself feed him.

The increase in cattle (*βούβόσιον*) under Apollo and the god's favorable eye (*όφθαλμὸν*) on grazing (*βοσκομένησ'*) animals is contrasted by the absence of Apollo and the cow disease (*βούβωστις*) that sits in Erysichthon's eyes (*ἐν οφθαλμοῖσι*), which requires that he be fed like an animal (*βόσκε*). The goats' multiple offspring (*βοεφέων*) and the twin births (*διδυμητόκος*) correspond negatively to the one offspring (*βοέφος*) which echoes the lion cub (*ώμοτόκος*). From a metapoetic standpoint, the fertility of animals under Apollo Nomios aligns with Callimachus' poetic production. In the epilogue to his *Aetia* (fr. 112.5-6 Pf.), Callimachus concludes the meeting, initiated in the *Somnium* (fr. 2.1-2 Pf.), between the Muses and the poet-shepherd as he tends sheep near the Hippocrene.⁴³⁰ The poet then introduces a new work: "however, I will proceed to the prosaic pasture of the Muses," (*ἀντὰρ ἐγὼ Μουσέων πεζὸν [ξ]πειμι νομόν,* fr. 112.9 Pf.).⁴³¹

⁴³⁰ fr. 112.5-6: *κείν . . τῷ Μοῦσαι πολλὰ νέμοντι βοτά/σὺν μύθους ἐβάλοντο παρ' ἵχν[ι]ον ὁξέος ἕππου*

fr. 2.1-2: *ποιμένι μῆλα νέμοντι παρ' ἵχνιον ὁξέος ἕππου/Ησιόδιω Μουσέων ἐσμόις ὅτ' ἥντιασεν*

On the quotation of and variation on the *Somnium* in the epilogue and the reliance on Hes. *Th.*, see Massimilla (1996 *ad* 4.1s., 1 and 2010 *ad* 215.5s.) and Harder (2012 *ad* 2 and 112.5-6).

⁴³¹ On the pasture metaphor in Greek and Latin poetry as well as a summary and bibliography on the chronological issues of the epilogue and the question of the subsequent work and genre see Massimilla (2010 *ad* 215.9) Harder (2012 *ad* 112.9).

Therefore, Erysichthon, as the marauding, wild enemy of these kinds of animals, metapoetically poses a threat to the Callimachean aesthetic. Accordingly, his punishment precludes his ability to produce offspring, i.e. good poetry, in the absence of any divine protection and becomes a garbage (i.e. inferior poetics)-gobbling *brepbos*.

The antithetical relationship between the two passages cited above also depends on post-Homeric poets. Apollo's title, "Nomios," derives from Pi. *P.* 9.59-62 (**App. 3.3**), where Chiron prophesies to Apollo his marriage to Cyrene and the birth of a βρέφος ("infant"), whom Hermes will carry to the Horai and Gaia so that they can drip nectar and ambrosia on his lips to make him immortal.⁴³² Chiron then foretells that the βρέφος will be "a Zeus or holy Apollo, a delight to men who are dear [to him] and a nearest overseer of sheep," (Ζῆνα καὶ ἀγνὸν Απόλλων', ἀνδράσι χάρμα φίλοις/ ἄγχιστον ὄπαονα μήλων) and be known as "Agreus ['hunter'] and Nomius ['shepherd'], and to others, Aristaeus," (Αγρέα καὶ Νόμιον, τοῖς δ' Αρισταῖον καλεῖν). Apollonius incorporates the story into the *aition* of the heat-relieving Etesian winds sent by Zeus, but does not alter Aristaeus' titles (Αγρέα καὶ Νόμιον) and maintains the connection to Apollo (his father) and Zeus (Icmæus, "Of Rain"), to whom Aristaeus constructs an altar and performs sacrifices (2.498-

⁴³² Aristaeus is also attested at fr. 251 (=Servius on Virgil *Georgic* 1.14). Servius also reports that Hesiod calls Aristaeus a "pastoral Apollo" (=fr.216, cf. 217).

527). Callimachus, on the other hand, does away with the notion of Apollo as Agreus and grants the role solely to Artemis (*Ap.* 60-1; *Dian.* 80-109).⁴³³ He also skips the story of the birth of Aristaeus, who appears instead as Icmian Zeus Aristaeus (whose priests are the ancestors of Acontius) in Apollo's reply to Cydippe's father (fr. 75.32-4 Pf.), and shifting Apollo's marriage to Cyrene, inserts his homoerotic relationship with Admetus.

Through the literary allusion to Aristaeus Nomius, Callimachus highlights the importance of the title to Cyrene, but here connects it to Apollo, whose Νόμιος cult is otherwise attested elsewhere, e.g. in Epirus (A.R. 4.1218) and Patrae.⁴³⁴ This emphasis on Apollo's pastoral role and the rare, novel, and technical words in this section may owe something to Philitas' *Demeter* which may have included Chalcon's flocks on Cos where Demeter was also worshipped as a pastoral goddess.⁴³⁵ For instance, the "under-lambs" (ὑπαρκονται) is perhaps borrowed from Philitas, and μουνοτόκος may be influenced by an attribute of Demeter and her

⁴³³ Cf. Heracles' request at A. fr. 200 (ἀγρεὺς δ' Απόλλων ὁρθὸν ιθύνοι βέλος), and Herod. 3.34 (Ἀπολλον . Ἀγρεῦ . . .), part of a lost tragic speech. On these and other instances of the title, including a dedication on a temple at Megara (ἀγροτέραν Ἀρτεμίν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα ἀγραῖον), see Headlam and Knox (1979 *ad* 34).

While Apollo still kills (κατήναρες) the Python (*Ap.* 97-104), the tale is related more so as an aition of the paean cry. Artemis, on the other hand, does the hunting for Apollo's horned altar (Ἀρτεμίς ἀγρώσσουσα, *Ap.* 60; cf. e.g. θηρίον ἀγρεύσω, *Dian.* 85).

On the relationship between Artemis the hunter and the sixth hymn, see below. On the possible influence of Artemis on Apollo Agreus and this title in cult, see *s.v.* "Apollon" in R.E. 10.55-65 (=III.5).

⁴³⁴ On the Apollo-Nomius cult and Nomius in Callimachus, see Williams (1971: 141; 1978 *ad* 47).

⁴³⁵ Spanoudakis (2002: 283-5 and *ad* fr. 17)

daughter. A technical term in Aristotle (e.g. *HA* 576a1, *GA* 772b2) of animals who give birth to one offspring at a time, μοννοτόκος is strange for a lamb, which typically bears multiple offspring (*HA* 573b19). Thus, as Spanoudakis suggests, Callimachus may use the term as a “witty alternative” to μοννογόνη (“only born”), used of Persephone (e.g. Opp. *Hal.* 3.488-9; cf. Ποωτογόνη at *Paus.* 1.31.4) and Demeter (Orph. *Hy.* 40.16), whom Claudian (*RP* 1.123-6) even calls barren after the birth of Persephone.⁴³⁶ If so, Callimachus perhaps “one-ups” Philitas here by turning the birth of a single lamb (μοννοτόκος) into the birth of twins (διδυμητόκος).

The image of fertility in the *Hymn to Apollo* is diametrically opposed by the endangered cub and the single offspring in the *Hymn to Demeter*. Erysichthon as *brephos* is no Aristaeus receiving nectar from the Horai nor is he Demophoon, whom Demeter attempts to immortalize,⁴³⁷ nor is he the young of a domesticated animal guarded by Apollo. Rather, he is some ambiguous amalgamation of human and wild animal. By contrast, the *Hymn to Apollo* presents a clear distinction between human and animal. One may compare the roles of Apollo and Athena in the *Oresteia* (App. 5.3). One way that the confusion of animal and human at the beginning of the *Oresteia* is resolved is through the transformation of the Furies

⁴³⁶ 2002: 283-4.

⁴³⁷ Commenting on Aristaeus in P. *Pi.* 9, Carey (1981 ad 65) cites Demophoon as a similar figure. On Demophoon as a foil for Erysichthon, see Ambühl (2005: 187-91).

into the Eumenides. When they approach Apollo's temple at Delphi, the god shoos them away and tells them that their "feast" (*έορτής*, *Eu.* 191) includes such things as horrific punishments and the destruction of young men's virility (185-9). Apollo continues that they "should live in a cave of a blood-drinking lion" rather than spreading pollution and compares them to goats without a herdsman, a kind of flock unloved by the gods (193-7). By the end of the trilogy, however, these creatures become guardians of fertility who pray that, among other things, a plague (*νόσος*) not destroy their fruit and that "the earth nourish flourishing flocks with double offspring" (938-48). At the same time, ruinous beasts are replaced by domesticated animals.

A very similar set of images is applied to the *Hymn to Apollo* which depicts Cyrene overcoming a destructive lion and Apollo overseeing domesticated animals. Furthermore, as we have seen, in the same hymn and separate from his oversight of animals, Apollo oversees the maturation of youths (12-6). This is not the case with Demeter, whose punishment turns the giant-like youth Erysichthon into a *brephos* that is ambiguously neither human nor animal. This human-animal confusion of *brephos* in the *Hymn to Demeter* may have been suggested by and deliberately contrasted to a scene in Philitas' *Demeter* where the goddess may have

demonstrated her healing powers by curing a child bitten by a lizard.⁴³⁸ If so, Demeter's transformation of the naughty boy Ascalabus into a gecko, because he laughed at the thirsty goddess who drained her drink in one go and called her greedy in later poets (Nic. *Heter.* Fr. 56, *Ther.* 484-5; Ov. *Met.* 5.446-61) may be influenced by Philitas and Callimachus.

VI.4.2 The Chariot Race (see App. 2; cf. App. 4)

The themes in these passages become even more complex through the poet's absorption of the chariot race from the twenty-third book of the *Iliad* into his pastoral image: ἀτὰρ αὖ τῷ δευτέρῳ ἵππον ἔθηκεν/έξέτε' ἀδμήτην βρέφος ήμίονον κυέουσαν, *Il.* 23.264-5. *Brephos* is securely attested of an animal only in Homer in the chariot race,⁴³⁹ which underlines the main issues in the epic, and does

⁴³⁸ See Spanoudakis (2002: 47, 189, 236-7, 263, 408) for this possibility, suggested by, on the one hand, other texts (e.g. the lizard at Theoc. 7.22 and a verbal echo at Theoc. 7.147 and Call. fr. 33 Pf.) and, on the other, the healing capabilities of the goddess, which may have been Demeter's responsibility on Cos (whence the Alexandrian interest in medicine). Spanoudakis (47, 263, 408) suggests that the presence of this child may have influenced children as poetic metaphors and may "lie in *oppositio* behind the poetological metaphor of the omnivorous 'infant' Erysichthon." For further discussion of medicine in Callimachus and its relevance to Erysichthon, see VII.4.

⁴³⁹ Callimachus' use of such Homeric words is perhaps best described by Acosta-Hughes and Stephens (2012: 19): "Homer's language had become an object of study that reified it as alien, although such intense scrutiny may have led to a heightened awareness of its potential for poetic expressiveness. The more rare or strange the word, the more likely it was to conjure up specific Homeric moments, and hence allow the later philosopher or poet to embed the word in his own text as an emotional shorthand." This is especially true for *Cer.*, as, for example, van Tress (2004: 171) notes: "With the 'unepic' and 'unheroic' social comedy of the Erysichthon story Callimachus has created a constantly shifting mosaic of allusions, almost all of which are lexically based references to Homer's epics."

not reappear strictly in this sense until Callimachus, who, as already mentioned, does away with the *brehos* Aristaeus and places the animal *brehos*, along with the horse, under Apollo's watchful gaze. That Callimachus has the *Iliad* and the mule *brehos* from the chariot race in mind is further suggested by Apollo's tending of horses rather than the cows of later traditions (e.g. E. *Alc.* 8).⁴⁴⁰ Furthermore, Apollo's servitude under Admetus and the punning on his name in Callimachus are also present, though somewhat differently, in the *Iliad*. At *Il.2.763-7*, we learn that the son of Pheres (Admetus) has the "best horses by far" because Apollo reared them; in Troy, the horses, "bringing the fear of Ares" (φόβον Ἀρηος φορεούσας) are driven by Admetus' son, Eumelus.⁴⁴¹ We next see Eumelus and his horses as the Greeks are preparing for the chariot race. The first to spring up, Eumelus is "by far the first the king of men" and highly skilled in horsemanship (ὦρτο πολὺ πρωτος μὲν ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν Εὔμηλος,/Αδμήτου φίλος νιός, ὃς ἵπποισύνῃ ἐκέκαστο, 23.288-9). This passage and the later announcement that Eumelus, who is standing in his chariot and holding the reins, is leading (480-1), raise the expectation that Eumelus will win the race, but after Apollo smacks the whip from the hand of Athena's favorite, Diomedes, Athena breaks the horses' yoke and causes Eumelus to be thrown from his chariot (382-400). Although

⁴⁴⁰ See Williams (1978 ad 48) for further sources.

⁴⁴¹ Ἰπποι μὲν μέγ' ἄρισται ἔσαν Φηρητιάδαο,/ τὰς Εὔμηλος ἔλαυνε ποδώκεας ὅρνιθας ὡς, /.../ τὰς ἐν Πηρείη θρέψ' ἀργυρότοξος Απόλλων, /ἄμφω θηλείας, φόβον Ἀρηος φορεούσας.

Eumelus places last, Achilles offers the pregnant mare to Eumelos out of pity and because he recognizes him as “the best man” (534-39); however, Antilochus makes a fuss and the pregnant mare is eventually given to Noëmon, Antilochus’ comrade (540-613).

In the *Iliad* there appears to be word play on Admetus and the ἵππον/ἀδμήτην (“untamed mare”). ἄδμητος and ἄδμής are used of animals five times in Homer, thrice of mules (*Il.* 23.264-5, 23.654-5; *Od.* 4.636-7) and twice formulaically of year-old heifers (*Il.* 10.292-3= *Od.* 3.382-3). In the latter, Homer clarifies an “unbroken” animal as one “which a man has not yet led under the yoke,” (ἀδμήτην ἦν οὐ πω ύπὸ ζυγὸν ἤγαγεν ἀνήρ). So, during the race, the man who has the best control over animals becomes like his father Admetus when Athena breaks the horses’ yoke (ἵππειον δέ οἱ ἥξε θεὰ ζυγόν, 24.392) and Eumelus is tossed from his position of control.

Callimachus builds on this word play by implying the other definition of ἄδμητος, that is “unmarried,” the human version of “untamed.” He does so by referring to Admetus as an “unmarried youth” (ἡιθεόν), which is “semantically equivalent” to Admetus.⁴⁴² From Homer on, ἄδμητος and ἄδμής describe both “untamed” or “unyoked” animals (e.g. Apollo’s cattle at *h.Merc.* 103) and

⁴⁴² Williams (1978 *ad* 49).

“unmarried” maidens. For example, Nausicaa, after being likened to Artemis, is twice called an “unmarried maiden” (*παρθένος ἀδμής*, *Od.* 6.109, 228), Aphrodite pretends to be an “unmarried girl” (*παρθένω ἀδμήτη*, *h.Ven.* 82) who asks Anchises to take her “a virgin inexperienced in love” (*ἀδμήτην μ' ἀγαγῶν καὶ ἀπειρότην φιλότητος*) to his family to become a suitable daughter-in-law (133-6). The erotic metaphor, that sexual intercourse tames a woman, is spelled out in a complaint about a *hetaira* from a fifth-century comedy by Epicrates (fr. 8 K-A):

τελέως μ' ὑπῆλθεν ἡ κατάρατος μαστροπός
ἐπομνύουσα τὰν Κόραν, τὰν Ἀρτεμιν,
τὰν Φερρέφατταν, ως δάμαλις, ως παρθένος,
ώς πῶλος ἀδμής · ἥ δ' ἄρος ἦν μυωνιά.

The accursed madam completely beguiled me
Swearing by Kore, by Artemis,
By Persephone, that she was a heifer, a maiden,
An untamed foal. But actually she was a mousehole.

Calf (*δάμαλις* < *δαμάζω*, “tame”) and “untamed foal” are jumbled together with virginal goddesses and the maiden to emphasize the wish to “tame” the girl.⁴⁴³

⁴⁴³ Wasdin (2018: 115-6).

Similarly, that marriage may also be viewed as “yoking” is clear, for example, in the image of Admetus and Alcestis as “yoked together” ($\sigmaύζυγες$, E. *Alc.* 921; cf. of horses at e.g. Pl. *Phdr.* 254a).⁴⁴⁴

In inventing or stressing an erotic version of Apollo’s service to Admetus,⁴⁴⁵ Callimachus transfers the “untamed” animal to an “unmarried” youth. At the same time, he tames the Homeric untamed mare prize by reyoking, as it were, the horses that in the *Iliad* Athena unyoked in the chariot race and by repastoralizing them as they are once again nourished by Apollo. Furthermore, Callimachus indirectly rewards a *brehos* to Eumelus and increases the number. Because of Apollo’s relationship with Ἀδμητος, father of Εὔμηλος (whose name appropriately means “well-sheeped”!), and the watchful gaze of the divine herdsman, the goats “pastured with the sheep” ($\dot{\epsilon}\pi\muηλάδες$) give birth to many a *brehos*.

In the *Hymn to Demeter* Callimachus emphasizes other charioteers and their interactions in the chariot race and incorporates the *brehos* in a different way. Verbal echoes of Homeric *hapaxes* or single-use phrases from the race suggest that

⁴⁴⁴ For this and other examples of the yoking metaphor in Greek and Latin, see Wasdin (2018: 116-23)

⁴⁴⁵ Killing the Cyclopes is the usual reason for Apollo’s servitude (e.g. E. *Alc.* 1-7), but a possibly erotic version by Rhianus (fr. 10 Pow.) may have preceded Callimachus’. On their homoerotic relationship and the question of originality, see e.g. Williams (1978 *ad* 49), Depew (2004: 122), Fantuzzi (2011: 436).

Erysichthon's *hubris* is modelled, in part, on Antilochus' initial poor behavior during the chariot race.⁴⁴⁶ At a narrow stretch on the course, Antilochus attempts to pass Menelaus, who admonishes the youth for his reckless charioteering ($\dot{\alpha}\varphi\varrho\alpha\delta\acute{e}\omega\varsigma \, i\pi\pi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\varepsilon\alpha\iota$) and warns against a crash should he continue (423-8), but Antilochus ignores Menelaus and races on (429-33):

‘Ως ἔφατ’, Αντίλοχος δ’ ἔτι καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἔλαυνε
430 κέντρῳ ἐπισπέρχων, ὡς οὐκ ἀίοντι ἐοικώς,
 ὅσσα δὲ δίσκου οὖρα κατωμαδίοιο πέλονται,
 ὄν τ’ αἰζηὸς ἀφῆκεν ἀνὴρ πειρώμενος ἥβης,
 τόσσον ἐπιδραμέτην·

Thus he spoke, and Antilochus drove on still and much more quickly
Urging on with the whip, like he was not listening.
And as far as is the range of a discus flung from the shoulder,
Which a vigorous man whips testing out his youthful strength
So far did they run.

⁴⁴⁶ So Harder (2017: 108-11), who examines how seven echoes characterize Erysichthon. I omit two that seem irrelevant to the present argument: *Cer.* 6.4 ($\dot{\alpha}\nu\gamma\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\theta\epsilon$, the participants gazing from the roof) and 23.458 ($\alpha\dot{\nu}\gamma\acute{\alpha}\zeta\mu\alpha\iota$, Idomeneus spotting Diomedes' horses in the lead); *Cer.* 6.94-6 ($\kappa\lambda\tilde{\alpha}\iota\mu\acute{e}v$, Erysichthon's mother crying, followed by the other women in the house) and *Od.* 4.184-6 (the same phrase of Helen crying, followed by others including Peisistratus weeping over the loss of his brother Antilochus).

Antilochus' behavior forces Menelaus to draw back and allows him to place second, while Menelaus comes in third. Callimachus double allusion to this passage in the *Hymn to Demeter* characterize Erysichthon as a reckless youth. The Homeric *hapax κατωμαδίοιο* ("from the shoulder") is applied to the key hanging from Nicippe's shoulder (*κατωμαδίαν*, Cer. 44) and highlights the warning issued by Menelaus and Nicippe respectively. And Antilochus' disregard for the warning, the single-use Homeric phrase *οὐκ ἀίοντι*, is ironically reapplied to Poseidon's indifference (*οὐκ ἀίοντα*, Cer. 97) to Triopas' prayer to either cure or feed Erysichthon.

At the same time, Callimachus alludes to and contrasts Antilochus' apology to and reconciliation with Menelaus. Antilochus is about to receive the mare pregnant initially awarded to Eumelus by Achilles, when Menelaus protests and claims the award for himself since Antilochus cut him off (566-85). Recognizing Menelaus as better and as his elder, on the one hand, and acknowledging the "transgressions of a young man" (*νέου ἀνδρὸς ύπερβασίαι*) and a youth's "slender wit" (*λεπτὴ...μῆτις*), on the other,⁴⁴⁷ Antilochus decides to give up the mare and

⁴⁴⁷ Harder (2017: 109-10n19), following interpretations of the hymn by Müller (1987) and Murray (2004), additionally argues that Antilochus' negative assessment of the youth's wit as *λεπτή* ("slender") would be reinterpreted as positive in the *Hymn to Demeter*, since Callimachus already coopts the negative evaluation of Euripides' poetry as *leptos* in Aristophanes' *Frogs*, but applies it positively to his own poetics in his prologue (fr. 1.9-10 Pf.) and elsewhere, including Demeter's grove, which Erysichthon attempts to destroy.

even offer more from his possessions, if Menelaus should ask for it (οὕκοθεν ἄλλο/μεῖζον ἐπαιτήσειας), rather than lose Menelaus' favor and offend the gods (586-597). Callimachus "establishes a connection and contrast" between the two youths by alluding to Antilochus' admission of youthful transgression in the introduction to the Erysichthon tale, which is narrated as a warning to the reader or participant against transgression (ἴνα καί τις ύπερβασίας ἀλέηται, 22). In this context, Antilochus' display of maturity in his offer to give Menelaus whatever he demands is repurposed in Erysichthon's demand for a payment of oxen ($\tau\acute{e}l\theta\acute{o}s$ ἀπαιτησῶν ἑκατὸν βόας, 77), which is one of his mother's lies about his whereabouts that reflect typical activities of a Greek youth.

Each of these allusions builds to a critical moment in the narrative when a helpless Triopas prays to his father and refers to his son as a *brepbos* (100), and given all previous echoes to the chariot race, Erysichthon the *brepbos* brings to mind the mule *brepbos* over which the Greeks argue for nearly a hundred lines (534-613). Harder remarks that the frequent use of this word for humans (as Erysichthon) and less common use for animals (as the mule and elsewhere in Call.) is "a particular point of interest," but she does not elaborate and does not imply that the two meanings overlap.⁴⁴⁸ I argue, however, that the *brepbos* in the *Hymn to*

⁴⁴⁸ Harder (2017: 110-11 with n20) only notes the verbal parallel and its connection with Antilochus. Her full comment about *brepbos*: "A particular point of interest here is that the noun (*brepbos*) is usually used of people, as in *Hymn* 6.100, but occasionally of animals, as in *Iliad* 23.255 of the mule.

Demeter is purposefully ambiguous and perfectly in keeping with the animalization of Erysichthon. Failing to change his wild behavior, Erysichthon can no longer be compared to Antilochus, but instead becomes associated with the mule fetus of an untamed mare. As we will see in VII.4, this nod to the Homeric mule fetus is in keeping with Callimachus' representation of Erysichthon as an aborted infant.

VI.5 Erysichthon, the Child-Animal

From these numerous correspondences between the *Hymn to Demeter* and its intertexts, three main, overlapping traits of Erysichthon's behavior and punishment emerge: wildness, speechlessness, and appetite. These are the very characteristics of the animal, which, in Greek thought, is indistinguishable from the child or infant. Unable to restrain their natural impulses and appetites, children, like animals, are seen as courageous, but lacking in knowledge, judgment, and wisdom (Pl. *Leg.* 12.963E; Arist. *EN* 1111b8). For these same reasons, children resemble the licentious adult (e.g. Arist. *EN* 1119a-b, discussed below) and are lumped together with the sick and the insane (e.g. Arist. *Aud.*

Elsewhere, in *Hymn* 2.51 and fr. 62a (formerly fr. 60 Pfeiffer) Callimachus too used the noun of an animal."

801b5, EE 3.1229a17-29).⁴⁴⁹ The human exits this animalistic youth only after being tamed and educated, especially by Artemis and Apollo.

Children were viewed as wild creatures who needed to be tamed in order to become sensible and virtuous adults. In the *Hymn to Artemis*, Proetus dedicates a shrine to Artemis *Koria* ("of Maidenhood") and Artemis *Hemera* ("the Domesticated") after the goddess rounds up his daughters from the mountains and "remove[s] the wild spirit from his daughters," (θυμὸν ἀπ' ἄγριον εῖλεο παίδων), respectively (233-6). According to the myth, Proetus' daughters become mad after committing an act of hubris against Hera and are healed and purified by Melampus in the sanctuary of Artemis at Lousoi.⁴⁵⁰ The "untamed daughters" (ἄδητοι θύγατρες, Bacch. 11.84) marry only after they are brought back from the mountain by Bias "tamer of horses" (ἱπποδάμωι, Hes. fr. 37.13 MW), domesticated by Artemis *Hemera* (cf. Paus. 8.18.8), and finally, yoked by Hera (φρένας...ζεύξας', Bacch. 11.45-6).⁴⁵¹ The myth is connected to the cult of Artemis *Hemera* at Lousoi, where girls of marriageable age participated in a wild coming-of-age

⁴⁴⁹ For an overview of the negative attributes of children and further literary examples, see Golden (1990: 4-10, 16-7). Both Golden and Ambühl (2005; 2007) push back against the tendency to read Greek literary representations of children through a Romantic lens, instead of in context.

⁴⁵⁰ Calame (1997: 117) suggests that the Proitides' act of hubris "represents a refusal to acknowledge Hera's domain, in other words, a refusal to marry."

⁴⁵¹ On the use of these metaphors in the myth of Proetus and the ritual dedication of the chorus to Artemis of Lousoi, see Calame (1997: 116-20, 242 with bibliography). On the educational function of the chorus, such as those described in Pl. *Leg.*, see pp. 221-38. For a recent overview of the ritual, see also Zolotnikova (2017: esp. 12-3). On Callimachus' version, which includes two temples instead of one, see Bornmann (1968 *ad loc.*) and Calame (1997: 117-8 with notes 87-8)

ceremony, were “tamed” and cured in preparation for marriage, and dedicated a chorus to Artemis. A similar sequence takes place in *Acontius and Cydippe*, since the fulfillment of the oath to Artemis cures Cydippe of her diseases, one of which is sent also to goats (fr. 75.12-3).⁴⁵²

This analogy between animal and child, herding and education occurs also in Plato’s *Laws*, which dictates that as a sheep needs a herdsman, so does a child, “the most difficult to manage of all wild animals...treacherous, fierce, and most insolent of wild animals” need to be “bridled” with tutors and teachers (7.808D-E). Earlier in the same work, the Athenian explains that of the “fiery nature of all young things,” which are undisciplined in their bodies and voices, only the human can control movement and voice with rhythm and harmony through choral instruction, which is the basis of education, under the direction of the *choregoi* Apollo and the Muses; this education, in turn, leads to virtue (esp. 2.664E-665A, cf. 653A-654B). The divine-honoring youth chorus in, for example, the *Hymn to Apollo* and the figure of Callimachus as a child educated by Apollo in the prologue are surely indebted to these views.⁴⁵³

⁴⁵² See Lang (2009) on the goats as “fellow sufferers” of the disease (epilepsy) in Hp. *Morb. Sacr.*

⁴⁵³ For an overview on Callimachus’ literary imitation of youth choirs, which are present in several hymns, see Ambühl (2005: 220-1) and on the much-discussed Callimachus as child and youth, see Ambühl (365-413).

In stark contrast, the Muse-less Erysichthon lacks the favor of Apollo, Artemis, and Demeter and symbolizes the kind of hackneyed style that Callimachus despises. Erysichthon-Aithon reflects instead the uneducated youth, who “mingles with burning and terrible beasts” (*συγγένηται αἴθωσι θηροῖ καὶ δεινοῖς*) and is compared to the parasitic and unproductive drone who consumes the honey and succumbs to pleasures and desires (Pl. R. 559C-E; 572E-573A; 554D). As a drone in his own house, this parasitic citizen becomes a “disease” (*νόσημα*) to the state and is set alongside the beggar (552C-D; 555E-556A). This drone metaphor stems from Hesiod’s advice to his brother to work hard so as to avoid Famine/Hunger (*Λιμός*) and receive his livelihood from Demeter (*Op.* 298-301).

The poet then goes on to compare the idle man to the drone (*Op.* 302-6):

Λιμὸς γάρ τοι πάμπαν ἀεργῷ σύμφορος ἀνδρί.
τῷ δὲ θεοὶ νεμεσῶσι καὶ ἀνέρες, ὃς κεν ἀεργὸς
ζώῃ, κηφήνεσσι κοθούροις εὔκελος ὁργήν,
305 οἵ τε μελισσάων κάματον τρύχουσιν ἀεργοὶ
 ἔσθοντες·

For Hunger is in every respect the idle man’s companion
And gods and men resent that man, who lives idly
With a temperament like stingless drones,

which, idly eating, consume the toil of the bees.

Appropriately, then, after Erysichthon attempts to destroy the grove—or, the labor of bees, as it were, inasmuch as the grove is aligned with Demeter and Callimachean poetics—and fails to be tamed by Demeter-Nicippe (i.e. “horse-tamer”!) when he ignores her warning, Demeter “creates evil for Erysichthon” (*Ἐρυσίχθονι τεῦχε πονηρά*, 65) and casts a sickness, a “wild hunger,” upon the youth (*αὐτίκα οἱ χαλεπόν τε καὶ ἄγριον ἔμβαλε λιμόν/αἴθωνα κρατερόν, μεγάλα δ' ἐστρεύγετο νούσω*, 66-7; cf. *Dian.* 236).

As a drone interested only in building a hall to satisfy his immediate desires, Erysichthon becomes a child-animal in keeping with Greek thought. Aristotle, for example, writes that “children and beasts pursue pleasures,” (*παιδία καὶ θηρία διώκει τὰς ἡδονάς*, *EN* 1152b.20) and compares the licentious adult to children who have the greatest appetite and, if actively gratified rather than undisciplined or unpunished, will overindulge in pleasures (*EN* 1119a-b). Through this lens, we can once more set Erysichthon against Callimachus and his poetic aesthetics. In *Epigram* 46, addressed to the doctor-poet Philip, Callimachus prescribes two remedies for a “painful wound” (*χαλεπῶ τραύματος*, 10) inflicted by Eros (3-6):

αἱ Μοῦσαι τὸν ἔρωτα κατισχναίνοντι, Φίλιππε·

ἢ πανακές πάντων φάρμακον ἀ σοφία.

5 τοῦτο, δοκέω, χά λιμὸς ἔχει μόνον ἐς τὰ πονηρὰ
τῶγαθόν· ἐκκόπτει τὰν φιλόπαιδα υόσον.

The Muses reduce the swelling of love, Philip.

Surely (poetic) skill is an all-healing remedy for everything.

Hunger, I think, has this good, too, and this alone regarding evil.

It cuts out the boy-loving disease.

As Faulkner has shown, Callimachus not only improves upon Polyphemus' remedy in Theocritus' eleventh *Idyll* (as described above) by prescribing hunger in addition to song, but also, in linking his *leptos* (i.e. slender, refined) poetics to a dietary regimen, owes something to the combination of rhetoric and diet in Plato's *Gorgias*.⁴⁵⁴ In the dialogue, Socrates compares his rhetoric that aims at what is "best" rather than what is most gratifying or pleasant, to hunger and thirst, along with other remedies, prescribed by a doctor, who, if tried in court, would be convicted by a jury of children accustomed to immediate gratification (521d-522a; cf. 464c-e).

Faulkner's observations can be extended to the *Hymn to Demeter*. The verbal parallels between *Epigram 46* and Erysichthon's punishment suggest that Demeter is a stand-in for the poet. In response to the youth's opposition to the refined,

⁴⁵⁴ (2011a: esp. 183-4).

unfashionable ideals of Demeter-Callimachean poetics, the goddess “prescribes” overconsumption that ironically forces him to slim down not only physically to his sinews and bones, but also metaphorically to a *brephos*.⁴⁵⁵

Having dissolved the boundaries between human and animal with his hubris during a perverted sort of hunt against the divine, Erysichthon regresses not simply to childhood, which is regularly associated with intellectual deficiencies and poor speaking abilities, but to the earliest stage of life that the Greeks viewed as especially animalistic and which was inescapable without divine guidance and favor. In the *Choephoroi*, Orestes’ nurse complains that infants are speechless and senseless things that need to be nourished like beasts (A. Ch. 750-60). In the same way, Erysichthon becomes a *brephos* entirely without sense or speech and dependent on others for nourishment.⁴⁵⁶ We have already seen how Callimachus alludes to the animal *brephos* in the Homeric chariot race. In the next

⁴⁵⁵ Given the other similarities, the cooks who do not deny Erysichthon anything (106) may derive from this Plato passage, in which the cook serves as prosecutor who used to support the innate gluttony of children.

⁴⁵⁶ Similarly, Hopkinson (1984: 9), Müller (1987: 17, 54), and Ambühl (2005: 176-7 with n347), who also cites the Aeschylus passage. Her comments belong, however, to her examination of the influence of comedy and satyr play on the hymn, and she tentatively suggests that Call., in his characterization of E. in Triopas’ prayer, draws the image from Achaeus (possibly from *Aithon*), which refers to someone opening his mouth in hunger like a nightingale’s μόσχος (calf), a term which elsewhere can describe a human child. She does not, as far as I can see, identify “*brephos*” itself as a word that designates human or animal young, nor does she discuss the associated motifs (exposure, abortion, et cetera) in Call. or his predecessors. Ambühl and others (177n345) have noted that ‘βόσκε’ (104), however, is used for a small child or an animal. With βόσκειν, Call. may also allude to Pentheus (E. *Ba.* 617) and esp. beggar Odysseus (*Od.* 17.228), on which see V.2.1.4.1.

section, we will examine how Callimachus, in using the term *brephos*, does not differentiate between child and animal by designing a punishment that equally alludes to the fates of the human *brephos* in the tradition. Failing in every category of fertility—whether in terms of actual marriage, as a metaphor for productive poetry, or as a symbol of Ptolemaic fertility—Erysichthon is cast out—from the house, from the womb, as an infant sacrifice or *pharmakos*.

Chapter VII. Erysichthon as *Brephos*

VII.1 Introduction

One of the most puzzling features of the *Hymn to Demeter* is the ultimate fate of Erysichthon. In this regard, Callimachus differs from his Roman successor, who has Erysichthon clearly die by autophagy (Ov. *Met.* 8.875-8). This punishment suits Demeter. It is well-known that Demeter, as the bringer of agriculture and therefore civilization, is antithetical to Hunger.⁴⁵⁷ As early as Hesiod, the two are opposed. In his instructions to his brother, Hesiod aligns hard work with Demeter's gift of plenty and idleness with Hunger.⁴⁵⁸ It is also well-known that this hunger can ultimately devolve into cannibalism, which is attested as a punishment of Demeter. For example, according to Pausanias (8.42.5-6), the Phigilians do not restore an image sacred to Demeter nor do they celebrate well enough her festivals and sacrifices, so they are forced to become nomads again and travel to the oracle, where the Pythian priestess warns that unless they appease Demeter, she will force them to eat each other and their children (σ' ἀλληλοφάγον

⁴⁵⁷ See e.g. Hunter (1992: 30), Ambühl (2005:183-4), Faulkner (2011b).

⁴⁵⁸ *Op.* 299-302: ἐργάζεο Πέρση, δίον γένος, ὄφρα σε Λιμὸς/ ἐχθαίρη, φιλέη δέ σ' ἐυστέφανος Δημήτηρ/αἰδοίη, βιότου δὲ τεὴν πιμπλῆσι καλιήν/Λιμὸς γάρ τοι πάμπαν ἀεργῷ σύμφορος ἀνδρί.

Ambühl (2005: 184 n370) further compares Erysichthon to the lazy drones that eat the product of the bees' labor (303-6). This interpretation is doubly suitable, if we remember Demeter's association with bees, on which see V.2.1.4.2.

Θήσει τάχα καὶ τεκνοδαίτην). And according to Herodotus (6.75.3), the Athenians say that after cutting down the τέμενος in Eleusis, Cleomenus went mad and dismembered himself as far as his belly, which is suggestive of autophagy.⁴⁵⁹

The association of this punishment with Demeter as well as Erysichthon's autophagy in Ovid suggest that cannibalism also features in some way in the *Hymn to Demeter*. While Erysichthon wastes away to his skin and bones on an all-meat diet, Callimachus does not explicitly transform Erysichthon into a cannibal. Instead, as is typical of the scholar-poet, Callimachus incorporates cannibalism allusively.⁴⁶⁰ For instance, Callimachus alludes to Agamemnon and the House of Atreus. After the Erysichthon narrative ends, the chorus declares that they do not want to be “(neighbor) with a common wall” ὁμότοιχος to one “hateful” ($\grave{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\chi\theta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$) to Demeter (116-7). This word is attested previously only at A. Ag. 1004, where the chorus states that the disease shares a common wall with health. The “disease,” in this case, refers to the murders and cannibalistic acts in the House of Atreus and is followed by Cassandra's prophecy about Agamemnon's death,

⁴⁵⁹ So Faulkner (2011b: 87).

⁴⁶⁰ On discussions of cannibalism as it pertains to the *Hymn to Demeter*, see McKay (1962a: 48-52 with n1, 123-4), McCail (1964), Bulloch (1984: 220-2 with n21), Ambühl (2005: 184, 218), and Faulkner (2011b: 87-8). Cf. Faraone (2012) on the herd-eating Βούβωστις. E.g. Harder (2017: 106-8) points out allusions to Tantalus (see n181), the Cyclops, and Agamemnon, who dies at dinner. Faulkner (2011b: 87-8) also compares the Tantalus myth.

which she prefaces with a familial cannibalistic act (Atreus' consumption of his children at 1095-7, cf. App.5.3).⁴⁶¹ That Callimachus is referring to cannibalism is also supported by *ἀπεχθῆς*, which is paralleled by Theocritus' use of the word to describe an enemy of Dionysus (26.27), i.e. Pentheus (or another such enemy) who suffers *sparagmos*.⁴⁶²

Situated in a cannibalistic context, then, we may expect that *brepbos* would allude to the specific kind of cannibalism that occurs at A. Ag. 1096-7: *teknophagy* (cf. Paus. 8.42.6 above). Callimachus does not mention Erysichthon's death, but I contend that this is a deliberate poetic strategy and completely "relevant."⁴⁶³ By leaving Erysichthon's fate ambiguous, Callimachus can allude to different punishments pertaining to children. On the one hand, although Erysichthon engages in near-cannibalistic behavior, Callimachus does not conclude the tale explicitly with autophagy or *teknophagy*, even if these may be imagined, but he does allude to a similar fate, i.e. exposure, an act that left the infant in danger for

⁴⁶¹ See also McKay (1962a: 123-4).

⁴⁶² So Ambühl (2005: 218), who notes the parallel and concludes that the Theocritean narrator justifies the act, while the Callimachean narrator distances herself from it.

⁴⁶³ In this, I reject Bulloch (1977: 115-6n24): "If Erysichthon's ultimate fate is omitted by Callimachus it is not through carelessness or squeamishness, as some scholars have suggested, but because it is not relevant. Erysichthon's end is required for the narrative neither by its structure, since the narrative is not religious in import...nor by its mood of realism, which is concerned with propriety and shame—for Callimachus the narrative is logically complete once the family scandal has become public knowledge at the cross-roads." Bulloch emends this later (1984: 221-2 with n22): "But perhaps Callimachus *does* refer to Erysichthon's autophagy: in vv. 116-117." He focuses on the sudden shift away from the end of the narrative when Erysichthon is sitting at the crossroads when the listener might think "Yes, and *then ...?*"

animal consumption, which Thumiger views as akin to cannibalism and *teknophagy* (cf. App. 5.2.2).

Why exposure? The collected theories for the origin of the exposure motif reveal, in the words of Marc Huys, that they “always have something to do with purification, rejuvenation, with the substitution of an old order by a new one: the sacrifice or expulsion signified by the ἔκθεσις heralds a new season, a new kingship, a new cosmos”(see App. 5.2, 5.2.1).⁴⁶⁴ Amongst the theories for the origin of the motif are the Dionysiac and Eleusinian Mysteries, but I argue that it derives from the Dionysus Liknites ritual, in particular, which concerns the death and rebirth of the infant Dionysus, who, according to some, is the child in the Eleusinian Mysteries. As I will show below, these elements are indeed core aspects of Callimachus’ hymns, which rejuvenate its gods and characters not only to renew the poetic tradition, but also to reflect and legitimize Ptolemaic rule over Egypt.

