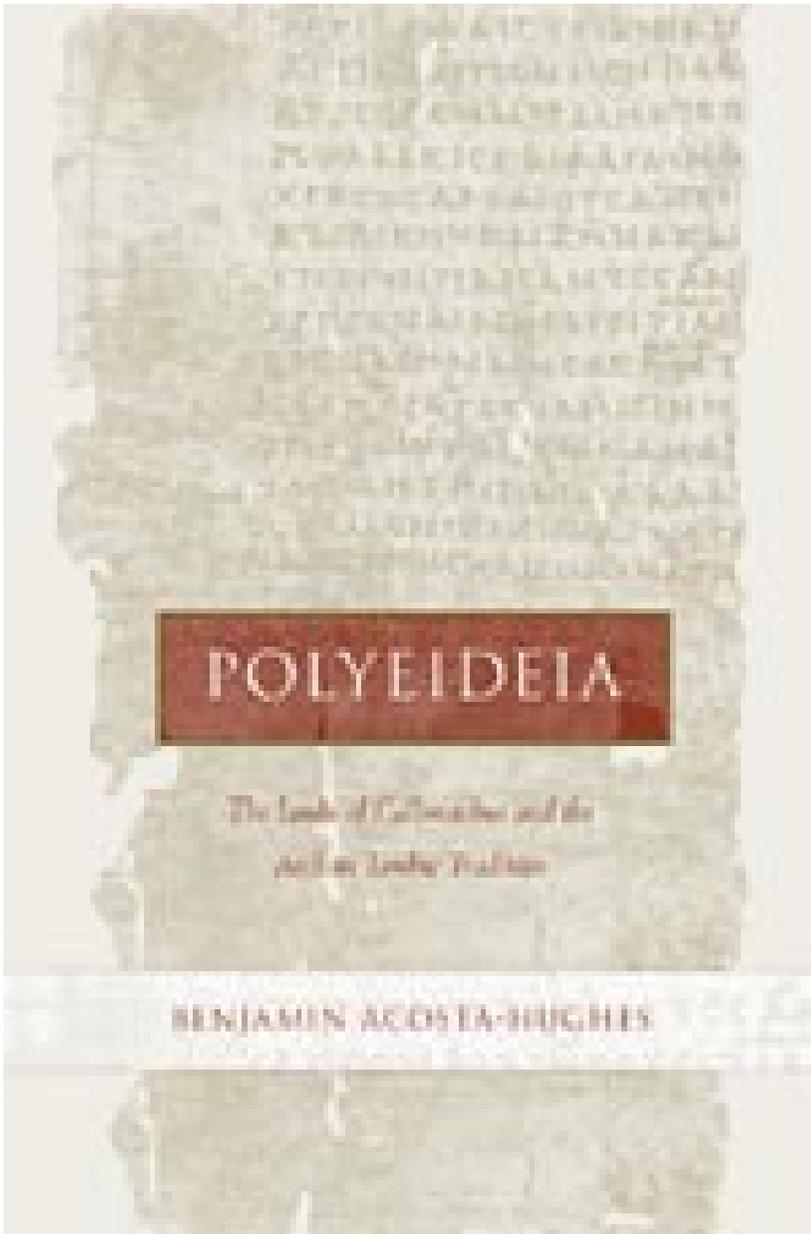


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Introduction

I

The early Alexandrian period under the first three Ptolemies (ca. 300–221 B.C.E.) saw not only an awakened interest in the preservation and classification of earlier Greek poetry but also a desire to refashion, even reinvent, many centuries-old types of poetry in a new cultural and geographical setting. The poets of this period composed hymns, epinicians, and epigrams, to mention only a few genres, which, while often recalling earlier literary models through formal imitation and verbal allusion, at the same time exhibit marked variation and innovation, whether in the assembling of generic features, in disparities of tone, or in choice of theme or emphasis. This memorialization of earlier art forms calls attention both to the poetic models, their authors, and their artistic traditions, and also to the act of memorialization itself, the poet, and his own place in that same poetic tradition.

Some of these genres that the poets in early Ptolemaic Alexandria took up are known to have had a continuous life on the Greek mainland and elsewhere in the Greek-speaking world. Others had fallen into disuse already by the fifth century, but were now revived in Alexandria for a new audience, one of cosmopolitan nature and attached to a royal court and its institutions, including the *Museion*. Among these latter genres was *iambos*, a genre of stichic poetry recited to the *aulos* (oboe) and associated above all with Archilochus of Paros, Hipponax of Ephesus, and the cultural milieu of seventh- and sixth-century Ionia.¹

Iambic poetry of the archaic period is a genre that demonstrates tremendous variation and thus defies narrow or easy demarcation.² In

1. On the problematic relationship of archaic iambic verse to Old Comedy see R. M. Rosen, *Old Comedy and the Iambographic Tradition* (Atlanta, 1988).

2. See M. L. West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (Berlin, 1974), 22–39.

very general terms, this is a type of poetic utterance at once ethical, in that it may serve as a medium for the criticism or shaming of another (*psogos* or “blame” poetry), and coarse or low, in that it embodies a realm wherein elements of diction, theme, or imagery that are normally excluded from more elevated poetic forms (e.g. elegy) are very much at home. And the speaker is often represented as being shameless and disreputable, or at least lowborn and socially marginal.³ In Archilochus both of these characteristics occur in abundance. The language and imagery of his verse frequently evoke the low, the coarse, the graphically sexual. At the same time the underlying themes are often those that can be correctly defined as ethical, such as breaking of oaths or personal betrayal. Amidst the bawdy and the vulgar there is also moral commentary that often occurs in more elevated poetic forms with other diction and imagery.

Hipponax, the iambic poet who is in a variety of aspects the model for Callimachus in the *Iambi*, is not an easy figure to delineate through the surviving fragments of his verse. The father of the choliambic, or “limping” iambic line, Hipponax did not enjoy Archilochus’ popularity even in antiquity, and he is usually represented in modern anthologies of Greek verse, whether in Greek or in translation, with a couple of the more complete and tamer fragments, if at all. The modern reader who seeks out the complete extant poetry of Hipponax observes a noticeable disparity between those fragments preserved by scholiasts and lexicographers and those which have appeared in papyrus caches. Much of the Hipponax preserved through citation are entries for unusual words or phrases, metrical qualities, or similar remarkable features, and the majority of these are quite short. The resulting impression is more than anything else esoteric, and this may well be a misleading assessment, as these particular few fragments were preserved precisely for their esoteric qualities. The papyrus fragments are at once tantalizing and frustrating; tantalizing for the image of vivid, almost mimelike action, varied persona, and colorful use of language, and frustrating for their very damaged state. These fragments reveal a more complex and more variegated iambic poet than the fragments that survive through indirect transmission might suggest. Broadly speaking, the generic features that characterize Archilochus as an iambic poet are also present in Hipponax, although often carried to greater extremes. These are (1) a poetic voice that is invective, didactic, or critical, and (2) language and imagery that evokes the petty, the low, even the sordid.

