

*POxy 2509 AND CALLIMACHUS' LAVACRUM
PALLADIS: αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς κούρη μέγαλοιο*¹

In his excellent commentary on Callimachus' fifth *Hymn*, A. W. Bulloch has discussed the many allusions to earlier literature out of which this poem is made. He has, however, missed one: an allusion to Hesiod's *Catalogue*, which, as I shall show here, not only sheds light on one of the poem's most puzzling scenes – Athena's *consolatio* to the nymph Chariclo – but also helps to explain the articulation and function of the poem's first, so-called 'mimetic,' section.

I. 'CALLIMACHUS HESIODICUS'

In the *μῦθος* of the fifth *Hymn* (lines 57–133), Callimachus tells a relatively obscure tale about how Tiresias came to lose his sight. Athena and her companion Chariclo, Tiresias' mother, are bathing on Mt. Helicon. It is midday: the repetition of the hour in lines 72ff. calls attention to the mountain's ominous quiet:

... μεσαμβρινὰ δ' εἶχ' ὄρος ἀσυχία.
ἀμφοτέραι λύοντο, μεσαμβρινὰ δ' ἔσαν ὥραι,
πολλὰ δ' ἀσυχία τῇνο κατείχεν ὄρος.
Τειρεσίας δ' ἔτι μῶνος ἀμὰ κυσὶν ἄρτι γένεια 75
περκάζων ἱερὸν χώρον ἀνέστρέφετο·
διψάσας δ' ἀφατόν τι ποτὶ ρόον ἤλυθε κράνας,
σχέτλιος· οὐκ ἐθέλων δ' εἶδε τὰ μὴ θεμιτά.²

The line-initial placement of Tiresias' name immediately following in 75 represents starkly his intrusion into this *ἱερὸς χώρος*. We know, before *σχέτλιος* (emphatic insofar as it is run over from 77 and followed by a fairly strong stop) tells us, that his approach to the spring will be disastrous, and so it is. Four lines later Athena blinds Tiresias, and as a result Chariclo, than whom, we have been told, Athena has no dearer companion,³ is overcome with grief.

What is this scene upon which Tiresias intrudes? Athena and Chariclo are in Boeotia.⁴ Strictly speaking, this is not inappropriate: Athena was worshipped from very early times in Boeotia,⁵ and in lines 60–4 Callimachus catalogues some of her cult sites there. One of these was the Curalius, a river running below the slopes of Helicon.⁶ Earlier, in what purports to be both a description and a direction of activity prior to Athena's Argive Plynteria, the poem's speaker⁷ reports that the goddess's

¹ This paper has benefited at various stages from the suggestions and advice of many people. Foremost among these has been M. W. Haslam. I would also like to thank E. Asmis, A. Henrichs, R. Hunter, R. Janko, C. Schlegel, the editors of this journal, and the paper's anonymous referee.

² The text I have used throughout is that of R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus II* (Oxford, 1985³).

³ 57–8; cf. 69, and A. Bulloch, *Callimachus: The Fifth Hymn* (Cambridge, 1985), hereafter 'Bulloch', on 57–69.

⁴ Lines 60–4, a catalogue of Boeotian settlements in the foothills of Mt. Helicon, where Athena often drove her horses (61–2), and often set Chariclo upon her chariot (65). Bulloch (p. 167) points to Sappho fr. 94.24ff. as a precedent for recollecting places visited together to illustrate inseparability in friendship.

⁵ See Bulloch, pp. 167ff. for bibliography. Tiresias, of course, is also associated with Thebes.

⁶ 64; cf. Alcaeus 147 Page, where Athena is also mentioned in connection with Coronis and the Curalius, and Bulloch, p. 172 and n. 5.

⁷ Because of its ambiguity, and for the sake of convenience, I will refer to this 'insubstantial voice' (as N. Hopkinson has so aptly described it, *Callimachus, Hymn to Demeter* [Cambridge, 1984], p. 3), simply as 'the speaker'.

xoanon is about to be washed in the river Inachus (50). We might have expected the myth to take an aetiological turn and to find Athena and Chariclo bathing in the Curalius. Instead, like Hesiod's Muses,⁸ they are bathing in Hippocrene: *δή ποκα γάρ πέπλων λυσαμένα περόνας | ἵππῳ ἐπὶ κράναι 'Ελικωνίδι καλὰ ρεοίσαι | λώντο* (70–3). What is the masculine goddess of the aegis and the lawcourt doing in this Hesiodic *locus amoenus*, dancing and bathing with a nymph?⁹ Wilamowitz asked the relevant questions: 'Passt es sich für Athena im Walde zu spazieren und in einer Quelle zu baden oder für die Jägerin Artemis? Hat Athena wie jene einen Chor von Gespielen um sich? Und ist der Abklatsch nicht deutlich, wenn Teiresias auf die Jagd gehen muss?'¹⁰ The logical conclusion (which many have resisted) is that the Athena/Tiresias account is a doublet for a similar story, lost to us but available to Callimachus, which featured Artemis and Actaeon. In her *consolatio* to Chariclo (97–130) Athena actually refers to such an account. Actaeon will come upon Artemis' bath, she says, under precisely the same conditions as Tiresias has her own. Like Tiresias, Actaeon will also be *οὐκ ἐθέλων* (113, recalling both 78 and 52). His punishment, which Athena describes to Chariclo in all its grisly detail, will be severe. Chariclo, she sternly concludes, should count her blessings.

Athena's bath scene may seem out of character. Callimachus, however, did not make it up. It is extant before him in Pherecydes,¹¹ whose account Callimachus' matches except for one point: Athena's extended *consolatio* and her reference in it to Actaeon's punishment. It is this account that some have ascribed to Callimachus' (or to Pherecydes') invention. Others have argued that Callimachus reshaped both myths, making Athena, Chariclo and Tiresias hunters as he makes Actaeon see Artemis.¹² In fact, there is compelling evidence to suggest that Callimachus invented nothing here, and that we should take quite literally the speaker's pronouncement in line 56, *μῦθος δ' οὐκ ἐμός, ἀλλ' ἐτέρων*.¹³

A case in point is Athena's allusion to Artemis' bath. In all accounts of Actaeon's death, the nature of his punishment does not vary: he is transformed into a stag and torn apart by his own dogs. The tradition, however, offers conflicting versions of his crime. It is not until Euripides' *Bacchae* that Actaeon vaunts his skill in hunting (337–41). In all the extant archaic evidence, he is punished for an attraction to his maternal aunt, Semele.¹⁴ There is, moreover, good reason to think that there existed

⁸ *Th.* 5–8.

⁹ It is an association rarely made in extant sources. Cf. *h. Hom. Cer.* 424, where Athena and Artemis appear with a group of Oceanids in Persephone's account of her own rape. As Richardson points out, the line has been suspected on the grounds that Athena and Artemis do not belong to the 'original' version, which mentions only the Oceanids (cf. *h. Hom. Cer.* 5): N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford, 1974), p. 290. The Berlin Orphic papyrus (P. Berol. 13044; fr. 49 Kern) does not include the line in its quotation (from memory, it would seem) of what is apparently the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, but the author is interested only in Oceanids at that point, so 424 would not be relevant (and, as Richardson points out, the papyrus does mention Athena and Artemis in its paraphrase (40f.)).

¹⁰ U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos II* (Berlin, 1924), p. 23.

¹¹ Ps. Apollod. 3.6.7 and Schol. T *Od.* 10.493 (= F. Jacoby, *FGrHist* I 3 F 92).

¹² L. R. Lacy, 'Aktaion and a Lost "Bath of Artemis"', *JHS* 110 (1990), p. 29 n. 26, gives a full review of the discussion.

¹³ Cf. M. W. Haslam, 'Callimachus' Hymns', *Hellenistica Groningana I* (Groningen, 1993), pp. 123–4.

¹⁴ Again, see Lacy's article (especially p. 26 n. 3) for a full collection of the evidence. Actaeon's offence is courting Semele in the Hesiodic *Catalogue* (*P. Mich.* inv. 1447, verso, col. II. 1–6, which Merkelbach-West include as fr. 217A only in OCT³ [1990]; it is not included in

an original version of the account in which Actaeon comes upon Artemis at a spring and is overcome by lust for the goddess herself.¹⁵ Callimachus does not routinely invent mythological accounts. He enjoys too much the effects of combining in unexpected contexts the data available to him in the Library.¹⁶ Indeed, even Athena's remarkable *consolatio* has a model.

