

way in which it is presented there, probably owing to its being part of a propaganda device, is intelligible in its context, whereas the hypothesis concerning the intention to revive the political significance of the four old Ionian tribes lacks support both in the context and in historical probability.

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## HERAKLES, JASON AND 'PROGRAMMATIC' SIMILES IN APOLLONIUS RHODIUS' *ARGONAUTICA*

In the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius Jason has to defeat the earth-born giants in order to get the golden fleece; after that he has to find a way to deal with the huge snake which guards the fleece. Herakles, like Jason, has to perform the same feats: he has to fight the earth-born giants Hera set on the way of the Argonauts and to get the golden apples of the Hesperides which are guarded by a dragon. This parallel provides the starting point of this paper. Apollonius employs certain patterns of imagery in these corresponding pairs of episodes, patterns based on the antithesis between Homeric and non-Homeric imagery. He uses non-Homeric similes for Herakles while for Jason he employs both non-Homeric and Homeric similes<sup>1</sup>). Nevertheless the Heraklean

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1) For Homeric similes in the *Argonautica* see E. G. Wilkins, A Classification of the Similes in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius, CW 14 (1920–21) 162–166. Apollonius' use of simile in comparison to Homer's is discussed by J. E. Carspecken, Apollonius and Homer, YCS 13 (1952) 58 ff. See also H. Färber, Zur dichterischen Kunst in Apollonios Rhodios' *Argonautica* (Die Gleichnisse) (Diss. Berlin 1932), H. P. Drögemüller, Die Gleichnisse im hellenistischen Epos (Diss. Hamburg 1956) esp. 198 ff. and W. D. Anderson, Notes on the Simile in Homer and his Successors, CJ 53 (1957) 81–87. For the use of similes in Hellenistic poetry see N. A. Cistjakova, A propos de l'emploi des comparaisons dans l' époque Hellenistique (Argonautiques d'Apollonios de Rhodes), VLU 8 (1962) 111–120 and A. W. James, Some Examples of Imitation in the Similes of Later Greek Epic, Antichthon 3 (1969) 77–90. A semiotic approach to the similes of Apollonius is

non-Homeric similes are large-scale similes while in the case of Jason the non-Homeric similes assume smaller dimensions. There are certain verbal indications that in the Jason episodes the antithesis between the large dimensions of the Homeric similes and the small dimensions of the non-Homeric similes can be evaluated in terms of Callimachean poetics<sup>2</sup>). These indications could lead into a neat equation between “small” and “Callimachean” which implies the rejection of the epic, bombastic “large”; Apollonius however makes such an equation impossible not only by attributing non-Homeric imagery to Herakles, a figure diametrically opposite to Jason, but also by concealing in the non-Homeric similes references to Homeric imagery<sup>3</sup>). The fact that both large-scale and

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taken by S. A. Nimis, *Narrative Semiotics in the Epic Tradition* (Indiana 1987) 100 ff. For the function of similes in the narrative of the *Argonautica* see Färber 29 ff. and M. Fusillo, *Il tempo delle Argonautiche* (Roma 1985) 327–341.

2) For the nature of Callimachean poetics see the discussions in G. O. Hutchinson, *Hellenistic Poetry* (Oxford 1988) 26 ff. and especially 79–84 and M. Heath, *Unity in Greek Poetics* (Oxford 1989) 56 ff. For the theoretical debate, most probably centered around the Aristotelian poetic principles, in which Callimachus participated see K. O. Brink, *Callimachus and Aristotle: An Inquiry into Callimachus' Πρὸς Πραξιφάνην*, CQ 40 (1946) 11–26, R. Pfeiffer, *A History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford 1968) 88 and 137, S. Koster, *Antike Epötheorien, Palingenesia* 5 (Wiesbaden 1968) 120–122 and Heath 59 ff. On Apollonius and the Aristotelian poetic principles see E. Eichgrün, *Kallimachos und Apollonios Rhodios* (Diss. Berlin 1961) 82 ff. and Heath 65–67.

In what follows I assume that Callimachus attacked not only the Homeric “epigons” but also Homer himself (cf. M. Poliakoff, *Nectar, Springs and the Sea: Critical Terminology in Pindar and Callimachus*, ZPE 39 [1980] 46). F. Williams, *Callimachus Hymn to Apollo. A Commentary* (Oxford 1978) 85–89 excludes Homer from Callimachus’ opponents by distinguishing between πόντος = Homer and Ἀσσυρίου ποταμοῦ μέγας ὄρος = imitators of Homer in *Hymn. Ap.* 106–109 (the same point has been made by Koster 119, not mentioned by Williams). Williams tries to support the above distinction by appealing to passages, later than the age of Callimachus, which identify Oceanus with Homer (for objections to this equation see A. Köhnken, *Apollo’s Retort to Envy’s Criticism*, AJP 102 [1981] 414–416). The distinction between river and Oceanus is objectionable because for the Greek Oceanus was a river from which all other rivers sprang; see R. B. Onians, *The Origins of European Thought* (Cambridge 1951) 247–248.

3) The choice of similes as a vehicle for literary theory seems to be ingrained in Alexandrian philology. It has been suggested that Apollonius’ use of similes reflects issues current in the Homeric scholarship of his era. See A. Clausen, *Kritik und Exegese der homerischen Gleichnisse im Altertum* (Parchim 1913) 3 ff. and 28–59, Carspecken (above, note 1) 66 and 74 and Nimis (above, note 1) 106 and 110. Note also that Williams (above, note 2) 88 relates the crucial end of Callimachus’ *Hymn to Apollo* to philological discussions in the Alexandrian scholarly circles about the authenticity of Il. 21. 195. This practice parallels the predilection of Hellenistic poets for rare Homeric words and variants which do not appear in the Homeric *textus receptus*; see Pfeiffer (above, note 2) 139–140 and G. Gian

small-scale non-Homeric similes are unified by Homeric reminiscences suggests the following questions: what is the relation between Herakles' imagery and Jason's imagery in these corresponding pair of episodes? If in the Jason episodes the non-Homeric similes of small dimensions are related to Callimachean poetics, what do Herakles' similes represent in terms of poetics?

