

THE TEMPEST IN CALLIMACHUS' *HECALE*

After slipping away from Athens about evening (*Dieg.* 10.27–8 *περὶ ἑσπέραν ἀπῆρην*), Theseus on his journey to Marathon runs into a violent rainstorm, which breaks out suddenly after a warm and brilliant afternoon, so that he has to take refuge in Hecale's poor cottage. We owe to *P. Oxy.* 2216 fr. 1 as well as to some *Testimonia* the following text of the tempest, fr. 238.15–32 Pfeiffer = 18 Hollis:<sup>1</sup>

|ὄφρα μὲν οὖν ἔνδιος ἔην ἔτι, θέρμετο δὲ χθών,  
 τόφρα δ' ἔην ὑάλοιο φαάντερος οὐρανὸς ἥνοιψ|  
 οὐδέ| ποθ|ι| κν|ηκίς ὑπεφαίνετο, πέπτατο δ' αἰθήρ  
 ἀν|ν|έφελος· σ|  
 μητέρι δ' ὀππ[ότε] 5  
 δειελὸν αἰτίζ[ουσιν, ἄγουσι δὲ χεῖρας ἀπ' ἔργου,  
 τῆμος ἄρ' ἔξ.[.].[.].  
 πρῶτον ὑπὲρ Πά[ρνηθος,] |ἐπιπρὸ δὲ μάσσον ἐπ' ἄκρου  
 Αἰγαλέως θυμὸε[ντος, ἄγων μέγαν ὑετόν, ἔστη·  
 τῶι δ' ἐπ[ι] διπλόον .[ 10  
 τρηχέος Ὑμητ[τ]οῖο  
 ἄστεροπα[ι] σελάγ[ι]ζον  
 ρι[ο]ν ὅτ[ε] κλονέ.[  
 Αὐσόν[ι]ον κατὰ π[όντον  
 ἡ δ' ἀπὸ Μηρισοῖο θ[ο]ῇ βορέαο κατάιξ 15  
 εἰσέπεσεν γεφέλ[η]σιν  
 ... [.]. ν ὅθ[ι]  
 ]ερ.[

The evening time is depicted through a double 'Zeitbestimmung'. First of all, the poet shows us all the beauty of the sky in its astronomical and meteorological situation ('while then it was still midday, and the earth was warm, for so long the brilliant sky was clearer than glass,<sup>2</sup> nor was a wisp of vapour to be seen, and cloudless stretched the heavens ...). Then, with a typically Callimachean variation, the reader is supposed to gaze at human activity, when the evening brings release from a long and hard toil.<sup>3</sup> This double perspective is hardly to be compared with the similar overture in the Mousetraps episode of the *Victoria Berenices*, where the

<sup>1</sup> Text above as in Callimachus *Hecale*, edited with Introduction and Commentary by A. S. Hollis (Oxford, 1990), pp. 74–5: a most valuable edition, which updates Pfeiffer in both the arrangement of all fragments and the copiousness of the commentary.

<sup>2</sup> Oddly enough, commentaries are silent on the Callimachean *renovatio* of a Homeric formula, *χάλκεος οὐρανός* (from *Iliad* 17.425 *χάλκεον οὐρανόν* to Pind. *P.* 10.27, *N.* 6.3, Theogn. 870, Simias, fr. 24.6 Powell – cf. also Call. *Del.* 257–8 *αἰθῆρ|χάλκεος!* – including a contemporary reuse by A. Sikelianós, *Πνευματικὸ ἐμβατήριον* 5 ὅλο χαλκὸς τὸ διάστημα. Here of course *ἥνοιψ*, a traditional epithet of *χαλκός*, is a pointed allusion to the Homeric formula. In his brief simile *ὑάλοιο φαάντερος* Callimachus is giving an account of Alexandrian learned interpretations of *ἥνοιψ*, cf. schol. BV ad *Od.* 10.360 *διανγεί, ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν ἑαυτόν*.