The ambiguity of Erysichthon’s fate also allows Callimachus, writing in a time of revived and intense interest in medicine, to incorporate a medical procedure into his otherwise mythic tale. In each of these scenarios, Erysichthon is a negative example of the *brephos*, and his fate opposes that of the *brephos* whose

⁴⁶⁴ (1995: 22).

triumph over a dangerous life stage usually depends on the divine, especially Apollo and Dionysus, who themselves are models of successful emersion from the *brephos* status, and the female *kourotrophic* deities, who protect infants and children.

VII.2 Terminology

VII.2.1 *Brephos* in the *Hymn to Demeter*: Overview of Scholarship

Scholars who have discussed *brephos* recognize its incongruity in the passage.⁴⁶⁵ Schneider notes that *brephos* is typically used of infants or unborn fetuses, but cites two examples of *brephos* of older children.⁴⁶⁶ McKay seemingly takes Schneider as arguing that the word can mean teenager and is doing so here. Following Cahen, McKay argues that *brephos* means baby, and for comic effects, “Erysichthon is still a baby to his father.”⁴⁶⁷ McKay first contextualizes the word in

⁴⁶⁵ All, for example, point out that *brephos* usually designates an infant recently born and some point out, a fetus: Schneider (1870 *ad* 101), McKay (1962: 95), Hopkinson (1984 *ad loc.*), Ambühl (2005: 177, 187), Stephens (2015 *ad loc.*). Hopkinson translates it as “child,” Ambühl as “Säugling,” and Stephens as “offspring.” Stephen’s interpretation reflects her more nuanced reading of this passage (see below).

⁴⁶⁶ (1870 *ad* 101). A. Ag. 1096 (incorrectly cited by Schn. as 1056): the slaughtered children of Thyestes (an apt comparison); Mosch. 1.11: Aphrodite calls her *pais*, Eros, a δόλιον βρέφος because “he plays savage games” (ἄγρια παιστεῖ). Moschus may have Callimachus in mind—Eros strays in the crossroads—but when used of gods, *brephos* is often qualified, in this case by *dolian*, to emphasize an exemplary feature.

⁴⁶⁷ Cahen (1930: 272, 373); McKay (1962: 72, 95): “*Brephos* is strictly appropriate only up to the age of four and so we should take it here, for it is quite unnecessary to follow Schneider in searching for examples of the word applied to young men.” However, cf. McKay 96n1: “It should be remembered for the effect of this idea that we are not forced to whittle Erysichthon down to the size of a four-year-old giant for Triopas’ prayer.” See also Hopkinson (1984: 9), who also follows

the *Hymn to Demeter* and concludes that *brephos*, when paired with the images of Erysichthon the giant and “the breast which used to nurse him” (κλαῖε μὲν ἀ μάτηρ, βαρὺ δ’ ἔστενον αἱ δύ’ ἀδελφαί/χώ μαστὸς τὸν ἔπωνε καὶ αἱ δέκα πολλάκι δῶλαι, 94-9), produces a comic effect.⁴⁶⁸

All of this builds up to the “height of pathos,” to borrow Hopkinson’s description,⁴⁶⁹ when Triopas exclaims over his son’s misfortune in his prayer to Poseidon:

καὶ δ’ αὐτὸς Τριόπας πολιαῖς ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἔβαλλε,
τοῖα τὸν οὐκ ἀίοντα Ποτειδάωνα καλιστρέων.

‘ψευδοπάτωρ, ἵδε τόνδε τεοῦ τρίτον, εἴπερ ἐγὼ μέν
σεῦ τε καὶ Αἰολίδος Κανάκας γένος, αὐτὰρ ἐμεῖο

Cahen: “The expression is Triopas’ fond reference to a young man who was once his ‘baby.’” So also Gutzwiller (1981: 47): “He speaks of Erysichthon as his βρέφος...in fatherly fashion;” and Ambühl (2005: 164): “In den Augen seines vater Triopas ist Erysichthon sogar wieder zum Säugling geworden.”

⁴⁶⁸ (1962: 95). “The idea of Erysichthon as giant considerably enriches the comic content of line 100.” (On Erysichthon as giant, see V.2.2.2.) Benvenuti Falciai (1976) opposes McKay’s interpretation and views it as tragedy. Scholars then moved towards interpreting the poem as a complex narrative that includes a variety of tones, e.g. Hopkinson (1984: 11-3, 17), Müller (1987: 25-9), Stephens (2011: 136-7). While a single goal seems unlikely for an author who so famously blended genres and overstepped boundaries (Acosta-Hughes 2002: 60-103), all approaches have, in some way, illuminated the different aspects of the narrative, as Ambühl (2005: 163) has also recognized, though she is speculative about McKay’s hypothesis that the genres of *Lav.* *Pall.* and *Cer.* reflect “doric elegiac threnody” and “doric comedy” respectively (204n460). The same debate occurs with regard to Euripides’ so-called “tragi-comedies” (*Alc.*, *IT*, *Ion*, *Hel.*), e.g. Kitto (1939: 312-31); Segal on *Helen* (1971) and even Ba. (1997: 14, following others n11); Zacharia on *Ion* (1995; summarized in 2003: 113, 150-5). It is not the purpose of this study to debate genre, though I follow those who see a variety of tones and examine the influence of tragedy (mostly later tragedy) and New Comedy.

⁴⁶⁹ (1984: 9).

100 τοῦτο τὸ δείλαιον γένετο **βρέφος**. αἴθε γὰρ αὐτόν

βλητὸν ὑπ' Ἀπόλλωνος ἐμαὶ χέρες ἐκτερέιξαν.

νῦν δὲ κακὰ βούβωστις ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι κάθηται.

ἢ οἱ ἀπόστασον χαλεπὰν νόσον ἡέ νιν αὐτός

βόσκε λαβών. ἀμαὶ γὰρ ἀπειρήκαντι τράπεζαι.

(105-10 skipped)

μέστα μὲν ἐν Τριόπαο δόμοις ἔτι χρήματα κεῖτο,

μῶνον ἄρ' οἰκεῖοι θάλαμοι κακὸν ἡπίσταντο.

ἀλλ' ὅκα τὸν βαθὺν οἶκον ἀνεξήραναν ὀδόντες,

καὶ τόχ' ὁ τῷ βασιλῆος ἐνὶ τριόδοισι καθῆστο

115 αἰτίζων κόλως τε καὶ **ἔκβολα λύματα δαιτός**.

Triopas himself threw his hands on his gray hairs

and cried out to Poseidon (who wasn't listening) such things as this:

"False father, behold this one here, third in descent from you, if I am

by birth from you and Canace, the daughter of Aeolus, and

100 this wretched **offspring** is mine. If only,

struck down by Apollo, my hands had buried him.

But now evil ox-hunger sits in his eyes.

Either remove this dire sickness from him,

or take him and feed him yourself. For my tables refuse.

(105-10) – [Erysichthon gobbles up a bunch of animals]

As long as there was money in Triopas' halls,

only his private chambers knew of the evil,

but when his teeth had drained the house's deep pockets,

then the son of the king sat in the crossroads,

115 begging for morsels and **refuse cast out from the feast.** (Tr. Stephens, 2015)

This passage has received attention for its allusions to the *Odyssey*, specifically to

Polyphemus' prayer to Poseidon at *Od.* 9.528-35, as well as its verbal parallels to

the beggar Odysseus. Due to the narrator's indication before the prayer that

Poseidon is not listening (*οὐκ ἀίοντα*, 97) and the *hapax ψευδοπάτωρ* at the start

of the prayer (98), this passage (96-9) has posed interpretative difficulties and

spawned several hypotheses about its relationship to previous versions of the

tale.⁴⁷⁰ Van Tress connects the prayer and beggar allusions: Odysseus' violation of

⁴⁷⁰ Some scholars suppose Triopas' impiety or Poseidon's economic way of thinking to be the reason for Poseidon's deaf ear to Triopas' request (Gundert 1970: 121-2; Gutzwiller 1981: 47; Zanker 1987: 188). Other readings involve Callimachus' interaction with or rejection of one tradition or another, particularly the Hesiodic *Ehoiai*. Bulloch (1977: 115-16n24) thinks that Triopas's speech possibly refers to Mestra's metamorphosizing abilities, a gift given to her by Poseidon, to supply her father Erysichthon with unlimited food; however, Ambühl (2005: 173-4) objects that Poseidon did not help Erysichthon, but was acting in his own interest by kidnapping Mestra. Noting that Erysichthon in *Cer.* is too young to have a daughter whom Poseidon could kidnap, Ambühl points out that Demeter's love for Triopas has replaced Poseidon's love for Mestra and, comparing Chariclo' address to the correct divinity (Athena) in *Lav. Pall.*, which is a foil of *Cer.*, that Triopas prays to the wrong divinity. McKay (1962: 110-8), the first to consider the passage in detail, similarly argues that "one god cannot undo the work of another," but reaches a very different

xenia in Polyphemus' cave and Erysichthon's destruction of his own house lead to prayers to Poseidon and a status as beggar.⁴⁷¹ Others have focused exclusively on this second allusion and its context, Melantheus' insults directed towards Odysseus disguised as a beggar:⁴⁷²

Od. 17.219-22: πῇ δὴ τόνδε μολοβρόν ἄγεις, ἀμέγαρτε συβῶτα
πτωχὸν ἀνιηρόν, δαιτῶν ἀπολυμαντῆρα;
ὅς πολλῆς φλιῆσι παραστὰς θλίψεται ὕμους,
αιτίζων ἀκόλους, οὐκ ἄορας οὐδὲ λέβητας

Cer. 115: **αιτίζων ἀκόλως τε καὶ ἔκβολα λύματα δαιτός**

This Erysichthon-Odysseus beggar imagery has preoccupied scholars (fairly so) with the result that *ἔκβολον*, the *only* main word in the line that does *not* derive

conclusion. Interpreting *ψευδοπάτω* literally and citing the confused lineage of Triopas—he has different fathers in different traditions—as support, McKay thinks that Triopas “dialed the wrong number” and even suggests Helios as Triopas’ father (as D.S. 5.61) in Callimachus. Hopkinson (1984: 9n1 and on 98) criticizes McKay’s interpretation as “a marvel of misapplied ingenuity” and reads *ψευδοπάτω* as Triopas’ anger with Poseidon for neglecting “his fatherly responsibilities.” Poseidon has an odd habit of being absent (see under Pi. O.6 in glossary).

⁴⁷¹ (2004: 177-8). The allusion is ironic because Triopas is asking not for the punishment of an enemy, but the death of his own child. The outcome for Erysichthon and Odysseus is similar, however, because they both become beggars. (For *αἴθων*, which is also common to both, see section).

⁴⁷² Bulloch (1977: 106-12) concludes that the Callimachus passage is ironic: Erysichthon *is* *πτωχὸν ἀνιηρόν*, *δαιτῶν ἀπολυμαντῆρα*, whereas Odysseus is falsely accused. Hopkinson (1984 *ad* 115) finds the other parallels “rather tenuous.” Some— e.g. Polyxo, a character in one of the mother’s excuses (*Cer.* 77), and Polyktor, one of the builders of the fountain where Odysseus is mocked—are more unconvincing than others, e.g. Triopas’ death wish for Erysichthon and Melantheus’ for Telemachus (*Od.* 17.251) and Penelope’s for Antinous (17.494). Van Tress (2004: 177) also spots irony, but because both poets dress a royal in beggar’s clothes.

from Homer, has been all but ignored. Bulloch dismisses “the contemptuousness of the poetically more ordinary ἔκβολα λύματα” and focuses instead on αἰτίζων κόλως and very briefly λύματα δαιτός.⁴⁷³ Stephens alone, as far as I know, considers the relevance of the word in the passage or even the connotations of the word. Noticing a possible parallel in Euripides (βρέφος ἔκβολον, *Ph.* 804), where ἔκβολον is used of a child exposed at birth, Stephens writes, “The choice of adjective suggests the practice of exposing unwanted children in public places—an ironic comment on Erysichthon’s fate.”⁴⁷⁴ We can carry this observation forward. A deeper investigation of these two terms exposes additional reasons for Callimachus’ preoccupation with childhood.

VII.2.2 The Connotations of ἔκβολον and Related Terms

⁴⁷³ In addition to this casual blow-off of ἔκβολον, Bulloch’s (1977: 108-12, esp. 108-9) statement that Callimachus is “the only one of his contemporaries or successors to use the verb” αἰτίζων is incorrect because it appears at Lyc. *Alex.*1059. [On the order of authors, see van Tress (2004: 176n51), who supposes that Callimachus was referring to Lycophron at *Cer.*66-7. However, the notoriously complicated poem, though not securely dated, has been shown by Hollis (2007), followed by Hornblower (2015), 27-31 to be indebted to the *Aetia* and *Hecale*. Hornblower, citing some parallels with Callimachus’ *Iambi* and hymns, calls for an extension of Hollis’ work. According to Hornblower, Lycophron, who revives Mestra, “conspicuously ignores” *Cer.* and draws more from Hesiod’s Erysichthon (p.30 and on 1388-96).] In addition, ἄκολος, Bulloch claims, occurs only once before Callimachus at *Od.* 17.222 and once in a contemporary or successor, at *AP* 9.563, possibly an epigram of Leonidas. However, he again misses an attestation from the fifth century: Stratt. fr.49.7, also cited in the LSJ.

⁴⁷⁴ (2015 *ad* 115). Hopkinson simply notes: “First attested in E.; occasionally in prose; only here in C.” Ambühl (2005: 176) may hint at the idea, but does not discuss ἔκβολον or infant exposure: Callimachus has “...die erforderischen Köche auch die letzten noch verfügbaren Fleischreserven im Haus des Triopas zubereiten lassen, bis schliesslich nichts mehr vorhanden ist und Erysichthon ausgesetzt werden muss.”

I explore at length the use of the term *brephos* in the literary tradition (App.).

Before Callimachus, *brephos* is especially common in Euripides (ca. 30 in E. vs. ca. 10 before E.), who uses the word most often in his later dramas to describe a royal male exposed at birth. The term “ἐκβολόν” and etymologically-related vocabulary highlight many of the same motifs. Though derived from the common verb ἐκβάλλω, ἐκβολόν is otherwise only attested in Euripides (6x) before recurring in Callimachus and then again only in Lucian’s *Podagra*.⁴⁷⁵ The verb ἐκβάλλω most gruesomely denotes the casting out of dead bodies as the negative alternative of burial. For example, Cassandra laments that she will be cast forth as food for animals (*Tr.* 448-50). Similarly, the more common ἐκβολή at E. *Hec.* 1076-9 is applied to children thrown to the dogs as a feast, but they are already dead.⁴⁷⁶ Euripides occasionally extends this meaning to the casting out of infants, who are also in danger of becoming an animals’ meal, instead of using the much more common ἐκτίθημι or ἀποτίθημι.⁴⁷⁷ Unlike the other adjectival and nominal cognates of ἐκβάλλω, ἐκβολόν is used three times of infant exposure: *Ion* 555, *Ph.* 804, and possibly *Ba* 91. The other three attestations of ἐκβολόν (*IT* 1042, *Hel.* 422,

⁴⁷⁵ Or in the words of Mastronarde (1994 *ad Ph.* 804): “used with virtuosity in four or five contextually determined senses.” It is next attested in Lucian’s paratragic *Podagra* at 215, where men threaten to make gout, a *brephos* at the beginning of the play, an *ekbolon* from the life of men.

⁴⁷⁶ ἐκβολή has a wide range of meanings, but when used of babies or fetuses, seems to indicate death or abortion, respectively. On the latter, see e.g. *Hp. Mul.* 1.78 = 8.188.14-5 Littré: ἔτερον ποτὸν ἐκβολῆς, ὁ τὸ παιδίον ἐκβάλλει πελιδνόν. (πελιδνόν = black and blue).

⁴⁷⁷ Golden (1981:330-1) provides a list with examples.

1214), although not used of exposure *per se*, nevertheless belong to the same category of death and rebirth and may be equally as relevant to Callimachus' version of the Erysichthon tale.⁴⁷⁸ Finally, the less common ἐκβόλιον, attested in medical texts as an abortive (cf. LSJ s.v.), is yet another sense to which the medically-aware poet seems to refer.

VII.3 The Exposure of Erysichthon

In this section, I will explore the reception of the exposure motif in Callimachus' hymn with special emphasis on Euripides, who not only is especially taken with the motif, but also, owing in part to the survival of his dramas, provides the best evidence for the motif. As stated above, Euripides uses ἐκβόλον of a *brephos* three times. In two instances, the cast-out infant (Dionysus and Ion) follows a death-and-rebirth Dionysiac paradigm. In the third, which reworks only part of this Dionysiac model, the infant (Oedipus) is a “curse-child” cast out in an attempt to prevent the inevitable destruction of the house and the city.

VII.3.1 Tragic Models: Erysichthon, the Anti-Dionysus (see App. 5.4-5.5)

⁴⁷⁸ See, for example, under App. 5.8.1.

In the *Bacchae*, ἔκβολον (91) describes the premature birth of Dionysus, a *brephos* whom Zeus snatches from the fire and orders into the “male womb” (522). For this reason, Dionysus is the “twice-born.” As Segal has shown, Dionysus’ movement from mother to father is represented symbolically as death and rebirth, a process inverted by the hunted Pentheus, whose destruction “is a nightmarish reenactment of the pollutions that are felt to attend childbirth.” The “hunting” of Pentheus, predicted by Dionysus—Pentheus will return in his mother’s arms (*Ba.* 968-9)—occurs during Dionysiac frenzy when young animals are confused with infants.⁴⁷⁹ Maenads who have just given birth abandon their *brephe* and nurse wolf cubs (σκύμνους) instead (*Ba.* 699-702).⁴⁸⁰ Near the end of the drama, Agave returns to the palace with the head of Pentheus, whom she believes is a young bull (*Ba.* 1185-87).⁴⁸¹

Such a fate is avoided in *Ion*, in which the title character is son of Apollo and Creusa, but initially believes that he is son of Xuthus. Euripides alters the (known) tradition by replacing Xuthus with Apollo as Ion’s father in order to, as Zacharia observes, create “Apollo’s *Doppelgänger*.” For example, both are

⁴⁷⁹ Cf. Segal (1997: 164): “The ancient Greeks regarded [childhood] often as...akin to the bestial...the Theban maenads on the mountain can equally well suckle wild beasts as the human infants they have left at home.”

⁴⁸⁰ This apparent interchangeability of *brephos* and *skumnos* occurs also in Callimachus’ use of *brephos* for a lion cub (*skumnos*) in fr. 62a Harder, on which see App. 6.3.2.

⁴⁸¹ Seaford (1981: 266-8) argues that this scene refers to the maenads’ carrying of Dionysus’ mask in the *liknon* during the cultic celebration of the *sparagmos* and rebirth of the infant Dionysus.

concerned with purity, but are in a life-stage, which is “fraught with...risks of pollution.” On this basis, Zacharia also reads Ion as “twice-born,” but “in a metaphorical, ephebic sense.” Burnett and Zeitlin have also compared Ion to Dionysus, “the natural prototype of the divinely engendered child.” Both move from mother to father and death to life. Ion is originally led to believe that he was born to a maenad during Dionysus’ trieteric festival and “perhaps [was] a cast off of the girl.” After this moment, ἐκβάλλω appears to emphasize Ion’s death. The tutor, who refers to Ion’s exposure as a burial at the paws of beasts, now uses ἐκβαλεῖν. In the end, although she knows that her son lives, Creusa replaces ἐκτίθημι for the first time with ἐκβάλλω (1496). The addition of “Hades” and related passages demonstrate that the death is, above all, initiatory. However, he is symbolically “reborn” to his true father when the Pythia brings forth his exposure basket from the “womb” of Apollo’s temple, which may allude both to the awakening of the infant Dionysus Trieterikos in his *liknon* and to the mystic child in the basket of the Eleusinian Mysteries.

The final attestation of ἐκβολον reworks only the negative part of the Dionysiac narrative. In his *Phoenician Women*, Euripides applies the term to the infant Oedipus, a “curse-child,” conceived against the prophecy of Apollo that he would kill his father Laius and destroy the *oikos* and *polis*. The drama opens with Jocasta’s recollection of these events. Oedipus is conceived when Laius “fall[s] into

Bacchic frenzy” (i.e. is intoxicated), but after coming to his senses, remembers the prophecy and gives the *brephos* to herdsmen to expose in Hera’s meadow on Cithaeron (21-6), a “glade of many beasts” (801-2). Near the end of the drama, Oedipus recalls how his father viewed him as an enemy and how he sent him to be “wretched food for wild beasts,” ($\thetaηρσὶν ἄθλιον βοοάν$), and he wishes he had died during his exposure (1600-05).

After Jocasta fails to broker a truce between her two sons, the chorus foreshadows the outcome of Oedipus’ curse: Ares is “out of tune with the festivals of Bromius” (784-5).⁴⁸² In the antistrophe, Oedipus is described as $\betaρέφος\ \varepsilon\kappaβολον$ οἴκων/ $\chiρυσοδέτοις\ περόναις\ \varepsilon\pi\sigma\alphaμον$, (“a *brephos* cast out of the house, pierced with golden pins,” 804-5), which alludes to the violent details of Dionysus’ birth in the *Bacchae*. The image of Oedipus and the golden pins ($\piερόναι$), attested twice in Euripides, inverts that of Dionysus. The god, though “cast out” of the womb, is immediately sewn up in Zeus’ thigh with $\piερόναι$ and thus protected from Hera. While the gestation of a premature Dionysus is brought to completion in part because of the pins that hide him from Hera, Oedipus, already born, is cast out to

⁴⁸² According to Zeitlin’s theory (1993: 163), in Thebes “Dionysus...is drawn into the circle of Ares and Aphrodite, both protectors and destroyers of the family and polis and where Demeter and Athena have no efficacious role to play in the averting of disaster. But in Athens, it is precisely these two goddesses, Demeter and Athena, who between them can be said to ‘stabilize’ Dionysus and to divert his potentially negative effects or to capture his creative powers for the benefit of the city.” Euripides’ *Ion* is an example of the latter.

dangerous beasts and maimed as an unwanted infant. Unlike Dionysus and Ion, Oedipus never rejoins his father and returns to the female space. As a result, his exposure is repeated in a sense when he discovers his origins and goes into exile at the end of the drama after being enclosed in the innermost parts of the house.⁴⁸³

These motifs of exposure, and the Apolline and Dionysiac models, seem to have inspired Callimachus, especially in the *Hymn to Demeter*, which also concerns Dionysus, who becomes as angry as the goddess. When Erysichthon rushes into Demeter's grove with his "man-giants" who are capable of overturning a *polis*, he behaves like Pentheus, whom, as we have seen, Euripides compares to a giant threatening to overturn an augury with crowbars. Erysichthon, on the threshold of manhood, instead, like Pentheus and Oedipus, moves toward the maternal, a process which begins with his mother's lies. The arrangement of the invitations and excuses—two specific followed by two vague—stresses not only the growing desperation and hopelessness of Erysichthon's parents,⁴⁸⁴ but also their son's increasing detachment from the community, ties to which the poet abruptly and

⁴⁸³ Cf. Zeitlin (1986: 138) on S. OT. : "Every advance that Oedipus makes toward uncovering the identity of Laius's murderer, every new figure who enters upon the stage in the forward movement of the plot only leads him further back in a retrograde direction, until, with the last and critical entry of the old herdsman, he returns to the very moment of his birth as the infant with the pierced feet who was given over to that very herdsman to carry off to Mount Cithaeron. With this revelation of his origins, Oedipus simultaneously realizes another regression—namely, that he had returned to seed the mother's womb from which he was engendered."

⁴⁸⁴ Stephens (2015 *ad* 72-119).

emphatically cuts at the very beginning of the next section: ἐνδόμυχος (87). He is ultimately forced back into this “innermost part of the house,” the female realm, a point stressed by the mourning of the females and the “breast which fed him” (94-5).

The *Hymn to Demeter* also resembles in some ways the tale of the “curse-child,” a particular variety of exposure tale in which an infant, imagined as a τέρας or φαρμακός is exposed to prevent the collapse of the community; however, the exposure backfires when the infant miraculously survives and inadvertently fulfills his preordained fate. Two examples of this type of tale include the exposures of Alexander and Oedipus, both of whom return with haughty attitudes and leave destruction in their wake. The dire results of Alexander’s survival—the Trojan War and its aftereffects—reverberate throughout several Euripidean dramas and affect Trojans and Greeks alike. The effects of Oedipus’ survival are more localized, as his return brings the destruction of the Theban household. Callimachus rearranges these events. Like the curse-child, Erysichthon is ill-fated (31) and behaves badly (32-9, 50-5), a combination which results in the destruction of his household and hope for his death. Exiled from his home, Erysichthon is much like Oedipus; however, by describing this exile clearly as exposure, Callimachus combines the two related expulsions.

At the same time, having regressed in age and exposed after failing to connect with his father, Erysichthon does not follow the Dionysiac death-and-rebirth model. Callimachus alludes to two ritual contexts which involve this type of model. On the one hand, Erysichthon can be construed as the counterpart to the child in the Eleusinian and Dionysiac Mysteries. As described in V.2, Callimachus reworks much of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* in his own version. In addition to recreating the rape scene and Demeter's wanderings, Callimachus alludes to Demeter's role as nurse of Demophoön.⁴⁸⁵ For example, Demeter addresses Erysichthon three times as τέκνον, and on the third more specifically as a “much prayed for child by his parents” (τέκνον πολύθεστε τοκεῦσι, 46-7) This passage evokes both the goddess' blessing on Demophoön's older sisters that they be granted “children to bear, as parents wish for,” (τέκνα τεκέσθαι /ώς ἐθέλουσι τοκῆς, 136-7) and one such child, the “much prayed for” (πολυένχετος, 165; πολυάρητος, 220) Demophoön; thus, it appears as though Demeter is hoping that Erysichthon will abandon his ways and pick up a role like that of Demophoön. Failing to heed the goddess' advice, Erysichthon undergoes a shrinking process into infancy on a diet of meat and wine in contrast to Demophoön's growth on an ambrosia diet (231-41). The “breast which fed” (μαστὸς...ἔπωνε) Erysichthon

⁴⁸⁵ See Hunter (1992: 11), Bing (1995: 32), especially Ambühl (2005: 187-91), and Stephens (2015 on 100). See also the previous discussion at V.1.

may also be considered a contrast to Demophoön's specifically non-milk diet (236).⁴⁸⁶

Demophoön has been seen as a “form of the divine child whose birth was announced at the climax of the Mysteries, and as the model for the initiates, who were adopted as children by the divine nurses (κουροτρόφοι) Demeter and Persephone.”⁴⁸⁷ The latter connection has been made to the *Hymn*, of course, because Demeter was disguised as an old woman of the sort who “are nurses (τροφοί) of the children of law-ministering kings” (101-04) and later indeed becomes a nurse to Demophoön (*παῖδα νεογνὸν...τιθηνούμην*, 141-42). Demophoön is simultaneously like the anonymous θρησπτοί adopted by the

⁴⁸⁶ Given the importance of vegetative fertility in the hymn, we might also interpret the breast as a geographical location. At Pi. P. 4.8, *mastos* is used for Cyrene's acropolis. Calame (2014: 296 with n26) points out that the *mastos* correlates with the Delphi *omphalos* (74). Understood in this way, Erysichthon is a foil of Ion, who emerges from the male womb, the Delphic temple “reborn,” on which see below.

μαστός may also demonstrate a return to infancy or dependency (so Hopkinson 1984: 9; Fowler 1990: 43), as an example of “deviant focalization,” i.e. the image should be understood from the point of view of Erysichthon, but cf. Bing (1995: 36-7), who considers the image from the point of view of a “sympathetic female speaker and her listeners.”) On the allusion to female ritual mourning and supplication, breast-feeding, or both, see McKay (1962: 95), Gutzwiller (1981: 47), Hopkinson (1984: 9 and on 95), Ambühl (2005: 188 with n384), and Stephens (2015 *ad* 94-5).

Of the imperfect ἔπιωνε: Hopkinson (1984 *ad loc.*) dubs it “a loose ‘epic’ use of the imperfect,” i.e. an imperfect used in place of an aorist, for which use see Kühner-Gerth (1898: I.145). However, there is no need to suppose such a use here, since the ongoing and habitual past action expressed by the imperfect works perfectly well here (“used to nurse him”). Renahan (1987: 251), followed by Stephens (2015 *ad* 95), disputes Hopkinson and stresses the imperfect’s “continuing result over and above the simple fact,” i.e. “The nurse remained Erysichthon’s nurse after she had ceased to suckle him.” But such a “perfect” use of the imperfect seems unparalleled (cf. Kühner-Gerth 1898: I.142-46). In supposing the existence of a “perfect” imperfect Renahan follows Barrett (1964 on E. *Hipp.* 419-21), who takes ἔτικτον as a “perfect” use of the imperfect in place of the aorist ἔτεκον, but one form or the other is often used *metri causa* (Olson-Seaberg 2018 *ad Cratin. fr. 360.3*).

⁴⁸⁷ Richardson (1974: 24).

κουροτρόφοι in the Mysteries, because he is the Θρησπός of Demeter in the *Hymn* (168, 223), and an example of the Divine Child, “as the goddess adopts him as her own.”⁴⁸⁸ Elsewhere the child is called Brimos, son of Brimo (Hippol. *Ref.* 5.8.40), who is identified as Demeter, Hekate or another goddess.⁴⁸⁹ The identity of Brimos is either Iacchus-Dionysus, son of Persephone or Plutos, son of Demeter.⁴⁹⁰ Given that the hymn concerns Dionysus as much as Demeter, it is plausible to view the infant Erysichthon as a foil for Demophoon’s divine counterpart, Iacchus-Dionysus.

At the same time, as we saw in VI.3.2.2, Erysichthon’s melting and the return of agriculture at the end of the hymn may correlate with the vegetation cycle and could be specifically linked to the flooding of the Nile. If Erysichthon symbolizes winter, his exposure symbolizes death and is the reverse image of rebirth at the end of the hymn where the initiates carry on their heads λίκνα filled with gold. The λίκνον doubled as a basket for wheat chaff and a cradle, especially during the Dionysus Liknites ritual, which entailed the awakening of baby Dionysus and is likely linked to the vegetative cycle.⁴⁹¹ Callimachus is fully aware

⁴⁸⁸ Richardson (1974), 27. For further discussion of Demophoön and the goddesses as nurses, see 142 and 231ff with Richardson *ad loc.* and especially note his quotation of S. OC 1049-50: λαμπάσιν ἀκταῖς, οὐ πότνιαι σεμνὰ τιθηνοῦνται τέλη θνατοῖσιν, “...at the torchlit promontory, where the revered goddesses nurse holy rites for mortals.”

⁴⁸⁹ Foley (1994: 69 with n15), see Burkert (1983: 289 with n71)

⁴⁹⁰ See Foley (1994: 69, 110-1, and on 486-9), Burkert (1983: 289 with notes 72-3).

⁴⁹¹ For a full overview of the ritual and the *liknon*, see under App. 5.2.1.

of the double use of the *liknon*, since here it is full of gold (i.e. crops), but in the *Hymn to Zeus*, it is a cradle for infant Zeus (48). The links between the first and the last hymn in his corpus (further below) and the presence of Dionysus in the *Hymn to Demeter*, suggest that Callimachus is alluding to the Dionysiac *liknon*. Following a narrative which describes Erysichthon as an exposed infant eating *ekbola lumata*, the *liknon* symbolizes rebirth. Used as a cradle in the Dionysus Liknites ritual and the basket in the Eleusinian Mysteries, both of which Euripides alludes to with the basket at the end of *Ion*, the *liknon* was also one of the objects in the procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus in honor of Dionysus,⁴⁹² from whom the Ptolemies claimed descent—and Philadelphus, in particular, portrayed himself as the divine child Horus. Thus, the imagery of exposure establishes Erysichthon as the antithesis of not only the gods (Demeter, Dionysus, Apollo), but also the Ptolemies.

VII.3.2 Realistic Aspects of Erysichthon's Exposure

Although key features of the motif may change, it is possible to detect a continuity between the exposure motif in later tragedy and New Comedy. For instance, the predictable stages of exposure in New Comedy (rape, exposure,

⁴⁹² The procession, described in detail at Ath. 5.197c-203b, included many golden objects. *Likna* were carried by priests, priestesses, the previous year's initiates, and Dionysiac *thiasoi* (198e). On the gold and its association with the procession and as symbolic of the crops produced by the Nile's flooding, see also McKay (1962a: 129-34). On the Dionysiac mysteries and Orphism in the Ptolemaic period, see e.g. Nilsson (1957: 11-2).

discovery, suffering, recognition, peripateia) occur also in Euripides' *Ion* and fragmentary plays.⁴⁹³ However, the elements of exposure differ between Greek tragedy (mainly represented in Euripides) and New Comedy in two significant ways. In Greek tragedy, a male offspring of a divinity and a royal female functions as a plot device, but in New Comedy, human girls exposed because of financial difficulties suit the narrative strategy, but also reflect actual practice.⁴⁹⁴

While Erysichthon, like Oedipus, ruins his household and opposes the gods, other circumstances of his exposure reflect the conventions of New Comedy and actual practice. Economic consequences of Erysichthon's hunger and his disease rather than an illegitimate birth or prophecy land the *brepbos* not in the mountains, but at the crossroads, a realistic location for exposure. Moreover, the role of the parents may reflect the conventions of child exposure. In everyday practice, the father decided the fate of the child, while the mother had no say in matters of her own fertility. In the hymn, the women, including the nurse, mourn

⁴⁹³ So Murray (1943). These comments are situated in a larger argument about the transition from the “unseemly” τὰ φαλλικά of Old Comedy to a new “fertility ritual proper to Dionysus” of New Comedy, namely a less magical variation on the mysteriously and speedily-growing “Year Baby” of tragedy already detected in Aristophanes' *Kokalos* and *Aiolosikon*. Golden (1990: 173) similarly sees the exposures in New Comedy as “a variation of a theme also found in tragedy” and unusual occurrences to create exciting plots. Huys (1995: 21-2) rejects this. Huys also thinks that Euripides' plays anticipate New Comedy. Segal (1971: 612): motifs such as recognition “point ahead to New Comedy,” but also have a “fully tragic aspect...the ignorance and blindness in which so much of human life is lived.” Knox (1970) also thinks that *Ion* is a precursor to New Comedy; Mastronarde (2010: 58) criticizes the view that *Ion* is a comedy.

⁴⁹⁴ Huys (1995:13-5, 89-90). For a useful overview, see Patterson (1985). Other reasons for exposure included illegitimacy, deformities, and being female, though this latter is hotly debated.

Erysichthon's condition (94-5), but it is the father, in his prayer to Poseidon, who wishes death upon his son and laments his inability to feed his son and the effects of his hunger on the household.⁴⁹⁵ While Triopas does not himself cast out Erysichthon to the crossroads, he does want to get rid of him (100-4), and Erysichthon's "exposure" follows soon after the conclusion of the father's speech.

Thus, we are perhaps meant to imagine an inversion of the fortieth-day festival, which marked the end of postnatal impurities (as in the Ptolemais inscription below) and perhaps celebrated the infant's survival and acceptance,⁴⁹⁶ or the *amphidromia*, a ceremony during which an infant was accepted into the family, or the period prior to the *amphidromia* when a father could still decide to expose the infant. During the *amphidromia*, the infant was carried around the hearth and celebrated with presents and a feast of friends and family, and during the tenth-day ceremony ($\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\eta$), the infant was named.⁴⁹⁷ In the *Hymn to Demeter*, the youth Erysichthon is closed off from society as he retreats to the inner parts of

⁴⁹⁵ On Triopas' inability to feed his son ($\beta\acute{o}\sigma\kappa\epsilon$, 104), Cf. E. *Ion*. 136-7, where Ion, raised in his father Apollo's temple, praises Apollo as "the one who feeds him" ($\tau\grave{o}v \beta\acute{o}\sigma\kappa\omega\tau\alpha$).

⁴⁹⁶ On the fortieth-day festival, see Montserrat (1996: 33-4).

⁴⁹⁷ The day of the *amphidromia* varies in the sources. It occurred on the fifth, seventh, or tenth day. According to the Diegesis, *Iambus* 12 was composed for such an event, seven days after the birth of the daughter of the poet's friend. On the occasion and contents of *Iambus* 12, see Acosta-Hughes (2002: 120-43) and Ambühl (2005: 295-307). On the *amphidromia* and the tenth-day ceremony, see App. 5.7.2, 5.7.3.

the house, and his father does not refer to him by name or even acknowledge him as a son, but only by the term “*brepbos*.”

In addition to the economic consequences, Erysichthon’s disease which causes him to become malformed may reflect exposure practices, as suggested above, or even Greek uncertainties and fears about infant mortality, which occurred at a higher rate on account of diseases and unsanitary conditions. Unaware of these and other causes of infant mortality, the Greeks imagined the existence of child-killing demons, such as Gello and Mormo, and sought out the apotropaic care of *kourotrophic* deities (cf. App. 3.4 with n560, 6.1.1). It is from this perspective that we can understand Demeter as nurse and protector of Demophoon and Praxinoa’s invocation of Mormo and concern for her infant in Theocritus’ fifteen *Idyll* (App. 6.1.1),⁴⁹⁸ as well as the immunity of certain divine infants to these same dangers. Thus, in the *Hymn to Artemis*, the three-year old goddess is unafraid of the Cyclopes and Hermes’ Mormo disguise and instead plucks out Brontes’ chest hairs (64-79; cf. *Del.* 297).

Thus we can see that the Cyrenean scholar, born roughly a century after Euripides in the heyday of Greek New Comedy, was influenced by all elements of exposure, mythic and realistic, tragic and comic. At the same time, the poet-scholar

⁴⁹⁸ On Demeter as nurse, V.1, VII.3.1.

demonstrates his awareness of earlier representations of the *brephos* through verbal allusions and innovates on that tradition. Callimachus' Erysichthon story, then, as an amalgamation of the old and new, is a textbook example of Alexandrian innovation.

VII.3.3 Erysichthon's Exposure as a Foil for the Births of Zeus and Apollo

VII.3.3.1 The Exposure Motif in the *Hymn to Zeus* and the *Hymn to Demeter*

Erysichthon's regression to an unfavorable and vulnerable age and his subsequent exposure also contradicts the trajectory of the kingly and precocious, divine infants in the first and fourth hymns. Earlier scholarship on the hymns found little connection between the first and the sixth hymns. Haslam recognizes that the hymns concern siblings, but otherwise share no common ground.⁴⁹⁹ Ukleja, however, demonstrates that the themes in the hymns overlap extensively. For example, Erysichthon's unquenchable thirst despite the abundance of wine and his concealment in the house echoes the Arcadian hiker's thirst despite the abundance of water hidden under his feet, and the wandering of a thirsty and filthy Demeter echoes that of Rhea who searches for water to wash herself and her

⁴⁹⁹ (1993: 115).

infant after childbirth.⁵⁰⁰ Now, we can add exposure to the list of correspondences between the two hymns.⁵⁰¹

Although Callimachus does not use the term *brepbos* of Zeus,⁵⁰² he includes the elements of a successful exposure tale, since Zeus is raised in secret by nymphs and animals to protect him from a paternal figure, but returns and takes his rightful role as king.⁵⁰³ Rhea bears him in dense thickets in the mountains (10-11). After washing him in a great stream, Rhea gives him to the nymph Neda to raise in secret in Crete (33-4). Neda hands him off to the Dictaeon Meliae (ash-tree nymphs), the nymph Adrastea puts him in a golden *liknon*, he receives milk from the breast of a goat and bees (46-51). The Curetes bang their shields to hide the infant's crying from his father (52-4). Much of the rest of the poem is concerned with Zeus' role as king, which probably refers to Ptolemy I Soter and/or Ptolemy II Philadelphus.⁵⁰⁴

⁵⁰⁰ (2005: 87, 92, 94-8, 103). Ukleja also notes similar motifs (wandering, thirst, etc.) in the *Hymn to Delos*. For parallels between pure and impure in the three hymns, see VII.5.

⁵⁰¹ Erysichthon has been read as a foil for Teiresias in *Bath of Pallas* and parallel for Heracles in *Hymn to Artemis*; however, as far as I know, no study exists that examines the relationship between the infant Erysichthon and the divine infants. The following

⁵⁰² Unlike Theocritus (App. 6.1), Callimachus seems to use the term only for animals or in a negative sense. It is not attested of the divine.

⁵⁰³ Zeus' childhood may have been adapted from Dionysus'. So Nilsson (1957: 110) and see App. 5.8.2.

⁵⁰⁴ The hymn contains references to both Soter and Philadelphus II and is therefore dated to the period when they co-ruled Egypt (285-3). For an overview, see Stephens (2015: 17-8). According to later sources (e.g. Paus. 1.6.2; Ael. fr. 285), Soter was illegitimately born from Philip II and the concubine Arsinoe, wife of Lagos who therefore exposed Soter on a shield, where he was protected by an eagle. The shield and eagle, associated with Zeus and Alexander, establish his paternity. For

These details are diametrically opposed in the *Hymn to Demeter*. The mother's lies (83), which Zeus does not approve (*Lav. Pall.* 135-6), and the secrecy associated with Erysichthon's regression into the house, where the "breast" that fed him mourns (95), echo the necessary secrecy of Zeus' birth and upbringing. However, while in the *Hymn to Zeus*, the elements of the exposure motif preface the god's rise to power, in the *Hymn to Demeter*, the motif is accompanied by the parents' shame (73), which perhaps reflects the fear and shame that led women to expose and the secrecy accompanying the exposure of their infants,⁵⁰⁵ and foreshadows Erysichthon's failed passage and exposure. While Zeus ascends to the throne after evading the fury of his father through his secret upbringing, Erysichthon, the only son of the king, is exposed in a public place after his parents can no longer keep his malady secret and his father, in particular, is at a loss how to provide for him. Moreover, Zeus' bath in the river and his nourishment by bees is the reverse image of Erysichthon's impure diet both in the house and during his exposure at the filthy crossroads. Finally, kingship, the end point of Zeus' exposure tale, is denied to Erysichthon who undergoes exposure, the end point of his failed coming-of-age tale.

details on the reports, see Collins (1997). She argues that Ptolemy I was not linked to Lagos until the reign of Philadelphus II, "who removed the stigma of bastardy from the first Ptolemaic king."

