Bacchylides

and

The Emergence of the Lyric Canon

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Declaration

I, Theodora Andreas Hadjimichael, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

For almost two millennia the dismissive judgement of pseudo-Longinus on Bacchylides has influenced the reception of his work. This underestimation of Bacchylides has persisted in modern scholarship even after papyrus discoveries recovered the primary text for research. This relative lack of interest is reflected in a still very limited bibliography. The thesis, which draws on current Reception Theory, aims to reposition Bacchylides in both the field of Greek Lyric Poetry and modern scholarship. The dissertation analyses the path of Bacchylides in time, and focuses especially on the poetry and criticism that was crucial for canonisation and survival of both Bacchylides and the rest of the lyric poets.

Chapter 1 deals with the geographical movement of Bacchylides in his lifetime, examined against the background of the commissions of Pindar and Simonides. Chapter 2 focuses on Bacchylides' relationship with Athens and echoes of his poetry in Greek drama (tragedy and Aristophanic comedy), while Chapter 3 on Herodotus tests the Athenian evidence and offers a pan-Hellenic look at lyric reception. Reception of lyric by Plato and the Peripatetics in Chapter 4 is the transitional stage from Classical Athens to the Hellenistic era. Chapter 5 discusses the move from song to written texts. Finally, Chapter 6 focuses on Hellenistic scholarship on lyric poetry and on the establishment of the lyric canon. Two important issues in the thesis are the transmission of texts from oral song-culture to written sources, and the process of canonisation.

Bacchylides is a peculiar poetic figure and a paradox; his poetry and survival do not seem to follow the norm and pattern of the rest of the lyric poets. The thesis is an attempt to fill in a gap in modern scholarship and in the process of examining the transmission of Bacchylides' work in antiquity to clarify the larger process of canonisation and the media through which Greek lyric poetry as a whole reaches Alexandria and survives.

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Acknowledgements

Writing acknowledgments is a procedure that comes as the pinnacle at the end of an achievement. It is also a procedure that requires self-knowledge, consciousness and memory in order to reconstruct the history and story of this work. This kind of reconstruction is accompanied by a bitter smile: joy for the accomplishment and for the gratitude to the people behind the achievement; bitterness for the personal effort and labour required during the years of research.

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<div align="right">London, January 2011</div>

Conventions and Abbreviations

All quotations from Pindar and Bacchylides follow the standard editions by Snell and Maehler unless indicated otherwise: Snell, B. & Maehler, H. (1987) *Pindari Carmina cum Fragmentis*, i. *Epinicia.* Leipzig. Maehler, H (1989) *Pindari Carmina cum Fragmentis*, ii. *Fragmenta, Indices.* Leipzig; (2004) *Bacchylidis Carmina cum Fragmentis.* The Scholia vetera to Pindar are quoted according to Drachmann. Σ is used for scholia. Greek authors are referred to as in LSJ or unabbreviated. Latin authors appear as in *OLD* or unabbreviated. Journals bear the acronyms used by *L' Annee Philologique*. The spelling of Greek names is Hellenized or Latinized according to a random criterion of familiarity (e.g. 'Herodotus'). Translations are taken from the relevant volume of the Loeb Classical Library unless otherwise indicated.

A-B	Austin, C & Bastianini, G. (2002) *Posidippi Pellaei quae supersunt*, Milan.
AGEP	Stadtmüller, H. (1894-1906) *Anthologia Graeca Epigrammatum Palatina cum Planudea,* Leipzig.
AP	*Anthologia Palatina*
ATL	Meritt, B.D., Wade-Gery, H.T. & M. F. MacGregor (1939-53) *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, 4 vols. Princeton.
Calame	Calame, C. (1983) *Alcman. Introduction, texte critique, tèmoignages, traduction et commentaire*, Roma.
Campbell	Campbell, D.A. (1982-93) *Greek Lyric*, 5 vols. Cambridge MA (Loeb).
CEG	Hansen, P.A. (1983) *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca Saeculum VIII-V a.Chr.N.* , Berlin and New York
D	Diehl, E. (1925) *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, 2 vols. Leipsig.
Dr.	Drachmann, A.B. (1903-27) *Scholia Vetera in Pindari Carmina*, 3 vols. Leipzig.
Ebert	Ebert, J. (1972) *Griechische Epigramme auf Sieger an gymnischen und hippischen Agonen*, Berlin.
FGE	Page, D.L. (1981) *Further Greek Epigrams*, Cambridge.

FGrH	Jacoby, F. (1923-) *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Berlin–Leiden.
GHI	Osborne, R. & Rhodes, P.J. (2003) Greek Historical Inscriptions,404-323 BC, Oxford.
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae* (1873–), Berlin.
LGPN	Matthews, E., Fraser, P.M, et al (1987-) *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Oxford.
LSJ	Liddell, H.G., Scott, R., Mackenzie, R. (1940^9; repr. 1990) *A Greek English Lexicon, revised and augmented throughout by Jones, H.S.* With a supplement (1968) Oxford.
ML	Lewis, D & R. Meiggs, (1969; repr. 1988), *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.,* Oxford.
Moretti	Moretti, L. (1953) *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche*, Roma.
OCD^3	Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. (1996^3) *The Oxford Classical Dictionary,* Oxford.
Page	Page, D. (1955) *Sappho and Alcaeus*, Oxford.
PCG	Austin, C. & Kassel, R. (1983-), *Poetae Comici Graeci.* Berlin,
PKöln	Armoni, C., Gronewald. M., Mareschm K. [et al.] (2007) *Kölner Papyri (Pköln) vol. VII/Band 11,* Paderborn.
PLG	Bergk, T. (1878^4) *Poetae Lyrici Graeci,* 3 vols. , Leipzig.
PLF	Lobel, E. & Page, D.L. (1955) *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*, Oxford.
PMG	Page, D.L. (1962) *Poetae Melici Graeci,* Oxford.
POxy.	Grenfell, B.P. (1898-) *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, London. (Roman numbers refer to volumes; Arabic numbers to individual papyri)
R	Rose, V. (1886) *Aristotelis qui ferebantur librorum fragmenta*, Leipzig.
RE	*Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, von Pauly, A.Fr., rev. Wissowa, G. *et al.* (Stuttgart, 1894–1980)
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (1923-) Leiden and Amsterdam

SH   Lloyd-Jones, H. & Parsons, P. (1983) *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, Berlin, New York

Tod *GHI*   Tod, M.N. (1933-48) *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 2 vols. , Oxford

Voigt   Voigt, E-M. (1971) *Sappho et Alcaeus fragmenta*, Amsterdam.

W   West, M.L (1989-92[2]) *Iambi et Elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum Cantati*, 2 vols. , Oxford.

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Introduction

Πίνδαρε, Μουσάων ἱερὸν στόμα, καὶ λάλε Σειρὴν
Βακχυλίδη Σαπφοῦς τ' Αἰολίδες χάριτες
γράμμα τ' Ἀνακρείοντος, Ὁμηρικὸν ὅς τ' ἀπὸ ῥεῦμα
ἔσπασας οἰκείοις, Στησίχορ', ἐν καμάτοις,
ἥ τε Σιμωνίδεω γλυκερὴ σελὶς ἡδύ τε Πειθοῦς
Ἴβυκε καὶ παίδων ἄνθος ἀμησάμενε
καὶ ξίφος Ἀλκαίοιο, τὸ πολλάκις αἷμα τυράννων
ἔσπεισεν πάτρης θέσμια ῥυόμενον,
θηλυμελεῖς τ' Ἀλκμᾶνος ἀηδόνες, ἵλατε, πάσης
ἀρχὴν οἳ λυρικῆς καὶ πέρας ἐστάσατε.
(*AP*.**9.184**)

Ἔκλαγεν ἐκ Θηβῶν μέγα Πίνδαρος· ἔπνεε τερπνὰ
ἡδυμελεῖ φθόγγῳ μοῦσα Σιμωνίδεω·
λάμπει Στησίχορός τε καὶ Ἴβυκος· ἦν γλυκὺς Ἀλκμάν·
λαρὰ δ' ἀπὸ στομάτων φθέγξατο Βακχυλίδης·
Πειθὼ Ἀνακρείοντι συνέσπετο· ποικίλα δ' αὐδᾷ
Ἀλκαῖος, κύκνος Λέσβιος, Αἰολίδι.
ἀνδρῶν δ' οὐκ ἐνάτη Σαπφὼ πέλεν, ἀλλ' ἐρατειναῖς
ἐν Μούσαις δεκάτη Μοῦσα καταγράφεται.
(*AP*.**9.571**)

The above two anonymous poems from the Palatine Anthology show that the fifth-century BC Greek lyric poet Bacchylides was one of the nine poets of the Alexandrian lyric canon. The obscure process whereby Bacchylides became part of this select group, and more generally the transmission of lyric poetry, form the subject of this thesis. Before moving to the main part of the thesis, in which I consider in detail Bacchylides' ancient reception, I wish to explore both the notion of the *canon* and the "canonisation" of lyric in order to provide a context for what follows.

"The Lyric Canon" is a modern concept that is inferred rather than explicitly declared by the ancient sources and writers. The term κανών is not employed in scholarship and literature of antiquity to designate a privileged text or set of texts, and it is used as such for the first time by Photius in the ninth century AD - 'any individual author who represents the standard of the genre or the model for another

writer.'[1] It is difficult to pinpoint the exact meaning of the term and the function of canons at the time of their creation, especially of the lyric canon. This difficulty derives mainly from the fact that the first evidence for the existence of such a selection of lyric poets (*AP*.9.184) is an adespoton epigram with a disputed date.[2] We possess no secure chronological information on the epigram but its technique, according to Wilamowitz, suggests that it was not of the Roman period but belonged to the time of Bion (c.100 BC).[3] Its attribution of exemplary status and hymnic tone as well as the enumeration of the poetic qualities of each lyric poet suggests that the epigram was composed at a period when the lyric canon was well established and the distinguishing features of its individual members well recognised. Wilamowitz draws attention to the concluding phrase of the epigram (καὶ πέρας ἐστάσατε). He argues that the phrase suggests that the canon of the nine lyric poets was closed and thus fixed by the time of its composition.[4] Though the first point has some merit, the second fails to recognise that the list was always closed; we have no evidence for an open-ended process of accretion.

A list in the Pindaric manuscripts EPQ entitled Εἰς τοὺς ἐννέα λυρικούς indicates that the nine lyric poets were amongst the best poets (ἐννέα τῶν πρώτων ποιητῶν). Their characterisation as "the first poets" points to the priority of the nine poets either among the group of Greek poets in general or among other lyric poets. The commentator on Dionysius Thrax p.21.18ff calls the list of the lyric nine πραττόμενοι. The whole phrase - γεγόνασι δὲ λυρικοὶ οἱ καὶ πραττόμενοι ἐννέα - presumably implies that the named poets were those to whom editorial and exegetic

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[1] *OCD s.v.* "canon". E.g. Phot. *Bibl.*35b33 Σχεδὸν δὲ κἂν τοῖς ἄλλοις Θουκυδίδης ἐστὶν αὐτῷ ὁ κανών.

[2] Barbantani (2009) 303 claims that this particular epigram 'could belong to a scholastic and rhetorical environment'. *AP* 9.571 is considered an imitation of the preceding epigram whose purpose was to enumerate the nine lyric poets concluding climactically in honour of Sappho. - Wilamowitz (1900) 5; Barbantani (1993) 9. For an analysis of the epigram, Barbantani (1993) 10.

[3] Wilamowitz (1900) 5. *Contra* Wilamowitz, Stadtmüller *AGEP* ad loc attributes the epigram to Alcaeus of Messene (end of third century BC) and Barbantani (1993) 8 offers an approximate date in the second century BC. She groups this epigram with the other canonical lists preserved in epigrams of the second/first century BC: Antipater Sidonius *AP*.7.81 for the seven sages, *AP*.9.58 for the Seven Wonders of the World, and Antipater Thessalonike *AP*.9.26 for the seven poetesses. On the confusion between the two Antipater, Gow&Page (1965) 31-34. The existence of more than one epigram with lists could be used as an indicator that canonical lists were presumably a trend in the second/first century BC. This, therefore, could be used as a helpful indicator (though not absolute) to date the epigram on the lyric canon at that period.

[4] Wilamowitz (1900) 7. Barbantani (1993) 7 assumes that the number of the lyric poets is nine probably in order to create a parallel between this group and the group of the nine Muses. Whether or not this is true, multiplies of three are strikingly common in the ancient canons.

attention was devoted.[5] Thus, it suggests that the selection of the nine was the result of a tradition whose traces were left in the Alexandrian library. The commentator adds to this list Corinna as tenth.[6] Corinna features in another list preserved in Pindar's scholia; QTAng offer a variation of the canonical lyric list which finishes with the phrase τινὲς δὲ καὶ τὴν Κόϱυνον, presumably a scribal mistake for Κόϱινναν. The wording of both the above statements reveals that the canon of the nine lyric poets was indeed well-established. The presence of Corinna as addition or afterthought confirms the nine as a selected group.

Canonising Lyric

Although the lyric canon was formed by the first century BC, it is not certain when and by whom it was established nor what the actual purpose of its creation was. Consequently, it is not clear whether it was based on quality and whether it included in the canonical list those lyric poets[7] who had been established as classic already before the Hellenistic period, or those whose works had reached Alexandria and were available in the library. There are still many unanswered questions about its emergence. The canon could have consisted of selected poets whose texts not only reached the Alexandrian library but also became an object of study by the scholars (πϱαττόμενοι). This hypothesis would divide the group of the lyric poets into those for which the Alexandrians had produced editions and commentaries and those who, although their work had survived, did not become an object of study. This selection could have been made either on the basis of individual judgements of quality or on the basis of a simple chronological test. In this sense, the canon may have saved the names of the older (classic?) poets, not necessarily of the popular poets. Barbantani rightly points out that 'the editorial activity of Alexandrian scholars had a determining

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[5] Barbantani (2009) 303.

[6] The date of Corinna still remains problematic (fifth or third century BC). Corinna is not mentioned in any surviving Greek literature before the second/first century BC (cf. *AP*.9.26), yet an inscribed Roman statuette of Corinna appears to be derived from a fourth-century source. The tradition that Corinna was contemporary with Pindar and flourished in the fifth century is presented as fact in Plutarch (*Glor. Ath.* 4.34.7) and Pausanias (9.22.3). On the date of the poetess, Page (1953) 65-84; West (1970) 279-280; Allen&Frel (1972); Snyder (1989) 43; West (1990) 557; Segal (1998a) 319.

[7] Barbantani (2009) 302-303 postulates that outstanding poets were included in canons and were thus 'a group of authors considered a model for style and/or content to be followed by other poets and prose writers.' Wilamowitz (1900) 70 emphasises the importance ('hoher Bedeutung') and points at the aesthetic judgements made for the creation of the canons.

influence on the reception of authors regarded as classics'[8]. Though true, this fails to account for both the elaborate process whereby the Alexandrian lyric canon came into being and, in particular, the contribution of critics in the classical period to the formation of particular canons. The alternative is to suppose that the lyric canon was simply based on the material available in the library. However this hypothesis, which is the view of Wilamowitz, appears not to hold water.[9]

The example which encompasses all the above elements and refutes in part[10] Wilamowitz's argument is Timotheus.[11] Timotheus' work was apparently still famous during the Hellenistic period. Polybius (4.20.8-9) records that his poems were included with the works of Philoxenus in the school curriculum in Arcadia in the second century BC, a period in which, according to Pausanias (8.50.3) and Plutarch (*Philop.* 11.1), his poems were still being performed. Although Timotheus was not edited by the Alexandrian scholars[12] (the format of his papyrus, which predates the Alexandrian editions, is non-colometric),[13] his *Persae* probably reached the Alexandrian library, since it came down to us preserved on a fourth-century papyrus. Still, he is not included in the lyric canon. His exclusion means that the canonical list could not have included *only* poets and poetry preserved in the library, as Timotheus' text was in the library's possessions. He also remains unedited, which allows us to assume that, if his text was in the library, the Alexandrians were selective and *chose* the poets whom they would edit and annotate from the texts assembled in the library.[14] The occasional inclusion of Corinna in the group of nine and the exclusion of the New Poets imply that the canon did not actually include simply and solely those whose text had survived but a selection –a closed selection – from what was

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[8] Barbantani (2009) 303.

[9] Wilamowitz (1900) 7, 21. Page (1953) 68 follows Wilamowitz' view and refuses to accept that the Alexandrian Canon was a selection. See pp.15-17 for the rejection of Wilamowitz' view.

[10] The absence of Lasus from the lyric canon could actually partly verify the assumption of Wilamowitz; apparently, the text of Lasus did not survive in the library.

[11] Cf. Page (1953) 68 who ignores Timotheus' *Persae* that were discovered in 1902 when he says 'I still await anything worthy of the name of evidence that any ancient lyrical poet whose works were in circulation up to the Alexandrian era was omitted by the Alexandrian editors from their collection...'

[12] Hordern (2002) 74.

[13] For a description of the papyrus, Hordern (2002) 65-73.

[14] Hordern (2002) 74 offers an unsatisfactory explanation of the reason why Timotheus was not edited in Alexandria. According to Hordern, since Timotheus' works continued to be performed in the Hellenistic period, he was not included in the canon because the canonical lyric poets were the ones which survived only in book form. Hordern seems to be selective both in his arguments and his examples. He implicitly claims that different criteria were in use for the lyric poets and for the Greek tragedians (e.g. Euripides), who were edited although still performed in the Hellenistic period.

theoretically available. The principles underlying this selection will form part of the focus of this study.

Once formed, the selection remained fixed as established in the Hellenistic era.[15] Quintilian spoke of the nine lyric poets (*Inst.* 10.1.61 *novem vero Lyricorum*), Petronius, among other authors, recognised the canonical nine as models for the successive generations (*Sat.* 2 *Pindarus novemque lyrici*), and Horace claimed that the only way in which to ensure poetic glory was for his name to be included in the Greek lyric canon.

> Quod si me lyricis uatibus inseres,
> sublimi feriam sidera uertice.
>
> **(Hor. *Carm.*I.1.35-36)**

Quintilian emphasises the interest of the Alexandrians in antiquarianism (10.1.40. *qui vetustatem pertulerunt*)[16] and the fact that Aristophanes and Aristarchus did not include in their *informal* canons post-classical and contemporary authors.

> Apollonius in ordinem a grammaticis datum non venit, quia Aristarchus atque Aristophanes, poetarum iudices, neminem sui temporis in numerum redegerunt, non tamen contemnendum edidit opus aequali quadam mediocritate.
>
> **(Quint. *Inst.*10.1.54)**

Since the Alexandrians never actively suppressed texts, the notion of absolute authority is a chimera. The above statements and the manner in which these lists were perceived by succeeding scholars suggest that the models which the Alexandrians had established influenced the reception of Greek literature in subsequent eras. The poetic canons and lists which had been established by the Alexandrian scholars were a

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[15] Unlike the lyric canon, some canons were characterised by fluidity. The clearest example of a fluid canon is that of the Attic orators, whose number changed variably in antiquity. Apparently, the number of the orators selected in each period and each rhetorical treatise depended upon the style which changed according to the literary trends of each period. According to Quintilian 10.76 (c.35-c.100), Philostratus *Vit. Soph.* 564-565 (c.170-247 AD), and Hermogenes *On Ideas* 2.11.196-199 (flourished in 161-180 AD) the Attic orators were ten. Dionysius of Hallicarnassus (c.60 BC-after 7 BC) narrows down the list to six – Lysias, Isocrates, Lycurgus, Demosthenes, Aeschines, and Hyperides. Compared to the canon of the orators, the lyric canon appears to have remained unchanged from the Hellenistic period onwards.
[16] The chief Hellenistic poets acquired commentaries for the first time in the fourth century AD by Theon, the last curator of the library. There was still the tendency in Hellenistic scholarship of looking backwards.

selection of authors who were chosen due to their perceived authority.[17] Both their authority and selection secured their survival in the Roman period and Latin literature.

Rutherford underscores the educational function of these canons and insists that the included authors were not those approved of in every respect; 'it would be a mistake to think that the function of the lists was to provide canonical models; rather they provide examples which the modern student is supposed to engage and strive to emulate, using his judgment...to identify which elements are worth imitating and which are not.'[18] Apparently, Rutherford follows Hermogenes and distinguishes between 'the absolute value of an author and his value as a model in rhetorical education.'[19] Though some of our best information comes from the rhetorical tradition, it is perhaps reductive to insist solely on rhetoric and, indeed, on citation alone. Thus, one should not distinguish between the canonical status of a selected author and his exemplary use by readers and scholars. It could be that the established selections in what today we call "canons" were made as a guide for contemporary and future intellectuals concerning the authors they should prioritise, read, and employ as models in each poetic genre. Rutherford emphasises the rhetorical use of texts and, therefore, the perception of the canon of poetic as well as prose texts by rhetoricians as early as Quintilian. The nature of the exegesis offered by the scholia, which in turn reflects the interests of the Hellenistic commentators, with its combination of linguistic exegesis, style, parallels, religious, cultural and political history, and myth suggest a larger role for the texts and a larger role for serious study. Some of these may reflect the potential use of texts in schools.[20] If this is the case, the level of discussion lends itself more to an educated general readership or perhaps even poetic or prose imitators as opposed to a basic school education model. This would not rule out rhetorical use, but it does not suggest an exclusive focus on rhetorical education.[21]

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[17] Barbantani (1993) 6. Martindale (1993) 24 observes that 'canons...are sites where hegemony is encoded and reproduced.'
[18] Rutherford (1992) 362.
[19] Ibid. 371.
[20] For the relatively narrow curriculum in the Hellenistic period, Morgan (1998)25-39.
[21] *Contra* Peradotto (1993) 85, 88 who interprets the formation of literary canons as an educational and specifically rhetorical issue.

Bacchylides and the Canon of Nine

There is no sense that the canon was beyond criticism, since inclusion in the canon did not make a writer unassailable. Despite the relatively established status of literary canons, selections, distinctions and comparisons were still made from among the names included in these lists. Dionysius of Halicarnassus chooses to mention by name and to comment upon Pindar, Simonides, Stesichorus, and Alcaeus from the lyric poets (*De Imitatione* 31.2.5-8). The same four, but with Simonides at the final position, are selected by Quintilian (10.61-64).[22] Even after the establishment of literary canons, those who were thought to be the great writers (if that was how they were to be understood) could still be assailed and criticised by later authors.[23] From among the lyric poets Pindar was almost always considered to be the definitive example of the lyric genre, while the work of Bacchylides was considered inferior in comparison to the Pindaric poetics:

> ἐν μέλεσι μᾶλλον ἂν εἶναι Βακχυλίδης ἕλοιο ἢ Πίνδαρος, καὶ ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ Ἴων ὁ Χῖος ἢ νὴ Δία Σοφοκλῆς; ἐπειδὴ οἱ μὲν ἀδιάπτωτοι καὶ ἐν τῷ γλαφυρῷ πάντη κεκαλλιγραφημένοι, ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρος καὶ ὁ Σοφοκλῆς ὁτὲ μὲν οἷον πάντα ἐπιφλέγουσι τῇ φορᾷ, σβέννυνται δ' ἀλόγως πολλάκις καὶ πίπτουσιν ἀτυχέστατα.
>
> **([Long.] Subl.33.5)**

> In lyrics, again, would you choose to be Bacchylides rather than Pindar, or in tragedy Ion of Chios rather than Sophocles? In both pairs the first named is impeccable and a master of elegance in the smooth style, while Pindar and Sophocles sometimes seem to fire the whole landscape as they sweep across it, though often their fire is unaccountably quenched and the fall miserably flat.

The interpretation of this dismissive remark of pseudo-Longinus has, unfortunately, been made out of context[24] and has consequently influenced the reception and perception of Bacchylides in modern scholarship.

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[22] Murphy (1965) xi points out that one of Quintilian's aims is to provide the reader a guide to the best authors. We cannot, however, claim with certainty that he distinguishes those four lyric poets as the best representatives of the genre. The similarity with the choices of Dionysius Hallicarnasseus suggests that he reflects on an already set choice. Quintilian himself admits that there are more authors worth reading than the ones he mentions (10.45).

[23] [Long.] Subl.34.3 on Demosthenes, 15.3 on Euripides, 15.5 on Aeschylus.

[24] Russell (1964) ad loc comments that 'L's implication that Bacchylides is a good second-rate poet is borne out by the judgement of most modern critics since the discovery of the papyri.' The comment may indeed imply that Bacchylides is second to Pindar, but Longinus does not dismiss Bacchylides as a poet. He still recognises positive poetic qualities – Bacchylides and Ion are elegant writers.

It is important, however, to note that even in his day Longinus was not necessarily offering the mainstream view. Ammianus Marcelinus states that Julian, enjoyed reading Bacchylides[25] and Porphyrio comments that one of Bacchylides' dithyrambs was used as a model for Horace's Ode 1.15.[26] Both these statements not only suggest that Bacchylides was still read and appreciated at the time of Julian but also that his poetry was still present in Roman culture.[27] Still, it is difficult to trace him with confidence in the early period. His career was marked by vicissitude even in antiquity; he seems to disappear in mid-fifth century BC, and, according to the existing scholarship, his poetry appears to leave no traces whatsoever in the prose and poetry of the centuries before the Hellenistic era. Yet, he is included in the lyric canon. Despite his canonical status, the scholia of the Pindaric epinicia also display a derogatory attitude towards Bacchylides and an often overt underestimation of his poetry.[28] Modern scholars seem (or choose) to ignore the statement of Ammianus Marcelinus and Porphyrio's comment. Longinus has exerted a disproportionate influence on modern scholarship, which has even claimed that Bacchylides' inclusion in the lyric canon was accidental.[29] However, both pre- and post-Hellenistic reception of Bacchylides' poetry in antiquity suggests that this is unlikely in itself.

Bacchylides occupies an unusual position in the canon of nine. Despite the papyrus recoveries and his established canonical status in the Hellenistic era, Bacchylides remains an enigmatic figure. He was thought by modernity to be *in absentia* a great poet. But, the discovery of the papyrus in 1896 (*P.Lond.*inv.733) that accommodated fourteen epinician odes, six "dithyrambs" and numerous fragments disappointed the majority of classicists. Consequently, Longinus' judgement provided the model for modern criticism. Disparaging comments such as 'Bacchylides has, of

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[25] Ammian.Marc. *RG* 25.4.3 *Item ut hoc propositum validius firmaret (Iulianus), recolebat saepe dictum lyrici Bacchylidis, quem legebat iucunde, id adserentis, quod ut egregius pictor vultum speciosum effigit, ita pudicitia celsius consurgentem vitam exornat.* Den Boeft et al. (2005) ad loc: 'There is no trace of B.fr38 (the Greek text has not come down to us) in Julian's work, nor is Bacchylides' name mentioned anywhere by the emperor. There is no compelling reason, however, to doubt the veracity of Amm.' statement.'

[26] *Hac ode Bacchylidem imitatur. Nam ut ille Casandram facit vaticinari futura belli Troiani, ita hic Proteum.* Athanassaki (2002) 86 rightly underlines that the nature of the imitation remains problematic. On the lyric poets who predominate in Horace 1.11-1.18, Lowrie (1995).

[27] Bouffartigue (1992) 318, where he also points out that, although we cannot find traces of his work/text or of his name, this silence proves nothing; it proves that not all authors enjoyed the same status.

[28] E.g. Σ. Pi.*O.*2.157a {2A} κ ό ρ α κ ε ς : οἷον, ὡς κόρακες πρὸς ἀετὸν ἀντιβοῶντες, οὕτως οἱ μαθόντες πρὸς τὸν φύσει σοφόν. αἰνίττεται Βακχυλίδην καὶ Σιμωνίδην, ἑαυτὸν λέγων ἀετὸν, κόρακας δὲ τοὺς ἀντιτέχνους.

[29] Wilamowitz (1898) 8-11.

course, no pretension to be a poet of the same order as Pindar'[30] and others that expressed disappointment on the discovery of Bacchylides' poetic voice[31] dominated scholarship for more than a century after the discovery of his papyrus.

Bacchylides remains a paradox. A certain flurry of interest and activity was observed when his papyrus was discovered, the kind of interest that flickers in the classical academy as soon as a new papyrus is discovered. The interest, however, was either concentrated on the fragmentary status of his poetry, and thus on textual issues,[32] or on the disappointment that this had brought upon the scholarly community; classicists expected to discover another Pindar.[33] As Stern puts it, 'the history of Bacchylidean criticism... [was] almost exclusively concerned with specific pieces of data, and the somewhat hasty generalisations which have arisen from them'.[34] Jebb (1906) prepared the first commentary on Bacchylides' epinicia and dithyrambs only a few years after Kenyon's edition (1897), but his approach was still condescending. Kirkwood (1966) was the first to appreciate Bacchylides as a poet, and his article on the narrative technique of his poems is still one of the best works on Bacchylides' poetic technique. Kirkwood paved the way. His initiative was followed by Lefkowitz (1969), who offered an extensive and detailed analysis of *Ode 5*. Segal attempted to place *Ode 3* in a cultural and intertextual context (1971), and his work on Bacchylides' epithets (1976) revealed the dynamics of their use in Bacchylides' narrative. Herwig Maehler (1982, 1997) produced, in German, the first complete commentary on Bacchylides' extant and fragmentary poems. Anne Burnett (1985) offered the first monograph in English after the discovery of the papyrus. Her work focused on the poetic art of Bacchylides, and it was the earliest attempt to explore Bacchylides' poetic manner in the narrative parts of his victory odes.

The harvest is small, however. The picture in Anglo-Saxon bibliography is gradually changing with articles,[35] collections and monographs that deal with Bacchylides as a poet in his own right. The second monograph on Bacchylides appeared after more than twenty years (Fearn 2007). Fearn, although focusing on a

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[30] Jebb (1906) v.
[31] Wilamowitz (1898) 9.
[32] Woodbury (1969); Verdenius (1975); Carey (1977-1978), (1980); Gerber (1965), (1982); Dawe (1988) 97-98; Brown (1990); Slings (1990); Marshall (1994); McDevitt (1994).
[33] Wilamowitz (1898) 9.
[34] Stern (1970) 291, where he offers a detailed overview of the scholarship on Bacchylides up to 1966.
[35] E.g. Power (2000); Kyriacou (2001); Fearn (2003); Cairns (2005); Danielewicz (2006); Cairns (2007); Danek (2008); Fearn (2009).

limited number of Bacchylides' poems and fragments, attempts to contextualise and historicise the selected poems. The last few years have seen the appearance of two English-language commentaries[36] to complement Jebb. Herwig Maehler (2004) published a selection from his German two-volume commentary on Bacchylides, and Douglas Cairns more recently (2010) wrote a commentary on selected epinician odes of Bacchylides. It is a strength of Cairns' book that he does not focus solely on the well-known epinicia but also discusses less famous odes (*Odes 9* and *11*). His commentary attempts to offer a more contextualised, historical and broad discussion both of the epinician genre and of the selected odes than was possible in Maehler's German commentary on the whole corpus.

Bacchylides has yet to receive the attention he deserves; he still remains an unfashionable writer. The observation of Pfeijffer and Slings is still relevant a decade after it appeared: 'although our understanding of his poetry has increased considerably over the last decades, one cannot escape the feeling that we are still only at the beginning.'[37]

The Two-headed Project: Bacchylides and the Canon

This dissertation is part doctoral research and part a detective mission. The main focus of the project is the reception, perception, transmission and survival of Bacchylides' poetry. In the attempt to track down Bacchylides it also, and inevitably, focuses on the process of canonising lyric in order to contextualise conclusions about the transmission of his work. Thus, it serves a twofold aim and is presented as a double project: Bacchylides is both an object of study and a useful tool in order to attempt to track the reception of lyric poetry in antiquity. Bacchylides has always been judged in the shadow of Pindar. The fact that four books of Pindar's victory odes have survived in a non-fragmentary status is often justified on the grounds of merit. Factors such as chance, historical and literary developments, although acknowledged, have not been taken seriously into account in order to outline and understand the route of poetic survival. The present dissertation hopes to demonstrate (among other things) the need to focus single-mindedly on specific poets and avoid hasty generalisations about the

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[36] Arthur McDevitt (2009) published a commentary on the victory poems of Bacchylides. The commentary is based on the translation of the poems and is designed for non-language students.
[37] Pfeijffer&Slings (1999) 11.

canon as a whole. Despite the collective characterisation of the chosen nine poets as lyric, and of three (Simonides, Pindar, and Bacchylides) as epinician poets, each one is distinct from the rest and should be addressed as such. A second (but not secondary) aim of the project is an attempt to focus on the complexities of the process of canonisation to a degree not represented in previous research on the subject. The primary question that each chapter poses is "where is Bacchylides?" in this particular period or in this particular author. The answer, each time, comes after a broader exploration of the reception of small-scale poetry, more often lyric than any other, in connection with the relevant question. This, in turn, forms the background that allows for the paradox Bacchylides to be addressed in respect to the context of individual chapters.

Chapter 1 is an attempt to outline the geographical span of Bacchylides' poetry (epinician, dithyrambic and encomiastic) and to place it in the historical, political and cultural context of his era. External circumstances obviously influenced the commissioning process, and are thus taken into account in order to explain plausibly Bacchylides' growing fame in the Greek world. The commissions of Pindar (and Simonides) form the background of this attempt and the model with which the results are compared.

Chapter 2 moves from the broad geography of Greece and Magna Graecia to the city of Athens. The main focus of this chapter is, on the one hand, the participation of Bacchylides in Athenian festivals and, on the other, the resonances of his poetry in Athenian comedy and tragedy. The actual performance of dithyrambic poems in the festivals is tied to the employment of, as well as allusion to, lyric poets in Aristophanic comedy. The Athenocentric character of this chapter is due to the vital role the Athenian cultural and poetic agenda had in the process of canonisation.

Chapter 3 broadens the scope of research and tests the Athenian evidence on non-Athenian sources. Thus, Herodotus becomes essential testimony for the process of poetic survival. Both the broad scope of his work and the wider Greek audience which he is addressing make the *Histories* an essential piece of evidence in order to understand the pan-Hellenic diffusion of small-scale poetry and lyric in particular.

Chapter 4 functions as the bridge-chapter between Classical Athens and the Hellenistic era. The chapter concentrates on fourth-century Athens, specifically Plato,

Aristotle and the Peripatetics. The representation of lyric poetry in the Platonic dialogues and the work of the Peripatos on lyric and lyric poets demonstrate survival and circulation of lyric poetry in fourth-century Athens. As well as offering us an important insight into the process of transmission and canonisation, Plato and the Peripatos also raise some interesting questions about lacunae.

Chapter 5 discusses the move from song to written text and deliberates on the issue of the physical life of lyric poems. Conclusions about the availability of texts and the possible existence of book-markets and/or private libraries are drawn after collecting and presenting all the available literary and archaeological pieces of evidence. The analysis avoids generalisations based solely on Athenian evidence. Geographical distinctions are taken into consideration when it comes to existence, diffusion, availability, and circulation of written lyric texts.

The final chapter of the thesis (chapter 6) transfers us to the library of Alexandria. The arrival of lyric texts in the library, Hellenistic scholarship on lyric poetry, and questions dealing with the establishment of the lyric canon are a few of the main points in the chapter. The entire discussion is chiefly characterised by attempts to understand the principles and criteria under which the Alexandrians were working.

As is obvious, the project is arranged chronologically, an inevitable condition when dealing with diachronic reception. The chapters to some degree form clusters. Thus, the Fifth Century is comprised by the first four chapters, which highlight geographical movement, activity and reception in Athens, and pan-Hellenic reception of Bacchylides with Herodotus as the case-study. Chapters four and five form the Fourth-Century reception of Bacchylides in Athens. One aspect of this century is the technological evolution of writing that unavoidably had an impact on song-culture and its perception. The thesis finishes with the Third Century and Hellenistic Alexandria where the canon is "officially" cemented in place.

The Hermeneutic Framework

The methodology and approach employed in this thesis draw on the insights of New Historicism[38] and Reception theory. As the methodological background suggests, one of the most important aspects of the thesis is the changing contexts (historical, cultural, and literary) within which texts operate. The Gadamer-Jauss model of reading is central to the methodology of the project.[39] Jauss' reception-aesthetic, principally based on what he calls the "horizon of expectations", is linked with Gadamer's historical conception of reading. As Martindale stresses, 'every reading is different from every other reading; once again there is no text-in-itself, but only a series (potentially endless?) of competing (or complementary) readings'.[40] A text cannot be deracinated from its context. The 'historical situatedness both of ancient texts and of the writing about them'[41] is a preconception that was constantly taken into account in the project. Implicit in the concepts of both tradition and reception is a 'need for sensitivity in context'[42] which requires scholars to make certain connections[43] between the objects of research (literary achievements in this case) and their contexts (creating and receiving contexts). The process of engagement with a number of factors (specific contexts, other literature and poetry, the receivers - audiences and readership) is fundamental in the complex process of reception, ancient or modern.

In particular, in this case the broad spectrum of engagements with Bacchylides (specifically) and lyric (generally) is evaluated and re-evaluated in antiquity within and by the new markets that are involved in the process of reception. Markets of reception are mainly formed by the varying characteristics of each era and equally by the changing nature of audiences. Audiences/receivers engage with the product in question on the basis of expectations created by the nature of the artefact itself and/or by their personal experiences. This "personal" engagement attributes to the

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[38] On New Historicism, see in particular Greenblatt (1989); Fox-Genovese (1989); White (1989); Brook (1991); Brannigan (1998).

[39] A comprehensive presentation of the basic theories of Gadamer and Jauss can be found in Holub (1984) 36-45, 53-82.

[40] Martindale (1993) 18. Cf. Kennedy (1997) 50, '..such interpretations, interpreted in turn, will thereby be seen to be accommodated teleologically to their ends – the preoccupations and interests of their interpreters.'

[41] Harrison (2001) 14.

[42] Budelmann&Haubold (2008) 24.

[43] Ibid. 25.

audience/readership a role in the construction of meaning at the time of reception,[44] and allows for the collective formation of what we tend to call tradition. Tradition and reception, audiences and contexts are, therefore, in a dialogic relation. Thus, when dealing with the transmission and survival both of Bacchylides and of lyric poetry we need to avoid, as Martindale puts it, 'crude presentism...and crude historicism.'[45]

Although we need to recognise that literary scholarship cannot be divorced from theoretical preconceptions,[46] this project is not a work about theory. The above theoretical perspective was the most suitable tool in order to discuss questions of survival and transmission. In practice the theoretical underpinning remains embedded in the argument rather than forming the object of study in itself. The project itself carries its own perils. Given the absence of explicit references to Bacchylides and his poetry before the Hellenistic era, as well as the limited discussion in modern scholarship of the process of canonisation of the lyric poets, it was unavoidable that the process of reconstruction would include a degree of conjecture. Reconstructing arguments in a context of silence, of course, involves risks; specifically, there is the danger that the search dictates its results through a process of wishful thinking. This risk has been controlled on the basis of plausibility. Plausible conjectures were firmly rooted on the accumulation of evidence – literary, cultural, historical and archaeological. Every chapter in the thesis presents all the available material with relevance to the specific subject and to the relevant questions. In addition, I have tried to use available evidence economically, keeping conjecture to the minimum; the ghost of William of Occam hovers over the narrative. On occasion the case of Pindar has been used as a model. This was done with the sole purpose of reconstructing plausibly and consistently the career of Bacchylides and the survival of his work, as well as the process through which his poetry reached the Alexandrian library. As the only lyric poet to survive from antiquity through the direct tradition and the largest single corpus of lyric poetry (with scholia), Pindar offers a useful hermeneutic tool used with caution. This procedure again involves risks; risks of generalising on the basis of expectations falsely created. Pindar dominates the collective perception of the epinician genre and beyond it the activities of the professional international poets of the late archaic period with the result that any attempt to address the other two

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[44] Martindale (1993) 3.
[45] Martindale (2006) 8.
[46] Harrison (2001) 3.

representatives of the genre (Simonides and Bacchylides) tends to underrate or elide distinctiveness.[47] Pindar is perceived as our foundation for understanding of essential features of the epinician genre, and it is difficult to assume that we can escape from an overt Pindarisising in our approach. Indeed, more generally, thanks to the accident of survival, Pindar has exercised an influence on the definition of lyric within the European poetic tradition. For centuries, scholarship has (inevitably) been characterised by a Pindarocentric preoccupation, and the tendency to generalise has made the name "Pindar" synonymous with "victory ode" and even synonymous with "lyric". It would perhaps be naive to imagine that we can escape from Pindarisising in our approach. At least, if the Pindarising is overt, it is subject to a degree of control. If there is a risk that Pindar will distort our analysis, there is a commensurate gain in that Pindar can also help to underscore the distinctiveness of the picture which emerges for Bacchylides. It is hoped that the outcome of this research will change the dominant picture both in the specific field of epinician poetry and in the broader field of lyric, and that it will bring a welcome degree of complexity to the neat picture of poetic survival and transmission that has been established in modern scholarship.

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[47] On the dominance of Pindar in bibliography on the epinician, Agocs/Carey/Rawles (2011) 8-9, 14.

Chapter 1
The World of Bacchylides

In the archaic Greek song culture transmission and reception are inseparable from performance. For the professional (in whatever sense and at whatever level) poet, performance is in turn inseparable from commission. So the first step in our investigation of Bacchylides' reception begins with the process of commission. Professional poets could cover a vast geography, celebrate a number of communities, and praise patrons with different ethnic origins. If we wish to understand this phenomenon in all its complexity, we need to individualise the activities and movements of the commissioned poets of the late archaic period. This is a task which has not previously been attempted with any degree of precision. It is, however, worth the effort. That is the purpose of this chapter.

When tracing the activities of a mobile professional poet it is necessary to take into account the full range of commissions from specific communities and individual patrons, including the absence of commissions. This broad overview of commissioning will help us make sense of the distribution of poetry and the geographical range in which a poet worked his way through the Greek world. To begin with, the choice of the commission of a particular poet was dependent on the community or the individual, and at the same time on the poet himself, who could potentially reject an offer. Commissioning was thus a two-way process.[1] In the case of Bacchylides, Pindar, and Simonides the distribution of patronage can be subjected to comparative analysis, as they all operated in the same broad geographical and generic space. We can therefore use Pindar's career as an epinician poet and his path of commissions as an exemplum and as a basis for comparison with Bacchylides' patrons. A complete picture of Bacchylides' career should take into consideration both private and communal commissions – such as victory odes, encomia, hymns, dithyrambs and paeans – as they were all commissioned and practised simultaneously in his career. Although research in the modern era focuses on the victory odes, reflecting the historical accident of survival, there is no obvious reason to suppose that either the poet or the audience saw his *career* in such narrow generic terms. A comparative study of the distribution of commissions for individual poets gives one a

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[1] Gold (1987) 172 rightly points out that 'literary patronage is a complex phenomenon because it is both a social and a literary institution.'

sense both of the larger international context in which they operated and of the individual relationships within that larger picture.

My objective is to place Bacchylides on a map of Greece and Magna Graecia in both a literal and a literary sense[2] in an attempt to understand where, why, and how he operated as a poet. Which patrons chose him as their poet for individual praise and which communities for civic commissions; what was the origin of those patrons and what were the connections between particular communities for which Bacchylides composed? Particular emphasis will be placed on the frequency of commission and on the role played by political connections, as far as these may be deduced from his poetry. These may help us explain why particular communities chose to commission Bacchylides, and why he appears to be absent from others. In a poetic environment which was both closely related to and defined by external circumstances, issues such as political climate as well as relationships and their implications for recommendations should be taken into account in order to obtain a complete picture. Since both epinician and civic poetry were evidently used for individual and collective demonstration, self-definition, and propaganda,[3] poetic activity must be seen as a dialogue with the political scene of the fifth century. Chronology and prosopography are also very important, as they can enlighten us both as to the geographical storyline of Bacchylides' gradually growing fame in the Greek world, and to the relationships of individuals with particular cities and even city-relations. This analysis will be made in comparison to Pindar's geography of private and communal commissions, and will ultimately bring to the foreground the complexity of the broader theme loosely termed "pan-Hellenism".[4]

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[2] Maps 1&2, pp.251-252.

[3] Mann (2000) 46 characterises this demonstration of the patron's ideology to the public 'individuelles Kunstwollen'.

[4] The terms "pan-Hellenism" and "pan-Hellenic" merit a study in themselves. Though they help us distinguish between poets and poetry with local versus wider currency across the Greek world, they are also potentially reductive notions, telescoping both time and space. Pan-Hellenism is a process rather than a state, a process which operates differently for different poets and genres; different in terms of the pace, dynamics and locations of diffusion. Mitchell (2007) xv-xix offers a useful overview of the definitions given to the term "pan-Hellenism"; on the historiography of pan-Hellenism, Scott (2010) 260-264.

Mapping Bacchylides' career

Catherine Morgan, in an excellent study on the *agōn* between cities to bestow poetic patronage, provides a detailed account and statistical diagrams of communities commissioning Pindar's epinician odes.[5] Her important study provides a combined presentation of the epinician odes by both Pindar and Bacchylides which demonstrates, in conjunction with the victory lists, that only a few specific states from among those providing victors commissioned victory odes.[6] For example, Thessaly was the region which provided the most victors and yet we possess only a small sample of epinician poetry: fragments of Simonides, a single composition by Pindar (*Pythian 10*), and two odes by Bacchylides for Thessalian victors (*Odes 14, 14B*), the first of which is for the local festival Petraia. Patterns where ethnicity plays a role become discernible in Morgan's study; Pindar presents a more Doric bias, whereas Bacchylides' commissions cut across ethnic boundaries. Additionally, despite the rarity of epinician commissions by Peloponnesian regions, her work indicates that Peloponnesian cities which sponsored major festivals and were hostile to each other (her focus is mainly Argos and Corinth) were the regions mostly involved in athletics. These *poleis* used the crown games in order to assert their status in the region,[7] and this attitude incorporated athletics into a sphere of political rivalry. The Peloponnese will become very important for our understanding of Bacchylides' movement within Greece and among the Greek elite.

It is necessary to examine all the communities that commissioned Bacchylides for private and communal poetry in order to sketch a complete picture of his activities. This analysis is based on the extant poems and on inferences either from titles on the papyrus or from the text itself. Of the epinician odes, we have five odes written for Cean victors (*Odes 1, 2, 6, 7,* and *8*), three odes for Hieron of Syracuse (*Odes 3, 4,* and *5*), two for Aeginetan youths (*Odes 12,* and *13*), two for Thessaly (*Odes 14* and *14B*, which are meant for the local festival Petraia and for a victor from Larissa respectively), one for Athens (*Ode 10*), one for Phleius in the Peloponnese (*Ode 9*), and one for Metapontion in South Italy (*Ode 11*). With reference to the encomia, one is composed for Alexander son of Amyntas in Macedon (*fr.20B*), and a second one for

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[5] Morgan (2007) 217, 220-235.
[6] Ibid. 216-217 with diagram 1. In diagram 2 (p.220) regional patronage is compared to athletic victories by region. Surprisingly, Morgan does not include Bacchylides in the group of epinician commissions in Sicily/ South Italy nor does she mention his Athenian victory ode.
[7] Ibid. 261.

Hieron in Syracuse (*fr.20C*). The civic compositions tend to be more concentrated in geographical terms; we have four for Athens (*Odes 15,* presumably *16,*[8] *18,* and *19*), one for Ceos (*Ode 17*), and another one for Sparta (*Ode 20*). The only substantial paean of Bacchylides is meant for performance at the sanctuary of Apollo Pythaeus in Asine (ffr.22+4).[9]
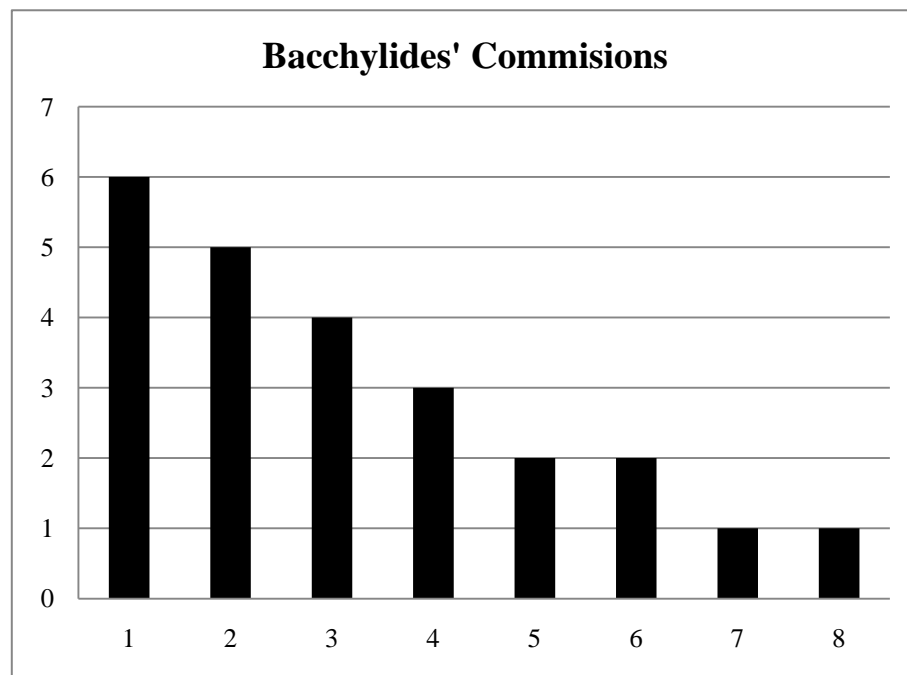
DIAGRAM 1: *The geographical range of Bacchylides' extant poetry*
1 Ceos   2 Athens   3 Sicily (Syracuse)
4 Peloponnese   5 Aegina   6 Thessaly   7 South Italy (Metapontion)
8 Macedonia

The above data indicates that, beyond occasional forays of both the poets into northern Greece, Pindar focused mainly on Sicily, Aegina, Central Greece, and the eastern islands,[10] whereas Bacchylides seems to have moved mostly in the Peloponnese, Ceos, Athens, and Syracuse. Morgan claims that the picture of patronage does not change substantially 'by the addition of the much smaller corpus

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[8] Although the mythical narrative creates a connection with Sophocles and his *Trachiniae*, it does not necessarily imply that the poem was commissioned by Athenians. According to Jebb (1906) 223, both Sophocles and Bacchylides draw on a common source: Creophylus of Samos and his epic *Capture of Oechalia*. The myth of Heracles' death was known before its dramatisation by Sophocles, so it is possible for any community in contact with Delphi to be the commissioner.
[9] Barrett (1954) 438 assumed that the ode was composed for Troizen; Maehler (2004) 225-227 claims that this is the first poem of pan-Hellenic nature; Hornblower (2004) 125 suggests that the Argive poetess Telesilla may have been the inventor of the connection between Apollo Pythaeus and Argos.
[10] Morgan (2007) 219, where she also mentions scattered epinician commissions by cities in the area between Athens and the north-east Peloponnese, Thessaly and Cyrene.

of Bacchylides' epinikia...Obvious differences reflect the poet's home regions (favouring Kea rather than central Greece and especially Thebes), and the lack of east Greek commissions of Bacchylides.'[11] However, differences between the two become more visible if we take into account not just the victory odes but also their civic poetry. In comparison to Pindar, civic commissions probably or certainly for Athens become prominent in Bacchylides' corpus, while Pindar's composition of a paean for the Ceans (*Paean 4*=fr.52d) is very striking given the absence of Theban patronage for Bacchylides. A comparison between Pindar's epinician career and spread of commissions with Bacchylides' patrons illustrates the diverse career paths of each individual poet and raises questions about the factors involved.

The distribution of commissions suggests a high esteem for Bacchylides' poetry. This inevitably raises a question about the date and circumstances of Pindar's *Paean 4*, which has been felt to compromise this picture. We cannot, however, deduce secure conclusions. Both Rutherford and Maehler assume a connection between *Paean 4* and *Isthmian 1*.[12] Rutherford offers as *terminus post quem* the death of Simonides in 468 BC, based on the assumption that Bacchylides was of lower esteem in Ceos than Simonides; thus, one would not expect Bacchylides to have composed a paean for the Ceans before Simonides' death.[13] Maehler, on the other hand, offers 458 BC as *terminus post quem* in his edition of Pindar.[14] Nonetheless, they both date the paean before 452 BC, at which date Bacchylides is believed to have composed two victory odes for Lachon from Ceos (*Odes 6* and *7*).[15] Both these odes are thought to be the last victory odes in Bacchylides' career[16] and they both come from Ceos. Additionally, *Ode 17*, a civic composition for a Cean chorus, suggests that

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[11] *Ibidem.*

[12] Pi.*Is*.1.7-9 τοι χαρίτων σὺν θεοῖς ζεύξω τέλος,/ κὰ τὸν ἀκερσεκόμαν Φοῖβον χορεύων/ <u>ἐν Κέῳ</u> <u>ἀμφιρύτᾳ</u> σὺν ποντίοις/ ἀνδράσιν For the controversy on the place of the paean's performance, Rutherford (2000).

[13] Rutherford (2001) 284.

[14] Maehler (2004) ad loc following Snell (1958) ad loc.

[15] The date for both these odes is almost certain. Maehler (1982) 125 records that *POxy*.II 222, which includes an Olympic victors list, records under πβ (Ol.82=452 BC) the victor Λάκων Κε[ῖος παίδ(ων) στάδιον]. For the arguments in favour of this date, ibid. 125-127. He assumes that *Odes 1* and *2* for the Kean Argeius have to precede the victories of Lachon (pp.1-4). According to Schmidt (1999) 82-83, Maehler misinterprets the particular victory list by reading the victories in a chronological order. Schmidt (pp.67-79) proves that it is not a chronologically ordered official victory list. Thus, Argeius' victories did not necessarily precede those of Lachon's and they may have been written at any point in Bacchylides' lifetime.

[16] The assumption is based on the inference from Eusebius' *Chronicle* that Bacchylides died shortly after 452 BC. For all the details and the dispute about the dates and their meaning, Schmidt (1999) 82-85.

Bacchylides was not restricted to private commissions on his island. Testimonia also mention the existence of a book of paeans.[17] This suggests that Bacchylides had composed a sufficient number of paeans to make up a book in the Hellenistic edition of his oeuvre. Rutherford's assumption, therefore, that Bacchylides was not good enough for poetic compositions for Ceos, especially for communal poems,[18] is both tendentious and erroneous. The obvious alternative solution for the choice of Pindar for *Paean 4* is to be found in *De exilio* 605C3-605D.1,[19] where Plutarch mentions Bacchylides' exile to the Peloponnese.[20] As this reference gives no chronological details[21] or the reasons for the exile, I take it that we cannot tie it with confidence to the existence or absence of specific compositions.

Bacchylides was probably not as "swift" as Pindar in his poetic movement and his pace of commissioning. The uncertain chronology of his poetry makes it difficult to be certain about the spread of his commissions. We have a major gap in our chronological evidence (468-452 BC) and many undated private and communal compositions in his corpus. Evidence seems to suggest that Bacchylides becomes prominent in Greece (as against any local reputation) in the 480s/470s. Given what we possess, it seems that Bacchylides' international career began in Aegina with *Ode 13* for Pytheas (c.485/483BC)[22] and ended in Ceos (452 BC), after achieving its peak in Syracuse with his composition for Hieron's Olympic chariot victory of 468 BC. In the case of communal commissions, the situation is more complicated, as we cannot date any civic commissions with confidence earlier than the 470s BC.

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[17] Stob. Flor. IV 14, 3 *Βακχυλίδου Παιάνων.*
[18] Rutherford (2001) 284.
[19] Interestingly, the exile is not mentioned in the *Suda*.
[20] Rutherford (2001) 285n9 mentions, without discussing, the exile as a mere possibility of Bacchylides' rejection for the composition of the paean.
[21] Severyns (1933) 130 places the exile in the period c.476-456 BC. He takes 456 BC as the date of the composition of the Cean *Odes 2* and *3*. He offers a chronological table with the exile as the main point of reference (p.131).
[22] Discussion on the date: Jebb (1906) 212: perhaps 481 BC not later than 479 BC; Severyns (1933) 48-52: 487 BC; Burnett (1985) 80: 485 BC; Maehler (1982) 251: in the summer of 481, 483, or 487 BC, but he assumes a composition in 483 BC; Pfeijffer (1995) 322-332, (1999) 59: 487 BC and not later than 485 BC; Fearn (2007) 350: 483 BC or 485 BC as the most plausible dates; Cairns (2007) 45: 'a victory won in or no more than a few years before 481 BC.' For Pindar's *N.5*: Cole (1992) 43-46 - 481 BC; Burnett (2005) 57: c.483BC, cf.Burnett (1985) op.cit. For a detailed and substantial summary of the views on the date of *Ode 13*, Fearn (2007) 342-350; for an attempt to reconstruct the date of both odes based on historical evidence, Pfeijffer (1995), Pfeijffer (1999) 59-61. Cairns (2007) goes through all the evidence and concludes that we cannot eliminate all uncertainties in the dating of the two odes. I believe this ode to be one of the earliest odes of Bacchylides, dated between 485-483 BC. The style and the Pindaric elements in the ode (e.g. the foregrounded *ego*) suggest that this poem could be Bacchylides' earliest commission.

It has also been claimed that fr.20B, the encomium to Alexander the son of Amyntas, was probably one of the earliest compositions in Bacchylides' career. Maehler places it in the period before c.495 BC and Fearn somewhere in the mid-490s,[23] prior to Alexander's succession to the throne. They both use as evidence for their chronology the address to Alexander as παῖς (v.17 ὦ π[α]ι μεγαλ [. . . . . .]υ [- - Ἀμύντα) and take the address to be appropriate for a young man but not for a ruler. They also add that Bacchylides, as Pindar in his encomium for Alexander,[24] does not refer to the power of Alexander as king, which would (on this account) have placed the poem within the chronological frame of Alexander's kingship.[25] Fearn also adds that the reference to Amyntas implies that Alexander's father was still alive and could also suggest paternal patronage for the poem.[26] They both argue that since the date of Alexander's succession to the throne cannot be placed before c.506/5 BC or after 492 BC,[27] the poem should be dated in c.495 BC.

The above arguments rest heavily on the use of the noun παῖς as evidence for the age of Alexander. Alexander is identified in the verse as the son of Amyntas and thus the noun stands for the relationship between father and son.[28] This could serve simultaneously as an identification eulogy for Alexander. Nonetheless, it is a mistake to single out one verse or word in order to date the poem, especially when we have a common formula which is used in securely dated poems to designate relationships as opposed to age. For instance, in Euripides' *Epinicium in Alcibiadem*, which was composed for Alcibiades' Olympic victory in 420 BC.[29] Alcibiades is addressed in a similar tone as the son of Cleinias – v.2 ὦ Κλεινίου παῖ.[30] The evidence for an early date for this poem thus disappears. Bacchylides composes up to 452 BC and Alexander was the ruler of Macedon up to 454 BC, so any date between the 480s and 452 BC is possible for the composition of the encomium.

When Alexander took over the reign of Macedonia, he tried to keep his kingdom intact and thus served both Persians and Greeks.[31] The marriage of

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[23] Maehler (2004) 245; Fearn (2007) 28.
[24] Pi. Fr.120 Ὀλβίων ὁμώνυμε Δαρδανιδᾶν,/ παῖ θρασύμηδες Ἀμύντα.
[25] Maehler (2004) 250.
[26] Fearn (2007) 56.
[27] See Badian (1994) 112; Fearn (2007) 56n94.
[28] Although Fearn (2007) 36 translates the line as the son of Amyntas, he insists on Alexander's youth.
[29] Jebb (1906) 52.
[30] Cf. Pi. *O.*6.80; *O.*11.12; *P.*1.79; *P.*2.18; *N.*1.29; *N.*3.20; I.6.16. B.5.35-36; 9.102-103, 11.14.
[31] Hammond&Griffith (1979) 99.

Alexander's sister Gygaea to Bubares secured peaceful relations with Persia during the reign of Darius and Xerxes.[32] Despite this union Alexander was named "Philhellene".[33] His sympathy with the Greek cause not only earned him the title of *proxenus*, benefactor and friend of Athens[34] before 480 BC,[35] but also reinforced his claim to Greek identity. This identity he reaffirmed with his participation at the Olympic Games. Alexander's readiness to claim and portray his Greek identity is evident through his encouragement of lyric writers to visit his court (Solin. 9.13-14). Despite Macedonia's rivalry with Athens, which began in 476/5 BC and ended up in enmity in 465 BC, Alexander remained in close and continuous contact with the Greek mainland during his reign. Thus, Bacchylides' encomium could have been composed at any point during this long period. On the other hand, his desire to embed himself into the Greek context actively began in the 480s and makes more sense in the context of the shrinkage of Persian influence in northern Greece after Salamis. Thus, it is plausible to narrow down our scope and suggest a date between 480 BC (when he had gained the title *proxenus*) and 465 BC (when Macedonia's relations with the Athenian empire were already in crisis).

Poetry, Politics and Commissions

Moving from individuals to communities, civic poetry offered the opportunity for self-definition, demonstration and propaganda, as did privately commissioned poetry. In order to comprehend clearly the process of self-definition through poetry, we need to consider the environment and background of this poetry that inevitably affected the poetic product.

The years 520-479 BC were a period of transformation for Archaic Greece, as the defining relationship between individual cities in the Greek world kept changing. The Greek world was redefined by the end of the Persian Wars, the rise of the Sicilian power in Syracuse, and the inauguration of the Delian League. It is of fundamental importance to see how Pindar and Bacchylides fit onto this situation, how they moved

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[32] *Ibidem.*

[33] As Hammond&Griffiths (1979) 101 claim, he was characterised as such not because he caused damage to Persia during Xerxes' invasion of Greece but rather for his warnings to the Greeks.

[34] Hdt.5.20.4 ὡς ἀνὴρ Ἕλλην; 7.173.3 εὔνοος ἐφαίνετο ἐὼν ὁ Μακεδὼν; 8.136.1 πρόξεινός τε εἴη καὶ εὐεργέτης ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος; 8.143.3 ἐόντα πρόξεινόν τε καὶ φίλον.

[35] Ibid. 68-69, 101n4.

within this environment of political turbulence, and how their poetry reflects the historical background of the era. The image which Bacchylides' poetry creates is complex and allows us to draw some conclusions about the link between song and connections between communities, on inter-city relationships, political affinities and animosities.

From the first years of the fifth century and after 479 BC, the Greek world is centred on three powers on the Greek mainland (Athens, Aegina, and Sparta) and Syracuse in Magna Graecia. The fact that all four of these forces were patrons of Bacchylides' poetry complicates any attempt to explain the commissioning process in simple political terms. The presence of Sicily in this presentation needs little explanation given the wealth, importance and cultural policy of the Sicilian courts. It is, however, revealing as indicating that the presence of a regime is not a serious obstacle to poetic engagement. There is no simple correlation between politics and poetry, so any attempt to factor politics into the picture we build needs to be nuanced.

The first issue for discussion will be the potential relationships between the communities that hire Bacchylides against the political backdrop of the fifth century. If we take into consideration private and communal commissions, it may be possible to explain why Bacchylides undertook compositions for particular communities and not for others, his frequency of commissions in particular states, and the manner in which these communities are represented and praised.

If we begin with the civic commissions, an interesting and possibly illuminating contrast becomes obvious. Athens, unlike Ceos, is well-represented in the civic songs of Bacchylides. This is not surprising, as will become clear. The numerous Athenian festivals generated an enormous market for choral song that intensified the competitive nature of choral participation and performances. Choral and communal performances were often the medium for 'collective display and self-presentation'.[36] Dithyrambic performances were often presented in an agonistic nature within a competitive format,[37] especially in the context of Athenian festivals. Beyond the likelihood of a number of Athenian commissions there is also a revealing non-Athenian commission which strengthens Bacchylides' link with Athens: *Ode 17*. The

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[36] Wilson (2003) 166.
[37] For various possible performance-scenarios, Rutherford (2004a) 71-74.

Cean θεωρία for performance at Delos[38] centres its mythical narrative on the struggle between Theseus, the Ionian and Athenian hero, and the Cretan Minos. The struggle ends with the victory of Theseus.[39] It is difficult not to see the reflection of Athenian propaganda in this story,[40] and particularly Athenian self-presentation in the context of the Delian League. It is, on the one hand, to be expected that Ionians should feature within the myth, since Ceos was generally viewed as an Ionian colony[41] and one of the members in the Delian League.[42] However, the negative image of Minos in *Ode 17* in contrast to the positive association between Ceos and Minos in *Ode 1* raises interesting questions.

It has rightly been argued that fictive kinship and descent, for which literary evidence should be the starting point, are often fundamentals in defining ethnicity.[43] The ancestry of Euxantius, therefore, who is named as the son of Minos and portrayed as the ruler of the island in *Ode 1*, has potential implications for Cean identity and ethnicity. Although the fragmentary state of the ode does not help us deduce definite and secure conclusions from the mythical narrative, we still have enough evidence to sketch the epichoric story that was possibly narrated. Lines 113-128 with Μίνως, σὺν Κρητῶν ὁμίλων, Δεξιθέαν, Κνωσὸν, Εὐξάντιον are the key for understanding what kind of lineage Bacchylides presents in this case for his island. Euxantius is presented as the child of the Cretan Minos and Dexithea, and the Cretan origin of Minos is emphasised twice in the poem. Supplementary information from Pindar's *Paean 4* on Euxantius' rejection of the Cretan kingdom in favour of Ceos[44] reinforces the paternal relationship with Minos and ultimately his Cretan origin. Additionally and most importantly, Bacchylides informs us that Minos left half of his army in Ceos (vv.119-120, κα]ί οἱ λίπεν ἥμισυ λ[α]ῶν,/ ἄ]νδρας ἀρηϊφίλους), an activity presented as an act of internal colonisation. In fact, this emphasis on Euxantius' Minoan lineage and

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[38] Rutherford (2004b) 111-113 records data that points to Ceos having the largest number of clusters on Delos in the fourth century, which suggests that it 'was famous for interstate religious activity' (p.113).
[39] On the heroic identity of Theseus in *Ode 17*, Segal (1998b).
[40] Severyns (1933) 57-58; Giesekam (1977); Francis (1990) 62 characterises the poem 'a manifesto for the Delian League'.
[41] Hdt.8.46.2 - ἔθνος ἐὸν Ἰωνικὸν ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων; Th.7.57.4 Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν αὐτοὶ Ἴωνες ἐπὶ Δωριᾶς Συρακοσίους ἑκόντες ἦλθον…καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑπηκόων καὶ φόρου ὑποτελῶν…ἦσαν, ἀπὸ δὲ νήσων Κεῖοι καὶ Ἄνδριοι καὶ Τήνιοι.
[42] The earliest reference to Ceos as a member of the Delian League is made on the Athenian tribute list of 451/0 BC. – *ATL* (1939) 57, Lists 5, 7, 8.
[43] Hall (2005) 10.
[44] See Rutherford (2001) 288-89.

on the settlement of the Cretan army in Ceos portrays Bacchylides' island as one of the settlements in which Cretan ancestry was evident.

Hornblower emphasises the complexity of the foundation-stories for Ceos, which oscillate between separatism and unity and suggest varied migrations on the island.[45] Fearn points to the exclusive character of the foundation myth included in *Ode 1*; the mythical korai Dexithea, Makelo, and Lysagora settle a *polis* steeped in evening sunshine, that is Coressia[46] (vv.138-140 - ‿ - - - ‿] . ξαν θύγατρες / πόλ[ιν- - -]ν βαθυδεί-/ ελον). The exclusivity of the foundation myth in Bacchylides appears to hint at a tension between the four cities on the island of Ceos. The institution of Ceos was federal and Ioulis, Coressia, Carthaea, and Poiessa acted as independent entities.[47] The independence of and tension between the poleis is revealed not only by the differing epichoric articulations of Ceos' mythological past[48] but also by the separate coinages and minting activities of the cities.[49] This independence of the four cities may lurk behind the separate foundation myth of Coressia presented in *Ode 1*. In a discussion of island-identity in multi-polis islands Constantakopoulou provides evidence that collective island-identity prevails over individual polis-identity for Ceos *mostly* in public demonstration, at least in the fifth century BC.[50] As Brun has argued, the history of Ceos is characterised by continuous attempts for union and phases of dissolution.[51] The civic poems for Ceos by both Bacchylides and Pindar reveal that the major social, cultural, and historical issues of this island affected the manner in which the island was portrayed in poetry.

Against this background, comparison with *Ode 1* and the difference in Minos' portrayal within two poems for the same community reinforce the probability that *Ode 17* was a pro-Athenian poem. One can find no evidence for a distinctively Cean

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[45] Hornblower (2004) 123,

[46] Fearn (2011).

[47] Lewis (1997) 23-24, 27; Hornblower (2004) 122.

[48] A different view of the foundation of the island's four cities is offered by Xenomedes of Ceos, *FGrH* 442 F1.

[49] Papageorgiadou-Banis (1997) 3 asserts that all the cities except for Poiessa minted their own coins. On the coinage of Ceos in connection to the historical and numismatic changes from the Classical to the Hellenistic era, ibid.1-9.

[50] Constantakopoulou (2005) 6, 8-9. Kallet (2009) 52 documents the unusual entries on the tribute quota lists in the case of Ceos that suggest division within communities of the island. For examples of multiplication and separatism, Ma (2009) 145n47.

[51] Brun (1989) 130. For a detailed account on the successive attempts for unity of the island, Constantakopoulou (2005) 13-15.

self-identity[52] in the poem; the external Cean identity of the performing chorus, revealed at the end of the song through choral projection[53], merges with the internal Ionian origin of the youths in the mythical narrative.[54] These two identities (Cean and Ionian) enclose the ode.[55] Rutherford observes: 'A panhellenic sanctuary is naturally an arena in which people are concerned to project an identity, and to that extent self-definition becomes one of the main functions of *theōria*.'[56] The myth of *Ode 17* performed at Delos assimilates the obvious theme for Athenian *theōriai* - Theseus' mythological exploits – and ascribes to the poem itself a pseudo-Athenian flavour. Additionally, the charter myth, where Theseus affirms his divine origin by overcoming Minos, invites interpretation as antecedent to contemporary Athenian dominance in the Aegean[57] and a symbolic representation of the protection and support Athens would offer to her fellows in the Delian League.[58] By linking the Cean identity of the external chorus with the fictional Ionian identity of the internal chorus, the ode appears to present Ceos as supporting Athenian leadership. It could thus indicate validation of Athenian claims of superiority and acceptance of Athens as a leader. [59] The reading of the poem gains significance when it is set beside probable civic compositions of Bacchylides for Athens.

This dual portrayal of Ceos raises important questions about the nature of Bacchylides' relationship with Athens. Dating is important in order to place Bacchylides pro-Athenian poems, *Odes 17* and *18*, in context. Maehler has dated *Ode 17* very early. He takes as *terminus ante quem* the Louvre cup by the potter Euphorios and the painter Onesimos (Paris, Louvre G104), dated between 500-490 BC.[60] Although there is a wide-spread assumption that vase-painters were influenced by

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[52] Fearn (2007) 245.

[53] A term of Henrichs (1994-1995) 6 to describe the tendency of choruses in tragedy 'to locate their own dancing in the past or the future, or refer to groups of dancers who are outside the concrete space of the orchestra and who dance in the realm of the dramatic imagination.' The term is employed by Power (2000) to describe the tendency of the chorus in Pindar and Bacchylides to comment on their own performance. Power focuses specifically on the inclusive and projective strategy of Bacchylides in *Ode 13*.

[54] Kowalzig (2007) 90 notes that the merging of Athenian myth and Cean interest 'furnishes a clue to how Athenians seem to have handled their choral tribute policy on early to mid-fifth-century Delos.'

[55] Fearn (2007) 245, 246.

[56] Rutherford (2004a) 69.

[57] Shapiro (1982) discusses Theseus as a symbol of Athens' naval power in the years after Salamis.

[58] Ibid. 256; Kowalzig (2007) 90-91.

[59] On the implications of this performance for Ceos and the Delian League, Kowalzig (2007) 88-94.

[60] Maehler (2004) 174-175. Figure 1, p.253.

literary sources and did not independently create new mythical versions,[61] one should also accept the possibility of an oral source[62] for the cup. Representations of Theseus with Amphitrite become copious after the 480s,[63] and Athena is sometimes included on vases that portray Theseus' deeds. The direct influence of Bacchylides' ode on the cup is an appealing idea, given the appearance of all three figures (Theseus, Amphitrite, and Athena) in both artefacts. This particular poem, however, arguably makes more sense if it is dated later, when Theseus' figure becomes prominent in Attic art,[64] and when he also gains an especially strong political significance. The Delian location is especially suggestive in this respect.[65] Emphasis on Theseus' divine paternity in the early years of the Delian League is understood as an expression of 'Athenian claims to power by sea'.[66] The ode would fit neatly into this tendency; a central feature of the myth is the affirmation of Theseus' divine origin.[67] Thus, *Ode 17* is best dated a few years after the creation of the Delian League, c.478/7 BC.[68]

Ode 18 (whose dialogic form suggests an affinity with tragedy), though it could be seen as one of Bacchylides' experiments with the dithyrambic form at an early stage of his career (such as the 490s), is better dated in a period when tragedy had established itself as a major Athenian cultural product with a reputation across the Greek world. The mid-470s, the period when Aeschylus travelled to Sicily, offers a possible rough guide to dating. Furthermore, the mythological story of Theseus' return to Athens, and the narration of Theseus' cycle itself suggests a composition during the years of the Delian League. The events are narrated laconically which suggests, firstly, that the cycle was already established by the date of the ode and,

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[61] Taplin (1993) 21-29 explores this problematic hypothesis with no sufficient conclusion.

[62] On stories travelling orally, Buxton (1994) 9-13, 18-34.

[63] A cup by the Brisseis painter (NY 53.11.4) dated c.480-475/470 BC, a crater from Bologna dated c.440, and the iconography by Micon at the Theseion.

[64] Maehler (2004) 175 fails to contextualise Theseus' prominence in Attic art when he asserts that this happens in the last quarter of the sixth century *rather suddenly*. My emphasis. On *Ode 17* and vases, Shapiro (1994) 117-123.

[65] Kowalzig (2007) 81 points out that theoric songs performed on Delos were used as 'instruments of crude and direct political propaganda' and asserts (p.59) that 'performances of myth and ritual in the context of *polis-theoria* forged and severed ties to the larger cult community on Delos, oscillating delicately between compliance with and defiance of the growing Athenian hegemony.'

[66] Mills (1997) 38 with examples from vases at n164.

[67] Calame (2009) 174-175.

