

THE STORY OF CALLISTO IN HESIOD

The only thorough investigation into the myth of Callisto was done in 1890 by Reinhold Franz, who sought, among other things, to recover a form of the story which he could attribute to Hesiod¹). By "Hesiod" he meant the author of the *Eoeae* or *Catalogue of Women*, and the version of the myth which he considered Hesiodic is tailored to fit this work or works²); that is, it does not end with the catasterism of Callisto, the familiar scene in which Zeus changes her to the Great Bear. Other scholars have been reluctant to sever the catasterism from the rest, and have therefore argued that the story belongs to the *Astronomy*, another part of the Hesiodic corpus³). And in Rzach's edition we find a rather detailed account of Callisto assigned to the *Astronomy* as fragment 181⁴). Recently J. Schwartz has taken an extremely skeptical position: Callisto was mentioned and her story perhaps told in the *Catalogue*, but we cannot recover this story; in the *Astronomy* she was not to be found, and the Great Bear was there called Helice (Schwartz pp. 126 n., 258). This view I find unwarrantably incredulous; the testimony contains absurdities and contradic-

1) Reinhold Franz, „De Callistus Fabula“, *Leipziger Studien* 12, part 2 (1890) 237—365.

2) Regarded by Franz as two works (p. 345 n. 1); most modern scholars, correctly as it seems, regard the *Eoeae* as part of or, more probably, identical with, the *Catalogue*. See J. Schwartz, *Pseudo-Hesioda* (Leiden 1960) 13—32.

3) Franz (p. 357) assigned this poem to a time between Hesiod and the fifth century. This date was attacked by Ernst Maass in *Aratea* (*Philologische Untersuchungen*, ed. Kiessling-Wilamowitz, vol. 12 [Berlin 1892]) 268—272, following K. O. Müller, *Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie* (Göttingen 1825) 193. But the defense of an early date by Martin Nilsson (*Rheinisches Museum* 60 [1905] 184) seems unobjectionable. For other views see Schwartz, pp. 249 and 259—60. Where convenient I will use the term „Hesiod“ to refer to the author of the *Astronomy* or the *Catalogue* without implying that Hesiod or indeed the same author wrote both.

4) Aloisius Rzach, *Hesiodi Carmina* (ed. maior Leipzig 1902; ed. minor Leipzig 1913).

tions, but they can best be met by a proposal put forward at one time by Carl Robert but not, so far as I know, defended by him in detail: the story of Callisto was told in two places in the Hesiodic corpus⁵). The *Catalogue*, in my opinion, is likely enough to have been one of these places, the other is uncertain. We cannot safely argue that either version contained the catasterism. To defend this view I shall subject fragment 181 Rz to an elaborate scrutiny, in order to decide what in it is Hesiodic, and of that portion how much derives from the *Catalogue* and how much from elsewhere in the corpus.

Apart from a passage in [Apollodorus] *Bibliothēke* (3. 8. 2), all of the material arranged by Rzach under fragment 181 is from a group of works which are witnesses to a lost book on poetic astronomy composed, in my opinion, by the Alexandrian scholar Eratosthenes. In this book, brief tellings of catasteristic myths, drawn often from a number of sources, were arranged under each constellation, much as we see them arranged in Hyginus' *Poetic Astronomy*. In fact Hyginus is one of these witnesses, perhaps the most important. The others are [Eratosthenes] *Catasterisms*, a late compilation of excerpts ultimately descended from Eratosthenes which is usually known as the *Epitome*; some scholia to Germanicus' adaptation of Aratus; some of the scholia to Aratus' poem itself; the scholia to a late Latin translation of Aratus, called Aratus Latinus; and some late Greek catalogues of catasteristic myths, which have much the same form as Hyginus, the *Epitome* and the original, and are known by the MSS in which they are found as Vaticanus graecus 1087 and Scorialensis Σ III 3 (in the latter they are interspersed as scholia)⁶). These last two witnesses were not known to Rzach, but what he gives in their place and identifies as "Comm. Arati Supplem. p. 574 M." is from the MS Marcianus 444, a direct copy of Vaticanus graecus 1087 (see Rehm, *Frag.*

5) L. Preller, *Griechische Mythologie* I, 4 ed. revised by Carl Robert (Berlin 1894) 304 n. 2.

6) Hyginus, the Scholia to Germanicus and the scholia to Aratus may be found in Carl Robert, *Eratosthenis Catasterismorum Reliquiae* (Berlin 1878), the Aratus Latinus in Ernst Maass, *Commentariorum in Aratum Reliquiae* (Berlin 1898), and the Vaticanus graecus 1087 in Albert Rehm, *Eratosthenis Catasterismorum Fragmenta Vaticana* (Progr. Ansbach 1899), which I will abbreviate *Frag. Vat.* Rzach's citation of the Germanicus scholia Stroziana and Sangermanensia should be dropped; see Jean Martin, *Histoire du Texte des Phénomènes d'Aratos* (Paris 1956) 38—41. The scholia in Scorialensis Σ III 3 are, as far as I know, unpublished.

Vat. Vff.) The material in fragment 181 from the Epitome, Hyginus and the Germanicus scholia descends ultimately from the section of Eratosthenes' book devoted to Ursa Major; the quotation from Vaticanus 1087 (Marc. 444) descends from the section concerning Arctophylax (though this quotation, as we shall see, has been contaminated with material from another source). The question of the relation of these witnesses to their original is a much-vexed one; I have adopted the position of Jean Martin, who splits the witnesses into two camps, with Hyginus on one side and all the others on the other⁷). Martin shows that of these Hyginus is the most faithful (p. 124) and that in fact it is likely that he gives us a good picture of the original; since Schwartz rejects, by implication, Hyginus' worth it will be necessary later on for me to prove his value for what he says about Callisto. Our other witnesses were drawn at various times from another tradition, whose intermediate source was a commentary to an edition of Aratus, and which occasionally received new material from outside the tradition.

