Early Greek Poets’ Lives
Mnemosyne

Supplements

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ABBREVIATIONS

BMCR  Bryn Mawr Classical Review: http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/.
CGF   Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta, ed. G. Kaibel. Berlin, 1899
CIG   Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum, ed. A. Boeckh. Berlin, 1828–1877
GL    Grammatici Latini ex recensione Henrici Keilii. Leipzig, 1857–1880
IG    Inscriptiones Graecae, Berlin, 1873–
L     the catalogue of legendary responses to oracles in Fontenrose, J.E. The Delphic oracle, its responses and operations, with a catalogue of responses. Berkeley, 1978
LSJ   A Greek–English Lexicon. Compiled by Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, revised and augmented throughout by Sir Henry Stuart Jones with the assistance of Roderick McKenzie and with the cooperation of many scholars. With a revised supplement. Oxford, 1996
MSG   Musici scriptores Graeci. Recognovit, prooemiis et indice instruxit Carolus Janus; Supplementum Melodiarum reliquiae. Leipzig, 1899
XII ABBREVIATIONS

Q the catalogue of quasi-historical responses to oracles in Fontenrose, J.E. The Delphic oracle, its responses and operations, with a catalogue of responses. Berkeley, 1978
SOL Suda On Line: Byzantine Lexicography, in http://www.stoa.org/sol/
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This book examines the formation and development of the biographical traditions about archaic Greek poets. It seeks to clarify:

1. who were the creators of the particular traditions;
2. what were the sources of the traditions;
3. when the traditions were formed;
4. to what extent the traditions are shaped by formulaic themes and story-patterns.

Secondly, this study compares the traditions about poets with those about other famous people, such as seers, sages, tyrants and heroes, in order to identify the similarities and differences in conventions according to which the different traditions are formed. It challenges several mainstream assumptions on the subject, for example, that the traditions were formed mainly in the Post-Classical period; that the only significant source for the legends about the poets is the works of the particular poet and the traditions are therefore historically entirely or substantially unreliable; and that the poets were perceived as “new heroes.”

The prevalent view is that the development of ancient biography was brought about by the rise of Greek antiquarianism and historiography, and reached its full form as a continuous account of the character and actions of an individual (the βιος) in the Hellenistic and Roman era, where we find the works of Chamaeleon, Phaenias, Neanthes, short sketches of ancient authors to introduce the Alexandrian editions, the Lives by Plutarch, Diogenes Laertius, and others. The earlier biographical writings which concentrated on one or another aspect of the author’s life rather than giving a learned continuous account are regarded as the predecessors of the Hellenistic βιος. The beginnings of that kind of “pre-biographies” have been traced back to the early Peripatetics (Leo), the Socratic circle (Dihle), the late-fifth century authors such as Xenophon

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and Isocrates (Stuart), and Herodotus (Homeyer).\(^2\) In addition there are numerous short “biographical statements” such as eulogies, funeral orations, genealogies, references in comedies, collections of maxims, legends and anecdotes in the works of the authors of the Classical period and onwards. These statements are believed to have been created to serve various functions such as reinforcing a point an author was making, as a means of claiming superiority over an authority, to represent a poet as a heroic figure and promote his authority, or simply to entertain the audience and satisfy its curiosity by telling a fascinating story about a famous person.\(^3\) The biographical material, scattered in the works of ancient authors, is often cast into a traditional form, using conventional ancient \textit{topoi} and stereotypical patterns which are freely transferable from one person's tradition to another.\(^4\)

The question which has interested students of ancient biography the most, is the relationship between historical truth and pure fiction in biographies. For a long time the readers of the \textit{Lives} regarded them as true historical accounts about a person’s life. Even the more miraculous stories, such as Arion’s escape with the help of dolphins, for example, were given credibility in the belief that even the implausible accounts may contain a grain of truth wrapped in allegory.\(^5\) At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of twentieth century, however, a number of more sceptical treatises on structure and development of Graeco-Roman biography were published and the readers were warned not to take any information in the \textit{Lives} at face value. The authors of the treatises maintained that the biographies of poets were compiled centuries after their death using old anecdotes, legends, and fictional accounts created on the basis of often misunderstood hints in the authors’ works, and

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\(^2\) Leo 1901:85ff. (although Momigliano agrees with Leo,—for other reasons,—that Peripatetic Aristoxenus was the first direct predecessor of Alexandrian biography, he believes him to be the only member of the early Peripatos to be concerned with biographical writing, see 1971:73–76), Dihle 1956:13–34, Momigliano 1971:46ff., Stuart 1928:31–32, Homeyer 1962:81 and \textit{passim}. About Aristotle and biography see Huxley 1974.

\(^3\) About the sources of biography see Fairweather 1974, Momigliano 1971:23–33, Dihle 1956:10. About the reasons to invent stories about the poets and other famous people, see West 1967:442ff., Graziosi 2002:40, 59, 147–150, 195, and Lefkowitz 1978 and 1981:ix and \textit{passim}.


therefore the biographies are fictions with hardly any reliable material rather than historical documents.6

Consequently, the legends about the poets and details in their Lives were treated much more critically and scholars turned instead to the poems, which were regarded as more or less autobiographical, as the primary source for information. This approach was supported by the then current chronological doctrine of the development of ancient literature, according to which the non-personal genre of epic poetry was followed in the era of “awakening personality” (approximately in the seventh century BC) by personal lyric poetry created by individuals who opposed themselves to old customs and forms of poetry.7 A lyric poet was seen as “no longer the vessel of the Muses, the recorder of other men’s deeds and thoughts, / / , [h]e is now participant, and, to a greater or lesser degree, speaks for himself.”8 Since the Lives of the poets are to a great extent built around the works of a poet, and as the poems were believed to contain autobiographical statements, biographies too were generally believed—despite the warnings of Lehrs, Leo and others—to contain a quantity of reliable information about the poets.9

Only in the middle of the twentieth century a new approach emerged, and scholars gradually began to admit that total veracity might not to be expected from archaic Greek poetry. K.J. Dover expressed his scepticism about a cultural evolution of individual self-awareness as a necessary and sufficient explanation of the difference between the epic and lyric genres, and claimed that this difference can be accounted for in terms of literary genre: on the one hand a highly specialized, conventional epic song, on the other hand personal lyric poetry, both of which may have coexisted throughout the entire prehistory of Greek literature. According to

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7 Snell 1953:42 (“Among the Greeks / / the genres flourished in chronological succession. When the strains of the epic subsided, the lyric took its place, and when the lyric was about to expire, drama came into its own.”) See also Jaeger 1954:115, Burckhardt 1900:iii.164 ff., Bowra 1960:48, Fränkel 1975:133.

8 Kirkwood 1974:20–21. Also Snell (op. cit.:43): “Perhaps the most striking difference between the two genres (i.e. epic and lyric poetry—MK) / / is the emergence of the poets as individuals. / / [The lyrists] speak about themselves and become recognizable as personalities.”

9 See, for example, the entries on archaic poets in RE, Schmid-Stählin 1929 passim, Jaeger 1954:115–135, Campbell 1967 passim, and overviews of the modern opinions on particular poets in the chapters below. There are still those who prefer to follow this idea, e.g. Schmidt 2005 passim.
this approach, the “I” of Greek lyric cannot always be taken to be the autobiographical poet: the song may express feelings which are not necessarily those of the composer/performer, but may belong, for example, to a conventional stock-character or entirely fictional poetic figure. The subject matter of the songs, composed in small societies, would still be intelligible for the audience even when there are not enough explicit signals in the text: the community in which the poet composed a song knew its context. The situation would change only with the spread of literacy when the poetry is read also by people who do not know the background of the poet and his songs and may regard the “I” in the poems as autobiographical and, consequently, would use the poet’s first person statements as testimonies of his life. In the light of this view, the biography which was mainly formed around the “unreliably personal” poetry cannot be trusted in every detail as historical document. This approach has been taken to its extreme by Mary Lefkowitz who claims that the biographical “data” we have about archaic poets was generated almost entirely from their (non-autobiographical) verses and the accounts of their life were invented a long time after their lifetime, in order to create, owing to the expectations of the audiences, an image of a poet as a “new hero” who is remote from ordinary men, acknowledged in some way by divinities, and serving the commonwealth with their words. Lefkowitz’s radical approach on the complete lack of historically true information within the biographies has not been wholly accepted and the current general view is that the biographies, built on poets’ own verses and several additional sources, are a mixture of fact and fiction and should be read with a critical mind and balanced judgement.

As is mentioned above, many of the “biographical statements” scattered in the sources are very old. Some of them, such as the criticism of Archilochus, Hesiod and Homer, the account of the latter’s Chian origin and the anecdote of his defeat in solving the riddle of lice come from late-sixth century sources; the accounts of Sappho’s brother’s love

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affair in Egypt, Terpander’s inventions, Hesiod’s long life and his death, Archilochus’ date, etc. are known from the works of early-fifth century authors. This period is about the earliest time we can expect any literary account to have been written down by a Greek author.

It is hard to believe that the pre-Classical Greek audiences were not interested in the life and deeds of the famous figures of the past, including old poets, and that the accounts of their lives were invented only starting from the fifth century and later, centuries after the poets’ death. I suggest that the biographical statements and anecdotes about early poets in the Classical authors’ works are the remnants of large and well-developed ancient biographical tradition which began to form simultaneously with the performance of the poetry soon after the poet’s death or even in their lifetime. Some details were recorded in local documents such as inscriptions and lists of winners at poetic contests, for example, but mainly the tradition was developed and passed on orally. Fragments of it became eventually written down in authors’ works in different contexts and according to different purposes, including those mentioned above. The biographical traditions were continuously developed further, were embellished and scrutinized by later authors and came to form the basis for the Hellenistic literary Lives.

To try the assumption of the generic development of biographical tradition, I present a detailed study of the traditions of six early Greek poets, Hesiod, Stesichorus, Archilochus, Hipponax, Terpander and Sappho. I have chosen poets of the Archaic period whose (possibly) early biographical traditions had time to develop according to traditional conventions in an oral environment. In the case of each poet I shall try to establish

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14 I use the term “biographical tradition” as denoting the sum of scattered pieces of information about the poets’ lives in all extant sources. This includes anecdotes, legends, chronographical material and references in the works of ancient authors. The “biography” (Life, βιογραφία, Vita) marks the continuous literary account of an individual, a genre developed in the Hellenistic period.

