Apollo and the Argonauts : two notes on Ap. Rhod. 2, 669-719

Autor(en): **Hunter, Richard**

Objekttyp: **Article**

Zeitschrift: **Museum Helveticum : schweizerische Zeitschrift für klassische Altertumswissenschaft = Revue suisse pour l'étude de l'antiquité classique = Rivista svizzera di filologia classica**

Band (Jahr): **43 (1986)**

Heft 1

PDF erstellt am: **22.09.2024**

Persistenter Link: https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-33387

Apollo and the Argonauts

Two notes on Ap. Rhod. 2, 669–719

By Richard Hunter, Cambridge

I

The first stop for the Argonauts after they have passed through the Symplegades is the island called Θυνιάς. Putting in there just before dawn, they see Apollo as he travels from Lycia to the land of his beloved Hyperboreans[1]; on the advice of Orpheus, they build an altar on the island to Apollo Ἑώιος and perform sacrifices upon it. The episode[2] concludes with the swearing of an oath of mutual help, and the poet tells us that a temple of Ὁμόνοια which the Argonauts built on the island was still standing in his day. We recognise here a very common pattern in Apollonius' epic: a brief stop on the journey is marked by ritual and aetiology. Apollo's appearance in the second book is related in particular to 4, 1701–1730 where, in response to Jason's prayers, Apollo saves the Argonauts by revealing to them (again in his role as a god of light) the island which they subsequently called Ἀνάφη and on which they founded a cult of Apollo Αἰγλήτης[3]. The impenetrable darkness from which Apollo saves the heroes in the fourth book is the last peril of the whole voyage, but when they see him in Book 2, Colchis and the return journey lie in front of them. Nevertheless, the epiphany and the foundation of the temple to Ὁμόνοια emphasise that the worst peril of the outward journey, the Symplegades, has been successfully negotiated and prepare the Argonauts for the tasks ahead[4]. This division of the poem is marked by vv. 762–771 in which Jason gives Lycus, the king of the Mariandynoi, a brief account of 'the story so far', beginning with the Catalogue of Heroes (762–763)[5]; the 'enchantment' which Jason's

1 Cf., e.g., 4, 614, Pind. *Pyth.* 10, 35, Call. fr. 492, Diod. Sic. 2, 47. Apollo's route shows that Apollonius placed the Hyperboreans to the north of the Scythians (as indeed was the usual view).

2 The events on the island are marked off as a separate unit by ἦμος δ' ... φάος (669) ~ ἦμος δέ ... φάος (720).

3 For the links between Apollo's two appearances cf. Pfister, RE Suppl. 4 (1924) 284–286; P. Händel, *Beobachtungen zur epischen Technik des Apollonios Rhodios* (Munich 1954) 39 n. 1, and Vian's Budé edition of Bk. 3 (Paris 1980) 12. The Ἀνάφη episode has usually been thought to borrow from Callimachus' account in the first book of the *Aetia*, cf. Pfeiffer on fr. 18, 6–15; E. Eichgrün, *Kallimachos und Apollonios Rhodios* (Diss. Berlin 1961) 128–133. For the possible use of Callimachus in the present episode cf. below pp. 57ff.

4 For the central importance of the Symplegades cf. 1, 2–3, Eur. *Med.* 1–2.

5 Contrast 1, 980–981 where an opportunity for such a summary is not taken up; Medea gives Circe a rather sketchy account of the story at 4, 730–737.

words work (cf. θέλγετ' ἀκουῇ θυμόν, 772) suggest that he is like a Phemius (cf. Od. 1, 337) or, rather, Odysseus himself (cf. Od. 17, 514. 521). We may indeed compare Apollonius' technique here with the echo of the opening lines of the Odyssey at Od. 13, 88–92, an echo which points to a division of the poem into 'Odysseus absent' and 'Odysseus present'[6]. The stop among the Mariandynoi is also marked by the deaths of the prophet Idmon and the steersman Tiphys, and so it would clearly be a mistake to interpret Apollo's epiphany as a sign to the Argonauts that their luck has turned. We may perhaps see a foreshadowing of these grim events in the fact that the account of the Argonauts on Θυνιάς draws freely upon Homer's description of the island across the water from the Cyclopes where Odysseus and his crew camp (Od. 9, 116–176)[7]. Both islands not only provide an opportunity for rest and recovery, but also act as a prelude to disaster.

