

**THERESE FUHRER**

Callimachus' Epinician Poems

## CALLIMACHUS' EPINICIAN POEMS

Therese Fuhrer

Since the time that there have been athletic contests in Western culture, where the participants compete for victory not only out of personal ambition but also for the fame of their family, their home town or their nation, the victories in these contests must be celebrated through some medium or other. The news of the victory must be spread in order for the fame to come into being at all, for the prestige of a victory in a significant contest, since archaic times at least, can be important too as political propaganda<sup>1</sup>.

The medium for celebrating these victories is today the sports report on television, on radio, or in the news. In ancient Greece the athlete's fame was first promulgated orally, beginning with the announcement of victory through the games' official herald<sup>2</sup>, but it was also possible to celebrate the victor in inscriptions or through commissioned poetry<sup>3</sup>: in the late sixth century and in the fifth the poets of choral lyric<sup>4</sup> composed on commission either short victory lyrics, which were performed on the site of the contest immediately after the victory, or longer odes intended for performance later at a victory celebration (in the native city of the victor)<sup>5</sup>. Such epinician odes have come down to us almost exclusively from Simonides, Pindar, and Bacchylides, who were surely not, however, the only poets of this

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. P. Angeli Bernardini, *Mito e Attualità nelle Odi di Pindaro*, Roma 1983, 35f. with n. 49; T. Gelzer, "Μοῦσα ἀθληγενής. Bemerkungen zu einem Typ Pindarischer und Bakchylideischer Epinikien", *MH* 42, 1985, 103f.; J. Ebert, *Griechische Epigramme auf Sieger an gymnischen und hippischen Agonen*, Berlin 1972, 10f. and 21. Cf. also n. 91 below.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. O. Longo, "Techniche della Comunicazione e Idologie Sociali", *QUCC* 27, 1978, 72f.

<sup>3</sup> For the concept of commissioned poetry cf. H. Fränkel, *Dichtung und Philosophie des frühen Griechentums*, München 1962<sup>2</sup>, 490 and 492; H. Gundert, *Pindar und sein Dichterberuf*, Frankfurt 1935 (= Utrecht 1978); Gelzer (n. 1), 118.

<sup>4</sup> The concept 'choral lyric' and the task of distinguishing it from monody in melic poetry are surely problematic, as several articles by M.R. Lefkowitz, M. Heath, and M. Davies show (cf. esp. M. Heath–M.R. Lefkowitz, "Epinician Performance", *CPh* 86, 1991, 173-91, and C. Carey, "The Victory Ode in Performance. The Case for the Chorus", *CPh* 86, 1991, 192-200); for simplicity's sake it will nonetheless be employed in what follows.

<sup>5</sup> For the two types of epinician poem in choral lyric cf. Gelzer (n. 1), 97; B. Gentili, *Poesia e Pubblico nella Greca Antica*, Roma/Bari 1984, 26; C.M. Bowra, "Euripides' Epinician for Alcibiades", *Historia* 9, 1960, 71. Fränkel (n. 3), 488f., imagines that the epinician poem continued to be performed later and thus contributed to spreading the news of the victory; cf. also H. Maehler, *Die Lieder des Bakchylides*, vol 1 I: *Die Siegeslieder*, Leiden 1982, 30; D.C. Young, "Pindar Pythians 2 and 3: Inscriptional ποτέ and the 'Poetic Epistle'", *HSPH* 87, 1983, 40 with n. 29: "We cannot doubt that [Pindar] intended [his songs] for future rehearsals". W. Rösler, *Dichter und Gruppe*, München 1980, 103f. n. 176, even assumes an exclusively oral dissemination of the epinician poems.

genre<sup>6</sup>. At the same time, another medium of celebration from archaic times onward were the victory epigrams, inscriptions composed for a victory monument, for example a statue of the victor<sup>7</sup>. Three further examples of the ancient practice of celebrating victories in a competition have come down to us from the Hellenistic age: Callimachus wrote three poems in honor of victories in athletic contests to which we will now direct our attention<sup>8</sup>. We are concerned with:

1. The elegy in honor of a victory in the chariot race of the Egyptian queen Berenice II at the Nemean games (the *Victoria Berenices*<sup>9</sup>, *SH* 254-268C), datable to the late forties of the third century B.C.<sup>10</sup>.
2. The elegy in honor of various victories of the Ptolemaic statesman Sosibius<sup>11</sup> (the *Κωσιβίου νίκη*<sup>12</sup>, fr. 384 Pf.), likewise datable to the forties of the third century.
3. The *Eighth Iambus* in honor of the footrace victory of an unknown Aiginetan in the *Hydrophoria*, not precisely datable.

Of the *Victoria Berenice*, the introduction and the narration of a myth have come down to us in various papyrus fragments. In the introduction the reader learns that Berenice has won the victory and where. In the much longer myth section the meeting of Heracles and the peasant-farmer Molorchus of Nemea is narrated; Molorchus complains to the hero of the terror of the Nemean lion, gives him hospitality and constructs a mousetrap; Heracles promises to kill the lion, returns with the deed accomplished (its accomplishment was presumably not described) and gives him news of a prophecy of Athena's, that a wreath of wild parsley would be the prize of victory in the Nemean games. The myth contains, then, an *aition* for the wreath awarded at Nemea and not—as has been the consensus of modern scholars—one for the Nemean games themselves<sup>13</sup>. The entire elegy must have been about

<sup>6</sup> Euripides' epinician in honor of the triple victory of Alcibiades at Olympia (416 B.C.) has come down to us; *O.* 5 in the Pindaric corpus is probably from an unknown poet (cf. J. Irigoin, *Histoire du Texte de Pindare*, Paris 1952, 32f.).

<sup>7</sup> See Ebert (n. 1), 9-11. Compare the beginning of *Pi. N.* 5, where the superiority of a song over a statue in spreading the fame of victory is brought forward. Perhaps a reference to the influence of the victory epigram attached to the statue is implied; this would have had a narrower audience than an epinician (which probably enjoyed performance on several occasions; cf. n. 5 above).

<sup>8</sup> The three poems are the object of T. Fuhrer, *Die Auseinandersetzung mit den Chorlyrikern in den Epinikien des Kallimachos* (*Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft* 23), Basel/Kassel 1992. Questions of detail regarding text and interpretation, therefore, will not be addressed here.

<sup>9</sup> The title after P.J. Parsons, "Callimachus: *Victoria Berenices*", *ZPE* 25, 1977, 1-50.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. T. Gelzer, "Kallimachos und das Zeremoniell des ptolemäischen Königshauses", in J. Stagl (ed.), *Aspekte der Kultursoziologie*, Berlin 1982, 17f.

<sup>11</sup> The identification of Sosibius is disputed. A majority of scholars now assume (contra Wilamowitz, Pfeiffer and Barigazzi; cf. most recently E.R. Schwinge, *Künstlichkeit von Kunst*, München 1986, 81f.) that we have here to do with the minister of Ptolemy III Euergetes (the later murderer of Berenice); cf. C. Meillier, *Callimaque et son temps*, Lille 1979, 225-8; P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 2, Oxford 1972, 1004f. n. 1; in depth Fuhrer (n. 8), 144-9.

<sup>12</sup> The title according to Σ s<sup>3</sup> Lyc. 522 (cf. Pfeiffer on fr. 384.12).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. e.g. the heading for *SH* 264f.: *Nemeorum origo*. The *aition* of the games is not the killing of the Nemean lion, but the story of Opheltes' death which is alluded to in the introductory section (*SH*

200 lines long originally. As the results of the research on the transmitted fragments show, the poem was first published separately and later placed by Callimachus at the beginning of the third book of the *Aetia*<sup>14</sup>.

Of the  $\text{C}\omega\text{c}\beta\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\ \nu\acute{\iota}\eta\eta$  we have five sections transmitted to us through two papyri:

- Section 1 (lines 1-15) mentions a chariot-race victory of Sosibius' in the Isthmian games and contains a hymn to the patron deity of the festival, Poseidon.
- Section 2 (lines 16-34) concerns, in addition to the Isthmian victory, a later-won victory at Nemea; the Nile expresses his joy at these two Panhellenic victories of his nursling in a direct address.
- In section 3 (lines 35-43) Sosibius himself is probably the speaker who tells of two victories of his youth<sup>15</sup>: a wrestling victory at the *Panathenaea* and a *diaulos*-victory in games given in honor of a Ptolemy (*Ptolemaia* or *Basileia*)<sup>16</sup>.
- In section 4 (lines 44-52) two dedicatory offerings are mentioned: clothed statues of the Charites (or a relief) in the Heraion (presumably at Argos)<sup>17</sup> and a dedication in the sanctuary of Zeus Kasios in Pelusium<sup>18</sup> whose dedicatory inscription is quoted.
- In section 5 (lines 53-61) Sosibius is praised, presumably by the poet himself.

