

Abstract: Fr. 54e Harder derives from Heracles' speech to Molorcus before he kills the Nemean Lion in Callimachus' Victoria Berenices. The mention of Melampus at lines 5–6 has been interpreted as a parallel to Heracles' exploit (Parsons) or a reference to an Argive location where Melampus cured the Proetids (Harder). This paper argues that the Hesiodic Catalogue of Women is a plausible intertext for Melampus' Argive affiliation, unifying these two interpretations. Mirroring the structure of the Hesiodic epic, fr. 54e presents a catalogue of Argive hero-kings who through their benefactions (Danaus, assuaging the drought; Melampus, curing the daughters of Proetus; Heracles, killing the lion) parallel Berenice herself. The catalogue reflects Ptolemaic ideology: Berenice's victory expresses her royal charisma, benefits the kingdom, and guarantees its stability.

Introduction

Victoria Berenices is the title that Peter Parsons gave in 1977 to the first elegy in Callimachus' third book of the *Aetia*. This poem celebrates the chariot victory Queen Berenice II won in the Nemean Games sometime in the first half of the 240s BCE. Fr. 54e derives from Heracles' discourse to Molorcus. It includes mythological material, which, in spite of its extremely lacunose condition, can be restored to a satisfactory degree thanks to the Latin outline Probus provides.¹ However, Probus does not explain the mythological reference at fr. 54e.5–6, which the following discussion examines.

Most editors and commentators (Lloyd-Jones and Parsons 1983, D'Alessio 2007, Massimilla 2010) have accepted the interpretation of Peter Parsons (1977). According to this, Callimachus refers in this line to the seer Melampus and the way in which he healed the Thessalian prince Iphiclus (or Iphicles) of his sterility.² In this manner, Parsons argues, Callimachus employs Melampus as a role-

* Callimachus' *Aetia* is cited according to the edition of Harder (2012). All translations are my own.

¹ Fr. 60c.4–6: *impetrauit ab eo Hercules, ut eum seruaret, immolaturus uel uictori ... uel uicto...* "Heracles admonished him [sc. Molorcus] to preserve the ram and to sacrifice the animal to him on the occasion of his victory ... or defeat ..." ~ fr. 54e.10–19.

² Cf. Apollod. 1.9.12; Frazer (1921) vol. 2, 350–5.

model for Heracles. Nonetheless, Parsons does not specify how this allusion fits in with the mention of Danaus at the previous line. In her recent commentary Annette Harder (2012) lists Parsons' interpretation, but prefers another one: Melampus is known to have cured the daughters of the Argive king Proetus;³ accordingly Callimachus refers to a location in Argos where this episode took place. Harder's interpretation has the added benefit of restoring a sense of coherence in fr. 54e: all references in these lines (i.e. to Danaus, Melampus and Heracles) are associated with locations in Argos. The following discussion shows that these interpretations are not at odds with each other, but can be combined. Specifically, I provide parallels from Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women* that explain the inclusion of Melampus in the Argive mythic landscape of fr. 54e. Accordingly, I argue that Callimachus translates the Hesiodic catalogue in geographical terms. The locale of the Nemean Games commemorates the area in which Heracles kills the lion, offering parallels to Argive locations that memorialize the exploits of Danaus (assuaging the Argive drought) and Melampus (curing the daughters of Proetus). This interpretation not only restores the continuity of the text, it also suggests that the Argive sites Heracles lists are associated with beneficent Argive hero-kings (Danaus and Melampus), who function as models for Heracles and Berenice. By juxtaposing the myth of Danaus with Heracles' killing of the lion, Callimachus invites the reader to construe the symbolic significance of Heracles' task in light of Danaus' benefaction to Argos. Danaus eliminates aridity, and Heracles kills the lion. Aridity thus parallels the desolation the lion causes to the Argives. Embedded as it is in the juxtaposition of Heracles with Danaus, the reference to Melampus suggests a similar significance for Melampus' achievement—that is, the healing of Proetus' daughters, whereby he also becomes king of Argos. The arrangement and selection of these beneficent Argive kings sheds new light on Callimachus' praise discourse. First, the genealogy of Argive kings in fr. 54e gains importance in light of Ptolemaic propaganda, according to which the Ptolemaic dynasty descended from

³ Hesiod fr. 37, 129–33 M.-W. See also Vian (1965) 25–30; Gantz (1993) 311–13.

Heracles and through him from Danaus.⁴ Second, the reference to Danaus links fr. 54e in particular with Berenice and her royal role: the discovery or creation of springs and rivers is a prominent motif in Callimachus' court poetry (e.g. *Hymn to Zeus*, *Hymn to Delos*) that translates the Egyptian association between the monarch and the rising of the Nile into Greek terms. Third, the catalogue of Argive kings in fr. 54e relates to the Ptolemaic belief in royal athletic victories as benefaction to the subjects of the king, guaranteeing stability and prosperity.⁵ By securing a victory at the Nemean Games, Berenice imitates her royal forefathers (Danaus, Melampus, and Heracles), exhibits her royal charisma, and makes her own contribution to the well-being of her consort's realm.

Melampus in Hesiod

The earliest references to Melampus are found in the *Odyssey*. The perfunctory style of these references suggests that the myth of Melampus was already well-known to Homer's audience.⁶ Our knowledge of the myth is complemented by sporadic references in later authors such as Pherecydes, Theocritus, Apollonius, and Apollodorus.⁷ Nonetheless, the fullest poetic treatment of the myth that can contextualize the references in the *Odyssey* as well as in Callimachus' *Victoria Berenices* is offered by Hesiod. Hesiod is reported to have returned to the story of Melampus repeatedly in various poems, dedicating even whole epics to this famous seer and his progeny.⁸ With the exception of two considerable fragments from the *Catalogue of Women*, all other Hesiodic accounts have not survived. The significance of the two surviving accounts is paramount because Callimachus

⁴ For the genealogy, see Pind. *Nem.* 10.1–18; Eur. *Archelaos* (*TrGF* 5 fr. 228a); Theoc. 17.13–33; *OGIS* 54.1–5; Satyrus (*FGrHist* 631 F 1). Cf. also Acosta-Hughes and Stephens (2012) 168–70.

⁵ For this aspect of athletic victories in Ptolemaic Egypt, see Fantuzzi (2005) 263–4; Crowther (2010) 26; Barbantani (2012) 45–6; Lehmann (2012).

⁶ *Od.* 11.287–97; 15.231–8; cf. Fenik (1974) 235–73; Harrauer (1999); Pellizer (2002). πολυμήλου at *Il.* 2.705 might presuppose the same myth.

⁷ Pherec. *FGrHist* 3 F 33; Theoc. 3.43–5; A. R. 1.119–21; Apollod. 1.9.12. See also Dowden (1989) 97–115; Gantz (1993) 185–6.

⁸ The Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (fr. 37 M.-W.), the *Megalai Ehoiai* (fr. 261 M.-W.) and the *Melampodia* (fr. 270–9 M.-W.), all told the same story; cf. Schwartz (1960) 211, 369–77; Löffler (1963) 31–40.

conflates the accounts in the Hesiodic *Catalogue* to fashion his own catalogue of Argive heroes in fr. 54e.