⁵⁰⁵ Such is the case for Creusa in E. *Ion* and Andromaches in E. *Andr.* on which see App. 5.4.2, 5.6.4.

VII.3.3.2 The “Anti-Mother” in the *Hymn to Delos* and the *Hymn to Demeter*

Ares, who is out of sync with Dionysus, and the vengeful Hera do not shed their habits in Callimachus’ hymns.⁵⁰⁶ We have already seen how Erysichthon is akin to Ares and the giants in the *Hymn to Delos*. Other links between the two hymns suggest that the destructive intent of Hera is unleashed against Erysichthon. While Apollo in the *Hymn to Delos* evades the threat of Hera, the “anti-mother,” and is born on and nourished by his nurse Delos, the *Hymn to Demeter* turns in the opposite direction. Initially assuming her role as nurse in ways that echo her nursing of Demophoon in the *Homeric Hymn*, Demeter, in the face of the hubristic youth, adopts the stance of the “anti-mother,” which in the tradition is allotted to Hera both because she herself gives birth to deformed (Hephaestus) or monstrous (Typhon) children, whom she rejects, and on account of her intervention with the delivery of the child, represented on the mythic plane as the threat she poses towards Zeus’ *brephe* both before and shortly after birth (especially Apollo, Dionysus, and Heracles).⁵⁰⁷

⁵⁰⁶ Here, too, there are Ptolemaic connections. According to Ath. 5.201c-d, Hera’s persecution of Dionysus was included in Philadelphus’ grand procession, which included statues of Dionysus and Hera. The scene appears to have depicted Dionysus’ escape from Hera to Cybele/Rhea, who according to Apollod. 3.5.1, purified him and taught him her rites of initiation.

⁵⁰⁷ On Hera as “anti-mother” and her persecution of Zeus’ offspring, see Zeitlin (2002: esp. 198-203).

Hunter (1992: 11-2) describes Callimachus’ Athena as “goddess as not-mother” because Chariclo does not sway the motherless Athena, but she is gentler towards Teiresias than Hera in other versions (see II.3.3). Moreover, as Zeitlin points out, vacillation between negative “anti-mother” and positive “mother” often occurs in one figure, such as Gaia, who in the *Theogony* is both the

In Callimachus, Hera's anger and unproductive assault on Apollo in the *Hymn to Delos* recur in allusive fashion in the *Hymn to Demeter*. In the fourth hymn, Hera's anger towards Delos is ineffective, since the island "does not shrink from Hera who is angry" (οὐδ' Ἡρῆς κοτέουσαν ύπέτρεσας) even though Hera despises Leto more than any other woman in labor with Zeus' children because Leto will bear a son more loved by his father than Ares (55-8).⁵⁰⁸ As a result, an "unspeakably" (οὐ φατόν) angry Hera sets herself up in the aether to watch and hinder Leto (59-61).

Verbal parallels between Leto's pregnancy and Hera's anger likewise demonstrate the fruitlessness of Hera's attempts against Leto's fertility.⁵⁰⁹ In particular, Callimachus exploits the various meanings of βαρύνω ("weigh down") to contrast Leto's fertility and Hera's ineffective anger.⁵¹⁰ When Delos sees Leto "weighed down by labor pains" (ὑπ' ὠδίνεσσι βαρυνομένην), she does not fear Hera and invites Leto to give birth on her soil (201-4). Leto sits down at the Inopus,

foundation of creation and the anti-mother, who gives birth to Typho (819-21) and whom Hera "imitates." Similarly, the *kourotrophic* Artemis and Demeter can transform into the opposite and become the anti-mother, as happens in both the third and sixth hymns. Cf. Ambühl (2005: 190-1). Angry Demeter also occurs at fr. 63 Harder (at a girl), and then at Nic. *Heter.* Fr. 56, *Ther.* 484-5; Ov. *Met.* 5.446-61.

⁵⁰⁸ Bing (1988: 94-6) has argued that Hera symbolizes Callimachus' poetic enemy, since her braying (ἐπεβρωμᾶτο, 56) recalls the din of asses and the Telchines' muttering in the prologue to the *Aetia* (fr. 1.1, 30-1)

⁵⁰⁹ So also Stephens (2015 on *Del.* 215-7; cf. on 307, in ritual context of a statue "weighed down" (βαρύνεται) by wreaths).

⁵¹⁰ βαρύνω is previously attested of pregnancy at e.g. E. *IT* 1228 and X. *Mem.* 2.2.5.

which is most abundant because the Nile is flowing down from Ethiopia (205-8).

Leaning against a tree, she asks her unborn child why he is “weighing her down” ($\beta\alpha\varrho\nu\nu\varepsilon\iota\varsigma$) and asks him to “gently” be born (209-14).

With another $\beta\alpha\varrho\nu$ - prefixed word ($\nu\mu\varphi\alpha\ \Delta\iota\circ\ \beta\alpha\varrho\theta\nu\mu\varepsilon$, 215), the narrator then abruptly shifts back to the anger of Hera, who will soon learn that Apollo was born on Delos. Hera is angry about Zeus’ secret marriages and the birth of hidden creatures and exclaims that Zeus’ flings have stooped so low to hide the birth of their children that they give birth not even where mill workers have difficult labors, but where seals give birth on solitary rocks (239-43). However, it is with Apollo’s birth that Delos, formerly Asteria, becomes Delos (i.e. visible) and fixed in place (40, 51-4, 250). Hera then decides that she is not terribly distressed ($\beta\alpha\varrho\nu\omega\mu\alpha\iota$) because Delos, after all, did not have an affair with her husband (244-8). The narrative then segues into celebrating Apollo’s birth on Delos with the song of swans and gold and Delos’ nursing of Apollo (249-74). Here, Hades and Ares (Hera’s henchman) have no place (276-7).

In the *Hymn to Demeter*, the goddess, echoing her role as nurse in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, initially behaves in a maternal fashion by soothing Erysichthon ($\pi\alpha\varrho\alpha\psi\chi\iota\sigma\alpha$) and, as shown above, e.g. addressing him three times as $\tau\acute{e}kvov$ (45-7). But when the rogue does not heed her warning, Demeter

becomes, like Hera, unspeakably angry ($\Delta\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\delta'\ \check{\alpha}\varphi\alpha\tau\acute{o}\nu\ \tau\iota\ \kappa\omega\tau\acute{e}\sigma\sigma\alpha\tau\o$, 57).⁵¹¹

However, while Hera is unproductive in her attempts against fertility, Demeter is effective as the “anti-mother” since her curse renders Erysichthon unproductive and diseased. Demeter’s punishment also renders another mother unproductive. In response to one of the social invitations, Erysichthon’s mother responds in tears with a heavy heart ($\tau\grave{\alpha}\nu\ \delta\grave{\epsilon}\ \gamma\nu\nu\grave{\alpha}\ \beta\alpha\varrho\acute{\nu}\theta\upsilon\mu\grave{\omega}\ \grave{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\beta\epsilon\tau\o\ \delta\alpha\kappa\varrho\acute{\nu}\iota\sigma\alpha$, 80). As has been noted, $\beta\alpha\varrho\acute{\nu}\theta\upsilon\mu\grave{\omega}$ occurs in Callimachus only here and of Hera’s anger (above) and previously only of Medea’s anger, which the chorus fails to assuage and results in the death of her children (*E. Med.* 176).⁵¹² These other attestations have led McKay to suggest that Callimachus exploits the ambiguity of the word so that Erysichthon’s mother is not simply sorrowful, but also ignobly angry about the effects of her son’s disease on her position in society.⁵¹³ But while the mother may feel both emotions and the parents are ashamed, the narrator does not make moral judgment about their response. I argue that here, as of Hera’s anger, the poet is commenting on the unproductivity of his mother’s emotion. Her tears do not reverse Erysichthon’s fate or the effects on her family any more than Hera’s

⁵¹¹ It should be noted that in the hymns $\kappa\omega\tau\acute{e}\omega$ and “unspeakable” anger occur only here and of Hera at *Del.* 55, 60. “Unspeakable” also describes the thirst of Teiresias (*Lav. Pall.* 77), which, as Hopkinson (1984: 15) has noted, is one of many parallels between the final two hymns.

⁵¹² McKay (1962a: 96-8), Mineur (1984 on 215), Stephens (2015 on *Del.* 215).

⁵¹³ (1962a: 96-8): “Erysichthon’s mother is no paragon of virtue either...To think that she should have to cover up for such a son, and bear the burden of disgrace. Alas, it is her social standing that is at stake, not Erysichthon’s life.” On the ambiguity, McKay is followed by Mineur (1984 on 215).

anger prevents Apollo's birth. Rather, just as the chorus is unable to appease Medea's anger and prevent the death of her children, so is the mother's grief irreversible as Erysichthon plummets toward his certain doom.

Punished by an "anti-mother," Erysichthon's story moves in the opposite direction of Apollo's. Rather than avoiding the "anti-mother" by being born in secret, Erysichthon offends a mother and therefore suffers from a hunger that pushes him into the deepest recesses of the house. And while Apollo's birth coincides with the transformation of Asteria (inconspicuous) into Delos (visible), his *kourotrophos*, Erysichthon's demise results in his seclusion in the house, where we are reminded of the nurture he once received from his nurse, now in vain. In the end, rather than making a triumphant entrance into the world, the youth sits on display at the filthy crossroads.

VII.4 Erysichthon, Aborted

Hera's attacks on Zeus' offspring are mythic renditions of real complications in pregnancy.⁵¹⁴ In the *Hymn to Delos*, while Hera attempts to prevent Apollo's birth through delaying tactics, Delos is still wandering and only

⁵¹⁴ So also Zeitlin (2002: 199-200 with n10, 214), who discusses both the wandering of the womb in Apollo's birth and Dionysus' premature birth. She also briefly mentions Hera's attempts to delay Heracles' birth and accelerate that of Eurystheus at *Il.* 19.95-125. However, she is most concerned with how both stories reflect male control over female reproduction and does not discuss the medical terminology (*ekbolon*).

stabilized after Apollo's birth (). The wandering of Delos likely reflects the Hippocratic belief that the "wandering womb," the supposed cause of *hysteria* in women, was only stabilized through insemination and pregnancy.⁵¹⁵ At the same time, by delaying Apollo's birth, Hera accidentally guarantees that he is not born prematurely. In the *Hymn to Delos*, Apollo's prophecies in *utero* (86-98, 162-95), borrowed from Egyptian views about prenatal activity of gods and kings,⁵¹⁶ may not only illustrate the precociousness of the god, his rivalry with literary pretexts, or renewal of the tradition,⁵¹⁷ but also wittily demonstrate how far along Leto is in her pregnancy. This delay in Apollo's birth or at least Leto's carrying him fully to term, I suspect, is a foil for the premature birth pangs of the lioness on Thessaly, which is a chaotic location full of anti-Callimachean figures and therefore unsuitable for the birth of Apollo.⁵¹⁸ The antithesis between the misshapen cubs of

⁵¹⁵ So Solomon (1993), followed by Zeitlin (2002:198-200 with n12).

⁵¹⁶ So Bing (1988: 133-5 with n80), who notes, however, that examples do exist in Greek myth (e.g. Dionysus in A. *Semele*), and Stephens (2003: 120-1).

⁵¹⁷ On these aspects, see Ambühl (2005: 342-8); cf. 362-3 for concluding remarks on the purpose of childhood gods in Call.

⁵¹⁸ Πήλιον ὁ Φιλύρης νυμφῆιον, ἀλλὰ σὺ μεῖνον,/μεῖνον, ἐπεὶ καὶ θῆρες ἐν οὐρανοῖς πολλάκι σεῖο/ώμοτόκους ὕδινας ἀπηρείσαντο λέαιναι, ("O chamber of Philyra, but you stay put, stay put, since wild lionesses also often deposit in your mountains premature offspring," 118-20). There has been confusion about what exactly is meant here. 1) Stephens (2015 on 120)—and similarly, Mineur (1984 on 120)—think that there should be a "a correlation between the lioness and Leto" and that premature birth "does not seem applicable to a Leto well past her due date." 2) Another possibility put forward by early commentators is that Callimachus may be referring to the difficult childbirth of the lioness, as (erroneously) at Hdt. 3.108, who thinks that a lioness only has one cub since she expels her uterus along with the cub who destroyed it in utero; however, Aristotle (*HA* 579b) rejects these views as "silly" (*ληρώδης*) and made-up to explain the rarity of lions. It is difficult to believe that Call. was not aware of Aristotle's remarks. Indeed, he may be poking fun at Hdt's suggestion, since in his hymn, the lionesses "often" give birth. 3) Stephens speculates that the other details

a lioness and the healthy and vigorous Apollo may very well be Callimachus' version of the lamed Hephaestus in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (309-30).⁵¹⁹ The jealous Hera contrasts her son, whom she casts out, with the healthy and powerful offspring of Zeus' liaisons, and in revenge, she produces the monstrous Typhon, whom she hands over to the care of Python (331-54), the serpent slain by Apollo (355-76). This second part of the myth Callimachus reserves for his second hymn (*Ap.* 97-104).

In the same way, Hera intervenes in the birth of Dionysus by convincing Semele to request to see or sleep with Zeus in his divine form, i.e. lightning (e.g. D.S. 3.64.3-4, Apollod. 3.4.3; cf. E. *Ba.* 9).⁵²⁰ From a medical perspective, Semele's death may reflect complications in childbirth, and the expulsion (*ekbolon*) of Dionysus from his mother's womb can be understood as premature birth or abortion (cf. *ekbolion*, an abortive).⁵²¹ Later sources are clearer about the timing of

about the lion cub (their weakness, etc. as described below) are meant here, but takes this possibility as indicating that Pelion is adequate shelter for lionesses and their weak cubs. 4) Mineur, on the other hand, thinks that the prefix refers to "the primitive circumstances in which wild animals litter."

It seems to me that Leto is considering giving birth in the chamber on Pelion because it has positive associations with Philyra, but then realizes that lionesses also give birth to premature and weak offspring there and so distances herself from it. I therefore take καὶ as "also" rather than "even" and ὠδίνας as "offspring" (or as Stephens' "raw fruits of their labor") rather than "birth pangs." (cf. e.g. E. *Ion* 45, where λαθραῖον ὠδῖν' clearly refers to the infant Ion and not birth pangs). On Pi. *P.* 9 as pretext, see Ambühl (2005: 339-40).

⁵¹⁹ Hephaestus is mentioned in the anti-Callimachean portion of the poem (see under V.2.2.2), but for his noise rather than his lameness (134-47).

⁵²⁰ For further attestations of and bibliography on Hera's deception, see Zeitlin (2002: 199n9).

⁵²¹ Similarly, Zeitlin (above), who, however, does not speak of Dionysus' premature birth in specific medical terms or in terms of exposure or abortion.

Dionysus' birth. Apollodorus, for instance, reports that "Zeus snatched up the sixth-month aborted *brephos* from the fire and sewed it in his thigh," (έξαμηνιαῖον τὸ βρέφος ἔξαμβλωθὲν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀρπάσας ἐνέρραψε τῷ μηρῷ, 3.4.3).⁵²² His subsequent "rewombing" therefore not only allows for rebirth from the father, but also incubates Dionysus until he can safely be born. In this way, Hera's threat towards the infant, which is realized in myth as a jealous reaction to her spouse's infidelities, may reflect the reality of dangers posed to a vulnerable newborn, especially one born prematurely.

Along with the exposure of Erysichthon, Callimachus incorporates imagery of abortion or premature birth. In his prayer to Poseidon, Triopas refers to his son as a βρέφος whom he wishes Apollo would have stricken down so that he could bury him with his own hands. Triopas' mention of Apollo in a passage about a *brephos* draws attention to the god's absence in a liminal period of Erysichthon's life. At the same time, as we have seen, the absence of Apollo alongside the *brephos* is a foil for his oversight of young animals in the *Hymn to Apollo* and the nourishing of Aristaeus in Pindar's ninth *Pythian*, one of the hymn's literary predecessors. But since Erysichthon is wasting away, rather than growing like Aristaeus or

⁵²² Cf. Σ II. 14.325, who refers to the *Ba*. (Dionysus is six months). Lucian *Dial. Deorum*. 9.2, for example, makes him seven months old. D.S. 3.64.4, 4.2.3 does not specify a month, but writes that the *brephos* was brought forth untimely (ἐκτρώσατ) before the appointed time.

Demophoon, and has apparently regressed from the threshold of adulthood into the female space, Triopas is invoking Apollo here in his medical capacity.

In the *Hymn to Apollo*, medicine is listed as one of Apollo's spheres of oversight: "and from Phoebus doctors have learned the delay of death," (ἐκ δέ νῦ Φοίβου/ὶητροὶ δεδάασιν ανάβλησιν θανάτοιο, 45-6). To this sphere Callimachus adds Apollo's care of flocks as a subcategory,⁵²³ which we have seen is a foil for Erysichthon as *brepbos*. The term ἀνάβλησις also finds a counterpart in this *brepbos* section of the *Hymn to Demeter* with βλήτον ("stricken"), a technical term derived from medicine. Because Callimachus mingled with Alexandrian doctors, it is unsurprising that medical terminology appear throughout the Callimachean corpus. Most, for example, has argued that Callimachus altered Leto's birthing position in the *Hymn to Delos* (209) from the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* to reflect the contemporary practice of Herophilus.⁵²⁴ At least two of Herophilus' works attest to his study of gynecological issues.

Unfortunately, little Herophilus survives, but fragments and later testimonia reveal that his interests included the causes of difficult childbirth and the question of the fetus as a living being.⁵²⁵ We also know that the Alexandrians

⁵²³ So Stephens (2015 on 42-6), referring to Pl. *Crat.* 405a1-3, who lists only four spheres (music, prophecy, healing, archery).

⁵²⁴ (1981).

⁵²⁵ For an overview of Herophilus' gynecological research, see von Standen (1989: 296-9).

wrote commentaries on the Hippocratic Corpus. Modern commentators have noted that βλήτον is a technical term for paralysis and have cited two passages from the Corpus (*Coac.* 394, *Acut.* 17), which refer to the effects of pneumonia and eating unstrained gruel. According to Erotian (fr. 55 Nachmanson), βλητοί were “all those that met their end suddenly because of acute diseases.” This evidently includes fetuses, since the term also appears in a list of abortives prescribed to remove fetuses with various ailments: Ἐτερον ἐκβόλιον, ὁ τὸ παιδίον βλητὸν γενόμενον ἐκβάλλει (“Another abortive, which casts out the fetus become stricken,” *Hp. Mul.* 78 = 8.188.13-4 Littré).⁵²⁶

Other reasons indicate that the poet is alluding to abortion. First of all, the context suggests such a situation. Triopas wants Apollo to kill his *brephos* so that he can bury him. In addition, the relationship between the hymn and other texts suggest this scenario. As discussed at VI.4.2, Callimachus’ use of *brephos* here alludes to the argument over the mare pregnant with a mule fetus (*brephos*) in the Homeric chariot race. In addition, Callimachus uses βλήτον in a related sense in the *Hymn to Artemis* which, as we have seen, complements the *Hymn to Demeter* in several ways. To recap, the poet describes the punishments of an angry Artemis on an unjust people. The pestilence devouring the herds (λοιμὸς καταβόσκεται,

⁵²⁶ Note that fetus is *paidion*. On *brephos* as a mainly poetic term, see App.

125) recalls Erysichthon, who is punished with λιμός and whom Triopas wants Apollo to feed like an animal (βόσκε, 104). The men mourning over their sons is echoed by Triopas throwing his hands on his gray hairs. And finally, the women are either “stricken” (βληταῖ) in childbirth or have malformed children.

While this medical terminology suggests an aborted fetus, Erysichthon at the crossroads and the term ἔκβολα can also suggest an exposed infant. However, these fates are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Indeed, two of the central themes of the hymn, deformities and pollution, were associated with both abortion and exposure. Like the children of the unjust mothers, Erysichthon is described as if he has deformities. For example, he wastes away to his sinews and bones, and, in many ways, he resembles the newborn cub (ώμοτόκος, 52). On the one hand, as we have seen, the single cub contrasts the multiple births in the *Hymn to Apollo*. On the other, like a *brepbos*, a newly-born cub is particularly fragile. Aristotle reports that lion cubs, amongst other animals, are unarticulated and blind at birth and for awhile thereafter (GA 742a.10-2; 774b.14-7); and that they are so small that walking was difficult even at two months (HA 579b.8-9).⁵²⁷ In later authors, ωμοτόκος, possibly coined by Callimachus, indicates either miscarriage or the birth of an unformed fetus (e.g. Tryph. 557);⁵²⁸ and Soranus defines

⁵²⁷ Cf. Eudemus fr. 127, unable to defend themselves, lion cubs are killed by a bear.

⁵²⁸ For other passages on the malformed cubs and ωμοτόκος in other later authors, see also Hopkinson (1984 *ad loc.*).

ωμοτοκία as premature birth of the nearly-completed fetus and goes on to explain that those that survive are atrophic and weak (3.47.2).⁵²⁹ In reality, such deformities also resulted in exposure and may have been reflected in the myth of Oedipus.

VII.5 The Pure and the Impure

The filth associated with Erysichthon's disease and his fate at the crossroads is also antithetical to the birth and nature of Apollo. Bing has shown that the birth of Apollo on Delos represents the new order's defeat of the old, or order/harmony over chaos, and that the slender and pure Delos is a metaphor for Callimachus' poetics. In the hymn, the old order is chaotic and impure and is represented by Ares and Hera and the places whence Leto flees or is turned away.⁵³⁰ Thus, for example, Thessalian Peneius' fear about being dried up, if he offers his streams to Leto for childbirth, is contrasted by the gold in the Inopus river (263). And it is on account of his purity and concern for purity that Apollo while still in *utero* rejects Thebes and Cithaeron as his nurse (97-8). In rejecting Thebes, Apollo cites Niobe,

⁵²⁹ cf. Ptol. *Tetr.* 149. Cf. also as a verb at D.H. 9.40, where, on account of divine anger over performing rites in an impure manner, a pestilence causes women to bear premature offspring and dead offspring and to die with their infants (ωμοτοκούσαι τε γὰρ καὶ νεκρὰ τίκτουσαι συναπέθνησκον τοῖς βρέφεσι). Hsch. α 3513 glosses ἀμβλώσκειν ("to bring on miscarriage") as ωμοτοκεῖν. *Suda* ω 100 glosses ωμοτόκησεν as ἐδυστόκησεν ("suffer in childbirth," cf. δυστοκέες at Call. *Del.* 242 of the mill workers) or εξέτρωσεν ("bring forth untimely," cf. D.S. 3.64.4, 4.2.3 of Dionysus' birth above).

⁵³⁰ (1988).

whose slander costs her all her many children, slain by Apollo and Artemis. But Cithaeron is the site of other impure acts, such as the *sparagmos* of Pentheus. As several have pointed out, verbal parallels between *Del.* 98 and *Theoc.* 26.30 suggest that Callimachus derives Apollo's declaration of purity from the narrator's request for their own purity in Theocritus' *Idyll* 26, the tale of Pentheus' death,⁵³¹ which is also a possible pretext for the *Hymn to Demeter*.⁵³² But Apollo's aversion to Cithaeron, to which he attaches no particular crime, may include all those who suffer on Cithaeron and are antithetical to Dionysus, such as Actaeon, who is dismembered on the mountain (*Ba.* 1290-2) and Oedipus, who is exposed there (e.g. S. *OT* 1026; E. *Ph.* 24-5). Indeed, prior to their statement on purity, the Theocritean narrator concludes the Pentheus tale and states their lack of concern not only for Pentheus, but for all those hated by Dionysus, even nine or ten-year-old children (27-9). These lines are possibly evoked in a similar statement by the narrator in the *Hymn to Demeter* immediately after the Erysichthon narrative.⁵³³

⁵³¹ *Del.* 97-8: οὐ σύ γ' ἐμεῖο φίλη τροφὸς οὐδὲ Κιθαιρών/ ἔσσεται· εὐαγέων δὲ καὶ εὐαγέεσσι μελοίμην. *Id.* 26.30: αὐτὸς δ' εὐαγέοιμι καὶ εὐαγέεσσιν ἄδοιμι.

Gow (1952 *ad loc.*) thinks that either Call. imitates Theoc. or the two poets independently draw on a formula in ritual. Ambühl (2005: 218-9) rejects this second suggestion and argues that the context of *Del.* (specifically that Niobe is cited for Thebes and no example is given for Cithaeron) suggests that Call. cites Theocritus and transfers the statement to Apollo.

⁵³² See Ambühl (2005: 215-21), who considers the relationship between *Theoc.* 26 and Call. *Lav. Pall.* and *Dem.*, all of which she dubs "poetologische 'Mysterientexte.'"

⁵³³ Οὐκ ἀλέγω μηδ' ἄλλος ἀπεχθομένω Διονύσῳ/φροντίζοι, μηδ' εἰ χαλεπάτερα τῶνδε μογήσαι,/εἴη δ' ἐνναετὴς ἡ καὶ δεκάτω ἐπιβαίνοι. As noted by Ambühl (2005: 218 with n509 for et al.), cf. *Cer.* 70-1 (Dionysus' anger equated to Demeter's) and 116-7 (Δάματερ, μὴ τῆνος ἐμὸν φίλος, ὃς τοι ἀπεχθής/εἴη μηδ' ὁμότοιχος. ἐμοὶ κακογείτονες ἐχθροί).

The motifs of purity and impurity in Callimachus' fourth and sixth hymns can be understood not only on a poetic and ritual level, but now also from the perspective of childbirth and infancy. The site of Erysichthon's exposure, the crossroads, were also a place where pollution was cast, and in this hymn, Erysichthon's hunger is expressed as a form of pollution. Indeed, Erysichthon has been interpreted as a *pharmakos*, expelled from the house to remove pollution, purify the city, and promote agricultural fertility.⁵³⁴ It is equally as possible, however, that Callimachus is alluding to the motif of the exposed infant both in myth and everyday practice. As summarized by Huys, the exposure of Oedipus may be understood as a mythical representation of the real practice of exposing deformed infants who were considered monsters ($\tau\acute{e}q\alpha\tau\alpha$), which in turn overlaps with the casting out of a *pharmakos*, and Oedipus' exposure can be interpreted as prefiguring his expulsion from Thebes as a *pharmakos* to avert the $\lambda\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$.

Exposure and abortion, along with childbirth in general, were considered to be forms of pollution and unholy. An inscription in verse from Smyrna dating to the second-century AD contains a list of requirements, specifically allotments of

⁵³⁴ Hunter (1992: 31-2 with n64), Faraone (2012).

time following occasions of pollution, for entry into the sanctuary of Bromius (Dionysus).⁵³⁵ Exposure and abortion top the list (*SEG* 14.752.2-5):

[πάν]τες ὅσοι τέμενος Βρομίου ναούς τε περιάτε,
τεσσαράκοντα μὲν ἥματα ἀπ' ἐχθέσεως πεφύλαχθε
νηπιάχοι βρέφους, μὴ δὴ μήνειμα γένηται,
ἔκτοσίν τε γυναικὸς ὄμοίως ἥματα τόσσα·

All who enter the shrines and temple of Bromius,
Should keep away for forty days from the exposure
Of a newborn infant, lest blood-guilt occur,
And from the miscarriage/abortion of a woman for the same number of
days.

Nilsson suggests that this requirement, “remarkable” for its rarity and the length of time (forty days, “the longest period ever mentioned”), is included because children and babies were initiated into the Dionysiac mysteries and because the infant Dionysus was himself torn apart by the Titans.⁵³⁶ Similar requirements

⁵³⁵ For discussion of its contents and the Orphic and Pythagorean influence, see Nilsson (1957: 133-43). The inscription includes, for instance, a heart on the altars (13), which may refer to Athena’s rescue of the heart of infant Dionysus, and the Titans (16).

⁵³⁶ (1957: 134-5): “Small children, even babies, were in this age initiated into the Bacchic mysteries. Whoever exposed a child deprived it of the boon of a happy afterlife, promised even to children by the Dionysiac mysteries. Perhaps the crime of the Titans against the child Dionysus...lurks in the background.” Given the context, this reason (“a more special reason”) is much more convincing

appear only in a first-century BC inscription from Ptolemais Hermiou, founded by Ptolemy I Soter.⁵³⁷ The inscription again details periods of purification before a woman can enter the temple after she gives birth and is nursing, exposes the *brephos*, or has a miscarriage/abortion.

In the *Hymn to Demeter*, Callimachus combines impurities associated with the *pharmakos* and exposure all while pollution is literally absorbed into the *brephos*. Banished to the crossroads, Erysichthon begs for ἔκβολα λύματα. This filth may be read intertextually with the other polluted *lumata* in the hymns. Müller has already shown that the *lumata* carried along by the Assyrian river at the end of the *Hymn to Apollo* is metapoetically the same *lumata* flowing into the stomach of Erysichthon.⁵³⁸ Now, in the context of exposure or abortion, the other *lumata* is equally as appropriate for Erysichthon's consumption. In the *Hymn to Zeus*, Rhea searches for a "stream of water, in which she might wash off the filth of birth and she might cleanse [Zeus'] body, (αὐτίκα διζητο ρόον ὕδατος, ώ κε τόκοιο/λύματα χντλώσαιτο, τεὸν δ' ἐνὶ χρῶτα λοέσσαι, 16-7). The purification of Zeus corresponds to the purity of Apollo, who is however, already pure in the womb

than his initial comment, "the increasing love of children in the Roman age," which he thinks began in the Hellenistic age (cf. 111).

⁵³⁷ Cf. SEG 20.665. The relevant deity is unknown. Nilsson (1957: 134) remarks that the requirements for exposure and miscarriage appear only in these two laws. On the inscription, see Plaumann (1910: 54-8).

⁵³⁸ (1987: 27-45).

(*Del.* 98). The birth of the male divinities, linked to the birth of Ptolemies, moreover, corresponds geographically to the birth of fertile and purifying waters, a Callimachean innovation referring to the flooding of the Nile, on which Egypt depended for survival.⁵³⁹ On the flip side, Erysichthon's exposure results from his melting after impure quantities of food and wine flow into his stomach and he dries up the house, a reflection of drought and the subsequent loss of crops and livelihood. The contrast is supported by verbal echoes. Erysichthon's drying up of the deep house (*ἀλλ' ὅκα τὸν βαθὺν οἴκον ἀνεξήρανταν ὄδόντες*, 113) is followed in the frame by the *likna* “full of gold” (*χρυσῷ πλέα λίκνα*, 126), i.e. crops made possible by the flooding of the Nile which I have linked to Zeus' golden cradle (*λίκνῳ ἐνὶ χρυσέῳ*, 48). The same motifs occur in the *Hymn to Delos* with the Nile-linked river Inopus that is “deep with gold” (*χρυσῷ δὲ πλήμυρε βαθὺς Ἰνωπὸς ἔλιχθείς*, 263), an inversion of the drought in Triopas' deep house, once full of wealth. Finally, as the births of Zeus and Apollo can be linked to the Ptolemies, so may Erysichthon be connected to a bad king or an opponent to the flourishing kingdom of Egypt.⁵⁴⁰

⁵³⁹ As Stephens (2003: 97-101, 116-8) has shown, the connection between the birth of Zeus and Apollo and the rise of waters is a concept borrowed from Egyptian ideology, specifically the birth of Horus, the first divine king, and the rise of the Nile. Kingship is therefore linked to the fertility of the land.

⁵⁴⁰ Cf. Acosta-Hughes and Stephens (2012: 136), who suggests that the Erysichthon narrative “might contain a serious purpose as a mirror held up to those in power to call attention to their own potentially egregious behaviors.” Clayman (2014: 84-9) suggests that Erysichthon recalls Demetrius

VII.6 Conclusion

Callimachus innovatively combines the mythic tradition of the exposed infant as represented in Euripides with allusions to the medical, ritual, and geographical concerns or practices of the day. Erysichthon's exposure or abortion and the related imagery, such as deformity, pollution, death, are diametrically opposed to the fertility, health, and rebirth that characterize Callimachean poetics and the politics of Ptolemaic Alexandria. The motifs are extended metaphorically elsewhere in Callimachus in contexts of giving birth to unhealthy children, i.e. undesirable poetry (fr. 203.13-4, 64-6 Pf.),⁵⁴¹ which contrasts sharply with the health and vitality regularly associated with Callimachus and his poetry (e.g. fr. 1.31-6 Pf., cf. Intro.).

These themes correlate, in turn, with the strength and fertility of the Ptolemies, especially Berenice II, whose personal fecundity mirrored the

(Berenice II's first husband) and that Nicippe refers to Berenice II, who was victorious in chariot races. Elsewhere (CAMWS 2016), I have suggested that Erysichthon's political counterpart is Magas, who was remembered for his gluttony (Ath. 12.550b-c), mounted an unsuccessful attack on Egypt (cf. *Del.* 162-95), and was effectively denied paternity after Bernice II and Ptolemy III Euergetes were presented as children of the *Theoi Adelphoi* (Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II).

⁵⁴¹ See Acosta-Hughes (2002: 77-8) on "giving birth to limping [lines/things]" ($\tauὰ \chiωλὰ τίκτειν$), which refers to what Callimachus' critics believe that he should compose (choliamb), but what Callimachus himself, who does not restrict himself to meter or genre, views as unfavorable. Acosta-Hughes compares fr. 1.19-20, where Call. refuses to "give birth to a loud-sounding song" and the deformed children at *Dian.* 124-8, the latter of which I have connected to Erysichthon (VI.3.3.1). Cf. also Praxinoa's fear that her *brephos* will become lame ($\chiωλὸν$) at Theoc. 15.40-41 (App. 6.1.1).

productive outcomes of their rule. Berenice II was very fertile and bore many children; provided (along with her husband) bundles of wheat during a famine and even owned her own grain ships; and was assimilated to Demeter in seal-impressions, *oenochaoe* (jugs), and other images.⁵⁴² As one who bears children for her husband and provides nourishment for her people, Berenike II closely parallels the Demeter figure. The kings, too, were connected to Demeter. For instance, Philadelphus II was tied to Demeter as he adopted the title of Horus, child of Isis and Osiris, who, at maturity, became the first divine king of Egypt.⁵⁴³ On birth-shrines (*mammisi*) in the Ptolemaic period, the pharaoh was a young child associated with the son of divinities, mainly Horus.⁵⁴⁴ As Horus, the pharaoh was responsible for the maintenance of *maat*, and amongst other duties, Horus unites the two lands of Egypt, protects Egypt, and donates to, restores, and amplifies Egyptian temples.⁵⁴⁵

The *Hymn to Demeter* therefore equally encapsulates the poetic and political message. Like the Euripidean “curse-child,” Erysichthon destroys the *oikos*, and as the only male child, his exposure terminates his royal family line. But as the Nile

⁵⁴² Clayman (2014: 84-89, 100-01, 168-9) who identifies Berenike II, in particular, with Demeter in the hymn on these and other grounds.

⁵⁴³ Horus was originally the sky-god, but by the Ptolemaic period, he was the young son of Isis and Osiris, on which see Stephens (2003: 55-56).

⁵⁴⁴ Stephens (2003: 57). The pharaoh is also equated with Horus on the Satrap Stela. For a discussion and translation, see Selden (1998: 293).

⁵⁴⁵ Stephens (2003: 53), Selden (1998: 293-94).

floods once again and the seasons cycle, the metaphorical death symbolized by Erysichthon's exposure gives way to a tale of rebirth, if one only returns to the beginning of the papyrus scroll. There, the reader starts anew with Callimachus' celebration of the birth and succession of the early Ptolemaic male line in the very poetry that he hoped would reverberate throughout the ages.

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Appendix: *Brephos* in Pre-Callimachean Literature

1. Introduction

βρέφος (plausibly < *gʷrebʰ-, “child, young”; cf. OCS žrěbę, “foal”),⁵⁴⁶ first attested at *Il.* 23.266 (a *hapax*) of a mule fetus, is well-attested in poetry and rare in prose before the Hellenistic period, but in later prose “may describe a child as old as six.”⁵⁴⁷ In fact, in the classical period, *brephos* can only be securely attested in prose twice in Xenophon and twice in Herodotus, since all other examples are indirect.⁵⁴⁸ After Homer and before Callimachus, *brephos*, apart from Herodotus’

⁵⁴⁶ The word piqued lexicographic interest in antiquity. The *Etymologicum Magnum* (EM p. 212.36-40 = Callim. fr. 60 Pf.), a Byzantine etymological lexicon, suggests: βρέφος· τὸ νεογνὸν παιδίον. κυρίως ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπου· Καλλίμαχος ἐν τρίτῳ τῶν Αἰτίων καὶ ἐπὶ σκύμνου τίθησι. παρὰ τὸ βράττω, τὸ ἀμέλγω, τὸ βράττον τὸ γάλα· τροπῆ τοῦ α εἰς ε. ἢ ὅτι βροτός ἐστιν εἰς φῶς προελθών. (“*brephos*: a newly-born little child. Properly of a human. Callimachus uses the word of a *skyrmnos* ('lion cub') in Book 3 of the *Aitia*. Derived from *brattō*, i.e. *amelgô* ('milk'), and *bratton*, i.e. *gala* ('milk') via a change of *alpha* to *epsilon*. Or since a man is one having come into the light.”). An alternative etymology is given by another Byzantine etymological lexicon at Et. gen. B β 250: βρέφος· παρὰ τὸ φέρβω, τὸ τρέφω, γίνεται φέρβος καὶ κατὰ μετάθεσιν τῶν στοιχείων βρέφος, τὸ δεόμενον τροφῆς, οἶον (*Il.* 5.202). μή μοι δενοίατο φορβῆς (“*Brephos*. Derived from *pherbo* (“nourish”), i.e. *trephe* (“nourish”). *pherbos* becomes *brephos* via metathesis, a thing needing nourishment, such as *Il.* 5.202: lest they should lack fodder”). Hopkinson (1984) on *Cer.* 100 appears to give credence to this etymology, but it is folk etymology.

⁵⁴⁷ Golden (1990: 15 with n84) cites *IG* 12.5, 677.2. It should be noted, however, that even in poetry in the classical period, *brephos* is used of older children. See E. *Andr.* 722 and *Tr.* 557-9, 1164-5 below, where *brephos* clearly indicates older children.

⁵⁴⁸ X. *Mem.* 2.2.5 (of a newborn unable to express its needs) and *Oec.* 7.24-5, where τὰ νεογνὰ βρέφη (“the newborn *brephē*”) is used interchangeably with τῶν νεογνῶν τέκνων (“the newborn children”). So also Golden (1990: 15 with n83), who remarks that this interchangeability “implies that *brephos* on its own was not felt to express extreme youth more clearly than *teknon*.” But this is the case only in X., who seems oblivious to the distinction between prosaic and poetic vocabulary (cf. Olson-Seaberg 2018 on Cratin. fr.334). X.’s use of *brephos* is therefore not comparable to Hdt.’s, as Golden implies. On Herodotus’ deliberately stylistic use of *brephos*, see below (App. 4). Any other apparent

mule, is attested as a newborn infant, who is either divine or semi-divine, such as Hercules or Dionysus, or very often of an exposed or sacrificed infant who has some relationship with Apollo and/or Dionysus. Callimachus continues these connections, but is unique amongst his contemporaries for returning to the use of the word of an animal, not of a mule as Homer, but of a lion cub and goats.⁵⁴⁹

2. The Mule *Brephos* in Homer

Achilles states that a mare, pregnant with a mule *brephos*, will be second prize in the chariot race, the first of eight events in the funeral games for Patroclus (ἀτὰρ αὖ τῷ δευτέρῳ ἵππον ἔθηκεν/έξέτε' ἀδμήτην βρέφος ήμίονον κυέουσαν, “and for second [prize] he set forth a six-year-old mare unbroken and pregnant with a half-ass *brephos*,” *Il.* 23.265-66). The significance of the race is signaled by its length and centrality. While only ca. 250 of the book’s 897 vv. are devoted to the funeral itself, almost half of the book (ca. 400 vv.) is devoted to the chariot race alone and roughly eighty of these verses to the argument over the recipient of the second prize. The poet then narrates the other six events in ca. 250 vv.

Although Eumelus, son of Admetus, is specifically named for his skillful

attestations in pre-Call. prose fragments, which are summaries of later authors, are likely to be the later authors’ word choice.