Herakles' fight against the earth-born giants of Dindymon<sup>4</sup>) (1. 985–1011) is accidentally related to the Argonautic expedition: the fight was brought about by Hera as just another ἄθλος of Herakles (1. 996–997) and thus it belongs to another course of action that happened to cross the action proper to Apollonius' narrative. It is interesting that Herakles' ἄθλος at the sacred grove of the Hesperides is again accidentally related to the main course of the narrative but both in Dindymon and in Libya these accidents propel the narration forward: in Dindymon Herakles clears up the way while in Libya he provides the Argonauts with water. The fight at Dindymon ends with a simile that does not occur in Homer: the carcasses of the giants, floating on the water or fallen on the shore with parts of their bodies hidden under the water, are compared to beams stretched in rows on the sea-shore (1. 1003–1010)<sup>5</sup>). The beams are going to be used for ship-building and this provides a link with a Homeric simile where fallen warriors are compared with trees cut for ship-building (Il. 13. 389–391). Although Apollonius used a non-Homeric simile, he carefully inserted a reference to Homeric imagery.

At the antipodes of that "little" Heraklean ἄθλος stands Jason's fight against the earth-born giants (3. 1350–1404). Like their Heraklean counterparts, Jason's earth-borns are related to a course of action external to Apollonius' narrative: the Theban saga (3. 1176–1190)<sup>6</sup>). The fight falls into two parts: the giants first slay

grande, *Hellenistic Poetry and Homer*, AC 39 (1970) 46–77. For the rhetorical-literary theory that underlines the treatment of similes in the Homeric scholia see Heath (above, note 2) 102–108 (the relationship between Apollonius and the Homeric scholia is examined by H. Erbse, *Homerscholien und hellenistische Glossare bei Apollonios Rhodios*, *Hermes* 81 [1953] 163–196).

4) It is noteworthy that Apollodorus does not mention that ἄθλος.

5) See Färber (above, note 1) 33. For verbal reminiscences of Homer in this simile see M. Campbell, *Echoes and Imitations of Early Epic in Apollonius Rhodius*, *Mnemosyne Suppl.* 72 (Leiden 1981) 18. For fallen warriors compared to trees in Homeric battle similes see Fränkel, *Die homerischen Gleichnisse* (Göttingen 1921) 35, B. Fenik, *Typical Battle Scenes in the Iliad*, *Hermes Einzelschriften* 21 (Wiesbaden 1968) 126 and T. Krischer, *Formale Konventionen der homerischen Epik* (München 1975) 72–75.

6) For the story of the dragon teeth see the ancient scholia on this passage.

each other (3. 1350–1376) and then Jason falls upon them to deliver the final blow (3. 1376–1404). In the first part Apollonius employs similes borrowed primarily from Homer<sup>7</sup>). A close look at these Homeric similes reveals interesting and subtle effects. Jason, like Idomeneus in the *Iliad* (13. 470–475) is compared to a boar sharpening his teeth (3. 1351–1353) but Idomeneus, says Homer, was not afraid of the enemy like a child, while Jason was upset at Aetes' requirement to face the giants. The giants are compared to stars as they are sprouting out of the earth (3. 1359–1363); Homer uses this serene simile to mark the end of a battle (Il. 8. 555–559) whereas Apollonius uses it for the beginning of a fight. The Colchians shout like the roaring of the sea (3. 1370–1371)<sup>8</sup>), a simile Homer uses in contexts either of an ἀγογή (Il. 2. 209–210 and 394–397)<sup>9</sup>) or of a battle (Il. 14. 394–395 and 17. 263–266). Apollonius combined the two different Homeric contexts since he used this simile for an ἀγογή watching a fight. At that point of his narrative Apollonius inserts a non-Homeric simile: the giants slay each other like dogs (3. 1373–1375)<sup>10</sup>). A non-Homeric simile is perfectly appropriate for a scene totally foreign to Homer – a deadly, irrational fight between monstrous earth-born brothers. This non-Homeric simile is immediately followed by a Homeric simile (cf. Il. 4. 482–486, 5. 560 and 13. 389–391; for a wind-blown tree see Il. 17. 53–58) : the dead giants fall like wind-blown trees (3. 1375–1376). It is obvious that for Apollonius the shifting to a Homeric scene (falling warriors) demands Homeric imagery<sup>11</sup>).

The first part of the fight is dominated by Homeric imagery which Apollonius integrates into his own context. The single non-Homeric simile prepares the way to the second part where non-Homeric similes dominate. The transition takes place smoothly through a Homeric simile: Jason falls upon the fighting groups of giants like a meteor (3. 1377–1380; cf. Il. 4. 75–78, 5.5–6 and 11.62–65)<sup>12</sup>). The transition from Homeric imagery to non-Homeric imagery can be viewed as a transition from large-scale

7) The similes in Jason's fight against the Earthborns are discussed by Färber (above, note 1) 52–58.

8) See Färber (above, note 1) 6.

9) For these two similes see C. Moulton, *Similes in the Homeric Poems, Hypomnemata* 49 (Göttingen 1977) 40–41.

10) On dog similes in the *Argonautica* see Drögemüller (above, note 1) 35 ff.

11) For the accumulation of similes in Apollonius see Carspecken (above, note 1); cf. Moulton (above, note 9) for accumulation of similes in Homer.

12) See also Färber (above, note 1) 13–15. The use of star-similes in the *Argonautica* is discussed by Carspecken (above, note 1) 97–98. For star-similes in

imagery to small-scale imagery. The second part of the fight has two non-Homeric similes which compare the dead giants to crops (3. 1386–1391 and 1399–1404) while in the Homeric similes of the first part they were compared to trees. The transition from large-scale to small-scale coincides with Jason's intervention in the fight. The same effect is employed by Apollonius in Jason's taking of the golden fleece.

The antithesis between Homeric and non-Homeric imagery is not as sharp as it seems at first, because Apollonius builds non-Homeric imagery upon certain elements from the Homeric repertoire. The crops of the non-Homeric small-scale similes appear in a Homeric simile comparing slaughter to reaping (Il. 11. 67–69) and the first Homeric part of the fight is permeated by crop-imagery (see for example 3. 1338, 1354 and 1382). Furthermore, the final non-Homeric simile, apart from the reaping imagery, seems to have incorporated a unique simile from the *Iliad* (8. 306 ff.)<sup>13</sup>; Apollonius simply shifts the point of reference creating a totally different simile of his own. Thus it is better to think about this antithesis between Homeric large-scale imagery and non-Homeric small-scale imagery as a complementary one. In Jason's case the small-scale imagery is built upon Homeric elements while in Herakles' case it is the large-scale imagery that draws upon Homeric predecessors. Furthermore, Herakles' large-scale simile, related to Homeric imagery though it might be, lacks an "expressed" reference to Homeric similes in contrast with Jason's similes which are clearly juxtaposed with Homeric similes.