3. The ps.-Homeric poem the *Margites*, which Aristotle (*Poet.* 1448b24) sees as prototypically iambic, had as its central figure a character in many ways socially marginal.

These generic features of the archaic iambic poets are also observable among the Hellenistic iambographers, as in the ethical nature of the poetry of Phoenix and Cercidas, and in the choice of character and theme in the *Mimiambi* of Herodas. Yet the Hellenistic iambographers were composing iambic poetry not solely as an occasional oral utterance directed at the individual poet's *hetairoi* [peers] but for a self-consciously literate audience drawn from all over the known world to a huge metropolis in Egypt, far in both temporal and spatial distance from archaic Ionia.⁴ And of all the Hellenistic iambic poetry that is now extant, none exhibits so great an awareness of this change, nor so takes advantage of its possibilities, as the *Iambi* of Callimachus.

II

Callimachus' *Iambi*⁵ is a collection of poems in a variety of meters, all of which, however, would have been readily assigned in antiquity to collections of *iamboi*.⁶ We know that these poems followed Callimachus' elegiac *Aetia* and that this order was one conceived by the poet himself, aware as he would have been as a compiler and scholar of archaic verse of the close if oppositional relationship of the two genres. Two papyri attest this order of composition. The first, *P. Oxy.* 1011, a fourth-century C.E. papyrus, is the most extensive source for these poems, which includes *Aetia* 3, 4, and *Iambi* 1–4, 12, and 13. The second is *P. Mil.* I 18 (the Milan Diegesis), a first- or second-century C.E. papyrus. This is a prose summary of the last two books of the *Aetia*, the *Iambi*, the four poems that follow the *Iambi*, and the *Hecale*. There is further the poet's own programmatic statement, the "epilogue" to the *Aetia* (fr. 112 Pf.).⁷ Here he asserts (line 9) that he will now turn to a new poetic

4. The role that performance and the occasion of performance held for the composition of Hellenistic poetry has recently become a renewed subject of debate in the scholarship on Callimachus. A. Cameron's work, *Callimachus and His Critics* (Princeton, 1995), esp. chapters 1–3, assumes a greater role for performance than has been the traditional view. On the "literate" nature of the Hellenistic poet's audience see P. Bing, *The Well-Read Muse: Present and Past in Callimachus and the Hellenistic Poets* (Göttingen, 1988), chapters 1 and 2, and S. Goldhill, *The Poet's Voice: Essays on Poetics and Greek Literature* (Cambridge, 1991), chapters 4 and 5.

5. The references in the ancient lexica and scholia are generally either Καλλιμαχος ἐν χωλιάμβοις or Καλλιμαχος ἐν ἰάμβοις. The name ἴαμβοι may, as G. B. D'Alessio, *Callimaco Inni Epigrammi Frammenti* (Milan, 1996), 43–44 suggests, derive ultimately from Callimachus. *Iambus* 1.3 φέρων ἴαμβον οὐ μάχην ἀείδοντα with its conceptualization of the genre may support this suggestion.

6. On *iamboi* and iambic meter see West (1974) 22.

7. The epilogue to *Aetia* 4, or most probably in the first edition, *Aetia* 2. The *Aetia* were in all probability reedited, quite possibly by the poet himself. Cf. Pfeiffer II xxxv–

form, ἀντὰρ ἐγὼ Μουσέων πεζὸν [ἔ]πειμι νομόν, [but I will go to the prosaic pasture of the Muses].

Callimachus' ordering *Aetia-Iambi* is informed by more than generic relationship and Ionic origin. There are many other features that characterize both the *Aetia* and the *Iambi*, features that the poet employs in both poetic types. Among these are varying modes of didactic voice, animal fable, memorialized statuary, programmatic statement, and *aitia* [origins or causes]. Further, Callimachus composes both the *Aetia* and the *Iambi* in careful contradistinction to earlier poets of the respective genres, and in both he defends his position as a modern and innovative artist in an inherited tradition.

We are thus on sure ground in assuming that the *Iambi* followed the *Aetia*, and in ascertaining the compositional features that mark both collections. Less certain is the exact number of poems that comprised the *Iambi*. Four poems (fr. 226–29 Pf.) appear between *Iambus* 13 and the *Hecale* in *P. Mil.* I 18, and the last of these (fr. 229 Pf.) is closely associated in the papyrus finds with the *Iambi*.⁸ Pfeiffer calls these tentatively the μέλη, lyric poems. Whether these four poems belong to the *Iambi* is a subject of continuing debate, and considerable valid argumentation supports both sides of the issue. On careful consideration, I am inclined to believe the arguments in favor of a collection of the thirteen poems that Pfeiffer categorized as the *Iambi* to be convincing, if necessarily not conclusive given the state of our existing evidence. This study therefore assumes thirteen poems in the collection, that *Iambus* 13 (fr. 203 Pf.) is the final poem, and that its imagery of closure is meant to be final, not a point of transition to further works of the *Iambi*. The point is, however, a crucial one to an assessment of the collection, and for this reason I return to a detailed discussion of these four poems and the problems they pose at the conclusion of the comments on the thirteen *Iambi* that follow here.

These thirteen poems evolve metrically and thematically in a manner emblematic of Callimachus' own relationship with the traditions of archaic iambic. In meter, in theme, in voice, in setting, the poems enact a continual discourse with earlier models, reconfiguring a poetic past in a new setting. From the opening of *Iambus* 1, where a new Hip-

xxxvii, P.J. Parsons, "Callimachus: Victoria Berenices," *ZPE* 25 (1977): 48–50, P. E. Knox, "The Epilogue to the *Aetia*," *GRBS* 26 (1985): 59–65 and "The Epilogue to the *Aetia*: An Epilogue," *ZPE* 96 (1993): 175–78. Recent treatments include Cameron (1995), 141–62, D'Alessio (1996) 37–40, 46–47, N. Krevans, *The Poet as Editor* (Princeton, forthcoming).

