Callimachus Battiades (Epigr. 35)

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CALLIMACHUS BATTIADES (*EPIGR.* 35)

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FATHERS AND SONS

IN A GESTURE OF FILIAL PIETY unparalleled in extant Hellenistic verse, Callimachus honored his own father with a memorial epitaph (*Epigr.* 21 = Gow-Page *HE* 29 = *Anth. Pal.* 7.525). But defying basic generic expectations, he refused to inscribe his father's name or record his vocation or deeds.

Ὅστις ἐμὸν παρὰ σῆμα φέρεις πόδα, Καλλιμάχου με
ἴσθι Κυρηναίου παῖδά τε καὶ γενέτην.
εἰδείης δ' ἄμφω κεν· ὁ μέν κοτε πατρίδος ὅπλων
ἦρξεν, ὁ δ' ἧεισεν κρέσσονα βασκανίης.

You who set foot beside my tomb, know thee well
I'm child and sire of Callimachus of Cyrene.
You must know both: the one once led the fatherland's
arms, the other sang songs surpassing baleful spite.[1]

The striking emphasis on the family of the deceased, which seemingly eclipses the deceased himself, has led some to suspect that "there was not very much to say" about the poet's father.[2] Walsh more plausibly interprets the first distich as a riddle: Who is both child and father of Callimachus of Cyrene?[3] The air of paradox (who *could* be child and father to one man?) is promptly dispelled, of course, when the second distich distinguishes two Callimachi and succinctly proclaims each one's renown. Omitting the name of the deceased is thus a rhetorical ploy. The opening distich, with its implicit challenge to name the deceased (emphasized by the imperative ἴσθι), is arresting; and the sequel, with its bold assertion of his family's perennial

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1. This is no place to enter the scholarly debate over a third distich found in *Anth. Pal.* 7.525 but largely identical with *Aet.* frag. 1.37–38: even if it does belong here, it only elaborates the theme of the fourth line. With Pfeiffer and many since, I believe it is an interpolation, perhaps prompted by mention of βασκανίη (cf. *Aet.* 1.17) as Cameron 1995, p. 181, n. 37 suggests; moreover, it would undermine the pointed brevity Callimachus favors in epitaphs. For bibliography and an ingenious defense of the distich, see Livrea 1992; the very ingenuity of his proposal, that the distich praises the poet's father rather than the poet (as most assume), underscores the problem of tone that I aim to resolve.

2. Gow and Page 1965, 2:186; dismissed by Cameron 1995, 7.

3. Walsh 1991, 93.

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fame (εἰδείης δ' ἄμφω κεν: "you *must* know them *both*!"), implies that everyone will know the intervening figure too. Yet the air of assurance dramatizes as well a striking absence of conceit. Since the epitaph adopts the voice of the deceased himself, its self-effacing reticence bespeaks his filial devotion and his paternal pride. Cast in the voice of the poet's father, even the closing vaunt about the poet's own achievement redounds to the honor of his unnamed father. The proleptic aorist ἤεισεν envisioning the poet's enduring renown thus evades "baleful spite" in part by masking self-praise as fatherly admiration. Irony may run even deeper. By portraying his father as a model of familial piety, Callimachus quietly demonstrates his own filial piety in turn. No wonder his songs left the spiteful dumb.

In the event, the second distich has proved more prophetic than the first. We still know the poet, of course, but his father long ago retreated into obscurity. To recover his name, ancients and moderns alike have turned to another epigram, an epitaph Callimachus composed for himself (*Epigr.* 35 = *HE* 30 = *Anth. Pal.* 7.415). Here he declares his fame anew by withholding his *own* name and recording only a patronym.

> Βαττιάδεω παρὰ σῆμα φέρεις πόδας εὖ μὲν ἀοιδήν
> εἰδότος, εὖ δ' οἴνῳ καίρια συγγελάσαι.
>
> You set foot beside the tomb of a Battiad who well knows song
> and well how to join in timely laughter over wine.

Like the poet's epitaph for his father, his own is also enigmatic. But its riddles involve much more than a question of paternity, and despite a rare scholarly consensus, I think it is a mistake to infer that his father was named "Battos." The epitaphs were clearly intended to be read in some sense as a pair. Both open with a signature phrase evoking the same sepulchral scene;[4] both highlight Callimachus' poetic achievements; and *Epigram* 21 plainly contains the name omitted in *Epigram* 35. But there is good reason not to accept the converse, that the patronym in *Epigram* 35 supplies the name missing in *Epigram* 21. A simple explanation for omitting the father's name in either or both epigrams is that it was not metrically suitable.[5] But "Battos" obviously fits. Another possibility is that either or both epigrams once appeared on actual tombstones, as the appeal to passersby at least pretends; the names could then have been inscribed *extra metrum*.[6] Yet the

4. Bing 1995, 126–28 points out that παρὰ σῆμα φέρεις πόδα/ς originates with Callimachus and suggests that it expresses a "family resemblance . . . on the one hand between the poems, and on the other between the deceased." Callimachus uses a similar phrase (ἐμόν κοτε σῆμα, with σῆμα in the same metrical position, and echoing ἐμόν in *Epigr.* 21) to refer to the (stolen and reappropriated!) gravestone (or identifying sign!) of another poet (Simonides) in *Aet.* frag. 64.3.

5. Gow and Page 1965, 2.186. But even if this is right, a poet as inventive as Callimachus could surely have overcome the metrical problem; cf. the ingenious solution for a tribrach in the epitaph for Thrasymachus of Calchedon (Ath. 10 454f = 85 A8 DK).