The language[8] and structure of Apollo's epiphany are traditional: a divine appearance causes mortal θάμβος and is followed by prayers and worship (cf., e.g., Od. 3, 371–394). The god's flowing hair[9], the bow in his left hand[10], and the quiver hanging down his back, however, well exemplify a Hellenistic interest in detailed pictorial representation. Striking also is the suddenness of the god's appearance. The scene is presented as though Apollo is unaware of the Argonauts' presence on the island; they see him but he does not see them. Such an experience was highly dangerous for mortal men, as Callimachus states baldly in the fifth hymn (Lav. Pall. 100–102):

> Κρόνιοι δ' ὧδε λέγοντι νόμοι·
> ὅς κε τιν' ἀθανάτων, ὅκα μὴ θεὸς αὐτὸς ἕληται,
> ἀθρήσῃ, μισθῶ τοῦτον ἰδεῖν μεγάλω.

Nevertheless, we do not have to assume that Apollo, who after all has a central role in the whole epic, was unaware either of the Argonauts' presence[11] or of

6 With 2, 762–771 H. Fränkel, *Noten zu den Argonautika des Apollonios* (Munich 1968) 230, compares *Od.* 23, 310–343, but the structural role of those verses is quite different. There is a good discussion of the Lycus episode in K. W. Blumberg, *Untersuchungen zur epischen Technik des Apollonios von Rhodos* (Diss. Leipzig 1931) 44.

7 Cf. Vian's edition, pp. 275–276.

8 Cf. M. Campbell, *Echoes and Imitations of Early Epic in Apollonius Rhodius* (Leiden 1981) 33, and F. Williams on Call. *Ap.* 2.

9 In *Pythian* 4 Jason's flowing locks remind the onlookers of Apollo (82–87). I am not attracted by the suggestion of H. L. Lorimer, *Gold and ivory in Greek mythology*, in: Greek Poetry and Life: Essays presented to Gilbert Murray on his seventieth birthday (Oxford 1936) 23, that the description of Apollo would remind Apollonius' readers of Ptolemy.

10 As it was in the great cult statue at Delos, cf. Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 114, 8ff.; id., *The image of the Delian Apollo and Apolline ethics*, JWCI 15 (1952) 20–32, pp. 21–22.

11 We may recall *Od.* 10, 573–574, τίς ἂν θεὸν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα / ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἴδοιτ' ἠ ἔνθ' ἠ ἔνθα κιόντα; The dangers of unwittingly seeing gods are fully documented in M. Teufel, *Brauch*

the effect which his epiphany will have upon them. The lack of preparation for his entry emphasises the gap between mortal and divine action, even when the mortals are, like the Argonauts, all related to gods (cf. 3, 365–366). There is very little direct contact in the Argonautica between the heroes and the major Olympian deities[12], and confrontations with minor divinities are marked by the same apparent suddenness as is Apollo's epiphany. After Heracles has been left behind, for example, Glaucus appears out of the sea to foretell the future, but although his opening words appeal to the μεγάλοιο Διὸς βουλή his intervention remains abrupt and mysterious (1, 1310–1328)[13]. So too in the fourth book, Triton appears very suddenly to aid the Argonauts after Orpheus has had the bright idea of using one of Apollo's tripods to win over the local divinities (4, 1547–1591). These scenes are not merely examples of Apollonius' many experiments with epic narrative, but are also part of a problem which the whole poem raises in a very acute form, namely the link between motive and action.

Apollo's epiphany is at one level a poetic version of sunrise. Opinions will differ as to whether Apollonius invites us to understand that the physically exhausted[14] and emotionally drained men interpret a natural phenomenon as a divine apparition. It is possible that Herodorus, a major source for this part of the epic[15], had mentioned (in order to reject) this aetiology for the cult of Apollo Ἑώιος, but unfortunately the relevant scholium is ambiguous[16]. Be that as it may, Apollonius has made the equation of Apollo and the sun[17] absolutely clear by stressing the god's golden hair and his brilliant eyes into which none of the heroes could look directly; later in the poem we are told that

und Ritus bei Apollonios Rhodios (Diss. Tübingen 1939) 167–188 and cf. A. W. Bulloch (Cambridge 1985) on Call. *Lav. Pall.* 101–102.

12 On the gods in Apollonius see H. de la Ville de Mirmont, *Apollonios de Rhodes et Virgile* (Paris 1894) passim; L. Klein, *Die Göttertechnik in den Argonautika des Apollonios Rhodios,* Philologus 86 (1931) 18–51 and 215–257; H. Faerber, *Zur dichterischen Kunst in Apollonios Rhodios' Argonautica (Die Gleichnisse)* (Diss. Berlin 1932) 79–90; H. Herter, Bursian's Jahresbericht 285 (1944/45) 275–284; Fränkel, *Noten* (n. 6 above) 630–633.