The story we can extract from this material must for purposes of analysis be arranged in sections; it runs as follows:

181A. *The Great Bear*. Hesiod says that she was the daughter of Lycaon and chose to spend her time with wild beasts in the mountains, together with Artemis. She was ravished by Zeus but remained in Artemis' company dissimulating her pregnant condition; eventually she was seen while bathing and her secret discovered. Artemis in anger converted her to a bear, and in this form she gave birth to Arcas, named from Callisto's metamorphosis. (Hyginus, the Germanicus scholia, the Epitome, the Aratus scholia and the scholia to Aratus Latinus all report this; though only Hyginus identifies the daughter of Lycaon as Callisto, it is highly probable, as I shall show later, that Eratosthenes also did so.)

7) Martin, *Histoire* 66 ff. I am not convinced that Martin is entirely justified in thinking that the ancestor of the Epitome necessarily occupied an earlier place in the tradition than the ancestor of the Aratus Latinus and *Vat. gr.* 1087. My arguments are not, I think, in violent disharmony with Rehm's stemma (*Frag. Vat.* p. XXIV). It is of some importance to portions of my thesis that Hyginus is the best reflection of the original, though naturally his unsupported testimony cannot be accepted uncritically. It would not seriously damage my position if Eratosthenes himself were proved not to have been the ultimate source of these witnesses, though it would be inconvenient should it prove to have been someone utterly untrustworthy.

181 B. Callisto and Arcas went off to live in the mountains, were captured by goatherds, and turned over to Lycaon. After a while Callisto decided to go into the *abaton* of Zeus Lycaeus, not knowing the law. She was pursued by her son and the Arcadians, and was about to be killed on account of this law when Zeus, moved by kinship, put her and her son amongst the stars. And he called her *ἄρκτος* because of the misfortune which befell her. (All our sources for 181 A have this much too, with minor differences at the end which will be noticed later. The Epitome and the scholia to Aratus give 181 A and 181 B continuously. But between these two sections the Latin sources give a summary of a version by the comic poet Amphis, and they do not repeat the attribution to Hesiod when they resume with 181 B).

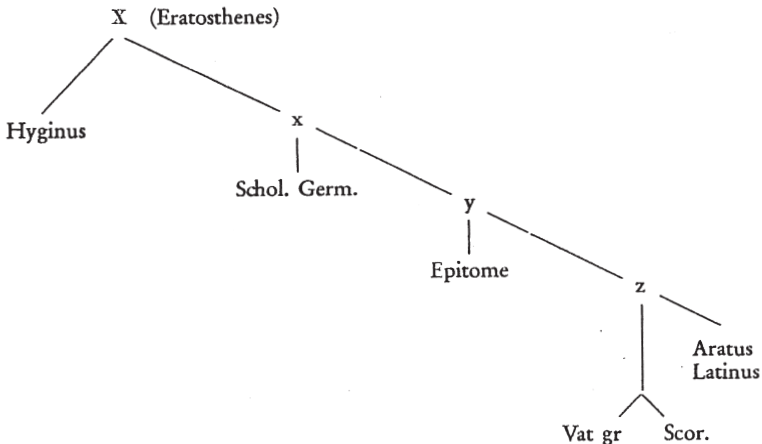
181 C. *Arctophylax*. He is said to be Arcas, the son of Callisto and Zeus, and to have dwelt around Mt. Lycaeus. Lycaon, feigning ignorance of the fact that Zeus had raped Callisto, entertained Zeus, as Hesiod says, and cut up the child and put it on the table. (Schol. Aratus Latinus and Vaticanus graecus 1087).

181 D. Eumelos and certain others say that Lycaon also had a daughter named Callisto, but Hesiod says she is one of the nymphs. (Apollodorus 3. 8. 2).

To make a coherent whole of these fragments one must first of all disregard 181 D, which indicates that Lycaon was not Callisto's father according to Hesiod; one must then assume that Arcas was the child mentioned in 181 C, though what can be attributed to Hesiod (see below p. 132) mentions merely "the baby", τὸ βρέφος, and Hesiod might, like Apollodorus (3. 8. 2) and Pausanias (8. 2. 3) have been speaking of a nameless child; and one must fill in the career of Arcas after he has been cut up. The natural thing to do is turn to Eratosthenes himself for material to fill this gap: the source of 181 C, Vat gr 1087, goes on to tell how Zeus overturned the table on which the unholy meal was set, destroyed the household and restored Arcas, who was then brought up by a goatherd, pursued his mother into the *abaton*, and was about to be killed when Zeus changed him into the constellation Arctophylax. Eratosthenes' other witnesses agree that this is how he told the story. But it is not possible that Hesiod told it this way; it is too absurd. Here is the life-history that would be assigned Arcas: he was born of a bear, captured by goatherds, brought

to Lycaon, cut up in pieces and served to Zeus, restored and sent *again* to a goatherd, returned *again* to Lycaeus, chased his mother into the sanctuary, and was about to be killed again, when Zeus changed him into the constellation Arctophylax. Such a story, I submit, was never told by Hesiod or, *in this form*, by anyone else; it is a hodge-podge of repetitions and absurdities. Yet it is a narrative that can be inferred from what Eratosthenes said and was presumably tolerated by him in a work in catalogue form, where the narrative was divided between the chapters on Callisto and on Arctophylax, and where under each constellation might be found material from various sources containing many contrasting forms of myth with no effort made to reconcile them. It is perhaps plausible to assign this hodge-podge to Eratosthenes; how much of it can be assigned to Hesiod?