The second pair of corresponding Herakles-Jason episodes are their confrontations with huge snakes. Jason's episode (4. 109–182) starts with an apparently non-Homeric simile of large dimensions: the golden fleece, shining like a *νεφέλη* under the light of the rising sun, rests upon an immense oak-tree (4. 124–126)<sup>14</sup>. The closing passage of the episode comprises a group of similes (4.

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the *Iliad* see Moulton (above, note 9) 24–27 and Similes in the *Iliad*, *Hermes* 102 (1974) 392–394.

13) Stesichorus imitated this Iliadic simile in his *Geryoneis*; see A. D. Maingon, *Epic Convention in Stesichorus' Geryoneis*: SLG S15, *Phoenix* 34 (1980) 106–107. Stesichorus used the simile for a wounded monster, Geryon, and since Apollonius uses it for wounded or dead monsters and the *Geryoneis* must have been one of his sources (see below, note 44), it is possible that the Apollonian simile comes not directly from the *Iliad* but from the *Geryoneis*.

14) On this simile see A. W. James, *Apollonius Rhodius and his Sources*: Interpretative Notes on the *Argonautica*, *Corolla Londiniensis* (Amsterdam 1981) 77.

167–177). The first simile is again non-Homeric but one of small dimensions: Jason raises the golden fleece like a maiden holding a λεπταλέος ἑανός against the full moon (4. 167–171)<sup>15</sup>). As in the giants episode, the shifting from the large scale to the small scale is represented by Apollonius in terms of Jason's interfering with the fleece: while the fleece per se is described in large-scale imagery (νεφέλη simile), when Jason takes it Apollonius employs small-scale imagery (ἑανός simile) although he carefully reminds us of the real dimensions of the fleece (μέγα κῶας, 4. 171). Sandwiched between these two non-Homeric similes are two similes of large dimensions borrowed from Homer. Apollonius uses again the effect of the Homeric similes for the needs of his own context. The spiraling rings of smoke to which the snake's huge trailing body is compared (4. 139–144) bring to mind two impressive passages from the *Iliad* where the fear and the havoc that Achilles, the fearsome hero par excellence, inflicts upon the Trojans are described through similar similes (18. 207 ff. and 21. 522 ff.)<sup>16</sup>). Thus Apollonius invokes the extreme Iliadic fear in his description of the horror caused by the monstrous guard of the fleece. When the monster is gradually being put to sleep by Medea it is compared to soundless sea-waves (4. 152–153); this simile is not only an imitation of Il. 14. 16–22<sup>17</sup>) but it can also be conceived as an inversion of the Homeric similes where the sea roars (cf. Il. 2. 209–210 and 394–397, 14. 394–395, 17. 263–266). This soothing simile, in contrast with the previous one referring to the dragon's enormity, suspends the use of Homeric large-scale imagery, bringing forth non-Homeric small-scale imagery (ἑανός simile).

The revealed symmetry is remarkable: two non-Homeric similes refer to the golden fleece and move from large dimensions to small dimensions. These similes frame two Homeric similes which refer to the guard and move from large dimensions to small dimensions. In the fight of Jason against the giants, large-scale Homeric similes were juxtaposed with small-scale non-Homeric

15) See James (above, note 14) 78–79.

16) James (above, note 14) 77–78 considers the five Homeric similes of forest fire (Il. 2. 455–456, 11. 155–157, 14. 396–397, 15. 605–606, 20. 490–492) as the model of this Apollonian simile and he discards the Achillean similes because “the main purpose of these similes is quite different from the simile in question”.

17) The Homeric simile is actually used to describe Nestor's inability to decide whether he should meet Agamemnon or join the other Achaeans; see Moulton (above, note 9) 24. Apollonius used the same simile for a similar state of ambivalence: the dragon was being put to sleep, its body relaxing under the chanting, nevertheless it still tried to attack Jason and Medea raising its head (4. 150–155).

similes. Here non-Homeric similes enclose Homeric similes and both sets shift from large dimensions to small dimensions. It will be provisionally assumed that this symmetrical structure underlines the unity between the "large Homeric" and the "small non-Homeric". To prove this proposition it should become apparent that references to Homeric imagery relate the "non-Homeric large and small" to the "Homeric large and small" as it happens in Jason's fight against the giants. This question ties up to another important point. The enclosing set of similes seems to challenge the conclusion from Jason's fight against the giants that the shifting from large dimensions to small dimensions is carried through a shifting from Homeric to non-Homeric imagery. One should expect a Homeric introductory simile instead of the non-Homeric *νεφέλη* simile. In Herakles' ἄθλος at Dindymon Apollonius used a non-Homeric large-scale simile which was built upon Homeric imagery and he did the same, although with a non-Homeric small-scale simile, in Jason's fight against the giants. An application of the same technique here would be necessary in order to create the above symmetrical structure which emphasizes the essential unity between the "Homeric large" and the "non-Homeric small".

The first simile in Jason's confrontation with the snake guard compares the golden fleece to a *νεφέλη*. *Νεφέλαι* in Homeric imagery are represented either as enshrouding mountain peaks (Il. 5. 522 and 16. 298, Od. 12. 73–74) or as bright-colored "protecting" cloaks (Il. 5. 186, 14. 350, 15. 308, 17. 551, 20. 150) or as the darkness of sorrow (Il. 18. 22 and Od. 24. 315) and sorrowful anger (Il. 17. 591); in only one case *νεφέλη* does denote the darkness of death (Il. 20. 417). Now, the Apollonian *νεφέλη* rests upon an oak-tree of huge dimensions resembling similar high-altitude settings of the Homeric *νεφέλαι*. Furthermore, since in Homer a bright-colored *νεφέλη* functions as a garment or cloak, it is reasonable that Apollonius chose to compare the fleece to a *νεφέλη* in the first simile and to a *ξανός* in the second simile. It shall be discussed later, in connection with Herakles, how Apollonius alludes to the other two components of the Homeric *νεφέλη*, darkness of sorrow/anger and darkness of death. For the time being what matters is that Apollonius includes Homeric reminiscences into his own system of imagery thus reaffirming the conclusions that the shifting from Homeric to non-Homeric imagery is really paralleled by a shifting from large-scale imagery to small-scale imagery.