The elegy was originally about 110 lines long; more than the half is preserved entire. On account of the poem's fragmentary condition many questions must remain unanswered, in particular the question of its function: either it served primarily to celebrate the two Panhellenic victories (the Isthmian and the more recent Nemean one), in which case in section 4 the dedications in Argos and to Zeus may have been mentioned in order to make reference once again to the victory at the Nemean games which took place in Argos at that time<sup>19</sup>; or the dedications will have been made on the occasion of further victories in other contests<sup>20</sup>, so that the entire poem perhaps consists of a catalogue of all the victories which Sosibius won<sup>21</sup>.

254.7: reference to the grave of Opheltes). See Fuhrer (n. 8), 78-85; earlier E. Livrea, "Nota al Nuovo Callimaco di Lille", *ZPE* 32, 1978, 9f.; F. Bornmann, in E. Livrea, "Il Nuovo Callimaco", *Maia* 32, 1980, 249-51; cf. Maehler (n. 5), I II, 251-3.

14 See Parsons (n. 9), 46-50.

15 Cf. Pfeiffer on line 37; A. Barigazzi, "L'Epinicio per Sosibio di Callimaco", *PP* 6, 1951, 416, assumes that in this section of the text the Nile is still the speaker (arguments to the contrary in Fuhrer [n. 8], 156f.).

16 Generally the contest is identified with the *Ptolemaia*, the games in honor of Ptolemy I; here see Fraser (n. 11), I, 224 and 228-32. For the possibility that it is the Egyptian *Basileia* cf. Fuhrer (n. 8), 159-61. On the *Basileia* generally cf. L. Koenen, *Eine agonistische Inschrift aus Aegypten und frühptolemäische Königsfeste*, Meisenheim a.G. 1977, 29.

17 Cf. Pfeiffer on lines 44f., and Fuhrer (n. 8), 162f.

18 On the identification of the dedicatory site cf. Pfeiffer on lines 48f.; Fuhrer (n. 8), 165f.

19 See K. Hanell, "Nemea (Spiele)", *RE* 16, 2, 1935, 2324; finally S.G. Miller, "Excavations at Nemea, 1981", *Hesperia* 51, 1982, 35; cf. Fuhrer (n. 8), 65. See also 84 below.

20 The Charites, for one or two victories at the *Heraia* (thus R. Herzog, "Herondea", *Philologus* 82 N.F. 36, 1927, 62; Barigazzi [n. 15], 424f.; Pfeiffer on lines 44f.); the dedication in Pelusium, for a further contest (in honor of Zeus?), as they were held at numerous sites in the Greek world at that

Of the *Eighth Iambus* a papyrus has preserved the *Diegesis*, in which the first line is quoted. The line is an iambic trimeter, here employed either as a stichic meter or in alternation with another meter in epodic manner<sup>22</sup>. According to the *Diegesis* an episode from the Argonaut myth which we know also from the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius (4.1765-72) is narrated in the poem: the *aition* for the Aiginetan *Hydrophoria* double-course race, in which the runners have to fetch water in a vessel<sup>23</sup>. The occasion of the poem is the victory of an Aiginetan by the name of Polycles<sup>24</sup>.

It is clear that Callimachus with these three poems follows in the tradition of the epinicians of choral lyric, which he as scholar in the library of Alexandria is known to have worked on and catalogued<sup>25</sup>. Points of comparison are evident at the first glance<sup>26</sup>:

- These are longer poems: not victory epigrams, therefore, but epinicians.

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time (cf. H.A. Harris, *Greek Athletes and Athletics*, London 1964, 226f., who lists 263 contests). The fact that the dedication is said to have been brought from Cyprus on a Phoenician ship is perhaps to be understood as a hint that it is a victory in games at Cyprus which is involved (we have evidence for games in Salamis and Kition; cf. Harris [this note], 226f.).

<sup>21</sup> See Fuhrer (n. 8), 174-8.

<sup>22</sup> The frs. 220 (3 *ia*), 222 (*lec* and 3 *ia*), and 223 Pf. (3 *ia* and 2 *ia*) are ascribed to the *Eighth Iambus*, but this offers no further help on the question of meter (stichic or epodic).

<sup>23</sup> On this contest cf. C.M. Dawson, "The Iambi of Callimachus. A Hellenistic Poet's Laboratory", *YCIS* 11, 1950, 86 and 88; K. Kramer, *Studien zur griechischen Agonistik nach den Epinikien Pindars*, Diss. Köln 1970, 28.

<sup>24</sup> The question arises of whether a friend of the poet is involved here, as M. Puelma Piwonka, *Lucilius und Kallimachos*, Frankfurt 1949, 293, assumes, or whether the whole is only a fictional event, the name Polykles given then merely *exempli gratia*, and the victory invented as pendant to the *Hydrophoria-aition*; here see Fuhrer (n. 8), 211f.; cf. M. Depew (this volume), *passim*, esp. 63, on this Callimachean 'fictionalizing' device in the hymns: "But what is notable about Callimachus ... is that while he makes extensive use of *aetia* and *mimesis*, he does not retain these links with the extratextual world".

<sup>25</sup> Cf. the three *Pinakes*-fragments 441 and 450 Pf. as well as *SH* 293 (here cf. L. Käppel and R. Kannicht, "Noch einmal zur Frage 'Dithyrambos oder Paian?'" im Bakchylideskommentar P.Oxy. 23.2368", *ZPE* 73, 1988, 19-24; D.A. Schmidt, *Hermes* 118, 1990, 21, and most recently L. Käppel, *Paian. Studien zur Geschichte einer Gattung*, Berlin/New York 1992, 38-41). On Callimachus' work on the choral poets cf. R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, Oxford 1968, 130.

<sup>26</sup> On the *Victoria Berenices* cf. e.g. Parsons (n. 9), 45f.; C. Corbato in Livrea, "Il Nuovo Callimaco" (n. 13), 241-3; F. Bornmann, "Il Nuovo Callimaco di Lille", *A&R* 23, 1978, 187f., and the same in Livrea, "Il Nuovo Callimaco" (n. 13), 246f. and 251f.; J.K. Newman, "Pindar and Callimachus", *ICS* 10, 1985, 183f.; A.W. Bulloch, "Hellenistic Poetry", in P.E. Easterling-B.M.W. Knox, *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature 1: Greek Literature*, Cambridge 1985, 556f. On the *Κοιβίου νίκη* cf. e.g. R. Pfeiffer, "ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗΣ ΠΛΟΚΑΜΟΣ", *Philologus* 87 N.F. 41, 1932, 221; U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos* 1, Berlin 1924 (= Dublin/Zürich 1973<sup>3</sup>), 180f.; E. Cahen, *Callimaque et son Oeuvre Poétique*, Paris 1929, 318f.; G. Coppola, "Callimachus Senex", *RFIC* N.S. 8 (58), 1930, 288 and 290; Barigazzi (n. 15), 418-20, Meillier (n. 11), 225f. On the *Eighth Iambus* cf. Dawson (n. 23), 87f.; Puelma (n. 24), 292; D.L. Clayman, *Callimachus' Iambi*, Leiden 1980, 38f.; Newman [this note], 182.

- In the *Victoria Berenices* and in the *Eighth Iambus* in addition to the announcement of the victory (the praise of the victor, the *Siegerlob*, in the epinicians of choral lyric)<sup>27</sup> a myth is narrated, in each case linked with an *aition* to the event celebrated. In the epinicians of choral lyric as well, aitiological myths are often narrated which make evident a connection between the mythical past and the contest or addressee so as thereby to enhance the achievement of the victor<sup>28</sup>.

- Callimachus adopts certain stylistic traits known from Pindar in particular—as, for example, the *Abbruchsformel* (the ‘break-off’), the employment of prophecy as a literary medium, a certain mannerism of expression—and various *topoi* as well<sup>29</sup>.