15 I have not included a detailed study of Homer’s biographical tradition in this book since his exceptionally rich biographical tradition would not leave any room for other poets. I have, however, given an outline of the development of his tradition elsewhere, see my The early biographical tradition of Homer (2010). There is also a good overview of the
the chronological development and the sources of the tradition, as well as the shapers of it and the conventions according to which the tradition was formed. My primary aim is not to determine the historical veracity of the details in the traditions, although clarifying the process of development of biographical traditions may help to estimate their reliability as a source for historically true information about the poets.

accounts of Homer’s early biographical tradition in Barbara Graziosi’s Inventing Homer (2002). She concentrates mainly on one strand in Homer’s biographical tradition i.e. the development of “universal” and authoritative Homer as the author of only the Iliad and Odyssey. See also the reviews by Kahane 2004:20–22, Halliwell 2003:102 f., Ford 2003:10.
CHAPTER TWO

HESIOD

1. The tradition

The various accounts about Hesiod provide the following summary of his life. Hesiod of Ascra was the son of a Cyme man called Dios, who had been forced to leave his home town either as a result of poverty, or because he had killed a man. Hesiod’s family was of an important origin, and their genealogies include Poseidon and Apollo, Atlas, Calliope, a Cyme oikistes Chariphemus, and poets-musicians Orpheus, Linus, Melanopus and Homer. Hesiod was initiated into poetry by the Heliconian Muses. He composed the Works and Days as an admonition and guide to a righteous life for his brother Perses with whom he had a quarrel over their father’s inheritance. Tradition says that Homer and Hesiod were cousins and opponents at a song contest which Hesiod won. He was awarded a tripod which he dedicated in gratitude to the Muses of Helicon. He is reported to have taken part in other song contests as well, such as the contest in hymns for Apollo in Delos. In Delphi Hesiod received an oracle predicting his death in the grove of Nemean Zeus. Avoiding therefore Nemea in the Peloponnese, to which he supposed the oracle to refer, he went to Oenoe in West Locris which, unknown to him, was also sacred to Nemean Zeus. Soon afterwards the poet, suspected by his hosts of having seduced their sister, was murdered and his body was cast into the sea. When it was brought back to the shore by dolphins, the murderers were punished and Hesiod was buried in the grove of the temple of Zeus. After many years had passed when plague broke out in Orchomenus, the Orchomenians, following the advice of the Pythia, brought his remains to their city as a remedy to overcome the disease. According to tradition, Hesiod and the seduced girl had a son, the poet Stesichorus.
2. Origin and family of Hesiod

Hesiod says in the *Works and Days* that his father had moved to Ascra from Cyme (lines 630–640). He also says that he himself had never sailed the sea before he went to take part in a song contest at Chalcis on Euboea (650–657). On the basis of these lines, some authors drew a conclusion that Hesiod was born after his parents had settled in Ascra.\(^1\) Others believed that he was born in Cyme, and his parents took him to Ascra when he was still a small child.\(^2\) However, the birthplace of Hesiod seems not to have been an object of discussion of any considerable importance for ancient authors.

The belief that Hesiod’s father’s name was Dios is probably based on the *Works*, in which the poet refers to his brother as “Πέρση, δίον γένος ...” (line 299). Although this is not a grammatically correct patronymic, Hellanicus, Damastes, Pherecydes, Ephorus, the compiler of the *Certas-men* and the Suda did not hesitate to include Dios in their genealogies of the poet.\(^3\) Other sources which mention Dios as Hesiod’s father are an inscription found on a stele at the site of the temple of the Muses in Thespiae, a papyrus from the third or fourth century, and the *Vita Hesiodi*.\(^4\)

Since there is no other name for Hesiod’s father known in the tradition, it seems that Dios was generally accepted in antiquity. Ephorus claimed, as mentioned already above, that Hesiod’s father did not leave his home town Cyme because of poverty as it stands in *Op. 635–638*, but because

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\(^1\) Eph. 70 F 1, 100, see also Hermesianax 7.21 Powell, and *Vita Hesiodi* 1.

\(^2\) *Vita Hesiodi* is a treatise in two extant versions. The shorter version is ascribed to Proclus who, relying heavily on earlier scholarship, compiled the scholia on Hesiod’s *Opera*. The other, longer but in its contents very similar to Proclus’ treatise, is by Tzetzes. See Gaisford 1823:3–22, Westermann 1964\(^2\):viii, Allen 1912:220, Rzach in RE s.v. *Hesiodos*, Wilamowitz 1929:47. Both versions are published by Thomas Gaisford in his edition of Hesiod (1823:3–22). In this work I have followed, if not stated otherwise, the numbering of Westermann’s edition of the *Vita Hesiodi* (1964\(^2\)) as probably the most accessible unabridged text.

\(^3\) Suda s.v. Ἡσίοδος. There are names such as Chariphemus and Melanopus in different genealogies of Hesiod which are connected with Cyme,—see below, p. 12.

\(^4\) Hell. 4 F 5b, Dam. 5 F 11, Pheruc. 3 F 167 (ap. Procl. *Chrest.* p. 99 f. Allen); Eph. 70 F 1, Cert. 4, Suda s.v. Ἡσίοδος. West believes that δίον γένος is a formulaic expression, and, not being a grammatically correct form, it could not have denoted the name of the father (1978:323.) It seems, however, that the Greeks (Hellanicus and others) were not too concerned about this lapse of grammar.

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\(^{35527}T*recto* 15, *Vita Hesiodi* 1.
he had killed a kinsman. Ephorus may have gained this piece of information from a local Cyme history, or perhaps derived it from Op. 637, where Hesiod uses the word σφήγων (… κακὴν πενίην) in the description of his father’s decision to move from Cyme to Ascra. The detail of blood-guilt is a frequent motif in biographical traditions as we shall see later.

The poet says nothing about his mother. Afterwards it was exclusively thought that her name was Pycimede, and in one source she is the daughter of Apollo. According to Ephorus who is the first known author to mention her, Hesiod’s father married Pycimede only after he had moved to Ascra, and therefore she must have been an Ascraean; in the Vita Hesiodi she is a Cyme. This is all we know about Hesiod’s mother. We do not know from where the ancient commentators drew the information about her. However, Pycimede (“cautious-minded,” “shrewd,” “wise”) is certainly an appropriate name for the mother of a famous didactic poet.

The extant ancient explanations of Hesiod’s own name are scarce and late. Proclus claims “Hesiod” to be derived from ἡσις (= ἡ εὐφροσύνη) and εἴδω (< λέγω), obtaining therefore something like “He who speaks delightful things” or “He who speaks delightfully” as the meaning of the name. The Etymologicum Magnum provides a derivation from ἡσιω (< ἦμι) and ὁδὸς which suggests a meaning “I will set a road/way” implying perhaps Hesiod’s important position as a poet and teacher; or “I will set to a road” or simply “The one who travels.” Another entry in the Etymologicum Magnum, shared by the Etymologicum Gudianum, explains “Hesiod” as an Aeolic name with a meaning “He who walks on an auspicious road” (ὤ τὴν άισίαν ὀδὸν προευώμενος), or “He who walks

5 Eph. 70 F 100, see also 70 F 1. West proposes that the tradition that Hesiod’s father was a Cyme and had to leave his home town may be linked to another tradition, according to which Homer laid a curse on the Cymeans that no poet of importance should be born in the city. See [Hdt.] Vita Hom. 15, West 2003:371 n. 21.

With the exception of the Certamen, the biographies of Homer, edited by West (2003a), Allen (1912), Wilamowitz (1916) and Westermann (1845), are referred to according to Allen’s edition in this work. In the case of the Certamen, West’s enumeration by chapters is used (if not stated otherwise). About the editions of the Certamen, see p. 19 n. 48.

6 If Ephorus’ statement has any true historical background, it would explain why Hesiod’s father left the comparatively rich coast of Asia Minor and came to “miserable Ascra” as poet describes it. Ascra, by the way, may not have been such a miserable place at all—see Snodgrass 1985:93.

7 Eph. 70 F 1, Cert. 4, POxy 3537 recto 15, Vita Hesiodi 1, Suda s.v. Ἡσιόδος.

8 Procl. schol. Hes. Op. 1. The name is spelt also as aeolic Αἰσίοδος (Herodian. ii.1.521.7 (362.26) Lentz) and Εἰσιόδος (IG 7.1785).

chapter two

auspiciously” (ἂτι οἰοίως ἐβόδιοι). However, the discussion about the etymology of Hesiod’s name seems to have started late. In the archaic and classical periods the name “Hesiod” seems to have been treated as a proper name with no particularly significant meaning. This view is shared also by most modern commentators.

In the Works and Days the poet describes his brother Perses as an idle man and a spendthrift. He is reported to have swindled Hesiod out of the larger share of their father’s inheritance by bribing the corrupt lords of Thespiae, but after a while he had wasted his patrimony and ultimately came to want. When he came to his brother for help, Hesiod, instead of giving him money, tried to teach him how to live righteously and diligently instead of intriguing against other people, and composed the Works which contains his teachings and is dedicated to Perses. Most ancient sources regard Perses as a real person, a historical Listener to the admonitions of Hesiod. Modern commentators point out that the character and behaviour of Perses vary according to the rhetorical point Hesiod is making and, whether Perses ever existed or not, in the Works he functions as a conventional device used by the poet to strengthen his arguments. In any case, the veracity of the tradition about the existence and the nature of Perses was not an issue of debate in ancient times, at least not on a large scale.

In Op. 271 Hesiod mentions a son but it is ambiguous whether he is simply uttering a rhetorical wish or is really speaking of his own son. However, the existence of this reference may well be the basis of, or at least a significant support for the development of the tradition about Hes-

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11 For example West 1966:161 and 87, Evelyn-White 1995:xiv. Modern attempts to explain the name have led to the forms “He who takes pleasure in the journey” (ἥεσι- < ἱδομαί + ὁδός) and “He who sends forth song” (ἥεσι- < ἱήμι + ὁδός), see Hoffmann 1893:420–421, Solmsen 1901:81, Schulze 1892:17 n. 3, 507, Frisk s.v. Hesiodos, Most 2006:xiv–xv.
iod's son. His name was thought to have been either Mnaseas, Archiepes, Stesichorus, or Terpander. The latter two names have probably entered Hesiod's tradition out of a simple wish to link the great poets together. The account of Stesichorus' origin is closely connected with the story of Hesiod's death. Both poets are also connected with Locris: Hesiod was said to have died in Ozoleon Locris, Stesichorus was linked to the Epizephyrean Locrians. It is very likely that the Locrians helped to develop and transmit the legend of Steschorus being the son of Hesiod. The name of the woman by whom Stesichorus was born to Hesiod was, according to different versions of tradition either Clymene, Ctemene or Ctimene, or Archiepe.

Although Hesiod gives advice about what kind of woman is the best to marry, he does not give any hint about his own wife. Nor was there any established tradition in antiquity about her. The only source about her is an elegy by Hermesianax, in which is said that the poet moved to Ascra and wooed a girl called Ehoie for his bride,—a name which is obviously derived from the parallel title of the Catalogue of Women, a poem ascribed to Hesiod by many ancient authors.

The Suda is the only source to provide us with information about Hesiod's male lover (ὁ ἐρώμενος): he was supposedly called Batrachus (“Frog”). Batrachus must have been believed to have died young since Hesiod was said to have composed a dirge for him.

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16 Terpander: Suda s.v. Τέρπανδρος, for more see p. 136. Mnaseas and Stesichorus: Procl. on Hes. Op. 271a Pertusi (= Philoch. 328 F 213 Jacoby): ἰστεόν δὲ ὅτι νῦς Ἡσιόδου Μνασέας ἔστιν Φιλόχορος δὲ Στησιχορόν φησι τὸν ἀπὸ Κλιμένης ἄλλοι δὲ Ἀρχίεπιν (Ἀρχιεπίς—Jac.); schol. on Hes. Op. 271b Pertusi: νῦς δὲ αὐτοῦ Μνασέας ἡ Ἀρχίεπις Φιλόχορος δὲ Στησιχορόν; schol. Tz. ad loc.: τις παῖς Ἡσιόδου ποῦδα οἱ μὲν Μνασέα, οἱ δὲ Ἀρχίεπιν, ἔτεροι δὲ Στησιχορόν τὸν μελοθὸν ἔζεδεξαντο, see also Arist. 565 R., Vita Hesiodi 3, Suda s.v. Στησιχόρος. There was also a tradition that Stesichorus was the son of Hesiod's daughter, see Cicero who does not agree with this opinion on chronographical grounds (De rep. 2.20).