The Hesiodic *Catalogue* refers to Melampus in two different sections of the epic. The first time the narrator deals with Melampus is in book 1 of the *Catalogue* where he describes the stemma of the descendants of Aeolus. Fr. 37 M.-W. tells the story of Neleus' daughter, Pērō, and her courting by Melampus' brother, Bias.⁹ In order to be allowed to marry Pērō, Bias had to steal the cattle of Phylacus, king of Phylakē in Thessaly. Melampus took the difficult task upon himself (fr. 37.2–3 M.-W.). He was arrested (fr. 37.4 M.-W.) but was allowed to return to Pylos with the cattle. Hesiod's text focuses on the stealing of the cattle by Melampus, without making any reference, at least in the surviving lines, to either Phylacus or his son Iphiclus:¹⁰

ἀργαλέα[ς]· μοῦνος δ' ὑπ[εδέξατο μάντις ἀμύμων.
καὶ τὸ μὲ[ν] ἐξε[τ]έλεσσε, β[
δεσμὸν ἀεικὲς ἔχων [
μνᾷτο γὰρ αὐτοκασίγν[ή]τῳ, ἥρῳι Βίαντι, 5
ἦνυέ θ['] ἱμερόεντα γάμ[ον
βοῦς ἔλικας, καὶ ἄεθλον ἀμ[ύμονα δέξατο κούρην.
Πηρῶ δ' [ή]ύκομος Ταλα[ὸν
γείνατο παῖδα Βιάντ[ος] 9

difficult; the noble seer alone took up the challenge
and he carried it out
suffering an unseemly bond
For he wooed her on behalf of his brother, hero Bias 5
and he accomplished the lovely wedding
cows with curved horns, and he received as prize the
blameless maiden.
Pērō of the beautiful hair ... to Talaus
gave birth, son of Bias 9

⁹ Cf. West (1985) 65; Hirschberger (2004) 249–53. See also Harrauer (1999) 135–9 for the older version according to which Pērō was wooed by Melampus, not Bias.

¹⁰ Fr. 37.4 M.-W. (δεσμὸν ἀεικὲς ἔχων []) corresponds to similar phrases in the *Odyssey* (11.293, δεσμοί τ' ἀργαλέοι; 15.231–2 ἐνὶ μεγάροις Φυλάκοιο | δεσμῷ ἐν ἀργαλέῳ δέδετο...) and alludes to Melampus' year-long captivity by Phylacus or his son Iphiclus (so at *Od.* 11.295–6); cf. Schwartz (1960) 546.

The Hesiodic narrator insets a note that concerns Melampus and Bias' links to Argos. Melampus and Bias shared the kingdom of Proetus, because Melampus cured Proetus' daughters from an affliction sent by Dionysus:¹¹

οἱ δὲ καὶ εἰς Ἄργος Προῖ[το]ν πά[ρα] δῖον ἵκοντο, 10
ἐνθά σφιν μετέδωκε
Ἰφθ[ι]μος Προῖτος κλήρον .[
ἵπποδάμῳ τε [Βί]αντι [Μελάμποδι θ'
μαντοσύνης ἰήσατ', ἐπεὶ ἐφ[
ήλοσύνην ἐνέηκε χολωσα[μεν- 15

[Melampus and Bias] also arrived in Argos at the house
of noble Proetus 10
where he gave them shares of
strong Proetus piece of land
to Bias, tamer of horses, and Melampus
healed by his art of divination, because
angered sent them insanity... 15

There is no proper link between the Thessalian and Argive episodes of Melampus' myth. The two episodes are presented one after the other in the additive (paratactic) style typical of archaic epic:

Fr. 37 M.-W. (Stemma of Neleus)

Thessalian episode:

1–4. Melampus' exploit: Melampus steals Phylacus' cattle.

5–9. Narrative Background: Bias was courting Neleus' daughter, Pērō.

Argive Episode

10–13. Melampus' exploit: Melampus acquires a share of the Argive kingship.

14–15. Narrative background: Melampus cured the daughters of King Proetus.

The combination of Thessalian (1–9) and Argive (10–15) material and the connection of Melampus with the royal

¹¹ Dowden (1989) 74–6 argues against the *communis opinio* that in this fragment Melampus cures the women of Argos rather than the daughters of Proetus. This makes little difference to the argument presented here since in all versions Melampus ends up gaining a portion of Argos.

house of Argos are two elements that bring Callimachus' fr. 54e close to the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, providing a first inkling about the Argive context in which Callimachus situates Melampus.

The possibility that Callimachus similarly combines Melampus and the Argive royal house in fr. 54e is strengthened by the consideration of another possible intertext, *Od.* 15.225–55. These lines provide the genealogical background of Theoclymenus, a descendant of Melampus.¹² Lines 225–38 offer an outline of the Pylian part of Melampus' past: his feud with Neleus, his year-long captivity at Phylakē, and his successful theft of the Thessalian cattle. The narrator references neither Phylacus nor Iphiclus. Line 238 provides an abrupt transition to the Argive part of the myth. Again the story is given in its barest outlines, ignoring Proetus and his daughters. Even so, the poet reports that Melampus attains the kingship of Argos, instituting his own royal line (238–40):

ὁ δ' ἄλλων ἵκετο δῆμον,
Ἄργος ἐς ἵππόβοτον· τόθι γάρ νύ οἱ αἰσίμον ἦεν
ναιέμεναι πολλοῖσιν ἀνάσσοντ' Ἀργείοισιν.

[Melampus] reached another land,
Argos grazed by horses; for there it was his destiny
to stay, reigning over many Argives.

The digression concludes with a description of Melampus' descendants. The genealogical character of this reference brings this passage and the Hesiodic *Catalogue* quite close to each other. The exact connection between these two epics is not clear;¹³ what is of import is that both exemplify how a reference to Melampus' Thessalian exploits can lead to his eventual role as king of Argos, offering a guide about how to appreciate Melampus' connection with the Argive heroes mentioned in Callimachus' fr. 54e. In addition, the fact that the poet of the *Odyssey* does not reference explicitly the healing of Proetus' daughters, the reason Melampus becomes king in all post-Homeric accounts, may suggest that he relies upon his audience's knowledge of this episode. If that is the case, the *Odyssey* provides further evidence in support of the

¹² Cf. Harrauer (1999) 139–42.

¹³ Cf. Heubeck (1954) 19–22.

proposed reading of Callimachus' fragment. It also suggests that, whether Callimachus references explicitly or alludes to the Proetids in fr. 54e or not, he could very easily expect his readers to provide the link between Melampus and Argos, taking his cue from the Homeric passage.

