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CALLINUS FR. 1 W: WARRIOR'S ALTERNATIVES

To say that early Greek elegy is full of Homeric reminiscences is a common place. Commenting on Callinus' 1 e.g. D.A. Campbell writes: «The dependence of the early elegiac poets on Homer is clearly exemplified by this piece»¹. And therefore all commentators reveal many Homeric passages under Callinus' verses. The purpose of this note is to suggest another Homeric echo, especially concerning vv. 12-5, which first I cite:

οὐ γάρ κως θάνατόν γε φυγεῖν εἰμαρμένον ἐστὶν ἄνδρ', οὐδ' εἰ προγόνων ἢ γένος ἀθανάτων. πολλάκι δηϊοτῆτα φυγών καὶ δοῦπον ἀκόντων ἔρχεται, ἐν δ' οἴκω μοῖρα κίγεν θανάτου.

Commenting on lines 12-13 A.W.H. Adkins argues that «Any enrichment derived from Homer must be drawn from memory not of words but of events and persons: of Achilles, sprung from a goddess but doomed to an early death, or of Zeus's own son of Sarpedon, whom he unavailingly tries to save (*Iliad* 16.433 ff.)»². And Patricia Matsen adds that «the φυγών of line 14 refers to the hypothetical descendants of the immortals mentioned in line 13», and that the vv. 16-7 «clearly suggest that Callinus refers instead to the same warrior in two distinct situations, before the battle and after the battle»³. Also, Matsen, Verdenius, Adkins etc. take Achilles, Sarpedon and Memnon or Agamemnon as examples in vv. 13-5, and T. Krischer suggests Sarpedon's words in *Il.* 12. 310-28 as parallel to Callinus' elegy.

I would suggest that the two alternatives Callinus has in mind is the condition in which Achilles finds himself in the Ninth Book of the *Iliad*, and especially his final decision (411-16):

^{1.} p. 162. The authors of the Greek Literature in CHCL (pp. 129-30) sumarize well the climate of the Homeric world.

^{2. «}Callinus1» pp. 71-2; Early elegists, p. 64.

^{3.} Matsen, p. 58. Also, J. Latacz has a number of parallels, pp. 229-32. Dodone: Philology 25 (1996) 63-7.

διχθαδίας κῆρας φερέμεν θανάτοιο τέλοσδε. εἰ μέν κ' αὖθι μένων Τρώων πόλιν ἀμφιμάχωμαι, ὅλετο μέν μοι νόστος, ἀτὰρ κλέος ἄφθιτον ἔσται εἰ δέ κεν οἴκαδ' ἵκωμι φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν, ὅλετό μοι κλέος ἐσθλόν, ἐπὶ δηρὸν δέ μοι αἰων ἔσσεται, οὐδέ κέ μ' ὧκα τέλος θανάτου κιχείη.

The Homeric words and phrases of the poem suggest that both Callinus and his audience were quite familiar with heroic epic. The poem is an exhortation to battle, and Callinus' fellow citizens may have in their mind Achilles' refusal (denial of fighting) to fight. Achilles had his own reasons for not fighting against the Trojans, and wrath was a common motif in the heroic poetry (cf. Meleager). And the Ephesians were reluctant to fight, avoiding death by avoiding battle. Ionia produced no truly political poetry compared to that of Tyrtaeus and Solon which must be clearly deep-rooted in the Ionian character, and in general the Ionian colonies were incapable of co-ordinating the energies of their free individual citizens, and of using them to strengthen their own power¹; Callinus' exhortation, therefore, may be more dramatic.

By using Achilles' two alternatives Callinus brings his audience at Achilles' final position; they know his final decision to participate in the war. But in this way Callinus brings glory which Achilles was expecting, and finally he found, upon his fellow citizens. (One may add that it is about the glory of the Iliad itself). For this reason the poem continues with Achilles' first alternative, κλέος ἄφθιτον Εσται. The poet avoids saying of death in battle, while first he speaks of the common share of death, even if one is a descendant of gods (vv. 8-9, 12-3) and second he emphasizes the death at home (v. 15: Agamemnon's case, while avoids saying of long life in Achilles' second alternative). Therefore there is no reason not to fight (as in the speech of Sarpedon 12, 326), all the more so that the warrior will win glory (e. g. through Gallinus'elegy). The nearest statement about death in the first alternative of glory is the euphemistic expression nv τι πάθη (v. 17). The poem's main argument may be: every man dies at home, even if he is a son of gods, but at least if he dies in battle (: euphemistically implied), he wins glory, like Achilles; he also is honoured during his participating in the war.