17 Pindar in Vita Hesiodi 4 and the Suda s.v. τὸ Ἡσίόδου γῆρας, Thuc. 3.96.1, also Arist. fr. 565 R.

18 About the story of Hesiod's death, see p. 25; about Stesichorus' connections with the Locrians, p. 66.


20 Op. 695–705, see also 373–375.

21 Suda s.v. Ἡσίοδος.
3. Genealogies of Hesiod

The first extant genealogy of Hesiod is from the beginning of the Classical period, and reflects the opinions of the chronographers Hellanicus, Damastes and Pherecydes.\(^2\) The genealogy is the following:

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Orpheus
  └─ Dorion
       └─ Eucles
             └─ Idmonides
                  └─ Philoterpes
                               └─ Chariphemus
                                         └─ Epiphraides
                                                └─ Melanopus
                                                             └─ Apellis
                                                                 └─ Dios
                                                                      └─ Maion
                                                                                      └─ Hesiod
                                                                                          └─ Homer
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This genealogy has a strong Cymeans flavour. Melanopus was a Cymeans poet whom Pausanias placed between a mythical poet Olen of Lycia and the magician Aristeas of Proconnesus.\(^2\) According to [Herodotus] Melanopus was a Magnesian man, son of Ithagenes the son of Crethon, who came to Cyme when the town was being founded. He then married the daughter of Omyres and had a daughter Cretheis, the future mother of Homer.\(^2\) Apellis/Apelles, Maion and Dios were, according to tradition the brothers of Cymeans origin, and Chariphemus was believed to have

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\(^2\) Hell. 4 F 5b, Dam. 5 F 11, Pherec. 3 F 167, in Procl. Chrest. p. 99f. Allen. Hellanicus is reported to have repeated the information that Hesiod was a descendant of Orpheus also in his Phoronis (4 F 5a, ap. Procl. schol. Hes. Op. 631, p. 361 Gaisf.).

\(^2\) Paus. 5.7.8, see also Suda s.v. Ἀριστέας and Ὀλίν., and DGRBM s.v. Melanopus.

\(^2\) [Hdt.] Vita Hom. 1 (see p. 15 n. 34).
been the founder of the city.\textsuperscript{25} Hesiod’s Cyme origin is supported by Ephorus who himself was a Cyme: from his works we have the following short genealogy in which Hesiod’s parents are Dios and Pycimede, and Homer, the illegitimate son of Maion, is his cousin:\textsuperscript{26}

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
  \node (X) at (0,0) {X};
  \node (Apelles) at (-1,-1) {Apelles};
  \node (Maion) at (1,-1) {Maion};
  \node (Dios) at (0,-2) {Dios = Pycimede};
  \node (Hesiod) at (0,-3) {Hesiod};
  \node (Phemius) at (-1,-3) {Phemius = Crithes};
  \node (Homer) at (1,-3) {Homer};
  \draw (X) -- (Apelles);
  \draw (X) -- (Maion);
  \draw (Apelles) -- (Dios);
  \draw (Maion) -- (Dios);
  \draw (Maion) -- (Homer);
  \draw (Apelles) -- (Phemius);
  \draw (Phemius) -- (Homer);
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

It has been argued that the link Hesiod—Homer—Cyme was actually created by Ephorus in his desire to promote his home town\textsuperscript{27} but as we have seen, this connection, based on Hesiod’s own poetry, was firmly established already in the works of early fifth century chronographers such as Hellanicus. The obvious Cyme background of the genealogy suits equally both Homer and Hesiod. It may refer to the possibility that the family tree was originally compiled for Homer, whose biographical tradition is centred in Asia Minor and strongly connected to Cyme.\textsuperscript{28} The link between Hesiod’s genealogy and Cyme is probably derived through the reference to the Cyme origin of the poet’s father in the \textit{Works}.

According to Gellius, Ephorus said that Homer was younger than Hesiod.\textsuperscript{29} On the other hand, Syncellus maintained that Ephorus believed the poets to be cousins and contemporaries.\textsuperscript{30} It is probable that both authors received their information from the genealogy above, in which Homer is actually Hesiod’s younger contemporary.

\textit{Certamen} (ch. 4) provides us with the following lineage:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{25} Eph. 70 F 1, 99, \textit{Vita Romana} 2.
  \item \textsuperscript{26} Eph. 70 F 1, 101a.
  \item \textsuperscript{27} Göttling 1843:xii.
  \item \textsuperscript{28} In addition to Eph. 70 F 1 also [Hdt.] \textit{Vita Hom.} 1–2, Suda s.v. "Ομηρος 2, Hippias (6 F 13) in \textit{Vita Romana} 2, “the historians” in \textit{Vita Hom.} 5.1. The longest account of Homer and Cyme (in [Hdt.] \textit{Vita Homer} 12–14) however follows a different tradition which does not know that Homer was a descendant of the Cymeans.
  \item \textsuperscript{29} Eph. 70 F 101a ap. Gell. \textit{NA} 3.11.2.
  \item \textsuperscript{30} Eph. 70 F 101b ap. Sync. p. 326 Bonn.
\end{itemize}
Poseidon

Apollo = Thoosa

Linus

Pierus Methone

Oeagrus = Calliope

Orpheus

Ortes

Harmonides

Philoterpes

Euphemus

Epiphraudes

Melanopus

Pycimede = Dios

Apellaius

Hesiod Perses Maion

X (daughter) = river Meles

Homer

31 πέρσου cod. (as in Westermann and Allen); Ἀπελλαῖον Sittl., followed by Evelyn-White and West, Ἀπέλλοῦ Nietzsche, followed by Wilamowitz.
According to the Suda, both Homer and Hesiod were remote descendants of Atlas, and great-grandsons of Melanopus.\textsuperscript{32}

\textbf{Diagram:}

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
  \node {Atlas} [grow'=right] child {node {Melanopus} [grow'=left] child {node {Apellis} [grow'=right] child {node {Pycimede = Dios} [grow'=left] child {node {Hesiod}} child {node {Homer}}}}};
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

\textit{Vita Hesiodi} gives the parents of Hesiod, his son, and the family of his son’s mother.\textsuperscript{33}

\textbf{Diagram:}

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
  \node {Pycimede = Dios} [grow'=right] child {node {Perses} [grow'=left] child {node {Ganyctor} child {node {Amphiphanus}} child {node {Ctemene = Hesiod}}}} [grow'=left] child {node {Phegeus} [grow'=right] child {node {Stesichorus}}};
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

Finally, Charax provides a genealogy of Homer which has been obviously drawn from the same source as Hesiod’s genealogies.\textsuperscript{34}

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
  \node {Crethon} [grow'=left] child {node {Ithagenes} [grow'=right] child {node {Melanopus = (a daughter) [grow'=left] child {node {Phemius = Cretheis} [grow'=right] child {node {Melesigenes/Homer}}}}};
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{32} Suda s.v. Ἰοίδος.
\textsuperscript{33} \textit{Vita Hesiodi} 3, 4.
\textsuperscript{34} Charax in the Suda s.v. Ὁμηρος. There is another genealogy of Homer in [Hdt.] \textit{Vita Hom.} 1:
As is seen, Hesiod’s genealogies contain deities such as Olympic gods Poseidon and Apollo, a Titan Atlas, and the nymphs Calliope and Methione. He is also linked with musicians and poets such as Orpheus, Linus, Melanopus and, of course, with Homer.\(^{35}\) The derivation of Hesiod’s origin from deities and famous poets probably comes from the wish to give him an authoritative origin, and also from the quite common formulaic attempt to link important poets to each other by genealogies and chronology in tradition.\(^{36}\) On the other hand, Orpheus at the head of

\(^{35}\) Cf. the tradition that Hesiod was the father of Terpander (p. 136).

\(^{36}\) For example, Homer was also said to be the offspring of Musaeus in the 10th
the lineage points to the possibility that the tradition of Hesiod may have been formed and/or transmitted by people who were interested in legends about Orpheus, i.e. by the Orphic poets and the Pythagoreans.37

The lineage of Hesiod (and Homer) was clearly well established by the first part of the fifth century, when Hellanicus gave a detailed overview of the origin of both poets. Hellanicus must have used Cymean local history while compiling the genealogy. In addition he might have used some work(s) of the sixth century Orphic poet(s) as a source. All the later genealogies have relied on the one by Hellanicus or his source.

4. Hesiod's life

The picture of Hesiod's life-style which emerges from tradition, is firmly based on his own poetry. In the Works and Days and Theogony he describes himself as a righteous and industrious man of humble origin, who does not approve the unjust ways of princes. He is a hardworking man, a shepherd and perhaps a farmer who despite his temporary poverty, caused by the unhappy quarrel with his brother, became well-off thanks to his diligence, so that he could give valuable advice to people in matters of how to become rich and lead a happy life.38 Hesiod also informs us that he did not like to travel by ship, and that he took part in song contests.39

This image of Hesiod was never questioned by ancient authors. He was regarded as an excellent poet interested in the life of simple people, and a wise man who, however, had failed to win the favour of kings because of his boorishness and reluctance to travel.40

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37 About the links between Hesiod’s tradition and the Orphic poets, see below, p. 54.
40 Dio Chrys. Or. 2.8–9, Paus. 1.2.3. About Hesiod’s wisdom see also Pi. ap. Suda s.v. τὸ Ἡσιόδειον γῆρας, Hdt. 2.53, Isocr. Contra Nicocl. 43; Pl. Protag. 316d, Symp. 209d, etc;
In the *Theogony* Hesiod relates how he encountered the Muses while tending his sheep on Helicon and how they initiated him into poetry by giving him a staff of laurel and breathing a divine voice into him.\(^{41}\)

Some new details were introduced in the story in later tradition. Licinius Archias the poet of the first century BC, whilst agreeing with Hesiod's own account that he was provided with a branch of holy laurel, adds that the Muses gave Hesiod also a drink of soul-inspiring water of the fountain Hippocrene in order to teach him poetry.\(^{42}\) Virgil claims that the Muses gave Hesiod a reed-pipe, an event which Virgil's commentator Servius linked directly with Hesiod's initiation in poetry.\(^{43}\) According to the *Vita Hesiodi*, a tradition existed that while Hesiod was herding sheep on Helicon, some women (the Muses) came and fed him with twigs of laurel and in this way gave him wisdom and the art of poetry.\(^{44}\)

It is interesting to note, however, that while in the case of several other poets and seers the skill is often gained as a compensation for the loss of something (Homer and Teiresias lost their sight, Archilochus lost a cow), Hesiod seems to have received the gift of song simply because the Muses chose to give it to him.\(^{45}\) Perhaps the difference is caused by the fact that in the case of Hesiod the poet gave his own authoritative report of his initiation on which the subsequent versions were based.

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\(^{41}\) Th. 22–35, cf. also Op. 658 f. where the Muses who had set him in “the way of clear song” are mentioned.

