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Erika Taretto

Poets and places: sites of literary memory in the Hellenistic world.

Material abstract

This dissertation argues for the existence of a widespread yet underexplored Hellenistic habit of linking the memory of archaic and classical Greek poets to specific places. Through a combination of in-depth case studies and a panoramic overview of Hellenistic sites of literary memory, the dissertation establishes the significance of literary geographies and explores the means through which they were established. The first chapter focuses on the house of Pindar and its alleged treatment on the part of Alexander the Great. The second chapter investigates the memorialisation of Homer in Alexandria, showing that the desire to shape literary geographies fundamentally shapes the identity of the new Egyptian city. The third chapter moves from the centre to the periphery of the Hellenistic world and focuses on the best documented case of a site of memory dedicated to an ancient poet: the Archilocheion on Paros. The fourth and last chapter offers an overview of the evidence for Hellenistic sites dedicated to the memory of archaic and classical poets in the Hellenistic age. By demonstrating that sites of literary memory are an important Hellenistic aspect of the reception of poetry, this dissertation hopes to open the way to further studies about both the Hellenistic and later literary geographies.

*Poets and Places:
Sites of Literary Memory in
the Hellenistic World*

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Ustinov College

This thesis is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Classics and Ancient History

Department of Geography

University of Durham

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Statement of Copyright

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A special thanks to my family. Words cannot express how grateful I am to them, for unconditionally loving me and always being there. This thesis is dedicated to them.

Abbreviations

AP = *Anthologia Palatina*.

API = *Anthologia Planudea*.

DK = Diels, H. and Kranz, W. eds. 1961 (10th ed.). *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*.
Berlin.

FGrHist = Jacoby, F. ed. 1923-. *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Berlin.

IG = *Iscriptiones Graecae*. Berlin 1873-.

LIMC = Kahil, L. et al. eds. 1981-97. *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*.
Zurich.

LSJ = Liddell, H.G., Scott, R., and Jones, H. S. eds. 1940. *A Greek-English Lexicon*.
Oxford.

Pf. = Pfeiffer, R. ed. 1949-1953. *Callimachus*, 2 vols. Oxford.

SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden 1923-.

SH = Lloyd-Jones, H. and Parsons, P. eds. 1983. *Supplementum Hellenisticum*. Berlin.

Sn.-M. = Snell, B. and Maehler, H. eds. 1964-75. *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis*.
Leipzig.

Introduction

‘Un paese ci vuole, non fosse che per il gusto di andarsene via. Un paese vuol dire non essere soli, sapere che nella gente, nelle piante, nella terra c'è qualcosa di tuo, che anche quando non ci sei resta ad aspettarti.’

(Cesare Pavese, *La luna e i falò*)

My doctoral dissertation falls under the aegis of the research project *Living Poets*, which aims ‘to develop a new approach to classical poetry, based on how listeners and readers imagined the Greek and Roman poets.’¹ Within that broad remit I focus on the geographical sites linked to the biographies of ancient Greek poets in the Hellenistic age. Since before the Hellenistic period various sites were connected with famous poetic figures, for example Chios with Homer and Helicon with Hesiod. Flourishing biographical traditions existed about the places of origin of the ancient poets, but also the places to which they travelled, where they composed poetry, lived and were buried. In some cases, the memory of the presence of the poet was testified by the institution of a cult for him or her in the relevant locality. These poetic sites, renowned in antiquity, can be read as a psychological and material literary geography. The engagement with these sites, which were visited or imagined by readers and admirers of ancient poetry, fostered in turn new visions of the literary past.

Premise and general context

The Hellenistic age (323 BC-31 BC, according to Droysen’s largely accepted definition) was a time marked by new discoveries and the self-conscious exploration of the intertwined concepts of space and identity. Alexander the Great’s conquests broadened the geographical and cultural limits of the Mediterranean. While Greece lost its centrality, Alexandria in Egypt acquired an unrivalled prominence in the Mediterranean world, as its Ptolemaic dynasty adopted economic, political, administrative, religious measures in order to secure the metropolis’ leading position as a Greek capital.² The Ptolemies’ cultural politics, meanwhile, specifically aimed at

¹ The project’s description may be found at livingpoets.dur.ac.uk.

² Cf. Erskine 2003, Erskine-Llewellyn Jones 2010 for an introduction to the Hellenistic world. On Alexander and his conquests cf. the contributions in Roisman 2003: esp. 133-93. For the changes in the

promoting Alexandria as ‘a centre of Greek learning, literature, art, and science,’ as Maehler puts it.³

Yet this transformation of space was not unproblematic.⁴ The condition of Greek settlers in Alexandria, for example, has been described as one of ‘displacement’ and dislocation.⁵ Overall, a moment of deep reflection about Greek identity followed the spatial shift from Greece to Egypt and the new challenges presented by ‘the ‘global’ community of the Hellenistic *oikoumene*.⁶

The need to define a Greek space specifically is attested in various literary works of the Hellenistic age.⁷ Apollonius of Rhodes offers a good example for understanding the deep-seated need of locating Greece in a larger world. Only fragments are extant from his verses on the foundations of cities, but his poem, the *Argonautica*, the only epic in hexameters surviving from ancient Greek literature between the Homeric poems and the Roman Empire, concentrates on the construction of Greek space. The *Argonautica*, as Thalmann has recently argued, presents a ‘Greek version of space’ and is a ‘mythic analogue of Alexander’s conquests and of the early Ptolemies’ imperial ambitions;’ the space as depicted in the poem, he explains, ‘relates Alexandria to the traditional origins and physical centers of Greek culture and offers Greeks there a sense of being in place that offsets their condition of displacement, and a core of Hellenic identity to counter any feelings of estrangement.’⁸ This literary look upon contemporary space is shared by other Hellenistic works, like Posidippus’ collection of poems ‘on stones’, as Peter Bing has argued.⁹

conceptions of space and geography before and after Alexander, cf. Geus 2003. On the importance of Alexandria and Egypt, especially as a crossroad in Hellenistic times, cf. Buraselis-Stefanou-Thompson 2013. On Alexandria as the new Greek center, cf. Acosta-Hughes-Stephens 2012: 148-203.

³ Maehler 2004: 7. For the importance of Alexandria as a Greek city cf. Buraselis 1993. Scholarship has explored the Egyptian identity of Alexandria as well: e.g. Stephens 2003, Harris-Ruffini 2004. Alexandria was a cultural centre throughout the whole Hellenistic age, as Engberg-Pedersen 1993: 285 states. The relevant evidence for the role of Alexandria as cultural centre has been explored by Fraser 1972. More bibliography on Alexandria is in ch.2.

⁴ Already during Alexander’s conquests: cf. Scheer 2003: 219-20.

⁵ Thalmann 2011: 194.

⁶ Ager-Faber 2013: 3.

⁷ Cf. Thalmann 2011: 198-206. Cf. also Asper 2011 on Callimachus and geopoetics, where he argues that Callimachus’ work constructed a feeling of Ptolemaic and ‘Greek ethnic identity’ (169), ‘a Greek cosmos for Greek readers’ (173).

⁸ Thalmann 2011: 193-4.

⁹ Bing 2009: 253-71 (‘the stones exemplify, in their geographical distribution and social construction, both the territorial and cultural/artistic aims of the Ptolemies and of their poet, Posidippus’, p. 254).

On a different yet correlated level, in the Hellenistic age the impulse of memorialising ancient Greek poets grows stronger: this phenomenon ‘consists, on the one hand, of the desire to honor the dead and keep their legacy alive’, and on the other of the desire to control that legacy.¹⁰ This is true for the texts of ancient poets, of course, but also for their personae.¹¹ As Barbara Graziosi puts it, ‘in the absence of the poet [...] the biographical imagination flourished:’¹² with the temporal and spatial distance from ancient poets, a revival of interest in their absent presence can clearly be detected in the ancient sources. Hellenistic monuments, epigrams, lyric poetry, and biographical prose (the genre of the *Vitae* or *Bioi* is at this time fully codified) all place the lives of ancient Greek poets at the centre of their narratives.¹³

The Hellenistic concern with geography and with the poets of the past generates, I believe, the well-attested yet still underexplored propensity to identify spots in the landscape which evoke the memory of the ancient Greek poets and their heritage, sites through which one can re-imagine the dead authors.¹⁴ The places where the ancient poets were thought to have lived and died provided one mode of articulating the Hellenistic preoccupation with spatial and cultural identity. Just as the Grand Tour was one of the preferred ways of engagement with the legacy of classical antiquity in modern era, as it enabled the elites to visit places permeated by the memory and by the (imagined) presence of the authors of ancient Greece and Rome, so too, in the post-Alexander world, landscape shaped, and was shaped by, the memory of the earlier Greek literature.¹⁵

Theoretical background

Following the example established by Barbara Graziosi (2002), classical scholars have explored the biographies of ancient poets as a mode of reception of the poets and their works, rather than advocating or refuting their historical reliability. This approach, in

¹⁰ Bing 1993: 620.

¹¹ On the relationship between Hellenistic poetry and Greek poetry of the past, cf. Fantuzzi-Hunter 2004.

¹² Graziosi forthcoming.

¹³ Bing 1993. For an introduction to ancient Greek biography cf. Arrighetti 1987, Momigliano 1993 (1971), Erler-Schorn 2007.

¹⁴ Cf. also p. 7n9, 10n21 on the Hellenistic interest in geographical matters.

¹⁵ On the experience of the Grand Tour and the visit to Virgil’s tomb specifically, an interesting article has been written by Calaresu 1999.

my dissertation, encounters the cultural-geographical notion of *lieu de mémoire*, a term which I adopt in its English translation – ‘site of memory’ – throughout my thesis. I hereby explain how the two concepts are relevant to my research.

First, the biographical traditions often make reference to geographical sites. In some cases, we are assured that these places existed historically (e.g. Mt. Helicon); in other cases, though, we are left with traditions of uncertain historical reliability, which have often provoked scepticism among modern scholars (e.g. the house of Pindar). Instead of dismissing such traditions because fictional, I adopt here the method first suggested by Graziosi, and already fruitfully followed by other scholars both for Roman and Greek poets, and apply it to my discussion about places:¹⁶ I examine biographical narratives about places as meaningful to ancient readers instead of restricting my discussion to questions about their factual accuracy. Imaginary and historical places, as my work demonstrates, are not distinct in the mind of ancient readers: they both offer occasions for contact with the ancient poets.¹⁷ I therefore treat all mentions of places linked to poets’ biographies as significant occasions of engagement with dead poets, and this – it seems to me – corresponds to ancient practice.

My choice of focusing specifically on geographical sites must be addressed here. The study of cultural memory as anchored to geographical sites has an illustrious precedent in the work of Pierre Nora. A site of memory, as conceptualised by Nora, is a place ‘where memory crystallizes and secretes itself.’¹⁸ At the end of the twentieth century, Nora turned his mind to the formation of France’s national identity since the middle ages, through sites and objects symbolising such identity. The project, in his words, ‘had the goal to exhume significant sites, to identify the most obvious and crucial centres of national memory, and then to reveal the existence of invisible bonds tying them all together.’¹⁹ Although maintaining the term *lieu* (site, place) to define the

¹⁶ Cf. Irwin 2006, Hanink 2008, the research project *Living Poets*.

¹⁷ Cf. Andersen-Robinson 2002: 5, 62 for the importance of the persona of the author (before his work) for literary tourism.

¹⁸ Nora 1989: 7. Nora’s seven volumes of *Les Lieux de Mémoire* were published between 1984 and 1992 in French. The English, abridged version was published a few years later (= Nora 1996-8). A concise yet useful introduction to Nora’s work is in the *Foreword* to Nora 1996-8, by L. D. Kritzman.

¹⁹ Nora 1996-8 vol. 1: xvii in the Preface to the English-language edition of his work. Ma 2009 has recently applied Nora’s notion of ‘site of memory’ to the ancient Greek city.

objects of his study on memory, Nora also considered historical figures, literary objects, emblems, commemorations, and other symbols.

I investigate the formation of *geographical* sites.²⁰ This choice, which provides a coherent focus for my research, is suggested by the important geographical changes of the Hellenistic age: I already mentioned that the enlargement of the world contributed to a sense of loss and a related need to redefine Greek space; moreover, 'Alexander's conquests brought with them a wealth of new [...] information about the inhabited world' which further aroused the curiosity for geographical matters.²¹ The redefinition of space in the Hellenistic age justifies my emphasis on specific places where the poets were memorialised.

It must be now noted that some limits apply to my use of Nora's approach: the most evident ones, perhaps, derive from the different socio-political background under examination. Nora investigates the construction of sites of memory of the Republican France, but nationalistic sentiments, the French Revolution, or the tensions between 'monarchists and republicans, Catholics and seculars, French and foreigners, and Right and Left' are not viable oppositions in my study of Hellenistic culture.²² What interests me in Nora's work is instead the possibility of linking geographical places to mechanisms of transmission of memory. Nora shows that with the rising globalisation of the world and the subsequent feelings of nostalgia for the loss of national identity, sites of memory provide a means to materialise France's idealised past; sites of memory are the projection of a perceived fracture from a gone world, the symptom of the disappearance of certain living traditions, the result of the vanishing of the 'real environments of memory', the *milieux de mémoire*, as he puts it. In this sense, it is not surprising to find processes of spatialised memory in the re-defined Hellenistic world, and in this sense Nora's premises coincide with mine: the same sense of distance from the past – which, in the Hellenistic world, was importantly also a literary past – prompts a re-engagement with the memory of dead poets through specific sites. Beyond this

²⁰ In the thesis, I consider a broad range of sites (e.g. natural, urban, monumental), focusing on their shared function of means of transmission of the *memory* of ancient poets. Further research, of course, might be done by exploring the different nature of the sites more in detail.

²¹ Geus 2003: 242.

²² On Nora's agenda and work, cf. Ho Tai 2001 (here, p. 908).

general yet fundamental point of contact, some of Nora's basic conclusions about modern sites are also relevant for Hellenistic sites:

(1) Sites create collective, not personal, memories.²³

(2) Nora's memory is not 'monolithic', but multi-faceted: as a consequence, sites are often sites of contrasts.

(3) Sites of memory secrete new memory in the present.

These three points are important for my work because I aim precisely to show that the Hellenistic geography of the ancient poets was the result of *complicated* dialogues on the authors and *manoeuvres* on places, both of which changed the Hellenistic understanding and use of ancient poetry. When sites were used, as I argue, as means to re-define the enlarged Greek space, a new impetus of crystallisation and secretion of memories took place, according to the three points already individuated by Nora. More specifically three of my basic conclusions are that: first, Hellenistic sites of memory often bind communities together via the memorialised poets. Through individuals, they address multiple audiences, from local to supralocal groups of people, and provide a means of identity (for oneself and in front of 'others') all across the Hellenistic world. Secondly – and related to this first point – the sites often address contrasting traditions about and receptions of the poets they commemorate, encouraging, more generally, the discourse around them. This in turn may influence the ancient reception of the poet's work.²⁴ Thirdly, the sites produce new memory about dead poets. They thus shape Hellenistic literary culture: for instance, they have an influence on Hellenistic literary criticism (which arguably shapes the contemporary literary production), on the production of literary space (and space in general), and on the construction and transmission of literary history.

Contribution to the discipline and limits

²³ On this, cf. also Edensor 2004: 830 with further bibliography.

²⁴ I often apply the term 'reception' to the poetic personae (and not only to the poets' works), to indicate the act of active (re-)engagement with the tradition about the poet.

Some recent studies focus on place and space in the *Vitae* of the ancient Greek poets: Clay (2004) on Archilochus, Hanink (2008) on Euripides, and above all Kimmel-Clauzet (2013) who offers a survey of the tombs of ancient Greek poets.²⁵ My study, in this sense, builds upon this recent and growing interest in the reception and transmission of memory of the ancient poets.

Still, I believe it is possible to look at these sites in a specifically Hellenistic perspective, by taking into account the breadth of the new Hellenistic, Mediterranean spatial context in which they flourished. In my research, I underline that the spaces of memory of poets were a common and shared means for Hellenistic subjects to relate to the literary past. The Archilocheion on Paros (investigated by Clay) or Euripides' link with Macedon (the focus of Hanink's attention) are not isolated cases of bonds between ancient poets and places; it is possible and necessary – and this is the main point of my thesis – to consider the acts of spatial memorialisation of the ancient poets as part of the same Hellenistic culture, which is here individuated and explored.²⁶ This new perspective enables a more complete understanding of single sites of memory and of cultural networks of memory related to them.

In short, my approach is enabled by recent and multiple studies and aims to bring them together. On the basis of different theoretical models (e.g. the core-periphery model, network theory, peer-polity interaction), and of various ancient sources (e.g. literary and archaeological), scholars have amply demonstrated that the Hellenistic age was a time of cultural, economic, and political exchange.²⁷ Information travelled, with or without movement of people, and communities were concerned with the validation of their Hellenic identity in front of 'their neighbours' eyes.'²⁸ There were

²⁵ More in general, my work belongs with other works which have followed the so-called 'spatial turn' of the humanities (cf. Kosmin 2014: 5-6). The spatial turn may be defined as 'an explicit interest in the role of space, landscape, and territory (and their distinctions) in both the shaping of ancient and modern communities, and as subjects of investigation for those wishing to better understand those communities' (McInerney-Sluiters 2016: 1). On the spatial turn and Classics, cf. also the Introduction to Gilhuly-Worman 2014.

²⁶ Although the phenomenon emerges with force in Hellenistic times, sites of memory of ancient poets feature abundantly in later sources too.

²⁷ A core-periphery approach is adopted by the contributors to Bilde-Engberg-Pedersen-Hannestad 1993. Network models are used, for example, by Reger 2013, and the contributors of Malkin-Constantakopoulou-Panagopoulou 2009; cf. also Rutherford 2007; for the peer polity model, cf. Ma 2014. For connections in the Hellenistic world cf. also Shipley-Hansen 2006: esp. 62-4, Buraselis-Stefanou-Thompson 2013, Fenn-Römer-Strehl 2013, Fentress 2013.

²⁸ Cf. Ager-Faber 2013: 3-16, Ma 2014: 21 (from which the quote).

several modes of connecting, from concrete occasions when people gathered, to less visible yet central moments of cultural exchange, which manifested in mirror discourses and political relationships, sometimes even based on the sophisticated invention of shared past and geographies (John Ma speaks of invented ‘cognitive maps’).²⁹ Contacts with each other allowed communities and individuals to survive, first of all, from an economic perspective, but also to make the foreign world ‘reassuringly familiar’ to them.³⁰ Sometimes people materially travelled long distances, but when they did not, written texts, material objects, and oral traditions did so, with the effect that the Hellenistic age became ‘a time of unprecedented cultural interchange.’³¹ My dissertation claims that the sites of memory of ancient poets made an important contribution to these developments.

Furthermore, I wish to make a point about physical and imaginary space with regard to Hellenistic literary tourism, a point that contributes to the understanding of the ‘object-oriented character of Hellenistic aesthetics, its intense capacity to «think through things»’, as Porter puts it.³² As noted above, narratives on sites of memory of poets have often been disregarded as fictional. My work aims to show that this omission is dismissive of the ways in which people experienced the spatiality (and symbolic meaning) of sites of memory, regardless of actually visiting the sites.³³ The thesis hence gives space to accounts of feeling and being at the sites. Although, of course, people travelled and in some cases their accounts stated that they visited places linked with poets, this was not always the case, nor were the claims they made always factually true. Admirers of ancient poets used their imagination, as well as

²⁹ Ma 2014. A list of the main Panhellenic festivals is in Parker 2004.

³⁰ Respectively, Horden-Purcell 2000, Ma 2014: 21. The Mediterranean was fundamental to the creation of the Hellenistic world: on the role of the sea in ancient history, cf. also Hitchmer 2009.

³¹ Ager-Faber 2013: 3. On ancient travelling, cf. Dillon 1997, Pretzler 2007, Hunter-Rutherford 2009 (on travelling poets), Rutherford 2013, Garland 2014.

³² Porter 2010: 274.

³³ And conversely, material visits to physical landscapes are inextricable from cognitive mapping (cf. Hutton 2005a: 54, Hutton 2005b: 297-8). A similar point has been made for Hellenistic literary epigrams: readers of epigrams re-create in their mind ‘the experiential world suggested by the text’ (Gutzwiller 1998: 7-8, cf. Bing 1998a; cf. also p. 127). On literary and inscribed epigrams cf. also Fantuzzi-Hunter 2004: 283-349. On Hellenistic epigrams, cf. Gutzwiller 2007: 106-120. More bibliography is provided in due course.

occasional autopsy, to visualise the sites linked with the dead poets.³⁴ What matters to my study is that the places of the dead poets eloquently speak about the memorialised authors to the Hellenistic audience, and are therefore a way for us into the history of literary reception.

Structure, sources, and editorial decisions

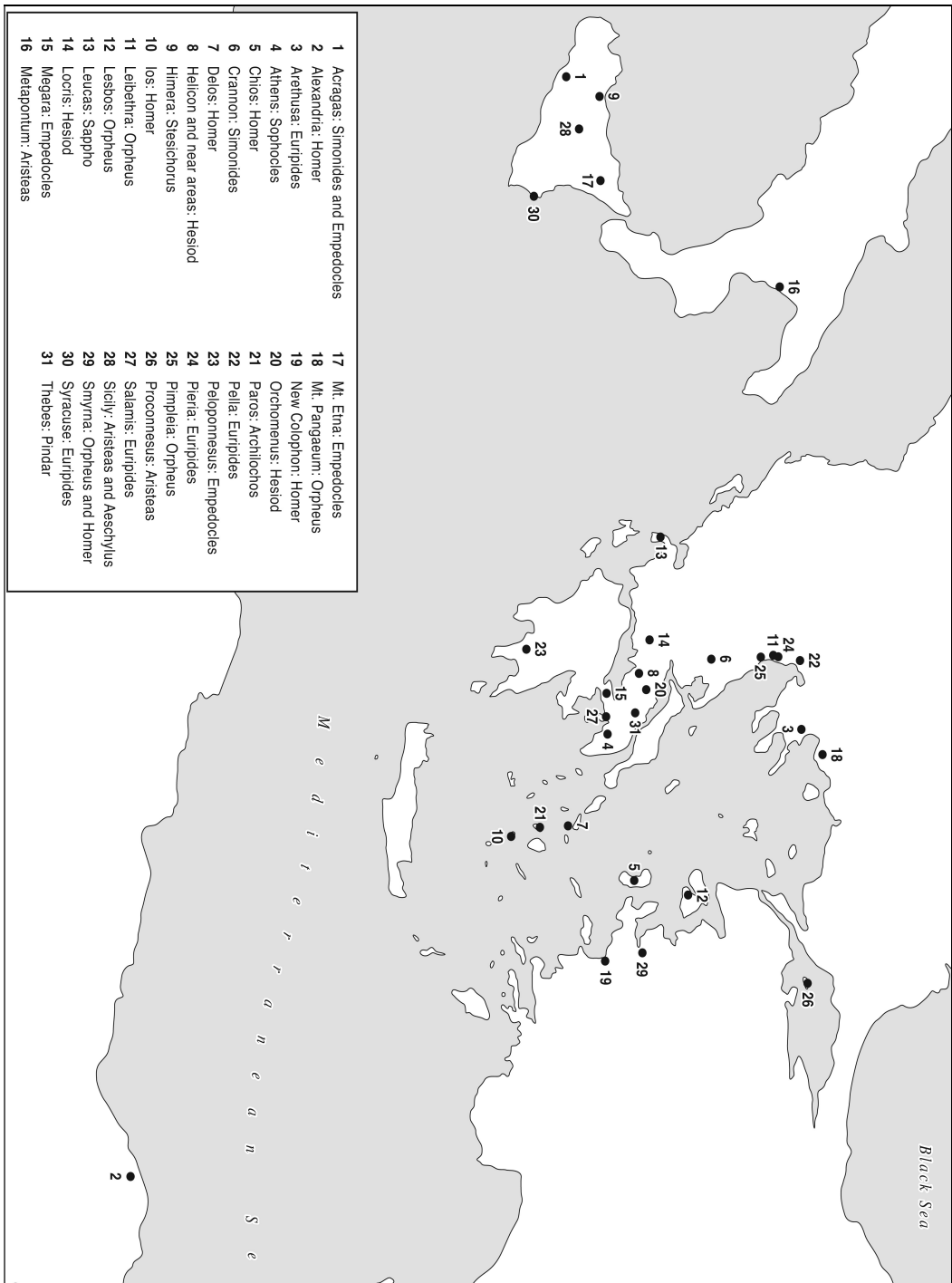
I believe that even a broad study of the poets' places in the Hellenistic period must start from specific examples, and the first three chapters in this dissertation offer three case studies: Pindar's house in Thebes, Archilochus and Paros, and Homer in Alexandria. The thesis then offers a broad overview of other Hellenistic sites of memory of archaic and classical poets. This structure allows me to explore in depth some aspects of the memorialisation of the poets while placing the study of individual sites into a broader network. The other advantage of this organisation is that it demonstrates that Hellenistic sites are a phenomenon which characterises the entire Hellenistic age, starting from its founder Alexander the Great (ch. 1 and, partly, ch. 2), to his successors the Ptolemies down to the late Hellenistic period (chapters 2 to 4). The thesis can, moreover, be conceptually divided in two 'geographical' sections. In the first half, I focus on areas considered culturally central in the Hellenistic age, continental Greece (ch. 1), and Egypt (ch. 2). In the second half, my analysis opens up to the rest of the Hellenistic world, including less central areas.

I use both material and literary sources. I generally present the evidence which I can connect as certainly as possible to the Hellenistic age (which means, for example, that the anonymous *Lives* are usually not a starting point for my considerations). After this, when appropriate, I consider other later (or chronologically uncertain) evidence when I think I can suggest links to Hellenistic material.

I use Latinised spelling of ancient Greek names (e.g. Archilochus), except when Greek transliterations (e.g. Archilocheion) or English names are in common use. Translations are my own unless otherwise stated.

³⁴ Cf. Hunter-Rutherford 2009: 5-6: 'the imagination of Hellenistic poets was filled with a «sacred geography» of the past in which places were associated with famous poetic figures [...]. [...] «travel to» such places can be a matter of literary association and imitation rather than of physical relocation.'

Figure 1 - Hellenistic Sites of Memory of Ancient Poets.



1. Pindar's house in Thebes

Sors du tombeau, divin Pindare,
Toi qui célébras autrefois
Les chevaux de quelques bourgeois
Ou de Corinthe ou de Mégare;
Toi qui possèdes le talent
De parler beaucoup sans rien dire:
Toi qui modules savamment
Des vers que personne n'entend
Et qu'il faut pourtant qu'on admire.

(Voltaire, *Ode XVII sur le carrousel de l'impératrice de Russie*, first stanza)

Introduction

Alexander the Great, the 'first Hellenistic man' according to a recent definition, can be considered an obvious starting point for a reflection upon Hellenistic matters of any sort.¹ As it turns out, Alexander was linked in antiquity to a site of literary memory, the house of Pindar: ancient authors report that the king spared Pindar's house when he razed Thebes to the ground, after the city's rebellion in 335 BC. This story offers a good starting point for my discussion.

The story, well-known in ancient times, has often troubled modern scholarship. To begin with, scholars often raise the issue of the uncertain historical reliability of the facts told, and even of the existence of the house, sometimes ultimately dismissing the whole narrative as a late fabrication. William Slater, for instance, states that the story of Alexander, which 'recurs in sources of dubious historical validity in the first and second century', is 'a literary fiction' (p. 147), and that it was used to deceive naive tourists like Pausanias (pp. 148-50).² Slater believes that the story is derived from the later Alexander biographers, whom he charges with 'falsehood' (p. 150), and insists that it was not present in the first histories of Alexander (p. 146). Bosworth, in his commentary on Arrian, briefly responds to Slater and writes that perhaps the house

¹ For a recent discussion of Droysen's largely accepted definition of 'Hellenismus' and of the fundamental importance of Alexander the Great for the definition of this historical period, cf. Bosworth 2006, Lane Fox 2010 (from whom the quote is borrowed); for an introduction to the story of Alexander the Great and the Hellenistic age, cf. Green 2007.

² Slater 1971. A summary of Slater's arguments, and a response to them, can be found in Lehnus 1979: 12-43.

spared by Alexander was not really Pindar's house, but that an actual house was spared because it was alleged to be the house of the poet.³ Only two years after Bosworth's quick comment – and significantly one year after the publication of the first edition of Mary Lefkowitz's *The Lives of the Greek Poets*, which encouraged the adoption of a sceptical stance towards ancient biographies and their historicity – Calder states that Pindar's house 'is a hoax' and that 'Bosworth simply does not understand Slater's argument.'⁴ This is, currently, the state of the question: a dismissal of the story about Pindar's house as historically unreliable, and an argument about the late addition of the episode in the biographies of Alexander.⁵

In this chapter, I submit that a new reading of the evidence is possible, which supersedes the matter of the historicity of the tradition about Alexander and instead focuses on the place linked with Pindar: the house. As I made clear in my Introduction, I am not generally concerned with the assessment of the historical reliability of the traditions concerning the places linked to poets; instead, I aim to understand such traditions especially in considering the relationship between imaginative and literary geographical interpretations. In this specific instance, it does not particularly matter to me whether Alexander really spared Pindar's house, or a house that was not really Pindar's house but was so described when Alexander entered Thebes. It is instead more interesting to focus on the ancient ideas *about the house*, which still need to be explored: after all, there is no reason to doubt that in antiquity the house of Pindar was well known and that the Alexander tradition was meant to convey a specific message about Alexander through a reference to the building. Why did the house of Pindar matter to the ancients at all? Why was it chosen as an important symbol in the Alexander tradition? And when did it become a symbol in that tradition?

³ Bosworth 1980: 91. Cf. Olivieri 2011: 153-4 with further bibliography.

⁴ Calder 1982: 283. Lefkowitz 1981 argues that biographies of ancient poets are based on the poets' work (cf. also Clay 1998 on the topic) and should therefore be disregarded as fiction. The book has been revised and republished in 2012, informed by the more positive approach to ancient biographies as acts of ancient reception, advanced by Graziosi 2002.

⁵ In addition, it has been suggested that the story of the sparing of Pindar's house was meant to mitigate the harshness of Alexander's destruction of Greek Thebes (e.g. Slater 1971: 147, Faraguna 2003: 116). However, as Grainger notes, the Greek cities which had suffered the Theban domination over the previous forty years were in favour and voted for the destruction of the city, and Cassander did not have the support of the rest of the Boeotian cities when he rebuilt the city (Grainger 2007: 69, 110). On the meaning of the story cf. also Instinsky 1961, Bosworth 1980: 91, Race 1986: 4, Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 232.

By shifting the focus of attention to the house, it emerges that the discourse around it, a discourse which has hitherto been entirely ignored by the scholarship on Alexander, was by no means linked only to this charismatic figure. The place was famous as a site of Pindaric memory, independently from the Alexander tradition: this constitutes the first, fundamental observation of my chapter. By chronologically reconstructing the development of the tradition of Pindar's house in the sources which survive to us, I demonstrate that since Hellenistic times the house of Pindar became worthy of attention as a *site of literary memory*, a site which crystallised and secreted specific ideas about the poet and thus contributed to the history of his reception.

The house of Pindar: A Hellenistic site of memory

The starting point of my analysis is Pindar's poetry, since ancient biographers often used the works of poets to reconstruct their lives.⁶ As it happens, and perhaps unsurprisingly, the house of Pindar already features in his own poetry – or at least a mention of it was read into the work of Pindar by a Hellenistic scholar. In his *Pythian 3*, which celebrates the victory of Hieron's horse Pherenicus, Pindar says:

ἀλλ' ἐπεύξασθαι μὲν ἐγὼν ἐθέλω
Ματρί, τὰν κοῦραι παρ' ἐμὸν πρόθυρον σὺν Πανὶ μέλπονται θαμὰ
σεμνὰν θεὸν ἐννύχια. (Pi. *Pyth.* 3.77-9)

But me, I want to pray to the Mother,
the holy goddess whom, at night, beside my front-door,
girls often celebrate in song, together with Pan.⁷

Pindar's ode and this passage specifically have been much discussed in modern scholarship: one important issue often raised concerns the first-person used in the lines and the possibility that it has to be identified with the poet, an issue which generally informs much Pindaric criticism.⁸ Different answers have been given, with various

⁶ Cf. p. 17n4. See Graziosi 2006 for a discussion on the ancient relationship between authors' works and their biographies.

⁷ It is not clear, nor was it clear to ancient readers, whether Pan was sung along with the Mother or whether he celebrated the Mother along with the mentioned girls (cf. Lehnus 1979: 8-9).

⁸ On the use of first-person statements in Pindar's odes see Currie 2005: 19-21 and Lefkowitz 1963. For the *status quaestionis* on the interpretations of the first-person in this passage see Schachter 1986: 138-41 with further bibliography and Kirkwood 1982: 211. On *Pyth.* 3 and this passage see Gildersleeve 1890:

consequences for the interpretation of the passage, but what concerns me here is that the identification between Pindar and the speaking person was made *in Hellenistic times*. Aristodemus, an Alexandrian scholar of the second century BC, student of Aristarchus of Samothrace, author of a work *On Pindar* (cf. Ath. 11.92-2.3), and perhaps author of a collection of *Theban Epigrams*, explains these lines by recollecting an episode set in the proximity of the house of the poet.⁹ He thus shows a willingness to move from the poems to visualising real buildings. His words are preserved for us in a Pindaric scholium as follows:

ἀλλ' ἐπεύξασθαι μὲν ἐγὼν ἐθέλω ματρί: Ἀριστόδημός φησιν Ὀλυμπίχου αὐλητοῦ διδασκομένου ὑπὸ Πινδάρου γενέσθαι κατὰ τὸ ὄρος, ὅπου τὴν μελέτην συνετίθει, καὶ ψόφον ἰκανὸν καὶ φλογὸς καταφορὰν· τὸν δὲ Πίνδαρον ἐπαισθόμενον συνιδεῖν Μητρὸς θεῶν ἄγαλμα λίθινον τοῖς ποσὶν ἐπερχόμενον, ὅθεν αὐτὸν συνιδρύσασθαι πρὸς τῇ οἰκίᾳ Μητρὸς θεῶν καὶ Πανὸς ἄγαλμα. τοὺς δὲ πολίτας πέμψαντας εἰς θεοῦ πυνθάνεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἐκβησομένων· τὸν δὲ ἀνειπεῖν, ἱερὸν Μητρὸς θεῶν ἰδρύσασθαι. τοὺς δὲ ἐκπλαγέντας τὸν Πίνδαρον διὰ τὸ προειληφέναι τὸν χρησμὸν, ὁμοίως τῷ Πινδάρῳ ἐκεῖσε τιμᾶν τὴν θεὸν τελεταῖς. (schol. *Pyth.* 3.137b Drachmann = Aristodemus *FGrHist* 383F13)

‘But me, I want to pray to the Mother’: Aristodemus says that when Olympichus the flute player was being taught by Pindar there was a great noise and a flashing of flame, on the mountain where the practice was taking place. Pindar became aware of, and saw, a stone statue of the Mother of the Gods, walking on its feet, which led him to set up by his house a statue of the Mother of the Gods, and of Pan. The citizens sent an embassy to the god [i.e. Delphi] to ask about what had happened and he said to build a sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods. They, amazed at Pindar who had anticipated the oracular response, honoured there the goddess with rituals, as Pindar had done.¹⁰

Scholars have generally stressed their disbelief in the historical reliability of Aristodemus’ comment. Young and Slater, for example, deny any historical value to the

268-77, Fennell 1893: 171-84, Farnell 1930: 92-8, Burton 1962: 78-90, Young 1968: 27-68, Currie 2005: esp. 344-405, Olivieri 2011: esp. 152-4.

⁹ For Aristodemus’ Ἰθθαϊκὰ ἐπιγράμματα cf. Radtke 1901, who accepts the identification, proposed by Wilamowitz, of Aristodemus as author of the work on Pindar and Aristodemus author of the work on epigrams.

¹⁰ Lefkowitz 2012 and Clay 2004 interpret τοῖς ποσὶν ἐπερχόμενον with ‘appear at his feet’ or ‘in front of him’ respectively. Bowra 1964: 50 translates as I do. Clay and Lefkowitz also interpret the last sentence suggesting that the citizens honour the Goddess and Pindar *likewise*. The scholars are perhaps influenced, in their translation, by the imperial sources testifying to the existence of a cult for Pindar. That a Hellenistic household cult for Pindar existed is possible, but the scholium is no proof for it. On the passage, cf. also Lefkowitz 1983: 212-4.

testimony of Aristodemus, agreeing that his account is plainly ‘absurd.’¹¹ Aristodemus, however, may not be at all concerned with the historical reality of the events or of the places, as modern scholars are; instead, he clearly evokes in his mind places and situations which are – according to him – linked to Pindar, his life, and his work.

Aristodemus’ account is often traced back to Pindar’s poetry, on the basis of which the story developed. Lehnus, for example, believes that the Thebans at some point connected Pindar’s poetry (specifically a *Hymn to Pan* and perhaps other passages) to the local cult of the Mother, and suggests that the scholium may find inspiration in a Pindaric ode for the goddess.¹² Yet, as he ultimately admits, there is no definite evidence for this hypothesis, as Aristodemus does not quote any other Pindaric passage.¹³ Another Pindaric poem which might have contributed to Aristodemus’ description of the vision is, I believe, the fragmentary *Dithyramb for the Thebans*.¹⁴ In it, Pindar mentions the Mother and refers to elements which are in the scholium too: the noise (ψόφον ἰκανόν) that Pindar hears when the statue of the Mother of the Gods appears, according to Aristodemus, features in the *Dithyramb* as well, when the Mother is present (ρόμβοι τυπάνων, l.9, κέχλαδ[εν] κρόταλ’, l.10, Ναίδωv ἐρίγδουποι στοναχαί, l.12, μανίαι τ’ ἀλαλ[αί] τ’ ὀρίνεται ῥιψαύχενι σὺν κλόνω, ll.13-14); Aristodemus’ flash in the sky (φλογὸς καταφοράν) is also in the *Dithyramb*: ἐν δ’ ὀ παγκρατῆς κεραυνὸς ἀμπνέων πῦρ κεκίγη[ται] (ll.15-17); Aristodemus’ κατὰ τὸ ὄρος recalls not only the mountainous location which would correspond to the pine-trees in the *Dithyramb* (l.11), but also the scene of wilderness accompanying the apparition of the Mother (ll.19-21). In a passage of the *Dithyramb*, Pindar praises Thebes and something else, made obscure by a *lacuna* of the text (l.26); Sandys suggested to fill in the *lacuna* with οἰκόν, perhaps noting the similarities with Aristodemus’ passage, though his reasons are unclear.¹⁵ The scholiast does not mention the *Dithyramb*, and there is no verbal correspondence – just a correspondence of setting and events: if there is a connection between the scholium and the *Dithyramb* it seems to me that it

¹¹ Young 1968: 48, Slater 1971: 141.

¹² Lehnus 1979, cf. Lefkowitz 2012: 63-5, who accepts the possibility. Pindar celebrates Pan and the Mother in fr. 95-99* Sn.-M.; on the *Hymn to Pan* cf. Lehnus 1979 and Haldane 1968. For the association of Pan and the Mother, cf. Lehnus 1979: 41n143.

¹³ Lehnus 1979: 32, 41.

¹⁴ On which cf. Van der Weiden 1991: 53-85, Olivieri 2011: 138-60.

¹⁵ Sandys 1915.

probably works through a series of intermediary texts and/or oral traditions.¹⁶ Another possibility – which is, however, not sufficient to explain the whole scene – is Mary Lefkowitz’s argument that Pindar’s ἐμὸν πρόθυρον in l.78 is a possible explanation for the mention of Pindar’s house in the scholium.¹⁷

No matter what the precise relationship between the scholium and Pindar’s *oeuvre* is, the scholiast interprets Pindar’s lines literally and creates a brief but detailed biographical narrative (which serves to explain the poet’s words), populated by human and divine characters, set in a specific place. In the *Pythian* ode the story is supposed to explain, Pindar only mentions an ἐμὸν πρόθυρον and does not say anything about a statue and a cult.

The scholium, by contrast, insists on Pindar’s integration of a foreign cult into the traditional religious system and is centred upon a transformation of space: the poet brings the cult of the foreign goddess from the mountains, a place traditionally external to the conventional urban space and experience, within ‘the ritual and geographical boundaries of state-religion.’¹⁸ All in all, Aristodemus’ comment to Pindar’s poetry has strong spatial connotations, which should be taken into account when we come to consider the story about Alexander and Pindar’s house.

The episode contains at least four references to different places. First, Pindar is said to be teaching flute-playing on a mountain and thus imagined in a specific natural landscape.¹⁹ Boeotia was famous as a mountainous area in association with poets and Boeotian Helicon, Parnassus, and Cithaeron were all evocative, in ancient times, of poetic things and characters, such as Hesiod and the Muses.²⁰ The mountain of Pindar, which remains unnamed, ideally joins the other Boeotian mountains specifically as a site associated with the memory of the poet, and the Boeotian landscape now gains a new, Pindaric aspect. In particular, the place will evoke Pindar’s ability in flute-playing,

¹⁶ Lehnus also suggests that Aristodemus may have had access to local sources.

¹⁷ Lefkowitz 1981: 61, although Lefkowitz 2012 does not include this observation.

¹⁸ Platt 2011: 56. On the Greek opposition of mountains and civilised areas cf. also Buxton 2013: 10-1. The Pindaric scholia are mostly based upon Alexandrian commentaries (Lefkowitz 1975, 1985).

¹⁹ Cf. p. 10n20.

²⁰ For example, Hesiod allegedly meets the Muses on Helicon (cf. pp. 153-62), goddesses who, in turn, allegedly live on Parnassus; Cithaeron and Helicon, moreover, face each other in a musical contest in Corinna’s poetry (fifth century BC).

an art in which his family was said to be expert;²¹ the flute in particular is Pan's instrument, which might be the reason why Pindar dedicates a statue to both the Mother and Pan.²² Secondly, Aristodemus mentions the house of the poet, by which a statue of the Mother and Pan is placed and, therefore, a shrine to the goddess is dedicated.²³ In the narrative, a house is thus marked as *the* house of Pindar, and is additionally defined by its proximity to the shrine. The house takes the reader to the third place of the story, Thebes. Aristodemus mentions the citizens of Thebes, the civic body which fills the city and Pindar's world, as they go to the fourth place, Delphi. As a result of Pindar's action, a new link between Thebes and Delphi is envisaged in the scholium; Thebes establishes a cult which is approved by the most prestigious Greek oracle, and which, as such, may draw the attention of other non-Theban Greeks.²⁴ The spatial references in this short passage invest the whole Greece with a Pindaric identity.

It has been pointed out that Alexandrian readers of Pindar often raised topological issues when reading his work: in the Hellenistic age, Pindar's poetry prompted its readers to imagine and describe the places which the poetry sometimes only vaguely mentioned, and sometimes even to make wrong assertions about geography.²⁵ Yet this is not the only point that can be made, especially from a perspective which values the construction of ancient cultural memory.

In our case, first of all, it must be underlined that the interest of Aristodemus is not in the geography of Pindar's characters, but in the geography of the poet's biography. The Hellenistic scholars who attempted to visualise the literary world behind the ancient works which they read, also imagined the authorial Greek world which allegedly belonged to the dead poets. The above anecdote is attested for the first time in Hellenistic times: Aristodemus is the first extant source explicitly to mention the vicinity of the house and the shrine and to provide such a distinct spatial

²¹ According to a tradition reported by the biographer of *Vit. Ambr.* 1.1.3-5, Pindar's uncle Scopelinus taught the poet the art of flute-playing (cf. *Vit. Thom.* 3.5.12-13 Drachmann). The poet was also said to play the lyre (*Vit. Thom.* 3.5.15 Drachmann).

²² Another reason might be that Aristodemus thought that both Pan and the Mother appeared to the poet, especially if he so interpreted the *Pythian's* verses (cf. p. 18n7).

²³ The vicinity of the shrine and the house of the poet is also mentioned in schol. *Pyth.* 3.137a Drachmann.

²⁴ Following the poet's example, the Thebans begin to honour the goddess after receiving the approval of the oracle of Delphi, as it often happens when local cults are modified; on the typical public enquiries made to Delphi, cf. Rutherford 2013: 96-7. On Delphi in Pindar's work, cf. Eckerman 2014.

²⁵ Lefkowitz 1975: 180-1.

picture of this episode. Different types of places are pinpointed, relations and links between them are imagined, and all in relation with Pindar's figure. The Alexandrian reader of Pindar uses Pindar's persona to characterise different places in Greece, to create a geography which speaks of the Greek literary past, of Greek religion and cult, and of local communities and supralocal institutions such as the oracle of Apollo in Delphi. The spaces of Pindar's life shape Aristodemus' conception of ancient Greece.

Aristodemus' account is closed by another reference to the house, ἐκεῖσε, where the Thebans, following Pindar, honour the Mother.²⁶ The house is arguably the most meaningful site of Pindaric memory of the story: whereas the Boeotian mountains, Thebes, and Delphi can be associated with multiple cultural ideas and literary memories in their own right, the house stands out as the site which speaks quintessentially of Pindar. The house where the shrine is allegedly founded testifies to Pindar's life, to the poet's vision of the goddess, to the establishment of the cult, to the link between Thebes and Delphi. It is easy to imagine that seeing (or thinking of) the house would naturally lead to telling the story of the vision of the Mother and the establishment of her cult.²⁷

The narrative which surrounds the place naturally tells of specific aspects of Pindar's figure. To begin with, the episode testifies to Pindar's obtainment of public recognition.²⁸ In the anecdote, such recognition is linked with the vision of the goddess: Pindar receives the epiphany and correctly interprets what is requested of him. Being the receiver of an epiphany means being the owner of privileged knowledge and authority.²⁹ In particular, Aristodemus even indicates that the citizens are 'amazed' at what Pindar does: this equates to suggesting to the Hellenistic reader the response that would be appropriate for the story. When ideally or materially in front of the house, the admirers of Pindar ought to think of the dead poet with amazed reverence; the house thus contributes to the shaping of the reception of Pindar. Moreover, the primary agent of the recognition given to Pindar, Delphic Apollo, matters: in later times,

²⁶ The adverb may refer generally to Thebes, but it seems less probable to me: the scholium is overall concerned with Pindar's house.

²⁷ On epiphanies of gods and their images, cf. Platt 2011.

²⁸ Cf. Lefkowitz 2012: 62-3 for other stories of divine and human recognition given to ancient poets.

²⁹ Platt 2011: 52.

Pindar's name was still importantly linked to Delphi and Apollo.³⁰ The house thus evokes the enduring tradition of the link between the god and Pindar: the existence of the site of memory is 'endorsed' by Delphi and thus links the dead poet with Apollo; other poets, as it emerges in the next chapters, were linked in antiquity to Apollo through sites of their memory.³¹ More generally, Pindar receives divine recognition many times in his biographical tradition, and the house reinforces the idea that the poet enjoyed a remarkably close relationship with the gods, which is otherwise also attested.³² Finally, the episode testifies to the activity of Pindar as a teacher. The poet is imagined in a very specific situation, as he teaches a flute-player, named Olympichus (on whose name, which might be taken as a kind of personification of Pindar's work, cf. pp. 25-8). Pindar was depicted as a teacher in at least another occasion: the *Vita Ambrosiana* (1.1.12-14 Drachmann) tells that Apollodorus, Pindar's teacher, who headed circular choruses, once when he was away from town, entrusted their training to Pindar, although he was still a child.

The narrative attached to the house thus provides a glimpse, first of all, of Pindar the man, of his every-day life, and of the practical activities in which he engaged. Another fundamental feature of Pindar the man is, of course, his piety. In our particular case, Pindar the man is depicted as pious in that he is the founder of a cult. However, Pindar was certainly considered pious also because of his *Hymns*, that is, as a poet.³³ The episode may have been related to specific pieces of Pindaric poetry too, as noted above: perhaps the anecdote was related by the Thebans to the composition of a specific Pindaric hymn.³⁴ But Aristodemus does not say so, hence my suggestion that links with Pindar's *oeuvre* may have already been subterranean, that is to say mediated by intermediary texts and possibly oral traditions, by the time Aristodemus

³⁰ Plutarch (*De sera num. vin.* 557f-558a) reports that at his time the descendants of Pindar are object of a cult at the festival of the Delphic *Theoxenia*. Pindar himself was object of a cult in imperial Greece (cf. Clay 2004: 147-9: the evidence comes mostly from Pausanias.)

³¹ Cf. e.g. the cases of Archilochus (pp. 97-8), Aristeas (p. 178) Homer (pp. 143-4), Hesiod (p. 167).

³² On Pindar's close relationship with the gods, cf. Boterf-Taretto 2015.

³³ For the piety of Pindar in relation to his work cf., e.g., *Vita Thom.* 3.5.2-4 Drachmann: 'Pindar [...] was extremely pious, and he honoured Pan as well, and Apollo, for whom he also wrote most of his poems.'

³⁴ The *Vita Ambrosiana* says that the poet wrote hymns to Pan and Demeter, and built an altar for both gods near his house (cf. p. 20n12). The details of the tradition (e.g. the identity of the goddess) become more confused in later times, cf. Lefkowitz 2012: 63, but there are no elements to think that the tradition of the house and the Mother, and the tradition of Demeter, were not separated in Hellenistic times. Bowra 1964: 51 believes the two traditions to be separated too.

wrote about the house. Although Pindar's poetic status is a necessary premise to the episode (if he was not a famous poet, he would probably not be Olympichus' teacher), Aristodemus depicts, first of all, Pindar as a pious *man*.

In ancient biographical accounts, the greatness of a poet often depends upon divine inspiration, rather than the character of the man.³⁵ The site of the house with the near shrine, along with the anecdote attached to it, convey the idea that there is some correspondence between Pindar the man and Pindar the poet. Something similar happens for the figure of Archilochus at another site of Hellenistic memory: as Graziosi underlines and I go on to discuss (pp. 94-118), the Archilocheion inscriptions in Paros, which recount episodes of Archilochus' life, describe a poetic persona which is similar to the way Archilochus depicts himself in his poetry.³⁶ Pindar's house blurs the distinction between man and poet. The site arouses the interest in the dead man, not only in the poet, but at the same time suggests a degree of correspondence between the two. The site helps shaping the tradition about Pindar and, more in general, the mechanisms of ancient biographical thought.

So far, I have shown that in Hellenistic times a tradition emerged about the house of Pindar and was famous not just in Thebes but abroad; the tradition – in the scholium – was explicitly linked with a specific passage of Pindar's poetry, but was not exclusively based on it. Beyond the issue of its historical reliability, the anecdote shows that Hellenistic readers remembered Pindar through his places, in particular his house.

Something else may be added, about both the development of the tradition and Pindar's persona. I have not yet turned my attention to the character of Olympichus mentioned in Aristodemus' testimony, except briefly. Pindar's student has an eloquent name, similar to many of the characters featuring in Pindar's biographical tradition, which also 'represent aspects of Pindar's professional achievement.'³⁷ Although Olympichus is not, strictly speaking, a relative of Pindar, 'Olympichus' is a good Pindaric name and may testify to the success of Pindar's *Olympians*. Having a speaking name which reflects one's own character (or profession, in this case) was not, in ancient time, a good reason to relegate the character to a fictional universe. To give

³⁵ Graziosi 2006: 162-3, 172.

³⁶ Graziosi 2006: 172-3.

³⁷ Lefkowitz 2012: 65-6.

an example, the existence of Homer, or Melesigenes according to some, was never doubted, yet both can be interpreted as speaking names. Such names often revealed relevant features of a person to the ancients, and Olympichus' name perhaps constituted an obvious claim on Pindar for a professional flute player.

Olympichus' name, in fact, is attested elsewhere. An epigram dating to the first half of the fourth century BC, honours a certain Potamon, son of Olympichus; the epigram is written under a funerary stele where Potamon and his father are represented and it reads:³⁸

Ἑλλάς μὲν πρωτεῖα τέχνης αὐλῶν ἀπένειμεν
Θηβαίωι Ποτᾶμωνι, τάφος δ' ὄδε δέξατο σῶμα·
πατὴρ δὲ μνήμῃσιν Ὀλυμπίχου αὔξει' ἔπαινος
οἶον ἐτέκνωσεμ παῖδα σοφοῖς βάσανον.

----- vac. -----

Πατρόκλεια Ποτάμωνος γυνή. (*IG* II² 8883)

Greece awarded first prize in the art of the flute
to Potamon of Thebes. This tomb has received his body.
In our recollections, praise for his father Olympichus will grow,
For having fathered such a son, a touchstone for the discerning.

-----vac.-----

Patrocleia, wife of Potamon. (Wilson 2007 transl., adapted)

The funerary stele was found in the area of the Phalerum, where Potamon may have taken residence as a metic.³⁹ Potamon's stele, as explained by the epigram, represents the figure of a bearded, dead, seated man, Olympichus, who greets his son Potamon, just arrived in Hades. The two men are holding each other's hand in the gesture of *dexiosis* and they both hold a double *aulos*, instrument of lyric poetry, in their free hands.

The identification between the flute player Olympichus mentioned in the stele and Olympichus mentioned by Aristodemus is widely accepted in scholarship, and with good reason, in my view.⁴⁰ If it is accepted then, the epigraphic evidence concerning Olympichus and Potamon suggests, first of all, that the tradition reported in

³⁸ For the dating of the stele, cf. Wilson 2007: 145-6. For a comment, cf. also Tsagalis 2008: 171-5.

³⁹ Wilson 2007: 146. Wilson, more generally, considers the stele as evidence in his study on the dating of the Theban flute player Pronomos of Thebes.

⁴⁰ Cf. Wilson 2007: 148n36 with further bibliography; Lehnus 1979: 20n57.

Aristodemus' scholium developed before the second century BC. In the epigram, it is evident that Olympichus was famous, as it is said that his fame will *grow* – which presupposes that it already exists. Hence, if Olympichus was already famous in the first half of the fourth century BC probably both in Thebes and Athens, it is plausible that stories linking him with Pindar existed too, and the house of the poet may at some point have featured in them.



*Figure 2 – Attic
Funerary Relief:
Olympichus and
Potamon.*

*National
Archaeological
Museum, inv. 1962*

Athens

Moreover, the funerary stele places great emphasis upon the idea of familial traditions. As Wilson puts it, ‘the decision to represent father and son in this way testifies eloquently to the family’s professional pride in their music and its importance to their identity – perhaps especially as metics in Athens.’⁴¹ The relevance of the familial tradition of flute playing emerges in the epigram as well, where the fame of Potamon contributes to the fame of Olympichus – as it is said – but where obviously the fame of Olympichus contributes to the fame of his son too. Such a relevance placed upon the continuity of the profession within the family evokes the image of auletic teaching between Pindar and Olympichus in Aristodemus’ passage. I believe it probable that

⁴¹ Wilson 2007: 146. Similarly, Clay 2004: 78.

Potamon depicted his father Olympichus as a student of Pindar in Thebes.⁴² Potamon arguably exploited his Theban origin and his belonging to the house of Pindar and Olympichus, in order to increase his own fame. At least, this was the perspective adopted by Potamon's wife, who dedicated the stele: Patrocleia set up the inscription after her husband's death, deciding to invest in this monument in order to advertise her own family connections, and quite possibly in order to keep profiting from the poetic pedigree of her family.

This is not the only case of poetic legacy claimed through a connection with a famous poet's birthplace and family. The Homeridae in Chios, mentioned by Pindar for the first time (*Nem.* 2.1) and still known in Hellenistic times (e.g. Str. 14.1.35), famously did so and were said to have first inherited the poems of Homer.⁴³ Another case is attested in Boeotia itself, where the Thamyridae, heirs of the poet Thamyris, had their seat, and were officiants in a cult connected to the political power in Thespieae.⁴⁴ The existence of a Pindaric guild has been suggested before and it may be possible to imagine Olympichus and Potamon as part of it.⁴⁵ In any case, it is reasonable to believe that Pindar's name and legacy were claimed by Potamon through the figure of his father Olympichus, who was famous also because he had lived in contact with Pindar, in Thebes. At some point, perhaps already during Pindar's life or soon after his death, the *house* of the poet may have been referred to as a material symbol of the connectedness between Olympichus and his family, and Pindar. Olympichus, whose name (as the name of other relatives of Pindar) spoke of Pindar's work, could be almost considered one of Pindar's relatives, also thanks to his alleged link with Pindar's house. Potamon probably used the name of his father as a link to Pindar; this was also allowed by the fact that Olympichus was in the same places of Pindar, Thebes and – quite probably – the house.

⁴² The names of the characters involved in the tradition would contribute to the idea of a link between the three men: as commented above, Potamon's father Olympichus has a good Pindaric name, but it has also been pointed out that the Potamon's name 'per quanto comune, richiami [...] il fiume dei flautisti beotici' (Lehnus 1979: 21).

⁴³ On the Homeridae and their link to Chios cf. Graziosi 2002: ch. 6, where the scholar convincingly responds to Fehling 1979, who argues against their existence. Cf. also Graziosi 2008: 29. For an introductory survey of the tradition about the Homeridae, cf. Allen 1907, West 1999.

⁴⁴ Cf. Wilson 2009: 51: 'Boeotian epigraphy provides an astonishing classical example of θαμυρρίδοντες.'

⁴⁵ E.g. Wilamowitz 1922: 90n1; cf. also Lehnus 1979: 20n57. Artists' guilds, however, appear only in the Hellenistic age (cf. West 1992: 374; Csapo-Slater 1994: 239; Aneziri 2009: esp. 218-20).

In Pindar's biographical tradition specifically, there is at least one other episode which arguably exploits the idea of the Theban house in order to make a statement about the closeness to Pindar, significantly after the poet's death and, significantly again, via a woman. Pausanias records that the poet, only a few days after his death, appeared in a dream to an old Theban woman, who had practised singing many of his odes before, and he sang to her his hymn to Persephone. She woke up immediately and transcribed the hymn.⁴⁶ Here is the passage:

ἦν δὲ ἐν Θήβαις γυνὴ πρεσβῦτις γένους ἔνεκα προσήκουσα Πινδάρῳ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ μεμελετηκυῖα ἄδειν τῶν ἁσμάτων: ταύτῃ Πίνδαρος ἐνύπνιον τῇ πρεσβύτιδι ἐπιστὰς ὕμνον ἦσεν ἐς Περσεφόνην, ἣ δὲ αὐτίκα ὡς ἀπέλιπεν αὐτὴν ὁ ὕπνος, ἔγραψε ταῦτα ὁπόσα τοῦ ὀνείρατος ἦκουσεν ἄδοντος. (Paus. 9.23.4)

There was in Thebes an aged woman, related to Pindar by birth and trained in singing many of his songs; Pindar, standing in a dream near that old woman, sang a hymn to Persephone. Immediately the woman, as she woke up, wrote down all that she had heard Pindar sing in the dream.

This anecdote is akin to the two episodes above: Pindar is again portrayed as he passes on his art to a Theban successor, who is a professional figure acquainted with Pindar's work. Three aspects in particular make the woman an authoritative means of transmission for Pindar's poetry after the poet's death: genealogical continuity, knowledge of the work of the poet, and link to the place of origin. The mention of a woman in particular suggests, of course, continuity through the household. In other words, this anecdote invites the reader to think of Thebes, of a household, and probably of the house of Pindar himself. It is in the interests of the local community to promote the idea that the work of Pindar is best preserved and transmitted in Thebes, by his own relatives and associates, and quite probably very precisely where he lived. This may have happened already at Potamon's time.

Although the building is explicitly mentioned only in the second century BC, the funerary stele of Potamon shows that in the fourth century BC ideas of poetic succession were already exploited by Theban poets – poets explicitly linked to Pindar

⁴⁶ For an introduction to Pausanias cf. Alcock *et al.* 2001, Hutton 2005a, Akujärvi 2005, Pretzler 2004, 2005, 2007, Pirenne-Delforge 2008. Vincent 2010 offers some considerations on the use of biographical material by the author. For a commentary on this passage cf. Moggi-Osanna 2010, *ad locum*.

and his house only a few generations later – who wanted to assert their fame out of Thebes. The house was a fine symbol of Pindaric identity: it is probable that the importance of the site grew over time, rather than being invented by Aristodemus in the second century BC. As Aristodemus shows, the house becomes an object of interest for people out of Thebes, and specifically in the central Alexandria; on his part, Potamon evidently strives to reach the supralocal fame that the house certainly enjoys later (in Aristodemus' Alexandrian testimony but also in other later sources, as I go on to discuss) and his fame beyond Thebes is at the core of the funerary epigram: the opening of the first two lines, with the juxtaposition of 'Greece' and 'Theban', clearly underlines the importance of Potamon's supralocal aspirations.⁴⁷ Between the fourth and second century BC, Potamon arguably claimed the poet's heritage abroad by asserting his link to Pindar, through the figure of Olympichus. This process, I would suggest, put the foundations for the development of the Hellenistic tradition of Pindar's house: it is possible, and indeed I would argue likely, that the tradition of the house was already in place well before Aristodemus mentions it – also because, as I show above, his scholium refers to a story that cannot be extracted directly from the Pindaric passage on which it comments.

The importance of the house may have gained force, more specifically, around the beginning of the Hellenistic age, when the interest in Pindaric, Theban sites of memory is attested elsewhere. According to Chamaeleon from Heraclea Pontica (second half of the fourth century BC), a disciple of Aristotle, and Ister (third century BC), who worked in Alexandria and was a student of Callimachus, Pindar hunted around Helicon (περὶ τὸν Ἑλικῶνα, *Vit. Ambr.* 1.1.7 Drachmann) as a child when he was initiated into poetry:⁴⁸ out of tiredness, the poet fell asleep on the mountain, when a bee landed on his mouth and made a honeycomb there (or, according to a different version, he dreamt that this happened).

⁴⁷ On this, cf. also Wilson 2007.

⁴⁸ On Chamaeleon's methods see Arrighetti 1987: esp. 139-228. Cf. also Martano-Matelli-Mirhady 2012 (p. 247 for this passage).

The two biographers probably think of Helicon as Hesiod's mountain, and thus ideally link, by making a reference to it, Pindar with Hesiod.⁴⁹ As they do this, however, they elaborate on the story and tell a complete biographical anecdote (as Aristodemus does), and thus recognise Helicon as a site of memory for Pindar while, arguably, linking it to Thebes too. The landscape narrative conveys a specific image of the poet (for example, Pindar is said to be a very young hunter) as it is linked to a specific and elaborated episode of Pindar's life. In other words, the mention of the mountain where Pindar is inspired is not only a symbolic association with Hesiod's mountain, but also a way to imagine the poet's persona and life.

Helicon, at the beginning of the Hellenistic age, is a site of Pindaric memory for admirers of Pindar who are not in Thebes: something analogous is likely to have happened for the house. In particular, the mountains appear both in the episode of Pindar's poetic inspiration and of the poet's vision of the Mother of the Gods, without however being mentioned in Pindar's extant poetry. The natural landscape is often a site of memory for a dead poet in Hellenistic times: a curiosity for the Boeotian mountains of Pindar, evident already in the second half of the fourth century BC with Chamaeleon, may have promoted the early Hellenistic circulation of the story of the vision of the Mother in the mountains, but also of the house as part of the same Pindaric landscape, well beyond Thebes.⁵⁰

Moreover, it must be noted here that the story of the Mother of the Gods' apparition recalls the story of Archilochus' inspiration, which is reported in Mnesiepes' inscription (third century BC) on Paros.⁵¹ In both stories the poets receive a divine epiphany, after which the citizens, astonished, send a legacy to Delphi; it follows a civic recognition of the poets (in Pindar's case, the establishment of a new cult, and in Archilochus' case, the acceptance of his poetry). The house of the poet features in Archilochus' story too: the building is the point of reference for the movements of Archilochus, who leaves the house to sell a cow, and of his father, who returns to it after having been to Delphi; the house is explicitly mentioned in E₁ II.55-6, ὡς ἦλθον

⁴⁹ On Mount Helicon as Hesiod's mountain cf. p. 153-62; cf. also Schachter 1986: 147-79, de la Combe 1993, Calame 1996, Hurst-Schachter 1996, Hunter 2006: ch. 1.2. On Mt. Helicon as a Pindaric symbol see Clayman 1993 *contra* Vergados 2012.

⁵⁰ Pindar was object of study in Alexandria already in the early Hellenistic age (cf. Negri 2004).

⁵¹ Discussed at pp. 94-118.