In particular since the publication of the *ᾨαιβίου νίκης*, critical opinion of Callimachus’ epinicians in comparison with those of the choral poets has generally fallen out to his disadvantage. Let it suffice here to quote a remark of Cahen’s on the Sosibius epinician: “On ne fait pas une cavatine [a little song] d’une symphonie de Beethoven”<sup>30</sup>. Indeed we could hardly expect otherwise, where the general practice is simply to ascertain the similarities between the epinicians of choral lyric and those of Callimachus—for to do so is exactly to misunderstand Callimachus. He surely was not trying to classicize, to practice *μίμησις τε καὶ ζήλωσις*<sup>31</sup>. Rather he used the earlier choral lyric in his poetry in the same manner as has been demonstrated for his Homer-reminiscences, for example<sup>32</sup>: he plays with the tradition, with well-known passages and scenes, with *topoi*, with words, with literary forms, etc. The following discussion of select passages from the Callimachean epinicians should illustrate this. Because of its regrettably fragmentary condition, the *Eighth Iambus* will not be taken into consideration. One may indeed find in it points of correspondence with the epinicians of choral lyric<sup>33</sup>; but we shall devote our attention here to the two better preserved, elegiac epinicians.

In the introductory section of the *Victoria Berenices* (the *Siegerlob*, cf. the quotation below, 91) all necessary information regarding the victor and the victory is given just as in the epinicians of choral lyric: the victor’s name, the name of his father and his city, the

<sup>27</sup> Cf. W. Schadewaldt, *Der Aufbau des Pindarischen Epinikion*, Halle 1928 (= Tübingen 1966), 8-11; F. Schwenn, “Pindaros”, *RE* 20, 2, 1950, 1688-90.

<sup>28</sup> Maehler (n. 5), 1 I, 5; G. Codrignani, “L’«Aition» nella Poesia Greca Prima di Callimaco”, *Convivium* n.s. 26, 1958, 536f.; A. Hurst, “Temps du Récit chez Pindare (Pyth. 4) et Bacchylide (11)”, *MH* 40, 1983, 156 and 164-6. Cf. here Fuhrer (n. 8), 112-8.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. the compilation of elements common to the choral poets and Callimachus in Parsons (n. 9), 45f.

<sup>30</sup> Cahen (n. 26), 319; Pfeiffer (n. 26), 220f., and Wilamowitz (n. 26), 1, 181, criticize the style of the *ᾨαιβίου νίκης*; the judgment of Coppola (n. 26), 290, is more positive. Scholars’ observations and determinations of the influence of choral lyric in the *Victoria Berenices* and in the *Eighth Iambus* (see above n. 26) are generally without value judgements.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. T. Gelzer in *Entretiens sur l’Antiquité Classique* 25, 1979, 1-55, esp. 10-3.

<sup>32</sup> The literature in H. Herter, “Kallimachos”, *RE* S. 13, 1973, 247f.; most recently (on the controversies in this question) in S. Naughton, “On Callimachus’ Grammatical Theories”, *CL* 3, 1983, 85.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Fuhrer (n. 8), 209-15.

place of the contest, and the type of contest in which the victory was won<sup>34</sup>. While the choral epinicians, however, communicated this information clearly and unmistakably, since they had a documentary function to fulfill and were to spread news of the victory through the poem's performance either at the site of the victory or on a separate occasion<sup>35</sup>, Callimachus all but sets this information in code: Berenice is not named by name, but rather addressed as νόμφα (*SH* 254.2)<sup>36</sup>; she is not to be identified as daughter of her natural father Magas of Cyrene, but rather as 'sacred blood of the brother and sister gods' (line 2): that is, Callimachus must meet the requirements of the Ptolemaic dynastic cult and entitles Berenice, in accordance with court etiquette, daughter of the *Theoi Adelphoi*<sup>37</sup>. Berenice's city Alexandria is periphrastically described as seat 'of Pallene's seer and shepherd of seals' Proteus (lines 5f.); Argos, the site of the contest, is 'the land of Danaus, born of a cow' (line 4). Berenice's horses won 'at the grave of Opheltes' (line 7), an utter fiction, for the games took place at that time in Argos, while the grave of Opheltes was in Nemea<sup>38</sup>. These details are extremely scholarly and too riddling for their function to be seen primarily as that of giving information and making public a victory; they are only comprehensible to a public already familiar with the facts. Callimachus no longer sees himself at all, then, as the *messenger* of victory as we know the office from the choral poets<sup>39</sup>; he sees himself as the *receiver* of that message (line 6; cf. especially also the representation in the *ᾨοσιβίου νίκη* fr. 384.7f. Pf.). He no longer claims himself to proclaim the victory in the poem, and thus we may explain the loss of documentary function in the particulars given about the victory: the stylistic technique of giving information in periphrasis, already practiced by the choral poets but there never applied without the decoding of the facts immediately preceding or following<sup>40</sup>, Callimachus adapts and artfully transcends. In so doing he does not fulfill the traditional task of the epinician poet, but he does thus fulfill the requirements of his Alexandrian public<sup>41</sup>.

34 On these rules in the epinician of choral lyric cf. R. Hamilton, *Epinikion. General Forms in the Odes of Pindar*, Paris/Den Haag 1974, 15 and 35ff.; Gelzer (n. 1), 102f.

35 Cf. n. 5 above and Gelzer (n. 1), 101-4.

36 Perhaps her name appeared in the no longer extant portion of the praise of the victor (and possibly with a play on the etymology of the name *Bere-nike*); cf. Gelzer (n. 10), 17.

37 For the official cult title attested in inscriptions cf. W. Dittenberger, *Oriens Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae* 1, Leipzig 1903, Nos. 60 and 61; A. Bernand, *Les Inscriptions Grecques de Philae* 1, Paris 1969, No. 4.

38 Cf. above 81 (with n. 19) and 92 below.

39 The best-known example is the beginning of Pindar's *N. 5* (for which cf. n. 7 above); for passages where the poem is described as ἀγγελία or the poet as ἄγγελος cf. Fränkel (n. 3), 488f.; Gelzer (n. 1), 99-101; L.L. Nash, *The Aggelia in Pindar*, New York/London 1990, 12ff.; Fuhrer (n. 8), 90-3.

40 Cf. *Pi. N. 4.11f.*: Αἰακιδᾶν ἔδος Ἀιγίνα (line 22); *N. 10.1*: Δαναοῦ πόλις for Ἄργος in line 2; *P. 3.69*: Ἀρέθουα κρᾶνα for Κυρακότται (line 70); *B. ep. 1.13f.*: Πέλοπος νάσου πύλαι for γαῖα Ἴσθμια (line 6); etc.

41 Cf. Fuhrer (n. 8), 88-90. On the public of the erudite Alexandrian poetry cf. Bulloch (n. 26), 543: "[Poetry] was now written for its own private audience, primarily a select few attached to or associated with a royal court, for which the arts were an embellishment of power. This rather rarefied

The myth of the *Victoria Berenices* is likewise indicative of Callimachus' art. It has often been compared with that of the *Hecale*: a mythical hero pays a visit to poor people and is hospitably received, with the narrative concentrating in every instance on the unheroic and everyday (cf. Heracles' accident with the thorns of the wild pear on Molorchus' farm in *SH* 257<sup>42</sup>; the description of the plague of mice in *SH* 259), and with the scene created being both picturesque and realistic<sup>43</sup>. The narrative of Heracles' encounter with Molorchus is then related in epic breadth, and one is tempted to call it an 'elegiac epyllion'. In *SH* 264, however, the narrative is suddenly interrupted. This passage has been compared with the break-offs known to us especially from the epinicians of choral lyric<sup>44</sup>, and Callimachus appears indeed to change here from epic to lyric narrative style, in particular that typical of Pindar and Bacchylides, that is from a broadly laid out, linear style to a disjointed, forward-and-back progressing one in which the representation of a piece of action or event is confined to few details<sup>45</sup>. There is much that argues for Callimachus' having either cut short or wholly suppressed a narration of Heracles' killing of the Nemean lion at this point in the poem: not only are there no extant remarks of a description of the struggle with the lion<sup>46</sup>, but also it is actually possible for everyone—as Callimachus in *SH* 264.1 bids—to picture this scene for himself and so shorten the poem:

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audience was well educated, for the most part worldly in experience"; cf. also Gentili (n. 5), 223f.; Gelzer (n. 10), 26; P. Bing, *The Well-Read Muse: Present and Past in Callimachus and the Hellenistic Poets*, Göttingen 1988, 15-7.