A papyrus fragment which has gone unnoticed in previous analyses of the fifth *Hymn*, *POxy* 2509 contains 21 hexameters that apparently describe the aftermath of Actaeon's death.¹⁷ In the first few lines of the fragment a goddess visits Chiron and tells him that Zeus and Semele will have a son, Dionysus (1–7).¹⁸ Her motive for telling him this would seem to be to explain why Chiron's pupil, Actaeon, had to be killed by his own dogs.¹⁹ That Zeus should be involved in the matter assumes that, as in all archaic versions of the story, Actaeon's offence was his attraction to Semele. Semele 'rightly' belongs to Zeus, not to Actaeon, who is her nephew.²⁰ The goddess goes on to console Chiron first by telling him that the dogs will wander for a time with Dionysus and then will return to him (8–11).²¹ She removes the madness from the

their *Fragmenta Hesiodica*, Stes. *ap.* Paus. 9.2.3 (= Stes. *PMG* 236), and Acusilaus (*FGrHist* 2 F 33 = Apollod. 3.4.4.).

¹⁵ Lacy, *op. cit.* (n. 12), pp. 29–30 and n. 27. Lacy (pp. 31–3) argues that this offence underlies Apollod. 3.4.4., where Acusilaus' view is contrasted with the view held by οἱ πλείονες, for whom Actaeon's offence is *ὅτι τὴν Ἀρτεμιν λουομένην εἶδε*. In favour of the early existence of this version Lacy also cites Diodorus and pictorial evidence (34–42). Lacy is wrong, I think, to assume that Actaeon's wooing of Semele is punishable only in the context of the Cadmeid–Dionysiac saga in which Actaeon's attraction, if not betrothal, to his aunt would have provided an obstacle to the eventual birth of Dionysus (28–9). Surely Zeus' jealousy would have had no need of such reflection, nor is the element of incest as negligible as Lacy asserts. While they are not the norm in archaic Greece, such intra-familial marriages are attested. See Lacy p. 28 n. 16 and R. Janko, 'P.Oxy. 2509: Hesiod's *Catalogue* on the Death of Actaeon', *Phoenix* 38 (1984), p. 301. Janko suggests that the element of incest and the desire to make the punishment fit the crime led to later versions involving Artemis (301). It is, however, *Tiresias'* punishment that matches the crime of incestuous sexual relations. On this see R. G. A. Buxton, 'Blindness and Limits: Sophokles and the Logic of Myth', *JHS* 100 (1980), pp. 32–5.

¹⁶ Haslam (*op. cit.* [n. 13], pp. 123–4) sums up the matter well: '...the story self-evidently belonged to Actaeon and Artemis before it was transferred to Teiresias and Athena. A nymph-attended goddess, bathing in a mountain spring, disturbed by a young hunter: roles custom-made for Artemis and Actaeon, and creakingly uncomfortable for Athena and Teiresias. Callimachus had authority for both stories. What is original to him is his bringing the two together.'

¹⁷ *The Oxyrhynchus Papyrus* 30, E. Lobel (ed.), (1964), pp. 4–7. Subsequent studies of the papyrus include A. Casanova, 'Il mito di Atteone nel Catalogo Esiodico', *RFIC* 97 (1969), pp. 31–46; T. Renner, 'A Papyrus Dictionary of Metamorphoses', *HSCP* 82 (1978), pp. 282–7; Janko, *op. cit.* (n. 15).

¹⁸ ἐσσυμένως δ' ἦϊξε δι' αἰθέρος ἀτρυγέτοιο
Χείρωνος δ' ἔκανε μέγα σπέος· ἔνθα δ' ἔναίε
Χείρων νηῖδ' ἔχων νύμφην, θυμαρέ' ἀκ[οι]τιν.
ἔνθα δὲ Φιλλυρίδην ἔπεια πτερόεντα προσήνυδα·
Χ[ε]ίρων, οἷσθα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁμῶς μα[κ]άρεσσι θεοῖσιν
ὥς ἔσται Σεμέλης ἐρικυδέος ἀγλαὸς υἱός
καὶ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο, Διώνυσος πολυγηθ[ῆ]ς...

¹⁹ Casanova, *op. cit.* (n. 17), pp. 38–9.

²⁰ Corroborating this interpretation is an Attic fifth-century red-figure bell-crater (Beazley, *ARV*² 1045; *LIMC* I.1, p. 462; I.2, p. 357) which shows Actaeon being attacked by dogs. Standing by are Zeus, Artemis and a winged female labelled ΛΥΣΑ (i.e. Lyssa, 'Madness'). For discussion see Renner, *op. cit.* (n. 17), pp. 284–5; Lacy, *op. cit.* (n. 12), pp. 28–9 and n. 17.

²¹ δὲ ποτε τοῖσδε κ[ύ]νεσσιν ὅρος κατα[.]...[...]
τ[έ]ρψεν· ἔχων, ὅτε δ' αὐτε πατὴρ ἀνδ[ρ]ῶν τε θε[ῶ]ν τε
αὐ[τ]ὸν ἄγχι μετὰ φύλ[α] θεῶν αἰεγενετῶν,
ἐς χώρον πάλιν αὐτὶς ἐλεύσονταικ[.]...οἱ[.]

dogs, who then lament their master, and then she leaves (14–15).²² There is general agreement that the goddess must be Athena. She is called αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς κούρη μεγ[άλαιο] in 13, and the standard formulae accord better with her than with Artemis. Moreover, unlike Artemis, Athena often acts as her father's courier.²³ Lobel originally assigned the fragment to the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, and, with the exception of Merkelbach-West, this placement has been accepted.²⁴ It is especially attractive after the publication of P. Mich. inv. 1447 verso, col. II. 1–6. This entry, from a mythological dictionary copied in the late second or early third century A.D., explicitly states that an account of Actaeon's desire for marriage with Semele and his subsequent death was included in the *Catalogue*.²⁵

If the Oxyrhynchus fragment does belong in the *Catalogue*, there are several points that bear on our understanding of the fifth *Hymn*. First, the fragment's placement is most likely to have been in the *Eoea* of Cyrene.²⁶ *Ipsa facto* it would have recommended itself to Callimachus.²⁷ Of greater interest for our understanding of the

²² 14 is very patchy, and the meaning of its end, [εἵλετο λύσσα], is problematic. Lobel suggests for it a supplement based on phrases such as *Il.* 9.377 and 18.31 (ἐκ γὰρ εὐ, σφρων, φρένας εἵλετο... Ζεύς, Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη) or 19.137 (καὶ μεν φρένας ἐξέλετο Ζεύς), and takes it to mean that at this moment Actaeon's dogs went mad and that the rending of their master ensued. Janko, op. cit. (n. 15), p. 303, argues convincingly that this will not do. Lobel's interpretation of 15f., for example (χὼ μὲν ἔβη πρὸς [Ὀλυμπον ἀπὸ χθονὸς εὐ]ρυοδείη[s] || αὐτὸν] ἄγων μετὰ [φύλα θεῶν αἰειγεν]ετάρων), changes the scene too abruptly, and 'the lapse of time assumed, for Dionysus to be born, grow up, and hunt with the dogs before eventually being elevated to Olympus, is far too great not to have been indicated'. Janko concludes that Casanova's reading (op. cit. [n. 17]) of the lines, in which the αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς κούρη μεγ[άλαιο] of 13 is the subject of the verbs in both 14 and 15, is preferable:

ἐξ[εἵλετο λύσσα]ν
 χῆ μὲν ἔβη πρὸς [Ὀλυμπον ἀπὸ χθονὸς εὐ]ρυοδείη[s]
 ἀθανάτων μετὰ [φύλα θεῶν αἰειγεν]ετάρων

²³ So Lobel, op. cit. (n. 17), p. 7; Janko, op. cit. (n. 15), pp. 302–3.

²⁴ In his review of the *editio princeps*, West said that 'The author of the Hesiodic *Catalogue* would turn in his grave if he knew that it had been attributed to him' (*CR* 16 [1966], p. 22), and more recently (*The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women: Its Nature, Structure, and Origins* [Oxford, 1985], p. 88) he has remarked that he is 'still loth to believe... that [the *Catalogue*] is the source of the hexameter fragment preserved... in *P.Oxy.* 2509'. L. Malten, *Kyrene* (Berlin, 1911), pp. 18ff., originally suggested that the *Catalogue* included the Zeus–Semele account; see also Casanova, op. cit. (n. 17); Renner, op. cit. (n. 17), pp. 282–5; Janko, op. cit. (n. 15); Philodemus, *De Pietate* 60 Gomperz = Hesiod fr. 346 M.-W. (fr. 346 in 'Fragmenta Dubia'), read by A. Henrichs ('Towards a New Edition of Philodemus' *Treatise On Piety*', *GRBS* 13 [1972], p. 67 n. 2) as [ς Ἀκταίωνι καὶ [γυν]αῖκα[ι] καθάπερ [έν] Ἡοιά[ι]ς].