οἴκαδε. The Hellenistic *Lives* attributed similar stories and patterns to different poets; thinking of a mention of Pindar's house in the biographical tradition of the poet in the early Hellenistic age would not be out of place.⁵²

To sum up: thus far I have focused on the importance of Pindar's house independently from the Alexander tradition. The house is first mentioned in the second century BC by the Alexandrian Aristodemus. The site is the repository of an anecdote which shapes the persona of the poet, and can thus be defined a site of Pindaric memory. Given that the character of Olympichus, mentioned by Aristodemus, appears in a source of the first half of the fourth century BC, I suggested that the house too may have been present in the biographical tradition of the poet before Aristodemus' testimony, and I have attempted a reconstruction of the tradition of the site. I have argued that Potamon in the fourth century BC claimed Pindar's heritage via geographical and genealogical arguments (i.e. their coming from Pindar's fatherland and their belonging to his 'professional family'). I have moreover suggested that other Hellenistic biographers of Pindar, apart from Aristodemus, told stories that linked Pindar to the mountains and the local area. Spots where he fell asleep after hunting and where he became a poet are pinpointed in texts that survive and perhaps by guides in the actual landscape too. There is, then, every reason to argue that the house of Pindar is linked to stories about the poet which are independent from the report that Alexander spared it when he razed the rest of Thebes – the report to which I now turn.

Alexander and the house

The story first appears in the imperial age, with the testimony of Pliny (*NH* 7.29.109) in the first century AD. I argue here, however, that it probably developed well before then. Given that the house was famous as a site of Pindaric memory in Hellenistic times, it seems to me probable that the tradition was already present in the first generation of historians of Alexander.⁵³ As a matter of fact, there can be noted consistencies between the Hellenistic and imperial testimonies about the house.

⁵² Of course, the interest in Pindar's house would also reflect the more general interest in sites of memory which emerges in the rest of the dissertation.

⁵³ For an introduction to the 'Alexander historians' cf. Hamilton 1973: 11-22.

The authors reporting the story of Alexander and the house consider the place as a sacred area. To begin with, Dio Chrysostomus (*De Regno* 2.33.8-10) states that Alexander not only spared the building, but also put up a sign on it, which warned against ‘setting on fire the house of the poet Pindar’ (Πινδάρου τοῦ μουσσοποιοῦ τὴν στέγην μὴ κάετε). Kimmel-Clauzet has brought to attention an early Hellenistic papyrus, dated to 331-323 BC, which presents a similar text.⁵⁴ The papyrus bears the order of a general of Alexander, Peucestas, about the house of a priest in Saqqara and warns people not to approach the house of the priest (Πευκέστου μὴ παραπορεύεσθαι μηδένα· ἱερέ{ι}ως τὸ οἶκημα, ‘order of Peucestas: may nobody come here: this is the house of a priest’). Kimmel-Clauzet, on the basis of the physical features of the papyrus too, believes that the papyrus was actually put up on the priest’s house. In any case, the documentary nature of the papyrus seems beyond doubt. This opens the possibility, to put it bluntly, that Alexander *actually* spared the house of Pindar – or rather a sacred house that was pointed out to him as the house of Pindar. There can be no certainty about this, of course, but the similarities between the *practices* attested by the papyrus and the *narratives* about Alexander need to be pointed out.

In addition, Pliny (*NH* 7.29.109) says that Alexander spared the household and the household *deities* of the poet (*Pindari vatis familiae penetibusque iussit parci*), perhaps meaningfully referring to the gods of the house rather than simply to the house, and of course translating the episode into Roman language of sacrality. Arrian (*An.* 1.9.9-10) – whose account is often based on those by Aristobulus and Ptolemy, who accompanied Alexander on his campaigns (cf. *An.* 1.1) – says that the land dedicated to the gods was not divided among Alexander’s allies and that the priests and priestesses were not sold as slaves;⁵⁵ he then adds that Alexander saved the poet’s house and his descendants out of respect for Pindar. Thus the historian suggests a parallel between the respectful behaviour towards sacred areas of the city and the respectful behaviour towards Pindar’s house. Polybius (*Hist.* 5.10.7) does not mention Pindar’s house specifically, but he perhaps thinks of it when he says that Alexander made sure not to damage the temples or any part of their sacred areas (τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ

⁵⁴ Cf. Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 458n129 for the edition of the papyrus.

⁵⁵ He also says that Alexander spared those bound to Alexander and his father by ties of hospitality; cf. Dio Chr. *De Regno* 2.33.1-10. On Arrian cf. Bosworth 1980 and 1988.

καθόλου τὰ τεμένη).⁵⁶ In the fourth century, Libanius (*Or.* 20.2) criticises the destruction of Thebes and harshly states that if Alexander really wished to honour Pindar, he should have spared the whole Thebes, and not only the house of the poet. His remark *against* Alexander cleverly leaves out any reference that could present the house as a sacred place, but instead treats it as a common house; Libanius further stresses this reading by rhetorically asking what benefit there is in leaving a house standing in a ruined city.⁵⁷ The tradition linking Alexander and the house, I would suggest, overall looks at the house as a venerable place; Alexander, as a consequence, can be seen as the pious preserver of it. When Alexander's piety was questioned, so was the sanctity of the house.

The tradition of the sanctity of Pindar's house is consistent, at least up to a point, with Aristodemus' Hellenistic account. In the Hellenistic tradition, the proximity of the house and the shrine of the Mother – and the ἐκέϊσε in the closing part of Aristodemus' comment makes explicit to whoever is wondering about it that the cult of the Mother is near Pindar's house – may have easily enabled the understanding of the house itself as sacred place. In the Hellenistic age the house was considered part of a sacred area and this spatial connotation was emphasised in the Alexander tradition too. The Alexander historians may have wished to depict Alexander not only as he preserved a great poet's house, but also as he respected an area of cult, connotation which the house may have already had. Yet they are not particularly interested in the shrine of the Mother, as Aristodemus was: it is on Pindar and his house that all the religious allure of the place concentrates in our Alexander sources.

On a similar note, the sources often mention that the descendants of Pindar were spared, and they often group them with the priests of Thebes, among the people spared by Alexander the Great.⁵⁸ Aelian (13.7) mentions the priests and the honours Alexander paid to Pindar's descendants, before mentioning the house. Plutarch (*Vita Alex.* 11.12) lists among the people spared from slavery the priests, the guest-friends

⁵⁶ Cf. Fredricksmeier 2003: 263 on Polybius' passage and, more generally, on Alexander's relationship with the gods.

⁵⁷ Pausanias (9.25.3) too – although he does not explicitly mention Alexander's story, which he must have known – visits the sanctuary established by Pindar by the house, showing that he did know that the site was a place of cult.

⁵⁸ The first to mention the heirs is Pliny *NH* 7.29.109.

of the Macedonians, the descendants of Pindar, and those who had voted against the revolt. Arrian (*An.* 1.9.9-10) too includes in the group of people spared by Alexander priests and priestesses, the associates and allies of the Macedonian house, and Pindar's heirs.⁵⁹

The mention of Pindar's heirs evokes the figures of the Thebans Olympichus and Potamon, belonging to the imaginative narrative of the landscape of Pindar. The reference to Pindar's descendants may well derive from the ancient tradition of teaching and poetic transmission which the early tradition knew for the two flute players. This tradition may have been still alive at the beginning of the Hellenistic period, about fifty years after Potamon's death, and was perhaps picked up, with references to the house, by the first historians of Alexander. However, the association between Pindar's heirs and religious figures remains to be explained. Perhaps Kimmel-Clauzet is right in believing that Pindar was compared to a priest in Hellenistic times because of his *Hymns*.⁶⁰ It would be possible to interpret Aristodemus' anecdote accordingly: Pindar was notoriously loved by the gods, he wrote hymns to them, and he also founded the cult of the Mother; he might have been easily imagined as he officiated the cult and consequently compared to a priest. His heirs too might have been known to be involved with religious practices or have offered hymns for specific functions. This cannot be certain, of course, but the story of the old woman who memorised Pindar's *Hymns* would fit this model.

The religious perspective which informs the tradition of the house and the heirs in imperial times does not appear only in the Alexander tradition. Philostratus the Elder shows that the understanding of the sacred nature of the Pindaric site was standard and central at the time.⁶¹ The passage which concerns us comes from his *Imagines*, a

⁵⁹ I focus on the association of Pindar's heirs with religious figures as it arguably is a development of the Hellenistic tradition about the house, but their association with Alexander's political allies also emerges from the sources and might be explored. Kimmel-Clauzet suggests that Pindar was compared to a political ally because he praised Alexander Philhellene (Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 231); this anecdote becomes only relevant in the imperial Alexander-related tradition, although it might have existed in Hellenistic times. Sprawski 2013: 47-9 suggests that Dio, who first testifies to the nickname Philhellene, may have read it in Didymus' work. On Pindar's praise of Alexander Philhellene, cf. also Hornblower 2004: 180-1.

⁶⁰ Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 232.

⁶¹ On the importance of cults and religion in the Second Sophistic cf. Aitken-Maclean 2004. On Philostratus and his *Imagines*, cf. Bowie-Elsner 2009; cf. also Burzacchini 2011. On visions of the gods in Second Sophistic literature and Philostratus specifically, Platt 2011: 215-331.

collection of descriptions of paintings allegedly seen in a gallery in Naples. One of the paintings depicts Pindar's house (2.12); Philostratus says what he sees, adding, as usual, to the benefit of his audience, some details about the traditions surrounding the house of the poet.⁶² Putting together stories of the biographical tradition of Pindar, Philostratus tells that the bees in the painting are going to the house of Daiphantus, Pindar's father. This episode is a variation of the inspiration of the poet, which, according to Chamaeleon and Ister (p. 30), happened on Helicon: there, they say, a bee landed on Pindar's mouth and built a honeycomb. For Philostratus, the inspiration episode is linked with the house, where Pindar has been laid on laurel and myrtle.⁶³ Pindar's father knew, Philostratus continues, that he was going to have 'a sacred son', because cymbals sounded in the house when the child was born, drums of Rhea could be heard, and the Nymphs and Pan danced and leaped.⁶⁴ Pan, as Philostratus also says, was known to have sung Pindar's odes. Philostratus then returns to the description of the painting and adds that a marble statue of Rhea (with whom the Mother of the Gods was identified), Pan, and the Nymphs can be seen outside the door of the house.⁶⁵ Finally, he returns to the bees which, he says, came from Mt. Hymettus and are now busily working around the boy, letting their honey fall upon him.

Philostratus sees the house as a sacred place and elaborates upon this idea recalling what, in other sources, happens on Helicon. The house is, in his mind, a place of divine events, like the inspiration of Pindar and the hearing of instruments traditionally linked with Rhea. The house literally resounds of and contains what makes Pindar a sacred figure: the adjective ἱερός is explicitly used by Philostratus to define the poet.⁶⁶ The ability to interpret divine signs, which in Aristodemus was attributed to Pindar, belongs to Daiphantus too, a member of Pindar's household. He interprets the signs given by the house itself and therefore enables the creation of the poetic persona

⁶² On the 'descriptive and interpretative dynamics' of Philostratus' *Imagines*, cf. Shaffer 1998.

⁶³ Aelian *VH* 12.45 too links the house with Pindar's inspiration.

⁶⁴ In fact, Philostratus may know Pindar's *Dithyramb to the Thebans*, as his description presents the same elements of the *Dithyramb*: in both pieces, Rhea is the name for the Mother, the Nymphs are present, instruments are heard, and there are noteworthy lexical congruencies. Greek lyrics were often quoted first-hand in the second century AD (Budelmann 2009: 313) and certainly Philostratus knew Pindar's *Epinicians* (Irigoin 1952: 96).

⁶⁵ On the Mother of the Gods as Rhea and her presence in Pindar's poetry, cf. Olivieri 2011: 149, 153.

⁶⁶ For the description of space as the repository of cultural identity also in Philostratus' *Heroicus*, cf. Whitmarsh 2004.

of his son. Genealogical continuity is enabled by the house, similarly to Aristodemus' story, but now the members of the household share prophetic abilities too. Moreover, the house, as Philostratus also knows, is near a statue of Rhea; however, it is not Pindar who dedicates the statue and no great importance is placed upon the foundation of the shrine. In this account, the house is already a sacred area, before Pindar's birth and intervention. Overall, it may be said that the house contributes to the sacred persona of Pindar, rather than the other way around.

Thus far, I have underlined that the story of Alexander shares important features with the Hellenistic tradition about the house. This suggests that a link between the two traditions was probably established in Hellenistic times. At that time, the first historians of Alexander may have taken interest in the tradition of Pindar's house, adapting it to their aims. The imperial authors, I believe, borrowed the story from the first histories of Alexander and reported it, again perhaps slightly rearranged according to their own interests.⁶⁷ To strengthen my suggestion of an early Hellenistic dating of the Alexander tradition, one further question may be asked: would the first historians of Alexander have any interest at all in the house of Pindar? Or, put in another way, would the early Hellenistic tradition about Alexander allow the creation and transmission of an anecdote centred upon a place linked with a poet?

The Alexander historian Onesicritus, who accompanied Alexander on his campaigns, states that Alexander, who greatly loved reading and learning, considered the *Iliad* the basis for learning military art.⁶⁸ For this reason, he used to take with him the copy of the *Iliad* edited by Aristotle, called the casket copy (ἦν ἐκ τοῦ νάρθηκος καλοῦσιν) and to keep it with his dagger under his pillow (εἶχε δὲ ἀεὶ μετὰ τοῦ ἐγχειριδίου κειμένην ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον, Plut. *Vita Alex.* 8). As Pliny (*NH* 7.29.108-9) explains, the nickname 'casket copy' was due to the fact that the *Iliad* was put into a golden box, which had been taken from king Darius himself. This is followed by the anecdote of the house in Pliny, which testifies to Pliny's (and perhaps a more general) understanding of the two stories as similar to each other.

⁶⁷ There are no particular reasons to believe that only the second generation of historians picked up the Hellenistic tradition, nor to think that imperial sources invented the idea of the house as a sacred area.

⁶⁸ On Onesicritus, cf. Pearson 1960: 83-111.

The story of the *Iliad* points to the importance which Alexander allegedly conferred upon ancient poets and their works. In particular, Alexander explicitly recognises that his military successes are due to the guide of the ancient poet (this idea is amplified by saying that the box belonged to the defeated king Darius) and shows his care by preserving a material object linked to Homer's memory. The preservation of a material object linked to Homer goes beyond the simple admiration for the poet's work. Alexander keeps the object nearby, inside a precious box, when he sleeps and can be easily inspired in his dreams, believing, perhaps, that the contact with the object allows a contact with the dead author.⁶⁹ The anecdote testifies to a veneration of the *object* linked with Homer, and similarly to the story of the house, it speaks of the association between the memorialisation of ancient poets and the modalities of the creation of the Hellenistic world by Alexander.

In the Hellenistic age, additionally, a story was known which is similar – yet antithetical – to the story of the house and Alexander. The tradition is not reported specifically by the Alexander historians, but it still involves Alexander, his destruction of Thebes, and a Theban artist. Polemon of Ilium, periegetic author of the third-second centuries BC, says that in Thebes there was a statue of the Theban singer Cleon which had survived the destruction of the city by Alexander.⁷⁰ Polemon adds that a citizen of Thebes, before fleeing from the city, hid his gold in the folds of the mantle of the statue, only to find it where he had put it twenty years later, when the city was rebuilt by Cassander. This tradition does not provide the same positive reading of Alexander as in the house tradition, of course, and perhaps for this reason too, it did not have the same success. Yet again, the story focuses upon a material object of memory, the statue of a singer this time, and upon its survival. The statue is linked to the new birth of the city, and it constitutes a connection with what was valuable of the Theban past which had been destroyed. This anecdote points to the importance of objects of Theban literary memory specifically in the narrative context of the destruction of the

⁶⁹ On this story, cf. pp. 45-8.

⁷⁰ The anecdote is reported by Ath. 1.34.15-9, who also notes that in Thebes there was no statue of Pindar, but only the mentioned statue of Cleon. Cleon's fame, in antiquity, was possibly juxtaposed to Pindar's fame also through the stories of the house and the statue, but further investigation would be required. The story of Cleon's statue may have been a local variation which placed more importance on Cleon than on Pindar, and on Cassander's re-foundation than on Alexander's magnanimity. On Polemon, cf. Engels 2014.

city by the Macedonian king. Polemon's story, known between the third and second century BC, closely mirrors the story of the house, although with radically different results: this further reinforces my hypothesis that the story of the house is likely to have featured in the first histories of Alexander. The story of Alexander and the house may perhaps have provided the inspiration for Polemon's anecdote, which itself provides evidence of the fame of the tradition of the house in early Hellenistic times.

The house of Pindar engrains within the Greek cultural memory certain traditions about the poet, but also allows the accumulation of new meanings. As I have pointed out, different sources stress different aspects of the tradition or reduce their weight, according to their own understanding of the world. The religious connotations of the house and the genealogical and geographical heirs of the poet associated with it, are important in Hellenistic and imperial times. Certainly the features shared by the Hellenistic tradition of the house and the Alexander tradition suggest that the Alexander tradition itself might date to an earlier time than the imperial age, arguably to the early Hellenistic times, when the interest in sites of memory was increasing and Alexander's figure may have been easily shaped by the association with one of them. Here my own reading of the evidence differs from that of influential scholars, like Slater and Calder, who advance instead an argument about the late insertion of the story in the biographies of Alexander.

Conclusion

The case-study of Pindar's house allows me to argue several points central to this thesis, more generally. For all the difficulties in tracing the development of traditions associated with Pindar's house in time, one thing does not seem to change, and this is the major point which can be made after the above reflections: all the possible interpretations of the episode of Alexander are based on the *house* of Pindar. The building is chosen to tell the readers something specific about the poet and his legacy, and it locates materially what Alexander wants to preserve. The site allows the engagement with the dead poet, making him a symbol of whatever people wish him to be: a religious symbol, a Greek symbol, a poetic symbol. An enduring connection is forged in Hellenistic times between Pindar and the house: the site therefore keeps alive a (piece of the) discourse about Pindar from Hellenistic times until today. Because the

house could offer a variety of interpretations about who Pindar was, because its significance was somehow slippery and adaptable, and because it was a place, in any case, linked with the poet, its importance survives in time.

Linking the house to Alexander makes the founder of the Hellenistic world, first of all, a man who endorses the importance of sites of memory of dead poets in his time. Whoever first linked Alexander with the house (perhaps even Alexander himself, as suggested) knew that sites of literary memory were important means of Hellenistic identity. Scholars have often dismissed the tradition of the house as a fancy of late Alexander historians. The house, however, mattered in the construction of literary landscape in the Hellenistic world.

2. Homer and Alexandria

‘Thank God we don't know a lot about Shakespeare or Moses or Homer or Lautreamont. These are the best guys we got, and their art is powerful because they're mysterious.’

(Cass McCombs, interview with Ryan Dombal, *Pitchfork* 3 Nov. 2011)

Introduction

The myths surrounding Alexander's figure, which started to circulate already during his own life, developed as the Hellenistic kings looked at the dead king in order to affirm their own identity and establish their own power.¹ As seen in the case of Pindar, Alexander was linked with the Greek literary heritage, and the connection carried different ideological weight for different people. The link was forged through geographical sites of memory. Also in the case of Alexandria – as I argue in this chapter – we see that the city founded by Alexander four years after the destruction of Thebes becomes a site of Homeric memory through the mediation of Alexander's figure.² I hereby explore the modalities and the consequences of the invention of Alexandria as a site of Homeric memory. The basic questions I set out to investigate are: how was Homer linked to the city? By whom and for whom? In which particular context and situation? Why? With what consequences for the representation of Homer? The connection, as I show, defined and redefined both Homer and Alexandria, and was used by the Ptolemies especially in moments of crisis, when it was necessary for them to assert their own identity. Thus the city's memorialisation of Homer does not only showcase the Hellenistic desire to create a bond with the poet, but it also contributes, as it turns out, to the construction of values typical of the Hellenistic age overall.

I begin by pointing out that Alexandria had to face one specific problem when memorialising Homer: the lack of a direct link with him. This difficulty was overcome by a redefinition of Homer's image, as expressed in the foundation myth of the city, and in the dedication of a shrine to the poet, the Homereion. I continue by suggesting

¹ Cf. Stephens 2010: 49-51. The approach to the mythical dimension of Alexander's figure has recently been explored in several publications, e.g. Bosworth-Baynham 2000, Ogden 2011.

² It has been suggested, in fact, that the foundation of Alexandria was seen as a response to the destruction of Thebes. Cf. Ogden 2015: 132-4.

that the link between Alexandria and Homer, created as a function of the Ptolemaic ideology, spread among other groups of Homer's admirers in antiquity, and influenced the way in which Homer was remembered in contexts not strictly related to the image of the city and its ruling dynasty.

A direct link with Homer

In order to understand the invention of the link between Alexandria and Homer it may be helpful to consider how sites of memory function today. A famous example is that of the modern memorialisation of Christopher Columbus. Memorials for Columbus are present in locations which are directly related to his figure: Italy, where the explorer was born; Spain, from where he sailed; and the West Indies, where he arrived. But there is a second group of monuments to Columbus, which is, surprisingly, the largest one, in a country that has no direct geographical relationship with the explorer, namely the United States, where Columbus never set foot.³ The monuments belonging to this second group have often been erected by local Italian communities as symbols of their identity. Hence Columbus' memory can be linked to a place, independently from the place itself, in order to respond to needs of local communities. Something similar happened in antiquity to Homer in Alexandria.

In Hellenistic Alexandria, Homer's presence was palpable. The Egyptian capital had traditions linking the city to the dead poet, monuments celebrating the city's connection with him, and scholars devoted to the study of his texts. Yet similarly to the link between Christopher Columbus and the United States, the link between Homer and Alexandria could not rely on any shared history. Alexandria could not claim, for example, to be Homer's birthplace, as so many other cities did.

Scholars paid little attention to Alexandria's historical insecurities in relation to Homer. It is usually taken for granted that a city which does not have a natural link with a poet from the past, a city which is not able to present a memory of the actual presence of the poet (be he alive or dead), can become a site of the poet's memory (or even establish a cult for him, as it happens in the Egyptian capital). The ancient sources, however, suggest that various difficulties were involved in the operation.

³ Cf. van der Krogt 2003.

The fourth century BC sophist Alcidas states that the Chians honour Homer *even though* Homer is not a citizen of Chios, thus implying that honours were more easily justified (or simply more often practiced) where a direct connection with the poet could be made.⁴ What matters to us is not the reliability of the Chian claim on Homer, but the fact that Alcidas saw the lack of a birth link as something to be pointed out, a potential obstacle to or, at least, a surprising feature of the cult of the poet. The same difficulty was arguably perceived by Strabo:⁵

ἔστι δὲ καὶ βιβλιοθήκη καὶ τὸ Ὀμήρειον, στοὰ τετράγωνος, ἔχουσα νεῶν Ὀμήρου καὶ ξόανον· μεταποιοῦνται γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι διαφερόντως τοῦ ποιητοῦ, καὶ δὴ καὶ νόμισμά τι χαλκοῦν παρ' αὐτοῖς Ὀμήρειον λέγεται. ῥεῖ δὲ πλησίον τοῦ τείχους ὁ Μέλης ποταμός. (Str. 14.1.37)

There is also a library [i.e. in Smyrna] and the Homereion, a quadrangular *stoa* containing a shrine of Homer and a wooden statue (of him); for the Smyrnaeans also especially claim the poet, and indeed a bronze coin which they have is called Homereion. The river Meles flows near the wall.

Strabo knows that a city (Smyrna in this case) can claim (μεταποιέω, 'to claim, pretend', often against others' claims, cf. LSJ s.v.) Homer specifically by having a shrine dedicated to the poet, and other objects such as statues of him or coins.⁶ In Alexandria too, as we shall see, there was a Homereion with a statue of the poet. Importantly, though, Strabo mentions the river Meles in association to Smyrna's claim. The river was famous in antiquity because, according to a tradition, Homer was born there (cf. Aristotle fr. 76 Rose). The tradition according to which Homer's 'real' name was Melesigenes ('born of the river Meles') must also have strengthened the connection between Homer and the river in antiquity (cf. Ps.-Her. *Vit. Hom.* 2.3 West). The link between the poet and the Meles must have been so prominent in ancient sources that even Ephorus of Cyme, who argued for a Cymaeian origin of Homer, retained the detail of the Smyranean river

⁴ For this passage, cf. also pp. 89-90, 152.

⁵ For an introduction to Strabo and Hellenistic geography cf. Clarke 1999, Dueck-Lindsay-Pothecary 2005, Roller 2014: 1-34. Strabo lives in between the Hellenistic period and imperial times, receives a Hellenistic education (Dueck-Lindsay-Pothecary 2005: 1), and his work – written in between 20 BC and 20 CE and importantly depending upon the work of Hellenistic geographers (cf. Roller 2014: vii) – may be usefully considered for the purposes of my thesis on Hellenistic matters.

⁶ For the image of Homer in Greek portraiture, cf. Richter 1984: 139-50. For statuary and civic identity in the Hellenistic age, cf. Ma 2013.

in his account (Ps.-Plu. *Vit. Hom.* 3.2 West).⁷ According to Strabo, the river was evidently an important fact for Smyrna's claim on Homer: the landscape itself preserved signs of the poet's presence. Smyrna, in other words, provides a concrete symbol (the river) to overcome the temporal distance between Homer and his Hellenistic admirers: the river Meles makes the dead Homer more real and present in the city, by materially testifying to the poet's presence there in the past.

The same idea is also present in a Hellenistic epigram, which some attributed to Alcaeus, and which insists that a mere statue will not establish Homer's connection to a particular place:

Οὐδ' εἴ με χρύσειον ἀπὸ ραισθηρὸς Ὅμηρον
στήσητε φλογέαις ἐν Διὸς ἀστεροπαῖς,
οὐκ εἴμ' οὐδ' ἔσομαι Σαλαμίνιος οὐδ' ὁ Μέλητος
Δημαγόρου· μὴ ταῦτ' ὄμμασιν Ἑλλάς ἴδοι.
ἄλλον ποιητὴν βασανίζετε· τὰμὰ δέ, Μοῦσαι
καὶ Χίος, Ἑλλήνων παισὶν ἀείσετε ἔπη. (AP 7.5)

Not even if you set up a statue of me, Homer, in beaten gold
In the bright lightning of Zeus,
I am not nor will I be from Salamis, nor is the son of Meles
The son of Demagoras; may not Greece look at these things with its eyes.
Put to the test another poet! The Muses
and Chios will sing my poems to the sons of the Greeks.

The foundation myth

Alexandria strove to establish itself as a site of Homeric memory despite the lack of a natural connection with the dead poet.⁸ Homer may not have been from Alexandria, but, the myth insisted, the city itself was born from Homer.⁹ The relevant anecdote is reported by Plutarch in his *Vita Alexandri*, following the authority of the Hellenistic author Heracleides. Alexandria, we are told, is a creation of the greatest 'architect', namely Homer, who appeared to Alexander in a dream and indicated to him the site

⁷ Ephorus resorted to Homer's genealogy in order to associate the poet to Cyme: genealogy was a means often used to associate a poet to a place.

⁸ Other 'unexpected' places claimed Homer: for Rome's claim, cf. Aristodemus of Nysa in An. I *Vit. Hom.* 7.2 West (on which Heath 1998); for Babilon's claim, cf. Lucianus *VH* 2.20.

⁹ I focus, in my chapter, on the association between Alexandria and Homer's figure. The city, however, was also associated with the Homeric work more directly: cf. Stephens 2010: 59-61.

where the city should be built.¹⁰ Whereas older Greek cities could claim prestige because they had given origin to famous poets, Alexandria had been allegedly founded according to the indications of Homer himself.¹¹ I first present here Plutarch's passage, in which the poet is called from the dead and brought to Hellenistic Alexandria. Although long this tale repays detailed attention, because a strong sense of place and of an authorial Greek past merge here to shape Homer's persona and the identity of the city.

κιβωτίου δέ τινος αὐτῷ προσενεχθέντος, οὗ πολυτελέστερον οὐδὲν ἐφάνη τοῖς τὰ Δαρείου χρήματα καὶ τὰς ἀποσκευὰς παραλαμβάνουσιν, ἠρώτα τοὺς φίλους ὅ τι δοκοίη μάλιστα τῶν ἀξίων σπουδῆς εἰς αὐτὸ καταθέσθαι· πολλὰ δὲ πολλῶν λεγόντων αὐτὸς ἔφη τὴν Ἰλιάδα φρουρήσειν ἐνταῦθα καταθέμενος. [2] καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν ἀξιοπίστων μεμαρτυρήκασιν. εἰ δ', ὅπερ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς λέγουσιν Ἡρακλείδῃ πιστεύοντες, ἀληθές ἐστιν, οὐκ οὐκ ἀργὸς οὐδὲ ἀσύμβολος αὐτῷ συστρατεύειν ἔοικεν Ὅμηρος, λέγουσι γὰρ ὅτι τῆς Αἰγύπτου κρατήσας ἐβούλετο πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ πολυάνθρωπον Ἑλληνίδα συνοικίσας ἐπώνυμον ἑαυτοῦ καταλιπεῖν, καὶ τινα τόπον γνῶμη τῶν ἀρχιτεκτόνων ὅσον οὐδέπω διεμετρεῖτο καὶ περιέβαλλεν. [3] εἶτα νύκτωρ κοιμώμενος ὄψιν εἶδε θαυμαστὴν ἀνὴρ πολὺς εὖ μάλα τὴν κόμην καὶ γεραρὸς τὸ εἶδος ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ παραστὰς λέγειν τὰ ἔπη τάδε·

νῆσος ἔπειτά τις ἔστι πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ πόντῳ,
Αἰγύπτου προπάροισθε· Φάρον δὲ ἐκικλήσκουσιν. (*Od.* 4.354-5)

εὐθύς οὖν ἐξαναστὰς ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὴν Φάρον, ἢ τότε μὲν ἔτι νῆσος ἦν, τοῦ Κανωβικοῦ μικρὸν ἀνωτέρω στόματος, νῦν δὲ διὰ χώματος ἀνείληπται [4] πρὸς τὴν ἠπειρον. ὡς οὖν εἶδε τόπον εὐφυῖα διαφέροντα ταινία γὰρ ἐστὶν ἰσθμῷ πλάτος ἔχοντι σύμμετρον ἐπεικῶς διείργουσα λίμνην τε πολλὴν καὶ θάλασσαν ἐν λιμένι μεγάλῳ τελευτῶσαν, εἰπὼν ὡς Ὅμηρος ἦν ἄρα τὰ τε ἄλλα θαυμαστὸς καὶ σοφώτατος ἀρχιτέκτων, ἐκέλευσε διαγράψαι τὸ σχῆμα τῆς πόλεως τῷ τόπῳ συναρμόττοντας, [5] καὶ γῆ μὲν οὐ παρῆν λευκή, τῶν δὲ ἀλφίτων λαμβάνοντες ἐν πεδίῳ μελαγγεῖω κυκλοτερῆ κόλπον ἦγον, οὗ τὴν ἐντὸς περιφέρειαν εὐθεῖαι βάσεις ὥσπερ ἀπὸ κρασπέδων εἰς σχῆμα χλαμύδος ὑπελάμβανον, ἐξ ἴσου συνάγουσαι τὸ μέγεθος, ἠσθέντος δὲ τῆ διαθέσει τοῦ βασιλέως αἰφνίδιον ὄρνιθες ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς λίμνης, πλήθει τε ἄπειροι καὶ κατὰ γένος παντοδαποὶ καὶ μέγεθος, ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον καταίροντες νέφεσιν ἑοικότες οὐδὲ μικρὸν ὑπέλιπον τῶν ἀλφίτων, ὥστε καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον διαταραχθῆναι πρὸς τὸν οἰωνόν. [6] οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν μάντεων θαρρεῖν παραινούντων πολυαρκεστάτην γὰρ οἰκίζεσθαι

¹⁰ For an introduction to the foundation of Alexandria in ancient sources, cf. Fraser 1972: 3-36, Bosworth 1980: 263-4. Cf. Calame 2003, Hall 2006, Malkin 2009, Mac Sweeney 2015 for ancient (and archaic) foundation myths. For an introduction to and basic bibliography on Hellenistic settlements and related myths, see Cohen 1995, 2006, 2013. For dreams in Roman times cf. Harrison 2013.

¹¹ I deal more in particular with cities claiming Homer on the basis of an older and direct contact with the poet at pp. 75-6 and 136-53.

πόλιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐσομένην τροφὸν ἔργου κελεύσας ἔχεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιμελητὰς αὐτὸς ὤρμησεν εἰς Ἄμμωνος. (Plut. *Vita Alex.* 26.1-7)

When they brought to him a certain box, of which there seemed to be nothing more precious to those in charge of the belongings and baggage of Darius, he asked his friends what valuable object they thought should be put in there most fittingly. When many answered and replied different things, Alexander himself said he was going to deposit the *Iliad* there to keep it safe. [2] And these things are reported by many trustworthy sources. And if what the Alexandrians tell us on the authority of Heracleides is true, then it would seem that Homer was no idle or unprofitable companion for Alexander in his expedition; for they say that, after conquering Egypt, he wanted to found and leave a large and populous Greek city named after him, and by the advice of his architects he was about to measure off and enclose a certain site. [3] Then, at night, as he was asleep, he saw a wonderful vision. A man with much abundance of grey hair and of a majestic aspect appeared to him and, standing by his side, recited these verses:

Now there is an island in the stormy sea,
In front of Egypt; they call it Pharos.

At once then Alexander rose up and went to Pharos, which then was still an island, a little above the Canobic mouth of the Nile, but now has been joined to the mainland by a causeway. [4] And when he saw a site noticeable for its good shape (for it is a strip of land similar to an isthmus which has a breadth equal to the distance which separates a great harbour and a stretch of sea which terminates in the big harbour), he said that then Homer was admirable in other ways and also a very wise architect, and he ordered to mark out the plan of the city in conformity with this site. [5] There was no chalk at hand, so taking barley-groats they marked out in the plain with black soil a rounded bosom-like area, to whose inner arc straight lines extended so as to produce the figure of a cloak, the lines beginning from the borders, and narrowing the breadth of the area uniformly.¹² The king was delighted with the arrangement, but suddenly birds from the river and the harbour, infinite in number and of many types and sizes, came down upon the place looking like clouds and did not leave any of the barley-groats, so that even Alexander was thrown into confusion at the omen. [6] Nevertheless the seers exhorted him to take courage, for a wealthy city would be founded by him, and it would be a source of nourishment for men of every nation, and so he commanded those in charge of the work to bring it to completion, while he himself rushed to the oracle of Ammon. (Perrin 1919 transl., adapted)

¹² For the shape of Alexandria and its symbolism cf. Cohen 2006: 365 with bibliography. The military cloak was associated with the Macedonians: this Macedonian element, which 'seems to intrude into this very Greek account of Plutarch' and was perhaps seen as an 'acknowledgment of the Macedonian basis of the city' (Erskine 2013: 176), does not constitute an objection to my argument that Homer confers to the city a Greek nature (see below). The Greek and Macedonian elements need not be mutually exclusive. Moreover, as Erskine notes, Alexandria might have actually looked like a *chlamys*.

Plutarch's story has been often disregarded because of its supposedly fictitious nature.¹³ Hammond defines the account 'puerile', while Maehler says that it 'merely adds some colourful anecdotes' to Arrian's version of the foundation of the city.¹⁴ However, the intellectual effort behind the creation and conservation of this story ought not be overlooked. This account shows that the Ptolemaic court was careful to construct its image through the construction of its past and, specifically, the geography of the dead poets, to the point that the ancient authors could be given an afterlife if the place itself was not ancient enough to be linked with the poet's historical life. In the discussion that follows I explore the link between the presentation of Alexandria in the myth and the reading of Homer's figura.

To begin with, the mention of Heracleides (26.2) points to the ideological relevance of Homer for the Ptolemaic propaganda. Heracleides is usually identified as Heracleides Lembus.¹⁵ He belonged to the group of historians and politicians who worked at the court of Ptolemy VI Philometor (180-145 BC). He was also involved in contemporary political debates and he probably mediated between Ptolemy and the Seleucids.¹⁶ The mention of his name proves that the story about Homer was attested in royal circles in the second century BC. Hence the foundation myth must have had, in that period, a considerable public force. Plutarch, in fact, also states that the tale was known to 'the Alexandrians', an expression which points to the fact that the foundation story involving Homer was known to people intimately linked to the city.¹⁷

The tale perhaps found place in the *ktiseis* composed and recited at the Ptolemaic court already from an early time. *A Foundation of Alexandria* was written, for example, by Apollonius Rhodius, working under the patronage of Ptolemy II.¹⁸ Apollonius was especially interested in *ktiseis* of cities under Ptolemaic control – which suggests that these poems had political meaning. These poems offered not only a past to the city which was celebrated in them, but also a way for other cities to link with

¹³ Whereas Arrian's account (which is very similar, in some elements, to Heracleides' one) is given more credit, cf. Erskine 2013: 173-4.

¹⁴ Hammond 1993: 58, Maehler 2004: 1-2.

¹⁵ On Heracleides cf. Fraser 1972: 741n172 with primary sources. Hammond 1993: 58 believes that Plutarch is referring to Lembus, as does Erskine 2013: 176, but cf. Hamilton 2002 (1969): 66.

¹⁶ Cf. *Suda* s.v. Heracleides η 462.

¹⁷ In the Hellenistic age the expression was used to indicate both the citizens of Alexandria and the group of intellectuals employed at court. Cf. respectively (e.g.) Strabo 14.2.13 and Meneclès *FGrHist* 270F9.

¹⁸ On which cf. Barbantani 2014.

that city, through mythical narratives and genealogies, as Silvia Barbantani has recently pointed out.¹⁹ It is easy to imagine that Homer would have provided an easy and powerful way for other cities to network with Alexandria, and his figure may have been used already at an early time.

The (arguably renewed) interest in the myth at Heracleides' time can be explained by reference to historical circumstances. After new foundations had come to a halt in the third century BC, Ptolemy VI had started to found new cities again, and he and his scholars might have taken a general interest in famous foundation stories.²⁰ Specifically, the myth featuring Homer, the greatest Greek poet, may have provided a feeling of common identity between Alexandria and the newly founded cities. Other delicate political circumstances may also justify the interest in Homer. First, Ptolemy VI's reign saw the increasing interference of the Romans in the Egyptian world, as the king was relying more and more heavily on Roman economic help; moreover, during his reign, he was forced to abandon the city of Alexandria and take refuge in Pergamum.²¹ It is at this point of civic uncertainty and geo-political decisions that the Ptolemies turned to the figure of Homer to state their identity and – through him – the importance of their city in the Mediterranean.²²

The adoption of Homer as a symbol of Alexandria entails a specific understanding of his poetic persona. First, Homer takes a divine dimension in the anecdote. Homer appears to Alexander as a venerable, old aged, and wise guide (as 'with much abundance of grey hair and of a majestic aspect' indicates) specifically for the foundation of the city. In ancient times, foundation stories often portray gods who instruct the founder of the city about the site: the most famous case is of course the one of Apollo, through his Delphic oracle; in other cases, the founders follow the divine signs provided by animals, which indicate the site of foundation.²³ In Plutarch's

¹⁹ Cf. Barbantani 2014: 212.

²⁰ Cf. Mueller 2006 on the new foundations.

²¹ For an introduction to the history of the Ptolemaic empire, cf. Hölbl 2001, Manning 2010.

²² The Homeric nature of the Macedonian monarchy is recognised by scholars (Carney-Ogden 2010: 256n88). What has not been stressed is that this Homeric nature was activated through the city of Alexandria and in particular moments of crisis.

²³ For the oracle of Delphi in colonial foundation stories cf. e.g. Her. 4.155.3, Thuc. 3.92.4-6; for an introduction to the topic, cf. Rougemont 1995, Giangiulio 2010. For omens with animals cf. e.g. Lib. *Or.* 11.84-93. Buxton 1994: 190 provides a list of animals which can lead founders to sites of colonies (e.g. crows, eagles, foxes etc.).

narrative, Alexander is led to Alexandria by a great Greek poet of the past, and he also receives an omen through the appearance of a flock of birds. These two aspects provide an overall divine allure to the story. Moreover, Alexander was said to have received divine guidance (by Nemesis) in a dream also in another foundation story, the one of the re-foundation of Smyrna (Paus. 7.5.2-3).²⁴ It seems therefore probable that Homer is conceived as similar to a god in the myth of Alexandria.²⁵

Another fundamental idea emerging from Heracleides' story is that the image of Homer can be linked to Alexandria through the figure of Alexander the Great. Alexander keeps together Homer on one side and the people (imaginatively or materially) located in Alexandria on the other. His figure is inextricably bound to Homer: dreaming Homer confers relevance on the king as a preserver of Homeric memory. The city, which is in turn a creation of Alexander, is ruled by the heirs of the Homeric king, who incarnate the converging will of Homer and Alexander.

In particular, the recognition of Homer by Alexander – on which the link between the two depends – ultimately happens because the king listens to Homer speaking his poems and interprets them; the close encounter with the dead poet is mediated by the poet's words (ἔπη). Moreover, in the myth, once Alexander has his dream, first of all he recognises Homer from his aspect: this is relevant because Homer's identity had been the object of debate in the previous tradition. Alexander dreams an old bearded man, he does not dream 'Homer.' The visual description of the man is similar to a riddle, which could leave unanswered the question of the man's identity.²⁶ The fact that Alexander can immediately recognise the poet as Homer arguably puts the Macedonian king in a position of superiority and contrast to the previous generations of men who had aimlessly discussed about the poet's identity. Alexander, in the myth, is portrayed as the interpreter of Homer's persona and words.²⁷ The intellectual, almost philological nature of the account is further underlined by the insertion of a quote from the *Odyssey*.²⁸ The quote is taken from the fourth book of the

²⁴ Cf. Cohen 2006: 361.

²⁵ On the divine image of Homer cf. also pp. 141-2.

²⁶ Similarly, Graziosi 2002 suggests that some ancient texts, such as the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* or the *Margites*, adopt a riddle-like tone which open the possibility to link those texts to Homer.

²⁷ On this, cf. also p. 76. The episode, moreover, is reminiscent of the practice of Homeric lots.

²⁸ On the interpretation of Homer on the basis of his words, and Homeric Hellenistic philology in general, cf. Porter 1992.

Odyssey, where Menelaus recounts the story of his *nostos* after the Trojan War. During his return, a storm brings him to Egypt; there, he is forced to stay for twenty days on the island of Pharos, which he introduces in his narrative with the two lines quoted in the foundation myth. The Hellenistic admirer of Homer would easily recognise the episode.

The connection between Homer and Alexander enriches a tradition which depicted Homer as a guide to the leader. The tradition according to which Alexander, while on his expeditions, used to sleep with Homer's *Iliad* nearby, is already reported by Onesicritus, Alexander's companion (Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 1.8.1-3).²⁹ In particular, the fact that Onesicritus states that Alexander kept the Homeric work 'lying under his pillow' (κειμένην ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον), suggests that the king was propitiating the apparition of Homer specifically in a dream, which is exactly mirrored by the events recounted in the foundation myth. Onesicritus was particularly keen to include in his work details which contributed to the image of Alexander as a 'philosopher in arms' (*FGrHist* 134F17a), but the story of Alexander's attachment to a particular copy of Homer's *Iliad* also appears in other Hellenistic sources. Callisthenes and Anaxarchus, both of whom accompanied Alexander, are told to have used and made notes on this same Homeric text, along with Alexander (*Str.* 13.1.27). Despite the uncertain historical reliability of such stories, it seems plausible that Alexander himself and his first historians promoted the idea that Alexander deeply admired Homer, and was eager to dialogue with the dead poet.

When considering Alexander's military achievements in relation to Homer, a second example of a tradition depicting Alexander as directly inspired by the poet is his adoption of Achilles as a model.³⁰ Arrian (1.12.1-2) reports a story according to which Alexander sacrificed on Achilles' tomb and declared the hero happy because Homer celebrated his deeds. Moreover, Alexander's admiration for and identification with Achilles might have been reinforced by the historical claim of the people belonging to the Molossian house, to which Alexander's mother belonged, who were considered

²⁹ This edition of the *Iliad* is the so-called 'casket copy', cf. p. 37. For Onesicritus cf. p. 37n68; cf. also Hamilton 2002 (1969): lxii-iii.

³⁰ Cf. Fredricksmeier 2003: 255. Callisthenes represented the king as the successor of Homeric heroes according to Pearson 1960: 40-1.

descendants of Achilles.³¹ The biographical tradition hence depicted Alexander as inspired by Homer, his work, and especially by Achilles.³²

It is within these general premises of admiration for Homer that Alexander and the poet are associated in the myth. Alexandria, in the myth, evokes people and events created by Homer in his afterlife: Alexander's conquests, Alexander himself and, ultimately, the Ptolemies. The link between Alexander and Homer is maintained in Alexandria through continuity of space and genealogy (the Ptolemies), as often happens with the sites of memory of ancient poets.³³ Alexandria is a site of Homeric memory, but also a site of memory for the figure of Alexander, to whom the Ptolemies constantly linked themselves.³⁴ In turn, Homer becomes, in Alexandria, a well-defined Ptolemaic figure.

Another part of the myth that defines both Alexandria and Homer is the cultural identity and 'racial' character of the city. As stated in the narrative, Alexander meant to create a 'Greek', 'large', and 'populous' city. First, the narrative underlines that Alexandria, famously welcoming people of different races, must be considered a *Greek polis*.³⁵ This is a relevant statement also because Alexander's Greek heritage was open to question. Homer sealed the Greek identity of Alexandria.

This idea seems to emerge also from the second omen, which complements the apparition of Homer: the appearance of a flock of birds eating the barley-groats. A suitable interpretation for the apparently negative sign is promptly offered by Alexander's seers: Alexandria will be wealthy enough to feed many people. This is to

³¹ Diod. Sic. 17.1.5 (first century BC) says that Alexander could claim to descend from both Heracles and Achilles. For claims of heroic ancestors made by rulers cf. Green 2013: 39-41. According to Stewart 1993: 83, 'Achilles is omnipresent in the background of Plutarch's text [...], the hidden centre of the *Life*.'

³² Modern historians still believe that Alexander *in fact* deeply admired Homer and his work, and that his actions were influenced by what he read in the Homeric poems – which is not impossible. Cf. e.g. Tarn 1948: 436, Lane Fox 1973, Hamilton 1973: 31-2, Hammond 1980: 15, 25, 68, Worthington 2003: 90-1, Carney 2003: 251.

³³ For example, as I have showed, in Pindar's case.

³⁴ The Ptolemies aimed at promoting, specifically through Alexandria, their own image as heirs and owners of the material heritage of the great past in general. The city, for example, preserved the body of Alexander, which had been brought to the city by Soter and placed in the *Sema* by Philopator. Erskine 1995 underlines that the link with Alexander was also maintained through the cultural institutions of the Library and the Mouseion (cf. p. 62). On the Mouseion and Library as central elements in the Ptolemaic intellectual plans cf. also Maehler 2004. On the topic, cf. also Krasilnikoff 2010.

³⁵ Cf. Erskine 2013: 175-6 on the Greek character of the myth. A foundation myth addressing the Egyptians is contained in the *Alexander Romance*, cf. el-Abbadi 2004a: 264-5; on the Egyptian and Greek elements of the *Romance* cf. also Stephens 2003: 64-73.

be interpreted, first of all, in an economic sense, and reflects Ptolemaic propaganda: Alexandria will be a rich city and will provide sustenance to all its inhabitants. But another, more cultural, meaning is arguably intended. Alexander's initial confusion (διαταράσσω, 26.5) at the omen may reflect the confusion and the sense of loss which the Greeks must have felt when they materially left their motherland, proper Greece, to meet new cultures in an unfamiliar place like Alexandria. As the birds are κατὰ γένος παντοδαποί, and as they come ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς λίμνης, so the population in Alexandria is multi-cultural and comes to Alexandria from the Nile and from the Mediterranean. Homer's Greek γένος arguably stands out in this portrait of a mixture of races. When following the instructions of Greek Homer, Alexander ends up feeding the 'multi-cultural' birds. The image may thus, again, reflect the Ptolemies' aspirations for the city to be not only the economic, but also the Greek-based, cultural pillar of the Hellenistic world. More generally, the image of Alexandria sustaining many people seems to convey the idea that Alexandria will be fundamental to the Hellenistic world; after all, Homer had written the most famous Greek poems, and – in an inevitable slippage from literary to cultural-geographical ideas – a city founded by him would have had the same relevance in the newly founded Hellenistic world. This brings me to my final point.

In the myth, the image of Alexander *ktistes* mirrors the image of the poet, who participates to the foundation of the city and, indeed, is described as an architect.³⁶ The image of Homer as founder of a city is an otherwise unattested idea, but the image of Homer as the teacher of *anything* a reader might need is well established. Homer was already considered to be the repository of all knowledge in the classical age. In the *Ion* (537a-539e), Plato has the rhapsode say that from reading Homer's work one can learn the *technē* of driving a chariot, for example, but Homer could also teach how to fish and, most of all, he was an expert in the military art. Finally, in schools Homer was at the basis of education.³⁷ In the foundation myth, Homer's founding character is specified and widened: Homer's practical skills are expanded and it is claimed that he is 'admirable in other ways and also a very wise architect.' This entails a significant re-definition of Homer made on the basis of what he does, namely, founding a city. In the

³⁶ Cf. also Krasilnikoff 2010: 25.

³⁷ Cf. Morgan 2011.

classical age, readers could look at Homer's work in order to find the persona of the author according to their needs;³⁸ in this case, Homer's work is a city and the poet fittingly becomes an architect.

So far, I have argued that the myth constructs a specific image of Homer while linking it to the site of Alexandria. The poet is connected to the city through Alexander (who in turn also gains a defined Homer-related aspect), he represents the Greek character and cultural wealth offered by the city, and he is depicted as a founder and architect, which entails the understanding of Alexandria as an *oeuvre* of the dead poet. The definition of Alexandria as a site of Homeric memory is related to specific readings of Homer's persona and arguably of his work: Homer's work is a guide for king Alexander's actions, it is appealing to many people and the best piece of *Greek* literature, it contains practical knowledge, and is indeed the foundation and centre of literature and of all knowledge.³⁹

Alexandria advances a very strong claim over Homer's heritage through the myth, because the story – while shaping the Homeric persona – invents an unmediated link between the poet and the city. Poet and place ultimately coincide, as the poet creates the city. Such a coincidence between the identity of the city as the poet's *oeuvre* is unique. In the type of narrative according to which the city 'gives birth' to the poet, the assumption is that the city has its own identity before the poet is born, and it may or may not be a site of literary memory. With Alexandria, the direction of the relationship city-poet is reversed. Alexandria is founded by Homer, he quite literally makes it and thus defines the city's identity as necessarily Homeric. The city is a powerful and unmatched material reminder of the poet's skills. Alexandria's very existence depends upon Homer, and the whole city becomes a testimony to him and to the values attached to his persona. Everything contained in the city and everyone who is part of it, its landscape, the inhabitants, and even the people who are just in transit there, become part of Homer's creation. Alexandria is an idea of Homer's, is materially brought to existence by his disciple Alexander, and then preserved by his heirs, the Ptolemies, whose propaganda is the myth itself.

³⁸ For this process in the classical age, cf. Graziosi 2002.

³⁹ For an introduction to the ancient reception of Homer in general, of which I have examined some aspects, cf. Graziosi 2008 and the essays collected in Fowler 2004: 235-371.

The Homereion

Four generations after Alexander, Ptolemy IV Philopator established a cult in honour of Homer and built a shrine devoted to his memory, the Homereion. The monument engages with Homer's persona *via* the city of Alexandria and *via* a particular configuration of space. The association between Homer and Alexandria, allegedly started at the time of Alexander, is valued by later generations of kings and admirers.

The Homereion of Alexandria is described by Aelian in the thirteenth book of his *Varia Historia*.⁴⁰ The book contains multiple references to poets, especially Homer and Pindar, and reports both the sparing of Pindar's house by Alexander (ch. 7) and the construction of the Homereion (ch. 22). The passage about the Homereion is preceded by a few notes about Homer and his legacy. Aelian first notes that Homer was linked to the Spartans because of his predisposition to speak of war (ch. 19); then he mentions a man's desire to die in order to meet, among others, Homer (ch. 20); and finally, he turns to the Homereion:

Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλοπάτωρ κατασκευάσας Ὅμηρῳ νεών, αὐτὸν μὲν καλὸν καλῶς ἐκάθισε, κύκλῳ δὲ τὰς πόλεις περιέστησε τοῦ ἀγάλματος, ὅσαι ἀντιποιοῦνται τοῦ Ὅμηρου. Γαλάτων δὲ ὁ ζωγράφος ἔγραψε τὸν μὲν Ὅμηρον αὐτὸν ἐμοῦντα, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ποιητὰς τὰ ἐμνησμένα ἀρυτομένους. (Ael. *VH* 13.22)

Ptolemy Philopator established a shrine for Homer, finely set a beautiful statue of the poet, and put those cities which claim Homer all around the image of the poet. The painter Galaton draw Homer himself vomiting, and the other poets picking up his vomit.

The establishment of the Homereion marks an important moment in the definition of Alexandria as a site of Homeric memory, and coincides, once again, with a moment of political uncertainty of the Ptolemaic rule. Philopator, son of Ptolemy III and Berenice II, reigned in the last two decades of the second century BC. He had to face the invasion of Palestine by Antiochus III, the Seleucid king, and armed to this end the Egyptian natives, granting them a power that they had not enjoyed before; this seems to have increased the tension between the Greek and Egyptian communities. After the victorious battle of Raphia in 217 BC, the Egyptians, according to Polybius, started a

⁴⁰ For an introduction to Aelian and his *Varia Historia* cf. Wilson 1997: 1-23.

series of revolts against the Macedonian king.⁴¹ This coincided with an overall decline of Egypt, which saw the loss of most of its overseas empire; the loss of political power probably led to the need to assert with more strength the Ptolemaic identity.⁴² In addition to internal turbulences and to competition with other Hellenistic kingdoms, already towards the end of the third century BC Egypt had to start facing a new, emerging power in the Mediterranean, that of Rome.⁴³ Given the social, political, and military challenges that Alexandria was facing at the time, we might enquire as to whether the Homereion was not also a response to the crisis of Alexandria, rather than simply a whim of the king.⁴⁴

Philopator was a shrewd cultural operator. He reorganised the games of the Mouseia in Boeotia, on Mount Helicon, and he was a pupil of Eratosthenes, one of the greatest Hellenistic philologists and geographers.⁴⁵ He might also have established a festival in honour of Ptolemy I Soter.⁴⁶ He even composed poetry himself.⁴⁷ With regard to religious life (which was, of course, a means of political prestige, too, for the Ptolemies), we know that Ptolemy IV substantially enlarged the dynastic cult by adding his own cult to the existing priesthood; he also introduced the cult of Ptolemy I Soter.⁴⁸ He constructed a mausoleum for Alexander and the earlier Ptolemies, the so-called *Sema*, and placed it in the middle of Alexandria.⁴⁹ He was thus clearly engaged in an ongoing celebration of the Ptolemaic dynasty in the past and present time through the establishment of cults, with which the cult of Homer may be associated. Through love for culture and poetry, and innovative religious spirit, Ptolemy IV began a cult dedicated to the most important poet of Greek literature and built a shrine to him. I now turn to Aelian's passage.

⁴¹ On the increasing power of the Egyptians see Pol. 5.65, 5.107. Cf. el-Abbadi 1992: 48, Manning 2010: 76, 115.

⁴² Cf. Fraser 1972: 60-1.

⁴³ In the Macedonian wars especially.

⁴⁴ Despite the ancients' harsh judgment of Philopator: cf. Pol. 5.34, 14.11.

⁴⁵ On the festival of the Muses cf. Vitruvius *De Arch.* 7 pref. 4; cf. also the commentary to Vitruvius' passage in Rowland-Howe 1999: 266.

⁴⁶ For the Soteria cf. Fraser 1972: 233.

⁴⁷ The *Adonis*, a tragedy, mentioned by schol. Ar. *Thesm.* 1059.

⁴⁸ Cf. Huß 2001: 241.

⁴⁹ The body of Alexander the Great had allegedly been brought to Alexandria by Ptolemy I Soter (Str. 17.1.8).

To begin with, Aelian's passage about the Homereion is associated with the description of a painting by Galaton, which arguably is intended as a guide to the Homereion too. In the Homereion, Homer is at the centre of a circle of cities. In the painting, Homer is depicted as he vomits and other poets, probably around him, pick up his vomit. Scholars have debated over the meaning of this scene, which is in fact ambiguous. Aelian's description of the poets picking up Homer's vomit might be sarcastically critical of the poets' behaviour: on this basis, some scholars dissociate the painting from the shrine.⁵⁰ Other scholars opt instead for a more positive interpretation. Lefkowitz proposes that 'the painting offered a visual representation of the Hellenistic notion that Homer was like Oceanus, the source of all rivers and springs.'⁵¹ The scene may even mirror the idea that Homer's works (coming out of the poet's mouth) were materially collected in books in Alexandria's library. Various readings are possible, but it is difficult to provide a definitive one. The one certainty is Homer's central position. The painting seems to suggest the idea of the dependence of later poets from Homer, and thus Homer's superiority. On this basis too, although it is not certain that the painting *was* in the Homereion, I believe that it may be agreed that the monument and the painting are associated because they share the same vision of Homer as a central figure.

This conception of Homer is of course influenced by the centrality of Homer's works in Greek culture. Homer's texts were at the centre of the Greek curriculum of study, but also at the centre of Greek culture and literature overall. Yet whereas in Galaton's painting there is a predominant literary dimension associated with Homer's centrality, the Homereion insists on ideas of cultural geography. Homer is central to the Greek *cities* around him, central to Greek *space*. Thus the monument suggests that any space that is Greek is also Homeric; in addition, the Homereion confers centrality on the city of Alexandria through its association with Homer. Homer's statue and monument *are* in Alexandria. As a consequence, as the monument states, Alexandria must be considered at the centre of Greek, literary space, at the centre of all sites of

⁵⁰ For a negative interpretation of the painting, cf. e.g. Fraser 1972: 862n423.

⁵¹ Lefkowitz 2012: 27, cf. Brink 1972: 553-6 and Traill 1998.

Homeric memory.⁵² The cities placed around Homer constitute a representation of *spaces*; by seeing them represented, the viewer becomes immediately aware of the otherness of the space in which he – the Homeric admirer – *is* himself, that is, of Alexandria as the centre of the Greek world.

Yet the choice, in the Homereion, to place the various birthplaces of Homer around the statue of the poet is surprising. One might argue that the monument, although implicitly evoking Alexandria, does not properly celebrate it. Although Alexandria's presence is perceived because the monument is in Alexandria, the viewer also explicitly *sees* a series of other cities in the monument. The shrine addresses the debate over Homer in which the other, older, Greek cities participate, but it is *a priori* difficult for Alexandria to emerge among the cities which can claim a more ancient link with Homer; as Froma Zeitlin concisely puts it, 'given the date of its foundation, Alexandria could hardly enter into this competition.'⁵³ Underlining, as Zeitlin correctly does, that in any case 'ancient scholarship proposes all sorts of origins for Homer' and that the city could point to the poet as a founder does not seem a satisfactory explanation for the design of the monument: not only Alexandria never claimed to be Homer's fatherland, but also the monument is centred upon the question of Homer's origins and not upon the foundation myth. Zeitlin states that instead of linking Homer to Alexandria, the monument could lead the viewer to think that Homer could not be linked to Alexandria – nor to any other place, but does not elaborate on the potentialities of this statement. If the monument was part of a discourse aiming at making Alexandria a site of Homeric memory, as I argue, why highlight precisely this biographical issue in the monument, the one thing for which Alexandria could not be praised and which was, as I pointed out at the beginning of my chapter, a potential obstacle to presenting the city as a site of memory?

First, the monument as it is conceived must have appealed to contemporary admirers of Homer. The focus of the shrine is Homer's biography, more specifically the group of cities which had traditionally claimed to be his birthplace.⁵⁴ Despite the 'very

⁵² After all, Alexandria was at the centre of trade routes. The idea of Alexandria's spatial centrality will emerge in later literature, too: cf. D. Chr. 32.36.

⁵³ Zeitlin 2001: 200.

⁵⁴ We do not know, unfortunately, which cities were represented in the monument. The most ancient claims on Homer were made by Chios, Smyrna and Cyme.

strange statuary', as Page puts it, I believe that a viewer of the monument would have immediately grasped this biographical reference:⁵⁵ the question of Homer's origins had been long discussed in Greece before it was raised in Alexandria. The choice to celebrate the topic in the monument can be explained by the importance that Homer's persona, and the interest in the places of Homeric memory in Greece, held in Hellenistic times.

Moreover, the architecture is traditional and this too contributes to the immediate approachability of the monument. Statuary groups disposed in a circle or in a semicircle are well attested in the Hellenistic age. One relevant example is the Serapeion in Memphis, the capital of the Ptolemaic kingdom before Alexandria. The Serapeion included a statue of Homer surrounded by statues of other intellectuals and perhaps Ptolemaic kings, and it may have been ideologically linked to the Homereion in Alexandria.⁵⁶ Yet the approachability hides a deeper meaning, as often happens with Hellenistic works of art:⁵⁷ the *interaction* of the traditional architecture, of the well-known biographical subject, and of the religious element of cult, generates far-reaching and fundamentally new ideas about Homer, as an object of study, collection and collation.

The monument fundamentally shifts the focus from the several traditions about Homer's origins to their collection in one place. The terms of the discussion about Homer change: the monument recognises that there are traditional, Greek places claiming Homer, but such claims are no longer seen as important *per se*. The real, important focus of the monument is the debate about them. This approach is a way for Alexandria to claim the dead poet in a new, original manner. Through the biographical allure of the monument, an allure which all of the older claiming cities naturally had and Alexandria itself lacked, the city in fact recreates a Homeric space in Egypt, which – in its own way – speaks of Homer's birthplace, and can thus be associated with places where Homer had allegedly been. Alexandria, in the monument, assumes, towards the

⁵⁵ Page 1981: 465.

⁵⁶ On this monuments and other examples of circular, statuary groups (e.g. the fountain house of Arsinoe), cf. McKenzie 2007: 61.

⁵⁷ The Homereion, I believe, has the typically enigmatic character of other Hellenistic objects, from literary artefacts (e.g. ecphrastic epigrams, cf. Goldhill 1994) to material ones (e.g. the Archelaus relief, cf. Newby 2007), and must be treated accordingly.

other Homeric cities, the position that a judge would have in front of conflicting parties or, more specifically, a textual critic in relation to assembled manuscripts. Through the monument, the city founded by Homer is not making a claim on the author (at least, not a claim comparable to the other cities' claims), but it is acknowledging that a debate exists about him and that Alexandria is the place where such a debate can be observed, discussed, and brought to life. Indeed, both author and text are born from this kind of comparative, scholarly scrutiny. In particular, we know that in the Alexandrian Library scholars were cataloguing copies of the Homeric poems according to their provenance, the famous editions 'according to the cities', κατὰ τὰς πόλεις.⁵⁸ It is a similar approach that defines the Homereion as the site where the cities are assembled around Homer.

In spatial terms, the debate about Homer is stopped, frozen, and celebrated in the Homereion. The cities, by being presented all together, lose part of their autonomy, and become undifferentiated parts of the same group. As a consequence, the multi-locality of Homer gets codified and monumentalised as one of the poet's characterising traits: Homer becomes the claimed poet by definition and his origin-less status becomes part of the primary way of defining him in the canonical presentation.⁵⁹ This is mirrored, for example, in the expression that 'every city' claims Homer, which we find very often in ancient sources, such as Homer's *Vitae*, and emerges in other contests too.⁶⁰ The Homereion states that Homer must be celebrated specifically through the terms of the long-standing birthplace debate, specifically because he – and only he of all the Greek poets – is from everywhere (as all claim him) and nowhere (as his origins cannot be individuated). What was a taunting dilemma for many in the past, is now a positive feature of Homer's *figura*. The foundation myth, as underlined above, reverses the matter of Homer's origins; the monument instead confronts it directly,

⁵⁸ Cf. Pfeiffer 1968: 94, 110, 139; Fraser 1972: 328 with notes.

⁵⁹ To the point that not even Homer knew his place of origin, according to some ancient traditions: when Homer interrogates the oracle of Delphi about his *origins*, (e.g. in the *Certamen*), the Pythia unexpectedly indicates where the poet's *place of death* will be (Ios). The uncertainty about Homer's origins may be compared with the sense of uncertainty associated with other aspects of his persona: cf. Porter 2002, Kahane 2005: 1-7, and 40-2 especially on Homer's unknown origins.