It has already been said that the closing moon simile is the first part of a simile complex. After the comparison of Jason hold-

ing the fleece to a maiden holding a λεπταλέος ἑάνός against the full moon, Apollonius proceeds to compare the fineness of the fleece's golden wool to the fineness of the wool of either a yearling heifer or deer (4. 174–177). Since the ἑάνός is made out of fine wool, it is obvious that the second simile actually continues the first one. The first simile focuses on the reflection of moonlight upon the surface of the golden fleece and the second one describes the material of that surface that causes the reflection.

Let us look more closely at the verbal material out of which these small-scale non-Homeric similes are woven. The ἑάνός is λεπταλέος (4. 169), an adjective Callimachus used to describe his own Muse (Aet. fr. 1. 24) and the extremely fine wool of the fleece is described by the word ἄωτον which Callimachus used to denote again the fineness of his poetry (Hymn. Ap. 112). Apollonius used ἄωτον in its original meaning of “fine wool” while Callimachus applied the word metaphorically to a tiny drop (λιβάς) of a holy fountain (πίδαξ)<sup>18</sup>. In the Argonauts' encounter with the Hesperides these words appear in the same imagistic environment as ἄωτον, a non-Homeric small-scale simile (4. 1451, 1454 and 1456). Thus Apollonius seems to have “sprinkled” references to Callimachean imagery over similar contexts as he did with reminiscences of Homeric imagery in the context of the νεφέλη/ἑάνός similes<sup>19</sup>).

The Callimachean reminiscences in the non-Homeric small-scale similes which close this episode offer a basis for a better understanding of what precedes these similes. Both λεπταλέος and

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18) For ἄωτον see Williams (above, note 2) 95–96 and Poliakoff (above, note 2) 41–42.

19) The interpretation of λεπταλέος and ἄωτον as allusions to Callimachean poetics is not unjustified. These words refer to key-notions of Callimachean poetics and their presence in small-scale non-Homeric similes which are juxtaposed with large-scale Homeric ones suggests poetological concerns. Moreover the language of this simile shows a feature which is unmistakably Hellenistic: words rare in earlier poetry and *hapax legomena* in Apollonius. ἀχαινή (4. 175) occurs only in an epigram of Phalaecus (A. G. 165. 22). Eustathius (Il. 2. 575. 4) talks about the difficulties this word caused to the interpreters and it is obvious that he refers to this passage from Apollonius (Eustathius' passage is not quoted by E. Livrea, *Argonauticon Liber Quartus* [Firenze 1973] 63–64). For the original meaning of the word see the scholia on Arg. 4. 175. A slightly different version of ἀχαινή occurs in Aristotle's H.A. 506 a 24 and 611 b 18. The learned obscurity of the word is a perfect example of the Hellenistic indulging in uncommon vocabulary. Before Apollonius the word λῆνος (4. 177), “wool”, occurs only in Aesch. Eu. 44. The word ἀγρωστής (4. 175) meaning “hunter” occurs only in Apollonius (see also Livrea 63).

ἄωτον refer to the small-scale Callimachean poetry, diametrically opposite to a poetry which indulges in harsh, donkey-like sounds. The monstrous guardian of the λεπταλέος fleece keeps producing terrible, deafening sounds (4. 129–144) and it is noteworthy that, in order to describe this monstrous sound, Apollonius used a Homeric simile referring to Achilles, the most prominent example of an epic hero (4. 139–144; cf. Il. 18. 207–213). The suspicion that the anti-Callimachean roaring of the dragon and the reference to traditional epic allude to the kind of poetry despised by Callimachus is reinforced by the use of the word κύκλα to describe the spiraling body of the dragon (4. 151 and 161). The number of these κύκλα is huge (4. 151 and 160) like the lines of the cyclic poetry Callimachus scorned (cf. Aet. fr. 1.4 and Epigr. 30. 1)<sup>20</sup>) and this suggestive “cyclic” imagery is repeated in the Homeric simile which describes the dragon’s un-Callimachean sound (στροφάλιγγες 4. 140). Nevertheless, Apollonius chose to emphasize the link between the “large Homeric” and the “small non-Homeric” by inserting into the latter reminiscences of the former. This link seems to be reflected in the application of the verb ἐλίσσειν, which Callimachus used to describe the dainty nature of his own poetry (Aet. fr. 1.5), to the κύκλα of the dragon’s body (4. 145) and to the “spiraling” sound it produces (4. 140).

Thus an interesting possibility emerges: the movement from Homeric imagery to non-Homeric imagery can be conceived as a shifting from Homeric to Hellenistic and specifically Callimachean imagery where “Callimachean” means “programmatic”. But since the small-scale non-Homeric simile which expresses the “Callimachean” is built upon Homeric imagery, there is no tension between the old and the new, the Homeric and the Hellenistic. Consequently any kind of Callimachean scornful dichotomy disappears. Apollonius does admit discrete parts in the literary history but he also emphasizes their continuity. The Callimachean principles are considered as a natural stage in the poetic evolution, not as something totally opposite to the predecessors.

Let us return to the question that has already been stated above: if in the Jason episodes the Callimachean “small” is derived from the Homeric “large”, where does the Heraklean “large” stand in relation to this complex?

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20) The term “cyclic” in the context of Callimachean literary theory is discussed by T. M. Klein, Callimachus, Apollonius Rhodius and the Concept of the Big Book, *Eranos* 73 (1975) 23–24.

Herakles' encounter with the snake-guard at the sacred grove of the Hesperides is given indirectly through the narration of Aegle, one of the nymphs (4. 1432–1449)<sup>21</sup>). Aegle's narrative is outside the dramatic time of the main narrative of the *Argonautica*, another subtle indication that Herakles actually does not belong to the poem<sup>22</sup>). Nevertheless it is the same nymph who provides a close link between the temporally (and narratively) remote Herakles and the Argonauts: Herakles created water to satisfy his immense thirst and now this Heraklean water is going to quench the thirst of the Argonauts (4. 1432). Herakles drank avidly like a beast (4. 1449), a non-Homeric large-scale simile. This simile marks the end of Aegle's enclosed and temporally distinct narrative.