Our best source for Eratosthenes is Hyginus' *Poetic Astronomy*, and he (with the Germanicus and Aratus Latinus scholia) includes, between sections A and B of fragment 181, a reference to the version of Amphis, to the effect that Zeus raped Callisto in the guise of Artemis herself. Since it seems highly unlikely that all three witnesses each had independent access to the work of Amphis, the reference must have been in their source. Martin's stemma makes it clear that this was the ultimate source, Eratosthenes⁸⁾:



8) Martin p. 66. Using Rehm's stemma, we must still assign the Amphis citation to Eratosthenes. It is worth stressing the fact that the

The scholia to the Greek Aratus are here virtually identical with the Epitome and are therefore drawn from some descendant of γ ; this descendant has dropped the citation from Amphis and left the reader with the misleading impression that the story after the birth of Arcas, 181 B, was taken from Hesiod. We cannot, therefore, attribute the story of 181 B to Hesiod or say that Eratosthenes did so.

Rehm, however, felt that the epitomator must have had good reason to allow the reader to think that the rest of the story was Hesiod's⁹); and it would appear to be a poor policy to let the question of whether or not 181 B derives from Hesiod depend on so uncertain a foundation as whether the Epitome or the Latin tradition is a better source for Eratosthenes. The story of 181 B itself, however, cries out its composite origin; consider the following curious details:

1. Goatherds are not at all the right sort of people for capturing bears, though they are apt for finding and bringing up homeless children.

2. What law is Callisto ignorant of? Later, in the story of Arctophylax, we will be told: *Iouis Lycaeii templum, quo ei qui accessisset mors poena erat Arcadum lege* (Hyginus). But why are we told nothing now?

3. It seems highly unlikely that there was a law against bears going into the *abaton*, but that is just what Eratosthenes implies. Pausanias says that *men* were denied entrance, and that "when a beast takes refuge in the precinct, the hunter will not break in along with it" (8.36.6)¹⁰).

4. Why was Arcas pursuing Callisto? Were they not brought to Lycaon together, and had they not lived there for some years, long enough in fact for Arcas to grow to hunting age?

Germanicus scholia cannot possibly derive their material on the Great Bear from Hyginus, since for Hyginus' misreading of the Greek word *αιπόλων* as *Aetolorum* they give, with reasonable correctness, *pastoribus*.

9) Albert Rehm, *Mythographische Untersuchungen über griechische Sternsagen* (Munich 1896) 37 ff. — abbreviated *Myth. Unters.* Emanuel Gürkoff's criticisms of this work in his dissertation *Die Katasterismen des Eratosthenes* (Sofia 1931) 76—83 and 89—94 are generally sound.

10) Cf. also Plutarch *Greek Questions* 39, where it is said that anyone (human) who entered the *abaton* knowing the law was put to death; otherwise they were „sent to Eleutherae“, whatever that means. If we believe Plutarch, Callisto was doubly innocent, both for being a bear and for not knowing the law.

5. What kinship (συγγένεια, apparently mistranslated *peccatum* by Hyginus), did Zeus have with Callisto ¹¹⁾?

All these difficulties can be removed at one stroke — we are reading a story about Callisto which ought — except for the chase — only to be told about Arcas. The goatherds found Arcas alone, brought him alone to Lycaon. He was pursuing Callisto because they were not brought up together and therefore, for all he knew, she was a bear. It was he, and not she, who was ignorant of the law, the law that punished *men* with death for entering the abaton. And it was he who was akin to Zeus. The author of 181 B felt he could not simply drop Callisto to pick up the thread of Arcas' tale, and so he made a clumsy effort to weave the two together.

The fact that 181 B is composite does not, of course, prove that Hesiod was not responsible for its composition. I shall therefore go on to show that 181 B was put together after, and under the influence of, the story of Arctophylax as told by Eratosthenes; that Eratosthenes, therefore, is probably responsible for the form of 181 B; and that we certainly cannot attribute what it says to Hesiod.

The story of Arctophylax is itself composite:

Arctophylax. 1. About this sign it is said that its name is Arcas, the son of Callisto and Zeus; and they say that Lycaon cut him up with some other meat and served him to Zeus when Zeus had come to visit, for he wanted to know if whoever it was who had sought his hospitality was a god. He was severely punished for what he did, since Zeus overturned the table and turned Lycaon himself into a wolf.

2. But Zeus gathered the boy's limbs and put him together again and gave him to one of the goatherds to bring up. And after Arcas had become a young man, he was hunting in the woods, when he saw his mother (changed into a bear) without recognizing her. Anxious to kill her, he followed her into the sanctuary of Zeus Lycaeus, where according to Arcadian law it is death to enter. And so, when it was time for them to die, Zeus took pity on them and snatched them up and put them amongst the stars.

11) The scholia to Aratus 27 and the Epitome, who erred together in dropping the Amphis account, here concur in attributing the catasterism and the συγγένεια to Callisto alone, making even balder nonsense.

[I have followed Hyginus throughout except where he obviously blunders, omitting therefore the testimony of 181 C because, as will appear later, I do not consider Eratosthenes responsible for this fragment.]

The first part of this tale is the story of Lycaon; we have had a glimpse of it in Vat gr 1087 (which however mentions Hesiod and gives Lycaon a different motive for cutting up the child). Combined rather awkwardly with this is the story of Arcas, part of which we have just disentangled from 181 B.