[68] Severyns (1933) 59 assumes a date within the first years of the Delian League; Käppel (1992) 178-183 suggests a date between 478 and c.474 BC; Zimmermann (1992) 93-94 argues in favour of a date in the 470s; Van Oeveren (1999) 39, Rutherford (2004a) 83n88, Fearn (2007) 253 suggested 479 BC as a plausible date.

secondly, that the audience was entirely familiar with Theseus' labours.[69] Moreover Theseus' meeting with Aegeus, his mortal father, not only reinforces Theseus' Athenian identity but may also express 'Athenian claims to power by land'[70]. This could suggest that the ode is best interpreted against its historical background. The route of Theseus to Athens, and his identity as the Ionian hero *par excellence* hints at the connotations his figure had for the city of Athens. As will become clear in the following chapter, it is plausible to date *Ode 18* c.475 BC,[71] when Cimon transferred the bones of Theseus to Athens, or a few years after that.[72]

The surviving corpus of Bacchylides suggests that his relationship with Athens had implications for his dealing with Aegina. The poetry of Bacchylides and Pindar was composed within the period in which the antagonistic relationship between Athens and Aegina had a considerable impact upon Greek political life.[73] Bacchylides' relationship with Athens may explain the paucity of Aeginetan commissions in his list, compared to the vast amount of commissions in the case of Pindar – 11 victory odes out of 42 in total (c.24%). The dates of Bacchylides' poetic activity (c.485/483-452 BC) include most of the significant historical events concerning these two states.[74] All these events are primarily placed within the context of Athenian attempts to gain naval supremacy and to incorporate Aegina into the Delian League. Though we cannot hope to penetrate with confidence the mindset of patrons at a distance of two and a half millennia, the limited epinician material for Aegina from Bacchylides (in contrast with Pindar's repeated commissions), together with his numerous (probable) commissions for Athens, may be significant. One is also struck by its (relatively) early date – I take it that the Aeginetan *Ode 13* was composed c.485-483 BC. In the context of an increasingly bitter rivalry between the two states, any poetry in favour of Athens might have a lukewarm reception in Aegina, and this aversion might possibly extend to poets who were seen as closely

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[69] Mills (1997) 19-20. The cycle was fully developed for the first time on a vase c.520 BC, Villa Giulia 20760, *ARV*² 83, 14 by Skythes.

[70] Ibid. 38.

[71] Severyns (1933) offers historical (pp.56-59) and literary arguments (pp.59-63) for the dating of this ode: either 490-474 BC or 480-470 BC.

[72] On the date of *Ode 18*, see chapter 2.1, pp.75-78.

[73] Th.1.98-117 is the main source for the years 479-440 BC. This account suggests that the quarrel between Athens and Aegina predetermined the behaviour of other states. For example, Corinth tended to strengthen whichever of the two looked weaker so that none of them would control the Saronic Gulf. For details, Hornblower (1994) 38-39.

[74] On the events of this period, Hornblower (1994) 32-47, (2004) 221-223, 229-234; Fearn (2007) 88-95.

associated with Athens and the empire. On this basis, the relative absence of Bacchylides from Aegina could be linked with his association (on present evidence) with Athens and with a positive view of Athens as an imperialistic power.[75] If one compares Bacchylides' pro-Athenian poetry with Pindar's firm support for Aeginetan freedom at the end of *Pythian* 8 (even allowing for the fact that Pindar is there playing to an Aeginetan audience), one is left with the impression that the two poets took different sides in the dispute. None of this would necessarily exclude Bacchylides from Aegina, or Pindar from Athens for that matter. There are no hard and fast rules here. It could make Bacchylides, who presents a pro-Athenian perspective in a substantial number of his poems, a less popular choice within a genre which seeks to represent its patrons in a way which appeals to the larger community. We should not, however, assume that the entire Aeginetan population had a homogenous political view towards their government and Athens, or that the Aeginetan environment was *de facto* anti-Athenian. One needs to recognise the existence of political subdivisions in the Aeginetan community. Herodotus (6.88-92) reports the revolt of the Aeginetan demos against the ruling class in the coup of Nicodromus, which was supported by the Athenians. However, no other pro-Athenian revolt is recorded on the island.[76] Under these circumstances it is unlikely that aristocratic families, who were probably in favour of the Aeginetan oligarchy, would have hired a poet who seemed to have had relationships with Athens and the empire, since he would have been suspected of political propaganda.

It may be then that the degree of Bacchylides' involvement with Athens together with what may have been a consistent association with the Athenian imperialistic line made him unwelcome in Aegina. There seems to be a presupposition that poets, being professional advocates, will meet the needs of their clients.[77] It is also accepted that myths within poetry express civic ideology[78] and that in certain contexts[79] they can be interpreted as a political threat to some communities. Bacchylides' two explicitly pro-Athenian compositions (*Ode 17* and *Ode 18*), which

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[75] Rephrasing Hornblower (2004) 247-48 on discussing lack of epinician material in Pindar for Delos.
[76] Th.2.27.1 reports that the Athenians evicted all the Aeginetans from Aegina and re-peopled the island with Athenian settlers.
[77] Kowalzig (2007) 7-8.
[78] Ibid. 55.
[79] Kowalzig (2007) 4 points out that choral performances take place 'within circumscribed historical and social frames.'

probably followed *Ode 13* after a relatively short interval, suggest that poetry was interpreted politically by the communities themselves.

If the above assumptions about the relationship of Bacchylides with Athens are valid, how can we then explain the Aeginetan *Ode 13*?[80] *Ode 13* was commissioned for the same occasion as Pindar's *Nemean 5*, and both were the result of Lampon's extravagance. Lampon had hired two epinician poets to praise Pytheas, so that his achievement would be publicly commemorated and thus appreciated by the entire Aeginetan society. Celebrations of equivalent prestige and extravagance were otherwise only initiated for rulers – Hieron of Syracuse, Theron of Akragas, Arkesilas of Rhegion.[81] Lampon restricted the subsequent celebrations of his sons' victories, which could suggest that this specific flamboyant celebration possibly created some hostility within the community. Why, however, did Lampon choose Pindar and not Bacchylides for the subsequent celebrations for his sons? We cannot rule out an aesthetic motive; Lampon may simply have preferred Pindar. A second possible reason could have been the "overambitious" myth Bacchylides employs in *Ode 13*. Bacchylides attempts to "re-write" the Homeric *Iliad*.[82] Although this unusually ambitious myth could be linked with the unusually ambitious commissioning, the endeavour could have been perceived as perilous[83] in itself. On the other hand, Pindar was frequently chosen to celebrate athletic victories on Aegina. The frequency of commissions and the manner in which Aegina is praised in Pindar's odes indicate his sympathy for the island.[84] His Theban origin could also have functioned as a connective link; Aegina had an alliance with Thebes against Athens in the early years of the fifth century BC.[85]

Other factors also deserve to be examined. Though political considerations have often been invoked in relation to Pindar's dealings with Aegina, the possibility that they might also underlie Bacchylides' limited links with the island has not been

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[80] It is difficult to use *Ode 12*, the second Aeginetan ode of Bacchylides, as part of the argument, as it is not possible to date it with any degree of certainty. However, even if it could be dated after the creation of the Delian League, it would refine rather than subvert the picture constructed above.

[81] Cole (1992) 41.

[82] Carey (forthcoming).

[83] Perilous only in the sense that it might underscore the scale of Lampon's social ambitions.

[84] The above argument is still valid even if the other Aeginetan odes of Pindar we can date follow chronologically *N.5* (485/483 BC): *I.6* c.480 BC, *I.5* perhaps 478 C, *I.8* c.475 BC (after Plataia); *N.4* late 470s or early 460s; *N.3* and *N.6* are of unknown date; *N.8* c.460 BC; *N.7* c.461 BC; *O.8* 460 BC; *P.8* 446 BC – Burnett (2005).

[85] On mythical kinship in political contexts, Brillante (1990) 98 with Mycenae, Sparta, and Argos as an example.

examined and deserves serious consideration. Given the chronological proximity of the victories of Lampon's sons to the creation of the Delian League and Athens' claim to leadership, ideology and political interests could have influenced Lampon's decision in his choice of the epinician poet.[86] In this sense, Lampon should be seen as especially revealing of a trend that can be seen in the prominence of Aegina in Pindar, and presumably Pindar in Aegina. Failure, therefore, to go back to Bacchylides may suggest that there were indeed political tensions between Athens and Aegina, and these were reflected in poetics. In fact, the odes we can date from among the group of Pindar's Aeginetan epinician odes fall c.480-446 BC. This could reinforce the above argument on added political connotations in commissioned poetry.

We possess enough evidence in our discussion to suggest that Pindar and Bacchylides give complementary support to the idea that politics is at least in some cases an issue in the commissioning process. There is nothing automatic or absolute in any of this, and we should not assume a simple correlation between politics and commissioning. The difficulty of relating politics and poetics in an absolute manner is indicated by the Athenian odes of Pindar (*Pythian* 7 and *Nemean* 2). Even here it is worth noting that in scale and in the context of the large corpus of Pindaric epinicia, these two odes become almost insignificant. Also, the fact that *Pythian* 7 was for an exile from Athens, Megakles of Hippocrates, prevents us from attaching too much significance to these commissions. It is essential to stress the difficulties for the performance of epinicia in Athens. The epinician carried a set of associations which did not fit in a democratic polis such as Athens;[87] the celebration of specific values and the aristocratic connotations that this genre carried had political implications counter to the democratic ethos.[88] Celebration of an individual was not part of the Athenian ideology, and athletic achievements of the individual were always treated as potential political threats. On the other hand, ethnicity and descent also appear to play a role in the commissioning process in a manner that is far from straightforward. For example, myths regarding the daughters of Asopus, Aegina and Thebe, would reinforce Pindar's relation with Aegina and justify his Aeginetan commissions, as well as his being hired by Dorian communities. Descent and ethnicity therefore could

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[86] Hornblower (2004) 223-235 argued that attempts to correlate Aeginetan history with the contents of epinician poetry are vulnerable and simple. Victory odes do, nonetheless, offer insights of social history.
[87] Swift (2010) 106.
[88] Ibid. 106-107.

become important issues on some occasions, while political ideology also played a significant role.

The above reconstruction raises a question about another source of Bacchylides' commissions, Sparta. Political rivalries were obviously not a certain impediment to undermine Bacchylides' commissions in the Peloponnese. Bacchylides composed for rival cities in the region; we have a dithyramb composed for Spartans (*Ode 20*) and various commissions for communities connected with Sparta; *Ode 9* for the Spartan ally Phleious, and the fragmentary paean (frr.22+4) for Apollo at Asine,[89] probably commissioned by the rival of Sparta in the Peloponnese, Argos. These Peloponnesian commissions suggest that political rivalries were not always a determining factor in the commissioning process. Common descent linked these three communities. But, any attempts to explain these Dorian or Spartan-related commissions based solely on descent or origin are not satisfactory. If the choice were based on common descent, which *did* reinforce Pindar's connection with Aegina, then the most obvious choice would simply be the poet coming from the pronounced Dorian and pro-Spartan Thebes, Pindar, and not the Ionian Bacchylides. On the basis of our discussion on Aegina, one might expect the apparent association of Bacchylides with Athenian interests to be a potential obstacle to any Spartan commissions. However, these Peloponnesian compositions could suggest that the degree to which the political tensions between Aegina and Athens in the mid-fifth century BC affected poetic mobility and the poetic product was unusual. We should bear in mind the timeframe in which these commissions took place; the tension and rivalry between Athens and Sparta after the Persian Wars were not of the same intensity as the tensions between Athens and Aegina. If one is willing to take into account the context, historical and cultural, in which these poems were composed, as well as the ideology expressed in other commissions of Bacchylides, the existence of the above three compositions complicates any attempts at simple political explanations for the choice of the poet.

What emerges from the above (necessarily tentative) discussion is that politics and ideology may be a factor in some cases, but not always in the same manner or with the same degree. This complicates any attempts to give solely ideological

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[89] For Apollo Pythaieus at Asine and the relationship between Asine and Argos, Kowalzig (2007) 129-160, where she offers a detailed analysis of Bacchylides' paean.

explanations for Bacchylides' commissions. For instance, the Argives were Sparta's greatest rival for sovereignty in the Peloponnese and had distanced themselves from the Peloponnesian League,[90] whereas Phleious was a pro-Spartan community which fought against Argos in the Peloponnesian war.[91] Ethnic origin and geography would indeed link these three communities but these are not factors on which commission of the same poet could be based. Simple answers, therefore, cannot be given for issues whose understanding has to involve various and different aspects of the surrounding environment. The case of Athens and Aegina is presumably an exception in the greater scheme of commissioning and should be treated as such.

Colonisation, Prosopography, and the Peloponnese

Moving now to the West of the Greek World, one can accept that 'epinikian poetry was an affirmative device'[92] of Greek identity for Greek colonies in South Italy and Sicily. Mythology concerning colonies functioned as a statement of existence, clarification of origin, and propaganda. Most importantly, it had political importance for local and pan-Hellenic positioning.[93] The Bacchylidean epinicia must be seen within this nexus; the myths exploited for small colonies, such as Metapontion and Lokroi Epizephyrioi, were frequently foundation myths or alluded to colony and mother-city relationships.[94] Having as a starting point *Ode 11* for Metapontion, I will analyse in this section the manner in which colonisation and genealogical mythology are presented within this particular epinician ode, and examine what this representation asserts for this particular community and for Bacchylides' standing within the poetic tradition. Patrons often revealed specific issues and relations through their commissioned victory odes, a possible medium of advertisement and declaration, and this turns prosopography into an essential tool for explanation. Names should be taken into account, since, as Hornblower asserts, onomastic evidence helps us identify

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[90] Kowalzig (2007) 147.
[91] Fearn (2003) 348-349. Phleious is included on the "serpent column" (ML no.27) as a pro-Spartan state (*ATL* (1950) 96) assisting Sparta at the battle of Thermopylae (480 BC) and Plataea (479 BC).
[92] Hornblower (2004) 27
[93] Fearn (2003) 348
[94] Hornblower (2004) 27; the above conclusion is drawn for Pindar but it is also evident in Bacchylides' epinicia; e.g. B.1, 9, and 11.

the social milieu within which the epinician poets moved, and thus attaches an individual to a specific region.[95]

We cannot explain the commission of this ode based on political grounds, as was attempted in the previous section, in spite of possible justification of its existence due to the general pro-Athenian slant in Bacchylides' poetry. It is unlikely that alliances with specific cities on the Greek mainland would have functioned as the reason for Bacchylides' commission by colonial cities. Metapontion, the only other city in Magna Graecia aside from Syracuse hiring Bacchylides, had an alliance with Athens.[96] The late date for this relationship (413 BC), though, makes it of limited value in explaining a commission that occurred much earlier. Hornblower suggests that the anti-Syracusan alignment may have occurred as early as the 430s.[97] This is still too late for our purposes. Still, since these colonies kept shifting sides when it came to politics and alliances, we must accept that the political factor cannot be the key to this commission.

The rarity of victories in Metapontion not only intensifies their significance, as in the case of Phleious,[98] but it also turns the victory ode into the means through which this community advertises its presence in the Greek world and its ties with Greek mainland. The poet also becomes the mouthpiece of specific notions central for the community,[99] and of individual personal requests by his patrons. The personal factor in the composition of the specific victory ode is evident in the presence of features that can be explained neither as conventional nor as community-centred. We move, therefore, into the field of prosopography. This may explain elements in this victory ode which might look bizarre (i.e. the mythical narrative of the ode) and help us take a look at the structure of the Greek world through this particular poem.

The mythical narrative of the ode at a first glance seems irrelevant to the poem.[100] Bacchylides presents Artemis Hemera and her altar as the connecting point between the colony of Metapontion and the Peloponnese, and this bond is presented unconventionally. The force which leads to the creation of the colony is not the

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[95] Hornblower (2004) 130.

[96] Ibid.120-21. Th.7.33.4 *...καὶ τοὺς Μεταποντίους πείσαντες κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικόν...*

[97] Hornblower (2004) 189. He later suggests (2008) that 'it seems reasonable to assume that the alliance was already in existence in 415' (p.609).

[98] Fearn (2003) 348

[99] Kowalzig (2007) 7-8; D'Alessio (2009) 137.

[100] On the structure and form of the myth, Maehler (1982) 202-205; Dougherty (1993) 129; Maehler (2004) 136-138; Cairns (2010) 103-106.

Achaeans,[101] as was conventionally known in the myth, but the adventures of the family of king Proetus.[102] The ode presents a twofold relation between Metapontion and the Peloponnese: king Proetus is related to the Argolid (specifically Argos and Tiryns), and Artemis Hemera, who gave the victory to Alexidamus, has her altar at the river Casas in Metapontion (vv.37-39, 118-120). That specific altar mirrors Artemis' altar at the river Lousus in Arcadia to which Proetus prayed (vv.95-103). It thus becomes the point of transition from the mythic setting to the present occasion[103] and the link between mythical narrative and reality.

Douglas Cairns claims that 'Bacchylides exploits the myth with a single consistent purpose, namely to set the present victory in the context of praise of the victor's city as a successful and divinely favoured colonial foundation.'[104] Cairns is correct to emphasise the centrality of the community in the ode,[105] but he narrows down the function of the mythical narrative significantly by perceiving the praise of the colony as the single purpose of Bacchylides' myth. He also overreaches when he assumes that the mention of the cult of Artemis at Lousoi, in correlation with the distorted myth of the Proetides in the poem, emphasises the role of marriage in maintaining the peace and solidarity of the community.[106] Although alternative versions of the myth for the Proetids insist on the element of marriage,[107] it is not possible to suggest a similar case for *Ode 11*; the marriage of the Proetides with Melampous and Bias is not mentioned in the poem. In spite of his insistence on the encomiastic function of the mythical narrative,[108] Cairns does not attempt to explain the peculiar geography and timeframe of the myth and the internal association of the myth of Proetus with the cult of Artemis Hemera and the foundation of Metapontion.

It has been claimed that varied foundation myths for Metapontion[109] reflect varied immigrations.[110] Dougherty observes: 'colonization tales must also respond to

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[101] The Achaeans are mentioned at the end of the ode as they who brought the cult of Artemis to Magna Graecia (vv.110-123).
[102] On the madness of the Proetids, Cairns (2010) 113-119.
[103] Dougherty (1993) 133.
[104] Cairns (2005) 35.
[105] Ibid. 38, (2010) 120
[106] Cairns (2005) 35; Seaford (1988) also emphasises the marital feature in the ode.
[107] On the mythical versions, Maehler (1982) 197-202; Cairns (2005) 40-44, (2010) 123-126.
[108] Cairns (2005) 44.
[109] On the foundation-myths of Metapontion, Maehler (2004) 135; Cairns (2010) 107-112.
[110] Hornblower (2004) 123.

the needs of the present',[111] while Hall asserts that genealogies usually adapt to changing circumstances when expressing ethnic relationships.[112] The explanation for the distortion of the conventional version of Metapontion's foundation story might be hidden within onomastics. Onomastic evidence accentuates personal requests that could be revealed through the victory ode. The epigraphically attested distribution of a name may have implications for ethnic origin and may shed light on the choice of foundation myths.[113] According to the *LGPN*, the name Ἀλεξίδαμος is epigraphically attested to once in Metapontion, once in Lokroi Epizephyrioi, and three times in the Peloponnese - twice in Argos in the Argolid, and once in Akarnania. The patronymic Φαΐσκος, a strange name *per se*, is epigraphically attested to once in Metapontion, once in Lokroi Epizephyrioi, and once in Argos. If we accept that names have the ability to narrate stories and relate individuals to places and specific Greek origins, then both these names and their associations are revealing. Firstly, they may explain the unconventional myth in the ode and the emphasis on Artemis Hemera, both of which create a bond between Metapontion and the Peloponnese, and, secondly, the story of king Proetus and the madness of his daughters.

What is the story behind these two names? The fact that both the names occur together in Metapontion, Lokroi Epizephyrioi and Argos is telling. The existence of these names in the two colonies is suggestive of a connection by blood or marriage. It is also possible to speak of families whose ancestors were from Argos, or who came from Argos themselves. Bacchylides' poetic tale probably narrates the desire of the family to present their bonds with mainland Greece, with the Peloponnese specifically, and possibly with Argos in the Argolid. Apart from plausible blood and family relations with Argos, evidence indicates that the bond of *xenia*, ritualised friendship, was frequently manifested in names; one of the customs between *xenoi* was to name one's son after the name of one's *xenos*.[114] It is also evident that in the Greek political world communities often harnessed private relationships for political purposes and community-interests. This attitude is evident in *xenia* and *proxenia*; the bond of this private reciprocity was transferred to the communal level and the *polis* formalised the custom of *xenia*, which was integrated into its political procedure

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[111] Dougherty (1993) 5.
[112] Hall (2005) 26.
[113] Hornblower (2004) 130
[114] Herman (1987) 7.

through the institution of *proxenia*.[115] Therefore, 'the networks of *proxeniai* roughly coincided with the networks of *xeniai* to which they owed their origin'.[116] Given the fact that the horizontal ties, through which the elites linked across political boundaries, were often stronger than the vertical ties within individual communities,[117] the names Alexidamus and Phaiskus could also be explained through the institutions of *xenia* or *proxenia*. It is tempting, therefore, to imagine Alexidamus' parents as *proxenoi* of Argos at Metapontion.[118]

In fact, personal and ethnic interests could explain the existence and combination of two diverse stories for Metapontion. The ode includes two sets of foundation legends[119] and implies a double ethnic origin, which includes both the community of Metapontion and the family of Alexidamus. The family probably claimed Dorian/Argive origin through the ode without ignoring Achaean identity for the entire community.[120] According to Hall, the fifth century is very important for assuring the ethnic nature of collective groups, such as Dorians, Ionians, Aeolians, and Achaeans. These are mainly characterised as descent groups and attested as 'self-conscious sub-Hellenic groups...prior to any unitary subscription to a common Hellenic consciousness'.[121] Interestingly, the opportunity to present particular descents is offered by the pan-Hellenic Games, and the medium through which these descents are affirmed is the victory ode. Thus, while all winning communities assert and verify their Greek identity by participating in the Games, they also pronounce their self-assured sense of belonging in a particular ethnic group. Subsequently, they incorporate themselves within the Greek world in a distinct and self-defined manner.[122] This reveals the tension between city-particularism and pan-Hellenism.

An interesting move from "belonging" to "displacement" could explain why Bacchylides was chosen for the above project and for the Peloponnesian

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[115] Ibid.134-136; see p.135 for analogies between *xenia* and *proxenia*.

[116] Ibid.139 for a description of the model upon which *proxenia* was built. On xenia and proxenia, see also Mitchell (1997).

[117] Herman (1987) 130.

[118] Cf. the name *Ἀλκιβιάδης* that is explained within the institution of *proxenia* between Athens and Sparta.

[119] By the fifth century Achaeans of the northern Peloponnese claimed to be the descendants of the Homeric Achaeans who settled at the southern shores of the Corinthian Gulf at the time when Dorians arrived in Lakonia and the Argolis (Hdt.1.145; 7.94; 8.73.1; Paus.7.1.5-7). On the foundations in South Italy and the two legends for Metapontion, Hall (2005) 58-63.

[120] Cairns (2010) 111 focuses narrowly on the Archaean origins of the city of Metapontion.

[121] Hall (2005) 56.

[122] On manipulating genealogies, Osborne (1996) 245-47.

commissions. The Peloponnese features in connection with Bacchylides in an often neglected testimonium.

Καὶ γὰρ τοῖς παλαιοῖς, ὡς ἔοικεν, αἱ Μοῦσαι τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν συνταγμάτων καὶ δοκιμώτατα φυγὴν λαβοῦσαι συνεργὸν ἐπετέλεσαν. «Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος συνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων» ἐν Θρᾴκῃ περὶ τὴν Σκαπτὴν Ὕλην, Ξενοφῶν ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι τῆς Ἠλείας, Φίλιστος[i] ἐν Ἠπείρῳ, Τίμαιος ὁ Ταυρομενείτης ἐν Ἀθήναις, Ἀνδροτίων Ἀθηναῖος ἐν Μεγάροις, Βακχυλίδης ὁ ποιητὴς[ii] ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ. πάντες οὗτοι καὶ πλέονες ἄλλοι τῶν πατρίδωνἐκπεσόντες οὐκ ἀπέγνωσαν οὐδὲ ἔρριψαν ἑαυτούς, ἀλλ' ἐχρήσαντο ταῖς εὐφυΐαις ἐφόδιον παρὰ τῆς τύχης τὴν φυγὴν λαβόντες, δι' ἣν πανταχοῦ καὶ τεθνηκότες μνημονεύονται·

[i] Φίλιστος Leonicus : φίλιππος
[ii] ποιητὴς] Ἰουλιήτης Cobet; Κεῖος ποιητὴς Capps.

(Plutarch *De exilio* 605C 3-605D 1)

Plutarch enumerates here a list of authors who composed poetic or prose works while in exile. These authors are presented as being productive and thus successful as writers when in exile and at the place of exile. Bacchylides is mentioned with Thucydides and Xenophon, of whose exiles we are aware by references either in their works or in other sources. Plutarch is frequently our sole and reliable source for a variety of literary issues, and this attributes to the testimony a degree of credibility. This testimonium is extremely important. Bacchylides' exile may well have played a role in the geographical range of his poetry as well as in the communities which hired him in the Peloponnese and elsewhere.

In spite of uncertainty about the chronological sequence of the exile and the Peloponnesian commissions, Bacchylides' physical presence in the Peloponnese may offer an explanation for the dearth of his commissions. His success while in exile suggests that he probably managed to create a network of personal contacts in the region. It is possible that Bacchylides had created a network of personal connections before his exile, or while in the Peloponnese. The establishment of his name and fame in the region could have generated various kinds of civic relationships and personal recommendations, both of which would have driven him to the region after his expulsion from Ceos. The possibility of the existence of a network could explain the commissions by rival communities in the Peloponnese (e.g. Sparta and Argos,

Phleious and Argos) and also the composition of *Ode 11* for Metapontion. If the suggestions about the relation of Alexidamus' family with Argos and the Argolid are reasonable, then commissioning could have been based chiefly on geography: on Bacchylides' physical presence and established fame in the region.[123]

How exile affected Bacchylides' poetic product itself may be determined by the reasons for his exile. Although we cannot be sure, politics could have played a role in this case. The federal constitution of Ceos allowed its main cities to retain their separate identity as city-states for local purposes, while they cooperated as a single entity for purposes of foreign policy.[124] The federal capital was Ioulis and perhaps the Cean city less intimately associated with Athenian rule.[125] Although the island was regarded as of Ionian descent,[126] it displayed pro- and anti-Athenian tendencies, and the tensions between its individual poleis were reflected on the island's relation to Athens down to the fourth century BC.[127] Inscriptions from the fourth century BC refer separately to the cities of the island. This could imply that Athens treated the four cities individually and not always as a collective whole. On a decree dated c.356/355 BC (*IG* II² 404. 14), Athens appears to insist that the Ceans should be governed by cities, πολιτεύεσθαι Κ[είου]ς κατὰ πόλεις, emphasising the separatism of the island.[128] *IG* II² 111.27-45 (363/2 C) states how the Iouleis broke their oaths and made war against the people of Athens, the Ceans, and the other allies – vv.28-30 καὶ πολεμήσαντες ἐναντία τῶι δή/μωι τῶι Ἀθηναίων καὶ Κε[ί]οις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις

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[123] A possible parallel for the picture suggested above is offered by the colonial inscription of Issa (Syll.³141) found at Lymbarda on Kerkyra Melaina. The inscription records the terms in which the colony had been established, and it includes names of Issaeans, the majority of which point to Illyrian or Messapian origin. Some of the unusual names in the list, according to Fraser (1993) 168, are typical of Sicily and/or South Italy. This characteristic confirms the generally accepted view that the island was a colony of Syracuse; Issa was founded by Dionysios I after 385 BC, when his rule expanded up the coast of Italy and across the Adriatic. The historian Philistus, who is mentioned in Plutarch's passage, was a supporter of Dionysios but was exiled after the first twenty years of Dionysios' rule. He wrote most of his history in exile, which could confirm Plutarch's story on his success. Fraser, based on Strabo C.241, assumes that Issa could have been founded by exiles from Dionysios I (p.169). We could thus suppose that Philistus' presence in Epeiros was not accidental. It was rather due to the connection between Issa and South Italy, which allowed him to create a personal network in the area. Bacchylides may well have developed a personal network in the Peloponnese in a manner similar to that of Philistus. On the onomastic evidence of the inscription, see also Hornblower (2008) 407-408.

[124] *OCD s.v.* 'federal states'.

[125] Brun (1989) 123; Constantakopoulou (2005) 13-14.

[126] B.17.3 κούρους Ἰαόνων in direct association with Theseus in the previous line and the distinction from the Cretans with the explicit location of the ship (v.4 Κρητικὸν...πέλαγος) could suggest claims on Ionian origin by Ceos itself.

[127] For fourth-century inscriptions on Ceos as a political entity, Brun (1989).

[128] For the relations between Athens and Ceos c.404-323 BC based on historical inscriptions, *GHI* pp.200-203.

συμμάχο/ις. The fourth-century inscription certainly reflects earlier attitudes of the Cean cities towards the Athenian empire, and could thus suggest that Ioulis was the most (if not the only) anti-Athenian city in Ceos.

Given that Bacchylides was from Ioulis, both his pro-Athenian and Athenian civic compositions could have made him vulnerable in an anti-Athenian environment. It is likely that these compositions allowed him to make connections in Athens (since he participated frequently in the Athenian festivals[129]) or with pro-Athenian groups in Ioulis. A 'small-scale social interaction is regarded as key to the creation and development of networks', and interactions between individuals form structures where transmission of information and ideas, of resources and services are developed.[130] The dynamics of group-relations within a network could potentially create social and political structures within and beyond the polis.[131] If such a possibility were considered to be threatening for the stability and integrity of the ruling bodies of Ioulis, bodies related to the threat would probably have been removed. We possess no information regarding the political activities of Bacchylides but he may well have been politically active. His poetry itself could have functioned as an expression of his ideology. The only extant civic song for Ceans (*Ode 17*) is possibly the most pro-Athenian poem of Bacchylides, and this could have marked him with a pro-Athenian attitude. Delos as the place of performance is also very important to mark the possibility of Athenian influence on the composition of the Cean song. In the early stages of the Athenian Confederacy, Athens had 'a tendency...to regard Delos as an extension of its own territory',[132] and regular Athenian theoric activity on the island constituted part of the exercise of Athenian power through the Delian Amphiction.[133] The island was also the initial seat of the Delian League in 477 BC,[134] and this could suggest that Athens attempted to gain administrative control of the sanctuary.[135] *Theōria* and *choreia* were the means through which Athenian power

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[129] See chapter 2.1, pp.58 with nn3&4.

[130] Malkin et al. (2009) 4.

[131] Ibid. 9; Vlassopoulos (2009) 13 labels these two concepts as networks below the polis – the concept of koinonia/association, and networks beyond the polis – the concept of the world-system.

[132] Rutherford (2004a) 82.

[133] Fearn (2007) 244. Rutherford (2004a) 88 considers competition between members of the Delian Amphiktyony as the most likely possibility for the nature of the dithyrambic *agōn* on Delos. For testimonies on regular *theōriai* from Athens to Delos, Rutherford (2004a) 82.

[134] Meiggs (1972) 43; Rhodes (1992) 37; Kowalzig (2007) 81.

[135] Although evidence on Athens' attempt to claim Delos as part of her territory is more solid for the late fifth and fourth century (Rutherford (2004a) 82), there are visible manifestations of Athenian interest in Delos and attempts to control the cult of Apollo before the fifth century. Constantakopoulou

was promulgated on Delos.[136] The Athenian control on Delos asserted and confirmed the Athenian claims in the region,[137] which were thus confirmed through the dithyrambic competitions and the theoric choral statements. Fearn claims that 'Bacchylides 17 offers an insight into the imperial foreign policy of democratic Athens.'[138] Tensions, therefore, between the Cean cities concerning the attitude each city and the island as a whole should keep towards Athens, the forces opposed to and in favour of Athens, as well as the changeability of these attitudes, might account for Bacchylides' exile.

What we can conclude from the geographical progression of Bacchylides' poetry is that, although the surviving material is not vast - it is clear in the case of his victory odes that commissions were relatively small in number in comparison to Pindar - the number of states and people who found his poetry attractive and were involved in the commissioning process was large and spread throughout Greece with more concentration, however, on the Greek peninsula and the Peloponnese. If the above supposition is correct, the distribution of Bacchylides' commissions and poetic activity can be established on the basis of criteria beyond (though not excluding) the quality of his poetry. In a poetic environment which was closely related to and defined by external circumstances, issues such as politics, preferences, and recommendations should be taken into account, if we are to have a complete picture of the context in which poetry was composed and performed. Sympathies, alliances, and hostilities between communities kept changing within the Greek world. When it comes to epinician and civic poetry the situation should be evaluated on the basis of the existing historical and political circumstances, on chances offered to the poets, and on preferences on the poet's side.[139] All these factors create a network that should necessarily be taken into account. Inevitably, mobility and personal relationships are sometimes superimposed on poetics. It seems inevitable that politics and ideology come to the surface in some instances, but these aspects cannot be the sole factors to explain Bacchylides' commissioning process. If we attribute authority to Plutarch's

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(2007) 63-66 emphasises the political importance of Delos' purification by Peisistratus in the second half of the sixth century. His intervention at Delos expressed 'the Athenian interest in the island and its cult network. It is not evidence for hegemony over the Aegean or over the cult of Apollo Delios, but it can be seen as an expression of *potential* hegemony' (p.66).

[136] Fearn (2007) 252. Kowalzig (2005) interprets *theōria* in a political context.
[137] Rutherford (2004a) 85.
[138] Fearn (2007) 255.
[139] Our inability to know of the preferences of each poet should not preclude the possibility that poets also had a say in the commissioning process.

testimonium, Bacchylides' exile presumably played a major role in the geographical range his poetry covered as well as in the communities which hired him.

The above discussion has hopefully made it clear that pan-Hellenism is a compendious term that encapsulates many factors. Poetry, traditions, myths, and poets can be pan-Hellenic in different ways and this characteristic is not something inherent, but rather the outcome of a complex process. In the case of poets, pan-Hellenism is evidently a goal and it is achieved only when they operate under circumstances in which they are both local and superlocal/Hellenic poets. Pan-Hellenic poets also differ in scale and geography. Bacchylides operated in a more circumscribed geographical range than Pindar and his commissions portray a gradual encroachment, established first on a local base, while he moved slower than Pindar in developing an international career. In order to make sense of the connectivity in the Greek world that was disseminated through pan-Hellenic poetry, it is essential to take into account the complex dynamics of local and Hellenic,[140] the impact of poetic mobility both on the presentation of communities, the poetry and the poets themselves, as well as the way one labels and conceptualises all of these.

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[140] On local pan-Hellenism, Sourvinou-Inwood (1978).

Chapter 2

Bacchylides in Athens

Ultimately any evaluation of Greek poetry produced prior to or in the fifth century BC has to be attempted primarily (though as we shall see, not solely) through the lens of Athens. This partly reflects the nature and source of our evidence, but it is more than a matter of the accident of survival. Athens gradually became in the fifth century BC the centre of literary production and cultural development. The city set the agenda through its own poetic productions, which, as well as offering their own distinctive contribution, also absorbed and reproduced both earlier forms and earlier writers. Athens was the point of reference not only in the fifth-century but also in the following centuries up to the Imperial era; the Greek past was seen through the lens of Athenian cultural experience. In the case of lyric poetry, Athens is of marginal importance for poetic production, as after Solon the city produced no single "lyric" (in either the technical or the extended modern sense) poet of significance. Nevertheless, subsequent evaluation[1] of lyric poetry within Athens at its theatre and festivals through adaptations and implicit references in Athenian drama, and consequently Athenian or Athens-based prose philosophy and criticism, plays a crucial role in the process of canonisation, which, as we shall see, begins long before this poetry reaches Alexandria. Thus, even though in terms of origin in most cases our attention at the time of poetic production and circulation of lyric poetry is focused on the broader Greek world, we need always to look for traces of that poetry within the Athenian poetic output. This was *the* ticket for future survival. The situation creates a fascinating paradox: whereas re-performance of lyric poetry in Athens and allusions to the genre in Athenian literary products are essential for subsequent survival, a direct connection with Athens in terms of original performance has no significance whatsoever.

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[1] "Evaluation" is probably too cerebral a term for the procedure described above, at least in terms of the Athenian theatre. Performances at the theatre most probably reflected public opinion and any suggestions about the evaluation of previous poetry cannot, in this sense, be firmly grounded. On the other hand, public opinion and the Athenian audience are two important aspects we should keep in mind when it comes to the inclusion of previous poetry in drama. Reuse of material from lyric poetry in tragedy, named references to lyric predecessors in comedy, oblique inclusions of mythical stories told in lyric, or allusions to versions of the past that would have otherwise been unknown to the audience unless they were familiar with lyric poetry reveal the degree of knowledge demanded of the audience. It does become in this sense an evaluative procedure, as inclusion by naming or citation indicates some degree of presence for the poet or poetry employed. Looking at it from the aspect of the author, inclusion of references to previous poetry in a play discloses personal knowledge of that poetry, direct or indirect, and therefore knowledge of that poet.

Since Bacchylides worked both for the broader Greek world and for the city of Athens, we are simultaneously placed outside and inside the Athenian cultural and poetic agenda. What does participation in Athenian festivals imply for the appreciation of his poetry and indeed for the appreciation of the poetry of other lyric poets? This question takes us to the heart of the paradox which surrounds Bacchylides' poetry and figure in particular. He is hired to compose poems for Athens[2] and many of these civic commissions have survived for us to study. However, it is generally believed that after the end of his career Bacchylides' poetry and name leave no traces in succeeding literature. This question will be the quest of this particular chapter. Was Bacchylides appreciated in Athens during his lifetime? Did his work survive in the Athenian poetic environment after his death? This chapter will focus on Bacchylides' "physical" and poetic presence in Athens primarily through his civic commissions, and his survival in later poetry produced in Athens, principally the Aristophanic comedy.

2.1. Athenian festivals and Athenian patterns

This first part of the chapter will deal with Bacchylides' civic commissions by Athenian *khorēgoi* for Athenian festivals and with commissions with an Athenocentric character performed beyond the Athenian boundaries, possibly indicating a close connection with Athens. This line of argument has already been set up in the previous chapter. Thus, focus in these sections will be primarily literary. Connection of Bacchylides with Athens, therefore, will include investigation of any use of Athenian myths (or myths with an Athenian bias) in his poetry, or trends that could reveal familiarity of Bacchylides with poetic genres, modes, and themes that originated, were fully developed, or were even expected exclusively in the Athenian cultural environment. Two of the most important issues for consideration will be, firstly, his participation in poetic competitions at Athenian festivals and, secondly, *theoric* poetry that could reveal Athenian influence. What do all these have to say about Bacchylides, his prestige and the status of his poetry? Is it possible to define the criteria under which he was chosen to participate in festivals and to represent Athenian tribes? What do the festivals in which he participated have to say about his

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[2] Chapter 1, pp.31-32, 36-37.

esteem as a poet? Was his name important? Although the focal point of this chapter is Bacchylides, the scope of the enquiry must be broadened in order to answer questions concerning both the commissioning process in Athens and the survival of lyric poetry and lyric poets in Athenian literary genres.

Competition and Athenian Festivals

Bacchylides' poetry is repeatedly present in Athenian religious festivals. There is a good case for the view that three out of the six almost complete "dithyrambs" that have come down to us were performed at Athenian festivals:[3] *Ode 15* at the Panathenaea, *Ode 18*[4] and *Ode 19* at the Great Dionysia.[5] What do these Athenian commissions tell us about our poet? How important was it for any poet to participate and compete in Athens? How can we explain an Athenian commission and choice of poets within the frame of *khorēgia*?

Both *khoreia* and *khorēgia* played an important role in civic commissions throughout the Greek world and were crucial to the Athenian festival calendar. *Khoreia* was central to Athens as a political community and served an important cultural and pedagogic function.[6] A straightforward relationship appears between *khoreia* and *khorēgia*: choral culture was legally supervised, controlled and managed[7] through the institution of *khorēgia*. The poet is at the centre of this nexus. He is the figure in whom both *khoreia* and *khorēgia* come together: a poet's participation at Athenian festivals is the outcome of the cooperation between civic (*Archōn*) and

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[3] Various views have been stated on the actual Athenian festivals for these odes. See Maehler (2004) ad loc, whose opinion on *Odes 15* and *19* has been accepted by Fearn (2007) 237.

[4] Webster (1970) 102 assumes that the ode was performed at the Thargelia due to the connection of Theseus with the festival; Maehler (2004) 189-191 asserts that it was probably performed at the Panathenaea of 458 BC. He suggests that Theseus is portrayed as an Athenian ephebe at the end of the ode and relates this image to Cimon's sons. This poem could indeed include allusions to Cimon and his family, through which they are linked with Theseus. But, it is quite implausible to base the chronology of the ode solely on these assumptions, as they are exclusively based on the adjectives Λάκαιναν, οὔλιον, Θεσσαλά. Maehler follows Barron (1980) for the above arguments, who, nonetheless, dates the ode in the 470s.

[5] Maehler (2004) 165 considers Athens a possible place of performance also for *Ode 16*. Given the explicit references to χοροὶ Δελφῶν singing by the temple of Pythian Apollo (vv.11-12), I believe that Delphi is a more plausible place of performance. The poem would thus be a theoric *dithyramb*. A conjecture can be made in favour of Athens as the commissioning community, but the ode allows additional speculations involving other communities.

[6] Pl. *Lg.*814d.7-816d.1.

[7] Cf. Pl. *Lg.*817c10-817e4. Although Plato refers to his own ideal city, his description shares qualities with historical Athens in the classical period.

individual (*khorēgos*) in the Athenian city, and his poetry is the point at which both democratic institutions and private sponsorship converge. It is likely that the *Archōn* would assign a poet to a chorus and unite him with the appointed *khorēgoi*[8] for the production of a dithyrambic performance.

Antiphon 6.11 suggests a procedure by which the city, engaged in the contact between poet and *khorēgos*, allotted the poets to the *khorēgoi* (ἔλαχον).

> Ἐπειδὴ χορηγὸς κατεστάθην εἰς Θαργήλια καὶ ἔλαχον Παντακλέα διδάσκαλον καὶ Κεκροπίδα φυλὴν πρὸς τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ, [τουτέστι τῇ Ἐρεχθηίδι] ἐχορήγουν ὡς ἄριστα ἐδυνάμην καὶ δικαιότατα... Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν διδασκαλεῖον... ἐν ᾧπερ καὶ Διονυσίοις ὅτε ἐχορήγουν ἐδίδασκον· ἔπειτα τὸν χορὸν συνέλεξα ὡς ἐδυνάμην ἄριστα...
>
> **(Antiphon 6.11)**

When I was appointed Choregus for the Thargelia, Pantacles falling to me as poet and the Cecropid as the tribe that went with me [that is to say the Erechtheid], I discharged my office as efficiently and as scrupulously as I was able. I began my fitting out a training-room in the most sutable part of my house, the same that I had used when Choregus at the Dionysia. Next, I recruited the best chorus that I could...

Πρὸς τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ also suggests that in the Thargelia, where the tribes were doubled, the second was allocated by lot, which in turn suggests that a *khorēgos* would serve his own tribe, where tribes competed separately. However, Aristophanes *Aves* 1403-4 complicates the picture.

> Ταυτὶ πεπόηκας τὸν κυκλιοδιδάσκαλον,
> ὃς ταῖσι φυλαῖς περιμάχητός εἰμ' ἀεί...
> **(Ar. *Av.*1403-4)**

The passage suggests that the *phylai*, represented by their *khorēgos*, did have a say on the matter of the dithyrambic poet, or that they even had the chance to negotiate directly with the poet before poets were appointed.[9]

It is difficult to extract a single coherent account from this evidence. One of the reasons is that Antiphon is specific about the festival he mentions (Thargelia and Dionysia), whereas Aristophanes speaks more generally of Athenian competitions

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[8] Lys.21.1-5 with the phrases καταστὰς χορηγός, κατέστην χορηγός and Dem.21.13 οὐ καθεστηκότος χορηγοῦ...ἐγὼ χορηγήσειν ἐθελοντής in a context in which festivals are mentioned in detail are both suggestive of the choice and employment of the *khorēgos* by the *Archōn*. *Contra* Pickard-Cambridge (1953) 86, who proposes that *khorēgoi* for the dithyrambs were appointed by the tribes.
[9] Wilson (2000) 68.

with *kuklioi khoroi*. Therefore, any attempt to reconcile these passages must be made on the basis that similar procedures presumably took place for all the Athenian festivals with musical competitions (with modifications where tribes competed in pairs).

Both the passages from Antiphon and Aristophanes, although seemingly contradictory, can be reconciled if they are understood as indicating the same procedure but in successive stages. Wilson has assumed that the lot possibly had to do with the order of choice with which *khorēgoi* could select their poets. This would agree with the reference to the wrangling of the tribes over Kinesias in Aristophanes.[10] Additionally, it could be that the tribes expressed informally but vociferously their preferences on which poet they wanted to have as representative at the competitions prior to the lot. Thus, the squabbling over a poet as described in Aristophanes. After the lot, which possibly assigned poets to *khorēgoi*, the tribes would have had the right to contest the allotment, which would explain the Aristophanic passage. Given that the passage in *Aves* could simply be a boast on behalf of Kinesias regarding his popularity among the tribes, it is possible that Aristophanes reflects informal expressions of desire by the tribes[11] and the whole procedure was indeed a matter of allocation.

Demosthenes 21.13 portrays a procedure which matches all the evidence.

Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐ καθεστηκότος χορηγοῦ τῇ Πανδιονίδι φυλῇ, τρίτον ἔτος τουτί, παρούσης δὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν ᾗ τὸν ἄρχοντ᾿ ἐπικληροῦν ὁ νόμος τοῖς χοροῖς τοὺς αὐλητὰς κελεύει, λόγων καὶ λοιδορίας γιγνομένης, καὶ κατηγοροῦντος τοῦ μὲν ἄρχοντος τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν τῆς φυλῆς, τῶν δ᾿ ἐπιμελητῶν τοῦ ἄρχοντος, παρελθὼν ὑπεσχόμην ἐγὼ χορηγήσειν ἐθελοντής, καὶ κληρουμένων πρῶτος αἱρεῖσθαι τὸν αὐλητὴν ἔλαχον...

(**Dem.21.13**)

Two years ago the tribe of Pandionis had failed to appoint a chorus-master, and when the Assembly met at which the law directs the Archons to assign the flute-players by lot to the choruses, there was a heated discussion and mutual recrimination between the Archon and the overseers of the tribe. Thereupon I came forward and volunteered to act as chorus-master, and at the drawing of the lost I was fortunate enough to get first choice of a flute-player.

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[10] Ibid. 67-68.
[11] The passage can, nonetheless, be perceived as an allusion to what was probably the case during Aristophanes' time in Athens.

This passage clearly states disagreement between the representatives of the tribe[12] and civic representatives. Κληρουμένων πρῶτος αἱρεῖσθαι τὸν αὐλητὴν ἔλαχον appears to suggest a procedure of balloting for order of choice. It is possible, therefore, that tribes had the right to express their opinion when it came to the choice of their representative-poet but the city had the last word. If we apply this to the poet, we have a procedure which comprised allotment with room for choice. A definite answer cannot be given.[13] The important point is that, apart from civic control and allotment, the tribes appear to have had input about the poet who would represent them.

If, as suggested above, tribes and *khorēgoi* exercised some influence on the selection process, then the taste, financial position, and networks of the *khorēgos* would have been important factors for the poet to be considered a potential contestant for commission by the city. However, if the tribal influence was not decisive, proposal of a poet reduced the room for personal contact and repeated collaborations of a poet with a particular *khorēgos* and his tribe.[14] The fact that dithyrambic poets were not Athenian citizens foregrounds not only the financial nature of their relationship with their civic patrons but also the complexity of this relationship. How would a foreign dithyrambic poet, in our case Bacchylides, have been chosen to perform in Athens? In the case of Bacchylides, and indeed in the case of any dithyrambic poet, the *khorēgos* could have acted as the mediator between *Archōn* and poet. The institutions of *xenia* and *proxenia* already mentioned[15] were important for cultural contacts and commissions in the ancient Greek world; they reflect a network of external relations between citizens in different Greek colonial cities and islands. Thus, individuals could

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[12] MacDowell (1990) 236-37 indicates that according to epigraphical evidence (*IG* II² 2318.320-4, 3061) each tribe had to nominate to the *Archōn* one *khorēgos* for each of its choruses at the City Dionysia. The tribe also appointed three ἐπιμελεταί who were in charge of the tribe's funds and of arranging sacrifices and honorific inscriptions.

[13] Pickard-Cambridge (1953) 76 - 'How the choregos obtained his poet is nowhere clearly stated.'

[14] Wilson (2000) 65 proposes three suggestions for the way in which a foreign dithyrambic poet would have been chosen in Athens. In a manner similar to the dramatic *proagōn*, the poets presented themselves before the *Archōn* early in the civic year, or they sent their poetic offering to Athens, or, finally, they were chosen directly by the *khorēgoi* for commission. He is sceptical of the last suggestion for direct contact between poets and *khorēgoi* or *phylai*, which I find plausible at least in the *initial* and *informal* stages when poets were likely recommended to the state. Petrovic (2009) 203-212 addresses a similar issue with reference to public epigrams composed by wandering poets. He argues that an agonistic procedure existed by means of epigrammatic contests between mobile poets, through which some of the public monuments were chosen.

[15] Chapter 1, pp.49-50.

act on behalf of the poet by proposing to *khorēgoi* poets they were acquainted with or whose poetry was familiar to them.

Connections between individuals were important but equally important was information available from informal sources independent of the *polis*.[16] Names of poets could, therefore, have been travelling by hearsay both in Athens and in the rest of the Greek world. The most essential factors for a poet to be chosen for participation in dithyrambic competitions in Athenian festivals would have been name recognition, poetic quality, and also previous success and popularity. Due to their non-Athenian origin and location poets who were to be selected as representatives of Athenian tribes had to be sufficiently famous for their reputation, if not their poetry, to be known in advance by Athenian officials and the Athenian audience. Selection of a particular foreign poet would reflect on the *phylē* represented by his poem; the better or the more famous the poet, the finer the dithyramb was likely to be and the more chances a *phylē* would have had to win the competition.

This was of course a reciprocal process; participation in Athenian festivals would have additionally reflected on the poet himself. We can see this at work in the fact that we have either certain or probable evidence for the participation of all three of the great international poets of the late sixth and early fifth century BC in the Athenian competitions. Though we are poorly informed about choral competitions in other Greek states,[17] we can be reasonably confident that the scale and complexity of inter-tribal competition at Athens[18] and the administrative and financial infrastructure required meant that this was the largest intrastate "consumer" of commissioned choral

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[16] Lewis (1996) 10 has argued convincingly for the importance of oral communication within a community for interactions in reputation, public life and defining status of individuals.

[17] Rhodes (2003) 106, 109n39 underscores that it is difficult to find evidence for choral competitions in states other than Athens and Sparta. He insists that the institutional procedure for choral competitions was a *polis*-setting with a democratic version in Athens and in other cities. He emphasises that one needs to be careful neither to attribute too much uniqueness in Athens nor to generalise (pp.113, 117). Recent research, however, has also turned its attention to other localities of the Greek world, where dramatic and musical performances can be documented. On the *khorēgia* beyond Attike, Wilson (2000) 279-302; on dithyramb and tragedy in Cyrene, Ceccarelli&Milanezi (2007); on the Dionysia at Iasos, Crowther (2007); on Sicilian choruses, Wilson (2007).

[18] The initial Ionian-Attic tribes were five from which the first four were in archaic Athens – Geleontes, Aigikoreis, Argadeis, Hopletes. These tribes were increased in the late sixth century to ten (Hdt.5.66) and musical contests took place among the new tribes. The ten tribes of the early Athenian democracy were the following: Erechtheis (Erectheus), Aegeis (Aegeus), Pandionis (Pandion), Leontis (Leos), Akamantis (Akamas), Oineis (Oineus), Kekropis (Kekrops), Hippothontis (Hippothoon), Aiantis (Aias), Antiochis (Antiochos). Absent from the list is a tribe named after Theseus, probably suggesting his association with collectively all of the Athenians.

song and therefore the prime maker for the lyric poet. Dithyrambic competitions were probably established by c.509 BC[19] in Athens. Athens was already in the process of increasing its international profile as an important cultural city, as is evidenced by the number of competitive musical and dramatic festivals it displayed. This in turn would enhance the desire to participate in the Athenian choral institutions; competition in Athenian festivals would add prestige to the poet's name. Although assumptions on the factors and the procedure under which the *Archōn* granted a chorus to a dithyrambic poet are speculative,[20] we can assume (especially in the case of the most important civic festivals) that perceived quality was an important factor for the *Archōn*. Particularly, when we take into account the fact that dithyrambic poets were foreigners in Attike, being hired by Athens *for* Athens at that particular era, being chosen amongst a vast number of dithyrambic poets was presumably thought to be a great achievement. Thus, Athenian commissions could have translated into poetic capital. Consequently, it would generate favourable grounds for future performances not only in Athens but in other cities of the Greek world. As Petrovic argues, 'the motivation of the wandering poets can...be summed up in three words: privileges, money and fame.'[21]

Dithyrambs and Participation

The previous observations present us with a paradox: Athens, although prominent in agonistic festivals, choral performances, productions of dramas, and dithyrambic poetry did not have Athenian poets to participate in festivals other than dramatic. While only Athenians were allowed to participate as performers in the dithyrambic contest, Athenian tribes were represented by non-Athenian poets. There might have been several factors favouring this practice. The vast quantities of song needed and the need to offer works of recognisable quality meant that it might be difficult to maintain the stream of local talent necessary. The competition between tribes also

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[19] The Parian Marble ascribes the first dithyrambs sang by a chorus to either 510/9 or 509/8 BC. This record probably refers to the first victory at the Dionysia as organised under the democracy and as a festival distinct from the contests arranged by tyrants. - Pickard-Cambridge (1962²) 15.

[20] In the case of drama, relation between poet and the administrative instruments of the city is clearer. We have evidence that the *khoros* was granted by the *Archōn* on behalf of the city – χορὸν αἰτεῖν (Ar. *Eq.*513), χορὸν διδόναι (Arist. *Po.*1449b). For evidence on the *Archōn* granting a *khoros* to dramatists, Wilson (2000) 61-63.

[21] Petrovic (2009) 209.

meant that there might be problems in obtaining poets. A system of random allocation might have a poet working against his own tribe, and a system of obtaining poets from within tribes could leave some tribes without talent. There might have been a positive preference for foreigners, since the nature of the compositions had the potential to strengthen the poets' links with the city. By turning to Bacchylides' Athenian civic odes I will, firstly, attempt to explore how Athenian administrators and audience possibly got to know him and, secondly, to look at suggestions of the actual festivals in which he participated and the "statements" these festivals make about his poetry.

Keeping in mind the preceding account of the intermingling between civic administration, lot, *khorēgic* choices, and tribal preferences we should attempt to sketch the way in which Bacchylides initially became known in Athens. Even though the discussion will be conjectural, the Bacchylidean corpus of civic commissions is suggestive. It is probable that Bacchylides was known to be sympathetic to Athens prior to his Athenian commissions. The most important evidence for this positive attitude is his use of Athenian mythological material for commissions outside Athens. If we accept that *Ode 17*, one of Bacchylides' most overtly pro-Athenian (but not Athenian) civic odes, was composed c.478/7 BC, after the creation of the Delian League and at the time of Ceos' entrance in the Athenian Confederacy,[22] in correlation with the possibility that his poetic career began in the 480s, then this ode could be one of his earlier poems and one of his earliest civic commissions outside of Ceos.

It is thus possible that *Ode 17* preceded Bacchylides' Athenian commissions and was influential in bringing him to the attention of Athenian audiences/*khorēgoi*. There are two particular features in this commission that would especially recommend Bacchylides to Athens: mythological material and place of performance. Delos as the place where the Cean chorus performed is very important. If we accept that Athenian

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[22] The first record of Ceos in connection with the Athenian Confederacy is very important not only for the date of the ode's composition but also for the ideology it brings to the foreground. The Delphic Serpent Column (T68a) with the heading *[τ]ο[ίδε τὸν] πόλεμον [ἐ]πολ[έ]μεον* records the allies who fought the war against Persia in 480-479 BC. The list was probably inscribed in 479 BC. It includes the names of the allies, divided into three groups headed by the three chief allies – Sparta, Athens, and Corinth. The inscription distinguishes clearly between the Peloponnesians and the "Hellenes." Ceos is recorded as seventeenth in the list but the second in the group of Athenian allies. Despite the fact that it is included in the recorded payment of tribute of 451/0 BC and not in the first tribute list of 454 BC, it is possible that the island contributed ships in the early years of the Confederacy. On the original membership of the confederacy concerning the islands, *ATL* (1950) 194-99; for more details on the Delphic Serpent Column and the first allies, ibid. 95-105.

propaganda was an influential factor for determining the content of mythological narratives at *theōriai* on Delos, then *Ode 17* reflects an Athenian agenda.[23] Theseus' depiction as the son of the maritime god Poseidon and as the protector of the weak in the poem reads like a charter myth for Athens' increasing naval power and for its role as the defender of the Ionians.[24] The poem could be an attempt by Ceos to curry favour with Athens.[25] In the process it may also have recommended the poet.

Judging from the way in which the Athens in tragedy intersects with the Athens we meet in the *epitaphios logos*, it was presumably an Athenian practice to use artistic media and occasions to promote a certain image both to the rest of the Greek world and also within their own city. One of the most alluring methods to achieve this was embedded propaganda. Bacchylides managed to demonstrate with his *Ode 17* his knowledge, sympathy, and dexterity in handling Athenian themes and praising Athens both implicitly and effectively. An important feature of the myth is its relation to the large-scale paintings on the Theseion. One of the paintings on the Theseion painted by Micon was the story of Theseus' recovery of the ring of Minos during his trip to Crete (Paus.1.17.2-4). Bacchylides' poem not only narrates the particular story but also supports the idea of retribution, morality and Athenian excellence represented on the rest of the murals on the Theseion. Both poem and painting need to be seen as complementing each other; Theseus' clash with Minos, the underwater visit and the ethical treatment of the episode had not (as far as we know) been presented or poetically elaborated before Bacchylides, who offers a specific moral reading in the narrated episode. If Bacchylides was hired for participation and competition at the Athenian festivals after *Ode 17*, and if the representation of Athens in that poem created a favourable image of him, then this poem could have been his ticket to the city.

Irrespective of whether one accepts the above reconstruction, the case for a continuing and close connection with the city is strong. If we turn to Bacchylides' civic commissions for Athens, internal evidence suggests that three of his odes may have been performed at Athenian festivals with musical and choral competitions. The most certain is *Ode 19*, which is generally believed to have been performed at a

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[23] Rutherford (2004a) 83n88. Chapter 1, pp.53-54.
[24] Chapter 1, p.39.
[25] Chapter 1, p.39.

Dionysiac festival mainly due to its mythological content.[26] Lines 8-11 ὕφαινέ νυν ἐν/ ταῖς πολυηράτοις τι καινὸν ὀλβίαις Ἀθάναις, / εὐαίνετε Κηΐα μέριμνα and vv.50-51 τίκτε\<ν\> Διόνυσον [ἀγλαῶν ἀγώνων / καὶ χορῶν στεφαν]αφόρον ἄνακτα point to an Athenian performance-context and an occasion in which *khoroi* competed and honoured Dionysos. *Ode 18*, which I would date in mid-470s,[27] seems to be the second safest candidate for performance in Athens. Again, the Athenian setting, the structure of the poem, and the display of Athenian concerns and of a hero in whom the city was extremely interested indicate an Athenian festival. I am inclined to believe that *Ode 18* was performed at the City Dionysia, as was *Ode 19*.[28]

The last and least safe poem is *Ode 15*. Its mythical exemplum, specifically the figure of Theano,[29] and references to the *peplos* of the goddess suggest the Panathenaea as the most probable occasion for performance.[30] The Solonian resonances in the speech of Menelaus[31] and the conclusion of the ode with a warning against hubris relate it directly to the festival. The Giants' battle with the Olympian gods was a dominant theme at the Panathenaea; the scene was presented on the *peplos* carried in the Panathenaic procession, and it was also depicted on the east metopes of the Parthenon.[32] Within the process of reorganising[33] and further developing the festival, Peisistratus laid down the rules for rhapsodic competitions and recitation of

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[26] Maehler (2004) 205; Fearn (2007) 174, 181 observes, however, that 'poems performed at festivals of Dionysos were not required to have any Dionysiac mythological content.' A story of the birth of Dionysus would, nonetheless, be most naturally at home in a Dionysiac festival.

[27] Chapter 1, pp.40-41 and pp.75-78.

[28] Webster (1970) 102 suggests the Thargelia could as the festival for the performance of *Ode 18*. His view, although considerable, is based solely on the figure of Theseus, which was central to the festival and is indeed prominent in the myth of the poem. For arguments in favour of the Great Dionysia, pp.78-79.

[29] Fearn (2007) 237 suggests that the opening reference to Theano, the Trojan priestess of Athena, invites us to accept the Athenian Panathenaea as the context of performance.

[30] Maehler (2004) 157; Fearn (2007) 275. Zimmermann (1992) 69 argues for a performance at the Athenian Panathenaea but he later (1993b) 49-50 raises the possibility that the ode could have been performed at the Great Dionysia, Thargelia, or Panathenaea.

[31] Maehler (2004) 157-158. Solonian resonance does not in itself indicate an Athenian setting, since Herodotus and the *Theognidia* offer ample testimony to the pan-Hellenic diffusion of Solon's poems. But together with other features of the poem it is highly suggestive.

[32] Murray (1903) 80-81; Castriota (1992) 138-143; Parke (1977) 38-39.

[33] Although Peisistratus is credited with the reorganisation of the Panathenaea (Σ.Aristid.189.4 τὰ δὲ μεγάλα Πεισίστρατος ἐποίησεν), his career in Athens began in 560 BC. *Archōn* in 566 BC at which the festival was reorganised was Hippokleides, the son of Teisander, best known from Hdt.6.127; Marcellin.3.6-7 καὶ τούτοις Δίδυμος μαρτυρεῖ, Φερεκύδην ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν φάσκων οὕτως λεγειν...τοῦ δὲ Ἱπποκλείδης, ἐφ'οὗ ἄρχοντος Παναθήναια ἐτέθη, τοῦ δὲ Μιλτιάδης, ὃς ᾤκισε Χερρόνησον'. The wording here suggests, however, that a completely new festival was instituted.

Homer which became an integral part of the celebrations.[34] Thus, affiliations with Homer and the *Iliad* in particular (*Il*.6.297-311) also suggest the Panathenaea as the occasion. The ode could in this sense function as a self-conscious and metapoetic commentary on the festival's rhapsodic competitions.[35]

Although we have no secure date of when musical contests were introduced in the programme of the Panathenaic festivals, *kuklioi khoroi* probably danced and sang at both the Lesser and Great Panathenaea[36] by the later fifth century.[37] According to Wilson, 'a case can be made that the dithyrambic *khoros* was the very first form of collective action in the new tribal system.'[38] The appearance of tribal *khoroi* was a result of the reformation of Athenian society by Kleisthenes in the closing decade of the sixth century (508/7 BC), when he organised the Athenian citizens in ten *phylai*. We may assume that *kuklioi khoroi* were introduced at the Panathenaea and were liturgically organised shortly after Kleisthenes' reorganisation of the Athenian tribes.[39] Competition and tribal contests would have been a good way to cement their new identity. Performances of *kuklioi khoroi* would have also brought to the forefront the collective Athenian identity at a period in which Athens was becoming more

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[34] Parke (1977) 34.

[35] Fearn (2007) 296. According to Fearn, the reference to the *agora* (v.43) could point at the location of the musical contests. Performances of *kuklioi khoroi* at the Panathenaea took place at the *agora* before the completion of the Odeion (c.445 BC). He takes Plut. *Per*.13.11-13 as evidence for his assumption that after Pericles built the Odeion, musical competitions were accommodated there - φιλοτιμούμενος δ' ὁ Περικλῆς τότε πρῶτον ἐψηφίσατο μουσικῆς ἀγῶνα τοῖς Παναθηναίοις ἄγεσθαι, καὶ διέταξεν αὐτὸς ἀθλοθέτης αἱρεθείς, καθότι χρὴ τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους αὐλεῖν ἢ ἄδειν ἢ κιθαρίζειν. Plutarch uses the verbs αὐλεῖν ἢ ἄδειν ἢ κιθαρίζειν to define the musical contests which were affected by Pericles' reformation of the Panathenaic festival, and thus, monodic songs. If choral contests were indeed included in Pericles' decree, Plutarch would probably have used the verb χορεύειν, as he does in *Phoc*.30.6 Νόμου γὰρ ὄντος Ἀθήνησι τότε μὴ χορεύειν ξένον ἢ χιλίας ἀποτίνειν τὸν χορηγόν, where it is used both with reference to Athenian context and in connection with *khorēgia*.

[36] Lys.21.2 suggests that dithyrambs were not considered of high profile at the Lesser Panathenaea. The speaker lists his leitourgical performances including the production of a *kuklios khoros* at the Lesser Panathenaea, which, in comparison to the rest of his leitourgies, was the cheapest, 300 drachmas. We cannot generalise from the above evidence that productions of dithyrambs and *kuklioi khoroi* were of low cost also at the Great Panathenaea. In fact, prizes at the Greater Panathenaea were an important aspect of the festival that attracted non-Athenians. On the five competitions at the Panathenaea and their prizes, Goette (2007) 117-18; on Panathenaic prizes with emphasis on amphorae and their decoration; Themelis (2007); on tripods and amphorae, Wilson (2000) 206-213; on the distinct characteristics of the group of Panathenaic amphorae, Tiverios (2007).

[37] The main evidence in favour of the above date is the Atarbos base: a dedication of a victorious choral poet found on the Acropolis that probably dates in c.480 BC and presumably refers to the Panathenaea. – Wilson (2000) 39, 325n150. On the Atarbos base, Goette (2007) 122-23.

[38] Wilson (2003) 182.

[39] Wilson (2000) 39 postulates that performances of *kuklioi khoroi* at the Panathenaea may have been liturgically organised c.446 BC in the context of Pericles' reorganisation of the Athenian festivals.

important in the Greek world.[40] The evidence adduced above suggests that *Ode 15* was performed at the Panathenaea; its date depends on the date we ascribe to the introduction of the tribal contests. It may date early or very late in Bacchylides' career but any suggested dating would be more effective if it locates the specific poem after *Ode 17*.

An accurate date for this ode's performance is important as are accurate dates for any of Bacchylides' civic compositions. The precise chronological path Bacchylides' career takes in Athens does not matter so much for us as the fact that Bacchylides returns to Athens and keeps participating in the city's festivals, establishing a relationship with the city. Whether poets were chosen by the *Archōn* for participation or by the tribes themselves as their poetic representative, we can be sure that the continued presence of his poetry in Athens proves Bacchylides' fame within the Athenian environment. Unlike Pindar,[41] he keeps coming back to Athens but evidently not as a poet exclusively for one single festival. His poetry is connected with different Athenian festivals, which proves not only the diversity of his compositions but also the various chances given to him by the Athenian administrators.

Monuments and Names

Implicit in the above survey is that the name of the poet had to be known within Athens for him to be chosen to represent an Athenian tribe. How important is the poet and his name after the competition? Evidence for the judgment and announcement of victory at the dithyrambic *agōnes* can be found in the language of khoregic inscriptions. The khoregic monuments, therefore, which are the culmination of performance, apart from recording the actual victory, attribute to its agents (*khorēgos*, poet, the *phylē* and its *khoros*) eternal *kleos* and self-display. The following discussion will be an attempt to sketch the situation and understand the dynamics of the process

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[40] On the political function of the dithyramb, Zimmermann (1992) 35-38.

[41] Pindar probably participated in either two or three dithyrambic competitions in Athenian festivals; Pi. Frr.75-77 with presumably a third lost victorious dithyramb. Even though the number of Athenian commissions in the Pindaric and Bacchylidean corpus is the same, Bacchylides' overall number of probable compositions for Athens becomes very important given its proportionate presence within the smaller scale of his corpus. On Pindar's Athenian dithyrambs, Weiden (1991) 183-215; Zimmermann (1992) 53-54.

of naming in inscriptions. The overview will be made in comparison to inscriptions for drama.

Examination of dithyrambic inscriptions reveals an ongoing tension between the *khorēgos* and the collective *phylē* as well as transfer of emphasis from the poet to the *khorēgos*. Whereas in the fifth century the *phylē* was the primary receiver of honour,[42] by the middle of the fourth century the *khorēgos* was proclaimed the victor of the *agōn*,[43] and his primacy frequently overshadowed the poet himself. This tendency could possibly be explained on the grounds of the expenditure needed[44] for the participation of his tribe at the dithyrambic *agōn* and for the erection of the khoregic monument. The inscription attached on the monument is of great importance for our purposes. Although most of the surviving khoregic inscriptions for dithyrambs come from the Great Dionysia[45] and from a period in which we are not absolutely sure whether Bacchylides was active (after 450 BC and beginning of fourth century), they still point to the increasing prominence of the *khorēgos* instead of the poet or the *phylē*. The poet was only a marginal figure in the list of honours.

The material record for dithyrambic victories in Athens prior to the 480s offers little to sketch a complete picture of the inscriptions. We have three pieces of evidence - one inscription and two epigrams - which fall in this period: *AP*.13.28 for a victory of the Akamantid *phylē* (490-480 BC),[46] *IG* I³ 833*bis* closer to 480-470 BC[47] and 28 *FGE* attributed to Simonides, with probable date 477/6 BC.

Πολλάκι δὴ φυλᾶς Ἀκαμαντίδος ἐν χοροῖσιν Ὧραι
ἀνωλόλυξαν κισσοφόροις ἐπὶ διθυράμβοις
αἱ Διονυσιάδες, μίτραισι δὲ καὶ ῥόδων ἀώτοις
σοφῶν ἀοιδῶν ἐσκίασαν λιπαρὰν ἔθειραν,

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[42] *IG* II² 1153 ἔκρινε τὴν φυλὴν νικᾶν, Ar. *Ekkl*.1160 κρίνειν τοὺς χοροὺς ὀρθῶς ἀεί.

[43] Judging from the City Dionysia, the tripod was given by the judges to the successful *khorēgos*, since he was the representative of his tribe (Lys. 21.5), and it was erected by him at a monument, again at his own expense.

[44] On the office of dithyrambic *khorēgoi*, Pickard-Cambridge (1953) 75-78; Wilson (2000) 93-95. On dramatic *khorēgoi*, Pickard-Cambridge (1953) 87-92. On the khoregic system with sources, Csapo&Slater (1994) 143-157.

[45] The primary evidence for tribal contests in the Panathenaea are Lysias 21 and *IG* II² 2311 both from the fourth century.

[46] 'The epigram represents an inscription on a tripod' and it is 'composed in the style of the Dithyramb'- *FGE* p.11. The source ascribes it to Bacchylides or Simonides, but as Page assumes (p.11), 'the dithyrambic style suggests that the composer was the dithyrambic poet himself'. For interpretation and analysis, *FGE*, pp.11-15; Wilson (2000) 120-122.

[47] For interpretation, Peppas-Delmousou (1971) 55-6; *CEG* 270, Wilson (2000) 217.

καὶ τόνδε τρίποδά σφίσι μάρτυρα Βακχίων ἀέθλων
†ἔθηκαν· κείνους† δ᾽ Ἀντιγένης ἐδίδασκεν ἄνδρας,
εὖ δ᾽ ἐτιθηνεῖτο γλυκερὰν ὄπα Δωρίοις Ἀρίστων
Ἀγρεῖος ἡδὺ πνεῦμα χέων καθαροῖς ἐν αὐλοῖς,
τῶν ἐχορήγησεν κύκλον μελίγηρυν Ἱππόνικος,
Στρούθωνος υἱός, ἅρμασιν ἐν Χαρίτων φορηθείς,
αἵ οἱ ἐπ᾽ ἀνθρώπους ὄνομα κλυτὸν ἀγλαάν τε νίκαν
†θῆκαν ἰοστεφάνων θεᾶν τε ἕκατι Μοισᾶν.†
(*AP*.13.28)

– ⏑⏑ ρας ho[.. 5...]τον Ἀθένεσ[ιν χο]ρõι ἀνδρõ[ν]
– ⏑⏑ τες σοφ[ίες] τόνδ᾽ ἀνέθε[κ]εν hόρον
[εὐχσ]άμενο[ς· π]λείστοις δὲ [χ]οροῖς ἐχσο κατὰ φῦ[λα]
[ἀνδ]ρõν νι[κε]σαί φεσι π[ερ]ὶ τρίποδας.
(*IG* I³ 833 *bis*)

Ἦρχεν Ἀδείμαντος μὲν Ἀθηναίοις ὅτ᾽ ἐνίκα
Ἀντιοχὶς φυλὴ δαιδάλεον τρίποδα·
Ξεινοφίλου δέ τις υἱὸς Ἀριστείδης ἐχορήγει
πεντήκοντ᾽ ἀνδρῶν καλὰ μαθόντι χορῶι·
ἀμφὶ διδασκαλίηι δὲ Σιμωνίδηι ἕσπετο κῦδος
ὀγδωκονταέτει παιδὶ Λεωπρεπέος.
(28 *FGE*, 147 *PLG*, 77D,)[48]

As can be seen from the above evidence, references to the figure of the *khorēgos* suggest a development. The most revealing example is *AP*.13.28; the *khorēgos* is associated with the chariot of the Charites and the Muses, who seem to be on the side of the material resources. The emphasis in the inscription is intelligible, since this was his personal monument.

It is more illuminating to take a look at inscriptions that register both dithyrambic and dramatic *agōnes*. This will display patterns and monumental habits in registering Athenian *agōnes* of that nature. It will also highlight the differences when it comes to naming and non-naming. Probably, the most important evidence is *IG* II²

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[48] Stella (1946) has challenged the views that the epigram was composed by Simonides; Page *FGE* p.242 argues that the indefinite pronoun τις suggests that the inscription was not from the time of Simonides. *Contra* Molyneux (1992) 307 who assumes that this epigram probably refers to the last dithyrambic victory of Simonides in 477/6 BC. He takes into consideration testimonia and chronological information one can find about Simonides in order to argue in favour of Simonidean authorship (pp.307-313), and rejects arguments challenging its authenticity (pp.318-31).