<sup>3</sup> For a similar description of the morning awakening in terms of human activity (four categories of workers are considered: thieves, drawers of water, carters, blacksmiths) in *Hec.* fr. 74.22ff. see Hollis, p. 254, adding Sapph. fr. 104 Lobel–Page (?) and Ap. Rh. 2.660–8, 4.1630 with the comm. of Livrea, p. 449. We are not allowed to apply to Callimachus what H. Fränkel, *Noten zu den Argonautika des Apollonios Rhodios* (Munich, 1968), p. 612, acutely remarked about Apollonius Rhodius, whose interest in the humble world of toil serves the purpose of stressing 'im Kontrast die ἀρετή der Helden'.

humble countryman Molorchus gives hospitable entertainment to Heracles (*Aitia* 3, fr. 177 Pfeiffer = *SH* 259). Here the evening star is about to release the leather straps from the necks of the oxen, 5–6 ἀστὴρ εὐτ’ ἄρ’ ἔμελλε βοῶν ἀπο μέσσαβα [λύσειν | | αὐλῖος,] [ὃς δυθμὴν εἶσιν ὕπ’ ἡελίου. In the scene of *Hecale*, the meaning of the latter, incomplete ‘Stundenbild’ has been suggested by R. Pfeiffer’s deep insight: ‘eo tempore quo puellae quae per diem stamina duxerunt matri pensum ferunt et cenam vespertinam petunt’. Unfortunately, neither Pfeiffer nor Hollis attempts to reconstruct the text lost in the lacuna at line 5. On my part, I do believe that we can aptly place here the poetic quotation we read in Suid. 4.498.3 Adler, where a Callimachean flavour was already pointed at by Hollis’s clever application of ‘Hecker’s law’: ταλασῖον ἔργον· ἡ ἐριουργία. Instead of being suspected as a misquotation of Apollonius Rhodius (3.292 ταλασῖα ἔργα),<sup>4</sup> this Callimachean scrap should be supplied in *Hec.* fr. 18.5, which I propose to reconstruct in the following way:

μητέρι δ’ ὅππ[ότε παῖδες, ὅσαις] | ταλασῖον ἔργον,

The repetition ἔργον / ἄπ’ ἔργου belongs to a typical feature of Callimachus’ style (anaphora with polyptoton),<sup>5</sup> but if it does not appear to be very felicitous, one might not rule out an alternative reading, ταλασῖος ἰδρώς, which I would suggest because it reproduces a Nonnian clausula, *Dion.* 6.142 Παλλάδος εὐπαλάμοιο νέμει ταλασῖος ἰδρώς. In this case the citation of Suidas could be the final stage of successive misquotations of the Callimachean line, mixed up with the passage of Apollonius, or it would represent an Alexandrian text other than *Hecale*. But a more serious question is raised by the dative case μητέρι: one could obtain acceptable sense by emending μητέρι to μητέρα, since the girls seem to be demanding the evening meal for themselves, not for their mother (μητέρα ... δειλὸν αἰτίζ[ουσιν]). As it would be clearly rash to emend a fragmentary papyrus in order to obtain a smoother syntax, we have to look for another explanation. In fact, a dative like μητέρι might reproduce, with a capricious catachresis, a Homeric *unicum* such as *Od.* 20.74 κούρης αἰτήσουσα τέλος, where the sense requires of course ‘to ask something for one’ (LSJ s.v. αἰτέω 2). But I do not feel like ruling out a meaning just like ‘they demand the evening meal for their wretched mother’. In this case, we should not imagine girls working at home under their mother’s supervision (as in Pfeiffer’s interpretation), but some kind of ἔριθοι, i.e. hired servants who work in wool in order to be paid in kind, so that they can supply food to their poor old mother, just like the Homeric (*Il.* 12.433–5) γυνὴ χερνήτις ἀληθής, | ἥτε σταθμὸν ἔχουσα καὶ εἶριον ἀμφὶς ἀνέλκει | ἰσάζουσ’ ἵνα παισὶν ἀεικέα μισθὸν ἄρῃται. In fact, while picking up a Homeric suggestion, Callimachus would have succeeded once more in being ‘presqu’ Homérique, le moins Homérique possible’. This interpretation would fit *Hecale*’s poor livelihood perfectly, thus anticipating her story, since in her humble hut she lacks even her children’s support.

But we can perhaps achieve more decisive progress in reconstructing the whole passage of the tempest by adding to the *Testimonia* diligently collected by Hollis, pp.

