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Echoing Hylas : metapoetics in Hellenistic and Roman poetry

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ECHOING HYLAS
METAPOETICS IN HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN POETRY

PROEFSCHRIFT

TER VERKRIJGING VAN
DE GRAAD VAN DOCTOR AAN DE UNIVERSITEIT LEIDEN,
OP GEZAG VAN RECTOR MAGNIFICUS PROF. MR. P.F. VAN DER HEIJDEN,
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TE VERDEDIGEN OP DONDERDAG 2 DECEMBER 2010
KLOKKE 15.00 UUR

DOOR

MARK ANTONIUS JOHANNES HEERINK

GEBOREN TE OLDENZAAL
IN 1978

Promotiecommissie

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leden Prof.dr. M.A. Harder (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen)
 Prof.dr. P.R. Hardie (Trinity College, Cambridge)
 Prof.dr. R.R. Nauta (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen)

Cover illustration: detail from J.W. Waterhouse, *Hylas and the Nymphs*, 1896
(Manchester City Art Gallery).

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Words cannot express my gratitude to Caroline.

Cambridge, 20 August 2010

Mark Heerink

ABBREVIATIONS

Bibliographical abbreviations

<i>FrGrHist</i>	F. Jacoby (1923-30/1940-58) (ed.), <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , Berlin & Leiden.
<i>FRP</i>	A.S. Hollis (2007) (ed.), <i>Fragments of Roman Poetry, c. 60 BC – AD 20</i> , Oxford.
H	M.A. Harder (2010), <i>Callimachus, Aetia: Introduction, Text and Commentary</i> , 2 vols., Oxford.
K	H. Keil (1855-1880) (ed.), <i>Grammatici Latini</i> , 8 vols., Leipzig.
L	J.L. Lightfoot (2009) (ed.), <i>Hellenistic Collection: Philotas, Alexander of Aetolia, Hermesianax, Euphorion, Parthenius</i> , Cambridge, MA & London (Loeb Classical Library).
LSJ	H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, H. Stuart Jones & R. McKenzie (1968 ⁹) (eds.), <i>A Greek-English Lexicon. With a Supplement</i> , Oxford.
M	G. Massimilla (1996) (ed.), <i>Callimaco, Aitia, libri primo e secondo</i> , Pisa.
<i>OLD</i>	P.G.W. Glare (1969-82) (ed.), <i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i> , Oxford.
Pf.	R. Pfeiffer (1949-53) (ed.), <i>Callimachus</i> , 2 vols., Oxford.
S-M	B. Snell & H. Maehler (1987-9 ⁸) (eds.), <i>Pindari carmina cum fragmentis</i> , 2 vols., Leipzig.
<i>TrGF</i>	B. Snell, R. Kannicht & S. Radt (1971-) (eds.), <i>Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta</i> , Göttingen.
G-S	A.S.F. Gow & A.F. Schofield (1953) (eds.), <i>Nicander: The Poems and Poetical Fragments</i> , Cambridge.
<i>SH</i>	H. Lloyd-Jones & P.J. Parsons (eds.), <i>Supplementum Hellenisticum</i> , Berlin & New York.

Translations

Barich	M. Barich (2009), <i>Valerius Flaccus, Argonautica</i> , Gambier.
Celoria	F. Celoria (1992), <i>The Metamorphoses of Antoninus Liberalis</i> , London.
Cornish & Goold	F.W. Cornish, revised by G.P. Goold (1988), <i>Catullus</i> , Cambridge, MA & London (Loeb Classical Library).
Fairclough	H.R. Fairclough (1929 ²), <i>Horace, Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica</i> , Cambridge, MA & London (Loeb Classical Library).
Goold	G.P. Goold (1990), <i>Propertius, Elegies</i> , Cambridge, MA (Loeb Classical Library).
Gow	A.S.F. Gow (1950), <i>Theocritus, I</i> , Cambridge.
Halliwell	S. Halliwell (1995), <i>Aristotle, Poetics</i> , Cambridge (Loeb Classical Library).
Heyworth	S.J. Heyworth (2007), <i>Cynthia: A Companion to the Text of Propertius</i> , Oxford.
Hill	D.E. Hill (1985-99), <i>Ovid, Metamorphoses</i> , 3 vols., Warminster.
Hollis	A.S. Hollis (2007), <i>Fragments of Roman Poetry, c. 60 BC – AD 20</i> , Oxford.
Hopkinson	N. Hopkinson (1984), <i>Callimachus, Hymn to Demeter</i> , Cambridge.
Johnson	K. Johnson (2009), <i>Virgil's Georgics: A Poem of the Land</i> , London (Penguin Classics).
Jones	H.L. Jones (1928), <i>The Geography of Strabo. Vol. V: Books X-XII</i> , Cambridge, MA & London (Loeb Classical Library).
Kovacs	D. Kovacs (2001 ²), <i>Euripides, Cyclops, Alceste, Medea</i> , Cambridge, MA & London.
Lee	G. Lee (1984), <i>Virgil, The Eclogues</i> , London (Penguin Classics).
Mair	A.W. Mair (1955 ²), <i>Callimachus, Hymns and Epigrams</i> , Cambridge, MA & London (Loeb Classical Library).
Miller & Goold	F.J. Miller, revised by G.P. Goold (1977 ³), <i>Ovid, Metamorphoses</i> , 2 vols., Cambridge, MA & London (Loeb Classical Library).
Morgan	J.R. Morgan (2004), <i>Longus, Daphnis and Chloe</i> , Warminster.
Most	G.W. Most (2007), <i>Hesiod, Theogony, Works and Days, Testimonia</i> , Cambridge, MA & London (Loeb Classical Library).
Mozley	J.H. Mozley (1934), <i>Valerius Flaccus, Argonautica</i> , Cambridge, MA & London (Loeb Classical Library).

Murray & Dimock	A.T. Murray, revised by G. E. Dimock (1995), <i>Homer, The Odyssey</i> , 2 vols., Cambridge, MA & London (Loeb Classical Library).
Murray & Wyatt	A.T. Murray, revised by W.F. Wyatt (1999), <i>Homer, Iliad</i> , 2 vols., Cambridge, MA (Loeb Classical Library).
Musa	M. Musa (1984), <i>Dante, The Divine Comedy. Vol. 1: Inferno</i> , London (Penguin Classics).
Nisetich	F. Nisetich (2001), <i>The Poems of Callimachus</i> , Oxford.
Race	W.H. Race (2008), <i>Apollonius Rhodius' Argonautica</i> , Cambridge, MA & London (Loeb Classical Library).
Showerman & Goold	G. Showerman, revised by G.P. Goold (1977), <i>Ovid, Heroides, Amores</i> , Cambridge, MA & London (Loeb Classical Library).
Trypanis	C.A. Trypanis, <i>Callimachus. Vol. 1: Aetia, Iambi, Hecale and Other Fragments</i> , Cambridge, MA & London (Loeb Classical Library).
Verity	A. Verity (2002) <i>Theocritus, Idylls</i> , Oxford (with an Introduction and Notes by R.L. Hunter).
D. West	D. West (1991), <i>Virgil, The Aeneid</i> , London (Penguin Classics).
M.L. West	M.L. West (2003), <i>Greek Epic Fragments, from the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC</i> , Cambridge, MA & London (Loeb Classical Library).
	M.L. West (2003), <i>Homeric Hymns, Homeric Apocrypha, Lives of Homer</i> , Cambridge, MA & London (Loeb Classical Library).

Translations without reference are my own.

INTRODUCTION

THE ECHO OF HYLAS

All great fiction, to a large extent, is a reflection on itself rather than a reflection of reality.

Raymond Federman

1. The myth of Hylas

During a stopover of the Argonauts in Mysia, the young Hylas sets out to fetch water for his companion Hercules. Wandering in the woods, he arrives at a secluded spring, inhabited by nymphs who fall in love with him and pull him into the water. Mad with worry, Hercules stays in Mysia in search of the boy, whom he will never find again. He is then left behind by the Argonauts, who continue their quest for the Golden Fleece.

In the course of time, the story of Hylas and Hercules has been credited with various meanings. According to Strabo (1st cent. BC), the myth is aetiological in that it explains the origin of a cult in Mysia:

Above Prusias lies a mountain called Arganthonium. And here, they say, Hylas, one of the companions of Heracles who sailed with him on the Argo, was snatched by nymphs when he went ashore to get water. (...) And still to this day a kind of festival is celebrated among the Prusians, a mountain-ranging festival, in which they march in procession and call Hylas, as though making their exodus to the forests in quest of him.¹ (tr. Jones, adapted)

¹ Strabo, *Geogr.* 12.4.3: ὑπέρεκειται δὲ τῆς Προυσιάδος ὄρος, ὃ καλοῦσιν Ἀργανθώνιον. ἐνταῦθα δὲ μυθεύουσι τὸν Ὑλαν, ἓνα τῶν Ἡρακλέους ἐταίρων συμπλεύσαντα ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀργοῦς αὐτῷ, ἐξιόντα δὲ ἐπὶ ὑδρείαν ὑπὸ νυμφῶν ἀρπαγῆναι (...) καὶ νῦν δ' ἔτι ἐορτὴ τις ἄγεται παρὰ τοῖς Προυσιεῦσι καὶ ὀρειβασία θιασευόντων καὶ καλούντων Ὑλαν, ὡς ἂν κατὰ ζήτησιν τὴν ἐκείνου πεποιημένων τὴν ἐπὶ τὰς ὕλας ἔξοδον.

The Hellenistic poet Nicander (2nd cent. BC) claims that the myth is aetiological in another sense, by making it explain the origin of the echo. If we may believe Antoninus Liberalis' summary,² Nicander, in his now lost *Heteroeumena* ("Metamorphoses"), explained how the nymphs abducted Hylas and turned him into an echo, a motif that plays an important role in almost all the poems about Hylas that have come down to us.³

The nymphs, fearing that Heracles might discover that they had hidden the lad among them, changed him into an echo which again and again echoed back the cries of Heracles.⁴ (tr. Celoria)

Modern scholars have read the story as a *rite de passage*, the transition of a boy from his involvement in a pederastic relationship with Hercules to marriage with a nymph.⁵ The figure of Hylas has also been seen as a vegetation god, whose "death" coincides with the seasonal decline in the natural world and "is the focus of an annual religious ceremony characterised by the lament of the participants."⁶ The

² Antoninus Liberalis' story of Hylas (26) has as its heading: ἱστορεῖ Νίκανδρος Ἑτεροειδῶν Β' ("Nicander tells this tale in the second book of his *Metamorphoses*").

³ Sourvinou-Inwood 2004, 243ff. has interpreted the myth as aetiological in yet another sense, as a foundation myth of the Mysian city of Kios (later Prusias). See, however, the review of Köhnken 2008, 489, who convincingly argues that this thesis does not have any basis in the Hylas-poems ("Der Hylas-Mythos ist kein Stadtgründungsmythos.").

⁴ Nic. fr. 48 G-S (= Ant. Lib. 26.4): νύμφαι δὲ δέισασαι τὸν Ἡρακλέα, μὴ αὐτὸν εὖροι κρυπτόμενον παρ' αὐταῖς, μετέβαλον τὸν Ὑλαν καὶ ἐποίησαν ἡχώ καὶ πρὸς τὴν βοήν πολλακίς ἀντεφώνησεν Ἡρακλεῖ. Incidentally, Strabo (quoted above) also seems to hint at the echo motif.

⁵ See e.g. Hunter 1999, 262: "The story of Hylas' abduction by nymphs may be understood as a story of a young man's transition from being the *eromenos* of an older man to a new status as object of female desire ...". Cf. Hunter 1999, 268 (on Theoc. *Id.* 13.7: πλοκαμῖδα, "lock(s)"): "Hylas, like the model 'ephebe' Apollo (...), had not yet cut his youthful locks, which is a familiar *rite the passage* for sexes in many cultures (...)." Cf. Gow 1950, II, 233 on the same passage.

⁶ Leigh 1994, 193. Cf. also ibidem: "(...) Hylas is a local fertility god closely akin not just to Adonis but also to the Egyptian Maneros, to Linos or Ailinos, to Bormos, Pliaros, Lityerses and Mariandunos." Sourvinou-Inwood 2004, 119-46 (Part 4: "Young males publicly lamented") extensively compares Hylas with similar figures, from Adonis to Attis. Sourvinou-Inwood's comparison between the cults of Hylas and Dionysus (Part 5: "Dionysos and advent festivals"), however, is too far-fetched (Köhnken 2008, 490). Cf. Mauerhofer 2004, 63-6, who sees parallels between the Hylas myth as described by Theocritus and the myth of Osiris: "Dieser symbolisiert zunächst die wiedererwachsende Natur, besonders das nach dem 'ertrinken' im Nil wieder aufblühende Fruchland, und dann das Weiterleben nach dem Tod überhaupt. Die Sage handelt von seiner Ermordung durch den Wüstengott Seth und von der anschliessenden Rettung durch Isis. In Theokrits Gedicht gleicht Hylas durch sein

poems narrating the myth of Hylas have even been given mathematical significance.⁷ In this thesis, I will argue that the Hylas poems have an additional level of meaning. My contention is that the story is used by classical poets as a vehicle to express their poetics, and thus acquires metapoetical significance.

2. The wandering echo

As an introduction to the Hylas poems and a preliminary survey of their metapoetical dimension, I will now first briefly track the chronological development of the echo motif. In the oldest poetic treatments of the Hylas myth that we have, from the beginning of the Hellenistic age,⁸ Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica* does not associate Hylas with the echo, but *Idyll* 13 of his contemporary Theocritus hints at the boy's metamorphosis:

τοῖς μὲν Ὑλαν ἄυσεν, ὅσον βαθὺς ἤρουγε λαιμός·
τοῖς δ' ἄρ' ὁ παῖς ὑπάκουσεν, ἀραιὰ δ' ἴκετο φωνά
ἐξ ὕδατος, παρεὼν δὲ μάλα σχεδὸν εἶδετο πόρρω. Id. 13.58-60

"Hylas!" he [Heracles] bellowed, as loud as his deep throat could cry, three times. Three times the boy replied, but his voice rose faint from the pool; though close, it sounded far away. (tr. Verity)

'Sterben' und weiterleben Osiris, während die Nymphen mit ihrer tätigen Bemühung um den 'Ertrunkenen' die Rolle der Isis spielen und der ungestüme, durch wüste Gegenden irrende Herakles an Seth erinnert." (p. 63-4).

⁷ Mauerhofer 2004. For a critical discussion of Mauerhofer's approach, see Heerink 2006.

⁸ Before the Hellenistic age, the story of Heracles and Hylas had probably often been told in the many lost epic poems that dealt with Heracles. We know that at least Cinaithon (8th cent. BC) dealt with Hylas in his *Heracleia* (schol. A.R. 1.1355-57c), although there is a possibility that Conon, the mythographer (1st c. BC/AD) is meant by the scholiast (see Huxley 1969, 86). Peisandros of Kamiros (7th or 6th cent. BC) wrote a *Heracleia* in two books, apparently following a certain Pisinos of Lindos (thus Clem. Al. *Strom.* 6.2.25). There also existed a *Heracleia* by Panyassis (5th cent. BC) in 14 books. See Huxley 1969, 99-112 for these epics about Heracles. For other ancient Hylas poems that possibly existed but are now lost, see e.g. Mauerhofer 2004, 26-36 (Ch. 1: "Verschollene Darstellungen der Hylas-Sage"; his reconstruction of a hypothetical satyr play on Hylas (34), which is based completely on his own imagination, can be disregarded).

Hylas' reply to Heracles has much in common with an echo: three cries, three replies, and the answer is distant and faint.⁹ Furthermore, as the underlinings indicate, line 59, describing Hylas' answer, "echoes" Heracles' cry in the previous line on both a textual and a phonic level (τρῖς – τρῖς, ἄϋσεν – ὑπάκουσεν).¹⁰

The Romans take the lead from their Hellenistic predecessors. In his miniature, two-line version of the Hylas-myth, Virgil concentrates on the echo, which he literally repeats:

his adiungit, Hylan nautae quo fonte relictum
clamassent, ut litus "Hyla Hyla" omne sonaret. Ecl. 6.43-4

[Silenus] adds at what fountain mariners for Hylas lost | shouted till all the
shore re-echoed *Hylas, Hylas*. (tr. Lee)

Much as in Theocritus' echoing lines, Virgil's echo is imitated in the prosody, as the sequence of the long and the short *a* in *Hylā Hylā* creates the effect of a fading echo.¹¹ According to M.G. Bonanno, Virgil reacts to Theocritus, whose Heracles cried "Hylas" thrice, by mimetically reproducing Theocritus' statement with *Hylan* and the repeated *Hyla Hyla*; morphologically, *Hylan* is different from the two vocatives, but not phonetically, because of the subsequent *nautae*.¹² By making his echo so explicit, Virgil has interpreted Hylas' reply in *Idyll* 13 as an echo, revealing an awareness of the traditional metamorphosis of Hylas, which is also reflected in Theocritus' poem.

About a decade later, Propertius' elegy 1.20 has Hercules responding to the cry (*sonitum*) that Hylas utters when he is pulled into the water:¹³

⁹ Cf. Hunter 1999, 282 (on *Id.* 13.58-60): "(...) the experience of deceptive distance suggests the familiar echo effect."

¹⁰ Bonanno 1990, 195-6. Furthermore, the postponed metrical position of ὑπάκουσεν in relation to ἄϋσεν creates the fading effect of an echo. Incidentally, the great acoustic distance between Heracles and Hylas can be seen to be mimetically expressed by the separation of παρῳών and πόρρω. See also Ch. 2, Section 3.1 and 3.2 for Theocritus' treatment of the echo of Hylas.

¹¹ Traina & Bernardi Perini 1972, 228-9 (I owe the reference to Barchiesi 2001, 188, n. 39). See also Wills 1996, 346-7 and Hinds 1998, 5-6 for similar, rare reproductions of echoes in Ovid and Virgil.

¹² Bonanno 1990, 197; Wills 1996, 53 with n. 11.

¹³ As McCarthy 1981, 199 makes clear, *facili liquore* in 47 excludes the possibility that *sonitum* refers to a splash (for this interpretation, see Shackleton Bailey 1956, 58 and Diller 1975, 430). Cf. Camps 1961, 97

tum sonitum rapto corpore fecit Hylas.
cui procul Alcides ter "Hyla" respondet; at* illi
nomen ab extremis montibus** aura refert.

Prop. 1.20.48-50

* ter "Hyla" respondet at *Fontein*: iterat responsa sed *mss.*

** montibus *Heinsius*: fontibus *mss.*

[T]hen Hylas made a sound as his body was seized. To him from a distance Hercules thrice replies "Hylas"; and the breeze brings back the name to him from the far-off mountains. (tr. Heyworth)

The triple cry of Hercules again alludes to *Idyll* 13,¹⁴ on which poem Propertius' entire elegy is in fact modelled,¹⁵ and as in Theocritus and Virgil Hercules' cry is reproduced in the form of an echo.¹⁶ Although Propertius evokes the tradition according to which Hylas was transformed into an echo, however, Hylas is not identified with the echo, which is reproduced by the mountains and carried to Hercules by the wind. Propertius has demythologized the echo, making it appear as a natural phenomenon.¹⁷

In the Flavian era, Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica* reacts to the echoes of his Roman predecessors:

(on 1.20.48), who provides an interesting parallel for the rare use of *sonitum* to denote the human voice: Virg. G. 4.333f.: *at mater sonitum thalamo sub fluminis alti | sensit* ("But his mother in her bedchamber beneath the river's depths | felt his clamour"; tr. Johnson), on which see also Heyworth 2007b, 93: "[I]n each case the human voice when heard through water becomes a *sonitus*."

¹⁴ See Goold 1992, 294 for arguments in favour of Fontein's reading of line 49, which is accepted by e.g. Butrica 1984, Goold 1990, Luck 1996, Viarre 2005 and Heyworth 2007a.

¹⁵ See Ch. 3, Section 7.1.

¹⁶ Broukhusius 1727, 86: "*aura* est Echo. etenim metuentes nymphae ne Hercules absconditum apud se Hylam inveniret, puerum in Echonem commutarent. auctor Nicander apud Antoninus Liberalis."; Baker 2000, 181 (on Prop. 1.20.50): "This seems best taken as the echo of Hercules' repeated calls in 49, the name being that of Hylas (cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 6.32-4)." Most modern editors (e.g. Barber 1960, Butrica 1984, Fedeli 1984, Goold 1990, Luck 1996, Viarre 2005 and Heyworth 2007a) read *montibus* in line 50, which makes for a more logical echo. The reading *fontibus*, however, which is the "codicum consensus", has the advantage that it could add an allusion to *Idyll* 13, where Hylas was seemingly transformed into an echo answering Heracles' cry from the water (ἐξ ὕδατος), if *ab extremis fontibus* is interpreted as "from the depths of the spring". The Latin, however, which is awkward on any interpretation, does not seem to allow this interpretation: "*extremis* is very hard if *fontibus* be retained. It cannot merely be equivalent to *longinquis* and would naturally mean 'from the fountain's edge' (...) rather than 'from the furthest part of the spring'." (Shackleton Bailey 1956, 58). Cf. Heyworth 2007b, 93: "(...) the transmitted *fontibus* can hardly be right in 50 unless *extremis* is corrupt."

¹⁷ See also Ch. 3, Sections 6.2 and 7.2.

rursus Hylan et rursus Hylan per longa reclamatione
avia: responsant silvae et vaga certat imago. Arg. 3.596-7

“Hylas”, he shouts, “Hylas”, over and over again through pathless territory.
The forests reply and the wandering echo emulates [his cry].

Hercules’ cry, with the double *Hylan*, is a clear allusion to Virgil’s repetition *Hyla Hyla*,¹⁸ for instance marked by the double *rursus* and *reclamatione* in 596. As Barchiesi comments: “‘Once again’ expresses both the phonic and intertextual reiteration of the name; *reclamatione*, coming after the Virgilian *clamassent*, is a gloss on this process of replicating what has also been said/written.”¹⁹ Furthermore, Virgil’s presence is supported in 597 by the allusion to another echo in *Eclogue* 10:²⁰

non canimus surdis, respondent omnia silvae. Ecl. 10.8

No to the deaf we sing; the forrests answer all. (tr. Lee)

The natural phenomenon of echo is used by Roman poets as a trope to describe the intertextual process, as scholars have shown,²¹ and this is how it is used by Valerius: his text *is* an “echo” of Virgil’s. The intertextual play is even more sophisticated as the intertextual echo inverts the acoustic one: Virgil’s *Hyla Hyla* is paradoxically the echo of Hercules’ cry *Hylan ... Hylan* in the *Argonautica*.²²

Valerius also reacts to the earlier echoes. Whereas Theocritus’ echo was in fact Hylas, answering from the water, and Propertius’ was more naturally produced by the mountains and the wind, the woods (*silvae*) bring back Hercules’ cry in Valerius’

¹⁸ See Hollander 1981, 13; Malamud & McGuire 1993, 213; Barchiesi 2001, 140 for the intertextual contact.

¹⁹ Barchiesi 2001, 188 (n. 39). See also Wills 1996, 30-31 on “external markers” for allusion.

²⁰ Barchiesi 2001, 140, who also notes that Valerius’ use of the rare verb *respondere* points to Virgil (*Aen.* 12.757).

²¹ See Hinds 1998, 5-8; Barchiesi 2001, 139-40 for the echo as a “trope of intertextuality”. Both authors also discuss Valerius’ passage in this context. Cf. Hollander 1981, who deals with the echo as “a mode of allusion” in Renaissance and post-Renaissance literature, but also mentions Valerius’ echo as an example (p. 13).

²² Barchiesi 2001, 188 (n. 39).

Argonautica. Yet since *silva* is the equivalent of ὕλη,²³ which in turn is an ancient etymology of Hylas,²⁴ Valerius' Hylas in a sense answers Hercules as an echo, just as in Theocritus and Virgil. But at the same time, like Propertius, Valerius has made the echo more natural, as it does not come from the water, but is produced by *silvae*, the "woods" that Hylas represents through the etymology of his name. With this natural echo that retains the association with Hylas Valerius can be said to have surpassed his poetic predecessors. As Barchiesi has suggested, Valerius' *vaga certat imago* expresses this metapoetically: Valerius' echo emulates the ones before.²⁵

3. A metapoetical interpretation of the Hylas myth

This brief survey of the echo motif in the classical versions of the Hylas myth shows that the passages strongly react to each other, and that although the echoes are similar their message is not the same. The way the poets "echo" their predecessors in dealing with Hylas' association with the phenomenon of echo can be read in terms of a subtle game of *imitatio* and *aemulatio*, in which each poet on the one hand affiliates himself with a literary tradition while at the same attempting to find his own poetic niche within this tradition.

In this thesis, I will argue that the echo motif is only the tip of the iceberg, and that the Hylas poems *in their entirety* reflect the poetics of the respective poets on an implicit, allegorical level. I will, in other words, present a "metapoetical" reading of the poetic versions of the Hylas myth. The etymology of Hylas' name, as derived

²³ *Silva* and ὕλη can both mean "forest", "wood" (OLD 1, 2; LSJ I, II), but *silva* can also metaphorically denote "(literary) material" (OLD 5b; the common term is *materia*) and thus translate ὕλη (LSJ III.3).

²⁴ See Barchiesi 2001, 189 (n. 41) for puns on this etymology by Strabo (quoted in n. 1 above: Ὑλαν ... ὕλας) and *Orph. Arg.* 643-5: Ὑλας ἐξίκετο νηὸς | λάθρη ἐπισπόμενος σκολιῆς δ' ἀλίτησεν ἄταρ ποῦ | ὕλη ἐνιπλάγχθεις ("Hylas disembarked, secretly pursuing him [*Heracles*]; but wandering in the forest he strayed from the winding path."). See also Ch. 1, Section 3.3; Ch. 2, Section 3.3; Ch. 3, Section 4 for the etymological wordplay on Hylas and ὕλη.

²⁵ Barchiesi 2001, 140. For an example of the reception of this echo motif in Neo-Latin poetry, in the Hylas elegy of Daniël Heinsius (1580-1655), see Heerink & Bloemendal 2008.

from ὕλη, which can denote “wood” on the one hand and “poetic subject matter” on the other,²⁶ is essential in triggering metapoetical meaning. A further key feature of the metapoetical dimension of the Hylas myth is the relationship and opposition set up between the archetypal hero Hercules and the tender boy Hylas and appropriated by poets to symbolize the way the poet deals with a poetic predecessor. Another recurrent element is the use of the setting of the rape of Hylas as a metapoetical landscape.

Although the Hylas poems share many metapoetical features and reveal similar metapoetical agendas, they also exhibit striking differences. Since the poems are written in different periods and literary contexts (Hellenistic, Augustan, Flavian), in different genres (bucolic, elegy, epic), and by different authors (Apollonius, Theocritus, Virgil, Valerius Flaccus, Statius), who write quite different styles of poetry, this is *a priori* hardly surprising. The Hylas poems echo each other, but as in the case of the natural phenomenon, each echo is not an exact replica of what it reiterates; the respective poets appropriate the Hylas myth for their own literary purposes.

In the four chapters of this thesis I will show how the four full-scale classical versions of the Hylas myth by Apollonius, Theocritus, Propertius and Valerius Flaccus, as well as the incomplete versions of Virgil and Statius, allegorically express the poetics of their respective poets.²⁷ As will become clear in the course of the thesis, the individual metapoetical statements that these Hylas poems offer do not only stand on their own, but also contribute to a diachronic debate that extends and reinforces the metapoetical meaning of each individual poem.²⁸

²⁶ See n. 23 above.

²⁷ Brief references to Hylas in classical poetry, which do not seem to participate in the intertextual game of the large-scale versions, will not be considered. Late classical poems on Hylas, including Ausonius' epigrams 97 and 98 (4th cent. AD), *Orphic Argonautica* 629-57 (4th/5th cent. AD; see also n. 24 above) and Dracontius' *Romulea* 2 (5th/6th cent. AD), on which see e.g. Mauerhofer 2004 and esp. Weber 1995, cannot be dealt with in this thesis.

²⁸ For a comparison of these Hylas poems in other than metapoetical respects, see esp. Türk 1895, Koch 1955; Murgatroyd 1992; Weber 1995, 52-127; Mauerhofer 2004.

Before turning to the Hylas poems and their poetical agendas, I will now first contextualize my research within the broader field of research on ancient metapoetical discourse.

4. Metapoetics in Hellenistic and Roman poetry

Poetry is often about poetry.²⁹ The self-reflexive dimension of a poem can be more or less explicit, but it can also be very implicit and reside below the surface of the text, as it were. In evoking this implicit, secondary level of meaning, for which the term “metapoetical” is commonly used, a key role is played by poetological metaphors. For instance, Arachne weaving a tapestry in book 6 of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* can be seen as a metapoetical representation in miniature, a *mise en abyme*,³⁰ of Ovid at work

²⁹ Systematic theoretical studies of self-reflexive literature (mainly in the form of 20th century novels) include Ricardou 1973; Alter 1975; Dällenbach 1977 (tr. 1989; see also next note); Belleau 1980; Hutcheon 1980 (1984²); Christensens 1981; Fitch 1982; Paterson 1982; Waugh 1984; Imhof 1986; McHale 1987; Currie 1995. For the specific phenomenon of “metatheatre”, dealing with the self-referentiality of (ancient and modern) drama, see Hornby 1986; Abel 2003. Systematic exclusively theoretical work on the self-reflexivity specifically of poetry is rare, but see Müller-Zetzelmann 2000 on “Metalyrik”.

³⁰ *Mise en abyme* is one of the most common metapoetical techniques. The term was first used by André Gide in 1893 (in his diary; see Dällenbach 1989, 7 for the quotation) to denote literary self-reflexivity. He derived the term from heraldry, where the technical term denotes the placement of a miniature version of the original shield “*en abyme*”, in the centre of it. The literary *mise en abyme* has received extensive theoretical treatment by Dällenbach 1977. In the English translation of this book (1989) it is defined as “any aspect enclosed within a work that shows a similarity with the work that contains it” (8). Bal 1997 uses the convenient term “mirror-text” to describe the same phenomenon: “When the primary fabula and the imbedded fabula can be paraphrased in such a manner that both paraphrases have one or more elements in common, the subtext is a sign of the primary text.” (p. 58). Dällenbach treats *mise en abyme* as a relatively modern phenomenon, but as the Ovidian example shows, it also definitely features in classical poetry. Here *mise en abyme* can take the form of a scene, for instance an ecphrasis, a description of a work of art, which reflects the work that contains it. Apart from *mise en abyme* in this strict sense, as a miniature of the work as a whole, a character in a text can also act as a representation of the author himself. In the example from Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, both types of *mise en abyme* are combined. Alternatively, the viewer of a work of art in a literary work can represent the reader of the text as a *mise en abyme*. Aeneas watching the images on Dido’s temple to Juno in *Aeneid* 4 is a famous example (on which see e.g. Fowler 1994, 251). Cf. Fowler 2000b, 90, who sees *mise en abyme* as part of the broader phenomenon of “surrogacy”: “(...) the *mise en abyme* of an image of the literary work is in fact part of a wider phenomenon of surrogacy in which all three elements of the literary process, author, work, and audience, can find representation within the work”. I will, however, use the term *mise en abyme* in the wider sense, as synonymous with Fowler “surrogacy”. For *mise en abyme*

with his poem, his “text”, through activation of the common metaphor of weaving for the writing of poetry.³¹ Together, such metaphors can create so extensive a subtext that one could speak of an allegory or, perhaps better, a “partial allegory”, as not necessarily all the elements in the poem can or need to be read metapoetically.³² It is important to stress that a poem containing a metapoetical allegory can be read and understood on a primary level without knowledge of the metapoetical dimension. In this respect metapoetical allegory differs from the usual allegory, in which the primary narrative cannot be fully understood without the secondary level of meaning.³³ Dante’s *Divine Comedy*, for instance, starts with the famous words: “Midway along the journey of our life | I woke to find myself in a dark wood, | for I had wandered off from the straight path.” (tr. Musa). The text makes it immediately clear that a metaphorical path is meant here and that the journey of Dante’s poetic persona, which covers the entire poem, is to be read allegorically.

Scholars tend to regard the self-reflexivity of art in general and literature in particular as a relatively modern phenomenon.³⁴ Nevertheless, the study of metapoetics has yielded a rich harvest in the field of interpretative classical

in Latin literature, see also e.g. Braund 2002, 216-8 (with p. 223 for bibliography). See Ch. 1, Section 2.4 for examples from *Iliad* 3 (see also next note) and Apollonius’ *Argonautica*.

³¹ See e.g. Harries 1990 for the metapoetical link between Ovid and his *Metamorphoses* on the one hand and Arachne and her tapestry on the other (and for more bibliography). The weaving metaphor already occurs in archaic Greek poetry: see Svenbro 1976, 191-2 and Svenbro & Scheid 1996, 111-30. For the metaphor in Roman poetry, where it became a commonplace, see in particular Deremetz 1995, 289-93; Svenbro & Scheid 1996, 131-55 and (for examples) Ross 1975, Index rerum notabiliorum s.v. *deducere*. See also Ch. 1, Section 2.4 for an example from *Iliad* 3; Ch. 2, Section 2.2 for an example from Theocritus’ first *Idyll*; Ch. 3, Section 5.2 for the metapoetical significance of Virgil’s woven basket in *Ecl.* 10; Ch. 4, Section 5.4 for the programmatic importance of *deducere* (“to spin out”) in *Ov. Met.* 1.4.

³² I owe the term to Slings 2004, 282 (on his metapoetical interpretation of Callimachus’ *Hymn to Delos*): “It is not my claim that the *Hymn to Delos* is a complete allegory – not even that all the elements in this poem admit of a metaphorical, implicitly poetical reading as well as a literal one, but I do claim that crucial elements in the poem constitute an implicitly poetic level, that is to say, there is a network of metaphors that together justify reading the *Hymn to Delos* as poetry about poetry. (...) The best term I can think of is ‘partial allegory’.”

³³ Cf. Slings 2004, 281, n. 5: “The difference between a proper allegory and an implicitly poetic reading I propose here is that in a proper allegory the items only admit of a metaphorical reading, and a literal reading is excluded (...).”

³⁴ Alter 1975 and Hutcheon 1980, for instance, see the roots of the self-reflexive novel in Cervantes’ *Don Quixote*. Dällenbach 1989 mainly deals with Gide and the French 20th century *Nouveau Roman*, but he occasionally also treats the self-reflexivity of older literature, including even the *Odyssey* (pp. 86-7).

scholarship in recent decades. This is partially due to our postmodern willingness to find this phenomenon at work in antiquity, but also to the fact that there *is* undeniably a broad self-reflexive discourse in antiquity:³⁵ a lot of ancient poetry is – both explicitly and implicitly – concerned with itself and its place in literary history, and the longer the poetic tradition, the more this is the case. In particular Hellenistic Greek and Roman poetry, both indebted to a long literary tradition that started with Homer, have been fruitfully subjected to metapoetical interpretation; one may think here, for instance, of the poetry of Callimachus, Roman love elegy and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.³⁶ By now we even have theoretical studies of the ancient metapoetical discourse at our disposal, notably those of the French scholars P. Galand-Hallyn and A. Deremetz.³⁷ The popularity of metapoetical interpretation and the extent to which this line of research is nowadays accepted in the field of classical scholarship is further emphasized by the presence of a chapter on “metapoetics” in S.M. Braund's introduction to Latin literature.³⁸

³⁵ Because of the pervasiveness of this ancient discourse, I cannot agree with Asper 2008, 197 (in his discussion of metapoetical interpretations of Apollonius' *Argonautica* [pp. 189-97], who defines metapoetics as “reader's poetology” and claims that “modern readers will be more ready to look out for metapoetic statements in ancient texts than ancient readers or audiences would have been (...).” Furthermore, I do not understand why Asper's objection that metapoetical interpretation is generated by the reader is directed at metapoetics in particular. All interpretation of classical literature is by necessity a “fusion of horizons”, a compromise between a modern interpreter and an ancient text, and I do not see how metapoetical interpretation would be any special in this respect.

³⁶ For Callimachus see e.g. Müller 1987; Bing 1988; Ambühl 2004; Murray 2004; Slings 2004. Asper 1997, 224-34 presents an overview of metapoetical interpretations, which he, however, rejects (see also below). For Roman love elegy, see e.g. McNamee 1993; Conte 1994, 35-65; Deremetz 1995, 315-49; 351-409; Boyd 1997; Petrain 2000; Volk 2002, 157-95; Wyke 2002; DeBrohun 2003; Coutelle 2005. For Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, see e.g. Rosati 1983; Knox 1986; Hinds 1987; Solodow 1988; Harries 1990; Spahlinger 1996; Tronchet 1998; Galinsky 1999; Rosati 1999; Barchiesi 2001; Jouteur 2001; Hardie 2002; Harrison 2002; Keith 2002; Heerink 2009.

³⁷ Galand-Hallyn 1994 deal with the metapoetical potential of descriptions from Homer to the Renaissance. Deremetz 1995 focuses on Roman poetry. After presenting a semiotic, theoretical discussion of metapoetics in Roman poetry, he presents various, extensive case studies on the prologues of Terence's comedies, Lucretius *Hymn to Venus* (which opens his *De rerum natura*), Virgil's *Eclogue* 6, Propertius' *Vertumnus* elegy (4.2), Ovid's *Ars amatoria* 1 and Silius Italicus' *Punica* 11. See also conveniently Kofler 2003, 13-42, for a concise theoretical treatment of metapoetics as well as a useful survey of metapoetical interpretations that have been proposed, mainly of epic poetry. For more bibliography on ancient metapoetics, see e.g. Galand-Hallyn 1994, 14-6.

³⁸ Braund 2002, Ch. 12: “Metapoetics” (pp. 207-24).

Nevertheless, the implicit nature of metapoetical readings now and then causes them to be rejected for methodological reasons. M. Asper, for instance, in his 1997 book on the “poetological metaphors” of Callimachus, fiercely opposes metapoetical interpretation on the ground that a secondary level of meaning is not necessary to understand the text.³⁹ Asper distinguishes metapoetical interpretation from his own approach, which addresses only Callimachus’ *explicit* remarks about poetry, and he rejects the common, “analogical” practice in metapoetical interpretation of reading poetological metaphors metapoetically when they appear in a context that is not explicitly about poetry. In her review of the book, however, K. Volk has shown that the line between implicit and explicit statements about poetry is a fine and often blurred one. She concludes: “A[sper]’s wholesale rejection of ‘metapoetic’ readings on methodological grounds (...) fails to convince. It seems reasonable to judge individually and on its own merits every interpretation that detects a hidden reference to poetry in a particular passage: if it is bad, it is because it is bad, not because it is ‘metapoetic’.”⁴⁰

Although metapoetical interpretation is widely accepted and needs no further justification, my specific, diachronic approach may help to convince even the most sceptical critics of its validity. Most metapoetical interpretations focus on one specific text, and my thesis also offers individual metapoetical interpretations, which can stand on their own to a large extent. In the specific case of the Hylas poems, however, which constitute an interconnected nexus of texts written in different periods of antiquity, the metapoetical dialogue between these poems becomes increasingly important over time, as each of these poems takes knowledge of what

³⁹ Asper 1997, 224-34. See also n. 35 above.

⁴⁰ Volk 1998. As Volk also duly notes, Asper even contradicts himself when he interprets the metaphors used in Callimachus’ *Epigram* 28 as working on an erotic and a poetic level at the same time (Asper 1997, 56-8.). Comparable to Asper, Zanker 1999 fiercely criticizes the metapoetical interpretations (of Hellenistic poetry) by Seiler 1997: “(...) [M]etapoetics is by definition to be found ‘behind the poetry’. Do we want to run the risk of leaving the actual poetry behind?”. As metapoetical interpretation does not claim a monopoly on meaning, but opens up an additional level of meaning, it seems to me to enrich poetry rather than the opposite. See also Seiler’s reaction to this review on his website (<http://www.poesispoieseos.ch/za.htm>).

was written before for granted. Alternatively, later Hylas poems can now and then “retrospectively” shed interpretative light on the metapoetical allegories of earlier ones.⁴¹ In other words, the metapoetical significance of the individual Hylas poems is reinforced by their intertextual contact.⁴² Although this “interpoetical dialogue” is an essential aspect of the metapoetical dimension of the Hylas myth in particular, my diachronic approach may also prove useful to strengthen or uncover other metapoetical dimensions and thus contribute to a better understanding of metapoetics in general.

⁴¹ See Hardie 1990*a*, and more extensively Hardie 1993, for the approach of “retrospective interpretation”. Hardie has shown that the Flavians read and interpret their most important model, Virgil’s *Aeneid*, in a way that anticipates modern studies of intertextuality. Flavian readings and interpretations of Virgil can thus be used as a critical tool for our own reading of the *Aeneid*.

⁴² Obviously, intertextuality plays an important role in my research. The last three decades of the previous century much insight has been acquired into the dynamics of the way in particular Hellenistic and Roman poetry deals with the traditions in which it places itself. G.B. Conte (1974; 1984) was the first to apply intertextual and semiotic theory, combined with a traditional philological approach, to classical texts. This approach was enormously productive, and the translation and revision of these works into English (Conte 1986), have had a major impact on classical scholarship, as had the works of Wills 1996, Fowler 1997, Hinds 1998 and Barchiesi 2001. My approach, which combines metapoetical and intertextual interpretation, is much indebted to these pioneering studies.

CHAPTER 1

EPIC HYLAS: APOLLONIUS' *ARGONAUTICA*

Callimachus and Apollonius were fighting
on the same side in the Battle of the Books
Lefkowitz 1981, 135

1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will argue that Apollonius of Rhodes used Hylas and Heracles to express his allegiance to Callimachean poetics, and that the Hylas episode of the *Argonautica* can be read as a metapoetical statement pertaining to the entire epic. First, however, I will show in what sense the epic can be seen as Callimachean. As has often been noted, the *Argonautica* significantly differs from its main models, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Scholarly attention on the relationship between Apollonius and Homer has focused on the protagonist of the epic, Jason, who has been found to fall short with regard to the heroic credentials of his Homeric predecessors.⁴³ But Jason has other qualities, such as his beauty and his intelligence, with which he can, and will, fulfil his mission, acquiring the Golden Fleece,⁴⁴ as gradually becomes clear.

As I will argue, this relationship between Jason and the Homeric heroes reflects that of Apollonius with regard to the Homeric epic legacy. Jason can thus be seen as a *mise en abyme*, a representation of the poet himself gradually maturing as an epic poet and finding his own poetic niche with regard to the heroic-epic tradition. The latter is symbolized by the greatest Greek hero in the story, who is able to live up to Homeric expectations: Heracles. The hero's departure from the *Argonautica* at the end of the first book, due to the disappearance of Hylas, is an important juncture in the

⁴³ Lawall 1966.

⁴⁴ So e.g. Fränkel 1959; Beye 1969; 1982, 77-99; Schwinge 1986, 88-152; Hunter 1988; 1993, 8-45; Clauss 1993.

development of both Apollonius and his poetic *alter ego* Jason. The episode constitutes the climax of the continuing clash in the first book between Jason and Heracles and can be read as a metapoetical allegory, symbolizing Apollonius' "Callimachean" attitude *vis-à-vis* the Homeric tradition through association of himself with Hylas. His maturation, symbolized by his transition from involvement in a pederastic relationship with Heracles to his marriage with a nymph, is accompanied by the leaving behind of his adoptive father and teacher Heracles.

2. Jason vs. Heracles

2.1. Jason the love hero

At the beginning of the *Argonautica*, Jason seems unfit for the task set upon him, because of the presence of a greater hero, Heracles, who is even unanimously chosen by the other Argonauts as their leader (1.342-3). In the course of the first book, however, the powerful Heracles increasingly does not seem to fit this new type of epic, in which other, non-heroic qualities, such as Jason's way with women (Medea in particular) are more effective, as the seer Phineus will tell the Argonauts quite explicitly in book 2:

ἀλλά, φίλοι, φράζεσθε θεᾶς δολόεσσαν ἄρωγῆν
Κύπριδος· ἐν γὰρ τῇ κλυτὰ πείρατα κεῖται ἀέθλων. Arg. 2.423-4

But, my friends, be mindful of the wily assistance of the goddess Cypris, for with her lies the glorious accomplishment of your tasks. (tr. Race)

The third book of the *Argonautica*, moreover, in which Medea's love of Jason features prominently, opens with a second prologue, stressing the importance of love for the remainder of the epic:⁴⁵

⁴⁵ See Albis 1996, 111-2 for the way in which this prologue also marks a transition from Apollo, who is invoked in the proem of the epic (Arg. 1.1), to Aphrodite as tutelary deity.

εἰ δ' ἄγε νῦν, Ἐρατώ, παρὰ θ' ἴστασο καί μοι ἔνισπε,
ἔνθεν ὅπως ἐς Ἴωλκὸν ἀνήγαγε κῶας Ἰήσων
Μηδείης ὑπ' ἔρωτι· σὺ γὰρ καὶ Κύπριδος αἶσαν
ἔμμορες, ἀδμήτας δὲ τεοῖς μελεδήμασι θέλγεις
παρθενικάς· τῷ καί τοι ἐπήρατον οὔνομ' ἀνήπται. Arg. 3.1-5

Come now, Erato, stand by my side and tell me how from here Jason brought the fleece back to Iolcus with the aid of Medea's love, for you have a share also of Cypris' power and enchant unwed girls with your anxieties; and that is why your lovely name has been attached to you. (tr. Race)

At the first stopover of the Argonauts, on Lemnos, we already get an indication of the way this epic is destined to go and the qualities the mission will require. Jason is depicted here as a “love hero”, his ἀρετή being attractiveness to women, in this particular case to the queen of the island, Hypsipyle.⁴⁶ This love hero is set up as an alternative to a heroic-epic, Homeric hero. Jason, for instance, enters the Lemnian city, when summoned by Hypsipyle, dressed in an extensively described cloak, which is “an erotic version of Achilles' shield”,⁴⁷ and although Jason's progression into the city is thus reminiscent of a Homeric battle scene, it is also a perversion of one.⁴⁸

2.2. Too heavy for the Argo: Heracles in Argonautica 1

The time does not seem ripe for eroticised epic as long as Heracles is part of the expedition. While Jason and the other Argonauts accept Hypsipyle's invitation, returning to the city and enjoying themselves with the Lemnian women, Heracles chooses to stay by the Argo with some of his comrades:

⁴⁶ For Jason as a love hero, see Beye 1969 (coining the expression); 1982, 77-99. For the Lemnos episode in particular, see Beye 1969, 43-5; Zanker 1979, 54; Beye 1982, 88-93; Clauss 1993, 131, 135; DeForest 1994, 55-60.

⁴⁷ DeForest 1994, 56. See e.g. Goldhill 1991, 308-11 for a discussion of the ecphrasis as *mise en abyme* of the *Argonautica* (with n. 54 for more bibliography).

⁴⁸ Cf. DeForest 1994, 57: “The warrior of love storms the woman's heart as a real warrior storms a city. The frequent mention of pylai, “gates,” and of Hypsipyle's name, “high gate,” reminds the reader that a potential *Iliad* has been changed into a paraclausithyron, a song sung by a locked-out lover.” Cf. Beye 1982, 92 and Zanker 1987, 203: “Apollonius is turning the values of traditional heroism upside down.”

ἐνθ' ὁ μὲν Ὑψιπύλης βασιλήιον ἐς δόμον ὤρτο
 Αἰσονίδης· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ὅπη καὶ ἔκυρσαν ἕκαστος,
 Ἡρακλῆος ἀνευθεν, ὁ γὰρ παρὰ νηὶ λέλειπτο
 αὐτὸς ἐκὼν παῦροι τε διακρινθένθες ἐταῖροι. Arg. 1.853-6

Then Jason set off for Hypsipyle's royal palace, while the others went wherever each chanced to go, except for Heracles, for he was left behind by the ship of his own accord along with a few chosen comrades. (tr. Race)

Although Heracles helps the Argonauts by reproaching them for their behaviour (1.865-74; see below) and in so doing assures the continuation of the expedition, he also distances himself from Jason and most of his fellow-Argonauts by staying behind with a few men. Moreover, he appears to dislike the heterosexual love that will prove to be so crucial for the fulfilment of the epic mission.⁴⁹ On Lemnos, Heracles thus appears to be out of place in the expedition. This is reinforced by the intertextual contact between Heracles' reproaching speech in the *Argonautica* and *Iliad* 2, where Thersites addresses the Greeks in much the same way as Heracles does:⁵⁰

δαιμόνιοι (...)
 ἴομεν αὖθις ἕκαστοι ἐπὶ σφέα· τὸν δ' ἐνὶ λέκτροις
 Ὑψιπύλης εἰᾶτε πανήμερον ... Arg. 1.865; 872-3

You fools! (...) Let each of us return to his own affairs; as for that fellow [Jason], let him spend all day long in Hypsipyle's bed. (tr. Race)

⁴⁹ See e.g. Beye 1982, 93; DeForest 1994, 63. The argument of Hunter 1993, 34 against seeing Heracles as "spurning heterosexual love-making" is invalid. His reasoning is that "no Greek hero was more fertile than Heracles", which means that Jason, staying with Hypsipyle on Lemnos, "is merely following in Heracles' footsteps". But, as e.g. Galinsky 1972 shows, the character of Heracles is multi-faceted ("he appears in a variety of roles", p. 1), and the *Argonautica* simply does not focus at all on Heracles as a womanizer. Rather, Apollonius is quite consistent in his depiction of Heracles as an archaic hero with a predilection for homosexual love, as the Hylas episode also reveals (see below). Cf. also Beye 1982, 96 for Apollonius' Heracles as an archaic hero: "Though he probably knew the more recent fourth-century reinterpretation of the mythological Heracles figure into a Stoic ascetic or a man of moral strength who makes the choice between virtue and vice, Apollonius returns to the classical conception of Heracles, the man of physical strength and impulsive if not wanton action; in short a brute. In the catalogue he introduces him with the old-fashioned phrase 'strength of Heracles' (122)."

⁵⁰ See also Vian 1974, 91; Hunter 1993, 35-6; DeForest 1994, 58-9 for parallels between the two passages.

ὦ πέπονες, κάκ' ἐλέγχε', Ἀχαιίδες, οὐκέτ' Ἀχαιοί,
οἴκαδ' περ σὺν νηυσὶ νεώμεθα, τόνδε δ' ἐῷμεν
αὐτοῦ ἐνὶ Τροίῃ γέρα πεσσέμεν ...

Il. 2.235-7

Soft fools! Base things of shame, you women of Achaea, men no more,
homeward let us go with our ships, and leave this fellow here [Agamemnon] in
the land of Troy to digest his prizes. (tr. Murray & Wyatt)

Although both men reproach their respective comrades and leaders, their purposes are opposite: whereas Thersites urges the Greeks to abandon the expedition and go home, Heracles' aim is to make the Argonauts resume the expedition. Although his words are justified, Thersites is an outsider. He is not part of the aristocratic elite of kings who are the real protagonists of the *Iliad*, and as a consequence Thersites is scolded by Odysseus.⁵¹ Thersites' position can also be seen from a metapoetical point of view: his aim to end the war would result in the end of the *Iliad*.⁵² The intertextual contact emphasizes that, like Thersites, Heracles is an outsider in the epic in which he features. In the *Argonautica*, however, it is the archetypal hero,⁵³ possessed of heroic-epic qualities that are constantly associated with Homeric heroism,⁵⁴ who does not fit the epic. Heracles' position in the Hellenistic epic can consequently also be read metapoetically: as aiming to turn the *Argonautica* into a Homeric, heroic-epic poem. Like Thersites in the *Iliad*, Heracles is thus an outsider, revealing the way the epic is intended *not* to go, but ironically Apollonius' metapoetical statement opposes that of its Homeric intertext: in the *Argonautica*, the great, Homeric hero Heracles is "the Thersites".

⁵¹ See Marks 2005 for the difference in class between Thersites and the other Greeks.

⁵² DeForest 1994, 59.

⁵³ Cf. Clauss 1993, 13, who speaks of Heracles as the "quintessential archaic hero", and Hunter 1993, 25: "The greatest hero among the Argonauts is Heracles, the greatest of all Greek heroes."

⁵⁴ See e.g. Beye 1982, 97 (on Heracles' "typically Homeric self-assurance") and DeForest 1994, 53 ("Of the heroes present, he is the most competent to play Odysseus' role of hero-narrator.") and 61-5 (for Heracles' "likeness to Achilles").

It is already possible to see at the beginning of the epic a metapoetical dimension to the figure of Heracles that sets him at odds with the poetics of the *Argonautica*. When the hero boards the Argo, he appears to be too heavy for the vessel:

μέσσω δ' Ἀγκαῖος μέγα τε σθένος Ἡρακλῆος
ἰζανον, ἄγχι δέ οἱ ῥόπαλον θέτο· καί οἱ ἔνερθεν
ποσσὶν ὑπεκλύσθη νηὸς τρόπις. (...) Arg. 1.531-3

In the middle sat Ancaeus and mighty Heracles; he placed his club next to him, and beneath his feet the ship's keel sank deep. (tr. Race)

This passage triggers the symbolic identification between the Argo and Apollonius' *Argonautica*, which pervades the entire epic, as scholars have frequently observed: "The Argo symbolizes the poem when it sinks under Heracles' feet or when it slips through the Symplegades likened to a book-roll."⁵⁵ As a consequence, Heracles not only literally but also metapoetically overburdens the Argo: he is too "heavy", so too traditionally heroic, for the *Argonautica*.⁵⁶ In the course of the first book, this misfit of Heracles in the epic is expressed continually, for instance in the following stopover at Cyzicus. While Jason is received by Cyzicus, the eponymous king of the Doliones, Heracles is left behind again (λέλειπτο, 992) with some Argonauts, as on Lemnos (855, quoted above). The hero then deals with an attack of the Earthborn giants (Γηγενέες) on his own (989-97), until the other Argonauts arrive to deal with the leftovers. Heracles is thus a great hero, but he is also a loner,⁵⁷ pursuing glory on his

⁵⁵ DeForest 1994, 99. See also Beye 1982, 16, Goldhill 1991, 49, and most extensively Albis 1996, 43-66 (Ch. 3: "the poet's voyage") for the correlation between the voyage of the Argo and the poem's narrative through the metaphor of travelling, and sailing in particular, for poetry. On this metaphor see also e.g. Lieberg 1969, Harrison 2007a (both mainly on Latin poetry).

⁵⁶ Cf. Latin *gravis*, which can metapoetically refer to "the weightiness of the higher genres, especially epic" (Feeney 1991, 319, n. 21, who also provides examples). See also Feeney 1986, 54, who links the idea that Heracles is too heavy with the scholarly tradition, which "was virtually unanimous in saying that Heracles did not actually go on the expedition, since Argo spoke, saying that she could not carry his weight".

⁵⁷ Cf. Feeney 1986, 64: "(...) he is so much 'himself' that he moves eventually into total isolation."

own, like a Homeric hero.⁵⁸ Again, there is a metapoetical dimension to Heracles' misfit. As Apollonius suggests, the Earthborn giants have been sent by Hera:

δὴ γὰρ που κάκεϊνα θεὰ τρέφεν αἰνὰ πέλωρα
Ἥρη, Ζηνὸς ἄκοιτις, ἀέθλιον Ἡρακλῆι.Arg. 1.996-7

For no doubt the goddess Hera, Zeus' wife, had been nourishing those terrible monsters too as a labor for Heracles. (tr. Race)

Heracles' feat is clearly associated with the traditional labours (ἀέθλοι) of the hero, which not only belong in another, but also in another kind of, epic: a *Heracleid*, dealing solely with the heroic feats of Heracles.⁵⁹ This kind of post-Homeric poem on one hero is criticized by Aristotle in his *Poetics* for its lacking unity of plot in comparison to the epics of Homer (*Poet.* 8, 1451a16ff.). Later on, Aristotle also criticizes two Cyclic epics, the *Cypria* and the *Little Iliad* for the same fault (*Poet.* 23.1459a16ff.).⁶⁰ It is interesting that Apollonius also seems to associate *Heracleids* and Cyclic epics with each other in the Cyzicus episode. As D.C. Feeney notes, line 992, describing Heracles "left behind with the younger men" (ἀλλὰ γὰρ αὖθι λέλειπτο σὺν ἀνδράσιν ὀπλοτέρουσιν) alludes to the opening line of the Cyclic epic *Epigoni*: νῦν αὖθ' ὀπλοτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἀρχώμεθα, Μοῦσαι. "But now, Muses, let us begin on the younger men."⁶¹ If we assume for now that Apollonius wrote his *Argonautica* in accordance with Aristotelian ideas about epic, thus rejecting *Heracleids* and Cyclic epics,⁶² Heracles' staying behind in Cyzicus, which symbolizes

⁵⁸ Cf. Fantuzzi & Hunter 2004, 128: "(...) at Lemnos he [Heracles] seems driven by the desire for *kleos*."

⁵⁹ The scholia on Apollonius (on *Arg.* 1.1355-57c and 1.1165) attribute a *Heracleid* to Cinaethon (8th cent. BC), but see Huxley 1969, 86 for the possibility that the mythographer Conon (1st c. BC/AD) is meant. Pisander of Camirus (7th or 6th cent. BC) wrote a *Heracleid* in two books, apparently following a certain Pisinus of Lindus (thus Clem. Al. *Strom.* 6.2.25). There also existed a *Heracleia* (or *Heracleias*) by Panyassis (5th cent. BC) in 14 books. See e.g. Huxley 1969, 99-112 for more information about these epics about Heracles.

⁶⁰ The relevant passages from Aristotle's *Poetics* are quoted (with translation) and discussed more elaborately in Section 2.5 below.

⁶¹ Feeney 1986, 81 (n. 18). The translation is by M. West.

⁶² Cf. Hunter 1993, 195, who thinks that the *Argonautica* is "utterly unlike the rejected 'cyclic' epics", although he also thinks that "the *Argonautica* is radically at odds with the precepts of the *Poetics*", a position with which I do not agree. Later, Hunter apparently radically changed his opinion by

his misfit among the crew and in this epic, is associated with this rejected kind of poetry, in which Heracles actually belongs.

As we have seen earlier, however, Apollonius' Heracles is also associated with Homer, who is not rejected by Aristotle but is, quite on the contrary, used as a positive example (see Section 2.5 below). How should we reconcile these two associations of Heracles? First of all, Apollonius, whose *Argonautica* is heavily indebted to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, also does not reject Homer. The depiction of Heracles – who is respected by the other Argonauts, acts as their model even after his departure from the expedition and becomes a god at the end of the *Argonautica*⁶³ – also points in that direction. Apollonius' point in associating Heracles with Homer is that although Apollonius respects Homer's heroic poetry, he also thinks that his poetry cannot be matched and that it not belongs to the contemporary, Hellenistic age. As such it should not be imitated, as it had been in post-Homeric epic poetry, such as the Epic Cycle, but new, un-heroic poetic ways should be sought, a position also advocated by Callimachus (see Section 2.5 below). Ironically, the outdated position of Heracles was already recognized by Homer himself, where Heracles "is generally represented as a violent and successful mortal hero of an earlier generation."⁶⁴ Apollonius seems to state that the heroics of Homeric poetry are now, in the Hellenistic age, equally outdated, and he underlines his point by at the same time associating his hero with the poetry that had revealed how worn out the heroic-epic tradition had become in the Hellenistic age: the Epic Cycle and epics exclusively about Heracles.

regarding the *Argonautica* as a schizophrenic epic that is both cyclic and Callimachean at the same time (Hunter 2001, 5: "It is not too much, I think, to view Apollonius' epic as a cyclic poem done in the 'modern' (? Callimachean) style."). This view is also taken (without mentioning his debt to Hunter) by Rengakos 2004 ("[...] die *Argonautika* ein kykliches und zugleich ein kallimacheisches Epos", p. 301).

⁶³ See Feeney 1986, 63-6 (≈ 1991, 97-8) on Heracles' deification in *Arg.* 4. See also p. 48 below for Heracles as a model for the Argonauts.

⁶⁴ Hunter 1993, 27. Cf. Galinsky 1972, 9-21 (Ch. 1: "The archaic hero"), who shows that Heracles is "a relic of archaic, pre-Homeric times, as the poet does not fail to point out (...)."; Feeney 1986, 64: "He is, certainly, a relic from an earlier generation, both of heroes and poetry." See also n. 49 above.

So Apollonius' Heracles seems more at home in a *Heracleid*, celebrating his individual, heroic feats. In fact, Apollonius informs us that the hero has interrupted his labours to participate in the *Argonautica*. When Heracles is introduced in the catalogue of Argonauts in book 1, we hear that he has already slain the Erymanthian boar, traditionally his fourth labour:

οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδὲ βίην κρατερόφονος Ἡρακλῆος
πευθόμεθ' Αἰσονίδαο λιλαιομένου ἀθερίζαι.
ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ αἶε βάξιν ἀγειρομένων ἡρώων,
νεῖον ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας Λυρκήιον Ἄργος ἀμείψας,
τὴν ὁδόν, ἣ ζῶν φέρε κάπριον, ὅς ῥ' ἐνὶ βήσσης
φέρβετο Λαμπεΐης Ἐρυμάνθιον ἄμ' μέγα τίφος,
τὸν μὲν ἐνὶ πρώτῃσι Μυκηναίων ἀγορῇσιν
δεσμοῖς ἰλλόμενον μεγάλων ἀπεθήκατο νώτων,
αὐτὸς δ' ἡ ἰότητι παρὲκ νόον Εὐρυσθῆος
ὠρμήθη. (...)

Arg. 1.122-31

Nor indeed do we learn that mighty Heracles of steadfast determination disregarded Jason's eager appeal. But rather, when he heard the report that the heroes were gathering, he had just crossed from Arcadia to Lyrceian Argos, on the road by which he was carrying the live boar that fed in the glens of Lampeia throughout the vast Erymanthian marsh. He put it down, bound with ropes, from his huge back at the edge of the Mycenaeans' assembly place, and set out of his own accord against the will of Eurystheus. (tr. Race)

The fact that Heracles is actually not allowed to interrupt his labours, as the tradition at which Apollonius hints informs us, is also an indication that there is something wrong with Heracles' participation in the Argonautic expedition and thus in the epic.⁶⁵ But Heracles will find his own poetic world again by the end of the book. After Heracles has once more – but this time for good – been left behind by the Argonauts in Mysia, the sea-god Glaucus appears to the arguing Argonauts and reassures them that it is not Heracles' fate to continue the expedition:

Ἄργεῖ οἱ μοῖρ' ἐστὶν ἀτασθάλῳ Εὐρυσθῆϊ
ἐκπλήσσει μογέοντα δώδεκα πάντα ἀέθλους,

⁶⁵ Cf. Feeney 1986, 53-4.

ναίειν δ' ἀθανάτοισι συνέστιον, εἴ κ' ἔτι παύρους
ἐξανύσῃ. τῶ μὴ τι ποθὴ κείνοιο πελῆσθω.

Arg. 1.1317-20

At Argos it is his [*Heracles*'] destiny to toil for arrogant Eurystheus and accomplish twelve labors in all, and to dwell in the home of the immortals if he completes a few more. Therefore, let there be no remorse at all for him.

(tr. Race)

So at the end of the Hylas episode, which ends the first book, Heracles is reunited with his own poetic world. This third stopover, after Lemnos and Cyzicus, thus also seems to have metapoetical significance. In fact, as I will argue in what follows, the Hylas episode constitutes the metapoetical climax of the book. Up to this point, however, we have only considered how Apollonius implicitly discusses the kind of epic that he rejects, as symbolized by Heracles. It is now time to consider the character who opposes Heracles in the first book and embodies the poetics of the *Argonautica*.

2.3. *Jason: the best of the Argonauts*⁶⁶

In the first book of the *Argonautica* a tension is set up between the heroic Heracles and the rather un-heroic, but attractive and intelligent Jason.⁶⁷ As we have already seen, the difference between the two is emphasized by Heracles himself in his speech at Lemnos, in which Jason is the main target of his reproach. Next, at Cyzicus, while Heracles is fighting with monsters, Jason, by contrast, is on a diplomatic mission to the king.⁶⁸ At the beginning of the poem, this difference between the two heroes is emphasized most clearly and explicitly, when Jason asks the Argonauts to choose the best man as their leader:

⁶⁶ My heading quotes the title of Clauss 1993. Clauss argues that “it is at the conclusion of book 1 that Apollonius identifies Jason as the hero of the epic in contradistinction to the quintessential archaic hero, Heracles” (p. 13). Although I agree with this, my approach significantly differs from Clauss’ in that I read the first book, and particularly the Hylas episode, as a metapoetical allegory.

⁶⁷ For the opposition between Jason and Heracles see also Beye 1969; 1982, 77-99; Adamietz 1970; Clauss 1993, passim; DeForest 1994, 47-69.

⁶⁸ Cf. Beye 1982, 98: “(...) Heracles had been left behind (...), while Jason and the others pay a courtesy call, one might say, upon the local king, Cyzicus. Heracles, we may imagine, would be *de trop* in the setting of obligatory diplomatic politeness.”

τούνεκα νῦν τὸν ἄριστον ἀφειδήσαντες ἔλυσθε
ὄρχαμον ὑμείων, ᾧ κεν τὰ ἕκαστα μέλοιτο,
νείκεα συνθεσίας τε μετὰ ξείνοισι βαλέσθαι.

Arg. 1.338-40

Therefore now without restraint choose the best man as your leader, who will see to each thing, to take on quarrels and agreements with foreigners. (tr. Race)

This results in a unanimous vote for Heracles, who declines, however, taking the view that the person who gathered the Argonauts together (i.e. Jason) should also lead them. A tension is thus created between the two characters concerning the question who is the best man to lead this particular epic, and the passage, right at the start of the expedition, invites the reader to compare the heroes in what follows. Although the Argonauts think that Heracles meets Jason's requirements for leadership best, the Cyzicus episode reveals that the diplomatic Jason has in fact unwittingly designated himself as the best leader for this specific, Hellenistic epic, as he can "take on agreements with foreigners".⁶⁹ Not only does Heracles' simultaneous fight with the Earthborn giants not belong to the *Argonautica*, the second fight in Cyzicus even reveals the danger that heroic battle poses for the Hellenistic epic. This fight between the Argonauts and their hosts, the Doliones, is characterized as a Homeric battle narrative,⁷⁰ but both parties are unaware that they are killing their mutual friends: the *Argonautica* is not the place for heroic poetry.⁷¹ In the Hylas episode that follows, Jason also meets his other requirement for leadership, "to take

⁶⁹ Cf. Hunter 1988, 442: "Jason's speech, with its stress on the responsibility of the leader to the group as a whole, suggests why the expedition could not be led by a Heracles, a hero of notoriously solitary and idiosyncratic virtue. Jason is indeed ὁ ἄριστος, if *arete* consists of what is fitting in a particular context."; Clauss 1993, 65-6: "(...) the captain best suited for accomplishing the shared expedition to and from Colchis (...) will prove to be the man of organizational and diplomatic skill."

⁷⁰ Beyé 1982, 98: "The Homeric phraseology 'him the son of Aeson rising up struck as he turned toward him right in the middle of the chest, and the bone was chattered all about by the spear' (1032-34) and the syncopated victim-victor list which follows raise up strong images and impressions of the high-hearted, ambitious, and professional attitude toward fighting and killing which marks the *Iliad*."; Hunter 1993, 43: "The basic technique is Iliadic."

⁷¹ Cf. Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*, which deviates from Apollonius' epic through the inclusion of a Homeric battle narrative, which covers the entire sixth book, as part of the "heroic recuperation" of its Hellenistic model. See esp. Hershkowitz 1998, 105-98 (Ch. 3: "Recuperations: better, stronger, faster") for this view of Valerius' epic, with Ch. 4 (esp. par 1) below for a substantial modification of it.

on quarrels (νείκεα)", when he refrains from force during his argument with Telamon concerning the abandonment of Heracles (see Section 3.2 below). Jason thus grows in his role as leader of the expedition, as was also suggested in the Lemnos episode. Although his attractiveness was not yet useful there, it will become a crucial factor for success in the second part of the epic.

2.4. Jason, Apollonius and Apollo

If Heracles and the tension set up between him and Jason can be read metapoetically, it is *a priori* very likely that Jason also has metapoetical associations. Whereas Heracles is associated with Homer and heroic epic, Jason would, by analogy, be associated with Apollonius and his poetics.⁷² Another reason why this scenario is *a priori* very likely is that Jason's precedents, the protagonists of the Homeric epics, which are Apollonius' generic models,⁷³ often represent the persona of the poet in the text as instances of *mise en abyme*.⁷⁴ The language and structure of Achilles' speeches, for instance, reveal striking similarities with Homer's own poetic techniques.⁷⁵ Odysseus is often associated with bards,⁷⁶ and his persona merges with that of the poet when he tells the Phaeacians of his adventures.⁷⁷ Other characters in Homer's epics also function briefly as *mises en abyme* of the poet when they deal with the experiences at Troy.⁷⁸ In *Iliad* 3, for example, Helen is described as weaving a web that depicts battles between the Greeks and the Trojans:

⁷² This metapoetical link between Jason and Apollonius was suggested, although not pursued, by Kofler 2003, 41. See also pp. 36-7 with n. 107 below.

⁷³ See Conte 1986 for the distinction between a particular model ("copy-model"/"modello-esemplare") and a generic model ("code-model"/"modello-codice").

⁷⁴ See also Introduction, Section 4 for this phenomenon.

⁷⁵ See e.g. Martin 1989, 235-6. Cf. also Achilles' playing the lyre in *Iliad* 9, on which see e.g. Fränkel 1957, 10; Kofler 2003, 28-9; 35-6.

⁷⁶ See Segal 1994, 142-62 (and the helpful discussion of his work by Kofler 2003, 28-34).

⁷⁷ See Fränkel 1957, 11; Suerbaum 1968, 166-8; Kofler 2003, 33.

⁷⁸ Cf. Macleod 1983, 3: "When Odysseus relates his adventures truly to the Phaeacians, or falsely to the Phaeacians, when Helen, Menelaos, and Nestor recall their experiences at Troy or afterwards, they are to all intents and purposes poets."

τὴν δ' εὖρ' ἐν μεγάρῳ. ἡ δὲ μέγαν ἰστὸν ὕψαινε,
δίπλακα πορφυρέην, πολέας δ' ἐνέπασσεν ἀέθλους
Τρώων θ' ἵπποδάμων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων,
οὕς ἔθεν εἵνεκ' ἔπασχον ὑπ' Ἄρηος παλαμάτων.

Il. 3.125-8

She [*Iris*] found Helen in the hall, where she was weaving a great purple web of double fold on which she was embroidering many battles of the horse-taming Trojans and the bronze-clad Achaeans, which for her sake they had endured at the hands of Ares. (tr. Murray & Wyatt)

As the scholion (bT) on the lines 126-7 shows, Helen and her web were already in antiquity associated with Homer himself and his *Iliad*, through the metaphor of weaving for the poetic process:⁷⁹ ἀξιόχρεων ἀρχέτυπον ἀνέπλασεν ὁ ποιητὴς τῆς ἰδίας ποιήσεως. “The poet has here fashioned a worthy model of his own poetry.” Similarly, characters in the *Argonautica*, such as the archetypal poet Orpheus and Phineus, whose prophetic summary of what is to come reflects the actual adventures as told by Apollonius, merge with the persona of the poet Apollonius.⁸⁰

But what about the epic's protagonist? Although Jason is not, like his models Achilles and Odysseus, associated with singing or bards, he is associated with Apollonius through Apollo, the patron of both Jason and the poet. In the first book of the *Argonautica*, this association is made very clear, as Apollonius' invocation to Apollo, which starts his epic (ἀρχόμενος σέο Φοῖβε, “beginning with you Phoebus”), is echoed by Jason's honouring Apollo Embasios (“of Embarkation”) to start his epic voyage (marked in bold):⁸¹

τείως δ' αὖ καὶ βωμὸν ἐπάκτιον Ἐμβασίῳ
θείομεν Ἀπόλλωνος, ὃ μοι χρεῖων ὑπέδεκτο
σημανέειν δείξειν τε πόρους ἄλός, εἴ κε **Θηλαῖς**
οὗ ἔθεν ἐξάρχωμαι ἀεθλεύων βασιλῆι.

Arg. 1.359-62

⁷⁹ For this metaphor, see Introduction, n. 31.

⁸⁰ For Apollonius' Orpheus as poetic figure, see e.g. Albis 1996, 29-31; Cuypers 2004, 58-9. For Phineus, see e.g. Beye 1982, 18; 104; Feeney 1991, 60-1; 94; DeForest 1994, 74-8; Albis 1996, 28-29; Cuypers 2004, 60-1; Murray 2004, 218-23.

⁸¹ DeForest 1994, 41-2. See also n. 55 above on the metaphor of the voyage for epic.

In the meantime, let us also build an altar on the shore for Apollo Embasius, who in an oracle promised to give me signs and point out the passages of the sea, if with sacrifices in his honor I would begin my task for the king. (tr. Race)

Moreover, the πόρους ἅλος (“passages of the sea”) recall a moment in the prologue where the poet outlines his subject matter:⁸²

νῦν δ' ἄν ἐγὼ γενεήν τε καὶ οὐνομα μυθησαίμην
ἡρώων, δολιχῆς τε πόρους ἅλός, ὅσσα τ' ἔρεξαν
πλαζόμενοι Μοῦσαι δ' ὑποφήτορες εἶεν ἀοιδῆς. Arg. 1.20-22

But now I wish to relate the lineage and names of the heroes, their journeys on the vast sea, and all they did as they wandered; and may the Muses be inspirers [or: interpreters] of my song. (tr. Race, slightly adapted)

So Jason clearly evokes Apollonius. But that is not all: Jason also informs us about the poetics of his *alter ego*, as revealed by the link between the two, Apollo. The prominence of the god of poetry in relation to both Jason and Apollonius is quite remarkable, for it is not he but Hera who is traditionally the patron god of Jason and his expedition. Furthermore, the invocation of a god instead of a goddess-Muse constitutes a significant departure from the epic's most important models, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.⁸³ This makes the presence of the god very striking, and, I would argue, points in the direction of the poetics of Callimachus, whose poetics are quite explicitly expressed by Apollo in two famous programmatic passages, the prologue to the *Aetia* (fr. 1.21-8 Pf.) and the end of the *Hymn to Apollo* (105-12).⁸⁴ In addition to the fact that Apollo is the patron deity of Apollonius/Jason and Callimachus, there is also clear intertextual contact between the passages dealing with Apollo in both the

⁸² Albis 1996, 27.

