HESIOD IN OVID: THE METAMORPHOSIS OF THE *CATALOGUE OF WOMEN*

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HESIOD IN OVID: THE METAMORPHOSIS OF THE *CATALOGUE OF WOMEN*

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The subject of my dissertation is Ovid's intertextual engagement with the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (aka the *Ehoiai*). I examine the Hesiodic character of Ovid's work, focusing mainly on the *Metamorphoses* and *Heroides* 16-17. The *Metamorphoses* begins with Chaos and moves on to the loves of the gods, reiterating the transition from the *Theogony* to the *Catalogue.* Divine passions for beautiful maidens constitute a recurring motif in the *Metamorphoses,* establishing the importance of the erotic element in Ovid's hexameter poem and referring to the main topic of the *Ehoiai* (fr. 1.1-5 M-W).

The first five books of Ovid's epic follow the descendants of the river-god Inachus, beginning with Jupiter's rape of Io and reaching forward to Perseus, and the stemma of the Inachids features prominently in the Hesiodic *Catalogue* (fr. 122-59 M-W). As a whole, the *Metamorphoses* delineates the genealogies of the major Greek tribes (Inachids, Thebans, Athenians), and includes the Trojans, the only non-Greek genealogies of the *Catalogue,* which were dealt with in the last part of Hesiod's work*.*

Ovid's foray into the Hesiodic corpus gives us a new perspective to interpreting his *aemulatio* of Vergil. While the *Aeneid* marks Vergil's literary ascent- within the Homeric epics- from the *Odyssey* to the *Iliad*, the *Metamorphoses* draws a trajectory from the *Theogony* to the *Catalogue of Women.* Ovid's hexameter poem is the response to Vergil's *Aeneid,* and the *Metamorphoses* pits Vergil's Homeric epic against the Hesiodic character of Ovid's work. Thus, the ancient

competition between Homer and Hesiod is revived and recast for a Roman readership.

By employing the interpretive tools of intertextuality, narratology, as well as genre and gender theory, I read a number of episodes from Ovid's corpus against the backdrop of Hesiod's *Ehoiai.* It is my contention that the Hesiodic character of Ovid's work invites the readers to trace and interpret intertextual references to the *Catalogue.*

Although the main focus of this study is Ovid, I also examine what Ovid's use of Hesiod can tell us about the *Catalogue*. Focusing mainly on the intergeneric discourse between Hesiodic and Homeric epic, I reassess the use of epic diction in the *Catalogue* and the juxtaposition between the male-oriented arena of Homeric epic and the female-oriented program of the *Ehoiai.*

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Ioannis Ziogas was born in Thessaloniki (Greece) and has a B.A. (Ptychio 2001) and an M.A. (Metaptychiako 2004) from the Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki. He has been the recipient of numerous research and teaching fellowships at Cornell University. He has written articles on Homer, Vergil, and Ovid, and presented papers in numerous international conferences. He also holds a Diploma in violin from the State Conservatory of Thessaloniki (2002).

For Erica

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Introduction

While Paris is in Sparta enjoying the hospitality of king Menelaus, he attempts to seduce Helen by sending her a love letter. This letter is Ovid's *Heroides* 16, in which Paris features as a passionate elegiac lover who uses his looks and wits in order to win the object of his desire. Having been appropriated in the discourse of Roman elegy, Paris, a *summa cum laude* graduate from Ovid's school of love, lures Menelaus' trophy wife with his physical and literary talents, combining persuasion with the alliance of mighty Aphrodite. In a rhetorical *tour de force,* the Trojan hero confesses that his passion for Helen was born before he even saw her:

> *te peto, quam pepigit lecto Venus aurea nostro;*
> *   te prius optaui quam mihi nota fores;*
> *ante tuos animo uidi quam lumine uultus;*
> *   prima tulit uulnus nuntia fama mihi.*
> *Her.* 16.35-8

> I woo you, whom golden Venus promised for my bed. I desired you before you were known to me; I saw your features with my mind before I saw them with my eyes; rumor, bearer of news, was the first to wound me.

From an elegiac perspective, Paris' statement is peculiar. Instead of the Hellenistic and elegiac *topos* of 'love at first sight', we have here a case of 'love at no sight'. Notwithstanding Paris' unconventional statement, *nuntia fama* is a gesture towards the intertextual dimension of *Heroides* 16. Helen, Menelaus, and Paris are cast as a typical love triangle of Roman elegy, but they actually belong to the world of archaic Greek epic, signaled in part by *Venus aurea,* the

Latin translation of the unmistakably epic formula χρυσῆ Ἀφροδίτη. Ovid's Paris is in fact referring to an archaic hexameter poem, the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (aka the *Ehoiai*):

> ἱμείρων Ἑλένης πόσις ἔμμεναι ἠυκόμοιο,
> εἶδος οὔ τι ἰδών, ἀλλ᾽ ἄλλων μῦθον ἀκούων.
> fr. 199.2-3 M-W

> desiring to be the husband of the lovely-haired Helen, although he did not see her beauty, but hearing the story of others.

In his commentary, Edward Kenney notes the parallel between *Heroides* 16.37-8 and this fragment of the *Catalogue*,[1] but parallels cited in commentaries do little justice to Ovid's intertextual engagement with his sources. The passage cited above belongs to the long episode of the wooing of Helen and describes one of her suitors (his name does not survive in the fragments). Likewise, Ovid's Paris presents himself as a suitor of Helen (the problem is Helen is already married). And just as Helen's suitors are a part of Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women*,[2] Paris features in the *Heroides,* Ovid's own catalogue of women. Helen's *nuntia fama* is to be identified with the program of the Hesiodic *Ehoiai,* an epic thematically centered on female renown (κλέος). Paris appears to have read the *Catalogue,* in which the fame of Helen's beauty attracts the major Greek heroes. Helen's poetic renown makes him, like the suitors, desire her. The Hesiodic tradition absorbs Ovid's Paris into its world, so that the Trojan hero acts as if he were a suitor from the *Catalogue*. Contrary to the aspirations

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[1] See Kenney 1996, *ad* 16.37-8.
[2] Most scholars consider the *Catalogue of Women* pseudo-Hesiodic (see West 1985), although Janko 1982 and Dräger 1997, challenge this view. Since the problem of the *Catalogue*s authorship does not concern my thesis, I call its author Hesiod without, however, taking any position on the authorship of the work. What is important for my approach is that the *Catalogue* and the *Megalai Ehoiai* were ascribed to Hesiod in antiquity.

of an elegiac lover, Paris does not simply seek an illicit affair with a married woman. He wants and he will become Helen's husband.

Kenney's note of the parallel between Ovid and Hesiod's *Catalogue* is exceptional. More often than not, critics do not notice Latin poets' allusions to the *Catalogue*[3] at all; or, if they encounter a story that has verbal and structural similarities with an *ehoie,* they prefer to postulate a lost Hellenistic poem or a mythographic handbook as Ovid's source.[4] As this is only an argument from silence, I wish to challenge this thesis. In my view, the works of the mythographers were the Wikipedia of ancient Rome. These handbooks were used as a crib and had little to do with the intricate poetics of literary reference, which are essential to understanding Latin poetry.[5] And even if we assume that some of Ovid's Hellenistic sources have not come down to us, this does not rule out Ovid's direct knowledge of the *Ehoiai.* Ovid is capable of engaging with multiple sources at the same time and, as we shall see, he can use Callimachus and Vergil as a lens to Hesiod's *Catalogue.* Far from shedding doubt on Ovid's allusions to the *Catalogue*, intermediate sources contribute to the polyphony of Ovid's art of reference, making the intertextual dialogue between Ovid and Hesiod all the more intriguing.

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[3] There is no book about Latin poetry and the *Catalogue of Women.* There are a few articles (Alfonsi 1949, on Propertius 2.3.51-4, and fr. 37 M-W; Pontani 2000, on Catullus 64 and the *Catalogue;* Hardie 2005, on Latin literature and the *Catalogue;* Fletcher 2005, on Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Hesiod's *Catalogue)* and various other brief remarks (e.g. Ludwig 1965, 74-6; Keith 2002, 250-1; Hollis 1970, 128-30).
[4] Kenney, for instance, in an article published before his commentary, assumes a Hellenistic source between Hesiod, fr. 199 M-W and Ovid, *Her.* 16 (Kenney 1995, note 59). Schwartz 1960, routinely talks about lost Hellenistic sources when he encounters striking similarities between Ovid and the *Catalogue.* For Ovid's use of the mythographers, see Cameron 2004; Fletcher, K. 2005.
[5] Cameron 2004, 286, notes "Ovid did not *depend* on mythographic handbooks...But (to repeat) they served him as guides rather than sources." (Cameron's italics).

Admittedly, the identification and interpretation of allusions is a subjective

matter.[6] Skeptics might say that in intertextuality, one finds what one looks for.

Yet, modern scholarship has provided the theoretical tools for assessing the

crucial role of poetic memory in Latin literature.[7] Alessandro Barchiesi argues

that every narrative expression is to be viewed in context, taking into account

the audience, the speaker, and the temporal frame set by the text.[8] The

intertwining of intertextual with narratological approaches is employed

throughout this dissertation. Narrative frames, transitions, narrators, focalizers,

and internal audiences are essential to rendering a reference meaningful.[9]

The art of allusion is often presented as organically integrated into, if not

indistinguishable from, Callimachean and Neoteric poetics.[10] Although the

influence of Hellenistic poetry on Latin literature is significant, I believe that by

restricting the intertextual engagement of Roman poets to a closed network

between Alexandria and Rome we put limits on the intricate web of Latin

literature. On the one hand, Roman poets read avidly and appropriated

Hellenistic as well as classical and archaic texts in their works; on the other

hand intertextuality does not operate for the first time in Alexandrian poetry.

Recent studies in Homer, for instance, show that the intertextual dialogue

between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey,* as well as between Homeric epics and the

Epic Cycle, is an innate feature of epic composition, inviting the audience/

readers to view the entire horizon of a myth's diverse variants.[11] In the case of

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[6] On allusion and subjectivity, see Edmunds 2001.
[7] I am particularly influenced by Pasquali 1942; Conte 1986; Thomas 1986; 1999; Farrell 1991; Hinds 1998; Barchiesi 2001; Edmunds 2001. Smith 1997, employs the philosophical works of Martin Buber in his examination of allusion in Vergil and Ovid.
[8] Barchiesi 2001, 77.
[9] For narratological analyses, I draw mainly on Genette 1983; 1988; Bal 1997.
[10] See for instance Thomas 1986; Clausen 1987; Van Tress 2004. Gutzwiller 2007, 169, notes: "The "art of allusion," as it has been called, has long been identified as a primary characteristic of Hellenistic poetry."
[11] See Pucci 1987; Burgess 2001; 2009; Tsagalis 2008.

the *Aeneid* and the *Metamorphoses,* the poets' adherence to the Callimachean credo is all the more problematic since Vergil's and Ovid's attempts to compose epic poetry on a grand scale clash with the poetic principles of Callimachus' program.[12] One of the aims of this study is to free Ovid's art of allusion from the bear hug of Alexandrian poetics.

With his *Aeneid,* Vergil ascends to Homeric epic, beginning with an Odyssean half *(Aeneid* 1-6) and culminating in an Iliadic part *(Aeneid* 7-12). Ovid, Vergil's first epic successor, presents his *Metamorphoses* as a Hesiodic poem, thus setting his work in contradistinction to Vergil's Homeric epic.[13] Like the *Theogony,* the *Metamorphoses* begins with primordial Chaos*,* it continues with the four ages, a reworking of Hesiod's five ages in the *Works and Days*, and moves on to the story of Deucalion and Pyrrha, which is attested in the beginning of the *Catalogue of Women* (fr. 2-5 M-W). A combination of divine loves and heroic genealogies can be traced in the variegated texture of the *Metamorphoses,* aligning Ovid's epic with the thematic and structural features of Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Ehoiai.*

Ovid's foray into Hesiodic poetry presents us with the following paradox: While the *Ehoiai* is a Cyclic epic, offering a panorama of Greek myth from the deluge to the beginning of the Trojan War, Hesiod was an emblematic figure in the Hellenistic imagination.[14] The *Ehoiai,* a Cyclic epic and thus anathema to Callimachean poetics, was ascribed to Hesiod, the revered fountainhead of Alexandrian λεπτότης. And despite the Cyclical nature of the *Catalogue,* lists and catalogues were a salient feature of Hellenistic poetry. Phanocles,

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[12] Cf. Farrell 1991, 17.
[13] Cf. Ludwig 1965, 74-6.
[14] For Hesiod and Hellenistic poetry and scholarship, see Reinsch-Werner 1976; Schroeder 2006.

Hermesianax, Nicaenetus, and other Hellenistic poets adapted the Hesiodic catalogue form and used variants of the *ehoie* formula in their works, paying homage to Hesiod.[15] Ovid famously introduces the *Metamorphoses* as a *carmen perpetuum* and a *carmen deductum,* a Cyclic epic and an Alexandrian poem at the same time. It is the premise of this study that Hesiod is a key to interpreting this programmatic incongruity. On the one hand Ovid reappraises the Cyclic nature of *ehoie*-poetry, while on the other hand Hesiodic poetry has been irrevocably modified by Hellenistic reception.

Ovid was aware of the Hellenistic adaptations of *ehoie*-poetry. This fact, in my view, does not rule out Ovid's direct knowledge of the *Catalogue,* but rather makes it all the more likely. The reception of the *Catalogue* in Latin literature passes through the Hellenistic reception of Hesiod, but is not limited to Alexandria. Critics have discussed Ovid's references to Phanocles' *Erotes* and Hermesianax' *Leontion* as well as the use of *qualis* as a Latin variant of the *ehoie* formula,[16] but have not examined Ovid's intertextual engagement with Hesiod's *Ehoiai.* Let me give an example of reading Ovid's references to *ehoie*-poetry not only against the background of the Hellenistic adaptations of Hesiodic catalogue poetry, but also against the background of the *Catalogue of Women.* In the beginning of *Amores* 1.10, Ovid gives us a catalogue of women, comparing Corinna with a number of heroines from Greek mythology who were carried off by their lovers (Paris, Jupiter, Neptune):

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[15] For the Hellenistic adaptations of the Hesiodic *Ehoiai,* such as Nicaenetus' 'Catalogue of Women' (fr. 2 Powell), the peculiarly male Ἡοῖοι of Sosicrates or Sostratos *(SH* 732), Hermesianax' *Leontion,* and Phanocles' *Erotes,* see Rutherford 2000, 90; Hunter 2005, 259-65; Asquith 2005; Caspers 2006; Schroeder 2006, 288-90.

[16] For Ovid and Phanocles, see Segal 1972, 477; Barchiesi 2001, 56-7 with n. 20; Gärtner 2008, 31-43. For Ovid's *Tr.* 1.6 and Hermesianax' *Leontion* as well as Antimachus' *Lyde* (a lost catalogue poem), see Hinds 1999. For Ovid's use of *qualis* as a variant of the *ehoie* formula, see McKeown 1987, *ad Am.* 1.10.1-2; Hardie 2005, 292-4.

***Qualis** ab Eurota Phrygiis auecta carinis*

    coniugibus belli causa duobus erat,

***qualis** erat Lede, quam plumis abditus albis*

    callidus in falsa lusit adulter aue,

***qualis** Amymone siccis errauit in Argis,*   *5*

    cum premeret summi uerticis urna comas,

***talis** eras, aquilamque in te taurumque timebam*

    et quicquid magno de Ioue fecit Amor.

nunc timor omnis abest animique resanuit error,

    nec facies oculos iam capit ista meos.   *10*

cur mutatus sim quaeris? quia munera poscis.

Amores 1.10.1-11

Such as was she who was carried from Eurotas on a Phrygian ship to be the cause of war between two husbands, such as was Leda, whom the cunning adulterer deceived in the guise of a bird concealed in white plumage, such as Amymone wandering through arid Argos, while an urn was pressing the hair on her head, such were you, I feared that the eagle and the bull would be after you, and whatever Amor made of great Jupiter. Now all my fear is gone and my straying mind has healed again, nor does your beauty seize my eyes any more. Why have I changed, you ask? Because you demand gifts.

Exemplary catalogues of women are common in Roman elegy, and Propertius 1.3.1-8[17] is most likely the main model of the passage cited above. Be that as it

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[17] ***Qualis** Thesea iacuit cedente carina/ languida desertis Cnosia litoribus;/ **qualis** et accubuit primo Cepheia somno/ libera iam duris cotibus Andromede;/ nec minus assiduis Edonis fessa choreis/ **qualis** in herboso concidit Apidano:/ **talis** uisa mihi mollem spirare quietem/ Cynthia consertis nixa caput manibus,* Prop. 1.3.1-8.

may, *qualis-talis* functions as a Hesiodic marker, activating Ovid's reference to *ehoie*-poetry. Phanocles in his *Erotes,* a catalogue of homoerotic loves, used ἢ ὡς, Hermesianax in his *Leontion,* a catalogue of enamored poets and philosophers, various forms of οἵη,[18] and Sosicrates' Ἡοῖοι suggests an oddly male version of the *ehoie* formula. Ovid's *qualis* comes closer to ἠ' οἵη than the playful Hellenistic adaptations of Hesiod's formula, and the women of Ovid's catalogue are to be identified with the heroines of the *Ehoiai:* The wooing of Helen precipitated the Trojan War in the end of the *Catalogue* (fr. 196-204 M-W), and Leda, Helen's mother, also features in the Hesiodic fragments (fr. 23a. 5-8 M-W). Poseidon had sexual intercourse with Amymone, a story attested in Hesiod as we learn from Philodemus.[19] Jupiter's transformation into a bull refers to the abduction of Europa (cf. fr. 140-1 M-W), while his metamorphosis into an eagle is more enigmatic.[20] Ovid gives a catalogue of Hesiodic heroines, who are introduced with *qualis,* a formula with unmistakably Hesiodic pedigree.

Ovid's list does not only include Hesiodic heroines, but also evokes traits intrinsic to the *Catalogue of Women.* The first two paradigms (Helen-Leda) suggest an inverted genealogy (Helen was Leda's daughter), thus alluding to the genealogical progression of the Hesiodic *Catalogue.* The rapes of Leda, Amymone, and Europa by Jupiter and Neptune also refer to the very subject of the *Catalogue,* which, according to its proem (fr. 1.1-5 M-W), is the affairs of mortal women with gods. These mortal women attract their divine lovers with

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[18] Orpheus: **οἵην** μὲν φίλος υἱὸς ἀνήγανεν Οἰάγροιο, κτλ, fr. 7.1 Powell; Sophocles: Ἀτθὶς δ' **οἷα** κτλ, fr. 7.57 Powell; Pythagoras: **Οἴη** μὲν Σάμιον κτλ, fr. 7.85 Powell; Philoxenus: **Οἷα** τιναχθεὶς κτλ, fr. 7. 71 Powell; Socrates: **Οἴῳ** δ' ἐχλίηνεν κτλ, fr. 7.89 Powell.
[19] [τὸν δὲ μειχθῆ]ναι ['Ησίοδος Ἀμυμ]ώνηι [φησί, Philodemus, *De pietate* B 7430-46 Obbink= Most fr. 157; cf. fr. 127-8 M-W. In Hero's plea to Neptune to spare her lover, Amymone appears in a catalogue of women loved by Neptune (Ovid, *Her.* 19.129-38). This catalogue bears striking similarities with Philodemus' catalogue of Poseidon's women (see Obbink 2004).
[20] It usually refers to the abduction of Ganymede (cf. *Met.* 10.154-61), but, as McKeown 1987 *ad loc* notes, the context here demands a reference to a beautiful woman, probably Asterie; cf. Arachne's tapestry (*fecit et Asterie aquila luctante teneri, Met.* 6.108).

their beauty,[21] and Ovid implies that Corinna is as beautiful as the fabulous girls of Greek myth. Thus, Ovid appends his girlfriend to a Hesiodic catalogue of women. Corinna is 'such as' Helen, Leda, Amymone, and Europa, and the comparison inherent in the *ehoie* formula is activated. Female excellence is essential to Hesiod's heroines, who are introduced as 'the best' (ἄρισται, fr. 1.3 M-W) and are repeatedly compared with goddesses (e.g. fr. 23a.10; 15-6; 43a. 72; 185.3; 196.5-6 M-W).[22] Ovid's catalogue of women of outstanding beauty, who attract gods and mortals with their looks, touches upon the very core of Hesiod's *Ehoiai.*

Ovid initially compares Corinna with the heroines of Greek myth, fearing that Jupiter might fall in love with her, but he then declares that her beauty is spoiled because she asks for gifts. This is the reason why Ovid is transformed *(mutatus),* a change which is a foil to Jupiter's metamorphoses; the supreme god morphs into a swan, a bull, and an eagle in order to seduce the beautiful women with whom he is in love, while Ovid has changed from a captive of Corinna's beauty to a man indifferent to her charms. Yet, if we acknowledge that the beginning of *Amores* 1.10 conjures up the world of the *Ehoiai,* we should note that the mortal suitors of Hesiod's heroines had to offer lavish gifts, such as golden jewelry, golden cups, and livestock to the girls' families.[23] In archaic Greek epic, prospective suitors woo marriageable maidens by giving "countless gifts" (μυρία ἕδνα, fr. 26.37 M-W for Iole; fr. 43a.21 M-W for Mestra; cf. πολλὰ

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[21] See Osborne 2005, 10-13.
[22] Amymone suggests ἀμύμων ('blameless', 'noble', 'excellent'). Her name encapsulates one of the most salient features of the heroines. The women of the *Catalogue* are often introduced as surpassing all other women (cf. Tyro: fr. 30.31-4; Alkmene: fr. 195 M-W =*Shield* 4-8).
[23] Referring to the world of Homer and Hesiod, van Wees 2003, 7, notes: "A woman's beauty is not merely a passive asset, but may – at least in the context of formal courtship – be actively exploited to generate wealth for her family." According to Hesiod, fr. 139 M-W, the name of Adonis' mother was Alphesiboea, i.e. "Cattlefetcher."

δῶρ' ὀνόμηναν, fr. 22.5-7 M-W for Demodike).[24] Even Atalanta, a devout bachelorette, loses the foot-race and her virginity enticed by Hippomenes' golden apples (fr. 72-6 M-W). Helen, the first heroine in *Amores* 1.10, is wooed by many suitors, who bring countless gifts (cf. ἀπειρέσια ἔδνα, fr. 198.10 M-W). Her wooing is in fact an auction and Menelaus wins because he offered the most (fr. 104. 86-7 M-W). In the *Catalogue,* gods simply rape beautiful women, while men have to pay dearly to marry them. If Corinna *is* in fact like Helen and the other Hesiodic heroines, it is no surprise that her suitor must give her gifts. One is left to wonder: Does Ovid really expect to enjoy a beauty like Corinna *gratis*? His own comparison of Corinna with the heroines of archaic Greek epic suggests that the answer is 'no'.

A catalogue of metamorphoses goes hand in hand with a catalogue of women in *Amores* 1.10.1-10. In *Metamorphoses* 6.104-28, the *ekphrasis* of Arachne's tapestry, a catalogue of divine rapes, is enmeshed with a catalogue of transformations as the gods turn into animals in order to satisfy their lust.[25] The metamorphic powers of the gods as a means of seducing women feature in the *Catalogue.* Europa crosses the sea "conquered by Zeus' wiles" (fr. 141.1-2 M-W), i.e. by Zeus' transformation into a bull. Zeus also deceives Alkmene (fr. 195.91 M-W = *Shield* 30-2), and although it is not stated explicitly that Zeus assumes Amphitryon's form, the text implies the transformation.[26] Poseidon rapes Tyro in the form of Enipeus (fr. 30-31 M-W).[27] The mention of gold in a fragment belonging to the genealogy of Proetous and Acrisius also suggests

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[24] Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 2.571: *diuitibus procis... petebar* (Coroneus' daughter); *Met.* 12.192: *multorum frustra uotis optata procorum* (Caenis).

[25] For Arachne's tapestry and Hesiod's *Catalogue,* see Chapter 2.

[26] Cf. ὦρτο δ' ἀπ' Οὐλύμποιο δόλον φρεσὶ βυσσοδομεύων,/ ἱμείρων φιλότητος ἐυζώνοιο γυναικός, fr. 195.91 M-W = *Shield* 30-2, with Hirschberger 2008, 122.

[27] Cf. *tu uisus Enipeus/ gignis Aloidas, Met.* 6.16-7; We also know from a scholion on *Georg.* 4.361 *(at illum curuata in montis faciem circumstetit unda)* that Vergil translated *(transtulit)* this line from Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women* (see fr. 32 M-W).

Zeus' transformation into a golden shower in order to mingle with Danae (fr. 134 M-W).[28]

Martina Hirschberger argues that metamorphosis is a recurring motif in the *Catalogue of Women.*[29] She presumes that the myth of the deluge in the beginning of the *Catalogue* contained the creation of human beings from stones. The five genealogical stemmata of the *Catalogue* (Deucalionids, Inachids, Asopids, Arcadians, Atlantids) begin with a metamorphosis. The stemma of the Inachids begins with Io's transformation into a cow, the slaying of Argus by Hermes, and the birth of Epaphus (fr. 124-5 M-W; cf. *Met.* 1.583-750). The Asopids are associated with the etymology of the Myrmidons, which, according to the *Catalogue,* were metamorphosed ants (μύρμηκες).[30] The stemma of the Arcadians begins with Callisto's metamorphosis into a bear (fr. 163 M-W; cf. *Met.* 2.401-541), and the stemma of the Pleiades, which comes last in the *Catalogue,* most likely included the catasterisms of Atlas' daughters (fr. 169 M-W; cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 4.169-76).[31]

The *Catalogue of Women* also contains a number of punitive transformations. The avian transformations of Ceyx and Alcyone, the couple who called themselves Zeus and Hera (fr. 10d M-W; Ovid, *Met.* 11.410-748, follows a different version, but concludes with the avian transformation); the killing of Niobe's children (fr. 183 M-W; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 6.148-312) presumably ended with her petrification;[32] the raven was punished by Apollo and turned from white to

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[28] Hirschberger 2008, 122, notes: "In uno piccolo frammento di papiro viene menzionato l'oro. La menzione dell'oro è forse da collegare in un contesto che trattava della nascita di Perseo." Cf. *aureus ut Danaen, Met.* 6.113.
[29] Hirschberger 2004, 79; 2008.
[30] ὅσσοι ἔσαν μύρμηκες ἐπηράτου ἔνδοθι νήσου,/ τοὺς ἄνδρας ποίησε (*scil.* Ζεύς) βαθυζώνους τε γυναῖκας. fr. 205.4-5 M-W; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 7.614-60. Ovid refers to the etymology of the Myrmidons (*Myrmidonas uoco nec origine nomina fraudo, Met.* 7.654).
[31] See Hirschberger 2004, 32-3; 46-8; 2008, 115.
[32] Cf. Hirschberger 2004, 353-4; 2008, 116-7.

black (fr. 60 M-W; Ovid, *Met.* 2.534-632); Actaeon, changed into a stag by Artemis, was torn apart by his hounds (fr. 217a M-W; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 3.173-252).

Poseidon is a god particularly associated with bestowing the gift of metamorphosis upon mortals. Caenis, a girl raped by Poseidon, asks the god to change her sex, and becomes Caeneus, an invulnerable man (fr. 87 M-W; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 12.189-535); Periclymenus, who descends from Poseidon and Tyro, has the ability to change shapes at will (fr. 33-5 M-W; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 12.542-76); Mestra, who was deflowered by Poseidon, had the same miraculous ability as Periclymenus (fr. 43 M-W; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 8.738-878).

The prominence of metamorphosis in the *Catalogue of Women* draws a significant parallel between Hesiod and Ovid. In the *Metamorphoses,* Ovid sketches out a structural trajectory within the Hesiodic corpus, from the *Theogony* to the *Catalogue of Women,* an epic about the affairs of gods with women, which progresses genealogically and contains a number of metamorphoses. By reformulating the structure and the motifs of the *Catalogue,* Ovid casts his *Metamorphoses* in the tradition of Hesiodic epic. Of course, this is not to say that Hesiod was Ovid's 'model' for the *Metamorphoses.*[33] Instead, I argue that Hesiodic poetry is the 'host' genre of the *Metamorphoses.*[34] Ovid is famous for playing with and transgressing genres in his poetry, and the *Metamorphoses* is an epic that affords a vast variety of genres,[35] such as elegy, epigram, tragedy, bucolic poetry, didactic poetry, and martial epic. However, generic enrichment and generic interplay can operate only if the 'host' genre

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[33] Recent scholarship has also drawn attention to the historiographical sources of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; see the important studies of Wheeler 2002; Cole 2004; 2008. In my view, Hesiodic epic plays a more important role in Ovid's hexameter poem than the genre of universal history or the king lists of chronographers.
[34] For the terms 'host' and 'guest' genre, see Harrison 2007, 16.
[35] See mainly Hinds 1987; 2000.

receives 'guest' genres, that is if we are aware which genre is the host and which is the guest. Homeric epic, for instance, is the 'host' genre of Vergil's *Aeneid,* which is generically enriched with the incorporation of 'guest' genres.[36] Likewise, it is my contention that Hesiodic epic is the 'host' genre of the *Metamorphoses.* The generic tenor of Ovid's epic, which I identify with *ehoie-* poetry, activates the references to the *Catalogue of Women.* The interrelatedness of intertextuality with genre is one of the main parameters of my approach.[37] The Hesiodic character[38] of the *Metamorphoses* invites the readers to trace Ovid's allusions to the *Ehoiai.*

Scholars interested in the *Metamorphoses* generic identity and intergeneric discourse assume that it is primarily an epic poem.[39] But is it enough to say that the *Metamorphoses* is an epic? The question is what kind of epic it is. Martial epic is so different from *ehoie*-poetry that scholars talk about different epic genres.[40] This distinction is crucial to interpreting Ovid's employment of Hesiodic epic. The generic affiliation of the *Metamorphoses* with Hesiodic poetry automatically pits Ovid's epic against the Homeric background of Vergil's *Aeneid.* The Homeric epics, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey,* are the foundations upon which Vergil builds up a multilayered construction of diverse poetic traditions. Likewise, the Hesiodic epics, the *Theogony* and the *Catalogue of Women,*

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[36] See Harrison 2007, 207-41.
[37] For genre and intertextuality, see Conte 1986; Hinds 1998, 30-4; 40-6.
[38] The phrase ἡσιόδειος χαρακτήρ is used by Hellenistic commentators on the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey,* who identified certain Homeric passages as befitting Hesiodic poetry; see Sch. HQ ad Hom. *Od.* 15.74 [Aristonicus, (Carnuth p.133)]; Schol. A ad Hom. *Il.* 18.39–49; Schol. A ad Hom. *Il.* 24.617–17a. On the use of ἡσιόδειος χαρακτήρ by Hellenistic scholars, see Schroeder 2006, 139-47.
[39] So Heinze 1919; Hinds 1987; 2000. On the contrary, Jouteur 2001, argues that the *Metamorphoses* is a generically hybrid work, a complex mélange of genres, and questions the epic nature of Ovid's hexameter poem.
[40] For *ehoie*-poetry as an independent epic genre, see West 1985, 3-11; Rutherford 2000; Nasta 2006, 64-8; Doherty 2006, 305; Arrighetti 2008.

constitute the warp into which the numerous threads of the *Metamorphoses* are woven.

Traditionally, the relationship between Homer and Hesiod is antagonistic. In the famous *Certamen,* a tradition that was in circulation already in the 5th century BC,[41] Homer and Hesiod competed and the poet from Ascra won. We shall see in Chapter 2 that Ovid reworks the *certamen* in the singing and the weaving competitions (*Met.* 5.294-6.145), in which Calliope's Hesiodic performance and Arachne's Hesiodic artifact are victorious. With the *Metamorphoses,* Ovid rivals Vergil's *Aeneid,* hoping that he will beat Vergil's Homeric epic. Thus, my reading of the *Metamorphoses* as a Hesiodic epic revisits and reassesses Ovid's confrontation with the *Aeneid.*

Although the main focus of this study is Ovid, I am no less keen on assessing what Ovid's use of Hesiod can tell us about the *Catalogue,* and wish to offer a fresh reading of the *Ehoiai.* Until recently*,* scholarly interest in the Hesiodic fragments was very rare. Martina Hirschberger's edition and commentary in 2004, followed by Glenn Most's Loeb in 2007, have improved our knowledge of the fragments vastly. In the meantime, a collection of essays edited by Richard Hunter in 2005 has contributed a long overdue literary assessment of the Hesiodic *Catalogue* and its reception in Hellenistic and Latin poetry. These and other studies[42] shed new light on the *Ehoiai,* some times revising, other times building on Martin West's fundamental work on the *Catalogue.*[43]

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[41] See West 1967; Richardson 1981. *Ars* 2.1-8 implies that Ovid was aware of this tradition.
[42] Special mention should be made of Rutherford 2000; Ormand 2004; Nasta 2006; Hirschberger 2008.
[43] I refer to West 1985 as well as to Merkelbach and West's edition of the Hesiodic fragments.

Yet, there is more work to be done. There are three aspects of the *Catalogue* that, in my view, are worth pursuing and are keys to understanding Hesiod's reception in Ovid:

A) The intertextual dialogue between Homeric epics and *ehoie*-poetry. Although Homeric epic and *ehoie*-poetry are recognized as different epic genres, they share the same epic diction and appear to be in constant dialogue with each other. Odysseus' excursus of a catalogue of women in his *apologoi* is an obvious example of *ehoie*-poetry in the *Odyssey*,[44] while Zeus' catalogue of women in the *Dios apate* is an instance of a Hesiodic catalogue in the *Iliad*.[45] On the other hand, Atalanta's presentation as a female Achilles in the *Catalogue* opens a dialogue between Hesiod's heroine and Homer's hero since the episode of the foot-race (fr. 72-6 M-W) draws on Achilles' chase of Hector (see Chapter 4). The catalogue of Helen's suitors (fr. 196-204 M-W) is a peculiar reworking of the Iliadic catalogue of ships, an appropriation of the heroic catalogue of martial epic in the narrative framework of the *Ehoiai* (see Chapter 1). The intertextual thread that is woven into the fabric of Homeric and Hesiodic epic is not unlike the intergeneric dialogue between Vergil's and Ovid's epics*.*

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[44] For the interaction between the genre of *ehoie*-poetry and Homeric epic in Odysseus' catalogue of women, see Rutherford 2000. Aside from the catalogue of women in the *Nekyia,* there are other insets of *ehoie*-poetry in the *Odyssey,* such as Antinoos' comparison of Penelope with Greek heroines of the past (*Od.* 2.115-22), and Athena's presentation of Arete (*Od.* 7.48-77); see Skempis & Ziogas 2009.
[45] Sammons 2007, 103-65, argues that the episode of *Dios apate* first recalls Theogonic poetry (when Hera lies that she has to visit Oceanos and Tethys in order to resolve their strife at *Il.* 14.200-5) and then *ehoie*-poetry in Zeus' catalogue of women at *Il.* 14.315-28. For Sammons, the effect is that the allusion to such non-Homeric epic poems destabilizes the authority of the Iliadic Zeus; the sovereignty Zeus enjoys is not an absolute condition but an end-state achieved only after many struggles, while Zeus' catalogue of loves reveals a lack of control uncharacteristic of Homer's Zeus.

B) It is odd that almost no critic acknowledges that the *Catalogue of Women*

actually *is* about women.[46] I wish to challenge the opinion that the heroines of

the *Catalogue* are just a "starting-point for extensive heroic genealogies."[47]

Female renown is the poetic core around which the program of the *Catalogue*

revolves, and female beauty is the force that creates and drives its genealogical

narrative. In my view, the generic juxtaposition between Homeric and Hesiodic

epic is reflected in the gendered division between male and female. Unlike

many modern scholars, ancient authors acknowledged a gendered distinction

between Homer and Hesiod. Dio Chrysostom (2.14), for

instance, relates an anecdote according to which Alexander the Great claimed

that Hesiod praised women, while Homer sang of men.[48]

My analysis focuses on the gendered and generic interaction between martial

epic and *ehoie*-poetry.[49] Scholarship on Latin literature has focused on the

important role of women in the supposedly "all male, all war" arena of martial

epic, examining the significance of female intrusions into a male-oriented

genre.[50] However, there is almost nothing about the reception of the female-

oriented epic of the *Ehoiai* in Latin epic. Unlike Vergil, Ovid does not sing of

arma uirumque in his *Metamorphoses,* but spins a Cyclic epic against the

backdrop of Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Catalogue of Women.* I wish to reappraise

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[46] Doherty 2006, 307-10, is right to call attention to this issue. In her article, she examines the possibility that the *Catalogue,* with its emphasis on female ancestors, might have incorporated elements of a women's tradition. Other articles that consider the importance of the women in the *Catalogue* are Rutherford 2000; Osborne 2005.
[47] West 1985, 2.
[48] Cf. *Valerius Paterculus* 1.7.1. According to Lucian *(Diss. c. Hesiodo* 1), the *Catalogue* deals with γυναικῶν ἀρετάς. Maximus of Tyre *(Dialexeis* 18.9) says that Hesiod wrote about γυναικῶν ἔρωτας.
[49] For the gendered and generic dynamics of Odysseus' catalogue of women as they are reflected in the reactions of Alkinoos and Arete, see Skempis-Ziogas 2009.
[50] See mainly Hinds 2000; Keith 2000.

the way in which Ovid revisits and reverses the gendered polarity of traditional epic, taking into account the female-oriented epic tradition of the *Ehoiai.*

C) There is little, if any, appreciation of the poetry of the *Ehoiai.* The epic diction of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* has often been criticized as uninspired and clumsy. Martin West, subscribing to this view, states: "It has long been felt that the diction of the *Catalogue* shows the formulaic style at an advanced stage of decadence."[51] I shall challenge this long standing belief and argue that the poet of the *Catalogue* is in fact a master of epic style, who often enriches the meaning of traditional formulae by means of the context in which they occur. In the Atalanta-*ehoie,* for instance, the girl avoids "the gifts of golden Aphrodite" (fr. 76.31; 76.35 M-W), a stock expression meaning that she avoids marriage/sex. In the case of Atalanta, however, the phrase also refers to the golden apples which Aphrodite gave to Hippomenes and were the reason why Atalanta did not avoid marriage. In the tale of Europa, the girl rides the bull, who is Zeus transformed, when the narrator says that the maiden was "overpowered (δμηθεῖσα) by Zeus' wiles" (fr. 141.2 M-W). While δμηθεῖσα is a standard euphemism for a raped girl, its meaning also suggests the breaking of an animal; the image of Europa riding a tamed bull contrasts with her "taming" by Zeus.

What some scholars perceive as a decadent use of epic diction, I see as a dynamic evolution of the formulaic style. The *Catalogue of Women,* an innovative epic which preserves traditional language, employs archaic formulae but also views epic diction from a distance. Verbal wit is a crucial though neglected aspect of this Hesiodic work; the simultaneous employment of the literal and figurative meaning of various formulae and the negotiation of new

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[51] West 1985, 135-6.

meaning for old phrases show that the poet of the *Catalogue* is far from being an incompetent and tedious imitator of traditional epic. The deconstruction of epic diction and the interplay between the literal and metaphorical meaning of words in the *Catalogue* strike me as particularly Ovidian traits.[52] Ovid, himself criticized as a decadent poet by 19th century scholars, found a kindred spirit in Hesiod's creative manipulation of epic language.

Although this dissertation deals primarily with the *Metamorphoses,* Chapter 1 ('Helen: the Intertext of Illusion') examines Ovid's intertextual engagement with the episode of the wooing of Helen (fr. 196-204 M-W) in the paired letters of Paris and Helen (*Heroides* 16-17). I begin with a discussion of the Hesiodic fragments; the lengthy catalogue of Helen's suitors refers specifically to the Iliadic catalogue of ships, and opens a dialogue between Homeric and Hesiod poetry. This episode constitutes an important, though neglected, intertext of Ovid's *Heroides* 16-17. Paris presents himself as one of Helen's suitors, alluding specifically to the *Catalogue,* while his genealogical argument is actually based on the structure of the *Catalogue,* a point that can shed light on Paris' intricate rhetoric as well as Helen's response. Paris' manipulation of epic formulae is also a crucial aspect of his rhetoric.

Chapter 2 ('From Chaos to Divine Loves: Ovid as a Hesiodic Poet') offers an overview of *Metamorphoses* 1-6, tracing the Hesiodic elements (verbal, thematic, and structural) in Ovid's epic. Ovid draws a trajectory from Chaos *(Theogony)* to the affairs of gods with mortal women *(Catalogue of Women).* Taking into account that the *Catalogue* was the sequel to the *Theogony* (the last two lines of the *Theogony* overlap with the first two of the *Catalogue),* Ovid's

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[52] For syllepsis (i.e. the simultaneous employment of the literal and figurative meaning of a word) as essential to Ovid's *Metamorphoses,* see Tissol 1997, 11-88.

Metamorphoses suggests a unified reading of Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Catalogue.* The sequence *Theogony-Catalogue* is repeatedly suggested in the *Metamorphoses,* most notably in Apollo's entry. The god first kills the Python and then falls in love, a narrative progression which reworks the transition from the *Theogony* to the *Catalogue.* Embedded narratives, such as Perseus's tales, Calliope's song, and the *ekphrasis* of Arachne's tapestry, also bring up the Hesiodic character of Ovid's epic. Overall, the narrative of divine passions follows the stemma of the Inachids, bringing up the subject and the genealogical structure of the *Catalogue.*

Moving from a broader perspective to specific episodes, Chapter 3 ['From Callimachus to Hesiod: Coronis (*Met.* 2. 542-632) and Mestra (*Met.* 8. 738-878)'] deals with the tales of Coronis (told by the primary narrator) and Mestra (told by Achelous). Scholars have written amply on the Callimachean intertext of these tales, but have not discussed the fact that Ovid also draws on Hesiod (for Coronis cf. fr. 59-60 M-W; for Mestra cf. fr. 43 M-W). I discuss verbal echoes of the *Catalogue* in the *Metamorphoses* and further argue that the structure of the tales recalls the structure of an *ehoie.* Thus, Ovid restores generically the tales of Coronis and Mestra to *ehoie*-poetry, using Callimachus, who himself drew on Hesiod, as a 'window' to the *Catalogue of Women.*

A similar case of 'window reference'[53] is examined in Chapter 4 ['Orpheus as a Hesiodic Poet: Ovid's *Ehoie* of Atalanta (*Met.* 10.560-707)'], this time Ovid using Vergil's Camilla as a window to the *Catalogue* in the *ehoie*-like tale of Atalanta. The chapter begins with identifying the Hesiodic character of Orpheus' second narrative in *Metamorphoses* 10 and focuses on the intergeneric interplay between the Hesiodic echoes of Ovid's Atalanta (a story embedded in Orpheus'

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[53] For the term 'window reference', see Thomas 1986, 188-9, 197.

narrative), and the Homeric background of Vergil's *Aeneid.* On the one hand I examine the intertextual dialogue between Homeric and Hesiodic epic, focusing on Hesiod's Atalanta and Homer's Achilles, on the other I argue that the interplay between the *Iliad* and the *Catalogue* is reflected in Ovid's Atalanta and recast as a juxtaposition between the *Aeneid* and the *Metamorphoses.*

The generic juxtaposition between martial epic and *ehoie*-poetry reaches its climax in Ovid's Trojan war, in which Nestor features as a Hesiodic narrator. In Chapter 5 ['Hesiod at Achilles' Party: Nestor's Digression in Ovid's Trojan War (*Met.* 12.168-576)'], I argue that the tale of the transsexual Caenis/Caeneus is structured as an *ehoie,* drawing specifically on Hesiod (fr. 83-90 M-W). While Caeneus' original sex is silenced in *Iliad* 1.262-4 (where Nestor is also the narrator) and in Apollonius' catalogue of the Argonauts (*Argonautica* 1.57-64), Ovid's Nestor brings up Caeneus' gendered and generic affiliation with *ehoie*-poetry, subverting and deflating the masculine pose of heroic epic. Caeneus' sex change in Vergil's catalogue of women (*Aeneid* 6.442-51) further complicates the intertextual nexus of Nestor's narrative. While Vergil mentions Caeneus briefly in the underworld, the traditional *topos* of incorporating a catalogue of women in heroic epic (cf. *Odyssey* 11.225-332), Ovid's Nestor includes a proper *ehoie* of Caenis in the heart of the Trojan War. Nestor's second narrative deals with the death of his brother Periclymenus. The Hesiodic background of this story (fr. 33-5 M-W) clashes with the narrative dynamics of martial epic.

Working on a fragmentary work is both a fascinating and frustrating experience. For the text of the *Catalogue* I used Merkelbach and West's first (1967) and

third edition (1990),[54] although I constantly consulted Hirschberger 2004 and Most 2007. I have been cautious about building an argument on emendations and, whenever I have done it, I explain why I think it is safe to accept a particular restoration. Overall, the formulaic diction of the *Catalogue* often makes it possible to restore part of a line with reasonable assurance. Though it was tempting, I did not offer my own textual conjectures and avoided the equally tempting, but circular, method of using Ovid to restore Hesiod's text. For the text of *Heroides* 16-17 I use Dörrie 1971 (in the absence of a new edition) and Kenney 1995. For the *Metamorphoses* I use Tarrant's 2004 OCT, although I do not agree with his tendency to bracket several passages as suspect because of content or uncertain transmission.

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[54] The third edition of the fragments ('Fragmenta Selecta') is published in the same OCT volume with Solmsen's edition of the *Theogony,* the *Works and Days,* and the *Shield.* Although this edition includes fragments discovered after the publication of the first edition in 1967 (Oxford), many testimonia and fragments that appeared in the first edition are omitted.

Chapter 1

Helen: The Intertext of Illusion

Κοίτα,

πάνω στὴ δίψα σου φωτίζομαι ἀπὸ τὸν τρομερὸ

μῦθο τοῦ ποιήματος

Look,

upon your thirst I shine out of the dreadful

myth of the poem

Takis Sinopoulos,

A Catalogue of Men in the *Catalogue of Women*

The *Catalogue of Women* culminates in the lengthy episode of the wooing of

Helen (fr. 196-204 M-W).[1] In this episode, the poet includes a catalogue of

suitors who pursued Helen by offering lavish gifts to her father. Tyndareus,

fearing that a conflict amongst the suitors after the final decision, bound all of

them with an oath. The suitors swore to defend Helen's husband if any man

should seize her by force. Menelaus won Helen's hand, but their marriage was

meant to be fatal for the age of heroes. After the mention of Hermione's birth,

the poet switches abruptly to the gods. Zeus decides to stir up war and put an

end to the generation of heroes. Helen's marriage triggers the transition to a

new age. In another sudden shift, Zeus causes a storm that stirs up the sea,

destroys vegetation and saps men's strength.[2] Martin West argues that this

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[1] The wooing of Helen was also narrated in Stesichorus, *Helen* (fr. 190 Davies); Euripides, *Iph. Aul.* 51-77; Isocrates, *Helen* 39-41; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.10.8-9. Hyginus, *Fab.* 81 gives a list of the suitors' names.
[2] It is hard to reconstruct what happens in the rest of the episode. On this issue, see West 1985, 114-21; Clay 2005.

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episode comes in the end of the Hesiodic *Catalogue* and his view has not been challenged.[3] It seems that the *Catalogue* concludes with Helen's marriage followed by Zeus' plan to destroy most of the race of human beings with the πρόφασις[4] of annihilating the demigods (fr. 204. 58-62 M-W).

The catalogue of Helen's suitors is one the most exciting parts of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women,* and it is surprising that it has been given little attention by modern scholarship.[5] This episode, which precipitates the Trojan war, presents the greatest Iliadic heroes. The relation of the catalogue of suitors to the Homeric catalogue of ships has already been noted by various scholars.[6] The heroes who woo Helen are almost identical to the warriors who will sail to Troy, and the oath that Tyndareus has the suitors take, makes this link all the more explicit. Since all the heroes are bound by oath to avenge Helen's abduction, they will have to turn from suitors to warriors when Paris carries Helen off.

I would also like to discuss some other intriguing facets of the catalogue of suitors. To begin with, since the catalogue of suitors is incorporated in a catalogue of women, we are invited to compare the two catalogues. The Panhellenic scope of the *Catalogue of Women* corresponds to the heroes who come from all over Greece.[7] From a geographical perspective, the catalogue of suitors is a miniature of the *Catalogue of Women.* Since it comes in the end of the work and offers a concise Panhellenic overview, it invites comparison of how women appear in the *Catalogue* with the presentation of Helen's suitors.

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[3] West 1985, 43 ff; 114-21. Heilinger 1983 mistakenly placed the episode of Helen's wooing in her genealogy (book 1). The episode cannot belong there since there is no room for the lengthy catalogue of suitors.
[4] πρόφασις is hard to translate. It can mean both a true motive or cause as well as a false motive or a pretext. On πρόφασις, see Clay 2005, 30 with note 28.
[5] There is almost nothing, aside from Davies 1992, 124-35; Cingano 2005; Osborne 2005, 21-4.
[6] See West 1985, 114-9; Finkelberg 1988; Clay 2005, 29; Cingano 2005, 122 and *passim.*
[7] On the geographical aspect of the catalogue of suitors, see West 1985, 114-9; Osborne 2005, 21ff.

One of the most salient characteristics of the Hesiodic heroines is their outstanding beauty. It is because they are beautiful that they attract the gods and have affairs with them.[8] On the other hand, in the extant fragments of the catalogue of Helen's suitors, there is no mention of male beauty.[9] Not only is male attractiveness not relevant to the wooing of Helen, it is not even mentioned in passing. In the Homeric catalogue of ships, Nireus is κάλλιστος (*Il.* 2.673), but in the fragments of the Hesiodic catalogue of suitors there is no such mention of anyone. It is my contention that the total silence about male beauty is contrasted with the ubiquitous mention of female beauty in the *Catalogue of Women.* In particular, it is contrasted with Helen's unique beauty, a heroine who, as the poet says, is as beautiful as golden Aphrodite (fr. 196.5 M-W).

The absence of any reference to the suitors' attractiveness is also contrasted with Paris, the man who will abduct Helen after her marriage to Menelaus and was indeed famous for his outstanding beauty. Homer has Aphrodite mention to Helen Paris' beauty (κάλλεΐ τε στίλβων καὶ εἵμασιν, *Il.* 3.392) in an episode that nicely shows that Helen was incapable of resisting Paris' attractiveness. Even Hector, in a vitriolic rebuke, calls Paris εἶδος ἄριστε (*Il.* 3.39).[10] Paris' εἶδος matches Helen's εἶδος, while her suitors lack any kind of comment on their appearance.

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[8] On the beauty of women as a characteristic feature of the Hesiodic *Catalogue,* see Osborne 2005.

[9] Menelaus is referred to as ξανθός (fr. 198.5; 204.1 M-W), an epithet that might suggest attractiveness. However, this is an implicit and weak way to refer to a man's attractive appearance (cf. κάλλιστος, *Il.* 2.673 for Nireus; εἶδος ἄριστε, *Il.* 3.39 for Paris), not to mention that aside from this formulaic epithet Menelaus is not described as handsome elsewhere. Note also that while Melenaus' traditional epithet ξανθός is used twice in the wooing of Helen, the epithet ἀρηΐφιλος (which is irrelevant to his appearance) is used four times for Menelaus (fr. 195.5; 204.86; 204.89; 204.83 M-W).

[10] Cf. also *Il.* 3.44-5 (καλὸν εἶδος) and Hecuba's argument that Helen abandoned Menelaus because Paris was outstandingly handsome (ἦν οὑμὸς υἱὸς κάλλος ἐκπρεπέστατος, Eurip. *Troad.* 987).

The only thing that matters in the wooing of Helen is wealth. No wonder that the beauty of the gifts (καλά, fr. 200.6 M-W) is mentioned, but not that of the suitors. Since wealth is so crucial, the poet refers routinely to the gifts that each suitor offered to marry Helen. Only Odysseus did not send anything because he knew that Menelaus would win since he was the best of the Achaeans in wealth (fr. 198. 2-6 M-W). Menelaus finally does win, as Odysseus predicted, just because he offered the most (Ἀτρείδης νίκησεν ἀρηΐφιλος Μενέλαος/ πλεῖστα πορών. fr. 204. 48-9 M-W). The wooing of Helen is therefore an auction. The highest bidder gets the bride.[11] Reading the catalogue of suitors against the background of the Homeric catalogue of ships, one cannot help but notice that the Iliadic heroes have been reduced to a group of wealthy suitors who bid for Helen's hand. It does not matter who is the best hero in valor, just who gives the most.

Hesiod mentions Menelaus as "the best of the Achaeans in wealth" (κτήνωι γὰρ Ἀχαιῶν φέρτατος ἦεν· fr. 198.6 M-W), a phrase that sounds like a deflation of the Homeric ideal of a hero. In the *Iliad*, Achilles is "the best of the Achaeans" (φέρτατ᾽ Ἀχαιῶν, *Il.* 16.21; 19.216; cf. ὁ γὰρ πολὺ φέρτατος ἦεν, *Il.* 2.769), but his heroic excellence has nothing to do with wealth.[12] We are also told of another suitor, who offered the most after Menelaus:

μνᾶτο· πλεῖστα δὲ δῶρα **μετὰ ξανθὸν Μενέλαον**

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[11] The presentation of the wooing of Helen as a contest of wealth is not attested outside Hesiod. Agamemnon in Euripides' *Iph. Aul.,* for instance, says that Aphrodite decided who of the suitors would marry Helen: δίδωσ᾽ ἑλέσθαι θυγατρὶ μνηστήρων ἕνα/ ὅποι πνοαὶ φέροιεν Ἀφροδίτης φίλαι (68-9). It is Helen that makes the choice in Euripides, not her father and brothers as it is the case in Hesiod. There is also no mention of the wealth of the suitors in Euripides. Gold and luxury is a characteristic of the foreign Paris (χρυσῷ τε λαμπρός, βαρβάρῳ χλιδήματι, *Iph. Aul.* 74) not of the Greek suitors.
[12] φέρτατος is synonymous with ἄριστος. Cf. Nagy 1999, 27 and 26-65, for the Homeric ideal of "the best of the Achaeans". At the same time, the meaning of φέρτατος in Hesiod alludes playfully to its etymology from φέρω; Menelaus is not the bravest, but the one who brings the most.

μνηστήρων ἐδίδου·

fr. 204.1 M-W

he wooed; and after blond Menelaus he offered the most gifts.

The diction recalls the formulaic comparison of Homeric heroes with Achilles, but at the same time stresses the difference. In the catalogue of ships, Nireus is the most handsome after Achilles:

Νιρεύς, ὃς **κάλλιστος** ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθεν
τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν **μετ' ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα**
Il. 2.673-4

Nireus, the most beautiful man who came beneath Ilion, of the other Danaans after blameless Achilles.

The parallel is striking. The outstanding beauty of Achilles in the Homeric catalogue of ships has been replaced by the wealth of Menelaus in the catalogue of suitors, although one would expect that attractiveness would be more relevant to a suitor than a warrior.

Ajax is also the best of the Achaeans after Achilles.

Αἴας, ὃς περὶ μὲν **εἶδος**, περὶ δ' **ἔργα** τέτυκτο
τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν **μετ' ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα**.
Il. 17.279-80= *Od.* 11.550-1

Ajax, who for his beauty and his deeds surpassed the other Danaans after the blameless son of Peleus.

Αἴαντός θ', ὃς ἄριστος ἔην **εἶδός** τε **δέμας** τε

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τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν **μετ᾽ ἀμύμονα Πηλείωνα.**

Od. 11.469-70= *Od.* 24.17-8

Ajax, who was the best in beauty and stature of the other Danaans after
the blameless son of Peleus.

What is compared with Achilles is Ajax' physical appearance (εἶδος, δέμας)
and deeds (ἔργα). By contrast, there is no mention of Ajax' appearance in his
entry in the Hesiodic catalogue of Helen's suitors (fr. 204. 4-11 M-W). Hesiod
says that Ajax was an excellent warrior (ἀμώμητος πολεμιστής, fr. 204.4 M-
W), but Ajax' excellence in war is pointed out because he has to promise to
plunder various cities in order to collect gifts for Helen.[13] His gifts would count,
but his appearance is irrelevant. What is more, Ajax as a warrior is ineffective in
wooing Helen since promising gifts is not the same as offering gifts. The
ineffectiveness of Ajax' warlike spirit contrasts with the wealthy suitors who offer
lavish gifts; Tyndareus will judge the price of the gifts, not the value of heroic
courage.

I suggest that the phrase μετὰ ξανθὸν Μενέλαον recalls the Homeric formula
μετ᾽ ἀμύμονα Πηλείωνα.[14] But, while in Homer Nireus is second only to
Achilles in beauty and Ajax second only to Achilles in appearance and deeds, in
the *Catalogue,* one of Helen's suitors is second only to Menelaus in the gifts he
offers. It is my contention that the catalogue of suitors downplays the heroic
status of Homeric heroes. There is a contrast between the κλέος of Helen and
the women of the *Catalogue* on the one hand and the reduced heroic status of
the suitors on the other. In a poem that aims at extolling female beauty, the

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[13] Here I follow Cingano's reading. See Cingano 2005, 143-52 *(contra* Finkelberg 1988); cf.
Hirschberger 2004, 410. Hirschberger and Cingano arrived at the same reading independently.
[14] Note that both phrases are placed in the second half of the line.

excellence of Homeric heroes is secondary. The catalogue of Helen's suitors is a good example of how the female-oriented *Catalogue* reduces the heroes of the *Iliad* to a footnote.

The κλέος of Helen's beauty is what makes the suitors offer lavish gifts. We are told that Helen had the beauty of golden Aphrodite ([ἢ εἶδ̣ος ἔχε χρυσῆς Ἀφ [ροδί]της, fr. 196.5 M-W) and that her fame was great (μέγα γὰρ κλέος̣ [ἔσκε γυ]ν̣α̣ι̣κός, fr. 199.9 M-W). This brings up another intrinsic aspect of this episode, namely the juxtaposition between εἶδος, that is something that is seen, and κλέος, that is something that is heard. It is one of the most intriguing features of the catalogue of suitors that the heroes who woo Helen have not seen her. Most of them send delegates to Sparta to offer their gifts to Tyndareus. They are suitors by proxy. In fact, we are told that a suitor desires to be Helen's husband, although he has never seen her:

> ἱμείρων Ἑλένης πόσις ἔμμεναι ἠυκόμοιο,
> **εἶδος**[15] οὔ τι **ἰδών**, ἀλλ' ἄλλων μῦθον **ἀκούων.**
> fr. 199.2-3 M-W

> desiring to be the husband of the lovely-haired Helen, not having seen her beauty, but hearing the story of others.

The *figura etymologica* εἶδος...ἰδών points out that Helen's beauty is something to be seen,[16] while the framing of the line with εἶδος and ἀκούων emphasizes that the suitor has heard about Helen, but has not seen her beauty.

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[15] I follow Merkelbach-West and Hirschberger 2004, fr. 108.3. Most 2007, fr. 154d.3, reads εἰδὼς οὔτε ἰδών. For the scansion of εἶδος οὔ τι ἰδών, the so called στίχος λαγαρός, see fr. 70.21; 204.54; 252.3 M-W. Another metrical justification assumes that there is a digamma of an elided ϝε (εἶδός ϝ οὔτι). On these metrical explanations, see Hirschberger 2004, *ad loc.*

[16] This *figura etymologica* stresses the appearance of Odysseus (*Il.* 3.224); Penelope/Kalypso (*Od.* 5.217); Laertes (*Od.* 24.374); Artemis (*H.Hom.* 3.198). See Clary (2009).

The only exception to the rule seems to be Idomeneus. He does not send a messenger to woo Helen, but sails himself to Sparta to see her:

ἐκ Κρήτης δ' ἐμνᾶτο μέγα σθ.ένος. Ἰ.δ.ο.μ.[ενῆος
Δευκαλίδης, Μίνωος ἀγακλειτοῖ.ο. γε.ν.έ.[θλης·
οὐδέ τινα μνηστῆρα μ.[ε]τ.άγγελον ἄ.λ.λ.[ον ἔπεμψεν,
ἀλλ' αὐτὸς [σ]ὺν νηὶ̈ πολυκλήϊδι μελαίν.η.[ι
β.ῆ. ὑπ.έ.ρ. Ὠ.γ.υλίου πόντου διὰ κῦμα κελαιν.[ὸν
Τ.υ.νδαρέου ποτὶ δῶμα δαΐφρονος, ὄφρ.[α **ἴδοιτο**
Ἀ]ρ.[γείην] Ἑλένην, μηδ' ἄλλ.ων ο.ἶο.ν. **ἀ.κ[ούοι**
μῦθον, ὃς] ἤ.δ.η. πᾶσαν ἐπ.ὶ. [χθ]όνα δῖαν ἵκαν.[εν
fr. 204.16-23 M-W

From Crete mighty Idomeneus wooed her, Deucalion's son, offspring of glorious Minos; he sent no proxy as suitor, but himself with a many-benched black ship came over the Ogylian sea through the dark waves to the house of shrewd Tyndareus, so that he could see Argive Helen, and not merely hear from others the story that had already reached the whole godly earth.

Idomeneus, true to his name,[17] is not satisfied with what he heard about Helen from others, although her fame reached the whole earth.[18] The juxtaposition Ἰδομενῆος- ἴδοιτο- ἀκούοι in the end of lines 16-21-22 respectively, suggests Idomeneus' etymology as well as an important distinction between Helen's μῦθος and εἶδος. In fact, Idomeneus is the exception that highlights the rule

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[17] On the semantic relation between Idomeneus and ὁρῶ in this passage and in Homer (cf. Ἰδομενῆα ἴδον, *Il.* 13.330; Ἰδομενῆι ἰδέσθαι, *Od.* 14.382), see Ahl 2002. On Idomeneus and seeing, see also Tsitsibakou-Vasalos 2007, 73-4, 202.
[18] Ahl 2002, 124, points out that it is not a coincidence that Idomeneus, a character that comes from Crete, does not trust a hearsay (μῦθος) since Crete is a place where traditionally little trust resides in μῦθος.

since he appears to be the only suitor that wanted to see Helen. For him beauty (εἶδος) is something to be seen, not heard.

It is also interesting that Helen does not appear in the narrative proper. We are told about her fame and about her beauty, but she is not present in the episode of her wooing as her father Tyndareus and her brothers arrange everything for her marriage. This has the effect of bringing the external audience into a position similar to that of the internal audience of the suitors. The readers of the *Catalogue* are almost like the suitors of Helen. They hear about her beauty, but the girl never appears in the forefront of the story. It is the men who act on her behalf, while Helen is absent and elusive even from the main course of the narrative.

What makes the suitors, except for Idomeneus, desire to marry Helen is the fame of her beauty, not her beauty itself and they are willing to offer many gifts, although they have not seen the girl. It is Helen's μῦθος that has reached the whole earth, and her great κλέος that rouses a desire to men to marry her. The almighty renown of Helen's beauty motivates the greatest Greek heroes; her female κλέος, which encompasses the entire earth, is set above the fame of all heroes. In the episode of the wooing of Helen, there is no mention of male κλέος, a pointed absence of the subject of Homeric epic (defined as κλέα ἀνδρῶν, *Il.* 9.189; 524; Μοῦσ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἀοιδὸν ἀνῆκεν ἀειδέμεναι κλέα ἀνδρῶν, *Od.* 8.73). Actually, the suitors seem to try to appropriate Helen's κλέος by marrying her. This contrasts sharply with the idea of male κλέος as fame which is gained on the battlefield. Ironically, this is how these heroes will finally gain their κλέος; not by marrying Helen, but by fighting for her in Troy.

The κλέος of Helen's beauty, which will be reflected upon her husband, also subverts the motif of women assuming the κλέος of their fathers or husbands. This is how the Odyssean 'Catalogue of Women' is introduced in the *Nekyia* (αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες/ ἤλυθον..../ ὅσσαι ἀριστήων ἄλοχοι ἔσαν ἠδὲ θυγατέρες. *Od.* 11.225-7). Female excellence is a reflection of male excellence. However, in the proem of the *Catalogue of Women,* the heroines are called ἄρισται, independently of their fathers and husbands (Νῦν δὲ γυναικῶν [φῦλον ἀείσατε, ἡδυέπειαι/ Μοῦσαι Ὀλυμπιάδε[ς, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο, / αἳ τότ' <u>ἄρισται</u> ἔσαν, μίτρας τ' <u>ἀλλύσαντο</u> [.../ μισγόμεναι θεοῖσ[ιν fr. 1.1-5 M-W).[19] Note that the heroines appear active since they themselves loosened (ἀλλύσαντο)[20] their girdles to mingle with gods,[21]an image that sharply contrasts with the affairs, rapes, and the arranged marriages described throughout the *Catalogue.*

It is a striking feature of the episode of the wooing of Helen that her fame not only encompasses the whole earth, but also seems to be a source of male κλέος. But there is more to it. It has been noted that μῦθος and κλέος are related not only to hearsay, but also refer specifically to poetic tradition.[22] The fame of Helen's beauty is a poetic renown. But what kind of poetic renown? The genre that praised female beauty, and is thematically associated with female excellence, is the genre of the *Ehoiai. As the Catalogue of Women* approaches its end, the poet comments on the fame that women gain through *ehoie-*

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[19] Skempis & Ziogas 2009, 229, discuss the introduction of the Odyssean 'Catalogue of Women' in comparison with the proem of the Hesiodic *Catalogue.*
[20] For the active translation of ἀλλύσαντο here, see Supplement to LSJ, s.v. ἀναλύω; Most 2007, 41.
[21] Doherty 2006, 319-20, discusses the active attitude of the heroines in the proem in comparison with their affairs and marriages in the Hesiodic work.
[22] See Nagy 1974, 244-55; Segal 1983, 27; Pucci 1980, 163-86; 1998. Olson 1995, 2-3, argues that κλέος cannot mean 'glory' conferred by epic poetry. Nagy 2003, refutes Olson's thesis.

poetry.[23] Such a self-referential comment is particularly appropriate in the end of a work, where poets would express their faith in the power of their poetry.[24] Helen's κλέος reaches all the world because the poetic genre that extolled her beauty also reached the whole earth. As a result, the power of poetic renown instills desire in the Greek heroes, and causes the last and maybe the most extensive episode of the *Catalogue.* Poetry, to be sure, is not an idle reading or hearsay, but a power that instigates action. Ovid's Paris is well aware of this. For it is by means of an elegiac letter that he attempts to seduce Helen.

Ovid's Suitor

In *Heroides* 16, Paris is in Sparta and writes to Helen in an attempt to seduce her. I shall argue that in his letter the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* is an important, though underestimated, intertext.[25] To begin with, Paris says that he fell in love with Helen before having seen her, and thus behaves exactly as her suitors in the Hesiodic *Catalogue*:

> *te peto, quam pepigit lecto Venus aurea nostro;*
> *te prius **optaui** quam mihi nota fores;*
> *ante tuos animo **uidi** quam lumine **uultus**;*
> *prima tulit <u>uulnus</u> nuntia **fama** mihi.*
> *Her.* 16.35-8

> I woo you, whom golden Venus promised for my bed. I desired you before you were known to me; I saw your features with my mind before I saw them with my eyes; Rumor, bearer of news, was the first to wound me.

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[23] For the *Ehoiai* as a genre, see Rutherford 2000; Nasta 2006.
[24] The closure of a work with this pattern recalls a σφραγίς.
[25] For a survey of Ovid's possible sources in *Her.* 16-17, see Kenney 1995.

These lines refer to the following Hesiodic fragment:[26]

> **ἱμείρων** Ἑλένης πόσις ἔμμεναι ἠυκόμοιο,
>
> **εἶδος** οὔ τι **ἰδών**, ἀλλ᾽ ἄλλων **μῦθον** ἀκούων.
>
> fr. 199.2-3 M-W

> desiring to be the husband of the lovely-haired Helen, although he did
>
> not see her beauty, but hearing the story of others.

Ovid's diction recalls the Hesiodic fragment in specific details: *optaui*
corresponds to ἱμείρων, *uidi* to ἰδών, *uultus* to εἶδος, and *fama* to μῦθος.[27]
Helen's *nuntia fama* that reaches Paris is therefore a poetic renown. The word
fama, like μῦθος and κλέος, can be used as a signal to the reader that the
poet is saying something here about his own relation to poetic tradition, a
technique that is often called 'Alexandrian footnote'.[28] In this case, Ovid and
Paris refer back to the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women.* I have mentioned above
that it is Helen's poetic κλέος that makes the Greek heroes desire to marry her
and Paris not only refers to Hesiod here, but also enters the Hesiodic world,
presenting himself as one of the suitors who wooed Helen. He turns himself into
a character of the work he is referring to. Poetic memory is not something
bygone, it is instead a reality that Paris wants to bring into life. *Fama s* power of

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[26] See Kenney 1995, note 59; 1996, *ad* 16.37-8. Barchiesi 1996 (reviewing Kenney's
commentary) says that "perhaps the influence of the *Catalogue* deserves more attention." Cf.
Hardie 2005, 297.

[27] If we follow Most's reading (εἰδὼς οὔτε ἰδών), εἰδώς corresponds to *nota fores* and ἰδών to
uidi.

[28] The term 'Alexandrian footnote' was first used by Ross 1975, 78; cf. Hinds 1998, 1-5. I take
the term as describing the practice of poets to use several words (e.g. *dicitur, fama est, ferunt*
etc) not only to draw attention to the fact that they are referring to a specific poetic work or a
poetic tradition, but also to invite the reader to contextualize and interpret this reference.

ἐνάργεια ('vividness') or φαντασία ('creative imagination') is thus pointed out[29] as Paris lives (and is trapped) in a world conjured up by the *nuntia fama.* He does not just refer back to a poetic tradition, it is rather the poetic tradition that is projected into his life. While Helen's suitors did not see her, but only heard of her fame, the Ovidian *fama* has the ability to create visions. It is a *fama* that evokes Helen's *uultus,* invalidating the juxtaposition between κλέος and εἶδος. Poetic renown is a power that creates illusions.

The illusions that Helen's *fama* projects are more than empty visions or phantoms. They have the power to absorb Paris into their world. Their substance, though mental, affects Paris physically.[30] This is also pointed out by the pun between *uultus* and *uulnus*[31] as Ovid draws attention to the causal relation of the words by putting *uultus* in the end of the hexameter and *uulnus* before the diaeresis of the next pentameter. The illusion of Helen's countenance strikes a blow and wounds Paris, who feels the mark of Helen's *uultus* stamped on his *uulnus.* Wounds of love created by seeing a girl or a boy is a *topos,*[32] but Ovid goes a step further. It is not the sight of Helen that wounds Paris, but her sight conjured up by her poetic fame.

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[29] Ovidian critics have recently focused on the importance of ἐνάργεια and φαντασία in Ovid. See Tissol 1997, 61-88; Hardie 2002a, 5-6 and *passim;* cf. Fondermann 2008. On ancient definitions of ἐνάργεια, see Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *On Lysias* 7 (αὕτη δ᾽ ἐστὶ δύναμίς τις ὑπὸ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἄγουσα τὰ λεγόμενα). Ἐνάργεια has the power to make the human mind (διάνοια) not only hear what was said, but also see what was done (μὴ μόνον ἀκούουσα τῶν λεγομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα ὁρῶσα, Dion. of Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 11.1.3). In Latin, Cicero defines vivid language *(illustris)* as *quem rem constituat ante oculos, Part. Or.* 20. Quintilian describes the effect of *uisiones* (= φαντασίαι) as follows: *per quas imagines rerum absentium ita repraesentantur animo ut eas cernere oculis ac praesentes habere uideamur, Inst. Or.* 6.2.29. Quintilian's definition is reminiscent of Ovid, *Her.* 16.35-8. For a recent discussion of ἐνάργεια (in reference to Homer), see Clay 2007, 237.
[30] Interestingly, this approach resembles the Epicurean theory of sight.
[31] Michalopoulos 2006 *ad loc* points out the wordplay between *uultus* and *uulnus.* Vergil also employs this pun *(uulnus...uultus, Aeneid,* 4.1-4); Aeneas' *uultus* causes Dido's *uulnus.*
[32] Cf. Apollonius, *Arg.* 3.286-90; Lucretius, *DRN* 4.1045ff; Catullus 64.91-3; Propertius 1.1.1-2; Ovid *Met.* 4.315-6; 4.676-7; 8.324-7.

It is important to approach the Hesiodic intertext through Paris' eyes,[33] and I wish to stress Paris, rather than Ovid, as a reader of the Hesiodic tradition. Such an approach allows us to develop the dynamics of the Hesiodic intertext independently of a discussion about Ovid's 'sources' or 'models'. We see that the tradition of the *Catalogue* has such power that it comes to life and haunts Paris. Paris reads himself back to others' stories, but it is also the stories of others that are projected into his life. This perspective comes closer to Kristeva's definition of intertextuality; it is not we who create texts, we are rather created by them.[34]

Paris emphasizes the great renown of Helen's beauty one more time:

> ***magna*** *quidem de te* ***rumor praeconia*** <u>***fecit.***</u>
> *nullaque de* <u>***facie***</u> *nescia* ***terra*** *tua est,*
> *Her.* 16.141-2

> Fame has made great heralding of you. There is no land that does not know of your beauty.

Paris' words again refer to the *Catalogue of Women. Her.* 16.141 alludes to μέγα γὰρ κλέος. [ἔσκε γυ]ν.α.ι.κός, (fr. 199.9 M-W), while the fame of Helen's beauty that reaches the whole earth recalls μῦθον, ὃς] ἤ.δ.η. πᾶσαν ἐπ.ὶ. [χθ]όνα δῖαν ἵκαν.[εν (fr. 204.23 M-W). It is the poetic fame of Helen's

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[33] Efi Spentzou, in an influential monograph, notes that the voice of the heroines is lost in recent criticism since most of the readings "do justice to Ovid's skill as a writer in the *Heroides*- as was badly needed- but they do not take the heroines' challenge seriously enough. The learned reader takes pleasure in the intertextual complexities offered to him, but the heroines' voice has not been acknowledged or appreciated (let alone celebrated)." Spentzou 2003, 2. Although I think it is not always easy (or necessary) to distinguish Ovid's poetic technique from the world of his characters, Spentzou aptly shows how fruitful it might be to interpret the world of the heroines independently of authorial intention. Similarly, Fulkerson 2005, approaches the writing and reading of the heroines, not that of Ovid.

[34] Kristeva 1969, coined the term intertextuality. Her definition of intertextuality had little (if anything) to do with literary criticism.

beauty praised in the Hesiodic *Catalogue* that has been spread all over the world and reached Paris' ears, and the Ovidian diction underpins the dynamics of a genre that thematized the praise of female beauty. This is also achieved through the semantic approximation of *fecit* to *facie.* Gellius etymologizes *facies* from *facere (facies... forma omnis et modus et factura quaedam corporis totius a faciendo dicta, NA* 13.30.2)[35] and Ovid alludes to this etymological relation at *Met.* 1.601-3: *Interea medios Iuno despexit in Argos,/ et noctis **faciem** nebulas **fecisse** uolucres/ sub nitido mirata die.* Juno is surprised that rapid mists create the appearance of night in shinning daylight and Ovid points out the effect of the clouds with the nice touch of an etymological connection between *facere* and *facies.* By putting *fecit* in the end of the hexameter and *facie* before the diaeresis of the next pentameter (*Her.* 16.141-2), Ovid emphasizes the link between the words (cf. *uultus-uulnus* discussed above).

In a context referring to poetic tradition, *facere* also alludes to the Greek ποιῶ, a cross-lingual pun that specifies *facere* as a verb referring to poetic creation. This meaning of *facere,* nuanced by ποιῶ, is already attested in Plautus (*atque hoc **poetae faciunt** in comoediis, Men.* 7; *Nec fallaciam astutiorem ullus **fecit/ poeta** atque ut haec est fabre **facta** a nobis, Casina* 860-1)*.* Catullus (*hoc, iucunde, tibi **poema feci**,* 50.16) and Vergil also makes the same connection (*et me **fecere poetam**/ Pierides, Ecl.* 9.32-3).[36] Ovid, while complaining that he almost became a Getic poet, employs this learned Greek allusion *(Nec te mirari, si sint uitiosa, decebit/ carmina quae **faciam** paene **poeta** Getes. Ex Ponto* 4.13.17-8). In *Amores* 3.12, Ovid complains that his poetry made Corinna available to everyone. His poetic talent prostituted his girlfriend:

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[35] See also Isidore, *Differentiae* 2.52 *(facies dicta est, eo quod notitiam faciat hominis).* See Maltby 1991, *s.v. facies;* Michalopoulos 2006, *ad* 16.141-2.
[36] See O'Hara 1996, 250-1.