⁵⁴⁹ A return which the *Etymologicum Magnum EM* p. 212.36-40 = Callim. fr. 60 Pf. found noteworthy. But cf. Ephippus fr. 21, where *brephe* may refer to little fish.

horsemanship (23.289), Athena causes him to crash after Apollo, bearing a grudge—perhaps for attacking him and taking Aeneas' horses, which he then uses in the chariot race (5.321-27, 431-42; 23.290-92)—strikes the whip from Diomedes' hands (23.375-400). In the end, Diomedes places first; Antilochus, second; Menelaus, third; Meriones, fourth; Eumelus, last (499-533). After the race, Achilles offers the pregnant mare to Eumelus out of pity and because he recognizes him as “the best man” (534-39). However, Antilochus, angry because Achilles disregards the outcome, insists that the prize belongs to him and suggests that Achilles reward Eumelus with a prize from his hut instead (540-54). Achilles selects a breastplate stripped from an enemy in his revenge of Patroclus, which Eumelus happily receives (555-65), but then Menelaus complains that he deserves the pregnant mare because his horses are faster and were cut off by Antilochus (566-85). Recognizing that Menelaus is “superior and braver,” Antilochus hands over the pregnant mare to Menelaus (586-597), who blames Antilochus’ behavior on his youth and hands it to Noëmon, Antilochus’ comrade, so that the Greeks not think him “proud and cruel” (597-613).

As Kitchell convincingly argues, the fight over the pregnant mare “brings closure to the major themes of the epic” by echoing and correcting the destruction resulting from loss of *timē* in the first book. Agamemnon ($\tauὴν δ' ἐγὼ οὐ λύσω$, *Il.* 1.29) and Antilochus ($\tauὴν δ' ἐγὼ οὐ δώσω$, *Il.* 23.553) refuse to “give her up,”

Chryseis and the mare, respectively. Achilles smiles (only here in the *Iliad*), and correcting his earlier mistakes (drawing his sword and removing himself from the war), dispenses war booty to prevent additional arguments.⁵⁵⁰ The theme is repeated with the quarrel between Antilochus and Menelaus, but is resolved as it should have been in book one: the younger (Antilochus/Achilles) gives way to his superior (Menelaus/Agamemnon) who, in turn, behaves fairly.⁵⁵¹

While the eyes of a modern reader might glaze over these details, the ears of an ancient audience might have been glued to the poet's account as if to a sportscast. The dramatic race builds to a conclusion that seems all too familiar, but is thwarted by the actions of characters who have learned their lesson. Therefore, what originally appears to be a simple item in a list of prizes becomes, upon closer inspection, a memorable and essential instrument intended to bookend and resolve the *Iliad*'s major issue. In this light, any influence of the mule *brepbos* on later authors seems less peculiar, e.g. Herodotus' Homericism (App. 4) and Callimachus' allusions in *Hymn to Apollo* and *Hymn to Demeter* (VI.4). Aware of the mule's unequal parents and its infertility, post-Homeric authors perhaps played with this meaning. Pindar's *brepbos* is the product of unequal marriages and of

⁵⁵⁰ As Kitchell notes (1998: 169-70), Achilles demonstrates similar maturity elsewhere e.g. after the first contest when Achilles honors Nestor and his old age with the unclaimed fifth prize (23.620-23) and before the final contest even begins when Achilles honors Agamemnon with the prize for being superior and the best in power and javelin-throwing (23.889-94).

⁵⁵¹ (1998: esp. 165-70). The link between 1.29 and 23.553 was noticed by Eust. IV.782.21—783.1.

unequal parentage. Herodotus especially plays with the nature of *brephos* by using it of a mule and of Cyrus, whom he describes as a mule on account of his unequal parentage. Euripides uses it of unequal marriages and of the divinities of unequal unions. In fact, of the major divinities, only Apollo and Dionysus receive this title. It would also make sense that a *brephos* is male (with the only exception being in Pi. *O.6.33* and Eur. *Hel. 11*) because the male poses a threat to the throne, which an exposure is intended to “sterilize.”

3. *Brephē* in Lyric Poetry

3.1 Introduction

The mixed parentage of the *brephos* continues in lyric poetry, but now the *brephos* is a human infant. In three of the four attestations (all except Pi. *P. 9*) of *brephos* in lyric poetry, the infant and/or mother are in danger because a parental or other main figure fears the baby. Additionally, in Pi. *O.6* and *P.9*, Apollo plays a major role and his offspring becomes an important figure in his own right.

3.2 Euadne and Iamus in Pindar's Sixth *Olympian*

In Pindar *O.6*, an infant is in danger twice. Pitana, made pregnant by Poseidon, hides the birth (31) and orders the servants to take the *brephos* Euadne

to the Arcadian ruler Aepytus (33).⁵⁵² Once grown up, she becomes pregnant by Apollo with the future Iamus. Learning about the pregnancy, Aepytus is “unspeakably angry” and consults an oracle at Pytho (36-8), while Euadne gives birth and leaves her “divine-minded boy” ($\thetaεόφρονα κοῦρον$, 41) on the ground where snakes nourish him with “the blameless poison of bees” (44-7).⁵⁵³ Aeyptus returns, apparently with a change of heart, and after asking about the baby’s whereabouts, announces that the baby is the son of Apollo and would become an important seer with an unfailing lineage (47-53). It is then revealed that the five-day-old was hidden in the reeds where he was being “bathed by the purple and gold rays of the violets” ($\iotaων$) after which he is named (53-57). Once he becomes a youth, Iamus invokes his grandfather Poseidon and father Apollo in the river Alpheus and asks about his future (57-61). Following Apollo’s instructions, Iamus goes to Olympia where he is given the gift of prophecy and founds the race of priests, the Iamidae (61-71).

⁵⁵² Although the reason for the dangers is less clear, the movement itself from Sparta to Arcadia is explained by the frame. Pindar begins the myth with Pitana, the eponymous nymph of a town in Sparta, to honor the victor’s ancestry (24-5). Wilamowitz (1886: 179-83) links Pitana to the Spartanization of the Iamid seer Teisamenus in 480 B.C. (Hdt. 9.33-6). For adherence to this theory, see Stern (1970: 332n1). For rejection, see Fehr (1936: 101) and Adorjáni (2014: 101). Euadne’s movement can be explained by the victor’s success in his maternal Arcadia.

The emotion evoked by the word is expressed syntactically. Adorjáni (2014 *ad* 32f.) points out the atypical arrangement of verbs intended to emphasize *brephos* at line end: $\piορσαίνειν δόμεν...βρέφος$ instead of $\deltaόμεν...βρέφος πορσαίνειν$.

⁵⁵³ On the threatening, yet protective aspect of snakes here and in E. *Ion*, see Huys (1995: 282-3).

Threat of violence to the *brepbos* is a theme throughout the myth.⁵⁵⁴ Pindar does not explain why Euadne hides the baby, but the motif of exposure due to illegitimacy is likely in the background.⁵⁵⁵ Euadne's hiding of Iamus in the reeds can be explained by Aeyptus' anger about his foster-daughter's pregnancy which parallels the common motif of the angry (male) relative who fears that he will be deposed.⁵⁵⁶ Ultimately, what allows for the successful future of Euadne and Iamus is the presence of Apollo. In this case, leaving behind her grim beginnings as *brepbos*, Euadne eventually produces an offspring with Apollo, who ensures the distinguished role of their descendants. Apollo's role in the myth may be in fact a Pindaric invention intended to link Iamus and the Olympic victor Hagesias, since Hagesias inherited the prophetic gift from the Iamidae and is priest of the altar of

⁵⁵⁴ While only Euadne is labeled βρέφος, Iamus may fall under the same category. Hutchinson (2001 *ad* 32-3 on *brepbos*) argues that "the absence of the child's sex...and its emphasis on its babyhood (contrast 30, 41) reinforce the connection with the later narrative." (Pindar links the two in other ways, e.g. by violets.) The term is perhaps slightly more suitable for Euadne, since her real father plays no role in her upbringing.

As Stern (1970: 334-36) shows, "the same ambivalence, the same hesitation between threatening danger and joyful birth, is clear throughout," e.g. in the "blameless poison of bees" (ἀμεμφεῖ ἵψ μελισσᾶν, 46-7) and "the rays of the violets" (ἴων...ἀκτῖσι, 55), and burial (κρύπτω, 31, 54) in and rebirth from the earth. Huys (1995: 278) cites this passage as an example of "the paradoxical combination of danger with fostering protection...and the divine nature of the nursing miracle" that is typical of the motif of the θηροτροφή, which accounts for the rescue in the exposed hero motif.

⁵⁵⁵ cf. e.g. E. *Ion*. Such a possibility is suggested by Σ^A52f, who seems to be aware of another tradition from which Pindar deviates where Aeyptus picks up the exposed (ἐκτεθέν) Euadne while he is in Sparta.

⁵⁵⁶ Stern (1970: 333 with n3) relies on a dubious claim about Evadne's original paternity (Aeyptus rather than Poseidon) to make sense of Aeyptus' fear, *viz.* being ousted by a grandson, and compares Acrisius' fear of his grandson Perseus); however, the family relationship need not be exact for the point about their fear of destruction to stand.

Zeus (5-6).⁵⁵⁷

3.3 Aristaeus in Pindar's Ninth *Pythian*

In *P. 9.59-62*, Cyrene, with whom the god falls in love as she wrestles with a lion, gives birth to Apollo's son Aristaeus. Hermes carries Aristaeus to the Horai and Gaia, who drip nectar and ambrosia on the *brehos'* lips to make him immortal, "a Zeus or a holy Apollo, a delight to men who are dear [to him], and a nearest overseer of sheep (*Nomios*)" (64-64a). As with many *brehē*, Aristaeus has mixed parentage, but the threats typically facing the *brehos* are absent. However, several details recall various aspects of exposure stories. The role of Hermes in transporting him to the Horai and Gaia, the particular form of his nourishment, and his father Apollo are present in, for example, the story of Iamus or Euripides' *Ion*, where the exposure motif is fully exploited.

3.4 Heracles in Pindar fr. 52

⁵⁵⁷ According to Σ^a59b, Iamus' father is Poseidon in other versions, whence Wilamowitz's suggestion (1922: 308)—uncritically followed by e.g. Stern (1970), but not Hutchinson (2001 *ad* 57-9) and Adorjáni (2014: 100n104)—which is a leap in logic: "Die einfachere Form, die Iamos gleich von Euadne und Poseidon ableitete, steht noch im Schol. 59a [miscited: it is 59b]; Euadne ist dann natürlich Tochter des Aipytos gewesen." Similarly, an appalled Hutchinson states: "The idea that Pindar 'could not unify' a prepackaged incident with his narrative should seem incredible now." He goes on to connect (2001 *ad* 103-5) Poseidon's likely fulfillment of the narrator's requests with Apollo's of Iamus'. Expanding on Hutchinson, Adorjáni (2014: 101-9), comparing 58-9 and 84-5, sees Poseidon as an important device to strengthen the prophet-poet imagery.

In Pi. fr.52u, a possible influence on Theocritus,⁵⁵⁸ snakes approach Heracles, the “*bephos* of heavenly Zeus” (ἐπὶ βρέφος οὐρανίου Διός, 9). His very recent birth is emphasized at lines 14-15: fearful Alcmene jumps out of her birthing bed. Even so, Heracles casts off his swaddling clothes, reveals his nature (10-13), and presumably kills the snakes sent by Hera. The goddess, infuriated about her husband’s illegitimate children, appears here as the divine equivalent of the threatened male figure who either makes an attempt on the *bephos’* life or causes its exposure. Heracles may even demonstrate his fearlessness earlier against a similar female threat when he plays with something that may recall Mormo (ἐπαγομ[~8 μορ]μορύξιας, 6), who is one of several child-killing demons used to scare children and possibly blamed for the death of children and fetuses.⁵⁵⁹ Rutherford guesses that μορ]μορύξιας denotes “some sort of game or toy

⁵⁵⁸ Zanker (1987: 88-9, 175-7) argues that Theoc. uses Pi. fr.52u (and differently, N.1) to contrast the heroic and ordinary, e.g. by transferring Heracles’ heroic stripping of clothes (Pi. fr.52u.11-3) to Iphicles’ realistic kicking of his blankets as he tries to escape (24.25-6).

⁵⁵⁹ See Beaumont (2012: 61-2) and especially Johnston (1995: 366): “*Gelloudes*, and probably other child-killers, too, were blamed for the deaths of pregnant women and their fetuses as well as for the deaths of children.” Most relevant for our purposes is Johnston (1995) who details the *aitia* of Gello, Lamia, and Mormo, which “express the belief that child-killing demons have their origin in mortal women who failed to bear and nurture children successfully.” Gello, according to Zen. ed. commenting on Sapph. fr. 178 Voight: Γέλλως παιδοφιλωτέρα, was a maiden, who, after her own premature death, terrorized children and was thought to bring premature deaths. Sappho’s “more loving of children than Gello,” according to Zen., describes untimely (ἀώρως) deaths or those who, although fond of children, somehow kill them while raising them. Lamia and Mormo, on the other hand, are mothers who do not succeed in raising their children. Lamia, “because of the savageness of her soul” has a face like a beast which causes her children to die and her to order the snatching away from mothers and slaughter of *bephē* (D.S.20.41.3-5). Mormo, according to Σ^D Aristid. *Pan.* p. 18 Frommel, ate her own children. cf. μορμύσσομαι at Call. *Dian.* 70 and *Del.* 297.

supposed to scare children...which Heracles can be supposed to have resisted.”⁵⁶⁰

If this is the case, Heracles is somehow avoiding or overcoming death even before the snake attack. It is also in this fragment that we begin to see *brepbos*, originally of a fetus, as the deliberate means of denoting extraordinary strength or other outstanding attribute in a divinity of mixed parentage (Apollo and Dionysus under 5.2.1 and cf. δόλιον βρέφος: crafty, mischievous Cupid at Mosch. 1.11).

3.5 Perseus in Simonides fr. 271

In Simon. fr. 271 Poltera (=PGM 543), Danae tells her *brepbos* Perseus to sleep: fr. 271.20-2: κέλομ’ εῦδε β’βρέφος, εύ-/δέτω δὲ πόντος, εὔδέτω <δ’>/αμετ’ ρον κακόν (“I bid you, sleep *brepbos*, may the sea sleep, may immeasurable evil sleep”).

The command, alliteration and anaphora are typical of a Greek lullaby, of which this is the oldest example.⁵⁶¹ Even in its fragmentary state, the poem hints at the exposed baby theme, especially with the box (*larnax*, 1) in which the pair is

⁵⁶⁰(2001: 401n2). μορμόρουξις < μορμορύζω < μόμορος < μορμώ. Phot. μ 533 μορμορύζει ἐκφοβεῖ παρὰ τὴν Μορμώ, (“*mormorizei*: thoroughly terrifies, from Mormo”).

⁵⁶¹ Waern (1960: 3-4, 7-8), who looks at other lullabies, e.g. S. *Ph.* 825-32, possibly E. *Or.* 174-82 (Electra sings a song lest sleeping baby Orestes be disturbed), and Theoc. 24.7-8. So also Rosenmeyer (1991: 23-4), who identifies a progression in number of syllables and syntactic complexity in the above lines. Poltera (2008) compares several passages to these lines, e.g. A. *Ag.* 565-6, Theoc. 2.38-9 and 24.7-8, but only Theoc. 24.7-8 appears to specifically echo Simon.: εὔδετ’, ἐμὰ βρέφεα,.../ εὔδετ’, ἐμὰ ψυχά,...εύσοα τέκνα (“sleep safely, my *brephe*; sleep safely, children, my souls”).

imprisoned.⁵⁶²

4. *Brephē* in Herodotus: Homericized Mule *Brephē* in Tragic and Epic Contexts

4.1. Cyrus, the Exposed Mule

Herodotus incorporates both the Homeric *brepbos* and the exposure motif. Hdt. 1.111.5 and 3.153.1 are deliberately poetic. The first appearance belongs to the tale of Cyrus' exposure and rise to the throne (1.107-30). When Astyages learns from a dream that his grandson will overthrow him, he marries his daughter Mandane to a well-born man of lower rank, Cambyses I (107).⁵⁶³ For this reason, Herodotus calls Cyrus a mule (*ήμιόνος*, 91.5-6).⁵⁶⁴ After a similar second vision, Astyages instructs Harpagus to kill and bury the baby (108), but Harpagus does not follow orders because the baby is a relative and he is concerned about Astyages' lineage (109), so he tells the herdsman Miradates that Astyages

⁵⁶² On the *larnax* as a receptacle for exposure, see Huys (1995: 19-20, 198-211 and *passim*) and Poltera (2008 *ad 1*): λάρναξ “bezeichnet verschiedene Koffer, insbesondere jene, in denen man Mütter mit unehelichen Klein kindern aussetzte.” He adduces as a parallel 3.24.3 (Semele and Dionysus) and Hsch. ε 1472 ἐκ λάρνακος · νόθος (“from the box: a bastard”). D.S. 5.62 relates a myth featuring both box and Apollo: When Rhoio becomes pregnant by Apollo, her angry father shuts her into a *larnax* and tosses her into the sea. After washing up on Delos, Rhoio gives birth to a son named Anius and sets her *brepbos* on the altar of Apollo, who hides the baby and later nurtures, teaches prophecy to, and confers honors upon it. Cf. the same progression in Pi. O.6 (hidden male baby → prophet → honors).

⁵⁶³ On the omen and/or prophecy as one of the causes of exposure in myth, see Huys (1995: 121-5).

⁵⁶⁴ ἦν γὰρ δὴ ὁ Κῦρος οὗτος **ήμιόνος**: ἐκ γὰρ δυῶν οὐκ ὄμοεθνέων ἐγεγόνεε, μητρὸς ἀμείνονος, πατρὸς δὲ ὑποδεεστέρου. Croesus does not understand the response from the oracle of Apollo at Delphi concerning either the destruction of an empire (his own) or the identity of the mule (Cyrus) (91).

commands him to expose the child “in the most desolate part of the mountains” (110). Miradates returns to his wife, Cyno, and tells her that he went to Harpagus’ house where everyone was weeping and was surprised to see a baby dressed in gold. Harpagus, Miradates tells his wife, wants him to set the baby “in the part of the mountains most infested by beasts.” Miradates then learns from the servant, who sends him outside of the city and hands over the *brepbos*, that the baby is Cyrus, son of Mandane and Cambyses, and that Astyages wants it dead (111.5). The mention of Cyrus’ unequal parents after *brepbos* is deliberate, as it recalls Herodotus’ definition of Cyrus-as-mule at 91.5-6. Elsewhere (109-13, 117), Cyrus is a *παιδίον*.⁵⁶⁵ We learn next that Cyno, who has just given birth to a stillborn, does not want to expose (*ἐκθεῖναι*) the baby, so they substitute the stillborn for Cyrus (112).⁵⁶⁶ Later, when ten-year-old Cyrus already behaves like a king in a game,⁵⁶⁷ Astyages realizes that his grandson is alive (114-15) and punishes

⁵⁶⁵ That Cyrus is called a *brepbos* at the very moment that he is handed over to his eventual rescuer may also foreshadow his survival and triumph; however, although the exposure motif is clearly at play, it is not clear that Herodotus is using the word for an exposed infant. At 5.92, a threatened child, who is hidden by his mother in a chest, after which he is named, is only called *παιδίον*, and many aspects of the story resemble the exposure motif. On the other hand, no exposure proper takes place there.

⁵⁶⁶ Contrast the verbs used earlier on, such as *ἀποκτείνω* and *διαφθείρω*. Huys (1995: 245) situates this change in the context of the exposure motif: “the intention to kill is gradually weakened by the motif of the compassionate executioner and the false certainty of the infant’s death ironically exploited for its contrast with its actual survival and later success-story.”

⁵⁶⁷ On the motif of the foundling’s extraordinary capabilities, see Huys (1995: 335-43, esp. 342), who notes that Hdt. underlines Cyrus’ superiority even earlier when Cyno comments on his size and beauty (1.112.1).

Harpagus by boiling, roasting, tearing apart, and feeding him his own thirteen-year-old son, while the others eat lamb (118-19). Assuming that the oracle is fulfilled by the game, Astyages returns him to his parents, who, learning that he was raised by Cyno, circulate a story that Cyrus was nourished by a dog “so that their child might seem to be more divine to the Persians” (120-22). Urged on by Harpagus, Cyrus leads the Persians in rebellion against Astyages (123-30).

The motifs of this “pseudo-historical” *logos* are either derived from tragedy or come out of a folk-lore tradition.⁵⁶⁸ The exposure of Cyrus belongs to the motif of the foundling.⁵⁶⁹ Numerous other details of the story have been compared to figures from tragedy. For example, Astyages marries his daughter to a man of lower rank (cf. E. *El.* Aegisthus marries Electra to a peasant)⁵⁷⁰; Astyages suffers because of tragic mistakes (misunderstanding the oracle, metaphorical blinding)

⁵⁶⁸ Evans (1991: 53): The motifs, “if not directly borrowed from Athenian tragedy, at least have a cousinly relationship.” Similarly, Boedeker (2002: 110) and Saïd (2002: 128). On the contrary, Robert (1881: 237-8) and Rasch (1912: 30) thought that Hdt’s Cyrus served as a model for Sophocles’ *Alexandros*. Huys (1995: 284n661, 125, 319, 342) acknowledges that Euripides’ *Alexandros* may have been influenced by the Cyrus story through S. and that various aspects of the exposure motif (the omen, the herdsman, and the foundling’s superior qualities) owe something to Hdt., but also recognizes a possible origin for both the Paris and the Cyrus stories in the Persian oral folk-tale tradition (see 53-4 with n111, 125 and on the folk-tale’s influence more generally, see 50-7). Asheri (2007 *ad* 1.113,1): explains Hdt’s use of this type of story as a possible way “to provide a pseudo-historical legitimization for controversial usurpation, change of dynasty, foundation of a kingdom, a cult, etc.”

⁵⁶⁹ Asheri (2007 *ad* 1.113,1) notes that the motif here “has its roots in the social and economic practice of infanticide.” However, even though Astyages orders Cyrus’ death, infanticide and exposure were separate practices

⁵⁷⁰ Erbse (1992: 34).

(cf. S. *OT*)⁵⁷¹; and Harpagus' punishment may be borrowed from the feast of Thyestes (cf. A.'s *Ag.*).⁵⁷² In addition, the herdsman's rescue of the *brephos* specifically is attested in Euripides, but does not appear in earlier literature. Herodotus taps into the miraculous divinity/royal *brephos*-nourished-by-animal motif—also developed in tragedy—but distinguishes his story with an onomastic pun, for Cyrus' parents change Κυνό ("Cyno") to κύων ("dog").⁵⁷³

4.2. Another Mule *Brephos*

Cyrus as mule not only fits into the pattern of mixed marriages in Herodotus,⁵⁷⁴ but also may be a precursor to the *brephos*-bearing mule in book three, which is instrumental to the second Persian conquest of Babylon under

⁵⁷¹ Pelling (1996: 75-6), Saïd (2002: 128).

⁵⁷² Burkert (1983: 108-9), because of preceding versions in *Alkmaionis*, Perekyles, and Aeschylus. He correlates the feast of Thyestes and its counterpart in Hdt. with the Linus ritual, for which see n 604. Boedecker (2002: 111) notes that both acts of cannibalism result in revenge and Saïd (128), that both characters believe that they are attending a celebration (cf. A. *Ag.* 1595).

⁵⁷³ Huys (1995: 244-5, 278) notes that with this pun, along with the repeated emphasis on Cyrus' exposure in a mountain full of beasts, Hdt. stresses the infanticidal nature of Astyages' order. van der Veen's (1996: 48, 52) remarks about the name, which is "highly exceptional" over κύων, and synthesis of ancient and modern scholarship concerning the fiercely protective nature of female dogs are helpful, but his reading of Cyno's role—that it "sharply underlines the unsuspected importance of the utterly unimportant,"—is unconvincing. It seems, rather, that Hdt. is artistically (and perhaps competitively) elaborating on a theme perhaps not even limited to the Greeks (cf. Asheri 2007 *ad* 1.113,1). The exposed Darius was also said to have been nourished by a mare, according to Ptol. Chenn. ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 148b.

⁵⁷⁴ Pelling (1996: 76): "A threatening or disastrous child often occupies an ambivalent position, at once central and marginal, at once inside and outside the royal house." P. compares Croesus, descendent of Gyges and his royal wife.

Darius the Great (with the first under Cyrus 1.177-200).⁵⁷⁵ The mule *brepbos* and Zopyrus are at the center of the *logos* (150-60). After the revolting Babylonians taunt Darius that the Persians will take Babylon when a mule gives birth (150-1),⁵⁷⁶ Darius fails in his various attempts, which include imitating Cyrus' strategy, to lay siege to the city (152). When Zopyrus' mule gives birth to a *brepbos*, he considers it a divine sign that Babylon can be taken (153), so he mutilates himself (154) in order to convince the Babylonians that he suffered at the hands of Darius (155). After gaining the Babylonians' trust, Zopyrus is appointed commander and wall-guarder (156-7), which allows him to open the gates for Darius (158-9). At the end of book three, Darius judges that the service of Zopyrus is second only to that of Cyrus, unparalleled amongst the Persians, and honors him (160).

Here again, Herodotus innovates and derives his motifs from another genre.⁵⁷⁷ The *logos* belongs to the epic motif of the infiltration of the false deserter, e.g. Odysseus as disfigured beggar (*Od.* 4.242-50) and mutilated Sinon (S. fr. 542-4 *TGF*).⁵⁷⁸ Furthermore, as Asheri notes, the *brepbos* (both here and at 1.111.5) is an Homericism,⁵⁷⁹ but in the case of 1.111.5, it cannot be established with certainty

⁵⁷⁵ For further sources and scholarship, see Asheri (2007 *ad* 153-8).

⁵⁷⁶ i.e. "never." On the expression and the rareness of mule births, see Asheri (2007 *ad* 3.151,2).

⁵⁷⁷ Ctes. fr. 13.26 *FGrHist* 688 omits the omen and replaces Darius with Xerxes and Zopyrus with Megabyzus. See also Asheri (2007 *ad* 150-60).

⁵⁷⁸ *ad* 153-8

⁵⁷⁹ Asheri 2007 on Htd.3.153.1 cites as additional evidence the testimony of Antiat. B 18. The epic-flavored passage has other Homericisms, e.g. at 154-5.

whether Herodotus is simultaneously drawing the word from Aeschylus.⁵⁸⁰

5. *Brephos* in Tragedy

5.1 Introduction

As we have seen, the term *brephos* is not clear-cut and does not appear to be a *neutral* word for a human infant. So far, we have seen that *brephos* is first attested of a mule fetus and then of exposed or endangered infants of mixed parentage, senses which Herodotus then may combine. This apparent overlap of human and animal in the *brephos* makes it a convenient tool for the tragedians, whose works involve the mingling of the two. The term appears once in Aeschylus to describe Thyestes' children and thereafter in Euripides to describe a slaughtered infant, or more frequently, an exposed infant.

Euripides, in particular, is fond of the word and uses it thirty-two times. Of these, all but five appear in dramas produced between 415 and 406 B.C. and belong to Euripides' "romantic-drama" or "family-reunion" phase and/or concern exposure themes.⁵⁸¹ Unlike the other tragedians, Euripides takes a marked interest

⁵⁸⁰ Hdt.'s citation of A. elsewhere—for which see Asheri (2007: 18 with n53)—and likely imitation of Aeschylean *teknophagy* in the Cyrus *logos*, may suggest that he is deliberately *not* using *brephos* as it appears in Aeschylus.

⁵⁸¹ The exceptions are *Cretans*, *Andr.*, *Supp.*, *El.* Almost all known Euripidean dramas that clearly treat exposure themes belong to this later period. Those that are fragmentary, which are not discussed below because *brephos* is not attested in the surviving fragments of the dramas

in children in general,⁵⁸² which has generated a fair amount of scholarly interest.⁵⁸³ Euripidean children are introduced, in part, as part of a larger discussion about generational succession. Accordingly, Euripides' tragedies are dotted with pithy remarks about the importance of having children and fruitfulness (e.g. fr. 316, *Or.* 542-3, *Andr.* 418-20) and laments over the loss of children and the family line (e.g. *Andr.* 1176-7, *Tr.* 380-1, *Ba.* 1303ff.), both of which are often connected to political situations in fifth-century Athens.⁵⁸⁴ This theme is inextricably connected to the motif of infant exposure, repeatedly represented in Euripides, which Marc Huys helpfully and schematically analyzes in *The Tale of the Hero Who was Exposed at Birth in Euripidean Tragedy*.⁵⁸⁵

themselves, include: *Antiope*, *Melanippe Desmotis*, probably *Auge*, *Melanippe Sophe*, *Oedipus*, and perhaps *Alope*, *Danae*, *Erechtheus*. See Huys (1995: 70-83) for their summaries and dates.

⁵⁸² See e.g. Kassel (1991: 33): "Inter septem Aeschylearum fabularum personas pueri inveniuntur nulli; apud Sophoclem modicum tenent locum; scaena Euripidea parvulis scatet."

⁵⁸³ I omit drama-specific studies, some of which I consider below. For treatments of children in Euripides in general, see: Kassel (1991: esp. 32-55), who wrote about children from Homer through Aristophanes and discusses the tragedians; Sifakis (1979); Thury (1988), who charts the frequency of words for young and old in Euripides and discusses related themes such as rejuvenation, but does not include *brepbos*; Huys (1994). Waern (1960: 8): "In no less than nine of the extant, complete tragedies there are children's parts, granted that the purpose of their presence is to give relief to the actions of the adults." While this may be true of some older children and/or in certain scenarios, the *brepbos* at least is often a central character and/or integral to the tragedy.

⁵⁸⁴ See e.g. under 5.6.4.

⁵⁸⁵ Huys schematizes features of the exposure motif alone and his goal is not to interpret whole plays or integrate the exposure tale in them. He also does not discuss the term *brepbos* or other exposure terminology. My aim will be to explore the term *brepbos* in all contexts—including those where Euripides has extended the meaning and use of the term. Therefore, in instances where *brepbos* clearly refers to an exposed infant, Huys' foundational study will be indispensable. However, where Euripides has extended the meaning and use of *brepbos*, will rely less heavily, if at all, on Huys. (This is especially true of *El.*, *Hel.* and *IT*, which he adduces only as "complementary comparative material," since they are "structurally similar to [his] first category.")

While a *brepbos* in Euripides is usually an infant (hence, e.g. often described at the breast), it is unequivocally for the first time attested of a young child. Almost always male, the Euripidean *brepbos* is exposed or (less often) killed in cases of war, because of some threat he poses (illegitimacy, omen, revenge). With the exception of Aeschylus and Herodotus, the term is not attested in Euripides' recent predecessors or picked up by his contemporaries. In Aeschylus and Euripides, the story of the *brepbos* is resolved in one of two ways. On the one hand, as in Aeschylus, the *brepbos* is slaughtered with sacrificial overtones. In Euripides, the infant may be "sacrificed," but then replaced by a successful *brepbos*. On the other hand, the *brepbos* is exposed. In this situation, the infant either matures, takes his rightful place as king, and brings fertility to the polis and future generations, or he avoids the death that was intended for him and brings destruction to his family and polis.

5.2 The Origins of the Exposure Motif

Huys summarizes the interpretations seeking to explain the prevalence of the exposure motif, particularly in Euripides.⁵⁸⁶ Of these, I am most concerned with the religious. On the one hand, exposure has been associated with, but not

⁵⁸⁶ (1995: 15-24, but esp. 17-23 for ritual explanations).

necessarily derived from, child sacrifice.⁵⁸⁷ On the other, exposure has been related to initiation rituals into adulthood, since both involve a period of time in the wilderness before returning to the *oikos*, which in classical Greece existed instead in the form of symbolic death and rebirth in religious cults and mysteries. For Merkelbach, the exposure motif originates from the Dionysiac mysteries,⁵⁸⁸ but for Guépin, the exposure motif in the ‘romantic tragedies’ derives from the Eleusinian Mysteries.⁵⁸⁹ The death and rebirth imagery in the mysteries is likely related to the cycles of nature in fertility cults, and Murray reads the exposure motif as analogous to the celebration of the Year or Vegetation God, son of earth and sky, who was hidden in the winter, undergoing a metaphorical death, and returned and reborn in the spring.⁵⁹⁰ Finally, Binder linked the exposure motif with a new king’s installation ritual, during which the king identified with the divine king, who, after his birth from a princess and a god, was exposed but later returned to

⁵⁸⁷ Huys (1995: 17-8), though he notes that some exposure tales (e.g. Candragupta, an Indian tale), the infant “is presented as a sacrifice to the gods”

⁵⁸⁸ (1962: 196-8). In particular, he argues that Longus’ Daphnis’ suckling by a goat is related to the symbolic rebirth via the drinking of milk in Dionysiac mysteries. (“Der Myste, welcher als Böcklein die Milch der Ziege trinkt, ist gleichsam ein neugeborenes Kind.”) This interpretation is based, for example, on the Gold Leaf, “As a goatlet I fell into the milk,” which has been interpreted as the initiate (goatlet) nursing from a goat; Apollod. 3.4.3, where Zeus turns D. into a goat; E. Ba. 699ff. He also argues that Dionysophanes (Daphnis’ father) represents Dionysus himself.

⁵⁸⁹ (1968: 120).

⁵⁹⁰ Murray’s argument occurs in several locations, but first in Harrison (1927: 341 with n1). Murray considered the motifs in tragedy as parts of a ritual and did not consider whether the exposure elements depicted in tragedy derived from ritual. For the bibliography, see Huys (1995: 21n47).

overthrow the current king.⁵⁹¹ As Huys points out, Binder's theory combines several different explanations:

The ceremonial installation of a new king is clearly an initiation rite, and involves a ritual legitimation of his divine descent, viz. a refutation of the suspicion that he is merely a bastard. When this enthronement ritual recurs yearly, it rings in a new spring of fertility, which may have been redeemed by the expulsion of the old king as a scapegoat.

Thus, these explanations are not mutually exclusive, as Huys concludes: "the exposure is a necessary moment of negativity, a temporary sacrifice or decay to acquire new and adult life" and "stands for a belief in the coming of rescue and salvation, the instauration of a new order by the confrontation with death, winter and chaos."

5.2.1 The *Liknites* Ritual

Following along the lines of Merkelbach and Guépin, I suggest the motifs of infant exposure and sacrifice derive from the same mythological-ritual

⁵⁹¹ (1964).

background, that the death and rebirth sequences in the narratives of Dionysus and Apollo, the two divine *brephe* attested in Euripides, provide the background for the narrative of the sacrificed and exposed *brepbos*, who either fails (as a *pharmakos*) or succeeds in his rebirth (often as ruler). The former brings destruction to the community; the latter brings fertility. I will also show that other vocabulary of exposure points to the same end. Before approaching *brepbos* and related terms in the texts, however, I will first summarize relevant myths and rituals regarding Dionysus and Apollo.

The relationship between these two gods has been oft-discussed from the time of Nietzsche's *Birth of Tragedy*, but I am less interested in the abstract views of the gods, which are particularly common for Dionysus, and more interested in the relationship of the two gods in ritual at Delphi. Both gods were worshipped at Delphi,⁵⁹² which is supported by iconographic references, e.g. their appearance on the 4th c. temple at Delphi (Paus. 10.19.4);⁵⁹³ however, according to *IT* 1239-44, for example, Dionysus was already there when Apollo arrived and killed the Python,⁵⁹⁴ which has been equated with Dionysus himself.⁵⁹⁵ Apollo's victory over

⁵⁹² e.g. A. *Eum.* 22-24; S. *Ant.* 1126.; E. *Ion* 550-53, 714-18, 1125; *IT* 1243; *Ph.* 226 with Σ; Ba. 306-9; *Hypsipyle* fr. 752; Ar. *Nu.* 605.

⁵⁹³ For other iconography associating Dionysus and Apollo, see Dietrich (1992: 50) and Burkert (1983: 124n43-4).

⁵⁹⁴ See, e.g. Kerényi (1976: 206-11); Bierl (1991: 95 with n162 for sources); Dietrich (1992: 45-6).

⁵⁹⁵ Fontenrose (1974: 374-94) followed by Bierl (1991: 96) of E. *IT* 1234-57: "Euripides geht es hier offenbar darum, die chthonische, ungeheuerliche Seite des Gottes zu unterstreichen. Im

the Python has also been interpreted as that of order over chaos and culture over wilderness, but the two gods also shared and moved between each other's assumed spaces: Parnassos (Dionysus) and the sanctuary at Delphi (Apollo). McInerney has pointed out that Apollo also had a role on Parnassos as Lykeios and as a youngster in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* (550-67) on the plateau area of Parnassos, where he herded cattle near the Thriai, who were associated with prophecy and bees and have been identified with the nymphs of the Corycian Cave.⁵⁹⁶

Apollo and Dionysus do not oppose as much as they complement each other, as is demonstrated by the trieteric rituals, in which both Dionysus' rebirth and Apollo's arrival signify renewal.⁵⁹⁷ According to Plut. *Mor.* 389c, Dionysus held sway in Delphi in the winter months and Apollo, following his return in the spring (in his birthday month, Bysios). During the winter, the Thyiades raved on Parnassos,⁵⁹⁸ and near the end of Dionysus' period, awakened in the Corycian

delphischen Dionysus, der über die Wintermonate diesen Ort beherrscht, sieht der Dichter offensichtlich eine animalisch-schreckliche Gottheit, die ursprünglich mit dem dortigen Drachen Python, einem Todes- und Winterdämon, identisch gewesen sein muss."

⁵⁹⁶ (1997: 265-9).

⁵⁹⁷ Dietrich (1992). Nietzsche's views about the antithesis of Apollo and Dionysus have also been discredited with regard to ritual by Bierl (1991: 92).

⁵⁹⁸ At Hdt. 7.178, the nymph Thyia, daughter of Cephissus, is mentioned. Most of the ancient testimony on the Thyiades is found in Plut. and Paus., e.g. Plut. *Mor.* 953d (in a snowstorm on Parnassos); Paus. 10.4.3 (as Attic women who go with the Delphic women to Parnassos to honor Dionysus and also dance along the road from Athens); Paus. 10.32.7 (raving in the heights of Parnassos for Dionysus and Apollo). A fuller list is collected by Villanueva-Puig (1986: 48-51).

Cave the infant Dionysus in a *liknon*—whence the title Dionysus Liknites—as a celebration of his birth or death and reappearance.⁵⁹⁹ Several sources attest to Dionysus' connection to the underworld, for example as Zagreus, or in the Orphic tradition.⁶⁰⁰ According to *Orph. H.* 53, for instance, the author, referring to the trieteric rites, writes that chthonic Dionysus was resting in Persephone and was awakened with the nymphs. It has also been argued that the awakening of Dionysus symbolized, in addition to the death and rebirth of the initiate, the vegetative or agricultural cycle. Support for the latter is the presence of the *liknon*, a winnowing fan that also doubled as a cradle for (in particular, divine) infants, and his identification with Iacchus, the divine child of the Eleusinian Mysteries (e.g. *Arr. An.* 2.16.3).⁶⁰¹

⁵⁹⁹ For discussions of the trieteric rituals, see, e.g. Nilsson (1957: 38-45), Kerényi's "Dionysos Trieterikos" (1976: 189-272), Burkert (1983: 123-5), Daraki (1985: 20-1, 127-9), Villanueva-Puig (1986), and McInerney (1997), who argues that the Corycian cave "marked the transition from the wilderness to culture" since it was between the sanctuary and the heights of Parnassus.

⁶⁰⁰ Zagreus is first attested alongside Πότνια Γῆ in the 6th c., *Alcmeonis* fr. 3 W and then identified or associated with Hades at A. fr. 5, fr. 228. E. in his *Cretans* (fr. 472.11-2), discussed further below, mentions omphagic feasts with Zagreus, which suggests Dionysus (West 1983: 154). At Plut. *Mor.* 389a, Dionysus and Zagreus (amongst others) are both names of the dismembered god. On further literary and iconographic evidence associating Dionysus with death and Zagreus, see, for example, Otto (1965: 191), Kerényi (1976: 83-6), West (1983: 152-4), Seaford (2006: 77-80).

⁶⁰¹ Those against the agricultural interpretation, e.g. Nilsson (1957: 40) and Daraki (1985: 20-1), argue that the cycle of vegetation does not fit the biennial period of the trieteric festival; however, McInerney (1997: 272-3) has shown that some crops are biennial (olives) and that farming strategies and agricultural farming practices (preparation, harvest) did indeed conform to the rites of Dionysus Liknites.

On the *liknon*, see Nilsson (1957: 21-37), who believed that the rite was introduced in the Hellenistic period and the *liknon* was not sacred in itself in the classical period; however, a *liknophoros* is mentioned in a Dionysian ritual context at D. 18.259-60. Nilsson's argument has also been rejected by, e.g. Zeitlin (1996: 302 with n43) and Burnett (1970: 3-5), who argue that the ritual is present in

At the same time as the Liknites ritual, the *hosioi*, five men serving Apollo (Plut. *Mor.* 292d), in the shrine performed an ‘unspeakable sacrifice,’ i.e. the dismemberment of “Dionysus.” Plut. *Mor.* 365a = *Isis et Osiris* 35, after comparing the Titans’ dismemberment of Dionysus to that of Osiris, writes:⁶⁰²

Δελφοὶ τὰ τοῦ Διονύσου λείψανα παρ’ αὐτοῖς παρὰ τὸ χρηστήριον ἀποκεῖσθαι νομίζουσι· καὶ θύουσιν οἱ Ὀσιοι θυσίαν ἀπόρρητον ἐν τῷ ιερῷ τοῦ Απόλλωνος, ὅταν αἱ Θυιάδες ἐγείρωσι τὸν Λικνίτην.