⁸³ Clauss 1993, 17: “Contrary to the usual practice, Apollonius begins instead from Apollo and addresses the Muses only after first identifying the subject of the poem, the Argonautic expedition, and describing its origin.” Cf., however, Albis 1996, 17-8, who argues that Demodocus’ song in the *Odyssey*, beginning with and inspired by Apollo (ὁ δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς θεοῦ ἄρχετο, φαῖνε δ' ἀοιδὴν. “He [Demodocus] having been inspired by the god began with him, and produced his song.” *Od.* 8.499), does provide a Homeric parallel. Nevertheless, Albis also sees Callimachean influence in the mention of Apollo: “(...) Apollonius’ invocation to Phoebus (...) recalls the language of the *Homeric Hymns* and the *Odyssey*’s depiction of Demodocus, yet it may also have a Callimachean resonance.” (128)

⁸⁴ Both passages are quoted and discussed in the next Section.

Argonautica and Callimachus' poetry.⁸⁵ But who alludes to whom? This specific question is part of a larger, notorious problem concerning the relative chronology of the works of the three major Hellenistic poets.⁸⁶ I will negotiate the impasse that this discussion has reached by accepting the productive hypothesis that these poets, working in the Museum, were quite aware of and could allude to each other's work in progress.⁸⁷ The specific intertextual contact between Callimachus and Apollonius would then have taken place in both directions and can be interpreted accordingly.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Albis 1996, 102-3 suggests that *Arg.* 4.43 (στείνας [...] οἶμους, "narrow paths") refers to Apollo's admonition to Callimachus in *Aet.* 1.25-8 Pf. not to drive his chariot along the broad road (οἶμον (...) πλατύν), but on untrodden paths, although the road may be more narrow (στεινοτέρην). Furthermore, *Call. H. Ap.* 101-4 resembles *Arg.* 2.711-3, where nymphs are encouraging Apollo (Albis 1996, 123-4), and *Call. H. Ap.* 106 parallels *Arg.* 3.932-3 (Fraser 1970, II, 87-8, n. 162; Hunter 1989, ad loc.; Albis 1996, 123, n. 6). As Albis 1996, 128 convincingly argues, there is also intertextual contact between Callimachus' "*Argonautica*", at the beginning of *Aetia* 1 (fr. 7¹⁹-21 Pf./9¹⁹-23 M), and the first word of Apollonius' epic (ἀρχόμενος), for when Callimachus asks Calliope about the origin of the cult of Apollo on the island of Anaphe, she answers: "First bring to mind Apollo Aegletes and Anaphe, neighbour to Spartan Thera, and the Minyans; begin (ἀρχόμενος) when the heroes sailed back to ancient Haemonia from Aeëtes, the Cytean (...) (*Aet.* fr. 7.23-26 Pf./9.23-6 M). Callimachus thus ironically starts his *Argonautica* at the end, with an episode from the return voyage. That Apollonius' Anaphe episode, which is clearly intertextually connected to that of Callimachus, is positioned indeed at the end of his epic (*Arg.* 4.1694-1730), reinforces the allusive play on ἀρχόμενος. See also Harder 2010, I, esp. 4; 32-3 for this and the larger intertextual contact between the *Aetia* and the *Argonautica*, which also involves the story of the leaving behind of the Argo's anchor at Cyzicus during the outward voyage, an incident treated by Apollonius at the beginning of his epic (*Arg.* 1.955-60) and by Callimachus (again conversely) at the end of *Aetia* 4 (fr. 108-9 Pf.).

⁸⁶ See Köhnken 2001 for an overview of the scholarly debate and for more bibliography (with the caveat that Köhnken himself strictly adheres to the chronology Theocritus – Callimachus – Apollonius, mostly on subjective grounds).

⁸⁷ Hopkinson 1988, 7. A similar situation existed in Augustan Rome: see e.g. Propertius 2.34.65-6, where Propertius appears to know of, and allude to, Virgil's *Aeneid* in progress. See also Ch. 2, n. 220 for the intertextual contact between Callimachus and Theocritus.

⁸⁸ Cf. Harder 2010, I, 4: "(...) it seems best to assume a kind of continuous interaction between Callimachus and Apollonius" We can perhaps be more precise in the specific case of *Aetia* 1-2 and the *Argonautica*. According to scholarly *communis opinio*, the first two books of the *Aetia* (without the prologue) constitute a separate unity, marked by the frame of a dialogue between the persona of Callimachus and the Muses. They were written by Callimachus as a young man, who later added two more books – framed by two episodes concerned with the Ptolemaic queen Berenice II, the *Victoria Berenices* (SH 257-68c) at the beginning of book 3 and the *Lock of Berenice* (fr. 110 Pf.) at the end of book 4 – as well as a new prologue (fr. 1 Pf.) and epilogue (fr. 112 Pf.) to create external unity (Parsons 1977, esp. 49-50). Callimachus' Anaphe episode in *Aetia* 1 may thus antedate that of Apollonius in *Arg.* 4 (see previous note for the intertextual contact). Nevertheless, Callimachus could have rewritten the episode for his hypothetical second edition, which would then postdate *Arg.* 4. The entire matter is possibly complicated even more because the scholia on the *Argonautica* mention a προέκδοσις ("previous edition") of the epic (on which see Fränkel 1964, 7-11). All arguments considered, the composite view of Harder 2010, I, 33 on these two texts is very plausible: "The best way to explain the

On that basis, I take Apollonius to allude to Callimachus in this specific case, assuming the metapoetical role of Apollo in the *Aetia* and *Hymn to Apollo*. Yet the situation can be reversed – Callimachus reading Apollonius metapoetically and making the latter’s statements explicit – without any disabling implications for the metapoetical dimension of either text.

Apart from this intertextual contact there are good reasons to suppose that Apollonius’ patron god has a metapoetical role in the *Argonautica* similar to the one he has in Callimachus. As we have seen, Apollonius not only follows, but paradoxically also deviates from Homeric practice by addressing Apollo in the opening line. This attitude towards Homer is continued in what immediately follows:

ἀρχόμενος σέο, Φοῖβε, παλαιγενέων κλέα φωτῶν
μνήσομαι ...

Arg. 1.1-2

Beginning with you, Phoebus, I shall recall the famous deeds of men born long ago ... (tr. Race)

Apollonius makes it clear that he is writing an epic, with Homer as its main model, for κλέα φωτῶν (“famous deeds of men”) recalls the Homeric κλέα ἀνδρῶν (“famous deeds of warriors”), the singing of which denotes epic poetry.⁸⁹ In the *Iliad*, for instance, Achilles sings κλέα ἀνδρῶν by his ships (*Il.* 9.189; cf. 9.524), and in the *Odyssey* Homer’s *alter ego* Demodocus does the same at the Phaeacian court (*Od.* 8.73). Apollonius, however, has strikingly changed the Homeric ἀνδρῶν to φωτῶν, and because the Argonauts are denoted by this word immediately after the mention of the god Apollo in his hymnic address, the meaning of φωτῶν “mortals (as

intricate relation between the two works is probably to assume that they were written over a considerable period of time, during which the two poets read each other’s work and reacted to it until the moment when, in his second edition of the *Aetia*, when he probably had the whole of the *Argonautica* in front of him, Callimachus gave his final comment on the *Argonautica* by placing the story of the anchor at Cyzicus at the end [see n. 85 above].”

⁸⁹ Cf. Fantuzzi & Hunter 2004, 91: “The opening verse of the *Argonautica* therefore announces the genre of the poem, and 1.2-4 describe its subject.”

opposed to gods)" (*LSJ* III) is at least suggested. The words which reveal Apollonius' work as an epic in the tradition of Homer thus at the same time distance the *Argonautica* from Homer's heroic poetry: Apollonius will sing of ordinary mortals.⁹⁰ Another link between Apollonius and Jason is thus established, as the relationship between Apollonius and Homer is not only paralleled by the tension that is set up between Jason and the archetypal hero Heracles, as we have seen earlier, but also by the intertextual contact between Jason and his heroic, Homeric models. As I will argue in the next section, this tension with Homer points in the direction of the poetics of Callimachus, whose patron deity Apollo advocates a similar attitude with regard to Homer.

2.5. *Callimachus and (Homeric) epic*

Callimachus is the most famous and explicit representative of a new, poetic avant-garde, whose poetics I will label "Callimachean", although Callimachus himself is not necessarily the first to have expressed them.⁹¹ At the end of his *Hymn to Apollo*, Callimachus reveals that the poetics promoted by him are not opposed to Homer, the quality of whose poetry is beyond dispute, but rather to neo-"Homeric" poetry,⁹² which, in copying Homer, reproduces only Homer's quantity, not his quality:

⁹⁰ Cf. Carspecken 1952, 111; DeForest 1994, 39; Green 1997, 201: "Ap. will celebrate the deeds, not, like Homer, of heroes (*andrōn*), but of ordinary mortals (*photōn*)."
Cf. also Goldhill 1991, 288: "(...) the selection of the general term 'people' as opposed to the valorized heroic term *anēr*, 'man', also opens a question on the one hand about the qualities of 'manliness' of the figures of this epic (...)."

⁹¹ In my opinion Callimachus' poetics are shared by his contemporaries Apollonius (see below) and Theocritus (see Ch. 2, Sections 2.1.2 and 2.2 for the Callimachean nature of Theocritus' bucolic poetry). These ideas may very well go back to Philitas of Cos, the poet, scholar and tutor of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, who flourished a generation before Apollonius, Callimachus and Theocritus. This is suggested by the allusions (in very programmatic contexts) of Callimachus (*Aet.* fr. 1.9-10; *H. Dem.*; see pp. 45-6 below) and Theocritus (*Id.* 7.39-41; see Ch. 2, p. 86) to his poetical ideas, as well as the ancient references to and puns on the poet's "thinness" (e.g. T. 23a L: λεπτότερος δ' ἦν καὶ Φιλίτας ὁ Κῶος ποιητής. "The poet Philitas of Cos was also rather thin."; tr. Lightfoot), which are very suggestive in the light of the importance of λεπτότης ("refinement") for Callimachus' poetical program (on which see Ch. 2, n. 272). See also Cameron 1991 for the connection between Philitas' thinness and Callimachus' thinness.

⁹² Hopkinson's term (1988: 86).

ὁ Φθόνος Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπ' οὐατα λάθριος εἶπεν·
“οὐκ ἄγαμαι τὸν ἀοιδὸν ὃς οὐδ' ὅσα πόντος ἀείδῃ.”
τὸν Φθόνον ὠπόλλων ποδί τ' ἤλασεν ὥδε τ' εἶπεν·
“Ἀσσυρίου ποταμοῖο μέγας ῥόος, ἀλλὰ τὰ πολλὰ
λύματα γῆς καὶ πολλὸν ἐφ' ὕδατι συρφετὸν ἔλκει.
Δηοῖ δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὕδωρ φορέουσι μέλισσαι,
ἀλλ' ἥτις καθαρὴ τε καὶ ἀχράαντος ἀνέρπει
πίδακος ἐξ ἱερῆς ὀλίγῃ λιβάς ἄκρον ἄωτον.”

H. Ap. 105-12

Envy whispered into Apollo's ear: “I don't like a poet who doesn't sing like the sea.” Apollo kicked Envy aside and said: “The Assyrian river rolls a massive stream, but it's mainly silt and garbage that it sweeps along. The bees bring water to Deo not from every source but where it bubbles up pure and undefiled from a holy spring, its very essence.” (tr. Nisetich)

According to the most plausible interpretation of the passage, first formulated by Koster,⁹³ Callimachus exploits an ancient metaphor of Homer as Ὠκεανός, the source of all waters/poetry. As Williams interprets the passage in his commentary:⁹⁴

Apollo, expressing of course Callimachus' own views, rejects the suggestion that poems which are merely lengthy are by that token 'Homeric'. The Assyrian river is long and wide, challenging comparison with the streams of Oceanus: but its current is sluggish, its waters carry rubbish and silt, and have lost the purity of their origin. In literary terms, this presumably represents the imitation of traditional epic, a genre which in its lengthy course has lost all its vitality, and has been invoked to serve unworthy purposes. The fine spray from the pure spring stands for Callimachus' own poetry: on a small scale, but highly refined, written for the few who are able to appreciate the poet's learning and subtlety. To write such poetry inspired by exact and deep knowledge of Homeric language, Apollo asserts, is to emulate and recreate Homer in a more meaningful and original way than merely to reproduce slavishly the external dimensions of his epic.

A similar attitude towards heroic-epic is expressed in *Epigram* 28 Pf., where Callimachus declares his dislike of the “cyclic poem”, τὸ ποίημα τὸ κυκλικόν:

⁹³ Koster 1970, 119: “Zudem erhellt hieraus, daß Kallimachos genau wie Aristoteles auch zwischen Homers person und seinen Nachahmern, folglich den ‘Homerischen’ dichtenden, hellenistischen Zeitgenossen unterscheidet. Das wird eindeutig durch den Schluß des Apollonhymnos gestützt, v. 105ff., wo er zwischen πόντος (= Homer, v.106), μέγας ῥόος ποτάμοιο (= epigonale Versuche der Großepiker, v. 108) und der ὀλίγῃ λιβάς (= kallimacheische Dichtung, v. 112) unterscheidet.”

⁹⁴ Williams 1978, 89, who does not mention Koster.

Ἐχθαίρω τὸ ποίημα τὸ κυκλικόν, οὐδὲ κελεύθῳ
χαίρω τίς πολλοὺς ὧδε καὶ ὧδε φέρει,
μισέω καὶ περιφοίτον ἐρώμενον, οὐδ' ἀπὸ κρήνης
πίνω· σικχαίνω πάντα τὰ δημόσια.

(...)

Ep. 28.1-4 Pf.

I hate recycled poetry, and get no pleasure | from a road crowded with
travellers this way and that. | I can't stand a boy who sleeps around, don't
drink | at public fountains, and loathe everything vulgar. | ... (tr. Nisetich)

Κυκλικόν reveals that Callimachus is here aiming at epic poetry, for the word refers to the post-Homeric Epic Cycle, in the strict sense the series of poems about Troy, such as the *Cypria* and the *Little Iliad*, which were written to complete Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.⁹⁵ At the same time, in this context, the line also contains a pun on κυκλικός, which means "circular", and thus metaphorically "commonplace" and, more pejoratively, "hackneyed".⁹⁶ In the following lines of the epigram, Callimachus elaborates on this theme by using some metaphors (the well, the road), which also occur at the end of the *Hymn to Apollo* and the prologue to the *Aetia* (27-8), and which are clearly metapoetical there.⁹⁷ So Callimachus rejects hackneyed poetry from the

⁹⁵ Alexandrian scholars regarded this as the *Epic Cycle* (Davies 1989, 1-2), which, according to the scholia on Clement of Alexandria (2nd/3rd cent.), included the epics *Cypria*, *Aethiopis*, *Ilias parva*, *Iliupersis*, *Nostoi* and *Telegoneia*. On the date, Davies notes: "(...) [T]he lack of unity of these epics as a whole (...), and their status as attempts to fill in the gaps left by Homer's poems, make me very reluctant to date most of them before the second half of the sixth century." The grammarian Proclus (5th cent. AD) also included the *Titanomachia* and the Theban series, which includes the *Oedipodea*, *Thebais* and *Epigoni*. This larger cycle is nowadays referred to as the Epic Cycle. On the Epic Cycle in general, see Davies 1989, 1-12 and the introduction of West 2003.

⁹⁶ Asper 1997, 56, n. 140: "κυκλικός changiert wahrscheinlich bewußt zwischen den Bedeutungen 'kurrent = abgegriffen' und 'zum epischen Kyklos gehörig'." Cf. Blumenthal 1978, 127 ("trite cyclic poem") and Hopkinson 1988, 87 ("well worn themes of cyclic epic"), who also reads the passage as playing with the two meanings of κυκλικός.

⁹⁷ The metapoetical dimension of *Ep.* 28 is fiercely opposed by Cameron 1995, 388-402, who thinks it is only about love. The first line, however, is explicitly a metapoetical statement, as a result of which the reader is invited to read the subsequent metaphors in a metapoetical way. That the metaphors, at the end of the poem (lines 5-6, not printed), appear retrospectively to be erotic as well, as Cameron shows, does not affect the metapoetical reading. Cf. Asper 1997, 56-8, who thinks that the poem functions on both a metapoetical and an erotic level.

Epic Cycle, which keeps “recycling” traditional epic material.⁹⁸

Callimachus’ rejection of the Epic Cycle resembles the position of Aristotle, who in his *Poetics* criticized the two Cyclic epics mentioned (*Cypria*, *Little Iliad*; *Poet.* 23, 1459a16ff.), as well as other post-Homeric epics about one hero (*Heracleids*, *Theseids*; *Poet.* 8, 1451a16ff.), for their lack of unity of plot in comparison to Homer:

μῦθος δ’ ἐστὶν εἷς οὐχ ὥσπερ τινὲς οἶονται ἐὰν περὶ ἓνα ᾗ· (...) οὕτως δὲ καὶ πράξεις ἐνὸς πολλάι εἰσιν, ἐξ ὧν μία οὐδεμία γίνεται πράξις. διὸ πάντες εἰκόασιν ἀμαρτάνειν ὅσοι τῶν ποιητῶν Ἡρακλῆίδα Θησηίδα καὶ τα τοιαῦτα ποιήματα πεποιήκασιν. (...) ὁ δ’ Ὅμηρος ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα διαφέρει καὶ τοῦτ’ εἰσὶν καλῶς ἰδεῖν, ἥτοι διὰ τέχνην ἢ διὰ φύσιν· Ὀδύσειαν γὰρ ποιῶν οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἅπαντα ὅσα αὐτῷ συνέβη (...), ἀλλὰ περὶ μίαν πράξιν οἶαν λέγομεν τὴν Ὀδύσειαν συνέστησεν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἰλιάδα.

Poet. 8, 1451a16-29

A plot is not unified, as some think, if built round an individual. (...) So all those poets are clearly at fault who have composed a *Heracleid*, a *Theseid*, and similar poems. (...) But Homer, in keeping with his general superiority, evidently grasped well, whether by art or nature, this point too: for though composing an *Odyssey*, he did not include every feature of the hero’s life (...), but he structured the *Odyssey* round a unitary action of the kind I mean, and likewise with the *Iliad*. (tr. Halliwell)

οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι περὶ ἓνα ποιούσι καὶ περὶ ἓνα χρόνον καὶ μίαν πράξιν πολυμερῆ, οἷον ὁ τὰ Κύπρια ποιήσας καὶ τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα. τοιγαροῦν ἐκ μὲν Ἰλιάδος καὶ Ὀδυσσεΐας μία τραγωδία ποιεῖται ἑκατέρας ἢ δύο μόναι, ἐκ δὲ Κυπρίων πολλὰ καὶ τῆς μικρᾶς Ἰλιάδος πλεον ἢ ὀκτώ ...

Poet. 23, 1459a37-1459b4

But the others [*other poets than Homer*] build their works round a single figure or single period, hence an action of many parts, as with the author of the *Cypria* and the *Little Iliad*. Accordingly, with the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* a single tragedy, or at most two, can be made from each; but many can be made from the *Cypria*, and more than eight from the *Little Iliad* ... (tr. Halliwell)

⁹⁸ Cf. Pfeiffer 1968, 227-30 on the way Aristarchus uses κυκλικώτερον and κυκλικῶς, in contrast to Ὀμηρικώτερον (“genuinely Homeric”) and synonymous with οὐχ Ὀμηρικῶς (“un-Homeric”), to reflect “the distinction first drawn by Aristotle between the great poet of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and the makers of the other early epics, the κυκλικοί” (230), thus revealing a attitude similar to Callimachus’ in Hellenistic scholarship.

That Callimachus seems to declare his allegiance to Aristotle is reinforced by the end of the *Hymn to Apollo*, where, as we have just seen, Callimachus does not reject Homer (πόντος), but poetry that keeps copying or “recycling” Homer.⁹⁹ Callimachus’ other important programmatic passage, the prologue to the *Aetia*, also seems to reveal Aristotelean affiliations. The poet tells us that the Telchines reproach him for not having written one continuous poem about kings and heroes in many thousands of lines (ἐν ἄεισμα διηνεκές ἢ βασιλ[η |]ας ἐν πολλαῖς ἤνυσα χιλιάσιν | ἢ.....].ους ἥρωας, *Aet.* fr. 1.3-5 Pf.). Whether the kind of poem the Telchines suggest is an epic or not,¹⁰⁰ the term διηνεκές (“continuous”) at any rate recalls the already mentioned passages in *Poetics*, where Aristotle rejects epic poems from the *Epic Cycle* and about individuals such as Heracles for their lack of unity. For διηνεκές implies “telling a story completely, from beginning to end”,¹⁰¹ and comparable to what Aristotle says in the *Poetics* (8.1451a24-5: Ὀδύσειαν γὰρ ποιῶν οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἅπαντα ὅσα αὐτῷ συνέβη. “For though composing an *Odyssey*, he [Homer] did not include every feature of the hero’s life.”), the word connotes completeness, continuity and chronological order in a narrative context, and is already in Homer evaluated negatively (e.g. *Od.* 4.836; 7.241f.).¹⁰² So the ἄεισμα διηνεκές the Telchines want Callimachus to write, recalls the kind of bad, post-Homeric, heroic epic, such as the *Epic Cycle*, which is rejected by Aristotle in his *Poetics* and by Callimachus elsewhere in his oeuvre. The heroic-epic poetry of Homer

⁹⁹ See also Koster 1970, 120-2 for a defence of the influence of Aristotle on Callimachus against Pfeiffer 1968, 137. Cf. also Harder 2010, II, on *Aet.* fr. 1.3: ἔν, and on *Aet.* fr. 1.3: διηνεκές, for a discussion of possible influences of Aristotle’s *Poetics* on the *Aetia* prologue. I assume here that Aristotle’s *Poetics* was available in Alexandria. On this debate see Schmakeit 2003, 17ff.

¹⁰⁰ See e.g. the discussion of Harder 2010, II, 9-10, who shows that Callimachus deals with a variety of genres in fr. 1 (e.g. Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, tragedy), and explicitly only to elegy, as is fitting for the prologue to an elegiac poem. The claim of Cameron 1995, 263ff. (part of his iconoclastic argument against the until then widespread view that Callimachus is attacking epic) that the prologue deals solely with elegy is thus also too limited.

¹⁰¹ Harder 2010, II, on *Aet.* fr. 1.3: διηνεκές.

¹⁰² Ibidem. On the adjective see e.g. also van Tress 2006, who argues that Callimachus (following Apollonius) plays with the word’s connotations “Homeric”/“heroic” as well as the negative connotations (even in Homer) “full”/“detailed”, which would create an ironic effect: “If some criticized his work because it was not long, continuous, Homeric, heroic, or detailed, then it would seem that the critics themselves do not know what the master himself, Homer, recommended.”

himself, however, is not renounced by Callimachus; the point is that one should not try to “recycle” it, to write it over and over again. In trying to emulate the quality of Homer’s epics, one should take new poetic paths (cf. *Aet.* fr. 1.25-8). Callimachus’ keyword is thus originality, which he finds in writing small and refined poems on non-heroic subjects, which the tradition before him had not worn out.

2.6. Jason the Callimachean hero

Apollonius’ *Argonautica* reveals an attitude similar to that expressed by Callimachus with regard to Homer and heroic-epic poetry. Apollonius does not renounce the works of Homer, which are obviously an important model for the *Argonautica*¹⁰³ (as they are for Callimachus’ works),¹⁰⁴ but the epic is strikingly un-heroic. Although the *Argonautica* can also be said to be Callimachean for other reasons, for instance in its extensive use of aetiologies,¹⁰⁵ this un-heroic character of the poem is the most obvious way in which the epic expresses its allegiance to Callimachean poetics.¹⁰⁶

So Jason, whom scholars have always seen as falling short with regard to the heroic credentials of his Homeric predecessors, seems to resemble the poet Apollonius’ himself. Because the association of both Jason and Apollonius with Apollo has already established a metapoetical connection, Jason can be seen as a *mise en abyme*, a poetic *alter ego* of Apollonius. As Kofler already suggested, behind Jason,

¹⁰³ See e.g. Carspecken 1952 and especially Knight 1995 for the influence of Homer on Apollonius’ *Argonautica*.

¹⁰⁴ See e.g. Rengakos 1992 on Callimachus’ Homeric vocabulary, and Harder 2010, I, 32 for the *Aetia*’s debt to the *Iliad* and especially the *Odyssey* (also for bibliography). The huge influence of the *Homeric Hymns* (which were thought to be composed by Homer) on Callimachus’ *Hymns* needs no elaboration.

¹⁰⁵ For aetiologies in the *Argonautica*, see Fusillo 1985, 116ff.; Paskiewicz 1988, 57-61; Valverde Sánchez 1989; Harder 1994, 21-27. On the Callimachean agenda of Apollonius see, apart from the most extensive study of DeForest 1994, e.g. Clauss 1993, 14-22 (on the prologue of the *Arg.*); Albis 1995 and 1996, 121-32 (on Apollo in the *Arg.*, *H. Ap.* and *Aet.* 1); Kouremenos 1996 (on the programmatic dimension of Apollonius’ similes); Kofler 2003, 40-1 (on Jason). For several points of contact between the *Argonautica* and Callimachus’ *Aetia*, see Harder 2010, I, 4-6, 14, 25, 32-33, 37, with n. 102 for extensive bibliography.

¹⁰⁶ That this is the most important way is also reflected by the scholarly focus on the heroics of the epic in relation to Homer since the beginning of the revival of Apollonian studies, in the middle of the twentieth century. See e.g. Fränkel 1959; Lawall 1966; Beye 1969; 1982, 77-99 (Ch. 3: “The heroes”); Hunter 1988; 1993, 8-45 (Ch. 2: “Modes of heroism”); DeForest 1994, esp. 47-69.

who is in doubt and afraid with regard to the mission imposed upon him, lurks the poet himself, trying to find a way to complete his “Heraclean-Homeric” task of writing a heroic epic in his own, Callimachean way.¹⁰⁷ In the first book of the *Argonautica*, the heroic-epic tradition is still looming at the background, as personified by Heracles. The hero’s place in the Hellenistic epic, however, is questioned more and more, and at the same time, the qualities of the intelligent love hero Jason increasingly reveal themselves as essential for the Callimachean epic in hand. In what follows, I will show how the Hylas episode at the end of the first book is the climax of the metapoetical tension between Homeric, heroic epic, as symbolized by Heracles, and Callimachean poetry, as symbolized by Hylas. This boy, who causes Heracles’ exit, seems to act as a kind of prefiguration of Jason, revealing the way the epic will go.

3. The Hylas episode

3.1. *Eris on the Argo*

After the winds have abated, the Argonauts row away from Cyzicus to leave their traumatic experience on the peninsula behind and start a rowing contest, which marks the beginning of the Hylas episode:

ἔνθ’ ἔρις ἄνδρα ἕκαστον ἀριστήων ὀρόθουνεν
ὅς τις ἀπολήξειε πανύστατος· ἀμφὶ γὰρ αἰθήρ
νήμενος ἐστόρεσεν δίνας, κατὰ δ’ εὔνασε πόντον. Arg. 1.1153-5

¹⁰⁷ Kofler 2003, 41: “Um es kurz zu sagen: Heroisches Pathos weicht intellektueller Organisation und alexandrinischer *Leptotes*. Genau hier aber treffen sich Apollonios und Jason. In dem Angesichts der Wichtigkeit der ihm auferlegten Mission zögernden und geradezu ängstlichen Jason könnte sich nämlich die anfängliche Nachdenklichkeit des Dichters spiegeln, der nach einem Weg sucht, die herakleisch-homerische Aufgabe, eind Heldenepos zu schreiben, auf seine Art und Weise zu bewältigen.”

Then rivalry spurred on each one of the heroes, to see who would be last to quit, since all around them the still air had smoothed the swirling waters and lulled the sea to sleep. (tr. Race)

As R. Hunter notes, “[t]his is the closest Apollonius comes to including a scene of sports on the pattern of *Iliad* 23”.¹⁰⁸ As was shown in the course of the first book, and most recently in the preceding Cyzicus episode, the *Argonautica* is not going to be a heroic epic, and this point is made clear very dramatically somewhat later, in the remainder of the rowing contest. When the winds rise, and the other, exhausted Argonauts stop rowing, Heracles continues on his own:

(...) αὐτὰρ ὁ τοὺς γε
 πασσυδίῃ μογέοντας ἐφέλκετο κάρτεϊ χειρῶν
 Ἡρακλῆς, ἐτίνασσε δ’ ἀρηρότα δούρατα νηός. Arg. 1.1159-63

But Heracles kept pulling his weary companions along, one and all, by the strength of his hands, and made the well-joined timbers of the ship quake.
 (tr. Race)

Whereas Heracles appeared too heavy for the Argo – and thus the poem – when he first boarded the ship (1.531-3), he is now revealed as a real danger to it. It is clear that the *Argonautica* is not the place for Homeric competition nor for Heracles, who is obviously in his element with this kind of action.¹⁰⁹ The hero is thus associated with Homer, which is also the case in the immediately following scene, in which Heracles breaks his oar:

ἀλλ’ ὅτε δὴ Μυσῶν λελημένοι ἠπείροιο
 ῥυνδακίδας προχοᾶς μέγα τ’ ἠρίον Αἰγαίωνος
 τυτθὸν ὑπέκ Φρυγίης παρεμέτρεον εἰσορόωντες,
 δὴ τότ’ ἀνοχλίζων τετρηχότος οἴδματος ὅλκοις
 μεσσόθεν ἄξεν ἐρετμόν· ἀτὰρ τρύφος ἄλλο μὲν αὐτὸς
 ἄμφω χερσὶν ἔχων πέσε δόχμιος, ἄλλο δὲ πόντος

¹⁰⁸ Hunter 1993, 36-7.

¹⁰⁹ See Hunter 1993, 37 for the traditional association of Heracles with gymnasias and competition. Apollonius has adapted this traditional image of Heracles to his own poetical agenda by associating Heracles with Homeric-epic competition.

κλύζε παλιρροθίοισι φέρων. ἀνὰ δ' ἔζετο σιγῇ
παπταίνων· χεῖρες γὰρ ἀήθεσον ἠρεμέουσαι.

Arg. 1.1164-71

But when, in their eagerness to reach the mainland of Mysia, they were passing within sight of the mouth of the Rhyndacus and the great tomb of Aegaeon, a short distance beyond Phrygia, then, as Heracles was heaving up furrows in the rough swell, he broke his oar in the middle. Still grasping a piece of it in his two hands, he fell sideways, while the sea carried the other piece away on its receding wash. He sat up, looking around in silence, for his hands were not used to being idle. (tr. Race)

This scene again emphasizes that Heracles is too big and heroic for the Argo, but the mention of the Giant Aegaeon is possibly also an allusion to *Iliad* 1.404, the only occurrence of the name in the entire Homeric corpus, in a scene in which Achilles is asking his mother Thetis for help against the injustice inflicted upon him by Agamemnon: she should beg Zeus to help him and remind him of how she once helped Zeus against a revolt of Hera, Poseidon and Athena by employing Aegaeon as his bodyguard.¹¹⁰ Not only does the Apollonian context (a Homeric contest) make the allusion to Homer more likely, but also the context of the Homeric passage itself, the *eris* (“strife”) between Achilles and Agamemnon as to who is the best of the Achaeans, tells strongly in favour of the allusion, for the Argonauts are also involved in an *eris* (ἔρις, “contesting”, 1.1153).¹¹¹ The intertext invites us to read this *eris* metaphorically as well, as a “strife” as to who is the best of the Argonauts, a strife that already started at the beginning of the expedition, when the Argonauts had to

¹¹⁰ The parallel has been noted, but not interpreted, by Ardizzoni 1967, 252-3 (ad loc.). Campbell 1981, 20 curiously omits it. Clauss 1993, 181 sees the mention of Aegaeon’s tomb as referring to Cinaethon’s *Heracleia*, who (according to scholia) described how Poseidon drowned the Giant for competing against him. His interpretation of this allusion, as well as that to Ajax’ hybriatic behaviour towards Poseidon (Arg. 1.1168-71 ~ *Od.* 4.504-10; pp. 182-3), as associating Heracles’ rowing with hybris (towards Poseidon) is compatible with my metapoetical interpretation of Heracles’ rowing as too heroic for the *Argonautica*.

¹¹¹ The strife between Achilles and Agamemnon, which is so essential for the narrative of the *Iliad* is denoted as *eris* already at the start of the epic: *Il.* 1.6-7: ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε | Ἀτρεΐδης τε ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν καὶ δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς. (“Of this sing from the time when first there parted in strife Atreus’ son, lord of men, and noble Achilles.”); *Il.* 1.8: τίς τ’ ἄρ σφῶε θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι; (“Who then of the gods was it that brought these two together to contend?”)

choose τὸν ἄριστον (1.338), in a passage which also evoked the strife between Agamemnon and Achilles.¹¹²

In fact, the entire Hylas episode is presented as a miniature epic on *eris*, as it begins in the style of a (Homeric) epic, in which the poem's subject is denoted in the first line, often with the first word.¹¹³ The immediately following word (ἄνδρα), the first word of the *Odyssey*, underlines the fact that we are dealing with a miniature epic. This interpretation is reinforced by a thematic ring composition, for the episode ends with another "strife" (νεῖκος, 1284) among the Argonauts concerning Heracles, whom they have just unwittingly left behind in Mysia. This ring composition is itself strengthened by another, for the description of the first *eris* (1.1153-71), denoting the rowing contest which results in Heracles breaking his oar, is immediately followed by an elaborate description of the time of day when the Argonauts arrived in Mysia:

ἤμος δ' ἀγρόθεν εἴσι φυτοσκάφος ἥ τις ἀροτρεὺς
ἀσπασίως εἰς αὐλιν ἔην δόρποιο χατίζων,
αὐτοῦ δ' ἐν προμολῇ τετρυμένα γούνατ' ἔκαμψεν
αὐσταλέος κονίησι, περιτριβέας δέ τε χεῖρας
εἰσορόων κακὰ πολλὰ ἐῖ ἡρήσατο γαστρί·
τῆμος ἄρ' οἳ γ' ἀφίκοντο Κιανίδος ἥθεα γαίης
ἄμφ' Ἀργανθώνειον ὄρος προχοάς τε Κίοιο.

Arg. 1.1172-8

At the hour when a gardener or plowman gladly leaves the field for his hut, longing for dinner, and there on the doorstep, caked with dust, he bends his weary knees and stares at his worn-out hands and heaps curses on his belly, then it was that they reached the homesteads of the Cianian land near the Arganthonian mountain and the mouth of the Cius river. (tr. Race)

¹¹² See Clauss 1993, 63-5 for the clear allusions in Arg. 1.341-4 to Il. 19.74-77.

¹¹³ Cf. Collins 1967, 107-8. Of course, the *Iliad* (μῆνιν ἄειδε) and the *Odyssey* (ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε) immediately announce their subject matter, but one may also think of the *Epic Cycle* epics *Little Iliad* (Ἴλιον ἄειδε) and *Thebaid* (Ἀργος ἄειδε), although Davies 1989, 24 notes on the latter that its opening is not to the point, as Argos is only the location where the expedition against Thebes starts. The *Epigoni* mentions its subject in the first line, albeit not with the first word: νῦν αὐθ' ὀπλοτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἀρχώμεσθα.

A similar, albeit somewhat less extensive, time indication of the type ἤμος ... τῆμος features immediately before the νεῖκος among the Argonauts takes place, thus creating a ring within a ring:¹¹⁴

ἤμος δ' οὐρανόθεν χαροπὴ ὑπολάμπεται ἡώς
ἐκ περάτης ἀνιοῦσα, διαγλαύσσουσι δ' ἀταρποί,
καὶ πεδία δροσόεντα φαεινῇ λάμπεται αἴγλη,
τῆμος τοὺς γ' ἐνόησαν αἰδρεῖν λιπόντες.
ἐν δέ σφιν κρατερὸν νεῖκος πέσεν (...)

Arg. 1.1280-4

But at the time when bright dawn shines down from the sky, as it rises from the horizon, and the pathways are clearly visible, and the dewy plains sparkle with a bright gleam, they realized that they had unwittingly left those men [*Heracles, Hylas and Polyphemus*] behind. And fierce strife came upon them (...). (tr. Race)

So the Hylas episode seems to be a miniature epic on “strife”, and more specifically a miniature *Iliad*, Apollonius’ most important intertext for this episode, in which the *eris* theme plays a crucial role. Although *eris* and *neikos* are synonyms, at first sight the two kinds of “strife” – denoting respectively the rowing contest and the quarrel among the Argonauts – seem to refer to completely different matters, not providing the “epyllion” with thematic unity. Both confrontations have an important similarity, however, in that they concern Heracles’ position on the Argo. We have already seen how Heracles breaking his oar in the rowing contest constitutes the climax of the hero’s misfit on the Argo. That Heracles is too heroic is revealed at the moment when he is competing with the other Argonauts, and this gives the *eris* theme a metapoetical dimension, as symbolizing a strife between heroic poetry and un-heroic, Callimachean poetry. This is reinforced when we take a closer look at the νεῖκος that ends the Hylas episode. Here the symbol of Apollonius’ Callimachean epic, Jason, is fiercely addressed by Heracles’ comrade Telamon, who accuses him of having left Heracles behind on purpose (1290-95). The scene clearly recalls the

¹¹⁴ Cf. Köhnken 1965, 17-25; Hurst 1967, 64-6; 129-33; Levin 1971, 120-4; Clauss 1993, 177-80 for the ring structure of the Hylas episode.

Homeric quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon in *Iliad* 1,¹¹⁵ but the difference is striking. As Apollonius states, anger has taken hold of Telamon (Τελαμῶνα δ' ἔλεν χόλος, 1289), through which he resembles Achilles. As Glaucus will very shortly reveal, “the reasons for his anger are unsubstantiated; his Achillean wrath is empty”.¹¹⁶ Consequently, Telamon will apologize to Jason for his behaviour afterwards (1332-5). Jason, on the other hand, does not react at all to Telamon’s rage. He avoids an “Iliadic” conflict and again proves to be the best leader for this new, un-heroic epic, which, according to Jason himself, requires the ability “to take on quarrels” (νείκεα ... βαλέσθαι, 1.340).¹¹⁷ Accordingly, Jason immediately accepts Telamon’s offer to make up after Glaucus’ revelation, saying that he will not harbour “bitter wrath” (ἀδευκέα μῆνιν, 1339) against him.¹¹⁸ Jason renounces the typically epic emotion, which is the main theme of the *Iliad*, and thus, as *mise en abyme* of Apollonius, heroic poetry in the style of the *Iliad*. So the quarrel between Jason and Heracles’ stand-in Telamon can – just as the rowing contest – be seen as one between two kinds of poetry: un-heroic, Callimachean poetry and the Homeric-heroic poetry that will eventually be left behind.¹¹⁹ Whereas the Hylas episode initially resembled an *Iliad*, it is ironically the very theme that invited comparison with Homer’s epic – *eris* – that also tropes Apollonius’ Callimachean deviation from Homer. This interpretation is reinforced by the fact that the Hylas episode – starting with Iliadic games and ending with a quarrel – seems to invert the structure of the entire *Iliad*, which starts with the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon and which features funeral games for Patroclus near the end, in book 23.¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ As suggested by Hunter 1988, 444. Cf. also Mori 2005. Clauss 1993, 201, is, however, too cautious in his interpretation of the allusion (as Farrell 1995 rightly objects), on the grounds that there are “no discernible textual points of contact”.

¹¹⁶ Clauss 1993, 201.

¹¹⁷ See Section 2.3 above for a discussion of this passage.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Mori 2005, 212: “We find in Jason’s acceptance of Telamon’s apology a revision of Achilles’ rejection of Agamemnon’s terms in *Iliad* 9.”

¹¹⁹ Cf. Mori 2005, 212: “Apollonius (...) appears to move away from Homeric epic, where (...) competitive values outweigh cooperative excellences.”

¹²⁰ I owe this suggestion to Professor Harder.

In what follows, I will argue that the centre of the Hylas episode reflects the framing *eris* scenes, in that Heracles and Hylas, in their parallel but also contrasting actions, symbolize the strife between Homer's heroic and Apollonius' Callimachean epic poetry.

3.2. Heracles into the woods

After the Argonauts have landed in Mysia, Heracles goes into the woods (εἰς ὕλην, 1188) to find himself a tree to make a new oar. When the hero has found a pine tree, he starts pulling it out of the ground with excessive force. His brute action is compared to a storm that hits a ship's mast:

ὥς δ' ὅταν ἀπροφάτως **ἰστὸν νεός**, εὖτε μάλιστα
χειμερὶ ὀλοοῖο δύσις πέλει Ὠρίωνος,
ὑψόθεν ἐμπλήξασα θοὴ ἀνέμοιο κατὰ ξ
αὐτοῖσι σφήνεσσιν ὑπὲκ προτόνων ἐρύσσηται·
ὥς ὃ γε τὴν ἤειρεν. (...)

Arg. 1.1201-5

And as when, just as the wintertime setting of baneful Orion occurs, a swift blast of wind from on high unexpectedly strikes a ship's mast and rips it from its stays, wedges and all, so did he lift up the pine tree. (tr. Race)

The ship recalls the Argo, and the simile brings to mind the preceding rowing contest, in which Heracles endangered the Argo and, metapoetically, Apollonius' poem (p. 38 above). By pulling the tree out of the ground, Heracles again poses a danger to the ship – albeit indirectly, through the simile.¹²¹ As the tree is a pine tree, the material of which the Argo is traditionally said to be made,¹²² the impression is

¹²¹ Cf. DeForest 1994, 64: "The simile reminds the reader how dangerous Heracles is to the ship."

¹²² See e.g. Eur. *Med.* 3-6: μηδ' ἐν νάπαισι Πηλίου πεσεῖν ποτε | τμηθεῖσα πεύκη, μηδ' ἐρετμῶσαι χέρας | ἀνδρῶν ἀριστεύων οἱ τὸ πάγχρυσον δέρος | Περίῃ μετῆλθον. "Would that pine trees had never been felled in the glens of Mount Pelion and furnished oars for the hands of the heroes who at Pelias' command set forth in quest of the Golden Fleece!" (tr. Kovacs) (cf. *Arg.* 2.1187-9, where the mention of Pelion suggests the same material (τὴν γὰρ Ἀθηναίη τεχνήσατο, καὶ τάμε χαλκῷ | δούρατα Πηλιάδος κορυφῆς πάρα, σὺν δέ οἱ Ἄργος | τεύξεεν. "For Athena designed it [*the Argo*] and with a bronze axe cut its timbers from the peak of Pelion, and with her help Argus constructed it."); Val. Fl. *Arg.* 1.121-9 (on the construction of the Argo). Initially, Apollonius refuses to treat the building of the Argo (*Arg.* 1.18-9), although he now and then, more and less explicitly, refers to it (see e.g.

created that, by analogy with the rowing contest, Heracles' uprooting of the tree can also be read metapoetically as endangering Apollonius' epic, as symbolically represented by the tree.

This kind of symbolism brings to mind Callimachus' fragmentary fourth *Iamb* (fr. 194 Pf.), where, as most scholars agree, the olive tree quarreling with the laurel tree embodies the poet's poetics.¹²³ In the remainder of this section, I will argue that Apollonius' pine tree similarly evokes his epic's Callimachean poetics, which are endangered by Heracles. The hero's expedition into the woods (εἰς ὕλην, 1188) thus seems to become a metapoetical journey, into Callimachean territory, through activation of the metaphorical meaning of ὕλη as "(poetic) subject matter". This situation may be compared to what Virgil would later say in his *Aeneid*: *itur in antiquam silvam*. "Into an ancient forest goes their way." (*Aen.* 6.179) In first instance, this line refers to Aeneas' search for wood for Misenus' pyre, but at the same time it both triggers and describes the intertextual process in the following lines, which rework a passage from Ennius' *Annales*.¹²⁴ Virgil has activated the metaphorical meaning of *silva*, as, I suggest, Apollonius has done with its Greek equivalent ὕλη in the Hylas episode here.¹²⁵ That Apollonius seems metapoetically to express his allegiance to Callimachean aesthetics through a tree which is then threatened, specifically recalls a story in Callimachus, to which I shall turn first.

3.2.1. Heracles and Erysichthon

Heracles is involved in an activity that can be described as tree violation, which was evaluated negatively in antiquity, especially when it concerned a sacred grove.¹²⁶ A

above). See Murray 2005 on how these dispersed fragments do form a complete story of the construction (with metapoetical significance).

¹²³ See Acosta-Hughes 2002, 191, n. 62 for bibliography. He himself, however, thinks that the trees together are "emblematic of the larger program of *Iambi* as a collection" (192), which would not affect my argument, for which it matters that Callimachus' poetics are symbolized by one or more trees.

¹²⁴ See e.g. Hinds 1998, 11-3 (from whom I have also quoted the translation of the line).

¹²⁵ See also Introduction, n. 23 for the metaphorical meaning of ὕλη and *silva*.

¹²⁶ Cf. Thomas 1988b, 265: "(...) both documentary and literary evidence conspire to show that in Greek and Roman society, as in so many others, the felling of trees was an extremely hazardous enterprise

well-known, contemporary literary parallel is the tree violation in Callimachus' *Hymn to Demeter*, where Erysichthon invades a sacred grove of Demeter with the purpose of cutting down trees to build a lavish banqueting hall.¹²⁷ After the first tree, a poplar, has been struck, Demeter is alerted by the sound of the tree being struck, or rather by the cry of its coeval nymph, and punishes the violator with perpetual hunger.

But this Erysichthon story is not just Callimachean in the sense that it was told by Callimachus; it has also been interpreted metapoetically, as allegorizing Callimachus' poetics.¹²⁸ As C. Müller and J. Murray have argued, Callimachus' poetical program is in this hymn personified by Demeter, who looks after Callimachean poetry as symbolized by her sacred grove. This interpretation is based on the similarities with the programmatic end of the *Hymn to Apollo*, where it was said that "the bees bring water to Deo [*Demeter*] not from every source, but where it bubbles up pure and undefiled from a holy spring, its very essence." (110-2; tr. Nisetich).¹²⁹ The bees mentioned are priestesses of Demeter, but the denotation also triggers the metaphor of the bee for the poet:¹³⁰ the devotees of Demeter are Callimachean poets. Now the narrator of the *Hymn to Demeter* is exactly such a devotee, who is furthermore associated with Callimachus himself, as the first person narrator of the poem merges with the persona of the poet.¹³¹ The metapoetical dimension of Callimachus' *Demeter*

and was, if performed without due reverence, likely to be met with retribution exacted either by the gods or by society."; 263: "Uneasiness emerges particularly in the case of the inviolate sacred grove." For tree felling as an epic *topos* in general, see Leeman 1985, 198; for the *Aeneid* see also Thomas 1988*b*. Murray 2004 investigates the intertextual and metapoetical contact between the tree violations in *Ov. Met.* 8 (Erysichthon), *Call. H. Dem.* (Erysichthon) and *Ap.Rh. Arg.* 2 (Paroibios).

¹²⁷ See Hopkinson 1984, 18-31 for testimonia: "Many and diverse were the myths told of Erysichthon and Triopas [*his father*]." (p.18)

¹²⁸ Müller 1987, 27-45, who speaks of a "narrative Metapher". This interpretation is discussed and expanded by Murray 2004, 212-4. My following treatment of the metapoetical dimension of Callimachus' *Hymn to Demeter* is based on these two accounts.

¹²⁹ See p. 32 above for the text and metapoetical interpretation of this passage. Cf. also the end of Theocritus' *Idyll* 7 (see p. 106 below), in which Demeter plays a similar metapoetical role.

¹³⁰ See Williams 1978, 92-3 for the way Callimachus fuses the religious and poetological associations of the bee here. For the metaphor of the bee for the poet, see Waszink 1974.

¹³¹ See also Murray 2004, 212-3 for specific verbal echoes between the *Hymn to Apollo* and the *Hymn to Demeter*.

is reinforced by the *Aetia* prologue, in which “Callimachus aligns himself with Philitas’ elegiac poem *Demeter*”:¹³² ἀλλὰ καθέλκει | [δρῦν] πολὺ τὴν μακρὴν ὄμπνια Θεσμοφόρο[ς]. “But bountiful Demeter by far outweighs the long [oak]” (*Aet.* fr. 1.9-10 Pf.). If this is indeed the meaning of these lines,¹³³ it is likely that Callimachus derived the metapoetical significance of his *Demeter* from Philitas’ poem, which, as Callimachus’ allusion would suggest, promoted poetics similar to those of Callimachus.¹³⁴ That both poets shared poetical ideas is also suggested by Propertius, who, in his programmatic elegy 3.1, aligns his own poetical ideas with these two poets, placing them in the same sacred and poetical grove (*nemus*):¹³⁵

Callimachi Manes et Coi sacra Philitae,
in vestrum, quaeso, me sinite ire nemus.
primus ego ingredior puro de fonte sacerdos
Itala per Graios orgia ferre choros.
dicite, quo pariter carmen tenuastis in antro?
quove pede ingressi? quamve bibistis aquam? Prop. 3.1.1-6

Spirit of Callimachus and poetic rites of Coan Philitas, allow me, I pray, to go into your grove. I am the first priest from the pure spring to begin bearing Italian sacraments to the accompaniment of Greek music. Tell me, in what glen did you together refine your song? or with what foot did you begin? or what water did you drink? (tr. Heyworth)

As Murray comments on this passage: “From Propertius’ declaration of his allegiance with Callimachus and Philitas it is evident that adopting Callimachean poetics was

¹³² Murray 2004, 213. Cf. Müller 1987, 42.

¹³³ See also Harder 2010, II, on *Aet.* fr. 1.9-12, for a discussion of alternative meanings and supplements: “On the whole Housman’s δρῦν still is the most attractive. The comparison would then contrast the slender corn-ear, evoked by the reference to Demeter, and the big oak-tree and would be relevant on several levels. Each item would stand metaphorically for a certain poetic style, while ὄμπνια Θεσμοφόρο[ς] at the same time could remind the readers of Philitas’ *Demeter* and ‘the long oak’ perhaps referred to another poem. (...) The notion of the superiority of the corn-ear over the oak-tree is found elsewhere too and may also imply a notion of progress and a contrast between ‘modern’ and ‘old-fashioned’ beside the contrast small-big ...” (p. 34).

¹³⁴ Cf. Seiler 1995, 156, n. 343: “[M]it der Fügung ὄμπνια Θεσμοφόρο[ς], die in Aitienprolog (...) den Demeterhymnus bezeichnet, legt Kallimachos nahe, dass die Dichtung des Philitas ebenfalls als geistig nährende verstanden werden will.” See Müller 1987, 40-2 for other parallels between the poetics of Philitas and Callimachus. See also n. 91 above for Philitas and Callimachus.

¹³⁵ See also conveniently Hunter 2006, 7-16 on the metapoetical dimension of this passage.

figured as being initiated into the secret rites of Demeter, and that these rites were associated with the goddess's grove."¹³⁶ Although Propertius does not mention Demeter, which makes allusion to Callimachus' hymn (let alone to Philitas' *Demeter*) hard to pin down here, Callimachus' grove can indeed, like Propertius' grove, be read metapoetically, as Müller has shown, as a landscape symbolizing Callimachean poetry. As Murray suggests, "Callimachus is here "concretizing the metaphor of ὕλη as poetic material. Erysichthon's attempt to convert the ὕλη of the grove into a banquet hall is an attempt to appropriate and transform poetical material".¹³⁷ So Erysichthon, by violating the grove, opposes Callimachus' new poetics, and the banqueting hall he plans to build by analogy symbolizes old, epic poetry. The allusions to Homer should also be understood in this light. During his attack on the grove, Erysichthon's ferocity is for instance described "with an epic simile of the type usually associated with hand-to-hand combat":¹³⁸

τὰν δ' ἄρ' ὑποβλέψας χαλεπώτερον ἢ κυναγὸν
ᾧρεσιν ἐν Τμαρίοισιν ὑποβλέπει ἄνδρα Λάεινα
ᾧμοτόκος, τὰς φαντὶ πέλειν βλοσυρώτατον ὄμμα
...

H. Dem. 50-2

But he looked at her more fiercely than a lioness in the mountains of Tmarus looks at a huntsman when she has just given birth (then, it is said, her look is most fearful), and said ... (tr. Hopkinson)

Furthermore, as Bulloch has shown, Demeter's grove, as described in lines 27-9, resembles the place where Odysseus and Melanthius meet in the *Odyssey* (17.208-

¹³⁶ Murray 2004, 213.

¹³⁷ Murray 2004, 214. See Introduction, Section 2 for this metaphorical use of ὕλη (and the Latin equivalent *silva*).

¹³⁸ Hopkinson 1984, 6, who also notes that "formal epic-length similes are foreign to the Callimachean hymn". The simile's model is *Il.* 17.133-6 (Ajax defending the corpse of Patroclus): Ἀίας δ' ἀμφὶ Μενoitιάδῃ σάκος εὐρὺ καλύψας | ἐστήκει ὥς τις τε λέων περὶ οἷσι τέκεσσιν, | ᾧ ῥά τε νήπι' ἄγοντι συναντήσωνται ἐν ὕλῃ | ἄνδρες ἐπακτῆρες· ὁ δέ τε σθένει βλεμεαίνει, | πᾶν δέ τ' ἐπισκύνιον κάτω ἔλκεται ὅσσε καλύπτων. "But Aias covered the son of Menoetius round about with his broad shield, and stood like a lion over his welps, one that huntsmen have encountered in the forest as he leads his young; and he exults in his might, and draws down his entire brow to cover his eyes." (tr. Murray & Wyatt)

11),¹³⁹ and Murray takes this lead to show that Erysichthon is associated with Odysseus.¹⁴⁰ The *Odyssey* is also a relevant intertext with regard to the banqueting hall that Erysichthon wants to build, as “the banquet hall is the place where epic story-telling takes place.”¹⁴¹ In short, Erysichthon is associated with Homeric, heroic-epic poetry, to which, as we have seen earlier, Callimachus is not opposed. The problem with Erysichthon, however, is that he is violating the Callimachean grove.

Something similar seems to be case in Apollonius’ Hylas episode, where Heracles evokes Homeric, heroic epic. Contrary to Erysichthon, however, Heracles is not rejected by Apollonius, for after his departure from the epic, he will remain an important model for the Argonauts, especially in book 4, in the desert of Libya. There the Argonauts literally and metaphorically find themselves in the footsteps of the hero,¹⁴² who saves them from starvation by creating a spring, in a scene which has a clear metapoetical dimension (4.1393-1460).¹⁴³ The problem with Heracles in the Hylas episode, however, is that he is too “heavy” for the Argo, and poses a danger to the epic, as Erysichthon does to the Callimachean grove of Demeter.

3.2.2. *The Callimachean pine tree*

The stories of Apollonius and Callimachus, then, resemble each other in having a metapoetical dimension that involves characters with epic connotations violating metapoetical trees. I think, however, Apollonius also specifically alludes to Callimachus’ hymn, as the pine tree seems to allude to the poplar tree that is struck by Erysichthon, causing Demeter to come into action:

¹³⁹ Bulloch 1977, 108-12. See also Hopkinson 1984, 102-3.

¹⁴⁰ Murray 2004, 214-6.

¹⁴¹ Murray 2004, 216, n. 29.

¹⁴² See Feeney 1986, 56-63 for the way in which Heracles acts as a continuing model for the Argonauts after his departure from the expedition.

¹⁴³ For the Callimachean allusions in the Libya episode in book 4 of the *Argonautica*, see DeForest 1994, 133-6, associating the desert where the Argonauts are stranded with Callimachus’ birth-place Cyrene and thus his poetry: “In the Callimachean desert, the Argonauts are saved by the Homeric Heracles.” (p. 136); Kouremenos 1996, 240; 242-4 (mainly on similes). The findings of DeForest and Kouremenos are only the tip of the iceberg, however, and a systematic study of Callimachean influence in book 4 would be most welcome.

ἦς δέ τις αἴγειρος, μέγα δένδρεον αἰθέρι κῦρον,
τῷ ἔπι ταῖ νύμφαι ποτὶ τῶνδιον ἐψιόωντο·
ἂ πράτα πλαγεῖσα κακὸν μέλος ἴαχεν ἄλλαις.
ἄσθετο Δαμάτηρ, ὅτι οἱ ξύλον ἱερὸν ἄλγει,
εἶπε δὲ χωσαμένα· “τίς μοι καλὰ δένδρεα κόπτει;” H. Dem. 37-41

There was a poplar, a huge tree reaching to the sky, near which the nymphs used to play at noon. This was the first tree struck, and it shrieked miserably to the others. Demeter sensed that her sacred timber was in pain, and said angrily, “Who is felling my lovely trees?” (tr. Hopkinson)

In the light of the interpretation of Demeter’s grove discussed earlier, the poplar, as part of this Callimachean grove, has a metapoetical dimension as “a concretization of Callimachean ὕλη.” This is emphasized when Erysichthon hits the tree, causing it to produce a κακὸν μέλος, a “bad song”.¹⁴⁴ Although the entire grove is sacred, the fact that this particular tree gets so much attention apparently makes it quite special; the trees that Erysichthon’s men are felling are mentioned only once in passing:

οἱ μὲν ἄρ’ ἡμιθνήτες, ἐπεὶ τὰν πότνιαν εἶδον,
ἔξαπίνας ἀπόρουσαν ἐνὶ δρυσὶ χαλκὸν ἀφέντες. H. Dem. 59-60

When they [Erysichthon’s men] saw the goddess they started away, half-dead with fear, leaving their bronze implements in the trees. (tr. Hopkinson)

Because of its thinness, the poplar is ideally suited to embody the Callimachean poetics of λεπτότης, a point which Apollonius seems to take over in the Hylas episode, where the pine tree is described as follows:¹⁴⁵

εὔρεν ἔπειτ’ ἐλάτην ἀλαλήμενος οὔτε τι πολλοῖς
ἄχθομένην ὄζοις οὐδὲ μέγα τηλεθώσαν,
ἀλλ’ οἶον ταναῆς ἔρνος πέλει αἰγείροιο·
τόσση ὁμῶς μῆκος τε καὶ ἐς πάχος ἦεν ιδέσθαι. Arg. 1.1190-3

¹⁴⁴ Murray 2004, 214.

¹⁴⁵ I agree with Bulloch 1977 and Murray 2004 that Callimachus’ *Hymn to Demeter* antedates the *Argonautica*, but to interpret the intertextual contact the other way would not affect my metapoetical interpretation of the Apollonian passage. See also pp. 29-30 above for the problematic relative chronology of Hellenistic poetry in general, and Apollonius and Callimachus in particular.

In his wanderings he [*Heracles*] then found a pine tree not burdened with many branches nor sprouting much growth, but like a shoot of a tall poplar; similar it was in both length and thickness. (tr. Race, adapted)

By emphasizing that the pine tree *looks like* a poplar, the text makes the reader more aware of the nature of the tree and marks an allusion to Callimachus' metapoetical poplar. This is reinforced by an allusion to the *Aetia* prologue in line 1193. Having compared the pine tree to a shoot of a poplar,¹⁴⁶ Apollonius' conclusion of the description of the tree is also in terms of the poplar: "similar [*to the shoot*] it was in both length and thickness." The second of the two criteria used to describe the similarities between the pine tree and the poplar shoot, *πάχος* ("thickness"), brings the *Aetia* prologue to mind. Callimachus here recollects how Apollo admonished him to "feed the victim as fat as possible", but to "keep his Muse slender" (tr. Nisetich), i.e. to write refined poetry: τὸ μὲν θύος ὅτι *πάχιστον* | θρέψαι, τῇ]ν Μοῦσαν δ' ὠγαθὲ *λεπταλέην*. (*Aetia* 1.23-4 Pf.). As Apollonius' pine is obviously also slender – something emphasized by the comparison with the shoot of a poplar and by the statement in lines 1190-1 that the tree "is not burdened with many branches" – the similarity of terminology suggests an allusion to Callimachus' *Aetia* in this metapoetical context.

Whether the first criterion, *μῆκος* ("length"), also alludes to Callimachean poetics is more questionable. The pine tree, which does not "sprout much growth" and resembles the shoot of a poplar tree, is not very long, and can be said to accord with Callimachus' poetical ideal to be *ὀλιγόστιχος*, "of few lines" (*Aet.* fr. 1.9). But Callimachus does not use the term *μῆκος*, which does feature in Aristotle's *Poetics*.

¹⁴⁶ As an *ἔρνος* is a shoot (LSJ 1), the word does not simply denote the trunk of the poplar tree, as the modern translations of e.g. Delage (in Vian 1974), Seaton 1912, Hunter 1995, Green 1997, Race 2008 have it. This (mis)interpretation obviously makes the text read more straightforwardly in translation, but also removes the metapoetical hint: Apollonius' epic is like the shoot of Callimachus' poplar, as I will argue below. Is Apollonius' formulation a way to say that Apollonius is a follower, a student, of Callimachus and his poetry? This is something also suggested by the ancient biographical tradition (*Vita* β, 4: οὗτος ἐμαθήτευσε Καλλιμάχῳ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ὄντι γραμματικῷ. "He was a student of Callimachus, the grammarian, in Alexandria.").

There the length of an epic is prescribed to be “equivalent to the length of a group of tragedies offered at one hearing” (*Poet.* 24.1459b; tr. Halliwell). This would amount to ca. 4000-5000 lines,¹⁴⁷ which is much shorter than a Homeric epic, but it is “a limit more or less observed by Apollonius.”¹⁴⁸ In line 1193, Apollonius thus seems to adhere to Aristotle’s poetics, but also those of Callimachus, who, as we have seen earlier, seems to accord with Aristotle’s *Poetics* with regard to attitude towards Homeric epic. The two also seem to agree on the proper length of a long narrative poem, as Callimachus’ *Aetia*, at a rough estimate, was originally about 5000 lines. “When compared to Hesiod, Homer and Apollonius this makes the *Aetia* a poem which in length is closest to the *Argonautica*.”¹⁴⁹ So, with his remark on the μῆκος of the pine tree, which, as I just argued, symbolizes the Callimachean *Argonautica*, Apollonius in the first instance expresses his allegiance with Aristotle about the proper length of an epic; but this is not incompatible with Callimachus’ own poetics, as the *Aetia* shows. Nevertheless, Callimachus never wrote an epic as long as the *Argonautica*. By comparison, Callimachus’ epic, the *Hecale*, was originally much shorter (probably c. 1000 lines), and also much less traditional in its subject matter.¹⁵⁰ The combination with the mention of the πᾶχος of the tree, which alludes directly to Callimachus, suggests that Apollonius in his description of the pine tree metapoetically states that his *Argonautica* is written in accordance with the poetics of both Aristotle and Callimachus, which are compatible with each other, although

¹⁴⁷ See Lucas 1968, 222 ad *Poet.* 24.1459b21: “Assuming that the average length of a tragedy did not change between the late fifth century and A.’s time, three tragedies would amount to 4,000-5,000 lines which would take a long half-day in performance.”

¹⁴⁸ Harder 2010, II, on *Aet.* fr. 1.3.

¹⁴⁹ Harder 2010, I, 14.

¹⁵⁰ See Hollis 1990, 337-40 on the length of the *Hecale*. He estimates that the poem was longer than 1000 lines: “(...) while the usual estimate of 1,000 lines for the *Hecale* perhaps has most to be said for it, there are other indications compatible with a longer poem.” (340). On the *Hecale* as Callimachus’ way of writing an epic, cf. Cameron 1995, 437, who speaks of a “model epic” (whereas the *Aetia* is considered to be a model elegy), and Ambühl 2004, 40: “The *Hecale* can be interpreted as a ‘manifesto’ of Callimachean poetics: Hecale and Theseus are the heroes of the new Alexandrian epic”.

Callimachus himself would probably never have conceived an epic like the *Argonautica*.¹⁵¹

The passage describing the pine tree mainly alludes to Callimachus, however, and, having established the Callimachean dimension of the pine tree, I will now try to see to what extent Heracles' subsequent action can be read metapoetically.

3.2.3. Polyphemus' club

Apollonius' pine tree resembles, and arguably alludes to, Callimachus' poplar, but there are also striking similarities with Polyphemus' club in *Odyssey* 9 (compare the underlinings with *Arg.* 1.1193 above):

(...) τὸ μὲν ἄμμες εἴσκομεν εἰσορόωντες
ὅσσον θ' **ίστὸν νηὸς** ἐεικοσόροιο μελαίνης,
φορτίδος εὐρείης, ἣ τ' ἐκπεράα μέγα λαῖτμα·
τόσσον ἔην μῆκος, τόσσον πάχος εἰσοράασθαι. Od. 9.321-4

And as we [*Odysseus and his men*] looked at it we thought it as large as is the mast of a black ship of twenty oars, a merchantman, broad of beam, which crosses over the great golf; so huge it was in length, so huge in breadth to look upon. (tr. Murray & Dimmock)

The possibility of an allusion to this Odyssean passage is strengthened by the appearance of the Homeric words marked in bold (ίστὸν νηὸς) in the simile comparing Heracles' brutal uprooting of the tree to a storm hitting the mast of a ship (1.1201; quoted on p. 43 above). So both the Odyssean Polyphemus' club and the Apollonian pine tree are compared to a ship's mast. What are we to make of this allusion? First of all, the difference between the pine tree and the club is obvious, if

¹⁵¹ Cf. Harder 2010, I, 25 on the different, though also similar, approaches of Callimachus in his *Aetia* and Apollonius in his *Argonautica*: "In Apollonius' *Argonautica* the journey of the Argonauts results in a wide range of monuments, rituals and other traces along their route. The approach is different from that in the *Aetia* if only because in Apollonius the starting-point is the Argonauts' adventures in the past, which leave traces that 'even now' people can observe, whereas in the *Aetia* the starting-point is the present in which the narrator is confronted by traces from the past which he seeks to explain. In both approaches the notion that past and present are closely related as 'cause' and 'result' is prominent."

my interpretation of line 1193 is accepted: whereas the pine tree is slender and not long (compared as it is to the shoot of a poplar), the club is huge in both length and thickness. I suggest that the allusion has metapoetical implications, which become more clear when we take Apollonius' simile into consideration. Although the pine tree is, like Polyphemus' club, likened to a mast, this is not what is directly compared: Heracles' uprooting of the tree is compared to a storm, and the point is, as we have seen, that Heracles' action symbolizes the danger he poses to the epic. In the *Odyssey*, the "heroic-epic" club will help the epic hero Odysseus and his quest, in the *Argonautica*, the Callimachean tree is threatened by the epic hero Heracles. Indirectly, Heracles and Polyphemus are thus also associated with each other, as both are characters who oppose an epic mission.¹⁵² Although Apollonius through the allusion again reveals that Homer is his model, he also again makes clear that his epic is, and has to be, different: there is no place for heroic action in the *Argonautica*.

3.3. *Hylas and the spring*

After the episode of Heracles searching for and violating the pine tree, Hylas is described looking for a source to get water for Heracles. Not only does this scene take place simultaneously with Heracles' action (τόφρα, "in the meantime", 1207), it is also clearly parallel with the action of Heracles (ὥς κεν ἐρετμὸν | οἱ αὐτῷ φθαίῃ καταχείριον ἐντύνασθαι, 1189 ~ ὥς κέ οἱ ὕδωρ | φθαίῃ ἀφυσσάμενος ποτιδόρπιον, 1209),¹⁵³ which invites comparison of the two scenes with each other. This in turn raises the question whether Hylas' search can also be read metapoetically, a question which becomes more urgent when we realize that the

¹⁵² Cf. Clauss 1993, 186-8 for the similarities between Heracles and Polyphemus. See also Ch. 2, Section 3.4 for the way Theocritus, in *Id.* 13, associates Heracles with Polyphemus. Callimachus also seems to denote Polyphemus as "un-Callimachean" in the *Aetia*. Alluding to the ivy cup (κισσύβιον) that the Cyclops used to drink the wine offered to him by Odysseus *Aet.* fr. 178.16 Pf., Callimachus subtly associates him with excessive, un-Callimachean drinking of wine (see Knox 1985 on Callimachean water-drinking vs. the un-Callimachean drinking of wine). I owe this suggestion to Professor Harder.

¹⁵³ Levin 1971, 121.

metaphorical meaning of ὕλη may also continue to play a role in this episode, as ὕλη was an ancient etymology for Hylas.¹⁵⁴

Another hint that Hylas' search is susceptible of metapoetical reading is provided by Propertius, who in his elegy describes Hylas as going to the fount:

at comes invicti iuvenis processerat ultra
raram sepositi **quaerere** fontis aquam. Prop. 1.20.23-4

The squire of the invincible hero had gone further afield, to seek the choice water of a secluded spring. (tr. Heyworth)

Propertius here seems to allude to Callimachus' metapoetical water imagery.¹⁵⁵ *Rara aqua* recalls the pure (καθαρή) and undefiled (ἄχρῶαντος) spring in Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* (111). But Propertius' *sepositi fontis* at the same time brings the κρήνη, the "public fountain" in *Epigram* 28 to mind, which Callimachus dislikes, because everyone drinks from it: just as Callimachus will not drink from the source that everyone else uses, Hylas will go deep into the woods to find a spring that is "set apart".¹⁵⁶ Propertius also seems to allude to Apollonius in line 24:¹⁵⁷

δίλκητο κρήνης ἱερὸν ὄον

[Hylas] sought the sacred flow of a spring. Arg. 1.1208

¹⁵⁴ See Introduction, Section 2.

¹⁵⁵ Petrain 2000, 413-4. On Callimachus' use of water-symbolism, see also Wimmel 1960, 222-3; Kambylis 1965, 110-25; Asper 1997, 109-25.

¹⁵⁶ See Section 2.5 above for (the text and translation of) Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* and *Ep.* 28 Pf.

¹⁵⁷ The readings *puram* (Fontein) and *sacram* (Rutgers) in Prop. 1.20.24 instead of *raram* would strengthen the allusion to Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* (just quoted) and Apollonius (quoted immediately below) respectively, as Heyworth 2007b, 89 notes: "(...) *raram* has puzzled readers: is it just to be rendered 'exquisite', or does it mean that fresh water was scarce, so Hylas has to go a long way? Closer imitation of the Callimachean passage would have been achieved through *puram* (Fontein), which has appropriately positive connotations, or *sacram* (Rutgers), which adds an allusion to A.R. Arg. 1.1208 κρήνης ἱερὸν ὄον." Nevertheless, because Propertius also calls his Cynthia, who metaphorically represents his poetry (see Ch. 3, pp. 153-4 with nn. 452-3 below), *rara* in book 1 (1.8.42; 1.17.16), I accept the reading *raram* in Prop. 1.20.24: Propertius seems to have given his own, elegiac twist to the Callimachean words. See also Ch. 3, Section 7 for Propertius' elegizing of Apollonius' and Theocritus' Callimachean Hylas.

Propertius' apparent allusion to Callimachus through Apollonius suggests that Apollonius too alludes to Callimachus, and, in fact, the similarities between Apollonius' line and Propertius' Callimachean intertexts are striking. The ἱερὸν ῥόον ("holy stream") that Hylas is looking for recalls the "holy spring" (πίδακος ἱερῆς) in Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* (112). Furthermore, κρήνης ("public spring") brings to mind *Epigram* 28. In this poem, Callimachus rejects hackneyed poetry from the Epic Cycle, which keeps "recycling" Homer and other traditional epic material – keeps "drinking" from the same source. The κρήνη can thus be identified with Homer, just like the πόντος in the *Hymn to Apollo*, the quantity of which is imitated by post-Homeric epic. As Propertius did, Apollonius seems to combine this epigram and the ending of the *Hymn to Apollo*, but although Propertius' Callimachean *fons* points towards a metapoetical interpretation of Apollonius' spring, that spring does not at first sight seem to be Callimachean. The spring's denotation as κρήνη associates it with Homer,¹⁵⁸ and so Apollonius seems to drinking from the same Homeric source as the poets of the un-Callimachean Epic Cycle. Apollonius' ῥόον at first sight seems to point in the same direction, for in Apollo's statement in the *Hymn to Apollo* that the "the Assyrian river rolls a massive stream (μέγας ῥόος), but it's mainly silt and garbage that it sweeps along" (108-9; tr. Nisetich),¹⁵⁹ the μέγας ῥόος refers to post-Homeric epic (such as the Epic Cycle), which equals Homeric epic in quantity, but not in quality.¹⁶⁰ But Apollonius' ῥόος is ἱερός, a word which at the end of the *Hymn to Apollo* is applied to the holy spring that produces pure and undefiled water of the best quality, i.e. Callimachean poetry. Moreover, quite apart from this single line, Apollonius' spring also clearly recalls that of Callimachus more generally in its remoteness, implying Callimachean purity and thus quality. So what can be made of this apparent paradox? The parallelism with the scene involving Heracles that takes

¹⁵⁸ The spring is also denoted as κρήνη in lines 1221, 1228 and 1258.

¹⁵⁹ Ἀσσυρίου ποταμοῖο μέγας ῥόος, ἀλλὰ τὰ πολλὰ | λύματα γῆς καὶ πολλὸν ἐφ' ὕδατι συρφετὸν ἔλκει.

¹⁶⁰ See p. 32 above for this interpretation of these Callimachean lines. That Apollonius alludes to Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* is reinforced by the striking denotation of the spring: as the name Πηγαί ("springs", 1222) reveals, it clearly concerns a spring, not a "stream".

place simultaneously creates the impression that Apollonius' spring is, like its counterpart, the pine tree, a symbol for (the poetics of) the *Argonautica*. As I argued, the tree made clear that the *Argonautica* was properly Callimachean in its relation to Homer, but in a way that Callimachus would probably not have conceived of himself. Something similar seems to be the case with the spring. Although the *Argonautica* is a long epic, a ῥόος (to keep to the Callimachean terminology), whose source of inspiration (Homer) can be denoted as a κρήνη, from which many poets have drunk, Apollonius' epic is still able to produce holy, pure, and hence Callimachean water. Although Callimachus' spring in the *Hymn to Apollo* was (implicitly) remote, it was still connected with Homer's πόντος, whose quality, not quantity, it emulated. In line 1208, I suggest, Apollonius declares the Callimachean nature of his epic, which is Callimachean in another way, in that it tries to emulate both the quality and (to a certain extent¹⁶¹) the quantity of Homer, something which Callimachus had not thought possible.

3.4. Hylas, Jason and Apollonius

Both Heracles and Hylas go into Callimachean territory. Whereas Heracles violates the pine tree, an action that symbolizes the danger he poses to the Callimachean epic, Hylas becomes one with the Callimachean landscape. At the same time, Hylas makes a transition from a homosexual relationship with Heracles to a heterosexual one with a nymph.¹⁶² Through this separation from Heracles, he ensures the departure of the hero from the epic. Because Heracles was posing a serious danger to the Argo, Hylas, through his ἀρετή of attractiveness, has saved the epic. The appearance of Glaucus at the end of the episode underlines the significance of Hylas' feat, by giving it a divine validation: Heracles belonged to another, more traditionally heroic kind of epic; his

¹⁶¹ Although the length of the *Argonautica* is much shorter than an Homeric epic, it is still much longer than a Callimachean "epic" such as the *Hecale*. As I argued in Section 3.2.2 above, the length of the *Argonautica* was probably roughly the same as Callimachus' *Aetia*, but this is an elegiac poem in the Hesiodic, didactic tradition, not a Homeric, narrative epic.