6. Cameron 1995, p. 79, n. 57, cf. 180–81. Bing 1995, after listing over two dozen examples (p. 127, n. 44), proposes instead that Callimachus meant readers to "translate the context of such real-life family-plots on to the very different landscape of the scroll" (128). *Epigr.* 35 appears in a series of six epitaphs for poets (*Anth. Pal.* 7.414–19: the last five by the poet commemorated, and the first five in the first person) in a long Meleagrian sequence (417–19 by Meleager for himself); see Cameron 1993, 19–33 and 126. It is also intriguing, but may be only coincidental, that there follow ten epigrams with riddling allusions to inscriptions on (actual or imagined) gravestones (7.421–30); cf. Gutzwiller 1998, 267–75.

graveyard setting may be merely conventional, and the omission of names in each case a rhetorical ploy in a purely literary memorial. Just as the absence of the father's name in *Epigram* 21 dramatizes the piety and pride of the poet's father, so the poet's refusal to name himself in *Epigram* 35 displays a lofty confidence that he will be recognized by his verse alone. In effect, the name-effacing gesture mimics the literal sense of the lines in virtually identifying the poet with his poetry. Indeed, if the two epitaphs are read in their natural sequence whereby sons survive their fathers (and to do otherwise would be distinctly ill-omened; see the poet's prayer in *Hymn* 3.122–37, esp. 126 and 131–32), *Epigram* 35 readily recalls Callimachus' own name in *Epigram* 21, but not the reverse.[7] Finally, silence about his father's name in *Epigram* 35 would be perfectly natural. Every other extant Hellenistic epitaph for a poet names the poet. Callimachus was apparently the first to appreciate, or perhaps the only one bold enough to exploit the rhetorical possibilities of affecting anonymity, as he does in *Epigram* 35. But epitaphs often refrain from naming the father of the deceased. Callimachus himself omits the father's name in almost half of his twenty or so surviving sepulchral epigrams.[8] There would be nothing unseemly, then, in not naming his father in his own epitaph, especially when the signature phrase in the first line by itself evokes his father's memory through allusion to the father's epitaph. Hence, there is no reason to assume either that "Battiades" reveals the name missing in *Epigram* 21, or that it refers to the poet's father here. On the contrary, there is good reason to think the patronym does not name his father here.

The only unambiguous claim that Callimachus' father was named "Battos" occurs in the brief *vita* of the poet preserved in the Suda (T1 Pf.).[9] The *vita* also records names for his mother, a nephew, his father-in-law, and a teacher; and a *vita* for his homonymous nephew adds names for his sister and brother-in-law. The sheer number of names has the ring of credibility. But none is independently confirmed; and any or all may depend only on the poet's own verse. In particular, the assertion that his father was named "Battos" may be nothing but an inference from *Epigram* 35.[10] Other evidence for the father's name is remarkably weak. Several Roman poets echo

7. Cf. Cameron 1995, 181: "there seems no good reason to doubt that it was indeed the occasion of his father's death that prompted Callimachus to write [*Epigr.* 21]. A man might compose mock epitaphs for himself at any age and in any mood, but it would be odd to write one for a father long after his death." Contrast Wilamowitz 1924, p. 175, n. 2: "beide Gedichte einander ergänzen, nur wird das auf den Sohn zuerst gestanden haben." If Callimachus ever juxtaposed the two epitaphs, they were later separated (presumably by Meleager) before reaching the *Anth.*; see Cameron 1995, 79, and cf. Gutzwiller 1998, 212–13.

8. Pfeiffer prints 63 epigrams but considers two spurious (3, 36); of the 27 found among the epitaphs in *Anth. Pal.* 7 (excluding *Epigr.* 1 and the problematic *Epigr.* 35), father and home are named in nine (9–13, 15, 20, 21, 60; cf. 1), only the home in seven (2, 16, 18, 22, 23, 50, 61; cf. 6, 24, 34), only the father in three (14, 17, 19), and neither in six ([3], 4, 26, [36], 40, 58; cf. 7). Leonidas (*Anth. Pal.* 7.715 = *HE* 92), Nossis (*Anth. Pal.* 7.718 = *HE* 11), and Posidippus in his "seal" (*Suppl. Hell.* 705) name themselves and their homelands, but not their fathers; Meleager names both his father and his birthplace, three times (*Anth. Pal.* 7.417–19 = *HE* 2–4).

9. Clearly derivative is the mention in Phot. *Bibl.* 319b14 (from Proclus *Chrestomathy*).

10. Cf. Easterling and Knox 1985, 815; Herter 1931, 386–87. The *vita* may also be mistaken about Callimachus' mother: it names her "Mesatma," which is generally emended to "Megatima"; but his nephew's *vita* gives this name to his sister, and his own *vita* may have simply confused his own mother with his homonymous nephew's. For the full family, see Cameron 1995, 3–10; for the family tree, see fig. 1 below.