> *fallimur, an nostris innotuit illa libellis?*
>
> > *sic erit: ingenio prostitit illa meo*
>
> *et merito! quid enim formae **praeconia feci**?*
>
> > *uendibilis culpa **facta** puella mea **est**.*
>
> *Am.* 3.12.7-10

> Am I deceived, or was she made known through my little books? So it
> shall be: she has stepped forth out of my talent. And I deserve it! For why
> did I make heralding of her beauty? By my fault the girl has been
> rendered marketable.

Praeconia feci[37] in the end of the hexameter corresponds to *praeconia fecit* at
Her. 16.141. The cross- lingual pun on *facere*-ποιῶ is also significant in the
Amores.[38] It was Ovid's poems that divulged Corinna's beauty. Corinna 'stood
out' (the literal meaning of *prostitit*, a word that also means 'to prostitute
oneself') of the poet's genius *(ingenio meo)*, and, from a private affair, became a
common pleasure. The poet's praise of his girlfriend's beauty instigated the
desire of his readers,[39] who resemble Paris who fell in love because of Helen's
poetic fame of her beauty. Corinna is to be sold: Ovid toys with what happens to
the books of his poetry and what happens to his girlfriend. At *Am.* 3.12.10, *facta
est* further elaborates the pun on ποιῶ. Corinna has become a poem that is now
on sale. Note that *prosto* can mean 'to be up for sale', and Horace actually uses

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[37] *Praeconium* can be related specifically to poetic renown. Cf. *Neque enim quisquam est tam
auersus a Musis, qui non mandari uersibus aeternum suorum laborum facile praeconium
patiatur.* Cicero, *Pro Archia* 20. In the same speech, Homer is called a *praeco: "O fortunate"*
inquit *"adulescens, qui tuae uirtutis Homerum praeconem inueneris!" Pro Archia* 24. Ovid, in his
letter to Augustus, says that the emperor will find in the *Metamorphoses* the *praeconia* of his
name *(uestri praeconia nominis, Tr.* 2.65).
[38] Cf. *Ars* 3.533-5 (*Carmina qui facimus... Nos facimus praeconia formae),* where *facere* refers
to poetic creation.
[39] Hardie, 2002, 41, talks about "the desire for knowledge of Corinna's body", referring to *Am.*
3.12; cf. Fear 2000.

this verb to refer specifically to a book on sale (*liber prostat,* Hor. *Ep.* 1.20.2).

Poetic material and reality are conflated, especially since Corinna's existence,

other than as a Greek poetess in her own right, is very problematic (cf. *Et multi,*

quae sit Corinna rogant, Ars 3. 538; *ad leue rursus opus, iuuenalia carmina,*

ueni,/ et falso moui pectus amore meum, Tr. 2.339-40).[40]

Ovid creates a semantic nexus between *facere* and *facies* at *Her.* 16.141-2*,* and

invites the readers to interpret Helen's beauty *(facies)* as a poetic construction

(facere- ποιῶ). Poetry is responsible not only for divulging Helen's renown over

the entire earth, but also for creating her beauty. Ovid unites the poetic with the

factual, inviting us to visualize Helen through the lens of poetic tradition. Helen's

beauty is indistinguishable from the poetry about her beauty. At the same time,

the *facere- facies* connection encapsulates the main theme of the *Catalogue of*

Women, a poem thematically preoccupied with female beauty; Ovid employs

the *facere- facies* connection in order to evoke the thematic dynamics of the

Hesiodic genre. What is more, he comments on the creative power of poetic

tradition. It is not only that Helen's beauty reaches the whole earth by means of

poetry, but that her beauty is actually a poetic construction; her εἶδος is

conjured up by her κλέος. The incorporeal poetic tradition makes *(facit)* the

physical forms *(facies)* that haunt Paris.

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[40] For Ovid's prevarication about Corinna, see Kennedy 1993, 89ff. Corinna is the girlfriend of illusion. The etymology of her name from κόρη refers vaguely to a 'girl', an unidentified elegiac *puella*. McKeown 1987, 21, notes that *Corinna* can always be replaced with *puella,* which has exactly the same prosody. But κόρη also means the 'pupil (of the eye)' because of the little image reflected in the pupil of the person at whom we look. Corinna is a poetic image reflected upon our eyes, her body *(corpus)* is what we see when we read the *corpus* of the *Amores*. The Latin *pupula,* similarly to the Greek κόρη, literally means 'little girl' (as a diminutive of *puella)* but also 'pupil (of the eye)'. This argument is suggested by Hardie 2002a, 2-3, in reference to the *lena* elegy (*Am.* 1.8).

Golden Aphrodite

The *Catalogue of Women* belongs to an innovative epic genre that enables the Hesiodic poet to reflect upon traditional epic diction from a distance and often toy with epic formulae. In the Atalanta- *ehoie,* for instance, the epic formula δῶρα χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης, a phrase that usually indicates marriage or sexual intercourse, refers to the golden apples that Aphrodite gave to Hippomenes to win the race (fr. 76.6-10 M-W).[41] The name-epithet χρυσῆ Ἀφροδίτη probably dates from a period when the etymological connection of Ἀφρο-δίτη to 'brightness' was still understood.[42] In the episode of the wooing of Helen, the poet says that the girl was as beautiful as golden Aphrodite ([ἣ] εἶδ.ος ἔχε **χρυσῆς** Ἀφ[ροδί]της·, fr. 196.5 M-W) and I argue that this formula is ironically related to the fact that the wooing of Helen is a competition of wealth. Aphrodite, to be sure, is golden quite literally in this episode and golden gifts given by the suitors are mentioned several times (**χρυ.[σ**, fr. 199.11 M-W; τοσσαύτας δὲ γυναῖκας ἀμύμονα ἔργ' εἰδυίας, /πάσας **χρυσείας** φιάλας ἐν χερσὶν ἐχούσας· fr. 197.1-2 M-W; πολλὰ δ' ἔεδνα δίδου· κειμήλια γ.[ὰρ μάλα πολλὰ/ ἔκτητο, **χρυσόν** τε λέβητάς τ[ε τρίποδάς τε, fr. 200.4-5 M-W). There seems to be an intriguing parallel between the lavish and often golden gifts on the one hand and Helen, who is like golden Aphrodite, on the other.

In *Heroides* 16, Paris' mention of *Venus aurea* (16.35) appears right before he refers to the Hesiodic suitors by saying that he fell in love with Helen before he saw her. *Venus aurea,* being a translation of the Greek χρυσῆ Ἀφροδίτη, alludes to epic diction generally, but in this context refers specifically to the Hesiodic *Catalogue* and the wooing of Helen. Paris knows very well that if he

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[41] I argue for the ambiguity of this formula in the Atalanta- *ehoie* in Chapter 4.
[42] Boedeker 1974, 10-3, argues that Ἀφροδίτη derives from ἀφρός + *δίτη and means "bright cloud".

wants to feature as Helen's suitor, he has to make it clear that he is very wealthy:

> .... *quas habeo, di tueantur* **opes.**
> *nec uenio Graias ueluti spectator ad urbes:*
> *oppida sunt regni* **diuitiora** *mei.*
> *te peto, quam pepigit lecto Venus* **aurea** *nostro;*
> *Her.* 16. 32-5

> May the gods watch the wealth I have. And I do not come to Greek cities as a sightseer; I have wealthier cities. I seek you, whom golden Venus promised for my bed.

Venus' epithet *aurea* appears right after Paris boasts of his wealth.[43] Note that, unlike Ἀφροδίτη, Venus cannot suggest brightness, so that a figurative meaning of *Venus aurea* can hardly operate. In this passage, Paris features as far richer than all the Greeks and his words allude to the *Catalogue of Women,* especially since the lines quoted above are followed by a reference to the *Catalogue,* in which a suitor woos Helen without having seen her. But it is also significant that the sylleptic pun on *Venus aurea* operates in the Hesiodic text (χρυσῆ Ἀφροδίτη).

Just like the suitors of the *Catalogue,* who offer golden gifts to win Helen's hand, Paris makes sure that he lists the wealth of his fatherland with its golden houses:

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[43] Ovid toys with the literal meaning of *aurea* when he says that his age is a 'golden age' *(aurea sunt uere nunc saecula: plurimus auro/ uenit honos, auro conciliatur amor Ars.* 2.277-8). The Hesiodic 'golden age' had nothing to do with gold (cf. οὐκ ἐκ χρυσοῦ πεφυκὸς ἀλλ'ἀγαθόν τε καὶ καλόν. Plato, *Crat.* 398a). Actually, Ovid makes clear that the 'golden age' did not know of gold since wealth was hidden beneath the earth *(Am.* 3.8.35-6; *Met.* 1.89-112). By contrast, the Augustan 'golden age' is deflated by Ovid as literally being an age of gold. On Ovid's 'golden age', see Baldry 1952, 86ff; Feeney 2007, 134-7, with further bibliographical references.

> *regna parens Asiae, qua nulla **beatior** ora est,*
>
> > *finibus immensis uix obeunda tenet.*
>
> *innumeras urbes atque **aurea** tecta uidebis*
>
> > *quaeque suos dicas templa decere deos.*
>
> *Her.* 16.177-80

> My father rules over Asia, a land than which none other is wealthier, with immense borders hardly to be surveyed. You will see countless cities and golden houses you would say they were worthy of gods.

While Paris attempts to entice Helen with the wealth of his country, the golden houses of Troy recall golden Venus, just as the golden gifts of the suitors recall golden Aphrodite in the *Catalogue*. If we read Paris' words against the background of the Hesiodic episode of the wooing of Helen, then Paris appears to be the most qualified suitor since he is the richest. He refers to Greece as poor compared to Asia *(o quotiens dices quam pauper Achaia nostra est ! Her.* 16.187) and to Sparta as *parca.* Sparta's frugality is of course an anachronism that Paris employs to serve his purpose. He passes over the fact that in the *Catalogue* Menelaus is the richest suitor, and brings up the anachronistic stereotype of a poor Sparta. Thus, Paris presents himself as the wealthiest suitor, and dismisses Menelaus as poor.

The Genealogical Argument

Besides being wealthy, Helen's suitors were all of noble birth. Paris is aware of this and makes sure to present his noble lineage:

> *non ego coniugium generosae degener opto,*
>
> > *non mea, crede mihi, turpiter uxor eris.*

41

>*Pliada, si **quaeres**, in nostra gente Iouemque*
>
> ***inuenies**, medios ut taceamus auos.*
>
>*Her.* 16.173-6

> I do not desire the marriage of a noble girl being myself ignoble, and it will not, trust me, be disgraceful to be my wife. If you search, you will find the Pleiad in my line, and Jupiter, to say nothing of the ancestors between me and Jupiter.

Since a marriage that is not noble is unthinkable in the Hesiodic world, beauty and social status are what connect all the heroines of the *Catalogue of Women.* Paris addresses this question right before he enumerates his wealth. He is a noble man wooing a noble woman and actually invites Helen to search *(quaeres)* and find out *(inuenies)* his lineage.[44] The learned epithet *Pliada* (referring to Electra) as well as the praeteritio *(taceamus)* are meant to urge Helen's search, but also to test the reader's command of heroic genealogies. But what sources should Helen search for in order to find Paris' genealogy that goes back to Jupiter? The work of a mythographer could serve as a quick reference,[45] but the extensive and authoritative work for such research is the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women.* Paris uses *quaeres* and *inuenies* as 'Alexandrian footnotes' that refer to the well-established authority of the *Catalogue.* Thus, he claims his descent from Zeus/Jupiter specifically with reference to Hesiod.

Though fragmented, we can retrieve the Hesiodic passage to which Paris refers:

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[44] Cf. Clytaemnestra's meticulous questions to Agamemnon about Achilles, who was supposedly her future son-in law, and his genealogy in Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 691 ff.

[45] For Ovid and the mythographical tradition, see Cameron 2004, 261-303; Fletcher K. 2005.

Ἠλέκτρ[η

γείναθ' [ὑποδμηθεῖσα κελαινεφέϊ Κρονίωνι

Δάρδαν[ον

Ἠετίων[ά τε

......

αὐτὰρ Δά[ρδανος

ἐκ το.ῦ. Ἐρ[ιχθόνιος

Ἶλός [τ' '

fr. 178.5-7; 13-5 M-W

Hesiod gives a detailed genealogy beginning with the Pleiad Electra, who bore Dardanos and Eetion to Zeus. Erichthonios and Ilos were the sons of Dardanos. The Hesiodic fragment breaks up at this point.[46] The rest of the genealogy down to Paris would continue with Laomedon,[47] son of Ilos. Laomedon fathered Tithonos and Priam, Paris' father.[48]

It seems that Paris refers to Dardanos' genealogy, which is attested in the *Catalogue.* His allusive mention of Electra as *Pliada* is important. Martin West argued that Book 3 (and probably part of Book 4) of the *Catalogue* was structured according to the daughters of Atlas, the so called Pleiades.[49] Possible confirmation of this may be found in a Pindaric scholion, which mentions all the daughters of Atlas:

Τηϋγέτη τ' ἐρόεσσα καὶ Ἠλέκτρη κυανῶπις

---

[46] Fr. 180 in which Dardanos marries a daughter of Broteas and becomes the father of Pandion comes from a different context. See West 1985, 97. This is probably a different Dardanos (see Hirschberger 2004, 426).

[47] Laomedon appears at fr. 43a 64; 165.10, in reference to Hercules' sack of Troy.

[48] For this genealogy, see West 1985, 180; cf. *Iliad* 20.236-40.

[49] West 1985, 94-99. Hirschberger 2004, 340-75, did not challenge West's reconstruction. Schwartz, 1960, 254-8, argues that the Hesiodic passages about the Pleiades belong to the *Astronomica.*

Ἀλκυόνη τε καὶ Ἀστερόπη δίη τε Κελαινὼ

Μαῖά τε καὶ Μερόπη, τὰς γείνατο φαίδιμος Ἄτλας

Schol. Pind. Nem. ii. 17 (iii. 34/35 Drachmann)= fr. 169 M-W

Lovely Taygete and dark-eyed Electra, Alcyone and Asterope and godlike
Celaeno, Maia and Merope, whom splendid Atlas begot.

West believes that the passage quoted by the scholiast belongs to the
Catalogue of Women.[50] His view and his reconstruction of this part of the
Catalogue have not been challenged seriously, and it is likely that part of the
Catalogue was structured according to the Pleiades. I believe that Ovid's
catalogue of the Pleiades supports West's view:

Pliades incipient umeros releuare paternos,

   quae septem dici, sex tamen esse solent:

seu quod in amplexum sex hinc **uenere** *deorum,*

   (nam Steropen Marti concubuisse **ferunt***,*

Neptuno Alcyone et te, formosa Celaeno,

   Maian et Electran Taygetenque Ioui),

septima mortali Merope tibi, Sisyphe, nupsit:

   paenitet, et facti sola pudore latet:

Fasti 4.169-76

The Pleiades will start relieving their father's shoulders, those who are
said to be seven, but are usually six: either because six of them came to
a god's embrace (for they say that Sterope lay with Mars, Alcyone and
you, beautiful Caeleno, with Neptune, Maia, Electra, and Taygete with

[50] West 1985, 94.

Jupiter), Merope, the seventh, married you, Sisyphus: She regrets it and
hides alone in shame:

It is striking that critics have failed, to my knowledge, to acknowledge that Ovid
puts the catalogue of the Pleiades in a Hesiodic frame by mentioning their
affairs with gods. Elaine Fantham and Emma Gee[51] are certainly right to quote
Aratus' catalogue of the Pleiades (*Phaenomena* 257-67) as a source of the
Fasti here, but there is nothing about the love-affairs of the Pleiades in Aratus.
The 'Alexandrian footnote' *ferunt* (172), for instance, referring to Asterope's
affair with Mars, and the mention of Celaeno's beauty (*formosa* 173) have
nothing to do with Aratus. The astronomical subject of the *Fasti* (*lapsaque sub
terras ortaque signa cano, F.* 1.2) activates the reference to Aratus, but the
month of Venus (*Fasti* 4) brings up the importance of love affairs in this book;
Fasti 4.171 alludes to the well-known etymology of *Venus* from *uenio,* but also
to the main theme of the *Catalogue of Women,* which is the affairs of heroines
with gods. Hence, Ovid not only alludes to Aratus, but also generically recasts
the catalogue of the Pleiades to the *Catalogue of Women.* The girls' affairs with
the gods make them shine brightly, while Merope's marriage with the mortal
Sisyphus obscures her star.

Let us return to the *Heroides.* If West's reconstruction is correct, Paris' use of
Pliada recalls the structure of the *Catalogue* as well as the genealogy of
Dardanos, which was incorporated in the narrative that dealt with Atlas'
daughters.[52] If Helen searched the Hesiodic corpus, she would be able to fill the
genealogical gap between the Pleiad loved by Jupiter and Paris.

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[51] Fantham 1998, *ad* 165-78; Gee 2000, 196-7.
[52] One the other hand, in the genealogy of Dardanos that Aeneias gives to Achilles in *Iliad*
20.215ff, there is no mention of Electra.

Paris' allusion to the *Catalogue* becomes all the more intriguing if we take into account that the genealogies of the daughters of Atlas (fr. 169-204 M-W) lead to the final episode of the work, the wooing of Helen (fr. 196-204 M-W). Paris' mention of a Pleiad loved by Jupiter refers to Electra, from whom Paris himself descends. Still, Electra was not the only Pleiad loved by Zeus. Taygete, another daughter of Atlas, was loved by Zeus and gave birth to Lakedaimon (fr. 129.12 M-W), from whom Tyndareus and Helen descend.[53] In other words, Paris and Helen belong to the stemma of the Atlantides, and both descend from two sisters loved by Zeus. I believe that this is intrinsic to Paris' learned reference to a Pleiad loved by Jupiter. Paris' and Helen's genealogies go back to two sisters loved by Zeus. Thus, Paris implies that he is as noble as Helen.

Paris' reference to the *Catalogue of Women* is important for his argument. We should bear in mind that the *Catalogue* deals strictly with the Greek world and that the Panhellenic scope of the poem is one of its most salient characteristics. According to West, the *Catalogue* "became something approaching a compendious account of the whole story of the nation."[54] In fact, genealogical trees had political significance[55] and could serve as an argument for or against Greekness. When the Hesiodic poet makes Magnes and Makedon the sons of a sister of Hellen (fr. 7 M-W), mythological genealogy acquires crucial political ramifications.[56] The fact that genealogies were not always fixed made genealogical works all the more intriguing.[57] Herodotus says that Alexander I of Macedon, before he competed in the Olympic games, had to convince the officials that he was Greek by presenting a genealogy according to which he

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[53] See West 1985, 94, 156, 180.
[54] West 1985, 3. On the significance of Hesiodic genealogies to the creation of Hellenes, see also Fowler 1998.
[55] West 1985, 9-11.
[56] For the political dimensions of the *Catalogue,* see also Irwin 2005.
[57] Hellanicus 4 fr. 74, for instance, makes Makedon a grandson of Hellen.

was descended from Temenos, a king of Argos (Herodotus, 5.22; 8.137). In *Aeneid* 7.96-101, Latinus receives an oracle according to which he must marry his daughter Lavinia to a foreigner. Later on, Amata will manipulate Turnus' genealogy in order to claim that he is of Greek descent and thus qualifies to be Latinus' son-in-law (*Et Turno, si prima domus repetatur origo,/ Inachus Acrisiusque patres mediaeque Mycenae, Aen.* 7.371-2).

Given the Greek-oriented structure of the *Catalogue,* the presence of the genealogy of Dardanos in this work is surprising. Why did Hesiod include this obviously non- Greek stemma in his work? Martin West believes that the importance of the Troy saga was responsible for the Dardanid and Pelopid genealogies.[58] Be that as it may, Paris implies that his genealogy is included in a Greek-oriented work and that it is actually related to Helen's genealogy. He knows that since he is not Greek, he is not qualified to be Helen's husband. All of Helen's suitors had to be both rich and Greek.[59] Paris does not fulfill the second requirement and that is why he brings up the genealogical structure of the Hesiodic *Catalogue,* which despite its Greek scope, includes Dardanos' genealogical tree.

Paris' genealogical argument recalls the way in which Aeneas links his genealogy to that of Evander (*Aen.* 8.126-151). The Trojan Aeneas (cf. *Troigenae, Aen.* 8.117) seeks the alliance of the Greek-born Evander (*optime Graiugenum, Aen.* 8.127), arguing that their genealogies go back to Atlas, and thus explaining away the traditional enmity between Greeks and Trojans. Electra is the mother of Dardanus from whom Aeneas descends (*Dardanus, Iliacae primus primus pater urbis et auctor,/ Electra, <u>ut Grai perhibent</u>, Atlantide*

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[58] West 1985, 160. I think this is a very likely assumption.
[59] For the Panhellenic scope of the catalogue of Helens' suitors, see Osborne 2005, 21-4.

cretus,/ aduehitur Teucros; Electra maximus Atlans/ edidit, Aen. 8.134-7).

Likewise, Evander is a descendant of Maia, another daughter of Atlas (*at*

Maiam, auditis si quicquam credimus, Atlans,/ idem Atlans generat, caeli qui

sidera tollit./ Sic genus amborum scindit se sanguine ab uno. Aen. 8.140-2).

The ethnic gap between the Trojan Aeneas and the Greek-born Evander is

bridged by Aeneas' genealogical argument. Since they both descend from two

daughters of Atlas (Aeneas from Electra, Evander from Maia) there is no reason

for enmity. The use of *ut Grai perhibent* and *auditis si quicquam credimus* might

be the 'Alexandrian footnotes' that refer to the Greek authority of the *Catalogue.*

Helen, in her response to Paris, will prove that she has thoroughly researched

his past (*et nobis omnia de te/* **quaerere***, si nescis, maxima cura fuit, Her.*

17.197-8) and it does not escape her that Paris is a foreigner (*si iam diuitiis*

locus hic numeroque uirorum/ uincitur, at certe barbara terra tua est, Her.

17.63-4). Although the Dardanid genealogies are included in the *Catalogue,*

Paris is still a *barbaros.* Helen appears to be learned in genealogies and gives a

decisive response to Paris' rhetoric (*Her.* 17.51-60). She has done her

homework and can easily fill the gap between the Pleiad Electra and Paris. She

concludes her refutation of Paris' genealogical argument by saying that Jupiter

is her father, while Paris' name is fifth from Jupiter (*sed qui tibi gloria magna*

est/ quintus, is a nostro nomine primus erit. Her. 17. 59-60)*.*

Scholars have been puzzled by *quintus* at *Her.* 17.60 since they assume that

Paris is not usually fifth in line from Zeus/Jupiter.[60] The Homeric genealogy of

Dardanos (given by Aeneias to Achilles in *Il.* 20.215ff), for instance, runs as

follows: Zeus-Dardanos-Erichthonius-Tros-Ilos- Laomedon- Priam- Paris.[61]

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[60] See Kenney 1996 *ad loc;* Michalopoulos 2006 *ad loc.*
[61] Ovid follows this genealogical version in *Fasti* 4.31 ff. He begins with Electra and Dardanus and gives Aeneas' genealogy, in order to argue that the Romans descend from Venus.

According to Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 3.140ff), Dardanos had two sons, Erichthonius and Ilos. Ilos died childless (ἄπαις ἀπέθανεν) and Erichthonius took over the kingdom. Erichthonius fathered Tros, whose son was a second Ilos, Laomedon's father. Apollodorus' genealogy, though at variance with the Homeric one, produces the same stemma for Paris: Zeus-Dardanos-Erichthonius-Tros-Ilos- Laomedon- Priam- Paris. On the contrary, the Hesiodic genealogy runs as follows: Zeus-Dardanos-Ilos- Laomedon-(Priam)-(Paris). The presence of a second Ilos in Apollodorus shows that his version is a conflation of the Homeric and the Hesiodic genealogy.[62] In the Hesiodic version there is only one Ilos, the son of Dardanos,[63] while in *Il.* 20.230-3, Ilos is the son of Tros. There is a mention of Tros in a Hesiodic fragment, but that should not be related to Paris' genealogy (τὸ Τρῶος παρ' Ἡσιόδῳ Τεύκρου δὲ Τρῶος Sch. Hom. *Il.* 7.76= fr. 179 M-W). Τρῶος or Τρωός is nominative (= Τρώς)[64] and the fragment seems to say that Tros was the son of Teucros.[65] However, Martin West argued that Tros is not necessarily the son of Teucros in the Hesiodic fragment, but that the poet might just reflect the close link between Teucros and Tros, which became the norm in Latin literature.[66] Whether Tros was a son of Teucros or not, what is important is that Tros was not the son of Erichthonios in Hesiod. Hence, Zeus is fifth in line from Paris according to Hesiod (Zeus-Dardanos- Ilos- Laomedon- Priam- Paris). In Ovid, there is no question that Helen counts inclusively. This is clear from what she says: *quintus, is a nostro nomine primus erit. Her.* 17.60. Had she counted inclusively, she would have

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[62] Here I follow West 1985, 96-7.
[63] Ilos appears as son of Dardanos also in *Il.* 11.166. 372 Ἴλου Δαρδανίδαο.
[64] See Hirschberger 2004, 347.
[65] So Most 2007, 190, 432.
[66] West 1985, 97.

said that Jupiter was *second* from her name, not *first.* Thus, Jupiter is *fifth* from Paris, *not* sixth.[67]

To sum up, there is no discrepancy in Helen's use of *quintus* at Ovid *Her.* 17.60. Jupiter is fifth in line from Paris in the genealogical version of the *Catalogue.* Ovid is not "discretely advertising his awareness of an unfamiliar version of the genealogy" nor is it odd "that he should apparently make Helen understate her case."[68] Ovid's Helen refers to the genealogy of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women,* which was not an obscure work, but the most significant source for genealogical information. There is no question of her understating her case. Paris alluded to the *Catalogue of Women* in his letter, urging Helen to search his genealogy (*Her.* 16.173-6). That is exactly what Helen did. She checked the reference and struck back.[69]

There is one more genealogical reference in Paris' letter that I believe is related to the *Catalogue.* When Paris writes that he arrived at Sparta, he calls Helen "bride, descended from Oebalus" *(applicor in terras, Oebali nympha, tuas, Her.* 16.128). Ovid is the first Latin poet to address Helen as **Oebali** *nympha*[70] and the uniqueness of the adjective *Oebalis* might point to a specific intertextual allusion. Since Oebalus was the father of Tyndareus, thus Helen's grandfather, this genealogical information might refer to Helen's genealogy in the *Catalogue.*[71] The rare patronymic Οἰβαλίδης actually appears in the wooing of Helen for Tyndareus (Τυνδαρέου π[οτ]ὶ δῶμα δαΐφρονος **Οἰβαλίδαο**, fr.

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[67] Cf. Hermione's genealogical argument about Orestes: *si melius numeres, a loue quintus eris. Her.* 8.48. Orestes' genealogy runs as follows: Zeus- Tantalus- Pelops- Atreus- Agamemnon- Orestes.
[68] Kenney 1996, *ad* 17.60.
[69] On the use of genealogical arguments in the *Heroides,* see Jacobson 1974, 399.
[70] A point made in Michalopoulos 2006, *ad loc.*
[71] For Oebalus and Helen's genealogy in the *Catalogue,* see West 1985, 156ff. Oebalus also appeared in the *Megalai Ehoiai* as the father of Peirene (πεποίηται δὲ ἐν Ἡοίαις μεγάλαις Οἰβάλου θυγατέρα εἶναι Πειρήνην, Pausanias, 2.2.3).

199.8 M-W). Note that the Hesiodic context is similar to the Ovidian one. The suitors Iphiclos and Protesilaos send messages to Lacedaemon (fr. 199.4-8 M-W) to woo Helen, while Paris himself arrives in Sparta in love with Helen. The use of the Greek *nympha* ('bride') is also peculiar[72] and might recall the episode of the wooing of Helen as well. Helen is of course a νύμφα, since she is Menelaus' 'young wife' or 'bride', but νύμφα can also mean a 'marriageable girl.'[73] While Helen is a married woman (νύμφα), Paris, the focalizer, sees her as his future bride (νύμφα).[74] Hence, I believe that *Oebali nympha* refers to the wooing of Helen and suggests that Paris actually came to Sparta as a suitor. Paris keeps living in a Hesiodic world.

For His Eyes Only

Although Paris falls in love with Helen without having seen her first, he does eventually see her. Helen's poetic renown will be put to the test when the visions created by Helen's *fama* are set against her physical presence. In his letter to Helen (16.53ff), Paris describes how Venus, Pallas, and Juno visited him on Ida, and how Mercury, who accompanied them, asked him to judge the beauty of the goddesses. Paris emphasizes that he saw Mercury and the goddesses with his own eyes. This emphasis on sight marks a transition in Paris' experience. While Paris so far has been imagining Helen's beauty, he now says that he actually saw the gods with his own eyes:

> *hinc ego Dardaniae muros excelsaque tecta*

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[72] In Latin, *nympha* usually means a semi-divine female spirit. For interesting interpretations of *nympha* here, see Michalopoulos 2006, *ad loc.*

[73] Cf. *Il.* 9.560; Hes. *Th.* 298. Barchiesi 1992, *ad Her.* 1.27 notes: "...il termine (i.e. νύμφα) si ritrova -ma non prima di Ovidio- come designazione di *puellae* dei tempi eroici, vuoi in età da marito, o sposate;" Cf. *Ormeni nympha* at *Her.* 9.50 for Astydameia; *nympha.. Iardanis* at *Her.* 9.103 for Omphale.

[74] This is made explicit when Paris refers to Helen as the *nurus* of Priam *(nec Priamo est a te dignior ulla nurus, Her.* 16.98).

*et freta **prospiciens** arbore nixus eram*

*ecce pedum pulsu **uisa est** mihi terra moueri;*

uera loquar, ueri uix habitura fidem.

*constitit **ante oculos** actus uelocibus alis*

Atlantis magni Pleionesque nepos

*(fas **uidisse** fuit, fas sit mihi **uisa** referre),*

inque dei digitis aurea uirga fuit.

Her. 16.57-64

From here, leaning against a tree, looking down on the walls and the high roofs of the Dardanian city, and the sea- behold, the earth was seen to quake at the tread of feet. I shall speak the truth, though my words will scarcely have the credibility of truth. The grandson of great Atlas and Pleione appeared before my eyes driven on his swift wings (it was lawful to see, let it be lawful to report what I saw), and the god had a golden rod in his fingers.

Paris is about to narrate something unbelievable and that is why he stresses that he is about to tell what he himself has seen. References to sight/seeing pervade every couplet. Paris looks *(prospiciens)* at Troy from mount Ida (*Her.* 16.53)[75] and then the earth is seen *(uisa est)* to quake as Mercury appears before his eyes *(ante oculos).* Paris decides to recount *(referre)* what he has seen *(uidisse, uisa).*[76] The cluster of phrases indicating physical vision contrasts with Paris' mental vision of Helen's beauty. Note also the use of the 'Alexandrian footnote' *referre*; Paris is about to 'retell' a story found in the *Kypria*

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[75] For the etymological relation between Ida and ὁρῶ that might be at play here, see Michalopoulos 2006, *ad* 57-8.
[76] Paris' etymological pun on *fas,* meaning literally something that is permissible to be said *(for),* underpins his contention that he is allowed to recount what he has seen.

(fr. 1,4,5 Bernabé).[77] In contrast to the episode of the wooing of Helen in the *Catalogue,* Paris is an active character of the poetic tradition he is about to relate. His memory does not depend on what he has read but on what he has witnessed, and his reference to his eye-witnessing implies that the version he is about to narrate is the most authoritative. We are not about to be told the story by the epic narrator of the *Kypria* or by a character of a Euripidean tragedy, but by Paris himself, who claims to have been present and to have seen with his own eyes the goddesses appearing in front of him.[78] Now, the narrative is all about what Paris saw, not what he heard.

Referring to poetic tradition, Paris brings back the episode of the wooing of Helen and the *Iudicium Paridis.* Yet, the difference between these references is pointed out. When Paris presents himself as Helen's suitor, he intrudes into a Hesiodic episode in which he has no place. On the other hand, when he describes the beauty contest of the goddesses, he is narrating a story in which he played a vital role. The juxtaposition between the fame of Helen's beauty - something that he can only imagine- and the beauty of the goddesses - something that he has seen with his own eyes- emphasizes that while Paris is only a reader of the *Catalogue of Women,* he is an active character in the Epic Cycle.

When Paris sees the beauty of the goddesses, he believes that all deserve the prize. The goddesses are so eager to win that they try to bribe him (*tantaque uicendi cura est, ingentibus ardent/ iudicium donis sollicitare meum. Her.*

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[77] The story of the *Iudicium Paridis* was also told in Eur. *Andr.* 207-308; *Tr.* 924-32; *Hel.* 23-9, 676-81; Verg. *Aen.* 1.26ff; *Prop.* 2.2.13ff; Ov. *Her.* 5.33-6; *Rem.* 711ff. For Ovid's relation to the sources of the judgement, see Kenney 1995, 192-4.

[78] It is interesting that Paris has proven an unreliable narrator of the story of his judgement in *Her.* 5.33-6. His report of the judgement to Oenone is vague and of course does not reveal that he chose Venus because she promised him Helen (cf. Jacobson 1974, 193-4).

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16.79-80). Paris' words are very strong; the goddesses are anxiously burning in desire to win. Juno promises political power, Minerva military courage, and Venus promises Helen. Having established the importance of the fact that Paris is seeing with his own eyes the beauty of the goddesses, Ovid invites us to think what effect Paris' witnessing could have in his judgement. Isocrates, in his *Encomium of Helen,* nicely points out that Paris' choice was reasonable:

> Πῶς δ' οὐκ ἂν ἦν ἀνόητος (*sc.* Πάρις), εἰ τοὺς θεοὺς **εἰδὼς** περὶ κάλλους φιλονικοῦντας αὐτὸς κάλλους κατεφρόνησεν, καὶ μὴ ταύτην ἐνόμισε μεγίστην εἶναι τῶν δωρεῶν, περὶ ἧς κἀκείνας **ἑώρα** μάλιστα σπουδαζούσας;
> Isocrates, *Encomium of Helen* 48

> How would he (i.e. Paris) not have been foolish, if knowing that the gods were engaging in rivalry about beauty, he had himself despised beauty, and considered that the greatest gift was not that about which he saw even those goddesses striving most earnestly?

Isocrates[79] points out that Paris knew as a witness (εἰδώς) and saw (ἑώρα) the goddesses competing for beauty, so that he would have been a fool had he not been enticed by beauty. Verbal forms indicating vision (ἑώρα) or knowledge through vision (εἰδώς) emphasize that what Paris saw was crucial to his judgement.

Ovid first compresses Juno's and Minerva's offers into one line (*Her.* 16.82) and then gives Venus two couplets. Unlike the bribes of the other goddesses,

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[79] Isocrates' passage is relevant if we take into account that Ovid alludes to it at 16.169 *(nec piget aut umquam stulte legisse uidebor).* See Michalopoulos 2006, *ad* 16.169, for Ovid's allusion to Isocrates *Hel.* 48 (κακῶς βεβουλεῦσθαι τὸν μετὰ ταύτης ζῆν ἑλόμενον... πῶς δ' οὐκ ἂν ἦν ἀνόητος; *stulte...legisse).* For Ovidian allusions to Isocrates' *Encomium of Helen,* see Bessone 2003, 158-9.

Venus' words are given in direct speech. She first dismisses the bribes of her rivals as too dangerous (16.83-4) and then makes her offer:

> *nos dabimus quod ames, et **pulchrae** filia Ledae*
> *ibit in amplexus **pulchrior** ipsa tuos.*
> *Her.* 16.85-6

> 'I will give you something to love, and the daughter of beautiful Leda, herself more beautiful, will come to your embrace.'

Juno's and Minerva's bribes are sharply contrasted with Venus' since political and military power are very abstract in comparison with Venus' offer. What Venus has to give is very specific; the daughter of beautiful Leda, who is more beautiful than her mother. That is why her offer is more enticing than those of her rivals. Paris knows exactly what Venus is talking about when he sees her promising a beautiful girl, while the three goddesses stand naked in a highly competitive beauty contest.[80] Both beauty and the importance of beauty are in front of Paris' eyes. What is more, Paris has seen Helen through the lenses of poetic fame. Having presented himself as a reader of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women,* he is now seeing Venus making her offer. But Venus' beauty can conjure up Helen since part of her fame that reached the whole earth is the phrase that "she has the beauty of golden Aphrodite", a phrase attested in the episode of her wooing in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (ἣ εἶδος ἔχε χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης, fr. 196.5 M-W). The intertextual effect triggered by Venus' offer is impressive. While Paris is listening to her, Venus' presence and offer conjure up Helen's beauty. Paris can visualize the girl on the spot. Helen is as beautiful as Venus.

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[80] The goddesses competed naked (*qua Venus et Iuno sumptisque decentior armis/ uenit in arbitrium nuda Minerua tuum, Her.* 5.35-6; *tres tibi se nudas exibuere deae, Her.* 17.116).

After the judgement and Venus' victory, Paris is burning with passion for Helen. The girl is always in Paris' mind and he sees her as an illusion day and night:

> *te uigilans **oculis animi**, te nocte **uidebam**,*
> > ***lumina** cum placido uicta sopore iacent.*
> *quid faceres praesens, quae **nondum uisa** placebas?*
> > *ardebam, quamuis hic procul ignis erat.*
> *Her.* 16.101-4

> I was seeing you with the eyes of my mind when I was awake, I was seeing you at night, when my eyes lie overcome by peaceful sleep. What would you have done to me in your presence, you who were pleasing me yet unseen? I was burning, although here, far away, was the fire.

Helen's image is continuously projected into Paris' mental eyes while he is awake, and haunts his dreams while he is asleep. Paris sees *(uidebam)* and has not seen (*nondum uisa*) the girl. The episode of the judgement has fanned Paris' flame for Helen and the images that haunt him must have something to do with Venus' apparition. After all, Paris knows that Helen is as beautiful as Venus. A combination of poetic memory with Venus' epiphany is the cause of Paris' infatuation. Suffering from his illusions, he decides to sail to Sparta and meet the girl (16.105-26).

When he arrives in Sparta, Paris is very anxious to see the much-praised beauty of the girl (*sed mihi **laudatam** cupienti **cernere formam**/ **lumina** nil aliud quo caperentur erat, Her.* 16.133-4). Here Paris resembles Idomeneus from the Hesiodic *Catalogue;* he is no longer content with the praise of Helen's beauty (*laudatam formam;* κλέος γυναικός), but sailed himself to Sparta and

wants to see this much- praised beauty. When Paris actually sees Helen, he is dumbstruck:

> *ut uidi, obstipui praecordiaque intima sensi*
>   *attonitus curis intumuisse nouis*
> *Her.* 16.135-6

> when I saw you I was dumbstruck and stunned I felt new cares swelling in my inmost heart.

Paris' reaction *(obstipui)* recalls his reaction when he saw the three goddesses *(obstipui, Her.* 16.67), and Helen resembles a goddess who leaves him thunderstruck *(attonitus).* Paris goes on to compare Helen with Venus. Seeing Helen is the time of truth; poetic fame is put to the test by what is actually seen:

> *his similes uultus, quantum **reminiscor**, habebat*
>   *uenit in arbitrium cum Cytherea meum.*
> *si tu uenisses pariter certamen in illud,*
>   *in dubio Veneris palma futura fuit.*
> *Her.* 16.137-40

> You had such features as, as far as I recall, Cytherea's when she came to be judged by me. Had you come to that contest as well, the palm of Venus would have been in doubt.

Andreas Michalopoulos points out that *reminiscor* is an 'Alexandrian footnote' and adds that Ovid may have in mind a reference to Helen's likeness to Venus in one of the texts he used as a source.[81] This is exactly the case. Paris here 'recalls' Helen's comparison with Aphrodite attested in the *Catalogue of Women*

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[81] Michalopoulos 2006, *ad Her.* 16.137.

(fr. 196.5 M-W). Note also that Paris' flattery goes one step further: Helen may be more beautiful than Venus (16.139-40). He also makes sure to emphasize the truth of Helen's fame and even says that her renown is lesser than her actual beauty (*minor est tua gloria uero,/ famaque de forma paene maligna tua est. plus hic inuenio quam quod promiserat illa,/ et tua materia gloria uicta sua est.* 16.145-8). When Paris says that he will never seem to have chosen Venus foolishly (*nec piget aut umquam stulte legisse uidebor, Her.* 16.169), Ovid might play with the double entendre of *legisse* ('to choose' or 'to read'). Since Helen's beauty matches (or even surpasses) her renown, Paris will never seem to have foolishly read what the poets said about Helen's beauty.

Of course Paris aims at flattering Helen, but his rhetoric,[82] based on manipulating poetic tradition, is very clever. Paris is in a position to verify the epic formula ἰκέλη χρυσῆι Ἀφροδίτηι.[83] Having seen Venus with his own eyes, Paris' use of such a formula gains particular significance. Paris relies on his experience, not convention, to praise Helen's beauty. When he refers to the Hesiodic phrase ἣ εἶδος ἔχε χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης (196.5 M- W), the fact that he has seen both the beauty (εἶδος) of Venus and that of Helen adds weight to his words. He alone is qualified to make such a comparison. When he compares Helen to Venus, the authority of his words is by far greater than the

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[82] On Paris' rhetoric in *Her.* 16, see Cucchiarelli 1995. According to Gorgias, it is possible that Helen followed Paris because of persuasion (λόγῳ πεισθεῖσα, Gorg. *Hel.* 5 [= 82 B 11, 5 DK]), and the use of strong rhetoric by Paris in *Her.* 16 might allude to that possibility. Belfiore 1995, argues that the Ovidian Helen in her letter actually refutes Gorgias' possible causes for her affair with Paris [i.e. a) chance, the will of gods, necessity; b) physical force; c) persuasion; d) love].

[83] The formula ἰκέλη χρυσῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ is found in Homer *Il.* 19.282 (Briseis); 24.699 (Kassandra); *Od.* 17.37 and 19.54 (Penelope). See also *Catalogue of Women* 30.25 M-W (Tyro). Ovid's Leander compares Hero's beauty to that of Venus *(a Veneris facie non est prior ulla tuaque. Her.* 18.69).

formulaic language of the Hesiodic narrator as he turns conventional epic diction into powerful rhetoric.[84]

The Time Trap

Paris brings back the episode of the wooing of Helen and presents himself as a suitor from the Hesiodic *Catalogue.* He also tries to play down the fact that he is a foreigner by implicitly relating his genealogy to that of Helen. Still, time works against him. He is too late. He is trying to revive the wooing of Helen and thus force his way back into the past, but Helen is already married. In her epistle, she points out that the only problem is that Paris came late:

> *tunc ego te uellem celeri uenisse carina,*
>
>   *cum mea uirginitas mille petita procis.*
>
> *si te uidissem, primus de mille fuisses:*
>
>   *iudicio ueniam uir dabit ipse meo.*
>
> *ad possessa uenis praeceptaque gaudia serus:*
>
>   *spes tua lenta fuit; quod petis alter habet.*
>
> *ut tamen optarim fieri tua, Troice, coniux,*
>
>   *inuitam sic me nec Menelaus habet.*
>
> *Her.* 17.103-10

> I wish you had come on your swift ship then, when my virginity was sought by a thousand suitors. If I had seen you, you would have been the first of the thousand: my husband himself will pardon this judgement of mine. You come late to delights already possessed and seized: your

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[84] Similarly, Venus compares Atalanta's beauty with herself (*Met.* 10.578-9). Venus as a narrator adds weight to a formulaic comparison. Atalanta's story in the *Metamorphoses* draws on the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* as I argue in Chapter 4.

hope was tardy; another has what you seek. Though I would desire to be your wife, Trojan, Menelaus does not hold me against my will.

Helen refers specifically to the episode of her wooing (*Her.* 17.104) and it is noteworthy that her words recall the mention of Achilles in the *Catalogue.* The Hesiodic poet says that Achilles would have married Helen had he found her still a virgin:

> ....οὐ γάρ μιν ἀρηΐφιλος Μενέλαος
> νίκησ᾽ οὐδέ τις ἄλλος ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων
> μνηστεύων Ἑλένην, εἴ μιν κίχε παρθένον οὖσαν
> οἴκαδε νοστήσας ἐκ Πηλίου ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς.
> ἀλλ᾽ ἄρα τὴν πρίν γ᾽ ἔσχεν ἀρηΐφιλος Μενέλαος·
> fr. 204.89-3 M-W

> For neither warlike Menelaus nor any other man on the earth would have defeated him in wooing Helen if swift Achilles had found her a virgin when he came back home from Pelion. But warlike Menelaus obtained her first.

Time does not allow Achilles and Paris to woo Helen. Menelaus has her now (τὴν πρίν γ᾽ ἔσχεν... Μενέλαος; *Menelaus habet).*[85] Paris, like Achilles, does not belong to the episode of the wooing of Helen, but comes right after it. The allusion to Achilles evokes the fiercest enemy of the Trojans. Achilles was too young to woo Helen (fr. 204. 87-9 M-W), but he will be the right age to fight when the Trojan war breaks out. Note also that the thousand suitors (17.103-4) who wooed Helen invoke the thousand ships that will sail to Troy (cf. *accipiunt*

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[85] The parallel between Paris and Achilles is intriguing if we bear in mind that cowardly Paris will finally kill the greatest Greek warrior (cf. *Met.* 12. 608-11).

uentos a tergo mille carinae, Met. 12.37). Similarly, the Hesiodic catalogue of Helen's suitors recalls the Iliadic catalogue of ships.

Paris wishes to revive and become a part of the bygone world of the Hesiodic *Catalogue.* He expresses his wish and quotes his own short catalogue of women whose marriage was set as the prize of a contest:[86]

> *di facerent pretium magni certaminis esses*
>
> * teque suo posset uictor habere toro,*
>
> ***ut** tulit Hippomenes Schoeneida praemia cursus,*
>
> * uenit **ut** in Phrygios Hippodamia sinus,*
>
> ***ut** ferus Alcides Acheloia cornua fregit*
>
> * dum petit amplexus, Deianira, tuos.*
>
> *Her.* 16.263-8

> If only the gods made you the prize in a great contest and the victor
>
> could have you for his bed, as Hippomenes took Schoeneus' daughter
>
> as the prize of the race, as Hippodamia came to the Phrygian lap, as
>
> fierce Alcides broke the horns of Achelous, while seeking your embraces,
>
> Deianira.

The episode of Hippomenes and Atalanta *(Schoeneida)* is told at length in Hesiod (fr. 72-6 M-W).[87] Hercules' marriage to Deianira, his tragic end, and his apotheosis are also attested in the *Catalogue* (fr. 25 M-W). The story of Pelops winning Hippodamia's hand in a chariot race does not survive in the Hesiodic fragments, but we know that the *Catalogue* dealt with the Pelopid stemma and it

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[86] Such contests were a recurring motif in the Hesiodic *Catalogue.* For the literary motif of contests with a woman as a prize, see Kakridis 1979, 68-74; Haubold 2000, 137-44.
[87] It is not clear whether fr. 72-6 M-W belong to the *Catalogue of Women* or the *Megalai Ehoiai.* On this issue, see D'Allessio 2005, 213-6. Ovid tells the story of Hippomenes and Atalanta in *Met.* 10.560-707. I argue elsewhere that Ovid's version refers to the Hesiodic *ehoie* of Atalanta.

is likely that the story of Hippodamia was part of it.[88] In any case, the story of the wooing of Hippodamia was told in the *Megalai Ehoiai,* in which Hesiod gave a catalogue of the suitors who died after they lost the chariot race (fr. 259 M-W). In fact, Paris stresses Pelops' Phrygian origin *(Phrygios sinus)* in order to draw a parallel between Pelops and himself. It is also important that Paris places the Phrygian Pelops in the heart of a catalogue of Greek heroes and heroines; thus, he seems to imply that since the Phrygian stemma of the Pelopids belongs to the Greek-oriented *Catalogue,* he, a Phrygian, could feature as a suitor competing for a Greek bride (cf. Paris' genealogical argument discussed above).

Although the stories of Hippodamia and Deianira are attested in other sources,[89] I believe that Ovid here refers to the genre of *ehoie-* poetry. The anaphora of *ut,* which is used to introduce each of the three mythological *exempla,* can function as a marker of the Hesiodic formula ἠ' οἵη, thus evoking the genre of the *Ehoiai.* Hellenistic poets employ similar formulae to refer to the Hesiodic *Ehoiai.* Although we do not know much about the 'Catalogue of Women' of Nicaenetus (fr. 2 Powell) or the peculiarly male Ἡοῖοι of Sosicrates or Sostratos (*SH* 732), we have some substantial fragments of Hermesianax' *Leontion* and Phanocles' *Erotes.* The *Leontion* of Hermesianax, in elegiac couplets,[90] dealt with love affairs of famous poets and philosophers.[91] In the *Leontion,* Hesiod falls in love and woos a girl from Ascra whose name is Ehoie (fr. 7.23-6 Powell). Hermesianax uses variations of the ἠ' οἵη formula several

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[88] See West 1985, 42; 109-12; 157-60.

[89] The story of Pelops wooing Deianira is told in Pindar, *Ol.* 1.67-105., whereas the story of Herakles wooing Deianira is told in Sophocles, *Tr.* 1-29; 523-5, to cite the most significant sources.

[90] Cairns 1979, 220-21, arguing about the origins of Latin elegy, compares Propertius 2.34 and Ovid, *Tr.* 2, to Hermesianax' long catalogue. For Hermesianax in *Tr.* 1.6, see Hinds 1999.

[91] For a discussion of the Leontion and the Hesiodic *Catalogue,* see Hunter 2005, 261-3; Asquith 2005, 275-6; 279-86.

times in his catalogue of poets and philosophers[92] (Orpheus: **οἵην** μὲν φίλος υἱὸς ἀνήγανεν Οἰάγροιο, fr. 7.1 Powell; Sophocles: Ἀτθὶς δ' **οἷα** κτλ., fr. 7.57 Powell; Pythagoras: **Οἵη** μὲν Σάμιον κτλ., fr. 7.85 Powell; Philoxenus: **Οἷα** τιναχθεὶς κτλ, fr. 7. 71 Powell; Socrates: **Οἵῳ** δ' ἐχλίηνεν κτλ., fr. 7.89 Powell).

The *Erotes* of Phanocles is another sub-Hesiodic or rather mock-Hesiodic work. Phanocles gives us a catalogue of pederastic affairs, thus destroying the genealogical focus of the Hesiodic *Catalogue.* Phanocles uses the formula **ἢ ὥς**, a variant of the Hesiodic ἢ' οἵη, as a means of moving on to his next story[93] and his *Erotes* were not unknown to Ovid. Alessandro Barchiesi argued convincingly that Ovid alludes to Phanocles in *Metamorphoses* 10.148ff.[94] When the Ovidian Orpheus starts his narration, he has just lost Eurydice for a second time and is on the verge of turning to homosexuality *(omnemque refugerat Orpheus/ femineam Venere, Met.* 10.79-80). Orpheus as the πρῶτος εὐρετής of homosexuality is actually attested in Phanocles (Πρῶτος ἔδειξεν ἐνὶ Θρήκεσσιν ἔρωτας/ ἄρρενας οὐδὲ πόθους ἤνεσε θηλυτέρων, Phan. fr. 1.9-10 Powell) and the Ovidian Orpheus does exactly what the Phanocles fragment describes. In his narration, he gives a catalogue of homoerotic affairs and denounces female perversion (*Met.* 10.152ff.).[95]

Taking into account that Ovid knew Phanocles, the recurring use of *ut* in *Her.* 16.265-8 recalls Phanocles' use of ἢ ὥς not only as a transitional device, but

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[92] On Hermesianax' use of the Hesiodic formula, see Hunter 2005, 261-2.
[93] See Hunter 2005, 263. Nasta 2006, 65-6, discusses the use of ὥς as a marker of *ehoie-*poetry in Homer.
[94] See Barchiesi 2001, 56-7 with n. 20. Ovid's use of Phanocles (cf. *Met.* 10.83-4; Phan. fr. 1.9-10 Powell) was pointed out by Segal 1972, 477. For a recent discussion about Ovid's reception of Phanocles in *Met.* 10-11, see Gärtner 2008, 31-43. It is interesting that Gärtner does not seem to know Barchiesi 2001.
[95] See Chapter 4.

also as a signpost of the genre of the Hesiodic *Ehoiai.* In fact, Ovid's reference to Hesiodic poetry is more straightforward since he gives a catalogue of heroines who actually appeared in the Hesiodic corpus, and not a catalogue of pederastic affairs. Hence, Ovid employs the Hellenistic pattern of referring to the Hesiodic *Ehoiai* by using a variant of the ἠ' οἵη formula. The employment of such a technique is not unique to the *Heroides.* In *Amores* 1.10.1-8, Ovid uses *qualis* alluding to the ἠ' οἵη formula.[96]

Ovid also compares the beauty of the disheveled Corinna with some heroines of the past (Atalanta, Ariadne, Cassandra) using *sic.. talem* (*Am.* 1.7.13), *talis* (*Am.* 1.7.15), and *sic* (*Am.* 1.7.17) in order to connect his *exempla.* In the beginning of *Ars Amatoria* 2, Ovid, featuring as a didactic poet, says that a fortunate lover gives the palm to his song, in preference to Hesiod and Homer (*Laetus amans donat uiridi mea carmina palma,/ praelata **Ascraeo** Maeonique seni./ **Talis** ab armiferis Priameius hospes Amyclis/ candida cum rapta coniuge uela dedit;/ **talis** erat qui te curru uictore ferebat,/ uecta peregrinis Hippodamia rotis. Ars.* 2.3-8). Ovid introduces a new *certamen* among Hesiod, Homer, and himself. Hesiod, who supposedly defeated Homer in the *certamen,*[97] is now surpassed by Ovid as his didactic poetry appears to be better than the poetry of Hesiod, the didactic poet *par excellence.* What is more, the use of *talis*[98] invites us to acknowledge a marker of the Hesiodic *Ehoiai,* a genre that celebrated famous love affairs. Ovid features as a Hesiodic poet referring not only to the didactic *Works and Days,* but also to the *Catalogue of Women,* a work in which

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[96] On the use of this formula as a marker of the Hesiodic *Catalogue,* see McKeown 1987 *ad* 1.10.1-2; Propertius in 1.3.1-7 employs *qualis* in the same way (cf. Hardie 2005, 292-6). See also my Introduction.

[97] On the contest between Homer and Hesiod, see West 1967; Graziosi 2002; Clay 2003, 178-80. For Ovid's use of the *certamen,* see Chapter 2.

[98] The *ehoie* formula is, of course, always feminine. Sosicrates Ἡοῖοι, however, suggests that the Hellenistic poet employed a male variant of the formula. Hermesianax also used masculine forms of the formula (cf. **Οἵῳ** δ' ἐχλίηνεν κτλ., fr. 7.89 Powell).

love affairs play an essential role. His *Ars Amatoria,* to be sure, combines the didactic with the erotic, blending the *Works and Days* with the *Ehoiai.*

Catullus also employs *qualis* as a Hesiodic marker. In his *epithalamium* (61), the bride Junia is compared with Venus:

> *namque Iunia Manlio,*
>
> ***qualis** Idalium colens*
>
> *uenit ad Phrygium Venus*
>
> *iudicem, bona cum bona*
>
>   *nubet alite uirgo,*
>
> 61.16-20

> For the good maiden Junia marries Manlius with a good omen, such as Venus, who dwells in Idalium, came to the Phrygian judge.

Catullus alludes to the *Ehoiai* not only through *qualis,* but also through the formulaic comparison of a heroine with Aphrodite, thus presenting Junia as a renowned Greek heroine of the past.[99] Her comparison with Venus as she appeared in the judgement of Paris resembles *Heroides* 16, in which Paris, having seen Venus in the judgement, compares Helen with the goddess, referring specifically to the *Catalogue*.

But there is more to it. Ovid's use of Hesiodic markers reveals a closer relation to the Hesiodic text than the mock-Hesiodic works of Hellenistic poets. First of

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[99] In the end of Catullus' *epithalamium,* the mother's renown is reflected upon her son. This time the *exemplum* is Penelope's renown (***talis** illius a bona/ matre **laus** genus approbet, **qualis** unica ab **optima**/ matre Telemacho manet/ **fama** Penelopaeo.* Cat. 61.219-23) Female renown and matrilineal approach are combined with the use of *talis-qualis* in order to bring up the dynamics of the *ehoie*-genre. Note also that *optima* might refer to the heroines of the *Catalogue* (ἄρισται, fr. 1.3 M-W).

all, Ovid refers to heroines and stories that are either attested in the Hesiodic

fragments or likely to have been part of the Hesiodic work. The motif of the

competition for a girl is also thematically associated with *ehoie*-poetry. What is

more, the *ehoie*-formula in the Hesiodic *Catalogue* was not merely a paragraph

marker. Martin West argues that "the poet used the formula for returning to

branches of a family that he had partly dealt with earlier and then shelved"[100]

and that the *ehoie*- formula "may take us to a point one step further on than the

point that was reached before."[101] It seems that the formula was activating a

flashback or a flash forward. It functioned as a time window.[102] This is exactly

what Propertius is doing in 1.3.1-8, when he compares Cynthia with some

heroines of the past, using the Hesiodic marker *qualis.* Ovid in *Am.* 1.7.13-7 and

1.10.1-8 employs the same technique as he compares Corinna with some

heroines of Greek mythology. In *Her.* 16.263-8, Paris uses *ut* in order to bring

back the past world of the *Catalogue* and his reference to Pelops in particular

returns to an earlier part of Paris' genealogy. In this case, *ut* functions very

similarly to the *ehoie*- formula of the *Catalogue.*

Paris wishes to revive the world of the *Catalogue,* in which suitors compete for

a beautiful and noble girl. In fact, Helen herself was the prize of such a

competition, which was a contest of wealth (fr. 196-204 M-W), but Paris missed

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[100] West 1985, 35; cf. Rutherford 2000, 84-5; Asquith 2005, 272.
[101] West 1985, 48. Nasta 2006, argues that the ἠ᾽ οἵη formula was introducing an embedded narration.
[102] It is interesting that οἷα appears in *Odyssey* 2 in a context reminiscent of *ehoie*-poetry, namely when Antinoos compares Penelope with some heroines of the past. Note that the formula introduces a flashback: ἔργα τ᾽ ἐπίστασθαι περικαλλέα καὶ φρένας ἐσθλὰς/ κέρδεά θ᾽, οἷ᾽ οὔ πώ τιν᾽ ἀκούομεν οὐδὲ <u>παλαιῶν</u>,/ τάων αἳ <u>πάρος</u> ἦσαν ἐϋπλοκαμῖδες Ἀχαιαί,/ Τυρώ τ᾽ Ἀλκμήνη τε ἐϋστέφανός τε Μυκήνη· *Od.* 2.117-20. Odysseus' 'Catalogue of Women' *(Od.* 11.225-32) is also a flashback to the heroines of the past. Telemachus, speaking about his mother to the suitors, also alludes to *ehoie*- poetry: Ἀλλ᾽ ἄγετε μνηστῆρες, ἐπεὶ τόδε φαίνετ᾽ ἄεθλον,/ <u>οἵη</u> νῦν οὐκ ἔστι γυνὴ κατ᾽ Ἀχαιίδα γαῖαν, *Od.* 21.107-8. The technique of referring to the genre of *Ehoiai* by using a variant of the ἠ᾽ οἵη formula is as old as the *Odyssey.* On this point, see Skempis & Ziogas (forthcoming); cf. Nasta 2006, 59-65, for Homeric uses of the *ehoie*- formula.

the opportunity to participate. The Ovidian Paris refers to the past, but the irony of the passage (*Her.* 16.263-8) is that his words foreshadow the future.[103] First of all his wish that Helen be the prize of a great competition will become true since the Trojan war will actually be a *magnum certamen* and Helen its *pretium.* Helen "will also be the prize of the duel between Paris and Menelaus in the *Iliad,* an episode that must be in Ovid's mind here (Hom. *Il.* 3.67-75, 92-4, 253-8, 282-91). See especially *Il.* 3.138: τῷ δέ κε νικήσαντι φίλη κεκλήσῃ ἄκοιτις."[104] Paris' wish will be fulfilled, but not in the past world of the female-oriented poetry of the *Catalogue.* What he wants will become true in the future world of male-oriented epic poetry.

The mythological *exempla* of contests for marrying famous heroines that Paris mentions also cast a dark shadow over the future.[105] Hippomenes and Hippodamia are etymologically related to ἵππος, recalling ominously the wooden horse that caused the fall of Troy. Hippodamia has a speaking name; the girl became Pelops' wife (δάμαρ) because Pelops won a chariot race (cf. ἵππος). But in the Ovidian context, Hippodamia's name also alludes to the fact that Troy will be conquered (δάμνημαι) by a wooden horse (ἵππος) that will be received in the Phrygian *sinus* (i.e. in the interior part of Troy).[106]

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[103] Dramatic irony is a salient feature of Paris' letter. Paris gives some mythological examples in order to assure Helen that there will be no war (16.341-52). He misunderstands Hecuba's dream and Cassandra's prophecy; he thinks that the prophesied fire of Troy refers to his blazing love for Helen (16.39-50; 121-6). For dramatic ironies in the *Heroides,* see Spoth 1992, 157-62.
[104] Michalopoulos 2006, *ad* 16.263-4. Kenney 1996 *ad loc.* rightly points out: "Here the irony is particularly pointed, for the sequel of the unconsummated duel in the *Iliad,* thanks to Aphrodite, was that Paris, the *vanquished,* not the victor, enjoyed Helen in bed (3.437-47)."
[105] For allusions to the Iliadic future of Paris' affair with Helen in *Her.* 16, see also Hintermeier 1993, 23-6; Cucchiarelli 1995, 138-9.
[106] *sinus* can indicate the interior part of a city (cf. *alii intra moenia atque in sinu urbis sunt hostes,* Sallust *Cat.* 52.35), but the anatomical meaning of 'lap' is also at play here; Hippodamia is received in Pelops' embrace as well as in the heart of Troy. On puns on the anatomical meaning of *sinus* in Vergil and a similar ambivalence of κόλπος in Homer, see Fowler 1987, 194-5.

Deianira ("the destroyer of men"), another ominous name, was the cause of

Hercules' death, which was the revenge of the centaur Nessus, another figure

related to horses.[107] Hercules, placed in a context that refers to the *Catalogue*

of Women, is an interesting mythological example.[108] Johannes Haubold

pointed out that while the *Theogony* concentrates on Heracles' labors, the

Catalogue of Women appears to be more interested in the exploits he

undertook after he parted with Eurystheus. As a result, Heracles encounters

monsters in the *Theogony* and women and cities in the *Catalogue*.[109] It is telling

that πτολίπορθος becomes Heracles' epithet (Ἀμφιτρυωνιά[δ]ηι Ἡ[ρακλῆϊ

πτολιπό]ρθωι. fr. 25.23 M-W; Ἡρ]ακλῆϊ πτολι[πόρθωι. fr. 229.17 M-W). In the

Catalogue, we encounter Heracles as "the sacker of cities", although the

greatest Greek hero is never given the epithet πτολίπορθος in the other

Hesiodic works. By referring to the *Catalogue of Women,* Ovid reminds us of

the hero's career in this Hesiodic work. What Hercules is mainly doing in the

fragments of the *Catalogue* is sacking cities[110] and carrying off girls. In

particular, Hercules sacks Troy because Laomedon did not give him the horses

he promised after Hercules saved his daughter Hesione from a sea monster (fr.

43a 64; 165.10 M-W; cf. *Il.* 5.640- 51).[111] Ovid refers to that story in

Metamorphoses 11.211-5 *(regis quoque filia monstro/ poscitur aequoreo, quam*

dura ad saxa reuinctam/ uindicat Alcides promissaque munera dictos/ poscit

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[107] Michalopoulos 2006, *ad* 16.265-6, points out the etymological relation of Hippodamia and Hippomenes to ἵππος, arguing that it alludes to the wooden horse and the fall of Troy. He also refers to the semi-equine Nessus.
[108] Nestor in *Met.* 12.542-76 refers to Hercules' sack of Pylos (fr. 33-5 M-W) and tells how Hercules killed Periclymenus. Ovid uses the *Catalogue* (fr. 33a M-W) as his model. See Fletcher R. 2005, 309-19, for Ovid's use of the *Catalogue* in Nestor's narration about Hercules. I examine the use of the *Catalogue of Women* in the section of the Ovidian Trojan War in Chapter 5.
[109] See Haubold 2005, 93 and *passim*.
[110] He sacks Oichalia (fr. 26 M-W), Pylos (fr. 33-5 M-W), Cos (fr. 43a M-W), and Troy (fr. 165 M-W).
[111] See Hirschberger 2004, 339-40.

equos, tantique operis mercede negata/ bis periura capit superataeque moenia Troiae).[112] Horses were the cause for the sack of Troy by Hercules, and a wooden horse will cause yet another sack of Troy. Note also that in *Heroides* 9*,* Hercules features prominently as a sacker of cities and abductor of women[113] and Deianira actually opens her letter with the sack of Oechalia: *Gratulor Oechaliam titulis accedere nostris, Her.* 9.1 (cf. fr. 26 M-W). Ovid's Hercules resembles the Hercules of the *Catalogue,* a hero who does not rid the earth of primordial monsters anymore, but destroys cities and rapes women. This phase of Hercules' life recalls Paris, whose passion for Helen caused the sack of Troy. Hence, the reference to the *Catalogue* activates the irony of the Ovidian passage; Paris identifies himself with a hero who sacked Troy (*Her.* 16. 267-8).

It is not the first time that Paris unwittingly prophesies the dire fate of the Trojans. In *Heroides* 5, Oenone, Paris' jilted wife, reports that Paris had inscribed on a poplar tree the following epigram:

> *cum Paris Oenone poterit spirare relicta,*
>> *ad fontem Xanthi uersa recurret aqua.*
> *Her.* 5.29-30

> When Paris is able to breathe after abandoning Oenone, the waters of
> Xanthus will turn and run back to their source.

Paris will of course break his oath and abandon Oenone for Helen. Thus, he precipitates the Trojan war, making the ἀδύνατον of his epigram possible. In *Iliad* 21, Achilles dams up the channel of Xanthus with corpses, so that his

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[112] Hercules and Achilles are the double doom of Troy in *Fasti* 5.389-90 *(stare simul casu Troiae duo fata uideres:/ hinc puer Aeacides, hinc Ioue natus erat).*
[113] In *Met.* 12.549 ff., Nestor relates Hercules' sack of Elis and Pylos.

stream actually does run back towards its source.[114] The river complains to Achilles:

> πλήθει γὰρ δή μοι νεκύων ἐρατεινὰ ῥέεθρα,
> οὐδέ τί πη δύναμαι προχέειν ῥόον εἰς ἅλα δῖαν
> στεινόμενος νεκύεσσι·
> *Il.* 21.218-20

> for my lovely streams are full of corpses, nor can I find a channel to pour forth my waters into the bright sea, since I am crammed with dead bodies.

Thus, Paris' words to Oenone are proven to be true. In *Her.* 16.263-8, Paris refers to the past, but inadvertently anticipates the future. This double reference underpins his liminal role in Greek mythology as a character that signals the end of the *Catalogue of Women* and the beginning of the Trojan Epic Cycle. His wish is to return to the past, but his acts will be destructive for the future. He uses the Hesiodic marker *ut* to introduce a flashback, but the *exempla* he gives function as a flash forward, or, to use Genette's terms, *ut* is both analeptic and proleptic, covering the functions of the Hesiodic *ehoie-* formula. It is a characteristically Ovidian irony that the words of a character contain a meaning that eludes the speaker. Paris inadvertently prophesies the future while referring to the past. He looks back to the Hesiodic world without realizing that he belongs to the narrative frame of the Epic Cycle.

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[114] This argument is suggested in Jacobson 1974, 183 n. 18, and developed in Farrell 1998, 327-8; cf. Fulkerson 2005, 57-8.

Conclusion

While recent scholarship on the *Heroides* has focused on the elegiac nature of Ovid's epistles, critics have paid far less attention to the fact that several authors of the letters, such as Paris and Helen, feature prominently in the world of Greek epic poetry. The *Catalogue of Women* is not merely one of the sources of *Heroides* 16-17, but an intertext crucial to understanding Paris' rhetoric as well as the ironies of his and Helen's letter. By broadening the horizons of Ovid's art of reference and taking into account the *Catalogue of Women*, we can gain an important key to interpreting the letters of Paris and Helen. Paris, for instance, manipulates his and Helen's genealogy for rhetorical purposes and it is surprising that scholars have failed to take into account the *Catalogue of Women,* a seminal work for heroic genealogies.

Aside from specific references to the *Catalogue,* Ovid has Paris give his own catalogue of women, aligning himself with the Hellenistic tradition of Hesiodic catalogue-poetry. Still, Ovid seems to take the Hesiodic catalogue more seriously than his Hellenistic predecessors. After presenting himself as a reader of Hesiod, Paris gives an exemplary list, including specific heroines and episodes from the *Catalogue* and using *ut* as a variant of *ehoie.* The temporal dimension of the *ehoie-*formula is also at play in Paris' catalogue and activates its intertextual ironies.

The poetry of the *Catalogue* shows traits intrinsic to Ovid's art. The power of poetry to make men desire a woman is a motif that Ovid brings up already in the *Amores* and revisits in the *Heroides.* Κλέος or *fama* is a poetic mechanism of bringing into life absent persons or even non-existent characters. Hesiod's playfulness with epic diction is another trait characteristic of Ovid's poetry. Ovid

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does not merely transform the formula χρυσῆ Ἀφροδίτη as *Venus aurea,* but

maintains the pun on the literal meaning of 'golden' since wealth plays an

important role both in the episode of the wooing of Helen in the *Catalogue* and

in Paris' letter in the *Heroides.* In the *Catalogue,* Ovid found a poet who

appealed to his art.

Chapter 2

From Chaos to Divine Loves: Ovid as a Hesiodic Poet

aque Chao densos diuum numerabat amores

Vergil, *Georgics* 4.347

1. THE PRIMARY NARRATOR

1.1 *Theogony-Works and Days*

The Hesiodic character of the *Metamorphoses* is one of the most under-

discussed aspects of Ovid's multifaceted epic,[1] even though the importance of

Hesiod declares itself in the opening lines. After a concise proem (*Met.* 1.1-4),

Ovid starts with the origins of the world:

> *Ante **mare** et **terras** et quod tegit omnia **caelum***
>
> *unus erat toto naturae uultus in orbe,*
>
> *quem **dixere Chaos**;*
>
> *Met.* 1.5-7

> Before the sea and the earth and the sky that covers everything, there
>
> was one face of nature in the whole universe, which they called Chaos;

To begin with Chaos is to begin with Hesiod's *Theogony* (ἤτοι μὲν **πρώτιστα**

Χάος γένετ'· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα/ Γαῖ' εὐρύστερνος, πάντων ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ,

116-7). Chaos is the very first origin and comes before the creation of the earth

(*terras;* Γαῖα, *Th.* 117; 126), the sky (*caelum;* Οὐρανός, *Th.* 126-7) and the sea

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[1] Ludwig 1965, 74-6, mentions the structural similarities between the *Metamorphoses* on the
one hand and Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Catalogue of Women* on the other. See also Lafaye
1904, 4-7; Keith 2002, 250-1. Bilinski, 1959, examines the relationship between Hesiod's *Works
and Days* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses.* See also Trencsényi-Waldapfel 1969. For the Hesiodic
Catalogue in Ovid's *Metamorphoses,* see Fletcher, R. 2005.

(*mare; pontus, Met.* 15; πέλαγος, πόντον, *Th.* 131-2). People called this primeval and indiscriminate mass Chaos and the subject of *dixere,* which is a marked term of literary annotation, must include Hesiod, the first and foremost authority who began his *Theogony* with Chaos.

Ovid invites us to read his cosmogony (*Met.* 1.5-88) against the background of Hesiod's *Theogony.* As the *carmen perpetuum* moves from Chaos to the creation of human beings (*Met.* 1.76ff.), Ovid effects a transition from the *Theogony* to the *Works and Days*[2] by reworking the Hesiodic myth of the five ages (*Works and Days* 109-201; *Met.* 1.89-150).[3] The *Metamorphoses* affords space for four ages (the generation of the heroes is omitted), sketching a consistent degradation of the human race. The transition to the myth of the ages is marked with a close imitation of Hesiod's opening lines (***Aurea prima sata est aetas***, *Met.* 1.89; **Χρύσεον** μὲν **πρώτιστα γένος** μερόπων ἀνθρώπων/ ἀθάνατοι ποίησαν, *WD* 109-10). The golden race is free from hardship since the earth produces fruits on its own accord (*mox etiam **fruges** tellus inarata **ferebat**, Met.* 1.109; **καρπὸν** δ᾽ **ἔφερε** ζείδουρος ἄρουρα/ αὐτόματη πολλόν τε καὶ ἄφθονον, *WD* 117-8). Ovid closely imitates Hesiod (*fruges..ferebat;* καρπὸν δ᾽ ἔφερε), but at the same time the Roman poet "corrects" his Greek model; ἄρουρα means "arable land" and thus is not a very

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[2] Ovid alludes to the importance of the *Works and Days* in the beginning of the *Fasti.* Janus, addressing the poet, says: *disce metu uates operose dierum* (*Fasti* 1.101). While *disce* is regularly used by the didactic poet himself (cf. *Fasti* 2.584; 4.140, 145; 6.639), *operose dierum* is a clear reference to the *Opera et Dies* (see Hardie 1991, 59; Barchiesi 1997, 233; Green 2004, 74-5). Janus, whose name is etymologized from *chaos* in *Fasti* 1.103: *nam Chaos antiqui (nam sum res prisca) uocabant,* is a primordial god in Ovid's didactic work. In *Fasti* 6.100-30, Janus returns and rapes the nymph Cranae. Thus, the presence of the god in the *Fasti* marks a progression within the Hesiodic corpus: from the *Theogony* (cf. Chaos) to the *Works and Days* (cf. *disce...operose dierum)* and finally to the *Catalogue of Women* (cf. the rape of Cranae).
[3] Clay 2003, offers a comprehensive interpretation of both the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days,* demonstrating how the two Hesiodic works must be read together. For the Hesiodic myth of the five ages in Ovid, see Töchterle 1985; Kubusch 1986.

successful word for the land of an age which did not plow. Ovid uses *tellus* for ἄρουρα and emphasizes that the earth was *inarata*.[4]

The age of silver (*Met.* 1.113-24; *WD* 127-42) is introduced as being inferior to that of gold (*subiit* **argentea** *proles,/ auro* **deterior***, Met.* 1.114-5; γένος πολὺ **χειρότερον** μετόπισθεν/ **ἀργύρεον** ποίησαν, *WD* 127-8).[5] The bronze race was the first to wage war *(saeuior ingeniis et ad horrida promptior arma;* δεινόν τε καὶ ὄβριμον, οἷσιν Ἄρηος/ ἔργ᾽ ἔμελε στονόεντα καὶ ὕβριες, *WD* 145-6; τῶν δ᾽ ἦν χάλκεα μὲν τεύχεα, *WD* 150). The iron age (*Met.* 1.127-50; *WD* 174-201) is characterized by a moral breakdown. Even friends and family members do wrong to each other:

> *uiuitur ex rapto.* **non hospes ab hospite** *tutus,*
> <u>*non socer a genero,*</u> **fratrum** *quoque gratia rara est;*
> *imminet exitio uir coniugis, illa mariti;*
> *lurida terribiles miscent aconita nouercae;*
> **filius ante diem patrios inquirit in annos;**
> **uicta iacet pietas***, et uirgo caede madentes*
> *ultima caelestum terras Astraea reliquit.*
> *Met.* 1.144-50

They live on plunder. A guest is not safe from a host, a father-in-law from a son-in-law, brothers' kindness was rare; a man longs for the death of his wife, a wife of her husband; dreadful stepmothers mix deadly aconite; a son inquires into his father's years before his time; piety lies defeated,

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[4] An accurate Latin translation of ἄρουρα would be *arua*. In Aratus, Dike provides the men of the golden race with plows (ἀλλὰ βόες καὶ **ἄροτρα** καὶ αὐτὴ πότνια λαῶν/ μυρία πάντα παρεῖχε Δίκη, *Phaen.* 112-3).
[5] Cf. Aratus, *Phaen.* 123-4 (Οἵην χρύσειοι πατέρες γενεὴν ἐλίποντο/ **χειροτέρην**·); Vergil, *Aen.* 8.326-7 *(***deterior***...aetas/ seccessit).*

and the virgin, the last of the heavenly gods to leave, abandoned the blood-drenched earth.