\(^{42}\) Archias in *Anth. Pal*. 9.64. Hippocrene, “Horse Fountain,” was believed to have been made when Bellerophon’s Pegasus struck the ground with his hoof (Paus. 9.31.3, cf. 2.31.9 about the spring of Hippocrene in Troizen). According to P.Oxy 3537 recto 13–14, Hesiod drank from the spring Aganippe for inspiration.


\(^{44}\) *Vita Hesiodi* 1. The compiler of the treatise tries to rationalize the story and explains that the would-be poet only dozed off and dreamt about the women and the laurel-twigs. When he woke up he realized that his true vocation was to become a poet, and so he left the sheep and began to compose epics, see *Vita Hesiodi* 1. Cf. also Flaminius Vacca (16th century AD): *eventus … qui in Hesiodo refertur … cunas infantis, quibus ferebatur, apes circumvolarunt osque insedere complures, aut dulcem iam tum spiritum eius haurientes aut facundum et qualem nunc existimamus, futurum significantes* (*Vita Lucani*, p. 403.21–26 Badali).

Hesiod mentions that he took part in the song contest at the funeral games of the Chalcidean warrior Amphidamas in Euboea. He won the contest and was awarded a tripod which he dedicated to the Muses of Helicon.\textsuperscript{46} In the canonical text of the \textit{Works} Hesiod does not say with whom he had competed in Chalcis. Proclus, however, reports a different reading of \textit{Op. 657}, in which the opponent is Homer, just as it is always stated in tradition.\textsuperscript{47}

The story of the contest in its full version is known from the \textit{Certamen}, a treatise from the end of the first or the beginning of the second century AD.\textsuperscript{48} There are, however, several other references to the story in other sources, which differ in details from the \textit{Certamen}. For example, contrary to the \textit{Certamen}, in the version reported by Plutarch, the poet who proposes the questions is Homer and the one who replies is Hesiod.\textsuperscript{49} Secondly, besides Chalcis, the contest has been located in Aulis and in Delos by different sources. The account of Aulis, mentioned in \textit{Cert. 5} may well be an expansion upon the Chalcis-version in which Chalcis, the traditional place of the Euboean king’s funeral games, has (accidentally) been replaced by the name of the neighbouring town across the strait. Or perhaps it was originally meant that the poets met in Aulis by chance and went together over to Chalcis.\textsuperscript{50} Delos, the third location for the contest is, as is argued below, unlikely to be the result of a casual mistake and is rather a variation from the dominant story.\textsuperscript{51}

\textsuperscript{46} \textit{Op. 650–662}.

\textsuperscript{47} Procl. schol. Hes. \textit{Op. 655}, p. 368 Gaisf.: ἀλλ’οι γράφονται: ὄνομα νικήσαντ’ ἐν Χαλκίδα θείον Ὀμηρον, cf. the OCT Hesiod’s edition (line 657): ὄνομα νικήσαντα φέρειν τρίποδ’ ὑπότεντα. West (1978:321) regards the scholium-reading as “foolishly” derived from the last line of the epigram on the tripod (cit. on p. 36 n. 139 below) which Hesiod had dedicated to the Muses after his victory. We cannot know, however, whether this highly formulaic reading in Proclus’ scholium was derived from the epigram or from the tradition of the contest between the two poets in general.

\textsuperscript{48} \textit{Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi}, published by Westermann 1845 (1964\textsuperscript{2}), Rzach 1902, Wilamowitz 1929, Allen 1912, Evelyn-White 1995 (1914\textsuperscript{1}), West 2003a. \textit{Cert. ch. 3} refers to Hadrian, by which the \textit{terminus post quem} of the treatise is determined. In this work, if not stated differently, the passages of the \textit{Certamen} are referred to according to the enumeration in West 2003a.

\textsuperscript{49} Plut. \textit{Mor. 153f–154a}. According to West, Plutarch, taking his own objective into consideration, might have changed the parts of the contestants (1967:439), but cf. Momigliano 1971:26f. See also O’Sullivan 1992:80 and below in this section.

\textsuperscript{50} Cf. \textit{Cert. 6}: καὶ οὕτω οὖν ἐν τύχῃ, ὡς φασί, συμβαλόντως ἄλληλοις ἠλθον εἰς τὴν Χαλκίδα, and Hes. \textit{Op. 650f.} and 654f.: οὐ γὰρ ποι χεῖ γ’ ἐπέπλων εὐφέρα πόντον, / εἰ μὴ ἐκ Εὔβοιαν εἰς Αὐλίδος, / ... / ἐνθα δ’ ἐγὼν ἐπ’ ἄεθικα δαίμονος Ἀμφίβιαμαντος/Χαλκίδα τ’ εἰς ἐπέρησα.

Although the extant *Certamen* in its present form is a fairly late compilation, it includes material from a much earlier period. The main part of the story in its present form, the description of the actual contest, and the passages which relate the oracles to Homer and Hesiod and the death of the two poets, is based on the *Museum* of Alcidamas.\(^{52}\) It has been suggested that Alcidamas, relying on old stories and the traditional form of contest by riddles,\(^{53}\) and using appropriate lines from the works of earlier authors (*Cert.* chapter 7 contains almost identical with Theognis fr. 425, and chapter 9 verses very similar to Aristophanes *Peace* 1282 f.),\(^{54}\) was the first who attributed these to those particular two poets, and thus invented the story of the contest of Homer and Hesiod. Relying on the passage from the *Works* he chose Chalcis for the setting of the story.\(^{55}\)

Richardson has argued that a more likely date for the story of the contest is the sixth century. He points out that the story of the death of Homer was known to Heraclitus (22 B 56 DK) and the account of Hesiod’s death to Thucydides (3.96) less than a century later. The stories of the ability of the wise men in solving the riddles and oracles, as well as the idea of a rhapsodic contest in σ/Γ;ικΒΓΘ/Υϊιτ Γία as an alternative to athletic contest, were current already in the sixth century. Richardson adds that *Certamen* and Aristophanes’ *Peace* not only share similar lines but also similar themes:

καὶ ὃπατειν τὴν ὁδὴν οὗτος φησίν αὐτοῖς προσκεκλήσθαι. δηλοῖ δὲ ὁ Ἅλιοδος λέ-γων

ἐν Δήλῳ τότε πρῶτον ἔγγραφον καὶ Ὅμηρος ἀοιδοὶ μέλπομεν, ἐν νεαροῖς ἤμισος ἄγωντες ἀοιδὴν Φοῖβον Ἀπόλλωνα χρύσαβορον, ὅν τέκε Λητω.

More about the contest at Delos see p. 21 below.

\(^{52}\) Stobaeus (4.52.2) quotes lines found in *Cert.* 7 and attributes them to the *Mouseion*. In *Cert.* 14 Alcidamas is mentioned at the end of the passage about the death of Hesiod. In addition to this reference, there is a papyrus from the end of the second or the beginning of the third century AD, which tells about the death of Homer and contains the following words: Ἄλκιδαμαντῖς περὶ Ὅμηρον (Pap. Mich. 2754, see Winter 1925: 120–129). Commentators agree that the signature refers to Alcidamas (see Kirk 1950:150 n. 1, Nietzsche 1870:536–540, Winter 1925:120–125, Dodds 1952:187 f., West 1967:433–438, Graziosi 2001:59).

\(^{53}\) For example, the contest of Calchas and Mopsus in the *Melampodia* (Hes. fr. 278 MW); one between the epic writers Lesches and Arctinus (Phaenias 299 F 18), and also the contest of Aeschylus and Euripides in the *Frogs* by Aristophanes.

\(^{54}\) The thought shared by *Cert.* and Theognis, that it is best for mortals not to be born at all, or if born, to die as soon as possible, is expressed also in Bacch. 5.160–162 and Soph. *OC* 1225. The passage in the *Peace* 1282 f. may just as well be based on the *Certamen* rather than vice versa, see Graziosi 2001:66.

rejection of war poetry and praise of feasting, both of which fit well into the general context of the sympotic poetry of the sixth century. Graziosi generally agrees with Richardson, though she finds that the contest section in the Certamen may be composed by the Athenian rhapsodes in the fifth century who attempted to restore Homer’s reputation against sophistic attacks. Graziosi emphasizes that many passages in the Certamen seem to respond to fifth-century concerns: for example Thucydides had discussed the number of the Achaean at Troy (1.10.4 ff.)—a question to which the answer is given in Cert. 10. Lines 113 f. and 117 f. in the Cert. (Allen’s edition), in turn, could be connected with the discussions on the stylistic issues of Homeric poetry by Protagoras and Democritus respectively. The Athenian colouring of the story may, however, be simply an indication that it was transmitted via fifth-century Athens. The Athenian features in the extant account do not necessarily rule out the possible existence of earlier versions of the story.

It should also be mentioned that the suggestion of the authorship of Alcidamas is opposed by the existence of the version of the story in which the contest is placed at Delos. This particular version is very unlikely to have come into existence after the appearance of the one told by Alcidamas, since after the supposed invention of the story of the contest in Chalcis which was supported by Hesiod’s own verses, any other place would hardly have been chosen as the setting of the story. Richardson is of the opinion that there is no reason to place the particular verses in the period after Alcidamas. Janko agrees with Richardson and suggests that they were composed in the second part of the 6th century when Polycrates of Samos organized the Delian ἀγῶνες in 523 or 522, for which occasion the Hymn to Delian Apollo may have been compiled from two earlier hymns. If Janko is correct, the version of the contest in Delos would clearly belong to the 6th century. Furthermore, it must be
taken into account that the assumption of synchronicity of Homer and Hesiod had existed long before Alcidamas. It is true that Xenophanes, the earliest known author who told about the temporal relation between the two poets, believed Homer to have been older than Hesiod, but in the fifth century the poets were generally considered as contemporaries.\textsuperscript{63} Even the fragment by Xenophanes does not exclude the possibility of their being contemporaries, as Homer could have been regarded simply as an older contemporary of Hesiod. In Ephorus’ genealogy Homer is Hesiod’s cousin and therefore his younger contemporary.\textsuperscript{64} The only story known to us, which could serve as a source of the synchronicity of the poets is the one about their contest. In the oral tradition which almost certainly was the ultimate source in the present case, the supposed “fact” of the contemporaneous living of Homer and Hesiod, whether historically authentic or not,\textsuperscript{65} must have been transmitted in connection with some story which tied the poets together, since in oral tradition details are transmitted within stories rather than independently. And in fact, there are several cases when the ancients explicitly connected the view that the poets were contemporaries with the story of their contest.\textsuperscript{66} Hence, it is probable that the idea of the synchronicity of Homer and Hesiod was based on and/or transmitted with the account of their contest.

\textsuperscript{63} Xenoph. 21 B 13 DK, see also Hdt 2.53, and the genealogy by Hellanicus, Damastes and Phererecydes (n. 3 in p. 8).

\textsuperscript{64} Eph. 70 F 1.

\textsuperscript{65} We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that the poets were real-life contemporaries and the knowledge of it was preserved in some local memory (in connection to some cult, perhaps). Or, possibly, the synchronicity may be based on the different reading of Op. 657 (see p. 19 n. 47).