²⁵ Ἀκταίων ὁ Ἀρισταίν[ο]υ καὶ Αὐ[το]νόης, τῶν Σεμέ[ι]-
 λης ἐφιέμενος γάμων αὐτ[ή]
 το πρὸς τοῦ μητροπάτορος [μετεμωρ-]
 φώθη εἴ[ς] ἐλάφου δόκησιν διὰ βο[υλ]ήν] Ἀρτέμ[ι]-
 δος καὶ διεσπαράσθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐ[α]ντ[οῦ] κυνῶν, ὥ[ς]
 φησιν Ἡσίοδος ἐν Γυναικῶν Κατ[α]λ[ο]γῶι.

For discussion see Renner, op. cit. (n. 17), pp. 282–3; the entry now = Hes. fr. 217A in OCT³ (see above, n. 12). The dictionary, or at least the core of it, may well have been compiled as early as the Hellenistic period (Renner, p. 279, who cites its reference to the obscure stories of the Chalcidian Arethusa and the Aethyiae, which suggest the Alexandrians' fondness for recondite local legends).

²⁶ Frs. 214ff. M.-W. So Malten, op. cit. (n. 16); Renner, op. cit. (n. 17), p. 285; Janko, op. cit. (n. 15), pp. 209–10. Cyrene is Actaeon's paternal grandmother. For Cyrene's grandchild to be treated in her *Eoea* would be in keeping with the practice of the *Catalogue* elsewhere (cf. Casanova, op. cit. [n. 17], pp. 31ff.; Renner, op. cit. [n. 17], p. 285 n. 13).

²⁷ In his discussion of the important role of Cyrene in Callimachus' poetry, Pfeiffer (op. cit. [n. 1], pp. xxxviii–xxxix) cites among other passages *Hymn* 2.71ff. It would appear that to the many things Callimachus' fifth and sixth *Hymns* have in common (for which, see Hopkinson,

Lav. Pall., however, is the fragment's opening and the scene it apparently describes. Athena, if we are justified in so identifying the αἰγιοόχοιο Διὸς κόυρη μεγάληοιο, has come to Chiron's cave as her father's *executrix*. She is there to offer Chiron, a grieving father-figure, a *consolatio* for the loss of Actaeon. But Chiron is not alone. With him in his cave is his wife: ἔνθα δ' ἑναίε | Χείρων νηῖδ' ἔχων νύμφην, θυμαρὲ' ἀκ[οιτιν] (2–3). She is designated here simply as νηῖς, a Naiad, but she has a name: Chariclo. In Pindar, *Pyth.* 4.182, Chariclo also appears with Chiron in his cave (along with Philyra), and the passage's scholiast explains: Χαρικλῶ γυνὴ Χείρωνος, θυγάτηρ Ἀπόλλωνος ἢ ὥς τινες Πέρσου ἢ Ὠκεανοῦ.²⁸ The Scholiast then goes on to say, ὁ δὲ Ἡσίοδος Ναῖδα φησὶ τὸν Χείρωνα γῆμαι. That both the Oxyrhynchus papyrus and the Scholiast call Cheiron's wife *NHIS* is an objective indicator that the papyrus passage is in fact Hesiodic. But is the Scholiast contrasting Chariclo with *NHIS*, that is, is he supposing that the word as Hesiod used it was a proper noun (in which case the papyrus would not be referring to 'Chariclo' at all)? More likely is that the Scholiast meant his Hesiod clause as a supplementary detail (Chariclo was a Naiad), or he may have misunderstood the Catalogue passage, where, as Lobel points out, *NHIS* is not necessarily, or even probably a name, but an appellative.²⁹ There is every reason to suppose that the papyrus fragment is referring to Chiron's wife, Chariclo. In this case the situation in the Hesiodic *Catalogue* bears a striking resemblance to the situation in Callimachus' fifth *Hymn*. There Athena offers to (another) Chariclo as part of her *consolatio* the very punishment for which in the *Catalogue* she consoles Chiron – and Chariclo.

The allusion sheds light on the passage immediately following Athena's speech. In lines 131–3 the speaker emphasizes Athena's special prerogative in relation to Zeus by echoing *Eum.* 827–8:³⁰

ὡς φαμένα κατένευσε· τὸ δ' ἐντελές, ὦι κ' ἐπινεύσῃ
Παλλάς, ἐπεὶ μῶναι Ζεὺς τόγε θυγατέρων
δῶκεν Ἀθαναίαι πατρώια πάντα φέρεσθαι.

λωτροχόοι, beginning 134, formally returns the reader to the frame:³¹

λωτροχόοι, μάτηρ δ' οὐτις ἔτικτε θεάν,
ἀλλὰ Διὸς κορυφά. κορυφὰ Διὸς οὐκ ἐπινεύει
ψεῦδα ἅ θυγάτηρ. (134–6)

op. cit. [n. 4], pp. 13–17) we should now add reference to a Hesiodic *Eoea*. In the sixth *Hymn* Callimachus very probably alluded to the *Eoea* of Mestra (for discussion, see Hopkinson, 18–26).²⁸ Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.182 Drachmann.

²⁹ Lobel, op. cit. (n. 17), p. 6. When Chariclo is depicted on archaic vases, she is regularly in the company of Chiron. For example, on two sixth-century vases, Sophilos' Erskine Dinos (London, BM 1971.II.1.1), and Kleitias' 'François Vase' (Florence, Mus. Arch. 4209), she is depicted along with Chiron and other divine guests at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis (in both cases her inscribed name identifies her). In both representations, Chariclo is accompanied by Demeter and Hestia; Chiron either precedes them or follows behind. See *LIMC* III.1.190 and III.2.150–1.

³⁰

καὶ κληῖδας οἶδα δώματος μόνῃ θεῶν,
ἐν ᾧ κεραυνὸς ἐστὶν ἐσφραγισμένος.

³¹ To which cf. *Eum.* 736–8:

μήτηρ γὰρ οὐτις ἐστὶν ἢ μ' ἐγένεατο,
τὸ δ' ἄρσεν αἰῶν πάντα, πλὴν γάμου τυχεῖν,
ἅπαντι θυμῷ, κάρτα δ' εἰμὶ τοῦ πατρός.

For Athena's motherless birth cf. also Hes. fr. 343 M.-W.; *h. Hymn* 28; *Il.* 5.875; Pind. *Ol.* 7.35 and *Σ ad. loc.* S. Kauer, *Die Geburt der Athena im altgriechischen Epos* (Würzburg, 1959), discusses the evidence.

Athena was born of the very *locus* of Zeus' performative promising, and like him need only nod for her word to be accomplished. Just as she had done in the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, Athena appears here as Zeus' second self, his surrogate. It is a pattern repeated throughout Callimachus' narrative. Earlier on, for example, when she punishes Tiresias, Athena replicates her father's response in the Hesiodic *Melampodia*. First, by distancing herself from the act, she distances herself from Hera's immediate and vindictive response.³² By then emphasizing not the punishment but what Athena gives Tiresias in recompense, the speaker may be conforming to generic expectations, but he is also assimilating Athena's response to Zeus', who in Hesiod's account makes up for Hera's damage by giving Tiresias the same list of γέρα.³³

Suitable, then, to the Zeus-representing figure in *POxy* 2509, at the close of the hymn Callimachus repeatedly emphasizes Athena's exclusive connection to her father. This may seem out of step with the beginning of the myth, where we found Athena bathing in the forest with a nymph. But Callimachus is not concerned with smoothing out incongruities. He has played out, as it were, the (entirely adventitious) points of connection between three disparate traditions: Athena's bath with Chariclo, Artemis' bath and Actaeon's intrusion upon it, and Athena's *consolatio* for the death of Actaeon to Chiron and his wife, Chariclo.³⁴ Athena has, after all, bathed in Hippocrene, and suitably enough, she later speaks as a – particularly Callimachean – Muse: in using Actaeon's projected death as an exemplum in her own defence, she is also alerting the reader to the text on which her own *consolatio* is modelled. The close formal parallel between the two passages secures the allusion: in Callimachus Athena offers the future death of Actaeon as a consolation for the blinding of Tiresias; in *POxy* 2509, Athena offers the future glory of Dionysus as consolation for the death of Actaeon. As I shall show in detail in the following section, we are prepared both to make these connections and for the goddess' eventual 'epiphany' in 137 (ἐρχετ' Ἀθαναία νῦν ἀτρεκές), where she appears as she had appeared at Chiron's cave, as Zeus' reasonable, masculine daughter, by the poem's first thirty-two lines, which portray Athena in particularly masculine form.