The shifting to the main course of the narrative starts with two small-scale similes describing the Argonauts as they drink water from the Heraklean fountain: they swarm around the fountain like ants swarming into a narrow passway (4. 1452–1453) or like flies swarming around a small honey-drop (4. 1453–1455). The first of these similes is non-Homeric while the second is a modified Homeric simile (Il. 2. 469–473 and 16. 641–644: flies swarming around milk-pails)<sup>23</sup>).

Apollonius again represented the shifting from the large-scale to the small-scale similes in terms of the Argonauts' intervention. The ἀθρόον ὕδωρ which Herakles drank shrinks into a λίβα when the Argonauts drink it as they “shrink” from the beast Herakles is compared to into insects. The small-scale imagery is structured in a very significant way: a Homeric simile is complemented by a non-Homeric one and the whole is tightened by means of allusions to Callimachean poetics as will become apparent in the next paragraph. The essential unity between Homeric large-scale and non-Homeric small-scale imagery which was already present in Jason's

21) See C. R. Beye, *Epic and Romance in the Argonautica of Apollonius* (Southern Illinois University Press 1982) 149.

22) For Herakles in the *Argonautica* see A. Ardizzoni, *L' Eracle semnos nel poema di Apollonio* (Catania 1937), J. Adamietz, *Jason und Hercules in den Epen des Apollonios Rhodios und Valerius Flaccus*, *A&A* 16 (1970) 29–38, D. N. Levin, *Apollonius' Heracles*, *CJ* 67 (1971) 22–28, Fusillo (above, note 1) 44–51 and D. C. Feeney, *Following after Hercules in Vergil and Apollonius*, *PVS* 18 (1987) 47–85.

23) For this pair of similes see Färber (above, note 1) 22–23 and the interesting discussion in Carspecken (above, note 1) who notes here Apollonius' breaking away from the Homeric use of alternative similes. For an analysis of insect-similes in the *Argonautica* see Drögemüller (above, note 1) 58 ff.

confrontation with the giants and the snake-guard is here completely predominant. It is therefore clear that the complementary antithesis between the Homeric and the non-Homeric imagery is juxtaposed with the Heraklean large-scale imagery.

The complex of Apollonian and Homeric imagery formed by the two similes seems to be permeated and unified by Callimachean programmatic reminiscences<sup>24</sup>). Through the intervention of the Argonauts Apollonius transforms the Heraklean ἀθρόον ὕδωρ (4. 1446), which resembles the Ἀσσυρίου ποταμοῖο μέγας ῥόος (Call., Hymn. Ap. 108), into a πίδαξ (4. 1451 and 1456); in the first non-Homeric simile the πίδαξ is compared to a στεινὴν χηραμόν (4. 1452)<sup>25</sup>) (wherein ants εἰλίσσονται) and in the second modified Homeric simile to ὀλίγην μέλιτος γλυκεροῦ λίβα (4. 1454). All these λεπταλέαι words appear in crucial programmatic pieces by Callimachus (πίδαξ: Hymn. Ap. 112<sup>26</sup>), στεινός: Aet. fr. 1. 28, ἐλίσσειν: Aet. fr. 1. 5, ὀλίγη λιβάς: Hymn. Ap. 112) and it seems that their presence here might be more than a mere coincidence<sup>27</sup>). Apollonius modified the Homeric simile in an indicative way<sup>28</sup>): he put flies swarming around honey instead of milk and, apart

24) This effect seems to agree with Carspecken (above, note 1) 82 who emphasizes that “in this pair of similes, although each part could, conceivably, stand by itself, it is in the combination of parts that the effect of the simile lies . . .”.

25) χηραμός is a Homeric *hapax legomenon* (Il. 21. 495) and use of such words in Hellenistic poetry is a way of alluding to Homer; see Giangrande (above, note 3) 48. For an analysis of the way in which Apollonius employs Homeric language in these two insect-similes see Drögemüller (above, note 1) 221 ff.

26) It is important that πίδαξ is a Homeric *hapax legomenon* with which Callimachus is experimenting here as Theocritus does in Id. 7. 142. See Williams (above, note 2) 95. Apollonius uses the same Homeric *hapax legomenon* in an insect simile which seems to draw on and allude to the entomological imagery employed by both Callimachus and Theocritus in the context of their πίδαξ. This assumption is further strengthened by the presence of ὀλίγην μέλιτος γλυκεροῦ λίβα. For λιβάς see Williams (above, note 2) 95, E. Reitzenstein, Zur Stiltheorie des Kallimachos, in: Festschrift R. Reitzenstein (Leipzig–Berlin 1931) 54 and Livrea (above, note 19) 187 and 410.

27) Färber (above, note 1) 22 note 1 denies any relationship of the Apollonian ὀλίγη λιβάς with Hymn. Ap. 112. For verbal similarities in Callimachus and Apollonius see F. Wehrli, Apollonios von Rhodos und Kallimachos, *Hermes* 76 (1941) 14–21, C. Corbato, Riprese Callimachee in Apollonio Rhodio (Trieste 1955) and Eichgrün (above, note 2) 11 ff.

28) This is a perfect example of “Änderung”; see G. Giangrande, ‘Arte Allusiva’ and Alexandrian Epic Poetry, *CQ* n. s. 17 (1967) 85 and (above, note 3) 46–47. The Homeric simile in question has strong epic connotations since it is used for an army restless for fight. See Moulton (above, note 9) 30. The relationship between the Homeric and the Apollonian simile is emphasized by the presence of μέμα in both of them (Il. 2. 473 and Ar. 4. 1455).

from Callimachus' own Μέλισσαι (Hymn. Ap. 110), the traditional relation of honey and bees to poetry is poetologically significant<sup>29</sup>). Thus if he really meant to frame both his own simile and the Homeric simile in terms indicative of Callimachean poetics, he emphasized the strong bonds between the old and the new. But what about Herakles? Are the "large dimensions" of the Heraklean imagery opposite to the organic complex of old and new in a pejorative sense that leads into a Callimachean equation of μέγα and κακόν?<sup>30</sup>) This conclusion seems very doubtful. Not only does the Heraklean fountain strikingly resemble Hippokrene<sup>31</sup>), not only are the Argonauts constantly in need of Herakles throughout the poem<sup>32</sup>), but they also drink from what is actually despicable by Callimachean standards, namely a "public" fountain.

