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“INVOCATION” AT THE END OF THE AETIA PROLOGUE

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Until recently, it has been difficult even to speculate about the way the poet of the *Aetia* links his reply to the Telchines, spoken as an old man, with the dream conversation of his youth.¹ The surviving text of the former (fr. 1 Pf.) trails off incomprehensibly after thirty-eight lines, while the *Somnium* (fr. 2) consists of one brief excerpt. Now, however, Arnd Kerkhecker has provided us with a new basis for envisioning this transition by demonstrating that a section of commentary previously thought to refer to the dream in fact refers to the end of the prologue.²

Kerkhecker noticed two very suggestive lemmata at lines 24-25 of the commentary fragment and interpreted these glimpses of the text as part of an invocation to the Muses concluding the prologue and/or forming a transition to the dream:

ὕπο]κρίσι[]ς ἀποκρίε[ι]ς ("replies)
ἀμν]ήσαιτε ἀναμνήσαιτέ μ[ε] ("I wish you to remind me")
(fr. 1a.24-25)

The "replies" are the replies of the Muses to the questions Callimachus posed in his dream; the old Callimachus is asking the Muses to recall their earlier conversation.

Peter Bing has supported and extended this analysis with reference to the preceding comment (apparently on a variant reading; fr. 1a.20ff.), γράφεται κα[ὶ] ἄθυμὸν ἐπήϊεν'...., "he writes also, 'it came upon my *thumos*.'"³ Bing points out that the role of the *thumos* in prompting the poet's questions in the *Aetia* (cf. frs. 31b, 178.21-22) not only fits in well with Kerkhecker's explanation but perhaps indicates that Callimachus asked the Muses to remind him of his own questions.⁴

To these observations I would like to add some further comments. First, the lemma at line 1a.26 (πύ]θωνται ἀκούσῳσι, "they might hear") may provide additional clues about the length and content of the passage in front of the commentator. The word θυμός, as Bing notes, is strongly associated with the poet's questions (τὼ]ς μὲν ἔφη· τὰς δ'εἶθαρ ἐμὸς

¹ On the implications of the cicada (?) image with which fr. 1 breaks off, see R. Hunter, "Winged Callimachus," ZPE 76 (1989) 1-2 and G. Crane, "Tithonus and the Prologue to Callimachus' *Aetia*," ZPE 66 (1986) 269-278.

² A. Kerkhecker, "Ein Musenanruf am Anfang der Aitia des Kallimachos," ZPE 71 (1988) 16-24, reexamining P. Oxy. 2262 fr. 1 = fr. 1a Pf., Pf. II (Addenda) 100ff.

³ P. Bing, "A Note on the New 'Musenanruf' in Callimachus' *Aetia*" ZPE 74 (1988) 273-275.

⁴ Bing, p. 275.

πάλιν εἶρετο θυμός, fr. 31b) --but so is the verb πυθέσθαι and its synonym as given by the scholiast, ἀκοῦσαι:

ὡς ἡ μὲν λίπε μῦθον, ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ καὶ [τὸ πυ]θέσθαι
ἦ]θελον--ἦ γάρ μοι θάμβος ὑπετρέφ[ετ]ο· (43.84-85)

ὅσσ[α] δ' ἐμεῖο c[έ]θεν πάρα θυμὸς ἀκοῦσαι
ἰχάνει, τάδε μοι λ[έ]ξον [ἀνειρομέν]φ· (178.21-22)

It is always the poet who is eager to hear and learn in the poem. Therefore πύθωνται might well refer to the poet. But how?

At the beginning of fragment 43, we find an authoritative contrast between the fleeting delights of garlands (for the head) and food (for the belly) as opposed to the enduring pleasures of conversation. The former die or disappear by the next day, but "what I have heard remains with me" (fr. 43.16-17): ὄσσα δ' ἀ[κουαῖς / εἰσεθέ[μην, ἔτι μοι μῶνα πάρες]τι τάδ[ε].

Similarly, the poet praises conversation as part of the banquet in the Icus fragment (οὐ μόνον ὕδατος αἶσαν, / ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ λέσχης οἴνος ἔχειν ἐθέλει, fr. 178.15-16) and again apparently presents his ears as the recipient of tales (οὔατα μυθεῖσθαι βου[λομέν]οις ἀνέχων, 178.30). This image of the ears as recipients of tales and information is not confined to Callimachus. Posidippus pictures the Muses eavesdropping around Olympus with "clean ears" (καθαροῖς οὔασι, fr. 705.2 SH),⁵ gleaned material to record on the poet's tablets. Thus, one possible interpretation of the lemmata is that the poet wishes to be reminded of the answers he once received, "so that my ears might hear them again."