13 Contrast Leucothoe's appearance at *Od.* 5, 333–350.

14 Cf. 673 καμάτῳ πολυπήμονι; for the κάματος brought on by rowing cf. esp. *Il.* 7, 4–6. The simile which compares the heroes rowing to oxen ploughing (662–668) is an elaboration of a common metaphor, cf. Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 572; R. G. M. Nisbet and M. Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1, 7, 32.

15 Cf. P. Desideri, *Studi di storiografia eracleota,* SCO 16 (1967) 366–416; Thynias was colonised from Heraclea and thus attracted the attention of Herodorus, Nymphis and others.

16 Σχ. 2, 684, Ἡρόδωρος οὖν φησιν (FGrHist 31 F 48) Ἑῷον Ἀπόλλωνα προσαγορεύεσθαι καὶ βωμὸν αὐτοῦ εἶναι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, οὐ καθὸ ὄρθου ἐφάνη αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καθὸ οἱ Ἀργοναῦται ὄρθρου εἰς αὐτὴν κατέπλευσαν; for discussion cf. Wilamowitz, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* I³ (Berlin 1959) 22; Blumberg (n. 6 above) 43.

17 On the identification of Apollo and the sun in Greek poetry and thought cf. J. S. Rusten, *Dionysius Scytobrachion* (Papyrologica Coloniensia 10, 1982) 33 n. 18; J. Diggle on Eur. *Phaethon* 224–225, and F. Williams on Call. *Ap.* 9.

such eyes are a feature shared by all the race of Helios (4, 727–729; cf. 4, 683–684). προσκύνησις to the rising sun was a widespread ancient practice[18], and in the present episode we see an elaborate version of this. The solar identity of Apollo also illuminates the role of Orpheus here. The poet par excellence takes a leading role in ritual throughout the epic and the links between Orpheus and Apollo require no special illustration. Nevertheless, Apollonius may have a particular legend in mind here. According to this story[19], Orpheus rejected the worship of Dionysus and instead used to climb Mt. Pangaion every morning to worship the sun which he called Apollo. This story formed some part of Aeschylus' Bassarai (cf. fr. 23a Radt). Whether or not Apollonius was thinking of that story here, the role of Orpheus points to the unity of all the events on the island.

For the temple to Ὁμόνοια the scholia to Apollonius for once fail us, but the oath to help each other in the future which the Argonauts take on the island does find an echo in the version of the Argonautic saga preserved in the fourth book of Diodorus Siculus. There we read that, at the suggestion of Heracles, the heroes swore to help each other again in the future after they had completed the quest for the Fleece (Diod. Sic. 4, 53, 4). Diodorus' main source here is the rationalising account of the myth given by Dionysius Scytobrachion, and we may perhaps use this passage as evidence that the oath at 2, 715–716 is not Apollonius' own contribution[20]. Fortunately, however, uncertainty about the poet's sources does not prevent us from trying to understand his art. The foundations of the cults of Apollo Ἑώιος and of Ὁμόνοια are not separate, unrelated events[21], but part of one Apolline experience. The role of Orpheus stresses Apollo's function as the god of music, and the links between musical and social 'harmony' would have been familiar to any educated contemporary of Apollonius. The most famous expression of these ideas is the opening passage of Pindar's First Pythian, a poem in which Apollo is asked to help Hiero to guide his people σύμφωνον ἐς ἡσυχίαν (70). Plato's discussion of the etymology of Ἀπόλλων is particularly relevant here (Cratyl. 405 c–d)[22]: κατὰ δὲ τὴν μουσικὴν δεῖ ὑπολαβεῖν ὅτι τὸ ἄλφα σημαίνει πολλαχοῦ τὸ ὁμοῦ,

18 Cf. Jessen, RE 8 (1912) 58.

19 [Eratosth.] *Catasterismoi* 24; for text and discussion cf. M. L. West, BICS 30 (1983) 63–71 and TrGF 3, 138–139.

20 Jacoby, FGrHist Ia p. 517, suggested that Dionysius invented the oath in his version. Rusten (n. 17 above) 85–92, makes Dionysius roughly contemporary with Apollonius and (p. 95) finds it impossible to decide priority in the two main incidents shared by the two writers, the halt at Samothrace and the epiphany of Glaucus.

21 Contrast, e.g., Fränkel, *Noten* (n. 6 above) 229.

22 1, 759–762 (Jason's cloak) alludes to an etymology of Ἀπόλλων from πολλός (cf. Pl. *Crat.* 404 c–e; Call. *Ap.* 2, 69–70). For etymologies of Apollo in earlier poetry cf. Archilochus fr. 26, 5–6 West; Aesch. *Ag.* 1080–1082; Eur. *Phaethon* 224–226; Timotheus, PMG 800 (cf. below p. 59), and perhaps Hipponax fr. 25 West.

καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὴν ὁμοῦ πόλησιν καὶ περὶ τὸν οὐρανόν, οὓς δὴ πόλους καλοῦσιν, καὶ περὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ ᾠδῇ ἁρμονίαν, ἣ δὴ συμφωνία καλεῖται, ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα, ὥς φασιν οἱ κομψοὶ περὶ μουσικὴν καὶ ἀστρονομίαν, ἁρμονίᾳ τινὶ πολεῖ ἅμα πάντα· ἐπιστατεῖ δὲ οὗτος ὁ θεὸς τῇ ἁρμονίᾳ ὁμοπολῶν αὐτὰ πάντα καὶ κατὰ θεοὺς καὶ κατ' ἀνθρώπους· ὥσπερ οὖν τὸν ὁμοκέλευθον καὶ ὁμόκοιτιν 'ἀκόλουθον' καὶ 'ἄκοιτιν' ἐκαλέσαμεν, μεταβαλόντες ἀντὶ τοῦ 'ὁμο-' 'ἀ-', οὕτω καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα ἐκαλέσαμεν ὃς ἦν Ὁμοπολῶν, ἕτερον λάβδα ἐμβαλόντες, ὅτι ὁμώνυμον ἐγίγνετο τῷ χαλεπῷ ὀνόματι. The foundation of the cult of Ὁμόνοια is linked to Apollo's epiphany by the god's function as bestower of harmony and concord (in both literal and transferred senses)[23]. In Book 1 of the Argonautica a cosmological song by Orpheus restored harmony and ὁμόνοια among the Argonauts (1, 494–515); in Book 2 Apollo and Orpheus combine again to reaffirm these qualities[24].

II

In historical times the island on which the Argonauts see Apollo was also known as Apollonia and was largely given over to the cult of Apollo[25]. This interest dominates Apollonius' account, and two passages call for particular notice. The first is the description of the Argonauts' arrival on the island (669–676):

ἦμος δ' οὔτ' ἄρ πω φάος ἄμβροτον οὔτ' ἔτι λίην
ὀρφναίη πέλεται, λεπτὸν δ' ἐπιδέδρομε νυκτὶ
φέγγος, ὅ τ' ἀμφιλύκην μιν ἀνεγρόμενοι καλέουσι,
τῆμος ἐρημαίης νήσου λιμέν' εἰσελάσαντες
Θυνιάδος καμάτῳ πολυπήμονι βαῖνον ἔραζε.
τοῖσι δὲ Λητοῦς υἱὸς ἀνερχόμενος Λυκίηθεν
ἐξεφάνη.

Apollonius uses the ἦμος ... τῆμος formula sparingly and with care[26]. The ἦμος clause may describe an action in 'the real world' which reflects or is like the action of the τῆμος clause (1, 1172–1177; 3, 1340–1343; 4, 109–114) or the

23 Cf. Ovid *Met.* 1, 518 (Apollo to Daphne) *per me concordant carmina neruis*; for some speculations on the political dimension of Ἁρμονία cf. R. G. A. Buxton, *Persuasion in Greek Tragedy* (Cambridge 1982) 48.

24 Just as Orpheus' song in Book 1 has strong links with Empedocles, so too ὁμόνοια and ἁρμονία are important notions in pre-Socratic and sophistic thought, cf. Diels-Kranz, Fragmente der Vorsokratiker II p. 356; G. S. Kirk, J. E. Raven and M. Schofield, *The Presocratic Philosophers*[2] (Cambridge 1983) 232–234. The evidence that Empedocles identified Apollo and Helios (Men. Rhet. 337, 2–6 Sp.-RW) will not bear examination.

25 Cf. K. Ziegler, RE 6 A (1936) 718–720.

26 Cf. 1, 450–453. 1172–1177. 1280–1283; 2, 516–518; 3, 1340–1343; 4, 109–114; for discussion cf. W. Bühler, *Die Europa des Moschos* (Hermes Einzelschriften Bd. 13, 1960) 210–211 and Fränkel, *Noten* (n. 6 above) 141.