42 Cf. Livrea (n. 13), 7-9, and Fuhrer (n. 8), 67-9.

43 Cf. Bulloch (n. 26), 557; Bornmann in Livrea (n. 13), 247f.; P. Radici-Colace, "Il Nuovo Callimaco di Lille, Ovidio e Stazio", *RFIC* 110, 1982, 140-9; P.A. Rosenmeyer, "The Unexpected Guests: Patterns of Xenia in Callimachus' 'Victoria Berenices' and Petronius' Satyricon", *CQ* 41, 1991, 403-13.

44 Thus Parsons (n. 9), 45; Corbato (n. 26), 241. For break-offs in other genres of choral lyric we have no examples extant; comparable are Pi. frs. 81.2f. M. (*dith.* 2); 180.1f. M.; B. 19.33ff. Sn.-M. (*dithyrambus*). For the far rarer break-offs in genres outside of choral lyric cf. *Il.* 12.176 (cf. 2.489-92); Hes. *Th.* 35; A.R. 3.314.

45 On the 'lyric' narrative style cf. L. Illig, *Zur Form der pindarischen Erzählung*, Diss. Berlin 1931, 1-4; W.J. Slater, "Pindar's Myths: Two Pragmatic Explanations", in: *Arktouros: Hellenic Studies Presented to Bernard M.W. Knox*, Berlin 1979, 64, who speaks of 'lyric narrative' and 'complex lyric narrative' in contrast to 'epic narrative'; somewhat more differentiated A. Köhnken, "Mythical Chronology and Thematic Coherence in Pindar's Third Olympian Ode", *HSPH* 87, 1983, 49-63.

46 *SH* 268B and 268C, which are about (Heracles'?) lion's skin and which Parsons assigns to the *Victoria Berenices*, do not necessarily have to come from a struggle scene, as A. Henrichs, "Zur Meropis: Herakles' Löwenfell und Athenas zweite Haut", *ZPE* 27, 1977, 70-2, thinks.



αὐτὸς ἐπιφράσσαιτο, τάμοι δ' ἄπο μῆκος ἀοιδῆι·

May [the hearer or reader]<sup>47</sup> devise [this] for himself and cut off the poem's length.

Heracles' struggle with the Nemean lion is indeed a motif frequently treated in Greek literature and the visual arts<sup>48</sup>, and we may assume that Callimachus wants to shun this 'well-worn path' even as he in the *Hecale* also, evidently, makes only brief mention of Theseus' fight with the bull<sup>49</sup>. With the breaking-off device (by which incidentally Pindar too in *Pythian* 4 circumvents the description of Jason's struggle with the dragon<sup>50</sup>) Callimachus thus brings it about that the myth of the *Victoria Berenices* remains unheroic in character (instead of Heracles' struggle with the lion he has described Molochus' struggle with the mice) and that, further, this deliberate evasion of the theme is made explicit<sup>51</sup>: one is reminded of the declarations in the prologue to the *Aetia*. What Callimachus then actually narrates is Heracles' report of the prophecy of Athena, containing the *aition* which is a learned dissertation on the Isthmian (!) and Nemean prize (*SH* 265)<sup>52</sup>.

In this connection it must also be observed that the function of the myth in this Hellenistic epinician, compared with the epinicians of the choral poets, has decisively changed: Heracles is there in general the integrating figure for the addressee; a comparison of the victor with the hero brings about an encomiastic enhancement and elevation of the

47 Cf. Pfeiffer on fr. 57.1: "αὐτὸς sc. ὁ ἀναγιγνώσκων vel ὁ ἀκούων ipse excogitet quid aliud fecerint."

48 For passages in Greek literature see Maehler (n. 5), 1 II, 153 on line 9; for examples in the visual arts cf. F. Brommer, *Herakles*, Darmstadt 1972<sup>2</sup>, 7-11, and H. Maehler, "Poésie Alexandrine et Art Hellénistique à Memphis", *CE* 63, 1988, 122-6. [Theoc.] 25 appears to have been composed after the *Victoria Berenices* in time (cf. Henrichs [n. 46], 70).

49 Cf. G. Zanker, "Callimachus' Hecale: A New Kind of Epic Hero?" *Antichthon* 11, 1977, 71f.; K.J. Gutzwiller, *Studies in the Hellenistic Epyllion*, Königstein/Ts. 1981, 27. At issue are frs. 67-9 Hollis.

50 Here again the audience's knowledge of the struggle with the dragon is assumed; for this cf. C.M. Bowra, *Pindar*, Oxford 1964, 287f. and 347; G. Norwood, *Pindar*, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1945, 80 and 169; cf. Maehler (n. 5), 1 I, 27f. on this technique in Bacchylides.

51 On this playing with the *Rezipientenerwartung* cf. D. Meyer (this volume), 170-1. The reader's attention is drawn to the omission again in the following: Molochus asks Heracles for a story (line 2), but is put off till dinner-time (lines 3f.). Cf. Fuhrer (n. 8), 121-5. For further instances of Callimachus' use of the Pindaric device of breaking off narrative cf. T. Fuhrer, "A Pindaric Feature in the Poems of Callimachus", *AJPh* 109, 1988, 53-68, esp. 62ff.; M.A. Harder, "Untrodden Paths: Where do they lead?", *HSPH* 93, 1990, 287-309, esp. 295ff.

52 The technique of the prophecy, through which a bridge can be made from a mythical event to the present, is especially in the epinician an important means of establishing the connection between the myth and the event being celebrated, and is often employed by the choral poets. Cf. Maehler (n. 5), 1 II, 252f. and 262 (on B. ep. 13.58); Hurst (n. 28), 165. What is new in Callimachus is again that he uses the conventional techniques of *aition* and prophecy not for the conventional purpose (cf. 83-5 above), but to his own ends, i.e. as a means to demonstrate his learning (on this Callimachean device cf. M. Depew [this volume], *passim*).

object of praise<sup>53</sup>. This is a function which the Heracles in the *Victoria Berenices*, good-natured and somewhat bumbling, even comic in effect<sup>54</sup>, cannot fulfill—and he need not, either. The epinician is directed, after all, to a *woman* and a ‘daughter of the gods’ (cf. *SH* 254.2) who through her divinity (she is addressed as ‘sacred blood’) not only is on the same level with the hero, but also, thanks to the constructions of the dynastic cult of the Ptolemies, is even his relation<sup>55</sup>. Berenice needs no enhancement through a mythical paradigm, and through this humanizing portrait of the classical hero she will in any case be drawn all the more believably into the divine realm herself<sup>56</sup>.

From the *Κωκυβίου νίκη* I would like to focus on a passage from section 3, from the speech for which we may assume Sosibius is the speaker, detailing the victories of his youth. Also in the choral epinicians the enumeration of earlier victories (the victory catalogue) cannot be omitted, when the figure celebrated or a member of his family has won success in earlier contests, and this material, prosaic in itself but with an important encomiastic function to fulfill<sup>57</sup>, is generally shaped by the poets into a most elaborate form<sup>58</sup>. Callimachus, then, in the enumeration of Sosibius’ youthful victories, clearly plays on a passage from a Pindaric catalogue of victories: Like Pindar in *N.* 10.35f., he alludes to the victory at the *Panathenaea*, by means of the prize amphorae<sup>59</sup>:

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- 53 From the abundance of literature on this topic (especially in the interpretation of single odes) I would cite here Bowra (n. 50), 46f.; B. Effe, “Held und Literatur. Der Funktionswechsel des Herakles-Mythos in der griechischen Literatur”, *Poetica* 12, 1980, 149; G.K. Galinsky, *The Herakles Theme*, Oxford 1972, 23-39; D.L. Pike, “Pindar’s Treatment of the Heracles Myths”, *AClass* 27, 1984, 15-22; Kramer (n. 23), 108-38.
- 54 Cf. Livrea (n. 13), 8 n. 6, on the scene in *SH* 257 (Heracles tries to pluck a fruit from the wild pear tree in Molochus’ court): “Si tratterebbe ovviamente dell’Eracle affamato della tradizione dorica”. A hint of this traditional character trait of Heracles’ seems to occur in *SH* 264 as well, where Heracles cuts off Molochus’ plea for a story with the answer, he will tell him more at *dinner*: here again the hero is thinking of his favorite occupation.
- 55 Cf. the inscription in Dittenberger (n. 37), 54; on this cf. Fraser (n. 11), 2, 344 n. 106; J. Tondriau, “Rois Lagides Comparés ou Identifiés à des Divinités”, *CE* 23, 1948, 129-31; finally C. Meillier, “Papyrus de Lille: Callimaque, Victoria Berenices (suppl. hell. 254-258). Eléments de Commentaire sur la Divinité de Bérénice”, *CRIPPEL* 8, 1986, 84.
- 56 The paradox of the anthropomorphizing of gods and deification of men is a distinguishing characteristic of the Hellenistic period; cf. F.T. Griffiths, *Theocritus at Court*, Leiden 1979, 63f.: “In the classical tradition which Callimachus so broadly evokes, ... the gap between men and gods was vast and unbridgeable. Callimachus will not go so far as the Euhemerists do in saying that the gods were never more than kings like Ptolemy, glorified in retrospect. But he does present a mythic world where the limits of divinity were very fluid indeed ...”.
- 57 Cf. D.C. Young, *Three Odes of Pindar*, Leiden 1968, 91-3; E. Thummer, *Die isthmischen Gedichte* 1, Heidelberg 1968, 19f.
- 58 Cf. esp. Pi. *O.* 7.80-7; *O.* 13.106-13; *P.* 9.79-103; *N.* 4.17-22; *N.* 5.44-6; *N.* 10.25-35; *I.* 1.55-9; *I.* 2.18-20; *B. ep.* 10.29-35. On the conformity of these lists to established rules (the ranking of the contests), which conformity Callimachus too appears to maintain throughout the *Κωκυβίου νίκη*, cf. Thummer (n. 57), 1, 27f.; Kramer (n. 23), 3-23; Bernardini (n. 1), 138f.
- 59 The Pindar scholion *ad loc.* (*N.* 10.64a) in fact cites lines 35f. of the *Κωκυβίου νίκη* as parallel.

γαίαι δὲ καυθεῖσαι πυρὶ καρπὸς ἐλαίας  
 ἔμολεν Ἥρας τὸν εὐάνορα λαὸν ἐν ἀγγέων  
 ἔρκεσιν παμποικίλοισι. (Pi. N. 10.35f.)

and in earth burnt by the fire the fruit of the olive came to the manly people of Hera in the richly painted walls of the vessels.

- ἰκαὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοισι γὰρ ἐπὶ στέγος ἱερὸν ἦνται,  
 κάλπιδες, οὐ κόσμου σύμβολον, ἀλλὰ πάλης -  
 (Call. fr. 384.35f. Pf.)

for also among the Athenians jars sit in a sacred house, not as a sign of adornment but of wrestling.

In both passages, the theme is the κῶμος in which the victory was celebrated in Athens where the contest is held:

ἀδειαί γε μὲν ἀμβολάδαν  
 ἐν τελεταῖσι δις Ἀθηναίων νιν ὀμφαί  
 κώμασαν· (Pi. N. 10.33-5)

Yet, by way of a prelude twice in the festivals of the Athenians sweet voices celebrated him.

ἄνδρα ὅτ' οὐ δείσαντες ἐδώκαμεν ἠδὲ βοῆσαι  
 νηὸν ἐπὶ Γλαυκῆς κῶμον ἄγοντι χορῶσι  
 Ἀρχιλόχου νικαῖον ἐφύμνιον· (Call. fr. 384.37-9 Pf.)

When without fear of the men we granted the chorus leading the revel to Glauce's temple to cry out sweet the victory hymn of Archilochus.

Here Callimachus joins to the passage from the Nemean ode above the beginning of the 9th *Olympian*:

τὸ μὲν Ἀρχιλόχου μέλος  
 φωνᾶεν Ὀλυμπίαι,  
 καλλίνικος ὁ τριπλόος κεχλαδῶς,  
 ἄρκεσε Κρόνιον παρ' ὄχθον ἄγεμονεῦσαι  
 κωμάζοντι φίλοισι Ἐφαρμόστῳ σὺν ἑταίροισι· (Pi. O. 9.1-4)

The song of Archilochus chanted at Olympia, the triumphal song thrice ringing out was a fit leader at Kronion hill to Epharmostus revelling with his dear companions.

This passage is discussed at length in the scholia: the Alexandrian scholars evidently could not agree on the meaning of line 2 of Pindar's *O.* 9, that the καλλίνικος<sup>60</sup> rang out three times. While Eratosthenes was of the opinion that only the refrain τήνελλα καλλίνικε was sung three times<sup>61</sup>, Aristarchus held the view that the hymn had three stanzas<sup>62</sup>. Callimachus appears to proceed from the same assumption as Eratosthenes when he speaks of ἐφ'ὄμνιον, by which he can only mean the refrain and not the entire hymn<sup>63</sup>. Thus with his allusion to the opening of *O.* 9 in his own epinician he shows how he as philologist understands the disputed passage in Pindar; his epinician becomes a vessel for philological commentary.

The most striking difference between the Callimachean epinician and those of choral lyric I have reserved for last, because I wish to devote the most attention to it. Although the three epinicians of Callimachus may be designated as belonging to the same genre as their forebears in choral lyric, they are transformed into a meter originally foreign to them: into elegiac or iambic form, that is into non-lyric meters. In this connection scholars use the term 'crossing of genres' (Kroll's *Kreuzung der Gattungen*)<sup>64</sup> which, however, requires more precise definition:

- A distinction must be made between 'crossing' or 'mixing' of genres and the 'play of forms' (*Spiel mit den Formen*)<sup>65</sup>. In the case of the Callimachean epinicians the question arises whether we observe more than a change of form and can thus actually speak of a 'crossing of genres'.

- By the Hellenistic period most of the traditional genres of poetry are no longer sung and accompanied by music; this explains the fact that not just any forms are employed, but above all non-lyric verses<sup>66</sup>.

60 Originally a hymn to Heracles: Cf. Σ Pi. *O.* 9.1 c, f and k.

61 Σ *O.* 9.1 k.

62 Σ *O.* 9.3 g.

63 Cf. *LSJ* s.v. 'ἐφ'ὄμνιον': 'burden', 'refrain of a hymn'. H. Meyer, *Hymnische Stilelemente in der frühgriechischen Dichtung*, Diss. Köln 1933, 2: "Responson der ganzen Gemeinde auf das vorangegangene Beten eines Einzelnen." Cf. the use of the word in Σ Pi. *O.* 9.1 k (ἐφ'ὄμνιάζεσθαι) and Call. *h.* 2.98 (ἡ τῆ πατῆρον ἀσ ἐφ'ὄμνιον).

64 Cf. T. Gelzer, "Die Alexandriner und die griechischen Lyriker", *AAntHung* 30, 1988, 140; J.E. Zetzel, "Re-creating the Canon: Augustan Poetry and the Alexandrian Past", *Critical Inquiry* 10, 1983/84, 100.

65 The distinction is made by L.E. Rossi, "I Generi Letterari e le loro Leggi Scritte e non Scritte nelle Letterature Classiche", *BICS* 18, 1971, 84 (the term 'Spiel mit den Formen' ['play of forms'] after Gelzer); M. Fantuzzi, "La Contaminazione dei Generi Letterari nelle Letteratura Greca Ellenistica: Rifiuto del Sistema o Evoluzione di un Sistema?", *L&S* 15, 1980, 440.

66 Bing (n. 41), 23: "... the primary experience of literature was through books, and poets, because they had fewer and fewer opportunities to hear lyric meter, were no longer perfectly at ease with its complexities"; cf. W. Kroll, *Studien zum Verständnis der römischen Literatur*, Stuttgart 1964<sup>2</sup>, 202; Gelzer (n. 64), 137. G.O. Hutchinson, *Hellenistic Poetry*, Oxford 1988, 15f., questions the term 'crossing of genres', since in many cases only the meter is altered and this is generally hexameters or elegiacs in any case. Lyric meters are at most experimented with (cf. Callimachus' μέλη); on this cf.