8. *PSI* 1216 + *P. Oxy.* 2171 + 2172 includes the end of *Iambi* 4, 5, and 6, the beginning of *Iambus* 7, several fragments of uncertain location, and fr. 229. See Pfeiffer II xi–xii for discussion, Cameron (1995) 169.

ponax is introduced as a speaking character, addressing a new, Alexandrian audience, to the last lines of *Iambus* 13 and the novel use of the image of sixth-century Ephesus, Hipponax' native city, as a negative paradigm, the *Iambi* of Callimachus maintain a constant and complex involvement with a poetic heritage, evolving through this heritage as a new emanation. As such these poems are quintessentially Alexandrian.

Iambi 1–7, 12, and 13 are preserved by papyri; 8–11 are short fragments supplied by the Diegeseis and by some other ancient sources. The poems are composed in a variety of meters, a variety, however, that is clearly not random. Callimachus composed the first four *Iambi* in choliambics, the meter that is associated especially with Hipponax. *Iambus* 5, the first of three epodic poems, is composed in choliambics alternating with iambic dimeter. The meter of *Iambi* 6 and 7 is alternating iambic trimeters and ithyphallics. Only one line of *Iambus* 8 is preserved, an iambic trimeter (we cannot be certain that this poem was not also epodic). *Iambus* 9 is in iambic trimeters. *Iambus* 10, and again the one preserved line of *Iambus* 8, are also in iambic trimeters. The meters of *Iambus* 11 and *Iambus* 12 are the more unusual, the one a brachycatalectic iambic trimeter, the other a catalectic trochaic trimeter. With *Iambus* 13 the poet returns to the choliambic trimeter of the first four poems, one of the significant grounds for seeing this as a poem of closure. As the *Iambi* exhibit a variety of meters, so they also exhibit a variety of dialects; *Iambi* 1–5, 8, 10, and 12–13 are composed in a literary Ionic, *Iambi* 6, 9, and 11 in a literary Doric, and *Iambus* 7 in a literary Doric with some Aeolic features.

Iambus 1 (fr. 191 Pf.) opens with a speaker, the voice of the archaic poet Hipponax journeyed from Hades to Alexandria, addressing an audience of querulous Alexandrians. As a paradigm for better collegial behavior he tells them the parable of Bathycles' cup, a parable from archaic Ionia and one that Hipponax himself appears to have narrated in some form. The extant lines of the poem close with a vivid series of Hipponactean images counterposed to contemporary Alexandrian ones.

Iambus 2 (fr. 192 Pf.) is likewise a poem addressed to a specific audience, here an acquaintance of the speaker, and likewise places an archaic narrative, here one of Aesop's fables, in a contemporary setting, a satirical assessment of other Alexandrian literati. Both poems, in different ways, use the mask of a figure of archaic Greece as a didactic medium to a contemporary Alexandrian audience.

In *Iambus* 3 (fr. 193 Pf.) there is also an evocation of past and present, here in lament for a time of a better morality unlike the present venal era, wherein the poet finds himself spurned by a mercenary youth

who prefers a rich companion. The poem, one of the shorter of the *Iambi* as we have them, concludes with an evocation of the poet's calling as at once the cause of his misfortune and his solace.

At the center of *Iambus* 4 (fr. 194 Pf.) is again a fable, here an extensive agon of two trees for place of honor and association with the divine. The fable of the trees' contest has its origins in narrative forms of the ancient Near East. Callimachus, however, uses fable here as a vehicle for a debate on poetic / aesthetic style, both elevating the narrative form to a new and contextually quite different level and defining his poetic art through this popular fable.

Iambus 5 (fr. 195 Pf.), like the third, censures another for sexual behavior, here a schoolteacher for taking advantage of his pupils. Like *Iambus* 1 this poem is also corrective, and also rewrites a certain amount of elevated poetic language and imagery into ethical iambic.

Iambus 6 (fr. 196 Pf.) is didactic in a different way. The poem is a self-consciously exact description of the chryselephantine statue of Zeus at Olympia presented to one about to journey there. Characteristic of most of the *Iambi* is the use of distant figures, times, and places. At the same time this is the first of three poems which evoke a distant work of plastic art.

Iambus 7 (fr. 197 Pf.) also centers on a journey and a statue of a divinity. Here, however, it is the statue that tells of its own journey to Ainos in Thrace. The narrative is a codicil to the world of grand epic, just as the statue is a *πάρρηγον* [minor work] (line 3) of the maker of the Trojan Horse.

Iambus 8 (fr. 198 Pf.) is also concerned with heroic epic, here the Voyage of the Argo. This and the three short fragmentary poems which follow are all etiological, showing that Callimachus pursued the large theme of his elegiac *Aetia* here in a variety of meters, dialects, and poetic types (*Iambus* 8 is an epinician).

Iambus 9 (fr. 199 Pf.) is the third poem in the collection concerned with statuary, here with an ithyphallic statue of Hermes in a wrestling school that engages in dialogue with a passerby. Like *Iambi* 3 and 5 this is another poem with an ethical critique of sexual behavior.

Iambus 10 (fr. 200 a and b Pf.) is another etiological poem, this one concerned with the cult of Aphrodite Castnia in Pamphylia. This poem and *Iambus* 12, which opens with an invocation of Cretan Artemis, show another aspect of the memorializing character of the *Iambi* as a whole. The *Iambi* commemorate the temporally and spatially distant; poets, places, statues, religious cults. This is also a central purpose of the *Aetia*. Among the differences, however, is the absence of the structural frame that links the individual narratives or episodes of the *Aetia* as a

larger whole, and the variety of meters, dialects, and iambic features in which Callimachus is composing the *Iambi*.

Iambus 11 (fr. 201 Pf.) is another variation on a theme we encounter in the *Aetia*; the poetic conceit of the speaking tomb. In each poem there is an element of the generically appropriate. The tomb of Simonides (*Aetia* fr. 64 Pf.) and the victory over Scopas belong to the world of elevated poetry, the sacking of a brothel-keeper's goods in *Iambus* 11, to the world of iambic.