2318 (the so called "Fasti"),[49] which enumerates victories of the period 502/1 BC[50]-c.328 BC. 'The inscription itself reads like a transcript of an official record'[51] presumably copied from Athenian records, thus differentiating it from personal khorēgic monuments. It consists of thirteen columns, each of which registers under each year dithyrambic, tragic and comic victories at the Dionysia. The pattern portrayed is the following: the names of both the *Archōn* and the victorious *khorēgos* are mentioned in all three categories; the names of the victorious tribes in the case of the dithyrambs but *not* the name of the poet who is, nonetheless, included in the references to comedy and tragedy. Exclusion of names of dithyrambic poets on eloquent monuments is of crucial importance and a puzzle.[52] As inscriptions were produced to make statements both for the eyes of Athenian citizens and for non-Athenian visitors, it could be that the non-Athenian origin of the poet was a factor inhibiting the inscription of his name on the stone. It could, therefore, be that the city would portray and permanently retain on stone only what was exclusively Athenian, since the monument would be displayed as an official report. In addition, dithyrambic *agōnes*, if we leave aside their religious aspect, were tribal *agōnes* and not simply musical *agōnes*. Music was used as the frame and medium through which a specific Athenian identity would have been glorified. Victory, therefore, signified distinction from the rest of the Athenians, as it was a success that had to do with a specific group. On the contrary, dramatic *agōnes* were competitions between Athenian dramatists and

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[49] Information given above is mainly taken from Pickard-Cambridge (1953) 103-109, where a description of the inscription can be found.

[50] On arguments in favour of this date, Wilson (2000) 13, 313n11.

[51] Pickard-Cambridge (1953) 165, where he argues that the original form of the inscription had been compiled by c.346 B.C.

[52] The conundrum becomes more puzzling when we take into account inscriptions that enumerate civic Hellenistic performances, cultic or agonistic. Although most of the poets were of minor significance and often relatively obscure, their names were mentioned on the inscription. - D'Alessio (forthcoming). Similarly puzzling is the absence of the author's name from public verse-inscriptions from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period. – Gutzwiller (1998) 48; Hunter&Fantuzzi (2004) 289-291; Meyer (2005) 98; Petrovic (2009b) 196.

A Hellenistic epigram for Simonides' victories and ascribed to Simonides could demonstrate the Hellenistic trend to include the name of the poet and to devote the entire epigram to his glory:

- *AP*.6.213, 77 D, 27 *FGE*

Ἓξ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα, Σιμωνίδη, ἤραο ταύρους
    καὶ τρίποδας, πρὶν τόνδ᾽ ἀνθέμεναι πίνακα.
τοσσάκι δ᾽ ἱμερόεντα διδαξάμενος χορὸν ἀνδρῶν
    εὐδόξου Νίκας ἀγλαὸν ἅρμ᾽ ἐπέβης.

Page *FGE* p.243 postulates that the address to Simonides suggests that the epigram is a literary exercise. The number of Simonides' dithyrambic victories, fictional or not, is an attempt by the author to portray the numerous dithyrambic competitions in which Simonides participated as well as his enormous success.

On this epigram, *FGE*, pp.241, 242-243; Molyneux (1992) 102-104.

victory was mainly of individual interest. Consequently, the impression given by the inscription is that dithyrambic poets were essential prior to and at the performance, but their services and benefits would end with the end of the festival.[53]

In view of the tendencies outlined above it is not surprising that we have no references to Bacchylides in association with Athenian festivals either on inscriptions or on official records of the time. Pindar after all is not registered anywhere as competing in Athenian festivals. Information on his victory with his Athenian dithyramb in 497/6 BC[54] is given in one of his *Vitae*.[55] Lack of a *vita* for Bacchylides obscures the situation even more. We cannot, therefore, make any judgements based on the absence of references to Bacchylides' name, and one cannot assume that mere absence of a name from official lists should be translated into failure or lack of appreciation. Nor can we rule out the possibility of him being victorious with his poetry in Athens. The surviving texts are strong proof that he was regularly chosen by Athenian officials and repeatedly participated in civic festivals. This is compelling evidence. His Athenian commissions may indicate not only that he was known to Athenian officials and to the Athenian audience but also that his poetry had a high profile within the city.

Athenian patterns, Dithyrambs, and Experimentation

Athens' development as a cultural centre was linked with the growth of Athenian power and wealth.[56] The number of festivals with their exclusive Athenian character demonstrates not only an increasing 'Athenian self-consciousness and confidence at home'[57] but also a corresponding increase of importance of Athens in the Greek world during the fifth century. All Athenian festivals were occasions for competitive events

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[53] The puzzling question then becomes how the names of the dithyrambic poets survived if they were not included in the official records. It is quite plausible that the poets kept personal records and that these later helped to shape the corpus of a poet. Likewise, it could be that names of the participants were kept in private records either of the *Archōn* or of the *khorēgos*. It is not inconceivable that the tribe kept its own records with details relevant to their participation to the competitions. Records of this sort would enhance their prestige and would function as an important statement for their successors.

[54] It is not clear whether Pi. Fr.75 is part of this dithyramb or whether it is a second Athenian dithyramb.

[55] *POxy*. XXVI.2438.8-10 ἐ-/π' Ἀρχίου γὰρ ἠγώνισται ἐν Ἀθήναι[ς διθυράμβ-]/ βωι καὶ νενίκηκεν.

[56] Meiggs (1972) 273.

[57] Mills (1997) 25.

and agonistic performances with *phyletic*[58] *kuklioi khoroi*.[59] Choral competitions were a means through which community itself was represented and 'a field of social competition' set by social hierarchies within the performing group.[60] As Kowalzig notes, the *khoros* is a representation of "community" 'related to questions of group identity on many possible levels: local civic identity within the framework of the ancient city, but also on the Panhellenic stage and even beyond.'[61]

Musical *agōnes* took place among the Athenian *phylai*. This structure not only reveals the exclusive Athenian character of the festivals but also its extensive agonistic characteristics; all ten *phylae* of Athens, each with fifty members in their choruses and with an additional chorus of boys in some festivals, competed with each other. This habit demonstrates - apart from a great input of time, energy, and expenditure on behalf of the necessary *khorēgoi* - a combined focus on Athenian unity and simultaneously *phyletic* distinctiveness. The Athenian character of the occasion is obvious from the collective and exclusive participation of Athenian citizens in the *agōnes*. But the element of competition with formal judging gave prominence to individual identity and victory as a *phylē* as well as to the personal success of the *khorēgos*. Such performances would celebrate distinct identity as a collective group (Athenians), whereas, at the same time, each *phylē* operated in its unique *phyletic* identity, for whose glorification it competed. Consequently, the tribes were prepared to hire often distinguished foreign poets in order to bid for success in these competitions. Poets were thus invited to operate both for the inclusive Athenian and the exclusive tribal character of the festivals.

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[58] As Goette (2007) 122 postulates, tribal order at the Panathenaea is supported only by its importance in other major Athenian festivals.

[59] Productions of *khoroi* were important in the festive life of Athens and *kuklioi khoroi* were central in Athenian culture. It has recently been argued that the term *"kuklios khoros"* is probably more appropriate to refer to performances of public non-dramatic choral poetry in classical Athens as it creates connotations only on aspects of performance. On the contrary, the cultic term *dithyrambos* had Dionysiac connotations, whereas it was not necessary for choral performances in Athens to be exclusively associated with Dionysus. It has been reasonably claimed that straightforward links of dithyrambs with Dionysiac contexts is misconception and this is evident in the case of Bacchylides' *dithyrambs*. For a detailed study of the above problem, Fearn (2007) 163-180; for an exploration of the genre of the dithyramb, Pickard-Cambridge (1962) 1-9. On the *khoroi* and the festivals' khoregic requirements, Wilson (2000) 21-25, 32-43.

Given the scarcity of the term *dithyrambos* in official inscriptions, and the possible adaptability of *kuklioi khoroi* to a wide range of contexts I use the term *kuklioi khoroi* because it is inclusive and creates no affiliations with specific cults.

[60] Kowalzig (2007) 6.

[61] Ibid. 5.

The nature of the audience is very important for understanding the dynamics created within performance and competition. The suggested occasions for Bacchylides' poetry (annual Panathenaea and City Dionysia) were probably the most important cultural events for the city of Athens. Festivals in Athens were used for cultural display from the sixth century. According to the *Suda*, dithyrambic contests in Athens were initiated by Lasos who was the one who introduced the dithyramb to the city's contests.[62] More specifically, the annual Panathenaic festival, organised and performed exclusively by Athenians, was not only the most important festival for Athens but also one of the grandest festivals in the entire Greek world. Although we possess more evidence for the City Dionysia as an exclusively Athenian festival, open to citizens and metoikoi of Athens, foreigners and visitors,[63] we should not exclude the possibility of the presence of non-Athenians at Panathenaic performances.[64] Both festivals portrayed the developing cultural importance of Athens in the Greek world. They celebrated and manifested to all Greeks Athenian culture and civic identity, not least because they demonstrated Athens' ability to harmonise civic and local identity and her generosity in cult activities. The ideal way to mediate the developing sense of national character in Athens, specifically Athenian claims on autochthony and Ionian origin, and the role of Athens as the protector and the civilising force in Greece was through myth. Athens, therefore, bound up its uniqueness with Theseus.[65]

Theseus and his exploits are one of the principal mythical themes in Bacchylides' civic commissions for Athens and areas under its influence. *Odes 17* and *18* indicate not only awareness of the *Theseid* on the part of Bacchylides but also portrayal of a vision of Theseus which tallies with Athens' self-image and needs, political and national. Theseus' divine and mortal paternity, his labours and status as civiliser and protector as well as his image as 'the coming hero'[66] were the most

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[62] The attribution of the dithyramb to Lasos shows the desire to attach names to developments. On the dithyramb from Archilochus to Pindar, Pickard-Cambridge (1962²) 9-20; on the evolution of the dithyramb as a genre, Zimmerman (1992) 19-29, 39-40, 117-126; D'Angour (1997).

[63] For the later use of the Great Dionysia as a means of political propaganda on behalf of Athens, Meiggs (1972) 45, 292 who notes (p.290) 'the presence of the allies gave the Dionysia an Imperial flavour.' On tribute-display at the Dionysia, Isoc.8.82 and Meiggs (1972) 433-34 for its analysis.

[64] Cf. Dem.59.24-25 Meiggs (1972) 240, 292 notes that reassessment of the tributes of the allies, which coincided with the Great Panathenaea, is suggestive of the allies' presence and of Athens' attempts to turn it into an empire festival.

[65] Andrewes (1974²) 114; Burkert (1992) 259-60; Mills (1997) 25-26.

[66] Mills (1997) 36.

important features that turned him into the national hero of Athens.[67] Furthermore, they were essentials employed by the city to legitimise its claims both for eminence and for political leadership among the Greeks, advertised not only in myths and poetry but also on the city's buildings and paintings. Theseus' identity and exploits enhanced Athens' claim to be the leader of Greece. These two Bacchylidean odes depict a fully developed vision of those characteristics of the mythological tradition on Theseus that were essential for Athens and its ambitions.

This section will deal primarily with *Ode 18* and the importance of its performance in an Athenian festival. I shall offer a reading of the ode within its Athenian context and will attempt to locate it within possible festivals for performance. These assumptions will be based on the mythical narrative, structure and form of the ode, and on its association with specific and exclusive Athenian patterns of performance. Attention will mainly be placed on those elements which link the poem directly with the Athenian cultural environment and which reveal, apart from knowledge by Bacchylides of Athenian concerns, values and claims, awareness of features that were solely and principally developed in the city of Athens.

The mythical narrative of this ode creates a link with *Ode 17* and also falls within an Athenian frame of political and cultural issues. Although the name of the person who is described is not mentioned, it is clear from the account of his labours[68] that Theseus is the mysterious figure *en route* to Athens.[69] Likewise, the name of Aegeus is not mentioned in the ode, and Aegeus is instead addressed by either his status as king of Athens or by the names of his parents – vv.1-2 βασιλεῦ τᾶν Ἀθανᾶν, / τῶν ἀβροβίων ἄναξ Ἰώνων, v.15 ὦ Πανδίονος υἱὲ καὶ Κρεούσας. An Athenian audience would have little difficulty in supplementing Bacchylides' narrative to reconstruct the story of Theseus' return. But the myth would have particular resonance if it is understood in the context of the Cimonian project.[70] If we

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[67] See *ibid.* 35-38.

[68] The most complete visual example of Theseus' cycle to have survived is on the Athenian Treasury in Delphi. For a description of the Treasury's metopes, De La Coste-Messelière (1957) 37-81; Brommer (1982) 68-72; Schefold (1992) 179-181; Athanassaki (2009) 309-311.

[69] Plut.*Thes.*36.2. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι...ἐδέξαντο...ὥσπερ αὐτὸν ἐπανερχόμενον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ.

[70] Cimon's propaganda attempted to develop an ideology featuring Athens as the leading city of a pan-Hellenic movement against the Asiatic forces. His attempt is depicted on the buildings and paintings created with his initiative (e.g. the Stoa Poikile, the Stoa of Hermes). His project also promoted the image of him and his family in relation to Theseus in an attempt to outdo Themistocles. On Cimon's manipulation of Theseus' myth, Podlecki (1971); Francis (1990) 47-53, 65-66; Castriota (1992) 7-8,

locate Theseus' portrayal within a historical and cultural context, it acquires additional significance, which points at contemporary Athenian political concerns. Though uncertain, it could be that Bacchylides alludes to the transfer of Theseus' bones from Skyros to Athens and to their burial in the middle of the city by Aristides.[71] With these actions, therefore, the link between Theseus and Athens became physical, since it obtained realistic dimensions, and the new League gained a proper hero cult;[72] Theseus was presented as 'the tribal hero of the Ionians'.[73]

The triangular relationship between myth, ritual, and performance is linked to time, place, and space, and as such it is fundamentally associated with historical processes through which it establishes and transforms 'social and power relations between the members of the community in which they are performed.'[74] In this sense, the mythical past performed through *Ode 18* in front of the Athenian audience could reflect upon historical present and could also link poetic fables with contemporary political reality. The story of the moral mission and of the civilising adventures of Theseus mirrored the Athenian construction of the ideal Athens as a civilising city.[75] The paradigm of Theseus, developed in the later sixth century, aligned itself naturally with the image with which Athens wished to present itself; *the* city that contributed to the war against the Persians and attempted to ensure justice for Greece. This led to the salvation of Greeks and ultimately to the establishment of the Athenians as the protectors of the Ionians.[76]

13; Walker (1995) 55-61; for a detailed account of the ideological background of the programmatic paintings in the Cimonian period, Castriota (1992) 33-133; on Theseus in Cimonian Athens, Shapiro (1992). We should not assume, however, that Theseus first emerged as national hero under Cimon. On the circumstantial evidence for 510-490 BC, Shapiro (1989) 144-149; on political interpretation of myth depicted in art, Boardman (1982).

[71] Francis (1990) 67 postulates that we listen to Bacchylides 'celebrate the Return of the True Bones'. A similar task was taken by the Spartans when they reburied the bones of Orestes, Tisamenus and Agamemnon in Sparta: Paus.3.3.6-8; Hdt.1.67-69. How&Wells (1936) ad loc: 'The present translation is the consecration of the Lacedaimonian hegemony in Peloponnese, as the later one [the transfer of Theseus' bones] is that of Athenian hegemony in the Aegean.'

[72] For the cult of Theseus in Athens, Walker (1995) 20-24. On the process under which Theseus became a symbol of the Athenian national character, Tyrrell&Brown (1991) 161-165.

[73] Van Oeveren (1999) 39. An explicit extension of the narrative within Athenian reality is made by the ethnic name Ἰώνων at the beginning of *Ode 18*.

[74] Kowalzig (2007) 23.

[75] Mills (1997) 53; Van Oeveren (1999) 36.

[76] Encomiastic literature on Athens and *epitaphioi logoi*, attested by Thucydides or attributed to orators, present a picture of an idealised Athens that is mapped on Theseus' heroic image. - See Mills (1997) 43-53. Kowalzig (2007) 102-110 notes the paradox that Athenians presented themselves as the protectors of the Ionian islands in the Aegean but not of the Ionians of Asia Minor. The distance of the

Though certainty is impossible, there is much to be said for the suggestion made above. *Ode 18* is connected with political concerns of the city in a more precise sense in that it reflects not just Theseus' general prominence in Athenian propaganda but also the transfer of his bones to Athens. The myth of the hero coming to claim his kingdom hints at Athens' claim to a natural right to lead, as does the emphasis on inheritance in *Ode 17*. But more, the specific focus on a *returning* hero, out of all the incidents in Theseus' career, has particular force in a context in which the hero has come home in a literal sense. If this hypothesis is accepted, then we could narrow down our options for chronology. Theseus' arrival described in the poem could display and reinforce Athens' claims of national uniqueness that was historically expressed in the transfer of his bones by Cimon in 476/5 BC, in his presentation as the founding hero and, additionally, in Athenian leadership of the Delian League. If the above assumptions are justifiable, then we could chronologically place the ode within that period or a few years after 475 BC.[77] The enormous political value that manipulation of mythic analogues gained in Cimon's propaganda and the programmatic structure of mythic analogy and allegory in the painted decorations of the Cimonian monuments indicate that in this context the poem could have a contemporary resonance beyond the immediate aesthetics of the narrative. It is, thus, plausible to perceive the poem within the greater political and historical context.

It is possible, therefore, to take the mid-470s as *terminus post quem* for political reasons.[78] It has already been claimed that the ode can be dated within the 470s also due to dramatic assimilations.[79] It is on the whole unlikely that the song was performed before the mid-470s, mainly because of its metageneric engagement with drama. Athenian tragedy had obviously travelled to Sicily c.470 BC with Aeschylus' tragedies *Persae* and *Aetnae*. At least one of the plays was probably performed at the

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latter from the Delian League is manifested in their absence from the choral performances on Delos and in the constitution of Ephesos as the central Ionian cult site.

[77] A similar view is taken by Athanassaki (2009) 87. The Theseion must have been build c.474 BC, soon after the bones of Theseus were brought from Skyros, and Polygnotus was invited to paint Stoa Poikile as soon as it was completed (462/0 BC). If the paintings at the Theseion were more or less contemporary with the return of Theseus' bones, then the ode and dramatisation of Theseus' return to Athens could have been an integral part of the celebrations of the discovery and return of his bones and his establishment as *the* Athenian hero. Castriota (1992) 247n1 suggests that 'it is not inconceivable that the paintings were added somewhat later, perhaps in the early 460s.'

[78] We should be wary in this case not to overstress the political dimension of the poem. Focus on individual leaders could be potentially dangerous in a culture which looked with suspicion on excessive prominence of individual politicians and presupposes an otherwise unattested association between Bacchylides and Cimon.

[79] Chapter 1, p.40.

festivities for the founding of Aetna by Hieron in 470 BC.[80] In this era Athenian tragedy had achieved international impact. Thus, associations with drama in poetry that was not meant to have dramatic form could point at a period in which tragedy, after establishing its generic structure and its Athenian character, expanded its performances outside the producing city. The structure and the form of the ode reflect its Athenian environment and "dramatic" character. As has been recognised, this is a unique poem within the extant dithyrambic collection.[81] Its dramatic structure and dialogic form associate the ode with tragedy. Although it is easier for modern readers to grasp the form of the dialogue, it is likely that the dialogic nature of the exchange was also marked in the actual performance; the actual distribution of the parts to the chorus would bring to the audience's mind the tragic chorus. This particular performance would have suggested scenes in tragedy with these kinds of structural features, especially scenes in which the chorus attains a speaking role within the play: scenes in which the chorus exchanges words with a character, messenger-speeches wherein off-stage events are narrated, the tragic *amoibaion*,[82] or choral songs in which the chorus is divided in *hemichoria*. While it is not possible to know how the ode was performed, it is tempting to suggest the existence of a *koryphaios*, as Jebb claims and as Fearn finds plausible,[83] or performance by two *hemichoria*, one of which would have represented Aegeus. In addition to the quasi-dramatic structure of the ode, the subject-matter itself aligns ode and performance with specific tragic play-patterns. The ode sings about *nostos*, the return of the hero (for the historical contemporary audience) and the arrival of a foreigner (for the characters on stage). It "dramatises" fear and uncertainty, and focalisation is depicted from the perspective of the people waiting. Both the above observations are present in an identifiable thematic

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[80] A.*Vita* 8-11...ἐλθὼν τοίνυν εἰς Σικελίαν, Ἱέρωνος τότε τὴν Αἴτνην κτίζοντος, ἐπεδείξατο τὰς Αἴτνας, οἰωνιζόμενος...; 18 φασὶν ὑπὸ Ἱέρωνος ἀξιωθέντα ἀναδιδάξαι τοὺς Πέρσας ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ λίαν εὐδοκιμεῖν. See Arnson Svarlien (1991-92) 19-25.

[81] Jebb (1906) 233; Maehler (2004) 193; Fearn (2007) 220, 314 n173; Athanassaki (2009) 314.

[82] On the tragic *amoibaion*, Popp (1968) 221-237; on the *amoibaia* in Aristophanes, Zimmermann (1984) 153-261.

[83] Jebb (1906) 233-134 claims that the ode is an exchange between the koryphaeus and Aegeus, whereas Fearn (2007) 307 n153 attributes to koryphaeus the role of Aegeus. One should be sceptical about this kind of suggestion, since performances that included solo-pieces or exclusive solo dithyrambic productions are a trend in performances of New Dithyrambs in the latter part of the fifth century.

subtype of tragedy, the *nostos* play,[84] a fact which strengthenσ the connection with the tragic genre in general.

Assimilation of dramatic features turns out to be very important considering that, at least as narrated by Aristotle, the genre of the dithyramb and its transformations gave us tragic drama (*Po.*1449a 7-15). From the late sixth century lyric poetry is acutely conscious of issues of genre.[85] Bacchylides shows his own consciousness of generic taxonomy elsewhere in his engagement with Homeric epic. Here, he tacitly engages in a kind of literary history, pointing through the form adopted, to earlier phases in the history of drama. This formal connection may help us locate the ode within the celebrations of a specific Athenian festival. Links with tragedy suggest, but do not demand, a performance at the City Dionysia. Assuming that dithyrambic *agōnes* took place at the theatre of Dionysus as performances of tragedies did, the location itself would heighten the link with tragedy. The Dionysia as a plausible venue for performing this particular ode and the centrality of dramatic productions at this festival could suggest that by emulating the dramatic form Bacchylides places his ode at the point of intersection of both types of competitions. Performance, therefore, of the ode not only within the frame of the dithyrambic *agōn* but also side by side with tragic performances would have been a point of reference in both cases; on the one hand, direct competition with the rest of the performed dithyrambs and on the other, comparison with the staged dramas. Bacchylides offers an exercise in literary archaeology relevant to the festival that turns the ode into an exploration of the origins of the tragic genre. The poem appropriates for itself the prestige of an Athenian tragedy, while also delicately complimenting its hosts on the innovative direction given to the dithyramb in its Athenian context through the tragic genre.

Drama was strictly Athenian and, as far as we know, performances of tragedy were confined to Athens up to the 470s. Generic experimentation achieved by including in the actual performance elements from another genre, which was (for all its growing prestige) the property of a single geographical area, leads us to an important conclusion. Acquaintance with tragedy and experimentation with its form

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[84] Zimmermann (1992) 96-97 finds parallels with Aeschylus' *Persae*, *Septem*, and *Agamemnon*.
[85] Pindar reveals his consciousness concerning the function of his genre and poetry, and distinguishes it explicitly from what was considered to be of the opposite kind, the invective iambos; e.g. Pi. *P.*2.52-56.

might have demanded the poet's physical presence in Athens prior to the composition of the ode. Bacchylides not only offers to an Athenian audience what was claimed to be "Athenian property" in literature but he also displays his familiarity with tragic forms and their historical background. This awareness suggests that he had visited Athens and that he was a member of the audience at tragic performances that preceded his own participation in festivals.

2.2. Bacchylides and Aristophanes

The main focus in this chapter will be the attitude of Aristophanes towards lyric poetry and the lyric poets, the manner in which he employed them in his comedies and the conclusions one can draw from this presentation. This will allows us to sketch a broad picture of lyric poetry in comedy, from which we hope to make deductions about individual lyric poets. The starting point and motive of this survey is the assumption that Aristophanes appears to have ignored Bacchylides, who goes unmentioned in his comedies and whose poetry is neither quoted nor parodied.[1] This is in marked contrast to his treatment of other lyric poets, past and contemporary with Aristophanes, especially Bacchylides' colleagues, Simonides and Pindar. Aristophanes' use of lyric takes the form of allusions to specific poems, inclusion of quotations from lyric poems in the plays, references to the names or particular characteristics of lyric poets, and also, in the case of Bacchylides, silence. It goes without saying that silence is a kind of reception, though a more difficult kind to evaluate. Absence and silence possibly reveal a more negative judgement of what is not there, deliberately or accidentally. The treatment of lyric poetry in Aristophanic comedy also generates questions concerning the knowledge and circulation of lyric poetry in Athens as well as the transmission of lyric as a genre and of its individual representatives.[2]

Old comedy is a field in which the song-culture of sixth and fifth century, dramatic productions and early literary criticism co-exist. The comic poet combines in his play criticism, both literary and political, admonitory elements, and light-toned comments on social and civic issues in order to appeal to his audience. These elements turn comedy into a mirror of social, political, and cultural changes in the city of Athens. Poetry and literature in general, as one of the major cultural products of an era, are represented in comedy. Comedy, therefore, works in circles with poetry as the centre point, since it is both an object and the medium for performance. Unlike comedy, it is difficult to trace an inescapable influence of lyric poetry in tragedy. Tragedy interacts with lyric poetry in wide-ranging and sophisticated ways.[3] As Swift's research has demonstrated, tragedy integrates specific lyric genres, enhances

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[1] Carey (2011) 438.
[2] Carey (2011) underscores the importance of Athenian comedy in the transmission and establishment of poetic canonisation.
[3] Swift (2010) 2.

themes, motifs and imagery of specific lyric poems that are evoked not only as literary readings, but as a set of cultural and contextual assumptions.[4] The specific manner of integration, the similar generic nature of tragedy and lyric poetry, as well as the lack of overt indicators to mark the allusion to or interaction with lyric genres/themes, all combine to create difficulties for the contemporary audience and for modern scholarship to identify intertextuality.[5] We will thus concentrate in this particular chapter on old comedy.

Any discussion about the relation of comedy with poetry and especially with previous literature begins with two major gaps. Firstly, old comedy, for the majority of scholars, means Aristophanes. This is, to some degree, inevitable as the only extant complete comedies we possess are by Aristophanes. The field "old comedy" needs also to include Crates, Magnes, Teleclides, Eupolis and Cratinus.[6] Any conclusions, therefore, drawn from Aristophanic comedy should not be generalised for the entire corpus of comedies, most of which, unfortunately, are lost to us. Secondly, discussion of the relation of comedy with literature has largely been restricted to its relation with tragedy. This is, again, to be expected, since comedy is a genre parallel but also defined in mutual opposition to the genre of tragedy. It subverts everything tragedy establishes and, consequently, comparisons of the two genres or discussions of the use of tragic elements in comic plays have, understandably, dominated the picture of scholarship.

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[4] Ibid. 2-3.

[5] One of the most distinctive Bacchylidean characteristics is the description of the athletic event which generated the epinician poem. Bacchylides gives a full account of the moment of victory in three detailed athletic descriptions – *Odes 5*.37-55, *9*.21-41 and *10*.21-32. One can find similar descriptions and narrations of athletic events in two passages of Sophocles - *Trachiniae* 497-530 and *Electra* 680-763. It is indeed impossible to claim with certainty that these passages in Sophocles are straightforwardly connected with or allude to Bacchylides' athletic descriptions. We cannot detect in Sophocles' text detailed similarities with or actual textual resonances of Bacchylides' athletic narratives. We can, however, detect features exclusive to Bacchylides within the epinician. It is possible, therefore, to suggest that Sophocles looked in the victory ode for some of the details included in his descriptions and more specifically in passages with similar athletic narrations. Pindar does not offer athletic descriptions in his poems. These passages do not prove that Sophocles had Bacchylides' poetry at hand when composing. They do, however, open the possibility that he had Bacchylides in mind. Both the content of the above passages and the narrative manner Sophocles adopts are suggestive of influence by Bacchylides. Space does not allow for Bacchylides' relation to tragedy to be included in the present project.

[6] Attempts to direct scholars' attention in both Eupolis and Cratinus are evident in recent scholarship; on Eupolis, Storey (2003); on Cratinus, Bakola (2010).

'The theater was...a kind of mirror in which the audience could read its shifting condition'[7] and the comic poet, a critic of critics[8] who exemplified within his play the successive stages of the change not only of theatre itself but also of literature and music. All poets of Old Comedy placed themselves and their poetry within that literary process and claimed novelty and originality, both characteristics of 'the generic self-consciousness of Old comedy.'[9] Although the beginnings of critical activity are vague, 'old comedy concerned itself with everything of contemporary interest' and formed, therefore, the first body of sustained criticism.[10] Comedy was positioned within a poetic and literary tradition, and the result of that position was that Aristophanes and the rest of the poets of old comedy make an important contribution to later literary criticism.[11] As Silk observes, 'comedy is a mirror of everyday life'[12] and normality of comedy means 'correspondence with, and proximity to, the diversities of life.'[13] The genre of comedy, and more specifically Aristophanes, is concerned with the quality of itself as artefact, with the way the comic work is presented and the response of its audience, and also with the self-questioning of the comic playwright. Aristophanes presents himself as a writer within a continuum and demands that he and his poetry be "read" within a literary tradition.[14] He aims, therefore, at placing comedy in the context of Greek poetry by means of constant intertextuality.[15]

The main focus of the chapter is this constant intertextuality and the approaches that have been generated to explain Aristophanes' attitude towards tragedy that could be instructive for an exploration of the phenomenology of lyric quotations and allusions. Aristophanes' plays are marked with interest in the tragic genre and engagements with tragedy are perceived as a means to pronounce on the

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[7] Redfield (1990) 326.

[8] Surprisingly, comedy and Aristophanes are not included as a separate section in Laird (2006), or in Ford (2002). Comedy is mentioned in passing, whereas it is clear from references to Aristophanes that comedy dramatises in a humorous manner current cultural, literary, and poetic transformations. Aristophanes is one of the major figures of criticism in Atkins (1934), where criticism through his comedies is the starting point of discussing criticism in antiquity.

[9] Redfield (1990) 316.

[10] Ibid. 22.

[11] It is clear from the fragments we possess that literature and literary matters were topics which the comic poets were concerned with; e.g. Antiphanes fr.189 *PCG*. For an attempt to outline comedy's judgements on literature in general, Baker (1904).

[12] Silk (2000) 85.

[13] Ibid. 88.

[14] Ibid. 43.

[15] Bremer (1993) 127.

possibilities of comedy.[16] Tragedy for Aristophanes represents the alternative pole from which comedy constantly takes its bearings[17] and the genre through which, by comparison and contradiction, comedy is best defined. His approach towards tragedy and the way he uses tragic material will help us understand his attitude towards lyric poetry and lyric poets, and more specifically towards Bacchylides.

The general idea that long dominated comic intertextuality was that this continuous dialogue with other poets consisted largely of mockery.[18] Recent critics have tended to see a more diverse association between Aristophanes and tragedy with which his plays continuously engage. Silk insists that one needs to distinguish firstly between parody[19] and paratragedy[20] - subversion and dislocation of the tragic element in the comic action respectively[21] - in order to elucidate the manner in which Aristophanes uses tragedy in his comedies.[22] The distinction which Silk draws between modes of use is a real one. However, it is easier to recognise the diversity of comedy's engagement with tragedy than to determine the particular effect sought in any given instance. The result of incorporating tragic features and elements into the play and during the performance is the same in each case: the tone is enlarged with an elevated effect, and the tragic colour creates an overlap between the two genres which produces at the same time a hybrid in which the comic low is combined with the tragic high.[23] The precise effect within the range of possibilities was a matter of reception by the audience individually and collectively.[24] The poet could rely on a high degree of audience-recognition of the intertexts; tragedy was an Athenian poetic

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[16] Silk (2000) 49.

[17] Ibid.55. Paradoxically, the originality of comedy 'consisted partly in the effective reuse of old material' (Redfield (1990) 22), a claim that is true of much classical literature.

[18] Bremer (1993) 144.

[19] For classification of types of parodies, Rau (1967) 12-4 as summarised in Silk (1993) 478. Rau suggests that parodies may be classified according to the nature of the model; a literary genre, a specific locus, a scene, a formal element from the genre being parodied, a generic convention, or a motif.

[20] Although Silk (1993) 478 takes the term "paratragedy" as a linguistic phenomenon, he admits that it can take various forms including visual ones. Stagecraft, costumes, gestures of actors, and metre were also important parameters which could distinguish comedy from tragedy and could also bring it closer to the tragic genre.

[21] Silk (1993) 480.

[22] For detailed explanations on the terms "parody" and "paratradegy", and examples, Silk (1993).

[23] Silk (1993) 503.

[24] Fowler (1997) 24 - Intertextual '...meaning is realised at the point of reception...'

form, the plays of Aeschylus were being re-performed in the civic festivals by the late fifth century, and we have good evidence for his re-performance at deme festivals.[25]

Lyric Poets and Lyric Poetry in Aristophanic Comedy

The presence of lyric poetry and lyric poets in comedy is a more complicated phenomenon than the use of tragedy in Aristophanes.[26] Although Athens had to import foreign lyric poets to participate in its festivals and contests,[27] the audience would have been aware of lyric poetry because of its wide use in the song-culture of Athens. As Swift has argued, the chorus was an integral feature in Greek daily life, especially Athenian, and choral performances were used to mark significant moments in private or public life.[28] Aristophanes frequently cites the foreign origin of the lyric poets along with their name, and we have to assume that the name and subsequently the poet were popular enough for the audience to recognise. It is unquestionable that wide diffusion and re-performance of the works of major lyric poets at Athenian symposia were two important aspects of fifth and fourth century.[29] Despite the fact that high lyric poetry was almost invariably composed by and for members of the elite, the social diffusion of song through re-performance was much wider than the elite in subsequent performances.[30] Taking into account that the success of a comic play depended on audience response, we can accept that inclusion of lyric poets in the play – named references, allusions to their poetry, verbatim quotations – had to be recognised as such by the audience. At the very least, they had to create a sense of

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[25] Philostr. *Vit.Apoll.*6.11...ἐκάλουν δὲ καὶ τεθνεῶτα ἐς Διονύσια, τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Αἰσχύλου ψηφισαμένων ἀνεδιδάσκετο καὶ ἐνίκα ἐκ καινῆς; *Vit.Aesch.*1.54-56 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τοσοῦτον ἠγάπησαν Αἰσχύλον ὡς ψηφίσασθαι μετὰ θάνατον αὐτοῦ τὸν βουλόμενον διδάσκειν τὰ Αἰσχύλου χορὸν λαμβάνειν. Pickard-Cambridge (1953) 87; Winningtom-Ingram (1989) 281-82; Marshall (1996) 83. Re-performance of Aeschylus' tragedies is also implied in Ar. *Ach.*9-12 ~ Σ. Ar. *Ach.*10c τιμῆς δὲ μεγίστης ἔτυχε παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις ὁ Αἰσχύλος, καὶ μόνου αὐτοῦ τὰ δράματα ψηφίσματι κοινῷ καὶ μετὰ θάνατον ἐδιδάσκετο. {ΡΕΓLh}

[26] Although the discussion will be largely restricted to the canonical nine lyric poets, I ignore in this chapter the ancient distinction between lyric, elegiac and iambic poets, since any information relating to the comic use of small scale archaic poetry is potentially useful for questions of survival, interest and status.

[27] Chapter 2.1, pp.56, 63-64.

[28] Swift (2010) 35. On lyric poetry in Athenian contexts, ibid. 35-60.

[29] On the association between Athenian symposia and lyric, ibid. 43-55.

[30] Currie (2004) 51-69 whose scenarios of re-performance, although focused on Pindar's epinician odes, can apply in general on lyric poetry; Morrison (2007) 1-39 explores the possibility of subsequent re-performances of Pindar's Sicilian victory odes.

familiarity to the audience, even if they did not draw in detail on their knowledge of the recalled poet and the passage invoked.

A survey of the evidence indicates that Aristophanes does not have a single purpose for including lyric poets in his comedies, and he does not refer to all of them in the same manner. He uses lyric in varied forms and in order to achieve different effects: named references to lyric poets, parody of poetry and of characteristics of a poetic persona, named and anonymous citations, and allusions to the language or to a scene extracted from a lyric poem. In some cases it is names that count, whereas on other occasions poetic personae, associations and biography count more. He frequently seems to be referring to lyric poets as paradigmatic figures, and uses them as a tool through which he explains his own poetic trends or his characters' actions. One can also see in Aristophanes' use of lyric poetry similarities with the use of tragedy – parody of tragedy and paratragedy, in our case maybe paralyric. Aristophanes creates a hybrid through the collision of a comic scene, reference to high lyric poems and allusions to lyric poets. Some of the facets distinguishing comedy from tragedy could also apply to the differentiation between comedy and lyric poetry. The most important distinction is between high and low, which generates the same kind of tonal hybrid as the presence of tragedy. As a "respectable" art-form, lyric poetry adds gravity to the light tone of Aristophanes' plays. Its inclusion, therefore, underlines even more the comic character of comic scenes.[31] Silk has suggested that Aristophanes the lyric poet does not belong to the tradition of high lyric with Alcman or Pindar, although he is influenced by high lyric. His lyrics have more affinities with low lyric, similar to those of Archilochus and Hipponax, and folk song,[32] the principal characteristic of which is an effective abandonment of elevation.[33] Silk attempts to distinguish between experiments with high lyric and the creation of hybrids and argues that Aristophanes is actually experimenting with seriousness.[34] In the case of lyric hybrids, Silk has demonstrated that Aristophanes manages to creatively combine low with high, which results in 'a new kind of compound...which has the vigour and

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[31] On choral forms in Aristophanic comedy and lyric *mimēsis*, Calame (2004).
[32] Silk (2000) 161.
[33] Ibid. 179, with pp.168-181 for examples of Aristophanes' lyrics.
[34] Ibid. 167-168.

the other positive attributes of the low, together with the formal elegance of the high, but also, and above all, offers an enlarged tonal and expressive range all round.'[35]

When it comes to the varied uses of lyric and lyric poets, we can see that only a few poets are mentioned by name, while others are simply alluded to by citing or adapting their poetry in the comedies. The only "classic" lyric poets[36] referred to by name in Aristophanes' comedies are Simonides,[37] Ibycus, Anacreon, Alcaeus,[38] and Pindar.[39] The first impression we get from this short list is that they are all poets whose poetry was and could still be performed at the symposium. A closer look at the exact references will lead us to different conclusions.

Names and naming

In *Th*.160-163 Agathon mentions collectively Ibycus, Anacreon and Alcaeus. This suggests that their names serve the same purpose. But Phrynichus, mentioned afterwards, is also important for understanding the effects of the scene and the use of the particular poets.

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Αγ.   Ἄλλως τ᾿ ἄμουσόν ἐστι ποιητὴν ἰδεῖν
ἀγρεῖον ὄντα καὶ δασύν. Σκέψαι δ᾿ ὅτι   160
Ἴβυκος ἐκεῖνος κἀνακρέων ὁ Τήιος
κἀλκαῖος, οἵπερ ἁρμονίαν ἐχύμισαν,
ἐμιτροφόρουν τε κἀχλίδων Ἰωνικῶς.
Καὶ Φρύνιχος, —τοῦτον γὰρ οὖν ἀκήκοας,
αὐτός τε καλὸς ἦν καὶ καλῶς ἠμπίσχετο·   165
διὰ τοῦτ᾿ ἄρ᾿ αὐτοῦ καὶ κάλ᾿ ἦν τὰ δράματα.
Ὅμοια γὰρ ποεῖν ἀνάγκη τῇ φύσει.

(*Th*.159-167)

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As is clear from the above quotation, Aristophanes is using a kind of synecdoche; the names stand for the nature of their poetry. Aristophanes chooses the particular poets for the style of their poetry – beautiful, erotic, and emotional – so that they would serve Agathon's claim that 'authors of beautiful poetry have traditionally dressed

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[35] Ibid. 180-181.

[36] I do not take into account Ar. *Ran*.661 in which Hipponax is presented in connection to the genre of his performed poetry, since the scholia recognise the line attributed to Hipponax as actually by Ananios.

[37] Ar. *Nu*.1356, 1362; *V*.1410; *Pax* 697-698; *Av*.919.

[38] Ibycus, Anacreon, Alcaeus Ar. *Th*.160-163; Alcaeus and Anacreon Ar. Fr.235 *PCG*.

[39] Ar. *Av*.939 where Aristophanes uses the adjective Πινδάρειον derived from and including Pindar's name. It will be discussed in following sections.

beautifully'.[40] Thus, although what the text says refers only to the poets' way of life, Aristophanes asks his audience to attach a longer narrative to the names he mentions. This narrative is related to the style of their poetry, in order to underscore the associations Agathon makes between life and poetry and to exemplify his claim.[41] However, although all three of them are mentioned as a group, which alludes to the similar nature and style of their poetry, each one of them is referred to in a completely different way. The brief references and especially the pronoun ἐκεῖνος[42] suggest, as well as respected status, familiarity of the audience with the named poets. Aristophanes requires no knowledge of a specific text but simply name and/or genre recognition. We must allow, nevertheless, for the possibility that not all of his audience would be familiar with the names of these poets and with their poetry.

Aristophanes introduces a tragic poet whom he expects the *kēdestēs* would definitely have been aware of presumably because of his Athenian origin and because of his controversial tragedies - Καὶ Φρύνιχος, —τοῦτον γὰρ οὖν ἀκήκοας. The parenthetic sentence is more important than the name itself in this case, as it indicates possible ignorance on the part of the addressee and/or the audience.[43] Despite the fact that Ibycus, Anacreon, and Alcaeus had possibly become the pederastic and sympotic poets *par excellence* in the minds of all Greeks, the passage suggests that Aristophanes relies mostly on the recognition of the names and on their association with the symposion. It might be that some of their poems were re-performed and sung in Athens, and thus part of the audience could recall their poetry. The passage, though, reveals that the audience did not have to be familiar with and did not need to know their poetry in order to get the point of the joke. Name-recognition and consequently knowledge of poetic genre and context would be enough.

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[40] Austin&Olson (2004) 110. 'By the end of his lifetime the poet Anacreon was portrayed in vase painting wearing a woman's headdress while singing.' – Lefkowitz (1981) 52.

[41] The interpretation of lyric poetry portrayed in the text corresponds with information given by the biographies that preserve the impression that first-person statements refer to the subject-matter of the work. *Suda s.v.* Ἀ ν α κ ρ έ ω ν, *Τήϊος, λυρικὸς...βίος δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ πρὸς ἔρωτας παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ᾠδάς.* Ἴ β υ κ ο ς . . . *γέγονε δὲ ἐρωτομανέστατος περὶ μειράκια.*

[42] 'The well-known Ibycus' - Austin&Olson (2004) 110

[43] 'For you've heard of *him* [i.e. even if you haven't heard of the older, non-Athenian poets I mentioned first]!' - Austin&Olson (2004) 112. Cf. Ar.fr.235 *PCG* ᾆσον δή μοι σκόλιόν τι λαβὼν Ἀλκαίου κἀνακρέοντος. Alcaeus and Anacreon are mentioned here with no comment. This could suggest re-performance of their poems at Athenian symposia and familiarity with their poetry, given that the addressee is asked to sing a scolion of them.

In the case of the most frequently named lyric poet in comedies, Simonides, it will become clear that Aristophanes chose him partly due to his fame, partly because of perhaps continuing re-performances of his poetry at (some) symposia, but mainly due to the anecdotal tradition that surrounded his name. Aristophanes evidently expected his audience to recognise the reasons Simonides was mentioned at particular scenes in his comedies and to comprehend connotations behind his name. As we shall see, he still provided them with hints, and he refers to Simonides in specific scenes that could guide his audience to the appropriate features of his persona and his poetry. It seems that Aristophanes makes use of all the features Simonides and his poetry were supposed to have – antiquity, fame, sympotic character, avarice, composition for commission and patronage – one in each instance he uses Simonides' name - Ar. *Nu*.1356, 1362; *V*.1410; *Pax* 697-698; *Av*.919.[44]

In *Nubes* 1352-1362 Simonides is probably mentioned as the exemplar poet whose poetry was performed at symposia. His figure also works as an exemplum of the past glorious era of poetry that was gradually considered to be old-fashioned at Aristophanes' time.

<blockquote>

Στ.   καὶ μὴν ὅθεν γε πρῶτον ἠρξάμεσθα λοιδορεῖσθαι   1352
       ἐγὼ φράσω. 'πειδὴ γὰρ εἰστιώμεθ', ὥσπερ ἴστε,
       πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸν τὴν λύραν λαβόντ' ἐγὼ 'κέλευσα
       ᾆσαι Σιμωνίδου μέλος, τὸν Κριόν, ὡς ἐπέχθη.   1355
       ὁ δ' εὐθέως ἀρχαῖον εἶν' ἔφασκε τὸ κιθαρίζειν
       ᾄδειν τε πίνονθ', ὡσπερεὶ κάχρυς γυναῖκ' ἀλοῦσαν.
Φε.   οὐ γὰρ τότ' εὐθὺς χρῆν σ' ἀράττεσθαί τε καὶ πατεῖσθαι,
       ᾄδειν κελεύονθ', ὡσπερεὶ τέττιγας ἑστιῶντα;
Στ.   τοιαῦτα μέντοι καὶ τότ' ἔλεγεν ἔνδον, οἷάπερ νῦν,   1360
       καὶ τὸν Σιμωνίδην ἔφασκ' εἶναι κακὸν ποιητήν.
       κἀγὼ μόλις μέν, ἀλλ' ὅμως, ἠνεσχόμην τὸ πρῶτον.

(*Nu*.1352-63)

</blockquote>

S: I will indeed tell you how our name-calling first started. You'll recall that we were having a feast. First of all I asked him to pick up his lyre and sing a song by Simonides, the one about how Ram got shorn, and he right away said it was old-fashioned to play the lyre and sing at a drinking party, like a woman hulling barley.

Ph. Why, right then and there you should have been pounded and stomped – asking me sing, as if you were throwing a feat for cicadas.

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[44] Ar. *Av*.919 will be analysed in the following section on lyric citations.

S: That's just the kind of thing he kept saying there in the house, what he's saying now. And he said that Simonides was a bad poet! I only just put up with it, but I did put up with it, at first.

In this particular case, Simonides is also used as an indirect reference to the entire group of classic lyric poets and as a representative of that era. Aristophanes' plays indicate and dramatise an interest in the way music and poetry changed through time. They also portray a dismissive and hostile criticism to the new musical modes that are not as good as the old days. Both Simonides and Aeschylus (vv.1365-67) rejected by Pheidippides, lived more or less at the same period. These representative figures are used here to express social concerns; they are both treated as paradigms of a specific era and of a specific mode of poetry which was gradually declining at that time. Additionally, the fact that we have a generation-gap in this scene not only between father and son but also between the rejected and preferred poets points at different trends in different eras and lastly at the way in which poetic taste changes through time.

Simonides is chosen in connection to Lasus in *Vespae* 1409-11.

> Φι.   μὰ Δί᾽, ἀλλ᾽ ἄκουσον, ἤν τί σοι δόξω λέγειν.
>   Λᾶσός ποτ᾽ ἀντεδίδασκε καὶ Σιμωνίδης·   1410
>   ἔπειθ᾽ ὁ Λᾶσος εἶπεν· "ὀλίγον μοι μέλει."
>   (***V.*1409-11**)

Although the funny part of this scene is the clumsiness with which Philokleon cites lines by Aesopus (vv.1400-05) and Lasus and also the inappropriate context in which high-style poetry is used, what interests me here is the actual choice of Lasus and Simonides. Philokleon in addressing the bread seller "addresses" the spectators and thus chooses to refer to known and popular figures. In this sense, the choice of Lasus and Simonides, both of which had been active in Athens, is based on their familiarity to the Athenian people, since the audience would and should have recognised the names. Lasus and Simonides were probably the two poets who became paradigmatic of the dithyramb and also famous for their contributions to the definition of the actual genre[45] and to dithyrambic competitions. Simonides, therefore, is referred to side by

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[45] According to the *Suda*, Lasus was the first to write a treatise on music, the founder of the dithyrambic contests in Athens and also the reformer of the dithyramb to a circular dance, κύκλιος χορός, which became synonymous with 'dithyramb'. See D'Angour (1997) esp.346-350.

side with Lasus, the inventor of the dithyramb, due to his popularity as the poet with the most dithyrambic competitions and victories.[46] A possible *agōn* between these two poets, had it taken place, would have been an interesting spectacle for the audience.

The use of Simonides and his name is incidental yet purposeful in *Pax* 694-9.

Ἑρ.	Πάμπολλα, καὶ τἀρχαῖ' ἃ κατέλιπεν τότε·	
	Πρῶτον δ' ὅ τι πράττει Σοφοκλέης ἀνήρετο.	695
Τρ.	Εὐδαιμονεῖ· πάσχει δὲ θαυμαστόν.	
Ἑρ.	Τὸ τί;	696
Τρ.	Ἐκ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους γίγνεται Σιμωνίδης.	
Ἑρ.	Σιμωνίδης; πῶς;	
Τρ.	Ὅτι γέρων ὢν καὶ σαπρὸς	698
	κέρδους ἕκατι κἂν ἐπὶ ῥιπὸς πλέοι.	

(*Pax* 694-99)

The anecdotal tradition on Simonides placed so much emphasis on his avarice and avidity that Simonides' name became apparently identical with these notions.[47] On the other hand, Aristophanes selects in the representation of Sophocles the poet whose main characteristic was what he needed at that particular instance in his passage.[48] It is noteworthy, however, that Aristophanes explains the use of the name "Simonides". This may indicate his awareness that for some, perhaps many, of the audience Simonides was simply a name and a set of associations but not poetry. It may also be simply that he needs to spell out his joke about Sophocles. Once again, the reference is relatively undemanding, as the passage does not place too much reliance on recollecting the poetry itself. The anecdotal and biographical tradition was a growing tradition that sometimes, as in this case, overshadowed actual poetry. Since stories about Simonides' life were told as early as the fifth century, it would seem that by the fourth century interest was turned more to his biography than his poetry.[49] This turn would justify the reasons for using his name and for rising expectations that his

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[46] Chapter 2.1, p.71n52.

[47] It is unfortunate that Simonides' extant fragments do not make it easy to account for his reputation as financially greedy that probably related to his perceived status as the first freelance lyric poet composing for pay. For a summary of Simonides' features on which the biographers focussed, Lefkowitz (1981) 49-50 and 50-56.

[48] Rawles (2006) 119 claims that Aristophanes and this specific passage is the first source for unambiguous associations of Simonides with money and avarice.

[49] Lefkowitz (1981) 56.

audience would respond to. Both *Thesmophoriazousae* and *Pax* suggest that Aristophanes relies on and demands, in most cases, merely name recognition from his audience.

Text, citations and caricatures

When Aristophanes adapted lyric passages in his plays and when he cited without referring to the name of the poet, the audience was being asked to recognise the text and possibly (at least for some of them) to recall the poet by themselves. With reference to the scenes in which he cited parts from lyric poems, it was more important, in most of the cases, to recognise the text as taken from lyric poetry than to recall the poet, the latter of which rarely adds crucial information to the scene. It could, however, be the case that Aristophanes had in mind different levels of recognition in a large audience; the erudite and intellectual among the spectators, or possibly more generally, those spectators who had had an elite education (given that lyric was a part of formal education) and could ideally identify the passage as part of a particular poetic corpus, whereas the rest would solely recognise the high tone of lyric. Nonetheless, in those cases in which the poet himself becomes important Aristophanes gives clues to his audience in order to guide them. On other occasions, he seems to provide a pastiche of the most important elements of different poetic personae that are in some way linked within the actual comic scene. The following analysis will not include all the cases in which Aristophanes cites or paraphrases lyric passages but will focus on the instances of lyric poetry in his comedy, where high public/choral or epinician lyric poetry is employed or alluded to. Here one might expect Bacchylides to be one of Aristophanes' sources or to be mentioned. Much emphasis will be placed on those instances where the audience is invited to recall the implied poet through the invocation of his poetry and where it is important for the comic scene to bring to mind the lyric poet.

The most important scene which combines all the above elements is *Aves* 905-959. It presents a poetic persona with specific recognisable characteristics, text and named references all of which create a poetic caricature. It is also an important comic setting for my purpose, as it merges the issues of commission and patronage, foundation songs and poetry, and the personae and poems of Pindar and Simonides. This amalgamation, however, is not consistent. Aristophanes mixes and matches what

suits his purposes without, necessarily, making the text correspond to the poetic figure he brings on stage and without allowing his audience to identify simply one lyric poet. The scene functions as a parody of the traditional and prestigious public choral celebrations. The city which Peisetairos created does not need the solemn poets of celebration. Peisetairos consequently rejects the norms that used to signal the importance of a new colony. Although the entrance of the encomiastic poet recalls aspects of the process of colonisation, the comic rebuff of his services recalls, again, the struggle between old and new, as we have seen in *Nubes*, though a different kind of old and new.

The sudden appearance of the poet along with the invocation to the muse and his desire to sing for the new city immediately calls to mind the poets of the classical period who received grand civic commissions: Simonides, Pindar and Bacchylides. This first impression is confirmed by the enumeration of the poems that he would have liked to sing for the new city: varied civic commissions for public performances.

> Πο.   Μέλη πεποίηκ᾿ εἰς τὰς Νεφελοκοκκυγίας
>   τὰς ὑμετέρας κύκλιά τε πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ
>   καὶ παρθένεια καὶ κατὰ τὰ Σιμωνίδου.
>   (***Av.917-919***)

Rawles plausibly suggests that the phrase κατὰ τὰ Σιμωνίδου 'may be partially a response to Simonides' virtuosity across multiple genres.'[50] The poet, however, sings later on what is labelled as Pindaric words – *Av.* 939 τὺ δὲ τεᾷ φρενὶ μάθε Πινδάρειον ἔπος. This particular phrase, the only explicit reference to Pindar in the scene, comes *after* the Pindaric recitations by the poet (*Av.*926-7 and 928-30)[51] and not before to mark the citation. Discontinuity between poet's name and actual poetic citation, which is nonetheless labelled by another name, and adaptation of the Pindaric

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[50] Rawles (2006) 120. Dunbar (1995) supposes that this reference (*Av.*919) could mean 'in pure classical style.' Swift (2010) 174 suggests that *partheneia* in this passage may be 'a catch-all for female song.'

[51] 'We cannot tell if this passage of Pindar was familiar enough for many of the audience, with no mention of Pindar until 939, to recognise it as by Pindar rather than Simonides or Bacchylides,..' - Dunbar (1995) ad vv.926f. She goes on to say how v.945 ξύνες ὅ τοι λέγω had become famous as by Pindar 'but since Aristophanes postpones this line until 945, he may not have seen any need to ensure that the audience thought particularly of Pindar while listening to the poet's effusions.' Tzetzes *Ad Birds* 930 says διασύρειν τὸν Πίνδαρον. See Martin (2009) 94-95 who picks up this line of argument. He specifically suggests (pp.101-102) that the joke of the passage, which he considers a disparaging comment on Pindar, is that the poet in the passage and presumably each poet on public occasions according to Aristophanes recycles poems and employs 'canned material.'

lines in the order Aristophanes prefers could indicate that it is not as crucial to recognise the text as Pindaric as it is to recognise it as high lyric. In this sense, the scene operates at several levels: for the elite, who know their lyric poetry, it mismatches name and poem; for the spectator who only recognises style, the passage indiscriminately mixes all civic lyricists into a single whole.

Simonidean and Pindaric identifications would have also influenced the perception of the actual figure on stage. Continuous comments about the clothes of the poet are turned into visual remarks on his appearance, necessary for the modern reader of Aristophanes. Aristophanes keeps directing the historical audience's attention by emphasising the begging state of the poet, his poor clothes, the jerkin and the cloak that are given to him. This could be translated into the need to recognise these characteristics as of a certain kind of lyric poets[52] rather than of a specific poet.[53] It is evident that Aristophanes has fused, in this scene, features that belonged to different lyric poets in order to create a mixed comic caricature.

The poet most closely associated with poverty and especially with requests for a cloak is Hipponax.[54] In fragments 32[55] and 34[56] Hipponax complains about the lack of a cloak to protect him from cold winter, and his request reveals his supposedly low social rank and his difficulty sustaining himself.[57] Whereas in Hipponax's poems the poetic persona asks for a cloak from Hermes without referring to his poetry as a

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[52] Martin (2009) 93 suggests that the figure of the anonymous bard could apply to every wandering poet who belongs in the exchange culture of all the famous wandering poets and who is in search of a long-term patron in order to settle down.

[53] Dunbar (1995) ad v.919, based on the use of Simonides as a way to identify the poems prepared by the intruding poet, assumes that 'Aristophanes may...have been thinking...of the Simonides of popular caricature "remembered" in anecdote as a parasitic poet always eager for financial gain.' Rawles (2006) 122 postulates that Aristophanes associates specifically the figure of the avaricious poet with Simonides by mentioning the poet's name which is contrasted to actual parody of Pindar's poetry and not of Simonides' poems.

[54] Dunbar (1995) 521. For associations of cloaks with poverty and poetry already in Homer, Rawles (2006) 164-172.

[55] Hipponax fr.32 W - Ἑρμῆ, φίλ᾽ Ἑρμῆ, Μαιαδεῦ, Κυλλήνιε,
    ἐπεύχομαί τοι, κάρτα γὰρ κακῶς ῥιγῶ
        καὶ βαμβαλύζω ...
    δὸς χλαῖναν Ἱππώνακτι καὶ κυπασσίσκον
    καὶ σαμβαλίσκα κἀσκερίσκα καὶ χρυσοῦ
        στατῆρας ἑξήκοντα τοὐτέρου τοίχου.

[56] Hipponax fr.34 W - ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἔδωκας οὔτέ κω χλαῖναν
    δασεῖαν ἐν χειμῶνι φάρμακον ῥίγεος,
        οὔτ᾽ ἀσκέρῃσι τοὺς πόδας δασείῃσι
    ἔκρυψας, ὥς μοι μὴ χίμετλα ῥήγνυται.

[57] West (1974) 29. On the figure of the narrator in Hipponax, Carey (2008) 96-99, (2009) 162-167.

means that would allow him to be rewarded by his patrons, in the Aristophanic scene the poet on stage is looking for a patron who will commission his poetry and pay him.[58] Despite this difference in content, emphasis on the lowly appearance of the poet, on the jerkin that is offered to the poet in order to keep him away,[59] and the subsequent request for the cloak by the poet himself[60] incorporate in the scene elements of the Hipponactean iambus.[61] Thus, Aristophanes *does* point at particular lyric models and uses the Simonidean persona to represent choral poets in this scene but with an iambic touch by Hipponax. This alteration ridicules the status of commissioned poets, while providing a *reductio ad absurdum* of the process of poetic commission by turning it into the beggar's need for a cloak.[62] This procedure merges personae and genre and creates a mélange, which is essentially a caricature.

One of the main questions to ask concerns the purpose of this particular blend within the specific scene. It seems that it does not matter for our understanding of the content and humour whether we are able to identify the figure specifically with Simonides or Hipponax, or to recognise the cited text as Pindaric. What matters essentially is for the audience to recognise the names and identify the cited passages as lyric in order to comprehend that Aristophanes attempts to compose Pindarically or generally in the high style of public lyric. What is desirable but inessential is for the audience to identify the original, to recall the exact citation and to perceive it as echoes of Pindar. The humour of this scene does not depend so much on the audience remembering the words of Pindar but on incongruity and contrast between the original lyric texts and the additions made by the lyric poet on stage to suit his purposes. Additionally, Aristophanes underscores the effect of the contrast between the poet's

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[58] Requests for patronage are clear in his poetry but can also be seen symbolically in his need for new clothes. - Dunbar (1995) 521.

[59] *Av.935 Ἔχε τὴν σπολάδα· πάντως δέ μοι ῥιγῶν δοκεῖς.*

[60] *Av.943-348* Πο. ἀκλεὴς δ' ἔβα
    σπολὰς ἄνευ χιτῶνος.
    ξύνες ὅ τοι λέγω.
Πε. ξυνίημ' ὅτι βούλει τὸν χιτωνίσκον λαβεῖν.
    ἀπόδυθι· δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ποιητὴν ὠφελεῖν
    ἄπελθε τουτονὶ λαβών.

[61] Dunbar (1995) 521 suggests that this scene distorts the Greek custom of lyric poets' seeking patronage and receiving hospitality from rich and powerful rulers 'into an act of parasitical begging for everyday essentials of food and clothing.'

[62] We can find parallels for this process; politicians of low birth become foreigners in Aristophanes. E.g. Spintharos (*Av*.762) and Euathlos (*Ach*.704-712) are called Scythians, Exekestides (*Av*.764-5, 1527) a Carian and barbarian, Acestor (*Av*.31-2) is nicknamed Sacas and is a foreigner in *V*.1221 associated with Mysia, and Cleophon a Thracian (*Ra*.679-81). See MacDowell (1993).

fancy lyric songs and the outbursts they provoke in Peisetairos,[63] who does not want his city to be praised, or at least does not want this kind of bombastic and commercial celebration.

Where is Bacchylides in Aristophanes?

The above survey has shown that, in most cases, Aristophanes requires his audience to recognise the name and the lyric citation as belonging to the field of lyric poetry. In those cases in which a specific lyric poet or extract need to be recalled, the text offers hints and guides the audience to make the necessary connections. The above passages, however, demonstrated that the comic scenes with such references do not rely heavily on a detailed recollection, rather on recognition of high lyric tone or touch. When it comes to our poet Bacchylides, he is not mentioned by name nor, it is generally supposed, does Aristophanes appear to use any of his poetry in his plays.[64] Bremer suggests that Aristophanes does not make obscure allusions to poets, and does not include unknown quotations intelligible only to scholars and intellectuals. 'It is the famous bits, the golden bits and evergreens from Greek poetry which he uses.'[65] Given the fact that it could have been risky for Aristophanes to ignore the reactions of his audience, since his success depended on their response, it is logical to suggest that what he chose to include in his plays was what the audience would comprehend. Bacchylides and his poetry were known to Athens only a generation before and the Athenian audience must at least have been familiar with his name. It is, then, paradoxical that Aristophanes marginalised Bacchylides.

Firstly, we should eliminate suggestions that Aristophanes did not include Bacchylides in his play because he did not know him, as he was probably the most erudite dramatist of his time. An intellectual who knew the poetry of an era prior to his own, and who was acutely aware of contemporary musical developments, would at least have known Bacchylides' Athenian civic poetry. Secondly, we should also

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[63] Dunbar (1995) 522.

[64] Lyric poets who are not mentioned by name in Aristophanes are also Archilochus, Sappho, Stesichorus, and Semonides. The term "lyric" is not used in the ancient sense but in the larger modern sense; orally performed, sang and recited poetry produced in lyric metres. One can, nevertheless, find resonances of the poems of the above poets in Aristophanic comedies at least once. From the list of the poets of the New Dithyramb only Kinesias is presented as a character and parodied, whereas Timotheus and Melanippides are not mentioned.

[65] Bremer (1993) 160, where see for further exploration.

eliminate the hypothesis that the audience or, in any case, part of the audience had not heard of his name. Bacchylides' Athenian commissions suggest that he was famous in Athens and, consequently, known to the Athenian audience at least in the 470s-460s BC.[66] If Aristophanes included in his plays names and poetry his audience could recognise so that they would grasp the meaning of the inclusion, he could have legitimately included Bacchylides. The exclusion of Bacchylides from Aristophanes' plays could thus be accidental. On the other hand, Aristophanes composed over thirty years after Bacchylides' competition in Athens. His silence may mean lack of knowledge as much as lack of popularity at *that* particular period of time. We have to accept the possibility that Bacchylides' poetry was not popular at the time of Aristophanes or that it lacked specific characteristics that would have allowed Aristophanes to use his figure in his plays. But it is at least as likely that we should seek an explanation in the nature of Bacchylides' poetry,[67] since Aristophanes tends to include lyric poets for specific purposes related to the characteristics of poet or genre. Bacchylides' poetry may not have offered much to Aristophanes for potential use in his plays. We may get a clearer idea of at least part of the reason for Aristophanes' silence about Bacchylides if we take a look at the poetics and figures of Simonides and Pindar and at how and when they were used in Aristophanes.

It has become clear from the previous section that Simonides is the lyric poet most frequently named, parodied or ridiculed in Aristophanes' comedies. As we have seen, Simonides brought with him invaluable connotations of avarice largely connected with his role as the first poet who was paid by his patrons. Although biographical data and information in these anecdotes are not necessarily reliable, the fact that ancient sources, already from late fifth century,[68] turned Simonides into the greedy poet *par excellence* is of great importance. Thus, by including Simonides' persona and by referring to his name, Aristophanes could narrate a story in the most economical manner, since the essential features of this story would have been known to his audience. Simonides' figure came along with a precise narrative attached to it, thus it allowed Aristophanes to make jokes about what had already been established as part of the Simonidean tradition.

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[66] Chapters 1, pp.31-32, 36-37; 2.1, pp.57-58, 64-68.

[67] For Bacchylides' poetic characteristics, see pp.107-110.

[68] Σ. Ar. *Αν.*697 c-e, Xenophanes fr.21 W, T22 Campbell ὁ Σιμωνίδης διεβέβλητο ἐπὶ φιλαργυρίαι...καὶ <> μέμνηται ὃτι σμικρολόγος ἦν· ὅθεν ὁ Ξενοφάνης κίμβικα αὐτὸν προσαγορεύει. For a discussion of the particular scholion and of Xenophanes, Rawles (2006) 115-119.

Despite the fact that straightforward reference to Pindar's poetry was only made once in Aristophanes (*Av*.939), this mention is nonetheless particularly revealing. It is unquestionable not only in this scene in *Aves* but in other comedies as well that Aristophanes frequently alluded to and derived material from Pindar's poetry.[69] This leads us to question what Pindar's poetry as opposed to his figure, as in the case of Simonides, offered Aristophanes which motivated him to use it or make allusions to it in his comedies. Pindar is used neither as a poetic figure nor as a persona in Aristophanes, unlike Simonides. Thus, we must look exclusively into Pindaric poetics to explain allusions and references to his poetry.

There may be many reasons for Aristophanes' preference for Pindar. One of them may be Pindar's distinctive manner, a second one the great number of his epinician compositions, and lastly his affinities with comedy. Aristophanes might have chosen him as the reference point because Pindar was probably more familiar to the audience due to the distinctiveness of his poetic persona, which perhaps made him more easily memorable. The large number of epinician odes he composed, his flamboyant experimentations with the form of the victory ode, and the stretching of the epinician as a genre, may have equated his name with commission and composition of victory odes and turned Pindar into the principal poet for the genre of the victory ode.

Wilson, in discussing Pindar's reputation in antiquity, reasonably postulates that 'Pindar...plays [an] unusually conscious role in the founding of his own reputation'.[70] His poetry reveals a continuous and "visible" concern about poetics, about the struggle of the poet with the muse and with his free will, which has become an essential aspect of his persona and poetry. His dramatic attempts to control his own will and to restrain himself from alternative poetic paths not defined by the muse do, on the one hand, have his signature[71] but they did, on the other hand, become exemplary of the process of inspiration and poetic composition in general. Pindar anticipates the poetic ideals expressed by later poets. He manages to comprise in his

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[69] The scholia on Aristophanes' comedies are particularly helpful in this case. See Appendix I.1, pp.244-245. It is often the case that what Aristophanes borrowed from Pindar is metre and more specifically his dactylo-epitrite, e.g. *Av*.924-30, 936-9, 941-5, 950-3. On these passages and metrical analysis, Dunbar (1995)523-38.

[70] Wilson (1980) 103.

[71] 'Pindar himself offers one set of critical expectations, in which poetry and the poet have an autonomous status...' – Wilson (1980) 106.

poetry literary criticism and terms that will later on be used in a more systematic and conscious manner in literary theories.[72] This explicit concern about poetics, the exact placement of his poetry within and sometimes against poetic tradition, and also the distinctiveness of his persona in his poems could have been the reasons why Aristophanes preferred him over Bacchylides.

Aristophanes himself is a dramatist who is concerned with poetics, the process of poetic composition, the outcome of comic competition and lastly with the survival of his plays. This seems to have been a marked feature of Old Comedy as a genre.[73] All these issues become visible in his plays, as noted above, and are probably some of the core issues in his comedies. Although beliefs about poetic inspiration and composition had gradually changed from sixth to fifth century BC,[74] his counterpart when it comes to revealing the process of composition and the visibility of poetics within poetry is Pindar. Self-reflexivity is one of the most important distinctive features of Pindaric poetry. Pindar projects his persona in his poetry through the voice of his chorus, describes how his poetry was created and shaped into performance, and directs his audience on the way in which they have to perceive aspects of his poems, on how to perceive him as a poet and poetry as a whole.[75] For all the differences of genre, culture and audience, he is, in a way, the predecessor of Aristophanes in these features.[76] If we take into account comedy as a genre and its generic features - direct address to the audience, concern about the play's reception, invocations of the dramatist, revelation of the comic poet's persona and self-reflective comments[77] – the distinctive characteristics of Pindar as poet could, reasonably, have assigned him the role of the "predecessor" of some of comedy's generic features. Certainly it gives comedy a reason to take an interest in Pindar.

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[72] Richardson (1985) 394 – 'Pindar's comments on earlier poetic traditions anticipate the language of later literary critics.'
[73] On the self-referential element of old comedy, Sommerstein (1992).
[74] For detailed overviews of sixth- and fifth-century Greek views on poetry, Nagy (1989); Ford (2002); Ledbetter (2003).
[75] On Pindaric self-reflexivity, Scodel (1996); Carey (1999), (2000).
[76] Harriott (1986) 59-60 offers a general parallel between Pindar's and Aristophanes' self-praise; on the self-critical character of the *parabasis*, Hubbard (1991) 28-19.
[77] All these elements are particularly visible in the comic *parabasis*. E.g. *Acharnians*, *Equites*, *Vespae*, *Nubes*. On the *parabasis*, Sifakis (1971) 33-70; Hubbard (1991) 16-40.

Nonetheless, the question of recognition is central in a discussion about allusions[78] and intertextuality.[79] We cannot securely conclude that the audience would have recognised all citations of and hints at Pindaric poetry. If we accept that Aristophanes chose *him* amongst the epinician poets to allude to, then we have to assume that he would have expected these allusions to remind his audience, even vaguely, of that particular poet, if not of a particular poem.[80] Intertextual allusion was one aspect of the experience for those who recognised the text. But Aristophanes probably could not expect all his audience to recognise Pindar. It may have been enough, therefore, for many of the audience to recognise the grand style. The more prominent the persona of the poet within his own poetry though, the more distinctive he and his poetry become and presumably the easier it is for the audience to keep in their memory the poet and his poems for recollection when needed. This does not mean, though, that each time Aristophanes cited, parodied or used extracts from Pindar's poems the entire audience would have been able to call him to mind.

Bacchylides was evidently considerably less useful to comedy than either Simonides or Pindar, at least to judge from Aristophanes. We have already seen how biographical tradition and anecdotes were important not only to sketch a poet's profile but also to keep him "alive" and in memory for centuries. This tradition had made Simonides biographically and anecdotally useful, since it turned him into a poetic caricature suitable for the purposes of comic parody. Biographical tradition for Bacchylides might theoretically have made him worth including for anecdotal reasons, but the absence of a set of anecdotes for Bacchylides to serve as the basis of a "life story" reduced the chances for him to be included in Aristophanes' comedies. On the other hand, unlike Pindar, Bacchylides' persona and poetics were not distinctive and his poetry was not based on overt foregrounding of his *ethos* as the Pindaric ode. When it comes to genre-representativeness, Simonides and Pindar filled in the

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[78] According to Hinds (1998) 21-25, allusion defines the play between revelation and concealment and highlights relationship and communication between author and reader. It requires from the reader to go back to the models, which are controlled by the author, and to consult them through memory or physically in order to return and apply his observation on the text. '...an allusion is meaningful as an allusion only when the author knows exactly what it is that he is concealing and revealing; on those terms alone can the reader take up the implied challenge to interpret.' – ibid. 25.

[79] Intertextual reading is a multiple process in which recognition and interpretation of a text is achieved by reading it against the literary system. – Fowler (1997) 16.

[80] Fowler (1997) 15 points out that intertextuality is public and whether resemblances between two texts will count as an allusion is 'determined by the public competence of readers, not the private thoughts of writers.'

positions for old poets and composers of dithyrambs and victory odes, each for the above distinct reasons.[81] Aristophanes tended to go for distinct poetic characteristics, for the extreme and the different, for opposing poetic strands, and chose to dramatise the two ends of a continuous line with "genre" as the connecting point.

Tragedy is again a useful model here. Although tragedy is constantly a point of reference in comedy, the three tragedians are not treated in the same way in Aristophanes' comedies. Aristophanes continuously reflected on Euripides and on his dramatic art; Euripides kept being drawn into Aristophanic comedy and was, therefore, placed in a more "prominent" position. Apparently, his tragedies offered Aristophanes exactly what he needed. Euripides too is a flamboyant innovator, who plays overtly with the tropes of his genres. He stretched the defining lines of the tragic genre just as Pindar did with the victory ode. The *Ranae* is probably the most instructive comedy of Aristophanes' attitude towards all three tragedians. The main question that hovers over this particular comedy is the absence of Sophocles from the candidates for resurrection and, subsequently, for the title of the best tragedian. The elision of Sophocles by Aristophanes could be useful for our understanding of Bacchylides' exclusion from his comedies.

Sophocles, unlike Bacchylides, is mentioned by name in Aristophanic comedy.[82] Aristophanes speaks of Sophocles with respect and considers him one of the wise poets and second after Aeschylus, the great tragic poet. His absence, therefore, from the *Ranae* cannot be translated into contempt or ignorance. Nonetheless, he is marginalised.[83] The *agōn* in this particular comedy is not solely between two different poets but also between two completely different attitudes towards poetry and between two distinct eras in Athenian culture and life. These

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[81] For the elision of genre-representatives, cf. Sappho. Aristophanes possibly alludes twice to Sappho; Ar. *Eq.*730 Τίς, ὦ Παφλαγών, ἀδικεῖ σε; may suggest fr.1.19-20 *PLF* τίς σ' ὦ/ Ψάπφ' ἀδικήει; and Lys.839 ὀπτᾶν καὶ στρέφειν suggests Sappho fr.38 *PLF* ὄπταις ἄμμε, on which Müller (1974) 29-30. It is important, however, to bear in mind the possible distortions caused by our sources. In the case of Archilochus, who appears only tangentially in Aristophanes (he is cited in *Pax* 1298-9, 1301 but not by name) we have a corrective in Cratinus with his comedy *Archilochoi*, on which Bakola (2010) 70-79. It should be noted that absence from Aristophanes does not mean absence from Athens, as we can see from Sappho in later comedy. Poets of middle comedy (Antiphanes, Ameipsias, Amphis, Diphilos, Ephippus, and Timocles) wrote plays entitled *Sappho*, on which O'Higgins (2003) 123-125, 213n109.

