Further Observations on Greek Texts

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Resumen
Este trabajo trata de aclarar aspectos relativos a la fecha de dos poemas de Calímaco (Himnos II y III), así como de la vida del propio poeta, de Nicandro y de Quinto de Esmirna y Arato. Otras aportaciones se refieren a puntos oscuros o mal interpretados hasta el presente en Arato y el Papiro de Derveni.

Abstract
The aim of this paper is to throw light on some rather obscure points of hellenistic poetry: some of the adnotatiunculae refer to the date of two Hymns of Callimachus or on the date of some poets such as Callimachus, Nicander and Quintus Smyrnaeus; others refer to some obscure or misinterpreted passages of hellenistic and late Greek poetry.

Palabras clave: Hellenistic Poetry, Callimochus, Nicander.

1. On Aratus And The Two Bears

At Phaenomena lines 28ff. Aratus describes how the two Bears were placed in heaven:

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\begin{align*}
\text{Αἱ δ' ἦτοι κεφαλὰς μὲν ἐπ' ἵζυας αἰὲν ἔχουσιν ἄλληλων, αἰεὶ δὲ κατωμάδαι φορέονται, ἐμπαλὶν εἰς ὃμους τετραμμέναι. Εἰ ἔτεον δὴ, Κρήτηθεν κεῖναὶ γε Δίος μεγάλου ἱότητι οὐρανόν εἰσανεμήσαν, ὁ μὲν τότε κουρίζοντα Δίκτη ἐν εὐώδει, ὅρεος σχεδὸν Ἰδαῖοιο,}
\end{align*}
\]

Now they ever hold their heads each toward the flank of the other, and are borne along always shoulder-wise, turned alternate on their shoulders. If indeed, the tale be true, from Crete they by the will of mighty Zeus entered up into heaven, for that when in olden days he played as a child in fragrant Dictan, near the hill of Ida, they set him in a cave and nurtured him for the space of a year, what time the Dictaean Curetes were deceiving Cronus."

Mair noted that the critics have been puzzled by the meaning of lines 29-30. I would like to point out that perfect sense can be restored to this passage if we understand that κατωμάδαι in line 29, means "very savage". Aratus means that even in heaven the two Bears retain their savage nature and face in opposite directions. Lines 28-30 should therefore be translated as follows: "Now they (i.e. the Bears) ever hold their heads each toward the flank of the other, and always very savage they are carried along facing the opposite way as regards their shoulders." Cf. Manilius I 303ff, where it is underlined that the two Bears are not set face to face but follow each other around in a circle. The critics have also been puzzled by thereference to Dicton in line 33. Mair noted that Dicton is a by-form of the usual Dicte. He then added that mount Dicte "is, of course, not near Ida, as Strabo pointed out: καὶ γάρ ἡ Δίκτη πλησίων, οὐχ ὡς "Ἀρατός ὁρεος σχεδὸν Ἰδαίοιο." καὶ γάρ χιλίους ἡ Δίκτη τῆς Ἰδης ἀπέχει (Strabo 478). I would like to suggest that Aratus has not made any geographical error. Previous critics have failed to understand that Zeus was born at Dicte in Crete, but was later moved by the Bears to a cave near Ida. This is explained by the scholia: ἐγεννηθη μὲν ἐν τῇ Δίκτη, μετεκομίσθη δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄντρον τῆς Ἰδῆς. Lines 32-34 should therefore be

1. The Adjective κατωμάδαι is a strengthened form of ὀμάδιος. Cf. LSJ s.v. ὀμάδιος ὀμῖος - ὀμίστης (eating raw flesh) i.e. "savage, brutal". Similarly κατάδηλος is a strengthened form of δῆλος "visible". (Cf. Passow, Handwörter, s.v. κατά: "sehr häufig verstärkt es bloss den Begriff des einfachen Wortes".

