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Callimachus on Calaurea: a fresh look at F593 Pf.

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μέσφα Καλαυρείης ἤλθεν ἐς ἀντίδοσιν

“De subiecto ad ἤλθεν nihil constat.” So comments R. Pfeiffer on a fragment (593) which, not surprisingly, he assigns to those Callimachean pieces *incertae sedis*. Who, indeed, is the subject of the verb ἤλθεν, and can we place this fragment? This is the only extant mention of Calaurea in Callimachus. But Callimachus’ colleague Apollonius of Rhodes compares Aeetes setting out in his chariot to watch Jason fight the fire-breathing bulls with Poseidon venturing forth in his chariot to visit his shrines, one of which is Calaurea (*Arg.* 3.1243). Philostephanus of Cyrene, Callimachus’ pupil who supplied both Callimachus and Apollonius with much geographical and mythological information, wrote about Calaurea in his work *On Islands*. According to the scholiast on Apollonius, Philostephanus tells us that Calaurea was sacred to Poseidon (*Sch. A.R.* 3.1243b, p. 255 Wendel = *FHG* III 18):

καὶ ἡ Καλαύρεια δὲ ἱερά ἐστι Ποσειδῶνος, ὡς φησι Φιλοστέφανος¹.

The Apollonian scholiast adds, however, that Calaurea formerly belonged to Apollo, and Pytho (ie. Delphi) to Poseidon, and that they exchanged them:

ἦν δὲ πρότερον μὲν Ἀπόλλωνος, ἡ δὲ Πυθῶ Ποσειδῶνος, καὶ ἀντήμειψαν [οἴονεὶ κατήλλαξαν]².

Similar sentiments are expressed by the scholiasts both on Lycophron 617 (Σ [Tzetz.] *ad* Lycophr. 617):

1 C. Müller includes the words νῆσος οὖσα πρὸς τῇ Τροιζῆνι between καὶ ἡ Καλαύρεια δὲ and ἱερά ἐστι Ποσειδῶνος, but C. Wendel omits them. They appear only in MS P and as a gloss in MS L. We know that the temple of Poseidon on Calaurea (modern Poros in the Saronic Gulf) was a centre of an important archaic Amphictyony, see Strabo 8.6.14; L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* IV (Oxford 1907) 83; T. Kelly, “The Calaurian Amphictyony”, *AJA* 70 (1966) 113–121; A. M. Snodgrass, *The Dark Age of Greece* (Edinburgh 1971) 402. Cp., also, F. Vian, II 1243, n. 5, p. 103.

2 Pfeiffer (F593) wrongly ascribes to Philostephanus, rather than to the Apollonian scholiast, the report of the Calaurea/Pytho exchange. The scholiast’s comments have to be taken in the context of preceding and succeeding remarks on the various shrines of Poseidon catalogued in Apollonius (*Sch. A.R.* 3.1240–1244, pp. 254–255 Wendel). R. L. Hunter, *Apollonius of Rhodes Argonautica III* (Cambridge 1989) *ad loc.*, comments on each of the shrines and lists a number of complementary reasons why Apollonius chooses Poseidon for the simile here.

τοῦ ... γαπέδων ἀμοιβέως] ἀμοιβέα τὸν Ποσειδῶνα λέγει, ὅτι ἐν Δελφοῖς οὕτω τιμᾶται, ἐπεὶ ἠμείψαντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁ μὲν Ἀπόλλων Δελφούς, ὁ δὲ Ποσειδῶν Καλαυρίαν. μάρτυς τούτων καὶ Καλλίμαχος.

and on Aeschylus *Eum.* 27 (*Sch. Aesch.* I, Leipzig 1976, 13b, p. 207 Smith)³:

τὴν Πυθῶ τὴν πρῶην Ποσειδῶνος, ὑπὲρ ἧς Καλαύρειαν ἐδέξατο. Καλλίμαχος· μέσφα Καλαυρείης ἦλθεν ἐς ἀντίδοσιν.

and they both cite Callimachus as a witness of these things. The scholiast on Lycophron interprets Lycophron's use of the epithet γαπέδων ἀμοιβέως (617), 'the Exchanger of Plots', as referring to Poseidon because of his exchange with Apollo of Pytho for Calauria. The scholiast on Aeschylus' *Eumenides* does not mention Apollo by name but refers to Poseidon exchanging Pytho for Calauria, and then quotes the verse μέσφα Καλαυρείης ἦλθεν ἐς ἀντίδοσιν ascribing it to Callimachus. Yet, interestingly, Aeschylus' text seems to argue against it being in Poseidon's power to exchange Pytho for anywhere since it was not his to exchange. Seemingly, it was already Apollo's. For the Pythian Priestess, despite the briefest mention of Poseidon (27), is unequivocal in stating that Zeus made Phoebus Apollo the fourth successor to this oracular throne after Earth, Themis, and Phoebe.