[82] See Appendix I.2, p.245.

[83] Dover (1997) 5 conveniently suggests that Sophocles was still alive when Aristophanes started to compose his play and if he were to include Sophocles after his sudden death in 406 BC he had to make many changes to the play. However, the relative paucity of references to Sophocles compared with Euripides suggests that this is not an adequate answer. For counter-arguments, see pp.101-102.

attitudes and eras are divided by a major chronological gap, in which poetry's perception in Athenian life had altered. Aristophanes in *Ranae* displays his fondness for binary opposition and the need for stark and obvious contrasts to make his point.[84] Aeschylus' and Euripides' poetics, portrayed in the play as polar opposites,[85] frame the poetics of the absent Sophocles.

It is clear that Aristophanes was looking for radical features in every aspect of life: the gluttons, the extremely wealthy, the leading politicians who were notorious, scandalous[86] or more powerful and more successful than average.[87] His comedies demonstrate his constant attempt to place the innovative across and opposite the traditional, which, in most cases, was achieved by juxtaposing poetry that stretched the accepted limits with older poetic trends.[88] Sophocles is squashed in the middle between Aeschylus and Euripides, chronologically and poetically. This does not mean that he did not have his own style, but it definitely means that he was not an obvious representative of a specific era and of a specific poetic trend. As often is the case in naming lyric poets, Aristophanes needs representatives and the use of the names "Aeschylus" and "Euripides" would have been suggestive and instructive for the audience in the most economical way.[89] Aeschylus represented the old, heroic, moral and didactic era in contrast to Euripides' innovations, immoral characters, rhetoric and sophistry. Sophocles, although famous and productive, was the poet in the middle, representative of no distinctive poetic era for tragedy.

This could also be the case with Bacchylides. Everything Aristophanes needed existed already in the work and names of Simonides and Pindar. They may also have been more famous in Athens at that time or preferred for performance at symposia. If, as the surviving comedies indicate, Aristophanes was fond of binary opposition and of stark contrasts in literary history and poetry, these were to be found in the field of lyric poetry between the classic and traditional Archaic Lyric and the New Music.

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[84] Dover (1997) 6.

[85] For the issues raised at the *agōn* and the critical terminology used to define the essence of Aeschylus' and Euripides' poetry in the context of popular culture of those days, Dover (1997) 7-21.

[86] Sommerstein (1996) 327-329.

[87] Ibid. 334-337.

[88] E.g. Euripides is constantly accused of staging passionate women surrendered to their passion. Aristophanes conveniently forgets Clytemnestra in the *Agamemnon,* or Deianeira in Sophocles' *Trachiniae*. Euripides is mentioned as the poet *par excellence* of this representation because he had staged female passion in absolute transparency.

[89] On the dramatic effects of names and naming in Aristophanes, Olson (1992).

Pindar and Simonides, and the rest of the lyric poets Aristophanes mentions, were most definitely representatives of the old era of lyric, and the poets of the New Dithyramb served his purposes when it came to contrasting lyric features. Bacchylides seems to have been the poet in the middle, if we are to judge him within the trio of the pan-Hellenic international poets. Was he not to be used as a representative of the classical lyric style?

A hint of Bacchylides?

I have argued that Aristophanes must have known Bacchylides. We may not have to rely solely on conjecture to establish Aristophanes' knowledge of Bacchylides and at least some familiarity from his audience. The *Aves* is doubtlessly the most helpful comedy in our case. Constant allusions to music[90] help us understand the use of lyric poets in Aristophanes. The new city is visited by two poets; the unnamed poet who praises the city and leaves after he is given new clothes (*Av*.905-959) and the poet Kinesias who wants to gain feathers in order to get inspired and compose in the skies (*Av*.1373-1409). Dunbar has claimed that Kinesias' language is close to Bacchylides' *Ode 5*.16-33,[91] but does not attempt to analyse the association. Confirmation of her claim would eliminate assumptions on Bacchylides' absence from the Aristophanic comedy and would cast some light on what Bacchylides and his poetry meant for Aristophanes. When looking at these passages we should take into account the transformation of poetry and music, which ultimately led to the New Music and the New Dithyramb.

<div align="center">

χρυσάμπυκος Οὐρανίας
κλεινὸς θεράπων· ἐθέλει δὲ
γᾶρυν ἐκ στηθέων χέων
αἰνεῖν Ἱέρωνα. βαθὺν
δ' αἰθέρα ξουθαῖσι τάμνων
ὑψοῦ πτερύγεσσι ταχεί-
αις αἰετὸς εὐρυάνακτος ἄγγελος
Ζηνὸς ἐρισφαράγου θαρ-
σεῖ κρατερᾷ πίσυνος

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[90] Barker (2004) 185.
[91] Dunbar (1995) 665.

<div align="center">

ἰσχύϊ, πτάσσοντι δ' ὄρνι-
χες λιγύφθογγοι φόβωι·

(B.5.13-23)

</div>

<div align="center">

The famous servant of Urania with her golden headband...
wishes to pour a flood of speech from his heart
in praise of Hieron.
Cleaving the deep heaven messenger with tawny swift wings on high
the eagle of wide-ruling loud-thundering Zeus is confident,
trusting in his mighty strength,
and clear-voiced birds cowed with fear.

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ΚΙ.	ἀναπέτομαι δὴ πρὸς Ὄλυμπον πτερύγεσσι κούφαις·
	πέτομαι δ' ὁδὸν ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἄλλαν μελέων—[92]
ΠΙ.	Τουτὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα φορτίου δεῖται πτερῶν.
ΚΙ.	ἀφόβῳ φρενὶ σώματί τε νέαν ἐφέπων —

<div align="center">

(Av.1373-76)

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CI: See, I soar up to Olympus on weightless wings,
    I soar now on this path of song, and now on that –
P: This here's going to take a whole load of wings
CI: with fearless mind and body in quest of a new path.

ΚΙ.	Ὄρνις γενέσθαι βούλομαι
	λιγύφθογγος ἀηδών.
ΠΙ.	Παῦσαι μελῳδῶν, ἀλλ' ὅ τι λέγεις εἰπέ μοι.
ΚΙ.	Ὑπὸ σοῦ πτερωθεὶς βούλομαι μετάρσιος
	ἀναπτόμενος ἐκ τῶν νεφελῶν καινὰς λαβεῖν
	ἀεροδονήτους καὶ νιφοβόλους ἀναβολάς.

<div align="center">

(Av. 1379-85)

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CI: I wish to become a bird,
        A clear-voiced nightingale.
P: Stop that vocalizing, and tell me what you're saying.
CI: I want wings from you, to fly on high and snatch from the
        clouds fresh preludes air-popelled and snowswept.

ΚΙ.	τοτὲ μὲν νοτίαν στείχων πρὸς ὁδόν,
	τοτὲ δ' αὖ βορέᾳ σῶμα πελάζων

$$\dot{\alpha}\lambda\dot{\iota}\mu\varepsilon\nu\text{o}\nu\ \alpha\dot{\iota}\theta\dot{\varepsilon}\rho\text{o}\varsigma\ \alpha\ddot{\upsilon}\lambda\alpha\kappa\alpha\ \tau\dot{\varepsilon}\mu\nu\omega\nu.$$

(*Av*.1398-1400)

CI: first travelling a southerly course,
            then swinging my body northwards,
      cleaving a harborless furrow of sky.

Though one can never be sure in the absence of direct quotation (there is also too little similarity of detail to allow one to judge confidently),[93] the language here is highly suggestive. In both passages the main theme is flying and reaching the sky and similarities in language and thought are remarkable. Both Bacchylides and Kinesias portray their desire to sing. The theme of patronage is accompanied by the will of the poet in both cases. Where Bacchylides uses the eagle as an implicit symbol of the poet and to express the poet's self-confidence in his task to praise Hieron,[94] Aristophanes' passage makes the connotations clearer and more explicit. It seems that he has taken the main ideas employed in Bacchylides and has extended and clarified their meaning. Although the poet assimilated to the eagle *par excellence* is Pindar,[95] the extended description of the poet as bird is suggestive of Bacchylides.

Similarities between the two passages are more striking in terms of language and imagery than parallel content and context. Both content and context can be justified within the whole frame of this comedy and its "birdy" and light-toned essence. Kinesias has expanded, in a random order, on the main ideas in Bacchylides' passage. As the eagle cleaves the deep heavens with his feathers, Kinesias flies from north to south across the infinite ether and flutters along the thousand paths of poetry just as Bacchylides' muse can choose from many and different paths to praise Hieron's virtue.[96] Whereas in Bacchylides the emphasis is placed on the fear the eagle's grand flying causes to the 'clear-voiced' birds, Kinesias underlines his fearless flight stimulated by his new poetry. He wants to become a 'clear-voiced' nightingale,

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[93] According to Hinds (1998) 120, allusive relationship 'is built upon a perception of similarity and a perception of difference' and these two qualities have to be balanced in order not to turn the figure into mere repetition or to remove elements of intertextuality.

[94] On the image of the eagle in Bacchylides, Lefkowitz (1969) 53-57 and Pfeijffer (1994) 316-317 who argues that it is retrospectively applied to the poet.

[95] Σ. Pi. *O*.2.157a *κόρακες: ...ὡς κόρακες πρὸς ἀετὸν ἀντιβοῶντες...Αἰνίττεται Βακχυλίδην καὶ Σιμωνίδην, ἑαυτὸν λέγων ἀετόν, κόρακας δὲ τοὺς ἀντιτέχνους*; Σ. *N*.3.143 *κραγέται δὲ κολοιοὶ ταπεινὰ νέμονται: ...παραβάλλει δὲ αὑτὸν μὲν ἀετῷ, κολοιῷ δὲ Βακχυλίδην*; Σ. *N*.5.39 *καὶ πέραν πόντοιο πάλλοντ᾽αἰετοί: ...καὶ ἐγὼ οὖν ὡς ἀετὸς πελαγιῶ ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασιν*. On the image of the eagle in Pindar, Pfeijffer (1994) 305-315; on whether the eagle is applied or not to Pindar, Stoneman (1976) and Bernadini (1977).

[96] B.5.31-33 *τὼς νῦν καὶ <ἐ>μοὶ μυρία πάντα κέλευθος/ ὑμετέραν ἀρετὰν/ ὑμνεῖν...*

an adjective Bacchylides uses of himself in B.10.10 'a clear-voiced bee' - λιγύφθογγον μέλισσαν. The Homeric adjective λιγύφθογγον is used nowhere else in surviving lyric poetry (choral or monodic), whereas Bacchylides uses it twice. Bacchylides is also the only lyric poet who uses the nightingale image – B.3.97-98 καὶ μελιγλώσσου τις ὑμνήσει χάριν/ Κηΐας ἀηδόνος. The image of the nightingale accompanied by this particular adjective is used to describe Bacchylides in two different passages, while the two are combined in Kinesias' words. These details are thus suggestive of direct imitation and adaptation of distinctive Bacchylidean features.

When considering this scene one should take into account many different features. Firstly, the poet parodied in this scene is a contemporary Athenian poet. Secondly, he is a dithyrambic poet – Av.1388 Τῶν διθυράμβων γὰρ τὰ λαμπρὰ γίγνεται, Av.1403f Ταυτὶ πεποίηκας τὸν κυκλιοδιδάσκαλον,/ ὃς ταῖσι φυλαῖς περιμάχητός εἰμ' ἀεί; - and not an epinician poet. The latter by default is not a problem, since he is nonetheless a lyric poet. Richard Martin insists that, in contrast to the unnamed poet in the previous scene, Kinesias is not a wandering poet but a *kukliodidaskalos*.[97] Nevertheless, it is important that Kinesias is one of the representatives of the New Music. Thirdly, it is noteworthy that this scene comes immediately after the appearance of another unnamed poet who represents traditional lyric poetry. Fourthly, the way Kinesias is handled by Peisetairos in comparison to his behaviour towards the preceded poet is significant.

Juxtaposition and comparison of both scenes with poetic representatives in *Aves* demonstrate Aristophanes' attitude towards poetry and music and the way he ponders upon old and new music. Aristophanes undoubtedly illustrates the musical mannerism of the late fifth century. His musical and poetic criticism mainly focuses on the innovations introduced in poetry in the late fifth-century and foremost on the new dithyrambic music and the modern tragic scene.[98] Kinesias presumably appears on stage as the representative of the poetic innovations of the New Music, but at the same time he uses language derived from the poetry of Bacchylides, a poet of the classical era of lyric poetry. Fusion of features from diverse poetic manners - New

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[97] Martin (2009) 91. His preoccupation with *kuklioi khoroi*, suggests Martin (p.92), is more elusively indicated by the fact that his plan of getting wings stops when Peisetairos gives him a *khoregos* and a tribe of birds (*Av*.1405-07).
[98] Zimmermann (1993a) 43-45.

Dithyramb, Bacchylides and Anacreon[99] - creates a musical pastiche. Uttered by Kinesias in a random order, Bacchylides' verses become part of the New Music and gain a completely different resonance from the one they had in the original text.[100] Ridicule of Kinesias and parody of his verses by Peisetairos does not necessarily mean mockery of the poetry of Bacchylides nor does it mean rejection. It is of fundamental importance to take into account that the passage Aristophanes uses is one of the most vivid and energetic descriptions in Bacchylides and probably in the entire corpus of epinician poetry. This may be no more than exploitation of a "purple passage" in a new context. The fact that Bacchylidean hints are employed in the section with Kinesias and not where the caricature of the archaic epinician poet was on stage is puzzling. However, synthesis of verses from a classical ode in the voice of a modern lyric poet could point to the way Aristophanes perceived Bacchylides and his poetry – a mixture between old and new lyric, tradition and innovation.

In light of recent discussions on the role of musicians and pipers in the New Dithyramb, Barker has postulated that the nightingale is an enigmatic figure in Aristophanes' *Aves*.[101] After a close examination of vv.209-22 and vv.665-84, he suggested that Aristophanes associates it with the new dithyramb and the degraded state of music. His conclusions, which seem plausible, suggest an additional meaning to the phrase λιγύφθογγος ἀηδών of Kinesias. The combination of a Homeric/Bacchylidean adjective with the bird that symbolises new music in the particular comedy points to the combination between old lyric and new dithyramb on stage; more particularly, it may point to the peculiar status of the poet Bacchylides and his poetry within the group of lyric poets. The altered Bacchylidean phrase λιγύφθογγον μέλισσαν gains an additional resonance within the comic context of the particular scene; it is suggestive of the nature of Bacchylides' poetry or at least of its character according to Aristophanes.

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[99] Ar. *Av*.1372-74 ~ Anacreon fr.378 *PMG*, 24 *PLG*, 52D ἀναπέτομαι δὴ πρὸς Ὄλυμπον πτερύγεσσι κούφηις/ διὰ τὸν Ἔρωτ'· οὐ γὰρ ἐμοὶ <‑◡> θέλει συνηβᾶν.
[100] '...if allusion is defined as a condensation of language and meaning in which one text (the alluding text) incorporates elements of another (the model text), *either* the alluding text *or* the model text is accorded the privilege of a systematic reading - but not both at the same time. Either the *incorporating* text is read systematically, with the incorporated text fragmented into discrete events "alluded to", or the *incorporated* text is read systematically, with the incorporating text fragmented into discrete acts of allusive gesturing.' - Hinds (1998) 101. Difference is important not only for the meaning of the target but also for our perception of it and of the scene in which it is used. – Fowler (1997) 18.
[101] Barker (2004).

If we take a look at Bacchylides' poetry, we can see that he worked within the established lyric tradition, but he also attempted to re-work and experiment with that particular tradition in an innovative manner. Some characteristic features of his poetry seem to point toward developments in the New Music, which has led to his characterisation by modern authors as one of the pioneers of the New Music,[102] in spite of some key differences between Bacchylides and the New Dithyramb. Some of the most important innovations New Music introduced to the established lyric genres were theatricality, virtuosity of performance, music volubility, variety, versatility and poetic ornamentation.[103] It has long been recognised that one of the main features of Bacchylides' poetry is *enargeia*,[104] achieved through decorative elements,[105] 'graceful leisureliness, fullness and clarity of detail',[106] and stylistic ornamentation. The use of new-fashioned epithets and detailed descriptions lend the poems a seductive imagery[107] with *poikilia* as its main aesthetic effect.[108] Theatricality and dramatic mimesis are two of the main features of Bacchylides' poetry, since his mythical narratives are often "staged" as small dramas. His interest in *ethopoeia* – one of the main quest of the New Music[109] - is revealed through his ability to expose his

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[102] Zimmermann (1992) 116, Bacchylides 'doch anders als der Thebaner war er offen für die modernen Einflüsse des Dramas, so dass er mit seinen Dichtungen ein Wegbereiter der folgenden Dithyrambikergeneration, der Periode des Neuen Dithyrambos', (1993b) 54 'In der Generation der jungattischen Dithyrambiker schlägt das Pendel, das Bakchylides in der Mitte zwischen den Polen hält und Pindar zurück zu dem kultischen Pol stoßen will, ganz in die Richtung der Ästhetik aus.'

[103] West (1992) 44. For a detailed account of the characteristics of the New Music, Zimmermann (1992) 118-128, Csapo (2004) 207-229; for a short overview of the changing process of the dithyramb between the fifth and second centuries, Zimmermann (1993b) 51-54; Ieranò (1997) 37-48, 205-232 gathers and analyses the relevant testimonia on the innovations introduced by the New Dithyramb.

[104] Kirkwood (1966) 98-101.

[105] A statistical analysis by Garcia Romero (2000) 51n15 shows that 62% of substantives in Bacchylides' dithyrambs are qualified by one or more adjectives in contrast to Pindar's dithyrambs where the percentage is 47.6%. If we extend the quest to the victory odes, Bacchylides' odes appear to be more decorative with 48.7% in comparison to 44.5% in Pindar.

[106] Segal (1985) 235.

[107] 'Una poesia piú attenta ai valori formali, agli effetti fonici e cromatici attraverso una ricca aggrettivazione con la presenza di frequenty ἅπαξ λεγόμενα, la vigile collocazione degli epiteti e la ricerca di neologismi e nuove connotazioni semantiche in funzione prevalentemente psicologica e descrittiva; una poesia fruibile, che doveva esigene dall' uditorio una compartecipazione piú emotiva che intelletuale.' - Gentili&Catenacci (2007) 341.

[108] The New Music appealed 'to senses, especially to the ears and eye of the mind.' – Csapo (2004) 227. West (1992) 363 characterises the language of Timotheus' *Persae* as elaborate, exuberant, highly-coloured and with tendency to concentrate on pictorial details in his narrative.

[109] Csapo (2004) 228.

characters' psychological situation, their *pathos* and their dilemmas through emotional and detailed descriptions.[110]

Bacchylides' use of epithets and his graceful decorative narrative are probably the most important aspects of his poetry that point forward to the New Dithyramb. It has been reasonably claimed that Bacchylides concentrates more than Pindar on storytelling, which becomes fluid and graceful through his epithets, especially through their intensity and abundance,[111] 'richness and lushness.'[112] Concentration on the graphic aspects of the story creates an ornate texture in his narrative.[113] As Segal and Lefkowitz have observed, the combination noun-epithet in Bacchylides results in a 'decorative individualising lushness',[114] which, apart from any decorative aspect, also has a thematic function.[115] His epithets 'highlight particular details and thereby enhance the emotional vibrancy and the pathetic contrast sought by the lyric style.'[116] Abundance of epithets slows down the action and creates a pause in the narrative, which forces us to become conscious of the details.[117] Additionally, Segal observes that one can find in Bacchylides nineteen odd-compound epithets[118] that are not present in other poetry. Segal has claimed that most of the new poets have carried on the literary dithyramb as Bacchylides did by relating 'mythical tales in a decorative style and with a certain amount of dialogue,'[119] which again gives him the role of pioneer in the musical evolution of the fifth century.

Moreover, Csapo draws attention to the differentiation of roles within the chorus during the performance of the New Dithyramb often 'at the cost of the chorus' traditional unity'[120] and links this quality with direct speech and the introduction of recitative verse. Performance of Bacchylides' *Ode 18* is a problematic issue, since Bacchylides seems to be experimenting with the form of the ode. But it is obvious that

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[110] 'La narrazione connota la profonda differenza tra l'epinicio pindarico e quello bacchilideo, nel quale spiccano l'analisi psicologica dei personaggi e gli aspetti patetici e drammatici dell'azione.'- Gentili&Catenacci (2007) 341.
[111] Segal (1976) 101.
[112] Segal (1985) 235
[113] Segal (1976) 107.
[114] Segal (1985) 238.
[115] Lefkowitz (1969) 67-68, 84-86.
[116] Segal (1985) 238.
[117] Segal (1976) 101, 107.
[118] Segal (1985) 237. His compound epithets are constructed with elements denoting dark, crimson, and shining (κυανο-/ φοινικο-/ ἀγλαο-).
[119] Segal (1985) 772.
[120] Csapo (2004) 214.

Bacchylides breaks, if not the unity of his chorus, at least the unity of their voice and role. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the dialogic form of the poem follows tragic patterns and this could have been the manner in which the contemporary audience might have perceived it. It is quite possible, however, that Aristophanes perceived the ode as an experiment with the dithyramb *per se*, similar to the manner in which the New Poets experimented with its form. Likewise, this structural independence from the norm of the traditional dithyramb creates additional perplexity for attempts to define generic boundaries.[121] The Platonic school of thought condemned the New Music and its representatives because – as Plato saw it[122] - their aim was public song to be performed solely to please their audience.[123] Consequently, they sacrificed the content of their song to make music prominent in their poems, and they experimented with generic characteristics that resulted in the blending of traditional lyric genres.[124] Bacchylides in many respects often appears to be at odds with the New Music; for example, he is metrically very regular, he does not abandon strophic structure nor does he use anabolai in his poems. Accordingly, though we should accept the possibility that Bacchylides may be associated in Aristophanes' mind with the New Music, this does not make him one of the New Poets.

As one may conclude from the treatment of poetry in comedy, Aristophanes, and comedy as a whole (irrespective of any "real" vies of its exponents), is as conservative as Plato and his Academy when it comes to the way in which good poetry should be written. Bacchylides could have been a puzzling case for him. He was a poet that in many ways belonged in the same category as Simonides and Pindar – his poetry was traditional, commissioned by great patrons, composed and performed in the classical era - but he nonetheless attempted new things that could have then been considered radical. It could be that, for Aristophanes, lyric poetry was only to be divided in two groups, in the same way as tragedy should only have two distinctive poets: old and respectful classic lyric poetry against new and innovative music both

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[121] Although a Hellenistic problem, collision of opinions on the genre of Bacchylides' *Cassandra* could also be part of his stylistic experimentations. For the specific issue, chapter 6, pp.221-222, 232-233.

[122] On resistance to the New Music, ibid. 369-372; on favourable criticism of the New Music, West (1992) 371-72, e.g. A character in Antiphanes fr.207 *PCG* praises Philoxenus as the best of poets; Xen. *Mem*.1.4.3 Ἐπὶ μὲν/ τοίνυν ἐπῶν ποιήσει Ὅμηρον ἔγωγε μάλιστα τεθαύμακα,/ἐπὶ δὲ διθυράμβῳ Μελανιππίδην, ἐπὶ δὲ τραγῳδίᾳ Σοφοκλέα,/ἐπὶ δὲ ἀνδριαντοποιίᾳ Πολύκλειτον, ἐπὶ δὲ ζωγραφίᾳ Ζεῦξιν. On Plato's views on the New Music, chapter 4.1, pp.146-153.

[123] Their music did become popular with the public and therefore 'accepted as canonical.' - West (1992) 371.

[124] Pl. *Lg*.700d-e κεραννύντες δὲ θρήνους τε ὕμνοις καὶ παίωνας διθυράμβοις...

precisely differentiated. Thus, anything in between these two distinct groups did not serve his purposes. As it seems, Bacchylides could not have been classified in Aristophanes' comedies as representative either of the old or the new, since his poetry was not a clear case; it existed at the edges of both trends.[125] He was lyric but in a Homeric manner and he experimented with form, notions and modes of established lyric poetry. His experimentations eventually became distinctive features of the New Music. If Bacchylides was best known in Athens for his Athenian civic commissions, the tendency to see him as in some way resembling the New Music would have been strengthened. It was especially with his *dithyrambic* compositions that his modern-new-musical tendencies were associated. Co-existence of these elements turns him into a puzzling figure in the canon of lyric poets. Consequently, it does not allow Aristophanes to use him as representative of either group. In this sense, Bacchylides could have been perceived as the boundary between the two poetic styles and simultaneously the mélange of the characteristic features of both groups. He was therefore not useful to Aristophanes who distinguished in his text[126] Archaic and Classical lyric poetry from New Music precisely and accurately.

Above and beyond the specific case of Bacchylides, one important aspect of this chapter is the value of Aristophanes as evidence for the reception of lyric. We can reasonably conclude that poets and works cited were in circulation in some form in the fifth century. Furthermore, we can deduce that some poets had become classic names, even if we must accept the possibility that for some, perhaps many, in Aristophanes' audience they were no more than names. His citations are not without value as evidence, but the nature of that evidence needs to be kept constantly in view when reconstructing a history of reception. The fact that everything serves a purpose within the Aristophanic rhetoric means that no "fact" is ever transparent. We cannot, for instance, use the text to establish the relative frequency of citation or to determine the relative popularity of specific genres (as we can with Plutarch), and the partiality (in both senses) of the evidence means that silence tells us very little.

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[125] With reference to Bacchylides' *dithyrambs*, Garcia Romero (2000) has placed them in a medial position and has already claimed that they are essential documents for understanding the evolution of the genre - form and content.

[126] '...the alluding poet is ultimately and necessarily a figure whom we ourselves read out from the text...' – Hinds (1998) 50.

Chapter 3

Herodotus and the poets[1]

We have so far experienced lyric survival and transmission through Athenian eyes and concentrated on lyric reception by Athenian audiences. We are not, however, entirely dependent on Athenian sources for evidence of fifth-century responses to archaic texts. At this point it becomes necessary to broaden the scope of our study by complementing our Athenian texts with non-Athenian sources. Although, as will become evident in due course, Greek literature and poetry were mainly transmitted through an Athenian filter, they were also dispersed to a broader audience and within wider spatial horizons. One should not always think of diffusion to Athens, and any broader diffusion and reception, as being independent or distinct from one another. Instead, it is necessary to recognise a degree of continuity and frequent interdependence. The spatial differentiation of our sources and subsequently the diversity of their audiences are essential in order to satisfy questions of survival and transmission. Different locales within the broad Greek audience matter enormously, as we attempt to understand the processes through which texts become known and travelled beyond a poet's home *polis*, beyond mainland Greece, and perhaps most significantly beyond Athens.

Herodotus provides an important testimony for our understanding of poetic survival. He is not less interested in a wider Greek audience than the lyric poets themselves (though less explicitly), and his audience can reasonably be considered to be pan-Hellenic.[2] Herodotus has a larger Greek audience in mind.[3] His programmatic proem, which distinguishes between the deeds of Greeks (in general) and barbarians, suggests that Herodotus' work was not constrained to a specific cultural or geographical locality, but dealt with broader issues of universal interest, consequently aimed at various cultures and localities – τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων. The narrative

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[1] The title is taken from Ford (2008), who offers a useful outline of the relationship of Herodotus with his poetic predecessors.

[2] For the distinction between local (represented among Herodotus' predecessors by, for instance, Charon of Lampsacus, Ion of Chios, Euagon of Samos, Deioclus of Cyzicus, Eudemus of Paros, Democles of Phygela, Hellanicus of Lesbos, Damastes of Sigeion, Xenomedes of Ceos, and Xanthus the Lydian) and Hellenic history, see Clarke (2008) 175-193.

[3] '...Herodotus' implied audience is all of the Greeks.' – Fowler (2001) 108. Goldhill (2002) 19 argues for an Athenian audience for Herodotus' *Histories* due to the anecdotal tradition that Herodotus visited Athens and due to the cultural importance of Athens. This is to elevate anecdote over the evidence of the text. Although he points out (p.16) that one can see a development of Greek self-presentation and cultural identity throughout Herodotus' *Histories*, he fails to see internal evidence in Herodotus' writings that works in favour of the assumption of a broader Greek audience.

itself and the attitude of Herodotus towards certain communities or cities – the Ionians, Athens, Sparta, Aegina or Corinth for example - suggests that he is not writing for one specific local audience nor does he exclude any groups. He frequently explains local features, terms, and traditions as well as topography[4] immediately intelligible to – and therefore needing no explanation for - a local audience.[5] Consequently, Herodotus offers us a great opportunity to see lyric (and other) poetry within a very broad landscape, both geographical and cultural.

Herodotus has a relationship with the poetic tradition that is both ambiguous and ambivalent. He belongs in the period of the Ionian intellectual revolution within which intellectual, cultural, religious inheritance, and current knowledge were tested and examined.[6] This revolution, beginning in the sixth century, examined the past - as it assessed the present - through the criteria of probability and consistency. One prominent aspect of this movement was an intellectual competitiveness with predecessors that relied 'on observation and recordings... [and] on the promulgation of an explanatory system that was based on reliance on visual and verifiable phenomena.'[7] The goal of the strand formulated by the Ionian revolution was to understand through inquiry of the human and natural worlds, an inquiry based on observation and analysis of current and established wisdom. This process often resulted in the rejection of well-established concepts.[8] Herodotus (and the rise of historiography more generally) belongs in this era of critical inquiry and questioning. This empirical and rational approach to the past distinguished Herodotean historiography from the poetic narrative tradition, whose purpose, as Marincola notes, was the recollection and glorification of the heroic past.[9] Interestingly, Herodotus' relationship with poetry, especially the Homeric epic, is not simply one of opposition.[10] Differentiations between poetry and historiography do not exist *a priori* but come into being gradually, when the genre of historiography takes over the task of past memorialisation. Herodotus is simultaneously epic and non-epic. He is epic in the

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[4] E.g. 2.97 (Nile/Aegean islands), 4.99.13-15 (Taurian peninsula).
[5] Fowler (2001) 108.
[6] Marincola (2001) 14. Thomas (2000) argues that 'it is too narrow to see Herodotus in terms of an "Ionian tradition" of historiography' and emphasises the role of an Ionian tradition of "science" (p.15 with n44). For reconstructing the intellectual milieu, Fowler (1996).
[7] Marincola (2001) 15. On the originality of Herodotus' narrative, Dewald (2006).
[8] Marincola (2001) 14-15.
[9] Ibid.11-14, 18.
[10] On convergences and similarities with epic, Boedeker (2002) 97-109.

diachronic value and the scale of the stories he narrates, to some extent in form[11] but mainly in aim, as he seeks (in part) to fulfil the Homeric goal:[12] to glorify and preserve in memory the great deeds of Greeks and barbarians – *proemium* ὡς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηνται...μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τα καὶ θωμαστά...ἄκλεα γένηται.[13] Herodotus is non-epic primarily in that he brings causation to the forefront, in his disavowal of authorial omniscience,[14] and, most importantly, in his sources[15] and methods; Herodotus replaces the omniscience of the invoked Muse with a narrator-observer who struggles for mastery,[16] estimating and investigating (ἱστορίη),[17] passing on what he can evaluate (γνώμη), what he has heard (ἀκοή) and experienced (ὄψις). This particular "fluctuation" explains Herodotus' explicit distancing of himself from – and his condescension towards – the poets.[18]

The relation of Herodotus to poetry is more complex than distancing and dismissal.[19] It is essential to understand not only how and where Herodotus places his *Histories* in the poetic continuum, but also the manner in which he uses previous literature in his narrative. Our general purpose is to examine his use of lyric poets and lyric poetry.[20] Such a quest will outline what was known from literary genres – specifically lyric, iambos, and elegy - and perhaps what kind of poetry circulated beyond Athens. The more specific aim is to assess the extent to which hints or allusions to Bacchylides' poetry in the *Histories* may provide evidence for knowledge and diffusion of his poems in Greece at large. Though my interest is specifically in

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[11] Griffiths (2006) 135 points out that the overall structure of the *Histories*, where a simple plot-core expands by the addition of supplementary material and the use of ring-composition, is adapted from the Homeric model.

[12] Goldhill (2002) 30.

[13] On the proem, Fowler (2006) 31; Van Wees (2002) 324, 328-349.

[14] On Herodotus' idiosyncratic authorial persona, Dewald (2002).

[15] On Herodotus' sources of information, Fowler (1996); Hornblower (2002). Shrimpton&Gillis (1997) 230-265 question Fehling's scepticism (1989) towards the credibility of Herodotus' sources. The methodology they employed for their statistical analysis of Herodotus' source citations is very useful in understanding what we actually mean by the term "source".

[16] Goldhill (2002) 22. Marincola (1997) 8 rightly emphasises that Herodotus has 'a constant and direct relationship with his material, ensuring that he, the narrator, was recognised as the medium, the authority, through which the deeds became know and celebrated.'

[17] On the meaning of ἱστορίη in Herodotus, Bakker (2002) 13-19.

[18] Boedeker (2002) 108; Marincola (2006) 15.

[19] Bakker (2002) 8 rightly points out that Herodotus' position 'between the poetic tradition of the past and the intellectual development of the present is by no means clear.' E.g. Use of Homer in matters geographical (Ocean) 2.23, "scientific" 4.29, and "ethnographic" 4.32.

[20] Hornblower (2002) 373 provides a useful terminology of the term intertextuality in Herodotus; 'Herodotus' relationship to his literary sources (the relationship of his text to other texts) and to his oral sources (one aspect of the relationship of his text to the world).'

lyric, I shall use non-lyric texts where these allow us a glimpse of diffusion and transmission.

Poets and poetry in Herodotus

Though Herodotus' relationship to Homer[21] and tragedy[22] has been much discussed, less attention has been paid to his relation to lyric. His *Histories* prove that Herodotus was well-versed in a wide range of literary genres,[23] as he cites and mentions a number of poets.[24] Herodotus incorporates in his narrative the names of poets, and refers directly or indirectly to their poetry mainly to support an argument. He often treats them as temporal termini, or he places them in his narrative at and as the climax of a narration. Lyric poets sometimes figure as characters in his narrative, and they are also very often used as sources. Herodotus' authoritative statement in 6.52 that no poet hands down what the Lacedaemonians say - Λακεδαιμόνιοι γὰρ ὁμολογέοντες οὐδενὶ ποιητῇ λέγουσι – reveals that he often uses poetry as a source for factual elements in his narrative. The events about which Herodotus talks in this context are from the very distant past, what we may call the mythic past, and he is therefore forced to rely on poetry. The cases of Homer and Hesiod reinforce the above assumption; for some periods and events there was nothing for Herodotus but poetry. They also add an additional feature; Herodotus does not regard poetry as a transparently reliable source.[25] When he elaborates on the tradition of Helen, he emphasises how he heard from the priests at the altar of Aphrodite in Egypt that Helen did not go to Troy but stayed with Proteus in Egypt. Cartledge and Greenwood rightly claim that for this narrative 'Herodotus shifts between alleged certainties and the stuff of myth.'[26] Although Herodotus mentions that the unsuitable nature of this story prevented Homer from using it in his epic poem (2.116.1), he is very happy to critique

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[21] [Long.] Subl. 13.3. Ἡρόδοτος Ὁμηρικώτατος ἐγένετο. Marincola (2006) 13.

[22] Ibid. 13-14 and 24-25 for relevant bibliography. Moral patterns of tragedy can also be seen in the verbal and thematic correspondence between books 7-9 and Aeschylus' *Persae*. On Herodotus and tragedy, Kornanou (2004); Griffin (2006).

[23] Marincola (2006) 13 rightly points out that Herodotus was not equally influenced by all poetic genres.

[24] Aeschylus 2.156; Alcaeus 5.95; Anacreon 3.121; Archilochus 1.12; Arion 1.23; Aristeas 4.13-16; Hesiod 2.53, 4.32; Homer 2.23, 2.53, 2.116, 4.29-32, 7.161; Homeric Hymns 5.67; Epic Cycle 2.117; Phrynichus 6.21; Pindar 3.38; Sappho 2.135; Simonides 5.102, 7.228; Solon 1.29-34, 1.86, 2.177, 5.113.

[25] Grethlein (2010) 152.

[26] Cartledge&Greenwood (2002) 355.

the Iliadic version.[27] But although Herodotus questions the reliability of Homer, he does not challenge the historicity of his tales.[28] Herodotus appears to have it both ways; he juxtaposes poetic artistic resources and 'intimations of critical distance from these very resources'[29], and he is constantly concerned about the limitations that exist in knowledge of events from the past.[30]

Herodotus incorporates the lyric poets in his work in various ways, and the narrative often reveals different kinds of motives for their mention. He draws both on the biography and poetry of the lyric poets. On occasion biographical details are mentioned as part of the narrative, whereas in other cases these references to lyric poets imply their use as sources. As the passages below suggest, references to the lyric poets are often *obiter dicta* and are partly based on biographical details partly interpreted as source markers.

Οἱ δὲ ἐλάσσονες λέγουσι πέμψαι Ὀροίτεα ἐς Σάμον κήρυκα ὅτευ δὴ χρήματος δεησόμενον (οὐ γὰρ ὦν δὴ τοῦτό γε λέγεται), καὶ τὸν Πολυκράτεα τυχεῖν κατακείμενον ἐν ἀνδρεῶνι, παρεῖναι δέ οἱ καὶ Ἀνακρέοντα τὸν Τήιον·

(Hdt.3.121)

The mention of Anacreon adds a degree of precision and plausibility to the narrative; it may suggest that Anacreon's poetry was the source of the information. It is also plausible that some aspects of Anacreon's biography (e.g. his presence in Polycrates' court) and the nature of patronage in the late archaic period were broadly known.

Ῥοδῶπις δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκετο Ξάνθεω τοῦ Σαμίου κομίσαντος [μιν], ἀπικομένη δὲ κατ᾿ ἐργασίην ἐλύθη χρημάτων μεγάλων ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Μυτιληναίου Χαράξου τοῦ Σκαμανδρωνύμου παιδός, ἀδελφεοῦ δὲ Σαπφοῦς τῆς μουσοποιοῦ...Χάραξος δὲ ὡς λυσάμενος Ῥοδῶπιν ἀπενόστησε ἐς Μυτιλήνην, ἐν μέλεϊ Σαπφὼ πολλὰ κατεκερτόμησέ μιν.

(Hdt.2.135)

The above passage is perhaps an implied source-citation, since the biographical details used to identify the individual concerned probably derived from Sappho's

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[27] 'Criticizing myths did not mean proving that they were false but rediscovering their truthful basis.' – Veyne (1988) 59.
[28] Grethlein (2010) 153.
[29] Cartledge&Greenwood (2002) 356.
[30] Luraghi (2001) 145.

poems.[31] One of Archilochus' poems is employed in a similar manner in Herodotus' narrative.

καὶ τὴν βασιληίην Γύγης, τοῦ καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος
ὁ Πάριος, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον γενόμενος, ἐν ἰάμβῳ
τριμέτρῳ ἐπεμνήσθη[i]

[i] τοῦ... ἐπεμνήσθη del. Wesseling

(Hdt.1.12.2)

The passage is digressive and has therefore been the object of suspicion.[32] It does, however, act as an effective memory "trigger"; in a context in which Herodotus is introducing his audience to a lengthy narrative of distant times and places, it reminds the audience that they have heard of Gyges before. As it happens, the poem (or rather part of it) survives as fr.19W. Herodotus is not interested in the details of the poem; the reference is included not because of anything Archilochus says (beyond the name), but because of its relevance to Herodotus' subject-matter in that particular section, king Gyges. The passage is partly source-citation. It also functions as an appeal to the audience's knowledge of this specific poem. Both of the above passages establish name-recognition at the very least, but they also suggest that the specific poems to which Herodotus referred were widely known, or, at least, widely known of.

Πολεμεόντων δέ σφεων
παντοῖα καὶ ἄλλα ἐγένετο ἐν τῇσι μάχῃσι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Ἀλκαῖος
ὁ ποιητὴς συμβολῆς γενομένης καὶ νικώντων Ἀθηναίων αὐτὸς
μὲν φεύγων ἐκφεύγει, τὰ δέ οἱ ὅπλα ἴσχουσι Ἀθηναῖοι καί σφεα
ἀνεκρέμασαν πρὸς τὸ Ἀθήναιον τὸ ἐν Σιγείῳ. Ταῦτα δὲ Ἀλκαῖος
ἐν μέλεϊ ποιήσας ἐπιτιθεῖ ἐς Μυτιλήνην ἐξαγγελλόμενος τὸ
ἑωυτοῦ πάθος Μελανίππῳ ἀνδρὶ ἑταίρῳ. Μυτιληναίους δὲ καὶ
Ἀθηναίους κατήλλαξε Περίανδρος ὁ Κυψέλου· τούτῳ γὰρ
διαιτητῇ ἐπετράποντο·

(Hdt.5.95)

The case of Alcaeus is distinctive. Herodotus clarifies how the biographical episode he alludes to was included in one of Alcaeus' poems – fr.401B(a) Voigt, 428 *PLF*

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[31] Page fr.5.1-4, fr.15(b) 9-12. On the fragments, ibid. 48-51.

[32] Stein (1883) and How&Wells (1936) ad loc consider the phrase ἰάμβῳ τριμέτρῳ suspicious; Asheri (2007) ad loc takes the phrase to be a gloss by a reader, on the ground that ἐν ἰάμβῳ τριμέτρῳ is a technical expression of a period later than Herodotus, and he argues that 'in Herodotus' time it would not have been necessary to quote Archilochus or a king so well known.' However, none of their arguments is convincing. The claim about the technical expression underrates the depth of our ignorance of fifth century critical discourse in this as in many areas; we do not possess enough of fifth-century writing on iambos and metre to make such a claim. The latter holds water only if one supposes that Herodotus confines himself to what is factually necessary, which is not confirmed by Herodotus' text.

Ἄλκαος σάος † ἄροι ἐνθάδ' οὐκυτὸν ἀληκτορὶν † / ἐς γλαυκώπιον ἷρον ὀνεκρέμασσαν Ἀττικοι. What we have here is source citation, a poetic source not significantly different from his use of inscriptions, iconography and material remains, individual informants, or local traditions.

These references are incorporated within the narrative in an almost marginal manner and as subsidiary to what Herodotus is narrating. What we can conclude with a degree of certainty is that any poet Herodotus mentioned in his narrative was likely to command name-recognition at the very least in a Greek context. Where Herodotus is using a specific text or is referring to a specific poem, that text and/or poem was probably widely known in some form. Both these conclusions suggest that poetic reputations and, at least, individual poems were travelling in the Greek world. This does not, however, allow us to suppose that all poems, or even all poets, travelled to the same degree and in the same manner in all geographical areas. The diverse interests and links of individual Greek cities would lead one to suppose that not all citizens in all Greek states were aware of the same lyric corpus. At most, we have evidence that some "texts" in some form and to some degree were sufficiently widely dispersed to command a degree of recognition from audiences across Greece.

The poets mentioned in the following passages play a more significant role in the narrative, and they are not merely presented as sources. Except for the Pindaric citation, the rest are employed as testimonia in order to sustain Herodotus' argument in much the same way as the previous citations. However, they add a supplementary touch to Herodotus' narrative. In both the passages where Phrynichus and Pindar are mentioned, Herodotus alludes to specific works, but in different ways and for different effects.

> Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν γὰρ δῆλον ἐποίησαν ὑπεραχθεσθέντες τῇ Μιλήτου ἁλώσι τῇ τε ἄλλῃ πολλαχῇ καὶ δὴ καὶ ποιήσαντι Φρυνίχῳ δρᾶμα Μιλήτου ἅλωσιν καὶ διδάξαντι ἐς δάκρυά τε ἔπεσε τὸ θέητρον καὶ ἐζημίωσάν μιν ὡς ἀναμνήσαντα οἰκήια κακὰ χιλίῃσι δραχμῆσι, καὶ ἐπέταξαν μηκέτι μηδένα χρᾶσθαι τούτῳ τῷ δράματι.

(Hdt.6.21.2)

Herodotus is not interested in the tragedy of Phrynichus for its own sake, nor does he invite his audience to remember the performance of the tragedy or the incident at the theatre. Phrynichus and his tragedy are mentioned to mark the effect which the

historical event of the capture of Miletus *itself* had on the Athenian citizens. Herodotus' narrative concentrates on the historical event, and the reaction of the audience to the tragedy is the culmination of its tragic consequences.

Οὕτω μέν νυν ταῦτα
νενόμισται, καὶ ὀρθῶς μοι δοκέει Πίνδαρος ποιῆσαι νόμον
πάντων βασιλέα φήσας εἶναι.

(Hdt.3.38.4)

Pindar is cited in this passage as a thinker. In contrast to the details which are mentioned for Phrynichus, the Pindaric verse, although incorporated as a citation, is isolated from its poetic context.[33] This allows Herodotus (or the audience) to interpret it as it suits his narrative (or the audience's judgement). The particular citation along with the explicit reference to the poet's name allows us to conclude, firstly, that Pindar was famous enough across the Greek world for his name to be recognised by Herodotus' audience and, secondly, that at least some Pindaric poems were widely known and diffused in some form.[34] The isolation and quotation of the Pindaric line could suggest that part of the audience would recognise it either as a gnomic utterance or a little more than an apothegm, whereas another part would have presumably recalled the poem.

Simonides is mentioned twice in the narrative of Herodotus' *Histories* and at a climactic moment. In the first passage Herodotus refers to an epinician poem composed by Simonides for Eualkides. The victory ode is obviously mentioned in order to add prestige to the persona of the general of Eretrians.

Καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν οἱ Πέρσαι
φονεύουσι, ἄλλους τε ὀνομαστούς, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Εὐαλκίδην
στρατηγέοντα Ἐρετριέων, στεφανηφόρους τε ἀγῶνας
ἀναραιρηκότα καὶ ὑπὸ Σιμωνίδεω τοῦ Κηίου πολλὰ αἰνεθέντα.

(Hdt.5.102)

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[33] Pi.Fr.169a Νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεύς / θνατῶν τε καὶ ἀθανάτων / ἄγει δικαιῶν τὸ βιαιότατον / ὑπερτάτα χειρί. Τεκμαίρομαι / ἔργοισιν Ἡρακλέος·

[34] Exactly how Νόμος ὁ πάντωνΒασιλεύς should be interpreted remains the subject of debate. It is unclear whether Herodotus' citation referred to this paean in particular or another espousing similar sentiments, fr.215a ἄλλα δ᾽ἄλλοισιν νόμιμα, σφετέραν δ᾽αἰνεῖ δίκαν ἀνδρῶν ἕκαστος on which Heinimann (1945) esp.71, 81-82; Ferrari (1992); Rutherford (2001) 387-9. Although Herodotus' words do read like a paraphrase even down to word order, it is not simply a vague reference to an idea. The fragment is cited in Σ. *Il*.2.400, and Artem. *Oneirocritica* 4.2.16-17 (p.202). Ferrari (1992) 77 adopts the view that Herodotus was mistaken in citing Pindar's fr.169a for a relativistic view of νόμος and meant to cite fr.125a instead. Regardless of whether Herodotus was mistaken or not, the fragment appears to have attained the status of a proverb. Plato uses the same verse once more out of context 'to explain the sophistic doctrine of the "law of nature", which justifies the right of the strongest (*Gorg*.488b; *Leg*. III 690b; IV 714e; X 890a).' – Asheri (2007) 437. On Plato and Pindar, chapter 4.1, pp.138, 142-143, 145, 154.

Composition of an epinician by Simonides was presumably considered to be a great honour for the subject and it was probably the reason why Herodotus mentions it in his narrative. Eualkides' victories in στεφανηφόρους ἀγῶνας were in themselves very prestigious[35] but the reference to an epinician by Simonides adds an additional level of status to his glory. It also gives some indication of the status of Simonides. The reference to the victory ode suggests that Eualkides' praise by Simonides was widely known and for part of the audience the epinician itself might also have been known. It is quite possible that the composition by Simonides is also introduced in the narrative in order to justify the adjective "famous" that Herodotus used for Eualkides.

In the second passage Herodotus quotes an epigram[36] that was allegedly composed by Simonides for Megistias.[37] Here the name of the poet is evidently added to enhance the prestige of the honoured patron and to function as a tribute to the poet himself.[38] Both the form (μνῆμα τόδε) and the context suggest that this inscribed text survived in written form.

Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν δὴ τοῦτο, τῷ δὲ μάντι τόδε·

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[35] The Olympic Victors' list includes a victor named Eualkides from Ἠλεία who was victorious in the youths' pankration. Moretti (1957) 176-177 takes as evidence Pausanias' claim of seeing a statue in his honour at Olympia (6.16.6). He finds it possible for this Eualkides to have been the Eualkides in Herodotus book 5 but ponders on the possibility of an Eliates to be the general of Eretrieis in 499 BC. Herodotus could be mistaken when referring to the epinician victor; he either makes a mistake when quoting or he quotes from the wrong source. We cannot be certain of what was available for Herodotus, so we should be careful before leaping to conclusions.

[36] Petrovic (2007a) 50 notes that Herodotus quotes inscriptions 'almost always to support his current narrative, but he seldom derives his narrative from an inscription.'

[37] Among the epigrams attributed to Simonides that are quoted in Herodotus:
- *AP*.6.343 (Hdt.5.77)
  ἔθνεα Βοιωτῶν καὶ Χαλκιδέων δαμάσαντες
      παῖδες Ἀθηναίων ἔργμασιν ἐν πολέμου
  δεσμῷ ἐν ἀχλυόεντι σιδηρέῳ ἔσβεσαν ὕβριν·
      τῶν ἵππους δεκάτην Παλλάδι τάσδ᾿ ἔθεσαν.

On this epigram, Petrovic (2007b) 209-220 who points out that only Aristides and no other source claims Simonidean authorship. He objects to Molyneux (1992) 86-87, who insists that it would not have been possible for a writer to compose an epigram on Boiotians and Chalkideis while they were at war (507/6 BC). On the problems surrounding the autopsy theory for this epigram, Petrovic (2007b) 52.
- *AP*.6.341 (Hdt.4.88)
  Βόσπορον ἰχθυόεντα γεφυρώσας ἀνέθηκε
      Μανδροκλέης Ἥρῃ μνημόσυνον σχεδίης,
  αὑτῷ μὲν στέφανον περιθείς, Σαμίοισι δὲ κῦδος,
      Δαρείου βασιλέος ἐκτελέσας κατὰ νοῦν.

On this epigram, Petrovic (2007b) 223-230 who argues that there is no ground for the assumption on Simonidean authorship.

[38] How&Wells (1936) ad loc based on Stein (1881) claim, unconvincingly, that 'Simonides composed all three inscriptions, but he only had one inscribed at his own cost.'

μνῆμα τόδε κλεινοῖο Μεγιστία, ὅν ποτε Μῆδοι
Σπερχειὸν ποταμὸν κτεῖναν ἀμειψάμενοι,
μάντιος, ὃς τότε Κῆρας ἐπερχομένας σάφα εἰδὼς
οὐκ ἔτλη Σπάρτης ἡγεμόνα προλιπεῖν.

Ἐπιγράμμασι μέν νυν καὶ στήλησι, ἔξω ἢ τὸ τοῦ μάντιος
ἐπίγραμμα, Ἀμφικτύονές εἰσί σφεας οἱ ἐπικοσμήσαντες· τὸ δὲ
τοῦ μάντιος Μεγιστίεω Σιμωνίδης ὁ Λεωπρέπεός ἐστι κατὰ
ξεινίην ὁ ἐπιγράψας.

(Hdt. 7.228.3-4)

The manner in which these two passages are introduced is very important. They are both placed at the end of the relevant section. Their narrative-locus turns their incorporation and the use of Simonides' name into a climax. The epigram is not only the last one in the list mentioned by Herodotus at the relevant passage, but also the only one marked with the name of its composer. Herodotus' point is that Megistias was praised by Simonides, and he treats the authorship of both the epinician and the epigram as genuine.[39] These added details (name of poet and order of reference) make it more prestigious and distinguish it from the rest.

The above data allow us to draw important conclusions regarding the manner in which Herodotus employs lyric poets and poetry in his work. We need to bear in mind that his citations do not represent the sum total of his poetic knowledge. His friendship with Sophocles, for example, has not been challenged either in the ancient world or by modern scholarship. Sophocles' epigram for Herodotus is one of the most solid pieces of evidence of this relationship.[40] Yet, Sophocles is not mentioned in his *Histories*.[41] The historian's individual choice regulated the use of the past autonomously and subjectively.[42] The incorporation of earlier poets in the Herodotean narrative is opportunistic. Herodotus employs the poetic texts for evidentiary purposes; they are often used to verify factual statements in Herodotus' narrative. By referring to individual poets or specific works Herodotus sometimes portrays relations

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[39] Petrovic (2007b) 231-236 comments on this epigram and assumes, based on dialect and textual evidence, that it was probably composed by Simonides.
[40] Asheri (2007) 4 places their friendship at c.422 BC.
 Plut. *Mor*.785b τουτὶ δ᾽ ὁμολογουμένως Σοφοκλέους ἐστὶ τοὐπιγραμμάτιον
     ᾠδὴν Ἡροδότῳ τεῦξεν Σοφοκλῆς ἐτέων ὢν
       πέντ᾽ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα.
[41] On Sophoclean elements in Herodotus, Lesky (1977) 229-230. Cf. Hdt.3.119.6, 1.108.1, 2.35.2 with S.*Ant*.909-12, *El*.421-23 and *OC*.337-41 respectively. On Sophocles' *Antigone* and Hdt.3, West (1999).
[42] Bertelli (2001) 70.

and connections between historical characters or minor figures in his narrative in order to add more prestige to their persona. Frequently the inclusion of a poet or a poetic work (e.g. the Pindaric quotation, the Simonidean epigram and the tragedy of Phrynichus) is made to enhance the credibility of his narrative.[43] We need to bear in mind that Herodotus did not choose the incorporated poets and poetry *solely* by virtue of their fame (although in some cases, as in that of Simonides, fame was the key-reason for the reference) but rather they were chosen because their writings were necessary or complementary to the information on the historical event or to the narrative aim of Herodotus. Herodotus is not interested in lyric *per se*; he is mainly concerned with using lyric texts. This use of lyric rests on varying kinds and degrees of recognition within a pan-Hellenic context, but they have at their base the fundamental fact of potential recognition. His lyric references, therefore, help us refine our picture of the reception and transmission of lyric in classical Greece and they also serve as a control for the evidence Athens provides. The lyric poets (in the narrow sense) whom Herodotus cites overlap to a quite striking degree with the lyric names and texts cited by Aristophanes (of the later nine canonical poets, Athenian comedy gives us seven by name, Herodotus five).[44] The evidence in Herodotus thus confirms the Athenocentric view on lyric poetry. It also suggests that the picture we get from Athens is neither eccentric nor aberrant, but reflects a larger Greek picture.

Echoes of Bacchylides?

According to the above evidence, and with reference to what follows, Herodotus engages with poets as sources (among other things), and he readily corrects. Most importantly, he does not consistently indicate when he is correcting a poetic source. His use of archaic texts goes beyond citation, as he often draws on archaic poetic texts for the ethical basis of his narrative. The world view and value system which Solon introduces in the *Histories* as a narrative figure, and the thoughts he expresses, are an adaptation of the thoughts the historical Solon expressed in his fragments.[45] As

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[43] Ford (2008) 817 assumes that 'a number of Herodotus' poetic references serve no historical purpose but seem designed to show his broad and sophisticated culture.' Certainly, display is part of the picture, as is often the case with the *epideixis* of Herodotus; but these allusions, though never inevitable, are not gratuitous.

[44] For the absent lyric poets in Aristophanes, chapter 2.2, p.96n64.

[45] Harrison (2000) 36-38; Bowie (2001) 64. Herodotus' narrative is also to some degree the descendant of long elegies, which have some claim to count as historiography. Elegiac and iambic poets (Tyrtaeus,

Harrison puts it, Herodotus creates 'a collage of Solonian thought.'[46] The *Histories* are deeply influenced by Solonian ideas, which are recast in a number of different patterns, and the philosophy of Herodotus' Solon is rather visibly fashioned on Solon's texts. Stories of tyrants, such as Polycrates and Xerxes, are also built on the Solonian model. Affinities of this kind have led scholars to the conclusion that Solon's speech on the ephemeral nature of humans (1.9-33) is programmatic, since it introduces the main themes that recur throughout the *Histories*.[47] This kind of dependence upon poetry and poetic thought occurs in the narrative without obvious hints. This in turn suggests that Herodotus may often allude to lyric poets implicitly without marking the allusion. Although Bacchylides is one of four lyric poets of the latter canon who are neither named nor quoted in Herodotus' narrative, the absence may be illusory, as will be suggested. I ignore here resonances of the victory ode and the use of athletic language in Herodotus' narrative[48] and concentrate mainly on material that might specifically be considered Bacchylidean.

The scene of Croesus on the pyre (1.86-87) encapsulates the basic features that have been identified in the preceding section. It is not only one of the most famous scenes in Herodotus but also the scene through which one can discuss diffusion of different mythical versions of the same story. The story clarifies how within the context of Greek intellectual developments mythical tales tend to become more rationalised through time and how they are considered different stages 'in a chain of transmission stretching further and further away'[49] from what was considered to be the historical event or the initial source. The story of Croesus on the pyre is told for the first time by Bacchylides in *Ode 3* (468 BC). Although this is, as far as we can judge from the surviving texts, the earliest literary source,[50] Croesus on the burning

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Mimnermus, Semonides of Amorgos) often recounted historical events of poleis and their poems could be perceived as early forms of "local history." On elegiac and iambic poets as ancestors of historiography, Bowie (2001); Marincola (2001) 11-14.

[46] Harrison (2000) 37. On significant affinities between Solon's poems and aspects in Herodotus' narrative, ibid. 37-39, 48-52.

[47] Shapiro (1996) verifies this view by examining evidence for Herodotus' acceptance of Solon's views. Gray (2002) 293-294 classifies the wise advice Solon gives to Croesus (1.29-33) as a short story; she postulates that it presents a stereotyped pattern of action of limited complexity.

[48] Herodotus very often uses epinician language which may indicate influence from the victory ode. E.g.8.124.7f *καί μιν Λακεδαιμόνιοι καλῶς ὑπεδέξαντο, μεγάλως δὲ ἐτίμησαν. Ἀριστήια μέν νυν ἔδοσαν*; 9.101.15-17 *οἱ μέν δή Ἕλληνες καὶ βάρβαροι ἔσπευδον ἐς τὴν μάχην, ὥς σφι καὶ αἱ νῆσοι καὶ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ἄεθλα προέκειτο.*

[49] Fehling (1989) 207-208n16.

[50] Bright (1976) 176 postulates that a possible earlier source of the Croesus' story is Xanthus' *Lydiaca*.

pyre was depicted by Myson on a red-figure amphora dated to c.500-490 BC.[51] The version Herodotus narrates is further repeated, adapted and altered by later authors: Ctesias (*FGrH* 688.F 9), Xenophon in the *Cyropaedia* (VII.2,9ff), Nikolaos of Damascus (*FGrH* fr.68), and Diodorus. (D.S. 9.2 and 9.34).[52] What interests me in this section is not so much the process through which Croesus' story is repeated in alternative versions – though a survey of this kind could lead to important conclusions on the process of adaptation and transmission of tales - but mostly the way in which Herodotus draws on Bacchylides. Comparison between the two versions may shed light on the status of Bacchylides and his poetry prior to and in Herodotus' time.

To begin with, it is essential to bear in mind that Croesus was a figure placed between history and myth. It is clear from literary evidence that by the 470s 'Croesus is already a legendary figure for all his historical reality.'[53] His position in Herodotus' narrative almost marks the boundary between mythical and historical time[54] – πρῶτος τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν (1.6). Croesus' fame as a rich and pious man was widespread in the Greek world. Pindar (*P*.1.94) refers to him and his kindly excellence in a very fleeting and unmarked manner 'as if to something that his audience would immediately recognise and respond to'[55]. Croesus' offerings at Delphi,[56] a demonstration of both his wealth and piety, meant that his name and qualities were probably widely known in Greece, which in turn facilitated the paradigmatic employment of his name. This established exemplary status of Croesus allows both Bacchylides[57] and Herodotus to employ him as an exemplar of piety and blessedness on the one hand and as a tragic and ironic paradigm of human ignorance on the other.

Pedley, in discussing ancient literary sources on Sardis, marks Bacchylides and Herodotus as the only fifth-century literary sources on the story of Croesus on the pyre.[58] He comments that 'by the first quarter of the fifth century BC. the pyre incident was firmly established in the biography of Croesus.'[59] The rarity of the story in literary sources makes it inherently likely that when Herodotus narrates (and he

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[51] Attic red-figure amphora, G197, now at the Louvre. For a description of the amphora, see Smith (1898) 267-69; Gould (1989) 34-5; Maehler (2004) 80-83.
[52] Fehling (1989) 207; Crane (1996) 59n6; Maehler (2004) 80-81; Asheri (2007) 141. On depictions of Croesus in poetry and literature, Nagy (1990) 274-313.
[53] Gould (1989) 35.
[54] Harrison (2000) 199.
[55] Gould (1989) 35.
[56] Cf. Tod *GHI* 6 for Croesus' dedications at Ephesus.
[57] Of course, also Pindar *P*.1.94.
[58] Pedley (1972) 40-42.
[59] Ibid. 41.

must be the later) his audience will be reminded of Bacchylides. This does not imply that the entire audience of Herodotus will necessarily have heard of Bacchylides or encountered his work.

In the absence of any evidence for any other literary treatment of Croesus, it is difficult not to see these two texts as engaging in a kind of dialogue. This is reinforced by the important similarities both of narrative detail and of language. The historical setting is placed after the capture of Sardis by the Persians, which was predicted by a divine omen - 1.86.1 κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριόν τε, 1.91.τὴν πεπρωμένην μοῖραν ~ B.3.23-26 τὰν πεπ[ρωμέναν Ζηνὸς τελέ[σσαντος κρί]σιν; a pyre is mounted for Croesus - 1.86.2 ὁ δὲ συννήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην ~ B.3.33 πυρὰν δε...ναήσατο; where he calls for Apollo and questions the gratitude of the gods - 1.87.1 ἐπιβώσασθαι τόν Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπικαλεόμενον, εἴ τί οἱ κεχαρισμένον ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐδωρήθην ~ B.3.37-47 γέ]γωνεν· ὑπέρ[βι]ε δαῖμον, πο]ῦ θεῶν ἐστιν χάρις; - in an atmosphere of grief and tears -1.87. 2 τὸν μὲν δακρύοντα ἐπικαλέεσθαι τὸν θεόν ~ B.3.35, 49-50 θυ[γ]ατράσι δυρομέναις, ἔκ[λα]γον δὲ παρθένοι; rain is divinely sent and puts out the fire - 1.87.2 ἐξαπίνης νέφεα καὶ χειμῶνά τε καταρραγῆναι καὶ ὗσαι ὕδατι λαμβροτάτω, κατασβεσθῆναί τε τὴν πυρήν ~ B.3.55-56 [μελαγκευ]θὲς νέφος σβέννυεν ξανθά[ν φλόγα; and Croesus is saved because of his piety - 1.87.2-3 ὡς εἴη ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ θεοφιλὴς καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός ~ B.3.62 δι'εὐσέβειαν. The number of common features is unlikely to be coincidental; and the similar linguistic features increase the parallels between the two versions. All of this suggests that Herodotus drew on Bacchylides' epinician ode and its mythical tale regarding Croesus. Though, as we shall see, he attempted to rationalise it in order to suit the needs and purpose of his own narrative.

The possibility of Bacchylidean influence on Herodotus for which we have argued is not however uncontentious. Crane suggests that Herodotus did not follow Bacchylides[60] but 'was reacting against a specifically poetic tradition that equated Kroisos with olbos.'[61] Maehler points out that the two versions are fundamentally different and finds it unlikely that Bacchylides was Herodotus' source. He attempts to

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[60] Crane (1996) 63.
[61] Ibid. 61.

trace the tale in Herodotus to a lost tragedy.[62] Hutchinson identifies various connections between the two stories but unfortunately does not express an opinion on the issue of intertextuality and influence.[63] Marincola, on the other hand, claims that Herodotus maintains a critical distance from the story he narrates by ascribing the account to a Lydian source[64] – 1.87 Ἐνθαῦτα λέγεται ὑπὸ Λυδῶν. This could indeed function as a manoeuvre through which the evaluation of the story is left open to the audience; but λέγεται elsewhere does not necessarily indicate scepticism on the part of Herodotus,[65] and we should not distance Herodotus too much from his material. There are some quintessentially Herodotean features in Croesus' narrative, which suggest that we should not regard Herodotus as passively accepting the version in his source. It is also important to stress that Herodotus' claims that he is following a Lydian account need not indicate that every detail is drawn from this single source.

Despite the similarities noted above, Herodotus' version of Croesus' story is rationalised in order to maintain human probability.[66] Bacchylides portrays his Croesus as a tragic hero;[67] he is the king who is willing to die and sacrifice his family rather than live in slavery, so he builds and sets light to his own pyre. Herodotus presents Croesus' pyre as one of the consequences of the capture of Sardis; Croesus is no longer a king. He has been stripped of power and material goods, and Cyrus forcibly makes him step onto the pyre. The conclusion of the scene is also significantly altered. Bacchylides' Croesus is taken by Apollo to the Hyperboreans, a miracle due to his piety, whereas in Herodotus he is saved by both rain, presented as a divine sign, and human intervention. It is important that the divine does not intervene in Herodotus until Croesus learns through his suffering.[68] Both Croesus and the mental change he undergoes are essential for Herodotus' narrative. The Lydian king is relegated to the role of the wise adviser in Cyrus, a recurrent type in Herodotus'

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[62] Maehler (1982) 33, (2004) 81-82. Historical tragedies are, however, exceedingly rare, which makes it unlikely that Herodotus had a tragic source. To look, as Crane and Maehler do, for a lost conjectural text, when we have a surviving poetic text conflicts with the principle of Occam's razor.

[63] Hutchinson (2001) 328-358.

[64] Marincola (1997) 121.

[65] The statistical analysis by Shrimpton&Gillis (1997) 234 demonstrates that 'the *legetai* at the end of the passage is part of a formulaic Herodotean transitional sentence.' Fehling (1989) 153-154 argues that phrases, such as those indicating the source, are inserted as a word of caution that Herodotus reports what others say, and those others are presented as the narrators of the story. Van Ophuijsen&Stork (1999) 180 comment on 7.12.1 that by ὡς λέγεται Herodotus 'seems to dissociate himself from the information he reports'.

[66] Marincola (2006) 22.

[67] Levin (1960) considers Croesus as the ideal tragic hero.

[68] Segal (1971) 46, 48. On learning through suffering, Stahl (1975).

narrative.[69] Herodotus concentrates on the human figures and on the suffering of Croesus.

Though there is every reason to believe that Herodotus draws on Bacchylides, at the same time he attempts to present the story rationally and adjusts to the mode of inquiry (*historiē*) and the needs of his narrative. Croesus was important in the *Histories* as a historical figure in a broader anthropocentric narrative, not a simple paradigm in a song of praise, and thus Herodotus approached Bacchylides' account more realistically.[70] Despite the difference of genre and its implications for emphasis, omission and inclusion, it is difficult not to detect an intertextual dialogue between theses versions, and with it a tacit correction by Herodotus.

Another passage where it is possible to detect Bacchylidean resonances is the symposium of Amyntas of Macedon (5.18-22). Herodotus turns us into attendants at a Macedonian symposium to seven Persians sent to request earth and water from the king of Macedonia. We become witnesses not only to their unacceptable behaviour but also to their murder and to Alexander's manoeuvre to cover the crime. The story has always been considered fictitious and an invention by Herodotus.[71] The historicity of the story and the historical problems it has created is not so much of interest for me here as its literary sources. The sympotic tale could indeed have been entirely an invention by Herodotus. However, the verbal and contextual similarities to Bacchylides' encomium of Alexander of Amyntas (fr.20B) suggest a connection between the two.

Although conjectural, it is possible that Herodotus' inspiration for this particular (otherwise unattested) story was Bacchylides' fr.20B. The connection between the two scenes is Alexander of Macedon: Bacchylides' encomium was composed in his honour, and he is the central figure in Herodotus' symposium in Macedon. Bacchylides demonstrates through vivid imaginary the effects of drunkenness and the consequences of excess. Herodotus manages to portray this sympotic fantasy[72] and to demonstrate punishment when the limits are transgressed. Bacchylides refers to delusions which have to do with desires, capturing cities,

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[69] For the warner in the narrative, Lattimore (1939).

[70] Griffiths (2006) 131 postulates that one of the stigmata of Herodotean stories is 'the rationalisation of mythical stories into real-world, natural events.' Evans (1978) 40 claims, without offering arguments, that the story of Bacchylides is more plausible than that of Herodotus.

[71] Errington (1981) 140-143; Badian (1994) 108. For evidence on its fictitious character, Badian (1994) 108-109.

[72] Fearn (2007) 37-46.

monarchic intentions, and wealth. Herodotus "stages" all the above elements in his account. The parallels with Bacchylides' encomium are strong evidence for the possible fictional character of Herodotus' anecdote.

Fearn has claimed that this encomium 'bears interesting comparison with the sympotic situation in Herodotos book 5'.[73] He takes the argument too far, though, when he suggests that Bacchylides' poem 'takes a leading role in the ideological claims and counterclaims of the early decades of the fifth century concerning Macedonian Medism'.[74] The story probably has its origins in some form of a Macedonian attempt to address the embarrassing fact of Medism, perhaps instigated by Alexander.[75] The sympotic setting could be Herodotus' own invention, but it may equally be an element in the tradition emerging from Macedon. Nonetheless, the similarities with Bacchylides' song remain striking. It is likely that Bacchylides' encomium may have contributed to the shaping of the specifics of the story.

The sympotic scene at Amyntas' court could be perceived as the narrative device through which Herodotus touches upon the complex and contentious issue of Macedonia's Medism.[76] Herodotus does not address the issue of Medism bluntly, and he treats both the Macedonian ethnicity and attitude towards the Greeks and the Persians very carefully. Only at the end of the scene does his authorial voice testify in favour of the correctness of Macedonian claims of Greek identity (ἀποδέξω ὡς εἰσὶ Ἕλληνες), but not of the story of the murder of the Persians, which goes unmentioned. The banquet is not incorporated as an integral part of the narrative. It could thus be employed by Herodotus as the device with which Alexander comes to be vindicated in that Amyntas, not he, offered submission to the Persians.[77] This assumption complements the story of Alexander's participation in the Olympic Games where, Herodotus claims, Alexander proved his Greek identity (Herodotus uses the same verb for his authorial voice, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἀπέδεξε ὡς εἴη Ἀργεῖος). The literary origin of this symposium is also supported by the limited number of historical features in this passage. The only certainty in the scene is the marriage of Gygaia and Boubares, which is probably chronologically misplaced for

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[73] Ibid. 78.
[74] Ibid. 85.
[75] Badian (1994) 114 has attempted to explain the story historically and to claim a Macedonian source.
[76] Errington (1981) 140 has postulated that this was an invented story, and it could have been the means through which Herodotus questions the issue of Macedonian submission to the Persians.
[77] Ibid. 143.

Herodotus' story.[78] It is possible, therefore, to assume that the Persian envoys were invented by Herodotus to justify the marriage of Gygaia and Boubares to the Greeks and to suggest that Amyntas never actually gave earth and water to the Persians.[79] If this part of the story was not an invention by Herodotus, then it was invented by his sources. If the banquet was indeed a Macedonian invention or a Herodotean narrative device, then it is probable that Bacchylides' encomium was either the inspiration or the source.

The striking similarities between Bacchylides and Herodotus in the stories of Croesus and the evocation of the atmosphere in the encomium for Alexander at the symposium for the seven Persians suggest that the earlier author influenced the latter. In this context it is particularly important to bear in mind that the story of Croesus employed in Herodotus is not attested to by any other literary source of the period. Though the influence in the case of Alexander is less overt, the inescapable fictive character of Alexander's symposium (a peculiar scene to begin with) favours the hypothesis of the influence of Bacchylides on Herodotus.

Lyric and Herodotus

The above conjectures on allusions to Bacchylides in Herodotus, as well as the uses of lyric poetry, are important for our consideration of the nature, dissemination of, and the degree of familiarity with, the lyric corpus. The model which Herodotus' uses of lyric is a dynamic one which takes us beyond neat generalisation regarding issues of survival, transmission and reception of lyric and poetry in general. The poets employed by Herodotus in his narrative allow us to get a view of the larger Greek context. As was noted above, this allows Herodotus to serve as a control for the picture which emerges from Athens and acts as a helpful test of the evidence in tragedy and comedy. Comparisons with Athenian evidence on use and re-use of lyric would encourage the conclusion that Athens' interests were simultaneously specifically Athenian and broadly Greek. We find in both tragedy and comedy resonances or allusions to lyric genres which Athenians did not practice or rarely

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[78] If Alexander had organised the wedding, it would have taken place after 498 BC when Alexander was king. - Errington (1981) 140. Badian (1994) 112 attempts to explain how Alexander gave away his sister when Amyntas was still king offering no evidence for his suggestions. He asserts that Alexander may have acted as envoy of Amyntas, and, in order for his suggestion to work, he down-dates the marriage and he makes up a meeting between Megabazus and Alexander.
[79] Errington (1981) 142.

performed, such as the epinician, the encomium and the partheneion.[80] When we turn to Herodotus we find the same authors and genres to a large extent. The evidence Herodotus provides on lyric poets and lyric poetry suggests that Athens was not unusual or peculiar in its interests. This in turn allows us to use the Athenian evidence with greater confidence, without fear that Athenocentrism is *seriously* distorting the picture of survival, dissemination, and familiarity.