II. THE 'MIMETIC' DESCRIPTION (lines 1–32)

Like Callimachus' second and sixth *Hymns*, the fifth *Hymn* combines what appears to be an on-the-spot description of ritual phenomena with an 'epic' narrative that is more or less connected to it. In the poem's 'frame' (1–56 and 137–42) the speaker purports to involve him- or herself in preparations for an Argive Plynteria.³⁵

³² Line 82: ἀ μὲν ἔφα, παιδὸς δ' ὄμματα νύξ ἔλαβεν. Cf. Bulloch, p. 189, for whom 'Athena and the blinding are separate'. Schol. Hom. κ 494 (ii. 475 Dindorf) = Hes. fr. 275 M.-W. says of Hera's response: ἡ μὲν Ἥρα ὀργισθεῖσα ἐπήρωσεν; Schol. Lycophr. 683 (ii. 226 Scheer): ὀργισθεῖσα δὲ ἡ Ἥρα ἐτύφλωσεν αὐτόν.

³³ Call. lines 120–30, which relate the same gifts as Zeus is reported to have given in the *Melampodia* (in most accounts, μαντικὴν καὶ πολυχρόνιον ζωὴν, as stated by Schol. Lycophr. 683 [ii. 226 Scheer]); see M.-W. fr. 275.

³⁴ On Callimachus' other uses in this poem of 'objets trouvés' see Haslam, op. cit. (n. 13), pp. 123–4.

³⁵ Of course, we do not know this is a 'frame' until we have read the poem once through. For discussion of the 'mimetic' (as opposed to the 'diegetic') aspect of the fifth *Hymn*, see M. Annette Harder, 'Insubstantial Voices: Some Observations on the Hymns of Callimachus', *CQ* 42 (1992), 384–94. Some recent scholars have analysed the 'mimetic' aspects of Callimachus' hymns in terms of the conventions of choral and ritual poetry: M. R. Falivene, 'La mimesi in

Imperatives, along with first person verbs (3, 14), vocatives (1, 4, 13, 27) repetition (e.g. 1–2, 4, 13, 15, 17), asyndeton (e.g. 1–4, 14), use of the deictic article and pronoun all refer to the ostensible ‘here-and-now of the act of speech’³⁶ (e.g. τᾶν ἵππων ἄρτι φρνασσομενᾶν | τᾶν ἱερᾶν, 2–3; νῦν, 4; καὶ νῦν, 29). Aetiological explanations of aspects of a ritual which is about to begin add to the impression that the speaker is present at an actual ritual. No one, however, any longer understands this poem to have been performed in such a context.³⁷ Most recent critics would agree with Bulloch that ‘the very presence of such details betrays precisely the literary nature of our text’,³⁸ that Callimachus’ use of hymnic conventions such as aetiology and second-person address to ritual celebrants, conventions generally associated with a poem’s occasionality and therefore its conventional functioning, is motivated by and contributes importantly to the texture of allusions out of which the *Lav. Pall.* is made.³⁹ But what, specifically, are these lines doing in this poem?

The hymn’s first thirty-two lines, articulated and set off from what follows by a series of imperatives (ἔξίτε, 1, 2; σοῦσθε, twice in 4; ἴτ’, 13; μὴ...οἴσετε, 13–17; κομίσσατε, 29; οἴσετε, 31), may be treated as a discrete unit. In them the speaker portrays and ostensibly participates in a scene of high expectation and preparation. Speaker and audience are eagerly awaiting the arrival of Athena’s cult image, which, in the language of ritual, is identical with the goddess’s epiphany (cf. 3, ἄ θεὸς εὐτυκος ἔρπεν).⁴⁰ According to the conventions of a ‘cletic hymn’, or a hymn that calls upon a god to appear and attend to the audience’s cares, we might expect the speaker to ask Athena to emerge from her temple and appear.⁴¹ But the imperatives in these lines scramble the hymnic conventions by means of which a poet usually requests a deity’s epiphany. ἔξίτε (1 and 2), σοῦσθε, 4; ἴτ’ are addressed to Athena’s attendants and thus recall the hortatory imperatives regularly addressed to celebrants

Callimaco: *Inni* II, IV, V e VI’, *Quad. Urb.* 65 (1990), 103–28; R. Hunter, ‘Writing the God: Form and Meaning in Callimachus, *Hymn to Athena*’, *MD* 29 (1992), pp. 12–13; M. Fantuzzi, ‘Preistoria di un genere letterario: a proposito degli *Inni* V e VI di Callimaco’, in *Tradizione e innovazione nella cultura greca da Omero all’età ellenistica: Scritti in onore di Bruno Gentili* (Rome, 1993); three papers in *Hellenistica Groningana* I (Groningen, 1993): C. Calame, ‘Legendary Narration and Poetic Procedure in Callimachus’ *Hymn to Apollo*’; M. Depew, ‘Mimesis and Aetiology in Callimachus’ *Hymns*’; A. Henrichs, ‘Gods in Action: The Poetics of Divine Performance in the *Hymns* of Callimachus’.

³⁶ J. Danielewicz, in ‘*Deixis* in Greek Choral Lyric’, *Quad. Urb.* 34 (1990), pp. 7–17, examines this phenomenon in Greek choral lyric; for discussion of Callimachus’ use of such conventions, see Harder, op. cit. (n. 35), pp. 389–90.

³⁷ See Bulloch, pp. 4ff. and Harder, op. cit. (n. 35), p. 384 n. 2, for the history of this question. In his forthcoming *Callimachus and his Critics*, Alan Cameron revives Cahen’s suggestion that the hymns could have been performed at ritual celebrations, but ‘outside the formal framework of the festival itself’ (E. Cahen, *Callimaque et son oeuvre poétique* [Paris, 1929], p. 281). Cameron suggests, for example, that they could have been performed in poetic contests.

³⁸ Bulloch, p. 5 and Harder, op. cit. (n. 35), pp. 387–90, 394.

³⁹ Bulloch undercuts the force of his statement by quoting with approval in his next sentence P. Friedländer, whose understanding of the purpose of the fifth hymn’s ‘mimetic’ section is not atypical of many more recent readings. Since the Hellenistic period lacked the cultic, political and social contexts in which earlier poetry arose and had meaning, ‘[s]ie muss erst Gemeinschaft um sich zu gründen versuchen, und muss den Lebenszusammenhang, der nicht mehr gegeben ist, mit Kunst hervorbringen...’. (‘Vorklassisch und Nachklassisch’, in W. Jaeger [ed.], *Das Problem des Klassischen und die Antike* [Leipzig and Berlin, 1931], pp. 35f., quoted by Bulloch, p. 5.)

⁴⁰ On the important role of ‘epiphany’ in this hymn, and its connection with Athena’s birth, see Hunter, op. cit. (n. 35), pp. 11–12.

⁴¹ For examples of such verbs (e.g. ἔρπε, ἐλθέ, ἐπινίσο, φάνηθι, μόλε) and their use see J. M. Bremer, ‘Greek Hymns’, in H. S. Versnel (ed.), *Faith, Hope and Worship* (Leiden, 1981), p. 194.

in a ritual hymn.⁴² But in such circumstances the poet generally commands the celebrants to hymn the god, or, alternatively, to be silent.⁴³ It is the god to whom imperatives such as *ἔξίτε*, *σοῦσθε* and *ἴτε* are usually addressed, and indeed, later in the fifth hymn the speaker does address these verbs to Athena (*ἔξιθι*, 33, 43, impatiently in 55; *σάω*, 142). In the ambiguity of their application, the imperatives that begin the fifth hymn invite us to question the very generic expectations that they suggest. For all their vivid spontaneity and apparent involvement in the ritual, the poem's first 32 lines systematically do one thing. They select a very narrow range of Athena's *ἀρεταί*. Imperatives addressed to the celebrants, aetiological exempla, and vivid description combine in these lines to make up a *descriptio*, that section which, within the larger aims and occasion of a particular hymn, elicits the god's attributes. The attributes in question are decidedly masculine.

Lines 1–4 address the celebrants, and in 5–32 the imperatives continue. Most tell the *λωτροχόοι* what *not* to do. The mythological exempla are also cast in negative terms. We are first told that Athena never (*οὐποκ*, 5) cleansed her great arms until she had first washed the dust from her horses' flanks (6). Not even when she returned from the Gigantomachy did she cleanse the gore from her own body before she had first unleashed her horses from her chariot and washed the sweat and grime from them. While we might conclude that this is only proper and expected behaviour for a horseman (or -woman) and a warrior – one's horses are valuable and must be cared for before one thinks of one's own comfort⁴⁴ – there is some irony here. It is usually assumed that the focus of the ceremony is the ritual washing of a sacred image. Yet within the context of this exemplum we find an Athena who is not primarily mindful of her own cleansing, but of her horses'.

This fact has led some to conclude that we are being told that the washing of the procession's horses was an actual part of the Argive ceremony, that is, that this is a straightforward aetiological explanation of part of the Argive ritual.⁴⁵ Aside from the

⁴² So Bulloch, p. 110.