οὐδὲ πατὴρ παίδεσσιν ὁμοίιος οὐδέ τι παῖδες

οὐδὲ ξεῖνος ξεινοδόκῳ καὶ ἑταῖρος ἑταίρῳ,

οὐδὲ **κασίγνητος** φίλος ἔσσεται, ὡς τὸ πάρος περ.

αἶψα δὲ γηράσκοντας ἀτιμήσουσι τοκῆας·

μέμψονται δ' ἄρα τοὺς χαλεποῖς βάζοντες ἔπεσσι,

σχέτλιοι, οὐδὲ θεῶν ὄπιν εἰδότες· οὐδέ κεν οἵ γε

γηράντεσσι τοκεῦσιν ἀπὸ θρεπτήρια δοῖεν·

WD 182-88

Nor will father be like children nor children to father, nor guest to guest's host or comrade to comrade, nor will a brother be friendly as in former times. Soon they will cease to respect their aging fathers, and will rail at them with harsh words, the ruffians, in ignorance of gods' punishment; nor are they likely to repay their ageing parents for their nurture.

Ovid's verbal wit is at its best here *(non hospes ab hospite tutus),* as the poet uses the same word, but suggests a different meaning each time ('guest' and 'host'). Word order unites the two different meanings of one word, while syntax separates the nominative from the ablative. Ovid declines *hospes* in a passage that emphasizes the decline of the human race[6] and syntax conveys the topic under discussion accurately and concisely.[7] Syntactic expressiveness

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[6] Ancient grammarians use *casus* for 'case', a word which can also mean 'fall' or 'downfall.' The cases *(casus)* represent the 'falling away' from the nominative form (see Donatus, Keil 4,377). Cf. Ahl 1985, 26-7.

[7] For this Ovidian technique, see Schawaller 1987, 280-10; Lateiner 1990, 214-5 and *passim;* Tissol 1997, 57-8. None of them discuss *non hospes ab hospite tutus.* Tissol comments on *Met.* 6.273 *(heu quantum **Niobe Niobe** distabat ab illa).* Niobe's downfall is reflected in the declension of her name.

represents the decadence of hospitality; *hospes* falls' from the nominative (a *casus rectus*) to the ablative (a *casus obliquus*). The use of word order and the syntax as means of expressing external reality will not surprise Ovidian critics who have long recognized those techniques as essential to Ovid's poetry. Still, in the passage under discussion, Ovid imitates Hesiod closely (οὐδὲ ξεῖνος ξεινοδόκῳ καὶ ἑταῖρος ἑταίρῳ). By having a dative follow a nominative, Hesiod has word order and syntax represent the unholy conflict between people bound by hospitality or friendship.

Hesiod opens the passage of the iron age by wishing that he did not belong to the fifth generation of men (*WD* 174-5), making clear that he no longer speaks about the past (**νῦν** γὰρ δὴ γένος ἐστὶ σιδήρεον, *WD* 174-5). For Ovid, it would not be that easy to say that he lives in the iron age, given that Augustus declared the beginning of a new golden age. Still, Ovid manages to bring the iron age very close to Roman reality. The unholy fight between a father-in-law and a son-in-law is a particularly Roman expression not to be found in Hesiod, and recalls the civil war between Caesar and Pompey.[8]

Ovid's excursus of the four ages concludes with the departure of the virgin Astraea from the earth *(ultima caelestum terras Astraea reliquit),* just as Hesiod's account ends with the departure of Aidos and Nemesis (ἀθανάτων μετὰ φῦλον ἴτον προλιπόντ' ἀνθρώπους/ Αἰδὼς καὶ Νέμεσις, *WD* 199-200).[9]

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[8] Pompey married Caesar's daughter Julia. Her death in childbirth precipitated the war between Pompey and Caesar. Ovid seems to allude to Vergil's reference to the civil war between Caesar and Pompey as a war between a *socer* and a *gener (Aeneid* 6. 830-1). See also Catullus 29.24 *(socer generque perdidistis omnia),* and cf. Wheeler 1999, 199. The conflict between a son-in-law and a father-in-law further recalls the war between the Romans and the Sabines (because the Romans carried off Sabine women. See Ovid *Met.* 14.801-4; *Fasti* 3.202). See Bömer *ad* 1.445 for further examples.
[9] Cf. the departure of Dike in Aratus, *Phaen.* 96ff; Vergil, *Georg.* 2.473-4 *(extrema per illos/ Iustitia excedens terris uestigia fecit);* Ovid, *Fasti* 1.249-50 *[nondum Iustitiam facinus mortale fugarat/ (ultima de superis illa reliquit humum)].*

After a digression modeled on the *Works and Days,* we return to the themes of the *Theogony.* In Ovid's brief Gigantomachy (*Met.* 1.151-62), the killing of the Giants is reminiscent of their birth; when Jupiter destroys them, their blood drenches Earth (*perfusam multo natorum **sanguine** Terram, Met.* 1.157). While *natorum... Terram* alludes to the etymology of the earthborn (γηγενής) Giants from Γῆ and γίγνομαι,[10] the blood of the Giants which Earth absorbs recalls their birth from the blood of the castrated Ouranos in the *Theogony:*

> ὅσσαι γὰρ ῥαθάμιγγες ἀπέσσυθεν <u>αἱματόεσσαι,</u>
>
> πάσας δέξατο **Γαῖα**· περιπλομένων δ' ἐνιαυτῶν
>
> **γείνατ'** Ἐρινῦς τε κρατερὰς μεγάλους τε **Γίγαντας**.
> *Theogony* 183-5

> for all the drops of blood that flew off were received by Earth, and as the years went round she bore the powerful Erinyes and the great Giants. (transl. West)

The framing of *Theogony* 185 with γείνατο and Γίγαντας alludes to the etymology of the Giants (cf. Γαῖα... γείνατο; *natorum... Terram),* while αἱματόεσσαι is echoed in *sanguine.* Ovid's Giants and the etymology of their name refer back to the *Theogony.* In Hesiod, the Giants spring from the drops of blood of Ouranos' genitalia, while in the *Metamorphoses* Earth warms the Giants' blood into new life, producing a race of impious men. Thus, the birth of the Giants in the *Theogony* is reenacted in the *Metamorphoses,* but the episode has been moved a generation further on. The blood of the Giants fertilizes Earth and generates a human race, while their death *(natorum sanguine Terram)* refers back to their birth from Ouranos' blood.

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[10] Cf. Sophocles, *Trach.* 1060 (στρατὸς Γιγάντων γηγενής). See Michalopoulos 2001, 85, on Ovid's allusion to γηγενής in *natorum... Terram.*

As the Giants die in the way they were born, and procreate while dying, Ovid plays with the meaning of *sanguis;* the blood of the Giants creates a tribe of bloodthirsty men (*et uiolenta fuit; scires a **sanguine natos,** Met.* 1.162; *perfusam multo **natorum sanguine** Terram, Met.* 1.157). While a clear parallel between the blood of the Giants and the violence of their offspring is drawn, the meaning of *sanguis* as "offspring" or "descendants"[11] is also at play. The lineage or *sanguis,* which begins with Ouranos, is followed by the Giants and continues with the earthborn men, proceeds literally with the blood of Ouranos and the Giants. Ovid employs simultaneously the literal and the figurative meaning of *sanguis.*[12]

1.2 Deucalion and Pyrrha: *Theogony-Catalogue of Women*

The moral decadence of the four ages and the birth of an impious human race foreshadow Jupiter's anger at Lycaon's outrage. The savage tyrant does not respect the rules of hospitality (cf. *non hospes a hospite tutus, Met.* 1.144; *inhospita tecta tyranni, Met.* 1.218) and tries to kill Jupiter himself, the supreme god and divine patron of hospitality.[13] Jupiter decides to eliminate humankind and causes a deluge (*Met.* 1.244-312). The universe returns to the chaotic form it had in the beginning; earth and sea merge into an indiscriminate mass *(iamque mare et tellus nullum discrimen habebant, Met.* 1.291). This ring composition brings us back to the beginning of the *Theogony* and anticipates the creation of a new race of men. Deucalion and Pyrrha are the only survivors

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[11] See *OLD, s.v. sanguis* 8.

[12] It is also interesting that the Giants attack the sky (*adfectasse ferunt **regnum caeleste** Gigantas, Met.* 1.152; *ausos **caelum** adfectare Gigantas, Fasti* 3.439); on the one hand they leave mother Earth, on the other they lay claim to the kingdom of their father Ouranos/the Sky. The plan of ascending from earth to heaven is a common motif in Gigantomachies (cf. Lucretius *DRN* 1.62-79). See Hardie 1986, 210.

[13] Hesiod most likely dealt with Lycaon's outrage in the *Catalogue of Women* (cf. τὴν δὲ τοῦ Λυκάονος ἐπὶ τῷ Διὶ "παραιβασίαν" εἰπεῖν καθ' Ἡσίοδον, οἱ τοῦ Λυκόφρονος δηλοῦσιν ὑπομνηματισταί, Eust. *in Hom. Il.* 2.608).

of the flood and, after deciphering Themis' riddled oracle, which commanded to throw behind them the bones of their great mother, the pious couple recreates the human race by throwing back stones, the "bones" of mother Earth (*Met.* 1.348-415).

But the creation of a new mankind involves a progression within the Hesiodic corpus. After setting his epic against the background of the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days,* Ovid moves on to the *Catalogue of Women;* the story of Deucalion was told in the beginning of the *Catalogue* (ὅτι Προμηθέως καὶ †Πανδώρας υἱὸς Δευκαλίων, Ἡσίοδος ἐν πρώτωι Καταλόγων φησί, *Schol. Ap. Rhod,* 1086= fr. 2 M-W). It is not a coincidence, in my view, that Deucalion appears in the first book of both the *Catalogue* and the *Metamorphoses.* The story of Deucalion and Pyrrha is about the creation of a new human race and thus signals the unfolding of the genealogically oriented narrative of the Hesiodic *Catalogue.* It should have been the very beginning of Hesiod's epic. Their own genealogy is also evoked in the *Metamorphoses* (cf. *o soror, o coniux, o femina sola superstes,/ quam commune mihi genus et patruelis origo, Met.* 1.351-2; *inde Promethides placidis Epimethida dictis, Met.* 1.390). Ovid tests the readers' command of mythic genealogies; Iapetos was the father of Prometheus and Epimetheus. Deucalion was Prometheus' son and Pyrrha Epimetheus' daughter.[14] The patronymics as well as *soror*[15] and *patruelis origo* suggest that Ovid follows the genealogical line of Hesiod's work. Deucalion is

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[14] For the reconstruction of Deucalion's family, see West 1985, 52-3. Ovid calls Pyrrha *Titania (Met.* 1.395), suggesting again her genealogy since the Titan Iapetus was her grandfather.
[15] In the case of Pyrrha and Deucalion, *soror* means 'first cousin' (cf. *OLD* 1c).

called *Promethides* right before he interprets Themis' riddling oracle; the son's insight matches his father's famous shrewdness.[16]

The generation of a new race by Deucalion replicates Prometheus' creation of humankind (*Met.* 1.76-88), and Deucalion's wish to give life to the human race, as his father did, will be fulfilled (cf. *o utinam possim populos reparare paternis/ artibus, Met.* 1.363-4). The link between Prometheus (*satus Iapeto, Met.* 1.82) and Deucalion (*Promethides, Met.* 1.390)* invites the readers to follow the genealogical thread of Ovid's narrative. A glance at the Hesiodic corpus is instructive. Deucalion's genealogy begins with the Titan Iapetos and is narrated in the *Theogony:*

> κούρην δ' **Ἰαπετὸς** καλλίσφυρον Ὠκεανίνην
> ἠγάγετο Κλυμένην καὶ ὁμὸν λέχος εἰσανέβαινεν.
> ἡ δέ οἱ Ἄτλαντα κρατερόφρονα γείνατο παῖδα,
> τίκτε δ' ὑπερκύδαντα Μενοίτιον ἠδὲ **Προμηθέα,**
> ποικίλον αἰολόμητιν, ἁμαρτίνοόν τ' **Ἐπιμηθέα·**
> *Theogony* 507-11

> Iapetos married the trim-ankled Oceanid nymph, Clymene, and went up to share one bed with her. She bore him Atlas, a stern-hearted child, and proud Menoitios, and Prometheus, subtle, shifting-scheming, and misguided Epimetheus.

The family tree of Iapetos does not go beyond Prometheus and Epimetheus in the *Theogony.* If we would like to look for the offspring of Prometheus and

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[16] Barchiesi 2005, 198, also explains how the etymologies of Prometheus and Epimetheus are related to the narrative of the *Metamorphoses:* "390. *Promethides...Epimethida:* i due patronimici sono unici nella poesia latina e il loro accostamento sottolinea che Deucalione è figlio di colui che «pensa in anticipo», mentre Pirra (che ha appena dato prova di incertezza) di colui che «pensa dopo»."

Epimetheus, we have to move from the *Theogony* to the *Catalogue of Women.*
In fact, the entire narrative of the *Catalogue* refers back to Iapetos and
proceeds with the offspring of Deucalion and Pyrrha (fr. 2-7 M-W). By referring
repeatedly to the genealogy of Deucalion and Pyrrha, and by suggesting
parallels between the creation of mankind by Prometheus and the recreation of
human beings by Deucalion and Pyrrha, Ovid effects a transition from the
Theogony to the *Catalogue* by following the descendants of Iapetos.
Prometheus' genealogical tree reaches back to the beginning of the *Theogony;*
the Titan Iapetus, the son of Earth and Ouranos, was born not only before the
creation of human beings but even before the creation of the gods,[17] while his
descendants reach forward to the beginning of the *Catalogue of Women.* The
genealogical thread which connects the two Hesiodic works runs as follows:
Gaia and Ouranos-Iapetos and Clymene-Prometheus *(Theogony)-* Deucalion
(Catalogue of Women).[18]

The *Catalogue of Women* is in fact a sequel to the *Theogony;* the last two lines
of the *Theogony* overlap with the first two lines of the *Catalogue* (νῦν δὲ
γυναικῶν φῦλον ἀείσατε, ἡδυέπειαι/ Μοῦσαι Ὀλυμπιάδες, κοῦραι Διὸς
αἰγιόχοιο, *Theogony* 1021-2= *CW* fr. 1.1-2). We move from the affairs of
goddesses with men, the last section of the *Theogony* (963-1020), to heroines
who slept with gods. Thus, Ovid's movement from the *Theogony* to the
Catalogue within the *Metamorphoses* reproduces the sequentiality of these two
Hesiodic works.

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[17] See Barchiesi 2005, 164.

[18] For an attempt to reconstruct further details in Pyrrha's and Deucalion's family tree, see West 1985, 50-3; Dräger 1997, 33-42. Clay 2005, 27-8, speculates that the *Catalogue* began with Prometheus, Epimetheus, and Pandora. Thus, the *Theogony,* the *Works and Days,* and the *Catalogue* would contain a variant of the Prometheus myth, suggesting a conscious attempt to link the *Catalogue* to the two other Hesiodic compositions. Although this is possible, we only know that Prometheus was mentioned as the father of Deucalion and Epimetheus as the father of Pyrrha. We do not know whether they played any role in the narrative of the *Catalogue.*

The proem of the *Catalogue* presents the main subject of the work:

Νῦν δὲ γυναικῶν ᴸφῦλον ἀείσατε, ἡδυέπειαι

Μοῦσαι Ὀλυμπιάδε ᴸς, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο,

α˳ἲ τότ' ἄρισται ἔσαν˳[

μίτρας τ' ἀλλύσαντο .[

μισγόμεν˳αι θεοῖ˳σ˳[ιν

fr. 1.1-5 M-W

And now sweet-sounding Olympian Muses, daughters of aegis- bearing Zeus, sing of the tribe of women, those who were then the best.... and they loosened their girdles..... mingling with gods

Although the structure of the *Catalogue* is based on heroic genealogies,[19] the affairs of women with gods is the leitmotif of the work as this proem makes clear. Right from the beginning, the rapes of Zeus are enmeshed in Deucalion's family tree,[20] indicating that the *Catalogue* is a combination of divine amours and heroic genealogies. Similarly, as we shall see, divine loves are a recurring motif in the genealogical progression of the *Metamorphoses.*

1.3 Apollo: *Theogony- Catalogue of Women*

In *Metamorphoses* 1, the transition from the *Theogony* to the *Catalogue* is further suggested in the Apollo episode. Following the creation of a new human race by Deucalion and Pyrrha, the earth produces various species of animals but also new monsters (*noua monstra, Met.* 1.437). One of them is Python, a huge serpent which is killed by Apollo (*Met.* 1.416-51). The earthborn monsters

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[19] For a reconstruction of the *Catalogue,* see West 1985.
[20] Pandora, Deucalion's daughter, mingles in love with Zeus and gives birth to Graikos (fr. 5 M-W), and Thyia, also Deucalion's daughter, bears Magnes and Makedon to Zeus (fr. 7 M-W).

recall Gaia's generative powers in the *Theogony,* while the struggle of Apollo with a chthonic serpent is reminiscent of the battle of Zeus with Typhoeus in *Theogony* 821-85. Just like Python, Typhoeus is an ophidian earth-monster (cf. ἐκ δέ οἱ ὤμων/ ἦν ἑκατὸν κεφαλαὶ **ὄφιος,** δεινοῖο **δράκοντος,**/ γλώσσῃσι δνοφερῇσι λελιχμότες, *Theogony* 825-7), which is killed by an Olympian. Zeus' duel with Typhoeus is his last battle for universal dominion, while Apollo's deed of killing the Pytho is his first epic exploit (*Met.* 441-2).[21] Python suggests Typhon and it might be significant that the name of Apollo's first foe *(PYTHOn)* is almost an anagram of Zeus' last enemy *(TYPHOeus).* What follows right after Apollo's first combat is the god's first love (*Primus amor Phoebi Daphne Peneia,* 1.452), an episode which signals Ovid's generic shift from epic to elegy.[22] Apollo, a mighty archer of epic proportions, is reduced to a forlorn lover by Cupid, the patron deity of Roman love elegy. Be that as it may, the transformation of Apollo from a god who fights with a primordial monster to a god who falls in love with a beautiful girl replicates the shift from the *Theogony* to the *Catalogue of Women.* Along those lines, Max Treu suggests that Phoebus' **primus amor** refers to Zeus' first wife in *Theogony* 886 (Ζεὺς δὲ θεῶν βασιλεὺς **πρώτην ἄλοχον** θέτο Μῆτιν).[23] Zeus' first marriage initiates a catalogue of divine affairs which is the last section of the *Theogony* leading up

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[21] Genovese 1983, 153, notes that Apollo, the son of Jupiter, duplicates his father's victory over Typhoeus by slaying Python. Wheeler 2000, 55, suggests that the mountainous Python could be read as another incarnation of the "serpent-footed" giants (cf. *Met.* 1.184) who storm Olympus with mountains. He further parallels Apollo's bow and arrows with Jupiter's thunderbolt.

[22] The prominence of Cupid in the Apollo-Daphne episode makes the elegiac dimension of Apollo's infatuation all the more emphatic. Nicoll 1980, 174-82, argues that the Apollo-Cupid episode in *Metamorphoses* 1 reworks the elegiac denial of epic- the *recusatio* based on the Callimachean theophany of the *Aetia* prologue. Knox 1986, 14-17, argues that the encounter between Cupid and Apollo evokes elegiac discourse; Keith 2002, 246-50, further examines the interplay between epic and elegy in *Metamorphoses* 1.452-582. For the importance of aetiology in the Python and Daphne episodes, see Myers 1994b, 61-3. Miller 2009, gathers the numerous allusions to literary beginnings in the Daphne episode, but does not discuss Hesiod.

[23] Treu 1957, 173.

to the *Catalogue of Women.* The loves of Zeus and the other gods follow immediately after the Typhonomachy and Phoebus' first love comes right after his victory over a Typhon-like monster in the *Metamorphoses*. From that perspective, the transition from Python to Daphne via Apollo suggests a progression within the corpus of the Hesiodic epics.[24] Apollo's passion is not an interruption of epic narrative, but an epic sequel within the Hesiodic corpus.[25]

Apollo's entry in the *Metamorphoses* sets up an intertextual comparison with Hesiod's Zeus. From that perspective, Ovid's Apollo appears significantly weaker than his father. Zeus' single thunderbolt burns the many heads of the monstrous Typhoeus (*Theogony* 853-6), while Apollo needs a thousand arrows to subdue the Python (*Met.* 1.443-4), and Zeus not only consummates his first marriage but also consumes Metis (*Theogony* 886-900), while Apollo's passions in the *Metamorphoses* begin and end with an unfulfilled love; Daphne and the Sibyl (*Met.* 14.139-51), both loved by Apollo, remain forever virgins. Within the *Metamorphoses,* Apollo's failure to seduce Daphne is juxtaposed with Jupiter's rape of Io (*Met.* 1.588-600). Both Daphne and Io flee their divine pursuers (*fugit altera nomen amantis, Met.* 1.474; *ne fuge me! (fugiebat enim), Met.* 1.597), but while Daphne escapes, Io does not (*tenuitque fugam rapuitque pudorem, Met.* 1.600). On an intratextual level, Apollo's failure as a lover is paralleled with Jupiter's rape of Io, while on an intertextual level, Apollo's Hesiodic transition from Pytho to Daphne is pitted against Zeus' destruction of Typhoeus and his subsequent marriage with Metis.

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[24] Barchiesi 1999, 116, suggests a parallel between the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 1. In the *Homeric Hymn* (207-15), the poet first mentions briefly Apollo's amours and then shifts to singing of the monster Python. The catalogue of Apollo's loves is followed by the foundation of the Delphic oracle. Ovid reverses the sequence of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* and restores the Hesiodic order.
[25] Wheeler 2000, 54-7, discussing Apollo's first epic deed and first love, is right to argue that Ovid weaves them together so that they form a coherent narrative sequence.

It is noteworthy that the laurel was associated with poetry and Apollo, the god of poetry.[26] Ovid alludes to the poetic dimension of the laurel tree at the end of the Daphne episode. The god of poetry says that the laurel will accompany his lyre (*semper habebunt/...te citharae.., laure, Met.* 1.558-9) and his songs (*Met.* 1.561). The laurel as the tree of the poets is attested first in the *Theogony,* when the Muses present Hesiod with a laurel scepter (καί μοι σκῆπτρον ἔδον, **δάφνης** ἐριθηλέος ὄζον/ δρέψασθαι θηητόν, *Th.* 30-1)[27] and breathe into him wondrous voice and songs. Hesiod plucks a branch of laurel (ὄζον δρέψασθαι) much as Phoebus lays hands on Daphne (*positaque in stipite dextra, Met.* 1.553) and clasps her branches (*complexusque suis ramos...lacertis, Met.* 1.555).[28] Hesiod's voice (ἐνέπνευσαν δέ μοι αὐδήν, *Th.* 31) and song (ἀείδειν, *Th.* 34) are echoed in Apollo's song (*uox canet, Met.* 1.561) in his apostrophe to Daphne. Thus, the end of the Apollo-Daphne episode refers to the beginning of the *Theogony,* evoking the poetological dimensions of the laurel tree. The readers are invited to listen to the Hesiodic voice of the *Metamorphoses.*

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[26] Cf. Barchiesi 2005, 205. For the importance of the Callimachean *Hymn to Apollo* in the Apollo-Daphne episode, see Barchiesi 2005, 213-4.

[27] I read δρέψασθαι in *Th.* 30-1. West reads δρέψασαι, but admits that decision between δρέψασαι and δρέψασθαι is not easy (see West 1966, 165). Later on in his translation, however, he clearly translates δρέψασθαι (see West 1988: "they gave me a branch of springing bay to pluck").

[28] It is interesting that Apollo stressed earlier that he is no shepherd or herdsman (*non ego sum pastor, non hic armenta gregesque/ horridus obseruo, Met.* 513-4). This is of course ironic, given that Apollo is a pastoral god (cf. *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 19-22) and Νόμιος is one of his epithets. The god served as a herdsman to Admetus (cf. *illud erat tempus, quo te pastoria pellis/ texit, Met.* 2.680-1; Callimachus, *In Apoll.* 47-9; Tibullus 2.3.11-32; Ovid, *Ars Am.* 2.239-42). Contrary to his assertion, Apollo *is* a herdsman and thus he resembles Hesiod, who is presented as a shepherd before the Muses teach him singing and give him the laurel scepter (αἵ νύ ποθ' Ἡσίοδον καλὴν ἐδίδαξαν ἀοιδήν,/ **ἄρνας ποιμαίνονθ'** Ἑλικῶνος ὕπο ζαθέοιο. *Th.* 22-3).

The programmatic importance of Apollo's first love has been pointed out by critics.[29] The tale introduces a long series of amatory episodes, which begin with Apollo's unfulfilled passion for Daphne and conclude with Vertumnus' successful pursuit of Pomona (*Met.* 14.623-771).[30] Ovid's multifaceted epic includes a catalogue of love affairs interspersed among its fifteen books. Divine and mortal passions constitute a recurring motif in the *MetAMORphoses,* establishing the importance of the erotic dimension in Ovid's hexameter poem. The first two books, in particular, contain a number of episodes which present gods in love with mortal women (Apollo-Daphne, Jupiter-Io, Jupiter-Callisto, Apollo-Coronis, Hermes-Herse, Jupiter-Europa).[31] Thus, the story of Apollo and Daphne signals the beginning of a catalogue of women loved by gods, along the lines of the proem of Hesiod's *Ehoiai* (fr. 1 M-W).

1.4 The Loves of the Gods: Io

In Hesiod*,* Io belongs to the descendants of Inachus and her rape by Zeus is narrated in the second or third book of the *Catalogue.*[32] Apollodorus gives a summary of Hesiod's version:

Ἡσίοδος δὲ καὶ Ἀκουσίλαος Πειρῆνος αὐτήν φασιν εἶναι. ταύτην
ἱερωσύνην τῆς Ἥρας ἔχουσαν Ζεὺς ἔφθειρε. φωραθεὶς δὲ ὑφ'
Ἥρας τῆς μὲν κόρης ἁψάμενος εἰς βοῦν μετεμόρφωσε λευκήν,

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[29] Lafaye 1904, 167; Fränkel 1945, 78; Wilkinson 1955, 206; Myers 1994b, 62 notes "This story (i.e. the Apollo-Daphne episode) also serves to establish an erotic pattern to be followed in much of the rest of the poem"; for Apollo's first love as an introduction to the divine love affairs of the *Metamorphoses,* see Otis 1970, 91-127; Müller 1998, 30-59; Holzberg 1999; Wheeler 2000, 57, notes: "The struggle between Apollo and Cupid over the proper use of the *fortia arma* is programmatic for the transition of two types of narrative: cosmological and erotic." Although Wheeler does not discuss Hesiod at all, his view is very close to mine.
[30] The parallels between the first and the last love story of the *Metamorphoses* are discussed in Davis 1983, 67; Myers 1994a; Myers 1994b, 113-21.
[31] For the divine *amores,* which are enmeshed in the two great catastrophes (Deucalion, Phaethon), and the structure of *Metamorphoses* 1-2, see Otis 1970, 91-127.
[32] See West 1985, 76-7.

ἀπωμόσατο δὲ ταύτῃ μὴ συνελθεῖν· διό φησιν Ἡσίοδος οὐκ

ἐπισπᾶσθαι τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν ὀργὴν τοὺς γινομένους ὅρκους ὑπὲρ

Ἔρωτος. Ἥρα δὲ αἰτησαμένη παρὰ Διὸς τὴν βοῦν φύλακα αὐτῆς

κατέστησεν Ἄργον τὸν πανόπτην.

Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2.5-6= fr. 124 M-W

Hesiod and Acusilaus say that she (i.e. Io) was the daughter of Peiren.

Zeus raped her while she was the priestess of Hera. When he was

caught by Hera he laid hold of the girl and transformed her into a white

heifer, and swore that he had not had intercourse with this female: for

this reason Hesiod says that oaths sworn for the sake of Eros do not

draw down the wrath of the gods. But Hera asked for the heifer from

Zeus and set up the all-seeing Argus as guard over her (transl. Most).

Ovid's version is similar to Apollodorus' summary. Jupiter, having a presage of

Juno's arrival, transforms Io into a snow-white heifer (*Met.* 1.610-1; 1.652).

Juno wants Jupiter to give her the heifer (*petit hanc Saturnia munus, Met.*

1.616) and Jupiter, though reluctantly, does not deny the gift to her. Juno sets

up Argus as Io's guard (*Met.* 1.624), but Jupiter sends Mercury to kill the

watchful guard (*Met.* 1.668-721). The killing of Argus by Hermes was also part

of the Hesiodic version as we can infer from Heraclitus' comment on Hermes'

epithet ἀργεϊφόντης ("ἀργεϊφόντην" τε γὰρ ὀνομάζει τὸν θεόν, οὐ μὰ Δί᾽

οὐχὶ τοὺς Ἡσιοδείους μύθους ἐπιστάμενος, ὅτι τὸν βουκόλον Ἰοῦς

ἐφόνευσεν, 'Heraclitus', *Alleg. Hom.* 72.10= fr. 126 M-W).[33] In the end, Io is

restored to human form and bears Epaphus to Jupiter (*Met.* 1.722-50). The

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[33] Ovid alludes to the etymology of ἀργεϊφόντης in *Met.* 1.670 *(Pleias enixa est **leto**que det imperat **Argum**);* cf. Barchiesi 2005, 223. If Hesiod is the oldest authority of the myth, it is possible that this etymology was suggested in the *Catalogue of Women.* At least this is what Heraclitus' comment implies.

mention of Epaphus was indispensable to the *Catalogue of Women* since its

genealogically oriented narrative follows the stemma of the Inachids.[34]

1.5 The Loves of the Gods: Phoebus and Clymene

Epaphus enables Ovid to make a transition to the story of Phaethon, the

longest episode in the *Metamorphoses* (1.747-2.365). Epaphus doubts that

Phoebus is the father of his friend Phaethon and his hurtful insinuations prompt

Phaethon to go first to his mother Clymene and then to Phoebus/the Sun and

inquire about his parentage. But why does Epaphus reject Phaethon's solar

descent? Hesiod's genealogies can give us the answer. According to Hesiod,

Phaethon was not the son of the Sun and Clymene, but of Cephalus and Eos

(*Theogony* 984-91).[35] In the *Catalogue,* Phaethon would appear after the

Herse-*ehoie;* Cephalus is the son of Herse and Hermes, and Phaethon the son

of Eos and Cephalus.[36] Ovid recounts Herse's affair with Mercury after the

Phaethon episode (*Met.* 2.708 ff.), a story which can remind a reader well

versed in heroic genealogies of Phaethon's descent from Herse.[37] As Frederick

Ahl points out, Ovid is quite capable of incorporating different traditions into his

own versions of the myth[38] and the argument of the young boys about

Phaethon's parentage is in fact an argument between two different versions of

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[34] See West 1985, 77, 149-51.

[35] For this version, see also Pausanias 1.3.1; Apollodorus 3.14.3. Ovid narrates Aurora's love for Cephalus in *Met.* 7.700-13.

[36] See West 1985, 181.

[37] A Homeric scholion attests that some people say that Clymene had an affair with Helios and bore him Phaethon (Schol. Hom. *Od.* 11.326= fr. 62 M-W). The scholion is a comment on Clymene, the mother of Iphiclus, according to the *Catalogue.* Hesiod does not belong to the people (ἔνιοι) who tell of Clymene's marriage with Helios. Schwartz 1960, 474, rightly notes: "Il est évident que la mention d'Hésiode porte sur l'histoire d'Iphiclos et non pas sur le marriage antérieur de Clymène, qui n'est qu'un arrangement syncrétiste."

[38] Ahl 1985, 179. Ahl 1985, 178-9, 181, argues that the presence of Aurora in the Phaethon episode alludes to the alternative tradition according to which Aurora was Phaethon's mother, but does not discuss the issue of Phaethon's father raised by Epaphus in the beginning of the tale.

the myth. Epaphus can appeal to Hesiod, an ancient authority and the ultimate source of genealogies, in order to reject Phaethon's claim of a divine father; Phaethon's father is not the Sun and is not a god, but the mortal Cephalus, says Hesiod. We should bear in mind that Epaphus features in the genealogical narrative of the *Catalogue of Women,* a literary proof of his descent from Zeus. His divine parentage is beyond doubt, unlike that of Phaethon. It is certainly significant that Epaphus is called *Inachides* (*Met.* 1.753) right before he makes his bitter remarks; he can boast of belonging to the stemma of the Inachids and being an organic part of the family tree which occupies an extensive section of the *Catalogue* (fr. 122-59 M-W) and the *Metamorphoses.* Thus, Epaphus challenges his friend by alluding to the authority of Hesiod's genealogies. As Phaethon sets out to solve the mystery of his parentage, the *Theogony,* the *Catalogue of Women,* and the Hesiodic character of the *Metamorphoses* are looming over his quest, filling him with doubts about the true identity of his father.

When Phaethon meets Phoebus, the god swears to do whatever his son asks, in order to prove that he is his father, and the boy asks to ride the chariot of the Sun. Phaethon drives the chariot but loses control, setting the universe on fire; the mountains burn and the rivers are dried up. The Earth complains and finally Jupiter intervenes and kills the boy with a lightning bolt. The story of Phaethon might seem to break the sequence of divine *amores,* recalling the theme of destruction in Book 1,[39] but the affair of Phoebus with Clymene and the story of their offspring lies on the background of Phaethon's story, keeping the tenor of love affairs between gods and women, while shifting the focus onto their

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[39] The deluge and the conflagration were associated with the two great Doomsdays. See Otis 1970, 91-3; Barchiesi 2005, 191. Hyginus (*Fabulae* 152, 154) attributes to Hesiod a version which makes Deucalion's flood the means of quenching Phaethon's blaze. For a discussion about Phaethon and Hyginus' reference, see Schwartz 1960, 301-6.

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progeny. The Phaethon episode signals a narrative progression from divine loves to divine offspring,[40] reflecting the typical structure of an *ehoie.* Phaethon's search for proofs about his parentage leads him to his doom in an episode which highlights the problematic nature of affairs between mortals and immortals as well as the repercussions of such liaisons for the cosmic order. The readers do not lose sight of the main themes and issues raised in the *Catalogue of Women;* the presence of the Hesiodic work in Ovid's *carmen perpetuum* progresses without interruption.

The threat of total destruction caused by Phaethon's folly evokes the dangers which the offspring of gods and mortal women pose for the Olympians. Phaethon's ride almost confounds the universe and its consequences resemble the attack of the Giants. The sons of Poseidon and Iphimedeia, the so called Aloades, tried to overthrow the gods by piling Ossa on Olympus and Pelion on Ossa, a story first attested in the Odyssean 'Catalogue of Women' (*Odyssey* 11.305-20). In the *Metamorphoses,* the attack of the Aloades is included in the Gigantomachy. Jupiter destroys the unruly giants with his thunderbolt (*tum pater omnipotens misso perfregit Olympum/ fulmine et excussit subiectae Pelion Ossae, Met.* 1.155), just as he hurls his lightning bolt to prevent Phaethon from throwing the universe into confusion *(Met.* 2.304-13). Otos and Ephialtes put Ossa over Olympus, while Phaethon's fire burns forests and mountains; Ovid gives us a catalogue of mountains (*Met.* 2.217-25)[41] which ends with Ossa and Olympus (*Ossaque cum Pindo maiorque ambobus Olympus, Met.* 2.225). On the one hand, Ossa and Olympus recall the attack of the Aloades, on the other

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[40] Wheeler 2000, 66-9, discusses the narrative continuity from the loves of the gods to the episode of Phaethon. The narrative has gone through a generational cycle that begins with Phoebus' first experience of love (Daphne) and ends with his grief for the death of a son (Phaethon).
[41] There is also a catalogue of parched rivers (*Met.* 2.239-59), which recalls the catalogue of rivers in *Theogony* 337-45.

the blazing Olympus suggests that Olympian order is at stake. Without Jupiter's intervention, the world would return to Chaos, back to the beginning of the *Metamorphoses* (cf. *si freta, si terrae pereunt, si regia caeli,/ in Chaos antiquum confundimur, Met.* 2.298-9). In the succession myth of the *Theogony,* the recurring motif of the son who overthrows the father (Kronos dethrones Ouranos and Zeus deposes Kronos), shows that the offspring of the universal ruler poses a threat for his sovereignty. Zeus safeguards his rule by swallowing Metis (the personification of the cunning intelligence), who would give birth to a dangerous son (*Theogony* 886-900).[42] But the demigods might also threaten the Olympian regime, resembling the giant enemies of the gods. The Phaethon-episode shows how the mortal sons of divine fathers might destabilize the Olympian cosmos.

1.6 Tellus/ Gaia: From the Beginning of the *Theogony* to the End of the *Catalogue*

As Phaethon's unbridled ride threatens to burn down the universe, Ovid presents Earth, a vivid and unmistakably Hesiodic personification, complaining about her plight caused by the cosmic conflagration (*Met.* 2.272-302). In the *Theogony,* Ouranos does not allow his children to come out of Earth's womb by forcing her to continuous sexual intercourse. Earth is tightly pressed and groans but reacts by contriving a treacherous plan. She speaks to her children and urges them to get redress for their father's cruelty. Kronos uses the sickle which Earth produced, and castrates Ouranos, liberating his siblings and alleviating his mother (*Theogony* 154-182). Hesiod's Earth expresses her emotions (cf.

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[42] Other traditions (Pindar, *Isthm.* 8.26ff) attest that Zeus had sexual designs on Thetis and had vied for her with Poseidon. According to Pindar, Thetis will give birth to an offspring stronger than Zeus if she mingles with Zeus or Poseidon. Eventually, Zeus marries Thetis with Peleus and secures his sovereignty. Thetis is a figure very similar to Metis (see Detienne and Vernant 1978, 133-74).

στοναχίζετο, *Th.* 159; ἐπεστενάχιζε Γαῖα, *Th.* 843; στενάχιζε, *Th.* 858; γήθησεν δὲ μέγα φρεσὶ Γαῖα πελώρη, *Th.* 173), contrives a scheme (ἐφράσατο τέχνην, *Th.* 160), and gives a speech to her children (*Th.* 163-6). She later on informs Kronos of his imminent downfall (*Th.* 461-4), helps Zeus to depose Kronos and advises him to release the Hunderd-Handers before the Titanomachy (*Th.* 624-8). Zeus swallows Metis following the advice of Earth and Ouranos (*Th.* 888-94). Ovid's personification is even more emphatic and certainly ludicrous in the description of physical details; Earth rests her forehead on her hand (*Met.* 2.276) and complains about her scorched hair (*tostos en aspice crines, Met.* 2.283), until she cannot speak any more because the heat is choking her (*Met.* 2.301-2). Tellus is endowed with the ability to speak and her words, quoted in direct speech (*Met.* 2.279-300), remind us of Gaia's speech in *Theogony* 163-6. Both in the *Theogony* and the *Metamorphoses,* the personified Earth is distressed and asks for help. Kronos responds to her complaint in the *Theogony,* while Jupiter hearkens to her request in the *Metamorphoses* and kills Phaethon.

Tellus fears that the universe is returning to Chaos (*in Chaos antiquum confundimur, Met.* 2.299), a state which suggests the total destruction of Earth. In the *Theogony,* Chaos exists before Gaia and, as Jenny Clay has shown, Chaos and Gaia are two fundamentally opposed cosmic entities.[43] Phaethon's universal conflagration threatens to annihilate Earth and bring the world back to the beginning of the *Theogony.* At the same time, Ovid's personification of Tellus refers to the last child of Gaia, Typhoeus. Gaia mingles with Tartarus and produces Typhoeus, a monster who challenges Zeus' sovereignty (*Th.* 820-85). Zeus fights with Typhoeus and, thanks to his mighty thunderbolt, destroys him.

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[43] See Clay 2003, 15-7.

The duel of Zeus and Typhoeus causes a cosmic conflagration; the flaming lightning combined with the fire and the tornado winds of the monster set the land, the sky and the sea ablaze (*Th.* 844-49). During the combat, Gaia is mentioned as groaning in distress twice (*Th.* 843; 858). After Typhoeus is defeated, Gaia burns and melts like tin (πολλὴ δὲ πέλωρη καίετο Γαῖα/ αὐτμῆ θεσπεσίῃ καὶ ἐτήκετο κασσίτερος ὣς, *Th.* 861-2; ὣς ἄρα τήκετο Γαῖα σέλαι πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο, *Th.* 867). Ovid's scorched Tellus recalls Hesiod's Gaia, while Jupiter's execution of Phaethon with his thunderbolt is reminiscent of Zeus' victory over Typhoeus. In both episodes, the cosmic harmony is threatened, Earth is distressed and burnt, and Zeus/Jupiter finally restores order. Thus, Ovid's Tellus refers both to Gaia's speech in the beginning of the *Theogony* and to her role in the Typhonomachy, Zeus' final battle for universal dominion in the *Theogony.*

Earth also appears to be oppressed in the overpopulation myth.[44] Zeus' policy of deflecting the erotic interest of the gods onto mortals rapidly increases the number of human beings. In the long term, Earth is oppressed by the weight of mankind and Zeus decides to deliver her from the excessive burden of humanity; he uses Achilles and Helen as his instruments, in order to cause the Trojan war, which brings the race of the demigods to its end. The affairs between gods and human beings stop and immortals are permanently separated from mortals. The *Catalogue of Women* begins with the common feasts of the gods and the mortals (ξυναὶ γὰρ τότε δα ˪ῖτες ἔσαν, ξυνοὶ δὲ θόωκοι/ ἀθανάτοις τε θε ˪οῖσι καταθνητοῖς τ' ἀνθρώποις. fr. 1.6-7 M-W) and concludes with Zeus' plan to decimate mankind with the πρόφασις to annihilate the mortal offspring of the gods (fr. 204.97-100 M-W); the ensuing

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[44] The overpopulation myth is attested in the beginning of the *Cypria* fr. 1.1-4 Bernabé, and is at play in the end of the *Catalogue of Women;* see Cerutti 1998; Clay 31-33 and *passim.*

Trojan War relieves Earth of human burden and finalizes the gulf separating gods from men. The *Catalogue of Women* inevitably comes to an end when affairs of immortals with mortal women are no longer possible. Earth instigates a transition to a new age and the overpopulation motif in the end of the *Catalogue* refers back to the beginning of the *Theogony.* As Jenny Clay puts it: "At the outset the cosmos came into being when Gaia became oppressed by the burden of her children within; so now in a symmetrical fashion, the *external* pressure of human population weighs her down."[45] Zeus makes Gaia's cause his own and kills the demigods. At the same time he removes the potential menace that the heroes pose for the cosmic order. In Ovid's Phaethon episode, Jupiter deals with a similar situation. Heeding Tellus' request, he kills a demigod who is responsible for her suffering and who threatens to turn the cosmos into chaos. Thus, the story of Phaethon in Ovid's epic refers to a variety of episodes from the Hesiodic corpus, ranging from the beginning of the *Theogony* to the end of the *Catalogue of Women.*

1.7 The Loves of the Gods: Callisto

After dealing with Phaethon and making Sun, who refuses to ride his chariot, return to his task, Jupiter sees Callisto and falls in love with her. Ovid reiterates the transition from Chaos to divine loves; as soon as Jupiter restores universal order, he becomes a lover. Callisto, a huntress indifferent to domestic tasks and beautification, was a devotee of Diana. Jupiter disguises himself as Diana and approaches the girl, while she is relaxing from the hunt. His dissembling is successful and he rapes the maiden, who fights with the supreme god to no avail. The father of the gods impregnates Callisto, who hides the shame of her rape and pregnancy until Diana arrives with a band of nymphs and proposes

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[45] Clay 2005, 31.

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that they all bathe naked. Callisto's tumescent womb betrays her secret and Diana dismisses the girl from her company. Meanwhile, Juno, angry at her husband's adultery, transforms Callisto into an ugly bear. Fifteen years later the bear Callisto meets her son Arcas, who is already an accomplished hunter. The mother recognizes her son, but Arcas is scared by the bear's interest in him and is ready to kill her. At this point, Jupiter intervenes and transports the mother and the son into the heavens; Callisto becomes the Great Bear *(Ursa Maior)* and Arcas the Bear-Ward (Arctophylax). In the end, Juno's unabated hatred of Callisto drives her to Tethys, the goddess of the sea, in order ask her not to let the Bear bathe in the sea. Tethys does the favor to the queen of the gods and that is why the Bear never sets (*Met.* 2.409-531).

The story was told in the *Catalogue* (fr. 163 M-W)*,* but the reconstruction of its details is difficult and inevitably speculative.[46] Martin West argues that Callisto had her own *ehoie* in the *Catalogue,* which included her affair with Zeus and the birth of Arcas.[47] Callisto is the daughter of Lycaon in Ovid (*Met.* 2.495-6; *Fasti* 2.173), but the Hesiodic testimonia give conflicting information; according to Apollodorus (*Bibliotheka* 3.8.2), she was not the daughter of Lycaon in Hesiod, but one of the nymphs, while Eratosthenes (*Katasterismoi* 1) attests that she was the daughter of Lycaon in Hesiod. The view that Hesiod dealt with Callisto in two different works, making her a nymph in the *Catalogue* and Lycaon's daughter in the *Astronomy,* seems to be the most convincing.[48] Thus, Apollodorus refers to the version of the *Catalogue,* while Eratosthenes in his *Katasterismoi* has in mind Hesiod's *Astronomy.* If we accept this argument, the story of Lycaon's outrage was not linked to Zeus' affair with Callisto in the

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[46] See Sale 1962; West 1985, 91-3; Hirschberger 2004, 329-31.
[47] West 1985, 92-3.
[48] This view was suggested by Carl Robert (see Preller-Robert 1894, 304 n. 2; Meyer 1892 63 n. 3) and defended in Slater 1962. West 1985, 92, is also convinced by this argument.

Catalogue.[49] Ovid's separate treatment of Lycaon and Callisto might reflect the version of the *Ehoiai.* Interestingly, William Sale concludes his reconstruction of the story of Callisto in Hesiod with the following remark: "perhaps the way Ovid arranges the stories in the *Metamorphoses* (without Ovid's indication that Callisto was Lycaon's daughter) is not altogether unlike the way they were to be found in the *Catalogue.*"[50]

Ovid deals with the story of Callisto in two different works (*Metamorphoses* 2.401-530 and *Fasti* 2.153-92)[51] but his versions present no inconsistencies; Callisto is the daughter of Lycaon[52] and the catasterisms of the Bear and Arcas are told in both. However, the introduction of the story in the *Metamorphoses* and the *Fasti* points to two different works within the Hesiodic corpus. In the *Metamorphoses,* the tale begins when Jupiter sees the girl and, as a result, burns with love for her (*Met.* 2.409-10). The focus is on Jupiter's passion as the god morphs into Diana, in order to deceive the girl (*Met.* 2.409-40). On the contrary, the *Fasti* version describes Callisto's rape by Jupiter in passing (*de Ioue crimen habet, Fasti* 2.162; *inuito est pectore passa Iouem, Fasti* 2.178). The story of Callisto is presented in the *Fasti* as part of an *aetion* for the constellation of the Bear-Ward (*Tertia nox ueniat, Custodem protinus Ursae/ aspicies geminos exseruisse pedes, Fasti* 2.153-4) and concludes with the catasterism of Callisto and Arcas (*Fasti,* 2.189-92). Thus, the structure of the

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[49] According to Eratosthenes, *Katasterismoi* 1, Lycaon butchered and served the baby Arcas to Zeus, in order to avenge the rape of his daughter.
[50] Sale 1962, 141.
[51] For a parallel reading of Ovid's versions of Callisto, see Johnson 1996; Gee 2000, 174-87.
[52] The presence of nymphs, though, who accompany Diana and bathe with Callisto *(Met.* 2.452; *Fast.* 2.169) might allude to the Hesiodic tradition, according to which Callisto was a nymph (Ἡσίοδος μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν μίαν εἶναι τῶν νυμφῶν λέγει, Apollod., *Bibl.* 3.8.2). Nymphs are a peculiar company for the virgin goddess Diana (see Bömer *ad Met.* 2.452. In Callimachus, *Hymn to Artemis* 15, Artemis asks her father to give her twenty nymphs). Apollo's pursuit of the nymph Daphne, a devotee of Diana, as well as Jupiter's affairs with the nymphs Io and Europa in the first two books of the *Metamorphoses* suggest an affiliation of Callisto with the nymphs.

Callisto story in the *Metamorphoses* with its emphasis on Jupiter's passion is similar to a Callisto-*ehoie,* while the astronomical focus of the same tale in the *Fasti* suggests Hesiod's *Astromony.*[53] By dealing with the same myth but shifting its generic identity from *ehoie*-poetry to astronomical poetry, Ovid reproduces the treatment of the Callisto tale in two different Hesiodic works: the *Catalogue of Women* and the *Astronomy.*

1.8 Battus: A Hesiodic Interlude in the Loves of the Gods

The second book of the *Metamorphoses* concludes with two divine passions; Mercury falls in love with Herse (*Met.* 2.708-832) and Jupiter with Europa (*Met.* 2.833-3.5). The story of Battus,[54] who tried to outwit Mercury, but was outwitted by the god and turned into a stone, precedes Mercury's passion for Herse (*Met.* 2.686-707). Ovid begins with Mercury's theft of Apollo's cattle, an episode known from the *Homeric Hymn* to Hermes (cf. also Horace, *Carmen* 1.10), but he focuses on Mercury's encounter with Battus. Apollo herds Admetus' cattle but is careless of his task, being in love. Apollo is presented as the typical herdsman of bucolic poetry, playing his pipes and pining in love, and the god's infatuation gives Mercury the chance to rustle his cattle. When Mercury runs into Battus with the stolen cattle, he bribes him with a cow not to inform against him. Later on, Mercury disguises himself and asks Battus about the missing cattle, offering a cow and a bull. When the greedy Battus betrays Mercury to Mercury, the god turns him into a stone. Antoninus Liberalis (*Metamorphoseon Synagoge* 23, Βάττος) attests that the story was found in Hesiod's *Megalai*

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[53] The generic identity of Ovid's epic *Metamorphoses* and its relationship with the elegiac *Fasti* as the key to interpreting Ovid's hexameter cosmic history vis-à-vis his elegiac calendar has been examined in Heinze 1919 and reassessed in Hinds 1987. On Callisto, see Heinze 1919, 349-51; 385-8.

[54] For the story of Battus, see Keith 1992, 95-115. Keith focuses on the theme of indiscreet loquacity. For the sources of the story, see Castellani 1980, who believes that Hesiod's influence is insignificant (Castellani 1980, 39).

Ehoiai among other works (it was also found in Nicander's *Heteroioumena,* Didymarchus' *Metamorphoses,* Antigonus' *Alloioseis,* and Apollonius' epigrams). Antoninus' summary is very close to Ovid's version; Apollo is in love with a handsome boy, Hymenaios, while herding Admetus' cattle, and Hermes rustles twelve heifers, a hundred cows and a bull. Eventually, the thief runs into Battus, who realizes that the animals were acquired by theft when he hears their mooing, and blackmails Hermes. Hermes promises to reward Battus' silence but when he returns disguised and offers a cloak to him, Battus breaks his silence and informs about the stolen cattle. Hermes, angry at him, strikes him with his rod and turns him into a stone. Thus, the tale of Mercury and Battus refers back to the Hesiodic *Megalai Ehoiai* and serves as an interlude between Apollo's love affair with Coronis (*Met.* 2.542-675) and Hermes' passion for Herse (*Met.* 2.708-832).

1.9 Genealogy and the Loves of the Gods: the Stemma of the Inachids

Jupiter's transformation into a bull and his seduction of Europa recall the rape of Io. The roles have been reversed since it is Jupiter who assumes a bovine form. The parallels between Io and Europa are suggested in Moschus' *Europa,* an epyllion in which Io, transformed into a heifer, is depicted on Europa's basket (*Europa* 44-9) and, in a second scene set on the banks of the Nile, Zeus changes Io back into a woman and impregnates her by the touch of his hand (*Europa* 50-4).[55] A third image depicts Hermes, the slain Argos, and the peacock born from his blood (*Europa* 55-9). Malcolm Campbell is certainly right to suggest that the *ekphrasis* reminds us that Europa is a descendant of Io:[56]

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[55] ἐπαφώμενος *(Europa* 50) suggests the etymology of Epaphos, the son of Zeus and Io.
[56] Campbell 1991, *ad* 37-62.

the stemma of the Inachids runs as follows: Io-Epaphos-Agenor- (Phoinix)[57]-Europa and Kadmos. The *ekphrasis* of Europa's basket is a flashback to Zeus' affair with her ancestress and at the same time foreshadows her own liaison with Zeus; the images have an analeptic and a proleptic dimension, establishing a neat correspondence between *ekphrasis* and narrative frame.[58] Ovid in his *carmen perpetuum* restores the chronological order; the tale of Europa picks up the genealogical thread which Ovid left after the mention of Epaphus (*Met.* 1.747-8). The son of Jupiter and Io appeared merely as a transitional device to the story of Phaethon in the end of Book 1, but Jupiter's new escapade with an Inachid in the end of Book 2 invites the readers to follow Europa's genealogical tree back to her great-grandmother Io.

By unpacking the condensed genealogical background of Moschus' *Europa* and restoring the chronological order of the Inachid stemma to the narrative sequence, Ovid gestures towards the structure of the *Catalogue of Women.* The family tree of the river god Inachus takes up a significant part of Hesiod's *Catalogue.*[59] Europa's rape, in particular, features prominently in the narrative of Inachus' descendants. We know from a Homeric scholion (Sch. AB Hom. *M* 292= fr. 140 M-W) that Zeus' transformation into a bull, Europa's transportation to Crete and the birth of three sons (Minos, Sarpedon, Radamanthys) as a result of the affair was told in the *Catalogue.* We also have a substantial fragment which describes Zeus carrying Europa over the sea (πέρησε δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἁλμυρὸν ὕδωρ, fr. 141.1 M-W), the seduction of the girl by Zeus' wiles (Διὸς

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[57] Some sources make Europa the daughter of Agenor (e.g. Ovid, *Met.* 2.858), others the daughter of Phoinix and granddaughter of Agenor (e.g. *Il.* 14.321-2; Bacchylides 16.29-30; Hesiod, fr. 140 M-W; 141.7 M-W; Moschus, *Europa* 7).
[58] On other correspondences between *ekphrasis* and narrative frame, see Bühler 1960, *ad* 37-62; Campbell 1991, *ad* 37-62; Hannah 2004, 154-5. For a narratological analysis of the *ekphrasis* in Moschus' *Europa,* see Petrain 2006.
[59] fr. 122-59 M-W. See West 1985, 144-54. For the importance of the stemma of the Inachids in the *Metamorphoses,* see the excellent analysis in Cole 2008, 28-39.

δμηθεῖσα δόλοισι, fr. 141.2 M-W), and finally focuses on Europa's offspring (fr. 141.11 ff. M-W).

The stemma of the Inachids begins with the mention of Io, Inachus' daughter, in *Metamorphoses* 1 and continues with Europa and Cadmus in *Metamorphoses* 2-3. Agenor orders his son Cadmus to either find his sister Europa or never return back (*Met.* 3.2-4), prompting the foundation of Thebes by the exiled son and introducing the Theban cycle of the *Metamorphoses.* The narrative of the *Metamorphoses* follows the descendants of Inachus. If Martin West's reconstruction is correct, the story of Europa and Zeus, followed by Cadmus, as well as the affair of Zeus with Semele and the tale of Actaeon were told in Book 3 of the *Catalogue.*[60] That all these stories turn up in *Metamorphoses* 3 might not be a coincidence, but a reference to the structure of the Hesiodic *Ehoiai.* Actaeon belongs to the stemma of the Inachids (he was the son of Aristaeus and Autonoe and grandson of Apollo and Cyrene; Autonoe was Cadmus' daughter), and his story appeared in connection with Semele (Autonoe's sister). In the *Catalogue,* the youth desired to marry his aunt and was transformed into a deer by Artemis:[61]

> Ἀκταίων ὁ Ἀρισταί[ο]υ καὶ Αὐ[τονόης, τῶν Σεμέ]λης ἐφιέμενος
> γάμων αυτ[   ]το πρὸς τοῦ μητροπάτορο[ς......μετεμορ]φώθη εἰ[ς]
> ἐλάφου δόκησιν διὰ βο[υλὴν] Ἀρτέμ[ι]δος καὶ διεσπαράσθη ὑπὸ τὸν
> ἐ[α]υτ[οῦ] κυνῶν, ὥ[ς] φησιν Ἡσίοδος ἐν Γυναικῶν κα[τ]αλ[ό]γωι.
> Ann. P. Michigan inv. 1447 ii 1-6= 217A M-W

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[60] See West 1985, 144-55; 178.
[61] See also Casanova 1969 for Actaeon's myth in the *Catalogue.* Casanova deals with an Oxyrhynchus papyrus, published by Lobel in 1964 (POxy 2509) and ascribed to the *Catalogue* (cf. Hunter 2005, 257-9). Merkelbach and West do not include this papyrus fragment in their edition of the Hesiodic fragments.

Actaeon, the son of Aristaeus and Autonoe, eager for marriage with Semele [ ] from his mother's father [he was transformed] into the appearance of a deer by the will of Artemis and was torn apart by his own dogs, as Hesiod says in the *Catalogue of Women.* (transl. Most)

Ovid's version is similar to Hesiod's; Diana punishes Actaeon by turning him into a deer and Actaeon is torn apart by his own hounds (*Met.* 3.173-252). The young man is referred to with his matronymic (*Autonoeius, Met.* 3.198), inviting the readers to locate him in the family tree of Cadmus (Cadmus-Autonoe-Actaeon). The only difference from the Hesiodic version is that in the *Metamorphoses* Actaeon suffers an unjust punishment because he accidentally saw Diana naked; no mention of his advances on Semele is made. By altering his source, Ovid casts Actaeon as an innocent victim of an unjust goddess.[62] Diana first transforms him into a deer in order to silence him (*nunc tibi me posito uisam uelamine narres,/ si poteris narrare, licet. Met.* 3.192-3) and is finally satisfied when she sees the body of the deer Actaeon torn apart by his dogs (*Met.* 3.251-2). The tale functions as a foil for the continuous narratives of divine rape; the motif of a god inflicting unnecessary woes on a mortal virgin has been subverted; it is the divine virgin Diana who torments an innocent young man. Actaeon's futile attempts to speak (*Met.* 3.201-2) and his human mind trapped in the body of an animal (*mens tantum pristina mansit, Met.* 3.203) revisit the plight of Io (*et conata queri mugitus edidit ore, Met.* 1.637) and Callisto (*mens antiqua tamen facta quoque mansit in ursa, Met.* 2.487). The young man suffers a fate similar to that of his ancestress Io and, just like her, he is shocked to see his horns reflected in a pool (*Met.* 1.640-1; *Met.* 3.200-1). The

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[62] Ovid follows Callimachus, *Bath of Pallas* 107-18; Athena prophesies that Actaeon will die an awful death for seeing Artemis naked. In Callimachus' hymn, Actaeon's dire fate contrasts with Tiresias' punishment for seeing Athena naked. Athena consoles Chariclo; her son is just blinded while Actaeon will be devoured by his dogs.

unfair expulsion of Callisto from Diana's band is also picked up in Diana's cruel punishment of Actaeon; the goddess discovers Callisto's pregnancy during her bath and punishes Actaeon again while taking her bath. Both Callisto and Actaeon try to assume the posture of a suppliant in vain (*Met.* 2.477-8; 3.240-1). While adapting a tale from the *Catalogue of Women,* Ovid reworks and reverses the main subject of the *Ehoiai*: the planned rapes of women by gods give place to the inadvertent encounter of a mortal man with a naked goddess. It is the virgin goddess Diana who plays the role of the "rapist" and Actaeon is her innocent victim.

The story which immediately follows Actaeon's death is that of Jupiter and Semele (*Met.* 3.253). Given that Actaeon's desire for Semele plays an important role in Hesiod's version, the sequence in the *Metamorphoses* is not accidental. Ovid alludes to the version of the myth he did not use. Actaeon's punishment is associated with his attraction to his aunt in the *Catalogue,*[63] and thus Artemis' action seems less cruel and more justified.[64] In the *Metamorphoses,* Actaeon appears virtuous and Diana unreasonably vengeful, an aspect which becomes all the more emphatic if we set Ovid's version against the background of his source. Right before he moves on to Semele, the narrator tells that some people consider that Diana overreacted, while others approve saying that her action befits an austere virgin:

> *Rumor in ambiguo est: aliis uiolentior aequo*
>
> *uisa dea est, alii laudant dignamque seuera*
>
> *uirginitate uocant; pars inuenit utraque causas.*

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[63] This is the reason given in Acusilaos and Stesichorus (see Pausanias 9.2.3; Diodoros 4.81).
[64] As a hunter Actaeon is similar to Hippolytus. Artemis punishes the former for his passion for his aunt and Aphrodite avenges the latter by making his mother-in-law fall in love with him. Both young men are torn apart by animals (Actaeon by his hounds, Hippolytus by his horses). Artemis rewards Hippolytus for his abstinence and destroys Actaeon for his lust.

Met. 3.253-5

> The general opinion is divided: to some the goddess seemed more
> violent than it was just, others praise her and call her worthy of her strict
> virginity; either part finds arguments.

The double stance at Diana's wrath in a passage which connects Actaeon with Semele suggests the two versions of the myth. If Diana punished Actaeon for inadvertently seeing her naked, she is a violent and unjust goddess, but if Actaeon's doom is due to his lust, the chaste goddess is to be praised. The arguments *(causae)* of each party and the cause *(causa)* of Diana's wrath are drawn from different versions of the myth.

Jupiter's affair with Semele is another story of Juno's unjust wrath against a woman who was raped by her husband. The father of the gods will also seduce Danae, who is also an Inachid. After the metamorphosis of Cadmus and Harmonia into snakes (*Met.* 4.563-603), the narrator informs us that the only survivor of the family is Acrisius, the son of Abas:

> *solus Abantiades ab origine cretus eadem*
> *Acrisius superest, qui moenibus arceat urbis*
> *Argolicae contraque deum ferat arma genusque*
> *non putet esse Iouis; neque enim Iouis esse putabat*
> *Persea, quem pluuio Danae conceperat auro.*
> *Met.* 4.607-11

> Acrisius, son of Abas, descended from this lineage, was the only one to
> survive; he shut the city of Argos within its walls and took up arms
> against the god and did not believe that he was Jupiter's son: nor did he

believe that Perseus, whom Danae had conceived of the golden rain, was Jupiter's son.

The passage quoted above signals a geographical transition to Argos and a genealogical continuity within the stemma of the Inachids. The erudition of the readers is put to the test as we are invited to relate Acrisius to Cadmus. Epaphus, the son of Io and Jupiter, begot Libya, who bore Belus and Agenor to Neptune. Agenor fathered Cadmus, and Belus fathered Aegyptus and Danaus. The fifty daughters of Danaus were supposed to marry the fifty sons of Aegyptus, but the girls killed their husbands. The only exception was Hypermestra who bore Abas to Lynceus. Acrisius is Abas' son and Danae Acrisius' daughter. Jupiter turned into golden rain and impregnated Danae, who gave birth to Perseus. Thus, Cadmus and Acrisius belong to the same family tree since they both descend from Libya and Neptune. The epithets *Abantiades* (*Met.* 4.607 for Acrisius; *Met.* 4.673; 5.138; 236 for Perseus), *Lyncides* (*Met.* 4.767; 5.99; 185 for Perseus), and *Inachides* (*Met.* 4.720 for Perseus)[65] point specifically to Perseus' genealogy, while Danae, like her ancestresses (Io, Europa and Semele) and her descendant (Alcumena), bears a child to Jupiter. Ovid appends the Danaids to the Inachids, agreeing with the *Catalogue,* but other versions (notably Pausanias, *Graeciae Descriptio* 2.15-19) imply a caesura between the Inachids and the Danaids.[66]

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[65] Cf. Cameron 2004, 279-80.
[66] See Hall 1997, 80-3. Ovid first deals with the Agenorids and then with the Belids, reversing the order of the *Ehoiai.* Cole 2008, 30, points out that the Agenorid history in its first four generations was much richer in metamorphoses (Agenor's future son-in-law Jupiter into a bull, his son Cadmus and his daughter-in-law Harmonia into snakes, his great-grandson Actaeon into a stag, his granddaughter Ino into a goddess, the family's seer-in-residence Teiresias into a woman and back). Belid history offers nothing comparable until the sixth and seven generations (Jupiter's metamorphosis into a shower of gold, Perseus' series of petrifications).

In the intricate and multilayered narrative structure of Ovid's epic, we trace a progression from Hesiod's *Theogony* to the *Works and Days* and finally to the *Catalogue of Women.* What is more, *Metamorphoses* 1-5 follows the descendants of the river-god Inachus, beginning with Jupiter's rape of Io and reaching forward to Danae's and Jupiter's son, Perseus. It cannot be a coincidence that the Inachids feature prominently in the Hesiodic *Catalogue* (fr. 122-59 M-W). In fact, the *Metamorphoses* delineates the genealogy of the major Greek tribes (Inachids, Belids, Thebans, Athenians), and includes the Trojans, the only non-Greek genealogies of the *Catalogue,* which were presumably treated in the last part of Hesiod's work.[67] The motif of the affairs of immortals with women combined with the genealogical progression of the narrative is the very essence of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women.* The genealogically oriented structure of the *Ehoiai* contrasts with the arrangement of the material suggested in the proem of the work. The poet asks the Muses to sing of the women who slept with Zeus, Poseidon, Ares, Hermes, and Hercules, giving the false impression that the work will proceed by listing the affairs of each god in order (fr. 1.14-22 M-W).[68] In fact, there is a tension between the main motif of the work (i.e. the affairs of gods with women) and its narrative structure (i.e. heroic genealogies). Ian Rutherford argues that the discrepancy between the theme of divine amours and the genealogical progression of the narrative suggests that the *Catalogue of Women* is the combination of two different traditions of epic poetry: a) genealogical poetry and b) nongenealogical catalogues of women.[69] As a result, the *Ehoiai* integrate the affairs of the

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[67] The Dardanid and Pelopid genealogies lead up to the final episode of the *Catalogue,* the wooing of Helen (fr. 196-204 M-W), an episode which precipitates the Trojan War.
[68] The proem of the *Catalogue* made some scholars believe that the poem was arranged to some extent by gods (Zeus, Poseidon, Ares, Hermes). After the publication of volume xxviii of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* in 1962 by Edgar Lobel, it became clear that the *Catalogue* follows heroic genealogies (see Fletcher, R. 2005, 299-300).
[69] Rutherford 2000, 91-2.

immortals into its genealogical content. Heroes often have a divine father instead of a mortal one, enabling the integration of divine amours into the family trees of the *Ehoiai.* Heroic genealogies are the dominant aspect in the *Catalogue,* while the focus of the divine affairs usually shifts to their offspring, promoting the genealogical plan of the poet. I suggest that in *Metamorphoses* 1-5 the affairs of the gods are intertwined with the genealogical progression of the narrative, evoking one of the most salient structural patterns of the Hesiodic *Catalogue.* But unlike the *Ehoiai,* Ovid's divine rapes dominate the narrative and the genealogies follow as a secondary concomitant. [70]

2. THE INTERNAL NARRATORS

2.1 Perseus as a Hesiodic Poet

The motif of divine loves is also exploited by the internal narrators of the *Metamorphoses.* Mercury tells the story of Syrinx and Pan *(Met.* 1.689-712),[71] a doublet of the Daphne and Apollo episode embedded in the tale of Io. The crow tells her story (*Met.* 2.569-88) within the narrative frame of a Coronis-*ehoie* (*Met.* 2.542-611): The crow was the beautiful daughter of Coroneus, who was pursued by Neptune and transformed into a bird by Minerva, a case of an *ehoie* embedded in an *ehoie* (See Chapter 3). The Minyeides, although they honor the virgin goddess Minerva by weaving and thus disrespect Bacchus by not observing his feast day, tell stories of love (Pyramus and Thisbe, *Met,* 4.55-166; the Sun, Clytie and Leucothoe, *Met.* 4.169-270; Hermaphroditus and Salmacis, *Met.* 4.288-298). The narrative of Leuconoe in particular picks up the theme of

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[70] Obbink 2004, 199, notes: "In contrast to Philodemus and the Hesiodic *Catalogue,* however, Ovid truncates the genealogies of his *Metamorphoses...*"
[71] In fact he does not finish his tale since Argus falls asleep before the end (*talia dicturus uidit Cyllenius omnes/ succubuisse oculos adopertaque lumina somno, Met.* 1.713-4), but the story is told by the narrator anyway. See Wheeler 2000, 8.

divine loves (*Solis **referemus** amores, Met.* 4.170) and refers back to the affair of Sun with Clymene (*Met.* 1.750ff.). In this context, *referre* is an intratextual comment on the narrative of the *Metamorphoses;* Leuconoe 'recounts' but also 'retells' the loves of Sun.[72]

Perseus also features as a narrator of Hesiodic poetry. The setting of an epic banquet followed by the stories of the guest (*Met.* 4.765-803) is reminiscent of Odysseus' *apologoi* in Phaiakia (*Od.* 7.226ff.). Cepheus' admiration for his new son-in-law is similar to the excitement of Alkinoos with Odysseus, his prospective son-in-law (*Od.* 7.311-6), and both Cepheus and Alkinoos ask their guests to tell them stories of epic content. Alkinoos is eager to listen to Odysseus' Iliadic tales (ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπὲ καὶ ἀτρεκέως κατάλεξον,/ εἴ τινας ἀντιθέων ἑτάρων ἴδες, οἵ τοι ἅμ' αὐτῷ/ Ἴλιον εἰς ἅμ' ἕποντο καὶ αὐτοῦ πότμον ἐπέσπον. *Od.* 11.370-2) and Cepheus requests a grand epic narrative (*nunc, o fortissime dixit,/ fare precor Cepheus, quanta uirtute quibusque/ artibus abstuleris crinita draconibus ora. Met.* 4.769-71). The kings ask their guests to relate the epic feats of their lives. However, both Odysseus and Perseus tell stories that have little to do with heroic epic.[73] Alkinoos intervenes immediately after Odysseus has recounted his catalogue of women (*Od.* 11.225-332), asking him to change the topic and thus move from *ehoie*-poetry to martial epic.[74] Likewise, Perseus' narrative refers to Hesiodic poetry instead of heroic epic.

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[72] Leuconoe mentions the Sun's affair with Clymene (*Met.* 4.204).
[73] Perseus, like Odysseus, is known for his shrewdness rather than his physical strength. See Barchiesi 2005, 347 (*ad Met.* 4.770-1).
[74] On the generic tension between heroic epic and *ehoie*-poetry in Alkinoos' speech, see Skempis & Ziogas 2009, 228-39.

Ovid leads his readership to anticipate a grand epic tale by Perseus, but the hero maintains a Hesiodic character in his narrative.[75] Perseus mentions the twin daughters of Phorcys (*geminas... sorores...**Phorcidas**,*[76] *Met.* 4.774-5), the so-called Graiai (cf. *Theogony* 270-3), who dwell with their sisters, the Gorgons, in the remotest west (cf. *Theogony* 274-5; *Met.* 4.772-5). The decapitation of Medusa, which takes up only four lines, and the birth of Pegasus and Chrysaor from the beheaded monster are told in Hesiod's *Theogony* after the entry of Phorcys' daughters:

> ***eripuisse caput collo**; pennisque fugacem*
> *Pegason et fratrem matris de sanguine natos*
> *Met.* 4.785-6

> he snatched her head from her neck; and Pegasus, swift with his wings, and his brother were born from their mother's blood.

> τῆς ὅτε δὴ Περσεὺς **κεφαλὴν ἀπεδειροτόμησεν**,
> ἐξέθορε Χρυσάωρ τε μέγας καὶ Πήγασος ἵππος.
> *Theogony* 280-1

> And when Perseus cut off her head from her neck, out sprang great Chrysaor and the horse Pegasus. (transl. West)

Ovid's diction refers to Hesiod in specific details and Perseus seems to be interested in the genealogical sequence of the *Theogony* (Phorcys-Medusa-Pegasus and Chrysaor).

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[75] The story of Perseus is attested in *Shield* 216-37.
[76] Medusa is *Phorcynis* (*Met.* 4.743; 5.230) and the Graiai, her sisters, are *Phorcides* (*Met.* 4.775). Those patronymics are unique in Augustan poetry with one exception (Propertius 3.22.8); see Bömer *ad* 4.772-803.

Odysseus features as a Hesiodic poet in Phaiakia, and gives an excursus of a catalogue of women in his *apologoi* (*Od.* 11.225-332). Perseus, prompted by a question about Medusa's snakes (*Met.* 4.792), relates a story which is structured as an *ehoie.* An anonymous noble man asks the hero why Medusa, alone among her sisters, has snakes twining her hair (*Met.* 4.790-3). In Hesiod, the difference between Medusa and her sisters is that Medusa is mortal:

> Σθεννώ τ' Εὐρυάλη τε Μέδουσά τε λυγρὰ παθοῦσα·
> ἡ μὲν ἔην θνητή, αἱ δ' ἀθάνατοι καὶ ἀγήρῳ,
> αἱ δύο· τῇ δὲ μιῇ παρελέξατο Κυανοχαίτης
> ἐν μαλακῷ λειμῶνι καὶ ἄνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖσι.
> *Theogony* 276-9

> Sthenno, Euryale, and Medusa who suffered a grim fate. She was mortal, but the other two immortal and ageless; and with her the dark-maned god lay in a soft meadow among spring flowers.

In the *Metamorphoses,* Medusa differs from her sisters because of the snakes in her hair (*Met.* 4.791-2). The *aition* of Medusa's hair provides the frame for the story of Neptune's rape of the girl. Ovid reiterates Hesiod's transition from the difference between Gorgon and her sisters to Gorgon' rape by Poseidon. But unlike the two line long reference to Poseidon's affair with the Gorgon in the *Theogony,* Perseus recounts a Medusa-*ehoie*:

> *hospes ait 'quoniam scitaris digna relatu,*
> *accipe quaesiti causam. clarissima forma*
> *multorumque fuit spes inuidiosa procorum*
> *illa, neque in tota conspectior ulla capillis*
> *pars fuit; inueni, qui se uidisse referret.*

hanc pelagi rector templo uitiasse Mineruae

dicitur; auersa est et castos aegide uultus

nata Iovis texit, neue hoc impune fuisset,

Gorgoneum crinem turpes mutauit in hydros.

Met. 4.793-801

the guest said: 'since what you inquire is worth recounting, listen to the

answer to your question. She was most renowned for her beauty and the

envied hope of many suitors, and of all her beauties none was more

admired than her hair: I have found someone who said that he himself

had seen her. They say that the ruler of the sea raped her in the temple

of Minerva; Jupiter's daughter turned herself away and covered her

chaste face with her aegis, and changed Gorgon's hair into ugly snakes,

so that it might not go unpunished.

To begin a tale by referring to the renown of a girl's good looks *(clarissima*

forma) is to begin an *ehoie* and to evoke the genre that thematized the praise of

female beauty. The wooing of a heroine by many suitors is another recurring

motif of *ehoie*-poetry.[77] The lovely hair of a girl is also one the most salient

characteristics of Hesiod's heroines.[78] In the case of Medusa, traditional diction

acquires another dimension since Perseus actually tells the story in order to

explain the transformation of Medusa's lovely tresses into ugly snakes,

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[77] Cf. fr. 22.5-6 M-W; fr. 37.5 M-W fr. 75 M-W; fr. 196-204 M-W; *Od.* 11.288.