ἦμος clause may give the reason for the action of the τῆμος clause (1, 450–453. 1280–1283; 2, 516–518) and in these latter instances the ἦμος clause, as at 2, 669–671, describes a natural phenomenon. We may therefore reasonably enquire why Apollonius has chosen this particular moment to display his knowledge of the Homeric hapax ἀμφιλύκη[27]. The Homeric scholia connect this word with λυκόφως and λύγη, but the scholia to Aratus, Phaen. 747 make a connection with λύκος, the sacred animal of Apollo. I suggest, therefore, that ἀμφιλύκη has a peculiar appropriateness as a time for seeing Apollo, and that Apollonius has helped us to see this by making the god travel Λυκίηθεν. The cult title of Apollo Λύκιος was very variously explained in antiquity; connections with λευκός, λύκος and Λυκία were all postulated[28]. Homer's ἀμφιλύκη νύξ is in fact adduced to support a derivation of Λύκιος from λύκη (ἀπὸ τοῦ λευκοῦ) in the course of Macrobius' discussion of the cult title (Sat. 1, 17, 36–41). Macrobius is known to depend upon Apollodorus of Athens περὶ θεῶν (FGrHist 244 F 95), but we can hardly assume that Apollodorus too had connected ἀμφιλύκη and Λύκιος[29]. Even if he had done so, we would still not have traced the connection as far back as the time of Apollonius. Nevertheless, with or without grammatical precedent, Apollonius has established the connection by the repetition of the λυκ-root; some confirmation that etymology and verbal games are important in this passage may be found in the account of the worship of Apollo in vv. 701–713:

ἀμφὶ δὲ δαιομένοις εὐρὺν χορὸν ἐστήσαντο,
καλὸν Ἰηπαιήον' Ἰηπαιήονα Φοῖβον
μελπόμενοι. σὺν δέ σφιν ἐὺς πάις Οἰάγροιο
Βιστονίῃ φόρμιγγι λιγείης ἦρχεν ἀοιδῆς·
ὥς ποτε πετραίῃ ὑπὸ δειράδι Παρνησοῖο
Δελφύνην τόξοισι πελώριον ἐξενάριξε,
κοῦρος ἐὼν ἔτι γυμνός, ἔτι πλοκάμοισι γεγηθώς –
ἰλήκοις· αἰεί τοι, ἄναξ, ἄτμητοι ἔθειραι,
αἰὲν ἀδήλητοι· τὼς γὰρ θέμις· οἰόθι δ' αὐτὴ
Λητὼ Κοιογένεια φίλαις ἐνὶ χερσὶν ἀφάσσει –
πολλὰ δὲ Κωρύκιαι Νύμφαι Πλειστοῖο θύγατρες
θαρσύνεσκον ἔπεσσιν, 'ἴη ἴε' κεκληγυῖαι,
ἔνθεν δὴ τόδε καλὸν ἐφύμνιον ἔπλετο Φοίβῳ.

27 ἀμφιλύκη is also found at Aratus, *Phaen.* 747, and v. 670 seems to echo *Phaen.* 80, λεπτοτέρη γὰρ τῇ καὶ τῇ ἐπιδέδρομεν αἴγλη; there is a sensitive discussion of vv. 669–671 by Fränkel in DLZ 51 (1930) 874. On the actual etymology of ἀμφιλύκη cf. D. J. N. Lee, *Homeric* λυκάβας *and others*, Glotta 40 (1962) 168–182, and H. Koller, Λυκάβας, Glotta 51 (1973) 29–34.

28 Cf. Σχ. Hom. *Il.* 4, 101; Servius auctus on Verg. *Aen.* 4, 377; Kruse, RE 13 (1927) 2268–2270; F. Williams, CQ n.s. 21 (1971) 138–139.

29 R. Münzel, *De Apollodori* περὶ θεῶν *libris* (Diss. Bonn 1883) 16 in fact derives this passage of Macrobius from Apollodorus.

If the cult of Apollo Ἑώιος was new, the story which Orpheus here tells was very old[30]. In particular, Apollonius has in mind the version of this story in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo. In the Hymn, as in Apollonius, a group of weary seafarers found a new cult of Apollo with a title derived from their experience of the god, Δελφίνιος in the Hymn, Ἑώιος in Apollonius. Both poems also use the title Ἰηπαιήων for Apollo (H. Ap. 272; Ap. Rhod. 2, 702)[31], and as the Hymn derives the name of the monster Πύθων and the title Πύθειος for Apollo from πύθειν (363. 371–374), so Δελφύνην in Ap. Rhod. 2, 706, the other name for the monster, suggests an etymology for the place-name Delphi; the juxtaposition of πετραίῃ ὑπὸ δειράδι Παρνησσοῖο (the actual location of Delphi) and Δελφύνην points us towards this etymology. In the context of Apollo's epiphany in the Argonautica, it may also be worth remarking that the Homeric Hymn presents Apollo and Helios working together for the destruction of the monster (368–374); there Apollo uses the power of the sun, rather than himself representing that power.