Epigram 35 in using "Battiades" to invoke Callimachus, but in no case is it clear that the name was meant to indicate his father. The earliest datable allusions occur in two elegies by Catullus, once in the dedication to his rendition of the *Coma* (65.16) and again in a stinging refusal to dedicate such renditions to someone else (116.2). But Catullus, who knew that "Battos" was the name of Cyrene's founding father (7.6), probably understood the patronym simply as an ancestral or patriotic badge. That was certainly a common trope in contemporary Roman verse: witness *Aeneadae* in Lucretius and Virgil, which embraces companions of Aeneas and their descendants as well as direct descendants of the hero himself.[11] About the same time, Strabo also interpreted the name broadly: πρόγονον δὲ τοῦτον [sc. Battos] ἑαυτοῦ φάσκει (17.3.21), thus singling out a remote ancestor and probably not asserting direct descent. And only two or three generations later, Silius clearly uses the plural "Battiads" generically for all Cyreneans (*Pun.* 2.61, 3.253; cf. 11.380, 17.591).[12]

Not every Battiades, then, was a child of Battos. Cameron (1995, 79) suggests that "Battiades" may be only a nickname, like "Sicelidas" and "Simichidas," which at least some ancient poets and scholars assigned to Asclepiades and Theocritus.[13] An opening note of self-mockery familiar only to friends would harmonize nicely with the scene of convivial drinking with which the epigram ends. This sympotic motif is balanced, however, by an allusion in the first line to the poet's more public and more famous role of ἀοιδός: the versatile master of stately hexameters who ranged from hymn to epyllion to elegy.[14] The closing image of amiable laughter over wine suits the serene finality of sepulchral verse; it could even encourage those at the περίδειπνον (funeral banquet) and the graveside rites that would follow annually. But the epitaph begins by addressing a much wider audience, including passing strangers. Most likely, then, the primary significance of the patronym was quite broad. Its principal function, I suggest, was to evoke the poet's civic and religious heritage.

Many, if not most Greek patronyms served to signify ancestry rather than paternity, as prominent families sought to secure their rank by asserting a remote and lofty origin. Some families renewed a patriarch's name in alternate generations, as did the Alcmeonids of Archaic Athens. More often, however, patronyms served only to assert patrilinear descent, as in Sparta's

11. Virgil likewise uses *Aeacides* never for Peleus but only for Achilles (*Aen.* 1.90), Neoptolemus (3.296), and the remote descendant Perseus (6.839); cf. *genti nomen dedit* (1.248) about Antenor's founding Padua (though *Antenoridae* only of the sons, 6.484). Catullus exploits the trope for irony when he numbers Cicero, a *novus homo* from Arpinum, among *Romuli nepotum* (Cat. 49.1).

12. Other cases are unclear: *Anth. Pal.* 7.42 (poet and date unknown); Ov. (*Am.* 1.15.13, *Tr.* 2.367) and Stat. (*Silv.* 5.3.157, in a lament for his father), both in lists of great poets. Roman poets apparently used "Battos" primarily for Cyrene's founder (as in Cat. 7.6; cf. Sil. *Pun.* 8.57); but Ovid uses the name once for the Arcadian herdsman in the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* (*Ib.* 584 and Schol.; Ant. Lib. 23 cites Greek sources, including Hesiod, Nicander, and Apollonius; cf. βατοδρόπε at *Hymn. Hom.* 4.190, and one of the herders in Theoc. *Id.* 4), and once for a Maltese king in a legend about Dido's sister Anna (*Fasti* 3.570; but Sil. *Pun.* 8.57 makes this Battos a king of Cyrene instead); cf. Barchiesi 1995.

13. See esp. Hedylus *HE* 6 in Ath. 11 473a, Meleager *HE* 1.46, Schol. *Aet.* frag. 1, Schol. Theocr. 7 inscr., Schol. 7.21, Schol. 7.41; for discussion, see Cameron 1995, 410–22.

14. Cf. Cameron 1995, 86; Reitzenstein 1893, 87–88.

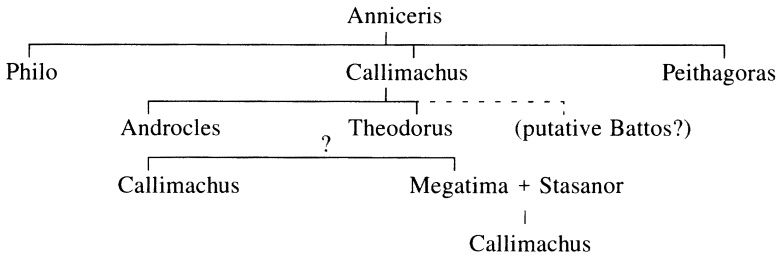

FIG. 1.—The Family of Callimachus

two royal houses.[15] We cannot tell which, if either, practice the family of Callimachus followed. But there is compelling evidence that "Battiades" signified much more than family ties. Inscriptions have enabled Laronde and Cameron to reconstruct enough of the poet's family tree to show that he was born high in the Cyrenean aristocracy.[16] His grandfather was a son of Anniceris, an Olympic victor in the chariot race of 388 who ransomed Plato from slavery that year.[17] The grandfather had at least two brothers: Philo, who was elected general c. 345 and funded renovations of Apollo's sanctuary in Cyrene (*SEG* 9.85–86); and Peithagoras, who was elected priest of Apollo in 321 (*SEG* 9.1.73). He also had at least two sons: Androcles and Theodorus, both of whom held high civic posts in the 320s. There may have been another son, and he may have been named Battos (see fig. 1). But if he was, then unlike the poet's own name, the name was apparently not renewed in alternate generations.

More to the point, the epigraphical record, which is fairly extensive for Cyrene, shows that "Battos" was never a common name there. Apart from the putative case of the poet's father, only eight instances are attested: four are kings in the founding dynasty (*LGPN* 1, [2–5]), and the rest come long after Callimachus, when Roman rule precluded any threat of a Battiad revival.[18] The absence of the name throughout the intervening four or five centuries may reflect political factors. The name originated with the city's colonial founder and first king, and, while his royal heirs did revive the name in alternate generations three times, the dynasty ended in a bloody revolt around the middle of the fifth century, when Arcesilaus IV was assassinated

15. No second Eurypontus is attested, and five centuries pass before a second Agis appears—and a Eurypontid, not an Agiad. For the strange legend explaining why the names of Aristodemus' twin sons Eurysthenes and Procles were not adopted, see Ephorus F118 (Strabo 8.5.5).