¹⁶² On the pederastic relationship between Heracles and Hylas, see e.g. Beye 1982, 94-6; Clauss 1993, 185-96; Hunter 1993, 38-40; DeForest 1994, 62-6.

disappearance was meant to be, and was no accident. Hylas is here aligned with Jason, who will succeed in his mission with the same ἀρετή. This suggests that Hylas is a kind of prefiguration of Jason, which is reinforced by the intertextual contact between the two. When Hylas reaches the spring, he is abducted by the nymph, who is struck by the beauty of the boy, which is emphasized by the rays of the full moon:

ἡ δὲ νέον κρήνης ἀνεδύετο καλλινάοιο
νύμφη ἐφυδατίη. τὸν δὲ σχεδὸν εἰσενόησεν
κάλλει καὶ γλυκερῇσιν ἐρευθόμενον χαρίτεσσιν·
πρὸς γάρ οἱ διχόμενις ἀπ' αἰθέρος ἀνγάζουσα
βάλλε σεληναίη. τῆς δὲ φρένας ἐπτοίησεν
Κύπρις, ἀμηχανίη δὲ μόλις συναγείρατο θυμόν. Arg. 1.1228-33

But the water nymph was just rising from the fair-flowing spring. She noticed the boy nearby, glowing with rosy beauty and sweet charms, for the full moon was casting its rays on him as it gleamed from the sky. Cypris confounded her thoughts, and in her helpless state she could barely collect her spirit. (tr. Race)

The mention of a full moon is quite striking, as it does not feature anywhere else in the entire *Argonautica*, except in a simile, much later in the poem. After Jason has acquired the Golden Fleece, he and Medea leave the grove of Ares, and a simile follows:

(...) Λεῖπον* δὲ πολύσκιον ἄλσος Ἄρης.
ὥς δὲ σεληναίης διχομήνιδα παρθένος αἴγλην
ὑψόθεν ἐξανέχουσιν ὑπωροφίου θαλάμοιο
λεπταλέῳ ἐανῶ ὑποῖσχεται, ἐν δέ οἱ ἦτορ
χαίρει δερκομένης καλὸν σέλας· ὥς τότε Ἴησων
γηθόσυνος μέγα κῶας ἐαῖς ἀναείρετο χερσίν,
καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ ξανθῇσι παρησίῃσι ἠδὲ μετώπῳ
μαρμαρυγῇ ληνέων φλογὶ εἵκελον ἵζεν ἔρευθος. Arg. 4.166-73

* Λεῖπον Naber: Λεῖπεν Sd: λίπεν mG

(...) and they left the shade-filled grove of Ares. And as a young girl catches on her delicate gown the beam of a full moon as it shines forth high above her upper room, and her heart within her rejoices as she beholds the beautiful gleam, so joyfully then did Jason lift up the great fleece in his hands, and upon

his golden cheeks and forehead there settled a red glow like a flame from the shimmering of the wool. (tr. Race)

This Homeric simile at first sight refers to Jason's joy. As J.M. Bremer has shown,¹⁶³ however, the full moon has a "erotic-nuptial connotation" (423), through which the girl in the simile clearly also refers to Medea, whom Jason has promised to marry in exchange for help with acquiring the Golden Fleece. Bremer infers "that the simile, by describing the blissful sentiments of a girl looking forward to her wedding, must have had the effect of initially directing the reader's attention to the joy which permeates Medea now that she is walking at Jason's side as his bride-to-be." (425) Apollonius has a famous model for this simile technique, for in *Odyssey* 23.231-9, the happiness of Penelope at Odysseus' return is compared to castaways, happy to set foot on land again, who are strongly reminiscent of Odysseus.¹⁶⁴ As Bremer observes, "in both passages a climax of the narrative is reached, a climax with strong erotic aspects: the *Odyssey* culminating in Odysseus' reunion with his faithful wife, the *Argonautica* in Jason's capture of the Golden Fleece with the help of the princess he has promised to marry" (425). In Apollonius this climax is accompanied by Callimachean imagery. First of all, the gown of the girl in the simile, with which the fleece is implicitly compared, is described as "delicate" (λεπταλέω ἔανῶ, 169), which recalls Callimachus' denotation of his Muse (λεπταλέην, *Aet.* fr. 1.24 Pf.).¹⁶⁵ The connection of the word here with weaving, a widespread metaphor for the poetical process,¹⁶⁶ reinforces the metapoetical association of the gown and thus of the fleece that is compared with it. Two lines later, Apollonius emphasizes the actual size of the fleece: it is a μέγα κῶας, a "great fleece". The impression is created that the Golden Fleece, the objective of the epic mission, symbolizes the epic itself, which Apollonius, as we have seen in the Hylas episode, characterizes as a paradoxically

¹⁶³ Bremer 1987.

¹⁶⁴ Bremer 1987, 426-7. See also de Jong 1985, 274 on this technique in Homeric similes.

¹⁶⁵ Kouremenos 1996, 240.

¹⁶⁶ See Introduction, n. 33 above for weaving as a poetological metaphor.

Callimachean large-scale epic. This is reinforced by a second simile, comparing the size of the fleece to the hide of an ox or a deer:

ὅσση δὲ ῥινὸς βοὸς ἥνιος ἢ ἐλάφοιο
γίγνεται, ἣν τ' ἀγρῶσται ἀχαιϊννέην καλέουσιν,
τόσσον ἔην, πάντη χρύσεον, ἐφύπερθε δ' * ἄωτον
βεβρίθει λήνεσσιν ἐπηρεφές. (...)

Arg. 4.174-7

* ἐφύπερθε δ' Merkel: ἐφύπερθεν Ω

As large as the hide of a yearling ox or of the deer which hunters call the *achaiines*, so great it was, all golden, and its fleecy covering was heavy with wool. (tr. Race)

In this same passage in which the size and weight (βεβρίθει, 177) of the fleece is described, the exclusiveness of its wool is emphasized (ἄωτον, “fine wool”). Again, Apollonius seems to allude to the poetics of Callimachus, who uses the word to denote the exclusive poetry that he promotes (*H. Ap.* 112; quoted in Section 2.5 above).¹⁶⁷

So the climax of the Callimachean epic mission, the acquisition of the Golden Fleece, is associated with the marriage of Jason and Medea in a simile concerning the Fleece. At the same time this simile emphasizes the Callimachean nature of the epic

¹⁶⁷ Kouremenos 1996, 240 defends the allusions to Callimachus as follows: “The interpretation of λεπταλέος and ἄωτον as allusions to Callimachean poetics is not unjustified. These words refer to key-notions of Callimachean poetics, and their presence in small-scale non-Homeric similes which are juxtaposed with large-scale Homeric ones suggests poetological concerns. Moreover, the language of this simile shows a feature which unmistakably Hellenistic: words rare in earlier poetry and *hapax legomena* in Apollonius (...).” Kouremenos, who concentrates on the programmatic significance of similes in the *Argonautica*, does not interpret the allusions to Callimachus as symbolizing the entire epic, as I do. Kouremenos’ interpretation of the κύκλα (151, 161), the spirals of the dragon that has been defeated a few lines earlier – as well as the application of the verb ἐλίσσειν (~ *Aet.* fr. 1.5 Pf.: ἐλ[ίσσω] to their movement – as referring to “anti-Callimachean”, “cyclic” poetry (p. 241) reinforces my interpretation. I do not agree, however, with Kouremenos’ premise (based on a misguided reading of Callimachus’ *H. Ap.* 106-9) that “Callimachus attacked not only the Homeric ‘epigons’ but also Homer himself” (p. 234, n. 2). This causes him to see “a fundamental difference between Callimachus and Apollonius” (p. 250), as the latter combines Homeric and Callimachean influences. As I have tried to show earlier, Apollonius and Callimachus are *both* largely indebted to Homer, the quality of whose poetry they do not question. The difference between the two poets lies in the answer to the question how to deal with (imitation of) Homer. See Ch. 2, Section 2 for yet another answer to this question, by Theocritus in his bucolic poetry.

through the hinted metapoetical symbolism of the fleece. When we now return to the abduction of Hylas, we see that something similar is happening there, in a similarly crucial moment in the epic. The scene constitutes another, albeit provisional climax, as it ensures the departure of Heracles from the epic. Again this climax is associated with marriage, for the full moon suggests that the nymph, by abducting Hylas, consumes her love.¹⁶⁸ The implied marriage is closely associated with the spring, which, as I argued, symbolizes Apollonius' Callimachean epic. This is very similar to the situation in book 4, where marriage is closely related to another symbol of the *Argonautica*, the Golden Fleece.

Hylas' abduction can, then, arguably be seen as a prefiguration of the epic's main objective, Jason's acquisition of the Golden Fleece. The transformed Hylas himself can be seen as a kind of precursor of the successful love hero that Jason will eventually become. In fact, in the Hylas episode, the epic has taken an important step in the "right" direction, by causing an important threat to the epic to leave. Hylas' entry into the spring, which symbolizes Apollonius' Callimachean epic, and the concomitant leaving behind of Heracles, also reflect Apollonius' attitude towards heroic-epic poetry, and Homer in particular, which, as Apollonius realizes after the first book, he has to leave behind. Although Apollonius tried to write heroic epic in the course of the first book, the Homeric-epic fight at Cyzicus turned into the slaughter of friends, and in a Homeric rowing contest Heracles posed a great danger to the Argo. In hindsight, the Lemnos episode already revealed the way the epic was destined to go, but Heracles could then still steer the epic in another, more heroic, direction.

According to this interpretation Hylas is, like Jason, a *mise en abyme* of Apollonius' poetic persona. Hylas' switch from a pederastic love affair with Heracles to union with the nymph can be read as the final step in Apollonius' gradual maturation and

¹⁶⁸ As Bremer (1987: 424) comments on the passage: "Full moon accompanies the consummation of her love."

independence as a poet with regard to his model Homer.¹⁶⁹ The metapoetical interpretation of this transition is reinforced by the fact that the pederastic relationship between Heracles and Hylas is modelled on the relationship between Achilles and Patroclus.¹⁷⁰ Admittedly, Homer did not explicitly describe their relationship as pederastic, but this is how it was interpreted by many post-Homeric writers,¹⁷¹ including Apollonius himself, who in *Arg.* 3.744-60 models Medea's insomnia, with its clear erotic dimension, on that of Achilles, yearning for the dead Patroclus in *Iliad* 24.1-13.¹⁷² The pederastic relationship between Heracles and Hylas betrays a similar erotic interpretation of Homer's Achilles and Patroclus by Apollonius. It can therefore be argued that the love affair between Heracles and Hylas is an evocation of Homer's heroic-epic world, whereas the union between Hylas and the nymph has Callimachean associations. In this way Hylas' switch from Heracles to the nymph symbolizes Apollonius' own switch to a new kind of epic, one that requires a different kind of heroism, as demonstrated by Jason later on in the

¹⁶⁹ Perhaps the nymph can be interpreted as a Muse in this context (see Albis 1996, 108 on "the Hellenistic association of Water Nymphs with the Muses). The relationship between the nymph and Aphrodite (who makes her fall in love: *Arg.* 1.1232-3) could also point in this direction, as the goddess is also associated with poetic inspiration in the proem to book 3, where she is named in combination with the Muse Erato (*Arg.* 3.3-4). See also Albis 1996, 105-14 on Apollonius' association of Thetis (in 4.838-41), the Nymphs of Libya (in 4.1318-32) and the Hesperides (in 4.1398-9) with the Muses. See also Ch. 2, p. 108 with n. 321 for the way Theocritus' nymphs can become Muses of his bucolic poetry.

¹⁷⁰ See DeForest 1994, 65-6: "Hylas corresponds to Patroclus both as the male friend of the hero and – according to post-Homeric versions – as his lover." (p. 65) Cf. also Beye 1982, 95-6: "If Apollonius emphasizes Heracles' more ridiculous qualities, it is not to ridicule pederasty so much as to mock the old-fashioned heroic, conservative, perhaps even Colonel Blimp-like cast of mind that accompanied it, seen from the vantage point of Alexandria a century and a half later [*than the Greek city-states*]. But, of course, Apollonius makes pederasty comical and therefore rather inconsequential in order to set the stage for the more serious, consequential heterosexual love affair that lies ahead. Men *do* grow up." Although I agree with Beye that pederasty is regarded by Apollonius as outdated, I do not agree with the negative evaluation that Heracles is ridiculed for his behaviour; he is just revealed as out of place in this new (poetic) world, with new heroic ideals.

¹⁷¹ See Sanz Morales & Laguna Mariscal 2003 for Chariton's interpretation of the relationship as pederastic. Other writers mentioned by them include Aeschylus (*Myrmidons*, *TrGF* 3, 135-6 Radt), Plato (*Symp.* 179e-180b), Aeschines (*Against Timarchus* 1.142), Theocritus (*Id.* 19.34), Martial (11.43.9-10), Meleager (*AP* 12.217) and Pseudo-Lucian (*Am.* 54).

¹⁷² See Laguna Mariscal & Sanz Morales 2005 for Apollonius's interpretation of the relationship between the two as erotic by modelling the insomnia of Medea in *Arg.* 3.744-60, with its clearly erotic dimension, on that of Achilles, yearning for the dead Patroclus in *Il.* 24.1-13.

story.¹⁷³ This does not imply that Apollonius renounced his Homeric heritage. As a Callimachean, Apollonius would have regarded Homer as his poetical teacher, and this, in fact, seems to be implied in line 1.1211: δὴ γάρ μιν τοίοισιν ἐν ἥθεσιν αὐτὸς ἔφερβεν. “For in such habits had Heracles himself raised him [*Hylas*].” Like *Hylas* and *Jason*, however, it is time for Apollonius to mature and find his own poetical niche.

In the epic that has been deeply influenced by the *Argonautica*, Virgil’s *Aeneid*,¹⁷⁴ a similar emancipation occurs. This supports the interpretation suggested above.¹⁷⁵ As A. Deremetz and W. Kofler have shown,¹⁷⁶ Aeneas’ voyage from Homeric Troy to Rome can be read metapoetically as the *Aeneid*’s gradual maturation as a new, Roman epic. His father Anchises here plays a role similar to that of Heracles in the *Argonautica*, as has been observed by C.R. Beye:¹⁷⁷

[T]hat Apollonius faults Heracles while admiring him seems to me to be the better mode of interpretation, and the one suggested by Virgil whose use of Anchises seems modelled upon this Heracles figure. In the *Aeneid* Anchises, who is much prized, nonetheless mistakes the direction of the voyage and shortly thereafter dies. He is clearly out of the past whereas Aeneas must march into the future. That is the truth behind Heracles’ mad dash out of this narrative and Jason’s survival in it.

This metapoetical interpretation of *Hylas* and *Heracles* in the *Argonautica* is anticipated by Apollonius in a digression which immediately follows the statement

¹⁷³ Cf. also Beye 2006, 201 on the relationship between *Jason* and *Hylas*: “Just as *Jason* seems to have lost his virginity with *Hypsipyle*, to have become authoritative and active through adult masculine sexuality, so *Hylas*, on the other side of the coin, has left the shelter and comfort of a strong male protector to be seduced into the vast unknown pool of water, and possibly to some kind of death, by a woman. *Jason* will replicate this frightening immersion in the unknown (3.1194ff.) when on the night before he meets the contest of the bulls, following *Medea*’s instructions, he goes naked into a pool and then, wrapped in a robe given by *Hypsipyle*, makes sacrifice to the dread goddess *Hecate*, whose frightening apparition Apollonius describes in detail.”

¹⁷⁴ See esp. Nelis 2001 for a thorough analysis of the pervasive influence of the *Argonautica* on the *Aeneid*.

¹⁷⁵ For the possibility to use later texts to interpret earlier ones, “retrospective interpretation”, see also Introduction, n. 41.

¹⁷⁶ Deremetz 2000; Kofler 2003, 63-74.

¹⁷⁷ Beye 1982, 184 (n. 22).

quoted above about Heracles being Hylas' teacher, and which explains how the two met:

δὴ γάρ μιν τοίοισιν ἐν ἤθεσιν αὐτὸς ἔφερβεν,
νηπίαχον τὰ πρῶτα δόμων ἐκ πατρὸς ἀπούρας,
δίου Θειοδάμαντος, ὃν ἐν Δρυόπεσσι ἐπεφνεν
νηλειῶς βοὸς ἀμφὶ γεωμόρου ἀντιόωντα.
ἦτοι ὁ μὲν νειοῖο γύας τέμνεσκεν ἀρότρῳ
Θειοδάμας ἀνὴρ βεβολημένος· αὐτὰρ ὁ τὸν γε
βοῦν ἀρότην ἤνωγε παρὰσχέμεν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα.
ἔτο γὰρ πρόφασιν πολέμου Δρυόπεσσι βαλέσθαι
λευγαλέην, ἐπεὶ οὐ τι δίκης ἀλέγοντες ἔναιον.
ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τηλοῦ κεν ἀποπλάγξειεν αἰοιδῆς.

Arg. 1.1211-20

For in such habits had Heracles himself raised him [*Hylas*], ever since he took him as an infant from the palace of his father, noble Theiodamas, whom he ruthlessly killed among the Dryopians for opposing him over a plowing ox. Now Theiodamas, stricken with pain, was cleaving his fallow fields with a plow, when Heracles ordered him to hand over the plowing ox against his will. For he was eager to create a dire pretext for war against the Dryopians, because they lived there with no concern for justice. But these things would divert me far from my song. (tr. Race)

At the end of this digression, Apollonius' poetical persona himself intrudes the narrative by stating that "these things would divert me far from my song." Apollonius here uses the verb ἀποπλάζω ("lead away"), which is quite remarkable, as it is the only occurrence of the verb in the active voice. Otherwise, it always occurs as an aorist passive.¹⁷⁸ In three of four of these instances in the *Argonautica*, the verb, in the sense "go away from" or "leave behind", is used in connection with Heracles:¹⁷⁹ at the end of the Hylas episode, in Glaucus' speech (1.1325: ἀποπλαγχθέντες ἔλειφθεν, "they [*Heracles, Polyphemus and Hylas*] wandered off and were left behind"; tr. Race), at 2.957, where there is mention of three characters who were separated from Heracles (Ἡρακλῆος ἀποπλαγχθέντες) during his

¹⁷⁸ Ardizzoni 1967, 263 (ad loc.): "Solo A., in questo solo luogo adopera ἀποπλάζω all'attivo. Il verbo, sempre all'aoristo passivo ἀπεπλάγχθη, ricorre in Omero (...), in Empedocle (...), e nello stesso Apollonio (...)."

¹⁷⁹ Albis 1996, 62.

expedition to the Amazons, and at 2.774-5, where king Lycus, on hearing that the Argonauts have left Heracles behind, reacts thus: ὦ φίλοι, οἷοι φωτὸς ἀποπλαγχθέντες ἀρωγῆς | πείρετ' ἐς Αἰήτην τόσσον πλόον. "O my friends, what a man it was whose help you have lost as you undertake such a long voyage to Aeetes!" The verb is in this way associated with separation from Heracles, which in the Hylas episode acquires a very metapoetical dimension, as we have seen, for Glaucus, in his revelatory speech at the end of the Hylas episode, makes it very clear that Heracles belongs in another epic (see pp. 56-7 above).¹⁸⁰ When Apollonius interrupts his digression in the Hylas, he makes a similar statement, through which he creates "a ring composition framing the Hylas episode".¹⁸¹ The story which Apollonius does not want to tell, as it distracts him from his own ἀοιδή, is part of another kind of epic dealing with Heracles' heroic feats, a *Heracleia*, to which, as Glaucus states later, Heracles returns after his departure from the *Argonautica*. Apollonius thus already metapoetically announces what he will do immediately afterwards: write Heracles out of his epic, because he is too heroic.

3.5. Apollonius and Callimachus on Heracles

The story about Heracles and Hylas' father Theiodamas was also told by Callimachus in the first book of his *Aetia*, and a comparison of the two accounts provides an interesting opportunity to compare the different approaches of these "Callimachean" poets with regard to Heracles. Unfortunately, only fragments (fr. 24-5 Pf.) and scholia remain of Callimachus' account, and we cannot be sure that Hylas was also mentioned. Probably, the story was told because of its similarity to the preceding one, concerning the origin of the sacrifice to Heracles at Lindos (fr. 22-3 Pf.), which also dealt with Heracles killing the bull of a farmer because of his

¹⁸⁰ Although the other example, *Arg.* 1.315-6, has nothing to do with Heracles, it has a similar metapoetical dimension in that "[t]he form of ἀποπλάζω signals [a] break, showing that the narrative is now moving off in a different direction, that the poet is taking a new path of song" (Albis 1996, 63).

¹⁸¹ Albis 1996, 62.

appetite, and which was in fact often confused with the story of Heracles and Theiodamas.¹⁸² The scholia make the connection between the two episodes very clear:

]ασθαι Λίνδιοι κ(αὶ) τοῦτο[
α]ὐτοῖς. π(αρ)ατίθεται δ(ὲ) κ(αὶ) ἄλλ[ον μῦθον τῷ προειρημένῳ
ὁ]μοιον, ἥνίκα ἀπ' Αἰ[τωλίας φεύγων ὁ Ἡρακλῆς
]π(ε)ριέτυχεν Θειοδά[μαντι *Schol. Flor. on Aet. fr. 22-5 Pf., 50-3*
(Pfeiffer 1949-53, I, 31)

51 suppl. N.-V.; 52 suppl. Pf.; 53 suppl. Pf.

... Lindians and that ... and an[other tale] similar [to the one just told] is set
beside it, how [Heracles fleeing] from Ai[tolia] fell in with Theiodamas ...
(tr. Nisetich, except for the first line)

So Callimachus' focus is on Heracles, and if Hylas featured at all in the story, his role is likely to have been of secondary importance. Nevertheless, apart from the general similarities, there is clear intertextual contact between the two episodes.¹⁸³ I think Apollonius alludes to Callimachus to express metapoetically how he differs from Callimachus in his treatment of Heracles.¹⁸⁴ Whereas Apollonius depicts Heracles as rather brutal in his behaviour against Theiodamas and refuses to digress on his civilizing action against the Dryopians that follows¹⁸⁵ (if it can be called civilizing at

¹⁸² See Fraser 1972, I, 722-3; Harder 2010, II, on *Aet. fr. 22-3c H.* Despite the similarities between the Callimachean versions of the stories, Heracles is (unlike in Apollonius' version) acting on behalf of his hungry son Hyllus in the Theiodamas episode and not, as in the Lindus episode, for himself.

¹⁸³ Cf. e.g. ἄνωγα (*Aet. fr. 24.9 Pf.*) ~ ἤνωγε (*Arg. 1.1217*). Apollonius also alludes to the preceding episode concerning Heracles at Lindos (γεωμόρου ... γύας τέμνεσκειν, *Arg. 1.1214f.* ~ τέμνοντα ... αὐλακα γειομόρου, *Aetia*, fr. 22 Pf.), by which he shows that he has seen the close connection between the two episodes. See also Cameron 1995, 250, with n. 81 on this allusion. On the contact between Apollonius' and Callimachus' Theiodamas stories (also including the brief allusion in Callimachus' *H. Art.* 160-1), see e.g. Ardizzoni 1935; Corbato 1955, 7-12; Köhnken 1965, 46-56; Barigazzi 1976; Clauss 1993, 189-91; Harder 2010, II, on *Aet. fr. 24-25d H.*

¹⁸⁴ Although I see Apollonius as alluding to Callimachus here, the direction of allusion could be reversed without implications for the metapoetical dimension of both texts. See also pp. 29-30 above for my approach to the problematic relative chronology of Hellenistic poetry in general and Apollonius and Callimachus' in particular.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. Harder 2010, II, on fr. 24-5d H: "(...) 1213-17 create an unfavourable impression of Heracles: the excuse of Hyllus' hunger is lacking and 1214 νηλειῶς is quite emphatic. This impression is subsequently corrected by the explanation in 1218f., which shows Heracles as a champion of civilization, but then the reader is left in the dark about the outcome of the war, because the narrator refuses to digress about it."

all),¹⁸⁶ Callimachus' fragments suggest that the hero is acting in a more civilized manner in the parallel passage in the *Aetia*. There, for instance, Heracles is not acting egoistically (as in Apollonius' version) but on behalf of his hungry son Hyllus, and Theiodamas seems to start the war against Heracles, not vice versa.¹⁸⁷ The hero's behaviour has thus radically changed, for in the preceding Lindos episode, which, as we have seen, is closely connected with the Theiodamas episode, he was still depicted as a brute.¹⁸⁸ Heracles is even contrasted with Callimachean poetics there, for when the Lindian farmer reproaches Heracles for killing his ox, the hero does not listen:

ὦς ὁ μὲν ἔνθ' ἤρᾱτο, σὺ δ' ὥς ἀλὸς ἦχον ἀκούει
 Σιελλὸς ἐνὶ Τμαρίοις οὐρεσιν Ἰκαρίης,
 ἡιθέων ὥς μάχλα φιλήτορος ᾧτα πενιχροῦ,
 ὥς ἄδικοι πατέρων υἱέες, ὥς σὺ λύρης
 – ἔσσι γὰρ οὐ μάλ' ἐλαφρός, ἅ καὶ Λίνος οὐ σ' ἔχε λέξαι –¹⁸⁹
 λυγρῶν ὥς ἐπέων οὐδὲν [ὀπι]ζόμε[εν]ος Aet. fr. 23.2-7 Pf./25.2-7 M

So he [*the farmer*] cursed then, but you [*Heracles*] did not listen, as the Selloi on Mt. Tmarus hear the sound of the Icarian sea, as the wanton ears of youth hear needy lovers, as unjust sons their fathers, as you the lyre – for you were not easy and Linus could not tell you anything – respecting not at all the dire words ... (tr. Stephens 2002/3, 20)

In lines 5-6, Callimachus seems to refer to the “proverbial example of the lack of musicality – an ass listening to the lyre”.¹⁹⁰ This reminds us of the prologue of the

¹⁸⁶ See Clauss 1993, 190: “Heracles uses his encounter with the wretched Theiodamas – there is no mention of a hungry Hyllus – as a grim pretext (πρόφασιν ... λευγαλήν, 1218-9) for war against the unjust Dryopians. Even granting the low moral status of the Dryopians, Heracles' instigation of the war nonetheless evinces an equal disregard for justice; for he took it upon himself to begin a war by murdering an innocent plowman over a draft animal that, in fuller accounts of the story, he then ate.”

¹⁸⁷ See the scholion on A.R. Arg. 1.1212: ὁ δὲ Θειοδάμας ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐστράτευσε καθ' Ἡρακλέους (“Theiodamas went to the city and made war against Heracles”; tr. Nisetich). As this is not told by Apollonius, the scholiast seems to refer to Callimachus' version of the story, which, as his last remark on Apollonius' passage shows, is apparently known to him: τούτων δὲ καὶ ὁ Καλλίμαχος μὲμνηται. “Of these things Callimachus too makes mention.” (tr. Nisetich).

¹⁸⁸ See e.g. Harder 2010, II, on fr. 24-25d H: “As presented by Callimachus this story seems to correct the unfavourable impression of Heracles' behaviour in the story of the Lindian farmer (...).”

¹⁸⁹ Pfeiffer 1949-53 prints the end of line 6 as λι ος ουσεχελέξ..-, but approves of the restoration of Wilamowitz in his apparatus; Massimilla (1996) prints the text with restoration, as it stands here.

Aetia, where Callimachus associates his own poetry with the “clear sound of the cicada” (λιγὺν ἦχον | τέττιγος, 29-30), which he contrasts to the braying of asses (θόρυβον (...) ὄνων, 30). Heracles is thus associated with the un-Callimachean sound of asses, heroic poetry, which is reinforced by his characterization as οὐ μάλ’ ἐλαφρός (6), the opposite of the Callimachean poetical ideal λεπτότης.¹⁹¹ As A. Ambühl has shown, however, “in the first book of the book of the *Aetia*, we witness the gradual transformation of Heracles from a barbarian into a civilized hero. By the beginning of the third book, this poetic process is brought to its logical conclusion. By developing Heracles as a figure of Callimachean narrative, Callimachus is also giving us a narrative of his own poetics”.¹⁹² In Callimachus’ Theiodamas episode, Heracles has taken the first step to his transformation into a civilized as well as Callimachean hero. Apollonius seems to have combined Callimachus’ Lindus and Theiodamas episodes,¹⁹³ but he refuses to digress on Heracles’ civilizing and Callimachean aspects, leaving that, as it were, to Callimachus; Apollonius’ Heracles stays consistently in his traditional and un-Callimachean role.

So although Apollonius and Callimachus agree on their evaluation of the traditionally heroic Heracles and the type of poetry he represents, their approaches towards the hero differ significantly. Whereas Callimachus gradually changes and appropriates the old hero to symbolize his own poetics and his gradually maturing attitude towards the heroic-epic literary tradition, Apollonius’ Heracles remains the symbol of Homeric, heroic-epic poetry, who has to leave the Callimachean epic to re-enter his own poetic world. It is rather Hylas and Jason who act as Apollonius’ representations, gradually maturing as new, Callimachean heroes in the footsteps of Heracles.

¹⁹⁰ Stephens 2002/3, 20.

¹⁹¹ Ibidem.

¹⁹² Ambühl 2004, 43.

¹⁹³ Vian 1974, 46-8. Cf. Clauss 1993, “(...) Apollonius’ version is a *contaminatio* of the two Callimachean accounts; the wicked Theiodamas of the Dryopian tale in the *Argonautica* becomes the innocent plowman of the Lindian. The Apollonian Theiodamas is not a brute but a noble man (δίου, 1213), beset with troubles (ἀνίη βεβολημένος, 1216) and pitilessly killed by Heracles (νηλεῶς, 1214).”

CHAPTER 2

BUCOLIC HYLAS: *IDYLL 13* OF THEOCRITUS

From where do genres come? Why, quite simply, from other genres. A new genre is always the transformation of one or several old genres: by inversion, by displacement, by combination.

Todorov 1976/7, 161

1. Introduction: heroic Heracles vs. tender Hylas

In *Idyll 13*, the heroic qualities of Heracles are downplayed in such a way that the archetypal hero is even made ridiculous.¹⁹⁴ Like Polyphemus in *Idyll 11*, a poem which is closely linked to *Idyll 13*, Heracles is not at home in the world of love. This point is immediately made clear at the beginning of the narrative on Hylas and Heracles proper, after the introductory address to Nicias:

ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀμφιτρύωνος ὁ χαλκεοκάρδιος υἱός,
ὃς τὸν λῖν ὑπέμεινε τὸν ἄγριον, ἦρατο παιδός,
τοῦ χαρίεντος Ὑλα, τοῦ τὰν πλοκαμίδα φορεῦντος Id. 13.5-7

No, even Amphitryon's son, whose heart was bronze, and who withstood the savage lion, loves a boy, beautiful Hylas, whose hair was still unshorn.
(tr. Verity)

Heracles is introduced with the epic epithet χαλκεοκάρδιος ("bronze-hearted"),¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁴ Cf. van Erp Taalman Kip 1994, 161: "[Theocritus] adopts a slightly mocking view of the superhero Heracles."

¹⁹⁵ The epithet occurs only here, but cf. e.g. *Il.* 2.490: χάλκεον δέ μοι ἦτορ ἐνείη ("and though the heart within me were of bronze"). Kirstein 1997 and Castro de Castro 2001 argue for an allusion to an erotic, non-epic context in Pindar (fr. 123.3-5 S-M). These contrasting associations make the epithet very apt in the Theocritean context, where an epic hero enters the world of love. In this respect, it is also interesting that the epic ring of the first part of line 6, dealing with Heracles and the Nemean lion, is reinforced by an allusion to *Iliad* 11.480. This epic context is also alluded to in *Id.* 13.58, where Heracles' cry recalls that of Odysseus, wounded on the battlefield (*Il.* 11.462), but there, on the

and in line 6 his heroic labour of the Nemean lion is mentioned. In this same line, however, it is said that Heracles “loved a boy” (ἤρατο παιδός). The position of these words in the line already suggest that they are contrasted with the heroic feat mentioned before the bucolic diaeresis, but in line 7 this is made even more clear, for the object of Heracles’ love is the boy Hylas, who is described in very un-heroic terms, with χαρίεντος (7) suggesting youth and beauty,¹⁹⁶ and πλοκαμῖδα (7) emphasizing the boy’s “almost feminine prettiness”.¹⁹⁷ At the end of the poem, the abducted Hylas is said to have been deified (72); this sets up a further contrast with Heracles, who is scorned as a ship-deserter (λιπονάυταν) in the next line. The passage can thus be seen as the climax of the poem’s play with heroics.¹⁹⁸

This contrast between the heroic Heracles and the tender Hylas has always been interpreted in the light of the anti-heroic dimension of the poem, which has received considerable scholarly attention.¹⁹⁹ Although I find these readings attractive, I consider that the anti-heroic element points to a further, hitherto unnoticed dimension of the poem.²⁰⁰ In this chapter, I will argue that *Idyll* 13 can be read on a metapoetic level as an allegory decribing the type of poetry that Theocritus is credited with inventing: bucolic.²⁰¹ I will argue that Theocritus treats Hylas as a symbol of his Callimachean, bucolic poetry, which is “defined” by its relationship to the heroic-epic tradition as symbolized by the archetypal hero Heracles.

contrary, the allusion illustrates how far the hero is away from the heroic world in which he is at home (see below).

¹⁹⁶ See Gutzwiller 1981, 20, with n. 4.

¹⁹⁷ Mastronarde 1968, 276. See his n. 3 for the connotations of the word πλοκαμῖς.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. Gutzwiller 1981, 29: “The poem concludes with a reversal of the heroic ethos. Hylas’ tenderness and beauty, which render him helpless and vulnerable in the epic world of the Argonauts, provide the key for his transition to a fantastic realm, which is more appropriate for his delicate nature. Heracles, the prototypic hero, finds his customary use of force ineffectual in preserving a love relationship, and his loss of emotional control is held up to scorn by his companions, as well by the poet.”

¹⁹⁹ See in particular Mastronarde 1968; Effe 1978, 60-64; Gutzwiller 1981, 19-29; van Erp Taalman Kip 1994 for the way Heracles’ heroics are downplayed in *Idyll* 13.

²⁰⁰ I am indebted to the rich commentary of Hunter 1999 for many cues.

²⁰¹ On the bucolic elements already documented, see Tränkle 1963b, 505; Mastronarde 1968; Hunter 1999, 263; 284 (on *Id.* 13.64-71); Pretagostini 2007, 51-3, 55-60.

2. Theocritus' bucolic poetry

Theocritus is traditionally regarded as the inventor of the genre of bucolic poetry,²⁰² which deals in hexameters with herdsmen, their songs and (unrequited) love in a rustic setting. As Gutzwiller remarks on the term bucolic, however, "it remains unknown just how and when Theocritean poetry came to be so called, and scholars have not been able to explain how the label *bucolic* defines this set of poetry as a separable and identifiable genre. Collectively, these uncertainties may be said to constitute the 'bucolic problem'."²⁰³ This problem, which has received an enormous amount of scholarly attention, is centred around the meaning of Theocritus' so-called "bucolic terminology", the adjective βουκολικός ("related to herdsmen) and the verb βουκολιάζεσθαι ("play/behave like a herdsmen"),²⁰⁴ which occur in some of the *Idylls* and refer there to songs sung by the herdsmen in the poems.²⁰⁵ Some scholars have argued that this terminology denotes Theocritus' newly invented bucolic

²⁰² As I am concerned with ancient bucolic poetry, I will avoid using the term pastoral, although it is often used as a synonym, to avoid any confusion with the modern concept of pastoral that evolved from bucolic and is fundamentally different. See also Halperin 1983a, 1-23;118-37 on this issue, for instance on p. 9: "(...) scholars and literary critics employ the two words interchangeably, never doubting the appropriateness of applying what is in fact a modern usage to the realities of poetic practice in the ancient world. But the two words are not ancient equivalents. *Boukolikos* is not a synonym of *pastoralis*, nor does *pastoralis* mean precisely what *pastoral* does in English." Cf. also the remark of Berg 1974, 25: "Theocritus had never heard of 'pastoral poetry'."

²⁰³ Gutzwiller 2006a, 380.

²⁰⁴ The verb βουκολέω and its cognates in first instance, according to their etymology, refer to cattle, but they can also denote other kinds of herding and herding in general, already in Homer. See e.g. *Il.* 6.21-5 (on the shepherd Boukolion) and *Il.* 20.221 (where horses are grazing: ἵπποι ... βουκολέοντο). See also Gutzwiller 2006a, 382-90 on the meaning(s) of βουκολέω.

²⁰⁵ The bucolic terminology occurs in the refrain of Thyrsis' song in *Id.* 1 (e.g. 64: ἄρχετε βουκολικᾶς, Μοῖσαι φίλοι, ἄρχετ' αἰοιδᾶς. "Begin, my Muses, begin the herdsman's song."), *Id.* 1.20 (τᾶς βουκολικᾶς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεον ἵκεο μοίσας, "you [Thyrsis] outstrip all others in herdsman's song"), *Id.* 5.44 (ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔρφ', ὦδ' ἔρπε, καὶ ὕστατα βουκολιαξῇ. "Still, come here and start your song – your last."), *Id.* 5.60 (αὐτόθε μοι ποτέρισδε καὶ αὐτόθε βουκολιάσδευ. "Very well – stay there and sing, challenge me from there."), *Id.* 7.35-6 (ἀλλ' ἄγε δῆ, ξυνὰ γὰρ ὁδὸς ξυνὰ δὲ καὶ ἀώς, | βουκολιασδώμεσθα τάχ' ὥτερος ἄλλον ὄνασεῖ. "But look: we share the road and the day, so let us two sing country songs by turns, and each may profit the other."), *Id.* 7.49 (ἀλλ' ἄγε βουκολικᾶς ταχέως ἀρξώμεθ' αἰοιδᾶς. "But now, let's begin our country songs."). (The translations are by Verity.) See also e.g. Hunter 1999, 5-8 on Theocritus' bucolic terminology and its manifestations.

genre.²⁰⁶ More recently, however, scholars have argued that the term bucolic was used later to denote Theocritus' poetry as a genre, and that Theocritus himself only referred to the songs of the herdsmen in the poems and the Sicilian tradition of herding songs that lies behind them.²⁰⁷

Theocritus' poems that are set in the countryside and deal with herdsmen (*Idylls* 1, 3-7), however, clearly form a separate class of poetry,²⁰⁸ which is reflected by the early separate circulation of these poems, from the late third or early second century BC.²⁰⁹ Although Theocritus may not have used bucolic terminology in a strictly generic sense²¹⁰ and in all the poems mentioned, I will argue in the next section that

²⁰⁶ Van Sickle 1975, 57-8; 1976, 22-5 (Theocritus' bucolic refers to "a new subspecies of the Hesiodic species of the epic genus" (1976: 24); Halperin 1983a, 78-9, 249-55 (Theocritus' bucolic refers to all his hexameter poetry as "a kind of *epos* that distinguished itself from the heroic and mythological narratives of Homer and Hesiod on the one hand as well as from the discontinuous and didactic epics of Hesiod and the Alexandrians on the other" [p. 254] in theme, form and language); Schmidt 1987, 187 (Theocritus' bucolic refers to his herding poetry). See also Gutzwiller 1991, 3-9 for the various definitions of Theocritus' hypothesized genre of bucolic poetry that have been proposed.

²⁰⁷ Nauta 1990, 128-9; Gutzwiller 1996, 121-3. Cf. Hunter 1999, 9, who suggests that the terminology results "from a creative reworking of traditions of Sicilian song-making, which may themselves have been to some extent scholarly constructions."

²⁰⁸ Cf. Halperin 1983a, x: "Regardless of his specific (and by now unfathomable) intentions, Theocritus somehow endowed a portion of his work with a sufficiently distinctive literary profile to impress its unique qualities on later generations of readers"; Hunter 1999, 5: "(...) the 'bucolic terminology' and the poems in which it appeared (particularly *Idyll* 1, which headed all ancient collections) were presumably felt to represent something distinctive in T.'s work. Moreover, the similarities between all the poems set in the countryside will have been as clear to ancient scholars as they are to us." Cf. Hunter 2002, xviii: "*Idylls* 1 and 3-7 are distinguished rhythmically in their hexameters from Theocritus' other poems, and it is not unreasonable to think that he saw them as a distinct sub-group within his oeuvre. They are also characterized by symmetries of language, structure, and thought which suggest, rather than conceal, the artificiality of the 'natural' world which they depict". I cannot believe Halperin's thesis (on which see also n. 206 above), however, that Theocritus denoted "the great majority of the hexameter *Idylls*" (p. 254) as bucolic, so including his mythological poems, as the term, in my opinion, still evokes herdsmen. Cf. Gutzwiller 1991, 7: "It is hard to see (...) how Callimachus' narrative *Hymns* (...) differ significantly in these respects from *Idylls* 22, 24, and 26, or how the *Hecale* can be separated in genre from Theocritus' mythical narratives. It argues against Halperin's view that a contemporary and acquaintance of Theocritus was writing similar poetry to which the label bucolic was never applied".

²⁰⁹ See Gutzwiller 1996, who also argues convincingly that an older third-century edition of Theocritus' poems (under the collective title εἰδύλλια, "short poems of different types") can be detected, "which may have been comprehensive and so included the surviving hexameter poems, the lost *Berenice*, the Aeolic poems, perhaps the epigrams, and perhaps as well some of the other titles listed by the *Suda* as attributed to Theocritus." (p. 138).

²¹⁰ Gutzwiller 1991, 103: "to take 'bucolic' as a generic label for some or all of Theocritus' *Idylls* remains an act of analogical reconstruction, and so inherently uncertain, unauthorized."

the poet *does* self-consciously use this terminology to denote a specific kind of literature, his “bucolic” poetry, in a well-known passage of *Idyll* 7.

2.1. *Idyll* 7: a meta-bucolic poem²¹¹

In *Idyll* 7, the narrator Simichidas and the mysterious, godlike goatherd Lycidas meet on the island of Cos and exchange songs. As Simichidas’ address to Lycidas shows, Lycidas embodies “the essence of the bucolic”:²¹²

(...) Λυκίδα φίλε, φαντί τυ πάντες
ἤμεν συρικτὰν μέγ’ ὑπείροχον ἔν τε νομεῦσιν
ἔν τ’ ἀματήρεσσιν (...) Id. 7.27-9

Lycidas, my friend, all men assert that among herdsmen and reapers you are by far the best of pipers. (tr. Verity)

The young city poet Simichidas thinks of himself as a bucolic poet and clearly evokes the poet Theocritus himself.²¹³ After their exchange of songs, Lycidas smiles and

²¹¹ The programmatic aspects of *Idyll* 7 have received enormous scholarly attention: see e.g. Cataudella 1955 (with references to earlier bibliography); Kühn 1958; van Groningen 1959; Puelma 1960; Cameron 1963; Lohse 1966; Luck 1966; 186-89; Lawall 1967, 74-117; Giangrande 1968; Ott 1969, 138-73; Serrao 1971, 13-68; Williams 1971; Seeck 1975; Van Sickle 1975; 1976, 23-4; Segal 1981, 110-66; Halperin 1983a, e.g. 120-5; Berger 1984; Bowie 1985; Walsh 1985; Williams 1987; Effe 1988; Goldhill 1991, 225-40; Seiler 1997, 111-51; Hubbard 1998, 22-8; Hunter 1999, 146-51; Payne 2007, 114-45; Klooster 2009, 205-17.

²¹² Hunter 1999, 148. Cf. Fantuzzi & Hunter 2004, 138, who speak of the “bucolic ‘master’ Lycidas”. See also e.g. Hubbard 1998, 24 for the identifications of Lycidas that have been proposed. Associations with Apollo, because of his cult title Λύκιος (Williams 1971) and Philitas’ poetry (Bowie 1985, Hubbard 1998, 24-6) are undeniable, but if Lycidas, as most scholars seem to think, is a kind of personification of bucolic poetry, it is not surprising that (in accordance with Theocritus’ various sources) the poetic associations that Lycidas evokes are manifold.

²¹³ See e.g. Bowie 1985, 68: “(...) ἐγών in line 1 is to be taken as referring to Theocritus. But this impression is undermined at line 21, where Lycidas addresses the narrator as Simichidas (...). It appears, then, that Simichidas both is and is not Theocritus, and that his name Simichidas has been deliberately held back to allow the presumption to develop that the narrator is Theocritus himself.” Cf. Hunter 1999, 146: “(...) there is nothing which forbids *some kind* of identification between Simichidas and T., and some things positively encourage us to put the two together.” See also Krevans 1983, 219 and Goldhill 1991, 229-30 for the relationship between Theocritus and Simichidas. For a comparison with the identification between Tityrus and Virgil in the *Eclogues*, see Hunter 2006, 129-30.

gives his staff to Simichidas as “a mark of *xenia* arising from the Muses”²¹⁴ (129). As R. Hunter interprets the encounter:²¹⁵

A central irony of *Idyll* 7 is that a “bucolic” poet, who inevitably works within the social networks of the city and for whom ‘being in the countryside’ is usually part of a code (...), is made to confront a ‘real’ creature of the land. The poem is an exploration of what is at stake in and what are the limits of this metaphorical code. Lykidas’ smile is the poet’s recognition of these limits.

After Lycidas’ song, and before beginning his own song, Simichidas addresses the goatherd thus:

(...) Λυκίδα φίλε, πολλὰ μὲν ἄλλα
 Νύμφαι κῆμὲ δίδαξαν ἀν’ ὦρεα βουκολέοντα
 ἐσθλά, τὰ που καὶ Ζηνὸς ἐπὶ θρόνον ἄγαγε φάμα·
 ἀλλὰ τόγ’ ἐκ πάντων μέγ’ ὑπείροχον, ᾧ τυ γεραίρειν
 ἀρξεῦμ’· ἀλλ’ ὑπάκουσον, ἐπεὶ φίλος ἔπλεο Μοίσσαις. Id. 7.91-5

Lycidas, my friend, I too have learned much from the Nymphs as I grazed my cows on the hills: excellent songs, whose fame perhaps has reached the throne of Zeus. This is the best of them by far – so listen, please, while I begin to pay you honour, for you are dear to the Muses. (tr. Verity)

In these lines the (partial) identification of Simichidas with Theocritus is activated, since line 93, in which Simichidas says that Zeus may have heard of his songs, clearly refers to the patronage of Ptolemy Philadelphus, “who was born on Cos and whose assimilation to Zeus was a commonplace of contemporary poetry (e.g. [*Idyll*] 17.131-4)”.²¹⁶ In this context, Simichidas’ words in line 92 are closely connected with the poet Theocritus himself, who ironically comments on himself as a bucolic poet. As Hunter says, “Simichidas sees ‘bucolic’ song as essentially a matter of rustic reference. He therefore ‘hyper-bucolicises’ by echoing Hesiod’s investiture as a poet by the Muses, αἶ νυ ποθ’ Ἡσίοδον καλὴν ἐδίδαξαν αἰοιδὴν | ἄρνας ποιμαίνονθ’ Ἐλικῶνος ὑπὸ

²¹⁴ Hunter 1999, 190 (ad loc.)

²¹⁵ Hunter 1999, 148.

²¹⁶ Hunter 1999, 179 (on *Id.* 7.93). For the association of Ptolemy Philadelphus with Zeus in *Idyll* 17 as well as in Callimachus’ *Hymn to Zeus*, see also e.g. Heerink 2010, 385-99.

ζαθέοιο (*Theog.* 22-3),²¹⁷ but changing Hesiod's Muses into the more obviously rustic 'Nymphs' (...)."²¹⁸ Theocritus here clearly exploits the so-called bucolic metaphor (the herdsman as bucolic poet)²¹⁹ self-consciously to characterize his bucolic poetry as a distinct type of poetry; we are dealing with learned poetry about herdsmen-poets in which the competitive element in the exchange of song is important, and of which an ancient authority, Hesiod, is claimed as the source.

2.2. Callimachean poetics in Idyll 7

In the passage discussed above (*Idyll* 7.91-5), Theocritus' bucolic poetry is also implicitly associated with Callimachean poetics. In line 95, Simichidas says that Lycidas is "dear to the Muses" (φίλος ... Μουσᾶϊς), an expression which is intertextually connected to the prologue of Callimachus' *Aetia*, where the poet declares that his literary adversaries, the Telchines, are "no friends of the Muse" (Μούσης οὐκ ἐγένοντο φίλοι, 2).²²⁰ By implication, Callimachus is a friend of the Muses. This is reinforced at the end of the prologue, where the poet declares that although he is old, the Muses still favour him:

..... Μοῦσαι γὰρ ὅσους ἴδον ὄθματι παῖδας
μὴ λοξῶ, πολιοῦς οὐκ ἀπέθεντο φίλους. *Aet.* fr. 1.37-8 Pf.

For if the Muses have not looked askance at one in his childhood, they do not cast him from their friendship when he is grey. (tr. Trypanis)

²¹⁷ "One time, they [*the Muses*] taught Hesiod beautiful song while he was pasturing lambs under holy Helicon." (tr. Most)

²¹⁸ Hunter 1999, 178-9 (on *Id.* 13.91-2). The underlinings are mine.

²¹⁹ See Gutzwiller 2006b on the history of this metaphor in Greek poetry.

²²⁰ See also Ch. 1, pp. 29-30 for a discussion of the problematic relative chronology of Hellenistic poetry in general, and that between Apollonius and Callimachus in particular. The intertextual contact between Callimachus and Theocritus is, in my opinion, undeniable (*pace* Köhnken 2001). Although I will regard Theocritus as alluding to Callimachus' poetological statements, I would like to stress again that with regard to the poetry of Apollonius, Callimachus and Theocritus I endorse the "work in progress hypothesis". Accordingly, the direction of influence can be reversed – as Callimachus reading Theocritus metapoetically and making his statements explicit – without any implications for the metapoetical dimension of either intertext.

In this context, Lycidas also recalls the patron of Callimachus' poetry, Lycian Apollo, who gave the poet advice on the kind of poetry he should write:

καὶ γὰρ ὅτε πρῶτιστον ἐμοῖς ἐπὶ δέλτον ἔθηκα
 γούνασιν, Ἀπόλλων εἶπεν ὁ μοι Λύκιος·
 "...].... ἀοιδέ, τὸ μὲν θύος ὅττι πάχιστον
 θρέψαι, τῇν Μοῦσαν δ' ὠγαθὲ λεπταλέην." Aet. fr. 1.21-4 Pf.

For, when I first placed a writing-tablet on my knees, Lycian Apollo said to me:
 "... poet, feed the victim to be as fat as possible, but, my friend, keep the Muse slender." (tr. Trypanis)

So Lycidas, the personification of bucolic poetry, resembles Callimachus' Apollo, a connection that is reinforced by the etymological connection of their names, as derived from Apollo's epithet Λύκ(ε)ιος,²²¹ and their similar expression of Callimachean poetical ideals, not only in the *Aetia*, but also at the end of the *Hymn to Apollo*. As we have seen in the previous chapter, Apollo there advocates the same poetic principles, but in relation to Homer and neo-"Homeric" poetry.²²²

Similarly, Lycidas supports Callimachean poetics by reference to Homer in *Idyll* 7: one should not slavishly imitate the great poet from Chios:²²³

ὥς μοι καὶ τέκτων μέγ' ἀπέχθεται ὅστις ἐρευνῇ
 ἴσον ὄρευς κορυφᾷ τελέσαι δόμον Ὠρομέδοντος,
 καὶ Μοισᾶν ὄρνιχες ὅσοι ποτὶ Χίον ἀοιδόν
 ἀντία κοκκύζοντες ἐτώσια μοχθίζοντι. Id. 7.45-8

I hate the craftsman who strives to build his house as high as the topmost peak of Mount Oromedon, and I hate those Muses' cockerels who crow vainly to no effect against the singer who comes from Chios. (tr. Verity)

²²¹ For the possible meanings of this epithet, see e.g. Harder 2010, II, on *Aet.* fr. 1.23.

²²² The term is borrowed from Hopkinson 1988, 86, who uses it to denote τὸ ποίημα τὸ κυκλικόν ("the 'cyclic' poem"), which Callimachus declares himself to hate in *Ep.* 28.1. See Ch. 1, par 2.5 for the text and interpretation, which follows Koster 1970, 119 and Williams 1978, 89.

²²³ As Dr Cuypers suggests to me, the meta-bucolic statement in these lines is underlined by the framing lines 35-6 and 49, which employ "bucolic terminology" (on which see p. 71 above).

And there are more elements in this passage that associate Lycidas with Callimachus. Lycidas' polemic stance, and in particular his expressed hatred of the wrong kind of poetry, brings Callimachus' famous programmatic statement in *Epigram* 28 Pf. to mind: Ἐχθαίρω τὸ ποίημα τὸ κυκλικόν. "I hate the 'cyclic' poem."²²⁴ Lycidas' use of the poetical metaphor of the craftsman (τέκτων) for the poet would recall another Callimachean passage, *Iamb* 13, if we had it intact, for the *Diegesis* states:²²⁵

Ἐν τούτῳ πρὸς τοὺς καταμεμφομένους αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ πολυειδεΐᾳ ὧν γράφει ποιημάτων ἀπαντῶν φησιν ὅτι Ἴωνα μιμεῖται τὸν τραγικόν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸν τέκτονα τις μέμφεται πολυειδῇ σκεύῃ τεκταινόμενον.

Dieg. 9.33-8 (Pfeiffer 1949-53, I, 205)

In this poem Callimachus responds to those who criticize him for the formal variety (*polyeideia*) of his poetry by saying that he is following the example of Ion the tragic poet; he adds that no one faults a craftsman for fashioning various articles. (tr. Nisetich, adapted)

Furthermore, as we have seen in the previous chapter, Erysichthon's plan to build an "epic" banqueting hall in Callimachus' *Hymn to Demeter*, with its metapoetical dimension, is opposed to Callimachus' poetics.²²⁶ Despite its implicit character, the passage thus provides a striking parallel with Lycidas' poetological statement.

A final point of contact concerns the ugly-sounding animals to denote literary opponents, which recalls the prologue to the *Aetia*, where Callimachus rejects the sound of asses:²²⁷

²²⁴ Cf. Call. *H. Dem.* 117: ἐμοὶ κακογείτονες ἐχθροί, "I hate evil neighbours".

²²⁵ Cf. Hunter 1999, 164 (on *Id.* 7.45-6).

²²⁶ See Ch. 1, Section 3.2.1, where the metapoetical interpretations of Callimachus' hymn by Müller 1987 and Murray 2004 are discussed.

²²⁷ Although the example of the long flight of the cranes in the *Aetia* prologue (13-4) is in first instance used by Callimachus to renounce long poetry, the passage may also suggest criticism of the style of long (mythological and/or historical) poems, because of the ugly sound that cranes produce, and thus provide an interesting parallel to Lycidas' words. See Harder 2010, II, on *Aet.* fr. 1.13-6, for this interpretation and for the interesting parallel in Lucr. *DRN* 4.176ff., "where the short songs of swans are contrasted with the ugly shouting of the cranes".

(...) ἐνὶ τοῖς γὰρ ἀείδομεν οἱ λιγὺν ἦχον
τέττιγος, θ]όρυβον δ' οὐκ ἐφίλησαν ὄνων.
θηρὶ μὲν οὐατόεντι πανεῖκελον ὀγκήσαιο
ἄλλος, ἐγ]ὼ δ' εἶην οὐλ[α]χὺς, ὁ πτερόεις.

Aet. fr. 1.29-30 Pf.

For we sing among those who love the shrill voice of the cicada and not the noise of asses. Let others bray just like the long-eared brute, but let me be the small, the winged one. (tr. Trypanis, adapted)

When Lycidas hands over his staff, the suggestion is that he invests Simichidas as a poet. Although Lycidas here again resembles Apollo, whose role in the *Aetia* prologue is somewhat similar, there is a more obvious connection with the *Aetia*. Although our information concerning the text of this poem after the prologue is scanty, the fragments and scholia seem to suggest that Callimachus described how he was invested as a poet on Mount Helicon by the Muses, who communicated the *Aetia* to him. Callimachus is obviously imitating his famous predecessor Hesiod here, who, as we saw, had a similar experience in the *Theogony* (22-3), to which Callimachus explicitly refers:²²⁸

ποιμένι μῆλα νέμοντι παρ' ἵχνιον ὀξέος ἵππου
Ἡσιόδῳ Μουσέων ἔσμος ὅτ' ἠντίασεν
μ]έν οἱ Χάεος γενεσ[
] ἐπὶ πτέρων ὕδα[
τεύχων ὥς ἐτέρῳ τις ἐῷ κακὸν ἦπατι τεύχει

Aet. fr. 2.1-5 Pf./4.1-5 M

When the Muses swarmed up to Hesiod the shepherd, grazing his flock where the swift horse left its print ... [they told him] ... of Chaos born ... [... wa]ter [bursting] at heel ... and that "Evil devised against another eats the heart of its deviser". (tr. Nisetich)

²²⁸ For Hesiod as Callimachus' model, see e.g. Reinsch-Werner 1976; Fantuzzi & Hunter 2004, 51-60. Callimachus' *Aetia* seems to have Hesiod's *Theogony* as a model for an alternative to heroic poetry because of its aetiological interest in the Olympian pantheon, for the *Aetia* can be seen as "a kind of sequel to *Theogony*, which takes the story to the next stage" (Fantuzzi & Hunter 2004, 54), by dealing with the aetiology of the cults and rites of these same gods. Theocritus' bucolic poetry, on the other hand, by modelling itself on Hesiod as a herdsman, seems to achieve the same anti-heroic objective in a different way.

Because of the already established intertextual contact between *Idyll* 7 and the beginning of the *Aetia*, the fact that the encounter between Lycidas and Simichidas is based on the same passage from Hesiod is very suggestive. We have already seen that Simichidas portrays himself as a bucolic poet and follower of the shepherd-poet Hesiod (91ff.), and now, when he is given Lycidas' staff, Simichidas recalls Hesiod again.²²⁹

ὁ δέ μοι τὸ λαγωβόλον, ἀδὺ γελάσας
ὥς πάρος, ἐκ Μοισᾶν ξεινήιον ὥπασεν ἦμεν. Id. 7.128-9

And he, with a cheerful laugh as before, gave me the stick, pledging friendship in the Muses. (tr. Verity)

ὥς ἔφασαν κοῦραι μεγάλου Διὸς ἀρτιέπειαι,
καί μοι σκῆπτρον ἔδον δάφνης ἐριθιλέος ὄζον
δρέψασαι, θηητόν· ἐνέπνευσαν δέ μοι αὐδὴν
θέσπιν, ἵνα κλείοιμι τὰ τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα,
καί μ' ἐκέλονθ' ὕμνεϊν μακάρων γένος αἰὲν ἐόντων,
σφᾶς δ' αὐτὰς πρῶτον τε καὶ ὕστατον αἰὲν αἰεῖδεν. Th. 29-34

So spoke great Zeus' ready-speaking daughters, and they plucked a staff, a branch of luxuriant laurel, a marvel, and gave it to me; and they breathed a divine voice into me, so that I might glorify what will be and what was before, and they commanded me to sing of the race of the blessed ones who always are, but always to sing of themselves first and last. (tr. Most)

Simichidas is now, just like Callimachus in the *Aetia* prologue, a friend of the Muse, invested as a bucolic poet by Lycidas, who resembles both Callimachus' Apollo and his (Hesiodic) Muses. The identification between Simichidas and the poet Theocritus himself, which was already adumbrated at the beginning of the poem, is thus reinforced by the link created between Simichidas and the poet Callimachus. At the same time it is made clear that Theocritus' bucolic poetry is Callimachean.

²²⁹ See also Hunter 1999, 149f. on this allusion.

2.3. Heroic vs. bucolic poetry in *Idyll 1: the ivy cup*

In *Idyll 7*, Theocritus' bucolic poetry is characterized as Callimachean. Just like Callimachus, Theocritus (through Simichidas) aligns his poetry with that of the shepherd-poet Hesiod. The other major ancient authority also comes into play when Lycidas warns Simichidas not slavishly to follow Homer: the Homeric diction of the poem²³⁰ and the allusions to Homer²³¹ show that Homer is also an important model. This attitude towards Homer resembles that of Callimachus at the end of his *Hymn to Apollo*, where Homer was regarded as the pure source of all poetry, the quality of which should be emulated, but the nature of which should not be slavishly followed in every respect. The Callimachean alignment with Hesiod and stance with regard to Homer are expressed differently, but no less clearly, by Theocritus in the other important programmatic passage in his oeuvre: the description of the ivy cup in *Idyll 1.27-61*. Since ecphrasis involves the description of a work of art in art, the phenomenon is *a priori* very susceptible to metapoetical reading as a *mise en abyme*, a representation in miniature, of the work which contains it.²³² Moreover, apart from the ecphrasis, *Idyll 1* is already considered a very programmatic, "meta-bucolic" poem by scholars. "In particular, the form of the poem – a dialogue between two herdsmen – has been seen as paradigmatic of Theocritus' representation of shepherds' song".²³³ Furthermore, the greater part of the poem (64-145) consists of a song by the shepherd Thyrsis on the βουκόλος Daphnis, "variously the first 'bucolic' singer and the original subject of 'bucolic song'".²³⁴ The song also clearly defines itself as bucolic through the varied one-line refrain featuring bucolic terminology, for example at the beginning of the poem:²³⁵

²³⁰ Cf. e.g. Hunter 1999, 150, who notes that "the style of *Idyll 7* is more 'Homeric' than almost any other 'bucolic' poem".

²³¹ See e.g. Ott 1972, 134-49; Goldhill 1987, 3-4; Hunter 1999, 150 (with 199, on *Id.* 7.156): "The journey of *Idyll 7* ends with an evocation of the promised end of Odysseus' wanderings."

²³² See also Introduction, p. 9 with n. 30 and Ch. 1, Section 2.4 for this phenomenon.

²³³ Goldhill 1991, 240. Cf. Halperin 1983a, 162.

²³⁴ Hunter 1999, 60. For the programmatic dimension of Thyrsis' song in *Idyll 1*, see also e.g. Halperin 1983a, 161-7; Cairns 1984; Goldhill 1991, 240-6; Hunter 2006, 60-8.

²³⁵ Cf. Goldhill 1991, 240-1.

ἄρχετε βουκολικᾶς, Μοῖσαι φίλαι, ἄρχετ' ἀοιδας.

Id. 1.1

Begin, my Muses, begin the herdsman's song. (tr. Verity)

The ivy cup is the prize for Thyrsis' song, and as Hunter comments: "In the bucolic world of reciprocal exchange rather than financial transaction, cup is to be exchanged for song: both are of an equal value."²³⁶ Because of this parallelism between Thyrsis' meta-bucolic song and the ivy cup, the ecphrasis is very likely to be a *mise en abyme* of Theocritus' bucolic poetry in general, and it has often been interpreted as such.²³⁷ As in *Idyll* 7, bucolic poetry is defined in relation to the epic genre, to which it formally belongs because of the metre, the ancient criterion to define epic, and as in *Idyll* 7 this relationship to epic is very Callimachean. First of all, Theocritus again aligns himself with Hesiod, the paradigmatic Callimachean shepherd-poet, for the cup, given to Thyrsis in exchange for a song, brings to mind the tripod Hesiod won in a poetry competition (*WD* 656).²³⁸

The most important model for the cup is the famous description of Achilles' shield in *Iliad* 18. Through his engagement with this ecphrasis, Theocritus again defines his poetry in relation to Homer, the source of (heroic) epic. Theocritus – and the same can be said for Callimachus – focuses on Homeric leftovers, on the non-heroic material that Homer touched upon, but which was not hackneyed in the subsequent epic tradition. As Hunter puts it: "The world of the bucolic poems is, from one

²³⁶ Hunter 1999, 76. See especially Halperin 1983*a*, 163-7 for the relation between the ecphrasis of the cup and Thyrsis' song ("Whether the relation of cup to song is interpreted as one of parallelism, expansion, or contrast, there can be no doubt that Theocritus intended each artefact to be set against the other as complementary illustrations of the bucolic 'genre'.")

²³⁷ See e.g. Goldhill 1987, 2: "Each of the scenes on the cup has been thought indicative both of the nature of the pastoral world described by Theocritus and of the λεπτός style of his Hellenistic poetry – especially in the way that the depiction of the cup (in contrast with the shield of Achilles) offers a series of small-scale, unheroic fragments with no pretensions to a holistic picture of the world". For the programmatic aspects of the ecphrasis, see also e.g. Lawall 1967, 28-30; Segal 1974*a*; Halperin 1983*a*, 167-89; 218-9; Cairns 1984; Goldhill 1991, 243-4; Seiler 1997, 217-29; Hubbard 1998, 21-2; Hunter 1999, 76 (on *Id.* 13.27-61); extensive earlier bibliography at Halperin 1983*a*, 161, n. 50.

²³⁸ Hunter 1999, 76 (on *Id.* 1.27-61).

perspective, the world which epic forgot”.²³⁹ Accordingly, Theocritus’ ecphrasis is on the one hand clearly based on Homer’s *Shield*, as the three scenes depicted on the cup “all have analogues on the Shield of Achilles”.²⁴⁰ On the other hand, however, Theocritus describes a κισσύβιον, an “ivy cup” (27), a rare word which only occurs twice in Homer, in the *Odyssey*, referring to the cups of the herdsmen Polyphemos (*Odyssey* 9.346) and Eumaios (*Odyssey* 16.52). Thus, “it is clear that the cup is to be seen as a ‘bucolicisation’ of the Shield, where the first ‘bucolic poets’ of literature appear”.²⁴¹ From Theocritus’ point of view, the Shield can be read as creating a contrast between heroic and bucolic epic, for in the description of the city at war (*Iliad* 18.509-40), the besieged inhabitants, who leave the city armed in an attempt to ambush the besiegers, are contrasted with the shepherds encountered by their scouts:

οἱ δ’ ὅτε δὴ ῥ’ ἵκανον ὅθι σφίσιν εἶκε λοχῆσαι,	520
ἐν ποταμῷ, ὅθι τ’ ἀρδμὸς ἦν πάντεσσι βοτοῖσιν,	
ἔνθ’ ἄρα τοί γ’ ἴζοντ’ εἰλυμένοι αἶθοπι χαλκῷ.	
τοῖσι δ’ ἔπειτ’ ἀπάνευθε δὴ σκοποὶ ἦατο λαῶν,	
δέγμενοι ὅππότε μῆλα ἰδοίαιτο καὶ ἔλικας βοῦς.	
οἱ δὲ τάχα προγένοντο, δὴ δ’ ἄμ’ ἔποντο νομῆες	525
τερπόμενοι σύριγξι· δόλον δ’ οὐ τι προνόησαν.	
οἱ μὲν τὰ προῖδόντες ἐπέδραμον, ὥκα δ’ ἔπειτα	
τάμνοντ’ ἀμφὶ βοῶν ἀγέλας καὶ πῶεα καλὰ	
ἀργεννέων οἴων, κτεῖνον δ’ ἐπὶ μηλοβοτῆρας.	<i>Il.</i> 18.520-9

But when they had come to the place where it seemed good to them to set their ambush, in a riverbed where there was a watering place for all herds alike, there they sat down, clothed about with ruddy bronze. Then two scouts were by them set apart from the army, waiting till they should have sight of the sheep and sleek cattle. And these came soon, and two herdsmen followed with them playing on pipes; and of the guile they had no foreknowledge at all. But the ambushers, when they saw them coming on, rushed out against them and speedily cut off the herds of cattle and fair flocks of white-fleeced sheep and slew the herdsmen. (tr. Murray & Wyatt)

²³⁹ Hunter 2002, xvi.

²⁴⁰ Hunter 1999, 76 (on *Id.* 1.27-61).

²⁴¹ Hunter 1999, 76 (on *Id.* 1.27-61).

This passage can be read as an aetiology of Theocritus' poetry, which is on the one hand contrasted with Homer's heroic epic (as the city at war can thematically be seen as a *mise en abyme* of the *Iliad*), but on the other hand licensed as an alternative kind of epic by Homer, who does incorporate the herdsmen in his *Iliad*.²⁴²

The way Theocritus deals with Homer's *Shield* can be described as Callimachean, because it resembles Apollo's programmatic statement concerning his relationship with Homer at the end of the *Hymn to Apollo*, but also because Callimachus alludes to the *Shield* in a similar fashion. After the cities of peace and war, more poetical worlds are depicted on Homer's *Shield*, which can be seen as alternatives to Homer's epic on war. In particular the description of a boy making music amidst people working on a vineyard is susceptible to metapoetical reading:²⁴³

τοῖσιν δ' ἐν μέσσοισι **παῖς** φόρμιγγι **λιγείῃ**
ἰμερόεν κιθάριζε, λίνον δ' ὑπὸ καλὸν **ᾄειδε**
λεπταλέῃ φώνῃ

Il. 18.569-71

And in their midst a child made pleasant music with a clear-toned lyre, and to it he sang sweetly the Linos song with his delicate voice. (tr. Murray & Wyatt)

Callimachus reads these lines metapoetically. Stephens interprets the clear intertextual contact between this passage and the *Aetia* prologue (marked in bold) as follows:²⁴⁴

We (...) find compressed into these three lines the values most often associated with Callimachean aesthetics as adumbrated in the *Aetia* prologue: a child or youth as bard (fr. 1.6 Pf.: **παῖς ᾄτε**);²⁴⁵ delicacy of sound whether of instrument

²⁴² Cf. Stephens 2002/3, 13 (quoted below).

²⁴³ This metapoetical dimension is reinforced by the mention of "woven baskets" (*πλεκτοῖς ἐν ταλάροισι*) a line earlier (*Il.* 18.568), as weaving is a common poetical metaphor (on which see Introduction, n. 31). Cf. Hunter 1999, 82 (on *Id.* 1.45-54).

²⁴⁴ Stephens 2002/3, 13; 16; the bold markings are mine.

²⁴⁵ Cf. Stephens 2002/3, 16: "(...) Homer's singer, the light-voiced *pais*, conforms to Callimachus' formulation of his poetic persona as child-like, or young in the face of his critics, the old-fashioned Telchines (fr. 1.16Pf.). As the prologue unfolds, the importance of the child's voice is underscored by the moment of poetic initiation – childhood (fr. 1.21-22 Pf.) – when Callimachus first 'sings'. The small voice of the child, like the 'slender Muse' and the thin-voiced and disembodied cicada that is the essence of song (fr. 1.29-34 Pf.), is an emblem of Callimachus' poetics."

or voice (fr. 1.24 Pf.: *λεπταλέην*; fr. 1.29 Pf.: *λιγύν*); and the description of the creative action as singing (fr. 1.1: *ἀοιδή*; 23: *ἀοιδέ*; 33: *αἰίδω*). In fact, these three Homeric lines provide not only a distillation but also a validation of Callimachean aesthetics: they set out a poetic agenda that runs counter to epic, while at the same time appearing side-by-side *with* and *in* epic, and it thus seems authorized by Homer himself. (...)

In Callimachus these elements of Homer's vignette have been elaborated and diffused throughout the prologue; and their Homeric context – the Trojan war – is no longer visible. In this way, Callimachus reverses Homer's original gesture as he adapts 'Homer' to fit his own poetic space.

So the boy on Homer's Shield resembles Callimachus' own poetic persona and the Linus song of the boy accords with Callimachus' poetics. In relation to the interpretation of Theocritus' Hylas poem, it is interesting that Callimachus deals with the Linus song himself later in the first book of the *Aetia*, in the context of the adventures of Heracles (fragments 22-25 Pf./24-27 M). A farmer from Lindus reproaches Heracles for killing his ox, but the hero does not listen:

ὦς ὁ μὲν ἔνθ' ἤρᾱτο, σὺ δ' ὥς ἀλὸς ἦχον ἀκούει
 Σ]ελλὸς ἐνὶ Τμαρίοις οὐρεσιν Ἰκαρίης,
 ἡιθέων ὥς μάχλα φιλήτορος ὦτα πενιχροῦ,
 ὥς ἄδικοι πατέρων υἱέες, ὥς σὺ λύρης
 – ἐσσι] γὰρ οὐ μάλ' ἐλαφρός, ἅ καὶ Λίνος οὐ σ' ἔχε λέξαι –²⁴⁶
 λυ]γρῶν ὥς ἐπέων οὐδὲν [ὀπι]ζόμε[εν]ος *Aet. fr. 23.2-7 Pf./25.2-7 M*

So he [*the farmer*] cursed then, but you [*Heracles*] did not listen, as the Selloi on Mt. Tmarus hear the sound of the Icarian sea, as the wanton ears of youth hear needy lovers, as unjust sons their fathers, as you the lyre – for you were not easy and Linus could not tell you anything – respecting not at all the dire words
 ... (tr. Stephens 2002/3, 20)

Linus occurs here in his role as Heracles' musical instructor, to whom the hero did not listen.²⁴⁷ In lines 5-6, Callimachus seems to refer to the "proverbial example of the lack of musicality – an ass listening to the lyre".²⁴⁸ This reminds us of the prologue of

²⁴⁶ Pfeiffer 1949-53 prints the end of line 6 as *λι ος ουσεχελέξ..*–, but approves of the restoration of Wilamowitz in his apparatus; Massimilla (1996) prints the text with restoration, as it stands here.

²⁴⁷ Stephens 2002/3, 20. See p. 17 of this article for the several identities of Linus.

²⁴⁸ Stephens 2002/3, 20.

the *Aetia*, where Callimachus associates his own poetry with the “clear sound of the cicada” (λιγὺν ἦχον | τέττιγος, 29-30), which he contrasts with the braying of asses (θόρυβον ... ὄνων, 30). Heracles is thus associated with the un-Callimachean sound of asses, heroic poetry, which is reinforced by his characterization as οὐ μάλ’ ἐλαφρός (6), the opposite of the Callimachean poetical ideal λεπτότης.²⁴⁹ By analogy, Linus is a Callimachean singer, a message reinforced by the intertextual nexus that connects the passage to the *Aetia* prologue (λιγύν, 29) and *Iliad* 18.569, where the Callimachus-like boy was playing a “clear-toned lyre” (φόρμιγγι λιγείῃ).

Theocritus reacts to the boy on Homer’s *Shield* in similar metapoetical fashion. The third scene on the ivy cup depicts a small boy guarding a vineyard:²⁵⁰

τυτθὸν δ’ ὅσσον ἄπωθεν ἀλιτρώτοιο γέροντος
περκναῖσι σταφυλαῖσι καλὸν βέβριθεν ἁλώα,
τὰν ὀλίγος τις κῶρος ἐφ’ αἵμασιαῖσι φυλάσσει
ἥμενος· ἀμφὶ δέ νιν δὺ’ ἁλώπεκες, ἃ μὲν ἀν’ ὄρχως
φοιτῇ σινομένα τὰν τρώξιμον, ἃ δ’ ἐπὶ πήρα
πάντα δόλον τεύχοισα τὸ παιδίον οὐ πρὶν ἀνησεῖν
φατὶ πρὶν ἢ ἀκράτιστον ἐπὶ ξηροῖσι καθίξει.
αὐτὰρ ὅγ’ ἀνθερίκοισι καλὰν πλέκει ἀκριδοθήραν
σχοίνῳ ἐφαρμόσδων· μέλεται δέ οἱ οὔτε τι πήρας
οὔτε φυτῶν τοσσῆνον ὅσον περὶ πλέγματι γαθεῖ.