If now we ask how it is that Zeus happened to pick goatherds to bring up Arcas, and if we reflect that in 181 B it was goatherds who first found Arcas in the woods, it will be hard to avoid the conclusion that behind both 181 B and the story of Arctophylax there lurks a very simple tale: Arcas after birth was found and brought up by goatherds; when grown to manhood he encountered his mother in the woods, pursued her into the *abaton* and was about to be killed when Zeus changed both him and his mother into constellations. (This I shall call the basic story of Arcas, reserving the term Lycaon-Arctophylax for the composite account.) Someone who was anxious to combine this story with the tale of Lycaon decided to make Arcas Lycaon's victim. To do this, he imagined that the goatherds brought Arcas to Lycaon after they found him, and then got him back again after he was restored by Zeus. Now the only one of our many sources for the story of Lycaon who says that Arcas was the victim is Eratosthenes¹²). It seems therefore natural enough to say that Eratosthenes was the first to put together the stories of Arcas and Lycaon in this way — that he created the Lycaon-Arctophylax version.

Where Eratosthenes got the stories of Arcas and of Lycaon cannot be certainly known, but one objection must be forestalled. If Eratosthenes were responsible for 181 C, that would mean that Hesiod was his source for the story of Lycaon. This would *not* mean that Hesiod was responsible for Lycaon-Arctophylax,

12) Cf. also Franz 308—9. Making Arcas the victim does not seem to give the tale any particular literary point. The situation would be different if it were felt desirable to have Zeus devour his own son, but so far as I know no ancient source could quite bring himself to allot Lycaon such a desire. It should be noted that our sources not only ordinarily fail to make Arcas Lycaon's victim, but keep the stories of Callisto-Arcas and Lycaon entirely separate.

for 181 C nowhere implies that Arcas was the victim. It would still be Eratosthenes who made the composite version. Actually, I think it more probable, as I shall explain below, that we do not owe 181 C to Eratosthenes, though it not only stems from Hesiod but, in my opinion, from the same poem as 181 A, which we do owe to Eratosthenes. Eratosthenes will have chosen to ignore the part which told how Lycaon served human flesh to Zeus in revenge for his daughter's seduction, because he wanted to identify the child with Arcas and was unwilling to leave the impression that Hesiod made this identification. So he changed the story of Lycaon slightly: he made Arcas the victim, and said that Lycaon's motive was to test Zeus' divinity (this detail may have come from some version, not Hesiodic, of the story of Lycaon).

The question now remaining is whether 181 B was composed before or after the Lycaon-Arctophylax version. If it was before, then we naturally suppose that the author of 181 B put together no more than the tale of Callisto and the basic story of Arcas. But if so, why did he say that the goatherds, after finding Arcas, brought him to Lycaon? This event has no place in Arcas' basic story, in which the goatherds find him and bring him up. And it has no comprehensible role in 181 B, unless Arcas is brought to Lycaon *so that Lycaon can cut him up*. But that implies that 181 B was composed *after* the Lycaon-Arctophylax version, that the author had the goatherds bring Arcas to Lycaon because he was later going to tell a story in which this event played an important part.

On the reasonable theory that it was Eratosthenes who was responsible for the Lycaon-Arctophylax version, we can only conclude that he was responsible for 181 B too. But the argument need not depend on this theory. We have already seen that no poet could have told all that we find in fragment 181 A—181 C (together with what we must supply to complete the tale)—that is, the combined stories of Callisto and Lycaon-Arctophylax — as a continuous narrative, for it would be too absurd. And we have just seen that 181 B was composed to be part of just such a combined version. It follows inevitably that we cannot derive 181 B from the poetry of Hesiod. And it certainly seems reasonable to attribute the present form of 181 B to Eratosthenes, who in following his catalogue arrangement

did not need to concern himself with incongruities that might result were the stories combined ¹³).

Can we attribute to Hesiod an uncontaminated portion of 181B? Could we, for instance, argue that Hesiod brought Callisto and Arcas together, but only at the end, as Ovid does? Nothing justifies us in so doing. If Hesiod is not being drawn upon when Eratosthenes resumes his narrative after the Amphis digression, we cannot suppose that he is being drawn upon at any later point. Furthermore, we have no evidence that Hesiod told the story of Arctophylax. It is by no means Arcas' necessary or even usual fate to become Arctophylax; his task is to father the Arcadian people, to have such sons as Aphidas, Elatus and Azas (cf. e. g. Pausanias 8. 4. 1). It is rash to say that an early poet would have ignored this. Nor is Arctophylax the only or even the chief name of the constellation: the name Bootes is familiar, and Eratosthenes himself, just after the Lycaon-Arctophylax story, tells a version identifying it with Icarus. So we need not suppose that Hesiod knew the constellation by this name.

The problem of 181C is rather different. It is attributed to Hesiod by Vaticanus gr. 1087 and the scholia to Aratus Latinus (Maass 198 a; I have no access to the reading of Scorialensis Σ III 3, but from what Martin says on p. 48 the name of Hesiod ought to be there). These witnesses have a common parent (Rehm, *Frag. Vat.* pp. V-VI; Martin p. 66) or at least reflect a different stage in the tradition from that of the other witnesses; for this parent or stage I shall follow Rehm in using the symbol z. Now none of the other sources of Eratosthenes tells us that 181C comes from Hesiod, so that I am reluctant to attribute the Hesiod reference to him; it seems more likely that z had this information from elsewhere (despite the arguments of Rehm, *Frag. Vat.* p. XI, *Myth. Unters.* 36 ff., *Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie* 1897, no. 52, p. 1430). Furthermore z implies that Lycaon's motive in serving the child was revenge for the rape of his daughter, while Hyginus says that

13) Franz too assigns the final combination to Eratosthenes (p. 310), though his notion of how and what he combined is different from mine. Especially unfortunate is his guess as to why the crime of Lycaon was brought in, lest „nuda aut obscura relinquere tota Arcadis pueritia“ (308). But Rehm's assault on Franz' assertion that the combined version cannot be Hesiod's is altogether unconvincing (*Myth. Unters.* 37 ff.).