The Hesiodic *Catalogue* references Melampus a second time in book 2 in the section dealing with the descendants of Danaus (fr. 127–36 M.-W.).¹⁴ The story of Melampus is embedded here in the entry for Proetus. The following chart summarizes the myths and people mentioned in this part of Hesiod's epic:

Stemma of Danaus

1. Hypermestra gives birth to Abas (fr. 129.1–3 M.-W.). Abas fathers two twin sons, Acrisius and Proetus (fr. 129.4–9 M.-W.).
2. Story of Acrisius, king of Argos, and his daughter Danaë (A): birth of Perseus (fr. 129.10–15 M.-W.).
3. Story of Proetus, king of Tiryns:¹⁵
 - (a) punishment of his daughters by Hera (fr. 129.16–25 M.-W.)—cf. fr. 130–3 M.-W.;
 - (b) their healing by Melampus;
 - (c) Melampus and Bias acquire two thirds of the Argive kingdom.
4. Story of Acrisius, king of Argos, and his daughter Danaë (B):
 - (a) Perseus (fr. 135.1–6 M.-W.).
 - (b) progeny of Perseus, including Heracles' mortal father, Amphitryon (fr. 135.6–11 M.-W.).

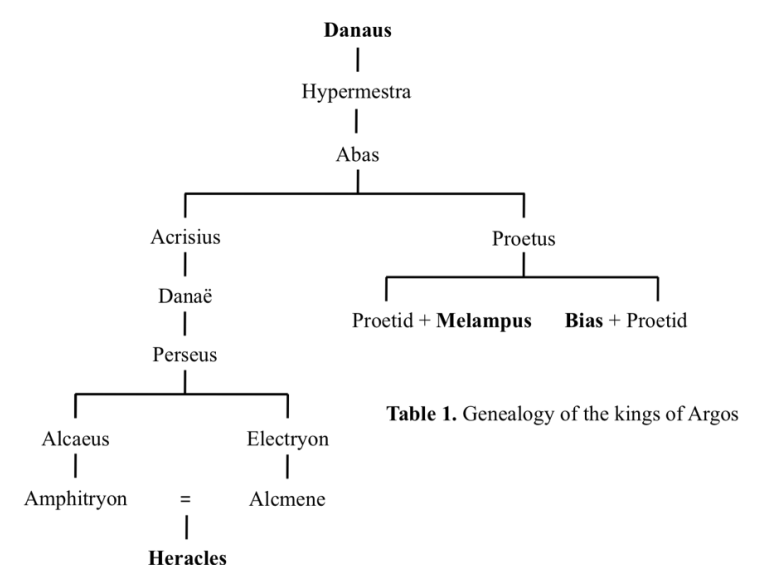
The narrator mentions first Acrisius, Proetus' twin brother, and Acrisius' daughter, Danaë, but quickly moves to Proetus and his daughters. As is expected, he focuses on their affliction, which is here attributed to Hera, rather than to Dionysus.¹⁶ Melampus is probably mentioned as curing

¹⁴ The descendants of Inachus take up book 2 and part of book 3. West (1985) 76–82 attributes the Argive genealogies to book 2.

¹⁵ Tradition wavers in situating Proetus' kingdom in either Tiryns (Hesiod fr. 129 M.-W.; Bacch.11) or Argos (*Il.* 6.157–9; Hesiod fr. 37 M.-W.; Pind. *Nem.* 10.40–1).

¹⁶ Cf. West (1985) 78–9. The author of the Proetids' suffering is identified variously in our sources. They are punished either by Dionysus because they despise his cult (Hes. fr. 131 M.-W.; Diod. Sic. 4.68.4) or by

Proetus’ daughters although the relevant section of the text has not been recovered.¹⁷ The *testimonia* do not explicitly mention that Melampus, or Bias, get a share of Proetus’ kingdom, but the list of his descendants implies as much (fr. 136 M.-W.): Melampus marries one of Proetus’ daughters; so his children are among Inachus’ descendants. Also, one notes that the episode of Melampus’ healing the daughters of Proetus concludes in ring composition with the return to Acrisius and the descendants of his daughter Danaë, which includes Heracles’ mortal father, Amphitryon, and his expedition against the Teleboans (fr. 135.6–11 M.-W.). By means of this structural device, Melampus is incorporated into the royal line Danaus founded (Table 1). A similar genealogical frame operates in the *Victoria Berenices*, offering a vantage point from which one can best appreciate the mention of Melampus in fr. 54e. In particular, the sequence Danaus, Melampus, Heracles in Callimachus parallels the sequence Danaus, Melampus, Amphitryon in the Hesiodic *Catalogue*.



The examination of the two Hesiodic versions provided in the *Catalogue of Women* as well as that of the *Odyssey* suggests

Hera in revenge for a hubristic boast (Acusilas [fr. 28 Fowler]; Bacch. 11.43–52; Pherecydes [fr. 114 Fowler]).

¹⁷ Cf. West (1985) 79–81.

that narratives about Melampus are standardized to such a degree that one expects specific episodes to be mentioned in connection with his name. Melampus is generally associated with the help he offers his brother Bias to wed Pērō. In his effort to steal the cattle of Phylacus or Iphiclus, Melampus is imprisoned and cures the latter (although this episode is not referenced in either the *Odyssey* or the *Catalogue of Women*). This Thessalian myth is combined by both Homer and Hesiod with an Argive one that concerns Melampus' becoming king of Argos alongside Proetus and Bias. The *Odyssey* shows that mention of Melampus' curing of the Proetids is not necessary to establish the connection between the two myths probably because it can be easily supplied by the audience. All archaic versions agree that Melampus became king of Argos,¹⁸ suggesting that this aspect of the myth is crucial to a proper appreciation of his mention in the *Victoria Berenices*.

Argive Mythology and Landscape in fr. 54e

Fr. 54e stems from Heracles' discussion with Molorcus before Heracles kills the lion. Heracles discloses his intention to slay the beast, which he designates as τέρα[ς ("monster") (1) and ἄλᾱτην ("ruin") of the Argive people (2). At the same time, Heracles alludes to the myth of Danaus (4) and likely to that of Melampus (5–6). In particular, Heracles refers to the "big well of Danaus" and presumably to the curing of some person by Melampus: the identity of the person healed at lines 5–6 is unclear, but the participle σμήξας ("having wiped") at line six possibly reproduces a detail from the curing of Iphiclus.¹⁹ Fr. 54e also comprises Heracles' statement that success in his imminent endeavor will prove his descent from Zeus (9–10) as well as instructions to Molorcus regarding the sacrifices due, whether Heracles should die or survive the task (11–19).

.....].δε κανὼν τέρα[ς 1
 εἴτε μιν Ἀργείων χρή με καλεῖν ἄλᾱτην
].ωναιτεπαρηχειε.[
]. Δαναοῦ φρεῖατι παρ μεγάλ-

¹⁸ By contrast, Pindar's *Paean* 4 (fr. 52d.28–29 Sn.-M. = D4.28–29 Rutherford) seems to suggest that Melampus declined to leave Pylos and become king of Argos; cf. Rutherford (2001) 287–8.

¹⁹ Melampus restored Iphiclus' fertility by rubbing the rust from Phylacus' knife and pouring it into Iphiclus' wine; cf. Harder (2012) vol. 2, 468 note on line 54e.6.