\textsuperscript{66} Cert. 5.; Philostratus Her. 18.2: οἱ δὲ ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἕκατὸν ἐτη γεγονέναι μετὰ Τροίαν ἐπὶ Όμηρον τε φασι καὶ Ἡσιόδον, ὅτε δὴ ἤσαν ἄμφω ἐν Χαλκίδι ... ; Gell. NA 3.11.3: autem Varro in primo de imaginibus uter prior sit natus parum constare dicit, sed non esse dubium quin aliquo tempore codem vixerint, idque ex epigrammate ostendi quod in tripode scriptum est qui in Monte Helicone ab Hesiodo positus traditur; Vita Hesiodi 2: οἱ δὲ συγχρόνους αὐτούς εἶναι λέγοντες ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ Ἄμφιμάμαντος τοῦ βασιλέως Εὐβοίας φασιν αὐτούς ἑγωνισσάθαι καὶ γενισσάν τε Ἡσιόδον ... It seems that there was also a discussion going on among the Homerids about this tradition: Eustath. 4.38: εἰ δὲ καὶ ἤρισεν ὁ Ἄμφιμων Ἡσιόδῳ τῷ Ἀσσαίῳ καὶ ἤττήθη, δὲπερ ὄνος τοῖς Ὄμηροις καὶ λέγειν. Perhaps the Homerids denied that the poets had lived at the same time? On the other hand, as the defeat of Homer by Hesiod put the teacher of the Homerids into the shadow, they might have just refused to accept the story (thus West 1967:441).
The history of the story of the contest may reach an even earlier time than Graziosi and Richardson have suggested. In Plutarch’s account of the contest the seventh century epic poet Lesches is mentioned, possibly as Plutarch’s source of the story.67 Two different views exist concerning the occurrence of the name of Lesches in Plutarch’s passage: either Lesches was the one who told about the contest between Homer and Hesiod; or Lesches himself competed with Hesiod. It depends on whether to read the text ὁς φηοί Λέσχης (as Lesches says) as it appears in one of the manuscripts, or ὁς ψαοι, Λέσχης (Lesches, as they say) as in most manuscripts.68 In the latter case, however, it would be necessary to change Plutarch’s text and remove the passage presenting the contestants (Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσίοδου), the validity of which has clearly been assured elsewhere by Plutarch.69 Moreover, we have no other ancient account about the contest between Lesches and Hesiod. Kirk suggests that there were three contestants—Homer, Hesiod and Lesches, but we have no reference about any contests of singers with three or more contestants competing at the same time.70 It seems therefore preferable to read ὁς φηοί Λέσχης and admit that Plutarch knew, or at least thought that Lesches had spoken about the contest between the two famous epic poets (at the funeral games in Chalcis).71 In that case it is

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69 Plut. Mor. 675a.

70 Kirk 1950:150 n. 1.

71 Plutarch may, of course, have been wrong about Lesches, as he may not necessarily have quoted first hand and there could be false inference behind his reference,—thus Robert Fowler at the viva. Milne suggests that Lesches’ name was substituted for Homer’s in the Hellenistic period or later because of the chronological problem of making Homer and Hesiod contemporaries (1924:57 f.). But as is said above, the inclusion of Lesches’ name in the text would require inappropriate emendation of Plutarch’s text with respect
possible that the contest was described or at least mentioned in some of the archaic poems ascribed to Lesches.\textsuperscript{72} In the late sixth century Theagenes of Rhegium, to whom the first attempt to record information about Homer’s life is ascribed in extant sources, may have referred to the contest, relying perhaps on a different reading of Op. 657, on Lesches’ account, or possibly even on some other early, now lost, version.\textsuperscript{73} Later the story of the contest of Homer and Hesiod was developed further and elaborated for example by the Athenian rhapsodes in the fifth century, by Alcidamas in the fourth century, and by the author of the existing version of the \textit{Certamen} in the first or second century AD.

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\textsuperscript{72} This idea was first proposed by Thomas Allen, who suggested that Lesches had in addition to the \textit{Little Iliad} composed a biographical poem about the life of Homer, and it was used as a source by Alcidamas as well as by Plutarch while relating the contest of the poets (Allen 1924:26). West considers the existence of a biographical poem written by Lesches quite improbable and proposes that the name of Lesches could have entered the text of Plutarch from the scholium where verses by Lesches similar to the ones found in the text were mentioned: “‘Biographical’ poetry did not exist” (1967:438–440). We may, however, have a trace of an archaic biographical poem here. The contest between two most powerful ancient bards would make an attractive topic for a song, a topic which would certainly be fascinating both to the singer and to the audience. It would also help to enhance the authority of the profession of rhapsodes. Admittedly, there is no extant reference to a work titled \textit{Contest} among the poems ascribed to Lesches. It may be that Lesches sang about the contest in the form of an excursus or simile in some of his other poems and thus established the story which was expanded later. He might have only referred to the contest of the two famous poets by saying, for example, that Hesiod’s opponent was “a blind poet of Chios” whom the audience assumed to be Homer.

\textsuperscript{73} Theagenes 8 A 1–4 DK. The alternative reading of Op. 657 is cited in p. 19 n. 47. The Orphic poets and the Pythagoreans were involved in studying and editing the poetry of Homer in the late archaic period. For example, the Orphic poets Orpheus of Croton and Zopyrus of Heraclea participated together with Onomacritus of Athens in the redaction of Homeric poetry (Suda s.v. ‘\textit{Ὀρφεὺς Κρωτον}’). In the latter part of the sixth century Orphism and Pythagoreanism spread into Italy, probably bringing along their interest in both the person and the poetry of Homer. As I shall argue below, the Orphic poets and Pythagoreans in South Italy may have had a considerable role in the development of both Hesiod’s and Stesichorus’ biographies (Brontinus of Metapontum or Croton, Cercops the Pythagorean, and the above-mentioned Zopyrus of Heraclea are attested in Hesiod’s tradition, Stesichorus’ tradition is full of allusions to the Pythagoreans). It seems that South Italy became a centre (or one of the centres) of studies on Homer and Hesiod in the end of the archaic period. Theagenes of Rhegium, while writing on Homer (and perhaps also on Hesiod) may well have exchanged information with the Orphic poets and the Pythagoreans in South Italy.
5. The story of Hesiod's death

The earliest sources to refer to the story of Hesiod's death belong to the fifth century BC: Pindar mentions the tradition that the poet was young twice and had two graves, and Thucydides gives a short account that Hesiod was murdered by the local men in the precinct of Nemean Zeus, after it had been predicted to him that he should perish at Nemea. More detailed accounts are known from Alcidamas, Aristotle, Eratosthenes, Plutarch, Pausanias, and the *Vita Hesiodi*. The story is in general clear and consistent: after the contest Hesiod travelled to Delphi where the Pythia uttered an oracle forewarning him of danger of death in the grove of Nemean Zeus:

οὕτως ὁ Ησίοδος Μοῦσαι τετμένος ἀθανάτης
τοῦ δ' ἔτοι κλέος ἔσται, ὡσιν τ' ἐπιζάναται ἡώς.
ἀλλὰ Δίος περφύλαιῳ Νεμείου κάλλιμον ἄλος:
κεῖτι δὲ τοι θανάτοι τέλος πεπρωμένον ἔστιν.

Fortunate is a man who serves my house, Hesiod, who is honoured by the immortal Muses; surely his fame shall reach as far as the light of dawn spreads. But beware of the fair grove of Nemean Zeus—for there the death's end is destined for you.

Hesiod avoided Nemea in the Peloponnese, thinking that the god meant Nemea there. Instead he went to Oenoe in Locris, unaware that all that region was called the sacred place of Nemean Zeus. He stayed in Oenoe for some time, until he was caught or suspected of having an affair with the daughter of his host. The brothers of the girl killed him near the temple of Zeus, and threw his body into the sea. On the third day it was brought ashore by dolphins, was recognized by local people and buried. The fleeing murderers were killed after being betrayed by the barking of Hesiod's dog. The girl gave birth to a son (Stesichorus). Later the Orchomenians vexed by plague were advised by an oracle to obtain Hesiod's remains, which were transferred to Orchomenus and buried there for the second time.

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74 Pindar in the *Vita Hesiodi* 4 and in the Suda s.v. τὸ Ἡσύοδεων γῆςας, Thuc. 3.96.1.
75 Arist. fr. 565 R., Alcid. and Eratosth. in *Cert.* 14; Plut. *Mor.* 162d–f, 969e, 984d; Paus. 9.38.2–4, 9.31.6, *Vita Hesiodi* 4.
76 Alcid. in *Cert.* 13, *Vita Hesiodi* 4 (= 206 Parke & Wormell [PW], L41 Fontenrose [Font.]).
In details, however, the story varies to certain extent. First we have a cluster of accounts which locate Hesiod’s death at Oenoe near Naupactus. Thucydides says that the poet was murdered at the temple of Nemean Zeus in Ozolean Locris.\footnote{Thuc. 3.95.3–96.1.} According to the \textit{Vita Hesiodi} and Alcidamas, it happened in the area called Oenoe which was dedicated to Nemean Zeus.\footnote{\textit{Vita Hesiodi} 4, Alcid. in \textit{Cert.} 14.} Plutarch does not specify the name of the village but simply says that Hesiod was killed in the vicinity of the temple of Nemean Zeus in Locris.\footnote{Plut. \textit{Mor.} 162d–f.} Pausanias reports that the poet died “in the land of Naupactus,”\footnote{Paus. 9.31.4 and 9.38.2–4.} but as Oenoe was probably quite close to Naupactus, it might well be called also “the Naupactian land.” On this information we can conclude that the story of the Hesiod’s death belongs to the Western (Ozolean) Locris and took place in Oenoe which belonged to the Naupactian sphere of influence.\footnote{The exact geographical site of Oenoe is not known.} The same location is suggested by the account that the murderers threw Hesiod’s body into the Corinthian Gulf between Ozolean Locris and Achaea from where dolphins brought it to the shore in Rhion on the southern coast of the Corinthian Gulf near Molycrea opposite to Naupactus, and also by the account that Hesiod was buried in Oenoe, next to the temple of Zeus.\footnote{Der neue Pauly s.v. \textit{Rhion}, Plut. \textit{Mor.} 162d–f, \textit{Vita Hesiodi} 4, Paus. 9.38.4 (the Orchomenians were advised to bring Hesiod’s bones “from the land of Naupactus” to their home town), Eratosth. in \textit{Cert.} 14. Although Eratosthenes does not specify the exact place of the first grave of Hesiod, it seems that he agreed with Alcidamas in this matter—the compiler of the \textit{Certamen} at least does not draw any attention to the differences in their opinions. According to Plutarch, the travelling companion of Hesiod called Troilus was also killed and shoved out into the sea. His body was borne out into the current of the river Daphnus, and was caught on a rock projecting a little above the sea-level. This rock was afterwards called Troilus (Plut. \textit{Mor.} 162d). The mouth of the river Daphnus is located about twenty-two miles from Naupactus (Bloomfield 1829:167, DGRG s.v. \textit{Oeneon}).} A different location is recorded by Alcidamas who presents an East Locrian version of the story: according to it, the body was thrown in the sea between Euboea and Locris i.e. in East (Opuntian) Locris.\footnote{Alcidamas in \textit{Cert.} 14.} As in the same time he holds the view that the murder took place in Oenoe, and that the body was brought to land at Rhion, Alcidamas must have either mixed two different earlier
accounts in his own version, or simply given the old story a new location. The third version comes from Aristotle: he assumed that the poet’s first grave was in his home village, Ascra, which implies that Hesiod’s body must have been brought to his home town for the burial. From Ascra the bones were later transported to Orchomenus.  