⁴³ Cf. e.g. 'Paeon Erythraeus', *CA*, p. 136, v. 1 *ἀείσατε*; *CA*, p. 138 v. 2 *εὐφήμ[ε]ίτε*; Socrates' parody at *Ar. Nu.* 263–74. The passage that Bulloch cites when he notes that Callimachus is recalling ritual invocations (*Eur. fr.* 773.66ff. [*Phaethon* 99ff.]) is not from a hymn.

⁴⁴ A point noted by R. Renehan, '*Curae Callimacheae*', *CP* 82 (1987), p. 244.

⁴⁵ Wilamowitz, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 16; Bulloch, p. 116; E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos: Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte religiöser Rede* (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 143ff.; cf. Hunter, *op. cit.* (n. 35), pp. 13–15 for criticism of literalist interpretations. Commentators cite the Athenian Plynteria as the closest parallel to the ritual that the speaker is describing (e.g. Bulloch, pp. 9ff.). What has not been taken into account is that the Athenian Plynteria probably did not involve the removal and washing of the statue of Athena Polias. As the word indicates, the statue's peplos and other garments were washed; the statue itself would not have left the Erechtheum. (L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* [New York, 1977], vol. I, pp. 261f. and 262a, points out that the verb *πλύνειν* properly refers to washing clothes and not a statue; cf. also W. Burkert, 'Buzyge und Palladion: Gewalt und Gericht in altgriechischem Ritual', *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 22 [1970], 359 and n. 11; cf. also I. B. Romano, 'Early Greek Cult Images and Cult Practices', in R. Hägg, N. Marinatos, G. C. Nordquist (edd.), *Early Greek Cult Practice, Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens* [Stockholm, 1988].) *A fortiori*, horses neither drew the image nor were washed with it. But there was another Athenian washing ceremony which bears interesting points of resemblance to what Callimachus tells us about the Argive ritual. Another statue of Athena – a Palladion – was yearly escorted by ephebes to Phaleron, bathed, and brought back to the city by torchlight (*JG II/III*² 1006,11; 1011,10f.) In this ceremony oxen – not horses – accompanied the image, and it is thought that they were bathed along with it. The opening scene of Callimachus' hymn has described the activity prior to the cleansing of a Palladion (cf. Bulloch, p. 111). In the context Athena is described as returning from her triumph over the Giants. If an Athenian ceremony is suggested, it is more likely to be the city's cleansing of *its* Palladion, a statue important to a cult

fact that we have no evidence of this practice in the Athenian Plynteria, are we to assume that the horses must be cleansed before the image is? Perhaps. But in what way is this a relevant detail? In lines 2–3 the speaker reports, τὰν ἵππων ἄρτι φρυσσομενᾶν | τὰν ἱερᾶν ἐσάκουσα, and as though prompted by the sound of the horses which will presumably draw the wagon bearing Athena's statue, he begins the 'aetiological exemplum' of lines 5–11. He portrays Athena here as a horsewoman, as a warrior, as the goddess who in the fifth book of the *Iliad* fights alongside Diomedes on his chariot (793–863). Here she is described as she returns from the ultimate test of her martial ability: her triumph over the giants, ἀδίκων...γαγενέων.⁴⁶ The masculine characterization continues. In the exemplum of lines 5–12, as warriors do in epic, Athena washes, but only after battle.⁴⁷ Plastic and poetic representations of divinities were regularly larger than life and when we are told that Athena washes her μεγάλως...πάχεις, her great forearms (5), the adjective here, in its military context, may denote size. But it can hardly denote feminine beauty.⁴⁸ As A. Griffiths has noted, 'Talk of Athena's "great forearms" here risks making her sound like some strapping shot-putter'.⁴⁹ Athena is up to her elbows in λύθρον (7), bloody filth, and has no thought of rinsing it off before her horses have been groomed. The narrator has remained absolutely faithful to a particular assemblage of Athena's traditional attributes, and in their exclusivity he portrays her as martial, heedless of her appearance and, to some extent, of propriety. Even in Homer, realistic though he is, heroes do not wash their own horses. The act would compromise their dignity.⁵⁰

In any case, this is not how Greek poetry normally describes a woman's bath. Like male arming and battle scenes, female as well as male bath and dressing scenes traditionally adhere to strict typologies.⁵¹ While men typically bathe after battle or arduous journeys, women in Greek poetry characteristically bathe in preparation for seduction. Unlike the masculine bath, which consists simply of washing, anointing, dressing and retiring to a chair,⁵² feminine bathing and dressing, because of its

celebrating the rational goddess of war and counsel, who is elsewhere connected with the Eumenides of the Areopagus.

⁴⁶ Apollod. I.6. As Bulloch points out (p. 118), in many ancient sources the name Pallas (line 1) is said to have originated from the Gigantomachia. Palladia were representations of Athena in arms; the epithet Παλλὰς is used of the goddess particularly as a warrior-goddess (ancient etymologies of the word usually derive Παλλὰς from battle-activity of some kind). The epithet sets the tone for the characterization that follows.

⁴⁷ E.g. *Il.* 10.572–9. Actually, the bathing of heroes in epic occurs more often after journeys (e.g. *Od.* 3.464–9, 4.48–51, 17.87–90) or death (cf. e.g. *Il.* 16.678–83).

⁴⁸ *Contra*, Bulloch, pp. 116–17. For Bulloch lines 13–32 establish Athena as 'a real feminine beauty' (46) a goddess to whom Tiresias might well be attracted (cf. especially pp. 19–25). The debt this paper owes to Bulloch's commentary is everywhere apparent, but as the following argument shows, I disagree with him on this point in particular.

⁴⁹ A. Griffiths, review of Bulloch, *JHS* 108 (1988), p. 232.

⁵⁰ In line with his reading of this poem as an encomium of Athena, J. Heath, 'The Blessings of Epiphany in Callimachus' Bath of Pallas', *CA* 7 (1988), p. 73, takes Athena's care for her horses as a sign of her compassion. That this is a quality conspicuously absent from Athena's portrayal in this poem will become clear within the course of this paper.

⁵¹ For the bathing and dressing of males as a typical scene in epic cf. W. Arend, 'Die typischen Szenen bei Homer', *Problemata* 7 (1933), 124ff. Extending Arend's work on Homeric type scenes, Sowa has examined feminine bath and dressing scenes in Homer, Hesiod and the Homeric hymns: C. A. Sowa, *Traditional Themes and the Homeric Hymns* (Chicago, 1984).

⁵² *Od.* 17.87–90, which describes Telemachus' return to Ithaca, includes all three elements:

ἐς δ' ἄσπμίνθους βάντες ἐυξέστας λούσαντο.
τοὺς δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν δμῳαὶ λούσαν καὶ χρίσαν ἐλαίῳ,
ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρα χλαῖνας οὐλας βάλον ἥδ' ἐ χιτῶνας,
ἐκ ῥ' ἄσπμίνθων βάντες ἐπὶ κλισμοῖσι καθίζον.

context, is usually quite elaborate. It characteristically takes place behind closed doors (e.g. *Il.* 14.169, *Hymn Hom. Ven.* 60), the goddess or mortal is bathed, anointed with ambrosial perfume and adorned in elaborate robes, gold and jewels.⁵³ In *Iliad* 14 the *ἐλαιον ἀμβροσίον* with which Hera anoints herself before seducing Zeus is so pervasive that it fills the heavens and wafts down to earth (170–4). Hera, in the same scene, and Pandora, in Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Works and Days*, put on garments made for them by Athena.⁵⁴ The often complex adornment is, as might be expected, an important part of the seduction theme. Given the ostensible occasion, a goddess's bath, we might expect Callimachus to describe the scene by appealing to these traditional typologies. It is Athena, after all, who cleanses and adorns Penelope in preparation for her meeting with Odysseus.⁵⁵ And it is she who typically provides the *couture*. But the context of seduction inherent in these bath and dressing scenes is here conspicuous in its absence. In lines 4–12 Athena's bath is hardly typical of such feminine activity. She takes a *man's* bath. Moreover, in the next scene Callimachus extends his differentiation of Athena from such traditional feminine concerns.