One cannot be certain where and how Herodotus encountered lyric poetry. When we examine his *Histories* we need to bear in mind that his travels played a fundamental role in the intellectual formation of his work.[81] Although 'we cannot estimate the extent to which [Herodotus] had direct knowledge of the West (Magna Graecia, Sicily, Etruria)'[82] or whether he had direct knowledge of Athens as well, phrases such as αὐτόπτης ἐλθών (2.29) testify in favour of Herodotus' travels.[83] Two plausible suggestions may explain Herodotus' knowledge of lyric poetry: either the poetry itself travelled orally and/or textually to Herodotus' hometown or he heard of and/or read it during his travels. I do not intend to imply that a complete lyric corpus or the complete work of a poet was travelling in circulation throughout Greece. It would rather involve individual lyric poems. We should bear in mind that not all of a poet's work would circulate widely, since it would not have been of uniform interest in different places. One should distinguish between pan-Hellenic poets and pan-Hellenic texts. Herodotus provides evidence from which we can conclude that some poets were genuinely pan-Hellenic, in that their works in some form were known widely throughout Greece. These included travelling poets who composed explicitly for a Greek, not a local audience,[84] and whose names were known to the broad Greek world already from the time of their poetry's performance. However, as Theognis explicitly demonstrates,[85] this "label" embraced authors whose work, though initially premiered in a local context, had a wider Greek appeal (as are the cases of Sappho and Alcaeus in Herodotus).

As the evidence from Aristophanic comedy suggests, and as will be discussed in the following chapters, the lyric canon in its final form drew heavily on Athenian

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[80] Swift (2010) demonstrates this extensively with reference to tragedy.
[81] Asheri (2007) 6.
[82] *Ibidem.*
[83] For "the liar-school" of Herodotus, see in particular Fehling (1989) and on "claimed" authority pp.100-101. For responses against, see in particular Pritchett (1993); Dover (1998).
[84] See Hunter&Rutherford (2009) 1-22.
[85] On the collection of the *Theognidea*, West (1974) 40-64; Bowie (1997).

reception. Herodotus' narrative suggests that the "Athenian" lyric canon was ultimately a Greek canon: though it was filtered through Athens, it also operated simultaneously in Athens and in the broader Greek world. It is reasonable to suppose that Herodotus visited Athens.[86] We should not, however, feel that we need to derive all the evidence Herodotus provides us from Athens and the Athenian reception of lyric.

We drew a distinction above between pan-Hellenic dissemination of poetic reputations and of lyric poetry as such. Possible intertextual echoes between Herodotus and specific poems of Bacchylides (*Ode 3* and fr.20B) raise additional questions as to the specifics of individual poems which worked in their favour for either circulation or adaptation. One possible (but not necessarily exclusive) factor for the circulation and reuse of these original works in subsequent poetry would be the name and prestige of each poem's patrons. We have already seen the incorporation of *Ode 5* for Hieron in Aristophanes.[87] This specific presence (odes for rulers) suggests that the corpus in circulation may have been skewed in the direction of high profile persons or even controversial figures such as tyrants. One could, therefore, assume that the more important and prestigious the patron and laudandus was, the greater the likelihood for the poem to be quoted, alluded to or echoed. The sympotic setting of the encomium for Alexander could be an additional reason for its adaptation in Herodotus' narrative. Sympotic poems probably had more chances for re-performance in a culture in which song and symposium were mutually interdependent. Beyond the specific case of Bacchylides, one essential conclusion from this chapter is the importance of Herodotus as evidence for the reception of lyric. His importance lies first and foremost in the non-Athenocentric character of his narrative, both in its geographic origin and its thematic core. We may reasonably conclude that lyric poems were circulated in some form beyond Athens in the time of Herodotus. His work provides evidence that they were important sources for knowledge of the past, sometimes unmarked sources. This is obviously the case with historic narrative poetry, but it evidently applies to other works which were not primarily historical in content or emphasis.[88] We should also realise that it is often the case that the sources for our understanding of lyric reception are frequently opportunistic in nature, in that

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[86] For the probability that Herodotus visited Athens, Podlecki (1977); Moles (2002).
[87] Chapter 2.1, pp.103-106.
[88] On narrative elegy as often *ktisis* poetry, Bowie (1986), (2001).

there is always a specific agenda in play; as so often in any task of historical construction, it is unwise to treat our sources as transparent. The picture is – in both senses – partial. What each text offers us is a piece of a puzzle which may never be complete, only partially formed.

Chapter 4
From Plato to the Peripatos

As we have seen, the classicising process in the reception of lyric poetry was already at work by the fifth century BC. The pan-Hellenic agenda for lyric was crystallised on the Athenian comic stage and through dramatic performances but, as Herodotus' use of lyric indicates, the Athenian sources are to a large extent reflecting a larger Greek picture. The process of classicising is a continuous one, and this chapter will focus on perhaps the most influential Greek author for the reception of poetry, especially lyric poetry. We shall look at the lyric corpus as represented in Plato in order to determine the degree of continuity between fifth century and fourth century classicising. The chapter will also address the Platonic criticism of poetry with specific reference to lyric poetry. I will attempt to investigate Plato's attitude towards lyric poets and their works in comparison to the much discussed hostility towards tragedy and epic. This will, in turn, allow us to understand and explain silence in the Platonic corpus when it comes to Bacchylides and his poetry. The second part of the chapter will deal with the other side of the spectrum: Aristotle and his Peripatetic school. The main issue under discussion will be the attitude of Aristotle towards poetry in general, lyric and music in particular, and the employment of lyric material by his students and successors in the Peripatos.

4.1. Plato and poetry

Much emphasis has been placed on Plato's censorship of poetry[1] and on its exclusion from his ideal city-state. However, scholars concentrate mainly on tragedy and epic, which are directly criticised and attacked in Plato's dialogues, especially in his *Republic* books two, three, and ten.[2] This focus is understandable, since Plato utilised a vast amount of arguments and examples attempting to justify theoretically and philosophically the censorship of drama, and constantly returned to this theme not

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[1] The critical attitude towards poetry was not a newly-found approach launched in Plato's Academy. It is already found in authors such as Xenophanes, Parmenides, and Empedocles. What is censored here, however, is not poetry as a whole, but mainly named poets. Poetic criticism was also the hallmark of the sophists, although there it is competitive criticism of poems. On the critical attitude of Xenophanes, Parmenides, and Empedocles, Nightingale (1995) 144-149; on Plato's intellectual background, Irwin (1992).

[2] On Plato's conception of art in the *Republic*, Cross&Woozley (1986) 270-288; on Plato's attack on literature in the *Republic*, Annas (1982); on *Republic* book 10, Annas (1981).

only at the end of his *Republic* but also in the *Laws*. *Ion* is also one of the treatises in which one can detect indirect attacks on poets, despite the fact that his direct aim is the performer, specifically the rhapsode.[3] If we look at Plato's dialogues as a whole, poetry and its role as educational instrument in society concerns Plato throughout.[4]

Plato offered a number of arguments to support his rejection of the educational role of traditional poetry.[5] The theory of Forms and his arguments on *mimēsis*, the tripartite nature of the soul, the natural inclination of humans to inferior pleasures and to mindless imitations, the poet's lack of knowledge and the fact that he composes only under Bacchic mania are the most important counterarguments to the beneficial role of arts and poetry in particular.[6] It is wrong, however, to assume that Plato rejected all poetry and poets. He clearly targeted specific poetic trends, specific poets, and specific passages, while at the same time clarifying how good poetry,[7] that is poetry under state control, could be beneficial for the citizens. Questions of morality are central to our understanding of the reasons why Plato refuses poetry a place in his ideal city. Both Homer and Hesiod, for example, are charged with false statements on

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[3] On the rhapsode's knowledge and poetic inspiration in both *Ion* and the *Apology*, Ledbetter (2003) 78-98.

[4] Demos (1999) 7

[5] Prt.325e5-6 ἀναγιγνώσκειν ποιητῶν ἀγαθῶν ποιήματα καὶ ἐκμανθάνειν ἀναγκάζουσιν.

[6] Plato ascribes poetic inspiration of lyric poets to Bacchic ecstasy (*Ion* 533e3-534a7) and emphasises the irrationality of lyric inspiration. Gould (1972) 88-89 provides a list with Plato's complaints against the poets in each dialogue. Murray (1992) 30-38 elaborates on the altered image of the inspired poet in Plato. Levin (2001) 133-134, 147-150 notes that from the *Ion* through the *Republic* (she also discusses the *Cratylus*) Plato stresses poets' lack of understanding. Kamtekar (2008) 341 argues that 'Plato criticizes the poets on grounds quite similar to those on which he bases his criticism of the sophists and orators.'

[7] One can argue that the above distinction between good and bad poetry must be considered in relation to the theme of *mimēsis*. In *R*.10.595a5 Plato condemns imitative poetry as a whole (ὅση μιμητική), whereas he has previously accepted (*R*.3.398a8-b4) poetry of one sort, imitations of virtuous people (ὃς ἡμῖν τὴν τοῦ ἐπιεικοῦς λέξιν μιμοῖτο καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα λέγοι ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς τύποις οἷς κατ'ἀρχὰς ἐνομοθετησάμεθα). These two statements have been seen as contradictory. To explain this seemingly contradiction one needs to take into account the starting point of the discussion of (imitative) poetry in the *Republic*. Socrates focuses on existing poetry, on what and how poets actually imitate/describe at present. We should pay more attention to the descriptive nature of the narrative in *R*.10, and to the emphatic tone of what should be done if one could censor poetry, *R*.3.394c7-8 ἃ μὲν λεκτέον...ὣς μὲν λεκτέον. In *R*.10 Socrates' dialectic method has reached its goal; he has proved in both books two and three that, although one should accept poetry that imitates what is χρηστόν, the existing poetry that could be used in education (Homer and drama) does not conform to any of the precautions he has laid out. Under these circumstances, poetry in an ideal state would be controlled in order to imitate only what is virtuous. Given the actual poetry they possess, no imitative poetry could be accepted.

For scholarly views on the above problem, Mocavcsik (1986) 37; Ferrari (1989) 120; Greco (1994) 141-143; Murray (1996) 6; Levin (2001) 152-167. On imitative poetry, Moss (2007); on Plato's attitude against mimetic poetry, Janaway (1995) 133-157. On inspiration *contra mimēsis*, Murray (1992). On the treatment of poetry in *Republic* 10, Annas (1981) 335-354. On art in *Republic* 10 and 3, Cross&Woozley (1986) 270-288. On imitative arts as a distinct class of arts, Leszl (2004) 141-149. On a detailed account on *mimēsis* based not only on the *Republic*, Leszl (2006) 245-258.

the nature and depiction of the divine (*R*.377d-378e3, 379c9-e).[8] Plato's criticism concerned the educational and influential aspect of poetry, and 'raises the issue of the ethical and social responsibility which the artist, and particularly the literary author, has'[9]. His worries about the impact uncontrolled poetry potentially had on people could go beyond fears concerning possibilities of accommodating bad habits; they could be perceived as expressing his certainty that humans possess a weak nature.

Lyric poetry has, unsurprisingly, not been discussed under these headings. Plato's views on poetry, as they unfold in the *Republic* and in other dialogues, should allow room for lyric. Lyric is not considered to be a mimetic poetic genre, and thus not entirely regarded as dangerous for citizens. When Plato distinguishes between narrative and mimetic genres in *Republic* three, he classifies dithyrambs as the main narrative genre, since the voice of the poet narrates the poem – *R*.394c1 ἡ δὲ δι᾿ἀπαγγελίας αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποιητοῦ. This statement, however, does not encapsulate Plato's views on the entire field of lyric poetry, specific lyric poets, or lyric genres. It is important to consider the status and place of lyric poetry - of small-scale poetry in general - within the Platonic agenda in order to evaluate his view on lyric and to re-evaluate in retrospect his view on poetry in general. As Ford argues, we should avoid in this quest the usual view, which 'makes Plato's main concern in discussing poetry to deny its truth and value; any allusion to verse is analyzed as far as possible in terms of poetic ignorance, imitation, and deception so as to fit the passage into Plato's extended and relentless wars on poetry'[10].

Lyric Poetry in Plato

Plato is one of the most important sources for our understanding of the development of lyric poetry; not only does he refer to lyric poets in his attempt to evaluate the evolution of choral and monodic poetry and to argue for its gradual deterioration, but he also quotes many fragments of small-scale poetry frequently by name. Apart from citations from lyric poems, his dialogues are full of images, metaphors, themes, and language used in lyric, elegiac, and iambic poetry.[11] All these elements, which were

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[8] Kamtekar (2008) 348 mentions Socrates' criteria for judging stories about the gods: '(1) what is pious... (2) what is advantageous to us... and (3) what is consistent.'
[9] Leszl (2006) 330.
[10] Ford (2005) 6.
[11] Demos (1999) 9.

adopted and adapted in his dialogues, are used out of their primary context.[12] Plato incorporates lyric figures and fragments in such a way as to suit his philosophical purposes and to serve specific aims in each of his dialogues. Halliwell points out that 'we should not expect Platonic interest in the practice to be limited to a concern with how any particular poetic utterance is situated in its original locus. Instead, we need to consider Plato's poetic citations in relation to a double model of meaning as, on the one hand, grounded in internal context and, on the other, modified by a further interpretative act of application or appropriation'[13]. In most cases, as will become obvious, small-scale poetry is used for rhetorical purposes; either as part of an argument, or as evidence in favour of a speaker's argument. Tarrant has demonstrated how 'Plato uses quotations sometimes as integral to his argument, sometimes as a mere embellishment'. She notes that these two types are not easily distinguishable given that 'any quotation usually occurs as in some degree appropriate or relevant to the context of discussion'[14]. With reference to the *Symposium*, Halliwell also emphasises how these poetic quotations and allusions depict a cultural milieu, and lend refinement to the speech of each of the participants in the dialogue. The above points are important factors for our understanding of poetic resonances in every Platonic dialogue.

Elizabeth Pender has demonstrated in two detailed studies the playful manner in which Plato alludes to lyric poetry, and the manner in which he signals these allusions in his *Phaedrus* and *Timaeus*.[15] She emphasises the creative engagement with previous poetry, which provided Plato with well-established and recognisable images for allusion.[16] As Pender's work reveals, the lyric colour and tone in the Platonic dialogues as well as their dramatic structure testify to Plato's appreciation of

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[12] Demos (1999) 49-64 analyses the problems of interpretation that are created when lyric lines are quoted in contexts other than the original.
[13] Halliwell (2000) 100-101. What he calls 'meaning in context' and 'interpretative application' (p.101).
[14] Tarrant (1951) 59.
[15] Pender (2007a), (2007b).
[16] Pender (2007b) 2 points out how Plato, by naming the poets in advance in the *Phaedrus* marks his debts to poetry. He gives advance notice of the material in the main body of his dialogue and emphasises in retrospect the verbal, thematic, and situational intertextuality with these poetic predecessors (pp.21-22). She notes Sappho and Anacreon (235c2), Ibycus (242c8) and Stesichorus (243a5, 244a2) as well as Alcaeus and Theognis, who are not named but whose poetry provides love-motifs for Plato. Plato depicts love as madness like a lyric poet, but interprets it in the novel context of the tripartite soul, on which see Pender (2007a) 14-20, 27-37, 54-55.

lyric poetry and drama respectively.[17] This is, however, part of a larger strategy in which fragments of actual small-scale poetry, names of lyric, elegiac and iambic poets, or their figures are deployed in the Platonic dialogues. Small-scale archaic poetry and its representatives are incorporated within the Platonic philosophical vision to serve a purpose. A reading of Plato's use of lyric and a review of his views on the potential of lyric within the ideal state would suggest that his attitude to arts and poetry should not be generalised as blanket hostility. Plato's attitude towards small-scale poetry is different from the way he treats epic and drama.

A survey of the evidence and the instances in which small-scale archaic poetry and poets are employed in Plato reveals the need to classify the manner in which they are presented. This is to be seen as a first step to a broader view of Plato's use of them. Firstly, one can detect lyric quotations cited verbatim, accurately or inaccurately, some of which are interpreted in the text, whereas others are left without interpretation. Some examples of this include Simonides' poem to Scopas in the *Protagoras*, and the quotation from Ibycus in the *Phaedrus*. In most of these cases the name of the poet is mentioned beforehand and marks the quotation.[18] In other cases, Plato mentions the poet by name without citing the passage. He merely summarises the meaning or the main points of the poem in question, or alludes to a specific poetic fragment. This can be seen in the summary of Stesichorus' *Palinode* in the *Phaedrus* (243a2-b7), or in the paraphrase of Pindar in *Laws* (690b7-c2). On the other hand, named poets who composed small-scale poetry - lyric in both the ancient and the modern sense - are also inserted as figures (e.g. Tyrtaeus in the *Laws*), and their reference implies prior knowledge of their poetry by interlocutors and readership. The most difficult case - one can detect two such instances in the Platonic dialogues - is when the lyric model does not become obvious in the text and its identification depends on the scholia.

The above classification can usefully be supplemented with a statistical survey of the frequency with which individual poets of small-scale lyric, elegiac, or iambic poetry are mentioned by name in the dialogues. Only in this way, and in correlation

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[17] On the poetic qualities of Plato's dialogues, Murray (1996) 12-14. In a paper delivered at the Keeling Lecture 2009 (*To Banish or not to Banish? The Dilemma of Plato's Relationship to Poetry*) Stephen Halliwell suggested that there is a strong sense at the end of the *Republic* that the relationship between poetry and philosophy in the soul of the lover of philosophy remains a problem.
[18] Plato cites poets as authorities on ethical matters, e.g. *R*.1.331a3, 331d5, 334a-b; *Men*.95c-96a; *Prt*.339a-341e, 343d-347a; *Phd*.94d7-95a2, 111e6-112a5.

with the above evidence, will we be able to come to solid conclusions about the manner in which Plato employs this kind of poetry in his dialogues, and about the implications this could have for its reception.

It seems that Plato's favourite lyric poet is Simonides who is mentioned forty times and secondly Solon with thirty-four references. Pindar is included in the dialogues in fourteen cases, Tyrtaeus eight, and Stesichorus, Archilochus, and Anacreon thrice each. Ibycus and Sappho are referenced twice respectively. Alcaeus is identified in the Platonic scholia as the source of Plato's *Symposium* 217e3-4.[19] The scholia to Aelius Aristides identify another lyric fragment, this time by Alcman (fr.108 *PMG*), as the source of *Laws* 705a.[20] Alcaeus and Alcman only just squeeze in, but allusions to their poetry are at least identified by the succeeding scholarship. The above evidence testifies to a sole exclusion from the lyric list of Plato: Bacchylides is the only (subsequently) canonised lyric poet who is absent. One can find no quotations, no named references, and no allusions recognisable by the scholia. The reasons for this significant silence will hopefully become obvious when we clarify how Plato uses these lyric allusions and references. This, in turn, will allow us to understand his attitude towards lyric poetry in general.

The first conclusion we can draw following the statistical analysis is Plato's fondness for poets who had established themselves in the tradition as wise, *sophoi*. References to Simonides and Solon are undoubtedly numerous compared to references to other poets of lyric, elegy, or iambos. The first explicit attestation of a group of seven sages is in Plato himself, and Solon is mentioned as one of them.

> τούτων ἦν καὶ Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος καὶ Πιττακὸς ὁ Μυτιληναῖος καὶ Βίας ὁ Πριηνεὺς καὶ Σόλων ὁ ἡμέτερος καὶ Κλεόβουλος ὁ Λίνδιος καὶ Μύσων ὁ Χηνεύς, καὶ ἕβδομος ἐν τούτοις ἐλέγετο Λακεδαιμόνιος Χίλων.
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> (***Prt*.343a1-5**)

Simonides claims a place for himself in the list, when he uses his poetry to refute the authority of Pittacus (fr.542 *PMG*) and Cleobulus (fr.581 *PMG*). Pindar, who occupies an intermediate position in terms of popularity in Plato, would seem to fall

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[19] Σ. *Smp*.217e3-4 πα. «οἶνος καὶ ἀλήθεια»· ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν μέθῃ τὴν ἀλήθειαν λεγόντων. ἔστι δὲ ᾄσματος Ἀλκαίου ἀρχὴ «οἶνος, ὦ φίλε παῖ, καὶ ἀλήθεια» ~ Alc. Fr.366 V οἶνος ὦ φίλε παῖ καὶ ἀλάθεα.

[20] Σ. in Aelium Aristidem Epigram 206,2 ἔστω τὸ γειτόνημα ἁλμυρὸν, ὥς φησιν Ἀλκμὰν ὁ λυρικὸς τοῦτο εἶπεν· ἁλμυρὸν τὸ γειτόνημα· ἀντὶ τοῦ τί κακόν ἐστι γείτονα ἔχειν τὴν θάλασσαν. ἢ ὅτι ἡ λέξις Πλατωνική ἐστι. λέγει οὖν ὁ ῥήτωρ· συγχωρῶμεν, φησί, ταῖς Ἀθήναις τὴν θάλατταν προσοικεῖν.

into this category due to the apothegmatic nature of a large part of his poetry and due to the didactic role his poetic persona adopts. One may assume that this particular distinction was as much about the perceived and received persona of the poet as it was about the poetic corpus in whole or in part. Tradition made Simonides and Solon wise, and that particular characterisation gradually became essential and inseparable from their figures. The appearance of Solon and Simonides as advisers in Herodotus[21] and Xenophon's *Hieron* respectively could be used as a proof of their establishment by Plato's time as figures of wisdom and knowledge.

Lyric poetry, and other kinds of small-scale poetry, and its representatives are integrated in an authoritative tone into the arguments of Plato's speakers.[22] They are employed in those cases in which the speakers want to attach more validity to their arguments, and thus they look for what was said by the educators of the past. Small-scale poetry which is quoted,[23] paraphrased, and summarised is used to support and validate the speaker's opinion in order to make his arguments more easily acceptable by his interlocutors.[24] This is also true of named poets.

Before proceeding to a more detailed analysis of these lyric, elegiac, or iambic reminiscences in Plato, we need to bear in mind a few points. Given the cultural importance of poetic performances on both private and civic occasions, and the large amount of poetry that was used in education,[25] Plato's characters were at liberty to quote and allude to poetry in the confident expectation that the majority of Plato's

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[21] Possibly the tradition of Solon as one of the wise men began with Herodotus. Elements for such a characterisation are found in Solon's poetry, but Herodotus is presumably the first who depicted him as a wise figure.

[22] Only in two cases are the names of lyric and elegiac poets incorporated in the narration without contributing to any argument. In both cases their reference testifies in favour of the speaker's knowledge of facts.
*Hipparch.*228b-c, where Simonides and Anacreon are mentioned as two of the poets Hipparchus brought to Athens; *Chrm.*157e4-158a2, where the house of Critias in Athens is said to have been sung by Anacreon, Solon, and other poets, a mention that adds prestige to Critias. The particular reference in *Charmides* could be coupled with Herodotus' mention of Archilochus' poem on Gyges. Chapter 3, pp.116-117. The reference to the poems of Anacreon and Solon could also be seen as source-citation and an appeal to the audience's knowledge.

[23] Tarrant (1959) 61 distinguishes three types in which poetic quotations are given in the Platonic text:
'(1) Passages…cited correctly and verbatim…(2) Passages in which the poet's own words (cited correctly or not) are adapted to the syntax of Plato's sentence…(3) Passages incorrectly cited, but recognizable as quotations.' On the effect of inexact quotation, ibid. 62-63.

[24] Halliwell (2000) 94 mentions Aristotle's *Metaph.*995a7-8 οἱ δὲ μάρτυρα ἀξιοῦσιν ἐπάγεσθαι ποιητήν on the use of poetic citations to support the arguments of a philosopher. He goes on to justify Aristotle's view by pointing to the Greek song-culture which 'valued the authority of the poetic word' (p.103) and 'where poetry is widely regarded as embodying ethical wisdom and insight' (p.96). For examples of poetic "witnesses" in Plato, ibid. 100.

[25] Morgan (1998) 15-16; Griffith (2001) 70.

readership would recognise the poetic passage and the mentioned poet.[26] This does not mean in all cases that we can suppose knowledge of the original poem in its entirety. It is likely that short excerpts would have circulated detached from their original poetic context, and would thus have become proverbial due to their gnomic character, or due to their potential applicability on different occasions. Education, poetic performances, and circulation of texts need to be seen as the possible reasons for specific poetic extracts to gain an independent existence and to become privileged.[27]

One can distinguish four categories in this group of lyric resonances. The cases in which (i) names of poets are used as representatives of a particular poetic genre in lyric, the instances in which (ii) the poet is named and his name is followed by a quotation, those wherein (iii) the name of the poet is mentioned, but we only have a summary or a paraphrase of the particular poem rather than a verbatim citation, and lastly (iv) the poets who are referred to as good and positive paradigms, and whose attitude is considered exemplary for the speaker.

Representatives of a particular kind of poetry (my category i above) can be found in two passages in the Platonic dialogues; *Phdr*.235b-c for Sappho and Anacreon - Σαπφοῦς τῆς καλῆς ἢ Ἀνακρέοντος τοῦ σοφοῦ - and *Ion* 531a-532a for Archilochus. Sappho and Anacreon are mentioned in an erotic context and in a dialogue which demonstrates Plato's theory of love. Their names and consequently the output of their poetic corpus are used paradigmatically for the manner in which love should be expressed, and the way in which words should invoke desires. It is obvious that both of them had become the erotic poets *par excellence*. Socrates names only these two poets, although he uses language and images from other lyric poets in his speech. We can thus infer their privileged status in this dialogue. As Pender notes, one effect is to prepare the reader for lyric reminiscences in Socrates' speech. Intertextuality between erotic lyric poetry and philosophical dialogue is in this way carefully marked.[28]

The use of Archilochus in *Ion* may be similar, though in this case less certain. He either represents iambic poetry collectively, wherein Homer represents epic poetry

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[26] Halliwell (2000) 96.
[27] For the category of "sayings" in Plato, ibid. 98-99.
[28] Pender (2007b) 1.

and Hesiod didactic, or he is one of the poets who were sung at rhapsodic performances.

$$...\pi \acute{o} \tau \varepsilon \rho o v \ \pi \varepsilon \rho \grave{\iota} \ \dot{\Omega} \mu \acute{\eta} \rho o v$$
μόνον δεινὸς εἶ ἢ καὶ περὶ Ἡσιόδου καὶ Ἀρχιλόχου;...

$$O\dot{v}\kappa o \tilde{v} v \ \sigma \dot{v} \ \phi \dot{\eta} \varsigma \ \kappa \alpha \acute{\iota}$$
Ὅμηρον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ποιητάς, ἐν οἷς καὶ Ἡσίοδος καὶ Ἀρχίλοχός ἐστιν, περί γε τῶν αὐτῶν λέγειν, ἀλλ'οὐχ ὁμοίως, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν εὖ γε, τοὺς δὲ χεῖρον;

(*Ion* 531a1-2, 532a4-7)

Are you skilled in Homer only, or in Hesiod and Archilochus as well? ... And you say that Homer and the other poets, among whom are Hesiod and Archilochus, all speak about the same things, only not similarly; but the one does it well and the rest worse?

Athenaeus (620c) cites Chameleon as a source that rhapsodes not only performed poems of Homer, but also of Hesiod, Archilochus, Mimnermus, and Phokylides. His sources, however, Chameleon and Clearchus of Soli, were intellectuals of the mid-fourth and third century BC. The references could either be inaccurate or reflect the era of the Peripatetics and not of preceding centuries. The text itself is ambiguous. The *Ion* is clearly concerned with rhapsodic art and with professional rhapsodes, and this focus is mentioned by Socrates at the beginning of the dialogue - 530b5-6 καὶ μὴν πολλάκις γε ἐζήλωσα ὑμᾶς τοὺς ῥαψῳδούς, ὦ Ἴων, τῆς τέχνης. Hesiod's poems were already one of the objects of recitation for rhapsodes,[29] and this status could also be reinforced by Socrates' coupling Hesiod[30] with Homer when he questions Ion's ability to interpret what he recites –531a5 Ἔστι δὲ περὶ ὅτου Ὅμηρός τε καὶ Ἡσίοδος ταὐτὰ λέγετον; If the peripatetic inferences are correct, Archilochus may be mentioned because his poetry was one of the objects of rhapsodic recitation. In this case, Plato probably has in mind civic discourse and thus the elegiac narrative poems of Archilochus that were publicly sung[31] rather than the aggressive writer of iamboi. An alternative possibility is that these poets are representatives of different traditions, not different parts of the same tradition, and that Socrates' questions to Ion (531a1-2) refers to three poets who represent three poetic genres – epic, didactic, and

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[29] *Lg*.658d6-7 Ῥαψῳδὸν δέ, καλῶς Ἰλιάδα καὶ Ὀδύσσειαν ἤ τι τῶν Ἡσιοδείων διατιθέντα... On Athenian rhapsodic performances and Hesiod, Graziosi (2010).
[30] Ford (2010) and Most (2010) enumerate the occurrences of Hesiod in Plato and ascertain several tendencies in Plato's reception of Hesiod.
[31] Bowie (1986).

iambic poetry.[32] Thus, the poets may simply be named together to represent different genres or to be perceived as poetry potentially performed by the rhapsode.

Lyric poets whose names accompany cited extracts from their poems (category ii) are Ibycus (*Phdr*.242c8), Stesichorus (*Phdr*.243a5), Simonides (*Prt*.339a6-347a5), and Pindar (*R*.365b2; *Grg*.484b1-2; *Men*.81b1). These citations often function as evidence in support of arguments.[33] They are sometimes evaluated and interpreted by the speakers in such a way that the ethical authority of the source is incorporated within the specific viewpoint. Sometimes, however, that authority is itself contested.[34] Protagoras includes Simonides' poem to Scopas[35] in order to show his skill in literary analysis. Socrates, on the other hand, attempts to demonstrate that Protagoras is not a good literary critic,[36] as he cannot practice brachylogy (*Prt*.329b1-5, 334e3-335a2). If one is willing to see beyond the actual arguments and relate Socrates' arguments in the *Protagoras* and the *Apology*, where he challenges the poet's reputation for wisdom,[37] the exchange between Protagoras and Socrates suggests that poetry cannot be cited as authoritative witness. Indeed poetry is found wanting, and does not offer much to the philosophical method of enquiry;[38] a poem invites various interpretations (*Prt*.347b8-348a2), but none of them can be absolutely correct.[39] The contradictory interpretations of Simonides' fragment in the dialogue reinforce the idea that poets cannot profitably be subjected to scrutiny.[40] Ford is correct to claim with Glenn Most that the critical problems concerning Simonides' poem have to do with contextualisation.[41] The varied interpretations confirm the importance of context in interpreting poetry. Thus, Plato may conceivably be citing

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[32] Cf. *Ion* 534b-c, where Socrates distinguishes between lyric (which he classifies in genres), iambic, and epic poetry.

[33] *Contra* Halliwell (2000) 96n7, who suggests that poetic citation is a way of sharing poetry and 'giving others an opportunity to acquire or renew familiarity with it'.

[34] See Halliwell (2000) 104-106.

[35] For an interpretation of this fragment within the context of the dialogue, Demos (1999) 11-38; Ledbetter (2003) 99-114; Ford (2005) 3-23.

[36] Demos (1999) 14.

[37] Ledbetter (2003) 102, 113-114. *Contra* Demos (1999) 16, who argues that Socrates' reaction to Protagoras' attack on Simonides can be interpreted as an attempt to preserve the stature of the traditional poet-educator.

[38] Demos (1999) 37-38.

[39] Ibid 33.

[40] Ford (2005) 23 is unwilling to perceive this dialogue as a ridicule of poetry, and claims that the passage indicates how Plato would have found poetic texts useful in search for moral knowledge.

[41] Most (1994) 132; Ford (2005) 23.

Simonides' poem not only to display the limits of poetic criticism,[42] but also to undermine the value of poetry as authoritative text.

Specific passages by Ibycus (*Prm*.136e9-137a4), Archilochus (*R*.365c3-6), Stesichorus (*R*.586b7-c5), and Pindar (*Lg*.690b7-c3, 714e6-715a2; *Tht*.173e-174a2; *Phdr*.227b9-11; *Euthd*.304b3-4; *Men*.76d3; *R*.408b7-c1) are paraphrased or alluded to in the Platonic dialogues (category iii). Summaries, paraphrases, and allusions presuppose knowledge of the particular passage in order for the connection with the content to become clear. Some verses and poems had already become proverbial and survived in subsequent literature often as maxims or as widely circulated passages. In other instances, Plato assists the interlocutors in recalling and remembering the specific passage by offering all the necessary information to grasp the point of the lyric reference. Even in cases where recollection would not be possible, paraphrases of the kind mentioned above could function as an alert to the reader. What is essential in all these instances is how the speaker underlines each time the importance, authority, and relevance of the particular passage to his argument or opinion. The above observation is striking in summaries of Pindaric passages in which phrases such as κατὰ Πίνδαρον, ὡς ὁ Θηβαῖος ἔφη ποτὲ Πίνδαρος, ὡς ἔφη Πίνδαρος, ὡς καὶ Πίνδαρος λέγει are employed to introduce and claim authority for the Pindaric lines or ideas.

Tyrtaeus' figure (category iv) has a similar function. The Athenian in the *Laws* gets involved in an imaginary dialogue with Tyrtaeus, in the course of which he quotes Tyrtaeus' poetry. Tyrtaeus is mainly addressed as the elegiac poet who has the answers on the issues raised in the discussion with Cleinias. Having as a starting point the gist of Tyrtaeus' fr.12W, which is paraphrased as an exact quotation (*Lg*.629a4-b3 – what is superior in human life is to be brave at war), the interlocutors address to the poet questions on the nature of war. The Athenian "cites" a few more lines from the particular fragment, which he interprets as praise to those who fight against enemies from other nations rather than to those who participate in civil wars, while he presents a fragment of Theognis to demonstrate that civil wars demand a bigger effort. Nonetheless, Tyrtaeus is treated as the one who sang for and praised military virtue, and his poetry is treated as paradigmatic of the nature of military virtue. This depiction of Tyrtaeus the poet is comparable to Solon's classification as one of the

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[42] Ford (2005) 7.

wise men and lawgivers. The poetic text of Tyrtaeus is treated as authoritative itself, and the Athenian does not reach a conclusion outside Tyrtaeus' poetic corpus.

The paradigm of Stesichorus and his *Palinode* (*Phdr*.243a2-b7) is once more employed in an exemplary way. Socrates uses the Stesichorean *Palinode* in such a way as to demonstrate favour for his second speech on the nature of love.[43] The speech of Lysias treats the theme of love in a rhetorical manner. Lysias emphasises the physical aspects of love, and portrays love in a sophistic manner (*Phdr*.227c2-8).[44] Socrates undermines the essence of Lysias' speech by claiming that others, such as Sappho and Anacreon, had offered a better description of *erōs*. Although Socrates' first speech[45] 'follows Lysias' concern with the lover's poor judgement and decision-making'[46], it still refutes the rhetorician's views. Socrates considers the force and irrational impulse which drives the lovers, and, influenced by his lyric predecessors on the theme of love,[47] he presents the idea of Eros as a conquering and compelling force. Both these speeches indicate an attempt on behalf of 'philosophical discourse…to displace sophistic oratory'[48], and at the same time present a contrast between oratory and lyric poetry. Although at one level the use of the *Palinode* is merely a rhetorical embellishment designed to justify Socrates' *volte face*, it also testifies to the relative value of lyric and oratory for Plato, since the former is deployed in support of Plato and to refute the latter.

Socrates' second speech portrays love as madness and presents the effect it has on the soul itself.[49] However, he needs an exemplar to make his second speech more powerful than the first, and to bestow it with authority and credibility. He, therefore, draws on Stesichorus, who corrected his first defamatory story about Helen by composing a new poem. Socrates characterises Stesichorus' subsequent recantation as καθαρμὸς ἀρχαῖος, and thus invites his hearers to receive his own *palinode* more favourably.[50] By presenting Stesichorus as the model of his behaviour,[51] Socrates

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[43] On the role of Stesichorus' *Palinode* in the dialogue, Demos (1999) 65-86.
[44] Demos (1999) 67.
[45] On Socrates' first speech, Demos (1999) 69-73; on the themes and the lyric resonances of the speech, Pender (2007a) 8-18.
[46] Pender (2007a) 16.
[47] Demos (1999) 68.
[48] Ibid. 67.
[49] On the second speech of Socrates and its themes, Demos (1999) 83-86; on the lyric images and language of the speech, Pender (2007a) 20-52.
[50] For the ritualistic significance of these terms in the dialogue, Demos (1999) 79-80, who perceives Socrates' actions as an apotropaic ritual.

achieves a twofold effect: he draws the desired attention to his second speech, since he implicitly underscores its importance through the parallel with Stesichorus, and secondly, he emphasises the legitimacy of his behaviour[52] by drawing parallels with archaic poets. At the same time he portrays his honesty to his interlocutor, and through this he creates an ethos which ultimately makes his arguments credible and more acceptable.

So far, we have not discussed the use Plato makes of Pindar's poetry as thoroughly as the frequency with which Pindar is quoted, as well as the authoritative (often apothegmatic) tone with which lyric passages from his poems are included in the dialogues.[53] Evidently the Pindaric passage on *nomos* related to the law of nature and justice had become memorable by Plato's time. Not only it is mentioned four times, one of which is a partial (mis-)quotation, - *Grg.*484b-c3,[54] 488b2-6; *Lg.*714e6-715a2; *Prt.*337d - but its citation in Herodotus as well proves its wide circulation and popularity.[55] Only two of the rest of the Pindaric citations are extracts from Pindar's epinicia, which is surprising in itself, given the amount of *gnōmai* included in the victory odes, and also the total number of Pindar's victory odes – *Phdr.*227b9-10 καὶ ἀσχολίας ὑπέρτερον ~ *I.*1.2 πρᾶγμα καὶ ἀσχολίας ὑπέρτερον; *Euthd.*304b3-4 τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ εὐωνότατον, ἄριστον ὄν ~ *O.*1.1 ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ. It is plausible that both these epinician quotations, given their neutral content as well as their apothegmatic nature, became sufficiently well-known to be incorporated verbatim in the text. In fact, the rarity of quotations from Pindar's epinicia is mirrored by a complete absence of citations from Simonidean epinicia. It is noteworthy that possible social[56] and educational reasons could have been the reasons for avoiding any epinician quotations in Plato.

It should now be obvious that lyric poets and their compositions are generally treated with profound respect by Plato's speakers, in a similar way to their use in Herodotus. The above discussion demonstrates Plato's interest in and constant reference to small-scale lyric or elegiac poetry, and for his selective use of literary texts, genres, and poetic figures. Plato employed this kind of poetry in his dialogues

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[51] Demos (1999) 65 argues that Plato presents Socrates as an inspired poet.
[52] Ibid. 65, 66-67.
[53] Silk (2001) 30-39 sees *R.*617d-e as 'a cluster of counter-statements to Pindar' (p.34).
[54] On Callicles' citation of the *nomos* passage, Grote (1994); Demos (1999) 39-64.
[55] On Pindar's *nomos* in Herodotus, Chapter 3, pp.118-119.
[56] For the interpretation of the position of athletes in this period, p.154 with n82.

as it suited him in each case; poetic figures and extracts are incorporated in the Platonic text in order to become arguments, or in order to be used as evidence for philosophical discussions. Plato's approach to poetry makes him hostile to the majority of poetic genres. Lyric is perhaps a rare exception. The personified Poetry in the *Republic* is entitled to return to the city only if she can defend herself ἐν μέλει ἤ τι ἄλλῳ μέτρῳ (607d4-5). The form of her defence, lyric or any other metre, suggests not merely that lyric is presumably the only genre Poetry is allowed to employ, but that it may be the only genre Plato is willing to accept. Plato has an ambiguous view on poetry in general. His attention had obviously been focused on genres that demanded more censorship (epic and drama), while small-scale poetry was ignored. His dialogues, however, demonstrate that there are kinds of small-scale poetry Plato would be prepared to use and permit in his ideal state. He quotes lyric poetry and we can certainly see that it stands above oratory in any Platonic hierarchy of verbal art forms. But he also quotes from epic and tragedy.[57] So, we have yet to determine whether lyric escapes Plato's general censure of poetry. To this we now turn.

Plato on Lyric poetry and the New Music

...βακχεύοντες καὶ μᾶλλον τοῦ δέοντος κατεχόμενοι ὑφ'ἡδονῆς κεραννύντες δὲ θρήνους τἄμνοις καὶ παίωνας διθυράμβοις, καὶ αὐλῳδίας δὴ ταῖς κιθαρῳδίαις μιμούμενοι, ἅπάντα εἰς πάντα συνάγοντες, μουσικῆς ἄκοντες ὑπ' ἀνοίας καταψευδόμενοι ὡς ὀρθότητα μὲν οὐκ ἔχοι οὐδ' ἡντινοῦν μουσική....τοιαῦτα δὴ ποιοῦντες ποιήματα, λόγους τε ἐπιλέγοντες τοιούτους, τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐνέθεσαν παρανομίαν εἰς τὴν μουσικὴν καὶ τόλμαν ὡς ἱκανοῖς οὖσιν κρίνειν· ὅθεν δὴ τὰ θέατρα ἐξ ἀφώνων φωνήεντ' ἐγένοντο, ὡς ἐπαΐοντα ἐν μούσαις τό τε καλὸν καὶ μή, καὶ ἀντὶ ἀριστοκρατίας ἐν αὐτῇ θεατροκρατία τις πονηρὰ γέγονεν.

(*Lg*.700d6-701a3)

And they, being frenzied and unduly possessed by a spirit of pleasure, mixed dirges with hymns and paeans with dithyrambs, and imitated flute-tunes with harp-tunes, and blended every kind of music with every other; and thus, through their folly, they unwittingly bore false witness against music, as a thing without any standard of correctness, of which the best criterion is the pleasure of the auditor, be he a good man or a bad. By compositions of such a character, set to similar words, they bred in the populace a spirit of lawlessness in regard to music, and the effrontery of supposing themselves capable of passing judgment on it. Hence the theatregoers became noisy instead of silent, as though they knew the

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[57] Tarrant (1951) 60, 61 enumerates the explicit identifiable quotations in Plato. The majority of quotations are from Homer (99). Sophocles is quoted once but Plato ascribes the quotation to Euripides (*R*.568a9), Aeschylus eight times, and Euripides seven.

difference between good and bad music, and in place of an aristocracy in music there sprang up a kind of base theatrocracy.

Plato's remarks on music have been taken as evidence for the musical evolution and revolution of the fifth century. His hostility to the New Music is evident throughout his dialogues, explicitly or implicitly. This attitude has to be perceived in connection with emotionalism, which, according to Plato, is related to the nature of poetry. Consequently, his views have some affinity with his hostility to the emotionalism stimulated by epic and tragedy, an issue related to the lower part of the soul, as he explains in his theory on the soul (*R*.442a4-b2, 605c9-d5). The above considerations prove Plato's conservatism, his fixation with the control of emotions, and at the same time his focus on the improvement of humans. Allusions to music in his dialogues have been, so far, discussed solely as proofs of the musical revolution and deterioration in the fifth century, without being closely linked to Plato's philosophical ideas and principles.[58] The first group of musical allusions in Plato's dialogues, according to Barker, has to do with 'the role of music in moral education' with special reference to the corrupt music of his time.[59] All in all, Plato's main concern is the proper subject-matter, rhythm, and tone of music, and finally the moral education of human beings, which aims at the improvement of the soul.[60]

The emotional effect of a musical composition clearly depended on its mode, rhythm and tempo,[61] which is exactly what Plato emphasises when he criticises the "confused" and mixed up music of his time for obeying to no laws, be they musical, cultural or of other nature. Although the Athenian in the *Laws* describes this musical confusion as a mixture of genres in contrast to the "legitimate" generic order, the main concern of the passage is musical *harmoniai* and rhythms. Naturally, an Athenian citizen without expertise and specialised knowledge on musical theory would distinguish music into genres[62] and not in modes and rhythms – *Lg*.700a9-b1

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[58] Barker (1984) 124.

[59] *Ibidem*. The second 'deals with the abstract analysis of musical structures, and sets out a programme for harmonics as mathematical science', and 'the third provides a link between mathematically specifiable harmonic structures to the constitution of the human soul, and to that of the universe at large.'

[60] Ibid. 127.

[61] West (1992) 246.

[62] Though there appear to be some (limited) links between the musical aspects and the genre (West (1992) 177-184), the audience at a civic performance, while aware of the melody of a lyric composition, would distinguish different poetic forms chiefly by external non-musical characteristics such as occasion, cult and festival, honouring god, manner of performance.

διῃρημένη γὰρ δὴ τότε ἦν ἡμῖν ἡ μουσικὴ κατὰ εἴδη τε ἑαυτῆς ἄττα καὶ σχήματα.
Other passages in Plato's dialogues prove that his main anxieties are musical modes, rhythms, and their educational and/or moral functions.

> ...καὶ τοὺς ῥυθμούς τε καὶ τὰς ἁρ-
> μονίας ἀναγκάζουσιν οἰκειοῦσθαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν παίδων, ἵνα
> ἡμερώτεροί τε ὦσιν, καὶ εὐρυθμότεροι καὶ εὐαρμοστότεροι γιγνόμενοι
> χρήσιμοι ὦσιν εἰς τὸ λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν· πᾶς γὰρ ὁ βίος τοῦ
> ἀνθρώπου εὐρυθμίας τε καὶ εὐαρμοστίας δεῖται.

<div align="right">(Prt.326b1-6)</div>

...and they insist on familiarizing the boys' souls with the rhythms and scales, that they may gain in gentleness, and by advancing in rhythmic and harmonic grace may be efficient in speech and action; for the whole of man's life requires the graces of rhythm and harmony.

> Ἆρ' οὖν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὦ Γλαύκων, τούτων ἕνεκα κυριωτάτη
> ἐν μουσικῇ τροφή, ὅτι μάλιστα καταδύεται εἰς τὸ ἐντὸς τῆς ψυχῆς ὅ τε
> ῥυθμὸς καὶ ἁρμονία, καὶ ἐρρωμενέστατα ἅπτεται αὐτῆς φέροντα τὴν
> εὐσχημοσύνην, καὶ ποιεῖ εὐσχήμονα, ἐάν τις ὀρθῶς τραφῇ, εἰ δὲ μή,
> τοὐναντίον;

<div align="right">(R.401d4-e1)</div>

And it is not for this reason, Glaucon, said I, that education in music is most sovereign, because more than anything else rhythm and harmony find their way to the inmost soul and take strongest hold upon it, bringing with them and imparting grace, if one is rightly traind, and the otherwise the contrary?

> ἡ δὲ ἁρμονία, συγγενεῖς ἔχουσα φορὰς ταῖς ἐν ἡμῖν τῆς ψυχῆς περιόδοις,
> τῷ μετὰ νοῦ προσχρωμένῳ Μούσαις οὐκ ἐφ' ἡδονὴν ἄλογον καθάπερ
> νῦν εἶναι δοκεῖ χρήσιμος...καὶ ῥυθμὸς αὖ διὰ τὴν ἄμετρον ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ
> χαρίτων ἐπιδεᾶ γιγνομένην ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις ἕξιν ἐπίκουρος ἐπὶ ταὐτὰ
> ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐδόθη.

<div align="right">(Tim.47d2-e2)</div>

And harmony, which has motions akin to the revolutions of the Soul within us, was given by the Muses to him who makes intelligent use of the Muses, not as an aid to irrational pleasure, as is now supposed...and because of the unmodulated condition, deficient in grace, which exists in most of us, Rhythm also was bestowed upon us to be our helper by the same deities and for the same ends.

Plato's concern about the ethical effects of music was probably derived from Damon's concerns about public morality.[63] As West points out, Damon 'wished to argue that musical modes and rhythms were ultimately connected with ethical qualities, and that accordingly it was important for the state to concern itself with the

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[63] West (1992) 247.

regulation of music and musical education'[64]. Damon developed an ethos-theory of music that was mainly concerned with the psychological effects and behavioural consequences of music and metre.[65] The state control of music was one of Plato's basic recommendations for his ideal city, since humans could inevitably be influenced by *harmoniai* and unethical musical modes, as he claims in the *Laws*. The connection between music and the *polis* was made explicit in Damon's teaching. It had obviously become the basis of Plato's concern about the effects of poetry and music, about music's ethical influence on the souls of performers and audience, and its consequences on society and on the formation of character.[66]

Given the emphasis placed on *harmoniai* and their ethical qualities, and also the comparison Plato makes between music in the old days and music at his own time, one can reach a twofold conclusion: firstly, Plato had adopted Damon's views on the proper ethos of music[67] and secondly, he was possibly not so hostile to archaic lyric as he was to drama and epic. This combination of antithetical treatment of past and present together with the nostalgia for a better past reflects a general Greek tendency (visible from epic onward) to read historical process as one of decline. The use of this thought-pattern with reference to the evolution of music is so close to the comic narrative of lyric development that one is inclined to suspect that Plato is influenced by comic criticism as well as by Damon. Since comedy offered the most sustained engagement with criticism of poetry before Plato, the influence, though at first surprising, would be entirely natural, whether or not Plato was aware of it. The difference, however, is that like Damon and unlike Old Comedy Plato's approach is overtly moralising.

The facets of music and poetry in the old days are described in a nostalgic tone in the *Laws*, and the Athenian portrays the current state of *mousikē* in dark and disappointing colours. The comparison is most likely made not only to rebuke New Music, but also to praise the balanced status of music and poetry when Plato was

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[64] Ibid. 247.

[65] Wallace (2004) 249. On Damon and music education, Lord (1978).

[66] Plato is thought to be the earliest source for Damon. He gives a rough outline of Damon's views on music in *R*.399c-400b, where he presents Damon's doctrines as an account of rhythms imitating types of life.

[67] Anderson (1955) presents convincingly the degree to which Plato's thinking on music shows independence.

young. One should take into account not only the passage in *Laws* with the explicit comparison between archaic poetry and New Music, but also *Gorgias* 501e8-502a.

ΣΩ. Τί δὲ ἡ τῶν χορῶν διδασκαλία καὶ ἡ τῶν διθυράμβων ποίησις; οὐ τοιαύτη τίς σοι καταφαίνεται; ἢ ἡγῇ τι φροντίζειν Κινησίαν τὸν Μέλητος, ὅπως ἐρεῖ τι τοιοῦτον ὅθεν ἂν οἱ ἀκούοντες βελτίους γίγνοιντο, ἢ ὅτι μέλλει χαριεῖσθαι τῷ ὄχλῳ τῶν θεατῶν;

ΚΑΛ. Δῆλον δὴ τοῦτό γε, ὦ Σώκρατες, Κινησίου γε πέρι.

ΣΩ. Τί δὲ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Μέλης; ἢ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον βλέπων ἐδόκει σοι κιθαρῳδεῖν; ἢ ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ ἥδιστον; ἠνία γὰρ ᾄδων τοὺς θεατάς. ἀλλὰ δὴ σκόπει· οὐχὶ ἥ τε κιθαρῳδικὴ δοκεῖ σοι πᾶσα καὶ ἡ τῶν διθυράμβων ποίησις ἡδονῆς χάριν ηὑρῆσθαι;

(*Gorgias* 501e8-502a)

SOC: And what of choral productions and dithyrambic compositions? Are they not manifestly, in your view, of the same kind? Or do you suppose Cinesias, son of Meles, cares a jot about trying to say things of a sort that might be improving to his audience, or only what is likely to gratify the crowd of spectators?

CALL: Clearly the latter is the case, Socrates, with Cinesias.

SOC: And what of his father Meles? Did he ever strike you as looking to what was best in his minstrelsy? Or did he, perhaps, not even make the pleasantest his aim? For his singing used to be a pain to the audience. But consider now: do you not think that all minstrelsy and composing of dithyrambs have been invented for the sake of pleasure?

Socrates uses poetic examples in order to explain the difference between pleasure and true understanding on the part of the poet, and the necessity of improvement through poetry on the part of the audience. What is important in these lines is the fact that he chooses to elaborate specifically on the dithyramb, and particularly on the New Dithyramb. He uses Kinesias, the only Athenian New poet, and his father Meles as his main examples of poetry that aims at pleasing the audience aesthetically without contributing either to their knowledge or to their ethical improvement. In spite of his generalising tone at the end, his examples imply that the attack is aimed in particular at poets of the New Music and the effects the New Dithyramb would have on the audience.

Plato rejected the New Music in the *Laws* and in *Gorgias*, just as he clarified in his *Republic* that poetry which did not benefit the citizens should not be permitted in the state. He does, however, consent to encomiastic archaic poetry for humans and

hymns for the gods[68] to be the only acceptable poetry in his *Republic*, but once more under constraints and censorship.

...εἰδέναι δὲ ὅτι ὅσον μόνον ὕμνους
θεοῖς καὶ ἐγκώμια τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ποιήσεως παραδεκτέον εἰς πόλιν; εἰ δὲ
τὴν ἡδυσμένην Μοῦσαν παραδέξῃ ἐν μέλεσιν ἢ ἔπεσιν, ἡδονή σοι καὶ
λύπη ἐν τῇ πόλει βασιλεύσετον ἀντὶ νόμου τε καὶ τοῦ κοινῇ ἀεὶ
δόξαντος εἶναι βελτίστου λόγου.

(*R*.607a3-7)

...but we must know the truth, that we can admit no poetry into our city save only hymns to the gods and the praises of good men. For if you grant admission to the honeyed muse in lyric or epic, pleasure and pain will be lord of your city instead of law and that which shall from time to time have approved itself to the general reason as the best.

This passage should be compared with the extract from *Gorgias*. Socrates criticises poetry composed simply for pleasure,[69] and it is specified that encomia and hymns could be permitted in the ideal city, as long as they do not serve pleasure (τὴν ἡδυσμένην Μοῦσαν). The terms ὕμνος and ἐγκώμιον[70] are used in a vague way which allows us to infer various lyric genres (secular and religious), if these two are perceived as broader groups of poetry.[71] If by *enkomion* we mean poetry of praise for humans, this definition could also be considered to include the epinician ode, *thrēnoi*, which (as the surviving fragments suggest) is devoted not only to grief and consolation but also to praise of human achievements in life, and love-poetry that expresses admiration for the beloved's beauty. Songs for gods could include, as well

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[68] Scholars have attempted to explain this seeming inconsistency with no general agreement. Annas (1981) 344 claims, offering no arguments, that Plato is not inconsistent in this exception because he knows that such productions are not real poetry. Janaway (1995) 131 asserts that hymns and eulogies cannot be mimetic; 'they aim to benefit the citizens, not simply to please them.' Levin (2001) 153 contends that '607a...concentrates on poetry's civic role, which must be kept distinct from the pedagogical function previously assigned to it in the context of early education.' Konstan (2005) 5 suggests that hymns and encomia to virtuous people offer pleasure to the superior part of the soul.

[69] On aesthetic pleasure, Leszl (2004) 149-153.

[70] Space precludes a detailed analysis of the Platonic terminology of lyric εἴδη, which was very influential in the Hellenistic classification of lyric poetry. For the broad literal and rhetorical use of the term *encomion* in Plato, Harvey (1955) 163-165. Plato introduced a technical limitation for the term *hymn*, as the name of a specific religious genre. On the multifarious use of the term *hymnos*, Harvey (1955)165-168.

[71] Levin (2001) 161-162 claims that it is not possible to interpret the terms broadly. Her assumption is based on the argument that Plato does not use the term *encomion* in a non-traditional and non-conventional form and meaning. She fails, however, to see that what we call conventional meaning of the lyric generic terms was actually influenced by the Platonic use. On this issue, Nagy (1990) 110-111.

as what Plato calls "hymns,"[72] paeans and dithyrambs, provided they do not tell morally problematic myths but focus instead on praising the deity and on deictic statements regarding the cult. Although the above are merely inferences, the inference is plausible in relation to Plato's views on education, on the moral integrity of the human being, and his theory of the soul. If both hymns and encomia are used in a broad sense, as supposed above, and encompass a large number of "genres", then according to Plato's own ideal as presented throughout the *Republic*, the iambic genre (and presumably Aristophanic comedy) would definitely not have had a place in Plato's educational program. This would be due to their invective and often abusive language. The same could possibly apply to erotic poetry which focused on the physicality of love and on the corporal results of passion. Since lyric poetry is unusually reticent about physical acts, the volume of erotic poetry excluded would be small; the excluded group would presumably include those iamboi which dealt with explicit sex.

Plato's constant attack on the New Music should be perceived as a result of his ethical worries. All the theories he developed in the *Republic* have to do with the subjugation of the self and the individual desire toward the community and the common good. The most vivid exemplification of this is his theory on the soul, and his insistence on the strengthening of the "reasoning" part that should subdue the personal desires (*R*.439d4-8, 441e3-6).[73] He continuously emphasises the sense of the community, which needs to be strengthened not only by appropriate education, but also by the appropriate communal festivities. The lyric material Plato cites needs also to be seen under the spectrum of Plato's views on the social use of lyric. If perceived in this light, it seems that cult material was more appealing to Plato. In contrast, as noted above, the epinician material, which praises an individual, does not seem to be employed in the same degree. It is, therefore, likely that the role of the chorus in these civic performances,[74] in which the group-performers were engaged with and projected to the community, was an essential feature for Plato's choice of lyric approval or disapproval. As has been noted, the experimentations of the New Poets were often

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[72] Plato uses the term in both a broad and a limited sense. In *Lg*.700b1-2 it is generally song for gods (εὐχαὶ πρὸς θεούς, ὄνομα δὲ ὕμνοι ἐπεκαλοῦντο), whereas in *R*.607a (θεῶν ὕμνους καὶ παίωνας εἶναι) and *Symp*.177a6-7 (ὕμνους θεοῖς) it is (a specific) religious song as opposed to secular.

[73] Greco (1994) 159 sees the strengthening of the rational part of the soul as the goal of Plato's education.

[74]*Lg*.655d5 μιμήματα τρόπων ἐστὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς χορείας.

made at the cost of the 'chorus' traditional unity'[75], which resulted in monodic performances of dithyrambs. The chorus may have been perceived by Plato as representing the civic body collectively. He very often emphasises that audiences should benefit from a performance (*R*.401d4-8). Thus, it is probable that civic performances for Plato, where the voice of the chorus was virtually the united voice of the community, functioned as a paradigm of an ideal city.

Therefore, we should not concentrate solely on the moral and ethical issues related to music according to Plato, but also on the identity projected in a poetic performance. Plato's concern is the city, the collective identity, and the communal purpose of the citizens. Anderson points out that the purpose of Plato's *paideia* is uniformity.[76] It is also important not to focus on one single aspect of lyric poetry when we are dealing with Plato's criticism of the New Music - content, music (sound), or the actual performance (vision) – since all these elements deteriorated when the New Music came to the foreground.

Silence in Plato: Bacchylides and others.

Wallace rightly observes that not everything Plato condemned was unworthy.[77] Plato was likely a minority voice. We need to detach ourselves from his views and especially from his "factual" narrative in order to perceive alternative perspectives.[78] If we look more closely at the above survey of lyric songs in Plato's dialogues, we can discern another feature of Platonic criticism which has been barely touched upon: *damnatio memoriae*. Plato chooses to write a small number of poets quietly out of his discussion, the majority of which are New Poets (Timotheus, Melanippides, Phrynis, Philoxenus, Telestes, and Crates). There is only one poet from what later became the canon: Bacchylides. The rest of the nine canonical lyric poets are mentioned by name, alluded to, or quoted in his dialogues. If we expand the meaning of lyric beyond the canon, Theognis, Archilochus, and Tyrtaeus are also included and only Mimnermus is absent. Hipponax and Semonides are excluded from the "lyric" group of Plato, which is as one would expect in view of the sexual explicitness of their iambos and the

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[75] Csapo (2004) 214.
[76] Anderson (1966) 90.
[77] Wallace (1997) 100.
[78] Chapter 2.2, p.110n122.

invective, in a sense, character of their poetry.[79] Why, then, is Plato silent about Bacchylides? Does silence mean condemnation and negative criticism or accidental ignorance? Given the frequency of references to Pindar and Simonides, we need to recapitulate briefly on the manner in which he incorporates them in his work.

As has already been mentioned, Plato chooses not to quote extensively from Pindar's epinicia, although he could have quoted from any of the *gnōmai* found in the victory odes. Absence of Simonides' victory odes from the Platonic dialogues makes the exclusion more striking. Many factors need to be taken into account in order to understand this selectivity. It is possible that Plato identified epinician poetry not simply with the praise of human achievement, but also with the victor's attempt to be distinguished and admired. Plato's educational goal was to create citizen-philosophers, or at least people who would have been able to control their impulses and strive for the attainment of knowledge and truth. Athletic victors were people who sought honour for themselves and concentrated on achievements that would distinguish them from their fellow citizens. The ethical aspect of the pursuit of glory in athletics should also be taken into account for the above argument. When Plato explains the tripartite nature of the soul[80] in his *Republic*, he asserts that a healthy soul is the soul in which "reason" rules, given that it thinks for the overall good and sets criteria to control the appetitive desires (*R.*439d4-8).[81] Distinction, victory, honours, and praise are desires which serve egoistic aims. In fact, one strand of the philosophical tradition considered athletes to be useless.[82] Plato's philosophical plan and principles could be the reason why he did not include more citations from victory odes. The two cited lines from Pindar's victory odes are consistent with the above suggestions.[83] They are both neutral and related neither to the occasion the entire poem celebrates nor to the person for which it was composed.

In addition, if we take as an example the quotation from Simonides in the *Protagoras*, Plato probably intentionally quoted passages which would make his

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[79] In a paper delivered at the APA Conference 2010 (*Iambic Platonism*), Tom Hawkins points out that Plato was remembered in biographic tradition as an iambic figure. This twist of Plato's figure in the biographical tradition could possibly be seen as reactive not only to the morality with which Plato attempted to endow poetry but also to his choice to ignore iambic poets.
[80] On a detailed account on the three-part soul, Ferrari (2007).
[81] Janaway (1995) 143.
[82] Ath.414c *Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ὁ Ξενοφάνης κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σοφίαν ἐπαγωνίζεται, διαβάλλων ὡς ἄχρηστον καὶ ἀλυσιτελὲς τὸ τῆς ἀθλήσεως εἶδος* (Xenoph.10-14).
[83] Pp.142-143.

characters and readership ponder on moral or philosophical issues. He also likely gave priority to passages which were recognisable to the interlocutors and his readership. One possible reason for the exclusion of Bacchylides' poetry is that it did not offer many opportunities for quotations of *gnōmai* for philosophical analysis. On the other hand, some poetry had a higher recognition factor. The same could be valid for poets; it is possible that Bacchylides' poetry lacked the necessary reputation to be immediately identified and recognised by both speakers and readership, contemporary and succeeding.[84]

The dialogues indicate that Plato was well-read and well-versed in Greek poetry[85] and prose prior to his time. It is on the whole unlikely that he did not know Bacchylides, or that he had neither heard nor read his poetry. Plato presumably had reasons for being silent. We have some reason to believe that Aristophanes had knowledge of Bacchylides, and more specifically of his victory odes, specifically *Ode 5*.[86] Herodotus also presumably had encountered Bacchylides' poetry, since his story of Croesus on the pyre has close affinities with *Ode 3*.[87] In most of the cases in which Plato touches upon lyric poetry, he seems to be following the agenda of Aristophanes. He names and uses figures and poetry of all the archaic poets Aristophanes makes use of with the exception of Hipponax. Even in the case of New Music, he singles out the Athenian Kinesias, who is the only representative of the New Dithyramb being parodied in Aristophanes. It is possible that Plato was influenced in his perception of Bacchylides' poetry by Aristophanes, who (I have argued) probably considered him neither archaic nor representative of the New Music.[88] We have seen that Plato employs or quotes exclusively archaic lyric poets, and criticises the New Poets, when they are mentioned in his dialogues. If, therefore, Plato followed Aristophanes on the evaluation of Bacchylides as the poet in the middle, then logically he could not have employed him in either way in his dialogues.

However, Plato should be allowed to speak for Plato, and one should attempt to find an answer for Bacchylides' absence within the Platonic corpus. The emphasis Plato gives to music in connection with emotionalism, and the impact it has on

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[84] Although failure to recognise extracts from Bacchylides' poetry sounds like a paradox given his Athenian commissions, the assumption is nonetheless conceivable.
[85] Cf. Demos (1999) 7.
[86] Chapter 2.2, pp.103-105.
[87] Chapter 3, pp.123-127.
[88] On features of the New Music in Bacchylides, Chapter 2.2, pp.108-111.

humans, has been continuously emphasised. Plato had banned Homer and tragedy not only because of the negative consequences *mimēsis* could cause but also due to the influence it could have on the lowest part of the soul. Additionally, the New Music and its *harmoniai* were mainly criticised due to the negative effects they would have on citizens, and specifically due to the emotions it could stimulate in their soul. Taking also into account the Platonic agenda, the fact that Plato 'made poetry through and through an ethical, not an aesthetic affair,'[89] we could conclude that Bacchylides and his poetry had qualities which would not have been classified as "platonic".

One of the most important characteristics of Bacchylides' poetry is *pathos*. Bacchylides manages to reveal the emotions of the personae in his myths and narrative. Their extensive use of emotional appeal could have a potentially detrimental effect on the audience. It also represents behaviour which would align it with the "*mimēsis*" which Plato rejects in *Republic*. One can find in Bacchylides' poems vivid and pitiable scenes in which the emotional part of the soul, according to Plato, would get carried away. Bacchylides portrays his mythical characters realistically, and the direct speech he employs makes them assimilate closely to characters in a Greek drama. We sympathise with Croesus' despair, and we feel sorrow for the fate of his daughters who weep and mourn in *Ode 3*. Heracles and Meleager are portrayed as vulnerable and sentimental without their heroic qualities in *Ode 5*, and they arouse pity and sorrow for their ignorance. We experience the fear of Aegeus in *Ode 18*, the agony of Proteus in *Ode 11*, the panic of the youths on the Cretan ship after Theseus' dive in *Ode 17*, and we feel pity for Deianeira in *Ode 16*. Emotional dramatic portrayals such as these would be enjoyed by the "emotional" part of the spectators' soul, and this engagement in feeling could progressively reinforce the inferior part of the soul and weaken the "reasoning" part.[90]

Despite the lack of labelling in Plato, it is clear that the response he describes for the audience is what Aristotle later called *pathos* (*Rhet*.1356a1-33). According to Aristotle, *pathos* has two aspects; the emotions of the speaker and the emotions generated in the audience.[91] As Plato continuously emphasised in his work, this emotional response on the part of the audience is generally employed as a means of persuasion by the poet. Carey points out, 'in the case of Pindar *pathos* is usually

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[89] Leszl (2006) 325.
[90] Janaway (1995) 149; Kamtekar (2008) 351.
[91] Carey (1999) 22.

explicit and normally is overtly produced by authorial intervention.'[92] In contrast to Pindar, Bacchylides substitutes for the authorial voice emotional responses encoded in the narrative[93] and frequently uttered by his mythical characters. Heracles is portrayed as a human figure with emotional weakness in *Ode 5*, not simply (as in Pindar) as the great achiever.[94] His tears appear as a consequence of Meleager's story, but, at the same time, they function as exemplary of the audience's response. Bacchylides' narrative itself develops and elaborates on the emotions he wants to create in his audience,[95] and the mythical characters express in direct speech both the emotional result of their suffering and Bacchylides' *gnōmai*. The tension in the narrative is not only formed by the elaborate descriptions in the myth, but also by the portrayal of the characters. Not only are they ignorant with limited control over their lives, they are also the means through which the audience sympathises and at the same time recognises its privileged position. The audience of Bacchylides is not passive; the lack of authorial statements demands an active involvement in order to grasp and interpret the hints of the narrative. Each one of the attendants at the performance is aware of Heracles' destiny. Thus, they are asked to recall and narrate in their head the story of Deianeira and Heracles in *Ode 5* in order to feel the irony of Heracles' request, and they are called to interpret the meaning of the gift he receives from Nessus and his wife in *Ode 16*.

The "tragic" aspect of Bacchylides' poetry has long been recognised by classical scholars.[96] My point here is that the elements singled out by modern scholars as quintessential to his work are exactly the elements that Plato found appalling in tragedy and Homer: the creation of emotions,[97] the strong mimetic element, and the emotional participation of the audience in the narrative. Possibly, Bacchylides' poetry was excluded from Plato's dialogues because of these characteristics, which brought it closer to tragedy and epic rather than to the lyric poetry Plato employed in his work. The quotations, adaptations, and allusions to small-scale poetry are displayed as authoritative examples in the dialogues. Plato could not even use Bacchylides' *gnōmai* because they were extremely contextual. It is entirely possible, therefore, that

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[92] *Ibidem.*
[93] Ibid. 24.
[94] Socrates claims that poetic passages at which great heroes appear to weep and mourn should be deleted. – *R*.387e ὀρθῶς ἄρ' ἂν ἐξαιροῖμεν τοὺς θρήνους τῶν ὀνομαστῶν ἀνδρῶν.
[95] On *pathos* in Bacchlylides, Carey (1999) 22-29.
[96] E.g. Jebb (1906) 113, 221; Kirkwood (1966) 113; Burnett (1985) 114-149.
[97] Crotty (2009) 107-114.

Plato knew Bacchylides but was reluctant to employ his poetry because, firstly, it did not suit his purposes, and secondly, it possessed all the characteristics he found reproachable in poetry. Why then was not Bacchylides' criticised? Plato does not rebuke any of the archaic lyric poets, and he is even silent when it comes to the New Poets, in spite of the general criticism of their poetry. We should bear in mind that he does not offer a discussion on how to write appropriate or good poetry, so we do not expect Bacchylides to have been attacked for his poetic trends. The dialogues suggest that Plato classifies poetry into groups – mimetic poetry (tragedy and Homer), archaic small-scale poetry, and New Music. He has said that he would ban all mimetic poetry from his ideal city, in which he could possibly have classified Bacchylides' poetry. On the other hand, silence could be interpreted as puzzlement; it could indicate hostility, but it could also indicate confusion. By this I mean that Plato may have found it difficult to classify Bacchylides' poetry into one of his groups because it possessed affinities with all of them. In any case, Plato condemned Bacchylides' name and poetry to silence, and we can only infer the reasons.

Plato proves himself to be of great value with regards to the reception of small-scale poetry in general and lyric poetry in particular. Beyond the reasonable conclusion that certain poets and works were in circulation in some form, Plato offers us the possibility to perform a comparative study with Aristophanes and Herodotus. The evidence speaks for itself: Plato follows the line already drawn by Aristophanes, and his dialogues confirm the pan-Hellenic aspect of some of Herodotus' lyric resonances and quotations. Plato's writings are also the pivotal point of convergence between lyric reception and the Hellenistic era. As will be demonstrated, the Hellenistic scholars stood on the shoulders of previous poetic criticism, the largest of which were those of Plato.

4.2. Aristotle and the Peripatos

When we turn from Plato to Aristotle we are surprised by the lack of interest in lyric poetry in Aristotle's treatises. Although Aristotle testifies to the continuity of the song-culture in some form, lyric is of little interest to him, and in marked contrast to drama, epic, and oratory, it is not an area in which he opposes Plato. This is obvious in the absence of a narrative of decline and confusion, so prominent in Plato, and in Aristotle's lack of interest in formulating comprehensively a history of lyric, as he does with tragedy. Aristotle may have set the foundations of the Peripatetic philosophy and of the theories and methods employed in the Lyceum but he does not direct the focus of their lyric research. That is Plato's legacy. Plato's view of lyric history seems to prevail in later studies, to the extent that the Peripatetics ignore the kind of lyric poetry that was not appreciated by Plato, and concentrate on the great masters of lyric from the fifth century. Plato's intellectual stature meant that he could not be ignored. He may have directed the focus of the Peripatos on literary matters, but he does not shape the view of the school on every single literary theme. As will be seen, the Peripatetic literary criticism in some respects follows the Platonic agenda and in others the teachings of Aristotle, who attempts to answer and respond to some of the Platonic views in his *Poetics* and the eighth book of the *Politics*, where he develops his views on music, education, poetry, and emotions. The present chapter focuses on their interest in Greek literature, including poetry, and the poets themselves – primarily the lyric poets. Unfortunately their works have survived merely as titles, and thus the sole source for their interests, the authors and texts which concerned them, and for the content of their treatises will be Atheneaus and his *Deipnosophistae*.

Aristotle on mousikē and the Art of Poetics

Aristotle's *Poetics* to a large extent works as an antidote to Plato's criticism of poetry,[1] and is presented as a counterargument to Plato's dismissive attitude towards poetry in general and tragedy in particular. Aristotle attempts to offer guidelines and models for good poetry and to clarify that poetry is a τέχνη; being an art, poetry can thus be practiced and improved through training and experience. Poets themselves can

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[1] Lloyd (1968) 272.

also be trained. Both of these conclusions are in contrast to Plato's basic beliefs on poetry and poets[2] and form one of the essential differences, if not oppositions, in the way they treat poetry. Aristotle evaluated poetry against the multiple backgrounds established by Plato.[3] To mention only a few: Aristotle redefines mimesis as a vital issue; he attempts to re-establish the significance of tragedy and of the Homeric epic; he distinguishes different kinds of pleasures relevant to arts without condemning the kind of poetry which offers pleasure to its audience; he proposes that emotions, even powerful emotions, are no longer inherently bad. The intellectual process through which poetic mimesis offers pleasure, and Aristotle's cognitive conception of the emotions, which are aligned with understanding and learning,[4] could be perceived as central for the whole of the poetic art. One would, therefore, expect that lyric poetry would be an important topic in Aristotle's *Poetics*. Yet, Aristotle makes only a marginal reference to the dithyramb in the course of his history of forms and ignores other lyric genres entirely.

Absence of lyric poetry in the *Poetics* has received only limited discussion. It has been suggested that since tragedy is presented as the outcome of a generic evolution in which poetic genres are treated as parts of a single art, it is thus treated as the representative of the art both as a whole and at its best.[5] The characteristics of a good tragedy (unity, plot-structure, enactment, and narrative), or a good artefact, if we accept the representative role of tragic drama, could not have been applied to most of the lyric genre.[6] This approach, however, is both speculative and extremely reductive. Small-scale poetry as a whole may not possess these characteristics, but specific lyric genres could display them individually.[7] Neglect of lyric poetry could also possibly be related to Aristotle's lack of specific interest in the lyric portions in tragedy.[8] Bywater suggests that tragic lyric, for Aristotle, belonged to the field of music, 'the theory of

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[2] Socrates' comment in *Ion* 533d1-2 that 'the ability of a *rhapsode* does not depend on a *technē*, but on a divide force which emanates from the Muses' (Murray (1996) 8) could also be applied to the poets.
[3] Halliwell (1998) 52.
[4] Golden (1992) 63; Halliwell (2002) 177-206.
[5] Halliwell (1998) 280-282. It is difficult not to express reservations on this view, given that we do not possess the second book of *Poetics* on comedy.
[6] *Ibidem*.
[7] Apart from the dithyramb, we could find plot, unity, enactment, and narrative, obviously in a shorter scale, in long victory odes (e.g. Bacchylides' *Odes 5&13*, Pindar's *P*.4), elegies (e.g. recitative elegies), iambic, and erotic poetry, and most importantly in the poetry of Stesichorus. (e.g. *Geryoneis*, *Thebaid*).
[8] Halliwell (1998) 68-69, 249-250 assumes that for Aristotle the lyric portions of tragedy are decorative.