[78] Cf. fr. 10α.66 (ἐυπλόκαμος Πολυκάστη); fr. 23a. 8 M-W (Λήδη ἐυπλόκαμος); fr. 30.25 M-W (Τυρὼ ἐυπλόκαμος); fr. 43a.4 (Μήστρη ἐυπλόκαμος); fr. 171.5 M-W (ἐυπλόκαμον Διομήδην); fr. 304.5 (νύμφαι ἐυπλόκαμοι). The epithet ἐυπλόκαμος/ ἐυπλοκαμίς describes a beautiful woman or goddess in the Homeric epics (29 instances). The epithet ἠύκομος occurs 14 times in the *Ehoiai* (out of 20 in the Hesiodic corpus) as a characteristic of female beauty. Fr. 37.21 M-W (ἠύκομόν τε Μέδουσαν) refers to the daughter of Pelias, not to the Gorgon. Cf. also νύμφης πάρα καλλικόμοιο, fr. 141.10 M-W; νυμφάων καλλιπλοκάμων, fr. 26.10 M-W; καλλιπλόκαμον Σθενέβοιαν, fr. 129.18 M-W; καλλιπλόκ[, fr. 180.7 M-W.

juxtaposing the attractive heroine with the repulsive monster.[79] Following the typical structure of an *ehoie,* the lovely maiden attracts Neptune, who rapes her in Minerva's temple.[80] Perseus adds *dicitur* in the description of Medusa's rape, evoking the poetic tradition of the myth. The motif of divine passions can give us a clue about the source to which Perseus is referring; Philodemus gives a list of Poseidon's beloveds, quoting Hesiod, and Gorgon/Medusa is included in this catalogue (B 7430-46, 7454-80 Obbink= Most 157). It is likely that Hesiod dealt with Poseidon's love for Medusa not only in the *Theogony* but also in the *Ehoiai* and Philodemus might have in mind the version of the *Catalogue.* In any case, Perseus' narrative refers to the Hesiodic genre of *Ehoiai.* On the surface, the hero tells the story of the decapitation of Medusa and then gives an *aition* of Medusa's snakes, responding to Cepheus and to an unnamed prince, but a closer look at his responses suggests a structure that moves from the *Theogony* to the *Ehoiai.* Cepheus requests a heroic narrative*,* but the hero responds with a Hesiodic tale, while an *aition* provides the frame for an *ehoie.*

The Medusa-*ehoie* in particular, which is related by a guest as an after dinner story, recalls the Odyssean catalogue of women. Poseidon's rape of Tyro is the first and lengthiest tale of Odysseus' catalogue (*Od.* 11.235-59). Poseidon's affair with Iphimedeia is also included (*Od.* 11.305-20) in the Odyssean excursus. Perseus, just like Odysseus, recounts Neptune's passion for a mortal woman, and Medusa is actually mentioned in the *Nekyia.* Persephone sends the heroines to Odysseus (ἤλυθον, ὤτρυνεν γὰρ ἀγαυὴ Περσεφόνεια, *Od.*

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[79] Hesiod enhances the meaning of a traditional epithet by associating it with a particular feature of a heroine in the Atalanta-*ehoie* (fr. 72-6 M-W). Atalanta is τανίσφυρος (fr. 75.9 M-W) just like many other heroines (Mestra: fr. 43a.37 M-W; Europa: fr. 141.8 M-W; Alcmena: fr. 195.35 M-W; Helen: fr. 198.23 M-W). Still, the formulaic epithet describing a girl's charming ankles befits especially well the swift-footed Atalanta. See Hirschberger 2004, 461; Chapter 4.
[80] In *Theogony* 278-9, Poseidon has sex with Medusa in a meadow.

11.226) and the hero puts an end to his underworld adventure, fearing that Persephone will send the Gorgon's head (*Od.* 11.633-5). Since Persephone is in charge of the heroines, we are reminded that the Gorgon was also a noble girl raped by Poseidon, just like Tyro and Iphimedeia. Odysseus dreads that Persephone will send again a woman from the female-oriented *Ehoiai,* while he is waiting for the heroes of male-oriented epic (cf. ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων, *Od.* 11.629; ἴδον ἀνέρας, *Od.* 11.630). The fear of an ominous heroine frustrates the anticipation of an encounter with male heroes, exemplifying the tension between heroic epic and *ehoie-* poetry in the *Nekyia.* Ἴδον ἀνέρας (*Od.* 11.630) actually recalls the formula with which Odysseus introduces the heroines of his catalogue (cf. Τυρὼ ἴδον, *Od.* 11.235; Ἀντιόπην ἴδον, *Od.* 11.260; Ἀλκμήνην ἴδον, *Od.* 11.266; ἴδον... Ἐπικάστην, *Od.* 11.271; Χλῶριν εἶδον, *Od.* 11.281; Λήδην εἶδον, *Od.* 11.298; Ἰφιμέδειαν...εἴσιδον, *Od.* 11.305-6; Φαίδρην τε Πρόκριν τε ἴδον καλήν τ᾽ Ἀριάδνην, *Od.* 321; Μαῖράν τε Κλυμένην τε ἴδον στυγερήν τ᾽ Ἐριφύλην, *Od.* 11.326). Bearing in mind that Odysseus *saw* all those women, we realize that *seeing* Medusa, another heroine, would be fatal for him. Thus, Odysseus' fear that Persephone will send the Gorgon's head reminds us that Medusa belongs to the tradition of the heroines whom Persephone sent to Odysseus. In the *Metamorphoses,* visual contact is a central aspect of Perseus' narrative. Medusa is a **spes in*uidi*osa,** especially admired for her hair (cf. con**spect***ior),* and Perseus reports the words of an eye-witness *(inueni, qui se **uidisse** referret).* After the defilement of her shrine, Minerva covers her eyes. Perseus' Medusa-*ehoie* is an account of what is implied in the *Odyssey.*

In *Metamorphoses* 4.765-803, it is worth noticing the alternation between direct and indirect speech, which runs as follows:

Cepheus: question in direct speech (genre: heroic epic)

Perseus: answer in indirect speech (genre: Theogonic poetry*)*

Unnamed Prince: question in indirect speech (genre: *aetiology)*

Perseus: answer in direct speech (genre: *ehoie*-poetry)

Cepheus' request for epic stories and Perseus' tale of a Medusa-*ehoie* are given in direct speech in the beginning and the end of the episode, underpinning a juxtaposition between heroic epic and *ehoie*-poetry. Book 4 closes with a narrator of Hesiodic poetry; as we shall see, book 5 also closes with an account that moves from the *Theogony* to the *Catalogue of Women.*

2.2 The Muses: *Theogony-Catalogue of Women*

The transition from the *Theogony* to the loves of the gods is replayed in the song of the Muse Calliope (*Met.* 5.341-661). The defeated Typhoeus is buried under Sicily and as he wrestles to free himself, Dis fears that the ground will split open in wide fissures and his underworld kingdom will be exposed.[81] The lord of the dead leaves his realm temporarily and inspects the foundations of the Sicilian land. Venus sees him on his way back to his kingdom and asks her son Cupid to attack the god with his bow. Cupid obeys and shoots his sharpest arrow in Dis' heart, making him fall in love with Proserpina.[82] The device Calliope uses to make a transition from Typhoeus to the rape of Proserpina

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[81] It is interesting that Dis fears a chasm (*ne pateat latoque solum retegatur* **hiatu,** *Met.* 5.357). Χάος literally means a 'chasm', lust like *hiatus.* While it befits Typhoeus to create chaos, we should bear in mind that Dis is the lord of Chaos, since χάος can mean "the nether abyss" (cf. *Met.* 10.30; 14.404; *Fasti* 4.599-600). Ovid plays with the relation of *hiatus* to χάος in *Met.* 5.357. For the etymological relation of χάος to *hiatus,* see Paulus-Festus 52 **(Chaos** *appellat Hesiodus confusam quandam ab initio unitatem,* **hiantem** *patentemque in profundum. ex eo et* **χάσκειν** *Graeci, et nos* **hiare** *dicimus.)*
[82] Venus and Cupid do not appear to have been the motivators of the rape elsewhere. Zeus is the motivator in *Homeric Hymn* 3.79-80, and *Theogony* 912-4, and Venus plays no active role in the version of the *Fasti.* Johnson 1996, examines the social and narrative purposes of this significant digression; Barchiesi 1999, 114-6, examines the intrusion of the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* into Ceres' hymn.

might seem clumsy at first sight, but the Muse actually employs the Hesiodic sequence from the Typhonomachy to the loves of the gods. Hesiod gives us a catalogue of Zeus' women after the supreme god conquered Typhoeus, listing first Metis, second Themis, third Eurynome, and fourth Demeter. In this list, we read of Persephone (Zeus' daughter by Demeter), who was carried off by Hades:

αὐτὰρ ὃ Δήμητρος πολυφόρβης ἐς λέχος ἦλθεν·
ἣ τέκε Περσεφόνην λευκώλενον, ἣν Ἀιδωνεὺς
ἥρπασεν ἧς παρὰ μητρός, ἔδωκε δὲ μητίετα Ζεύς.
Theogony 912-4

And he (i.e. Zeus) came to the bed of Demeter abundant in nourishment, and she bore the white-armed Persephone, whom Aidoneus stole from her mother, Zeus the resourceful granting her to him. (Transl. West).

Hades' abduction of Persephone is included in the catalogue of divine loves which is appended to the end of the *Theogony,* and I suggest that Ovid's Calliope presents herself as a Hesiodic Muse by drawing a trajectory from the Typhonomachy to Dis' rape of Proserpina. Cupid's arrow-shot draws a further parallel between Dis' and Apollo's passion, two amatory episodes preceded by a narrative about the triumph of Olympian gods over a chthonic monster.[83]

Persephone, as I have mentioned above, summons the souls of the women in the Odyssean Underworld.[84] Her association with the heroines of Hesiodic poetry is not surprising since she herself was carried off by a god. Thus, the

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[83] Venus' plea to her son *(Met.* 5.365-79) is modeled on the goddess' address to Cupid in *Aeneid* 1.665-88. In the *Aeneid* Cupid morphs into Ascanius and inspires Dido's passion, while in *Metamorphoses* 5 Cupid shoots an arrow and makes Dis fall for Proserpina.
[84] Persephone is not said to summon any of the male shades in the *Nekyia*; see Doherty 1995, 93 n.19.

Odyssey implies a parallel between the women of *ehoie*-poetry and Persephone, who is in charge of them. Propertius, in his own catalogue of women, which refers to the *Nekyia* (cf. Propertius 2.28.29-30), acknowledges Persephone's rule over the beautiful women of the Underworld (cf. Propertius 2.28.47-54). Thus, the rape of Persephone not only revisits the main theme of the *Catalogue* but also introduces the patron deity of *ehoie*-poetry in Ovid's *Metamorphoses.*

The song of Calliope is framed by the statement that she is the best of the Muses (*Musa refers: dedimus* **summam** *certaminis uni, Met.* 5.337; *e nobis* **maxima,** *Met.* 5.662). Calliope appears last in Hesiod's catalogue of Muses and her entry is followed by a comment on her excellence (Καλλιόπη θ'· ἡ δὲ **προφερεστάτη** ἐστὶν ἁπασέων. *Th.* 79). Ovid's allusion to the prominence of Calliope in Hesiod is all the more intriguing if we take into account that Calliope is the Muse of epic poetry. The superlative *maxima* in particular not only recalls Hesiod's προφερεστάτη, but is also a marked literary term associated with the high spheres of epic poetry. In fact, Hesiod's προφερεστάτη interestingly recalls the ideal of the Homeric hero; being the best is tantamount to being a hero.[85] Hence, Calliope's association with epic poetry is already implied in Hesiod; both *maxima* and προφερεστάτη align the supreme Muse with heroic epic. And although scholars might dispute whether the Augustan poets differentiated the Muses' literary functions, Vergil invokes Calliope when he is about to tell of an *ingens bellum,* the very stuff of Homeric epic *(Aen.* 9.525-8). On the contrary, Ovid's Calliope sings a Hesiodic song and plays an elegiac lyre (cf. *Calliope* **querulas** *praetemptat pollice chordas, Met.* 5.339).[86] Thus, Ovid

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[85] Cf. *Iliad* 8.128 (ἅλματι δ' Ἀμφίαλος πάντων **προφερέστατος** ἦεν). Φέρτατος, which is synonymous with ἄριστος, defines the Homeric hero; cf. Nagy 1999, 27 and 26-65 for the Homeric ideal of "the best of the Achaeans".

[86] *querulas* suggests the traditional association of elegy with lament; cf. Hinds 1987, 132

has the Muse of grand epic poetry sing of amatory tales. Vergil famously invokes Erato, a Muse more suited to elegy,[87] to help him recount an epic war (*Aen.* 7.37-44), while Ovid casts the Muse of martial epic as a singer of an erotic song. The roles of the Muses have been inverted. Erato inspires Vergil's *maius opus* (*Aen.* 7.44), while *maxima Calliope* gives a performance of Hesiodic poetry in Ovid's epic. Vergil's Muses help the poet with the Iliadic part of the *Aeneid*,[88] while Ovid's Calliope is restored generically to Hesiod's epics.

But let us see how the Muses are introduced in the *Metamorphoses* and examine the Hesiodic background of this episode. Minerva visits the nine sisters on Mount Helicon in order to inquire about the origins of Hippocrene. Hesiod was the first to put the Muses on Helicon[89] and relate them to Hippocrene (*Theogony* 1-8), and Ovid's Minerva sets out to meet the Muses in a Hesiodic milieu.[90] The goddess interviews the learned sisters (*doctas...sorores, Met.* 5.255) and her aetiological questions point to Callimachus' aetiological conversations in the first two books of the *Aetia*.[91] Still, the dialogue between Minerva and Uranie, who answers her question, is set against the background of the *Theogony.* Minerva asks if it is true that the horse Pegasus made the fountain of Hippocrene with his hoof[92] and adds that she herself has seen Pegasus spring from his mother's blood (*Met.* 5.256-9). Uranie

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[87] Ovid invokes Erato in his elegiac poetry, stressing that her name is etymologically related to *eros: nunc mihi, si quando, puer et Cytherea, fauete: nunc **Erato,** nam tu **nomen Amoris** habes, Ars* 2.15-6; *sic ego. Sic **Erato** (mensis Cythereius illi/ cessit, quod teneri **nomen Amoris** habet), Fasti* 4.195-6.

[88] The Muses are also invoked before the catalogue of the Italian warriors (*Aen.* 7.641-6), a clear reference to Homer's address to the Muses before the Iliadic catalogue of ships (*Il.* 2.484-6).

[89] Hesiod brings the Muses to his home in Boeotia. In Homer, the Muses live on Olympus (cf. Μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ᾽ ἔχουσαι, *Il.* 2.484; 11.218; 14.508; 16.112). See Pucci 2007, 34.

[90] Hesiod's encounter with the Muses is famously retold by Callimachus in *Aetia* fr. 2 Pf.

[91] See Myers 1994, 67-9.

[92] For a discussion of Ovid's literary sources in this episode, with emphasis on Aratus' *Phaenomena* 216-24, see Hinds 1987, 3-24.

confirms the origin of the fountain from Pegasus' hoofbeat (*uera tamen fama est; est Pegasus huius origo/ fontis, Met.* 262-3). While discussing the beginning of Hippocrene, both Minerva in her question and Uranie in her answer refer to the birth of Pegasus in *Theogony* 280-3. The winged horse sprang from the beheaded Medusa and took his name because he was born beside the waters of Oceanus:

> τῆς ὅτε δὴ Περσεὺς κεφαλὴν ἀπεδειροτόμησεν,
> ἐξέθορε Χρυσάωρ τε μέγας καὶ **Πήγασος** ἵππος.
> τῷ μὲν <u>ἐπώνυμον</u> ἦν, ὅτ' ἄρ' Ὠκεανοῦ παρὰ **πηγὰς**
> γένθ', ὁ δ' ἄορ χρύσειον ἔχων μετὰ χερσὶ φίλῃσι.
> *Theogony* 280-3
>
> And when Perseus cut off her head from her neck, out sprang great Chrysaor and the horse Pegasus. He was so named because he was born beside the waters of Oceanus, while the other was born with a golden sword in his hands. (Transl. West)

The etymology of Πήγασος from πηγή, which is given after the birth of the horse in the *Theogony,* is picked up by Uranie in *Metamorphoses* 5.262-3 *(est **Pegasus** huius <u>origo</u>/ **fontis**).* While *fons* corresponds to πηγή, *origo* is, amongst other things, the standard term for the etymological derivation of a word.[93] The origin of the fountain and Pegasus' etymology are interrelated, while the discussion between Minerva and the Muse draws on the horse's birth in the *Theogony.* Hesiod's archaic epic is the literary source of Pegasus' origin and name. The setting is unmistakably Callimachean, but the Hesiodic subtext of the dialogue is not to be missed: the birth of Pegasus and the etymology of

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[93] A point made in Hinds 1987, 5-6.

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his name in Hesiod lie behind the aetiological conversation about the origins of Hippocrene. Ovid's allusion to Hesiod through Callimachus is hardly surprising since the Hellenistic poet refers to Hesiod's encounter with the Muses in his *Aetia,* suggesting the crucial role of Hesiodic poetry in his aetiological elegy.[94]

The episode of Minerva's encounter with the Muses, which takes up the rest of Book 5, begins with a double allusion to Hesiod's *Theogony* and Callimachus' *Aetia.* After the *aetion* of Hippocrene and the peculiar story of Pyreneus, who attempted to rape the goddesses (*Met.* 5.269-93), the remainder of the book deals with the contest between the Muses and the daughters of Pieros. The mortal Pierides challenged the goddesses in a singing competition. One of them sang of the gods' embarrassing animal transformations in an attempt to escape the menacing Typhoeus, and exalted the Giants (*Met.* 5.300-31). Calliope then sang of Typhoeus' demise and the rape of Proserpina (*Met.* 5.341-661). The complicated structure of her song includes various digressions and embedded stories, but is presented primarily as a hymn to Ceres, who desperately seeks her daughter Proserpina.[95] The genre of Calliope's song (a hymn) praises an Olympian goddess and the retelling of the story pleases Minerva. The Muses live up to their role, which, according to Hesiod, is to sing of the gods (cf. ὑμνεῦσαι, *Th.* 11) and delight them (cf. ὑμνεῦσαι τέρπουσι, *Th.* 37).

The Pierides lose the contest and are transformed into magpies as a punishment (*Met.* 5.662-78).[96] It is noteworthy that the challenge of the Pierides

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[94] Callimachus fr. 2.1-2 Pf. (ποιμ⌋ ἑνι μῆλα νέμ. ⌐οντι παρ' ἴχνιον ὀξέος ἵππου/Ἡσιόδ⌋ ῳ Μουσέων ἑσμὸ ⌐ς ὅτ' ἠντίασεν).

[95] For the structure of Calliope's song, see Rosati 1981, 298-304; Bömer *ad Met. ad* 5.250-678. For an analysis of Ovid's use of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* in Calliope's song, see Hinds 1987, 72-98.

[96] The story of the contest between the Muses and the Pierides is from Nicander's *Heteroioumena* (see Antoninus Liberalis 9). A similar version is attested in Pausanias 9.29.2. See Bömer *ad Met.* 5.294-678. The name Pierides is elsewhere applied to the Muses themselves.

and their performance are reported in indirect speech by their bitter enemy. The Pierid's song is compressed into thirteen lines (*Met.* 5.319-31), while Calliope's performance is replayed verbatim and takes up almost three hundred lines (*Met.* 341-661).[97] A Muse recounts the entire episode of the contest as a flashback, in order to answer to Minerva's query about the chattering magpies (*Met.* 5.294-300). An aetiology provides the frame for an extensive story, which contains numerous embedded narratives. Far from loosely connecting the primary with the embedded narration, Ovid's causal framework serves an important narrative strategy. The silencing of the Pierides, who appear as magpies in the beginning and the end of the tale, and the biased manipulation of their words by the Muses are a crucial aspect of Ovid's narrative structure. We hear only the voice of the Muses, and the song of their rivals is reported distorted by Jupiter's daughters. The crucial competition between the Pierides and the Muses has been reduced to a mere *aition* that deals with an avian transformation which immortalizes the punishment of the defeated party. The metamorphosis of the Pierides silences the mortal challengers of the Muses, who attack and distort the voices of their opponents. The hoarse chattering of the magpies (*rauca garrulitas, Met.* 5.678) contrasts with the sweetness of the Muses' song, while the transformation of the Pierides and the inaccurate report of their words suggest that the victory of the Muses is established mainly through the punishment of their enemies and the appropriation of their song.

Bias in favor of the Olympian gods is a salient aspect of the Muses in the *Theogony.* Zeus' daughters praise first and foremost their father and the rest of the Olympians (*Theogony* 11-21; *WD* 1-2), making sure that their song is

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[97] Leach 1974, 114, notes: "Since the Muses are giving the account, they compress the song of the Pierides into a hasty, distasteful summary, while their own lengthy contribution is unfolded in all its detail"

appealing to Zeus (*Theogony* 40-3). Likewise, the poets, who are the servants of the Muses, must sing of the Olympian gods (*Theogony* 100-1). In the *Theogony,* a work which describes Zeus' struggle to acquire and establish his universal dominion, the narrative of the Muses is inevitably partial. In fact, Zeus' sovereignty is closely associated with the fact that, unlike his rivals, he has in his service nine powerful instruments of propaganda. Only Typhoeus, Zeus' last enemy, can be seen as a foil for the Muses. Described as a marvel to hear (θαύματ᾽ ἀκοῦσαι, *Th.* 834), his cacophonous and discordant voices contrast with the honey sweet song of the harmonious sisters.[98] Typhoeus causes a rowdy chaos, while the Muses sing of Zeus' universal order after the downfall of the noisy monster. Zeus' thunderbolt strikes the divinely sounding heads of the monster (ἀμφὶ δὲ πάσας/ ἔπρεσε **θεσπεσίας** κεφαλὰς δενοῖο πελώρου, *Th.* 855-6). The ruler of the universe silences Typhoeus' dissenting voices. His daughters have the monopoly on singing and we can hear the sounds of the unruly Typhoeus only through a song inspired by them. Typhoeus' final downfall reduces him to an internal narrative told by the Muses, the mouthpieces of his enemy. His sonic rebellion has become a part of the sisters' sweet song in the *Theogony.*[99]

Likewise, the rebellious song of the Pierid is told by a Muse in the *Metamorphoses.* The Muse lets us know that the daughter of Pieros chose to

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[98] Cf Typhoeus: παντοίην **ὄπ᾽ ἱεῖσαι** ἀθέσφατον *(Th.* 830); the Muses: περικαλλέα **ὄσσαν ἱεῖσαι** (*Th.* 10); ἐρατὴν διὰ στόμα **ὄσσαν ἱεῖσαι** *(Th.* 65); ἀγαλλόμεναι **ὀπὶ** καλῇ (*Th.* 68); Typhoeus: ὑπὸ δ᾽ **ἤχεεν** οὔρεα μακρά (*Th.* 835); the Muses: **ἠχεῖ** δὲ κάρη νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου (*Th.* 42). For the juxtaposition between the monstrous voices of Typhoeus and the harmonious song of the Muses, see Ford 1992, 190-1; Goslin http://www.apaclassics.org/AnnualMeeting/08mtg/abstracts/GOSLIN.pdf
[99] Pindar, *Pythian* 1.13-6, says that Zeus' enemies are terrified when they hear the voice (βοάν) of the Muses, and among them Typhoeus, who lies in dread Tartarus. The voices of the Muses please Zeus and scare his enemies.

sing of Typhoeus and praised the enemies of the Olympians.[100] The sonic transformations of Typhoeus, who bellows like a bull, roars like a lion, and barks like a dog in Hesiod (*Theogony* 832-4) are not reported in the *Metamorphoses.* Instead, according to the Pierid, it is the Olympian gods who resort to animal metamorphoses, dreading the earth-born monster: Jupiter becomes a bull, Apollo a raven, Bacchus a goat, Diana a cat, Juno a heifer, Venus a fish, and Mercury an ibis (*Met.* 5.327-31).[101] The Pierid subverts the version of the *Theogony.* The cowardly flight of the gods from their enemy is not reported at all in Hesiod or in Calliope's song in the *Metamorphoses.* Thus, the Pierid offers a different reading of the Typhonomachy, suggesting that the song of the Hesiodic Muses is biased. Her version, however, is reported by a Muse, just as Typhoeus' voices are heard only in a poem inspired by the daughters of Zeus. In the *Metamorphoses,* the Muse merely gives a summary of the Pierid's song, emphasizing that the song was full of false praise for the Giants and purposefully diminished the deeds of the great gods (*Met.* 5.319-20). To be sure, the Muse makes no effort to conceal her bias, while accusing her opponent of partiality.

It is the mortal challengers, we are told, who sing a false praise for the Olympians' enemies; the Muse responds implicitly to the charges of the Pierid that the Muses deceive naive people with their sweet song (*"**desinite** indoctum uana **dulcedine** uulgus/ **fallere**, Met.* 5.308). The Pierid refers to the sweetness of the Muses' song in the *Theogony* (τῶν δ' **ἀκάματος** ῥέει αὐδὴ/ ἐκ στομάτων **ἡδεῖα**, *Th.* 39-40), but also to the proem of the *Catalogue* (**ἡδυέπειαι/** Μοῦσαι, fr. 1.1-2 M-W). Asking the Muses to stop *(desinite)*

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[100] Johnson & Malamud 1988, 32, are right to point out that the voices of Typhoeus and the Pierides threaten Zeus and the Muses respectively.
[101] The source of these metamorphoses is most likely Nicander (see Bömer *ad Met.* 5.307).

reminds us that the song of the sisters is inexhaustible and thus unstoppable (ἀκάματος αὐδή). Interestingly, the accusation of falsehood *(fallere)* is actually suggested by the Muses themselves, who say that they can tell many lies that look like the truth (ἴδμεν **ψεύδεα** πολλὰ **λέγειν** ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα, *Th.* 27).[102] Thus, the attack of the Pierid is informed by Hesiod's Muses, turning the *Theogony* against the divine patrons of poetry. Not only have the daughters of Pieros read the *Theogony,* but they can also use it effectively against their opponents. It is the Muses themselves who say that they can lie in Hesiod, and the Pierides refer exactly to this statement. Although their words are reported by a Muse, we can still see that the Pierides have a strong argument against the truthfulness of their enemies.

The validity of Calliope's song will be questioned later on by her son Orpheus. In book 10, Orpheus mentions that Love conquers everything, even the lord of the dead, who fell in love with Proserpina *(Met.* 10.25-9), but he makes sure to add a disclaimer (*famaque si ueteris non est **mentita** rapinae, Met.* 10.28), suggesting that Calliope's longwinded song about the rape of Proserpina in *Metamorphoses* 5 might be just a lie and thus the insinuations of the Pierides valid.[103] The *fama* of Proserpina's rape further alludes to the *Theogony,* a poem inspired by the Muses in which the rape of Persephone is attested. Orpheus' *fama...ueteris...**rapinae*** (*Met.* 10.28) echoes and questions both the words of Calliope (cf. **raptaque** *Diti, Met.* 5.395) and those of the Hesiodic Muses (cf. Περσεφόνην λευκώλενον, ἣν Ἀιδωνεὺς/ **ἥρπασεν,** *Th.* 913-4). Calliope, to

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[102] Trencsényi-Waldapfel 1969, 736-7, and Johnson 2008, 54, note the parallel between *Theogony* 27 and *Metamorphoses* 5.308.
[103] On Orpheus' reference to the song of his mother in *Met.* 5, see Galinsky 1975, 175, who notes that Orpheus' *uos quoque iunxit Amor (Met.* 10.29) echoes Venus' request to Cupid in the song of Calliope *(iunge deam patruo, Met.* 5.379). See also Hinds 1987, 135; Myers 1994, 164; von Albrecht 2000, 58-9; Johnson 2008, 54. On the relationship between Calliope's and Orpheus' narrative, see Nagle 1988.

be sure, structures her song in order to please the internal audience of the nymphs, who are the judges of the contest.[104] Winning over the judges seems to be more important than telling the truth. The stories of the nymphs Arethusa and Cyane, embedded in Calliope's narrative, are told at length as an attempt to gratify the nymphs. The omniscient Calliope even pretends ignorance when it comes to the Sirens (*Met.* 5.552-5), the sea-nymphs who were punished for failing Proserpina in her hour of need. Calliope blatantly reverses the tradition, while her pretentious ignorance is entirely unconvincing.[105] The Pierid was right: the Muses deceive their audience with the sweetness of their song. Calliope proves to be a master of source manipulation rather than the ultimate authority of truth.

Although the episode of the Muses has been studied by many critics, none of them examines the importance of its Hesiodic intertext, which can shed light on the narrative dynamics and the generic identity of Athena's encounter with the Muses. Ovid, following Callimachus, draws on Hesiod's *Theogony.* Calliope moves from the *Theogony* to the *Catalogue of Women* by including in her narrative Dis' passion for Persephone, Alpheus' love for Arethusa (*Met.* 5.577-641),[106] and Anapis' marriage with Cyane (*Met.* 5.416-20). If Calliope's song, as critics have pointed out,[107] is a miniature of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and is a comment on poetic creation, then the Hesiodic character of the Muse's narrative should also be taken into account. The episode of Apollo in book 1 and the song of Calliope in book 5 are closely associated with the poetics and the structure of Ovid's epic. The god of poetry and the Muse, who were united

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[104] This argument is developed convincingly in Zissos 1999.
[105] See Zissos 1999, 105-7.
[106] In the *Catalogue* (fr. 188a M-W), Arethusa had sex with Poseidon and was transformed into a spring.
[107] See Rosati 1981, 303; Hinds 1987, 3; Nagle 1988, 121-5; Myers 1994, 163-4.

in love and gave birth to Orpheus, follow the narrative progression of Hesiodic poetry, moving from the battles to the loves of the gods.

2.3 Arachne

The transition from the first to the second pentad of the *Metamorphoses* follows Minerva's footsteps. The goddess approves of the just wrath of the Muses (*Met.* 6.2) before she recalls the tale of Arachne, another mortal challenger of divine art. The weaving competition between Arachne and Minerva refers back to the contest of the Pierides with the Muses[108] and foreshadows the recurring motif of mortals challenging immortals in *Metamorphoses* 6 (Niobe, 146-312; the Lycian farmers, 313-81; Marsyas, 382-400). Arachne was a girl of humble birth, who was nevertheless renowned for her craft. The nymphs, who were the target audience and the judges in the contest between the Muses and the Pierides, abandoned their springs in order to admire Arachne's work. After Minerva's epiphany and before the beginning of the weaving competition, the nymphs worship the goddess, who first appears as an old woman admonishing Arachne to beg Minerva's forgiveness for her arrogance. But when the haughty girl wonders why the goddess does not appear herself, Minerva immediately reveals her divine identity:

> *tum dea uenit! ait formamque remouit anilem*
> ***Palladaque*** *exhibuit. uenerantur numina* ***nymphae***
> *Mygdonidesque* ***nurus***, *sola est not territa* ***uirgo;***
> *Met.* 6.43-5

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[108] For the relationship between the singing and the weaving contest, see Harries 1990, 65-7; Heckel 2000; Johnson 2008, 74-81, 84-5.

> Then the goddess said 'she has come' and removed the appearance of
> an old woman and showed Pallas. The nymphs and the Mygdonian
> brides worshipped her divine sway, only the virgin was not frightened;

The coming of Minerva *(VENit)* causes the religious awe *(VENerantur)* of the nymphs and the Mygdonian brides, but does not change Arachne's mind. The divine and the mortal virgin *(Pallada....uirgo)* frame the prayers of the divine nymphs and the mortal brides.[109] The audience of the nymphs draws a parallel between the challenge of the Pierides and Arachne, the mortal girls who claimed that their art was superior to that of goddesses and were not afraid to compete with them.

The singing and the weaving competition of the *Metamorphoses* can be read as a reiteration of the *certamen* between Homer and Hesiod. Although the text of the *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi* is of the 2nd century AD (for Hadrian is mentioned at *Certamen* 33), three fragmentary papyri show that the tradition of the competition dates back to the classical period.[110] Ovid was certainly aware of this tradition, as it is implied in *Ars* 2.3-4 *(Laetus amans donat uiridi mea carmina palma,/ praelata Ascraeo Maeonioque seni).* The turning point of the *certamen* is when the king Panedes asks the contestants to recite their best lines, while the Greeks encourage him to crown Homer (*Certamen* 175ff.). Hesiod chooses a passage from the *Works and Days,* while Homer excerpts a battle narrative. Although the Greeks praise Homer after the recitation, the king

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[109] *Nurus* is the Latin for νύμφη. Ovid presents the virgins Arachne and Minerva against the background of the sexually active nymphs and brides.
[110] One papyrus dates form the 3rd century BC and another from the 2nd, and both largely agree with the version from the Antonine period. For the evidence of a fifth-century version of the *certamen,* see West 1967; Richardson 1981. Rosen 2004, argues that the contest in Aristophanes' *Frogs* draws on the *certamen* between Homer and Hesiod. For the new papyri which antedate the *certamen* to the classical period and relate it to Alcidamas'*Mouseion,* see Koniaris 1971; Renehan 1971; Mandilaras 1992.

decides that Hesiod is the winner, preferring the poet of peace and agriculture to the poet of wars and slaughter. Bronislaw Bilinski suggests that the competition between the Pierides and the Muses recalls the famous *agon* between Homer and Hesiod.[111] The Pierides sing of the war between Typhoeus and the gods, while Calliope praises Ceres, the patron deity of agriculture (cf. *prima Ceres unco glaebam dimouit aratro,/ prima dedit fruges alimentaque mitia terris,... illa canenda mihi est, Met.* 5.341-44). Thus, the Muse focuses on the *Works and Days,* the subject that gave Hesiod the victory in the competition, dismissing a warlike narrative. But Calliope's song, as I have argued above, is not restricted to the *Works and Days,* but further covers the themes of the *Theogony* and the *Catalogue of Women.* The Muse composes a full scale Hesiodic song with which Jupiter's daughters defeat their opponents, just as Hesiod defeated Homer.

The weaving competition features the warrior goddess Minerva and Arachne, a mortal maiden who weaves a catalogue of women in her tapestry. Athena plays a crucial role in the Homeric epics as the protectress of the main heroes (Achilles in the *Iliad,* Odysseus in the *Odyssey)* and as a goddess of war. In the *Metamorphoses,* Minerva depicts herself in full armor (*at dat sibi clipeum, dat acutae cuspidis hastam,/ dat galeam capiti, defenditur aegide pectus, Met.* 6.78-9), and her violent attack on Arachne after the end of the competition emphasizes her belligerent identity, which eclipses her domestic aspect, as the goddess uses her shuttle as a weapon against her opponent (*Met.* 6.132-3). On the contrary, Arachne is not interested in Homeric narrative, but in challenging the warrior goddess of Homeric poetry. As we shall see, Arachne's work recalls the cosmogony of the *Metamorphoses,* while her tapestry is her own version of

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[111] Bilinksi 1959, 114-5.

the *Catalogue of Women.* Thus, Arachne's weaving reworks the transition from the *Theogony* to the *Ehoiai,* marking her as another Hesiodic artist in the *Metamorphoses.* Her flawless tapestry of divine rapes beats the work of the warlike and Homeric Minerva. Thus, the *certamen* between Minerva and Arachne replicates the *certamen* between Homer and Hesiod. The result is the same in both competitions; Hesiod's poetry wins.

The nymphs do not simply admire the outcome of Arachne's workmanship, but also enjoy looking at her while she is weaving. It was not only a joy to see the finished cloths, but also to watch them made (*Met.* 6.17-8). Interestingly, the description of Arachne's work refers back to the beginning of the *Metamorphoses* and the creation of the world from Chaos.[112] The girl first winds the rough yarn into a ball (*siue **rudem** primos lanam **glomerabat in orbes**, Met.* 6.19). While *rudis* describes Chaos, the unformed and confused mass before the creation of the world (cf. *Chaos; **rudis** indigestaque moles, Met.* 1.7), Arachne's gathering of the wool into a round heap is a clear reference to the creation of the earth and its separation from the primordial and chaotic form of the universe (*principio terram, ne non aequalis ab omni/ parte foret, magni speciem **glomerauit in orbis**, Met.* 1.35-6). Some god (*deus, Met.* 1.21; *quisquis...ille deorum, Met.* 1.32) first shaped the earth into a great ball, just as Arachne first creates a sphere from a shapeless mass of wool. After combing fleece balls, Arachne draws out flakes like clouds (*uellera mollibat **nebulas aequantia** tractu, Met.* 6.21), resembling the world's maker, who ordered the clouds to form (*illic et **nebulas**, illic consistere nubes/ iussit, Met.* 1.54-5). Thus, Arachne's slender work is similar to that of the god who created the earth from

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[112] Ahl 1985, 227, points out that Arachne prepares her material for the loom as a divine creator would shape the universe. Feeney 1991, 191, notes that Arachne's craftsmanship is described in terms which align her with the *mundi fabricator.*

chaos. Such a comparison not only relates Arachne's craft to the beginning of the *Metamorphoses,* but also makes the mortal virgin appear like an omnipotent god right before she challenges Minerva.

As Minerva and Arachne set up their looms, Ovid focuses on the colorful threads of the contestants, which produce a spectacle similar to the rainbow (*Met.* 6.62-6). The simile of the rainbow elevates the weaving competition to a cosmic dimension. The rays of the sun shine in many different colors as they pass through raindrops, just as the shuttle weaves a variegated tapestry. The key word to interpreting the relation of the simile to weaving is *radius,* which means both 'ray' and 'shuttle',[113] thus drawing a verbal parallel between the effect of the sunrays and the work of the shuttle. The weft is woven with the sharp shuttles (*inseritur medium **radiis** subtemen acutis, Met.* 6.56), just as the expanse of the sky is colored by the rays of the sun, which hit the raindrops.[114] After the simile, we are told of the gold which was inserted in the threads, a metal which shines like the sun; the gold which is intertwined with the threads recalls the *ekphrasis* of the palace of the Sun, which radiates with gold (cf. *regia Solis...clara micante auro, Met.* 2.1-2).[115] The tapestries are compared with the vault of the sky and the contestants appear to be similar to the Sun. The subject of Arachne's work in particular is the crimes/rapes of the heavenly dwellers (*caelestia crimina, Met.* 6.131). The weaver sheds light on the ***caelestia*** crimina and Ovid draws a close parallel between Arachne's shuttle and the sunrays

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[113] The pun on *radius* as 'sunray' and 'shuttle' is exploited in the episode of the Minyeides. Rosati 1999, 252, points out the frequent mention of the *radii* of the Sun *(Met.* 4.193, 241, 247) in an episode where the action of the *radius* of the weaving sisters is central.
[114] ***percusso*** *pauiunt insecti pectine dentes, Met.* 6.58 is echoed in the simile *(qualis ab imbre solet **percussis** solibus arcus, Met.* 6.63).
[115] In the *Odyssey,* the robe Helen gives to Telemachus "shines like a star" (ἀστὴρ δ᾽ ὣς ἀπέλαμπεν, *Od.* 15.108) and Penelope's web (ἱστός) is compared with the sun and the moon (**ἠελίῳ** ἐναλίγκιον ἠὲ σελήνη, *Od.* 24.148).

which dye the whole sky after a rain (cf. *inficere ingenti longum curuamine* **caelum***, Met.* 6.64).

Arachne's affinities with the Sun go deeper. The girl weaves a catalogue of divine rapes (*Met.* 6.103-28), revealing in lurid details the lustful deeds of the gods, and thus resembling the Sun, who first exposed the adulterous affair of Venus with Mars (*Met.* 4.171-4). When Vulcan learns about the infidelity of his wife, he traps the lovers in an elaborate net of refined chains, an artifact which is compared with the spider's web (*non illud opus tenuissima uincat/ stamina, non summo quae pendet aranea tigno, Met.* 4.178-9).[116] Mars and Venus are caught in Vulcan's net like insects in a cobweb. Similarly, Arachne exposes the shameful deeds of the lecherous gods by weaving their sexual escapades in her tapestry. Just as Venus and Mars are entangled in Vulcan's net *in flagrante,* the gods are enmeshed in Arachne's tapestry, while raping women.[117] However, the treacherous transformations of the gods, who deceive and attack their mortal victims, contrast with the mutual affair of Venus and Mars. Arachne denounces not only the lust but also the base tricks and the aggression of the immortals at the expense of mortals. In the end, both the Sun and Arachne, who reveal *caelestia crimina* with their *radii,* are punished by Venus and Minerva respectively.

Venus inflames the Sun's passion for Leucothoe, in order to avenge the betrayal of her secret affair. The god rapes Leucothoe, who is buried alive by her father when the jilted Clytie, jealous of the Sun's new love, betrays the

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[116] In the Homeric account of the same tale, Hephaestus' bonds are also compared with a spider's web (ἠΰτ' ἀράχνια λεπτά· *Od.* 8.280).

[117] Harries 1990, 69, notes some similarities between the *ekphrasis* of Arachne's tapestry and the shield of Aeneas: Ovid's double *fecit (Met.* 6.108-9) followed by *addit (Met.* 6.110) recalls Vergil's double *fecerat (Aen.* 8.628, 630) followed by *addiderat (Aen.* 8.607). Thus, in *Met.* 4 Vulcan's trap is compared with the spider's web, while in *Met.* 6 the *ekphrasis* of Arachne's tapestry refers to the *ekphrasis* of a shield made by Vulcan.

liaison. Clytie pines away in love for Sun and is finally transformed into a sunflower. The tale is told by Leuconoe, one of the Minyeides, the three sisters who tell love stories while weaving, respecting Minerva, but offending Bacchus by not observing his festival. The Minyeides, despite their devotion to Minerva, resemble Arachne since they challenge a deity's power by weaving.[118] The narrative of Leuconoe in particular is thematically related to Arachne's tapestry; the Minyeid tells of divine passions. The story moves from the adulterous affair of Venus and Mars to the Sun's infatuation with a mortal virgin. Leuconoe announces that her subject is the loves of the Sun (*Met.* 4.170) and gives a catalogue of the god's women (including Clymene, Rhodos, Perseis, and Clytie), just as Arachne gives a catalogue of women raped by gods. Leuconoe, the narrator, and Leucothoe, the heroine of the tale, are cast as weavers, and Circe, the Sun's daughter mentioned at *Met.* 4.205, sings and weaves in *Aeneid* 7.11-4, just like the Minyeides.[119] There is an intricate nexus connecting the Sun with weaving women and the tales of divine passions. Still, the illumination and the divulging of such tales can subject the storyteller to divine wrath; in the end the Minyeides and Arachne are punished by Bacchus and Minerva respectively.

The scenes depicted by Arachne are meant to provoke the virgin goddess Minerva. Medusa's rape by Neptune in particular (*sensit uolucrem crinita colubris/ mater equi uolucris, Met.* 6.119-20) was narrated by Perseus in *Metamorphoses* 4.793-803. According to this version, Neptune had sex with Medusa in Minerva's temple. The goddess was so shocked that she covered her face with her aegis and then punished the girl by turning her beautiful locks

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[118] For the relationship between the stories of the weaving Minyeides and Arachne, see Rosati 1999, 242, 248-9.

[119] The names *LEUCOthoe, LEUCOnoe*, and *CLYMENe* suggest shining (for *lumen* in *CLYMENe,* see Ahl 1985, 171, 186). Circe, a weaver and a daughter of the Sun, was etymologized from κερκίς, the Latin *radius* (cf. <Κίρκη>: Ἡ κιρνῶσα τὰ φάρμακα· ἢ **παρὰ τὴν κερκίδα**. *Etymologicum Magnum* 515); cf. Paschalis 1997, 260-1.

into repulsive snakes. Arachne subjects the virgin goddess to the shocking spectacle one more time.

Arachne's tapestry, as critics have observed, is a miniature of the *Metamorphoses;* the scenes woven by the girl refer to several episodes from the *Metamorphoses,* a work which begins with a metaphor from weaving (*deducite.. carmen, Met.* 1.4).[120] The transformations of the gods as a means of deceiving and raping mortal virgins fit thematically in Ovid's epic. The *ekphrasis* of Arachne's tapestry opens with a detailed description of Jupiter's abduction of Europa (*Met.* 6.103-7), an episode which was dealt with in *Metamorphoses* 2.836-3.5. Arachne aims at belittling the gods and the narrator in book 2 views Jupiter's metamorphosis as a bathetic reduction of the supreme god to a bull who moos and mingles with cows (*Met.* 2.846-51). The narrator of the *Metamorphoses* and Arachne are interested in the theme of divine passions and share a similar perspective on the topic; the first scene of Arachne's catalogue of women suggests a close connection between her tapestry and the *Metamorphoses* as a whole.

The intratextual thread of Arachne's tapestry is woven into the singing competition. Calliope sang of Proserpina's abduction by Dis and Jupiter's ratification of his daughter's marriage with the king of the Underworld. Arachne depicts a different rape of Proserpina. The catalogue of Jupiter's victims includes Mnemosyne and culminates in an incest, a shocking climax of Jupiter's unbridled lust.:

> *Mnemosynen pastor, uarius Deoida serpens*
>
> *Met.* 6.114

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[120] Cf. *et uetus in tela deducitur argumentum, Met.* 6.69, the line which introduces the *ekphrasis* of Minerva's tapestry.

As a shepherd he (deceived) Mnemosyne, as a snake Proserpina

Jupiter assumed the appearance of a shepherd, in order to deceive Mnemosyne, the mother of the Muses. Mnemosyne's rape alludes to the Muses and to the long episode of *Metamorphoses* 5,[121] especially since it is followed by another rape of Proserpina *(Deois)*. Jupiter's transformation into a *serpens* puns on *Proserpina,* but what is particularly shocking is that Jupiter's lust leads him to an incestuous affair with his own daughter. The readers of the *Metamorphoses* should remember that Ceres appealed to Jupiter after the abduction of her daughter, and appealed to his paternal affection:

> *pro que meo ueni supplex tibi, Iuppiter inquit,*
>
> *sanguine proque tuo; si nulla est gratia matris,*
>
> *nata patrem moueat,*
>
> *Met.* 5.514-6

> and she said "for my offspring, Jupiter, and yours I have come as a suppliant to you; if a mother has no influence, let a daughter move a father."

Being a father is one of Jupiter's most salient characteristics; *pater* is inherent in *Iuppiter* and Ceres hopes that Proserpina's plight will move her father. Reading Ceres' supplication in the song of Calliope against the background of Arachne's tapestry, the scene becomes bitterly ironic; Ceres complains about the abduction of Proserpina to a father who himself raped his daughter. Proserpina arouses Jupiter's sexual rather than paternal instincts (cf. *nata patrem moueat*). Thus, the weaving of Jupiter's incest with his own daughter undermines

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[121] The matronymic *Mnemonides* describes the Muses at *Met.* 5.268, 280.

Calliope's narrative in *Metamorphoses* 5 and deflates Jupiter's paternal pose. The nymphs and Minerva, who are the audience of the Muse's song and the spectators of Arachne's tapestry, encounter a significantly different Jupiter in the versions of Calliope and Arachne. The supreme god has been reduced to a treacherous father, who turns into a snake in order to take advantage of his own daughter. In particular, Proserpina's rape by her father is meant to shock Minerva, who is a virgin and a daughter of Jupiter. Arachne's message seems to be that the father of the gods rapes his daughters, a point which could hardly have escaped Minerva. At the same time, the tendentiousness of Calliope's song surfaces as it becomes clear that the Muse omitted Jupiter's passion for Proserpina entirely.

No wonder Pallas is enraged by Arachne's depictions, although she is mainly distressed because she cannot find any artistic flaw in the work of her rival. A mortal girl beats Minerva, but the goddess punishes her anyway. Arachne showed that the gods dupe and rape innocent virgins, but it seems that she did not fully realize that by provoking Minerva she herself can easily become a victim of divine cruelty. The divine virgin first destroys Arachne's flawless artifact and then hits her forehead with her shuttle:

> *.... doluit successu flaua uirago*
> *et rupit pictas, caelestia crimina, uestes;*
> *utque Cytoriaco radium de monte tenebat,*
> *ter quater Idmoniae frontem percussit Arachnes.*
> *Met.* 6.130-3

> The blond virgin warrior was distressed by the success and tore the embroidered cloth, the divine rapes; and as she was holding the shuttle

from the mount Cytorus, three and four times she thrust through the
forehead of Idmonian Arachne.

Minerva's unfair attack on Arachne curiously resembles the sexual attacks of
the gods depicted in the girl's tapestry.[122] The goddess first tears the *uestes* into
shreds just as a rapist tears a girl's clothes. The explanatory *caelestia crimina*
refers to the topic of Arachne's work, but it can also be read as the narrator's
comment on Minerva's assault on Arachne's *uestes*.[123] From that perspective,
the goddess' reaction is added to the scenes of divine violence against mortal
virgins. The hitting of Arachne's forehead with a *radius* reenacts a divine rape.
As I have mentioned above, the *caelestia crimina* are woven with a *radius,* a
word which is also associated with the sunrays that pass through the raindrops;
ut radium... tenebat...frontem percussit recalls *solibus percussis* (*Met.* 6.63),
and the weaving with a shuttle, the creation of the rainbow by the sunrays, and
Arachne's punishment are intertwined. Arachne depicts divine crimes with her
shuttle, but Minerva perpetrates one with her own. If the sexual meaning of
radius, which appears in the medical work of Caelius Aurelianus,[124] was current
in Ovid's time, the parallel between Minerva's penetration and the divine rapes
is quite striking as the goddess tears the embroidered clothes and pierces
through her innocent victim. The destruction of Arachne's tapestry does not
obliterate the divine crimes, but adds one more reproach against the gods to
the list, and Minerva proves Arachne's accusation, while trying to destroy
evidence. Arachne cannot bear the shame of Minerva's assault and decides to
kill herself. As she hangs herself, the goddess finally takes pity on her and

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[122] Oliensis 2004, 289-90, 292, points out Minerva's likeness to the divine rapists on Arachne's
tapestry.
[123] Rosati 1999, 251, notes: "(I am tempted to see in *caelestia crimina,* 'a reproach against the
gods', of 6.131 also a comment of the narrator on the gesture of the goddess)."
[124] For *radius* meaning penis, see Cael. Aur., *Acut.* 3.115; cf. Adams 1982, 14-5, 23.

transforms her into a spider, though such a transformation looks more like a punishment than an act of pity.[125] In the process of her metamorphosis, Arachne first loses her hair (*defluxere comae, Met.* 6.141), a change similar to the punitive transformation of Gorgon's locks into snakes. The Gorgon was punished unjustly by Minerva because she was raped by Neptune in the goddess' shrine, while Arachne is first attacked in a way which resembles a rape, and then transformed into a spider by Minerva.

Although in the end Arachne becomes another victim of a divine *crimen,* appearing as if she were woven into a tapestry, which paradoxically Minerva tore to shreds, she differs from the women of her catalogue because of her humble birth. Arachne is introduced as a girl who was renowned neither for her birthplace nor for her forebears, but for her art; her father was a wooldyer and her mother was of equally humble origins (*et haec de plebe suoque/ aequa uiro fuerat, Met.* 6.10-1). Such a description automatically makes Arachne an anti-heroine; the typical entry of a heroine in the Hesiodic *Ehoiai* is the mention of her noble birth and her beauty. The women of Greek myth who had sexual affairs with gods were all royal maidens of outstanding beauty. On the contrary, Arachne is not noble, not Greek, and there is nothing to suggest that she is attractive. Unlike the heroines of the Hesiodic *Catalogue,* who acquire *kleos* because of their royal lineage and their looks, Arachne seeks fame through her art, and instead of attracting a male god, she incurs the wrath of a virgin goddess, who finally treats her like a rape victim.[126] Arachne is a foil not only for the heroines but also for the Muses, who descend from Jupiter, and inspire the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women.* In the first lines of the *Catalogue,* the poet

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[125] It recalls, for instance, the punitive transformation of the Pierides into magpies.
[126] Fletcher, R. 2005, 308-9, notes the juxtaposition between the élite women of the *Catalogue* and Arachne's humble origins.

invites the Muses to sing of the tribe of women who were the best (ἄρισται) and slept with the gods (fr. 1.1-5 M-W). The Muses themselves are the offspring of Zeus' affair with Mnemosyne (cf. κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο, fr. 1.2 M-W). By contrast, Arachne focuses on the rape, not on the offspring of Mnemosyne (*Met.* 6.114).[127]

Hesiod suggests that the Muses give first a catalogue of Zeus' women and then move on to Poseidon's beloveds (fr. 1.14-7 M-W). The *ekphrasis* of Arachne's tapestry follows the structure suggested in the proem of the *Catalogue.* Jupiter's sexual attacks are followed by the catalogue of Neptune's rapes *(Met.* 6.104-20). However, the song of the Muses aims at exalting the royal women and their semi-divine offspring. The women even appear as actively seeking affairs with gods (cf. μίτρας τ᾽ ἀλλύσαντο... μισγόμεναι θεοῖσιν, fr. 1.4-5 M-W) and the rapes are briefly described with euphemisms such as θεῷ δμηθεῖσα or φιλότητι μίγη. In sharp contrast with the tone of the *Catalogue,* Arachne weaves a panorama of deception, incest, and bestiality. Zeus' metamorphosis into a bull, the duping of Alkmene, Poseidon's transformation into Enipeus and possibly other episodes from Arachne's tapestry are attested in Hesiod, but are not meant to offend the Olympian gods. In her own catalogue of women, Arachne does not praise the affairs of the gods with mortal women, but denounces the bestial lust of the immortals.

Arachne adheres to and subverts the Hesiodic *Ehoiai.* The girl weaves a tapestry which is generically aligned with the *Catalogue of Women* and follows the structure suggested in its proem, but also undermines the praise of divine

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[127] On the contrary, in the *Theogony* Zeus "loved" (ἐράσσατο) Mnemosyne who bore him the Muses. The narrative moves quickly from Zeus' love to his offspring *(Th.* 915-7).

loves.[128] Just as the Pierides read Hesiod in order to attack the Muses, Arachne focuses on and magnifies the dissembling of the Hesiodic gods. The *ekphrasis* of the tapestry opens with Europa's abduction by Jupiter:

> *Maeonis **elusam** designat imagine tauri*
> *Europen; uerum taurum, <u>freta</u> uera putares.*
> *Met.* 6.103-4

The Maeonian girl depicts Europa deceived by the image of the bull: one would think it was a real bull, real sea.

Arachne depicts a scene attested in the *Ehoiai:*

> ....]πέρησε δ' ἄρ' <u>ἀλμυρὸν ὕδωρ</u>
> ....] Διὸς **δμηθεῖσα δόλοισι.**
> fr. 141.2-3 M-W

she passed over the salty water..... overpowered by Zeus' wiles

The narrator's comment on Zeus' wiles (δμηθεῖσα δόλοισι)[129] in conquering Europa is picked up by Ovid (cf. *elusam),* while ἀλμυρὸν ὕδωρ corresponds to *freta;* the image of Jupiter duping Europa and carrying her over the sea is taken up by Arachne from the *Catalogue of Women.* The diction of the Hesiodic fragment is worth noticing; the participle δμηθεῖσα is a formulaic way to describe a woman's rape by a god. In the case of Europa, however, the phrase does not describe the sexual act, but the girl's deception by Zeus, which eventually led to her deflowering. Thus, the stock participle δμηθεῖσα

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[128] Fletcher, R. 2005, 303-9, discusses Arachne's tapestry against the background of the *Catalogue,* focusing on the genealogical aspect of the *Catalogue;* he argues that reading Ovid's rapes through the *Catalogue* highlights a tension between the *uis* of rape and that of offspring.
[129] Cf. Zeus' δόλος in the Alkmene-*ehoie* (fr.195.30 M-W= *Shield* 30), an episode depicted by Arachne (*Met.* 6.112).

summarizes the erotic nature of the god's tricks; Europa was 'subdued' and 'raped' because of Zeus' wiles. What is more, δμηθεῖσα literally describes the breaking of an animal, and is particularly ironic if we take into account that it is Zeus, not Europa, who becomes a tamed animal because of his passion. The use of δμηθεῖσα for a girl who is riding a surprisingly peaceful bull is ironic since it seems as if Europa broke the bull, not the other way around. In his *Europa,* Moschus employs a similar pun on δαμάζω:[130]

> θυμὸν ἀνωίστοισιν **ὑποδμηθεὶς** βελέεσσι
> Κύπριδος, ἣ μούνη δύναται καὶ Ζῆνα **δαμάσσαι.**
> *Europa* 75-6

> (Zeus) overpowered in his heart by the unexpected arrows of Aphrodite, the only one who can overpower even Zeus.

Zeus is 'overpowered' by Aphrodite, the only goddess who can 'break' Zeus. As a result of Aphrodite's conquering force, Zeus turns into a tamed bull. The repetition of ὑποδμηθεὶς a couple of lines later (*Europa* 83), to describe a bull makes the pun on Zeus' submission to erotic passion and his animal transformation into a tamed bull (cf. πρηύς...καὶ μείλιχος, *Europa* 105) plain.

The double entendre of δμηθεῖσα δόλοισι in the *Catalogue* is 'translated' by Ovid with *elusam,* a verb which means both 'to deceive' and more specifically 'to commit a rape by deceiving.'[131] Both δμηθεῖσα and *elusam* are passive participles and have Europa as their subject. Thus, Ovid's Arachne picks up the rare mention of Zeus' δόλοι from the *Catalogue* and continues with her own elaborate list of divine dissimulation and lust. Jupiter's transformation into a bull

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[130] For the influence of the *Catalogue* in Moschus' *Europa,* see Hunter 2005, 254-6. Hunter does not discuss the pun on δαμάζω, which is at play both in Hesiod and Moschus.
[131] Bömer *ad loc.* notes: *"eludere* und *ludere,* ἐρωτικῶς, fere i.q. 'decipere (et opprimere)'"

opens the series of his sexual assaults and reworks a tale from the *Catalogue.*
Likewise, the catalogue of Neptune's rapes begins with his transformation into a
bullock in order to deceive Canace (*te quoque mutatum toruo, Neptune,*
iuuenco/ uirgine in **Aeolia** *posuit, Met.* 6.115-6); the patronymic recalls the
same episode from the *Catalogue,* in which Canace is mentioned as Αἰολίς (fr.
10.a.102-7).[132]

Arachne's panel of Jupiter's rapes provokes Minerva but is likely to cause the
sympathy of the nymphs, who have left their dwellings to admire her work. In
Metamorphoses 5, the Pierides fail to sing a song that would interest or flatter
the nymphs, an opportunity which is not lost by Calliope, whose song is meant
to gratify the judges of the contest. Arachne's tapestry reproaches a god who
constantly attacked the nymphs and thus it sympathizes with them. For
instance, Jupiter is chasing the nymphs in *Metamorphoses* 3.362-5, while Echo
distracts Juno's attention with her chattering. Picking up Jupiter's numerous
sexual assaults on nymphs in the first books of the *Metamorphoses* (Io, Callisto,
Europa), Arachne draws a picture very familiar to her audience. The abduction
of Europa in particular involves the deception of the nymphs who accompanied
her (cf. *Catalogue of Women* fr. 140 M-W). Arachne depicts Europa as shouting
to her friends while she is carried off (*et comites clamare, Met.* 6.106),[133] an
image that breaks the boundaries between the tapestry and the viewers of the
tapestry; the nymphs see Europa calling on them again as she is abducted by a
bull. Ovid's sly comment on the realistic representation of the bull (*uerum*
taurum... putares, Met. 6.104) reminds us that the bull is actually a false image
(cf. *fallacis imagine tauri, Met.* 3.1). The nymphs are deceived again into

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[132] Cf. Fletcher, R. 2005, 306.
[133] The word *comites,* given its etymology from *cum* and *ire,* is ironic since Europa's
companions are left back and cannot follow her.

thinking that the bull is true and see Europa disappear on his back. From that perspective, the viewers become a part of the tapestry as the realistic portrayal of Europa's abduction extends to the nymphs, who are part both of the tapestry and the audience.

Arachne is cast as an anti-heroine and an anti-Muse. What prompts her to challenge Minerva is the rumor that she was taught by the goddess (*scires **a Pallade doctam**./ Quod tamen ipsa negat...Met.* 6.23-4). Pallas' didactic, and thus Hesiodic, dimension is pitted against Arachne's autodidactic genius. At the same time, the girl distances herself from the Hesiodic heroines and their affinity with gods, based on either their goddesslike looks or their sexual affairs. Eurynome, in particular, is specifically presented as having been taught by Pallas (ἔργα **διδάξατο Παλλὰς** Ἀθήνη, fr. 43a.71). Having denied such relation, Arachne is removed from the divine, while she is at the same time portrayed as a divine creator. Her work begins with molding the shapeless mass of wool into spheres, progressing like the *Theogony* and the *Metamorphoses* from Chaos to the creation of the Earth. Linking the embroidered catalogue of women with the beginning of Arachne's work, we encounter the familiar transition from the *Theogony* to the *Catalogue of Women* one more time. Still, Arachne follows a Hesiodic career, in order to produce an anti-Hesiodic work. She is presented as the maker of an artistic universe, spinning an artwork from chaos down to the disgraceful rapes of the gods, but, far from giving credit to the immortals for their creative and generative powers, she denounces the animal instincts of the gods. In her world, the gods are not praiseworthy, they simply inflict woes on innocent mortals. Her Hesiodic catalogue of *caelestia crimina* exemplifies Xenophanes' famous criticism of Homer and Hesiod:

πάντα θεοῖς ἀνέθηκαν Ὅμηρος θ' Ἡσίοδός τε

ὅσσα παρ᾽ ἀνθρώποισιν **ὀνείδεα** καὶ **ψόγος** ἐστίν,

κλέπτειν, **μοιχεύειν** τε καὶ ἀλλήλους **ἀπατεύειν.**

Xenophanes 21 B 11 D-K

Homer and Hesiod attributed all things to the gods that are reproaches and blame among men, stealing, adultery, and deceiving each other.

Arachne's catalogue of divine adultery (cf. μοιχεύειν) and deception (cf. ἀπατεύειν) is meant to be a reproach (*crimina;* ὀνείδεα καὶ ψόγος) against the Hesiodic gods, and it is probably not a coincidence that Ovid's Arachne comes from Colophon (*Met.* 6.8), Xenophanes' hometown. Arachne adheres to the Hesiodic tradition, although she reads Hesiod along the lines of Xenophanes' critique of the Homeric and the Hesiodic gods.[134] In fact, Arachne's depiction of bestial gods is certainly more scathing than Xenophanes' objection to their anthropomorphism.

Just as the Pierides challenge the authority of the Muses by depicting the gods as frightened animals, Arachne's tapestry is a full scale attack on Minerva and the rest of the Olympians, who are constantly praised by the Muses of Hesiodic poetry. In contrast with the Muses, who serve the Olympians, Arachne's independence from any authority makes her an omnipotent creator of her own universe. The destruction of her tapestry by Minerva, Jupiter's champion, replicates the destruction of the world by Jupiter because of human outrage against the gods. Arachne weaves a web creating a nexus linking her own tapestry with the creator of the world and with Ovid's poetic cosmos. The destruction of the world by Jupiter, the destruction of Arachne's artistic universe by Minerva, and Ovid's self-confident statement that not even Jupiter can delete

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[134] Trencsényi-Waldapfel 1969, argues that Ovid draws on Xenophanes in the singing competition.

his work (*Met.* 15.871) are interrelated. In the *sphragis* of the *Metamorphoses* Ovid challenges the supreme god, just like Arachne, and eventually receives Jupiter's/Augustus' divine wrath against his masterpiece. Spinning a Hesiodic world from chaos to divine loves can be extremely dangerous if the voice of the Muses who praise the Olympians is replaced by the more subversive perspective of an independent artist.

2.4 Vergil as a Hesiodic Poet

Ovid had at least one Roman predecessor, who had reworked the transition from the *Theogony* to the *Catalogue* in his poems. Vergil presents Clymene singing a song from Chaos to the amours of the gods (*aque Chao densos diuum numerabat amores, Georgics* 4.347).[135] The verb *numerare* in particular refers to catalogue-poetry, specifying the genre of Clymene's song and presenting the trajectory from chaos to divine affairs as a unified narrative sequence. The Arachne episode in fact recalls Clymene's performance of Hesiodic poetry. Clymene sings to the nymphs while they are all weaving (*uellera nymphae/ carpebant, Georgics* 4.334-5; *carmine quo captae dum fusis mollia pensa/ deuoluunt, Georgics* 4.348-9), just as Arachne creates her artifact in front of an audience of nymphs. Interestingly, Vergil mentions Minerva's hatred for the spider in *Georgics* 4.246-7. The performance of Hesiodic poetry by weaving women further recalls the Minyeides; Clymene's song of Mars' adultery (*Georgics* 4.345-6) corresponds to the beginning of Leuconoe's narrative (*Met.* 4.171-89); book 4 of the *Metamorphoses* refers to book 4 of the *Georgics.* Clymene is Vergil's narrator and one of the Sun's beloveds (cf. *Met.*

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[135] See La Penna 1962, 220-1; Knox 1986, 12-3; Rosati 1999, 241-3; Keith 2002, 250-1; Obbink 2004, 200-1. Hardie 1986, 83-4, notes that *aque Chao* points to the beginning of the *Theogony,* while *densos diuum amores* to the *Ehoiai.* He further points out that the love of Apollo for Cyrene, who is one of Clymene's audience, is attested in the *Ehoiai* (fr. 215-6 M-W). See also Hardie 2005, 290-1.

1.756ff; 4.204), drawing a further parallel between Clymene's song in the *Georgics* and Leuconoe's narrative in the *Metamorphoses.* Weaving women tell Hesiodic tales and are related to the Sun; Clymene was loved by the Sun, and the weaving Leuconoe, who tells of the Sun's love, has a name almost identical to Leucothoe, a weaver who was raped by the Sun, while Arachne's *radius* depicts divine rapes. In the *Georgics,* Clymene not only gives a performance of catalogue-poetry, but she herself appears in a catalogue of nymphs (*Georgics* 4.334-45). Vergil's nymph should be identified with the Oceanid nymph Clymene from Hesiod's *Theogony* (κούρην δ' Ἰαπετὸς καλλίσφυρον Ὠκεανίνην/ ἠγάγετο **Κλυμένην** καὶ ὁμὸν λέχος εἰσανέβαινεν, *Th.* 507-8). Clymene gives birth to Prometheus, who fathers Deucalion, and belongs to a family tree which, as I have argued above, signals the transition from the *Theogony* to the *Catalogue of Women.* The nymph Clymene, who was born before the Olympians and is Deucalion's grandmother, is a particularly suitable narrator of a poem that stretches from the very beginnings of the world to the loves of the gods.

In *Eclogue* 6, the song of Silenus also belongs to catalogue-poetry and replays the transition from the *Theogony* to the *Catalogue.* Silenus begins with the creation of the world from Chaos (*Namque canebat uti magnum per inane coacta/ semina terrarumque... Ecl.* 6.31-2). Following his cosmogony, we hear about Pyrrha (*Hinc lapides Pyrrhae iactos, Ecl.* 6.41), a story which signals the shift from the *Theogony* to the *Catalogue.*[136] Silenus' catalogue includes Pasiphae's sexual desire for the bull *(Ecl.* 6.45-7; 52-60),[137] the daughters of Proteus, who were punished for disrespecting Dionysus by an hallucination that

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[136] See La Penna 1962, 217-8.
[137] *Ecl.* 6.47 *(a, uirgo infelix, tu nunc in montibus erras;)* refers to Pasiphae, but echoes Calvus' *Io* (*a uirgo infelix, herbis pasceris amaris.* fr. 9 M), as Servius attests.

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they were cows (*Ecl.* 6.48-51), the Boeotian Atalanta, who lost the foot race

distracted by the golden apples *(Ecl.* 6.61), and finally Scylla (*Ecl.* 6.74-81). All

these stories recall the *Ehoiai*[138] and are dealt with in Ovid's *Metamorphoses.*[139]

In this context, it is hardly surprising that Silenus includes the story of Linus,

who gave the pipes of Hesiod to Gallus (*Ecl.* 6.64-73). Gallus inherits the reeds

which the Muses gave to the old man from Ascra, a scene referring to

Theogony 22-35, in which the Muses teach Hesiod singing and present him

with a branch of laurel. The integration of a Hesiodic song into the *Eclogues*

suggests a connection between Hesiod's poetry and pastoral themes. As a poet

who encountered the Muses while herding his flocks on Helicon, Hesiod was

the literary ancestor of bucolic poetry in the Hellenistic imagination.[140]

In fact, *Eclogue* 6, as David Ross argues in an influential study, includes a

poetic genealogy and the descent of the pipes that Gallus receives might

almost be diagrammed in a stemma.[141] The founder of the line is Apollo and the

Muses, and in the next generation appear Orpheus and Linus. Apollo and the

Muse Ouranie are Linus' parents, while Orpheus is the son of Apollo and the

Muse Calliope. Hesiod is the inheritor of Orpheus' pipes,[142] which are given to

Gallus by Linus. Silenus, who gives a performance of Orphic-Hesiodic-Gallan

poetry, and finally Vergil/Tityrus, who quotes Silenus' song, are parts of this

poetic stemma. Thus, in *Eclogue* 6 Vergil includes a genealogical catalogue of

poets along the lines of the Alexandrian *Kataloggedichte,* a genre whose

fountainhead is none other than Hesiod. Hermesianax in his *Leontion* gave a

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[138] See Nasta 2006, 67.
[139] Pyrrha: fr. 2-4 M-W; *Met.* 1.313-415; the daughters of Proetus: fr. 131-3 M-W; *Met.* 15.326-7; Atalanta; fr. 72-6 M-W; *Met.* 10.560-707; Scylla fr. 262 M-W; *Met.* 8.1-151.
[140] See Schroeder 2006, 10-1, 101, 223-4; Gutzwiller 2006, 11-15, 22-3. For Hesiod's affinities with bucolic poetry in Vergil's *Eclogues,* see Hardie 2006, 283-7, and Chapter 4.
[141] See Ross 1975, 27-8*.*
[142] For this reading of *Eclogue* 6, see Ross 1975, 23-6. In *Ecl.* 6.69-71, the Orphic ability to charm forests is attributed to Hesiod, suggesting an affiliation between the two poets.

catalogue of poetic ancestors in love,[143] combining the theme of love affairs with a poetic genealogy.[144] Likewise, Vergil stresses the genealogical aspect of the Hesiodic *Ehoiai,* offering a poetic family tree which begins with Apollo and ends with himself, while he revisits the Hesiodic trajectory from the *Theogony* to the *Catalogue of Women.* The readers are invited to listen to the diachronic polyphony of *Eclogues* 6, paying attention to the voices of Silenus, Gallus, Hesiod, Orpheus, and Apollo, which accompany Vergil's song. The identification of these narrative layers points to the Hellenistic adaptations of *ehoie*-poetry.

In Silenus' performance of Hesiodic poetry Vergil gives us a miniature of the *Theogony* and the *Ehoiai* in the heart of a pastoral setting, stressing the element of metamorphosis and erotic passion, which are central elements not only of Hesiodic but also of Hellenistic poetry. Ovid's foray into Hesiod's corpus also views the cyclic nature of the *Theogony* and the *Catalogue* through Hellenistic lenses since the *Metamorphoses* presents itself as a *carmen perpetuum* and a *carmen deductum.* Ovid unpacks the compressed narrative of the song of Silenus and turns it into a full scale epic. The song of Silenus in *Eclogue* 6 is reported by Tityrus. Rather than Silenus' actual words, we get a summary of the topics he treated,[145] and we never actually hear the song of Clymene in the *Georgics.* On the contrary, we have the chance to enjoy a magnificent panorama of Hesiodic poetry in the *Metamorphoses.*

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[143] Both Hermesianax' *Leontion* and Phanocles' *Erotes* narrate Orpheus' loves, suggesting the affiliation of the mythical bard with Hesiod's poetry.
[144] Bing 1993, 631 notes: "Still, as several scholars have suggested, one may see in this long fragment from the *Leontion* an affectionate and imaginative attempt to create a kind of family tree, a catalog of poetic ancestors for the theme of poets enslaved by love."
[145] See Breed 2000.

Conclusion

Ovid moves within Hesiod's corpus in the first book of the *Metamorphoses*; he begins with the *Theogony,* continues with the *Works and Days,* and finally moves on to the *Catalogue of Women.* Ovid's trajectory implies that Hesiod's epics can be read as a whole. In fact, Jenny Clay argues that the *Theogony,* the *Works and Days,* and the *Catalogue of Women* must be interpreted together, each complementing the other.[146] The *Theogony* and the *Works and Days* provide a unified entity covering the divine and human world. By dealing with the era of heroes, who are the offspring of relationships between gods and mortals, the *Catalogue of Women* seems to provide a suitable supplement to both the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days,* offering an intermediate perspective between the divine and the human. The sequence *Theogony-Works and Days- Catalogue of Women* in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* suggests exactly this unified reading of the Hesiodic corpus. Ovid presents four instead of Hesiod's five ages, omitting the age of the demigods, but he dedicates a major part of the *Metamorphoses* to the affairs of gods with mortal women that gave birth to heroes. As a whole, the *Metamorphoses* moves from Chaos to divine loves and from the race of heroes to the age of mortals (*ab origine mundi/ ad mea... tempora, Met.* 1.3-4), covering the entire spectrum of the Hesiodic *Weltanschauung*.

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[146] Clay 2005, 26-30. See also Clay 2003, for a comprehensive reading of the *Theogony* vis-à-vis the *Works and Days.*

From Callimachus to Hesiod:
Coronis (*Met.* 2.542-632) and Mestra (*Met.* 8.738-878)

Ovid's metamorphic epic is a paradoxical combination of Callimachean and anti-Callimachean poetics, a mixture of a universal history with Alexandrian aetiology. Presented right from the beginning as a *carmen perpetuum* and a *carmen deductum,* the *Metamorphoses* incorporates Callimachean tales into its broader structure as it progresses chronologically from the creation of the world to Ovid's own times. Ovid's cyclic epic sketches out a Hesiodic trajectory from chaos to divine loves, a macrostructure which is interwoven with the Hellenistic poetic credo of λεπτότης. The stories of Coronis and Mestra exemplify this peculiar blending of the cyclic poetry of the *Ehoiai* and the Callimachean *epyllion,* the Alexandrian response to the poetics of the Epic Cycle.