We begin to see a possible solution to this problem of the exchange, however, in the remarks of the first century A.D. commentator on Callimachus' *Aetia* Epaphroditus of Chaeronea who says (F54 Lünzner = F52 Pf. = *Sch. Aesch.* I 16b [MS M], p. 43 Smith) that Delphus, from whom the Delphians took their name, was the son of Poseidon and Melaena, daughter of Cephisus and Deucalion's Melantho:

<Δελφός>] Ἐπαφρόδιτος ἐν ὑπομνήματι Καλλιμάχου αἰτίων β' (= *Aetia II* F52 Pf.) φησί· Μελανθοῦς τῆς Δευκαλίωνος καὶ Κηφισοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ γίνεται Μέλαινα τοῦνομα, Μελαίνης δὲ καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Δελφός, ἀφ' οὗ οἱ Δελφοί.

Thus Poseidon's very early association with Pytho/Delphi is explained by this genealogy of the eponymous Delphus as recorded by Epaphroditus⁴. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff⁵ wonders whether the scholiasts did not take

3 O. L. Smith, here, quotes the scholiast Demetrius Triclinius (T) who worked on this MS "cum scholiis uberrimis" c. A.D. 1325. The earliest extant MS M has the same scholion ad verbum (*Sch. Aesch.* I 27, p. 44 Smith), but often, says Smith (p. X), Demetrius imposed his own comments on MS M, and this is probably what happened in this instance; cp. also Smith's *Studies in the Scholia on Aeschylus I: The Recensions of Demetrius Triclinius* (Leiden 1975) passim.

4 This comes in MS M at v. 1 after a scholiast's quotation from Pindar (F55 Schr. = F55 Sn.-M. = *Sch. Aesch.* I 5b [MS M], p. 43 Smith) referring to Apollo's conquering Pytho by force. T. Stanley (London 1664) drew the Epaphroditus *scholion* to v. 16, and Pfeiffer the *scholion* on Pindar to v. 7.

the Pytho/Calaurea *scholion* at Aesch. *Eum.* 27 and the Pallas Pronaea *scholion* at Aesch. *Eum.* 21, both of which are concerned with the early history of Delphi, from the same commentary of Epaphroditus on Callimachus *Aet.* 2. Pfeiffer (= *Aetia II* FF52.53) believes that from the extant excerpt of Epaphroditus' commentary nothing certain can be established of what Callimachus said, nor can we link the two verses. G. Massimilla (F61 = F52 Pf.) agrees with Pfeiffer. We know, however, of an alternative tradition (Paus. 10.6.4) which holds that Delphus was the son, not of Poseidon and Melaena, daughter of Cephisus, but of Apollo and Melaena, daughter of Cephisus.

It seems to me, therefore, that while the scholiast on *Eumenides* 27 refers to Epaphroditus' note on *Aet.* 2 to explain why the Pythian Priestess should mention Poseidon at all in her *résumé* of early Delphic history, Epaphroditus in his commentary on Callimachus may have been distinguishing the Poseidon/Melaena tradition from the Apollo/Melaena tradition, which in turn would suggest that Callimachus spoke only of the Apollo/Melaena tradition and subsequently of Apollo's sovereignty at Pytho to the exclusion of Poseidon's influence. If this is the case, then it is very unlikely that Callimachus referred to Poseidon as the subject of ἤλθεν exchanging Pytho for Calaurea, at least in this context.

Further, Pausanias (2.33.2) mentions Poseidon's exchange with Apollo of Delphi for Calaurea, but at the same time he refers to an oracle the record of which Strabo (8.6.14) ascribes to Ephorus of Cumae (= *FGrH* 150 F70) who says:

Ἴσόν τοι Δῆλόν τε Καλαύρειάν τε νέμεσθαι
Πυθῶ τ' ἠγαθήν καὶ Ταίναρον ἠνεμόεσσαν.

Strabo goes on to explain that there was an asylum sacred to Poseidon on Calaurea, and that this god had exchanged Delos for Calaurea with Leto, and also Pytho for Taenarum with Apollo⁶:

ἐνταῦθα ἦν ἄσυλον Ποσειδῶνος ἱερόν, καὶ φασὶ τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον
ἀλλάξασθαι πρὸς μὲν Λητῶ τὴν Καλαυρίαν ἀντιδόντα Δῆλον,
πρὸς Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ Ταίναρον ἀντιδόντα Πυθῶ.

This seems to alleviate the sense of confusion generated by the various scholiasts.