μελοποιία'[9]. A similar line is taken by Sykutris, who connects Aristotle's view with the decline of the verbal component in late fifth-century lyric.[10] He suggests that the subjugation of words, content, and myth to music could have made Aristotle classify fourth century lyric poetry in the field of music rather than poetry. In fact, a reading of the passages in the *Poetics* where Aristotle discusses either the chorus or its specifically lyric component offers no support for the view that he saw lyric song in tragedy as largely musical sound rather than verbal performance.[11] Although Aristotle can treat μελοποιία as a "sweetener" (1450b16 μέγιστον τῶν ἡδυσμάτων), elsewhere lyric song is a formal alternative to spoken metrical verse (1449b30f). Like the spoken verse, it is a means of mimesis (1449b31-33). The statement that the chorus should be one of the characters (1456a25ff) makes less sense as an evaluation of the relatively small amount of spoken choral utterance in tragedy than as a comment on the totality of the choral contribution, which includes lyric song. What is absent is a distinct sense of tragic lyric as sung performance. Since the focus in the *Poetics* is very much on tragedy as a verbal construct with a strong emphasis on the centrality of plot, this is perhaps unsurprising. This does not mean that lyric song is of no significance, merely that the physical facts of performance take second place to the textuality of choral enunciation. Unfortunately, however, this takes us back to square one, in that the absence of a theorisation of choral lyric in tragedy means that the one text which might have addressed archaic lyric explicitly is unhelpful.

Any attempt to understand the perception of lyric poetry by Aristotle is not possible without the *Politics*. *Mousikē* is addressed within the broader issue of education in a well-ordered society in the last book of the *Politics*. *Politics* 1339a11-1342b34 is 'the most valuable single treatment of musical paideia and paideutic ethos

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[9] Bywater (1909) 97. Cf.*Metaph*.993b15-16 εἰ μὲν γὰρ Τιμόθεος μὴ ἐγένετο, πολλὴν ἂν μελοποιίαν οὐκ εἴχομεν· εἰ δὲ μὴ Φρῦνις, Τιμόθεος οὐκ ἂν ἐγένετο. Phrynichus is said to have been a μελοποιός rather than a tragedian – Arist.*Pr*.920a11 διὰ τί οἱ περὶ Φρύνιχον ἦσαν μᾶλλον μελοποιοί; and Euripides begins his criticism of the *chorika* of Aeschylus in Ar.*Ran*.1249f by calling him κακὸν μελοποιόν.

[10] Sykutris (2003) 108.

[11] I find myself here in partial agreement with Sifakis (2001) 59, who, based on Aristotle's arguments in the *Politics*, argues that Aristotle does not mean that song and music are embellishments to tragedy; they are poetic resources on their own right. He correctly contests the view that Aristotle dismisses the contribution of choral lyric to tragedy and his view evaluates actual practice, since it can be exemplified in the surviving tragedies. There is nothing in the text of the *Poetics* though to suggest this was Aristotle's view. Sifakis reaches this conclusion only after he refers to the manner in which lyric is perceived in the *Politics*. His formulation shows that we cannot speak of the lyric parts of tragedy in the *Poetics* without considering the views on music expressed in the *Politics*.

that has been preserved to us.'[12] There is an ambiguity in the term *mousikē* in the *Politics*, as elsewhere in Greek. Phrases such as <u>ἀκροώμενοι</u> τῶν μιμήσεων...καὶ χωρὶς <u>τῶν ῥυθμῶν καὶ τῶν μελῶν</u> αὐτῶν (1340a12-14), ἔστι δὲ ὁμοιώματα μάλιστα παρὰ τὰς ἀληθινὰς φύσεις <u>ἐν τοῖς ῥυθμοῖς καὶ τοῖς μέλεσιν</u> ὀργῆς καὶ πραότητος (1340a18-20), μεταβάλλομεν γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν <u>ἀκροώμενοι</u> τοιούτων (1340a22-23), <u>ἐν δὲ τοῖς μέλεσιν</u> αὐτοῖς ἔστι μιμήματα τῶν ἠθῶν (1340a38-39) bring us closer to the field of lyric poetry than to any other genre. *Melos* can, of course, be "tune", but in such cases the indeterminacy of the term leaves open the possibility of song. *Pol*.1338a22-30 and 1341a25 support the view that Aristotle may often have had both in mind. Lyric was *the* sung poetic medium and it is what Aristotle probably has in mind, at least in part, when he mentions the use of song at banquets and symposia. The custom of singing in a sympotic context exemplifies the love of learning (1338a22-30...ταύτην ἀρίστην εἶναι διαγωγήν). Thus, when songs are used for relaxation, lyric poetry is presumably the implied form. His emphasis on *melos* and *harmoniai* does not allow us to infer that he has epic or tragedy in mind; it is more likely to be lyric. It is also probable that when he talks about music with words he presumably has lyric in mind;[13] the *aulos* prevents words and has to be forbidden[14] - 1341a25, τὸ κωλύειν τῷ λόγῳ χρῆσθαι τὴν αὔλησιν. We are thus justified in using his treatment of *mousikē* to reconstruct his views on lyric.

As Barker has noted, Aristotle's treatment of *mousikē* in the *Politics* has two key characteristics: lack of dogmatism, and willingness to embrace anything that has been found valuable and good for people.[15] Like Plato, Aristotle's aim is to advise and, here as elsewhere, his points of departure are the real practices and views of educated Greeks. Both these features are essential for various reasons. Aristotle's disinclination to dismiss opinions held by others, even if they did not conform to his philosophical teachings, sets him potentially apart from Plato, especially on the topic of music. Plato had dismissed 'music not conducive to moral education'.[16] Aristotle, on the other hand, sought to find for musical matters rejected or banned by Plato –

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[12] Anderson (1966) 123.

[13] Ford (2004) 220-325 discusses the lacuna in Γ in 1340a12-14 and concludes that probably Aristotle has in mind lyric genres, such as the dithyramb and the *nomos*.

[14] The *aulos* is also forbidden by Aristotle because it has no ethical character and does not contribute to intellectual development. See Anderson (1966) 136-137; Wilson (1999) 85-95; Newman (2000) 551-552.

[15] Barker (1984) 171.

[16] *Ibidem*.

stimulating musical instruments, professional performers, professional musical training, convivial and exciting *harmoniai* – a place within a well-ordered and well-adjusted society, and 'he proposes to evaluate music not theoretically but practically.'[17]

While Plato attempted to correct the use of music in his time and to promote ideal and philosophical poetry, Aristotle described, without correcting or preaching, functions and purposes of poetry and music in general. Although his concern was the well-being of the citizens and consequently the well-being of the state, he incorporated all the functions of poetry and music without any dismissals. Aristotle accepted that poetry had basic practical functions, such as influencing human character, providing opportunities for recreational reading, and even as a means of relaxing from one's labours. What mainly distinguishes his views from Plato's is his belief that the creation of emotions, even painful ones, could be beneficial. This is probably the basic line upon which both Aristotle's acceptance and Plato's rejection of poetic and musical pleasure lie. Consequently, influence from music and poetry on the soul is expected and accepted in the Aristotelian society, but rejected and avoided in the Platonic city.

Furthermore, Aristotle places great emphasis on how children should be equipped in order to be able to make correct choices in their adult life. Despite his agreement with Plato on state control of education (*Pol*.1337a22-24) and on censoring myths and *logoi*, Aristotle seeks to demonstrate how education should equip young people against evil poetic representations and influences. This is in contrast with the Platonic view, which attempts to ban that which could promote bad habits. Concurrently, Aristotle speaks of banishment of indecent images and speeches *only* when referring to children, while Plato does not distinguish between ages. He considers humans of any age prone to bad influence, and envisages *paideia* as a lifetime process. For Aristotle *paideia* is perceived as a childhood process, with results effective during maturity.[18] This is the reason why *mousikē* is mainly examined as part of the school curriculum of a state.

Aristotle categorises the social functions of *mousikē*: *mousikē* contributes to amusement and pleasure (παιδιά) – a view that would obviously command

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[17] Anderson (1966) 121.
[18] Ibid. 138-139.

widespread support - to character formation (παιδεία), and to leisure processes (διαγωγή ἐν σχολῇ). *Mousikē* is not useful or profitable *per se*,[19] in the way of other traditional school subjects (e.g. gymnastics). It should be considered to be an end and should be constitutive of the good life, since it serves an ethical purpose: it contributes to leisure (πρὸς ἐν τῇ σχολῇ διαγωγήν), and gives the soul a certain moral character.[20] Musical activity is linked, for Aristotle, with ethical formation, intellectual improvement, and happiness, and it thus receives the highest praise when it comes to moral and intellectual development in children. It promotes excellence (πρός ἀρετήν), and its aims are to mould characters (τὸ ἦθος ποιόν τι ποιεῖν), to habituate to true pleasures (χαίρειν ὀρθῶς) as well as enjoyment of leisure, and mental cultivation (πρὸς διαγωγήν τι συμβάλλεται καὶ πρός φρόνησιν).[21] Aristotle does not minimise the role of *mousikē* into mere amusement and relaxation, but its natural capacity to please, its recreational quality, and ability to produce ethical responses in listeners apparently make *mousikē* appropriate for education.[22] He also emphasises that correct enjoyment of *mousikē*, which would ultimately contribute to virtue, to leisure time, and wisdom depends on the musical education people had when they were young – *Pol.*1340b38f δύνασθαι δὲ τὰ καλὰ κρίνειν καὶ χαίρειν ὀρθῶς διὰ τὴν μάθησιν τὴν γενομένην ἐν τῇ νεότητι.

Aristotle differs from Plato in that he distinguishes between good and bad music and poetry, and not between their good and bad moral effects. His distinction is made according to the contexts in which they are employed (presentations at musical competitions and school), and to the musical *harmoniai* used in each.

> ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν τε ὀργάνων καὶ τῆς ἐργασίας ἀποδοκιμάζομεν τὴν τεχνικὴν παιδείαν (τεχνικὴν δὲ τίθεμεν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας· ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ ὁ πράττων οὐ τῆς αὑτοῦ μεταχειρίζεται χάριν ἀρετῆς, ἀλλὰ τῆς τῶν ἀκουόντων ἡδονῆς, καὶ ταύτης φορτικῆς, διόπερ οὐ τῶν ἐλευθέρων κρίνομεν εἶναι τὴν ἐργασίαν, ἀλλὰ θητικωτέραν· καὶ βαναύσους δὴ συμβαίνει γίγνεσθαι· πονηρὸς γὰρ ὁ σκοπὸς πρὸς ὃν ποιοῦνται τὸ τέλος·

(*Pol.*1341b8-14)

And since we reject professional education in the instruments and in performance (and we count performance in competitions as professional, for the performer does not take part in it

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[19] Kraut (1997) 182; Ford (2004) 314
[20] Kraut (1997) 182.
[21] *Pol.*1339a21-26.
[22] Ford (2004) 315-325.

for his own improvement, but for his hearers' pleasure, and that a vulgar pleasure, owing to which we do not consider performing to be proper for free men, but somewhat menial; and indeed performers do become vulgar, since the object at which they aim is a low one.

Aristotle is concerned with the effect poetry will have on the audience's emotions, and, as Plato, he has reservations about the kind of pleasure induced. The (emotional) weakness of the audience is one of his main worries in *Poetics* 1453a33f διὰ τὴν τῶν θεάτρων ἀσθένειαν. Unlike Plato, however, Aristotle does not attempt to mould the character of the adult audience. Since, as Plato also believes, performers and poets can influence the audience, Aristotle attempts to restrict their influence to the sphere of pleasure.[23]

His verdict could be based on two principles: adults are not educated through *mousikē* – the educational function of *mousikē* takes place at a young age – and the *harmoniai* used in performances are not appropriate for education.

φανερὸν ὅτι χρηστέον μὲν πάσαις ταῖς ἁρμονίαις, οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον πάσαις χρηστέον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς μὲν τὴν παιδείαν ταῖς ἠθικωτάταις, πρὸς δὲ ἀκρόασιν ἑτέρων χειρουργούντων καὶ ταῖς πρακτικαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐνθουσιαστικαῖς.

(*Pol*.1342a1-4)

It is clear that we should employ all the harmonies, yet not employ them all in the same way, but use the most ethical ones for education, and the active and passionate kinds for listening to when others are performing.

The distinction between *harmoniai* and the effect each one has on the human soul resembles the teachings of Damon as well as the attitude of Plato towards music. Aristotle is as sensitive as Plato to questions of appropriateness, but he is not as alarmist about the potential harm of music and poetry. For Aristotle amusement, relaxation, and enjoyment are essential motives for *adults* to pursue *mousikē*, and these can lead to excellence and mental cultivation. He agrees with Plato that only certain kinds of *mousikē* should be used in education in order to cultivate children morally and properly.

Aristotle's approach to music and song reduces its power to corrupt the adult mind. He is very clear that his restrictions *only* apply to youth. Thus, he clarifies that

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[23] When Aristotle discusses participation and performance he has in mind their actual influence on the performer himself and not as much on the recipient, as Plato does. He evidently agrees with Plato that the audience can have an effect (a corrupting effect) on the choices of the performer, but he believes that a musician *should* conform to his audience and his music *should* correspond to the mind and soul of his audience. *Pol*.1342a25-28, *Po*.1453a34-35.

performances of iambic poetry and comedy are not appropriate for children, and only when they receive the necessary education, or reach a certain age should they be allowed to attend.

τοὺς δὲ νεωτέρους οὔτ᾽ ἰάμβων οὔτε κωμῳδίας θεατὰς θετέον, πρὶν ἢ τὴν ἡλικίαν λάβωσιν ἐν ᾗ...καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων γιγνομένης βλάβης ἀπαθεῖς ἡ παιδεία ποιήσει πάντως.

(*Pol.*1336b20-23)

But the younger ones must not be allowed in the audience at lampoons and at comedy, before they reach the age at which...their education will render all of them immune to the harmful effects of such things.

Aristotle echoes to some extent Plato's view on poetic morality and appropriateness in this statement, but at the same time with a different focus. As has already been discussed, iambic poetry and poets are not mentioned or alluded to in Plato's dialogues.[24] They would presumably not fulfil the poetic requirements, given Plato's insistence on the ideal moral character of the poetic word. Although Plato speaks for all his citizens when he restricts certain kinds of poetry, Aristotle specifies in the above extract that the restriction is only applied to the youth of the city. It is possible, therefore, that this would allow him to accept lyric forms which Plato would presumably reject. The wording of the passage suggests that iambic and comic performances would not be banned. Rather, the audience would have to be either old enough or properly educated. Would Aristotle also accept post-Pindaric lyric?

When we look for Aristotle's views on later lyric, we are faced with silence. This silence, however, may be more vocal than it seems at first sight. Aristotle's approach to poetry in general shows a marked divergence from Plato not only on tragedy and the Homeric epic, which he attempts to rehabilitate after their rejection by Plato.[25] This is not the only literary form on which he challenged the Platonic view. His treatment of comedy in the lost second book of the *Poetics* is difficult to reconstruct with confidence.[26] The treatment of both comedy and iambos in the surviving book of the *Poetics* as poetic forms worthy of study, though, indicates that there was a place for comedy in the Aristotelian state. Likewise, Aristotle was prepared to formulate rules for the use of rhetoric, where Plato's aim was to

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[24] Chapter 4.1, pp.152, 153-154.
[25] Lloyd (1968) 282.
[26] Janko (1984) attempted to reconstruct *Poetics II*. For responses, see especially Arnott (1985); Schenkeveld (1986); Fortenbaugh (1987).

underscore the moral problems it created. All of this suggests that Aristotle's approach to literary matters was to challenge Plato where his views diverged from those of his teacher. If Aristotle had taken a radically different approach to lyric poetry and the New Music from the one Plato had sketched, he would have probably flagged it in his treatise. His silence would suggest that Aristotle accepted Plato's periodization of lyric. Unlike Plato, Aristotle does not dismiss the New Music outright (*Po*.1448a14-16) but the remarks at *Pol*.1342a1-4 about the need to employ the right musical mode in a given context do not suggest sympathy with the experiments of the middle and late fifth century. While his writing is less anxious in tone than Plato's, it is likely that Aristotle too saw the archaic and early classical period as the golden age of lyric. As we shall see, this view receives support from the Peripatetic treatises and the interests of Aristotle's school to which we now turn. As will become evident, Plato's view of lyric history probably prevailed in the criticism of lyric poetry.

There is one final point to be made within the context of analysing Aristotle. All the above references to *mousikē* in the *Politics* would suggest that the song-culture persisted long after the pinnacle of Greek lyric composition in the fifth century. There is, therefore, a significant possibility that an unquantifiable amount of lyric survived in the fourth century as a performed genre.[27] Aristotle's emphasis on relaxation and rejuvenation through *mousikē*, as well as the connection of performed *mousikē* with the symposium, would suggest that small-scale fifth century lyric poetry of an erotic and sympotic nature was still sung at symposia and gatherings. Most discussions assume a move from orality to text in relation to poetry. Aristotle offers support for the view that an element of orality continued. The analogy of modern popular songs (in an era of secondary orality) allows one to distinguish hypothetically between the study of lyric and the recreational use of lyric; although people will often have learned songs as part of their education, they may often have acquired them aurally long after the availability of written texts.

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[27] There was certainly a continuing tradition both of composition and performance of civic lyric song in cult contexts.

The Peripatetic Project

The fourth century is probably the first century in which one can detect 'a conscious and intensive attempt by the Greeks to approach their own literature critically,'[28] and the Peripatetics can justifiably be considered a watershed in Greek literary criticism. Even though literary interest in earlier poetry and in musical modes can already be traced in Aristophanes as well as in the archaic lyric itself,[29] the first attempt to approach previous literature systematically, methodically, and with the sole purpose of explaining and understanding was made in the Peripatetic school. This purpose was what shaped the tone of their treatises which are primarily explanatory and instructive rather than poetic and ornamental.

From the period in which Aristotle was a member of the Academy (367/6-347 BC), he included within his broad and various writings a treatise *On Poets*. From that time onwards explanatory treatises, especially on literary issues, became one of the key features of his philosophy, particularly after the foundation of the Peripatos (c.335 BC). The most characteristic attitude of the Peripatetic school as it was founded by Aristotle[30] 'was an inclination towards empiricism allied to contemplation'[31]. The evidence of sense was, for Aristotle, the basis of his enquiries (*APo*.19.100a3-9, *Top*.105b1-8). The Peripatetic empiricism was of a peculiar kind as the philosophers were observing and collecting information mainly from written records in order to establish encyclopaedic knowledge.[32] Their focus was mainly on antiquarianism. The most characteristic type of peripatetic writing was 'the *synagōgē* or systematic collection of material on a theme (*peri tou deina*)'[33]. These features of the Peripatos could probably explain the reason why focus on categorisation, cataloguing, and criticism of the preceding literary and non-literary achievements begins in the late fourth century and not earlier.

The majority of the Peripatetic fragments in modern editions are derived from Athenaeus, who often refers by name to Peripatetics in connection with the title of their treatises, Stobaeus, Diogenes Laertius, and the scholiastic tradition. A holistic

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[28] Podlecki (1969) 114.
[29] On critical ideas which can be found in Pindar and Aristotle, Young (1983).
[30] Both Brink (1940) *RE* suppl.vii, col.905 and Düring (1957) 360-361, 405-405, (1966) 13n71 have argued that the Peripatetic school in the institutional sense was founded not by Aristotle but by Theophrastus.
[31] Grayeff (1974) 40. Irwin (1988) 26 offers a good terminology of empiricism and dialectic.
[32] Gibson (2005) 29.
[33] Lynch (1972) 89.

curiosity is outlined by their surviving titles and fragments as well as an interest in philosophical, political, social, cultural, educational, musical, and poetical topics.[34] The compilations of the school were the result of careful and detailed work based, in effect, on local source-material.[35] The abundant resources of the school[36] enabled Aristotle and his students to offer a great range and number of studies, subjects, and courses. As the various topics of the peripatetic treatises suggest, the individual interests of the members of the school at a particular time shaped the school itself.[37]

A careful look at the knowledge we possess on the Peripatetic treatises will verify the term "project" I employ here. Their broad range of interests covered most of the areas of human life – politics, education, ethics, literature, philosophy, science - and the body of knowledge displayed in the treatises exemplifies, in some sense, the science of phenomenology[38] and an antiquarian focus. The Peripatetic interests varied in the different periods of the Peripatos, and each period differentiated the character of the school while at the same time supplementing preceding research and philosophic treatises with new themes. The supplementary character of their works has to be related both to the specialisation of teachers and scholars in the school,[39] and to their habit of adapting their focus, interest, and teaching to the changing focus of the school. This continuous "oscillation," especially after the death of Aristotle, was related to the diverse interests and the philosophical character of each head of the school, which unavoidably affected the direction of the entire school and the interests of its major representatives. During 317-307 BC, the most significant period in the development of the school, when Theophrastus was Head of the Peripatos, empirical studies were further extended, and their works became gradually specialised and monographic in character,[40] as the surviving titles suggest.[41] The work of

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[34] For details on individual Peripatetics and their treatises, Appendix II.

[35] Jaeger (1948) 328. "Local" does not necessarily mean Athenian, but what was necessary from areas/eras related to the theme the Peripatetics were working on.

[36] Macedonian support presumably provided material for the Lyceum. - Lynch (1972) 94-96, 98; Grayeff (1974) 33; Anagnostopoulos (2009) 4, 8. Aristotle retained a close friendship with Antipater, and this is testified in his will, where he appointed Antipater as the executer of his last wishes, D.L.5.11.9-11 τάδε διέθετο Ἀριστοτέλης. Ἐπίτροπον μὲν εἶναι πάντων καὶ διὰ παντὸς Ἀντίπατρον. On Aristotle's will, Sollenberger (1992) 3862-3864.

[37] Lynch (1972) 93.

[38] EN.1145b2f δεῖ δ', ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων, τιθέντας τὰ φαινόμενα καὶ πρῶτον διαπορήσαντας; EN 1143b11-14...τιθέντας τὰ φαινόμενα...

[39] Lynch (1972) 93; Grayeff (1974) 51.

[40] Sollenberger (1992) 3851.

[41] The catalogue of Theophrastus' writings (5.42-50) is the longest of the five catalogues of titles in Diogenes Laertius, Aristotle (5.22-27), Strato (5.58.2-60), Demetrius of Pharenon (5.80-81), and

Theophrastus' most famous students/associates - Aristoxenus the *mousikos*, who introduced the science of musicology,[42] Eudemus of Rhodes, who wrote a history of geometry, arithmetic and astronomy, and Demetrius of Phaleron whose interests varied – prove the simultaneous expansion of the work of the school and the specialisation in certain areas of expertise according to, most probably, individual inclinations.

The doxographical tradition,[43] which Aristotle had initiated, disappeared almost completely after the headship of Strato (288-c.268/7 BC). However, the Peripatetic influence and teaching did not cease with the decline of the school. Peripatetic philosophy influenced most of the elite in its time and this influence continued; some of its tenets were further elaborated upon during the Hellenistic era. What was continued by philosophers who have been characterised "outsiders"[44] was the Peripatetic interest in literature and criticism.[45] The Peripatos under Aristotle established the systematic treatise, particularly in biography and literary history, as a new sort of writing.[46] Thus, any author of such a work could claim the title Peripatetic,[47] which, although inconvenient for modern attempts at taxonomy, reflects accurately the cultural continuity. The most important of these "outsiders" were the late-third century Satyrus[48] and Hermippus of Smyrna, the "Peripatetic" and "Callimachean."[49] It is essential to bear in mind that most of the important names of poetry, philosophy, oratory, history, historiography, and politics have a separate

Heracleides Ponticus (5.86.11-88). On the writings of the Peripatetics mentioned in Diogenes Laertius, Sollenberger (1992) 3849-3855.

[42] On Aristoxenus and the birth of Musicology, Gibson (2005). On the influence of Aristotle on Aristoxenus, ibid. 23-38, and on the harmonic theory before Aristoxenus, ibid.7-22. Aristoxenus is also mentioned in the prologue St. Jerome *De viris illustribus* as one of the initiators of "biography". Momigliano (1993) 79 stresses that 'unless Dicaearchus' περὶ βίων was a collection of biographies, Aristoxenus had no rival as a biographer in the first generation of the Peripatos.' Gallo (2005) 26 postulates that Aristoxenus considered anecdotes and gossip as good ingredients for biography.

[43] The term "doxography" is a modern fabrication from the Latin neologism "doxographi" introduced by Hermann Diels in order to characterise the trend of the Aristotelian school. One of the main methodologies of Aristotle was to record and list the views that had been held by various people in order to reach the truth. Diels used it to indicate the authors of a rather strictly specified type of literature studied and edited in his *Doxographi Graeci* of 1879.

[44] Podlecki (1969) 126.

[45] Ibid.126.

[46] Lynch (1972) 136-137; Gallo (2005) 25.

[47] Brink (1946) 11 points out that the name Περιπατητικός gradually changed its significance by the mid-third century. 'With the wider influence of Peripatetic studies it is not only used for the Athenian school but can also denote any writer of biography or literary history connected with Alexandria.'

[48] On Satyrus and the problem of his classification as Peripatetic or Alexandrian, West (1974); Momigliano (1993) 80-81.

[49] Podlecki (1969) 127. On the life and works of Hermippus, Momigliano (1993) 79-80; Bollansée (1999) 1-18.

Peripatetic treatise under their name by the end of Hermippus' scholarly activity. This fact proves that throughout the Peripatetic scholarship the works of these philosophers were supplementing the works of their predecessors.

The Peripatetics and Poetry

The scale and nature of the Peripatetic works involving Greek literature and its representatives has made them one of the most important chapters in the history of criticism and transmission. If one takes a look at the entire corpus of the Peripatetics, it becomes obvious that the philosophers had a broad range of interests from the beginning of the foundation of the school until the late Hellenistic period. Poetry – epic, tragedy, and lyric – as a cultural achievement of the Archaic and Classical period was incorporated in the broader cultural and musical context, a context that included musical competitions supervised by the state, choruses, occasions (private or public), and festivals with specific characteristics. Poetry could, thus, be an object of discussion not only in treatises that dealt with the genre or with specific poems but also in works that dealt with broader themes that enclosed poetry, such as the Περὶ Μελοποιίας by Aristoxenus (frr.92-93), or the Περὶ Μουσικῶν ἀγώνων by Dicaearchus (frr.73-89). All the above were of interest to the Peripatetics. It seems, however, that certain genres were given priority at different periods, and specific Peripatetics were specialised in certain areas of interest or expertise. Beyond probable directions from the Head of the school, the classification and order of their interest was likely based on chronological criteria and presumably on attempts to cover the most important cultural achievements first and then reach contemporary and (in all probability) less significant attainments. The approach of the Peripatetic school was conservative when it came to literary issues. This, in turn, determined the scale and sequence of the process of cataloguing and explicating.

This chronological categorisation and the classification according to what was considered to be of urgent importance are evident from the accumulation of treatises on poetry and musical issues. The major Peripatetic philosophers, all students of Aristotle and/or Theophrastus, worked within the area of poetry, music, and culture. Their treatises had to do with epic (especially Homer and his two epics), tragedy and its three main representatives, lyric poetry and lyric poets, or with general cultural and

musical issues. The hierarchy of poetic and musical interests of the early Peripatos seems to reflect, to some extent, Platonic views, although it also shows the influence of Aristotle's attempts to reassert these specific issues and re-establish what Plato had dismissed.[50]

Beginning with poetry, which is the main interest of this chapter, the treatises under question were not simply biographical works, in spite of the largely biographical Peripatetic interest, nor exclusively discursive works devoted to the literary corpus, as we find in the Hellenistic period. They were mixed works which had to do with genre, the content of poetry, the nature of the language, style, the entire poetic corpus, lexicographical issues, and, of course, biographical details. Many of the Peripatetics dealt with the same areas covering related themes which complemented the work of their contemporaries or predecessors. Jaeger and Lynch have emphasised the cooperative efforts among the members of the Peripatos[51] as well as the establishment of a scholarly community in the Lyceum.[52] Both these features are evident in the complementary character of the Peripatetic treatises.

As the titles reveal, some treatises dealt with large generic contexts, such as tragedy, comedy, the tragedians, Homeric questions, erotica or sympotica, and others with specific poets – tragic and lyric. Generic works were to be expected, since this is the period when ideas of genre were becoming fixed.[53] Though Homer already classified poems, as did Pindar, and fifth-century comedy shows an explicit awareness of generic tendencies, it is in the fourth century that we can detect explicit interest in poetic genres.[54] Most points out that tragedy was the first genre to be theorised so early and so intensely.[55] At the same time, the philosophers worked their way through musical festivals and competitions, which had been in existence throughout the fifth century and had also, by their time, expanded beyond Athens. Their great interest in

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[50] Comedy and the comic poets do not seem to be of great interest to the Peripatos, not even at the time of Hermippus. We only have two fragments from a treatise of Chamaeleon that, according to Athenaeus, consisted of a certain number of books, Ath.406e2-3 Χαμαιλέων ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν ἕκτῳ περὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας.

[51] Lynch (1982) 162.

[52] Jaeger (1948) 315; Lynch (1982) 77&77n13.

[53] '...genre will tend to be invoked at that crucial moment either as a constraining factor...or as an enabling factor...for genre faces in both directions.' - Most (2000) 15-16.

[54] 'Genre is often formulated as a set of rules, but it may be better to understand it as a historically contingent and flexible reciprocal system of mutually calibrated expectations, correlating some participants'. – Most (2000) 17-18.

[55] Most (2000) 18. The prime works in which it is aesthetically investigated are Plato's *Republic* and Aristotle's *Poetics*.

Greek culture has to be related to the need to retain, infuse, and transmit Greek culture and identity at a period of immense change not only geographically but also culturally. The entire literary project of the Peripatos could be perceived as an attempt to register and memorialise Greek social history.

When it comes to lyric poetry, it is striking that, apart from works dealing with specific lyric poets we have no other general and generic work for lyric except for the ones mentioned above, the erotica and sympotica - Aristoxenus Σύμμικτα Συμποτικά (frr.122-127) and Clearchus of Soli Ἐρωτικός (frr.21-35).[56] So it is left to the Alexandrians to classify; the classification is closely related to the need to organise texts, which the Peripatetics did not do. The few surviving fragments from these two general treatises indicate their context and reveal that what was discussed was not so much lyric poetry *per se* as customs at the symposia and behavioural issues concerning erotic matters,[57] what was called above antiquarianism. The poetry mentioned in both treatises was, therefore, most likely used to reveal customs in a particular context.[58] If perceived in this light, it is understandable why works of such a general character would have included references to songs sung at the symposium.

Κλέαρχος δὲ ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἐρωτικῶν τὰ ἐρωτικά φησιν ᾄσματα καὶ τὰ Λοκρικὰ καλούμενα οὐδὲν τῶν Σαπφοῦς καὶ Ἀνακρέοντος διαφέρειν.
(Clearchus fr.33=Ath.639a3-5)

Furthermore, the continuing role of the symposium may have given a longer life to songs of this nature. This selection is again evidence of the survival of the song-culture at the time of the Peripatos. The symposium was a real feature of contemporary life, and in associating it with song the Peripatetics presumably reflected not just the past but also continuing practice. With reference to individual poets and their compositions, it is uncertain whether or not specific lyric genres or named lyric poets were discussed in any of the other broader doctrines. Dicaearchus, for example, includes in his treatise Περὶ Μουσικῶν Ἀγώνων (fr.88) a reference to the three kinds of scolia which were sung at a symposium.

ἡ παροίνιος ᾠδή, ὡς μὲν Δικαίαρχος ἐν τῷ περὶ μουσικῶν ἀγώνων, ὅτι τρία γένη ἦν ᾠδῶν, τὸ μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων ᾀδόμενον, <τὸ δὲ> καθ᾽ ἕνα ἑξῆς,

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[56] Wehrli offers the title in the masculine singular, whereas in his commentary ad loc. refers to the fragments as Ἐρωτικοὶ Λόγοι.

[57] E.g. Clearchus fr.25 on the reasons lovers exchange gifts.

[58] This statement does not imply that the Peripatetic interest in texts may have been more historical or social than literary.

τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν συνετωτάτων ὡς ἔτυχε τῇ τάξει. ὃ δὴ καλεῖσθαι διὰ τὴν τάξιν σκολιόν.

(Suda s.v. Σκόλιον=Σ. Pl.*Gorg*.451e)

This reference does suggest, therefore, that we cannot say for sure that names of lyric poets or references to lyric genres were not mentioned in treatises with a general character. Common sense suggests that they were so used, given their authoritative status. This is evidently reinforced by the way in which Alcaeus and Anacreon are later used as sources for sympotic practice.[59]

The poets who received an individual work, whose titles bore their name, were Homer and Hesiod by Heracleides Ponticus, Thespis, Aeschylus, Anacreon, Sappho, Lasus, Simonides, Pindar, and Stesichorus all by Chamaeleon, and Alcaeus by Dicaearchus.[60] Hermippus of Smyrna supplemented this list with a treatise on Hipponax and another presumably on Euripides. Sophocles was probably studied by Praxiphanes, who also studied individually Homer and Hesiod; Archilochus is coupled with Homer by Heracleides Ponticus, and his work, which was apparently a treatise on language and style, is classified by Diogenes Laertius as grammatical. The principal philosophers involved - Heracleides Ponticus, Dicaearchus,[61] Chamaeleon,[62] and Praxiphanes (if one includes his commentaries) - lived broadly in the same period (second half or end of the fourth century BC). Praxiphanes' studies are an interesting case in these lyric treatises. The references in Athenaeus suggest that these works shared some of the interests and/or features with the commentaries one finds in the Hellenistic period; Praxiphanes apparently dealt with the meaning of words (fr.21), interpolations and emendations (fr.22), and with what we would call today literary explanations of poems or poetic passages (fr.20).

Evidently the project on poets and poetry of the past was a priority for the Peripatetic philosophers, since evidence of their focus can be traced to the school's foundation. This, in turn, suggests that the interest of the following Peripatetic generations was directed elsewhere only after they covered the most important

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[59] E.g. Ath.427a16 παρὰ δὲ Ἀνακρέοντι εἰς οἴνου πρὸς δύο ὕδατος; 678d ὑποθυμίδες στέφανοι παρ' Αἰολεῦσιν καὶ Ἴωσιν, οὓς περὶ τοὺς τραχήλους περιετίθεντο, ὡς σαφῶς ἔστιν μαθεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ἀλκαίου καὶ Ἀνακρέοντος ποιήσεως.

[60] Momigliano (1993) 70 underscores that 'these works do not appear to have been biographies,' although they were full of references to details (true or imaginary) of the poet's life.

[61] Momigliano (1993) 71 emphasises that 'no biography is quoted as coming from his pen.'

[62] Jacoby (1999) 430 and Momigliano (1993) 73 call the *peri*-works of Chamaeleon on poets "commentaries". Gallo (2005) 25 suggests that his treatises were close to biographies.

musical and poetical issues. The complementary character of the Peripatetic project is evident in the field of treatises on lyric poets. Chamaeleon was the scholar who worked predominantly on the lyric poets, yet he did not produce a treatise on Alcaeus. This is supplemented by Dicaearchus, who did not attempt to duplicate Chamaeleon's work on the other lyric poets, only to fill in the gaps in his list.[63] It is here that we come to a striking absence. No Peripatetic treatise was ever devoted to what we call the New Music and to individual New Poets. The chronological development of the Peripatetic corpus omitted the new poetic and musical achievements. The Peripatetic scholarly tradition evidently ignored the contemporary performative culture and was at odds with fourth-century popular taste.

As we observed in the preceding section, the textual details which are often included in these Peripatetic treatises suggest that the Peripatetics were working with written texts. The principle aim of the Peripatos was evidently the collection of the views of earlier scholars in order to use them as a basis for establishing their own.[64] This collection of views obviously 'depended in large part on the accumulation and classification of books and research materials'[65]. Thus, the Peripatos formed a library, which was the 'first comprehensive collection of books in history.'[66] When Aristotle returned from Asia Minor in 335 BC, after which date he founded his school in Athens, it is possible that he brought with him books and teaching material. Aristotle himself informs us about his systematic reading – *Top*.105b12 ἐκλέγειν δὲ χρὴ καὶ ἐκ τῶν γεγραμμένων λόγων.[67] Indirect evidence (biographical, historical, and literary) informs us about the library of the school which was housed in the temple of the Muses[68] and 'contained hundreds of manuscripts, maps, and other objects essential to the teaching of natural science'[69] (Ath.3a-b, D.L.4.5.). Keepers of the books were probably considered to be the Heads of the school, since the care of the collection became the responsibility of the successor.[70]

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[63] Athenaeus mentions Callias of Mytilene in connection with Alcaeus. Callias was a grammarian in the mid-third century BC, contemporary of Aristophanes of Byzantium (257-180 BC), who had written a treatise with the title '*On Alcaeus*.'

[64] Sharples (1999) 148.

[65] Lynch (1972) 105.

[66] Grayeff (1974) 40.

[67] This reference is also evidence of the doxographical tradition Aristotle established.

[68] Düring (1957) 338 postulates that Aristotle's library was not stored in the Lyceum but in the house where he lived.

[69] Anagnostopoulos (2009) 9.

[70] On the wills of the Heads of the Lyceum, chapter 6, p.212.

Although, as we have observed, the scholars of the Peripatos appear to have been working with written texts and presumably with collected poems of individual poets, this does not imply that they possessed a complete corpus. For example, Chamaeleon, in his treatise *Peri Sapphous*, refers to a possible erotic relationship between Anacreon and Sappho which appears to be based on two of their fragments. Athenaeus mentions a claim in Chamaeleon that Anacreon composed his fr.358 *PMG* (14 *PLG*, 5D) for Sappho and that she replied with her fr.953 *PMG*. Athenaeus refers specifically to the content of the treatise:

Χαμαιλέων δ᾽ ἐν τῷ περὶ Σαπφοῦς καὶ λέγειν τινάς φησιν εἰς αὐτὴν πεποιῆσθαι ὑπὸ Ἀνακρέοντος <u>τάδε</u>....καὶ τὴν Σαπφῶ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν <u>ταῦτά</u> φησιν εἰπεῖν

(Ath.599c-d)

The pronoun τάδε as well as ταῦτά in Athenaeus provides consistent evidence for close attention to detail, especially on matters of morphology and vocabulary. Athenaeus' *passim* references to Chamaeleon's work suggest that the philosopher often used information deduced from individual poetic fragments to prove or reinforce the existence of specific customs and rituals. For instance, Pindar's *Olympian 13* is employed in Chamaeleon's fr.31 in the treatise *Peri Pindarou* (Ath.753c) to support the existence of a Corinthian custom and ritual related to Aphrodite. Similarly, Simonides' epigram fr.69D is mentioned as evidence of an ancient custom in Chalcis in the treatise *Peri Simonidou* (fr.34).

γριφώδη δ᾽ἐστὶ καὶ Σιμωνίδη ταῦτα πεποιημένα, ὥς φησι Χαμαιλέων ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης ἐν τῷ περὶ Σιμωνίδου·

μιξονόμου τε πατὴρ ἐρίφου καὶ σχέτλιος ἰχθὺς
πλησίον ἠρείσαντο καρήατα· παῖδα δὲ νυκτός
δεξάμενοι βλεφάροισι Διωνύσοιο ἄνακτος
βουφόνον οὐκ ἐθέλουσι τιθηνεῖσθαι θεράποντα.

Φασὶ δ᾽ οἱ μὲν ἐπί τινος τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀναθημάτων ἐν Χαλκίδι τοῦτ᾽ ἐπιγεγράφθαι, πεποιῆσθαι δ᾽ ἐν αὐτῷ τράγον καὶ δελφῖνα, περὶ ὧν εἶναι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον.

(Ath.456c)

A passage in Chamaeleon's *Peri Lasou* is one of the strongest pieces of evidence in favour of the existence of texts: Athenaeus mentions that Chamaeleon discusses a fish characterised in a particular way in Lasus' poetry.

οἶδα δὲ καὶ ἃ ὁ Ἑρμιονεὺς Λᾶσος ἔπαιξε περὶ ἰχθύων, ἅπερ Χαμαιλέων ἀνέγραψεν ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης ἐν τῷ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Λάσου συγγράμματι λέγων ὧδε· τὸν Λᾶσόν φησι τὸν ὠμὸν ἰχθὺν ὀπτὸν εἶναι φάσκειν.

(Ath.338b)

The move towards textuality has important implications. The use of a physical text as the raw material means that the text itself now becomes the focus, and consequently the poetry itself and the poet. This is a radical shift of focus. Although one can frequently find in Plato's dialogues citations, paraphrases, and discussions of lyric poetry or specific lyric passages, the most substantial of which is Simonides' ode to Scopas in the *Protagoras*, their employment is only made for the sake of the Platonic argument. In contrast, the lyric poems *per se* become an object of discussion by the Peripatetics, and their attempts to explicate and analyse focus on details available only because of the existence of books and texts.[71] When it comes to the Peripatetic project, poetry itself was the starting point for a treatise. We have entered an era of literary study. In this sense (as well as in the Peripatetic prioritization of texts for study) the Peripatetics set the agenda for Alexandria.

Absent Lyric Poets

We are left with some interesting lacunae in the Peripatetic project (in the larger sense) which merit further discussion here. In this section I would like to explore some striking gaps in the study of lyric. To do this we need to look a little more closely at the intellectual agenda. We saw above that the Aristotelian approach to phenomenology defines the nature of the project. In some other key respects the approach is again Aristotelian rather than Platonic. The project takes strikingly different forms in relation to different corpora. It is always backward-looking, as the process of classicisation inevitably is. While in some instances this process is open, in others it is closed. One of the closed canons is tragedy. For tragedy, which is included in the Peripatetic studies, the clock stops at the end of the fifth century: only fifth century tragedians are included (with the exception of Thespis as *prōtos heuretēs*), and of those only the big three receive a monograph. The same applies to comedy. The chronologically late interest in orators and historiographers is also of importance. The lateness of orators as the object of peripatetic explication supports the view of a

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[71] Pfeiffer (1968) 62 also suggests that the Academy and the Peripatos used books.

chronological arrangement of treatises, since both prose and oratory as literary forms came into being after verse and poetry. It also relates to the issue of ongoing canonisation. It has been emphasised that the canonisation of lyric poetry was established by the time of Aristotle and the Peripatos. The canon of the orators, in contrast, was fluid throughout antiquity. In both cases, however, the Peripatetic agenda is still backward-looking, since they never worked on any contemporary literary achievement. The time lag differs according to genre studied. The Peripatetics begin their analysis and critique often only a few decades after the "text" was created in all areas but drama and lyric. For instance, we have treatises dealing with historical, philosophical, and rhetorical issues and works from the time of Demetrius of Phaleron and Hieronymus of Rhodes, both of whom lived at the end of the fourth and beginning of third century.

In the case of lyric, we are obviously dealing with a closed list. As noted above, there is no interest (as far as we can see) in the New Music, whose components never receive separate or even collective treatments. This is contrary to what we know of the popular reception;[72] there is obviously a divergence between the scholarly and the performative tradition. We can see here the influence of pre-Aristotelian conservative agendas: Aristophanes (and Old Comedy more generally) for drama, and both Aristophanes and Plato for lyric. An Athenian agenda is visible, when it comes to lyric poetry: their agenda is classicised, as they only deal with poets and poetry which had already, by the fifth century, been established as classic. We can observe the persistence of the silence on New Music right down to Hermippus of Smyrna. Interest in "classic" poets, however, does not account for Alcman, Hipponax, Ibycus, and Bacchylides. We have no evidence for monographs on Bacchylides and Ibycus, while Alcman and Hipponax receive a Peripatetic treatise chronologically late compared to the other poets of lyric, elegy and iambus. These lacunae raise tantalising questions about the pace of textualisation, the nature and scale of collected works of poets, as well as the criteria by which the poets were chosen for analysis.

As was said above, the Peripatetic approach towards the lyric poets is both Aristophanic and Platonic, and this may be the key to understanding Bacchylides' absence from their list, if it is a genuine absence and not simply a lacuna in our very

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[72] Ath.1.10.22-27 (fr.63R) Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ φιλόδειπνον ἁπλῶς, ὃς καὶ γράφει που ταῦτα «δημηγοροῦντες ἐν τοῖς ὄχλοις κατατρίβουσιν ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τοῖς θαύμασι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Φάσιδος ἢ Βορυσθένους καταπλέοντας, ἀνεγνωκότες οὐδὲν πλὴν εἰ τὸ Φιλοξένου Δεῖπνον οὐχ ὅλον. »

limited sources.[73] The Peripatetics were principally compilers. Their common task was to gather the opinions of others and to retain what seemed valid by adding their own critical comment.[74] Though the seeming absence of Bacchylides could theoretically mean that they did not appreciate his poetry, more probably, it reflects the lack of interest of Aristophanes and Plato, who "officially" initiated literary criticism *per se*. This would cohere to the Peripatetics' attitude towards the poets of the New Dithyramb, noted above. The agenda of the school of the Peripatos on lyric poetry seems to converge around Plato and Aristophanes, based mainly on aesthetics and not moral grounds.[75] The absence of an Aristotelian narrative on the evolution of lyric offered no guidance on the selection of lyric poets for criticism. The Peripatetics, therefore, turned to Plato and Aristophanes. According to our reading of Aristophanes, Bacchylides was for him the poet in the middle, between archaic and new.[76] He was the lyric poet whose poetry did not fit in the Platonic framework, he was not beneficial to Plato's arguments, and was thus ignored in his dialogues. And this attitude continued from Aristophanes and Plato to the Peripatetic philosophers.

However, if this is an answer, it cannot be a complete answer to lacunae and delays in Peripatetic cover of lyric poets. Alcman and Hipponax are also absent from the early Peripatetic list; Ibycus too is absent. One would expect these poets to be covered in the Peripatetic treatises, as they are known to Aristophanes and Plato. Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* presents a pastiche of Alcman,[77] who is also alluded to in Plato's *Laws*.[78] Ibycus occurs in both Aristophanes and Plato for the erotic nature of his poetry.[79] Hipponax, on the other hand, is an implicit stage-figure in Aristophanes' *Aves*[80] and is mentioned in *Ranae*. Beyond the line of criticism that ran through Aristophanes and Plato, the Peripatetics would probably have heard of these writers. The profound interest of these philosophers in the song-culture that was presumably still vibrant in sympotic contexts at their time would allow space for re-performances of the great names of lyric, among which would have been the three absent poets.

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[73] On this assumption, Chapter 6 pp.241.

[74] Grayeff (1974) 64.

[75] In a paper delivered at Cambridge in November 2010 (*Aesthetics without Ethics? Aristoxenus on Musical Judgement?*) Andrew Barker suggested that Aristoxenus' conception of musical judgement was free of moral tones. Aesthetics were, at that time, consciously separated from the ethical aspect that was predominant in the musical and poetic judgement mostly of Plato and less of Aristotle.

[76] Chapter 2.2, pp.110-111.

[77] Hinge (2006) 297-299; Bierl (2011).

[78] Chapter 4.1, p.138.

[79] Chapters 2.2, pp.87-88 and 4.1, p.138.

[80] Chapter 2.2, pp.94-96. Hipponax, however, is absent from Plato, chapter 4.1, pp.153-154.

Thus, it is necessary to consider additional factors for this absence. It becomes necessary at this point to speak of texts and textuality of performed poetry.

If indeed, as suggested, texts were necessary for the kind of analysis the Peripatetics pursued, one possible reason for absences or late appearance of treatises is that they did not possess the texts of the poets in question, at least until the end of the third century. We should not assume that the shift to the written word as the primary medium of preservation meant that all texts were readily available even in a major cultural centre such as Athens. Even in later periods people experienced difficulty in sourcing authors and works which they wanted. We possess no evidence that the lyric poets were ever edited in Athens. Thus, in the case of lyric poetry, it is likely that the scholars of the Peripatos were dependent on texts obtained from abroad. We know that even for the library at Alexandria the acquisition of classical literature was an uneven and slow process.

Alcman eventually receives a monograph in the Hellenistic period, at the time of Callimachus' *Pinakes*. Philochorus, a Hellenistic scholar-historian (c.340-260 BC) was the one to produce the first treatise on Alcman.[81] The suggestion that a treatise by Chamaeleon on Alcman did not actually exist is reinforced by the text of Athenaeus itself, especially when we think of the manner in which he refers to these kinds of works. One can discern a pattern: for all the treatises on lyric poets Athenaeus is very precise; he offers information, and refers to the actual work namely: ἐν τῷ περὶ Σαπφοῦς (fr.26=Ath.599c), ἐν τῷ περὶ Πινδάρου (fr.31=Ath.573c), ἐν τῷ περὶ Στησιχόρου (fr.28=Ath.620c), ἐν τῷ περὶ Σιμωνίδου (frr.33=Ath.456c&35=Ath.611a), ἐν τῷ περὶ Ανακρέοντος (fr.36=Ath.533e), ἐν τῷ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Λάσου (fr.30=Ath.338b), ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀλκαίῳ (fr.95=Ath.668e). In the case of Alcman and Ibycus, Athenaeus does not specify in which work Chamaeleon claims that Alcman was the pioneer of love-song. He is, however, explicit as to the authority of the information Chamaeleon offers on Alcman; Archytas the *harmonikos*[82] was the actual source – Ath.600f Ἀρχύτας δ' ὁ ἁρμονικός, ὥς φησι Χαμαιλέων, Ἀλκμᾶνα γεγονέναι τῶν ἐρωτικῶν μελῶν ἡγεμόνα. This suggests

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[81] Hinge (2006) 308. *FGrH* III.b 328 T1 ἔγραψεν...Περὶ Ἀλκμᾶνος. Sosibios also produced a work entitled as such Ath.114f, 646a Σωσίβιος ἐν γ΄ περὶ Ἀλκμᾶνος.

[82] *Contra* Hinge (2006) 303, Huffman (2005) 30 argues that τhe Archytas mentioned by Athenaeus is most probably Archytas the musician of Mytilene and not Archytas of Tarentum; we possess no evidence that Archytas of Tarentum engaged in analysis of poetry.

that there was probably no dedicated work on Alcman by Chamaeleon. It can be argued that Chamaeleon mentions Alcman in a discussion on the invention of music, or on the origin of certain lyric genres. Information of this sort could have derived from re-performance of his poetry, including sympotic poetry, and reputation.[83]

The latter could also apply to Ibycus. The references in Aristophanes and Plato suggest that Ibycus and his work were known in Athens. The quotations from his work in Plato also suggest that there was a text with (some of) his poems presumably in the private library of Plato. Ibycus, however, receives no treatise even later in the Hellenistic era. It could be, therefore, that his text was not available in the Peripatetic library and reached Alexandria at a time when editions became more important than monographs, or that he was purposely neglected in the Peripatos in favour of the witty and playful poetry of Anacreon. Tradition presented these two poets as similar or complementary. Thus, we cannot be certain whether he was mentioned in the treatise on Anacreon, or in a treatise on erotic poetry, which could nonetheless have been the case.

With regards to Hipponax, fr.93 (*FGrH* IV 55, Ath.327b-c)[84] does not say much.

Ἕρμιππος δὲ ὁ Σμυρναῖος ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ἱππώνακτος ὕκην ἀκούει τὴν ἰουλίδα· εἶναι δ᾽ αὐτὴν δυσθήρατον. διὸ καὶ Φιλητᾶν φάναι
οὐδ᾽ ὕκης ἰχθὺς ἔσχατος ἐξέφυγε.

A plausible suggestion is that the specific (and rare) word Hermippus pays attention to (ὕκη) was probably found in the text of Hipponax, which must have been at Alexandria by that time. Possibly, by this point in time we have textual commentaries as those became known by the Alexandrian scholars. We cannot be sure whether Hermippus' work was exclusively lexicographical,[85] but one cannot rule out the

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[83] Eupolis fr.148 *PCG* speaks of singing Alcman. Hinge (2006) 304 claims that by the end of the archaic period some of Alcman's poetry was written down. His assumption is based on Ath.632f τηροῦσιν δὲ καὶ νῦν τὰς ἀρχαίας ᾠδὰς ἐπιμελῶς πολυμαθεῖς τε εἰς ταύτας εἰσὶ καὶ ἀκριβεῖς, which, however, does not provide any evidence in favour of the development of a written poetic tradition in Sparta. For Alcman's re-performance, Carey (2011) 433-434.

[84] Athenaeus introduces the treatise as in the case of all the other works on lyric poets, though here he uses the plural. Could that be suggestive of the number of books or treatises Hermippus wrote on Hipponax?

[85] Jacoby (1999) 428 characterises Hermippus' work on Hipponax lexicographical, whereas Degani (1984) 23, 35 speaks (without evidence) of a biography. Jacoby (1999) 428-430 rightly emphasises that the resemblance of the title to that often in connection with a clear-cut biography is not helpful for the establishment of the character of the treatise.

possibility that Hermippus interrupted the main (biographical) exposition with digressions of an explanatory nature. It is significant that Hermippus does not rework any of the other lyric poets. Hermippus' entire work, specifically his treatise on Hipponax, on whom he presumably chose to work,[86] confirms the complementary as well as the conservative character of the Peripatetic project.

If the silence of our sources about Peripatetic work on Bacchylides reflects the absence of a treatise, it may be the case that the Athenians did not possess a text of Bacchylides, at least not a good one. The complete picture of the Peripatetic treatises reveals their broad knowledge of Greek culture, literature, and prose, and their great interest in musical issues and festivals. It is, therefore, difficult to assume that they did not know of or, at least, had not heard of Bacchylides. Thus, although they were presumably aware of his existence, lack of a (good) text did not allow them practically to analyse either his figure as poet or his poetry. It is obvious that, even in the case of pure biographies, the starting point of any assumption was the text of the poet and conclusions were drawn from his poetry.[87] The attitude of these philosophers towards Alcman, Ibycus and Hipponax as well as the timing of the production of a treatise for each one of them, supports the above argument. The questions posed, then, have to do with the origin of these texts, and with the manner and form in which they reached Athens.

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[86] Being a pupil of Callimachus could explain his interest in Hipponax, since Callimachus regarded him as an important predecessor and intertext for his own iamboi: Kerkhecker (1999) 28-29; Acosta-Hughes (2002) 21; Fantuzzi&Hunter (2004) 15-16. Call.*Iamb*.1 Ἀκούσαθ᾿ Ἱππώνακτος· [ο]ὐ γὰρ ἀλλ᾿ ἥκω/ ἐκ τῶν ὅκου βοῦν κολλύ[βου π]ιπρήσκουσιν,/ φέρων ἴαμβον οὐ μάχην [ἀείδ]οντα/ τὴν Βο]υπ[άλ]ειον [.].νά.[...ἄ]νθρωπος... on which Acosta-Hughes (2002) 21-59; Kerkhecker (1999)11-48.
[87] Fairweather (1974) 232-239; Lefkowitz (1981) viii-ix; Momigliano (1993) 70 emphasises that the inclination of the Peripatetics to infer personal details from the poetic text contributed to the technique of biographical research.

Chapter 5

Towards a Written Text

Thus far we have been tip-toeing around the issue of texts and textuality. It is time to face the elephant in the living room and to raise the question of transmission and diffusion of lyric song as literature (in the literal sense). As was argued in the previous section, the volume, specificity and details of the Peripatetic explications indicate that Aristotle's Lyceum operated with written texts. The scholarly use of texts, however, is also evident several generations earlier, in the time of Plato. Again the scale and frequency with which Plato made use of the lyric poets and especially the detailed citations from lyric poetry in his works should probably be taken as evidence for his access to lyric poems as textual entities. The key difference between Plato and the Peripatetics, however, in their use of texts (if one can claim that for Plato), is that the Peripatetics were studying the texts for their own sake.

Many questions of critical importance regarding the transmission and diffusion of lyric arise. Firstly, we need to ask ourselves what we mean by text. It is important to distinguish between public availability of these texts in Athenian book-markets and copies owned by individuals in a private collection. Another factor to bear in mind is the foreign origin of the lyric poets, of their poetic products, and consequently of these texts in order to avoid generalisations based solely on Athenian evidence. Geographical distinctions are significant, as they could mean differences in volume and nature of what is available in different locations as well as in local taste and interests. The central issue of this section, therefore, will be the physical life of lyric poems, existence, diffusion, availability, and circulation of written lyric texts in more locations than Athens. The picture which will be sketched needs to take into account, as scholars rarely do, the possibility that no single model will account for the movement towards books in the archaic and classical period.

Orality and/or Textuality?

Studies on literacy and orality in ancient Greece have increased in the last twenty years, as the question of writing and Greek literate culture has continued to fascinate

cultural and literary historians.[1] The majority of these studies are either anthropological or approach these two notions solely from the perspective of a cultural historian. Literacy is perceived as the logical and expected stage of the progress of a society based on oral and song culture. However, although the spread of literacy and all the connotations it carries – writing, education, books and writing material, reading and readership – is indeed a transformation in social and cultural development, it has often been mechanically perceived as an accomplishment which was achieved simultaneously for every aspect of Greek literature and culture, even in different geographical locations. We need to bear in mind that the evolution was probably more complex than contemporary scholarship often supposes. One needs to take into account the nature of each genre in Greek literature, possibilities, and difficulties of diffusion of poetry both as oral culture – primary performance and re-performance[2] - and as actual texts. The circumstances under which geographical distribution of non-Athenian poetry took place raise additional important issues that need to be considered.

Rosalind Thomas rightly stresses the coexistence of orality and literacy in the culture of the fourth century;[3] certain oral practices continued, and writing grew slowly and gradually in certain areas.[4] She rightly observes that 'the use of writing extends gradually and at different rate in different areas of Athenian life'[5]. Though there is still a tendency in her work to generalise for Greece as a whole on the basis of classical Athens and of a specific model based on oratory,[6] when she attempts to address the question of diffusion of lyric poetry, she appears to be less schematic and her arguments less generalised. Although in her more recent work Thomas argues for a more complex and diverse picture for Greece and appears to be more interested in the actual process from oral to written,[7] she still does not manage to depict the bigger picture of this cultural change and to portray the differentiation between parts of Greece.

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[1] E.g. Kenyon (1951); Turner (1951); Havelock (1971), (1982), (1986); Thomas (1989), (1992); Robb (1994); the collections of Mackie ed. (2004); Yunis ed. (2003), in particular for my purposes Currie (2004); Hubbard (2004); Yunis (2003); Ford (2003); Thomas (2003).

[2] The theme of poetic re-performance, especially for Pindaric victory odes, has received much attention. See in particular Morgan (1993) 10-15; Carey (1995) 85-90; Loscalzo (2003) 85-119; Currie (2004); Hubbard (2004); Morrison (2007).

[3] Thomas (1989) 15.

[4] Ibid. 16.

[5] Thomas (1992) 95.

[6] See Thomas (1989) 61-68.

[7] Thomas (2003).

In this chapter, my aim is to look at the advent and evolution of books in general, at the evolution of lyric from song to text specifically, and to consider the gradual and accreted nature of cultural change. Like Thomas, I wish to offer an image of complexity, coexistence, and change; but I want to multiply the variable by looking at differentiation by genre, author, geography and period. The result will probably be closer to reality than the neat scenario of evolution which tends to prevail in current discussions.

Unfortunately most of the evidence we possess on this subject is both Athenian in origin and is also narrowly focused on specific Athenian literary achievements, more frequently prose than verse. Given the paucity of information on lyric textualisation and diffusion of lyric texts, even in Athens, one should avoid generalisations. Evidence of Athenian texts, such as oratorical speeches, tragedy or comedy and their circulation in Athenian markets cannot be ignored. However, if we wish to understand the process whereby written texts were created and circulated, it is also important to distinguish circulation and availability of written forms of literary achievements in geographical terms. Each of these accomplishments had a different geographical origin; drama, oratory, and philosophy were Athenian products, but lyric poetry was a foreign product composed in areas outside Attica and imported into the Athenian cultural context. Thus, what takes place in Athens in relation to its own technological achievements cannot safely be used as a comprehensive model either for Athenian treatment of all literary forms or for the process of transmission and pace of change elsewhere in Greece. Outside Athens a different kind of interest in and circulation of literary products either in another order or with a different priority from the Athenian could have taken place. Complementary to the issue of circulation of texts and/or books is also the possibility of the existence of private libraries and of informal private circulation of specific texts as well as of the existence of book-markets. This possibility will also be addressed, especially for lyric poems. In order to gain a complete picture of the circulation of book-rolls with texts of or extracts from poetry, references in Greek texts to books and reading will be supplemented by the evidence of iconography on vases.

With reference to the diffusion of lyric poetry in the fifth century, scholars have argued lately in favour of re-performance of lyric poems either on occasions evoking the primary performance or under new social and oral performative

circumstances in which the poems were embedded. Focus has been placed particularly on the epinician odes of Pindar.[8] Epinician poetry promises the victor remembrance and future commemoration through the words of the specific song which would travel throughout the Greek world.[9] The pan-Hellenic stature and attention the odes claim is in fact justified by the re-performance of the victory odes.[10] Evidence for the probability of re-performance is attested to mostly in the poetry itself and in epinician resonances in Athenian and non-Athenian literature. It is plausible, therefore, that the better or the luckier of these poems were re-performed formally or informally,[11] or at least portions of the poem travelled independently and became known separately from the rest of the victory ode.[12] When it comes to the issue of physical texts, Currie, Hubbard, and Morrison do not exclude the possibility of written preservation and circulation.[13] Although their conclusions differ,[14] they discuss the possibility of Pindar's poems being simultaneously disseminated through writing, since evidently a book-trade had already been formed by the fifth century. Once again the suggestion of textual dissemination of lyric poems is hypothetical, since we posses no evidence.

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[8] Currie (2004); Hubbard (2004); Morrison (2007).

[9] E.g. Pi. *P.*1.92-98; *N.*7.11-16; *I.*4.40-41.

[10] Hubbard (2004) 80.

[11] For informal re-performance scenarios, Currie (2004) 51-55; for semi-formal re-performance scenarios, ibid. 55-63; for formal re-performance scenarios, ibid. 63-69. I tend to believe that re-performances at symposia, what Currie would classify as informal re-performance scenarios, were more likely than formal re-performances, where the entire *polis* was involved, given the inevitable cost and organisational implications of the latter.

[12] Currie (2004) 54 claims that the gnomic, ethical passages in the Pindaric poems, which were precisely the parts that had least to do with the laudandus himself, most probably had the greatest appeal for the secondary performers. The uses of certain Pindaric extracts in Herodotus and Plato are likely evidence for Currie's claim. Chapters 3, p.119 and 4.1, pp.142, 143, 145.

[13] The kind of text envisaged here is not what an Alexandrian editor would call a text.

[14] Although Currie (2004) 52 does not exclude the possibility of written texts being transported overseas, he is rather sceptical: (p.50) '...in the culture of limited literacy of the fifth century BC, continual re-performance seems more likely to have been the issue than the survival of any written text.' Hubbard (2004) 85, on the other hand, assumes that some measure of writing must have been in use for the survival and diffusion of Pindar's texts. The oral tradition becomes unreliable for preservation due to the length, the dialectical variety, and the metrical complexity of the victory odes. Additionally, he indicates (p.89) passages according to which the odes suggest that Pindar 'viewed his poems as material artefacts to be distributed throughout all Greece contemporaneously with their composition.' For a discussion of these passages and for a selection of Pindar's use of metaphors of writing for his odes, Hubbard (2004) 89-93. Morrison (2007) 117 suggests that 'by the middle of the fifth century...it seems reasonable to posit the diffusion of texts of Pindar's victory odes as the basis for reperformances.' Although he argues that the diffusion of these texts would have been slower than oral diffusion of Pindar's poems, he claims that 'relatively early after the first performance of an ode copies of the text of the ode spread...for oral reperformance.' He is cautious when he suggests that 'as the fifth century wore on...reperformances were based on the diffused text of Pindar [and] became more important as compared to the orally diffused versions or extracts.' Yet, we posses no evidence to argue, as Morrison does, for a textual transmission of Pindar's odes, or for re-performances based on written texts relatively close to the primary performance.

The existence of a book-trade, most likely a modest one initially,[15] or at least of book-rolls containing text can reasonably be deduced from ancient sources – comedy,[16] Plato, and Xenophon. These texts should however not be aggregated to create a single picture but should be seen in their chronological relationship as evidence for the growth of book-culture[17] in Athens and beyond. Book-production seems to be limited in the fifth-century and an extensive book-trade at this period is highly improbable.[18] The 'circulation of copies of *books*[19] among the general public, and the growth of a habit of reading'[20] is doubtful in the early part of the fifth-century, since our chief references to the existence of books belong in the second half of that century. The period between 425-405 BC was one of rapid change especially 'in the relationship between literary production and the culture of the book.'[21] The earliest literary sources for diffusion and use of books belong to that period, but one always needs to add the proviso that our evidence for the earlier period is very limited.[22]

This impression of gradual growth is underscored by comedy, which in the fifth century emphasises the ideological ambivalence of the book,[23] while it also strongly suggests social differentiation in the access to, attitudes to and use of books. Specific plays of Aristophanes offer us the chance to distinguish the changing character of references to books[24] and consequently the stages through which the book-culture was slowly being established. It has in fact been claimed that we can generate an evolutionary narrative in the availability of texts in the fifth century from the work of Aristophanes. Lowe suggests that Aristophanes' position towards the nature of books in several of his plays reveals the range and availability of early Attic books as well as a possible chronological order of the use of specific kinds of books.

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[15] Turner (1951) 21.

[16] Flory (1980) 18-19 suggests that 'books were...enough of a novelty that even the word "book" could be a cue for a laugh in comedy.'

[17] Harris (1989) 92-93 offers a comprehensive chronology for the use of written texts at Athens based on monuments and literary sources.

[18] Kenyon (1951) 20.

[19] My italics; as will be clear below, I distinguish between texts and books in the post-Alexandrian sense.

[20] Kenyon (1951) 31.

[21] Lowe (1993) 63.

[22] Pöhlmann (1994) 19-25 offers a concise picture of the beginning of the book-culture in the sixth century and its acceleration in the fifth century BC.

[23] Ibid. 67. Ar. *Tagenistae* Fr.506 *PCG* = Σ. *Nub*.361a τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρ᾽ ἢ βιβλίον διέφθορεν
ἢ Πρόδικος ἢ τῶν ἀδολεσχῶν εἷς γέ τις.

[24] Lowe (1993) 63.

He thus claims that books of legal and civic documents[25] predated collections of verse oracles,[26] both of which predated books with dramatic plays, which are the only literary texts mentioned in the *Ranae*. However attractive as the neat evolutionary model is, one should be sceptical. Laws were never written in books.[27] They were always preserved as inscriptions[28] and this tells us nothing about the growing availability of texts in the fifth century, since their existence in epigraphic form goes back two centuries. The only conclusion one can draw is that the inscriptional nature of laws from the seventh century may tell us something about reading and writing. A similar objection comes with the reference to collections of verse-oracles as books. Verse-oracles never appear to be publicly circulated as texts.[29]

Lowe is on much firmer ground when it comes to the evidence for tragedy as text. He assumes that the reference to Euripides' *Andromeda* (*Ra*.52-53) and to the copies of the performed comedy everyone has in their hand (*Ra*.1114 βιβλίον τ᾿ἔχων ἕκαστος μανθάνει τὰ δεξιά) imply 'that book-texts of contemporary plays were by

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[25] Ibid. 67 based on Ar. *Av*.1037-39 Π. τουτὶ τί ἐστιν αὖ κακόν, τὸ βυβλίον;
Ψη. Ψηφισματοπώλης εἰμὶ καὶ νόμους νέους
ἥκω παρ᾿ὑμᾶς δεῦρο πωλήσων.
We may have evidence that Antiphon, who died in 411, was the first to circulate an oratorical speech in the second half of the fifth century BC. Cle.Alex. *Strom*.1.16.79.3.15-17 πρῶτον δικανικὸν λόγον εἰς ἔκδοσιν γραψάμενον Ἀντιφῶντα <Σω>φίλου Ῥαμνούσιον, ὥς φησι Διόδωρος. The timeframe, however, is too narrow for us to derive a sequence from it in terms of the relative chronology of prose and verse circulation. On the chronology of Antiphon's speeches, Dover (1988); on the issue of speeches being revised before publication, Todd (1990) 164-167. A story in Plutarch *De garrulitate* 5 = *Moralia* 304c is revealing: Lysias wrote a speech for a client who took the text but returned the next day complaining that it had flaws.

[26] Lowe (1993) 67-68 based on Ar. *Av*.959-91 quotation from 980-982 Χο. Λαβὲ τὸ βυβλίον.
Π. Οὐδὲν ἄρ᾿ ὅμοιός ἐσθ᾿ ὁ χρησμὸς τουτωί,
ὃν ἐγὼ παρὰ τἀπόλλωνος ἐξεγραψάμην·

[27] Slater (1996) 100-101 interprets *Av*.1038 at face value and perceives this passage as 'evidence for a private trade at Athens in copies of assembly decrees.' There is no evidence to support this view.

[28] Davies (2003) 332 rightly points out that these law codes are better seen as documents rather than as texts. As far as we know, the first attempt to assemble Athenian laws was in the last decade of the fifth century with the creation of the state archive in the Metroön. - MacDowell (1978) 48; Todd (1993) 58; Sickinger (1999) 105-116.

[29] Slater (1996) 101 again fails to see the distorting character of Aristophanic comedy and suggests that 'the notion of a book and its association with oracle-sellers must be familiar enough to the audience for the joke to be intelligible.' As Herodotus' narrative suggests, verse-oracles existed as texts *a priori*. Steiner (1994) 80-82 offers evidence that oracles were often recorded in writing at the time of delivery; e.g. Hdt.1.48 (the Lydians at Delphi). Collections of oracles were attributed to Musaeus, Bacis (oracles of the latter are quoted in Hdt.8.20, 8.77, and 9.43), and Orpheus, or the various Sibyls. Fontenrose (1978) 164-165 and Flower (2008) 218 point out that the Athenians (the Peisistratidae in particular- Hdt.5.90) and the Spartans (Hdt.6.56-57) appear to have kept collections of oracles in their archives. Apparently, only the kings in Sparta and the Peisistratidae in sixth-century Athens could have access to the oracular collections. We may have evidence of collections of oracles, but it is unlikely that these collections circulated or were widely diffused; Hdt.5.90-91 implies that Cleomenes only had success to the oracles the Peisistratidae possessed when he took over Athens and the Acropolis.

406 publicly available for private reading, and presumably by open purchase in the market rather than as limited circulating copies'[30]. The particular scene with Dionysus reading for pleasure Euripides' *Andromeda*, a tragedy performed in 413/412 BC,[31] is also revealing. The *Ranae* was performed in 405 BC, one year after the death of Euripides. The text of a tragedy was probably written down before the performance, since it was needed for rehearsal. Multiple copies would be needed and irrespective of any publication by the author these texts probably circulated shortly *after* the performance of the specific tragedy.[32] The reference to a play by Euripides being read as text so soon after his death implies that at least *some* of Euripides' tragedies were being circulated in the Athenian markets while he was still alive, without implying that they were available before the actual performance or that they were in all cases formally released for circulation by Euripides. Thus, the corpus of the particular tragedian, in this case Euripides, was growing with each performance-year and was being circulated almost simultaneously with (or at least shortly after) the performance of every play. Additionally, the *Thesmophoriazusae* reveals a detailed engagement with Euripides' *Helen* and *Andromeda*,[33] which probably implies a consultation of Euripides' text on the part of Aristophanes. The indications in the *Thesmophoriazusae* in correlation with the reference to a script of *Andromeda* in the *Ranae* are enough to suggest that Aristophanes was aware of the existence of *Helen* and *Andromeda* as texts available presumably in the market (the casual nature of reference to books makes privately copied texts less likely in this case). Most importantly, one could suggest that they were presumably part of his private collection. I am not implying here that Aristophanes had the entire corpus of Euripides on his bookshelves. We need to accept that in all probability plays and scripts are travelling individually or in small clusters; Dionysus is reading the *Andromeda*, not the complete works of Euripides.

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[30] Lowe (1993) 69; Page (1934) 1 argues that 'the texts of the tragedians in the fifth century were the first books in Hellas...Aristophanes' comedies prove sufficiently that written texts of the tragedians were in the hands of Athenians in the second half of the fifth century.' Cf. Kenyon (1951) 23, 'certain amount of book-knowledge of literature could now be presumed, though formerly it was not the case.'

[31] Dover (1997) ad loc.

[32] As Dover's survey on Lysias' 'Corpus and Corpusculum' suggests (1968) 1-22, the author/poet loses control of the text the moment the performance takes place. The *sphragis* of Theognis is an example of the desperate attempts of a poet to control the text.

[33] Rau (1967) 215 offers a detailed account of the tragic scenes that Aristophanes reuses in his *Thesmophoriazusae*: the Prologue and *Anagnorisis* in Euripides' *Helen* in *Th*.850-928; a few scenes from the *Andromeda*: the entrance-monody in *Th*.1065ff; the monody from the Parodos in *Th*.1015ff; the Perseus-scene in *Th*.1098ff.

Apart from Aristophanes, various sources (comic and other) refer to the existence and public availability of written texts in Athens. Eupolis mentions the part of the market where books are sold,[34] and Athenaeus refers to a fragment of Alexis' *Linus* (fr.140 *PCG*) wherein Heracles is urged to select a book from a collection of texts that includes Orpheus, Hesiod, tragedies, Choerilus, Homer, and Epicharmus.[35] Alexis (394-c.275 BC) presents a mixture of real and unreal, which (unless the reference is to spurious "orphic" texts and to non-Athenian written comedies[36]) conforms to comedy's tendency to distort and exaggerate. The comfortable tone with which Alexis mentions books compared to Aristophanes' references to scripts and to the implicitness with which the dramatist alludes to his private collection[37] also marks a cultural change over a relatively short interval. We are already in the fourth century, and the variety and large number of texts mentioned in the fragment reveal the naturalness of books; they were obviously by then part of the Athenian landscape. The scepticism on the nature and value of books in Aristophanes (fr.506 *PCG*, *Av*.1037) disappears by Alexis' time.

Xenophon and Plato, the latter of whom is more precise when it comes to the content of the books he refers to, are important sources on the subject of the existence

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[34] Eupolis fr.327 *PCG* οὐ τὰ βυβλί᾽ ὤνια
　　　περιῆλθον ἐς τὰ σκόροδα καὶ τὰ κρόμμυα
　　　καὶ τὸν λιβανωτόν, κεὐθὺ τῶν ἀρωμάτων,
　　　καὶ περὶ τὰ γέλγη.
Harris (1989) 93 points out that this is the earliest reference to a book-trade (420s or 410s).