Coronis

Stories about the love affairs of heroines can be dangerous for the storyteller, especially when a girl breaks the heart of a god. From the *Scholia* on Pindar *Pythian* 3.52b, we learn that Hesiod told the story of the raven who reported that Coronis, Apollo's lover, had an affair with (or got married to) Ischys. Apollo, grief-stricken by the bad tidings, turned the raven from white to black. He then killed Coronis, but rescued his son Asclepius from the dead body of his mother and entrusted his upbringing to Chiron. The story of the raven's transformation is not attested in Pindar. In fact, the Pindaric scholion says that Artemon commended Pindar for omitting the story of the raven and saying that Apollo learned the story by himself (cf. Λοξίας, κοινᾶνι παρ᾽ εὐθυτάτῳ γνώμαν πιθών, /πάντα ἴσαντι νόῳ· ψευδέων δ᾽ οὐχ ἅπτεται, κλέπτει τέ μιν/ οὐ θεὸς

οὐ βροτὸς ἔργοις οὔτε βουλαῖς, Pind. *Pyth.* 3.28-30). Pindar's emphatic

remark on the god's omniscience is an oblique refutation of the Hesiodic

version. The story of the raven's punishment was also told in Boeus'

Ornithogonia and/or Simias' *Apollo* (both probably around 3rd cent. BC), as we

learn from Antoninus Liberalis 20.7.[1] But the version which is considered the

principal model of Ovid's Coronis in *Metamorphoses* 2.552ff. is Callimachus'

Hecale (fr. 74 Hollis).[2]

The prominence of Callimachus is signaled in the beginning of Ovid's tale. The

narrator tells that once upon a time the raven could rival the doves, the geese,

and the swans in whiteness, but his *lingua loquax* was the reason why his

feathers are now black (*Met.* 2.536-41). This passage reworks Callimachus'

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[1] For the sources of the Coronis story, see West 1985, 69; Hollis 1990, 250-1. Ovid's version is very close to the summaries of Pherecydes (F3a= Schol Pind. *Pyth.* 3.59) and Apollodorus, *Bibliotheke* 3.118-20, which presumably draw on Hesiod's Coronis-*ehoie* (fr. 59-60 M-W)*.* For a reconstruction of the Coronis-*ehoie,* see Wilamowitz 1886, 57-77; Schwartz 1960, 397-403. The problem, however, is that in the *Catalogue* Arsinoe, not Coronis, is the mother of Asclepius (fr. 50, 51, 54 M-W). Wilamowitz 1886, 77-80, argued that the original story in the *Catalogue* was that of Coronis and Asclepius, but a later interpolator made Asclepius the son of Arsinoe (thus turning him from a Thessalian to a Messenian) to flatter the Messenians; this theory is based on Pausanias 2.26.7 (οὗτος ὁ χρησμὸς δηλοῖ μάλιστα οὐκ ὄντα Ἀσκληπιὸν Ἀρσινόης, ἀλλὰ Ἡσίοδον **ἢ τῶν τινα ἐμπεποιηκότων ἐς τὰ Ἡσιόδου τὰ ἔπη** συνθέντα ἐς τῶν Μεσσηνίων χάριν). West 1985, 69-72, rejects Wilamowitz' theory; he argues that Asclepius cannot appear in two different versions and since he is the son of Arsinoe in the *Catalogue* he cannot be the son of Coronis in the same work. Still, fr. 59 M-W is the beginning of a Coronis-*ehoie* and belongs to the *Catalogue.* But the Hesiodic fragment attested in the Pindaric scholia (fr. 60 M-W), according to West, probably belongs to another Hesiodic work (maybe the *Megalai Ehoiai).* Likewise, Most 2007, 310-2, includes fr. 60 M-W in the *Fragmenta Incertae Sedis,* suggesting the *Megalai Ehoiai* as a plausible candidate*.* Still, Dräger 1997, 67-77, refutes West, and Hirschberger 2004, 334-8, considers fr. 59-60 M-W as part of the *Catalogue*'s Coronis-*ehoie.* In my view, Wilamowitz' theory is still valid. Archaic Greek epic poetry does not lack contradictions and interpolations, and the double motherhood of Asclepius in the *Catalogue* could reflect two competing traditions; the Thessalian (Coronis) and the Messenian (Arsinoe). Schwartz 1960, 402-3, points out the mention of Machaon as the son of Asclepios and Xanthe (fr. 53 M-W), arguing that this is likely to follow the descendants of Coronis, without presuming the story of Asclepius' death, which was part of the Messenian version. If this hypothesis is correct, Ovid's Coronis version, which ends with Asclepius' transportation to Pelion, corresponds to the Coronis-*ehoie* of the *Catalogue.* The theory that Coronis was the mother of Asclepius in the *Megalai Ehoiai* and Arsinoe in the *Catalogue* is also attractive.
[2] See Hollis 1990, *ad* 74.15ff.; Keith 1992, 39- 61; Tissol 1997, 158-62; Gildenhard & Zissos 2004.

three-point comparison, according to which the raven could rival swans, milk, and the foam of the wave in whiteness, but now he has a pitch-black plumage *(Hecale* fr. 74.15-6 Hollis). Thus, the story of Apollo's affair with Coronis is framed by an *aition,* which is attested in Callimachus' *Hecale* and explains how the raven changed from white to black. The importance of the Callimachean intertext in interpreting Ovid's version has long been acknowledged and studied, but the role of Hesiod's Coronis-*ehoie* in the narrative of the *Metamorphoses* has been entirely overlooked. The tale of the raven, Apollo, and Coronis belongs to Ovid's catalogue of women, which began with Apollo's pursuit of Daphne and was followed by Io's seduction by Jupiter, the story of Phaethon, the son of Phoebus and Clymene, and Jupiter's rape of Callisto. Far from disrupting the theme of divine passions, the *aition* of the raven's color is in harmony with Ovid's catalogue of women in the *Metamorphoses.* Coronis is added to the list of Phoebus' loves after Daphne and Clymene.

But let us focus on the transition from the tale of Callisto to the tale of the raven. Following Callisto's catasterism, Juno visits Tethys and Oceanus and asks them to prevent the Ursa Maior from setting in the sea. The sea gods agree and then Juno leaves on her chariot which is drawn by peacocks. At this point, the narrator notes that the peacocks had only recently been painted, when Argus was killed, an event which happened at the same time that the raven's plumage changed to black:

> *Di maris adnuerant; habili Saturnia curru,*
> *ingreditur liquidum pauonibus aethera pictis,*
> *tam nuper pictis caeso pauonibus Argo,*
> *quam tu nuper eras, cum candidus ante fuisses,*
> *corue loquax, subito nigrantis uersus in alas.*

Met. 2.531-5

> The gods of the sea nodded assent: Saturnian Juno on her swift chariot
> drawn by painted peacocks drives through the clear air, peacocks which
> had only recently been painted after Argus was killed, at the same time
> when your wings, chattering raven, unexpectedly changed to black, while
> you had been white before.

The passage cited above looks like one of the many artificial transitions of the *Metamorphoses*.[3] Yet, in this passage three stories of divine loves intersect: Jupiter's passion for Io, narrated in Book 1, Jupiter's rape of Callisto, a story which ends at this point, and Apollo's affair with Coronis, a tale which is about to begin. Juno's departure coincides with the narrative progression of the *Metamorphoses,* which moves from the punishment of Callisto to another story that involves the punishment of a god's beloved girl.[4] The stories of Io, Callisto, and Coronis converge in this transitional passage. By employing a temporal device, Ovid juxtaposes the many colors of the peacock with the black plumage of the raven, inviting a comparison between the transformations of the two birds. The appearance of both birds changed as a result of a god's love for a mortal woman. Argus was slain by Mercury while guarding Io, and his eyes were attached to the peacock's tail, while the raven turned black because he revealed Coronis' affair with Ischys to Apollo. Both Argus and the raven kept an

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[3] Ovid's transitions have been criticized since Quintilian *(Illa uero frigida et puerilis est in scholis adfectatio, ut ipse transitus efficiat aliquam utique sententiam et huius uelut praestigiae plausum petat, ut Ouidius lasciuire in Metamorphosesin solet; quem tamen excusare necessitas potest, res diuersissimas in speciem unius corporis colligentem, Inst. Or.* 4.1.77). Wilkinson 1955, 235, calls the transition to the tale of the raven "flimsy" and "ineffectual". Tissol 1997, 158 notes" "The link between this sequence and the preceding story of Callisto is (as so often) tenuous:". For other unflattering comments on this passage, see Otis 1970, 379; Galinsky 1975, 93-6. For more positive and nuanced assessments of this transition, see Keith 1992, 41-3; Barchiesi 2005, 281.
[4] See Barchiesi 2005, 281.

eye on a god's beloved girl and were punished in the end by a god. Thus, Ovid's transition invites the readers to anticipate another story of divine passion, which is triggered and framed by the *aition* of an avian transformation.

Having prefigured a link between the gods' loves and the story of the raven, Ovid reworks a passage from the *Hecale:*

> nam **fuit** haec **quondam** niueis argentea pennis
> ales, ut aequaret totas sine labe columbas,
> nec seruaturis uigili Capitolia uoce
> cederet anseribus nec amanti flumina <u>cycno</u>.
> *Met.* 2.536-39

> for once this bird was silver-white with snowy wings, so that he could match all the spotless doves and would be inferior neither to the geese, who were to save the Capitol with their watchful cries, nor to the swans that love the streams.

> δεί]ελος ἀλλ' ἢ νὺξ ἢ ἔνδιος ἢ **ἔσετ'** ἠώς,
> εὖτε κόραξ, ὃ̣ς̣ **νῦν** γε καὶ ἂν <u>κύκνοισιν</u> ἐρίζοι
> καὶ γάλακι χροιὴν καὶ κύματος ἄκρῳ ἀώτῳ,
> κυάνεον φὴ πίσσαν ἐπὶ πτερὸν οὐλοὸν ἕξει,
> Callimachus, *Hecale* 74.14-7 Hollis

> but there will be an evening or a night or a noon or a dawn when the raven, who can now contend with swans and milk in color, and foam on the wave's crest, will have a thick plumage as dark as pitch,

In the *Hecale,* the raven's punishment is predicted by the crow, while in the *Metamorphoses* the story is introduced as a flashback by the primary narrator.

To be sure, Callimachus' future is Ovid's past. Ovid keeps only the swan of Callimachus' comparanda, but reverses the order: In Callimachus the swan comes first, in Ovid last. Since the crow's embedded prophecy in the *Hecale* becomes part of the main narrative in the *Metamorphoses,* the tale of the raven is taken out of the narrative framework of Callimachus' *epyllion* and appended to the catalogue of divine loves in the *Metamorphoses,* an addition already implied in the transitional passage. Thus, Ovid's reworking of Callimachus anticipates a generic shift from the Hellenistic *epyllion* to the *Catalogue of Women*. The *fuit quondam* of the *Metamorphoses* can refer back to Hesiod, a source much older than Callimachus, and we should bear in mind that the *ehoie-* formula often introduces a flashback.[5]

Having set up the temporal and aetiological framework of his story, Ovid begins his narrative proper with the presentation of Coronis. As elsewhere in the *Metamorphoses,* here Ovid uses an *aition* to introduce themes of *ehoie*-poetry:[6]

> *Pulchrior in tota quam **Larisaea** Coronis*
>
> *non fuit **Haemonia**. placuit tibi, Delphice, certe,*
>
> *dum uel casta fuit uel inobseruata;*
>
> *Met.* 2.542-4

> There was no girl in all Thessaly more beautiful than Coronis of Larissa; she certainly pleased you, Phoebus, as long as she was chaste or unobserved;

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[5] See West 1985, 35; cf. Rutherford 2000, 84-5; Asquith 2005, 272.

[6] As I argue in Chapter 2, the *aition* of Medusa's snaky hair gives Perseus the opportunity to recount a Medusa-*ehoie* (*Met.* 4.790-803) and Minerva's inquiry about the chattering magpies gives the opportunity to a Muse to recount the singing competition and retell verbatim Calliope's Hesiodic narrative. Likewise, the *aition* of the raven's color frames a Coronis-*ehoie.*

The beginning of a story with the presentation of a noble maiden, her birthplace, her outstanding beauty, and a god's amatory interest in her recall the very motifs and structure of an *ehoie.* Ovid emphasizes that Coronis is from Thessaly (cf. *Larisaea; Haemonia),* a glaring detail, which dislocates the Athenocentric narrative of the *Hecale*[7] and restores the Coronis-*ehoie* to its original milieu. Gildenhard and Zissos[8] argue for a deconstruction of Athens in Ovid's version of the *Hecale,* Callimachus' Athenocentric *epyllion.* In my view, the introduction of the story as a Coronis-*ehoie* displaces right from the beginning the geographic and generic setting of Callimachus' *Hecale,* signaling Ovid's affiliation with the version of the *Catalogue.* Ovid moves from Athens to Thessaly and from Callimachus to Hesiod.

Likewise, Hesiod's Coronis-*ehoie* opens with the presentation of the girl who lived in Thessaly:

> ἠ' οἵη **Διδύμους** ἱεροὺς ναίουσα κολωνοὺς⌐
> **Δωτίωι** ἐν πεδίωι πολυβότρυος ἄντ' **Ἀ**⌐ **μύροιο**
> νίψατο **Βοιβιάδος** λίμνης πόδα παρθέ⌐ νος ἀδμής
> fr. 59 M-W

> Or such as her who dwelled on the sacred Dindyman hills, in the Dotian plain opposite Amyrus rich in grapes and bathed her foot in the Boebian lake, an unwed virgin.

The name of the girl is not given but can be inferred by the many geographical references,[9] which emphasize Coronis' Thessalian origin. On the contrary, in

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[7] On Hellenistic interest in Attic antiquity, see Hollis 1992.
[8] Gildenhard & Zissos 2004, *passim.*
[9] Cf. the beginning of the Periboia-*ehoie* (fr. 12-3 M-W) and the Alkmene-*ehoie* (fr. 195 M-W). See Hirschberger 2004, 335.

the *Hecale* there is no reference to Coronis' birthplace. This spatial shift is all the more intriguing if we take into account that, just as Athens is the focus of the *Hecale,* Thessaly is the origin of the Panhellenic genealogies of the *Catalogue.* Robert Fowler argues that the focus of Greek genealogical poetry in its early stage was Thessaly and the Delphic Amphiktyony.[10] The centrality of Thessaly is preserved in the Hesiodic *Ehoiai,* which lend weight to the Thessalian stemma Deukalion-Hellen-Doros/Aiolos. Likewise, in the *Metamorphoses* Deucalion and Pyrrha signal a transition from the *Theogony* to the *Catalogue of Women.*[11] The Panhellenic scope of the *Catalogue,* in which Thessaly features as the matrix of the Greek nation, replaces the Athenian perspective of the *Hecale.* Ovid effects a temporal, spatial, and generic transference from Callimachus to Hesiod by restoring Coronis to the *Catalogue of Women.* At the same time, Phoebus' passion for a Thessalian girl picks up his pursuit of Daphne, the Thessalian nymph and his first love (*Met.* 1.452ff). Coronis succeeds Daphne in Apollo's catalogue of women.

Hesiod's Coronis-*ehoie* is also at play in Callimachus' *Hecale.* When the crow prophesies the punishment of the raven, Callimachus alludes to Hesiod:

> κυάνεον φὴ πίσσαν ἐπὶ πτερὸν οὐλοὸν ἕξει,
> ἀγγελίης ἐπίχειρα, τά οἵ ποτε <u>Φοῖβος</u> ὀπάσσει,
> ὁππότε κ᾽ ἐν **Φλεγύαο** <u>Κορωνίδος</u> ἀμφὶ **θυγατρός**
> <u>Ἴσχυϊ</u> πληξίππῳ σπομένης μιερόν τι   ᾽
> *Hecale,* fr. 74.17-20 Hollis

> he (i.e the raven) will have a thick plumage as dark as pitch, as a reward for his tidings, that Phoebus will pay him when he learns something

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[10] Fowler 1998, 11-3; cf. Rutherford 2005, 99-101, 115.
[11] See Chapter 2.

abominable about Coronis, the daughter of Phlegyas, that she followed the horse-driving Ischys.

The passage cited above alludes to the Hesiodic fragment attested in the Pindaric scholia:[12]

τῆμος ἄρ' ἄγγελος ἦλθε κόραξ ἱερῆς ἀπὸ δαιτὸς
ἐς ἠγαθέην καί ῥ' ἔφρασεν ἔργ' ἀίδηλα
Φοίβωι ἀκερσεκόμηι, ὅτι Ἴσχυς γῆμε Κόρωνιν
Εἰλατίδης, **Φλεγύαο** διογνήτοιο **θύγατρα**
fr. 60 M-W

then a messenger came, a raven, from the holy feast to sacred Pytho and reported unseen deeds to unshorn Phoebus, that Ischys, Elatos' son, had slept with Coronis, the daughter of Zeus-born Phlegyas.

Callimachus' Φλεγύαο θυγατρός falls in the same metrical position as Hesiod's Φλεγύαο θύγατρα. Phoebus learns (πύθηται) from the crow, who goes to holy Pytho (Πυθώ), and Callimachus, by alluding to Hesiod, underscores the etymological relation of Pytho to πυνθάνομαι as well as the irony of a Pythian Apollo who needs to be informed by a raven. Both the Hesiodic narrator and Callimachus' crow describe Coronis' affair/marriage with Ischys from Apollo's point of view, employing the technique of embedded focalization.[13] The narrator adopts Apollo's viewpoint of the event; the god had not seen Coronis' infidelity (ἔργ' ἀίδηλα) and finds her marriage/affair with Ischys abominable (μιερόν τι). Interestingly, Callimachus' reference to Hesiod

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[12] See Reinsch-Werner 1976, 365-6.
[13] Embedded focalization occurs when the primary narrator-focalizer adopts the focalization of a character and the character's opinions, feelings or thoughts about an event are expressed by the primary narrator-focalizer. Cf. Bal 1997, 142-62; de Jong 2004, 102-23. For embedded focalization in the *Theogony,* see Stoddard 2004, 117-25.

is a case of what Alessandro Barchiesi calls 'future reflexive.'[14] The older tradition of the Hesiodic *Ehoie* enters Callimachus' *Hecale* as a view of the future. The learned reader knows that what the crow foretells will happen and has already happened in Hesiod. This technique is put into effect because Callimachus writes after Hesiod, but the crow speaks before the events described in the *Ehoiai*. Such an intertextual trope is particularly appropriate in prophecies since, in the case of the *Hecale* for instance, the accuracy of the crow's prediction is guaranteed by an authority no lesser than Hesiod.

Being himself a master of future reflexive, Ovid would have hardly failed to see Callimachus' intertextual engagement with Hesiod. And just as Callimachus seems to employ a particularly Ovidian device, Ovid follows the paradigm of the Alexandrian poets and glosses over a word in Hesiod, blending poetry with philology. In the opening of the Coronis story, the narrator says that the girl was pleasing to Apollo, while she was either chaste or while her affair was unnoticed (*uel casta uel **inobseruata,** Met.* 2. 544). The word *inobseruata* is a rare Ovidian coinage[15] and its peculiarity should alert us to its significance. I suggest that Ovid coined this word as a Latin equivalent to Hesiod's ἀΐδηλα (fr. 69.2 M-W), an adjective which can be either active (meaning 'annihilating', 'destroying' *LSJ s.v.* I) or passive (meaning 'unseen' *LSJ s.v.* II). By using the passive participle of a rare word *(inobseruata)*, Ovid emphasizes the passive meaning of ἀΐδηλα, offering his own philological commentary on Hesiod, fr. 69.2 M-W. Thus, Ovid's intertextual engagement is not restricted to Callimachus, but reaches back to Hesiod's Coronis-*ehoie,* a source which plays an important role

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[14] Barchiesi 2001, 105-27. His study deals with Ovid's *Heroides,* not with Callimachus, but the technique he describes is an intertextual trope not restricted to or invented by Ovid. On future reflexive and aetiology in Callimachus, see Ambühl 2005, 23-30.
[15] Bömer 1969, *ad* 2. 544 *inobseruata,* mentions: "nur noch IV 341 (ebenfalls in erotischer Szene). fast. III 111. Das Wort ist vor Ovid nicht überliefert".

in the *Hecale.* Ovid begins his narrative proper by suggesting the generic affiliation of his Coronis tale with *ehoie*-poetry. The geographical details about Coronis' Thessalian origin as well as the use of *inobseruata* as a philological comment on ἀΐδηλα bypass Callimachus and open a dialogue with Hesiod.

Having set out his story as a Coronis-*ehoie,* Ovid focuses on the raven's mission to inform Apollo. On his flight from Thessaly to Delphi, the raven meets a crow, who tries to dissuade him from revealing Coronis' infidelity to her divine lover. The narrative of the crow is autobiographical and can be divided in two parts: a) Minerva hid Erichthonius in a box and gave it to the daughters of Cecrops, ordering them not to pry into her secret. But Aglauros, one of the daughters, was curious to see the contents of the box; she undid the knots and discovered the baby with a snake. The crow, hidden behind the foliage of an elm-tree, witnessed Aglauros' indiscretion and reported it to Minerva. But instead of a reward, the goddess punished the crow, who was consecrated to Minerva's protection, by replacing her with the owl as her favorite bird (*Met.* 2.549-68) b) The crow was originally the daughter of Coroneus, a beautiful princess wooed by many suitors. As she strolled alone on the beach,[16] Neptune attempted to rape her, but Minerva saved the girl by transforming her into a crow. Despite her chastity, her honor was usurped by Nyctimene, the girl who was involved in an incest with her father and transformed into and owl (*Met.* 2.569-95).[17]

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[16] Coroneus' daughter already resembles the *cornix,* a bird which is found on beaches; cf. *Fuscaque non numquam cursans per litora cornix,* Cicero, *De Div.* 1.14*,* which translates Aratus, *Phaen.* 959-50. This is the κορώνη θαλάσσια; see Kidd 1997, 502; Wardle 2006, 136.
[17] The crow maliciously distorts the myth of Nyctimene, implying that she was the sexual instigator of the incest (cf. *patrium temerasse cubile, Met.* 2.592). According to Hyginus, *Fab.* 204, Epopeus raped his daughter, who fled to the woods, hiding in shame, until Minerva transformed her into an owl. From that perspective, the story of the crow's metamorphosis is similar to that of the owl. Cf. Gildenhard & Zissos 2004, 58-9.

The purpose of the crow's narrative is to instruct the raven and convince him not to tell Apollo about Coronis' infidelity. She warns the crow not to ignore her forebodings *(ne sperne mea praesagia linguae, Met.* 2.550), but her narrative, unlike the crow's prophecy in the *Hecale,* is not a foretelling of the future, but a flashback with a didactic value for the raven. The message of the first part of the crow's narrative is clear for the raven: The crow saw a mortal virgin's outrage against Minerva and reported it to the goddess. As a result, she was punished by the goddess. Hence, the raven, who was Apollo's favorite bird just as the crow was under Minerva's protection, should not disclose Coronis' infidelity to his divine patron. The relevance of the crow's second tale to the raven is less straightforward. Scholars have noticed the similarities between the tale of Coronis, the first-layer narrative, and the story of Coroneus' daughter, the embedded narrative.[18] The crow *(CORnix)* tells to the raven *(CORuus)* the tale of CORoneus' daughter, who inevitably recalls CORonis. The story of Coroneus' daughter is a flashback within the embedded narrative of the crow, just as the tale of Coronis signals a flashback in the narrative of the *Metamorphoses.* The crow recounts her autobiography in reverse order, moving further back to the past in order to warn the raven about her future:

> *nam me Phocaica clarus tellure Coroneus*
> *(nota loquor) genuit, fueramque ego regia uirgo*
> *diuitibusque procis (ne me contemne) petebar;*
> *forma mihi nocuit. nam cum per litora lentis*
> *passibus, ut soleo, summa spatiarer harena,*
> *uidit et incaluit pelagi deus, utque precando*
> *tempora cum blandis absumpsit inania uerbis,*

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[18] Ahl 1985, 198, notes that the name of Coroneus' daughter would also have been Coronis; see also Keith 1992, 36, 58-61.

uim parat et sequitur.

Met. 2.569-6

> for Coroneus, renowned in Phocis fathered me (I say well-known things), and I was a royal maiden and wooed (do not despise me) by wealthy suitors; my beauty hurt me. For while I was strolling slowly, as I am used to doing, over the crest of the sand on the shore, the god of the sea saw me and grew hot in passion, and after wasting his time by begging me with empty words, he tried force and chased after me.

This myth was neither part of the *Hecale* nor is attested in any other source. Given that most likely we are dealing with an Ovidian invention, the parenthetic tag *nota loquor* is either ironic or rather refers to the well-known structure and motifs of the story. Coroneus' daughter was a beautiful maiden of noble descent who was loved by an Olympian god, just like Coronis and many other Hesiodic heroines.

The crow's narrative proceeds as a typical *ehoie.* In the beginning, we learn the birthplace *(Phocaica...tellure)* and the father of the girl, who was a *regia uirgo,* a royal Greek maiden like all the heroines of the *Ehoiai.* Her father was renowned *(clarus)* and *me...Coroneus....**genuit*** evokes the patrilineal structure of the *Catalogue* (cf. τὰς **γείνατο** φαίδιμος Ἄτλας. fr. 169.3 M-W). The wooing of a girl by many suitors who offer lavish gifts recalls a recurring motif of the *Catalogue,* a work which culminates in the lengthy episode of the wooing of Helen by numerous heroes who offer countless wedding gifts (fr. 196-204 M-W). Coroneus' lovely daughter is sought by many rich suitors and *diuitibusque...procis...petebar* recalls, for instance, the suitors of Demodike in the *Catalogue* (cf. Δημοδίκη,] τὴν πλεῖστοι ἐπι⌐ χθονίων ἀνθρώπ ⌐ων/

μνήστευον, καὶ πολλὰ⌐ [περ]ικλυτὰ δῶρ' ὀνόμ └ηναν/ ἴφθιμοι βασιλῆες, ἀπειρέσ⌐ ιον [μ]ετὰ εἶδος. fr. 22.5-7 M-W). The daughters of Proetus were wooed by all the Greeks (cf. πανέλληνας, fr. 130 M-W), recalling Helen's catalogue of suitors.[19] Moving from the introduction of a beautiful princess to a god's passion for her is another essential aspect of *ehoie*-poetry. The maiden's walk on the shore (*Met.* 2.272-3), followed by Neptune's sexual assault is reminiscent of Tyro's solitary walk by the shores of Enipeus, that enabled Poseidon to rape her (fr. 30.5; 31 M-W; cf. *Odyssey,* 11.240-2). Thus, Ovid's *nota loquor* refers to the well-known structure of an *ehoie.*

The crow's narrative begins with a tale about Pallas, Erichthonios, and the Cecropides, all legendary figures of Attic mythology and thus aligned with the topography and the characters of the *Hecale,* but then moves from Athens to Phocis and from Callimachus to Hesiod. The *ehoie*-like narrative of the crow stands in counterpoise to her intertextual engagement with the Hellenistic *epyllion.* There is a geographical, temporal, and generic shift in the transition from the Callimachean tale of Pallas and the Cecropides to the Hesiodic story of Coroneus' daughter. The chronological order of the tales (the story of Coroneus' daughter is older than the tale of the Cecropides) suggests a literary flashback from the Hellenistic Callimachus to the Archaic Hesiod. Thus, the interaction between the *Hecale* and the *Catalogue* is played out both in the first-layer narrative of Coronis and in the embedded narrative of the crow. Ovid generically enriches his narrative with *ehoie*-poetry, an aspect not to be found in the crow's digression of the *Hecale.*

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[19] For the motif of the wooing of a beautiful girl see also fr. 37.5 M-W (Pero). In the Odyssean catalogue of women, Pero is wooed by many (τὴν πάντες μνώοντο περικτίται, *Od.* 11.288); Sisyphus woos Mestra on behalf of his son Glaukos, promising countless wedding gifts (ὑπέσ] χετ[ο] μυρία ἔδνα, fr. 43a.21 M-W; cf. μυρία ἔδνα πορὼν, fr. 26.37 M-W). Atalanta is wooed by many (fr. 72-6 M-W).

This generic transformation can shed light on the function of the crow's *ehoie-like* narrative within a cautionary speech addressed to the raven. The tale of Coroneus' daughter is meant to evoke the Coronis-*ehoie*, in which the raven is punished for bringing bad tidings to Apollo. In other words, the embedded narrative of Coroneus' daughter mirrors its frame, the tale of Coronis.[20] Thus, the crow implicitly brings up the *Ehoiai*, in order to warn Ovid's raven against repeating the mistake he made in Hesiod. The crow's narrative activates the dynamics of an archaic epic genre, which is the oldest known version of the raven's punishment. Had Ovid's raven known Hesiod, he would have been persuaded by the crow's speech, which is not just about her own past, but mainly about the raven's literary past and his imminent punitive transformation in Ovid's *Metamorphoses.*

The preemptive narrative does not work. The story of the raven is embedded in the narrative frame of a Coronis-*ehoie,* and Ovid's *coruus* cannot divert from the trail of Hesiod's raven. The intertextual hints of the crow's narrative fail to remind the raven of his literary past and Apollo's bird ostentatiously dismisses the crow's forebodings:

> *Talia dicenti 'tibi' ait **'reuocamina'** coruus*
> *'sint, precor, ista malo; nos uanum spernimus omen.'*
> *nec coeptum dimittit iter dominoque iacentem*
> *cum iuuene Haemonio uidisse Coronida narrat.*
> *Met.* 2.596-9

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[20] Interestingly, Rutherford 2000, 85, argues that "even when the *Ehoiai* occasionally strays from the primary structure of a genealogical catalog, it seems to compensate by including secondary allusions to catalog poetry". If this is so, we can note that Ovid's Coronis-*ehoie* strays after the digression of the birds, but the tale of Coroneus' daughter brings up again the genre of *ehoie*-poetry.

The raven said to the crow, who was telling such things: "May your reminiscences, I pray, be your doom. I scorn a vain omen." And he did not give up the journey he had started, and told his master that he had seen Coronis sleeping with the Thessalian youth.

Alison Keith argues that *reuocamina* (an Ovidian coinage) functions as a marker for the story's intertextuality. For Keith, *reuocamen* conveys nuances of 'retelling' and 'recalling' and sets up Ovid's intertextual allusion to Callimachus' *Hecale*.[21] In my view, however, the crow echoes not only the *Hecale* but also the *Ehoiai* and Ovid engages in an intertextual dialogue with Callimachus and Hesiod.[22] Far from being irrelevant, the crow's reminiscences refer to poetic traditions that should avert the raven from informing Apollo. Poetic memory delivers a cautionary message.

Having ridiculed the crow's warning, the raven proceeds on the narrative trail of the Hesiodic version (cf. *nec coeptum dimittit iter).* The message which the bird brings to Apollo, reiterates a fragment from the Coronis-*ehoie:*

> τῆμος ἄρ' ἄγγελος ἦλθε κόραξ ἱερῆς ἀπὸ δαιτὸς
>
> Πυθὼ ἐς ἠγαθέην καί ῥ' ἔφρασεν ἔργ' ἀΐδηλα
>
> Φοίβωι ἀκερσεκόμηι, ὅτι Ἴσχυς γῆμε Κόρωνιν
>
> Εἰλατίδης, Φλεγύαο διογνήτοιο θύγατρα
>
> fr. 60 M-W

> then a messenger came, a raven, from the holy feast to sacred Pytho
>
> and reported unseen deeds to unshorn Phoebus, that Ischys, Elatos'
>
> son, had slept with Coronis, the daughter of Zeus-born Phlegyas.

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[21] She also points out that the verb *reuoco* is used to signify "encore, specifically of literary texts (see *OLD s.v. reuoco* 2b; also *OLD s.v. reuocatio)."* See Keith 1992, 52.

[22] *Talia dicenti* might also be significant since *talia* recalls the meaning of the *ehoie* formula and can function as a marker of the Hesiodic nature of the crow's narrative.

Φοίβωι ἀκερσεκόμηι corresponds to *dominoque* (both are datives), Ἴσχυς γῆμε Κόρωνιν is paraphrased as *iacentem cum iuuene Haemonio,* and Κόρωνιν is in the same case with *Coronida.* Ischys is the *Haemonius iuuenis,* a geographical epithet, which refers to the setting of the Hesiodic Coronis-*ehoie,* not that of Callimachus' *Hecale.* Likewise, Εἰλατίδης suggests Ischys' Thessalian origins, while in Callimachus Ischys is introduced without any mention of his birthplace or genealogy. Note also that *uidisse* is etymologically related to ἀίδηλα[23] and thus *uidisse...narrat* not only alludes to ἔφρασεν ἔργ' ἀίδηλα,[24] but also adds a philological comment on the etymology of the Greek adjective. The fault of the raven was that he saw and reported what was concealed and unseen.

Scholars argued that *Met.* 2.598-9 refers to *Hecale* fr. 74.17-20 Hollis,[25] a passage which, as I have argued above, alludes to Hesiod fr. 60 M-W. The importance of the Callimachean intertext is beyond reasonable doubt, but it is also well known that Ovid can easily allude to two sources in one passage. In the case of the raven's message to Apollo, it is, in my view, significant that the words of the bird are given in indirect speech and are reported in the first-layer narrative by the primary narrator, just as it happens in Hesiod. In contrast, the fateful message of the raven is reported by the crow in an embedded speech and is a prophecy, removed chronologically and geographically from the first-

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[23] This etymology was recognized by the ancients; see the ancient etymological lexica: 'ἀίδηλον'· παρὰ τοῦ 'εἴδω' τὸ βλέπω, *EGud.* 30.20 Stef.; καὶ ὁ Μεθόδιος λέγει εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ 'ἴδω' 'ἴδηλος' 'ἀίδηλος', *EM* 41.38. Cf. *Lexikon des Frühgriechischen Epos, s.v.* ἀίδηλος Β 'was man nicht sehen kann'; Chantraine 1999. Whether this etymology is correct or not, it was believed to be so.
[24] The word ἀίδηλα in the Hesiodic fragment may activate an etymological pun with Ἅιδης (a word also etymologized from α privative and εἴδω. See *Lexikon des Frühgriechischen Epos, s.v.* Ἄϊδος). Coronis was eventually killed and sent to Hades because of her ἔργ' ἀίδηλα. The etymological wordplay between ἀίδηλος and Ἅιδης is made patent at Sophocles, *Ajax* 608 (ἔτι μέ ποτ' ἀνύσειν τὸν ἀπότροπον <u>ἀίδηλον</u> <u>Ἅιδαν.</u>)
[25] See Keith 1992, 52-3.

layer narrative. Thus, Ovid takes the story out of the narrative frame of Callimachus' *Hecale* and brings it back to the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women.* Interestingly, Ovid switches from direct to indirect speech exactly when the raven informs Apollo. The change is particularly noticeable since the raven replies in direct speech to the crow (*Met.* 2.596-7) and in the next line his words are given in reported speech (*Met.* 2. 598-9).[26] The reported speech in the *Metamorphoses* version may function as a marker of the narrative mode of the *Catalogue* with its rarity of direct speeches.[27] The verb *narrat* that Ovid chooses and places in the end of the verse may signal a shift to a narrative genre. After the crow's digression, we are back to Coronis, back to the *Catalogue of Women.*

The long digression of the crow fails to alter the fate of the raven and Ovid's story moves from the embedded tales of the Callimachean bird to the first-layer narrative of the Hesiodic *ehoie.* The observance of the temporal sequentiality in Ovid's tale of Coronis is reminiscent of the *Catalogue* s narrative progression. This is a broader parallel between the Hesiodic and the Ovidian work since

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[26] In *Fasti* 2. 243- 66, Ovid presents a version of Apollo's punishment of the raven different from the one told in the *Metamorphoses;* both accounts appear in the 2nd books of their respective poems, challenging one another in an extended cross-reference between the *Metamorphoses* and the *Fasti* (see Newlands 1991, 252- 4; Keith 1992, 50- 1). In the *Fasti,* Apollo orders the raven to fetch water in a bowl for sacrifice, but the raven, heedless of Apollo's orders, delays waiting for the figs of a fig-tree to ripen. After eating the figs, the raven snatches a water-snake and tries to deceive Apollo saying that the snake was the cause of his delay. The omniscient god perceives the lie and transforms the snake, the raven and the bowl to the constellations *Anguis, Auis,* and *Crater.* In the *Fasti* version, the raven announces his lying tale in direct speech (*hic mihi causa morae, uiuarum obsesssor aquarum:/ hic tenuit fontes officiumque meum, Fasti* 2.259- 60). The raven's direct speech in the *Fasti* contrasts with the raven's reported speech in the *Metamorphoses.*

[27] The grammarian Diomedes refers to the Hesiodic *Catalogue* as an example of narrative poetry; the *Catalogue of Wome*n is a narrative (*enarratiuum)* poem without speeches of characters other than the poet himself, unlike the *Iliad* or the *Aeneid*, which contain a great deal of speeches made by the characters and belong to the *commune uel mixtum* genre (see Keil, *Grammatici Latini* v.1. pp. 482-3). Cases of direct speeches are attested in the *Catalogue* [e.g. in the Atalanta episode Schoeneus announces the contest (fr. 75 M-W), and Hippomenes addresses Atalanta (fr. 76 M-W)], but are rare. See Rutherford 2000, 87-8, 94.

both, by and large, unfold their continuous narratives following the temporal sequence of the events they describe. The story of Coronis in the *Metamorphoses* also follows a strict temporal order; all the events are narrated in chronological order. The coincidence between the order which the events follow in the narrative and their chronological sequence is further emphasized by the contrast between the Coronis story and the embedded narrative of the crow. While the raven's meeting with the crow does not disrupt the temporal order of the events, the crow's narrative first moves backwards from the story of Cecrops' daughters (*Met.* 2.550- 68) to the metamorphosis of the crow (*Met.* 2.569- 88) and then jumps to the story of Nyctimene (*Met.* 2. 589- 94), a tale which cannot be related chronologically to the previous stories. The first-layer narrative observes the temporal sequentiality, while the embedded narrative is chronologically disorganized.[28] The crow's narrative contrasts and thus highlights the strict chronological order of the Coronis story.

Upon hearing the news of Coronis' infidelity, Apollo drops his laurel and loses his color.[29] This is the first mention of the laurel (*laurea delapsa est audito crimine amantis, Met.* 2.600) after the Daphne episode, in which Apollo promised his perennial devotion to the metamorphosed nymph (*semper habebunt/ te coma, te citharae, te nostrae, laure, pharetrae, Met.* 1.558-9). Coronis' infidelity makes Apollo break his vow to Daphne, his first love. To be sure, Apollo is far from being faithful to a single woman, a point implied when he hears the hurtful news about Coronis, that make him careless about his beloved laurel/Daphne. The problematic nature of Apollo's affairs with mortal girls is

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[28] See Keith 1992, 27, 61.

[29] *uultusque deo...**color**que /excidit Met.* 2.601-2. Although the story is an *aition* of how the raven lost his color *(qui **color** albus erat, nunc est contrarius albo, Met.* 2. 541), the first person to lose his color is Apollo.

brought to the fore as the god moves from being infatuated with a relentless virgin (Daphne) to falling in love with an unfaithful girl (Coronis).

The focus shifts from the raven to Apollo and Coronis. The god, seething with anger, shoots an arrow and kills the pregnant Coronis, who accuses Apollo of killing not only herself but also his son:

> *et dixit: potuit poenas tibi, Phoebe, dedisse,*
> *sed peperisse prius; duo nunc moriemur in una.*
> *Met.* 2.608-9

> and she said: "You could have punished me, Phoebus, but I could have given birth first; now we will die two in one."

Coronis' last words make Phoebus regret his cruel punishment. Being unable to bring Coronis back to life, he delivers at least his son Aesculapius from his mother's womb and transports him to Chiron. He then directs his hatred to the raven and transforms him into a black bird (*Met.* 2.631-2). The raven's overly zealous use of his tongue is the cause of his punitive transformation, and, as Alison Keith argues, the story of the raven and the crow revolves around the theme of using *uox* and *lingua* appropriately.[30] Keith focuses on the birds' talk and does not comment on Coronis' use of *lingua*,[31] which contrasts both with the crow's failure to warn the raven and the raven's failure to win Apollo's favor. Coronis' brief message to Apollo changes the god's attitude dramatically; Coronis' dying words save Aesculapius' life and result in the raven's

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[30] Keith 1992, 46-52. She comments on the juxtaposition between the garrulous raven and the salubrious voices of the geese, mentioned by Ovid when comparing the initial white plumage of the raven with the doves, the swans and the geese (*Met.* 2. 235- 41).
[31] Κορωνίς is a more successful speaker than κορώνη. The relation of Κορωνὶς to κορώνη seems to be an old one. Gildersleeve argues that the connection has already been made by Pindar since Coronis' association with Λακέρεια (Pind. *Pyth.* 3. 34) recalls the λακέρυζα κορώνη of Hesiod *(WD,* 745). See Gildersleeve 1885, 272; Wilamowitz 1886, 18- 9.

transformation, functioning as a foil to the raven's message. Ovid makes the brief speech of the dying Coronis the force which drives the rest of the narrative. Her words recapitulate the subject of the effects of speaking, an important aspect of the *cornix-coruus-Coronis* tale.

The juxtaposition between the raven's message to Apollo and Coronis' last words to her divine lover is further underpinned by the shift from indirect speech (*Met.* 2.598-9; the raven's tidings) to direct speech (*Met.* 2.608-9; Coronis' plea). Having introduced Coronis as a heroine from the Hesiodic *Ehoiai* and restored the raven's message to the narrative framework of the *Catalogue* with its rarity of indirect speeches, Ovid has Coronis address Apollo directly and thus break the silence of the Hesiodic heroines, who never speak in the extant fragments.[32] If we turn to the other sources in which the story is attested, there is no word about Coronis speaking to Apollo and making him change his mind. In Pindar (*Pythian* 3.32ff), Apollo sends Artemis to kill Coronis and then intervenes and saves Asclepius. Apollo decides by himself to deliver his son from the pyre of his mother and it is he who speaks, not Coronis (τότ᾽ἔειπεν Ἀπόλλων· ‘Οὐκέτι/ τλάσομαι ψυχᾷ γένος ἁμὸν ὀλέσσαι/ οἰκτροτάτῳ θανάτῳ ματρὸς βαρείᾳ σὺν πάθᾳ.’ Pind. *Pyth.* 3.40- 2). While Apollo speaks and Coronis is silent in Pindar, the god's thoughts and words are reported by the narrator and Coronis speaks directly in the *Metamorphoses.* Set against the intertextual background of a silent Coronis and the epic genre of the *Catalogue* with its silent heroines, the voice of the Ovidian Coronis is heard loudly as she breaks the poetic tradition along with her silence.

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[32] Only men (Schoineus, fr. 75 M-W; Hippomenes, fr. 76 M-W) and gods (Poseidon, fr. 31 M-W; an unknown god, probably Athena, in the Mestra-*ehoie,* fr. 43a, 41-3 M-W) speak in the *Ehoiai.*

The *aition* of the raven's metamorphosis concludes at *Met.* 2.632, but the narrative of the *Metamorphoses* continues with a transition effected by the son of Apollo and Coronis. Aesculapius is transferred to Chiron, whose daughter Ocyroe prophesies the future of Aesculapius, Chiron, and finally her own transformation into a mare (*Met.* 2.633-75). Aesculapius is a transitional device from Apollo's love for Coronis to Ocyroe's prophecy and metamorphosis.[33] The narrative progression from Coronis to Aesculapius resumes the genealogical thread of the *Catalogue,* while the reference to Ocyroe's birth *(filia Centauri, quam quondam nympha Chariclo/ fluminis in rapidi ripis enixa uocauit/ Ocyroen, Met.* 2.636-8) further suggests a typical motif of Hesiodic poetry.[34] Alessandro Barchiesi notes that Ocyroe is similar to the Sibyl and her prophecy of a salubrious *puer* recalls the *puer* of Vergil's *Eclogue* 4.[35] But there is more to it. The Sibyl was loved by Apollo and she herself tells that story to Aeneas in *Metamorphoses* 14.130-51. Thus, Ocyroe's Sibylline prophecy evokes another girl loved by the Delphic god. The erotic connotations of *incaluitque deo* (*Met.* 2.641)[36] before her divinatory speech about Aesculapius draw a parallel between Ocyroe's divine inspiration by Apollo and the god's affair with Coronis.

Following the metamorphosis of Ocyroe, her father Chiron is grief-stricken and seeks Apollo's support, but the god is not at Delphi, but working as a herdsman in Messenia (*Met.* 2.675-82). Ovid does not explain why Apollo has been reduced to a herdsman, but we know from the *Catalogue of Women* (fr. 51-4 M-W) that Apollo served Admetus as a hired herdsman because Zeus punished

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[33] Such a transposition reiterates the shift from Epaphus, Io's son by Jupiter, to Phaethon, Clymene's son by Phoebus (*Met.* 1.747ff.); see Chapter 2.

[34] Chiron's marriage with a sea-nymph is attested in the *Catalogue* (ὁ δὲ Ἡσίοδος Ναΐδα φησὶ τὸν Χείρωνα γῆμαι, Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.182= fr. 42 M-W).

[35] Barchiesi 2005, 289.

[36] *Incalescere* can mean 'to kindle with erotic passion' and Ovid employs this specific meaning of the verb in the narrative of the crow *(uidit et **incaluit** pelagi deus, Met.* 2.574).

him for killing the Cyclopes (cf. Euripides, *Alcestis* 1-9). First Zeus killed Asclepius with a thunderbolt because Apollo's son resurrected a dead man,[37] and then Apollo killed the Cyclopes in revenge. According to Hesiod, Zeus wanted to send Apollo to Tartarus, but after Leto's intervention his punishment was reduced to a term of servitude in Messenia (fr. 54 M-W). Thus, Ovid invites the readers to follow the narrative sequence of the Hesiodic *Catalogue* and supply the mythological details that connect the birth of Aesculapius with the god's punishment.

The tale of Coronis and the raven revolves around an interplay between the *Hecale* and the *Ehoiai.* The *aition* of the raven's metamorphosis frames a Coronis-*ehoie,* in which the narrative of the Callimachean crow is embedded, which in turn contains the *ehoie*-like tale of Coroneus' daughter. The interrelation between the embedding and the embedded narrative is suggested through a generic affiliation of the Coronis-*ehoie* (primary narrator) with the *ehoie* of Coroneus' daughter (secondary narrator). Ovid shuffles Callimachus' *Hecale,* by incorporating the crow's warning into the *aition* of the raven's metamorphosis. As is often the case in the *Metamorphoses,* aetiology is intertwined with the loves of the gods, as an *aition* is taken from Callimachus and restored to a Hesiodic framework.

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[37] Cf. Ocyroe's prophecy in *Met.* 2.644-6. The death of Aesculapius reiterates Jupiter's killing of Phaethon with a thunderbolt (*Met.* 2.301-28). Phoebus' sons (Phaethon and Aesculapius) have a similar death. Von Albrecht 2000, 218, points out that the mother figures of Book 2 indirectly suggest the recurring theme of divine sons (cf. Clymene and Phaethon, Callisto and Arcas, and Coronis and Aesculapius): "Indirekt deuten die Mutterfiguren auch das gemeinsame Thema vieler Erzählungen in Buch 2 an: Göttersöhne. Das Gegenbild zum gescheiterten Phaethon ist der heilbringende Aesculap."

Achelous as a Hesiodic Poet

Ovid opens a similar dialogue between Hesiod and Callimachus in *Metamorphoses* 8. And as is the case with Coronis, scholars have studied in detail the Callimachean intertext, but overlooked, denied or downplayed the Hesiodic element. After the end of the Calydonian boar hunt, an episode which concludes with the transformation of Meleager's sisters into guinea hens (*Met.* 8.526-46), Theseus and his companions travel from Calydon to Athens, but their way is blocked by the flooding Achelous.[38] The river god suggests that Theseus not cross his dangerous stream, and invites the heroes to a banquet in his cave (*Met.* 8.547-61). While Theseus and his friends enjoy Achelous' hospitality, host and guests tell stories of metamorphoses. First Theseus asks about some islands visible from the mouth of the river, and Achelous tells the story of the naiades who forgot to honor him and were transformed into islands as a punishment (*Met.* 8.574-89). He then recounts the tale of Perimele, a girl loved by Achelous, punished by her father, and finally transformed into an island by Neptune (*Met.* 590-610). Pirithous reacts unfavorably to Achelous' narration (*Met.* 8.612-5), calling his stories false and questioning the power of the gods to change shapes.[39] In response to Pirithous' criticism, Lelex tells the story of Philemon and Baucis (*Met.* 8.616-724), the poor but pious couple who received Jupiter and Mercury hospitably. The gods rewarded the old couple by turning their hut into a temple and punished the houses of the others by flooding them. Lelex' narrative is reminiscent of the deluge that Jupiter inflicted upon humanity

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[38] Ovid's geography is inaccurate. On his way back home Theseus would be heading eastwards, while Achelous flows to the west of Calydon (see Hollis 1970, 98-9; Anderson 1972, 381).

[39] Pirithous' skepticism clashes with the opening of the *Metamorphoses,* in which the poet declares that the gods have the power to change shapes: *di, coeptis (nam uos mutastis et illa)/ aspirate, Met.* 1.2-3. Hardie 2004, 170, points out that the dinner table turns to the subject of the poem itself, i.e. changes of shapes and the gods' part in such transformations. See also Feeney 1991, 229-32.

after the episode of the inhospitable Lycaon (*Met.* 1.163-347). Philemon and Baucis, the survivors of the flood, recall another pious couple, Deucalion and Pyrrha, the only survivors of the deluge.[40] Structured on the surface as a proof of the gods' power to metamorphose, Lelex' tale cautions the blasphemous Pirithous that offenses against hospitality may incur an inundation as a divine punishment. The tale is particularly appropriate as a warning to Pirithous, who was rude to Achelous, his divine host who is also a river in flood.[41]

Keeping up the subject of metamorphosis, Achelous takes over and after mentioning Proteus, the god who can change many shapes (*Met.* 8.725-37), he moves on to Mestra, the girl who was loved by Neptune and given the gift of metamorphosis in recompense for her rape. Mestra frames the story of her father Erysichthon, who was punished with insatiable hunger for offending Ceres. Mestra used her metamorphic powers to feed her father who, nevertheless, could not satiate his burning hunger and ended up eating himself (*Met.* 8.738-878). Achelous concludes by stating that he himself can change many shapes. The tale of the godless Erysichthon is another implicit warning for Pirithous. In the beginning of *Metamorphoses* 9, Theseus picks up Achelous' mention of his broken horn from the end of *Metamorphoses* 8 and asks the reason *(causa)* why it is broken. Quite appropriately for a river in flood, Achelous' narrative crosses the boundaries of a book and flows into *Metamorphoses* 9*.* The god now tells how he wooed Deianira and had to fight with Hercules for her hand. In a fierce duel described in detail by Achelous, the river god lost to Hercules, who broke one of his horns (*Met.* 9.1-88). The episode comes to an end as the heroes depart in the morning from Achelous' hospitable cave (*Met.* 9.89-97).

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[40] Cf. Crabbe 1981, 2315-7; Gildenhard & Zissos 2004, 67.
[41] Cf. Wheeler 1999, 170.

Ovid uses Theseus as a transitional device from Daedalus (*Met.* 8.152-259) to the Calydonian hunt (*Met.* 8.260-444). After killing the Minotaur in the labyrinth and returning to Athens, Theseus takes part to the hunt of the Calydonian boar. The readers are misdirected to assume that Theseus will be the focus of Ovid's narrative, but his role in the Calydonian hunt is marginal. Equally marginal is his role in the Achelous episode, in which he tells no story but merely asks two questions. After Theseus departs from Achelous' cave, Ovid abandons him and turns to Hercules. The shadowy presence of Theseus, who is supposed to be the main hero, recalls Callimachus' *Hecale.* In Callimachus' *epyllion* Theseus goes out against a bull that wreaked havoc in Marathon, after escaping Medea's plot against his life.[42] The anticipation of a high epic narrative about Theseus' encounter with the monstrous bull is never fulfilled since the main part of the work deals with Theseus' reception by Hecale, a poor old woman, who entertains the hero with her tales. Ovid refers to Medea's attempt to poison Theseus and the killing of the Marathonian bull (*Met.* 7.421-3; 7.433-4), thus setting his Theseus against the background of Callimachus' *Hecale.*[43] Theseus' participation in the Calydonian boar hunt evokes his enterprise to subdue the Marathonian bull,[44] while Achelous' hospitality picks up the main theme of the *Hecale.* Lelex' story of Philemon and Baucis in particular revisits the *Hecale* and the theme of humble hospitality. No wonder Theseus is moved by Lelex' narrative *(cunctos et res et mouerat auctor,/ Thesea praecipue; Met.* 8.725-6), a hint at the reader to trace the thematic affinities of Baucis and Philemon with the

[42] See *Diegesis* 10-11 (Pfeifer 1.227).
[43] See Tissol 1997, 155-7; Fantuzzi & Hunter 2002, 269-74.
[44] Boyd 2006, 193 notes: "[W]hereas we might expect to find at this point a description of Theseus' fight with the Marathonian bull, instead Ovid gives us the Calydonian boar-hunt (267-546)." See also Crabbe 1981, 2285; 2289-90. On the common narrative pattern of the Calydonian hunt and the enterprise against the Marathonian bull, see Skempis 2008, 375.

Hecale, in which Theseus is the main hero.[45] What is more, it has been long recognized that Achelous' tale of Erysichthon reworks Callimachus' *Hymn to Demeter.*[46] Thus, a large part of *Metamorphoses* 8 revolves around Ovid's interplay with Callimachus' poetry.

Far from evoking Callimachus just to adhere to his poetics, Ovid consistently subverts his Hellenistic predecessor. Unlike the hunt of the Marathonian bull, which presumably took up a very brief space in the *Hecale,* the hunt of the Calydonian boar is narrated in the grand epic style and in much detail (*Met.* 8.260-444) and Achelous' lavish banquet, modeled on the entertainment of Aristaeus in the cave of Cyrene (Vergil, *Georg.* 4.363ff.),[47] is very different from Hecale's poor reception of Theseus. The clash between Callimachean poetics and grand epic narrative is exemplified as Theseus' aetiological question about Achelous' broken horn prompts an epic narrative of a duel between a god and a demigod.[48] Achelous is a particularly anti-Callimachean narrator; a swollen river laden with debris (*Met.* 8.550-3) signals a subversion of Callimachus' poetic manifesto.[49] And Achelous' Erysichthon is taken from Callimachus' *Hymn to Demeter* and cast as an utter villain in a context of epic grandiloquence.[50]

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[45] Rosati 2002, 287, and Fucecchi 2002, 98-9, suggest that Theseus' interest in Lelex' story is meant to evoke the *Hecale.*

[46] See Hopkinson 1984, 23, for specific verbal echoes of Callimachus' *Hymn to Demeter* in *Metamorphoses* 8. See also Galinsky 1975, 5-14; Degl' Innocenti Pierini 1987; Murray 2002.

[47] See Hollis 1970, 100ff.; Crabbe 1981, 2289; Hardie 2004, 169-70.

[48] The duel between Achelous and Hercules for Deianira refers to the duel between Turnus and Aeneas for Lanivia. See Galinsky 1972a. Marios Skempis points out that Achelous' broken horn is reminiscent of the broken horn of the Marathonian bull in *Hecale,* fr. 69 Hollis, and the whole epic scene of the fight with the bull *(per litteras).*

[49] Achelous is introduced as **tumens** *imbre* (*Met.* 8.550) right before he describes his anti-Callimachean stream *(ferre trabes solidas obliquaque uoluere magno/ murmure saxa solent, Met.* 8.552-3); cf Ἀσσυρίου ποταμοῖο μέγας ῥόος, ἀλλὰ τὰ πολλά/ λύματα γῆς καὶ πολλὸν ἐφ' ὕδατι συρφετὸν ἕλκει, Callimachus, *In Ap.* 108-9. See Hinds 1987b, 19; Barchiesi 2001, 51-3; Rosati, 2002, 288; Tsitsiou-Chelidoni 2003, 339-61.

[50] See Hollis 1970, 132-3; Barchiesi 2001, 51-2; Tsitsiou-Chelidoni 2003, 341-56, for the high epic style of Ovid's Erysichthon.

Scholars have studied the interaction between Callimachean poetics and heroic epic in *Metamorphoses* 8-9. Much less attention has been paid to the Hesiodic character of Achelous' narrative.[51] The setting of Achelous' cave is a double of the underwater grotto of Vergil's Cyrene, who receives her son Aristaeus. Ovid's episode is set against the background of Cyrene and Aristaeus, a mother and a son who feature prominently in the *Ehoiai* (fr. 215-6 M-W).[52] Not only the setting, but also the content of the stories allude to Hesiod. Achelous first tells the story of his beloved Perimele, who was transformed by Neptune. He then tells the story of Mestra, to whom Neptune gave the power to metamorphose after he had sexual intercourse with her. Perimele and Mestra are both transformed as a result of a divine passion and both have troubles with their fathers; Hippodamas punishes his daughter Perimele for losing her virginity by throwing her into the sea (*Met.* 8.593-4), while Erysichthon prostitutes Mestra, in order to satiate his hunger.[53] Achelous finally recounts the wooing of Deianira and his wrestling with Hercules. The motif of the gods' affairs with mortal women is the very core of the *Catalogue,* while the contest of suitors for a woman is another recurring motif of the Hesiodic *Ehoiai.* In particular, the tale of

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[51] See brief comments in Hollis 1970, 129; Hopkinson 1983, 23; Fletcher, R. 2005, 310-2; Boyd 2006, 202. Brillante 1983, 10, 24-5, believes that Ovid drew from a lost Hellenistic source, but does not rule out a direct influence of the *Catalogue* in the Mestra tale. Van Tress 2004, 167, notes that Ovid seems to have based his account on the Hesiodic, as well as the Callimachean, tradition, but she is interested in Ovid's allusions to Homer, Vergil, and Callimachus, not to Hesiod (van Tress 2004, 180-8).

[52] The episode of Cyrene and Aristaeus in the *Georgics* refers repeatedly to the *Catalogue.* Clymene's song from Chaos to divine loves *(Georg.* 4.345-7) is a performance of Hesiodic poetry (see Chapter 2), and *Georg.* 4.360-1 *(at illum/ curuata in montis faciem circustetit unda)* is translated from the *Catalogue (hunc uersum ex hesiodi gynecon <catalogo> transtulit,* Schol. Bern. in Verg. *Georg.* 4.361= fr. 32 M-W).

[53] Ovid's story implies that Erysichthon was prostituting Mestra. Bömer *ad* 8.848 mentions: "*vendere* ist bei Ovid immer in malam partem, fast immer, wie auch hier, de feminis prostituendis zu verstehen...". Lycophron's mention of Mestra as βασσάρα also alludes to her prostitution (Lyc. *Alexandra* 1393). Brillante 1983, 17, mentions a story from Palaiphatos, in which Erysichthon prostitutes his daughter. The story is attested in Tzetzes, *Chil.* 2.47 (πενίᾳ δὲ τρυχόμενος *(sc.* Ἐρυσίχθων) λιμῷ τε παλαμναίᾳ **προαγωγεύων** τὴν αὑτοῦ διέζη θυγατέρα). See also Antoninus Liberalis 17.5.4-6 with Skempis 2008, 373.

Perimele refers to Achelous' affair with Perimede (fr. 10a.34-5 M-W; *Met.* 8.590-610),[54] the story of Mestra is presented as a Mestra-*ehoie* (fr. 43a M-W; *Met.* 8.738-888), and the wooing of Deianira leads up to the death of Hercules and his apotheosis (fr. 25.17-33 M-W; *Met.* 9.98-272).

Thomas Cole notes that the stories exchanged between Lelex, Theseus, and their host Achelous move in chronological order through the same four generations.[55] Perimede/Perimele was Canace's sister, who was Mestra's great-grandmother. Thus, Poseidon fell in love both with Canace and her great-granddaughter Mestra,[56] and Perimele/Perimede belongs to the same family tree. Moreover, Perimede is Deianira's great-grandmother (Perimede and Achelous-Hippodamas-Eureite and Porthaon-Oeneus and Althaea-Deianira). Achelous' stories (Perimele-Mestra-Deianira) are linked with a genealogical and chronological thread. The narrative of the river god spans five generations; from his love for Perimele to his fight with Hercules for Deianira's hand, Achelous moves from the remote past to Theseus' contemporaries. This chronological progression combined with genealogical links stemming from the loves of the gods suggests the structure of the *Ehoiai*.

The framing of the Achelous episode also follows the narrative progression of the *Ehoiai.* The exchange of stories in Achelous' banquet is an interlude between the transformation of Meleager's sisters and the story of Deianira and Hercules. But Deianira is also Meleager's sister (fr. 25 M-W; *Met.* 8. 542-3). In

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[54] See Cole 2004, 388-9, n.88; Fletcher, R. 2005, 310 n.58. For echoes of Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos* in the tale of Perimele, see Crabbe 1981, 2288-9, who points out that Perimele recalls Callimachus' Asterie, who flees Zeus by plunging headlong into the sea, where she is transformed into the floating island Ortygia.
[55] Cole, 2004, 388.
[56] Poseidon is Erysichthon's grandfather, a genealogical aspect emphasized by Triopas in his prayer to Poseidon in Callimachus, *Hymn to Demeter,* 97-100. The genealogy runs as follows: Poseidon and Canace-Triopas-Erysichthon-Mestra.

the *Catalogue,* Althaea bears Meleager to Ares; Meleager is a mighty warrior but is killed by Apollo while fighting the Curetes (fr. 25.1-13 M-W). Althaea also bears four sons (Phereus, Agelaus, Toxeus, Clymenus) and two daughters (Gorge and Deianira) to Oeneus (fr. 25 14-7 M-W). In Hesiod, Deianira is a transitional device to the death and apotheosis of Hercules (fr. 25.17-34 M-W). In Ovid, Meleager dies when his mother, enraged because her son killed her brothers, burns the fatal log on which Meleager's life depends (*Met.* 8.445-525). Meleager's sisters grieve and are transformed into guinea hens, except for Gorge and Deianira:

> *quas Porthaoniae tandem Latonia clade*
> *exsatiata domus praeter* **Gorgenque nurumque**
> **nobilis Alcmenae** *natis in corpore pennis*
> *alleuat et longas per bracchia porrigit alas*
> *Met.* 8.542-5

> Finally Diana, sated with the destruction of the house of Porthaon, lifts them up with feathers sprung from their bodies, except for Gorge and the daughter-in-law of noble Alcmena, and stretches long wings over their arms

The narrative progression from Meleager's death to the Meleagrides Gorge and Deianira, and from Deianira's abduction by Nessus to Hercules' death and apotheosis follows the structure of the *Catalogue:* [57]

> **Γόργην** τ᾽ ἠύκομον κ.[αὶ ἐπί]φ[ρ]ονα **Δηϊάνειραν,**

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[57] Cf. the versions of the *Catalogue* and the *Metamorphoses*: Meleager's death (fr. 25.10-3 M-W; *Met.* 8.515-25); Meleager's sisters (fr. 25.17 M-W; *Met.* 8.526-45); Deianira and Hercules (fr. 25.18-9 M-W; *Met.* 9.58-151); Deianira sends the poisoned chiton with Lichas (fr. 25.20-3 M-W; *Met.* 9.152-58); Hercules' death and apotheosis (fr. 25.24-33 M-W; *Met.* 9.159-272).

ἢ τέχ' ὑποδμηθεῖ[σα βίηι Ἡρ]ακλη.[ε]ίηι

fr. 25.17-8 M-W

and lovely-haired Gorge and thoughtful Deianira, who gave birth

subdued by Hercules' force

Thus, Ovid's Achelous episode is an interval to the narrative sequence from the Meleagrides (*Met.* 8.533-46) to Hercules (*Met.* 9.98ff.). Yet, Achelous, being himself a narrator of *ehoie*-poetry, narrates in the end the wooing of Deianira and his combat with Herucles. The *Metamorphoses* flows smoothly from the last tale of Achelous (*Met.* 9.4-88) to the story of Deianira and Hercules (*Met.* 9.98ff.), which is told by the primary narrator and picks up the end of the Meleager episode. In sum, Achelous' tales of *ehoie*-poetry are framed by the genealogical progression of *Metamorphoses* 8-9,[58] which corresponds to the structure of the Hesiodic *Catalogue.*

Just as the end of Achelous' account is linked to the following tale of Hercules' death and apotheosis, his first story of Perimele is related to the house of Porthaon, Meleager's grandfather. In the *Catalogue of Women,* Achelous has an affair with Perimede, Porthaon's grandmother:

καὶ Καλύκην Κανάκην τε καὶ ε]ὐ.ειδέ[α] **Π.ε.ρ.ι.μήδην**·

τῆι δ' **Ἀχελῶιος** ἐυρρείτης] μ.ί.χ.θ.η. φ.ιλότητι

fr. 10a.34-5 M-W

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[58] As is often the case, Ovid uses several epithets which invite the readers to supply the genealogical details. Meleager is *Mauortius* (*Met.* 8.437), since he is the son of Althaea and Ares (cf. fr. 25.4-5 M-W); he is *Oenides* (*Met.* 8.281), since Oeneus was Althaea's husband (fr. 25.14-4 M-W). Diana wreaks havoc upon Porthaon's house (*Porthaoniae...domus, Met.* 8.542-3). Porthaon was Oeneus' father (fr. 10. 49-52 M-W). Althaea is *Thestias* (*Met.* 8.452; 473) and her brothers are *Thestiadae (Met.* 8.303; 434). Thestius is Althaea's father (*Met.* 8.487; fr. 25.35-6 M-W). Toxeus is Althaea's son in the *Catalogue* (fr. 25.16 M-W), but her brother in Ovid (*Met.* 8.441).

and Calyce and Canace and beautiful Perimede; with her fair-flowing
Achelous mingled in love

Ovid turns Achelous from a character in the *Catalogue* to a narrator of *ehoie*-poetry. Fr. 10a.35 M-W is adapted by Achelous as *huic ego uirgineum dilectae nomen ademi, Met.* 8.592. The formulaic diction of the *Catalogue* (μίχθη **φιλότητι)**, used here a euphemism for a rape, is conveyed with an equally formulaic and euphemistic phrase in Ovid *(uirgineum **dilectae** nomen ademi),* while τῆι δ' Ἀχελῶιος corresponds to *huic ego* in the beginning of Hesiod's and Ovid's hexameters. Thus, Ovid's Perimele refers to Hesiod's Perimede, who bears Hippodamas to Achelous (fr. 10a.45 M-W). Hippodamas fathers Eureite, Porthaon's wife. Porthaon is the father of Oeneus (fr. 10a.45-52 M-W), who is Althaea's husband. Ovid's Achelous omits the genealogical details, recounting instead the metamorphosis of his beloved Perimele into an island. In the *Metamorphoses,* Hippodamas is the father, not the son of Perimele and the girl is metamorphosed presumably before she gives birth. Perimele and Hippodamas, however, evoke Achelous' affair with Perimede and the birth of Hippodamas, Meleager's great-grandfather (Hippodamas-Porthaon-Oeneus-Meleager). The mention of the *Porthaonia domus* (*Met.* 8.542-3) before the tale of Perimele (*Met.* 8.590-610) further suggests a genealogical link between the Meleager episode and Achelous' love affair. By alluding to the *Catalogue,* the river god implies that he is the ancestor of Meleager, for whom Theseus and his friends participated in the Calydonian boar hunt. Thus, the host forges a bond of friendship with his guests, the allies of Porthaon's house.

Mestra

Having presented Achelous as a god in love with a mortal woman and as a narrator of *ehoie*-poetry, Ovid has the river god structure his second tale as a Mestra-*ehoie.* The story begins with the introduction of the girl:

> **'Nec minus** Autolyci coniunx, **Erysicthone nata,**
>
> iuris habe; pater huius erat, <u>qui numina diuum</u>
>
> <u>sperneret</u> et nullos aris adoleret odores.
>
> *Met.* 8.738-40

> No less power had Mestra, the wife of Autolycus, the daughter of
>
> Erysichthon; her father was a man who scorned the power of the gods
>
> and burned no incense on their altars.

The opening of Achelous' tale corresponds to the beginning of the Hesiodic *ehoie* of Mestra:[59]

> **ἡ' οἵη θυγάτηρ Ἐρυσίχθονος** <u>ἀντιϳθ έοιο</u>
>
> [   ]ο ʋ
>
> Μήστρη ἐυπλόκαμος, Χαρίτων ἀ]μαρύγματ' ἔχουσα·
>
> fr, 43a.2-4

> Or such as the daughter of godlike Erysichthon [ ] of Triopas' son fair
>
> tressed Mestra, having the Graces' radiance;

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[59] Other literary sources of the Erysichthon/Mestra story include a satyr-play entitled Αἴθων (by the 5th century tragedian Achaios), and Lycophron's *Alexandra* 1393- 6. For a survey of the literary sources, see McKay 1962, 3-57; Hollis 1970, 128-33; Hopkinson 1984, 18-30; van Tress 2004, 164-7.

If Merkelbach and West's restoration is correct,[60] Mestra is introduced both in Hesiod and Ovid as Erysichthon's daughter (θυγάτηρ Ἐρυσίχθονος; *Erysicthone nata),* while Ovid's *nec minus* is a variant of the *Catalogue*'s *ehoie* formula. Propertius uses *nec minus* and *qualis* as variants of the *ehoie* formula in a catalogue of women (**qualis** *... Cnossia/* **qualis** *... Cepheia/* **nec minus...** *Edonis fessa,* 1.8.1-8). Achelous gives a catalogue of shape-shifters, which begins with Proteus (*Met.* 8.728-37), continues with Mestra (*Met.* 8.738-879), and concludes with himself (*Met.* 8.879-84). *Nec minus* compares Mestra with Proteus, but given the heroine's *ehoie* in the *Catalogue,* it further alludes to Hesiod's epic. Thus, *nec minus* has an intratextual and an intertextual dimension; on the one hand it effects a transition from Proteus to Mestra, on the other it marks Achelous' narrative as a Mestra-*ehoie.* Achelous' catalogue of shape-shifters centers on a heroine from the *Catalogue of Women.*

The ambiguous epithet ἀντίθεος (which usually means 'divine' 'godlike', but can also mean 'contrary to gods')[61] is also glossed over in *Met.* 8.739-40. Erysichthon is not actually 'divine' or 'godlike', but a sacrilegious man who scorns and provokes the gods. Moreover, Erysichthon is the son of Triopas (cf. Τριοπίδαο) and Ovid's Achelous refers to him as *Triopeius* (*Met.* 8.751) and to Mestra as *Triopeis* (*Met.* 8.872).[62] Thus, Ovid begins his story as a Mestra-*ehoie.*

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[60] See West 1985, 64, 68. Hirschberger 2004, 271, agrees that the Mestra tale begins with the *ehoie* formula. Note also that the Hesiodic fragment which contains the tale of Mestra, survives in four papyri; P. Cairo (PIFAO) 322, POxy 2495, POxy 421, PBerol. 7497. See Schwartz 1960, 265ff. It seems that the Mestra-*ehoie* was a popular section of the Hesiodic *Catalogue* in Roman Egypt (cf. Rutherford 2005, 103), and Ovid's familiarity with this version is all the more likely.
[61] For the ambiguity of this epithet in archaic epic, see Hoekstra 1965, 22ff; Parry 1973, 178, 183-7.
[62] Cf. Callimachus, *Hymn to Demeter,* 30-1, 79, 81, 96, 111 (Τριόπας; Τριοπίδαισιν).

Achelous' tale of Mestra and Erysichthon concludes with the girl providing food for her father:

> *saepe pater dominis Triopeida tradit, at illa*
> *nunc equa, nunc ales, modo bos, modo ceruus abibat*
> **praebebat***que auido non iusta alimenta* **parenti.**
> *Met.* 8.872-4

> the father often surrendered Triopas' granddaughter to purchasers, but she, sometimes a mare, other times a bird, at one moment a cow, at another a stag, was leaving and providing unjust food for her greedy father.

The next four lines (*Met.* 8.875-8), which briefly describe Erysichthon's tragic end, are the coda to the Mestra-*ehoie.* Likewise, the Hesiodic *ehoie* of Mestra ends when Erysichthon's daughter returns back home from Cos, where she bore Eurypylus to Poseidon, in order to look after her father:

> Μήστρη δὲ προ]λιποῦσα Κόων ποτὶ πατρίδα γαῖαν
> νηῒ θοῆι ἐπέρ]ησ' ἱερέων ποτὶ γουνὸν Ἀθηνέων
> [ἐ]πεὶ τέκε παῖδα Ποσειδάωνι ἄνακτι.
> [αἰν]όμορον **πατέρα** ὃν **πορσαίνεσκεν.**
> fr. 43a. 66-9 M-W

> And Mestra, leaving Cos behind, crossed over to her fatherland on a swift ship to the hill of holy Athens [ ] when she bore a child to lord Poseidon. [she was providing for her doomed father.

Achelous' closure echoes Mestra's return in the end of the Hesiodic *ehoie*: *praebebatque* translates πορσαίνεσκεν and *parenti* corresponds to πατέρα.

Erysichthon is doomed (αἰνόμορος) despite his daughter's support, just as in Ovid he ends up eating himself since Mestra can no longer feed his growing hunger with her metamorphic tricks.[63] Thus, Ovid's Achelous puts the entire story of Erysichthon in an *ehoie* frame by alluding in the beginning and the end of his story to the beginning and the end of Hesiod's Mestra-*ehoie.*

One of the most salient characteristics of the Hesiodic *Ehoiai* is the tension between narrative function and form.[64] The tale begins with the presentation of a royal maiden, but soon the focus shifts to something else. In the Mestra-*ehoie,* after the introduction of the girl we learn that her father was called Aithon because of his burning hunger (fr. 43a.5-8 M-W). We have already moved from Mestra to Eysichthon. Sisyphus, who looks for a bride for his son, offers countless wedding gifts to Erysichthon, who dupes Sisyphus; Erysichthon gets the lavish gifts, but Mestra morphs into an animal and returns home after her wedding (fr. 43a. 18-33 M-W). The ensuing dispute between Erysichthon and Sisyphus, which was judged by a god, takes up a significant part of the Mesta-*ehoie* (fr. 43a.36-54 M-W). After that episode, the narrative suddenly turns to Poseidon, who seduces Mestra, transports her to Cos and impregnates her (fr. 43a. 55-57 M-W). The narrative moves again from Mestra to her son Eurypylos, who becomes the leader of many people in Cos and fathers Chalkon and Antagores (fr. 43a. 58-60 M-W). All of a sudden, Hercules appears; after sacking Troy and killing the Giants, the hero kills Eurypylos and destroys his lovely city for no serious reason (fr. 43a. 62-65 M-W). We finally return to Mestra and her doomed father (fr. 43a. 66-9 M-W). The fast narrative pace of

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[63] Mestra is a foil for Erysichthon. While she can turn into any shape because of her affair with a god, her father changes into no shape because of his sacrilege.
[64] Cf. Rutherford 2000, 85-6, for the *Ehoiai* in general. For the Mestra-*ehoie,* Rutherford 2005, 102, notes that there is a tension between the episode's narrative function, a story about Sisyphos, and its form, a story about Mestra.

the *Catalogue,* a work full of indirection and surprise, constantly shifting from one tale to another, beginning one story just to move on to another, while equally unexpectedly picking up a narrative thread abandoned long ago, could have not failed to appeal to Ovid.[65]

Ovid's Achelous, a master of transformations, gives a protean narrative befitting Mestra's metamorphic powers. The reader is led to anticipate that Mestra will be the main heroine of Achelous' tale. Nevertheless, just as in Hesiod's version, right after the presentation of the girl the focus shifts to Mestra's father Erysichthon. The sacrilegious Erysichthon violates the grove of Ceres and fells her sacred oak tree. The Dryades, dressed in black, ask Ceres to punish Erysichthon. All of a sudden, Achelous abandons Erysichthon and shifts our attention to Ceres, who dispatches an Oread, one of the mountain spirits, to ask *Fames* to inflict insatiable hunger on Erysichthon. The imposing figure of *Fames* once more changes the direction of the narrative. The powerful description of the domain of *Fames* in Scythia is now the new setting of our story. By now the readers are likely to have forgotten Mestra, who is supposedly the main heroine of Achelous' tale. *Fames* takes central stage; she carries out Ceres' orders and Erysichthon starts eating, but instead of quenching his hunger, he is feeding it. We have finally returned to Erysichthon. After consuming his wealth, Erysichthon decides to sell his daughter and the narrative finally picks up Mestra. The girl refuses to surrender to her new master and prays to Neptune, the god who deflowered her, asking for help. Neptune transforms her into a fisherman and thus she is able to dupe her owner. The playful dialogue between the transformed Mestra and her owner, who is seeking her, is another unpredictable turn of Achelous' narrative. After escaping her master, Mestra

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[65] For instability and disruptive narrative as essential to Ovid's ever-changing *Metamorphoses,* see Tissol 1997, 131-66, and *passim;* cf. Boyd 2006.

returns to her house. When Erysichthon realizes the ability of his daughter to change shapes, he sells her repeatedly and Mestra escapes every time by assuming various animal forms. This is how Erysichthon feeds his hunger, until he finally devours himself.

Despite the obvious differences between Ovid's and Hesiod's Mestra, there are significant structural and stylistic correspondences. Both versions employ Mestra as a narrative frame of various other tales and conclude with a ring composition. From Mestra we soon move to Erysichthon, and from Erysichthon to other characters and places until the narrator returns in the end to his heroine, who looks after her father to no avail. The twists and turns of Achelous' meandering narrative not only fit in the overall course of the *Metamorphoses,* but also correspond to the episodic and unpredictable narrative progression of the Hesiodic *Ehoiai.*

Ovid embeds the Callimachean *Hymn to Demeter* in a Mestra-*ehoie.* In Callimachus, Erysichthon is a παῖς (*Hymn to Demeter* 56), and thus too young to have a daughter. Mestra is not mentioned at all in Callimachus' version and plays no role in feeding her father. Thus, Ovid takes Erysichthon out of the Callimachean hymn and restores him to the narrative frame of the Hesiodic *Ehoiai.* Erysichthon exploits his daughter in order to feed himself in Hesiod and Ovid, but not in Callimachus. In the *Ehoiai,* right after the introduction of Mestra, the narrator refers to Erysichthon's burning hunger:

> τὸν δ' Αἴθων' ἐκάλεσσαν ἐπ]ών[υ]μ [ο]ν εἵνεκα **λιμοῦ**
>
> **αἴθωνος κρατεροῦ** φῦλα] θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων
>
> [**αἴθω]να** δ ὲ **λιμὸν** ἅπαντες
>
> [θ]νητο[ῖ]ς ἀνθρώποις

fr. 43a. 5-8 M-W

and the tribes of mortal human beings called him Aithon because of his
hunger, blazing fiercely [and all the blazing hunger [to mortal human
beings

The restoration of the fragment cited above must be correct, given that we know
from the scholia on Lycophron that according to Hesiod Erysichthon was called
Aithon because of his hunger (ὁ δὲ Ἐρυσίχθων Αἴθων ἐκαλεῖτο, ὥς φησιν ὁ
Ἡσίοδος, διὰ τὸν λιμόν, *Schol. Lycophr.* 1393).[66] Callimachus alludes to
Hesiod by mentioning Erysichthon's burning hunger:[67]

αὐτίκα οἱ χαλεπόν τε καὶ ἄγριον ἔμβαλε **λιμόν**
αἴθωνα κρατερόν, μεγάλᾳ δ' ἐστρεύγετο νούσῳ.
Callimachus, *Hymn to Demeter* 67-8

at once she (i.e. Demeter) cast on him a dire and wild hunger, blazing
fiercely, and he was tortured by the serious disease.