The Delphians believe that the remains of Dionysus are buried with them near the beside the oracle. And the *hosioi* make a secret sacrifice in the temple of Apollo, whenever the Thyiades wake up *Liknites* (Dionysus in the *liknon*).

While some later sources state that the Python bones or Apollo’s remains were in the tripod near the *omphalos*, earlier sources agree that Dionysus’ limbs sat in or near the tripod, e.g. Call. fr. 643 Pf. (= ΣΤ Lyk. 207):

E. *Ion* (discussed below). On the *liknon* as a receptacle of the infant Hermes, Zeus, and especially Dionysus, see Huys (1995: 201).

On the identity of the Divine Child in the Eleusinian mysteries, Foley (1994: 69 with n15, 110-1, and on 486-9), Burkert (1983: 289 with notes 71-3).

⁶⁰² Burkert (1983: 125): “Plutarch indicates, as clearly as one possibly could with something ‘unspeakable,’ that the sacrifice corresponded to the dismemberment of Dionysus. Thus, it probably followed the main lines of Dionysiac myth, i.e., tearing apart, gathering, and preserving in a sacred container.”

οἱ Τιτᾶνες τὰ Διονύσου μέλη σπαράξαντες Ἀπόλλωνι ἀδελφῷ ὅντι αὐτοῦ
παρέθεντο ἐμβαλόντες λέβητι, ὁ δὲ παρὰ τῷ τρίποδι ἀπέθετο

After the Titans tore apart the limbs of Dionysus, they gave them to his brother, Apollo, after tossing them into the kettle, but Apollo stowed them near the tripod.⁶⁰³

But according to the slightly older Philochorus (*FGrHist* 328 fr.7), a tomb in the temple of Apollo at Delphi was inscribed: “Here lies, dead, Dionysus (born) from Semele,” (Ἐνθάδε κεῖται θανὼν Διόνυσος ἐκ Σεμέλης). While the exact details are difficult to reconstruct and several versions exist, the basic patterns of Dionysiac ritual seem to remain roughly the same throughout many periods of Greek history. Kerényi, who connected Zagreus with Dionysiac ritual, perhaps states it best:

“The evidence is clear and leaves no room for doubt as to the core of the Dionysian religion, the essence that endured for thousands of years and formed the very basis of its existence. In the form of an animal the god suffered the extreme reduction, a cruel death, but he, indestructible *zoë*,

⁶⁰³ On this fragment’s relationship to other versions of the god, see the overview in Zacharia (2003: 115-16 with n50, 51). Cf. Call. fr. 517 Pf., Euph. fr. 13 P (ἐν πυρὶ Βάκχον δῖον ύπερ φιάλης ἔβαλοντο); Clem. Al. *Protr.* 2.18.2. For a discussion of the sources relating to the death and rebirth of Dionysus, see West (1983: 140-75). For the later traditions concerning the remains of Python (Dionysus?) and Apollo in the tripod and/or *omphalos*, see Fontenrose (1974: 374-94), Burkert (1983: 125n39-40).

escaped—to Thetis, to the Muses, or however this was expressed mythologically.”⁶⁰⁴

At Delphi, Dionysus’ rebirth corresponded with the return of Apollo, who may have played a part in his healing.⁶⁰⁵

The ritual described above corresponds with the use of the word *brephos* in tragedy. As at Pi. fr.52u, *brephos* is applied to a male god of mixed parentage who is threatened by Hera, but his early precociousness or exceptional nature is stressed. Each god immediately overcomes an obstacle in the most dangerous stage of life. *Brephos* Apollo, born of Zeus and a non-Olympian, when *still* leaping in the arms of his mother, kills the Python (*IT* 1250) and establishes his oracle.⁶⁰⁶

He does so after his mother carries him from his birth place to the Parnassian peak which celebrates the mysteries of Dionysus. Dionysus, born of Zeus and a mortal, is immediately covered in ivy while *still* a *brephos* (*Ph.* 652).⁶⁰⁷ The *Bacchae* appears

⁶⁰⁴ (1972: 179).

⁶⁰⁵ Kerényi (1972: 212-3): “He was not yet Apollo in all the fullness of his being, but only in one of his aspects: the god of light as healer, precisely the one to heal a god who was suffering, dismembered, and dead, or one who was temporarily mad, and enable him to become alive and whole again.” According to Olymp. *in Phd.* 7.10.5-8, Apollo puts him back together, but according to the earlier Euph. fr. 36 P = Phld. *Piet.* P.16 Gomperz, Rhea puts the limbs together.

⁶⁰⁶ οὐν ἔτι βρέφος, οὐτὶ φίλας ἐπὶ ματέρος ἀγκάλαισι θρώσκων, *IT* 1250. Kassel (1991: 54-5) ends his overview of children in Euripides by recognizing the similarity between Euripides and the Alexandrian poets and, in particular, the portrayal of Apollo in *IT* and Callimachus’ *Ap.*, with which he contrasts the version in *h. Ap.* He jests that the two hymnic Apollos have hardly anything in common except the name: “Quorum minutas res cum tam libenter non sine magno artificio expingat, similitudinis satis arto vincula cum poetis aetatis Alexandrinae coniunctus apparel; quam ingeniorum affinitatem uno exemplo, quo de Euripide quaestionem absolvemus, illustrabo.”

⁶⁰⁷ κισσὸς δὲ περιστεφῆς/έλικτὸς εὐθὺς οὐτὶ βρέφος/χλοηφόροισιν ἔρνεσιν/ κατασκίοισιν ὀλβίσας ἐνώτισεν, *Ph.* 651-4. Huys (1995: 164-5n242) helpfully points out that the friendly,

to reflect two closely-related accounts of Dionysus: his sacrifice or *sparagmos* and his birth from Semele, the basis, I argue, of the exposure motif.⁶⁰⁸ At *Ba.* 289 (βρέφος...νέον), Dionysus is exposed after his mother is struck by lightning and taken to Olympus, whence Hera wants to hurl, i.e. “expose” (ἐκβαλεῖν, 290), him, but at *Ba.* 522, *brepbos* Dionysus is snatched from lightning, received by the spring Dirce, and sewn up in Zeus’ “male womb.” (In the exposure motif, Zeus’ role is usually replaced by Apollo or occasionally, another such as Thetis.) Dionysus is thus the prototype of the “twice-born,” which serves as a model for the death and rebirth of initiates and, I suggest, exposed infants.⁶⁰⁹

5.2.2 Human/Divine-Animal Ambiguities

spontaneous vegetation signals “divine election,” but thinks that this passage has nothing to do with exposure. But, in addition to the term *brepbos*, exposure is suggested by the reference to Semele as “Bromius’ mother” (649, note also the scholiast’s description of the birth as a miscarriage: ἐξήμβλωσεν αὐτὸν ἡ μήτηρ, Σ^{MTAB} E. IT 651). Bromius, according to D.S.4.5.1, refers to Dionysus’ lightning birth, though others connect it to the sound, *bremo*, cf. A. *Th.* 348-50, which interestingly enough connects this verb with newborn children.

Furthermore, as Otto (1965: 152-7) points out, ivy (as opposed to the vine, which is associated with warmth) has a cooling effect (and thus, associated with winter, sterility, and death) and would have protected him from the heat of the lightning. He also notes that the two phases in ivy’s production of shoots is appropriate for the “twice-born” god.

⁶⁰⁸ Dio. 3.62-4, 5.75.4 summarizes several separate accounts of Dionysus’ birth (from Zeus and Semele, Demeter, or Persephone), but, as West (1983: 162-3) notes, Hyginus (*Fab.* 167) attempts to reconcile the two (Persephone and Semele) by having Semele drink Dionysus-heart soup from which she became pregnant with Dionysus. We have no evidence that Semele was a part of the Orphic tradition.

⁶⁰⁹ For a comparison of the births of Apollo and Dionysus, see Zeitlin (2002: 193-218). For example, Hera intervenes in the delivery of both gods. She ensures the delayed delivery of Apollo, but the premature delivery of Dionysus. (and cf. Herakles’ delayed birth.)

The ambivalence of Dionysus, whether infant or animal, also makes the god a suitable backdrop for the exposure narrative. *Brephos* is both animal and human; placed in an area that is both menacing and protective. In ritual and in myth, Dionysus, unlike the other gods, is imagined as an animal, specifically a bull or a kid (e.g. E. *Ba.* 99-100, 920-2; Apollod. 3.29, Διόνυσος Ἐριφός), and is said to have been torn apart, roasted and boiled either as an infant or as a bull-calf.⁶¹⁰ The locus of this ritual and the related myth is sacrifice, repeatedly represented in tragedy. Here is the oft-told story of an animal replacing a human in sacrifice or a human, an animal.⁶¹¹ For example, Seaford— influenced by Brelich, who argued that human sacrifice in myth reflects the symbolism of death in coming-of-age initiatory practices— contends that in the *Bacchae*, the *sparagmos* of the young Pentheus or Dionysus as bull or goat reflects the substitution of animals for children in rituals at Brauron and in Dionysiac rituals.⁶¹² The story of Dionysus also accounts for many myths involving the boiling, roasting, rending, and/or eating of human young, e.g. Procne and Itys, the newborn calf at Tenedos, Ino and Melicertes, Harpagos, and Thyestes.

In this context, too, the separation between animal and human in tragedy is

⁶¹⁰ E.g. D.S. 3.62, 5.75.4; Plut. *Mor.* 364E-365A; Clem. Al. *Protr.* 2.15; Nonn. 6.155-205. See also Burkert (1985: 64, 297-8).

⁶¹¹ Burkert (1983: 76-8), (1985: 64-5).

⁶¹² Brelich (1969: esp. 203-7), Seaford (1981: esp. 268).

either confused or dissolved. The motif has been explored by several. For Thumiger, a “middle ground” between humans and animals is created in three ways.⁶¹³ First, generic terms for animals, such as θήρ, βότον, σκύμνος, and νεοσσός, are applied to humans before being infused with more specific animal imagery in order to invite the reader to consider the character’s behavior in an objectified manner. For instance, in *Ba.* Pentheus and Dionysus are the neutral ἄγρα (e.g. P. 1146, D. 434) and θήρ (e.g. P. 1108, D. 436), and the more specific, e.g. bull (D. at e.g. 920, 922) and lion (D. 1018-9, P. born of a lioness at 990). Second, the images of animals eating human corpses, which Thumiger views as akin to cannibalism and *teknophagy*, through the literal movement of human into animal “symbolizes...the risk to which we are always exposed of the reduction of human to animal.” This motif is particularly prominent in the quarrel between Thyestes and Atreus, featured or alluded to frequently (e.g. A. *Ag.* 1242, 1593, *Ch.* 1069; E. *El.* 10, 613; *IT* 812). And finally, the animalization of feelings and the representation of human as animal is created through specific vocabulary, e.g. Dionysus says that Pentheus is “feeding on hope” (ἐλπίσιν δ’ ἐβόσκετο, *Ba.* 617). Padel, on the contrary, argues that human actually becomes animal, which, via *daimon* “invading man at all points” obliterates any separation between human and animal.⁶¹⁴ Thus, for example, Ajax and

⁶¹³ (2007: 1-9; 2014: 84-7)

⁶¹⁴ (1992: 150-1, 128-38).

Herakles, both compared to bulls, derive their madness from a *daimon* which turns them into animals. And finally, Heath emphasizes speech/*logos* as the determining factor in the human-animal relationship.⁶¹⁵

5.3 *Brephos* in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*

Heath has shown how the jumble of human and animal in *Agamemnon* and *Liberation Bearers* is disentangled in *Eumenides* by divine intervention and the introduction of *logos*. At Ag. 42-54, the war-cry of the Atreidae is compared to birds of prey grieving over their children and circling around their bed (*τρόπον αἰγυπιῶν οἵτ’ ἐκπατίοις/ἄλγεσι παῖδων ὑπατοι λεχέων/στροφοδινοῦνται*, 49-51). While the simile has been understood to refer to, for instance, Clytemnestra and Iphigenia or Thyestes and his children, Heath is more interested in the ambiguity and “blurring of distinctions between human and animal” presented by the very rare uses of *παῖδες* (instead of *τέκνα*) for animals and *λέχος* (instead of *εὐνή*) for an animal abode. Similarly, “another lawless sacrifice not to be eaten” (*θυσίαν ἔτέροαν ἄνομόν...ἀδαιτον*, 150) and the eagles’ feasting on a hare (114-20), later described in human terms as *δαίς* (*λαγοδαίτας*, 124) and *δεῖπνον* (137), signal the breakdown of the human and animal world as it veers towards cannibalism. The ambiguity also

⁶¹⁵ (1999). Heath (2005) expands the concept and adds discussions of Plato and Homer.

famously applies to the Furies, “a disgusting conflation...part beast, part human, certainly divine but excluded from the ranks of all three categories.” However, by the end of *Eu.* the Furies, whom Apollo shooed away from his sanctuary at Delphi—whose order and disorder serves as an “ideal symbolic backdrop for the major themes of the trilogy”—and described as a flock of goats without a herdsman, which the gods do not love (*Eu.* 196-7), become, through Athena, civilized with speech and guardians of fertility. At the same time, animals, “not residing destructively within man or god,” are no longer ruinous beasts, like the lion cub who slaughters flocks (*Ag.* 730), but domesticated and silent creatures which serve as intermediaries between human and divine through sacrifice.⁶¹⁶

Thyestes’ feast is referred to directly at least five times in the trilogy (and alluded to once at 1185-93). In three of the instances, *pais* or a *pais* adjective or prefix appears: *Ag.* 1219 (παιδες θανόντες), 1242 and 1593 (δαιτα παιδειων κρεῶν), and *Ch.* 1068-9 (παιδοβόροι μὲν πρῶτον ὑπῆρξαν/μόχθοι τάλανές τε Θυέστου). At *Ag.* 1592 we also learn that Atreus prepares Thyestes’ children as if celebrating a feast day (κρεουργὸν ἥμαρ), which is derived from sacrificial ritual.⁶¹⁷ Burkert has shown that other details, such as the name “Thyestes” (< Θύος) and, above all, the

⁶¹⁶ Heath (1999).

⁶¹⁷ See Fraenkel (1950 *ad loc.*) and Burkert (1983: 104).

brothers' original argument over a sacrificial golden lamb or ram, indicate the tale's origin in sacrificial ritual.⁶¹⁸

The term *brephe*, which appears in the first mention of the feast of Thyestes in *Agamemnon*, also has connotations of sacrifice, but of a slightly different nature. Cassandra, invoking Apollo “guardian of the streets” (Αγυιεύς), speaks of the house of Atreus as hateful to the gods, a place of man-slaughter (ἀνδροσφαγεῖον) and blood-sprinkled floors (πεδορραντήριον) (1090-2). After the chorus compares the prophetess to a keen-scented dog searching for a murder (1093-4), Cassandra is “persuaded by this evidence,” (1095): “these *brephe* lamenting their slaughter/and their roasted flesh eaten by their father, (κλαιόμενα τάδε βρέφη σφαγὰς/ὸπτάς τε σάρκας πρὸς πατρὸς βεβρωμένας, 1096-7).⁶¹⁹ Immediately following this vision, Cassandra prophesies the slaughter of Agamemnon.

Again, this is the only time that *brepbos* is attested in Aeschylus, and it should be noted that elsewhere, Aeschylus speaks of newborns in a different way. For example, Aegisthus, after explaining that he plotted the murder of Agamemnon

⁶¹⁸ Burkert (1983: 104-9) specifically suggests the Argive sacrificial festival named after a lamb and therefore celebrated in the month Arneos. According to the myth, Linus, son of Apollo and Psamathe, was exposed by his mother and grew up among lambs, but was torn to pieces by dogs. The myth also represents the dying of vegetation (as Linus) in the dog-days of summer/the dog-star, Sirius. In the ritual, females mourned (αἴλινον, whence the myth of Linus), sacrificed lambs, and killed dogs, which Burkert connects to Apollo Lykeios, who killed wolves and protected the market of Argos. Similarly, Hdt.'s Cyrus was raised by a dog "Kyno."

⁶¹⁹ It is unclear whether the σφαγὰς and ὄπτάς... σάρκας are both objects of the lamentation or Cassandra's vision. See Fraenkel (1950 *ad loc.*). Cf. 1217

because his father Thyestes, having vomited his own children's flesh, cursed the line of Pelops (1596-1606), claims that with his father, he, the third child, was driven out as "a baby in swaddling clothes" (τυτθὸν ὄντ' ἐν σπαργάνοις). Similarly, in the lion simile, a man holds the lion cub like a suckling baby, (*πολέα δ' ἔσκ' ἐν ἀγκάλαις/υεοτοόφου τέκνου δίκαν*, 723-4).⁶²⁰ The *brephe* should instead be considered from the opposite angle: human as animal, i.e. the slaughter of Thyestes' children is akin to the slaughter of an animal. The word for their slaughter (*σφαγὰς*, cf. 1599 vomited by Thyestes) is usually reserved for sacrificial slaughter of animals.

⁶²¹ The word is introduced into *Ag.* of an animal (but foreshadowing a human) when Clytemnestra leaves Cassandra in the chariot because the slaughter of a "sheep" (ahem, Agamemnon)⁶²² at the "center navel" of the house awaits her (...τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἔστιας μεσομφάλου/έστηκεν ἥδη μῆλα πρὸς σφαγὰς πάρος, 1056-7) and is last used at *Eu.* 450 (of a "suckling beast" to allow Orestes to speak) and 1006 (the now

⁶²⁰ Also: "a newborn child perceiving could understand" (νεόγονος ἀν ἀῖων μάθοι, *Ag.* 1163). Orestes cannot speak without the slaughter of "newly-suckled beast" (νεοθήλου βοτοῦ, *Eu.* 448-50). Cf. *Eu.* 559: the mother is only a "nurse of a newly-sown fetus" (*τροφεὺς δὲ κύματος νεοσπόρου*).

⁶²¹ On the corrupted sacrifice in the *Oresteia* and, in particular, the *sphag-* and *sphaz-* terms, see Zeitlin (1965: esp. 468 with n13), who also notes that in Homer, *sphazō* indicates slaughter of cattle for feasting and/or sacrifice.

⁶²² What starts out as animal sacrifice becomes human. The ambiguity of the *brephe* seems to mirror the chorus' uncertainty about Cassandra's vision. At 1217-22, Cassandra again sees the feast of Thyestes, but this time uses *paides* of Thyestes' children who are now holding their own flesh. The change in term, now unequivocally of humans, is perhaps an indication that her vision is about human slaughter, yet the chorus while understanding Thyestes' feast, does not understand Cassandra's prophecy (1242-45), so at 1246, she finally seems to say, damn it, "I say that you will behold the death of Agamemnon!" (Ἀγαμέμνονός σέ φημ' ἐπόψεσθαι μόρον).

“solemn sacrifices” for the Eumenides). Additionally, “roasted” (*όπτος*, only here in Aeschylus, cf. Hdt. 1.119.3: *όπτάω* of Harpagos’ son), humans and the kettle, in which Thyestes’ children are boiled (see Sen. *Thy.* 765-7), echoes Dionysus’ sacrifice by the Titans and his limbs in the tripod near the *omphalos* of the temple of Apollo.⁶²³

The beginning of the *Eumenides* hints at a resolution to the Dionysiac death in the house of Atreus, for which the Thyestes story is the core example. The Pythia describes the *peaceful* transmission of power over the oracle from Gaia to Themis to Phoebe and, as a birthday present, to Apollo (1-19), and amongst other deities, the Corycian nymphs, Dionysus (deviser of Pentheus’ fate), and (very likely) the Cave.⁶²⁴ By opening with these images, Aeschylus signals a rebirth, fertility, a restoration of peace, an end of violence. The maenadic Furies (500) will become the Eumenides (cf. initially-raving Thyiades on Parnassus), and Orestes will avoid death (746) with the deciding vote of Athena, who was won over by Apollo’s

⁶²³ Usually of animals or objects, e.g. animals: *Od.* 4.66, 16.443; Hdt. 1.133.1, 2.77.5; and heated objects: S. *Ant.* 475 (iron), Hdt. 1.180.2 (bricks), 2.92.2 (bread). E. *Cyc.* 325, “roasted calf or some animal,” is extended (as in A.) to apply to the limbs of the Cyclops’ guests, boiled, roasted, and hot from the coals (356-60). At *Od.* 22.21, the roasted meat is befouled when the dying Antinoos overturns the table with his foot. Cf. Ag. 1601 (Thyestes overturning the table). The *Od.* instance is not mentioned by Burkert (1983: 105 with n12).

On roasting in similar Dionysiac myths, see Burkert (1983: 89 (Lykaion) with n29 on roasting and boiling, 105 (Thyestes), 109 (Harpagos), 181 (Procne)).

⁶²⁴ σέβω δὲ νύμφας, ἐνθα Κωρυκίς πέτρα/ κοίλη, φίλορνις, δαιμόνων ἀναστροφή./Βρόμιος ἔχει τὸν χῶρον, οὐδ' ἀμνημονῶ,/ ἐξ οὗτε Βάκχαις ἐστρατήγησεν Θεός/λαγώ δίκην Πενθεῖ καταρράψας μόρον, *Eu.* 22-26. On “the place” held by Bromius as the Corycian Cave and the Dionysiac cult there, see McInerney (1997: 278-80).

argument that mothers are not necessary, of which Athena herself is evidence (and, to some extent, Dionysus), since she was born from Zeus (657-73, 734-43).

The ambiguity of the term *brehpos* means that in the world of tragedy, where human and animal are mingled, the slaughtered *brehpos* can be extended easily to the exposed *brehpos*, a motif of which especially Euripides is fond. Though seemingly not the same as Thumiger's neutral terms for animals, *brehpos* too appears to establish a "middle ground" between human and animal. In the cases of actual exposure, the *brehpos* is not considered a human being. Griffiths, commenting on the *Ion*, writes: "The newborn infant was only a potential human being, for it was the male members of the family who turned small mammals into human beings with an acknowledged place in society...the brutal extreme, reflected in *myth*, is that without acceptance into a family the child is a piece of meat, food for wild animals and birds of prey."⁶²⁵ Indeed, the *brehē*, a *dais* for Thyestes correlates nicely with the *brehpos* as a *dais* for wild animals (e.g. *Ion* 505, discussed below). Similarly, the details derived from the exposure motif as applied to Orestes, a *brehpos* in Euripides, suggest an underlying connection between infant sacrifice and exposure.⁶²⁶

⁶²⁵ (2017: 233-4). Italics are mine.

⁶²⁶ Late sources also speak of Aegisthus being exposed and fed by a goat (hence αἴξ, αἰγός > Αἴγισθος) and is perhaps related to his birth from the incestuous union of Thyestes and daughter Pelopia after Atreus killed Thyestes' sons (D. Chr. 66. 6; Apollod. *Epit.* 2.14; Ael. VH 12.42;

5.4 *Brephē* in *Ion* and *Bacchae* (Death and Rebirth)

5.4.1 Summary

Hermes narrates the background of the play in the prologue (8-68). Apollo rapes Creusa, daughter of Erechtheus while she is picking crocuses (a detail only in Creusa's account, 887-90) in a cave at the Makrai, a slope of the Acropolis, where she later also exposes the baby born from the union in a wicker receptacle covered with olive wreaths with a snake amulet and an unfinished Gorgon weaving. At the behest of Apollo, Hermes brings the baby and receptacle to Apollo's shrine at Delphi, where the Pythia, initially intending to abandon the baby, is moved by pity and raises the child. Once grown, the boy lives a life of purity as a steward of Apollo and guardian of the temple.

As the play opens, the childless Creusa and her husband, Xuthus (a non-Athenian from Achaea) arrive at the oracle to ask for children.⁶²⁷ The first part of the drama is mainly a conversation between Ion and Creusa in which Ion asks about Creusa's autochthonous lineage and each character tells their story (237-391). The plot rises with the false recognition scene between Xuthus and Ion (510-

Hyg. *Fab.* 87, 88.3-4, 252), which may have already been told in one or more of Sophocles' plays on Thyestes.

⁶²⁷ On this request at Apollo's oracle, cf. e.g. *Med.* 665ff (Aegeus explains that he is on his way back from Delphi where he had asked Apollo about his infertility) and S. fr. 202-3 of the *Hermione* (Neoptolemus consults Apollo at Delphi about their childlessness).

675). Xuthus emerges from the temple and embraces Ion, whom he believes to be his son, but Ion is skeptical and curious about his mother. Xuthus supposes that his mother was a maenad who cast him out after a drunken night at a Dionysian festival on Mount Parnassus. When Xuthus asks Ion to return to Athens with him, Ion's status as a foreign bastard, rather than a pure autochthonous Athenian, leads him to prefer his pure life at the temple of Apollo. Xuthus, however, convinces Ion to go to Athens, and Ion prepares a celebratory feast while Xuthus sacrifices to Dionysus on Mt. Parnassus.

When the chorus reveals to Creusa that Xuthus has a son, Creusa's old tutor convinces her to kill Ion so that a foreign bastard not take the throne (725-858). Creusa reveals that she has a healing and a poisonous drop of Gorgon's blood that Athena once gave to Erichthonius, and sends the old man with the poison to Ion's feast (985-1047). The plot is revealed, however, after a dove drinks Ion's poisoned wine and dies, and Ion seeks revenge against Creusa who seeks refuge at the altar of Apollo (1106-1319). At this point, the Pythia brings out the perfectly preserved basket and unveils its contents, which reunite mother and son (1320-1545). Ion, still doubting his paternity, heads to the oracle when Athena as *deus ex machina* appears on Apollo's behalf and confirms that Ion is Apollo's son, but that they should pretend that he is Xuthus' son; that they should return to Athens where

Ion will become the founder of the Ionians; and that Creusa and Xuthus will bear the eponymous founders of the Achaeans and Dorians (1546-1605).

5.4.2 Exposure Motifs in the *Ion*

Ion (produced in the 410s) is the best-preserved exposure drama of Euripides and one of the most-detailed accounts of the motif in early extant Greek literature. Huys fully analyzes eight different aspects of the motif.⁶²⁸ *Ion* is an example of the more positive version of the tale in which an exposed infant overcomes all obstacles to take his rightful place as ruler. The earliest surviving antecedent for Euripides' tale is Pi. O.6 (App. 3.2), which also features a pious and eponymous child born of Apollo and a mortal.⁶²⁹ In these two tales, the boys' capabilities are internal and spiritual rather than physical on account of their education under Apollo.⁶³⁰

In this tale-type an illicit conception results in the exposure of the infant by the mother. Breaking with tradition, however, Euripides shifts around or

⁶²⁸ A summary of Huys follows. The relevant pages are 94-104 (reason for exposure), 147-9 (the persons exposing), 168-77 (the location), 212-25 (the receptacle), 246-52 (the intent), 279-83 (animals), 308-13 (the rescuers), and 343-46 (the characteristics of the infant).

⁶²⁹ For further thematic parallels between Iamos and *Ion*, see, e.g., Loraux (1990: 172-3). On how the various puns on the roots of their names (Iao-) connect them to plant-gathering rituals, see Ruck (1976).

⁶³⁰ Burnett (1970: 5-6) contrasts *Ion*'s upbringing in a temple with the ordinary rite of passage in the wilderness.

duplicates certain features of the tale in order, for example, to intensify the recognition scene at the end and emphasize the mythological history and national identity of the Athenians.⁶³¹ The poet innovatively removes the mother's conflict with the male authority, in this case her father, who is never aware of the pregnancy (14-5, 340),⁶³² in order to amplify the psychological torment of the mother, who, along with her son, even goes so far as to criticize Apollo's behavior (e.g. 384, 447-51).⁶³³ The poet then repeatedly links Creusa's anxieties during the exposure to her actions in the play. Creusa's renewed fear and shame lead directly to her attempt on Ion's life; accompanying these emotions, secrecy shrouds not only Creusa's past and present actions, but also those of Apollo and Xuthus.

Euripides also reinforces the mother's negative emotions and loneliness by splitting the roles of the servant in the typical exposure tale. For Creusa's anxieties

⁶³¹ For an overview of interpretations regarding autochthony and Athenian identity as represented in *Ion*, see Martin (2018: 10-11, 20-3).

⁶³² Huys (1995: 95-7), followed by Martin (2018 *ad* 898) soundly argue against reading φοίκαι ματρός as an objective genitive. The fear must be her own, not her mother's.

⁶³³ Huys (1995: 101, 104): the "psychological burden of Kreousa...unquestionably transcends the structural features of the tale-type, which focuses more or less on the sole figure of the exposed hero-child." He notes, e.g. the complete lack of any such complaints from Euadne in Pi. O. 6, but sees Danae's request to Zeus for a "change of mind" (μεταβούλια) in Simonides fr. 271.23-6 (Poltera) as a simpler version of Creusa's reaction.

Apollo's role, not just in the *Ion*, but in *Or.* and *Andr.* is very problematic. For recent summaries of the battle between supporters and critics over Apollo's morality in E., see Allan (2000: 234-7) and Martin (2018: 7-10) Allan, Mastronarde (1975: 163n4), and Martin (2018: 8, and for others, see n14), however, position themselves on neither side. Allan, for example, maintains that the nature of tragedy is "essentially interrogatory" and that in his treatment of the gods, E. examines humans' lack of control over an understanding of the world, and while agreeing that E. depicts Apollo ironically, Mastronarde criticizes both sides for "misplac[ing] the emphasis of the play" in their assumption that Apollo is the poet's primary focus.

to resurface, she had to expose Ion on her own. Thus, the servant qua confidant is absent from the exposure and is transferred to the scene before the murder plot when Creusa, no longer able to suppress her anxieties, divulges her secret to her old tutor (923-65); and the role of rescuer is filled by Hermes, who, although acting in this capacity elsewhere,⁶³⁴ behaves like the human servant by proudly announcing that he is the first of the gods to call him “Ion,” even though Ion is officially later named by Xuthus (80-1), and by concealing himself after his prologue speech to learn the fate of Ion as a young man (76-7), which imitates the servant, who, after exposing the infant, hides to learn his fate.⁶³⁵ This latter feature may also be intended to keep Ion’s parentage hidden from the Pythia and Ion.

Keeping to the divine aspect of Ion’s intervention, the Pythia—indirectly, Apollo, and not the more common humble human or animal, fulfills the role of nurse. Her pity for the infant and later rescuing intervention when she reveals the basket are motifs of the tale (cf. e.g. *Alexandros*), but Euripides’ version is unique because the priestess hands over the basket when the mother is present and about to be killed. However, unlike foster-parents in other exposure stories, the Pythia,

⁶³⁴ On Hermes as finder and rescuer, particularly of the semi-divine child, see Huys (1995: 301 with n728-9).

⁶³⁵ Where exactly Hermes goes is debated. Huys (1995:147) understands δαφνώδη γύαλα to be a “laurel-bush,” but Martin (2018 *ad* 76) argues, for example, that γύαλα has associations with Delphi elsewhere (e.g. Hes. *Th.* 499) and indicates the precinct at *Andr.* 1092-3, while δαφνώδη means “rich” or “adorned with laurels” elsewhere in E., e.g. *Ba.* 12. In this case, Hermes would be in “the laurel-decorated recess” of the temple.

like Hermes, acts throughout the drama not on her own, but according to the will of Apollo (47-9, 1343, 1347-9, 1357-9, 1565). Apollo's puppetry likely mimics to some extent Athena's in her rescue and handing over of Erichthonius to the Cecropidae, who also raise him in her temple.

This hypothesis is well-supported by the poet's frequent explicit and implicit comparisons of Ion and Erichthonius.⁶³⁶ The basket in which Ion is exposed—variously referred to as ἄγγος (e.g. 32, 337), a general term; κύτος (37, 39), a neutral term for hollow vessel; and ἀντίπηξ (e.g. 19, 40), a technical term for a hollow, wicker vessel with a lid—recalls the basket used for Erichthonius. The ἀντίπηξ, in particular, is comparable to the κίστη that was probably used for Erichthonius. The contents of the basket also recall Erichthonius. The snake amulet parallels the protective snakes posted by Athena at the side of the infant Erichthonius (20-6, 1429) and though not explicitly stated in the drama, the unfinished Gorgon cloth alludes to a similar cloth with which Athena covered Erichthonius. The snaky imagery highlights Ion's autochthonous origins and symbolizes his future. Even the unveiling of the contents echoes the opening of Erichthonius' κίστη (271-4). However, while the Cecropidae disobey Athena's

⁶³⁶ On Ion as a double of Erichthonios and other similar doublings and repetitions of the Athenian past in the *Ion*, see Zacharia (2003: 66-70, 76-8), Zeitlin (1996: 293-300 with n22 for earlier readings).

orders forbidding them to open Erichthonius' chest, the Pythia follows Apollo's orders to hide and later, bring out the basket (Pythia: 1346-9).

The location of the rape and exposure likewise is intended to join Ion to his autochthonous past. At the end of his history lesson about the Athenians, including Erechtheus and Erichthonius, Ion asks Creusa about the cave to Pan at the foot of the Makrai (265-85), near which were the Erechtheion, temple of Erechtheus, and the *Arrhephoria* in honor of Erichthonius. Zacharia reads a further allusion to this festival during which Athenian girls, like Creusa, deposited a covered basket in a cave on the slope of the Acropolis.⁶³⁷

While Ion is merely curious about the famous race, his mention of the Makrai triggers for Creusa an emotional reaction and a suppressed memory—"indelible in the hippocampus"—about "some dishonor in the cave" (283-88). Having survived in Pan's cave, which is idyllic yet dangerous, holy yet uncivilized, Ion now knows only a pure life in service of the god. But for Creusa, the cave conjures up only dark images, which will later lead her to make an attempt on Ion's life after he learns that he was conceived at the Dionysian rituals,

⁶³⁷ (2003: 86-8). Zacharia also compares Creusa's disclosure of her secret to the Aglaurids' opening of the basket, but divine intervention prevents Creusa's death after her attempt on Ion's life, whereas Athena does not prevent the death of the disobedient Aglaurids. Loraux (1990: 199-200) sees Creusa as a failed *Arrhephoros*.

a scene which “functions as a mirror of the Acropolis-cliffs” and is “stylistically and grammatically...reminiscent of the evocation of the Pan-cave.”

At this point in the narrative Creusa’s skepticism about her child’s death has turned to certainty; her hope for rescue has been shattered, for although she exposed her infant, her intentions were not murderous, as is evidenced by her exposing of the child in the location where she was raped in a protective cave and basket with an apotropaic amulet/recognition tokens. Creusa also later states that she had hoped for his rescue, specifically by Apollo (965), whom she maligns for failing to rescue their son (859-922).⁶³⁸

Creusa’s transition from hopeful to bereaved mother is also reflected in the way she speaks about the threatening animals surrounding Ion’s exposure. Speaking to Ion about a “friend” who exposed her child, Creusa says that she is asking the oracle if the child is alive (346); she speculates that θῆρες (“beasts of prey”) killed the child (348), but also admits to the absence of the child and blood upon her return to the site (349-52). But right before Xuthus announces that Ion is his son, the chorus paints a grimmer picture: now the child was exposed as “a feast for birds and a bloody banquet for beasts of prey” ($\pi\tau\alpha\nu\circ\iota\varsigma$ ἐξόρισεν θοίναν/θηρσί τε φοινίαν δαῖτα, 504-5). The chorus’ song anticipates Creusa’s

⁶³⁸ On Creusa’s complaint against Apollo for failing to reciprocate the *charis* (“gratitude”), which leads to Creusa’s revenge, see LaRue (1963: 130-5), who focuses on Creusa’s monody, and Mueller (2010: esp. 375-89), who examines the term in the broader context of the drama.

different reaction after they inform her that she will remain childless, but that Apollo dared to give Xuthus a son (760-91). In her monody, Creusa angrily to Apollo assumes that her infant was, in fact, snatched up and eaten by birds (902-4, 916-7). The old tutor then reinforces Creusa's certainty when he speaks of the exposure as a burial at the paws of beasts ($\piο\bar{u}\thetaε\bar{i}nai\pi\bar{o}λeω\zeta/\thetaηqσiν\varphi iλoν\tau\bar{u}μβeυμ$, 932-3).⁶³⁹

Creusa's nightmare-turned-reality drives her animal-like murder attempt. Adopting the threatening aspect of the birds and beasts she believes to have killed her son, Creusa goes maenadic and chooses to unknowingly kill Ion with the poisonous drop of snaky Gorgon blood.⁶⁴⁰ However, Apollo adopts the opposite pole of the exposure motif—that of rescuing and nurturing animals (see e.g. the bear in *Alexandros*)—by sending a dove to drink the poison.⁶⁴¹ In addition, the positive side of the snake, whose ambivalence suits well the exposure motif (cf. P. O. 6 above), is represented by the snake amulet, which effects the reunion of mother and son.

⁶³⁹ On the overlap of exposure and burial, see below (discussed by Huys on p. 281).

After the recognition, Creusa still refers to the exposure in similar terms (1494-6), for which see below. It could easily be a metaphor, consistent with the death and rebirth imagery (cf. 953, where she believes him to be dead, and 1441-2).

⁶⁴⁰ On Creusa's maenadic behaviors (e.g. θεομανής, 1402), which dissipate with the revelation of Ion's true father, and her similarity to the dove that dies in a Bacchic manner ($\kappa\bar{a}βάκχeυσeν$, 1204), see McPhee (2017, esp. 484-6).

⁶⁴¹ His intervention is revealed by Athena at the end of the drama (1565).

5.4.3 The Ritual Background of the *Ion*

The *Ion* has been interpreted as a mythical rendition of initiation rituals. For example, Ion's upbringing by a priestess *in loco dei*, the infant in the basket, and imagery of death and rebirth find parallels in the mysteries. While studies on the divinities in the *Ion* have largely focused on Athena and Apollo, some have explored the roles of Dionysus and Demeter and possible allusions to their rites. Dionysus is associated with the other divinities in *Ion*. He is a counterpart of Apollo and a figure in Demeter's mysteries (see below).⁶⁴² Finally, although not directly related to the Athenian's autochthonous past, Dionysus' own history correlates with the plot of the drama. Burnett and Zeitlin have compared Ion (and Erichthonius by extension) to Dionysus, "the natural prototype of the divinely engendered child."⁶⁴³ Both god and boy are divinely conceived; move from the realm of the mother to the father, from death to life; and embrace the duality of stranger and native who must reclaim their rightful place.⁶⁴⁴ The motif of death and rebirth that is central to their narratives designates them as "twice born," a

⁶⁴² See, e.g., Zacharia (2003: 110-17) on the close relationship between Apollo and Dionysus in *Ion* and in tragedy in general, and McPhee (2017), who explores the opposition and interdependence of the two gods in *Ion*.

⁶⁴³ Burnett (1970: 4). For Burnett's discussion, see pp. 3-5. For Zeitlin's (1996: 300-4).

⁶⁴⁴ Zeitlin (1996: 302n45) deems Burnett's other analogies, e.g. Creusa=Semele, Xuthus=Silenos, an overreach.

metaphor that can be extended in several ways. When Ion asks Xuthus about his conception, Xuthus hazily suspects that a maenad must have given birth to him and then cast him away. Although Ion reluctantly acknowledges this paternity, the fiction begins to unravel with the death of the dove, which has been understood as Ion's scapegoat, and its bacchant-like death (1204), a symbol of the death of Ion's false Dionysian paternity.⁶⁴⁵ He is "reborn" to his true father when the Pythia brings forth the basket from the "womb" of Apollo's temple,⁶⁴⁶ which also echoes his rescue from the cave in the exposure motif.

The narrative space devoted to the basket emphasizes its significance. After the Pythia carries the basket out of the temple (1320), nearly one hundred lines pass before Ion begins questioning his mother about its contents (1412-36). Burnett and Zeitlin contend that the basket (of both Ion and Erichthonius) alludes to the Dionysus Liknites ritual, which took place on Parnassos during the trieteric festival, the same festival where Xuthus believes Ion to have been conceived.⁶⁴⁷ The torches described by Xuthus (550) may allude to the torch ceremony possibly meant to celebrate Dionysus' death and rebirth, and Ion's *antipēx* may recall

⁶⁴⁵ Several, before and after Zeitlin, have made this point. See McPhee (2017: 483n24) for a recent list.

⁶⁴⁶ Loraux (1990: 204-5) argues that the basket also symbolizes a "chthonic womb," but Zeitlin (301n42) disagrees because Ion has been separated from his basket in Delphi. On the "male maternity" of Delphi, see Zeitlin (2002: 209).

⁶⁴⁷ Against this reading, Zacharia (2003: 111n28): "Such an ingenious parallel will hardly have occurred to more than a minority of the audience."

Dionysus' *liknon* or *larnax*. Zeitlin goes further and contrasts the Thyiades' ritual reviving (wakening) with a torch procession of baby Dionysus in the cave with *Ion's* chorus women's prayer for Ion's death (714-21).