After they drunk from Herakles' fountain, the Argonauts searched for Herakles but they could not find him. Only Lynceus caught a vague glimpse of Herakles – he saw the hero (or at least so he imagined) like the elusive new moon wrapt up in mist (4. 1477–1480). This mystifying simile marks Herakles' final exit from the narrative of the *Argonautica*. The simile does not occur in Homer but since the poet used a non-Homeric moon simile before for Jason, one is tempted to wonder about any possible connections between these two moon similes. Jason's ἐάνος/moon simile

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29) For the Callimachean Μέλισσαι see Pfeiffer (above, note 2) 284 and Williams (above, note 2) 92–94. Callimachus characterized Mimnermus as γλυκύς (Aet. fr. 1. 11) because of his κατὰ λεπτόν [θήσιες] (restoration by Rostagni) (Aet. fr. 1. 12); see K. Töchterle, Die Μεγάλη Γυνή des Mimnermus bei Kallimachus, WS NF 123 (1980) 233. Callimachus makes the same point in Aet. fr. 1. 15–16 for which see Heath (above, note 2) 57. Poliakoff (above, note 2) 42 suggests that Callimachus' use of honey in his literary polemics is drawn from Pindar's honey-imagery in literary contexts. Callimachus' entomological imagery in the prologue of his *Aetia* includes cicadas for which see the discussion in G. Crane, Tithonus and the Prologue to Callimachus' *Aetia*, ZPE 66 (1986) 272–275.

30) As is obvious from the context, I take the term μέγα as having connotations of magnitude pace Klein (above, note 20); see Töchterle (above, note 29) 229 note 17.

31) Cf. the way in which Herakles creates the spring (4. 1446) with Callimachus, Aet. fr. 2. 4. The "insect-like" Callimachus in Aet. fr. 1. 29 ff. appears to feed on a δρόσος which clearly resembles the λιβάς of the *Hymn to Apollo*. That the latter passage alludes to Hippokrene is noted by G. Giangrande, Das Dichten des Kallimachos im mittleren und hohen Alter, *Hermes* 96 (1968) 722 note 2. For water-imagery in the terminology of Callimachus see Williams (above, note 2) 86–89, Poliakoff (above, note 2) 41 ff. and A. Kambylis, Die Dichterweihe und ihre Symbolik (Heidelberg 1965) 110 ff.

32) For instances see A. Köhnken, Apollonios Rhodios und Theokrit, *Hypomnemata* 12 (Göttingen 1965) 39 note 3.

is intrinsically connected with the *νεφέλη* simile that precedes it and the functions of *νεφέλη* in the Homeric imagery include *νεφέλη* as representing the darkness of death only in one case. In this case *νεφέλη* is perfectly equivalent to *ἀχλύς*, a word denoting the darkness of death<sup>33</sup>). Now since the new moon Herakles is compared to *ἑπαχλύουσα* we are justified in claiming that Apollonius cunningly created a thread through the sun simile and the *ἑανός*/moon simile in Jason's taking of the golden fleece on the one hand and the moon simile in the final disappearance of Herakles on the other. Although the above conclusion appears solely based on a formal argument that does not take into account whether the word *ἑπαχλύουσα* has connotations of death in this particular context, it will become apparent in the next paragraph that the word does possess the connotations necessary for the completion of the argument. The line of imagery which has been set up in the *νεφέλη* simile goes through Jason's *ἑανός*/moon simile to the moon simile that marks Herakles' final disappearance from the *Argonautica*. The beginning of the line relates to Jason's stealing the golden fleece from a grove guarded by a dragon while the end is marked by Herakles' stealing the golden apples of the Hesperides; the action takes place again in a grove protected by a dragon.

Thus it seems that the presentation of Apollonius' Herakles is not totally unrelated to that of Homeric heroes – the same conclusion has been reached in the analysis of the simile which marks the end of Herakles' *ἄθλος* at Dindymon. Nevertheless, his comparison to a misty, vaguely discerned new moon seems to be an inversion of a unique Homeric simile where the moon appears gloriously crowned by stars after the sky has cleared up (Il. 8. 555–559). But how is Herakles' relation to Homeric imagery to be evaluated? The simile of his final disappearance from the narrative points quite clearly to death. Beside the connotations of the word *ἑπαχλύουσα* there are two other indications pointing in the same direction. Lynceus, the Argonaut who caught that vague glimpse of Herakles, was introduced in the catalog of the first book as a person whose sight could reach even the underworld (1. 154–155). Furthermore, it is noteworthy that Vergil used a version of this simile in his description of the underworld (Aen. 6. 452–454)<sup>34</sup>), so he might very well have believed that Apollonius somehow

33) Cf. the *νεφέλη* in Il. 20. 417 with the *ἀχλύς* in 421.

34) *ut primum iuxta stetit agnovitque per umbras  
obscuram, qualem primo qui surgere mense  
aut videt aut vidisse putat per nubila lunam.*

pointed to a Heraklean κατάβασις. The Hellenistic poet himself vaguely alludes to a possible geographical destination of the vanishing hero: when Lynceus caught that vague glimpse of Herakles, the hero was actually ἀπειρεσίης τηλοῦ χθονός (4. 1478)<sup>35</sup>. Now χθών can be taken either as “earth” in general or in the sense Apollonius used it elsewhere, meaning the particular territory where the action takes place (1. 102, 923, 1180, 2. 946, 964, 4. 266, 1251, 1229, 1246). The first possibility alludes to Herakles’ going beyond the earth and, since Greek epic does not distinguish clearly between areas beyond the earth and realms under the earth<sup>36</sup>), Herakles’ destination can very well be the underworld. If χθών means Libya (cf. 4. 1246 and 1251), since that land was thought to mark earth’s western border, Herakles could have crossed Libya either in Ocean’s direction and consequently to the underworld or in the opposite direction going back to Eurystheus with the golden apples. Thus after his disappearance from the narrative Herakles could have gone either to the underworld or everywhere else continuing his troubled career “outside” the *Argonautica*, as Apollonius elsewhere implies he did<sup>37</sup>).