It appears likely, then, that all four of the lemmata in 1a.20-26 are closely related references to the dream-dialogue rather than comments on isolated words taken from intervals several lines apart in the original text. If so, the section missing between the last known lines of the prologue and the beginning of the dream was so brief that it probably served as both conclusion and transition.⁶ This would accord well with Callimachus' fondness for ending individual episodes with invocations or apostrophes (e.g. fr. 7.13-14;

⁵ On this phrase see H. Lloyd-Jones ad loc. in "The Seal of Posidippus," JHS 83 (1963) 75-99.

⁶ See Kerkhecker, p. 20 n. 15 and consider also the following: 1) If Pfeiffer's reconstruction is correct, the gap between the reference to line 36 of the prologue (fr. 1a.1-11 = fr.1, col. I of P.Oxy. 2262) and these lemmata is only 12-21 lines, and there is virtually nothing missing between fr. 1 of the papyrus and fr. 2, which comments on the Somnium (Pf. app. crit. fr. 1a.12-30; ad loc. fr. 2a.1). 2) The Scholia Florentina--admittedly abbreviated--do not mention anything between the poet's defense and the dream. 3) The London Scholia, which comment approximately every five lines, go straight from line 36 of the prologue to the lemma dekas, a reference to a tenth Muse from the dream sequence which also appears in the new commentary (fr. 2a.5).

66.7-9) and with the prayers closing the epilogue (fr. 112), also a transition-piece.⁷ Parallels from Callimachus' *Hymns* and from Aratus and Theocritus show the same use of the optative address in closing formulas; the Hellenistic poets seem fond of this variation on the more traditional imperative.⁸

To whom was this transitional invocation addressed? Both Kerkhecker and Bing assume that the referent of ἀμνήσαιτε is the Muses. But two types of evidence suggest that caution is necessary here in identifying the addressee(s).

First, there is an argument *ex silentio*. Other passages in the *Aetia* containing programmatic statements tend to be quoted in later sources, especially those near the beginning of the work.⁹ Roman imitations of the prologue focus on Apollo's command and its various metaphors of purity, or on the dream. Most are conspicuous for the lack of anything like a traditional invocation.¹⁰ At the very least the lack of citations and imitations suggests that this theoretical invocation was brief and unemphatic.¹¹

We must also consider Callimachus' own use of the invocation elsewhere, which follows a general Alexandrian tendency to avoid traditional invocations at the beginning of a work.¹² The Muses are addressed at the beginning of *Aetia* IV and *Iamb* 13; compare the postponed invocations of *Argonautica* 3 and 4. Or Callimachus substitutes other figures for the Muses--the Graces (7.13-14) or even himself (? ἀείσομαι / Μοῦσα, 202.19-20). With these substitutions compare the parodic invocations of Timon, who invokes "busybody sophists" at the beginning of his *Silloi* (fr. 775 SH) or Posidippus, who invites the Muses to write directly onto his tablets (fr. 705.6 SH).¹³

Since Bing envisions the poet asking the Muses to remind him of his own questions as well as their answers there would already be a parodic element here, but I would propose that at least two other possibilities deserve serious consideration. The first is that Callimachus is addressing himself. We have already seen, in the passages cited above (frs. 31b, 178), that the poet tends to address his *thumos* in Homeric fashion and that he separates

⁷ See A. Harder, "Callimachus and the Muses: Some Aspects of Narrative Technique in Aetia 1-2," *Prometheus* 14 (1988) 1-14, and "Untrodden Paths: Where Do They Lead?" *HSCP* 93 (1990) 306-309.

⁸ Compare Aratus Phaen. 15-18, Theocr. 22.214-215, Call. fr. 587, H. 4.325-326 and see Mineur, Callimachus, Hymn to Delos, *Mnemosyne Suppl.* 83, 1984, ad loc.

⁹ So frs. 1.2-3, 6, 17-18, 19-20, 21-22, 23-24, 33-36, 37-38; 2.1-2; 7.13-14; 112.7; note also unplaced fragments quoting apostrophes or invocations e.g. frs. 571, 587, 602.

¹⁰ In fact, Catullus 1.9-10 imitates the invocation to the Graces (fr. 7.13-14), indicating that Catullus viewed that passage as an opening prayer. Would he have done so if it had been preceded by an invocation to the Muses?