<sup>4</sup> The picture of the hard toil of women weaving their wool evokes the humble world of a poor household (cf. Leon. Tar. *A.P.* 7.226 = LXXII Gow–Page and M. Gigante, *L’edera di Leonida* (Naples, 1971), pp. 86ff.; Livrea on Ap. Rh. 4.1062, pp. 304–5). This poor μήτηρ is an admirable anticipation of the λιπερνήτις *Hecale*, thus confirming the structural, by no means ornamental, function of our ‘Stundenbild’.

<sup>5</sup> See Fr. Lapp, *De Callimachi Cyrenaei tropis et figuris* (Diss. Bonn, 1965), p. 55.2b; for the ellipsis of ἦν or ἐστὶ copious materials are collected *ibid.*, p. 75. We can even infer that ταλασῖον ἔργον suggested to Apollonius the nonce word γυνὴ ταλαεργός ‘weaver’ (4.1062), cf. also 3.292.

57–60, an entirely new and hitherto ignored item. What I mean is the description of the tempest at the very end of the wondrous late antique epyllion *Ὠραι καὶ πράγματα* by a disciple of Nonnus, Pamprepus of Panopolis, fr. 3.177–92 Livrea:

ἤδη μὲν Φαέθοντος ἐφ' ἑσπερίης πόμα λίμνης  
 αἰθερίην κροτέοντες ὑπ' ἵχνεσιν ἀτραπὸν ἵπποι  
 ἄντυγα μυδαλέην λιποφεγγέος ἔλκον ἀπήνης.  
 ἤερί δ' ἠγερέθοντο πάλιν νεφελώδεες ἀτμοὶ 180  
 ἐκ χθονὸς ἀντέλλοντες, ἀπεκρύπτοντο δὲ πάντα  
 τεύρεα πουλυθέμεθλα καὶ οὐκέτι φαίνετο μήνη.  
 ὑψιπέτης δ' ὄρμαινε μέγας βρονταῖος ἀήτης  
 λάβρος ἐπαγίζων, νεφέων δ' ἐξέσσυτο δαλὸς  
 ῥήγνυ[μ]ένων ἐκάτερθε καὶ ἀλλήλοισι χυθέντων. 185  
 παῖδα δὲ νηπιάχοντα πατήρ ἐπὶ κόλπον αἰείρας  
 οὐασί χεῖρας ἔβαλλεν, ὅπως μὴ δοῦπον ἀκούσῃ  
 ὑψόθεν ἀλλήλησιν ἀρασσομένων νεφελῶν.  
 αἰθὴρ δ' ἐσμαράγησεν, [ὁ]ρινομένη δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ  
 παρθένος ἑλκασίπεπλος ἦν ἐκάλεσσε τιθήνην. 190  
 γαῖα δὲ καρποτόκων λαγόνων ὠδίνας ἀνέσχευ  
 αἰθέρι καὶ νεφέεσσιν ἐπιτρέψασα [...]...[

The strong resemblance of the storm described, by means of an *ἐκφρασις*, by Pamprepus to the storm in Callimachus' *Hecale*<sup>6</sup> seems to be supported by at least four main arguments: (a) in Pamprepus, just like Callimachus, the 'Stundenbild' refers to the evening time, which turns out to be suddenly stormy after a warm and brilliant afternoon (165–6 αἴγλη|έσ]περίη, 168 ἡελίω δέ; cf. 79ff. too);<sup>7</sup> (b) in Pamprepus too the tempest is located in Attica,<sup>8</sup> perhaps at Eleusis, since a lengthy evocation of Eleusinian rituals occurs at lines 115ff.; (c) some borrowings of Pamprepus from Callimachus can be identified without difficulty, Pampr. 3.183 μέγας βρονταῖος ἀήτης ~ Call. *Del.* 318 οὐχ οὕτω μεγάλοι μιν ἐπιπνεύουσιν ἀήται, Pampr. 3.187 ὅπως μὴ δοῦπον ἀκούσῃ ~ Call. *Dian.* 54 καὶ ὁππότε δοῦπον ἄκουσαι, Pampr. 3.189 αἰθὴρ δ' ἐσμαράγησεν ~ Call. *Del.* 136 ὑψόθε δ' ἐσμαράγησε; (d) Pamprepus himself stresses his dependence on Callimachus, when he takes leave from his learned audience by mentioning, in the final *προπεμπτικόν* of his epyllion, an impending journey to Cyrene. His allusion is not only rich in autobiographical implications,<sup>9</sup> but also extremely important as an acknowledgement of the close

<sup>6</sup> Omitted in Pamprepus Panopolitani *Carmina* (P. Gr. Vindob. 29788 A–C) ed. H. Livrea (Lipsiae, 1979), pp. 62–3 (Subsidia interpretationis).