2. For the fact that bears are savage cf. Nonnus, Dion. 2.42 ὠμοθροποι...ἀρκτοι. Cf. also 14 Manilius 5,693ff, where the Great Bear is connected with wild animals.

translated as follows: ‘for when in olden days he (i.e. Zeus) was crying on fragrant Dictan, they (i.e., the Bears) placed him in a cave near the hill of Ida and nurtured him for the space of a year.’ The scholia also explain that Dictan is described as ‘fragrant’ because the plant called dittany grew on it: $<\text{εὐώδει}> \delta\ ι δια την \ εκείνη \ λεγομένην \ φῶσθαι \ βοτάνην \ την \ δίκταμνον \ καλομένην$. Cf. also Lewis And Short, *Latin Dictionary*, s.v. *dictamnus*: ‘the plant dittany, growing in great abundance on Mount Dicte and Mount Ida’. Cf. moreover Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg*. 3, 134 where Zeus is said to have played as a child in the Idaean cave $\deltaντρω \ έν \ Ιδαίω$. The Bears hid Zeus in the Idaean cave because they did not want Cronus to hear his cries. Cf. Callimachus, *Hymn* I, II. 51 ff. $\text{oυλα \ δε} \ Κουρητές \ σε \ περὶ \ πρόλιν \ ώρχήσαντο \ τεύχεα \ πεπλήγοντες$, ἵνα Κρόνος οὔασιν ήχην ἄσπιδος εἰσαίοι καὶ μή σεο κουρίζοντος. (Translation by Mair: ‘And lustily round thee danced the Curetes a war-dance, beating their armour, that Cronus might hear with his ears the din of the shield, but not thine infant noise.’).

2. On The Date Of Callimachus *Hymn II*

The scholia at *Hymn* II, line 26 tell us that Callimachus is referring to Ptolemy Euergetes. They state moreover, that the “Assyrian river” (*Ἄσσαρινον ποταμόιο*) mentioned at line 108 is the Euphrates. Ptolemy Euergetes assumed power in 247 B.C. and then fought the Third Syrian War (247-246 B.C.). This war is mentioned by Callimachus at *fragment* 110. I would like to suggest that *Hymn* II also refers to the Third Syrian War. At line 25ff. Callimachus says that it is an evil thing to fight with the gods. He then adds that it is an evil thing to fight with Ptolemy Euergetes: $\kappaακόν \ μακάρεσσιν \ εριζειν. \ δς \ μάχεται \ μακάρεσσιν, \ έμω \ βασιλη \ μάχοιτο$. At line 108ff.

3. Note the elegant double enjambement kourivzonto / continuing in next line $\Delta\κτή \ έν \ ευώδει$, and then σχεδον ‘Ιδαιω continuing in next line $\άντρω \ εγκατέθεντο$ exactly like 74ff. For enjambement in Hellenistic poetry cf. McLennan’s commentary on Callimachus, *Hymn* I, Select Index s.v. For the details, cf. my review of Kidds edition of Aratus (forthcoming in *Habis* 2002).