I have suggested that Callinus uses rather the heroic motif of not participating in the war than special Homeric words. But I

^{1.} Jaeger, pp. 99-100.

would also add that there may be some vocabulary echoes relevant to both the motif itself and the general Homeric usage, which fit the two alternatives Achilles faces, and therefore reinforce my suggestion: (i) In v. 15 the crucial word is xiyev which may have been taken from Il. 9. 416, of the second alternative Achilles may follow: οὐδέ κέ μ' ὧκα τέλος θανάτοιο κιχείη. (ii) If somebody is reluctant to fight, and he meets his death at home, as in Achilles' second alternative, he is not ποθεινός (cf. v. 20). But Achilles did was ποθεινός, bewailed by people of the lower and upper class, as we see in the second Nekyia (Od. 24.35-97, esp. 60-70: θρήνεον, κλαίομεν, etc.). (iii) And $\pi \circ \circ \circ \circ$, though of course used of Ajax (cf. Od. 11. 556), is nevertheless more true about Achilles, since it is a common metaphor in literature (cf. examples in Hudson - Williams and Campbell; cf. also έρχος)1. The Lycians indeed looked at Sarpedon and Glaucos as gods (12.312), but (iv) on the other hand Phoinix's argument at the end of his speech to Achilles in the Embassy that Ισον γάρ σε θεῶ τείσουσιν 'Αχαιοί (Il. 9. 603, cf. also Odysseus' words 302-3, and 155, 297) may be taken as another echo to Callinus' exhortation (20). (v) As for the final verse 21, Achilles, too, literally succeeds more than «a whole army-the whole Achaean army»: Agamemnon's words about Achilles that aworth many fighters is that man whom Zeus in his heart loves» (Il. 9. 116-7, cf. 110) may reinforce my suggestion as a whole. (vi) Finally, the question in the first verse may recall Diomedes' words about Achilles that he will fight when the god drives him (Il. 9. 702-3). Achilles was a literal semi-god (v. 19). The δ μέντὸν δ' conjuctions (vv. 16-7) refer indeed to the same warrior in two distinct situations, but not before and after the battle; they refer to the same warrior's two alternatives: either to participate in the war or to be reluctant, not necessarilly because he is coward. The φυγών (v. 14) may not mean escape the thud of spears in the battle, but avoid the battle at all, as in Achilles' first alternative.

If Tyrtaeus used the Odysseus-beggar motif to induce Lacedae-monians to fight (fr. 10W)², Callinus seems to have used as an example Achilles' alternatives and his final decision of joining the war and of the consequent glory, the κλέος ἄφθιτον Achilles won in the *Iliad*, to induce the Ephesians to fight; they should win similar glo-

ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὁρῶσιν may recall Il. 3. 306, Od. 8.459 (cited by Giannoti p. 422).

^{2.} Cf. Adkins, «Callinus 1» pp. 85-6; Perysinakis, pp. 372-3.

ry through the function of poetry, and his particular poetry. And if this is right, one would suggest that this technique is similar to Homer's own technique of ad hoc invention to support a given argument or situation, or of inventing mythology for the purpose of adducing it as a parallel to the situation in his story¹.

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^{1.} Cf. M.M. Willcock, «Ad Hoc Invention in the Riad» (HSCP 81 (1977) 41-53).

ПЕРІЛНҰН

Πέρα από όσα έγουν ήδη υποστηριγθεί για ομηρικές απηχήσεις στον Καλλίνο, η Σημείωση αυτή προτείνει ότι οι εναλλακτικές των στίχων 12-5 (απ. 1W) μπορεί να απηγούν το δίλημμα στο οποίο ευρίσκεται ο Αγιλλέας στην Πρεσβεία (411-6), και ιδιαίτερα την εναλλακτική που τελικά ακολούθησε. Ο ποιητής αποφεύγει να αναφέρει το θάνατο στη μάχη (πβ. την ευφημηστική διατύπωση ήν τι πάθη, 17), ενώ ομιλεί για την κοινή μοίρα του θανάτου και υπογραμμίζει τον θάνατο που βρίσκει τον καθένα στο σπίτι του. Και φαίνεται να υποστηρίζει ότι κάθε άνδρας είναι προορισμένος να πεθάνει ακόμη και αν κατάγεται από τους θεούς αλλ' αν πεθάνει στην μάγη (που ευφημηστικά δεν λέγεται), τουλάγιστον θα κερδίσει δόξα όπως ο Αχιλλέας, ενώ κατά τη διάρκεια του πολέμου τιμάται από τους συμπολίτες του ως θεός. Ο ποιητής μπορεί να αντλεί γενικά από τα ομηρικά έπη, αλλά και μία σειρά από συγκεκριμένα χωρία από την 'Ιλιάδα μπορεί να υποστηρίξουν την προτεινόμενη υπόθεση. Οι συμπατριώτες του ποιητή γνωρίζουν την τελική απόφαση του Αγιλλέα να λάβει μέρος στον πόλεμο και να δοξασθεί μέσω της 'Ιλιάδος. ομοίως και εκείνοι θα δοξασθούν μέσω της ποίησής του.

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