⁶⁰ A useful list of *Lives* and epigrams pointing out explicitly that Homer's origins are unknown, and that various cities claimed the poet, is provided by Saïd 2011: 12n37. Proclus *Vit. Hom.* 5.2 West calls Homer a κοσμοπολίτης; on this passage and the idea of Homer's Panhellenic character, cf. also Beecroft 2010: 77-8.

explicitly defines it as a debate, and then states that it is ultimately an unsolvable – and desirably so – matter. The obscure origins of Homer are so important to the Alexandrians that they are put at the centre of the cult of the poet, which was practiced in the shrine.⁶¹

The ‘untraceable’ nature of Homer’s persona arguably derives from the understanding of Homer’s poems as universally Greek.⁶² In the monument the Panhellenic dimension of Homer’s works is transferred onto the author. Birthplace claims and celebrations of cities become specifically the means to make Homer Panhellenic. This is an important shift. Homer before was Panhellenic because of his work, meaning that his work could reach every audience and be understood in every place.⁶³ The epic poems of Homer could also arguably *be linked* to any place in Greece – as the Iliadic ‘Catalogue of the Ships’ amply demonstrates.⁶⁴ This way of conceiving the universality of Homer in the Greek world, though, may potentially circumscribe Homer’s influence to the places mentioned in his work, a high but limited number of places.

Homer’s persona as interpreted in the Homereion, instead, potentially enlarges the universality of Homer’s poems. The more places claim Homer, the more the poet’s universal nature is reinforced and celebrated. Shifting the focus from the geographical limits of the Homeric work to the undetermined nature of Homer’s biography opens the way to a potentially – and effectively – universal appropriation of Homer. So Homer’s persona, in a continual dynamic dialogue with space and text, becomes universal. Every city can celebrate the poet and the literary tradition that he represents. Everybody who celebrates Homer, after Alexandria’s celebration, will conceivably be able to appeal to the principle that Homer deserves honours *because every city claims him*: that is to say the signs of Homer’s universality are also its springs.

⁶¹ We lack almost any sort of precise information about Homer’s cult in the Homereion. It is logic, I believe, to think that the poet somehow was honoured in association to the foundation of Alexandria, perhaps in association to the cult of Alexander *ktistes*. The cult of Alexander *ktistes* was practiced at Alexander’s tomb (or elsewhere in Alexandria, cf. Stewart 1993: 247, Saunders 2006: 52).

⁶² On the Panhellenic features of Homer’s poetry, cf. Nagy’s work (e.g. Nagy 1990a: ch. 2).

⁶³ Homer’s poetry was perceived as a common heritage already before the Hellenistic period, and Homeric work was prestigious because it could reach a large audience and thus claim a large authority (cf. Graziosi 2002: 58-61 on the universality of Homer’s audience).

⁶⁴ The mention of a place in the Homeric work could become a way to create a link between local audiences and the persona of the author (cf. again Graziosi 2002).

At this point, I would like to suggest one last idea that might have been behind the Alexandrian monument. The Homereion, I believe, transmits the feeling, to the viewer, that the *knowledge* of the question of Homer's origins can be observed in the Alexandrian monument.⁶⁵ The viewer enquiring about Homer's origins and honouring the poet at the Homereion can, if he so wishes, adopt the view allowed by the construction of the space of the monument: instead of choosing the perspective of one specific city and having a local grasp of who Homer is, one can look at the various geographical identities of Homer, by remaining, ideally at least, in Alexandria. The Homereion ultimately states that, faced with the question 'to which city does Homer belong, which city owns Homer's heritage?', Alexandria is presented as the place where all of the knowledge about the possible answers is kept. There is a shift of focus from the question itself to the activity of the people studying the question.

As well as the editions of Homer already mentioned (p. 59), a more general claim was advanced for the first time by the Alexandrians, to include *all* of the knowledge of the world in one place.⁶⁶ One example of such desire are, famously, the Πίνακες of Callimachus, the bio-bibliographic tables about famous authors and their works. The Alexandrian aspiration to collect all human knowledge in the Library is well known and emerges in several contexts.⁶⁷ These aspirations of 'appropriation and control', as Shipley describes them, informed approaches to Homer, both textual and material, as I hope to have shown.⁶⁸

SH 979

I now turn to an epigram which is usually linked to Ptolemy IV's Homereion, and use it to focus on the monument as a means of defining the identity for the Ptolemies.⁶⁹ It has long been argued that the cultural institutions of Alexandria, such as the Mouseion

⁶⁵ A similar feeling that presenting the multi-faceted historical knowledge about Homer can, on one hand, confer prestige to the scholar who undertakes the task and, on the other, provide a sense of unity and identity to a variegated group of readers, appears already in Alcidamas, as Lefkowitz 2012: 18-20 notes.

⁶⁶ Alexandria was not the first city to have a library, but it was the first with universal ambitions: cf. el-Abbadi 2004b. El-Abbadi 1992 provides a concise introduction to the history of Alexandria's library. On ancient libraries, cf. König-Oikonomopoulou-Woolf 2013.

⁶⁷ Some significant stories in this sense are the one of the so-called books 'from the ships' and of the Lycurgan copies of the tragedians, cf. Fraser 1972: 325, Prauscello 2006: 74-8.

⁶⁸ Shipley 2000: 242.

⁶⁹ Cf. Strootman 2010: 40-4 for an introduction to the importance of the discourse on kingship in Hellenistic poetry.

and the associated Library, were symbolic places, instruments used to assert Ptolemaic ideology.⁷⁰ I believe that the Homereion, another monument to culture, and the whole process of engagement with Homer's figura it enabled, should be inscribed within the wider cultural politics of the city. *SH 979* illustrates some important points about how the Homereion contributes not only to the image of Homer and Alexandria, but also to the image of the Ptolemies.

. .] . τωνουρ[. .] . ναν . α[
 εὔαιων Πτολεμ[. .] . τοδ' Ὀμήρωι
 εἶσαθ' ὑπὲρ δι . . [. .] κ]ατ ὄναρ τέμενος
 τῶι πρὶν Ὀδυσσείας τε κ[αὶ Ἴλι]άδος τὸν ἀγήρω
 ὕμνον ἀπ' ἀθανάτων γραψ[α]μένωι πραπίδων.
 ὄλβιοι ὧ̄ θνατῶν εὐεργέται, [οἴ] τὸν ἄριστον
 ἐν δορὶ καὶ Μούσαις κοίρανον ἠρόσατε.⁷¹ (*SH 979*)

...
 Ptolemy of the happy life [...] he established for Homer
 This sanctuary [...] following the command of a dream [...]
 The poet who, before he wrote the *Odyssey* and *Iliad*,
 composed an ageless hymn inspired by immortal intelligence.
 Blessed are you, oh benefactors of mortal men, who have sowed
 The king best with the spear and the Muses. (Clay 2004 transl., adapted)

This anonymous epigram was found on a school papyrus from the Fayum area; the writing can be dated to the last quarter of the third century BC.⁷² The papyrus contains, among other texts, an anthology of literary texts, in which this epigram finds place. The preceding epigram describes a fountain house dedicated to Arsinoe, wife of Ptolemy IV; it is usually assumed that these two epigrams are a pair.⁷³ The two epigrams show that monuments of royal inspiration, including the ones dedicated to dead poets, were appreciated by a large audience.

⁷⁰ Erskine 1995.

⁷¹ I provide the text printed in *SH 979* (= Pack 1965: 2642), accepted by most scholars. A different reading is provided by Guéraud-Jouguet 1938 for the ending of l. 3 (τὸν Ἀρτέμονος). Cf. also Page 1950: 452-3.

⁷² Guéraud-Jouguet 1938: xiv. I follow the majority of scholars in considering these lines an epigram; Guéraud and Jouguet believe that this is the final section of a longer poem, but their hypothesis is not sustained by any argument.

⁷³ Cf. McKenzie 2007: 61; even if Arsinoe of the first epigram is not certainly Arsinoe III, wife of Ptolemy IV, the two epigrams are still a pair in the anthology, as they both focus on a monument in relation to one of the rulers.

The first lines of our epigram, namely the one dealing with a monument associated with the king rather than the queen, mention Homer and a shrine (τέμενος, l.3) which Ptolemy set up in his honour. Given the correspondence between the time of the writing of the poem and the construction of Ptolemy IV's Homereion, it is reasonable to think that the reference to the shrine is a reference to the Homereion mentioned by Aelian. After a dream is mentioned (which recalls, of course, Alexander's dream), Homer is introduced through a reference to his work and to his 'immortal mind.' In the last two lines, we find further confirmation that the epigram is meant to describe Philopator's Homereion. The epigram praises two εὐεργέται (l.6) for having fathered a king successful both in military and poetic achievements. Scholars have identified the 'benefactors' with Ptolemy III and Berenice II (as that was the epithet in cult of the two rulers) and, consequently, they have identified the Ptolemy mentioned in l.2 as Ptolemy IV.⁷⁴ Overall, this adds weight to the supposition that the shrine mentioned in the epigram is the same Homereion mentioned by Aelian.⁷⁵

It is moreover possible that this epigram was composed at court or, at least, by someone familiar with court poetry, and that it therefore reflects the royal ideology behind the Homereion. Another epigram attributed to Eratosthenes, a member of the Ptolemaic court and the preceptor of Ptolemy IV, has a very similar tone to this one, as Fraser underlines:⁷⁶ in that epigram, Eratosthenes calls Ptolemy III εὐαίων and praises his son Ptolemy IV because he loves all that is beloved by the Muses and the kings. Similarly, in *SH* 979 (l.2), Ptolemy IV is called εὐαίων and his parents are praised because of their son, who excels in war and in his love for the Muses. The author of the Homereion epigram must have been familiar with the terms in which Ptolemy Philopator was praised.

In this sense, it is important to note that the epigram mentions Ptolemy right away (εὐαίων Πτολεμ[, l.2), whereas Homer is only the second person to be honoured, as the object of Ptolemy's celebration (ll.2-3). The prestige of the monument falls

⁷⁴ For this and other relevant notes on the epigram cf. Guéraud-Jouguet 1938: 25-6; Page 1981: 465-8; Lloyd-Jones-Parsons in *SH*: 493-4, Wißmann 2002: 222-6. For royal cults of the Ptolemies and the title εὐεργέται, cf. Errington 2008: 154-7.

⁷⁵ Cf. Guéraud-Jouguet 1938: 25, Page 1950: 451, Fraser 1972: 862n423, Lloyd-Jones-Parsons in *SH*: 493-4.

⁷⁶ The epigram is transmitted by Eutocius *Arch. Sph. Cyl. II* 88.3-96 Heiberg, cf. Fraser 1972: 611.

primarily on the Ptolemies. In a society as highly competitive as that of the Hellenistic kingdoms, it is not surprising that high attention is given to the ruler dedicating a monument. What matters for my purposes is that the image of the dynast and the ruling power is, as a consequence, strongly linked to that of the poet, and that this happens simultaneously with linking the poet to the city.⁷⁷

I start with the dream of Ptolemy in order to show how, in the epigram, the Homereion fits within the Ptolemaic wider cultural plans. Just like Alexander, Ptolemy dreams of Homer and then undertakes the construction of a site of memory.⁷⁸ The insistence on stories featuring Homer appearing to a member of the royal family in a dream, urges us to re-evaluate their importance for the propaganda of the Ptolemies, at the very least. Far from being absurd or meaningless, these dream-stories shaped the image of the Ptolemies. The expression *κατ'ὄναρ* is typical of inscriptions reporting divine apparitions and communications, inscriptions which increased in the Hellenistic age;⁷⁹ it is possible that the story of the dream of Homer appeared on the dedicatory epigram which must have found its place at the Homereion. Unfortunately, we do not know the details of Ptolemy's dream: did Homer speak, and what did he say? How did the poet look? Despite the lack of detail, the epigram echoes Alexander's dream in the foundation myth, and thus ideologically links Ptolemy and Alexander. Homer becomes a way to emphasise dynastic continuity between the great Alexander and his successors, an idea which is reinforced by the genealogical references in the epigram.

Dreaming Homer is also a way to build a bridge with an otherwise lost poetic past. The twofold image of Ptolemy as a military and poetic leader emerges in the last line of the epigram.⁸⁰ Being 'king of the Muses' (l.7), in particular, may refer to the supervision of everything that is related to literary activities, such as the ones undertaken in the Mouseion.⁸¹ This would reinforce the idea that the Homereion was a monument to scholarship. Moreover, the alleged apparition of Homer to Ptolemy

⁷⁷ Homer also offered a Panhellenic historic past, with his narration of the heroic age, to which the dynast might have desired to be linked. Cf. Alcock 1997: 31-3.

⁷⁸ In an age when poets could require a cult for themselves (e.g. Posidippus of Pella in his *Sphragis*), it does not seem surprising that Homer appears and demands a shrine for himself, as might have been the case in this epigram.

⁷⁹ Cf. Renberg 2003 for the expression, esp. p. 154-5 for the inscriptions in the Hellenistic age.

⁸⁰ Cf. Erskine 2010: 21-3.

⁸¹ King of the Muses is, literally, Apollo, cf. Guèraud-Jouguet 1938: 25.

makes the dead poet *be* where the Ptolemies are. Dreams about poets usually put the receiver of the dream in direct, privileged contact with the source of poetic inspiration, and they facilitate the composition of poetry. As seen in chapter one, Pindar, for example, appears to an old woman and dictates one of his hymns (Paus. 9.23.4); the great poet himself is inspired in a dream, according to one of the sources of the *Vita Ambrosiana*: he was sleeping when he dreamt that bees put honey on his lips (*Vit. Ambros.* 1.1.9-10 Drachmann).⁸² The Hellenistic poets visualise dream-situations for their own poetic inspiration: Callimachus dreams himself of going to the source of poetical inspiration, Helicon.⁸³ The dream in *SH* 979, though not inspiring composition of poetry, is emblematic of the close, concrete contact between Ptolemy and Homer, and of the fact that the king carries out the will of the poet.⁸⁴ Homer's authority is expressed through the voice and acts of the person dreaming. It is evident, then, that stating that the Homereion is built after the apparition of the dead poet himself, confers great authority not only on the cult of Homer, but also on Ptolemy himself. If the Parians, for the construction of the Archilocheion, receive the approval of Delphic Apollo (cf. pp. 97-8), Ptolemy receives his own inspiration from the poet himself. The poet inspires the institution of a cult and the construction of a shrine – just like any god might do. As a matter of fact, gods are often depicted as they order the establishment of their own cult: since Homer enjoyed divine status in Hellenistic times, he might have been imagined in a similar vein.⁸⁵ Ptolemy becomes, when he establishes Homer's cult, the direct accomplisher of Homer's divine and architectural will, just as Alexander did in the foundation of Alexandria.

As a second point, I turn to lines 4-5 of the epigram. Ivana Petrovic has argued that we should understand *πρίν* as a preposition followed by the genitive, and consequently translates the text as follows: '[to Homer]... to the one who, *before* he

⁸² Cf. pp. 29-31 for the episodes.

⁸³ Call. *Aetia* fr. 2 and 112 Pf.; cf. *AP* 7.42.

⁸⁴ Homer soon started to appear in other famous dreams, e.g. the prologue to Ennius' *Annales*. Homer might also have been involved in other 'dream-stories' during the Hellenistic age. It is tempting to believe, for example, that the anecdote in *An. I Vit. Hom.* 7 West, according to which Helen appeared to Homer in a dream and ordered him to burn his poems already existed in the Hellenistic age (although it probably did not exist in the classical age, when only Stesichorus was thought to have dreamt Helen; on this, cf. Graziosi 2002: 146-50 with relevant primary sources).

⁸⁵ On Homer's divine status cf. pp. 48-9; on this and on gods as teachers of rituals, cf. Petrovic 2012: 58-61.

composed the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*, produced the ageless hymn from his immortal mind.⁸⁶ She convincingly suggests – on the basis of textual and thematic parallels – that the Homereion might have praised Homer as author of the *Homeric Hymn to Heracles*. Heracles was in fact famously celebrated as an ancestor of the Ptolemies; Alexander even issued coins with the image of the god. In addition to this, as Strootman notes, ‘as a mortal who became an Olympian god (...), Heracles provided a model for Hellenistic royal apotheoses.’⁸⁷ Moreover, Heracles is himself a figure with descendants all over the Greek world. If SH 979 does in fact celebrate Homer (also) as the author of the *Hymn to Heracles*, the divine ancestor of the Ptolemies, then again it is evident how the Homereion was inscribed within royal propaganda. In any case, it is clear that the monument aims at locating not only Homer’s persona, but also his work (either, more generally, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, or, more specifically, the *Hymn*) within the royal realm.

A third point concerns the temporal frame established by the epigram, which is parallel to the spatial dimension of the monument itself. The monument, as I have argued above, states that Homer belongs to all Greece and opens the way to an appropriation of the poet by any city. The epigram adds that Homer’s ‘mind’ is immortal (l.5), divinely imperishable. This arguably suggests that Homer’s intelligence still inspires men in the present day – as happens with the Homereion in Alexandria, in fact, and through the strategy of Ptolemy’s dream. The immortality of Homer reflects on the Ptolemies, of course. The mention of the title of εὐεργέται (l.6), probably used for Ptolemy IV’s parents, seems to refer to the fact that they were worshipped as *Theoi Euergetae*, and thus adds a divine, immortal dimension to the figures of the kings as well.⁸⁸ Ptolemy IV too may become immortal, of course, as he is associated (also through the adjective εὐαίων, as seen above) to his father. The Ptolemies acquire, in the epigram, the same immortal nature characterising Homer.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Cf. Petrovic forthcoming. Clay 2004: 129 understands the text similarly to Petrovic, but provides no further explanation. Other scholars understand πρίν as an adverb, and consequently believe that the monument praises Homer because he wrote, *in the past*, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

⁸⁷ Strootman 2010: 41. The scholar also underlines the importance of Heracles in Theocr. *Id.* 17.

⁸⁸ A decree of 238 BC records the institution of a cult for the ‘benefactor gods’, Ptolemy III and Berenice II (cf. Walbank *et al.* 1984: 97).

⁸⁹ The association of the immortality and ubiquity of the royal power returns in the Archelaus relief, cf. esp. p. 76.

Finally, it seems significant that the epigram refers not only to the poetic achievements of Ptolemy IV (the Homereion and, presumably, Ptolemy's own writing), but also to his military achievements. In particular, the epigram perhaps makes a reference to the victory of Raphia against Antiochus III, which established Ptolemy's 'military reputation.'⁹⁰ As I have pointed out above, however, the end of the third century BC was a period of instability for Egypt: whereas the victory of Raphia brought prestige to the king, the Egyptians started a series of revolts. In addition, the victory of Raphia was only one positive episode in a series of military defeats. The epigram may thus not only celebrate the ephemeral and hence particularly relevant victory, but also underline that it is a *Greek* victory – by linking it to Homer, as a counterbalance to the increasing requests of the local Egyptian population.

In conclusion, the epigram dedicated to Ptolemy IV Philopator in honour of the construction of the Homereion, if this is indeed how our fragment should be understood, enriches our understanding of the image of Homer in the monument and of its impact on the image of the Ptolemies. The monument could be considered part of Ptolemaic propaganda, and Homer too.⁹¹ The epigram underscores the fundamental meaning of the Homereion: no city can, as I argued above, possess Homer's heritage. The newly founded city of Alexandria, in Egypt, however, had a king who claimed to communicate with Homer in dream, as Alexander did, and a monument to testify to this. Nobody could have Homer while he was alive – but Homer himself has chosen Alexandria as the site of his afterlife and cult, and the Ptolemies as the custodians of his immortal fame.⁹² The monument marked Homer as belonging to all Greeks, but the epigram seals Alexandria's new 'claim' on him. The link between Homer and Alexandria is the result of carefully balanced statements about the poet, and it is placed at a point of potential tension. This tension is exploited to construct the fame of Homer and of any place or anybody associated with the poet.

⁹⁰ Page 1981: 465.

⁹¹ Criticising Homer was of course not acceptable in Alexandria, as the anecdote about the persecution of Zoilus 'the *Homeromastix*' suggests: it was said that after Zoilus criticised Homer, he was not allowed to make a living in Alexandria (Vitr. 7 *praef.* 8; Suda s.v. *Zoilus*; cf. el-Abbadi 1992: 88).

⁹² This association between the Egyptian dynasty and Greek Homer arguably has an influence on the formation of the image of Homer as a poet for kings (cf. Plut. *Vita Alex.* as opposed to the image of Homer we find in the *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi*) and even on later portraits of an 'Egyptian' Homer (Eust. *In Od.* 12 and Heliod. *Aethiop.* 3.14, cf. n.66).

In what follows I look at some evidence which seems to adopt the image of Homer as shaped in the Egyptian capital, in order to suggest that the Alexandrian memorialisation of Homer had a wide resonance.

Homeric epigrams

There are thirteen epigrams dedicated to Homer in the sixteenth book of the *Greek Anthology* (293-304).⁹³ I briefly focus on selected features of Homer as celebrated in some of them, to show that this literary genre engaged with the figure of the Alexandrian Homer. I start with epigram 294:

Ποίας ἀστὸν Ὅμηρον ἀναγραψώμεθα πάτρης
κεῖνον, ἐφ' ὃν πᾶσαι χεῖρ' ὀρέγουσι πόλεις;
ἢ τὸ μὲν ἔστιν ἄγνωστον, ὃ δ' ἀθάνατοις ἴσος ἦρως
ταῖς Μούσαις ἔλιπεν πατρίδα καὶ γενεήν; (AP 16.294)

Of what fatherland shall we record Homer to be a citizen,
Him, to whom all cities stretch out their hands?
Is it not that he left this unknown, but that the hero, like an immortal,
Left to the Muses his country and race?⁹⁴

The matter of Homer's origins opens up epigram 294 and becomes the defining feature of the poet. Here the question of Homer's birthplace is linked, through the explicit mention of the several cities fighting for him, to his fame and heritage. After acknowledging the ignorance about Homer's origin – regretfully, as the succession of the particles μὲν... δέ may suggest – the epigram makes a sibylline statement: satisfaction can be found in the fact that Homer has left to the Muses a fatherland and a heritage.

Scholars have not noted so far that the image of the cities stretching their hands towards the poet is strongly reminiscent and perhaps even a precise description of the

⁹³ They are all anonymous, except 296, attributed to Antipater of Thessalonica (first century BC). For an introduction to Greek epigrams (and the *Planudean Anthology*, in which the epigrams are contained) cf. Cameron 1993, Harder-Regtuit-Wakker 2002, Bing-Bruss 2007, Gutzwiller 2007: 107-20, Bruss 2010. For Homer in Greek epigrams, cf. Skiadas 1965, Bolmarcich 2002 (on Hellenistic funerary epigrams), Agosti forthcoming (on Homer in epigrams from the fourth to the sixth century AD), Guichard forthcoming (on Homer in epigrams from the first to the fourth century AD).

⁹⁴ I provide my own translation of the epigrams, but I use the Loeb edition's translations (by W. R. Paton) as point of reference.

statuary described by Aelian for the Homereion of Alexandria.⁹⁵ Moreover, the epigram states that the ancient poet's fatherland is unknown to men, but it belongs to the Muses. What this means exactly is difficult to tell, but it is clear that – given the impossibility of determining the place of Homer *in the past* – the author of the epigram suggests that it is possible to determine the place of the poet *in the present*. The 'fatherland' of Homer has been left to the Muses:⁹⁶ it is possible to suggest, I believe, that the author means that Homer can be found *where the Muses are*. Now, if we think of Alexandria, location arguably suggested by the first part of the epigram, the Muses are in the Mouseion, which was also 'the seat of canonical compiling and editing' of the Homeric text in Hellenistic times.⁹⁷ Thus the epigram suggests that Alexandria's Mouseion – given the lack of knowledge about Homer's fatherland – is the place where one ought to look for Homer's heritage, for his source of poetic inspiration and for his work. The epigram is, in fact, an epigram on the geography of Alexandria, as (in my view) it connects the two cultural sites of the Homereion and the Mouseion: both are places of memory of Homer, though in different ways. In Alexandria Homer survives his own death, thanks to the cult in the Homereion and to the Homeric scholars of the Mouseion.

There are other epigrams which rehearse the same issue of the dispute about Homer's birthplace. Here is *AP* 16.293:

Τίς ποθ' ὁ τὸν Τροίης πόλεμον σελίδεσσι χαράξας
ἢ τίς ὁ τὴν δολιχὴν Λαρτιάδαο πλάνην;
οὐκ ὄνομ' εὐρίσκω σαφές, οὐ πόλιν. Οὐράνιε Ζεῦ,
μήποτε σῶν ἐπέων δόξαν Ὅμηρος ἔχει;

Who ever wrote on his pages the Trojan war,
And who the long wanderings of the son of Laertes?
I cannot find a clear name or a city. Heavenly Zeus,
Perhaps Homer gets the glory of your own poems?

⁹⁵ In the Hellenistic age there were also processions where cities were personified (*Ath.* 5.33.10-8); it is suggestive to think that the Homereion, the Archelaus relief, and this epigram might have referred to the imagery used in the processions.

⁹⁶ It does not seem probable that the author means that the Muses will inspire poetry about Homer's birthplace in other poets.

⁹⁷ Porter 1992: 68.

In epigram 293 Homer is linked to Zeus. A resemblance between Homer and Zeus was common in ancient portraiture, and a connection between the two was often established in literature too, especially in Hellenistic times.⁹⁸ In this epigram, the connection between Zeus and Homer is established on the basis of the unknown identity and birthplace of the latter. The association with Zeus, and the divine dimension that Homer thus gains, speaks of the quality of Homer's work (ll.1-2), in the eyes of the epigram's author, but is actuated only via the controversies surrounding Homer's name and place of birth.⁹⁹

The alleged lack of information about Homer's name gives particular emphasis to the actual presence of it in the prominent, closing section of the epigram. Given that very often epigrams are carefully constructed and balanced, that here two elements, name and birthplace, are put forward as (eventual) defining characteristics of the author of the poems, and that, finally, the name is surprisingly revealed, we may wonder whether the birthplace of Homer is not, similarly to the name, revealed somehow. In the last line of the epigram, where Homer's name appears, it is also said that the poet has fame (δόξα): the reader is, I believe, invited to supply – like a riddle – the answer to the question of Homer's place with δόξα. *Fame* is the answer to the question of Homer's *place*. Wherever the poet has δόξα, where he is celebrated and memorialised, there is Homer; this is the same idea found in Alexandria's Homereion. The large geographical range of Homer's work (cf. ἐπέων, l.4) is associated with Homer's fame, which testifies to the fact that, as I suggested above for Alexandria's Homer, Homer's biographical persona (i.e. his πόλις) was a reflection of the reception of his work. Equally important is that the uncertainty about Homer's birthplace is directly connected with the poet's fame.

The notion of uncertainty about Homer's birthplace in connection to his success emerges also in the following epigram (AP 16.299):

Χῖος ἔφυς; 'Οὔ φημι.' Τί δαί, Σμυρναῖος; 'Ἄπαυδῶ.'
Κύμη δ' ἢ Κολοφῶν πατρίς, 'Ομηρε, σέθεν;
'Οὐδετέρη.' Σαλαμῖς δέ τε ἡ πόλις; Οὐδ' ἀπὸ ταύτης

⁹⁸ Cf. Esdaile 1912: 299, 316, 325, Graziosi 2002: 130, Petrovic 2006.

⁹⁹ On the association made by ancient readers between Homer's name and birthplace cf. Graziosi 2002: 81.

ἔξέφυν. Ἄλλ' αὐτὸς λέξον, ὅπη γέγονας.
'Οὐκ ἔρέω.' Τίνος ἦρα; 'Πέπεισμ', ὅτι τὰτρεκὲς εἰπῶν
ἔξω τὰς ἄλλας ἄμμιν ἀπεχθομένας.'

'Were you born in Chios?' 'No, I say.' 'What then, were you from Smyrna?' 'I deny it.'

'Was either Cyme or Colophon your fatherland, Homer?

'Neither one.' 'Was Salamis your city?' 'No, I did not come from There.' 'You tell me where you were born.'

'I will not say it.' 'Why?' 'I know for sure that speaking the truth, I'll make the other cities irritated with me.'

Here is the clearest statement of how local claims contribute to the making of a universal Homer and – through the Homereion – of a universal Alexandria.

The Archelaus relief

The second piece of evidence I consider in order to argue that the Alexandrian image of Homer had a wide resonance is the so-called Archelaus relief, which itself points to the realm of the Hellenistic kings' memorialisation of the poet. The dedicatory relief, found in Italy near Rome, portrays a statue of Homer at the receiving end of a procession. The name of the relief's sculptor, a certain Archelaus from Priene, is inscribed in the relief below Zeus' feet. Also referred to as the 'Apotheosis of Homer', stressing the similarity between the depictions of Homer and Zeus, the relief has been variously dated from the late third century BC to the late second century BC.¹⁰⁰ The lowest register carries inscriptions to identify the figures on it: it features, from the left, *Chronos* and *Oikoumene* crowning Homer, with a sceptre and a scroll in his hands, flanked by two figures representing the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.¹⁰¹ At the feet of Homer's

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Pollitt 1986: 304n24 for the alternative name of the relief. For the dating, cf. Pinkwart 1965: 48-63 and Newby 2007: 172 with further bibliography. On the similarity between Homer and Zeus, cf. Brink 1972: 551-2, and pp. 141-2.

¹⁰¹ As Graziosi 2008: 34 puts it, 'in the Hellenistic period, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were held in exceptionally high esteem and were treated as paradigmatic examples of epic.'



Figure 3 –
The Archelaus Relief
British Museum 2191

throne some viewers discern two mice, which, if there, must allude to the *Batrachomyomachia*.¹⁰² In front of Homer are a circular altar with a bull on it, and *Mythos* and *Historia* sacrificing. Behind them are three standing figures, walking in a procession: the first, with two torches in her hand, is *Poiesis*, followed by *Tragedy* and *Comedy* (who wear the traditional dramatic costumes). The last group on the right, watching the sacrifice, includes a child, *Physis*, and a group of human virtues, described as *Arete*, *Mneme*, *Pistis*, and *Sophia*. The two upper registers do not have inscriptions to reveal the identity of the figures, but they are clearly recognisable because of their attributes and visual connotations.¹⁰³ The figure on top is Zeus, with a sceptre in his hand, looking down at a figure usually identified as Mnemosyne.¹⁰⁴ Mnemosyne is, according to Hesiod's *Theogony*, the Mother of the Muses, which are all represented in the relief. In addition, we see two other figures: on the right edge of the middle register there is a statue of a poet on a pedestal, in front of which is a tripod. This is

¹⁰² Zanker 1996: 159.

¹⁰³ Cf. Pinkwart 1965 and Newby 2007.

¹⁰⁴ On Mnemosyne cf. Murray 1981: 92-4.

usually interpreted as a sign of the victory that this poet obtained at a poetic contest, which the relief must have celebrated. There is no certainty about the figure's identity. The last figure, represented in the middle register, is the god Apollo between two Muses.¹⁰⁵ He holds a *cythara*, is dressed as a *citharoedus*, holds a book roll in his hand (just like the anonymous figure and Homer) and has, in front of his feet, the *omphalos*, symbolising the centre of the world in Delphi's shrine.

Scholars have debated about whether the relief represents Alexandria's Homereion and was therefore produced in the Egyptian capital: Watzinger identified *Chronos* and *Oikoumene* with two Ptolemaic kings, Ptolemy IV and his wife Arsinoe III, and this seems to point in this direction.¹⁰⁶ However, it must be admitted that the identification of the scene with Alexandria's Homereion specifically is not certain. Kimmel-Clauzet, for instance, cautiously suggests that the relief may be linked to Smyrna's Homereion, and not to Alexandria.¹⁰⁷

Yet it is not fundamental, for my discussion, to determine the location of the scene. What matters here is that the relief depicts a Homeric place of cult:¹⁰⁸ between the statue of the seated Homer and the procession, the sculptor represents the sacrifice of a bull. Moreover, the curtain behind Homer, the columns which are visible behind it, and the sacrificial altar, all point, I believe, to a specific Homeric context and place, certainly recognisable by the ancients.

I believe that this Homeric place of cult has the nature of a site of poetic inspiration for the following reasons. The three registers of the relief depict different spaces. At the top, Zeus is depicted on a mountain, probably Mount Olympus, the main seat of residence of the king of the gods, the place from which the procession issues forth.¹⁰⁹ Below that, the Muses are represented on a mountain again, perhaps Olympus where 'the Muses have their homes' (Hom. *Il.* 2.484), perhaps Mount Helicon, where the Muses, according to Hesiod, spent their time. Finally, the cave in which Apollo

¹⁰⁵ For ancient genealogies depicting Homer descending from Apollo, cf. Lefkowitz 2012: 15.

¹⁰⁶ Watzinger 1903.

¹⁰⁷ Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 205, 213-14. Less recently, scholars have variously proposed that the statue of the relief may be connected with places like Smyrna, Pergamum, or Bovillae near Rome: for the relevant bibliography cf. Clay 2004: 178n272, Petrovic 2006: 18n13.

¹⁰⁸ It has also been suggested that what we see in the relief is not a Homereion, but a theatre or an interior setting (e.g. Elderkin 1936). Although I do not believe this very probable, I cautiously adopt more general terms in my discussion, speaking of a 'Homeric place of cult', rather than of a Homereion.

¹⁰⁹ The Muses were given birth on Olympus and spent some of their time in an area close to it, Pieria.

stands, is to be recognised as Mt. Parnassus, where the sanctuary of Apollo was located; for the *omphalos* in the cave certainly 'serves to localize the scene of the relief at Delphi.'¹¹⁰ That is the place of communication between gods and mortals. The oracles of the Pythia could establish the cult of a poet.¹¹¹ Given the narrative of the relief, which depicts the descent of poetic inspiration from Zeus, through the Muses and Apollo, to Homer, we can look at the three registers, and the spaces in them, as connected among themselves, rather than independent from each other.¹¹² Now, one of the unifying elements among these spaces is their nature as places of inspiration. It is possible to suggest that Homer's space in the lowest register is, in the eyes of Archelaus, a place of poetic inspiration. Like the Muses or Apollo, the dead poet becomes a source of inspiration himself, and this is more evident in the context of the whole descending procession. This is not surprising: in the Hellenistic age ancient poets began to appear beside the Muses, and sometimes instead of them, as sources of poetic inspiration.¹¹³ The city that sets up a monument to Homer is a place of poetic inspiration, a place where everything represented by Homer can be attained. The idea fits well with the image of Alexandria which emerges in the foundation myth (where Alexander is inspired by Homer) and with Galaton's painting (where Homer is central for all Greek poets). Other parallels may be drawn between the depiction of Homer and the Homeric place of the relief, and the depiction of the poet and Alexandria as his site of memory.

To begin with, Homer, in the relief, is characterised as a central and fundamental figure in Greek culture, just as he is in Alexandria. He is represented with Hellenic gods like Zeus and Apollo, and he is located in a Greek landscape. Furthermore, the presence of the *omphalos*, the centre of the earth, positioned in front of Apollo, adds to the effects of centrality and Greekness which emerge from the relief, and which characterised the Alexandrian Homer too. He is the source of the most important human virtues and of all literary genres, portrayed in the bottom register in front of the poet.

¹¹⁰ Elderkin 1936: 496.

¹¹¹As it happened in Archilochus' case, cf. p. 96-8. Newby 2007 also identifies the three spaces as Olympus, Parnassus, and Helicon.

¹¹² Cf. Newby 2007: 178.

¹¹³ Cf. Fantuzzi-Hunter 2004: 1-17.

In addition to this, his portrait in the relief is the same portrait that we find on the coins minted in various Greek cities honouring Homer: both the coins and the relief are arguably related to the Alexandrian conception of Homer. Homeric coins appear in eight different cities in antiquity, 'a number quite unparalleled' as Esdaile writes, and range from the fourth century BC to the third century AD.¹¹⁴ In Hellenistic and later times, many cities minted coins with the face of Homer on one side, and the name of the city on the other, thus linking the epichoric reality to a universal image of Homer.¹¹⁵ From the beginning of the third century BC specifically, a new type of coins appeared, which did not depict the image of Homer's head, but a seated Homer, especially in cities claiming a direct link with Homer, that is to say Chios, Smyrna, and Cyme.¹¹⁶ It is relevant that different Greek cities all share the very same symbolism and image of the poet; this is in itself a rare occurrence in Greek numismatics.¹¹⁷ The images are so similar that scholars have suggested that the coins portray the same statue.¹¹⁸ What matters here is that the change in the image of Homer in the Hellenistic civic coinage may have occurred under the same cultural climate which saw the development of the Alexandrian placement of the poet at the centre of Greek space. The centrality and ubiquity of the dead author, predicated by the Homereion in Alexandria, seems to be reflected in coinage, which makes the same Homer visible in different localities of the Greek world, and links them through him. The common representation of Homer conveys the idea that the cities have a right to be members of a network associated with the memory of the poet. Homer's image thus provides a channel for a common Greek identity, as the poet becomes the institutionalised symbol of a shared culture

¹¹⁴ Esdaile 1912: 303.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Graziosi 2002: 85-6.

¹¹⁶ This type was adopted from Colophon (in the third-second cent. BC), Smyrna (second century BC), Chios, Cyme, Nicaea, and Temnos (in the imperial age). For Homeric coin types, cf. Esdaile 1912. On Homeric coinage see also Richter 1965: 55-6. For an introduction on the reading of the iconography of coinage cf. Casey 1986: 23-35. On Hellenistic coinage, cf. Meadows 2014.

¹¹⁷ A similar case was the adoption by different cities of the same imagery for coins on the occasion of a pro-Spartan alliance after 405 BC (cf. Howgego 1995: 63).

¹¹⁸ Esdaile 1912: 310, for example, notes that the Homer type of the Colophon coins is similar to the Smyrna type, and suggests the possibility that the Colophon type may be inspired by a copy of the statue of the Homereion in Smyrna, the one allegedly seen by Strabo (14.1.37). I believe, however, that there is no particular reason to think that the Homereion seen by Strabo was built before the Hellenistic age; as for the statue, the fact that, as Esdaile notes, both Smyrna and Colophon coins depict a statue with archaic features (e.g. the hair) is not sufficient to argue that the statue allegedly seen by Strabo was from the fifth century BC. The coins, for example, might have easily portrayed an archaising statue of Homer. Archaising statues were common in the Hellenistic age.

and geography in everyday life. Homer's portrait on the Archelaus relief, the same portrait as that of the coins, is easy to link to the reception of Homer in Alexandria.

The presence of *Oikoumene* – the entire world – next to Homer seems to reinforce this hypothesis. More generally, *Chronos* and *Oikoumene* reflect the immortality and ubiquity of the poet, which was an idea present also in Alexandria's depiction of Homer.¹¹⁹ The representation of time and the inhabited world crowning Homer suggests that Homer is recognised as an eternally famous poet, honoured in every corner of the world. Similarly, the Homereion put Homer in a position of 'everywhere and nowhere', or rather 'everywhere and especially in Alexandria.'

In the relief, Homer is represented as a royal and divine figure, also as in Alexandria. Even without accepting Watzinger's identification of *Chronos* and *Oikoumene* with the Ptolemaic dynasts, still the two crowned figures 'are not the neutral, idealized faces of personifications' but refer to historical royal figures.¹²⁰ Homer is thus linked to a ruling dynasty; crowned by two kings and enthroned, he gains royal characteristics himself.¹²¹ The kingly features of Homer are in contrast with the biographical tradition depicting the poet as a beggar.¹²² Homer's depiction as a protégé of the kings also symbolises the patronage practiced by the rulers towards poets;¹²³ this arguably recalls the figure of Alexander in the foundation myth, where the leader was the first to promote (by following its instructions) Homer's poetry, but also in the Homereion, where Homer was the object of the study of Alexandrian scholars. Through the figure of Homer, the dynasts thus define their behaviour towards art.

Finally, there is a similarity between Homer and Zeus.¹²⁴ The resemblance is both visual – they look alike – and conceptual: one is father and king of the Muses, the other of literary genres and virtues. The comparison evokes, once again, the foundational value of Homer's works in Greek literature. Overall, Homer's divine and royal aspects not only fit the image of cult in which he is portrayed, but also transmit

¹¹⁹ Newby 2007: 170 notes that the relief underlines Homer's ubiquity similarly to what the Homereion does.

¹²⁰ Pollitt 1986: 16.

¹²¹ An idea that is found in later writers, e.g. Dio Chr. *De Regno* 2.6-8, where Alexander the Great states that Homer's poetry is ideal for kings, whereas Hesiod's poetry is ideal for shepherds.

¹²² Cf. Wallis 2014.

¹²³ An introduction to Hellenistic royal patronage is provided by Strootman 2010: 32-7.

¹²⁴ On the resemblance between Zeus and Homer in the relief (and in Hellenistic literature) cf. Petrovic 2006.

the message that the poet has a similar nature to both the Olympian king of the gods and the Hellenistic kings. Honouring Homer – both in the relief and in Alexandria – coincides with honouring Zeus, but also the ruling dynasty.

The Archelaus relief shares several aspects of the Alexandrian interpretation of Homer and his spaces. The Ptolemaic approach to Homer hence resonates in various genres (from epigrams to this sculptural relief) and in various places (the epigrams circulate far and wide, whereas the relief may have been made in Alexandria, but was certainly meant to be understood elsewhere too). I next turn to the memorialisation of Homer in other cities: first, in the cities which claimed direct contact of the poet, and secondly to one of the biggest cultural rivals of Alexandria.

Homer in Pergamum

In the final part of my chapter I turn to the memorialisation of Homer in Pergamum. A brief comparison between the images of Homer in Alexandria and in Pergamum suggests that sites of Homeric memory were relevant to cultural dialogues among competing Hellenistic kingdoms. In the Hellenistic age there was economic, political, administrative and cultural contact between the two cities and it can be assumed that the ruling dynasty in Pergamum knew of the Alexandrian Homereion.¹²⁵ In addition to this, Pergamum was a centre of culture just as Alexandria, and indeed was in competition with the Egyptian centre.¹²⁶ In the second century BC the ‘cultural and philhellenic interests’ of Pergamum’s king Eumenes II (197-160/59) focused around a library too;¹²⁷ one of the librarians was probably Crates of Mallus, also very influential within Roman circles, and most probably competing with Alexandria for Rome’s attention.¹²⁸ There was also a school of philologists which was often in conflict with Alexandria’s school. These shared interests, as well as the actual contact between the two cities, might have fostered a similar (perhaps emulating) approach in the

¹²⁵ For example, scholars travelling between the two, such as Demetrius of Adramyttium (second century BC, cf. *Suda s.v.* Δημήτριος ὁ ἐπίκλην Ἰξίων), were in a good position to report on public monuments dedicated to the poet.

¹²⁶ A famous example of the competition existing between Hellenistic literary centres is provided by Timon of Phlius’ attack against the Alexandrian Mouseion, ‘the birdcage of the Muses’ (*SH* 786, cf. Strootman 2010: 35).

¹²⁷ Cf. Hardiman 2013: 213-4.

¹²⁸ For Crates of Mallos cf. Fraser and Porter 1992; for his legacy in Pergamum cf. Broggiato 2014. For an introduction to the impact of Rome on the Hellenistic world and literature cf. Erskine 2010: 26-9.

monumentalisation of Homer's persona. It is possible, I submit, to read against this background three late Hellenistic epigrams which have been found inscribed on the base of a statue:¹²⁹

ΑΥ[] Λ[] ΕΗΣ.[] αὐτὸν [] ΗΣΙ
Μο[ῦσα] ποτ' ἀρρήτ[ου]ς θήκα[ο] γεινα[μένη].
α[ἴ]δε τοι ἀμφίλογον μύθων περὶ δῆ[ριν] ἔ]θεντο·
Σμύρνα τε καὶ γαίης Οἰνοπίωνος ἔ[δ]ος
καὶ Κολοφῶν Κύμη τε. μέτα πτολέ[ε]σσι δὲ πάσαις
ἀμφὶ σέθεν γενεῆς ἴμερος ἰεμέναις·
τοῖόν τοι κλέος αἰπὺ μετὰ ζώιοισιν ἀοιδῆς,
ἔστε περιστείχηι νύξ τε καὶ ἥλιος.

-----*vacat*-----

τὸν περιδήριτον κοσμήτορα θεῖον Ὅμηρον
λεύσσειτ', ἐν ᾧ πᾶσαι νεῖκος ἔθεντο πόλεις·
Σμύρνα, Χίος, Κολοφῶν, Κύμη καὶ πᾶσα πελασγίς
Ἑλλάς καὶ νήσων ἄστυα καὶ Τροίης.
οὐ νέμεσις· τόσσοι γὰρ ἐπὶ χθονὶ φέγγος ἔλαμψε
Μουσάων ὀπὸσον τεύρεσιν ἥλιος.

-----*vacat*-----

μυρίος αἰολίδαισιν ὑπέρ σεο μόχθος, Ὅμηρε,
Κυμαίοις ἱεράς τ' ἐνναέταισι Χίου,
μυρία δὲ Σμύρναι Κολοφῶνί τε νείκεα λείπεις·
μούνωι δὲ γνωστὰ Ζηνὶ τεὰ γένεσις,
αἶδε μάταν ὑλάουσι γὰρ ὄστεον οἶάτε λίχνοι
[ἄ]ρπυιαι θοινᾶς μειρόμεναι σκύλακες. (*IPerg.* n. 203)

a) ...him...

You, the Muse, once gave birth to and made her progeny
No words can describe.

These cities created a doubtful strife of legends:
Smyrna, and the foundation of the land of Oinopion,
And Kolophon and Kyme. Shared by all cities is the longing
And eagerness to claim your birth.

Such is the lofty glory of your song among the living,
Reaching to the limits of the revolution of night and the sun.

b) You gaze upon divine Homer, the marshal, the object of fierce dispute,
on whose account cities engage in a quarrel:

Smyrna, Chios, Kolophon, Kyme, and all Pelasgian Greece
And the cities of the islands and of Troy.

No reason to resent this. So great burned the light of the Muses

¹²⁹ For an introduction to the inscription cf. Fränkel 1890-5: 120-1, Peek 1978: 704-6, and Merkelbach-Stauber 1998: 598-9.

Reaching as far as the sun can observe.

c) Homer, Aeolian Kyme suffers toils without end on your behalf,
as do the inhabitants of sacred Chios.

Unending strife do you leave Smyrna and Kolophon.

To Zeus and Zeus alone is your birthplace known.

These cities snarl in vain over a bone, as do bitches

Ravenous and rapacious dividing a feast. (Clay 2004 transl.)

These epigrams are inscribed on the base supporting a statue of Homer; they were composed, according to Merkelbach and Stauber, for a competition in which it was to be decided which epigram would be written under the statue.¹³⁰ We can read them together, not only because they are inscribed on the same stone, but also as they concern the same main theme and share several similarities.

Two features of the image of Homer insistently emerge from the epigrams: the construction of space around him and the theme of strife. First of all, the epigrams construct the representation of a circular space and locate Homer at the centre of it. Homer is placed right *in the centre* (ll.3-4) of a series of *mythoi*, stories invented by different cities claiming him. The image of circularity, and of the related centrality of Homer, is reflected in the noticeably high number of prepositions underlining it: in the first short epigram, there are two ἀμφί, two περί and two μετά, all underlining the inclusion of Homer within a circular space. There is strife around Homer (περὶ [...] ἔ]θεντο, epigram a.3) and that strife is included in the monument (περὶ δῆ[ρην ἔ]θεντο), thus underlining that the monument celebrates the strife at least as much as Homer. The strife itself is ἀμφίλογος (a.3), an object at the centre of much discussion. Homer is also included within 'desire' (ἔμπερος, a.6) and he is placed among the mortals (ζώιοισιν, in the dative, a.7) along with his fame; finally, the night and the sun are 'going around about' (περιστείχη, a.7) just like Homer's fame (κλέος, a.6). So, in the first epigram, Homer is at the centre of the world, but his fame is also circulating, in the Hellenistic world, as much as it was in the past and always will be (as long as night and day are, as long as the world is). Circularity, so prominent in epigram a), is present in epigram b) as well. The epigram opens with the figure of Homer, on which the speaking

¹³⁰ Merkelbach-Stauber 1998: 598. For the epigrammatic contests through which texts for public monuments were chosen, cf. Petrovic 2009: 203-12.

voice urges us to direct our gazes (λεύσσετε, b.10), and Homer is described right away as a leader περιδήριτος, contested 'all around.'

The epigrams not only construct the space around Homer's persona; they also stage a series of 'actions' which take place in this space, and thus uncover specific feelings attached to the dispute about Homer's origins. The claim of being Homer's birthplace corresponds to the claim of possessing Homer: there is a desire (ἕμερος, a.6) to be the birthplace because there is a desire surrounding the poet. The desire towards Homer is linked, in the first epigram, to the immortal fame of his work (a.7-8). The desire that everybody has for the poet ignites a strife: we find many words in these epigrams falling into this semantic area: ἀμφίλογον ... δῆ[ριν] (a.3), περιδήριτον (b.9), νεῖκος (b.10), νέμεσις (b.13), μυρίος ... μόχθος (c. 15), μυρία ... νείκεα (c.17), and the final simile of the dogs in epigram c).

The epigrams thus seem to echo the motives behind the Alexandrian Homereion: Homer is surrounded by many cities which desire and fight for him. However, there is a crucial difference. In Alexandria, I argued, Homer was not supposed to find a birthplace. The Pergamum epigrams, by contrast, seem to indicate a birthplace for the poet. The elements constituting the circle around Homer in the epigrams are specific cities and geographical areas. Four cities are mentioned in *all* the epigrams (Smyrna, Chios, Cyme, and Colophon), and they are all in Asia Minor, where Pergamum is. It is probable that the mention of these cities specifically was intended to augment the prestige of Pergamum itself, located in their proximity. Thus the notion of a literary region of Asia Minor emerges, an area of ancient claims in specific localities to which Pergamum will be naturally associated.

Moreover, epigram a) and b) mention 'all cities' (l.5 and l.10 respectively), and epigram b) mentions the Peloponnese ('all the Pelasgic Greece', l.11-2), the 'cities of the islands,' and 'Troy' (l.12).¹³¹ The cities of Asia Minor are thus inserted in a geography of other places linked to Homer which includes a location symbolic of the mythical past of Greece (Troy), also in Asia Minor, but also the prestigious region of the classical *poleis*, the classical past (the islands and mainland Greece). The epigrams are, in other words, trying to insert Hellenistic Pergamum into the classical past of Greece,

¹³¹ For 'the Pelasgic Greece' meaning 'Peloponnese', cf. Fränkel 1890-5.

into a map of places that could 'historically' be connected to Homer (because they are as ancient as him in the Hellenistic cultural memory). The epigrams project onto the present a geographical understanding of the past, conveniently shaped for the creation of Pergamum as a site of Homeric memory.

Thus Pergamum claims that Homer may be of specific unknown origins, but only up to a point: for he clearly belongs to the same geographical area where Pergamum is. This statement was probably set up in contrast to Alexandria's claim. In the epigrams it is twice stated that 'all' cities claim Homer. This builds up the expectations of the reader, when the cities and places are actually mentioned: the places mentioned in the epigrams are identified with *all* the places claiming Homer. This expectation is especially built up in epigram b.10, where the adjective 'all' immediately precedes the precise list of places. As a consequence, the regions not mentioned in the epigram will not be associated with the sites claiming Homer, that is, to the sites of memory of the poet.

Now, the geographical limits set in epigram b) are clear: the monument shifts the area of Homeric memory to the region between Asia Minor in the East and the Peloponnese in the West, the islands in the South and Troy in the North. Egypt, the main adversary of Pergamum as a site of Hellenistic culture (and memory of Homer), is left out. The exclusion of Egypt from 'all' the regions claiming Homer is perhaps not casual, but the result of a conscious shaping of an ancient and historical (or so perceived) Homer-claiming world in the epigrams which includes Pergamum but not Alexandria. The epigrams, in other words, shape a region of Homeric memory which can claim to be historically linked to Homer, a region that includes Pergamum, and which is already complete and hence not accessible by Alexandria. Although evoking some aspects of the image of Homer which were also Alexandrian, Pergamum ultimately makes its own distinct claim.

Conclusion

After preserving the house of Pindar in Thebes, Alexander the Great allegedly founds Alexandria under Homer's guidance. The attention for sites of memory of dead poets characterises the king's life, but also the life of his successors, the Ptolemies. It is certain that the Ptolemies had interest in promoting the idea of an early association between

Homer, Alexander, and Alexandria. In the Hellenistic age and perhaps already at Alexander's time, Alexandria was considered as a site of Homeric memory. Homer as symbol of the city specifically appears in moments of crisis for the Egyptian capital, when its rulers and the people around them express their cultural identity through the city. Linking Homer to Alexandria provokes a re-engagement with Homer's persona. The approach to the matter of his birthplace, in particular, is rethought. As a result, first Alexandria is conceived as a creation of Homer and Homer's origin-less status becomes a point of prestige for the dead author. Homer's lack of origins constitutes a point of access to the appropriation of the poet by Alexandria: in effect, what happens here is that scholarship replaces epichoric attachment. Aspects of the Alexandrian construction of Homer are also found in other contexts. Admirers of the poet all throughout the Hellenistic world think of the space around them, and of their own place within such space, through Homer – as my examples from Pergamum, in particular, testify.

In the first part of my thesis I have looked at the 'geographical and ideological core' of the Hellenistic interest in sites of memory, by exploring Alexander the Great and the Ptolemies' engagement with them, in Greece first and then in Egyptian Alexandria. In the last part of this chapter, I have begun exploring the memorialisation of Homer in other, less central places. This provides a bridge for the second half of my thesis, where I widen my analysis to the rest of the Hellenistic world: I first consider Paros, a site of Archilochean memory, and offer detailed analysis. I then widen my discussion by providing an overview of other Hellenistic sites of memory of ancient poets.

3. Archilochus and Paros

‘Parios ego primus iambos
ostendi Latio, numeros animosque secutus
Archilochi, non res et agentia verba Lycamben.’

(Hor. *Ep.* 1.19.23-5)

Introduction

Sites of memory contributed to shape the geography of Alexander’s own life and the geography of Alexandria, but they also shaped and flourished in other, less central places and around less central figures. This third chapter opens the way for the transition from centre to periphery. I consider here the memorialisation of Archilochus on Paros, the best preserved ancient site devoted to the memorialisation of a poet. Unsurprisingly, the site has attracted considerable scholarly attention, a large proportion of which has been devoted to establishing the origins and antiquity of Archilochus’ cult on Paros: Clay’s influential monograph *Archilochos Heros* being the most famous example.¹ Clay argues that Archilochus’ cult, to which the third-century BC inscription of Mnesiepes testifies, existed on Paros long before Hellenistic times, already in the sixth century BC.² The approach I adopt here is rather different: I focus on what happened in the Hellenistic period – and show that it sheds light on broader Hellenistic trends.

Specifically, in the early Hellenistic age, the island of Paros became part of the *Νησιωτικῶν κοινόν*, the League of the Cycladic Islands under the control of the Ptolemies for some decades in the third century BC.³ The Egyptian dynasty was particularly interested in sites related to poets, as we have seen, and this must have encouraged the Parians to make the most of Archilochus, born on their island. The Archilocheion, a shrine dedicated by a certain Mnesiepes to Archilochus in the third century BC, preserves lengthy inscriptions narrating episodes of the life of the poet, thus forging a

¹ Clay 2004. Other bibliography includes Marcaccini 2001, Ornaghi 2009.

² Clay is not the first to think that Archilochus’ cult existed before Hellenistic times. However, there is no certainty about this: cf. e.g. MacPhail 2005, who expresses doubts about Clay’s chronological construction.

³ Cf. Ornaghi 2009: 271, Krasilnikoff 2010: 34-5, Constantakoupoulou 2012, 2013, Meadows 2013.

link between a site of memory and the shaping of a poetic persona.⁴ In addition to this, the Marmor Parium, an inscription produced on the island at about the same time of Mnesiepes' inscription, shows a connection, as I will show, between cultural geography and literary history.

I explore the case of Paros from a supralocal and Hellenistic perspective. The Parian memorialisation of Archilochus only makes sense, I believe, as part of a wider Hellenistic interest in sites of memory of ancient poets, the same interest which characterised the memorialisation of Pindar, Homer, and other dead poets (see ch. 4). Paros constitutes a particularly rich example but needs to be seen as precisely that: an example of a wide-spread phenomenon. In other words, Paros constitutes evidence that sites of memory were a common way to memorialise poets, and, as a consequence, that they were means of forging a common identity in the Hellenistic world. It is meaningful that when the geographical space around Paros opens up and widens, after Alexander's conquests, the small and otherwise insignificant island turns to Archilochus to find its place and identity in the new world.

The research presented in this chapter declines, in various forms, the concept of supralocality: did the insertion of the Parian memorialisation within the larger Hellenistic world have an influence upon the site of memory itself, and how it was read? How did the Parian memorialisation of Archilochus enrich the non-local memorialisation of the poet, the reception of his work and persona? How did it relate with other sites, and how did it fit within Hellenistic thought and culture more generally? I submit that the Hellenistic celebration of Archilochus on Paros should be re-considered as part of a dialogue about the memorialisation of the ancient poets which involves the entire Hellenistic world and is articulated through interlinked sites of memory. The Marmor Parium, specifically, sets out the wider network within which the Archilocheion is situated.

I open my chapter by addressing the pre-Hellenistic image of Archilochus outside Paros. In order to answer the question about how the Parian memorialisation fitted within the wider reception of Archilochus, I need, clearly, to address the latter. As I did for Alexandria's difficulties with Homer, I particularly focus on aspects of this

⁴ For basic bibliography on the Archilocheion cf. 83n1, but also Peek 1955, 1985, Tarditi 1956, Kontoleon 1952, 1956a, 1956b, 1964a, 1964b, and Ohnesorg 1982, 2008.

tradition which may have been obstacles to the Parian memorialisation of Archilochus. I then concentrate on Hellenistic Paros and consider the inscription put up in the Archilocheion by Mnesiepes, which carefully and learnedly shapes a specific, and positive, understanding of Archilochus and his work. This portrait of the poet stands in sharp contrast with the supralocal, pre-Hellenistic image of him. Finally, I consider the Marmor Parium, an inscribed chronological list: the Marmor confirms that the Parians thought of a larger context of reception for their memorialisation of Archilochus, and demonstrates, in addition, the impact sites of memory had on Hellenistic configuration of space.

Praising a blame poet

In the classical age, Archilochus was conceived as the poet of invective, and was mostly remembered for the slanderous character of his poetry.⁵ Specifically, in his verses, the poet often criticised Paros. These two reasons made it challenging to celebrate the poet's memory on the island.

Praising Archilochus as an iambic author is difficult, first of all, because of a fundamental feature of iambic poetry: the author of this genre can, by definition, be proved wrong.⁶ The genre of iambus entails that the poet blames other people in his verses. Fundamentally, the audience may believe in the accusations made in the iambic verses – or not. The poet is, in other words, on the line, implicated in his performance and in the unstable politics and poetics of blame. This is not the case in Homer's epic, where Homeric *kleos* is backed up by the Muses' knowledge and by the deeds of the heroes. As Donald Lavigne points out, whereas Homeric poetry narrates eternal truths which are divinely guaranteed, 'the guarantee of truth for Archilochean poetry lies in the poet-persona's self-involvement in the words and deeds he narrates.'⁷ The force of Archilochus' poetry obtains only on condition that the audience agrees with what Archilochus says. Within the poem, no guarantee is provided: the conflict envisaged between the poet and, to make a name, Lycambes, is never resolved.⁸ Iambic poetry

⁵ Rotstein 2010. For Archilochus' figure in the late-archaic and classical Athens, cf. Ornaghi 2009: 232-44.

⁶ Recent works on the genre of iambus are Rotstein 2010 and Cavarzere-Aloni-Barchiesi 2001.

⁷ Lavigne forthcoming: 141.

⁸ This is, as Lavigne forthcoming: 137 calls it, 'the iambic poetics of conflict.'

requires its audience to identify themselves with the internal audience of the poems, to ‘enter the here and now of a live confrontation when listening to iambus,’ and eventually to apportion blame.⁹ In iambic performance, it is always possible ‘that the external audience will take the faults of the iambic poet-persona, which he has exposed in the course of his blame, as indicative of his own inferiority rather than as a justification of the blame he announces.’¹⁰

This basic characteristic of the iambic genre makes praising Archilochus difficult, and especially on Paros, since the Parians are the object of Archilochus’ blame. The poet himself invites his reader to leave Paros (fr. 116W) and insults his fellow citizens (fr. 109W); he famously attacks Lycambes, one citizen of Paros, and depicts a scene of social disharmony (fr. 172W). West argues that ‘Lycambes and his libidinous daughters were not living contemporaries of Archilochus but stock characters.’¹¹ This may not be the case and is not, in any case, an obstacle to my argument: as we know from abundant literary evidence dating three centuries after Archilochus’ time, readers and specifically Parians did imagine Lycambes as a Parian, and it was a problem for them that Archilochus had demeaned him and his daughters in verse.¹² Even if Lycambes were only a stock character, just as the Hellenistic Parians discuss the figure of Archilochus, so they discuss the figure of Lycambes as a real, historical person.¹³

The idea that Archilochus may be blamed because he was a blame poet and the idea that this happened especially on Paros are not just modern scholarly suppositions, and more specifically theories about how *iambus* works as a genre. They are confirmed in several ancient sources, ranging from Critias and Alcidas to Aristotle. The Athenian author and politician Critias (fifth century BC) criticises Archilochus, making no distinction between Archilochus and the (first-person) voice speaking in his poems:

εἰ γὰρ μή, φησὶν, ἐκεῖνος τοιαύτην δόξαν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐξήνεγκεν, οὐκ ἂν ἐπυθόμεθα ἡμεῖς οὔτε ὅτι Ἐνιποῦς υἱὸς ἦν τῆς δούλης οὔθ’ ὅτι καταλιπὼν

⁹ Bassino-Canevaro-Graziosi forthcoming: 17.

¹⁰ Lavigne forthcoming: 144.

¹¹ West 1974: 27.

¹² Cf. e.g. the sources collected by Ornaghi 2009: 33-6.

¹³ As also Carey 1986: 64 points out (though for different aims, as he objects to West 1974’s thesis and argues for the historical existence of Lycambes; for a summary of the debate in secondary scholarship about the characters of Archilochus’ poetry and the biographical tradition of the poet, cf. Irwin 1998: 177-9).

Πάρον διὰ πενίαν καὶ ἀπορίαν ἦλθεν εἰς Θάσον οὐθ' ὅτι ἐλθὼν τοῖς ἐνταῦθα ἐχθρὸς ἐγένετο οὐδὲ μὴν ὅτι ὁμοίως τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κακῶς ἔλεγε. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, ἧ δ' ὅς, οὔτε ὅτι μοιχὸς ἦν, ἠιδειμεν ἄν, εἰ μὴ παρ' αὐτοῦ μαθόντες, οὔτε ὅτι λάγνος καὶ ὑβριστής, καὶ τὸ ἔτι τούτων αἰσχιστον, ὅτι τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀπέβαλεν. οὐκ ἀγαθὸς ἄρα ἦν ὁ Ἀρχίλοχος μάρτυς ἑαυτῶι τοιοῦτον κλέος ἀπολιπὼν καὶ τοιαύτην ἑαυτῶι φήμην. (Critias, fr. 44 DK)

He says: 'If he had not presented the Greeks with such an opinion of himself, we would not have learned that he was the son of Enipo the slave woman, nor that, after leaving Paros because of poverty and discomfort, he went to Thasos, nor that, having arrived there, he became hostile to the inhabitants, nor that he spoke ill of friends and enemies alike. Moreover, we would not have known that he was an adulterer, would we had not learned it from him, nor that he was lustful and insolent, and what is even more reproachful than all this, that he threw away his shield. So Archilochus was not a good witness to himself, leaving such ill repute and report for himself.'¹⁴

A few points of this passage are relevant for my discussion: the negative persona of Archilochus, the memorialisation of the poet, and the poet's departure from Paros. Critias blames Archilochus for many reasons, and presents a persona of him which is difficult to praise and which (a source of blame in its own right) is based on the poet's own work. It is possible, as Rotstein has argued, that Critias' criticism of Archilochus as of humble origin, forced into exile because of poetry, critical of his friends, immoral, and a coward in battle fits Critias' own antidemocratic agenda.¹⁵ Rotstein in other words, rightly believes that it is impossible to tell if Archilochus was really what Critias said that he was. Yet what interests me is something Rotstein herself concedes: despite the poet's iconic status in this passage, 'Critias 44 DK is of undeniable value as a testimony *for the reception* of Archilochus' (p. 317, italics mine). Archilochus was approached as a poet to be blamed. Critias' audience must have shared the biographical approach to the work of Archilochus or at least recognised some correspondence with Archilochus' own self-portrait. This is suggested by the confidence with which Critias accuses Archilochus: he does not feel the need to explain where Archilochus would have given such testimony of himself. He simply refers to the facts as a quick list. Critias' invective would have not been as biting as it was meant to be, were his audience not in a position to accept the move from Archilochus' work to

¹⁴ For precise passages of Archilochus' poetry that might have backed up or originated Critias' criticism cf. Lefkowitz 2012: 31-2; cf. also Lefkowitz 1976.