Apollo says that the river Euphrates is large but that it carries much rubbish with it. He then adds that the Melissae, i.e., the priestesses of Demeter, carry only pure water to the goddess: \( \Delta \pi \rho i \delta' \circ \nu k \ \alpha \pi o \ \pi a n t o s \ \dot{\nu} \omega r \ \phi o r \epsilon \sigma \omega i \ \mu e l i s s a i \). The critics have been puzzled by the meaning of the words \( \alpha \pi o \ \pi a n t o s \). I would like to suggest that Callimachus means that the Melissae do not carry water to Demeter from the whole of the Euphrates. Instead they only offer her the purest water from the Euphrates. The river Euphrates is mentioned because it flowed through Syria: cf. Pausanias X, 29. Thus Callimachus is again referring to the Third Syrian War. He stresses that the purest water from the Syrian river Euphrates is offered to the goddess Demeter. In this passage, Callimachus is comparing his poetry with that of his rival Apollonius Rhodius, who had written the Argonautica. Just as only the purest water from the Euphrates is offered to Demeter, so Callimachus offers to Ptolemy Euergetes only the purest poetry, i.e., his Hymn. The sense of lines 108ff. has not been properly understood by the critics. The meaning is that the Euphrates, as a river, is a \( \mu e g a \ \rho o s \) which carries much filth in its water (\( \epsilon v \ \dot{\nu} \sigma a t i \)), and that Melissae do not carry to Deo water (\( \dot{\nu} \sigma o r \), line 110) from all parts of the river (i.e. the dirty water in the river), but they carry to the goddess only the clean trickle (\( \delta \lambda i \gamma \eta \ \lambda \iota \beta \alpha s \)) which constitutes the source of the water of the river (\( \dot{\nu} \sigma a t o s \ \lambda \iota \beta \alpha d e s \)), Diod. 3,4., cf. Thes., s.v. \( \lambda \iota \beta \alpha s \)). In other words, \( \dot{\nu} \sigma a t i \) and \( \dot{\nu} \sigma o r \) in lines 101-110 mean “its water”, “the water of the Euphrates”, cf. e.g. \( \mu e g a \ \chi e \u mu a \), “his great stream”, \( \epsilon v \ \dot{\nu} \sigma a t i \) “in his water” Hymn IV, 110-111, and Loebe, De elocut.Callim. II, p. 10. Schneider (Callim. I, p.191) stated that \( \alpha \pi o \ \pi a n t o s \) means ferri non potest non adiecto nomine because he overlooked the fact that there is here an ellipse of the noun \( \pi o t a m o i o \) or \( \rho o s \) (line 108 \( \pi o t a m o i o \ \mu e g a s \ \rho o s \)), i.e. that \( \alpha \pi o \ \pi a n t o s \) means “from the whole of the river”. For such ellipses in Callimachus Cf. Loebe, op.cit., p.10 (here \( \pi o t a m o i o \) or \( \rho o s i o \) can be understood facile ex appositis ) and especially Lapp, De Callim.tropis,

7. The Seleucids were of course Greek, like the Ptolemy Euergetes. Thus they are imagined to worship Demeter and their priestesses are said to offer water to the goddess in Syria. For the fact that the priestesses of Demeter were called Melissae cf. D.L. PAGE, Select Papyri, Loeb edition, London 1970, page 409f.

3. On The Date Of Callimachus Hymn III

In his edition of Callimachus’ *Hymns*, Mair⁸ discussed the various theories which have been proposed concerning the date of Callimachus’ *Hymn To Artemis*. He noted that, according to Gercke, lines 133ff. contain a reference to Arsinoë I and II, and to Ptolemy Philadelphus. Bornmann⁹, on the other hand, thought that the Hymn must belong to a later period in the poet’s life. Bornmann noted that Callimachus’ *Hymn To Artemis* is closely related to Apollonius Rhodius’ *Argonautica*. I would like to suggest that Hymn III was written after the marriage of Ptolemy Euergetes to Berenice in 247 B.C. This marriage united Cyrene and Egypt and thus lines 133ff. allude to the fact that peace has been achieved through marriage. Moreover, lines 206ff. were written in order to praise Cyrene.

The scholia at Hymn II, line 26 point out the the words ἐμῷ βασιλῆι refer to Ptolemy Euergetes. Hence both Hymn II and Hymn III were written after 247 B.C. It should also be noted that Berenice, the wife of Euergetes, is addressed by Callimachus at frag.110. Callimachus’ poem for Berenice must belong to the same period, since it refers to the Third Syrian War (247-246 B.C.). For the relevant dates, Cf. Mair, op. cit. p.32 f. What I have argued seems to show that Bornmann is right.

4. Callimachus And The Suda

The *Suda* states that Callimachus lived at the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus and that before his introduction to the king he taught grammar in Eleusis, a hamlet of Alexandria. It then adds that Callimachus “survived to the time of Ptolemy, surnamed Euergetes, and Olympiad 127 (272/69 B.C.) in the second year of which Ptolemy Euergetes began his reign”: καὶ παρέτεινε μέχρι τοῦ Ευεργέτου κληθέντος Πτολεμαίου, ὀλυμπιάδος δὲ ῥκζ’ (272,69 B.C.), ἦς κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος ὁ Ἐυεργέτης Πτολεμαίος ἤρξατο τὴς βασιλείας.