The death and rebirth imagery is simultaneously situated on another mythical plane, that of Persephone and Demeter. Like Kore, Creusa is abducted against her will by a Hades while gathering flowers, but with her attempt to poison Ion, she reflects the darker side of Persephone (1048-9, 1232-7). At the same time, Creusa evokes Demeter in her search for her son, whom she believes to be raised in Hades (953). At the end of the drama, Creusa joyfully exclaims that her "light" ($\varphi\tilde{\omega}\varsigma$) is not living with Persephone (1439-42), and accordingly, inserts Hades in a revised statement of her earlier belief about Ion's death by bird, "In a desolate cave as a victim and feast for the beaks of birds you were cast out into Hades," ($\grave{\alpha}n\grave{\alpha}$ δ' ἄντρον ἔρημον οἰωνῶν/γαμφηλαῖς φόνευμα θοίναμά τ' εἰς/Αιδαν ἐκβάλλη,

1494-6). Creusa's exclamation closely mirrors the chorus leader's in the *Ba.* upon the reemergence of Dionysus from the palace, which parallels his birth from Zeus' thigh, "O greatest light for us in our Bacchic revelry, how glad am I, who was alone and desolate, to see you," (ῷ φάος μέγιστον ἡμῖν εὐίου βακχεύματος,/ώς ἐσεῖδον ἀσμένη σε, μονάδ' ἔχουσ' ἔρημίαν *Ba.* 608-9). In the end, Athena reaffirms Ion's

“rebirth;” Creusa’s belief that Hades raised Ion is replaced by Athena’s statement that, in fact, Apollo raised her son.⁶⁴⁸

The significance of the basket in the *Ion* leads us again beyond the myth back to the mysteries.⁶⁴⁹ In this scenario, Ion and Erichthonius are interchangeable with the mystic child in the basket of the Eleusinian Mysteries.⁶⁵⁰ As in the mysteries, Ion’s basket is hidden (1361-2). The language of the Pythia (“speaking,” “hearing,” “seeing,” and “showing”) may reflect instructions to initiates whose viewing of the sacred contents in the miraculously-preserved basket will bring joy (1447-9) and light (see Ion as φῶς above, 1466-7). This “initiation” and subsequent journey to Athens is facilitated by the choral ode—pivotally placed between the murder plot and messenger report on the murder attempt in the Dionysian tent—in which the “much-hymned god” (1074-5), i.e. Iacchus-Dionysus, proceeds from Athens to Eleusis, where the festival celebrating the two goddesses occurs. Zeitlin reads Dionysus qua Iacchus as “the transitional figure who links Athens and Delphi by way of Eleusis.” If I understand the argument correctly, Dionysus-Iacchus leads to Creusa’s refuge at Apollo’s recognition scene situating Ion in the Erechtheid line, which can now be simultaneously presented as “initiation” in

⁶⁴⁸ Loraux (1990: 201-3) goes on to align this myth with the autochthony theme (Hades as earth).

⁶⁴⁹ Zeitlin (304-13).

⁶⁵⁰ Both Erichthonios and Demophon/the mystic child are nurtured by female deities, and their baskets contain sacred things.

“Eleusis” (Delphi) so that twice-born Ion can leave Delphi and travel to Athens with Creusa “as a full participant in the political and ritual life of the city,” a role which the chorus no longer need to fear (1048-60, 1074-89).

5.4.4 Ion, a Dionysiac *Brephos* of Apollo

The language used of exposure links Ion to both Dionysus and Apollo. Ion is called a *brephos* eight times. Ion is often called a *brephos* in the context of Apollo and/or his exposure, especially the place of exposure.⁶⁵¹ The prologue indirectly, yet immediately establishes Ion as Apollo’s exposed *brephos*: “Creusa, having given birth to the *pais* in her house carried away the *brephos* to the same cave where she was bedded by the god and exposed him as if it would die.”⁶⁵² Then, ring composition stresses the significance of Apollo’s transfer of the *brephos* from the

⁶⁵¹ Sometimes the generic *pais* or *teknon* for the infant is used instead in this context: e.g. (Creusa puts the snake amulet on the *teknon*, an Athenian custom for their *tekna*, 20-6); (Apollo’s “the *pais* is mine”), followed by 38, 40 (which also precedes the Pythia’s spotting of the *pais*); 344-5 (Creusa’s presentation of the events as hearsay); 950, 956, 958, 961, 964 (Creusa and the old man’s discussion in which Ion is presumed dead). Since *pais* and *teknon* are neutral terms referring to the offspring of a parent, I do not read these uses as inconsistent. Support for *brephos* as a specialized term may perhaps be found in instances where Ion’s infancy is highlighted, but with other terms and with less emphasis on Ion’s father and exposure, e.g. 961-3, a *pais* stretching his arms towards his mother’s breast or arms; 1431, a *pais neogonos* with the snake amulet, which although part of the exposure scene has less to do with Apollo and exposure and more with his Athenian ancestry (cf. 20-7 above), in particular the *progonos*, *neogonos*, snake-protected Erichthonios (1000-1).

⁶⁵² 16-18. τεικούσ’ ἐν οἴκοις παιδί ἀπίγνεγκεν βρέφος/ές ταῦτὸν οὐπερ ηὔνάσθη Θεῶ/Κρέουσσα, κὰκτίθησιν ως θανούμενον. I borrow my translation of ως θανούμενον from Huys (1995: 247-8), who argues that the future participle in the acc. after ως does not express intention by, for example, adducing other instances in tragedy, e.g. E. IT 54, Hec. 511, as examples. That the term *brephos* is also associated with exposure seems certain since Ion is born a *pais* in a house and is only called a *brephos* when exposed.

cave to his temple. Apollo's orders that Hermes take the βρέφος νεογνὸν from the cave and carry it to the temple with his σπάργανα and receptacle is paralleled by Athena's *deus-ex-machina* message to Creusa that after she exposed Ion in his σπάργανα, Apollo ordered Hermes to carry the βρέφος to the temple, where Apollo raised him (31-6, 1597-1600). The recognition scene is similarly framed. As Ion threatens her life, Creusa spots the basket in which she exposed her βρέφος ἔτ' ὄντα νήπιον at the cave (1398-1400), and during the reunion, she asks the Pythia where she received her βρέφος and who brought him to the temple, to which Ion replies θεῖον τόδ' ("this god") without knowing that the same god is his father (1454-6).

In passages where Ion's paternity is not necessarily known, Apollo is still presented as a kind of caregiver and the context is still exposure. In their discussion about the basket (1337-55), the priestess tells Ion that she received him in it as a νεόγονον βρέφος and that she hid and now reveals the basket according to the god's wishes. As has been pointed out, the Pythia, who was ignorant in Hermes' prologue, may now very well know the identity of Ion's father.⁶⁵³ That the poet uses *pais nēpios* instead of *brepbos* for Ion when the Pythia first sees him (and pre-Apolline intervention, considers setting him beyond the temple area)

⁶⁵³ Martin (2018 *ad* 1320-[68]) indicates 1327-35 and 1353 as "strong hints that she is aware of the truth."

lends credence to this hypothesis (43-8).⁶⁵⁴ Similarly, Ion responds to Creusa that “those in the know say that [he was] a βρέφος” when he came to Apollo’s temple (317).⁶⁵⁵ Ironically, Ion’s assertion is preceded by his statement that he is “called Loxias” (*Λοξίου κεκλήμεθα*, 311) and followed by his guess that he was “born some woman’s wrong” (325).⁶⁵⁶

The final occurrence of *brephos* applies not to Ion, but Creusa, who herself may be the child of an immortal, if Erechtheus is an Athenian version of Poseidon, and the mortal Praxithea (cf. the birth of Evadne).⁶⁵⁷ After the sacrifice of her sisters (277-8) and the death of her father (281-2), Creusa, whose survival is guaranteed because she was a βρέφος νεογνὸν μητρὸς... ἐν ἀγκάλαις (“newborn *brephos* in the arms of her mother,” 280), is also the last hope for the (now matrilineal) continuation of the autochthonous line, a role usually given to a male.⁶⁵⁸ Enter Ion, for Creusa as *brephos* also functions as an intertextual marker. Only two lines later, Ion triggers Creusa’s memory about her rape at the Makrai (283-4), whence

⁶⁵⁴ The use of ώπαι (“tossed”), rather than a typical word for exposure, to describe how he landed on the temple steps, also seems to distinguish the passage. Martin (2018 *ad* 45) writes that “the verb expresses no more than the need to get rid of the baby fast” and adduces S. OT 719, e.g., as a parallel. See section on exposure vocabulary for the regular terms.

⁶⁵⁵ Given the context, Creusa’s question (*παῖς δ’ ὁν ἀφίκου ναὸν ή νεανίας*; 314) does not necessarily indicate that *brephos* is simply an age category.

⁶⁵⁶ Line 311 repeats the sense of 309 (*τοῦ θεοῦ καλοῦμαι δοῦλος*), but as Martin (2018 *ad* 311) notes that in the second instance, *Λοξίου* can technically mean “son of Loxias.”

⁶⁵⁷ In Euripides’ fragmentary *Erechtheus*, Erechtheus receives the title “Poseidon Erechtheus” (fr. 370K.90-4). On the association of the two, see Cropp (1995 *ad* 93-4).

⁶⁵⁸ In *Erechtheus*, the title character adopts an heir (fr. 362).

Hermes carried *her* βρέφος νεογνὸν (31),⁶⁵⁹ which may symbolize male re-appropriation of succession through the colonizing of Apollo.

In this context, it makes sense that Euripides overturns the (known) tradition by replacing Xuthus with Apollo as Ion's father.⁶⁶⁰ In doing so, Euripides not only directly incorporates Apollo's role as colonizer, but also creates a mini-Apollo, as Zacharia observes. Right from his entrance, Ion's bow and arrow and broom (102-8) visually establish him as "Apollo's *Doppelgänger*." In addition, Ion and Apollo are concerned with purity, but are in an ambiguous, liminal life-stage (Apollo as ephebe), which is "fraught with tensions, anxieties and risks of pollution" and "need[s] to be negotiated with the help of correspondingly powerful rites of passage."⁶⁶¹ On this basis, Zacharia adds Apollo to the motif of the "twice-born" by reading Ion as "'twice-born' in a metaphorical, ephebic sense." But the similarities run deeper into the plot, for like Apollo, Ion leaves his perilous birthplace and goes to Delphi, where he faces his own "she-dragon," the Gorgon's poison.⁶⁶²

⁶⁵⁹ Also connected by Martin (2018 *ad* 280): "βρέφος νεογνόν may be an allusion to the prologue."

⁶⁶⁰ On this and other genealogical rearrangements in *Ion*, see Martin (2018: 13-15). Pre-Euripidean sources naming Xuthus as the father include, for example, Hes. fr. 9 and 10a.20-4 West and Hdt. 7.94, 8.44.2.

⁶⁶¹ Zacharia (2003: 123-9).

⁶⁶² This comparison may tentatively be drawn further. The *she-dragon* and her nursling Typhon—a rejection of Hera, who threatens Apollo—reappear in *Ion* in the murderous Creusa and her snake poison. These patterns may ripple from the primordial Gaia, who, like Hera, produced Typhon to battle Zeus. For this latter parallel and its function in Apollo's birth story, see Zeitlin (2002: 200-2).

This poison and Creusa's animal-like violence, as mentioned above, parallel the threatening animal imagery of the exposure scene. Rites of passage converge. Ion's rebirth into adulthood overlaps with his entrance into Athenian society, both of which are told in terms of Dionysiac death and rebirth. For this reason, the poet retells Ion's exposure story to bring about his ritual death. Immediately preceding the false story of Ion's birth, the chorus darkens Ion's true exposure story as told by Creusa. As Huys has argued (see above), this tone foreshadows Creusa's changed psychological state. But Creusa's belief that her child is dead is true, in a metaphorical and ritual sense, for the chorus' words and the following alternative birth story reflect a Dionysiac "death."

According to the chorus, "a certain maiden, having born a *brephos* to Phoebus exposed it as a meal for birds and a bloody feast for wild creatures," (τεκοῦσά τις Φοίβω/παρθένος...βρέφος/πτανοῖς ἐξόρισεν θοίναν/θηρσί τε φοινίαν δαῖτα, 502-5). Two specific changes take place here. First, the chorus alters Creusa's version—that wild animals "killed" the baby (348) and that blood was

Zacharia (129 with n112) instead reads Apollo and the Python as a "scal[ed]-down" version of Ion's effort to kill the birds who approach and make nests in Apollo's temple (155-83). For a recent summary of interpretations of this scene, see McPhee (2017: 475-7), who himself convincingly argues that Ion's wielding of the Apolline bow against birds from Ion's false Dionysian birth place on Parnassos "preemptively and ominously corrects" Ion's false paternity and highlights human ignorance, since the bird imagery goes unheeded and is repeated later in the play. To me, it appears to also be a riff on Aeschylus' Apollo shooing away of the unclean, Dionysiac Furies with his bow and arrow (*Eu.* 179-91).

not found (352)—so that the infant is already a bloody feast. This language echoes the feast of Thyestes, which, in turn, is a retelling of Dionysus' death at the hands of the Titans. At the same time, ἐξορίζω replaces the regular word for exposure, ἐκτίθημι (18, 344-5, 350). Only attested of exposure here, ἐξορίζω elsewhere usually indicates the banishment of a polluted or dead individual beyond the boundary (ὅρος) of the polis. In this sense, ἐξορίζω is similar to ἐκβάλλω (cf. the combination of the two at Ph. 1630).

This ode sets the stage for Ion's other Dionysiac “death.” When Ion asks about his mother, Xuthus supposes that Ion, conceived “in the ravings of Bacchus” (*Μαινάσιν γε Βακχίου*, 552) at the Bacchic trieteric festival, came to the temple “perhaps as a cast off of the girl” (ἐκβολον κόρης ἵσως, 555). Attested first in Euripides and occurring only six times, ἐκβολον is used in the *Bacchae* to describe the birth of Dionysus from Semele (88-100):

ὄν ποτ' ἔχουσ' ἐν ὡδί-/νων λοχίαις ἀνάγκαι-/*σι* πταμένας Διὸς βροντᾶς/
νηδύος ἐκβολον μά-/τηρ ἔτεκεν...λοχίαις δ' αὐτίκα νιν δέ-/*ξατο*
θαλάμαις Κρονίδας Ζεύς,/ κατὰ μηρῶι δὲ καλύψας/ χρυσέαισιν
συνερείδει/ περόναις κρυπτὸν ἀφ' Ἡρας./ ἔτεκεν δ', ἀνίκα Μοῖραι/
τέλεσαν, ταυρόκερων θεὸν

once being in the pangs of childbirth, after Zeus' thunder flew, the mother bore him cast out of her womb...and straightaway Zeus, son of Cronos received him in his birth chambers and having hid him in his thigh, closed him in with golden pins hidden from Hera. And, when the Fates brought it to completion, he bore the bull-horned god.

Elsewhere, Teiresias explains the specifics of Hera's threat. When the "young *brephos*" ($\beta\varrho\acute{\epsilon}\varphi\circ\varsigma\ldots\nu\acute{e}ov$) came to Olympus, "Hera wanted to cast him out of the sky" ($\mathit{H}\acute{o}\alpha\ \nu\iota\iota\ \eta\theta\acute{e}\lambda'\ \dot{\epsilon}\kappa\beta\alpha\lambda\acute{e}\iota\iota\ \dot{\alpha}\pi'\ \mathit{o}\u03b9\varrho\alpha\mathit{v}\mathit{v}$) (288-90). The chorus later tells a similar story when they address the river Dirce, which received $\tau\circ\Delta\iota\circ\varsigma\ \beta\varrho\acute{\epsilon}\varphi\circ\varsigma$, whom Zeus snatches from the fire, puts in his thigh, and shouts that he, Dithyrambus, go into his "male womb," ($\ddot{\alpha}\varrho\sigma\acute{e}\nu\alpha\ldots\nu\eta\delta\acute{u}v$), 519-27.

The implications are striking. The death and rebirth motif of Dionysus' double birth story reflects mystic initiation in Dionysiac and even Eleusinian ritual.⁶⁶³ Ion is born during the festival celebrating Dionysus' death and rebirth and is himself *ekbolon*. But like Dionysus, Ion is placed inside another male "womb." Replacing the Zeus of Dionysus' story, Apollo had already placed Ion inside his "womb" and soon will issue him forth a young man to go as both a stranger and a native to Athens. Ion, therefore, is simultaneously initiated into

⁶⁶³ Seaford (1981; 1996 on 88-100, 64-169, 493-37, esp. 576-641, and 1300-1).

adulthood and the rites of Dionysus, while at the same time, as shown above, initiated into those of Demeter.

Finally, Euripides overlaps Ion's ritual death and rebirth/initiation into adulthood with his false and true identities, or illegitimacy and legitimacy. With Xuthus as his father, Ion believes that he is a bastard (*vόθος*, e.g. 545) and knows that he will be a nobody in Athens, which prides itself on its autochthonous race, since he is a bastard (*voθαγενής*) and his father is a foreigner (585-94). Even after the recognition, Ion fears that he is a *nothos* (1473), until Creusa reveals his paternity. The drama ends with Athena praising Apollo for giving Creusa a secret and disease-free labor and, after the exposure, rescuing and raising *breplos* (1595-1600), who can now go on to fulfill his colonizing role and bring an end to the cycle of failed fertility.

5.4.5 Ion as a Foil of Pentheus

If the trajectory of Ion's exposure story follows a positive ritual paradigm, that of Pentheus does just the opposite.⁶⁶⁴ While Ion undergoes ritual death and rebirth after the model of Dionysus and Apollo intervenes to turn Ion into an

⁶⁶⁴ On the *Ion* and *Bacchae* as foils, see e.g. Zeitlin (1993) who argues that in Thebes (the “other” to the Athenians) Dionysus is flanked by Ares and Aphrodite and Demeter and Athena have no important role, while in Athens, Demeter and Athena “stabilize” Dionysus and “capture his creative powers for the benefit of the city.” This theory ignores Apollo. See also Segal (1997: 367-8).

eponymous founder, Pentheus' death reflects only the dying of Dionysus, and Apollo is to be found nowhere. Thus, as Ion moves towards maturity after his "rebirth" and kingship after Apollo's prophecy, Pentheus regresses into infancy and dies without rebirth. These paths are marked by the animal imagery of the exposure motif. In the *Ion*, Creusa imagines that Ion was a feast or a banquet for wild animals (505-6, 903) and reacts with maenadic, animalistic behavior when, in fact, her son is at a celebratory birthday feast (e.g. 807, 852, 1131), where a dove replaces Ion as a scapegoat, and soon after, mother and son are reunited after the basket and recognition tokens are revealed. The *Bacchae*, on the other hand, begins with the youth Pentheus, who refuses to honor Dionysus. As a result, Pentheus' mother and others are driven into a Dionysiac frenzy, during which the women are animalized and young animals are confused with infants.⁶⁶⁵ Maenads who have just given birth abandon their βρέφη and nurse wolf cubs (*σκύμνους*) instead (*Ba.* 699-702). Pentheus becomes the scapegoat and an inverted recognition scene ensues. Near the end of the drama, Agave returns to the palace cradling the head of Pentheus, as if an infant, in her arms (*Ba.* 968-9); however, she believes that she has hunted a young bull (*Ba.* 1185-87) and presents her son as a feast (e.g. 1184,

⁶⁶⁵ Cf. Segal (1997: 164): "The ancient Greeks regarded [childhood] often as...akin to the bestial...the Theban maenads on the mountain can equally well suckle wild beasts as the human infants they have left at home." On the ritual significance of the abandonment of the *brephe* and suckling of animals (i.e. infant Dionysus), see Dodds (1960 on 699-702) and Seaford (1996 on 699-702).

1242, 1247).⁶⁶⁶ In the end, Cadmus laments that he is bereft of male offspring and now has lost his grandson, who provided hope for the house; that failure to worship Dionysus has resulted in the house's destruction; and that now he will be cast out of his own house (ἐκ δόμων ἀτιμος ἐκβεβλήσομαι; cf. ἐκβεβλημένη of Agave, 1366) (1302-15).

5.5 Oedipus, “Curse” *Brephos*

5.5.1 Exposure Motifs in *Phoenician Women*

The *Phoenician Women* belongs to the “fatalistic subtype” of exposure tale in which a “curse-child,” conceived of as a τέρας (“monster, portent”) or φαρμακός (“scapegoat”), undergoes all the typical stages; however, his success at the end of the story is replaced with “the total moral or physical breakdown of the hero himself or of the community to which he belongs.” The exposure, therefore, is an attempt to avoid this dissolution.⁶⁶⁷ In the case of Oedipus, it has been theorized that the *pharmakos* ritual—the expulsion of a scapegoat (e.g. a cripple or criminal) to purify the community—overlaps with the superstitious practice of exposing deformed newborn babies, i.e. “monsters” (τέρατα) or that the exposure of

⁶⁶⁶ Seaford (1981: 266-8) argues that this scene refers to the maenads' carrying of Dionysus' mask in the *liknon* during the cultic celebration of the *sparagmos* and rebirth of the infant Dionysus.

⁶⁶⁷ Huys (1995: 18-9, 45-6, 140).

Oedipus anticipates his later expulsion as a *pharmakos* to turn away the λοιμός.⁶⁶⁸

According to this theory, the omen would be added later.

The myth of Oedipus is the quintessential exposure tale. In the *Phoenician Women* the two reasons for exposure, illicit intercourse and the prophecy of Apollo, are combined, since Laius becomes drunk and sleeps with his wife against the prophecy; Oedipus' fate is thus established from the beginning (13-26, 1595-9).⁶⁶⁹ After Oedipus is born, Laius puts an iron stake through the infant's ankles and gives the βρέφος to herdsmen to expose in Hera's meadow on Mt. Cithaeron (21-6).⁶⁷⁰ Later, Oedipus blames Laius for regarding him as an enemy, since he would kill his father, and for exposing him (1600-3). In this way, Euripides stresses the father-son confrontation.⁶⁷¹ Oedipus is rescued by Polybus' horse-herders and raised by his wife (28-31), but in Oedipus' view, he was a slave for master Polybus

⁶⁶⁸ See Huys (1995: 18-9, 137 with bibliography). Oedipus' deformity would be a club-foot. Cf. Hephaestus, born with lame foot, cast out of the sky by Hera, and rescued by Eury nome and Thetis (*Od.* 8.310-1, *Il.* 18.393-405; *h.Ap.* 309-30).

⁶⁶⁹ What follows is a summary of Huys' analysis of the exposure motifs as they apply to Oedipus, on which see 139-40 (the omen); 159-60 (the one exposing); 191-5 (the location); 234-6, cf. 227-8 (the receptacle); 263-6 (the intent); 296-7 (the threatening animals); 330-2 (the rescuers); 360-1 (the characteristics of the infant).

⁶⁷⁰ The meadow of Hera has caused confusion, since it is not attested elsewhere. A number of scholars (see Huys 193n335) have suggested that it derives from an epic or another Euripides play and that Hera is being placated. Huys (193-4) thinks that the combination of gentle grass and the dangerous rock reflects the "cruelty and compassion in Laios' order" (cf. *Ion* 492-509) or that the meadow signals the survival of the curse-child, especially if the meadow is ambiguous and associated with death.

⁶⁷¹ Huys points out that Euripides changes Sophocles' version, where Jocasta is equally as guilty. He also suspects that in E. *Oedipus* Jocasta may have exposed the infant and compares the dramatist's treatment of Creusa.

(1606-7; cf. Alexander below and *Ion* 132, but for gods). Oedipus also invokes the mountain as nurturer and regrets that it did not kill him (801-5, 1604-7; cf. S. *OT*; Paris at *IA* 1284-91). Oedipus is not exposed in anything,⁶⁷² but he later recognizes his identity from the spikes. As the tokens of exposed infants, such as Ion, prefigure their royal and happy future, so do Oedipus' spikes predetermine his blinding by brooches (*χρυσηλάτοις πόρπαισιν*, 62). The mutilation also recurs when Laius' horses wound Oedipus' feet at the crossroads (37-42), which may be linked to his rescue by horse-herders and hearken back to a threatening animal motif in a lost version of the tale.

The threatening animals are a unique detail of Euripides' version of the Oedipus tale. As in the *Ion*, the exposed infant is imagined as the prey of wild beasts. The chorus addresses Cithaeron as the “grove of sacred leaves, full of wild beasts, snow-nurturing delight of Artemis,” (*ὦ ζαθέων πετάλων πολυθηρότα-*
/τού νάπος, Αρτέμιδος χιονοτρόφον ὅμμα Κιθαιρών, 801-2), and Oedipus bemoans that his father “sen[t] [him], a wretched one, while he was still longing for the breast, to be food for wild beasts,” (*πέμπει δέ με/μαστὸν ποθοῦντα θηροῖν*
ἀθλιὸν βοράν, 1602-3). And again, as the exposure is connected with the animalized behavior of Creusa in the *Ion* and Pentheus regresses and is torn apart

⁶⁷² He may be exposed in a *larnax* on water in Euripides' *Oedipus*.

like an animal and becomes an infant in his mother's arms, the exposure in *Phoenician Women* is integrated into the Theban "struggle against monsters," such as the Sphinx and the dragon defeated by Cadmus. This past, of which Oedipus' exposure is "an essential component," anticipates Thebes' loss in their battle against the animals, i.e. when Polynices and Eteocles, the "twin beasts" (*δίδυμοι θῆρες* 1296; cf. 420), who are also likened to wild boars fighting with savage tusks (1380-1), slay each other. In the end, the narrative circles back to exposure when Polynices' body is cast out unburied beyond the country's limits (*ἐκβάλετ'* ἀθαπτον τῆσδ' ὄρων ἔξω χθονός, 1630) as "food for birds of prey" (*οἰωνοῖς βοράν,* 1634) and, in a sense, when Oedipus is forced to wander in exile (1723-5).

5.5.2 Oedipus as the Anti-Dionysus *Brephos*

Oedipus' fate recalls the death of Dionysus and thus may have the same ritual background. Oedipus is conceived only after his father violates Apollo's prophecy and "fall[s] into Bacchic revelry" (*ἔς τε βακχείαν πεσών*, 21; cf. Ion's false birth above, 552). After Oedipus' ankles are pierced with iron spikes or pins (*σιδηρᾶ κέντρα*), the herdsmen then set the *βρέφος* out in Hera's meadow on Cithaeron (24-6). But in the antistrophe, Oedipus is described as *βρέφος ἔκβολον οἴκων/ χρυσοδέτοις περόναις ἐπίσαμον*, ("a *brephos* cast out of the house, pierced with golden pins," 804-5), which alludes to the violent details of Dionysus' birth

in the *Bacchae*. Thus along with Oedipus' exposure in Hera's meadow, the golden pins ($\pi\epsilon\varrho\omega\alpha\iota$), attested twice in Euripides, invert the protection afforded Dionysus. The god, though "cast out" of the womb, is immediately sewn up in Zeus' thigh with $\pi\epsilon\varrho\omega\alpha\iota$ and thus protected from Hera. While the gestation of a premature Dionysus is brought to completion in part because of the pins that hide him from Hera, Oedipus, already born, is cast out to dangerous beasts and maimed as an unwanted infant. In the *Phoenician Women*, Dionysus' birth is more pleasant, as the $\beta\varrho\epsilon\varphi\omega\varsigma$ is born (rather than cast out) and immediately protected with green, shady ivy (649-54). In this drama, Euripides emphasizes the fertility (e.g. wheat fields dewy Dirce) of Dionysus' birth place in contrast to beast-ridden Cithaeron. Finally, unlike Dionysus and Ion, Oedipus never rejoins his father and returns to the female space, and born against Apollo's prophecy, Oedipus fails as king, while his progeny slay each other.

5.6 *Brephē* in Euripides' Trojan Cycle

5.6.1 Introduction

The *brepbos* is a central figure in Euripides' exploration of the Trojan line in *Alexandros* (415 B.C.) and less obviously, in the *Troades* (415 B.C.) and *Andromache* (425 B.C.), between which exists "a dense weave of anticipation and recollection...the *Troades* recalling the earlier play, the *Andromache* the earlier

myths.”⁶⁷³ Even though Euripides wrote the end of the story first, as it were, I will discuss the 415 B.C. dramas first because *Alexandros* sets in motion the problems in the other two dramas, and where the *brepbos* in *Troades* fails, the *brepbos* in *Andromache* succeeds, the latter essentially replacing the former.

5.6.2 Alexander, “Curse” *Brepbos* #2

Alexandros (produced in 415 B.C.), like the *Phoenician Women*, is a tale of the “curse-child” Paris, who recurs in the *Troades* and *Andromache*.⁶⁷⁴ Central to this subtype is an omen or prophecy which originates from the religious idea that a human’s life is predestined from conception or birth. In *Alexandros*, as in the *Cyrus logos*, the omen comes in the form of Hecuba’s dream about a firebrand (cf. *Tr.* 920-2), interpreted by Cassandra (cf. *Andr.* 296-300), an oracle of Apollo (cf. Ennius’ *Alexander* fr. 18.51-61 Jocelyn) or seers (cf. Σ^{MA} E. *Andr.* 293) to symbolize Paris and the fall of Troy; the prophecy is repeated by Cassandra at the end of *Alexandros* (fr. 62e-h). The torch dream is attested previously at *Pi. Pae.* 8a, where Pindar

⁶⁷³ Allan (2000: 167), e.g. the chastity of Andromache (*Tr.* 661-72, *Andr.* 36-8) and the sexual issues surrounding her enemy (*Tr.* Helen, *Andr.* Hermione). Fantham (1986: 271) notes, however, that between the two dramas “there is an immense contrast in tone.”

⁶⁷⁴ The exact nature and place of Paris as *pharmakos*, alluded to in fr. 46a, are unclear due to the fragmentary state of the *Alexandros*. (Huys, 128-9, connects it with the funeral contest.) What follows is a summary of Huys’ analysis of the exposure motifs as they apply to Paris, on which see 122, 125-9, 136-8 (the omen); 151-2, 158-9 (the one exposing); 181-2, 191-2 (the location); 225-7 (the receptacle); 253-7, 261-4 (the intent); 284-6, 316-9, 330 (the rescuers); 349-54 (the characteristics of the infant).

refers to Paris as a “man” ($\tauόνδ'$ ἀνέρ', 19) while still in the womb.⁶⁷⁵ In *Alexandros*, Euripides fully exploits the torch imagery with which he may also tie together the whole Trilogy.⁶⁷⁶

The exposure may not pre-date the fifth century.⁶⁷⁷ In *Alexandros*, a male, most likely Priam, orders the exposure rather than outright infanticide either because of some fear about shedding blood, skepticism about the prophecy (cf. fr. 62g), or Hecuba’s pleas, which would fit the grieving mother image (cf. Creusa in *Ion*). Fr. 46 (perhaps part of the parodos), in fact, concerns a Hecuba grieving, presumably over the exposure of her *bephos*,⁶⁷⁸ and to this I would add as a comparison Hebuca as *mater dolorosa* in relation to another *bephos*, her grandson Astyanax at *Tr.* 1156-1250.⁶⁷⁹ Following the order, either the herdsman who raises him or a servant abandons Paris perhaps in a bag ($\piήρα$, cf. Σ^{MA} E. *Andr.* 293) on Mt. Ida, a location that reflects the ambivalent nature of exposure. Infants were

⁶⁷⁵ These kinds of earlier descriptions seem to demonstrate the heightened interest in children in 5th c. Athens. Cf. n111.

⁶⁷⁶ Huys (1995: 128) points out that the Cassandra scene at the end of *Alexandros* and *Tr.* 308-461 “create[s] a macabre connection between the first and last play of the trilogy” and that Troy burns in the end, e.g. *Tr.* 1317-19. Karamanou (2017: 33-5) notes that in *Tr.* Cassandra “prophesies victory out of defeat,” which is inverted in *Alexandros*, where “she foretells disaster out of prosperity” and that her association with torches in *Tr.* evokes the frenzied maenads and marriage-to-death imagery. Seaford (1993: 128-30) argues that maenadic imagery itself here (e.g. *Tr.* 307, 342-3, 349), as elsewhere in tragedy (and even Homer’s *Andromache*), is not only associated with marriage-to-death, but is a response to the destruction of the household (contrast Agave, whose frenzy causes the destruction).

⁶⁷⁷ On the slim possibility that the dream and exposure were already in the *Cypria*, see Karamanou (2017: 10-11 with n39).

⁶⁷⁸ fr. 46.2: ε[γάρ δὲ θ]ορηνῶ γ' ὅτι βο[έφ-

⁶⁷⁹ For a fuller treatment of the identity of the one ordering the exposure, see also Huys (1985).

exposed amongst animals usually to avoid outright murder, and even if death is not intended, the dangerous animals are feared (cf. Creusa). However, although teeming with animals, idyllic Ida ensures Paris' survival, which leads Iphigenia to blame the mountain itself (*IA* 1284-91).⁶⁸⁰ This ambivalence also applies to the she-bear that suckles Paris, if included in Euripides' version (cf. e.g. Lyc. 138), because it is seen at once as a kind animal and a vicious beast. The she-bear might also be understood as the source of Paris' strength.

Bear or no bear, a herdsman rescues Paris and may initially name him Paris (on account of the *πήρα* in which he may have been placed), but later, they name him Alexander (from his protection of the cattle). Alexander's superior qualities (strength and beauty) become apparent and contrast with his upbringing, but as is the case with curse-children, have negative implications. Once mature, Alexander returns to Troy to compete in the funeral athletic games instituted in his memory at the request of his mother. His haughty behavior towards the other herdsmen, which may find a parallel in (a) historical person(s),⁶⁸¹ lands him in

⁶⁸⁰ Ironically, the fate intended for Paris is that which Cass. predicts for her own corpse. Note the overlap of the language with that of exposure: κἀμέ τοι νεκρὸν φάραγγες γυμνάδ' ἐκβεβλημένην/ύδατι χειμάρρῳ ρέουσαι νυμφίου πέλας τάφου/θηροῖ δώσουσιν δάσασθαι, τὴν Απόλλωνος λάτριν (*Tr.* 448-50).

⁶⁸¹ Paris' arrogance, extraordinary appearance, and victory in the games led Mariscal (2005: 17-21)—most recently, but see n18 for the earlier arguments—to compare him to Alcibiades, who was well-known for his appearance and was recently victorious in the Olympic games (416 B.C.). Karamanou (2017: 14-5), however, thinks that these readings “could be far-fetched” and suggests thinking about it from the perspective of the audience: “The representation of the young, ambitious and arrogant Alexandros may have conceivably evoked to the spectators’ minds the features of the

front of Priam who listens to Alexander's defense and allows him to compete. The games, like the consultation of the oracle in *Ion*, force the mother to relive the painful moment of exposure. Alexander's victory sparks the jealousy of Deiphobus, Hecuba's son, who believes that he was bested by a slave, who is nothing but a belly, and convinces Hecuba that they should kill him (cf. Creusa's attempt to kill Ion). At this point, however, Cassandra, recognizing Alexander, prophesizes the future of Troy, and Alexander's foster-father enters and reveals the truth (cf. the priestess' entrance in *Ion*).

Alexandros is the first drama of the "Trojan Trilogy."⁶⁸² The final play narrates the result of Alexander's survival: the fall of Troy, enslavement of women, and death of Astyanax.⁶⁸³ At Tr. 919-44, Helen defends herself in a trial-debate that echoes Alexander's defense in the first play.⁶⁸⁴ She blames Hecuba for giving birth to the ἀρχὰς...τῶν κακῶν ("beginning of evils," 919-20) and Priam for her own destruction and that of Troy since he did not kill the *brepbos* (οὐ πρέσβυς οὐ κτανὼν βρέφος, 921). However, neither here nor in the other plays does a character blame Hecuba for her failure to kill him as an adult victor. Alexander as ἀρχὴ τῶν κακῶν

young politicians flourishing from 450 to 414 BC, of whom Alcibiades is probably the most well known." K. notes that *Alexandros'* behavior also reflects that in the Iliadic version.

⁶⁸² On the trilogy, see Karamanou (2017: 32-9 with a full bibliography at n102). Scodel (1980: esp. 64-79) provides the fullest treatment of the topic.

⁶⁸³ Huys does not specifically connect Astyanax's fate with Paris' survival, but Karamanou notes it (36).

⁶⁸⁴ For the links between the trial-debates in the Trilogy, see Scodel (1980: 80-104).

also occurs in at least two other plays. In *Andr.* 274-308, which predates *Alexandros*, the chorus places similar blame for the war and slavery and wishes that Hecuba had killed Alexander by throwing him over her head and recalls how Cassandra begged Hecuba and others to kill him (βρέφος φονεύειν).⁶⁸⁵ In *Andr.*, Paris doubles as ἀρχὴ τῶν κακῶν and a foil for Molossus, who is hidden for later rescue rather than exposed for death.⁶⁸⁶ Similarly, in *IA*, Iphigenia laments Paris' survival, which Huys reads as a foil for Iphigenia's imminent slaughter.⁶⁸⁷ However, Paris could also be seen as a foil of baby Orestes, if he is present, since, like Molossus, he is hidden away for protection when Menelaus is at war (see below).

5.6.3 A Sacrificed *Brephos* in *Trojan Women*?

Troades (produced in 415 B.C.) is the third tragedy of the “Trojan Trilogy” and concerns the fates of the Trojan women after the War. Euripides structures the drama in such a way to cast a spotlight on Andromache and Astyanax. Meridor convincingly argues, in fact, that Euripides “turn[s] the Andromache scene into a small *peripeteia* drama.” By not naming Neoptolemus (killer of Priam and Astyanax in the *Little Iliad*); omitting Andromache’s fate from the prologue, but

⁶⁸⁵ Throwing the baby over the head reflects the ritual language of expelling the κάθαρμα or φαρμάκος. See Oedipus (above) for a fuller discussion of the ritual and its correlation with child exposure.

⁶⁸⁶ The foil is noted by Halleran (1985: 61-2).

⁶⁸⁷ (1995: 263).

not those of Cassandra and Polyxena (39-44); only briefly mentioning her in Talthybius' report (271-4, cf. Cassandra, 247-59; Polyxena, 260-70; Hecuba 275-92); leaving her out of Hecuba's lament, which concerns Cassandra, Polyxena, and Hecuba herself (462-510); and, when Andromache does arrive, focusing on her wifehood, even while Astyanax is on her lap, Euripides "enable[s] the audience to identify unreservedly with Hecuba's hope for the future of Astyanax" and the rebirth of Troy (697-705). But then, the poet delivers an immediate jolt to the audience as Talthybius arrives to announce that Astyanax must be thrown from the walls of Troy, his death in epic (709-89).⁶⁸⁸

However, Dyson and Lee have shown how the representation of children in the choral ode on the fall of Troy (512-67) before Andromache's appearance subtly hints at a shift in focus from the individual fates of the women to the whole of Troy. In the ode, the women sing about the Trojan horse (515-41) and celebration (542-55) before abruptly shifting to a "murderous shout" (555-7) and "the dear *brephe* [who] threw their terrified arms around their mother's mantles."⁶⁸⁹ Soon after this, Astyanax is sent to his death, and before his funeral (1118-1250), the chorus describes the shouts of Trojan children (*tekna*) separated from their mothers (1089-99). Through this sequence, although the only child buried, Astyanax

⁶⁸⁸ (1989).

⁶⁸⁹ 557-9: βρέφη δὲ φίλι- / α περὶ πέπλους ἔβαλλε μα- / τοὶ χεῖρας ἐπτοημένας.

“represents all the children of Troy, and therefore the city’s future is laid to rest with him.”⁶⁹⁰

What remains unobserved, as far as I know, is how the poet weaves these scenes together with the word *brephos* to highlight the timeline of the War and the motif of generational succession and to link Troy’s ultimate fate to the conclusion of the *Andromache*. Euripides introduces the Trojan children as *brephe*, who are not sons of Hector and therefore not a real threat, to intratextually link their present troubles to the *arche kakōn* (919-44) and to presage the entrance of Astyanax (less than ten lines later) and raise the audience’s hope that Astyanax will be their saving *brephos*.⁶⁹¹ Indeed, the tragedian takes great pains to emphasize Astyanax’s role as future king of Troy and a further sire of the Trojan race before (701-5, 745-48) and after (1167-72, 1185-6, 1192-3, 1251-2) his death. Preceding the sustained focus on these aspects post mortem, the poet contrasts, via the incredulity of Hecuba, who maenadically mourns Atyanax’s body lying in his father’s shield just brought on stage, the strength of the Greeks (even while Hector was successful,

⁶⁹⁰ (2000).

⁶⁹¹ (Note that with the connection established, these same children are later the neutral *tekna* at 1089). Further comparisons between the children and A. include the children grabbing their mothers’ *peploi* (557-9; later separated from their mothers, 1089-99) and the slaughtering of Trojans around the altars (*σφαγαὶ δ’ ἀμφιβώμιοι*, 562-4), which “brought a youth-nourishing garland of young women to Greece” (*νεανίδων στέφανον ἔφερεν/Ελλάδι κουροτρόφον*, 565-6), and Astyanax grabbing his mother’s *peploi* (750), his own fate as “sacrificial offering” (*σφάγιον*, 747), and Andromache’s future (777-79).

1161-3) and their baseless fear of a child (1158, 1166). Here and elsewhere, we can detect the poet's possible criticism of Greek barbarity⁶⁹² and male authority; nevertheless, Hecuba, as Andromache before (742, echoing 723), understands very well the basis of the Greeks' fear: "Although the city was taken and the Trojans destroyed, you feared so much a *brepbos*."⁶⁹³ In this passage, Euripides, expanding the issue from an individual concern (Paris) to a national concern (Astyanax), naturally extends the father's (or grandfather's) fear of the child to the enemy's fear of the child. Although Euripides does not overturn tradition by allowing Astyanax to survive, his labeling of the boy as *brepbos* also points to his preordained (-written) replacement.