In the case of the two Callimachean elegies it must be noticed that the celebration of a victory is being made in a form in which it always—even in the age when the choral epinician was at its height—had been made: of the numerous agonistic epigrams by far the greatest number were composed in elegiac distichs. This common form cannot be mere coincidence, as is to be shown in what follows.

It is not from an utter vacuum that Callimachus reverts to the medium of poetry to celebrate victories in the games; rather, even if the tradition of epinician poetry in choral lyric had vanished in post-classical times<sup>67</sup>, nonetheless the need for a medium of effective proclamation for a victory closely bound up with political prestige had remained, and this medium was and had continued to be the inscription carved on a stone monument in honor of the victory. Indeed in these victory epigrams too a course of artistic development may be traced, and particularly in Hellenistic times this development experienced a real flowering: in contrast to the brief epigrams of the archaic and classical periods, which were limited to transmitting the information of the victory, in the Hellenistic epigrams motifs and topoi from choral lyric were employed and even varied; the victory was often no longer merely made public through the reproduction of the simple facts<sup>68</sup>, but composed and shaped as narrative and encomium<sup>69</sup>. Such poems explode the frame originally given to the epigram as information-furnishing epigraph, with respect to content and scope alike<sup>70</sup>. Callimachus—who himself composed epigrams—may well have been familiar with this new mode of composing epigrammatic poetry, not only because it was very influential also in Alexandria<sup>71</sup>, but because there may even have existed somewhere in the Hellenistic world—as Ebert suspects—a ‘school’ of poets who were particular specialists in agonistic poetry

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M.L. West, *Greek Metre*, Oxford 1984<sup>2</sup>, 149. On Hellenistic lyric which was still intended for (musical) performance cf. Fraser (n. 11), 1, 650 with n. 266.

67 Cf. Bowra (n. 5), 74.

68 The aforementioned conformity to established rules regarding the documentary information on the victory, which was observed in an epinician of choral lyric, holds also for the agonistic epigram (here too the name of the victor and his father, the city, the site of the games, and the type of contest must be mentioned); cf. Ebert (n. 1), 9-11.

69 For this see Ebert (n. 1), 15 and 18-22, on the development of the epigram up to the Hellenistic period: “Man spürt die Zeit des Buchepigramms, die Zeit des Experimentierens mit alten geprägten Formen; man spürt aber auch die Nähe grösserer Dichtung, nicht allein im Zurückgreifen auf Elemente des alten Epinikions und des Dramas, sondern auch in dem oftmals gesucht-gelehrten Ausdruck, der sich, wie bei Kallimachos, auch dem antiken Leser nicht immer gleich erschlossen haben wird” (quotation p. 20). On the employment of motifs from choral lyric cf. esp. W. Peek, “Zwei agonistische Gedichte aus Rhodos”, *Hermes* 77, 1942, 206-11, esp. 210: “Apostrophe, Preis des Siegers, ‘Erzählung’ bilden Elemente eines Stiles, der in bewusster Abkehr von der Form des alten agonistischen Epigramms und teilweise in Anlehnung an das pindarische Epinikion neue Wege sucht und der ganz um Auflockerung, Veranschaulichung und Verlebendigung bemüht ist” (two of the poems Peek discusses come from the second half of the third century B.C.). However, less elaborately crafted epigrams, too, are to be found from this period.

70 On this tendency in epigrammatic poetry generally cf. Kroll (n. 66), 207f.; R. Reitzenstein, “Epigramm”, *RE* 6, 1907, 89f.; Ebert (n. 1), 20; Hutchinson (n. 66), 20-4.

71 Cf. Fraser (n. 11), 1, 560f.

and to whom the epigrams of such high artistic caliber are to be ascribed<sup>72</sup>. This would also mean that the epigrams of which by far the greatest part have come down to us on stone enjoyed at that time dissemination by other means as well (as collections in book form?); and thus Callimachus, too, could have been acquainted with this kind of poetry.

Having compared the two elegiac epinicians with their predecessors in choral lyric, with whom they share the genre but not the form, we shall now compare them with the victory epigrams which have the same form, but differ in genre.

We begin with the opening lines of the introductory section of the *Victoria Berenices* (*SH* 254.1-10)<sup>73</sup>:

Ζηνί τε καὶ ἰ Νεμέηι τι χαρίκιον ἔδνον ὀφείλω, ἰ  
 νύμφα κα[ριγνή]των ἱερὸν αἶμα θεῶν,  
 ἡμ[έ]τερον [δώρημα] τεῶν ἐπινίκιον ἵππων.  
 ἄρμοι γὰρ ἸΔαναοῦ γῆς ἄπο βουγενέος  
 εἰς Ἑλένη[ς νηϊδ]α καὶ εἰς Παλληνέα μά[ντιν], 5  
 ποιμένα [φωκάων], χρύσειον ἦλθεν ἔπος,  
 Εὐφητηϊάδ[αο παρ'] ἡρίον οὐ[νεκ'] Ὀφέλτου  
 ἔθρεξαν προ[τέρω]ν οὐτινας ἠνιόχων  
 ἄσθματι χλι[ήναα]ι ἐπωμίδας, ἀλλὰ θεῖοι υἱεῖων ἰ  
 ὡς ἀνέμων ἰοῦδεῖς εἶδεν ἀματροχίας ἰ 10

To Zeus and Nemea I owe a gift of gratitude, nymph, sacred blood of the brother and sister gods, our offering for the victory of your horses. For but now there came from the land of Danaus born of a cow to the island of Helen and to Pallene's seer, shepherd of seals, the golden word, that they [*scil.* your horses] at the grave of Opheltes Euphetes' son ran and warmed no shoulders of charioteers ahead with their breath, but from them speeding like the winds no one saw the chariot tracks<sup>74</sup>.

The same motif, that the news of victory has come home to the victor's city, is found in a poem which an unknown poet composed about a generation earlier on the victory at

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Ebert (n. 1), 19 and 191.

<sup>73</sup> The text is disputed in several places; cf. *SH* pp. 100f. (with literature) and 110f. The text here given contains in line 3 the supplement of Griffiths; Parsons suggests παῖδνα. Another possibility would be δ' ἄνθημα ἔων: δέ would have to be understood as copulative; ἔων must be read in the lacuna on account of the space (hiatus following a short vowel in a principal caesura is found relatively often in Hellenistic poetry; passages in West [n. 66], 156; at the same position in the verse at Call. *h.* 3.8 and *h.* 4.264). In line 9 I have adopted Ebert's supplement χλι[ήναα]ι. Θεουσῶν is my own conjecture (like χλιήναααι dependent on Berenice's mares; cf. Führer [n. 8], 233); the form θεόντων in the *SH* is taken from the citation by Porphyry (*Quaest. II.* p. 264.15 Schrader), who understands it as dependent on ἀρμάτων as is clear from the context.

<sup>74</sup> According to W. Luppe, "ΟΥΔΕΙC ΕΙΔΕΝ ΑΜΑΤΡΟΧΙΑC (Kallimachos Fr. 383, 10 Pf.)", *ZPE* 31, 1978, 43f., ἀματροχία is to be translated 'running neck-and-neck'; cf. also Corbato (n. 26), 238f.

Olympia of Attalus' of Pergamon<sup>75</sup> with the team of colts (*epigr.* 59.11f. Ebert; between 280 and 272 B.C.):

φήμα δ' εἰς Φιλέταιρον ἀοίδιμος ἦλθε καὶ οἴκου  
Περγάμου Ἀλείωι τ[ε]ϊκαμένα στεφάνωι.

The motif also appears in a later epigram in honor of the wrestling victory of a Hagesistratus of Lindus (*epigr.* 72.7-9 Ebert; about 172 B.C.):

... θεσπεσί[α δ]᾽ ῥόδομ ποτὶ πατρίδα φάμα  
ἵκετ' ἀείμναστον χάρμα φέρουσα πόνων,  
ἔφ' οἷς τὸ καλλίνικον ἀείσθη κλέος.

We notice here that all three poets do not regard their own poem as conveyor of the message of victory, the office which choral poets claimed for their epinicians<sup>76</sup>; they rather report on the news' arrival as bystanders<sup>77</sup>.