Id. 1.45-54

Not far from this sea-beaten old man there is a vineyard, heavily laden with dark ripe grape-clusters. A little boy watches over it, perched on a drystone wall. Two foxes lurk nearby; one prowls down the vine rows, stealing the ripe fruit, while the other pits all her cunning against the boy’s satchel. No respite for him, she reckons, till he has nothing left for breakfast but dry bread. But he is twisting a pretty trap for grasshoppers of asphodel, plaiting it with rushes, with never a thought for satchel and vines, absorbed as he is in his weaving task. (tr. Verity, adapted)

Through an “unusually close reworking”,²⁵¹ Theocritus immediately makes clear that Homer’s vineyard scene with the boy making music is his main model:

²⁴⁹ Stephens 2002/3, 20.

²⁵⁰ For the programmatic aspects of this scene in general, see Ott 1969, 99-109; Halperin 1983a, 176-81; Goldhill 1987, 2-3; Hubbard 1998, 22; Hunter 1999, ad loc.

ἐν δὲ τίθει σταφυλῇσι μέγα βροίθουσιν ἄλωήν
καλήν χρυσεῖην ...

Il. 18.561-2

On it he [*Hephaistos*] set also a vineyard heavily laden with clusters, a
vineyard fair and golden ... (tr. Murray & Wyatt)

Just as Callimachus did, Theocritus has interpreted Homer's boy in a metapoetical way and has made him a symbol of the bucolic poet/himself. Whereas Callimachus' poetical persona became Homer's παῖς, however, singing the same kind of refined song, Theocritus does something different. By depicting the boy as engaged in "weaving" (πλέκει, 52), Theocritus activates the potential poetical metaphor of weaving in Homer, where the boy's bystanders were carrying fruit "in woven baskets" (πλεκτοῖς ἐν ταλάροισι, *Il.* 18.568).²⁵² Probably, the fact that the boy is making a trap for grasshoppers is in this context metapoetically significant as well, for in *Idyll* 7.41 Simichidas, speaking to Lycidas about his own poetic qualities, associates this insect with good poets:

καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ Μοισᾶν καπυρὸν στόμα, κῆμὲ λέγοντι
πάντες ἀοιδὸν ἄριστον· ἐγὼ δέ τις οὐ ταχυπειθής,
οὐ Δᾶν· οὐ γάρ πω κατ' ἐμὸν νόον οὔτε τὸν ἐσθλόν
Σικελίδαν νίκημι τὸν ἐκ Σάμῳ οὔτε Φιλίταν
αἰείδων, βάτραχος δὲ ποτ' ἀκρίδας ὥς τις ἐρίσδω.

Id. 7.37-41

I have a clear voice too, you know, the gift of the Muses. Men call *me* the best of singers, though I'm not one to be quickly persuaded, I assure you. I certainly don't believe I am yet a rival to mighty Sicelidas of Samos in song, not to Philitas. I'm but a frog competing with grasshoppers. (tr. Verity)

Moreover, this poetical association of the small animal also brings to mind the cicada, with which Callimachus explicitly associates himself in the *Aetia* prologue (29-32), and to which Thyrsis is compared later in *Idyll* 1 by the anonymous goatherd because

²⁵¹ Hunter 1999, 82 (on *Id.* 1.46).

²⁵² Segal 1974a, 3 already noticed that the boy constructing the grasshopper trap is an image for a poet. For weaving as a common poetical metaphor, see Introduction, n. 31 above.

of his archetypically bucolic song about Daphnis.²⁵³

The grasshopper-trap that the boy is making can be seen as a “symbol of the poem”²⁵⁴ and, as a further *mise en abyme*, as an emblem of Theocritus’ bucolic poetry. For the basket is made in part of reed (σχοίνῳ, 53),²⁵⁵ the same material of which that other symbol of Theocritus’ poetry, Daphnis’ panpipe is made.²⁵⁶ The programmatic dimension of the boy’s basket is reinforced later by Virgil, who clearly uses weaving a basket as a symbol for the writing of a bucolic poem:²⁵⁷

haec sat erit, divae, vestrum cecinisse poetam,
dum sedet et gracili fiscellam texit hibisco,
Pierides ...

Ecl. 10.70-2

To have sung of these things, goddesses, while he sat and wove | a frail of slim
hibiscus, will suffice your poet. (tr. Lee)

To speak through Hunter, “the boy on the cup is an image of the bucolic poet, constructing something beautiful from ‘natural materials’ (52-3)”,²⁵⁸ and Theocritus’ poetical persona is thus, like that of Callimachus, a playing child.²⁵⁹

²⁵³ *Id.* 1.148: τέττιγος ἐπεὶ τύγα φέρτερον ᾄδεις, “for you sing more sweetly than the cicada” (tr. Verity).

²⁵⁴ Cairns 1984, 104.

²⁵⁵ See Goldhill 1987, 3-6 for the possible metapoetical associations of the word through the intertextual contact with Callimachus’ *Aetia* prologue, where σχοῖνος occurs in the sense “land-measure” in a poetological context.

²⁵⁶ Cairns 1984, 102.

²⁵⁷ Cairns 1984, 103, who also adduces Servius’ comment (on *gracili*): *allegoricos significant se composuisse hunc libellum tenuissimo stilo*. “He allegorically says that he has composed a poetry booklet in the most refined style.” See also Ch. 3, Section 5.2 for the metapoetical significance of Virgil’s basket.

²⁵⁸ Hunter 1999, 82 (on *Id.* 1.45-54).

²⁵⁹ Cf. Halperin 1983a, 181: “The playful child came to be a fitting figure for the Alexandrian poet dedicated to upholding standards of artistic modesty and avoiding the grand themes of ‘serious’ literature. The most famous instance is Callimachus’ self-characterization in the *Aetia* prologue (...). The import of Theocritus’ miniature was not lost on Virgil, who portrays himself at the end of his *Bucolics* engaged in an occupation resembling that of the boy on the ivy-cup – similarly combining πόνος and παίγνιον, *meditari* and *ludere*, work and play – and almost as irresponsibly absorbed (10.71)”. See also Halperin 1983a, 181 for other aspects of the passage that are programmatic for Theocritus’ poetry, such as the “concentration on a single humorous incident” and the “sense of unencumbered delight”. An interesting question, which I cannot address here, is whether the foxes, who steal away the boy’s food while he is weaving, can also be interpreted metapoetically as rival poets.

So in the ecphrasis of the ivy cup Theocritus describes his bucolic poetry in very Callimachean terms as playful, refined, sophisticated and original with regard to the heroic epic tradition by means of a “technique of inversion”, as Halperin calls it, through which he turns heroic epic inside-out.²⁶⁰

3. Bucolic Hylas, epic Heracles

In *Idylls* 1 and 7, Theocritus defines, or comments on, his own bucolic poetry in very Callimachean terms. But the poems differ in their approach. *Idyll* 7 deals more clearly and explicitly with poetry than the ecphrasis in *Idyll* 1, which is only implicitly about poetry. I will now argue that Theocritus’ *Hylas* also defines bucolic poetry in Callimachean terms, in yet another way, for *Idyll* 13 is not a bucolic poem. Whereas in *Idylls* 1 and 7 the “technique of inversion” is used to define bucolic in relation to heroic poetry from within a bucolic poem, *Idyll* 13 does so from *outside*, for the story that Theocritus tells Nicias is not about a herdsman, but about the epic hero Heracles participating in the epic expedition of the Argo. At first sight, the poem thus seems a mythological, heroic-epic episode. Accordingly, the poem is generally denoted as an epyllion, a “little epic” in Hellenistic fashion.²⁶¹ This is reinforced by the occasional epic language²⁶² and the fact that it summarizes half an epic *Argonautica* in lines 16-24.²⁶³ Apart from the problems with the modern concept “epyllion” itself, which is

²⁶⁰ Halperin 1983a, 219: “a heroic theme is inverted when it is detached from the heroic world and set instead amid the prosaic activities and humble personages of daily life.” Cf. Bing 1988, 47; DeForest 1994, 25: “[Theocritus’] *Idylls* are essentially epic poems turned inside-out.”

²⁶¹ E.g. Crump 1931; Gutzwiller 1981; 1996, 132-3; Hunter 1999, 262, who, however, also notes on *Id.* 13 that “in length and scope (...) it is well short of what are traditionally regarded as Hellenistic ‘epyllia’, poems such as Moschus’ *Europa* and the *Megara* ...”. Cf. Hollis 1990, 23-4, who doubts “whether ‘Hylas’ should be considered an epyllion” (24, n. 4).

²⁶² Cf. Hunter 1999, 262.

²⁶³ In fact, as e.g. Hunter 1999, 271 (on *Id.* 13.16-24) points out, these lines correspond to the first half of Apollonius’ *Argonautica*. See also Section 3.3.1 for this intertextual contact.

not used in antiquity as a technical term and is quite vague,²⁶⁴ it is misleading to call *Idyll* 13 an epyllion, because the poem contains elements that can be called bucolic, such as the motif of the echo, to which I will turn first.

3.1. Reading Hylas' echo

As we have seen in Chapter 1, the answer of Theocritus' Hylas to Heracles' cry (59-60) resembles an echo, and it has interpreted as such by Virgil, Propertius and Valerius Flaccus.²⁶⁵ As was also pointed out, and as the underlinings below indicate, line 59, describing Hylas' answer, "echoes" line 58 on a textual and phonic level:

τοῖς μὲν Ὑλαν ἄυσεν, ὅσον βαθὺς ἤρυγε λαιμός·
τοῖς δ' ἄρ' ὁ παῖς ὑπ᾿ακουσεν, ἀραιὰ δ' ἴκετο φωνά
ἐξ ὕδατος, παρῶν δὲ μάλα σχεδὸν εἶδετο πόρρω Id. 13.58-60

"Hylas!" he bellowed, as loud as his deep throat could cry, three times. Three times the boy replied, but his voice rose faint from the pool; though close, it sounded far away. (tr. Verity)

²⁶⁴ The use of the term epyllion to denote a short mythological narrative in hexameters was invented in the 19th century (see Reilly 1953 for this origin). Allen 1940 has convincingly argued that ἐπύλλιον was not used to denote a literary category in antiquity, and he also shows that the characteristics commonly ascribed to the modern concept of epyllion (long speeches, dreams, prophecies, digressions, ecphrasis), do not appear in all the epyllia and, furthermore, occur in other genres. Although Gutzwiller 1981 still thinks the term can be useful to denote "short mythological poems", length remains a problematic criterion, particularly in the case of *Id.* 13, because both poems of 1000 or more lines (Callimachus' *Hecale*) and poems of about 100 lines (such as *Id.* 13: 75 lines; *Id.* 25: 84 lines) are usually regarded as epyllia. The modern term thus conceals the fact that in antiquity the word *epos* was used to denote a hexameter poem or hexameter verse, which could vary from a small poem to a full-blown epic. Nevertheless, with respect to those poems labelled "epyllia" by scholars, I agree with Hollis 1990, 25 that "the category is a genuine one. Roman poets who composed such works as Catul. 64 or the pseudo-Virgilian *Ciris* (...) must surely have believed that they were using a recognizable form inherited from the Greeks; and the traces of Callimachus' *Hecale* which may be found in both these works, as well as in several episodes of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, suggest that our poem [*the Hecale*] was given an honoured place in the evolution of the genre". As with bucolic poetry as a genre, however, for which Virgil was crucial, may it not be the case that epyllion (or whatever one would like to call it) became a strictly demarcated literary category, which comes closer to what we understand as a genre, in Roman times?

²⁶⁵ See Introduction, Section 2 for a survey of the echo motif in these authors.

But the echo phenomenon also features in another way in these lines, through an allusion to three lines from the *Iliad*, which deal with a wounded Odysseus:²⁶⁶

αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' ἐξοπίσω ἀνεχάζετο, αὔε δ' ἑταίρους.
τοῖς μὲν ἔπειτ' ἤϋσεν ὅσον κεφαλὴ χάδε φωτός
τοῖς δ' ἄϊεν ἰάχοντος ἀρηϊφίλος Μενέλαος. Il. 11.461-3
 But he [*Odysseus*] gave ground, and shouted to his comrades; thrice then he
 uttered a shout as great as his head could hold, and thrice did Menelaos, dear to
 Ares, hear his call. (tr. Murray & Wyatt)

As the underlinings show, this allusion is triggered by words which also constitute the textual echo within Theocritus' text. This suggests that Theocritus, like the Latin poets who read and interpreted him, used the phenomenon of echo as a trope to describe the intertextual relationship with his predecessor: Theocritus "echoes" Homer.²⁶⁷ There is yet another intertextual echo involved, as Hylas' reply in line 59 alludes to Menelaus' reaction to Odysseus' cry (as the bold markings in the Theocritean text above show):²⁶⁸

αἶψα δ' ἄρ' Αἴαντα προσεφώνεεν ἐγγὺς ἐόντα·
 "Αἶαν διογενὲς Τελαμώνιε, κοίρανε λαῶν,
 ἀμφί μ' Ὀδυσσῆος ταλασίφρονος **ἴκετο φωνή***,
 τῷ ἰκέλη ὡς εἴ ἐ βιώατο μοῦνον ἐόντα
 Τρῶες ἀποτμήξαντες ἐνὶ κρατερῇ ὕσμινῃ." Il. 11.464-8

* φωνή *vulg.*: αὐτή *Aristarchus*

And immediately he [*Menelaus*] spoke to Aias who was near at hand: "Aias, sprung from Zeus, Telamon's son, lord of men, in my ears rang the cry of Odysseus of the steadfast heart, as though the Trojans had cut him off in the mighty combat and were overpowering him alone as he is." (tr. Murray & Wyatt)

²⁶⁶ See also Gow 1950, II, 242 (on *Id.* 13.58); Hunter 1999, 282-3 (on *Id.* 13.58-60) for this and the following allusion.

²⁶⁷ See Hinds 1998, 5-8 and Barchiesi 2001, 139-40 for the echo as a "trope of intertextuality". See Introduction, Section 2 for this phenomenon in the Hylas versions of Virgil, Propertius and Valerius Flaccus.

²⁶⁸ Hunter 1999, 283 (on *Id.* 13.58-60).

Theocritus seems to allude to the “vulgate” text of Homer, which reads φωνή in line 466.²⁶⁹ However, Aristarchus’ “emendation” ἀυτή – it “echoes” ἥυσεν in 462²⁷⁰ – is very seductive, as this word is echoed in Theocritus’ poem as well. The origin and status of Aristarchus’ reading (which postdates Theocritus) cannot be determined, and so we do not know if Theocritus was familiar with it. If he was, he could be reflecting a scholarly debate on the correct reading of a line of the *Iliad*. In typically playful Hellenistic fashion, Theocritus would then reject the variant, but at the same time *Idyll* 13 would reproduce the echoing effect (ἄυσεν – ὑπάκουσεν) that the text of the *Iliad* would have with this reading (ἥυσεν – ἀυτή) if it were to be adapted.

I think, however, that there is another, metapoetical explanation for Theocritus’ use of φωνά. Through the allusion to *Iliad* 11, Theocritus clearly associates Heracles with Odysseus, who is involved in a typically epic situation on the battlefield:

τρὶς μὲν Ὑλαν ἄυσεν, ὅσον βαθὺς ἤρυγε λαϊμός Id. 13.58

τρὶς μὲν ἔπειτ’ ἥυσεν ὅσον κεφαλὴ χάδε φωτός Il. 11.462

We are reminded of the archetypically heroic status of Heracles, but the difference of the situation in *Idyll* 13 is immediately made clear in the next line, for it is not a Homeric hero who replies to Heracles’ epic roar, as Menelaos reacts to Odysseus’ cry, but a boy with a thin voice. The epic associations of Heracles, both in general and in these lines specifically, already suggest that the contrast between him and Hylas has a metapoetical dimension, but this is reinforced by the terminology associated with Hylas. His voice is described as ἀραιά (“thin, faint”), a word which is regularly glossed as λεπτή (“slender, refined”),²⁷¹ one of the keywords of Callimachus’ poetical programme.²⁷² But ἀραιά itself also occurs in a metapoetical context in Callimachus’

²⁶⁹ On which see Nagy 1997, 114-22. I have printed the text of van Thiel 1996.

²⁷⁰ Hainsworth 1993, 274 (on *Il.* 11.466);

²⁷¹ Hunter 1999, 283 (on *Id.* 13.59)

²⁷² See e.g. Call. *Aet.* fr. 1.21-24 Pf. (Μοῦσαν ... λεπταλέην, “slender Muse”). Cf. Call. *Ep.* 27.3-4 Pf. (χαίετε λεπταὶ | ῥήσιες, “hail, subtle words”) and *H. Art.* 242-3: ὑπήεισαν δὲ λίγεια | λεπταλέον σύριγγες. . The programmatic use of the Latin translation of λεπτός, *tenuis*, to express Callimachean

Hymn to Delos. As scholars have argued, the small island celebrated in this poem, the birthplace of Callimachus' patron deity Apollo, can be seen as a symbol of his poetry.²⁷³ Line 191 is one of the elements that constitute the "partial allegory":²⁷⁴

ἔστι διειδομένη τις ἐν ὕδατι νῆσος ἀραιή

H. Delos 191

There is an island on the water, shining, slender. (tr. Nisetich)

As S. Slings has pointed out,²⁷⁵ the application of the word to an island suggests a metapoetical meaning, for the island is not particularly "slender", and ἀραιή is not elsewhere in Greek literature applied to an island. Furthermore, the island is also called διειδομένη, "clear", "shining", an allusion to the etymology of the name of the island (< δῆλος). In this context it is interesting that Callimachus calls Antimachus' *Lyde*, a work which he also seems to attack in his *Aetia* prologue,²⁷⁶ "both fat and not clear" (καὶ παχὺ γράμμα καὶ οὐ τορόν (fr. 398 Pf.). The two characteristics mentioned here are diametrically opposed to the characterization of Delos, in terms that are each other's antonyms.²⁷⁷ So ἀραιή, which at first sight seems a somewhat strange combination with νῆσος, has a strong metapoetical dimension.²⁷⁸

In *Idyll* 13 the metapoetical dimension of ἀραιά is reinforced through the combination with φωνά (59), which recalls the already discussed Callimachean boy

allegiance is widespread. See e.g. Virg. *Ecl.* 6.8 (in a Callimachean context): *agrestem tenui meditabor harundine Musam* ("I now will meditate the rustic Muse on slender reed"; tr. Lee); cf. *Ecl.* 1.2, also in a programmatic position (cf. also n. 257 above, on Servius' interpretation of *Ecl.* 10.71). Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.224-5 makes the poetological metaphor very explicit and parodies its hackneyed use by Callimachus-followers: *cum lamentamur non apparere labores | nostros et tenui deducta poemata filo*. "When we complain that that men lose sight of our labours, and of our poems so finely spun." (tr. Fairclough) Cf. Feeney 1991, 323, n. 34 on this quotation: "the last phrase is, as it were, in inverted commas." See also e.g. Reitzenstein 1931, 34-7; Clausen 1964; 1987, 3; Schmidt 1972, 21-6; Ross 1975, 26-7; Hubbard 1998, 101 on *tenuis* as translation of λεπτός.

²⁷³ See notably Slings 2004 (what follows takes a cue from his discussion at pp. 283-4). See also notably Bing 1988, 110-28 on the metapoetical aspects of Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos*.

²⁷⁴ The term (on which see also Introduction, Section 3) is borrowed from Slings 2004.

²⁷⁵ Slings 2004, 283.

²⁷⁶ See Harder 2010, II, on *Aet.* fr. 1.9-12.

²⁷⁷ See Slings 2004, 283 for an example from Homer.

²⁷⁸ As with other aspects of Callimachus' poetics, the poetological dimension of ἀραιή may go back to Philitas, who seems to have used the word in a poem (fragment 17 P), in which a man is described on which, as Hubbard 1998, 25-6 suggests, Theocritus could have based his Lycidas.

(παῖς) on Homer's *Shield*, singing the Linus song with "delicate voice" (λεπταλέη φωνή; see p. 83 above). Callimachus had made Homer's boy his own poetic persona, and in the ecphrasis of the ivy cup, the boy became a symbol for Theocritus' Callimachean bucolic poetry, indeed for Theocritus himself. Hylas, who is of course also a παῖς (and described as such in the same line in which ἀραιά φωνά features), becomes a similar symbol for Callimachean poetry. As in *Idyll* 1, this poetry is characterized in relation to Homer, for Hylas resembles Homer's boy, the symbol of the poetical alternative to heroic epic, licensed by the master himself. The allusions to the *Iliad* in lines 58-60 underline this: whereas Heracles resembles Odysseus, Hylas' Callimachean φωνά (59) reply is unlike Menelaus' epic φωνή (*Il.* 11.466).²⁷⁹

3.2. *The bucolic echo*

But Hylas is not just Callimachean. Apart from its other meanings, Hylas' echo also touches upon an essential feature of Theocritus' bucolic poetry, because of its natural and musical associations.²⁸⁰ Already in the first lines of Theocritus' programmatic first *Idyll* an essential link is created between bucolic song and the sound of nature: both are "sweet" (ἄδύ):²⁸¹

ἄδύ τι τὸ ψιθύρισμα καὶ ἅ πίτυς αἰπόλε τήνα
ἅ ποτὶ ταῖς παγαῖσι μελίσδεται. ἄδύ δὲ καὶ τὸ
σύριδες. (...)

Id. 1.1-3

There is sweet music in that pine tree's whisper, goatherd, there by the spring.
Sweet too is the music of your pipe. (tr. Verity)

This link also lurks behind the metaphors of, for instance, the cicada and the grasshopper for the bucolic poet, which are so prominent in Theocritus' poetry.

²⁷⁹ Perhaps we can see Theocritus metapoetically summing up his relationship to Homer when he describes Hylas' (intertextual) echo as παρὲν δὲ μάλα σχεδὸν εἶδετο πόρρω, "though close, it sounded far away" (60).

²⁸⁰ Cf. Hunter 1999, 282 (on *Id.* 13.58-60), who points out that "the origins of Echo, the extreme case of a 'natural' sound requiring human agency and thus a mythic model for bucolic poetry, is one of the central bucolic myths".

²⁸¹ For more examples of this link, see Hunter 1999, 68-70.

Hylas' echo can be seen to symbolize this harmony between bucolic song and nature. This conception of echo is further developed by Virgil in his *Eclogues*, "where echo is the sign of nature's sympathy with man",²⁸² and the later pastoral tradition, where the origin of the natural phenomenon becomes one of the central myths.²⁸³ Virgil, for instance, makes it very clear that for successful bucolic poetry, an echo of the woods, *silvae* – with which Hylas is associated because of his name²⁸⁴ – is essential as a kind of "sounding board".²⁸⁵ The beginning of *Eclogue* 1, which reworks the beginning of Theocritus' first *Idyll* quoted above, is a very clear and programmatic example of this bucolic echo, which is emphasized by the textual echo *Amaryllida silvas*:²⁸⁶

(...) tu, Tityre, lentus in umbra
formosam resonare doces Amaryllida silvas. Ecl. 1.4-5

(...) you, Tityrus, cool in shade,^l are teaching woods to echo *lovely Amaryllis*.
(tr. Lee)

²⁸² Hardie 1998, 11. On the the importance of "pastoral echo" in the *Eclogues*, see also Desport 1952, 63-9; Damon 1961, 281-90; Boyle 1977; Hardie 2002, 123-4. See also Ch. 3, Section 7.2 for an interpretation of Hylas' echo in *Ecl.* 6.43-4 as an aetiology of bucolic poetry, and Ch. 4, n. 539 for other ways in which nature expresses its sympathy with man in the bucolic world of Virgil's *Eclogues*.

²⁸³ See e.g. Longus, *D&C* 3.23, where the aetiological myth of Echo is told, which closely associates the echo with bucolic poetry. The bucolic patron god Pan, jealous of Echo's music, is responsible for the nymph's death (by letting herdsmen rip her to pieces), and thus for creating imitative music (note the etymological play on μέλη, both "limbs" and "melodies"): καὶ τὰ μέλη Γῆ χαριζομένη Νύμφαις ἔκρυσσε πάντα καὶ ἐτήρεσε τὴν μουσικὴν καὶ γνῶμη Μουσῶν ἀφήσει φωνὴν καὶ μιμεῖται πάντα καθάπερ τότε ἡ κόρη, ἀνθρώπους, ὄργανα, θηρία· μιμεῖται καὶ αὐτὸν συρίττοντα τὸν Πᾶνα. "For love of the nymphs, Earth hid all her limbs, still singing and kept their music, and now, by will of the Muses, she emits a voice and mimics everything, just as the girl once did: gods, men, musical instruments, animals. She even mimics Pan playing his pipes." (3.23.4-5; tr. Morgan) The bucolic association is reinforced by the close parallels between Echo and Syrinx (2.33.3-34), another victim of Pan, who will transform into the bucolic instrument *par excellence* (καὶ ἡ τότε παρθένος καλὴ νῦν ἐστὶ σύριγξ μουσική. "And what was once a beautiful girl is now these tuneful pipes" (tr. Morgan). See also Borgeaud 1988 on the close affinities between the myths of Echo and syrinx. This parallel also suggests that the myth of Echo/echo (as told by Longus) concerns the origin of bucolic poetry. See further e.g. Damon 1961, 291-8 on the "pastoral echo" in the later pastoral tradition.

²⁸⁴ See Introduction, Section 2.

²⁸⁵ Damon 1961, 283, who also discusses examples.

²⁸⁶ Clausen 1994, ad loc. See also Hardie 2002, 204 for the programmatic dimension of the lines: "Amaryllis' name embodies 'love in the woods, love in the pastoral world'; she is almost a personification of satisfied pastoral desire."

Just like the boy on the ivy cup, Hylas, who is transformed into an echo and thus produces a natural sound, becomes a symbol of the bucolic poet, in fact of Theocritus himself. As Hylas' transformation is the aetiology of the echo phenomenon, *Idyll* 13 can also be read as an allegory of the emergence of bucolic poetry, and that of Theocritus in particular. As I will argue in the next chapter, Virgil takes Theocritus' cue in *Eclogue* 6, employing Hylas' echo to describe the origin of his own bucolic world.²⁸⁷

3.3. *Hylas and Daphnis*

The connection between Hylas and Theocritus himself is reinforced by the parallels between Hylas and the Daphnis, "variously the first 'bucolic' singer and the original subject of 'bucolic song'",²⁸⁸ whose fate is sung by Thyrsis in *Idyll* 1.²⁸⁹ It is hard to see what exactly is happening to Daphnis, which is at least in part due to the impression given by Theocritus that the story about Daphnis is well-known.²⁹⁰ What is clear is that Daphnis in *Idyll* 1 is wasting away with a violent passion for a girl, who is called Xenea by Lycidas in *Idyll* 7.73, where a similar situation is described.²⁹¹ As the words of Aphrodite, who visits Daphnis in his agony, seem to suggest, Daphnis' passion was instilled in him by the goddess as punishment (for his rejection of her?):

²⁸⁷ Ch. 3, Section 7.2.

²⁸⁸ Hunter 1999, 60.

²⁸⁹ See also Section 2.3 above.

²⁹⁰ *Id.* 1.19: ἀλλὰ τὸ γὰρ δὴ, Θύρσι, τὰ Δάφνιδος ἄλγε' αἰίδες. "But look, Thyrsis, you have sung of *The Sufferings of Daphnis*." (tr. Verity). See Hunter 1999, 61 on these and other ways in which a "sense of tradition is written into the poem".

²⁹¹ *Id.* 1.66: πᾶ ποικ' ἄρ' ἦσθ', ὅκα Δάφνις ἐτάκετο, πᾶ ποκα, Νύμφαι; "Where were you, Nymphs, when Daphnis wasted away, where were you?" (tr. Verity); *Id.* 1.77-8 (Hermes addressing Daphnis): Δάφνι, τίς τυ κατατρύχει; τίνος, ὠγαθέ, τόσσον ἔρασαι; "Daphnis, who is it that torments you? Who do you long for so much?" ~ *Id.* 7.72-7: (...) ὁ δὲ Τίτυρος ἐγγύθεν αἰσεῖ | ὥς ποκα τᾶς Ξενέας ἠράσσατο Δάφνις ὁ βούτας (...) κατετάκετο ... "Nearby Tityrus will sing how once Daphnis the cowherd fell in love with Xenea (...). He was wasting away ..." (tr. Verity).

ἦνθε γε μὰν ἀδεῖα καὶ ἅ Κύπρις γελάοισα,
 λάθρη μὲν γελάοισα, βαρὺν δ' ἀνὰ θυμὸν ἔχοισα,
 κείπε "τύ θην τὸν Ἔρωτα κατεύχεο, Δάφνι, λυγίξειν·
 ἦ ῥ' οὐκ αὐτὸς Ἔρωτος ὑπ' ἀργαλέω ἐλυγίχθης;" *Id.* 1.95-8

And Cypris too came to see him, laughing with delight, but laughing in secret, feigning a heavy heart. She said: "Did you really boast that you could give Love a fall? Is it not your yourself who are thrown by cruel Love?" (tr. Verity)

Daphnis' proud answer to the goddess shows that instead of giving in to his love – which would be easy, as Priapus tells Daphnis that the girl he loves is looking for him and wants to be with him²⁹² – Daphnis has decided to resist his passion, and thus Aphrodite, at the expense of his own life:

τὰν δ' ἄρα χῶ Δάφνις ποταμείβετο· "Κύπρι βαρεῖα,
 Κύπρι νεμεσσατά, Κύπρι θνατοῖσιν ἀπεχθής,
 ἦδη γὰρ φράσδη πάνθ' ἄλιον ἄμμι δεδύκειν;
 Δάφνις κῆν Αἶδα κακὸν ἔσσεται ἄλγος Ἔρωτι." *Id.* 1.100-3

Then Daphnis answered: "Hard Cypris, vengeful Cypris, Cypris hated by mortals; so you really believe that my last sun has set? I tell you, even from Hades Daphnis will prove to be a source of painful grief to Love." (tr. Verity)

So what about the parallels between Hylas and Daphnis? Love, an important theme in Theocritus' bucolic poetry,²⁹³ of course plays an essential role in the stories about both Hylas and Daphnis, but the latter's death, as described in *Idyll* 1, specifically recalls that of Hylas:

χῶ μὲν τόσσ' εἰπὼν ἀπεπαύσατο· τὸν δ' Ἀφροδίτα
 ἦθελ' ἀνορθῶσαι· τὰ γε μὰν λῖνα πάντα λελοίπει
 ἐκ Μοιρᾶν, χῶ Δάφνις ἔβα ῥόον· ἔκλυσε δῖνα
 τὸν Μοῖσαις φίλον ἄνδρα, τὸν οὐ Νύνφαισιν ἀπεχθῆ. *Id.* 1.138-41

²⁹² *Id.* 1.81-3; 85: (...) ἦνθ' ὁ Πρίηπος | κῆφα "Δάφνυ τάλαν, τί τὸ τάκειαι; ἅ δέ τιν' κώρα | πάσας ἀνὰ κράνας, πάντ' ἄλσεα ποσὶ φορεῖται | ... | ζάτειο· ἅ δύσερως τις ἄγαν καὶ ἀμήχανος ἐσσί." Priapus came and asked: "Poor Daphnis, why are you wasting away? Your girl is scouring everywhere, woodland and spring (...) seeking you. Love is surely cruel to you, helpless man." (tr. Verity).

²⁹³ See e.g. Halperin 1983a, 121-4; 129-31; 178f.; 233-5.

So much he [*Daphnis*] said, and ended; and Aphrodite would have raised him up again, but all the thread the Fates assigned was run, and Daphnis went to the stream. The waters closed over him whom the Muses loved, nor did the Nymphs mislike him. (tr. Verity)

These lines are much discussed. Generally speaking, there are two interpretations. According to the first (which is also that of the scholiast), Daphnis goes to the river (ῥόον) of the Underworld. The lines would thus metaphorically present Daphnis as dying.²⁹⁴ According to the other explanation, Daphnis literally drowns.²⁹⁵ I agree with Hunter, however, that the two interpretations of these mysterious lines do not exclude each other: “The emphasis on the watery nature of his end – whether it is understood literally or metaphorically (...) – seems to point to a specific narrative and not simply to be an elaborate way of saying ‘went to the Underworld’, though the words must also evoke such an idea.” So lines 140-1 at least suggest that Daphnis drowns, and the combination of love, death and water brings to mind Hylas’ rape.²⁹⁶ The link with Hylas is reinforced by a further suggestion in Apollonius’ version of the story that Daphnis drowns in Hylas’ spring. There Hylas is also said to go to a ῥόος: τόφρα δ’ Ὑλας χαλκῆν σὺν κάλπιδι νόσφιν ὁμίλου | δίζητο κρήνης ἱερὸν ῥόον. “In the meantime, Hylas went off from the crew with a bronze pitcher in search of a spring’s sacred flow.” (*Arg.* 1.1207-8; tr. Race). A few lines later another parallel with Daphnis’ account in Theocritus presents itself, for δίνη (“whirlpool”) is the word used by Apollonius to describe the water into which Hylas is pulled by the nymph:²⁹⁷ μέση δ’ ἐνικάββαλε δίνη. “And she [*the nymph*] plunged him into the midst of the swirling water.” (*Arg.* 1.1239; tr. Race)

Another parallel between Hylas and Daphnis is provided by the girl who loves Daphnis (Xenea), for in her search she resembles Theocritus’ Heracles, whose “crazed search and wandering place him in the role (...) of the κώρα in Priapos’

²⁹⁴ See e.g. Gow 1950, II, ad loc.; van Erp Taalman Kip 1987 for arguments in favour of this view.

²⁹⁵ See e.g. Prescott 1913; Ogilvie 1962; Williams 1969; White 1977; Segal 1974*b*, 23-4; Halperin 1983*b*, 193 for this interpretation.

²⁹⁶ Segal 1974*b*, 27.

²⁹⁷ Segal 1974*b*, 24.

account of Daphnis' situation at 1.82-85".²⁹⁸ This link and the intertextual connections between *Idylls* 1 and 13 in general are further developed by Bion, whose account of Aphrodite's search for the wounded Adonis drew up on both poems.²⁹⁹

Although the precise extent to which Theocritus' Hylas and Daphnis, the archetypal bucolic poet, resemble each other cannot be determined, it is clear that there is intertextual contact between the two characters, which strengthens the identification of Hylas with the bucolic poet Theocritus and his conception of bucolic poetry – regardless of the priority of the two poems involved.³⁰⁰

3.4. *The bucolic landscape of Idyll 13*

Hylas' echo of Heracles' cry can, then, be read metapoetically as a metaphor describing the Callimachean relationship between Theocritus' bucolic poetry and the heroic, epic tradition, the *Iliad* in particular. In what follows I will argue that the elaborately described landscape in which Hylas disappears contributes to the opposition between the heroic Heracles and the tender, Callimachean Hylas, allowing the poem to be read as a metapoetical allegory of Theocritus' bucolic poetry.

3.4.1. *The landing in Mysia: Theocritus and Apollonius*

Already at the beginning of the mythological episode, it is suggested that Mysia, where the Argonauts land, is a metapoetical landscape, for it is contrasted with the heroic world of the Argonautic expedition, half of which is summarized in only one sentence in lines 16-24.³⁰¹ The sentence also corresponds to the first half of

²⁹⁸ Hunter 1999, 284 (on *Id.* 13.64-71). See n. 292 above for the text and translation of these lines.

²⁹⁹ See e.g. Hunter 1999, 92 (on *Id.* 1.82-3).

³⁰⁰ Cf. Hunter 1999, 263: "T.'s version of Herakles and Hylas is (...) assimilated to the story of Daphnis, as part of the bucolicisation of epic".

³⁰¹ *Id.* 16-24: ἀλλ' ὅτε τὸ χρύσειον ἔπλει μετὰ κῶας Ἰάσων | Αἰσονίδας, οἱ δ' αὐτῷ ἀριστῆες
συνέποντο | πασᾶν ἐκ πολίων προλελεγμένοι ὦν ὄφελος τι, | ἵκετο χῶ ταλαεργὸς ἀνὴρ ἐς
ἀφνειὸν Ἰωλκόν, | Ἀλκμήνας υἱὸς Μιδεάτιδος ἡρώϊνας, | σὺν δ' αὐτῷ κατέβαινεν Ὕλας εὐέδρον ἐς
Ἀργῶ, | ἅτις κυανεᾶν οὐχ ἄψατο Σύνδρομάδων ναῦς, | ἀλλὰ διεξάιξε βαθὺν δ' εἰσέδραμε Φᾶσιν, |
αἰετὸς ὥς, μέγα λαῖτμα, ἀφ' οὗ τότε χοιράδες ἔσταν. "And so, when Jason, son Aeson, sailed in

Apollonius' *Argonautica*, which suggests intertextual contact.³⁰² Already the first line (16) makes an allusion very likely, as it closely resembles the fourth line of Apollonius' epic:³⁰³

ἀλλ' ὅτε τὸ χρούσειον ἔπλει μετὰ κῶας Ἰάσων Id. 13.16

And so, when Jason sailed in search of the Golden Fleece (tr. Verity, adapted)

χρούσειον μετὰ κῶας ἐύζυγον ἤλασαν Ἀργώ. Arg. 1.4

They sailed the well-benched Argo in search of the Golden Fleece.

Furthermore, Apollonius' ἐύζυγον ... Ἀργώ ("well-benched Argo") is paralleled by Theocritus' εὐἔδρον ... Ἀργώ ("well-benched Argo") a few lines later (21). I cannot but read these parallels as an allusion of Theocritus to Apollonius,³⁰⁴ and the implications of this become clear in what follows.

Immediately after Theocritus' epic, Argonautic sentence, the narrative is restarted. The reader is taken back to the beginning of the expedition, but this time the pace and thematic focus are quite different, which suggests that Theocritus will now start a different kind of "epic":

search of the Golden Fleece, and noble heroes from every city went with him, a picked company with skills to offer, there also came to wealthy Iolcus the man of many labours, the son of Alcmena, who was princess of Midea, and with him Hylas went down to the strong-benched Argo, the ship which sped past the gloomy clashing rocks ungrazed, and shot between to the huge expanse of the deep gulf of Phasis, just like an eagle, and from that day till now the rocks have stood unmoved." (tr. Verity, adapted). Cf. Mastronarde 1968, 282, who speaks of an "epic tenor" in the passage. See also van Erp Taalman Kip 1994, 161-2 for the epic language of the passage, created by allusions to Homer. See, however, Gutzwiller 1981, 22-3, who denies the epic tone and argues for a "lyric tint", through allusions to Pindar's *Pythian Ode* 4. The arguments that she mentions, however, do not undercut the clear heroic-epic tone of these lines, ironic as it may be.

³⁰² Hunter 1999, 271 (on *Id.* 13.16-24): "These lines take the Argonautic expedition all the way to the Phasis, i.e. they offer one Theocritean sentence to match the whole of *Arg.* 1-2."

³⁰³ This allusion is strengthened by the significance of Apollonius' line as one of the few iterated formulae in the entire epic (Fantuzzi 1988, 24, n. 35).

³⁰⁴ Cf. Cuypers 1997, 24-5. Di Marco 1995 interestingly suggests that Theocritus' ὡς ἐδοκεῖμεν ("as once we thought"; tr. Verity) in *Id.* 13.1 already triggers the intertextual contact with the *Argonautica* at the start of the poem (cf. the paraphraae of Hunter 1999, 266: "before we read *Argonautica* 1"). See Ch. 1, pp. 29-30 and n. 220 above for the problematic relative chronology of the poetry of Apollonius, Callimachus and Theocritus. Although I generally endorse the "work in progress hypothesis", I find it very hard to see Apollonius as alluding to *Id.* 13 here (contra e.g. Köhnken 2001).

ἄμος δ' ἀντέλλοντι Πελειάδες, ἐσχατιαὶ δέ
 ἄρνα νέον βόσκοντι, τετραμμένου εἶαρος ἤδη,
 τᾶμος ναυτιλίας μιμνάσκετο θεῖος ἄωτος
 ἡρώων, κοίλαν δὲ καθιδρυθέντες ἐς Ἀργῶ
 Ἑλλάσποντον ἵκοντο νότῳ τρίτον ἄμαρ ἀέντι,
 εἴσω δ' ὄρμον ἔθεντο Προποντίδος, ἔνθα Κιανῶν
 αὐλακας εὐρύνοντι βόες τρίβοντες ἄροτρα.

*Id.*13.25-31

It was at the Pleiads' rising, at the time when lambs graze on the margin land and spring has turned into summer, that the godlike band of heroes turned their minds to their voyage. They took their seats in the hollow Argo, and with three days' south wind astern reached the Hellespont, and anchored in Propontis, where the Cician people's oxen trace broad furrows with the bright ploughshare. (tr. Verity)

As is suggested by the almost immediate arrival of the Argonauts in Mysia after their start suggests, Theocritus' "epic" is about Hylas and Heracles. Furthermore, the seemingly unchanged rural landscape seems an essential part of Theocritus' story. As Gutzwiller has shown, this landscape, and in fact the passage as a whole, describing the time of the year when the Argonauts set sail and arrived in Mysia, clearly recalls Hesiod.³⁰⁵ Not only do the shepherds and farmers recall the *Works and Days*, but the language also points in the direction of the Boeotian poet. The expression ἦμος ... τῆμος, for instance, "is common in Hesiod to express the proper season for a certain task or natural occurrence", line 25 recalls fr. 290 (τῆμος ἀποκρύπτουσι Πελειάδες), and the genitive absolute construction, which Theocritus uses in line 26 (εἶαρος τετραμμένου), points in the direction of Hesiod, where this type frequently occurs (e.g. *Theogony* 58-9: περὶ δ' ἔτραπον ὥραι, μηνῶν φθινόντων), whereas this construction is very rare in Homer.

As we have seen, Hellenistic poets recognized in Hesiod an alternative to Homer's heroic, epic poetry. Accordingly, Theocritus also aligned himself with the herdsman-poet, whom he regarded as archetypal for his bucolic poetry. The allusions to Hesiod

³⁰⁵ See Gutzwiller 1981, 23-4, from whose detailed analysis much of what follows is derived. Cf. van Erp Taalman Kip 1994, 162; Hunter 1999, 273 (on *Id.* 13.25-8), who refers to the "Hesiodic flavour of both form and substance".

in this passage, and in particular the emphasis on the rural scenery, thus immediately give Theocritus' version of the *Argonautica*, the Hylas episode, a bucolic ring, which contrasts it with the traditionally epic narrative in the preceding lines (16-24).

But that is not all. Theocritus' "restart" of the *Argonautica* clearly recalls Apollonius' beginning of the Hylas episode, which also uses the ἤμος ... τῆμος construction, but to describe the time of the day when the Argonauts arrive in Mysia:³⁰⁶

ἤμος δ' ἀγρόθεν εἴσι φυτοσκάφος ἢ τις ἀροτρεὺς
ἀσπασίως εἰς αὐλιν ἐὴν δόρποιο χατίζων,
αὐτοῦ δ' ἐν προμολῇ τετρύμενα γούνατ' ἔκαμψεν
αὐσταλέος κονίησι, περιτριβέας δέ τε χεῖρας
εἰσορόων κακὰ πολλὰ ἐὴ ἡρέσατο γαστρί·
τῆμος ἄρ' οἳ γ' ἀφίκοντο Κιανίδος ἥθεα γαίης
ἀμφ' Ἀργανθώνειον ὄρος προχοάς τε Κίοιο.

Arg. 1.1172-8

At the hour when a gardener or plowman gladly leaves the field for his hut, longing for dinner, and there on the doorstep, caked with dust, he bends his weary knees and stares at his worn-out hands and heaps curses on his belly, then it was that they reached the homesteads of the Cianian land near the Arganthonian mountain and the mouth of the Cius river. (tr. Race)

The most important difference between the two beginnings is that Apollonius' passage constitutes the beginning of his Hylas episode, whereas that of Theocritus marks the beginning of the Argonautic expedition, and the almost immediate transition to Mysia suggests that Theocritus' "bucolic" *Argonautica* is about Hylas and Heracles.

As I have argued in the previous chapter, Apollonius used the Hylas episode, crucially placed at the end of the first book, to distance himself from the heroic-epic tradition, as symbolized by Heracles whose presence dominated the first book, and to align himself with Callimachean poetics, as symbolized by Hylas, thus revealing

³⁰⁶ Hunter 1999, 273 (on *Id.* 13.25-8).

the way the epic was destined to go. As Theocritus' bucolic poetry, which is also symbolized by Hylas, is Callimachean as well, the contrast between lines 16-24, dealing with Apollonius' *Argonautica*, and Theocritus' own version of the *Argonautica* in what follows does not, in my opinion, reveal an opposition, but rather a difference in focus between the two poets: Theocritus and Apollonius both have a Callimachean attitude towards heroic-epic poetry, but although the paths of both poets are "untrodden", they are nevertheless different, just as Apollonius' *Argonautica* and Callimachus' *Aetia* had different ways of obtaining the same goal.³⁰⁷ This interpretation of the intertextual contact between Apollonius' Hylas episode and *Idyll* 13 also explains why Theocritus would want to write a metapoetical commentary on his bucolic poetry in the form of a mythological "little epic", and not a bucolic poem: Theocritus shows his colleague and poetic rival Apollonius another way of writing Callimachean poetry by rewriting his Hylas episode and revealing its bucolic potential.³⁰⁸

3.4.2. The bucolic preparations

Theocritus' focus on landscape persists in the lines following the landing, which describe the preparation of the Argonauts for the night:

ἐκβάντες δ' ἐπὶ θῖνα κατὰ ζυγὰ δαῖτα πένοντο
 δειλινοί, πολλοὶ δὲ μίαν στορέσαντο χαμεύναν.
 λειμὼν γάρ σφιν ἔκειτο μέγα στιβάδεσσιν ὄνειαρ,
 ἔνθεν βούτομον ὅξυ βαθύν τ' ἐτάμοντο κύπειρον. Id. 13.32-5

They disembarked, and made their evening meal on the beach in pairs; but they prepared one sleeping-place for all, because there was a great store of stuff for their beds: a meadow, where they cut sharp sedge and ample galingale.
 (tr. Verity)

³⁰⁷ See Ch. 1, Section 3.5.

³⁰⁸ The intertextual contact between *Id.* 22 and Apollonius' Amycus episode, which opens *Arg.* 2 and immediately follows the Hylas episode, may point to a similar metapoetical dimension, especially because both passages are intertextually connected with both Apollonius' Hylas episode and *Id.* 13 (see Cuypers 1997, 22-8 for a survey). I hope to pursue this metapoetical dimension of *Id.* 22 elsewhere.

As Tränkle has shown, the meadow as a place to rest recalls passages from Theocritus' bucolic poems.³⁰⁹ In *Idyll* 5, Lacon proposes a meadow as the site for a singing competition to Comatas:

(...) ἄδιον ἄσῃ
τειδ' ὑπὸ τὰν κότινον καὶ τάλσεα ταῦτα καθίξας.
ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ τουτεὶ καταλείβεται ὥδε πεφύκει
ποία, χαῖ στιβάς ἄδε, καὶ ἀκρίδες ὥδε λαλεῦντι. Id. 5.31-4

Come and sit here in this grove, under this olive tree, and sing in more comfort.
Here water drips cool, there is grass for our couch, and grasshoppers sing.

The *locus amoenus* where Simichidas and his friends arrive at the end of *Idyll* 7 also features a meadow:³¹⁰

(...) αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν τε καὶ Εὐκρίτος ἐς Φρασιδάμῳ
στραφθέντες χῶ καλὸς Ἀμύντιχος ἔν τε βαθείαις
ἀδείας σχοίνοιο χαμευνίσιν ἐκλίνθημες
ἔν τε νεοτμάτοισι γεγαθότες οἶναρέοισι. Id. 7.131-4

Eucritus and I and pretty Amyntas turned aside to the farm of Phrasidamus, where we sank down with pleasure on deep-piled couches of sweet rushes, and vine leaves freshly stripped from the bush.

So the scene is very reminiscent of Theocritus' bucolic poems, and the narrative so far suggests that Theocritus has read the epic *Argonautica* through a bucolic lens. The metapoetical significance of this move will reveal itself in the following scene, where Heracles and Hylas are brought into contact with the meta-bucolic landscape.

³⁰⁹ Tränkle 1963b, 505. Cf. van Erp Taalman Kip 1994, 162, who speaks of a "bucolic style", and Hunter 1999, 275 (on *Id.* 13.32-3), who speaks of "bucolic preparations".

³¹⁰ See also below for the metapoetical landscape at the end of *Idyll* 7, which, incidentally, resembles the passage in *Id.* 5, as they both feature meadows (see above), trees (*Id.* 5.32 ~ *Id.* 7.135-6), water from a spring (*Id.* 5.33 ~ *Id.* 7.136-7) and singing insects (ἀκρίδες ... λαλεῦντι, *Id.* 5.34 ~ τέττιγες λαλαγεῦντες, *Id.* 7.139).

3.4.3. *Hylas, Heracles and the bucolic landscape*

When Hylas dips his pitcher in the spring, the nymphs grab him by the hand. The expression used to describe this event is noteworthy: ταὶ δ' ἐν χειρὶ παῖσαι ἔφυσαν, “they grew upon his hand” (47). Hunter remarks that although the phrase is a common epicism, Theocritus, triggering an etymological play between Ὑλας and ὕλη (“wood”),³¹¹ “gives a literal weight to the verb”, evoking “rationalising interpretations” of the myth, according to which Hylas is not really abducted by nymphs, but, for instance, lies “concealed in the vegetation”.³¹² Theocritus’ phrase thus suggests that Hylas lives up to his etymology and becomes part of a world in which he is very much at home. This is underlined at the end of the poem, where it is stated that Hylas’ drowning has made him divine (72). So is Hylas again contrasted with Heracles, who is not at all at home in the world of *Idyll* 13. This becomes painfully clear when, after Hylas has been abducted, transformed into a bucolic echo, the crazed Heracles wanders through the countryside in search of him:

νεβροῦ φθελγξαμένας τις ἐν οὐρεσιν ὠμοφάγος λῖς
 ἐξ εὐνᾶς ἔσπευσεν ἐτοιμοτάταν ἐπὶ δαῖτα·
 Ἡρακλῆς τοιοῦτος ἐν ἀτρίπτοις ἀκάνθαις
 παῖδα ποθῶν δεδόνητο, πολὺν δ' ἐπελάμβανε χῶρον.
 σχέτλιοι οἱ φιλέοντες, ἀλώμενος ὅσος ἐμόγησεν
 οὐρεα καὶ δρυμούς, τὰ δ' Ἰάσονος ὕστερα πάντ' ἦς. Id. 13.62-7

The flesh-eating lion hears a fawn calling in the hills and bounds from its lair to seek out a ready feast; so did Heracles rampage through untrodden thorn-brakes, covering vast tracts of land, in longing for the boy. How reckless lovers are! How he suffered, as he roamed over hills and through forests, and Jason’s expedition went clean from his mind. (tr. Verity)

In the light of the Callimachean context of these lines, the wording of this passage suggests that the landscape inhospitable to Heracles is also a metapoetical landscape.

³¹¹ See also Introduction, Section 2 for this etymological play on Ὑλας and ὕλη.

³¹² Hunter 1999, 279 (on *Id.* 13.47), who mentions as a parallel for this kind of rationalisation of the myth the version of the story by a certain Onasos (*FGrHist* 41) which triggered the common metonymy of νύμφη for “water” by making Hylas literally drown.

The untrodden thorns, for instance, recall the prologue to the *Aetia*, where Apollo concludes his advice to the young poet Callimachus with an appeal for originality and the hard work which it requires:

δίφρον ἐλ]ᾶν μηδ' οἶμον ἀνὰ πλατύν, ἀλλὰ κελεύθους
ἀτρίπτου, εἰ καὶ στενότερην ἐλάσεις. Aet. fr. 1.27-8 Pf.

Do not drive your chariot upon the common tracks of others, nor along a wide road, but on untrodden paths, though your course be more narrow.
(tr. Nisetich)

Apollo here combines the metaphor of the easy versus the difficult road with that of the paths of (original) poetry to characterize Callimachus' poetic aesthetics.³¹³ This combination of metaphors can also be found in *Idyll* 13. Although Heracles there takes the untrodden path of original, Callimachean poetry, he is also having a hard time, albeit not in the Callimachean sense: Heracles' path consists of thorns, which cause him pain and only emphasize his incongruity with Theocritus' poetical world.³¹⁴ This metapoetical dimension is underlined at the end of the description of Heracles' suffering, where it is stated that he should be somewhere else, helping Jason on his epic quest (67). A similar contrast was created a few lines earlier:

Ἀμφιτρωνιάδας δὲ ταρασσόμενος περὶ παιδί
ᾧχετο, Μαιωτιστὶ λαβὼν εὐκαμπέα τόξα
καὶ ῥόπαλον, τό οἱ αἰὲν ἐχάνδανε δεξιτερὰ χεῖρ. Id. 13.55-7

³¹³ See Harder 2010, II, on Aet. fr. 1.25-8, who also discusses Callimachus' model, Pindar's *Paeon* 7b 11ff., where Pindar may use the metaphor to claim originality by reference to Homer (see also Rutherford 2001, 247-9), which would imply that Callimachus, in accordance with the end of the *Hymn to Apollo*, is doing the same.

³¹⁴ Cf. Mastronarde 1968, 279. See Seiler 1997, 19-20 for the Callimachean ideal of poetic πόνος in general, and 146 for an example in Theocritus (*Id.* 7). This metapoetical interpretation of Heracles' (ironically Callimachean) suffering is reinforced by the fact that the hero is the prototypical example of someone making the choice between the easy and the difficult road. See e.g. Harder 2010, II, on Aet. fr. 1.25-8, discussing Xen. *Mem.* 2.1.21ff., the story of Heracles at the cross-roads. Heracles seems to make a similarly painful, metapoetical journey at the beginning of *Aetia* 3, by seemingly passing through "a wilderness of thorns" (*SH* 257.13: σκῶλος μοι ...; tr. Nisetich) to reach Molorcus' farm, in an episode that can be seen as very "Callimachean", as it constitutes the climax of Heracles' gradual transformation into a Callimachean hero (see Ambühl 2004, quoted on p. 67 above). This interesting parallel was brought to my attention by Professor Harder.

But Amphytryon's son, disturbed at the boy's delay, set off holding his bow with the Scythian curve and the club he always grasped in his right hand.
(tr. Verity)

Immediately after the abduction of Hylas, Heracles, introduced with the epic-sounding epithet/patronymic Ἀμφιτρωνιάδας, arms himself for his usual kind of epic fight, but the weapons will be of no avail in this world.³¹⁵

As with Hylas himself, the landscape in which Heracles is suffering is not only Callimachean, but also more specifically bucolic. The thorns (ἀκάνθαις, 64), as well as the spring and the nymphs, recall the description of the *locus amoenus* at the end of *Idyll* 7, which can be read as an allegory of Theocritus' bucolic poetry:³¹⁶

πολλὰ δ' ἄμμιν ὑπερθε κατὰ κρατὸς δονέοντο
αἴγριοι πετέλαι τε· τὸ δ' ἐγγύθεν ἱερὸν ὕδωρ
Νυμφᾶν ἐξ ἄντροιο κατειβόμενον κελάρυζε.
τοὶ δὲ ποτὶ σκιαραῖς ὀροδαμνίσιν αἰθαλίῳνες
τέττιγες λαλαγεῦντες ἔχον πόνον· ἃ δ' ὀλολυγῶν
τηλόθεν ἐν πυκιναῖσι βάτων τρύζεσκεν ἀκάνθαις·
ἄειδον κόρυδοι καὶ ἀκανθίδες, ἔστενε τρυγῶν,
πτῶντο ξουθαὶ περὶ πίδακας ἀμφὶ μέλισσαι.

Id. 7.135-42

Above us was the constant quiet movement of elm and poplar, and from the cave of the Nymphs nearby the sacred water ran with a bubbling sound as it fell. Soot-black cicadas chattered relentlessly on shady branches, and the muttering of tree-frogs rose far off from the impenetrable thorn bush. Lark and finches were singing, the turtle-dove moaned, and bees hummed and darted about the springs. (tr. Verity)

This landscape features animals, trees, a spring and nymphs with clear Callimachean and bucolic associations through allusion to programmatic passages elsewhere in Theocritus and Callimachus.³¹⁷ Because of their presence in this metapoetical

³¹⁵ As Dr. Cuypers suggests to me, the patronymic here emphasizes Heracles' mortality by reference to his mortal father. Thus, although the epic word associates him with the heroic world in which he is at home, in this context it also ironically reveals that Heracles is not his heroic self in this poem, but has become an ordinary human being.

³¹⁶ See e.g. Pearce 1988; Hunter 1999, 192-3.

³¹⁷ *Animals*: For the cicada (139) as an emblem of the Callimachean poet, see n. 245 above. The standard interpretation of ἃ ὀλολυγῶν (139) is that it concerns a frog (see Gow 1950, II, 165, ad loc.). For frogs

landscape, the thorns (ἀκάνθαις, 140) also acquire a metapoetical meaning, which is underlined by the etymological play with the ἀκανθίδες (“finches” or “linnets”) in the next line, which evoke Callimachean poetics.³¹⁸ The meta-bucolic ring of the thorns in *Idyll* 13 is further reinforced by their presence – along with the mountains (οὐρεα, 67) and thickets (δρυμούς, 67) through which Heracles is wandering – in another landscape with similar metapoetical associations, that of the dying Daphnis in *Idyll* 1:

ὦ λύκοι, ὦ θῶες, ὦ ἀν' ὤρεα φωλάδες ἄρκτοι,
χαίρεθ'· ὁ βουκόλος ὑμῖν ἐγὼ Δάφνις οὐκέτ' ἀν' ὕλαν,
οὐκέτ' ἀνὰ δρυμῶς, οὐκ ἄλσεα, χαῖρ', Ἀρέθοισα,
καὶ ποταμοὶ τοὶ χεῖτε καλὸν κατὰ Θύβριδος ὕδωρ.
(...)
νῦν ἴα μὲν φορέοιτε βᾶτοι, φορέοιτε δ' ἄκανθαι
ἀ δὲ καλὰ νάρκισσος ἐπ' ἀρκεύθοισι κομάσαι

Id. 1.115-8; 132-3

in a programmatic context, see also *Id.* 7.41 (discussed on p. 86 above). See, however, White 1979, 9-16 and Hunter 1999, 194 (on *Id.* 7.139), who argue that by ὀλολυγών a nightingale is meant, a bird which is associated with beautiful sound and is thus probably a better candidate in this Callimachean context. The song of the κόρυδος, “(crested) lark”, is usually not commented on in a positive way, but Marcellus Empiricus (quoted by Gow 1950, II, ad loc.) says that the *corydalus avis* “pleases people’s minds with the sweetness of its voice” (*animos hominum dulcedine vocis oblectat*). For the ἀκανθίς (“finch”/“linnet”), see the next note. *Trees*: The poplar is a symbol of Callimachean poetics in Call. *H. Dem.* (Müller 1987; Murray 2004, discussed in Ch. 1, Section 3.2.1). *Springs and bees*: The ἱερὸν ὕδωρ (136), πίδακας (142) and μέλισσαι (142) acquire metapoetical meaning through the intertextual contact with Callimachus’ poetic manifesto at the end of the *Hymn to Apollo* (μέλισσαι, 110), πίδακος ἐξ ἱερῆς, 112). For the nymphs who are invoked a few lines later (148) and who act as Theocritus’ “bucolic Muses”, see Section 3.4.4 below. See also e.g. Lawall 1967, 102-6, Kyriakou 1995, 216-31 and Seiler 1997, 145-51 for the metapoetical dimension of the scene.

³¹⁸ The voice of the ἀκανθίς, “finch”/“linnet” is λιγυρά according to Aristotle (*HA* 616^b32), a word which also has Callimachean associations (cf. pp. 83-5 above). The metapoetical dimension of the thorns may be reinforced by a poem (*AP* 11.321) of Philip of Thessalonica (1st or 2nd cent. AD), in which he attacks learned *grammatikoi*, “picking up Callimachus’ literary terms and images and hammering them into weapons” (DeForest 1994, 33). The poem, for instance, parodies the *Aetia* prologue, by denoting the “Callimachean” *grammatikoi* as Telchines and describing them as “grumbling” at the works of others (κατατρύζοντες, 7 ~ ἐπιτρύζουσιν, *Aetia*, fr. 1.1 Pf.), but also associates them with thorns: γραμματικοὶ Μώμου, στυγίου τέκνα, σῆτες ἀκανθῶν, | τελχίνες βίβλων ... (“*Grammatikoi*, children of Stygian Momus, worms feeding on thorns, Telchines of books.”; tr. DeForest 1994). As DeForest 1994, 33 explains: “Callimachus likens his poetry to the the song of the cricket (*Ait.* 1.29), which was proverbially sweet. His contemporary, Leonidas of Tarentum, describes the cricket as ‘treading on the thorn’ (*AP* 7.198). Philip changes the insect from cricket to book-worm and gives it the diet of thorns because scholars busy themselves with ‘thorny’ problems.”

Farewell you wolves and jackals, farewell you bears that lurk in the mountains.
No more will Daphnis the cowherd haunt your thickets, woods and groves.
Farewell, Arethusa, and you streams whose bright waters pour down Thybris'
side. (...) Now, you thorns and brambles, bring forth violets, and let the lovely
narcissus flower on the juniper. (tr. Verity)

These similarities in landscape and the parallels between Hylas and Daphnis already discussed reinforce the intertextual contact between *Idylls* 1 and 13, through which the mention of ὕλαν (1.116) becomes very suggestive. Has what was only hinted at in *Idyll* 13 here reality? Is Hylas actually a piece of wood and thus part of Theocritus' bucolic landscape? This interpretation is supported by the mention of the narcissus in line 133. The mythological figure with the same name is very similar to Daphnis in his self-absorption, and his myth is a subtext in Thyrsis' song in *Idyll* 1.³¹⁹ The flower mentioned thus clearly evokes its mythological counterpart. This context suggests that ὕλαν a few lines earlier evokes Hylas, a figure similar to both Daphnis and Narcissus.³²⁰

3.4.4. *Bucolic nymphs and Callimachean springs*

The nymphs in *Idyll* 13 can also be read in a metapoetical way, although there are no allusions to any programmatic passage to support this. In Theocritus' bucolic *Idyll* 7, however, as we have already seen, Theocritus' poetical *alter ego* Simichidas replaces Hesiod's Muses with "rustic" nymphs (92). A few lines later in the same poem, in the metapoetical *locus amoenus*, Simichidas again regards the nymphs as his (and Theocritus') "bucolic Muses", by invoking the nymphs of the Castalian spring in Delphi because of their association with Apollo (148).³²¹ Given the status of the Nymphs in this meta-bucolic poem as well as in *Idyll* 1,³²² and given the bucolic

³¹⁹ See Zimmerman 1994 for the way in which *Idyll* 1 evokes the Narcissus myth.

³²⁰ See Ch. 3, Section 6.2 for Propertius' Narcissus-like Hylas, and Ch. 4, Section 5.1 for the similarities between Valerius' Hylas and Ovid's Narcissus.

³²¹ Hunter 1999, 197 (on *Id.* 7.148). See also Fantuzzi 2000 for the way in which Theocritus associates his mythological poetry with the Muses and his bucolic poetry with the nymphs.

³²² See Hunter 1999, 87-8 on *Id.* 1.66-9. See also p. 106 with n. 317 above.

character of the landscape of *Idyll* 13 already established by the intertextual contact with these poems, it is reasonable to extend the metapoetical dimension of the landscape of *Idyll* 13 to the nymphs. That these goddesses also function as Muses of Theocritus' poetry in the Hylas poem is reinforced by their rural designation as δειναὶ θεαὶ ἀγροιώταις ("feared by countryfolk", 44).³²³

As in the case of the nymphs, there are no obvious allusions to suggest a metapoetical reading of the abode of the nymphs, i.e. the spring. Nevertheless, in the context of the anti-heroic, Callimachean character of the landscape already established in lines 25-35 (see above), no further hint is needed to associate the water of the secluded spring, inhabited by bucolic nymphs, with Callimachean poetics, for the association of water with poetry is very common in antiquity, and Callimachus had of course famously symbolized his poetics in terms of the pure water from a secluded spring in his *Hymn to Apollo* and *Epigram* 28.³²⁴ A hint is to be found, however; for in the *locus amoenus* of *Idyll* 7, with which the meta-bucolic landscape of *Idyll* 13 is intertextually connected, Theocritus clearly associates the water (and the nymphs) with Callimachean poetics.³²⁵ The ἱερὸν ὕδωρ ("holy water") that flows from the cave of the nymphs (136-7, quoted above),³²⁶ as well as the bees flying round the springs a few lines later (πρωτῶντο ξουθαὶ περὶ πίδακας ἀμφὶ μέλισσαι, 142) recall the already discussed programmatic ending of Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*:³²⁷

Δηοῖ δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὕδωρ φορέουσι μέλισσαι,
ἀλλ' ἥτις καθαρή τε καὶ ἀχράαντος ἀνέρπει
πίδακος ἐξ ἱερῆς ὀλίγη λιβάς ἄκρον ἄωτον.

H. Ap. 110-12

³²³ The name of only one of the three nymph, Μαλὶς ("apple-tree") also fits the bucolic landscape. As Hunter 1999, 278 (on *Id.* 13.45) notes, "It is not unlikely that T. had some source for these three names". Could this be Callimachus' *On Nymphs*?

³²⁴ See Ch. 1, Section 2.5 for text, translation and interpretation of Callimachus' *H. Ap.* and *Ep.* 28.

³²⁵ See also pp. 106-7 with n. 317 above.

³²⁶ Cf. *Idyll* 1.66-9, where ἱερὸν ὕδωρ (69) is also associated with nymphs, as a place where they are used to dwell.

³²⁷ Cf. also Hunter 1999, 195 (on *Id.* 7.142): "this unparalleled use of the double preposition both evokes the apparently random darting of the bees *around* the spring, and again calls attention to its own artifice".

The bees bring water to Deo not from every source but where it bubbles up pure and undefiled from a holy spring, its very essence. (tr. Nisetich)

The suggestion of remoteness of the spring in *Idyll* 13 (ἡμένω ἐν χώρῳ, “in a low-lying place”, 40) in this context also recalls the holy spring from the *Hymn to Apollo*, but in particular Callimachus’ rejection of the public fountain in *Epigram* 28.3-4: οὐδ’ ἀπὸ κοίτης | πίνω (“and I do not drink from the public fountain”). This implicit metapoetical significance seen in the spring in *Idyll* 13 is supported by at least one ancient reading, which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.³²⁸ In his elegiac Hylas poem, which is modelled on *Idyll* 13, Propertius clearly alludes to Callimachus’ “pure” and “undefiled” water/poetry in the *Hymn to Apollo* (compare the underlinings), as well as to the secluded spring preferred by Callimachus, particularly in *Epigram* 28.3-4 (cf. *sepositi*, in bold below),³²⁹ interpreting Theocritus’ spring as symbolic of Callimachean poetics:

at comes invicti iuvenis processerat ultra
raram **sepositi** quaerere fontis aquam. Prop. 1.20.23-4

The squire of the invincible hero had gone further afield, to seek the choice water of a secluded spring. (tr. Heyworth)

The Callimachean nature of Theocritus’ spring is reinforced by the way Hylas’ fall in the spring is described:

(...) κατήριπε δ’ ἐς μέλαν ὕδωρ
 ἀθρόος, ὥς ὅτε πυρσὸς ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ ἥριπεν ἀστηρ
 ἀθρόος, ἐν πόντῳ (...) Id. 13.49-51

Down he fell with a rush into the dark pool, just as a shooting star falls with a rush into the sea. (tr. Verity)

³²⁸ Ch. 3, Section 7.1. Cf. Ch. 1, Section 3.3.

³²⁹ Petrain 2000, 413-4.

This passage seems to allude to a Homeric simile that occurs twice in the *Iliad*, comparing the deaths on the battlefield of Asius and Sarpedon respectively:³³⁰

ἤριπε δ', ὥς ὅτε τις δοῦς ἤριπεν ἢ ἀχερωΐς
ἡὲ πίτυς βλωθρή, τήν τ' οὐρεσι τέκτονες ἄνδρες
ἐξέταμον πελέκεσσι νεήκεσι νηϊον εἶναι. Il. 13.389-91 = 16.482-4

And he fell, as an oak falls or a poplar or a tall pine, that among the mountains shipwrights fell with wetted axes to be a ship's timber. (tr. Murray & Wyatt)

As Hylas' abduction can be regarded as a kind of death, the allusion at first sight seems very apt. As with the allusions to the *Iliad* a few lines later (58-9; see Section 3.1 above), however, which associate Heracles with Odysseus, wounded on the battlefield, the allusion only highlights the difference between the Homeric and the Theocritean situations. Contrary to the dying epic warriors, the unheroic, bucolic Hylas, who is united with the Callimachean spring, is deified.

3.5. *Heracles and Polyphemus*

The meta-bucolic reading of *Idyll* 13 proposed here is reinforced by the clear intertextual contact between this poem and the other love poem addressed to Nicias, *Idyll* 11.³³¹ On the one hand, the love song of the shepherd-singer Polyphemus has clear affinities with Theocritus' bucolic poems.³³² On the other hand, the poem, which did not feature in the early ancient collections of Theocritus' bucolic poems,³³³ does not use bucolic terminology and deals with an epic mythological character.³³⁴ Theocritus' focusing on the "bucolic" aspects of Homer and taking a Homeric element out of the heroic-epic context and placing it in the bucolic world of love is

³³⁰ See also Campbell 1990, 115-6; van Erp Taalman Kip 1994, 164-5 for this allusion.

³³¹ See e.g. Gutzwiller 1991, 107-8 on this contact.

³³² Cf. Hunter 1999, 218: "(...) many aspects of the poem (e.g. the claim to skill on the syrinx in 38, the remarkable mixture of animals in 40-1) gain added point if viewed in the light of 'bucolic conventions', and Damoitas and Daphnis in *Idyll* 6 treat Polyphemus and Galatea as a mythical story with parallels to their own situation."

³³³ See Gutzwiller 1996 for a thorough analysis of the evidence for ancient collections of Theocritus.

³³⁴ See e.g. Gutzwiller 1991, 105-15 and Hunter 1999, 217-8 on the bucolic status of *Idyll* 11.

characteristic of his Callimachean bucolic poetry. In Theocritus' bucolic poems, however, this "heroic inversion" is handled in an allusive way from *within* the bucolic world, which is sealed off from the heroic-epic world of Homer. The elaborately described ivy cup in *Idyll* 1, for instance, clearly alludes to the *Iliad*, but the object belongs to the bucolic world in which it features. The Cyclops in *Idyll* 11, however, is clearly not part of the bucolic world. As in *Idyll* 13, the poem's protagonist is torn out his usual epic context and placed in an unfamiliar, bucolic context of love. It is therefore appropriate enough that the displaced heroic characters of Heracles and Polyphemus are intertextually related, and that the points of contact highlight the contrast with their poetic context. When Heracles, for instance, is said to love a boy (ἤρατο παιδός, 6), the contrast with his usual, heroic activities is immediately made clear, because the first part of the line mentions the hero defeating the Nemean lion (ὅς τὸν λῖν ὑπέμεινε τὸν ἄγριον). At the beginning of *Idyll* 11, something similar occurs. Polyphemus is said to love a girl (ἤρατο τᾶς Γαλατείας, 8), which is at odds with the behaviour of Polyphemus "of old times", as is stated in the first part of the line (ὠρχαῖος Πολύφαιμος).³³⁵ Later in *Idyll* 13, the presence of Heracles in an unfamiliar poetical world is emphasized by the mention of his neglected epic duties (ὅσπερ πάντ' ἦς, 67). Similarly, the Cyclops is also not fulfilling his usual duties in this new poetic context:³³⁶ ἀγεῖτο δὲ πάντα πάρεργα ("he regarded everything as secondary", 11).³³⁷

³³⁵ Cf. Mastronarde 1968, 289; Gutzwiller 1991, 107.

³³⁶ It seems somewhat ironic that by the very neglect of his activities as a shepherd, Polyphemus resembles a bucolic poet. This only serves to underline the difference between Theocritus' Callimachean bucolic poetry and Homer's bucolic elements, however, which are just "leftovers" of his heroic poetry. Cf. Ch. 1, Section 3.2.3, where Heracles is also associated with Polyphemus to reveal that he does not fit Apollonius' Callimachean epic.

³³⁷ Heracles is also associated with the Polyphemus of the *Odyssey* through allusion. In line 58, for instance, ἤρῳγε, recalls Polyphemus, who after his final meal "vomited in his drunken sleep" (ὁ δ' ἐρεύγετο οἶνοβαρείων, *Od.* 9.374). As Hunter 1999, 283 (on *Id.* 13.58) argues: "Lexica distinguish two senses of ἐρεύγεσθαι, 'belch', 'disgorge' and 'bellow', 'roar, but here both are relevant: Herakles' gluttonous throat was notoriously deep (...), and although the verb is not necessarily coarse in Hellenistic Greek, here it may suggest a likeness between Herakles and the Cyclops (...)." See also Hunter 1999, 276 (on *Id.* 13.36), 282 (on *Id.* 13.56-7), 283 (on *Id.* 13.58) for parallels. It is interesting, incidentally, that Simichidas mentions both Heracles and Polyphemus when addressing the nymphs

So, both poems seem to comment metapoetically on Theocritus' bucolic poetry. The fact that both poems are framed by addresses by Theocritus' poetic persona to his fellow poet Nicias also suggests that two poets are discussing poetry in these two poems. That this metapoetical similarity between these poems has escaped the attention of scholars, is probably due to the different narratological situations of the poems, and the different effects these create.³³⁸ Because Polyphemus' song, the main part of *Idyll* 11, is presented in direct speech, the effect that the poem creates is dramatic irony. The mythological narrative of Heracles and Hylas, however, is told entirely by Theocritus' poetical persona. Although Heracles is also made ridiculous in this poem because of his unfamiliarity with love, the humour has a different, less prominent, but more mordent in tone.