Scholars have been puzzled by this statement, since Ptolemy Euergetes began to rule in 247 B.C. Accordingly, they argued that the *Suda* must be mistaken concerning the date. I would like to point out that the statement of the *Suda* makes perfect sense. Scholars have failed to understand that Ptolemy Euergetes became co-regent with Ptolemy Philadelphus in 270 B.C. Thus, according to the *Suda*, Callimachus was still alive in 270 B.C., when Ptolemy Euergetes became co-regent with Philadelphus. Callimachus is of course known to have written poetry for both Ptolemy Philadelphus and Ptolemy Euergetes.

5. *On The Date Of Nicander*

In a recent article, I attempted to show that Lycophron's *Alexandra* was written after the battle of Pydna in 168 B.C. Gow noted that there are certain verbal similarities between the works of Nicander and Lycophron. According to ancient sources, Nicander wrote the following lines (fragment 104) for Attalus III of Pergamum:

*Translation by Gow:* "Scion of Teuthras, who dost ever hold the heritage of thy fathers, hearken and thrust not away from thine ear my hymn out of mind; for I have heard, O Attalus, that thy stock dates back to Heracles and sage Lysidice, whom Hippodame the wife of Pelops bore when he had won the lordship of the Apian land."

12. Cf. MAIR, *op.cit.*, page 32. Ptolemy Euergetes was born between 288 and 280 B.C.
15. For instance, both poets used the noun *πράματος* meaning "ship" and *σκληρόν* instead of *σποδός* ("dust"), *Cf*. Gow, *op.cit.* page 7.

Attalus is addressed as a descendant of the Mysian king Teuthras (Τευθραίδης). The ancient sources which quote this fragment point out that the empire of the Attalids came to an end with the death of Attalus III in 133 B.C. I would like to suggest that Nicander is alluding to the fact that Attalus III wrote a will in which he bequeathed his empire to the Romans. Accordingly, Nicander mentions Attalus' "ancestral estate" (κληρον...πατρώιον) in line 1.

The connection of Pergamum and Rome is also referred to by Lycophron. At Alex. lines 1245ff. Lycophron states that the two sons of the Mysian king called Telephus (i.e. Tarchon and Tyrsenus) settled in Italy:

συν δὲ διπτιχοι τόκοι
Μυσῶν ἀνακτος, οὗ ποτ' Οἰκουρὸς δόρυ
γνάψεις Θεόνως γυια συνδήσας λύγοις.
Τάρχων τε καὶ Τυρσηνὸς, αἰθωνες λύκοι,
τῶν Ἡρακλείων ἐκγεγώτες αἰμάτων.

(Translation by A.W. Mair, Lycophron, Loeb edition, London 1960, reprint, page 423): "and therewithal the two sons of the King of the Mysians, whose spear one day shall be bent by the Housekeeping God of Wine, who shall fetter his limbs with twisted tendrils: even Tarchon and Tyrsenus, tawny wolves, sprung from the blood of Heracles.

The Alexandria celebrates the victory of the Romans over the Macedonians at Pydna in 168 B.C. This victory was secured with the help of Eumenes II of Pergamum. It is therefore not surprising to find that Lycophron referred to the kingdom of Pergamum in a poem which celebrated the victory of the Romans over the Macedonians. We may therefore conclude that Nicander lived, like Lycophron, in the second century B.C. He celebrated the kingdom of Pergamum in a poem written for Attalus III and alluded to the fact that this kingdom had been bequeathed to the Romans. It should be noted that Attalus is described as the "descendant of Teuthras" (Τευθραίδης). This is an allusion to the fact that king Teuthras had bequeathed the kingdom of Mysia to Telephus. By bequeathing Pergamum to the Romans, Attalus

had shown himself to be a true descendant of Teuthras. Finally it should be noted that Nicander devotes much time to describing Attalid female relatives. This no doubt reflects the fact that Attalus III had the title φιλομήτωρ. Thus in order to please Attalus' mother, Nicander stressed the females in his ancient lineage.