Iambus 12 (fr. 202 Pf.) is a birthday celebration piece, for which there are few parallels from earlier Greek or Hellenistic literature. This poem, like several of the earlier *Iambi* (1–4) and *Iambus* 13, is concerned with poetics, here with the eternal value of poetry. The poem has also an internal narrative, the tale of a divine birthday, which like the parable of *Iambus* 1 has a didactic purpose for the poet's contemporary age.

Iambus 13 marks a return to the choliambic line that the poet used for the first several *Iambi*, and also to the image of Hipponax, here in the allusion to Ephesus and Callimachus' statement on his own relationship to this poetic past. *Iambi* 1 and 13 share a number of significant features: the address to a critical audience, the association of the iambic poet with madness, the social misbehavior of the speaker's opponents, and categorization by genre. Particularly significant is the imagery of journeying through time. The speaker of *Iambus* 1 evokes his journey to the present with the opening verbal expression (line 1) $\text{ιοι} \nu \text{ὸ γὰρ ἀλλ' ἦκω}$, the speaker of *Iambus* 13 closes (line 64) with his abnegation of a journey to the past with $\text{οὔτ' . . . ἐλιθώην}$. The Diegesis to the latter poem informs us that it was here that Callimachus defended his use of *polyeideia* [poetic variation] in the composition of the *Iambi*. The diegete notes further that Callimachus had a model for his defense, the fifth-century Chian poet Ion. In *Iambus* 1 Hipponax functions as a valorizing force, so here Ion plays a similar role. And again the final lines of the poem return us to the sense of the journey to archaic Ionia with which *Iambus* 1 begins.

Underlying the thirteen poems as a collection are several organizational structures. It was once suggested that the overall structure of the *Iambi* was an architectonic one in the manner of Roman poetry books,⁹ and certainly in several senses it prefigures these. Callimachus has organized the *Iambi* in a number of ways. One of these, as I out-

9. C. M. Dawson, "The *Iambi* of Callimachus: A Hellenistic Poet's Experimental Laboratory," *YCS* 11 (1950): 142–44, D. L. Clayman, *Callimachus' Iambi* (Leiden, 1980), 48–49. Cf. K. J. Gutzwiller, *Poetic Garlands: Hellenistic Epigrams in Context* (Berkeley, 1998), 187–88.

lined earlier, is metrical; another is dialect: the three statue poems (6, 7, and 9) are not in Ionic, but Doric. A third organizational structure is, broadly speaking, thematic. Separately placed are two poems with narratives of fable (2 and 4), two with critiques of sexual behavior (3 and 5), three that evoke statues and their histories (6, 7, and 9), and two (10 and 11) that include Aphrodite, one in a higher, one in a less elevated context. In the case of *Iambi* 6 and 7 the poems are paired, but are markedly differentiated by the voice of the opening line. *Iambus* 6 has a speaker who refers to the statue, in *Iambus* 7 the statue speaks the opening line. *Iambi* 8–11 are *aitia*, varying in meter, location, and tone. *Iambus* 11 is concerned with death, *Iambus* 12 with birth. Several of the *Iambi* (1–4, 12, and 13) are concerned in a variety of ways with Callimachean poetics. The manner in which Callimachus evokes poetry and poetic style is different in each of these poems. It does seem to be the case, however, even judging from the scant remains of several of the later *Iambi* and the comments of the *Diegeseis*, that poetics as a general theme frames the collection as a whole, as do the figures of the Muses and Apollo.

Callimachean scholars have used a number of terms to define this ordering. Puelma and Dawson speak of ποικιλία and *variatio*, Clayman of artistic organization.¹⁰ Dawson and Clayman both see the ordering of the *Iambi* as one of concentric circles, one that prefigures the architectonic structure of Roman poetry books. Gutzwiller, while hesitating to accept so elaborate an organizational scheme, still calls attention to the separation of paired poems (as 2 and 4, 3 and 5) as an ordering device.¹¹ Yet the ordering seems more elaborate than a mere separation of paired poems. Juxtaposed poems are frequently complementary, the second of two poems following a tangential or different course suggested in the first. So Aesop and his reception by the Delphians figures in both *Iambi* 1 and 2, as does philological contention. The figure of Cybele and her noisy rites is a vivid feature of *Iambi* 3 and 4. *Iambi* 5 and 6, one a poem of admonition, one a send-off for a friend, differently employ the stance of advice and instruction. *Iambi* 6 and 7 contrast the statue spoken of and the speaking statue: one is the *chef d'oeuvre* of its maker, a chryselephantine masterwork, the other a minor work of a mythological craftsman, a simple wooden cult statue. Each of these poems involves a journey: *Iambus* 6 of the prospective viewer, *Iambus* 7 of the cult statue. *Iambi* 12 and 13 differently configure the

10. M. Puelma Piwonka, *Lucilius und Kallimachos* (Frankfurt am Main, 1949), 323, 335, Dawson (1950) 141, Clayman (1980) 48.

11. Gutzwiller (1998) 187.

relationship of poet and inspiring deity; in *Iambus* 12 the god becomes a poet, in *Iambus* 13 the god valorizes the poet's own voice.

The term *polyeideia* does not itself appear in the extant text of *Iambus* 13.¹² This is rather a characterization of the collection given by the diegete (Dieg. IX 33–36): Ἐν τούτῳ πρὸς τοὺς καταμεμομέ | νοὺς | αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ πολυειδεῖα ὧν | γράφει ποιημάτων ἀπαντῶν φησιν ὅτι | Ἴωνα μιμεῖται τὸν τραγικόν· [In this he says to those who fault him for the variety of the poems he writes that he is imitating Ion the tragic poet.] From the poem itself we know that Callimachus addresses at least two types of poetic differentiation, metrical (fr. 203 Pf. 17–18) and generic (fr. 203 Pf. 31–32), and there may well have been others.¹³ Assuming *Iambus* 13 to be a poem that both brings closure to the collection and consciously comments on it, Callimachus' own conceptualization of the collection can be loosely defined as follows. The *Iambi* is a varied collection of poems (in form, meter, and dialect) which interweave the traditional and the innovative, the elevated and the low, and which all have some antecedents in an iambic tradition while at the same time refashioning and redefining that tradition.