5.6.4 A Triumphant *Brepbos* in *Andromache*

⁶⁹² voiced explicitly by Andromache earlier: ὁ βάρβαρος ἐξευρόντες Ἑλληνες κακά, τί τόνδε παῖδα κτείνεται οὐδὲν αἴτιον; (764-5). Kassel (1991: 47-8) views this and other similar passages (on Molossus: *Andr.* 497-500, 570-1; on Herakles children *HF* 206-7) as Euripides' criticism of the practice of killing innocent children after killing their fathers (or, in *HF*, while the father is away in Hades) as described in earlier literature (Hdt. 1.155.1: Cyrus comments that the Lydians keep giving him trouble and that he must enslave them because he acted "as if someone who having killed the father, spared his children;" Hdt. 4.69.3, where only males are to be killed; and *Cypr.* fr. 31 West: νήπιος, δος πατέρα κτείνας παῖδας καταλείπει). E., then, Kassel argues, "pueros non tam futuros bellatores inimicos ultores quam homunculos infirmos inscios insontes inducit." However, even if not blameworthy or dangerous while young, the *brepbos* often does become a future avenger or slayer (cf. Orestes, Oedipus, Cyrus).

⁶⁹³ 1164-5: πόλεως δ' ἀλούσης καὶ Φουγῶν ἐφθαρμένων/βρέφος τοσόνδε ἐδείσαται. Perhaps reflecting conventional Greek ideas about the death of a *brepbos*, Hecuba, speaking of Astyanax's murder only a few lines before calls him a *pais*: τί τόνδε, Αχαιοί, παῖδα δείσαντες φόνον/καινὸν διειργάσασθε; (1159-60).

Andromache (produced ca. 425), moves the title character, a powerless prisoner-of-war, to Phthia, where she bears to Neoptolemus a new child and threat, again not to the father, but to the father's spouse (Hermione) and father-in-law (Menelaus). This new threat, Molossus,⁶⁹⁴ is also the poet's means of exploring various political problems and events. In *Andromache*, as in *Troades*, Euripides considers male authority over women, particularly in terms of their fertility, but only in the earlier play does the poet seriously wrestle with the pressing issues of marriage and legitimacy in fifth-century Athens.⁶⁹⁵ The characters bandy about the terms *vóθος* ("bastard"), *voθαγενής* ("bastard-born"), and *βάρβαρος*.⁶⁹⁶ While Menelaus does not understand how *βάρβαροι* can become kings of Greeks (663-66), Peleus argues that although a *nothos*, Molossus will triumph, since *nothoi* are often better than legitimate children (634-38). And Menelaus' fears about the

⁶⁹⁴ Only the land and its people are named (1243-49). He is named Molossus at Σ^{MO} E. *Andr.* 32.

⁶⁹⁵ On the topic in *Andr.* and the drama's relationship to the strict Athenian marriage and citizenship laws, designed to perpetuate the *oikos* and therefore the *polis*, see Seaford (1990: 154-5, 168-70). On Andr.'s status as wife, see Torrance (2005). Vester (2009) examines the drama in the context of the *nomos* vs. *physis* debate, which was "extremely lively during Euripides' creative lifetime" and argues that *Andr.* portrays the latter by, for example, inverting the behavior of the fertile, foreign-born woman (*Andromache*) and the barren, Greek woman (Hermione). Thus, a foreign Andromache becomes a legal Greek wife so that her child is legitimate and the Aeacid line can continue.

⁶⁹⁶ *vóθος* occurs more times in *Andr.* (224, 636, 638, 928) than in any other extant drama, including others by E., and *voθαγενής* appears only in E. (*Andr.* 912, 942; *Ion* 592). Silver (2018: 169-78) synthesizes the sources and scholarship on the *nothos* before and after Pericles' citizenship law in 451. He argues that pre-PCL, *nothoi* of citizen and foreign *pallakai* were citizens, but the PCL disenfranchised *nothoi* of foreign *pallakai* due to the scarcity of or unwillingness to share economic resources. However, in 430/429, because of the death toll from plague and war, a law allowed *nothoi* of mixed marriages to become citizens. The law coincided with the death of Pericles' legitimate sons. Only his half-Athenian son survived.

survival of “enemy children of enemies” are directly echoed by Peleus’ promise to the *brepbos* Molossus that he will raise him as an enemy to Sparta.⁶⁹⁷ In addition, here, as elsewhere, the language is sacrificial. Peleus, angry that Andromache is tied up like a bull or lion (720), calls the *brepbos* to his side and asks him for help with untying Andromache, who had previously sought refuge at the altar of Thetis, but left it to be slaughtered sacrificially (*σφάζειν*, 412).⁶⁹⁸ By using *brepbos*, particularly in this context of fear, Euripides intratextually and intertextually links Molossus to the feared Paris (*Andr.* 293-300; *Tr.* 919-22) and Astyanax (*Tr.* 1165); however, the parallel descriptions of only Andromache’s boys as chicks under their mother’s wings (*Andr.* 441, 504-5; *Tr.* 750-1) and sacrificial victims (*Andr.* 506-7; *Tr.* 745-48) signals one as a continuation of the other and distinguishes them from Paris.⁶⁹⁹

⁶⁹⁷ Menelaus: καὶ γὰρ ἀνοίᾳ/μεγάλῃ λείπειν ἐχθρούς ἐχθρῶν/ἐξὸν κτείνειν/καὶ φόβον οἴκων ἀφελέσθαι. (519-22); Peleus: ἔρπε δεῦρον ὑπὸ ἀγκάλας, βρέφος, ξύλλυν δεσμὰ μητρός· ἐν Φθίᾳ σ’ ἐγὼ/θρέψω μέγαν τοῖσδε’ ἐχθρόν. (722-24). Cf. the ultimate enemy, Paris: δείξω δ’ ἐγώ σοι μὴ τὸν Ἰδαῖον Πάριν/μείζω νομίζειν Πηλέως ἐχθρόν ποτε,/εἰ μὴ φθερῇ τῆσδε’ ὡς τάχιστ’ ἀπὸ στέγης (706-8).

⁶⁹⁸ *σφάζειν* and related *sphag-* nouns and adjectives are terms reserved for sacrificial slaughter. See Zeitlin (1965: 468n13) for bibliography on the words and a summary of the term in A. In this passage, Andromache uses the sacrificial term alongside other words of killing (*σφάζειν* φονεύειν...ἀπαρτήσαι δέρην). Earlier, however, she properly uses *sphazein* when she dares Hermione to impiously slay her at Thetis’ altar: *σφάζειν*, αἰμάτου θεᾶς βωμόν, 260.

⁶⁹⁹ On children as chicks in Euripides, see Sifakis (1979: 68, 78 III). *Hel.* 257-9 (of Helen and her siblings hatched from an egg) and *IA* 1248 may be interpolations. Note that earlier, Andromache and Molossus are also compared to “an ewe with under lamb” (*Andr.* 557).

Unlike Astyanax, however, Molossus adheres to the more typical characteristics of a *brephos* that are hinted at earlier in the play.⁷⁰⁰ While not recognizing *brephos* as a term for an exposed infant, Huys identifies vocabulary and motifs typical of the exposure tale in Andromache's secret removal of Molossus ($\psi\pi\epsilon\kappa\pi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\omega\ \lambda\acute{\alpha}\theta\varrho\alpha$, 47; $\psi\pi\epsilon\xi\acute{\epsilon}\theta\omega\upsilon$, 69; $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\theta\varrho\alpha\ldots\psi\pi\epsilon\xi\acute{\epsilon}\theta\omega\upsilon$, 310), in addition to Andromache's concern for her child and the threat of a tyrant (Menelaus) and here, his daughter, who are appropriately compared to vultures (74-6).⁷⁰¹ But additional features of this kind of *brephos* are present. Like other eponymous *brephe*, Molossus is the only son (*Andr.* 47) (cf. Σ^{MO} E. *Andr.* 24 where *Andr.* and Neoptolemus have more children),⁷⁰² and his parentage is mixed, unlike the "purebred" "curse child." While Ion's mixed parentage gives the Ionians a divine origin, Molossus brings an end to the violence of the Trojan War and blends two races to create a new one.⁷⁰³

⁷⁰⁰ In Acc. fr. 139-42 Warmington and Sen. *Tro.* 452-813, Astyanax is hidden away. Fantham (1986: 273-4) believes that Sen. imitates E.'s Molossus.

⁷⁰¹ On the terms and motifs: 60n134 and 119n206. On the vulture metaphor: 271-99, esp. 272 and 297-8n716: while others have not been able to explain the metaphor or the choice of bird, Huys contextualizes the vulture metaphor in the exposure motif alluded to by the concealment of Molossus (less than five lines before). In E., exposed infants are often threatened by prey, but not eaten, as often in later works condemning child exposure.

⁷⁰² Allan's explanation (2000: 15)—that the one son "heightens" Hermione's threat and echoes Andromache's lament over her single son in Homer—does not detract from this argument.

⁷⁰³ Similarly, Allan (2000: 191) "'Molossus' physically unites the chief enemy families of the Trojan War, and his paradoxical inheritance enhances the impact of the reconciliation. The restoration of domesticity thus represents a release from the reciprocity of violence and revenge that has shaped the play." Cf. the end of *Or.*, where a divinity reconciles two families and brings violence to an end, but there is no eponymous *brephos*.

As is the case for Ion, Molossus' future is divinely sanctioned, but by Thetis (1243-52), instead of Apollo, who, apparently hostile to the boy's father, aids Orestes in killing him.⁷⁰⁴ Whatever the role of the gods, Euripides' very likely innovative rehabilitation of the previously heinous Neoptolemus provides an eponymous *brepbos* a worthy origin.⁷⁰⁵ Furthermore, with Neoptolemus' death, Euripides can shift the founding of a new race from father to son,⁷⁰⁶ which may reflect a heightened Athenian interest in youth and here, in particular, as Allan has shown, the Athenian relationship with the Molossians, especially the young king.⁷⁰⁷ Additionally, the death of Neoptolemus paves the way for the rightful

⁷⁰⁴ E. further complicates Apollo's role in *Andr.* by innovating on the god's interaction with Neoptolemus. E. is most likely the first to introduce Neoptolemus' second trip to Delphi to seek reparations for his first trip (51-5, 1002-4, 1106-08). Apollo's reaction is, as Allan puts it (2000: 30), "far from complimentary," as E. makes clear with the reactions of the messenger (1161-65). The negative spin on Delphi may also reflect Spartan control of the Delphic Amphictiony (see Allan 156-7). On the other hand, his tomb in Apollo's temple recalls the tomb of Dionysus, who was dismembered and placed in the tripod (Dietrich 1992: 53). On the story's background in sacrifice, see also Burkert (1983: 118-20). If Molossus recalls the *brepbos* Dionysus, it might be relevant that Thetis also comforts D. when he is attacked by Lykourgos (*Il.* 6.128-42), cf. Kerényi (1976: 179) quoted above. Thetis' role suits the context, since her great-grandson will carry on her line.

⁷⁰⁵ In addition to his second trip to Delphi, Neoptolemus in *Andr.* and *Tr.* diverges from the traditional villain, who brutally kills Astyanax (*Il.Prv.* frr. 18, 29-30 West) and Priam (*Il.Prs.* Arg. 2 West; *Il.Prv.* fr. 25 West). In *Tr.*, the killer of Polyxena and Priam is unnamed (though cf. *Hec.* 23-4), and E. follows *Il.Prs.* Arg. 4 West in making Odysseus responsible for Astyanax's death (*Tr.* 721-5). Torrance (2013: 192ff) reads the redeemed Neoptolemus, as well as resentful Hermione, as E.'s metapoetic engagement with Sophocles' *Hermione*, where Neoptolemus and Hermione are portrayed just the opposite.

⁷⁰⁶ Cf. Pi. N. 7.36-40. Neoptolemus lands in Molossia, where he and then his offspring rule. As Allan (2000: 32-3) points out, the later arrival of Andromache and her son to Molossia means that the foundation of the new race can "be presented as a divinely sanctioned reward for the Aeacid royal house."

⁷⁰⁷ (2000: 152-60). Tharyps, the young Molossian king came to the Athenians, who, probably to win the Molossians as allies, made Tharyps a citizen, who, in turn, Hellenized Molossia. The interaction between the two places means that Euripides' drama would have "played a decisive role in

marriage of Hermione and Orestes (966-81), who in *IT* and *Or.*, where he is portrayed very differently as a *brepbos* himself, undergoes many of the same trials as Molossus, as I will discuss below.

But one consideration remains about Andromache's *brephe*: how old are they? That Astyanax and Molossus are not infants is clear. Both boys are regularly called *pais* or *teknon*. Moreover, both children speak. While looking at the dead Astyanax, Hecuba remembers a time when Astynax told her that he would cut his hair for her funeral (1180-4), and Molossus himself speaks during an exchange between Andromache and Menelaus (501-44).⁷⁰⁸ The use of *brepbos* instead of *pais* stumped Mastronarde, who suggested that it was pathetic.⁷⁰⁹

But Euripides' single use of *brepbos* for each boy and his insertion of the term into the particular contexts described above suggest that the word is more than pathetic. In fact, here we have the best evidence that *brepbos* is not a neutral

shaping and validating the Molessian tribe's genealogical myth" and that it may have been performed in Molossia.

⁷⁰⁸ Kassel (1991: 51) and Fantham (1986: 272) note that the flashback seems inconsistent when compared with lines , where Astyanax seems much younger (Fantham suggests four or five). Kassel also points out E.'s emphasis on Astyanax's young age by comparing his death to *Il.* where he is compared to or is a fallen warrior. On the rarity of speaking parts for children in tragedy, see Sifakis (1979: 72-3).

⁷⁰⁹ Mastronarde (1994 *ad* 22), finding *brepbos*, which is uncertain at *Ph.* 22, in the sense "new-born babe" "odd," nevertheless suspects that Euripides "sometimes uses the word as a (pathetic?) substitute for *παις*" and cites these two uses of the non-infant Astyanax (instead of one to the child by Neoptolemus) along with *Tro.* 557, because the children grasp their mothers' clothes. Kyriakou (2006) on *IT* 232 (ἢτι βρέφος, ἔτι νέον, ἔτι θάλος) sees the detail in Iphigenia's speech that she left her brother as a *brepbos* as a way of "increas[ing] the pathos of the lament."

word for infant, but a term belonging to the sacrificial and exposure motif and a deliberate intratextual and intertextual marker. Both Hecuba and Peleus use *brephos* when they are speaking about the future threat (or lack thereof) of the boy. Furthermore, by dropping the term in both dramas after reminding the audience of the destruction brought by the *brephos* Paris, Euripides positions Paris as the *arche kakōn*. In *Andr.*, Paris, exposed with the expectation of death, is also a foil for Molossus, hidden away for protection. Yet, Peleus' promise to raise Molossus as an enemy to Sparta seems to raise the possibility that Molossus will be another Paris. In the end, however, the *deus ex machina* brings an end to the cycle of violence.

These patterns follow the narratives of the divine *brephē*. Playing out the Dionysiac-Apolline ritual and myth of death and rebirth, a *brephos* (Astyanax) dies sacrificially, but is reborn in the form of another *brephos* (Molossus), who nears a similar death, which is avoided through initially, concealment and later, divine intervention. The sacrificial death is instead reserved for his father, who receives a tomb in Apollo's temple. Molossus is then free to fulfill the role of *brephos* Apollo on a human level; he defeats his chthonic opponent "Python" (here, the "vultures") and, echoing the fertility that accompanies Apollo's return in spring and establishment of the oracle, founds a new race.

5.7 *Brephē* in Euripides' House of Atreus

5.7.1 Introduction

With the Atreidai, Euripides repeats the sequence he first laid out in the Trojan Cycle. Paris is again evoked as the beginning of evils, and one *brepbos* essentially replaces another after a woman is remarried. Peace eventually follows with the help of the *deus ex machina*. In the house of Atreus, the exposed *brepbos* is also intricately woven together with the vengeance and deceit of this dynasty (after A. *Ag.* 1096, E. *IA* 1150, *IT.* 232, 834, *Or.* 377, *El.* 1129). Euripides, shown to be a highly reflective poet, especially in his Atreidai plays,⁷¹⁰ joins Aeschylus' sacrificial, trick *brephē* (and perhaps other passages now lost)⁷¹¹ with the elements of *brepbos* in the exposure motif.

The House of Atreus dramas, with the exception of *Electra* (c. 420), were produced after the Trojan Cycle, and follow a very similar sequence, with the poet again writing the end first. A woman's male *brepbos* is killed (*IA* produced 405) and is replaced in a new marriage by another male *brepbos* who overcomes

⁷¹⁰ The most famous example (due to survival) is E.'s metapoetic engagement with the Or.-El. recognition scenes of A. and E., explored by, e.g. Torrance (2013: 13-62) and other Electra passages in A. and S. (see note below).

⁷¹¹ *Brepbos* is unattested in Stesich. and S., but given its absence in plays that involve exposure, such as *OT* (where exposed Oedipus is a $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$) and as a term for Orestes in A. and S., I hypothesize that E. is the first to use *brepbos* so widely. Unfortunately, Stesich.'s *Oresteia*, A.'s *Iphigenia*, and many of S.'s plays on the Atreids are now mostly lost or extremely fragmentary. For a run-down of the Atreid fragments, see Collard (2009: 309-20).

obstacles and is placed on his rightful throne by the *deus ex machina* (*IT* c.414, *Or.* 408). *Brephos* Paris, again, is offered as a foil and a “beginning of evils,” though only in the last play. As with the ‘Trojan Cycle,’ I will discuss these plays in reverse order. *Electra*, which empowers the female character, appropriately does not feature Orestes as *brephos* and will therefore be analyzed separately.

5.7.2 A Sacrificed *Brephos* in *Iphigenia at Aulis*?

The *brephos* in *IA* (405 BC) may be the poet’s invention.⁷¹² Begging Agamemnon to spare Iphigenia (1146-1208),⁷¹³ Clytemnestra reminds her husband that although he took her by force, killed her first husband, Tantalus, and dashed her *brephos* (*IA* 1150) to the ground after ripping it from her breast (1150-52)⁷¹⁴, she nevertheless was a dutiful and chaste wife who bore him four children (1155-65). Pleading that

⁷¹² Clytemnestra’s marriage to Tantalus survives/exists only in Euripides. Some suspect an earlier source, such as Stesichorus. For bibliography, see Gibert (2005: 229 with notes 8-9).

⁷¹³ Kovacs (2003: 95-7) considers 1148-84 to be a later interpolation by the fourth-century “Reviser,” on the grounds that “the curious history of Agamemnon’s dealings with the first husband and his child comes out of nowhere and has no further relevance. It is hard to see why Euripides or EM should have introduced such an obscure tale.” Kovacs, evaluating plot rather than style, goes against Diggle who of these lines only considered 1170-2 and 1185 less certain. I include this passage because its relevance has been demonstrated (see note below), and even by Kovacs’ evaluation, *brephos* (and its connotations) would still be a pre-Callimachean interpolation. Diggle (fortasse non E.) and Kovacs (original) switch positions on the other *brephos* and its context (1283-1337).

⁷¹⁴ ἔγημας ἄκουσάν με κἄλαβες βίᾳ/τὸν πρόσθεν ἄνδρα Τάνταλον κατακτανών· / βρέφος τε τούμὸν τσῷ προσούρισας πάλω†/μαστῶν βιαίως τῶν ἐμῶν ἀποσπάσας, 1149-52. In the next lines (1153-6), we learn that Agamemnon supplicates Tyndareus (Clytemnestra’s father) after her brothers, the Dioscuri, attack him and acquires (or acquires again) Clytemnestra as wife (τὰμὰ δ’ ἔσχες αὐλέχη). For interpretations of this line, see Gibert (2005: 229n5).

he not make her evil, Clytemnestra, anticipating A. *Ag.*, warns Agamemnon about his return (1171-84) and suggests that he kill Menelaus' daughter instead, since it is his matter and Menelaus' wife is her foil (1201-5). In her speech (1211-52), Iphigenia reminds her father that when she, his first child, sat on his knees, he hoped to see her future marriage and she, to repay him for his upbringing by caring for him as an old man. Iphigenia, although accepting her fate to save Greece and future women (1378-83), later echoes her mother's anger in her monody: "removed from his mother for a deadly fate," "tender *brepbos*" Paris nevertheless was "nourished around cows" and asked to judge a contest, which brings death for her (1279-1308).⁷¹⁵

IA is remarkable in its sympathetic portrayal of Clytemnestra, who sharply veers from her previous villainous self, especially in E. *El*. The loss of her *brepbos* by her husband Tantalus and her seemingly strange reconciliation to Agamemnon (1157) have been interpreted in various ways. While early commentators viewed Clytemnestra's reflection on her killed baby as irrelevant or selfish⁷¹⁶, more recent (post-60s/70s-feminist-movement) views have shifted their sympathy from

⁷¹⁵ νιφόβολον Φρυγῶν νάπος Ἰδας τ' ὥρεα/Πρίαμος ὅθι ποτὲ βρέφος ἀπαλὸν ἔβαλεν/ματέρος ἀποπρὸν νοσφίσας ἐπὶ μόρῳ/θανατόεντι Πάριν, 1284-1288; cf. Iph.'s complaint about the marriage of Helen and Paris, 467-8

⁷¹⁶ e.g. Kitto (1939: 371): "It is nothing to the point, but it is a vastly exciting piece of gossip" and Vellacott (1975:47): self-centered Clytemnestra "is so unconscious of her unconscionable perversity."

Agamemnon to Clytemnestra and seen her story as appropriate alongside Iphigenia's imminent death and/or justification for her future revenge.⁷¹⁷

The fuller treatments of Radding and Gibert do Clytemnestra more justice. Radding argues that in *IA* Euripides "provides for Clytemnestra a certain measure of tragic vindication" by turning her into a good wife (and antithesis of Helen), which he accomplishes by contrasting her with all previous portrayals, including his own, and alluding to the tradition of the mourning mother (Demeter) and dutiful wife (Semonides' "bee woman"). Therefore, the dutiful Clytemnestra of *IA* "reconciles" herself to Agamemnon, but the nefarious Clytemnestra of *El.* chooses revenge: "Euripides thus reconsiders the story of Clytemnestra's (first) reaction to the loss of a child at the hand of her husband, endowing her nature with a certain tolerance which suggests that we are looking at an entirely new version of the queen."⁷¹⁸

However, Euripides does not seem to be "overturn[ing] the cannon," because Clytemnestra will still go on to murder Agamemnon (as she herself

⁷¹⁷ Luschnig (1988: 83) sees the story and the present situation as bookends of Clyt.'s marriage to Ag. Griffin (1990: 146-7) first supposes that the story "is just another of these unexplained changes" and indicates Ag.'s deceit (1456-7) as a possibility for Clyt.'s anger over Iph. (and not the *breplos*) before concluding that "the first incident of child-killing...emphasize[s] her reaction to the second." Michelini (1999-2000) takes a psychological approach to her change. Hall, introduction to *Euripides*, xxiii: Euripides turns the traditional dilemma of Ag. "into one incident in the life of a self-serving warlord guilty of previous atrocity." Michelakis (2006: 36-7): the story parallels Clyt.'s previous pain and victimization and highlights desperation and "diminishing patience with Agamemnon."

⁷¹⁸ (2015).

implies), but rather provides a prequel in which he creates (perhaps innovatively) a sympathetic Clytemnestra. In other words, from an authorial perspective, Clytemnestra is vindicated, but from the perspective of myth, she is not. Furthermore, Clytemnestra's tale does not fit into Radding's theory about Euripides' vindication of her; rather her "tolerance" of Agamemnon's baby-smashing is but something expected of her as a Greek woman, as Gibert has convincingly shown.

Gibert argues that Agamemnon, in his forcible seizing of Clytemnestra, is, as far as we know, not motivated by war (as previously suggested⁷¹⁹), but instead reflects the Greek woman's perspective of marriage, which men (groom or his father and her guardian) arrange (explicitly stated elsewhere in E. by, e.g. Hermione *Andr.* 987-8). In reality and especially in myth, husbands and children might be interchangeable, but Gibert argues that Clytemnestra, who replaced her *brepbos* with children, now refuses to accept her other children as replacements for Iphigenia.⁷²⁰ However, taking into account the *brepbos* in myth in particular, Gibert's interpretation does not seem entirely accurate either. On the one hand, the

⁷¹⁹ Michelini (1999-2000: 49): "As recent accounts of the effects of rape-alliances make clear, impregnation with the child of the enemy does have a confusing effect on female loyalties, since love of the child may mitigate rebellion against a hated master. In such a situation, children become perhaps the only bond between their parents, a significant touch in Clytemnestra's case." These two approaches do not seem mutually exclusively to me.

⁷²⁰ (2005).

brepbos, as we have seen, is the word used of an (often) illegitimate baby who later causes trouble. On an authorial level, Gibert's argument might make sense, if we understand Euripides as sympathizing with the woman's perspective over the loss of her infant. In fact, as he points out, both *brephe* are taken from their mothers (Clytemnestra and Hecuba).⁷²¹ On the narrative level, however, the argument is insufficient because Clytemnestra is appealing to Agamemnon, who would not sympathize with this loss because he was compelled to eliminate the threat of the fatherless *brepbos* after his disposal of Clytemnestra's first husband (cf. *brepbos* Astyanax).

Instead, I contend that Clytemnestra is *contrasting* for Agamemnon her *brepbos* and Iphigenia. According to Greek practice, the death or sacrifice of a *brepbos* is not commensurate with the death or sacrifice of a girl of marriageable age.⁷²² Therefore, Clytemnestra accepts, however grudgingly, the loss of her

⁷²¹ (2005: 240).

⁷²² In myth, exposure leaves the survival of the *brepbos* up to fate or the possibility of rescue and does not constitute 'infanticide.' Stinton (1965: 52-3), Golden (1981: 330-1), Boswell (1988: 43-5), Huys (1995: 239-46), Beaumont (2012: 90-1), Tzanetou (2013: 216-7), for example, carefully distinguish between exposure and infanticide, but others refer to exposure as infanticide, e.g. Haentjens (2000) and Scott (2001). *Brepbos* very rarely appears with words of killing, such as κτείνω (e.g. Tr. 918 below, but of an older *brepbos*), but with exposure words (ἐκβάλλω, ἐκτίθημι, ἀποτίθημι); older children are more often described with words of killing; thus, a variety of compounds involving *pais* and 'killing' vocabulary exist. Golden (1981: 330) provides some examples from epic, tragedy, and history (Hdt.). Some E. instances include: *paidoktöneō*, HF 1280; *paidophonos*, *Medea* 1407; *paidoletor*, Rhes. 550, *teknoktonos*, HF 1155. Golden also lists exceptions for these words in the context of exposure, but since they are used for "shock value" or by Jewish or Christian authors, they "prove the rule." For Lycophron's unique *brepkoktonos*, see below. In the IA passage, Agamemnon hurls the *brepbos* to the ground, but kills (κατακτανών) Tantalus. This vocabulary likely reflects Greek practice. If a *brepbos* defined a newborn not yet legitimized by

brepbos, “reconciles” herself to Agamemnon, and becomes a model wife. If, however, Agamemnon kills Iphigenia, Clytemnestra can consider it murder. The chorus (1209-10), Achilles (944-47), and even Agamemnon himself know this; hence, his inner struggle over his decision to sacrifice his daughter (1255-75). Iphigenia, who “appears as another Clytemnestra,”⁷²³ echoes this idea when she wails that the survival of a mere *brepbos* Paris (exposed because of an omen) leads to her own death—and at a marriageable age, a point which Euripides brings to the fore with Agamemnon’s fake wedding plot.

If at the end of the play, Iphigenia is holding baby Orestes, the audience, hearing about destruction wrought by *brepbos* Paris and seeing baby Orestes, may recall Euripides’ earlier plays (*Orestes*, just three years earlier), and the end of such destruction when another *brepbos* Orestes, only remaining male heir of the Atreides line, becomes king (see below).⁷²⁴ It would seem, then, that Euripides broadly repeats the death and rebirth pattern in the Trojan Cycle: Paris *brepbos*, a

the father and still in danger of exposure, only a *pais* or *teknon* could be considered killed. Beaumont (2012: 91), although not considering child terminology, speculates that in Athens killing a child “must have constituted a crime punishable by the laws of the state” only after the *amphidromia*.

⁷²³ Gibert (2005: 239)

⁷²⁴ Gibert argues instead that Orestes is “the visual reinforcement of Clytemnestra’s tale” and that Paris, taken from his mother, would “recall the murder of Clytemnestra’s first child” and now, Iphigenia. Although there is something to be said about female powerlessness over their own issue, Euripides does not seem to be directly comparing Paris and Clytemnestra’s first baby, but instead pointing to Paris as the “beginning of evils” (see Paris section), as Iphigenia (1279-1308), Agamemnon (467-8,663) and characters in other dramas (*Tr.* 919-37, *Andr.* 293-308) make clear.

kind of “sacrificial” *brephos* thrown to the ground (Astyanax/Clytemnestra’s *brephos*), new *brephos* in danger of sacrifice becoming king (Molossus/Orestes).

5.7.3 A Fake *Brephos* in *Electra*

The title character in *Electra* (c.420), to avenge the death of her father, lures Clytemnestra to her hut under the pretense of the birth of her baby ten days earlier. Feigning ignorance about the procedures regarding the purification sacrifice (1125-6, cf. 654),⁷²⁵ Electra asks Clytemnestra to perform it. When Clytemnestra tells Electra that these duties belong to the midwife, Electra says that she “herself delivered and bore the *brephos* alone (*El.* 1129).”⁷²⁶ Euripides combines two motifs associated with the *brephos*. On the one hand, elements of the exposure story are present. In his monologue at the beginning of the play (*El.* 19-53), a peasant (although of noble ancestry) reveals that he is married to Electra (who nevertheless

⁷²⁵ Hence the ten days. Since childbirth (and the subsequent forty days for the mother, see Censorinus *De die natali* 11.7 and “inscriptions” below) was considered ritually, purification was required. Indeed, Garland (1990: 96) cites the (woman in) childbed ($\lambda\varepsilon\chi\omega$) at E. *El.* 652, 654 as “the term most commonly applied to a woman who is impure by reason of childbirth.” The procedures regarding the purification are uncertain, and the sources are confused. According to the *Suda* s.v. *amphidromia*, five delivery women ran around with the baby and were therefore purified, but this might have taken place five to seven days after birth. Haentjens (2000: 68n3) thinks that the *amphidromia* on the tenth day at schol. *Lys.* 758 (Dindorf) is confused with the tenth-day ceremony ($\delta\varepsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\eta$) where the baby received its name (a boy usually named after its grandfather). For an overview of sources and rituals, see Golden (1986: 252-56), Garland (1990: 94-8; 61-3), Haentjens (2000: 68-9), Beaumont (2012: 67-8).

⁷²⁶ αὐτὴν λόχευον κάτεκον μόνη βρέφος. E. stresses Electra’s isolation with Clytemnestra’s response at 1130: οὕτως ἀγείτων οὗκος ἴδρυται φίλων; (“Is your house so lonely and so friendless?” tr. Kovacs, 1998.)

remains a virgin) because Clytemnestra and Aegisthus feared that her offspring would seek revenge.⁷²⁷ Furthermore, the loneliness of Electra's labor echoes that of women in the exposure motif. Euripides, however, manipulates the "overthrow prevention plan"⁷²⁸ by transferring the agency of her male *brepbos*, which E. assigns to Orestes in other plays (see below), to Electra. He also innovates on the completion of the Atreidai murder cycle by increasing the involvement of his Electra, which is accomplished, in part, by moving Clytemnestra's murder out of the palace.⁷²⁹ Instead of sending the boys into the palace, Euripides has his Electra take a page out of the House of Atreus playbook: Electra's fake *brepbos* ceremony (Clytemnestra's bait), where destruction is served, recalls the feast (Thyestes' bait), where *brepheī* are served. Both are situated in deceit and a sacrificial context.

5.7.4 Orestes and Apollo in *Iphigenia among the Taurians* and *Orestes*

⁷²⁷ cf. Hdt. above, for ex. 1. Aegisthus wants to kill Electra, but Clytemnestra fears φθόνος. cf. Astyages' order to kill the baby, but Harpagos' resistance on account of his kinship with Cyrus. 2. The women are married to men of lower rank, who are nevertheless wellborn. Similarly, Kubo (1967), but without *brepbos*. Regarding 2., Huys (1995: 348n918) remarks that the peasant is exceptional, since Greek tragedy usually maintains two distinct social classes (nobles and slaves).

⁷²⁸ Nita Krevans *per colloquium*.

⁷²⁹ In A., inside the palace, Electra is absent after 584, and Pylades urges the hesitant Orestes to kill Clytemnestra (*Ch.* 899-907). In S., Orestes and Pylades enter the palace to murder Clytemnestra, while Electra keeps watch for Aegisthus outside, where she encourages Orestes to strike Clytemnestra again (*El.* 1398-1415). In E., inside her hut, Electra urges on an even more hesitant Orestes and holds the sword with her brother (*El.* 967-87, 1224-5). Comparative studies of the Electras, e.g. Vickers (1973: 553-91), Podlecki (1981), and Garvie (2012) are not lacking.

Orestes is thrice a *brephos* in the extant Euripides (*IT*. 232, 834; *Or.* 377) and a much more sympathetic character than, if not rehabilitated from, the ruthless Orestes of Euripides' earlier *Andromache*.⁷³⁰ At the beginning of *IT* (c.414), Iphigenia relates a dream—which unbeknownst to her also foreshadows Orestes' arrival at Tauris—about her crumbling ancestral home and the sole remaining, personified pillar, which she, in her role as priestess of human sacrifice, sprinkles with water and interprets to be her brother (48-58). This false belief Iphigenia reiterates later when, after mourning her own fate (ἄγαμος ἀτεκνος ἀπολις ἄφιλος, 220, amongst other complaints), she presumes scepter-bearing Orestes, whom she has not seen since he was a *brephos* in his mother's arms, dead.⁷³¹ Immediately after Euripides drops the word *brephos*, a herdsman appears to tell Iphigenia an amazing tale about approaching strangers (Pylades and another later revealed to be Orestes) (236-339). In the recognition scene, Iphigenia repeats (this time to Orestes himself) that she left him behind as a *brephos*, but this time, with the nurse.⁷³² The three (Pylades, Orestes, Iphigenia) devise an escape plan that simultaneously allows Orestes to fulfill Apollo's orders to remove the statue of Artemis from Tauris. Under the pretense of purifying unclean sacrificial victims and statue (because it saw

⁷³⁰ Kyriakou (1997: 20-2); Allan (2000: 108-11).

⁷³¹ 230-35: τὸν δ' Ἀργει δμαθέντ' ἀγκλαίω/σύγγονον, δν ἔλιπον ἐπιμαστίδιον,/ἔτι βρέφος, ἔτι νέον, ἔτι θάλος/ἐν χερσὶν ματρός πρὸς στέρονος τ'/Ἀργει σκηπτοῦχον Όρέσταν.

⁷³² 834-6: τότ' ἔτι βρέφος/ἔλιπον ἀγκάλαισι νεαρὸν τροφοῦ/νεαρὸν ἐν δόμοις.

matricidal Or.), Iphigenia takes Pylades, Orestes, and the statue to the sea (1190-1233), whence they later escape with the help of Athena (1435-74). En route, the chorus sings about *brehpos* Apollo (same as IIA above) and his theft of the Delphic oracle from Python and Themis, whose anger over the matter sends Apollo begging to daddy Zeus to grant him the shrine (1234-82). In the end, Athena secures their escape (1435-91).

Orestes appears at first to be an example of *brehpos* with neutral meaning, since he is in the arms of his mother or nurse.⁷³³ Iphigenia's recollection of Orestes in his mother's arms has been understood as a pathetic detail appropriate for her lament and implicit contrast with adult Orestes' actions, whereas Iphigenia's shift to Orestes in the nurse's arms, as a "subconscious sign of alienation from the mother" and Iphigenia's careful avoidance of mentioning the mother to a matricide.⁷³⁴ However, if we move beyond the immediate context of not only the passages, but also the plays, the details, especially of the nurse and the intentionally-chosen term *brehpos*, signal Euripides' engagement with earlier versions of the Orestes story.

⁷³³ *Or.* 375-79: Menelaus says that he will not recognize an adult Orestes, βρέφος γὰρ ἦν τότεν Κλυταιμήστρας χεροῖν/ ὅτε ἐξέλειπον μέλαθρον ἐς Τροίαν ίών.

⁷³⁴ Kyriakou (2006 *ad* 229-35 and 834-86).

Although perhaps not adhering to the exact confines of the exposure motif,⁷³⁵ Euripides nevertheless includes or alludes to at least three of its features.

1. Orestes in the nurse's arms recalls Pi. *P.* 11.15-22 where nurse Arsinoa rescues him from treacherous Clytemnestra after she slays her husband.⁷³⁶ This background may also explain Iphigenia's switch from mother (232) to nurse (834), since after learning about the turmoil at home (543-64) and realizing that her dream is false (569), she may assume that the traditional rescue accounts for Orestes' survival and alter her memory for her brother. In addition, Iphigenia's

⁷³⁵ Huys (1995: 47-8) classifies the Orestes (and Kresphontes) tale as "The Return of the Avenger," a motif related to or contaminated by the exposure type because a child threatened by persecution and raised by foster-parents later returns, but the reason for exposure (in Or.'s case to protect him as the only heir; typically, 1. illegitimate or unusual intercourse or 2. omen and/or prophecy) and the usual initial actions taken (1. ordered by a male ruler and 2. carried out by the mother) do not conform to his criteria for exposure motif. However, he admits that the second reason (omen) is related to the desire to retain power (here, by Aegisthus). Furthermore, while Aegisthus himself (in some versions) attempts to kill Or. (rather than ordering an exposure), the criterion that the mother carry out the exposure seems flimsy, since servants are often entrusted with this duty, as Huys himself acknowledges (143-62).

⁷³⁶ Since Aegisthus is not mentioned in *IT* (cf. *El.* 31-3, where Aegisthus offers a reward to whoever will kill Or.), E. is perhaps following Pi. Cf. Pherecyd. fr.134 Fowler, where nurse Laodameia saves Orestes from Aegisthus. At S. *El.* 296-7 (οὐ σὸν τόδ' ἐστὶ τούργον, ἦτις ἐκ χερῶν/κλέψασ' Οφέστην τῶν ἐμῶν ὑπεξέθου), Electra rescues Or., a Sophoclean innovation that may be intended to highlight Electra's agency (Finglass 2007 on 11-4) or reflect her previous name Laodike (PMG 700), possibly a variant of Laodameia, given that she is also a nurse at S. 1147 (Robbins 1986: 7). Cf. the only attestations of ὑπεξέθου in E., Andromache's attempt to hide her child Molossus (*Andr.* 68-9, 309-10). (E. also depicts Or. as a threatened infant in his *Telephos*. The fragmentary state of the play prevents us from knowing if Or. was *brepbos* there.)

In some versions, a similar helper also rescues Orestes later from Clytemnestra's axe while he kills Aegisthus. For sources on Or.'s rescuers at various points in his life, see Harder (1985: 17).

uncertainty about Orestes' fate in the first place is borrowed from the mother's anxiety in the exposure motif.⁷³⁷

2. The subordinate figure who traditionally carries out an exposure or finds and/or raises the child may also play a role in the recognition scene.⁷³⁸ In the Orestes stories a subordinate rescues Orestes, and Strophius raises him.⁷³⁹ In Euripides' earliest surviving version, Agamemnon's old τροφεύς and παιδαγωγός rescues Or. from Aegisthus and takes him to Strophius to raise (*El.* 14-18, 286-7, 415-6). The old man later plays a role in the recognition scene (507-84). In *IT*, the first two roles are alluded to (834 and at 917, where Strophius is only mentioned as Pylades' father), but a herdsman, who frequently finds and/or rescues exposed infants in other plays,⁷⁴⁰ "finds" an unnamed stranger (cf. the uncertain identity of the exposed infant) and Pylades which leads to their capture and the recognition scene. Iphigenia's surprise that a herdsman is at the sea (254)

⁷³⁷ Huys (1995: 268 with n591) argues that the exposure tale was for E. "a very natural narrative frame for the dramatic motif of the presumed death of a loved relative." While Iphigenia is convinced that Orestes is dead after a dream, in the more obvious exposure plays, "the uncertainty as to the foundling's fate, inherent in the ambivalence of the ἔκθεσις, only needed time or some minor psychological influence to become subjective certainty." This uncertainty about Or.'s survival is downplayed in E. *El.*

⁷³⁸ Huys (1995: 160) argues that this character "permit[s] the poet to create an important secondary role."

⁷³⁹ On Strophius: Pi. *P.* 11.34-6: Or. goes to live with Strophius after the murder of Ag.; A. *Ag.* 877-85: Or. is already being raised by Strophius when Ag. returns, because, as Clyt. tells it, Strophius said that Or. was in danger while Ag. could be killed and/or his absence could lead the people to overthrow the dynasty; S. *El.* 1110-1: Or. brings fake news about Or.'s death from Strophius to El.

⁷⁴⁰ e.g. Paris, Oedipus, and Melanippe's twins. For other examples and a full discussion, see Huys (1995: 299-335 with table on 398-9). Cf. also *brepbos* Cyrus in Hdt.

may indicate a deliberate choice on Euripides' part to innovate on an exposure background.⁷⁴¹ Although E. may dramatize at least one example of a fisherman (*Dictys*) discovering an exposed infant, the incongruity of the herdsman and the sea cleverly exposes the motif hinted at elsewhere in the play.