Fr. 54e is too fragmentary to allow any certainty, but scholars seem to agree with Parsons that Heracles juxtaposes the services he will render to Molorcus by killing the lion with those offered by Melampus to his brother, Bias.²¹ The second person singular verb that Heracles uses at line eight (ἔσσεαι> “you will be”) indicates that βουκτέανος (“rich in cattle”) is an attribute that Molorcus will acquire in the future.²² Since Heracles refers to his imminent defeat of the lion, it is reasonable to assume that Molorcus will become βουκτέανος as a result of Heracles’ success and in return for Molorcus’ hospitality to him—note ξεινοσύνη (“hospitality”) at line 17.²³

While the above interpretation is plausible, it does not explain the exact way in which the reference to Melampus is associated with Argos. The use of the preposition πᾶρ at line four indicates that Heracles refers to a location in Argos that memorializes Danaus’ discovery of springs there. It remains to be seen how Heracles transitions from what is unmistakably a geographical reference (i.e. “the big well of Danaus”) to a mythological allusion to Melampus. Two suppositions help restore the coherence of the text: first, similar to Melampus, Danaus serves as a model for Heracles; second, as is the case with Danaus’ well, the reference to Melampus is tied to an Argive location.

First, we need to address why Danaus is included in this part of the *Victoria Berenices*. The reference “to the big well of Danaus” is puzzling; tradition preserves no mention of a well

Nem. 1.35–50; fr. 52u Sn.-M.; Theoc. 24). The genitive Ἰφικλεῖος, albeit possible on linguistic grounds, is not attested again; see, however, *SH* 903A.11 (Ἡρακλεῖος ἀνακτ[ος]) for a similar genitive, although the reading is contested. Callimachus uses Ἰφίκλειος once more at fr. 75.46 as an adjective to refer to Iphiclus, son of Phylacus (οὐ σφυρὸν Ἰφίκλειον ἐπιτρέχον ἀσταχύεσσιν “neither the ankle of Iphiclus, running on corn ears”); cf. Harder (2012) vol. 2, 627–8 *ad loc.* As Harder also points out, the episode preferred by Durbec can hardly explain the use of σμήξας (“having wiped”) in the following line.

²¹ Cf. Lloyd-Jones and Parsons (1983) 115–16 *ad SH* 260A.5–6; D’Alessio (2007) vol. 2, 460n25; Massimilla (2010) 283–6.

²² One can suppose that Heracles quotes the speech of Melampus to Bias. Regardless, in quoting Melampus, Heracles would underline the similarities between the two situations, that of Bias and that of Molorcus.

²³ Heracles’ promise to Molorcus is not without problems. In the end, Heracles sent a mule to his host, rather than cattle (fr. 54i.19–20). The dearth of evidence prevents the solution of this question.

or its location. One hears of the springs discovered by Danaus' daughters,²⁴ but there is nothing explicit about a specific grand well. Consequently, it is either an allusion to an obscure detail that we can no longer recover or a Callimachean innovation.²⁵ Whatever the case, the specificity or obscurity of this mythic detail suggests that it is not a passing reference to a well-known site, but that Callimachus intends the reader to recall the myth of Danaus' finding springs in Argos and juxtapose it with those of both Melampus and Heracles. Furthermore, as Giulio Massimilla (2010: 283 *ad* line 4) points out, Danaus has already been mentioned twice before in the *Victoria Berenices*: first at fr. 54.4 (Δαναοῦ γῆς ἀπὸ βουγενένοιο "from the land of cow-born Danaus") in connection with the location of the Nemean Games, and second at fr. 54a.6 (Δαναοῦ δε[]). In both cases, Danaus is represented as the progenitor of the *laudanda* via Heracles (see Table 1 above). This repetition indicates Danaus' similar significance in fr. 54e as well as his relevance for Callimachus' praise of Berenice.

The evidence of Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus* and *Delos* suggests that the theme of "creating water and curing aridity" is intrinsic to the praise of Ptolemaic monarchs and probably reflects, as Susan Stephens has shown, the influence of Egyptian royal ideology: in both hymns the creation of water is the result of the actions of gods that operate as divine parallels to the Ptolemaic king.²⁶ The dryness of the Arcadian landscape in the *Hymn to Zeus* recalls that of Argos—the birth of Zeus paralleling in this regard the benefaction of Danaus.²⁷

²⁴ This tradition about Danaus is reflected in the adjective πολυδίψιον ("very thirsty") Argos bears in the *Iliad* (4.171) and the epic *Thebaid* (fr. 1.1 West); cf. Drews (1979) 134; Davies (2014) 44 *ad loc.* The first explicit attestation of the myth is offered by Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women* (128 M.-W.): Ἄργος ἄνυδρον ἔδν Δανααὶ θέσαν Ἄργος ἔνυδρον (or εὔνυδρον) "the daughters of Danaus made 'dry Argos' 'well-watered Argos'"; cf. Schwartz 1960: 368–9; Hirschberger (2004) 292–3. This connection provides a first indication of the importance of the Hesiodic epic in the discussion of Callimachus' fragment.

²⁵ Nonetheless, Strabo (8.6.8) talks of four wells associated with Danaus' daughters; cf. Massimilla (2010) 324–5 *ad* 7s.; Harder (2012) vol. 2, 539 *ad* 66,7–8.

²⁶ Cf. Stephens (2002) 248; (2003) 96–102.

²⁷ Callimachus even references the textual fluctuation in Hesiod's fr. 128 M.-W.: [...] ἔτι δ' ἄβροχος ἦεν ἅπασα | Ἀζηνίς· μέλλεν δὲ μάλ' εὔνυδρος

In the *Hymn to Delos* the birth of Apollo is associated with the rising of Inopos, represented as the Greek version of the Nile. Inopos is not only connected with the Nile, but its flooding also coincides with that of the Egyptian river (206–8).²⁸ Seen in this light, the myth of Danaus' discovery of the Argive springs acquires archetypal significance and restates in Greek terms the rising of the Nile associated in Egyptian thought with the king's cosmic role. Accordingly, in fr. 54e the reference to Danaus indexes Danaus' royal role and the relevance of his myth to the public role of the Ptolemaic sovereign. At the same time, looking back to the earlier mentions of Danaus in the *Victoria Berenices*, fr. 54e.4 reactivates the genealogical implications prominent in fr. 54–54a, signposting the beginning of a new genealogy that traces the line of the kings of Argos from Danaus to Heracles.

The full implications of the allusion to the myth of Danaus in fr. 45e are best illustrated by taking into consideration the *aition* of the Argive springs which is also from the third book of the *Aetia*. Fr. 65–66 associate the Argive springs discovered by Danaus' daughters with a series of ritual acts related to the cult of Hera in Argos.²⁹ In so doing, Callimachus acknowledges the etiological story behind one of these springs—Amymone (fr. 66.2). Amymone slept with Poseidon. As a reward, Poseidon created the spring named after her. Fr. 54a, right after the proem of the *Victoria Berenices*, preserves the name of the nymph (fr. 54a.2). The reference to “the descendants of Inachus” (Ἰναχ[ίδαι]ς) at line two suggests that Amymone is presented in a genealogical frame. However, the mention of Amymone's name is only one aspect of a more intricate pattern of correspondences between the *Victoria Berenices*, and fr. 65–66. Fr. 54a seems to describe the victorious race in connection with Amymone and the descendants of Io (Table 2), mentioning specifically Danaus, Aegyptus, and Proetus.³⁰

καλέεσθαι “still lacking in water | was the whole of Azenis; it was about to be called well-watered” (19–20); cf. Stephens (2003) 98–9.