The inability to decide about Herakles’ possible destination fits perfectly with Lynceus inability to catch a clear glimpse of the hero. Note also that when Herakles abandoned the expedition Apollonius compared him to a frenzied bull pursued by a gadfly (4. 1265–1269) as he was following a lot of different κέλευθοι (1. 1263). The first κέλευθος, as we saw, could lead him down to the underworld. According to Apollodorus, Herakles visited that

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35) In the epic adjectives denoting spatial infinity are attributed not to χθών but to γαῖα (Il. 7.446, 24.342, Od. 1.46, 98, 17.386, 418) and the usual adjective is ἀπειρών. Ἀπειρεσίος occurs only once (Il. 20.58). Moreover, in the epic there is no reference to regions beyond the earth but only to regions at the limits of the earth (Il. 14.200, 301, Od. 4.563). For the formula πείρατα γαίης/Ὠκεανοῖο which is used in these references see A. L. T. Bergren, *The Etymology and Usage of πείρατος* in early Greek Poetry, *American Classical Studies* 2 (1975) 22 ff. The Apollonian ἀπειρεσίη χθών instead of the Homeric πείρατα γαίης is another example of the Hellenistic *Änderung* as a means of allusion to earlier poetry.

36) See West’s comments on Hes. Th. 622. Apollonius locates the grove of the Hesperides near the area where Atlas sustained the world (4. 1396–1398); Hesiod places the Hesperides near Atlas’ area “at the borders of the earth” (Th. 517–519); see J. Schoo, Herakles im fernen Westen der Alten Welt, *Mnem.* ser. 3, 7 (1939) 15 ff. For the relation between the limits of Earth (and, therefore, the limits of Oceanus) and the underworld see Bergren (above, note 35) 24–26. For other examples of divine gardens located at the borders of the earth see Crane (above, note 29) 271 note 13.

37) After the expedition he killed the sons of Boreas (1. 1302–1309).

gloomy place after he got the golden apples of the Hesperides<sup>38</sup>), although Apollodorus' Hesperides are located in the realm of the Hyperboreans. In the *Nekyia* the threshold to the underworld is the land of the Cimmerians, a kind of transoceanic limbo perpetually covered by a νεφέλη (Od. 11. 13–19). Libya is a similar kind of limbo on the border with Ocean<sup>39</sup>) where ἀχλύς seems to be a usual phenomenon<sup>40</sup>). Moreover, in order to communicate with the underworld, Odysseus has to perform some rituals at a grove where poplars and willows grow (Od. 10. 509–510). Now two of the trees through which the Hesperides manifest themselves are the poplar and the willow (4. 1427–1428) and as the souls in the *Nekyia* swarm around the blood, the Argonauts swarm around Herakles' fountain<sup>41</sup>). The meaning of this important parallel between the *Nekyia* and the chthonic scenery which Apollonius subtly built around Herakles' vanishment does not concern the present discussion. What matters is only the similar settings of both accounts because Odysseus in his κατάβασις meets Herakles.

38) The Hesperides have underworldly connotations. According to Hesiod (Th. 211 ff.) they are daughters of Night and sisters to Thanatos and Moros. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Euripides Herakles (Darmstadt 1959) III 98 notes the demonic element in the original nature of the Hesperides (for the opposite view see Sittig, RE 8 1243 ff.); cf. also U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Der Glaube der Hellenen I (Basel 1956) 262. M. P. Nilsson, The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion (Lund 1950<sup>2</sup>) regards the garden of the Hesperides as a version of the Elysium (cf. also Bergren [above, note 35] 109–113).

39) According to Wilamowitz (above, note 38) 98 the place of Atlas, which is in the neighborhood of the garden of the Hesperides, is the "vorhölle".

40) Lynceus sees Heracles wrapt up in ἀχλύς; the ἠρώσσαι vanish into ἀχλύς (4. 1361–1362) and Mopsus' eyes are covered by ἀχλύς as he dies (4. 1525), another indication that ἀχλύς is related to death in our context. Note also that the ἠρώσσαι are χθόνιαι goddesses (4. 1322) while Ladon is a χθόνιος ὄφις (4. 1398; for Ladon see Wilamowitz [above, note 38] 96 note 1 and 98). Another connection between ἀχλύς and the underworld appears in Od. 20. 356–357. The first impression Libya gave to the Argonauts suggests that Apollonius intended the identification of Libya with the underworld: the Argonauts saw ἤερα and the indefinitely extending surface of a land whose size equaled ἤερα (3. 1245–1247). Hesiod described Tartarus as ἠερόεις (Th. 119, see also West ad loc.) and Hades is also ἠερόεις (Il. 15. 191). The land of the Cimmerians is also covered ἠέου (Od. 11. 15; cf. also ζόφον ἠερόεντα in 11. 57). Plutarch equates ἠήρ with the Homeric realm of Hades (Def. Orac. 422 ff.); see H. S. Schibli, Pherekydes of Syros (Oxford 1990) 22 note 18. On ἠήρ/αιθήρ see C. H. Kahn, Anaximander and the Origins of Greek Philosophy (New York 1960) 140 ff. On the use of these two words in Hellenistic epic see R. Pfeiffer, Kallimachosstudien. Untersuchungen zur Arsinoe und zu den Aitia des Kallimachos (München 1922) 12 note 2 and Färber (above, note 1) 77–78.

41) Herakles in his capacity as spring-finder and master of ὑδρεΐα was related to entrances to the underworld. See J. H. Croon, The Herdsman of the Dead (Utrecht 1952) 72–73 (cf. also 75 ff. on Herakles, hot springs and Hades-entrances).

Actually the person whom Odysseus meets is not Herakles himself. It is just a wretched εἶδωλον of him while he himself lives happily among the Olympians (Od. 11. 601–604). The εἶδωλον is like the black night, glancing angrily around with bow and arrows ready for a shot (Od. 11. 606–608). The comparison to the black night is reminiscent of the dark and misty simile of Herakles' disappearance from the *Argonautica*. Moreover Aegle's description of Herakles as he invaded the grove recalls the Homeric εἶδωλον: a huge man glancing angrily around, carrying bow and arrows (4. 1436–1440).