Lycaon wanted to know whether or not Zeus was a god, and the other witnesses are silent¹⁴).

Though Eratosthenes' authority for the attribution of 181C to Hesiod cannot be invoked, we ought not for this reason alone to deny it to Hesiod. Of course we would be reluctant to give it to him, if we were thereby forced to give him all of the catasterism of Arctophylax, but nothing in that portion which can safely be referred to Hesiod encourages us to do so:

περὶ τούτου λέγεται, ὅτι Ἄρκας ἐστὶν ὁ Καλλιστοῦς καὶ Διὸς γεγωνῶς· ᾤκησε δὲ περὶ τὸ Λύκαιον. φθείραντος αὐτὴν Διὸς οὐ προσποιησάμενος ὁ Λυκάων τὸν Δία ἐξένιζεν, ὡς φησὶν Ἡσίοδος, καὶ τὸ βρέφος κατακόψας παρέθηκεν ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν¹⁵).

Clearly Hesiod's authority is being invoked for no more than the words φθείραντος κτλ. And these words say nothing about Arcas, whatever z may be willing to suggest. τὸ βρέφος may be anyone — the number of suggestions made by the tradition as to

14) Even before the descendants of z became known, Franz assigned to Eratosthenes the motive we find in z, Lycaon's desire for vengeance for the rape of Callisto (p. 309). The motive Hyginus gives would thus be his own addition, brought over from Fabula 176, where we read that the sons of Lycaon wanted to test Zeus' divinity (see also Robert *Eratosthenis Catasterismorum Reliquiae* p. 75). The consequences of accepting Franz' view are that Eratosthenes becomes the nearer source of 181C in place of z (not in itself damaging to the arguments of this paper) and that Hyginus quite uncharacteristically suppressed Eratosthenes' motive and substituted one of his own, while this motive was for no ascertainable reason dropped by the other witnesses except z (not by the common source of these witnesses, since z must have been drawn from that same source, relatively late in the tradition).

15) So Vat gr 1087, except that I have adopted Maass' οὐ (προσποιησάμενος) for MS οὐ, which does not appear to me to be intelligible (Maass, *Comm. in Aratum Reliquiae*, p. 574). Maass rightly compares the scholia to Aratus Latinus, „Iouis nondum adsimilans Lycaonem.“ I admit that the attribution of the key words φθείραντος αὐτὴν Διὸς οὐ προσποιησάμενος to the part derived from Hesiod is arguable. But for z to break into the tradition and cite Hesiod for anything except what z itself adds, Lycaon's motive, seems altogether pointless. On the theory which I oppose, that Eratosthenes and not z is responsible for citation and motive, the problem becomes more difficult. But Eratosthenes (on this theory) seems to imply that Hesiod assigned this motive to Lycaon, and there seems no inherent improbability in Hesiod's having done so. It is also true that φθείραντος κτλ. does not in so many words assign Lycaon a *motive*; but I do not know what other reason anyone can have had for mentioning the seduction of Callisto at this point.

the identity of Lycaon's victim is not small¹⁶). Many sources leave the child nameless, including the *Thebaid* scholiast, the only source besides z, so far as I know, which attributes this motive to Lycaon¹⁷). Hence there is no real objection to our deriving this fragment from Hesiod. But before we can decide whether or not it comes from the *Astronomy*, we must discuss the status of fragment 181 A.

Franz, who on rather arbitrary grounds contested the attribution of 181 B to Hesiod, felt that 181 A was the beginning of a story of Callisto from the *Catalogue* or *Eoëae* which ended with Hermes taking Arcas to his mother Maia to nourish on Cyllene, and Callisto to Mt. Lycaeus¹⁸). His assignment of such an ending to Hesiod is altogether arbitrary and unconvincing, but scholars have generally continued to believe in the authenticity of 181 A itself. J. Schwartz, however, has recently maintained that the attribution to Hesiod originally belonged only to a small part of 181 A, the statement that Callisto liked to hunt with Artemis, and that the name „Hesiod“ later found its way from this sentence to the beginning of the passage where it now stands in all our witnesses¹⁹). Callisto, whose story we

16) The victims of Lycaon are brought together by O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religion* (Munich 1906) p. 920 n. 4.

17) Lactantius Placidus, ed. Ricardus Jahnke (Leipzig, Teubner, 1898) on Statius *Thebaid* 7. 414: *dolore stupratae a Ioue filiae deos (?) humanarum carnum cibis uiolauit*. Lactantius actually speaks of Helice rather than Callisto, apparently substituting the name carelessly.

18) Franz, 266 ff. His argument is that Hesiod could not have ended his story with the catasterism, since catasterisms are in general an Alexandrian innovation and since Euripides showed no knowledge of it; a Theocritus scholion (1. 123) gives us the only other ending we hear about which Franz can fit on to the Hesiodic story, hence it gives us what Hesiod said. Pre-Alexandrian catasterisms are of course known (Schol. Pindar *Nem.* 2. 16), and the rest of Franz' argument is disastrously circular. On page 359 he says he has proved that Callimachus invented the catasterism of Callisto, so that it could not have been part of the Hesiodic *Astronomy*; on page 297 he says that Callimachus must have invented the catasterism because, among other things, it was not in Hesiod; on page 265 he says that Hesiod cannot have ended with the catasterism because this was the sort of thing that the Alexandrians did.

19) „Sa légende (Callisto's) dans la *Bibl. Apoll.* (III, 100sq) diffère entièrement de celle de l'*Épitomé* d'Eratosthène, sauf sur un point: Callisto aime à chasser avec Artémis. Finalement la mention d'Hésiode ne s'appliquerait qu'à ce dernier détail“ (p. 126). Actually there is more agreement than this; in both accounts Zeus sleeps with Callisto, she becomes a bear, and she gives birth to a child named Arcas.

cannot recover, originally figured in the *Catalogue*, and the *Astronomy* knew the Great Bear as Helice.