6. On The Date Of Quintus Smyrnaeus

It was argued by Koechly that Quintus Smyrnaeus belongs to the fourth century A.D. Koechly's suggestion was, however, rejected by other scholars because of internal evidence. At Posthomerica 13,335 ff. the poet mentions Aeneas and the founding of Rome on the river Tiber. Constantinople had been built in 330 A.D. and was regarded as the new Rome: Cf. D.L.Pagel Select Papyri, vol. III, page 557. Consequently, in a fragment of poetry which has been ascribed to the fourth century A.D., Constantinople is called “the newfounded Rome” (νεοκτιμένης ἀπὸ Ῥώμης). Scholars therefore argued that Quintus must have written his poem earlier than 330 A.D. I would like to point out that previous critics have failed to notice the many similarities which exist between the works of Quintus Smyrnaeus and Oppian. At Book 13,341 Quintus states that the Roman empire stretches from East to West: (ἄχρις ἐπ' Ἀντωλίην τε καὶ ἀκάματον ἥδος). This passage recalls Oppian, Cyn. 1,43 where the Roman empire is also said to stretch from East to West: άντολίηθεν ἐπ' Ὀκεανὸν βασιλεύωνψ. Both Quintus (Book 13,335 ff.) and Oppian (Cyn. 1,2 and Hal.2,675) call the Romans “the sons of Aeneas” (Ἀινειάδες).

At Book 6,531ff. Quintus mentions fights in amphitheatres involving boars and lions. Oppian refers to fights in amphitheatres at Hal. 2,351.

At Book 11, 358ff. there is a description of the military formation which was known as the testudo. The Romans adopted this military technique during sieges. The testudo is also mentioned by Oppian: Cf. Cyn.1,213ff. At Book 3, 327 the poet mentions the season of the year when autumn wanes (δε φθινόθουσιν ὀπώραι.

at the time of Attalus III: Νίκανδρος...γεγονός κατά τὸν νέον Ἄτταλον, ἥγουν τὸν τελευταῖον.


Similarly Oppian mentions “waning autumn”, Cf. Hal, 1, 587 φθινύδουσα τόκον προφήθεν ὀπώρη.

Oppian’s Cyn. is dedicated to the emperor Caracalla and refers to the Roman victory over the Parthians in the East: Cf. Cyn. 1,31. I would like to suggest that Quintus Smyrnaeus is alluding to the Roman victory over the Parthians when he states that the Roman empire stretches from East to West. Accordingly, it would appear that Paschal was right to argue that Quintus was a contemporary of Oppian and that he did not live in the fourth century A.D.

7. Protogonos And The World-Egg

The Derveni papyrus has recently provided us with some information concerning Orphic beliefs. In his discussion of this papyrus, Martin West quoted the following two lines: Ζεύς μὲν, ἐπει δὲ πατρός ἐόν πάρα θέσφατ· ἀκούσας “Zeus, when, from his father the prophecy having heard”, and αἰδοίον κατέπινεν, ὥ αἰθέρα ἐκθορε ζρώτος “the revered one he swallowed, who first sprang forth into the aither”. West noted that, according to the ancient commentator, the word αἰδοίον is a noun meaning "sexual organ". However, West stated that it is clear from the

18. Caracalla’s father, Severus, had himself adopted into the family of the Antonines and stressed his divine descent from Aeneas. Severus fought the Second Parthian War (A.D. 197-199) in the East. He sacked Ctesiphon and occupied Seleucia on the Tigris.


20. At Book 12,312 Quintus states that he is a native of Smyrna. Scholars have, however, been puzzled by the reference to “the Deliverer’s Grove” (Ελευθερίῳ ἐν κηπῷ. Cf. Vian, op.cit., vol.1, page X. I would like to suggest that Quintus is alluding here to the Romans. The name of Zeus Eleutherios was joined to that of the emperors: Cf. Thes. Gr. Ling., s.v. ἐλευθερίως, quoting Zavi Ελευθερίῳ Ἀντονίῳ Ζωτήρι. In other words, the emperor is regarded as the deliverer of Smyrna, which was occupied by the Romans. Cf. also Pindar, Pyth. 9, 53 where Libya is described as the “grove of Zeus” (Δίως κάπον). Note, moreover, that the inhabitants of Samos constructed an altar to “Zeus the Liberator” on a piece of ground just outside the city: Cf. Herodotus 3,142.