Now, it is generally accepted that Leto's sole role in myth seems to have been as the mother of Apollo and Artemis, and that she gave birth to her son Apollo on the island of Delos. Ovid tells us (*Met.* 7.384–385) that Calaurea was

5 U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Einleitung in die Attische Tragödie* (Berlin 1910) 187, n. 128.

6 Taenarum is listed in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 412 as one of the places Apollo sails past on his voyage, but Calaurea is not referred to in the hymn.

Leto's homeland⁷. Did, then, Callimachus somewhere tell of an exchange between Leto and Poseidon of Calaurea for Delos which formed part of the Delian story? And, if so, is F593 Pf. a verse of that Callimachean tale?

If we closely examine verses 28–54 of the Callimachean *Hymn to Delos*, we see that Callimachus, addressing Delos directly, shows that there are many tales surrounding her by asking which she would now want to hear⁸. He then expounds how, right at the very first, Poseidon (not mentioned by name)⁹ smote the mountains with his trident and fashioned the islands in the sea, rolling them into the ocean and rooting them from their foundations (προϋμνόθεν ἐρριζώσε, v. 35) in the depths. But Delos, who was then a maiden called Asteria, shot out of heaven like a star (hence her name) into the sea to escape marriage with Zeus. Leto at that time, says Callimachus, had no connection with Asteria, who was not yet called Delos. Asteria floated freely over the ocean without constraint. Often sailors voyaging from Troezen to Ephyra saw her within the Saronic Gulf, but on their return journey saw no sign of her; she had moved swiftly away to the straits of the narrow Euripus. And on the same day turning her back on the sea of Chalcis she moved again until she came as far as the Sunian headland of the Athenians, or Chios, or Samos. But when she allowed her soil to be the birthplace of Apollo and no longer floated obscurely (ἄδηλος), now planting the roots of her feet amid the waves of the Aegean, seafarers gave her the name *Delos*.

Callimachus follows Pindar (*Paeon* 5.42 [cp. F33c, 6 M.])¹⁰ in giving the original name of Delos as Asteria. Perhaps in Pindar, too, Asteria jumped into the sea to escape marriage with Zeus. At any rate, Pindar is our earliest authority for Asteria being a floating island and then, after the birth of the god, becoming anchored by four pillars and receiving the name Delos (F33d, 5ff. M.)¹¹. He

7 Ovid *Met.* 7.384–385 (with Medea as the subject) reads: *inde Calaureae Letoidos adspicit arva / in volucrem versi cum coniuge conscia regis*. The story of the king and his wife is entirely unknown to us.

8 For a comprehensive catalogue of the many songs on Delos (*pace* the Callimachean scholiast who limits them to αἱ Πινδάρου καὶ Βακχυλίδου. ἔδει δὲ εἰπεῖν πολλά [Pf. *Callimach.* II, p. 67]) see W. H. Mineur, *Callimachus Hymn to Delos. Introduction and Commentary* (Leiden 1984) 75–76, n. 28.

9 By Hellenistic *periphrasis* μέγας θεός (line 30) = Poseidon (cp. *Il.* 8.200 μέγαν θεόν). Somewhat surprisingly Mineur is “far from sure” that Callimachus meant Poseidon here, but Mineur stands alone of both ancient and modern commentators (the Callimachean scholiast remarks λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι ὁ Ποσειδῶν τῇ τριαίνῃ ἀποσπῶν τὰς νήσους ἐποίει).

10 Cp. Pliny *NH* 4.66; *Apld.* 1.4.1; *Ant. Lib.* 35.

11 Significantly, Callimachus makes no mention of the well known alternative for Delos: Ortygia (“Quail Island”: birthplace of Artemis in *H. hom.* 3.16). Nor is there any reference to Asteria being turned into a quail after her jump from heaven (cp. *Apollod. Bibl.* 1.4.1), although the jump from heaven itself is mentioned in the hymn. Cp. M. W. Haslam, “Callimachus’ Hymns” in: M. A. Harder/R. F. Regtuit/G. C. Wakker (edd.), *Callimachus, Hellenistica Groningana I* (Groningen 1993) 117–118, and F. Williams, *Callimachus Hymn to Apollo* (Oxford 1978) 57–58,

siod (*Th.* 405ff.) tells us that Asteria was the daughter of Coeus and Phoebe, and the sister of Leto. The Hellenistic audience's knowledge of this relationship was important for Callimachus even though he does not allude to it in the hymn. The fact that Asteria was a Titanid allowed her to stand up to Hera's threats and to put herself at her sister's disposal more readily. But Callimachus wanted the emphasis to be on Leto rather than on Asteria, and he accomplishes this early in the poem through the device of assimilating Asteria to Delos. At the same time he is careful to dispel any notion of an association between Asteria and Leto prior to Leto's boarding Asteria and Asteria's becoming Delos, rooted in the waves. In a telling couplet (vv. 39–40) Callimachus addresses Delos thus:

τόφρα μὲν οὐπω σοι χρυσέη ἐπεμίσγετο Λητώ,
τόφρα δ' ἔτ' Ἀστερίη σὺ καὶ οὐδέπω ἔκλεο Δῆλος¹².