Schwartz' view, to begin with, contends with another position of his own, that it was Hyginus and not his source who identified the daughter of Lycaon with Callisto²⁰). Now this source is supposed by Schwartz to descend from, or to be identical with, a document, let us call it N, which attributed the information that the daughter of Lycaon liked to hunt with Artemis to Hesiod. How do we know that the attribution applied to just this information? Because, says Schwartz, this is the information that N shares with [Apollodorus] *Bibliothèque* 3. 8. 2. From the latter we learn that Callisto, according to Hesiod, liked to hunt with Artemis; we infer that when N said that the daughter of Lycaon liked to hunt with Artemis, it owed, and attributed, this information to Hesiod. But how can we make such an inference unless, in N itself, the daughter of Lycaon was Callisto? How can *Bibliothèque* 3. 8. 2, which is about Callisto, tell us anything about N unless N is about Callisto too?

In fact neither of Schwartz' views seems to me correct. He makes no effort to reconstruct the source, the book which I consider to have been successfully assigned to Eratosthenes, and to explain why, if Hesiod's name was not at the beginning of the story of the Great Bear in this source, all our witnesses agree in putting it there; or why, if it was there, we are wrong in saying that it was Eratosthenes who put it there. And Eratosthenes' testimony ought to be fairly reliable. Schwartz points to the fact that some of our Eratosthenes witnesses make erroneous attributions in the stories of the Ram and Orion, and so they do; one of the Germanicus scholia brings the names of Hesiod and Pherecydes to the head of the catasterism of the Ram, where they do not belong, and all the witnesses except Hyginus attribute too much of the story of Orion to Hesiod (Schwartz 122-4). And we have seen many of them do the same thing with Callisto. But in every case, the reliability of Hyginus is upheld, and in the case of Orion Schwartz insists upon it, quite rightly. Hyginus' fault, when he cites Hesiod, is to imply that Hesiod identified whatever mythological figure he is talking about with the constellation; thus: *Hanc (Virginem) Hesio-*

20) „*Callisto nomine*“ a été ajouté pour 'éclairer' le texte par Hygin“ (p. 126). Schwartz ignores the fact that Hyginus calls her Callisto later in the story.

duis Iouis et Themidis filiam dixit, clearly a reference to *Theogony* 901-2 and *Opera* 256, though neither place of course says a word about Virgo; they concern Dike, who was later identified with Virgo²¹). Hence when he says that Hesiod identified the constellation of the Ram with the ram with the golden fleece, we can only conclude, and Schwartz does conclude, that Hesiod spoke of the ram with the golden fleece but did not necessarily (in this case surely not) identify it with the constellation²²). And so with Callisto, when Hyginus says that Hesiod called the Great Bear Callisto, we ought not necessarily to believe him, but we have no reason to reject whatever else Hyginus attributes to Hesiod. And the fact that all the other witnesses support Hyginus in assigning this story to Hesiod is not entirely negligible.

Hyginus is not, however, confirmed by these witnesses in his statement that the daughter of Lycaon was named Callisto. We will see in the case of Orion that when he and the other witnesses part company he alone can be trusted, and here it is *prima facie* likely that the same thing is true. The other witnesses seem to be derived from a commentary on an edition of Aratus (Martin p. 71), for which the identification of the Great Bear with Callisto is particularly embarrassing, since Aratus himself calls her Helice. But in order to decide definitely which witness is more reliable here, we must raise two questions: what is the inherent likelihood of *Hesiod's* having called Callisto the daughter of Lycaon, and of *Hyginus'* having added the reference to Callisto to what he took from Eratosthenes?

Apollodorus 3.8.2 (fragment 181 D) says that Eumelos and certain others said that Lycaon had a daughter named Callisto, while Hesiod makes her one of the nymphs. At first sight this seems to settle the question — Hesiod did not make Callisto the daughter of Lycaon. But Robert long ago pointed out that Apollodorus and Eratosthenes could have got their information

21) Robert decided, I think correctly, that the reference to the *Theogony* in the *Epitome* was not in Eratosthenes. In the scholia to Aratus Latinus (and therefore presumably in z) both the *Theogony* and *Works and Days* are mentioned. The scholia to Aratus himself are here drawn from another source, though they mention (and quote from) the *Works and Days*. It is possible that γ (the common source of the *Epitome* and z) had both references and that the *Epitome* dropped one of them.

22) Schol. Aratus 225 is surely right in saying that it was Eratosthenes himself who identified Ram and constellation.

from different poems²³). And 181D also shows that the Calisto-Lycaon liaison was forged early, so that Hesiod may well have known about it. The liaison is mentioned by the Arcadians in a dedicatory offering at Delphi; the offering is of course post-Hesiodic, but attests to a popular tradition on which Hesiod could have drawn (see Franz, p. 345). Again, the story of 181A — not merely the Lycaon-Callisto link — is alluded to by Euripides in the *Helen*²⁴). If Hesiod told a certain story about the daughter of Lycaon, and Euripides implies that such a story was told about Callisto, there is some likelihood that Hesiod called the daughter of Lycaon Callisto. Clearly none of these considerations would compel us to say that Hesiod did this, but they should, I think, urge us to trust Hyginus when he says so.

There is, moreover, reason to think that Hyginus got the information that Lycaon's daughter was Callisto directly from Eratosthenes. At the end of his account, he says that the Tegean historian Araethus told this same story not about Callisto but about Megisto:

Araethus autem Tegeates historiarum scriptor non Callisto, sed Megisto dicit appellatam, et non Lycaonis, sed Cetei filiam, Lycaonis neptem; praeterea Cetea ipsum Engonasin nominari. reliqua autem superioribus conueniunt.