The slaying of the Delphic serpent was traditionally an act of Apollo's youth or even his earliest infancy. In Callimachus' accounts in the Hymn to Apollo (cf. below p. 58) and in the fourth book of the Aetia[32] Apollo was still a παῖς when he performed this act. At first sight, Apollonius' indication of the god's age (707) is puzzling. The style of the verse is, however, familiar from many hymns of praise[33], and we may compare a typically Callimachean achievement of Apollo's baby sister Artemis (Call. Dian. 72–77):

κοῦρα, σὺ δὲ προτέρω περ, ἔτι τριέτηρος ἐοῦσα,
εὖτ' ἔμολεν Λητὼ σε μετ' ἀγκαλίδεσσι φέρουσα,
Ἡφαίστου καλέοντος ὅπως ὀπτήρια δοίη,
Βρόντεώ σε στιβαροῖσιν ἐφεσσαμένου γονάτεσσι,
στήθεος ἐκ μεγάλου λασίης ἐδράξαο χαίτης,
ὤλοψας δὲ βίηφι·

Apollo's age is less narrowly specified than Artemis'. Young boys dedicated the hair cut from their head either in infancy or on reaching sexual maturity to a god, often Apollo[34]; the ancients connected κοῦρος with κείρειν, and that

30 Cf. T. Schreiber, *Apollon Pythoktonos* (Leipzig 1879); J. Fontenrose, *Python* (Berkeley/Los Angeles 1959).

31 702–703 rework *Il.* 1, 472–474, οἱ δὲ πανημέριοι μολπῇ θεὸν ἱλάσκοντο / καλὸν ἀείδοντες παιήονα κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν, / μέλποντες Ἑκάεργον. Ancient scholars, like modern translators, disputed whether καλόν in v. 473 was adjectival or adverbial; καλὸν ἐφύμνιον in v. 713 seems to give Apollonius' view. For adjectival καλός cf. Euphorion fr. 80, 2 Powell.

32 Cf. *Dieg.* II 24 (Pfeiffer, Vol. I p. 95).

33 Cf. the repetition in the 'hymn' to the Argonauts at 4, 1384, ἦ βίῃ, ἦ ἀρετῇ Λιβύης ἀνὰ θῖνας κτλ.; Call. *Jov.* 2. ἀεί in hymnic style is fully documented by K. Keyssner, *Gottesvorstellung und Lebensauffassung im griechischen Hymnus* (Stuttgart 1932) 39–44.

34 Cf., e.g., Euphorion, AP 6, 279 (= Gow-Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* 1801–1804); L. Sommer,

is obviously important for the interpretation of this passage[35]. 707 nicely hints that Apollo might one day cut his hair and dedicate it to himself. No wonder that the poet cuts in jocularly to ask the god's forgiveness. His apology turns on the ambiguity of ἔτι, which can mean 'still at that time (though it later changed)' or 'still (to this day)'[36]. We naturally read v. 707 in the former way, but the repeated αἰεί of vv. 708–709, picking up the repetition of ἔτι, assures us and the god that we were wrong. γυμνός in v. 707 presents a further, and more difficult, problem. It has often been taken to mean 'beardless' and this would be very attractive[37]; Apollonius commonly denotes a man's age by the presence or absence of facial hair (cf. 1, 972; 2, 43–44. 779; 3, 519–520), and we may compare Callimachus' description of Apollo's youthful beauty (Ap. 36–37):

> καὶ μὲν ἀεὶ καλὸς καὶ ἀεὶ νέος· οὔποτε Φοίβου
> θηλείαις οὐδ' ὅσσον ἐπὶ χνόος ἦλθε παρειαῖς.

Nevertheless, I have been unable to parallel either γυμνός or *nudus* used by themselves to mean 'beardless'. Three alternative approaches have been tried. One is emendation, but nothing very satisfactory has been devised[38]. Secondly, some critics have seen a reference to the nakedness of Greek statuary[39]; ἔτι is, however, awkward with this explanation which may also be thought to lack the desired wit. Thirdly, we may adopt the explanation of the scholiast who glosses γυμνός as ἄνηβος: Apollo is already a κοῦρος, but not yet an ἔφηβος[40]. Again the lack of a parallel for such a use of γυμνός is disconcerting. If the word is sound, therefore, we might consider the possibility that the first half of v. 707 draws on the version of the legend in which Apollo was still a babe-in-arms when he killed the serpent. In Euripides' account, for example, the god is ἔτι βρέφος, ἔτι φίλας | ἐπὶ ματέρος ἀγκάλαισι (IT 1250–1251), and at 1, 508 Apollonius describes Zeus in the Dictaean cave as ἔτι κοῦρος, ἔτι φρεσὶ νήπια εἰδώς. If this is right, then Apollonius has, not untypically, combined two versions of the story in his narrative; indeed here the two versions appear side-by-side in the one verse.