16. See Laronde 1987, 104, 112; cf. Cameron 1995, 3–10. The family's lofty status is confirmed by the name of his sister (and probably his mother: cf. n 10 above): Megatima, which even recalls the name of the infamous Battiad Queen Pheretima (Hdt. 4.200–205).

17. See Gaiser 1983, whose chronological arguments show that this Anniceris is not the Cyrenaic philosopher; but he could still be the latter's grandfather. The ransom is reported as either twenty or thirty minas, a sum large enough to purchase the estate that became Plato's Academy (Diog. Laert. 3.20).

18. Three are certainly Imperial. The fourth occurs in a lacunose genealogical epitaph found among ostentatious tombs and dating anywhere from the second century B.C.E. to the second century C.E.; but it names someone eight generations earlier and probably from the monarchy (father of an Alazeir; cf. Hdt. 4.164); see Masson 1974. For further B.C.E. instances elsewhere, few if any of which are likely to be related, see Masson 1976.

and his head cast into the sea.[19] Revival of either royal name could then suggest royalist pretensions, whether during the period of independence or under the subsequent reign of Magas and the Ptolemies.[20] That was probably one reason not to give the name "Battos" to the father of Callimachus, who was probably born in the second quarter of the fourth century, hence less than a century after the Battiads were overthrown. But another reason was probably even more compelling. By far the most notable bearer of the name was the first king and founding father, who retained an exalted status as long as Cyrene flourished. For the poet's grandfather to give his son that king's name would have been as audacious as a Roman noble naming a son Romulus—a name not revived for eight centuries after the founder.[21]

FOUNDING FATHERS

Modern readers may be excused for misinterpreting Greek patronyms. To ancient Cyreneans, however, the name that Callimachus invokes in his own epitaph resonated profoundly. Roughly two centuries separate the end of the Battiad dynasty from the poet's death. Roughly two more separate him from Cyrene's first Battos. But as the city's founding father, the first king effectively lived on. In the very heart of the city, on the eastern edge of the agora, lay his tomb, the only one within the city's walls.[22] Beside it stood an altar whose flame was never allowed to die (Callim. *Hymn* 2.83–84), and every year the city would gather in the agora before his ἡρῷον to honor their founder with sacrifice and choral song (Pind. *Pyth.* 5.93–99 [ἥρως λαοσεβής, 95]; cf. Cat. 7.6). The eponymous Battos, in short, was revered as the national hero of Cyrene and received the rites traditionally accorded an οἰκιστής (*Pyth.* 4.6, Hdt. 4.155.3 and 159.1, *Hymn* 2.67) and ἀρχηγέτης (*Pyth.* 5.60, *SEG* 9.3.26, Schol. Ar. *Plut.* 925).[23]

19. Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4 inscr. b; cf. Heraclides Lembus frag. 17 (an epitome of the Aristotelian *Constitution of the Cyreneans*), which if not simply confused, either uses "Battos" as a title or refers to a son of Arcesilaus IV, hence a fifth Battos. For the fall, see Chamoux 1953, 202–9; Mitchell 1966 argues for an earlier end, c. 450. The legend soon arose (recorded already by Hdt. 4.163) that Delphi had prophesied the demise of the royal house; a white crow was involved (Heraclides Lembus frag. 17, but not in Hdt. 4.158), as Callim. *Hymn* 2.66 may recall.

20. The other royal name used by the Battiad dynasty is almost as rare: *LGPN* lists no Arcesilaos or Arcesilaus in Cyrene after the kings, and Arcesilas only once securely (*SEG* 20.735). Tarquin offers an instructive parallel: only three of the sixteen in *RE* come after the monarchy; two of these were probably named Tarquitius ([9] in 458: Diod. 10.24.3, but cf. Livy 3.27; [10] in 63: Sall. *Cat.* 48), and the third (11) is from the third century C.E.

21. Twenty-six Romuli are listed in *RE;* the first after the founder appears in Martial 13.107. The avoidance of Quirinus (none before the second century C.E.) may offer an even closer parallel, if "Battos" was viewed as the founder's sacred title.

22. The rest of the city's dead, including all other members of the royal house, were buried in extramural necropolises; see Pind. *Pyth.* 5.96–98 with Schol.

23. On founder cult, see Malkin 1987, esp. 114–34 and 189–216 on Cyrene. For the archaic tomb, see Stucchi 1965, pp. 58–65, with fig. 51; for the classical ἡρῷον that replaced it, see pp. 111–14 and 139–42, with fig. 76. Heroic rites were probably among the royal privileges preserved under the reforms of Demonax in the mid-sixth century (Hdt. 4.161.3); according to Büsing 1978, 72–75, the shrine was reoriented and rebuilt soon after the Battiads' fall, and rites continued for centuries thereafter. Thera, Cyrene's metropolis, had its own founder cult for Theras (Paus. 3.1.8), and Callimachus explains the exceptional anonymous form of the founder cult at Zancle in *Aet.* frag. 43.74–83.