Another detail that varies in the accounts is the identity of the murderers of Hesiod. They were called either Amphiphanus Amphiphanes and Ganyctor the sons of Phegeus, or Ctimenus and Antiphus the sons of Ganyctor. From the Certamen we learn that one Ganyctor was the son of the Chalcidean king Amphidamas, and that he organized the funeral games of his father, which included the song contest of Homer and Hesiod. Therefore Ganyctor probably belonged to the Euboean tradition, as may have belonged also a source from which Alcidamas learnt the place where Hesiod’s body was thrown in the sea. In other sources Ganyctor is usually identified as a Naupactian man. i.e. he belongs to the West Locrian tradition.

Five different versions from five different sources have come down to us relating the fate of the murderers. According to Plutarch and Pollux, the brothers were recognized thanks to Hesiod’s dog who snarled and barked at them. Alcidamas says that the killers fled towards Crete by fishing boat and were half-way on their voyage struck down by Zeus’ thunderbolt. According to the other sources, they were drowned in the sea by the Locrians and their house was razed to the ground; fled from Naupactus to Molycrea where they sinned against Poseidon, and were punished for that; were sacrificed to the gods of hospitality by Eurycles the seer; or escaped to a temple and died there when winter came.

The girl Clymene or Ctemene (Ctimene) with whom Hesiod allegedly had an affair, was said to have given birth to a son whose name was,

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84 Arist. fr. 565 R.
86 Eratosth. in Cert. 14, Plut. Mor. 969e, Paus. 9.31.4, Suda s.v. ’Ησίοδος.
87 Cert. 6.
88 Plut. Mor. 984d, 969e, Pollux 5.42.
89 Alcid. in Cert. 14.
90 Plut. Mor. 162e.
91 Paus. 9.31.4.
92 Eratosth. in Cert. 14.
93 Vita Hesiodi 4.
according to Aristotle (and the author of the *Peplos*), Stesichorus.\footnote{Vita Hesiodi 3 (following Aristotle’s *Orchomenian Constitution*, fr. 565 R.), Philoch. 328 F 213.} Another account states that she hanged herself.\footnote{Eratosth. in Cert. 14.}

The existence of several slightly different versions of the story indicates that it was well and widely known in oral tradition. However, the differences between the accounts are minor, which, in turn, points to the existence of one early coherent tradition as a source for all these versions. The only serious discrepancy between the versions is the setting of the story. One setting (East Locris) is connected with Amphidamas and his son Ganyctor, and by them with the poetry of Hesiod. The other setting, West Locris, has no visible connection with Hesiod’s works. In any case, the story of Hesiod’s death is connected with Locri and is most probably a Locrian tradition.

*The epitaphs, and the double youth and double grave of Hesiod*

Ancient sources give four different epitaphs for Hesiod’s tomb. One of them refers to the grave of Hesiod in Locris, and is ascribed to Alcaeus of Messene (3rd/2nd century BC) or Mytilene (6th century BC).\footnote{Anth. Pal. 7.55 = HE xii Gow & Page. It is reasonable to suppose that the ethnic...}
Two epitaphs refer to Hesiod’s second grave in Orchomenus. One of them, a peculiar epigram in which Hesiod’s double youth, double grave and his unusual wisdom are mentioned is attributed to Pindar by Aristotle and the compiler of the *Vita Hesiodi*:

Χαιρε δις ἡμήσας και δις τάφου ἀντιβολήσας,
'Ἡσίωδ', ἀνθρώποις μέτρον ἐχον σοφίης.

_Farewell you who twice were young and twice met a tomb, you who hold the measure of wisdom for mankind._

The other is by the Hellenistic or perhaps Roman poet Demiurgus:

'Ἐλλάδος εὐρυχόρου στέφανον καὶ κόσμον ἄοιδῆς,
Ἀσκραῖον γενεῖν Ὁιόδον κατέχω.

_I conceal Hesiod, Ascraean by birth, the crown of broad Hellas and adornment of song._

The fourth epitaph is transmitted in manuscripts under the name of Mnasalces who is identified as Mnasalces or Mnasalcas of Sicyon:

Ἀσκρῆμὲν πατρὶς πλύθης
ἀλλὰ τοῦ πλείστον ἐν ἀνθρώποις κλέος ἐστίν
ἀνδρῶν κρίνοντάς ἐν ἀντίσει τῶν κόσμων.

_Ascra, the land of many corn-fields was my home, but now when I am dead the Minyan land of riders holds my bones. I am Hesiod, the most renown among the men who are judged by the touchstone of wisdom._

Pausanias ascribed this epigram to a seventh century poet Chersias of Orchomenus, and Göttling and Schmid-Stählin agree with him in this matter.

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97 Arist. fr. 565 R.; *Vita Hesiodi* 4 (cf. also Bergk: PLG 4 i.719). Hesiod’s double youth became a proverbial expression about extreme old age: τὸ Ἡσίοδειον γήρας (Suda s.v. τὸ Ἡσίοδειον γήρας).

98 Anth. Pal. 7.52 = FGE vv. 133–134. According to Page, no other poem is known from Demiurgus, and the epigram may be of any date within half a millennium (1981:38).

99 Anth. Pal. 7.54 = HE xviii Gow & Page.

100 Göttling 1843:vii, Schmid-Stählin 1929:298. Pausanias cites the epitaph on Hesiod’s Orchomenian tomb in 9.38.4, and only a couple of paragraphs on he reports that the Orchoméniens had a tradition that Chersias composed the inscription on the grave of Hesiod (9.38.10). Plutarch placed Chersias in the time of Periander and Pittacus (Mor. 156e, 163f).
that if Aristotle had known the epigram "Ἀσκρῆς (by Chersias), he would have cited it, and not the one of Pindar, in his Constitution of Orchomenus, and indeed, it would be hard to see why or how Mnasalca's name should have been attached to the epigram if he were not the real author.\footnote{Mair 1908:xxx, Page 1981:160, cf. also Gow & Page 1965:413.} From the scholium whose sources are Plutarch and Aristotle we know the story of how Hesiod's second grave was established in Orchomenus.\footnote{Schol. Procl. in Hes. Op. 651, p. 298 Gaisf. (= Arist. fr. 565 R., Plut. fr. 82 Sandbach).} According to it, after the Thespians had destroyed Ascra, the survivors of the village fled to Orchomenus. Some time later the plague broke out in the city and the Orchomenians, having sought help from the oracle, brought Hesiod's bones from Ascra to Orchomenus and buried them there according to the Pythian utterances.\footnote{Arist. fr. 565 R., Eratosth. in Cert. 14, Paus. 9.38.3–4.} Therefore, it seems that the second grave came into existence only after the destruction of Ascra, and that the epigram should also originate from that time. The exact date of Ascra's destruction is not known, but according to archaeological data, it could not have happened before the beginning of the fourth century.\footnote{Thomas and Conant 1999:148 f.} On the other hand, if the whole above mentioned information, and not only the reference that the Orchomenians buried Hesiod's remains in their own land, is based on Aristotle, then the destruction of Ascra could not have happened after Aristotle's time. The 360's were critical years for Boeotia: the Thebans destroyed both Orchomenus (in 365) and Thespiae (the exact date is not known), and both towns were rebuilt only by Alexander around 336 BC.\footnote{RE s.v. Thespeia, Der neue Pauly s.v. Orchomenos.} Hence, the destruction of Ascra and the flight of its inhabitants to Orchomenus must have happened around the 380's to 370's. At that time, in the 4th century, neither Chersias nor Mnasalca could have written the epitaph on Hesiod's tomb. That leaves us two possibilities: first, the epitaph was written about a hundred years later when Orchomenus was rebuilt, in which case the author could have been Mnasalca. Or some older epigram was written on the tomb in Orchomenus, for example, a (now lost) epigram by Chersias, or the Χεραίας which is ascribed to Pindar. Since the latter epigram is short, it is not easy to date it by linguistic methods. Some commentators regard its style as Hellenistic; therefore it is possible that the epigram is a Hellenistic forgery, and in that case useless in our attempt to clarify the date when Hesiod's Orchomenian tomb entered the tradition.\footnote{Page 1981:159–160.} However, other
scholars believe on the grounds of style and of the fact that Aristotle probably knew the epigram, that it may be of early origin and perhaps indeed composed by Pindar, being thus the only known epigram ever ascribed to Pindar. There is yet a third possibility, that Pindar (who did not write epigrams) may have used an ancient epigram in one of his poems, and afterwards it may have been mistakenly ascribed to him by Aristotle or some other author. In that case, the story about Hesiod’s double burial and double youth must have been known by the beginning of the 5th century at latest.

There might have existed also a tradition that the Muses, besides teaching Hesiod to sing, rejuvenated him when he was already an old man. Direct references to this particular tradition are late, and may all derive from the same immediate source, Aelius Donatus. However, the story may have roots in an old tradition known already in the middle of the fifth century: Euripides may have known the story of the double youth of Hesiod and possibly also the Pindar’s epigram. In the second stasimon of *Heracles* the wish to escape old age is treated in detail. At 637–700 the chorus praises the hero, who has just returned from Hades, saying that the good should be rewarded with a second life, “δίδυμον ἢβαν ἔφερον / φανερὸν χαρακτῆρ’ ἀρετᾶς / ὁσοιον μέτα . . . ” using thus remarkably similar diction to the epigram. The wish presented by the chorus of old men is highly personal. Ruth Scodel: “Their presentation of the second life as a new youth is partially explicable as the expression of their hatred of their own age, while their claim to be among those deserving this favour is substantiated not only by their loyalty to Heracles, but also by their being singers./ . . . / Euripides’ δίδυμον ἢβαν is very similar to the epigram’s δὶς ἢβαν, and the two contexts are similar./ . . . / The Latin tradition makes Hesiod’s rejuvenation the gift of the Muses, to whom the Euripidean singers are devoted. The evidence points to Euripides’ having

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108 In which case the real author of the epigram could be Chersias after all, as is reported by Pausanias.
109 In that case the second grave (in Orchomenus) must have existed before the destruction of Ascr.a, and all of those happenings in the fourth century have nothing to do with the origin of the second grave. Mnasalca might have written a new epigram after Orchomenus was rebuilt by Alexander; he might even have used the old epigram as a model, as Page has pointed out (1981:160).
known and used a tradition of Hesiod’s second life.”  

In mythology, the usual way to become young again is through death and resurrection. This way was used, for example, by Medea who killed, revived and rejuvenated Jason and Aeson. The other way to gain a new life was to descend into Hades and to find a way back to this world. This method was used by Sisyphus, Odysseus, Heracles, Orpheus and supposedly also by Pythagoras. Hesiod was believed to be an author of a poem about Theseus’ descent into Hades, and it is not inconceivable that the tradition of Hesiod’s descent into the Underworld, influenced by his own poem, existed at some period of time.