Likewise, Ovid, following Callimachus, alludes to Hesiod's etymology:

ut uero est expulsa quies, ***furit ardor edendi***
perque auidas fauces ***incensa****que uiscera regnat.*
Met. 8.828-9

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[66] In Hesiod, the reason of Erysichthon's hunger either remains unexplained or is explained in
the lines we do not have. For Aithon as Erysichthon's nickname in Hesiod, see McKay 1962,
21ff.; Skempis 2008, 372-3.
[67] See Reinsch-Werner 1976, 220-9. Hopkison 1984, 136, notes: "In a hymn so influenced by
Hesiodic phraseology as this, αἴθωνα κρατερόν might well be an adaptation of words from the
Mestra-episode (cf. Reinsch-Werner 220-9; but if West's supplement is incorrect we must look
elsewhere for C.'s source for the phrase λιμὸν αἴθωνα." For Callimachus' use of the Hesiodic
Catalogue of Women in his *Hymn to Demeter,* see also Murray 2002; Rutherford 2005, 101-14;
Hunter 2005, 252, 256-8. For the influence of the *Works and Days* in Callimachus' *Hymn to
Demeter,* see Schroeder 2006, 124-5; 212-4.

but when sleep is driven away, the flame of eating rages and rules over

his greedy throat and his inflamed guts.

Erysichthon's fire of hunger is raging and the context suggests that *urit* is inherent in *furit.* Ovid is aware of Erysichthon's alternative name and its derivation, and uses his reference to Callimachus as a window to the *Catalogue*'s etymology of Aithon.[68]

In Hesiod, Erysichthon tricks Sisyphos, who promises countless wedding gifts to Mestra's father (fr. 43a.18-21). The animals that follow must be Sisyphos' gifts (ὑπέσχετο μυρία ἔδνα/ ... βοῶν ἀγέλας ἐριμύκων/... ὀΐων... αἰγῶν/... ἐδέξατο, fr. 43a. 21-5) and are presumably devoured by Erysichthon. In Callimachus' *Hymn to Demeter,* 105-10, Erysichthon devours sheep, cattle, mules, and horses, a passage which might allude to *Ehoiai,* fr. 43a. 21-5 M-W.[69] Hesiod's Erysichthon marries his daughter, in order to feed his hunger. After her marriage to Glaukos, Mestra escapes transformed into an animal. When she returns to her father's house she resumes the form of a woman (ἣ δὲ λυθ[εῖ]σα φίλου μ[ετὰ δώματα πατρὸς/ ὤιχετ'] ἀπαΐξασα, **γυνὴ** δ' ἄφαρ α[ὖτις ἔγεντο fr. 43a.31-2).[70] The verbal wit of Hesiod's diction is worth noticing. The way in which Mestra becomes a γυνή (woman/wife) after marrying Glaukos is very peculiar.[71] Paradoxically, she turns into a woman/wife after she escapes from her husband. Note also that the verb δαμάζω describes the transition from maidenhood to womanhood, but its literal meaning refers to the taming of an animal. Mestra reverses the order; she morphs into a wild animal, in order to

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[68] Cf. also **flamma** *gulae* (*Met.* 8.846). Cf. McKay 1962, 52; Bömer *ad* 8.828-9; Hollis 1970, 128-9; Crabbe 1981, 2296-7; van Tress 2004, 187-8. For the term "window reference", see See Thomas 1986, 188-9, 197.
[69] Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 8.846 *(demisso in uiscera censu).*
[70] Kakridis 1975, 18, n. 53, notes "Die 'Lösung' (λυθεῖσα) des Mädchens setzt voraus, dass sie als Tier der Krippe angebunden war und erst im Laufe der Nacht sich freimachen konnte."
[71] See Steinrück 1994, 292; Ormand, 2004, 312; Hirschberger 2008, 120, n. 57.

flee and avoid being a wife (δάμαρ). The pun on δαμάζω ("to break an animal"

or "to deflower a girl") is all the more explicit when Poseidon finally subdues the

girl despite her shrewdness (καὶ τὴν μὲν ῥ᾽ **ἐδάμασσε** Ποσειδάων

ἐνοσίχθων/ τῆλ᾽ ἀπὸ πατρὸς ἑοῖο φέρων...καίπερ πολύιδριν ἐοῦσαν, fr.

43a. 55-7). Poseidon takes the girl away from her paternal house, to which she

returned after duping Glaukos, and rapes her on Cos. Given that Mestra

employs animal transformations in order to escape from her husbands/owners,

Poseidon literally breaks her animal forms and has sex with her, thus turning

the maiden into a woman.[72] Mestra's transformations are enmeshed in the

metamorphic wit of Hesiod's diction; no wonder that the *Catalogue* appealed to

Ovid's genius.

In the *Catalogue,* Mestra is endowed with the power of metamorphosis before

her affair with Poseidon, while in the *Metamorphoses,* the girl prays to Neptune

and, referring to his raping her, asks the god to free her from her master, the

man to whom Erysichthon sold her.[73] Neptune hearkens to her request and

bestows the gift of metamorphosis upon her. The transformed Mestra, living up

to the fame of her cunning intelligence,[74] dupes her owner and then returns to

her original form (*elususque abiit; illi sua reddita forma est. Met.* 8.870). The

master is tricked and *elusus* recalls deception in an erotic context. Europa, for

instance, is deceived (*elusam, Met.* 6.103) by Jupiter's transformation and

subsequently raped by the god. Mestra subverts this pattern; she

metamorphoses in order to elude her owner and flee his sexual advances. Her

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[72] For a similar pun on δαμάζω, cf. fr. 141.2 M-W (Διὸς **δμηθεῖσα** δόλοισι). Europa is "subdued" by Zeus' tricks, while she is riding a tamed bull. For a more detailed discussion of this pun, see Chapter 2. For δαμάζω in *ehoie*-poetry, see Skempis (forthcoming).
[73] *"**eripe** me domino, qui **raptae** praemia nobis/ uirginitatis habes", Met.* 8.850-1, is Mestra's prayer. Mestra asks Neptune, the god who "snatched" her virginity, to "snatch" her from her owner and future rapist, and the wordplay *eripe-raptae* is worth mentioning. Note also that both in the case of Mestra and Perimele there is no mention of offspring; cf. Fletcher, R. 2005, 311.
[74] cf. πυκι]νὰ [φ]ρ.εσὶ μήδε᾽ ἰδ.[υι-, fr. 43a.9 M-W; καίπερ πολύιδριν ἐοῦσα[ν· fr.43a.57 M-W.

metamorphic scheme and her restoration to her female form after her escape are modeled on Hesiod's version (fr. 43a.31-3 M-W). When Ovid's Erysichthon realizes his daughter's metamorphic abilities, he keeps selling her to different people. The girl escapes transformed into a different animal each time (*nunc equa, nunc ales, modo ceruus abibat, Met.* 8.873). In the *Catalogue,* Erysichthon dupes more than Sisyphos and Mestra's transformation into a mare (her first animal transformation in Ovid) can be traced in a poorly preserved fragment from her *ehoie* (fr. 46 M-W).[75] Thus, Mestra and Erysichthon repeat their scheme many times in Hesiod and Ovid.

I shall finally discuss an intriguing parallel between Ovid and Philodemus. Achelous gives a catalogue of metamorphoses as a proof of the gods' power to change shapes. A fragment from Philodemus' refers to the Hesiodic *ehoie* of Mestra and bears striking similarities with Ovid's version:[76]

> [Ἀχελ]ώ̣.ου καὶ πάν[των τῶν ἀ]λ[ή]πτων θ[εῶν μετ]αμορφώσ[εις· ἔτι δὲ πολυ[ει]δ̣.[ίαν]παντελῶς τα.[ύτην Ποσ]ειδῶν λέγετ̣.[αι καὶ] τῶν ἀνθρώπ[ων τισ]ὶ̣.ν περιθεῖν[αι τήν] τ̣.ε̣. αὐτὴν δ̣.[οῦ]ναι Π̣.ερικλυμέν [ωι] κ[αὶ Μ]ήστραι. τούτων [δὲ] τὴν μὲν ἱστορή̣.[κασι<ν>,   ὡ]ς Ἡσίοδος,[77] δ̣.ια̣.[π]ρ̣.ασθῆναι χάρ[ιν τοῦ δι]ατρέφεσθ' Α̣.[ἴθωνα. Philodemus,

> The transformations of Achelous and all the elusive gods; and altogether Poseidon too is said to confer diversity of forms even upon certain human beings and to have given that to Periclymenus and Mestra. Like

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Hesiod they recount that she of these two was sold in order to feed Aithon.

The fragment deals with the transformations of the gods, which is the topic of Achelous in the *Metamorphoses,* and Achelous himself is included in the list (cf. *Met.* 8.879-84). The many shapes that the gods assume or bestow upon mortals are what connects Proteus, Mestra (via Neptune), and Achelous in the catalogue of the river god (*transformia corpora, Met.* 8.871; cf. πολυειδία in Philodemus).[78] In the *Ehoiai,* according to Philodemus, Erysichthon sells his daughter (cf. διαπρασθῆναι) in order to feed his hunger, just as it is the case in Ovid's version *(hanc quoque **uendit** inops, Met.* 8.848). Thus, not only the subject of Achelous' narrative (θεῶν μεταμορφώσεις), but also his examples (Mestra, Achelous)[79] are similar to those cited by Philodemus. These parallels suggest that Ovid refers to Philodemus, and if so, Pirithous' skepticism about the gods' ability to metamorphose is played out against the background of Epicurean philosophy. Achelous' reference to Hesiod's authority passes through Philodemus' critique of poetic theology.[80] Ironically, the river god draws on an Epicurean source in order to support the power of the Hesiodic gods.

Conclusion

The story of Coronis in the *Metamorphoses* presents itself as an aetiological tale drawing specifically on the *Hecale,* Callimachus' small scale epic. At the same time, Ovid aligns his version of Coronis with the theme of divine loves,

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[78] See Philippson 1920, 261.
[79] Ovid deals with Periclymenus, Philodemus' other example from the *Ehoiai,* in *Metamorphoses* 12. See Chapter 5.
[80] For Epicurus and Greek religion, see Obbink 1995, 1-23. In   Philodemus defends Epicurus against charges of atheism and impiety (see Obbink 1996, 2-3). For Epicurus and Philodemus on gods in poetry, see Obbink 1995. For Epicurus and the Augustan poets, see Tait 1941; Obbink, 2004.

which is central both to the *Catalogue of Women* and the *Metamorphoses,* but not to the *Hecale.* Structuring his tale as a Coronis-*ehoie* the Roman poet opens a dialogue not with the Callimachean, but with the Hesiodic epic. In fact, Callimachus himself refers to Hesiod's Coronis in his *Hecale,* an intertextual engagement which would hardly have escaped Ovid. Thus, Ovid employs an intertextual trope which Richard Thomas called "window reference"[81] and consists of an adaptation of a model, noticeably interrupted in order to allow reference back to the source of that model. In other words, Ovid's references to Callimachus function as a "windowpane" to Hesiod's *ehoie* of Coronis. The Roman poet takes the story out of its Hellenistic version and brings it back to the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women.*

The story of Mestra in Book 8 is a similar instance of "window reference". The setting of Achelous' banquet alludes to Callimachus' *Hecale,* while the tale of the gluttonous Erysichthon refers not only to the Callimachean *Hymn to Demeter,* but also to the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women.* The muddy river suggests anti-Callimachean poetics and Achelous' tales cover five generations, alluding to the cyclic poetry of the *Ehoiai.* Located in the center of the *Metamorphoses,* the Achelous episode addresses fundamental issues of Ovid's epic, such as the gods' power to change shapes, the gods' affairs with mortal women, and the blending of Cycilc and Callimachean epic. The story of Erysichthon is embedded in the tale of Mestra and thus is removed from Callimachus' *Hymn to Demeter* and restored to Hesiod's *Ehoiai.* By presenting Erysichthon's daughter, who does not appear at all in Callimachus' version, as his main heroine, Ovid recasts Erysichthon in the framework of a Mestra-*ehoie.*

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[81] See Thomas 1986, 188-9, 197.

The interplay between Callimachean and Hesiodic poetry inherent in Ovid's double allusion in the tale of Mestra creates a tension between the structure of the tale (i.e. a story about Mestra) and the main part of the narrative, which deals with Erysichthon's sacrilege and punishment. Likewise, there is a juxtaposition between the tales of the birds and the story of Coronis; a Coronis-*ehoie* is triggered by the *aition* of the raven's color, while the crow's digression within a Coronis-*ehoie* not only refers to the *Hecale,* but also includes the *ehoie*-like narrative of Coroneus' daughter. Such an interplay between surface form and narrative function is one of the most salient characteristics of the *Ehoiai.* A tale begins with the presentation of a beautiful princess, who is cast as the main heroine of the story, but the focus quickly shifts to other characters and themes until the narrative returns to the main heroine in the end. The twists and turns of the tales of Coronis and Mestra, who provide the framework of a diverse and unexpected narrative course, are not unlike the episodic narrative of Hesiod's *Ehoiai.* Ovid found in Hesiod not only a compendium of Greek myth, but also a valuable predecessor of his own epic enterprise.

Orpheus as a Hesiodic Poet: Ovid's *Ehoie* of Atalanta
(*Met.* 10.560-707)

Orpheus

The second pentad of the *Metamorphoses* concludes with Orpheus' poetic performance, which refers back to Calliope's song in the end of the first pentad.[1] After losing Eurydice a second time, the legendary bard is inconsolable; as a result, he abstains from women and turns to homosexuality (*Met.* 10.73-85). After three years of mourning, Orpheus moves to a grassy but shadeless hill and prepares to praise pederasty. With a stroke of his lyre, a mass of trees gather together, an internal audience which provides shade for the bard. The last tree is the cypress/Cyparissus, once a handsome young boy loved by Apollo (*Met.* 10.86-147). The tale of Cyparissus (recounted by the primary narrator) is a prelude to Orpheus' stories of gods in love with boys (Jupiter and Ganymede, Apollo and Hyacinthus; *Met.* 10.148-219). Hyacinthus, in particular, who was loved by Apollo and transformed into a flower, shares a fate very similar to that of Cyparissus. By connecting the primary with the embedded narrative thematically, Ovid draws attention to the relevance of Orpheus' performance to the internal audience of trees. Apollo's passion for Hyacinthus and the plant transformation of his beloved strike a familiar note to the cypress tree and the laurel, who are drawn to Orpheus' song; *innuba laurus* (*Met.* 10.92) is an intratextual reference to Apollo's first love in Book 1, and Ovid's epithet *(innuba)* describes a virgin rather than a plant.[2] The same

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[1] See Nagle 1988, for a comparison between Calliope's and Orpheus' song. Nagle argues that both performances are miniatures of the *Metamorphoses.* See also Smith 1997, 148-9; Johnson 2008, 96-116, and Chapter 2.
[2] Cf. Ahl 1985, 214; Johnson 2008, 110-11.

adjective will be used for Atalanta (*innuba, Met.* 10.567), who, just like Daphne, tried to remain a virgin by running away from her suitors. Just as his mother Calliope took pains to make her narrative appealing to the internal audience of the nymphs, who were the judges of the singing competition,[3] Orpheus chooses a topic that is triggered by his personal tragedy and interests his audience. The bard attracts his audience not only with his artistic skills, but also with the clever choice of his subject.

In the beginning of his song, Orpheus invokes his mother (*Ab Ioue, Musa parens...carmina nostra moue, Met.* 10.148-9); his song will be inspired by Calliope and thus Orpheus' performance will resemble that of his mother in Book 5. Calliope's song moved from the demise of Typhoeus to the rape of Proserpina, reiterating the Hesiodic transition from the end of the *Theogony* to the *Catalogue of Women.* Likewise, Orpheus moves from Jupiter's triumph over the earth-born Giants to Jupiter's passion for Ganymede, passing from a Theogonic narrative he once sang, to divine loves that he is about to sing:

> *Ab Ioue, Musa parens, (cedunt Iouis omnia regno),*
> *carmina nostra moue. Iouis est mihi saepe potestas*
> *dicta prius; cecini plectro grauiore Gigantas*
> *sparsaque Phlegraeis uictricia fulmina campis.*
> *nunc opus est leuiore lyra; puerosque canamus*
> *dilectos superis inconcessisque puellas*
> *ignibus attonitas meruisse libidine poenam.*
> *Met.* 10.148-54

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[3] See Zissos 1999.

"From Jupiter, my mother Muse, (all yield to Jupiter's kingdom) start our songs. I often told of Jupiter's power before; I sang of the Giants in a heavier strain and the victorious thunderbolts hurled at the Phlegraean fields. Now there is a lighter work for my lyre; let us sing of boys loved by gods, and girls stricken by forbidden fires, that deserved a punishment for their lust.

The juxtaposition between the serious song of a Gigantomachy and the lighter tunes of divine amours recalls the elegiac *recusatio* of epic poetry and in particular Ovid's futile attempt to compose a Gigantomachy, which was thwarted by his elegiac love (cf. *Amores* 1.1; 2.1). Epic is defeated by elegy in the *Amores,* and it is tempting to read Orpheus' proem as a similar case of epic disavowal in favor of a slender elegiac narrative. A closer look, however, reveals that Orpheus' amatory song is not presented as a disruption, but as a sequel to his Gigantomachy. Unlike the elegiac maxim *omnia uincit Amor,* Orpheus is clear about Jupiter's omnipotence *(cedunt Iouis omnia regno)* and unlike Ovid's failure to compose a martial epic (*Am.* 1.1) and a Gigantomachy (*Am.* 2.1), Orpheus sang of Jupiter's triumph over the Giants and now moves on to the loves of the gods. This temporal sequentiality (from the Gigantomachy to divine loves), reflected in Orpheus' career as a bard *(cecini...Gigantas... nunc.... pueros canamus dilectos superis),* reproduces the transition from the Typhonomachy to Zeus' first love in Hesiod's *Theogony.*[4] Jupiter connects the *Theogony* to the *Catalogue;* after subduing the chthonic challengers, the ruler of the universe falls in love, marking a salient narrative progression not only in the Hesiodic corpus, but also in Ovid's *Metamorphoses.*

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[4] See Chapter 2. Note also the parallel between Jupiter's thunderbolts (*fulmina, Met.* 10.151) and the thunderstruck girls (*ignibus attonitas, Met.* 10.154).

Orpheus' Hesiodic trajectory, however, is peculiar since the Thracian bard announces the gods' passions for mortal boys, not for maidens, thus subverting the main motif of the *Ehoiai*.[5] The substitution of homosexual for heterosexual passions further undermines the genealogical progression of the Hesiodic *Catalogue.* This playful subversion suggests Ovid's affiliation with the Hellenistic adaptations of *ehoie*-poetry. In fact, Orpheus' catalogue of pederastic affairs draws on Phanocles' *Erotes,* a mock-Hesiodic catalogue of homoerotic loves. Critics have pointed out Ovid's allusions to this Hellenistic source,[6] which started with Orpheus and presented him as the πρῶτος εὑρετής of homosexuality. Charles Segal was the first to point out that Ovid refers to Phanocles:[7]

> οὕνεκα πρῶτος ἔδειξεν ἐνὶ Θρήκεσσιν ἔρωτας
> ἄρρενας, οὐδὲ πόθους ἤνεσε θηλυτέρων.
> Phanocles, *Erotes* 1.9-10 Powell

> because he was the first to show among the Thracians male loves, and did not praise female passions.

> *ille etiam Thracum populis fuit auctor amorem*
> *in teneros transferre mares*
> *Met.* 10.83-4

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[5] On Orpheus' homoerotic motifs in the *Metamorphoses,* see Makowski 1996.
[6] See Barchiesi 2001, 56-7 with n. 20. Ovid's use of Phanocles (cf. *Met.* 10.83-4; Phan. fr. 1.9-10 Powell) was pointed out by Segal 1972, 477; see also Gärtner 2008, 31-43. Phanocles uses the formula ἢ ὡς, a variant of the Hesiodic ἠ' οἵη, as a means of moving on to his next story. For the Hellenistic adaptations of the Hesiodic *Ehoiai,* such as Nicaenetus' 'Catalogue of Women' (fr. 2 Powell), the peculiarly male Ἡοῖοι of Sosicrates or Sostratos *(SH* 732), Hermesianax' *Leontion,* and Phanocles' *Erotes,* see Hunter 2005, 259-65; Asquith 2005; Caspers 2006.
[7] See Segal 1972, 477.

and he was the first in the people of Thrace to transfer love in tender

males

Thomas Gärtner discusses Ovid's reference to Phanocles in the passage quoted above, pointing out that *amorem* appears in the end of the line like ἔρωτας, and commenting on the enjambment (ἔρωτας/ ἄρρενας; *amorem/...mares*).[8] Along those lines, Alessandro Barchiesi argues that the subject of Orpheus' song, as it is proclaimed by the bard himself (*Met.* 10.152-4), alludes to Phanocles.[9] In the *Erotes,* Orpheus is in love with a boy named Kalais and repeatedly sings of his passion under a shady grove (πολλάκι δὲ **σκιεροῖσιν** ἐν ἄλσεσιν **ἔζετ'** ἀείδων/ ὃν πόθον, *Er.* fr. 1.3-4 Powell).[10] Likewise, Ovid's Orpheus sings of pederastic loves (though not his own) and gives a catalogue of homoerotic passions resembling Phanocles' *Erotes.* Orpheus praises homosexual love, denouncing female lust and Ovid's *inconcessisque puellas/ ignibus attonitas* (*Met.* 10.153-4) recalls Phanocles' οὐδὲ πόθους ἤνεσε θηλυτέρων (fr. 1.10 Powell). Thus, the topic of Orpheus' song in the *Metamorphoses,* i.e. boys loved by gods and girls punished for their lust, refers to Phanocles' Orpheus and the *Erotes* catalogue of homoerotic loves.

By reworking Phanocles, Ovid casts his Orpheus in the tradition of catalogue poetry, which has Hesiod as its fountainhead. And while a catalogue of pederastic affairs destroys the genealogical narrative of the Hesiodic *Ehoiai,* when Orpheus moves to the second part of his song, his narrative unfolds

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[8] Gärtner 2008, 31-2.
[9] See Barchiesi 2001, 56-7 with n. 20.
[10] Cf. **umbra** *loco deerat; qua postquam parte* **resedit***/ dis genitus uates et fila sonantia mouet,/* **umbra** *loco uenit. Met.* 10.88-90. Ovid elaborates on Phanocles. In the *Erotes* Orpheus sings in a shady grove, while in the *Metamorphoses* he creates shade with his lyre, which lures the trees. See Gärtner 2008, 34-5 for Ovid's "'Mobilisierung' der bei Phanokles statischen lokalen Hintergrundszenerie."

genealogically. The amatory content of his speech links the tales of homosexual and heterosexual passion. While the Hesiodic motif "when a god loves a woman" has become "when a god loves a boy" in the first part, the genealogical unfolding of the second part of Orpheus' narrative reiterates one of the most salient characteristics of the Hesiodic *Ehoiai,* an epic in which the affairs of gods with mortal women are enmeshed in a panorama of heroic genealogies.[11] The genealogical thread of Orpheus' narrative runs as follows: Pygmalion-Paphos-Cinyras-Myrrha-Adonis (*Met.* 10.243-739). The tales of the second part (including the brief stories of the Cerastae and the Proepetides in *Met.* 10.220-42) take place in Cyprus, a geographical transition which signals a shift from pederastic loves to female passions.

There seems to be a tradition, attested in Hyginus the astronomer, according to which Orpheus performed *ehoie*-poetry:

> *Itaque existimatur suo artificio feras etiam ad se audiendum adlicuisse.*
> *Qui querens uxoris Eurydices mortem, ad inferos descendisse*
> *existimatur, et ibi* **deorum progeniem suo carmine laudasse**,
> Hyginus, *Astronomica* 2.7.1

> Thus, they reckon that with his art he enticed even beasts to listen to him. They reckon that he, lamenting the death of his wife Eurydice, went down to the dead, and there he praised the offspring of the gods with his song.

Praising the offspring of the gods lies at the heart of the Hesiodic *Ehoiai* and Orpheus' song of divine progeny points to the Hesiodic credentials of the

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[11] Interestingly, the story of Apollo inadvertently killing Hyacinthus with his discus is attested in the *Catalogue* (fr. 171 M-W).

mythical bard. Orpheus performs an *ehoie*-like song in his attempt to move the gods of the Underworld. In the *Metamorphoses,* Ovid reports Oprheus' song in the Underworld (*Met.* 10.17-39), but the bard's plea to the rulers of the dead is not a praise of *deorum progenies.*[12] His second song, however, draws on specific sources and motifs of *ehoie*-poetry, ranging from the Hellenistic adaptations of the Hesiodic *Ehoiai* to the genealogical narrative of the *Catalogue.*

The close affinities between Orphic and Hesiodic poetry can be traced in Vergil's *Eclogue* 6. The poem begins with a *recusatio,* as Apollo stops Tityrus' epic of *reges et proelia* (*Ecl.* 6.3-12). As a result of Apollo's intervention, the poet reports the song of Silenus, which is a miniature of Ovid's *Metamorphoses.*[13] Silenus begins with chaos (*Ecl.* 6.31) and after his cosmogony he moves on to Pyrrha and Deucalion (*Ecl.* 6.41), a story which signals a transition from the *Theogony* to the *Catalogue.* The rest of the song contains a catalogue of erotic passions *(Ecl.* 6.43-81), which moves, like Ovid's Orpheus, from homosexual (Hylas, *Ecl.* 6.43-4) to heterosexual loves with emphasis on female perversion and metamorphosis (Pasiphae, the daughters of Proetus, Scylla, Tereus and Philomela). And just like Ovid's Orpheus (*Met.* 10.560-707), Silenus includes Atalanta in his list *(tum canit Hesperidum miratam mala puellam; Ecl.* 6.61). In an interlude to the catalogue, Linus presents Cornelius Gallus with Hesiod's pipes *(Ecl.* 6.64-73),[14] making clear that Hesiod is the poetic ancestor of Silenus. Interestingly, the Orpheus-like

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[12] For an assessment of Orpheus' underworld performance in the *Metamorphoses* see Johnson 2008, 106-9, and the bibliography she cites.
[13] Cf. La Penna 1962, 216-23; Johnson 2008, 100, compares Silenus' song with Orpheus' narrative in the *Metamorphoses.*
[14] For the role of Gallus in the Roman reception of Hesiod, see Cairns 2006, 120-31.

power to "lead" trees is attributed to Hesiod and Silenus, who is compared to Orpheus:[15]

> *tum uero in numerum Faunosque ferasque uideres*
>
> *ludere, <u>tum rigidas motare cacumina quercus;</u>*
>
> *nec tantum Phoebo gaudet Parnasia rupes,*
>
> ***nec tantum Rhodope miratur et Ismarus Orphea.***
>
> Vergil, *Eclogues* 6.27-30

> but then one could see Fauns and beasts frolic in time to the rhythm, then one could see hard oaks to move about; not so much does the rock of Parnasus rejoice in Phoebus, not so much do Rhodope and Ismarus marvel at Orpheus.

> *dixerit: 'hos tibi dant calamos (en accipe) Musae,*
>
> *Ascraeo quos ante seni, <u>quibus ille solebat</u>*
>
> *<u>cantando rigidas deducere montibus ornos.</u>*
>
> Vergil, *Eclogues* 6.69-71

> he said: "the Muses give you these reeds (there! get them), which they once gave to the old man from Ascra, with which he used to lead by singing hard ash-trees from the mountains.

Thus, Orpheus and Hesiod are closely associated in *Eclogue* 6, a poem very similar to the performance of Ovid's Orpheus. In *Metamorphoses* 10, the setting of Orpheus' song is pastoral, thus casting his performance in a mileu similar to Vergil's Silenus. Stephen Hinds notes that Orpheus sits down like a pastoral

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[15] Orpheus provides the model for Silenus in his recital. Silenus' cosmogony also recalls Orpheus' song in Apollonius, *Arg.* 1.496-502. See Coleman 1977, 183.

shepherd, to sing the songs of love and loss.[16] The lack of shade, a *sine qua non* of a bucolic *locus amoenus,* is corrected by Orpheus' magical power to attract the trees, creating the ideal pastoral background for a Hesiodic performance.[17] Vergil's Silenus and Ovid's Orpheus exemplify the generic affiliation of pastoral poetry with Hesiod, who, in the Hellenistic imagination, was considered the forerunner of bucolic poetry.[18]

Given the Hesiodic character of Silenus' recital, the juxtaposition between the disavowal of martial epic in the beginning of *Eclogue* 6 and the following performance of a *Theogony* and a *Catalogue of Women* by Silenus is all the more intriguing since it suggests the familiar antagonism between Homeric and Hesiodic epic. From that perspective, we can reassess the relationship between the *recusatio* of Tityrus' epic and Silenus' song, which is reported by Tityrus, and read it as a reenactment of the *certamen* between Homer and Hesiod. Hesiodic poetry takes precedence over martial epic, just as Hesiod defeated Homer in the *agon.* Ovid's Orpheus draws on Vergil's Silenus, and Hesiod is central both to Silenus' Orphic performance in *Eclogue* 6 and to Orpheus in *Metamorphoses* 10. What is more, as we shall see, Orpheus opens an intertextual dialogue with Vergil's *Aeneid.*[19] and the Hesiodic persona of Ovid's Orpheus can explain his repeated references to Vergil's Homeric epic. The

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[16] See Hinds 2002, 127-8. Hinds draws on Curtius 1953, 190-200. For the pastoral setting of Orpheus' performance see also Johnson 2008, 110-1.

[17] Schiesaro 2006, 436, notes: "In Book 10 of the *Metamorphoses* Orpheus literally 'invents' the idyllic landscape of the *locus amoenus."*

[18] See Schroeder 2006, 10-1, 101, 223-4; Gutzwiller 2006, 11-15, 22-3. For Hesiod in Vergil's *Eclogues,* see Hardie 2006, 283-7.

[19] Most critics analyze the interplay between Ovid's Orpheus and Vergil's *Georgics* 4. See, for instance, Segal 1972; Leach 1974; Anderson 1982; Knox 1986, 48-62; von Albrecht 1990, 206-11; Pagán 2004. In my view, the Orpheus episode in the *Metamorphoses* confronts Vergil's oeuvre as whole; the *Eclogues,* the *Georgics,* and the *Aeneid.* For the purposes of this chapter, I focus on Ovid's dialogue with Vergil's *Aeneid,* which is set against the Hesiodic credentials of Orpheus.

legendary bard takes part in a generic rivalry between heroic epic and *ehoie*-poetry.

Venus' *Ehoie* of Atalanta

Venus features prominently in Orpheus' Cyprian tales, although the goddess in not mentioned at all in the homoerotic loves of the gods. The prominence of Venus is hardly surprising, given the erotic content of most of Orpheus' tales and the fact that Cyprus is Venus' favorite island. The goddess punishes the Cerastae and the Proepetides, helps Pygmalion to acquire the object of his passion, and finally falls in love with Adonis. Venus is absent from the tale of Myrrha, whose incestuous love is inspired by one of the Furies, not by Cupid (*Met.* 10.311-4). The absence of Venus from an amatory passion is all the more emphatic since the story of Myrrha is framed by tales in which Venus plays a central role.

After the metamorphosis of Myrrha, who, although she was transformed into a tree, gives birth to Adonis, Orpheus tells the story of Venus' love for Myrrha's son. The tale of Venus and Adonis (*Met.* 10.503-59; 708-39) provides the frame for another love story, in which Venus helps a young man marry a beautiful girl (*Met.* 10.560-707). The goddess of love, fearing that Adonis' audacious hunting enterprises may be fatal, tells him the story of Atalanta and Hippomenes (10.560- 707). Atalanta was an outstandingly swift-footed and beautiful girl, who tried to avoid marriage because of an oracle's warning. She made a deal with her numerous suitors that if someone outran her in a race, he would marry her, but if not, he would die. Her beauty was so compelling, that many agreed to run the risk of losing their lives. Although many suitors died after they lost to

Atalanta in the fatal race, Hippomenes fell in love when he saw her naked and decided to compete.

Atalanta is also touched by Hippomenes' beauty and, in a typically Ovidian soliloquy, she is wavering about her feelings, not realizing that she is actually in love with the young man. Hippomenes prays to Venus, and the goddess of love decides to help him. She plucks three golden apples from Tamasus, a sacred field of hers in Cyprus, and gives them to Hippomenes, instructing him how to use them. The race begins and, although Atalanta delays admiring the beauty of her suitor, she runs past him. Then Hippomenes, panting long before the end of the race, throws the first apple. Atalanta, astonished by the shining apple, runs off the course and picks it up. Hippomenes passes her, but she makes up for the delay and leaves him behind. Atalanta delays again when Hippomenes throws the second apple, but she follows and passes him once more. As the runners approach the last section of the race, Hippomenes throws the third apple sideways, so that Atalanta will take longer to catch up. The girl is unsure whether she should take the apple or not, but Venus makes her pick it up and adds weight to it. So, Hippomenes wins the race and Atalanta as his wife. But Hippomenes was ungrateful to Venus and did not thank her. The slighted goddess decided to punish him. While Hippomenes and Atalanta were near the temple of Cybele, the young man, stirred by Venus, made love to his wife in a sacred cave where the priests had gathered together figures of the ancient gods. Cybele, offended by the desecration of the sanctuary, transformed them into lions.

The depth of embedding in Orpheus' tale of Atalanta is comparable to the song of his mother Calliope.[20] In the case of Atalanta's soliloquy (*Met.* 10.611-35), for instance, the words of the girl are reported by Venus, whose narrative is embedded in Orpheus' song. Venus is not only the narrator of Atalanta's tale, but she also plays an important role in the narrative by first coming to Hippomenes' aid and then causing the metamorphosis of the couple. The punitive transformation of Atalanta and Hippomenes recalls the transformations of the Cerastae and the Proepetides.

Despite the intricate nexus of embedded narratives, the tale of Atalanta belongs to the narrative framework of Orpheus' song, which is generically associated with the Hesiodic *Ehoiai.* The Hesiodic character of the *Metamorphoses* in general and the generic affinities of Orpheus' narrative with the tradition of catalogue poetry in particular invite Ovid's readers to trace the intertextual references to the Atalanta-*ehoie* (fr. 72-6 M-W).[21] In fact, the version of the *Catalogue* is similar to that of the *Metamorphoses.* Atalanta races with her suitors, who are killed when they lose to her, until Hippomenes, with the aid of Aphrodite, wins the race and takes her as his wife. Aphrodite gives the youth three golden apples and Hippomenes throws them during the race. The girl delays while collecting the shining apples, and that gives the opportunity to Hippomenes to finish first.

Venus' story of Atalanta and Hippomenes does not end with the end of the race, but with the punitive transformation of the couple (*Met.* 10.681-707). The

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[20] Only the embedding in Ovid's "*Aeneid"* is as deep as in the tales of the Muse and Orpheus. In *Met.* 14 Ovid tells about Macareus telling Achaemenides about Circe's servant telling Macareus about Circe's jealousy of the happily married Picus and Canens (see Nagle 1988, 123).
[21] The Atalanta-*ehoie* belongs either to the *Catalogue of Women* or the *Megalai Ehoiai* (on this issue see Hirschberger 2004, 458-9; D'Alessio 2005, 213-6). The problem of the attribution of the Atalanta-*ehoie* to the *Catalogue* or the *Megalai Ehoiai* does not affect my argument; what is important for my approach is that Hesiod's tale of Atalanta belongs to the genre of *ehoie*-poetry.

metamorphosis of Atalanta into a lioness is the end of the story both in Ovid and Hesiod. We know from Philodemus that, according to Hesiod, Atalanta's metamorphosis was the result of Zeus' vengeance, although it is not clear whether Zeus himself performed the metamorphosis:[22]

> τοῦ Διὸς [τῆι τίσ]ει καὶ Ἀταλάντην. Σχοινέως [φησὶν] Ἡσίοδος λέ
> [αιναν π]οιῆσαι πα[ρ᾽ ἱερὸν νό]μον ἰ.δοῦ[σαν ἃ οὐ θ]ἐ.μις {τ} ἐσ.[τὶν
> ἰδεῖν.]
> Philodemus, *De pietate* B 6599-66 Obbink= fr. 72 M-W= fr. 51 Most
> Hesiod says that, due to Zeus' vengance, Schoeneus' daughter Atalanta,
> who contrary to sacred law had seen what is not lawful to see, was
> turned into a lioness. (transl. Most).

Ovid's version corresponds to Hesiod's as far as the metamorphosis of Atalanta as the result of divine vengeance is concerned. But in Ovid, Jupiter plays no role in the metamorphosis. However, the structural parallels between Hesiod's *ehoie* of Atalanta and Ovid's version are striking. After the end of the race, we move to a punitive metamorphosis. It goes without saying that the Hesiodic end of the story with a metamorphosis is a very appealing model for Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.[23]

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[22] Most 2007, 117 n.19, notes "it may be Zeus who performs the metamorphosis (so Obbink, despite the ensuing grammatical awkwardness: cf. e.g. Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Library* 3.9.2), or it might for example be Aphrodite or Cybele (cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 10.681-704) or some other divinity." According to a scholion on Theocritus, considered by Carl Robert "eine summarische Hypothesis der hesiodischen Eoee" (Robert 1887, 448), Hippomenes was transformed into a lion for having sex with Atalanta in a sacred place (λαβὼν δ᾽ αὐτὴν γυναῖκα μετεμορφώθη εἰς λέοντα ἐν ἱερῷ τόπῳ συνελθὼν αὐτῇ. *Schol. Theocr.* 3.42). The name of the commentator is Theon and he lived in the Augustan era; see Bömer *ad* 10.560-707 (p.190). This version corresponds to *Met.* 10.689-90 *(illic concubitus intempestiua cupido/ occupat Hippomenen).*
[23] For metamorphosis as a recurrent motif in the *Catalogue of Women,* see Hirschberger 2004, 79; 2008.

The names which Ovid chooses for Atalanta's father and husband also correspond to the version of the *Catalogue*. Apollodorus attests that Hesiod called Atalanta's father Schoeneus and her husband Hippomenes:

> Ἡσίοδος δὲ καί τινες ἕτεροι τὴν Ἀταλάντην οὐκ Ἰάσου ἀλλὰ Σχοινέως εἶπον, Εὐριπίδης δὲ Μαινάλου καὶ τὸν γήμαντα αὐτὴν οὐ Μειλανίωνα, ἀλλὰ Ἱππομένην.
> Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 3.109= fr. 72 M-W

> Hesiod and some others said that Atalanta was not the daughter of Iasos, but of Schoeneus, but Euripides said she was the daughter of Mainalos and her husband was not Meilanion, but Hippomenes.

The confusion of the names of Atalanta's father and husband often results from a conflation of the Boeotian Atalanta (the runner) and the Arcadian Atalanta (the huntress).[24] Ovid himself conflates the two characters in *Amores* 1.7.13-4 *(talem Schoeneida dicam/ Maenalias arcu sollicitasse feras;),* presenting the Arcadian Atalanta as the daughter of Schoeneus. At *Amores* 3.2.29-30 Atalanta's suitor is called Milanion, although Ovid refers to the runner *(talia Milanion Atalantes crura fugacis/ optauit manibus sustinuisse suis).* Still, at *Heroides* 16.265 and 21.125, he presents the Boeotian Atalanta, the runner, who was the daughter of Schoeneus and loved by Hippomenes. At *Ars Amatoria* 3.775, Atalanta's long legs imply the runner, but her husband is called Milanion *(Milanion umeris Atalantes crura ferebat).* Ovid confuses and conflates the two homonymous characters. However, in the *Metamorphoses* he

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[24] In Greek mythology, there are two heroines named Atalana. The Boeotian Atalanta is the daughter of Schoeneus and is a runner, while the Arcadian Atalanta is the daughter of Iasios (Iasion) or Mainalos and is a huntress. The suitor of the Boeotian Atalanta is called Hippomenes, while the suitor of the Arcadian Milanion. See Bömer *ad Met.* 8.273-546 (pp. 98f.) and 10.560-707 (pp. 188f.); Janka 1997, *ad Ars* 2.185-6.

distinguishes them. Atalanta, the Arcadian huntress who took part in the hunting of the Calydonian boar, is the *Tegeaea uirgo* who features in Book 8 (8.317; 380), while the Boeotian Atalanta appears in Book 10. The mention of her patronymic (*Schoeneia* 10.609; 660) and the name of her husband follow the Hesiodic tradition.

The structure of the *Catalogue* with its geographical focus must have played a role in the disambiguation of the two homonymous characters. The conflation of the Arcadian with the Boeotian Atalanta presumably happened before Hesiod. Although the two heroines are not confused in the *Catalogue* or in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, there are some traces of conflation in both texts. Fr. 73.4-5 (πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀ]παναίνετο φῦλον ὁμιλεῖν ἀνδρῶν ἐλπομένη φεύγ] ειν γάμον ἀλφηστάων) befits more the huntress Atalanta as well as the Ovidian *per opacas innuba siluas/ uiuit Met.* 10.567-8. Interestingly, the passages which suggest the Arcadian Atalanta appear in the beginning of the Hesiodic and the Ovidian version.

Venus introduces the tale of Atalanta in a way that activates the intertextual dynamics of her narrative. The goddess says to Adonis that he probably knows the story of the beautiful and swift-footed girl:

> *"Forsitan audieris aliquam certamine cursus*
> *ueloces superasse uiros; non fabula rumor*
> *ille fuit (superabat enim). nec dicere posses*
> *laude pedum formaene bono praestantior esset.*
> *Met.* 10.560-3

> "Perhaps you have heard of a girl who beat fast men in a race; that reputation was not a fake tale (for she did beat them). And one could not

say whether she was more admirable for the noble praise of her feet or
her looks.

Venus is about to recount a story already known, along the lines of the
Callimachean μῦθος δ᾽ οὐκ ἐμός, ἀλλ᾽ ἑτέρων (*In lauacrum Palladis* 56). The
goddess begins with a so called "Alexandrian footnote"[25] bringing up the
tradition of Atalanta's story and inviting us to read the Ovidian version against
the background of previous treatments. A learned reader must have already
heard of the story of the girl who could outrun men. As the revelation of the girl's
name is delayed until 10.565,[26] our (and Adonis') mythological erudition is put to
the test.

Venus concludes her introduction by saying that one could not tell whether
Atalanta was more admirable for the noble praise *(bono laude)* of her feet or
that of her beauty *(forma).* The sentence is peculiar if we consider that we are
told that Atalanta was admirable not for her beauty or her swift feet, but for the
noble fame of these features. This is not a trivial point since the diction makes
us see Atalanta through the lens of her high praise. In other words, it is not her
actual qualities as a beautiful woman and a runner that are under discussion
here, but her fame that many people have heard of before Ovid. In this case,
Ovid is bringing back the literary tradition of Atalanta's beauty and swiftness.
His version has to be read against the background of Atalanta's poetic fame
and it is made clear right from the beginning that poetic memory will play an
important role in the Ovidian version.

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[25] For the term "Alexandrian footnote," see Ross 1975, 78; Hinds 1987, 8-9, 40, 58; Wheeler 1999, 114, with n.44 and 45.
[26] Anderson (1972) notes *ad* 10.560-3: "The introduction of the story teases the audience, for Ovid leaves names out until 565 and talks vaguely of Atalanta as *aliquam;"*

Female excellence (cf. *praestantior)* and the renown of female beauty[27] are the very stuff of *ehoie*-poetry. Thus, Ovid's literary annotation refers to the program of the Hesiodic *Catalogue,* setting up an intertexual dialogue between Venus' narrative and the Atalanta-*ehoie.* The adjective *bonus,* which modifies Atalanta's renown (*laus),* is also significant. A *laus bonus,* which might recall Gregory Nagy's discussion about poetry of praise and poetry of blame,[28] refers to the laudatory aspect of *ehoie*-poetry, a genre thematically oriented to commending women for their beauty, skills, and noble descent. In fact, *bonus,* meaning not only 'good' but also 'noble', might point to Atalanta's royal pedigree, a *sine qua non* for Hesiod's heroines. In the *Catalogue,* Atalanta's royal descent, her outstanding swiftness and beauty are mentioned in the beginning of her *ehoie:*

[ἠ᾽οἵη Σχοινῆος ἀγακλε]ιτοῖο ἄνακτος

[παῖς εἰκυῖα θεῆι]σ̣ι ποδώκης δῖ᾽ Ἀταλάν[τη

[Χαρί]των ἀμαρύγματ᾽ ἔχο[υσα

fr. 73.1-3 M-W

Or like her: the very glorious lord Schoeneus' daughter, like the goddesses, swift-footed godly Atalanta [ ] possessing the Graces' radiance. (transl. Most)

The shining beauty of the swift-footed princess opens Hesiod's *ehoie* and Venus' introduction of her tale, which gestures towards Atalanta's poetic tradition, refers to Atalanta's renown of beauty and swiftness.

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[27] Osborne 2005, 10-8, argues that it is a characteristic of the *Catalogue of Women* to point out repeatedly the lovely appearance of the girls who attract the gods by their beauty. Osborne adds that, although desire and sexual activity make early and repeated appearances in the *Theogony,* physical appearance plays little part in the narrative dominating the genealogy of the generations down to Zeus.
[28] Nagy 1999, 222-42.

Having presented the story of Atalanta within Orpheus' speech, which is generically affiliated with *ehoie*-poetry, and having introduced the heroine with a literary annotation to the program of female-oriented epic poetry, Ovid has Atalanta consult an oracle, which advises her to avoid marriage:

> *scitanti deus huic de coniuge coniuge dixit*
> *nil opus est, Atalanta, tibi;* **fuge coniugis** *usum.*
> *nec tamen* **effugies** <u>teque ipsa uiua carebis</u>.
> *Met.* 10.564-6

> The god said to her, who was asking about marriage: "You don't need marriage, Atalanta; avoid the joy of marriage. But you will not escape and though living you will be without yourself."

The oracle is most likely Ovid's invention, but the beginning of Ovid's Atalanta refers to the beginning of the Atalanta-*ehoie.* After the introduction of the girl (fr. 73.1-3 M-W), the narrator says that she lived a solitary life, hoping to avoid marriage:

> [πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἀ]παναίνετο φῦλον ὁμιλ[εῖν
> ἀνδρῶν ἐλπομένη **φεύγ]ε.ιν γάμον** ἀλφηστάων.[.
> fr. 73.4-5 M-W

> she refused to associate with the tribe of human beings, hoping to avoid marriage with men who live on bread.

Virtually all editors agree that φεύγειν is the correct restoration,[29] and if so, Ovid's *fuge coniugis usum* alludes to Hesiod's φεύγειν γάμον. Both Hesiod

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[29] Both Rzach and Merkelbach-West read φεύγειν. Cf. Theognis' Atalanta (ἀναινομένην γάμον ἀνδρῶν/ φεύγειν *Eleg.* 2.1288-9; φεύγουσ᾽ ἱμερόεντα γάμον, *Eleg.* 2.1292).

and Ovid employ the literal and metaphorical meaning of φεύγω/*fugere* simultaneously. The oracle advises Atalanta that she "avoid" marrying, but Atalanta's way of "escaping" marriage is to run away from her suitors. Ovid retains Hesiod's sylleptic pun[30] on φεύγω.

A similar syllepsis is at play in the end of the race. Hippomenes throws the third apple, with which he escapes death by running past Atalanta (σὺν τῶι δ' **ἐξέφυγεν** θάνατον καὶ κῆ̣[ρα μέλαιναν, fr. 76.47 M-W). Likewise, Ovid employs the literal and metaphorical meaning of the same verb *(effugies)* in the oracle which prophesies that Atalanta will not escape marriage.[31] Hippomenes' success in escaping death means Atalanta's failure to avoid marriage by outrunning her suitor. Thus, Ovid's *effugies* evokes Atalanta's loss in the foot-race and alludes to Hesiod's ἐξέφυγεν. This is a case of what Alessandro Barchiesi has dubbed "future reflexive."[32] In Ovid's oracle, the older tradition of the *Catalogue* enters the *Metamorphoses* as a view of the future and Ovid's play with time is neatly reflected in the tense of the verbs: Hesiod's aorist (ἐξέφυγεν) has become Ovid's future *(effugies)*.[33]

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[30] The term "syllepsis" describes the simultaneous employment of the literal and figurative meaning of a word; see Tissol 1997, 18-26; 217-22.

[31] Tissol 1997, 60, notes: "The oracle plays on the semantic range of *effugere,* "to escape" a husband by physically outrunning him, and to "avoid" a husband by not marrying him." The readers of the *Metamorphoses* have already come across several stories of virgins who try to avoid their suitors by running away: Daphne flees from Apollo (cf. *fugit ocior aura, Met.* 1.502); Io avoids Jupiter (cf. *ne fuge me! (fugiebat enim.), Met.* 1.597); Syrinx escapes from Pan (cf. *fugisse per auia nympharum, Met.* 1.701); the daughter of Coroneus flees from Neptune (cf. *fugio densumque relinquo/ litus, Met.* 2.576-7); the nymphs run away from Jupiter (cf. *dum fugerent nymphae, Met.* 3.365); the Muses escape from Pyreneus' house (cf. *nos sumptis effugimus alis, Met.* 5.288); Arethusa flees from Alpheus (cf. *fugio sine uestibus, Met.* 5.601); Lotis shuns Priapus (cf. *fugiens obscena Priapi, Met.* 9.347). The flight of a girl from her pursuer is a recurring motif in the *Metamorphoses,* making the literal meaning of *fugere* in the oracle to Atalanta surface more readily.

[32] Barchiesi 2001, 105-27.

[33] Note also that *effugies* falls into the same metrical position as ἐξέφυγεν.

Such an intertextual trope is particularly appropriate in an oracle; Ovid's readers can acknowledge the accuracy of the prophecy and fully understand the semantic range of *effugies* by recalling the end of the foot-race in the Atalanta-*ehoie.* And the enigmatic phrase *teque ipsa uiua carebis* can be deciphered if we bear in mind that Hesiod's Atalanta was finally transformed into a lioness, and thus she was without herself, though living. Thus, the oracle in the *Metamorphoses* prophesies Atalanta's marriage and metamorphosis by referring to her literary past. Poetic tradition determines the future of Ovid's heroine.

Ovid's dialogue with his sources is dynamic and often includes revisions and refinements. In the tale of Atalanta, Hippomenes is panting (*aridus e lasso ueniebat* **anhelitus** *ore,/ metaque erat longe; Met.* 10.663-4), an image that picks up Hesiod's description of the hero (ἔστη δ᾽ **ἀμπνείων,** fr. 76.48 M-W). Yet, it is noteworthy that Hesiod's Hippomenes pants after the end of the race, while Ovid's Hippomenes is exhausted already in the beginning of the contest. An Hippomenes standing and panting after his victory over Atalanta contrasts with the dry gasping coming out of his exhausted mouth very early in the race. There is more suspense in the version of the *Metamorphoses* since we are told that the hero is wearing out, while Atalanta has easily run past him long before the finish line. Ovid has improved on Hesiod's version by rearranging an image from the Atalanta-*ehoie.*

The Ovidian setting of the race corresponds by and large to Hesiod's version. The great number of suitors are pointed out in both texts (πολὺς δ᾽ ἀμφίσταθ᾽ **ὅμιλος**/ ἀνδρῶν **μνηστήρων·**[34] 75.6-7 M-W; *uenit ad hanc legem temeraria* **turba procorum**. *Met.* 10.574). The presence of people and Atalanta's father is

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[34] ἀνδρῶν μνηστήρων is Most's restoration.

also mentioned in both versions, although Ovid omits the speech of Schoeneus, which is important in the Atalanta-*ehoie* (fr. 75.12-25 M-W). Before the beginning of the race between Atalanta and Hippomenes, the Hesiodic and the Ovidian narrator mention the father and the people:

> .... πολ]λ.ὸς δ' ἐπεγείρετο **λαός**
> .... **Σχ]οινεὺς** δ' ἐγέγωνε βοήσας·
> fr. 75.11-2 M-W

> many people gathered together... and Schoeneus shouted and cried out;

> *iam solitos poscunt cursus **populus**que **pater**que*
> *Met.* 10.638

> Now her father and the people are calling out for the usual foot-race

In the *Catalogue*'s version, everybody is stunned at the sight of Atalanta and probably the revelation of her naked body. In the *Metamorphoses*, Venus focalizes on Hippomenes looking at the girl's naked body and falling in love with her:

> ....τ]ανίσφυρ[ο]ς. ὤ.ρν.υτο κούρη
> ....]α· πολὺς δ' ἀμφίσταθ' ὅμιλος
> ἀνδρῶν μνηστήρων· **θ]άμβος δ' ἔχε** πάντας **ὁρῶντα[ς**
> .... .πν]οιὴ Ζεφύροιο **χιτῶνα**
> .... .πε]ρὶ στήθεσσ' ἁπαλοῖσι
> fr. 75.6-10 M-W

the long-ankled maiden rushed]; all around stood a great crowd of suitors; astonishment gripped them all when they saw...] the breeze of Zephyrus fluttered her tunic] around her tender breasts. (transl. Most)

*ut faciem et posito corpus **uelamine uidit***
(<u>quale</u> meum, uel quale tuum, si femina fias)
***obstipuit** tollensque manus ignoscite dixit,*
Met. 10.578-80

but when he saw her face and her body without clothes (one like mine, or like yours, if you were a woman) he was astonished and raising his hands "forgive me" he said,

The conventional epithet τανίσφυρος befits Atalanta the runner especially well.[35] The beauty of ankles is repeatedly mentioned in Homer and Hesiod when an attractive woman is described. In the *Catalogue of Women,* the epithet τανίσφυρος describes Mestra (fr. 43a.37 M-W), Europa (fr. 141.8 M-W), Alcmena (fr. 195.35 M-W), Helen (198.4 M-W), and Atalanta (75.6 M-W). In the case of Atalanta, however, conventional language is personalized to the girl's outstanding ability as a runner. Hesiod manages to describe the beauty and the swiftness of the girl by using just a formulaic epithet. Atalanta's long ankles lure the men but also make her run faster than her suitors. Hesiod describes the astonishment of all the people who behold Atalanta as the breeze flutters her tunic, titillating the suitors. Likewise, Ovid's Hippomenes is stunned at Atalanta and falls in love with her when he sees her naked. Ovid reworks the passage describing the amazement of all the spectators, focusing on Hippomenes. Θάμβος δ'ἔχε corresponds to *obstipuit,* ὁρῶντας to *uidit,* and χιτῶνα to

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[35] Hirschberger 2004, 461, notes: "τανίσφυρος gehört zwar zu den konventionellen epischen Epitheta für Frauen, paßt aber besonders gut zu einer Läuferin."

uelamine. Atalanta's naked body *(corpus)* reveals an intertext from the Hesiodic corpus.

Venus' comparison of Atalanta with herself *(corpus...quale meum)* recalls the comparison of the women of the *Catalogue* with Aphrodite. Tyro and Helen are said to be as beautiful as Aphrodite (Τυρὼ ἐυπ]λόκαμος ἰκέλη χ[ρ]υσῆι Ἀφρο [δ]ίτ[ηι, 30.25 M-W;[36] Helen:[ἣ εἶ]δ.ος ἔχε χρυσῆς Ἀφ[ροδί]της· 196.5 M- W). Helen's comparison with Aphrodite in the *Catalogue* is alluded to by Ovid in Paris' letter to Helen:

> *his similes uultus, quantum **reminiscor,** habebat*
>> *uenit in arbitrium cum Cytherea meum.*
> *Her.* 16.137-8

> You had such features as, as far as I recall, Cytherea's when she came to be judged by me.

Reminiscor should alert us to the intertextual dimension of the couplet. Paris here 'recalls' that Helen is compared with Aphrodite in the *Catalogue of Women.*[37]

Hence, the comparison of Atalanta with Venus alludes to the formulaic language of the *Catalogue of Women* (***quale*** *meum;* **ἰκέλη** χρυσῆι Ἀφροδίτηι). This comparison is all the more intriguing in Ovid if we take into account that it is Venus herself who makes the comparison, not the external narrator. Ovid's manipulation of the *Catalogue*'s formula results in highlighting the beauty of Atalanta as he has Venus herself acknowledge the comparison. What is more,

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[36] The formula ἰκέλη χρυσῆ Ἀφροδίτη is also found in Homer *Il.* 19.282 (Briseis); 24.699 (Kassandra); *Od.* 17.37 and 19.54 (Penelope).
[37] See Chapter 1 for Ovid's references to the *Catalogue of Women* in Paris' letter.

quale may allude to the Hesiodic formula ἠ' οἵη. Ovid employed *qualis* as a reference to the *ehoie*-formula in *Amores* 1.10.1-9,[38] and *quale* in this context may function as a Hesiodic marker, activating the generic and intertextual dynamics of Ovid's Atalanta. The *ehoie*-formula, whose narrative function is not entirely clear, suggests a comparison among the heroines of the *Catalogue,* and at least in one case it is used to compare mortal with divine women (**ἠ̣'ο̣ἷ̣α̣ι̣** [κο]ῦραι Πορθάονος ἐξεγέν[οντο/ τρε̣[ῖς, **ο]ἷ̣αί τε θεαί**, fr. 26.5-6 M-W). The formula (in the plural) first introduces Porthaon's daughters and is then employed as the narrator states that the girls were like goddesses. Atalanta's beauty is divine (δῖα, fr. 73.2 M-W) and the girl possesses the radiance of the godly Graces (fr. 73.3 M-W). And if the restoration παῖς εἰκυῖα θεῆισι (fr. 73.2 M-W) is correct, then she is compared with the goddesses in the beginning of her *ehoie.* In sum, I believe that the divine beauty of Ovid's Atalanta evokes the Hesiodic world of female excellence.

Hesiod's Atalanta and Homer's Achilles

By setting his Atalanta against the background of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, Ovid activates an intergeneric discourse between *ehoie*-poetry and martial epic. Firstly, I shall focus on the intertextual dialogue between Homeric and Hesiodic epic, and secondly I shall argue that the interplay between the *Iliad* and the *Catalogue of Women* is reflected in Ovid's Atalanta as a juxtaposition between the *Aeneid* and the *Metamorphoses*. While the Hesiodic *Ehoiai* rivals Homer's *Iliad*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* emulates Vergil's *Aeneid.* Thus, the generic affiliation of Orpheus' narrative with *ehoie*-poetry can give us a key to interpreting Ovid's references to Vergil's martial epic.

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[38] See McKeown 1987, *ad* 1.10.1-2; Hardie 2005, 296.

But let us first assess the intertextual dialogue between Hesiod and Homer in the Atalanta-*ehoie.* Hesiod pits his heroine against Achilles by presenting her as "swift-footed" (ποδώκης δῖ᾽ Ἀταλάντη, fr. 73.2; 76.30; 76.45 M-W), a characterization which evokes the formula ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς.[39] The Atalanta-*ehoie* alludes to two Iliadic episodes: Achilles' encounter with Lycaon (*Il.* 21.34-135) and his race with Hector (*Il.* 22.131-360). This double allusion further underpins Atalanta's juxtaposition with Homer's hero. Cast as a female Achilles, Atalanta exemplifies a gendered shift from the male oriented *Iliad* to the heroines of the *Ehoiai.*[40]

The sylleptic pun on ἐκφεύγω, to which Ovid refers, is a key word in interpreting the intertextual dialogue between Hesiod's Atalanta and Homer's Achilles. As Atalanta and Hippomenes approach the finish line, the youth throws the third apple and wins:

> ἐγγὺς δ' ἦν τέλεος· <u>ὃ δὲ</u> τὸ τρίτον ἧκε χ.[αμᾶζε·
> σὺν τῶι δ' **ἐξέφυγεν** θάνατον καὶ κῆ.[ρα μέλαιναν,
> fr. 76.46-7 M-W

> The end was close; and Hippomenes threw the third apple on the ground and with it he escaped death and black doom.

Hesiod alludes to an episode from the *Iliad,* in which Lycaon, a son of Priam, begs Achilles to spare his life:

> Ὣς ὄρμαινε **μένων**· <u>ὃ δέ</u> οἱ σχεδὸν **ἦλθε** τεθηπὼς

[39] Cf. also ποδώκεα Πηλείωνα (nine times in the *Iliad),* ποδώκεος Αἰακίδαο (seven times in the *Iliad);* see Hirschberger 2004, 460.

[40] Atalanta, unlike Achilles, lives up to the presentation of her outstanding speed, and Homer's traditional diction is put to literal use. In the *Iliad,* Achilles' swiftness is never fully justified. For instance, Achilles cannot overtake Hector when he chases him around the walls of Troy (*Il.* 22.131-249).

γούνων ἅψασθαι μεμαώς, περὶ δ’ ἤθελε θυμῷ

ἐκφυγέειν θάνατόν τε κακὸν καὶ κῆρα μέλαιναν.
Iliad 21.64-6

So Achilles stayed pondering; and Lycaon astounded came near him seeking to touch his knees, and he wished in his heart to escape evil death and black doom.

Hesiod fr. 76.47 M-W refers to *Iliad* 21.66, while Hesiod's ὃ δέ (i.e Hippomenes) falls into the same metrical position as Homer's ὃ δέ (i.e. Lycaon). After the caesura, the scansion of fr. 76.46 M-W (ὃ δὲ τὸ τρίτον ἧκε χ.[αμᾶζε) is identical to that of *Il.* 21.64 (ὃ δέ οἱ σχεδὸν ἦλθε τεθηπὼς), and the distribution of words is exactly the same (monosyllable, monosyllable, monosyllable, disyllable, disyllable, trisyllable). The syntax draws a further parallel since subject and verb are placed in the same position (ὃ δέ... ἧκε; ὃ δέ...ἦλθε). These verbal echoes and metrical patterns establish a relationship between the two passages, and are not simply the outcome of a shared epic diction, but call for an interpretation of Hesiod's intertextual reference to Homer. It is noteworthy that Lycaon tries to "escape" (ἐκφυγέειν) death not by fleeing from Achilles, but by approaching him and touching his knees in supplication. Hence, the metaphorical use of ἐκφυγέειν in the Homeric passage conflicts with its literal meaning. Lycaon's motion towards Achilles (ἦλθε) undermines his attempt to escape (ἐκφυγέειν) and underlines the absurdity of his plan. In fact, Lycaon's attempt to escape death by approaching Achilles did not turn out well; the raging hero killed him and dumped his body into the river (*Il.* 21.34-138). On the contrary, Hippomenes escapes death by running away from his doom and survives by effectively employing the literal and the metaphorical meaning of ἐκφεύγω. Although Achilles is referred to as ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς twice in

the episode of Lycaon (*Il.* 21.49; 149), he is actually motionless (cf. μένων); the scene between Achilles and Lycaon is static and contrasts with the action of the racing Hippomenes and Atalanta. The race in the Atalanta-*ehoie* suggests a literary competition between Homer and Hesiod.

Hippomenes runs to escape death and save his life (τῶι δὲ̣ **περὶ ψυχῆς** πέλε [το δρόμος, ἠὲ ἀλῶναι ἠ̣.ὲ φυ̣.γ̣.εῖν· fr. 76.32-3 M-W), just as Hector and Achilles run for the life of Hector (ἀλλὰ **περὶ ψυχῆς** θέον Ἕκτορος, *Il.* 22.161).[41] The parallel between Hippomenes and Hector is further stressed by the fact that περὶ ψυχῆς falls into the same metrical position in Homer and Hesiod. Hector's life is at stake and Homer compares the race of the heroes with a horse race that has as its prize a tripod or a woman:

> ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀεθλοφόροι περὶ τέρματα μώνυχες ἵπποι
> ῥίμφα μάλα τρωχῶσι· τὸ δὲ μέγα **κεῖται ἄεθλον**
> ἢ τρίπος ἠὲ γυνή
> *Iliad* 22.162-4

> And as when victorious single-hoofed horses run swiftly about the turning-posts; and a great prize is set forth, a tripod or a woman

Aspects of the Homeric simile have become reality in Hesiod. The prize of the race is in fact a woman, Atalanta, and κεῖται ἄεθλον (*Il.* 22.162) is echoed in **ἆθλον ἔκειθ**'(fr. 76.30 M-W). Hippomenes' name further alludes to the horses (ἵπποι) of the Homeric simile. In the *Iliad* there is a contradistinction between the actual prize of the race (i.e. Hector's life) and the prize in the simile (i.e. a tripod or a woman), while in the *Catalogue* Hippomenes runs both to save his life and

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[41] See Laser 1952, for parallels between the Atalanta-Hippomenes and the Achilles-Hector episodes.

to win Atalanta as his wife. Hesiod synthesizes Homer's simile and narrative proper, turning the Iliadic fatal race of the greatest Achaean and Trojan hero into a contest for a maiden's hand. The warlike narrative of the *Iliad* has been transformed into an episode of a girl's wooing, a recurring motif of *ehoie*-poetry.[42]

Like Hippomenes and unlike Lycaon, Hector runs away in an attempt to escape death:

> πῶς δέ κεν Ἕκτωρ κῆρας **ὑπεξέφυγεν** θανάτοιο,
> εἰ μή οἱ πύματόν τε καὶ ὕστατον ἤντετ᾽ Ἀπόλλων
> ἐγγύθεν, ὅς οἱ ἐπῶρσε μένος λαιψηρά τε γοῦνα;
> *Iliad* 22.202-4

> And how could Hector have escaped the doom of death if Apollo had not approached him for the last and latest time to rouse strength in him and make his knees swift?

Avoiding death suggests the metaphorical meaning of ὑπεκφεύγω, but Hector's way of surviving is to run faster than Achilles. His attempt to flee from doom contrasts with Lycaon's supplication of Achilles (*Il.* 21.66),[43] and is echoed in Hippomenes' run (fr. 76.47 M-W). Hector escapes death temporarily thanks to Apollo, while Aphrodite's divine intervention saves Hippomenes' life. The parallels between Hector and Hippomenes cast Atalanta as a female Achilles, underpinning the interplay between Homeric and Hesiodic epic poetry. Hesiod transposes heroic epic into the generic framework of the female

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[42] A girl's wooing is a characteristic motif of the *Catalogue* (cf. fr. 22.5-6 M-W; fr. 37.5 M-W; fr. 43a. 21 M-W.), a work which culminates with the long episode of Helen's wooing (fr. 196-204 M-W).
[43] Hector is fully aware that approaching Achilles unarmed and promising Helen and all the treasure of Troy will not save him from death (*Il.* 22.111-28).

oriented *Catalogue,* and the intertextual dialogue between Homer's Achilles and Hesiod's Atalanta is played out against a gendered and generic juxtaposition between martial epic and *ehoie*-poetry.

Ovid's Atalanta and Vergil's *Aeneid*

Ovid's Atalanta not only refers to the *Catalogue,* but also opens a dialogue between the *Metamorphoses* and the *Aeneid.* Thus, Ovid revisits the intergeneric juxtaposition between *ehoie*-poetry and martial epic. The intertextual nexus between Hesiod's *Ehoiai* and Homer's *Iliad* can be interpreted through the lens of a rivalry between the dynamics of two different epic genres, which nevertheless share the same meter and the same diction. Likewise, Ovid rivals his epic predecessor, setting the Hesiodic character of the *Metamorphoses* against the Homeric background of Vergil's *Aeneid.*

Ovid's allusions to the *Catalogue* function as a mirror upon which Vergil's martial epic is reflected and transformed. For instance, Hippomenes, when addressing Atalanta during the foot- race, says: ὦ̣ θύγατερ Σχοινῆος, **ἀμ [είλιχον** ἦτορ ἔχουσα (fr. 76.34 M-W). Likewise, Venus calls Atalanta *immitis* (*Met.* 10.573). Both words literally mean "unsoftened" (α privative and μειλίσσω for ἀμείλιχος, *in* privative and *mitesco* for *immitis),* and this intertextual reference suggests Venus' sympathy for Hippomenes; the goddess in the *Metamorphoses* uses the epithet which Hippomenes used to characterize the girl's heart in Hesiod. From a narratological perspective, Ovid employs the narrative technique of embedded focalization; by calling Atalanta *immitis,* Venus adopts the focalization of Hippomenes. This is made all the more explicit since Venus' *immitis* refers to Hippomenes' ἀμείλιχον. What is more, *immitis* evokes Achilles' epithet in the *Aeneid* (*immitis Achilli, Aen.* 1.30; 3.87), suggesting a

parallel between Atalanta and Achilles, which is essential in the *Catalogue* and which Ovid recasts for a Roman readership.[44] Ovid has managed to engage in intertextual dialogue with a Greek and a Roman work by using a single adjective, which evokes a juxtaposition between Homeric and Hesiodic epic on the one hand and Vergilian and Ovidian epic on the other. From Achilles and the male-oriented world of the *Iliad* we move to Atalanta and the female-oriented epic of the *Ehoiai*.[45]

Hesiod employs Homeric diction, but puts it in an entirely different context. The scene of a Homeric battle changes to the scene of a contest inspired by love. Likewise, Ovid employs the discourse of heroic epic in Hippomenes' speech to Atalanta (*Met.* 10.602-8). The youth boasts of his genealogy and his *uirtus* (*Met.* 10.603-8). He concludes by saying that if he is defeated, Atalanta will acquire great fame by such a deed, recalling the typical speech of an epic hero before a duel.[46] Hippomenes also refers to Turnus' battle cry in the *Aeneid (audentes Fortuna iuuat, Aen.* 10.284); as he decides to run the risk of competing with Atalanta, he exclaims: *audentes deus ipse iuuat, Met.* 10.586.[47] Ovid's epic overtones in an unheroic story told by the goddess of love are reminiscent of

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[44] *Immitis* is also associated with the elegiac *sermo amatorius.* Pichon 1902, 204, notes: "*Inmites* dicuntur ii qui in amantes duri crudelesque sunt...et aliquando res quae amantium felicitati obstant" and cites [Tib.], 3.4.74; Ov., *Am.* 1.6.17; *Her.* 3.133. *Mitis* is a standard elegiac characterization for a gentle lover; see Tib. 1.4.53; Prop. 2.20.20; Ov. *Am.* 1.10.26; 2.17.5; *Ars Am.* 2.178, 187, 462 (cf. Pichon 1902, 203). Thus, *immitis* pits Achilles' and Atalanta's epic cruelty against the background of elegiac love.

[45] Orpheus' references to the *Aeneid* are not restricted to the tale of Atalanta. Cinyras, for instance, when he realizes that his daughter tricked him into an incestuous affair, readies his sword *(pendenti nitidum uagina deripit ensem, Met.* 10.475). *Met.* 10.475 refers to *Aen.* 10.475 *(uaginaque caua fulgentem deripit ensem.);* Smith 1997, 72, notes: "Yet by alluding to Virgil's line here, Ovid seems also to effect a contrast between the line on the battlefield as it occurs in the *Aeneid* passage and its application, in *Metamorphoses* 10, in a sex scene."

[46] "That is, Hippomenes talks like an epic hero challenging a foe in battle" as Anderson 1972, *ad* 10.602-4, points out.

[47] It is interesting that this line subverts Venus' *in audaces non est audacia tuta, Met.* 10.544. Note also that Turnus' *audentes Fortuna iuuat* and Hippomenes' *audentes deus ipse iuuat* occur in Book 10 of the *Aeneid* and the *Metamorphoses* respectively.

Hesiod's appropriation of Homeric diction. Both Hesiod and Ovid employ epic language in a love story, referring to their epic predecessors. The Roman poet transforms the dialogue between the *Iliad* and the *Catalogue* into a juxtaposition between the *Aeneid* and the *Metamorphoses.*

The key character to interpreting the dialogue between the *Aeneid* and the Atalanta tale in the *Metamorphoses* is Camilla.[48] Both heroines attract the stunned gazes of the onlookers and are wooed by many (*Aen.* 11.581-2; *Met.* 10.574). Camilla outruns a horse in a fatal race (*Aen.* 11.718-20) and Atalanta competes with Hippo-menes. Camilla dies as she is distracted by the golden raiment of Chloreus (*Aen.* 11.776), and Atalanta loses the race because of the golden apples. More to the point, Atalanta's affinities with Camilla are set against the background of the *Catalogue of Women.* When the foot-race begins, Venus describes the running couple as follows:

> *posse putes illos sicco freta radere passu*
> *et segetis canae stantes percurrere aristas*
> *Met.* 10.654-5

> one would think that they could skim over the sea with dry feet
> and run over the standing wheaten tassels of bright crop.

This passage refers to the presentation of Camilla in the catalogue of Italian troops:

> *.... cursuque pedum praeuertere uentos.*
> *illa uel intactae segetis per summa uolaret*
> *gramina nec teneras cursu laesisset aristas,*

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[48] See Fratantuono 2005.

uel mare per medium fluctu suspensa tumenti

ferret iter celeris nec tingeret aequore plantas.

Aeneid 7.807-11

... her swift feet could outrun the winds in a foot race,

She could fly over the top of the highest stalks in a grainfield

Leaving the tender ears of the crop unharmed by her crossing.

She could pass over the breadth of the sea, over waves, over sea-swell

High up, speeding through air, never touching her feet to the surface.

(transl. Ahl)

The image of a human being[49] running over wheaten tassels is found in Hesiod fr. 62 M-W and describes Iphiclus, a swift-footed young man descended from Poseidon:

ἄκρον ἐπ'ἀνθερίκων καρπὸν θέεν οὐδὲ κατέκλα,

ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ πυραμίνων ἀθέρων δρομάασκε πόδεσσιν

καὶ οὐ σινέσκετο καρπόν

fr. 62 M-W

upon the fruiting tops of asphodel he ran and did not break them: he would race upon the wheaten tassels on his feet and would not damage the fruit. (transl. Most)

ὅς ῥ᾽ ἐπὶ πυραμίνους ἀθέρας φοίτασκε πόδεσσιν

fr. 62 M-W

he would roam upon the wheaten tassels on his feet. (transl. Most)

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[49] In *Iliad* 20.226-9, Homer describes the offspring of Boreas and the mares of Erichthonius. The horses could run over the crops and skim over the edge of the wave. The magical speed of Ovid's Hippo-menes might allude to the Homeric horses.

Barbara Boyd was the first to argue that Vergil refers to Hesiod.[50] Vergil alludes to the *Catalogue* by using *laesisset,* which corresponds to σινέσκετο, and with *segetis* and *aristas* added to *gramina* he makes the reference to Hesiod's πυραμίνων ἀθέρων clear. Camilla outruns the winds like Hesiod's Iphiclus, who is competing with the winds [cf. τοῦτον (i.e. Ἴφικλον) λέγεται διὰ τὴν τῶν ποδῶν ἀρετὴν συναμιλλᾶσθαι τοῖς ἀνέμοις... fr. 62 M-W=Schol. Hom. *Od.* 11.326]. Philip Hardie further notes that Vergil transfers the detail from a male character in Hesiod (Iphiclus) to the female Camilla.[51] The catalogue of men in *Aeneid* 7 turns to the *Catalogue of Women.*[52] The Amazon is a surprise in the end of a catalogue of warriors, one of the most distinctive parts of heroic epic.[53] Her impact on the readers is closely associated with her gendered[54] and generic incongruity, and her irruption into the world of men and wars unexpectedly introduces the epic cycle and the cyclic poetry of the Hesiodic *Ehoiai* into the Iliadic part of the *Aeneid.* Camilla's entry (*hos super aduenit Volsca de gente Camilla, Aen.* 7.803) signals not only a transition from the *Iliad*

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[50] See Boyd 1992, 232.