¹¹ J. E. G. Zetzel, per litteras: "Quite like C. to make the important passage be not the invocation, but the evocation of past dreams."

¹² R. Thomas, "From Recusatio to Commitment: The Evolution of the Vergilian Programme," *PLLS* 5 (1985), 63.

¹³ See P. Bing, *The Well-Read Muse: Present and Past in Callimachus and the Hellenistic Poets*, *Hypomnemata* 90 (1988), p. 15 and ch. 1 passim.

and personifies sensory organs such as the ears.¹⁴ In at least one case, the poet invokes himself in place of the Muse when he calls upon his *thumos* to sing of Delos at the beginning of the fourth hymn.¹⁵

The second, and far more likely possibility (given the plural verb) is that the addressees are indeed divinities, but they need not be the Muses.¹⁶ The Libyan goddesses of fragment 602, for example, would be good candidates:

δέσποιναι Λιβύης ἠρωίδες, αἰ Νασαμώνων
αὐλιν καὶ δολιχὰς θῖνας ἐπιβλέπετε,
μητέρα μοι ζώουσαν ὀφέλλετε

We know that these goddesses could well be present, since the poet begins in Libya and is transported to Helicon in the dream (AP 7.42); the epilogue may invoke Cyrene (fr. 112.7, the unnamed recipient of the prayer).¹⁷ If the prologue moved towards the dream by invoking Libyan deities to bless his mother city, and if the epilogue does call upon Cyrene, this would parallel other framing references in the epilogue to figures mentioned in the prologue and dream.¹⁸ There is one final hint that this passage may be associated with Cyrene: Pindar uses the form ἀμνάσει in Pythian IV to describe the oracle Apollo gives to Battus which "reminds" him to found Cyrene (P. 4.54).¹⁹

To summarize: all the lemmata in fr. 1a.20-30 could well refer to one brief passage forming a transition to the *Somnium*. The references to the *thumos*, to replies, to reminding, and learning all cluster around the notion of the dialogue with the Muses which evolves out

¹⁴ On the archaizing nature of these formulations see G. Walsh, "Surprised by Self: Audible Thought in Hellenistic Poetry," CP 85 (1990), 11.

¹⁵ See Mineur ad loc. Self-address is usually to the *thumos*, but in Euripides' *Ino* the phrenes are invoked (fr. 400.1 Nauck²), and various metaphorical descriptions of the memory are given in Pindar and the tragedians (see e.g. Pindar Ol. 10.1ff., Aesch. PV 789, Eum. 275; Soph. fr. 597 TrGF); phrenes or a phrase such as "tablets of the mind" would require the plural verb we find here. The opening of Olympian X may offer an especially close parallel; the command to read out the name of the victor as a reminder to the forgetful poet is ambiguously directed to Pindar himself or to his chorus (not to the Muse, see Bing, *Well-Read Muse*, p. 28).

¹⁶ The closest syntactic parallel to ἀμνήσαιτε in the Callimachean corpus is the restored text of an address to birth-goddesses in Iamb 12, ἀντή[αίτε] πρηγίαι, θεαί, / τῆδ' ἐτῆς εὐχῆ[ι] (fr. 202.18-19) which is immediately followed by what seems to be the deliberately inverted invocation sequence noted earlier, αἰείσομαι / Μοῦσα (fr. 202.19-20).

¹⁷ Cf. supplements to fr. 112.2, see Pfeiffer ad loc.

¹⁸ See Pfeiffer ad fr. 112.2, 5-6. Libyan "heroines" appear in both the *Argonautica* (4.1308ff.) and an epigram of Nicaenetus (AP 6.225 = Nicaen. 1 GP); if this represents quotation of Callimachus, it suggests that fr. 602 might well have come from a prominent location in the *Aetia*. But the coincidence could equally well reflect a common source.

¹⁹ Cf. P. 1.47 and see Lobel ad P. Oxy. 2262 fr. 1 col. ii.14; the scholia on both Pindaric examples seem to feel that the form needs clarification, as our commentator does here.

of the dream in fr. 2. But the polite command ἀμν]ήσαιτε need not be addressed to the Muses; in fact, in my view anything resembling a traditional prayer to the Muses is extremely unlikely here. The connection between the discussion of old age at the end of fr. 1 and this transition remains unclear; still, Kerkecker's observations should give new impetus to the study of this important passage.

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