Ancient authors’ hesitation concerning the date of Hesiod and his chronological relationship to other poets points, too, to the possibility of the early existence of the account of the double youth of Hesiod. The belief that Hesiod was young twice may have developed as an attempt to link him on the one hand with Homer, and on the other hand with Stesichorus. If the hypothesis that the account of Hesiod’s long life developed as an explanation of his traditional connection with these two poets is correct, we can reasonably conclude that the story of Hesiod’s death (including the account of the birth of Stesichorus) must have been known already by the first half of the fifth century at latest.

We do not know what exactly δὶς ἡ/βήμας καὶ δὶς τάφον ἀντιβολήσας in Pindar’s epigram means. Perhaps it means that Hesiod (was believed to have) had an extraordinarily long life, or, as Scodel has proposed, that Hesiod gained the second youth without intermediate death, and two graves in the epigram means just reburying of the bones of the poet in later times. Since the epigram was quoted in Aristotle’s Orchomenian Constitution, where most of the information about Hesiod seems to have been derived from the (Pythagorean) Peplos, the

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113 Scodel 1980:315 f.
114 Eur. Argum. Med., Nostoi fr. 7 Bernabé (fr. 6 West, Allen), Sim. fr. 43 PMG, Pherec. 3 F 113. Jason and Aeson were rejuvenated through a process of decoction. The same process is employed to restore youth to Demos at Aristophanes’ Equites 1321 ff., cf. HyDem. 231–245; see Scodel 1980:307 ff.
116 As a matter of fact, Homer too had an oracle for twofold destiny, but it refers clearly to his blindness and fame, and not to his death: δοιάς γὰρ ξοής μοίρας λέεις, ἢν μὲν ἀμυνότατος ἡμῖν δισσῶν, ἢν δ’ ἀρδανάτος ἰσομοιοῦν ἐν ζῶντι τε καὶ φθιμένος; φθιμένος δ’ ἔτε πολλὸν ἀγήρως ([Plut.] Vita Hom. i.4).
possibility that the long youth of Hesiod may have been mentioned in this particular poem cannot be ruled out.\textsuperscript{117}

\textit{Traditional themes in the story of death}

The story of Hesiod’s death contains several elements found in traditions of other poets and famous people. First, it includes oracles. One of them, as is already mentioned, was uttered by the Pythia when the poet was approaching the temple in order to dedicate his victory over Homer at the song-contest to Apollo.\textsuperscript{118} Hesiod misinterpreted the oracle and was killed in the grove of Nemean Zeus in Locris. The futility of attempts to escape one’s destiny expressed by predictions is a theme for which there are parallels, not only in Greek tradition and mythology, but in the folklore of many cultures.\textsuperscript{119} The other (not extant) oracle was given to the Orchomenians when they asked help to overcome the plague. They were told to bring Hesiod’s remains and bury them in their land. The Pythia gave them also guidance about where to look for the bones.\textsuperscript{120} This oracle belongs among the typical aetiological legends, according to which the bones of the hero have beneficial powers.\textsuperscript{121} A similar story about the bones of Linus is reported by Pausanias: the Thebans claimed that Linus was originally buried among them, but after the Greek defeat at Chaeronea king Philip, in obedience to a vision in a dream, recovered the bones of Linus and took them to Macedonia. Later, however, another vision made him send the bones back to Thebes.\textsuperscript{122} The defensive power of the bones of a hero is the reason why the location of his grave had to be kept secret, so that those who wanted to find it could not do so without divine help.

\textsuperscript{117} There is a third possibility—that Hesiod was believed to have lived and died twice, and also been buried twice (Marckscheffel 1840:28–29).

\textsuperscript{118} \textit{Cit.} in p. 25.

\textsuperscript{119} For example, the story of the death of Cambyses (Hdt. 3.64.3–5) or Oedipus (Soph. \textit{OT}). See Fairweather 1974:271, Fontenrose 1978:58–62. Notice the formulaic structure and diction of, for example, the oracles to Cypselus (Hdt. 5.926, = 8 PW, Q61) and to the Megarians (Hesych. 390 F 1,3 = 487–498 PW, Q44), see also Fontenrose 1978:116f.

\textsuperscript{120} See Arist. fr. 565 R., Eratosth. in \textit{Cert.} 14, Paus. 9.38.3–4. \textit{Vita Hesiodi} 4, (27 PW, and L42 Font.). Plutarch knew a slightly different version of the story, according to which Hesiod’s grave in Oenoe was kept concealed because the Orchomenians were looking for it (Mor. 162 ef).

\textsuperscript{121} See Parke & Wormell 1956:1.395 f. Iamblichus reports also that the Pythagoreans used selected readings from Homer and Hesiod to restore the soul (\textit{VP} 164). For more examples, see p. 214 below.

\textsuperscript{122} Paus. 9.29.8–9. For more examples, see p. 214 below.
Hesiod’s tradition includes animal-helpers: the Orchomenians who were looking for the poet’s grave were guided by a crow sent by Pythia, and the poet’s corpse was brought to the shore by dolphins. The dolphins figure in other Greek traditions too: they helped Arion to return home, and brought the body of young Melicertes to the shore of Isthmus where it was buried by Sisyphus who established the Isthmian Games in his honour. Finally, Hesiod’s dog helped to find his murderers,—just as the dog Maera had helped to find the body of Icarius.

A long life, which Hesiod enjoyed according to tradition, is frequently a characteristic feature of seers, poets and heroes: Orpheus, for example, was said to have lived either nine or eleven generations, Teiresias seven, Sarpedon three and Nestor more than two generations.

Another traditional motif in the story of Hesiod’s death is the archetypal pattern of a woman insulted by a man, who is punished for that by two other men connected with the woman. We can see such a pattern in the stories of Helen (Helen—Theseus—Dioscuri; or Helen—Paris—Menelaus and Agamemnon), and in the story of Alcmaeon (Arsinoe, the daughter of Phegeus of Psophis—Alcmaeon—Phegeus’ sons). In the tradition of Hesiod, the poet insults (seduces or rapes) or is thought to have insulted Ctemene the daughter of Phegeus, and her brothers take revenge by killing him. A similar story is known about the Idaean Dactyls: three dactyls Acmon (“anvil”), Damnameneus (“the compeller” i.e. “the hammer”) and Celmis (“knife”), were brothers, the sons of Rhea. Celmis insulted Rhea, and was turned to steel or was killed by his brothers. According to Pliny, Hesiod had written about the Idaean Dactyls, but since only one fragment of this poem has survived, we do not know what exactly it was about. The patterns in the story of Hesiod’s death and in the story of Rhea and the Dactyls are the same: woman, two (good) men + one (bad) man. It is possible that the structure of the story of Hesiod’s death has been influenced by the poet’s own work, which, in turn, was constructed according to a traditional story-pattern.

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125 Plut. Mor. 984d, 969e; Pollux 5.42; Hyginus Astron. ii.4. More examples in p. 215.
129 Plin. NH 7.56.197; Clem. Alex. Strom. 1.16.75; Suda s.v. Ἡσίοδος.
And finally, the tradition that the child of Hesiod and Ctimene was Stesichorus belongs among the formulaic details which linked famous people together in biographical traditions.130

In conclusion, the story of Hesiod’s death is highly formulaic and was very well known among the ancient authors. It appears to be an early story. Parts of it, if not all, were undoubtedly known by the fifth century (Pindar and Thucydides refer to it). Aristotle knew that the murderers of Hesiod were Phegeus’ sons Amphiphanus and Ganyctor, that the name of the girl was Ctimene, that the son of Hesiod and the girl was Stesichorus, and that Hesiod had a second grave in Orchomenus,—i.e. he knew practically the whole story. As is argued above (p. 28), Aristotle’s source may have been the Peplos, a poem ascribed to the sixth century Orphic poet Brontinus or to Zopyrus.131 Therefore, the original story of Hesiod’s death may belong to the first part of the sixth century. If not, it had developed in full detail possibly by the beginning of the fifth, and certainly by the fourth century BC.

The cult and images of Hesiod

At least in the Hellenistic period, Hesiod was honoured with cult in many places around Greece.132 Both sites of his grave seem to have attracted worshippers: according to Alcaeus of Messene, “the goat-herds poured libations of milk mixed with honey” on Hesiod’s tomb on Locris, and the story of the transportation of Hesiod’s remains to Orchomenus and of the second burial of his bones in the centre of the agora is a sign of reverence with which his remains were treated in the city.133 The early

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130 See p. 212.
131 Brontinus of Metapontum or Croton is said to have been the father (or husband) of Pythagoras’ wife (or daughter or pupil) Theano (Diog. L. 8.42, Suda s.v. Πυθαγόρας, Θεάνο, and Θεάνο, Iamb. VP 36, 267, cf. West 1983:9 n. 16, Burkert 1972:114, 289 n. 57). Brontinus was a contemporary to the sixth century physician Alcmeon of Croton: he was one of the three people to whom the latter dedicated his book (24 B 1 DK). Brontinus was, besides the Peplos, also regarded as the author of the Physika and Diktys (Clem. Alex. Strom. 1.131, Suda s.v. Όρφης). Zopyrus of Heraclea or Tarentum was an early Pythagorean (Clem. Alex. Strom. 131.1, Iamb. VP 267) to whom, in addition to the Peplos, the Krater and the Diktys were credited (Clem. Alex. Strom. 131.1, Suda s.v. Όρφης). We should not forget that Cercops, an Orphic or Pythagorean poet, contemporary to Onomacritus, is attested by Aristotle as a critic of Hesiod (see p. 43 and p. 42 n. 178). About the Orphic/Pythagorean poets see West 1983:9.
132 For example, I.G 7.1785, 7.4240b and 7.4240c, and Plut. Numa 4.6. See also Beaulieu 2004.
133 Alcaeus of Messene in Anth. Pal. 7.55.
origin of the story of Hesiod's death at Oenoe suggests that there may have existed a cult of Hesiod in Oenoe already in the pre-Classical period, developed in connection with the story of the poet's death. However, we have no solid evidence to determine when the cult of Hesiod was established.\textsuperscript{134}

There are also several statues of the poet mentioned in the sources, which may or may not have been linked to a cult of Hesiod.\textsuperscript{135} Pausanias refers to the ones in Thespiae, Olympia, and on Helicon. The Thespian statue was made of bronze and set up in the agora. Not far from it stood a small temple of the Muses, and from that temple two inscriptions have been found in which Hesiod, son of Dios, is linked with the Muses.\textsuperscript{136} In Olympia, the mid-fifth century bc statues of Hesiod and Homer stood alongside the great temple, among the images of deities.\textsuperscript{137} On Helicon, in the grove of the Muses, was an image of seated Hesiod holding the cithara. Other statues around him represented the Muses, Apollo and Hermes fighting for the lyre, Dionysus, Telete, and the poets Orpheus, Linus, Thamyris, Arion, and Sacadas of Argos.\textsuperscript{138} Pausanias reports also that the tripod which Hesiod was said to have received as a prize at the song contest at Chalcis, was still on Helicon at his time.\textsuperscript{139}

There was also a brazen Hesiod in the public gymnasium in Constantinople in later antiquity.\textsuperscript{140} The only extant inscribed representation of Hesiod is the fourth-century AD mosaic by Monnus, found in Trier.\textsuperscript{141}

\textsuperscript{134} About the cults of poets see also p. 222.


\textsuperscript{136} Paus. 9.27.5, IG 7.4240 b.c.