[35] Ath.164a-d δῆλον ἐξ ὧν καὶ Ἄλεξις ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Λίνῳ ἱστορεῖ. ὑποτίθεται δὲ τὸν Ἡρακλέα παρὰ τῷ Λίνῳ παιδευόμενον καὶ κελευσθέντα ἀπὸ βιβλίων πολλῶν παρακειμένων λαβόντα ἐντυχεῖν...λέγει δὲ οὕτως ὁ Λίνος

　　　　　　　Βιβλίον
　　　ἐντεῦθεν ὅ τι βούλει προσελθὼν γὰρ λαβέ,
　　　ἔπειτ᾽ ἀναγνώσει πάνυ γε διασκοπῶν
　　　ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων ἀτρέμα τε καὶ σχολῇ.
　　　Ὀρφεὺς ἔνεστιν, Ἡσίοδος, τραγῳδίαι,
　　　Χοιρίλος, Ὅμηρος, † Ἐπίχαρμος, συγγράμματα
　　　παντοδαπά....

[36] The appearance of Epicharmus in this list of texts is almost as puzzling as Orpheus'. It is the single reference we have to "books/written texts of comedy" and more specifically of non-Athenian comedy (Epicharmus was from Cos). We could assume that Epicharmus is mentioned because of his role in establishing, so to speak, the comic genre; Aristotle (*Po*.1449b5) mentions that Epicharmus (540-450 BC) invented comic plots, and Plato (*Tht*.152e) calls him the great master of comedy. The reference to his name does not necessarily mean that written texts of his comedies did circulate. It could be a tribute. Choerilus, an Athenian tragic poet who exhibited plays as early as 524 BC is also mentioned. Alexis' list goes back chronologically almost to the initiators of specific kinds/genres of poetry; Hesiod for didactic poetry, Homer for epic poetry. Thus, the inclusion of Choerilus could possibly be because of his very early career in tragedy.

[37] Plutarch *Alc*.7.1, although a later and possibly an anachronistic source, reinforces the assumption that private book-collections were a common phenomenon; the text refers to an incident with a grammatodidaskalos who owned a private copy of Homer.

and circulation of books. Xenophon is probably the main source for the actual existence of a book-trade which could have existed beyond the boundaries of Athens. He mentions in the *Anabasis* (7.5.12-14) how a great number of written books were among the cargoes of ships wrecked near Salmydessus. In his *Memorabilia* (1.6.14.15-19), he refers both to the preservation in written form of morals, poetry or sayings by the old sages themselves, and to the private collection of Euthydemus, a younger contemporary of Socrates, which included the works of the best poets and philosophers.[38] When it comes to Plato, who is also our sole written source for the earliest stages of literate education,[39] specific passages from his dialogues[40] reinforce the assumption that by the end of the fifth century and the early part of the fourth century 'books existed in Athens in considerable quantity, and were easily accessible. A habit of reading was growing, but was not yet firmly established'[41]. It is not clear, however, in the particular passages whether Plato is referring to the public availability of books, or to the private collection one might have, or even to both. It is important to acknowledge the distinction between private possession and private reproduction, and between private acquisition of specific texts and the existence of large private collections.

Evidently these sources testify to the gradual encroachment of books into everyday life in the latter part of the fifth-century and to the establishment of a culture in which books were not a strange phenomenon. The casualness with which the writers allude to books seems to indicate, as Kenyon has claimed, 'that the accessibility of books might be taken for granted'[42]. What is equally significant is that Plato is specific when he refers to the content of books: he mentions the name of the author, who almost always belongs to the sphere of prose and not verse, specifically oratory and philosophy (e.g. Lysias in *Phdr.*228a6-b1; Anaxagoras of Clazomenae in *Ap.*26d6-e1). Nevertheless, poetry was included in the educational curriculum, since it

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[38] *Mem.*4.2.3-6 καταμαθὼν γὰρ Εὐθύδημον τὸν καλὸν <u>γράμματα πολλὰ συνειλεγμένον</u> ποιητῶν τε καὶ σοφιστῶν τῶν εὐδοκιμωτάτων καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἤδη τε νομίζοντα διαφέρειν τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ... As Woodbury (1976) 354 suggests, 'the accumulation of books is likely to have been restricted to intellectuals...'

[39] Morgan (1998) 16.

[40] *Phd.*98b4-6 πάνυ σπουδῇ λαβὼν τὰς βίβλους ὡς τάχιστα οἷός τ᾽ ἦ ἀνεγίγνωσκον, ἵν᾽ ὡς τάχιστα εἰδείην τὸ βέλτιστον καὶ τὸ χεῖρον; *Smp.*177b4-7 ἀλλ᾽ ἔγωγε ἤδη τινὶ ἐνέτυχον βιβλίῳ ἀνδρὸς σοφοῦ, ἐν ᾧ ἐνῆσαν ἅλες ἔπαινον θαυμάσιον ἔχοντες πρὸς ὠφελίαν, καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα συχνὰ ἴδοις ἂν ἐγκεκωμιασμένα.

[41] Kenyon (1951) 24.

[42] Ibid. 22.

was what pupils were taught after they learned the letters (*Prt*.325e1-6), but Plato is not precise about the actual poetic texts which were being read. Presumably, we are meant to think of those texts employed in the actual educational system of the time. Plato is more specific only when it comes to reading and learning from Homer and his epics (*Hp.mi*.363b-c2). The predominance of Homer in literate education is already visible in comedy,[43] and his continuing educational importance for the Hellenistic period is confirmed by the papyri.[44]

Archaeological evidence, such as vases and amphorae, also agree with the picture sketched by the literary sources. Representations of writing and writing material on Attic pottery began at about 500-490 BC,[45] and book-rolls, when represented in that period, are always meant for books of poetry.[46] Immerwahr, in surveying the illustrations of this period, refers to the only two school-scenes where the book-roll occurs,[47] and concludes that both the book-rolls contain a literary text. This could imply that book-rolls of literary texts were used in schools for recitation and dictation.[48] In the second half of the fifth century (beginning c.460-450 BC) vases with book-rolls also feature female figures, some of whom may be Muses rather than mortal women.[49] This frequent depiction symbolises the idealised literature and music respectively.[50] When a woman (presumably the Muse) carries the book-roll, she is always accompanied by a companion carrying Apollo's lyre.[51] Immerwahr argues that these scenes give the impression that the texts contained in the rolls are 'meant to be sung to the accompaniment of the lyre'[52].

Multiple conclusions can be drawn from Immerwahr's survey. Although the evidence is scanty, the portrayal of a female readership (other than the Muse)[53] on the

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[43] Ar. fr.233 *PCG* on which see p.196n71.

[44] Morgan (1998) 308-309 with tables 11&12.

[45] Immerwahr (1964) 17

[46] Ibid. 18.

[47] Berlin 2285, cup of Douris 490-480 BC (figures 2&3, pp.254-255); Oxford G.138. 3.5.11, cup by Onesimos c.480 BC.

[48] Immerwahr (1964) 20.

[49] Yatromanolakis (2007) 144-152 offers a description of a number of these vases with images.

[50] Immerwahr (1964) 27-34.

[51] All the details on the description of vases are found in Immerwahr (1964) 34-47.

[52] Ibid. 46.

[53] Yatromalonakis (2007) 151 points out that 'the boundaries between mortal women and Muses are sometimes fluid.' The Muses are portrayed with attributes in order to make their divine identity explicit; they often carry the lyre, or are identified with inscriptions. The existence of musical instruments on the vases cannot always be a criterion for the identification of a Muse. A red-figured cup is the main example of this counterargument: Bologna, Museo Civico Archaeologico PU 271 (c.450 BC). Female figures holding either the lyre or book-rolls depicted on vases with Apollo (e.g.

vases indicates the development of an interest in literature and of a more general use of books in private life.[54] Their depiction on vases may indicate the public commercial availability of texts as well as the private circulation and possession of texts. These texts need not be substantial or include the complete work of a poet. The depictions of book-rolls on vases in a non-school context suggest that poetic texts were not solely meant for educational purposes. Their employment in the private domain adds an additional dimension. These poetic texts were obviously meant to be read for pleasure, and this view is consistent with what we learn from Aristophanes about the reading of tragedy; Dionysus reads the *Andromeda* for his own leisure. The distinction between the two contexts possibly reflects a distinction between two different purposes of reading – reading for educational reasons at school and reading for pleasure in the *oikos*.[55] Immerwahr sees a continuous development for poetic books[56] with a sequential transition from the public to the private, as he suggests that 'books were used in school and came to be used more and more for private recitation in the course of the century'[57]. However, we do not necessarily need to see these developments as two distinct and successive stages; we can accept them as two synchronous or overlapping trends. Obviously, poetic texts were employed for educational reasons and most of the evidence we have point to that direction. We cannot be sure, however, whether it was due to their educational use that texts were pursued for private pleasure or vice-versa. A chronological distinction is not necessary as long as we recognise that both these lines of diffusion were part of the quasi-bookish culture of the latter part of the fifth century. A final conclusion can be drawn from the illustrations Immerwahr examined. Although we cannot preclude the possibility that written texts were publicly available and thus circulated, we should not attempt to see an absolute elimination or replacement of song-culture. The book-rolls, when depicted on the vases as being read in private, are accompanied by the lyre. This may be evidence enough that a written text may be consulted in private, but

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Berlin 2388, Athens National Museum 1241) are usually identified as the Muses. Yatromanolakis (*ibidem*) claims that 'apart from the use of inscriptions, the main criterion for identifying Muses in this kind of all-female musical gathering is the appearance of pictorial signs like a rock (on which a Muse may be seated) and plants, indicating an outdoor setting.'

[54] Immerwahr (1964) 24.

[55] It should be clarified at this stage that this distinction cannot be too hard and fast, since it is likely that some education took place at home.

[56] Ibid. 36.

[57] Ibid. 48.

in public and social contexts the poem remained a work performed and sung to the lyre.

Immerwahr's reading of the inscriptions on the rolls reveals that they are all literary quotations, the majority of which are inspired by epic poetry.[58] The only suspicion of an implicit reference to a lyric text is on Onesimus' school-scene where the roll contains the keywords Στεσιχόρ/ον ὑμνον / ἄγοισαι.[59] Although the phrase cannot be identified with any of the surviving lyric poems, the dialect together with the reference to Stesichorus implies that it is probably the beginning or the title of a choral lyric poem. Probably the most bizarre inscription on a book-roll is found on what is called the Sappho-hydria.[60] The seated woman, who is depicted on the vase reading, is named as Sappho, and the roll she holds contains both a title and a text. The title on the rolled part is read ΕΓΕΑ ΓΤΕΡΟΕΤΑ (ἔπεα πτερόεντα), whereas the readable portion of the text on the open sheet is θεοι / ηερι /ων επε /ων αρχ /ομ /αια.[61] Although it is not possible to discern the provenance of the words, it would be logical to assume that, if the woman reading was meant to be Sappho, the text would have been an extract from her own poetry. The name on the hydria (which is not clearly readable in its entirety) was probably in the genitive.[62] Artistic probability therefore suggests that either the representation was meant to be "of Sappho" or the roll was intended 'to represent a book, or the book, of Sappho's poems'[63]. On the other hand, the text on the particular book-roll could also verify Immerwahr's conclusion on the preference for epic tales and/or quotations.[64] This preference and insistence would point not only to the broad interest in epic, specifically the Homeric

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[58] The book-roll on the Douris school cup, for example, has a phrase inspired by the Homeric epic, Μοῖσά μοι / ἀ<μ>φὶ Σκάμανδρον / εὐρ<ρ>Ων ἄρχομαι/ ἀεί{ν}δεν. Diehl classifies this line as Stesichorus fr.26 but parenthetically mel.adespoton 30ᴬ, whereas Page classifies it as adespoton (20e *PMG*). Edmonds (1922) 5 assumes that this line is meant to be for the first line of an epic poem. For a description of the Berlin vase of Douris, Birt (1907) 138-139; on the "omega" in the line, Beazley (1948) 337-338.

[59] On the scansion of the line, Beazley (1948) 338; Immerwahr (1964) 19. Immerwahr (p.47) suspects a lyric text also for a hydria at the National Museum of Athens 1241 (c.450 BC). See pp.28-29 for the proposed reading of the text. Yatromanolakis (2007) 146 dates the hydria c.440-430 BC. For a description of the hydria, Birt (1907) 142.

[60] Athens 1260 (figure 4, p.256), group of Polygnotos recalling the Hector Painter c.440-430 BC. For a description of the Sappho-vase, Brit (1907) 146-148; Beazley (1948) 339; Yatromanolakis (2007) 153-160.

[61] I follow here the reading of Edmond (1922) 2 and Yatromanolakis (2007) 158. The line has been supplemented: θεοὶ ἠερίων ἐπέων ἄρχομαι ἀλλ'ὀνάτων. The verse (20d *PMG*) is labelled as adespoton and is included in the list with the fragments found on vases.

[62] Edmonds (1922) 2; Yatromanolakis (2007) 154.

[63] *Ibidem* op.cit.

[64] Immerwahr (1964) 46-47, where he lists examples from amphorae with epic quotations.

epic, but also and mainly to the Attic and Athenian taste in literature. At the same time, it could imply absence of publicly circulated written lyric texts in Athens from which the painter could cite.[65]

Edmonds, after examining the metre, language, and sentiment of the line on the book-roll (he takes θεοί as introductory rather than as part of the quotation) argues that there is nothing that makes this line non-sapphic.[66] He goes too far, though, when he suggests that this representation and the "Sapphic" line on the book-roll could imply either an edition of the poems by Sappho herself or a pre-Alexandrian edition that circulated in Athens.[67] We should be careful when we generalise from a single line on a vase. This line could conceivably have been an artistic invention, an improvisation[68] based on known poems of Sappho, since we posses no evidence that Sappho was edited before the Hellenistic era. It could be, as he suggests, that the line on the book-roll implies that Sappho was already written down and read. Nevertheless, it is difficult to accept his suggestion that the book-roll implies that Sappho was no longer sung.[69] The very fact that book rolls are depicted side by side with lyres suggests more strongly singing than simply reading. This combination of rolls and lyres could, thus, point to the amount of lyric being circulated through oral performance in Athens in the fifth-century. The vases are important evidence for caution against generalised assumptions that the introduction of texts and reading had replaced singing and oral circulation of poetry. The minimum we can conclude from the specific vase is that songs of Sappho were both sung and available in writing. But how full the available text of Sappho was is not possible to know. We can also say for certain what the previous chapters have attempted to sketch: Sappho is established as classic and the name on the vase proves wide recognition and knowledge if not of her poetry, at least of her persona. It is more difficult to be certain of the nature of the text. It could be a hybrid text – Sappho singing Homer - but it could also be Sappho.

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[65] *Contra* Immerwahr (1964) 36, who suggests that the vases prove that fifth-century lyric poetry was not altogether an oral phenomenon, especially in the second half of the fifth-century at which 'the written word appears in the consciousness of the literate people of Athens and elsewhere – at the very time when we begin to get stories of books, book shop and the like.'
[66] Edmonds (1922) 4.
[67] Ibid. 6 and pp.6-15, where he elaborates on these assumptions.
[68] Yatromanolakis (2007) 160.
[69] Edmonds (1922) 12.

The dialect of the citation is wrong (we have the Ionic η in ηεριων), but on balance the form of the quotation favours lyric.[70]

All the above evidence, literary and archaeological, invites a number of conclusions. Firstly, books were becoming more widely available in Athens towards the end of the fifth century. Secondly, we need to distinguish between availability of texts and a book-market, as well as between the existence of a book-market in Athens and private collections, the latter of which could have existed earlier than the actual public dissemination of texts began. Thirdly, we should probably speak of stages through which the writing down of the majority of the genres took place. Aristophanes' comedies suggest that dramatic works, certainly tragedy and possibly comedy, were available for public purchase from 406 BC. By the time of Alexis, the comic poet can make jokes not only about the nature of texts secured in books (the characters even possess a book of Orpheus) but also about their extensive use by individuals. As was noted above, an Aristophanic fragment suggests that the Homeric epics were already being used in education in the form of a written text.[71] Their extensive use in education could suggest that the Homeric epics were the first to be dispersed and that they were widely available already from the fifth-century. Their wide diffusion, however, does not imply the existence of a homogeneous text before the Hellenistic period, as research into the early papyri indicates.[72] The Platonic dialogues, on the other hand, suggest the existence of written prose texts prior to verse/poetic texts, since they imply wider availability of oratorical speeches, of philosophical and sophistic treatises. With reference to tragic texts, Aristophanes is very revealing. We need to bear in mind that in order for a tragic play to be staged beyond Athens in the early fifth-century, the tragedian had to travel to the place of

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[70] On the metre of the line, Edmonds (1922) 3 who offers parallels from Sappho's fragments to support the Sapphic, at least the lyric, origin of the line. He proposes to take the last syllable of ἄρχομαι as short or elided syllable, or as the first element of a crasis. Yatromanolakis (2007) 160 suggests the possibility of the painter writing θεοί together with ἠερίων ἐπέων ἄρχομαι without considering the meter this would produce. If we take θεοὶ as part of the quotation, and also take into account the supplements, then the verse would consist of an aeolic glyconic base (x x - ∪ ∪ - ∪ -) followed by dactylic metres. The second analysis could be (i) glyconic plus dactyls, or (ii) aeolic dactyls.

θεοὶ ἠερίων ἐπέων ἄρχομαι ἄλλ᾽ὀνάτων
∪ -, - ∪ ∪ -   ∪ ∪ -, - ∪ ∪, - ∪ ∪, -

The combination is Sapphic. On the metre of Sappho's books, Page (1955) 318-323.

[71] Ar. Fr.233 *PCG*   πρὸς ταύτας δ᾽αὖ λέξον Ὁμήρου γλώττας· τί καλοῦσι κόρυμβα;
∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - τί καλοῦσ᾽ ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα;
ὁ μὲν οὖν σός, ἐμὸς δ᾽ οὗτος ἀδελφὸς φρασάτω· τί καλοῦσιν ἰδύους;
∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - τί ποτ᾽ ἐστὶν ὀπύειν;

[72] Haslam (1997).

performance; Aeschylus is invited to Syracuse in the 470s in order to produce the *Aitnai/Aitnaiai*.[73] This note does not imply that an author/performance-text did not exist at the time of Aeschylus. It rather suggests that those texts did not "escape" as easily as they probably did in an Athenian context in late fifth-century. The above discussion indicates that we need to be reserved regarding the expansion and circulation of books in antiquity; public and private collective activities of Greek communities maintained and established the practices of poetic oral performance in the sixth and fifth century,[74] which continued side by side with the development and expansion of writing and of textual entities.

Lyric Texts, Lyric Orality, or Lyric Memory?

Given the previous discussion, one wonders whether it is possible for us to speak of copies of Sappho[75] or Pindar being circulated in the Athenian market already from the fifth century, or whether we need to consider oral performance as the only means to ensure survival and circulation of lyric poetry down to the fourth century. We should bear in mind that the passage from song-culture to book-culture could not have happened overnight, and the transition was presumably not as clear-cut and simple as we would like it to be. An absolute dichotomy between song and text is unnecessary.[76] We have seen reason to believe that there is a big probability, at least at the beginning of this process, that such lyric texts as were available coexisted with the oral performance of the actual poems.[77] It could be, as Ford and Yunis postulate, that lyric poetry was transcribed in the seventh century BC,[78] or as early as the composition of the actual poems, in order to preserve them despite their being presented in performance.[79] The whole question of lyric composition with or without

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[73] Taplin (1999) 41. Taplin however makes a leap when he claims (p.43) that 'tragedy had evidently taken root there from early days, indeed since the time of Hieron.'

[74] Yunis (2003) 4.

[75] The *P.Köln.* Inv.21351+21376 dated in the early third-century is probably the earliest papyrus with poems of Sappho we possess. On this papyrus, chapter 6, p.225n63.

[76] Nagy (1990) 8 states with reference to marked and unmarked registers: 'we feel the need to define oral in terms of *written*: if something is *oral*, we tend to assume a conflict with the notion of *written*. From the general standpoint of social anthropology, however, it is *written* that has to be defined in terms of *oral*. *Written* is not something that is not *oral*; rather it is something in addition to being oral, and additional something varies from society to society.'

[77] Eupolis Fr.148 *PCG* τὰ Στησιχόρου τε καὶ Ἀλκμᾶνος Σιμωνίδου τε
                        ἀρχαῖον ἀείδειν, ὁ δὲ Γνήσιππος ἔστ᾽ ἀκούειν....

[78] Ford (2003) 20.

[79] Yunis (2003) 7.

writing is still one of the biggest puzzles in the process of preservation of ancient Greek literature. None of the lyric poems ever advertises its textuality; it always treats itself as song, and performance is either stated or implied.[80] One cannot be absolutely sure of any answer proposed, but the combination of scale and metrical complexity of compositions such as Alcman's or Pindar's seem to call for writing at some point in the compositional process. Any answer we offer to the question: 'who put the songs in writing?' must be hypothetical. It is highly plausible, however, that the poet him/herself was the agent. In the case of choral poems, a performance text (in multiple copies) was necessary for the choral rehearsals before the performance itself. We need to assume the existence of such a text either during the compositional process or afterwards. This is especially the case in those poems (such as B.5, *P*.2 and *I*.2) where the poet was evidently not present at the place of performance to drill the choir. The manuscript tradition of Pindar, for instance, is a very good text without many intrusions or corruptions, which would suggest that an authoritative authorial text existed at some point.[81] The solid textual preservation of a song could have aimed to preserve the poem either for future re-performances or as solid inheritance for future generations, or even for the plainest reason of compositional convenience. The poems themselves emphasise poetic fame and reputation based mainly on poetic performances and not on reading.[82] Thus, it may be that writing was used principally (and initially) not for the purposes of preservation but for the easiness of composition, rehearsal and performance.[83]

Physical recording of poems and textualisation do not necessarily imply dissemination in a textual form. As was argued above, it is likely that traditional

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[80] E.g. Pi. *P*.2.3-4 ὔμμιν τόδε τᾶν λιπαρᾶν <u>ἀπὸ Θηβᾶν φέρων</u> / <u>μέλος ἔρχομαι</u> ἀγγελίαν τετραορίας ἐλελίχθονος; *P*.5.98-104 <u>μεγαλᾶν δ'ἀρετᾶν</u> / δρόσῳ μαλθακᾷ /ῥανθεισᾶν κώμων {θ'} ὑπὸ χεύμασιν, / <u>ἀκούοντί</u> ποι χθονίᾳ φρενί, / σφὸν ὄλβον υἶῷ τε κοινὰν χάριν / ἐνδικόν τ' Ἀρκεσίλᾳ· τὸν <u>ἐν ἀοιδᾷ νέων</u> / πρέπει χρυσάορα Φοῖβον ἀπύειν; *N*.4.77-79 οὐ νέοντ' ἄνευ στεφάνων, πάτραν ἵν' <u>ἀκούομεν</u>, / Τιμάσαρχε, τεὰν <u>ἐπινικίοισιν</u> <u>ἀοιδαῖς</u> /πρόπολον ἔμμεναι.

[81] On the codices Pindarici, Snell-Maehler (1987) viii.

[82] E.g. Pi. *O*.10.91-94 καὶ <u>ὅταν καλὰ {μὲν} ἔρξαις ἀοιδᾶς ἄτερ</u>, / Ἁγησίδαμ', εἰς Ἀΐδα σταθμὸν / ἀνὴρ ἵκηται, κενεὰ πνεύσαις ἔπορε μόχθῳ / βραχύ το τερπνόν. Τὶν δ'ἁδυεπής τε λύρα / γλυκύς τ'αὐλὸς ἀναπάσσει χάριν; *B*.3.94-98 πράξα[ντι] δ'εὖ / οὐ φέρει κόσμ[ον σιω- /πά· σὺν δ'ἀλαθ[είᾳ] καλῶν / καὶ μελιγλώσσου <u>τις ὑμνήσει</u> χάριν / Κηΐας ἀηδόνος; *B*.13.91-94, 221-225 ταὶ δὲ στεφανωσάμε[ναι φοιν]ικέων / ἀνθέων δόνακός τ'ἐ[πιχω-/ρίαν ἄθυρσιν / <u>παρθένοι μέλπουσι</u> τ[εὸν τέκο]ς...τᾷ μὲν ἐγὼ πίσυνο[ς / φοινικοκραδέμνοις [τε <u>Μούσαις / ὕμνων τινὰ τάνδε ν[εόξαντον μίτραν / φαίνω</u>, ξενίαν τε [φιλά-/γλαον γεραίρω; Ibyc. Fr.1.46-48 *PMG* τοῖς μὲν πέδα κάλλεος αἰὲν / καὶ σύ, Πολύκρατες, κλέος ἄφθιτον ἐξεῖς / <u>ὡς κὰτ'ἀοιδὰν</u> καὶ ἐμὸν κλέος.

[83] *Contra* Nagy (1990) 18 who argues 'against the need to assume that the medium of writing was necessary for the medium of composition or for the medium of performance and reperformance.'

modes of oral discourse persisted long after the advent of writing. The earliest Homeric manuscripts (third century BC) are characterised by a startling degree of difference from the text that prevailed in the Hellenistic period.[84] Haslam argues that the open tradition of the Homeric manuscripts generated a range of textual variation and a degree of volatility, both of which are characteristics 'of texts whose transmission is oral'[85]. He also adds that the medium of Homer's circulation was 'predominantly oral down to the 5th century or beyond, and for many centuries was both oral and written, with various kinds of mostly unfathomable interplay between the two'[86]. If we extend his assumption beyond the Homer text, song was probably the primary means of circulation throughout the fifth century, presumably until the end of the third century, in spite of the existence of written texts for some poetry. Aristophanes complains in the *Nubes* that songs of Simonides and of other "old" poets are not sung anymore. Aristotle in the *Politics* refers to songs sung at the symposium and the Peripatetics choose to write separate treatises on sympotic and erotic songs that were probably part of their everyday experience. All this suggests that the song-culture was still vibrant until at least the fourth century. Any assumption we make about the introduction of texts and books in Greek culture should not be an attempt to eliminate or to replace the oral medium of transmission, especially in the case of lyric poetry. Bacchylides sends his *Ode 5* to Hieron (vv.10-12 ὕμνον...πέμπειν),[87] but he still claims in *Ode 3* that he will be remembered when his poem is sung again (vv.97-98 καὶ μελιγλώσσου τις ὑμνήσει χάριν Κηΐας ἀηδόνος).[88] It is not possible to give a definite answer of what Bacchylides actually sent to Syracuse. It is more likely that

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[84] Haslam (1997) 63.

[85] Ibid. 69.

[86] Ibid. 79.

[87] Steffen (1961) 11-13, 19-20 and Brannan (1972) 201-205 assume, based on the ode's *prooemion*, that the poem is not an epinician but a poetic epistle, a kind of *propempticon* sent to Hieron by Bacchylides in order to introduce himself. *Contra* Steffen and Brannan, see Schmidt (1987). Finn (1980) ad loc. assumes that the language is metaphorical in the immediate context; the verb could probably be used figuratively and the expression 'conforms to the pattern of a motif employed elsewhere to formally present to the victor his awaited song' (p.172). He suggests that πέμπει in *Ode 5* is a variation of the encomiastic motif found in other poems of Bacchylides where a divinity is sent to the scene of celebration, e.g. B.2.1-3, B.14.1ff. Nagy (1990) 5-8, 30-34 makes the distinction between marked and unmarked language. Marked language is always loaded and stands out. In the case of the victory ode the language of "sending" bears extra weight (as extremely rare) as against the common language of "coming and singing". The poem is talking about its movement as object, thus "sending" is understood in terms of object. In some cases, therefore, we must be talking about written texts being sent in order for the chorus to perform the ode. The existence of a text is thus a reasonable hypothesis.

[88] Maehler (2004) ad loc. follows Bundy's formulation of the encomiastic future (Bundy (2006) 58) and suggests that the verb ὑμνήσει, although in the future, refers to the present performance of the ode at Syracuse. For Pindaric examples of what Bundy calls the "encomiastic future", Slater (1969).

he sent the script of the poem rather than a trained chorus from Ceos. In either case, both of the above passages suggest that we may need to consider a combination of the two; writing for the composition of the poem, but dissemination in the form of a song in performance. The poem itself envisages song as the principle mode of circulation. We may also, however, need to take into account an additional complicating factor: that of piecemeal dissemination of individual songs in written form, either from "escaped" choral scripts or (for purple passages and shorter lyric songs) from subsequent transcriptions from oral performances.

Even if we do accept that writing was used for the composition of lyric poems, and that some works have been available in written form, the evidence does not allow us to assume dissemination of these written lyric texts in the Athenian book-market, at least not before the fourth century. Even then, the situation may not be straightforward. We have already observed that it would not have been feasible for the Peripatetics to concentrate on such amount of detail and specificity in their treatises on specific lyric poets if they lacked texts.[89] This implies the *existence* of lyric texts; it does *not* necessarily indicate their wide circulation. The case of Plato may still be more complicated; Plato frequently quotes from lyric poems and from specific poets. Also, the manner in which he treats Tyrtaeus as person and his poetry implies that he was extremely familiar with his work.[90] Frequently, the precision of lyric citations in Plato, especially in the case of Simonides' ode to Scopas in the *Protagoras*,[91] implies something more than simple familiarity with the poem. It suggests, though it does not prove, the use of texts in at least some cases.[92] Nevertheless, we cannot be sure

[89] Chapter 4.2, pp.176-177, 181-182.
[90] Chapter 4.1, pp. 143-144.
[91] Chapter 4.1, pp.142-143.
[92] Later sources preserve anecdotes of Plato as a book collector; Aulus Gelius 3.17 *memoriae mandatum est Platonem philosophum tenui admodum pecunia familiari fuisse atque eum tamen tris Philolai Pythagorici libros decem milibus denarium mercatum*; D.L.3.18.11-13 δοκεῖ δὲ Πλάτων καὶ τὰ Σώφρονος τοῦ μιμογράφου βιβλία ἠμελημένα πρῶτος εἰς Ἀθήνας διακομοίσαι καὶ ἠθοποιῆσαι πρὸς αὐτόν; D.L.8.85.8-12 φησιν Ἕρμιππος λέγειν τινὰ τῶν συγγραφέων Πλάτωνα τὸν φιλόσοφον παραγενόμενον εἰς Σικελίαν πρὸς Διονύσιον ὠνήσασθαι...καὶ ἐντεῦθεν μεταγεγραφέναι τὸν Τίμαιον... We should also here relate the lyric references/citations in Plato to the uses of lyric in Herodotus' narrative. Herodotus often implies that the source of certain information in his narrative is a specific lyric poem (e.g. Archilochus' poem for Gyges, Sappho's poem with the reference to her brother), although he never quotes or asks for detailed knowledge of a specific work. As has already been suggested, the frequency with which the Pindaric passage on *nomos* is quoted both in Plato and in Herodotus verifies the assumption that portions of lyric poems were travelling as independent and authoritative maxims and morals (Chapters 3, p.119 and 4.1, p.145). It makes one wonder whether Pindar's *nomos*-quotation and the lyric passages Herodotus mentions in his narrative were travelling orally or as textual entities. The broader geographical span of Herodotus' audience makes it difficult for us to use his allusions as evidence to the availability of lyric poetry in written form.

whether Plato and his audience encountered in *written* form all the texts one can discern in his dialogues. One suggestion can definitely be made: the setting of Plato's dialogues, as well as the casualness with which almost all the interlocutors refer to lines of small-scale poetry, suggest a continuous coexistence of poetry in written form and oral re-performance, either public or private. It may be the case that some of the lyric poems Plato cites were textual entities, but others were included in his dialogues from memory. When we add Plato's readers to the equation, the picture becomes still more complicated, since we cannot assume that a work known or available to Plato in textual form was necessarily known or available to his readers as such. It is entirely possible that a substantial number of his lyric allusions and quotations were known from oral memory and/or re-performance for the majority of his audience. We must, therefore, refrain from claiming a wide availability and diffusion of lyric poetry as physical text as well as for absolute and general knowledge of lyric poems as written entities. Even if Plato owned *some* texts of *some* lyric poems, we cannot claim with certainty that those texts were available to the wider public, or that textual preservation, where it occurred, interrupted or terminated probable oral re-performances.

Nevertheless, the scale of use of lyric quotations in the Platonic dialogues and the Peripatetic treatises on specific lyric genres/poets invite us to assume that a number of lyric poems were preserved and thus possessed by at least some readers in written form. In trying to fix more closely the nature of this availability, three conditions need to be taken into account. As noted above, any attempts to reconstruct the textuality of lyric poetry should take into account the non-Athenian origin of most of these lyric poems. This may mean that lyric texts circulated firstly in non-Athenian contexts. Equally important for understanding the dynamics of lyric textuality is the nature of the references to lyric works; none of the Platonic passages mentioned above refer to lyric texts or books. This together with the first consideration may suggest a late circulation of lyric texts in Athens compared to other geographical locations (e.g. a lyric poet's hometown). A third essential note is the possible existence of private collections,[93] whose content could be similar or dissimilar to what was publicly circulated.

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[93] Pöhlmann (1994) 25 suggests that we should accept stories for the existence of private collections as facts. Ar.*Ran*.1407-10 refers to Euripides' books and Euripides is portrayed already from the fifth

The suggestion that lyric texts were absent from the Athenian market in Plato's time should not come as a surprise. Athenian public taste must have been an important factor that determined both the nature of texts that circulated in Athens and the content of the book-markets. All markets respond to demand. It is possible that lyric was not what the Athenian reading public requested, and this would have made it second-order material. Given the focus in the city of Athens on literary and non-literary accomplishments which projected and reflected Athenian traits and the Athenian identity, it is possible that public Athenian interest was focused principally on Athenian literary achievements. This is consistent with the evidence of Aristophanes for the reading of tragedies. Substantial written lyric texts may not have been in high demand, although we could assume that private collections would have included lyric poems, individually or in groups. The Sappho-hydria and allusions to and distortions of lyric in Aristophanes indicate if not some interest in lyric at least knowledge. Nevertheless, interest in lyric poetry may have developed as the book-market itself developed and as written lyric texts gradually became a more common phenomenon in the city of Athens. The situation obviously changes with the creation of the Peripatos and its library; the philosophical inquiries of these philosophers become empirical and text-based.[94] In this case, one may speak of lyric poems presumably being partly circulated in the Athenian market in written form or at least being part of the collection of the Peripatetic library. This need not imply the circulation or possession of the entire (or even the greater part of the) corpus of a lyric poet on the same book-roll. Individual poems could have been written down either separately or as part of a collection. Any *a priori* assumptions that the Peripatetics would have owned the entire corpus of a poet would be rash.

The situation may have been very different outside Athens. Probably the only poetic work which circulated unreservedly around Greece was the Homeric text. This is suggested by the existence of texts of Homer in circulation in different cities before the Alexandrian edition; these texts are classified as "from the cities" by the Hellenistic scholars.[95] The widespread availability of the Homeric text is revealing not only of its unique pan-Hellenic value and authority but also of its individual and

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century as possessing an impressive quantity of literature. This presumably was the reason why it was later inferred (Ath.1.3a) that he possessed a library. As Harris (1989) 85n93 suggests, it is of secondary importance whether he actually owned the books himself.

[94] Robb (1994) 234.

[95] On the Homeric text from the cities, see Chapter 6, p.218.

unique "pan-Hellenic" circulation.[96] Just as Athenians regarded tragedy and comedy as specifically their own cultural achievements, to the point that they made use of the dramatic performances for a whole range of civic displays before the Greek world and made special efforts to preserve the quality of the texts used for civic purposes in Athens, so it is likely that other Greek cities publicly and privately paid particular attention to their own local poetic products. One could argue that as Athens was proud of its own artistic achievements and attempted to preserve and advertise them as Athenian,[97] so the texts of lyric poems may have been available in larger quantities and on a more substantial scale in the home-*polis* of the poet. The Archilocheion on Paros (*SEG* 15.517) with its hagiographic biography demonstrates a persisting local pride in a local poet. This is unlikely to have been unique either to Paros or to Archilochus and may have been especially strong in *poleis* (such as Thebes) where the number of poets with name recognition abroad was small. The dialectal consistency of the surviving lyric texts (literary Doric for choral lyric and Lesbian/Aeolic for personal lyric – Sappho and Alcaeus), and the relative lack of corruption in complex metrical texts which travelled as prose show a remarkable degree of care in copying and preservation. Unlike other texts, the extant texts of lyric poetry were not Atticised, and maintained their dialectical background.[98] The general integrity of the dialects of the poems argues more favourably for collective transmission.

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[96] Carey (2007) 141, where he points out that we cannot be sure what these selections mean and whether the city-texts were actually locally authorised texts. On the local texts of Homer, West (2001) 67-73.

[97] Plut. *Vit. X Orat.*841.43...Αἰσχύλου, Σοφοκλέους, Εὐριπίδου, τὰς τραγῳδίας αὐτῶν ἐν κοινῷ γραψαμένους φυλάττειν, καὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως γραμματέα παραναγινώσκειν τοῖς ὑποκρινομένοις· οὐκ ἐξεῖναι δὲ ἄλλως ὑποκρίνεσθαι suggests that different versions of texts of tragedies circulated in Athens before the time of Lycurgus. Slater (1996) 111n36 assumes that the note implies that 'the state was quite unwilling to reply upon private preservation of the text' and the figure of the state clerk dictating invites us to think that it was improbable for actors to have possessed their own copy. However, there is nothing that goes beyond the idea of written texts in this passage, especially beyond Athenian texts. Although tragedies were re-performed beyond Athens and were thus thought to be a pan-Hellenic achievement, the passage suggests that it was first and foremost considered to be an Athenian achievement. Taplin (1999) 54 correctly wonders what was in Athenian tragedy that appealed so strongly to the Greeks beyond Athens. His question gains more weight when we consider that not only did comedy not travel beyond Athens before the time of Menander but we also possess no evidence of when it was preserved as a text. *Contra* Taplin (1993) esp.89-99 who, based on painted pottery, argues for a wider performance of old comedy in Megale Hellas and Sicily in the fourth century.

[98] Horrocks (2010) 53-54, 50-52; Tribulato (2010) 393-5, where she discusses the perception of Lesbian/Aeolic dialect for Sappho and Alcaeus. Tribulato (p.388) points out that this association (epic poetry-Ionic, choral lyric-Doric, monodic lyric-Ionic, with the exception of Sappho and Alcaeus who wrote in East Aeolic) 'was originally made on the basis of the reputed land of origin of a given literary genre or of its founder: Homer was thought to be a native of Ionia; the first music and poetic schools

The chief questions which arise now are the possible locations where these lyric texts were initially preserved and the way in which they reached Athens. One possibility would be the existence of local archives based either in the hometown of each of these poets or in the hometown of people honoured in their poetry. Sanctuaries at which civic performances took place and courts where poets and artists were gathered could also have been potential repositories of lyric poetry. Although it was not unusual to have depositions of certain categories of private documents in a public archive (e.g. Epikouros deposited his will at the Athenian Metroön),[99] the Greek archives were mainly used as "public record offices."[100] The specificity of their usage would probably have allowed room for civic poetry and for what would have been thought of as locally generated authoritative text.[101]

Though there is a good case to be made for the existence of archived collections on grounds of probability, we should not suppose that these play a major (or even any) role in the larger Greek circulation of texts. Reference has already been made above to the possible existence of private collections. Texts and individual poems could themselves have been travelling from hand to hand. We should be careful in this case not to assume that possession of lyric texts meant possession of the entire corpus of a specific lyric poet. Private collections may have been highly disaggregated "selections" from what was available and from the actual output of each poet. It is important to bear in mind the totality of the actual poetry involved in this process. A synchronic circulation of the entire lyric corpus or of the entire corpus of a poet is difficult to credit. It is entirely possible that circulation on a limited scale, involving private copies, took place before the emergence of a wider demand and availability. This would not rule out the possibility that some poets and works achieved early popularity and circulated more widely and/or on a larger scale. We need to avoid assuming a single answer. We may, in fact, have all of the above

connected with choral poetry were all located in the Doric-speaking Peloponnese; tragedy and oratory flourished in Athens, etc.' On the Aeolic dialect of choral lyric, Cassio (2005) 13-44.

[99] Davies (2003) 330.

[100] Brosius (2003) 9.

[101] According to the scholia, *Olympian 7* for Diagoras of Rhodes was dedicated in golden letters to the temple of Athena of Lindos – Σ. Pi.*O*.7 ταύτην τὴν ᾠδὴν ἀνακεῖσθαί φησι Γόργων [FGH IV, 410] ἐν τῷ τῆς Λινδίας Ἀθηναίας ἱερῷ χρυσοῖς γράμμασιν BCQ. We cannot be certain whether the scholia can be trusted on this issue. It could be that the particular comment was an attempt to enhance more Diagoras' already great prestige. In any case, this is presumably a single instance, and it is probably such due to the major glory the achievements of Diagoras and his family offered to his hometown, which is highly praised in the Pindaric ode.

happening either simultaneously or in successive stages. There is a further aspect to the assumption that individual works were being circulated from one private collection to the other.[102] We have to assume, firstly, the possibility of an element of production of the text based on amateur private copying and secondly, corruption of the text as a consequence of a possible careless copying. So the disaggregated texts in circulation will probably have been of very variable quality, unlike the authoritative texts hypothesised above.

The question of how these texts reached Athens is more complicated. The disaggregated texts we have described may have reached the book-trade by way of an Athenian private library.[103] Public performances of Athenian dramas could also have contributed to the spread of lyric poetry in Athens. Comedy in particular, which often alludes to lyric texts and refers to named lyric poets and to specific famous lyric poems, might have generated a continued interest in that particular poetry. As well as being the marker of classic status for lyric poets and poems, comedy may, through its own re-performance, have stimulated demand for lyric texts, both for privately circulated copies of lyric poems (either in the form of extracts or whole compositions) encountered in comedy and for texts in the book-markets. Another possible consequence of encounter through comedy could be writing from memory. The desire not to forget a poem, a poetic line or an extract that an individual may have heard at a performance could have prompted him to write down what he could remember from the desired poem and/or extract. Consequently, if memory failed, a poem or extract would be written and thus circulated with mistakes or lacunae.

Beyond private collections, the biggest Athenian library (in the modern sense of a library) was evidently the one in the Lyceum of Aristotle.[104] The non-Athenian origin of the Peripatetics is an important element to keep in mind. Local interest in literature, as mentioned above, would probably have been diverse and these

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[102] Although discussing Roman poetry, Hutchinson (2008) 31-33 emphasises the possibility of a genial circulation of texts among friends. The evidence we possess for the circulation of Roman texts in circles of friends could be seen as evidence of probability for a similar case with texts of Greek literature. Hubbard (2004) 84 postulates: 'limited, informal, patronage-based circulation of short texts among selective pan-Hellenic networks who shared common interests must have preceded the more popularized market in books of which we hear only a few decades later.'

[103] Too (2010) 223 observes that the initial libraries were book-collections of individuals. The first institutional library in the Greek world was that of Peisistratus, but it is doubtful whether it was accessible to all the Athenians.

[104] Too (2010) 24 points out that the book collection of Aristotle is presented as 'a genesis of the ancient library.'

philosophers obviously transferred that interest to Athens when they joined the Peripatos. The desire to study the lyric poets would have stimulated in turn a need to acquire the actual texts. This could imply that lyric texts were looked for either in Athenian markets or in other geographical locations relevant to the poetic activity of each poet. In order to work on an author in a scholarly work one needs not only a portion of the text but a substantial – and a good - text. The absentees from the fourth-century Peripatetic list (Alcman, Ibycus, Hipponax, and Bacchylides) may reflect this fact.[105] It is not necessarily the case that good texts prevailed, since the free market lacked any means of quality control. Lack of control could be truer of what we may call the pan-Hellenic market rather than the local market. Just as Athens sought to regulate the text of the tragedians, so other cities may have sought to protect and control texts which were important for their civic self-importance. Local interest, in this case, coexists not only with interest in preservation of particular local poetry but also with quality control of the circulated text (when they do circulate) in local markets. We need to emphasise therefore the link between both supply and critical production, and quality and critical production. When texts began to circulate beyond the boundaries of the home-city, however, the author/owner and the city itself might have been unable to control not only the physical status and quality of the text itself but also its course.

We will never know for sure how the lyric texts we possess reached Athens, or whether all of them actually reached Athens before Alexandria. The only assumption we can make with anything approaching confidence is that they were assembled collectively, presumably in the Peripatetic library, for the first time in the fourth-century by Aristotle and his associates. We can most definitely speak of texts and books in Athens in the second half of the fifth century, but we cannot speak with confidence of lyric texts nor of written circulation of lyric poems in Athens at that time. The fame and dissemination of particular poems and poets seems to have been attached to the oral character of their performance for the greater part of the classical period, though this does not exclude their preservation (but not diffusion) in written form. The textual pattern was not the same for lyric poetry as it was for other genres,

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[105] Chapter 4.2, pp.177-182**.**

poetic and other; Athens does not control the text of lyric.[106] In order to sketch the whole picture we need to make a number of distinctions and differentiations, which have formed the structure of the above argumentation. We need to recognise a distinction between oral and written dissemination, between the existence of written texts and their diffusion, between individual texts and collected works, between partial and whole collections, and between the public availability of texts on the market and possessions of texts in private collections. Presumably, the most important differentiation is in terms of geography, and this distinction foregrounds the probability that there were significant differences in different parts of Greece; differences in volume and availability, in the nature of what is available, which ultimately reflects local interests, and lastly in the volume and scale of literacy and interest in books. All these elements fracture the pan-Hellenic model as well as the monolithic approach to the issue of literacy and textuality. Alongside this continuous written production we also have some continuing oral re-production and re-performance. The transition is obviously slow and gradual. Greece gradually experiences a significant increase in texts and an incremental availability of texts, which are coming into Athens disaggregated rather than aggregated, presumably from different cities and in different periods of time.

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[106] Haslam (1997) 79 justifiably questions the role Athens had in the evolution and transmission of the Homeric poems, and West (2001) 68 points out that 'there is no real evidence even for this official Athenian Homer.'

Chapter 6
The Hellenistic Era

The previous chapters have demonstrated the role Athens played in creating and articulating the distinction between the classic and the popular. This distinction was always an implicit presence in fifth- and fourth-century song-culture, literary criticism, and literary production, and it becomes obvious if one pauses to observe the difference (in commissioning, role and evaluation) between popular song-forms, such as wedding songs, and more formal compositions. Now, as we move into the Hellenistic era, the question "what changes?" begs to be answered. This period not only articulates this distinction more firmly but it also employs it as the basis for scholarly decisions which have a profound significance for the survival and circulation of poetic texts. The difference is not hard and fast, and the dichotomy is in part the result of positioning both by comedy as a genre and by fifth and fourth century thinkers with specific educational and social agendas. Comedy attests a growing divergence between popular taste, which remained open to new developments in lyric poetry, and a more nebulous conservative tendency, which continued to place a high value on the lyric outputs of earlier generations.

As we discuss the reception of earlier Greek literature in the Hellenistic era, an era which, despite the continuation of civic lyric performances,[1] experienced that literature mainly as written texts and books, we are confronted with a major cultural evolution. This evolution prompts more questions about the transmission and survival of literary texts, the form and manner in which the texts arrived in Alexandria, as well as the sequence and timing of their arrival in the library. In the case of lyric, the quality of the texts we posses raises intriguing questions about this process of transmission. Comparison with lyric extracts that survive in other texts reveals that what circulated as quotation in other sources or as independent excerpt was often Atticised, normalised, or corrected in order to fit in with the language of the source-text.[2] These features force us to confront the question of the form in which these texts travelled, of their geographical origin, and of the procedure through which they were established as the texts we now posses.

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[1] Cameron (1995) 38, 78; D'Alessio (forthcoming).
[2] With reference to Alcman, p.229n84.

There is no secure and objective answer to the question of when and how these texts actually reached Alexandria. As will become clear, possible reconstructions can be offered on this issue based on the connection between Alexandrian and Peripatetic scholars and ultimately on the association with the Peripatetic library. Equally important is information about the editing of and commenting on the lyric poets in Alexandria. This will allow us to comprehend the principles with which the Alexandrian scholars were working as well as their attitude towards lyric poetry as a whole, including the New Music. It will in turn enable us to better understand the criteria the Hellenistic scholars used as they prioritised texts and chose authors to be edited and annotated. Understanding of these principles and criteria is essential, if we are to properly evaluate the intervention of Hellenistic scholars not only for the reception and appreciation of previous literature and scholarship, but also for the formation of the lyric canon. Again, we will focus in particular on Bacchylides. His Hellenistic reception is a paradox and a case upon which we can test the survival and transmission of the rest of the lyric poets.

From Athens to the Alexandrian Library?

It is possible to argue that a substantial number of the texts which the Alexandrian Library acquired came from Athens and, more specifically, from the library of the Peripatetic Lyceum. Connections with Athenian intellectual life had already started from the beginning of the Ptolemaic dynasty; after the death of Alexander, Ptolemy attempted to present himself as Alexander's legitimate successor.[3] Great emphasis was placed, therefore, on the cultural and educational side of the Ptolemaic kingdom, where the establishment of the Museum and Library was of crucial importance.[4] The Peripatos played an equally important role in this attempt, and reinforced the Ptolemaic connections with Alexander the Great; Aristotle had been at the court of Philip II of Macedon and acted as tutor to Alexander (D.L.5.4.13-5.7). Erskine points out, 'by founding and sponsoring an intellectual community in the manner of Aristotle's school, Ptolemy is again emphasizing the connection and similarity between himself and Alexander'[5]. Ptolemy I Soter (323-283 BC) retained strong links

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[3] Erskine (1995) 41. It is reported (Strabo 17.794) that on the death of Alexander Ptolemy acted as the guardian of his body and had a mausoleum built in Alexandria in his honour.
[4] *Ibidem.*
[5] *Ibidem.*

with the Peripatos and was very eager to follow the Peripatetic organisation of learning. He attempted, unsuccessfully, to obtain the services of Theophrastus as a tutor to his son (D.L.5.37.12-13), and his eagerness to provide Peripatetic education to Ptolemy Philadelphus resulted in his accepting the services of Strato, Theophrastus' pupil and later principle of the Lyceum (D.L.5.58.15-17). Although we possess only indirect and often historically and chronologically imprecise information for the Museum's Library,[6] the fact that Demetrius of Phaleron fled to Egypt after his expulsion from Athens[7] in 297 BC links the Alexandrian Mouseion directly with the Mouseion of the Aristotelian Lyceum.[8] Given that Demetrius survived into the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, there is no reason to deny Peripatetic influence upon some aspects of Alexandrian intellectual activity. The intellectual life of Alexandria placed emphasis on the 'collection and comparison of material'[9] and on preserving knowledge of the past by selecting texts from earlier periods,[10] both of which are activities with Peripatetic features.[11] Awareness and knowledge of the teachings and works of the Peripatetic philosophers, therefore, could have been the links through which the Ptolemies recognised the cultural importance of the Peripatetic project.

Strabo and John Tzetzes are the two main sources which preserve important information on the continuity between the intellectual activities, scholarship, and teaching of Peripatetic Athens and Hellenistic Alexandria, and also on the link between the two libraries. The evidence of Strabo supports the likelihood of a direct Peripatetic influence on the establishment and organisation of the Alexandrian library. According to his text, the establishment of the library in Alexandria was a specific Peripatetic impetus, since Aristotle "taught" the kings of Egypt (i.e. provided a model for) the manner in which to establish a library – Strabo.13.608.31-32 (sc. Ἀριστοτέλης) διδάξας τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ βασιλέας βιβλιοθήκης σύνταξιν. His observation obviously means that the Library set-up was modelled after the organisation of Aristotle's own library rather than that Aristotle himself practically

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[6] The sources are: a letter by a man who calls himself Aristeas, Strabo, Galen, John Tzetzes, and the *Lives* of the various directors of the Library as given in the *Suda*.
[7] Fraser (1972) 315; Staikos (2004) 169.
[8] On similarities between the Alexandrian Mouseion, Plato's Academy, and Aristotle's Peripatos, El-Abbadi (1992) 84-85.
[9] Fraser (1972) 320.
[10] Barbantani (2009) 297.
[11] On doxography, Chapter 4.2, p.170n43.

helped the Ptolemies with founding the library.[12] More specifically, both Tzetzes and pseudo-Aristeas[13] report the arrival of Demetrius of Phaleron in Alexandria and his involvement in the formation and organisation of the newly founded Alexandrian Library. Demetrius' involvement could also mean that he or other acquaintances of his probably supplied the library with a good amount of texts. This is one of his activities presented in Aristeas' Letter.

> Κατασταθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως βιβλιοθήκης Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐχρηματίσθη πολλὰ διάφορα πρὸς τὸ συναγαγεῖν, εἰ δυνατόν, ἅπαντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην βιβλία· καὶ ποιούμενος ἀγορασμοὺς καὶ μεταγραφὰς ἐπὶ τέλος ἤγαγεν, ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ, τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως πρόθεσιν.

(Aristeas *Ad Phil.Ep.*9)

> Demetrius of Phalerum, as keeper of the king's library, received large grants of public money with a view to his collecting, if possible, all the books in the world; and by the purchases and transcriptions he to the best of his ability carried of king's purpose into execution. (trans. Thackeray)

The probability of the Peripatetics providing the library with texts either during Demetrius' rulership in Athens or after Demetrius' advice to the king emerges clearly from Tzetzes' text.

> ὁ γὰρ ῥηθεὶς βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος ἐκεῖνος, ἡ φιλοσοφωτάτη τῷ ὄντι καὶ θεία ψυχή, καλοῦ παντὸς καὶ θεάματος καὶ ἔργου καὶ λόγου τελῶν ἐπιθυμητής, ἐπεὶ διὰ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως καὶ γερουσίων ἑτέρων ἀνδρῶν δαπάναις βασιλικαῖς ἁπανταχόθεν τὰς βίβλους εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἤθροισε, δυσὶ βιβλιοθήκαις ταύτας ἀπέθετο.

(*Prol.Com.*2.4-8)

> For the said king Ptolemy, a great lover of learning in the truest sense and a most excellent person who desired everything that was good by way of spectacle and deed and word, set Demetrius of Phalerum and other elders to collect books from all countries and bring them to Alexandria, using funds from the royal treasury. He then deposited these books in two libraries. (trans. Staikos)

Tzetzes represents at least a feasible tradition, and such stories on the continuity between Peripatetic and Hellenistic scholarship inevitably raise the question of the fate of the Peripatetic library.

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[12] On the chronological implausibility of the claim that Aristotle helped the Ptolemies, Keith Dix (2004) 64.

[13] The letter of Aristeas *Ad Philocratem Epistula* is thought to have been written between 180-145 BC, perhaps during the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor. The accuracy of the events Aristeas narrates has been questioned; see in particular, Staikos (2004) 172-173.

We possess no evidence regarding the fate of the Peripatetic library either as a building or as the intellectual possession of the philosophers. The only sources which deal with the books of the Peripatetics (their personal works or the library possessions) are the actual wills of Aristotle and Theophrastus saved in Diogenes Laertius and Strabo, the latter of whom describes the fate of Aristotle's and Theophrastus' books.

τὰ δὲ βιβλία πάντα Νηλεῖ. Τὸν δὲ κῆπον καὶ τὸν περίπατον καὶ τὰς οἰκίας τὰς πρὸς τῷ κήπῳ πάσας δίδωμι τῶν γεγραμμένων φίλων ἀεὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις συσχολάζειν καὶ συμφιλοσοφεῖν ἐν αὐταῖς...

(Theophrastus' will, D.L.5.52.10-53)

The whole of my library I give to Neleas. The garden and the walk and the houses adjoining the garden, all and sundry, I give and bequeath to such of my friends hereinafter named as may wish to study literature and philosophy there in common...

Καταλείπω δὲ τὴν μὲν διατριβὴν Λύκωνι, ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ μέν εἰσι πρεσβύτεροι, οἱ δὲ ἄσχολοι. Καλῶς δ' ἂν ποιοῖεν καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ συγκατασκευάζοντες τούτῳ. Καταλείπω δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ βιβλία πάντα, πλὴν ὧν αὐτοὶ γεγράφαμεν...

(Strato's will, D.L.5.62.7-11)

I leave the school to Lyco, since of the rest some are too old and others too busy. But it would be well if the others would co-operate with him. I also give and bequeath to him all my books, except those of which I am the author...

It is not clear on all occasions whether the wills describe the transfer of the personal works of the Lyceum's principles to their successors, or whether they refer to the entire collection of the school's library. The wills of both Aristotle (D.L.3.41-43) and Lyco (D.L.5.69-74) do not mention their books but refer only to the Peripatos as a whole. One could assume that in the case of Aristotle his writings remained in the library and were thus inherited by Theophrastus. That is what Strabo thought of the destiny of Aristotle's own writings. Strabo also narrates that Theophrastus' books (presumably his works and what he had inherited from Aristotle) strangely enough ended up in Skepsis in the possession of someone called Neleus. This detail agrees in part with Diogenes Laertius.

ὁ γοῦν Ἀριστοτέλης τὴν ἑαυτοῦ Θεοφράστῳ παρέδωκεν, ᾧπερ καὶ τὴν σχολὴν ἀπέλιπε, πρῶτος ὧν ἴσμεν συναγαγὼν βιβλία καὶ διδάξας τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ βασιλέας βιβλιοθήκης σύνταξιν. Θεόφραστος δὲ Νηλεῖ

παρέδωκεν· ὁ δ' εἰς Σκῆψιν κομίσας τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν παρέδωκεν, ἰδιώταις ἀνθρώποις, οἳ κατάκλειστα εἶχον τὰ βιβλία οὐδ' ἐπιμελῶς κείμενα·

(Strabo 13.608.28-609.3)

At any rate, Aristotle bequeathed his own library to Theophrastus, to whom he also left his school; and he is the first man, so far as I know, to have collected books and to have taught the kings of Egypt how to arrange a library. Theophrastus bequeathed it to Neleus; and Neleus took it to Scepsis and bequeathed it to his heirs, ordinary people, who kept the books locked up and not even carefully stored.

Both Strabo and Plutarch (*Sull.*26.1-2) record how the books of Aristotle and Theophrastus were sold to Apellicon of Teos and were ultimately transferred to Athens by Sulla. They both insist that 'after Neleus took away the collection, the Lyceum had copies of only a small part of the masters' work, chiefly the exoteric works which are now lost to us.'[14] Athenaeus offers a different account of the fate of these books: Neleus sold all the books to Ptolemy II Philadelphus, who then transferred them to Alexandria.

Ἀριστοτέλην τε τὸν φιλόσοφον καὶ τὸν τὰ τούτων διατηρήσαντα βιβλία Νηλέα· παρ' οὗ πάντα, φησί, πριάμενος ὁ ἡμεδαπὸς βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος, Φιλάδελφος δὲ ἐπίκλην, μετὰ τῶν Ἀθήνηθεν καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Ῥόδου εἰς τὴν καλὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν μετήγαγε.

(Ath.3a-b)

Aristotle the philosopher, Theophrastus, and Neleus, who preserved the books of the two last named. From Neleus, he says, our king Ptolemy, surnamed Philadelphus, purchased them all and transferred them with those which he had procured at Athens and at Rhodes to his beautiful capital, Alexandria.

We cannot be sure which of the two accounts represents the truth.[15] Apparently, each account serves a different purpose for each author; for Strabo, the reason for the decline of the Peripatetic school was the loss of the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus.[16] Athenaeus, on the other hand, may reflect the attempts of the Ptolemies to connect their Library with the Peripatos, or a tradition that wanted them to be related to the Peripatetic Library; thus, 'the "books from Athens" may represent a purchase from the Peripatetic school, and the "books from Rhodes" a purchase of

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[14] Tanner (2000) 82. Strabo 13.609.15-16...οὐκ ἔχουσιν ὅλως τὰ βιβλία πλὴν ὀλίγων, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἐξωτερικῶν.

[15] We can only say with certainty that they both touch upon the enigma of the transmission of those parts of Aristotle's work which came to Europe in Arabic versions. For the two possible sources for the transmission of Aristotle's work to the modern world, Tanner (2000) 79.

[16] Gottschalk (1995) 1088 argues that Strabo's account aimed to indicate that 'serious philosophising must start from written texts'.

the books taken by Eudemus'[17] to Rhodes after he left the Lyceum. An additional uncertainty arises from these accounts: we cannot be sure whether they speak of the entire collection of the Peripatetic library. Nonetheless, there is some reason to believe that some Peripatetic texts found their way to Egypt by purchase.

Purchase was not the only way in which texts from the Peripatetic library travelled to Egypt. The Peripatetics presumably brought texts with them when they were tutors at the court. Thus, those texts that had a Peripatetic origin and arrived in Alexandria could have been of two different kinds: the Peripatetic treatises themselves, and texts of the literature on which the Peripatetics had already worked and were in their possession in the library of the Lyceum. Evidence for the former is the fact that (as far as our evidence allows us to judge) none of the Alexandrian scholars who followed the Peripatetic method repeated the topics which had already been discussed in the Peripatos nor did they compose a treatise on the people who already had a treatise devoted to them. On the contrary, they either filled in lacunae of the Peripatetic catalogue, or they dealt in greater detail with certain genres and topics. For example, they show particular interest in the iambus, which was completely absent from the Peripatetic project; Hermippus of Smyrna produced a treatise Περί Ἱππώνακτος and Apollonius of Rhodes another Περὶ Ἀρχιλόχου. Moreover, interest in Greek comedy was increasing in the Alexandrian library from the time of Aristophanes of Byzantium onwards, in spite of its absence from the Peripatetic catalogue. Aristophanes of Byzantium prepared the first critical edition of the comedies of Aristophanes, edited Menander's *Dyscolus*,[18] and prepared a monograph on the character-types in Greek comedy (Περὶ προσώπων),[19] while Aristarchus commented on eight Aristophanic comedies.[20] It is more difficult to identify primary texts transferred from the Peripatetic library to Alexandria. Comparison of the two libraries' possessions reveals that some of the texts in the possession of the Peripatos never reached Egypt (e.g. Lasus), while others which are not attested for the Peripatos did (e.g. Bacchylides). It is, thus, important to bear in mind that the library of the Peripatos cannot have moved in its entirety to Egypt. There was still, however, a significant degree of continuity between the two.

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[17] Keith Dix (2004) 65.
[18] Pfeiffer (1968) 190-191
[19] Ibid. 208.
[20] Ibid. 224; Pöhlmann (1994) 33.

We can only give partial, imprecise answers to the question of when these texts actually arrived in Alexandria. What is clear is that the creation of the Mouseion and the Library took place with the ultimate goal of gathering in book-rolls the most prestigious intellectual achievements and 'to create the definitive collection of all extant written knowledge'[21]. This remarkably ambitious project gradually transformed the Alexandrian Library into a monument of Greek culture.[22] It linked the new kingdom to a Greek past and present, and clearly had as its chief aim the establishment of Alexandria as the main cultural centre of the New Greek world. Theophrastus, Demetrius of Phaleron, the Peripatos, and the preoccupation of the Hellenistic scholars with gathering and studying all the texts of the Greeks are hard evidence that the Alexandrian court was both imitating Athens and seeking to borrow from Athens. Athens was the ultimate model of a centre of Greek culture[23] but not the only model. The Ptolemies continued and revitalised a tradition of patronage established in courts which attempted to portray Greek identity: Sicily, Syracuse, and Macedonia. Despite the importance of the Peripatos, as the previous chapters have demonstrated, Athens did not control all the (Greek) texts; lyric texts had other geographical origins and not all of them went through Athens to reach Alexandria.[24] Additionally, it is probable that not all the texts that ended up in Alexandria were in the possession of the Athenian Peripatos.

Any attempts to answer questions regarding the timeframe within which the texts began to arrive into the Alexandrian library need to take into account the date at which Zenodotus became the first head. Zenodotus was a librarian from the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, c.284 BC. That particular date should, therefore, be taken as *terminus ante quem* for the arrival of the first book-rolls.[25] The book-rolls were probably acquired not only from many different sources and geographical locations but also gradually and not always as corpora. This gradual acquisition of texts could partly explain the order in which each genre was edited. At

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[21] Barbantani (2009) 298. Eus. *PE* 8.4 reports a letter of king Ptolemy to the high priest Eleazar where he requests the Jewish Law to be translated into Greek so that it could be added to the royal books in the Alexandrian Library.
[22] Barbantani (2011).
[23] *Ibidem*.
[24] Chapter 5, pp.185, 201-204, 206-207.
[25] It is difficult to take c.284 BC as a *terminus post quem*. Strato probably brought books with him in Alexandria when he was teaching the son of Ptolemy I Soter and the official collection of books presumably began when Demetrius of Phaleron was in Alexandria. Librarians become necessary when the library possesses books.

the same time, acquisition and editing of the received texts should be distinguished, since the former does not necessarily presuppose the latter. We can also presume that the degree of importance and value of each author and genre, as well as the inclination of each scholar in the library played a major role in the editing process and editing order in the Alexandrian Library.

Stories found in Galen describing the acquisition of books provide us with important information about the accumulation of book-rolls in the library. Galen reports the manner in which the copy of the *Epidemics* belonging to the physician Mnemon of Side reached Alexandria: Ptolemy III Euergetes (reign 246-222 BC) ordered that when ships loaded with books reached Alexandria, they were to be unloaded, seized, and copied and then the copies, not the originals, to be returned to their owners.

> ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ Παμφυλίας κεκομικέναι καὶ φιλότιμον δὲ περὶ βιβλία τόν τε βασιλέα τῆς Αἰγύπτου Πτολεμαῖον οὕτω γενέσθαι φασίν, ὡς καὶ τῶν καταπλεόντων ἁπάντων τὰ βιβλία κελεῦσαι πρὸς αὐτὸν κομίζεσθαι καὶ ταῦτα εἰς καινοὺς χάρτας γράφαντα διδόναι μὲν τὰ γραφέντα τοῖς δεσπόταις, ὧν καταπλευσάντων ἐκομίσθησαν αἱ βίβλοι πρὸς αὐτόν, εἰς δὲ τὰς βιβλιοθήκας ἀποτίθεσθαι τὰ κομισθέντα καὶ εἶναι τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐκ πλοίων.
>
> **(Galen. *Comm. In Hipp. Epid.iii* 17a, p.606.6-13)**

Others say...that Ptolemy, the then king of Egypt, who has a passion for acquiring books, had ordered it to be confiscated: for he had ordered that all books on ships arriving in Alexandria were to be brought to him and copied into new books, and that the copies were to be given to the owners whose books had been brought to him on their arrival, while the originals were to be deposited in the library: these were labelled "From the ships". (trans. Staikos)

The above account is followed by the narration of a trick which Ptolemy III employed in order to get into his possession the official copies of the three tragedians from Athens. This, according to Galen (17a, p.607), resulted in the copies and not the original text being sent back to Athens. It is difficult to put much weight on Galen's testimony. Some details in his narration cause problems. The reference to Ptolemy III places us in the third reign of the Ptolemies, during which scholarly work on texts had already begun in the Library. Given the pan-Hellenic status of Athenian drama by the fourth century BC, it is at the very least surprising that the Library did not possess any copies of the Athenian texts of the tragedians by mid-third century BC. Is it implied that copies of the Athenian tragedies did not travel at all, even in the third century

BC? Tragic plays were travelling the Greek world already from the fifth century, and there must at least have been actors' copies of the most popular plays available. They may not, however, have possessed a full text of each author. Tzetzes records that Ptolemy II Philadelphus (reign 283-246 BC) assigned to Alexander of Aetolia the task of editing the texts of the tragedians, while he also gives the names of the scholars who were assigned the editions of comedy and of the rest of the texts.

> Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Αἰτωλὸς καὶ Λυκόφρων ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ζηνόδοτος ὁ Ἐφέσιος τῷ Φιλαδέλφῳ Πτολεμαίῳ συνωθηθέντες βασιλικῶς ὁ μὲν τὰς τῆς τραγῳδίας, Λυκόφρων δὲ τὰς τῆς κωμῳδίας διώρθωσαν, Ζηνόδοτος δὲ τὰς ὁμηρείους καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ποιητῶν.

> **(*Prol.Com*.2.1-4)**

> Alexander of Aetolia, Lycophron or Chalcis and Zenodotus of Ephesus were set to work together by the royal command of King Ptolemy Philadelphus: Alexander edited the tragedies, Lycophron the comedies and Zenodotus the works of Homer and the other poets. (trans. Staikos)

Tzetzes' chronological framework for the editorial work on the tragic texts is in contradiction with the timeframe which Galen presents – 283-246 BC and 246-222 BC respectively. Nonetheless, the amount of detail in Tzetzes' text works in favour of his testimony. We probably need to accept, however, that the Athenian state-copy was the ultimate source of the Alexandrian text of the tragedians.

Caution is needed when confronting anecdotes of the sort found in Galen about the early years of the library. A cultural project of this unprecedented scale would naturally attract legends. Tragedy was one of the great Athenian cultural achievements. It is difficult to believe that the Athenians, having gone to so much trouble (and presumably expense) to archive and maintain the fifth-century texts, would voluntarily surrender the originals.[26] It is surely more likely that they would hand over copies. Without placing too much weight on the details of individual stories, we may reasonably conclude that the texts were gathered mainly due to royal desire to possess any kind of written knowledge, which would have established 'a monopoly of Greek culture',[27] and not solely due to the scholarly desire to reproduce or correct the texts of previous literature.

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[26] On the legislation for the preservation of texts of Athenian tragedies, Chapter 5, p.203n98.
[27] Erskine (1995) 45.

Despite the lack of details on the geographical origin of the texts that arrived in Alexandria in the aforementioned passages, the Homeric scholia suggest that Athens was not the only source of books. Texts of Homer are often designated by place-names – ἡ Χία, ἡ Αργεία, ἡ Μασσαλιωτική, ἡ Σινωπική – and they were known collectively to the scholiasts as αἱ κατὰ πόλεις.[28] The labels presumably refer to the provenance of the copies of the Homeric text that reached Alexandria. This geographical distinction clearly shows that texts of Homer circulated in different cities and some of them (we cannot be sure that it was all of them) found their way to Alexandria. One cannot, however, generalise from Homer. The scholia report no other author-text that reached Alexandria with regional variants. This suggests that a single source was at work in most cases, but we cannot be certain whether that source was exclusively the city of Athens.[29] We can confidently claim an Athenian source only for Athenian authors.

Given the voracious attempts of the Ptolemies to obtain books and texts, one could conclude that the content of the library, at least before Zenodotus, was not limited to the best Greek texts or the best versions of those texts, but simply (Greek) texts which derived from every possible source. Accumulation, therefore, and not necessarily quality was probably the main characteristic of the library at its initial stages of formation. The Alexandrians presumably had priorities (famous works which they especially wished to acquire), but the canon, as understood by Quintilian, was a secondary feature of the library, in the sense that it postdates the first period of acquisition. Knowledge of the existence of certain texts would probably have motivated both the Ptolemaic court and the Alexandrian scholars to attempt to acquire the specific texts or even any texts whatsoever. Apart from that, Alexandria's status since 320 BC as a cultural centre attracted the leading thinkers from the islands and from the great eastern cities.[30] These visits probably offered another source of texts for the library.[31] While the collection in the library established by Ptolemy I Soter

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[28] Fraser (1972) 328.

[29] Chapter 5, pp.206-207.

[30] Pfeiffer (1968) 93.

[31] A palace-library has been located at Ai-Khanum, a site of Bactria, where the remains of a papyrus-roll of mid-third century BC with a philosophical dialogue has been discovered. Bingen (1988) 39n2 suggests that the papyrus 'could have been brought from Greece or Alexandria by the philosopher Clearchus of Soli, disciple of Aristotle, who we know from an inscription had resided in that royal city and who would even maybe have been the author of this treatise.' On the papyrus, Lerner (2003). Evidence also indicates the existence of libraries throughout Mesopotamia long before the mid-seventh

grew, a second library was created in order to accommodate the surplus books.[32] Tzetzes mentions in his *Prolegomena* that by the first half of the third century BC both the libraries stored hundreds of thousands of papyrus rolls.

> ...δυσὶ βιβλιοθήκαις ταύτας ἀπέθετο, ὧν τῆς ἐκτὸς μὲν ἦν ἀριθμὸς τετρακισμύριαι δισχίλιαι ὀκτακόσιαι, τῆς δ᾽ ἔσω τῶν ἀνακτόρων καὶ βασιλείου βίβλων μὲν συμμιγῶν ἀριθμὸς τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδες, ἁπλῶν δὲ καὶ ἀμιγῶν βίβλων μυριάδες ἐννέα...

<div align="right">

(***Prol.Com*.2.8-12**)

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> ...he then deposited these books in two libraries, of which the one outside the palace grounds contained 428,000 and the one in the palace grounds contained 400,000 composite and 90,000 simple, unmixed books. (trans. Staikos)

Despite the (probably) unstructured manner in which texts were gradually arriving in Alexandria, the scholars in the library attempted to catalogue them in a structured and systematic way[33] based on the total amount of texts they possessed and on the information they had on a particular text. Callimachus' *Pinakes* suggest that the library possessed, by his time, enough book-rolls from a substantial number of authors to allow him to divide Greek literature in several classes grouped by genres.[34] Apparently, Callimachus' task was to develop an appropriate system for cataloguing and arranging the texts of all the writers collected in the library up to his time.[35] This resulted in the creation of a critical inventory of the Greek literature in the library. The text of Tzetzes,[36] with reference to the editing of specific genres,[37] suggests the same conclusion: the library contained enough representative works of each genre.

The fragments of this bibliographical task of Callimachus indicate that he divided the corpus of Greek literature in the library into three classes – ῥητορικά (frr.430-432, 443-448), νόμοι (fr.433), and παντοδαπὰ συγγράμματα (frr.429, 434-

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century BC. Their existence testifies for a bibliophile interest in Mesopotamia, Asia, Anatolia, and the Near East. For the libraries in the ancient Near East before Alexandria, Potts (2000).

[32] For the branch-library established in the Serapeum, El-Abbadi (1992) 74, 91-92; Barnes (2000) 62; MacLeod (2000) 5, Staikos (2004) 174-176.

[33] For the labels of books in the library, Fraser (1972) 325-327.

[34] Pfeiffer (1968) 128 claims, based on the *Suda*, that the *Pinakes* listed not only works available in the library but also others mentioned in the already obtained literature. He bases his assumption on frr. 442, 445, 446, 449 of the *Pinakes*. The specific fragments though do not verify his assumption; they deal with questions of authenticity, which were most probably raised in the library where the text was possessed. Pöhlmann (1994) 29 'Die ,Pinakes' waren somit ein umfassendes Lexikon des gesamten in Alexandria bekannten Schrifttums.'

[35] Pfeiffer (1968) 126.

[36] *Pace* Pfeiffer (1968) 128, who argues that the *Suda* and not Tzetzes is correct with respect to the *Pinakes*.