III

The text of the Milan Diegesis includes four poems (fr. 226–29 Pf.) between *Iambus* 13 and the *Hecale*. They are not marked off in the text of the Diegesis with a separate collective title, nor any other indication that these comprise a separate collection of poems.¹⁴ These poems are further associated in some papyri (*PSI* 1216 + *P. Oxy.* 2171 + 2172) again with the *Iambi*.¹⁵ Pfeiffer tentatively entitles these poems the μέλη, following the indication in the *Suda* entry that Callimachus composed lyric poems (s.v. Καλλιμάχος = Pfeiffer II xcv test. 1 line 12). This characterization of the four poems, however, is problematic; in particular none of the four poems is strophic. The perennial question surrounding these four poems is simply this: are they indeed a separate set of po-

12. On the term πολυειδεια see K. J. Gutzwiller, "The Evidence for Theocritean Poetry Books," *Theocritus*, ed. M. A. Harder, R. F. Regtuit, and G. C. Wakker (Groningen, 1996), 131–32. "The meaning of εἶδος that underlies this usage of πολυειδεια, then, is not 'poem' or 'song' but simply 'type', 'kind' with possible reference to any number of literary subdivisions."

13. Line 16 ἀρχαῖον εἶτ' ἀπαι[. . .] may suggest a further differentiation of ancient and contemporary, one in keeping with the dichotomy of this poem and also of *Iambus* 1.

14. As the subscription that marks the end of the diegete's summary of the fourth book of the *Aetia* above Dieg. VI 1, Τῶν δ' Αἰτίων Καλλιμάχου διηγήσεις or the inscription to the *Hecale* Dieg. X 18 Ἐκάλησ.

15. See Pfeiffer II xi–xii, Cameron (1995) 169, D'Alessio (1996) 44.

ems, or are they *Iambi* 14–17? This question is one which any modern reader of the *Iambi* must consider in assessing the place and character of *Iambus* 13, and the extent and character of the collection of poems as a whole.

It is customary in approaching this question to begin with the metrical and thematic issues raised by these poems (fr. 226–29 Pf.) and then to turn to the external evidence that favors considering these as the last poems of the *Iambi*. It may, however, be more constructive to reverse this process, as in some ways the arguments in favor of including these poems in the collection of *Iambi* are in part occasioned by the external evidence rather than supported by it. There are, of course, seventeen *Epodes* of Horace. While neither the number thirteen nor the number seventeen is aesthetically ideal in the eyes of some critics, it is nonetheless the case that were the *Iambi* of Callimachus to have included seventeen poems, Horace would have had a numerical model before him when he composed the *Epodes*. Some of the *Iambi* (5–7) are epodic, as is fr. 227, and Callimachus and Horace are writing in the same tradition, which looks back to the archaic iambic poets.

There are, however, some objections that might be raised here. While there is no question but that Horace is influenced by the *Iambi* of Callimachus, this seems far truer of the *Satires* than the *Epodes*. A careful reading of the *Epodes* and the extant texts of the *Iambi* fails to establish the sort of intertextual relationship that one would expect (this is not the case with the *Satires*, which exhibit extensive use of the *Iambi*).¹⁶ Further, while some of the *Iambi* are epodic, this is not a collection of epodes as such. The relationship to Archilochus and Hipponax in the *Epodes* is clear, both when specified by the poet (cf. *Ep.* 6.11–14 *cave, cave: namque in malos asperrimus | parata tollo cornua | qualis Lycambae spretus infido gener | aut acer hostis Bupalos*) and more generally thematically. There is not, to reiterate, a similar relationship of these poems to the *Iambi* of Callimachus. It is, of course, perfectly possible, indeed very likely, that Horace had a model for the unusual number of the epodes. However, assuming the *Iambi* to have been this model, and on this ground assuming fr. 226–29 to be *Iambi* 14–17, is more circular a line of argumentation than it may at first appear.

Both metrical and thematic objections have been raised to including fr. 226–29 among the *Iambi*,¹⁷ however, neither set of objections is in itself entirely convincing. The *Iambi* as a whole show marked metrical variation, indeed a certain metrical showmanship. As all of fr.

16. Cf., however, Clayman (1980) 75–81.

17. See Dawson (1950) 132–33, Clayman (1980) 52–54.

226–29 are composed in stichic meters,¹⁸ the metrical character of the poems alone is not a convincing reason to exclude them from the *Iambi*.¹⁹ Both *Iambus* 12 and fr. 228 (*The Deification of Arsinoe*) are occasional, both include divine and mortal. Thematically in some respects they are not unlike; a collection that includes one could in theory include the other. Fr. 227 (*Pannychis*) is hymnic in character, *Iambus* 8 is an epinician. Either in a collection of iambic poetry could be seen as transcending traditional boundaries of high and low form. Excluding fr. 226–29 from the *Iambi* on thematic grounds alone is, on closer consideration, rather problematic.

There is, further, a close thematic correspondence between *Iambus* 1, *Iambus* 4, and fr. 229 (*Branchus*) in the figures of the city of Miletus and the boy-prophet Branchus. Cameron has made a strong case for associating these poems together with Ptolemaic influence over the Ionian city-state in the 270s and 260s B.C.E., and he has argued that the thematic correspondence justifies including fr. 229 as *Iambus* 17.²⁰ Miletus itself figures elsewhere in Callimachus' extant work (*Hy.* 3.226, fr. 80.16). Callimachus' interest in Miletus in the *Iambi* may, however, have had as much a generic as political origin.²¹ The city figures prominently in the fragments of Hipponax (fr. 27 W. [38 Deg.], 103 W. [106 Deg.]; cf. Anan. fr. 1 W. ([Hippon. 217 Sp. Deg.])). There is an additional thematic correspondence between *Iambus* 1 and fr. 228 (*The Deification of Arsinoe*) in the journeys of figures from Hades to the upper world, from earth to heaven, and through the heavens. These correspondences between poems are, of course, striking and significant in themselves; there are other such striking correspondences in the Callimachean corpus, such as those between *Hymn* 4 and *Iambus* 12. It is less certain that they necessarily justify including fr. 228 and 229 as further poems of the *Iambi*.

The crux of the problem is the close relationship, metrically, thematically, and intertextually, between *Iambi* 1 and 13. Both poems are concerned with Hipponax and sixth-century Ephesus, both are didactic, both are addressed to a critical audience. *Iambus* 1 opens with

18. Fr. 226 is phalaecean, which certainly Catullus understands as iambic in character (e.g. 36.5 *truces vibrare iambos*). Fr. 227–29 are metrically more unusual ("fourteen syllable Euripidean," archebulean, catalectic choriambic pentameter).