The aspect of this passage of the Argonautica which has attracted most recent attention is its relationship to the aetiology of the cry ἰὴ ἰὴ παιῆον which Callimachus gives in his Hymn to Apollo (97–103):

Das Haar in Religion und Aberglauben der Griechen (Diss. Münster 1912) 18–34; M. L. West on Hes. *Theog.* 347.

35 Cf. Σχ. Hom. *Il.* 21, 204; Eustathius, *Hom.* 582, 20; 1403, 3; the importance of this etymology for v. 707 was pointed out by M. Campbell, RPh 47 (1973) 78–79.

36 Cf. Gow on Theocr. 17, 134.

37 Cf. Nemesianus, *Ecl.* 2, 17 *ambo genas leues, intonsi crinibus ambo.* Archilochus apparently used γυμνός to mean 'with shaven head', ἀπεσκυθισμένος (fr. 265 West = Hesychius γ 1001).

38 τυννός Schneider, τυτθός Morel. 39 Cf. Vian, ad loc.

40 Cf. Campbell, loc. cit. (n. 34 above), Solon fr. 27, 1 West παῖς μὲν ἄνηβος ἐὼν ἔτι νήπιος κτλ.

ἰὴ ἰὴ παιῆον ἀκούομεν, οὕνεκα τοῦτο
Δελφός τοι πρώτιστον ἐφύμνιον εὕρετο λαός,
ἦμος ἑκηβολίην χρυσέων ἐπεδείκνυσο τόξων.
Πυθώ τοι κατιόντι συνήντετο δαιμόνιος θήρ,
αἰνὸς ὄφις. τὸν μὲν σὺ κατήναρες ἄλλον ἐπ' ἄλλῳ
βάλλων ὠκὺν ὀιστόν, ἐπηύτησε δὲ λαός·
'ἰὴ ἰὴ παιῆον, ἴει βέλος'.

At first glance the two versions have little in common. Scholars have looked rather to the opening story of Aetia 4 for Apollonius' source[41]; the Apollonian scholia tell us that Callimachus also somewhere named the Delphic serpent Δελφύνης (fr. 88 Pfeiffer) and if this was, as commonly assumed, in Aetia 4 then this would seem to strengthen the case for eliminating the Callimachean hymn as a possible influence upon Argonautica 2. Even relative poetic chronology is extremely difficult to establish for this period, but the full implications of the possible links between these two passages have not yet been properly explored.

That both poets use the etymological games[42] and changes of person traditionally associated with hymnic style is of no significance for relative chronology; Apollonius certainly did not need the Aetia to teach him the stylistic tricks of vv. 707–710. Of some interest perhaps are the similarity of v. 702, καλὸν Ἰηπαιήον' Ἰηπαιήονα Φοῖβον, to v. 21 of the Callimachean hymn, ὁππόθ' ἰὴ παιῆον ἰὴ παιῆον ἀκούσῃ, and the fact that whereas Apollonius has indicated an etymology for Delphi (cf. above p. 56), Callimachus refers to both names for the holy shrine, Delphi (98) and Pytho (100); no strong argument for priority can, however, be derived from either of these observations. Suggestive also is the word ἐφύμνιον which both poets use. This word is first found here and at Call. fr. 384, 39 (The Victory of Sosibios) where τήνελλα καλλίνικε is described as Ἀρχιλόχου νικαῖον ἐφύμνιον[43]; ἐφύμνιον has been thought to be an invention of Callimachus, but no good argument for this has been produced[44]. The dating of The Victory of Sosibios is notoriously uncertain[45], and

41 Cf., e.g., Wilamowitz, *Hellenistische Dichtung* (Berlin 1924) II 85; Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 88; Eichgrün (n. 3 above) 168–169; there is an interesting and cautious discussion on p. 82 of F. Williams' edition of Call. *Ap.* (Oxford 1978).

42 For the use of etymology in Hellenistic hymns cf. N. Hopkinson, *Callimachus' Hymn to Zeus*, CQ n.s. 34 (1984) 139–148.

43 Eratosthenes too seems to have called τήνελλα καλλίνικε an ἐφύμνιον, cf. Σχ. Pind. *Ol.* 9, 1 (= FGrHist 241 F 44 = Archilochus fr. 324 West). The other Greek words for 'refrain', ἐπιμελῴδημα, ἐπίρρημα, ἐπίφθεγγμα and ἐπῳδός (cf. F. Williams on Call. *Ap.* 98) do not occur in extant literature until a later period, although ἐπιφθέγγεσθαι occurs as early as Aesch. *Ch.* 457, cf. N. Hopkinson (Cambridge 1984) on Call. *Cer.* 1.

44 Certainly not in the works listed in F. Williams' note on Call. *Ap.* 98.

45 Cf. Herter, RE Suppl. 5 (1931) 407; P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972) II 1004–1005; P. J. Parsons, ZPE 25 (1977) 44–45.