Lines 13–17 reiterate the speaker's command to the women to come out. Once again, the speaker urgently and repeatedly tells them what *not* to bring along:

ὦ ἴτ' Ἀχαιάδες, καὶ μὴ μύρα μηδ' ἀλαβάστρως
(συρίγγων αἴω φθόγγον ὑπαξόνιον),
μὴ μύρα λωτροχόοι τὰι Παλλάδι μηδ' ἀλαβάστρως
(οὐ γὰρ Ἀθαναῖα χρίματα μεικτὰ φιλεῖ)
οἴσετε μηδὲ κάτοπτρον· αἰεὶ καλὸν ὄμμα τὸ τήνας. 15

Twice he tells them not to bring perfume (13 and 15). Perfumes are important components of feminine seduction, but Athena does not like 'mixed unguents' (16).⁵⁶ Moreover, she does not need a mirror because her countenance is always fair (17). Most critics have taken this statement as a straightforward assertion of Athena's beauty.⁵⁷ But a second 'aetiological exemplum,' introduced by the same words that began the first in 7–12 (οὐδ' ὄκα), immediately ironizes the goddess's disregard for mirrors. The passage continues with the use of negatives:

οὐδ' ὄκα τὰν Ἰδαί Φρυγὲς ἐδίκαζεν ἔριν,
οὐτ' ἐς ὀρεῖ χαλκὸν μεγάλα θεὸς οὔτε Σιμῶντος
ἔβλεψεν δῖναν ἐς διαφανομένην·
οὐδ' Ἥρα· Κύπρις δὲ διαυγέα χαλκὸν ἐλοῖσα
πολλάκι τὰν αὐτὰν δις μετέθηκε κόμαν. 20

Combined with what we know to have been the outcome of the *κρίσις*, we can only conclude that in that instance Athena's countenance – and Hera's – must have not been fair enough. There is a precedent for the command in 17 (οἴσετε μηδὲ κάτοπτρον). In front of Paris, Athena needed no mirror or reflecting water to check

⁵³ E.g. *h. Hom. Ven.* 61–5 (Aphrodite is bathed *ἐλαίῳ* | *ἀμβρότῳ*, clothed and decked with gold); *Il.* 14.170–214 (Hera bathes with ambrosia, perfumes and clothes herself with a robe made by Athena and with Aphrodite's girdle); *Od.* 18.192–4 (Athena cleanses Penelope's face *κάλλει ἀμβροσίῳ*).

⁵⁴ *Theog.* 573–5, *Op.* 72; Athena teaches Pandora needlework and weaving at *Op.* 63–4.

⁵⁵ *Od.* 18.190–6. Odysseus bathes in typical masculine fashion, but is then beautified by Athena before his 'seduction' of Nausicaa (*Od.* 6.229–35) and Penelope (*Od.* 23.156–63).

⁵⁶ On the Greek perception of scented oils as effeminate cf. Bulloch, pp. 124–5; Athena's preference here is decidedly masculine.

⁵⁷ E.g. Bulloch, pp. 126–7; Heath, op. cit. (n. 50), p. 74.

her hair, as we are told Aphrodite busily did, twice (21–2). But then of course, Aphrodite won the contest. No sooner, then, have we been told of Athena, ‘Your countenance is always fair’ (17), than we are reminded by the reference to the *κρίσις* of a time when Athena’s proffered attractions were neither feminine nor sufficient to win her the contest.⁵⁸ Athena’s purported feminine beauty is at this point called into question.

The contrast with Aphrodite continues, and through it Athena comes to seem distinctly *non-feminine*. Aphrodite takes up her mirror again and again, meticulously fixing the same lock of hair, not once, but *πολλάκι... δις*, ‘frequently twice’ (22, Bulloch’s translation). Athena does something twice too: she runs twice 60 times around the stadium, and in this she is compared to the Dioscuri, the twin warriors, who are epitomes of horsemanship, athletic and martial ability (23–5).⁵⁹ The *δις ἐξήκοντα... διαύλως* (23) makes a pointed contrast with Aphrodite’s activity in 21–2: *Κύπρις δὲ διαυγέα χαλκὸν ἐλοῖσα | πολλάκι τὰν αὐτὰν δις μετέθηκε κόμαν*.⁶⁰ This is the point of the numerical comparison.⁶¹ In line 21 Aphrodite had been dissociated from Athena and Hera (*Κύπρις δὲ*). *ἀ δὲ* in 23 now explicitly dissociates Athena from Aphrodite. This is, of course, a traditional contrast;⁶² by making it Callimachus brings into focus his catalogue of Athena’s distinctly masculine attributes.

In her preparation to seduce Zeus, Hera anoints herself with ambrosial oil; Aphrodite in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* is also anointed with fragrant oil. Athena, like the Dioscuri, but not like a goddess, applies plain olive oil to her skin, which is flushed with exercise:

⁵⁸ For Bulloch this statement creates ‘the establishment of Athena early on in this section as a strong competitor in the Contest’ (p. 127). A similar contrast between these two goddesses is made in Soph. fr. 361 (ap. Athen. *Deipn.* 15.687c), where Aphrodite attracts Paris *μύρῳ ἀλειφομένη*. Athena, on the other hand, can only offer *φρόνησις* and *νοῦς*. Also of interest is the beginning of the *h. Hom. Ven.* (7–33), in which the poet characterizes Aphrodite by comparing her to other goddesses (Athena, Artemis and Hestia). In a contrast not unlike the one Callimachus is making, cf. *Il.* 5.428–30 (Zeus to Aphrodite): *οὐ τοι, τέκνον ἐμόν, δέδοται πολεμῆμα ἔργα, | ἀλλὰ σύ γ’ ἱμερόεντα μετέρχαιο ἔργα γάμοιο, | ταῦτα δ’ Ἀρρήθω καὶ Ἀθήνῃ πάντα μελήσει*.

⁵⁹ For their athleticism, cf. Pind. *N.* 10.51, Theocr. *Id.* 22.24, Paus. 2.34.10, 5.8.4; for their horsemanship, Alcman. 9, *h. Hom.* 33.18, Eur. *Hel.* 1495; cf. also Theocr. 22.24; Bethe in *RE*, ‘Dioskuren’, 1092–4.

⁶⁰ As pointed out by F. Altheim, *Epochen der römischen Geschichte*, vol. II (Frankfurt, 1935), p. 133.

⁶¹ In order to counter the irony that mention of the *κρίσις* introduces, Bulloch (pp. 131–40) interprets the comparison with Castor and Polydeuces as an allusion to Theocr. 18.22–32, in which a chorus of young girls sing an epithalamium for Helen and Menelaus. Bulloch sees Theocritus’ description of Helen as *ρόδόχρως* ‘*Ελένα*’ (31) as the focus of the allusion: ‘Athena at her moment of beauty suggests the incomparable Helen’ (p. 138). Bulloch is correct in seeing in the Callimachean passage a connection to the Theocritean, but two points need to be made. First, Callimachus specifically compares Athena to two *male* Spartans. Secondly, Theocritus describes Helen’s complexion in the way Greek poetry traditionally describes feminine beauty, that is, not only in terms of her blush but in terms of the whiteness of her skin (26–7). Athena’s face, on the other hand, is simply flushed after exercise: *ὦ κῶραι, τό δ’ ἔρευθος ἀνέδραμε*. If the Callimachean passage recalls the Theocritean, it is to define Athena in terms of attributes she lacks, and if Callimachus is alluding to Theocritus’ epithalamium (an allusion which would be, as Renehan has noted [op. cit., n. 44, p. 247], inappropriate in a description of the virgin warrior goddess), Helen must take her place beside Aphrodite and Hera, not with Athena. Perhaps we should note that in the Theocritean passage Helen is described as singing of Artemis and Athena (35–7). In addition to differentiating Athena from Helen, Callimachus may be suggesting what he is about to do in his own song.

⁶² E.g. the description of Athena at *h. Hom. Ven.* 8–15 (at line 8 she is called *κούρη γ’ αἰγίοχοιο Διὸς*). For other sources see Bulloch, p. 127, n. 1.

ἐτρίψατο λιτὰ βαλοῖσα
 χρίματα, τὰς ἰδίας ἔκγονα φυταλιᾶς,
 ὧ κῶραι, τὸ δ' ἔρευθος ἀνέδραμε, πρῶϊον οἶαν
 ἢ ῥόδον ἢ σίβδας κόκκος ἔχει χροῖαν.
 τῷ καὶ νῦν ἄρσεν τι κομίσσατε μῶνον ἔλαιον,
 οἱ Κάστωρ, οἱ καὶ χρίεται Ἡρακλῆς·

25

30

ἐμπεράμωσ in 25 implies that this is a characteristic activity. The olive is, after all, Athena's tree (26, ἔκγονα φυταλιᾶς), and her choice here, like so much else in this poem, is exemplarily appropriate. But the oil is further qualified as ἄρσεν... ἔλαιον, masculine olive oil (30). This is surely not the sort of oil goddesses typically use to anoint themselves, but it is what Castor and Heracles, two archetypal examples of masculinity, use (29–30).⁶³ While plain olive oil may indeed have been used to anoint Athena's *xoanon*, we may conclude that this section, while ostensibly offering an aetiological account of the ceremony's particulars, also continues the masculine *descriptio* of Athena.

Hera also lost the contest on Ida, and when we are told in 21 that she also did not use a mirror before Paris made his choice, it might seem that Hera and Athena are being linked together and jointly contrasted to Aphrodite. The assimilation would not be unexpected.⁶⁴ Bulloch cites lines 31–2 as further evidence for it:

οἴσετε καὶ κτένα οἱ παγχρύσειον, ὥς ἀπὸ χαίταν
 πέξῃται, λιπαρὸν σμασαμένα πλόκαμον.