<sup>7</sup> On 'les giboulées et les embellies, les rayons et les ombres, les bourrasques de neige et de grêle, et les brusques percées de soleil d'une journée de printemps' in Pamprepus' epyllion see H. Grégoire, 'Au camp d'un Wallenstein byzantin: la vie et les vers de Pamprépios, aventurier païen', *BAGB* 24 (1929), 35. We are now ready to accept that the poem deals with a 'descriptio diei autumnalis' (the title suggested by Heitsch, *GDRK*, p. 111): on this extremely difficult question see E. Livrea, 'Pamprepio ed il P. Vindob. 29788 A–C', *ZPE* 25 (1977), 124ff.

<sup>8</sup> Lines 120 ἀψλαμένω θυόεσσαν Ἐλευσινίης φλόγα πεύκης and 129–30 Τριπτολέμω ζεύξασα δρακον|τείων ζυγλὰ δίφρων|θεσμοφόρον δ' ἐτέλεσεν ἀγήνορα δήμον Ἀθήνης. Of course we may wonder whether these and other lines depend on the Demeter myth in *Hecale* (fr. 171 inc. sed. Hollis = 611 Pfeiffer). The festival described by Pamprepus, which could be compared to the Athenian Προηρόσια or Θεσμοφόρια (see Livrea, *ZPE* cit., 126–7), belongs to the poet's own experience as a visitor to Attica, where he spent a good deal of his youth. For all the chronological data, cf. P. Graindor, 'Pamprépios et Théagénès', *Byzantion* 4 (1929), 469–75.

<sup>9</sup> *Κυρήνη* may here designate Callimachus' country *stricto sensu*. Another possibility is that it designates *lato sensu* Egypt, where Pamprepus took refuge after the anti-Zenonian sedition, in order to form a coalition putting together Chalcedonian orthodoxy and Neoplatonic pagan aristocracy; see the facts reconstructed by R. Asmus, 'Pamprepus, ein byzantinischer Gelehrter und Staatsmann des 5. Jahrhunderts', *ByzZ* 22 (1913), 320–47; R. Keydell, s.v. *Pamprepus*, *R.E.* 18.3 (1949), c. 412–13; Livrea, *ZPE* cit., 132–3.

relationship between this late antique epyllion and the poetics of its Callimachean model:

ἀλλά μοι εὐμένεοιτε καὶ ἐξ ἐλ[  
πέμπετέ με σπείσαντες ἐφισταμεν[  
Κυρήνη καλέει με, βιαζόμενος δέ με Φοῖβος  
ἔλκει θηροφόνοιο φίλης ἐπὶ γούνατα [νύμ]φης.  
δ[ε]υτε, φίλοι, πρὸς ἔδεθλον ἀρειμανέος Π[τ]ολ[ο]εμαίου  
ἐ[ν]θα με κικλήσκουσι Λιβυστίδες εἰσέτι Μ[ο]ῦσαι.

*Rebus sic stantibus*, one cannot resist the temptation of supplying *Hec.* 18.7 in a way which, after all, would echo an attested Callimachean *iunctura*:

τῆμος ἄρ' ἐξό[ρ]μαι [νε μέγας βρονταῖος ἀήτης.

The verb, however, has been supplied only *exempli gratia*, and might be quite different. A glance at the photo (*The Oxy. Pap.* XIX, Pl. IV) seems to confirm that after ξ we see 'trace on the line consistent with the lower right-hand side of ο' (Lobel, p. 43); the following gap might be larger than in Lobel's opinion, and could have contained – besides an entirely washed-out letter – a μ of which one can discern the right vertical stroke. I doubt that the following traces (a vertical stroke 'descending a little below the line and more sloping than the first'; a vertical dash, which Lobel strangely describes as 'an almost horizontal stroke off the line') could be read only as αι (with a badly written α?). At any rate we should reconsider the meaning of ἔστη, perhaps depicting a cloud which stood bringing much rain, cf. Archil. fr. 105.4 West ὀρθὸν ἵσταται νέφος; passages like Thuc. 6.104 ὑπ' ἀνέμου ... ὃς ἐκπνέει ταύτη μέγας κατὰ βορέαν ἔσθηκώς might suggest to understand 'a violent wind ... set'. Nor could we consider the supplied subject hardly a distinguished phrase for Callimachus, if we recall *Del.* 318 μεγάλοι ... ἀήται.