It follows that the ἀγλὺς covering the new moon Herakles is compared to is related not only to the Homeric νεφέλη of death but also to the Homeric νεφέλη of anger. Moreover, the εἶδωλον of Herakles is ὀλοφυρόμενον (Od. 11. 616) and ἀγλὺς denotes also the "cloud" of sorrow. If one recalls how Apollonius depicts Herakles when he left the Argonauts (sorrowful and angry because of Hy-las' loss), another parallel between *Nekyia*'s Herakles and Apollonius' Herakles emerges. Thus the relationship between the Jason imagery and the Herakles imagery which was expressed by the Homeric connotations of νεφέλη-ἀγλὺς has to do with Odysseus' encounter with Herakles' εἶδωλον in the *Nekyia*. But why should Apollonius make such a complex and subtle system of references to that particular passage of the *Odyssey*? What is striking about this passage is that it presents a Herakles totally different from his usual depiction in the Homeric epic. The εἶδωλον has more in common with the Herakles of the *Homeric Hymns* or even with the hero of the *Shield* than with the Herakles of the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*<sup>42</sup>). I think that Apollonius was susceptible to that incongruity which could be easily interpreted as the result of the literary evolution of the Herakles figure. Such an interpretation, pointing to an evolutionary multi-levelled Herakles persona, could be supported by Herakles' double existence as a wretched εἶδωλον and as a happy demigod. The *Odyssey* passage alludes obviously to different κέλευθοι in the poetic evolution of Herakles and it has been shown how cunningly Apollonius represented the protean hero following various paths. Apollonius must have employed the same effect by including in his narrative Herakles' encounter with the Hesperides, an episode which does not occur in Hesiod's *Theogony*<sup>43</sup>).

42) See G. K. Galinsky, *The Heracles Theme* (Oxford 1972) 9–12.

43) See Schoo (above, note 36) 16 and West 228–229.

The study of Heraklean imagery in the *Argonautica* showed that Herakles is not totally unrelated to the Homeric tradition. But the above conclusions point to him as a representation of the poetic evolution after Homer. Like the *Odyssey* passage, Apollonius chose a non-Homeric Herakles, a brawny wanderer relying on bow, club and cunningness. Some of our sources attribute this representation of Herakles to Stesichorus, others to Peisander<sup>44</sup>). In any case, it is clear that this particular representation was in sharp contrast with the traditional epic according to ancient literary criticism and it is possible that Apollonius wanted to use the effect of that contrast.

The above conclusions point to a κέλευθος that leads to the underworld. But this particular κέλευθος does not lead necessarily to the underworld: Herakles could have gone to Geryon's island (one of the Hesperides, Erytheia, bears the name of Geryon's island)<sup>45</sup>) which was located beyond earth's borders and it is interesting that this sequence seems to have been adopted by Stesichorus in his *Geryoneis*<sup>46</sup>). Thus this κέλευθος leads again to the same "poetic" direction: post-Homeric poetry dealing with Herakles. Even if Herakles crossed Libya's borders in the direction of Greece, this κέλευθος could be conceived in the same way, leading to the post-Homeric poetry about Herakles<sup>47</sup>).

To sum up: in the corresponding pairs of the Herakles/Jason episodes, Homeric large-dimension similes and non-Homeric small-dimension similes are unified by references to Callimachean poetics. Furthermore, reminiscences of Homeric imagery underlie both sets of similes. These reminiscences relate both sets of similes to Odysseus' encounter with Herakles' εἶδωλον in the *Nekyia* which points to post-Homeric poetic evolution. The above scheme rests upon the antithetical pairs "Homeric"- "non-Homeric", which equals "traditional"- "Hellenistic", and "large"- "small". These sets combined with the references to Callimachean poetics

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44) According to Athenaeus (12, 512E-513A) Megacleides criticized the later poets who followed Stesichorus in his 'neoteric' and unheroic depiction of Herakles. Strabo (668) attributes this 'neoteric' depiction to Peisander. For Stesichorus' treatment of Herakles see C. M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry* (Oxford 1961) 88 ff. For Stesichorus' *Geryoneis* as a possible source of the *Argonautica* see C. Brillante, *Un frammento della Gerioneide di Stesicoro*, QUCC 41 (1982) 17-20.

45) See Schoo (above, note 36) 15 ff.

46) fr. 56 B (LGS). For the role of the Hesperides in Stesichorus' *Geryoneis* see D. L. Page, *Stesichorus: the Geryoneis*, JHS 93 (1973) 147-148.

47) For post-Homeric epic poetry about Herakles see G. L. Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry* (Cambridge Mass. 1969) 99 ff. and 177 ff.

suggest that the scheme can be understood as Apollonius' poetic credo. The "large"- "small" pair is unified by means of both Homeric reminiscences and allusions to Callimachean poetics, a device that negates any kind of Callimachean dichotomy for which Apollonius substitutes a poetic continuum represented by the *Nekyia* episode. The obvious conclusion is that he deeply respected the earlier poetry upon which his own poem rests. Could that be an indication of a fundamental difference between Callimachus and Apollonius?<sup>48</sup>)

Columbus, Ohio

Theokritos Kouremenos

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48) This should not be taken as implying the traditional quarrel between the two poets. E. L. Bundy, *The Quarrel between Kallimachos and Apollonios: Part I: The Epilogue of Kallimachos' Hymn to Apollo*, CSCP 5 (1978) 39 ff. provides a useful summary of the history of the interpretations favoring the quarrel that shows the flimsy evidence on which they rest. See also the remarks by C. W. Müller, Erysichthon. *Der Mythos als narrative Metapher im Demeterhymnos des Kallimachos*, AbhMainz 1987 [13] (Mainz/Stuttgart 1987) 44 f. (cf. 30 ff.). For the ancient evidence that seems to support the historicity of the quarrel see M. R. Lefkowitz, *The Quarrel between Callimachus and Apollonius*, ZPE 40 (1980) 1–19. P. Mich. 1316 cannot be considered as evidence on the quarrel although it shows that even in the second century AD Apollonius was discussed in terms of Callimachean poetics; see J. S. Rusten, *Dionysius Scytobrachion*, Papyrologica Coloniensia 10 (Köln 1982) 53 ff.