The founder's name also involved a riddle from the start. The foundation legend, recounted by Pindar and Herodotus, displayed on inscriptions in Cyrene and Thera, renewed by Callimachus, and rationalized by several chroniclers, is well attested and was widely known. The original settlers came from Thera in the 630s, and their destination was decreed by an oracle from Delphi. But according to the version of the legend that Herodotus says was favored by the Cyreneans themselves (4.150), the site of the colony was foretold in a bilingual riddle (4.155):

> Then a prominent Theraean named Polymnestus took Phronime as his mistress, and after a while, she gave birth to a child who had a speech impediment and stammered [ἰσχνόφωνος καὶ τραυλός]. He was given the name Battos, according to the Theraeans and Cyreneans; but I think it was a different name, and that his name was changed [μετωνομάσθη] to Battos when he reached Libya, where he adopted the title [τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ποιεύμενος] as a result both of the oracle he received at Delphi and of the honor he later acquired, since Libyans use *battos* for kings. And I think that is why the Pythia addressed him in Libyan in her prophecy, since she knew he was to be king in Libya. For after he reached manhood, he came to Delphi concerning his voice [περὶ τῆς φωνῆς], and the Pythia responded to his question as follows:
>
> > Battos, for a voice [ἐπὶ φωνήν] you came; Lord Phoebus Apollo
> > sends you to Libya nurse of flocks as founder [οἰκιστῆρα].
>
> As if she had said in Greek: "O King, for a voice you came."[24]

Cyrene's foundation legend thus turns on the significance of the founder's name, highlighted by initial position in the oracle. In Greek, it designates what was considered a disgraceful defect; but in Libyan, it specifies both the colony's location and the founder's role in it: the colonists are to settle where βάττος means king. The oracle thus ordained that the allegedly illegitimate son of Polymnestus should go where his flaws would yield great honor. But the charming reversal should not obscure a crucial implication: the name, which was formally sanctioned by Apollo, served as an epithet or title by which the founder was thereafter invoked (contrast *Aet.* frag. 43.81). After the fall of the monarchy, moreover, the patronym evidently served not as a claim to patrilinear kinship but as a patriotic badge.

This extended usage, which is well attested elsewhere, and especially in Dorian realms, typically serves to proclaim the solidarity of an elite possessed of special political or religious privileges. Callimachus himself weaves three different patronyms into his tale of Acontius and Cydippe, each in a plainly generic sense: "Acontiad tribe" (frag. 75.51) presents their union as the origin of a clan, "Codreides" (75.32) traces Cydippe's lineage (like Solon's: Plut. *Sol.* 1) back to an early king and tribal hero of Athens, and "Euxantid family" (frag. 67.7) invokes the Cean founder whose descendants held an hereditary priesthood (Bacchyl 2.8; cf. Schol. Pind. *Pae.* 4.35, Ap.

24. His explanation was widely endorsed: Heraclides Lembus frag. 16, Diod. 8.29, Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4 inscr. (93.15 Drachmann). Masson 1976 rejects the hypothesis of a Libyan word on linguistic grounds, but what matters here is that the explanation was accepted, whether or not it is accurate.

Rhod. 2.519–27).[25] The trope is best attested (thanks largely to Pindar) for settlements on the margins of the Greek world, where it presumably served to foster unity by excluding aliens and recent arrivals, as among today's "Daughters of the American Revolution." In Cyrene, then, where an aristocracy proud of its Dorian roots firmly segregated itself from the surrounding natives, the name of Battos would inevitably sound a proudly patriotic note.[26] Hence, Callimachus, who in the epitaph for his father emphasizes the family's "Cyrenean" status while proclaiming Cyrene their "fatherland" (πατρίς) and who elsewhere pronounces Thera "mother of our fatherland" (frag. 716; cf. frag. 602), most likely evokes Battos in the first word of his own epitaph not to name either his father or a remote royal ancestor but to declare his civic and religious allegiances. Silence here about his family, like the refusal to name himself, thus helps highlight his ties to Cyrene and its sacred traditions.

If Herodotus knew the founder's original name, he pointedly refuses to pronounce it, as if seized by the same defect that afflicted Battos. More likely, of course, his refusal indicates how potent the royal name remained in the decades following the overthrow of the monarchy (c. 450), when relatives and would-be heirs were quite likely still alive. But a decade or two before their fall, Pindar composed two odes for the last Battiad in the strictest sense—the last king and quite likely the last literal son of anyone named Battos. All three of Pindar's odes for Cyreneans focus on the city's legendary origins. The Ninth *Pythian,* which was not written for the royal family, narrates the primordial myth of the nymph Cyrene. But the Fourth and Fifth *Pythians,* both composed for the heir and son of Battos IV, recount legends that celebrate the royal family's ancestors. The Fourth refers cryptically to the foundation legend at the climax of Medea's prophecy (*Pyth.* 4.50–57). But the Fifth contains our earliest clear account. After praising the Queen's brother (Schol. 5.26 at 176.6 Drachmann), who rode the king's chariot to victory and crowned the "halls of Battiads" (*Pyth.* 5.28; cf. κλεεννότατον μέγαρον Βάττου, *Pyth.* 4.280), the ode turns to the founder, who is introduced as Battos (*Pyth.* 5.55; cf. Βάττου γένει, 5.124). But as the narrative proceeds, Pindar (or his choral persona) recalls Cyrene's Dorian ancestry and pronounces its founders "Aegeids" and hence ἐμοὶ πατέρες (5.75–76; cf. *Isthm.* 7.15 and Schol.), then reaches back further to declare the ruling family "Antenorids" (5.83), before returning to the city's founder and naming him

25. Ap. Rhod. 2.500–519 traces the Euxantid priesthood back to Aristaeus and Cyrene. Similar patronyms elsewhere in Callimachus include "Aleteids" (*Aet.* frag. 59.5) after Corinth's Heraclid οἰκιστής (see Ephorus F18, Pind. *Ol.* 13.14), "Sisyphids" (frag. 384.10) likewise for Corinthians (Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 10.8), "Arestorids" (*Hymn* 5.34) for a φυλὴ ἐπίσημος at Argos (Schol.), "Ormenids" (*Hymn* 6.75) for a γένος ἐπίσημον in Thessalian Iton (Schol.). Ephorus F118 (Strabo 8.5.5) implies that it was normal for οἰκισταί to be venerated in cult; see Malkin 1987, 242 for the lacunose text, and p. 194, n. 28 for its credibility.