Another poet refers like Callimachus to the legend of the origin of the Nemean games by localizing the chariot race at the grave of Archemorus in Nemea (*epigr.* 69.3f. Ebert; end of the third century B.C.)<sup>78</sup>:

ἱερὸν ἦμαρ ἔλαμψεν, ὅτε ζυγὰ κοῦφα συνωρί[σ]  
ἔξέφερ' εὐκτερέος σῆμα παρ' Ἀρ[χ]εμόρου·

That this localization, as in the *Victoria Berenices*, is no more than a false piece of information trimmed with mythological scholarship becomes clear when the poet at the poem's opening invokes the site of the contest Argos as θεῖον Νεμείων ἔδος (lines 1f.).

The much debated text of lines 8-10 of the *Victoria Berenices*<sup>79</sup> contains a brief depiction of the racing and emphasizes the superiority of Berenice's horses: they never ran in a position in which they would have warmed with their breath the shoulders of charioteers before them in the race. In this motif Callimachus clearly draws on a passage of the *Iliad* in which the horses of Diomedes are depicted in exactly the situation of the inferior opponent (*Il.* 23.379-81); this image he then combines with a passage in Bacchylides,

<sup>75</sup> The adoptive son of Philetairus and the father of Attalos I of Pergamon.

<sup>76</sup> See above 84f.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. also esp. the description in the *Κωκιβίου νίκη* fr. 384.7f. Pf. By contrast the beginning of *B. ep.* 2.1-5 is instructive, where the poet bids Φήμα to bring the ἀγγελία to Keos (the poem was performed at the site of the festival and thus has a part to play in the influence of Φήμα; cf. Gelzer [n. 1], 99-101).

<sup>78</sup> For Argos as the site of the games see above 84. The victory of a Cleonymus of Rhodes in the (two-horse) chariot race at the Nemean games is being celebrated. The poem is to be dated to the end of the third century B.C.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. n. 73 above.

where it is said that Hieron's horse has never yet been sullied with the dust of a horse running in front of him (*ep.* 5.43-5)<sup>80</sup>, and with this 'categorical vaunt' he succeeds in giving the depiction of the contest an encomiastic effect<sup>81</sup>. This passage in Bacchylides the poet of the epigram for Attalus had already played on (*epigr.* 59.6-8 Ebert)<sup>82</sup>:

αἰ δὲ διὰ σταδίου πυκνὸν ὄρεγμ' ἔφερον  
 ἄλλαι δ' ἔπ' ἄλλα θέουσαι. ὁ δ' Ἀττάλου ἱσος ἀέλλι  
 δίφρος ἀεὶ προτέραν πο[ι]εῖν ἔφαινε κόνιν.

Thus even before Callimachus a poet had thought to apply the Bacchylidean *Siegerlob-*motif in a poem to celebrate a chariot victory; the superiority of Callimachus' allusive technique is nonetheless unmistakable.

Less obvious parallels between *SH* 254 and several agonistic epigrams are the address of the victor (*epigrs.* 64 [for which cf. note 82]; 74 [after 129 B.C.]; 75 [end of the 2nd century B.C.]; cf. *SH* 254.2) as well as the account of the details of the victory given in elaborate, often even riddling periphrasis<sup>83</sup>. When one considers, further, that the victory epigrams, as inscriptions for a statue or other dedication always had the function of dedicatory epigrams as well<sup>84</sup>, a further parallel comes to light: Callimachus too presents his epinician as a (dedicatory?<sup>85</sup>) offering to Zeus and Nemea, owed them for the victory granted and now presented in the form of a poem<sup>86</sup>.

Thus at least the extant opening lines of the *Victoria Berenices* may be compared with other Hellenistic poems which as agonistic epigrams likewise proclaim and celebrate one or

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Parsons (n. 9), 9; Corbato (n. 26), 242.

<sup>81</sup> E.L. Bundy, *Studia Pindarica*, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1986<sup>2</sup>, 59 with n. 60. Descriptions of the contest itself are foreign to the epinician of choral lyric: Cf. M.R. Lefkowitz, "The Poet as Athlete", *SIFC* 77, 1984, 5f; Ebert (n. 1), 19 n. 1. The passages in Bacchylides given by Maehler (n. 5), 1 II, 252, scarcely admit of being termed descriptions of a contest.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Ebert (n. 1), 205, who offers further parallels to Pindar and Bacchylides; cf. Maehler (n. 5), 1 I, 32; Peek (n. 69), 207. Cf. also the description of the contest in *epigr.* 64.1f. Ebert (Nemean chariot victory of Diotimus of Sidon; last third of the third century B.C.).

<sup>83</sup> Cf. *epigr.* 64.3 (cf. n. 82): νικά Φορωνίς for a victory in Argos; 69.8f. (for which cf. 92): the victor's grandfather of the same name is alluded to with the words διττοῖς δ' οὐνομ' ἐν αἰ[δ]ῶ]χος ὄχεϊ κώδει ἰσόκλητον; 75.1f.: periphrastic description of the victory at Isthmia(?); 73B.3: periphrastic description of the Pythian games; 55.1 and 76B.6: periphrastic description of the Olympian games; 49.4: periphrastic description of the island of Kos, homeland of the victor, as island of Merops.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Ebert (n. 1), 9-11 and 16-8; J. Jüthner, "Herkunft und Grundlagen der griechischen National-spiele", *Die Antike* 15, 1939, 241.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. the proposed supplements to line 3 detailed in n. 73 above.

<sup>86</sup> The sentiment that a victory is owed to a god (usually the god of the festival) is also characteristic of the epinician of choral lyric; for this cf. esp. Pi. *N.* 4.9-11; *P.* 4.1-3. Cf. E. Thummer, *Die Religiosität Pindars*, Innsbruck 1957, 81f. and 93-5; Fuhrer (n. 8), 93-8.



more victories, being in content and poetic design similar to, in meter usually identical with, the Callimachean epinician<sup>87</sup>.

In the *Κωκιβίου νίκη* as well we find motifs which may be compared with passages in the agonistic epigrams. Apart from the *topoi* employed in both the epinicians and the agonistic epigrams<sup>88</sup>, the *Κωκιβίου νίκη* shares with those epigrams one thing in particular: from the end of the fifth century B.C., the victors in the Panhellenic games began to come with ever-increasing frequency from cities and countries which were farther from the mother country Greece and had never yet attained such fame<sup>89</sup>. Thus the emphasis on the victor's achievement as first of its kind became a *topos* in the Hellenistic victory epigrams<sup>90</sup>:

πρᾶτος ὃς ἀγαθέαι γέρασ ὄλβιον ὤπασε Λίνδωι (epigr. 72.4 Ebert)

ἀκτῶγ γὰρ πρᾶτιςτος ἀφ' Ἑλλάδος ἱπικὸν [ε]ῖχος  
ἄγαγεσ εἰς ἀγαθῶν οἶκον Ἀγηνοριδᾶν (epigr. 64.5f. Ebert)

That Egypt too was among those countries whose athletes only recently had begun to compete and win at the Panhellenic games becomes clear from the words of the Nile in section 2, where he as the personification of the victor's homeland expresses his pride and emphasizes that through the double victory of Sosibius in the Panhellenic games he has come for the first time to the fame justly due him in contrast with the smaller, but much more famous (presumably Greek) rivers (lines 28-34, esp. 29f.: οὐ] γάρ πῶ τις ἐπ[ὶ] πτόλιν ἤγαγ' ἄεθλον | διπλόον ἐ]κ ταφίων τῶνδε πανηγυρίων)<sup>91</sup>.

<sup>87</sup> A comparison is intimated as early as Reitzenstein (n. 70), 88, and P. von der Mühl, "Die Gedichte des Philosophen Arkesilaos", in *Studi in Onore di Ugo Paoli*, Firenze 1956, 718 (= *Ausgewählte kleine Schriften*, Basel 1976, 278).

<sup>88</sup> a) The victor brings his city fame: with Call. fr. 384.28 Pf. (καλά μοι θρεπτός ἔτειε γέρα) compare Pi. N. 5.8 (ἐγέρασαν ματρόπολιν); P. 1.31; P. 9.73; B. ep. 1.5-11; epigrams 12.4 Ebert (γέρασ ὄλβιον ὤπασε Λίνδωι); 20.4; 26.12; 69.9f.; etc.

b) The enumeration of earlier victories is broken off with the excuse that their number is too great: With Call. fr. 384.57ff. Pf. compare Pi. I. 1.60-3; O. 13.43-6; N. 2.23; N. 10.45f. (cf. E.L. Bundy, "The 'Quarrel Between Kallimachos and Apollonios', Part I: The Epilogue of Kallimachos' Hymn to Apollo", *CSCA* 5, 1972, 49 with n. 38); epigrams 15.5 (τὰς δ' ἄλλασ νίκασ οὐκ εὐμαρέσ ἐστ' ἀριθμῆσαι); 39.5; 79.18 Ebert; AP 16.52 (cf. Ebert [n. 1], 18 and 68f.).