²⁸ Cf. Lyc. *Alex.* 575–6; Call. *Hymn* 3.171; see also Mineur (1984) 186 *ad loc.*; Stephens (2015) 213 note on lines 206–8.

²⁹ Cf. Massimilla (2010) 319; Harder (2012) vol. 2, 529.

³⁰ Cf. Massimilla (2010) 236–7; Acosta-Hughes and Stephens (2012) 185–6; Harder (2012) vol. 2, 414.

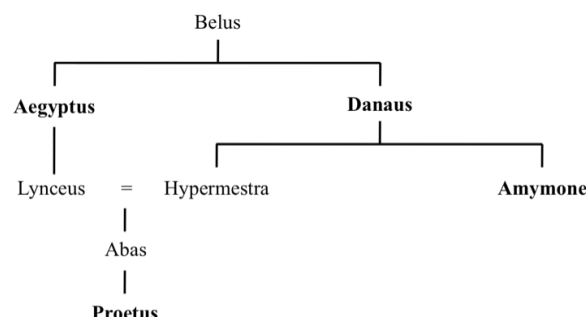


Table 2. Inachid stemma in fr. 54a

The juxtaposition of Berenice with Amymone is part of Callimachus' praise discourse and, accordingly, the reference to Danaus in fr. 54e ought to be seen in such light. Both women are addressed as *nympha*, and in both cases the term oscillates ambiguously between the meanings "bride" and "nymph".³¹ The association of marital status and divine honors that this ambiguity conveys is part of Callimachus' strategy and recalls the representation of heroines in the Hesiodic *Catalogue*.³² Similar to Hesiod Callimachus embeds the myth of Argive springs in a clear genealogical frame. Through this device fr. 66 sheds light on the catalogue of fr. 54e. Danaus' daughters are hailed twice at the beginning and ending of fr. 66 as "heroines, descendants of Io, daughter of Iasus" (fr. 66.1, ἡρώσσαι [...] ἰᾶς ἰασιδος νέπ[ο]δες) and "descendants of Pelasgus" (fr. 66.9, Πελασγιάδες). The feminine coloring is reminiscent of the Hesiodic *Catalogue* as is also the major incident described—that of the union

³¹ Cf. Acosta-Hughes and Stephens (2012) 185–7. Fr. 54.2 "*nymph*, sacred blood of the Sibling Gods" (νύμφα κα[σιγνή]των ἱερὸν αἶμα θεῶν) ~ fr. 66.2 "water *nymph* of Poseidon" (νύμφα Π[οσειδάωνος] ἐφυδριάς). Cf. Harder (2012) vol. 2, 545 *ad loc.* If Lehnus' supplement at fr. 66.1 ([φ]α[λ]ιάς) is correct, the adjective attributed to Io, connects her to Apis at fr. 54.16 (φαλίων τ. α. ἰόν). The Argive women tasked with weaving Hera's sacred garment (fr. 66.3) parallel the Colchian women mourning Apis (fr. 54.14–16), possibly praised on account of their weaving skills. Genealogical implications are further supported by the following correspondence: ἱερὸν αἶμα θεῶν (fr. 54.2) ~ Αἴγυπτος γενεῆς αἶμα' αἶ (fr. 54a.8): the inclusion of Berenice in the royal family means her inclusion in the Argive line of Io.

³² Arsinoë II or Arsinoë III is identified with spring nymphs in an epigram from a *nymphaeum* at Alexandria; cf. Kampakoglou (2015) 122, 152–3.

between a mortal woman (Amymone) and a god (Poseidon).³³ This union mirrors that of Berenice with another god, Ptolemy III.³⁴ In both cases, a woman benefits her people through her marriage. Amymone is rewarded with a spring that assuages the drought caused by her divine lover;³⁵ Berenice's victory guarantees the stability of the kingdom, supporting her consort's role.³⁶ The astonishing appellation *Pelasgiades* invests the Danaids with credentials of Argive autochthony since it lays claim to a traditional designation of the Argive people.³⁷ This detail along with the replacement of the better-known Inachus with the mysterious Iasus indicates that the fluidity characterizing the Danaids *qua* springs matches the fluidity in Callimachus' rendition of Argive genealogy.³⁸ Blurring the distinction between Argive and non-Argive recalls the juxtaposition of Danaus with Apis in fr. 54 as well as that of Danaus with Melampus in fr. 54e. In all three passages Callimachus focuses on the arrival of foreigners and their acclimatization to the Argive landscape. Accordingly, if Danaus' well in fr. 54e alludes to the springs discovered by the Danaids, as I suggest, then the mention of Danaus' name in this context reflects also the colonial exploitation of Danaus' myth in Ptolemaic poetry.³⁹ As Mary Depew (2007) has shown, springs play a prominent role in Callimachus' legitimization of Ptolemaic sovereignty on Egyptian soil. As geographical landmarks and nubile nymphs, springs allow Greek poets to combine the mobility of the newcomer, represented by the personified

³³ Cf. in particular the proem of the *Catalogue* (fr. 1.4–5 M.-W.): μίτρας τ' ἀλλύσαντο .[| μισγόμεναι θεοῖσιν ("undid their girdles ... | mingling with gods").

³⁴ Both Berenice II and her consort, Ptolemy III, received divine honors during their lifetime; cf. Quaegebeur (1989) 99; Hölbl (2001) 96, 105.

³⁵ Cf. Apollod. 2.13; Paus. 2.15.5.

³⁶ See works cited at n. 5 above. Similar considerations permeate the representation of Berenice in the roughly contemporary *Coma Berenices* (frr. 110–110f), on which see Selden (1998) 343–54. The actualization of this tenet of Egyptian ideology agrees and mirrors Berenice's Amazon-like persona that Hellenistic poets cultivate in their depiction of her; cf. Clayman (2014) 79–89, 105–20.

³⁷ Cf. Harder (2012) vol. 2, 540–1 *ad loc.* Cf. also Ἰναχ[ίδα]ς at fr. 54a.2.

³⁸ For the combination of metapoetic and colonial discourses in Callimachus' use of springs, see Depew (2007).

³⁹ Cf. Depew (2007): 159–60.

nymph, with the geographical fixity of the water body named after her. In this manner, although the water nymphs retain a link to a country far away, they become irrevocably fixed in the landscape of their new homeland. The descent of the Ptolemies from Danaus best captures the peculiarity of their position, maintaining links with both Egypt and Argos.

The mention of Io at fr. 66.1 like that of Danaus *bougenēs* at 54.4 and of his *phrear* at 54e.4 marks the inclusion of Argive genealogical discourse in Callimachus' poem. Seen from this vantage point, fr. 66 highlights the significance of Argive women against the background of male royal figures. This theme is pertinent for the understanding of fr. 54e: Berenice's victory is praised against the background set by Argive kings. The *aition* of the Argive springs offers a hermeneutical key that supports the proposed reading of the catalogue in fr. 54e. In addition, the mythological and structural commonalities between fr. 54e and 65 point towards another aspect of the catalogue of Argive hero-kings in fr. 54e which refracts one of the major themes of Callimachus' praise of Berenice in this elegy.