Pointing out that only in Homer does *πέκειν*, *πέκεσθαι* mean 'to comb' (elsewhere it usually means 'to cut'), Bulloch argues that by using the specifically Homeric meaning, Callimachus is reminding his audience of *Il.* 14.175–7:

τῷ ῥ' ἢ γε χροᾶ καλὸν ἀλευραμένη ἰδὲ χαίτας
 πεξαμένη χερσὶ πλοκάμους ἐπλεξε φαεινοὺς
 καλοὺς ἀμβροσίους ἐκ κράτος ἀθανάτοιο.

The collection and metrical arrangement of *χαίταν* (C) = *χαίτας* (H) and *πέξῃται* (C) = *πεξαμένη* (H) establish the contextual comparison. As we have seen, Hera's toilette in this episode is typical of female bath and dressing scenes. Her aim, of course, is to seduce Zeus. Bulloch concludes that this allusion to Homer adds to the section's portrayal of Athena as a particularly feminine goddess: 'Allusion to the Homeric episode gives a witty bite to the final instructions to the celebrants, a final reminder, after the play with the Judgement of Paris, that Athena can be as potently seductive as Homeric Hera once was.'⁶⁵ The argument is that Athena had been assimilated to Hera in 18–21, where the association was formed by the failure of both goddesses to attract Paris. Bulloch is correct in seeing an allusion to the Homeric scene. But his analysis, I think, is misleading.

It is, of course, in *Il.* 14.178–9 that Hera puts on the robe that Athena has given her. It is significant that the very important sphere of Athena's divine power that inspires specifically feminine *ἔργα*, such as weaving garments, is never alluded to here. It is a strange omission in a section manifestly about Athena's identity. *Athena*, of course, would never wear an *ἀμβρόσιον ἐάνον*, but it is striking that this poem never

⁶³ Renehan, op. cit. (n. 44), p. 247, makes a similar point about the comparison, but I would take his observation one step further and note that the contrast made by *δὲς μετέθηκε* in 22 sets up Athena's assimilation to these legendary men's men (the ἄρσενα τέκνα Διὸς, as Theocritus calls the Dioscuri (*Id.* 22.4).

⁶⁴ Cf. e.g. the parody of gods in council at the beginning of the third book of Apollonius' *Argonautica* (25ff.).

⁶⁵ P. 142.

alludes to this well-known sphere of the goddess's technical expertise, but only, indirectly, to her more masculine technological skills.⁶⁶ While the statue may, at this stage of the ceremony, be without clothing, we know that in the Athenian ceremony the laundering of Athena's *peplos* was a very important part of the ritual. And yet Callimachus does not mention this paradigmatic symbol of Athena's skill and beauty.

If, then, Athena is assimilated to Hera in this particular Homeric context of Hera's seduction and trickery it may be that the comparison points up more differences than similarities. The dissimilarity comes in the train of Athena's characterization as a warrior goddess interested more in her horses than in her own bath, for whom perfumes and mirrors hold no attraction, and who is compared in athletic ability to the Dioscuri and to Heracles. By line 33, when the narrator finally applies the imperative *ἔξιθι* in its properly cultic sense to Athena (*ἔξιθ'*, *'Αθαναία*, recalling *λωτροχόοι... ἔξιτε... | ἔξιτε*, 1–2), we see these lines for what they are – a 'negative attributive section'.⁶⁷ While ostensibly describing Athena's statue and directing its ceremonial care, the poem's first 32 lines, set off from what follows by their address to her *λωτροχόοι*, catalogue a highly constrained set of Athena's attributes. They do this in the same way Athena will later characterize herself: by showing what she is not. In these lines Callimachus thoroughly dissociates the goddess from traditionally feminine activities and cares.⁶⁸

Why then have critics of this poem consistently assumed that Athena is portrayed here as a feminine goddess? If this is a hymn, Athena must be praised. Therefore, she must be beautiful. Moreover, her punishment of Tiresias should be just. Tiresias must, therefore, have lusted after her.⁶⁹ And when, indeed, is the catching of nude nymphs not erotic? The delightful answer is, Callimachus suggests, in this attested account. Athena fits neither into this setting nor into the conventions it suggests. Tiresias is not attracted to her as Actaeon might be attracted to Artemis. The unity or the 'meaning' of the *Lav. Pall.* results neither from the fulfilment of generic expectations about the encomiastic *τέλος* of a traditional hymn nor from the

⁶⁶ Such as bridle making, lines 9–12. For Athena *Χαλκίτις* cf., e.g., *h. Hom. Ven.* 12–13; Hes. *Op.* 429–31; Pind. *Ol.* 13.65; Paus. 2.4.1 or Eur. *Tro.* 9–14 (cf. *Od.* 8.492–5), where Athena inspires the skill necessary for making the Trojan Horse.

⁶⁷ The term was suggested to me by R. Janko.

⁶⁸ As Bulloch points out (p. 45), the speaker now addresses Athena herself in the 'du-Stil' typical of cult hymns, and the following portion of the poem (33–56) resembles a conventional 'epicletic' section. In fact, the section elaborates the characterization established in the first 32 lines. Two couplets (33–4 and 43–4), each addressed to Athena and each beginning *ἔξιθ'* *'Αθαναία*, surround the poem's third aetiological exemplum. The presence in the procession of Diomedes' shield is 'explained' by a mythological exemplum (35–42): the practice was taught to the Argives by Eumedes, who, banished from his own country, took the Palladion and fled with it to Mt. Kreios, where he placed it on the rocks that are now eponymously called Pallatids. Eumedes is Athena's *κεχαρισμένος ἱρέυς*; he is in a relation of *χάρης* to the goddess. It is therefore striking that the content of the passage's capping couplet emphasizes not Athena's protection to those who deserve it, but instead her power to destroy. In 43 she is called *περσέπτολι*, 'sacker of cities'. This is a rare epithet, and it contrasts markedly with its more common antonym, *ἐρυσίπτολις*, which is often applied to Athena (e.g. *Il.* 6.305; cf. Bulloch on v. 43). In line with the poem's earlier description of her, in the same verse Athena is also called *χρυσεοπήληξ*, 'golden-helmeted', an epithet which is used otherwise only of Ares (cf. Bulloch, p. 153 and n. 3 for citations). Athena 'delights in the crash of horses and of shields' (44), and her inclination to protect those who are in a right relationship to her is juxtaposed with an equal proclivity to destroy. In this context the warnings in 45–52 (*μὴ βάπτετε, πίνετε, οἷσατε, φράζετε*) do not resemble the neutral prohibitions connected in the first 32 lines with the ceremony. Their distinctly ominous ring influences our reading of the myth.

⁶⁹ Cf. Bulloch, p. 132.

conventional expectations suggested by the bath scene on Helicon, but from the skilful and completely unexpected juxtaposition of a number of traditional accounts – Artemis' bath and Actaeon's subsequent punishment; Athena's bath and Tiresias' subsequent punishment (Pher.); Athena's consolation of Chiron and Chariclo for the loss of Actaeon (*Cat.*). Callimachus has invented nothing. He has brought together traditions whose relations to one another are enticing just because they are adventitious. That this piquant combination is Callimachus' primary interest is suggested by the fact that he does nothing to diminish the incongruity of Athena's Heliconian bath. In fact, he goes out of his way to emphasize how poorly suited she is to a scene obviously meant for Artemis and Actaeon. Athena's femininity is not compromised in lines 1–32 so much as it is obliterated. Callimachus portrays Athena as a wholly masculine goddess, and he does so at some risk to the encomiastic function of the poem as a whole, a function that wanes as his allusive play waxes. What has influenced Callimachus' portrayal are allusions later in the poem to Hesiod which suggest Athena's singular relation to her father, a relation which is made explicit in the poem's final lines.

III. ATHENA AND CHARICLO: καταθύμιοι ἑταῖραι

But of course the first time we read the poem from beginning to end, we read its myth in the terms established by its description of the goddess. It remains now to return to the mythological narrative and briefly to examine there any other effects of Athena's characterization as the αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς κούρη μεγάληοιο.