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Ebert (n. 1), 24 and 106f.; E.N. Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World*, Oxford 1955<sup>2</sup>, 45f.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. also epigrams 31.2; 71.4; 73A.1f., and 73B.5 Ebert. On each occasion in the epinicians of choral lyric where an achievement is emphasized as first of its kind, it is exclusively a particular *combination* or *accumulation* of victories which is brought forward as first or unique (Pi. N. 6.24-6; O. 13.31; B. ep. 8.22-5; Simon. PMG 506; E. PMG 755).

<sup>91</sup> That for the Ptolemaic reign in particular such a gain in prestige was important is shown in an episode in Plb. 27.9.7-13: a Theban athlete competes for the fame of Greece, an Egyptian athlete for the fame of Ptolemy (Epiphanes); cf. L. Robert, "Sur des inscriptions d'Ephèse. Fêtes, athlètes, empereurs, épigrammes", *RPh* 41, 1967, 25f.

In section 3 Sosibius has probably been introduced as speaker. That the victor should enumerate his own successes has given offense to one of Callimachus' modern interpreters<sup>92</sup>, and this is indeed unthinkable in the epinicians of choral lyric. In some agonistic epigrams, however, the poets actually do have the victor—or better, his statue—report on his victories in the first person<sup>93</sup>. Thus also in the *ᾨοῦβίου νίκη* we cannot exclude the possibility that a statue of Sosibius has been introduced as speaker before lines 35ff.

In section 4 Callimachus introduces into his epinician a dedicatory epigram (lines 50f.) which probably is to document a victory of Sosibius' and thus must have been an agonistic epigram. Here the dedication itself speaks—a device fairly often employed in dedicatory (and thus also victory) epigrams<sup>94</sup>. In the last portion a remark such as 'I proclaim the victory of Sosibius' could have followed (cf. e.g. ἀγγέλλω νίκην in *epigr.* 51.1 Ebert). In the manner of the agonistic dedicatory epigrams, possibly Sosibius' name, his father's name, his native land, the festival and the type of athletic contest have been announced.

The examples here given should make it sufficiently clear that the concept of the 'crossing of genres' in the case of the Callimachean epinicians has indeed its right. Callimachus uses for the celebration of the victories of the Egyptian queen and the Ptolemaic statesman the poetic form in which such occasions ordinarily were celebrated in the Hellenistic age. The tendency already to be detected in the somewhat earlier Hellenistic epigrammatists, that of drawing from the epinician poetry of choral lyric *topoi*, stylistic traits, and imagery, Callimachus too adopts; as Alexandrian scholar, who within the framework of his work at the library was deeply engaged in the study of choral lyric, and—we may well say—as the brilliant poet that he is, he goes further that all the composers of agonistic epigrams of the Hellenistic 'school'.

In the *Victoria Berenices* Callimachus takes his 'epigram' further in following it with a myth; that is, he transforms it into a part of a larger poem that at least with respect to its structure is comparable with an epinician of choral lyric. Thus the 'epigram' corresponds to the praise of the victor (the *Siegerlob*) in the choral victory ode.

In the *ᾨοῦβίου νίκη* it is possible in spite of the many unresolved questions regarding the poem's structure to demonstrate that the poem contains several 'interludes' or 'cameo poems' in direct speech, all celebrating Sosibius' accomplishments and connected to one another with the poet's intervening remarks<sup>95</sup>. From the text as it has been

<sup>92</sup> Barigazzi (n. 15), 416.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. esp. *epigrams* 34; 35; 36; 50; 68; 70 Ebert (not in the *pluralis maiestatis* found tasteless by Barigazzi, which could, however, be interpreted as a *pluralis modestiae*). Cf. Ebert (n. 1), 21f. and 112; R. Kassel, "Dialogue mit Statuen", *ZPE* 51, 1981, 1-12, esp. 11.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Ebert (n. 1), 21f.

<sup>95</sup> In the extant sections of the poem the following structure may be distinguished: the hymn to Poseidon (section 1) is followed by the speech of the Nile (section 2), a speech which we have reason to suspect was spoken by Sosibius (section 3), the speech of an unknown figure (an Argive?) on the

transmitted to us, we can assume that Callimachus composed the poem of several parts which could in themselves be independent short poems; one of these is identifiable as dedicatory and probably also victory epigram, and the speeches of the Nile and of Sosibius show at least elements common to this genre. As a whole, however, the *Κασιβίου νίκη* is more than a victory epigram: it is comparable with the exceptional instances in the epinicians of choral lyric where the myth section is absent or a mythical event is only briefly alluded to<sup>96</sup>.

Thus Callimachus not only in writing considerably longer poems but also in other respects, as the arguments above demonstrate, joins clearly the tradition of the epinicians of choral lyric. His victory poems were not engraved in stone as epigrams were, but were recited perhaps at a victory celebration or were conceived from the very beginning as literary poetry<sup>97</sup>. Thus even when they show characteristics of the genre of epigram, they belong without a doubt to the genre of epinician. That their form is no longer the same, is surely to be attributed to the disappearance of music, song, and dance; but perhaps the origin of the transformation may more clearly be explained in light of the observations here made. Elegy had always been a form for the most various of contents<sup>98</sup>, and the epigram enjoyed great popularity especially among the Hellenistic poets<sup>99</sup>. Thus for Callimachus it would have been natural to compose a poem in celebration of a victory as an epigram in elegiac distichs, for which a long tradition already existed. Yet in his profound learning he was led to bring the tradition of celebrating victories in choral lyric into play to a far greater extent than had formerly been ventured. Thus compositions came into being whose characteristics we attempt to describe through comparison with the traditional genres and their attendant forms with the phenomenon of the 'crossing of genres' and the 'play of forms'.

That Callimachus after an interlude of about two hundred years restored the genre of the epinician to life must not, then, be understood in the first instance as a reversion to choral lyric. It is rather, I believe, an assumption and continuance of the existing practice.

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dedication in the Heraion, and the epigram on the dedication in Pelusium (section 4). The poet himself speaks at the beginning (lines 1-8), before the speech of the Nile (lines 21-8, perhaps even earlier), in the transition from the speech of the Argive to the dedication in Pelusium (lines 46-9), and at the end of the poem in the praise of Sosibius (lines 53-60).

96 The epinicians without a myth are all, with the exception of *I. 2*, brief poems (cf. Hamilton [n. 34], 29; Gelzer [n. 1], 97ff.). *N. 6*, *N. 11*, and *I. 7* contain only brief references to a myth, as perhaps also the *Κασιβίου νίκη* in lines 15ff.

97 On the public of the Callimachean epinicians cf. n. 41 above. The *Victoria Berenices* and the *Eighth Iambus* became pure book poetry, at the latest, with their admission into the collections of the *Aetia* and *Iambi* respectively. The epigrams too became book poetry in the Hellenistic period (cf. Kroll [n. 66], 207f.; Reitzenstein [n. 70], 89f.; Fraser [n. 11], 1, 560f.; Hutchinson [n. 66], 20-4); the extant agonistic epigrams, however, have come down to us almost exclusively as inscriptions on stone (but cf. 90f. above).

98 Cf. A.W. Bulloch, *Callimachus: The Fifth Hymn*, Cambridge 1985, 34-8; Fantuzzi (n. 65), 443; Hutchinson (n. 66), 16.

99 The meter of the epigrams is not exclusively, but certainly most often, the elegiac distich.

Callimachus took up the tendencies of the poets of victory epigram and transcended them: the employment of the epinicians of choral lyric, to be found to a limited extent even in the Hellenistic victory epigrams, grows in Callimachus to a part earnest, part playful coming to terms with the laws, the structure, the style, and the topics of this genre<sup>100</sup>.

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<sup>100</sup> I am grateful to Amy C. Clark for her valuable help in translating this article.