[51] Hardie 2005, 297.

[52] Vergil also reworks a passage from Apollonius, in which we are told that Euphemus could run over the swell of the grey sea (*Argonautica* 1.179-84). For a discussion of Vergil's use of Apollonius in this passage, see Nelis 2001, 308-10. Euphemus appears in the catalogue of the Argonauts just as Camilla is introduced in a catalogue of men. Boyd 1992, 232, says that Apollonius has not attempted to suggest a strong dependence on Hesiod. This is hardly the case. Euphemus is the son of Poseidon and Europa, the daughter of powerful Tityos. The genealogical background given for Europa and her affair with Poseidon fit thematically in the context of the *Catalogue of Women.* The diction τόν... Ποσειδάωνι... τέκε κούρη *(Arg.* 1.180-1) is also typical in the *Catalogue of Women* (cf. τέκε παῖδα Ποσειδάωνι ἄνακτι fr. 43a. 68 M-W. See also fr. 23a.15; 65.15; 145.15; 165.8; 190.3; 343.1 M-W). The speedy Euphemus, Poseidon's son, recalls Iphiclus, who also descends from Poseidon. Both Apollonius and Vergil refer to the *Catalogue of Women.*

[53] In *Met.* 8, the catalogue of heroes who participated in the hunt of the Calydonian boar culminates with the Arcadian Atalanta (*Met.* 8.317-3), recalling Camilla in specific details. See Boyd 1992, 219, n. 20; Fratantuono 2005, 189.

[54] Keith 2000, 27, discusses how Vergil draws attention to the extraordinary incursion of a woman into the male arena of warfare.

to the *Aithiopis* (cf. ὡς οἵ γ' ἀμφίεπον τάφον Ἕκτορος· ἦλθε δ' Ἀμαζών),[55] but also a shift to the *Catalogue,* and her presence negotiates space for un-Homeric epics in the Iliadic half of the *Aeneid.*

Ovid effects a similar transition in the beginning of *Ars* 3. From the male oriented *Ars* 1-2 we move suddenly to the Amazons and Penthesilea (*Ars* 3.1-2). This signals a transition not only to the *Aithiopis,* but also to the *Catalogue,* especially since Ovid goes on to offer two catalogues of women in the opening passages (*Ars* 3.11-22; 39-42), where the Greek heroines are repeatedly identified by rare patronymics.[56]

In the *Metamorphoses,* the presentation of the racing Atalanta and Hippomenes picks up not only Vergil's Camilla but also the generic dynamics of her description. Swift-footed Atalanta recalls the Hesiodic aspects of Camilla, while Hippomenes, a descendant of Neptune,[57] is as fast as Iphiclus, who descends from Poseidon (fr. 62 M-W). In the context of the *Metamorphoses,* Ovid generically restores the magical speed of his heroes to the *Ehoiai.* The tale of Atalanta is not an intrusion into Homeric epic, but is in harmony with the Hesiodic character of Ovid's cyclic epic. This is an intertextual trope which Richard Thomas called "window reference"[58] and consists of an adaptation of a model, noticeably interrupted in order to allow reference back to the source of that model. Ovid's lines look through the "windowpane" of the *Aeneid* to the *Ehoiai,* the ultimate model of Camilla and Atalanta. Ovid "corrects" Camilla's generic incongruity by recontextualizing an image from the *Catalogue* in the

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[55] Camilla is similar to Penthesilea, the Amazon warrior of the *Aithiopis.* Both virgins share the epithet *bellatrix* (*Aen.* 1.493; 7.805) and Camilla is explicitly compared with Penthesilea at *Aen.* 11.662.
[56] See Gibson 2003, 86.
[57] Hippomenes boasts of his descent from Neptune in *Met.* 10.605-6. According to the *Catalogue,* Poseidon was Hippomenes' ancestor. See West 1985, 102-3; 181.
[58] See Thomas 1986, 188-9, 197.

Hesiodic narrative of the *Metamorphoses*. At the same time, he reverses Vergil's interplay between *ehoie*-poetry and martial epic. While Camilla's erotic undertones are appropriated in Vergil's epic war, the heroic aspects of Atalanta and Hippomenes serve the narrative of a love story told by Venus within Orpheus' *ehoie*-like performance.

Ovid also "corrects" another Vergilian incongruity that has to do with the context of Camilla's entry. Barbara Boyd notes that the potential subjunctives *(uolaret, laesisset, ferret, tingeret)* in Camilla's entry suggest how she could move were she to run, as opposed to her actual progress with her army described with rather flat language (*aduenit, Aen.* 7. 803; *euntem, Aen.* 7.713).[59] In my view, this juxtaposition between what Camilla is doing and what she could do underpins the polarity between her Hesiodic and her epic persona. What we are invited to imagine here belongs to the genre of the *Catalogue of Women,* but what really happens is Camilla's appearance in an epic catalogue of warriors. Her supernatural speed is invoked only in the imagination of the readers and/or the bystanders as she marches with her troops. The antithesis between the Hesiodic and the Homeric epos becomes clear. The *Catalogue of Women* cannot be but an intrusion in the male-oriented program of Homeric battles. Camilla's Hesiodic image is something we have to conjure up and is separated from the context of the catalogue of warriors.

Ovid's *posse putes* is even more emphatic than Vergil's potential subjunctives. Vergil's "she could run" becomes "one would think they could run." However, the effect of the Ovidian context is strikingly different. We see Atalanta and Hippomenes running when we are invited to imagine them running over the ears of grain. Actually, what we are called to imagine is very close to what

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[59] Boyd 1992, 233.

actually happens. The runners have just flashed forth and are skimming the surface of the sand (*uterque/ emicat et summam celeri pede libat harenam; Met.* 10.652-3*)*. Unlike Camilla's appearance in the Vergilian catalogue, the way Atalanta and Hippomenes are racing does not contrast with the images we are invited to picture. It is because Ovid's story of Atalanta and Hippomenes belongs to the *Catalogue of Women* that the contrast between Camilla's actual march and her potential speed is eliminated in the *Metamorphoses*.

The outstanding speed of Ovid's couple is more hyperbolic than the presentation of Camilla. The Amazon does not dip her feet, while Hippomenes and Atalanta not only do not dip their feet but also run without even wetting them *(sicco... passu).* In Ovid there is also no question of breaking (cf. κατέκλα, fr. 62 M-W) or harming (cf. σινέσκετο fr. 62 M-W*; laesisset, Aen.* 7. 809) the ears of grain; Atalanta and Hippomenes run over them as the wheaten tassels stand upright (*Met.* 10.655); the runners do not even touch their surface.

We are dealing with an image which opens a dialogue between Homeric and Hesiodic poetry. And just as Ovid transposes Camilla's swiftness into the racing Atalanta and Hippomenes, the magical speed of Hesiod's Iphiclus is borrowed from Homer. In the *Iliad,* Homer describes the offspring of Boreas and the mares of Erichthonius as follows:

> αἳ δ' ὑποκυσάμεναι ἔτεκον δυοκαίδεκα πώλους.
> αἳ δ' ὅτε μὲν σκιρτῷεν ἐπὶ ζείδωρον ἄρουραν,
> ἄκρον ἐπ' ἀνθερίκων καρπὸν θέον οὐδὲ κατέκλων·
> ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ σκιρτῷεν ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης,
> ἄκρον ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνος ἁλὸς πολιοῖο θέεσκον.
> *Il.* 20.225-9

and they (i.e. the mares), having conceived, gave birth to twelve foals.
Those mares, when they would leap on the fertile tilled land, would run
over the wheaten tassels and would not break them; but again, when
they would leap on the sea's wide ridges, they would run over the edge
of the grey sea.

Homer avoids presenting supernatural phenomena in his poems, but while he is
strict in presenting human beings without supernatural abilities, he occasionally
makes exceptions for animals. Xanthus, for instance, Achilles' horse, speaks
and prophesies Achilles' death (*Il.* 19.404 ff). The de-supernaturalizing of
mortals by Homer is an important difference between Homeric epics on the one
hand and the Epic Cycle and the *Catalogue of Women* on the other. [60] Hesiod
reworks the Homeric lines in the *Catalogue.* Yet, he does not refer to horses,
but to a young man.[61] Although Hesiod draws on the *Iliad*, he appropriates a
Homeric image in the magical world of the *Ehoiai,* in which mortals have
supernatural abilities. Thus, Hesiod marks his distance from the Homeric world,
a world where mortals do not have supernatural powers.

The Hesiodic treatment of the Homeric model also contains another significant
refinement. Hesiod mentions that Iphiclus not only does not break the ears of
grain (cf. κατακλάω), but he does not even harm them (σινέομαι in Hesiod).[62]
This clarification of Iphiclus' swiftness makes him look more miraculous than the
magic horses of Boreas, just as Ovid's heroes look more miraculous than
Camilla. Hesiod, long before the Hellenistic poets, employs *oppositio in*

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[60] See Griffin 1977; Irwin 2005, 56.
[61] The lines that describe Iphiclus (fr. 62 M-W) have come down to us from Eustathius'
commentary *(ad Il.* 2.695) and are accompanied by Eustathius' implicit disapproval of Hesiod's
hyperbole (Ἴφικλος, περὶ οὗ δηλῶν Ἡσίοδος ὅτι ταχύτητι διήνεγκεν οὐκ ὤκνησεν
ἐπ'αὐτοῦ ταύτην εἰπεῖν τὴν ὑπερβολήν· Eustathius, *ad Il.* 2.695).
[62] Mentioned in Boyd 1992, 232.

imitando. His allusion to Homer serves more as a marker of divergence from than contact with his model as it brings up one of the most salient differences between the poet of the *Catalogue* and Homer.

Homeric and Hesiodic Epic at Rome

Vergil's literary ascent within the Homeric epics starts with the *Odyssey* (*Aeneid* 1-6) and moves on to the *Iliad* (*Aeneid* 7-12), marking a generic elevation from the *Nostoi* to martial epic, while Ovid's foray into Hesiodic epic is anticlimactic; the cosmological epic of the *Theogony* gives place to the didactic poetry of the *Works and Days,* until the poet finally settles in the amorous epic of the *Catalogue of Women,* already in the first half of the first book. Ovid's hexameter poem is the response to Vergil's *Aeneid,* and the *Metamorphoses* pits Vergil's Homeric epic against the Hesiodic character of Ovid's work.[63] Thus, the ancient competition between Homer and Hesiod is revived and recast for a Roman readership.

The main differences between heroic epic and *ehoie-* poetry can be summarized as follows: a) the narrative of heroic epic revolves around one male protagonist, while *ehoie*-poetry focuses on numerous female characters and has no primary heroine or hero. b) Homeric epic avoids supernatural phenomena, while *ehoie*-poetry is rife with metamorphoses and human beings with extraordinary abilities. c) the structure of *ehoie*-poetry is genealogical and diachronically oriented, while heroic epic has a linear narrative and is synchronically oriented. d) heroic epic deals primarily with war, *ehoie*-poetry focuses on love affairs.

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[63] Ovid confronts directly Vergil's *Aeneid* in the 'little *Aeneid* of the *Metamorphoses* (Books 13-14); on the dialogue between Vergil's and Ovid's version of Aeneas' travels, see mainly Hinds 1988, 104-22; Papaioannou 2005.

Although they are fundamentally different, Homer and Hesiod share the same meter and draw on a common store of traditional formulas and diction.[64] A common tradition produced two essentially divergent epic genres, which are in constant dialogue with each other.[65] A similar distinction applies between the *Aeneid* and the *Metamorphoses.* While both epics share the same meter and language, Vergil's *Aeneid* fits thematically and structurally in the Homeric tradition and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is aligned with Hesiod's epics; the interplay between the *Aeneid* and the *Metamorphoses* revisits the intergeneric discourse between Homeric and Hesiodic poetry. If we acknowledge that Ovid casts himself as a new Hesiod and thus distances his epic from Vergil's Homeric work, we shall gain another perspective and a new key to interpreting Ovid's constant-not to say obsessive- references to Vergil's *Aeneid.*

Sylleptic Puns in the *Catalogue of Women*

Both Ovid and the Hesiod share a penchant for verbal ambiguities, which include mainly simultaneous employment of the literal and the figurative meaning of a word. It is the poetic style of the *Catalogue* that strikes me as particularly Ovidian and might offer some insight as to why the *Catalogue* appealed to Ovid's genius. I shall therefore focus on the Hesiodic fragments of the Atalanta-*ehoie* and examine some features of their diction that come close to Ovid's poetic art. I have already focused on the sylleptic pun on φεύγω-ἐκφεύγω which is picked up by Ovid in the oracle to Atalanta *(fugere-effugere).* Ovid does not simply allude to Hesiod by using the same verb, but also gestures towards Hesiod's simultaneous employment of its literal and figurative

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[64] As Rosen 1997, 463, puts it: "...while Hesiodic poetry was not occupied specifically with *heroic* themes, it was part of the same formal tradition of epic, sharing with Homer key metrical, dialectical, and dictional features".
[65] Neitzel 1975, examines Homer's reception in Hesiod. He deals with the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days,* but not with the *Catalogue of Women.* See also Rosen 1997.

meaning. Sylleptic puns, which have been recognized as essential to Ovid's poetry,[66] feature prominently in the *Catalogue of Women.*

Martin West, arguing about the date of the *Catalogue,* states: "It has long been felt that the diction of the *Catalogue* shows the formulaic style at an advanced stage of decadence. Traditional formulae are often broken up, combined, or expanded in ways that offend against the principle of economy; there is a tendency towards accumulation of epithets; neologisms appear; and it is sometimes clear that the poet is imitating particular passages of older fixed (i.e. written) texts."[67] Although I disagree with the characterization of the *Catalogue's* innovations as decadent or as offending the principle of economy, I agree that the *Catalogue of Women* occasionally shows patterns of an epigonic poet working in the end of an epic tradition. But by no means does that imply decadent or inferior poetry. The poet of the *Catalogue* is able to reflect upon a tradition from a distanced vantage point. He can employ the traditional formulae, but he can also be subversive or playful with them.

Let us take for example the formula δῶρα χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης. The formulaic epithet "golden" is attributed several times in the Homeric epics to Aphrodite,[68] while the formula "the gifts of golden Aphrodite" is usually a metaphor for sexual intercourse.[69] But let us examine how Hesiod uses this formula in the Atalanta-*ehoie:*

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[66] Garth Tissol argues that syllepsis encapsulates a basic aspect of tales of metamorphosis, namely their shifting between the conceptual and the physical. See Tissol 1997, 18-26; Hardie 2002a, 230-1.
[67] See West, 1985. 135-6 with n. 27 where West quotes Wilamowitz, Stiewe and Meier.
[68] *Il.* 3.64; 5.427; 9.389; 19.282; 22.470; 24.699. *Od.* 4.14; 8.337; 8.342; . In Hesiod see *Th.* 822; 962; 975; 980; 1005; 1014; *WD* 65; 521; *Sc.* 8; 57. In the *Catalogue of Women* see fr. 23a. 35 M-W; χρυσοστεφάνου Ἀφροδίτης fr. 25.13 M-W; 30.25 M-W; fr.76.6 M-W; fr. 76.10 M-W; 185.17 M-W; 196.5 M-W; 221.3 M-W; 253.3 M-W.
[69] τερπόμενος δώροισι **πολυχρύσου** Ἀφροδίτης *Sc.* 47; ἵετ᾽ἀναινομένη δῶρα **χρυσῆς** Ἀφροδίτης fr. 76.6 M-W.

ἵετ' ἀναινομένη **δ.ῶρα. [χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης,**

τῶι δὲ. περὶ ψυχῆς πέλε[το δρόμος, ἠὲ ἀλῶναι

ἠ.ὲ φυ.γ.εῖν· τῶι καί ῥα δολο.[φρονέων προσέειπεν·

"ὦ. θύγατερ Σχοινῆος, ἀμ[είλιχον ἦτορ ἔχουσα,

δ]έ.ξο τάδ' ἀγλα.[ὰ] **δ.ῶρ.α. θ.ε.[ᾶς χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτη**

fr. 76.6-10 M-W

She (i.e. Atalanta) sped refusing the gifts of golden Aphrodite, while for him the race was for his life, either to be caught or to escape. And so, plotting deception, he said: "Oh daughter of Schoeneus, who you have a relentless heart, accept these splendid gifts of the goddess, golden Aphrodite (transl. Most)

As Atalanta and Hippomenes race, the narrator explains why the contest is unequal; Atalanta refuses the gifts of golden Aphrodite, while Hippomenes risks his life. Atalanta of course is running to avoid marriage, so the phrase "the gifts of golden Aphrodite" indicates here her possible marriage to the man who will outrun her. However, in the case of Atalanta's race with Hippomenes, the formula is not restricted to its general use as a euphemism for marriage. The gifts of golden Aphrodite are in this case the golden apples which the goddess gave to Hippomenes. When Hippomenes addresses Atalanta cunningly (δολοφρονέων), his wile can be traced in the manipulation of the formula "the gifts of golden Aphrodite."[70] When Atalanta hears his words, we can assume that she thinks that Hippomenes tells her more or less: "Atalanta, take me as your husband." However, Hippomenes speaks to her right before he throws the first golden apple. When he throws the apple, Atalanta can reinterpret his

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[70] For a similar pun on χρυσὴ Ἀφροδίτη in the catalogue of Helen's suitors (fr. 196-204 M-W) and Ovid's similar use of *Venus aurea* in *Heroides* 16.35, see Chapter 1.

words. Hippomenes meant: "Atalanta, take the golden apples of Aphrodite."
Likewise, the adjective ἀγλαά can at first glance describe a noble or glorious
marriage, but at the sight of the golden apples regains its literal meaning
"bright" or "splendid." Hippomenes cunningly manipulates the traditional
formula, making it fit the occasion. Still, the traditional and the contextualized
meaning of the formula are interrelated. For Atalanta accepting the golden
apples means accepting Hippomenes as her husband. She has to choose
between the gifts of golden Aphrodite and winning the race, which means that
she has to choose between remaining a virgin or not. Hippomenes is wily but at
the same time he invites Atalanta to see what accepting the apples really
means.

Hippomenes runs for his life in an attempt to escape death and win Atalanta's
hand. Hesiod's ἠὲ ἁλῶναι ⁄ ἠὲ φυγεῖν (fr. 76.7-8 M-W) employs the literal and
metaphorical sense not only of φεύγω, but also of ἁλίσκομαι, a verb which
literally means "to be caught (up)" but figuratively means "to be seized by death,
to be ruined." The metaphorical meaning of ἁλίσκομαι is employed in the *Iliad*
and the *Odyssey,* sometimes modified by θανάτῳ (cf. θανάτῳ ἁλῶναι, *Il.*
21.281; *Od.* 5.312), other times without θανάτῳ (cf. χάσσασθαι πρίν γ' ἠὲ
κατακτάμεν **ἠὲ ἁλῶναι,** *Il.* 12.172; τῶ οὐκ οἶδ', ἤ κέν μ' ἀνέσει θεός, ἦ κεν
ἁλώω, *Od.* 18.265). The meaning of ἁλίσκομαι as "to be killed" is certainly at
play as Hippomenes races with Atalanta, but Hesiod simultaneously employs
the meaning of ἁλίσκομαι as "to be overcome." If Hippomenes is caught up by
Atalanta, that will be his undoing. Hesiod fuses within one and the same word a
literal and a figurative sense.

A more complex syllepsis, revolving around the semantic range of τέλος,
occurs as the runners approach the finish line:

ἐγγὺς δ' ἦν **τέλεος**· ὃ δὲ τὸ τρίτον ἧκε χ.[αμᾶζε·

σὺν τῶι δ' ἐξέφυγεν θάνατον καὶ κῆ.[ρα μέλαιναν,

fr. 76.46-7 M-W

The end was close; and Hippomenes threw the third apple on the ground and with it he escaped death and black doom.

Τέλος refers to the goal marker of the race, but there are two more meanings at play in this word. The end of the race will automatically result in two possible ends: the end of Hippomenes' life (if he loses) or the end of Atalanta's maidenhood (if Hippomenes wins).[71] The word τέλεος can allude to death but also to marriage, and the verb τελέομαι can mean "to be married." Atalanta's maidenhood is coming to an end after the end of her race with Hippomenes. In the catalogue of Helen's suitors there is a similar double entendre on τελέομαι in the phrase ἐλπομένοι τελέειν πάντες γάμον (fr. 204.85 M-W), which describes the Achaean heroes who woo Helen. Johannes Haubold aptly analyses the gloomy connotations that τελέειν bears for the suitors of Helen, who will be bound by an oath to fight and die for her in Troy.[72] Instead of marrying Helen, they will die for her. Homer also plays with this ambiguity of τέλος; as death looms over the suitors in the *Odyssey,* the disguised Odysseus hopes that the τέλος of death will reach Antinoos before the τέλος of marriage (Ἀντίνοον πρὸ γάμοιο τέλος θανάτοιο κιχείη, *Od.* 17.476).[73] In the Atalanta-*ehoie,* Hesiod's pun on the different nuances of τέλος is subtler and richer: marriage, death, and the end of the race are all interrelated.

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[71] See Haubold 2000, 139-43.
[72] Haubold 2000, 140-3. See also Cingano 2005, 124-7.
[73] Cf. τέλος θανάτοιο, *Od.* 24.124; τέλος γάμοιο, *Od.* 20.74.

Ovid, following Hesiod, mentions the last part of the race before Hippomenes casts his third apple. But the Ovidian *pars ultima cursus/ restabat* 10.672-3 can not preserve the wordplay on τέλεος. The phrase refers specifically to the last part of the race and nothing more, not only because of *cursus,* but also because *ultimus,* unlike the Greek τέλεος, cannot allude to marriage. However, Ovid employs a sylleptic pun a few lines later. Hippomenes wins and leads away his prize as a winner:

> *praeterita est uirgo,* **duxit** *sua* **praemia** *uictor.*
> *Met.* 10.680

> the maiden was overcome, the winner led away his prize

The verb *duxit* is placed after the caesura. The semantic ambiguity of *ducere* is thus emphasized: Hippomenes leads away his prize, that is he marries Atalanta. Ovid employs zeugma or syllepsis by alluding to the meaning of *ducere (uxorem)* as "to marry a wife."[74] Thus, Ovid transfers the wordplay on τέλεος, that he could not preserve directly in Latin, to *ducere.*[75]

Hesiod's sylleptic puns are redeployed by Theognis. Although Theognis refers to the Arcadian Atalanta, the huntress, his language recalls the Hesiodic *ehoie* of the Boeotian Atalanta:

> ἀλλά σ' ἐγὼ τρώσω φεύγοντά με, <u>ὥς ποτέ φασιν</u>
>   Ἰασίου κούρην, παρθένον Ἰασίην,
> ὡραίην περ ἐοῦσαν <u>ἀναινομένην γάμον</u> ἀνδρῶν
>   **φεύγειν** ζωσαμένην. ἔργ' **ἀτέλεστα τέλει**

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[74] So Bömer *ad* 10. 679. "*ducere,* sowohl *domum* als auch *uxorem* (IX 498),"

[75] At the same time *duxit* **praemia** recalls **ἆθλον** ἔκειθ' (fr. 76.30 M-W). Interestingly, Ovid does not use *ducere* and its ensuing double entendre at *Her.* 16.265 (*ut tulit Hippomenes Schoeneida praemia cursus*).

πατρὸς νοσφισθεῖσα δόμων ξανθὴ Ἀταλάντη·

  ᾤχετο δ᾽ ὑψηλὰς εἰς κορυφὰς ὀρέων

φεύγουσ᾽ ἱμερόεντα **γάμον,** χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης

 δῶρα· **τέλος δ᾽ ἔγνω** καὶ μάλ᾽ ἀναινομένη.

Eleg. 2.1286-93

but I will wound you, though you avoid me, just as they say that once the daughter of Iasios, the virgin Iasie, although she was in the bloom of her youth, she refused the marriage of men and fled with her girdle fastened. Blonde Atalanta abandoned the house of her father and consummated deeds not to be consummated; she went to the lofty peaks of the mountains fleeing from charming marriage, the gifts of golden Aphrodite; but she came to know her consummation,[76] even though she refused it strongly.

The situation is different, but the language is Hesiodic, while the tag ὥς ποτέ φασιν is a reference to poetic tradition. In Theognis' elegy, Atalanta avoids marriage and the gifts of golden Aphrodite by fleeing to the mountains, where "she fulfills deeds not to be fulfilled." The *figura etymologica*[77] emphasizes the paradoxical exploits of the unmarried girl. What she is doing is "not to be fulfilled," as long as she is not "fulfilled" by marriage. In the end, no matter how hard she tried to avoid marriage, Atalanta was married. Τέλος at 2.1293 means exactly the girl's fulfillment through marriage, which is the end of her maidenhood. This meaning is further suggested by the "biblical" sense of ἔγνω, which is at play in this passage.

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[76] Lewis 1985, 214, translates "but in the end she came to know", but I think he misses the point that τέλος implies marriage. I take τέλος as the object of ἔγνω.
[77] For this kind of adjectival *figurae etymologicae,* see Clary 2009.

In sum, Hesiod's verbal wit and sylleptic puns are essential to appreciating the poetic diction of the *Ehoiai,* which has been routinely dismissed as clumsy and decadent. The interplay between the conceptual and the physical, which is one of the most salient characteristics of Ovid's poetic craft, belongs also to the verbal panoply of the poet of the *Catalogue.*

Conclusion

The overall structure of Orpheus' speech in *Metamorphoses* 10.148-739 presents traits intrinsic to the genre of *ehoie*-poetry, reflecting the Hesiodic character of the *Metamorphoses* as a whole. Within this generic framework of Hesiodic poetry, Orpheus casts Venus as the narrator of Atalanta's tale. The goddess of love introduces her tale in a way which recalls poetic tradition, suggesting the importance of the intertextual dimension of her story. Venus' programmatic reference to the "noble praise of Atalanta's swiftness and beauty" alludes specifically to the *Ehoiai,* the epic genre that extolled the beauty of noble women. The overall story of Ovid's Atalanta as well as specific references to Hesiod suggest that the *Catalogue* is the most important, though it is also the most neglected, intertext of Venus' tale. Ovid's references to the Atalanta-*ehoie* reactivate an intergeneric discourse between Homeric and Hesiodic epic, and recast it for a Roman readership as a juxtaposition between the *Aeneid* and the *Metamorphoses.* The echoes of Hesiod's Atalanta in the *Metamorphoses* trigger a generic rivalry between *ehoie*-poetry and martial epic.

In the *Catalogue of Women,* Ovid did not find a handy compendium of Greek myth, but a kindred spirit. Ovid's poetic technique is similar to that of the poet of the *Catalogue.* Both poets face tradition from a distance and redeploy the diction of martial epic in their love stories, deflating the battle narratives of their

predecessors. The style of an innovative epic poem such as the *Catalogue of Women* comes very close to Ovid's epic style. Sylleptic wordplay, in particular, is the most striking example of a poetic technique employed by both poets.

Chapter 5

Hesiod at Achilles' Party
Nestor's Digression in Ovid's Trojan War (*Met.* 12.168-576)

Recent studies on genre and gender in Roman epic have become so influential that current readers of Ennius, Vergil*,* Ovid*,* Lucan, Statius, and Silius[1] are not only well aware of the pivotal role that female figures play in the plot and the structure of Roman epics, but are also ready to recognize women as a power that threatens to destabilize the male-dominated program of epic poetry. The gender-specific agenda of Homeric epic, defined by the poet as "the glorious deeds of men" (κλέα ἀνδρῶν, *Il.* 9.189, 524; *Od.* 8.73),[2] is echoed by Apollonius (κλέα φωτῶν/ μνήσομαι, *Arg.* 1.1-2), Vergil (*Arma uirumque cano,* Vergil, *Aen.* 1.1), and Horace (*res gestae regumque ducumque et tristia bella,* Horace *AP* 73), and becomes a recurring motif in elegiac poetry, which reinforces the stereotype of an "all male, all war" epic opposed to the elegiac credo of "make love, not war."[3]

The connection of epic with masculinity reaches deep into the Roman educational system. Alison Keith argues that epic played a crucial role in the curriculum of Roman elite boys since this genre was associated with the ideal of manliness.[4] On the other hand, women in epic are a source of tension; at the heart of this tension lies the following paradox: While the presence of women in epic might cause an adulteration of its gendered and generic purity, powerful

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[1] See Hinds 2000; Keith 2000.
[2] Kahane 2005, 170, translates the phrase κλέα ἀνδρῶν as "the fame" or "deeds" or "discourse" of men. He further suggests that we can interpret the genitive both as objective (Homeric epic is a discourse *about* men) and as subjective (it's a discourse *by* men).
[3] See for instance Tibullus, 1.10.47-52; 2.6; Propertius, 1.7; 2.10.7-8; Ovid, *Am.* 1.1; 2.1; 2.18.35-40.
[4] Keith 2000, 8-35.

female characters are constantly present in all Greek and Roman epics, often generating epic action instead of stalling it. According to Stephen Hinds, there is a continuing discussion about the otherness of the epic female, which guarantees the dynamism of the genre. Hinds calls this practice *dynamic impurity;* epic's female and erotic elements sabotage the idea of an essentially epic epic, but at the same time the idea of an essentially epic epic emerges stronger, not weaker, due to innovative negotiations with the genre.[5]

I refer to Hinds and Keith because their studies are the most important contributions in analyzing the interaction between gender and genre in Roman epics. For all their merits, however, there is, in my view, a striking omission in their approaches; often the heroines who appear in epic poetry, are not devoid of a generic identity. There is a female-oriented epic genre, which is none other than the Hesiodic *Ehoiai,* and the dynamics of this genre and its characterization of females often enter or rather intrude upon male-oriented epic poetry. If we intend to talk about genre and gender in epic, we should take into account the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women,* the poem that deals with female excellence and renown, and is a response to Homer's "glorious deeds of men."

Homeric and Hesiodic poetry were not segregated, but engaged in an intertextual dialogue that revolved around the polarization between male and female. In *Odyssey* 11, for instance, Odysseus gives an excursus of a 'Catalogue of Women' he met in the Underworld, a straightforward case of *ehoie*-poetry in the Homeric epics.[6] Following Homer, Vergil gives his own

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[5] Hinds 2000.

[6] Skempis & Ziogas 2009, 228-40, argue that while Odysseus' excursus of Hesiodic poetry is an attempt to win over Arete, Alkinoos reacts immediately after Odysseus' performance of *ehoie*-poetry and asks him to speak about his comrades who died at Troy (*Od.* 11.370-3). Arete's positive reception of *ehoie*-poetry contrasts with Alkinoos' request for Iliadic tales.

'Catalogue of Women' in Aeneas' *katabasis* (*Aen.* 6.442-51) and includes Dido among the heroines of the past. The structure, the motifs, the language, and the formulas of the *Catalogue of Women* are grafted into the poetry of "manly deeds", enriching the generic multiformity of Greek and Roman epic, while destabilizing its gender-specific program.

This chapter deals with one of the most exciting generic clashes between heroic epic and *ehoie*-poetry, namely the incorporation of *ehoie*-poetry in Ovid's version of the Trojan War (*Metamorphoses* 12-13.622). Critics who have examined the subversion of gender in this supposedly most Homeric part of the *Metamorphoses*,[7] fail to acknowledge that the female-oriented poetry of the Hesiodic *Catalogue* features prominently in Ovid's Trojan War. It is not only women who are present in Ovid's 'little *Iliad,* but also the themes of the *Ehoiai* as well as its structural and narrative dynamics. There is a Hesiodic virus in Ovid's Trojan War, which undermines the Homeric tales of men and battles.

Ovid manages to foil Homeric poetry by casting Nestor as an intergenerational narrator of stories from the *Catalogue of Women.* After Achilles' defeat over the invulnerable Cycnus, the only extensive narrative of a combat in Ovid's Trojan War, the Greek chieftains hold a sumptuous feast of Homeric proportions in order to celebrate Achilles' recent triumph. While the Achaean leaders spend the night relating stories of virtue, the very stuff of heroic epic, Nestor takes over and narrates the story of Caenis, a beautiful girl, who turned into an invulnerable warrior, after she was raped by Neptune. I shall argue that Nestor structures the story of Caenis/Caeneus as a typical *ehoie,* thus shifting abruptly from the glorious deeds of men to female renown. Tracing the intertextual life of Caenis/Caeneus from Homer to Ovid, I contend that there is an intriguing

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[7] Keith 1999; Papaioannou 2007, 102-24.

silence about Caeneus' original sex in heroic epic, although his female identity lurks constantly in the background.

Nestor's second narrative focuses on Hercules' killing of Periclymenus. The story of Periclymenus is attested in the *Catalogue of Women* (fr. 33a-5 M-W) and I shall argue that Ovid/Nestor refers specifically to Hesiod. Ovid's Nestor evokes the genealogical structure of the *Catalogue,* which presents Hercules as a violent intruder who kills the main heroes of the work and threatens to annihilate their lineage. By employing the focalization of the *Catalogue,* Nestor deliberately fails to celebrate Hercules' deeds. Specific intertextual parallels between Hesiod's and Ovid's versions of Periclymenus show how Nestor alters Hesiod's tale in order to downplay Hercules' heroic valor. Nestor's tendentious narrative recalls the voices that emanate from the House of *Fama,* the *ekphrasis* of which is found in the beginning of Ovid's Trojan War (*Met.* 12.39-63).[8]

In sum, I set out two parameters of my analysis: firstly, the gendered and generic dynamics of the *Ehoiai* as opposed to heroic epic and secondly the intertextual dimensions of Nestor's narrative, which is a *tour de force* of source manipulation. The chapter is divided into two parts, which correspond to Nestor's two speeches: the first part focuses on Caenis/Caeneus and the second on Hercules.

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[8] Zumwalt 1977, interprets the *ekphrasis* of the house of *Fama* vis-à-vis its context, that is the Trojan War. She argues that the function of the *Fama ekphrasis* at this point is to alert the reader to the exaggerations and the fictionality of tradition at the moment when the *Metamorphoses* are about to make the transition to the Trojan War, which was considered the beginning of the historical era. Tissol 2002, works on a similar direction and argues about the doubts the *Fama* casts on Roman history and Augustan politics. Hardie 2002b, 69-79, stresses the generic role of *Fama* in introducing an epic sequence. For Hardie, *fama,* κλέος, refers to the chief subject and product of epic. Hardie builds on Barchiesi 2001, 130-2, who sees *fama* as a trope of intertextuality in Roman Epic. More recently, Papaioannou 2007, 45-7, stresses the relation of *fama* to epic tradition.

1. CAENIS/CAENEUS

1.1 Nestor: The Novelty of an Old Tale

Achilles' dinner party recalls a Homeric feast. The Achaean leaders satisfy their hunger and quench their thirst *(discubuere toris proceres et corpora tosta/ carne replent uinoque leuant curasque sitimque.* 12.155-6), while telling stories of virtue, the thematic core of epic poetry:

> *non illos citharae, non illos carmina uocum*
> *longaue multifori delectat tibia buxi,*
> *sed noctem sermone trahunt, uirtusque loquendi*
> *materia est; pugnam referunt hostisque suamque,*
> *inque uices adita atque exhausta pericula saepe*
> *commemorare iuuat.*
> *Met.* 12.157-62

> Neither the cithara nor the melodies of songs nor the long pipe of boxwood with many holes pleases them, but they prolong the night with conversation, and the subject of their talk is valor; they retell the battle, their enemy's and their own, and it pleases them to recall many times in turn undergone and finished dangers.

Ovid's heroes keep the subject of epic poetry, but dismiss music, the very art of a professional epic signer. Epic narratives are songs accompanied by the lyre (φόρμιγξ). In the *Iliad,* Achilles features as an *aoidos* singing the "glories of men" with the accompaniment of his lyre (φόρμιγγι λιγείῃ...ἄειδε δ᾽ ἄρα κλέα ἀνδρῶν, *Il.* 9.1860 9). In the *Odyssey,* Phemius sings and plays the lyre (*Od.* 17.261-2). Demodocus sings following a feast in Alcinoos' palace (αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο,/ Μοῦσ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἀοιδὸν ἀνῆκεν ἀειδέμεναι

κλέα ἀνδρῶν, *Od.* 8.72-3) and his song is accompanied by the φόρμιγξ (*Od.* 8.67-8).[9] Likewise, in the *Aeneid,* we are told that Cretheus was playing the lyre and singing of the horses, the arms, and the battles of men *(Crethea, Musarum comitem, cui* **carmina** *semper/ et* **citharae** *cordi numerosque intendere neruis,/ semper equos atque* **arma uirum** *pugnasque* **canebat**, *Aen.* 9.744-7).[10] In the *Metamorphoses,* the setting in which heroic tales are related at a feast is Homeric, and the topic is also Homeric (*uirtusque loquendi materia est;* κλέα ἀνδρῶν)*,* but the tales lack music.[11] The contrast between the musical faculty of poetry and the prosaic conversations of the Greek leaders is further emphasized by Cycnus, the topic of their talk *(proxima praecipue domito uictoria* **Cycno/ in sermone** *fuit;* 12.164-5), but also the symbol of the melodious element of poetry.[12] As the Greek chiefs seem ready to take over the narrative of the *Metamorphoses,* one might think that the course of the *carmen perpetuum* is moving towards the kind of tedious epic poetry of glorious deeds. But Ovid will not let this happen. He will cast Nestor as an internal narrator, who will give a speech full of surprises.

Nestor's very long speech (*Met.* 12.169-535) is triggered by a comparison between Cycnus and Caeneus, another invulnerable hero. But at the end of his opening statement, Nestor has a surprise for his audience; Caeneus was born a woman:

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[9] Although Odysseus does not sing his *apologoi* in *Od.* 9-12, Alcinoos compares him to an *aoidos* (μῦθον δ᾽ ὡς ὅτ᾽ ἀοιδὸς ἐπισταμένως κατέλεξας, *Od.* 11.368)*.* For a detailed discussion of the implication of Odysseus being both the 'singer' and the hero of the narrative, see Pucci 1987, 218ff.
[10] Iopas' *carmen* on cosmogony is also accompanied by the lyre (*Aen.* 1.740-6).
[11] The choice of the word *materia* may be significant. Bömer *ad* 12.160 notes: "*materia* ist ganz vorwiegend prosaisch (Verg.: 0. Hor. 3. Tib.: 0. Prop.: 0. Ov.: 46; Ovid und die Prosa: XII 130), in der Verwendung als 'materia sermonis' nur noch Mart. I 4,4".
[12] The swan was considered a singing bird related to poetry in Greece and Rome. Möller 2003, 64-66, argues that Cycnus/ the swan is a symbol of Ovid's poetic program.

... at ipse olim patientem uulnera mille

corpore non laeso Perrhaebum Caenea uidi,

Caenea Perrhaebum, qui factis inclitus Othryn

incoluit; quoque id mirum magis esset in illo,

femina natus erat. monstri nouitate mouentur,

Met. 12.171-5

But I myself saw in the past Perrhaebian Caeneus enduring a thousand blows, while his body was unharmed, Perrhaebian Caeneus, renowned for his deeds, who dwelled on Othrys; and that was quite amazing in him, that he was born a woman.' They are moved by the strangeness of the portent.

In the beginning, Nestor seems to follow the trail of heroic tales. He is talking about an invulnerable warrior who suffered a thousand blows but remained unwounded. The renown of his deeds *(factis inclitus,)* also seems to be in harmony with the material of heroic epic.[13] But there is a *fulmen in clausula;* the guy was born a girl. The introduction of a hero who was born as a woman constitutes a transgression of the gender-specific definition of Homeric epic (κλέα ἀνδρῶν), as well as of the discussions of the Greek leaders in the *Metamorphoses*; *VIRtus loquendi* (12.159) is related to manly deeds.[14] Everyone in the audience is moved by the strangeness of this marvel. Caeneus is an outlandish curiosity, and Ovid uses *nouitate* (12. 175) to allude to the

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[13] *inclitus* has the same root with κλυτός and κλέος.
[14] For the well-established ancient etymology of *uirtus* from *uir,* see Varro, *De lingua latina,* 5.73 *(uirtus ut uiritus a uirilitate);* Cic. *Tusc.* 2.43 *(appellata est... ex uiro uirtus).* Cf. Maltby 1991, *s.v. uirtus.* See also Michalopoulos 2001, 179-81.

etymology of Caeneus from καινός.[15] While the astonishment of the leaders reveals that the story of Caeneus is new to them, Nestor is about to relate the tale of a sex-shifting hero, something totally καινόν or unheard of in the world of male-oriented epic poetry.

Achilles is particularly eager to listen to the story of Caeneus and urges Nestor to speak (12.177-81). Gianpiero Rosati notes that Achilles' curiosity is related to his youthful sojourn on Scyros, and his concealment in women's clothes there.[16] Nestor reinforces this suspicion when he draws a parallel between Achilles and Caenis, by calling her Achilles' *popularis* (*tibi enim popularis, Achille,* 12.191). By subtly comparing Achilles to Caenis/Caeneus, Nestor strips him of his Homeric manliness and brings him back to the world of the Epic Cycle and his embarrassing transvestism in an attempt to avoid military service (*Cypria arg.*). At a feast held to celebrate Achilles' victory over Cycnus (a battle that put his manliness to the test),[17] insinuations of Achilles' transvestism loom over his heroic virtue.

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[15] Note also that *CaeNEA* (12.172; 173) further puns on νέα, while the Latin form Caeneus suggests both καινός and νέος-*nouus.* Later on, the Centaurs will be stunned by Caeneus' invulnerability: *inque cruentatus Caeneus Elateius ictu./ fecerat attonitos noua res.* 12.297-8. *Caeneus* and *noua* are placed after the caesura in two consecutive lines, a positioning that suggests the etymological relation of the words. The etymology of Caeneus and its relation to *nouitas* recall the Callimachean credo of avoiding trite stories for the sake of novelty. This neoteric program, very prominent in Roman poetry, is endorsed in *Metamorphoses* 4. The daughters of Minyas tell rare and exotic stories. The first of them relates the story of the metamorphosis of the mulberry tree in Babylon because it is not *uulgaris (hoc placet; haec quoniam uulgaris fabula non est,* 4.53). Secondly, Alcithoe refuses to relate the loves of Daphnis because they have become clichéd (*Vulgatos taceo dixit pastoris amores/ Daphnidis Idaei ,* 4.276-7). Instead, she promises to recount the novel story of Salmacis *(dulcique animo nouitate tenebo,* 4.287). Novelty is associated with the work's programmatic opening statement *(In noua fert animus,* 1.1); cf. Wheeler 1999, 8-33, 182.
[16] See Rosati 2002, 288-9. Rosati 2002, 289 n. 53 notes that Thetis in Statius' *Achilleid* 1.264 mentions Caeneus as one of the precedents to convince Achilles to don feminine garb.
[17] The failure of Achilles' spear to penetrate Cycnus' body is a challenge for his masculinity (see Papaioannou 2007, 72-83).

1.2 The Double Life of Caeneus: Gender-Inversions and Generic Shifts

The story of Caeneus is not new, but as old as the *Iliad.* The narrator in Homer is again Nestor and his intervention is meant to give advice to Achilles and Agamemnon.[18] Nestor says that the men of the past, who were superior to modern men, used to heed his counsel (*Il.* 1.260-1), and goes on to give the example of the Lapiths who fought against the Centaurs:

> οὐ γάρ πω τοίους ἴδον **ἀνέρας** οὐδὲ ἴδωμαι,
>
> οἶον Πειρίθοόν τε καὶ Δρύαντά τε ποιμένα λαῶν,
>
> **Καινέα** τ᾽ Ἐξάδιόν τε καὶ ἀντίθεον Πολύφημον,
>
> Θησέα τ᾽ Αἰγείδην, ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισι.
>
> κάρτιστοι δὴ κεῖνοι ἐπιχθονίων τράφον **ἀνδρῶν**·
>
> κάρτιστοι μὲν ἔσαν καὶ καρτίστοις ἐμάχοντο,
>
> φηρσὶν ὀρεσκῴοισι, καὶ ἐκπάγλως ἀπόλεσσαν.
>
> *Il.* 1.262-8

> For not yet did I see such men nor shall I see them, such as Pirithous and Dryas, shepherd of the people, and Caeneus and Exadius and godlike Polyphemus, and Theseus, son of Aegeus, equal to the immortals. They were the strongest of men on earth; they were the strongest and fought with the strongest, beasts living in the mountains, and terribly they destroyed them.

Nestor introduces Caeneus in a catalogue of heroes, passing over any implications of his sexual ambivalence. Caeneus is a man just like Pirithous, Dryas and the other heroes (cf. ἀνέρας; ἀνδρῶν). There is also no mention of

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[18] For the reception of Homer's Nestor in the *Metamorphoses,* see Tsitsiou-Chelidoni 1999; Papaioannou 2007, 87-124.

his invulnerability. The battle of the Lapiths and the Centaurs is described in high epic tones as a battle of the strongest men against wild beasts. Following the silence about Caeneus' supernatural invulnerability and sex-inversion, the mention of the fantastic Centaurs is restricted to the phrase φηρσὶν ὀρεσκῴοισι, which cautiously conceals their fabulous double nature. Homer's Nestor omits any reference to supernatural elements and puts the battle of the Laptiths and the Centaurs in the generic frame of heroic deeds of men. Ovid's Nestor does exactly the opposite; he is fascinated with Caeneus' sex-change and his subsequent invulnerability, and he repeatedly emphasizes the binary monstrosity of the Centaurs.

Caeneus also appears in the catalogue of Lapiths given in the Hesiodic *Shield* (ἐν δ᾽ ἦν ὑσμίνη Λαπιθάων αἰχμητάων/ Καινέα τ᾽ ἀμφὶ ἄνακτα Δρύαντά τε Πειρίθοόν τε/ κτλ. *Shield* 178-9). Again, there is nothing that might imply Caeneus' female past or his invulnerability. Apollonius mentions Coronus, Caeneus' son, in the catalogue of the Argonauts:

> Ἤλυθε δ᾽ ἀφνειὴν προλιπὼν Γυρτῶνα Κόρωνος
> Καινεΐδης, ἐσθλὸς μέν, ἑοῦ δ᾽ οὐ πατρὸς ἀμείνων.
> **Καινέα** γὰρ ζωόν περ ἔτι <u>κλείουσιν ἀοιδοὶ</u>
> Κενταύροισιν ὀλέσθαι, ὅτε σφέας οἶος ἀπ᾽ ἄλλων
> ἤλασ᾽ **ἀριστεύων**, οἱ δ᾽ἔμπαλιν ὁρμηθέντες
> οὔτε μιν ἀγκλῖναι προτέρω σθένον οὔτε δαΐξαι,
> ἀλλ᾽ ἄρρηκτος ἄκαμπτος ἐδύσετο νειόθι γαίης,
> θεινόμενος στιβαρῇσι καταΐγδην <u>ἐλάτῃσι</u>.[19]

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[19] It might be significant that Apollonius' last word in his brief excursus of Caeneus is ἐλάτῃσι ('with fir trees') since Caeneus' father was Elatus (Hesiod fr. 87 M-W; Ovid, *Met.* 12.189). The life of Caeneus comes full circle as he is killed by the trees which bear the name of the man who begot him. For the Centaurs fighting with fir trees, see also Hesiod, *Shield* 188-9; Apollodorus, *Epit.* 1.22.

Argonautica 1.57-64

> Coronus, son of Caeneus, came leaving behind rich Gyrton, a brave
>
> man, but not better than his father. For the singers tell that Caeneus,
>
> though still alive, was destroyed by the Centaurs when he alone,
>
> excelling apart from the others, drove the Centaurs off, and they, spurred
>
> on again, had not the strength to push him back or slay him, but
>
> unbroken and unbending he went down under the earth, killed by a storm
>
> of stout fir trees.

Apollonius follows the gender-specific definition of epic poetry, stating in the proem of the *Argonautica* that his topic is the glories of men (κλέα φωτῶν/ μνήσομαι, *Arg.* 1.1-2). In the passage cited above, he does not say anything about Caeneus being born a woman. What is more, Caeneus appears to be the father of an Argonaut, a straightforward proof of his masculinity. In the vignette following the introduction of Coronus, the focus is on Caeneus' *aristeia* in the battle with the Centaurs. Unlike Homer, Apollonius alludes to his invulnerability, although he does not spell it out. It is not clear whether the fact that Caeneus is "unbroken" and "unbending" and that the the Centaurs "could not slay him" is because of his supernatural body or because of his outstanding prowess. In any case, Caeneus features as a male hero excelling in battle. His *aristeia* is made famous by the epic singers (κλείουσι ἀοιδοί) and his story belongs to the songs about heroic deeds of men.

In the world of heroic epic, Caeneus is always a strong man who fought the Centaurs. This might explain the shock of the Greek heroes who hear from Ovid's Nestor that Caeneus was born a woman; at a feast celebrating the virtue of men, such a story should remain unheard. A hero of the past, even stronger

than the Iliadic heroes, turns out to be a woman, a fact that deflates the ideal manliness of epic heroes. Since heroic epic does not know, or rather edits out, Caeneus' original sex, we need to look at a different genre to trace Ovid's sources: the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*. We know that Hesiod dealt with the story of Caenis/Caeneus:

> (ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ Ἡσίοδος καὶ Δικαίαρχος καὶ Κλέαρχος καὶ Καλλίμαχος καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς περὶ Τειρεσίου τάδε...) οἱ αυτοὶ ἱστοροῦσιν κατὰ τὴν Λαπιθῶν χώραν γενέσθαι Ἐλάτωι τῶι βασιλεῖ θυγατέρα ὀνομαζομένην Καινίδα. ταύτηι δὲ Ποσειδῶνα μιγέντα ἐπαγγείλασθαι ποιήσειν αὐτῆι ὃ ἂν ἐθέληι, τὴν δὲ ἀξιῶσαι μεταλλάξαι αὐτὴν εἰς ἄνδρα ποιῆσαί τε ἄτρωτον. τοῦ δὲ Ποσειδῶνος κατὰ τὸ ἀξιωθὲν ποιήσαντος μετονομασθῆναι Καινέα. Phlegon, *Mirab.* 5.74 Keller = fr. 87 M-W

> (Hesiod and Dicaearchus and Clearchus and Callimachus and some others say about Teiresias these..) the same authors relate that in the land of the Lapiths a daughter named Caenis was born to the king Elatus. When Poseidon mingled in love with her, he promised to grant her whatever she wished for, and she asked that he transform her into a man and an invulnerable one. When Poseidon granted her request, the name was changed to Caeneus.

Hesiod is the oldest source attested by Phlegon and it is likely that the other authors based their accounts on the version of the *Catalogue*. The story given in Phlegon's summary closely resembles an *ehoie*. A noble girl has a love affair with Poseidon and then the god tells her that he will do anything she wants. Caenis asks to become an invulnerable man, and Poseidon grants her request.

Caenis' story recalls the *ehoie* of Mestra, another girl with metamorphic powers, seduced by Poseidon (fr. 43a M-W). While the versions of the *Iliad*, the *Shield*, and the *Argonautica* lack the female part of Caenis' life, Phlegon's summary says nothing about Caeneus' career as a valiant warrior against the Centaurs. However, the death of Caeneus under a pile of trees thrown by the Centaurs is the end of Hesiod's version, as the following fragments suggest:

[   ]...ερηισι δαμ[

[   ]ε.κ.α.ι. δούρασ' ἔκ.[οπτον

[   ]ι.....υ.δε γῆν δα.τ.[έοντο

fr. 83.16-8 M-W

[   ].ε.[

[   ].ουσεπ.[

[   ]..ων χρομ.[

-˘]Κέ[ν]ταυροι τεκ[

[   ]μ.εν πληγῆισιν[

[(-)ει]ργ[ν]ύ.μ.ενοι σφ[

[   ]π.ολλοὶ δ[

[   ]η.σ.α.[

fr. 88 M-W

[   ].[.]..[

[ ]ρχομενη[

[ ]ι δ' ἄρα πάν]τες

[γαῖ]α. μέλα[ι]ν[α

[   ]φ' απε[

[ ]γορτ.[

fr. 90 M-W

Although these fragments are badly mutilated, we can still recognize that they describe the death of Caeneus. We see the Centaurs conquering someone with blows (Merkelbach and West suggest ἔδαμεν πληγῆισιν, fr. 88.5 M-W). They are many (πολλοί) and it seems that all of them (πάντες) bury their victim under the earth (γῆν δατέονται; -ειργνύμενοι; γαῖα μέλαινα). The Centaurs presumably attempt to overcome Caeneus with their spears first (δούρασι), and then pile up trees and kill him. At 90. 6,]γορτ[is probably the name Gortys, Elatus' grandson and Caeneus' nephew (cf. Paus. 8.4.8; Hyg. *Fab.* 14.3; 23). Martina Hirschberger argues convincingly that the fragments cited above belong together and deal with the story of Caeneus.[20] Ovid's Nestor, just like the poet of the *Catalogue,* tells the whole story of Caenis/Caeneus, from *her* birth to *his* death.

It is noteworthy that Caeneus appears in the *Iliad* and the *Shield* in a catalogue of Lapiths, while in the *Argonautica* his story is embedded in the catalogue of the Argonauts. In other words, Caeneus appears in catalogues of men, excelling in war. On the other hand, Vergil puts Caeneus in a catalogue of women:

> *hic quos durus amor crudeli tabe peredit*
>
> *secreti celant calles et myrtea <u>circum</u>*
>
> *<u>silua</u> tegit; curae non ipsa in morte relinquunt.*
>
> *<u>his</u> Phaedram Procrimque <u>locis</u> maestamque Eriphylen*
>
> *crudelis nati monstrantem uulnera cernit,*

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[20] Hirschberger 2004, 331-3; 2008, 118. Fr. 83; 88; 90 M-W= fr. 67-9 Hirschberger. See also D'Alessio 2005, 204.

Euadnenque et Pasiphaen; his Laodamia

it comes et iuuenis quondam, nunc femina, **Caeneus**

rursus et in ueterem fato reuoluta figuram.

inter quas Phoenissa recens a uulnere Dido

errabat <u>silua in magna</u>;

Aeneid 6.442-51

Here those whom harsh love ate up with cruel pining, are hidden in isolated paths and encircled by a grove of myrtle trees; even in death their heartaches do not leave them. Here he sees Phaedra and Procris and sad Eriphyle, displaying the wounds inflicted by her cruel son, and Pasiphae and Evadne; Laodamia accompanies them, and Caeneus, once a young man, but now a woman restored by destiny to her old form. Among them Phoenician Dido was wandering in the great wood with her wound still fresh.

The entry of Caeneus in this catalogue is peculiar since it is not clear why s/he falls under the category of women whom "harsh love ate away" (6.442).[21] After Poseidon raped Caenis, she asked to become an invulnerable man, but her love affair was not her doom. It was rather the lust of the Centaurs, who abducted Pirithous' bride and other women, causing the war with the Lapiths, that resulted in Caeneus' death. In any case, Vergil's Underworld presents a catalogue of women, not unlike the Odyssean 'Catalogue of Women' in the *Nekyia* (*Od.* 11.225-332), a straightforward case of Hesiodic *Catalogue*-poetry in the Homeric epic. Vergil says that Aeneas sees *(cernit)* the women, recalling the formula with which the women of the Odyssean Underworld are introduced

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[21] Austin 1977, *ad* 6.448 notes about Caeneus: "inclusion here among victims of *durus amor* is remarkable."

by Odysseus (ἴδον... ἔσιδον...εἶδον). Since the *Odyssey* puts the 'Catalogue of Women' in the Underworld, Caeneus is restored back to her old form in Vergil's Underworld, the traditional setting for a Hesiodic 'Catalogue of Women.' The great wood (*silua in magna,* 451*)* in which Dido and the other women wander, is none other than the poetic material of the *Catalogue of Women.* Stephen Hinds argues that *silua* is used metapoetically in Latin to represent ὕλη, in the sense 'matter', 'mass of material.'[22] Similarly, *his locis* (445) can refer both to places *(loca),* but also text passages *(loci).* It is the great Hesiodic grove of the *Ehoiai* that Dido enters and wanders as Vergil introduces his heroine into the tradition of the *Catalogue.* Vergil's heroines are encircled by a grove of myrtle trees and their names are framed by *silua* (6.444; 451), the grove that has its roots in the Cyclic poetry of the *Catalogue of Women.*

Caeneus' second sex-change after his death is Vergil's invention.[23] His restoration to his *ueterem...figuram* alludes to an etymology *e contrario;* Caeneus, etymologized from καινός "new," returns to his "old" form.[24] It is a nice paradox that Vergil's innovation transforms Caeneus into his old female sex. The juxtaposition **nunc** *femina...***ueterem** *figuram* captures the paradox of

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[22] Hinds 1998, 11-14. Hinds cites Cicero, *Or.* 12 *(omnis enim ubertas est quasi <u>silua</u> dicendi ducta ab illis est)* and Suetonius, *Gram.* 24 *(reliquit (sc. Probus)... non mediocrem <u>siluam</u> obseruationum sermonis antiqui).* He further focuses on *Aeneid* 6.179-82, in which Aeneas and the Trojans make their way to seek wood for the funeral of Misenus *(itur in antiquam siluam, Aen.* 6.179). This *antiqua silua* is Ennius' literary grove *(Ann.* 175-9 Sk.) to which Vergil alludes.
[23] Austin 1977, *ad* 6.448 notes: "Virgil alone represents Caeneus as becoming a woman again in the Underworld:"
[24] Norden 1995, *ad* 6.445ff. notes "Ganz im Stil zierlicher hellenistischer Poesie ist auch die Antithese Caeneus-*ueterem* (Καινεύς 'Neumann' von καινός, statt 'Mörder' von καίνω)." Cf. O'Hara 1996, 172-3. Note also that *recens a uulnere* (6.450) transfers Caeneus' etymology to Dido *(recens-*καινός). While Dido's love was the cause of her fresh wound, Caeneus' affair made him impervious to any weapons. Paschalis 1997, 230-1, suggests that *recens a uulnere* combines καινός with καίνω ('kill'). For an interesting comparison between Caenis' repeated sex- changes and Dido, who passes from feminine wife of Sychaeus to manly ruler to feminine lover, see G.S.West 1980; McLeod 1991, 18. Smith 1997, 78 notes: "Like Caeneus, she [Dido] is transformed "back to her old self" (*Aen.* 6.447); in Dido's case, the transformation occurs with regard to her husband, Sychaeus, who accompanies her (6,473-74)."

the new change to the old form. At the same time, Vergil takes Caeneus out of the catalogues of men in which he was found in the *Iliad*, the *Shield,* and the *Argonautica*, and brings him back to the *Catalogue of Women*. I suggest that *ueterem...figuram* also has a metapoetic dimension,[25] implying that Caeneus is restored to the old form he had in Hesiod. The rotation of grammatical gender (*iuuenis...femina.. Caeneus...reuoluta*:[26] masculine-feminine-masculine-feminine) gives the impression of Caenis'/Caeneus' repeated sex-inversions. The last participle *(reuoluta)* captures exactly this recurring shift. Note also that *reuoluere* can mean "to read over, to repeat"[27] and thus may suggest that Vergil unrolls and reads over Hesiod's Caenis. A generic shift results automatically in a gender-change and vice versa. By restoring his original sex, Vergil removes Caeneus from heroic epic and puts him back anew into the *Catalogue of Women.*

Bearing in mind that Caenis/Caeneus changes genres and genders, let us turn back to Nestor's moralizing account in the *Iliad* and reassess his catalogue of Lapiths:

οὐ γάρ πω τοίους[28]   **ἀνέρας** οὐδὲ   μ ,

οἷον Πειρίθοόν τε καὶ Δρύαντά τε ποιμένα λαῶν,

Καινέα τ᾽ Ἐξάδιόν τε καὶ ἀντίθεον Πολύφημον,

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[25] It is interesting that Pliny attributes Caeneus' sex-change to the 'old poets' *(illa ueterum poetarum de Caenide et Caeneo cantilena, NH* 7.36).
[26] Cf. Cat. 63. 1-8 *(Attis...stimulatus...citata).* After his self-inflicted castration, Attis ceases to be male both physically and grammatically.
[27] Cf. *cum loca iam recitata reuoluimus inreuocati,* Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.223. Cf. *OLD, s.v. reuoluo* 2b: "to roll back (a scroll) in order to read it." Austin 1971, *ad Aen.* 1.261-1 *(fabor enim, quando haec te cura remordet,/ longius et uoluens fatorum arcana mouebo)* notes that *uoluens* is probably a metaphor for the unrolling of the book of the fates. Ovid's imitation of this passage (*Met.* 12.809-15) supports this interpretation of *uoluens;* cf. Wheeler, 1999, 56.
[28] Hirschberger 2004, reads τοίους τ᾽ ἐν at fr. 83.15 M-W= 67.15 H (this fragment describes the death of Caeneus), and cites τοίους from *Il.* 262. The possibility of this parallel buttresses my argument about a close dialogue between Homeric and Hesiodic poetry.

Θησέα τ' Αἰγείδην, ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισι.

Il. 1.262-4

For not yet did I see such men nor shall I see them, such as Pirithous and Dryas, shepherd of the people, and Caeneus and Exadius and godlike Polyphemus, and Theseus, son of Aegeus, equal to the immortals.

Reading this passage through the lens of the Hesiodic *Ehoiai,* one cannot but notice that Nestor employs οἷον, a masculine variant of the *ehoie-* formula, in order to introduce a catalogue of men (ἀνέρας).[29] The presence of Caeneus in this list, a hero that featured as a woman in the Hesiodic *Catalogue,* makes this shift all the more intriguing. The use of ἴδον... ἴδωμαι is also significant, because this is the formula which Odysseus uses to introduce the women of his own catalogue in the *Nekyia* (ἴδον... ἔσιδον...εἶδον). Odysseus' first person narrative replaces *ehoie* with ἴδον.[30] Mihaïl Nasta examines the archaeology of the *ehoie* formula and argues that this formula has a Homeric background.[31] Most of the time it introduced an embedded narration. Martin West discusses the formula in the *Catalogue of Women* and argues that "the poet used the formula for returning to branches of a family that he had partly dealt with earlier and then shelved."[32] This is exactly how Homer's Nestor uses οἷον; he

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[29] Nasta, 2006, 60, 65, pays attention to Nestor's use of variants of the *ehoie-* formula in the *Iliad* as a means of introducing a flashback. He cites and discusses *Il.* 1.262-4 and *Il.* 11.668-71 (οὐ γὰρ ἐμὴ ἴς/ ἔσθ' οἵη πάρος ἔσκεν ἐνὶ γναμπτοῖσι μέλεσσιν/ εἴθ'ὣς ἡβώοιμι βίη τέ μοι ἔμπεδος εἴη/ ὡς ὁπότ' Ἠλείοισι καὶ ἡμῖν νεῖκος ἐτύχθη).

[30] Nasta 2006, 60 points out:"Au fil des apparitions Ulysse reprend chaque fois le même tour introductif: {ἴδον.../ ἔσιδον...εἶδον...} «J'ai vu.../ Je vis encore.../ Je vis aussi...». Ailleurs, selon la spécificité des contextes, ἢ οἵη aurait pu fonctionner comme une formule de relance, tout aussi véhémente que l'itération du verbe qui faisait revivre dans l'*Odyssée* un témoignage focalisé par le narrateur."

[31] Nasta 2006; cf. Rutherford 2000, who argues that the *Ehoiai* was an orally transmitted archaic epic, perceived as an independent genre. See also Arrighetti 2008; Skempis & Ziogas (2009).

[32] West 1985, 35; cf. Rutherford 2000, 84-5; Asquith 2005, 272.

introduces a flashback and an embedded narrative, but he is talking about the heroic deeds of men. Homer's Nestor does exactly the opposite of what Vergil did with Caeneus; he takes her out of the female-oriented *Ehoiai* and puts him in the male-oriented Homeric epic.

1.3 Or Such as... Caenis

Ovid's Nestor first gives the impression that he will talk about a warrior: *corpore non laeso Perrhaebum Caenea **uidi*** (*Met.* 12.172) comes close to the Homeric οὐ γάρ πω τοίους **ἴδον** ἀνέρας.. οἷον.. Καινέα. But, as I have mentioned above, he concludes his opening statement by revealing, to the astonishment of the Greek leaders, that his hero was born a woman *(femina natus erat,* 12.174). Nestor's unexpected conclusion is of programmatic importance. He is going to bring up the Hesiodic *Ehoiai* and he will do that in a feast meant to celebrate the virtues of men. Vergil mentioned Caeneus briefly and restored him to his female form, but he did so in a milieu traditional for a foray into *ehoie*-poetry, i.e. the Underworld. On the other hand, Ovid introduces a heroine from the *Catalogue* in the heart of the Trojan war. Ovid's Nestor subverts his Homeric counterpart, putting Caeneus and his original gender back into the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*; the Homeric οἷον Καινέα will become *ἠ' οἵη Καινίς in the *Metamorphoses*.[33]

Nestor's narrative is triggered by a comparison between Cycnus and Caeneus; Caeneus was invulnerable *just like* Cycnus. Such a comparison might seem like

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[33] Papaioannou 2007, 101, notes that in the actual time of the Trojan War, the narrative of Ovid's Nestor occurs in the first year of the war, and thus predates the speech of Homer's Nestor, which takes place in the tenth year of the war. This chronological reversal (Homer comes before Ovid, but Ovid's Nestor speaks before his Homeric counterpart) 'forces' Homer to allude to Ovid. Reading the speech of Homer's Nestor against the background of Ovid's Nestor, the silence of Caeneus' female past in the *Iliad* as well as the use of οἷον in a catalogue of men become all the more emphatic.

a regular transitional device, but when we finally learn that Caeneus was born Caenis, we cannot help but recall the very meaning of the ἠ᾽ οἵη formula. Nestor begins his story as "Or such as Caeneus," but soon we realize that he narrates an *ehoie* of Caenis.

After Achilles' inquiry (12.177-81) about Caeneus, Nestor gives a short disclaimer about his uncertain memory (12.182-8).[34] Still, he contends that he remembers many things and stresses his longevity (*uixi/ annos bis centum; nunc tertia uiuitur aetas*, 12.187-8). Ovid toys with the meaning of *aetas* as 'century' or 'generation.' In Homer, Nestor saw two generations of men (δύο μὲν γενεαὶ μερόπων ἀνθρώπων, *Il.* 1.250) and now lives as a king in the third (μετὰ δὲ τριτάτοισιν ἄνασσεν, *Il.* 1.252; τρὶς γὰρ δή μίν φασιν ἀνάξασθαι γένε᾽ ἀνδρῶν *Od.* 3.245). In Ovid, *annos bis centum* suggests that *tertia aetas* means the "third century." By the double entendre of *aetas,* Ovid not only alludes to the three generations of Homer's Nestor but also expands the life span of his Nestor to three centuries. What is more, Nestor's intergenerational life makes him a particularly suitable narrator of tales from the genealogically-oriented *Catalogue of Women*.[35]

In fact, the Homeric Nestor features as a narrator of genealogical poetry. In *Iliad* 7.125-8, Nestor says that he told the family and birth of all the Argives (πάντων Ἀργείων ἐρέων γενεήν τε τόκον τε, *Il.* 7.128) to Peleus, and that Achilles' father took great pleasure listening to his genealogical narrative. The *Iliad* mentions Nestor's performance of genealogical poetry only in passing and

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[34] On Nestor's both defective and amazing memory, see Musgrove 1998, 226-30.
[35] Fletcher, R. 2005, 309-17, stresses the genealogical aspect of Nestor's narrative in the *Metamorphoses.*

silences the role of women in it, focusing instead on their male offspring.[36] Still, Nestor's successful account of Panhellenic genealogies to Peleus is a clear indication of his potential as a narrator of *ehoie*-poetry. In the *Metamorphoses,* Nestor actually features as a storyteller of *ehoie*-poetry in the narrative proper. This time his target audience is not Peleus, but his son, Achilles, and, unlike his Homeric counterpart, he does not edit out the role of women.

Nestor is a narrator that functions as a "time window" in the *Iliad.* His stories take his audience back to the remote past of his youth, breaking the narrow time frame of the Iliadic plot. As a hero who has lived for three generations, he features as an intergenerational narrator whose moralizing accounts break the synchronically-oriented narrative of the *Iliad.* In Ovid's diachronically-oriented *Metamorphoses,* on the other hand, Nestor breaks the temporal sequentiality of the *carmen perpetuum*. His embedded narrative is a flashback, thus activating the function of the *ehoie*-formula. Nestor's lengthy account in the *Metamorphoses* transgresses gender, genre, and time. This threefold disruption of the Trojan War manages to evoke and establish the *Catalogue of Women* at the most unexpected point of Ovid's world history. Bearing in mind that the *Catalogue of Women* covered all of Greek mythology from the end of the *Theogony* to the beginning of the *Cypria,*[37] a reader of the *Metamorphoses* would expect that, by the beginning of the Trojan War, the *Catalogue* could no longer appear in Ovid's poem. Still, it is exactly at this point that Ovid casts Nestor as a narrator of *ehoie*-poetry. There is a chronological dimension, added

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[36] Rutherford 2000, 91-6 suggests that, at an early stage, genealogical poetry was independent of catalogues of women. Surprisingly, he does not cite *Il.* 7.125-8, a passage that would buttress his theory.
[37] Davies 1992, 82- 135, argues that the *Catalogue* filled the gap between the *Theogony* and the Homeric poems. Clay 2005, 29, connects the end of the *Catalogue* with the beginning of the *Cypria.*

to the gender and generic shift of the Trojan war, that renders Nestor's account of Caenis all the more surprising.

But let us first examine how Nestor begins his narrative proper:

> *Clara decore fuit proles Elateia Caenis,*
> *Thessalidum uirgo pulcherrima, perque propinquas*
> *perque tuas urbes (tibi enim popularis, Achille)*
> *multorum frustra uotis optata procorum.*
> *Met.* 12.189-92

> Renowned for her beauty was Caenis, the offspring of Elatus, the most beautiful girl of the Thessalian girls, throughout the neighboring cities and your own (for she was one of your people, Achilles), who was wooed in vain with the offerings of many suitors.

The beginning of the story with a detailed presentation of the girl recalls the typical opening of an *ehoie.* The very first words *(clara decore)* signal a radical change from the discussion topic at Achilles' dinner party, which was the exploits of men in war. Nestor shifts from the κλέος of manly deeds to the κλέος (cf. *clara)* of female beauty. But female renown has a specific generic identity, which is none other than the *Ehoiai,* and the fame of the Hesiodic heroines is closely related to their social status and beauty.[38] Robin Osborne argues that it is a characteristic of the *Catalogue of Women* to point out repeatedly the lovely appearance of the girls who attract the gods by their beauty. Osborne adds that, although desire and sexual activity make early and

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[38] In Chapter 1 and 4, I argue that the renown of Helen's and Atalanta's beauty refer to specific episodes of the *Catalogue.* The *Catalogue* is an important Ovidian intertext in the story of Atalanta (*Met.* 10. 560-708; cf. fr. 72-6 M-W) and the paired letters of Paris and Helen (*Her.* 16-7; cf. fr. 196-204 M-W).

repeated appearances in the *Theogony,* physical appearance plays little part in the narrative dominating the genealogy of the generations down to Zeus. Metis, for instance, Zeus' first partner, is introduced with stress on her skills, not her beauty.[39]

Caenis, the daughter of the king of the Lapiths, is not only beautiful, but the most beautiful girl in Thessaly *(Thessalidum uirgo pulcherrima),* and thus she attracts the attention of Neptune. In this way, she resembles Tyro, who attracts Poseidon because of her outstanding beauty (..... . τῇ]ς γ' ἐράεσκε Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων/.... ....] φιλότητι θεὸς βροτῷ, οὔνεκ' ἄρ' εἶδος/ πασάων προΰχεσκε γυναι]κῶν θηλυτεράων. fr. 30.32-4 M-W). Note that the theme of the *Catalogue,* as its proem makes clear (fr. 1.1-5 M-W), is female excellence and the affairs of mortal women with gods. The women of the *Catalogue* are not simply beautiful, but their beauty surpasses that of all the other mortal women and is often compared to divine attractiveness.[40] Caenis surpasses all the Thessalian girls in beauty, a characteristic that identifies her with the heroines of the *Catalogue* and further suggests an etymology of Caenis from καίνυμαι 'to surpass, excel'.[41] Caenis' name, therefore, encapsulates the program of the *Catalogue,* i.e. female excellence. Her renown *(clara),* her outstanding beauty *(pulcherrima uirgo),*[42] her noble descent (she is the

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[39] See Osborne 2005, 10-8.
[40] See Osborne 2005, 10-3, for examples.
[41] In the beginning of the Alcmene-*ehoie,* we are told that the daughter of Electryon surpassed the tribe of women in beauty and stature (ἥ ῥα γυναικῶν φῦλον **ἐκαίνυτο** θηλυτεράων/ εἴδεΐ τε μεγέθει τε· fr. 195 M-W= *Shield* 4-5); cf. [εἴδει **ἐ]καίνυτο** φ[ῦλα γυναικῶν, fr. 96.2 M-W; εἴδει **ἐκαίνυτο** [φῦλα γυναικῶν 180.10 M-W.
[42] The phrase *pulcherrima uirgo* is attested only one more time in the *Metamorphoses* (see Bömer *ad.* 9.9). At *Met.* 9.9, Achelous, after finishing the Mestra-*ehoie,* moves on to another heroine from the *Catalogue*, Deianira (fr. 25.17 M-W). Achelous, who, as I argue elsewhere, features as a narrator of stories from the *Catalogue of Women*, mentions Deianira's renown, her outstanding beauty, her wooing and the love of a god, (9.8 ff), all characteristic motifs of an *ehoie.*

daughter of king Elatus), and her affair with Neptune refer to the very material of the *Ehoiai.*

Similarly to Caenis, the outstanding beauty of Coronis, another Thessalian girl, is also stressed in the beginning of her story (*Pulchrior in tota quam Larisea Coronis/ non fuit Haemonia, Met.* 2.542-3). As I argue in Chapter 3, Ovid structures this story as a Coronis-*ehoie* (cf. fr. 59-60 M-W). Another girl of exceptional beauty, Chione, Daedalion's daughter, attracts a thousand suitors, but also Apollo and Mercury *(nata erat huic [i.e. Daedalioni] Chione, quae dotatissima forma/ mille procos habuit bis septem nubilis annis, Met.* 11.301-2). Chione's incomparable beauty *(dotatissima forma)* recalls Caenis' beauty *(pulcherrima uirgo).* Mercury and Apollo rape Chione on the same night and the girl gives birth to twins, Autolycus, son of Mercury, and Philammon, son of Apollo. This is a story taken from the *Catalogue,* with the difference that the girl is called Philonis in Hesiod.[43]

The wooing of a beautiful girl by many suitors is also a recurring motif in the *Catalogue of Women.*[44] Garth Tissol believes that the mention of the wooing of a girl by many suitors is a formulaic statement made near the beginning of a tale of love or rape.[45] I contend, however, that this motif is not an inert formula but a marker that points to *ehoie*-poetry. Ovid usually mentions the wooing of a

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[43] Ovid alludes specifically to the *Catalogue* in the tale of Chione in the following passage: *nascitur Autolycus, furtum ingeniosus ad omne,/ candida de nigris et de candentibus atra/ qui facere adsuerat, patriae non degener artis;/ nascitur a Phoebo (namque est enixa gemellos)/ carmine uocali clarus citharaque Philammon. Met.* 11.313-7; cf. ἣ τέκεν Αὐτόλυκόν τε Φιλάμμονά τε κλυτὸν αὐδήν,/ τὸν μὲν ὑποδμηθεῖσα ἑκηβόλωι Ἀπόλλωνι,/ τὸν δ᾽ αὖθ᾽ Ἑρμάωνι μιγεῖσ᾽ ἐρατῆι φιλότητι/ Αὐτόλυκον τίκτεν Κυλληνίωι Ἀργεϊφόντηι. fr. 64.15-8 M-W.
[44] Several episodes of the *Catalogue* develop the motif of the wooing of a woman and the woman is often the prize of a contest. Atalanta's suitors woo her by competing with her in a foot race (fr. 72-6 M-W). Sisyphos woos Mestra on behalf of his son Glaukos, promising countless wedding gifts (μυρία ἔδνα, fr. 43a. 21). The *Catalogue* concludes with the lengthy episode of the wooing of Helen (fr. 196-204 M-W), which is actually a contest of wealth.
[45] Tissol 1997, 112-3.