¹⁵ Rotstein 2010: 300-17.

Archilochus' life.¹⁶ There is no reason to imagine that only Critias' peers would have been interested in making biographical assumptions about Archilochus. It matters little that Critias' reconstruction is ideologically biased: other readers of Archilochus' work will have reached similar conclusions, and similar stories will have circulated independently from Archilochus' poetry too.¹⁷

As a matter of fact, Critias himself explicitly links the problematic persona of Archilochus, which he constructs on the basis of the poet's work, to the transmission of the memory of the poet. At the end of his passage, he looks at Archilochus as μάρτυς ἑαυτῷ, a witness to himself, and inserts his reflection on the κλέος and φήμη Archilochus left behind. These terms, κλέος and φήμη, are crucial in presenting poetry as a means of posthumous memorialisation. This way of conceptualising poetry is not as unavoidable as it may seem. A reader of Archilochus' poetry may, for example, praise the poet for the quality of his verses, without turning to his persona. Or he may confine what supposedly happened in Archilochus' life to Archilochus' time. After all, the poetry of Archilochus was read in antiquity and widely appreciated. Yet here Critias thinks of *the memorialisation* of the iambic poet after his death and connects it with what the iambic poet said: under these two circumstances, a positive memory of the iambic poet Archilochus is denied. The first important thing to note is that when approaching the memory of Archilochus, the poetic persona matters; the second is that the memorialisation of an iambic, slanderous author is easily problematic.

A last theme to be noted in Critias' passage is the difficult relationship envisioned between Archilochus and his co-citizens from Paros and, precisely, its memorialisation. Critias says that the poet had to leave Paros and go to Thasos because of his poverty and desperation.¹⁸ He also says that the poet insulted his (implicitly Parian) dear ones and associates (φίλοι). This is something reproachable, so that Archilochus' poetry is used by Critias not only to depict a negative persona of the poet, but also to underline that Archilochus was wrong in attacking his poetic victims. Indeed,

¹⁶ On this, see again Rostein 2010. Cf. also Hawkins 2014: 20-1: 'As archaic *iambos* became further and further distanced from its original context [...] the persona and the poet understandably moved close together [...].'

¹⁷ Cf. also Rosen 2007: 462.

¹⁸ The well-being of a poet could also depend on the city which hosted him: cf., for example, the negative outcome of the relationship between Homer and the Cymeans in the Ps.-Her. *Vita* of the poet.

in the context of Critias' own political agenda, it becomes a depiction of the fractious democracy. This tradition survived to later times. A scholiast on Ovid, for example, mentions that Archilochus was exiled from Paros because of his vicious tongue.¹⁹ Depicting Archilochus as he leaves Paros points to the obstacles of the memorialisation of the poet on Paros. Stories about poets badly received in their place of origin existed in antiquity, and they were relevant when questioning which places were best suited to preserving the poets' memory.²⁰

The controversial status of Archilochus also emerges in the testimony of the sophist Alcidamas.²¹ His comment on the poet, probably transmitted in his *Mouseion*, is reported by Aristotle in the *Rhetoric*.²² The philosopher gives an example of rhetorical induction and quotes Alcidamas:

καὶ ὡς Ἀλκιδάμας, ὅτι πάντες τοὺς σοφοὺς τιμῶσιν· Πάριοι γοῦν Ἀρχίλοχον καίπερ βλάσφημον ὄντα τετιμήκασιν, καὶ Χῖοι Ὅμηρον οὐκ ὄντα πολίτην, καὶ Μυτιληναῖοι Σαπφῶ καίπερ γυναῖκα οὔσαν, καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Χίλωνα τῶν γερόντων ἐποίησαν ἥκιστα φιλόλογοι ὄντες, καὶ Ἰταλιῶται Πυθαγόραν, καὶ Λαμψακηνοὶ Ἀναξαγόραν ξένον ὄντα ἔθαψαν καὶ τιμῶσι ἔτι καὶ νῦν. (Ar. *Rhet.* 1398b10-19).

Similarly Alcidamas, in order to prove that everybody honours wise men, said: 'The Parians honoured Archilochus, despite of his ill-speaking, the Chians Homer, although he was not a citizen (of Chios), the Mytilenaeans Sappho, although she was a woman, the Spartans made Chilon a senator, although they were not literary people at all, the Italiotes honoured Pythagoras, and the Lampsacenes buried Anaxagoras, although he was a foreigner, and still today they honour him.

Archilochus, according to the passage, receives honours because he is σοφός, similarly to other poets and eminent personalities, and he receives honours in Paros despite being βλάσφημος.²³ Alcidamas' passage interests me for two reasons. First, it must be noted that Alcidamas and Aristotle state that Archilochus can be praised, but that he

¹⁹ Plut. 560e-f.

²⁰ Exemplary is Euripides' case: he was born in Athens, but then went to Macedon leaving Athens, and the tradition was relevant to Macedonian propaganda (cf. esp. p. 205).

²¹ Already mentioned at p. 43.

²² The fragment is attributed to the *Mouseion* by Muir 2001: 86, but cf. Avezzi's (1982: 90) doubts.

²³ Alcidamas seems to testify, here, to the existence of a pre-Hellenistic cult for Archilochus on Paros. This may seem an objection to my hypothesis that the phenomenon of sites of memory for dead poets noticeably emerges in Hellenistic times. For now, it is sufficient to note that – as my other chapters prove – the majority of the sites of memory are mentioned in Hellenistic sources. Moreover, even if Paros hosted a cult for Archilochus earlier than the Hellenistic age, in the third century BC there was a massive re-engagement with the memory of the poet on the island. Cf. p. 94.

can also be blamed. Specifically, the reason for which he receives honours (namely his σοφία) stands in contrast to the reason for which he is blamed, as the (repeated and important) καίπερ makes clear. Secondly, Alcidas and Aristotle place the issue of the contrast between the memorialisation of Archilochus and the blameful character of his poetry (the poet was considered βλάσφημος, with a clear reference to his poetry) on Paros.²⁴ Similarly to Critias, Alcidas knows that the controversial status of Archilochus was a problem – as well as an opportunity – particularly for the Parians.

Another passage in Aristotle suggests that blaming someone as Archilochus does, may constitute an obstacle for the praise of the accusing poet. In the *Rhetoric*, the philosopher states:

εἰς δὲ τὸ ἥθος, ἐπειδὴ ἔνια περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγειν ἢ ἐπίφθονον ἢ μακρολογίαν ἢ ἀντιλογίαν ἔχει, καὶ περὶ ἄλλου ἢ λοιδορίαν ἢ ἀγροικίαν, ἕτερον χρὴ λέγοντα ποιεῖν [...] καὶ ὡς Ἀρχίλοχος ψέγει· ποιεῖ γὰρ τὸν πατέρα λέγοντα περὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς. (Ar. *Rhet.* 1418b24-30)

For what concerns character, since saying some things about himself makes one odious, or liable to be accused of speaking for too long, or of contradicting himself, and since speaking about someone else makes one liable to be accused of abuse or rusticity, it is necessary to make another speak for us [...] and Archilochus blames in this manner, for he makes the father speak about his daughter.

Aristotle here shows interest in the mechanism of blame of iambus: iambus may have a detrimental effect for the *ethos*, the character of the author. Attacking someone may lead one to be attacked and it is meaningful that, when thinking of this issue, Aristotle thinks of Archilochus' production and his strategies for avoiding blame. Although it is said Archilochus speaks *per interposta persona*, we have seen in the passages above that the poet was often blamed because of his verses. What matters overall in Aristotle's passage, is the awareness of the feature of personal invective often associated with Archilochus in antiquity: Aristotle suggests that blame poetry can bring to a negative evaluation of the poet's persona, and immediately thinks of Archilochus as somebody who had to deal with the problem.

²⁴ Rotstein 2010: 293-4 for the discussion of the word in this passage.

In Hellenistic times, the difficult memorialisation of Archilochus specifically through a *site* of memory is attested in the literary epigrammatic tradition. A tension about the memorialisation of a dead, iambic poet is registered in the funerary epigrammatic tradition for both Archilochus and Hipponax, the author most often recognised (after Archilochus) as a prototype of invective and iambic poetry.²⁵ Rosen underlines that whereas Hellenistic epigrams (rather unsurprisingly) show reverence for other ancient poets, Archilochus' and Hipponax's epigrammatic tradition presents more challenging views of the poets. As Rosen points out, the epigrammatic authors 'imagine an iambographer *redivivus* composing new poetry several centuries after his death against a nameless target, who could be anyone who happens to pass by the tomb' (p. 464). Whereas Rosen turns his discussion to the epigrams' interest in the genre of iambus, I would like to underline that the funerary epigrams where the poet is imagined as *redivivus* generally focus upon the interaction between – specifically – the funerary monument (not the poet) and the passer-by. I quote one of the epigrams as an example:

Σῆμα τόδ' Ἀρχιλόχου παραπόντιον, ὅς ποτε πικρὴν
 μοῦσαν ἐχιδναίῳ πρῶτος ἔβαψε χόλω
 αἰμάξας Ἑλικῶνα τὸν ἡμερον. οἶδε Λυκάμβης
 μυρόμενος τρισσῶν ἄμματα θυγατέρων.
 ἠρέμα δὴ παράμειψον, ὄδοιπόρε, μὴ ποτε τοῦδε
 κινήσης τύμβω σφῆκας ἐφεζομένους. (AP 7.71)

This is Archilochus' tomb, near the sea, Archilochus who once,
 For the first time, dipped the bitter Muse in snaky bile,
 Staining with blood civilised Helicon.²⁶ Lycambes knows it,
 As he weeps the hanging of three daughters.
 Traveller, pass by gently, in order not to disturb,
 Ever, the wasps nesting on his tomb.

AP 7.71 begins with the mention of the tomb (Σῆμα τόδ' Ἀρχιλόχου, l.1), indicating the monument to the reader and ideal passer-by. After engaging with Archilochus' persona, it finishes with instructions on how to behave near the tomb. The dead poet is still

²⁵ Cf. Rotstein 2010 for Hipponax as iambic poet; cf. Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 59 for the Hellenistic reduction of Archilochus' *corpus* to his iambic verses.

²⁶ On this, cf. Rosen 2007: 464-5.

dangerous: rather than the traditional and beneficial bees of poetry, his monument provides a good home for a nest of wasps. The epigrams for Hipponax, *AP* 7.405, 408, 536, and 13.3, similarly envisage the passer-by and eventually instruct him about how to behave in front of the dangerous monument. Thanks to their materiality and concreteness – as imagined in literature – the tombs embody and bring back to life the memory of the poet and, specifically and problematically, the irreverent power of his verses.²⁷ If iambic poetry, as pointed out above, requires its audience to conceptualise themselves as an internal audience, a *monument* to the memory of the poet – or a site of memory like Paros – brings the authorial persona and the audience even closer. Another point is noted by Rosen: the epigrams tackle the matter of the justice of the iambic attacks. They generally indicate that the virtuous man will not be troubled by the encounter with the tombs of the dead poets: the un-virtuous man, on the contrary, will be blamed by the poet *redivivus*. The epigrams thus illustrate the principle that blaming words must be addressed exclusively to unworthy people;²⁸ in doing so, they bring into the picture the (persona of the) audience. This is yet another perspective on the fundamental issue which makes the praise of Archilochus difficult on Paros: if Archilochus is praised, then the Parians are to be blamed. Both these points – the potential danger that a monument to an iambic poet constitutes and the impact that a memorialising monument has on the identity of its ‘user’ – emerge, as I go on to show, in the Hellenistic Parian memorialisation of Archilochus.

The Parian memorialisation of Archilochus

A funerary inscription was found on the island in 1960, in the proximity of the river Elitas, where the Mnesiepes inscription was also found; the inscription was put up in the late classical/early Hellenistic age by a certain Docimus.²⁹ Docimus might have been a descendant of Archilochus or perhaps simply an admirer of the poet.³⁰ He might have

²⁷ In another epigram, as Rosen 2007: 468 notes, it is not the verses of the poet which are harmful for the passer-by, but the plants that are on the tomb (i.e., once again, the monument itself).

²⁸ Rosen 2007: 468.

²⁹ For the dating cf. Clay 2004: 17

³⁰ On this, cf. Kontoleon 1964: 46, Guarducci 1974: 185.

been a poet himself. In any case, he set up a hexametric epigram which marked the spot where the poet was supposedly buried.³¹ This is the epigram:

Ἄρχιλοχος Πάριος Τελεσικλέος ἔνθαδε κεῖται,
τῷ Δόκιμος μνημῆιον ὁ Νεοκρέωντος τόδ' ἔθηκεν.³² (CEG 2.674)

Archilochus of Paros, son of Telesicles, lies here;
Docimus, son of Neocreon, established this memorial for him.

Docimus memorialised himself as well as Archilochus. He did so via an appeal to Paros: the redundancy between mentioning Πάριος and physically locating the inscription on the very same island suggests that, according to Docimus, a continuity between him and Archilochus could be established precisely because the two were both in the same place.³³ As has been noted, 'in sepulchral epigrams the mention of a man's place of origin often implies that he is not a native of the place where he lies buried.'³⁴

More specifically, the two verses on the capital qualify the poet's tomb as a Parian device of Archilochean memory. The first line is dedicated to Archilochus, the second to Docimus; the poet is concisely 'summarized' as Parian and as son of Telesicles, whereas no mention is made of his character or of his poetry. The simplicity and linearity of the epigram, however, allows the reader to notice the parallel construction of the two lines. The words of the second line are all positioned in order to correspond to the words of the first line: Δόκιμος corresponds to Ἄρχιλοχος, the genitive and patronymic Νεοκρέωντος to Τελεσικλέος, the verb ἔθηκεν to κεῖται. Alliteration in the final segments of the two lines is also an important device, ἔνθαδε κεῖται and τόδ' ἔθηκεν. Given this strict correspondence between the two lines, the reader will immediately associate the two words that are left, Πάριος and μνημῆιον. This suggests that for Docimus it is relevant to denote the tomb of Archilochus specifically as a Parian

³¹ Cf. Ornaghi 2009: 265-6 with further bibliography on the location where the Docimus and Mnesiepes inscriptions were discovered. It is only a possibility, as Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 229 reminds us, that the capital was placed in the Archilocheion. Clay 2004: 35-8 suggests that Mnesiepes located his shrine where Archilochus believed to have met the Muses and where he was believed to be buried.

³² Clay 2004: 161n130 notes 'το for τῷ.'

³³ The redundancy is noted by Kontoleon 1964: 46.

³⁴ Lloyd-Jones 1963: 90.

site.³⁵ Paros is arguably important, for Docimus, because he himself is a Parian and that is the way to be associated with the admired poet. Having a common fatherland, having such closeness to Archilochus, is allowed by the tomb of the poet, and by the territory of Paros.

At this point in time, few decades before the founding of the Archilocheion, Docimus already uses a monument – as Mnesiepes will do – in order to celebrate himself and Archilochus. The Docimus inscription testifies not only to the fact that Paros was always linked to Archilochus, but also that it was possible to boast of the connection. Docimus, in other words, does not care about the fact that iambic Archilochus had blamed the Parians. Instead, he stresses the fact that *he* and the famous poet are both linked to Paros. This idea is at the heart of the Hellenistic Archilocheion. Almost following Docimus' intuition, the Parians re-engage with Archilochus through Paros as a site of memory. As a result, in addition to re-shaping the persona of the poet, they even re-shape the idea of Archilochus' iambus, as I argue below. In the case of the Archilocheion, the Parians set out a proper urban and cultural agenda to transform their island into a site of memory; in this process of cultural landscaping, the reception of the poet and his work becomes a key aspect.

The Archilocheion is the most famous piece of monumental evidence which survives to testify to the connection between Archilochus and Paros. The archaeological complex was founded by Mnesiepes in the third century BC. Although it is possible that a former Archilocheion existed, not only is there little evidence for it, but also the re-dedication of the Hellenistic Archilocheion undoubtedly signifies a new interest in the poet.³⁶ For this reason, it is possible to treat the Archilocheion as a sign of innovation and change in the cultural panorama of Paros and, specifically, in the way the Parians related to Archilochus through the landscape. This difference in perspective – my interest in the Archilocheion as a Hellenistic phenomenon as opposed to an interest in establishing earlier possible origins for the shrine – fundamentally distinguishes my approach from that of Clay. Two sets of inscriptions have survived from the Archilocheion: the first is the third century BC inscription set up by Mnesiepes

³⁵ The tombs are sites of memory at which the tension between memory and loss is manifested with special force (cf. Platt forthcoming).

³⁶ For the former existence of the Archilocheion, cf. Clay 2004, Ornaghi 2009.

himself, while the second is a first century BC inscription set up by Sosthenes.³⁷ I focus on the Mnesiepes inscription, in line with the first three chapters (where I look at the early Hellenistic stages of sites of memory).

Mnesiepes, or 'he who remembers the words', was in all likelihood a prominent citizen, who wished to be remembered as a lover of letters, as suggested by his speaking name, and who had the power he needed to have in order to be in a position to found a civic cult of Archilochus.³⁸ Two blocks remain of his inscription, E₁ and E₂.³⁹ In them, Delphic oracles ordering the establishment of the poet's cult and shrine are reported. Following this, three different moments of Archilochus' life are individuated in the inscription: first, the poet's encounter with the Muses and his poetic inspiration; then the establishment of Dionysus' cult by Archilochus on Paros; finally, episodes referring to Archilochus' valour in battle. By respecting these main biographical thematic focuses, I show how the shaping of the biography of the poet at the site of memory on Paros was associated with the understanding of, and approach to, Archilochus' work in a supralocal perspective. The Parians decide to use Archilochus to relate with the outer world. Specifically, they remember Archilochus through their island, as Docimus did, arguably because of the increasing importance of sites of memory of dead poets. It is within this more general context that they re-engage with the image of Archilochus (and in particular with the aspects of it which I briefly explored in the first part of the chapter), by using different means, such as acts of landscaping, philological work, and literary criticism. Before using Archilochus as a symbol, however, they must produce an image of the poet which is acceptable for the Parians themselves.

³⁷ Sosthenes, son of Prosthene put up his inscription in the early first century BC; the inscription is preserved on three blocks of Parian marble (on the Parian marble in antiquity, cf. Schilardi-Katsonopoulou 2010). Sosthenes narrated, like Mnesiepes before him, events of the life of the poet, by summarising or quoting Archilochus' poetry with prose glosses. Marcaccini 2001 provides a study of Sosthenes' inscription and of the use of Archilochus' figure for the identity of Paros. Sosthenes seems less interested in Archilochus' life and more interested in Paros' history (cf. Ornaghi 2009: 308-9; more generally, on the differences between the two inscriptions, cf. pp. 299-316). From now on, when quoting from the Mnesiepes and Sosthenes inscriptions, I will indicate them with 'Mn.' and 'So.' respectively.

³⁸ Cf. Nagy 1999: 304 4n3: I use his translation of Mnesiepes' name. Cf. also Clay 2004: 10. The speaking name might imply that Mnesiepes was a rhapsode: rhapsodes performed not only the poetry of Homer, but also of Archilochus; cf. Pl. *Ion* 531a, Ath. 14.12.11-4; cf. Lefkowitz 2012: 32; Clay 2004: 10n14 for the diffusion of the name on Paros and for further bibliography. On rhapsodes in the Hellenistic age cf. West 2010: 7-10.

³⁹ According to Clay's nomenclature which I adopt. The 'E' stands for Elitas, the river nearby which the blocks were found by Kontoleon.

god gave to us in his oracle. Now, concerning the matters we wanted to engrave and set up publicly, these are the traditions which have been handed down to us by the ancients and which we have worked out ourselves.⁴¹

The inscription insists on the fact that the cult of Archilochus – and therefore the image of the poet which the cult presents – is recognized and legitimated by the Panhellenic oracle of Delphi.⁴² Three oracles vouch for the Panhellenic character of the monument: they are fully reported, almost redundantly, one after another.⁴³ Two other Delphic oracles are mentioned later in the Mnesiepes inscription, both approving of Archilochus (see pp. 100-1, 110-1). Delphi is thus the uniting authority which recognises that the figure of Archilochus should be celebrated, and it indicates right away that all that is said in the Archilocheion about the dead poet is to be taken as true by all Greeks.

This implies that both the Parians and the non-natives have to accept the appraisal of the poet which is in the rest of the inscription. The perspective given by the reference to Delphi can be useful locally, to Mnesiepes, in order to establish approval for the monument he wants to set up. In this respect, it is significant that the consultation at Delphi is explicitly presented as a means of ratifying a plan Mnesiepes already had (ll. 1-3).⁴⁴ The references to Delphi and its authority immediately put to silence any eventual objection of the Parians to the monument.

The Delphic oracle, at the same time, makes the Parian Archilocheion a monument of Archilochean memorialisation available to all. In this regard, more specifically, the material objects themselves, which define the area of the Archilocheion, are legitimated by the oracle and hence charged with Panhellenic religious status. The approval of the god is explicitly given to the *monumentalisation* of

⁴¹ All the translations of Mnesiepes' inscription are adapted from Clay 2004.

⁴² For the 'delfizzazione' and Panhellenization of the biography of Archilochus see Ornaghi 2009. For bibliography on the reasons behind the Delphic appropriation of Archilochus' figure, cf. esp. p. 118n1. On Delphi cf. Scott's work: cf. Scott 2010: 25-73 for the appropriateness of the term 'Panhellenic' for describing Delphi, and Scott 2014: 285-90 for the oracle's influence on all the Mediterranean. On the Delphic oracle in general, cf. also Lloyd-Jones 1976, Fontenrose 1978.

⁴³ Some Hellenistic writers refer to this episode but speak of *Delian* Apollo instead (cf. *sphragis* of Posidippus from Pella, *AP* 7.654). See Tarditi 1968 (cf. Podlecki 1974: 14-17), Clay 2004: 29-31, Ornaghi 2009: 126-9. In the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* the god is the founder of both the Delphic and Delian sanctuaries. On the treatment of space in the *Homeric Hymns*, cf. De Jong 2012. For the Panhellenic character of the sanctuary of Delphi cf. Neer 2007; for the notion of centrality attached to the authority of the sanctuary, cf. Guettel Cole 2004: 66-79.

⁴⁴ Cf. Privitera 1966: 7.

the τέμενος and βωμοί, which are repeatedly mentioned. Poet and (objects which constitute the) place are remembered together within a Panhellenic framework. Whereas out of Paros the tomb of the poet was being depicted as a danger for the passer-by (cf. the epigrams above), and the memorialisation of the poet through a monument was envisaged as a problematic act, the Parians build a monumental shrine for the poet, and have Delphi approve it.⁴⁵

Another point to be noted, is that this part of the inscription underlines that the monument defines the whole community. This feature differentiates the Archilocheion from Docimus' inscription: whereas the former monument can represent the community of Parians who recognize Archilochus as a common ideal ancestor, the latter is dedicated by a single individual. He might have represented a larger group of people, or a family of the island, but there is no mention of it in the epigram: Docimus was memorialising himself above all. In the Mnesiepes inscription, by contrast, several indicators show that the monument represents not only Mnesiepes, but also the Parian community. The first 15 lines of the passage, with the first two Delphic oracles and the repeated mention of Greek divinities, speak a language which relates to an inclusive Greek cultural ideal. The shift which follows is quite abrupt: Archilochus, a *local* hero, has to be inscribed in the cult, too, as the Delphic oracle orders to Mnesiepes. Exactly when Archilochus appears in the narrative, a larger group of people steps in as well, linking the two: there is a shift from Mnesiepes, the singular protagonist of the narrative so far, to a collective 'we' which is highly emphasized by an accumulation of verbs in the first person plural, followed by an explicit ἡμῶν in lines 16-20. The verbs define what the Parian community of Archilochus' admirers should do: establish a cult for the poet.⁴⁶ The fact that the establishment of the local cult for the poet is strictly related to the Greek religion (note the prominence not only of Delphi but of several gods) suggests that the self-definition of the Parians as worshipers is stated for the

⁴⁵ And possibly Delphi 'approves' the very same tomb of Archilochus: the Archilocheion *may* have hosted the remains of the poet, and a 'magnificent burial' on Paros is mentioned by Sosthenes, which may refer to the Archilocheion itself. Cf. Ohnesorg 1982 and 2008.

⁴⁶ Cf. Ornaghi 2009: 161, 279-83: it is impossible to determine with certainty the status of the group of people indicated by the 'we' of the inscription, especially because the speaking name 'Mnesiepes' opens up the possibility of a poetic guild. There is no reason to believe, however, that the group was not of Parian identity. Although Ornaghi argues that the transmission of Archilochus' memory on Paros in antiquity was always in the hands of one family, this, as the scholar himself makes clear, does not exclude the civic value attributed to Mnesiepes' monument.

benefit of an external audience. At the same time, that imagined audience fosters cohesion at home, and support for what may otherwise be a contestable plan.

Finally, one last important point must be made. The last two lines of this fragment, ll. 21-2, make precise reference to two methodological steps adopted by the Parians for their reconstruction of Archilochus' life: the collection of biographical material which has been made ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων and the critical work made by αὐτοί. These two steps evoke the methodology adopted by Hellenistic scholars who were intent in the same type of work in the Alexandrian library. For example, we can think of Callimachus' Πίνακες, which were, as the *Suda* explains, a collection of 'tables of all those who were eminent in any kind of literature and of their writings in 120 books.'⁴⁷ Similarly to Mnesiepes, Callimachus was interested in poetic personae, and in their work. Callimachus carefully registered knowledge already gathered by others before him, and assessed it with a critical eye, especially with regard to questions of authenticity.⁴⁸ The same idea of a critical collection that is behind this Callimachean compilation is also behind the conception of the Archilocheion: the monument and Callimachus' work are both part of the 'memorializing impulse' of ancient poets which gains prominence in the Hellenistic era.⁴⁹ In the Archilocheion, the union of authorial ancient sources and contemporary discretion aims to authorise the biography of Archilochus as established by the Parians, and it also resonates with the methods of Alexandrian scholarship.

The idea of closeness between the Parian activity around Archilochus and the scholarship that flourished in the library of Alexandria is also suggested by the physical aspect of the inscription. As has been noted, the Mnesiepes inscription is 'book-shaped,' that is, it looks like a papyrus roll: the text is spread out in parallel columns (σελίδες) and documentary structuring devices, such as reverse indentation (ἐκθεσις), are used.⁵⁰ Callimachus' Πίνακες – and many other Hellenistic works on ancient poets – were deposited in book rolls which embodied the new repository of knowledge from

⁴⁷ Cf. *Suda* s.v. Πίνακες, transl. Pfeiffer 1968: 128.

⁴⁸ Pfeiffer 1968: 128, Stephens 2010: 55.

⁴⁹ Bing 1993.

⁵⁰ The similarity was first noticed by Kontoleon 1952; cf. Clay 2004: 11 and, for a more detailed analysis of the formal features which make the Mnesiepes inscription resemble a literary papyrus, Ornaghi 2009: 163-5.

the past.⁵¹ The third-century inscription thus materially alludes to the books in which erudite scholars collected different traditions about the poets of the past and their works.

The site of memory is thus meant to advance a *canonical* and broadly acceptable image of the poet. The Parian image of Archilochus which will be put forward in the rest of the inscription is the object of careful historical research and approved by Apollo. The poet, according to Mnesiepes' intentions, has to become a means to define the identity for the Parians in front of the rest of the world; the celebration of Archilochus is associated with the Alexandrian, Hellenistic studies on ancient poets, their biographies, and their places; the story of Archilochus' life provided next must be believed and honoured by all Greeks, as sanctioned by Apollo.

The following section of Mnesiepes' inscription tells of the poetic inspiration of young Archilochus:

Λέγουσι γὰρ Ἀρχίλοχον ἔτι νεώτερον
 ὄντα πεμφθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Τελεσικλέους
 εἰς ἀγρόν, εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ὃς καλεῖται Λειμῶνες,
 [ῶ]στε βοῦν καταγαγεῖν εἰς πρᾶσιν, ἀναστάντα 25
 πρῶτερον τῆς νυκτός, σελήνης λαμπούσης,
 [ἄ]γειν τῆμ βοῦν εἰς πόλιν· ὡς δ' ἐγένετο κατὰ τὸν
 [τ]όπον, ὃς καλεῖται Λισίδες, δόξαι γυναῖκας
 [ἰ]δεῖν ἀθρόας· νομίσαντα δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων ἀπιέναι
 αὐτάς εἰς πόλιν προσελθόντα σκώπτειν, τὰς δὲ 30
 δέξασθαι αὐτὸν μετὰ παιδιᾶς καὶ γέλωτος καὶ
 [ἐ]περωτῆσαι, εἰ πωλήσων ἄγει τῆμ βοῦν· φήσαντος δέ,
 [εἰ]πεῖν ὅτι αὐταὶ δώσουσιν αὐτῷ τιμὴν ἀξίαν·
 [ῥη]θέντων δὲ τούτων αὐτάς μὲν οὐδὲ τῆμ βοῦν οὐκέτι
 [φ]ανεράς εἶναι, πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν δὲ λύραν ὄραν αὐτόν· 35
 [κα]ταπλαγέντα δὲ καὶ μετὰ τινα χρόνον ἔννου
 [γ]ενόμενον ὑπολαβεῖν τὰς Μούσας εἶναι τὰς φανείσας
 [κα]ὶ τὴν λύραν αὐτῷ δωρησαμένης· καὶ ἀνελό-
 [με]νον αὐτὴν πορεύεσθαι εἰς πόλιν καὶ τῷ πατρὶ
 [τὰ] γενόμενα δηλώσαι[:] Τὸν δὲ Τελεσικλῆν ἀκού- 40
 [σα]ντα καὶ τὴν λύραν ἰδόντα θαυμάσαι. καὶ πρῶτομ
 [μὲ]ν ζήτησιν ποιήσασθαι τῆς βοῆς κατὰ πᾶσαν
 [τῆ]ν νῆσον καὶ οὐ δύνασθαι εὐρεῖν[:] Ἐπειθ' ὑπὸ τῶν
 [πο]λιτῶν θεοπρόπον εἰς Δελφοὺς εἰρημένον μετὰ
 [Λυ]κάμβου χρησόμενον ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, προθυμό- 45

⁵¹ Pfeiffer 1968: 102-4 calls the Hellenistic age a 'bookish' age. For the concept of Hellenistic poet-scholar cf. Pfeiffer 1968, especially his discussion on the first of these scholars, Philitas from Cos, pp. 88-93.

[τ]ερρον ἀποδημῆσαι βουλόμενον καὶ περὶ τῶν
 [α]ύτοῖς συμβεβηκότων πυθέσθαι[:] Ἀφικομένων δὲ
 [καὶ] εἰσιόντων αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον τὸν θεὸν
 [εἰ]πεῖν Τελεσικλεῖ τὸν χρησμὸν τόνδε:
 [Ἀθ]άνατός σοι παῖς καὶ ἀοίδιμος, ὦ Τελεσίκλεις, 50
 [ἔ]σται ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν, ὃς ἂμ πρῶτός σε προσεῖπει
 [ν]ηὸς ἀποθρῶσκοντα φίλην εἰς πατρίδα γαῖαν.
 Παραγενομένων δ' αὐτῶν εἰς Πάρον τοῖς Ἄρτε-
 μισίοις πρῶτον τῶν παίδων Ἀρχίλοχον ἀπαν-
 τήσαντα προσεῖπειν τὸν πατέρα· καὶ ὡς ἦλθον 55
 οἴκαδε, ἐρωτήσαντος τοῦ Τελεσικλέους, εἴ τι τῶν
 ἀνανκαίων ὑπάρχει, ὡς ἂν ὀψὲ τῆς ἡμέρας (Mn. E₁ II 22-57)

They recount that Archilochus, when he was still a young man, was sent by his father Telesicles to the field, to the district which is called Leimones, to bring a heifer down for sale. He got up early, before it was day, while the moon was still bright, to lead the heifer to town. As he came to the place called Lissides, he thought he saw a group of women. And, since he thought that they were coming from work, and going to the city, he mocked them, but they greeted him with amusement and laughter, and asked him if he intended to sell the cow he had in tow. When he answered, they said that they would give him a good reward for it. But, once they had said this, neither they nor the heifer could be seen any longer, but lying before his feet he saw a lyre. He was panic-struck and, after some time, he came to his senses and understood that the women who had appeared to him were the Muses, and that it was they who had given him the gift of the lyre. And he picked it up, went to the city, and explained to his father what had happened. When Telesicles heard this and saw the lyre, he was amazed. At first he made a search for the heifer over the entire island, but could not find it. Then, when the citizens made him a sacred ambassador and sent him to Delphi with Lycambes, to consult the oracle on behalf of the city, he left home very eagerly, because he wanted to know what had happened to them. Now when they arrived and were entering the oracle, the god delivered the following oracle to Telesicles: 'Telesicles, that son of yours will be immortal and celebrated in songs among mortal men, who first greets you as you leap from the ship onto your dear fatherland.' When they had reached Paros during the festival of Artemis, Archilochus was the first of his children to meet and greet his father. And when they came home, Telesicles asked him if there was what necessary, as it was late in the day....

The first part of the inscription, as seen above, inscribes the establishment of the cult of the poet within Delphi's 'jurisdiction' and the reconstruction of Archilochus' life within the contemporary biographical studies. In this second passage, the Parians find an even cannier solution to the problem of the memorialisation of Archilochus: they re-define the blame poetry of Archilochus as poetry to be praised. The overarching question of 'how to praise a blame poet' is directly addressed and answered here by means of biography as literary criticism.

The brilliant manoeuvre performed by this biographical inscription is that it states, building up on the typical association between Muses and poets, that the Muses themselves were insulted but did not take offense – on the contrary they responded with the gift of poetry, symbolised by the lyre.⁵² So, likewise, the Parians should not take offense, but respond to insult with a gift – i.e. the monument – in honour of Archilochus’ poetry. After Docimus’ statement that Archilochus is to be celebrated in order for the Parians to obtain, in turn, recognition, the Parians in Mnesiepes’ inscription too use the figure of the poet to their own advantage. In order to do this, they depict the iambic poet as he insults and makes fun of the goddesses, a matter obviously more serious than insulting the Parians, Lycambes, and his daughters, and on the basis of which Archilochus may *not*, in any way, be positively judged. Surprisingly, the Muses do not judge what the poet says according to the truth of it (as iambic poetry required); they simply find him talented, they are amused, and they become themselves playful, even protective and celebratory. Instead of being marked with dishonour, Archilochus is rewarded a lyre, one of the noblest instruments of poetry.⁵³ The episode has almost a didactic character, as it suggests to the Parians and the other Greeks to honour the dead poet because his words are, from the moment when Archilochus meets the Muses, to be understood as poetry.

Modern scholars have often overlooked this subtle move made in the inscription, and have tried to reconcile the puzzling honours attributed on Paros to Archilochus by firmly juxtaposing (in an exclusive manner) the negative, iambic, supralocal figure of Archilochus, to the Parian, entirely positive depiction of the poet – that is, they draw straight lines: supralocal vs local; blame vs praise. Berranger thus distinguishes between two figures of Archilochus, and states that ‘ce n'est pas le calomniateur poussant les filles de Lycambès au suicide qu'on y célébrait [i.e. on Paros], mais le poète chéri des Muses et d'Apollon.’⁵⁴ Nagy believes that Archilochus’ attack on Parian Lycambes did not extend to the other Parians, who were treated, he argues, as the poet’s *philoï*: Nagy singles out the blame against Lycambes as ‘a special case of

⁵² On the association between Muses and poets in a funerary context, cf. Mojsik 2013.

⁵³ On Archilochus as a lyric poet cf. Rotstein 2010: 232-4. Cf. also Gentili 1982: 12-5 on the lyric production of Archilochus.

⁵⁴ Berranger 1992: 184.

invective', in order to demonstrate that Archilochus did not blame his *philoï*, but only his enemies.⁵⁵ Otherwise, he adds, it would be difficult to explain the textual transmission of Archilochean poetry at Paros, that is, the admiration for the poet. Even if this was the case at Archilochus' time, even if the blame against Lycambes was perceived as just by the Parians, there are two objections to Nagy's point: first, the accusations against Lycambes and his daughters were not the only accusations against Parians made by Archilochus (cf. p. 86). Secondly, as pointed out above, Archilochus was famous in antiquity – as seen in Critias' testimony (pp. 88-9) – for attacking *both friends and enemies alike*.

There indeed existed, I believe, a problem with honouring iambic Archilochus on Hellenistic Paros, but Mnesiepes solved it. The Parian Archilochus is, as a matter of fact, a figure that goes beyond the apparently irreconcilable dichotomy of praise and blame, *by divine intervention*. In the Archilocheion, the two figures of Archilochus are one, the antithetical dimensions of praise and blame are united in the poetic persona. The Parian Archilochus is the iambic poet who must be praised, even by his victims, because his words are poetry. The blame work of Archilochus is no longer the cause of shame, but a way to fame.

In this perspective, the inscription itself shows that the Hellenistic Parians took pleasure and pride in Archilochus' work: Mnesiepes mentions several passages of Archilochus' poetry, to which I return below. But before that, even in this passage which is biographical in its essence, I believe one can see a subtle but important re-engagement with Archilochus' work. The 'poetic' allure of the episode emerges specifically in the words used to describe the exchange between the poet and the goddesses. Mnesiepes, while carefully weaving his biographical narrative, adopts once again (after making references to Delphic Apollo and to other Greek gods and heroes who, by the way, are like Archilochus figures who may often be blamed and praised) a largely shared language which speaks of poetics, inviting all of the admirers of Archilochus to share his view: if read from an Aristotelian perspective, the description of the verbal exchange between Archilochus and the Muses involves a precise understanding of Archilochus' work and a redefinition of the genre of iambus. In the

⁵⁵ Nagy 1976: 199.

following discussion, I focus on three terms which appear in the inscription: σκώπτειν (to mock), παιδιά (wit) and γέλως (amusing, comic).

First, a premise should be made. In the next paragraphs, I consider both Aristotle's works on ethics and his works on literary criticism. As Stephen Halliwell states, 'we can construct a picture of Aristotle's attitudes to laughter – as a phenomenon of «anthropology», psychology, social life, comic poetry/drama and even physiology – from a number of texts. What binds the picture together is a fundamentally ethical (that is, an *ēthos*- or character-centred) perspective on those who laugh [...] and on the causes of their laughter.'⁵⁶ I consider Aristotle's work in this inclusive perspective, in order to throw light upon the meaning of the three concepts mentioned by Mnesiepes. In the *Poetics* Aristotle establishes a connection in particular between the character of the poet and his work; when illustrating the origins of tragedy and comedy, the philosopher famously says that the division between the two genres originated from the different characters of the poets:

παραφανεΐσης δὲ τῆς τραγωδίας καὶ κωμωδίας οἱ ἐφ' ἑκατέραν τὴν ποίησιν ὀρμῶντες κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν φύσιν. (*Po.* 1449a2-4)⁵⁷

When tragedy and comedy came to light, poets were drawn by their natural bent towards one or the other. (Fyfe 1932 transl.)

On such premises, we can turn to the *Poetics* and the *Rhetoric*, but also to the *Nicomachean Ethics*, in order to throw light onto literary and poetic definitions of laughter and mocking.⁵⁸ I start with σκώπτειν, with which Archilochus is said to address the Muses when he mistakenly believes them to be workers. Aristotle associates σκώπτειν to pleasure, the same pleasure which is of course a distinctive characteristic of poetry. Mocking someone is *per se* acceptable for Aristotle. Specifically, pleasure is associated with σκώπτειν in *Rh.* 1381a28-35, where Aristotle states that 'those (the persons with whom it is pleasant to live or spend time, ἔτι τοὺς ἡδέϊς συνδιαγαγεῖν καὶ συνδιημερεῦσαι) are tactful when making or taking a joke (ἐπιδέξιοι καὶ τῷ τωθάσαι

⁵⁶ Halliwell 2008: 307. On the proximity of the ethical and literary positions of Aristotle in this regard, Halliwell comments more at pp. 326-8.

⁵⁷ The discussion about the poets' characters and their production begins at *Po.* 1448b20.

⁵⁸ Obviously, the lost second book of the *Poetics* is what we would most probably need to complete the picture of Aristotle's theories on laughter in literature.

καὶ τῷ ὑπομεῖναι) [...] being able to take a joke and return it in a proper way (δυνάμεοί τε σκώπτεσθαι καὶ ἐμμελῶς σκώπτοντες).’ Mocking can thus give pleasure, if it can be returned. Although Archilochus may not initially have intended for this to be so, his exchange with the Muse is reciprocal – both in words and in objects exchanged.⁵⁹ Pleasure as a feature of mocking returns in *EN* 1128a25-7, where the philosopher states: ‘Can we then determine proper mocking (εὖ σκώπτοντα) by saying that its jests are not unbecoming to a gentleman (μὴ ἀπρεπῆ ἐλευθερίῳ), or that it does not provoke pain or even that it gives pleasure to its object (ἢ τῷ μὴ λυπεῖν τὸν ἀκούοντα ἢ καὶ τέρπειν)?’⁶⁰ Archilochus is a blame poet, and therefore it is difficult to praise him; but *if* the target takes no offence (if the Muses are amused, if the Parians set up a monument) then all of a sudden this means that the mocking poet did not go beyond what is ‘becoming to a gentleman.’ The problem with σκώπτειν is in the measure in which the audience enjoys the mocking, not in the act itself: in *EN* 1128a4 Aristotle says that ‘most men take pleasure in jokes and in mocking more than it is necessary’ (τῶν πλείστων χαιρόντων τῇ παιδιᾷ καὶ τῷ σκώπτειν μᾶλλον ἢ δεῖ). σκώπτειν can also provoke anger and, in some cases, should be punished by the law (cf. *Rh.* 1379a30-2 and *EN* 1128a30-1, οἱ δὲ νομοθέται ἔνια λοιδορεῖν κωλύουσιν ἔδει δ’ ἴσως καὶ σκώπτειν). This is precisely the reaction of the citizens to Archilochus’ poetry for Dionysus: they took the poet to trial (cf. pp. 111-2). However, mocking is acceptable if done in an appropriate way: in *EN* 1128a31-3, Aristotle says that a man must be, in regard to mocking, a law to himself (νόμος ὢν ἑαυτῷ) and he will show a ‘middle’, appropriate, disposition when mocking (τοιοῦτος μὲν οὖν ὁ μέσος ἐστίν, εἴτ’ ἐπιδέξιος εἴτ’ εὐτράπελος λέγεται). In this regard, it seems no coincidence that the Mnesiepes inscription presents several Delphic oracles approving Archilochus’ cult and persona: Apollo is, after all, not only the god of poetry, but also the god of measure, proportion, and balance, and *he* repeatedly approves Archilochus in the Mnesiepes inscription. Archilochus’ σκώπτειν can be made into something acceptable according to Aristotle’s parameters. The words of Archilochus, if read against Aristotle’s literary criticism, bring no damage to the listener, provoke pleasure, offer the relaxation necessary to life, and

⁵⁹ In this regard, cf. Pl. *Leg.* 935a2-b2. The exchange, as Aloni 2009: 11-2 notes, is not reciprocal in the episode of Hesiod’s inspiration, which is very similar to the one of Archilochus’ inspiration.

⁶⁰ On this passage cf. Micallella 2004: 104-7.

encourage an exchange of jokes – which in fact happens with the Muses’ response, to which I now turn.

The Muses reply to Archilochus with παιδιά and γελωτός. The passage already read from the *Nicomachean Ethics* contains various references to παιδιά: the first is in 1128a14, where παιδιά is on the same level as σκώπτειν: the same reflections we have done for σκώπτειν may thus apply to παιδιά as well. In addition, Aristotle says also that ‘rest and amusement (ἀνάπαυσις καὶ ἡ παιδιά) seem to be necessary in life’ (*EN* 1128b3-4) and that it is possible to adopt an appropriate way of behaviour also in this: ‘there is a certain proper way (ὁμιλία τις ἐμμελής) in the things that need to be said and in the manner of saying them, and also in the things to which we listen (καὶ οἷα δεῖ λέγειν καὶ ὥς, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἀκούειν, *EN* 1128a1).’⁶¹ In *Rh.* 1371b35-36, παιδιά is associated with pleasure and laughter: ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπεὶ ἡ παιδιά τῶν ἡδέων καὶ πᾶσα ἄνεσις, καὶ ὁ γέλως τῶν ἡδέων (‘similarly, since also amusement, every type of relaxation, and the ridicule are pleasant [...]’). According to Aristotle, the Muses speak to Archilochus words that are pleasant and even necessary in a man’s life. It obviously follows that, according to Mnesiepes, Archilochus’ poetry, inspired by the Muses, is understood to be characterised by the same features.

Finally, γέλως. We have already seen that in *Rh.* 1371b35-36, παιδιά and γέλως are both pleasing. In *Po.* 1449a34-5 Aristotle defines this concept: τὸ γὰρ γελοῖόν ἐστιν ἀμάρτημά τι καὶ αἴσχος ἀνώδυνον καὶ οὐ φθαρτικόν (‘τὸ γελοῖον consists in some failure or shame that causes no pain or destruction’). What this definition means exactly is difficult to say and exceeds the limits of my study: it will be enough here to note that γελοῖον is not associated *per se* to destructive humour. In fact, the definition of γελοῖον in the *Poetics* is juxtaposed to the definition of πάθος, a painful or destructive action (πρᾶξις φθαρτικὴ ἢ ὀδυνηρά, *Po.* 1452b11-13).⁶² The absence of pain is consequently on both sides in the exchange between Archilochus and the Muses.

So far, I have argued that Mnesiepes’ description of the poetic inspiration of Archilochus may be read within the parameters of Aristotelian criticism. When doing so, Archilochus’ poetry is presented in a positive way, as mockery which is pleasant, harmless, and necessary to a balanced life. Thinking that a reader of Mnesiepes’

⁶¹ Cf. 1127b33-1128a1.

⁶² Cf. Micallella 2004: 24-5.

inscription may know Aristotle's terms for the discussion of mockery seems to me a safe assumption: the importance of Aristotle for Hellenistic literary criticism is, of course, hard to overstate.⁶³ A reader of Aristotle may have however also noted that the Parian definition of Archilochus is *not* fully in line with Aristotle's own definition of the archaic poet. We have already seen that Aristotle criticizes, through Alcidas, Archilochus and the tone of his poetry in the passage from the *Rhetoric* (pp. 89-90). Aristotle, unlike Mnesiepes, does admit that being an iambic poet is a potential impediment to cult. When giving an example of reproach directed at a friend rather than an enemy, an action condemned by some as Aristotle explains, he brings up Archilochus attacking his peers, ἐγκαλῶν τοῖς φίλοις (*Pol.* 1328a3).⁶⁴

The Parians advance their local, more positive image of Archilochus against this Aristotelian image – an image arguably highly influential, and indeed shared, in the Greek world: they do so, however, with reference to Aristotle's more positive theories about teasing. In the Archilocheion, we find the image of a poet who is object of cult and whose poetry is praised. The fact that the author of the Parian *Vita* of Archilochus praises the poet by using Aristotelian ideas demonstrates that the narrative, although fictitious, is a literarily informed account. The Parians use Aristotle's literary theories to provide a more nuanced reading of their poet, a reading which – despite maintaining an Aristotelian character – changes Aristotle's reception of the dead poet. In doing so, the Parians sidestep the traditional opposition between praise and blame, which reflects on the authors of such genres too.⁶⁵ Aristotle distinguishes between types of poets: 'lower' poets would compose 'lower' genres (i.e. comedy, from which iambus is born, cf. *Ar. Po.* 1448b24-1449a5), whereas 'nobler' poets would compose 'noble' genres (such as tragedy).⁶⁶ In this case, the Parians praise Archilochus, the blame-poet

⁶³ Moreover, overall Mnesiepes' inscription shows other Peripatetic features, for example an interest in virtues, vices and human nature, and – more importantly – a historical interpretations of passages of dead authors, a typical method of the Peripatetic scholar Chamaeleon. Cf. Momigliano 1993: 65-73. Cf. also Kennedy 1989: 205.

⁶⁴ Aristotle also wrote a treaty on Archilochus, the 'Problems of Archilochus, Euripides, and Choerilus in three books' (Hesychios s.v. Aristoteles I.144). Rankin 1977 tries to suggest which kind of topics the work may have treated on the basis of Aristotle's references to Archilochus in the extant part of the philosopher's work, although he admits that his suggestions are speculative. Aristotle's pupil, Heraclides Ponticus wrote two books 'On Archilochus and Homer.'

⁶⁵ On praise and blame poetry, cf. Nagy 1976, Nagy 1999: 222-42.

⁶⁶ Cf. p. 104. On *Ar. Po.* 1448b24-1449a5 and the relationship between iambus and comedy, cf. Rosen 2013: 92-7.

par excellence, because of his poetry, by using literary concepts provided by the supralocal authority of Aristotle, who instead decisively classified Archilochus as a representative of blame-poetry and, because of this, sometimes blamed him.

Mnesiepes' desire to promote his Archilochus as a local glory informs other aspects of this passage. First, the landscape of Paros is carefully linked to the dead poet. The Archilocheion – a landmark in itself – individuates other landmarks on the island which are linked to Archilochus: the area of the Λειμῶνες ('meadows, moist and grassy places', cf. LSJ s.v.) and the area of the Λισίδες ('bare, smooth rocks', cf. LSJ s.v. λισσάς). With great precision, the inscription says that Archilochus was sent by his father Telesicles to a field (εἰς ἀγρόν), to the district (εἰς τὸν δῆμον), and it even specifies when this happened (at night time, Mn. E₁ II 23).⁶⁷ It was at a place called Λισίδες that a group of women appeared to him and gave him the lyre.⁶⁸ The Archilocheion shapes an Archilochean landscape, filling Paros with memories about the poet and places through which visualise them.⁶⁹ Imagining Archilochus and his family in the Parian landscape is a powerful way to link Paros to the poet – and to read with new eyes what the poet himself said about his fatherland. If the link between the Parians and Archilochus was questioned by the same poet, as seen above, the natural landscape of Paros, existing and visible (or thinkable) by a Hellenistic admirer of the poet, testifies that Archilochus lived there and suggests that he became a poet because he was *there*, on that road.

Linking the Parian landscape to Archilochus means, in turn, providing material testimony to the life of Archilochus as told in the Archilocheion. The Archilocheion hosts the joint cult of Archilochus and the Muses, but also indicates other places on the island which can further testify to the association between the goddesses and the poet. The shaping of Archilochus' persona goes along with the shaping of the Parian landscape. Ornaghi points out, *en passant*, that the many allusions to these 'realtà riconoscibili' of Paros may be first of all a response to the Parians' desire of

⁶⁷ On the possible time and place of the meeting, cf. Brillante 2009 (1990).

⁶⁸ The time of the event is arguably a reference to Hes. *Th.* 10 (Karanika 2014: 112, who also comments on the 'work-situation' portrayed in this episode). On women and mockery cf. O'Higgins 2003: 58-144 (esp. on this passage, pp. 74-8). On the correspondence between the cow and the lyre, cf. Giannisi 2004 with further bibliography.

⁶⁹ Sosthenes' inscription also individuates other Archilochean spaces (e.g. the cave of Coiranus, on which Bowie 1987: 18-9).

individuating an Archilochean biographical geography.⁷⁰ This hypothesis is backed by the contemporary and wide-spread interest in sites of memory; specifically, the episode of Archilochus' inspiration closely reminds us of Hesiod's inspiration on Helicon, as scholars have often noted, and would have been easily recalled by a reader of the inscription.⁷¹ Callimachus evokes Hesiod's inspiration and imagines to be transported on Helicon in a dream (cf. p. 159). Real or imaginary, the events of Archilochus' life foster, in the imagination of the poet's admirers, a desire to locate those same events in the landscape of Paros. It is almost possible to imagine a touristic activity around the Archilocheion: the repeated ὃς καλεῖται ('which is called', ll. 24, 28) introducing the toponyms of the Λειμῶνες and Λισσίδες, suggests an audience composed by both familiar and non-familiar readers, and almost prompts the question about the location of such places. We can easily imagine local guides, ready to show the places of Archilochus' poetic inspiration. Mnesiepes here evokes, through the landscape, a moment in Archilochus' life which is of interest to all readers of poetry and which testifies to his specific understanding of the Archilochean figura.⁷²

Presenting the poetry of Archilochus in a way that resonates with a supralocal understanding of blame poetry (as presented, most influentially, in Aristotle), has, to sum up, a double effect. On the local level, it enables the celebration of Archilochus on Paros.⁷³ At the same time, by making Paros an Archilochean landmark (as I believe, an increasing trend in Hellenistic memorialisation of dead poets), and by addressing the Hellenistic interest and debate about the genre of iambus, the Parians advance their idea of Archilochus and broadcast it beyond Paros.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Ornaghi 2009: 148. The scholar continues: 'E che, magari, Archiloco stesso avrebbe potuto menzionare o evocare fra gli scenari della sua poesia.' The scholar is here primarily concerned with demonstrating that these localities constitute a memory of the map of the Parian rituals for Demeter; a similar argument is advanced by Miralles-Pòrtulas 1983: 61-80. This allegorical reading does not constitute an obstacle to my interpretation, but, eventually, it enriches it.

⁷¹ Cf. Brillante 2003: 98.

⁷² The rest of Mnesiepes' narrative and Sosthenes' inscription too keep the life of the poet largely confined to Paros; the island is thus made a concrete and prominent presence in the narrative of the poet's life.

⁷³ One may wonder whether this had an impact on the re-enactment of Archilochean verses which possibly took place at the Archilocheion or on Paros, on which cf. Rotstein 2016a, 2016b: 105. After all, as known to Plato in the classical age, rhapsodes recited verses of Archilochus too, along with the ones of Homer (cf. p. 95n38).

⁷⁴ Cf. Rosen 2007 on the Hellenistic debate on iambus.

The interest in literary criticism which, I have argued, is in evidence in the inspiration episode, emerges more clearly in the following two sections of Mnesiepes' inscription. Here, anecdotes of the poet's life are collected and glossed as examples proving his character and showing the nature of his poetry. Quotations from Archilochus' own poetry in the inscriptions cluster around two issues specifically: 'his] piety [towards the gods] and his [devotion] to his country', as Sosthenes puts it (A₁ 3).⁷⁵ The paired concepts of religion and patriotism are, of course, often used as bonding elements in civic communities and as means of self-definition in front of others.⁷⁶ Mnesiepes looks at them through Archilochus' persona and work.

The poet's piety towards the gods is illustrated in the episode of the founding of Dionysus' cult on Paros, which I report below:

[lines 1-5 missing]

EI	
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P	
TO	10
TH	
άοιδ	
σας	
λύραν	
Ἀρχιλοχ	15
ζ' Ἐν ἀρχεῖ[ι μὲν...	
τεῖ δ' ἔορ[τεῖ...	
παρ' ἡμῖν[
φασὶν Ἀρ[χίλοχον ca. 18 letters αὐτο-]	
σχεδιάσ[αντα...	20
τινάς τῶν π[ολιτῶν	
διδάξαντα[
παραδεδομ[ένα...	
κεκοσμημέ[ν- ca. 20 letters κή-]	
ρυκος εἰς Π[άρον	25
ΕΛΗΣΕΝΩΙ	
καὶ συνακολο[υθ-	
των καὶ ἄλλων [ca. 17 letters κατασκευ-]	
ασθέντων τὰ μ[ca. 23 letters πα-]	
ρὰ τοὺς ἐταίρου[ς	30

⁷⁵ Archilochus' poetry is not quoted in relation to the important inspiration episode (Mn. E1 II), for example.

⁷⁶ On these two features of Archilochus as a civic symbol, cf. also Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 223-9.

Ὁ Διόνυσος φ[οὐλάς ΤΥΑΖ ᾄμφακες α[σῦκα μελ[ιχρὰ οἴφολίωι ερ[35
Λεχθέντων [δὲ τούτων ... ὡς κακῶς ἀκ[οούσαντες ἰαμβικώτερο[ν οὐ κατανοήσ[αντες καρπῶν ἦν τὰ[ῤηθέντα εἰς τή[ν ἐν τεῖ κρίσει[:] Μ[-----μετ' οὐ πολὺν] χρόνον γίνεσθ[αι-----τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀσθενεῖς] εἰς τὰ αἰδοῖα. [-----ἀποπέμψαι] τὴν πόλιν τινὰς [θεοπρόπους χρησομένους περὶ τού-] των, τὸν δὲ θεὸν [εἰπεῖν τὸν χρησμὸν τόνδε·] Τίπτε δίκαις ἀν[όμοις ἦλθετε πρὸς Π[υθῶ οὐκ ἔστιν πρὶν[ἄκεσμα εἰς ὃ κεν Ἀρχίλ[οχον Μουσῶν θεράποντα τίητε.]	40 45 50
Ἀναγγελθ[έντων δὲ τούτων μνησκό[μενοι-----τῶν ἐ-] κείνου ῤη[μάτων... δημα[ρτημέν- Διον[υσ- ΠΙΑ ΑΠ (Mn. E ₁ III 1-57)	55

...singer... lyre... Archilochus... now in the beginning... during the festival... at our home... they say that Archilochus... improvising... some of the citizens... teaching... the matters which has been handed down... in festival garb... a herald [arrived] on Paros... and people followed him... and others... celebrated the... friends... 'Dionysus'... 'grains of barley'... 'unripe grapes'... 'sweet figs'... 'for the fucker'... Once this was said... the audience took it badly... too iambic... not understanding... [that the words of the poet] were [about] fruits... what was spoken to the... In the trial... after not much time... [the men became] impotent... [and the city sent a delegation to ask the oracle at Delphi concerning] these matters. The god [gave them this response]: 'Why [resorting to] unlawful] complaints... have you come to Pytho?... There is [no cure for your affliction]... until [you honour] Archilochus [the servant of the Muses.]' When this response [was announced on Paros, the citizens] recalled... the words of that man... Dionysus...

According to the generally accepted reconstruction of the fragmentary passage, the Parians were at first offended by some of Archilochus' Dionysiac verses, quoted in the

inscription itself, and they brought the poet to trial.⁷⁷ As it stands, what is left of the inscription shows that Archilochus' poetry was a problem on a *civic* level: a festival and the citizens are mentioned (ll. 17-21). It is also immediately clarified that Archilochus' poetry has to be integrated into the city: the citizens, when rejecting the poetry, became impotent (ll. 43-4) and had to ask help to Delphi, only to find out that they responded inappropriately to Archilochus' work; only when they honour the poet can the situation return to normality (ll. 49-50).

First of all, the episode fits with other similar episodes in which poets are brought to trial by the community: as Compton points out, this is a traditional pattern in poets' biographies (e.g. Aesop and Homer), which portrays the poet both as a *pharmakos* of the community and as a protégé of the gods.⁷⁸ In these stories, the community condemning the poet is usually punished, as it is the case in the Parian inscription too. Thus this episode confirms the general idea of the inscription: Archilochus may be misinterpreted by the humans around him, but the gods approve of his work. Moreover, the passage envisages a re-established, positive relationship between the Parian community and Archilochus and his work. Archilochus' verses are well accepted in Paros and the Parians are in turn defined as a religiously guided community which eventually understands the true meaning of the poet's work.

The story has relevant implications for the shaping of the persona of the poet. Archilochus receives a cult in Paros probably also as the founder of the cult of a god. Episodes of poets funding cults are recurrent in other ancient poets' biographies, as seen in the tradition of Pindar's house discussed on pp. 23-5, and may have influenced the formation of this story. Linking the religious aspect of a poetic persona to a specific place seems to be a common feature of Hellenistic sites of memory.⁷⁹ In this case, the place testifies to Archilochus' link with Dionysus. The god enjoyed great success in

⁷⁷ E.g. Parke 1958, West 1974: 25, Clay 2001, Clay 2004: 16-23, Hawkins 2009, Lefkowitz 2012: 34. Ornaghi 2009: 156-76 reads the episode differently: the scholar believes that the story might have originated locally as a reflection of the cultic rituals for Demeter; the references to the cult of Demeter, however, would then have disappeared in the Hellenistic narrative of Mnesiepes. As a matter of fact, the name of Dionysus is mentioned in the inscription, whereas there is no evident trace of Demeter's presence. On the transmission of the oracle in the literary tradition cf. Parke 1958: 92.

⁷⁸ Compton 1990.

⁷⁹ Cf. p. 216. Moreover, there existed in antiquity a tradition about Archilochus' family as founders of cult (cf. Clay 2001: 103); for stories of resistance to the introduction of the cult of Dionysus, cf. Clay 2001: 105-6.

Hellenistic times, and especially among the Macedonian elite, well before Alexander's time, according to Plutarch (*Alex.* 2.5), and many Ptolemies identified themselves with the god.⁸⁰ Moreover, poets, musicians, dancers, and actors were organised in travelling associations known as 'Guilds of the Artists devoted to Dionysus.'⁸¹ The name of the god thus travelled far and wide in the Hellenistic Mediterranean: associating Archilochus' name to the founding of the god's cult on Paros may have contributed to the circulation of the poet and the island's names too. Moreover, in the first century BC Paros minted coins which represented Archilochus on the reverse and Dionysus on the obverse.⁸² It is possible to suggest that Paros, even in later times, aimed at promoting its image of Archilochus through the diffusion of coinage too, exploiting – as other Hellenistic sites of memory did – the coins to reinforce its status as a site of Archilochean memory.

This passage of the inscription presents another aspect linked to Archilochus' story, the relationship between Archilochus and Apollo, already seen in the first part of the inscription: Apollo's oracle, in this case, approves the poet's verses and subsequently orders the establishment of the cult of Dionysus. Dionysus was associated with the sanctuary of Delphi in many ways; there are also 'more oracular responses recorded in the Delphic corpus relating to the worship of this god [i.e. Dionysus] than any other.'⁸³ In this particular instance, the episode builds upon the association between Delphi and Dionysus, and it further links Archilochus to the two Greek gods. Moreover, the story introduces the idea that the oracle of Delphi may give its interpretation – which is then inscribed in the Archilocheion – of the poetry of dead poets, especially when this bears civic implications. The interpretation of poetry, as the Archilocheion shows, was not confined to Alexandria nor to libraries: literary activities at local sites of memory probably took place in Hellenistic times, perhaps under the guidance of poetic guilds. Meaningfully, the only certain aspects about the author of

⁸⁰ Cf. also Jeanmaire 1951, Burkert 1987.

⁸¹ Cf. Aneziri 2009.

⁸² Cf. Clay 2004: 61-2, 122, Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 229, 352. The reverse of the coin shows a seated man, holding a lyre in his left hand and a book roll in his right. The name of the man does not appear, but it seems safe to assume that it is the dead poet.

⁸³ Scott 2014: 86. Among other stories linking Dionysus with Delphi, Dionysus was believed to stay in the sanctuary of Delphi during the winter (p. 13) and some even believed that the *omphalos* was the god's tomb (p. 36).

the inscription, Mnesiepes, is that he is from Paros and that he is concerned with the transmission of Archilochus' work. The inscription here arguably refers to a local interpretation of the poet's work, to the activity of literary criticism made on Paros, which is somehow visible in Mnesiepes' inscription and in this episode specifically.

The inscription, in fact, even envisages a development of the local reception of Archilochus' verses: Mnesiepes somehow dissociates the contemporary Parian audience (and himself) from the past Parian audience: the latter 'did not understand' (cf. Mn. E₁ III 39 οὐ κατανοήσαντες).⁸⁴ This suggests that there is an ideal reception of the poet's work. It also indicates that the ancient Parians are set free from their shameful condition of objects of iambic poetry.⁸⁵ The inscription states that the ancient Parians felt offended by the verses of the poet (ὡς κακῶς ἀκ[ούσαντες, l. 37), which were considered 'too iambic' (l. 38).⁸⁶ The Hellenistic Parians, of course, could not accept Archilochus' insults made to their ancestors *and* honour the poet. The choice then exists for the Parians between not honouring Archilochus at all, because he unjustly attacks their ancestors, or accepting that the poet is right, and that their ancestors deserved to be blamed. Naturally, neither option is acceptable in Paros. The solution found by the Parians is – once again – ingenious: the Hellenistic monument states that the contemporaries of Archilochus did not understand his poetry, whereas a reader of the later Hellenistic Mnesiepes inscription will be able to understand it. This fact, otherwise difficult to accept, is presented under the cover of (ancient) Delphic approval. The Hellenistic Parians are ultimately depicted as the retainers and transmitters of a more ancient philological and biographical truth about Archilochus – which they present through a site of memory for the poet.

The Archilocheion's testimony to activities of literary criticism also emerges from the following passage of the inscription, which presents the patriotism and military valour of Archilochus:

Νομίσειεν ἄν τις Ἀρχί[λοχον ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν γενόμενον]

⁸⁴ The aorist makes clear that this is not the case anymore on Hellenistic Paros. This perspective of changing reception is also shared by Sosthenes, when he says that the poet was buried with great honours because 'they (i.e. the Parians) knew, but they were not angered [if at an earlier time] he had spoken badly of the city [in his poetry]' (So. C Vb 15-17).