Clearly, this could only have happened together with the good offices of Poseidon, who would have caused her to strike root as he did with the other islands (cp. πρυμνόθεν ἐρρίζωσε, v. 35), only this time he does it for Leto's sake. The story is reflected in Hyginus *Fab.* 140 where Poseidon raises the island above the waves for Leto to board. It was thanks to Poseidon that Asteria had been allowed to roam free over the oceans in the first place. Now he secures Asteria to give her as Delos to Leto¹³. By accepting Poseidon's gift Leto in effect exchanges Calaurea for Delos: μέσφα Καλαυρείης ἦλθεν ἐς ἀντίδοσιν (F593 Pf.). This should be compared with Callimachus *Hymn to Delos* 47: μέσφ' ἐς Ἀθηναίων προσενήξαι Σούνιον ἄκρον. In Hellenistic literature, μέσφα, when applied with a preposition, is invariably followed by a preposition which governs the accusative case, and the whole phrase means "as far as" (cp. Aratus of Soli *Phaen.* 599 μέσφα παρ' and *AP* 12.97 [Antip. Sid.] μέσφα ποτί)¹⁴. But μέσφα followed by ἐς in particular is an unattested combination outside these two Callimachean verses. The symmetry of the verses is, clearly, striking. And, Cape Sunium, a famous shrine of Poseidon¹⁵ which lies opposite Calaurea in the

n. 59. Also, T. W. Allen/W. R. Halliday/E. E. Sikes (edd.), *The Homeric Hymns* (Oxford 1936) *H. hom.* 3.16.

12 This most important couplet is ably discussed by F. Williams, "Callimachus and the Supranormal" in: M. A. Harder/R. F. Regtuit/G. C. Wakker (edd.), *Callimachus*, Hellenistica Groningana I (Groningen 1993) 222. Cp., also, Mineur *ad loc.*

13 Delos was traditionally anchored immune from earthquakes (synonymous with Poseidon, of course) Herodot. 6.98; Thuc. 2.8; Pliny *NH* 4.16; Macrobian. 3.6.7.

14 Although μέσφα occurs once in Homer (*Il.* 8.508), it is invariably Hellenistic: for its other various applications see Theocr. *Id.* 2.144; Aratus *Phaen.* 725.807; Callim. *H.* 5.55; *H.* 6.93,129; *H.* 3.195; *Hec.* F69.4, p. 220 Hollis; *Hec.* F70.5, p. 233 Hollis; A.R. *Arg.* 2.1227 (a reference omitted, incidentally, by M. Campbell, *Echoes and Imitations of Early Epic in Apollonius Rhodius*, Leiden 1981); Dionys. *Perieget.* 586; Opp. *Hal.* 1.754 (It has been observed that μέσφ' ὄτε "tries to fight its way into Homer's text" at *Od.* 19.223 and 24.310: see A.S. Hollis, *Callimachus Hecale*, Oxford 1990, 220, F69, 4).

15 Aristophanes (*Eq.* 560) mentions the epithet Σουνιάρατε (*Sunium-worshipped*) of Poseidon. A parody of this appears at Aristoph. *Av.* 868: Σουνιέρακε (*Sunium-hawking*). The latter is brack-

Saronic Gulf, is the traditional place where Leto boards Delos, so effecting her exchange of Calaurea¹⁶. We can see here, surely, an intended remembrance by Callimachus of another part of his *œuvre*.

Pfeiffer's F593 must, alas, remain *incertae sedis*, at least for the time being. But that it formed part of a Callimachean account of an exchange between Leto and Poseidon of Calaurea for Delos, and that this was presented by Callimachus as part of the Delian story, is almost certain. So, I suspect, is the notion that Leto was the subject of ἤλθεν. We have Callimachus' word for it.

eted with similarly ludicrous bird-epithets of Apollo, Leto and Artemis respectively (869–871). The epithet of Leto is Ὀρτυγομήτρα, ie. the “Ortygian Mother”; cp. above n. 9. The ὀρτυγομήτρα is a bird which migrates with the quail, periphr. the corncrake or landrail, *rallus crex*, see Cratin. 246; Aristot. *HA* 597^b16; Alex. Mynd. ap. Athen. 9.393a.

16 Cp. Hyper. *Del.* 13 = F67 Jensen; Ael. Arist. *Panath.* 12.157 D; Paus. 1.31.1; Men. Rhet. II p. 210, 11ff. Russell-Wilson. For a representation of the “embarkation scene” see *JbDal* 5 (1890) 216 (a mosaic from Portus Magnus in Algeria, based on Hyg. *Fab.* 140). Cp. Mineur 185, n. 204.