Fr. 66 refers to the ritual cleansing of maidens selected to weave the sacred garment (3, πάτος) for the statue of Hera, patron goddess of Argos. The triangulation of Hera as patroness of Argos and goddess of married life, Argive springs, and maidens brings fr. 54e and 66 closer together. In the stories of both Danaus and Melampus groups of virgins transition to womanhood as a consequence of a ritual act associated with springs in Argos. Amymone is a characteristic case in point: she loses her virginity in the vicinity of the spring that will later be connected with Hera's rites. The Proetids, we have already seen, are healed of an affliction sent by Hera in some accounts through Melampus' use of Argive springs.⁴⁰ Eventually, like the Danaids, the daughters of Proetus conform to standards of feminine propriety by becoming the consorts of Melampus and Bias. Marrying these

⁴⁰ Cf. Servius on *Ecl.* 6.48; Vitruvius 8.3.21; Pellizer (2002) 196. In the *Hymn to Artemis* (233–6), Callimachus follows the version of Bacchylides (11.95–103): Proetus restores his daughters to sanity at the Arcadian river Lousos through the agency of Artemis, not Melampus. Relevant material could have figured in Callimachus' treatise on rivers (cf. Suid. s.v. Καλλιμαχος (Pfeiffer (1949–1953) vol. 2, xciv); fr. 457–9 Pf.) or wonders, which included anecdotal material on rivers and springs (cf. fr. 407 Pf.: esp. entries v–xxxvii).

newcomers, they incorporate them into the genealogy of Argive kings and assume their own places in the continuous chain that perpetuates the progeny of Zeus. The analogy to Berenice is evident: through her marriage to Ptolemy III, Berenice is included in the fiction of royal incest promulgated at fr. 54.2 (“sacred blood of the Sibling Gods”) and becomes part of the procreative chain that spans from Danaus and Heracles to her husband and his heirs. If this reading is correct, the theme of marriage and succession underlies the catalogue presented in fr. 54e, bringing it closer to the point of view of the Hesiodic *Catalogue*. In addition, Heracles’ proclaimed purpose to prove his descent from Zeus (fr. 54e.10) complements the genealogical implications of two previous entries, rounding off the discourse initiated by the mention of Danaus. In transitioning from maidenhood to womanhood, an issue of some importance to Ptolemaic court poets, as Dee Clayman (2014) has recently shown, Berenice imitates not only Danaus and Melampus but also the Danaids and the Proetids. Callimachus’ address to her as *nympha* at fr. 54.4 alerts us to the importance of kingship, benefaction, and married life in his praise of Berenice. These themes reverberate in the references to the myths of Danaus and Melampus in fr. 54e.

The implication surrounding the mention of Danaus in fr. 54e contributes to our understanding of Melampus’ role therein. The allusion to Melampus supports a geographical reference, in addition to a mythological one. “Iphiclean” at line five is, after all, semantically equivalent to the genitive “of Danaus” at line four. However, the geographical localization of Iphiclus in Thessaly instead of Argos causes serious problems to the restoration of the text.⁴¹ It is quite bizarre that Heracles would refer first to a location in Argos (Danaus) only to pass afterwards to a location in Thessaly (Iphiclus) and then to return to Argos—specifically to Cleonae where Callimachus localizes Molorcus and the lion. However, if one posits an Argive setting for the mythological mentions in fr. 54e, it makes more sense for Heracles to refer here to a specific location in Argos that is connected with

⁴¹ For the Thessalian connections in the myth of Melampus see Dowden (1989) 99–100.

Melampus.⁴² The only such episode, as Harder suggests, is the healing of the daughters of Proetus or of all the Argive women, on account of which Melampus became king of Argos. The place in which Melampus healed the daughters of Proetus is identified variously in our sources, but there is some evidence localizing the episode in Argolis. Hesychius (s.v. ἀκροῦ χεῖ), for instance, refers to the shrine of Artemis Melampus founded on the Argive mountain Akron in commemoration of the event:

[...] Ἄκρον δὲ ὄρος τῆς Ἀργείας, ἐφ' οὗ Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ἰδρύσατο Μελάμπους καθάρας τὰς Προιτίδας [...]

[...] Akron, mountain in Argolis, on which Melampus founded a shrine for Artemis after he had cleansed the daughters of Proetus [...].

Hesychius does not specify that Melampus actually cured the daughters of Proetus in the city of Argos,⁴³ but Callimachus could have assumed so or alluded to their curing in connection with an Argive site.

The sequence of thought in fr. 54e can then be reconstructed in the following manner: Heracles refers to the place where Melampus cured the Proetids. It is unclear whether he mentions Melampus by name; nonetheless, he adds information about his previous curing of Iphiclus at Thessaly. The information at lines 5–6, as well as the inclusion of βουκτέανος (8), is a certain indication thereof. The juxtaposition of the Argive and Thessalian episodes underscores Melampus' profile as a healer and beneficent figure. One may go a step further: if the help offered by Melampus to his brother Bias parallels the interaction between Heracles and Molercus, the reference to the healing of the Proetids offers an additional point of contact. This,

⁴² Cf. Harder (2012) vol. 2, 468. The combination of Argive and Thessalian material could be facilitated by the existence of two areas bearing the name Argos, one in Thessaly (*Il.* 2.681, Argos Pelasgikon) and one in the Peloponnese (Argos Achaikon). For the uncertainties in early uses of "Argos," see Drews (1979); Dowden (1989) 71–3. The ubiquitous identification of "Argos" with the Peloponnesian city seems secure from the *Odyssey* onwards; cf. Drews (1979) 128n78, 133–4.

⁴³ Frazer (1898) vol. 4, 259 note on 18.8.

however, concerns not only Heracles and Melampus but all three heroes: Danaus, Heracles and Melampus.

The story of the Proetids and of their punishment mirrors neatly the major plot lines of Heracles' myth stressing the analogies between Melampus and Heracles as benefactors of Argos and their enmity with Hera. According to Molercus, Hera sends the lion because she does not wish to be called patron of Argos or care for the Argive people anymore;⁴⁴ in the myth of Melampus, Hera punishes the hubris of the daughters of Proetus with a madness that in some accounts spreads all over the city causing civic unrest. Melampus does not cure only the king's daughters, but the entire female population of Argos.⁴⁵ Hera causes suffering to Molercus and the Proetids; Melampus and Heracles save the objects of Hera's wrath by performing beneficent acts. In return for their difficult tasks, Melampus and Heracles each attain royal and semi-divine statuses, respectively, both of which are relevant for the Ptolemaic queen.⁴⁶ In this version, Hera parallels the drought assuaged by Danaus and the Nemean lion killed by Heracles.

Melampus also parallels Danaus. Like Melampus, Danaus is an Argive king and arrives in Argos from abroad, replacing the autochthonous King Pelasgus. In this respect, Melampus is relevant to the praise of Berenice II, whose ancestors, according to royal propaganda, also hailed from Argos. Both Danaus and Melampus foreshadow Berenice's ancestors, who travelled from Argos to Egypt, supplanting the indigenous Egyptian kings. The juxtaposition then of Danaus and Melampus with Heracles acquires a further edge through the consideration that both Danaus and Melampus become kings on account of their benefactions to the Argive populace—a right of which Hera deprived Heracles.⁴⁷ Thus, an Argive history is created in fr. 54e, providing the background against which Callimachus celebrates Berenice's victory. Heracles

⁴⁴ Fr. 54b.36; cf. Massimilla (2010) 261 and Harder (2012) vol. 2, 437–8 *ad loc.* For Hera's involvement in the upbringing of the lion, see Hes. *Theog.* 328–9; Bacch. 9.6–9. See also Cook (1914–41) vol. 1, 456–7.