⁸⁵ See above at p. 92: the invective, in order to be just, had to attack blameworthy objects.

⁸⁶ For the interpretation of the passage and the 'insults' cf. Ornaghi 2009: 165-9.

καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων πολλῶν μα[θῶν, ἃ καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον ἀνα-] γράφειν μακρόν, ἐν ὀ[λίγ]οις] των δηλωσόμε[θα. Πολέμου γάρ ποτε πρὸς τοὺς Να-] ξίους ἰσχυροῦ ὄν[τος	5
μενα ὑπὸ τῶν πολ[ιτῶν-----ρή] μασι περὶ αὐτῶ[ν] σας ὡς ἔχει πρὸς α[πατρίδος καὶ ὑπ[καὶ ἐνεφάνισεν	10
ειν καὶ παρεκάλε[σεν βοηθεῖν ἀπροφ[ασίστως καὶ λέγει περὶ αὐ[τῶν ης νῦν πάντες	15
ἀμφικαπνίουσιν	15
νηυσίν, ὄξεῖαι Δ[δηῖων, αὐαίνειτ[αι ἡλίωι, θράσος Τ[οἱ μέγ' ἰμείροντες Ναξίων δῦναι φά[λαγγας	20
καὶ φυτῶν τομῆν ἄνδρες ἴσχουσι Τοῦτό κεν λεῶι Μ[ὡς ἀμνητεῖ παρη[καὶ κασιγνήτων Ν[25
τέων ἀπέθρισαν ἤριπεν πληγῆισι Δ[Ταῦτά μοι θυμὸς νειόθεν.Ο... ΔΕ[Ἄλλ' ὁμῶς θανόν[τ	30
Γνώθι νῦν, εἴ το[ι ρήμαθ' ὅς μέλλει[Οἱ μὲν ἐν Θάσωι Ι[καὶ Τορωναί[ων οἱ δ' ἐν ὠκείηισι [βάντες νηυσὶ	35
ΚΑΙ...ἐκ Πάρου Τ καὶ κασιγνή[τ]...ΕἰΝ[θυμὸς ΑΛ...ΑΓ...ΛΛ[πῦρ ὃ δὴ νῦν ἀμφι[ἐμ προαστίωι κε[40
Γῆν ἀεικίζουσιν Ἐρξίη, καταδραμ[Τῶι σ' ὁδὸν στέλλ[ειν μηδὲ δεξίους ΕΠ [45
Εὐξαμένωι οὐγ' α[ὐτῶι-----ὑπή-] κουσαν οἱ θεοὶ καὶ [------ἐπετέλεσαν τὰς] εὐχάς, πάντες [δὲ-----ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν γε-] νόμενον αὐτὸν Ε	

ἐν ταῖς μάχαις	
ἐκ τῆς χώρας Κ[50
ὑστερόν τε χρόν[ον	
καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν	
ταῖς πεντηκοντ[όροις	
τούτων ἐπιπλε[ουσῶν	
ἀνδραγαθοῦντα ΚΑ[55
ἀποκτείναντα	
τὰς δὲ καὶ δυομέν[ας (Mn. E ₂ I 1-57)	

One would think that Archilochus proved himself a worthy man also on the basis of many other incidents... It [would be a long task] to record [them all], [but] in a few words we will reveal [the most important] of these. Once, when fierce warfare was being waged against the Naxians,... [he was chosen] by his fellow citizens... [his words] concerning them... [on behalf of his city and by]... and he demonstrated [his spirit]... and he urged [them] to come to his aid and make no excuses... And he reveals this... now all ‘as they are about to burn [the fields] about us... with ships, which are swift... it is drying out... in the sun. Courage... who have conceived great desires... to break into the [battle formation] of the Naxians... and the cutting down of plants... Men have... This would be so far as the people are concerned... so that without anger... and of the brothers... they lopped... These things my heart... from below... But nevertheless, those who have died... Now realise this, if you [are concerned with what I have to say and] words, you who are about to... Some on the island of Thasos... and of those of Torone. Those who embarked on swift [ships]... something from Paros... and of the brothers things dreadful... my heart... the very fire which now surrounds [us] and [burns] in the borders of the city. They defile the Earth. Erxias, now that you have run down... To whom I will send you on your journey... not even clever people.’ So, when he had made this prayer, the gods heard him and... they brought about what he had prayed for. All then knew that he had proven himself [a brave warrior]... him... in the battles from the land... later in time... and of the citizens... for the ships with fifty oars, as these had set sail... he showed himself valorous and... having killed... the ships which were sinking...

The first lines of this passage are didactic, as they invite the reader to test Archilochus’ military valour upon the events which are next told.⁸⁷ The inscription recounts the war against the Naxians;⁸⁸ some poetry of Archilochus is quoted in which the poet perhaps exhorted his co-citizens engaged in battle.⁸⁹ The quote of Archilochus is followed by a final statement of divine recognition by the gods for the poet, as they respond to his

⁸⁷ Although the integration of I.47 is not certain, the meaning of the episode in general is agreed upon by scholars, and rightly so. Certainly Mnesiepes is making a point about the relationship between Archilochus (I.1) and his fatherland Paros (II. 6-9), in a situation of war, and he wishes to convey a positive portrait of the poet in this regard. Moreover, ἀνδραγαθοῦντα in I.55 seems to refer to Archilochus.

⁸⁸ Cf. Marcaccini 2001: 178-85.

⁸⁹ It is also possible that he asks for help; cf. Marcaccini p. 182. In any case, there is some sort of envisaged cooperation between the poet and the Parians.

prayers, and another explicit remark about Archilochus' military valour which closes the episode.

While providing an Archilochean history and identity to the Parians, this passage shapes the figure of a brave warrior, an image which stands in contrast with the famous accusation of *ripsaspis*.⁹⁰ Archilochus himself, in his own poetry told that he abandoned his shield to save his life (fr. 5W). Typically, Archilochus' verses became a weapon used against him. This passage was famous in antiquity and ancient critics of the poet (such as Critias above) believed that Archilochus' verses were evidence that the poet 'was a shameless coward who deserved censure and rebuke.'⁹¹

Mnesiepes focuses, by contrast, on other passages of Archilochus' work, which shed a different light on his military persona. Without openly engaging in a debate about the interpretation of fr. 5W, he provides an alternative Archilochean persona on the basis of the work of the poet and – presumably – of local records and traditions about the war. The poet, he argues, showed valour in battle and devotion to Paros. Mnesiepes invites the passer-by to judge by himself Archilochus' courage (E₂ I 1-4), thus admitting that this was an issue for debate. Even though the details are not completely clear, it seems probable that there was a discourse on the interpretation of Archilochus' poetry especially in relation to the military persona of the poet. The Archilocheion addresses the issue and provides its own, positive answer. Literary criticism, biographical thinking, and local history are interwoven in the Parian monument and enrich the ancient Greek reception of the poet.

As I have briefly pointed out, the last two passages of Mnesiepes' inscription focus on the religious and military aspects of Archilochus' persona, which they reconstruct through an engagement with the poet's work. The collection of authorial passages in order to demonstrate the character of the author is akin to the larger, Hellenistic interest in reconstructing ancient poetic biographies from the works of the poets. In particular, I have briefly highlighted how the Parian image of Archilochus and the reading of the poet's work addressed both local and supralocal audiences. The

⁹⁰ Sosthenes' inscription is even more interested in showing Archilochus' military value (cf. e.g. So. C Vb 1-3).

⁹¹ Anderson 2008: 255, who also mentions other sources on the episode. On the importance of the passage in antiquity cf. also Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 60-1.

Parians used Archilochus as a symbol, to enter a larger Greek cultural horizon. Paros used supralocal points of reference of various kinds for its portrait of the poet, such as Aristotelian poetics, Panhellenic Delphic validation, and references to Greek gods and heroes; Paros also had features characterising other Hellenistic sites of memory of poets, which is a testimony to the fact that the sites looked at each other, and the language of the inscription overall suggests that tourists may be attracted by the Archilochean landscapes.

Correspondences existed between relevant points of the supralocal and Parian thought about Archilochus, which point to common debates around the persona and work of the poet undertaken also through the site of memory. Paros contributed to the history of Archilochus' reception from its local perspective, but had the potential to define and celebrate Archilochus not only in front of a Parian audience. The figure of Archilochus in Paros presented features which anyone belonging to the Hellenistic world understood and for which the poet could, it turns out, be celebrated. It is not as easy to go into this level of detail with other sites, but this case study shows that engaging carefully with sites of memory has the potential to reveal how a specific poet's *oeuvre* worked in relation to different, interconnected, ancient audiences. In the next section I present additional evidence which helps to understand the Parian context of production and, I believe, reinforces my arguments.

The Marmor Parium

In the middle of the third century BC, roughly at the same time as the Mnesiepes inscription was set up, the Marmor Parium, a monumental chronography, was put up in Paros. Two blocks remain of the inscription: block A contains lines 1-93 (corresponding to entries 1-79 in Jacoby's 1904 edition), and block B contains 32 lines corresponding to 27 entries.⁹² The inscription presents a universal history, with various events of Greek and especially Athenian history, from 1581/0 BC; the surviving parts end with the year 299/8. All entries are arranged according to the same pattern, by

⁹² I will indicate the entries with A1, B1, etc. For the modern vicissitudes of the inscription and its conservation, cf. Athanassakis 2010: 190-1, Rotstein 2014: 3n5, Rotstein 2016a: 3-5. A new edition, less heavily restored than Jacoby's, is also provided by Rotstein 2016a.

giving the time period from the respective occurrence up to the year 264/3 BC, which is, therefore, a possible date for the making of the inscription.⁹³

The Mnesiepes inscription has often been dated on the basis of the striking similarity of its letter-forms to the ones of the Marmor Parium: the two monuments were produced at the same time, perhaps by the same group of people, on Paros.⁹⁴ Some scholars have however noted that there are also differences between the Marmor Parium and Mnesiepes' inscription in terms of lettering and format: similarities should not be overstated.⁹⁵ Moreover, the original location of the Marmor Parium is difficult to determine, as Rotstein has rightly pointed out.⁹⁶ Given its Parian origin, in any case, the Marmor Parium provides useful evidence of the context of production of Mnesiepes' inscription. The Parian location of the inscription is a sufficient reason in itself to believe that Paros was thinking beyond local audiences when memorialising Archilochus.

It must be said clearly that there is no extant evidence for Archilochus on the Marmor Parium. Yet the association between Paros as Archilochus' fatherland and the production of the Marmor has not escaped scholars. Puzzled by the absence of Archilochus' name, some have proposed to integrate it in a very corrupt passage (A33), where the poet's appearance would fit within the chronological grid provided by the Marmor. As a matter of fact, though, A33 only shows an *omicron*: the restoration involves inserting all other letters of Archilochus' name: a grand enterprise.⁹⁷

Without arguing that the Marmor certainly belonged to the Archilocheion complex, or certainly mentioned Archilochus, I think that the inscription confirms the usefulness of Archilochus in placing Paros in a wider, supralocal history and geography of the Greek world. Ornaghi has already suggested that the Marmor Parium and

⁹³ But cf. Rotstein 2016a: 3n9.

⁹⁴ Clay 2001: 98. This is Kontoleon's (1952: 36) dating (cf. Rotstein 2014: 3n4); Rotstein 2014 re-examines the matter of the dating of the Marmor and the Mnesiepes inscription and concludes: 'the Parian Marble was cut some time after 264/3 BCE, and the Mnesiepes inscription between the middle and the end of the 3rd cent. BCE' (p. 8), adding that the inscriptions may be contemporary.

⁹⁵ E.g., respectively, Rotstein 2014 and Ornaghi 2009.

⁹⁶ Rotstein 2016a: 11-5. Kontoleon 1952, who first published the Marmor, suggested that the inscription was placed in a gymnasium where also the Archilocheion found its place.

⁹⁷ Cf. Jacoby's apparatus *ad locum*.

Mnesiepes' initiative are both part of a plan of cultural promotion of Paros and its major glory, Archilochus.⁹⁸ Andrea Rotstein considers the case in detail.⁹⁹

First, she notes that the Marmor Parium offers a *literary* history. The inscription contains many references to poets, an aspect which – while noted – was not fully appreciated by earlier scholars.¹⁰⁰ Rotstein explores 'the methods and attitudes that the Parian Marble shares with ancient Greek traditions of thinking about the literary past' (93) and shows that the Marmor Parium shares thematic and structural features with ancient literary histories.¹⁰¹ She thus demonstrates how literary history has a surprising weight in the inscription, where several poets and cultural figures are named, and information is provided about them.¹⁰²

More specifically, cultural references are mostly made to 'the fields of poetry, music, and drama.' The prominence of poets in the Marmor Parium is unusual for ancient chronological lists and 'suggests that literary history is essential to the text's original intent' (100). The dating of some poets, Rotstein also points out, is sometimes irrelevant to its chronological purposes, which further suggests that the insertion of references to poets was an end in itself (101). As Rotstein writes, 'in sum, the high incidence of poets and musicians on the Parian Marble [...] strongly supports the notion that embedding literary history in panhellenic history was a main purpose of the inscription' (p. 101). The inscription is evidence that the Hellenistic Parians relate themselves to the past through literature, at the time when they make Archilochus their symbol: the poet may well represent them in such history, for all that we cannot read the name Archilochus on it. The Marmor Parium, in other words, is the product of a mentality which takes an interest in supralocal literary history: this is the same perspective adopted in the Archilocheion, as I argued.

⁹⁸ Ornaghi 2009: 273; but he specifically argues that the Marmor Parium was intended to integrate the fruition of the space of the Archilocheion (pp. 273-8).

⁹⁹ Rotstein 2016a.

¹⁰⁰ Jacoby 1904 is not particularly interested into the literary aspect of it; Ornaghi 2009 does not explain to us the implications for Archilochus and for literary history overall.

¹⁰¹ Rotstein 2016a: 93-101.

¹⁰² Literary history, Rotstein also notes, was not in ancient Greece a discipline in its own right, but the reflection on the Greek literary past is found in many sources from the early time, in – for example – works of historians and sophists. At the end of the fifth century BC, in the works of Aristotle and his school, literary history gained full independence from historiography. On the importance of literary history in Hellenistic period cf. Pfeiffer 1968, Stephens 2003.

The Marmor Parium thus gives shape to a geographical-historical perspective on literature, within which the re-shaping of Archilochus as discussed above fits. As many have noted, ‘the compiler saw a need to supplement purely epichoric history.’¹⁰³ Specifically, an Athenocentric perspective is, in fact, evident. The political, religious, military and cultural events told in the inscription are dated through reference to Athenian archons, even the events that occurred elsewhere. Moreover, the Marmor Parium does not offer global history (Rome, for example, is missing), and events outside the Greek-speaking world are dated for their impact on the Greek world. Eventually, this Athenian-centred and Hellenic time grows into a Macedonian, Ptolemaic dimension. In section B, Alexander and Ptolemy’s names appear frequently; Jacoby already noted the Ptolemaic bias of the inscription, suggesting the possibility of a Ptolemaic commission.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, a number of ‘collective entities’ appear: mostly Athenians (A10, A19, A45, A48, A52, B9), Greeks/Hellenes (A6, A17, A23, A51, suppl. A66), but also Macedonians (A58, A61, B9). The geography of the Marmor evolves too: the Marmor locates human action in space, and the inscription’s spatial focus changes in the course of the text. I summarise Rotstein’s description: ‘up to the Trojan War [...] the chronicle dwells on central Greece, Northern Greece, and the Peloponnese. [...] After the Trojan War, the focus expands towards the East and West. [...] When section B opens, the chronicle is following closely Alexander’s campaigns. [...] After Alexander’s death, the focus [...] returns to the Eastern Mediterranean, with Syracuse and Carthage in the West.’ Within this movement of space, Athens remains a cultural point of reference – even though politically the focus shifts to Macedonia first and then to Ptolemaic Egypt. The Marmor Parium overall shows the Hellenistic Parian attention for both literary history *and* geography, and it closely connects the two. The glorious past of Athens and the present of the post-Alexander geography define a universe, in the Marmor Parium, and the poets stand out against this background.

The inscription – when associated with the Archilocheion complex – provided a historical-geographical and literary timeline, rather like those provided in museums

¹⁰³ Huxley 2008: 8. Many of the ideas contained in this paragraph are also in Rotstein 2016a: esp. 77-80.

¹⁰⁴ Hazzard 2000 even believes suggests that the beginning of a ‘Soter era’, introduced by Philadelphus, is announced by the Marmor (the cult of Soter was established in 263/2 BC, when the Marmor lists are interrupted). Scholars tend to reject this idea, but the Ptolemaic perspective of the Marmor is acknowledged.

today; it offered a background to and means of contextualization of what must have been the main attraction on the ‘museum-island,’ the shrine of the poet.¹⁰⁵ The Mnesiepes inscription and the Marmor Parium are richer in meaning when considered together, and their location on the same island justifies that approach. More generally, the link between Archilochus and Paros contributes to an understanding of Greek history which prominently includes a history of poetry. This, among other things, has ‘implications that go beyond the individual biographies of poets. Indeed, statements on influence, imitation, and parody make no sense unless set against a definite chronology.’¹⁰⁶ For instance, on Paros Archilochus ideally belongs with the group of Greek canonical authors: in particular, the first poets that the Marmor mentions constitute the canonical sequence of the great founders of Greek poetry, as attested in various authors from the classical period onwards: Orpheus, Musaeus, Homer, Hesiod.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, the Marmor Parium may have facilitated the association of Archilochus’ poetry with the work of other poets named in the inscription. For example, the inscription contains numerous references to authors of dithyrambic poetry, which may be related to the figure of Archilochus as the founder of Dionysus’ cult.¹⁰⁸ This and other types of association could easily be made by local guides and experts on poetry, that is to say by people like Mnesiepes.

Conclusion

Sites of memory, as the case of Archilochus shows, were used, in the Hellenistic age, to connect different and distant people through the memory of earlier poets, whose

¹⁰⁵ A similar idea may be advanced for the Hellenistic Taormina Πίνακες; in Sicilian Taormina, bio-bibliographic information about some renowned ancient authors who wrote in Greek were painted on the walls of the library of the local gymnasium in the Hellenistic age. The lists, which emulate an epigraphic character, had a columnar presentation, and the *ekthesis*, and they offered an overview of Greek literature (Battistoni 2006: 178). The lemma devoted to the local glory, the historian Fabius Pictor, however, is peculiar, because it does not present – as it does instead for all the other authors – biographical clues or an outline of Pictor’s work. Perhaps a particular space was dedicated to him, as it might have been for the Marmor and the Archilocheion.

¹⁰⁶ Rotstein 2016a: 105.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Burges Watson 2014.

¹⁰⁸ References to dithyrambic authors: Hyagnis the Phrygian (A10), the inventor of Phrygian flute-music, was also said to have composed melodies (*nomous*) for the Mother of the Gods, Dionysus, and Pan; Hypodicus the Chalcidian (A46) carried off the first victory at the Athenian Dionysia; Melanippides from Melos (A47) was a dithyrambic poet whose victory at Athens the Marmor registers; other poets who composed dithyrambs in the Marmor are Telestes of Selinus (A65), Polyidus of Selymbria (A68), Philoxenus (A69).

works they shared. The case of Archilochus on Paros shows, more specifically, how programmes of monumental celebration could, in some cases at least, involve careful and purposeful reading and framing of the poet's *oeuvre*.

Celebrating Archilochus was difficult in the ancient tradition and celebrating him in Paros even more so, but ancient poets became so important in Hellenistic times that the Parians turned to the figure of the poet anyway, and they did so by establishing a sophisticated and successful site of memory. The pre-Hellenistic reception of Archilochus was reframed in the local reception of the poet and his work: the Parians turned Archilochus into a blame poet to be praised.

Admirers of Archilochus out of Paros testify to the success of the Parian site of Archilochean memory and/or contribute to its development. The curiosity for Archilochus – along with the interest in Paros – increased from the fourth century BC, and scholars in Alexandria showed an early attention for the poet.¹⁰⁹ This further suggests that developments on the island matched wider cultural trends. Despite not having the space here systematically to explore the reception of Paros as a site of memory in later times, a few examples can be given in order to illustrate the importance of the place for thinking about Archilochus. Moschus' *Epitaph for Bion* includes Paros and Archilochus within a list of famous sites of memory of dead poets (e.g. Ascra and Hesiod, Boeotia and Pindar, Lesbos and Sappho).¹¹⁰ The sites are related because they all mourn the loss of the ancient poets, but – in a paradoxical statement intended to praise the greatness of the dead Bion – they mourn Bion more than their own poets.¹¹¹ The third-century BC poet Posidippus, in his famous *sphragis* (118 AB = *SH* 705), wishes to obtain the same fame that Archilochus obtained on Paros, demonstrating his knowledge of the Parian shrine.¹¹² Posidippus refers to a famous 'Parian', clearly to be identified with Archilochus. He states that he wishes to have the immortal fame which the poet had (cf. Apollo's oracle, Mn. E₁ II 5-2) and he defines the

¹⁰⁹ Cf. e.g. Heracleides Ponticus' *Περὶ Ἀρχιλόχου καὶ Ὀμήρου* (cf. fr. 178 Wehrli), Aristotle's *Ἀπορήματα* Εὐρυπίδου Χοιρίλου (cf. *Vit. Men.* 144) and *Παρίων πολιτεία* (*Politeia* 124 Gigon). For Alexandrian scholars cf. e.g. Apollonius of Rhodes' *Περὶ Ἀρχιλόχου* (cf. Pfeiffer 1968: 238-9), Semos of Delos' *Περὶ Πάρου* (cf. *Suda* s.v. Σῆμος, σ 327 Adler). Other sources are in Ornaghi 2009: 284-5.

¹¹⁰ On the *Epitaph* cf. Manakidou 1996, where the scholar argues that Bion is identified with the famous figures mentioned in the *Epitaph*, whom he mentioned in his poetry.

¹¹¹ Cf. Ornaghi 2009: 284-5.

¹¹² Lloyd-Jones 1963: 88, Bing 1993: 622.

'geographic parameters' within which he wishes his renown to be heard: he hopes that his fame will reach the Macedonians, both the islanders and ones living on the coasts of Asia Minor;¹¹³ mainland Greece is not mentioned but, as Lloyd-Jones argues, it is implicitly included.¹¹⁴ Posidippus also states that he wishes to have his statue put in the *agora*, that is, at the core of his own city of origin. Finally, the poet proudly says that he is from Pella, almost aware that the name of the place will go down in history when associated with his own fame. Without engaging here with the specific meaning of Posidippus' several spatial references, it is enough to note that for him a site of memory defines the landscape of the city and makes the memorialised man famous in a wider area around it. Here too, the supralocal dimension of the Archilocheion is recognised.

Through Paros' site, one of the earliest and most complete surviving examples of the Hellenistic engagement with dead poets through the landscape, Archilochus' figure becomes a way of constructing a common literary identity. In my last chapter, I show more generally how sites of memory dedicated to the poets shaped the landscape of the Hellenistic world, and how they involved a deep and subtle re-thinking of the poetic personae memorialised.

¹¹³ For the expression 'geographic parameters' cf. Bing 2009: 259. For a discussion of Posidippus' *sphragis* cf. Ornaghi 2009: 294-9, Bing 1988, 2009. On Posidippus in general, cf. Gutzwiller 2005.

¹¹⁴ Lloyd-Jones 1963: 89.

4. Sites of literary memory in the Hellenistic age: a panorama

‘There's a simple boat I can row
to Salamis.
In a cave I call mine
I fire my light.
In Salamis I wait for the women in silence.’

(E. Seydel Morgan, *Euripides' cave*)

Introduction

In the first three chapters of this thesis I argued that Hellenistic sites of memory of ancient Greek poets were a vital component for Alexander the Great's legend, for his successors, and for Alexandrian culture overall. I endeavoured to demonstrate this by offering three case studies. What I plan to do next, in this final and substantial chapter, is offer a panorama of other sites of literary importance in the Hellenistic age. The aim here is to demonstrate breadth, to complement the in-depth and more particular arguments presented so far.

As I present an overview of the other best documented sites, I aim to stress three specific points in particular: a) that ancient readers of poetry engage with the sites of memory regardless of the sites' historical existence; b) that this phenomenon emerges with particular strength in Hellenistic times; c) that sites of memory play a crucial part in the construction of poetic personae.

I consider especially the evidence pointing to specific sites in the landscape, places which the admirer of ancient poets could imagine, in some cases visit, and with which they engaged and interacted – whether in mind or body. The ancient traditions linking a poet to a place are uncountable, of course: behind a simple statement like ‘Pindar the Theban,’ for example, a whole tradition developed in antiquity. In this chapter, I privilege the testimonies which ‘fill’ the traditions linking a poet to a place, considering how the places linked to poets were envisioned by Hellenistic readers as landscapes of memory. Moreover, I privilege the testimonies which show that the poetic personae of the poets were fundamental to the constitution of the sites. By paying special attention to the most elaborate and rich pictures of the relationships

between ancient poets and places provided by the Hellenistic sources, I necessarily exclude some evidence which may point to the existence of other Hellenistic sites of memory.¹ As a consequence of my selection, this chapter mostly presents evidence of monumental and natural spaces.² These landmarks, as I show, convey specific messages about the poets and ultimately have a vital role in contributing to the survival and reception of these same poets' works.

The chapter considers various ancient poets, listed in chronological order. Usually, I first present the tradition which linked the poet to the place, and then briefly indicate some of the ways in which the sites contribute to the shaping of the poetic personae. Occasionally, I underline the contribution that sites of memory have on the reception of the poet's works or on broader literary phenomena. The chapter does not claim to consider all the ways in which Hellenistic sites fostered a re-engagement with the memory of the poets. However, I hope to provide some important starting points for further research and offer a broad enough panorama to suggest that the history of literature needs to be considered in relation to landscape.

Orpheus

In the Hellenistic age, admirers of Orpheus connected natural and monumental sites to the memory of the dead poet. I collect the evidence about these Hellenistic sites of Orphic memory, underlining how all of these places made Orpheus' presence concrete and alive even after his death.³

The tomb of Libethra

A Hellenistic tradition located the tomb of Orpheus in Libethra.⁴ Testimonies in this sense are an epigram (*AP* 7.9) attributed to the third century BC author Damagetus and

¹ In particular, although it is probable (see below) that much of what we read in the *Vitae* of the poets has Hellenistic origins, I tend to use as main evidence for sites of memory sources which can be certainly dated to Hellenistic times.

² Cf. p. 10n20.

³ For an introduction to the myth of Orpheus and the legends about him, cf. Linforth 1941: 175-260, Graf 1990, Bremmer 1991 for a selection of Hellenistic sources. For the literary tradition about Orpheus, cf. Guthrie 1952: 25-68, Segal 1989, Nagy 1990: 200-38, Gantz 1993: 721-25. All testimonia about Orpheus are in Bernabé 2005.

⁴ Tombs are a recurrent site of memory for ancient poets; for an introduction to monumental Hellenistic tombs, cf. Fedak 1990. For the ancient traditions about tombs of poets in relation to the poetic genre to which the dead authors were associated, cf. Kimmel-Clauzet 2014.

a passage from Ps.-Eratosthenes' *Catasterismi*. The testimony of the Greek mythographer Conon (first century BC/first century AD), moreover, offers a view of the tradition. In each source the site of Orpheus' tomb evokes specific sentiments about the poet's persona.

Before turning to *AP* 7.9, our first source, a brief point about the relevance of literary epitaphs for our discussion must be made. Despite their literary character, Hellenistic funerary epigrams on ancient poets prompted their readers to recreate a physical environment and context.⁵ The tomb – which appears to the readers through the epigrams – materialises the presence of the deceased, often in a specific place. As Kimmel-Clauzet puts it, the authors of the epigrams 'accordent une grande importance au statut du monument, à sa capacité à conserver ou non la mémoire du poète, et à sa relation avec la terre où il se trouve.'⁶ As she underlines, the epigrams sometimes present literary and common themes, but, far from presenting empty *topoi*, they reflect specific mentalities and practices.⁷ Literary epigrams were inspired by inscribed epigrams, which were deeply rooted in their context and physical surroundings;⁸ it is therefore difficult sometimes to draw a clear distinction between literary and monumental epigrams.

At the same time, it is important to bear in mind that in the Hellenistic age epigrams circulated far and wide and were ultimately a means to construct consensus around the figures of ancient poets, whose main features they often described in detail. In particular, funerary epigrams were a means of geographical (and literary) appropriation in an age when the perception of a poet was indissolubly linked to his place of origin.⁹ For all these reasons, funerary epigrams are an important route to the understanding of sites of memory.

AP 7.9 recreates the site of the Orpheus' Thracian tomb:

Ὅρφέα Θρηϊκίησι παρὰ προμολῆσιν Ὀλύμπου

⁵ Cf. p. 13n33.

⁶ Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 164-5.

⁷ Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 154-84 on funerary epigrams of poets.

⁸ Parsons 2001a: 111-3, Petrovic 2007: 49. The importance of the location of the tomb in literary Hellenistic epigrams is also discussed in Bruss 2005: 58-87. Epigrams usually make deictical references to the monument, its location, or to the buried corpse (cf. Bing 1995). The location was probably relevant in Hellenistic works and collections on tombs (e.g. Diodorus Periegetes' *On Tombs*, *FGrHist* 372F35).

⁹ Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 179.

τύμβος ἔχει, Μούσης υἱέα Καλλιόπης,
ᾧ δρῦες οὐκ ἀπίθησαν, ὄτω σὺν ἅμ' ἔσπετο πέτρῃ
ἄψυχος, θηρῶν θ' ὑλονόμων ἀγέλα,
ὃς ποτε καὶ τελετὰς μυστηρίδας εὔρετο Βάκχου,
καὶ σίχον ἠρώω ζευκτὸν ἔτευξε ποδί,¹⁰
ὃς καὶ ἀμειλίκτιο βαρὺ Κλυμένοιο νόημα
καὶ τὸν ἀκήλητον θυμὸν ἔθελε λύρα. (AP 7.9)¹¹

The tomb on the Thracian skirts of Olympus holds Orpheus, son of the Muse Calliope; whom the trees disobeyed not and the lifeless rocks followed, and the herds of the forest beasts; who discovered the mystic rites of Bacchus, and first linked verse in heroic feet; who enchanted with his lyre even the heavy sense of the implacable Lord of Hell, and his inflexible anger. (Paton 1917 transl., adapted)

The epigram first states that the tomb of Orpheus is 'at the Thracian foot of Olympus.' There were two Libethras in antiquity: one in Macedonian Pieria, near Mt. Olympus, where the poet was allegedly buried and which was once populated by Thracians, according to a tradition reported in Strabo (9.2.25) and Thucydides (2.99), and one in Thrace itself, north of Macedon.¹² Hellenistic sources refer to both locations as the burial place of Orpheus. Damagetus mentions Mt. Olympus, hence I believe that he thinks of Macedonian Libethra and that he refers to the Thracian origins of the city.¹³ Macedonian Libethra was a city sacred to the Muses (Str. 9.2.25), where Orpheus' mother, the muse Calliope, naturally belonged.¹⁴ The city was linked with the poet also through the figure of Alexander the Great: Arrian knew of a statue of Orpheus, in Libethra, which allegedly began to sweat 'when Alexander set out on his campaign, to foreshadow the sweat Alexander's exploits would cause historians and poets.'¹⁵ I hence would suggest that, by specifying 'Thracian foot', Damagetus simply means that the

¹⁰ This is probably a reference to the dactylic hexameter (cf. Mall. Theod. *de metris* (Gramm. Lat vi.589.20 Keil): *metrum dactylicum hexametrum inventum primitus ab Orpheo Critias asserit*).

¹¹ For reasons of space, in this chapter I quote in full-length only selected ancient texts (the most relevant for my argument), and paraphrase others.

¹² Cf. Graf 1990: 86-7. Cf. also Carpenter 1946: 117.

¹³ Bernabé 2005: 502-3 collects all the testimonies about the place of burial of Orpheus; he believes that Damagetus' epigram refers to Thracian Libethra, but I disagree with him. This would entail the improbable assumption that Damagetus did not know where Mt. Olympus was. It is more probable that he knew of Orpheus' burial in Libethra and that he assumed that it was Pierian Libethra, not Thracian Libethra (as Ps.-Erat. and Conon below), mixing the two traditions.

¹⁴ For Libethra cf. also Papazoglou 1988. The name of the city means 'the pouring places', apparently with reference to springs (Larson 2001: 169). For Calliope, cf. Burges-Watson 2013: 451.

¹⁵ Arr. *An.* 1.11.2, cf. Graf 1990: 87.

tomb is *not* in the region of Larissa, the other region (besides Pieria) where Mt. Olympus is.

Yet the mention of Thrace also evokes the Thracian origins of the poet. The biographical tradition often recognised the Thracian Oeagrus (a river-god according to Servius *in Aen.* 6.645) as the father of the poet (Phanocl. fr. 1 Powell).¹⁶ Moreover, Euripides' *Alcestis* 962-72 contains a reference to charms on Thracian writing tablets which 'the voice of Orpheus wrote down.'¹⁷ In addition, according to Diodorus Siculus, Orpheus ruled Thrace by will of the god Dionysus (Diod. Sic. 3.65.1-6). Orpheus' Thracian, foreign identity was well-known throughout Greek antiquity.¹⁸ For Damagetus, the tomb needs to reflect this. It should be noted that there existed an idea, widely spread among Greeks, that the Thracians were barbarians and illiterate; this stereotype, as it stands, affected in some cases also the figure of the poet, who was denied sometimes even the knowledge of writing.¹⁹ In the epigram, Thracian Orpheus is however a famous poet and an eminent figure, and the position of his tomb near Olympus testifies to this: the location of the tomb, in the epigram, is arguably a means to depict the positive image of a great Greek *and* Thracian ancient poet.

The funerary epitaph, after immediately providing the reader with a geographical point of reference for the tomb, gives some other major coordinates that define the poet's persona. First, it describes Orpheus' famous ability to command the elements of nature;²⁰ afterwards, the epigram cites the tradition according to which Orpheus founded the mysteries of Dionysus;²¹ the poet is then defined as the one who used the hexameter for the first time;²² finally, there is a reference to the power that Orpheus had, thanks to his lyre, on the god Hades.²³ The epigrammatic author thus looks at the (fictitious) tomb as the ideal place to report the biographical traditions

¹⁶ On ancient Thrace, cf. Valeva-Nankov-Graninger 2015.

¹⁷ Burges-Watson 2014.

¹⁸ On 'Orpheus the foreigner' cf. Graf-Iles Johnston 2007: 167-71.

¹⁹ E.g. by Androtion, who wrote at the end of the fourth century BC: τῶν ἀρχαίων φασὶ Θρακῶν μηδένα ἐπίστασθαι γράμματα [...] ἔνθεν τοι καὶ τολμῶσι λέγειν μηδὲ τὸν Ὀρφέα σοφὸν γεγονέναι, Θρακὰ ὄντα, ἀλλ' ἄλλως τοὺς μύθους αὐτοῦ κατεψεῦσθαι. ταῦτα Ἄνδροτίων λέγει... (Ael. *VH* 8.6). Cf. Linforth 1931: 6-8, 1941: 160-1.

²⁰ Classical sources about Orpheus' power of enchanting are collected in Linforth 1941: 32-5.

²¹ Cf. e.g. [Apollodorus] *Bibliotheca* 1.3.2; Arist. *Ran.* 1030-3; Diod. Sic. *Library of History* 3.65.6.

²² The epigram calls it 'heroic foot.' Cf. p. 128n10.

²³ Called here 'Clymenos', cf. Suidas s.v. For an introduction on Orpheus and the underworld, cf. Burges-Watson 2014.

about Orpheus, asking his reader first to locate the tomb, and secondly to think of the poet's persona – and indeed his poetic immortality.

The funerary epigram does not refer to the story that existed about Orpheus' death, known already before the Hellenistic age. In Aeschylus' *Bassarids*, the poet's body was thrown apart by Thracian worshipers of Dionysus because of Orpheus' exclusive allegiance to Apollo: this anecdote was mentioned in full length in Hellenistic times by Eratosthenes, whose account is preserved by Ps.-Eratosthenes' *Catasterismi*.²⁴ The collection, which contained mythological aetiologies for the constellations and their names, is an epitome of Eratosthenes' original work. The passage that interests us appears in the chapter on the constellation of the Lyre and places particular importance on the places where Orpheus died, including Libethra. The passage states:

[διὰ δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα εἰς Ἄιδου καταβάς καὶ ἰδὼν τὰ ἐκεῖ οἷα ἦν] ὃς τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον οὐκ[έτι] ἐτίμα, [ὕφ' οὗ ἦν δεδοξασμένος], τὸν δὲ Ἥλιον μέγιστον τῶν θεῶν ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι, ὃν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα προσηγόρευσεν· ἐπεχειρόμενός τε τῆς νυκτὸς κατὰ τὴν ἑωθινήν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον Πάγγαιον <ἀνίων> προσέμενε τὰς ἀνατολάς, ἵνα ἴδῃ τὸν Ἥλιον πρῶτον. ὅθεν ὁ Διόνυσος ὀργισθεὶς αὐτῷ ἔπεμψε τὰς Βασσαρίδας, ὡς φησὶν Αἰσχύλος ὁ τραγωιδῶν ποιητής, αἵτινες αὐτὸν διέσπασαν καὶ τὰ μέλη διέρριψαν χωρὶς ἕκαστον. αἱ δὲ Μοῦσαι συναγαγοῦσαι ἔθαψαν ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις Λειβήθροις. (Ps.-Erat. *Cat.* 24.23-45 Olivieri)

[as he went down to Hades to look for his wife and saw what things there were like]... who did not [any longer] honour Dionysus [by whom he had obtained his fame], but considered Helios to be the greatest of the gods, whom he also greeted as Apollo. Having put himself together at night time, and [having gone] early in the morning on the mountain called Pangaeum, he waited (looking) for the sunrise (lit. eastwards), so as to be first to see the sun. For which reason, Dionysus, becoming angry with him, sent the Bassarids, as the tragic poet Aeschylus says, who tore him apart and threw the pieces in every direction. But the Muses, gathering the limbs, buried them in the place called Libethra.²⁵

²⁴ Ps.-Eratosth. *Cat.* 24. Orpheus' death at the hands of Thracian women is the most popular story about him in fifth-century iconography (see Lissarrague 1994). For the reconstruction of Aeschylus' *Bassarids* cf. Kern 1920, Linforth 1931.

²⁵ It seems that this passage locates Libethra in Thrace because of the mention of Mt. Pangaeum. Another 'site' for Orpheus memory appears at the end of this passage, the constellation of the Lyre itself, which was created from the poet's lyre.

A few observations about Hellenistic sites of memory and Orpheus' poetic persona can be made when considering this passage. First, an Orphic topography existed already in earlier times, documenting the poet's death in the landscape: Mount Pangaeum and the city of Libethra, in Thrace, both point to the anecdote that wanted Orpheus killed by women because of his devotion to Apollo. Whereas Aeschylus knew the story of Orpheus' dismemberment, it seems probable to me that the details depicting the places of this anecdote gained more importance in Hellenistic times.²⁶ These places evoke both the traditional enmity between Orpheus and the female sex, and Orpheus' devotion to Apollo. Secondly, underlining that Orpheus' limbs were literally scattered *in every direction*, allows for the creation of other places in the landscape linked to Orpheus' death. This happens, in fact, with the story of Orpheus' head, which I consider below. Finally, it may be noted that this passage testifies to the *post-mortem* recognition granted by the Muses. The goddesses not only recognise the poet's valour after his death, and perhaps honour him because of his devotion to Apollo, but they also literally *make* a site of memory for him by burying his bodily remains. This is further recognition of the importance of this site, which is provided with a historical and divine origin. More specifically, the site makes Orpheus inextricably linked to the goddesses, encouraging the admirer of the poet to elaborate on the link.

The tradition linking Orpheus to Thracian Libethra also features in Conon's testimony. The Greek mythographer testifies to another famous version of the poet's death; I report it in full:

τελευτᾷ δὲ διασπασαμένων αὐτὸν τῶν Θραικίων καὶ Μακεδόνων γυναικῶν, ὅτι οὐ μετεδίδου αὐταῖς τῶν ὀργίων, τάχα μὲν καὶ κατ' ἄλλας προφάσεις· φασὶ δ' οὖν αὐτὸν δυστυχήσαντα περὶ γυναῖκα πᾶν ἐχθῆραι τὸ γένος. ἐφοῖτα μὲν οὖν τακταῖς ἡμέραις ὠπλισμένων πλήθος Θραικῶν καὶ Μακεδόνων ἐν Λιβήθροις, εἰς οἴκημα συνερχόμενον μέγα τε καὶ πρὸς τελετὰς εὖ πεποιημένον· ὅποτε δ' ὀργιάζειν εἰσίασι, πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἀπετίθεσαν τὰ ὄπλα· ὃ αἱ γυναῖκες ἐπιτηρήσασαι καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἀρπασάμεναι ὑπ' ὀργῆς τῆς διὰ τὴν ἀτιμίαν τοὺς τε προσπίπτοντας κατειργάσαντο καὶ τὸν Ὀρφέα κατὰ μέλη ἔρριψαν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν σποράδην. λοιμῶι δὲ τῆς χώρας, ὅτι μὴ ἀπηιτήθησαν δίκην αἱ γυναῖκες, κακουμένης δεόμενοι λωφῆσαι τὸ δεινόν, ἔλαβον χρησμόν, τὴν κεφαλὴν τὴν Ὀρφέως ἦν ἀνευρόντες θάψωσι, τυχεῖν ἀπαλλαγῆς. καὶ μόλις αὐτὴν περὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Μέλητος δι' ἀλιέως ἀνεῦρον ποταμοῦ, καὶ τότε αἰδουσαν καὶ μηδὲν παθοῦσαν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης, μηδέ τι ἄλλο τῶν ὅσα κῆρες ἀνθρώπιναι νεκρῶν αἴσχη

²⁶ Aeschylus' play may have referred to these locations, but this is not certain (cf. Linforth 1931: 14, Linforth 1941: 205). However, it is certain that the places interested Eratosthenes in Hellenistic times.

φέρουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐπακμάζουσιν αὐτὴν καὶ ζωικῶι καὶ τότε αἵματι μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον ἐπανθοῦσαν. λαβόντες οὖν ὑπὸ σήματι μεγάλῳι θάπτουσι, τέμενος αὐτῶι περιείρξαντες, ὃ τέως μὲν ἠρώϊον ἦν, ὕστερον δ' ἐξενίκησεν ἱερὸν εἶναι. θυσίαις τε γὰρ καὶ ὄσοις ἄλλοις θεοὶ τιμῶνται γεραίρεται. ἔστι δὲ γυναιξὶ παντελῶς ἄβατον. (Conon *FGrHist* 26F1.45)

He died when Thracian and Macedonian women tore him apart, because he would not let them join his rites, and also perhaps for other reasons: for it was said that, after suffering misfortune with his wife, he hated all women. Now, a crowd of armed Thracians and Macedonians used to come to Libethra on established days, gathering in a large dwelling, well suited for rites. Whenever they entered the dwelling to celebrate the rites, the men put down their weapons in front of the doors. The women looked out for this and snatched away the weapons; they – enraged because of the dishonour – killed the men who attacked them, and tore Orpheus to pieces, throwing his limbs here and there, into the sea. When the region was hit by a plague, because the women had not been asked to pay the penalty, as they wanted relief from the disaster, they received an oracle: if they could find the head of Orpheus, they should bury it, and so they would find relief. They found it, with difficulty, thanks to a fisherman, at the mouth of the river Meles; the head was still singing, it did not suffer any damage from the sea, nor any other deformation, typical of corpses, which affect mortal bodies. Instead, the head was, even after such a long time, fresh and blooming with human blood. They took it and buried it beneath a great monument, enclosing it within a sacred area. For a while, such area was a hero-shrine, but then it became a temple. It is there honoured with sacrifices and all the other things with which the gods are venerated. It is forbidden for women to enter the precinct.

Conon locates Orpheus' final moments in Libethra. It is possible that Conon transmits a local version of the death of the poet, an account which provides the interested readers with a description of the event and with an even more precise description of the site of Libethra: visitors may easily wish to locate the room where Orpheus and the men gathered. In addition, the Thracian landscape, with the sea in which Orpheus' limbs were allegedly scattered, would be the most impressive reminder of the poet's tragic death. Moreover, Conon mentions a tomb associated with a temple, where the poet's memory is preserved and sacrifices are offered to him. Conon also shows his knowledge of the rituals and regulations associated with the temple: women cannot approach Orpheus' after-life space. The places linked to Orpheus in Libethra testify to the evolution of Orpheus' figure: in the room of the Orphic rites, the poet is a mortal

man and king, an initiate to the rites; after his death, in the ἥρωον, he is a hero, but in the ἱερόν he is a proper god.²⁷

In conclusion, Libethra (which was Pierian or Thracian according to different traditions) was a powerful site of Hellenistic memory for Orpheus. The epigrammatic and biographical traditions located the killing and burial of the poet there. The place meant different things to different admirers of Orpheus, who recounted various narratives about the poet in relation to his tomb – and emphasised, unsurprisingly, his capacity to transcend death by music and mystery cult.

The tomb of Lesbos

Another Hellenistic tradition located the tomb of the poet on Lesbos.²⁸ The early Hellenistic elegist Phanocles (fr. 1 Powell) gives the following version of Orpheus' death:²⁹ Orpheus was in love with a boy, Calais, and used to sit in shady groves (σκιεροῖσιν ἐν ἄλσεσιν, l.3) singing of his love. The women of Thrace killed the poet because he was the first to reveal homosexual love to Thracian men. The women cut off Orpheus' head and immediately threw it into the sea (12), nailing it together with Orpheus' Thracian lyre of tortoiseshell, so that both would be borne about on the sea, drenched by the grey waves. The sea brought the poet's head to holy Lesbos (15). After a lacuna in the text, the poem tells how the lyre was able to control the sea, the islands and the shores, where the men buried the head of the poet (ἐνθα [...] ἐκτέρισαν κεφαλὴν, l. 17-8), putting the lyre in the tomb too. From that day, Phanocles concludes, Lesbos is the most tuneful of all islands (πασέων δ' ἐστὶν ἀοιδοτάτη, l.22), filled with songs and lovely lyre-playing (μολπαί τε καὶ ἱμερτὴ κιθαριστὺς νῆσον ἔχει, l.21-2).³⁰ Another Hellenistic writer arguably knows this anecdote: the Lesbian historian Myrsilus of Methymna (third century BC) locates Orpheus' grave near Antissa and writes that

²⁷ Cf. Blakely 2011.

²⁸ Where Orphic gold tablets have been found: for the 'coincidences between the location of the tablets and myths about Orpheus' cf. Bernabé- Jiménez San Cristóbal 2008: 183-4. On the Orphic tablets cf. Edmonds 2011.

²⁹ On the fragment cf. Guthrie 1952: 35, Marcovich 1979, Gärtner 2008.

³⁰ To paraphrase this passage, I use, as point of reference, the translation by Burges-Watson 2014.

Orpheus' head gave sweetness to the songs of the island's nightingales (*FGrHist* 477F2).³¹

The story of Orpheus' cephalomancy existed before Hellenistic times, but it is only at this point that the anecdote appears in the literary tradition and that the island of Lesbos is explicitly linked to it.³² This geography, as has been noted, is not casual: 'by Phanocles' time, Lesbos had long been associated with exceptional achievement in the lyric arts,' as the island had produced lyric poets such as Terpander, Arion, Alcaeus and Sappho.³³ For Hellenistic authors, the story about the geographic relocation of Orpheus' lyre and head not only provides another burial for the poet, but also an *aition* for the musicality of the island, that is, for the tradition of Lesbian poetry.³⁴ Meaningfully, Phanocles devotes the largest section of his poem to the link between Orpheus and Lesbos, testifying to the importance of such a link. For Phanocles, Lesbos preserves the memory of Orpheus, of his homosexuality, of his tragic death at the hands of Thracian women, of his poetic skills;³⁵ but the Hellenistic author also believes that the site of memory has a powerful influence on the Hellenistic present. Orphic Lesbos crystallises the memory of Orpheus' life, located in a distant past, but it also shapes the Hellenistic understanding of Lesbos as a place of literature.

Mountains, groves, and rivers

Similarly to the island of Lesbos, which was infused with Orpheus' musicality, other natural landscapes preserved Orphic memory in Hellenistic times: Mount Pangaeum in Thrace and the area around Pimpleia in Pieria. Ps.-Eratosthenes' *Catasterismoi*, as seen above, mentions Pangaeum, a mountain chain parallel to the northern Aegean coast. According to the author, Orpheus went there in order to watch the dawn and worship

³¹ On later accounts about Lesbos and the head of the poet, cf. Graf 1990: 92-3. On this anecdote cf. Leyra 2011: 333-4.

³² Before this time, it seems that the story was object of visual representations: 'a Red-Figure hydria in Basel dating to ca. 440 BC shows the head [...]. A slightly later cup [...] shows Apollo, the head, and a youth sitting to the left, who seems to be writing down what the head dictates. The same scene appears on two fourth century Etruscan mirrors' (Blakely 2011; cf. *LIMC* VII.1 s.v. 'Orpheus', De Puma-Guthrie 2001, Faraone 2004: 8-12, Burges-Watson 2013).

³³ Mendelsohn 2003: 1.

³⁴ Cf. similarly Bing 2002/3: 263-4. For the religious significance of the anecdote cf. Detienne 1985: 73-4.

³⁵ This is the first time that ancient sources speak of Orpheus' homosexuality: cf. Makowski 1996: 27. The story of Orpheus' preference for men may have existed before (cf. Burges-Watson 2013: 444), but it is not certain.

Apollo. Other stories linked Orpheus to Mount Pangaeum. Diodorus Siculus (5.77.3) and Strabo (7 fr. 18) say that Orpheus taught mystery rites to the Cicones, a Thracian wild tribe of Odyssean memory located in the territory east of Mt. Pangaeum.³⁶ The brutal killing of Orpheus perpetrated by the women (cf. pp. 131-2) echoes the wilderness of the mountain.³⁷

Another tradition speaks of Pierian mountains. On the mountains around Pimpleia, a village on the Macedonian coast in the territory of Dium, was a grove which Orpheus charmed during his life. The poet was allegedly born in Pimpleia, according to Apollonius of Rhodes. In his *Argonautica* (1.24-34), Apollonius specifies that Orpheus was born near the peak of Pimpleia (σκοπιῆς Πιμπληίδος ἄγχι), and that Orpheus allegedly enchanted the stubborn rocks on the mountains and the streams of rivers, with the sound of his songs. Apollonius adds that some wild oak-trees (φηγοὶ δ' ἄγριάδες), still a sign of Orpheus' singing (κείνης ἔτι σήματα μολπῆς), flourish and stand in rows (ἔξειης στιχόωσιν), close together (ἐπήτριμοι), on the edge of Thracian Zone (ἄκτῆς Θρηκίης Ζώνης ἔπι τηλεθόωσαι).³⁸ The author identifies the trees with the ones that Orpheus once enchanted with the sound of his lyre and led forth down from Pieria (ἄς ὄγ' ἐπιπρὸ θελγομένας φόρμιγγι κατήγαγε Πιερίθην). Hence this tradition fills, in a different way, two areas with the memory of Orpheus, linking them in a single narrative. First, this story allows an admirer of the poet to wonder where the grove *was*, to imagine (the absence of) a site of Orphic memory in the landscape of Pimpleia (a city otherwise associated with poetry, as it was supposedly dedicated to the Muses, cf. Str. 9.2.25), and even the sound of Orpheus' voice.³⁹ Secondly, of course, Hellenistic people may have located, if they so wished, an 'Orpheus' grove' around Zone in Thrace. All these natural landscapes and mountains, alleged memorials to Orpheus, allowed the Hellenistic readers to engage anew with Orpheus' life, activity, and persona.

³⁶ The Cicones are mentioned in Homer *Il.* 2.846, *Od.* 9.39. Cf. König 2016 on the main trends of mountain depiction in Strabo.

³⁷ On mountains as wild places in Greek mentality cf. Buxton 1992: 7.

³⁸ Thracian Zone was a city of the Cicones mentioned by Hecateus of Miletus (*FGrHist* 1F161) and Her. 7.59.2.

³⁹ Cf. Parke 1981: 104, Larson 2001: 169.

Another natural site linked to Orpheus was a river Meles. Conon's passage above, to which I turn again, mentions the river. As seen, Conon states that Orpheus dies in Thracian Libethra and adds that his head is found near the Meles; he states that the citizens of Libethra set out to look for Orpheus' head upon the indication of Apollo's oracle.⁴⁰ The head of the poet, quite incredibly, was found on the other side of the Aegean by a fisherman, around the mouth of the river Meles, singing and having suffered no harm.

The Smyrnaean river Meles was, first of all, a famous site of Homeric memory. Graf suggests that Conon refers to a Thracian local stream, otherwise unknown, but I find this hypothesis improbable.⁴¹ It is instead possible to believe that Orpheus' head travelled to the Smyrnaean river (as Orpheus' head was said to travel in antiquity), or that Conon mixes two traditions (featuring the Meles and the Thracian death of the poet). In any case, in antiquity the 'river Meles' would certainly evoke the name of a famous poet linked with the river and sometimes said to be quite simply his son: Homer. The biographical tradition links the two poets and imagines Homer to be a descendant of Orpheus.⁴² The link with Orpheus through the landscape becomes even closer to the figure of Homer when Conon states that Orpheus' head was still singing and with blood in it. This image not only ratifies the immortality of Orpheus' voice and poetry, but also makes the river the retainer of Orpheus' voice. The voice and blood of Orpheus had allegedly been in contact with the Smyrnaean landscape, which a Hellenistic reader (at least imaginatively) could now access, as Homer himself did. The site of the Meles highlights a specific poetic dimension of the Orphic persona.

Homer

The sites of memory for Homer in antiquity were various and abundant, as already emerged in chapter 2. I focus here on the best documented cases of Homeric topography and, at the same time, on three sites which were linked to specific aspects of Homer's biography: his birth, death, and after-life. These three moments in the

⁴⁰ On the head of Orpheus and other similar stories cf. Deonna 1925. Nagy 1990a: 208-28 comments on the Indo-European patterns of the anecdote.

⁴¹ Graf 1990: 88.

⁴² 'Fifth-century genealogies [...] made Hesiod and Homer cousins of one another and descendants of Orpheus, who was represented as the oldest poet' (Burgess-Watson 2015b).

biographies of ancient poets return with particular insistence in the Hellenistic establishment of sites of memory. I first deal with Smyrna which, among the many cities claiming Homer's birth, offers a vivid picture of itself as a Homeric city in Hellenistic times. Then Ios, the island which, univocally, in the biographical tradition, hosted Homer's remains. Finally, I consider the Homereia of Chios, Delos, and New Colophon, sites which provide some useful evidence for the influence of sites of memory on the Hellenistic reception of both the Homeric persona and the poetry.

Smyrna

In my second chapter I touched on some points concerning the memorialisation of Homer in Smyrna, a city associated with Homer in very early times (pp. 43-4).⁴³ Smyrna was believed to be one of the possible places of birth of Homer and its claim was enriched, in Hellenistic times, by a redefinition of the city as a site of Homeric memory. Smyrna had been destroyed around 600 BC; it flourished anew as an important centre only after its re-foundation (334 BC).⁴⁴ In Hellenistic times, Smyrna had an interest in glorifying Homer's presence by individuating spots of Homeric memory in the landscape, like the river Meles and a Homereion: the presence of Homer in Smyrna's landscape thus became a focal point of the Smyrnaean tradition about Homer. This meant a re-engagement with the poet's persona, which emerges also in Smyrnaean Homeric coins.

Jacoby suggests that the view of Homer as the son of the river Meles became popular in the Hellenistic age; Graziosi points out that this is a possibility, but that the story was already known in the fifth century BC.⁴⁵ As a matter of fact, the sources which Jacoby uses for his suggestion cannot be certainly dated to the Hellenistic period. As for the existence of the tradition in the fifth century, we only find a reference to Homer as the son of a river (Critias fr. 50 DK), or to Homer as son of Meles (Euagon *FGrHist* 107F22 = *Cert.* 3 West, where Meles must be a person, or the author of the *Certamen* – who knew that according to the Smyrnaeans Meles was the river father of Homer, cf.

⁴³ Perhaps before 600 BC, cf. Jacoby 1933: 31; Graziosi 2002: 75. I do not report here the sources already mentioned and discussed in chapter 2. On the city of Smyrna cf. Ramsay 1880, Philippson-Maurette 1912, Cook 1958/9.

⁴⁴ Cf. Cook 1958/9: 34, Cook 1965: 143 for the traditions about Smyrna's re-foundation.

⁴⁵ Cf. Jacoby 1933: 23-4; Graziosi 2002: 75n70.

Cert. 2 – would have probably specified it), but no evidence exists about Homer as ‘son of the river Meles.’ The first time that the name ‘Meles’ is identified with a river and linked with Homer is the fourth century BC: at this time, Aristotle in the third book of his *On Poets* says that an Ietan girl was made pregnant by one of the divinities who danced with the Muses; feeling ashamed, she went to Aegina, where some pirates enslaved her and took her to Smyrna.⁴⁶ They gave her to the king of the Lydians, Maeon, who married her. One day, when she was by the Meles (παρὰ τῷ Μέλητι), she gave birth to Homer at the river (ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ, Ps.-Plut. *Vit. Hom.* 1.3 West). Ephorus of Cyme (fourth century BC) in his *Local History*, says that the Cymaeon Apelles left a daughter called Cretheis and made his brother Maeon her guardian. After deflowering her, Maeon gave her in marriage to Phemius, a teacher of letters from Smyrna. As she often went to the washing places by the Meles (παρὰ τῷ Μέλητι), she gave birth to Homer at the river (ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ, Ps.-Plut. *Vit. Hom.* 1.2 West). In the fourth century BC, the biographical tradition identifies *the place* where Homer was born as ‘by the river Meles’, taking thus a step further in respect to the earlier, general associations between Homer and cities claiming his origins.⁴⁷

More specifically, despite the existence of several stories for Homer’s conception, and despite the uncertainty about Homer’s parents, both Aristotle and Ephorus, just before the beginning of the Hellenistic age, are eager to identify the exact place (not only the city) where Homer was born, and identify it with the river Meles. By the late Hellenistic period, the association between Homer and the river was so strong that it led Strabo to state that, even though Homer does not mention the river Meles in his work, the river must have been known to him, since he was, according to many, from Smyrna.⁴⁸ Although one or more traditions featuring a ‘Meles’ and a river as Homer’s father existed before, in the fifth century BC, it seems probable that on the edge of the Hellenistic period, Aristotle and Ephorus rationalised these traditions and made them more real and concrete. This choice may be related to Smyrna’s desire to

⁴⁶ The *Vita* mentions the ‘third book of the *Poetics*’, usually identified by scholars with the lost dialogue *Περὶ ποιητῶν* (cf. Laurenti 1984). On Aristotle’s dialogue cf. Rostagni 1955, Laurenti 1984, Janko 1991, Halliwell 2002 and 1989. On Aristotle’s approach to biography cf. Huxley 1974.

⁴⁷ In the imperial age, Pausanias testifies to the existence of a cave nearby the Meles where Homer wrote his poems (Paus. 7.5.12).

⁴⁸ Str. 12.3.27.

reinforce its claim on Homer perhaps around the time of the city's new foundation. In any case, when the Hellenistic period approaches and up until Strabo's time, there is a growing curiosity for the river Meles as a physical Homeric place, a site which can be seen and imagined.

The most obvious – yet important – fact to be noted here is the connection which the Meles created between Homer and Smyrna. The river originated on the slopes of Mount Sipylus and flowed into the Aegean Sea near the city.⁴⁹ I have already underlined how Hellenistic admirers of Homer like Strabo (14.37) highly valued the 'natural' link that Homer had with Smyrna, incarnated in particular by the Meles.⁵⁰ Strabo's mention of the river Meles in association with Smyrna's claim on Homer testifies to the great importance of the river. The river Meles was overall important as an element distinguishing Homer's life, to the point that even authors who did *not* support the Smyrnaean claim, still preserved the detail of Homer's birth on the river Meles in their accounts of Homer's life (e.g. Ephorus of Cyme). For Hellenistic readers, the river seemed to represent a way of going beyond the spatial and temporal gap separating Homer and his audience, and making the biography of the poet not only a memory, but a real event, still bearing its signs in the contemporary landscape – which, of course, made Homer a Smyrnaean.

The Meles was not the only Smyrnaean site associated with Homer. The city hosted a shrine dedicated to the poet, a Homereion, known to Hellenistic sources.⁵¹ The shrine may have been founded in the third century BC, perhaps the 280s BC, under Lysimachus' impulse.⁵² If the river constituted incontrovertible evidence of Smyrna's link with Homer, the shrine was a recognition *a posteriori* of Smyrna's Hellenistic claim on the poet. Strabo (14.1.37) speaks of a Homereion adjacent to a library, with a *stoa* and a statue of Homer (he also adds that the city minted a bronze coin called 'Homereion', on which see below). He links the buildings directly to the Smyrnaean claim on Homer (μεταποιοῦνται γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι διαφερόντως τοῦ ποιητοῦ). Similarly, Cicero (*Arch.* 8-9.19) observes that various cities claim Homer, like Colophon and Chios,

⁴⁹ Scholars have debated the actual position of ancient Meles: cf. e.g. Slaars 1867, Cook 1958/9: 23.

⁵⁰ Cf. pp. 43-4.

⁵¹ Scholars have tried to identify remains of the ancient Homereion in various Smyrnaean buildings: cf. Hasluck 1913-4.

⁵² Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 204.

but that only Smyrna has a shrine for the poet – thus arguably implying that the city, by building the Homereion, put more effort into making the claim. Strabo and Cicero both connect the possession of a Homereion to the claim on Homer’s origins. This was not the case of Delos, which had a Homereion (see p. 152) but never claimed to be the poet’s birthplace, as far as we know. Thus, although having a Homereion did not necessarily correspond to claiming Homer’s origins, the presence of a shrine dedicated to the poet reinforced such a claim when it existed. The Homereion and the river Meles both contributed to the Hellenistic image of Smyrna as the city ‘where Homer existed.’⁵³

In the last part of this section, I turn my attention to the Homeric coins minted in Smyrna in Hellenistic times.⁵⁴ The river and the Homereion link Homer to Smyrna and encourage specific readings of the Homeric persona. When such a process of memorialisation happens, we are entitled to look for other local expressions of interest in the persona of the dead author: in fact, when a topography of the dead poet appears in Smyrna, we can also see a wider process of Smyrnaean re-engagement with the poet through coinage.

The most extensive classification of Smyrna’s coinage is provided by J. Grafton Milne.⁵⁵ As he explains, Smyrna’s autonomous coinage can be traced with certainty only from the beginning of the third century BC, because no issues of coins can be definitely ascribed to Old Smyrna before its destruction in ca. 600 BC by Alyattes. In the history of Smyrna’s coinage, what interests me is the break in the series of the coins which happened around 190 BC, after the battle of Magnesia, when ‘the greater liberty obtained by the Greek cities in Ionia, and especially by Smyrna, after the defeat of Antiochus by the Romans, was an obvious occasion for developing the local coinage on a more ambitious scale.’⁵⁶ At that time, it appears that Smyrna’s coinage was reorganised: almost all the old types were dropped and new types were introduced (e.g. the first issue of silver, in the form of tetradrachms with the face of Alexander the

⁵³ Σμύρνα, ἐν ἧ Ὅμηρος ἦν, Ps.-Scylax 98.14. For Ps.-Scylax see below. The formulation chosen by the geographer expresses the direct and immediate contact which Smyrna offered with Homer. Smyrna is not only ‘the city where Homer is celebrated’, but the city where the poet *is*.

⁵⁴ For an introduction to Homeric coins, cf. Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 214-7. Further bibliography on Homeric coins is at p. 75.

⁵⁵ Milne 1914, 1921, 1923, 1927, 1928.

⁵⁶ Milne 1927: 3.

Great). Among new coins, the so-called 'Homereia' were minted for the first time, featuring Apollo's face on the obverse and the portrait of a seated Homer on the reverse. Homer's portrait appears mostly on bronze coins (the bronze was the most extensive and continuous of the Smyrnaean series), but also on silver coins.