19. See Cameron (1995) 164–66, D'Alessio (1996) 45.

20. Cameron (1995) 167–68, 170–72.

21. Indeed, Miletus may serve as emblematic of Callimachus' overall relationship to archaic Ionia. His interest in and knowledge of Miletus effectively replace the need to journey to and be materially acquainted with the city that appears so frequently in his archaic forebear. I thank M. Fantuzzi for pointing this possibility out to me.

a Hipponactean figure traveled from Hades to contemporary Alexandria: *Iambus* 13 closes with the poet's abnegation of a journey to sixth-century Ephesus. It seems clear that *Iambi* 1 and 13 were conceived in these aspects as a pair. Not only are there the obvious thematic and programmatic parallels, but a striking number of verbal parallels in *Iambus* 13 recall *Iambus* 1. I discuss these in more detail in chapter 2, but give them here as well, as they are integral to this question. The one conjectured reading marked with an asterisk is my own.

<i>IAMBUS</i> 1 (FR. 191 PF.)		<i>IAMBUS</i> 13 (FR. 203 PF.)	
11	λαλάζων	17	λαλευς [. .] . . [
31	γρίάφεσθε τὴν ῥήειν	24–25	ἡ ῥήειν ἀκου[κτέα]*
33	ὦ λῶστε	24	ὦ λῶστ'
89	κονδύλω κρηλεῦζ[αι	27	ἀπεμπολῆ κόψακ
91–92	[πέ]πλον	25–26	πέπλ[ον
	τάκ [Μο]ύσακ		τάκ Μούσακ

Another strong argument for considering *Iambus* 13 a poem of closure is the very subject of the poem. A critic charges that the poet transgresses generic boundaries of poetic composition, and the poet responds. The charges against the poet both as summarized by the diegete and as indicated in the poem itself (lines 17–18) look back to the previous poems and comment on the collection as a whole.²²

It has been suggested to me that *Iambus* 13 could be a poem not of closure but of transition, and that the defense of the poet's *polyideia* could be understood not as a conclusion to *Iambi* 1–13, but as an introduction to "*Iambi*" 14–17.²³ I would add to this suggestion that there is also the possibility of a poem that serves both functions, as *Aetia* fr. 112 (*The Epilogue*). Callimachus' programmatic statement in lines 105–13 of the *Hymn to Apollo* provides something of a parallel as a programmatic work within a collection (here the *Hymns*).

The location of these four poems in the Milan Diegesis and the connections of the papyri do suggest that at an early date these poems were associated with the *Iambi*. One line of speculation that may here be the most helpful is one that considers the poet's own editing of his work. We are fairly sure that a number of Callimachus' poems that came to be included in the *Aetia* circulated at some point as separate poems,

22. Dieg. IX 33–35 Ἐν τούτῳ πρὸς τοὺς καταμεμομέ | νους αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ πολυιδείᾳ ὦν | γράφει ποιμάτων ἀπαντῶν [In this [he says] to those who fault him for the variety of poems he writes].

23. G. B. D'Alessio suggested this to me. Cf. Cameron (1995) 172–73, R. Hunter, "(B)ionic man: Callimachus' iambic programme," *PCPS* 43 (1997): 41.

for example, fr. 110 Pf. (*The Lock of Berenice*), SH 254–68 (*The Victory of Berenice*) and quite possibly fr. 67–75 Pf. (*Acontius and Cydippe*). Two of these are occasional court set pieces, as, of course, would have been fr. 228 (*The Deification of Arsinoe*). The following hypothesis may provide a resolution to the problem of fr. 226–29, and one that answers objections from both sides of the argument. *Iambi* 1–13 are the original collection (thus explaining the parallelism of 1 and 13 and the imagery of closure in 13). To these were added, quite possibly by the poet himself, or by a subsequent editor of his work, four poems that are not elegiac, not strophic, and in meters that, while remarkable, are not in and of themselves excluded from a broad conception of iambic. The collection and circulation in antiquity of both the *Idylls* of Theocritus²⁴ and the smaller speeches of Demosthenes provide a useful analogy here. It is then possible, as Clayman suggests, that a first-century B.C.E. Roman readership may have known a collection of seventeen poems.²⁵ The parallel of Vergil's knowledge of a collection of Theocritean bucolics that included [Theocr.] 8 as genuine is worth keeping in mind here. Whether and in what manner the *Iambi* were a model for Horace as he composed his *Epodes* remains, however, an open question.

This study assumes *Iambus* 13 to be the last poem of the *Iambi* as Callimachus originally conceived of the collection, while at the same time recognizing that the issue cannot be closed given the evidence we have. The Hipponactean frame of *Iambi* 1 and 13 is a structural feature at once integral and polyvalent, and sets a particular generic mark on a collection that is itself one of great generic variation.

IV

Most of what remains of Callimachus' *Iambi* is preserved in nine papyri. By far the largest of these is *P. Oxy.* 1011, a fourth-century C.E. papyrus now housed in the Bodleian Library, which preserves *Iambi* 1–4, 12, and 13. *P. Mil.* I 18, the Diegesis, preserves the lemmata to all the *Iambi* and gives brief prose summaries which include occasionally further citations from the text. In addition, *PSI* 1094 preserves scholia to *Iambus* 1 (c. lines 5–39) from which it is possible to supplement several parts of the text of this poem.

24. See Gutzwiller (1996) 119–48.

25. Clayman (1980) 54. No one to my knowledge has suggested that the inclusion of fr. 226–29 with the *Iambi* might have been influenced by Horace's seventeen epodes, in other words a structural influence in the reverse direction. As all the papyri concerned are from the first or second century C.E., this is not out of the question.

P. Oxy. 1011, while not an attractive papyrus, is not inordinately difficult to read. The papyrus does, however, need to be painstakingly reedited, and it is hoped that this task will be undertaken in the next few years. I have suggested a number of new readings of the text in my notes to individual poems.