In what is extant of his account, Pherecydes seems to have been interested in two things: the blinding itself and Athena's recompense to Tiresias. Callimachus, on the other hand, rather surprisingly focuses on the relationship between Athena and Chariclo: παῖδες, Ἀθαναία νύμφαν μίαν ἔν ποκα Θήβαις | ... (57). As the collocation Ἀθαναία νύμφαν emphasizes, Athena loves Chariclo exceedingly well (πουλύ τι καὶ περὶ δὴ φίλατο τὴν ἑταρὰν, 58). The goddess, we are told, often set Chariclo upon her chariot, and dances among her nymphs never took place unless Chariclo led them:

πολλάκις ἃ δαίμων νιν ἐὼ ἐπεβάσατο δίφρῳ,
οὐδ' ὄαροι νυμφᾶν οὐδὲ χοροστασίαι
ἀδείαι τελέεσκον, ὅκ' οὐχ' ἀγείτο Χαρικλώ
ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ τήνδ' ἀκρὰ πολλὰ ἔμενε,
καίπερ Ἀθαναίαι καταθύμιον ἔσσαν ἑταίραν. (65–9)

The extended description of their friendship (57–69) ends abruptly and ominously with lines 68–9. In spite of her intimacy with Athena, many tears await Chariclo. The reason for this is signalled by the way in which Chariclo is first announced in the myth, that is, as *ματέρα Τειρεσίαο* (59). Her own name is not given until line 67. From the very beginning of the myth Callimachus focuses on two elements that are present but undeveloped in Pherecydes' account, Athena's close relationship with Chariclo and Chariclo's relationship with her son.

In contrast, Tiresias' role in the narrative is relatively small. Arriving alone (*μῶνος*, 75) and thus outside the bond that unites Athena and Chariclo, he intrudes upon Athena's bath, sees what he should not, and is promptly blinded. The *φιλία* which can exist between gods and mortals is in the nature of the case unequal, and the 'fact' of Athena's punishment is perfectly in line with traditional Greek theology.⁷⁰ Yet only a few lines earlier the text has emphasized that the friendship between Athena and

⁷⁰ Cf. e.g. Zeus' aloof response to human suffering at *Il.* 2.419.

feels for his or her child.⁷⁶ Callimachus develops this response. It would appear that in Pherecydes' account, Chariclo responded simply by demanding that Athena restore Tiresias' sight.⁷⁷ Though it would have been natural enough given the relationship between Athena and Chariclo, there is no such request in Callimachus' narrative, which emphasizes instead the maternal feelings that are the source of Chariclo's suffering.

This attention to Chariclo's response calls for and receives an equally developed reply from Athena. But how can this Athena, the masculine goddess whom no mother bore (134), and for whom maternal affection must be quite foreign, respond to such an appeal? The answer is that she cannot. In line 95, at the close of Chariclo's lament and at the same metrical position at which it began in 85, the speaker says that Athena pitied her companion (ἀγε βαρὺ κλαίοισα [sc. μάτηρ, 94], θεὰ δ' ἔλεξεν ἑταίραν). This statement is usually taken at face value, and, indeed, in its rhetorical articulation, Athena's reply to her companion is a letter-perfect *consolatio*. Nonetheless, by remaining faithful to its earlier description of the goddess, the narrative ironizes Athena's response – her χάρις – to Chariclo.

'I didn't blind your son,' Athena says in response to Chariclo's first complaint (85–6): οὐ γὰρ Ἀθηναίαι γλυκερὸν πέλει ὄμματα παιδῶν | ἀρπάξεν (99–100). Tiresias has simply suffered under the Cronian constraint of cause and effect: Κρόνιοι δ' ὦδε λέγοντι νόμοι (100). Athena's flat denial of the deed is an effective defence tactic,⁷⁸ and her supporting 'citation' of what she presents as though it were the very law in question (ὅς κε τιν' ἀθανάτων, ὅκα μὴ θεὸς αὐτὸς ἐλθται, | ἀθρήσῃ, μισθῷ τοῦτον ἰδεῖν μεγάλῳ, 101–2) would be effective in a court of law. But both responses miss entirely the emotional demands of Chariclo's speech. There is nothing in this scene that is not fully in line with Athena's traditional attributes. She is not a goddess known for her sympathy. But insofar as the text has foregrounded the particularly close relationship between Athena and Chariclo, the reader may be justifiably surprised at the goddess's response.

Athena begins her next point as she had her first: δῖα γύναι (103; cf. 97) τὸ μὲν οὐ παλινάγρετον αὐθι γένοιτο | ἔργον, ἐπεὶ Μοιρὰν ὦδ' ἐπένθησε λῖνα.⁷⁹ Formally, lines

⁷⁶ This passage expresses an even stronger appeal to the 'audience's' emotions than its Homeric predecessor: a mother's love for her child was widely recognized in Greece as the most powerful of affective bonds. Cf. e.g. Arist. *EN* 1159a27–33; Lys. 31.22; Xen. *Mem.* 2.2.13. For discussion see M. W. Blundell, *Helping Friends and Harming Enemies* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 40ff. Heinze first suggested that since the elegiac metre had some traditional association with lament, its use here may be explained by this focus in the narrative (R. Heinze, 'Ovids elegische Erzählung', *Sitzungsberichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Phil.-Hist. Klasse* 71, no. 7 [1919], p. 95). For elegy's use in threnody cf. D. L. Page, *Greek Poetry and Life* (Oxford, 1936), pp. 206–30; A. E. Harvey, 'The Classification of Greek Lyric Poetry', *CQ* n.s. 5 (1955), 168–72. There is reason to question the existence of an earlier genre of elegiac threnody, and Bulloch does so, but his rejection of this account of the poem's metre by arguing that the narrative ends in a positive solution with the goddess's gifts of compensation is too optimistic (33f.). For the widening generic range of the elegiac couplet in the late classical period, see Hutchinson, op. cit. (n. 73), pp. 15–17. Hunter (op. cit., n. 35, pp. 18–22) explores how Callimachus exploits here the associations of the elegiac metre with the threnoi of Attic tragedy.

⁷⁷ Χαρίκλους δὲ δεομένης ἀποκαταστήσαι πάλιν τὰς ὁράσεις, Ps. Apollod. 3.6.7.

⁷⁸ Cf. Quint. 7.4.13f. (= Hermagoras' defence category of μετὰστασις). I can see no reason to agree with Heath, op. cit. (n. 50), p. 78, who sees Athena's efforts here to distance herself from the deed as an indication that she feels there is something unjust in what she has done. Her denial is simply what would be in another context (and one very familiar to her) part of an effective defence.

⁷⁹ For the sentiment in a παραμυθητικὸς λόγος, cf. D. A. Russell and N. G. Wilson (edd.), *Menander Rhetor* (Oxford, 1981), p. 413.

107–18 answer Chariclo's astonished question, *τοιαῦται, δαίμονες, ἔστ' ἐ φίλοι* (86–7). But the example Athena chooses with which to compare her own response is anything but comforting. Athena compares her generosity with Artemis' treatment of Actaeon, who will come upon *her* bath, Athena stresses, under precisely the same conditions as Tiresias has her own: like Tiresias, Actaeon will be *οὐκ ἐθέλων* (113, recalling 78 and 52). Nonetheless, as a result of his punishment his parents, Athena says, will burn countless offerings could they but see their son blinded. The anaphora *πόσσα... | πόσσα... | παῖδα* (107–9) gives force to Athena's point while it exaggerates the absurdity of the comparison. The oxymoronic collection *τυφλὸν ἰδέσθαι* ending verse 109 has a similar effect. Athena continues: even though Actaeon, unlike Tiresias, is Artemis' *σύνδρομος* (110), when he intrudes upon her bath, he will meet with a death which is described in all its grisly detail. After his dogs are finished with him, his mother will only have his bones left to collect (*ἀλλ' αὐταὶ τὸν πρὶν ἄνακτα κύνες | τουτάκι δειπνησεῦντι · τὰ δ' υἱέος ὅστέα μάτηρ | λεξέεται δρυμῶς πάντας ἐπερχομένα*, 114–16). Actaeon's mother will then call Chariclo the most happy of women (*ὀλβίσταν*, 117) to have received her child back from the mountains (only!) blinded. Commentators have responded to Athena's choice of exemplum either by wondering at its lack of taste or by trying against all odds to defend it as part of a successful *consolatio*. Neither Athena's response to Chariclo nor her masculine characterization in the poem's first section make any sense – until we recognize her *consolatio* for what it is: a self-conscious and richly allusive copy of Athena's Hesiodic *consolatio*.

By its structural articulation as well as by its purported aim – Athena's epiphany (which 'occurs' in line 137) – the *Lav. Pall.* asserts its identity as a hymn. And yet by remaining faithful to the description of Athena that it develops in its first 32 lines, in the myth it ironizes the *χάρις*, or reciprocal relation between the divine and the human that is so essential to the aims of a traditional hymn. Questions about Athena's morality such as those raised relatively straightforwardly in Sophocles' *Ajax*, or, indeed, questions about the success of its praise of Athena, are simply not central to the aims of this poem. In the *Lavacrum Palladis* Callimachus has combined a number of allusions, some of the most surprising of them to Hesiod, to produce a coherent, if ironic and archly artificial instance of the hymnic genre.