Homer's portraits on the coins vary in their details.⁵⁷ Between ca. 190-70 BC, when the reorganisation of coinage began, Homer is showed on bronze coins with his head bowed forward, holding a sceptre in his right hand and a roll in his left; about at the same time (180 BC ca.), silver drachms bear a more majestic, Zeus-like image of Homer, with a roll in his right hand laying on his knee, his left hand on a sceptre, and only his legs draped by the himation. According to Scheers, the first type, on bronze coins, was 'nationally-oriented', as it represented the statue in Smyrna's Homereion, whereas the silver coins type was 'internationally-oriented', as its image of Homer resembles the Archelaus relief's image (which he links with Alexandria).⁵⁸ Another type of silver drachm (II-I century BC) depicts Homer seated on a low throne and wearing a himation, with his chin on his right hand and a roll in his left. A few decades later bronze coins show other images of Homer: between ca. 145-25 BC, when Smyrna experiences a boom in trade, Homer's head is frequently very bowed; between ca. 115-105 BC, a group of Homereia shows a peculiar feature in the pose of the right hand of Homer, which has its fingers spread out and the thumb touching the beard, instead of being doubled up under the poet's chin.

Although 'differences in detail always occur', as Heyman states, the small but noticeable changes of Homer's portrait on the coins may point to different visions of Homer.⁵⁹ For example, it is easy to imagine how depicting Homer on one side of the coin and Apollo on the other promoted the association between the Greek poet and the god of poetry; the Zeus-like image of Homer may have not only contributed to the association of the poet with the king of the gods, but also reflected the image of a divine Homer. In fact, scholars often associate the production of coins to a civic cult and the presence of a Homereion increases the chances that indeed Homer received a

⁵⁷ However, the Smyrnaean coins still reproduce the image of seated Homer, which, I have argued before, ideally referred to the Alexandrian Homer.

⁵⁸ Heyman 1982: 169.

⁵⁹ Heyman 1982: 163.

cult in Hellenistic Smyrna.⁶⁰ The production of Homeric coins is arguably part of the same process of re-engagement with Homer which also involved the Smyrnaean landscape. Hellenistic Smyrna's memorialisation of Homer – an act of both self-definition and identification in front of the rest of the Greek world – contributes to the shaping of the poet's image.

The tomb of Ios

An important site of Homeric memory in the Hellenistic age was Ios, in the southern Cyclades, where the tomb of the poet was allegedly located according to the entire ancient biographical tradition; still in modern times explorers set to the search of Homer's tomb on the island.⁶¹ Ios was also sometimes included among the possible fatherlands of Homer.⁶² I focus on the site of the tomb.

The tradition of Homer's death was famous in antiquity: according to it, some children on Ios posed a riddle to Homer, which the poet failed to solve, and he died shortly afterwards.⁶³ The story was already known at the time of Heraclitus (fr. 56 DK), but the attention for the site of Ios and specifically for Homer's tomb arguably emerges in the fourth century BC and fully develops in the Hellenistic age. Homer's tomb becomes now relevant not only to the biographical tradition of the poet, but also to epigrammatic and geographical literature. As I present the evidence linking Homer to Ios, I also underline some of the ways in which the idea of the tomb of Homer was linked to specific aspects of the poet's persona. Afterwards, I consider the Hellenistic Homeric coinage of Ios, which gives another precious insight into the image of Ietan Homer.⁶⁴

The earliest association between Homer and Ios arguably appears in a fragment of Aristotle transmitted by Ps.-Plutarch in the *Vita Homeri*, already mentioned above (p. 138). The biographer of this *Vita* is acquainted with various sources, and specifically

⁶⁰ Cf. e.g. Clay 2004: 74, Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 214-5.

⁶¹ Cf. Arnott 1990 and Angliker 2012: 63n10.

⁶² Cf. e.g. AP 16.296 and Anonymus III *Vita Scorialensis II* West.

⁶³ Some interesting readings of the story are in Levine 2002/3.

⁶⁴ For reasons of space I tend to overlook the interactions among the locally constructed images of Homer, which would be worth investigating: the insular space of the Cyclades generated multiple connections, also with phenomena of cultural competitions, and – as in Alexandria's case – Homer may well have been part of such dialogues. Cf. Angliker 2014: 892n1 for bibliography.

also with Aristotle's *On Poets*, one of the main sources of the *Vita*. Following Aristotle, the biographer states that Homer's mother was from Ios and the poet was conceived on the island. His mother then left and, after a brief stop in Aegina, went to Smyrna, where she gave birth to Homer, beside the Meles. After a few lines, the biographer turns to Homer's death and tomb.

There is no particular reason to doubt that the biographer may have used Aristotle again as his source: the biographer does not mention other sources for it and the narrative on Homer's death immediately follows the narrative of Homer's birth and early life attributed to the philosopher. This is the account provided by the biographer: when Homer was an adult and already famous for his poetry, he enquired with the god Apollo about the identity of his parents and his place of origin (τίνων τε εἴη γονέων καὶ πόθεν, Ps.-Plut. *Vita Homeri* 1.4 West). The oracle answered that the fatherland of Homer's mother was Ios (ἔστιν Ἴλος νῆσος, μητρὸς πατρίς, 1.4), where the poet himself would be buried. Another oracle stated – as the biographer reports – that Homer did not have a fatherland, but a motherland below the island of Crete (i.e. Ios) which would receive him after his death, of which the biographer next recounts the circumstances.⁶⁵ While Homer was sitting on a rock in Ios, some fishermen arrived and asked him the famous riddle of the lice. Whereas the biographer immediately gives his readers the solution, Homer, he tells, was not able to solve the riddle and died from depression (διὰ τὴν ἀθυμίαν, 1.4). The Ietans, the *Vita* concludes, gave him a magnificent funeral and inscribed a funerary epitaph on the tomb of the poet. In the epitaph Homer was called, as West 2003 translates it, 'adorned of warrior heroes' and 'divine' (ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων κοσμήτορα θεῖον Ὅμηρον, 1.4). The account ends with the biographer reporting other, competing claims on Homer (by Colophon and other cities) and with the chronology of the poet.

In the account, Homer's funerary monument contributes to shape civic ideology. By being Homer's place of burial, Ios finds glory, but also finds its own identity in the context of interaction with the rest of Greece.⁶⁶ As a consequence, the Homeric persona gains a specific profile. First of all, Ios is associated with Homer by the oracle

⁶⁵ The biographer mistakenly specifies the location of Ios: the island is, in fact, above Crete. The rest of the narrative, however, confirms that he meant Ios.

⁶⁶ For the glory brought to a city by Homer's tomb, cf. Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 132.

of Delphi. The name of the island first appears in the narrative when Delphi, the Greek oracle *par excellence*, mentions it (ἔστιν Ἴος νῆσος). There is thus the recognition of Ios as a Greek site of Homeric memory, a recognition which bestows credibility upon the tradition of the location of Homer's tomb. As in other cases where Delphi orders the establishment of a site of memory for a dead poet, the recognition of Ios by Delphi bestows Greek dignity upon the site and, indirectly, upon Homer himself.

Secondly and more specifically, in both oracles Delphi defines Ios as the place of origin of Cretheis, Homer's mother. For the Homeric persona, this is an alternative solution to having a *fatherland*, as Ios becomes, in the readers' mind, a 'motherland.'⁶⁷ Not only does the island preserve the poet's body, but can claim to be a land as similar as possible (and an alternative) to Homer's fatherland.⁶⁸ By being Cretheis' place of origin, Ios stands out among the other localities claiming to be Homer's ultimate place of origin.

Thirdly, the biographer says that the citizens of Ios composed an epitaph for the poet's tomb. The authorial identity of Homer's epitaph was a matter of discussion: Ps.-Hdt. *Vit. Hom.* 2.36 West attributes the composition of the epitaph to the Ietans themselves (τὸ ἐλεγείων τόδε ἐπέγραψαν Ἰῆται ὕστερον χρόνῳ πολλῷ ... οὐδὲ Ὀμήρου ἐστίν); the *Certamen* l. 333 and Anon. III *Vit. Hom.* 5 West to Homer; others report it anonymously (Anon. I *Vit. Hom.* 6 West; Anon. II *Vit. Hom.* 3 West). In the *Vita's* passage, the community of Ios is primarily the community honouring Homer's memory: the 'Ietans' (οἱ Ἰῆται) are first mentioned in the narrative in relation to the great funerary honours which they confer on Homer, and to the founding of the poet's burial. If Ios as a community honours Homer's remains, Homer becomes therefore the poet of the local people (rather than, for example, the poet of a particular social group or élite).⁶⁹

Finally, the biographer says that the Ietans buried Homer with magnificent funeral rites (θάψαντες δὲ αὐτὸν... μεγαλοπρεπῶς): the biographer uses the same words used by Sosthenes for the famous Parian burial of Archilochus (Sosth. C I 13-4). The greatness of the funerary honours bestowed upon Homer is both a celebration of

⁶⁷ This also emerges in later sources, cf. Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 132-3.

⁶⁸ Cretheis' tomb is still famous in the imperial age (Paus. 10.24.2).

⁶⁹ This recalls, for example, the figure of Homer in the *Certamen*, where the Greek audience repeatedly prefers him to Hesiod (who however wins the contest thanks to king Panedes).

Ios and a celebration of Homer. Ios possibly hosted a Hellenistic cult of Homer, which might have had an important site at the poet's tomb. To a cult of the poet may point not only the poet's tomb, but also a third century BC inscription (*IG XII.5 15*) from the island reporting the naming of a month after Homer, as if he were a god.⁷⁰ In any case, the Ietan community, in the biographer's account, and indeed in the epigraphic record, appears as the one that best can take upon itself the task of honouring Homer.

The importance of Ios as the place of Homer's burial emerges from other sources too. The *Palatine Anthology* transmits seven funerary epigrams dedicated to Homer (*AP 7.1-7*).⁷¹ Through the epigrams, Homer's Hellenistic admirers can make a real 'pilgrimage to Ios, in these epigrams the spiritual center of the Greek world as the burial-place of Homer (and very nearly its geographical center as well in Hellenistic times) to honor his *Nationaldichter*.'⁷² I believe that 'visiting' Homer's tomb *via* the epigrams led to depict Homer in a specific way. Here, I wish to focus mainly on two epigrams attributed to Alcaeus of Messene (*AP 7.1*) and Antipater of Sidon (*AP 7.2*), both lending particular attention to the *location* of Homer's burial, Ios.⁷³ I quote them here:

Ἡρώων τὸν ἀοιδὸν Ἴω ἔνι παῖδες Ὀμηρον
ἦκαχον ἐκ Μουσέων γρῖφον ὑφηνάμενοι·
νέκταρι δ' εἰνάλιαι Νηρηίδες ἐχρίσαντο
καὶ νέκυν ἀκταίη θῆκαν ὑπὸ σπιλάδι,
ὅττι θέτιν κύδηνε καὶ υἷα καὶ μόθον ἄλλων
ἠρώων Ἰθακοῦ τ' ἔργματα Λαρτιάδεω.
ὀλβίστη νήσων πόντῳ Ἴος, ὅττι κέκευθε
βαίη Μουσάων ἀστέρα καὶ Χαρίτων. (*AP 7.1*)

In Ios, children annoyed Homer, the singer of the heroes,
Weaving a riddle which came from the Muses;
The Nereids of the sea washed his body with nectar

⁷⁰ And also the Ietan Homeric coins (see pp. 150-1): cf. Clay 2004: 75, Angliker 2012. Tombs naturally were one of the favourite place for cults; on the cult of Homer in Greece cf. also Guarducci 1969 vol. II: 686, Clay 2004, Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 201-18.

⁷¹ On which cf. Bolmarcich 2002.

⁷² Bolmarcich 2002: 80-1.

⁷³ I focus on *AP 7.1-2* because *AP 7.2b*, *7.3*, and *7.7* are anonymous – and therefore not certainly Hellenistic, *AP 7.4* is attributed to Paulus Silentiarius, *AP 7.5* is not meant to be a sepulchral epigram, *AP 7.6* does not focus on Ios. On *AP 7.1* and, more generally, on *AP 7.1-7*, cf. Bolmarcich 2002; cf. Bonsignore 2011 on *AP 7.1*; on Alcaeus and his epigrams cf. Mauro 2008. On Antipater of Sidon's epigrams cf. Clack 2001. For the importance of the indication of the precise location of the tomb in literary epigrams cf. Bing-Bruss 2007: 8.

And they put his body under a rock on the shore,
Because he honoured Thetis and her son and the battle-din of the other
Heroes and the deeds of the son of Laertes of Ithaca.
Blessed among the islands in the sea is Ios, because it covers,
Even if small, the star of the Muses and Graces.

Τὰν μερόπων Πειθῶ, τὸ μέγα στόμα, τὰν ἴσα Μούσαις
φθεγξαμένην κεφαλάν, ὣ̃ ξένε, Μαιονίδεω
ἄδ' ἔλαχον νασίτις Ἴου σπιδάς· οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἄλλῃ
ιερόν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐμοί πνεῦμα θανῶν ἔλιπεν,
ὣ̃ νεῦμα Κρονίδαο τὸ παγκρατές, ὣ̃ καὶ Ὀλυμπον
καὶ τὰν Αἴαντος ναύμαχον εἶπε βίαν
καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖος Φαρσαλίσιν Ἴκτορα πῶλοις
ὄστέα Δαρδανικῶ̃ δρυπτόμενον πεδίῳ.
εἰ δ' ὀλίγα κρύπτω τὸν ταλίκον, ἴσθ', ὅτι κεύθει
καὶ Θέτιδος γαμέταν ἅ βραχύβωλος Ἴκος. (AP 7.2)

This rock of the island of Ios, over which the sea dashes, protects
Eloquent Persuasion itself, the mighty-voiced, he who sang even to the Muses,
The singing voice of the Maeonian, o stranger; for not on another island,
But on me he left his sacred breath when he died,
With which he told of the will of all-powerful Zeus, and of Olympus,
And of the strength at sea-fighting of Ajax,
And of Hector, his bones torn apart on the plain of Troy
By the Thessalian horses of Achilles.
Even though small, I cover such a great man, and know that
The island of Icos too, with just few clods of earth, covers the spouse of Thetis.

The two epigrams set up as a central theme a contrast between the greatness of Homer and the small size of the place that welcomes his remains (respectively, ll. 7-8 and 9-10), a theme which emerges also in the other funerary epigrams for Homer. Ios is defined as βαιή (AP 7.1, cf. 7.2b) and ὀλίγα (AP 7.2, cf. 7.4) and both epigrams underline the sense of surprise, which may have struck Hellenistic admirers of Homer, who expected the poet to be buried in a magnificent and famous location. In particular, in AP 7.2 Ios – a proper 'speaking place' – seems to know the passer-by's astonishment at the island's small size.⁷⁴ The juxtaposition between small Ios and great Homer is in fact one example of a typical motif in funerary epigrams; the *topos* juxtaposes an

⁷⁴ On the anticipation of what the reader will think by epigrammatic authors cf. Meyer 2007: 193-4.

unworthy tomb to a great poet, thus exalting the greatness of the author.⁷⁵ If Homer's biographical tradition straightforwardly stated the greatness of the funerary honours bestowed upon Homer, the epigrams adopt the opposite strategy to underline a specific feature of the poet and praise him.

Yet it is possible to make a further observation concerning Homer's small tomb in the epigrams. I believe that the site of the tomb represents the moment of literary transition (made of both disruption and continuation) from Homeric epic to contemporary Hellenistic poetry, most famously as exemplified by the poetry of Callimachus.⁷⁶ Such understanding of the tomb establishes a direct line between dead Homer and Hellenistic poets and overall makes Homer's biographical geography relevant in the definition of Greek literary history, which itself moves from big to small.

To begin with, these epigrams borrow from typically Callimachean meta-poetic language. Specifically, in the prologue to his work (*Aetia* 1.1.), Callimachus states that two features distinguish bad poetry: an excessive length and a magniloquent tone. The poet repeatedly states his rejection of 'long and noisy poems', as Harder in her recent commentary to the *Aetia* puts it.⁷⁷ He writes that 'the thunder belongs to Zeus' (βροντᾶν οὐκ ἐμόν, ἀλλὰ Διός, l. 20) and that he prefers short poems (ἔπος τυτθόν, l.5).⁷⁸

The two categories of 'quantity' and 'sound' also describe Homer's burial in the epigrams. The island in the first epigram is praised, because 'even if small, it covers the star of the Muses and Graces;' in the second epigram Ios speaks in its own voice and proudly reminds the passer-by that the island of Icos too, small and with few clods of earth, covers the remains of Achilles' father Peleus.⁷⁹ Although small, the tomb contains *the voice* of Homer, the 'singer of the heroes' (*AP* 7.1), 'the mighty-voiced' (*AP* 7.2, cf. τὸ σοφὸν στόμα *AP* 7.4). This image of Homer as a loud voice recalls the

⁷⁵ Some examples of this *topos* appear in *AP* 7.16, 45, 73. On this, cf. Montiglio forthcoming. The *topos* is true also for lyric authors: cf. Acosta-Hughes-Barbantani 2007: 432.

⁷⁶ Cf. Bing 1988a: esp. 91-143, Bing 1988b, Fantuzzi-Hunter 2004.

⁷⁷ Harder 2012 presents a commentary to *Aetia* 1.1 and further bibliography.

⁷⁸ Cf. Harder 2012: 6. Bruss 2002/3: 173 states that Alcaeus' poetic program (importantly, as he is the author of one of the epigrams I consider, *AP* 7.1), as reflected in *AP* 7.429, 'engages the typical Hellenistic-Alexandrian rejection of the overamplified and overgrown epic.'

⁷⁹ For the comparison between Ios and other islands, cf. *AP* 7.4, where Ios is associated with Delos. The speaker is imagined to be the tomb especially in archaic inscriptions (cf. Bettenworth 2007: 72).

Callimachean element of ‘sound.’⁸⁰ Epigram 7.2.9 also nicely summarizes the juxtaposition between the modest (ὀλίγα) container that is Ios and the powerful (voice of the) poet (ταλικόν, which means both ‘big’ and ‘ancient’). Gutzwiller suggests a similar interpretation, although focusing exclusively on Antipater’s epigram: she believes that Antipater identified himself ‘with the tiny island, which received the dying breath [...] of the great Homer, much as a contemporary poet is heir to Homer’s literary estate.’⁸¹

Thus in the epigrams Homer’s tomb is small but hides a great past. It is possible to suggest that Homer’s tomb symbolically represents the new, Hellenistic poetry. Hellenistic poets (and the fictitious epigrams themselves), just like Homer’s tomb, take pride in writing (if only apparently) simple and short poems. Their poems hide and re-shape, however, a great treasure, which calls for attention: the literary heritage of Homer’s epic, as received and reinterpreted by the Hellenistic poets. Homer has died, but his legacy is alive (cf. ἀγήραντον στόμα, *AP* 7.6). The tomb itself contains Homer’s breath (*AP* 7.2.4), but the tomb is celebrated and sang by Hellenistic poets, and is (celebrated as) small. The tomb thus gives occasion to reflect on Homer’s persona and work. As tombs could constitute a place of death and separation from the deceased, but also a place of commemoration, similarly, in the epigrams and in Hellenistic poetry, the ancient literary tradition merges with the poetic present.⁸² The reception of Homer’s poetry is ultimately expressed through (and shaped by) a reflection on his tomb.

Returning now to Homer’s figure, it also emerges that it was shaped not only through sites of memory in biographies and funerary epigrams, but also in geographical sources. Essentially geographical (if not touristic) interest contributed to the circulation of a particular image of the poet: two geographers mention Ios and Homer’s tomb,

⁸⁰ Another Callimachean element in *AP* 7.1 may be the reference to the touch of the Nereids making something immortal (cf. Callimachus fr. 7 Pf.).

⁸¹ Gutzwiller 1998: 262-3.

⁸² Readings compatible with mine have been already made, which explain some of the biographical details of Homer’s death as metapoetic elements of definition of Hellenistic-Callimachean poetry: cf. Bolmarcich 2002, Levine 2002/3, Ambühl 2005, Bonsignore 2011. Bolmarcich 2002 also analyses *AP* 7.1-7, underlining that the epigrams tend to assert the independence of Hellenistic authors from Homer while commemorating him.

Strabo and Ps.-Scylax. This constitutes a proof of the importance of sites of memory for our understanding of the ancient reception of poets.

The guide for Hellenistic travellers called *Periplus of inhabited Europe, Asia and Libya* by Pseudo-Scylax was finished before 338 BC: it was a compilation of Hecataeus, Herodotus, Ephorus, Theopompus and others, and may have had its origin in a skipper's manual.⁸³ Ps.-Scylax (58.1-11) lists the Cyclades, with their most important cities and their points of anchorage, and then states that below the Cyclades there are other islands (which he lists again dutifully) among which Ios is mentioned. The geographer stops his otherwise rather basic listing, in order to state that Ios is the island honoured by Homer's burial.⁸⁴ It is significant that the geographer dedicates more attention to Ios' harbour than to other localities because of Homer's tomb. The tomb was important to Hellenistic people, it shaped the Hellenistic reading of Greek space, and contributed to the international fame of Ios. Readers of the *Periplus* were not necessarily engaged in cultural activities: this shows that sites of memory of ancient poets had a greater impact on the transmission of the poets' memory than it is usually recognised.

The impact that Hellenistic sites of memory had on geography emerges even more vividly in Strabo's understanding of Ios as a Homeric site.⁸⁵ In his discussion (10.5.1), Strabo elaborates, more systematically than Ps.-Scylax, on the attractions and curiosities of each place he lists. Strabo tells his readers that Thera is 'the metropolis of the Cyrenaeans, a colony of the Lacedaemonians', that on Anaphe there is 'the temple of Aegletan Apollo', and that Callimachus wrote some verses about the two islands, which the geographer quotes. Finally, he speaks of 'the little island Ios, where, according to some, the poet Homer was buried.'

The colonial status of Thera, the temple of Apollo of Anaphe, the poetry of Callimachus, and the tomb of Homer all give the same, cultural significance to a landscape otherwise empty. What Strabo adds, in relation to Ps.-Scylax, is a note of doubt: an emphasis on opinion rather than on the monument. This may reflect his own

⁸³ Cf. Marcotte 1986: 166-182, Olshausen 1991, Peretti 1979. For the genre of the *periplus* cf. Thomson 1948, Güngerich 1950, Diller 1952.

⁸⁴ Famous tombs on the seaside were also useful as an aid to navigation (cf. Pearce 1983: 111-2). This 'practical' use of tombs is not unusual: for instance, the tombs of heroes could identify turning points of chariots race courses at the Panhellenic games (Sinos 1980: 47).

⁸⁵ For Strabo's view on Homer and geography in general cf. Schenkenveld 1976, Kim 2012: ch. 3.

stance in relation to his subject matter – that is to say, he is himself reporting rather than observing – but may also be a way of acknowledging the contested and ubiquitous biography of Homer.

It is also possible that Strabo knew the epigrammatic tradition about Homer's tomb, especially since he calls Ios a νησίδιον, 'little island.' The geographer's conception of Ios as 'little' seems not the result of a geographical observation: Anaphe and Therasia, which the geographer mentions in proximity of Ios, are noticeably smaller than Ios, yet the diminutive is used only for Homer's island. Strabo, in fact, perhaps did not even know the measure of the three islands: he is generally keen to include specific measures when he knows them because he believes that they are of primary importance for a geographer (cf. 1.1.13-14).

As I have underlined so far, biographers, epigrammatic authors, and geographers all took an interest in Homer's Ietan tomb in Hellenistic times. As in Smyrna's case, Ietan material evidence further demonstrates the complexity of the process of relating to an ancient poet by linking him to a specific place. Ios produces Homeric coinage, one of the earliest portraits of poets on coins.⁸⁶ The image of Homer emerging from Ietan Hellenistic coins is compatible with the image of Homer described so far. Silver Homeric coins began to appear on Ios from the fourth century BC, when the fame of Ios as the site of Homer's tomb increased. They bear a well-defined image of the poet.⁸⁷ The coins depict Homer's head and bear an inscription with the poet's name. The image on the coins is associated with the Ietan propaganda of him: Homer is perceived as divine in Ios and the coins reflect this. Angliker underlines that the position of Homer's head on the obverse of the coin is usually reserved, in Hellenistic times, to local deities.⁸⁸ Zanker states that Homer's head, without the inscription, 'could easily be mistaken for an image of Zeus with flowing locks;' moreover, one type of Ietan coins depicts the head of the poet with a particular countermark on the right, the head of Helios.⁸⁹ The coins also promote a specific visual image of the poet, who is

⁸⁶ Graziosi 2002: 130. Cf. p. 145n70.

⁸⁷ As underlined above, coins are usually believed to indicate the cult of the poet; in Ios' case, a testimony for the Hellenistic cult of Homer is also provided by Varro in *Aul. Gell.* 3.11.6-7 (cf. Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 205-7).

⁸⁸ Angliker 2012: 64-5.

⁸⁹ Zanker 1996: 165.

represented like a hero, with flowing hair, a beard, a serene aspect and – for the first time in the history of the visual images of Homer that have survived – with open eyes rather than blind.⁹⁰ In conclusion, Ios' coins reinforce the connection between Homer and the island, but also contribute to the dialogue about Homer's persona.

The Homereia (Chios, Delos, and New Colophon)

An important place in the panorama of Hellenistic site of Homeric memory goes to the cities which had a Homereion. The sources attest to Hellenistic Homereia in Smyrna (pp. 43, 139-40), but also in Chios, Delos, and New Colophon.⁹¹ In earlier times, all three localities had been connected to Homer by the poet's admirers, but their status of Homeric sites of memory was reinforced and redefined in Hellenistic times, as the construction of Homereia suggests.⁹² Homereia may have been associated with an altar, a statue, and a temple, where sacrifices were offered to Homer.⁹³ In some cases (as for Chios, see below), it is possible to understand more precisely the nature of the institution, whereas in other there is more uncertainty.

The existence of a gymnasium called 'Homereion' in Chios is attested to in the first century BC.⁹⁴ A dedicatory inscription for a certain Megacles son of Theogeiton mentions the Homereion, where Megacles' statue was put as a sign of honour. Megacles was bestowed this honour by the assembly of the old men (πρεσβυτέρων ξύνοδος) for his piety. At the site of the ancient city of Chios (present Emporio) a gymnasium has been excavated (although there is no certainty that it was the Homereion).⁹⁵ To the great esteem in which Homer was held on Chios might be linked a terracotta of the third century BC representing the head of an old, blind man wearing

⁹⁰ Graziosi 2002: 130, Angliker 2012.

⁹¹ New Colophon, or Notion, was a port founded to the south of Colophon. From the beginning of the third century BC, Notion was also named 'Colophon-on-sea' (Κολοφῶν ἢ ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ) and was connected by *sympoliteia* with the older city. On the site, cf. Holland 1944. On Chios, cf. Hood-Boardman 1954, Boardman-Vaphopoulou-Richardson 1986. On Delos, cf. Jebb 1880, Huzar 1962 (for the importance of Delos in the Hellenistic age), Boardman 1967.

⁹² For links between Homer and the three places, cf. Graziosi 2002: 62-71.

⁹³ Cf. Clay 2004: 64.

⁹⁴ There is a slight chance that the Homereion existed already in the early second century BC (if the integrations to *SEG* 30.1073 made by Chaniotis are correct, cf. Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 301). For Megacles' inscription, cf. *SEG* 26.1021. On Hellenistic gymnasia in general cf. Kah-Scholz 2004.

⁹⁵ Clay 2004: 141.

a fillet whose image recalls the 'Hellenistic Blind Type Homer.'⁹⁶ A Chian tradition which associates the poet's name to a cult monument called *Daskalopetra* finds no reference in ancient sources but remains important for the cult of Homer today.⁹⁷

In Delos, an inscription (*IDelos* 443.B.b.147) mentions repairs to a Homereion in the accounts of 178 BC. Moreover, painted boards containing Homer's verses are said to have been kept on Delos in the temple of Artemis (*Cert.* 18 West). Another inscription from the sanctuary of Apollo Clarios in Colophon, dating to the late third or early second century BC, names a Homereion in which races and other contests in honour of a certain Athenaëus are to be held.⁹⁸

Diskin Clay, in his work on cults of the poets, thinks that Homereia were sites for the cult of Homer: 'a temple', he writes, 'is inextricably associated with an altar and sacrifice.'⁹⁹ There is some evidence that this happened in Chios. The first notice of honours reserved to Homer is preserved by Alcidamas' testimony, which has been examined before:¹⁰⁰ Alcidamas says that the Chians τετιμήκασι Homer, meaning presumably that he was made object of a cult there.¹⁰¹ The later *Certamen* states that Homer received divine honours in Argos while he was still alive and that sacrifices were sent to Chios every four years.¹⁰² It can be safely assumed that at some point in the early Hellenistic age the Chian Homereion was identified as the seat of – or at least an important location for – the civic cult of the poet. The Homereion, in other words, probably contributed to the development of Homer's Chian cult. Developing a cult of Homer means thinking of the poet in specific terms – similarly to what happens with Archilochus on Paros. It is likely that specific characteristics of the Homeric persona were remembered (*in primis*, the link between Homer and the place of the Homereion), and that people envisioned Homer's intervention in favour of the city where the cult was hosted, and Homer's intervention in favour of the worshippers – as it usually happens in hero-cult. It is also possible, and indeed important, that the cult involved people from outside Chios, as the *Certamen* testifies (the Argives, who 'honored him

⁹⁶ For this type, cf. Richter 1965: 50-53; for the terracotta, cf. Hood-Boardman 1954: 158.

⁹⁷ Cf. Tsagarakis 1976.

⁹⁸ Makridy 1905: 161-63.

⁹⁹ Clay 2004: 75.

¹⁰⁰ Pp. 89-90.

¹⁰¹ Cf. also Clay 2004: 75.

¹⁰² *Contest* 1.17 West.

with costly gifts, set up a bronze statue of him, and voted to perform a sacrifice for Homer daily, monthly, and yearly, and to send another one every fifth year to Chios', *Cert.* 17 West). Here too, comparison with the Archilocheion is instructive: as argued in chapter 3, that monument also had a supra-local dimension.

Kimmel-Clauzet is more cautious than Diskin Clay about the existence of cult in *all* Homereia: whereas she rightly points out that at the Homereia the poet was certainly remembered and honoured, she thinks that it cannot be assumed that all of them hosted a cult of the poet.¹⁰³ Even adopting her more cautious approach, what primarily matters is exactly that the memorialisation of Homer in the Homereia contributed to shape his poetic persona. For example, it is certain that the Homereion in Colophon was (associated with) a gymnasium.¹⁰⁴ The public gymnasium, place for sport and leisure activities, was in the Hellenistic period a teaching institution for skills in music and literature too.¹⁰⁵ Associating this institution with Homer reinforces the idea that the poet is one of the most important teachers for the Greeks, and also that his teaching is valuable for the community. In conclusion, Homer's life, death, and after-life all find their place within Hellenistic landscapes and, in each place, individual aspects of Homer's persona acquire a specific physiognomy.

Hesiod

Mount Helicon

This section deals with Boeotian Mt. Helicon and the Valley of the Muses, and the near centres of Ascra and Thespieae.¹⁰⁶ Hesiod first speaks of Helicon and Ascra in the *Theogony* (22-34). The poet famously recounts his poetic initiation 'below holy Helicon' (Ἐλικῶνος ὑπο ζαθέοιο, 22-3), a passage which soon 'becomes a marker of «the Hesiodic»'.¹⁰⁷ In his *Works and Days* (633-8) Hesiod says that his father settled in

¹⁰³ For the Homereion of Delos, she states that it is not impossible that it also had 'une fonction culturelle'; she also believes that there are reasons to think that Homer received a cult in Chios (Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 191-2).

¹⁰⁴ Farnoux 2002 has instead argued that the Homereion in Delos was not a gymnasium.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Jones 2010: 42.

¹⁰⁶ Thespieae also controlled the cult of the Muses, cf. Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 218.

¹⁰⁷ Hunter 2014: 36. On *Theog.* 1-115, cf. Tsagalis 2009: 132-3, Pucci 2007 (on this passage, esp. pp. 56-8). On Hesiod's inspiration on Helicon cf. also Nagy 2009: 275-8.

miserable Ascra near Helicon in Boeotia, having come from Aeolian Cyme (νάσσατο δ' ἄγχ' Ἐλικῶνος ὀιζυρῆι ἐνὶ κώμηι, / Ἄσκηι, 639-40), fleeing poverty. He also famously describes here the poor weather of Ascra, 'bad in the winter and distressful in the summer, never nice' (χεῖμα κακῆι, θέρει ἀργαλέηι, οὐδέ ποτ' / [ἐσθλῆι, 640-1).¹⁰⁸

To begin with, it is necessary to address an issue about Ascra specifically. Richard Martin, when arguing that the figure of Hesiod as depicted in his work is a fictional construct connected with Hesiodic 'metanastic' poetics, points out, following Gregory Nagy, that Ascra was destroyed by Thespieae.¹⁰⁹ Martin and Nagy's position might be considered as an obstacle to my inclusion of Ascra amongst Hellenistic sites of memory. Yet it must be observed that, first, it is not easy to know whether Ascra disappeared after Thespieae's conquest. Edwards, to begin with, notes that it is uncertain whether Thespieae absorbed Ascra with violent means: it is more probable, he argues, that the site was reinhabited, according to the traditional Greek process of synoecism.¹¹⁰ Archaeologists, moreover, usually think that the ancient settlement identified in the Valley of the Muses can be identified with Hesiod's Ascra, a locality which expanded and contracted over time, but of which the occupation seems to have been fairly continuous in antiquity, at least until Pausanias' time.¹¹¹ Even more to the point, and without necessarily suggesting the historicity of the site of Hellenistic Ascra, it should still be noted that the Hellenistic admirers of Hesiod, as I next show, visited and imagined the Boeotian area of Mt. Helicon, and that they specifically thought of Ascra as the birthplace of Hesiod. This idea may have been even fostered by the inhabitants of Thespieae, a site which was flourishing in Hellenistic times, which controlled the cult of the Muses, and which might have had interest in associating its own territory to ancient, Hesiodic Ascra. The Hellenistic landscape of the area around Mt. Helicon, in any case, undoubtedly featured – either in reality or in the minds of Hesiod's admirers – the site of Ascra.

¹⁰⁸ An introduction to Hesiod and his work may be found in West 1966 and 1978, Lamberton 1988a, Strauss-Clay 2003, Most 2006, Montanari-Rengakos-Tsagalis 2009.

¹⁰⁹ Martin 1992: 28-9 building on Nagy 1990b: 52. Their position is probably based on Aristotle *FGrHist* 115c = Plut. *Mor.* fr. 82, which places the destruction of Ascra before Hellenistic times.

¹¹⁰ Edwards 2004: 171-3.

¹¹¹ Cf. Snodgrass 1985 for the identification of the site with Hesiod's Ascra; 1987: 125 for the continuous occupation of the site; Bintliff 1996: 196-9 for the different phases of the site's fortune in antiquity.

It is now the time to turn to the Hesiodic landscape around Mount Helicon in Hellenistic times. Much has been written about the topography of Mt. Helicon, which dominated the Boeotian territory, extending for about eight hundred square kilometres.¹¹² Here, I succinctly present the most important evidence which testifies to the resurgence of the site in Hellenistic times and to the importance of Hesiod's figure within this resurgence.

An official, public cult of the Muses in proximity of Helicon originates early in the fourth century BC, when Hellenistic sculptors placed a statuary group of the Muses on Mt. Helicon (Paus. 9.30.1).¹¹³ By the Hellenistic age, which is also a time of great interest in Hesiod's persona, inscriptions show that the Muses are firmly linked with the area.¹¹⁴

In the third century BC, several inscriptions from Thespieae show that royal figures almost compete with each other to express their interest in the local cult of the Muses: for example, Philetaerus, founder of the Pergamene dynasty, presents the Muses with a parcel of land and establishes a society of fellow-sacrificers to administer it.¹¹⁵ A boundary stone from Thespieae, dated to the end of the third century BC, explicitly testifies to the link between the local goddesses and Hesiod, by mentioning an association of fellow-sacrificers to the 'Muses of Hesiod', συνθυταὶ Μωσάων Εισιόδειοι (*IG VII.1785*).¹¹⁶ At about the same time (the end of the third century BC), Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe III reorganise the local festival of the Mouseia, as documented in a Thespian decree:¹¹⁷ the festival, as Lamberton believes, was a fundamental context for the definition of the Hesiodic persona, as it 'perpetuated (if, indeed, it did not create) the highly confessional 'Ascraean' bard of the central poems of the transmitted Hesiodic corpus.'¹¹⁸ Other kings seem to show their interest in the festival, which

¹¹² Robinson 2012: 228-9. For the topography of Helicon, the Valley of the Muses, and the surrounding areas, cf. Burn 1949, Wallace 1974, Robinson 2012. Further bibliography on Helicon is given at p. 31n49.

¹¹³ As Schachter 1986: 157 argues; cf. Schachter 1996: 100, Corso 2004: 66-74, Robinson 2012: 230.

¹¹⁴ For the Hellenistic interest in Hesiod, see Cingano 2009: 101-2. On ancient scholarship on Hesiod, cf. Montanari 2009.

¹¹⁵ *IThesp* 60, *IThesp* 58-59. Cf. Robinson 2012: 231. It is not certain that these fellow-sacrificers are the same of *IG VII.1785* mentioned next.

¹¹⁶ On this, cf. Veneri 1996: 80, Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 219. For other Greek poets mentioning the Hesiodic Heliconian Muses cf. Argoud 1996: 34-42.

¹¹⁷ *IThesp* 155. Cf. Robinson 2012: 231. On this, cf. also Pfeiffer 1968: 155, Lamberton 1988b: 496, Knoepfler 1996: 141-52, Schachter 1961 and 2016: 344-71.

¹¹⁸ Lamberton 1998b: 493.

acquires prestige in the Greek world.¹¹⁹ In general, festivals are connected to ideals of identity and, specifically, communal identity: they often celebrate the civic body and are means of articulating internal political discourse.¹²⁰ In this specific instance, the festival on Helicon is also a way of connecting the local community to supralocal realities. It seems probable that the figure of Hesiod, locally memorialised, informed a sense of shared identity of these communities.

A further testimony to the relationship between the Hellenistic memorialisation of Hesiod and the re-organisation of the Heliconian landscape comes from an early Hellenistic stele. In third-century BC Thespieae, a certain Euthycles dedicated a stele to the Muses.



Figure 4 - Helicon on Euthycles' stele

Athens, National Archaeological Museum inv. no. 1455.

¹¹⁹ Further testimonies are in Robinson 2012: 231. On local games which attempt to gain Panhellenic status in the Hellenistic period, cf. König 2009: 381.

¹²⁰ König 2009: 379-81.

The stele represents the bust and head of an old, bearded man (identified as Helicon) rising from peaks of mountains; the inscription at the top reads:¹²¹

Εὐθυ[κλ]ῆς παῖς Ἀμφικρίτου Μούσαις ἀνέθηκε
κοσμήσ[ας] ἔπεσιν, τῶν ἅ χάρις εἴη ἀείνωσ
καὶ γένεος τὸ τέλος κείνου καὶ τοῦνομα σώιζοι.

οὕτως ἀντῳποῖς ἀριγηρα[λ]έος βροτῶι ἴσα
οὐκ ἀδ[α]ῆς Ἑλικῶν Μου[σ]άων χρησμὸν ἰαχέω·
πειθομένοι[σ]ι βροτοῖς ὑποθήκαις Ἡσιόδοιο
εὐνομία χ[ώ]ρα τ' ἔσται καρποῖσι βρύουσα.

Ἡσιόδος Δίου Μούσας Ἑλικῶνά τε θεῖον
καλ(λ)ίστοις ὕμνοις [
] γ α[.]ιον ἄνδρα. (IG VII 4240)¹²²

Euthycles, son of Amphicritus, has made a dedication to the Muses,
Adorning it with epic verses. May their grace be everlasting,
And keep safe the fulfilment of his family and his name.

Like this, facing you, very aged, like a mortal,¹²³
I, Helicon, not ignorant of the Muses, proclaim an oracle:
'For mortals who obey Hesiod's injunctions
There will be good laws and the land will be full of fruits.'

Hesiod, son of Dius, the Muses and godly Helicon
In most beautiful hymns [
] man. (Most 2006 transl.)

This stele is important for several reasons. To begin with, Helicon is central. The mountain, the site of Hesiodic memory, speaks to the passer-by through the inscription and has the face of an authoritative and fearsome old man.¹²⁴ The central four lines of the inscription determine the meaning of it, instructing the passer-by to follow Hesiod's teachings;¹²⁵ significantly, they are spoken by Helicon. The inscription therefore fully exploits the potential of Helicon as a site of memory: almost created by Hesiod's poetry,

¹²¹ On the stele, cf. Hurst 1996: 57-71, Veneri 1996: 73-86, Hunter 2014: 84-6.

¹²² Cf. Peek 1977 on the inscription. I follow Most 2006: 234 and do not include Peek's heavy integration at ll. 9-10: ὕμνοις [κύδην', ὁ δ' ἄρ' Ἀμφικρίτοιο | παῖς κείνον τιμάει εὖστομο] γ α[.]ιον ἄνδρα.

¹²³ 'The phrase seems to refer to the depiction of the mountain as an old man (though of gigantic size),' Hunter 2014: 85n115 suggests.

¹²⁴ The image of Helicon as a speaking mountain is also in Corinna PMG 654 col. I, on which cf. Vergados 2012.

¹²⁵ Cf. Hurst 1996: 67.

Helicon now takes its own life, and instructs others to follow the poet's steps and work. More specifically, Helicon proclaims an oracle.¹²⁶ Oracles are by definition *divine* utterances. Helicon has therefore a divine aspect (as l.8 confirms). The personified and deified place has something meaningful to say to its visitors, not only about Hesiod's presence there but specifically about the reception of the poet's verses. Helicon invites Hesiod's readers to *use* Hesiod's verses in order to fare well and let them flourish in their relationship with the land.¹²⁷ The stele recognises that Helicon ultimately promotes the survival of Hesiod's words, testifies to their value and insists on their utility.

Moreover, the stele presents specific features of the Hesiodic persona. Helicon offers the image of Hesiod as a 'maître de sagesse', as a wise teacher of men.¹²⁸ It is instead in Euthycles' voice that the stele, in the fragmentary final lines, gives Hesiod's father's name and speaks of the piety of the poet who honoured the Muses and divine Helicon.

Monumental evidence also contributes to our knowledge of the area's resurgence. In particular, we know that the Mouseion, the shrine devoted to the Muses, was significantly developed in the Hellenistic age.¹²⁹ 'Excavations have revealed', as Robinson writes, 'several structures, all dated to the 3rd c. BC, as the heart of the Mouseion.'¹³⁰ The Hellenistic structures discovered in the Valley of the Muses include a theatre, a stoa, a fountain with a basin, and honorific statues were erected in the Mouseion at the time.¹³¹ Although the site was certainly active before the Hellenistic age, 'all of the stone architecture in the Valley appears to have been Hellenistic and stood to late antiquity.'¹³² As Richard Hunter states, the establishment or reorganisation of the Mouseion during the fourth and third centuries BC was probably influenced by the interest in the Hesiodic text: the Mouseion, he further states,

¹²⁶ On the oracle (*chresmos*) and links between Helicon and oracular activities, cf. Veneri 1996: 77-868-9.

¹²⁷ Cf. also Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 220.

¹²⁸ Hurst 1996: 63-4. On Hesiod as the 'wisdom-poet' cf. also Griffith 1983: esp. 55-62.

¹²⁹ On the excavations and archaeology of Helicon cf. Hurst-Schacter 1996, in their section devoted to archaeological research.

¹³⁰ Robinson 2012: 233.

¹³¹ For a detailed introduction to these structures, cf. Robinson 2012: 233-42, who includes also testimonies from the imperial age.

¹³² Robinson 2012: 234.

‘remained a prominent spot on tours of Greece for many centuries to come.’¹³³ Robinson too stresses the importance of the interest in Hesiod for the resurgence of the area, linking the development of the Heliconian Mouseion with the rise of poetic hero cult and specifically comparing it to the Homereia of Smyrna and Alexandria.¹³⁴

After examining some of the most relevant material evidence, I briefly turn to Hellenistic literary testimonies. Several authors look at Mt. Helicon as a place of poetic inspiration, and perhaps Euthycles thinks of this when he composes his own inscribed verses. The most famous testimony in this sense is arguably the one by Callimachus. Callimachus follows Hesiod on Helicon: he famously states that he himself was transported on the Boeotian mountain in a dream, where he received poetic inspiration.¹³⁵ Callimachus specifically refers to the topography of Helicon, as he says that he met the Muses near Hippocrene.¹³⁶ A Hellenistic epigram, of uncertain attribution, even pictures Hesiod as he meets the Muses on Helicon and as he *drinks* from Hippocrene before composing his most famous works (*AP* 9.64).¹³⁷ The epigram not only envisions the poet on Helicon as he materially takes his poetic inspiration from the natural landscape, but it carefully describes the inspiration scene, specifying the time of the day (‘noon’, l.1) and the aspect of the mountains (‘rugged’, l.2).

Some time after Callimachus, Hermesianax of Colophon (third century BC) in his *Leontion* (a catalogue in verses based on the Hesiodic model) says that Hesiod’s *Catalogue of Women*, also known as Ἡοῖαι, was composed out of love for a girl from Ascra, named Ehoie. Hermesianax probably knows biographical prose works of the Hellenistic age and it is possible that these are the sources for the etymology.¹³⁸ Beyond the historical value of the statement, the fact that Hermesianax links Ascra to the private, sentimental life of the poet and to the composition of his work testifies to the importance of the place for Hermesianax’s Hesiod.

¹³³ Hunter 2006: 17.

¹³⁴ Robinson 2012: 232.

¹³⁵ *Aetia* I fr. 2.1-5 Pf. and *Aetia* IV fr. 112.3-6 Pf.; cf. the *Florentine scholia* (Pf. i.11, Massimilla 1996: 71), and *AP* 7.42. Helicon is mentioned in other passages of Callimachus’ poetry too (e.g. *Hymn to Pallas*, *Hymn to Delos*). On the *Aetia*, cf. Harder 2012. Cf. p. 109.

¹³⁶ Callimachus is very precise and even mentions Aganippe and Permessus. Cf. Harder 2012: vol.2, 109-10.

¹³⁷ Similarly, Propertius 3.3.1-6 has Ennius drink from Hippocrene (cf. Worman 2015: 84). On the epigram, cf. Hunter 2008: 473 (who believes the epigram is later than the third century BC), Koning 2010: 337-9

¹³⁸ Cf. Bing 1993, 2003: 340.

When Hellenistic authors re-engage with the Hesiodic site, they elaborate on how Helicon appears to them: hence the mountain is not exclusively a metaphor for poetic statements. As Robinson notes, ‘while the hierarchy of springs (i.e. of Helicon) is a popular *topos* for Hellenistic and Early Imperial poets, a sense of the real place – the population of the sanctuary, experience of its liturgies, and the climb to Hippocrene – may also inform these works.’¹³⁹ A particular form of this sense of ‘real place’ mentioned by Robinson emerges in Varro’s testimony (reported by Aul. Gell. *NA* 3.11.1-5). Varro, in his *Hebdomades vel de imaginibus*, mentions Helicon not as a poetic metaphor, but as a source of information for Hesiod’s life. On Helicon, Varro states, is a tripod with an inscription, which was dedicated by Hesiod himself: Varro mentions the tripod in order to date Hesiod and Homer as contemporaries. The tradition to which Varro refers is reported in the *Contest of Homer and Hesiod* (1.13 West): in Chalcis, Hesiod won a poetic contest against Homer and he dedicated the tripod to the Muses of Helicon.¹⁴⁰ Thus Helicon, for Varro and other admirers of ancient poets, testifies to the chronology of Hesiod and, more importantly, to a relevant episode of the Hesiodic biographical tradition. Varro thinks of Helicon as a *concrete* place of Hesiodic memory. Similarly to Pausanias (9.31.3-4) and others in later times, Varro presents himself as visiting Helicon in order to look for realia of Hesiodic memory.

Towards the end of the Hellenistic age, Strabo – who supposedly visited the area – described the topography of the Thespian territory, around Helicon, and he reminded his readers of the criticism of Hesiod against the bad weather of Ascra when he (allegedly) visited the place of origin of the poet (Str. 9.2.25).¹⁴¹ As he follows Hesiod’s steps, Strabo quotes Hesiod’s precise words, linking his experience of the landscape to the memory of the poet and the transmission of his work. He mentions the Mouseion and, immediately after it, another spot of Hesiodic memory, the spring

¹³⁹ Robinson 2012: 250.

¹⁴⁰ The tripod is first mentioned by Hesiod himself, in *WD* 650-9; cf. also *AP* 7.53. Pausanias (9.31.3) states to have seen the tripod and reports a local tradition developed around the text of Hesiod (Calame 1996: 48). Perhaps the tradition already existed in the Hellenistic age. Cf. Hunter 2006: ch. 1.2. (cf. Paus. 9.31.3). On the Muses of Helicon cf. also van Groningen 1948. On the tripod cf. also Papalexandrou 2008: 256. On the contest cf. Bassino forthcoming and Nagy 2009: 297-304.

¹⁴¹ On Helicon in Greek literature cf. Argoud 1996: he also argues that the interest in Helicon increased in the Hellenistic age.

of Hippocrene mentioned in the *Theogony* (Str. 9.2.25, cf. Hes. *Theog.* 6).¹⁴² The Hellenistic experience and development of the Heliconian landscape is thus inextricably bound with the memory of Hesiod, the poet who first made Helicon famous in his work. The material resurgence of the site accompanied and was, in turn, fostered by the increased literary and touristic curiosity for the Hesiodic topography of the place.

One final aspect to be examined concerns the local activities on Hesiod and the preservation of his text. Praxiphanes, in the fourth century BC, claims to know a copy of Hesiod's *Works and Days* lacking the proem (fr. 22a Wehrli = Schol. Hes. *Op. Prolegomena* A.c.p. 2.7-12 Pertusi). He further states that one reason to athetise the poem, for some, is that Hesiod, a Boeotian poet, does not mention the Heliconian Muses in the proem of the work, but the Pierian Muses instead: this leads some to consider the proem spurious. It is tempting to imagine that these people may include Boeotians who want to claim their Hesiod through the link with the common landscape of Helicon. A few centuries later, Pausanias relates, on his part, that the Boeotians living around Helicon (Βοιωτῶν δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἑλικῶνα οἰκοῦντες) say that Hesiod's *Works* was the only work of the poet and began without the proem; they even show him a copy of the athetised poem engraved on a tablet of lead and placed near a spring.¹⁴³ Although this must remain speculation, it is possible that already in early Hellenistic times the learned, Heliconian admirers of Hesiod philologically discussed the authenticity of Hesiod's proems and decided that the not-too-local proem of the *Works* was to be rejected, as they do in later times.¹⁴⁴ As a matter of fact, in the Hellenistic age there was, more generally, a lively discussion about the proems of Hesiod's work and the possibility of athetising them.¹⁴⁵ In the second century BC, Aristarchus rejected the authenticity of the proem of the *Works and Days* too.¹⁴⁶ Perhaps he and other Alexandrian scholars had at disposal a Boeotian edition of the *Works and Days* without the proem which readers around Helicon used. It is indeed known that Alexandrian

¹⁴² Hippocrene was said, from the Hellenistic age, to have been created by a kick of the divine horse Pegasus, cf. Robinson: 2012: 247n145 for sources.

¹⁴³ On this passage, cf. Moggi-Osanna 2010: 391-2.

¹⁴⁴ Montanari 2009: 316-7.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. *Vita Chigiana Dionys. Perieg.*, 72.58-60 Kassel.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Montanari 2009: 318.

scholars worked on editions *kata tas poleis* for Homer, and this might have been the case for Hesiod too.¹⁴⁷ In other words, it is possible not only that the location of Helicon influenced the reading and edition of Hesiod's works, but also that local activities (as perhaps the one made by people like Euthycles) influenced the philological activities and editorial choices made in Alexandria.

In conclusion, in Hellenistic times the site of Helicon, the Valley of the Muses, and the sites of Thespieae and Asdra were flourishing sites. Inscriptions, monumental evidence, and literary testimonies all point to a strong desire of visualising, monumentalising and visiting the places where Hesiod and his Muses had allegedly lived. The area pointed to some of the most important moments of the poet's biography, such as his genealogy, his poetic inspiration, and the contest with Homer.¹⁴⁸ Admirers of the poet could visit the places where he met the Muses, sacrifice to them and the poet, meet local guides and experts of Hesiodic poetry, and, clearly, consult texts.

The tomb (Locris and Boeotia)

The ancient tradition about Hesiod's tomb linked different places to the memory of the poet. In the classical period, according to the first tradition hereby examined, the region of Locris allegedly hosted Hesiod's tomb.¹⁴⁹ Thucydides (3.96.1) states that according to the locals Hesiod was buried ἐν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Νεμείου τῷ ἱερῷ, in the temple of Nemean Zeus in Western Locris, and that an oracle predicted that the poet should die at Nemea.¹⁵⁰ Locris is believed to be the site of Hesiod's burial also by the author of the *Contest* (*Vit. Hom.* 1.14 West), who mentions Alcidas among its sources.¹⁵¹ This attribution, and similarities between the *Contest's* and Thucydides'

¹⁴⁷ Cf. p. 59.

¹⁴⁸ Three of the four central episodes of Hesiod's biography according to Lamberton 1988a: 5. The fourth is Hesiod's death.

¹⁴⁹ Another possibly early tradition on Hesiod's tomb existed, cf. p. 166.

¹⁵⁰ Thucydides is speaking of Ozolian (West) Locris: cf. 3.95.1-3. According to Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 48-9 Thucydides summarises a more ancient account.

¹⁵¹ The *Contest* locates the episode of Hesiod's death and his tomb in Eastern Locris (as the sea near Euboea is mentioned), whereas Thucydides in Western Locris (cf. Bassino forthcoming). West 2003: 343n15 dismisses the detail as a mistake, and so does Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 49-50: as she notes, people not expert of the area may have confused the two. Cf. however Nagy 2009: 304-6, who believes that different traditions are at stake. I believe it probable that a confusion between Eastern and Western Locris may indeed have originated in antiquity, and treat the tradition as one.

narratives, suggest that (at least parts of) the account of Hesiod's death and burial of the *Contest* may be dated to the classical period. The *Contest's* account is as follows. A Delphic oracle tells Hesiod that he will encounter death in the fair grove of Nemean Zeus (Νεμείου κάλλιμον ἄλλος), the same place mentioned by Thucydides. Hesiod then flees to Oenoe in Locris, ignoring that the area is sacred to Nemean Zeus. The poet is killed there (victim of a false accusation) and drowned in the sea between Locris and Euboea (εἰς τὸ μεταξύ τῆς Εὐβοίας καὶ τῆς Λοκρίδος πέλαγος). Some dolphins then bring his corpse to shore (πρὸς τὴν γῆν) while a local festival is in progress, the Purification of Rhion. After running to the shore, the locals recognise Hesiod. They mourn the poet's death, and bury the body. The narrative ends with a reference to Alcidamas: the assassins of the poet, who have meanwhile sailed towards Crete, were drowned by Zeus, 'as Alcidamas says in his *Museum*.' The account of Hesiod's death, as has been underlined, presents some of the typical aspects of the accounts of death of heroes and seems to belong to a context of cult.¹⁵²

In the classical age, both Thucydides and (arguably) Alcidamas thus linked Locris and the grove of Nemean Zeus with Hesiod's death. Whereas Hesiod's tomb is mentioned very briefly by Thucydides, the later *Contest* dedicates more space to the topography of Hesiod's death, mentioning the region of the sea where the poet drowned, the shore where his body landed, the promontory where he was buried. The tradition about Hesiod's tomb emerges again in Hellenistic times. At this time, not only the Locrian tradition is attested in various sources, but there is also evidence of another tradition, which locates the tomb of the poet in Boeotia.

Two Hellenistic sources mention Hesiod's Locrian burial, a papyrus and a funerary epigram. A second century BC papyrus (*P.Ath.Soc.Pap.* inv. M2) mentions Locris and the sanctuary of Nemean Zeus as the place of death of the poet, with a wording very similar to the *Contest's* own.¹⁵³ The papyrus reports the story according to which two brothers killed Hesiod, falsely accusing him of having raped their sister. The account follows with the narration of Hesiod's death and burial, similarly to the

¹⁵² Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 48-51 with further bibliography.

¹⁵³ The account provided by the papyrus has been heavily restored on the basis of the Certamen, so similarities may appear to be greater than they are: see Mandilaras 1992. Bassino forthcoming offers a new edition of the papyrus.

Contest's account. It has been noted, however, that in some cases the text of the manuscript of the *Contest* is too short to fit the lacunae in the papyrus; overall, 'the papyrus transmits a somewhat more elaborate text (i.e. than the *Contest's* one) and 'we should allow for the possibility that the original text of the papyrus was more different from the *Contest* than these supplements suggest.'¹⁵⁴ Thus the papyrus is not only proof of the Hellenistic attention for the topography of Hesiod's death and tomb, but it might also have preserved more details about the tradition (arguably) already known to Alcidas. In any case, it is certain that Hellenistic admirers of Hesiod could precisely locate the place in the Locrian landscape where the poet died and was buried.

Another source which mentions the Locrian burial of the poet is a Hellenistic funerary epigram attributed to Alcaeus of Messene:

Λοκρίδος ἐν νέμεϊ σκιερῷ νέκυν Ἡσιόδοιο
Νύμφαι κρηνίδων λοῦσαν ἀπὸ σφετέρων,
καὶ τάφον ὑψώσαντο· γάλακτι δὲ ποιμένες αἰγῶν
ἔρραναν, ξανθῷ μιξάμενοι μέλιτι·
τοίην γὰρ καὶ γῆρυν ἀπέπνεεν ἐννέα Μουσέων
ὁ πρέσβυς καθαρῶν γευσάμενος λιβάδων. (AP 7.55)

In a shady grove of Locris, the Nymphs washed
Hesiod's corpse, with (the water of) their springs,
And raised a tomb to him; the shepherds of goats
Sprinkled the tomb with milk, mixing it with golden honey;
For such was the voice which the old man breathed,
Having tasted the clear streams of the nine Muses.¹⁵⁵

The epigram builds upon the tradition that placed Hesiod's burial in Locris and thus, first of all, testifies to the importance that the tradition of Hesiod's tomb had for Hellenistic admirers of the poet: the epigram shows that the tomb was a very immediate way to engage with the poet and his work, which certainly contributed to the success of the tradition. To begin with, the readers of the funerary epigram – that is, the ideal visitors of Hesiod's tomb – can identify themselves with the sacrificing shepherds. The shepherds, called ποιμένες in the epigram, remind readers of the ποιμένες to whom Hesiod belonged when the Muses inspired him (Hes. *Th.* 26). Thus

¹⁵⁴ Bassino forthcoming.

¹⁵⁵ On the meaningful wording of the epigram, cf. Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 50.

not only does the tomb make Hesiod alive in the mind of the readers/tourists, but transforms them into Hesiod's peers and fellow-shepherds. This is reflected also by the fact that the shepherds offer (material) milk and honey to Hesiod, just like Hesiod offered (poetic) milk and honey to them through his work. Much has been said about the possibility that Hesiod received a cult: Hesiod's biography (especially the narrative of his death) and even his own work have been carefully analysed by scholars arguing that they contain references to the establishment of the cult.¹⁵⁶ This literary epigram does not necessarily constitute evidence for the historical cult of the poet in Locris, but suggests that such a cult would have not looked strange to a Hellenistic reader.¹⁵⁷ In any case, the site of the tomb allows contact with dead Hesiod.

The first line of the epigram is particularly meaningful in this regard. The opening of the epigram, Λοκρίδος, not only underlines the importance of the location of the tomb, but also immediately signals that the epigram is about Hesiod. The genitive positioned at the beginning of the line corresponds to another genitive positioned at the end of the line, Ἡσιόδου. The parallel creates a correspondence between the *place* holding the poet's remains and the *poet* himself, encouraging the reader to think of the material place in order to reach the poet. The two genitives moreover enclose another reference to the place (the grove) and to the poet (his corpse), reinforcing the correspondence suggested by the first and last word of the verse.

The libations made on the tomb are linked in the epigram to the biographical episode of Hesiod's poetic inspiration: the poet *had tasted the fountains of the Muses*. By evoking Hesiod's inspiration, the monument asks us to imagine Hesiod in the most important moment of his poetic story. As it has been underlined, the tale of Hesiod's inspiration was essential to establish his enduring 'image of the ragged old shepherd turned venerable poet.'¹⁵⁸ A link is established between this tale and the tomb. Differently from the narration of the tale as made by Hesiod himself in the *Theogony*, in which the Muses speak to the poet and breathe their words into him, in the epigram

¹⁵⁶ E.g. Nagy 1990a: 47-51, Clay 2004, Nagy 2009: 304-8, Kivilo 2010: 35-6, Bershadsky in conversation.

¹⁵⁷ Although it is probable that Hesiod received a cult in antiquity, there is no certain proof for it: Koning 2010: 137.

¹⁵⁸ Koning 2010: 131.

the poet is depicted as materially drinking from the spring of the Muses, as he was in *AP* 9.64, discussed above.¹⁵⁹ This in itself creates another site of Hesiodic memory, the Heliconian spring from which Hesiod drank. As is known, poetically significant springs appear often in both Greek and Roman literature; in particular, Hellenistic authors often speak of inspiring waters.¹⁶⁰ As also in the Archilocheion inscriptions, a site of memory here identifies other sites of memory in the nearby area.

In the Hellenistic period, another tradition was known, which located Hesiod's tomb in Boeotia. This alternative tradition reinforces the link already existing between the poet and the region where he was born; it is preserved by Aristotle, but it might have older origins, and it re-emerges in the Hellenistic age with Eratosthenes. Here are the relevant sources for it. Tzetzes attributes to Pindar a funerary epitaph for Hesiod:

ἐπέγραψε δὲ καὶ Πίνδαρος·
χαῖρε δις ἠβήσας καὶ δις τάφου ἀντιβολήσας,
Ἡσίοδ', ἀνθρώποις μέτρον ἔχων σοφίης. (Tzetzes *Schol. Hes. Op.* pp. 87–92
Colonna)

And also Pindar wrote an epitaph:
'Hail, you who were twice young and twice were buried,
Hesiod, you who hold the measure of wisdom for men.'

The attribution and dating of the epigram have been much discussed, and so has its meaning; Kimmel-Clauzet has convincingly argued that the epigram may be ascribed to the archaic or classical age; Kivilo, Kimmel-Clauzet and other scholars do not entirely solve the question of what the 'double youth' of Hesiod might be, but point out the obvious need to read it as a counterpart of his 'double burial' of which we know more.¹⁶¹

In fact, Hesiod, according to a tradition, had been buried twice: after he received a burial in Locris, the citizens of Orchomenus took the poet's bones to their city and buried them. The anecdote is reported for the first time by a passage of

¹⁵⁹ The *Theogony* mentions the springs of Helicon, but Hesiod never says he drank from them.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Jones 2005: 54-6. It is not important to know if this was meant as actual or metaphoric drinking. It is relevant, instead, that springs *were* a site of memory for authorial personae, and the epigram mentions one: this opens the possibility to imagine a Hesiodic spring.

¹⁶¹ Kivilo 2010: 30-3, Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 167-8; cf. McKay 1959, Scodel 1980, Koning 2010: 136-7 with further bibliography, Bassino forthcoming.

Aristotle transmitted by Proclus (*ad Hes. Op.* 631). Proclus says that the Thespians killed the citizens of Ascra, the city of Hesiod's birth, and that the only survivors were given refuge in Boeotian Orchomenus.¹⁶² Proclus' narrative continues by saying that when a plague hit the city of Orchomenus, as Aristotle wrote in his *Constitution of Orchomenus* (fr. 524 Rose), the Delphic oracle instructed the citizens to remove the remains of the Ascraean poet from their burial, bring them to their city and bury them (προστάξει τὰ Ἡσιόδου λείψανα λαβεῖν, καὶ θάψαι παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶ γράφων τὴν Ὀρχομενίων πολιτείαν).¹⁶³

Some hypothesis may be advanced to contextualise this biographical tradition. Aristotle may be trying to reconcile different local claims and traditions by positing a transferral from Locris to Orchomenus. All the local claims may thus find satisfaction and disseminate further the fame of the poet across the Greek world. Possibly, the tradition also constitutes evidence for Hesiod's Hellenistic cult: other stories existed about the transfer of heroes and other mythical persons' bones.¹⁶⁴

The *Contest* too narrates the same account of the bone transferral which Aristotle tells, and it dates it to the Hellenistic age. The compiler of the *Contest* (*Vit. Hom.* 1.14 West) first provides the account of Hesiod's death: it was allegedly said that the poet was killed in Locris, drowned in the sea by men who believed that the poet had had sexual intercourse with their sister. Hesiod's body was brought back to shore by dolphins and the Locrians, after recognising the dead poet, buried it. This account of Hesiod's death is attributed to Alcidas. The compiler of the *Contest* then continues with a different account of the poet's death, which clears the poet's name, and he attributes it to Eratosthenes (third-second centuries BC, fr. 17 Powell).¹⁶⁵ According to Eratosthenes, it was not Hesiod who had sex with the girl, but a foreigner travelling with him, a certain Demodes (φθαρῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τινος ξένου συνόδου τοῦ Ἡσιόδου Δημῶδους ὄνομα). Later on, the Orchomenians buried the poet in their city,

¹⁶² Other cities called Orchomenus were in Thessaly and Arcadia.