The Diegesis provides a wealth of information, but it has certain inherent limitations. It is a summary, not a collection of scholia. In other words, the diegete does not (with a few exceptions) comment on the poem. The Diegesis (Lat. *narratio*) gives the first line and then certain chosen features of the content of each poem and in some respects is like modern student aids. In those cases where we can compare the Diegesis with extensive fragments, it is clear that the reader would gain a vague idea of the central theme and the names of some of its principals, but little of the actual nature of the poem. In a few cases where the description is rather detailed (e.g., to *Iambi* 1 and 7), what is usually at issue is a comparison of a narrative with other versions. *Iambus* 1, for example, includes a parable, the tale of the cup of Bathycles, which was well known and circulated in several versions. In general the diegete inclines toward simple, positively identifiable items, such as occasions, personal names, known fables. The Diegesis may be used to shed light on problematic areas of interpretation in the text, and it is an invaluable witness to some difficult readings. It also cites passages occasionally, and in some cases these citations are critical attestations to lost text. At the same time, an interpretation of Callimachus cannot be based, or only with great caution, solely on the Diegesis.²⁶

V

The standard edition of the *Iambi* remains Rudolf Pfeiffer's monumental 1949–53 Oxford edition of the complete works of Callimachus (reprinted 1968). The *Iambi* have not been as fortunate as other works of Callimachus in the discovery of new papyri. An important exception is *P. Mich.* inv. 4967, which greatly supplements the text of lines 57–70 of *Iambus* 12 (fr. 202 Pf.). Pfeiffer treats this papyrus in his *Ad-denda* II 118–19. The presentation of the poems in recent editions and in translation has been problematic. Trypanis' 1958 Loeb edition, and

26. A similar situation exists with the prose letters of Aristaenetus (1.10 and 1.15), which take their subjects from popular erotic episodes in Callimachus. Absent in Aristaenetus are in particular the *aitia*, but also all else incidental to the erotic narrative. It would be almost impossible, as indeed scholarly efforts in the last century demonstrated, to reconstruct the Callimachean versions from Aristaenetus.

the majority of translations have attempted to facilitate a reading of often fragmentary texts by including only complete or semicomplete lines. Such large-scale omission has inadvertently done the student of Callimachus a considerable disservice. This situation has recently been greatly ameliorated by the appearance of G. B. D'Alessio's excellent annotated 1996 *BUR* edition with facing Italian translation of all of Callimachus now extant. His edition includes the fragments hitherto accessible only in the *Supplementum Hellenisticum*.

Interpretive studies of the *Iambi* in English have been few. No detailed study of these poems has appeared since D. Clayman's very useful 1980 monograph, *Callimachus' Iambi*. Dawson's 1950 study of the *Iambi*, while essential and often suggestive, suffers from not being based on Pfeiffer's text. Further, while there is much of great value in his commentaries, the freedom with which he supplements missing texts seems incautious today. Several of his central tenets on the composition of the *Iambi* have now been largely rejected.

At a time when there is a renewed interest in this Hellenistic poet from many angles, there is a real need for an interpretive text of these fragmentary poems with which the modern reader of Callimachus can engage, one that can serve as an aid to an appreciation of these poems, help to place the *Iambi* in their poetic and cultural tradition, and provide an impetus for further research and interpretation. My study is intended to serve that need. I have tried to make these poems more accessible and to highlight some of the jewels of humor, irony, and deftness of artistry that they contain. This goal has informed both the structure of the work and the choice of material for explication.

This book is neither a full-scale commentary nor a purely thematic treatment of the poems. While there is without question a pressing need for a comprehensive commentary to all of the *Iambi*, as well as fragments 226–29 Pf., I have not undertaken this task at the present time. The papyri that provide the majority of our texts need extensive reediting. These papyri are suffering from the passage of time. Some are in considerably worse shape than when R. Pfeiffer read them. Whether computer digitalization will improve our ability to read them remains only a hopeful expectation. A comprehensive commentary is best undertaken when such a reedition has been completed. Yet there is need for a new treatment of the poems now. For these reasons I have chosen a format that offers both extensive interpretation and notes that are intended to clarify points in the text, but by no means to be exhaustive.

At the same time this book does not provide a full-scale thematic study of the *Iambi*. This is not a study that is based upon but detached

from the primary text. Hellenistic poetry has seen a great expansion in interpretive studies in the last decade, and an area of Greek studies that at one time was characterized by a remarkable paucity of secondary literature is now steadily enriched by scholars following a variety of critical approaches. While there is certainly a wide area of possibility for such works treating the *Iambi* and other Hellenistic iambography, the fragmentary nature of the texts of the *Iambi*, and the selective nature of the commentaries we do have, require instead a rather different approach.

My study is a connected series of close readings of the *Iambi* that seeks two ends. The first is to explicate the texts as we have them, to suggest ways of reading often fragmentary and oblique lines, and to offer detailed notes where these will elucidate Callimachus' poetry. The second is to assess Callimachus' appreciation of and response to an earlier iambic tradition, particularly Hipponax, and Callimachus' perception of himself at once within and yet reforming that tradition.

Hellenistic poetry in general has suffered in Classical scholarship from its position between two preferred literatures. It is usually seen as either "late Greek" or "pre-Roman," and denied the opportunity to exist for its own sake as the cultural product of its own time and place. I wish to underline from the outset that I have not written a study of Hellenistic iambography as a conduit from Archilochus to Horace, Persius, and Juvenal. I do not mean to suggest in any way that such a history of the iambographic tradition would be misguided, but simply to affirm that such is not the purpose of this book. I have intentionally avoided extensive discussion of Latin poetry and in particular Roman satire. I have used Latin sources where they aid an interpretation of the text of Callimachus, but I have not pursued the subject of the influence of the *Iambi* on Latin poetry. This is an extensive subject in its own right, with its own questions of translation and cultural memory, and one I intend to make the object of a later study. Similarly I have not written a survey of archaic iambic poetry. This study of Callimachus' *Iambi* is interested in archaic iambic where the earlier tradition informs the later one.

It is the traditional practice when working with a numbered sequence of poems to treat them in that order. I have not followed this practice here. Rather I have chosen to treat the poems by theme. In part this choice was the result of observing so many parallels between certain pairs of poems, whether parallels of language, imagery, or subject. *Iambi* 1 and 13 are both concerned with archaic iambic, and take the form of a certain kind of critical dialogue. *Iambi* 2 and 4 both manipulate animal fable for very Alexandrian ends. *Iambi* 3 and 5 are both

homoerotic and both construed around concepts of sexual behavior. The choice of treating the poems by theme was also brought about in part through observing that the poems in the collection are not so much arranged purely sequentially as arranged in groups. *Iambi* 1–4 are composed in stichic choliambics, in a literary Ionic and apparently all set in the poet’s contemporary Alexandria. *Iambi* 5–7 are epodic, the last two markedly set in distant places. *Iambi* 6 and 7 are composed in alternating ithyphallics and iambic trimeters, and in a literary Doric.