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girl when he refers to *ehoie*-poetry (Coroneus' daughter, a case of an *ehoie* embedded in the *ehoie* of Coronis: *diuitibus procis... petebar* 2.571; Gorgo[46]-Deianira: *multorumque fuit spes inuidiosa procorum* 4.795= 9.10; Atalanta: *turba.. procorum.* 10.568; Chione: *Chione, quae dotatissima forma mille procos habuit.* 11.301-2; Caenis: *multorum frustra uotis optata procorum* 12. 192; Scylla:[47] *hanc multi petiere proci.* 13.735; Helen: *mea uirginitas mille petita procis. Her.* 16.104). There is only one more example of a girl pursued by many in the *Metamorphoses*, Daphne (*Multi illam petiere* 1.478). Daphne is the only girl in the *Metamorphoses* that attracts many suitors, whose name is not attested in the Hesiodic *Ehoiai* as far as we know from the fragments.

The above mentioned phrases recall the suitors of Demodike (τὴν πλεῖστοι ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων/ μνήστευον, καὶ πολλὰ [περ]ικλυτὰ δῶρ' ὀνόμηναν, fr. 22.5-6 M-W), Atalanta's many suitors (fr. 75 M-W) or Pero's suitors in the Odyssean 'Catalogue of Women' (τὴν πάντες μνώοντο περικτίται, *Od.* 11.288; in the *Catalogue of Women,* Melampus woos Pero for his brother Bias: μνᾶτο γὰρ αὐτοκασιγν[ήτωι, fr. 37.5 M-W). They further recall the lengthy catalogue of Helen's numerous suitors, which came in the end of the *Catalogue of Women* (fr. 196-204 M-W). Thus, the wooing of a girl is one of the ways in which Ovid casts his stories generically as *ehoiai.*

The genealogical information about Caenis *(proles Elateia)* points to the genealogically oriented structure of the *Catalogue.* While the male-oriented epic versions of Caeneus in Homer and Apollonius silenced the birth and did not mention the father of Caenis, Hesiod seems to have begun his tale by

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[46] For Gorgo's appearance in the *Catalogue* as Poseidon's beloved, see Philodemus, B 7430-46, 7454-80 Obbink= Most 157; cf. Theogony 277-9.

[47] We know from a scholion on Apollonius 4.828 that Scylla appeared in the *Megalai Ehoiai;* ἐν δὲ ταῖς μεγάλαις Ἠοίαις Φόρβαντος καὶ Ἑκάτης ἡ Σκύλλα. fr. 262 M-W.

mentioning the birth of Caenis, the daughter of king Elatus (κατὰ τὴν Λαπιθῶν

χώραν γενέσθαι Ἐλάτωι τῶι βασιλεῖ θυγατέρα ὀνομαζομένην Καινίδα, fr.

87 M-W). The beginning of the Hesiodic tale corresponds to the beginning of

Ovid's version (γενέσθαι Ἐλάτωι; *Elateia proles).* Elatus plays no role in Ovid's

story of Caenis/Caeneus, but his mention is indispensable in the genealogical

poetry of the *Ehoiai.*[48]

Geography is also crucial to the structure of the *Catalogue* and its Panhellenic

scope. Caenis, like Coronis (*Met.* 2.542-3), is from Thessaly.[49] Nestor points out

her homeland, in order to draw a connection between her and Achilles, but

Caenis' origin might also be related to the geographical dynamics of the *Ehoiai.*

Robert Fowler, tracing the origins of the *Catalogue,* argues that the focus of

Greek genealogical poetry in its early stage was Thessaly and the Delphic

Amphiktyony.[50] The Hesiodic *Ehoiai* preserve the importance of Thessaly,

lending weight to the Thessalian stemma Deukalion-Hellen-Doros/Aiolos. Thus,

Nestor's reference to Caenis' Thessalian origin locates his tale in the heart of

the *Catalogue of Women.* At the same time, he transforms Thessaly from the

homeland of the best of the Achaeans to the very setting of *ehoie*-poetry.

Let me sum up my argument about Nestor introducing his tale (*Met.* 12. 189-92)

as an *ehoie* of Caenis at this point. The story opens with the presentation of the

girl and signals a flashback, both characteristic features of an *ehoie.* There are

also specific motifs that are to be identified as recurring themes of *ehoie*-poetry:

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[48] For the patrilineal focus of the *Catalogue,* see Fowler 1998, 5-6. Odysseus' *ehoie*-like
vignettes often open with the woman and the mention of her father and/or husband (Tyro,
daughter of Salmoneus, *Od.* 11.235-6; Antiope, daughter of Asopos, *Od.* 11.260; Chloris,
daughter of Amphion, *Od.* 11.281-4; Phaedra, Procris, and Ariadne, daughters of Minos, *Od.*
11.321-2).
[49] For Caeneus' myth and the geography of Thessaly, see Decourt 1998.
[50] Fowler 1998, 11-3; cf. Rutherford 2005, 99-101, 115.

a) the exceptional beauty of a noble girl; b) female renown c) the wooing of the girl, and d) genealogical and geographical information.

Caenis' affair with Neptune, which follows her presentation (*Met.* 12.195-209), refers to the main topic of the *Catalogue,* which is the affairs of mortal women with gods. Caenis turns down her numerous suitors and withdraws to an isolated seashore (*Met.* 12.196), where the god of the sea appears and rapes her. After the rape, Neptune tells Caenis that he will grant her anything she wishes:

> .... *nec Caenis in ullos*
> *denupsit thalamos secretaque litora carpens*
> *aequorei uim passa dei est (ita fama ferebat);*
> *utque nouae Veneris Neptunus gaudia cepit,*
> *"sint tua uota*[51] *licet" dixit "secura repulsae:*
> *elige quid uoueas!" (eadem hoc quoque fama ferebat.)*
> *Met.* 12.195-200

And Caenis did not marry to any bridal-bed and walking along a lonely beach she endured the force of the god of the sea (so rumor had it); when Neptune took the pleasure of the new love, he said: "Let your wishes be safe from rejection: choose whatever you wish!" (the same rumor mentioned this).

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[51] Caenis' *uota,* which are safe from rejection, contrast with the futile *uota* of her numerous suitors (12.192). The mortal suitors offer wedding gifts to the virgin in vain *(frustra),* while the god easily fulfills Caenis' *uotum* after he had an illicit affair with her.

The story proceeds as a typical *ehoie.* Neptune enjoys the new affair *(nouae Veneris),* a phrase that alludes to Caenis' etymology from καινός *(nouus),*[52] and speaks to the girl, a sequence that recalls Poseidon's affair with Tyro and his subsequent speech to her (fr. 31 M-W; cf. *Od.* 11.248-50).[53] Caenis' lonesome withdrawal to the seashore, an isolation that gives Neptune the opportunity to rape her, also recalls Tyro's solitary visits to the river Enipeus, which enabled Poseidon to seduce her (fr. 30.35 M-W; *Od.* 11.240-1). What is more, Nestor's double use of *fama ferebat* within four lines at the end of the lines is particularly significant. Nestor has to rely on the *fama* since he was not an eyewitness of what he narrates.[54] But *fama ferebat* is a marked term of literary annotation. This so-called 'Alexandrian footnote' is a signal to the reader that the poet/narrator is saying something here about his own relation to the tradition. I suggest that the phrase *aequorei uim passa dei est,* followed by an 'Alexandrian footnote', recalls the formulaic language of the *Catalogue of Women.* Poseidon, for instance, rapes Mestra and the line that describes this liaison is καὶ τὴν μὲν ῥ' ἐδάμασσε Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθ[ων (fr. 43a.55 M-W). *Met.* 12.197 also corresponds to formulae like ἢ δὲ Ποσειδάωνος ἐν ἀγκοίνηισιν μιγεῖσα (fr. 16.12=43a.81 M-W), Διὸς δμηθεῖσα δόλοισι (fr. 141.2 M-W), and ἢ δὲ θεῶι δμηθεῖσα (fr. 195.48 M-W= *Shield* 48). Nestor repeats *fama ferebat* after Neptune's speech, which recalls Poseidon's speech

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[52] Ovid alludes to this etymology repeatedly. The reaction of the Greek leaders to Nestor's opening statement about Caeneus' female birth *(monstri nouitate mouentur,* 12.175) resembles the Centaur's reaction to his invulnerability *(fecerat attonitos noua res,* 12.498). While asking Neptune for a sex-change, her voice becomes that of a man as s/he speaks the last *(nouissima)* words of her/his request *(grauiore nouissima dixit/ uerba sono poteratque uiri uox illa uideri,* 12.203-4).

[53] I think this is what Richard Fletcher is trying to suggest, although he is confusing when he says: "Caenis' prayer to Neptune recalls the god's speech to Tyro in the *Catalogue"* (Fletcher, R. 2005, 313). It is Neptune's words that recall Poseidon's speech in the Tyro-*ehoie,* not Caenis' request.

[54] This contrasts with his narrative of the Centauromachy, in which he was present and relates what he remembers.

in the *Catalogue of Women.* Note that Nestor makes clear that his second quotation refers to the same *(eadem)* source as the first. I suggest that this *fama* comes straight from the Hesiodic *Ehoiai.*

Fama appears four times in *Metamorphoses* 12; first in the description of the house of *Fama* (12.43). After the *Fama ekphrasis*, Cycnus says that he knows Achilles from his *fama* (12.86), his epic κλέος. Nestor brings up *fama* twice in four lines, but this *fama* is part of Caenis' female renown and is related to the genre that extolled female excellence and the affairs of women with gods. The *Ehoiai* are among the countless voices that haunt the house of *Fama* and resonate from it. While Neptune rapes Caenis, the *fama* of the *Catalogue of Women* is penetrating the epic world of the Trojan War.

The usual outcome of a heroine's affair with a god is the birth of a child. This is exactly what Poseidon tells Tyro:

> "χαῖρε, γύναι, φιλότητι· περιπλομένου δ' ἐνιαυτοῦ
> τέξεαι ἀγλαὰ τέκνα, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἀποφώλιοι εὐναὶ
> ἀθανάτων· σὺ δὲ τοὺς κομέειν ἀτιταλλέμεναί τε."
> *Od.* 11.248-50 (cf. fr. 31.2-3 M-W)

> "Be happy, woman, in this love; for when the year passes, you will give birth to glorious children, for the beds of the immortals are not fruitless; take care of them and raise them."

Still, the story of Caenis challenges Poseidon's assertion that the affairs of the gods are not fruitless. Caenis will request to change sex and thus she will not give birth to any child. If we acknowledge that Neptune's speech in the Metamorphoses recalls Poseidon's speech to Tyro, then we can notice that

Poseidon's/Neptune's affair with Caenis annuls his statement in *Od.* 11.248-50 and fr. 31.2-5 M-W. Richard Fletcher points out that in the *Catalogue,* heroic progeny is a compensation for the violent act of rape. However, in the *Metamorphoses* this aspect is often missing.[55] In the tale of Mestra, for instance, Mestra refers to her affair with Neptune (*Met.* 8.850-1), but there is no mention of any child. On the other hand, Mestra bears Eurypylus to Poseidon in the *Catalogue* (fr. 43a.55-8 M-W), and her *ehoie* focuses on her progeny as well as on Sisyphos' concern about the continuation of his bloodline.[56] Still, Caeneus' status as an invulnerable warrior is reminiscent of Cycnus, the invulnerable son of Neptune to whom Caeneus is compared explicitly by Nestor (12.169-74).[57] Thus, Caenis is transformed from Neptune's beloved girl into a male warrior similar to Cycnus, Neptune's son. Caenis/Caeneus appropriates the functions of both Neptune's mistress and son.[58]

The summary of the Hesiodic version concludes with the sex- and name-change of Caenis to Caeneus (τοῦ δὲ Ποσειδῶνος κατὰ τὸ ἀξιωθὲν ποιήσαντος μετονομασθῆναι Καινέα, fr. 87 M-W). Ovid/Nestor closely follows the Hesiodic version attested in Phlegon[59] but he does not finish his tale with Caenis' metamorphosis, although both metamorphosis *per se* and Ovid's

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[55] Fletcher, R. 2005, 311.
[56] For reasons that remain unexplained, Zeus contrives to prevent Sisyphos from having children (fr. 43.52-4 M-W). For an interesting discussion of Zeus' prohibition against Sisyphos' progeny, see Rutherford 2005, 101-3.
[57] For thematic links between Cycnus and Caeneus, see Segal 1998, 24-5.
[58] Caeneus' avian transformation (12.530-1) also parallels Cycnus' transformation into a swan (12.144-5).
[59] The only difference is that in Hesiod Caenis asks Poseidon to make her an invulnerable man, while in Ovid Caenis asks to be a man, and then Neptune on his own accord decides to make Caeneus invulnerable (*adnuerat dederatque super, ne saucius ullis/ uulneribus fieri ferroque occumbere posset.* 12.206-7). Cf. Hyginus, *Fab.* 14.4 *[hunc (sc. Caenea) nonnuli feminam fuisse dicunt, cui petenti Neptunum propter conubium optatum dedisse ut in iuuenilem speciem conuersus nullo ictu interfici posset);* Apollodorus, *Epit.* 1.22 (ὅτι Καινεὺς πρότερον ἦν γυνή, συνελθόντος δὲ αὐτῇ Ποσειδῶνος ᾐτήσατο ἀνὴρ γενέσθαι ἄτρωτος).

diction suggest the end of the story. The audience/readers are misdirected to a 'false closure':[60]

> *munere laetus abit studiisque uirilibus aeuum*
>
> *exigit Atracides Peneiaque arua pererrat.*
>
> *Met.* 12.208-9

> Pleased with this gift, Caeneus from Atrax left and spent his life in manly pursuits roaming the Peneian plowlands.

Caeneus spends his life in manly pursuits as the phrase *aeuum exigit* summarizes the rest of his life,[61] suggesting misleadingly that this is the end of the story. Transformed into a man, Caeneus accomplishes manly deeds on the *Peneia arua;* while *arua* is a term used as a metaphor for female genitalia,[62] the geographic epithet *Peneia* in this context sets up a lascivious pun on *penis.*[63] Caeneus is a happy *(laetus)* man wandering through the Peneian plowlands.

Despite the closural markers, the tale of Caeneus is not over yet and the false alarm of an ending is meant to tease the audience. In fact, Nestor has just begun his narrative. In a shift following Caeneus' gender-inversion, Nestor moves to the wedding of Pirithous and Hippodame (12.210 ff). When the

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[60] For the technique of false closure, see Fowler 2000, 259-74. Fowler's reading of the false closure in Catullus 8 is excellent. At 8.12, the poet's farewell contributes to our sense of an ending *(uale, puella, iam Catullus obdurat,* Cat. 8.12). However, the poem continues for seven more lines. Catullus does not stop because the point of the poem is that he *cannot* stop, despite his stated resolution to end the affair for good.

[61] The end of a hero's life is maybe the strongest indication that a story ends.

[62] See Adams 1982, 24, 28, 84.

[63] Ahl 1985, 134-7, suggests a pun on *penis* at *Met.* 1.452 *(Daphne PENEia).* The adjective *Peneius* is very rare (Bömer *ad* 1.452 notes that it occurs only one more time in Augustan poetry, in Vergil, *Georgics* 4.317). The infrequency of the adjective makes the obscene pun surface more readily.

intoxicated Centaur Eurytus sees the new bride,[64] he abducts her and then the other Centaurs follow his example, carrying off the women they fancy or could grab (12.219-26). A fierce battle between the Centaurs and the Lapiths breaks out,[65] which Nestor describes at length, not sparing gruesome details (12.210-535).[66] The last and crucial episode of the Centauromachy is Caeneus' entry in the battle (12.459- 535). We may assume that Caeneus, having been the victim of rape in his previous female state, is eager to fight against the lustful beasts. He first kills[67] five Centaurs and wounds many of them, and then Latreus attacks him with his Macedonian sarisa (12.462-79). But the sarisa bounces back (12.480-1) since Caeneus is endowed with an impenetrable body. After repeated attempts to wound his body, Caeneus remains impervious to sharp weapons. Then the Centaurs muster and bury him under a huge pile of trees (12.510-21).[68] Caeneus' burial is a reenactment of his rape, given that he is overwhelmed by a heap of phallus-like trees. His death, just like his rape, is followed by a metamorphosis; some say that he died and descended into the Underworld (12.522-3), but Mopsus saw a bird coming out of the pile and

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[64] Hippodame has a speaking name, suitable for a woman abducted by the equine Eurytus. An etymology from ἵππος and δάμνημι suggests a woman 'tamed' or 'subdued' by a horse. Bömer *ad loc* notes that her name is otherwise unknown. Hyginus *(Fab. 33.3; 97.14)* calls Pirithous' bride Hippodamia, the daughter of Adrastus. Hippodamia is also the name of the bride in Apollodorus *Epit.* 1.21.

[65] The sources of the Centauromachy are Homer, *Il.* 1.262-73; Hesiod, *Shield,* 178-90; Plutarch, *Thes.* 30.3-4; Pausanias, 5.10.8; Sch. *Od.* 21.295; Diodorus Siculus, 4.70. 3-4 (in this version the Centaurs win); Apollodorus, *Epit.* 1.21-2; 1st Vatican Mythographer (Bode 1834, 51 n. 162), who is cited in the 2nd Vatican Mythographer (Bode 1834, 111 n. 108); Hyginus, *Fab.* 33; Servius on *Aen.* 7.304; *LIMC* ii. 1.553, n. 420 and illustration ii. 2, pl. 417 (s.v. Ares/Mars).

[66] As Segal 1998, 24-5, points out: "If you were feeling cheated of blood and guts by the ineffectuality of Achilles' spear, Ovid seems to say, you can now take your fill of outrageous wounding and watch the free flow of blood and brains, hear bones crack, and enjoy a fine display of disembowelments, gouged out eyes, burnt beards, and assorted other mutilations (12.210-458)."

[67] Ovid alludes to the etymology of Caeneus from καίνω ('to kill') at 12.459 *(Quinque neci Caeneus dederat).*

[68] The burial of Caeneus subverts playfully the punishment of the Vestal virgins. While a Vestal virgin was buried alive if she lost her virginity, Caeneus, who was deflowered by Neptune, is buried alive because he cannot be penetrated. Keith 1999, 232, 238, notes that death by suffocation is a form of death reserved for the female in classical imagination.

asserted that Caeneus transformed into a unique bird (12.524-32).[69] After Caeneus' death or metamorphosis, the Lapiths, incensed with grief and anger, rout the Centaurs (12.532-5). Nestor's narrative concludes with the Centaurs fleeing as the night falls (*quam data pars leto, partem fuga noxque remouit*, 12.535).

Nestor's lengthy Centauromachy is embedded in the story of Caenis/Caeneus, a tale that begins as a Caenis-*ehoie* and ends soon after the death/ transformation of Caeneus, who was buried under a pile of deforested trees by the Centaurs. The shift from the false closure that concludes Caenis' sex-inversion to the wedding of Pirithous is abrupt (*exigit Atracides Peneiaque arua pererrat./ Duxerat Hippodamen audaci Ixione natus,* 12.209-10) and gives the impression of a new beginning. Still, this is only the continuation of Caeneus' tale since Nestor will conclude with Caeneus' last manly deed and his death/ metamorphosis. Thus, this narrative shift looks like a sudden change to a new tale, but is actually the sequel of Caeneus' story. The scene of the wedding contrasts with Caenis' rejection of her numerous suitors and her subsequent illicit affair with Neptune. But the wedding feast is only the setting for the violent battle that is about to follow.[70] Nestor's narrative shifts genre at the very moment of Caenis' sex-change. We pass from the Hesiodic *Ehoiai* to the male-oriented sphere of epic battles; from the affair of a heroine with a god to the epic deeds of heroes on the battlefield. However, the Centauromachy, which is

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[69] Caeneus' transformation into a bird is Ovid's innovation, similar to Vergil's innovation about Caeneus' restoration to his female sex in the Underworld. Smith 1997, 74-7, argues that Ovid alludes to Vergil (Vergil's *nunc femina, Aen.* 6.446 has become *auis nunc unica, Met.* 12.531). Ovid's Caeneus does not descend to the Underworld, but morphs into a bird.
[70] Keith 1999, 234-5, notes that the battle between the Centaurs and the Lapiths functions as a narrative doublet of the Trojan war. Both wars feature the violation of hospitality and the abduction of a bride. I think that the wedding of Pirithous and Hippodame further refers to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, mentioned by Nestor earlier (12.193-5). Peleus' wedding marks the beginning of the Trojan war since the quarrel among Athena, Hera, and Aphrodite arose there. The weddings of Pirithous and Peleus lead to fierce conflicts.

embedded in the story of Caenis/Caeneus, is not actually an epic in the Homeric sense of the word, but rather a travesty of an epic. A frenzied battle of drunken beasts, in which mixing-bowls, wine-jars, antlers and trees are used as weapons, is alien to the noble world of the *Iliad*.

There is a tension between the structure of Nestor's speech, which centers on the life of Caenis/Caeneus, and the main part of the narrative, which deals with the Centauromachy. In terms of numbers, the tale of Caenis takes up 20 lines and the final battle of Caeneus with the Centaurs takes up 74 lines, while the Centauromachy extends for 325 lines. Hence, Caenis/Caeneus provides the frame of the Centauromachy. This narrative technique, which creates a juxtaposition between the structure of a tale and its narrative function, is a salient characteristic of the *Ehoiai*. For instance, the Asterodeia-*ehoie* (fr. 58 M-W) focuses not on the heroine, but on her sons Krisos and Panopeus. The Mestra-*ehoie* (fr. 43 M-W) mainly deals with Sisyphos' attempt to find a bride for his son Glaukos, and the quarrel between Sisyphos and Erisychthon, Mestra's father.[71] The *Shield of Hercules* is an extreme example of this narrative technique; the work begins as an Alcmene-*ehoie* but its main focus is on her son, Hercules, and the *ekphrasis* of his shield. Ian Rutherford explains this feature of the *Ehoiai* in terms of a generic "crossing."[72] For Rutherford, the Hesiodic *Catalogue* is the outcome of two different genres: a) genealogical poetry that did not focus on women b) catalogues of women that did not focus on genealogies. The combination of a) and b) resulted in the *ehoie*-poetry, i.e.

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[71] Rutherford 2005, 102, for the Mestra-*ehoie;* cf. Rutherford 2000, 85-6, for the *Ehoiai* in general. West 1985, 2, takes an extreme position saying that the women of the *Catalogue* were just "a starting point for extensive heroic genealogies."
[72] See Rutherford, 2000, 91-3. Rutherford applies the process of "automatization" *(Avtomatezatsiya)* described by Russian formalists (especially Tynjanov and Sklovsky) to the Hesiodic *Ehoiai,* in order to explain the proposed generic crossing between genealogical poetry and non-genealogical catalogues of women.

genealogical catalogues of women. This model explains the tension between surface form and true structure. Be that as it may, Nestor's speech in the *Metamorphoses* presents exactly this salient feature of the *Ehoiai* since the main narrative (i.e. the Centauromachy) is embedded in a Caenis-*ehoie*.[73] It is also noteworthy that the version of the *Catalogue* includes the death of Caeneus (fr. 83; 88; 90 M-W). Thus, the structure of Ovid's/Nestor's tale of Caenis/Caeneus seems to correspond to Hesiod's version.

The tension between structure and narrative function will surface in the form of a generic conflict in the last episode of Ovid's Centauromachy. When Nestor returns to Caeneus, his original sex is brought up in the epic battle. The Centaur Latreus is taunting him for being a woman:

> *"**et te, Caeni, feram**? nam **tu mihi femina semper**,*
>
> *tu mihi Caenis eris. nec te **natalis origo***
>
> *commonuit, mentemque subit, quo praemia facto*
>
> *quaque uiri falsam speciem mercede pararis?*
>
> ***quid sis nata uide**, uel **quid sis passa**, columque,*
>
> *i, cape cum calathis et stamina pollice torque;*
>
> ***bella relinque uiris**!"*
>
> *Met.* 12.470-6

"Should I put up with you, Caenis? For you will always be a woman to me, you will always be Caenis to me. Has your original birth not warned

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[73] It is my contention that Ovid juxtaposes the frame of a story with the main narrative when he refers to *ehoie*-poetry. Thus, the tale of Erisychthon and his insatiable hunger is structured as an *ehoie* of his daughter Mestra (*Met.* 8.738-874). The beginning and the end of the story allude specifically to the Hesiodic *Catalogue* (***Nec minus*** *Autolyci coniunx,* <u>*Erysicthone nata,*</u> *Met.* 8.738; ἢ᾽ οἵη θυγάτηρ Ἐρυσίχθονος ἀντι]θέοιο fr. 43a.2 M-W. <u>*praebebatque avido non iusta alimenta* *parenti*</u>. *Met.* 8. 874; αἰνόμορον <u>πατέρα</u> ὃν <u>πορσαίνεσκεν</u>. fr. 43a 70 M-W). Likewise, the story of Coronis *(Met.* 2.542 ff) is structured as an *ehoie* (cf. fr. 59-60 M-W) and contains the embedded episode of the crow and the raven. See Chapter 3.

you, has it not come to your mind by what deed you acquired your reward, by what price you acquired the fake appearance of a man? Look at what you were born, or at what you suffered, and go take up the distaff with the wool-baskets, and twist your threads with your thumb; leave wars to men!"

Latreus is barking[74] at Caeneus, calling him a woman. This is a conventional epic reproach of a foe's masculinity.[75] Latreus concludes with a phrase *(bella relinque uiris)* which recalls the last words of Numanus in the *Aeneid (sinite arma uiris et cedite ferro, Aeneid* 9.620). Numanus accused the Trojans of effeminacy and was immediately killed by Ascanius (*Aeneid* 9. 621- 37). Likewise, Caeneus slays Latreus (12.476-93) right after the Centaur finishes his invective. Still, the epic motif of questioning the masculinity of one's foe is not a hyperbole or a metaphor in the case of Caeneus, but the truth; Caeneus is not weak like a woman, he was literally born a woman. On the other hand, Latreus ignores the fact that the Centaurs are hardly *uiri.*

Both Numanus and Latreus bring up the gender-specific agenda of the epic program. Numanus' coda *(sinite arma uiris)* alludes to the first words of the *Aeneid (arma uirumque cano),* and Latreus expresses the same male-dominated aspect of heroic epic *(bella relinque uiris).* In Latreus' speech, we can further trace a generic clash which is reflected upon the gendered polarity.

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[74] Latreus' name suggests an etymology from *latrare* ('to bark').
[75] In the *Iliad,* Thersites calls the Achaean heroes Achaean women (ὦ πέπονες, κάκ' ἐλέγχε', Ἀχαιΐδες, οὐκέτ' Ἀχαιοί, *Il.* 2.235), while Numanus calls the Trojans 'Phrygian women' in the *Aeneid (o uere Phrygiae, neque enim Phryges, Aen.* 9.617). Latreus' jeering advice that Caeneus should take up the distaff and the wool-baskets, and leave war to the men (12.474-6), recalls Hector's admonishment to Andromache (ἀλλ' εἰς οἶκον ἰοῦσα τὰ σ' αὐτῆς ἔργα κόμιζε/ ἱστόν τ' ἠλακάτην τε, καὶ ἀμφιπόλοισι κέλευε/ ἔργον ἐποίχεσθαι· πόλεμος δ' ἄνδρεσσι μελήσει/ πᾶσι, μάλιστα δ' ἐμοί, τοὶ Ἰλίῳ ἐγγεγάασιν. *Il.* 6.490-3). In the *Aeneid,* Turnus picks up this motif *(bella uiri pacemque gerent quis bella gerenda, Aen.* 7.444) and so does Numanus (*sinite arma uiris et cedite ferro. Aen.* 9.620).

Latreus emphasizes the birth of Caenis and her rape by Neptune, the part of Caeneus' life that is entirely silenced in Homer, Apollonius, and the Hesiodic *Shield.* The Centaur uses language that refers specifically to the beginning of Nestor's narrative, that is the Caenis-*ehoie. et te, Caeni, feram?* can be translated both as "should I put up with you" or "should I mention you," recalling the *fama ferebat* (12.197; 200) that divulged Caenis' affair with Neptune. His assertion *nam tu mihi femina semper* challenges the fulfillment of Caenis' wish (*da femina ne sim,* 12.202), while his persistence about Caenis' birth *(natalis origo; quid sis nata uide)* and rape by Neptune *(uel quid sis passa* picks up *tale pati iam posse nihil,* 12.202) focuses on the genealogical aspect of the *Ehoiai* and the theme of the affairs of gods with women. Latreus wants to relegate Caeneus from the epic battle and put him back into the female-oriented *Ehoiai,* his original generic milieu, not realizing that the Centaurs themselves are trapped into a Caenis-*ehoie.* For Latreus, a heroine from the *Catalogue* has nothing to do with an epic battle. Thus, Ovid employs the stock epic taunt of calling one's enemy a woman, but recasts it as a battle between epic genres. Caeneus is not like a woman, he was actually born a woman in the genealogical genre of the *Ehoiai.* Latreus' speech exemplifies the gender-based tension between Homeric and Hesiodic poetry.

Following Latreus' death, Monychus delivers another speech, which is addressed to the Centaurs and focuses on Caeneus' dubious sexual identity as well as on the Centaur's super-masculinity:

> *fecerat attonitos noua res. "heu dedecus ingens!"*
> *exclamat **Mon**ychus "populus superamur ab **uno***
> *uixque uiro; quamquam ille uir est, nos segnibus actis*
> *quod fuit ille, sumus. quid membra immania prosunt,*

quid geminae uires et quod fortissima rerum

in nobis duplex natura animalia iunxit?

....

.... nos semimari superamur ab hoste

Met. 12.498-503; 506

The strange phenomenon left them thunderstruck. "Alas, what a great shame" Monychus exclaims "we, a people, are defeated by one who is barely a man; Yet, he is a man, while we with our sluggish acts are what he was. What is the use of our huge bodies and our twin powers and what avails it that a double nature has united in us the strongest living beings? ... we are conquered by an enemy who is half-male.

The novelty of Caeneus leaves the Centaurs thunderstruck. Monychus then rebukes them for being what Caeneus was, i.e. women, if they cannot overcome him. The rhetoric of the passage is impressive as it revolves around the motif of a single man fighting against many or rather a half-male fighting against the double virility of numerous Centaurs. It is a nice touch that Monychus, whose name is etymologically related to μόνος,[76] emphasizes the double strength *(geminae uires)*[77] and nature *(duplex natura)* of the Centaurs, who must be ashamed of their incompetence to overpower a single person *(uno),* who is hardly a man *(uix uiro; semimari).* But Monychus' rhetoric can be easily reversed. Alison Keith notes that Monychus ignores that fact that the

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[76] Monychus ('Single-hoofed') is etymologized from μόνος and ὄνυξ. The adjective μῶνυξ ('with a single, i.e. uncloven hoof') is attributed to horses (μώνυχας ἵππους, *Il.* 5.236; 22.162; *Od.* 12.46). It is significant that Monychus' name behooves *only* his equine part, failing to describe the double nature of the Centaurs that he is stressing in his speech. Similarly, after Theseus kills Eurytus, all the *bimembres* brothers speak with *one* mouth (*ardescunt germani caede **bi**membres/ certatim **omnes uno** ore "arma, arma" loquuntur, Met.* 12.240-1).
[77] *uis* was considered etymologically related to *uir.* See Maltby 1991, *s.v. uir.* For Ovidian puns on *uir* and *uis,* see Ahl 1985, 39- 40, 186.

Centaurs themselves are only half-men.[78] The Centaurs might have twice the strength of a man, but they are at the same time *semihomines*.[79] From this perspective, they are not unlike Caeneus; half-men, but stronger than a man.

Caeneus is a strange monstrosity (cf. *monstri nouitate mouerunt,* 12.175), a person with a twofold nature and a semi-male identity that resembles the Centaurs. Likewise, Nestor's Centauromachy is both a hyper-epic and a semi-epic. Creatures with superhuman powers and double natures dominate the narrative. Given the structure of Nestor's longwinded speech, the Centauromachy is embedded in a Caenis-*ehoie,* following a salient structural pattern of the *Ehoiai.* But Ovid transforms the tension between structure and narrative function into a clash of epic genres. Immediately after Caenis' sex-inversion, Nestor's narrative undergoes a simultaneous generic shift from the *Catalogue* to the battles of men. Still, just as Caeneus' female birth haunts him till the end of his life, the generic shift to heroic epic results in a travesty of an epic dealing with the gory battle of hyper-virile and semi-virile monsters.

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[78] Keith 1999, 237. Keith further points out that Ovid plays extensively on the Centaur's double nature in the Centauromachy (Keith 1999, 236-7; on this point see also DeBrohun 2004, 420). In the *Odyssey,* the Centaurs are contrasted with the men (ἐξ οὗ Κενταύροισι καὶ ἀνδράσι νεῖκος ἐτύχθη, *Od.* 21.303), as Antinoos explains that Eurytion's drunkenness was the cause of the battle.

[79] Ovid refers to the Centaurs as *semihomines* (*Met.* 12.536). Deianira calls Nessus *semiuir* (*Her.* 9.141). The Centaur Chiron is referred to as *semiuir* at *Fasti* 5.380. Barchiesi 2001, 181-2, n. 9, notes that before Ovid's use of *semiuir* to describe the Centaurs the epithet carries a negative connotation, denoting lack of virility. For the ironies of *semiuir* as an epithet describing Chiron in the *Fasti,* see Boyd 2001, 71-2. Still, Monychus' use of *semimas* instead of *semiuir* is not accidental. While *semiuir* applies to the Centaurs who are half-human half-horse, *semimas* cannot imply a human versus animal distinction; *mas* applies both to animals and men, while *uir* only to men. The Centaurs are *semiuiri* but not *semimares.*

2. HERCULES

2.1 Nestor's Source Manipulation

Nestor ends his lengthy narrative with the metamorphosis of Caeneus and the routing of the Centaurs as the night falls. Nestor's speech is finally over,[80] but Tlepolemus, the son of Hercules, will challenge him and thus prompt him to speak more. Tlepolemus is angry because Nestor did not say anything about the pivotal role of his father in the Centauromachy (12.536-41)[81] and asserts that he often heard from Hercules about his battles with the Centaurs (12.539-41).[82]

Tlepolemus focuses on the crucial aspect of Nestor's (but also any narrator's) source manipulation.[83] His reaction brings up traits intrinsic to *fama*'s creative and/or distorting power that have been overlooked in Ovidian scholarship. To begin with, Nestor has not completely silenced Hercules' name in the Centauromachy. When Nessus and the other Centaurs flee, the seer Asbolus prophesies the death of Nessus by Hercules in an attempt to dissuade him from running away (*"ne fuge! ad Herculeos" inquit "seruaberis arcus."* 12.309). Asbolus' point is that Nessus has nothing to fear in the present battle because his fate is to die by Hercules' hand. This implies that Hercules was *not* present in the battle between the Centaurs and the Lapiths. The implications of Nestor's

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[80] For the sense of closure in Nestor's speech, see Papaioannou 2007, 126-7.

[81] Tlepolemus cannot bear *(non pertulit,* 12.538) the omission of his father from the battle *(proelia,* 12.537). Ovid alludes to the etymology of Tlepolemus from τλῆναι ('to bear' cf. *non pertulit)* and πόλεμος ('war'; cf. *proelia).* Michalopoulos 2001, 168, points out Ovid's etymological analysis of Tlepolemus.

[82] Hyginus, *Fab.* 33, states that Hercules kills the Centaur Eurytion, who wooed Deianira, while the version of the Centauromachy in the wedding of Pirithous is mentioned as an alternative. For Hercules' presence in the battle, see also Plutarch, *Theseus* 30.4-5. Plutarch's source is Herodorus (FGrH 31 F 27).

[83] Tlepolemus' protest and Nestor's source manipulation are discussed in Papaioannou 2007, 126-34.

unique reference to Hercules could have hardly escaped Tlepolemus. What is more, Nestor refers to Hercules' encounter with the Centaur Nessus, which resulted in Hercules' agonizing death, a story which the readers of the *Metamorphoses* have already come across (9.89-158). Nessus attempts to abduct Deianira, but Hercules fires an arrow poisoned with the blood of the Lernean Hydra and kills him. Before he dies, the Centaur gives Deianira a tunic soaked with his blood, which is poisoned with the blood of the Lernean Hydra, deceiving Deianira into thinking that with this tunic she can restore a waning love. When Hercules is planning to return home with his new mistress, Iole, Deianira will give him the tunic, which will kill him. Thus, Nessus takes revenge on Hercules and kills the man who killed him. It is the Centaur who triumphs in the end, not Hercules.

Hercules is absent from Nestor's Centauromachy and the only reference to him is his foretold encounter with Nessus, which will be the beginning of his end. In fact, Hercules' glorious battles with the Centaurs are not silenced only in Nestor's version, but in the whole narrative of the *Metamorphoses.* Aside from Tlepolemus' words, Hercules himself refers briefly to his fight with the Centaurs (*nec mihi Centauri potuere resistere,* 9.191).[84] His words, uttered while he is tormented, are highly ironic since he is suffering because of the Centaur Nessus. Likewise, he mentions that he conquered the Lernean Hydra (9.192-3), while her poison is consuming his body. In the *Metamorphoses,* Hercules' defeat of the Centaurs is a vague footnote, a brief complaint expressed by himself and Tlepolemus, while Nessus' revenge and the battle of the Lapiths

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[84] There is one more brief reference to Hercules' battle with the Centaurs in Pythagoras' speech (*Met.* 15.281-4). The focus is not on Hercules' victory, but on the poisoning of the river Anigros after the Centaurs, wounded by Hercules' arrows, washed their wounds. Pythagoras also adds a disclaimer about the truth of the story *(nisi uatibus omnis/ eripienda fides, Met.* 15.282-3).

with the Centaurs are related at length.[85] The narrator of the *Metamorphoses* and Nestor share the same bias. They both edit out Hercules' victorious battles with the Centaurs.[86]

Another aspect that makes Nestor's elimination of Hercules from the Centauromachy all the more emphatic, is that the battle between the Centaurs and the Lapiths was inscribed on the shield of Hercules:

Ἐν δ᾽ ἦν ὑσμίνη Λαπιθάων αἰχμητάων

Καινέα τ᾽ ἀμφὶ ἄνακτα <u>Δρύαντά</u> τε <u>Πειρίθοόν</u> τε

Ὁπλέα τ᾽ <u>Ἐξάδιόν</u> τε Φάληρόν τε Πρόλοχόν τε

<u>Μόψον τ᾽ Ἀμπυκίδην</u>, Τιταρήσιον, ὄζον Ἄρηος

<u>Θησέα</u> τ᾽ Αἰγεΐδην, ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισιν·

ἀργύρεοι, χρύσεια περὶ χροΐ τεύχε᾽ ἔχοντες.

Κένταυροι δ᾽ ἑτέρωθεν ἐναντίοι ἠγερέθοντο

ἀμφὶ μέγαν <u>Πετραῖον</u> ἰδ᾽ <u>Ἄσβολον οἰωνιστὴν</u>

Ἄρκτον τ᾽ Οὔρειόν τε μελαγχαίτην τε Μίμαντα

καὶ δύο Πευκεΐδας, Περιμήδεά τε Δρύαλόν τε,

ἀργύρεοι, χρυσέας ἐλάτας ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες.

καί τε συναΐγδην ὡς εἰ ζωοί περ ἐόντες

ἔγχεσιν ἠδ᾽ ἐλάτης αὐτοσχεδὸν ὠριγνῶντο.

Shield 178-90

Upon it was the battle of the spear-bearing Lapiths around Caeneus, the king, and Dryas and Pirithous and Hopleus and Exadius and Phalerus

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[85] Hercules' visit to the Centaur Chiron, his teacher, will cause the death of Chiron when the Centaur inadvertently wounds himself with an arrow from Hercules' quiver *(Fasti* 5.379-414). This is another inglorious encounter between Hercules and a Centaur told by Ovid.
[86] Galinsky 1972b examines Hercules' duel with Achelous (*Met.* 9) and argues convincingly that Ovid parodies epic poetry. He further discusses intriguing intertextual references to the *Aeneid.* For a comprehensive study of Hercules in Greek and Latin literature, see Galinsky 1972b.

and Prolochus and Mopsus of Titarus, son of Ampycus, scion of Ares,

and Theseus, son of Aegeus, equal to the immortals; they were silver,

wearing golden armor on their skin. The Centaurs were mustered facing

them on the other side around great Petraeus and Asbolus the augur,

and Arctus and Ourius and black-maned Mimas and Peuceus' two sons,

Perimedes and Dryalus, all of them silver, holding golden fir trees in their

hands. And rushing against one another, as if they were alive, they

fought hand to hand with outstretched spears and fir trees.

Hercules is not mentioned in Hesiod's version of the battle between the Lapiths

and the Centaurs, but this is hardly needed given the context of the passage.

Since this is a scene engraved on Hercules' shield, it is meant to celebrate his

valor and alludes to his vaunted presence in the battle against the Centaurs. It

is worth noting that many names appearing in the Hesiodic *Shield* are also

found in Ovid's version. From the Lapiths: Caeneus, Pirithous (12.210ff.), Dryas

(12.290 ff.), Exadius (12.266), Mopsus (*Ampyciden Mopsum,* 12.456; cf.

Μόψον τ' Ἀμπυκίδην, at the head of the hexameter both in Ovid and Hesiod),

Theseus (12.227). From the Centaurs: Petraeus (12.327) and Asbolus (*augur/*

Asbolus 12.307-8; cf. Ἄσβολον οἰωνιστήν). It seems that Ovid knew and used

the catalogue of the Lapiths and the Centaurs attested in the Hesiodic *Shield of*

Hercules. That makes Nestor's omission of Hercules all the more striking.

Nestor extracts Caeneus, a mere name on the *Shield,* and structures all his

narrative around her/his story. The Centauromachy, one of the ornaments

engraved on the shield of Hercules and meant to glorify its possessor, has been

transformed into a narrative embedded in an *ehoie* of Caenis. At the same time,

Asbolus' words (12.309) imply that Hercules was not at all present in this battle.

Nestor has stripped the Centauromachy of the context of the Hesiodic *Shield.*

What is more, the *Shield* actually begins as an *ehoie* of Alcmene (... Ἣ οἵη προλιποῦσα δόμους καὶ πατρίδα γαῖαν / ἤλυθεν ἐς Θήβας μετ' ἀρήιον Ἀμφιτρύωνα/ Ἀλκμήνη, θυγάτηρ λαοσσόου Ἠλεκτρύωνος· *Shield* 1-3).[87] Thus, the *ekphrasis* of Hercules' shield is embedded in the *ehoie* of Hercules' mother, while the Centauromachy is a minor part of a poem meant to praise the greatest Greek hero. On the other hand, Ovid's Nestor turned the Alcmene-*ehoie* into a Caenis-*ehoie* and made the Centauromachy the center of his narrative, while omitting the presence of Hercules entirely. He de-contextualized the battle from a poem meant to praise Hercules and eliminated the hero from his narrative. The magnifying but also the obliterating power of *fama* becomes clear when we compare the version of the Hesiodic *Shield* with the narrative of Ovid's Nestor. Nestor is the incarnation of the distorting *fama.* He shifts genres as he inverts genders, he magnifies what is insignificant and passes over what is crucial, he invents new material as he twists old sources. Caenis/Caeneus, an old story made new, exemplifies Nestor's (and Ovid's) method of source manipulation.

2.2 Nestor's Version of Periclymenus

Responding to Tlepolemus' objection, Nestor explains that he did not say anything about Hercules because that would recall his woes; Hercules is his enemy since he sacked his fatherland and killed all of his brothers (12.542-555). The death of one of them, Periclymenus, is the focus of Nestor's second narration (12.556-72), a tale which marks a shift from a narrative told from the point of view of the winner (i.e. the Centauromachy) to a story told from the point of view of the defeated (i.e. the death of Periclymenus in the sack of

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[87] Thanks to the publication of a papyrus (*P. Oxy.* 2355 and 2494 A), we know that *Shield* 1-56 is part of the *Catalogue* (fr. 195 M-W).

Pylos).[88] It is noteworthy that Nestor does not deny Tlepolemus' accusations and lays no claim on impartiality; he omitted Hercules and did it on purpose. Having proven himself a master of source manipulation, Nestor goes on to give a tendentious version of Periclymenus' death.

In order to fully appreciate the bias of Nestor's narrative, we should read his version against the background of the literary sources that attest to the sack of Pylos and the death of Periclymenus. To begin with, the killing of Nestor's brothers by Hercules is briefly mentioned in the *Iliad* in Nestor's third and lengthiest digression:

> ἐλθὼν γάρ ῥ' ἐκάκωσε **βίη Ἡρακληείη**
>
> τῶν προτέρων ἐτέων, κατὰ δ' ἔκταθεν ὅσσοι ἄριστοι·
>
> δώδεκα γὰρ Νηλῆος ἀμύμονος υἱέες ἦμεν·
>
> τῶν οἶος λιπόμην, οἳ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες ὄλοντο.
>
> *Il.* 11.690-3

> For Hercules' force had come and ruined us in the years before, and all the best of us were killed; for we were twelve sons of the blameless Neleus; I alone was left, all the others perished.

Ovid's Nestor actually echoes his Iliadic counterpart:[89]

> *bis sex Neleidae fuimus, conspecta iuuentus;*
>
> *bis sex **Herculeis** ceciderunt me minus uno*

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[88] It is an essential aspect of epic that it is written from the point of view of the winner (cf. Rosati 2001, 56-8). Nestor's Centauromachy features himself fighting on the side of the victorious Lapiths. But after Tlepolemus' intervention, he narrates the sack of his own fatherland and the death of his brothers. Nestor's response to Tlepolemus brings up epic features such as dependence on memory *(meminisse,* 12.542) to flesh out past events, and praise of heroic deeds *(laudamus, laudauerit,* 12.548). But since his second speech will be about his victorious enemy, it will be a peculiar or rather inverted epic, told from the perspective of the conquered.
[89] Papaioannou 2007, 135, n. 288.

uiribus.

Met. 12.553-5

> There were twelve of us, sons of Neleus, outstanding young men; all of
> them except me fell to Hercules' force.

Note especially Ovid's translation of the periphrasis βίη Ἡρακληείη as
Herculeis uiribus.[90] However, what is particularly intriguing is that the narrative
frame of *Il.* 11.690-3 is markedly at variance with that of *Met.* 12.553-5. I
suggest that Ovid refers to the *Iliad* in order to emphasize how different the
story of his Nestor is from his Iliadic precursor. In Homer, Nestor addresses his
speech (*Il.* 11.670-762) to Patroclus.[91] In the first half of his story, he describes
his crucial part in a successful cattle raid on Eleian territory and the subsequent
division of spoil. In the second half of the story, the Eleians seek vengeance for
the raid. Neleus tries to keep his only surviving son (the others were killed by
Hercules) out of the battle, but Nestor fights anyway. He shows outstanding
valor on the battlefield and the Pylians defeat their enemies. Nestor captures
fifty chariots and kills many men. After his *aristeia,* the Pylians pray to him as a
god (*Il.* 11.761). Homer's Nestor gives an account of his youthful heroic exploits,
a typical epic narrative of victorious deeds in war, while the killing of Neleus'
sons is a minor detail mentioned in passing. It actually happened before (τῶν
προτέρων ἐτέων, *Il.* 11.691) the main story and is far from essential to the
main narrative.[92] The focus is on the seminal role of Nestor in the cattle raid on
Elis and his heroic deeds in the counterattack of the Eleians. On the other hand,

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[90] Papaioannou 133, discusses the formula βίη Ἡρακλήειη, and comments that this
periphrasis defines Hercules foremost through his 'might,' if not identifies him with it.
[91] For an excellent discussion of this Iliadic digression and its narrative dynamics, see Alden
2000, 88-101.
[92] The mention of the slaughter of Nestor's brothers might have a secondary function in the
narrative. Alden 2000, 94, suggests that Neleus refuses to give Nestor horses and equipment to
fight against the invaders because he is all he has left (Hercules killed his other sons).

Ovid's Nestor first mentions that both Pylos and Elis were undeservedly sacked by Hercules *(ille tuus genitor Messenia moenia quondam/ strauit et immeritas urbes Elinque Pylonque/ diruit inque meos ferrum flammamque Penates/ impulit.* 12.549-552). The Pylians and the Eleians, enemies in the Iliadic tale, are merely the victims of Hercules' indiscriminate violence. There is no glorious exploit on the part of Nestor or the Pylians in Ovid. Thus, while Homer's Nestor relates an impressive epic narrative of his victorious deeds, Ovid's Nestor speaks about the bitter destruction of Pylos, while he was absent from battle. What was a brief reference in the Homeric narrative, has become the backbone of Nestor's narrative in the *Metamorphoses*.

The slaughter of Neleus' sons by Hercules is also attested in the *Catalogue of Women:*

κτεῖνε (sc. Ἡρακλέης) δὲ Νηλῆος ταλα⌐ σίφρονος υἱέας ἐσθλούς,
ἔνδεκα, δωδέκατος δὲ Γερ⌐ ήνιος ἱππότα Νέστωρ
ξεῖνος ἐὼν ἐτύχησε παρ' ἱ⌐ πποδάμοισι Γερηνοῖς·
οὕτω δ' ἐξέφυγεν θάνατο]ν καὶ κῆ[ρ]α μέλαιναν.
fr. 35.6-9 M-W

He killed the noble sons of patient-minded Neleus, eleven of them, the twelfth, the Gerenian horseman Nestor, happened to be a guest in the horse-taming Gerenians; thus he escaped from death and black doom.

In *Metamorphoses* 12.553-5, Ovid does not allude only to the *Iliad,* but also to the *Catalogue of Women.* The end of fr. 35.6 M-W (υἱέας ἐσθλούς) corresponds to the end of *Metamorphoses* 12.553 *(conspecta iuuentus),* while the name Νηλῆος (fr. 35.6 M-W) falls in the same metrical sedes as *Neleidae* (*Met.* 12.553). The sons of Neleus (*Neleidae;* Νηλῆος υἱέας) are killed by the

'violence of Hercules' (βίη Ἡρακληείη), a formula that appears not only in the Iliadic passage cited above, but also in the episode of the sack of Pylos in the *Catalogue of Women.* Ovid's *uiribus Herculeis* picks up the repeated reference to the violent sacker of Pylos in the *Catalogue* (cf. βίην δ' Ἡρακληείην, fr. 33a. 23 M-W; βίης Ἡρακληείης, fr. 33a. 25 M-W; βίης Ἡρακληείης, fr. 33a. 30; βίη Ἡρακληείη, fr. 35.1 M-W).

Having distanced himself from the perspective of heroic epic, Nestor focuses on the death of one his brothers, Periclymenus (*Met.* 12.556-72). This story is not attested in the Homeric epics. Periclymenus' name is mentioned in passing only once in Homer, in the Odyssean 'Catalogue of Women' (*Od.* 11. 286). The context of *ehoie*-poetry in which Periclymenus appears in the *Odyssey,* is hardly accidental since the tale of his miraculous gift of metamorphosis and his death by Hercules is found in the *Catalogue of Women* (fr. 33-5 M-W). According to Hesiod, Neleus, Tyro's son, married Chloris, and had eleven sons. After the catalogue of Neleus' sons (fr. 33a. 9-12 M-W), the narrator focuses on Periclymenus, whom Poseidon endowed with the ability of transformation (fr. 33a. 13-9 M-W). Periclymenus was a mighty warrior until Athena stopped his *aristeia* (πα]ῦσεν ἀριστεύοντα, fr. 33a. 23 M-W). The goddess showed Hercules that the bee sitting on the knob of the yoke was Periclymenus, and the hero shot an arrow and killed him (fr. 33a. 30-5 M-W; fr. 33b. M-W). Hercules could not sack Pylos as long as Periclymenus was alive, but after his death, he destroyed the city and killed eleven sons of Neleus (fr. 35. 1-6 M-W). Nestor survived because he happened to be in the Gerenians (fr. 34 M-W; 35. 6-9 M-W).

Similarly, Ovid focuses on Periclymenus' miraculous gift of metamorphosis and his encounter with Hercules. But let us examine Ovid's version against the background of the Hesiodic text:

> *mira Periclymeni mors est, cui posse figuras*
> *sumere quas uellet rursusque reponere sumptas*
> *Neptunus dederat,* **Nelei sanguinis auctor.**
> *hic ubi nequiquam est formas uariatus in omnes,*
> *uertitur in faciem uolucris, quae fulmina curuis*
> *ferre solet pedibus, diuum gratissima regi;*
> *Met.* 12.556-61

The death of Periclymenus was extraordinary, to whom Neptune, the forbear of Neleus' bloodline, had given the ability to assume the forms he wished and reverse that which he had assumed. After he had changed into every shape in vain, he transformed into the appearance of the bird which carries the thunderbolts in its hooked talons, the most beloved bird to the king of the gods.

> Νέστορά τε Χ]ρομίον τε Περικλύμενόν τ' ἀγέρω ⌐χον,
> ὄλβιον, ὧι⌐ πόρε δῶρα Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων
> παντο⌐ ῖ᾽, ἄλλ ⌐ο⌐ τε μὲν γὰρ ἐν ὀρνίθεσσι φάνεσκεν
> αἰετός,⌐ ἄλλοτε δ᾽ αὖ γινέσκετο, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι,
> μύρμ⌐ ηξ, ἄλλοτε δ᾽ αὖτε μελισσέων ἀγλαὰ φῦλα,
> ἄλλο⌐ τε δεινὸς ὄφις καὶ ἀμείλιχος·
> fr. 33a.12-7 M-W

Nestor and Chromius and lordly Periclymenus, happy he, to whom earth-shaking Poseidon gave gifts of all sorts, for sometimes among the birds

he appeared as an eagle, and sometimes he became (a wonder to behold) an ant, and sometimes the splendid race of the bees, and sometimes a terrible and implacable snake;

Ovid recalls the Hesiodic passage in specific details. *Neptunus dederat* corresponds to πόρε δῶρα Ποσειδάων, while *est formas uariatus in omnes* picks up δῶρα...παντοῖα. The death of Periclymenus is a miracle *(mira)* because of his miraculous transformations, which are a wonder to see (θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι). The metamorphosis of Periclymenus into an eagle is also the first metamorphosis in Hesiod and the only specific metamorphosis of Periclymenus mentioned by Ovid. Following the practice of *fama,* Ovid/Nestor extracts a single detail from his source, namely the metamorphosis of Periclymenus into an eagle, and elaborates on it[93]: ἄλλοτε μὲν γὰρ ἐν ὀρνίθεσσι φάνεσκεν/ αἰετός is turned into *uertitur in faciem uolucris, quae fulmina curuis/ ferre solet pedibus, diuum gratissima regi.* Given the background of a Greek source, the use of *uertitur* in this context is significant. This verb implies transformation as well as translation,[94] and might further point to the 'translation' of the Hesiodic Periclymenus into the *Metamorphoses.* One of Periclymenus' numerous transformations is his initiation into the Latin and metamorphic universe of Ovid's poetry.

In the *Catalogue of Women,* the reason of Poseidon's gift of metamorphosis to Periclymenus remains either unexplained or implied. Ovid has Nestor mention that Neptune was *Nelei sanguinis auctor* (12.558). This information puts Periclymenus in a genealogical context and thus refers to the *Catalogue of*

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[93] As we shall see, Ovid/Nestor develops his story around this metamorphosis.
[94] See *OLD s.v. uerto* "24a To render into another language, translate (words, an author, etc.) b to render into another form of words, paraphrase or sim."

Women.[95] In Hesiod, the story of Periclymenus follows the story of Tyro (fr. 30-1 M-W). Tyro, after her affair with Poseidon, gave birth to Neleus, Periclymenus' father.[96] As a forbear of Periclymenus, Neptune, according to Ovid, gave him the gift of metamorphosis. Hence, Ovid's genealogical explanation for Periclymenus' miraculous ability unravels the genre of the tale. The structure of the *Catalogue* is evoked as the readers are invited to follow the thread that leads from Periclymenus to Neptune.

The changes that Nestor makes in Hesiod's story of Periclymenus are telling. In Ovid, the eagle Periclymenus does not hesitate to attack Hercules and tear his face apart (12.562-3). It is because the eagle is aggressive that Hercules kills him, and we are not even sure whether Hercules realizes that he kills Periclymenus. Athena does not help him and plays no role in the death of Periclymenus in the *Metamorphoses.* The only god mentioned in the passage is Jupiter when Nestor describes the eagle as the bird 'which carries in its hooked talons thunderbolts, the most beloved bird to Jupiter.' The effect of this elaborate reference to the eagle is that Hercules actually attacks Jupiter's most beloved bird. What is more, the mention of the thunder brings up the weapon with which Zeus fought with Typhoeus and established his sovereignty (*Theogony* 846). Thus, Nestor presents a Hercules very different from the hero who helped Zeus establish his cosmic order. Nestor's Hercules does not rid the

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[95] See Fletcher 2005, 312.
[96] Likewise, in the *Odyssey,* Tyro gives birth to Neleus (*Od.* 11.235-57) and then Neleus marries Chloris, who gives birth to Periclymenus (*Od.* 11.281-6).

earth of primordial monsters that threaten Jupiter's regime, but rather kills Jupiter's weapon supplier.[97]

The way in which Periclymenus dies is also significant. Nestor says that the hero stretches his unerring bow and pierces the eagle where the wing meets the side (12.564-6). Although the wound was not serious, it caused Peiclymenus' death; the eagle could not fly and fell on the earth. As a result of his fall, the arrow is driven upwards with the body's weight, piercing through the top of his breast into his throat and causing his death. The episode highlights Periclymenus' heroic death and downplays Hercules' heroism. To begin with, killing with a bow was not the most heroic deed if we take into account that archers were routinely considered cowards.[98] Secondly, Hercules' shot is far from successful. Nestor talks about Hercules' *nimium certos...arcus* (12.564), but Hercules' arrow misses the mark since we learn shortly thereafter that the wound was not serious *(nec grave uulnus erat,* 12.567). The bow is unerring, but the archer is not. One would expect that Hercules' shafts would kill the eagle on the spot, just like Eurytion's arrow, which transfixed the dove in the archery contest of the *Aeneid* (5.513-8). Although the eagle dies by a side-effect of the wound, Hercules, strictly speaking, misses the mark.

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[97] It has been argued that Periclymenus in his magical metamorphic powers and his relation to Poseidon/Neptune might be linked to the threat which the offspring of gods and mortal women pose for the Olympian gods. That could justify Hercules' actions (see Fletcher 2005, 313-4). In general, it might explain Hercules' role in the *Catalogue* as a killer of heroes. These heroes are a potential threat to the divine *status quo* and that is why Hercules kills them. This view is, however, problematic. There is no mention that Periclymenus and the other heroes that Hercules kills in any way threaten the Olympian gods. Moreover, Periclymenus is not the son of Poseidon, but his grandson. He is a mortal born of mortal parents. It seems to me unlikely that the son of mortal parents can pose a threat to the gods. Hercules kills Periclymenus not because he is dangerous to the cosmic order, but because he defends Pylos, the city which Hercules attacks (fr. 35 M-W). The same applies to Chalkon and Antagoras, Mestra's and Poseidon's grandsons. Hercules ravages their city and destroys their villages for small cause (fr. 43a 55-65 M-W). There is nothing to indicate a threat to the gods which Hercules eliminates. In Ovid's version, Hercules just kills an aggressive eagle.
[98] Diomedes, for instance, calls Paris' bow κωφὸν γὰρ βέλος ἀνδρὸς ἀνάκλιδος οὐτιδανοῖο, *Il.* 11.390.

In the *Catalogue of Women,* Athena herself puts the bow in Hercules' hands,
while Periclymenus is called fool (νήπιος) for opposing Zeus' son:

ἤ]τοι ὁ μὲν ζυγοῦ ἄντα βίης Ἡρακληείης

ὁ]μφαλῶι ἑζόμενος μεγάλων ἐπεμαίετο ἔργω[ν,

φ]ῆ θ' Ἡρακλῆος στήσειν μένος ἱπποδάμοιο·

νήπιος, οὐδ' ἔδδεισε Διὸς ταλασίφρονα παῖδα,

αὐτὸν καὶ κλυτὰ τόξα, τά οἱ πόρε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων.

ἀλλὰ] τ.ό.τ' ἀντίος ἦλθε βίης Ἡρακληείης

[´.].ιας, τῶι δὲ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη

Ἀμφιτρυωνι]ά.δ.ηι θῆκ' εὐσχεθὲς ἐν παλάμησ[ι

τόξον, καί οἱ φρ]ά.σσε Περικλύμενον θεοει.δ.[έα

[   ]κεν κρατερὸν μένος α...[

[   ]μενος τάνυσεν χείρε[σσι φίλῃσι

τόξον, καὶ τα]χὺν ἰὸν ἐπὶ στρεπτῆς[νευρῆς

fr. 33a. 25-36 M-W

Then, against Hercules' force, sitting on the knob of the yoke, he strove
for great deeds, and said that he would stop the strength of horse-taming
Hercules; the fool, and he did not fear Zeus' patient-minded son, him and
his renowned bow, which Phoebus Apollo gave him. But then he came
opposite Hercules' force [ ] and to him, Amphitryon's son, bright-eyed
Athena put the bow grasped firmly in his hands, and pointed out to him
godlike Periclymenus [ ] mighty strength [ ] he strung with his own
hands the bow, and a swift arrow upon the twisted string.

The tone of the Hesiodic narrator is markedly different from Ovid's Nestor. While
in the *Catalogue* Periclymenus faces Zeus' son, who has the bow of Apollo and

the succor of Athena, in the *Metamorphoses* Hercules attacks Jupiter's favorite

bird without any support from any god. Ovid's Nestor does not mention

Hercules' divine descent. He calls him *Tirynthius* (12.564), a geographical

epithet that refers to Tiryns, the origin of his mortal parents, Amphitryon and

Alcumena.[99] It is Periclymenus who is related to Jupiter, not Hercules. Note also

that both versions focus on Hercules' bow; **τάνυσεν** χείρε[σσι φίληισι/ **τόξον**

corresponds to **tendit** *in hunc nimium certos Tirynthius* **arcus**, *Met.* 12.564.

Hesiod mentions Periclymenus' folly not to fear the renowned bow that Apollo

gave Hercules. With Athena's guidance, Hercules fires an arrow and kills the

bee Periclymenus.[100] This is an impressive, almost impossible shot.[101] In Ovid's

version, the death of Periclymenus as an eagle is more heroic and Hercules'

arrow shot unimpressive and unsuccessful in comparison with the Hesiodic

version. The bee died on the spot, while the eagle gives Ovid/Nestor the

opportunity to elaborate on his death (*Met.* 12.565-72). What is more, dying as

an eagle is more glorious than dying as a bee. In sum, Ovid/Nestor deflates

Hercules' feat and presents Periclymenus' death as more heroic than it is in

Hesiod.

The choice of the *Catalogue of Women* as a source of Ovid's/Nestor's tale

about Hercules calls for an examination of how the greatest Greek hero

appears in Hesiod's *Ehoiai.* Johannes Haubold argues that while the *Theogony*

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[99] The same epithet is used for Alcumena (*Tirynthia, Met.* 6.112). Cf. Bömer *ad* 9.112.
[100] καὶ δὴ γενόμενον αὐτὸν μέλισσαν καὶ στάντα ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἅρματος Ἀθηνᾶ †εἰκάσασα Ἡρακλεῖ ἐποίησεν ἀναιρεθῆναι... ἱστορεῖ Ἡσίοδος ἐν Καταλόγοις, *Sch. ad Hom.* 2.333-5= fr. 33b M-W. Cf. Ἡσίοδος δὲ μεταβληθέντα εἴς τινα τῶν συνήθων μορφῶν ἐπικαθεσθῆναι τῷ ὀμφαλῷ τοῦ ζυγοῦ τῶν Ἡρακλέους ἵππων, βουλόμενον εἰς μάχην καταστῆναι τῷ ἥρωι, τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέα καιρίως αὐτὸν κατατοξεῦσαι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὑποδειξάσης. *Scholia in Ap. Rhod.* 1.156
[101] It is actually strange that Hercules uses his bow to kill the bee. Hirschberger 2004 *ad* 25.53 (= 33a 35 M-W) notes: "Es mag verwundern, daß Herakles den insektengestaltigen Periklymenos mit dem Bogen bekämpft. Bei Nonnos zerdrückt er ihn einfach (*Dionys.* XLIII 248-249): ὃν κτάμεν Ἡρακλέης, ὅτε δάκτυλα δισσὰ συνάψας Ι ψευδαλέον μίμημα νόθης ἔθραυσε μελίσσης."

concentrates on Hercules' labors, the *Catalogue of Women* appears to be more interested in the exploits he undertook after he parted with Eurystheus. As a result, Hercules encounters monsters in the *Theogony* and women and cities in the *Catalogue.*[102] It is telling that πτολίπορθος ('the sacker of cities') becomes Hercules' epithet in the *Catalogue* (Ἀμφιτρυωνιά[δ]ηι Ἡ[ρακλῆϊ πτολιπό]ρθωι. fr. 25.23 M-W; Ἡρ]ακλῆϊ πτολι[πόρθωι. fr. 229.17 M-W), although Hercules is never given this epithet in the other Hesiodic works. Although Zeus sleeps with Alcmene "to produce a champion against ruin for gods and for men" (*Shield* 28-9= *Catalogue* fr. 195 M-W), Hercules does not fulfill this role in the *Catalogue.* Thus, Nestor's choice of the *Catalogue of Women* singles out the most questionable if not the most negative exploits of the greatest hero. Hercules in the *Catalogue* sacks Oichalia (fr. 26 M-W), Pylos (fr. 33-5 M-W), Cos (fr. 43a. 60-2 M-W), and Troy (fr. 165 M-W). It is noteworthy that the narrator of the *Catalogue* points out that Hercules sacked Cos "for small cause" (ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὀλίγης, fr. 43a 61 M-W),[103] a phrase that *immeritas* (12.550), referring to Elis and Pylos, recalls. The Hercules of the *Catalogue* sacks cities which do not always deserve to be sacked. His career as a champion of cosmic order is past and he seems to have lapsed into a force of indiscriminate destruction.

The structure of the *Catalogue* invites us to read Hercules as an intruder who disrupts the genealogical flow of the work. He is not the main hero, he is actually the one who fights with and kills the main heroes of the poem. The focalization of the *Catalogue* on the women and their offspring makes Hercules an unexpected violent force that puts an end to the cities founded by the main heroes of the work. He is a power that undermines the sequence of the

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[102] See Haubold 2004, 93.
[103] For the interpretation of this phrase, see Hirschberger 2004, 280; Haubold 2005, 90.

narrative. In the *ehoiai* of Porthaon's daughters (ἠ' οἷαι κοῦραι Πορθάονος, fr. 26.5 M-W), Stratonice gives birth to Eurytus, whose children are Deion, Clytius, Toxeus, Iphitus and Iolea. At this point, Hercules appears suddenly in the narrative and sacks Oichalia for Iolea's sake (fr. 30.31-3 M-W), destroying an entire city for a girl. In the stemma of the Neleids (fr. 33-5 M-W), Hercules also appears unexpectedly. He sacks the city and kills eleven sons of Neleus for no obvious reason.[104] Nestor survives and guarantees the continuity both of Neleus' lineage and the narrative of the *Catalogue.*[105] In the Mestra-*ehoie,* Poseidon has an affair with Mestra, who gives birth to Eurypylus (fr. 43a. 55-8 M-W). Eurypylus fathers Chalcon and Antagores. Then Hercules, after destroying Troy for Laomedon's horses, sacks Cos, Eurypylus' lovely city, for small cause (fr. 61-4 M-W). Similarly to the sack of Pylos and the slaughter of the Neleids, Hercules fights against the grandsons of Poseidon and lays waste to their cities.

True, Hercules appears in the *ehoie* of Alcmene, but, aside from his birth, mentioned last in the *Catalogue* (fr. 195 M-W),[106] he otherwise appears as an outsider in the narrative and is a force of narrative disruption. By killing the offspring of gods and destroying their cities, he endangers the genealogical sequence of the *Catalogue.* This is exactly how Nestor focalizes the sack of Elis and Pylos. For him, the main narrative is the stemma of the Neleids, while Hercules is an invader who came unexpectedly and for no obvious reason sacked his city and killed his brothers. In sum, the structure and focalization of

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[104] There are various explanations why Hercules sacked Pylos in the scholia on *Iliad* 11.690. These conjectures are contradictory and fanciful, proving that there was actually no obvious reason for the destruction of the city.

[105] After the death of Nestor's brothers, the *Catalogue* proceeds with Nestor's children (fr. 35.9-15 M-W).

[106] If we follow Merkelbach's and West's reconstruction of the *Catalogue,* Hercules lives his life backwards. First his death and apotheosis is described (fr. 25 M-W) and last his birth (fr. 195 M-W). See Haubold (2005) *passim.*

the *Catalogue* presents Hercules as a violent intruder and makes this source particularly appealing to Ovid's Nestor. The old king of Pylos concludes by saying to Tlepolemus that he praised Hercules (*Met.* 12.573-4), but if he had really wanted to extoll the deeds of the greatest Greek hero, he could have done a better job.

Conclusion

Nestor's narrative takes up almost one third of Ovid's Trojan War and his stories (Caenis/Caeneus and Periclymenus) derive from the *Catalogue of Women.* The tale of Caenis/Caeneus involves one of the most intriguing and most neglected aspects of Ovid's Trojan War, namely the introduction of the *Catalogue of Women* in a section that is supposed to deal with male-oriented poetry (on an heterodiegetic level) and in the center of a feast in which the Greek chieftains talk about the virtues of men (on an homodiegetic level). Caenis/Caeneus is a novelty that transgresses gender and genre. Ovid's Nestor breaks the deliberate silence about Caeneus' original sex (cf. Homer, Hesiodic *Shield,* and Apollonius) and brings back his female identity and his life as a Hesiodic heroine. Connecting the two pieces of Caenis'/Caeneus' biography is to activate a generic and gendered clash between Homeric and Hesiodic epic.

Ovid's *ehoie* of Caenis suggests a reading that brings up not only a gendered tension between Homeric and Hesiodic poetry, but also an interaction between these two epic genres. This aspect has not received the critical attention one would expect, and Ovid's reading may suggest that an intertextual analysis between the Homeric epics and the *Catalogue,* focusing mainly but not exclusively on gender, is worth pursuing. The silence of Caeneus' original sex and his supernatural invulnerability in Homer does not necessarily mean that

the *ehoie* of Caenis is post-Homeric. Instead, it suggests that a gendered and generic juxtaposition between Homeric and Hesiodic poetry is as old as the *Iliad.*

Caeneus is an old story presented with additional details. The recurring reference to the etymology of Caeneus from καινός epitomizes the novelty and peculiarity of Nestor's narrative. The old king of Pylos manages to turn Caeneus, a mere name in Homer, into the main character of a tale that takes up more than 300 lines in the *Metamorphoses.* This version of Caeneus is an extreme case of the new author's additions (*et auditis aliquid **nouus** adicit auctor,*[107] 12.58). Nestor is an *auctor nouus* but also an old authority, just like Caeneus, who is an old story and a novelty at the same time. In fact, the innovation of old tales originating from cyclic poems is the very essence of Ovid's cyclic and metamorphic epic.

Nestor is the first narrator after the *ekphrasis* of the House of *Fama* (12.39-63). *Fama s* domain is located in the part of the *Metamorphoses* in which the primary narrator gradually recedes into the background and the narrative is taken over by the various characters of the work:[108] Nestor's longwinded speech signals a shift from the primary narrator to internal narrators. His emphasis on memory (*Met.* 12.182-8) aligns him with the Muses,[109] but his untrustworthy narrative relates him to the tendentious voices that emanate from

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[107] *auctor* is a particularly successful choice of a word here, given its etymology from *augere* (cf. Barchiesi 2002, 196). Ovid plays with the same etymology *(e contrario* this time) in the epigram of the *Amores,* in which the books tell the reader that the *auctor* of the work reduced them from five to three. McKeown 1989, *ad loc.* notes "*auctor:* a paradoxical term to use in announcing the reduction of the collection; cf. Schol. Bern. Verg. *Georg.* 1.27 *auctor ab augendo dictus."*
[108] See Wheeler, 1999, 162-3, and the statistics which he provides (Books 1-5: Primary Narrator 2280 lines; Characters 1588 lines. Books 6-10: Primary Narrator 1807 lines; Characters 2199 lines. Books 11-15: Primary Narrator 1641 lines; Characters 2480 lines). Newlands 1995, 79, observes a similar gradual recession of the narrator as the poem proceeds in the *Fasti.*
[109] See Musgrove 1998, 226-9.

the house of *Fama.* After Tlepolemus' objection to Nestor's version of the Centauromachy, Nestor does not deny the accusation of subjectivity. While the exclusion of Hercules from his first narrative was intentional, his second account, supposedly meant to praise Tlepolemus' father, deliberately downplays Hercules' victory over Periclymenus. It is my contention that only through a close examination of Ovid's/Nestor's literary sources can we fully appreciate the bias of his narrative. By reading the story of Periclymenus in the *Metamorphoses* against the background of its Hesiodic version, Nestor's source manipulation becomes transparent. The old king of Pylos represents the voices in the house of *Fama;* he is mixing lies with truth, distorting his source and increasing the degree of fiction. As much as he can augment what is insignificant, Nestor can edit out what is important, and this is what he does with the role of Hercules in the Centauromachy. He turns a footnote into the main text and the main text into a footnote.

Conclusion

Ovidian scholarship has become increasingly aware of the multilayered nexus of intertexts that make the poetic spectrum of Ovid's variegated fabric unique in its appropriation of diverse and multifaceted traditions. Ovid, as Frederick Ahl would put it, created something like a symphony, except with all the music notes for a score on one line.[1] It is the critic's job to dissect the numerous voices of the Ovidian symphony and study how they contribute to the harmony of his poetry. Every voice counts and failing to listen to one means that our perception of Ovid's work is impaired.

In this study, I have argued that the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* is an essential instrument in the Ovidian orchestra. The generic affiliation of Ovid's epic with the *Theogony* and the *Catalogue* invites the readers to listen to the Hesiodic voice of the *Metamorphoses.* The genealogical tenor of Ovid's epic suggests that Hesiodic poetry is the *basso continuo* of the *Metamorphoses,* while the recurring tales of divine loves refer to the *leitmotif* of the *Ehoiai.*

In the *Metamorphoses,* the recurring transition from the *Theogony* to the *Catalogue* creates a continuity between cosmogony and divine loves. By stressing the sequentiality of Hesiod's works, Ovid eroticizes the creation of the universe and gives a cosmological dimension to sexual affairs. Natural elements, gods, and mortals struggle and mingle with each other in Ovid's metamorphic and erotic cosmos.

Ovid's intertextual engagement with the *Catalogue* is not restricted to the *Metamorphoses,* but extends to his elegiac works. The Hellenistic adaptations

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[1] In an interview about his *Aeneid* translation, which can be found in http://www.news.cornell.edu/stories/May08/Ahl.Aeneid.da.html

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of the *Catalogue* (such as Phanocles' *Erotes* and Hermesianax' *Leontion*) show that the elegiac couplet became the standard meter for Hesiodic catalogue poetry. Ovid's *Heroides,* a collection of letters written by famous heroines, is a catalogue of women in its own right. I have examined the rhetorical thrust of the paired letters of Paris and Helen vis-à-vis the content and the structure of the *Catalogue,* but there is more work to be done with Ovid's elegiac works: the *Ars Amatoria* combines the didactic with the erotic, providing an interesting amalgam of two Hesiodic epics, the *Works and Days* and the *Catalogue of Women.* The *Fasti* opens with Janus, who identifies himself with Chaos, and the god reappears as a lover in *Fasti* 6, reiterating the progression from the *Theogony* to the *Catalogue.*

One of the most fascinating aspects of intertextuality is that the study of a text's reception is not a one-way approach about the influence of a source on a later text, but an analysis of how two interrelated texts influence each other. While reading the *Catalogue* through the lens of Ovid's work, I discovered a number of intriguing aspects of this archaic epic that remained unnoticed: Hesiod's deconstruction of traditional epic diction, his penchant for sylleptic puns, and his subversion of the male-oriented agenda of the Homeric epics are some of the *Catalogue* s features which must have appealed to Ovid's genius. Ovid does not only translate his sources into his unique poetic universe, but can also teach us how to be better readers of the texts he employs.

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