It is hardly likely that it was Hyginus and not Eratosthenes who was familiar with the obscure Tegean historian. But, if Eratosthenes did not mention Callisto earlier, what did he say here? That Araethus says that she was *not nameless* but was called Megisto? It is highly improbable that Hyginus would do such violence to his source; where Hyginus can be tested, he is usually found very reliable, if not necessarily very intelligent. And if Eratosthenes used the word Callisto here, he was plainly content to imply that all that he had said before had been said

23) Preller-Robert — see note 5 — p. 304 n. 2. Earlier Robert put forward the view, adopted by Franz, that the names „Hesiod“ and „Eumelus“ had been interchanged in our texts of Apollodorus (*op. cit.* note 6). But this is highly unsatisfactory, because we have no control over what we assign to Eumelus; such a procedure can be countenanced only if what we know of Eumelus compels it, not merely if our ignorance of Eumelus permits it.

24) *Helen* 375 ff. Though the passage is obscure and corrupt, we can at least say that it refers to Callisto's having the form of a beast, and to her having slept with Zeus.

about Callisto. It is worth noting too that — apart from several other places — Hyginus uses the word *Callisto* at the end of 181B; *Iuppiter memor peccati ereptam Callisto cum filio inter sidera collocavit*. The Germanicus scholia have *utrosque* here and the Aratus Latinus scholia *eos* for *Callisto cum filio*; the Epitome and the Aratus scholia, *αὐτήν* (nonsensically, see note 11). If Hyginus had before him the word *ἀμφοτέρους* or the like, what possessed him to “clarify” it? But we know why the source of the other witnesses wanted to eliminate any reference to Callisto; it was adapting the story to an edition of Aratus.

It therefore seems safest to retain 181 A among the fragments of Hesiod, with Callisto as its heroine. Does it belong in the *Astronomy*? There are two obvious criteria to apply to this question: does 181 A contain elements which belong in the *Astronomy*, and does the *Astronomy* as we know it from other fragments contain elements closely resembling 181 A? The first of these questions must be answered *non liquet*; if we knew that the story of 181 A ended with a catasterism, we would have good reason to assign 181 A to the *Astronomy*, but we do not know how the story ends. The second question takes a little longer to answer, but the result is the same: what can be safely attributed to the poem does not tell us whether it contained stories of the Callisto variety. If, for example, Rzach were correct in assigning the story of Orion, with its catasterism, to the *Astronomy* (fragments 182—3), we would have a powerful argument for the analogous inclusion of the story of Callisto. But, as I shall now attempt to show, Rzach was not justified in doing this.

Fragment 183 is a passage from Diodorus:

Hesiod, the poet, says that while the sea (between Italy and Sicily) was open, Orion piled up the promontory lying below Peloris and established the sanctuary of Poseidon, especially honored by the inhabitants of this region. And when he had finished this, he removed to Euboea and dwelt there. And because of his fame, he was reckoned among the stars in heaven and obtained immortal renown. (4.84)

This is not necessarily a true catasterism, because Diodorus' words are vague enough to fit a poem which said no more than that people named the constellation after the dead hero. And

we have no good reason to say that this passage must refer to the *Astronomy*. In whatever poem it was told, it can have been connected in some way or other with the constellation; there seems no good reason why the *Catalogue*, for instance, could not have said that the stars in Orion were given their name in honor of the mighty hero whose story has just been recounted.

But actual catasterism, the taking of the hero into the sky to *become* the constellation, might perhaps be thought more appropriate to astronomical poetry than to a catalogue of women, since the catasteristic myths we know about seem to focus their interest on the constellation, tracing its early history and asking how it came to be there (though Pindar told of the catasterism of the Pleiades, Schol. *Nem.* 2.16). And fragment 182, as Rzach gives it, includes not only a true catasterism of Orion but also a myth which was shown very elegantly by K. O. Müller to have been derived from the movements of the stars, the story of Orion and Oenopion (*Rh. Mus.* 2 (1834) 1 ff.). We might expect to be safe in assigning such a story to the *Astronomy*; but as it turns out, we cannot even assign it to Hesiod. What we find in Hyginus is this:

Hunc Hesiodus Neptuni filium dicit ex Euryale Minois filia natum; concessum autem ei, ut supra fluctus curreret ut in terra, quemadmodum Iphiclo datum dicitur, ut supra aristas curreret neque eas infringeret ²⁵).

Aristomachus autem dicit quendam Hyriea fuisse Thebis, Pindarus autem in insula Chio. [There now follows the story of Orion's birth from the skin filled with the urine of the gods, ending with these words:] sed uenustate et consuetudine factum esse ut Orion uocaretur. Hic dicitur Thebis Chium uenisse . . .

After this there follows 182B, the story in which Orion becomes drunk, rapes Merope the daughter of Oenopion, ventures to the east with Cedalion on his shoulder, regains his sight, attempts unsuccessfully to avenge himself upon Oenopion, goes to Crete and eventually becomes a star. This story is assigned by Hyginus to no author. But the obvious inference from the fact that Orion is said to have come to Chios from Thebes is that the story was told by someone who located him at Thebes,

²⁵) The other witnesses concur in this except that the scholia to Aratus add that Orion's father gave him the gift of walking on water, and they all omit the reference to Iphiclus.

namely Aristomachus, who at least made his putative father a Theban; Hesiod apparently thought that Orion was a Cretan. The other witnesses of Eratosthenes omit the word *Thebis* in the sentence *hic dicitur Thebis Chium uenisse*. But this happened because their parent dropped it when it left out the interrupting reference to Pindar and Aristomachus and the story of Orion's birth from the urine of the gods²⁶). Fragment 182B has therefore been assigned to Hesiod for the same wrong reason as 181B: the poorer witnesses to Eratosthenes have omitted an important intervening reference. And here too there is corroboration; the Oenopion story fits the version quoted by Diodorus very badly. It makes no mention of the filling in of the straits of Messina or of Orion's retiring to Euboea; on the contrary, he goes to Crete from Chios and there becomes a star. According to Diodorus, Orion was reckoned among the stars because of his fame; according to Eratosthenes, he became a star because of his manliness and at the behest of Artemis and Leto. Hence the Oenopion story, 182B, should be struck from the fragments of Hesiod.