3.6. *Hylas, Polyphemus and Theocritus*

Through the direct speech in *Idyll* 11, the personae of the bucolic poets Theocritus and Polyphemus merge; Polyphemus' song, with its ironical allusions to the *Odyssey*, is also Theocritus' song, and this identification can also be read metapoetically:

(...) [T]he Cyclops is trapped in the language, not just of Homer, but of Odysseus. T.'s creation is forced to express himself with words and phrases which prove already loaded against him, even where they do not refer specifically to *Odyssey* 9 (...). He is a pathetic victim of poetic tradition, who functions as a (comic) paradigm for the position of the dactylic poet in a post-Homeric world; T. too is 'trapped' by the weight of tradition which accompanies his verse, and he too is bound to 'lose' to Homer, as Polyphemus does to Odysseus.³³⁹

in the highly meta-bucolic context at the end of *Id.* 7 (150, 152). After analysing *Id.* 11 and *Id.* 13, I have the impression that these epic characters are mentioned to illustrate the power of bucolic poetry, which can even subdue them. This seems most clear in the case of Polyphemus: see *Id.* 7.151-2: ἄρα γέ πα τήνον τὸν ποιμένα τὸν ποτ' Ἀνάπῳ, | τὸν κρατερὸν Πολύφαμον, ὃς ὥρεσι νᾶας ἔβαλλε, with the translation/interpretation of Gow 1950, I: "Was it such nectar that set that shepherd by the Anapus dancing among his sheepfolds, even the mighty Polyphemus, who pelted ships with mountains?" (the italics are mine).

³³⁸ See Payne 2007, 82-91 for an analysis of the different narratological strategies in these poems.

³³⁹ Hunter 1999, 219.

Although the metapoetical messages of *Idylls* 11 and 13 are similar in many respects, the different narratological situation of the Hylas poem creates a different identification of poet and character. Through the allusions to the *Iliad*, Heracles is associated with Homer, or rather his heroic-epic poetry, and the unfamiliar, bucolic situation in which the hero ends up symbolizes the distance between Theocritus' bucolic poetry and Homer's heroic epic. But whereas *Idyll* 11 suggests a comical identification between Theocritus and the Cyclops, Theocritus associates himself with the Callimachean, bucolic παῖς Hylas in *Idyll* 13. As in *Idyll* 11, however, the contrast set up between Homer and Theocritus does not imply opposition. Theocritus' bucolic poetry has its origin in Homer, which seems to be acknowledged early in the poem:

καί νιν πάντ' ἐδίδασκε, πατήρ ὥσεί φίλον υἱόν,
 ὅσσα μαθὼν ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἀοίδιμος αὐτὸς ἔγεντο
 χωρὶς δ' οὐδέποκ' ἦς, οὔτ' εἰ μέσον ἄμαρ ὄροιτο,
 οὔθ' ὅπόχ' ἄλεύκιππος ἀνατρέχοι ἐς Διὸς Ἀώς,
 οὔθ' ὅπόχ' ὀρτάλιχοι μινυροὶ ποτὶ κοῖτον ὀρῶεν,
 σεισαμένας πτερὰ ματρὸς ἐπ' αἰθαλόεντι πετεύρῳ,
 ὥς αὐτῷ κατὰ θυμὸν ὁ παῖς πεποναμένος εἶη,
 αὐτῷ δ' εὖ ἔλκων ἐς ἀλαθινὸν ἄνδρ' ἀποβαίη.

Id. 13.8-15

Just as father to son, Heracles taught him the lessons which had brought him nobility and renown in song. They were never apart, neither at noonday nor when Dawn's white horses flew up into the sky, or when clucking chickens looked to their rest while their mother shook her wings on her soot-black perch. Thus he hoped the boy would be trained after his own mind, and by his efforts reach the state of true manhood. (tr. Verity)

The relationship between Heracles and Hylas is like that between a father and a son, a teacher and a pupil. A metapoetical reading of these lines is not just made possible after a complete reading of the poem, for, as we have seen, the preceding lines 5-7 (quoted in Section 1) already set up a contrast between Heracles and Hylas, which opens the meta-bucolic dimension of the poem. But the passage itself also suggests a

metaliterary interpretation of the relationship.³⁴⁰ As Hunter comments, ἀοίδιμος (9) “suggests that Herakles’ intention was to make Hylas the ‘subject of song’, as he himself was; (...) T. showed that, in this at least, Herakles was successful, though not in the way he planned”.³⁴¹ Heracles wants Hylas to become an epic hero, like himself, but in fact, by virtue of being deified, he will become an at least not inferior, bucolic hero.

The possibility of reading these lines in terms of the relationship between Theocritus and Homer is strengthened by an allusion to *Iliad* 6.358, the only occurrence of ἀοίδιμος in Homer, where Helen speaks of Paris and herself as ἀοίδιμοι, “subjects of song”. As the scholia note, Homer here “subtly glorifies his poem”.³⁴² Theocritus aptly uses the same word (*Id.* 13.9) to express the wish of Heracles (≈ Homer) for Hylas (≈ Theocritus), but although heavily influenced by the great epic poet, the bucolic poet will in fact go his own way.³⁴³

3.7. From heroic to bucolic: the separation of Heracles and Hylas

Theocritus’ statement that Heracles and Hylas were never apart (*Id.* 13.10), is elaborated in a tricolon that, from a metapoetical point of view, undercuts the statement itself. Whereas the lengthy division of the day into three parts, as well as the wording of the first two parts, sounds very epic, and Homeric in particular,³⁴⁴ the un-Homeric longest third part, describing a rustic scene with the hen and her chickens, comes as a surprise and constitutes a separation from Homer’s heroic

³⁴⁰ Cf. Ch. 4, Sections 6 and 7, where I argue that Valerius Flaccus and Statius also use the relationship of Hylas and Hercules metapoetically to describe their own poetry in relation to a great epic predecessor, in this case the Roman Homer: Virgil.

³⁴¹ Hunter 1999, 269 (on *Id.* 13.9).

³⁴² *Ibidem*.

³⁴³ This interpretation is strengthened by the pervasive importance of the theme of “poetic succession” in Theocritus’ bucolic poetry, on which see Hubbard 1998, 19-44 (Ch. 1: “Poetic succession and the genesis of Alexandrian bucolic”).

³⁴⁴ Cf. e.g. *Il.* 21.111f.: ἔσσεται ἢ ἥως ἢ δειλὴ ἢ μέσον ἡμῶν, ἢ ὀππότε ... (“There shall come a dawn or eve or midday, when...”). See also Hunter 1999, 269-70 (on *Id.* 13.10b-13).

world.³⁴⁵ Ironically, the words *χωρὶς δ' οὐδέ ποκ' ἦς* ("and he was never separated from him", 10) thus already suggest that Heracles and Hylas will not be together much longer.

Hylas/Theocritus' separation from the heroic world continues in the rest of the poem. After describing half of Apollonius' *Argonautica* in lines 16-24, Theocritus continues to write his own Callimachean, bucolic "epic" in what follows; it culminates in Hylas' abduction by the nymphs, which ends his relationship with Heracles. Although this relationship is described as one between father and son, and teacher and pupil, the poem also clearly suggests that Heracles loves Hylas as an *erastes*, which, of course, also includes the roles of parent and teacher. This love can also be interpreted metapoetically. In his meta-bucolic *Idylls* 1 and 7, Theocritus, following Callimachus, states that he wants to write un-heroic poetry that distances itself from Homer, but is nevertheless sanctioned by the poet (see Sections 2.2 and 2.3 above). Homer can thus be said to love his poetic "offspring". But the difference between the two kinds of poetry is great. It would only become greater as it developed, and there comes a moment when a pederastic relationship has to end. As we have seen in the previous chapter, Apollonius associated the pederastic relationship between Heracles and Hylas with Achilles and Patroclus, and thus with the Homeric world, which he regarded as outdated. Theocritus seems to take over this idea from his Callimachean colleague. When Hylas is metamorphosed into an echo, is deified and has left his heroic *erastes* Heracles behind for good in exchange for bucolic nymphs, and when the heroic Heracles is mocked as a "ship deserter",³⁴⁶ the separation between Heracles and Hylas is complete. So the poem, which can be

³⁴⁵ Cf. Gow 1950, II, 234 (on *Id.* 13.13): "The homely picture of the hen settling for the night and the chickens about to follow her to roost has charm, but is consorts somewhat oddly both with its heroic setting and with the chariot of Dawn in the preceding line."

³⁴⁶ Cf. Hunter 1999, 288 (on *Id.* 13.74): "The word-play *Ἡρακλέην ... ἥρωες ... ἥρώησε* seems to 'mock' Herakles, just as the Argonauts did". According to my interpretation, this play would also mock the incongruity of the heroic poetry that Heracles stands for within Theocritus' Callimachean bucolic world.

read as Hylas' initiation into manhood,³⁴⁷ can also be seen as an allegory of Theocritus' origin and development as a bucolic poet, finding his own poetic, Callimachean niche in relation to Homer's heroic-epic poetry.

³⁴⁷ See Introduction, 2, with n. 5.

CHAPTER 3

ELEGIAC HYLAS: PROPERTIUS 1.20

Non puto ullam extare Elegiam vexatiorem in toto Latio.
Broukhusius 1727, 82

1. Introduction

The peculiarity of Propertius 1.20 raises as many questions today as it did three centuries ago. Whereas the preceding poems in book 1 all deal with heterosexual love, and in particular the speaker's passion for Cynthia, elegy 1.20, the longest poem in the book, is about a certain Gallus' love for a boy. Another striking feature of the poem is the mythological exemplum, a retelling of the story of Hercules and Hylas. Although the elegiac topos of the poet as *praeceptor amoris*, "teacher in love", is common enough in book 1, the story told in this poem to warn Gallus to keep an eye on his love, is much longer than any other mythological passage in Propertius' first book. Scholars have also often commented on the language and style of the poem, which is "quite unlike anything in the rest of the book",³⁴⁸ and have been puzzled by its "conspicuous position near the end of the book".³⁴⁹

In this chapter, I shall attempt to find a way through the *impasse* by means of a sustained metapoetical reading of the whole poem. My premise will be that behind Gallus the addressee lies a version of Propertius' most important Roman elegiac predecessor, C. Cornelius Gallus. Recognizing the hitherto undervalued importance of Theocritus' meta-bucolic *Idyll* 13 and Virgil's *Eclogues* as intertexts, I will argue that Propertius, in a poem that constitutes the climax in a series of poems dealing

³⁴⁸ Hubbard 1975, 37.

³⁴⁹ Hubbard 1975, 40.

with Gallus, not only outdoes a rival for elegiac supremacy, but is also able to transform Virgil's bucolic world into elegiacs.

2. An elegiac warning

In his elegy 1.20, Propertius tells his addressee, one Gallus, the story of Hylas and Hercules to warn him and impress upon him a point formulated in line 3: *saepe imprudenti fortuna occurrit amanti*. "Often cruel fortune has run up against the careless lover." (tr. Heyworth) As Hercules should have done, Gallus is to take care of his love, who is apparently also called Hylas and is as beautiful as Hercules' mythological beloved:³⁵⁰

est tibi non infra specie, non nomine dispar,
Theiodamanteo proximus ardor Hylae. Prop. 1.20.5-6

Your flame resembles Hylas, son of Theodamas, not inferior to his beauty, not unlike in name. (tr. Goold)

Propertius continues his warning in lines 7-12: when Gallus is visiting fashionable Italian holiday resorts, like the shores of the Anio in Tibur and Baiae on the bay of Naples, he should protect his Hylas against "nymphs", female predators, whose love matches that of the Greek nymphs in the myth:

hunc tu sive leges umbrosae* flumina silvae,
sive Aniena tuos tinxerit unda pedes,
sive Gigantei spatia litoris ora,
sive ubicumque vago fluminis hospitio,
nympharum semper cupidas defende rapinas
(non minor Ausoniis est amor Adryasin), Prop. 1.20.7-12

* umbrosae Ω: Umbrae sacra Hoefft

³⁵⁰ In principle, I follow the new Oxford Classical Text of Propertius, Heyworth 2007a. Divergences from this edition (except for minor alterations in orthography and punctuation) are marked by an asterisk, referring to my select apparatus.

Him, whether you skirt the streams of a shadowy forest, or the water of the Anio wets your feet, or you stride on the edge of the Giants' shore, or wherever you are in the meandering hospitality of a river, you should always protect from the lustful abduction of nymphs (no less is the love of the Italian Adryades). (tr. Heyworth, adapted)

If Gallus does not keep a close eye on his Hylas, Propertius continues in lines 13-16, he is doomed to wander in the wild in agony, like Hercules:

ne tibi sit duros montes et frigida saxa
Galle, neque expertos semper adire lacus
quae miser ignotis error perpessus in oris
Herculis indomito fleverat Ascanio. Prop. 1.20.13-6

lest it be your lot always to approach harsh mountains and chill rocks, and lakes not tried before, Gallus. These things were endured by the unhappy wandering of Hercules in foreign lands and he wept long ago to the unrelenting Ascanius. (tr. Heyworth)

In the greater part of the poem, lines 17-50, Propertius then presents his own version of the Hylas myth as a cautionary *exemplum*. In the final two lines, Propertius returns to his addressee once more:

his, o Galle, tuos monitus servabis amores,*
formosum nymphis credere visus* Hylan. Prop. 1.20.51-2

lac. post 51 Heyworth: visus Ω: rursus ζ

Warned by this story, Gallus, you will keep your love safe, you who have been seen to entrust beautiful Hylas to nymphs. (tr. Heyworth, adapted)

So in this poem, Propertius acts as the characteristic *praeceptor amoris* ("teacher in love") of Roman love elegy.³⁵¹ The phrasing of the warning here at the end (*his ... monitis*), as well as at the very start of the poem (*hoc ... monemus*), alludes to the end

³⁵¹ Cf. Bramble 1974, 87. For the *praeceptor amoris* as a topos of Roman love elegy, and more specifically in Propertius' first book, see e.g. Wheeler 1910; 1911.

of the programmatic first poem of the book, where the poet sends out a warning too:³⁵²

hoc, moneo, vitate malum: sua quemque moretur
cura, neque assueto mutet amore locum.
quod si quis **monitis** tardas adverterit aures,
heu, referet quanto verba dolore mea! Prop. 1.1.35-8

I warn you, avoid this pain: let each remain with his true love and not change places when love has grown familiar. But if anyone is slow to turn his ears to this warning, alas with what pain shall he recall my words. (tr. Heyworth)

Poem 1.20 thus immediately stakes its claim to be a love elegy, and this is further developed in what follows. First of all, references to places that actually exist (Tibur, Baiae), in lines 7-9, are characteristic of Roman love elegy. Unlike Virgil's bucolic poetry, which is situated in a fictionalized countryside, Roman elegy presents itself as urban poetry situated in the "real" world.³⁵³ In *Eclogue* 10, Virgil even opposes these (in many ways quite similar) genres to each other in order to explore their boundaries (in Conte's words).³⁵⁴ The elegiac nature of Propertius' lines on the Roman holiday resorts is reinforced by the appearance of Baiae in a more typical love elegy earlier in the book, in poem 11, where Cynthia's presence in the resort causes Propertius' persona, who has always kept a close eye on his beloved, to be afraid of losing her to rivals.³⁵⁵ Apart from the clear thematic connection, the intertextual contact between the two poems is strengthened by the resonance at 1.20.22, in the

³⁵² The programmatic dimension of Prop. 1.1 is discussed by e.g. Commager 1974, 21-36; Ross 1975, 59-70; Zetzel 1996, 86-9; Booth 2001a; Miller 2004, 85-90; Cairns 2006, 110-2. For the intertextual contact between poems 1.1 and 1.20, see Eckert 1985, 180-1; Petrain 2000, 420-1.

³⁵³ See e.g. Conte 1986, 106-29 on what he calls the interaction between the bucolic and the elegiac code. Cf. Veyne 1988, 101-15 (Ch. 7: "The pastoral in city clothes").

³⁵⁴ Conte 1986, 129-40 on the confrontation of bucolic and elegiac poetry in *Ecl.* 10, e.g. p. 126: "The eclogue's metaliterary depth (...) allows it to achieve an *exploration of the boundaries* of a poetic genre – an inquiry into features located very close to another genre but which, for that very reason, are distinctive and peculiar to it. (...) The aim of Virgil's exploration here is not to link and blur two poetics but to gain a deeper insight into that which divides them."

³⁵⁵ See also e.g. Ross 1975, 76; Petersmann 1980, 194-5 on the contact between the two poems.

mythological *exemplum* where the Argonauts are described preparing for the night on the shores of Mysia, to 1.11.14, describing Cynthia lying on the beach of Baiae.³⁵⁶

molliter in tacito **litore** *compositam*.

Prop. 1.11.14

(...) elegantly resting on the silent shore. (tr. Heyworth)

hic manus heroum, placidis ut constitit oris,

mollia *composita* **litora** fronde tegit.

Prop. 1.20.21-2

Here the band of heroes, when they set foot on the calm shore, covered the beach and made it soft with a pile of foliage. (tr. Heyworth)

In view of this intertextual contact, it may not be a coincidence that the shores of Baiae are associated with Hercules at the beginning of 1.11: *Baiis | qua iacet Herculeis semita litoribus*, “Baiae, where lies a causeway on shores made by Hercules” (tr. Heyworth, adapted).³⁵⁷ One effect of these last two allusions is that they closely associate the fate of Gallus, whom Propertius advises to keep an eye on his beloved Hylas when he visits Baiae, with that of Hercules in the mythological *exemplum*, who also apparently visited Baiae and lost his Hylas on a shore similar to that where Cynthia was lying and where she was an easy prey for the rivals of Propertius (or rather his poetic persona). The close connection between Gallus and Hercules is reinforced by their respective beloved boys, who, as the text explicitly states, are not only of comparable beauty, but even have the same name (*non nomine dispar*, 5).³⁵⁸

The most obvious consequence of the intertextual contact with 1.11, however, is that Hylas is aligned with Cynthia as the object of elegiac desire,³⁵⁹ which makes

³⁵⁶ See also p. 153, n. 451 below for the elegiac connotations of the word *mollis*.

³⁵⁷ The reference is to part of the road from Baiae to Naples, which was named after Hercules, who had built it, as legend had it, in the context of one of his labours: the stealing of Geryon’s cattle.

³⁵⁸ With e.g. Fedeli 1980, 460 (ad loc.) I think that *non nomine dispar* is equivalent to *eodem nomine*. For the other view that *nomine* is equivalent to *fama* here, see Enk 1946, II, 178 (ad loc.). As Shackleton Bailey 1956, 56 argues, however, this interpretation is unconvincing, as in that case “*Hylan* in 52 must mean ‘your Hylas’, i.e. ‘the boy you love’. This would surely require *tuum*. Nor is a boy very likely to be complimented on his fame.”

³⁵⁹ See p. 153-4 below (with nn. 452-3) for the symbolic significance of Cynthia as representing Propertius’ elegiac poetry, which further establishes the link with Propertius’ Hylas, who, as I will

Gallus an elegiac lover and thus also a poet, for these two activities are inseparable.³⁶⁰ As a result, just as Propertius' poetic persona evokes the historical poet, it is hard not to see behind this addressee the alleged inventor of Roman love elegy, C. Cornelius Gallus, who features in Virgil's sixth and tenth *Eclogues*, and of whom unfortunately only ten lines have come down to us.³⁶¹

3. The identity of Gallus

The question whether or not the Gallus of 1.20 is the historical person is closely connected to the identity of the other Gallus characters in book 1. Poems 5, 10 and 13 are also addressed to a lover Gallus, and in the penultimate poem 21 a character with the same name features as narrator. Despite the enormous scholarly debate over the identity of the Gallus figure in book 1, almost all modern scholars agree that the Gallus of 1.20 evokes the elegist.³⁶² The framing of the poem as advice to an addressee recalls Theocritus' Hylas poem, *Idyll* 13.³⁶³ As this poem is addressed to a historical figure, the poet and physician Nicias, it is reasonable to suppose that the addressee of 1.20 is a historical figure and a poet. Ross has done most to show that the Gallus of 1.20 is connected to the historical C. Cornelius Gallus.³⁶⁴ His main

argue below (Sections 4 and 7) also symbolizes elegiac poetry, on the basis of his name's etymology (< ὕλη, "poetic subject matter").

³⁶⁰ Cf. Volk 2002, 163: "One of the constituting features of Latin love elegy is that the persona of the lover is at the same time a poet. His love and his poetry are closely connected: it is the girl that inspires him to compose elegy, and his poems, in turn, are intended to win his beloved for him".

³⁶¹ For the fragments of Gallus, with translation, commentary and a concise but comprehensive introduction, see Hollis 2007, 219-52 (= *FRP* 138-45).

³⁶² See e.g. Ross 1975, 74-81; Sullivan 1976, 33, n. 17; Monteleone 1979, 38-51; King 1980; Kennedy 1982, 377-80; Cairns 1983, 83-4; Gall 1999, 181-91; Petrain 2000, 414-6; Cairns 2006, 219-49 (= 2004). On the other hand, Hubbard 1974, 25; Syme 1978, 99-103 and Fedeli 1981, 235-6 do not believe that the Gallus in book 1 can refer to the poet. The only argument, however, is based on poem 1.5.23-4, where it is said that Gallus' *nobilitas* and his *priscae imagines* will not help him in love. Because Cornelius Gallus was an *eques*, so the argument goes, he could not be meant. Cairns 1983, 84-6 has convincingly refuted this argument.

³⁶³ Petrain 2000, 414.

³⁶⁴ Ross 1975, 74-81.

argument³⁶⁵ is based on the language of the poem, which has always been seen as extravagant and different from the rest of the book.³⁶⁶ The archaic and neoteric elements that both Ross and, recently, Cairns, who has tried to strengthen Ross' case, have discerned in the poem may indeed go back to Gallus.³⁶⁷

³⁶⁵ I summarize some further arguments from Ross. (1) The Hamadryads ("tree-nymphs"), the abductors of Hylas who appear in 1.20.32, stand in some way for Gallus' poetry. Kennedy 1982, 377-80 has elaborated on this and has argued that both Propertius and Virgil associate Hamadryads with Gallus' poetry and treat them as "surrogate Muses" of Gallus' love-poetry (see, however, Section 5.1 below for my interpretation of Propertius' and Virgil's Hamadryads). (2) The description of the scene of Hercules' unhappiness in 1.20.13-4 (*duros montes et frigida saxa | ... neque expertos ... lacus*) recalls that of the desolate places in Prop. 1.18, especially lines 27-8 (*pro quo divini fontes et frigida rupes et datur inculto tramite dura quies*), and both passages are allegedly derived from Gallus. (3) The description of the spring Pege (33-8) is claimed to owe much to Gallus' description of the Grynean grove, which he [in turn] derived from Euphorion. Ross' argument is based on Servius' comments on *Ecl.* 6.72: *Grynei nemoris ... origo* ("the origin of the Grynean grove"). Servius says that the seers Calchas and Mopsus once had a competition in the grove and then continues: *hoc autem Euphorionis continent carmina, quae Gallus transtulit in sermonem latinum*. ("This the poems of Euphorion, which Gallus translated into Latin, contain.") DServius then gives a description of Grynium, a city in Mysia, *ubi est locus arboribus multis iucundus, gramine floribusque variis omni tempore vestitus, abundans etiam fontibus* ("where there is a place, pleasant because of its many trees, always covered in grass and various flowers, even abounding in springs"). Ross concludes: "trees, flowers springs. There is only one *ekphrasis* that is likely to be the original summarized here, and that is Gallus' own description of the Grynean Grove. If it is not sheer coincidence that Propertius' description of Pege parallels so closely that bald summary ... then it must be assumed that Propertius has taken from Gallus not only diction and expression, but an important passage from a very important poem, by reference to which the nature and purpose of his poem would have been made even more clear." This argument is not convincing, however, as we do not know whether Gallus' poem on the Grynean grove was important, or that it even definitely existed. Even then, however, the parallels are indeed likely to be sheer coincidence, since the description of a *locus amoenus* is such a well-known topos (see Schönbeck 1962).

³⁶⁶ See e.g. Enk 1946, II, 176; La Penna 1951, 131-44; Hubbard 1974, 37, 40; Skutsch 1963, 239; Tränkle 1960, 15, 37.

³⁶⁷ Ross points, for instance, to the infinitive *quaerere* (24) used with a verb of motion, an archaic construction that is very rare in poetry and possibly influenced by Greek usage. One of the other two occurrences of this construction, moreover, is in the Milanion *exemplum* (1.1.12), which Ross, for other reasons, had associated with Gallus' poetry earlier (61-5). Ross also focuses on the archaic dative form *nullae* (35) – Heyworth 2007a, however, reads *nulli* here, an early modern conjecture (ς). Ross thinks that such archaisms were typical of the poetry of Cornelius Gallus and considers it possible that these lay behind the remarks of both Quintilian (10.1.93), who calls Gallus *durior*, "rather harsh", and Parthenius, who, in the dedication of his *Erotica Pathemata* to Gallus, describes Gallus as pursuing τὸ περικττόν, which Ross takes to refer to "Gallus' elevated diction" (see also Lightfoot 1999, 370 for a discussion of the meaning of περικττός). The grammatical and stylistic aspects of 1.20, identified by Ross as characteristic of Gallus, are conveniently summarized by Cairns 2006, 223-4 (= 2004, 79-80). Acknowledging the excessive generality of Ross' pointers to Gallan neotericisms, Cairns has tried to strengthen Ross' case by identifying more specific allusions to Gallus' poetry in 1.20 (224-32 = 2004, 80-5). He concludes that the verbal similarities with Gallus' poetry are concentrated in those sections of the poem in which Gallus is addressed, and that in the narrative of the myth itself (18-50) the echoes evoke more general neoteric features, as identified by Ross (I find Cairns' suggestion that Propertius'

This line of inquiry does not address the more interesting question, however, of how these possible echoes of Gallus' poetry in 1.20 should be interpreted. Ross and Cairns assume that Gallus has written a poem on Hylas, to which Propertius reacts, but the nature of and reason for this reaction, as well as its implications, are not discussed. The hunt for Gallus in 1.20 – and this goes for other Gallus poems in book 1 as well – has distracted the attention from the poem itself, which has much more to say, as I will argue in what follows.

4. Stealing Gallus' poetry

D. Petrain has recently argued for a metapoetical reading of the poem, grounded in an etymological play on the name Hylas, as derived from ὕλη, which can metaphorically denote "(poetic) subject matter", through its Latin equivalent *silva*.³⁶⁸ The play is triggered by the "etymological signpost" *non nomine dispar* and by the "vertical juxtaposition" of *Hylae* and *silvae*, at the end of the successive lines 6 and 7, techniques used by Virgil to highlight etymological wordplay.³⁶⁹ Following Ross in assuming that Gallus has written an elegy about Hylas, Petrain concludes:³⁷⁰

Propertius warns Gallus to keep safe his Hylas and his ὕλη from those who might steal them away, but in the course of giving this advice perpetrates just such a theft, taking over in his own poem Gallus' subject matter and perhaps even some of his poetic idiosyncrasies. Poem 1.20 thus commits the very act it

version of the myth is therefore modelled on a now lost Hylas poem by Parthenius (unconvincing). Petrain 2000, 415 also mentions a few "striking" stylistic similarities to the famous papyrus containing nine lines of Gallus' elegiac poetry, found in Qaṣr Ibrīm, Egypt, in 1978 (*FRP* 145), such as a "predilection for hyperbaton, and in the pentameters a pronounced tendency for the two halves to end with a noun and its adjective (often cultivating internal rhyme), and for the line to close with a word longer than two syllables". Given the length of the fragment and the lack of context, however, these resemblances are less convincing.

³⁶⁸ See also Introduction, Section 2; Ch. 1, Section 3.2.4; Ch. 2, Section 3.3.3; Ch. 4, Section 5.1 for the etymological play on Hylas in other versions of the myth.

³⁶⁹ Petrain 2000, 410, with reference to O'Hara 1996, 75-9 (on "etymological signposts") and 86-8 (on "vertical juxtaposition").

³⁷⁰ Petrain 2000, 418-9.

warns Gallus to be on his guard against, so that by the time its final admonition in the last couplet comes around, Hylas/Ὕλη has already been filched.

Petrain sees this metapoetical reading confirmed at the end of the poem, where Propertius repeats his warning: “Warned by this story, Gallus, you will keep your *amores* safe, you who have been seen to entrust beautiful Hylas to nymphs.” (51-2; tr. Heyworth, adapted). In this specific context, the word *amores* clearly evokes the elegiac work of Gallus which was almost certainly called *Amores*, as becomes clear from Servius’ comments on *Eclogue* 10.1:³⁷¹

Gallus (...) fuit poeta eximius; nam et Euphorionem (...) transtulit in latinum sermonem, et amorum suorum de Cytheride scripsit libros quatuor. FRP 139

Gallus (...) was an outstanding poet; for he both translated Euphorion into Latin (...) and he wrote four books of his *Amores* on Cytheris.
(tr. Hollis, adapted)

Petrain thus reads line 51 as “a virtuoso performance in the way it sums up both the surface narrative (Propertius’ advice for Gallus to keep his boy safe) and the metapoetic discourse (Propertius’ challenge to Gallus that he must now defend *his* poetic material, material which Propertius has already begun to take over in 1.20).”

Petrain has made it very clear that 1.20 has a metapoetical dimension, and his interpretation is for a large part very convincing. I do not, however, agree with Petrain’s last point that Propertius has, in poem 1.20, somehow subjected Gallus to what he warned him to beware of: appropriation of his poetry. Not only does the formulation of the warning at the very end of the poem (*servabis*, “you will keep

³⁷¹ See, however, Gauly 1990, 33-40, who has challenged the idea that *Amores* was the title of Gallus’ four books of love elegies, by arguing that the ancients used *amores* to generally refer to love poetry. I am not convinced by this interpretation (which would, incidentally, not diminish the allusion to Gallus’ love elegies in Prop. 1.20.51), because of the emphatic use of word *amores* in *Ecl.* 10, at the end of lines (even successive lines at 34-5), and its close connection with Gallus’ poetry: *Galli dicamus amores*. “Let us tell of Gallus’ *amores*. (6); *vestra meos olim si fistula dicat amores*. “If once your pipe would tell of my *amores*.” (34) [Gallus’ words]; *meos incidere amores | arboribus: crescent illae, crescetis, amores*. “(...) to inscribe my *amores* in the trees: they will grow and you, *amores*, will grow as well.” (53-4)

safe”) speak against this, more importantly, the identification of the nymphs points in another direction, as I will now argue.

5. A bucolic dimension

5.1. *The Hamadryads and bucolic poetry*

Extrapolating from Petrain’s interpretation, the crucial “nymphs” against whom Propertius warns Gallus would denote Propertius himself or his poetry. Although Petrain, strangely enough, does not interpret the nymphs in this metapoetical way, he does tackle what they stand for in another context, where he argues for “an intimate connection between 1.20 and Cornelius [*Gallus*]”,³⁷² following D. Kennedy’s interpretation of the *Hamadryades* in 1.20.52 and elsewhere as “surrogate Gallan Muses”.³⁷³ This interpretation, however, makes Petrain’s metapoetical reading seriously problematic, as it is incompatible with his theory that Hylas is “stolen” by Propertius. But I do not believe that the Hamadryads are associated with either Propertius or Gallus. *A priori*, it is already unlikely that nymphs would be associated with elegiac poetry, as they are closely connected with bucolic poetry in both Theocritus’ *Idylls*, where they even feature as “bucolic Muses”,³⁷⁴ and Virgil’s *Eclogues*, where they are a characteristic part of the bucolic landscape. The occurrences of the word *Hamadryades* on which Kennedy bases his argument also point in the direction of a bucolic world, and that of Virgil in particular. The Hamadryads occur only once in Virgil, in *Eclogue* 10.62. As Conte has convincingly shown, this poem confronts the similar genres of elegiac and bucolic poetry “to gain a deeper insight into that which divides them”.³⁷⁵ As Conte argues, Virgil depicts the elegiac poet as a guest in his bucolic landscape in order to help his friend to get over

³⁷² Petrain 2000, 416.

³⁷³ Kennedy 1982, 377-80.

³⁷⁴ See Ch. 2, Section 3.4.4.

³⁷⁵ Conte 1986, 126. See also p. 122 with n. 354 above.

his passion, by leaving his elegiac poetry and way of life behind.³⁷⁶ As is established by the allusions to Theocritus' *Idyll* 1,³⁷⁷ Gallus adopts the role of the archetypal bucolic poet Daphnis, who, although he wasted away with the passion aroused in him by Aphrodite, resisted love, even in the underworld.³⁷⁸ Although Gallus tries twice, this role does not fit the elegist, and he is forced to leave Virgil's bucolic world and give in to his passion. Virgil thus pays great tribute to his friend, as he promised to do at the start of the poem, by showing Lycoris how much Gallus loves his elegiac mistress (and hence his elegiac poetry).³⁷⁹ Gallus ends his speech and his bucolic adventure – shortly before Virgil will do the same – as follows:

iam neque Hamadryades rursus nec carmina nobis
 ipsa placent; ipsae rursus concedite silvae.
 non illum nostri possunt mutare labores,
 nec si frigoris mediis Hebrumque bibamus
 Sithoniasque nives hiemis subeamus aquosae,
 nec si, cum moriens alta liber aret in ulmo,
 Aethiopum versemus ouis sub sidere Cancri.
 omnia vincit Amor: et nos cedamus Amori.

Ecl. 10.62-9

Now, once again, we take no joy in Hamadryads, | not even in song – again
 wish even the woods away. | No alteration can our labours make in him, | not if
 we drank of Hebrus in the middle frosts | of watery winter and endured

³⁷⁶ Cf. Conte 1986, 113 on this equation of elegiac poetry and elegiac way of life in elegy, which is “the distinctive criterion of its [*Roman love elegy's*] literary code.” Cf. also Conte 1986, 106 on Gallus in *Ecl.* 10: “Gallus (...) is not just an elegiac poet but also an elegiac character, if we admit that this literary genre brings life and poetry closest together.”

³⁷⁷ See, for instance, the most clear allusion at the beginning of *Ecl.* 10: *quae nemora aut qui vos saltus habuere, puellae | Naidēs, indigno cum Gallus amore peribat?* “What woodlands or what rides detained you, Naiad maids, |, when Gallus pined away of an unworthy love?” (9-10; tr. Lee) to the beginning of Thyrsis' song of Daphnis: *πᾶ ποκ' ἄρ' ἦσθ', ὅκα Δάφνις ἐτάκετο, πᾶ ποκα, Νύμφαι;* “Where were you, Nymphs, when Daphnis wasted away, where were you?” (66; tr. Verity). See further Conte 1986, 104-8 for the initial “Daphnidization” of Gallus in *Ecl.* 10.

³⁷⁸ *Id.* 1.103: *Δάφνις κτὴν Αἴδα κακὸν ἔσσεται ἄλγος Ἐρωτι.* “I tell you, even from Hades Daphnis will prove to be a source of painful grief to Love.” (tr. Verity) See also Ch. 2, Section 3.3 for Theocritus' Daphnis.

³⁷⁹ *Ecl.* 10.2-3: *pauca meo Gallo, sed quae legat ipsa Lycoris, | carmina sunt dicenda; neget quis carmina Gallo?* “For Gallus mine (but may Lycoris read it too) | a brief song must be told; who'd deny Gallus song?” (tr. Lee) On these lines, see Conte 1986, 125: “This, I believe, is the gift Virgil wished to offer, a gift dedicated to Lycoris as well as to Gallus.” For the beloved as poetic subject matter see n. 452 (Cynthia), pp. 138-9 (Lycoris) and Sections 4 and 7 (Hylas) below.

Sithonian snows,| nor if, when dying bark shrivels on the lofty elm,| beneath
the Crab we herded Ethiopian sheep.| Love conquers all: we also must submit
to love. (tr. Lee)

The *Hamadryades* and *carmina* in line 62 are closely connected (*neque ... nec*) and operate as a hendiadys denoting Virgil's bucolic landscape/poetry. This is reinforced by the mention of *silvae*, a usual metonym for Virgil's bucolic poetry,³⁸⁰ which is in its turn closely connected (through the repetition of *rursus* and *ipsa/ipsae*) to the Hamadryads and *carmina*. So although the Hamadryads are mentioned in a speech by Gallus, they are part of a landscape that is used by Virgil to symbolize his poetry, a "bucolic stage", that Gallus is now leaving.³⁸¹

The other examples that Kennedy discusses are less straightforward, but if they reveal any association with poetry, it is, again, with the bucolic poetry of Virgil. At the end of his elegy 2.34, Propertius gives his own history of Roman love poetry in which Virgil features prominently. As part of the section on the *Eclogues* the Hamadryades again appear as part of a bucolic landscape, featuring also the shepherd Corydon and his pipe, in short the setting of *Eclogue* 2:

felix, qui viles pomis mercaris amores;
huic licet ingratae Tityrus ipse canat.
felix intactum Corydon qui temptat Alexin
agricolae domini carpere delicias.
quamvis ille sua lassus requiescat avena,
laudatur faciles inter Hamadryadas. Prop. 2.34.71-6

Happy are you who buy love cheap with apples; to her though she be
ungrateful let Tityrus himself sing. Happy is Corydon who tries to pluck the
untouched Alexis, darling of his master, the farmer. Although he rests tired
from his pipe, he is praised among the easy nymphs. (tr. Heyworth, adapted)

³⁸⁰ Cf. Heyworth 2005, 149: "'Woods' (*silvae*), along with 'shade' (*umbra*; e.g. 1.4, 10.75-6), is Virgil's favoured metonym for the genre."

³⁸¹ Conte 1986, 123, n. 25: "The use of the imperative of 'concedere' is a standard formula in comedies; it shows when a character must leave the stage. It is almost as if Gallus, at this point in the action, finds he must dismiss the bucolic setting that has been set up for him as an ephemeral mise-en-scène."

The obliging attitude of the Hamadryads recalls the situation in *Eclogue 2*, where *nymphae* helped Corydon (45-55) in his attempt to conquer Alexis,³⁸² but the epithet *faciles* (“friendly”, “sympathetic”) especially brings *Eclogue 3* to mind, where nymphs again appear as a standard part of the bucolic setting: *sed faciles Nymphae risere* (“but the sympathetic nymphs laughed”, 9).

Another passage discussed by Kennedy is to be found in Propertius 2.32, where the poet defends the promiscuous behaviour of his Cynthia by adducing mythological *exempla*. Having dealt with Helen and Venus’ adulterous relationship with Mars, Propertius gives another example, which initially teasingly seems to deal again with Venus, who made love to a shepherd on Mount Ida (*H. Hom.* 5.54-5, 166-7),³⁸³ but in fact deals with the affair of Oenone and Paris:

quamvis Ida deam pastorem dicat amasse
atque inter pecudes accubuisse deam,
hoc et Hamadryadum spectavit turba sororum
Silenique senes et pater ipse chori,
cum quibus Idaeo legisti poma sub antro
supposita excipiens, Nai, caduca manu. Prop. 2.32.35-40

deam *Clausen 2000*: Parim Ω

Although Ida says that a goddess loved a shepherd, and a goddess lay with him amid the flocks, even the crowd of her sister Hamadryades witnessed and accepted this, and so did the aged Sileni and the father of the chorus himself, with whom, Naiad, you picked apples deep in the dell of Ida, catching them as they fell with a hand placed below. (tr. Heyworth)

Kennedy reads *Parim* in line 35; this, however, is a gloss on the following *pastorem*.³⁸⁴ This results in Kennedy interpreting the example of Paris and Oenone as “a bit out of place” in the company of the other ones, which causes him to suggest that the story “was told in some form by Gallus, and that Propertius is drawing upon another

³⁸² See also Section 5.2 below for this passage.

³⁸³ Heyworth 2007*b*, 253-4

³⁸⁴ See Heyworth 2007*b*, 252-4 for a thorough critical discussion of the line.

famous literary precedent to reject moral criticisms of his 'Cynthia'".³⁸⁵ Although Parthenius tells the story in his *Erotica Pathemata* (4), a collection which, as he states in his preface, he has written to provide Cornelius Gallus with subject matter for his poetry, Kennedy's interpretation is not very convincing. Clausen's emendation *deam*, for instance, makes the appearance of the story not striking at all by smoothing the transition from the previous exemplum involving Venus and Mars. Furthermore, the other "obscurities" that Kennedy discerns in the passage and associates with Gallan presence again point in the direction of bucolic poetry rather than Gallan elegy. On the *Sileni senes* in line 38, for instance, Kennedy notes: "Silenus seems to have had something to do with poetic inspiration, and he may have been used in this connection by Gallus." Kennedy refers, however, to Silenus' appearance in *Eclogue* 6, a poem in which, as Deremetz has most convincingly shown, the old satyr sings a "meta-bucolic" song.³⁸⁶ Kennedy's other reference, to *Georgics* 2.494 (*Silvanumque senem*), which he sees as "dealing with the sources of Virgil's inspiration",³⁸⁷ indeed also concerns a passage that deals with Silenus (using his alternative name Silvanus), but this is only obvious because the combined mention of "the rustic gods, Pan and aged Silvanus and the sisterhood of Nymphs" (493-4), clearly evokes Virgil's bucolic world.

On his last example, elegy 1.20, Kennedy states that "Propertius' reason for using Hamadryads in this context remains a puzzle".³⁸⁸ He suggests, however, that the poem deals with the poet Gallus "on the same imaginative level as Virgil's Tenth *Eclogue*" (i.e. as a poetic figure based on Gallus' poetic persona), and that line 32, mentioning the Hamadryads, "may conceal much beneath the surface, bearing in mind what has already been conjectured about the poetic role of the Hamadryads [*as surrogate Gallan Muses*"]". It is quite likely that Propertius is offering some sort of

³⁸⁵ Kennedy 1982, 379.

³⁸⁶ Deremetz 1995, 287-314 (≈ 1987). See also Section 7.2 below.

³⁸⁷ Kennedy 1982, 379, n. 49.

³⁸⁸ Kennedy 1982, 380.

literary comment in this line, but what it is must be a matter of speculation.”³⁸⁹ As the other examples suggest, however, the Hamadryads symbolize Virgil’s *Eclogues*, and this identification should also be the first place to look with regard to the meaning of the Hamadryads in 1.20.³⁹⁰

C. Monteleone already suggested that the nymphs in this poem “metonymically designated the *Bucolica*,”³⁹¹ an interpretation strengthened by the allusions, discerned by Monteleone, to Virgil’s work, and *Eclogue* 2 in particular.³⁹² First of all, the landscape in which Hylas is abducted, and of which the nymphs are a part (33-40), recalls that in which the shepherd Corydon is trying to seduce Alexis, helped by the nymphs (*Ecl.* 2.45-52).³⁹³ Furthermore, the last line of 1.20 clearly alludes to the first line of *Eclogue* 2:³⁹⁴

formosum nymphis credere visus Hylan.

Prop. 1.20.52

formosum pastor Corydon ardebat Alexin.

Ecl. 2.1

That it here concerns Propertius’ metapoetical warning to his colleague Gallus to keep safe his beloved Hylas/his elegiac poetry, as was argued earlier, suggests that Gallus is warned for Virgil’s *Eclogues*, as symbolized by one part of Virgil’s bucolic world, which also metonymically represented the *Eclogues* in *Eclogue* 10.62: the Hamadryads. This link between the framing warning and the mythological narrative was already triggered in the initial admonition, which revealed that both Gallus and

³⁸⁹ Kennedy 1982, 380.

³⁹⁰ The following metapoetical interpretation of 1.20 is inspired by, and partly based on, an unpublished paper by P. Heslin, “Hylas descending: Propertius 1.20 as allegory” (Heslin 2007), in which he tries to reconcile Petrain’s metapoetical observations with the bucolic elements in the poem as discerned by Monteleone. Heslin argues for the importance of *Eclogue* 10 in Prop. 1.20, a poem in which Propertius inverted what Virgil did to Gallus (i.e. incorporated his elegiacs in bucolic poetry) by incorporating Virgil’s bucolic poetry into his own elegy. Although I owe much to his findings, my own conclusions differ significantly from his.

³⁹¹ Monteleone 1979, 50: “per metonimia (la divinità per la sua sfera d’ influenza), *Nymphae* designa le *Bucoliche* ...”

³⁹² Monteleone 1979, 28-36; 39-40.

³⁹³ Monteleone 1979, 28-9 also compares 1.20.36 with *Ecl.* 1.37: *cui pendere sua patereris in arbore poma*; *Ecl.* 7.54: *strata iacent passim sua quaeque sub arbore poma*; *Ecl.* 8.37: *roscida mala*.

³⁹⁴ Monteleone 1979, 29: “l’explicit di Prop. 1.20 (...) presenta analogie con l’incipit dell’ ecloga seconda.”

Hercules' beloveds were named Hylas, and that the "Italian nymphs" were as amorous as their mythological counterparts. The metapoetical warning to Gallus can thus be paraphrased as followed: "Warned by this story, Gallus, you will from now on look after (*servabis*) your *Amores*, you who have been seen to entrust your elegiac poetry to Virgil's *Eclogues*." But in what sense has Gallus done this? To answer that question, I will first explore Gallus' connection with the *Eclogues*.

5.2. Gallus and his elegy in *Eclogues* 2 and 10

Although the landscape in which Hylas disappears alludes to *Eclogue* 2, the *Eclogue* is not typically bucolic. In fact, as has often been shown, Corydon's unrequited passion (*ardebat*, 1) for Alexis, the beautiful boy from the city, as expressed in the song that constitutes almost the entire poem (6-73), is very elegiac. As Kenney puts it:³⁹⁵

In that simple plot Virgil has incorporated most of the standard ingredients of love-elegy as we know them from Propertius, Tibullus and Ovid: separation, the rich rival, the heartless beloved, love as infatuation, the lover as a figure of suffering. It is a complete transposition of the elegiac situation into the pastoral mode.

Corydon is a shepherd, however, who belongs in Virgil's harmonious bucolic world, which is free of elegiac, unrequited passion. At the end of the poem, Corydon realizes this and consoles himself by returning to his own world, which he had neglected in his elegiac madness (*dementia*):³⁹⁶

³⁹⁵ Kenney 1983, 51. See also e.g. Putnam 1970, 82-119; Deremetz 1995, 311-4; Hardie 2002, 125-6 for the elegiac aspects of *Ecl.* 2, which is underlined by the allusions to Callimachus' story of Acontius and Cydippe (*Aet.* fr. 67-75 Pf.), as well as (probably) to Gallus' reworkings of it (see Kenney 1983, 48-52 on these allusions). The Callimachean story, and especially the part in which Acontius consoles himself in the wilderness, carving the name of his beloved on the bark of a tree, is treated by Roman elegists as a prototype of their poetry: see e.g. Barchiesi 2001, 124: "(...) the episode of Acontius and Cydippe (...) is very influential for a complex poetic strategy: through this allusion the elegist 'proves' that his Callimachean allegiance has a basis; through the theme of writing 'beautiful Cydippe', the Callimachean character becomes a project for the 'subjective' Roman poet."

³⁹⁶ See also p. 140 with n. 418 below on elegiac passion, and *furor* ("madness") in particular.

a, Corydon, Corydon, quae te dementia cepit!
semiputata tibi frondosa vitis in ulmo est.
quin tu aliquid saltem potius, quorum indiget usus,
viminibus mollique paras detexere iunco?
invenies alium, si te hic fastidit, Alexin.

Ecl. 2.69-73

Ah, Corydon, Corydon, what madness mastered you! | You've left a vine half-pruned upon a leafy elm: | why not at least prepare to weave of osiers | and supple rushes something practical you need? | If this Alexis sneers at you, you'll find another. (tr. Lee)

As Putnam shows, the weaving of the basket (*detexere*) – a useful object made of material proper to the bucolic world and thus closely associated with that world – is not only a bucolic activity, but also metaphorically designates the writing of bucolic poetry, through activation of the common metaphor of weaving for the poetic process:³⁹⁷ Corydon, whom we can associate with Virgil's poetic persona here, continues to write bucolic poetry after this elegiac excursion in *Eclogue* 2.³⁹⁸ This interpretation is reinforced by the end of *Eclogue* 10, where Virgil explicitly associates the writing of his own bucolic poetry with weaving a basket:³⁹⁹

haec sat erit, divae, vestrum cecinisse poetam,
dum sedet et gracili fiscellam textit hibisco.

Ecl. 10.70-2

To have sung of these things, goddesses, while he sat and wove | a frail of slim hibiscus, will suffice your poet. (tr. Lee)

The verb used of Corydon's planned activity, *detexere*, "which means, literally, to finish off by weaving",⁴⁰⁰ implies that Corydon will continue the bucolic task, which he had neglected before, just as he left the vine "half-pruned" (*semiputata*, 70). As Putnam argues, this word, *semiputata*, "has the secondary implication of 'half

³⁹⁷ Putnam 1970, 113. Cf. Deremetz 1995, 313 (quoted in n. 402 below). See also Introduction, n. 31 for this metaphor.

³⁹⁸ See Clausen 1994, 64 (on *Ecl.* 2.1) for the ancient association of Corydon with Virgil. See also Hardie 2002, 123-5 and Putnam 1970, 119 for the way *Eclogue* 2 relates to the first and third *Eclogues* respectively, as a deviation from the bucolic mode.

³⁹⁹ Putnam 1970, 113-4.

⁴⁰⁰ Putnam 1970, 113.

considered' and seems in this sense to balance *incondita* ("not finely or elaborately wrought", "unpolished", *OLD 1a*) in line 4",⁴⁰¹ which describes the elegiac song of Corydon:

(...) ibi haec incondita solus
montibus et silvis studio iactabat inani. *Ecl.* 2.4-5

(...) There, alone, in empty longing, | he hurled this artless monologue at hills
and woods. (tr. Lee)

So elegiac poetry seems to be considered as inadequate to the bucolic world, and is opposed to bucolic poetry as represented by the woven basket.⁴⁰² Now, in this elegiac song, Corydon describes how the nymphs are picking flowers and are twining (*intexens*) these together as a garland to present to Alexis:⁴⁰³

huc ades, o formose puer: tibi lilia plenis
ecce ferunt Nymphae calathis; tibi candida Nais,
pallentis violas et summa papavera carpens,
narcissum et florem iungit bene olentis anethi;
tum, casia atque aliis intexens suavibus herbis,
mollia luteola pingit **vaccinia** caltha.
ipse ego cana legam tenera lanugine mala
castaneasque nuces, mea quas Amaryllis amabat.
addam cerea pruna (honus erit huic quoque pomo);
et vos, o lauri, carpam et te, proxima myrte,
sic positae quoniam suavis miscetis odores. *Ecl.* 2.45-55

Come here, O lovely boy: for you the Nymphs bring lilies, | look, in baskets full;
for you the Naiad fair, | plucking pale violets and poppy heads, combines |
narcissus with them, and the flower of fragrant dill; | then, weaving marjoram
in, and other pleasant herbs, | colours soft hyacinths [?]⁴⁰⁴ with yellow
marigold. | Myself, I'll pick the grey-white apples with tender down, | and

⁴⁰¹ Putnam 1970, 112.

⁴⁰² Cf. Deremetz 1995, 313: "Le chant élégiaque est vain (*studio inani*), illusoire et stérile; inadapté au monde rural, il devient dans la bouche du berger Corydon un chant grossier (*incondita*) et inefficace, dont l' inachèvement est d'ailleurs représenté par l'image de la vigne à demi taillée sur l'ormeau trop feuillu (2, 70). A l'opposé, le tressage du jonc, métaphore de la composition de la bucolique, produit un objet utile (2, 71-71) qui apaise le tourment amoureux du berger et le ramène à la raison de sa vie."

⁴⁰³ The bold and underlined words will be discussed on pp. 139-41 and pp. 149 respectively.

⁴⁰⁴ See n. 419 below for the identification of *vaccinium*.

chestnuts, which my Amaryllis used to love;| I'll add the waxy plum (this fruit too shall be honoured),| and I'll pluck you, O laurels, and you, neighbour myrtle,| for so arranged you mingle pleasant fragrances. (tr. Lee, adapted)

The mention of the verb *pingit* (50) clearly suggests that the garland is a work of art, but it can also be seen as a metapoetical symbol by analogy with the basket at the end of the poem; this is (again) suggested through the metaphor of weaving (*intexens*) for the writing of poetry. Deremetz attempts to extend the metapoetical dimension by suggesting that the collecting (*carpens, legam*) of the various parts of the garland represent the process of poetic *inventio*, and that their joining together (*intexens, iungit*) refers to the arrangement of the words (*iunctura*, cf. Hor. AP 48) and the parts (*dispositio* or *ordo*) of a poem.⁴⁰⁵ Be that as it may, the passage clearly invites a metapoetical reading, but whereas the basket represents Virgil's bucolic poetry, the garland, the function of which is to seduce Alexis, would represent Corydon's elegiac song.⁴⁰⁶ As Putnam in fact argues, the flowers that are central in the description of the garland "are all emblems of love":

They are intended to appeal to Alexis as a reflection of himself in Corydon's world. This is why the nymphs carry lilies in their baskets and why the naiad, who brings the rest, is *candida*, like *candidus* Alexis. The new context is also the reason why, when *vaccinia* reappear at line 50, they have no association with time's passing, as at line 18, but become simply *mollii*, another link of Alexis' beauty with the aspects of the pastoral world which Corydon imagines might be charming to him."⁴⁰⁷

This all suggests that Corydon's garland, like his song, is not just elegiac, but, as the setting and the presence of the nymphs for instance show, rather a bucolic version of elegiac poetry, an incorporation of the elegiac into the bucolic, i.e. what would happen if a shepherd/bucolic poet would write elegy. As Corydon realizes, however,

⁴⁰⁵ Deremetz 1995, 312.

⁴⁰⁶ Cf. Deremetz 1995, 313: "(...) il convient d'opposer l'art de la bucolique, défini métaphoriquement par le tressage d'un objet en jonc ou en osier, végétaux emblèmes des activités pastorales, à celui de la couronne de fleurs, emblème de la quête amoureuse."

⁴⁰⁷ Putnam 1970, 104-5.

his gift, like his elegiac song, is useless,⁴⁰⁸ just as Polyphemus' song was in the poem's most important model, Theocritus' *Idyll* 11.⁴⁰⁹ Consequently, Corydon (and thus Virgil) leaves elegiac poetry behind: "It is bucolic poetry, not elegiac verse, that belongs to the shepherd and is compatible with his surroundings and character."⁴¹⁰ Virgil thus not only incorporates elegiac verse in his *Eclogues*, but also seems to declare the superiority of his genre.

This interpretation of the poem becomes more polemic if we assume that it is not only elegiac poetry, but more specifically Gallus' poetry that Virgil incorporates and claims to surpass. As Kenney has argued very convincingly, Virgil in *Eclogue* 2 reworks Callimachus' story of Acontius and Cydippe (*Aetia*, fr. 67-75 Pf.), and especially the part in which the lovesick Acontius wanders in the wild (fr. 72 Pf.), where he carves the name of his beloved on trees (fr. 73 Pf.).⁴¹¹ That Gallus has also written a (now lost) elegiac version of this part of the story, or depicted himself as an Acontius, wandering in the lonely wilderness, is suggested by *Eclogue* 10. In this poem, Gallus, making his appearance in Virgil's bucolic world to soothe his elegiac passion, says he will change his elegiacs into bucolic poetry (50-1).⁴¹² Resembling

⁴⁰⁸ Deremetz 1995, 313: "(...) la poésie élégiaque, qui, à la fois comme modèle poétique et comme art de vie, exprime la déchirure et la souffrance, peut et doit être transcendée par la poésie bucolique dont la puissance souveraine est liée à son efficacité consolatrice et à l'harmonie qu'elle réussit à rétablir entre l'homme et la nature."

⁴⁰⁹ For Virgil's reworking of *Id.* 11, see Putnam 1970, 116-9; Du Quesnay 1979. See also Ch. 2, Sections 3.4 and 3.5 for the metapoetical dimension of *Id.* 11.

⁴¹⁰ Putnam 1970, 114.

⁴¹¹ Kenney 1983, 48-52. Cf. also La Penna 1963, 488; DuQuesnay, 48. For this part of the story we have to rely further on the Greek version of the story in prose by the 5th cent. epistolographer Aristaenetus (*Ep.* 1.10).

⁴¹² Following Quintilian (10.1.56), I believe that *Chalcidico versu* refers to the elegiac poetry of Euphorion of Chalcis (3rd cent. BC), whose influence on Gallus is well attested, as e.g. Servius (on *Ecl.* 10.1 = *FRP* 139a) shows: [*Gallus*] *Euphorionem* (...) *transtulit in latinum sermonem*. "[Gallus] translated Euphorion into Latin." It is often assumed, however, that Euphorion only wrote hexameter poems: see e.g. Clausen 1994, 306-7 (on *Ecl.* 10.50), following Ross 1975, 40-3: "It has been established beyond reasonable doubt that Euphorion did not write elegiac poetry." Diomedes (4th cent. AD), however, dealing with elegy, suggests that Euphorion was an elegiac poet: *quod genus carminum praecipue scripserunt apud Romanos Propertius et Tibullus et Gallus imitati Graecos Callimachum et Euphoriona*. "This kind of poetry was practised in Rome in particular by Propertius, Tibullus and Gallus, imitating the Greek poets Callimachus and Euphorion." (p. 484, lines 21-2 K). Furthermore, pseudo-Probos states (on *Ecl.* 10.50 = *FRP* 139b) that Euphorion is an elegiac poet (*elegiarum scriptor*), "whose 'colouring'

Acontius, he contemplates carving his *amores*, referring to both the name of his beloved Lycoris and his elegiac *Amores* that deal with her, on trees (53-4):⁴¹³

Ibo et Chalcidico quae sunt mihi condita versu
carmina pastoris Siculi modulabor avena.
certum est in silvis, inter spelaea ferarum,
malle pati tenerisque meos incidere amores
arboribus: crescent illae, crescetis, amores.

Ecl. 10.50-4

I'll go and tune to the Sicilian shepherd's oat | the songs I put together in
Chalcidic verse. | The choice is made – to suffer in the woods among | the wild
beasts' dens, and carve my love into the bark | of tender trees: as they grow, so
my love will grow. (tr. Lee)

As the *Eclogue* deals with Gallus and his poetry, and probably contains many allusions to his elegies,⁴¹⁴ it is reasonable to suppose that Gallus wrote about Acontius in his elegies, which Virgil has rewritten in bucolic in his tenth,⁴¹⁵ as well as in his second, *Eclogue*.⁴¹⁶

These two *Eclogues* are also connected with Gallus in another way, for when Gallus contemplates living with his Lycoris and writing his elegiac poetry in Virgil's bucolic world, the poem alludes to Corydon's elegiac effort in *Eclogue* 2:

Gallus seems to have followed in his writings" (*cuius in scribendo secutus colorem videtur Cornelius Gallus*). So at least some ancients thought that Euphoriion wrote elegiac poetry. See also Zetzel 1977, 251, n. 5 on pseudo-Probus' comment: "The scholiast may have inferred this from Euphoriion's known influence on Gallus, but pseudo-Probus is a tricky source, who knows some strange things. (...) He cannot be dismissed out of hand."

⁴¹³ See esp. Ross 1975, 72-4 for Gallus' hypothetical *Acontius* and *Cydippe*. Cf. Cairns 2006, 119 (also for more bibliography): "(...) it is clear that in his elegies Gallus had either narrated this myth or portrayed himself as an Acontius figure (...)."

⁴¹⁴ As Servius' comment on *Ecl.* 10.46 (= *FRP* 141a) also suggests: *hi autem omnes versus Galli sunt, de ipsius translati carminibus*. "All these are lines of Gallus, transferred from his own poetry." (tr. Hollis)

⁴¹⁵ The bucolic character of the passage is enhanced by "a reminiscence of a pastoral passage in Lucretius" (Clausen 1994, 306, on *Ecl.* 10.54): *arboribus, crescent ipsae fetuque gravantur*. "(...) on the trees, these grow themselves and become heavy with fruit." (1.253)

⁴¹⁶ Cf. Hardie 2002, 125 (referring to Kenney 1983, 48-52): "It is generally accepted that *Eclogue* 2 draws heavily on elegiac models, both Callimachus' account of Acontius' lovelorn visits to the countryside, and lost Gallan material, including Gallus' reworking(s) of the Callimachean situation."

(...) o mihi tum quam molliter ossa quiescant,
 vestra meos olim si fistula dicat amores!
 atque utinam ex vobis unus vestrisque fuissem
 aut custos gregis aut maturaе vinitor uvae!
 certe sive mihi Phyllis sive esset Amyntas,
 seu quicumque furor (quid tum, si fuscus Amyntas?
 et nigrae violae sunt et **vaccinia nigra**),
 mecum inter salices lenta sub vite iaceret:
serta mihi Phyllis legeret, cantaret Amyntas.
 hic gelidi fontes, hic mollia prata, Lycori;
 hic nemus; hic ipso tecum consumerer aevo.

Ecl. 10.33-43

(...) O how softly then my bones would rest, | if only your reed pipe hereafter
 told my love! | And how I wish that I'd been one of you, and either | guarded
 your flock or harvested the ripened grapes! | For surely, were I mad on Phyllis
 or Amyntas | or anyone (what if Amyntas is dark-skinned? | Dark too are
 violets, too, and hyacinths [?]⁴¹⁷ are dark), | they'd lie with me among willows,
 under a limber vine; | Phyllis would gather garlands for me, Amyntas sing. |
 Here, Lycoris, are cool fountains, here soft fields, | here woodland, here with
 you I'd be Time's casualty. (tr. Lee, adapted)

Gallus is thinking in very elegiac terms here, as he tries to see how he can reconcile his elegiac world with that of Virgil. The relationship, for instance, that he imagines with Virgilian-bucolic characters, the girl Phyllis or the boy Amyntas, is described in elegiac terms, as *furor* ("furious longing", 38), reveals.⁴¹⁸ As an urban, elegiac lover, however, Gallus prefers boys from the city, who are *candidi*, have a white skin, instead of bucolic herdsmen who are suntanned (*niger*). By association, Gallus then thinks of an element that can be found in the bucolic world, but that has very elegiac associations because of its seductive role, flowers, and he consoles himself with the

⁴¹⁷ See n. 419 below for the identification of *vaccinium*.

⁴¹⁸ OLD, 3. For the elegiac associations of *furor*, see e.g. Conte 1994, 54: "[T]he ideology of elegy (...) associated love and furor in a strict rhetorical bond and, by entrusting erotic passion to the logic of impetuous impulses, denied it the positivity of a stable satisfaction" Cf. also *furor* at the beginning of Propertius oeuvre in 1.1.7: *ei mihi, iam toto furor hic non deficit anno, | cum tamen adversos cogor habere deos*. "Alas, already a whole year has gone by and still madness has not left me." (tr. Heyworth). Cf. also Conte 1986, 109, n. 13: "In Ovid's 'Triumph of Love', *Amores* 1.2.25ff. – a mocking parody of a solemn Roman triumph (...),– one of the elegiac personifications in Eros' train is, significantly, called Furor (...)."

thought that *vaccinia* ("hyacinths?") are dark as well.⁴¹⁹ Next, Gallus imagines how Phyllis would make him a garland (*serta*) of flowers, a passage that clearly recalls Corydon and his elegiac garland in *Eclogue* 2. This poem is the only other place in the *Eclogues* where *vaccinia* appear. We have already seen that they were part of the Corydon's garland (pp. 135-6), but they are also mentioned earlier in the poem. There Corydon contemplates returning to his bucolic world and love of his ex-girlfriend Amaryllis or ex-boyfriend Menalcas, contrasting the latter with the elegiac and *candidus* Alexis:

nonne fuit satius tristis Amaryllidis iras
atque superba pati fastidia? nonne Menalcan,
quamvis ille **niger**, quamvis tu **candidus** esses?
o formose puer, nimium ne crede colori;
alba ligustra cadunt, **vaccinia nigra** leguntur.

Ecl. 2.14-8

Had I not better bide the wrath of Amaryllis, | her high-and-mighty moods?
Better endure Menalcas, | however black he were and you however blond? | O
lovely boy, don't trust complexion overmuch: | white privet flowers fall, black
hyacinths [?] are picked. (tr. Lee, adapted)

As I argued, Corydon tries, but eventually abandons (Gallus') elegiac poetry, which he cannot reconcile with the bucolic world. Gallus, on the other hand, somewhat later in *Eclogue* 10, tries to soothe his passion in Virgil's bucolic world and, on a metapoetical level, to rewrite his elegiac *Amores* in the bucolic manner, on Virgil's trees. The consequence is, however, that Gallus, by leaving his elegiac life and poetry – both as personified by Lycoris – behind, is alone, a fact with which the elegist cannot live, because it affects the essence of his poetry: although the elegiac beloved is always unattainable, she is never completely out of his life, which would metaphorically mean death and, in metaphorical terms, the end of poetry. *Eclogue* 10 is thus ultimately about the impossibility of reconciling bucolic and elegiac poetry, as

⁴¹⁹ See *OLD* s.v. on the identification of *vaccinium* in Virgil: "A dark-flowered plant corresponding to the γράππὰ ὑάκινθος of Theocritus 10.28 (variously identified, perh. an orchid or fritillary)." Cf. Clausen 1994, 69, on *Ecl.* 10.18 (also for more bibliography): "some ancient readers identified the *vaccinium* with the hyacinth (DServ. on G. 4.183). Whether V. did so is a question."

is *Eclogue* 2, but this time it is the elegiac poet who is made to leave the bucolic world behind.⁴²⁰ Immediately after the passage just quoted, in which Gallus only imagined himself in a bucolic landscape, Gallus realizes his separation from Lycoris, which triggers his elegiac *insanus amor* again (44-9). “Only now the ‘insania’ (madness) is no longer a matter of clinging stubbornly to a love that yields nothing but unhappiness. (...) Now (*nunc*) that Gallus has experienced the sweetness of bucolic life, the *insania* is “amor duri Martis” (love of harsh war). Yes, he almost protests (...) this is true madness, the madness that keeps him tied to the world of war, which is intrinsically hostile to love.”⁴²¹ As a reaction to this “near-total breakdown”,⁴²² Gallus imagines that he adopts a bucolic way of life, but immediately after he has pictured himself as a kind of Acontius, writing his love (and poetry) on trees, the poet, again like Acontius (albeit in his mind), traverses the lonely wilderness as a frustrated lover, for the bucolic landscape becomes increasingly un-bucolic. It is as if through Gallus’ focalizing eyes the imaginary landscape becomes what it is to him without Lycoris, not a world of bucolic harmony between man and nature, as symbolized by the echo,⁴²³ but one of solitude, featuring frost, rocks and echoes that reveal loneliness, not presence:

interea mixtis lustrabo Maenala Nymphis,
aut acris venabor apros; non me ulla vetabunt
frigora Parthenios canibus circumdare saltus.
iam mihi per rupes videor lucosque sonantis
ire (...)

Ecl. 10.55-9

⁴²⁰ At the same time, however, Virgil ends his *Eclogues*, by which the poet seems, in characteristic fashion, to declare the eventual futility of (his) poetry. Cf. the story of Orpheus and Eurydice in *Georgics* 4.457-527, where the archetypal poet, the son of Apollo, who has the magical power to move nature, and whom scholars often associate with Virgil himself (see e.g. Kofler 2003, 95-104 and Ch. 4, Section 8.1), is ultimately not able to obtain his beloved. See Boyle 1986 for such pessimistic readings of Virgil’s poetry.

⁴²¹ Conte 1986, 111-2.

⁴²² Conte 1986, 112.

⁴²³ See Ch. 2, Section 3.2 for the “pastoral echo” in Virgil’s *Eclogues* and the later pastoral tradition.

But meanwhile with the Nymphs I'll range on Maenala | or hunt the savage
boar. No frosts will hinder me | from drawing coverts on Parthenium with
hounds. | Already I see myself explore the sounding rocks | and groves (...)
(tr. Lee)

Significantly, the scenery starts to resemble the cold landscape where his Lycoris
(and metaphorically his poetry) has gone, described in lines that, according to
Servius, are derived from Gallus' own poetry:⁴²⁴

tu procul a patria (nec sit mihi credere tantum)
Alpinas, a! dura nives et frigora Rheni
me sine sola vides. a! te ne frigora laedant!
a, tibi ne teneras glacies secet aspera plantas! Ecl. 10.46-9

You, far from fatherland, (could I but disbelieve it!) | gaze – ah, callous – on
Alpine snows and frozen Rhine, | alone, without me. Ah, may the frosts not
injure *you*! | Ah, may the rough ice never cut *your* tender feet! (tr. Lee)

Gallus then gives up his bucolic adventure (*neque Hamadryades rursus, neque carmina
nobis | ipsa placent; ipsae rursus concedite silvae*, 62-3),⁴²⁵ which offers no *medicina furoris*
to the elegiac lover (60). As he yields to invincible Amor at the end of his speech,
Gallus compares the place of solitude that the bucolic world has become for him with
icy Thrace and the scorching desert:⁴²⁶

non illum nostri possunt mutare labores,
nec si frigoribus mediis Hebrumque bibamus,
Sithoniasque nives hiemis subeamus aquosae,
nec si, cum moriens alta liber aret in ulmo,
Aethiopum versemus ovis sub sidere Cancri.
omnia vincit Amor: et nos cedamus Amori. Ecl. 10.64-9

No alteration can our labours make in him, | not if we drank of Hebrus in the
middle frosts | of watery winter and endured Sithonian snows, | nor if, when

⁴²⁴ See n. 414 above for Servius' comment.

⁴²⁵ See pp. 129-30 above for the way these lines symbolize Virgil's bucolic landscape and poetry.

⁴²⁶ Cf. Ross 1975, 105: "Gallus cannot forget Lycoris, human emotion cannot be ignored, and the pastoral landscape becomes a desert."

dying bark shrivels on the lofty elm,| beneath the Crab we herded Ethiopian sheep.| Love conquers all: we also must submit to love. (tr. Lee)

Again, the cold (*frigora*) and snow (*nives*) of the inhospitable landscape that symbolizes the end of Gallus' elegiac poetry echoes Lycoris' current whereabouts. From a metapoetical point of view this is quite understandable, as Lycoris symbolizes Gallus' elegiac poetry, in a way comparable to Cynthia's symbolizing of Propertius' poetry.⁴²⁷

5.3. Propertius 1.18 and 1.19 and the end of elegy

As has often been noted, Propertius reacts to Virgil's last *Eclogue* in elegy 1.18, reinforcing the metapoetical interpretation as outlined above. Propertius has been separated from Cynthia since poem 11, where she was in Baiae, but at the end of the first book, in the sequence constituted by poems 15 to 19, which "contemplate several aspects of lovers' separation",⁴²⁸ Propertius' situation increasingly deteriorates. After the poet has described himself as shipwrecked in 1.17, he faces the ultimate climax in his separation from Cynthia in the next poem, where he writes elegy (*querenti*) in complete solitude:⁴²⁹

haec certe deserta loca et taciturna querenti
et vacuum Zephyri possidet aura nemus Prop. 1.18.1-2

This place at least is deserted and quiet in response to my complaints, and Zephyr's breeze is the master of the empty wood. (tr. Heyworth)

Like the Acontius of Callimachus (and Gallus?),⁴³⁰ Propertius wanders in an inhospitable landscape, and as the Gallus of *Eclogue* 10 had contemplated doing, he

⁴²⁷ On Cynthia as symbol of Propertius' poetry see nn. 452 and 453 below.

⁴²⁸ See e.g. King 1980, 213-4; Baker 2000, 11-5 on the sequence of poems in book 1.

⁴²⁹ See Saylor 1967 for the way the verb *queror* ("to complain") and its cognates denote Propertius' elegiac poetry.

⁴³⁰ See Cairns 1969 for Propertius' reworking of Callimachus' *Acontius and Cydippe*. On a possible reworking of the story by Gallus, see Section 5.2 above.

writes his elegiac poetry, Cynthia, on the trees, clearly alluding to Virgil's last bucolic poem:⁴³¹

vos eritis testes, si quos habet arbor amores,
fagus et Arcadio pinus amica deo.
a quotiens teneras resonant mea verba sub umbras
scribitur et vestris Cynthia corticibus! Prop. 1.18.19-22

You will be witnesses, if there is a tree that has any experiences of love, pastoral beech, and pine, mistress of the Arcadian god [*Pan*]. Ah, how often my words resound beneath the soft shade, and Cynthia is written in your bark!
(tr. Heyworth)

As in *Eclogue* 10, the landscape seems a grim version of the bucolic countryside, for although the typically bucolic beech (*fagus*)⁴³² and Pan are invoked, the echo, which in the *Eclogues* symbolizes harmony between man and nature and is closely associated with bucolic poetry,⁴³³ here only emphasizes Propertius' loneliness. Furthermore, "echo here is merely an alternative to Acontius' useless expedient of carving Cydippe's name on the bark of trees".⁴³⁴ This interpretation is reinforced at the end of the poem, where Propertius, again alluding to *Eclogue* 10 (as the underlined words indicate), continues to describe his lonely situation.⁴³⁵

pro quo dumosi montes et frigida rupes
et datur inculto tramite dura quies;
et quodcumque meae possunt narrare querelae
cogor ad argutas dicere solus aves.
sed qualiscumque es, resonent mihi "Cynthia" silvae
nec deserta tuo nomine saxa vacent. Prop. 1.18.27-32

⁴³¹ Cf. *Ecl.* 10.26: *Pan, deus Arcadiae*; *Ecl.* 10.53-4: (...) *tenerisque meos incidere amores arboribus* | *arboribus*: *crescent illae, crescetis, amores*.

⁴³² The tree already occurs in the first line of the programmatic first poem of the collection: *Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi* ... "Tityrus, lying back beneath wide beechen cover ..." (tr. Lee). See e.g. Wright 1983; Kenney 1983, 49-50 on the programmatic, Callimachean dimension of the tree.

⁴³³ See Ch. 2, Section 3.2 for the "pastoral echo".

⁴³⁴ Hardie 2002, 128.

⁴³⁵ Cf. *Ecl.* 10.47 (*Alpinas, a! dura nives et frigora Rheni*); 48 (*a! te ne frigora laedant!*); 56-7 (*non me ulla vetabunt* | *frigora Parthenios canibus circumdare saltu*); 58-9 (*iam mihi per rupes videor lucosque sonantis* | *ire*); 65-6 (*nec si frigoribus mediis Hebrumque bibamus* | *Sithoniasque nives hiemis subeamus aquosae*).

In return for this [*Cynthia's behaviour*] I am given overgrown mountains and chill rocks and uncomfortable rest on uncultivated land; and whatever tale my complaints can tell I am forced to utter in solitude to the singing birds. But, however you behave, let the woods echo my "Cynthia" and the deserted rocks never be empty of your name. (tr. Heyworth)

Just like Virgil's Gallus, Propertius tries to console himself in the countryside, but for an elegiac lover this landscape proves to be the end of elegiac poetry, a place where writing elegy, i.e. inscribing the name of the beloved on trees or using the bucolic echo, is useless: "In this elegiac version of the pastoral world echo is merely an empty consolation."⁴³⁶

Understandably, Propertius contemplates death in the next poem, the last one on Cynthia in the book. The poet fears that his Cynthia will not love him any more after his death:

non adeo leviter nostris puer haesit ocellis,
ut meus oblito pulvis amore vacet Prop. 1.19.5-6

Not so lightly does the boy [*Cupid*] stick in my eyes that love would be forgotten and absent from my ashes. (tr. Heyworth)

As Cynthia and *amor* also denote Propertius' elegiac poetry, the poem can also be read metapoetically as Propertius fearing that his poetry will not survive his own death. This dimension of the poem is reinforced by the allusion to the first lines of the programmatic first poem of Propertius' *Cynthia*.⁴³⁷ Although Propertius fears that Cupid will drag Cynthia away from him after his death (*quam verior, ne te ... | abstrahat a nostro pulvere iniquus Amor*, 21-2), he reassures himself with the thought that he cannot guarantee that this will not happen (24). The only thing left to do is to continue his life as elegiac lover and poet for as long as possible, which is never long enough:

⁴³⁶ Hardie 2002, 128.