⁴⁵ Cf. Hdt. 9.34; Apollod. 2.28; Diod. Sic. 4.68.4.

⁴⁶ Heracles acquires a semi-divine status inasmuch as he proves his descent from Zeus (cf. fr. 54e.10). Probus (fr. 60c.6–7) refers to the divine honors Heracles attains.

⁴⁷ Cf. *Il.* 19.76–138. For the Argive connections of Heracles, see Drews (1979) 128–9.

charts a map of Argos that is associated with the actions of royal figures. The implication is that this catalogue of Argive sites will eventually incorporate the place where Heracles will kill the lion, memorializing his success: this place will host in the future the Nemean Games, founded in memory of his victory. This much is probably suggested by πελάσσειμι ("I would approach") at line seven. The sites Heracles mentions have been laid waste by the Nemean lion, provoking Heracles to restore order. A linear succession leads the reader from Danaus to Melampus and then through Heracles, to Berenice. Danaus, Melampus, and Heracles successively perform a benefaction and, in so doing, set an example for their descendant and successor, who imitates them symbolically through her own Nemean victory.

The Hesiodic Catalogue and the Victoria Berenices

In fr. 54e Heracles juxtaposes his imminent victory with the exploits of Danaus and Melampus. In this sense, Danaus and Melampus serve as model for him, and through him for Berenice II. The juxtaposition of Heracles with both Danaus and Melampus invites the reader to frame plots and characters in a unified way to make sense of them. Their juxtaposition represents a culture hero benefiting the local population, a trope exemplified by Heracles' defeat of the Nemean lion. The fact that both Danaus and Melampus became kings on account of their benefactions adds to the symbolism of Berenice's victory: her athletic victory expresses her charisma and confirms her in her royal role. Seen from this angle, fr. 54e also offers a genealogy of Argive kings. Inasmuch as the Ptolemaic dynasty was believed to descend from Heracles and through him from Danaus, the Argive hero-kings mentioned in fr. 54e are also Berenice's ancestors.⁴⁸ Praise of the ancestors' victories is a staple theme of archaic victory songs, and quite likely Callimachus reworks here a generic motif. Such royal genealogies are common in poetry. Pindar's *Nemean* 10 (1–18), Bacchylides' eleventh ode, and Euripides' *Archelaos* (*TrGF* 5 fr. 228a) provide meticulous lists that trace the descent of the Argive royal line from Danaus. What sets Callimachus' catalogue in fr. 54e apart from these texts is the allusion to Melampus. Apart from Hesiod, Callimachus is the only surviving author

⁴⁸ Strictly speaking, this is true solely of Danaus and Heracles.

to reference Melampus in such a context,⁴⁹ and in so doing Callimachus stresses his connection to Hesiodic poetry. Melampus does not properly belong in the Argive genealogy as he is not a descendant of Danaus. His only claim is provided through his marriage to Proetus' daughter. As has already been argued, marriage is a prominent theme of the *Victoria Berenices*. It concerns not only Danaus' daughters, but also the role of Hera and the praise of Berenice. One may then view this aspect of Melampus' myth as the motivating force behind the selection of it for the catalogue in fr. 54e. Melampus's benefaction to Argos and royal status form a close link that parallels that between Berenice's victory and her role as consort of Ptolemy III.⁵⁰

The examination of fr. 54e has suggested several points of contact with Hesiod. Danaus' curing the drought in Argos is probably taken from the Hesiodic *Catalogue*.⁵¹ Even the healing of Iphiclus by Melampus, not referenced by either Homer or the *Catalogue*, may derive from more extensive Hesiodic accounts like the one provided by the lost *Melampodia*. If Callimachus alludes to the version according to which Melampus healed the Proetids in Argive springs, this version could also point towards Hesiod's *Catalogue*.⁵² Nonetheless, the strongest indication of Hesiodic influence in this part of the *Victoria Berenices* is offered by the fact that the structural particularities of the catalogue in fr. 54e can be best appreciated in light of the Hesiodic *Catalogue*.

⁴⁹ Melampus is not mentioned by name in the surviving lines of fr. 54e; nonetheless, Callimachus' use of Ἰφίκλειον at fr. 75.46, the Argive context of fr. 54e and Heracles' promise to Molorcus that he will be βουκτέανο[ς (fr. 54e.8) make it almost certain that Ἰφίκλειος ἀδελφε<ι>οῖο refers to Melampus. As evinced by fr. 384.25–6 Pf., Callimachus references mythological characters, using indirect descriptions ("brother of Learchus" for Melicertes; "he who suckled the milk of the woman from Myrina / the daughter of Myrina" for Opheltes).

⁵⁰ Melampus' royal status is not crucial for the reconstruction of the missing lines. More important than this is the fact that Melampus, like Danaus and Heracles, is an Argive hero. The Homeric and Hesiodic parallels suggest that this realization includes Melampus' role as king of Argos whether Callimachus acknowledges it or not. In addition, the intimations of royalty that permeate the mention of Danaus in the previous line, even though they are not explicit, make it more likely than not that Melampus' royal standing is also pertinent for the appreciation of the allusion to him in this part of the *Victoria Berenices*.

⁵¹ See n. 24 above.

⁵² Cf. Dowden (1989) 94–5.

The comparison of both Hesiodic accounts with fr. 54e suggests that Callimachus conflates the two versions he found in the *Catalogue of Women*. From book 2 of the *Catalogue*, he takes the list of Io's royal descendants that leads from Danaus down to Heracles. This material he combines with a structural element he borrows from book 1—that is, the insertion of an Argive episode inside a Thessalian narrative. However, Callimachus reverses the latter device: he offers an Argive list with an embedded Thessalian episode.

<i>Victoria Berenices</i>	<i>Catalogue of Women</i>
1. Sequence of Argive hero-kings: Danaus, [Melampus] and Heracles.	1. Book 2: Genealogy of the Argive royal line: Danaus, Melampus, Amphytryon.
2. [Melampus] embedded in the royal line of Danaus.	2. Book 2: Melampus embedded in the royal line of Danaus.
3. Reference to the Thessalian adventure of Melampus in an Argive context.	3. Book 1: Reference to the Argive adventure of Melampus in a Thessalian context.

Evidence garnered from other fragments of the *Victoria Berenices* strengthens the possibility of a connection between the *Victoria Berenices* and the *Catalogue of Women*. The reference to the “descendants of Inachus” (Ἰναχίδαι) at fr. 54a.2 suggests that Callimachus, like Hesiod, is interested in viewing the victory of Berenice in a similar genealogical framework. The second book of the *Catalogue of Women* begins with Inachus (fr. 122 M.-W.) and concludes with the descendants of Belus. Part of the same stemma is preserved in fr. 54a where Callimachus imparts information concerning Danaus and his brother Aegyptus (see Table 2 above). Fr. 54b from the first encounter of Heracles with Molercus refers to Amphytryon's campaign against the Teleboans (5) probably in connection with a bow Heracles inherited from his father (10). All this makes it quite likely that in fr. 54e Callimachus imitates the Hesiodic *Catalogue* in providing a list of Argive kings that contextualizes the victory of Berenice.