Callimachus could have used the word in other now lost poems (for example, the opening of Aetia 4). The sudden appearance of this word in the parallel passages of Callimachus and Apollonius remains curious, however, and it may be worth suggesting that Callimachus' emphatic τοῦτο | Δελφός τοι πρώτιστον ἐφύμνιον εὕρετο (98–99) points to the 'invention' of the word ἐφύμνιον as well as of the ritual cry. A new papyrus could, of course, easily destroy such a speculation. A further point of contact between the two passages is ἐξενάριξεν and κατήναρες. The second half of Ap. Rhod. 2, 706 reproduces a Homeric (Il. 5, 842) verse-ending[46], and Apollonius uses ἐξεναρίζειν in three other places (1, 92; 3, 398. 1226), always at verse-end; 2, 706 is, however, the only occasion when he uses this verb with a non-human object. Callimachus' κατήναρες[47] reproduces a Homeric hapax (Od. 11, 519) and reflects Homeric usage (cf. Il. 21, 485 θῆρας ἐναίρειν). The evidence is thus quite inconclusive, but it may be thought that Callimachus here has slightly the better claim to priority. Two further matters deserve notice. Callimachus leaves us in no doubt about the nature of Apollo's opponent, δαιμόνιος θήρ, | αἰνὸς ὄφις. In Apollonius Δελφύνης is merely given the general epithet πελώριος[48] and there is no explicit indication of what sort of creature it was. We may contrast 4, 1396–1398 where Λάδων, the serpent of the Hesperides, is described explicitly as χθόνιος ὄφις, and Apollonius' obvious interest in dragons is fully displayed at 4, 127–161. His silence at 2, 706 may therefore be added to the cumulative argument that he is writing in this passage with his eye on an already existing poetic version. A final consideration can be adduced which seems to me to add considerably to the weight of this argument.

The derivation of the cry ἰὴ ἰή from ἰέναι (βέλος) will have had a long history before Callimachus and Apollonius. It is visible already, I would suggest, in a brief passage of Timotheus preserved by Macrobius in his discussion of Apollo's titles (PMG 800):

> σύ τ' ὦ τὸν ἀεὶ πόλον οὐράνιον
> λαμπραῖς ἀκτῖσ' Ἥλιε βάλλων,
> πέμψον ἑκαβόλον ἐχθροῖσ⟨ι⟩ βέλος
> σᾶς ἀπὸ νευρᾶς, ὦ ἴε Παιάν.

These verses seem replete with etymological games: ἀεὶ πόλον, ἀεί ... βάλλων, ἑκαβόλον ... βέλος all seem to point to Ἀπόλλων, and ἴε surely picks up, and is thus explained by, πέμψον. Be that as it may, the link between ἰέναι and the ritual cry to Apollo was certainly familiar in the third century[49]. Callimachus

46 Apollonius' aorist follows the text of, inter alios, Zenodotus, cf. Σχ. *Il.* 11, 368 b.

47 Pfeiffer's Index Vocabulorum mistakenly derives κατήναρες from κατεναρίζειν.

48 Cf. *H. Ap.* 374 πέλωρ, Eur. *IT* 1249 γᾶς πελώριον τέρας.

49 Cf. Clearchus fr. 64 W² (Ath. 15, 701 c–d) and Duris, FGrHist 76 F 79 (Et. Mag. 469, 45–47); the same explanation is given later by Aristarchus (Et. Mag. 469, 53) and the scholia to the present passage of Apollonius.

makes the derivation completely clear, but in Apollonius we have only τόξοισι in v. 706 to help us. This may seem not very significant as all of Apollonius' readers (ancient and modern) know already how Apollo killed the dragon, but it is worth noting that until Hermann Fränkel restored ἴη ἴε to the text of v. 712 the whole point of the aetiology was lost on many critics. Thus Seaton, for example, printed Ἰήιε which he translated as 'Healer' without explaining why the nymphs should call Apollo by such a name at this critical moment. At least one intelligent critic thought the nymphs' cry to be merely a meaningless shout of encouragement[50]. That it certainly is not, but it is tempting to ascribe Apollonius' very elliptical treatment of the aetiology to the existence of Callimachus' Hymn. The case is, of course, far from proved, and so I leave it to others to try to draw general literary lessons from the possible links between these two passages[51].

50 Blumberg (n. 6 above) 43.

51 Cf., e.g., M. J. M. Margolies, *Apollonius' Argonautica; A Callimachean Epic* (Diss. Colorado 1981) 147–148. I am grateful to Neil Hopkinson for casting his sceptical eye over an earlier draft of this paper.