¹⁶³ On this passage, cf. Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 139-40. In imperial times Pausanias (9.38.3) recognises beneficial powers to Hesiod's bones.

¹⁶⁴ For a list cf. McCauley 1998; cf. also Blomart 2004 and Compton 2006: 84. Cf. also Kivilo 2010: 214: 'poetic, musical and mantic skills are frequently used for healing diseases or for restoring peace, as is clearly visible from the traditions of Terpander, Archilochus, Hesiod, Homer, Stesichorus, Thaletas, Tyrtaeus, Alcman, Arion, Pythagoras, Melampus, and Epimenides.' Bone transferral was often motivated by politics and used as propaganda (Ekroth 2007: 110).

¹⁶⁵ Precisely, to Eratosthenes' *Hesiod*: cf. on this Bassino forthcoming.

following an oracle (ὑστερον δὲ Ὀρχομένιοι κατὰ χρησμὸν μετενέγκαντες αὐτὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔθαψαν), and they inscribed the following epitaph on Hesiod's tomb:

Ἄσκη μὲν πατρίς πολυλήϊος, ἀλλὰ θανόντος
ὄστέα πληξίππων γῆ Μινυῶν κατέχει
Ἡσιόδου, τοῦ πλεῖστον ἐν ἀνθρώποις κλέος ἐστίν
ἀνδρῶν κρινομένων ἐν βασάνῳ σοφίης.

Ascra, with many cornfields, was his fatherland, but, once dead,
The land of the driving-horses Minyans holds his bones,
The bones of Hesiod, whose fame is the greatest amongst men,
When men are judged against the touchstone of wisdom.

The story attributed by the *Contest* to Eratosthenes thus identifies, after Aristotle, the location of Hesiod's tomb in Boeotian Orchomenus.¹⁶⁶ Moreover, the *Greek Anthology* (AP 7.54) attributes the epigram mentioned above to Mnasalces, an epigrammatist who probably lived in the third century BC.¹⁶⁷ Possibly Eratosthenes also mentioned the epigram along with his account of Hesiod's death and burial. As with AP 7.55 – and almost responding to it – the epigram turns to the location of Hesiod's tomb. The opening word of the epigram this time is 'Ascra', which the poet calls his fatherland; the second half of the line takes the reader to the after-life of Hesiod (ἀλλὰ θανόντος) and to the new place of the (dead) poet, Orchomenus (γῆ Μινυῶν). The first two lines thus concisely but effectively depict a Boeotian topography for the whole existence of Hesiod: while he was alive, Hesiod was a Boeotian, but once dead he, famous for his wisdom, can still be found in the same region – to be noted is the present κατέχει.¹⁶⁸

The story of the Orchomenian burial of Hesiod is, to conclude, another tradition which links the memory of the poet to a specific place. The tomb arguably evokes a heroic persona for Hesiod, it evokes the circumstances of his death, and it even speaks of a double youth of the poet. The tradition may have earlier origins, but it emerges in the fourth century BC with Aristotle, perhaps providing a means of identity for the

¹⁶⁶ The story may have concluded also Alcidas' account, as Bassino forthcoming cautiously suggests.

¹⁶⁷ Recent scholarship tends to accept the attribution to Mnasalces (e.g. Page 1981: 160), but cf. Debiasi 2010: the epigram was attributed to the pre-Hellenistic author Chersias by a local Orchomenian tradition (Paus. 9.38.10).

¹⁶⁸ On the two lines cf. also Koning 2010: 282n63.

citizens of Orchomenus, and is mentioned by Hellenistic sources, such as Eratosthenes and, if the attribution to Mnasalces is correct, by the epigrammatic tradition.

Stesichorus

Hellenistic sites of memory link the poet Stesichorus with Sicily, specifically with Himera and the near Thermae, whose inhabitants publicly cherish the memory of the poet, and with Catania, where Antipater locates the tomb of the poet.¹⁶⁹

Himera and Thermae

To begin with, in order to discuss the link of Stesichorus with Thermae it is necessary to discuss first the poet's link with the city of Himera, attested by some coins minted in the city between the classical and Hellenistic age.¹⁷⁰ On the coins, the poet is depicted as he leans on a staff and reads a book. The testimonies of the link between Stesichorus and the northern coast of Sicily in antiquity are many indeed. In particular, the poet was allegedly born in Himera:¹⁷¹ Plato, for example, says that the poet is the son of Euphemus (a speaking-name, 'he who speaks well') from Himera (*Phaedr.* 243a-244a); according to another tradition, the poet's father is Euclides, one of the founders of the city (*Suda s.v. Stesichoros* σ 1059, cf. *Thuc.* 6.5.1).¹⁷²

As we know from the tradition, the inhabitants of Himera moved to the near site of Thermae when their city was destroyed. According to Cicero, they conferred great value to the memory of Stesichorus:

Etenim [...] oppidum Himeram Carthaginienses quondam ceperant, quod fuerat in primis Siciliae clarum et ornatum. Scipio [...] Siculis omnibus Carthagine capta quae

¹⁶⁹ The testimonia on Stesichorus are in Campbell 1991: 28-69. The poet was also linked with the Peloponnese (cf. Bowra 1934). On Stesichorus cf. West 1971, Lefkowitz 2012: 37-9, Finglass-Kelly 2015. On Hellenistic Sicily, cf. Wilson 2013.

¹⁷⁰ *BMC, Sicily, Thermae Himeraeae*, n. 9-10. The image of Stesichorus on the coins may correspond to the statue described by Cicero (see below), cf. Miles 2008: 180n36. Cf. also Masségia 2015: 85-7.

¹⁷¹ Primary sources for the traditions about Stesichorus' family and origins are collected in Kivilo 2010: 65-9. For the Himerean tradition, cf. e.g. Glauc. *Rheg.* in *Ps.-Plut. Mus.* 7.1133ef, *Megacl.* (in *Ath.* 12.512e-13a), *Arist. Rhet.* 2.1393b, *Cic. Verr.* 2.2.86. According to Clay 2004: 63, Stesichorus received a cult in Himera.

¹⁷² There were also other claims on the poet, such as the one made by Mataurus, a Locrian colony in Southern Italy (cf. *Suda s.v. Stesichoros* σ 1059). The prevailing tradition in ancient sources is, however, the Himeraean one: it seems probable that the constitution of Thermae as a site of Stesichorean memory contributed to the wide success of it. On Himera in ancient sources, cf. Hornblower 2004: 192-6. On the fortune of Stesichorus in Hellenistic times, cf. Barbantani 2010: 25-6.

potuit restituenda curavit. Himera deleta quos civis belli calamitas reliquos fecerat, ii se Thermis conlocarant in isdem agri finibus neque longe ab oppido antiquo, et se patrum fortunas et dignitatem recuperare arbitrabantur cum illa maiorum ornamenta in eorum oppido conlocabantur. Erant signa ex aere complura; in his eximia pulchritudine ipsa Himera in muliebrem figuram habitumque formata ex oppidi nomine et fluminis. Erat etiam Stesichori poetae statua senilis incurva cum libro, summo, ut putant, artificio facta, qui fuit Himerae, sed et est et fuit tota Graecia summo propter ingenium honore et nomine. (Cic. Verr. 2.2.86-7)

For truly [...] the Carthaginians had once taken the town of Himera, which was one of the leading Sicilian towns for fame and aspect. Scipio [...] after conquering Carthage, took care that, everything which was possible, was given back to all the Sicilians. Himera was destroyed, and the citizens whom had been spared by the atrocity of the war, moved to Thermae, within the borders of this land and not far from the town; they thought to have back the good fortune and greatness of their fathers, as those ornaments of their ancestors were being placed in their town. There were many bronze statues; among these was a statue of Himera herself – named after the town and river – which was modelled in the shape and dress of a woman, an image of magnificent beauty. There even was a statue of the poet Stesichorus, the figure of an old man leaning forward, with a book, made, as they think, with great ability: for Stesichorus was from Himera, but he is and was greatly honoured and esteemed in all Greece for his talent.

As Cicero explains, after the fall of Carthage in 146 BC, Scipio Aemilianus gave back to Thermae some statues, among which a statue of the poet Stesichorus. Remembering him in Thermae, therefore, first of all regenerates the ancient bond between the poet and Himera itself, since its people had to move too: Stesichorus appears as a symbol of the glorious, Himeraean past of Thermae, as Cicero himself says, and memorialising him corresponds to reconstructing an invisible bound between a civic community and a lost geographical location. At the same time, the prominence of the poet's statue in the city's landscape (arguably the *agora*, according to Salmeri-Tempio in conversation), asserts the importance of Thermae itself as a site of Stesichorean memory for the construction of memory of the city and its inhabitants. Stesichorus thus defines both past and present, both Himera's and Thermae's identity.

The link between Stesichorus and Thermae also defines other identities, however, like the one of Scipio, who did not keep the statue for himself, by putting it in a private garden, but located it in the city, in those places (*iis locis*) where everybody could see it. Cicero underlines that if Scipio had not put the statue in a public, central space of Thermae, the memory of his act would have soon been lost. Therefore, the

tradition of Thermae as a site of Stesichorean memory also speaks of Scipio as an intelligent man who understands the importance of culture for his own politics.

The tomb of Catania

It is not entirely clear how the tradition connected Catania and Stesichorus: possibly, the poet mentioned the city in his work or had been the guest of a patron there.¹⁷³ In any case, the biographical tradition of the poet often mentions Stesichorus' tomb in the city and scholars believe that there must have been, in Hellenistic times, a tradition about this building. The *Suda* (s.v. Stesichoros, σ 1095) states that the poet died as he was going from Pallantium to Catania and that he was buried in front of the gate (πρὸ τῆς πύλης) which was then called 'Stesichorean' after him; specifically, the practice of naming the gate after the dead not only implies that the 'supposed personality of Stesichorus gave the place its identity', as Kimmel-Clauzet notes, but also that the dead is associated with a point of passage and boundaries.¹⁷⁴ This may point to the cult of Stesichorus as a 'protector hero'.¹⁷⁵ Suetonius (*On Greek Games* 1.20-2.67 Taillardat) and other sources describe the monument, which had eight corners, eight steps, and eight columns; this structure, according to the ancients, was at the base of the proverbial expression πάντα ὀκτώ ('eight in every respect').¹⁷⁶ As scholars point out, the structure of the monument is typically Hellenistic (cf. e.g. the mausoleum of Arsinoe IV and the Athenian 'Tower of the Winds');¹⁷⁷ the tradition about the octagonal tomb of Stesichorus may therefore have existed already in the Hellenistic age, which would fit well with the contemporary revival of sites of memory of ancient poets. Without venturing into a complicated discussion of the meaning of the structure (for which cf. Barbantani's study, who argues that the monument celebrates Stesichorus 'as a representative *ante litteram* of the Pythagorean, universal harmony of music', p. 39), it is sufficient to note here that Catania is the site of Stesichorus' burial according

¹⁷³ Salmeri-Tempio in conversation, Barbantani 2010: 28.

¹⁷⁴ Kimmel-Clauzet 2014: 5.

¹⁷⁵ Compton 2006: 90-1.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. Pollux *Onom.* 9.100. Other ancient sources are discussed by Barbantani 2010. Suetonius locates the monument in Himera, which is probably a mistake, as Barbantani and others point out.

¹⁷⁷ Kurtz-Boardman 1971: 299-306, Fedak 1990: 133, Barbantani 2010: 28-39, Lefkowitz 2012: 169n54, Kimmel-Clauzet 2014: 5.

to a tradition which is possibly Hellenistic, that later sources develop this same tradition, and that they specifically describe the structure of the monument.¹⁷⁸

As a matter of fact, a Hellenistic epigram attributed to Antipater locates the poet's tomb in Sicilian Catania.¹⁷⁹ Two fundamental points emerge from it: the location of the funerary monument of the poet in Catania (the 'smoky land' is burned by Aetna) and the transmigration of Homer's soul to Stesichorus' body:

Στασίχορον, ζαπληθὲς ἀμέτρητον στόμα Μούσης,
ἐκτέρισεν Κατάνας αἰθαλόεν δάπεδον,
οὗ, κατὰ Πυθαγόρου φυσικὰν φάτιν, ἅ πρὶν Ὅμηρου
ψυχὰ ἐνὶ στέρνοις δεύτερον ᾤκίσσατο. (AP 7.75)

Stesichorus, the huge mouth full of the Muse,¹⁸⁰
The smoky land of Catania buried.

The soul that once belonged to Homer, according to Pythagoras' physical doctrine,

Dwelted in his breast as a second home.

To begin with, the literary epitaph insists on and connects notions of space and materiality (from locating the tomb in Catania, to mentioning Aetna, to stating that Homer's soul 'inhabits, dwells' in Stesichorus' 'body'), inviting its readers to envision the place of Stesichorus' after-life. The funerary epigram, moreover, pairs Stesichorus with Homer – but also with other famous dead authors. The ancients used to draw comparisons between Homer and Stesichorus for reasons of language, style, length, and content of their poetry, as attested in Simonides (fr. 564 *PMG*), Plato's account of Stesichorus' *Palinode*, and in many other sources all the way to late Roman and Byzantine accounts (cf. e.g. Ael. fr. 153 Domingo-Forasté in *Suda* θ 115).¹⁸¹ The epigram

¹⁷⁸ Catania is still a site of Stesichorean memory, with its 'Piazza Stesicoro' and hotels named after the ancient poet.

¹⁷⁹ Some scholars attribute the epigram to Antipater of Thessalonica, though most scholars attribute it to Antipater of Sidon (cf. Barbantani 2010: 25-6 for the attribution and date of the epigram).

¹⁸⁰ For the translation and meaning of this line, cf. Barbantani 2010: 26.

¹⁸¹ In the epigram, Stesichorus is depicted as possessing a 'huge and limitless' voice, στόμα. The word στόμα is often used to describe Homer's voice (cf. e.g. AP 7.2.1., 7.6.3). Moreover, some points of contact exist between the biographical traditions of the two poets: the name of Stesichorus' father is uncertain, and so is his place of birth, which of course evokes the obscure origins of Homer; Stesichorus' name was originally Tisias, but, like Homer, he later acquired a second speaking-name ('Stesichorus', because he was the first to set up – ἔστησεν – a chorus – χορός – to the music of the lyre, *Suda* σ 1095); finally – and this anecdote was known to biographers (cf. Chamaeleon fr. 28-9 Wehrli) – Stesichorus allegedly became temporarily blind (like Homer) when he accused Helen of Troy, but he then regained his sight when he

refers to the traditional parallel established between the two poets, and pushes it further, stating that Stesichorus is a Homer *redivivus*, and that his own soul once belonged to the most famous poet of ancient Greece. The epigram also arguably links Stesichorus with other poets, specifically Pindar and Aeschylus – through lexical choice (for example, the adjectives ζαπληθές and αἰθαλόεις are both of Aeschylean memory), but also quite possibly through the common connections with Sicily.¹⁸²

Sappho

To this day, when thinking of Sappho, the island of Lesbos immediately comes to mind.¹⁸³ In Hellenistic times, a reference to a ‘Lesbian girl’ could be understood as a reference to Sappho.¹⁸⁴ The poetess was said to be either from Mytilene or Eresus, and her poetry spoke of Lesbos.¹⁸⁵ Aristotle and Moschus knew of honours devoted to the poetess by the inhabitants of Lesbos, and Hellenistic Lesbos produced commentators of Sappho.¹⁸⁶ Hellenistic sites where the cult of the poetess was practiced, sites which provided an idea of Sappho’s life, even sites which hosted scholars engaged with the reconstruction of Sappho’s work and life may be posited for Lesbos with a degree of probability; the Hellenistic sources, however, did not leave abundant testimonies about Lesbos.¹⁸⁷ It is Strabo who attests to the existence of one specific site of Sapphic memory – not on Lesbos, but on the island of Leucas.

defended her in his *Palinode*, saying that the woman never went to Troy (and therefore, when he rejected the Homeric tradition). For these anecdotes cf. Lefkowitz 2012: 37-8. For the *Palinode*, cf. Suda σ 1059, Stes. *PMGF* 192. Cf. Barbantani 2010: 26-8, Kelly 2015.

¹⁸² A point I owe to Giovanni Salmieri and Antonio Tempio, in conversation. Aeschylus was allegedly buried in Sicily (pp. 187-93) and linked with the area through other biographical anecdotes, but also through his work (he wrote the *Aetnae*); Antipater of Thessalonica – arguably the same author of Stesichorus’ epigram – wrote a funerary epigram for him (*AP* 7.39). Pindar too was said to have visited Hieron in Syracuse (*Vit. Ambr.* 1.3.2-3 Drachmann), and he celebrated the Sicilian tyrant in several odes.

¹⁸³ For an introduction to Sappho, her work and reception, cf. Lardinois 1994, Greene 1996a and 1996b, Reynolds 2001, Yatromanolakis 2007 (esp. 168-89 for the role of Lesbos in the early reception of the poetess). On other traditionally famous Greek female poets, cf. Bowman 2004.

¹⁸⁴ A fragment by Anacreon mentions a girl from Lesbos who ‘some,’ according to Chamaeleon (in Athen. 13.598b-c, 599cd), believed to be Sappho. For the relationship between Sappho and Anacreon cf. Kivilo 2010: 190n122 with primary sources.

¹⁸⁵ For instance, the name of Mytilene appears in fr. 98b, and the house of Penthilus, an important Lesbian family, is mentioned in fr. 71; Her. 2.135 says that Sappho’s brother Charaxus – and hence Sappho herself – was from Mytilene; cf. Kivilo 2010: 170, 176.

¹⁸⁶ Aristotle *Rhet.* 1398b; Moschus *Lament of Bion* 92; a commentator of Sappho was the Lesbian Callias (second century BC, cf. Str. 13.2.4).

¹⁸⁷ Although Sappho and Lesbos appear in Hellenistic epigrams (cf. Acosta-Hughes 2010: 82-92, Gosetti-Murrayjohn 2006). *AP* 9.189 imagines Sappho leading a sacrifice on Lesbos, but the epigram is

The cliffs of Leucas

Leucas is an island in the Ionian Sea, characterised by a steep cliff on its western coast. According to the biographical tradition, Sappho committed suicide by throwing herself off the cliffs out of unrequited love for Phaon of Mytilene. The story, which has attracted an enormous interest in modern times, emerged in the fourth century BC and thrived in the Hellenistic age.¹⁸⁸ In the fourth century BC the dramatist Antiphanes wrote a *Phaon* and a *Leucadias*, perhaps telling the story of Sappho's suicide in his plays;¹⁸⁹ Menander's testimony (fourth-third centuries BC) about the story was quoted by Strabo (see below), who for the first time in our extant sources gives a full account; the comic author Sextus Turpilius (second century BC) wrote a play *Leucadia*, which perhaps followed the story as given by Menander.¹⁹⁰ In any case, the story of Sappho's leap was widely known at the end of the Hellenistic age (cf. *Her.* 15).¹⁹¹

Strabo's text (10.2.9) is our best preserved Hellenistic source about Leucas and Sappho; the geographer speaks of the cliffs as a site of memory for the poetess and quotes Menander's more ancient testimony.¹⁹² Strabo writes that Leucas hosts a temple of Apollo Leucatas (τὸ τοῦ Λευκάτα Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν) and is also characterised by a specific spot called 'leap' (τὸ ἄλμα) which is believed the place from where to jump to death, to end the longings of love (τὸ τοὺς ἔρωτας παύειν πεπιστευμένον). According to Menander, the geographer adds, Sappho was the first to jump off the cliffs, while invoking Apollo, for love of the Mytilenaeen Phaon (fr. 258 Koerte = Menander *Leucadia* fr. 1 KA).¹⁹³ Menander specifically says that Sappho throws herself off a cliff 'far-seen' (ῥῖψαι πέτρας ἀπὸ τηλεφανοῦς), a place which one can easily spot. Strabo states that the first to use this spot was not Sappho but Cephalus, who was in love with Pterelas, son of Deioneus. He continues by explaining that in ancient times

anonymous and therefore not certainly datable to the Hellenistic age. For Alcaeus too, there is no abundant evidence about Lesbos as a site of memory.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. e.g. Janssens 1961, Dorf 2009.

¹⁸⁹ Prentice 1918: 351.

¹⁹⁰ Curtis 1920: 149.

¹⁹¹ Ovid *Her.* 15: the letter of Sappho to Phaon is an excellent piece for considering the interest in sites of memory of ancient poets: Lesbos, the cliffs of Leucas, and Sicily all importantly feature in the fictitious letter. On the importance of the use of space in Ovid's work cf., e.g., Ziogas 2014.

¹⁹² For the mention of Leucas' cliffs before the Hellenistic age cf. also Nagy 1973: 141-2.

¹⁹³ For the Mytilenaeen origin of Phaon, cf. Suda s.v. Sappho σ 108. For Phaon, cf. also Nagy 1973: 142.

the inhabitants of Leucas covered some criminals in feathers (so that they could thus try to escape death) and threw them off the cliff, in sacrifice to Apollo. Ephorus, he concludes, thought that Leucas was named after one of Icarius' sons.

Strabo's testimony is important for several reasons. First of all, it offers yet another example of the association between a religious site and a site of memory for an ancient poet. As it has emerged in other cases, sites of memory of poets were often paired up with religious sites. This usually corresponds to a privileged link between the poet and the god celebrated in the temple; in this case, Apollo is associated with Sappho. In Ovid's account of Sappho's leap (*Her.* 15), the god watches the sea from the heights of Leucas, and the poetess offers her lyre to him. Secondly, Strabo shows that sites of memory had a role in the reception of ancient poetry – not only of the work of the poet associated with the site, but all ancient poetry. Strabo quotes Menander and thus shows that Hellenistic sites of memory could facilitate the interest for specific texts from the past. This is the only quotation of the passage by Menander: had Strabo not been interested in the place where Sappho committed suicide, the Menander fragment would have not been preserved. A third point must be made: Strabo engages with the history of the site in order to reassess what is known about it. The geographer shows that Hellenistic readers were interested in exploring the 'real history' of sites of memory; the admirers of ancient poets actively engaged with the sites and the stories they preserved, re-shaping the memories attached to them and – in doing so – constructing a dialogue with the past.

Last but not least, some observations can be made about the construction of Sappho's persona through the site of Leucas' cliffs. Two stories are behind the anecdote of Sappho's suicide at Leucas, the legend of Phaon and the one of Adonis. Both stories feature the goddess Aphrodite. In the story of Phaon, Aphrodite is depicted as crossing a strait on Lesbos thanks to the man; as a reward, he is transformed into a handsome young man, loved by many women.¹⁹⁴ In the legend of Adonis, the goddess is healed of her love for Adonis by throwing herself off the cliffs of Leucas, upon the advice of the god Apollo.¹⁹⁵ Both stories are widely known to ancient

¹⁹⁴ Cf. Ael. *VH* 12.18, Servius in Verg. *Aen.* 3.279, Ps.-Palaeph. in *Myth. Gr.* iii.2.69 Festa, *Suda* s.v. Phaon.

¹⁹⁵ Phot. *Bibl.* 153a Bekker, but the story was known before: cf. Anacr. 376 *PMG*, Stes. 277 *PMG*, Eur. *Cycl.* 166, Prax. 747 *PMG*.

authors, and may have provided the story-patterns for Sappho's own death, as Kivilo argues.¹⁹⁶

The site of Leucas' cliffs arguably contributed to constructing the image of Sappho as a second Aphrodite. The association between Sappho and the goddess was already strong in Sappho's own poetry: in the first poem of the Sapphic tradition the poetess prays to Aphrodite and pictures herself and the goddess as parallel;¹⁹⁷ moreover, Sappho was reported to have often sung about her love for Phaon, and Adonis is referred to in her verses.¹⁹⁸ The association between mortal Sappho and divine Aphrodite became a central feature of Sappho's image.¹⁹⁹ In the story of the cliffs of Leucas, the similarity between the sufferings for love of both Aphrodite and Sappho, the love of Sappho for Aphrodite's protégé Phaon, and the crossing over the sea which both the goddess and the poetess made, all promote the affinity between the two figures. Importantly for my argument, the parallel between Sappho and Aphrodite was known in early Hellenistic times: for instance, the epigrammatist Antipater envisioned Sappho as the child of Aphrodite and Eros (*AP* 7.14). In conclusion, at the time when the site of Leucas' cliffs was associated with the figure of Sappho and the story of her suicide for Phaon, literary sources also refer to the closeness between the poetess and the goddess, a closeness already suggested in Sappho's own work.

Aristeas

In his epic poem the *Arimaspeia*, the enigmatic figure of Aristeas of Proconnesus famously spoke of his own travels to distant and mythological lands.²⁰⁰ In Aristeas' case, the interest in his sites of memory appears well before the Hellenistic age. His travels were object of interest in the classical age, as Herodotus shows, but Hellenistic readers

¹⁹⁶ Cf. Kivilo 2010: 179-81. Both characters were already known to classical sources. Phaon has been regarded by scholars as a mythical double of Adonis (Kivilo 2010: 180n68).

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Nagy 1973: 175

¹⁹⁸ Cf. Kivilo 2010: 181. Phaon and Leucas are never mentioned in Sappho's extant fragments, but she wrote a poem in the name of Aphrodite lamenting her loss of Adonis (cf. Prentice 1918: 349; Dorf 2009: 291-2).

¹⁹⁹ E.g. *AP* 7.407, Himerius *Or.* 28.2. Cf. Nagy 1973 (esp. pp. 175-7) on the association between Sappho and Aphrodite.

²⁰⁰ On Aristeas cf. Birch 1950, Phillips 1955, Bolton 1962. Testimonia on Aristeas are collected by Bernabé 1987: 144-50.

engaged anew with the biographical tradition of the poet and especially the places connected with his memory.²⁰¹

Proconnesus, Metapontum, Sicily

Herodotus dedicates a long section of his *Histories* to Aristeas (4.13-6). We are told that Aristeas was a native of Proconnesus, the largest island of the Propontis. In his poem, Aristeas claimed to have gone as far as the Issedones, the one-eyed Arimaspians, and the Hyperboreans, a mythical people allegedly living in the far North.²⁰² Herodotus continues by reporting what Aristeas told of these populations and their histories; afterwards, he abruptly shifts to the biography of Aristeas (4.14.1). The historian relates the tale heard about Aristeas at Proconnesus and at Cyzicus (τὸν δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ [...] λόγον ἐν Προκοννήσῳ καὶ Κυζίκῳ). It was said that Aristeas, who was 'not of lower birth than any other citizen' (τῶν ἀστῶν οὐδενὸς γένος ὑποδεέστερον), once entered a fuller's shop in Proconnesus and died (ἐσελθόντα ἐς κναφήλιον ἐν Προκοννήσῳ ἀποθανεῖν). The owner of the shop shut the place and went to tell the sad news to the dead man's family. In the meantime, the story of Aristeas' death spread about in the city, but a Cyzicene man, who was coming from Artace (the port of Cyzicus), testified against this story, and stated that he had met Aristeas on his road to Cyzicus and had spoken with him.²⁰³ When the relatives of the poet arrived at the shop, they could not find the poet, neither dead or alive. Seven years afterwards, however, Aristeas appeared in Proconnesus and wrote the *Arimaspeia*; after that, he disappeared again. At this point, Herodotus provides yet another story about Aristeas which he heard in Proconnesus and Metapontum, in Lucania, an area of southern Italy near the Gulf of Taranto. Three hundred and forty years after his second disappearance, Aristeas appeared in Metapontum and ordered the people of that city to set up an altar for Apollo, (φανέντα σφι ἐς τὴν χώραν κελεῦσαι βωμὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ιδρύσασθαι) and to place near it a statue named after Aristeas himself (ἐπωνυμίην ἔχοντα ἀνδριάντα παρ'

²⁰¹ The travels of Aristeas were still famous in the imperial age: cf. e.g. Paus. 1.24.6; 5.7.9.

²⁰² The Issedones lived southeast of the Aral Sea (Her. 1.201; 4.13-27). For the Hyperboreans cf. Pind. *Isthm.* 6.23.

²⁰³ Much has been written about the topography of Cyzicus: e.g. de Rustafjaell 1902, Hasluck-Henderson 1904, Fitch 1912. A similar story of 'bodily transportation and soul journey' was known to Theopompus *FGrHist* 115F392 (cf. Lateiner 1990: 239n21).

αὐτὸν ἰστάναι). Aristeas explained to the Metapontines that Apollo had come only to their land of all Italian lands (φάναι γὰρ σφι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἰταλιωτέων μούνοισι δὴ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν χώραν) and that he himself was with the god, but in the shape of a crow. Unsurprisingly, after saying these things, Aristeas vanished again (καὶ τὸν μὲν εἰπόντα ταῦτα ἀφανισθῆναι). After consulting the oracle of Delphi, the Metapontines did what Aristeas had ordered. ‘Now’, Herodotus concludes, ‘there is a statue bearing the name of Aristeas next to the image of Apollo in the market-place, with bay-trees all around it.’²⁰⁴

First of all, it is important to emphasise that local traditions must have existed about the places linked to Aristeas’ memory. The people of various places – from the island of Proconnesus, to Cyzicus and Metapontum – claimed that the poet visited them at some point, or so Herodotus claims. Thus the memory of the poet is divided between very distant places, from modern Turkey to Sicily. Proconnesus and its fuller’s shop, the road where the poet appeared to the man from Cyzicus, and Metapontum’s market-place with the altar to Apollo and the statue of the poet, are all very concrete places in the mind of Herodotus.

The sites remind the admirer of ancient poets of Aristeas’ ability to bi-locate, to appear and disappear at will, to change into a bird (the raven was sacred to Apollo), to live for centuries, and to connect with the god Apollo.²⁰⁵ The fuller’s shop, a ‘rather prosaic location’ for the poet’s death, may also be a reference to an episode of purification of the soul, given that fullers had the task to purify and clean clothing.²⁰⁶

Herodotus’ admiration for the dead Aristeas and for the sites which testified to his life and after-life, is a singular early example of interest in sites of memory. I now turn to later testimonies of sites of Aristeian memory. Theopompus of Chios (*FGrHist* 115F248 = Ath. 13.83.23-34), a historian who died shortly after 320 BC, mentions the

²⁰⁴ καὶ νῦν ἔστηκε ἀνδριάς ἐπωνυμίην ἔχων Ἀριστέω παρ’ αὐτῷ τῷ ἀγάλματι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, περίξ δὲ αὐτὸν δάφναι ἐστᾶσι: τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐν τῇ ἀγορῇ ἴδρυται (Hdt. 4.15.4). Bay-trees are, of course, sacred to Apollo. On this story in Herodotus, cf. West 2004.

²⁰⁵ Lateiner 1990: 240 argues that all these traits recall Asiatic shamanism. In particular, in reference to Aristeas’ link with Apollo, it must be noted that Metapontum was a centre of Apollo worship: ‘On one coin of Metapontum of the Apollo type appears even the bronze laurel tree which the Metapontines placed beside the altar of the god and the statue of Aristeas’ (Birch 1950: 79). For the connection with Apollo, cf. West 2004: 62; Aristeas claimed he had been ‘possessed by Apollo’ (*phoibolamptos*, Her. 4.13.1).

²⁰⁶ West 2004: 53.

spot in Metapontum where the people allegedly set up a statue of Apollo and the poet. By this time, as he says, the place works as an oracle of Apollo, with soothsayers associated with it. Theopompus states that a woman from Thessaly, Pharsalia, was torn to pieces by the seers at Metapontum in the market-place (έν Μεταποντίω [...] έν τῇ ἀγορᾷ): when the woman entered the market-place, a voice came forth out of the brazen bay-tree (γενομένης φωνῆς έκ τῆς δάφνης τῆς χαλκῆς) which the people of Metapontum had set up when Aristeas was visiting them (ἦν ἔστησαν Μεταποντῖνοι κατὰ τὴν Ἀριστέα τοῦ Προκονησίου ἐπιδημίαν), because of his return from the Hyperboreans (ὄτ' ἔφησεν ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων παραγεγονέναι).²⁰⁷ The seers killed the woman, who was guilty – it was later discovered – of sacrilege.

Whereas in Herodotus the poet appears after his death, in Theopompus Aristeas is still alive when he arrives in Metapontum; this opens the path for further narratives about the time that the poet spent in the city. Moreover, details about his wanderings are linked to the site of memory: a complex of statues was established, it is said, because the poet had returned from the mythical land of the Hyperboreans. Given that Aristeas speaks of the Hyperboreans in his work (cf. Her. 4.13), Theopompus' version may also imply that the poet has not yet composed his work when he arrives in Metapontum: the site of memory may be used to establish the chronology of Aristeas' life and work. Finally, it is possible – although Theopompus is not specific about this – that the voice coming out of the brazen tree is Aristeas' own voice: in this case, the poet would be imagined as he appears once again amongst the living people of Metapontum, and his divine status would be once again confirmed by the site of memory (just like his vicinity to Apollo). This hypothesis gains more substance when thinking of the stories about Orpheus and his singing head.²⁰⁸

The link between Proconnesus and Aristeas is also known to the *Mirabilia*, by an Apollonius Paradoxographus, who links southern Italy with the poet (although not Metapontum, but rather Sicily, in this case). The *Mirabilia* 'was compiled from the works of earlier writers around the 2nd century BC.'²⁰⁹ The collection reports a story according to which when Aristeas died in the fuller's shop of Proconnesus (έν τινι

²⁰⁷ On oracle trees in the ancient Greek world, cf. Mendonça de Carvalho-Fernandes-Bowden 2011.

²⁰⁸ Cf. p. 136.

²⁰⁹ Evans 2005: 288.

γναφείω τῆς Προκοννήσου τελευτήσαντα), at the same day and time (ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ὥρᾳ), he was seen in Sicily by many people (ἐν Σικελίᾳ ὑπὸ πολλῶν θεωρηθῆναι), as he was teaching letters. As this had happened many times and he had become famous for many years, and as he appeared most often in Sicily (πυκνότερον ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ φανταζομένου), the Sicilians consecrated a shrine to him and established a hero-cult (οἱ Σικελοὶ ἱερόν τε καθιδρύσαντο αὐτῷ καὶ ἔθυσαν ὡς ἥρωϊ).

In Apollonius' testimony the poet is hence pictured in different places, but Aristeas is linked to Sicily with particular strength. The author speaks of the fuller's shop on Proconnesus which also Herodotus mentioned, and locates the poet's death there as well; however, Aristeas' *repeated* apparitions in Sicily, and the recognition provided to the poet by the Sicilians, create a new, strong link between Aristeas and the island. It seems probable that stories about multiple apparitions of Aristeas developed in order to allow localities other than Metapontum to create and maintain a link with the poet and, hence, with one another. Metapontum suffered much damage in the Second Punic War and the city was almost deserted by the end of the third century BC. In Hellenistic times, Sicilian centres may have attempted to replace Metapontum's claim on Aristeas, now weaker, and arguably more stories of Aristeas' apparitions were invented.

The sites of memory of Aristeas testify, in conclusion, to specific aspects of the poet's persona. Sicily evokes the image of Aristeas as a teacher of the Sicilians. This is particularly important for Aristeas' poetic persona, especially when considering that some believed that Aristeas was Homer's teacher.²¹⁰

Simonides

The Sicilian tomb and the Thessalian house

Simonides of Ceos was one of the nine canonical lyric poets in Hellenistic times. At least two Hellenistic sites of memory were individuated by his admirers: the palace of the Thessalian dynasty of the Scopadae, in Crannon, and the tomb of the poet in Sicilian

²¹⁰ Str. 14.1.18.

Acragas.²¹¹ Callimachus mentions both places in his famous fragment 64 Pf. (b.3) from the *Aetia*, the so-called *Tomb of Simonides*:

Οὐδ' ἄν τοι Καμάρινα τόσον κακὸν ὀκκόσον ἀ[ν]δρός
κινη]θείς ὀσίου τύμβος ἐπικρεμάσαι
καὶ γὰρ ἐμόν κοτε σῆμα, τό μοι πρό πόλης ἔχ[ευ]αν
Ζῆν'] Ἀκραγαντῖνοι Ξεῖνι[ο]ν ἀζόμενοι,
...κ]ατ' οὖν ἤρειψεν ἀνὴρ κακός, εἴ τιν' ἀκούει[ς
Φοίνικ]α πτόλιος σχέτλιον ἠγεμόνα·
πύργω] δ' ἐγκατέλεξεν ἐμὴν λίθον οὐδὲ τὸ γράμμα
ἠδέσθη τὸ λέγον τὸν με· Λεωπρέπεος
κεῖσθα·ι Κήιον ἄνδρα τὸν ἱερόν, ὃς τὰ περισσά
....] μνήμην πρῶτος ὃς ἐφρασάμην,
οὐδ' ὑμ·έας, Πολύδευκες, ὑπέτρεσεν, οἷ με μελά·θ·ρου
μέλλο·ντος πίπτειν ἐκτὸς ἔθεσθῆ κοτε
δαιτυμ·όνων ἄπο μοῦνον, ὅτε Κραννώνιος αἰ·αῖ
ῶ·λισ·θ·ξ·ν μεγ·άλο·υς· οἶκος ἐπὶ ε·σ·κ·ο·πά·δα·ς·.²¹² (*Aetia* 3, fr. 64 Pf.)

Not even Camarina would bring so much disaster on you as the tomb
Of a pious man if it is moved from its place.
For my tomb too, which the Acragantines built upon me in front of the city,
Honouring Zeus the god of strangers,
Was once destroyed by an evil man, if you have heard
Of a certain Phoenix, the merciless leader of the city.
He built my tombstone into a tower and had no respect
For the inscription which said that I, son of Leoprepes,
Was lying here, the holy man from Ceos, who first invented
The extra letters... and the art of memory,
He did not shrink back from you, Polydeuces, who once,
When the house was going to fall down, brought me outside
As the only one among the guests, when – oh dear – the Crannonian
Palace collapsed on the mighty Scopadae. (Harder 2012 transl., adapted)

The passage portrays the dead poet Simonides addressing the passer-by, as he offers information to the reader about himself and about the fate of his tomb.²¹³ The opening lines make a reference to the proverbial expression 'do not touch Camarina.'²¹⁴

²¹¹ Simonides wrote an *epinikion* to Scopas II (*PMG* 37 P).

²¹² I adopt the text used by Harder 2012. Acosta-Hughes 2010 follows Massimilla 2006 and provides a text with more integrations. For notes on the text, cf. Acosta-Hughes 2010: 173n9, Harder 2012: vol. 1, 227-8.

²¹³ On *The Tomb of Simonides* cf. Bing 1988a: 67-70, Bruss 2004: 63-5, Acosta-Hughes 2010: 171-9, Klooster 2011: 33-5, Harder 2012: vol. 2, 513-29, Morrison 2013, Rawles forthcoming.

²¹⁴ Cf. p. 184.

Callimachus then has the poet say that he was buried in Sicilian Acragas, 'away from his birthplace, like Homer and Hesiod.'²¹⁵ But one day, the wicked general Phoenix tore down the poet's tomb and incorporated it into a military siege tower, even disregarding the epitaph of the poet. The epitaph depicts the poet as a sacred man, of extraordinary knowledge (he allegedly added letters to the Greek alphabet), and as the inventor of mnemonics. Finally, Simonides addresses the Dioscuri, the brothers Castor and Pollux, and mentions the legend of the house of the Scopadae: they once saved the poet, calling him out of the Scopadae's dining hall right before the palace collapsed and killed all the banqueters. The powerful Dioscuri protected the poet, but Phoenix was evidently not afraid of them. Perhaps the following lines narrated how Simonides was able to identify the dead banqueters, by remembering where they were seated, and thus invented the art of mnemonics.²¹⁶

I begin by making a few observations about the tomb of the poet and about the cultural ideas that it evokes. First, the tomb is located by Callimachus in Sicily, where Simonides notoriously spent some time. Several anecdotes linked him to Sicily and to the court of Hieron of Syracuse. It was allegedly thanks to Simonides' presence on the island that Hieron I of Syracuse was reconciled with Theron of Acragas.²¹⁷ The poet also famously advised Hieron and his relatives on ethical issues.²¹⁸ Biographers like Chamaeleon, moreover, imagined more trivial aspects of the Sicilian life of the poet: the biographer told that the poet sold most of the food that Hieron gave him daily.²¹⁹ The tradition of the Sicilian tomb of the poet thus strengthens the link between him and the area.

More generally, Callimachus gives particular importance to space in these lines, as he mentions several geographical locations (Camarina, Ceos, Acragas, Crannon), and also specific interior spaces (the tomb, city, tower, and dining hall).²²⁰ At the same time, some spaces are portrayed as not existing. Callimachus depicts a paradoxical situation: Simonides speaks (almost, reads) his own funerary epitaph in the *absence* of his

²¹⁵ Lefkowitz 2012: 59.

²¹⁶ As Parsons 2001b: 58 plausibly suggests.

²¹⁷ Pind. *Ol.* 29d = Tim. *FGrHist* 566F936.

²¹⁸ Cic. *Nat. Deor.* 1.22; Ar. *Rhet.* 1391a8.

²¹⁹ Fr. 33 Wehrli. For these anecdotes, cf. Lefkowitz 2012: 57-8.

²²⁰ Acosta-Hughes 2010: 175.

destroyed tomb; the tomb is not there, but Simonides' epitaph is. This invites the reader to wonder about the need (or otherwise) of concrete Simonidean spaces in order to remember the poet.²²¹ Do we need to *see* Simonides' tomb in order to know his epitaph? Is it necessary to go to Crannon in order to know the story of the hall of the Scopadae and of the protection of the Dioscuri?

Callimachus does not see the tomb – and not only because he is not in Sicily, but because the monument has been destroyed. It is here explicitly stated that *the monument does not exist*.²²² Yet Callimachus knows it, knows its inscription and its message about Simonides, and knows its story. In fact, he knows all these things so well, that he may take on Simonides' own voice, the voice of the dead subject of memorialisation in the tomb and the master of mnemonics by definition, and report them to his readers.²²³ The tomb does not exist, but Callimachus' thinking of it suffices for the 'resurrection' of Simonides.²²⁴ Callimachus' poem is enabled by and built upon the idea that one does not have to materially visit a place in order to know and imagine it, to first-hand read the inscriptions there in order to remember them, and in order, in general, to think of the poet to which the place is associated.

This is true, here, not only for Simonides' tomb, but also for the hall in Crannon, another site of Simonidean memory. Callimachus does not (claim to) visit Crannon, but he – and expectedly his readers – knows the story. Similarly, people perhaps did not visit Pindar's house, but they knew the tradition of Pindaric memory associated with it and that it had been spared by Alexander. It can be stated once again that it does not make a difference, to Hellenistic admirers of ancient poets, whether the sites of memory actually exist or not: as Callimachus shows here, it is not the material existence of the tomb that ultimately matters, but the story of its existence and destruction.

Attached to the tomb are, in fact, specific stories and ideas. The tomb reminds Callimachus, first of all, of the story of the acragantine general Phoenix who, engaged in a war with Syracuse, destroys the poet's burial in order to use the stone in a fortified

²²¹ On this, cf. Rawles forthcoming. In general, for the reflection upon the transmission of memory through writing and monuments cf. Bruss 2004: 63-4, Acosta-Hughes 2010: 172-7.

²²² I do not think we can 'conceive of the inscription as *surviving* in the tower' which Phoenix built (Morrison 2013: 292). The central point of Phoenix story is that he disrespected and neglected the tomb and the epitaph, so it can be safely stated that the tomb as such did not exist any longer.

²²³ On Callimachus speaking through Simonides' voice, cf. Bing 1988a: 67-8, Morrison 2013: 290.

²²⁴ The poem also mimics the funerary epigrams' genre, cf. Harder 2012: vol. 2, 514-5.

tower. According to the *Suda*, after this act, Acragas falls to the enemy, almost as a punishment for the disrespect of the memory of ancient poets.²²⁵ This is the first testimony about Phoenix: as it has been suggested, it is possible that Callimachus took the material for it from Chamaeleon's biographical work *On Simonides*.²²⁶

Moreover, the story of the tomb underlines the protective ability of the monument. Fr. 64 opens (ll.1-2) with an allusion to a story which is first attested in Callimachus: the people of Camarina wanted to drain the homonymous lake. Despite an oracle telling them not to touch the lake, they carried out their plan and thus damaged themselves, for, as a consequence to their act, the enemies of Camarina could reach the town by land and destroy it.²²⁷ The allusion to this story seems well suited to the story of Phoenix. The general is unable to recognise that Simonides' tomb has a beneficial, protective power for Acragas, and he is punished: the removal of Simonides' tomb is followed, as a matter of fact, by his defeat.

Finally, the funerary epitaph which Callimachus recreates contains some indications of the poetic persona of Simonides. This cunningly happens as a 'the commemoration of a commemoration of a commemoration':²²⁸ Callimachus memorialises Simonides who, in turn, memorialises his tomb. From this process of multi-layered memorialisation, a few facts about the poet emerge: the name of Simonides' father, the poet's sacredness (the divine favour under which he lived emerges again in the second part of the poem, cf. p. 186), then his extraordinary mental capacities, and finally his invention of the art of memory.²²⁹ All of these are well-known aspects of the Simonidean persona in antiquity.²³⁰

This presentation of Simonides has consequences also on the identity of Callimachus. Just as Simonides recognised the dead bodies of the banqueters after the destruction of the dining hall, so Callimachus recognises Simonides despite the destruction of his tomb.²³¹ The choice of using Simonides to think about processes of

²²⁵ *Suda* s.v. Simonides σ 441.

²²⁶ Cf. e.g. Bing 1988a: 69.

²²⁷ Cf. Harder 2012: vol.2, 517 with primary sources.

²²⁸ Bing 1988a: 69.

²²⁹ On the meaning of τὰ περισσά, l. 9, to which I associate Simonides' 'mental capacities', cf. Harder 2012: vol.2, 522-3. The expression may mean both 'extra-letters' or 'extraordinary things.'

²³⁰ For the name of Simonides' father, cf. e.g. Her. 7.228.4, Ov. *Ibis*. 509-10; for the invention of mnemonic devices and the mental powers of the poet, cf. sources in Lefkowitz 2012: 56-7.

²³¹ Cf. also Acosta-Hughes 2010: 176-7.

transmission of memory through materiality and places, is, in fact, arguably influenced by Callimachus' understanding of the dead poet as the inventor of mnemonics.²³² Callimachus' arguably celebrates his own memory through Simonides' one. I now turn to the site of the house of the Scopadae, already mentioned by Callimachus.

The house occupies a prominent position in the Hellenistic biographical tradition of Simonides. Cicero elaborates on the legend of Simonides' rescue by the Dioscuri already mentioned by Callimachus:

Dicunt enim, cum cenaret Crannone in Thessalia Simonides apud Scopam fortunatum hominem et nobilem cecinissetque id carmen, quod in eum scripsisset, in quo multa ornandi causa poetarum more in Castorem scripta et Pollucem fuissent, nimis illum sordide Simonidi dixisse se dimidium eius ei, quod pactus esset, pro illo carmine daturum; reliquum a suis Tyndaridis, quos aequae laudasset, peteret, si ei videretur. Paulo post esse ferunt nuntiatum Simonidi, ut prodiret; iuvenis stare ad ianuam duo quosdam, qui eum magno opere evocarent; surrexisse illum, prodisse, vidisse neminem: hoc interim spatium conclave illud, ubi epularetur Scopas, concidisse; ea ruina ipsum cum cognatis oppressum suis interisse: quos cum humare vellent sui neque possent obtritatos internoscere ullo modo, Simonides dicitur ex eo, quod meminisset quo eorum loco quisque cubisset, demonstrator unius cuiusque sepeliendi fuisse. (Cic. De Orat. 2.352-3)

For they say that when Simonides was having dinner in Thessalian Crannon, at the house of a rich and noble man, Scopas, as he sang that song which he had written for him, in which – according to the custom of poets – many things were written to honour Castor and Pollux, in a much despicable way, Scopas told Simonides that he would pay him half the price of what they had established beforehand for that song; and that Simonides should ask the other half, if he so believed, to the sons of Tyndareus, whom Simonides had praised in equal manner as Scopas. After a short time, they say that Simonides was asked to go outside; there were two young men at the door, who urgently asked for him; he stood up, went out, and saw nobody there: in the meanwhile, the room where Scopas was dining, fell down; the ruins killed Scopas and his relatives, crushing them. When their relatives wanted to bury them, and they could not, in any way, recognise them because the bodies were destroyed, it is said that Simonides remembered in which place each of them was reclining, and thanks to this he could recognise them for separate burial.

The story is told as an aetiology for the discovery of the art of memory: the episode, Cicero explains, suggests to Simonides that the best way to remember things is to form

²³² Cf. Klooster 2011: 34.

mental images of them and imaginatively locate them in a specific place.²³³ It has been suggested that the source for the legend may have been Chamaeleon's *On Simonides*;²³⁴ certainly the story was well known by Hellenistic writers.²³⁵ The anecdote may have been inspired by the work of the poet, although the ancient testimonies are not entirely concordant about this.²³⁶ The image of the house of Scopas is central for the construction of the story. The interaction of Simonides and the house, envisioning the poet inside and then outside of it, first seated with the other banqueters and then watching the roof collapse, makes the house vital to the narrative. The physical visualisation in space is important for Simonides' own memory, but is also important for our memory of him.

The anecdote first emphasises the privileged relationship between the poet and the Dioscuri: the idea behind this passage seems to be that a pious man, as Simonides claims to be also in Callimachus' words, respectful of the gods, 'will be helped by them; thwarting such a man means trouble with the gods, as is shown by the fate of Scopas.'²³⁷ The Dioscuri were often said, in antiquity, to save people from shipwreck and drowning; in this case, their function of saviours is broadened to the house of Scopas.²³⁸

The house, *oikos* in Callimachus' text, as a second point, is the material building which collapses, but it may also represent the lineage of the family, on which the poet, with his work, had the task of conferring *kleos*. Simonides tries to do so by associating the Dioscuri to the lineage of the Scopadae, but his attempt is misunderstood and rejected by Scopas, with the consequence of the destruction of the whole house and dynasty.²³⁹ Hence the building associated with the poet may become a means, for Hellenistic readers, to reflect also on the relationship between poet and patrons, and upon the modalities of praise.

²³³ A similar version of the anecdote is preserved by Quint. *Inst. Or.* 11.2.11-6. Callimachus is the earliest source on the tale, whereas Cicero and Quintilian provide the two fullest accounts of it. For other (numerous) sources on the tale cf. Kurke 2013: 52n47.

²³⁴ Slater 1972: 233, Harder 2012: 525.

²³⁵ Cf. the many Hellenistic sources mentioned by Quint. *Inst. Or.*

²³⁶ Cicero *De Orat.* 2. 352 believes so; Quintilian seems to provide contradictory claims about this (cf. Menn 2013: 194n4).

²³⁷ Harder 2012: 525.

²³⁸ Menn 2013: 194-5.

²³⁹ Cf. Kurke 2013: 52-4.

Thirdly, the story anchors the poet Simonides – and not only his work – to Thessalian Crannon. In Thessaly, the poet was said to be acquainted not only with the house of the Scopadae, but also with the dynasty of the Aleuadae, whose seat was in Larissa (about twenty kilometres from Crannon). The link between Simonides and the Thessalian dynasties has been emphasised in both ancient and modern scholarship.²⁴⁰ Historians have discussed, with different conclusions, the historicity of the anecdote.²⁴¹ What matters for my discussion is that Hellenistic readers attached to the house of Scopas the memory of Simonides' life in Thessaly.

Aeschylus

The tomb in Sicily

In the biographical tradition, Sicily is often linked to Aeschylus;²⁴² in particular, ancient sources told that the poet died in Sicily when an eagle let a tortoise fall on his head, and that he was buried there.²⁴³ Although the Sicilian tomb of Aeschylus was perhaps a site famous already in more ancient times, the Hellenistic sources testify to the existence of the tradition and to its relevance for the Aeschylean persona. In this section I comment on two Hellenistic funerary epigrams first and then I briefly look at the *Vita* of the poet, transmitted with Aeschylus' plays.

The first epigram (*AP* 7.39) is attributed to Antipater of Thessalonica and the second (*AP* 7.40) to Diodorus from Sardeis.²⁴⁴ Both epigrams focus on the theme of Aeschylus' topography.²⁴⁵ This is the first:

²⁴⁰ Cf. e.g. Molyneux 1992: 117-46, who devotes a whole chapter trying to reconstruct Simonides' experience in Thessaly; the scholar mentions various ancient sources which elaborated on Simonides' time in Thessaly. For ancient testimonies, cf. e.g. Austin 1967 on Theocr. *Idyll* 16.

²⁴¹ E.g. Molyneux 1992: 124-5 vs Slater 1972. Ancient authors too were preoccupied by the historicity of the account and, in any case, tried to relate it with the history of the past, sometimes altering the tradition: Ovid states, for example, that the collapsed house was of the Aleuadae (*Ov. Ibis* 511-2); Quint. *Inst. Or.* 11.2.11-6 (who does not believe the story of the Dioscuri) locates the house in Pharsalus, attesting to the existence of another tradition.

²⁴² On Aeschylus and Sicily, see Herington 1967, Bosher 2012, Lefkowitz 2012: 73-6, Poli-Palladini 2013.

²⁴³ Ancient sources on the death of the poet are in Radt 1985: 64-6.

²⁴⁴ Antipater lived at the time of Augustus, Diodorus at the time of Strabo.

²⁴⁵ Another epigram in which the places of the poet are evidently important is transmitted by the anonymous *Vit. Aes.* 10. The epigram may have been authentic according to some scholars, whereas others have argued that it was forged in Hellenistic times (cf. Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 169-70 with bibliography).

Ὁ τραγικὸν φῶνημα καὶ ὄφρυόεσσαν ἀοιδὴν
πυργώσας στιβαρῆ ἠρώτος ἐν εὐεπίῃ,
Αἰσχύλος Εὐφορίωνος, Ἐλευσινίης ἐκάς αἴης
κεῖται, κυδαίνων σήματι Τρινακρίην. (AP 7.39)²⁴⁶

He who, the diction of tragedy and the majestic song
Raised up to a towering height for the first time, in strong, beautiful eloquence,
Aeschylus, son of Euphorion, far from the Attic land
Lies, honouring Sicily with his tomb.

The first half of Antipater's epigram asks its readers to remember the poet for his innovations in the tragic genre, the second focuses on the location of the tomb.²⁴⁷ Mentioning both the place of origin (Athens) of the deceased and the place where he lies buried, is a typical formulation of the epitaphs for exiled people; in particular, it is the land welcoming the rests of the poet which confers to the same rests the capacity to transfer the glory of Aeschylus from Athens to Sicily.²⁴⁸

It should be noted that the absence of Aeschylus' remains in Athens, pointed out in the epigram, is surprising. As Johanna Hanink has demonstrated, in antiquity the classical tragedians (Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides) came to be presented as the products and embodiments of an idealised Athenian past (through means like rhetoric, architecture, archives etc.).²⁴⁹ The tomb of the poet is instead used in the epigram in order to represent Aeschylus as the legacy of Sicily. The same happens with the other epigram:

Αἰσχύλον ἦδε λέγει ταφίη λίθος ἐνθάδε κεῖσθαι
τὸν μέγαν, οἰκείης τῆλ' ἀπὸ Κεκροπίης,²⁵⁰

²⁴⁶ For introductory comments on the epigram, cf. Gow-Page 1968: 31. For the 'towering song of Aeschylus', cf. Hanink-Uhlig forthcoming: 2.

²⁴⁷ Eleusis is a deme of Athens; Trinacria is another name for Sicily.

²⁴⁸ Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 178.

²⁴⁹ Hanink 2014.

²⁵⁰ Cecrops was a mythical king of Athens. Water and rivers were often linked to ancient poets in antiquity, sometimes along with the idea that water constituted a link with the dead poet or poetic inspiration (e.g. in the traditions of Homer as Melesigenes, the head of Orpheus, Hesiod and the Heliconian Hippocrene). Moreover, it is important to remember, when discussing funerary epigrams, that the reader of the epigram can be identified with the tourist in front of the tomb (cf. 13n33, p. 127). Hellenistic readers had a vivid imagination and even the opening of this epigram, 'this tombstone says' (an opening which, as Bettenworth 2007: 77 underlines, would not be required in a real monument) indicates the willingness of the author to have his readers imagine the physical tombstone.

λευκὰ Γέλα Σικελοῖο παρ' ὕδατα· τίς φθόνος, αἰαῖ,
Θησείδας ἀγαθῶν ἔγκοτος αἰὲν ἔχει; (AP 7.40)

This grave-stone says that Aeschylus lies here,
The great, far from his own Attica,
By the white waters of Sicilian Gelas; ah, which spiteful ill-will
Against the good ones does always hold the sons of Theseus?

Diodorus' epigram underlines even more explicitly the unexpected location of Aeschylus' burial. The epitaph also makes explicit the juxtaposition between Sicily and Athens. Athens not only does not host Aeschylus' tomb, but it actively refuses to do so, holding a resentment against the poet. Aeschylus, as its Sicilian tomb testifies, was not welcomed by the Athenians. This information is again in contrast with the image of Aeschylus as one of Athens' literary glories.

In short, the location of the poet's tomb is used, in the two epigrams, as a testimony to the tense relationship between Aeschylus and Athens, in contrast with the warm welcome that the poet received in Sicily.²⁵¹ This aspect of Aeschylus' persona was well developed in the ancient biographical tradition of the poet. The poet was born in Athens, in the deme of Eleusis, but left for Sicily when his work was not understood in his motherland. The *Vita* of the poet states that Aeschylus left Athens because of the vexation at his defeat by the tragedian Sophocles (*Vit. Aesch.* 1.8 Radt, cf. *Plut. Cim.* 8.483e) or Simonides. The *Vita* (1.9 Radt) also states that the performance of the *Eumenides* 'frightened the people so much that some children lost consciousness and unborn babies were aborted', suggesting that this contributed to Aeschylus' departure (cf. also *Poll. Onom.* 4.110). The poet then went to the court of Hieron of Syracuse, the famous patron of many ancient poets, who welcomed him. The tyrant was founding Aetna and Aeschylus put on *The Women of Aetna*.²⁵² After this, the poet also allegedly put on *The Persians* at the request of Hieron and, the *Vita* adds, was highly praised for it.

Scholars generally believe that the tradition of the Sicilian tomb of Aeschylus existed before Hellenistic times, already at the time of the poet's death. Diskin Clay, Peter Wilson and Barbara Kowalzig, for example, have all written about Aeschylus' cult

²⁵¹ Cf. Hanink 2010a: 53.

²⁵² On the *Women* cf. Poli-Palladini 2001 with further bibliography.

at Gela in Sicily at the poet's death, or soon after it.²⁵³ The main testimony for the Sicilian cult at the poet's tomb is the *Vita* of the poet, 'an eclectic mixture of fact, critical assessment, and apocrypha', transmitted with the poet's work.²⁵⁴ According to the *Vita*, Aeschylus lived in Sicily among great honours for two years; after he died, he was buried 'richly in the city's cemetery' and 'greatly honoured' by the citizens, who wrote an epigram for him. After quoting the epigram (which, once again, refers to the Hellenistic theme of the 'double fatherland' of the poet, Athenian and Sicilian), the biographer adds that 'whoever found a living in tragedy (i.e. was professionally involved in tragedy), when visiting Aeschylus' memorial, would offer sacrifices and declaim his plays' (εἰς τὸ μνήμα δὲ φοιτῶντες ὅσοις ἐν τραγωιδίαις ἦν ὁ βίος ἐνήγιζόν τε καὶ τὰ δράματα ὑπεκρίνοντο, *Vit. Aesch.* 11).²⁵⁵ The tomb of the poet is a 'site of pilgrimage', as Kowalzig puts it, where the hero Aeschylus is worshiped by Greek professionals of tragedy.

Although it is indeed possible that this tradition existed before Hellenistic times and indeed that a cult was practiced on the poet's tomb shortly after his death, I believe that pointing out the importance that the Hellenistic age might have had in the transmission – if not creation – of the tradition and possibly in an encouragement of the pilgrimage, is not incorrect. The tradition of the *Vita* fits well with what has been argued so far about *Hellenistic* sites of memory and with the Hellenistic biographical tradition of the poet more in general. If the (tradition of the) cult on Aeschylus' tomb originated in the classical age – and it seems to me far from certain, *pace* Clay, Kowalzig and Wilson – it is probable that this became more prominent in Hellenistic times.

I stand with Johanna Hanink's suggestion that the tradition of Aeschylus' link with Sicily contained in the *Vita* developed in the Hellenistic age. The biographies of the poets are, as she acknowledges, the product of several manipulations, of both oral and written traditions, and of different time periods, but their basic narratives seem to have started appearing at about the same time in which Momigliano located the beginnings of ancient biography as a literary form, that is, in the early Hellenistic age,

²⁵³ Clay 2004: 3, 81, 95, 127, Wilson 2007: 357, Kowalzig 2008: 130.

²⁵⁴ Burges-Watson 2015. For other sources on the reperformance of Aeschylus' plays, cf. Biles 2006/7: 211-2; on the reperformance of the plays in antiquity, cf. also Hanink-Uhlig forthcoming.

²⁵⁵ For the translation, cf. also Wilson 2007: 357.

between the fourth and third century BC.²⁵⁶ The link between Sicily and Aeschylus, and the 'de-Athenianisation' of democratic tragedy to contexts of royal patronage, may reflect Hellenistic attempts of appropriation of the literary past.²⁵⁷ Moreover, it may be noted that a tradition similar to the Aeschylean one, of an Athenian's poetic work badly received in Athens and better received abroad existed in early Hellenistic times for another tragedian, Euripides.²⁵⁸ It is possible that similar stories developed for the two tragedians at about the same time. If a Hellenistic tradition existed about the burial and honours of Aeschylus in Sicily too, the *Vita* biographer might have drawn upon Hellenistic sources for his narrative.²⁵⁹ As a matter of fact, it may be noted that the central theme of the epigram, the juxtaposition between Athens and Sicily as places claiming Aeschylus, is the central theme of the funerary Hellenistic epigrams seen above. Burges-Watson mentions, among possible sources for the *Vita*, 'Heraclides of Pontus' book on tragic poets, and Chamaeleon's *Concerning Aeschylus*.²⁶⁰

The tomb of the poet is a material reminder of the contrast between Athens and Sicily in the Hellenistic tradition; given that this is a relevant aspect of Aeschylus' Hellenistic biography and, indeed, of the story of the reception of the poet's work, and given that the *Vita* possibly uses Hellenistic sources, I briefly comment on the passage about Aeschylus' burial as transmitted by its author. The biographer of the *Vita* first testifies to the initiative of cult practiced by the representatives of the same socio-professional category of Aeschylus.²⁶¹ This evokes the memory of Mnesiepes on Paros, the establisher of Archilochus' Hellenistic cult, who perhaps had a role in the conservation and transmission of the poet's work.²⁶²

Secondly, the anecdote is meant to demonstrate the love of the Sicilians for Aeschylus' work. The tradition of the *Vita* overall depicts Aeschylus as best appreciated in foreign land, as Hanink points out.²⁶³ This idea also emerges in the following

²⁵⁶ Hanink 2010a: 40-1.

²⁵⁷ Hanink 2010a. The biographical tradition about the link between Sicily and Aeschylus, as Hanink suggests, may have accompanied the wide circulation of the poet's plays in Magna Grecia.

²⁵⁸ Hanink 2008.

²⁵⁹ Cf. Biles 2006/7 who believes that a 'Vita of Alexandrian provenance' (215, cf. 219) was the common source for the tradition of the reperformance of Aeschylus' plays.

²⁶⁰ Burges-Watson 2014.

²⁶¹ Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 242.

²⁶² p. 95.

²⁶³ Hanink 2010a.

paragraph of the *Vita*, where the biographer argues that the Athenians *too* (i.e. only after the Sicilians) loved Aeschylus, to the point that an Athenian decree was made, whereby anyone who wished to re-stage an Aeschylean play would receive a chorus.²⁶⁴

Kimmel-Clauzet has rightly pointed out that a similar ‘literary character’ of the memorialisation and cult of Aeschylus by civic bodies can be noted in Lycurgus’ decree (340-36 BC, Plut. *Mor.* 841f), according to which statues of the three tragedians were to be consecrated and their tragedies transcribed and read out loud by actors, with the absolute prohibition of using unauthorised texts.²⁶⁵ Behind the recital of Aeschylus’ poems in Sicily, however, there seems to be a different understanding of the memorialisation of the poet through his work. Far from being a civic and formal practice, the biographer presents us with professional individuals who visit the poet’s tomb and, presumably inspired by the context, recite Aeschylus’ work. This anecdote, in other words, seems to show that the tomb of the poet was a place of impromptu inspiration.