26. Intermarriage with Libyan women was sanctioned by legend and cult (Callim. *Hymn* 2.85–86, cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 5.85–87); apparently, only men accompanied Battos (Hdt. 4.153, *SEG* 9.3.27–30, cf. Aristotle frag. 549 in Ath. 13 576a–b on the Phocaean settlers at Massalia c. 600); intermarriage is also indicated by the occasional occurrence of Libyan names in inscriptions. Political and property rights, on the other hand, required patrilinear Greek ties, at least under the Ptolemies (see the *diagramma* of 321, *SEG* 9.1.3); Laronde 1990 argues for widespread contact and exchange but cautiously refrains from claiming there was any political assimilation.

"Aristotle" (5.87).[27] The Battiads themselves thus kept alive the memory of their founding father's original *Hellenic* name. Yet they and others alike evidently regarded his Libyan title much more highly. Although "Battos" is attested only seven other times in the following millennium (see n. 18 above), dozens of prominent Cyreneans were named Aristotle from the fourth century on (*LGPN* sub nom.). Conversely, although the patronym invoked by Callimachus is widely attested, none derived from "Aristotle" has surfaced. "Aristotle," then, was an acceptable, even popular personal name; but "Battos" was not, because of its unique place in Cyrenean history and religion.

Prominent in Pindar and recounted at length by Herodotus, the foundation legend enjoyed wide and lasting currency. It figured in the Aristotelian *Constitution of the Cyreneans* (Heraclides Lembus frag. 16) and in the chronicles of Acesander (*FGrH* 469 F5–6), of Menecles from nearby Barca (*FGrH* 270 F6), and of Theochrestus (*FGrH* 761 F1); even Apollonius (4.1749–64, cf. Schol. 4.1750) and Lycophron (*Alex.* 877–908) allude to it. The legend also remained vivid in aristocratic Cyrene and a major force in its civic and religious life. Not only was the legend kept alive by the presence of the ἡρῷον and annual festivals, it even served sometime in the fourth century to justify granting ἰσοπολιτεία to all resident Theraeans (*SEG* 9.3 = 5 ML).[28] Oaths allegedly sworn before the departure of the first colonists in the seventh century had guaranteed full rights of citizenship to all descendants of the Theraean families that sent men on the initial expedition (τῶν οἰκείων τὸγ καταπλέον[τα | ὕστερον εἰς Λιβύαν καὶ πολιτήιας καὶ τιμᾶμ πεδέχ[εν | καὶ γᾶς τᾶς ἀδεσπότω ἀπολαγχάνεν, 31–33), and the pact bound everyone by ceremonies and vows imprecating a gruesome death for any transgressors (40–49). These ancestral oaths were reaffirmed by being newly inscribed along with the original terms of colonization for display in "the ancestral shrine of Pythian Apollo" (17–20) along the city's northern walls. Apart from the three officials who moved the decree, moreover, the only individual named on the stone is Battos, and Apollo's sanction of his leading role is emphasized repeatedly (7, 20, 24, 26). In a community, then, where descent from the founding families entailed such substantial rights and involved such sacred rites, the patronym was certain to evoke the poet's civic and religious ties, and very unlikely to be intended or interpreted narrowly as an allusion to his father's name or royal ancestry.

Callimachus himself presents the legend of Battos as the climactic narrative of his *Hymn to Apollo*. After a mimetic proem visualizes the commencement of a choral performance on a festal occasion (1–31), the hymn

27. The Antenorid legend presumably explains why Lysimachus (*FGrH* 382 F6) ascribes Trojan ancestry to some native Libyans. Other sources for the name "Aristotle" include Heraclides Lembus frag. 16, Diod. 8.29, Schol. Pind. *Pyth* 4 inscr. (93.14 Drachmann), Schol. Ar. *Plut.* 924, Schol. Callim. *Hymn* 2.76. Schol. *Hymn* 2.65 (and probably *P Antinoop.* 20 on *Hymn* 2.66) associate "Battos" with a speech impediment. Schol. *Pyth.* 4 inscr. (93.18 Drachmann) claims that Battos was originally named Kokkux ("cuckoo"), which is surely just another epithet inspired by the legend of the founder's difficulties with speech.

28. The inscription itself dates to the first half of the fourth century; but it claims to reproduce material dating to the departure of the first colonists c. 640. The oath is widely considered genuinely archaic; but Dušanić 1978 poses serious objections and conjectures a rationale for forgery. Regardless of its origin, however, the inscription indicates how prominent and potent the foundation legend remained long after the fall of the Battiads.

progressively narrows its focus from the god's four principal domains (32–46) to his role in herding and colonization (47–64), then recounts the foundation of Cyrene as its exemplary myth (65–96).[29] Opening with an allusion to Apollo's oracular decree, the narrative introduces the founding father under his divinely ordained title of "Battos" (65; cf. fr. 671). But after tracing the Dorian origins of Apollo Carneius—an epithet proudly pronounced "ancestral" (πατρώιον, 71)—the hymn names the founder "Aristoteles" as it proclaims his Theraean origins (76). Following a vision of the entire community gathered in choral performance (85–86), the narrative envisions the god himself watching in the company of the nymph Cyrene (90–93), then closes with a dual vaunt: Apollo favored no city as much as Cyrene (note πόλει), and (marking closure by repeating the same collocation of epithets that opened the tale at 65) "neither did the Battiads themselves [αὐτοί / Βαττιάδαι] pay any god higher honors than Phoebus" (95–96).