[37] Pp.217 for the relevant text and 221n42.

435). Apparently, seven further subdivisions existed, as we have references to epic (fr.452-453), lyric (fr.441, 450), tragic (fr.449?, 451) and comic poets (fr.439-440), philosophers (fr.438?, 442), historians (fr.437), and medical writers (fr429?).[38] Each class included individual author-representatives in alphabetical arrangement followed by a brief biography and by the incipit of their works.[39] Callimachus did not edit any authors and did not produce any commentaries, so his taxonomy implies that the book-rolls or the works he had at his disposal included both the title and the name of the author, or that he had the necessary knowledge and was confident enough that he knew the author in order to group texts together. We only need to think of the number of scattered lyric fragments that were probably in the library in order to understand the significance of his work.[40]

The classification of lyric poetry offered particular problems. The scholia report a long-term disagreement about the classification of *Pythian* 2 referring to a number of scholars who suggested different characterisations for the poem. According to the scholia (inscr. Dr. II, p31), Timaius considered *Pythian* 2 θυσιαστικήν, Callimachus Νεμεακήν (fr.450), Ammonius and Callistratus, students of Aristarchus and Aristophanes respectively, wanted the poem to be an Olympian ode; ἔνιοι, the scholia say, among which Apollonius the Eidograph, considered it a Pythian ode, ἔνιοι wanted it to be Παναθηναϊκήν. 'Aristophanes' absence from the list is presumably an indication that the default classification as a Pythian in the standard edition was taken to represent his judgement'[41]. The mention of Callimachus here is highly significant. Possibly, when Callimachus was preparing his *Pinakes*, he had access to a large number of Pindar's poems and a large number of different kinds of his poems which later became the seventeen books of the Pindaric corpus. In the case of the epinicia, which concerns us here, he probably had either all or the majority of Pindar's victory odes. This scholiastic statement implies that he had many Pindaric victory odes at his disposal from which he was able to distinguish characteristic features of each group. It also implies that the classification of the odes according to

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[38] Ibid. 128-129.
[39] The inclusion of the incipit would verify the assumption that Callimachus listed works that were in the library.
[40] Slater (1976) illustrates some of the problems of cataloguing faced by the Alexandrian scholars.
[41] Lowe (2007) 172.

the Games began with Callimachus, whose basic principles on the classification of the Pindaric epinicians were later followed by Aristophanes of Byzantium.

One can argue with confidence that critical editions of lyric poets had already begun at the time of Zenodotus; Zenodotus appears to have prepared the first critical editions of both Pindar and Anacreon,[42] so evidently lyric texts were already on the library's shelves from the time of Zenodotus. We cannot be certain which other lyric poets, apart from Pindar and Anacreon, reached Alexandria by Zenodotus' time, and we cannot claim that all the lyric poets were represented in the library in the early third century BC. If one accepts a close connection between the Peripatetic tradition and the library of Aristotle's Lyceum, it is possible to conclude that a substantial amount of lyric texts reached the library early. With reference to the presence of lyric poetry and with what was presumably in the library in the early third century, the *Pinakes* are of great help. It was also important for his *Pinakes* to classify those lyric poems into meaningful groups. Thus, in order for Callimachus to recognise similarities and differences between groups of poems, the library presumably possessed enough lyric poets, or at least enough poems of different lyric genres, to make these distinctions.

If one is willing to argue for the continuity between the Peripatetic treatises on lyric poets and the lyric class of Callimachus' *Pinakes*, one major exception is immediately revealed: Bacchylides. The Peripatetics (on present evidence) did not deal with him or with his poetry. Bacchylides, however, managed to reach Alexandria early in the third century BC and was included in Callimachus' *Pinakes*. A later source records the debate between Callimachus and Aristarchus concerning a poem of Bacchylides entitled *Cassandra*. Callimachus classified it as a paean, whereas Aristarchus declared it to be a dithyramb.[43] The Alexandrians obviously had adequate

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[42] Σ. Pi. *O*.3.52 χρυσοκέρων ἔλαφον mention a parallel from Anacreon (fr.408 *PMG*, 39D, 51 *PLG*) with the remark that Zenodotus corrected κεροέσσης in the Anacreontic text into ἐροέσσης. Two short notes in the scholia to Pindar's Olympian odes point to Zenodotus' variant readings and verify the assumption that he dealt with the Pindaric text – e.g. Σ. *O*.2.7a (Dr. I, p.60) Ζηνόδοτος μετὰ τοῦ ῑ γράφει ἀκροθίνια, and *O*.6.92b (Dr. I, p.174) Ζηνόδοτος γράφει ἀντὶ τοῦ βεβρεγμένος. Cf. Tzetzes *Prol.Com*.2.4 (p.218). The group of texts for Zenodotus implies that it also presumably contained lyric poetry, since tragedy and comedy were distributed to Alexander and Lycophron respectively. We can almost securely conclude that work on Pindar's victory odes had begun with Zenodotus who, according to what one can infer from the scholia, possibly produced the first edition of the text. On the controversy of whether Zenodotus produced an edition (ἔκδοσις), a ὑπόμνημα or a *recensio* (διόρθωσις) of Pindar, Irigoin (1952) 31-33; Gentili (1958) xxvi; Pfeiffer (1968) 117-118, 118n4; Gentili et al. (1995) lxxiv; Fraser (1972) 653n34.

[43] Pfeiffer (1968) 222; Maehler (2004) 25-26.

samples of (his?) poetry to be able to subdivide it into genres. The evidence we have from Callimachus' *Pinakes* suggests that the library probably possessed by his time Bacchylides' *Paeans* and *Dithyrambs* at least. The classification of *Cassandra* as paean could imply that Callimachus was able to distinguish generic characteristics between paeans and dithyrambs, and one may suggest that both Bacchylides' *Paeans* and *Dithyrambs* arrived in Alexandria as corpora. We cannot, however, be certain whether they arrived with or separated from his victory odes, which could also have been in the library at that time.

The lyric corpus available to the Hellenistic scholars is mainly revealed by testimonia referring to the work of Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus on specific lyric poets. Although we cannot know for sure how many of the lyric poets Aristophanes edited,[44] we can certainly claim that Aristophanes edited Alcaeus,[45] Anacreon, and presumably Alcman[46] and Pindar. Aristarchus, on the other hand, produced commentaries on Archilochus, a new edition of Alcaeus' text that replaced that of Aristophanes,[47] a commentary on the text of Alcman and Anacreon,[48] and a commentary on Pindar.[49] A fragmentary papyrus of the first or early second century AD, which deals with Alcman, Stesichorus, Sappho,[50] and Alcaeus, mentions Aristarchus once again.[51] Aristarchus' name was, therefore, connected with almost all the lyric poets. This allows us to conclude that he apparently dealt with the majority of the corpus of small-scale poetry. Thus, the majority of the lyric corpus was likely present in the library and available to the Hellenistic scholars probably by the time of

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[44] Pfeiffer (1968) 184-185.

[45] On the two editions of Alcaeus based on the different use of the *asterisk* Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus, Acosta-Hughes (2010) 137-140.

[46] Ibid. 185 – The Louvre papyrus notes on the margin of Alcman's *Partheneion* Aristophanes' reading Αἴδας. It is also likely that Αρι[next to the reading ναι means Aristophanes, since the reading is proposed for prosodic reasons.

[47] Yatromanolakis (1999) 180n4.

[48] On the controversy whether Aristarchus produced an edition or a commentary on Anacreon, Gentili (1958) xxvi-xxvii; Pfeiffer (1968) 185; Acosta-Hughes (2010) 162.

[49] The scholia on the epinician odes frequently refer to Aristarchus' name (p.227n75). Aristarchus is also credited with five readings in the margins of the relevant *POxy*.V.841 (II.61, fr.85.35, fr.94.3, frr.129-131.6, fr.134.9). On the scholia vetera in Pindar and the contribution of Aristarchus, Deas (1931) 5-11.

[50] Yatromanolakis (1999) 180 assumes that Aristarchus presumably edited the text of Sappho. On the number and structure of the books of Sappho in the Hellenistic edition, Yatromanolakis (1999), who discusses the possibility of more than one editions of Sappho in circulation throughout the Hellenistic age and late antiquity.

[51] The papyrus preserves biographical material and interpretational problems of selected passages and according to Pfeiffer (1968) 185 it is not a commentary but a treatise similar to the earlier Peripatetic treatises Περὶ τοῦ δεῖνα.

Aristophanes of Byzantium, given that Aristarchus presumably produced no substantial editions and worked mainly on the lyric poets whom Aristophanes had edited. Unfortunately, we cannot be absolutely certain of when exactly the lyric corpus became part of the library's possessions. Though the Peripatetic library may have been instrumental, we should not give all the credit to the Peripatetics or to their possessions when it comes to lyric poetry. There is no absolute connection. In spite of the absence of a Peripatetic treatise on Bacchylides, he is in all probability included in the Callimachean *Pinakes*. Lasus, on the other hand, to whom a treatise is devoted in the Peripatos, is neither mentioned in relation to any of the Hellenistic scholars nor included in the Hellenistic canon of lyric poets. The absence of an edition of or a commentary on Lasus could verify the view taken above: not all book-rolls reached Alexandria at the same time, not all of them came from the Peripatetic library, and some of the literature known in fourth-century Athens might had been lost in the interim.

Travelling Corpora and Travelling Poems

Besides the question of the date when past texts began to arrive in Alexandria, the manner in which they travelled and the format of the actual texts also needs to be discussed. The principal questions are whether the lyric poets or all lyric poets reached Alexandria as individual corpora, or whether they arrived as individual poems assembled as corpora in the library after piecemeal incorporation. Is it possible to argue for complete travelling corpora? Where would these corpora have been archived before reaching Alexandria? If there were corpora, how were they organised? If we argue for poetic collections travelling as corpora, then we have to argue for a substantial number of papyrus-rolls crossing the sea to Egypt together. At the same time, we would have to argue that the works of each author were assembled and possibly classified, even in a rudimentary way, prior to their arrival in Alexandria. If we imagine large texts, then we may have texts available in a book-market, even if the collection of any given author was divided over multiple rolls, or we may owe the texts to local or family archives of the works of individual poets.[52] These of course are not mutually exclusive possibilities. But the latter seems more plausible based on

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[52] Pöhlmann (1994) 15 argues that the preservation of Sappho's poems was due to local Lesbian collections. On local and family archives, Chapter 5, pp.204-205.

the little we know about the book-market in the classical city.[53] If we suppose the intervention of the book-market, the dispute about the works of Isocrates noted by Dover[54] also raises a question about the "purity" of such collections. There was every opportunity for spurious material to find its way into such corpora. Would it have been feasible to identify it in such a case? At the other end, could individual texts have been travelling to Alexandria? Could those texts have reached the Alexandrian library without being attached to a named collection? How would these texts have been identified and classified? In framing our reconstruction, we must also accept that the circumstances of circulation may have differed for different texts and/or authors. The Athenian dramatic texts probably came to Alexandria as corpora from official Athenian archives, but we cannot assume that this is the case for all authors.

The material upon which book-rolls were preserved needs also to be taken into account. Papyrus-rolls were very fragile and thus easily damaged. Practicalities such as rolling and unrolling, and the height and weight of each book-roll were the reasons for the small quantity of the text which could be included on a papyrus. Reynolds and Wilson carried out an empirical study of the ancient books on papyri and concluded that the maximum capacity carried by an ancient book[55] was 'a substantial dialogue of Plato or a book of Thucydides, and books I and XVII of the late Hellenistic historian Diodorus Siculus, which occupy 167 and 177 pages in a modern printed edition had to be subdivided'.[56] Concurrently, the necessity to use the papyrus economically forced pre-Hellenistic scribes to write lyric verse continuously as prose.[57] The existence of this format, up to the establishment of colometry, suggests that lyric texts reached the library written down as prose.[58] Subsequently, lyric fragments were preserved from the first quarter of the third century with stichometric indications in the margin and a recapitulation of the total lines at the end of each roll.[59] Irigoin's comparative presentation of these two characteristics in book-rolls of different lyric poets has indicated that the normal length of one Hellenistic book was between one thousand

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[53] Chapter 5, pp.183, 200-202.
[54] Dover (1968) 23-27.
[55] By "ancient book" Reynolds&Wilson (1991) 1-5 mean the papyri that were in circulation before the Hellenistic era.
[56] Ibid. 4.
[57] *Ibidem*, where they also mention the characteristics of a papyrus preserving a dramatic text.
[58] Preservation of lyric texts in continuous prose form could support the assumption that lyric poetry circulated predominantly in performance, since it could only have been enjoyed as song and not as written text. On the song-culture, see Chapters 4.2, pp.167, 173-174, 179-180 and 5, pp.192-195, 197-201.
[59] Irigoin (1952) 38-39.

and two thousand verses.[60] It is likely that rolls arriving in the library contained either the work of more than one poet, if each corpus was small, or different works of the same poet.[61] Based on the empirical study of the papyri and the conclusions on the presumed size of each pre-Hellenistic papyrus-book, we can reach a twofold conclusion: for the most part, texts presumably survived largely in an accreted form before they reached Alexandria, and thus they could have arrived in the library as large bodies. Nonetheless, given the possibility of multi-author rolls we cannot generalise and assume in every case that poetic corpora of every single author reached Alexandria either at the same time or as complete collections.[62]

The Pindaric epinicia, the largest corpus upon which scholia have been saved, illustrates the complex ways in which texts might arrive at the library. *Olympian 5* offers some evidence for the possibility that individual poems might reach the library separated from the corpus; at the same time it strongly suggests that the rest of the Pindaric epinician corpus arrived at the library collectively.[63] The scholia inform us that the authenticity of the poem was questioned in the Hellenistic period. No other poem raises doubts anywhere in the ancient tradition, which suggests both that Alexandrian scholars had very good grounds for confidence about the corpus as a whole, and that there was something objective about this particular one which caused suspicion.[64] We return to this issue below.

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[60] Ibid. 38-41.

[61] Tz. *Prol.Com.*2.11-12...ἁπλῶν δὲ καὶ μιγῶν βίβλων. We cannot be certain what Tzetzes means. Practical considerations make it unlikely that many short poems travelled alone on small scraps of papyrus. However, the nature of the material means that some rolls were in a damaged or fragmentary state. Cf. Pp.229-230.

[62] The papyrus of the New Sappho (*PKöln.* inv.21351+21376r), which is thought to be the oldest known papyrus of Sappho (West (2005) 1), contains two fragments of Sappho and another unknown lyric text with an erotic theme (ll.9-21) written in a different hand from the Sappho-fragments. Gronewald&Daniel (2007b) 14 suggest that the papyrus is an anthology, a collection of poems for a sympotic get-together. The different hands in which the texts are written, the different origin of the texts (if the third fragment is not a Sapphic one), and the date of the papyrus could suggest that anthologies often circulated in the Greek world before their arrival in the Alexandrian library. On the New Sappho, Gronewald&Daniel (2004a), (2004b), (2007a), (2007b); West (2005); Di Benedetto (2005); Clayman (2009). Detailed images of the papyrus can be found in Hammerstaedt (2009) 29-40.

[63] Assumptions on the collective nature of the corpus do not imply classification before its arrival in the library.

[64] The seeming discrepancy between the events celebrated seems not to have influenced ancient decisions on the authenticity of the ode; (inscr.b Dr. II, p.139) {ABCDEQ} Γέγραπται τῷ αὐτῷ Ψαύμιδι τεθρίππῳ καὶ ἀπήνῃ καὶ κέλητι νενικηκότι τὴν ὀγδοηκοστὴν δευτέραν Ὀλυμπιάδα. Inscr.ᵃB c. {A} περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀπήνης Πολέμων φησί. *Pythian 2*, on whose classification the Alexandrian scholars disagreed broadly, could also potentially support the hypothesis of a large travelling corpus that was probably unclassified and either untitled or with minimal titles (e.g. patron and city). On *Pythian 2*, pp.220-221.

The Pindaric scholia report that *Olympian 5* was not included ἐν τοῖς ἐδαφίοις. What is the meaning of the phrase ἐν τοῖς εδαφίοις and of the statement ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἐδαφίοις οὐκ ἦν? Drachmann's "Inscr. a" states that the ode was recognised as Pindaric by Didymus - inscr. a Αὕτη ἡ ᾠδὴ ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἐδαφίοις οὐκ ἦν δὲ τοῖς Διδύμου ὑπομνήμασιν ἐλέγετο Πινδάρου, {1B 6DEQ}. The wording implies that the poem was unambiguously accepted as Pindaric only in Didymus' commentary. It must have been classified as such, but with reservations. Does this suggest that the ode was considered to be spurious and not Pindaric before the first century AD? Could it be that the poem had already been classified as an epinician, but not as a Pindaric epinician? These queries offer clues to help us understand both the process of textual diffusion in the Alexandrian library and the organisational and editorial work of the Alexandrian scholars.

What is certain from the above statement on *Olympian 5* is the problematic status of this poem at some point in the scholarly process in the library. Equally certain is that τὰ ἐδάφια must be referring to an authoritative source. Fraser, Irigoin, Bowra, and Ruffa have discussed in detail the significance of the particular scholion in *Olympian 5*.[65] Fraser suggests that what the scholia call τὰ ἐδάφια may have been the first basic edition of Pindar which was created by Zenodotus.[66] Irigoin also takes this to imply the edition of Zenodotus, while he adds that Aristarchus considered *Olympian* 5 an original ode of Pindar, since he comments on it.[67] Thus, Irigoin assumes, the poem was recognised as Pindaric and was included in the Olympian odes before Didymus, presumably by Aristophanes of Byzantium.[68] The view that the phrase implies Zenodotus' edition is also held by Bowra.[69] Ruffa, on the other hand, argues that the phrase τὰ ἐδάφια refers to the vulgate text Didymus was probably

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[65] Fraser (1972) 451; Irigoin (1952) 32-33; Bowra (1964) 415-416; Ruffa (2001). Walter (1990) 109-113 offers a concise presentation of modern views on the issue of authorship and authenticity of *Olympian* 5. Although he does not offer his conclusion clearly, his discussion and his final comments (p.113) allow us to assume that he takes *Olympian* 5 to be a pair with *Olympian* 4 and thus an original Pindaric ode.
[66] Fraser (1972) 451.
[67] Irigoin (1952) 32-33. Aristarchus' interpretations of specific poetic lines of *Olympian* 5 are mentioned specifically – Σ. *O*.5.1b.22, 20e.27, 27b.22, 29e.19, 54b.18 – but his name is not connected to any discussion on the classification of the ode.
[68] Ibid. 33.
[69] Bowra (1964) 415, who nevertheless postulates that Aristarchus' comments do not prove that 'the poem was in the text of Pindar but that it was preserved somewhere in the Alexandrian Library and known to Aristarchus as later to Didymus.'

using: the edition of Aristophanes.[70] She claims, based on the Homeric scholia, that the phrase οὐκ ἦν was used for Zenodotus' eliminated lines of the Homeric text, which were still present in the text.[71] According to Ruffa, therefore, the issue raised by "inscription a" was that of authenticity and not of the physical presence of the ode in the Pindaric corpus:[72] the Aristophanic edition of Pindar (ἐδάφια) probably included this particular poem but noted it as (probably or certainly) spurious.[73] Her suggestion is attractive, though she bases her understanding of the term ἐδάφια on sources non-contemporary with the Pindaric scholia.[74]

The best place to begin is perhaps the vulgate text of Pindar, established by Aristophanes of Byzantium.[75] Aristophanes' text was probably the one used for Aristarchus' commentary, which survived separately and independently from the Pindaric corpus. Presumably, Aristarchus had kept not only the text but also the established order of the epinician odes intact.[76] We may thus argue that *Olympian 5* was already by the time of Aristophanes in the Alexandrian library. The existence of Aristarchus' commentary suggests that he found *Olympian 5* in Aristophanes' edition. Given the explicit reference to Olympia in the text, it is difficult to see any other location in the corpus for it. It is unlikely, for instance, that it ever stood among the miscellaneous odes at the end of the Nemean group of the epinician odes[77] to be repositioned later (presumably by Didymus) in the Olympian odes. So it is likely that the ode stood in the Aristophanic edition and in its present location, though it may have been marked as dubious or spurious.

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[70] Ruffa (2001) 37-41 for the full discussion.

[71] Ibid. 7, where Ruffa quotes Montanari (1998) 7.

[72] Ibid. 44.

[73] *Ibidem.*

[74] Ruffa (2001) 29n11 on the use of the word in Galen; on Eustathius' use of the word, ibid .29-30; on an outline of the word ἐδάφιον in the sources she mentions, ibid. 37-39. Irigoin (1952) 32 takes the term ἐδάφια to mean 'fundamental manuscripts'. For a comprehensive summary of the word ἐδάφιον, Fraser (1972) 653n35.

[75] Frazer (1972) 460 points out that Aristophanes' text of Pindar became the vulgate, 'even though the work of his successors had left more trace in the Pindaric scholia.' Irigoin (1952) 51 reports that Aristarchus is cited twenty six times by the scholia.

[76] Aristophanes of Byzantium was the scholar who arranged the order of Pindar's victory odes in each book (Dr. I.p.7 14-15 {EKQΘ} προτέτακται ὑπὸ Ἀριστοφάνους τοῦ συντάξαντος τὰ Πινδαρικὰ) and also the one who divided the verses of individual poems on a colometric system. Pöhlmann (1994) 28 comments how the emendation Zenodotus suggested in *O*.2.7a shows that it was not yet possible to assess the metre of choral lyric. The present text, arrangement, and classification of the Pindaric poetry, the overall disposition of Pindar's poetry in 17 books according to genre and content are thanks to Aristophanes of Byzantium.

[77] Σ.*N*.9 inscr. (Dr.III, p.150) αὗται δὲ αἱ ᾠδαὶ οὐκέτι Νεμεονίκαις εἰσὶ γεγραμμέναι· διὸ κεχωρισμέναι φέρονται.

It is more difficult to take the history of this ode back beyond Aristophanes. The poem may have been in the library when Callimachus was preparing his *Pinakes*, or it may have arrived or been located between the editions of Zenodotus and Aristophanes. This, however, tells us nothing about its state or status. If τὰ ἐδάφια means, as Fraser and Irigoin have suggested, the Zenodotean edition of Pindar's victory odes, the poem was available from the earliest period and was either omitted by Zenodotus or (if we give οὐκ ἦν the value assigned to it by Ruffa) included but marked as dubious or spurious. If the phrase refers to the corpora and/or texts of Pindar coming into Alexandria upon which the assumed edition of Zenodotus was based, then it may be that *Olympian* 5 was absent from these texts.[78] It seems more likely that the scholia would contrast Didymus' judgement with that of previous scholars (in line with Didymus' own practice, which was influential in the creation of the scholia) than with the unedited texts coming into the library. It is also worth noting that the Pindar scholia (unlike the Homeric scholia) nowhere else acknowledge the pre-Alexandrian sources for the text. So τὰ ἐδάφια is likely to designate earlier editorial authority. However, the plural in the Greek suggests that we should perhaps identify τὰ ἐδάφια collectively with the editions available to Didymus directly or indirectly when he compiled his commentary, that is, the texts of Zenodotus and Aristophanes.

It may be, however, that this phrase is not critical for our general understanding of the history of the text, vital as it is at the level of *detail*. I return to the point made above about the uniqueness of this ode. Lowe rightly describes it as the lone "cuckoo" in the Pindaric nest,[79] which must have contained (in its 17 Alexandrian books) about 200 poems. The Alexandrians were confident about the rest of this substantial corpus. Nothing is said in the scholia about dubious content, style, occasion or chronology. There was evidently something objective and external about this poem which placed a question over its authenticity. This is unlikely to have been a problem with the Olympic victor list, since we might have expected this to be the defining feature in the scholion.[80] The unique doubt about this ode is most easily understood if it was received or discovered in a way which distinguished it from the

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[78] Bowra (1964) 415-416 suggests 'The important fact is that Zenodotus either did not find it when he collected and edited the manuscripts of Pindar or, having found it, rejected it as spurious.' *Contra* Ruffa (2001) 44, who considers no probability of the ode not being part of the arriving Pindaric corpus.
[79] Lowe (2007) 176.
[80] See Moretti (1957) 99, 101.

rest of the corpus. This suggests that (irrespective of the way we interpret τὰ ἐδάφια) the poem may have travelled separately from the Pindaric texts which arrived in the library to be listed by Callimachus and edited by Zenodotus.

If the above inference is accurate, then we may have in *Olympian* 5 an example of a wandering poem. On the other hand, though arguments from silence are necessarily tentative, the absence of any hint of doubt in the case of other poems in this large corpus suggests an authoritative source for the works, which is consistent with the view that they were received as one or more collections. This is itself consistent with the state of the text which, despite its linguistic and metrical complexity, is remarkably well preserved, with few serious textual corruptions and only superficial atticization. Hinge's work on the quotations of Alcman suggests that texts circulating in isolation from the main corpus of an author are especially vulnerable to interference.[81] However, wherever it was preserved before reaching Alexandria, the Pindar text was well cared for, which does not suggest a mass of poems arriving individually.

In view of the above, when we speak of texts arriving in the Alexandrian library we cannot always think of complete corpora, complete books, or complete authors. The classification of specific lyric poets suggests that what arrived in Alexandria was largely corpora. Through the example of *Olympian* 5 we can also surmise that at least some poems arrived separated from the rest of the corpus and were reintegrated into the Alexandrian library. In that case, some poems could have been travelling individually, while others moved about as part of a collection not necessarily of the same author. The scholia to Aristophanes' *Nubes* report that Aristophanes allegedly found a fragment in the library containing an anonymous poem, which some ascribed to "a certain Kydides".

> ἢ τηλέπορόν τι βόαμα: καὶ τοῦτο μέλους ἀρχή. Φασὶ δὲ μὴ εὑρίσκεσθαι, ὅτου ποτ᾽ ἐστίν· ἐν γὰρ ἀποσπάσματι ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ εὑρεῖν Ἀριστοφάνη. Τινὲς δέ φασι Κυδίδου Ἑρμιονέως τηλέπορόν τι βόαμα λύρας. **(Σ. Ar.*Nub*.967αβ {RV})**

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[81] Alcman's text is one of the cases where one could observe not only the independent circulation of part of the corpus but also the vulnerability of the fragments that traveled separated from the corpus: these fragments tend to be less Doric than the text of Alcman. E.g. fr.85 Calame, 28 *PMG*. Μῶσα, Διὸς σύγατερ, λίγ᾽ ἀείσομαι, ὠρανίαφι is found quoted "normalised" without the Doric ω, but with the Attic ου (e.g. A.D. *Adv*.575, i.165 Schn. ἔστι δὲ καὶ παρὰ Ἀλκμᾶνι καὶ κατὰ κλητικῆς τὸ οὐρανία 'οὐρανίαφιν').

This scholion has implications for the state of some of the texts coming into Alexandria, and also confirms the assumption of separate and independent circulation and arrival in at least some cases. Separate diffusion suggests, of course, problems of authorship and authenticity, which were solved in the library but in most cases left a trace in the scholia of the particular text. Though we may generalise from individual cases, we cannot extrapolate a rule for the arrival of Greek literature in the Alexandrian library. The Pindar corpus, if we have read the evidence correctly, offers evidence both for preservation and transmission as a corpus (or corpora) and for the transmission of poems that survived and reached the library detached from author-based collections. Aggregation and organisation was still to be done in the library, but the limited evidence we possess suggests that the texts reached the library in most cases as corpora, though with exceptions.

Bacchylides and Alexandrian Scholarship

It is unfortunate that all the information for the organisation and function of the Library, for the critical activities and scholarly deeds of the Alexandrian scholars, survives for us solely in products of late Imperial and Byzantine learning, the scholia.[82] Despite the fact that the scholiastic tradition incorporates much information from good sources, it does not offer as much detail as one would like to have on past editions, commentaries, and schools of critics, nor does it record the reasons for particular judgements reported in the scholia. We can, however, draw probable conclusions about the ongoing process of editing and commenting on the representatives of lyric poetry in the library.

The first section has shown that lyric texts were available in the library from the period of the first appointed librarian and that work on the specific texts began with Zenodotus (c.285-c.270 BC). The work of the Alexandrians on the lyric corpus, however, became more systematic from the beginning of the second century BC with Aristophanes of Byzantium (204/1-189/6 BC).[83] From the time of Aristophanes' librarianship scholarship on the lyric corpus developed into a more concentrated, more text-based, and more detailed work. His achievements in lyric poetry, not only concerning the editions of the poets but also the establishment of a colometric system

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[82] Fraser (1972) 447.
[83] On the editions of the lyric poets, pp.231 with n86, 233n93.

for the division of odes, were ground-breaking.[84] When Aristarchus took over (175-145 BC), these lyric editions were either improved or were supplemented with commentaries. Apparently, Aristarchus followed the path his teacher Aristophanes paved, as he seemed to be working on the majority of the lyric poets edited by Aristophanes. The continuous work on the same authors reveals the conservative nature of the Hellenistic scholars when it came to literary criticism; they mainly dealt with poets their predecessors had already worked on. But, as we shall see, their conservatism did not depend solely on the approach of previous Hellenistic scholars; they were also influenced by earlier criticism.

The big absence from information on the lists of editions and commentaries by Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus is Bacchylides. We have no records that they produced an edition of or a commentary on the texts of Bacchylides. Yet, the Alexandrian edition of Bacchylides' poetry is a reality. As Lowe concludes, Bacchylides is the closest case to a straightforward grouping of poems.[85] The sequencing of Bacchylides' poems within his epinician book shows that criteria different from the ones in the editions of Pindar and Simonides were at work,[86] and the organization of Bacchylides' victory odes in the London papyrus (such as it is)[87] suggests that this may well be his total epinician output that survived into the Hellenistic period. Although Bacchylides' first critical edition is indeed a fact, we posses no information concerning the editor, and we have no references to a commentary by Aristarchus. Nevertheless, later evidence by Athenaeus, Servius, Clemens of Alexandria, and Stobaeus refer to specific and distinctive books of Bacchylides' poetry, which also verifies the existence of an Alexandrian edition.[88] The fact that these references are specific and collective for books of different genres of Bacchylides' poetry indicates that editorial work on his text did take place in the library. Furthermore, Herennius Philo (c.64-141 AD) and Ammonius (first/second

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[84] Pfeiffer (1968) 181.

[85] Lowe (2007) 170, where see for the arrangement of his nine books.

[86] On the criteria according to which Bacchylides' epinician odes were grouped, Maehler (1982) 36-37; Rutherford (2001) 158-159 with nn5&7; Lowe (2007) 170-171. On the criteria at work in the epinician books of Pindar, Lowe (2007) 172-174 with Diagram I in p.173. On the organisation of the poems in the epinician book of Simonides, Obbink (2001) 75-77; Lowe (2007) 175.

[87] On the London papyrus, Kenyon (1897) xv-xxvi.

[88] Serv. *A.* VI 21 *quidam septem pueros et septem puellas accipit volunt…Bacchylides in dithyrambis [dicit]*; Stob. Flor. III. 10.14 Βακχυλίδου Ἐπινίκων; Stob. Flor. IV 54.1 Βακχυλίδου Ὕμνων; Stob. Flor. IV 14.3 Βακχυλίδου Παιάνων; Stob. Flor. IV 34.24, VI 44.16, VI 44.46 Βακχυλίδου Προσοδίων; Stob. Flor. III 11.19 Βακχυλίδου Ὑπορχημάτων; Athen. 667c Βακχυλίδης ἐν Ἐρωτικοῖς; Clem. Alex. *Storm.* V 68, 5 …Βακχυλίδης ἐν τοῖς Παιᾶσιν.

ce.AD) refer to a commentary on Bacchylides by Didymus – Ph.Bybl. *De diversis verborum significationibus* 123 Δίδυμος ἐν ὑπομνήματι Βακχυλίδου τοῦ λυρικοῦ, Ammon. *De Voc.Diff.* 333 Δίδυμος...ἐν ὑπομνήματι Βακχυλίδου ἐπινίκων. This does not necessarily mean that Didymus, in the first century AD, was the first to annotate Bacchylides' victory odes.[89] His commentary, however, confirms the fact that there *was* indeed a book of Bacchylides' victory odes in the library, which had survived in the early centuries AD.

We know that Aristarchus commented on Callimachus' categorisation of a particular poem of Bacchylides, but we have no information or further comments concerning other poems of Bacchylides. As mentioned above, a papyrus of the second century AD (*POxy.* XXIII, 2367-2368) preserves a commentary on Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs*, where Aristarchus' disagreement with Callimachus about Bacchylides' *Cassandra* is recorded. This reference, placed against the background of Bacchylides' absence from the editorial lists, creates a few problems. The writer (possibly Didymus according to Pfeiffer[90]) does not give the title of Aristarchus' book. The above remark, therefore, does not necessarily imply the existence of a commentary on Bacchylides' *Paeans* or *Dithyrambs* by Aristarchus. Given that the comment has to do with the issue of arrangement and classification, and also taking into account that Aristarchus was basically working on what his predecessors had worked on, we could assume that his observations either reinforced or corrected remarks made by the already existing scholarship on the particular poem or on specific poetic genres (paeans and dithyrambs in this case). Eidography was an issue that concerned the Alexandrian scholars of every period, and comprehensive editions of lyric poets needed an arranging criterion to distinguish between poems of different genres. Predictably, the application of different criteria often created classificatory problems,[91] such as the above. The question, therefore, is not why but where Aristarchus made the aforementioned comment.

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[89] Didymus in most cases compiles and reviews opinions of previous scholars, e.g. *De Aristarchi Recensione* Σ. ad Ζ.71 Ἀρίσταρχος τεθνηῶτας, ὁ δὲ Ζηνόδοτος; Σ. ad *Il*.Α.91 ἐνὶ στρατῷ· Ἀχαιῶν, οὐκ ἐνὶ στρατῷ αἱ Ἀριστάρχειοι. ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ Σωσιγένους καὶ ἡ Ἀριστοφάνους καὶ ἡ Ζηνοδότου. This makes it on the whole unlikely that he was the first to annonate Bacchylides.

[90] Pfeiffer (1968) 222.

[91] Barbantani (2009) 299.

The Pindaric scholia suggest that Aristarchus dealt also with Pindar's *Paeans*.[92] It could be, therefore, that the remark about Bacchylides' *Cassandra* was made in the course of the commentary on Pindar's *Paeans* and in Aristarchus' attempt to clarify the key features of a paean and its differences from a dithyramb. The loss of the original performance-context of lyric poetry forced the Alexandrian scholars to classify the surviving lyric poems by content or by metre.[93] This could ultimately mean that categorisation was often made by comparison and contrast with other genres. Thus, bearing in mind that paeans and dithyrambs were thought of as clear-cut categories by the Alexandrians, and also that Bacchylides' dithyrambs were an exception to the formulaic key features of the dithyrambic category,[94] a comment on a poem on the edge between the two genres would have been appropriate in an attempt to clarify the characteristics of a paean or a dithyramb. So, a reference to a work of Bacchylides need not indicate that Bacchylides was the main focus. As Lobel notes, 'his criticism might be *obiter dictum*'.[95] This disagreement does, however, indicate that at least part and conceivably the entire of Bacchylides' corpus was apparently in the Alexandrian library by the time of Callimachus in the early third-century BC.

Absence of explicit references to scholarship on Bacchylides' corpus emphasises this paradox, given the availability of at least part of Bacchylides' corpus in the library from the earliest period. Why then do we not have a Peripatetic treatise by Hermippus? Some of these treatises suggest that the Peripatetics were highly interested in biographical and anecdotal material.[96] This kind of information was chiefly found in poetry which foregrounded the poetic persona, such as the poetry of Archilochus, Hipponax, Simonides and Sappho, features which are not particularly distinctive in Bacchylides. Not only do we have a treatise on Stesichorus though,

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[92] P.222n49.

[93] Barbantani (2009) 299-300. On the edition of Anacreon, Gentili (1958) xxvii-xxix; Gentili&Catenacci (2007) 203. Of Sappho, Page (1955) 112-116; Yatromanolakis (1999); Gentili&Catenacci (2007) 122. Of Alcaeus, Gentili&Catenacci (2009) 172; Acosta-Hughes (2010) 134-140. On epinician eidography, Lowe (2007). On the edition of Bacchylides, Gentili&Catenacci(2007) 340; Lowe (2007) 170-176; Gentili&Catenacci (2007) 340. Of Pindar, Lowe (2007) 171-176. Of Simonides, Obbink (2001) 74-81; Acosta-Hughes (2010) 210-213.

[94] The confusion is evident in the treatment of *Cassandra* in the Alexandrian library and in the riddle of the genre of *Ode 17*, on which see Schmidt (1990).

[95] Lobel (1956) 54.

[96] E.g. Athen. 656c=Chamaeleon fr.33 περὶ δὲ λάγων Χαμαιλέων φησίν ἐν τῷ περὶ Σιμωνίδου ὡς δειπνῶν παρὰ τῷ Ἱέρωνι ὁ Σιμωνίδης, οὐ παρατεθέντος αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις λαγωοῦ ἀλλ᾽ ὕστερον μεταδιδόντος τοῦ Ἱέρωνος, ἀπεσχεδίασεν· [fr.68D] ὄντως δ᾽ ἦν ὡς ἀληθῶς κίμβιξ ὁ Σιμωνίδης καὶ αἰσχροκερδής, ὡς Χαμαιλέων φησίν.

whose epic features have long been recognised,[97] but passages of lyric poetry were often used as sources of information about cultural history and Greek customs.[98] These features could easily have been found in Bacchylides' poetry in order to produce a Περί Βακχυλίδου.

One possible explanation is that this omission was a matter of choice, aesthetic or other. Given the dependence of the Alexandrians on previous scholarship, however, especially when it came to literary criticism, it is difficult to assume that they *chose* not to work on Bacchylides, when his text was in the library. Their attitude towards past and contemporary poetry and literature was fundamentally conservative. As the previous chapters have demonstrated, their conservatism was paved by Aristophanes, Plato, and the Peripatos. They did not edit or annotate any of the post-fifth-century poets; poets of the New Music, whose poetry was parodied and disapproved by Aristophanes, criticised and condemned by Plato and ignored by the Peripatos, did not become objects of interest for Alexandrian scholarship.[99] Thus, their activity and scholarly approach reveals that the Hellenistic scholars were, *in terms of focus*, passive receivers of Greek literature, from which they prioritised only what had already been established as worthy and classic. This, of course, produces a striking paradox, since the Hellenistic period was itself an era of extensive formal experimentation. It was also an era of the written word. The New Music relied heavily on performance for its effect and was consequently vulnerable in an era when the text as verbal construct was the main priority. The exclusion of the New Poets, who by the Hellenistic era were theoretically eligible for classic status on grounds of age, suggests that the role of the Hellenistic scholars, though important, was to a large extent reactive. Their focus and their aversion towards the New Music reveal that they followed faithfully the agenda that was set by others (ultimately Aristophanes and Plato). They *elaborated* on the lyric canon, which had already been fixed by the time of the Peripatos. Thus, their role in the process of canonisation was not to generate but to cement it in place with their scholarly activity.

This makes their attitude to Bacchylides particularly interesting. He cannot be traced in the fourth-century picture; Plato chose not to mention him and we have no

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[97] Russo (1999) elaborates on the "Homeric" nature of Stesichorus.

[98] Chapter 4.2, pp.173-174, 176.

[99] Fourth-century tragedians were neglected. This too betrays the influence of Aristophanes, whose narrative of the decline and fall of tragedy as a genre cemented in place the tragic canon.

evidence for a Peripatetic treatise on him. The Alexandrians, however, did not neglect him. Didymus' commentary on Bacchylides' victory odes suggests that Bacchylides' epinician corpus had been edited by the first century AD. We cannot rule out the possibility that Aristophanes of Byzantium chose not to deal with Bacchylides' text, or that Aristarchus decided not to annotate the edited text. It is most unlikely that the text was edited at the time of Didymus, as the library was then in a period of decline.[100] The edition must predate Didymus and probably by a considerable interval. Not only was Bacchylides edited, he was edited according to principles of lyric colometry established by Aristophanes. It is probable, therefore, that he was edited either by Aristophanes or by a pupil. This is more than a matter of colometry; it is also a matter of classification and organization, since his work was carefully organized into nine books, arranged in a fashion similar to the books of Pindar. This was a considerable editorial undertaking by a serious editor of texts. This still, however, leaves us with a lacuna – the period before Aristophanes.

The best place to start if we wish to understand the Hellenistic reception of Bacchylides is with the dependence of the Hellenistic scholars on previous poetic criticism. The Hellenistic attitude towards specific authors and specific genres was shaped by the previous centuries and, most importantly, by the Athenian attitude. Alexandrian scholarship shows a paradoxical combination of scholarly energy and critical passivity. Bacchylides is included in both the canonical epigrams as well as in the lists referring to the nine lyric poets of antiquity.[101] His inclusion was probably not accidental but closely linked to the fame he had gained in antiquity, to the status he had already acquired by the Hellenistic era, and to the knowledge the Hellenistic scholars had about his poetry and his success. But how did the Hellenistic scholars know about him?

The answer may be that some at least of our ignorance reflects accident. We do in fact posses some evidence of a continuing interest in Bacchylides, and possibly of re-performance of his dithyrambs. Bacchylides' fame is indicated in *AP*.6.313, 2 *FGE* which is dedicated to (and perhaps fictively by) him presumably for his dithyrambic victories in Athens.

Κούρα Πάλλαντος πολυώνυμε, πότνια Νίκα,

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[100] Fraser (1972) 468-469.
[101] Introduction, pp.13-15.

πρόφρων † Κραννάίων[i] † ἱμερόεντα χορὸν
αἰὲν ἐποπτεύοις, πολέας[ii] δ' ἐν ἀθύρμασι Μουσᾶν
Κηίωι[iii] ἀμφιτίθει Βακχυλίδηι[iv] στεφάνους.

[i] Καρθαιῶν Bergk : Κρᾱναΐδων Meineke   [ii] πολλεάς Pac

[iii] Κηίωι Brunck: κηορωι P   [iv] Βακχυλίδηι P : Βακχυλίδης C

Famous daughter of Pallas, holy Victory, look over with good will on the beauteous chorus of the Craneans, and crown Ceian Bacchylides with many wreaths at the sports of the Muses.

Page argues plausibly that although the above epigram claims archaic origin, it is actually a product of the Hellenistic era.[102] The form, a prayer in epigram-form, suggests that it was not a genuine epigram of Bacchylides,[103] since such epigrams have no parallel at his time or before the Alexandrian period.[104] The tone of the epigram suggests that it was likely a Hellenistic product; the picture of Bacchylides himself praying/speaking on behalf of a chorus is a feature we find in Hellenistic epigrams also ascribed to Simonides.[105]

In any case, the epigram offers us a chance to draw significant conclusions not only for Bacchylides' survival but also for his reception leading up and during the Hellenistic period. Surprisingly, little use has been made of this epigram; it has not been discussed in recent scholarship on epigrams about lyric poets,[106] or on epigrams ascribed to lyric poets. While a number of epigrams recall poetic features of the named lyric poets, others are simply composed in their honour. The epigrammatists generally appear to be more interested in monodic than in choral poets; Sappho and Anacreon, for instance, appear in eleven and sixteen epigrams respectively.[107] Although the focus of the epigrams dedicated to each lyric poet is not on poetics, nonetheless, they reflect the status of the poets.[108] Pindar, for example, is celebrated

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[102] *FGE* p.151.

[103] *Contra* Jebb (1906) 424 and Snell (1961) 119.

[104] *FGE* p.151.

[105] Chapter 2.1, pp.70 with n48, 71n52.

[106] Barbantani (1993); Acosta-Hughes&Barbantani (2007).

[107] On epigrams for Sappho, Barbantani (1993) 28-47; Acosta-Hughes&Barbantani (2007) 438-442 and for Anacreon, Barbantani (1993) 47-66; Acosta-Hughes&Barbantani (2007) 442-445. Barbantani (1993) 91 argues that this preference was mainly due to the easiness with which one could read and perform their work compared to the work of the choral poets.

[108] Barbantani (1993) 91.

from the fourth century BC to the first century AD 'as a servant of the Muses and recipient of divine prodigies' as well as 'an ideal citizen, a moral authority'.[109]

The reasons for ascribing such poems to lyric poets are varied. They are in part a search for authority through poetic antecedents,[110] partly tributes to these authoritative poetic figures, partly exercises in form, in some cases perhaps even witty frauds relating to well-established poetic figures. Since the epigram was a new genre, it needed to anchor itself in the tradition, and the small-scale archaic genres were the closest analogue in earlier literature. The authoritative generic voices of the lyric poets offered an obvious source of poetic authority for such Hellenistic epigrams. Thus, the assignment of this epigram to Bacchylides confirms the classic and canonical status both his name and his poetry had acquired by the Hellenistic period. Bacchylides' classic poetic status is disclosed, if we have a look at the particulars of the specific epigram.

Page notes that Κραvvαίων is unintelligible and observes that had the epigram been genuine Κρᾱvαΐδωv ('the sons of Kranaos') would have been employed. Meineke's supplement makes perfect sense in a dedicatory epigram, especially if we take into account Bacchylides' career as we have reconstructed it.[111] The epigram verifies Bacchylides' numerous participations in Athenian dithyrambic competitions. It may also suggest that ancient scholarship showed more interest in his dithyrambs than his victory odes. This focus on Athens and dithyrambs creates a link between Athens and Alexandria, which could ultimately form a kind of continuity between Athenian and Alexandrian perceptions of Bacchylides. It is also a link with Simonides and *AP*.6.213, in which Simonides is presented extremely successful in dithyrambic competitions.[112] Although these epigrams do not necessarily confine us to dithyrambs, they may suggest that Bacchylides' name was more strongly associated with the dithyramb. Be that as it may, the author of the epigram obviously knows enough to connect Bacchylides' name with (Athenian) choruses and victories.

The significance of this epigram is especially underscored when we look at the totality of the epigrams in honour of the lyric poets and when we pay more attention

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[109] Acosta-Hughes&Barbantani (2007) 435, e.g. *AP*.7.35, *AP*.16.305
[110] Sens (2007) 374 calls the impulse to assign epigrams to archaic and classical lyric and dramatic poets a process of "archaeology".
[111] Chapter 1, pp.30-32.
[112] On Simonides' epigram, chapter 2.1, p.71n52.

to the absences from this list; Alcaeus and Stesichorus are the only canonical lyric poets not celebrated in epigrams, in spite of their established classic status by the time of the Alexandrians. Lasus receives no Hellenistic epigram in spite of the Peripatetic treatise bearing his name. His complete absence from the Hellenistic list of lyric poets may, as noted above, suggest that his text did not survive in the Alexandrian library to be edited; the epigrammatists confirm his absence. The New Poets (Timotheus, Philoxenus, Phrynis, and Kinesias) have a fate similar to Lasus, though the circumstances are different. Although their poetry survived into the Hellenistic period, they receive neither an edition nor epigrams, probably due to the criticism they received before the Hellenistic era. Timocreon, on the other hand, who is not included in the lyric canon but was parodied by Aristophanes (*Ach*.532, *Vesp*.1064), becomes the subject of a notorious mock-epitaph from "Simonides".

> Πολλὰ πιὼν καὶ πολλὰ φαγὼν καὶ πολλὰ κάκ᾿εἰπὼν
> ἀνθρώπους, κεῖμαι Τιμοκρέων Ῥόδιος.
> **(*AP*.7.348)**[113]

Even in this case, we can see the dependence of Hellenistic epigrammatists on the already established tradition of lyric poets; Timocreon is remembered for his drunkenness and gluttony, and this image of him was almost certainly created and established before and/or with the comedies of Aristophanes.

Complementary evidence for the survival and knowledge of Bacchylides' epinicians comes from agonistic epigrams of the third and second century BC. Descriptions of the moment of competition,[114] the vividness with which the athletic achievement is recreated in the epigram, and emphasis on visual elements are each perfectly in place in inscriptions celebrating an athletic victory. It would also be expected to be found in epinician odes. This particular source of *enargeia*, however, is a particularly prominent feature of the Bacchylidean epinician and is largely absent

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[113] *AP*.13.31 was supposedly composed by Timocreon. It is a witty epigram with no reference to poetic qualities whatsoever.   *Κηΐα με προσῆλθε φλυαρία οὐκ ἐθέλοντα.*
Οὐκ ἐθέλοντά με προσῆλθε Κηΐα φλυαρία.
[114] The vividness with which the race is described in Poseidippus 72, 74,76 A-B .directs our attention to the relevant passage in Bacchylides.

from Pindar, who avoids athletic descriptions. The epigram for Attalos from Pergamon (Ebert 59=Moretti 37)[115] plays upon *B*.5.37-49.[116]

$$[\H{η}] \; μέγ' \; ὑπαχήσασα \; θοὰς \; ἐξήλασε \; πώλους, \qquad 5$$
$$αἱ \; δὲ \; διὰ \; σταδίου \; πυκνὸν \; ὄρεγμ'ἔφερον$$
$$ἄλλαι \; ἐπ' \; ἄλλα \; θέουσαι. \; Ὁ \; δ'Ἀττάλου \; ἶσος \; ἀέλλη$$
$$δίφρος \; ἀεὶ \; προτέραν \; πο[σ]σὶν \; ἔφαινε \; κόνιν. \qquad 8$$

(Ebert 59=Moretti 37.5-8)

ξανθότριχα μὲν Φερένικον
Ἀλφεὸν παρ'εὐρυδίναν
πῶλον ἀελλοδρόμαν
εἶδε νικάσαντα χρυσόπαχυς Ἀώς,
Πυθῶνί τ'ἐν ἀγαθέαι·
γᾶι δ'ἐπισκήπτων πιφαύσκω·
οὔπω νιν ὑπὸ προτέ[ρω]ν
ἵππων ἐν ἀγῶνι κατέχρανεν κόνις
πρὸς τέλος ὀρνύμενον·
ῥιπᾶι γὰρ ἴσος βορέα
ὃν κυβερνήταν φυλάσσων
ἵεται νεόκροτον
νίκαν Ἱέρωνι φιλοξείνωι τιτύσκων.

(B.5.37-49)

The similarity of this passage to the description of Hieron's winning race is striking. The chariots that participated in the chariot-race are the main focal point in the inscription, which gradually zooms in on the horse-chariot of Attalos. His horses and chariot are as fast as a storm (θοὰς πώλους, ἀέλλη), and their speed creates (always created - ἀεὶ προτέραν) dust (κόνιν) for the rest of the participants. This passage focuses on the same details as the Bacchylidean passage; the speed of the horses, who run like the wind (πῶλον ἀελλοδρόμαν, v.39; ῥιπᾶι γὰρ ἴσος βορέα, v.46), and the

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[115] Hansen (1947) 28 takes *Ins.v. Perg.* nos.10-12 as a group (Ins.12 ends with the phrase Ἐπίγονος ἐποίησεν) and notes that the epigram was the work of Epigonus. His view is accepted by both Moretti p.94 and Ebert p.178.
[116] Ebert p.180 notes several parallels/intertexts to lines 7-8 of the inscription; Hom. *Il.*10.437; Hes. *Sc.*345; h.Hom.4.217; S.*OT.*467; Pi.*P.*4.18. He quotes B.5.39, 43f as echoes of the specific lines and mentions that the entire diction of the epigram is an amalgam from Pindar and Bacchylides. The specific passage of Bacchylides is echoed once more in Callimachus' *Victoria Berenices* 8-10 *SH*

ἔθρεξαν προ[τέρω]ν οὔτινες ἡνιόχων
ἄσθματι χλι[....].πιμιδας, ἀλλὰ θε‸ό‸ντ‸ων‸
ὡς ἀνέμων ‸οὐδεὶς εἶδεν ἁματροχίας‸

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dust this creates for the other chariots that follow (ὑπὸ προτέρων ἵππων ἐν ἀγῶνι κατέχρανεν κόνις, vv.43-44).[117]

Ebert, Moretti, and Fuhrer assume that this inscription was in honour of Attalus of Pergamum, the nephew and adopted son of Philetairos and father of Attalos I of Pergamon (269-197 BC). The script of the inscription belongs to the first half of the third century BC, while the name Φιλέταιρος (v.11)[118] restricts our dating to within Philetairos' dynasty (282-263 BC).[119] We have good reasons to date the inscription c.280-272 BC.[120]

Given that the above inscription models itself after Bacchylides' *Ode 5*,[121] we may ask ourselves how the writer in Pergamum knew of that poem. This intertextual link invites us to assume firstly, that the epinician poem(s) of Bacchylides travelled to Pergamum (presumably as texts), and secondly, that there was probably a wide circulation of and readership for Bacchylides by the third century BC. The library at Pergamum was founded by Eumenes II of Pergamum (197-159 BC)[122] and thus chronologically much later than the Alexandrian library. We cannot, therefore, assume that the text of Bacchylides was kept in the library of Pergamum, since there was no library to house it. We can, however, suppose that at least his epinician poetry was known and circulated in Pergamum. Can we suggest that the Bacchylidean text passed through Pergamum before reaching Alexandria? One cannot exclude this possibility, but we have no firm base for this assumption. The inscription, however, (if the proposed date is correct) is secure evidence that the epinician poems of Bacchylides, or some of them, were both read and circulated in Pergamum in the third century. If Bacchylides' edition was a product of Aristophanes of Byzantium, then the inscription predates the edited text of Bacchylides. It also allows us to consider the possibility that Bacchylides' text arrived in Alexandria disaggregated. It could be that part of the corpus (e.g. epinician) arrived late to the library, or at least later than some

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[117] *Contra* Maehler (2004) 27, who claims that 'such textual similarities may...not be conclusive proof of familiarity with B.'s ode...'

[118] Lines 11-12 φήμα δ'εἰς Φιλέταιρον ἀοίδιμος ἦλθε καὶ οἴκους / Περγάμου, Ἀλείωι τ[ε]ισαμένα στεφάνωι.

[119] Moretti p.97; Ebert p.176.

[120] For the relevant arguments, Moretti pp.94-98; Ebert pp.176-178; Fuhrer (1992) 243, (1993) 92.

[121] Bacchylides' *Ode* 5 was of interest throughout antiquity, as we have already seen. Presumably, the figure of the tyrant, and Hieron in particular, drew the attention of the Greeks.

[122] Kosmetatou (2003) 164 argues that the library was probably founded by Attalos I and that Eumenes II expanded the library.

of his poetry, for which we can almost certainly claim it was in the library at Callimachus' time (e.g. dithyrambs).

It has hopefully become obvious that the Hellenistic scholars were heavily influenced by the cumulative effect of the reception of texts belonging in the archaic and classical period by previous literature and scholarship. One may thus argue that the manner in which they employed and worked on previous literature reflected the channel through which that literature had survived. The Alexandrians did not establish anyone as classic on their own initiative, and they did not work on texts which were not already thought to be worthy. The value of a text was largely established by the manner in which these texts were employed, reflected, and preserved through other literature. The presence of Bacchylides in the canon-lists together with the literary and epigraphic evidence for the Hellenistic period suggests that the silence on Bacchylides before the Hellenistic era is accidental. The Alexandrians were dealing with something familiar, and Bacchylides was one of the names included in that familiar circle. It could, therefore, be that despite the silence and despite what was said above, there was a Peripatetic treatise on Bacchylides now lost to us; it could be that his dithyrambic and epinician poetry continued to be re-performed well into the third century BC; it could be that his text was widely read, copied, and circulated in the Greek world. One thing we can say for sure: despite the silence in our sources for the fourth century, he was canonised by the Hellenistic era. Our knowledge of the survival and transmission of Bacchylides cannot be complete. He will therefore remain a paradox, and he will constantly remind us of the poor state of our knowledge on the reception and canonisation of lyric poetry.

Conclusion

As was observed in the introduction, this dissertation is essentially a case-study, designed to explore larger issues in cultural history through the medium of the survival and transmission of the work of a single author. Apart from any conclusions reached on specific issues, the originality resides in this dual focus. The difficult case of Bacchylides opens up complex questions in a field where our knowledge is and will remain inadequate. The conclusions offered in the project were inevitably conjectural, but the picture presented gives us the opportunity to explore both a complex phenomenon and a neglected author and to open up for analysis the orderly narrative which currently prevails. As well as offering insights into the reception of Bacchylides and lyric, the approach taken in this project has the added value of applicability to other authors and genres in different eras. There is still much to be done both in the field of lyric poetry and in other well-researched Greek genres and authors – tragedy and the three tragedians, comedy and the poets of Old Comedy, the orators, historiographers and philosophers. Even within lyric, there remain striking lacunae. Despite the Pindarocentric approach of lyric scholarship and later poetry, in Greece and Rome and post-Renaissance Europe, we still lack a detailed study on Pindar's reception. This is a major desideratum. There are other ways in which the line taken in this thesis can be deployed further to illuminate the reception of archaic poetry. Archilochus and Hipponax, for example, could be used fruitfully in order to perceive not only the diachronic evolution of the iambic genre in Greek literature, but also the survival and perception in antiquity of Archilochus and Hipponax as iambic figures.[1]

Our view of classical Greek literature is often narrow, as it is either synchronic or Hellenistic; we tend to perceive authors and genres either at the time of their peak in the relevant era in antiquity or as perceived and preserved in the Alexandrian library. Consequently, we tend to ignore the process through which that antique perception was formed. For Hellenists, the view is narrower. Our sight subconsciously filters out the Latin sources that draw on the perceptions established in the Hellenistic era. Although the project stopped at the Alexandrian library, mainly due to space, more can be done with reference to the employment of Bacchylides in and by the

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[1] A positive model that focuses on the transmission, survival and reception, with detail in text, is Hinge (2006) on Alcman.

Hellenistic poetry, as well as in his survival in Latin poetry, culture and scholarship. This can also be extended to the whole field of Greek lyric. It is hoped that this research will set the foundation, both in terms of scope and methodology, for future projects on the survival and transmission of ancient Greek literature in its ancient contexts, an area still undeveloped in current scholarship.

APPENDIX I

I.1. Passages in Aristophanes that draw on Pindar

Eq.626 ~ Pi. Fr. 144; Σ. *Eq*.626b τὸ δὲ «ἐ λ α σ ί β ρ ο ν τ α» παρὰ τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς Πινδάρου. {E}

Eq.1265-66 Τί κάλλιον ἀρχομένοισιν ἢ καταπαυομένοισιν/ ἢ θοᾶν ἵππων ἐλατῆρας ἀείδειν ~ Pi. Fr. 89a.

Σ. *Eq* 1264b τ ί κ ά λ λ ι ο ν ἀ ρ χ ο μ έ ν ο ι σ ι: τοῦτο ἀρχὴ προσοδίου Πινδάρου. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως «τί κάλλιον ἀρχομένοισιν ἢ καταπαυομένοισιν, ἢ βαθύζωνόν τε Λατὼ καὶ θοᾶν ἵππων ἐλάτειραν ἀεῖσαι»; {VEΓΘMLh}

Eq.1329 Ὦ ταὶ λιπαραὶ καὶ ἰοστέφανοι καὶ ἀριζήλωτοι Ἀθῆνα ι ~ Pi. Fr.76; Σ. *Eq*.1329b totus versus] ἀπὸ Πινδάρου παρῴδηται. {EΓ²Lh}

Nu.223 ~ Pi. Fr.157; Σ. *Nu*.223d ὁ γάρ τοι Πίνδαρος διαλεγόμενον παράγων τὸν Σειληνὸν τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ τοιούτους αὐτῷ περιέθηκε λόγους «ὦ τάλας ἐφήμερε, νήπιε βάζεις». {V}

Nu.299 λιπαρὰν χθόνα Παλλάδος ~ Pi. Fr.46; Σ. *Nu*.299b εὐθαλῆ, τὴν πᾶσι κομῶσαν. καὶ Πίνδαρος ὦ ταὶ λιπαραὶ καὶ ἀοίδιμοι,/ Ἑλλάδος ἔρεισμα, κλειναὶ Ἀθῆναι. {V}

V.308 πόρον Ἕλλας ἱερόν ~ Pi. Fr.189; Σ. *V*.308c ὁ Πίνδαρος τὸν πλοῦν τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου· νῦν δὲ πορισμόν. {V}

Av.926-945 ~ Pi. Fr.105a.

Av.514-15 ὁ Ζεὺς γὰρ ὁ νῦν βασιλεύων/ αἰετὸν ὄρνιν ἔστηκεν ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς βασιλεὺς ὤν ~ Pi. *P*.1.11; Σ. *Av*.515 ὄρνιν ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς: Δέον εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ σκήπτρου εἶπεν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς. (οὕτω γὰρ ὁ Πίνδαρος [*P*.1.11] «εὕδει δ' ἀνὰ σκάπτρῳ Διὸς αἰετός.» καὶ Σοφοκλῆς «ὁ σκηπτροβάμων αἰετὸς,κύων Διός.»

Av.941 ~ Pi. Fr.105b; Σ. *Av*.941 (Νομάδεσσι γὰρ ἐν Σκύθαις: Καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ τὰ ἐκ Πινδάρου [fr.72]. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως «Νομάδεσσι γὰρ ἐν Σκύθαις ἀλᾶται Στράτων, ὃς ἀμαξοφόρητον «οἶκον οὐ πέπαται» λαβὼν δὲ ἡμιόνους παρ' Ἱέρωνος ᾔτει αὐτὸν καὶ ἄρμα. δῆλον δὲ ὅτι χιτῶνα αἰτεῖ πρὸς τῇ σπολάδι.).

*Av.*1121 Ἀλλ' οὑτοσὶ τρέχει τις Ἀλφειὸν πνέων. ~ Pi. *N.1.1*; Σ. *Av.*1121 ἀλλ' οὑτοσὶ τρέχει: Σύμμαχος· οὕτω συντόνως τρέχει ὡσεὶ Ὀλυμπιακὸς σταδιοδρόμος, [ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ παραρέοντος ποταμοῦ. ἀντὶ τοῦ, δίκην ῥεύματος ταχέως φερόμενος]. ὁ δὲ Δίδυμος, παρὰ τὸ Πινδάρου [*N.1.1*] «ἄμπνευμα σεμνὸν Ἀλφειοῦ.» διχῶς δέ τινες, ἄλφειον πνέων.

I.2. Named references to Sophocles in Aristophanes.

Pax 531 αὐλῶν, τραγῳδῶν, Σοφοκλέους μελῶν, κιχλῶν,
        ἐπυλλίων Εὐριπίδου.

Pax. 695-98   Ερ. Πάμπολλα, καὶ τἀρχαῖ' ἃ κατέλιπεν τότε·
          Πρῶτον δ' ὅ τι πράττει Σοφοκλέης ἀνήρετο.   695
          Τρ. Εὐδαιμονεῖ· πάσχει δὲ θαυμαστόν.
       Ερ.   Τὸ τί;   696
          Τρ. Ἐκ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους γίγνεται Σιμωνίδης.
          Ερ. Σιμωνίδης; πῶς;
          Τρ. Ὅτι γέρων ὢν καὶ σαπρὸς   698
            κέρδους ἕκατι κἂν ἐπὶ ῥιπὸς πλέοι.

*Av.*100-01 Τοιαῦτα μέντοι Σοφοκλέης λυμαίνεται/ ἐν ταῖς τραγῳδίαισιν ἐμέ, τὸν Τηρέα;

*Ra.*76-79   ΗΡ. Εἶτ' οὐ Σοφοκλέα πρότερον ἀντ' Εὐριπίδου
             μέλλεις ἀνάγειν, εἴπερ <γ'> ἐκεῖθεν δεῖ σ' ἄγειν;
          ΔΙ. Οὔ, πρίν γ' ἂν Ἰοφῶντ', ἀπολαβὼν αὐτὸν μόνον,
             ἄνευ Σοφοκλέους ὅ τι ποεῖ κωδωνίσω.

*Ra.*786-87 Κἄπειτα πῶς/ οὐ καὶ Σοφοκλέης ἀντελάβετο τοῦ θρόνου;

*Ra.*1516-19   ΑΙ. Ταῦτα ποήσω· σὺ δὲ τὸν θᾶκον
          τὸν ἐμὸν παράδος Σοφοκλεῖ τηρεῖν
            καὶ διασῴζειν, ἢν ἄρ' ἐγώ ποτε
          δεῦρ' ἀφίκωμαι. Τοῦτον γὰρ ἐγὼ
            σοφίᾳ κρίνω δεύτερον εἶναι.

APPENDIX II

The titles offered are very selective and in no case do they depict the complete corpus of each Peripatetic philosopher. The philosophers selected are also those considered fundamental for the project undertaken in Chapter 4.2. The edition used for the text of the Peripatetics was that of Wehrli, F. (1944-1974) *Die Schule des Aristoteles: Texte und Kommentare*, Basel.

Important periods of the Peripatos:

- c.335 BC: foundation of the school.
- 335 BC-323 BC: Aristotle as Head.
- 322-287/6 BC: Theophrastus as Head.
- 287/6-268/7 BC: Strato of Lampsacus as Head. Strato was called "the phycisist" and devoted himself to the study of the natural and physical science neglecting the part of philosophy which concerned virtue and morals.
- 266/5-225 BC: Lyco from Troad as Head. The School begins to decline.

➤ Eudemus of Rhodes (he joined the Peripatos immediately after its foundation)

Ἀναλυτικὰ (frr.9-24)
Περὶ λέξεως (fr.25-29)
Περὶ γωνίας (fr.30)
Φυσικά (frr.31-123)
Γεωμετρικὴ ἱστορία (frr.133-141)
Ἀριθμητικὴ ἱστορία (fr.142)
Ἀστρολογικὴ ἱστορία (frr.143-149)

➤ Heracleides Ponticus (he was still alive after Aristotle's death in 322 BC)

Ἠθικά: Περὶ δικαιοσύνης γʹ (frr.48-51)
Περὶ σωφροσύνης (fr.52)
Περί τε ἀρχῆς αʹ καὶ νόμων αʹ (frr.144-145, 146-150)
Περὶ ὀνομάτων αʹ (fr.164)

Φυσικά: Πρὸς Δημόκριτον (fr.36)

Περὶ νοῦ (fr.43)
Περὶ ψυχῆς. Κατ'ἰδίαν Περὶ ψυχῆς (frr.90-103)
Περὶ βίων α'β' (fr.45)

Ῥητορικά: Περὶ τοῦ ῥητορεύειν ἢ Πρωταγόρας (fr.33)
Ἱστορικά: Περὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων καὶ περὶ εὑρημάτων (frr.40-41)

Γραμματικά: Περὶ Ἀρχιλόχου καὶ Ὁμήρου α'β' (fr.178)
Περὶ τῆς Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου ἡλικίας α'β' (frr.176-177)

Μουσικά: Περὶ ποιητικῆς καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν α' (fr.166)
Περὶ τῶν παρ' Εὐριπίδη καὶ Σοφοκλεῖ α'β'γ' (fr.180)
Λύσεων Ὁμηρικῶν α'β' (frr.171-175)
Περὶ τῶν τριῶν τραγῳδοποιῶν α' (fr.179)
Περὶ εἰδῶν α' (fr.29)
Περὶ Μουσικῆς α'β'γ'- Περὶ τῶν ἐν μουσικῇ <διαλαμψάντων>
(frr.157-163)

➢ Aristoxenus of Tarentum (born c.370 BC)

Πυθαγορικαί ἀποφάσεις (frr.33-41)
Παιδευτικοὶ Νόμοι / Πολιτικοί Νόμοι (frr.42-46)
Σωκράτους βίος (frr.51-60)
Πλάτωνος βίος (frr.61-68)
Περὶ Μουσικῆς (frr.71-89)
Μουσικῆς ἀκρόασις (fr.90)
Περὶ Μελοποιίας (frr.92-93)
Περὶ Ὀργάνων (frr.94-102)
Περὶ Χορῶν, Περὶ Τραγικῆς Ὀρχήσεως, Συγκρίσεις (frr.103-112)
Περὶ Τραγῳδοποιῶν (frr.113-116)
Σύμμικτα Συμποτικά (frr.122-127)

➢ Dicaearchus (pupil of Aristotle, contemporary of Theophrastus and Aristoxenus, fl. c.320-300 BC)

Βίος Ἑλλάδος ἐν βιβλίοις γ' (frr.47-66)
Πολιτεία Σπαρτιατῶν (frr.67-72)
Περὶ Μουσικῶν ἀγώνων (frr.73-89)
Homerfragen (frr.90-93)
Περὶ Ἀλκαίου (frr.94-99)
Γῆς περίοδος (frr.104-115)

- Chamaeleon (c.350-after 281 BC)
  - Περὶ Θεῶν (fr.2)
  - Περὶ ἡδονῆς (frr.7-8)
  - Περὶ μέθης (frr.9-13)
  - Homerica Περὶ Ἰλιάδος, Περὶ Ὀδύσσειας (frr.14-22?)
  - Περὶ Ἡσιόδου ? (fr.23)
  - Περὶ Ἀλκμάνος ? (frr.24-25)
  - Περὶ Σαπφοῦς (frr.26-27)
  - Περὶ Στησιχόρου (frr.28-29?)
  - Περὶ Λάσου (fr.30)
  - Περὶ Πινδάρου (frr.31-32)
  - Περὶ Σιμωνίδου (frr.33-35)
  - Περὶ Ἀνακρέοντος (fr.36)
  - Περὶ Σατύρων (fr.37)
  - Περὶ Θέσπιδος (fr.38)
  - Περὶ Αἰσχύλου (frr.39-42?)
  - Περὶ Κωμῳδίας (frr.43-44)

- Clearchus of Soli (pupil of Aristotle)
  - Πλάτωνος ἐγκώμιον (frr.2a-b)
  - Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Πλάτωνος Πολιτείᾳ μαθηματικῶς εἰρημένων (frr.3 [-4?])
  - Περὶ παιδείας (fr.13[-16?])
  - Ἐρωτικός (frr.21-35)
  - Περὶ Βίων (frr.37-62)
  - Παροιμίαι (frr.63-83)
  - Περὶ γρίφων (frr.84-95)
  - Περὶ νάρκης (fr.105)

- Praxiphanes (pupil of Theophrastus, end of 4th- mid-3rd ce. BC)
  - Περὶ Φιλίας ? (fr.7)
  - Περὶ Ποιητῶν ? Περὶ Ποιημάτων (frr.11-17?)
  - Περὶ Ἱστορίας (fr.18)
  - Homerkommentar (frr.20-21)
  - Hesiodkommentar ? (fr.22)
  - Sophokleskommentar ? (fr.23)

- Demetrius Phalereus (b. c.350 BC)
  - Περὶ μεγαλοψυχίας αʹ (fr.78)
  - Περὶ καιροῦ αʹ (fr.84)

Περὶ εἰρήνης αʹ (fr.89)

Σωκράτης αʹ/ Σωκράτους ἀπολογία (frr.91-98)

Διονύσιος αʹ (fr.105)

Κλέων αʹ (fr.106)

Πτολεμαῖος αʹ (fr.108)

Λόγων Αἰσώπειων Συναγωγή /Αἰσωπείων αʹ (fr.112)

Τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν ἀποφθέγματα (fr.114)

Apophthegmen (frr.115-122)

Περὶ δημαγωγίας αʹβʹ (fr.129)

Περὶ τῆς Ἀθήνησι Νομοθεσίας αʹβʹγʹδʹεʹ /

Περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι Πολιτειῶν αʹβʹ (frr.139-148)

Περὶ Ῥητορικῆς αʹβʹ (frr.156-173)

Περὶ Ἰλιάδος αʹβʹ / Περὶ Ὀδύσσειας αʹβʹγʹδʹ /Ὁμηρικὸς αʹ (frr.190-193)

Περὶ Ἀντιφάνους αʹ (fr.194)

On Plato (fr.195)

Ἐπιστολαὶ (fr.197)

➢ Phanias from Eresus (he joined the school of Theophrastus in 332 BC, fl. 320 BC)

Πρὸς Διόδωρον (fr.9)

Πρὸς τοὺς Σοφιστάς (fr.10)

Περὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ τυράννων (frr.11-13?)

Historisches verschiedener Herkunft (frr.20-29)

    Solon und Themistokles (frr.20-28)

Περὶ τῶν Σωκρατικῶν (frr.30-31)

Περὶ Ποιητῶν (frr.32-33?)

➢ Hieronymus of Rhodes (at Athens c.290-230 BC)

Ethik (frr.8-28)

Περὶ ἐποχῆς (fr.24)

Περὶ μέθης (frr.25-28)

Περὶ Ποιητῶν (frr.29-33)

- Περὶ Ὁμήρου ?

- Περὶ τραγῳδοποιῶν

- Περὶ κιθαρῳδῶν

Kulturgeschichtliches und biographisches verschiedener Herkunft

(frr.34-49)

- Σποράδην Ὑπομνήματα

- Ἱστορικὰ Ὑπομνήματα

- Hermippus of Smyrna (fl. 3rd ce. BC)

Uber die Magier (frr.2-4)

Die sieben Weisen (frr.5-16)

Περὶ (τῶν) ἑπτὰ σοφῶν (frr.5, 13, 15a, 16)

Περὶ τῶν σοφῶν (fr.6)

Βίοι (fr.11)

Pherekydes (fr.17) ?

Περὶ Πυθαγόρου (frr.18, 22, 23)

Empedokles (frr.25-27)

Zenon von Elea (fr.28)

Herakleitos (fr.19)

Anaxagoras (fr.30)

Demokritos (fr.31)

Socrates (fr.32)

Aeschines der Sokratiker (fr.33) ?

Antisthenes (fr.34)

Platon (frr.40-41)

Herakcleides Pontikos (fr.42)

Aristoteles (frr.44-49)

Περὶ Ἀριστοτέλους (frr.44, 47a, 48, 49)

Βίοι (fr.45)

Περὶ Θεοφράστου (fr.52)

Lykon (fr.57)

Demetrius von Phaleron (fr.58)

Chrysippos (fr.59)

Epikuros (frr.60-61)

Thukydides (fr.62)

Περὶ Γοργίου (fr.63)

Περὶ τοῦ Ἰσοκράτους (fr.64)

Περὶ Ἰσοκράτους (fr.65)

Περὶ τῶν Ἰσοκράτους μαθητῶν (frr.68a II, 70, 77)

Hypereides (frr.67-68)

Isaios (frr.69-70)

Demosthenes (frr.71-75)

Aischines der Redner (fr.79)

Περὶ νομοθετῶν (frr.80-83, 87, 88)

Περὶ τῶν νομοθετῶν (fr.84)

Περὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Φιλοσοφίας εἰς <Τυραννίδας καὶ> Δυναστείας
μεθεστηκότων (frr.89-91)

Περὶ Ἱππώνακτος (fr.93)

Euripides (fr.94)

Φαινόμενα (fr.101) ?

Map 1

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Map 2

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Figure 1

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Figure 2

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Figure 3

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Figure 4

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