⁴³⁷ See e.g. Baker 2000, 168 (on 1.19.5): "We are reminded of the terms in which the beginning of the poet's love for Cynthia was described at 1.1.1-4 – the battle between his eyes and hers (...)."

quare, dum licet, inter nos laetemur amantes:
non satis est ullo tempore longus amor.

Prop. 1.19.25-6

So, while we may, let us love and be happy together: never, however long, does love last long enough. (tr. Goold)

What caused Propertius to contemplate his death as an elegiac poet was the solitude, symbolizing the end of elegiac poetry, that he encountered when he seemed definitively to lose his love by entering Virgil's bucolic world. As I will argue now, Propertius, in the next poem, uses these experiences to warn his elegiac rival Gallus.

6. A metapoetical reading of Propertius 1.20

6.1. *The warning: Propertius and Gallus*

Although Propertius' "Cynthia" has effectively dealt with Bassus' iambic poetry in poem 1.4,⁴³⁸ and with Ponticus' epic poetry in 1.7 and 1.9,⁴³⁹ it is Virgil's bucolic poetry that poses the real danger to elegiac poetry by removing the lover from his beloved, as Propertius has recently experienced in 1.18. At the end of 1.19, however, Propertius has apparently overcome the solitude of the elegiac lover in the bucolic world, which allows him to warn his colleague Gallus.

When we take a look at this warning again, it becomes clear that Propertius warns Gallus to protect his elegies against Virgil's *Eclogues*. It becomes clear because the

⁴³⁸ See e.g. Miller 2007, 408: "[W]hen Propertius presents Bassus trying to lure him away from Cynthia by praising the virtue of women of easy virtue, this is a recognizable iambic pose that can also be read as Bassus claiming the superiority of his own poetic genre to elegy/Cynthia (...). Propertius responds by telling Bassus that he should cease and desist or Cynthia will so blacken his name that he will be welcome at no girl's door. Cynthia will be transformed into an iambist (...) whose invective will reduce Bassus to the archetypal position of the effeminized elegiac lover, the *exclusus amator*. Elegy will show that it can beat iambic at its own game."

⁴³⁹ See e.g. Cairns 2006, 301, who speaks of Propertius' "elegiac transformation of another friend, the epic poet Ponticus, into a lover who abandons epic and becomes a humble adherent of Propertius erotic elegy (1.7 and 1.9)".

duros montes and the *frigida saxa* (13) that Gallus will face if he does not protect his elegiac poetry – his ὕλη, as symbolized by Hylas – recall the desolate landscape of *Eclogue* 10 and Propertius 1.18, there representing the end of elegiac poetry when confronted with the bucolic.

It is in this way that we can understand the motive of the warning, *pro continuo amore*, “to let love/elegiac poetry continue” (1), as it recalls the immediately preceding *longus amor* in the last line of 1.19 and at the same time refers to *Eclogue* 10, where Gallus has temporarily given up his *Amores*, his elegiac poetry.⁴⁴⁰ This interpretation is reinforced at the end of the poem, where Gallus, warned by the story of Hercules and Hylas, is admonished to look after his *Amores* as one who has “been seen to entrust beautiful Hylas to nymphs” (*formosum nymphis credere visus Hylan*). This has happened (in the metapoetical sense) in the last *Eclogue*, but also, as the allusion of *formosum ... Hylan* to Alexis shows, in *Eclogue* 2, where Gallus’ elegiac poetry is tried but eventually abandoned by Corydon/Virgil, who prefers the bucolic life.

6.2. The narrative: Hercules and Hylas

The Hylas narrative within the poem alludes to the same Virgilian *Eclogues*, and there is a close link between frame and exemplum, as we have already seen. This suggests that the mythological story as told by Propertius also deals with Gallus’ elegiac poetry in relation to Virgil’s *Eclogues*. In fact, as I will now argue, the story, told in the past tense, can be read as a metapoetical allegory, describing what Virgil has done to Gallus’ poetry as symbolized by Hylas. His going to the Hamadryads, who symbolize the *Eclogues*, and – as a climax – his abduction into the pool, can be read as Gallus’ poetry being absorbed by Virgil’s bucolic poetry. This is reinforced by

⁴⁴⁰ Perhaps *vacuus animus*, “empty mind”(2), which in first instance refers to Gallus’ carelessness concerning his love, also refers to 1.18.32 (*nec deserta tuo nomine saxa vacent*) and 1.19.6 (*ut meus oblito pulvis amore vacet*) (translated on p. 146 above), where the adjective was associated with the definitive absence of Cynthia and elegiac *amor*.

the anaphora of verb in the phrase *ibat Hylas, ibat Hamadryasin* (32),⁴⁴¹ which seems to mark an allusion to *Eclogue* 10.50-1, where, as I argued earlier, Gallus started his announcement that he would turn his elegies into bucolic poetry with the word *ibo* (50).⁴⁴² Hylas then immediately enters a bucolic world, which recalls *Eclogue* 2 in particular, as the underlined words show (see also pp. 135-6 above):

fons erat Arganthi Pegae sub vertice montis,
grata domus nymphis umida Thyniasin,
quem supra nulli pendebant debita curae
roscida desertis poma sub arboribus;
et circum irriguo surgebant lilia prato
candida purpureis mixta papaveribus.
quae modo decerpens tenero pueriliter ungui
proposito florem praetulit officio.

Prop. 1.20.33-40

There was a spring, Pegae, beneath the peak of mount Arganthus, a moist home, pleasing to the nymphs of Thynia, over which dewy apples, the result of no cultivation, hung from wild trees; and around in the water-meadow, rose white lilies mixed with crimson poppies. Now childishly picking these with youthful nail, he put flowers ahead of his intended task. (tr. Heyworth)

Understandably, because he symbolizes Gallus' elegiac poetry, the boy is attracted by that constituent of the landscape that the elegiac and the bucolic worlds have in common: flowers, which are as beautiful as he is himself, as the white lilies (*lilia* ... *candida*, 37-8) suggest (cf. *candore*, 45).⁴⁴³ With these symbols of elegiac pursuit Corydon tried, but failed, to seduce Alexis in *Eclogue* 2, but it was the flowers that Gallus in *Eclogue* 10 liked about the bucolic world and that lured him into it.

Hylas is also attracted by the pool, which has a beauty (*formosis* ... *undis*, 41) in which he recognizes something of himself (cf. *formosum* ... *Hylan*, 52), as with the

⁴⁴¹ See p. 156 below for my divergence from the text of Heyworth 2007a here.

⁴⁴² See also Wills 1996, 104, who suggests that the repetition participates in "an idiom (or sequence of allusions) on common demise": Hylas goes towards certain death, as Gallus did in *Ecl.* 10 by entering the bucolic world.

⁴⁴³ Cf. Petr. *Sat.* 83.3: *candidus Hylas*. Cf. also *Idyll* 13.49, Ἀργεῖω παιδί ("Argive boy"), with the suggestion of Bonanno 1990, 203-6 that the adjective should be read as ἀργεῖω, "gleaming".

flowers. In effect, Hylas is depicted as Narcissus, another figure suffering an elegiac type of love in a bucolic landscape, who falls in love with himself.⁴⁴⁴

et modo formosis incumbens nescius undis
errorem blandis tardat imaginibus. Prop. 1.20.41-2

and now leaning unawares over the fair water he delays his wandering with the charming images. (tr. Heyworth, adapted)

Like Narcissus, Hylas does not really see what he thinks he sees, i.e. an elegiac reflection of himself, but he is unwarily (*nescius*, 41) cheated by an illusion (*imaginibus*, 42), for the pool appears to be the home of Virgil's bucolic nymphs, by whom he is then abducted (47-8).⁴⁴⁵ As a consequence, Hercules becomes a frustrated elegiac lover, for whom the countryside is transformed into an inhospitable landscape – a situation comparable to that in Theocritus' *Idyll* 13⁴⁴⁶ –, and for whom the bucolic echo, as in 1.18, symbolizes solitude by returning only the name of the beloved.⁴⁴⁷

cui procul Alcides ter "Hyla" respondet; at illi
nomen ab extremis montibus aura refert. Prop. 1.20.49-59

To him from a distance Hercules thrice replies "Hylas"; and the breeze brings back the name to him from the far-off mountains. (tr. Heyworth)

It is exactly this that has happened in *Eclogue* 10, and which Propertius warns Gallus not to let happen again: Gallus has let Virgil rewrite his elegies into bucolic poetry,

⁴⁴⁴ Cf. Hardie 2002, 163: "Narcissus, like the Gallus of Virgil's tenth *Eclogue*, suffers the frustration of an elegiac lover in a pastoral landscape." For the "Narcissistic" dimension of Propertius' Hylas, which is reinforced by the intertextual contact with Ovid's Narcissus in *Met.* 3 (and even further by Valerius Flaccus' allusions to Ovid's Narcissus in his Hylas episode), see e.g. Heerink 2007b. See also Ch. 4, Section 5.1 for Valerius' Hylas and Ovid's Narcissus.

⁴⁴⁵ The elegiac nature of Hylas is emphasized by the mention of his *error*, which can function as a kind of technical term denoting (the writing of) elegiac poetry. See e.g. Prop. 1.13.35, Ov. *Am.* 1.2.35, 20.9. Cf. also Milanion in Prop. 1.1.11 (on the literary significance of whose *error* see also Booth 2001a, 72): *Partheniis amens errabat in antris*. "He wandered distraught in the glens of Parthenius." (tr. Goold), and Gallus' "elegiac wandering" in *Ecl.* 6. and Prop. 2.13.

⁴⁴⁶ See Ch. 2, Section 3.3.3.

⁴⁴⁷ See also Introduction, Section 2 for the echo in Prop. 1.20.

which caused him to wander in a lonely and grim version of the countryside without his beloved, bereft of his poetry.

7. Propertius' elegiac Hylas

As in Apollonius' *Argonautica* and Theocritus' *Idyll* 13, Hylas' switch from the homosexual affair with Hercules to the heterosexual union with the nymphs can be interpreted as a metapoetical transition, in this case of Gallus' poetry from elegiac to bucolic poetry. The difference from Apollonius and Theocritus seems to be, however, that Propertius seems at first sight not to associate his own kind of poetry with Hylas. But is this in fact the case? Before Hylas goes to the bucolic spring, he is depicted as the elegiac beloved of Hercules, and even of his fellow Argonauts Zetes and Calais, the sons of Boreas, which is not how he is represented in the Hellenistic versions of the myth. Whether or not Gallus wrote an elegiac poem about Hercules and Hylas we cannot know, and in what follows I will argue that regardless of this question, which cannot be answered, it is clear that Propertius has carefully rewritten Theocritus' bucolic reworking of Apollonius' Hylas in an elegiac form.

7.1. Propertius, Apollonius and Theocritus

Idyll 13 of Theocritus is one of the most important intertexts of 1.20, but its impact has nevertheless received very little attention. Not only does 1.20 have the format of *Idyll* 13, in which the Hylas story is told to a fellow poet as an exemplum, but it also contains specific allusions to the Hellenistic poem. Immediately at the start of the Hylas exemplum, Propertius imitates Theocritus in concisely summarizing the first two books of Apollonius' *Argonautica* in one sentence:⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁸ See Ch. 2, Section 3.3.1 for Theocritus' summary of Apollonius, *Arg.* 1-2.

namque ferunt olim Pagasae navalibus Argo
egressam longe Phasidos isse viam,
et iam praeteritis labentem Athamantidos undis
Mysorum scopulis applicuisse ratem.

Prop. 1.20.17-22

For they say that once Argo set out from the dock at Pagasa, and went far away on the journey to Phasis, and gliding on, having already passed the waters of the daughter of Athamas [Helle], the boat put in to the rocks of Mysia.
(tr. Heyworth)

The “Alexandrian footnote”⁴⁴⁹ *ferunt* (“they say”) immediately makes the reader aware of the allusions that follow. *Minyis* in line 4, for example, immediately recalls Apollonius, who often uses this word to denote the Argonauts and who even gives an etymological explanation for the word in his first book (229-32). Furthermore, the five-syllable patronymic *Athamantidos* in line 19 and in fact the whole line, with its wordy description of the Hellespont and the passing through it, is a clear allusion to the first book of Apollonius’ epic (926-8):

(...) ἰστία δ’ οὐρῶ
στησάμενοι κούρης Ἀθαμαντίδος αἰπὰ ῥέεθρα
εἰσέβαλον. (...)

Arg. 1.926-8

(...) and they raised their sails to the following wind and entered the choppy currents of Athamas’ daughter. (tr. Race)

After his summary of Apollonius’ *Argonautica*, Theocritus provides his own Callimachean, bucolic version of the *Argonautica*, starting with the “bucolic preparations” of the Argonauts in Mysia, as we have seen in the previous chapter.⁴⁵⁰ Propertius also describes the Argonauts’ preparations for the night:

hic manus heroum, placidis ut constitit oris,
mollia composita litora fronde tegit.

Prop. 1.20.21-2

⁴⁴⁹ The term, which was coined by Ross 1975, 78, when dealing with this very example, is defined by Hinds 1998, 1-2 as “the signalling of specific allusion by a poet through seemingly general appeals to tradition and report, such as ‘the story goes’ (*fama est*), ‘they relate’ (*ferunt*), or ‘it is said’ (*dicitur*)”. Cf. Wills 1996, 31 on “external markers of allusion”.

⁴⁵⁰ See Ch. 2, Section 3.3.2.

Here the band of heroes, when they set foot on the calm shore, covered the beach and made it soft with a pile of foliage. (tr. Heyworth)

At first sight, Propertius seems to allude to both Apollonius and Theocritus, whose descriptions allude to each other, as the underlined words indicate:

ἐνθα δ' ἔπειθ' οἱ μὲν ξύλα κάγκανα, τοὶ δὲ λεχαίην
φυλλάδα λειμώνων φέρον ἄσπετον ἀμήσαντες
στόρνυσθαι (...)

Arg. 1.1182-4

Thereupon some of the crew were bringing dry wood, while others were bringing leaves that they gathered in abundance from the meadows to spread for beds. (tr. Race)

(...) πολλοὶ δὲ μίαν στορέσαντο χαμεύναν.
λειμών γάρ σφιν ἔκειτο μέγα στιβάδεσσιν ὄνειαρ.

Id. 13.33-4

But they prepared one sleeping-place for all, because there was a great store of stuff for their beds. (tr. Verity)

When we take a closer look, however, Propertius appears to allude to Apollonius, for both mention the *gathering of leaves*, two elements that are missing in Theocritus' version. Moreover, the adverbs *hic* and ἐνθα, which Propertius and Apollonius have placed at the beginning of their respective lines, are comparable. Just like Theocritus, Propertius is rewriting Apollonius, but with a crucial difference. Whereas the hexameter (21) still describes an epic context with *manus heroum* ("the band of heroes"), at the beginning of the pentameter, the *versus elegiacus* (22), we seem to enter elegy with *mollia* ("soft"), a word with a strong elegiac ring.⁴⁵¹ In fact, the entire line alludes to the symbol of Propertius' elegiac poetry, Cynthia, lying on the beach of Baiae in elegy 1.11: *molliter in tacito litore compositam* ("elegantly resting on the silent shore"; tr. Heyworth). On the basis of the symbolic interpretation of Cynthia as

⁴⁵¹ I am grateful to Professor Nauta for sharing his ideas on this passage. For the elegiac association of *mollis*, see e.g. Baker 2000, 102 (on 1.7.19): "The epithet *mollis* ('soft', 'gentle') is regularly applied to poetry by the elegists, to indicate their own sort of poetry. It corresponds to *durus* ('hard', 'rough'), which they just as regularly use to describe epic poetry."

the poet's elegiac poetry, which is often triggered by Propertius,⁴⁵² McNamee has read this line metapoetically as referring to Propertius' "delicately composed", i.e. Callimachean, poetry.⁴⁵³ The allusion suggests that the Argonauts have landed in a poetical landscape that is Callimachean. Contrary to that of *Idyll* 13, however, it is not bucolic but elegiac. In what followed in *Idyll* 13, as I have argued in the previous chapter,⁴⁵⁴ Theocritus' landscape and what happened in it can be read as a metapoetical allegory, defining Theocritus' bucolic poetry *vis-à-vis* the Homeric, heroic-epic tradition.⁴⁵⁵ In passing, Theocritus rewrote Apollonius' Hylas episode, in which the epic poet revealed the Callimachean direction in which the *Argonautica* was going. Propertius, rewriting his Hellenistic predecessors, now seems to be presenting a poetical allegory of his own kind of Callimachean poetry, elegy, which is reinforced by what follows. Immediately after the "elegiac preparations" of the Argonauts Hylas is off to fetch water:

⁴⁵² See e.g. Commager 1974; Wyke 1987 (≈ 2002, 46-77) for this symbolical meaning of Cynthia as poetical construct, a "*scripta puella*". See McNamee 1993 for the ways in which this dimension of Cynthia makes metapoetical readings of poems in the first book possible: "Superficially Cynthia may be his [*i.e.* Propertius'] mistress, but in the allegorical dimension the mistress is poetry. (...) When a lover in these poems laments the lapses of the beloved, it is inspiration lost temporarily to the poet. When he discusses her appearance, his subject is poetic style. When he recalls his efforts at seducing her and the exhilaration of success, he describes a poet's exertions for perfection and his exalted feelings when the right words finally come." (215-6) In Prop. 2.24.2, Cynthia refers to Propertius' first book (cf. 1.1.1: *Cynthia prima*), but (Heyworth 1995, 177) "equally it is the first work of the corpus and so might refer to all (...) books. Moreover, Cynthia is not only the *incipit* but also the subject matter of the Propertian corpus: cf. Ov. *Rem.* 763-4 *carmina quis potuit tuto legisse Tibulli | vel tua, cuius opus Cynthia sola fuit?*". Cf. Keith 1994 on the literariness of elegiac *puellae* in Ovid's *Amores*.

⁴⁵³ McNamee 1993, 218. Cf. Booth 2001b, 543, n. 46, on Prop. 1.3.33: *compositos ... ocellos*. For the metapoetical dimension of Cynthia, cf. Wyke 2002, 73, on Prop. 2.13.7: "At this point the text even encourages the reader to interpret the title Cynthia as a key Callimachean term in Propertian poetics ... Mount Cynthus on Delos was linked with Apollo as tutelary divinity to the Callimachean writing-style, and that association too is reproduced in *Eclogue* 6 where the god who directs Virgilian discourse is given the cult title *Cynthius* (*Ecl.* 6.3)."

⁴⁵⁴ See Ch. 2, Section 3.3.3.

⁴⁵⁵ That Propertius (and his readers) regarded *Idyll* 13 as a bucolic poem is reinforced by the likelihood that Theocritus was known in the Augustan age through a single edition including both bucolic and non-bucolic *Idylls* like the Hylas poem (see e.g. Gutzwiller 1996, 124). As a scholion on Apollonius, *Arg.* 1.1236, which included *Idyll* 13 in Theocritus' bucolic poems (ἐν τοῖς βουκολικοῖς), suggests, a sense of unity was consequently seen in the oeuvre of Theocritus, who was regarded a bucolic poet and whose non-bucolic poems were even denoted as bucolic.

at comes invicti iuvenis processerat ultra
ram sepositi **quaerere** fontis aquam.

Prop. 1.20.23-4

The squire of the invincible hero had gone further afield, to seek the choice water of a secluded spring. (tr. Heyworth)

As Petrain has argued, line 24 is “an affirmation of Callimachean aesthetics in miniature”,⁴⁵⁶ for, as we have already seen, Propertius here alludes to two well-known metapoetical passages of the Hellenistic poet’s water imagery:⁴⁵⁷ *rara aqua* (“choice water”) recalls the pure (καθαρή) and undefiled (ἀχράαντος) spring in Callimachus’ *Hymn to Apollo* (111). Propertius’ *sepositi fontis*, on the other hand, brings the κρήνη, the “spring” in *Epigram* 28, to mind, which Callimachus dislikes, because everyone drinks from it.

So Propertius continues to describe the landscape in Callimachean terms, and again he alludes to Hylas episode of Apollonius, who, in his turn, alluded to Callimachus’ poetics when describing Hylas:⁴⁵⁸

δίζητο κρήνης ἱερὸν ῥόον

[Hylas] sought the sacred flow of a spring.

Arg. 1.1208

The scene that follows the programmatic lines 23-4 suggests, however, that Propertius is not following but again transforming the Callimachean epic of Apollonius into elegy. The passage describes the harassment of Hylas by the Boreads Zetes and Calais:

hunc duo sectati fratres, Aquilonia proles;
nunc superat Zetes, nunc superat Calais;
oscula suspensis instabant carpere plantis,
oscula et **alterna** ferre supina **fuga**:
ille sed extrema pendentes ludit in ala
et volucres ramo submovet insidias.

⁴⁵⁶ Petrain 2000, 414.

⁴⁵⁷ See Ch. 1, Section 2.5 for these texts with translation (and interpretation). Cf. Ch. 2, Section 3.4.4.

⁴⁵⁸ See Ch. 1, Section 3.3 for the Callimachean statement of Apollonius in this line.

iam Pandioniae cessit genus Orithyiae:
a dolor! ibat* Hylas ibat Hamadryasin.

Prop. 1.20.25-32

* ibat NAT, *S p.c. IC*: unus Heyworth

Him two brothers followed, the sons of the north wind: now Zetes overtakes him, now Calais; on hovering feet they pressed hard to snatch kisses, and, alternating in retreat [*or by turns in their flight*], to give kisses upside down. But he mocks them as they hang on wing tip, and drives off the flying threat with a branch. Now the family of Pandion's granddaughter Orithyia gave way: ah, woe! Hylas was going, he was going to the Hamadryades.

(tr. Heyworth, adapted)

In no other known version of the story Hylas is chased by the two Boreads, and so it is generally thought that either Propertius had a lost source,⁴⁵⁹ or that he invented the episode.⁴⁶⁰ There is another possibility, however, which holds the middle ground between these two extreme positions. Zetes and Calais have a crucial role in Apollonius' Hylas episode.⁴⁶¹ After an angry Telamon has accused Jason of leaving Hercules behind in Mysia on purpose, the Argonauts would have returned, "had not the two sons of Thracian Boreas restrained Aeacus' son with harsh words" (εἰ μὴ Θρηκίοιο δῶν υἱες Βορέαο | Αἰακίδην χαλεποῖσιν ἐρητύεσκον ἔπεσιν, *Arg.* 1.1300-1). Apollonius goes on to relate that Hercules will kill the brothers in revenge later. Because Propertius clearly evokes Apollonius' Hylas episode in what precedes his own Boreads episode (17-24) – the immediately preceding line 24 is even a virtual translation of Apollonius – it is very likely that the scene is meant to recall the crucial Apollonian passage. As with the earlier allusions to Apollonius, however, Propertius reworks his epic predecessor. In the light of my interpretation of Apollonius' Hylas episode (see Chapter 2), Zetes and Calais, who are partly responsible for Hercules' departure from the epic, could be seen as Callimachean. Propertius goes a step

⁴⁵⁹ See e.g. Cairns 2006, 246-9 (= 2004, 93-6), who thinks that Parthenius, in a hypothetical Hylas poem based on Apollonius, invented the episode, and that Propertius in turn based his own version on this. Butler & Barber 1933, 184-5 (on 1.20.25ff.), adduce the interesting pictorial parallel of a vase depicting "a boy pursued or carried off by a two-winged figure, perhaps a representation of the story of Zephyrus and Hyacinthus".

⁴⁶⁰ E.g. Newman 1997, 354.

⁴⁶¹ The parallel has been noted by Butler & Barber 1933, 184 (on 1.20.25ff.).

further and turns the Boreads into elegiac lovers, chasing after, but not able to conquer their beloved Hylas.⁴⁶² Implicitly, Propertius has thus also given another, more amorous, motive for Hercules' killing of the Boreads: jealousy. The elegiac character of the scene is underlined by the occurrence of the word *alternus* ("alternating") in the description of the assaults of the Boreads (*alterna fuga*, 28), for *alternus versus* is the technical term of the elegiac couplet, referring to the alternation between hexameter and pentameter,⁴⁶³ and elegiac poets often use the word to refer to their poetry on a secondary, metaphorical level. The first ten lines of poem 1.10, for instance, on a primary level seem to deal with a description of Gallus' making love to his mistress, witnessed by Propertius, but the scene also clearly has a metapoetical dimension, "in which Propertius, late at night, has read Gallus' love poetry, written so vividly that he can experience the reality of Gallus' love."⁴⁶⁴ Thus, *in alternis uocibus* in line 10 in first instance refers to a conversation between the two lovers – *tantus in alternis vocibus ardor erat*. "Such was the passion in your alternating voices" (tr. Heyworth) – but metapoetically also means "in your elegiac verse".⁴⁶⁵ The elegiac dimension of the Boreads episode is further enhanced by the use of the verb *ludere* (29), which "is equally applicable to love-play (...) and to love-poetry", as Baker notes on Propertius 1.10.9, where, as part of the metapoetical dimension of the poem, both meanings are evoked: ⁴⁶⁶ *non tamen a uestro potui secedere lusu*, "yet I could not part from your play/love poetry" (9; tr. Heyworth, adapted).⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶² That Propertius erotically rewrites Apollonius was suggested by Heslin 2007.

⁴⁶³ See Keith 1994, 34, adducing Hor. *AP* 75; Ov. *Am.* 2.17.14, 21-2; 3.1.37 as parallels.

⁴⁶⁴ Benjamin 1965, 178. For this interpretation, see also e.g. Skutsch 1906, 144-6; Ross 1975, 83-4; Cairns 1983, 101, n. 73.; Sharrock 1990; Baker 2000, 115.

⁴⁶⁵ Sharrock 1990, 570. See Benjamin 1965 and O'Hara 1989 for a different interpretation of the words, as referring to "amoebaeon verse": "The occasion, then, that prompted Propertius' poem 10 can be reconstructed as follows: Propertius had read the love poetry of Gallus and has been aroused to reply with his own elegy 10." (Benjamin 1965, 178)

⁴⁶⁶ Baker 2000, 117 (on Prop. 1.10.9), who, however, states that "the former sense is the one predominant here". I do not agree: the literal and metapoetical meanings are both evoked at the same time and are equally important.

⁴⁶⁷ Cf. also Cat. 50, a poem very reminiscent of 1.10 (see e.g. Pasco-Pranger 2009), in which the two poets Catullus and Calvus are writing poetry together far into the night, and in which the metapoetical meaning of *ludere* as "writing love poetry" is very explicit: *hesterno, Licini, die otiosi* |

7.2. *Beyond Virgil and Gallus*

After the elegiac Boreads scene, Hylas is going further inland, into the bucolic world of Virgil.⁴⁶⁸ The rewriting does not stop there, however, for Propertius incorporates Virgil's bucolic landscape of *Eclogue* 2 into elegy, as we have seen, as part of his warning as elegiac *praeceptor amoris*. Furthermore, whereas Corydon and Virgil tried but failed to seduce Alexis in the *Eclogues* with a garland of flowers, which resulted in a return to bucolic poetry that implicitly claimed the superiority of that genre in dealing with love, Propertius shows that he, as an elegiac poet, *is* able to seduce Hylas with the same flowers. The most important way in which Propertius tries to outdo Virgil, however, concerns the echo, which is a precondition for the existence of Virgil's bucolic poetry, where it symbolizes harmony between the bucolic and a sympathetic, responding landscape that reveals supernatural presence.⁴⁶⁹ Although the close link between bucolic song and the sound of nature is also essential in Theocritus' bucolic poetry,⁴⁷⁰ the echo only features in *Idyll* 13, where Hylas' abduction transforms him into the natural phenomenon. As I have suggested in the previous chapter, however, this transformation also symbolized the origin of (Theocritus') bucolic poetry. Possibly Virgil has taken Theocritus' cue, basing his bucolic echo on *Idyll* 13. This is suggested by the occurrence of Hylas' echo in *Eclogue* 6, which clearly reacts to Theocritus:

multum lusimus in meis tabellis. "Yesterday, Licinius, we made holiday and played many a game with my tablets." (tr. Cornish & Goold)

⁴⁶⁸ The progression of the Argonauts, and Hylas in particular, can perhaps also be read in generally metapoetical, generic terms, from the open sea (epic), to the coast (elegiac poetry), and finally to the countryside (bucolic). Cf. Sharrock 1990, 571 on Prop. 3.3.23-4, where a Callimachean Apollo uses similar imagery to recommend elegiac poetry to Propertius: *alter remus aquas alter tibi radat harenas, tutus eris: medio maxima turba mari est*. ("Let one of your oars skim the water, the other the sand: you will be safe; the greatest storm [and crowd] is in mid sea."; tr. Heyworth): "The high sea which Propertius is to avoid by staying close to the shore is epic poetry. Could it be that the image is quite precise? One line of his poetry (*alter remus*) touches the open sea (epic); the other touches the shore (elegy). One line (the hexameter) is 'epic', in that it is common to both epic and elegy; the other line (the pentameter) is peculiar to elegy and so is the element which defines the poetry's generic status."

⁴⁶⁹ In the words of Hardie 2002, who speaks of "pastoral presence" vs. "elegiac absence" (121-128; 163-5). See also Ch. 2, Section 3.2 on the "pastoral echo".

⁴⁷⁰ See Ch. 2, Section 3.2.

his adiungit, Hylan nautae quo fonte relictum
clamassent, ut litus "Hyla Hyla" omne sonaret.

Ecl. 6.43-4

[*Silenus*] adds at what fountain mariners for Hylas lost | shouted till all the
shore re-echoed *Hylas, Hylas*. (tr. Lee)

First of all, the echo is, like that of Theocritus, mimetically reflected in the text. Whereas Hylas' words literally "echoed" those of Hercules (τῷς – τῷς; ἄνυσεν – ὑπάκουσεν, 58-9), Virgil has reproduced the echo in the prosody in a way that creates the fading effect of an echo (*Hylā Hylā*). Furthermore, as Bonanno has argued, Virgil has reproduced Hercules' triple cry and echo in *Idyll* 13 with *Hylan* and the repeated *Hyla Hyla* in the next line, for although *Hylan* differs morphologically from the two vocatives, it is phonetically equivalent to them because of the subsequent *nautae*.⁴⁷¹ These allusions, but also the emphasis in Virgil's two lines on the spring and the echo,⁴⁷² suggest that Virgil is, like his intertext, treating the myth as an aetiology for the echo, and thus as an essential bucolic myth. This reading is reinforced by the context of the lines, the meta-bucolic sixth *Eclogue*, and more specifically, Silenus' song (31-81), which is equally metapoetical.⁴⁷³ Like its model, Orpheus' song in Apollonius' *Argonautica*,⁴⁷⁴ the song starts with a cosmogony (31-42),⁴⁷⁵ which is as much about the origin of the world as it is about the origin of

⁴⁷¹ Bonanno 1990, 197. See further Introduction, Section 2 for these echoes.

⁴⁷² Cf. Williams 1979, 116 (on *Ecl.* 6.43-4) on *quo fonte*: "It is an unusual way of introducing the subject, as the emphasis must be on Hylas not the fountain."

⁴⁷³ See e.g. Elder 1961 and esp. Deremetz 1995, 287-314, e.g. 301: "Ainsi, la bucolique virgilienne dit-elle son origine et décrit-elle sa propre genèse : elle est un *carmen deductum – ab origine* –, un chant qui remonte, d'écho en écho, à l'aube de l'humanité, et, comme tel, capable de mobiliser et de transformer tous les matériaux poétiques antérieurs." Cf. Hardie 1998, 15: "Through his poetic shaping and appropriation of disparate themes Virgil ensures that the Song of Silenus also functions as a 'poetic' genealogy' for his own, as well as for Gallus', poetry."

⁴⁷⁴ See e.g. Knox 1986, 11; Clausen 1994, 176 on the intertextual contact.

⁴⁷⁵ That the cosmogony continues to line 42 (and not 40, as is more generally accepted) is argued by Jachmann 1923, 292-4 and Ross 1975, 27, n. 1: "The cosmogony should include lines 41-2 (after which – *his adiungit* – a new *carmen* begins: cf. Orpheus' song in Apollonius, which continues in the same way with Cronos and Zeus (*Arg.* 1.503-11))."

poetry, bucolic poetry in fact.⁴⁷⁶ After the earth has been formed, the first life that comes into being is the *silvae*, followed by the animals:

incipiant silvae cum primum surgere cumque
rara per ignaros errent animalia montis. Ecl. 6.39-40

(...) when first the forest trees begin to rise, and when | rare creatures wander
over unfamiliar hills. (tr. Lee)

The mention of these *silvae*, evoking the *Eclogues* themselves,⁴⁷⁷ suggests that the cosmogony describes the origin of a *bucolic* world. This observation, combined with the very Lucretian language of the passage,⁴⁷⁸ recalls the programmatic prologue of *Eclogue* 6, where Virgil, in the guise of Tityrus, admonished by Callimachus' Apollo to stick to writing bucolic poetry, says that he will do so in words that offer a virtual definition of bucolic poetry: *agrestem tenui meditabor harundine Musam*. "Now will I woo the rustic Muse on slender reed." (8) This line alludes to a passage in Lucretius' history of civilization in book 5 of the *De rerum natura*, where he describes the bucolic world of early mankind: *agrestis enim tum musa vigeat*. "For then the rustic muse was in its prime." (1398). These countrymen were the first to learn how to make music. By imitating birds, they learned how to sing, and the blowing wind taught them how to make a musical instrument: the pastoral reed-pipe (1379-87). In a related passage, to which Virgil alludes in the second line of the equally programmatic first *Eclogue*, with a phrase similar to that in *Eclogue* 6,⁴⁷⁹ Lucretius also deals with early mankind and his music, in his treatment of the echo (4.573-94). The poet gives a rational explanation for the phenomenon of echo and dismisses the bucolic world with its

⁴⁷⁶ See e.g. Deremetz 1995, 300: "La valeur étiologique de ce début est double : il dit la naissance du monde, du monde bucolique d'ailleurs, et, en même temps, il est la naissance du chant, rappelant par là qu'un chant poétique ne peut commencer lui-même qu'en chantant l'origine, que la genèse du monde et celle de la poésie sont nécessaires l'une à l'autre. (...) En même temps qu'il dit l'union des atomes, la formation des éléments, des êtres, des choses et des espaces, le chant, en effet, se forme lui-même, les mots s'unissant aux mots, atomes d'une langue poétique qui naît dans la bouche du *uates*."

⁴⁷⁷ See n. 380 above for *silvae* as metonym of the *Eclogues*.

⁴⁷⁸ For the many parallels, see e.g. Coleman 1977, 183-6; Clausen 1994, 189-92.

⁴⁷⁹ Cf. *Ecl.* 1.2: *silvestrem tenui Musam meditaris avena* ("You [Tityrus] are wooing the woodland Muse on slender reed") with *Lucr.* 4.589: *silvestrem ... musam* ("woodland muse").

satyrs, nymphs, fauns and Pan as a fantasy invented by early, “pastoral” man to explain the echo. In his *Eclogues*, however, Virgil, as Hardie puts it, “strives to reenchant the landscape, where echo is the sign of nature’s sympathy with man, and where supernatural and legendary singers, a Silenus, an Orpheus, a Hesiod, have magical powers.”⁴⁸⁰

The programmatic position of the mention of Hylas and his echo in *Eclogue* 6, as the first mythological story after the cosmogony that describes the origin of the bucolic world and its inhabitants,⁴⁸¹ thus suggests that Hylas features here as the aetiology of the echo and thus of (Virgil’s) bucolic poetry. This importance of Hylas for Virgil’s bucolic poetry is reinforced by the pervasiveness of the echo in *Eclogue* 6. At the end, for example, Silenus’ song itself is presented as a metaphorical “echo” of previous song, which in its turn is literally echoed in the bucolic world.⁴⁸² As a parallel which further strengthens this interpretation, book 1 of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* may be adduced, where the first mythological story after the cosmogony, which is clearly modelled on *Eclogue* 6,⁴⁸³ also presents an aetiology of a poetic genre. Whereas Virgil deals with bucolic poetry, however, Ovid tells the story of Daphnis and Apollo to explain the origin of the genre most dear to him, love elegy, significantly alluding to his own investiture as an elegiac poet in *Amores* 1.1 along the way.⁴⁸⁴

⁴⁸⁰ Hardie 1998, 11.

⁴⁸¹ Cf. Knox 1986, 13: “As the first mythological tale after the opening cosmogony in the Sixth *Eclogue*, the story of Hylas acquires programmatic significance.” Knox derives this significance, however, from his belief that the story is characteristically neoteric and elegiac. I cannot agree, especially because of the bucolic associations of the story in general and the bucolic context of *Ecl.* 6 in particular.

⁴⁸² *Ecl.* 6.82-4: *omnia, quae Phoebus quondam meditante beatus | audiit Eurotas iussitque ediscere lauros, | ille canit, pulsae referunt ad sidera valles; | cogere donec ouis stabulis numerumque referre | iussit et invito processit Vesper Olympo.* “All, that from Phoebus’ meditation, in old days, blest | Eurotas heard and bade his laurels memorize, | he sings (the smitten valleys tell it to the stars), | till Vesper came to view in a reluctant sky | and bade the flock be folded and their number told.” (tr. Lee) On the various manifestations of echo in *Ecl.* 6, see Deremetz 1995, 295-6; 298-304.

⁴⁸³ On the intertextual contact, see Knox 1986, 10-14; Deremetz 1995, 308-9.

⁴⁸⁴ See Hardie 2002, 45-50; 128-30, e.g. 129: “The story of Daphne is the foundational narrative of the inaccessible elegiac *dura puella*, to be possessed by the elegist and his readers only in the form of a *scripta puella*.” On Ovid’s reworking of *Amores* 1.1 in this episode, see Ch. 4, Section 5.4 (where the passages are also quoted).

Propertius has transformed Virgil's bucolic Hylas into an elegiac boy, and the echo, as in poem 1.18, is not reproduced by Hylas, but is demythologized into a natural phenomenon that only symbolizes elegiac absence of the beloved, not bucolic presence. By transforming bucolic material into elegy, Propertius has capped Virgil, who had not only claimed that his bucolic was the most original kind of poetry, but also that it could include and surpass elegy.

But that is not all. By inverting what happened to Gallus and his elegy in the *Eclogues*, and by putting Hylas in service of that typically elegiac activity of the *praeceptor amoris* to warn Gallus, Propertius has also outdone his elegiac rival. After this poet has been a fierce competitor in the course of the first book, in poems which "can be read as Propertius' attempt to define his own poetic niche that is apparently vulnerable to incursions by Gallus and his amatory elegies",⁴⁸⁵ Propertius is, after his experiences in 1.18 and 1.19, finally able to beat one his most important rivals, at the end of a book in which he has shown that his elegies can deal with every genre, even Virgil's dreaded *Eclogues*. I wonder if it is a coincidence that Gallus occurs only once more as a character in Propertius' elegies, in the following epigrams (1.21-2), which "mirror the love poems that come before them",⁴⁸⁶ and in which he is represented as a soldier (of love?),⁴⁸⁷ dying in the Etruscan mountains, the territory of Propertius, who was born there, as is thematized in 1.22. At any rate, after the first book, Gallus is no rival for Propertius any more. He will appear once more at the end of the last poem of book 2, but only as a figure from literary history.

⁴⁸⁵ Petrain 2000, 418.

⁴⁸⁶ Miller 2004, 69.

⁴⁸⁷ See e.g. Holzberg 2006, 16 on the elegiac topos of the *militia amoris* ("military service in love").

CHAPTER 4

EPIC HYLAS: VALERIUS FLACCUS' *ARGONAUTICA* AND STATIUS' *THEBAID*

Ganz erbärmlich ist (...) seine sklavische Abhängigkeit von Vergil. Ich dachte, etwas hat er doch gelesen, als ich VII 149 eine Anspielung auf den Orestes des Euripides, VII 301 auf die Bakchen fand. Aber beides stammt aus der Aeneis IV 479.

von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1924, II, 165, n. 2
(on Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*)

1. Introduction: the epic potential of Valerius' Hylas

In the previous chapters it was argued that Hylas, in the Hellenistic and Augustan ages, was associated with Callimachean poetry. In Roman poetry, these poetics, as is well-known, were interpreted more rigidly than they were conceived of by Callimachus himself as anti-epic.⁴⁸⁸ It is therefore striking that in Valerius Flaccus' Flavian epic *Argonautica*, Hylas initially seems to fulfil an epic role. When the Greek heroes assemble to join the Argonautic expedition at the beginning of the epic and Hercules and Hylas are introduced, Hylas is described as happily carrying the hero's weapons:

Protinus Inachiis ultro Tirynthius Argis
advolat, Arcadio cuius flammata veneno
tela puer facilesque umeris gaudentibus arcus
gestat Hylas; velit ille quidem, sed dextera nondum
par oneri clavaeque capax. (...)

Arg. 1.107-11

At once Tirynthian Hercules hurries there | unprodded, from Inachian Argos'
land. | His arrows tipped with venom's Arcadian fire | and his bow the

⁴⁸⁸ Ch. 1, Section 2.5 discusses Callimachus' position *vis-à-vis* epic. See also Sections 5.4 and 7.3 below for Roman "Callimacheanism".

youngster Hylas carries, | an easy load his shoulders gladly bear. | The club as well he'd hold, but still | his arms can't bear the weight. (tr. Barich)

Although he is a boy (*puer*) not able to carry Hercules' club, *nondum* ("not yet") suggests that he will be able someday and will thus become an epic hero like his adoptive father. This suggestion is not present in the parallel passage in Valerius' most important model, Apollonius' *Argonautica*:

(...) σὺν καὶ οἱ Ὕλας κίεν, ἐσθλὸς ὀπάων
πρωθήβης, ἰὼν τε φορεὺς φύλακός τε βιοῖο Arg. 1.131-2

And with him went his noble squire Hylas, in the first bloom of youth, to be the bearer of his arrows and guardian of his bow. (tr. Race)

This move of Valerius seems in line with the poetics of the *Argonautica* in general, for, as most scholars nowadays agree, Valerius' epic "recuperates" its Hellenistic predecessor as heroic epic – and in particular its protagonist Jason as epic hero – by viewing Apollonius' epic through a Virgilian lens.⁴⁸⁹ In fact, the Valerian relationship between Hylas and Hercules is modelled on that between Virgil's Ascanius and Aeneas.⁴⁹⁰ This is already apparent from the passage quoted above, which alludes to *Aeneid* 2. There, in a similar context, at the start of the epic journey of the Trojans, Ascanius is following Aeneas (compare the underlined words):

haec fatus latos umeros subiectaque colla
veste super fulvique insternor pelle leonis,
succedoque oneri; dextrae se parvus Iulus
implicuit **sequiturque patrem non passibus aequis**. Aen. 2.721-4

⁴⁸⁹ See esp. Hershkowitz 1998, 105-98 (Ch. 3: "Recuperations: better, stronger, faster"). Cf. Stover 2003, which builds on Hershkowitz's work. For the way Valerius' Jason evokes Virgil's Aeneas, see also Adamietz 1970, 37.

⁴⁹⁰ Cf. Hershkowitz 1998, 150: "In accordance with the established pattern of Valerian recuperation, once again this Romanization is a by-product of a sort of Vergilization of the situation as a whole, extending to the character of Hylas as much as to the character of Hercules, by modelling their relationship primarily on that of Aeneas and Ascanius." See also p. 168 below.

When I had finished speaking, I put on a tawny lion's skin as a covering for my neck and the breadth of my shoulders and then I bowed down and took up my burden. Little Iulus twined his fingers in my right hand and kept up with me with his short steps. (tr. D. West)

Later in the epic, at the beginning of the Hylas episode, the intertextual contact with this Virgilian passage is made even more clear. After Hercules has broken his oar in a rowing contest, the Argo slows down and Tiphys steers it towards the Mysian coast. Hercules then heads for the ash trees to cut one down to make a new oar, and Hylas following Hercules resembles Ascanius in the footsteps of Aeneas (as the bold markings highlight):⁴⁹¹

(...) petit excelsas Tirynthius ornos,
haeret Hylas lateri **passusque moratur iniquos.** Arg. 3.485-6

The man from Tiryns heads toward towering ash trees; | Hylas keeps close, slowing his unequal stride. (tr. Barich, adapted)

Hylas thus seems to be presented as a potential epic hero, destined to follow in the footsteps of his heroic father, just like Ascanius in the *Aeneid*. Whereas Aeneas' son is still a child at the beginning of the expedition (*parvus Iulus*), he is "flirting with adulthood" in *Aeneid* 9.⁴⁹² After Ascanius has slain the aboriginal Numanus Remulus, who was mocking the Trojans, he is congratulated by Apollo in terms that suggest that he is becoming a *vir*:⁴⁹³

macte nova virtute, puer, sic itur ad astra,
dis genite et geniture deos. Aen. 9.641-2

You have become a man, young Iulus, and we salute you! This is the way that leads to the stars. You are born of the gods and will live to be the father of gods. (tr. D. West)

⁴⁹¹ See Langen 1896-7, 253 (on Arg. 3.486); Garson 1963, 261 and Hershkowitz 1998, 151 for the allusion.

⁴⁹² Morgan 2003, 75. See also Hardie 1994, 15-7 on Ascanius in *Aen.* 9.

⁴⁹³ See e.g. Keith 1999; Hinds 2000 on the way Roman epic associates epic with men.

This passage and Ascanius' development in the *Aeneid* in general not only deal with maturation, however, but also with epic poetry, which, from Homer onwards, is a distinctly masculine affair.⁴⁹⁴ As Keith adds, however, "additional pressure on gender may be felt in Latin epic, given the centrality of *vir-tus* in all its senses to the genre at Rome".⁴⁹⁵ Because of this particularly close association of epic with masculinity in Rome, it is not surprising that Roman poets often self-consciously define epic in programmatic places by reference to men and their stereotypically epic activity, war.⁴⁹⁶ Virgil, for instance, in the programmatic prologue of *Eclogue* 6, speaks of *reges et proelia*, "kings and battles" (6), and Horace, in his *Ars Poetica*, describes epic as dealing with *res gestae regumque ducumque et tristia bella*, "deeds of kings and leaders and grim wars" (73). The opening of the *Aeneid* (*arma virumque* ...) is another, extremely brief, example, to which Roman poets often refer in more implicitly programmatic, metapoetical contexts. At the end of his taunting speech to the Trojans, in which he calls them effeminate, Numanus Remulus tells the Trojans to "leave arms to men" (*sinite arma viris*, *Aen.* 9.620). Ascanius, by then attacking and killing him, shows Numanus what epic (and more specifically the *Aeneid*) is all about. The juxtaposition of *virtute* and *puer* in Apollo's words self-consciously reveals how striking this feat actually is: a *boy* has just won a male-epic fight. In his second address to Ascanius Apollo reminds Ascanius of the fact that he is still only a boy, not an epic warrior, a point emphasized by the juxtaposition of *puer* and *bello*.⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹⁴ As Morgan 2003, 66 expresses it: "Genres are gendered, and the epic genre is emphatically masculine." See also Keith 1999, 214 on the masculinity of epic.

⁴⁹⁵ Keith 1999, 214.

⁴⁹⁶ See, however, Hinds 2000, who shows that in practice Roman poets do not live up to this narrow definition: "'Unepic' elements, no matter how frequently they feature in actual epics, continue to be regarded as unepic; as if oblivious to elements of vitality and change within the genre (for which he himself may be in part responsible), each new Roman writer reasserts a stereotype of epic whose endurance is as remarkable as is its ultimate incompatibility with the actual plot of any actual epic in the Greek or Latin canon". (p. 223).

⁴⁹⁷ Hardie 1994, 209 (ad loc.): "Apollo concludes his second address, as he began his first, with the vocative *puer*, but, whereas in the first the collocation *uirtute puer* hinted at transition to manhood, here the juxtaposition with *bello* (pointing back to 590) seems to put Ascanius in his place; he is just a boy (*arma uirum* lies in the future for him)."

sit satis, Aenide, telis impune Numanum
oppetiisse tuis. primam hanc tibi magnus Apollo
concedit laudem et paribus non invidet armis;
cetera parce, puer, bello. (...)

Aen. 9.653-6

Let that be enough, son of Aeneas. Numanus has fallen to your arms and you are unhurt. Great Apollo has granted you this first taste of glory and does not grudge you arrows as sure as his own. You must ask for no more, my boy, in this war. (tr. D. West)

The killing of Numanus on the battlefield, however, makes it clear that Ascanius is on the verge of becoming a *vir* and thus an epic hero.

In book 3 of the *Argonautica*, Hylas is also successful on the battlefield, when he defeats the Cyzican Sages:

at diversa Sagen turbantem fallere nervo
tum primum puer ausus Hylas (spes maxima bellis
pulcher Hylas, si fata sinant, si prospera Iuno),
prostravitque virum celeri per pectora telo.

Arg. 3.182-5

But elsewhere in the field, where Sages works havoc, | boy Hylas for the first time ventures bold | and cheats him with his bow. (The greatest promise | fair Hylas showed for war, if only fate | allowed it, if only Juno had been kind.) He sends the man sprawling with swift arrow through chest. (tr. Barich)

As in the case of Ascanius (*tum primum*, *Aen.* 9.590), this is Hylas' first fight on the epic battlefield (*tum primum*, 183), and like Aeneas' son, Hylas seems destined to become an epic *vir*. The connection between the two epic boys is reinforced by the denotation of Hylas as *spes maxima bellis* (183), which recalls *Aeneid* 12, where Ascanius is called the "second hope of great Rome" (*magnae spes altera Romae*).⁴⁹⁸ But there is an important difference, for although Hylas is involved in a battle of epic proportions, it concerns a perversion of war, as the Argonauts are unwittingly killing

⁴⁹⁸ These intertextual connections between Hylas and Ascanius have also been documented by Spaltenstein 2004, 62-3 (ad loc.), who in addition notes the allusion to Marcellus' premature death as mentioned in *Aen.* 6.882-3 (*heu miserande puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas. | tu Marcellus eris. "Child of a nation's sorrow, could you but shatter the cruel barrier of fate! You are to be Marcellus."*) in line 184 (*si fata sinant, si prospera Iuno*), which announces Hylas' disappearance later in the book. See n. 630 below for the possible metapoetical significance of Hylas' daring (*ausus*, 183) in this passage.

their own friends, the hospitable Cyzicans.⁴⁹⁹ Just like Apollonius in his Cyzicus episode,⁵⁰⁰ Valerius here seems to decline to write heroic-epic poetry in its purest form, as dealing with men and war, “essential epic”, as Hinds calls it.⁵⁰¹

In this chapter, it will be argued that the Hylas episode reinforces this impression, and that the idea, most elaborately discussed by D. Hershkowitz, that Valerius has recuperated the *Argonautica* as a heroic epic by a “Vergilization” of Apollonius’ epic, has to be significantly modified.⁵⁰² Although Hylas is initially presented as a potentially epic, Virgilian, hero, the literary history of the boy eventually comes into play, revealing the impossibility of the epic continuing in the Virgilian direction in which it was going. I shall first suggest that the episode functions as a metapoetical manifesto, revealing Valerius’ *Argonautica* as an epic that can only imitate its Augustan epic predecessor to a certain extent. Valerius seems to elegize the *Aeneid*, a move which he allusively associates with Ovid’s “elegiac epic” *Metamorphoses*, a poem that reacts to Virgil’s heroic epic in a similar way. Although the *Argonautica* is clearly influenced by the *Aeneid*, the way in which Valerius expresses his distance from Virgil, the Roman Homer, in the Hylas episode recalls Apollonius’ Callimachean position *vis-à-vis* Homer. As much as Valerius’ epic is a “Vergilization” of the *Argonautica*, it is an Apollonian version of the *Aeneid*. Secondly I shall argue that Statius, in a very brief passage in book 5 of the *Thebaid*, alluding to Valerius’ *Argonautica*, uses Hylas and Hercules in a similar way to comment allegorically on the relationship of his epic to Virgil’s. Finally, I shall suggest that the allusions of both poets make it possible to read their great predecessor metapoetically as well.

⁴⁹⁹ The battle is wholly described in terms of an “unholy” (*nefas*) civil war (see McGuire 1997, 108-113), comparable to e.g. the second half of the *Aeneid*. The war at Cyzicus, however, is completely useless, as it serves no purpose whatsoever, and can be considered a perversion even of civil war, “a veritable Hell on Earth” (Hardie 1993: 87). That the war is an extreme case is reinforced by Jupiter, who breaks off the battle (*Arg.* 3.249-53), and by Valerius’ own question to Clio concerning the war: *cur talia passus | arma, quid hospitibus iunctas concurrere dextras | Iuppiter?* “Why Jupiter permits a war like this, a clash | of guest and host?” (*Arg.* 3.16-8; tr Barich, slightly adapted).

⁵⁰⁰ See e.g. Ch. 1, p. 38.

⁵⁰¹ Hinds 2000, entitled “Essential epic”.

⁵⁰² Hershkowitz 1998. See also n. 489 above.

2. The Hylas episode and the *Aeneid*

2.1. A miniature *Aeneid*

Contrary to all the previous versions of the Hylas story, the events in Valerius' episode are motivated by Juno, who wants to remove the hated Hercules from the Argonautic expedition. Although the goddess is the traditional patron deity of the expedition, as she is in Apollonius' epic,⁵⁰³ she plays no part in the Hellenistic Hylas episode. The inspiration for Valerius' innovation seems to come from his other most important model, Virgil's *Aeneid*, for with her hatred and persecution of a single hero, Valerius' Juno resembles her Virgilian counterpart.⁵⁰⁴ In fact, because of her positive, sympathetic role in the rest of the Roman *Argonautica*, Juno's hatred in the Hylas episode is very striking, and creates the impression that the episode is an *Aeneid* in miniature. This impression is supported by allusions to Virgil's epic. Juno's entrance in the Hylas episode, for instance, is accompanied by an allusion to *Aeneid* 7:⁵⁰⁵

illum ubi Juno poli summo de vertice puppem
deseruisse videt, tempus rata diva nocendi
(...)

Arg. 3.487-8

When Juno from the heaven's zenith sees | that he [*Hercules*] has left the ship,
the goddess deems | the time has come for harm. (tr. Barich)

at saeva e speculis tempus dea nacta nocendi
ardua tecta petit stabuli et de culmine summo
pastorale canit signum cornuque recurvo
Tartaream intendit vocem, qua protinus omne
contremuit nemus et silvae insonuere profundae.

Aen. 7.511-5

⁵⁰³ On Hera's role in Apollonius' *Argonautica*, see e.g. Feeney 1991, 62-4; 81-5; for Hera in the earlier tradition, see e.g. Klein 1931, 19-27.

⁵⁰⁴ Hershkowitz 1998, 160-3 (pp. 160-72 extensively discuss the intertextual contact between Virgil's and Valerius' Juno's). On Valerius' Juno in general, see also Schubert 1991 and Monaghan 2005.

⁵⁰⁵ The parallel was already noticed by Langen 1896-7, 253 (on Arg. 3.488), but is curiously omitted by Hershkowitz 1998, when dealing with the intertextual contact between Valerius' Juno and her Virgilian counterpart (pp. 160-3).

The cruel goddess [*Allecto*] saw from her vantage point that this was a moment when harm might be done and, flying to the top of the farm roof, from the highest gable she sounded the herdsman's signal with a loud call on the curved horn, and its voice was the voice of Tartarus. The trees shivered at the noise and the whole forest rang to its very depths. (tr. D. West)

Although it is strictly *Allecto* who sets the war in Latium in motion in the *Aeneid*, it is of course Juno who has commanded her to do so. Valerius' allusion thus suggests that Juno's action in the Hylas episode – which constitutes the climax of Juno's hatred of Hercules in the *Argonautica*, as it brings about the removal of the great hero from the epic⁵⁰⁶ – is comparable to her rousing the war in Latium, which takes up the entire second half of the *Aeneid* and can be considered a culmination of hatred against Aeneas and his Trojans.

This connection with *Aeneid* 7 is reinforced somewhat later. After Juno has set her plan in the *Argonautica* in motion, she delivers an embittered monologue, the end of which clearly alludes to a similar monologue of hers in *Aeneid* 7, right before her ordering of *Allecto* to stir things up:⁵⁰⁷

verum animis insiste tuis actumque per omnem*
tende, pudor; mox et Furias Ditemque movebo. Arg. 3.519-20

* per omnem C: movebo V

But keep to your resolve, my shame, through all. I'll soon stir Furies and the god of Hell. (tr. Barich)

flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo. Aen. 7.312

If I cannot prevail upon the gods above, I shall move hell. (tr. D. West)

⁵⁰⁶ Hershkowitz 1998, 160.

⁵⁰⁷ See e.g. Eigler 1988, 39-47; Garson 1963, 266; Adamietz 1976, 48-9; Hershkowitz 1998, 161 for the allusions to the *Aeneid* in this speech.

Valerius' line, mentioning the Furies, almost seems a gloss on Virgil's less specific expression, as it is the Fury Allecto that Virgil's Juno will call from Hades.⁵⁰⁸ Picking up the previous allusion to *Aeneid* 7, in line 488, Valerius suggests that Juno will call up Allecto in the *Argonautica* as well. Although no Fury will appear in the remainder of the episode, Valerius' Juno herself appears to take the role of Virgil's Allecto.⁵⁰⁹ Just as the latter stirs up Ascanius' hounds, so that the boy will hunt the stag and unwittingly start the war in Latium, Juno rouses a stag to lure Hylas into hunting it:⁵¹⁰

sic ait et celerem frondosa per avia cervum
suscitat ac iuveni sublimem cornibus offert.
ille animos tardusque fugae longumque resistens
sollicitat suadetque pari contendere cursu.
credit Hylas praedaeque ferox ardore propinquae
insequitur, simul Alcides hortatibus urget
prospiciens. (...)

Arg. 3.545-551

She spoke, then quickly through the leafy thicket | flushed a stag and brought it
in youth's sight | with antlers high. Its slow escape and long | delays arouse the
boy's spirit, convincing him | to keep up with the stag's course. He thinks he
can | and, hot and fierce, he tracks his nearby quarry, while Hercules looks on
and shouts support. (tr. Barich)

⁵⁰⁸ See also Spaltenstein 2004, 153 (on Arg. 3.517-20): "Val. s'inspire aussi de Verg. Aen. 7,311 (...) (où Juno ira réellement chercher Allecto; mais Val. n'est pas tenu à tout conserver)." Although Langen 1896-7, 256 (on Arg. 3.520) notes the Virgilian parallel, he does not see the allusion to *Aeneid* 7 as part of a nexus, and thus interprets the allusion differently: "Videtur Valerius tangere ultimum duodecim laborum, quo Hercules iussus est Cerberum ex inferis afferre; cfr. etiam Verg. Aen. VII, 312."

⁵⁰⁹ Cf. Korn 1989, 26: "Juno kündigt 3,520 an, daß sie die Furien und den Herrn der Unterwelt persönlich zur Mithilfe bei der Entfernung des Hercules von den Argonauten heranziehen wird (...)."

⁵¹⁰ On the intertextual contact between Hylas' and Ascanius' hunt, see Koch 1955, 135-6; Garson 1963, 262; Malamud & McGuire 1993, 202; Hershkowitz 1998, 152-3. In the passage quoted, the denotation of the stag as *sublimem cornibus*, "with antlers high" (545) alludes to *Aen.* 7.483, where Silvia's stag is described as having "mighty antlers" (*cornibus ingens*). Hylas' mood during the hunt (*ferox ardore*, "fierce with desire", 549) seems to be inspired by *Aen.* 7.496, where the hunting Ascanius is depicted as *laudis succensus amore*, "fired with love for praise" (see pp. 178-9) below for the way that Valerius differs from Virgil here). In the passage immediately following the one quoted here, *quadripes*, "four footed (animal)", which denotes Valerius' stag (552), alludes to *Aen.* 7.500, the only occurrence of *quadripes* to describe a deer in Virgil. Both animals are moreover far away from their hunters (*procul*, Arg. 3.553 ~ *procul*, *Aen.* 7.493). The intertextual contact between Valerius' *spiracula* (553) and Virgil's *saevi spiracula Ditis* (*Aen.* 7.568) is discussed in Section 3.1 below.

In no previous version of the story Hylas is depicted as hunting, and Valerius' innovation again "epicizes" Hylas by associating him with Ascanius. Not only is hunting the traditional activity to prepare boys for war,⁵¹¹ Ascanius' hunt in *Aeneid* 7 is particularly associated with epic, as his shooting of Silvia's stag sets the war in Latium in motion and thus starts the "essential epic", dealing with kings and battles, that Virgil announced in his programmatic "proem in the middle",⁵¹² at the beginning of *Aeneid* 7:

tu vatem, tu diva, mone. dicam horrida bella,
dicam acies actosque animis in funera reges,
Tyrrhenamque manum totamque sub arma coactam
Hesperiam. maior rerum mihi nascitur ordo,
maius opus moveo.

Aen. 7.41-5

Come, goddess, come and instruct your prophet. I shall speak of fearsome fighting, I shall speak of wars and of kings driven into the ways of death by their pride of spirit, of a band of fighting men from Etruria and the whole land of Hesperia under arms. For me this is the birth of a higher order of things. This is a greater work I now set in motion. (tr. D. West)

2.2. From elegy to essential epic in *Aeneid* 7

This transition to epic war is emphasized by a contrast that is set up between the bucolic and loving world of Latium and the grim reality of war into which Latium will soon be transformed. This transformation can also be read metapoetically in generic terms, as a bucolic and elegiac world that turns into epic.⁵¹³ As Hardie conveniently summarizes the switch from bucolic to epic:⁵¹⁴

In the *Eclogues* the tranquil world of the shepherds is recurrently threatened by violent events in the historical world; the transition in *Aeneid* 7 from the peaceful state that preceded the Trojan arrival to all-out war is also figured as a generic transition, from pastoral to epic: Allecto's last intervention (7.475-539)

⁵¹¹ See Aymard 1951, 469-81.

⁵¹² The term is borrowed from Conte 1992 (≈ 2007, 219-31), which studies the programmatic force of "proems in the middle" in general and this proem in particular.

⁵¹³ See esp. Putnam 1995, 118-23.

⁵¹⁴ Hardie 1998, 61.

causes Ascanius unwittingly to shoot the pet stag belonging to the royal herdsman's daughter Silvia ("girl of the woods"); Allecto, the 'plague lurking in the woods', 7.505, calls the vengeful farmers to arms with a blast on her trumpet, cruelly labelled a *pastorale signum* ("herdsmen's signal"), to which nature resounds in a parody of the pastoral echo (7.514-8).

Furthermore, in the ecphrasis of the stag (*Aen.* 7.483-92), pre-war Latium is associated with the pre-eminently anti-epic and anti-military genre: Roman love elegy. The relationship between Silvia and her stag, for instance, gets an elegiac dimension through the use of vocabulary:⁵¹⁵

cervus erat forma praestanti et cornibus ingens,
Tyrrhidae pueri quem matris ab ubere raptum
nutribant Tyrrhusque pater, cui regia parent
armenta et late custodia credita campi.
adsuetum imperiis soror omni Silvia **cura**
mollibus intexens ornabat cornua **sertis**,
pectebatque ferum **puroque in fonte** lavabat.
ille manum patiens mensaeque adsuetus erili
errabat silvis rursusque ad limina nota
ipse domum sera quamvis se nocte ferebat.

Aen. 7.483-92

It was a huge and beautiful stag with a fine head of antlers, which had been torn from the udders of its mother and fed by Tyrrhus and his young sons – Tyrrhus looked after the royal herds and was entrusted with the wardenship of the whole broad plain. Silvia, the boys' sister, has given this wild creature every care and trained it to obey her. She would weave soft garlands for its horns, combing and washing it in clear running water. It became tame to the hand and used to come to its master's table. It would wander through the woods and come back home of its own accord to the door it knew so well, no matter how late the night. (tr. D. West)

The word used to describe Silvia's love for the stag, *cura*, is very common in Latin love elegy.⁵¹⁶ Furthermore, *mollis* is an elegiac buzzword that here, in its connection with the weaving of garlands, recalls the intertextually connected scenes in *Eclogue* 2

⁵¹⁵ Cf. Putnam 1995 on the "understated eroticism of the description" (128).

⁵¹⁶ Cf. Harrison 2007b, 211 (on elegiac elements at the beginning of *Aeneid* 4): "Especially elegiac is the use of *cura(e)* (...) for the anxiety of love (Propertius 1.5.10, 1.10.17, 2.18.21, 3.17.4), and the climactic picture of the lover's consequent sleeplessness (Propertius 1.1.33, 1.11.5, 2.7.11, Tibullus 1.2.76, 2.4.11, Ovid, *Am.* 1.2.1)."

(*intexens*, 49) and *Eclogue* 10 (*serta mihi Phyllis legeret*, 41), where Corydon and Gallus respectively were depicted as elegiac lovers in a bucolic landscape, and garlands were associated with elegiac poetry.⁵¹⁷ The elegiac resonance of the “soft garlands” is reinforced by their occurrence in Propertius’ programmatic elegy 3.1, “in which the poet rejects the writing of Roman imperial epic in favour of erotic elegy.”⁵¹⁸ When the poet addresses the Muses, he opposes his Callimachean, elegiac poetry, as symbolized by the garlands, to “harsh” epic.⁵¹⁹

mollia, Pegasides, date vestro **serta** poetae:
non faciet capiti dura corona meo.

Prop. 3.1.19-20

Daughters of Pegasus, give your poet soft garlands: an epic wreath will not do for my head. (tr. Heyworth, adapted)

This intertextual contact between the ecphrasis and this Propertian poem is strengthened by the mention of a limpid spring in the next line of the ecphrasis (*puroque in fonte*, 489), as this recalls the beginning of Propertius’ elegy 3.1:

primus ego ingredior **puro de fonte** sacerdos
Italia per Graios orgia ferre choros.

Prop. 3.1.3-4

I am the first priest from the pure spring to begin bearing Italian sacraments to the accompaniment of Greek music. (tr. Heyworth)

Dealing with the poet’s inspiration in an explicitly programmatic context, Propertius’ *fons* has a clear metapoetic dimension, and the spring in *Aeneid* 7 can accordingly be read – even retrospectively, if Propertius’ poem postdates the *Aeneid* – as evoking

⁵¹⁷ See Ch. 3, Section 5.2. Cf. also e.g. Prop. 4.1.61 for the poetic associations of garlands: *Ennius hirsuta cingat sua dicta corona*. “Let Ennius crown his words with a shaggy garland.” (See Hinds 1998, 66 for the way Ennius is depicted here and in other Augustan poetry as an Archaic poet.)

⁵¹⁸ Hunter 2006, 7. The intertextual contact between the ecphrasis and Prop. 3.1 is discussed by Putnam 1995, 126-8. With Putnam I agree that, although the relative chronology of the two texts cannot be determined, “imaginative interaction can shed light on both poets.” Cf. also Ch. 1, pp. 29-30 for my approach on the relative chronology of Hellenistic poetry.

⁵¹⁹ See Ch. 3, n. 451 for Propertius’ use of *durus* and *mollis* as representing epic and elegy respectively.

Roman love elegy and reinforcing the elegiac nature of the poetic world of pre-war Latium and Silvia and her stag in particular.

The elegiac resonances of this world are reinforced by the intertextual contact with Dido's "elegiac love"⁵²⁰ for Aeneas in *Aeneid* 4, in particular the famous simile comparing the lovesick Dido to a wounded deer, and, by implication, Aeneas to the hunter:

uritur infelix Dido totaque vagatur
urbe furens, qualis coniecta cerva sagitta,
quam procul incautam nemora inter Cresia fixit
pastor agens telis liquitque volatile ferrum
nescius; illa silvas saltusque peragrat
Dictaeos; haeret lateri letalis harundo.

Aen. 4.68-73

Dido was on fire with love and wandered all over the city in her misery and madness like a wounded doe which a shepherd hunting in the woods of Crete has caught off guard, striking her from long range with steel-tipped shaft; the arrow flies and is left in her body without his knowing it; she runs away over all the wooded slopes of Mount Dicte, and sticking in her side is the arrow that will bring her death. (tr. D. West)

This simile resembles Ascanius' hunting of the deer, which is described immediately after the ecphrasis:⁵²¹

hunc procul errantem rabidae venantis Iuli
commovere canes, fluvio cum forte secundo
deflueret ripaque aestus viridante levaret.
ipse etiam eximiae laudis succensus amore
Ascanius curvo derexit spicula cornu;
nec dextrae erranti deus afuit, actaque multo

⁵²⁰ Like the love of Silvia for her stag, Dido's love is not typically elegiac. See Harrison 2007b, 211: "In elegy it is almost always the tormented male lover who describes himself as feeling the symptoms of love and suffering rejection and abandonment; in the *Aeneid* it is Dido who is depicted as enduring this range of emotions, while Aeneas steadfastly keeps his (genuine) feelings under control (...) and suffers insomnia only in the manner of a good leader." See also e.g. Hinds 1987, 134-5; Cairns 1989, 135-50 (Ch. 6: "Dido and the elegiac tradition"); Hardie 1998, 61-2 for the influence of Roman love elegy on *Aeneid* 4.

⁵²¹ For a comparison between Ascanius' hunt in *Aen.* 7 and the simile in *Aen.* 4, see also Griffin 1986, 180-2; Putnam 1995, 111-2. See Horsfall 2000, 321 (on *Aen.* 7.525-39) for more bibliography.

perque uterum sonitu perque ilia venit harundo.
saucius at quadripes nota intra tecta refugit
 successitque gemens stabulis, **questu**que cruentus
 atque imploranti similis tectum omne replebat.

Aen. 7.493-502

This is the creature that was roaming far from home, floating down a river, cooling itself in the green shade of the bank when it was startled by the maddened dogs of the young huntsman Iulus. He himself, Ascanius, burning with a passionate love of glory, bent his bow and aimed the arrow. The god was with him and kept his hand from erring. The arrow flew with a great hiss and passed straight through the flank into the belly. Fleeing to the home it knew so well, the wounded stag came into its pen moaning, and stood there bleeding, and filling the house with its cries of anguish, as though begging and pleading. (tr. D. West)

Once the contact between the two texts has been established, more parallels can be discerned that give the passage an elegiac colouring: like Dido in the first line of book 4, the stag is wounded (*saucius*, 500),⁵²² and like the elegiac *questus* of Dido in her soliloquy (*tantos ... questus*, *Aen.* 4.553), the wounded stag is also complaining (*questu*, 501).⁵²³

The difference between the two passages, of course, is that the hunting in book 4 is only metaphorical, whereas Ascanius is literally hunting a stag, but another verbal parallel between the two texts reveals that both Aeneas' metaphorical wounding of the elegiac Dido and Ascanius' shooting of Silvia's stag are comparable from a metapoetical point of view. Immediately before the ecphrasis of the stag, Virgil's comments on Allecto's rousing of Ascanius' hounds as "the first cause of suffering" and the beginning of war in Latium (*quae prima laborum | causa fuit belloque animos accendit agrestis*, 481-2). This recalls another famous scene in *Aeneid* 4, the marriage of Aeneas and Dido in the cave, which is also commented on by the authorial narrator, in similar terms: *ille dies primus leti primusque malorum | causa fuit*. "That day was the

⁵²² For the metaphor of love as wound, see e.g. Harrison 2007b, 211, adducing Tibullus 2.5.109; Ov. *Am.* 1.2.9; 2.19.5 as instances of elegiac use of *saucius*.

⁵²³ See Putnam 1995, 112 for the parallel. For the elegiac ring of *questus*, see n. 535 below and Ch. 3, p. 144 with n. 429 above. One of Dido's complaints, incidentally, that she was not allowed to live her life *more ferae*, "like a wild animal" (551), further strengthens the contact between Dido and Silvia's stag, a literal "wild animal", who is, like Dido is, disturbed and wounded by a Trojan. (Putnam 1995, 112).

first cause of death and the first of disaster.” So the misery and death of Dido, to which this marriage will eventually lead, and the war in Latium are associated with each other, a link that is described by Putnam as follows: “Had circumstances been otherwise and Aeneas not impinged upon her world, she [*Dido*] might have continued through life with a type of freedom similar to that which Virgil allots both the Latins and Silvia’s stag.”⁵²⁴ In metapoetical terms, this implies that the two poetic, elegiac worlds that oppose the epic mission of the *Aeneid*, that of Dido and that of Silvia and her stag, yield to their opposite – heroic epic – as represented by two male epic heroes, Aeneas and his son Ascanius.⁵²⁵ In Valerius’ *Argonautica*, however, this poetic transformation is, as I shall show, reversed.

3. From epic to elegy: Valerius’ elegiac Hylas episode

3.1. *Hylas’ erotic hunt*

When Hylas’ is hunting for Juno’s stag, the boy is depicted as the potential epic hero that Ascanius is in the *Aeneid*. The encouragements of the archetypal epic hero Hercules (*Alcides hortatibus urget*, *Arg.* 5.549) underline this. Accordingly, the expectation is raised that Hylas’ hunt will also lead to an outbreak of war, turning the *Argonautica* into an essential epic. Unlike Ascanius, however, Hylas does not succeed in shooting the animal, for when the stag jumps over a spring, the exhausted boy gives up:

(...) iamque ex oculis aufertur uterque,
cum puerum instantem **quadripes** fessaque minantem
tela manu **procul** ad nitidi **spiracula fontis**
ducit et intactas levis ipse superfugit undas.
hoc pueri spes lusa modo est nec tendere certat
amplius; utque artus et concita pectora sudor
diluerat, gratos avidus procumbit ad amnes.

Arg. 3.551-557

⁵²⁴ Putnam 1995, 112.

⁵²⁵ Cf. Hardie 1998, 61-2: “[O]ne way of viewing the situation in *Aeneid* 4 is as the interference of the values of the world of love elegy in the Roman (and epic) mission of Aeneas.”