I have therefore chosen to treat by theme the nine *Iambi* of which we have substantial surviving papyrus text (1–7, 12, and 13) and one two-line fragment (9). Each theme is not only the subject of two (or in one case of three) of Callimachus’ *Iambi*, but also illustrates Callimachus’ relationship to an earlier iambic tradition. These themes include Callimachus’ manipulation of the figure of Hipponax and of Hipponactean verse, his use of paradigm whether elevated or popular, ethical criticism, and the presentation and description of statuary. These themes provide ways of seeing Callimachus’ relationship to the iambic tradition and also that of the *Iambi* to the rest of his oeuvre, for Callimachus is a very self-referential poet. A picture emerges of an Alexandrian iambic poet who criticizes and sets standards of aesthetics and decorum, while constantly reminding his audience of the less elevated aspects of the iambic tradition. This last he does through choice of traditional iambic features, whether language and imagery, or popular narrative form (e.g. fable). In this respect it is correct to speak of the poet of the *Iambi* as a voice at once Alexandrian and Hipponactean, and his poems as representative of a collusion of two worlds.

VI

The six chapters of this study share a common structure. Each consists of a text and facing translation of one or more poems, accompanying notes, and a thematic interpretation. The majority of Greek passages discussed in the interpretative essays are given with translations, in the hope of making the study accessible to the reader with limited or no Greek.

The texts of the poems are taken from R. Pfeiffer’s edition with supplementation from the following sources (all supplementation is clearly explained in the notes to each text). (1) Although there have not been significant papyrus discoveries of the *Iambi* in the decades since Pfeiffer’s edition, the papyri have been read again, particularly in the context of a 1966–67 Oxford papyrology seminar. A. W. Bulloch

kindly made his notes from this seminar available to me. With permission of the seminar's participants, readings from this seminar are considered in the notes to the texts, and in some cases are included in the texts themselves with annotation. (2) Some conjectures and supplements have been proposed in the ongoing scholarship on these poems. (3) I myself have made a few textual conjectures.

The translations of the *Iambi* and of the *Diegeseis* are my own. My purpose in translating the poems when I began this study was to provide an English rendition of all of the texts under consideration as we have them, as those which were available gave only select lines that were better preserved. This often resulted in a rather limited view of the poems, when in fact partial lines or even sole words could provide a great deal more. In part G. B. D'Alessio, whose excellent Italian edition of Callimachus includes translations for all the extant text, has anticipated my undertaking. However, there remains no such complete translation in English. For the ten *Iambi* which are the subject of this study there is now available to the reader an English version of all of the extant Greek text.

The commentary notes are not intended to be exhaustive. For the most part they elucidate difficult textual problems or discuss possible alternate readings. For the reader they will be especially useful in those instances where alternate readings have been proposed to Pfeiffer's text.

VII

The opening line of the *Iambi* commands its audience not in the voice of Callimachus, but seemingly in the voice of Hipponax. The final image of the *Iambi* is of a journey to Ephesus not undertaken. The first two chapters of this study are concerned with Hipponax and Hipponactean verse in *Iambi* 1 and 13. Callimachus revives an archaic genre in part by refashioning one of its original voices, in part by refashioning its nature and limitations. These first two chapters seek to uncover and elucidate the many elements in this poetic undertaking.

In *Iambi* 1 and 12 a gift, and the symbolism of a gift, are at the center of the narrative. These poems are the subject of my third chapter. *Iambus* 12 is itself a gift to a baby girl, the daughter of an acquaintance of the poet. The poem in turn tells of Apollo's gift of song to the newly born Hebe. Apollo's gift serves as a paradigm for the poet's own, as Apollo the singer valorizes the calling of the poet Callimachus. Paradigmatic too is the tale of the cup of Bathycles recounted in *Iambus* 1.

One sage gives the gold cup to another sage as each acknowledges his successor in a line of giving to be the best recipient of this symbol of mortal excellence. In the end, the cup is dedicated to Apollo in a gesture of reverence and collegiality, which contrasts vividly with the querulous behavior of the Alexandrian literati to whom this tale is recounted.

Animal fable is a form of popular didactic narrative that has close associations with the traditions of archaic iambic poetry. In *Iambi* 2 and 4 Callimachus specifically acknowledges the heritage of fable in his own renditions of fable, which comment on his contemporaries and his own poetry. The subject of chapter 4 is these poems that take the form of fables, and that both evoke the origin of the fables recounted and the novel character of their re-creation.

The fifth chapter has as its subject the two *Iambi* specifically concerned with ethical criticism and sexual behavior. *Iambi* 3 and 5 are both poems that reflect, yet differently, a tradition of homoerotic relationships with a paideutic character, a tradition that characterizes early elegiac poetry and is the subject of Plato's *Symposium*. In a number of striking aspects these two poems mirror one another. In *Iambus* 3 the poetic voice is one of the narrative figures, and it is his own unrequited love for a venal youth that is the subject of his lament. In *Iambus* 5 the poet, here from the outside, faults a schoolteacher who has abused his pupils. Both poems evoke a heritage gone wrong.

The artworks of the *Iambi* are the focus of the sixth chapter, which centers on the three *Iambi* (6, 7, and 9) that view statuary through verse. These also are poems that share certain features in common; all are in a sense didactic, all are concerned with geographic distance from Callimachus' Alexandria, and all capture an essential Alexandrian interest in commemorating the past in the present.

VIII

Callimachus is not an easy author to read, nor in some respects an easy author to appreciate. His poetry, while not abstruse, assumes a familiarity on the part of its audience with a poetic and cultural heritage of which only a small part remains, and even this small part we view from a great distance and obliquely. In the case of the *Iambi* our knowledge of the tradition in which Callimachus is composing is limited. Archilochus and especially Hipponax survive in very fragmentary form. The *Iambi* of Callimachus are also fragmentary. Reading and trying to read through these poems can indeed seem daunting to the modern reader who first approaches these texts. My study is intended to facilitate this

undertaking, to help the modern reader situate the *Iambi* both in the poetic traditions of archaic iambic poetry and in the extant works of Callimachus and Hellenistic poetry generally. If in the following pages I succeed in elucidating any of the more enigmatic parts of these fascinating poems, in making these fragmentary, allusive, and highly self-referential works in any way more accessible and more enjoyable, I shall be well content.