masculine pronoun $\delta$ and from a later fragment that it was originally intended as an epithet of the “Firstborn king” whom Zeus must have swallowed. I would like to suggest that better sense can be made of the papyrus fragment if we understand that Zeus is identified here with Protagonos or Phanes. Zeus is said to have been the first to spring into the air$^{22}$. Note the fact that $\alpha\theta\eta$ has been used as a synonym of $\alpha\nu\rho$. The epithet $\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma$ alludes to the fact that Zeus (= Protagonos = Phanes) was the first-born of the world-egg. Thus at Nonnus, Dion. 9, 141 Phanes (= Protagonos) is described as the “first-born” ($\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\gamma\omicron\nu\nu\delta\epsilon\varphi\alpha\nu\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$). Cf. also Dion. 9, 157 where Phanes is said to be “self-born” ($\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\omicron\omicron\nu\nu\delta\epsilon\varphi\alpha\nu\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$). In other words, Zeus is imagined to have sprung first$^{23}$ into the air, i.e. to have been the first to be born from the primeval world-egg$^{24}$. Note, moreover, the employment of falsa anaphora. Zeus is said to have swallowed a sexual organ ($\alpha\nu\delta\omicron\omega\omicron\iota$). The adjective $\alpha\upsilon\nu\omicron\delta\omicron\omega\omicron\iota$ is then used at line 21 to describe Zeus ($\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\gamma\omicron\nu\nu\delta\epsilon\varphi\alpha\nu\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\omicron\varepsilon\omicron\omega\varsigma$ $\alpha\nu\delta\omicron\omega\omicro$).

8. Love The Archer In An Orphic Fragment

At Theocritus’ Idyll 10, line 19f, Bucaeus states that both the god of wealth and the god of love are blind: $\tau\upsilon\phi\lambda\omicron\omicron$ $\delta'$ $\omicron\nu\kappa$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\omicron$ $\delta$ $\Pi\lambda\omicron\omicron\upsilon\omicron\omicron$, $\alpha\lambda\alpha$ $\kappa\iota$ $\omega\phi\rho\omicron\omicron\nu\omicron\tau\omicron\omicron\omicron$ $\varepsilon\rho\omega\omicron$. Gow$^{25}$ commented as follows on this passage: “the allegorical conception of Love as a blind god, familiar from the Renaissance, is highly unusual in antiquity. It occurs in the Orphic verse $\pi\omicron\omicron\nu\omicron\omicron\alpha\omicron\iota\nu\nu\upsilon\nu\nu$ $\pi\omicron\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\omicron\sigma\iota\omicron\sigma\iota$ $\alpha\upsilon\nu\omicron\delta\mu\omicron\alpha\omicron\nu$ $\omicron\upsilon\nu$ $\varepsilon\rho\omicron\omicron\omicron$ (Orph. fr. 82 K.) and may conceivably be borrowed thence, for T. (11.80) has also $\epsilon\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\mu\omicron\alpha\omicron\nu$ $\tau\omicron\nu$ $\varepsilon\rho\omicron\omicron\omicron$. I would like to suggest that the adjective $\alpha\upsilon\nu\omicron\delta\mu\omicron\alpha\omicron\nu$...
26 means here "keen-sighted". The author of the Orphic fragment is alluding to the fact that the god Eros was imagined to move swiftly. Moreover, his arrows never missed their mark because he was very sharp sighted. For the description of Eros as an archer, Cf. Apollonius Rhodius, Arg. 3, line 280f. where Eros is said to move swiftly (καρπαλίμοιοι ποσίν) and to glance keenly around (ὁξέα δενδίλλων) before shooting an arrow. Owing to his sharp sight, Eros never missed his mark πολύστονον ἴον ν, Argon. 3.279). Eros was a veritable sharp-shooter, evidently because of his keen eyesight: Cf. Lasserre, La figure d'Éros, p. 88-92 and 155 ff.

26. We must of course understand that α- has been used with intensifying force. Cf. my New Studies In Greek Poetry, page 134. Cf. also, LSJ s.v. ευόμματος, "keen-sighted" (EM 284.8).