Now both the stag and the boy move out of sight, | and as the boy pressed on
and brandished spear | with weary arm, the stag led him to outlets | of a
glistening spring, then lightly sprang across, | not touching water. Hopes are
this way thwarted | for the boy, and he no longer fights | to keep on going.
Sweat has bathed his limbs | and heated chest, and he eagerly falls to the
ground | beside the pleasant stream. (tr. Barich, adapted)

Hylas thus seems to fail as an epic hero, an interpretation that is reinforced by the remark that “the boy’s hope is thwarted” (*pueri spes lusa ... est*), for although the words refer to Hylas’ hope to shoot the stag, they also recall the Cyzicus episode in which Hylas was made to resemble Ascanius in the epic potential that he now fails to realize: *spes maxima bellis* (Arg. 3.183).⁵²⁶

Valerius’ Hylas seems to fall back into the anti-epic role that he had in literary history before the *Argonautica*. A second, close look reveals, for instance, that Hylas’ hunt is less of a double for Ascanius’ epic hunt, than a metaphorical, erotic hunt. At the start of the hunt, for instance, Hylas is described as *ferox ardore* (“fierce with desire”, 549). The erotic connotation of these words suggests that Hylas is like Silvia – with whom he is etymologically connected⁵²⁷ – involved in an elegiac relationship with a stag. This interpretation is supported by the erotically charged language used in describing the stag’s jump over the pool: the water remains untouched (*intactas ... undas*, 554), the adjective suggesting the virginity of the “beloved” stag.⁵²⁸ Valerius has thus rewritten Ascanius’ characterization during the hunt as *eximiae laudis succensus amore* (“burning with love of the highest glory”, Aen. 7.496). Although *succensus* can also be used in an erotic context,⁵²⁹ it is here clearly used in a martial sense, and, as Putnam has shown, Ascanius’ “love” is here contrasted with the

⁵²⁶ See p. 167 above.

⁵²⁷ See Introduction, Section 2 for the derivation of Hylas from ὕλη and for the etymological wordplay with the word’s Latin equivalent *silva*.

⁵²⁸ The erotic connotations of *ferox ardore* and *intactas undas* have been noted by Malamud & McGuire 1993, 203. For the erotic sense of the verb *tangere*, see also OLD 5b: “to touch (in a sexual or erotic sense)”, and p. 195 below.

⁵²⁹ Horsfall 2000, 333 (on Aen. 7.496) adduces Prop. 1.2.15 and 3.19.15 as parallels for the verb *succendere* in an amatory sense.

implicitly elegiac relationship between Silvia and her stag.⁵³⁰ Exploiting the intertextual contact between *Aeneid* 7 and *Aeneid* 4, where the wounding of a stag was used as an erotic metaphor for the fatal outcome of Dido's elegiac love, Valerius has thus transformed Hylas' initial epic hunting into an erotic, elegiac hunt.

3.2. Hercules as elegiac lover

Hylas is not the only one who is elegized in Valerius' Hylas episode, for as in Propertius 1.20, the boy becomes the unattainable elegiac beloved of Hercules, who is consequently also transformed, from an epic hero into an elegiac lover. As soon as Hercules notices that Hylas is gone, he is stricken by elegiac *amor*:⁵³¹

(...) varios hinc excitat aestus
nube mali percussus amor, quibus haeserit oris,
quis tales impune moras casusve laborve
attulerit. (...) Arg. 3.572-5

Then his love stirs a surge of feelings, | assailed by a cloud of trouble: where did he linger, | what brought such long, inordinate delay? | Was it accident, or some task he's doing? (tr. Barich)

The pallor and madness that Hercules experiences next are also typically elegiac:⁵³²
tum vero et pallor et amens cum piceo sudore rigor. "Truly did he turn pale then, and a numb frenzy took hold of him, while sweat pours down, black like pitch." (576-7; tr.

⁵³⁰ Putnam 1995, 112. Ovid also seems to have reworked Virgil erotically in *Her.* 15.157: *Pyrrhae succensus amore*.

⁵³¹ Cf. Spaltenstein 2004, 166 (ad loc.): "(...) ici et au vers 4, 36, le contexte évoque pour *amor* l'idée de la passion amoureuse (...)." Cf. Arg. 3.736: *urit amor* ("his love burns"), and Arg. 4.2: *amores*, discussed below.

⁵³² For *amens*, see e.g. the programmatic passage in Prop. 1.1.11, where Milanion is "wandering madly in the dells of mount Parthenius" (tr. Heyworth): *nam modo Partheniis amens errabat in antris*. For *pallor*, compare what Propertius tells Gallus about Cynthia's effect on the elegiac lover in 1.5.21: *tum grave servitium nostrae cogere puellae | discere et exclusum quid sit abire domum; | nec iam pallorem totiens mirabere nostrum, | aut cur sim toto corpore nullus ego*. "Then you will be forced to learn how hard it is to be a slave of our mistress and what it is to depart from the house shut out. Nor will you any longer be surprised at my frequent pallor, or wonder why my whole body is as nothing." (tr. Heyworth)

Mozley). Somewhat later, he is even described as experiencing the typically elegiac *furor*,⁵³³ and is in this respect compared to a wounded lion:

ille, velut refugi quem contigit improba Mauri
lancea sanguineus vasto leo murmure fertur
frangit et absentem vacuis sub dentibus hostem,
sic furiis accensa gerens Titynthius ora
fertur et intento discurrit montibus arcu. Arg. 3.587-91

The man was like | a bloodied lion whom a shameful spear | thrown by a
fleeing Moor has hit, who moves | along with cavernous roar in empty teeth | it
grinds its absent foe. So Tiryns' man, | his face aflame with rage, now moves
along. (tr. Barich)

Aeneid 4 also comes into play again, for in this context Hercules obviously resembles the lovesick, elegiac Dido, who was compared to a wounded deer (see p. 175 above). Later in the episode, when it is said that "his love burns" (*urit amor*, 736), Hercules' *amor* again resembles Dido's elegiac passion, for which the fire metaphor is continuously employed (cf. e.g. *Aen.* 4.68: *uritur infelix Dido*. "Unhappy Dido burns.").⁵³⁴ The elegiac nature of Hercules' love is made even more clear when Hylas addresses Hercules in the aftermath of the episode, at the beginning of book 4 and describes his love as *questus* ("complaint"), a word that is often used to denote Roman love elegy, by reference to the genre's supposed origin:⁵³⁵ *quid, pater, in vanos absumis tempora questus?* "Why do you waste your time, | Father, in useless complaint?" (tr. Barich)

⁵³³ Cf. Arg. 4.5: *haeret inops solisque furit Titynthius oris*. "Tirynthian clings helpless to a lonely shore | and rages." (tr. Barich). See Ch. 3, n. 418 for the elegiac associations of *furor* ("madness").

⁵³⁴ The parallel with Corydon's elegiac love for Alexis is also striking, particularly in the light of the importance of this poem for Propertius 1.20 (see Ch 4, Sections 5 and 6): *me (...) urit amor*. "Love burns me." (*Ecl.* 2.68).

⁵³⁵ Cf. Barchiesi 1993, 365: "There is a strong tradition in Roman culture (not, apparently, in Alexandria) connecting the birth of elegy with lament, *querela*, ἐὶ ἐλέγειν and the like." See also n. 522 above, and Ch. 3, p. 144 (with n. 429) for an example from Propertius.

3.3. The bucolic world of the Hylas episode

By elegizing Hylas' hunt and turning Hercules into an elegiac lover in the Hylas episode, Valerius thus inverts Virgil's transformation of Latium into an epic world of war. But Virgil's pre-war Latium was also associated with bucolic poetry, in fact with his own *Eclogues* (see p. 172-3 above). Although Valerius' elegizing of the *Aeneid* is more pervasive and clearer, Valerius also seems to invert Virgil's metapoetical progress in book 7 from the world of the *Eclogues* to the essential-epic world of the *Aeneid*, by staging the disappearance of Hylas and Hercules' mourning in a bucolic landscape. Already the nymphs, who inhabit Mysia, evoke a bucolic world, in particular because of their close connection with bucolic poetry in two of the three previous versions of the Hylas myth, where they acted as Theocritus' "bucolic Muses" (*Idyll* 13) and personified Virgil's *Eclogues* (Prop. 1.20) as Hamadryads.⁵³⁶ Like Propertius, Valerius seems to associate the world of Mysia specifically with Virgil's *Eclogues*, for the landscape that Hercules traverses as an elegiac lover is often described as *silvae* (3.585; 597; 685; 736; 4.20; 4.66), which is a usual metonym for Virgil's bucolic poetry.⁵³⁷ Furthermore, these *silvae* (and nature more in general) are personified by Valerius, for when Hercules traverses the forest in his search for Hylas, it is said to be afraid:

(...) pavet omnis conscia late
silva, pavet montes, luctu succensus acerbo
quid struat Alcides tantaque quid apparet ira. Arg. 3.584-6

(...) Far and wide the whole forest knows what passed | and trembles, and
hilltops tremble: what might he do, | Alcides, fired by bitter grief? What could |
a wrath so huge devise? (tr. Barich, adapted)

⁵³⁶ See Ch. 2, Section 3.4.4 and Ch. 3, Section 5.1 respectively. The description of Valerius' nymphs as having "a missile strap of myrtle wood" (*stricta myrtus habena*, 3.524) also has bucolic associations, for, as Spaltenstein 2004, 154 (ad loc.) suggests, Valerius' words evoke *Aen.* 7.817, where the weapon (of Camilla) is called "pastoral" (*pastoralem myrtum*).

⁵³⁷ See Ch. 3, n. 380 above.

At the beginning of book 4, Valerius' *silvae* again show emotions. After Jupiter has let his son fall asleep, the forests, wearied by Hercules' loud presence, get relief at last:⁵³⁸

(...) tandem fessis pax reddita silvis,
fluminaque et vacuis auditae montibus aerae. Arg. 4.20-1

Peace returns at least to the weary forest, | and breezes can be heard in empty hills. (tr. Barich)

In the *Eclogues*, *silvae* (and nature in general) are also commonly personified, for instance in *Eclogue* 5:

Daphni, tuum Poenos etiam ingemuisse leones
interitum montesque feri silvaeque loquuntur. Ecl. 5.27-8

The wild hills, Daphnis, and the forests even tell | how Punic lions roared in grief at your destruction. (tr. Lee)

This personification of nature is one aspect of the harmony that exists in the *Eclogues* between man and a sympathizing, responding landscape (as symbolized by the "bucolic echo"), and that is a precondition for bucolic poetry.⁵³⁹ Valerius' personified landscape, however, is not at all in harmony with Hercules, who frightens the *silvae*. As in *Idyll* 13, Hercules is thus presented as the archetypal heroic-epic hero who is

⁵³⁸ As Murgatroyd 2009, 41 suggests, *vacuis* (21) can here also mean "free from distractions" (*OLD* 11) or "free from anxiety" (*OLD* 12b), which would further personify the hills, and by extension the *silvae* as well. Murgatroyd's argument for this sense of *vacuis* here, however, that "'vacant' is not a likely sense as Hercules is still in the area, and so is Hylas (...), not to mention animals" is nonsensical: in the first instance the word clearly refers to the absence of Hercules' *screaming*, not his (or, for that matter, anyone else's) presence, the personifying sense being secondary.

⁵³⁹ See Ch. 2, Section 3.2; Ch. 3, Section 7.2. For similar expressions of sympathy by a personified bucolic landscape in the *Eclogues*, see e.g. *Ecl.* 1.38-9: *ipsae te, Tityre, pinus, | ipsi te fontes, ipsa haec arbusta vocabant*. "The very pines, Tityrus, | the very springs, these very orchards called to you!"; *Ecl.* 10.13: *illum etiam lauri, etiam flevere myricae, | pinifer illum etiam sola sub rupe iacentem | Maenalus, et gelidi fleverunt saxa Lycaei*. "The laurels even, even the tamarisks wept for him | lying beneath a lonely cliff; even Maenalus' | pine-forests wept for him, and cold Lycaeus' rocks." (tr. Lee). Cf. *Georg.* 4.461-3 (nature's reaction to the death of Eurydice): *at chorus aequalis Dryadum clamore supremos | implevit montis; flerunt Rhodopeiae arces | altaque Getae atque Hebrus et Actias Orithyia*. "The chorus of her companion dryads with wailing rimmed | the mountain's peak, the crags of Rhodope mourned, | and alpen Pangaea, the martial land of Rhesus and the Getae, | the Hebrus mourned, and Orithyia the northwind's Attic bride." (tr. Johnson)

thoroughly out of place in this bucolic world.⁵⁴⁰ As in Propertius 1.20, however, he is also presented as a frustrated elegiac lover in a bucolic landscape.⁵⁴¹

In the case of Hylas, Valerius also seems to have combined Theocritus' and Propertius' Hylas poems. As I have argued in Chapter 3, the potentially epic boy Hylas became the personification of Theocritus' poetry by being transformed into a bucolic echo in *Idyll* 13. Propertius, on the other hand, turned the boy into an elegiac symbol and demythologized the bucolic echo, which was not produced by Hylas, into a natural phenomenon. In this way was the elegiac absence of the beloved symbolized, not bucolic presence. In particular, as I have tried to argue in the previous chapter (Section 7.2), Propertius reacted to Virgil's echo of Hylas in *Eclogue* 6.43-4, which, "echoing" *Idyll* 13, depicted Hylas as the origin of the echo and thus of bucolic poetry. Valerius' echo reacts to both Propertius and Virgil. When Hercules cries out Hylas' name, he is answered by the woods, *silvae*, and as in Propertius the echo thus at first sight appears in its demythologized form, as a natural phenomenon:

rursus Hylan et rursus Hylan per longa reclamatione
avia: responsant silvae et vaga certat imago.

Arg. 3.596-7

"Hylas", he shouts, "Hylas", over and over again through pathless territory. The forests reply and the wandering echo emulates his cry.

As we have seen earlier, however, *silva* can translate ὕλη, Hylas' ancient etymology.⁵⁴² It thus becomes possible that Hylas *is* responding to Hercules' cries after all as the echo into which he was transformed by the nymphs in Nicander's version of the Hylas myth in his *Heteroeumena*,⁵⁴³ a motif that was reflected – with a bucolic twist – by Theocritus and Virgil. In fact, the cry of Valerius' Hercules, with the double *Hylan*, intertextually "echoes" Virgil's repetition *Hyla Hyla*, which is on an

⁵⁴⁰ See Ch. 2, Section 3.3.3.

⁵⁴¹ See Ch. 3, Section 7.2.

⁵⁴² See Introduction, Section 2.

⁵⁴³ Ant. Lib. 26.4. See Introduction, Section 1 for the text.

acoustic level paradoxically (and playfully) made into an echo of Hercules' cry *Hylan* ... *Hylan* in Valerius' *Argonautica*.⁵⁴⁴ So Valerius produces a natural echo, but it is at least also suggested that Hylas, transformed into an echo, answers Hercules' cry as Virgil's bucolic *silvae*, the woods that the boy represents according to his name. Barchiesi reads Valerius' *vaga certat imago* ("the wandering echo emulates") as metapoetically summarizing the subtle intertextual game of the echo motif: Valerius' echo emulates the ones before.⁵⁴⁵ This interpretation can now be extended to the entire episode, of which the echo motif is only the tip of the iceberg. Valerius' Hylas episode inverts Virgil's move in the *Aeneid* from bucolic and elegiac poetry to epic by transforming the initially epic Hylas simultaneously into a bucolic and an elegiac symbol. By appearing in one text in the three guises that he had in literary history – epic (Apollonius), bucolic (Theocritus, Virgil) and elegiac (Propertius) – Valerius' Hylas thus not only echoes but also truly emulates his predecessors.

Despite Valerius' clear evocation of a bucolic world, in the Hylas episode and in fact the entire epic, the elegiac elements are most prominent in the inversion of the move from non-epic to epic colour in *Aeneid* 7, as I shall now argue.

3.4. *Dryope as Fury of love*

The main agency responsible for the elegizing of the *Aeneid* is Juno, but she is helped by the nymph Dryope, who in this respect resembles Juno's Virgilian assistant, the Fury Allecto. This resemblance is reinforced by an allusion to *Aeneid* 7. Valerius' striking *spiracula* (553), which describes Dryope's pool, alludes to *Aen.* 7.568 (*saevi spiracula Ditis*), the only occurrence of the word in Virgil, and in fact one of the few occurrences in Latin poetry.⁵⁴⁶ It there denotes Allecto's abode, to which the Fury

⁵⁴⁴ See Introduction, Section 2 for an elaborate discussion of the intertextual contact between these two texts.

⁵⁴⁵ Barchiesi 2001, 140. Cf. Introduction, Section 2.

⁵⁴⁶ The word only occurs in Lucretius (6.493), but cf. Ennius, *Ann.* 222 (*sulpureas posuit spiramina Naris ad undas*). See Spaltenstein 2004, 161 (ad loc.) for Valerius' *spiracula*: "Quoi qu'il en soit de son sens (...), *spiracula* évoque la fraîcheur agréable de cette source, comme notation traditionnelle." For Virgil's

returns after having done her duty for Juno. The allusion implies that Juno's words *Furias Ditemque movebo* ("I will stir the Furies and Dis", *Arg.* 3.520) earlier in the episode refer not only to the action of the goddess herself, but also to the nymph Dryope, whose dwelling resembles that of the Fury and who, in parallel with Allecto, is helping Juno on her mission against an epic hero. The difference is, however, that whereas Allecto starts a war, transforming Virgil's elegiac Latium into the grim world of epic war, Valerius' "Fury" Dryope does quite the opposite. She elegizes a potentially epic episode, by turning a potential epic hero, Hylas, and Hercules, the epic hero *par excellence*, into elegiac beloved and elegiac lover respectively by means of the abduction. In this respect it is interesting that Dryope does in fact live up to the etymology of a fury by inspiring *furor*, albeit the elegiac kind and not the madness of epic war. As Ascanius' epic hunt is transformed into an erotic one, so is Allecto transformed into what can be called a Fury of love. In fact, Valerius has elegized the *Aeneid*, or more specifically the "essential epic" into which it turned in book 7, in an episode that is set up as a miniature *Aeneid* but is in fact an inversion of it. I shall now show that the episode in this respect represents the entire *Argonautica*, prefiguring the way that the whole epic will go, thus inviting comparison with Apollonius' Hellenistic version.

4. Leaving the *Aeneid* behind: the Hylas episode as metapoetical statement

In the epilogue to the Hylas episode at the beginning of book 4 the elegiac transformation of Hercules is commented on by Jupiter. The god is not pleased with the situation and angrily addresses Juno:

spiracula, see Horsfall 2000, 374 (on *Aen.* 7.568): "(...) the *spiraculum* is a vent through which the subterranean world takes breath."

atque ea non oculis divum pater amplius aequis
sustinuit, natiq̄ue pios miseratus amores
Iunonem ardenti trepidam gravis increpat ira. Arg. 4.1-3

The Father of gods could stand the sight no more | unmoved; he pitied his
son's devoted love | and railed at Juno hard, burning with anger | as she
quailed before him. (tr. Barich)

The word *amores*, which describes Hercules' passion, again seems to refer to love elegy, as it did in Propertius 1.20 and *Eclogue* 10 by reference to Gallus' elegiac *Amores*.⁵⁴⁷ This association with love elegy is reinforced by the evocation of the title of Ovid's elegiac *Amores*. But Hercules' elegiac love is called *pious*, which associates the hero with Virgil's Aeneas, whose defining characteristic is his *pietas*.⁵⁴⁸ This Virgilian association accords with the rest of the episode. The scene in which Hylas followed Hercules, for instance, alluded to Ascanius following Aeneas in *Aeneid* 2. Most importantly, the entire episode was determined by Juno, whose action against Hercules resembled that of her Virgilian counterpart against Aeneas, turning the Hylas episode into a miniature *Aeneid*. But whereas Jupiter kept control over the epic in the *Aeneid*, Juno gets what she wants in the *Argonautica*. Jupiter's beloved, Aeneas-like Hercules is removed from the epic, and the god's chances of being honoured with an *Aeneid* are gone. There is a metapoetical dimension to the angry Jupiter's comment on this situation a few lines after the passage just quoted, via an allusion to the first words of the *Aeneid*, that could be paraphrased as: "So this is your idea of how to run an *Aeneid*!":⁵⁴⁹

⁵⁴⁷ See e.g. Ch. 3, Section 4. Jupiter's depiction of Hercules as "raging on lonely shores" (*solisque furit Titynthius oris*, Arg. 4.5) also has elegiac connotations: see p. 180 and Ch. 3, n. 418 above for elegiac *furor*, and Ch. 3, n. 468 for Propertius' association of the shore with elegy (and of the open sea with epic).

⁵⁴⁸ Cf. Murgatroyd 2009, 34 (on Arg. 4.2): "VF may be presenting Hercules here as a second Aeneas." Cf. also Galinsky 1972, 163 on Hercules in Valerius' Hylas episode in general: "He is the pious son of Jupiter, almost another Aeneas (...)."

⁵⁴⁹ I have specified the metapoetical interpretation of this line by Feeney 1991, 324, which refers to epic in general: "So this your idea of how to run an epic." Cf. Hershkowitz 1998, 163 (followed by Murgatroyd 2009, 37, on Arg. 3.7f.) for another interpretation of the line: "Jupiter indicates that Juno in her Vergilian guise is not behaving in a manner appropriate to her role in this epic." This reading

(...) sic Iuno ducem fovet anxia curis
Aesonium, sic arma viro sociosque ministrat! Arg. 4.7-8

So that's how Juno, racked with worry, nurtures | her captain, that is how she
gives him | the men and arms he needs. (tr. Barich)

Jupiter, realizing that this poem cannot become an heroic *Aeneid* any more, then tells Juno to continue her approach:⁵⁵⁰ *i, Furias Veneremque move; dabit impia poenas | virgo*. "Go on and rouse the Furies and Venus too. | The wicked girl will have her punishment" (13-4; tr. Barich). Jupiter here ironically alludes to Juno's own words, which immediately preceded and referred to the action she planned against Hercules to remove him from the epic:⁵⁵¹ *mox et Furias Ditemque movebo*. "I'll soon stir Furies and the god of Hell" (3.520). These words, as argued above, alluded to *Aeneid* 7.312 (*flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo*), initially creating the expectation that Juno would also start an essential epic in the *Argonautica*. The "Fury" appeared to be Juno herself, however, and her accomplice Dryope was also associated with the Virgilian Allecto. But Valerius, instead of developing from this point an heroic epic in its purest form, allowed Juno and Dryope to elegize it. Jupiter now tells Juno to employ "the Furies and Venus" again in the remainder of the epic, clearly referring to the elegiac passion of Medea that Juno and Venus will stir up and that will eventually ensure the success of the epic mission.⁵⁵² The god's remark is more or less a hendiadys,⁵⁵³ since, as Hardie has argued, "for Valerius the workings between the

cannot, however, be reconciled with the fact that Juno gets what she wants, and that the epic will/must take a different course in what follows (see below).

⁵⁵⁰ Cf. Feeney 1991, 324: "Robbing Jason of Hercules means that the gaining of the fleece cannot remain a martial endeavour: now, says Jupiter, Juno will have to fall back on the Furies, and Venus, and Medea (...)."

⁵⁵¹ Hershkowitz 1998, 164, n. 219: "4.13 is an ironic echo of Juno's declaration at 3.520 (...)." Cf. Murgatroyd 2009, 38 (on Arg. 4.13): "There may also be a barbed echo of Juno's *Furias Ditemque movebo* at 3.520, indicating that the omniscient Jupiter overheard her."

⁵⁵² For Medea's elegiac passion, see e.g. Arg. 7.154 and 315, where it is denoted as *furor*, "madness" (cf. n. 533 above), Arg. 7.12, where Medea is described as *demens*, "mad" (as Dido in *Aen.* 4.78; see n. 558 below for bibliography on the parallels between the love of Dido and that of Medea), and Arg. 7.307, where her love is described as *saevus amor*, "cruel love".

⁵⁵³ Cf. Elm von der Osten 2007, 110, n. 302, who expresses a similar idea: "Meines Erachtens wäre es sinnvoller, die *Furiae* nicht als Personifikation aufzufassen, sondern *furiae* und Venus als eine parallele

effects of Venus, of Juno, and of the Furies are practically indistinguishable”.⁵⁵⁴ A link is thus created between the elegized *Aeneid* that the Hylas episode has turned into, through the agency of “Furies of love”, Juno and Dryope, and the outcome of the epic, which requires the same of kind of elegiac Fury now that Hercules is gone. Juno makes this importance of Medea quite clear later in the epic, for when the *Argonautica* has turned into an full-scale Iliadic, “essential-epic” battle between Aeetes, helped by the Argonauts, and his brother Perses in book 6, Juno sees that this is not the way for this epic to succeed:⁵⁵⁵

taliam certatim Minyae sparsique Cytaei
funera miscebant campis Scythiamque premebant,
cum Iuno Aesonidae non hanc ad vellera cernens
esse viam nec sic redditus regina parandos,
extremam molitur opem. (...) Arg. 6.427-31; 439-40
sola animo Medea subit, mens omnis in una
virgine, nocturnis qua nulla potentior aris.

Such deaths the Minyae dealt on field of battle;| vying with the scattered men
of Cytaeae,| they overwhelmed Scythia. Juno saw | that this was not the way to
get the Fleece | for Jason, or arrange his coming home,| and she contrives a last
resort. (...) Medea only comes to mind; this girl | alone gets full attention,
potent more | than any at the altars of the night. (tr. Barich)

In fact, Juno elegizes this most epic, most Homeric, moment in the poem – which invites comparison with what happens during the second half of the *Aeneid*⁵⁵⁶ – in a

Nennung der inneren und äußeren Motivation zu verstehen: Die *furiae* beschreiben die Leidenschaften, während Venus die Personifikation dieser Leidenschaften, also den von den Göttern ausgehenden, äußeren Einfluß darstellt.”

⁵⁵⁴ Hardie 1990a, 6. Cf. Feeney 1991, 322-4 on Valerius’ Lemnos episode, e.g. p. 324, n. 36: “It was Venus, assimilated to the condition of a Fury, who was responsible for the Lemnian episode (2.101-6).”; Elm von der Osten 2007, e.g. p. 179, n. 501: “Außer dem Eingreifen der Göttin Venus bzw. Iuno in der Lemnosepisode und in der Medeahandlung ist auch ein Episode im dritten Buch relevant, in der Iuno die Nymphe Dryope zu beeinflussen sucht (3,487ff.).”

⁵⁵⁵ Cf. Feeney 1991, 326 on this passage: “The confrontation between the irrelevant grandiosity of martial epic and the present needs of this poem could not be more starkly engineered.” For the influence of the *Iliad* on the battles of *Argonautica* 6, see e.g. Fuà 1988; Smolenaars 1991.

⁵⁵⁶ See e.g. Baier 2001, 10-1: “Das sechste Buch bildet formal und inhaltlich eine Einheit. Es geht über die *Argonautica* des Apollonios Rhodios hinaus und greift bewußt auf die Heldenepik im Stile Homers und auf die Römische Epik zurück. Die Anführung von Truppenkatalogen sowie die

move that resembles (but is not as dramatic as) what she did in the Hylas episode. As Feeney observes: "The poem's great set-piece battle book is undermined, to become only an occasion for the girl to fall in love with her future husband; Jason's greatest moment of heroic action is engineered by Juno in order to impress Medea (6.600-20)." ⁵⁵⁷

The end of the *Argonautica* thus makes clear what the Hylas episode foreshadowed, i.e. that Valerius' epic cannot be an *Aeneid*. The Virgilian epic does contain elegiac elements that it has to leave behind in the end (Dido, Silvia and her stag), as they stand in the way of the essential epic mission. But Medea's elegiac passion, which resembles Dido's, as many scholars have observed, ⁵⁵⁸ is essential for Valerius' epic to succeed. The *Argonautica* can thus be called an elegiac epic and, to a certain extent, an anti-*Aeneid*. This inversion of the role of elegy in the *Argonautica* in comparison with that in the *Aeneid* is also made clear by the inversion of the roles that the gods Juno and Venus play in the respective epics. As Hershkowitz observes, "Venus, like Vergil's Juno, is out for destruction at any cost, while Juno, like Vergil's Venus, wants to protect her hero". ⁵⁵⁹

5. Ovidian Hylas

So Valerius' Hylas episode seems to be on two counts a metapoetical statement: it reveals both the *Argonautica*'s relationship to the *Aeneid* and the way the way that the whole epic will go. I shall now argue that the elegizing of the heroic-epic *Aeneid* in the Valerian Hylas episode is accompanied by allusions to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. The

Schilderung von Schlachtszenen ist zum einen als Reminiszenz an die *Ilias* gestaltet, zum anderen als Wiederaufnahme des Krieges zwischen Trojanern und Rutulern in der *Aeneis*." See Baier 2001, 65-8 and Wijsman 2000, 5-8; 12-3 for a more detailed discussion of the parallels.

⁵⁵⁷ Feeney 1991, 326. Cf. Hershkowitz 1998, 123-5; Lovatt 2006; Elm von der Osten 2007, 68-73 for the way the typically epic teichoscopy is transformed by Valerius Flaccus.

⁵⁵⁸ See e.g. Hull 1975, 3-7; Traglia 1983, 319-25; Salemmme 1993; Hershkowitz 1998, 99-100.

⁵⁵⁹ Hershkowitz 1998, 170.

basis of my argument will be that Hylas' transformation from potential epic hero to elegiac beloved resembles that of Narcissus and, particularly, Hermaphroditus.⁵⁶⁰ Valerius' epic thus seems to align itself with the poetical agenda of Ovid's elegiac epic, which can also be seen as a reaction to the *Aeneid*.

5.1. *Hylas and Narcissus*⁵⁶¹

When the exhausted Hylas gives up his chase of the stag, he lies down "greedily" beside the pool (*gratos avidus procumbit ad amnes*, 557). In accordance with and continuing the ambiguous language of the passage, the adjective *avidus* has erotic overtones here and refers to a metaphorical "thirst for love". This interpretation is reinforced a few lines later, when Dryope's hands, at the moment that they grab Hylas, are described as *avidas* (556), and the adjective is explicitly used in the erotic sense:

stagna vaga sic luce micant ubi Cynthia caelo
prospicit aut medii transit rota candida Phoebi,
tale iubar diffundit aquis: nil umbra comaeque
turbavitque sonus surgentis ad oscula nymphae.
illa **avidas** iniecta manus heu sera cientem
auxilia et magni referentem nomen amici
detrahit, adiutae prono nam pondere vires.

Arg. 3.558-64

Even as the light that shifts and plays upon a lake, when the moon looks down from heaven or the bright wheel of the sun at midday passes by, such a gleam did he shed upon the waters; he was not disturbed by the shadow of the nymph or her hair or the sound of her as she rose to kiss him. Greedily throwing her arms around him, as he called – alas! – too late for help, and uttered the name of his mighty friend, she pulled him down and her strength was aided by his falling weight. (tr. Mozley, adapted)

⁵⁶⁰ In discussing the correspondences between Valerius Flaccus' Hylas episode and Ovid's Narcissus and Hermaphroditus episodes, I have made much use of the parallels noted by Malamud & McGuire 1993, 203-8.

⁵⁶¹ This Section and the next are revised versions of Heerink 2007b, Sections 4 and 6.

This erotic interpretation of Hylas being *avidus* is further elaborated by the juxtaposed denotation of the pool as *gratus* ("pleasing"), an adjective that is in this context suggestive of the erotic attractiveness of the elegiac beloved.⁵⁶² Hylas thus resembles Ovid's Narcissus who was also chasing deer⁵⁶³ and, when he got tired, bent down (*procubuit*, *Met.* 3.414) to quench his thirst. Rather like Hylas, Narcissus also has a metaphorical thirst – for his own reflection – and also turns from a hunting, potential epic hero into an elegiac lover:⁵⁶⁴

dumque sitim sedare cupit, sitis altera crevit,
dumque bibit, visae correptus imagine formae *Met.* 3.415-6

and while he wanted to relieve his thirst, another thirst grew in him, and while he drank, he saw a beautiful reflection and was captivated. (tr. Hill)

Once the intertextual contact with Ovid's Narcissus has been established, the impression is created that Hylas is also looking at the pool and is in love with his own elegiacally attractive reflection, as in Propertius 1.20.⁵⁶⁵ In this respect, it is interesting that both Hylas and Dryope are described as being *avidus*, which suggests that the two are, or will become, in some way, one and the same person. The etymology of their names also points in this direction, for whereas Hylas is etymologically connected to Greek ὕλη, as we have seen, Dry-ope is derived from Greek δρῦς, "oak-tree". We know from Apollonius of Rhodes (*Arg.* 1.1213) that Hylas' father, Theiodamas, was king of the Δρύοπες. So, Dryopian Hylas is a male

⁵⁶² The erotic overtones of *gratos ... amnes* (557) have been noticed by Malamud & McGuire 1993, 203. For the elegiac association of *gratus*, see e.g. Prop. 4.8.29-30: *Phyllis (...) | sobria grata parum: cum bibit omne decet*. "Phyllis (...), unattractive when sober; when she drinks, all charm." (tr. Heyworth)

⁵⁶³ *Met.* 3.356: *hunc trepidos agitantem in retia cervos* ("as he was driving nervous stags into the nets"; tr. Hill).

⁵⁶⁴ For Narcissus as an elegiac lover (as well as beloved), see e.g. Barchiesi & Rosati 2007, 179: "[Ovidio] mostra il tema dell'amore in una versione perversa, in cui tutto è illusione, e i *topoi* dell'elegia (amore insaziabile, amore e morte, morire d'amore, illudersi d'amore, fisica e ottica dell'amore, dominio degli occhi sulla ragione) vengono spietatamente presi alla lettera (...)." Cf. also Labate 1983; Rosati 1997; Hardie 2002, 158-163 (quoted in Ch. 3, n. 444).

⁵⁶⁵ See Ch. 3, Section 6.2 for the way Propertius' Hylas resembles Narcissus. It is hardly surprising that Valerius' Hylas resembles Propertius' "Narcissistic" Hylas by reference to Ovid's Narcissus, as Ovid's episode itself alludes to Propertius' Hylas (see e.g. Heerink 2007b, Section 3).

Dryope. Nicander seems to provide an interesting parallel, or maybe even model, for exploiting the etymological link between the names Hylas and Dryope: according to Antoninus Liberalis' summary, Nicander, in his now lost *Heteroeumena* ("Metamorphoses") told the story of a girl Dryope – a Dryopian, just like Hylas – who was abducted by nymphs and hidden in the ὕλη:

καὶ εἰς τοῦτο παρ<ι>οὔσαν τὸ ἱερὸν Δρυόπην ἤρπασαν Ἀμαδρυάδες νύμφαι
κατ' εὐμένειαν καὶ αὐτὴν μὲν ἀπέκρυψαν εἰς τὴν ὕλην. Ant. Lib. 32.4

One day, as Dryope was approaching the temple [of *Apollo*], the hamadryad nymphs gathered her up affectionately and hid her in the woods. (tr. Celoria)

How far does Valerius' implicit identification of Hylas and Dryope go? In the strange scene immediately before his abduction (558-61; quoted above), Hylas is described as spreading a gleam (*iubar*) over the pool. This gleam, reflected in the pool, seems to blind him, because he does not see the *umbra* of Dryope approaching to kiss him; nor does he hear the *sonus* of her approach. In this scene Valerius seems to combine Propertius' Hylas poem with Ovid's Narcissus episode. The *iubar* recalls the *candor* of Hylas in Propertius 1.20.45, which excites the nymphs. On the other hand, the fact that Hylas sees (or is blinded by) a gleam that he himself produces, recalls Narcissus, who sees in the pool a reflection of his own eyes, described as stars (*geminum sidus*) in *Met.* 3.420. The comparison of Hylas' *iubar* with the rays of the sun (*Phoebus*) and the moon (*Cynthia*) underlines this.⁵⁶⁶ By analogy with Narcissus and his reflection, Hylas and Dryope seem to be in some way assimilated.

Furthermore, as we saw, the Valerian Dryope is equated with a *sonus* and an *umbra*. This is exactly how Hylas himself is described later on in Valerius' narrative, as Malamud and McGuire have pointed out.⁵⁶⁷ As I showed earlier, Hylas answers Hercules' cry as a (bucolic) echo, an *imago* (*Arg.* 3.597), and he thus seems to have

⁵⁶⁶ The appearance of the name Cynthia is suggestive in a context that alludes to Propertius 1.20, but I cannot see more than an implicit nod to Propertius' Hylas poem here.

⁵⁶⁷ Malamud & McGuire 1993, 207; 213.

become a *sonus*. In book 4 of the *Argonautica*, Hylas will visit his friend Hercules in a dream as an *umbra*:

ille ultro petit et vacuis amplexibus instat
languentisque movet frustra conamina dextrae:
corpus hebet somno refugaque eluditur **umbra**. Arg. 4.39-41

The other [*Hercules*] moves toward him, stretching weak arms | empty again
and again in failed embrace. | His body grows feeble with sleep; the ghost
retreats | and slips away. (tr. Barich)

So Valerius' Hylas becomes both an *imago* and an *umbra*. Interestingly, these two terms, *imago* and *umbra* are combined in Ovid's Narcissus episode, where Narcissus' reflection is said to be an *imagineis umbra* (434; quoted above). This collocation probably lies behind Valerius' terminology: his Hylas and Dryope are modelled on Narcissus and his beloved reflection.⁵⁶⁸

Although Valerius' Hylas thus seems to be Narcissus-like, it is not really his own reflection that the boy loves: Hylas and the nymph Dryope seem to have become one after the abduction, which recalls Narcissus and the object of his desire, who were one and the same person. Valerius has thus created his own metamorphosis of Hylas. In fact, there is a story in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in which exactly this transformation takes place: two characters, a nymph and a boy, become one. The story referred to is that of Salmacis and Hermaphroditus, which, as I will argue, is an important for Valerius' Hylas episode. The episode may even account for Valerius' allusions to the Narcissus episode, with which the Hermaphroditus episode is closely connected.⁵⁶⁹

⁵⁶⁸ As Hylas is associated with the origin of the echo, he also resembles Ovid's nymph Echo, who, rejected by Narcissus, becomes a *sonus* (*Met.* 3.401) just like Hylas, lending her name to the echo in an alternative aetiology for the natural phenomenon.

⁵⁶⁹ Hardie 2002, 146, for instance, calls the Salmacis and Hermaphroditus episode "a doublet of the Narcissus story". Apart from the verbal similarities, there is a *font* and a symbolic landscape, which attracts both Narcissus and Hermaphroditus (see Segal 1969 on the use of water (pp. 23-6) and flowers (pp. 34-5) in these two episodes as symbols of virginity as well as its loss), and a one-sided love: Hermaphroditus rejects Salmacis as Narcissus rejects Echo. And just as Narcissus and his beloved, his reflection, are one and the same, so Salmacis and her beloved will become one and the same.

5.2. *Hylas and Hermaphroditus*

There are more similarities between Valerius' narrative and the Hermaphroditus story than just the merging of two characters. The setting in both is a pool with very clear water. Salmacis and Dryope are both nymphs and hunters and they both fall in love with and rape a beautiful boy. When Salmacis sees Hermaphroditus and falls in love, her eyes shine like the sun reflected in a mirror:

tum vero placuit, nudaque cupidine formae
Salmacis exarsit; flagrant quoque lumina nymphae,
non aliter quam cum puro nitidissimus orbe
opposita speculi referitur imagine Phoebus. Met. 4.346-9

Then indeed he gave pleasure and Salmacis burned with desire for his naked beauty: and the nymph's eyes were aflame too, just as when Phoebus' orb, clear and at its brightest, is reflected in the image of a mirror facing it. (tr. Hill)

This comparison reminds us of Valerius' *Argonautica*, where the gleam that Hylas sheds on the pool is compared with the sun (*Phoebus*) shining on the water. Moreover, as Hylas sheds a gleam on the water, so Hermaphroditus gleams while swimming in the pool, just before the nymph rapes him:

ille cavis velox adplauso corpore palmis
desilit in latices alternaque brachia ducens
in liquidis translucet aquis, ut eburnea si quis
signa tegat claro vel candida lilia vitro. Met. 4.352-5

He swiftly jumped down into the waters slapping his body with hollowed palms and, plying his arms in turn, he gleamed through the transparent waters just like an ivory statue or white lilies if someone encases them in clear glass. (tr. Hill)

Finally, the blush of Hermaphroditus earlier in the story, when Salmacis asks him to marry her, is compared with the appearance of the moon in eclipse:

(...) pueri rubor ora notavit
(nescit enim quid amor) sed et erubuisse decebat.
hic color aprica pendentibus arbore pomis

aut ebori tincto est aut sub candore rubenti,
cum frustra resonant aera auxiliaria, lunae. Met. 4.329-33

(...) a blush appeared on the boy's cheek (for he did not know what love was) but even to blush became him. He was the colour of apples hanging from a sun drenched tree, or of stained ivory or of the moon grown red in the midst of her brightness while the relieving bronze sounds out in vain. (tr. Hill)

Comparably, Hylas' *iubar* in Valerius is likened to the shining of the moon (558-60; quoted above).

There are also interesting parallels between Ovid's episode and Propertius' Hylas poem 1.20, which suggests that Valerius is "window-alluding" to Propertius through Ovid.⁵⁷⁰ When Propertius' Hylas arrives at the spring, he forgets his duty and starts picking flowers:

quae modo **decerpens tenero** pueriliter **ungui**
proposito **florem** praetulit officio;
et modo formosis incumbens nescius undis
errorem blandis tardat imaginibus. Prop. 1.20.39-42

Now childishly picking these with youthful nail, he put flowers ahead of his intended task; and now leaning unawares over the fair water he delays his wandering with the charming images. (tr. Heyworth)

The significance of this act is underlined by an allusion to Catullus' wedding poem 62:

ut **flos** in saeptis secretus nascitur hortis
(...)
multi illum pueri, multae optavere puellae:
idem cum **tenui carptus** defloruit **ungui**,
nulli illum pueri, nullae optavere puellae:
sic virgo, dum intacta manet, dum cara suis est. Cat. 62.39; 42-5

⁵⁷⁰ For the type of allusion to both a model (A) and to that model's model (B), which thus recognizes that the model of A is B, the terms "window allusion/reference" and "two-tier allusion" are current. See also Thomas 1986, 188-9 (= 1999, 130-2).

As a flower springs up secretly in a fenced garden (...); many boys, many girls desire it; when the same flower fades, plucked by a delicate nail, no boys, no girls desire it: so a maiden, while she remains untouched, the while is she dear to her own. (tr. Goold)

"The comparison of the bride to a flower, ready for defloration, is a conventional epithalamial image",⁵⁷¹ and we can anticipate that Hylas will soon lose his virginity. In the *Metamorphoses* it is Salmacis who is picking flowers, which there prefigures the loss of virginity of Hermaphroditus.⁵⁷²

Valerius' Dryope obviously resembles Salmacis in that she deflowers a boy. From a metapoetical point of view, as I argued earlier, this action of Dryope elegized Hylas and the *Argonautica* in general, prefiguring the way the epic would go. Interestingly, as I shall argue next, the nymph also resembles her Ovidian counterpart in this respect, since she also appears to elegize the potential epic hero Hermaphroditus in an episode that can be seen as a *mise en abyme*, a miniature, of the entire *Metamorphoses*.

5.3. Elegizing Hermaphroditus

The metapoetical dimension of the Salmacis and Hermaphroditus episode is related to a play on gender. Epic poetry is, particularly in Roman times, self-consciously characterized as a distinctly masculine affair, dealing with masculine activities such as warfare.⁵⁷³ Like Hylas at the beginning of Valerius' Hylas episode, the young Hermaphroditus is initially depicted as an epic hero, resembling Aeneas and, in particular, Odysseus, as Keith has shown:⁵⁷⁴

Mercurio puerum diva Cythereide natum
Naides Idaeis enutrivere sub antris,
cuius erat facies in qua materque paterque

⁵⁷¹ Hardie 2002, 156.

⁵⁷² Segal 1969, 34-5.

⁵⁷³ See also Section 1 above.

⁵⁷⁴ Keith 1999, 216-7. In this context, *labor* ("toil") in line 295 also evokes epic. See also p. 224 below for this epic association of *labor*.

cognosci possent; nomen quoque traxit ab illis.
is tria cum primum fecit quinquennia, montes
deseruit patrios Idaque altrice relictas
ignotis errare locis, ignota videre
flumina gaudebat, studio minuente laborem.

Met. 4.288-95

There was a boy born to Mercury and the goddess of Cythera and cared for by the Naiads in the caves of Ida; his was a face in which both mother and father could be recognized; and he took his name from them. As soon as he had lived three times five years, he left his father's mountains and abandoned Ida where he had been brought up and began to enjoy wandering in unfamiliar places and seeing unfamiliar rivers with a zeal that made light of toil. (tr. Hill)

That Hermaphroditus is nursed by nymphs on Mt. Ida recalls Venus' wish to have her son Aeneas raised there (*H. Hom.* 5.256-8), and just like Aeneas "Hermaphroditus leaves his home in the Troad to undertake a journey".⁵⁷⁵ But the boy's wanderings (*errare*, 294) are even more reminiscent of those of Odysseus, who, returning from Troy, sees the cities of many men.⁵⁷⁶ πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἶδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνων. "Of many men did he see the cities and learn the minds."

When Hermaphroditus arrives at Salmacis' spring, the scene recalls Odysseus again, arriving "at the isolated homes of the nymphs Calypso and Circe, but rehearses still more closely the Homeric hero's approach to Nausicaa and her companions who, after washing and clothing in the river, bathe and anoint themselves before enjoying a picnic lunch and playing ball (*Od.* 6.93-100). Salmacis similarly besports herself by the banks of her spring (...)." ⁵⁷⁷ As Keith observes, "[u]ntil the moment when Salmacis sees Hermaphroditus, (...) the Ovidian narrative proceeds on a gendered narrative trajectory that distinguishes the male epic hero from the feminized site of his labours: Hermaphroditus, a mobile male hero (like Odysseus or Aeneas) arrives in the course of his voyage of (self-)discovery at the home of Salmacis, an immobile female obstacle (like Nausicaa or Dido)." ⁵⁷⁸ When

⁵⁷⁵ Keith 1999, 217.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibidem. Cf. Labate 1993, 53-4.

⁵⁷⁷ Keith 1999, 217.

⁵⁷⁸ Ibidem.

Salmacis addresses the beautiful boy, the epic allusions continue, for her words (320-8) recall those of Odysseus to Nausicaä in *Odyssey* 6.149-59, but it is Salmacis who takes over Odysseus' role in a complete switch of gender roles: "[H]ere, if anywhere in Latin narrative, a female character aspires to the role of the (mobile, male) hero of epic."⁵⁷⁹ The eventual result of the episode is that the two characters merge and that the potentially epic *vir* Hermaphroditus ends up as a *semivir*, "half-man", his limbs "weakened", and in accordance with the boy's wish the spring will have the power to weaken men from that moment on:

ergo ubi se liquidas, quo vir descenderat undas
semimarem fecisse videt mollitaque in illis
membra, manus tendens, sed iam non voce virili
Hermaphroditus ait: "nato date munera vestro,
et pater et genetrix, amborum nomen habenti:
quisquis in hos fontes vir venerit, exeat inde
semivir et tactis subito mollescat in undis!"

Met. 4.380-6

And so, when he saw that the transparent waters, to which he had gone down a man, had made him a half-male, and that his limbs had been made soft in them, Hermaphroditus stretched out his hands and said, but no longer with a man's voice, "Grant your son a favour, oh father and mother too, for my name comes from both of you: whoever comes into this spring a man, let him come out from there a half-man, softened immediately he touches the waters." (tr. Hill)

This "feminization" of Hermaphroditus also clearly has a metapoetical dimension, as it is associated with Roman love elegy. Whereas the other nymphs are involved in the male activity of hunting, the epic association of which is enhanced by the emphatic use of the adjective *durus*,⁵⁸⁰ Salmacis herself is depicted as very feminine. In fact, she is described as a society lady from Roman love elegy, bathing, combing her hair and looking in the mirror (310-15), in a passage which seems to be

⁵⁷⁹ Keith 1999, 218 (one could also, however, think of Dido and Camilla in the *Aeneid*). Cf. Nugent 1990, 175-6 on the intertextual contact with *Odyssey* 6.149-59.

⁵⁸⁰ *Met.* 4.307, 309: *duris venatibus*, "hardships of the hunt" (tr. Miller & Goold). For the association of *durus* with epic, see p. 174 above and Ch. 3, n. 451.

influenced by Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*.⁵⁸¹ The terminology that is strikingly often applied to both Salmacis' feminizing spring – with which the eponymous nymph can be identified⁵⁸² – and her/the spring's feminizing action, i.e. *mollire* ("to soften", "to effeminate") and its cognates, also refers to love elegy, where the word is often used metapoetically to denote the genre.⁵⁸³ When Salmacis is said to soften/feminize Hermaphroditus (*Salmacis ... remolliat*, 286; *mollita ... | membra*, 381-2; *mollescat*, 386), the nymph can thus be seen metapoetically to elegize the epic Hermaphroditus.⁵⁸⁴ This interpretation is reinforced by the union of the boy with the nymph, which seems a perversion of the elegiac ideal of lover and beloved to become one.⁵⁸⁵

The wording of this merging – *mixta duorum | corpora iunguntur*. "Their two bodies, joined together as it were, were merged in one" (373-4) – recalls the prologue of the *Metamorphoses*, where *corpus* clearly has a metapoetical meaning:⁵⁸⁶

in nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas
corpora; di coeptis (nam vos mutastis et illa)
adspirate meis primaque ab origine mundi

⁵⁸¹ Jouteur 2001, 273: "Le portrait de la coquette Salmacis (...) est influencé par l'Art d'aimer." Barchiesi & Rosati 2007, 288 (on *Met.* 4.310-5): "[Q]uesta Naiade frivola e oziosa somiglia a una dama della società galante romana: è bella (*formosus* connota fascino sensuale; cfr. McKeown 1989 a *Am.* I 5, 11), ama i bagni, passa il tempo nella cura dei capelli (mentre le ninfe-cacciatrici li portano regolarmente *incompti*: cfr. II 413 ecc.), si guarda allo specchio per agghindarsi (comme l'*Ars amatoria* alle donne insegna di fare: *quod quaque decebit | eligat, et speculum consulat ante suum*, III 135-6), indossa vesti trasparenti (come Cinzia, in Properzio, I 2, 2, o Nemesi, in Tibullo, II 3, 53), si distende mollemente sui prati (l' anafora di *mollibus* richiama per contrasto quella di *duris* ai vv. 307 e 309), raccoglie fiori (un passatempo che spesso prelude a scene di violenza erotica: cfr. V 391 sgg.)."

⁵⁸² See Keith 1999, 217-8; Keith 2000, Ch. 3 for the ways in which Salmacis "quite literally embodies the landscape through which Hermaphroditus travels." (1999: 217)

⁵⁸³ See Ch. 3, Section 7.1 for the association of *mollis* with elegy. Cf. Jouteur 2001, 272: "Il n'est pas impossible (ce serrait au contraire bien dans ses habitudes) qu' Ovide joue sur la polysémie de *mollis*, qui renverrait au genre féminin en même temps que réflexivement au genre élégiaque."

⁵⁸⁴ Hermaphroditus' elegizing perhaps already starts when he swims in Salmacis' spring, for his alternating strokes (*alternaque brachia ducens*, *Met.* 4.353; also quoted above), bring to mind the elegiac *alternus versus* (see also Ch. 3, p. 157). Cf. the clearly elegiac situation in Prop. 1.11, where Cynthia is envisaged swimming at Baiae "with an elegiac stroke, parting the water with alternating hand (*alternae ... manu* 1.11.12)." (McNamee 1993, 225).

⁵⁸⁵ Cf. Barchiesi & Rosati 2007, 292 (on *Met.* 4.371-7): "[L]a preghiera di Salmacide di veder realizzato il suo desiderio di eterno possesso (...) dell' amato (il sogno degli elegiaci: cfr. Properzio, II 6, 41-2) viene esaudita dagli dèi."

⁵⁸⁶ See esp. Farrell 1999 and Theodorakopoulos 1999 on the metapoetical meaning of *corpus* here and throughout the *Metamorphoses*.

ad mea perpetuum deducite tempora carmen.

Met. 1.1-4

My spirit moves me to tell of shapes changed into strange bodies; oh gods inspire my undertakings (for it was you who changed them), and from the first beginnings of the world lead my continuous song down to my own times.

(tr. Hill, adapted)

As S.J. Harrison conveniently summarizes the programmatic meaning of the prologue: “Metamorphosis is the theme of the poem, both in terms of its formal content, and in terms of its generic variety. Genres appear and disappear and are transformed into each other through the long course of the poem, following its explicit programme (1.1-2): literary *forms* are transformed into new *bodies* of poetic work”.⁵⁸⁷ Two “poetic bodies”, one epic and one elegiac, are thus merged in Ovid’s Salmacis and Hermaphroditus episode, and the result is a (poetic) body that is neither male (epic) nor female (elegiac):⁵⁸⁸

nec duo sunt et forma duplex, nec femina dici
nec puer ut possit, neutrumque et utrumque videntur.

Met. 4.378-9

They were not two, but they had a dual form that could be said to be neither woman nor boy, they seemed to be neither and both. (tr. Hill)

On the other hand, although Salmacis has feminized/elegized the boy, he is still a man – albeit just a half-man (*semivir*) – who keeps his male name Hermaphroditus and addresses himself as a male (*nato*, 383). Metapoetically, this implies that although the epic Hermaphroditus is elegized, he still remains epic up to a point. This paradoxical situation recalls the generic status of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* in general, as I shall argue next.

⁵⁸⁷ Harrison 2002, 89. Cf. Keith 2002, 238: “Its [*the prologue’s*] self-referential commentary on the literary aims of the *Metamorphoses* is buttressed by Ovid’s use of *forma* and *corpora* (1.1-2), which in stylistic discussion can refer to literary ‘forms’ and ‘works’ respectively: the poet undertakes to transform the diverse literary forms of his sources into the hexameter body of his epic.”

⁵⁸⁸ Jouteur 2001, 280: “Le commentaire étonné du poète sur l’étrangeté de la créature ainsi décrite pourrait s’appliquer à la question des genres: tout en renvoyant à l’épopée et à l’élégie, le texte n’est plus ni l’une ni l’autre, mais un subtil mixte générique...”

5.4. *Ovid's Metamorphoses: an elegiac epic*

Formally, the *Metamorphoses* belongs to the epic genre, because of its metre, and at the very beginning of the poem, the former elegiac poet Ovid emphasizes this status of his work by revealing a metamorphosis in his career. At exactly the moment that Ovid says that the gods have changed his poetry (in the second half of the second line: *nam vos mutastis et illa*), his poetry also changes in practice, for what could have been a pentameter up to that point, and thus an elegiac poem, at that very moment evolves into a second hexameter and thus an epic poem.⁵⁸⁹ This represents an inversion of the situation at the beginning of the *Amores* (quoted on p. 204 below), where Ovid says that he planned to write an epic (*arma ... violentaque bella*, *Am.* 1.1.1). Cupid sabotaged the project, however, by stealing a foot and changing his hexameters into elegiac distichs, eventually causing Ovid to change from a potential epic poet into an elegist.

A few lines later in the prologue, Ovid seems to reinforce the status of the *Metamorphoses* as a traditional epic, when he characterizes his poem as a *perpetuum carmen* (4), alluding to the prologue of the *Aetia*, where Callimachus says that he is reproached by his critics, the Telchines, for not having written “one continuous poem” (ἐν ᾧσιμα διηγεκέζ, *Aet.* 1.3 Pf.).⁵⁹⁰ But there is more. Ovid asks the gods to “spin out” (*deducite*) his epic, employing a metaphor derived from weaving.⁵⁹¹ In that context, *deducere* denotes the spinning of wool to produce a thin (*tenuis*) thread.⁵⁹² The word thus recalls Callimachean poetical ideals (cf. Μοῦσαν ... λεπταλέην, *Aet.* fr. 1.24 Pf.),⁵⁹³ an association that is reinforced by an allusion to *Eclogue* 6. The prologue

⁵⁸⁹ Tarrant 1982, 351, n. 35.

⁵⁹⁰ See Ch. 1, Section 2.5 for a discussion of this passage.

⁵⁹¹ Due 1974, 95. See e.g. Deremetz 1995, 289-92 for the metapoetical potential of *deducere*, and Introduction, n. 31 for “weaving” in general as metaphor for the poetical process.

⁵⁹² See Ch. 2, n. 272 for the Callimachean associations of *tenuis*.

⁵⁹³ See e.g. Gilbert 1976; Kenney 1976, 51-2; Heyworth 1994, 72-6. As Rosati 1999, 247 interestingly observes, however, *deducere* itself suggests both Callimachean, refined poetry and a continuous, narrative poem at the same time, as the verb also implies a long thread and thus “the idea of continuity and extension”. On Callimachus' *Aetia* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in general, see e.g. Knox 1986; Myers 1994. See Keith 2002, 246, n. 51 for more bibliography.

of this poem is clearly based on Callimachus' *Aetia* prologue (21-4), where Callimachus' patron Apollo advises the poet on the kind of poetry he should write:⁵⁹⁴

cum canerem reges et proelia, Cynthus aurem
vellit et admonuit: "pastorem, Tityre, pinguis
pascere oportet ovis, deductum dicere carmen." *Ecloga* 6.3-5

When I was singing kings and battles, Cynthus pulled | my ear in admonition:
"A shepherd, Tityrus, | should feed his flock fat, but recite a thin-spun song."
(tr. Lee)

Like Callimachus, the shepherd Tityrus, who can be identified with the bucolic poet Virgil here,⁵⁹⁵ is admonished by Apollo to write refined, *deductum*, poetry.⁵⁹⁶ Whereas Ovid thus initially seems to mutate from a Callimachean elegist into an epic poet, a few lines later he states that his epic will paradoxically embrace Callimachean poetical ideals as well. As Merli states: "The principle which governs the mechanism of metamorphosis requires that something of the previous form be maintained in the new one."⁵⁹⁷ Although the *Metamorphoses* is formally an epic, it thus seems to retain inevitable traces of the elegiac past of the poet who produced it, and who already hinted at this past in the first two lines of his new work. The number of books of the poem also hints at a move away from traditional epic, which is "characterized by a number corresponding to a multiple of six",⁵⁹⁸ and in the direction of love elegy. More specifically, Merli suggests "a connection between Ovid's erotic elegy and his epic, especially if (...) we accept that the *Amores* follow the scheme of fifteen, twenty, fifteen elegies, or if (...) we at least accept that the first and the third books contain fifteen elegies each."⁵⁹⁹ This impression of an elegiac epic on the basis of the number of books is reinforced by the fact that the *Metamorphoses* constitutes "a literary

⁵⁹⁴ See Ch. 2, Section 2.1.2 for the text and translation of the Callimachean passage.

⁵⁹⁵ See e.g. Hunter 2006, 127 for this identification.

⁵⁹⁶ For the Callimachean dimension of *Eclogue* 6, and its prologue in particular, see esp. Deremetz 1995, 287-314.

⁵⁹⁷ Merli 2004, 307, basing herself on Solodow 1988, 183-6; Wheeler 1999, 12-3; 33.

⁵⁹⁸ Merli 2004, 306.

⁵⁹⁹ Merli 2004, 306-7.

diptych" with the *Fasti*, an elegiac poem that, by contrast, is very epic in the planned number of books.⁶⁰⁰ The subject matter of the *Fasti* is also very epic, as it deals with Roman history, just like the *Aeneid*. Despite its epic claim to deal with the history of the world (3-4),⁶⁰¹ the *Metamorphoses*, by contrast, deals mainly not with Roman history but with Greek myths about love; the traditional, "essential epic" about *reges et proelia* is hard to find in it.⁶⁰²

The beginning of the *Metamorphoses* proper, after the prologue, is a good example of the way Ovid's epic cannot escape the elegiac past of its poet and is thus elegized. Initially, the cosmogony that follows the paradoxical prologue (*Met.* 1.5-451) suggests that Ovid will write a Lucretian didactic epic,⁶⁰³ but then the love story of Daphne and Apollo is told:⁶⁰⁴

primus amor Phoebi Daphne Peneia, quem non
fors ignara dedit, sed saeva Cupidinis ira.
Delius hunc, nuper victo serpente superbus,
viderat adducto flectentem cornua nervo,
"quid" que "tibi, lascive puer, cum fortibus armis?"
dixerat, "ista decent umeros gestamina nostros." *Met.* 1.452-7

The first of Phoebus' loves was Peneian Daphne; which was given him not by blind chance but by Cupid's fierce anger. Recently, the Delian, made haughty by his conquest of the serpent, had seen him bending his bow with string drawn tight and, "What are these mighty arms to you, you wanton boy?", had said, "That equipment of yours befits my shoulders." (tr. Hill)

⁶⁰⁰ Kenney 2005, 650.

⁶⁰¹ Cf. Ennius' *Annales*, which chronicles the history of Rome until Ennius' own day.

⁶⁰² Cf. Hardie 1991, 47: "taken together the *Fasti* and the *Metamorphoses* represent Ovid's typically indirect answer to the challenge of Virgil's epic, on the one hand a Callimachean elegy on the central subject of the *Aeneid* and on the other a hexameter epic on themes for the most part not Roman." Cf. Hinds 1992, 82: "The *Fasti* (...) is at times a rather epic kind of elegy; just as at times, though with even greater complication, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is a rather elegiac kind of epic."

⁶⁰³ See e.g. Knox 1986, 11. Cf. Due 1974, 120: "Viewed from this angle the *Metamorphoses* have not only high epic pretensions but the highest possible; they are universal, a Weltgedicht...".

⁶⁰⁴ Cf. Keith 2002, 251: "In the *Metamorphoses*, the tale of Apollo and Daphne follows a reprise of the cosmogonic motif and announces *amor* as a pervasive theme of the poem."

Although *primus amor* (452) in first instance refers to the fact that Daphne is Apollo's first love, Ovid also indicates that this is the first love story in the *Metamorphoses*.⁶⁰⁵ But the words have yet another meaning. After the haughty Apollo has belittled Cupid, the boy teaches him a lesson by shooting the god through the heart, making Apollo fall in love and admit his defeat:

certa quidem nostra est, nostra tamen una *sagitta*
certior, in vacuo quae vulnera *pectore* fecit. Met. 1.519-20

My arrow is sure indeed, but there is one arrow surer still which has made wounds in my empty heart. (tr. Hill)

As the words in italics in these two texts and the text that follows indicate, Ovid here clearly alludes to the first poem of his *Amores*, his *primus amor*:⁶⁰⁶

arma gravi numero violentaque bella parabam
 edere, materia conveniente modis.
 par erat inferior versus – risisse Cupido
 dicitur atque unum surripuisse pedem.
 “*quis tibi, saeve puer, dedit hoc in carmina iuris?*
 (...)”
 me miserum! *certas* habuit puer ille *sagittas*:
 uror, et *in vacuo pectore* regnat Amor. Am. 1.1.1-5; 25-6

Arms, and the violent deeds of war, I was making ready to sound forth – in weighty numbers, with matter suited to the measure. The second verse was equal to the first – but Cupid, they say, with a laugh stole away one foot. “Who gave you, cruel boy, this right over poetry” (...) Ah, wretched me! Sure were the arrows that you boy had. I am on fire, and in my but now vacant heart Love sits his throne. (tr. Showerman & Goold, adapted)

Ovid is here hit by Cupid's arrows, which cause him to abandon his epic project and become an elegist. This passage is reworked in the *Metamorphoses*, where the initial

⁶⁰⁵ E.g. Harrison 2002, 88; Barchiesi 2005, 207 (on Met. 1.452).

⁶⁰⁶ On the intertextual contact with *Amores* 1.1 in this episode, see esp. Nicoll 1977; 1980; Knox 1986, 14-7; Hardie 2005, 91-2. The metapoetical dimension of the Daphne episode is conveniently discussed by Keith 2002, 246-50.

context is also epic, as Apollo has just slain the Python.⁶⁰⁷ The god's question as to what that boy is doing with "epic" weapons (*fortibus armis*) should also be seen in this light, as it implies that Cupid is out of his element in the epic world of *arma*; these fit (*decent*, 457) Apollo better.⁶⁰⁸ Cupid, however, shows the god of poetry that he knows how to handle his *arma*. Driven by epic anger (*saeva Cupidinis ira*, 453), which recalls that of Juno in the *Aeneid* (*saevae ... Iunonis ... iram*, *Aen.* 1.4; cf. 1.25),⁶⁰⁹ he turns the epic hero Apollo into an elegiac lover, as he turned the potentially epic poet Ovid into an elegiac poet.⁶¹⁰ On a metapoetical level, Ovid shows that he can write his familiar elegiac poetry in epic by elegizing epic, adjusting his own metamorphosis from elegist to epic poet with which Ovid started the *Metamorphoses*.

The Daphne episode can thus be seen as a *mise en abyme* of the *Metamorphoses*, a miniature that describes the entire work, and this also goes for the Hermaphroditus episode, in which a potentially epic character is elegized. Although Ovid's pose *vis-à-vis* the epic tradition involves more genres that his epic can incorporate or into which it can transform, such as tragedy and bucolic,⁶¹¹ it is mainly elegiac poetry that works against the epic nature of the poem, that elegizes it.⁶¹² In the light of the strong

⁶⁰⁷ Hardie (2005, 91) speaks of "a hyper-epic dragon-slaying episode". See also Nicoll 1980, 181 for the way this passage evokes epic.

⁶⁰⁸ Hardie 2005, 92: "The metaliterary quality of the meeting in the *Metamorphoses* emerges through allusion to the first words of the *Aeneid*, *arma virumque* (arms and the man), in Apollo's indignant question as to what a *boy* has to do with arms; *decent* (befits) suggests the infringement of a literary decorum." I thank Prof. Nauta for sharing his thoughts on this passage with me.

⁶⁰⁹ Fränkel 1945, 208, n. 5.

⁶¹⁰ In fact, the story can be seen as an aetiology, explaining the origin of the genre. Hardie 2002, 129: "The story of Daphne is the foundational narrative of the inaccessible elegiac *dura puella*, to be possessed by the elegist and his readers only in the form of a *scripta puella*."

⁶¹¹ E.g. Harrison 2002, 88: "[T]he epicization of Euripides' *Bacchae* in 3.511-733 and of his *Hecuba* in 13.399-733 are only two of the most notable examples". See e.g. Farrell 1992 and Barchiesi 2006 for bucolic influences in *Met.* 13.235-68 (Polyphemus). See Hinds 2000, 221-3 for an overview of the various approaches with regard to the generic status of the *Metamorphoses*: (1) it is a "pure" epic (Heinze 1919); (2) it is *not* an epic, but (a) a "Kreuzung der Gattungen" (the term is derived from the title of Ch. 9 of Kroll 1924); (b) "it resists *any* appeal to genre as a useful interpretative tool" (p. 221) (Galinsky 1975); (c) constitutes a new genre (cf. Klein 1974, Knox 1986); (3) it is an epic, in which (a) the boundaries of the genre are creatively crossed (Hinds 1987, 99-134 (cf. 1989), with which I agree); (b) all other genres are subsumed within a "totalizing ambition" (p. 222) (Conte 1994, 115-25).

⁶¹² See e.g. Tränkle 1963a; Knox 1986; Hinds 1987; 1989; Harrison 2002, 87-9; Keith 2002, 245-58; Heerink 2009 for elegiac influences in the entire *Metamorphoses*.

opposition set up between elegy (as dealing with women and love) and traditional epic (as dealing with men and war) by Augustan poets, and in the light of Ovid's past as a versatile elegist, this is hardly surprising.

Ovid's elegizing of epic in the *Metamorphoses* can also be seen in the light of the *Aeneid*. As Hardie states: "The *Aeneid* instantly became the central classic of Latin literature, and all surviving post-Virgilian epics relate to the *Aeneid* in the way that the *Aeneid* relates to Homer, as the intertext by which they define their own aesthetic and ideological ambitions. (...) The first major epic to take up the challenge, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, is so strange and original a poem that its status as epic has often been denied and the centrality of the Virgilian model misrecognized."⁶¹³ In recent decades, however, scholars have extensively shown how Ovid's poem "is both a challenge as well as a response to the *Aeneid*,"⁶¹⁴ and the elegized nature of Ovid's work, as emblemized by Ovid's Salmacis and Hermaphroditus, can thus be seen as part of this reaction to the *Aeneid*. In fact, as was shown in the previous paragraph, Hermaphroditus, before he was elegized by Salmacis, resembled Aeneas.

When Valerius' Dryope rapes Hylas – as Salmacis rapes Hermaphroditus – and when the two merge – as the Ovidian characters do – Valerius imports the metapoetical dimension of the Ovidian episode and of the entire work it represents. Valerius' reaction to the *Aeneid*, his elegizing of the potential Virgilian hero Hylas and the Aeneas-like Hercules in an episode that can be seen as representative for the entire *Argonautica*, can thus be seen as very Ovidian.⁶¹⁵

⁶¹³ Hardie 2005, 91.

⁶¹⁴ Papaioannou 2005, 2. Cf. Hardie 1991, 47: "[T]aken together the *Fasti* and the *Metamorphoses* represent Ovid's typically indirect answer to the challenge of Virgil's epic, on the one hand a Callimachean elegy on the central subjects of the *Aeneid* and on the other a hexameter epic on themes for the most part not Roman." See also e.g. Hardie 1990b; Baldo 1995; Smith 1997 on the *Metamorphoses* and the *Aeneid* in general. For Ovid's most obvious challenge of the *Aeneid*, his "little *Aeneid*" (*Met.* 13.623-14.582), see e.g. Papaioannou 2005, with pp. 3-16 for a discussion of earlier work.

⁶¹⁵ Stover 2003, 127-33 argues that Jason's address to Medea at their first meeting (*Arg.* 5.378-84) also alludes to Salmacis' address to Hermaphroditus (*Met.* 4.320-6), creating a tension in the epic: "Will Jason's confrontation with Medea be as unmanly for him as a dip in the emasculating waters of Salmacis' spring?" (132). Although Stover's argument would strengthen my "Ovidian" interpretation of the Hylas episode as *mise en abyme* of Valerius' *Argonautica*, for which Medea's elegiac love was of

6. Valerius in the footsteps of Virgil

The transformation of Hercules is one of the most obvious ways in which Valerius elegizes Virgil's heroic-epic *Aeneid* in the Hylas episode. The great hero evokes Aeneas, and his departure from the *Argonautica* means that the epic will not turn into an *Aeneid*, as Jupiter quite clearly states at the beginning of book 4. Hercules thus seems to symbolize Aeneas and the *Aeneid* in the Hylas episode; this is also implied at the end of the episode, where Hercules, after it has become clear that Valerius' elegiac epic is not the right place for him, resumes his heroic-epic ways by going to Troy, with its obvious Virgilian (as well as Homeric) associations:

iamque iter ad Teucros atque hospita moenia Troiae
flexerat Iliaci repetens promissa tyranni. Arg. 4.58-9

And now he had bent his steps to the Trojans and Troy's hospitable walls,
claiming the promise of the Ilian monarch [*Laomedon*]. (tr. Mozley)

In fact, the ending of line 58 (*hospita moenia Troiae*) is common in the *Aeneid*.⁶¹⁶ Furthermore, *iter* can have metapoetical connotations, as it has in the epilogue to Statius' *Thebaid*, where it refers to the epic's path to fame:

durabisne procul dominoque legere superstes,
o mihi bisenos multum vigilata per annos
Thebai? iam certe praesens tibi Fama benignum
stravit **iter** coepitque novam monstrare futuris. Theb. 12.810-3

My *Thebaid*, on whom I have spent twelve wakeful years, will you long endure and be read when your master is gone? Already, 'tis true, Fame has strewn a kindly path before you and begun to show a new arrival to posterity. (tr. Shackleton Bailey)

great importance, I cannot agree with it for two reasons. First of all, Jason's address to Medea is clearly based on that of Odysseus to Nausicaä in *Od.* 6 (as Stover himself also notes), which is also Ovid's intertext, and the few verbal parallels can be explained by this common model. Moreover, even if Valerius were to be alluding to Ovid, Jason, and not Medea, as Stover has it, would be associated with the "elegizing" Salmacis; this would make no sense, as Medea is the elegizing factor.

⁶¹⁶ *Aen.* 5.811; 9.144; 11.288. Cf. Murgatroyd 2009, 56 (ad loc.).

So Hercules will now take a new poetic path, in the direction of Virgil's *Aeneid*, as symbolized by Troy, whose walls are hospitable to him, i.e. willing to receive him.

Hylas, on the other hand, was a boy eager to become an epic hero, and he initially resembled Ascanius, Aeneas' successor. In the end, however, Hylas is elegized and transformed into Hercules' elegiac beloved. Hylas' transformation recalls that of Valerius' epic in general, which set out to become a second *Aeneid*, but became an elegized, Ovidian version of it. Like the beloved women of elegiac poetry, with their poetical names – Cynthia for instance, who symbolizes Propertius' poetry – Hylas lives up to his metapoetical etymology (< ὕλη, "subject matter") by symbolically representing the *Argonautica*. At the beginning of the Hylas episode, this symbolic relationship between Hylas and Hercules is briefly summarized:

(...) petit excelsas Tirynthius ornos,
haeret Hylas lateri **passusque moratur iniquos**. Arg. 3.485-6

The man from Tiryns heads toward towering ash trees; | Hylas keeps close, slowing his unequal stride. (tr. Barich, adapted)

Whereas Hercules is associated with epic greatness (*excelsas...ornos*),⁶¹⁷ Hylas is associated with elegy, for his "unequal steps" (*passus...iniquos*), triggering the use of *passus* in the sense "metrical foot",⁶¹⁸ evoke the difference between the hexameter and the pentameter of the elegiac couplet. The elegiac interpretation of Hylas is reinforced by the allusion to the simile comparing the lovesick Dido to a wounded deer in *Aeneid* 4, an important intertext for the rest of the Hylas episode, as I argued

⁶¹⁷ In ancient rhetorical theory, *excelsus* ("elevated", "sublime"; OLD 2b) is used to denote the grand style. See e.g. Plin. *Ep.* 9.26.2; Cic. *Or.* 34/119. For the association of *orni* ("ash trees") with epic, see *Ecl.* 6.71, where Hesiod is represented as the prototypically Callimachean poet, for he brings down (*deducere*, with its Callimachean associations) ash trees (*ornos*) from the mountains, which suggests a switch from heroic-epic to Callimachean-epic poetry. Cf. Hunter 2006, 27, who adduces Orpheus' introduction in A.R.'s *Arg.* 1.26-31 as a parallel, suggesting a Callimachean model for both passages.

⁶¹⁸ OLD 1d. For *passus* in this sense see e.g. Stat. *Silv.* 4.5.58: *hic plura pones vocibus et modis | passu solutis*. "Here most of your compositions shall be in words and measures that are free of meter (*passu solutis*)."

earlier (*Hylas haeret lateri*, 486) ~ *haeret lateri letalis harundo*, *Aen.* 4.73).⁶¹⁹ In the programmatic position at the start of the Hylas episode, these lines seem to state metapoetically that the elegiac Hylas (= the *Argonautica*) elegizes the epic Hercules (= the *Aeneid*) by delaying him (*moratur*), forcing him to walk in Hylas' "metre": this is what happens almost literally in the Hylas episode itself and in Valerius' elegiac epic in general.