Orion's story, therefore, cannot safely be assigned to the *Astronomy*. On the other hand, the attestation of the fragments concerning the Pleiades and Hyades, 177—80, is secure, especially since the discovery of the Hebrew fragment concerning the Pleiades²⁷). But we cannot say that the *Astronomy* contained the *catasterism* of the Pleiades, though the case of the Hyades is somewhat more encouraging. We know the poem contained lines which make the Hyades "Nymphs like the Graces", and give them the qualities of earthly females: Phaeo is desirable, Eudora has a flowing robe (fragment 180). Now it is impossible that an astronomical poem should speak of the nymphs Hyades and not connect them with the stars; yet the *Astronomy* must have spoken of nymphs, for it is hard to see how a star can be called a nymph like the Graces or be said to wear a flowing robe. The fragment certainly suggests that the

26) The scholia to Germanicus and to Aratus Latinus put the material from Aristomachus at the end, which means that it was in *x*, the common source of all witnesses except Hyginus. It persisted at the end in *y* and *z*, but was ignored by the Epitomator and the Aratus scholia (or their common source).

27) See H. J. Kraus, H. Schmidt, W. Kranz, „Ein neues Hesiodfragment“, *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 95, 3 (1952) 217—228.

poem mentioned both nymphs and stars and drew a connection between them; possibly there was no more than a statement that the stars were a memorial to the nymphs, possibly there was a true catasterism.

The state of the evidence is therefore this: the *Astronomy* may well have had catasterisms, perhaps in a rudimentary form. Whether it told any long mythical narrative — in particular, the myth of Orion — we cannot say. We have therefore no good parallels to urge us to assign 181 A to the *Astronomy*, no good reason to assert that it does not belong there. The *Astronomy* probably mentioned the Bear: it may have called it that, or the Wain, or Helice, or Callisto; it may or may not have told a story about it. What we can say of fragment 181 A, on the other hand, is that it is Hesiodic, and it may or may not have continued with an ending identifying Callisto with Ursa Major. We can also say that it is incompatible with 181 D, which implies that Callisto was not Lycaon's daughter:

Eumelus and certain others say that Lycaon also had a daughter Callisto; but Hesiod says that she was one of the nymphs.

There is no reason to doubt the trustworthiness of the *Bibliothèque* here. The proper conclusion, Robert's conclusion (see note 5), is that Callisto appeared twice in the Hesiodic corpus. Before we can say anything about what poems she appeared in, we must examine the implications of another fact, that Lycaon too probably appeared twice in Hesiod.

We can see this from this incompatibility of 181 C and 44. The characteristic feature of 181 C is that it definitely intertwines the stories of Callisto and Lycaon, by giving Lycaon the motive that he wanted to repay Zeus for the rape of Callisto. Now we have other fragments related to the story of Lycaon, especially 44, which says that sons were born "to godlike Lycaon, whom Pelasgus once begot". The only myth we know of Lycaon and his sons is that he or they served a human being to Zeus, so that 44 quite probably derives from a telling of that myth (but not certainly, for the *Catalogue* admittedly *might* have mentioned only the genealogy of Lycaon). Now none of the sources which mention Lycaon's sons say a word about any vengeance taken for the rape of Callisto; in fact in these sources it is ordinarily the sons who are guilty of

preparing the human meal *and not Lycaon*²⁸). It is therefore highly probable that 44 and 181 C do not belong together, that in the Hesiodic corpus the story of Lycaon was told twice.

181 C and 181 A are at least compatible, since both make Callisto the daughter of Lycaon, while neither is compatible with 181 D (which makes Callisto a nymph), and 181 C, as we have just seen, conflicts with 44. To avoid the unlikely assumption that Callisto appeared three times in the corpus, it seems best to assign 181 A and 181 C to the same poem; after Callisto's own tale was told, the author wove in the story of Lycaon by saying, in the words of Lactantius, that Lycaon in grief over the rape of his daughter served up human flesh to Zeus. We can then keep 44 in the *Catalogue*²⁹), and with it put 181 D, though we must make it clear that whatever story the *Catalogue* told about Callisto was not connected with the story of Lycaon; 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*³⁰).

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28) For the sources see note 16. It is highly probable that the sons of Lycaon are brought into the myth in order to save their father's reputation. In the original cult myth Lycaon's sacrifice will of course have been perfectly consonant with his being a righteous king.

29) Even if I am wrong in giving the words φθίσραντος αὐτήν Διός οὐ προσποιησάμενος in 181 C to Hesiod (see note 15), we can hardly separate καὶ τὸ βρέφος κατακόψας from the citation; this still means that there were two Hesiodic Lycaon stories, one in which the king, the other in which the sons were guilty. It is, of course, not *certain* that of the two Hesiodic versions of Lycaon and Callisto, at least one of each belongs to the *Catalogue*. But considering that Callisto's affair with Zeus constitutes an ἤ σέη, it seems likely that she belongs there; and I am not disposed to dispute at this point the apparently universal opinion that Lycaon does too.

30) In Pherecydes we again find Lycaon and his sons side by side with a Callisto who is not his daughter, though she is not a nymph either, but the daughter of Ceteus.