Here I would like to suggest that both genre-paintings at the end of the tempest section in Pamprepus, with their subtle Alexandrian flavours (their interest for 'tranche de vie' and children's life do not reflect the bombastic Nonnian model) may be drawn from the last section of the tempest in *Hecale*, so that an important new *testimonium* of the Callimachean epyllion would now be available. Indeed, the father lifting upon his lap his infant child and putting his hands upon its ears, that it might not hear the crash of clouds bursting above, evoke the divine κούρη Artemis frightened by Hermes, Call. *Dian.* 70–1.<sup>10</sup>

Another riddle the solution of which might be at hand is *Hec.* fr. 18.10. This is to be understood as referring to a double darkness, that of the beginning night and that of the impending rainstorm.<sup>11</sup> In spite of the marine scenery, the same double darkness occurs as κατουλᾶς in Ap. Rh. 4.1695ff.:

νῦξ ἐφόβει τήνπερ τε κατουλάδα κικλήσκουσι  
νύκτ' ὀλοήν· οὐκ ἄστρα δίσχανεν, οὐκ ἄμαρναί  
μήνης,<sup>12</sup> οὐρανὸθεν δέ μέλαν χάος, ἥε τις ἄλλη  
ὠρώρει σκοτίη μυχάτων ἀνιοῦσα βερέθρων.

<sup>10</sup> The parallel is omitted in Bornmann's commentary *ad loc.*, pp. 70–1; see instead Vian on Q.S. 7.530, p. 126; Livrea on Pamp. fr. 3.186, p. 62; for the charming Alexandrian 'Kleinkunst' in both Pamprepian 'genre paintings', see Livrea, *ZPE* cit., p. 124.

<sup>11</sup> It seems unlikely that διπλὸν prosaically hints at the size of a cloud, 'twice as big' in Hollis's interpretation, p. 159.

<sup>12</sup> The relationship between Callimachus' and Apollonius' passages seems to have been caught by the very learned Pamprepus, who is manifestly borrowing from the *Argonautica*: 181–2 ἀπεκρύπτοντο δὲ πάντα | τεῖρεα πολυθήμεθλα, καὶ οὐκέτι φαίνετο μήνη ~ Ap. Rh. οὐκ ἄστρα δίσχανεν, οὐκ ἄμαρναί | μήνης.

If this explanation of the Callimachean διπλόον hits the mark (cf. *Od.* 5. 293–4), the *Hecale* passage rather than Apollonius might be responsible for some Latin imitations, Pacuv. fr. 412 *tenebrae conduplicantur*, Ovid, *Met.* 11.521 *caecaque nox premitur tenebris hiemisq[ue] suisq[ue]*, 550 *duplicataque noctis imago est*, Sen. *Ag.* 472 *nec una nox est*, where see Tarrant, p. 264.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> On the supernatural, wondrous aspect of the darkness enveloping the Argonauts, see Vian *ad loc.*, p. 207, adding D. Wachsmuth, *ΠΟΜΠΙΜΟΣ Ο ΔΑΙΜΩΝ* (Diss., Berlin, 1967), pp. 206–9. In my commentary I omitted to quote an obscure Sophoclean passage, *Ant.* 585ff. ὥστε ποντίας ἄλως | οἶδμα δυσπνόοις ὅταν | Θρήσσησιν ἔρεβος ὕφαλον ἐπιδράμη πνοαῖς, | κυλίνδει βυσσόθεν | κελαινὸν θίνα καὶ δυσάνεμοι | στόνῳ βρέμουσιν ἀντιπλήγες ἄκται, on which see E. Livrea, 'L'episodio libyco nelle *Argonautiche* di Apollonio Rodio', *QAL* 12, 1983 (1987), 190.