In this sense too, the anecdote fits well with one Hellenistic aspect of sites of memory: other episodes depict Hellenistic admirers of ancient poets approaching specific places in order to be inspired by them. Callimachus, as seen above, reported in the *Aetia* that he was transported in a dream from Libya to Mount Helicon, the place where Hesiod was inspired (p. 109, 159). There, he conversed with the Muses and the result of the conversation were the *Aetia* themselves.²⁶⁶ But this is not the only case. In *Iambus* 13, Callimachus refers to Ephesus, the place of origin of Hipponax, in relation to the composition of his own work.²⁶⁷ Callimachus states that those who visit Ephesus are ‘not unlearnedly inspired’ (μη̄ ἀμαθῶς ἐναύονται, l. 14). Acosta-Hughes understands the mention of Ephesus as a reference to the past of the sixth century Ionian context;²⁶⁸ however, I believe that this reading can be enriched by taking into account the Hellenistic interest in sites of memory of ancient poets. Callimachus and Hellenistic readers imagine and engage with these sites, looking for places where to

²⁶⁴ On this anecdote, known in the Hellenistic age, cf. Biles 2006/7.

²⁶⁵ Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 243.

²⁶⁶ Arguably, as seen above, Euthycles did something similar with Helicon.

²⁶⁷ On Hipponax in Callimachus cf. Degani 1973, Hughes 1996, Konstan 1998. A reference to Hipponax also opens Callimachus’ collection of *Iambi* (*Iamb.* 1.1-35).

²⁶⁸ Acosta-Hughes 2002: 76-7.

meet the poets again; it is also against this background that we may better understand the reference to the city. Callimachus may have been referring to contemporary Ephesus too, as the third century BC Ionian city which the biographical tradition linked to Hipponax, a Hellenistic site of memory. Callimachus, in fact, criticises the poets who need to go to Ephesus in order to be inspired (just as he rejects the necessity of seeing the material tomb of Simonides), but this criticism still recognises the importance of Hellenistic sites of memory for many people – and even for learned Hellenistic poets, supposedly, given that Callimachus himself addresses the matter.²⁶⁹ Callimachus thinks about the relevance of sites of memory as a means of approaching ancient poets and producing new poetry.

This idea reminds us of the anecdote in the *Vita Aeschyli*: actors reciting Aeschylus' poems in front of the tomb of the poet, when transmitting the Aeschylean plays, could supposedly claim to get their inspiration from the site itself, if not from the poet. If in Callimachus we find the idea that a poet can be inspired by a site of memory and produce his poetry there, in the *Vita Aeschyli* it is stated that a site of memory is a place where ancient poetry is recited. Imagining or dreaming to be at a site of memory, materially visiting it, and even refusing to go there, all decline the same concept: sites of memory, while playing a fundamental role in the memorialisation of dead poets, have wider implications for Hellenistic poetic practices and for the transmission of the poets' work.

Sophocles

Athens

In antiquity Athens was an important site of Sophoclean memory. Specific places in the city reminded people of particular episodes in the poet's life, and thus depicted a multi-faceted image of Sophocles.²⁷⁰ Although in some cases the dating of the evidence is not certain, it seems that most of the sites of Sophoclean memory were known in Hellenistic times.

²⁶⁹ Similarly, 'Theocritus objects to ancient literary tourism' (Graziosi 2015).

²⁷⁰ For an introduction to the biographical tradition of Sophocles, cf. Lefkowitz 2012: 78-86, Scodel 2012, Burges-Watson 2016. Testimonia about Sophocles are collected in Radt 1977.

To begin with, a cult for Sophocles was known to exist in the Hellenistic age. Ister (Anon. *Vit. Soph.* 1.17 Radt), an expert on Athens and Attica, says that the Athenians voted that sacrifices should be made to Sophocles every year on account of his virtue (διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀρετήν).²⁷¹ What matters here is that, as Ister believed that Athens hosted a cult of Sophocles, he also perhaps believed that the city had a shrine for the poet (or for the poet in association with other divinities), as sacrifices are often associated with temples and in any case need to be performed in an appropriate location.²⁷²

Scholars have tried to retro-date the Hellenistic tradition of Sophocles' cult to an earlier time, on the basis of some connections between Ister's testimony and other ancient evidence. First, according to the ninth-century entry in the encyclopaedia *Etymologicum Magnum* (s.v. *Dexion*), Sophocles was given the cult name *Dexion* ('the receiver') by the Athenians who wanted to honour him after his death. The name was linked to Sophocles' reception of Asclepius (ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ δέξεως), an episode which fits well with the traditional piousness attributed to the poet.²⁷³ The *Etymologicum Magnum* explains that the poet welcomed the god in his own house (καὶ γὰρ ὑπεδέξατο τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ οἰκίαι) and set up an altar for him (καὶ βωμὸν ἰδρύσατο), thus establishing the cult of the god in Athens. To honour the poet, the Athenians built a temple for him (ἠρώϊον αὐτῷ κατασκευάσαντες). Scholars have long discussed the historicity of this anecdote, and have tried to determine when the association between Sophocles and the adjective 'dexios' was established (that is, when this tradition emerged).²⁷⁴ In particular, two inscriptions (*IG II²* 1252-1253) dating to the period between the fourth and third century BC, uncovered at a site which was the precinct of a healing cult, located on the south slope of the Acropolis, have been used to argue for the existence of a classical cult of Sophocles in Athens. The inscriptions record the acts of *orgeones* (members of Attic societies who annually celebrated sacrificial rites in honour of a hero or a god) and their cult of Amynus,

²⁷¹ His main work was a *Compilation of the Atthides* in at least fourteen books. What Ister says about Sophocles' hero cult has been variously interpreted as a reliable tradition or the result of false assumptions by ancient interpreters. Cf. Biles 2006/7: 219n32. In any case, it cannot be doubted that Ister believed that there was a cult for Sophocles.

²⁷² Cf. Clay 2004: 64.

²⁷³ On Sophocles' piety cf. e.g. Jouanna 2007: 73-90, Burges-Watson 2016.

²⁷⁴ Cf. Connolly 1998, Clay 2004, Kimmel-Clauzet 2013 with further bibliography.

Asclepius, and Dexion.²⁷⁵ The inscriptions, in particular, speak of an Athenian shrine of Dexion, an otherwise unattested hero, except for the *Etymologicum* entry above. It is indeed tempting to think that this Dexion was identified with Sophocles, who might have received a cult along with Asclepius, whose cult he introduced. Ister, the *Etymologicum*, and the inscriptions may thus all refer to the same tradition, according to which Sophocles introduced the cult of Asclepius in Athens (i.e., he ‘received’ the god) and, because of this, he then received a cult along with the god. But this reconstruction of the tradition is far from certain.²⁷⁶

The strongest objections to the story of an early heroisation of Sophocles have been carefully considered in a 1998 article by Andrew Connolly. The main reasons which ‘reduce the likelihood that Sophocles was heroised as Dexion in the late fifth or the fourth century’ (p. 17), are, first, that there exist no classical parallels for the heroisation of someone who has received a divine visitation, or of someone who introduces a new cult (two possible interpretations of the name ‘dexion’); secondly, Connolly has showed that the story of Sophocles’ heroisation provided in the *Etymologicum*, is strange in relation to fifth-century Athenian historical practice: ‘the worship of an historical person under a new name (such as Dexion for Sophocles) may be unparalleled in the Archaic and Classical periods’ (p. 18). The scholar thus concludes that ‘not only is it unlikely that Sophocles received heroic honours before the 330s, but it is entirely plausible that he was never heroised at all and that the report of heroic honours was a Hellenistic biographical invention.’ Kimmel-Clauzet agrees with Connolly and writes, after a lengthy discussion of the evidence: ‘il semble que l’on puisse écarter définitivement l’idée d’une héroïisation de Sophocles par la cité d’Athènes tout entière directement après sa mort ou dans le siècle qui suivit’ (p. 248). If the existence of the hero Dexion (perhaps a healing hero) is out of doubt, as are the joint honours that he received with Asclepius, the identification between Sophocles and Dexion is attested only at a much later time, and may be the result of biographical readings of Sophocles’ work.²⁷⁷ Kimmel-Clauzet even points out that Ister and the *Etymologicum* may not, in

²⁷⁵ On Attic *orgeones*, cf. Ferguson-Nock 1944.

²⁷⁶ Cf. Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 244-9.

²⁷⁷ Cf. Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 248 and Connolly 1998 (who believes that behind this story was a paean by Sophocles). For Dexion as a healing god cf. Connolly pp. 5-6.

fact, refer to the same tradition when speaking, respectively, of honours for Sophocles and of the establishment of a cult for the poet as the beginner of a new cult.

As Kimmel-Clauzet sensibly states, it is difficult to reconstruct the truth about the Athenian cult of Sophocles – or even the development of the tradition, but a few suggestions may be made. As Connolly rightly writes, Ister’s statement definitely shows ‘that by the mid-third century it was not preposterous to say that Sophocles had been heroised.’ Connolly also suggests that perhaps Ister quotes epigraphical evidence (‘as could be inferred from the reference to a ψήφισμα and the wording διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀρετήν’, p. 19). As a consequence, two hypotheses stand out.

According to a first, more cautious, reconstruction, it is possible to say that the biographical tradition in Ister’s time knew of a place in Athens where sacrifices to the poet were made. The place linked to Sophocles’ cult in Athens may have promoted several aspects of the poet’s persona: his political importance, his status as a great poet, perhaps his reception of Asclepius, or more generally his piety.²⁷⁸

In the second hypothesis, the stories of Ister and of the *Etymologicum* may both stem from the same tradition, and Hellenistic readers may thus have known the story of Asclepius being ‘received’ by the poet as the *Etymologicum* entry claims. The story included references to other sites of Sophoclean memory, such as the house and shrine of the poet, and the altar of the god.²⁷⁹ The house of the poet, for example, mentioned in the *Etymologicum Magnum* as the place where Sophocles received the god, may have been of interest in Hellenistic times. As is known, the house of Pindar was a site of memory for the poet. Meaningfully, the Hellenistic story of the poet welcoming the Mother of the Gods in his own house, transmitted by Aristodemus (cf. p. 19) closely resembles the story of Sophocles and Asclepius.²⁸⁰ The two anecdotes have several elements in common: the divine visitation, of course, but also the establishment of an altar near the house of the poet, and arguably the establishment of a new cult. The Hellenistic tradition about Pindar proves that the interest for Sophocles’ house would not have seemed strange to Hellenistic readers. The story of Sophocles’ hospitality to

²⁷⁸ For the various possibilities, cf. Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 245.

²⁷⁹ The reference of *AP* 6.145 to ‘altars’ built by Sophocles does not help with the dating of the tradition, as the epigram cannot be, in turn, certainly dated (cf. Connolly 1998: 4-5).

²⁸⁰ On this cf. also Lehnus 1979: 22-7.

Asclepius was known, after all, in the imperial age and before: Plutarch mentions it twice (Plut. *Vit. Num* 4.6 and *Mor.* 22.1103a), even specifying that the tradition was more ancient than his time.²⁸¹ One final point may be added: Ister and (arguably) the *Etymologicum Magnum*, testify to the Hellenistic idea of a reciprocal affection between Sophocles and the Athenians, who honoured the poet. This emerges in another Hellenistic testimony about sites of Sophoclean memory. The peripatetic Hieronymus of Rhodes (Anon. *Vit. Soph.* 1.12 Radt = fr. 31 Wehrli) in the third century BC reports that when a golden crown was stolen from the Acropolis, the god Heracles appeared in a dream to Sophocles and told the poet to look for a house on the right as he was walking (οικίαν ἐν δεξιᾷ εισιόντι ἐρευνῆσαι), where the crown had been hidden. Sophocles told this to the Athenian people and received a talent as a reward. With the talent, the poet established a shrine for Heracles the Revealer (ἱερὸν ἰδρύσατο Μηνυτοῦ Ἡρακλέους). Cicero's version changes some details in the story: it was a golden libation dish which had been stolen from the shrine of Heracles. When the dish was brought back to the shrine thanks to Heracles' revelation to Sophocles, the shrine was dedicated to Heracles the Revealer.²⁸²

The Acropolis, the (supposed) house of the thief and, above all, the shrine of Heracles Revealer evoke the story of Sophocles and Heracles. These places may be points of tourist attraction for the Hellenistic admirers of Sophocles. For certain, they are sites of Sophoclean memory in Hieronymus' mind: by evoking the story of the crown, they evoke a specific image of Sophocles. The story associated with these places is the story of a pious person, honoured by the Athenians, but also respectful of the gods and favoured by them. Sophocles is favoured by Heracles (a favour which appears, in another context, in Ar. *Frogs* 76-7), but (in Hieronymus' account) he also builds a shrine to the god. Hieronymus himself reported the story, according to the biographer, in order to demonstrate that Sophocles was more θεοφιλής than anybody else.

The cityscape of Athens arguably provides another site linked to Sophocles' religiosity: a tradition that may be dated to the Hellenistic period located there the

²⁸¹ Cf. Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 247.

²⁸² Cic. *Div.* 1.54.

tomb of the poet.²⁸³ The tradition which explains the circumstances of Sophocles' burial is preserved once again in the *Vita* of the poet. According to the *Vita* (Anon. *Vit. Soph.* 1.15 Radt), Sophocles was buried in the family tomb, which was on the road to Deceleia, eleven stades in front of the wall (καὶ εἰς τὸν πατρώιον τάφον ἐτέθη τὸν παρὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Δεκέλειαν ὁδὸν κείμενον πρὸ τοῦ τείχους ἰα' σταδίων). Deceleia was in the territory of the Attic deme of Colonus, where the poet was born.²⁸⁴ The biographer describes the monument, which allegedly had the statue of a Siren or a bronze swallow (a χελιδών) on it. The biographer continues by evoking the siege of Athens by the Spartans: he says that when Lysander was besieging Athens from his base in Deceleia, Dionysus appeared in a dream to the general twice to order him to permit the burial of Sophocles, who had died, in the tomb.

Lefkowitz rightly thinks that the details about the position of the tomb and the description of its decoration suggest that a tomb was identified as Sophocles' own and shown to ancient tourists.²⁸⁵ However, she speaks of 'late antique' tourists; I suspect that the interest in the poet's tomb might already have developed in Hellenistic times. The section of the *Vita* telling the details about Sophocles' burial is opened by a καί, which links this section to the previous one. In the previous section the biographer reports three different versions of the poet's death. Although the third version is attributed to generic 'others' – which might or might not be late antique sources – the first is attributed to Ister and Neanthes and the second to Satyrus. Moreover, the section about Sophocles' burial is immediately followed by the mention of a funerary epigram for Sophocles by Lobon, biographer of the third century BC and author of a work *On Poets*. After the epigram there is the reference to the Athenian sacrifices to Sophocles attributed to Ister. It is part of the testimony – the mention of sacrifices in Ister – that suggests a Hellenistic tradition. More generally, there is no reason to think that in this succession of references to Hellenistic sources about Sophocles' death, only the description of the tomb belonged to a later source; the tomb, its location and

²⁸³ Hellenistic references to the tomb of the poet are in funerary epigrams transmitted for Aeschylus in the *AP* (7.20, 21, 22, 37, 36), but none of them gives attention to the location of the tomb.

²⁸⁴ Cf. Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 151; the only dissonant testimony in the tradition which locates here Sophocles' tomb is the epigram by the third century BC Dioscorides, who locates the tomb 'in the city' (ἐν ἄστει), on which cf. Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 153.

²⁸⁵ Lefkowitz 2012: 84.

aspect, and the anecdote of Lysander related to it, are likely to reflect the interests of Hellenistic admirers of Sophocles.

Assuming that this hypothesis is correct, I would like briefly to underline some of the ways in which Sophocles' persona is shaped by his tomb. Sirens on tombs of poets and orators symbolise beauty, eloquence, and song.²⁸⁶ Statues of chelidons allegedly decorated Apollo's temple at Delphi, as Pindar says (Paus. 10.5.12).²⁸⁷ Moreover, once again divine intervention (of Dionysus) acknowledges Sophocles; the epigram by Lobon stresses Sophocles' piety even more, by calling the poet 'most holy' (σεμνότατον).²⁸⁸ Finally, the anecdote of the general Lysander granting Sophocles funerary honours recalls the respect demonstrated by the Spartan general Pausanias and Alexander the Great for the house of Pindar in Thebes (cf. p. 32-9); the story also recalls the magnanimity shown by Nicias in his expedition against Sicily, when he famously took captive some Athenians and saved the life of many of them on account of their knowing by heart the poems of Euripides and teaching them to the sons of the captors (Satyrus fr. 39 XIX Kovacs). These stories depict the ancient poets as representatives of a common identity, a literary identity, which goes beyond the enmity between different peoples in war.

One last important point should be made about the shaping of Sophocles' persona through the Athenian sites of memory. The sources, in many cases certainly dated to the Hellenistic age, link specific sites in Athens to the life of the poet. All the Athenian sites of Sophoclean memory listed above contributed, obviously and fundamentally, to shape the image of an *Athenian* Sophocles, of a poet who could be found in Athens more than in any other place. This image was in sharp contrast with the image of Aeschylus, who fled to Sicily, and even more so with that of Euripides, who went to Macedon (see p. 204-5). Such contrast was certainly noted by the admirers of the three poets: the biographical tradition depicted Sophocles as the φιλαθηναϊότατος (*Vit. Soph.* 1.10 Radt), whereas Euripides was ξενοφιλότατος (as Hermippus states in *Genos Eur.* 1.27 Kovacs). Johanna Hanink rightly points out that

²⁸⁶ Sewell 2012: 152.

²⁸⁷ On the origin of the custom of depicting Sirens upon tombs' cf. Pollard 1952: 63; cf. also Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 151.

²⁸⁸ Lefkowitz 2012: 84.

the two biographical traditions of Sophocles and Euripides were read in contrast to each other in this regard.²⁸⁹

Euripides

The relationship between Euripides and the Athenians was tense, according to ancient sources.²⁹⁰ The poet was often associated with places other than Athens, most prominently to Salamis, Sicily, and Macedon. It is in these places that we also find Hellenistic sites of memory for the dead poet. I start with Salamis, where we find a cave that radically defines Euripides' authorial persona. I then follow the poet to Macedon, where he was allegedly buried. I conclude with a site of memory in Sicily, where the poet survives his death in his admirers' mind.

The cave of Salamis

In January 1997, *The New York Times* excitedly reported that the cave where Euripides used to write his plays had been discovered. In the article we read a short description of Euripides' life and character, a note on the correspondence between his character and his work, and a final allusion to the comic parody of his persona in antiquity, linked to Euripides' decision to leave Athens for Macedon. The article also quotes the words of Yannis G. Lolos, who conducted the excavations: 'I can picture him [i.e. Euripides] sitting at the terrace at the entry of the cave, looking out at the Saronic Gulf and composing his plays.'²⁹¹ This short piece shows how indebted we still are, in our own approach to ancient poets, to both ancient biographies and to the material culture preserving their memory.

According to one tradition, Euripides was from Salamis (cf. *Genos* 1 Kovacs and *IG XIV 1207b*).²⁹² On the island there allegedly was a cave where he used to spend his time and write his plays. The cave of Euripides makes its first appearance in our sources

²⁸⁹ Hanink 2010a: 57-8.

²⁹⁰ Cf. Burges-Watson 2015c, Lefkowitz 1983: 215, Stevens 1956 for an overview of the anecdotes and evidence about this relationship. Testimonia about Euripides may be found in Kovacs 1994 and Kannicht 2004. I refer to Kovacs' edition.

²⁹¹ Although, as a matter of fact, the cave does not look upon the sea.

²⁹² According to a later tradition, he was born on the day of the battle of Salamis (cf. Knöbl 2008: 277); Salamis was used to connect Euripides with Aeschylus and Sophocles in the ancient biographical tradition (cf. Davidson 2012: 38).

in the Hellenistic age, and it is one of the best documented Hellenistic sites of memory of ancient poets. The Attidographer of the early Hellenistic period Philochorus and the Hellenistic biographer Satyrus, in his *Vita*, mention it (as quoted in Aul. Gell. 15.20.4 and *POxy* 1176 respectively).²⁹³ The cave is also mentioned in the later *Genos* of Euripides, transmitted in the manuscripts: ‘considerable overlap’ can be observed between the *Genos* of the manuscripts and Satyrus’ *Life*.²⁹⁴

Following the literary sources, archaeologists have identified a cave on Salamis with Euripides’ cave. Excavations directed by Lolos focused on a cave with an adjacent sanctuary: according to Lolos, this cave began to be used for the joint cult of the god Dionysus and the poet in the Hellenistic age. Among the materials found in the cave, of particular interest is a broken *skyphos*, perhaps a votive offer, of the classical period, on which the first six letters of Euripides’ name were inscribed in the Hellenistic or imperial age.²⁹⁵ This vase arguably links the cave to Euripides.²⁹⁶ Near the cave, a Hellenistic sanctuary (third-second centuries BC) dedicated to Dionysus has been found, situated in front of a natural spring, where the cult of the god and the poet would have been first associated; the cult of the poet would have been transferred to the cave at a later stage, and the cave would have become a ‘place of pilgrimage, frequented by Greeks and Romans alike, in veneration of the great tragedian’ in the imperial age.²⁹⁷ Here, I set out to show that ancient ideas about Euripides and his work clustered around the place in Hellenistic times.

Philochorus was an early Hellenistic Attidographer, author of works on the tragic poets, on Euripides, and on Salamis (*FGrHist* 328T1). He knew Euripides’ cave, as the second century author Aulus Gellius reports. Gellius provides a portrait of Euripides in his *Noctes Atticae*. He starts with the genealogy of the poet and his philosophical training; next comes the mention of the cave; after that, Gellius proceeds with other

²⁹³ It is usually agreed that this Philochorus, mentioned by Gellius, is not the fifth century historian (cf. Knöbl 2008: 278). For Satyrus’ background cf. West 1974a, Schorn 2004.

²⁹⁴ Cf. Hanink 2008: 120.

²⁹⁵ The article of *The New York Times* mentioned above ends with the hopeful words of Lolos: ‘He [i.e. Euripides] might have used that pot himself but we may never know for sure.’ Cf. <http://www.nytimes.com/1997/01/13/world/clay-pot-points-to-cave-of-euripides.html>, consulted on 18/02/17.

²⁹⁶ Although Knöbl 2008: 301 underlines that the name was common in antiquity.

²⁹⁷ Blackman 2000-1: 16. Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 251-3 is however sceptical about the existence of a cult of Euripides at the cave.

events of the poet's life. Gellius includes in his narrative elements from the comic tradition: he says that Euripides' mother was a vegetable seller, a detail that Aristophanes exploited in his comedies, and even mentions some verses from Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae*, a comedy which depicted the antagonism between Euripides and the women. Gellius then states: 'Philochorus reports that there is a foul and horrible cave on the island of Salamis, which I have seen, in which Euripides used to write his tragedies' (15.20). The focus of the description is not on Euripides' character, but on the cave itself. The two adjectives, *taeter* and *horridus*, describe something unpleasant to see.²⁹⁸ The two words, however, can also have a social connotation. They can describe something that is repulsive to men, offensive and rude. The description of the cave found in the imperial writer Gellius arguably reflects the description of the man Euripides, who was said to be a misanthrope (see below).

In Satyrus' narrative the cave and the landscape around it also actively contribute to the characterisation of Euripides.²⁹⁹ First, Satyrus describes the cave which, according to him, 'had an opening on the sea' (fr. 39 IX Kovacs). The poet, Satyrus continues, passed his days in the cave by himself, writing, and 'simply disdaining everything that was not high and noble' (ἀπλῶς ἅπαν εἶ τι μὴ μεγαλεῖον ἢ σεμνὸν ἢ[τι]μακῶς, fr. 39 IX Kovacs). For Satyrus, the poet is a recluse, who decides to withdraw to his cave, far from the *polis*, in order to write there; the subject of his work, Satyrus underlines, is far from the small and trivial aspects of everyday life. Both Satyrus and Philochorus testify to the connection which was established in Hellenistic times between the character of the place and that of the poet.

It is possible to speculate about which other characteristics may have been attributed to Euripides' persona through the association with the cave. The cave's (alleged) opening towards the sea lets the reader imagine Euripides watching the landscape, perhaps looking for inspiration: the anonymous *Life* of the poet explicitly states that Euripides drew most of his comparisons from the sea. Moreover, there is knowledge of another famous ancient cave, the cave of Apollo and the Muses on

²⁹⁸ Probably the two adjectives are part of the quotation of Philochorus, even if 'the pleasant picture of the cave [...] is rudely shattered' (Geer 1927: 454).

²⁹⁹ For an introduction to Satyrus' *Vita Eur.* and the ways the fragmentary biography changed what scholars thought about Greek biography, cf. Knöbl 2008: 134-5. On Satyrus' *Vita* cf. also Hunt 1912: 124-82 (with introduction, edition and comment of the papyrus transmitting the narrative), Arrighetti 1964.

Parnassos, which both Euripides and later Hellenistic authors mention (Eur. *Ion* 1-93 and, e.g., Str. 9.2.25). The Muses also appear in Satyrus' narrative: the biographer specifies that the women – who were said to plot to kill the poet because of what he said of them in his work (cf. Ar. *Thesm.*, *Genos* 1) – decided to spare the poet's life out of respect for the Muses. Perhaps locating Euripides in a cave facilitated his association with the goddesses in this biographical narrative. Finally, the idea that caves were places of separation and isolation from society was well established in Greek literature; they were also places for divine inspiration, for prophets, sibyls, sages and philosophers, figures to whom Euripides may have been associated.³⁰⁰

The use of space was important already on the comic stage, for Aristophanes' characterisation of Euripides. In the *Acharnians*, the poet is portrayed alone, while writing (as in the cave). In the play, Dicaeopolis (ll. 393-9) goes to Euripides' house in order to meet him; outside of the house he meets Euripides' slave. The dialogue begins with a funny joke about Euripides being 'at home and not at home' (l. 396), meaning that the body and mind of the poet are, in that moment, in two different places.³⁰¹ Dicaeopolis is reticent to disturb his master, because the poet is busy writing his 'little verses.'³⁰² Afterwards, only the poet's voice is heard, as he speaks from inside and complains about being disturbed. Finally, Euripides is rather comically 'wheeled out' of his house upon the insistence of Dicaeopolis. The term here used, ἐκκυκλέω (l. 411), indicates the use of the theatrical machine used to wheel out and display an interior (ἐκκύκλημα). The use of the rather technical term, by Euripides himself, further underlines the theatricality and comicality of the character: Euripides is such a misanthrope that he must be literally brought out to people. The comic tone of the scene – and of Euripides' persona – is undoubtedly conveyed also through the manipulation of space.

In both Aristophanes and Satyrus, Euripides is imagined while composing his poetry in isolation. But there are differences too. Most obviously, Satyrus does not make fun of Euripides. Aware of the developing curiosity around the character and

³⁰⁰ In Euripides' work, caves are places of divine inspiration and can host semi-divine people. On caves in Greek literature cf. Ustinova 2009.

³⁰¹ This is arguably a parody of Euripides' style, cf. Knöbl 2008: 37-9.

³⁰² For the depiction of Euripides as an intellectual in this scene, cf. Whitehorne 2002: 32-3.

places of Euripides, Satyrus provides his own interpretation of Euripides' isolation in order to *praise* the poet. As seen above, for Satyrus the cave is a place where the poet can think of his work, perhaps look for inspiration, and write about *noble* things.³⁰³ The cave may point – and it certainly does, for some readers – to Euripides' misanthropy, but it may also inspire feelings of admiration. This reflects the overall change in the approach to Euripides persona noted by Knöbl for the Hellenistic age, when 'ridiculing tendencies that formed most of the earlier biographical tradition on Euripides are exposed and questioned [...], while the tendency to immortalise the poet as a hero from the past flourishes.'³⁰⁴ Importantly, the juxtaposition between different 'Euripides-es' is made through spaces linked with the poet.

There is a final aspect of Satyrus' *Vita* that needs attention: the cave is depicted as a place where Euripides seeks refuge when he is rejected by Athens. Satyrus' *Vita*, in fact, repeatedly underlines that the poet was not well received in Athens. Euripides is said to 'come into disgrace' in the eye of the crowds, because of his admiration for Socrates (fr. 38 IV + 39 I Kovacs); in Athens, Satyrus adds, everyone was 'his enemy', the Athenian demagogue Cleon brought Euripides to trial, and the accusation is considered by Satyrus as part of a more general Athenian hatred towards the poet (fr. 39 X Kovacs). This hatred of the Athenians towards Euripides is not surprising, as the Euripidean biographical tradition of the Hellenistic age insistently linked Euripides to Macedon.³⁰⁵ The cave is the place which welcomes Euripides when he is rejected by Athens, and thus opens the way for the depiction of a more profound (tradition of) inimicality between the tragic poet and the city.

Macedonian death and tomb

Another location very often associated with Euripides is Macedon, especially the court of Archelaus in Pella, where the poet emigrated, according to the biographical

³⁰³ Cf. Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 105 for the ambivalent meaning of Euripides' cave in Satyrus and the biographical tradition of the poet. One may wonder whether the tradition of Euripides' cave does not owe something to the cave of the Euripidean satyr-play *Cyclops* (on which, cf. Ussher 1971). Cf. also Schorn 2001: 19-20.

³⁰⁴ Knöbl 2008: 84. Cf. also Hanink 2009: 24-5 on the change of the view of Euripides towards the Hellenistic age.

³⁰⁵ Cf. Hanink 2008.

tradition.³⁰⁶ As underlined above (pp. 199-200), in antiquity Euripides' predilection for foreign lands was juxtaposed to Sophocles' love for Athens. Satyrus (fr. 39 X) says that Euripides was badly received in Athens: together with a *Vita* of the poet (*Genos* 1.35 Kovacs), the biographer accuses the comic authors of driving the talented tragedian away from Athens out of jealousy.³⁰⁷ Revermann and Hanink have argued that the tradition reflected the desire of Hellenistic kings to represent Euripides as part of Macedonia's cultural heritage. The link between Euripides and Macedon contributed to the shaping of Euripides 'the classic.'³⁰⁸ The move of Euripides to Macedon and the stories of Euripides' positive experiences under royal patronage also had the function, according to Hanink, of accompanying the transposition of tragedy (closely connected with Athenian democratic ideology) to a foreign monarchic context.³⁰⁹ In the next paragraphs, I focus on the Macedonian sites where the poet allegedly died and was buried.

Many Hellenistic readers knew the story of Euripides' death and imagined the circumstances and precise location.³¹⁰ According to one tradition, the poet died in Macedon, while staying at Archelaus' court. Satyrus (fr. 39 XXI) says that one day Euripides had been left alone in a sacred grove (or a hallowed precinct, ἐν ἄλσει τιλί [...] καθ' αὐτόν ἐρημαζόμενος) far off from the city (ἀπωτέ[ρω] τῆς πόλεως), while king Archelaus was hunting. When the hunters were 'outside of the city doors' (ἔξω τῶν πυλῶν), they sent forth their young dogs, as they themselves remained behind. The dogs found Euripides alone and killed him.³¹¹ In the first century BC, Diodorus Siculus (13.103.5) reports the story according to which, while Euripides was staying at Archelaus' court, as he was walking in the countryside (κατὰ τὴν χώραν), he met some dogs which killed him. At about the same time, Hyginus (*Fab.* 247) includes Euripides

³⁰⁶ For a reconstruction of Archelaus' patronage and Euripides' work in Macedon cf. Ridgeway 1926. Archelaus' court was in Pella, where the poet died according to a tradition, but the tomb of the poet was located in several Macedonian places.

³⁰⁷ According to Scullion 2003: 395-6, Lefkowitz 2012: 91, Burges Watson 2015, the story of Euripides' emigration to Macedonia takes inspiration from Euripides' *Archelaus*.

³⁰⁸ Revermann 1999/2000, Hanink 2008, 2010b.

³⁰⁹ Hanink 2010b. On Euripides and Macedon, cf. also Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 91-5.

³¹⁰ There is abundant evidence for the death of the poet at Archelaus' court, but none earlier than the third century BC (Scullion 2003: 392).

³¹¹ This tradition was probably based on Macedonian, local sources, cf. Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 88.

among ‘those killed by dogs’ (similarly to Actaeon and a certain Thasius, son of Anius, a priest of Apollo in Delos) and says that the tragic author was killed in a temple.³¹²

Hellenistic readers spoke of the exact place where Euripides died: the spatial connotation of the event characterises the poet. First, all the accounts reported above share the image of a solitary poet. I have commented above on Euripides as a solitary character, in his isolated cave: this episode certainly reinforces that image. Secondly, even the death of the poet is a means to link Euripides with Macedon: meaningfully, the poet dies while he is far away from the benevolent king and the royal circle who allegedly loved him so much. The circumstances of Euripides’ death correspond to a specific type of death in heroic myths, according to which heroes die by accident by the hand of their friends: according to this interpretation, perhaps inspired by Euripides’ own tragedies, the poet may look like a hero.³¹³ The specific Macedonian and sacred location of the event opens another perspective on the episode, perhaps shared by readers with anti-Macedonian feelings: as the poet dies in a sacred space, one may think that Euripides is not loved by the gods. As a matter of fact, Euripides was accused, during his life, of impiety, at least according to Satyrus (39 X), who tells the anecdote just before telling of the poet’s death.³¹⁴ As Mari points out, in the forty years after Alexander the Great’s death, the Athenians often associated the Macedonians with ἀσέβεια (impiety), and Euripides may have shared the same fault as his Macedonian hosts, at least according to some.³¹⁵

Hellenistic readers are invited to envision the link between Macedon and Euripides – however they interpret it – also when they think of the poet’s tomb. The funerary epigrammatic tradition of Euripides confers particular importance to the Macedonian location of Euripides’ burial and, in doing so, conveys a specific understanding of the poet. There are nine epigrams about the death of the poet (*AP* 7.43-51).³¹⁶ In the late Hellenistic age, Vitruvius’ *De Architectura* mentions the tomb of

³¹² Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 90-1 underlines that the toponyms used in the accounts of Euripides’ death (and, of course, the manner of the poet’s death) recall Orpheus’ Thracian/Macedonian death, to whom Euripides may be associated according to the scholar.

³¹³ Specifically, Euripides’ *Bacchae* may have inspired this tradition. Cf. Brelich 1958: 69-70, Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 89.

³¹⁴ Cf. Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 440n152.

³¹⁵ On the Athenian accusations of impiety against the Macedonians cf. Mari 2003.

³¹⁶ For a detailed comment on Euripides’ funerary epigrams, cf. Knöbl 2008: 74-133. On the Hellenistic date of the epigrams cf. Lefkowitz 2012: 92, Page 1981: 157 (who writes: ‘the style of the epigrams and

Euripides, too. I start with the epigrams, which visualise the burial of the poet and its location in Macedon. The Macedonian region of Pieria, a location praised by Euripides in *Bacchae* 560-75 because of its prosperity and beauty, is associated with Euripides' tomb in *AP* 7.43.³¹⁷ The epigram associates the eternity of the landscape around Euripides' burial to the eternity of the poet's fame: the poet, it is said, is buried into the dark vales of Pieria (μελαμπετάλοις [...] ἐν γυάλιοισι Πιερίας, ll. 1-2), where there is an eternal night (τὸν ἀεὶ νυκτὸς ἔχων θάλαμον, l. 2); the immortality of the Pierian night is also the immortality of Euripides' fame (κλέος ἄφθιτον, l. 3), compared to the eternal glory of Homer.³¹⁸

AP 7.44 associates once again the tomb of the poet to Macedon, in order to underline the poetic skills of Euripides: the poet is buried in a tomb in Pella (Πελλαῖον ὑπ' ἡρίον, l. 5), because the servant of the Pierides should dwell near the home of his goddesses (ὡς ἂν ὁ λάτρις Πιερίδων ναίης ἀγχόθι Πιερίδων, ll. 5-6). The epigram also mentions Athens, and 'plays with the geographical points of reference in the biographical representations of Euripides, elegantly connecting them with positive and honouring pictures' of the poet.³¹⁹

AP 7.51, attributed to the Macedonian epigrammatist Adaeus, who lived perhaps at the end of the fourth century BC, first reports different versions of the poet's death (even if in order to discard them), thus showing a wide knowledge of the biographical tradition of Euripides.³²⁰ It then locates the tomb in Arethusa in Macedon, where the poet 'now' rests; in the epigram, the location of the tomb has great importance, as 'the present [i.e. of the tomb] rather than the past and the concrete rather than the fantastic [the biographical accounts of Euripides' death]' are clearly stressed.³²¹ The epigram finally associates the position of the tomb to the friendship between Euripides and Archelaus (ὑπαὶ Μακέτῃ δ' Ἀρεθούσῃ κεῖσαι, ἑταιρείῃ τίμιος Ἀρχέλω, ll. 3-4). In conclusion, in the mentioned epigrams, the place of Euripides' Macedonian tomb (be it Pieria, Pella, or Arethusa) is a proper site of memory, as it is

their pseudo-epitaphic character suit the Hellenistic much better than any earlier period', on the two epigrams attributed to [Ion]).

³¹⁷ For Pieria in Euripides, cf. Easterling 1994: 77-8.

³¹⁸ κλέος ἄφθιτον is a Homeric phrase.

³¹⁹ Knöbl 2008: 105.

³²⁰ On Adaeus' date and identity cf. Gow-Page 1968: 3, Hanink 2014: 234.

³²¹ Knöbl 2008: 117-8.

important in order to shape several aspects of the poetic persona such as his afterlife, his similarity to Homer, his association with the Pierides, his friendship with Archelaus.

Some of the funerary epigrams, more specifically, celebrate and construct the Euripidean persona by re-defining *what* a tomb is, as a site of memory; in Euripides' case, this entails a redefinition of the place *where* the tomb is. At the centre of this process is a paradoxical denigration of Euripides' funerary monument.³²² *AP* 7.45 (fictitiously attributed to Thucydides or the poet Timotheus) juxtaposes Greece and Macedon in the preservation of the poet's memory:³²³ the epitaph states that the tomb of Euripides is Greece, whereas Macedon holds his bones (μνήμα μὲν Ἑλλάς ἅπασ' Εὐριπίδου· ὅστέα δ' ἴσχει γῆ Μακεδών, ll.1-2) only because the poet spent there the last years of his life. The second half of the epigram states that the fatherland of the poet is Athens, Ἑλλάδος Ἑλλάς (l.3), in a striking statement of Athenian patriotism.³²⁴ The epigram offers Athens and Greece as sites of Euripidean memory alternative to Macedon by discounting 'the significance of the presence of Euripides' grave in a foreign land.'³²⁵ The epigram allows for a de-Macedonisation of Euripides, by acting upon the tradition of the location of his tomb. Euripides' tomb is where people remember him – and that means that the whole of Greece becomes his memorial (μνήμα). Similarly, *AP* 7.47 states that 'all Greece is Euripides' tomb' and does not even mention the burial in Macedon.³²⁶ Finally, *AP* 7.51 (mentioned above) states that the Macedonian place of burial of Euripides is not the tomb of the poet (ὑπαὶ Μακέτῃ δ'

³²² A paradox that emerges also in *AP* 7.46, not examined above as it does not mention the location of the tomb. The short funerary epigram, in an almost surrealistic statement, says that Euripides' tomb is not his tomb, for Euripides himself, in fact, keeps alive the memory of the tomb (οὐ σὸν μνήμα τόδ' ἔστ', Εὐριπίδη, ἀλλὰ σὺ τοῦδε). The epigram plays upon the double meaning of μνήμα (tomb or memory): the tomb is not the container of Euripides' memory, but Euripides preserves the fame/memory of the tomb. As the second line of the epigram explains, Euripides' fame literally surrounds the tomb (τῆ σῆ γὰρ δόξη μνήμα τόδ' ἀμπέχεται): the roles of the material tomb of the poet (μνήμα) and of the memory (μνήμα) of the poet that it should preserve, are inverted. Cf. Knöbl 2008: 86-91 for an interpretation of the epigram with further bibliography.

³²³ According to Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 171-2 the attribution of the epigram is fictitious, but the epigram may have been authentic and inscribed on Euripides' Athenian cenotaph. There are no compelling indications that the epigram is ancient, however, whereas there are thematic similarities with the other Hellenistic epigrams.

³²⁴ Cf. Plant 2015: 392; the epigram may echo Thucydides' 2.43.3 (Hanink 2010a: 53-5, Plant 2015: 392). Plant 2015 offers a discussion on the interaction between this epigram and other funerary epigrams for Euripides, on its attribution and authorship, dating, and literary character. Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 172-3 also comments upon the epigram.

³²⁵ Hanink 2010a: 53-4.

³²⁶ Knöbl 2008: 91-4 believes that the epigram underlines the geographical ubiquity of Euripidean *poetry*.

Ἀρεθούση κείσαι [...] σὸν δ' οὐ τοῦτον ἐγὼ τίθεμαι τάφον, ll.3-5): as in AP 7.45, the place where the remains of the poet are, is not necessarily Euripides' tomb. The tomb is instead identified with the poet's work (ll.5-6), an idea which links the memory of the poet to his production.³²⁷ Such identification links the work of a poet to the celebration of his persona; one of the implications of establishing such a link is that people may start looking for the poetic persona in the poet's work, as in fact happened in Hellenistic times. Moreover, the poet's work circulated not only in Macedon, but also in other areas, like Greece and Egypt:³²⁸ the epigram states that the tomb of the poet (that is, a site of direct contact with him) belongs to everybody who is familiar with his work. There is, in conclusion, a *leitmotif* among the funerary epigrams which, by redefining the idea of tomb and denying value to the Macedonian site of burial of the poet, shapes the image of Euripides as a poet belonging to all, rather than specifically to the Athenians.³²⁹

Finally, Vitruvius (first century BC) describes the tomb of Euripides. He writes that in Macedon, where Euripides is buried, two rivers merge, one coming from the right and the other from the left of the monument. In antiquity, Arethusa was surrounded by rivers, so it is probable that Vitruvius had this location in mind.³³⁰ By one river, Vitruvius says, the passers-by stop and eat, because of the sweetness of the water (*aquae bonitatem*), but nobody goes close to the other river because it carries death-bringing water (*mortiferam aquam*) (Vitr. *De Arch.* 8.3.16). It is not explicitly said that the character of Euripides influences the character of the two rivers, but this – as Kimmel-Clauzet points – seems to be the implication: the ambiguity about Euripides' character which emerged also in relation to the cave in Salamis seems reflected also in the site of his burial.³³¹

³²⁷ Introductory notes on the epigram are in Gow-Page 1968: 5-7.

³²⁸ Euripides was also said to have gone to Egypt, cf. Lefkowitz 2007.

³²⁹ Hanink 2010a: 53-5 has already inscribed AP 7.44, 7.45, 7.51 and Ath. 15.20.10 within a debate over the ownership of Euripides' legacy which had threads also in the rest of the biographical tradition of the poet. I have stressed how this involved a discussion of the location of Euripides' tomb and even a re-thinking of the meaning of '*mnema*.'

³³⁰ Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 155.

³³¹ Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 105.

The Sicilian shrine

Sicily was a Hellenistic site of Euripidean memory too, for all that it was not a location he visited in life. The site of memory owed its charm to the writing objects of the tragic poets, which had been allegedly transferred there. Hermippus of Smyrna (*FGrHist* 1026F84) says that Dionysius of Sicily (430-367 BC), tyrant of Syracuse, bought Euripides' harp, writing-tablet and stylus (τὸ ψαλτήριον καὶ τὴν δέλτον καὶ τὸ γραφεῖον) from his heirs after the poet died.³³² Upon seeing the tools, he ordered to set them up as a votive gift in the temple of the Muses (κελεῦσαι τοὺς φέροντας ἐν τῷ <τῶν> Μουσῶν ἱερῷ ἀναθεῖναι) and dedicated an inscription in his own and Euripides' name. Because of this, Hermippus says, Euripides was called 'most-loved by strangers' (ξеноφιλότατον), for the poet was mostly loved abroad, whereas he was hated by the Athenians (ὑπὸ γὰρ Ἀθηναίων ἐφθονεῖτο). The love of the Sicilians for Euripides emerges in other biographical anecdotes: for example, there was a story about how some Athenians quoting Euripides in Sicily were set free from slavery because of their knowledge of the poet's work (Satyrus fr. 39 XIX, cf. Plut. *Nic.* 29.542cd).³³³

Hermippus, in the third century BC, visualises the tradition of the Sicilians' love for Euripides at a specific site, the shrine of the Muses, which, thanks to the presence of Euripides' writing instruments, becomes a site of Euripidean memory. It may be noted here that this story finds a correspondence in historical practices: excavations in Daphne, Athens, have revealed a fifth-century BC tomb containing the instruments of a poet (a harp, a lyre, a flute, a stylus and wax-tablets).³³⁴ The identity of the poet buried there remains unknown, but the story recorded by Hermippus for the fifth-century tyrant fits well with contemporary practices of celebrating deceased poets by materially preserving their instruments.

Without, of course, arguing for the historicity of our anecdote, it is relevant here to consider its implications for the creation of Euripides' persona. First of all, as Hermippus underlines, the presence of this site in Sicily reinforces the affinity between Euripides and foreign audiences. This is the only attestation of the superlative

³³² On this, cf. also Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 249-50.

³³³ The positive reception of Euripides in Sicily is indeed confirmed by various types of evidence, from vase-painting to papyri (cf. Taplin 2007: 208-19; Bing 2011: 201).

³³⁴ Platt forthcoming.

ξеноφιλώτατον, an extraordinary word.³³⁵ The location of the site of memory thus materialises a fundamental aspect of Euripides' persona. This anecdote, which concerns the emblematic transfer of the poet's instruments, signifies the shifting of the custody of Euripides' poetic heritage to a new place.³³⁶

Another aspect of the Euripidean site can be identified. In the shrine of the Muses, Euripides' poetic inspiration may be found again. Dionysius writes an inscription in his own name, but also in that of poet: the tyrant arguably sees, according to Hermippus, a connection between himself and Euripides, who is almost a 'new Muse';³³⁷ Euripides' *enthousiasmos* could be recreated thanks to the poet's objects. Various ancient anecdotes depicted the tyrant Dionysius as an (aspiring) enlightened successor of the ancient authors. The mention of Euripides' genealogical heirs not only confirms that the instruments really belonged to Euripides, but it also contributes to the idea that Euripides' legacy is alive: by acquiring the objects, Dionysius almost becomes Euripides' heirs himself.

Empedocles

Sicily, the field of Peisianax, Mt. Etna, and the Peloponnese

In Hellenistic times, the pre-Socratic philosopher and poet Empedocles (490-30 BC), famous in antiquity because of his wanderings, enjoyed great popularity, and so did stories about his life.³³⁸ Hellenistic sources are mentioned by Diogenes Laertius, in his chapter on Empedocles. They focus on the poet's death (8.67-73).³³⁹ I focus on Hellenistic stories which are characterised by particular attention to the landscape and geography of the events recounted.³⁴⁰ Diogenes reports four different versions of

³³⁵ Cf. Hanink 2010a: 57-8. On the term, cf. Bing 2011: 200-1.

³³⁶ Cf. Bing 2011: 199.

³³⁷ Cf. p. 74n113, Hanink 2010a: 47.

³³⁸ On Empedocles and his work cf. Leonard 1907, Osborne 1987. On the poet's persona as a wanderer, cf. Montiglio 2005: 101-5.

³³⁹ The poet's death has fascinated later authors, such as Hölderlin and Arnold (cf. Burwick 1965), but also Mallalieu and Gregory, who both wrote poems on Empedocles' death. On the account of Diogenes Laertius, cf. Chitwood 2004.

³⁴⁰ On the Hellenistic sources of Diogenes cf. Mejer 1978. Other versions of Empedocles' death which I do not consider are attributed to Demetrius of Troezen and Telauges (DL 8.74); on these, cf. Chitwood 1986: 185-7. Empedocles' various deaths, according to Chitwood, are constructions derived from the work of the poet.

Empedocles' death: one by Heracleides Ponticus (and Hermippus of Smyrna), another by Hippobotus, one by Timaeus, and finally one by Neanthes of Cyzicus.³⁴¹ With the exception of Timaeus, all authors locate the death of the poet in Sicily, although they have different sites in mind.³⁴²

Heracleides Ponticus (who lived between the classical and Hellenistic age), in his work *On Apparent Death*, locates the place where the mortal life of Empedocles ended in Sicilian Agrigentum.³⁴³ Heracleides narrates that one day the poet was in the company of friends, among whom was Pausanias (a disciple of Empedocles, to whom the poet's *On Nature* was dedicated, DL 8.2.60-1), near the field of a certain Peisianax (πρὸς τῷ Πεισιάνακτος ἀγρῷ), offering a sacrifice. Heracleides imagines the events and the scene in detail: after feasting, at night, the company splits and everybody goes to sleep. Some of them fall asleep under trees adjacent to the field, others go elsewhere, in places of their choice (οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῖς δένδροις ὡς ἀγροῦ παρακειμένου, οἱ δ' ὅπη βούλονται). Empedocles himself remains where he had been sitting the night before (αὐτὸς δ' ἔμεινεν ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου ἐφ' οὗπερ κατεκέκλιτο). In the morning, everyone gets up except Empedocles, who cannot be found. The others start looking for the poet, but one of them says that, during the night, he heard a loud voice calling the poet's name. When the man got up, he saw a light in the sky and flames of torches, but nothing else (εἶτ' ἐξαναστάς ἐωρακέναι φῶς οὐράνιον καὶ λαμπάδων φέγγος, ἄλλο δὲ μηδέν). Pausanias, after looking for Empedocles once again, orders that sacrifices be made to the poet, since he has become a god.³⁴⁴ Heracleides speaks of a specific field and of some trees nearby; it is possible that the site, linked to the divinisation of Empedocles, was known to Hellenistic tourists and local people.³⁴⁵ Hermippus of Smyrna (third century BC) is quoted by Diogenes as he adds further particulars to the version

³⁴¹ The tradition of Empedocles' death was possibly older (e.g. Currie 2005: 371), but there is no evidence for this.

³⁴² A link (although not biographical) between Sicily and Empedocles also emerges in Lucretius' picture of the island (ll. 717-25) according to McIntosh Snyder 1972. Gale 2001: 170 underlines that Lucretius' passage even mentions Empedocles as the most impressive product of Sicily.

³⁴³ The dialogue *On Apparent Death* had at its centre the awakening of an apparently dead woman by Empedocles and the philosopher's subsequent divine departure (cf. Gottschalk 1980: 13-36).

³⁴⁴ Which is probably inspired by the poet's own words (cf. Empedocles DK 112.1-11).

³⁴⁵ On Empedocles' divinisation cf. DL 70, where the testimony of Diodorus of Ephesus is quoted: Diodorus speaks of yet another site of memory in Selinus.

preserved by Heracleides.³⁴⁶ Hermippus mentions the reason of the sacrifice (Empedocles was curing a woman from Agrigentum) and the exact number of people present. It seems probable that the rest of the anecdote was preserved by Hermippus without significant differences from Heracleides: it seems that Hermippus too knew that Empedocles disappeared in Agrigentum.

Diogenes also quotes Hippobotus, who writes around the end of the third century BC. He locates the death of the poet in Agrigentum as well, where there also is, he says, a statue of the poet with his head veiled. According to him, when Empedocles got up, he went to Mount Etna (ὠδευκένας ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴτνην) and, once there (εἶτα παραγενόμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς κρατῆρας), eager to confirm the rumour that he had become a god, he plunged into the volcano and died. Later on, one of his slippers was found and the truth was known. Hippobotus enriches the topography of Empedocles' disappearance through this addition and detail. From the location of the sacrifice, Empedocles is imagined as he goes to Mount Etna, a more famous location. At the same time, the enrichment of the geography of Empedocles entails a curious enrichment of the poetic persona: as has been noted, 'the story is not without malice, for it suggests that people did doubt his claim to godhood and, simultaneously, punishes him for his *hybris*.'³⁴⁷

A radically different version of Empedocles' death, which Diogenes transmits, is provided by the Hellenistic historian Timaeus, who recounts that the poet died in the Peloponnese and not in Agrigentum.³⁴⁸ Diogenes underlines that Timaeus contradicts the others' stories (τούτοις δ' ἐναντιοῦται Τίμαιος) by stating that Empedocles left Sicily for the Peloponnese once and for all (ὡς ἐξεχώρησεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον καὶ τὸ σύνολον οὐκ ἐπανῆλθεν). Timaeus, as Diogenes states, is specifically juxtaposing what he knows to the anecdote provided by Heracleides, whom he mentions by name. In order to sustain his argument, Timaeus writes that Peisianax was from Syracuse and did not own a field in Agrigentum (Συρακόσιόν τε γὰρ εἶναι τὸν Πεισιάνακτα καὶ ἀγρὸν οὐκ ἔχειν ἐν Ἀκράγαντι). Timaeus also states that if 'the story (i.e. that reported by

³⁴⁶ Hermippus was interested in burials of philosophers and he often told the stories of their deaths. He also knew Diodoros the Periegetes' (fourth-third cent. BC) *On tombs*.

³⁴⁷ Chitwood 1986: 188.

³⁴⁸ On Timaeus cf. Meister 1989/90, Vattuone 1991, Schepens 1994: 249-278, Baron 2013.

Heracleides) had been handed down' (i.e. not invented), Pausanias would have dedicated a *mnema* or a statue to the poet; moreover, the lack of a reference to Etna in Empedocles' poetry would be, according to the historian, a clear sign that Empedocles did not die in Sicily, but in the Peloponnese.

Interestingly, the geography of Empedocles' death dominates Timaeus' account. Timaeus testifies to a debate about the place where Empedocles died, involving Agrigentum and the Peloponnese. The fact that the Sicilian historian knows the field of Peisianax and that he denies its existence by reassessing the origins of the man, shows that historical researches were made in order to debate and establish even the smallest sites of memory of ancient poets. In other words, a general knowledge of the geography and history of the past was linked to and shaped by the poet's' biographies. Peisianax's name would not have been transmitted to us, had not his field been linked to Empedocles. Here, we are informed that Peisianax was from Syracuse: sites of memory may thus have an existence of their own and this potentially opened the way to new interpretations of the poetic personae attached to them. It is possible, for example, to imagine that someone who knew that Peisianax was from Syracuse may have tried to link Empedocles to that city.³⁴⁹

The debate over Empedocles' death presented by Diogenes is further complicated by another version which, once again, enriches the geography of Empedocles. According to Neanthes of Cyzicus,³⁵⁰ Empedocles fell off a carriage while going from Agrigentum to a festival in Messene. He broke his thigh and died because of an illness he developed after the fall; his tomb, as Neanthes adds, was in Megara (εἶναι δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τάφον ἐν Μεγάροις). This last tradition links Empedocles to Agrigentum again, but also to Messene and Megara. The memory of Empedocles is thus present, in ancient times, all across Sicily. The poet allegedly participated, during his life, in the religious activities of the island, and the Sicilians of the Hellenistic age recognise his presence in the landscape.

³⁴⁹ A link between Syracuse and Empedocles did in fact exist, cf. DL 8.52.

³⁵⁰ It is usually thought that there were two Neanthes of Cyzicus, the first living in the fourth-third cent. BC, the second in the second century BC. In both cases, Neanthes' testimony may be considered for our aims.

I have underlined that the sites of Empedoclean memory are overall linked to various anecdotes of Empedocles' biography and to different readings of his persona. The sources tell of a debate specifically about the place and modality of the poet's death. Empedocles is linked to the Peloponnese by the Sicilian historian Timaeus. Perhaps significantly, the poet's move somehow reflects the historians' exile to Athens: Timaeus was banished from Sicily and exiled around 315 BC, for his opposition to tyranny; similarly, as Timaeus himself maintains, Empedocles favoured democracy and was therefore exiled (DL 8.64). Timaeus possibly sees a similarity between his and the poet's life. The view of Empedocles as a democrat and simple man runs counter to the tradition which wanted him to be a wealthy man and a symbol of monarchy – a tradition that was sustained by reference to the poet's own verses: Timaeus argued, as a consequence, that Empedocles held opposite views when in public and writing than he did privately (DL 8.66).³⁵¹

Timaeus reads explicitly against the grain but, otherwise, Empedocles is straightforwardly linked to Sicily and the island hosted various sites linked to his memory. From the field where he allegedly disappears, to Mount Etna where he throws himself, to the road on which he falls off from the carriage, all the sites contribute to shape the image of the dead poet. Just as different biographical accounts can be textually put side by side in the *Vitae* of the poets (oftentimes even contradicting each other), similarly the sites of memory of Empedocles are 'piled up' in Sicily and thus shape a landscape where the poetic persona may be sought.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have collected the principal evidence – literary sources (biography, but also poetry and geographical works), coins, inscriptions, and other archaeological remains – for Hellenistic sites of memory of ancient poets. The following conclusions refer to these sites, but also to the sites examined in the first three chapters.

Sites of memory become an increasingly attractive way of memorialising dead poets in Hellenistic times. It may be now also noted, in this regard, that, although the interest in the sites thrives in this age, it is often the case that the fourth century BC

³⁵¹ On this, cf. Braccisi-De Miro 1988: 104-6.

specifically opens the way for the memorialisation of the poets through the landscape: as it is the case with Archilochus on Paros (and Docimus' inscription), also Sappho's cliffs, the link between Homer and the river Meles, and the story of Metapontum and Aristeas – to name just a few examples – all (re-)emerge in the fourth century.³⁵²

With regard to the sites, they may be divided in three groups: in many cases the sources testify to monumental sites and urban landmarks, such as tombs, but also houses (Pindar, Simonides, Sophocles), and shrines (e.g. the Homereia or the Sicilian shrine of Euripides). Then there are well-localised places shaped by men: roads and fields (in the cases of Archilochus, Aristeas, and Sophocles' tomb). Still a third group associates the poets with natural landscapes characterised by remarkable features: the mountains, groves, and waters of Orpheus, to the cave of Euripides, Homer's Meles, and perhaps most obviously 'the leap' where unhappy lovers may find their end. In the Hellenistic period, people used the sites and the ideas associated with them – often visualising the places in their minds – to relate with the poetic personae of the archaic and classical authors.

This is exactly the primary task of the sites: allowing a relationship with the persona of the poet. The biographical narratives associated with the sites shape specific, though sometimes ambivalent, images of the poets. For example, as has emerged, one recurrent concern of the sites seems to be the religiosity of the dead authors. Leucas' cliffs link Sappho with Apollo and Aphrodite, Sophocles' sites all testify to the privileged relationship of the poet with the gods, Simonides' Thessalian house is the place for the epiphany of the Dioscuri, Mt. Helicon hosts the Muses, as the Archilocheion does (even though Archilochus insults the goddesses) along with other divinities. Many times the sites link their poets specifically to the god Apollo via the Delphic oracle: this may be seen, for example, in the cases of Pindar, Archilochus, and Aristeas in Metapontum (who all, in various ways, obtain recognition from Delphi), but also for Homer's and Hesiod's (deaths and) tombs.

³⁵² Arguably on the wake of the attention that Aristotle and the Peripatos displayed for the personalities of ancient authors (cf. Montanari's Introduction to Martano-Matelly-Mirhady 2012). Said attention is a certain fact, regardless of where one may wish to trace the line between Aristotelian philosophy and the Hellenistic biographical genre (on which debate cf. Fortenbaugh 2007 with further bibliography).

These are just some of the notations which one may make on the basis of the traditions examined in this chapter, but much remains to be explored. By collecting the evidence about the most important Hellenistic sites of poetic memory, I hope to open the way to further and more systematic considerations about the geographical distribution of the sites and their impact on Hellenistic geography; the consideration of specific sites in later times and/or from a diachronic perspective; the study of the relevance of the sites for the reception and transmission of the poet's work; the sites' influence on the dialogue between local and supralocal reception of ancient authors.

5. Conclusion

In this dissertation, I have argued for the existence of a wide-spread Hellenistic habit of linking the memory of archaic and classical Greek poets to specific places.

I started, in the first and second chapters, with the ideal and real creator of the Hellenistic world, Alexander the Great. The first chapter focused on a specific story that linked Alexander to the house of Pindar in Thebes. It is possible that interest in the house predated Alexander, as I suggested on the basis of a scholium regularly overlooked by Alexander historians. Whether that part of my argument is accepted or not, the point of my first chapter is to show that the anecdote articulates an important mode of engagement with the poetry of the past – a mode that characterises the Hellenistic age more generally. Much has been made of the creation of a history of literature in this period.¹ What I hope to have done is show that historical consciousness in relation to literature went together with a desire to shape literary geographies. Such geographies involved preserving and honouring ancient sites of memory – as in the case of Pindar’s house – but also creating new ones – as in the case of my second case study, which concerns the memorialisation of Homer in the new city of Alexandria.

The third and the fourth chapters are also conceived as a pair: the first focuses on the best-preserved Hellenistic site dedicated to the memory of a poet: the Archilocheion on Paros. The fourth chapter, by contrast, involves a tour of our main evidence for sites related to archaic and classical poets in the Hellenistic age. Together, the in-depth case study and the panoramic overview seek to establish the importance of literary geographies and elucidate the means through which they were established.

In the Introduction I anticipated some points, made in relation to Pierre Nora’s findings, which – I posited – apply to Hellenistic sites. It is time to return to them in full knowledge of the ancient evidence discussed in the intervening chapters.

(1) Hellenistic sites of memory of ancient poets create collective, social identities. First of all, the map of the sites offered on p. 15 instantly shows how pervasive they are. Thinking of ancient poets, in the Hellenistic period, involved

¹ Cf. e.g. Pfeiffer 1968, Bing 1988a, Stephens 2003, Gyburg Radke 2007.

thinking of the places where they lived and died. In this sense, sites of memory are a shared mark of Hellenistic identity, a way to claim one's belonging to a broad community invested in Hellenic literature. At a more local level, the sites considered in the thesis have revealed that various communities took an interest in – and were therefore defined by – the places of the poets. Professional authors and performers, but also kings, civic and regional officials, geographers and historians, biographers and scholars – and, of course, common visitors and readers – were involved. When personal identities are defined through engagement with a poet at a particular site (e.g. in the case of Mnesiepes or, indeed, Alexander the Great), this still happens in front of an audience. The sites thus unite different realities of the Hellenistic cultural world; they are a means of forging a common identity.

(2) As the sites bring together so many different people, it is inevitable that they often are places where differences are played out. This has emerged, for example, in the case of Archilochus' memorialisation on Paros. The Parians carefully think about their approach to the poet who insulted them and subsequently advance a nuanced understanding of Archilochus and his poetry (perhaps reshaping an already existing local memorialisation), which contrasts with the Panhellenic reception of the poet. The sites of Euripidean memory are also sites of conflict: the cave of the poet presents an ambiguous image of the poet, and so does the sacred grove where he allegedly died. Pindar's house and the people associated with it may be defined and redefined according to specific needs. As sites create feelings of belonging, they also naturally create sentiments of antagonism and exclusion – the Homeric Alexandria, for example, is set up in opposition to a more Egyptian understanding of the city. Ultimately, the survival and success of sites of memory also depends upon their ability to foster lively debate about the poets and hence their own meaning and significance.

(3) Thinking about the poets of the past through sites dedicated to their memory, as has finally emerged, influences Hellenistic culture. Issues of identity, for example, feature large (e.g. as happens for Callimachus, but also of course for the Parians, the Boeotians, and the citizens of Alexandria, to name just some few examples discussed in this thesis). Matters of literary criticism, poetics, and literary history shape cultural geography, but the influence also works from places to poets and poems, as demonstrated in this thesis through my discussion of literary spaces of inspiration such

as Helicon or Lesbos, the creation of a Homeric network, and more generally the biographical topology of the dead poets, found in the biographers' *Lives* and in geographical treatises alike. The influence of places on literary productions and activities (such as the exhibition of Euripides' writing implements in Sicily, impromptu performances at the tomb of Aeschylus, and the discussion of Homer's small tomb as a means of defining Hellenistic poetics) is also important. The cult of dead poets went together with other acts of religious devotion: the connections here would repay further study, as they have the potential to illuminate the ancient relationship between literature, religion, and landscape – a connection which is, from a modern perspective, easily out of focus.

Still, it is time to conclude this thesis, in full awareness that more could be said about Hellenistic sites devoted to the memory of ancient poets and, importantly, about their reception in later periods, from imperial Rome through to late antiquity and, indeed, modernity. What I hope to have done here is laid down the groundwork for further study, presented three important case studies, collected the main sources for other sites, offered an interpretation of their significance. In sum, I hope to have put the sites dedicated to the memory of ancient poets on the map.

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