Intrigued by the programmatic features of the epiphany that ends the hymn (105–13), scholars have tended to equate the narrator's voice with the poet himself. The reference to Battiads, like an earlier reference to "my king" (26), is therefore widely interpreted as a distinctly personal note. But as Archaic lyric illustrates so well, the relation between poet and chorus can be extremely fluid. And as recent studies have emphasized, the protean persona that Callimachus here constructs and the ritual performance that he vividly mimics create a veritable polyphony that integrates his own voice with the voices of the chorus, of the community that observes their performance, of the founding father they celebrate together, and even of the very god who ordained their city.[30] The hymn thus speaks above all with a civic voice and on behalf of the city as a whole: witness "my city" (65) and "our kings" (68) at the opening of the myth, and the "ancestral" Carnea traced from Cyrene back to Thera and its Spartan source (71–76). Even an early reference to "my king" (26) most likely refers at least in part to the original Battos, though perhaps also to Ptolemy or Magas, as most scholars since antiquity have tended to assume.[31] For as Apollo's designated ἀρχηγέτης, the founding hero was virtually an avatar of the god, as Callimachus suggests (26–27).[32]

> ὃς μάχεται μακάρεσσιν, ἐμῷ βασιλῆι μάχοιτο·
> ὅστις ἐμῷ βασιλῆι, καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι μάχοιτο.
>
> May any who contend with the blessed gods contend with my king;
> may any who contend with my king contend with Apollo too.

29. For illuminating analysis of the sequence, see Calame 1993. The choice of myth is only one of many signs that Callimachus envisions a festival in Cyrene; thus, Apollo *Nomios* (47) evokes Aristaeus, his son by Cyrene (Pind. *Pyth.* 9.65). Apparently conflicting signs are best interpreted as signifying Cyrene's colonial heritage; thus, the Pythian laurel (1) and Delian palm (4) mentioned at the outset represent cultural if not physical transplants from those shrines; see Williams 1978 on 1.

30. See Bing 1993, Calame 1993, Depew 1993.

31. For scholarly debate about the identity of the kings named in 26 and 68, see Williams 1978 ad loc. But as Heyworth 1994, p. 60, n. 27 observes, a more general reference—to the lords of Cyrene whoever, wherever, and whenever they be—suits their relation to the god of famously enigmatic oracles; and the oath in 67–68 plainly alludes to his oracle to Battos, even if to others as well.

32. On the relation between Battos and Apollo, see Calame 1988, 121–22; cf. Calame 1993, 50. On the identity of the king in 2.26–27, see Laronde 1987, 362; Cameron 1995, 407–9.

Callimachus thus uses polyphony to construct a very public voice, and his references to kings and Battiads serve to evoke not his private ancestry but the community's heroized patron who was one of its traditional intermediaries with the gods. Ironically, the poet thereby imitates the original Battiads in assuming the originally royal prerogative of speaking for the city at large in priestly address to Cyrene's most revered god.[33]

Epitaphs seek to have the last word, and it is time to return to the poet's own. Our review of Cyrenean legend raises a tantalizing possibility: Did Callimachus use the patronym in his epitaph as a mask? In particular, did he call himself a "Battiad" because his father was named Aristotle? Every Cyrenean, and the many elsewhere familiar with the city's legends, knew the alternative name; and inscriptions show that it was current at the time. Over a dozen Aristotles are attested within the lifetimes of Callimachus and his father, including seven near contemporaries listed on a lacunose record of financial contributions (*SEG* 20.735: *LGPN* [15–21]). Four can be discounted because their fathers bear different names, and no secure relation to Callimachus can be traced for any others. But one case is especially intriguing: a philosopher (*LGPN* [8] = *RE* [20]) active fairly late in the fourth century (Diog. Laert. 2.113) who wrote on poetry (Diog. Laert. 5.35) and moved in the same circles as the "Cyrenaic" philosopher Anniceris—probably a grandson of the Anniceris who ransomed Plato and was Callimachus' own great-grandfather.[34] This Aristotle, in short, apparently belonged to the same generation as Callimachus' father—who he may have been. On the other hand, there are many other plausible candidates, most notably his grandfather's two attested sons, Androcles and Theodorus (see fig. 1). Without further evidence, then, it would be pointless either to affirm or to dismiss the possibility that "Battiades" alludes to an Aristotle.

Even if the poet's father was named Aristotle, "Battiades" clearly had much larger significance. By appropriating the founder's name in his own epitaph, Callimachus declares at once his civic identity and a sacred tie to Apollo. He also claims the right to rank among the cultural and religious icons of his native land, though he cloaks his vaunt in allusive obscurity that has fostered confusion among scholars. Yet his allusion is also richly ironic. If his father really was named "Battos," it would be irreverent if not impudent for Callimachus to toy with the name. As the legend of the founding father

33. The Battiad kings retained priestly functions even after the reforms of Demonax; see Hdt. 4.161.3, cf. Chamoux 1953, 217 and (for Apollo in particular) 301–11. After the monarchy, the priesthood of Apollo became a major annual office. Shortly before or after Callimachus was born, it was held by a brother of his eponymous grandfather (Peithagoras, c. 321: *SEG* 9 1.73); his grandfather's other brother, Philo, sponsored major renovations of the precinct of Apollo about twenty years earlier (*SEG* 9 85–86). Such recent familial ties to Cyrene's principal civic deity add further resonance to Koster's (1983) suggestion that Callimachus in his *Hymn to Apollo* adopts the role (among others, I would add) of Apollo's priest.