But Hylas is also described as following Hercules, in the passage just quoted and at the beginning of the epic, when the two characters are introduced:

Protinus Inachiis ultro Tirynthius Argis
advolat, Arcadio cuius flammata veneno
tela puer facilesque umeris gaudentibus arcus
gestat Hylas; velit ille quidem, sed dextera nondum
par oneri clavaeque capax. (...) Arg. 1.107-11

At once Tirynthian Hercules hurries there | unprodded, from Inachian Argos'
land. | His arrows tipped with venom's Arcadian fire | and his bow the
youngster Hylas carries, | an easy load his shoulders gladly bear. | The club as
well he'd hold, but still | his arms can't bear the weight. (tr. Barich)

Valerius here seems to exploit the metaphor of "following" for imitation of a poetical predecessor. Statius explicitly deploys it in this way in the already mentioned epilogue of the *Thebaid*, where the poet addresses his own epic:

vive precor; nec tu divinam Aeneida tempta,
sed longe sequere et vestigia semper adora.
mox, tibi si quis adhuc praetendit nubila livor,
occidet, et meriti post me referentur honores. Theb. 12.816-9

Live, I pray; and do not try to match the divine *Aeneid*, but ever follow her
footsteps at a distance in adoration. Soon, if any envy still spreads clouds before

⁶¹⁹ The parallel was noted by Langen 1896-7, 253 (on *Arg.* 3.486). I do not agree with Spaltenstein 2004, 145, who comments that "[h]aeret lateri represses des expressions traditionnelles", as the combination of a form of *haerere* and *lateri* earlier than *Arg.* 3.486 occurs only in *Aen.* 4.73. The combination also occurs in *Stat. Theb.* 10.100: *hic haeret lateri redimita Voluptas*. The *communis opinio* is, however, that the *Thebaid* postdates the *Argonautica* (see n. 625 below).

you, it shall perish, and after me you shall be paid the honours you deserve.
(tr. Shackleton Bailey, slightly adapted)

In lines 816-7, “perhaps the most explicit intertextual reference in Latin epic”,⁶²⁰ Statius comments on the relationship between his own epic and Virgil’s *Aeneid*: the *Thebaid* is to follow in the footsteps of the *Aeneid*, albeit at a distance, in homage. In line 817, Statius aptly reinforces his words by alluding to a passage from book 2 of the *Aeneid*, where Aeneas tells Creusa to follow him (the underlined words indicate the intertextual contact):⁶²¹

(...) mihi parvus Iulus
sit comes, et longe servet vestigia coniunx. Aen. 2.710-1

Young Iulus can walk by my side and my wife can follow in my footsteps at a distance. (tr. D. West)

The metaphor of following in someone’s footsteps, which Statius uses to describe the relationship of his *Thebaid* to the *Aeneid*, is at the same time a trope which both activates *and* describes the intertextual process. So does Statius actually enact what he advises here:⁶²² his own words follow Virgil’s own – at some distance (*longe*). In the first instance *longe* seems to refer to Statius’ modesty and reverence for Virgil, and it is also a necessary word to mark the allusion. It also comments on the allusion, however, and has an implicit, metapoetical dimension, as *longe* comments on the limits of the *Thebaid*’s imitation of the *Aeneid*. The message that can be read is that the *Thebaid* goes its own way and has its own dynamics and agenda, and this in fact the way that the epic is interpreted by scholars nowadays.⁶²³ This more confident subtext

⁶²⁰ Nugent 1996, 70.

⁶²¹ Nugent 1996, 70-1; cf. Dominik 2003, 98-9. This allusion to *Aeneid* 2 is very apt, as Virgil’s words itself also allude to a model, and metaphorically comment on it: Virgil’s Creusa follows Aeneas as Eurydice followed Orpheus in the *Georgics*. See further Section 8.1 below.

⁶²² See e.g. Barchiesi 2001, 129-40 for a theoretical discussion of several “tropes of intertextuality in Roman epic” (fate and fame, dreams, prophecy, images, echoes).

⁶²³ Statius’ “creative imitation” of the *Aeneid* has received extensive treatment in recent years: see e.g. Hardie 1990a; Feeney 1991, 337-91; Hardie 1993; Dominik 2003, and in particular the most recent study by Ganiban 2007.

is in harmony with the two lines that immediately follow and end the epic: "Soon, if any envy still spreads clouds before you, it shall perish, and after me you shall be paid the honours you deserve." At first sight these lines just seem to be a modest expression of hope, but "the hope for *meriti honores* is the language of worship paid to a hero or god".⁶²⁴ So Statius implicitly calls his epic divine, just as he called the *Aeneid* a few lines earlier (*divinam Aeneida*, 816).

Similarly, but more implicitly, Valerius also seems to use "following" as an intertextual metaphor that is representative of the relationship between the two epics, since the *Aeneid* is a very important model for Valerius, both in the Hylas episode and the entire *Argonautica*. Just like Statius' words, Valerius' metaphor also describes the intertextual process, for, as the bold and underlined words indicate, the two passages in which Hylas is following Hercules allude to the same passage in *Aeneid* 2, where Ascanius is following Aeneas:

haec fatus latos umeros subiectaue colla
veste super fulvique insternor pelle leonis,
succedoque oneri; dextrae se parvus Iulus
implicuit **sequiturque patrem non passibus aequis**. *Aen.* 2.721-4

When I had finished speaking, I put on a tawny lion's skin as a covering for my neck and the breadth of my shoulders and the I bowed down and took up my burden. Little Iulus twined his fingers in my right hand and kept up with me with his short steps. (tr. D. West)

Also like Statius, Valerius reveals the limitations of his imitation of the *Aeneid*. Ascanius will eventually become an epic hero and a worthy successor to his epic father, and the expectation is initially created that the same will go for Hylas (*nondum* ...). Although Hylas indeed follows Hercules, however, as Valerius imitates Virgil, Valerius' Hylas ultimately parts from his role-model, metamorphosing into an elegiac symbol and turning Hercules temporarily into an elegiac lover, until the hero leaves Valerius' elegiac epic and returns to the heroic-epic world of the *Aeneid*.

⁶²⁴ Pollmann 2004, 289 (ad loc.), referring to Hardie 1993, 111.

7. Statius in the footsteps of Virgil

Hylas and Hercules also make their appearance in Statius' epic *Thebaid*. In a brief passage of only four lines in the fifth book of Statius' *Thebaid*, Hylas is described as following Hercules:

audet iter magnique **sequens vestigia** mutat
 Herculis et tarda quamvis se mole ferentem
 vix cursu tener aequat Hylas Lernaeaque tollens
arma sub ingenti gaudet sudare pharetra *Theb.* 5.441-4

Young Hylas dares the voyage, following and adapting great Hercules' stride, whom running he scarce matches, slowly though the other moves his bulk; and lifting the arms of Lerna he rejoiced to sweat beneath the huge quiver.
 (tr. Shackleton Bailey)

As I will argue in what follows, this passage can also be read metapoetically, in a way similar to the passages involving Hylas and Hercules in Valerius' *Argonautica*, to which it clearly reacts and the poetical agenda of which it copies:⁶²⁵ Hylas following Hercules symbolizes the relationship between the *Thebaid* and the *Aeneid*.

7.1. Following Virgil

The words with which Statius describes Hylas following Hercules (*sequens vestigia*, 441) are intertextually connected to the epilogue of the *Thebaid*, where, as shown earlier, Statius told his epic to follow in the footsteps of the *Aeneid*:

vive precor; nec tu divinam Aeneida tempta,
 sed longe sequere et vestigia semper adora. *Theb.* 12.816-7

⁶²⁵ With almost all scholars I assume that Valerius' *Argonautica* antedates Statius' *Thebaid*. Cf. Zissos 2006, 166, n. 5: "The theory that Statius influenced Valerius rather than the reverse has occasionally been aired, but is unlikely (...)." On the passages under discussion, cf. Zissos 2008, 142 (on *Arg.* 1.107-11): "This composite treatment [*in Arg.* 1.107-11 and *Arg.* 3.486] is punctually reworked at *Theb.* 5.441-4, esp. 443-4 ...". On the intertextual contact between the *Argonautica* and the *Thebaid* (and in particular between their respective Lemnos episodes), see e.g. Schenkl 1871, 303-4; Manitius 1889, 251-3; Summers 1894, 4-5; 8-11; Vessey 1970; Aricò 1991, 206-10; Smolenaars 1991; Delarue 2000, 302-5 (more bibliography in Zissos 2006, 166, nn. 4-5).

Live, I pray; and do not try to match the divine *Aeneid*, but ever follow her footsteps at a distance in adoration. (tr. Shackleton Bailey, slightly adapted)

The contact between the two passages is reinforced by the allusion of both passages to the end of *Aeneid* 2, where following Aeneas is at stake. Whereas Statius' epilogue alludes to Creusa following Aeneas (*longe servet vestigia coniunx*, *Aen.* 2.711), as was shown above (pp. 208-9), not Creusa but Ascanius is the subject in the *Aeneid* 2 intertext of *Thebaid* 5, which was also alluded to by Valerius (see p. 209 and 211 above):⁶²⁶ *sequiturque patrem non passibus aequis*. "And he [Ascanius] follows his father with unequal steps." (*Aen.* 2.724).

Statius' allusion to Virgil in *Thebaid* 5 is not immediately obvious, though. At first sight, Statius only seems to allude to the beginning of Valerius Flaccus' Hylas episode: *passusque moratur iniquos*. "And he [Hylas] delays his [Hercules'] unequal steps." (*Arg.* 3.486). Valerius clearly alludes to the *Aeneid* 2 passage mentioned, through which Hylas is associated with Ascanius and Hercules with Aeneas. That Statius alludes (in *Thebaid* 5) to the Virgilian passage through Valerius Flaccus is reinforced by Statius' allusion to the other passage where Hylas is following Hercules, in book 1 of the *Argonautica*:

Protinus Inachiis ultro Tirynthius Argis
advolat, Arcadio cuius flammata veneno
tela puer facilesque umeris gaudentibus arcus
gestat Hylas; velit ille quidem, sed dextera nondum
par oneri clavaeque capax. Arg. 1.107-11

At once Tirynthian Hercules hurries there | unprodded, from Inachian Argos' land. | His arrows tipped with venom's Arcadian fire | and his bow the youngster Hylas carries, | an easy load his shoulders gladly bear. | The club as well he'd hold, but still | his arms can't bear the weight. (tr. Barich)

⁶²⁶ The appearance of forms of the verb *sequi* in *Theb.* 5.441 (*sequens*), *Theb.* 12.817 (*sequere*) and *Aen.* 2.724 (*sequitur*) also suggests intertextual contact between the three texts.

The underlined words highlight the quite obvious intertextual contact. Both Valerius' and Statius' Hylas carry Hercules' arrows; Statius' *Lernaean arma* both neglects Valerius' comment that the weapons concerned are arrows (*tela*), dipped in poison, and specifies Valerius' *Arcadio*, as the blood concerned is that of the Hydra of Lerna. Whereas Valerius' Hylas was not yet able to carry Hercules' club, Statius' Hylas has difficulty carrying Hercules' huge quiver. Both, however, enjoy the burden.

Valerius here alludes to the same passage from *Aeneid* 2 as he alluded to at the beginning of Hylas episode proper (see p. 209 and 11 above). So Statius has combined both Valerius' passages dealing with Hercules and Hylas, both of which allude in turn to the passage in *Aeneid* 2 where Ascanius is following Aeneas.

7.2. *Hylas and Hercules in Thebaid* 5: a metapoetical reading

To return to the contact between *Thebaid* 5 and 12: the fact that both Statius' Hylas passage and the epilogue of the *Thebaid* allude to the end of *Aeneid* 2, where the following of Aeneas is at stake, strengthens the intertextual contact between *Thebaid* 5 and the very metapoetical epilogue. The latter passage seems to retroject its metapoetical meaning on Statius' description of Hylas following Hercules, activating the metapoetical metaphor of following in the footsteps of a poetic predecessor in another, more implicit context, and taking a cue from Valerius' statement: Hylas following Hercules is like the *Thebaid* following the *Aeneid*.⁶²⁷ If this is so, many other details seem to acquire an additional, metapoetical meaning, filling in some gaps in the metapoetical allegory. That Hylas or the *Thebaid* "dares" (*audet*, 441) the voyage is potentially metapoetically significant, as the verb can refer to ambitious literary

⁶²⁷ Hardie 1993, 110 seems to imply a metapoetical link between *Thebaid* 5 and 12: "Statius warns his poem not to attempt to rival the 'divine *Aeneid*', but to 'follow at a distance and ever worship the *Aeneid*'s footsteps' (12.816-7). To follow is to imitate, which may in itself demand exertion, as for example in the case of Hylas trying to keep up with Hercules at 5.441-4 (...) Virgil himself, when charged with plagiarism, had said that it was easier to steal the club of Hercules than a line from Homer (*Vita Donati* 46)." Inspired by his suggestion, I am trying, however, to make a reasoned case for the intertextual contact between the two passages and for a metapoetical reading of *Thebaid* 5.

projects, in particular an epic.⁶²⁸ Statius uses the verb explicitly of his own epic project at the beginning of the *Thebaid*:

(...) limes mihi carminis esto
Oedipodae confusa domus, quando Itala nondum
signa nec Arctoos **ausim** spirare triumphos
bisque iugo Rhenum, bis adactum legibus Histrum
et coniurato deiectos vertice Dacos
aut defensa prius vix pubescentibus annis
bella iovis. *Theb.* 1.16-22

(...) Let the limit of my lay be the troubled house of Oedipus. For not yet do I dare breathe forth Italian standards and northern triumphs – Rhine twice subjugated, Hister twice brought under obedience, Dacians hurled down from their leagued mountain, or, earlier yet, Jove's warfare ward off in years scarce past childhood. (tr. Shackleton Bailey)

The poet addresses Domitian here and declares that he will limit himself to telling the story of the house of Oedipus, since he does not yet dare (*ausim*) to tell of Domitian's triumphs. This is not just a random parallel between two passages, for only here and in the epilogue – in other words, at the beginning and end of the *Thebaid* – does Statius explicitly comment on his own epic and its relationship with the *Aeneid*, which *does* sing of contemporary events.⁶²⁹ It therefore seems reasonable to see also in *audet* at *Thebaid* 5.441 a reference to Statius' epic ambition.⁶³⁰ Whereas he

⁶²⁸ See McKeown 1998, 11 on Ovid, *Am.* 2.1.11-2, also with references to e.g. *Fast.* 6.22, *Trist.* 2.337, *Pont.* 2.5.28f. and *Prop.* 2.10.5f.

⁶²⁹ Cf. Pollman 2001, 12: "In contrast to the *Aeneid*, the *Thebaid* does not contain any direct references to contemporary or recent Roman history but stays completely on the mythological level. The only exception to this are a few lines at the beginning (*Theb.* 1.17b-33a) and at the end (*Theb.* 12.810-9) of the *Thebaid*, where Statius praises Domitian, the emperor under whom he is writing." Implicitly, however, Statius' *Thebaid* has contemporary relevance, as McNelis 2007 has shown (see below), and, as Dominik 2003, 98 suggests, Statius already seems to suggest this in *Thebaid* 1: "By declaring pointedly that his theme is intended to apply only to Thebes (16f.) and then juxtaposing his statement with a brief mention of Domitian's deeds (17-22), the poet provocatively suggests the contemporary relevance of his poem." See also Rosati 2008 on the political and poetical connections between the prologue and the epilogue of the *Thebaid*.

⁶³⁰ Retrospectively, Hylas' "daring" during his first epic fight against Sages in the Cyzicus episode (*Arg.* 3. 182: *tum primum puer ausus Hylas ...*), which evoked Ascanius' first fight in *Aeneid* 9, as shown in Section 1 above, can also be seen to be metapoetically significant: Valerius/Hylas dares to write an

did not dare to write an epic on Domitian, Statius here implicitly states he has taken up the challenge to compete with Virgil: *audet iter*. The metapoetical reading of *iter* is reinforced by the metaphorical use of the word at the beginning of the epilogue of the *Thebaid* (12.813), where it is clearly used metaphorically, as it refers to the path of the *Thebaid* to fame (p. 207 above). Because of the already established clear intertextual contact between *Thebaid* 5 and the epilogue, we may infer that *iter* in *Thebaid* 5.411 can be read similarly: Hylas or the *Thebaid* dares to attempt the (poetical) journey to fame, in the footsteps of Hercules or the *Aeneid*. *Arma* in line 444 invites a metapoetical reading as well. In this context, right after the allusion to *Aeneid* 2 in 443 (discussed above), and placed at the beginning of the line, the word clearly alludes to the famous first word of the *Aeneid*. The metapoetical potential of the word, as a concise definition of epic by Roman poets, is well-established. Often, as in *Aeneid* 1.1, the definition also includes the other stereotype: that it deals with men.⁶³¹ Ovid, however, restricts himself to *bella* in the *Remedia Amoris*: *fortia Maeonio gaudent pede bella referri* (“bold wars rejoice to be related in Homeric feet”, 373), and to *bella* as well as *arma* in his *Amores*: *arma gravi numero violentaque bella parabam | edere* (“I planned to speak of arms and violent wars in heavy feet”). Here the quite explicit reference to the genre of epic is underlined by an allusion to the first word of the *Aeneid*, marked by the identical position of Ovid’s *arma* at the beginning of the line.⁶³² In *Heroides* 3.87, where Briseïs is addressing Achilles, Ovid uses only *arma* to hint at a metapoetical statement about epic: *arma cape, Aeacide, sed me tamen ante recepta* (“Take up arms, Aeacides, but take me back first”).⁶³³ Hinds interprets this line metapoetically in terms of the tension between the genres of epic and elegy in the elegiac *Heroides*: “Fulfil your martial epic project, Achilles, but take care of erotics

epic in the footsteps of the *Aeneid*. As I argued, however, the Hylas episode reveals there that the *Argonautica* will eventually take another direction.

⁶³¹ See also Virg. *Ecl.* 6.3: *reges et proelia*, “kings and battles”; Hor. *AP* 73: *res gestae regumque ducumque et tristia bella*, “deeds of kings and leaders and grim wars”. See also Section 1 above for a discussion of epic stereotypes. I owe the following examples to Hinds 2000.

⁶³² For the way in which the position of a word in the line can mark an allusion, see Wills 1996, 22-3: “positional marking (in relationship to line- or book-boundaries)”.

⁶³³ Translation adapted from Hinds 2000, 224-5.

first!"⁶³⁴ This example shows how easily a metapoetical reading can be invited – in the right context – by just the word *arma*, placed in the same line position as in the *Aeneid*. The same seems to be the case in *Thebaid* 5, where Statius' *arma* both alludes to the *Aeneid* and contributes to a metapoetical reading of lines 543-4, concerning his own epic: the *Thebaid* follows the *Aeneid* (Hylas carries Hercules' *arma*), but Statius enjoys this burden (*sub ingenti gaudet sudare pharetra*).⁶³⁵

The metapoetical dimension of the passage is reinforced by Statius himself, who also discusses the *Thebaid* and its relationship with the *Aeneid* in his *Silvae*:⁶³⁶

quippe te fido monitore nostra
Thebais multa cruciata lima
temptat **audaci** fide Mantuanae
gaudia famae.

Silv. 4.7.25-8

For 'tis with you [*Vibius, the addressee*] as my trusty counsellor that my *Thebaid*,
tortured by much filing, essays with daring string the joys of Mantuan fame.
(tr. Shackleton Bailey)

Statius here clearly alludes to the epilogue of his epic, which also speaks of the epic as a product of hard work (*multa cruciata lima*, 26 ~ *multum vigilata per annos*, 12.811-2), and of its imitation of the *Aeneid* as an attempt (*temptat*, 27 ~ *tempta*, 12.816:). The joy (*gaudia*) and daring (*audaci*) that the *Thebaid* experiences during this imitation, however, recall Hylas, carrying the arms of Hercules (*audet iter*, 441; *gaudet*, 444). Statius, combining allusions to both *Thebaid* 5 and 12 in the *Silvae* thus strengthens not only the intertextual contact between the two passages even further, but also the metapoetical significance of Hylas following Hercules.

7.3. Statius' Callimachean poetics

The question remains as to why Statius associates his epic with the anti-epic boy Hylas. In the *Argonautica*, as I have argued, Hylas was initially presented as an

⁶³⁴ Hinds 2000, 224-5.

⁶³⁵ Cf. Hardie 1993, 110, quoted in n. 625 above.

⁶³⁶ I thank Prof. Nauta for sharing his thoughts on this connection with me.

Ascanius, a potentially epic hero. In the Valerian Hylas episode, however, the boy distanced himself from his Virgilian model, symbolizing the way in which the *Argonautica* followed the *Aeneid* to a certain extent but eventually elegized it. Similarly, Statius' Hylas follows Hercules but he adapts (*mutat*, 441) the steps of the great hero. This accords with the *Thebaid's* epilogue, where Statius advised his epic to not just imitate the *Aeneid*, but follow it at a distance (*longe*). But in what respect does the *Thebaid* take another path from the *Aeneid*? I think this has to do with the Callimachean poetics of the epic, which provide an explanation for the association of the *Thebaid* with Hylas, the paradoxical boy who initially reveals epic potential but is eventually associated with anti-epic Callimachean ideas.

McNelis, in his 2007 book *Statius' Thebaid and the Poetics of Civil War*, has argued that the *Thebaid* distances itself from the *Aeneid* and its confidence in the ending of civil war between Trojans and Italian tribes with the establishment of a monarchy under Aeneas, all of which mirrors the recent ending of civil war in Rome by Augustus. Statius' poem deals with civil war in Thebes, a city which has a long history of contemporary relevance in Greek and Roman literature,⁶³⁷ and which in the *Thebaid* clearly (albeit implicitly) evokes Flavian Rome. In the *Thebaid*, Thebes is "a metaphor to examine civil war and its concomitant problems in early imperial Rome",⁶³⁸ and as part of this agenda, the epic engages with the *Aeneid*. As McNelis says, "the poem adopts the Virgilian interest in both the gods and arrangement of the narrative, but it then presents disturbing gods and a narrative that is hindered from making progress. By upsetting these formal features, Statius challenges – but does not dispose of – Augustan claims for order, stability and national progress. The *Thebaid* does not accommodate the transfer of *Pax Augusta* to the Flavian world".⁶³⁹ McNelis also claims – and this is the main point of his book – that this civil war and the related conflict with the *Aeneid* is reflected in the poetics of the *Thebaid*, where

⁶³⁷ See McNelis 2007, 4-5 for examples.

⁶³⁸ McNelis 2007, 5.

⁶³⁹ McNelis 2007, 7.

Callimachus' poetics – or rather the Roman, more rigid anti-epic conception of his poetics, Roman “Callimacheanism” – plays a crucial role, in that it opposes the more traditional epic poetics of the work. In particular, “allusions to Callimachus' poetry play a substantial role in Statius' construction and pursuit of a teleological narrative”.⁶⁴⁰ This narrative is delayed for about 1700 lines in books 4 to 6 of the *Thebaid*, which deal with the stay of the Argive leaders on their way to Thebes at Nemea and the foundation of the Nemean games. McNelis argues that the aetiological episode constitutes a “Callimachean delay” in the poem's otherwise continuous progress towards the epic duel between the brothers Eteocles and Polynices, and in this episode McNelis sees metapoetical allusions to Callimachus' poetry.⁶⁴¹

In the programmatic epilogue, Statius seems to state that these Callimachean poetics play a part in the intertextual contact with the *Aeneid*. As McNelis shows, the *multum vigilata* in line 811 goes back to Callimachus through Cinna.⁶⁴² But there is more. The whole idea of a self-referential *sphragis* seems to go back to the self-referential statement which ends Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* (quoted on p. 32 above).⁶⁴³ The *livor* (“envy”) of Statius' opponents, which is mentioned in the last two lines, recalls two well-known Callimachean passages: the end of Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* again, where a personified Jealousy (Φθόνος) opposes Callimachus' poetry, and the *Aetia* prologue, where Callimachus attacks his literary opponents, who are said to be jealous: ἔλλετε Βασκανίης ὀλοὸν γένος. “To hell with you, then, spiteful brood of Jealousy.” (*Aet.* fr. 1.17 Pf.; tr. Nisetich)⁶⁴⁴ These allusions to Callimachus suggests that in his epilogue Statius self-consciously not only puts his poem in the

⁶⁴⁰ McNelis 2007, 11.

⁶⁴¹ McNelis 2007, 76-96 (Ch. 3: “Nemea”).

⁶⁴² See McNelis 2007, 23: Statius alludes to *FRP* 13.1-2: *haec tibi Arateis multum invigilata lucernis | carmina* (“This poem (...), the subject of many sleepless nights with Aratus' lamplight”; tr. Hollis). In its turn, the passage alludes to Call. *Ep.* 27.3-4 Pf., where Aratus is praised: χαίρετε λεπταὶ | ῥήσιες, Ἀρήτου σύντονος ἀγρυπνίης. “Hail subtle words, token of Aratus' vigilance.”

⁶⁴³ Pollmann 2004, 284 (on *Theb.* 12.810-9).

⁶⁴⁴ Cf. Pollmann 2004, 285 (on *Theb.* 12.810-9). “Poetic jealousy” is a common motif in Latin poetry generally: see e.g. Prop. 3.1.21ff.; Ov. *Am.* 1.15.1-6.

same epic league as Virgil's *Aeneid*, but also programmatically embraces the Callimachean poetics, which, as McNelis has shown, pervade the entire epic.

That Hylas in the footsteps of Hercules symbolizes the *Thebaid* as a paradoxical, Callimachean epic is reinforced by the strong intertextual contact with this Callimachean epilogue. The immediate context of the appearance of Hylas and Hercules, however, also points in this direction, as it too deals with the *Thebaid's* relationship with the *Aeneid* as a *mise en abyme* of the entire epic. This I shall now demonstrate.

7.4. Hypsipyle's narrative as *mise en abyme* of the *Aeneid*

Hylas and Hercules make their appearance in the *Thebaid* as part of a book-length narrative by Hypsipyle in book 5, which is the main cause of the already mentioned "Callimachean" delay of the epic narrative at Nemea. When the Argive leaders meet the former queen of Lemnos, she tells them of the Lemnian women, who, (with the exception of herself) murdered all the men on the island, and of the Argonauts, who arrived at the island shortly after the massacre. Hypsipyle's narrative contains a small catalogue of the Argonauts coming ashore at Lemnos. The former queen mentions some prominent crew members (Theseus, Orpheus, Meleager, Peleus), but ends with a more extensive description of Hylas following Hercules.

Vessey has noted that "Hypsipyle's account of the Lemnian massacre and its aftermath (...) is an epic within an epic, illustrating by parallel, antithesis and symbol, the dominating themes of the whole".⁶⁴⁵ Ganiban, in his 2007 book dealing with the *Thebaid's* interaction with the *Aeneid*, more specifically shows how this *mise en abyme*, a miniature of the entire epic, is also a programmatic statement about the relationship between the *Thebaid* and the *Aeneid* comparable with the epilogue of the

⁶⁴⁵ Vessey 1973, 170. Cf. Vessey 1970, Nugent 1996, Ganiban 2007, 71; McNelis 2007, 90-1. Cf. Feeney 1991, 322-4, who shows that Valerius' Lemnos episode (*Arg.* 2.82ff.) is also a small epic in itself. See n. 625 above for bibliography on the intertextual contact between the two Flavian Lemnos-episodes.

Thebaid.⁶⁴⁶ At first sight, the *Thebaid* seems to follow the *Aeneid*. Ganiban argues that Hypsipyle, “more than any other character in the epic, (...) is specifically and self-consciously modeled on Virgil’s Aeneas. Indeed she represents the most direct use of Aeneas in the *Thebaid*” (71). For example, “her description of the Lemnian massacre is modeled on the fall of Troy and its aftermath in *Aeneid* 2-3” (77).⁶⁴⁷ But Ganiban goes on to show how in fact Statius in this episode (just as in his entire work) distances himself from the *Aeneid*. Like other characters in the epic, Hypsipyle initially seems a Virgilian character (in this case Aeneas), but she is transformed, reinterpreted, and ends up as that character’s foil (in this case Dido).⁶⁴⁸ On the other hand, as McNelis has shown, the setting of Hypsipyle’s narrative is “Callimachean” Nemea, which works against the teleological epic narrative of the *Thebaid*. Ganiban’s and McNelis’ conclusions thus nicely complement each other. At Nemea, just as in the epilogue, Statius imitates the *Aeneid* to some extent, but precisely where he distances himself from his Augustan predecessor, Callimachean poetics come into play.

This Callimachean context strengthens the metapoetical significance of Hylas following Hercules in as passage that can be seen as a further *mise en abyme*, a metapoetical statement within another one.

8. Virgil in the footsteps of Homer

Since the passages of Valerius and Statius in which Hylas is metapoetically following Hercules allude to the same passage in *Aeneid* 2, where Ascanius is following Aeneas, it is tempting to think that Virgil’s passage can also be read metapoetically. As I will

⁶⁴⁶ Ganiban 2007, 71-95 (Ch. 4: “Hypsipyle’s narrative of *nefas*”). On the phenomenon of *mise en abyme* see also Introduction, Section 4.

⁶⁴⁷ Cf. also Nugent 1996 on how Hypsipyle’s narrative interacts with the *Aeneid*.

⁶⁴⁸ Ganiban 2007, 71.

argue next, a metapoetical reading of Ascanius following Aeneas in the *Aeneid* is indeed retrospectively made possible by the texts of Valerius and Statius.⁶⁴⁹

8.1. Aeneas as poet figure

In what immediately follows the passage under discussion, Virgil also seems to use the metaphor of “following” to describe and comment on the relationship of his text to a model, for Virgil’s Creusa follows Aeneas as Eurydice followed Orpheus in Virgil’s own *Georgics*:

pone subit coniunx (...)
 (...)
 iamque propinquabam portis omnemque videbar
 evasisse viam ... *Aen.* 2.725; 730-1

Creusa walked behind us. (...) I was now coming near the gates and it seemed that our was nearly over and we had escaped ... (tr. D. West)

iamque pedem referens casus evaserat omnis,
 redditaque Eurydice superas veniebat ad auras,
 pone sequens ... *Georg.* 4.485-7

And soon his steps retracing he had dodged every pitfall | and Eurydice restored was coming to the upper air | following behind ... (tr. Johnson)

Apart from these reminiscences, the verbal and other similarities between the two narratives in general are so many,⁶⁵⁰ that a reader must have been constantly reminded of the story from the *Georgics* and invited to compare the stories. But there is more. As Kofler has recently argued, the association of Aeneas with Orpheus that is established by the intertextual contact has metapoetical significance.⁶⁵¹ Orpheus is the “archetypal poet”,⁶⁵² and in *Georgics* 4 Virgil associates his own poetic persona

⁶⁴⁹ See also Introduction, n. 41 for the approach of “retrospective interpretation”.

⁶⁵⁰ For a discussion of the contact between the two texts see Heurgon 1931, 263-7; Briggs 1980, 99-101; Kofler 2003, 97-102.

⁶⁵¹ Kofler 2003, 95-104 (Ch. 5: “Aeneas und Orpheus”), drawing heavily on previous work by Boccolini Palagi 1990 and Deremetz 2001.

⁶⁵² Coleman 1962, 58.

with the legendary poet and singer – as well as Argonaut – Orpheus.⁶⁵³ The clear parallels between Aeneas and Orpheus, particularly in *Aeneid* 2 and 6 (Aeneas' *katabasis*),⁶⁵⁴ suggest that Aeneas – also both a hero and a singer, like his Homeric predecessor Odysseus⁶⁵⁵ – can be seen as a manifestation of the persona of Virgil, at least in those places where he recalls Orpheus, as is the case when Creusa is described as following Aeneas from line 725 onwards.

8.2. Aeneas and Hercules

Immediately before this passage, however, in which the figure of Aeneas has affinities with Virgil's poetic persona, Aeneas begins his epic mission, and Virgil already seems to create a link between himself and his protagonist there. For convenience' sake I quote the passage again:

haec fatus latos umeros subiectaque colla
veste super fulvique insternor pelle leonis,
succedoque oneri; dextrae se parvus Iulus
implicuit sequiturque patrem non passibus aequis. *Aen.* 2.721-4

When I had finished speaking, I put on a tawny lion's skin as a covering for my neck and the breadth of my shoulders and then I bowed down and took up my burden. Little Iulus twined his fingers in my right hand and kept up with me with his short steps. (tr. D. West)

⁶⁵³ See esp. Lee 1996 (*Virgil as Orpheus*).

⁶⁵⁴ See Kofler 2003, 97 for these parallels. Cf. Hardie 1998, 47, n. 87: "the Underworld scene [*with Orpheus in Georgics* 4] is reused in Aeneas' *katabasis* in *Aen.* 6".

⁶⁵⁵ See Kofler 2003, 102-4 on Aeneas as a singer in *Aen.* 2 and 3, where the narrator Aeneas and the persona of Virgil converge. The situation is comparable to that in *Od.* 9-12. In Homer, Odysseus is associated with the singer Demodocus, who sings of the fall of Troy. In the *Aeneid*, the association of the singer Iopas with Aeneas shows very clearly that the latter is identified with the poet Virgil, as Iopas's song alludes to both *Ecl.* 6 and *Georg.* 2, on which see Deremetz 2001, 169 (quoted by Kofler 2003, 104, n. 322): "La distance séparant Iopas d'Énée serait donc interprétable comme l'illustration de celle qui sépare l'*Énéide* de l'ensemble *Bucoliques/Géorgiques* et signifierait, en termes de carrière littéraire, l'abandon par Virgile d'une première veine, hésiodique et alexandrine d'inspiration (...), et son passage à la grande épopée d'inspiration homérique, dans la continuité de Livius, de Névius et d'Ennius." The identification of the singer Aeneas with Virgil is strengthened by the fact that Aeneas not only succeeds Iopas, but is also the successor of Demodocus in telling of the fall of Troy. As Demodocus can also be associated with the persona of Homer, Aeneas is, like Virgil, a successor of Homer.

In the first two lines, Aeneas dresses as Hercules, an important model for him throughout the *Aeneid*, as is well-known.⁶⁵⁶ This suggests that Aeneas will undertake an adventure of epic proportions, a Herculean *labor*, which is strengthened by the words *succedo oneri* ("I accept the burden") in the next line. The convergence of Virgil and Aeneas seems to start here already, since the Odyssean part of Virgil's Homeric epic – and thus in a sense the *Aeneid* itself – starts here as well. Through the narrator Aeneas, who can be identified with the persona of the poet Virgil in *Aeneid* 2 and 3 in any case,⁶⁵⁷ Virgil seems to comment on his own project: he will now accept the burden of putting himself in his great model's shoes. The model of Virgil is of course Homer, and Hercules is thus associated with the great bard, which was also the case in Apollonius' *Argonautica*.⁶⁵⁸ As Hercules is the greatest Greek hero and is an important model for Aeneas throughout the *Aeneid* – as is the greatest Greek poet for Virgil – this association is appropriate. The anecdote told in Donatus' *Life of Virgil*, where Virgil himself associates Hercules with Homer, is also of interest here.⁶⁵⁹

Asconius Pedianus libro, quem contra obtrectatores Vergilii scripsit, pauca admodum obiecta ei proponit eaque circa historiam fere et quod pleraque ab Homero sumpsisset; sed hoc ipsum crimen sic defendere adsuetum ait: "cur non illi quoque eadem furta temptarent? verum intellecturos facilius esse Herculi clavam quam Homero versum subripere." Donat. *Vit. Verg.* 46

Asconius Pedianus in the book which he wrote against the detractors of Virgil cites only a few complaints against him, and those mostly relating to matters of fact or to his borrowings from Homer, and says that Virgil used to rebut the charge of plagiarizing Homer with the following remark: "Only let such critics try to do the same themselves. They would soon find that it is easier to steal his club from Hercules than to steal a line from Homer." (tr. Camps 1969)

⁶⁵⁶ See e.g. Feeney 1986. Hardie 1998, 83, n. 127 provides more bibliography on Hercules as a model for Aeneas.

⁶⁵⁷ See n. 655 above.

⁶⁵⁸ See Ch. 1, Section 2.2.

⁶⁵⁹ Cf. Hardie 1993, 110, quoted in n. 627 above.

8.3. Poetic father and son

The identification of Aeneas and Hercules in lines 721-4 is anticipated a few lines before the passage discussed, where Aeneas said that he would carry his father: *ipse subibo nec me labor iste gravabit*. "I shall take you on my own shoulders. Your weight will be nothing to me." (708; tr. D. West). When Aeneas dresses like Hercules a few lines later, this line (708) retrospectively acquires an additional symbolic meaning as well, which refers to the epic as a whole: Aeneas not just carries his father on his shoulders, but the fate of the city of his ancestors, in his search for a new location. This symbolical interpretation is reinforced by the intertextual contact with the end of *Aeneid* 8, where Aeneas admires Vulcan's shield, for here the Herculean and the symbolical aspects of Aeneas' burden are combined:⁶⁶⁰

talia per clipeum Volcani, dona parentis,
miratur rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet
attollens umero famaue et fate nepotum.

Aen. 8.729-31

Such were the scenes spread over the shield that Vulcan made and Venus gave to her son. Marvelling at it, and rejoicing at the things pictured on it without knowing what they were, Aeneas lifted on to his shoulder the fame and the fate of his descendants. (tr. D. West)

The shield recalls Achilles' shield in *Iliad* 18, but Hesiod's *Scutum Herculis* is also a model, and thus "it is, in a way, Hercules' own shield that Aeneas is picking up".⁶⁶¹ But Aeneas' shield has greater significance: "He takes up the historical burden that will issue in an *imperium* over the entire world; he is picking up a world, if not the world."⁶⁶²

Because Aeneas dressing like Hercules seems to have a metapoetical meaning, the burden of his father on Aeneas's shoulders seems to have metapoetical significance as well, as Aeneas describes it as a Herculean *labor* in line 708. Moreover, Hardie has stressed the importance of generational and, in a political context, dynastic

⁶⁶⁰ Cf. Feeney 1986, 73-4.

⁶⁶¹ Feeney 1986, 74.

⁶⁶² Feeney 1986, 73.

continuity in ancient Rome, and has shown that Roman epic constantly thematizes familial relationships, for instance that between father and son, because of its obvious relevance for familial and dynastic succession.⁶⁶³ Hardie then argues: "The Roman imperial epic's obsession with the need for, and possibility of, succession reflects the historical realities of the first century A.D.; it also relates to the poet's own desire to prove himself a worthy successor to the great epic poets who lived before him, and in particular to succeed as a follower of Virgil." Thus, for instance the father-son relationship can be employed metaphorically to describe the relationship of one poet to another,⁶⁶⁴ and Hardie discusses an example from *Aeneid* 6, where "the relationship between Aeneas and Anchises is also that between Virgil and 'father' Ennius".⁶⁶⁵ Something similar seems to be the case in *Aeneid* 2. In this context, however, the poetical father of Virgil is not Ennius, but Homer, and the metaphor of the father-son relationship is combined with that of carrying a heavy, Herculean burden. Metapoetically, Aeneas, dressed as Hercules and carrying his father Anchises in *Aeneid* 2, can thus be seen as the poet Virgil taking on the "burden" of Homer.

9. Valerius, Statius and Ascanius

As Hardie has also shown, in the context of dynastic succession Ascanius plays a quintessential role in the *Aeneid*: "Aeneas succeeds Hector as the bearer of Trojan hope for the future, and with that succession goes the replacement of Astyanax by

⁶⁶³ Hardie 1993, 88-119 (Ch. 4: "succession: fathers, poets, princes"). See, for instance, p. 89: "The epic is an ideal vehicle for the representation of this conception as of the relation between individual and family, because of the genre's hospitality to repetition, impersonation and possession."

⁶⁶⁴ Hardie 1993, 99.

⁶⁶⁵ Hardie 1993, 104.

Ascanius as the essential link between the present generation of heroes and the heroes and rulers of the future: Iulus is the eponymous ancestor of the *gens Iulia*."⁶⁶⁶

Returning to the *Argonautica* and the *Thebaid* once more, these epics can be seen to extend the metapoetical dimension of *Aeneid* 2. Politics and poetry can merge in the *Aeneid*, in other words: dynastic succession can at the same time mean poetic succession. In the *Aeneid*, Ascanius is the symbol of the future of the Iulian dynasty, and the Flavian epics are written in this future, clearly dealing with the principate after Augustus.⁶⁶⁷ Valerius and Statius have, so to say, taken over the role of Ascanius as followers of Aeneas/Virgil but, as in the *Aeneid*, the theme of dynastic succession also has a metapoetical significance for Statius and Valerius. Whereas Aeneas in *Aeneid* 2, dressed as Hercules and carrying his father Anchises, can be seen as the poet Virgil imitating his predecessor Homer, the Flavian poets – in the guise of Hylas, alluding to *Aeneid* 2 and using the metapoetical metaphor of following in one's footsteps – seem to have put themselves in the role of Ascanius in the *Aeneid*, following his (poetic) father Aeneas/Virgil. Unlike Ascanius, however, the Flavian epicists, along with their Hylas, will eventually take a path that differs from Virgil's, both poetically and politically.

⁶⁶⁶ Hardie 1993, 91.

⁶⁶⁷ Stover 2006 has extensively argued that the *Argonautica*, reacting to Lucan's "iconoclastic" epic (which dealt with the end of the Julian-Claudian dynasty as well as epic), hails a new beginning, both politically and poetically. See also Toohey 1993 and Taylor 1994 for political allusions in the *Argonautica*, and McGuire 1997 for the political interpretation of the themes of civil war, suicide and tyranny in Valerius' epic, as well as in Silius Italicus' *Punica* and Statius' *Thebaid*. Many interesting observations on the political dimension of these epics can also be found in Hardie 1993, *passim*. For a concise discussion of the much debated ideological dimension of the *Thebaid*, which has, as in the case of the *Aeneid*, been interpreted "optimistically" and "pessimistically", see conveniently Ganiban 2007, 2-6. In the rest of his book, Ganiban goes on to show that the political dimension of the *Thebaid* should be seen in the light of its interaction with the *Aeneid*. He holds the nuanced view that "the *Thebaid* offers a critique of the *Aeneid*, one that is based on the moral virtues so important in the 'optimistic' readings of the poem, yet also deeply implicated in the political dialogue about monarchic power, which is so central to the 'pessimistic' line of interpretation." (p. 6).

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I have argued that the myth of Hylas and Hercules was used by ancient poets to express their poetics allegorically. Although these poets wrote different kinds of poetry (epic, bucolic and elegiac), the ideas metapoetically expressed through the myth have in common the fact that they are “Callimachean”. The poets offer an alternative to the hackneyed heroic-epic tradition before them, as symbolized by Hercules, and associate themselves and their poetry instead with the boy Hylas, variously the adoptive son, pupil and lover of the great hero, who eventually will go his own way. Despite the similarity of the literary positions taken, the ways in which the allegiance with the poetics of the Hellenistic maestro are expressed are quite diverse.

Apollonius Rhodius

The roots of this metapoetical use of the Hylas myth are to be found in the Hellenistic age of Callimachus’ contemporaries Apollonius Rhodius and Theocritus. As I have argued in Chapter 1, Apollonius employs Hylas and Hercules to characterize his epic. In an episode that at first sight seems a miniature *Iliad*, Apollonius reveals a Callimachean position *vis-à-vis* Homeric, heroic epic, by leaving Hercules, the archetypal hero, behind because he is “too heavy”. At the same time, Hylas’ switch from the pederastic, Homeric relationship with this hero to his marriage with the nymph symbolizes Apollonius’ maturation as a “new-age” poet. Apollonius, associating himself with Hylas, finds his own, Callimachean poetic niche with regard to his great epic predecessor. The symbolic significance of Hylas’ “marriage” to a nymph is further enhanced by being a prefiguration of the union of the epic’s protagonist Jason with Medea. Although he lacks the heroic qualities of his Homeric models, Jason’s attractiveness, with which he ensures himself of the help of the

powerful Medea and so fulfils his epic mission, make him a successful hero in the end. Only after the first book of the epic, however, with the “Homeric” Hercules gone, is Jason able to display his alternative heroism. Jason’s position in relation to the traditionally epic Hercules can thus be labelled Callimachean, and the same goes for the way in which Apollonius’ protagonist relates intertextually to his Homeric models. Like Hylas, Jason can be seen as a *mise en abyme* of the poet of the *Argonautica*, who has placed his epic in the Homeric tradition, but has at the same time found a Callimachean way to distance himself from it.

Theocritus

The bucolic poet Theocritus has taken another direction, clearly reacting to his epic contemporary Apollonius, as I argued in Chapter 2. Although Hercules again evokes Homeric epic, Hylas himself is now depicted in an alternatively Callimachean way. In his meta-bucolic *Idylls* 1 and 7, Theocritus characterizes his bucolic poetry as Callimachean in relation to Homeric heroic-epic poetry. Although Homer is obviously a model, Theocritus turns his poetry inside-out, as it were, focusing on his less heroic passages, such as the shepherds appearing on Achilles’ shield in the *Iliad*. The boy that appears in this same Homeric ecphrasis, singing a song “with his delicate voice” (λεπταλέῃ φωνῇ, *Il.* 18.571), became a model for Callimachus’ poetic persona in the *Aetia* prologue, writing poetry like a playing child (παῖς, *Aet.* 1.6 Pf.) and keeping his Muse slender (λεπταλέην, *Aet.* fr. 1.24 Pf.). Similarly, Theocritus has turned Homer’s boy into the paradigmatic Callimachean-bucolic poet in his bucolic equivalent of the *Shield*, the description of the rustic ivy cup in *Idyll* 1. When Hylas apparently metamorphoses into an echo in *Idyll* 13, the boy, producing a Callimachean sound and “echoing” Homeric poetry, becomes a paradigmatic Callimachean poet in much the same way. The echo also has bucolic associations, however, as it can be seen to symbolize the harmony between bucolic song and the sound of nature, which is essential for Theocritus’ poetry. Just like the boy on the ivy cup, Hylas is a symbol of the bucolic poet, an interpretation that is reinforced by

parallels between Hylas and Daphnis, the archetypal bucolic poet. In fact, Hylas evokes Theocritus himself, whose epic-bucolic poetry, written in hexameters and inspired by Homer, in the end proves to be only a “faint echo” (ἀραυή φωνά, *Id.* 13.59) of Homeric epic. In *Idyll* 13, Theocritus seems to describe the origin and development of his bucolic poetry, as symbolized by the gradual maturation and transformation of Hylas. In this respect, Theocritus’ metapoetical move resembles that of Apollonius, but the metapoetical dimension of the landscape in which Theocritus’ Hylas disappears highlights the difference from Apollonius. Having summarized the first half of the *Argonautica*, the outward journey, in only one sentence (16-24), Theocritus restarts the epic narrative and gives his own, bucolic version of it, which consists of the Hylas episode only. Theocritus elaborately describes the landscape where the Argonauts land, in terms that evoke the poetry of Hesiod, who provided Callimachus with a model for his *Aetia*, and with whom Theocritus aligned his bucolic poetry in *Idylls* 1 and 7. Whereas Hylas becomes part of the landscape, living up to his etymology as derived from ὕλη, “wood”, the heroic Hercules is not at all at home in this Callimachean, bucolic world, which is replete with echoes of Theocritus’ bucolic landscapes. When the hero arms himself for his usual kind of epic fight, immediately after Hylas’ abduction, he does not realize that his weapons will be of no avail in this world. The hero’s incongruity with Theocritus’ bucolic poetry becomes more painfully clear when, wandering through the countryside in search of Hylas, he is hurt by “untrodden thorns” (ἀτρίπτοισιν ἀκάνθαις, 64), which evoke Theocritus’ meta-bucolic *locus amoenus* at the end of *Idyll* 7 (ἀκάνθαις, 140) as well as Callimachus’ poetics (κελεύθους | ἀτρίπτους, *Aet.* fr. 1.27-8 Pf.). So although the poetic paths that Apollonius and Theocritus have taken are both in their own way “untrodden”, they are nevertheless quite different.

Propertius

Propertius’ Hylas poem, the subject of Chapter 3, is clearly modelled on *Idyll* 13. Not only does elegy 1.20 have the format of *Idyll* 13, Propertius also specifically alludes to

the Hellenistic poem. Like Theocritus, for instance, he summarizes the first half of Apollonius' epic in one sentence (17-22). The landscape of Mysia also gets a bucolic flavour through allusions to the Roman Theocritus, Virgil. Propertius even extends the metapoetical allegory of his predecessor. Whereas Theocritus' spring was only Callimachean by implication, Propertius clearly alludes to Callimachus' famous, poetological water metaphors: his spring produces Callimachean water. Despite the bucolic colouring, however, the poem is thoroughly elegiac. As the traditional *praeceptor amoris* of Roman love elegy, Propertius tells the story of Hylas and Hercules to warn Gallus, who clearly evokes the elegist Cornelius Gallus, to look after his own beloved Hylas, whom he has apparently entrusted to Hamadryad nymphs. Metapoetically, through an etymological play with Hylas' name as derived from ὕλη, "(poetic) subject matter", and the mention of *Hamadryades*, which evokes Virgil's bucolic poetry, Propertius warns Gallus to protect his elegiac poetry, his *Amores*, which he has "entrusted" to Virgil's *Eclogues*. Propertius' allusions to *Eclogues* 2 and 10 make clear what is meant, for in these poems Virgil, alluding to Gallus' *Amores*, incorporated the elegiac into the bucolic, showing the superiority of his own, bucolic kind of poetry. Propertius' Hylas story is a metapoetical allegory of what Virgil did to Gallus' poetry, but by showing what happened to Gallus' elegies Propertius has turned the bucolic Hylas of Theocritus into a symbol of elegiac poetry. As Virgil, following Theocritus, had associated Hylas and his echo with the origin of his bucolic poetry in *Eclogue* 6.43-4, Propertius emulates Gallus by doing what his elegiac predecessor was unable to do: to incorporate and surpass Virgil's poetry. In particular, Propertius demythologizes Virgil's echo by not associating Hylas with it. Instead of a symbol of the bucolic harmony between man and nature, Propertius lets his echo symbolize the elegiac absence of the beloved, turning the epic Hercules into an elegiac lover along the way. Propertius thus not only emulates Virgil and Gallus, but also Theocritus, whose Hercules was only an epic hero in a bucolic landscape: Propertius has elegized both Hylas and Hercules.

Valerius Flaccus

Valerius Flaccus provides what can be seen as the climax of the series, as he has combined the metapoetical statements of the earlier Hylas poems, but has nevertheless been able to find his own poetic niche. In an episode that is set up as a miniature *Aeneid*, orchestrated by Juno, who is persecuting a single hero (Hercules) as she did in Virgil's epic, Hylas is initially presented as a potentially epic hero, through allusions to *Aeneid* 7. There Ascanius' shooting of Silvia's stag sets in motion the chain of events that leads to war in Latium, thus starting Virgil's "essential epic" and ending the bucolic and elegiac world that Latium was. When Hylas is chasing a stag in Valerius' *Argonautica*, he initially clearly resembles Ascanius, but unlike his epic predecessor Hylas fails to shoot the animal. Furthermore, through Valerius' suggestive use of imagery, Hylas' initially epic hunting is transformed into an erotic, elegiac hunt that culminates in union of the boy with the nymph Dryope, who "elegizes" him. As a result, Hercules is turned into an elegiac lover, as in Propertius 1.20, the echo again symbolizing his loneliness. At the same time, however, it is suggested that Hylas *does* respond to Hercules as a bucolic echo, for it is produced by the woods (*silvae*) that Hylas represents according to the etymology of his name. Furthermore, the echo "echoes" Hylas' bucolic response in *Eclogue* 6. So Valerius has incorporated the earlier bucolic and elegiac appropriations of the Hylas myth into his own version of the story. But that is not all. By transforming a potential *Aeneid* into a bucolic and elegiac world, Valerius inverts Virgil's poetical move to essential epic in *Aeneid* 7. The Hylas episode also prefigures the way that Valerius' *Argonautica*, for which the elegiac love of Medea is crucial, will go, and the elegizing of the *Aeneid* can thus be seen as a metapoetical statement about the entire epic: Valerius' *Argonautica* is an elegized *Aeneid*. The metapoetical function of the Hylas episode recalls that of the parallel passage in Apollonius' *Argonautica*, which initially seemed a miniature *Iliad*, but eventually characterized Apollonius' position with regard to Homeric epic as Callimachean, similarly foreshadowing what was to come. The Roman poet of the *Argonautica*, however, characterizes his epic in relation to the Roman Homer, Virgil,

Conclusion

and can in this sense be said to be Callimachean: Valerius follows the *Aeneid* to a certain extent, but also departs from it by elegizing its most heroic moments.

Ovid's elegiac epic *Metamorphoses* offers a similar "Callimachean" reaction to the *Aeneid*, and Valerius' allusions to this work can be seen in this light. In particular, the merging of Hylas and Dryope recalls that of the potentially epic boy Hermaphroditus and the nymph Salmacis in an episode that metapoetically represents the entire *Metamorphoses* as a *mise en abyme*: as Hermaphroditus, who is initially depicted as a potential Aeneas, is feminized/elegized, so is Ovid's *Metamorphoses* an elegized *Aeneid*. In this way does Hermaphroditus represent the *Metamorphoses*, which in turn invites comparison with the elegized epic boy Hylas, who represents Valerius' elegiac epic. Hercules, on the other hand, clearly evokes Aeneas and thus the *Aeneid*, and his eventual departure from the *Argonautica* means that the epic will not turn into an *Aeneid*. Comparable to the situation in the Hellenistic Hylas poems, the Valerian relationship between Hylas and Hercules represents that between the two Roman epics. At the start of the Hylas episode this symbolic relationship is programmatically summarized, for although Hylas is said to follow Hercules, he "delays his unequal steps" (*passusque moratur iniquos*, Arg. 3.485-6), words which, triggering the use of *passus* in the sense "metrical foot", evoke the difference between the hexameter and pentameter of the elegiac couplet, hence suggesting that Hylas elegizes Hercules.

Statius

In a brief passage in book 5 of his *Thebaid* (441-4) Statius reworks this passage from the *Argonautica*, when he describes Hylas as following and adapting the footsteps of Hercules (*magnique sequens vestigia mutat | Herculis*, 441-2). Through the intertextual contact with the epilogue of his epic, where the *Thebaid* is told to follow/imitate the footsteps of the *Aeneid*, albeit at a distance (*longe sequere et vestigia semper adora*, 12.817), Statius' words also acquire metapoetical meaning. Just like Valerius, Statius uses Hylas and Hercules to describe allegorically the relationship of his *Thebaid* to the

Aeneid, and to express the Callimachean poetics that pervade the epic, as C. McNelis (2007) has shown.

This is the only appearance of Hylas and Hercules in the entire *Thebaid*, and it only covers four lines. Although the metapoetical dimension of this passage can stand on its own, it is the long tradition of metapoetical appropriation of the Hylas myth that militates most strongly in favour of a metapoetical reading of the lines. The example of Statius most clearly shows how important recognition of the entire metapoetical tradition of the Hylas myth is to a full understanding of its individual manifestations.

The Hellenistic and Roman poets writing about Hylas and Hercules have exploited the associations of the two contrasting characters to make metapoetical statements about their own poetry. These are similar in their rejection of traditional, heroic epic, but different in the way that this “Callimacheanism” is manifested. The echo, which plays such an important role in triggering and describing the intertextual contact between the Hylas poems, thus also proves to be paradigmatic for the messages the poems convey: these are not copies of each other, but echoes.

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SAMENVATTING

Poëzie gaat vaak over zichzelf. Dit kan op meer of minder expliciete wijze het geval zijn, maar het komt ook voor dat de poëtische dimensie van een gedicht zich op geheel impliciete wijze als het ware “achter” de poëzie zelf bevindt. Bij het oproepen van deze impliciete betekenislaag, waarvoor men doorgaans de term “metapoëtisch” gebruikt, is een belangrijke rol weggelegd voor poëtische metaforen. Deze kunnen zo’n uitgebreide subtekst creëren dat men van een metapoëtische allegorie zou kunnen spreken. In dit proefschrift heb ik beargumenteerd dat de mythe van Hylas en Hercules door verscheidene dichters uit de klassieke oudheid werd gebruikt om hun respectievelijke poëtische ideeën allegorisch tot uitdrukking te brengen. Hoewel de betreffende dichters de mythe in verschillende genres hebben geschreven (epos, bucoliek, elegie), hebben de door middel van de mythe uitgedrukte ideeën gemeen dat ze “Callimacheïsch” zijn. De dichters bieden een alternatief voor de lange en uitgemolken heroïsch-epische traditie zoals gesymboliseerd door Hercules en associëren zichzelf en hun poëzie daarentegen met de jonge Hylas, de adoptiefzoon en pupil maar ook geliefde van Hercules, die uiteindelijk zijn eigen weg zal gaan. Ondanks de globale overeenkomsten zijn de Callimacheïsche posities die worden ingenomen echter zeer verschillend.

Apollonius Rhodius (hoofdstuk 1)

De oorsprong van het metapoëtische gebruik van de Hylas-mythe is te vinden in de Hellenistische tijd van Callimachus en zijn tijdgenoten Apollonius Rhodius en Theocritus. In het eerste hoofdstuk heb ik beargumenteerd dat Apollonius Hylas en Hercules heeft ingezet om zijn eigen epos te karakteriseren. In een episode die op het eerste gezicht een mini-*Ilias* lijkt, neemt Apollonius een Callimacheïsche positie in ten opzichte van Homerisch, heroïsch epos door Hercules, de archetypische held, achter

te laten; hij is te zwaar, zowel voor de Argo als voor het epos. Tegelijkertijd symboliseert Hylas' overstap van de pederastische, Homerische relatie met Hercules naar zijn huwelijk met de nimf Apollonius' emancipatie als dichter. Door zichzelf met Hylas te associëren vindt Apollonius zijn eigen, Callimacheïsche weg met betrekking tot zijn grote epische voorganger. Het symbolische belang van Hylas' huwelijk met de nimf wordt onderstreept doordat het de vereniging van Jason en Medea voorafschaduwet. De protagonist van de *Argonautica* beschikt dan wel niet over de heroïsche kwaliteiten van zijn Homerische modellen, door middel van zijn aantrekkelijkheid verzekert hij zich wel van de hulp van Medea, die hem in staat stelt zijn epische missie te vervullen en toch een succesvolle held te zijn. Het is echter pas na het eerste boek van het epos, wanneer de "Homerische" Hercules het epos heeft verlaten, dat Jason in staat is zijn alternatieve heldhaftigheid ten toon te spreiden. Jason's verhouding tot de traditioneel epische Hercules kan dus Callimacheïsch worden genoemd en hetzelfde geldt voor de manier waarop Apollonius' protagonist zich verhoudt tot zijn Homerische modellen. Net als Hylas kan Jason worden gezien als een *mise en abyme* van de dichter van de *Argonautica*, die zijn epos in de Homerische traditie heeft geplaatst maar tegelijkertijd een Callimacheïsche manier heeft gevonden om zich hiervan af te zetten.

Theocritus (hoofdstuk 2)

De bucolische dichter Theocritus is een andere weg ingeslagen, waarbij hij reageert op zijn epische tijdgenoot Apollonius, zoals ik heb betoogd in hoofdstuk 2. Hoewel Hercules opnieuw de epen van Homerus oproept, krijgt Hylas nu een andere Callimacheïsche rol toebedeeld. In zijn "meta-bucolische" *Idyllen* 1 en 7 karakteriseert Theocritus zijn bucolische poëzie als Callimacheïsch in verhouding tot Homerus' epische poëzie. Hoewel Homerus duidelijk een model is, keert Theocritus diens poëzie echter als het ware binnenstebuiten door zich te concentreren op minder heroïsche passages, zoals de herders die op Achilles' schild in de *Ilias* zijn afgebeeld. In diezelfde Homerische beschrijving maakt een jongen zijn opwachting die een lied

zingt “met een verfijnde stem” (λεπταλέη φωνῇ, *Il.* 18.571). Deze jongen werd een model voor Callimachus’ poëtische persona in de *Aetia*-proloog, die beweerde poëzie te schrijven als een kind (παῖς, *Aet.* 1.6 Pf.) en zijn Muze slank te houden (λεπταλέην, *Aet.* fr. 1.24 Pf.). Op vergelijkbare wijze heeft Theocritus Homerus’ jongen in de paradigmatische bucolische dichter veranderd in zijn bucolische equivalent van het *Schild*, de beschrijving van de afbeeldingen op een rijk versierde drinkbeker in *Idylle* 1. Wanneer Hylas in *Idylle* 13 schijnbaar verandert in een echo wordt ook deze jongen – die een Callimacheïsch geluid produceert en Homerus’ poëzie “echoot” – een paradigmatische Callimacheïsche dichter. De echo heeft echter ook bucolische associaties, aangezien het fenomeen de harmonie tussen bucolische poëzie en het geluid van de natuur lijkt te symboliseren die van essentieel belang is voor Theocritus’ poëzie. Net als de jongen op de drinkbeker is Hylas een symbool voor de bucolische dichter, een interpretatie die wordt versterkt door de parallellen tussen Hylas en Daphnis, de archetypische bucolische dichter. Hylas roept in feite Theocritus zelf op, wiens episch-bucolische poëzie, geschreven in hexameters en geïnspireerd door Homerus, uiteindelijk een “zwakke echo” (ἀραιή φωνά, *Id.* 13.59) van Homerische epiek blijkt te zijn. In *Idylle* 13 lijkt Theocritus de oorsprong en ontwikkeling van zijn bucolische poëzie te beschrijven, zoals gesymboliseerd door de geleidelijke emancipatie en transformatie van Hylas. In dit opzicht lijkt Theocritus’ metapoëtische zet op die Apollonius, maar de metapoëtische dimensie van het landschap waarin Theocritus’ Hylas verdwijnt markeert het verschil met Apollonius. Na de eerste helft van de *Argonautica*, die de heenreis beslaat, te hebben samengevat in één zin (16-24), herstart Theocritus het verhaal en geeft hij zijn eigen, bucolische versie van het epos, dat alleen uit de Hylas episode bestaat. Het landschap waar de Argonauten landen wordt uitgebreid beschreven in termen die de poëzie van Hesiodus oproepen, de dichter die Callimachus voorzag van een model voor zijn *Aetia* en met wie Theocritus zijn bucolische poëzie associeerde in *Idyllen* 1 en 7. Waar Hylas zijn naam – afgeleid van ὕλη, “hout” – eer aandoet door onderdeel van het landschap te worden, is de heroïsche Hercules totaal niet op zijn plaats in deze

Callimacheïsche, bucolische wereld, die voortdurend de landschappen uit Theocritus' bucolische gedichten evoceert. Wanneer de held onmiddellijk na Hylas' verdwijning zijn knuppel en boog pakt voor zijn gebruikelijke epische gevecht, realiseert hij zich niet dat zijn wapens nutteloos zijn in deze situatie. Hoe slecht Hercules op zijn plaats is in Theocritus' bucolische poëzie wordt pijnlijk duidelijk wanneer de held tijdens zijn zoektocht wordt gewond door "onbetreden doornen" (ἀτρίπτουσιν ἀκάνθαις, 64), die zowel Theocritus' meta-bucolische *locus amoenus* aan het eind van *Idylle 7* als Callimachus' poëtica (κελεύθους | ἀτρίπτους, *Aet.* fr. 1.27-8 Pf.) oproepen. Hoewel de wegen die Apollonius en Theocritus zijn ingeslagen dus beide op hun eigen manier "onbetreden" zijn, verschillen ze ook wezenlijk van elkaar.

Propertius (hoofdstuk 3)

Idylle 13 van Theocritus heeft duidelijk tot voorbeeld gediend voor Propertius' Hylas gedicht, het onderwerp van hoofdstuk 3. Niet allen heeft elegie 1.20 het format van *Idylle 13* – in beide gedichten is het verhaal van Hylas and Hercules aan een adressaat gericht – Propertius zinspeelt ook specifiek op het hellenistische gedicht. Net als Theocritus vat hij bijvoorbeeld de eerste helft van Apollonius' epos samen in één zin (17-22). Het landschap van Mysië wordt echter ook erg bucolisch door allusies naar de Romeinse Theocritus, Vergilius. Propertius breidt de metapoëtische allegorie van zijn hellenistische voorganger zelfs uit. Waar Theocritus' bron slechts bij implicatie Callimacheïsch was, alludeert Propertius duidelijk op Callimachus' beroemde poëtologische water-metaforen: zijn bron produceert Callimacheïsch water. Ondanks de bucolische elementen is het gedicht echter in essentie elegisch. Als de traditionele *praeceptor amoris* uit de Romeinse liefdeselegie vertelt Propertius het verhaal van Hylas en Hercules als waarschuwing voor een zekere Gallus, die duidelijk de elegiedichter Cornelius Gallus oproept. Gallus moet zijn eigen Hylas, die hij blijkbaar aan "nimfen" heeft toevertrouwd, in de gaten houden. Door een etymologisch spel met Hylas' naam – afgeleid van ὕλη, "(poetisch) materiaal" – en door de benaming

van de nimfen als *Hamadryades*, die Vergilius' bucolische poëzie oproepen, waarschuwt Propertius Gallus om zijn elegische poëzie, zijn *Amores*, te beschermen, die hij heeft "toevertrouwd" aan Vergilius' *Eclogae*. Propertius' allusies naar *Eclogae* 2 en 10 maken duidelijk wat wordt bedoeld. Door middel van een intertekstueel spel met Gallus' *Amores* heeft Vergilius namelijk in deze gedichten het elegische geïncorporeerd in het bucolische om zo de superioriteit van zijn eigen, bucolische poëzie aan te tonen. Propertius' Hylas-verhaal is een metapoëtische allegorie, die beschrijft wat Vergilius met Gallus' poëzie heeft gedaan. Door te laten zien wat er met Gallus' poëzie is gebeurd heeft Propertius echter de bucolische Hylas van Theocritus veranderd in een elegisch symbool. Aangezien Vergilius, in navolging van Theocritus, in *Ecloga* 6 zijn Hylas en diens echo met de oorsprong van zijn eigen bucolische poëzie in verband had gebracht, overtreft Propertius Gallus door te doen waartoe zijn elegische voorganger niet in staat was: Vergilius' poëzie incorporeren en overtreffen. In het bijzonder ontmythologiseert Propertius Vergilius' echo door deze niet met Hylas te associëren. In plaats van de bucolische harmonie tussen mens en natuur symboliseert Propertius' echo de elegische afwezigheid van de geliefde. Tegelijkertijd wordt de epische Hercules in een elegische minnaar veranderd. Propertius overtreft zo niet alleen Vergilius en Gallus maar ook Theocritus, wiens Hylas slechts een epische held in een bucolisch landschap was: Propertius heeft zowel Hylas als Hercules elegisch gemaakt.

Valerius Flaccus (hoofdstuk 4)

Valerius Flaccus' versie van de mythe kan worden gezien als de climax in de reeks, omdat hij de metapoëtische statements van de eerdere gedichten heeft gecombineerd, maar desondanks zijn eigen poëtische opvattingen heeft weten uit te drukken. In een episode die is opgezet als een mini-*Aeneis*, onder regie van Juno, die het net als in Vergilius' epos op de held (in dit geval Hercules) gemunt heeft, wordt Hylas aanvankelijk als een potentieel epische held neergezet, door middel van allusies naar boek 7 van de *Aeneis*. Wanneer Ascanius daar Silvia's hert neerschiet,

breekt er een epische oorlog in Latium uit die een einde maakt aan de bucolische en elegische wereld die Latium was. Wanneer Hylas een hert achtervolgt in Valerius' *Argonautica*, lijkt hij aanvankelijk sterk op Ascanius, maar anders dan zijn epische voorganger slaagt Hylas er niet in het dier te raken. Bovendien wordt Hylas' aanvankelijk epische jacht door Valerius' suggestieve gebruik van gebruik gaandeweg veranderd in een erotische, elegische jacht, culminerend in Hylas' vereniging met de nimf Dryope, die de potentieel epische jongen elegisch maakt. Dit heeft tot gevolg dat, net als in Propertius 1.20, Hercules verandert in een elegische minnaar, waarbij de echo zijn eenzaamheid symboliseert. Tegelijkertijd wordt echter de suggestie gewekt dat Hylas Hercules *wel* antwoordt als een bucolische echo, aangezien deze wordt geproduceerd door de bossen (*silvae*) waarmee Hylas middels de etymologie van zijn naam wordt geassocieerd. Bovendien "echoot" Hylas' echo zijn eigen bucolische antwoord in *Ecloga* 6. Valerius heeft dus de eerdere bucolische en elegische toe-eigeningen van de Hylas-mythe in zijn eigen versie geïncorporeerd. Maar daar blijft het niet bij. Door een potentiële *Aeneis* in een bucolische en elegische wereld te veranderen, keert Valerius Vergilius' metapoëtische zet richting "essential epic" in *Aeneis* 7 om. De Hylas episode voorafschaduwde ook de richting die Valerius' *Argonautica*, waarvoor de elegische liefde van Medea van cruciaal belang is, zal inslaan. Het elegisch maken van de *Aeneis* kan dus worden gezien als een metapoëtische statement die het hele epos betreft: Valerius' *Argonautica* is een elegisch gemaakte *Aeneis*. De metapoëtische functie van de Hylas episode doet denken aan de parallelle passage in Apollonius' *Argonautica*, die aanvankelijk een mini-*Ilias* leek, maar uiteindelijk Apollonius' Callimacheïsche positie met betrekking tot Homerus' epen uitdroeg, en die evenzeer voorafschaduwde wat nog ging komen. De Romeinse *Argonautica* wordt echter gekarakteriseerd in relatie tot de Romeinse Homerus, Vergilius, en kan in die zin Callimacheïsch worden genoemd: Valerius volgt de *Aeneis* tot op zekere hoogte na, maar wijkt er ook van af door de meest heroïsche momenten in Vergilius' epos elegisch te maken.

Ovidius' elegische epos *Metamorphosen* geeft blijk van een vergelijkbare, "Callimacheïsche" reactie op de *Aeneis*, en Valerius' allusies naar dit werk kunnen in dit licht worden gezien. Vooral de eenwording van Hylas en Dryope doet denken aan de samensmelting van de potentieel epische jongen Hermaphroditus en de nimf Salmacis in een episode die metapoëtisch, als *mise en abyme*, de hele *Metamorphosen* representeert: zoals Hermaphroditus, die aanvankelijk als een potentiële Aeneas wordt afgeschilderd, vrouwelijk/elegisch wordt gemaakt, zo is Ovidius' *Metamorphosen* een elegische *Aeneid*. In die zin vertegenwoordigt Hermaphroditus de *Metamorphosen* en hij is daarmee te vergelijken met de elegisch gemaakte epische jongen Hylas, die Valerius' elegische epos representeert. Hercules daarentegen roept duidelijk Aeneas en daarmee de *Aeneis* op en het feit dat de held uiteindelijk de *Argonautica* verlaat duidt erop dat het epos niet in een *Aeneis* zal veranderen. Vergelijkbaar met de situatie in de hellenistische Hylas-gedichten vertegenwoordigt Hylas' relatie met Hercules de verhouding tussen de twee Romeinse epen. Deze symbolische relatie wordt meteen aan het begin van de Hylas episode programmatisch tot uitdrukking gebracht. Hoewel Hylas namelijk Hercules volgt vertraagt hij diens ongelijke stappen (*passusque moratur iniquos*, Arg. 3.485-6). Deze woorden, die de betekenis van *passus* als "metrische voet" activeren, roepen het verschil tussen de hexameter en pentameter van het elegische distichon op en suggereren zo dat Hylas Hercules elegisch maakt.

Statius (hoofdstuk 4)

In een korte passage in boek 5 van zijn *Thebais* (441-4) reageert Statius op Valerius' *Argonautica* door Hylas de voetstappen van Hercules te laten volgen en veranderen (*magnique sequens vestigia mutat | Herculis*, 441-2). Door het intertekstuele contact met de epiloog van het epos, waar de *Thebaid* wordt opgedragen om de voetstappen van de *Aeneis* van een afstand te volgen/imiteren (*longe sequere et vestigia semper adora*, 12.817), krijgen Statius' woorden ook een metapoëtische betekenis. Net als Valerius gebruikt Statius Hylas en Hercules om allegorisch de verhouding tussen zijn *Thebais*

en de *Aeneis* te beschrijven en de Callimacheïsche poëtische idealen uit te drukken waarvan het hele epos blijk geeft, zoals C. McNelis (2007) heeft laten zien.

Dit is de enige plek in de *Thebais* waar Hylas en Hercules hun opwachting maken en het betreft slechts vier verzen. Hoewel de metapoëtische dimensie van de passage op zichzelf kan staan, is het de lange traditie van het metapoëtisch inzetten van de Hylas-mythe die het meest pleit voor een metapoëtische interpretatie van de betreffende verzen. Het voorbeeld van Statius laat het duidelijkst zien hoe belangrijk kennis van de hele metapoëtische traditie van de Hylas-mythe is om de individuele manifestaties volledig te begrijpen.

De hellenistische en Romeinse dichters die over Hylas en Hercules schreven hebben de associaties van de twee contrasterende personages gebruikt om metapoëtische statements over hun eigen poëzie te maken. In alle gevallen wordt traditioneel, heroïsch epos verworpen, maar de manier waarop deze “Callimacheïsche” houding tot uitdrukking wordt gebracht verschilt per dichter. De echo, die zo’n belangrijke rol speelt bij het oproepen en beschrijven van het intertekstuele contact tussen de Hylas-gedichten, typeert dus de boodschappen die de gedichten uitdragen: dit zijn geen kopieën van elkaar, maar echo’s.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Mark Antonius Johannes Heerink werd op 25 maart 1978 in Oldenzaal geboren. In 1996 behaalde hij aan het Twents Carmelleyceum te Oldenzaal zijn gymnasiumdiploma. Vervolgens studeerde hij Griekse en Latijnse Taal en Cultuur aan de Universiteit Leiden, waar hij in 2002 afstudeerde op een scriptie over Egyptische invloeden in *Idylle* 17 van de hellenistische dichter Theocritus. Het jaar daarop behaalde hij zijn eerstegraads lesbevoegdheid aan de lerarenopleiding van de Universiteit Leiden (ICLON).

Van 2002 tot 2006 was Mark Heerink docent klassieke talen aan het St. Stanislascollege in Delft. Van 2004 tot 2009 was hij docent Latijn aan de Universiteit Leiden en tijdens het academisch jaar 2004-2005 tevens aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam. Van 2006 tot 2009 was hij coördinator van onderzoeksschool OIKOS. In diezelfde periode werd zijn promotieonderzoek deels gefinancierd door het Institute for Cultural Disciplines van de Universiteit Leiden en in het laatste jaar volledig door een vervangingssubsidie van NWO. In 2010 was hij een semester docent Latijn aan de Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam.

Gedurende het academisch jaar 2010-11 is Mark Heerink met een stipendium van de Niels Stensen Stichting als postdoc verbonden aan de Universiteit van Cambridge. Behalve over zijn promotieonderzoek heeft hij gepubliceerd over Catullus, Ovidius, Theocritus en Daniël Heinsius. Hij presenteerde zijn onderzoek in onder meer Bologna, Cambridge, Innsbruck, Liverpool, Madrid en Washington, D.C.