That Callimachus would allude to the *Catalogue of Women* in an elegy celebrating a female victor is a significant aspect of his praise discourse. Hesiod's *Catalogue* is unique in the whole of Greek poetry in that it focuses exclusively on the role of women in heroic mythology. In this regard, it constitutes an important role-model for the praise of Ptolemaic queens by Hellenistic poets.⁵³ By patterning his catalogue on the model of Hesiod's epic, Callimachus foregrounds Berenice II's role in the Ptolemaic line, a branch of the Inachids, and suggests parallels between her and women of heroic myth. The genealogical element of the list in fr. 54e is strengthened by Heracles' statement about his true father. Zeus is prominent in the genealogies of Argos. This aspect of the catalogue not only intimates Berenice's divinity, it also reveals a great deal about Callimachus' poetic agenda in the *Victoria Berenices*. Callimachus combines the epinician motif of innate excellence, the so-called *phua* in Pindar, with the catalogue format he borrows from Hesiod. The fact that the *Catalogue* is poetry about women's role in heroic myth is crucial for the composition of an epinician in honor of a woman, for which Pindaric or Bacchylidean intertexts are lacking. By combining material from different genres, Callimachus creates the first ever epinician for a woman. Through the court fiction of her consanguinity with Ptolemy III, Berenice claimed to be descended from both Danaus and Heracles;⁵⁴ accordingly, fr. 54e also holds the role of a catalogue of victories won by the *laudanda's* relatives. The juxtaposition then of the queen with these mythic figures contextualizes Berenice's victory and underlines the ideological import of her victory. Berenice is compared to men who benefited Argos and thus attained kingship of the country. Through her victory Berenice proves her royal charisma and benefits the population of her kingdom, imitating her mythic ancestors.

⁵³ For the popularity of the *Catalogue of Women* in Hellenistic times, see Schwartz (1960) 582–99; Clauss (1990); Rutherford (2000); Hunter (2005). See also Hunter (2003) 125 on Theoc. 17.34–5.

⁵⁴ Berenice II and Ptolemy III shared Berenice I as a common ancestor: Berenice I was the mother of Magas, king of Cyrene, by her first husband, and of Ptolemy II by Ptolemy I; cf. Clayman (2014) 30–1. The descent from Heracles was supported through the genealogy of Ptolemy I's mother, Arsinoë: cf. Satyrus (*FGrHist* 631 F 1) with Acosta-Hughes and Stephens (2012) 169–70.

To conclude this discussion, I would like to make more general remarks on the similarities between the *Victoria Berenices* and the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*. These will help make a stronger case for the influence of the Hesiodic *Catalogue* in fr. 54e specifically. As a concatenation of independent etiological elegies, the *Aetia* imitates epic catalogues, recasting them, nonetheless, in a different meter: elegiac couplets.⁵⁵ In spite of this obvious difference, as Ian Rutherford notes (2000) 91, “for Hellenistic poets the catalog genre meant imitation of the one canonical model, the Hesiodic [*Gynaikōn Katalogos*]”. Against the background that the other elegies offer, the *Victoria Berenices* stands out on account of its female focus. Like the Hesiodic *Catalogue*,⁵⁶ the *Victoria Berenices* praises the “excellence” (*aretē*) of a mortal woman (Berenice), exhibited in this specific case in the field of athletics.⁵⁷ The fact that the main myth of the elegy narrates Heracles’ first task does not invalidate the intertextual connection. On the contrary, it lends strength to it. Women may be central to the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, but this epic also embeds several stories of male excellence.⁵⁸ For instance, as Rutherford observes (86), the *ēhoiē* of Alcmena provides the frame and introduction to the story of Heracles. Other known cases include Asterodoia (fr. 58 M.-W.), Mestra (frr. 43(a)–(c) M.-W.), possibly even Tyro (frr. 30–2). Something similar, I argue, happens in the *Victoria Berenices*: the praise of Berenice’s victory is the frame and introduction to Heracles’ first task.⁵⁹ Nonetheless, Callimachus artfully interweaves this aspect of the Hesiodic *Catalogue* with the epinician preoccupation with innate excellence. Heracles’ intention to demonstrate his divine parentage betrays the influence of Pindar’s victory songs: Heracles personifies the ultimate boundary of mortal potentiality. At the same time, this function of Heracles harks back to the Hesiodic *Catalogue*. As Johannes Haubold (2005) has demonstrated, the *Catalogue* stands out in its emphatic focus on the divinity of Heracles and the structural function it bestows upon it.

⁵⁵ Cf. Rutherford (2000) 90–1.

⁵⁶ Cf. Doherty (2006) 306.

⁵⁷ Cf. the story of Atalanta (frr. 72–6 M.-W.) with the discussion of Ormand (2014) 119–51.

⁵⁸ Cf. Rutherford (2000) 86, 89; Doherty (2006) 309–10.

⁵⁹ Heracles’ popularity in the *Catalogue* (Haubold (2005) 87) would offer an additional point of contact between Callimachus and Hesiod.

This interest of the *Catalogue* agrees with the peculiar status the Ptolemies enjoyed as divine rulers.⁶⁰ Seen from this vantage point, the allusion to Berenice's marriage to Ptolemy III in fr. 54 is not only a reflection of the importance that the theme of royal *erōs* held in public discourse about the Ptolemies;⁶¹ rather, it also signposts Callimachus' dependence on the discourse developed in the Hesiodic *Catalogue*. As Lilian Doherty (2006) 310 reminds us, in the *Catalogue*, "the account of each family line begins with a woman—sometimes with one who merely married into it". It is significant in this light that Berenice II marries into the Ptolemaic family. Starting with Berenice's marriage Callimachus draws the outlines of the Ptolemaic genealogy, repeatedly situating them against the background of the Argive royal line in fr. 54, 54a, and 54e. Like Hesiod's heroines, Berenice is praised on account of her female virtues which also reflect her ability to continue the line that through Heracles and Danaus goes back to Zeus himself. Coming shortly after her marriage into the royal family, Berenice's athletic victory is a promising sign for the dynasty. Anchoring his praise of Berenice's victory in the genealogical discourse associated with Hesiod's name⁶² enables Callimachus to look back to the past of the dynasty but also herald a new chapter in the chronicles of the family, dominated by the imposing presence of Berenice II.⁶³

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⁶⁰ One notes that Theocritus (15.106–8) fashions the apotheosis of Queen Berenice I on the model of that of Iphigenia in the *Catalogue*; cf. Kampakoglou (2013) 304–5.

⁶¹ Cf. Gutzwiller (1992); Rossi (2000).

⁶² Cf. Ormand (2014) 6.

⁶³ For Hellenistic poets' depiction of Berenice II, see Clayman (2014).

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