3. Unlike the socially unequal horse-donkey parents of most *brephe*, Orestes' parents are equally Thoroughbred. Furthermore, in most exposure tales, as Huys has shown, the child's innate characteristics contrast with his adopted social class; thus, for example, although raised by herdsmen, Cyrus' regal nature brings him to the attention of Astyages.⁷⁴² Orestes more closely resembles Oedipus in that his foster-parents are royal. However, while the childless Polybus and Merope raise Oedipus as a legitimate heir, Strophius raises Orestes for the sole purpose of protecting him.⁷⁴³ Euripides emphasizes Oedipus' role as the last remaining heir and future king.⁷⁴⁴ In both *IT* and *Or.*, Orestes has not yet been acquitted at the Areopagus, but only in the latter, darker play (408 BC) does E. paint Menelaus as

⁷⁴¹ Wright (2005: 212-3) argues that "the plot is...manipulated for the specific purpose of making everything centre on the seashore," and the cattle-washing "has a ritual feel about it" that "obviously prefigures the bogus ritual of the escape plot." Parker (2016 ad 254) thinks that Iph. asks the question "to prevent the audience from asking it." Neither explains E.'s choice of character.

⁷⁴² (1995: 335-63).

⁷⁴³ Orestes' response (Strophius was ἀπαῖς for some time) to Iphigenia's statement that Pylades was not yet born when she was to be sacrificed (*IT* 920-1) may hint at Strophius' initial barrenness or simply a delay in having children.

⁷⁴⁴ *IT* 48-58 (Or. = last of the pillars=male children), 235, 378-9, 980-6, 1004-06 (Iphigenia is not concerned about her own death because Or. as male heir is more important); *Or.* 1030 (Θανάτου...ἀώqov).

unlawful king.⁷⁴⁵ In this play, too, Orestes nears death, but in the end, Apollo orders Menelaus, who refers to Orestes as *brephos* in his first speech (and with this word foreshadowing his triumph), to rule Sparta and allow Orestes to rule Argos (*Or.* 1660-65).

Having regularly applied the term *brephos* to the exposed infant in his exposure plays, Euripides may be the first to pin it on Orestes, whose quasi-exposure was already established by earlier authors. As in *Ion*, the dangerous threat (here, the Taurians, in addition to a murderous mother) and the escape/success of the character are split by an ode (IT 1234-83) which narrates the drama in ritual terms. In the ode, Leto carries Apollo from Delos to “the Parnassian peak of gushing waters celebrating the rites for Dionysus” ($\tau\grave{\alpha}\nu \grave{\alpha}\sigma\tau\acute{a}k\tau\omega\nu$ $\acute{\nu}\delta\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu/\beta\alpha\kappa\chi\epsilon\acute{u}\nu\sigma\sigma\alpha\nu$ Διονύ-/σω π Παρνάσσιον κορυφάν, 1242-4). Here, Apollo, while still a *brephos* (see above) kills the Python, enters the temple, and sits on the tripod.⁷⁴⁶ I argue that the poet’s introduction of Dionysus in the ode is an intentional nod to the Dionysian-Apolline ritual background (see above). Like *Ion*, Orestes faces a dangerous mother, which is counterbalanced not by the vicious

⁷⁴⁵ IT 928-31: Iphigenia wants to know if Or. is/will be king, and he says that Menelaus is king and that “fear of the Erinyes casts [ἐκβάλλει] me from the land.” Contrast *Or.* 1056-9: Menelaus does not prevent Orestes’ death because he wants to be king. *Or.* 1143-7: Pylades justifies murdering Helen because he believes that Menelaus unfairly has Or.’s house.

⁷⁴⁶ His appropriation of a once-female domain is perhaps reflected in Orestes’ reappropriation of the realm taken by Clytemnestra.

animals of the exposure motif, but, according to the tradition of his family, imagined (in Iphigenia's dream) and literal sacrifice. The only real, surviving *brephos* in the family line, Orestes avoids the Dionysiac fate of Thyestes' *brephe*; he escapes the threat posed by a maenadic Clytemnestra (A. Ch. 690) or Aegisthus and Thoas and the Taurians. However, Orestes' story pattern differs from Ion's in one important respect: following Apollo's commands, he kills his mother, an act which sends the *male* into a bacchic "frenzy of remorse" (Or. 339, 411, 835),⁷⁴⁷ which almost leads *him* (and Pylades) to slaughter Hermione, a mountain cub in maenadic frenzy.⁷⁴⁸ It is *this* murder that Apollo prevents. As a result, Orestes returns like an exposed *brephos*, ends the cycle of vengeance and trickery⁷⁴⁹ and regains his rightful place with the help of Apollo, who, in the earlier play, instructed and guided Orestes in the first place to commit matricide (714-5); go to Athens (943-44), where Apollo and Athena secured his acquittal (965-6); and retrieve the statue of Artemis (976-8).

⁷⁴⁷ Seaford (2005: 36).

⁷⁴⁸ ἄθυρσοι δ'/ οἵα νιν δραμόντε Βάκχαι/ σκύμνον ἐν χεροῖν ὀρείαν/ ξυνήρπασαν πάλιν δὲ τὰν Διὸς κόραν/ ἐπὶ σφαγὰν ἔτεινον, 1492-94b.

⁷⁴⁹ Or. 1420 (Or.'s plot to kill Helen, a δόλος thwarted both quickly and positively, since Helen is whisked away by Apollo). Cf. The escape of Or. and Iph. at IT 1316, 1355. Contrast the δόλος (fake marriage, IT 371, 539, 859), which though thwarted by Artemis' rescue, leaves Iph. in Tauris and unhappily unaware of her family's fate for many years, and δόλοι resulting in the death of Agamemnon, Clytemnestra, Aegisthus, and Thyestes' children (e.g. A. Ag. 886, 1495; Ch. 556-7, 888; S. El. 37, 197, 279, 649, 1396; E. El. 9, 154, 166, 832, 834; Or. 1010).

As in *Ion*, Euripides goes further and creates in Orestes a mortal counterpart to Apollo. Each is described as a *brepbos* in the arms of his mother with a tricolon of ἔτι, followed by their roles (A: prophet, O: king).⁷⁵⁰ Elsewhere only used of the gods Apollo and Dionysus, here ἔτι βρέφος simultaneously links and separates god and mortal, for although both *brephe* overcome some trial (Python, Clytemnestra/sacrifice), rescue their sister, and in the end, acquire some benefit through theft,⁷⁵¹ Apollo accomplishes his deeds ἔτι βρέφος ("still a *brepbos*") and later through his human counterpart, while an older Orestes, threatened while ἔτι βρέφος, relies on a divine *brepbos* to achieve the outcome granted to the male *brepbos* of myth. In several respects, then, Orestes' guidance and rescue by his divine doppelganger, resembles that of eponymous children, especially the *brepbos* Ion,⁷⁵² though his unmixed parentage, problematic family history make him an

⁷⁵⁰ A.: ἔτι νιν ἔτι βρέφος, ἔτι φίλας ἐπὶ ματέρος ἀγκάλαισι θρώσκων/ἔκανες, ὦ Φοῖβε, μαντείων δ' ἐπέβας ζαθέων/ τρίποδί τ' ἐν χρυσέῳ θάσσεις, ἐν ἀψευδεῖ θρόνῳ/μαντείας βροτοῖς θεσφάτων νέμων

Or.: ἔτι βρέφος, ἔτι νέον, ἔτι θάλος/ἐν χερσὶν ματρὸς πρὸς στέρνοις τ' /Ἄργει σκηπτοῦχον Ορέσταν.

⁷⁵¹ Wolff (1992: 314-5) parallels the theft of Apollo and Orestes as a movement from one sphere to another: "from older, female, potentially deceiving and chaotic powers to Zeus' new dispensation" (Apollo) and "from barbaric to Greek" (Orestes).

⁷⁵² Even the endings are alike. Athena appears as *deus ex machina* to relay Apollo's message about the heirs' destined future in Athens (*IT* 1438-61; *Ion* 1553-1605). Other similarities between Or. and Ion have been noted by, e.g. Matthiessen (1964: 180-1) discusses the divine-human gap, best revealed by the boys' frustration (*IT* 711-15; *Ion* 436-51) with Apollo's directions and behavior. (Contrast the smoother Apollo-child relationship outside of tragedy, as in Pindar.) Burnett (1971: 49n4) notes a few structural similarities between *IT* and *Ion*. Most relevant, for my thesis about *brepbos*, is the threat against the male heir. Iphigenia and Creusa inadvertently attempt to sacrifice and poison her brother and son, respectively.

unfavorable candidate for this role.⁷⁵³ Moreover, while the other two eponymous *brephe* in Euripides (*Ion* and *Molossos*) reflect actual people and (possibly) real events favorable to the Athenians, Orestes' history makes him unredeemable in this respect, especially since he also marries a Spartan.

5.8 *Brephos* in Three Other Euripidean Dramas:

5.8.1 Elements of the Exposure Motif in *Helen*

In some plays, Euripides uses the term more loosely, but still adheres to various motifs of exposure and death and rebirth. I begin with *Helen*, since the poet draws its structure and contents from *IT*.⁷⁵⁴ The recognition scenes and characters' escape, and the presumed death of the male lead, in particular, led Huys to conclude that

⁷⁵³ Perhaps E. does not mention any descendants of Orestes so as not to remind the audience that his line will fail, though the absence of children in *Andr.* probably reflects the poet's unfavorable portrayal of Orestes and Hermione, whom E. transforms from Sophocles' Hermione, who gives birth to a son named Tisamenos (cf. *TrGF* iv.192; on *Andr.* as a rival of S.'s *Hermione*, see Torrance 2013: 191-6). However, Luppe (1995) believes Tisamenos to be the "son of Orestes," mentioned in test. iii, at *POxy.* 2455 fr. 11, tentatively assigned by Harder (1991: 123-4) to Euripides' *Temenidai*, whose subject is largely unknown. Later sources tell us that Tisamenos, who had several sons (Paus. 7.6.2), was expelled by the Heraclidae, established a kingdom in Achaea (e.g. Plb. 2.41.4-5) and that he was killed in battle with the Heraclidae (Apollod. 2.8.2-5) or the Ionians and buried in Sparta at the command of the Delphic Oracle (7.1.7-8).

⁷⁵⁴ Solmsen (1932: 2) notes that *El.*, *IT*, and *Hel.* have two parts: recognition and intrigue. The latter results in escape in *IT* and *Hel.* Platnauer (1938: xv-xvi) notes five similarities, and Matthiessen (1964: 16-63, 127-38) analyzes the plays' correspondences. Marshall (2014: 45-9) provides a useful overview of the plot similarities and argues that the structural differences in *Helen* are "more readily understood" by an audience familiar with *IT*, which "cleared the ground, so to speak, for Euripides to engage with the fundamental nature of tragedy."

Helen, like *IT*, is “structurally very close” to the category of exposure tales.⁷⁵⁵ But other exposure motifs and the *brepbos* itself also overlap with the many dualities for which *Helen* is famous. Segal has shown how appearance and reality correlate with death and rebirth, as highlighted especially by Helen’s comparison to Persephone (244-9, 1301-68), and how the characters manipulate appearance and death to achieve new life.⁷⁵⁶ These motifs correspond to the *brepbos’* apparent and real identity, on the one hand, and his flirtation with death at exposure (and later) and rebirth to his rightful role.

And so, though thematically not a tale of infant exposure, *Helen* is shaped by many of its features. The titular character opens the play with a description of her location and the children of Proteus: Theoclymenos and the *brepbos* Eido. The poet shortens the latter’s name from Homer’s Eidothea (*Od.* 4.366), and, once she matures, renames her Theonoe for the prophetic abilities inherited from her grandfather and to establish the oppositions in the play.⁷⁵⁷ Despite her few lines,

⁷⁵⁵ (1995: 57-9, 268-9 with n591). “Obviously this dramatic genre, in which characters are threatened by deeds of violence, often provoked by misunderstandings or by grief for the presumed death of a relative, but in which the tension is finally resolved by a moving recognition scene and by the triumph of life, is not confined to dramatizations of the exposed-hero tale-type. But Euripides has made the uncertainty about life or death of a child exposed long ago into a successful narrative basis for this kind of plot.”

⁷⁵⁶ (1971). Wolff (1973: esp. 63-77) similarly compares Helen and Persephone and Helen and Theonoe, but mainly focuses on the motifs of eros and death.

⁷⁵⁷ 8-15: τίκτει δὲ τέκνα δισσά τοισδ' ἐν δώμασιν,/ Θεοκλύμενον ἄρσεν' [τότι δὴ τ θεοὺς σέβων/ βίον διήνεγκ] εὐγενῆ τε παρθένον/Εἰδώ, τὸ μητρὸς ἀγλάισμ', ὅτ' ἦν βρέφος/έπει δ' ἐς ἥβην ἥλθεν ὠραιάν γάμων,/καλοῦσιν αὐτὴν Θεονόην τὰ θεῖα γὰρ/ τά τ' ὄντα καὶ μέλλοντα πάντ' ἡπίστατο,/ προγόνου λαβοῦσα Νηρέως τιμᾶς πάρα.

Theonoe is nevertheless a central character (literally) who not only embodies the play's dualities, e.g. appearance vs. reality, death and rebirth, but also acts as a double of Helen and foil for her brother and even Menelaus.⁷⁵⁸

Since all other attestations of *brepbos* in Euripides describe a male, it is surprising to see the term assigned to Theonoe. However, her name in Homer (Eidothea) afforded Euripides the convenience of designing the multiple dualities for which the play is so famous. As a composite character herself, Eidō and Theonoe, representing appearance and reality, is akin to the more usual *brepbos* (part-donkey and part-horse, inferior and superior). In addition, she faces a death threat from a male relative (1624-41) and is saved by Castor's intervention (1642-87). Finally, she, rather than her brother, develops the prophetic abilities characteristic of some other *brephe* and is a representative of her pious father.⁷⁵⁹ In this way, she, not the male, is the true successor.

⁷⁵⁸ On the figure of Theonoe, see the overviews of opinions by Marshall (2014: 260-1) and Kannicht (1969: I.71-77), who points out (73) that the Theonoe scene (857-1031), which determines the life and death of Menelaus, stands at the center of the drama. Most relevant here is Segal's exploration (1971: esp. 585-94) of the many oppositions in the play and of Helen as a double of Theonoe and the women's crucial roles in the drama.

⁷⁵⁹ Helen and Menelaus end their appeals by referring to the justness of Proteus, and Theonoe delivers a verdict likewise (*Hel.* 940-3, 985-7, 1009-12). See Segal (1971: 588-9, 592-4, 602): "[Proteus] is himself an example of a 'maimed' king whose authority has now become impotent with the ascension of his successor. Theonoe's decision to aid Helen and reject apparent for real respect for her father restores something of the old king's moral and spiritual vitality." Segal then goes on to compare the actual authority restored to Menelaus. Downing (1990: 3-4, 14-15) discusses Theonoe's role as *brabeus* ("judge," vv. 996-7) and as representative of Proteus as a "restorative" *brabeus* "presen[t] in absence," who himself is similar in this capacity to the *eidolon*, which has, however, a "destructive force." Menelaus later adopts this role for the escape (v. 1073).

Introduced at the beginning, Theonoe as *brephos* also establishes the central themes in the play and the narratives of Helen and Menelaus, who transition from exposure, as it were, to their rightful roles. As Segal has shown, after the disappearance of her *eidolon* (605-15)—a deliberate echo of Eido—Helen, exposed in Egypt for many years, returns to her true self as Menelaus' honorable wife (722-4), who then “replaces Theonoe as the play’s genius of new life” after the prophetess promises her silence. With appearance and death as her tools, Helen devises their escape. At this time, Menelaus symbolically sheds the suffering and death associated with Troy by exchanging rags, “casts off from the ship” (*ναὸς ἔκβολ*’, 422, cf. 1214), for a new cloak and being bathed with clean, stream water (1382-4).⁷⁶⁰ In the end, with recovered identities, the two escape the threat posed by Theoclymenos and return to Sparta as king and queen.⁷⁶¹

5.8.2 Minotaur *Brephos* in *Cretans*

fr. 472a (σύμμικτον εἶδον κἀποφώλιον βρέφος) is assigned to the *Cretans* and quoted by Plutarch in his *Life of Theseus* 15.2 as a description of the Minotaur. The fragment conforms to the *brephos* motif in two possible ways. The Minotaur has mixed parentage (Pasiphae and a bull) and is sterile. *ἀποφώλιον*, first attested in

⁷⁶⁰ For the symbolism of changing dress in E. and elsewhere in Greek literature, see also Segal (1997: 48).

⁷⁶¹ (1971). For the quote, see 594.

the *Odyssey* (5.182, 8.177, 11.249, 14.212, indicates a “worthless,” “useless,” or “empty” mind or person. At *Od.* 11.249, “the embraces of immortals” are not ἀποφώλιοι, referring to the offspring resulting from Tyro’s union with the immortal Enipeus. The scholiast (Σ^V *Od.* 11.249) glosses ἀποφώλιοι with ἀδόκιμοι, ἄγονοι, ἀπαιδες, ἄκαρποι (“disreputable, sterile, childless, fruitless”). As Collard points out, the second of these Aristotle uses to indicate the sterility of mules (GA 74615), which are also mixed creatures.⁷⁶² The Minotaur *brepbos* may therefore hearken back to the mule *brepbos* in Homer. In addition, the *Cretans* (fr. 472) also details the rituals of Dionysus-Zagreus, who on Crete is conflated with Zeus.⁷⁶³ The chorus attributes their pure life to the time when they became “an initiate of Idaean Zeus and a herdsman of nocturnal Zagreus,” to their performance of *omophagy*, and to their celebration of Rhea among the Curetes (fr. 472.9-15). They wear white and steer clear of pollution (birth, death, and consumption of meat) (fr. 472.16-20).

5.8.3 *Brepbos* in *The Suppliants*

Brepbos at E. Supp. 914-15 is consistent with many of the images set out above, but does not fit neatly into one pattern. The word appears at the end of Adrastos’

⁷⁶² (1995 on 472a).

⁷⁶³ See Kerényi (1976: 83-6), Collard (1995 on 9-15).

funeral oration (857-917), where youth and education (main themes in the play) are the focus. Adrastos eulogizes five of the seven slain warriors as models for the Athenian youth. He stresses the upbringing and youth of the warriors themselves, e.g. Hippomedon “while a child he straightaway had the courage to not turn to the pleasures of the Muses,”⁷⁶⁴ and concludes that “euandria can be taught, if even a *brephos* learns to say and to hear the things of which he does not have an understanding.”⁷⁶⁵ But just as the speech ends with the command to teach children well because they will retain information until they are old, it is immediately undercut by the chorus’ memory of pregnancy and lament that “Hades has taken the fruits of [their] labor” and that no one will care for them in their old age.⁷⁶⁶ Thus, education or not, doom is sealed; revenge is the future of the warriors’ children.⁷⁶⁷ The *brephos* can repeat information, but will also repeat the steps of the

⁷⁶⁴ παῖς ὡν ἐτόλμησ' εὐθὺς οὐ πρὸς ἥδονάς / Μουσῶν τραπέσθαι πρὸς τὸ μαλθακὸν βίου, 882-3.

⁷⁶⁵ ή δ' εὐανδρία/διδακτόν, εἴπερ καὶ βρέφος διδάσκεται/λέγειν ἀκούειν θ' ὃν μάθησιν οὐκ ἔχει, 913-5.

⁷⁶⁶ ίω τέκνον, δυστυχῆ/σ' ἔτρεφον ἔφερον ύφ' ἦπατος/πόνους ἐνεγκοῦσ' ἐν ὀδῖσι· καὶ/νῦν τὸν ἐμὸν Αίδας/ἔχει μόχθον ἀθλίας,/ἐγὼ δὲ γηροβοσκὸν οὐκ ἔχω, τεκοῦσ' /ά τάλαινα παῖδα, 918-24. Quoted bit translated by Kovacs.

⁷⁶⁷ Thus Morwood (2007: 4): “In a play that seems so straightforwardly to accept the inevitability of war, it is perhaps not surprising that the boys’ education will not succeed in liberating them from the tragic cycle of revenge.” He refers to Athena’s instructions to the warriors’ children at 1213-24 to seek vengeance for their slain fathers when they are grown.

If the oration is satire, as has been argued since Adrastos praises men who were monsters in previous myths, *brephos* may be used ironically. See Morwood (2007 *ad* 857-917.1) for views and bibliography for and against.

slain father to regain power and to seek revenge. In this way, the *brepbos* of *Supp.* is similar to the *brepbos* in other myths.

6. *Brephē* in Hellenistic Poetry

6.1 Theocritean *Brephē*

In Theocritus, *brepbos* appears seven times in three *Idylls* (15, 17, 24) and describes babies both mortal and immortal. When used of immortals (or part-immortals), the *brepbos* is closely associated with Apollo.

6.1.1 *Brephos* and Mormo in *Idyll 15*

In Id. 15, in response to Gorgo, complaining about big crowds, chariots, and long roads, Praxinoa says that her husband, a φθονερὸν κακὸν, 10, bought a house far away. When Gorgo responds that Praxinoa should not talk that way about daddy in front of the little one τῷ μικκῷ, Praxinoa is surprised that her *brepbos* understands (αἰσθάνεται τὸ βρέφος, ναὶ τὰν πότνιαν, 14), which highlights Greek thoughts about children. As they are about to leave for the Adonia, the baby begins to cry, and Praxinoa scares it with Mormo (see above). She refuses to take her baby because she fears that it could become lame. (...οὐκ ἀξῶ τυ, τέκνον. Μορμώ, δάκνει ἵππος./δάκρυν' ὅσσα θέλεις, χωλὸν δ' οὐ δεῖ τυ γενέσθαι, 40-41).

This is more than simply motherly concern for a baby's well-being. What Praxinoa

may fear is that, in the event of lameness, her *brephos* will be exposed, which is both an actual practice and a metapoetic device in Callimachus. Theocritus reiterates this point later when Praxinoa, referring to her child as *brephos*, is glad that she left it inside at home since the crowds are large and war horses are outside. By protecting her *brephos*, Praxinoa accomplishes what demons such as Mormo failed to do. This theme and Praxinoa's protection of her *brephos* likely fits into the larger context of the Adonia, which concerned reproduction and was staged by Arsinoe.

6.1.2 Philadelphus in *Idyll 17*

In Theocritus' *Encomium*, the word describes Ptolemy Philadelphus and has close connections to Apollo. At *Id. 17.58*, Cos receives Philadelphus as a newborn *brephos*, which is modified by the adjective νεογιλλόν, the meaning of which is uncertain, but is taken by Hesychius (v 312) as "newly born" (*neosti gennethesis*) and Photius v 126 = Suda v 182 as "newly-born" (*neogenneton*); by Σ^V *Od. 12.86* as "newly-born, nourished by milk" (*neognes, galakti trephomenes*). When Cos receives the baby in her arms (64-5), she says: "Blessed boy may you be, and may you honor me as much as Phoebus Apollo honored Delos with dark headband" (ὅλβιε κοῦρε γένοιο, τίοις δε με τόσσον ὅσον περ/ Δῆλον ἐτίμησεν κυανάμπυκα Φοῖβος Απόλλον, 66-7).

6.1.3 Heracles and Iphicles in *Idyll 24*

Id. 24 perhaps combines and is inspired by the above Simon. (lullaby for a *brephos*) and Pi. (*brephos* Herakles) fragments. In *Id. 24* Heracles, about to strangle the snakes (16, 85) and ten-month-old Iphicles and Heracles rocked to sleep in the shield (7) are *brephe*. Heracles is indirectly linked to Apollo as a *pais*: "The old man Linus, wakeful guardian [and] hero, son of Apollo, taught the child his letters" (γράμματα μὲν τὸν παιδα γέρων Λίνος ἐξεδίδαξεν/νίος Ἀπόλλωνος μελεδωνεὺς ἄγρυπνος ἥρως, 105-6).⁷⁶⁸

6.2 *Brephoktonos* in Lycophron's *Alexandra*

In his *Alexandra*, Lycophron describes Palaimon as βρεφοκτόνος (229).⁷⁶⁹ The word has clear connections to Dionysiac ritual. Palaimon refers to Melicertes, the infant son of Ino, who, driven mad by Hera for nursing the infant Dionysus, jumps into a boiling a cauldron or the sea with Melicertes. Afterward, the sailors call Ino Leucothea and Melicertes Palaimon. Palaimon βρεφοκτόνος signifies Tenedos,

⁷⁶⁸ In other versions (e.g. Apollod. 2.4.9) Linus teaches Heracles how to play the lyre, and the student kills his teacher. Theocritus' obedient child Heracles, the change from music to letters, and the mention of Apollo as Linus' father call to mind the obedient Callimachus child in the *Aetia* prologue (fr 1.21ff. Pf.).

⁷⁶⁹ See, in general, Hornblower (2015 on 229). On the various versions of the myth, see Pache (2004: 135-80).

where he was honored with child sacrifices. This myth is a retelling of the Dionysus myth.⁷⁷⁰ In the same location, Dionysus was celebrated with a ritual in which a heifer who recently gave birth was cared for like a woman who had just given birth, while her new-born calf wore *cothurni* (to identify it with Dionysus) and was sacrificed with an ax (Ael. *Nat. an.* 12.34). Hollis suggests that Lycophron is here indebted to Call. (frr. 91-2 Pf.).⁷⁷¹

6.3 *Brephos* in Two Callimachean Fragments

Two of the four attestations of *brephos* in Callimachus come from brief fragments preserved by ancient lexicographic sources.

6.3.1 *Brephē* in *Linus and Coroebus* (fr. 487 Pf.)

fr. 487 Pf. (=fr. 122 Massimilla) ἀλλ' ἀντὶ βρεφέων πολιὸν νέον εἰρενα μέσσον, cited without context at Choerob. *Grammatici Graeci* IV.1 p. 265.27 for the declension of εἰρηνή, is unclear. The word, however, presumably refers to human *brephē*, and Pfeiffer thought (“sine dubio”) that it enumerated (out of order) the ages of man. Lobeck (1837: 193-4), followed by Hecker (1843: 202-4), connected the fragment with fr. 26.14 Harder (=fr. 26.14 Pf. = fr. 30.14 Massimilla, μητέρας

⁷⁷⁰ See e.g. Farnell (1896-1909: 5.189-90), Otto (1965: 192), Burkert (1985: 178-9, 183).

⁷⁷¹ Hollis (2007: 286).

ἐξεκένωσεν, ἐκούφισθεν δὲ τιθῆναι), which Hecker attributed to *Linus and Coroebus*, although Pfeiffer *ad loc.*, Massimilla (1996) *ad loc.*, and Harder (2012: II.261) are skeptical. The difficulty of the passage and the fact that only one ms. transmits νέον led Knaack (1880, 24) to take νέον as a supralinear gloss on the obscure word εἴρενα that made its way into the text. In the subsequent lacuna Knaack (comparing Statius *Th.*1.627-32) posits κτάνεν and takes Apollo to be the subject. Pfeiffer, Massimilla, and Harder agree that the alleged correspondences between Statius and Callimachus are weak. Schneider (1873 *ad loc.* =his fr. 473), on the other hand, views νέον < νέω (“pile up (on a funeral pyre)”) with Argives as the subject, but Pfeiffer rejects this conjecture because this form of the imperfect is unattested elsewhere.

If the assignment of the hexameter is correct and refers to the second punishment in the Linus myth as written by Callimachus in typical complex fashion,⁷⁷² this is an instance of *brepbos* used in the context of killing infants and in connection with Apollo. Furthermore, if Callimachus used *brephe* of the children snatched from their mothers/nurses following the death of Psamathe, this snatching away of

⁷⁷² After being raped by Apollo, Psamathe, fearing the anger of her father Crotopus, exposes the baby Linus, who is thereafter brought up among sheep. He is later killed by dogs, and Crotopus, learning the reason for Psamathe’s grief, kills his daughter. Apollo thereupon punishes the Argives first by sending Poena to take children from their mothers/nurses, whom Coroebus kills, and then a plague, in which only babies were spared. On the complication of the two myths apparently both covered by Callimachus, but separated by later authors, see Harder (2012: II.255).

brephē, a suitable term for exposed children, would be a fitting punishment for Crotopus' murder of his daughter over an *exposed* baby (Linus, whom I hypothesize Callimachus also labelled *brepbos*).⁷⁷³ The second punishment, the death of older age groups “instead of *brephē*” (ἀντὶ βρεφέων), would fit the second crime (Coroebus' killing of Poine), which is not against an exposed infant of Apollo's. This use of βρεφέων (and other possible appearances of the word in *Linus* and *Coroebus*) in the context of exposure is certainly possible, since Callimachus similarly treats *brepbos* elsewhere. Another relevant motif is the Dionysiac background of Linus' *sparagmos*.

6.3.2 Lion *Brepbos* and Phalaecus (frr. 62a-c Harder)

fr. 60 Pf. = SH 268A = fr. 160 Massimilla = fr. 62a Harder = EM p. 212.36-40
 βρέφος· τὸ νεογνὸν παιδίον. κυρίως ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπου· Καλλίμαχος ἐν τοίτῳ τῶν
 Αἰτίων καὶ ἐπὶ σκύμνου τίθησι. παρὰ τὸ βράττω, τὸ ἀμέλγω, τὸ βράττον τὸ
 γάλα· τροπῆ τοῦ α εἰς ε. ἡ ὅτι βροτός ἐστιν εἰς φῶς προελθών (“*brepbos*: a newly-born little child. Properly of a human. Callimachus uses the word of a *skymnos*

⁷⁷³ It might be worthwhile to contrast παιδοφόνος (probably παιδοφόνω) at fr. 26.11 Harder, which Massimilla and Harder think is most likely of Crotopos' killing of his daughter than Poena killing babies or dogs killing Linus. Harder, in particular, favors Crotopos because, amongst other reasons, παιδοφόνος appears elsewhere in the context of killing one's own children. For the sake of defining *brepbos*, I concur because, as Golden's catalogue (1981: 330-1) shows, παιδοφόνος, παιδοκτόνος, τεκνοκτόνος and other παῖς- and τέκνον-slaying compounds are used of older children and only later of infants when exposure is moralized by, for example, Philo and Josephus.

(‘lion cub’) in Book 3 of the *Aitia*. Derived from *brattō*, i.e. *amelgō* (‘milk’), and *bratton*, i.e. *gala* (‘milk’) via a change of *alpha* to *epsilon*. Or since a man is one having come into the light”). This fragment has been tentatively placed in the story of Phalaecus in the third book of the *Aetia* by Massimilla and Harder following the discovery of a fragment from the Milan Diegeseis (P.Mil.Vogl. inv. 1006, 1-7) and analysis of Gallazzi-Lehnus,⁷⁷⁴ who confirmed the connection intuited by Pfeiffer. Pfeiffer rejected the supposition of Schneider, later followed by *SH* 268A, that the fragment referred to the Nemean lion, though Gallazzi-Lehnus wonder if the lioness in the Phalaecus myth is a “pendant femminile del leone nemeo.”⁷⁷⁵ The apparent oddness of *brepbos* of a lion cub prompted Pfeiffer, Massimilla, and Harder to cite the “more usual” (Harder) σκύμνος (e.g. *Il.* 18.319); Massimilla and Harder also cite the word’s use of various animals, which includes Callimachus himself. Following Hopkinson’s interpretation of the word at *Cer.* 100, Harder supposes that *brepbos* of the lion cub “may be thought to have added to the pathos of the cub’s distressed mother.” However, Callimachus himself uses *brepbos* of animals in a non-pathetic, albeit specialized, way at *Ap.* 51 and would be unique in applying pathos to an animal here. Pathos seems more appropriate in *Cer.*, where the word describes a youth who not literally infant or animal. But the

⁷⁷⁴ (2001: 7-18, esp. 7-13).

⁷⁷⁵ (2001: 11).

passages do have overlapping motifs. The lioness simile in *Cer.* shares some features in common with Phalaecus and the lioness (frr. 62a-c Harder). Both include a lioness who has just given birth and the threat by a hunter.⁷⁷⁶ In addition, much like Erysichthon, Phalaecus recalls evil tyrants (frr. 44-7, 64) and the boastful hunter killed by Artemis (fr. 96-96a).⁷⁷⁷

⁷⁷⁶ Fr.62b: “he was sacrificed by the lioness who had recently given birth,” can be placed thanks to Ov. *Ibis* 501-2: *feta tibi occurat patro popularis in arvo/sitque Phalaeceae causa leana necis*, (May a pregnant lioness native in your paternal field rush upon you, and may she be the cause of death, like that of Phalaecus.)

⁷⁷⁷ On Phalaecus, see Harder (2012: p. 500). Phalaris (frr. 44-7) is reported by Ath. 9.396e to have dined on *brephe*.

Apollonius Excursus

The *πῖδαξ* is an important metapoetic marker also in Theocritus and Apollonius.⁷⁷⁸ Callimachus' *imitatio cum variatione* finds an echo in Theocritus' seventh idyll, which, like Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*, borrows imagery from Philitas' *Demeter*. Simichidas and friends relax under some poplars (*αἵγειροι*, cf. *Cer.* 37, Erysichthon striking a poplar) and elms (*πτελέαι*) where "holy water" (*ἱερὸν ὕδωρ*) splashes from a nymphs' cave (135-7) and where "buzzing bees fly about a spring," (*πωτῶντο ξουθαὶ περὶ πίδακας ἀμφὶ μέλισσαι*, 142).

Apollonius better reveals Callimachus' engagement with the Patroclus episode, if only because *πῖδαξ* resembles both Callimachus' and Homer's and appears three times near the end of book four along with similes (1394, 1451, 1456). Carrying the Argo across the desert, the Argonauts come upon Lake Triton, where they set the ship down and are compared to dogs (4.1393-5):

λυσσαλέοις δῆπειτ' ἵκελοι κυσὶν ἀίσσοντες
πίδακα μαστεύεσκον· ἐπὶ ξηρὴ γὰρ ἔκειτο
1395 δίψα δυηπαθίῃ τε καὶ ἄλγεσιν

Then darting like raging dogs

⁷⁷⁸ Cf. Nicias AP 9.315.1-2: "Ιζεν ύπ' αἵγειροισιν, ἐπεὶ κάμες, ἐνθάδ', ὁδῖτα,/καὶ πῖθ' ἀσσον
ἰῶν πίδακος ἀμετέρας.

They search for a spring, because dehydrating [lit. dry] thirst

Lay upon them along with their anguish and pains

They come to the garden of the Hesperides, where the serpent used to guard the apples and the nymphs used to sing (1395-9); however, because Heracles killed the serpent with his poisoned arrow the day before (1400-5), the nymphs are loudly lamenting (1406-7) and turn to dust as the Argonauts approach (1407-9). When Orpheus asks the nymphs to show them “some rocky stream of water or some holy stream gushing from the earth, with which [they] might quench their thirst incessantly burning,” (*τινα πετραίην χύσιν ὕδατος ἢ τινα γαίης/ἰερὸν ἐκβλύοντα...όρον, ὃ ἀπὸ δίψαν/αἱθομένην ἄμοτον λωφήσομεν*) in exchange for gifts, libations, and feasts, (*μυρία δῶρα...λοιβάς τ' εἰλαπίνας*) upon their return to Achaea (1414-21), the Hesperides pity them, turn into trees—one becoming a poplar (*Ἐσπέρη αἴγειρος...ἔγεντο*, 1427)—and turn back into nymphs (1422-30).

Once shown the location of the spring (1450-1), which comes from a rock (*πετραίη...περὶ πίδακι*, 1457), the Argonauts are compared to bugs in two similes (1452-5): swarming ants around a crack or “flies falling around a small droplet of sweet honey...” (*μυῖαι/ἄμφ' ὄλιγην μέλιτος γλυκεροῦ λίβα πεπτηυῖαι/ ἄπλητον μεμάσιν ἐπήτοιμοι*, 1453-5). Apollonius reincorporates Callimachus’ ὄλιγη λιβὰς (*Ap.* 112) into a Homeric simile that also uses Homeric vocabulary (cf. e.g. *Il.* 16.754 μεμαώς, describing how Patroclus goes after Cebriones’ corpse) and blends the two

poets' passages by focusing on the motif of thirst. It is almost certain that A.R. has the Callimachean *sphragis* in mind, since in the preceding passage, we learn that a very thirsty Heracles (1442), either on his own initiative or by a god's prompting, created the spring by kicking a rock with his foot (*ἥδε δέ τις πέτοη/τὴν ὅ γέπιπροασθείς, ἦ καὶ θεοῦ ἐννεσίησιν, λὰξ ποδὶ τύψεν ἔνερθε;*, 1444-6), but at odds with Callimachus, the water gushes out, (*τὸ δ' ἀθρόον ἔβλυσεν ὕδωρ, 1446*).⁷⁷⁹

The nymph's description of Heracles (1432-49) draws on both Homer and Callimachus and demonstrates the important codependence of the second and sixth Callimachean hymns and their dependence on the Patroclus simile. One of the nymphs (Aegle) tells the Argonauts that a "most shameless man" (*ὁ κύντατος*, 1433; cf. *κύον κύον*, *Cer.* 63, Demeter's address to Erysichthon) killed the serpent and took the golden apples. Heracles' appearance and behavior generally echo Erysichthon's gigantic size and hubris, as well as verbally echo the look of the lioness with immature cubs (*λέαινα ὡμοτόκος...βλοσυρώτατον ὅμμα*) (1436-9):

ἢ λυθε γὰρ χθιζός τις ἀνήρ ὄλοώτατος ὕβριν
καὶ δέμας, ὄσσε δέ οἱ βλοσυρῷ ὑπέλαμπε μετώπῳ,
νηλής· ἀμφὶ δὲ δέρμα πελωρίου ἐστο λέοντος

⁷⁷⁹ Hunter (2015 *ad* 1446, 1454), who notes the similarities and that the second half of 1446 probably derives from Arat. *Phain.* 218-20, which describes the creation of Hippocrene (οὐ γάρ πω Ἐλικῶν ἄκρος κατελείβετο πηγαῖς, /ἀλλ' Ἱππος μιν ἔτυψε τὸ δ' ἀθρόον αὐτόθεν ὕδωρ/ἐξέχυτο πληγῇ προτέρου ποδός:) It is perhaps notable that though Heracles creates the source, A.R. only refers to it as a *πῖδαξ* when the Argonauts drink from it.

ἀμόν, ἀδέψητον·

For a man most destructive in hubris and stature
came yesterday and his eyes were shining under his grim brow,
ruthless. And he wore around [his shoulders] the skin of a monstrous lion
raw, untanned.

The bestial aspects of Heracles are further emphasized when he drinks water
(1447-9):

αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ἄμφω χεῖρε πέδω καὶ στέρνον ἐρείσας
ὅωγάδος ἐκ πέτρης πίεν ἀσπετον, ὅφρα βαθεῖαν
νηδύν, φορβάδι ἵσος ἐπιπροπεσών, ἐκορέσθη.

But he leaned both his hands and chest on the ground
And from the cloven rock drank unceasingly, until
Bent over like a grazing animal, he satiated his deep belly.

If A.R. is influenced by Callimachus' Apollo and Demeter hymns, an animalized Heracles, too, gulps down an abundance of water, which he creates with the kick of his foot, into his deep stomach ($\beta\alpha\theta\epsilon\bar{\iota}\alpha\nu/\nu\eta\delta\bar{\upsilon}\nu$).

Like Erysichthon, Heracles' mighty thirst is matched by his appetite through allusions to similes about hunger and gluttonous figures in the Homeric epics.⁷⁸⁰ For example, verbal echoes to similes about a hungry lumberjack (*Il.* 11.86-9) and a hungry plowman (*Od.* 13.31-5) are combined in a simile about a hungry gardener or plowman (1.1172-78), which follows the Argonauts' arrival at the land of the Mysians at dinner time, but specifically refers to Heracles, who creates furrows in the sea (1167) like the plowman in the earth and dislodges a tree to create a new oar with his club (1196-2000) like the lumberjack.

Furthermore, Heracles' creation of a new oar and Hylas' preparation of his dinner verbally echo Homer's description of the cannibalistic Polyphemus. The pine tree, which, incidentally, A.R. compares to a slender poplar (*αἰγέιοιο*, 1192), that Heracles dislodges is described as equally thick and long (*τόσση ὄμῶς μῆκός τε καὶ ἐς πάχος ἦεν ιδέσθαι*, 1193) and imitates the description of Polyphemus' club (*τόσσον ἔην μῆκος, τόσσον πάχος εἰσοράασθαι*, *Od.* 9.324). Furthermore, Heracles' loss of Hylas is echoed by Polyphemus' blinding, both of which are caused by their appetite. Hylas' wandering off to get water "for dinner," (*ποτιδόρπιον*) alludes to *ποτιδόρπιον* at *Od.* 9.234 and 249, an Homeric δίς λεγόμενον which describe Polyphemus' dinner preparations.

⁷⁸⁰ On Heracles' hunger and his relationship to the hungry figures in epic, see Clauss (1993: 184-9).

Erysichthon, who, as argued in IV.3, is the counterpart of Callimachus' gluttonous Heracles, also appears to be echoed by Apollonius' Heracles in his hunger and his thirst.