34. Cf. n. 17 above. For testimonia on this Aristotle, see §4 E in Giannantoni 1990. Traces of some other possible relatives also deserve mention. Another Aristotle (*LGPN* [21]) had a son Nicis (cf. Anniceris), as did a Callimachus (8) in the fifth century. Men of both names were in charge of major cults in the fourth or third century: Aristotle son of Arist[. . .] supervised the Carnea (*SEG* 9.65) and Callimachus son of Ly[simachus?] supervised the Artemisia (*SEG* 9 66); both inscriptions employ the distinctive Cyrenean term τελεσφορεῖν used in Callim. *Hymn* 2.78 (cf. Williams 1978 on 2.78). A remarkable epigram from the second century C.E. recalls the foundation legend to commemorate the role of still another Aristotle in building a shrine for Apollo (*SEG* 9.189).

illustrates, classical Greek usage equated the Libyan title with defective speech. Worse, a passage in Herodas suggests that such stuttering was popularly associated with κίναιδοι (2.74–77).[35] On the other hand, if the father bore some other name, there is wry wit in Callimachus' claiming a heritage of hesitant speech, especially when he presents himself as a votary of the slender—hence reticent—muse, and especially when the epitaph itself is so brief.

Dense wordplay at the close of the *Hymn to Apollo* confirms that the ironies lurking in the name of Cyrene's founder echoed clearly in Callimachus' epitaph. After the hymn recalls the precocious god's triumph at Delphi as the basis of an ingenious etymology for the ritual cry of the paean (97–103), Callimachus adds a sly etymology of a very rare epithet for Apollo. The god, we are told, was born ἀοσσητῆρ (104), literally a "helper," but in the light of the following claim that henceforth the god is "sung" (passive ἀείδῃ, emphatically echoed by active ἀείδει in the same final position two lines later, and strikingly interwoven with εἶπεν and ἔειπεν at the end of 105 and 107), also "voiceless one": without ὄσσα.[36] Callimachus thus frames the foundation myth with allusions to the power of speech. Similarly, moments after implicitly contradicting the legend of a stuttering Battos by calling him "whole" (unimpaired) and naming him "Aristotle" (οὖλος Ἀριστοτέλης, 76) upon his arrival in Cyrene,[37] he turns our attention to the "voiceless" god himself (104), then promptly breaks this divine silence with Apollo's sudden verbal epiphany (107–12). All this wordplay eminently suits the Cyreneans, who also claimed to be Euphamids (Pind. *Pyth.* 4.256–62, Ap. Rhod. 4.1731–64): descendants of "Goodspeak," as Callimachus quietly but insistently recalls early in the hymn (εὐφημεῖτ' and εὐφημεῖ, 2.17–18). In his own epitaph, then, he adopts the title of "Battiades" also to indicate that he knows both when to speak and when not to speak (καίρια εἰδότος): both when to praise, as befits an ἀοιδός, and when not to blame, as befits the fellowship of the symposium. The opening word of the epitaph thus resonates

35. See Headlam 1922 on 2.75–76, whose evidence is only from Latin or for βατ- instead of βαττ-; but Cicero (*Fam.* 9.22.4 = 189 Shackleton Bailey) alludes to an indecent sense for *batto,* alongside other Greek terms. The use of βαττ- for speech defects can be traced back only to Hdt. 4.155, who of course favors a different aetiology; but the sense persisted (Hesychius s.v.). The verb βατταρίζω is first attested in Hipponax (frag. 140 Masson), but lack of context leaves its sense obscure; Plato neatly uses the verb in a conversation with the Cyrenean Theodorus (*Tht.* 175d).

36. Ὄσσα occurs four times in Homer, once applied by Apollo to himself (*Il.* 15.254) and once (by Achilles to himself, 22.333) in a line that begins with νήπιε—literally "speechless"; for the term's traditional association with divinity, see Collins (1999). Also suggestive is Callimachus' suppression of the nymph's name in favor of her patronym, Hypseïs (92); her name nonetheless echoes in an etymological allusion to the city's sacred spring, when πηγῇσι Κύρης or "springs of asphodel" (88) names what was known as Apollo's κρήνη (both words figured in ancient etymologies of her and the city's name; see Williams 1978 on 88), as if Kyrene were in both sense and sound a conflation of *Kyra-krene.* Calame 1993, 45 points out that ἰὴ ἰὴ παιῆον (97 and 103, framing the Python episode) could be heard (ἀκούομεν, 97) as ἴει ἴει, παῖ, ἰόν (cf. βέλος, 103).

37. So Schol. *Hymn* 2.76, interpreting οὖλος as Ionic for ὅλος, though Callimachus follows Homer in using the word in three other senses as well; see Williams 1978 on 76. Aristarchus knew a version that had Battos secure the colony from the ravages of Libyan lions by uttering τινὰς ἐπῳδάς given him by Apollo (Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 5.57). Behind this focus on language may lie what Pindar alludes to as γλῶσσαν ὑπερποντίαν (*Pyth.* 5.59): the linguistic barriers faced by colonists trying to communicate with Libyan natives, which presumably obliged "Battos" either to speak Greek very slowly or to stammer in their "bar-bar-ic" tongue.

through both lines, as if to justify both their sense and their brevity. To paraphrase, at last: Here lies, Callimachus implies, not a sour bookworm desiccated by solitary labor over contentious verse (cf. *Hymn* 2.107–13, *Aet.* frag. 1), but a sacred servant of Apollo who is proud to extol his civic and religious heritage, and equally a genial companion in the more intimate pleasures of wine and song.

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