\textsuperscript{137} The author of these sculptures was Dionysius of Argos, see Paus. 5.26.2f., and Richter 1965:57.

\textsuperscript{138} Paus. 9.29.5–30.4.

\textsuperscript{139} Paus. 9.31.3, cf. Op. 656–659. The inscription is:

'\textit{ Ἡσίωδος Μούσας Ἐλληνισι τόνδ' ἀνέθημεν,}

\textit{ ὡμνῷ νυκτὸς ἐν Χαλκάδι θείων Ὀμηρῷ,}

—see Cert. 13 and Anth. Pal. 7.53, and Varro in Gell. NA 3.11.3.

\textsuperscript{140} Christodorus (5th/6th century AD) in Anth. Pal. 2.38–40.

\textsuperscript{141} Richter 1965:57 and fig. 128.
6. The works of Hesiod and on Hesiod

Works attributed to Hesiod

According to the Vita Hesiodi section 3, Hesiod wrote sixteen books compared to Homer’s thirteen. Altogether seventeen different titles were ascribed to Hesiod by ancient authors. Only the Works and Days, the Theogony and the Shield of Heracles are extant, others are known by fragments, by descriptions of their content, or only by titles. The works thought to have been Hesiod’s are the following:

1. The Works and Days (Ἐργα καὶ Ἡμέραι)
2. The Theogony (Θεογονία)
3. The Catalogue of Women or Ehoae (Γυναικῶν κατάλογος, Ἡοῖα)
4. The Shield of Heracles (Ἀσπίς)
5. The Divination by Birds (Ὀρνιθομαντεία)
6. The Seer craft (Μαντικά)
7. The Astronomy/Astrology (Αστρονομία / Αστρολογία)
8. The Precepts of Cheiron (Ὑπήρχαι Χείρωνος)
9. The Great Works (Ἐργα Μεγάλα)
10. The Great Ehoae (Ἡοῖα Μεγάλαι)
11. The Idaean Dactyls (Περὶ Δακτύλων Ἰδαῖων)
12. The Marriage of Ceyx (Κήυκας γάμος)
13. The Melampodia (Μελαμπδία)
14. The Aegimius (Αἰγίμιος)
15. Circuit of the Earth (Περίδος Γῆς)
16. Dirge for Batrachus (Επικήδεις εἰς Βάτραχον)
17. Peirithous’ or Theseus’ Descent into Hades (Πειρίθου / Θήσεως κατάβασις)
18. Epithalamium of Peleus and Thetis (Ἐπιθαλάμιον εἰς Πελέα καὶ Θετίν)
19. The Ceramis (Κεραμεῖς). 142

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142 There may have been also the Interpretations of Portents: “καὶ ἐστιν ἐπὶ Μαντικά, ὅπως τε ἐπελεξάμεθα καὶ ἡμεῖς, καὶ ἔξηγησες ἐπὶ τέρασιν” (Paus. 9.31.5). Most (2006:lxii–lxxii, 212–213) relying on Athen. 3.116ad, mentions among the works ascribed to Hesiod also a poem on preserved foods: “… ὁ Λεονίδης ἐφη: Εὐθύδημος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ἄνδρες μέλες, ἐν τῷ περὶ ταριχῶν Ἡσιόδον ἐφη περὶ πάντων τῶν ταριχευμένων τάδ’ εἰρήνεια τὰς μὲν πρόσων στομά κέχριται αντα καὶ διοικη, γναθήνων ὅν Ἑπιδεξαντο ὅμωμον ἤξυπνοῆς…”.
The authorship of the poems seems to be, along with the question of the poet’s date, one of the most discussed topics in Hesiod’s tradition among ancient authors, especially in Hellenistic and later time. In fact, the only poem which was unanimously thought to have been composed by him was the *Works and Days*.\(^{143}\)

The title “Ἅργα καὶ Ἑμέραι” is first attested by Lucian, but it had no doubt been established earlier.\(^{144}\) The first known allusion to this poem linked to its author Hesiod comes from Pindar who in *Isthmian* 6.67 f. mentions Hesiod and refers to line 412 of the *Works*.\(^{145}\) Another early reference to the poem is found in Aristophanes’ *Frogs*: “For consider from the beginning how useful the noble poets have been. Orpheus showed us mysteries, /.../; Hesiod the culture of the soil, the seasons of fruits, ploughings (γῆς ἐργασίας, καρπῶν ὥρας, ἀρότους).”\(^{146}\) Also Plato cites line 311 of our *Works* fairly closely as Hesiod’s.\(^{147}\) Imitations of the *Works and Days* may date back to the 6th century BC: Ibycus’ allusion to Op. 646–660 (especially lines 649 and 659–660) seems quite plausible.\(^{148}\) Alcaeus may have alluded to Op. 582–489, and Theognis to Op. 702–703,—but these allusions may just as well be derived from a common tradition.\(^{149}\)

Hellenistic authors often regarded the proem of the *Works* as an addition to the original epic: Praxiphanes obelized it saying that the poem should be read starting from the account of the Strifes (i.e. from line 11), and Aristarchus is reported to have rejected the prelude, as well as Crates who claimed the beginnings of both the *Works* and *Theogony* to

\(^{143}\) Paus. 9.31.4: “the Boeotians dwelling around Helicon hold the tradition that Hesiod wrote nothing but the *Works and Days*.”

\(^{144}\) Luc. *Dial. de Hes*. 6, see also West 1978:136.


\(^{146}\) Aristoph. *Ran*. 1030 ff.

\(^{147}\) Pl. *Charm*. 163bc: οὐ μέντοι, ἐψη οὐδὲ γε τὸ ἐργάζομαι καὶ τὸ ποιεῖν. Ἑμαθὼν γάς παρ’ Ἰούδου, ὡς ἐψη ἐργὸν δ’ οὐδὲν εἶναι ὑνεκός, cf. Op. 311: ἐργὸν δ’ οὐδέν ὑνεκός, ἀφεδρὴ δὲ τ’ ὑνεκός. Cf. also Pl. *Epin.* 990a in which the *Works* (or *Astronomia*) may be referred to as a poem by Hesiod. Other authors who have referred to the *Works* explicitly as a poem composed by Hesiod are Archias in *Anth. Palat.* 9.64, Quintilian *Inst.* 5.11.19, Manilius 2.19, 24, Plutarch *Thes.* 3.2, *Mor.* 105d (with a citation of lines 94–104), 157ef (cit. ll. 41, 45, and 46), 736e, and fr. 25, 82 and 84 Sandbach; Dio Chrysostom *Or.* 77.1 (cit. Op. 25), “some” in Paus. 9.31.4, and the Suda s.v. Ἰούδος.


\(^{149}\) Alc. fr. 347a L-P, see West 1966:40 n. 4; Theogn. 1225 W.
be ordinary hymns which could be attached to any poem.\textsuperscript{150} Pausanias reports that the Boeotians refused to accept any other poem but the \textit{Works} as Hesiod’s and rejected the prelude to the Muses, probably on the grounds that their own copy, written on a tablet of lead, did not contain it.\textsuperscript{151} Plutarch who wrote a substantial (now lost) commentary on the \textit{Works and Days} agrees that it should begin with line 11 of our poem.\textsuperscript{152} He athetized also several other places, mostly on moral grounds (\textit{Op.} 267–273, 353–355, 375, 757–759) and rejected, for unknown reasons, \textit{Op.} 244–245, and 561–563.\textsuperscript{153} Although Proclus claims that Plutarch regarded the passage on the poet’s contest in Chalcis (\textit{Op.} 651–662) as an interpolation, he certainly knew the tradition of the contest between Homer and Hesiod at the funeral games of Amphidamas.\textsuperscript{154} Lines 317–318 of the \textit{Works} he condemned as interpolated from Homer (\textit{Od.} 17.347, \textit{Il.} 24.45).\textsuperscript{155} Modern commentators have generally accepted the proem as well as the whole epic as Hesiod’s work.\textsuperscript{156}

The \textit{Theogony}, \textit{Θε/Γ}ικ\textit{ΒΓΘνία}, as a formal title was fixed by the Hellenistic time at latest, as it is attested by Chrysippus the Stoic (3rd century BC).\textsuperscript{157} The allusions to the poem, however, go back to as early as the fifth century: Bacchylides mentions Hesiod and cites a line of his,—although the verse is not attested in extant versions of Hesiodic poems, the closest line to it is found in \textit{Theogony} 81–84.\textsuperscript{158} Herodotus claims that Hesiod (besides Homer) created the Hellenic theogony, keeping in mind probably that particular epic poem.\textsuperscript{159} Among the Classical authors also Aristotle cites the \textit{Theogony} quite closely and links it with Hesiod.\textsuperscript{160}


\textsuperscript{151} Paus. 9.31.4.

\textsuperscript{152} Plut. \textit{Mor.} 736e, but cf. [Plut.] fr. 25 Sandbach, which refers to \textit{Op.} 7. Plutarch’s commentary on Hesiod in at least four books is known from Gellius (NA 20.8.7).

\textsuperscript{153} West 1978:67.


\textsuperscript{155} cf. West 1978:67.


\textsuperscript{157} Chrysipp. fr. 908 SVF ii.256.21–23

\textsuperscript{158} Bacchyl. \textit{Epin.} 5.191 ff.

\textsuperscript{159} Hdt. 2.53. Cf. also Simonides (ap. \textit{Gnomol. Vatic. Gr.} 11.44) who calls Hesiod “a gardener / - - / for he told legends about gods and heroes,” referring thus probably to the \textit{Theogony} and \textit{Catalogue}.

\textsuperscript{160} Arist. \textit{Met.} A 4 p. 984a23, cf. \textit{Th.} 116 f., and 120. Later references and allusions to the \textit{Theogony}: Archias \textit{Anth. Pal.} 9.64, Manilius 2.11, Plut. \textit{Mor.} 743c, Dio Chrys. \textit{Or.} 77.1,
Among the many commentaries and treatises written on the *Theogony*, Zeno is known to have allegorically interpreted the poem and Aristonicus is reported to have written a grammatical work on the [critical] signs in the *Theogony* as well as in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Some structural features in the *Theogony* have puzzled commentators. The poem begins with two separate proems, as lines 1–103 are the “Hymn to the Muses,” and lines 104–115 the “Invocation of the Muses.” Crates athetized both on the same ground as he athetized the proem of the *Works*. The poem in its extant form has no proper ending either. The description of the genealogies of the gods ends at the line 962. Next come a couple of transitional lines (963–965) which introduce a passage of more than fifty lines on the progeny of goddesses and mortal men (966–1020). Again, at the very end, lines 1021–1022 form another transition, this time to the genealogies of the mortal women, the mothers of the heroes (γυναικῶν Φύλον). It may be that the poem (just like the *Works*) grew in scope as it was being composed and transmitted, and the part on the unions of goddesses and mortal men was added to the end of the poem of the genealogies of the gods.

The *Catalogue of Women*, a poem in five books, was originally transmitted probably as a continuation to the *Theogony*; its text followed the transitional lines 1019–1020 of our *Theogony*. It may have had an alternative title, *Ehoeae*, probably a derivation from the formula ἦ οὐ which

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Lucian *Dial. de Hes*. 1, Suda s.v. Ἡόιοδος. Cf. also Pausanias who, under the influence of “the Boeotians” doubts the Hesiodic authorship of the *Theogony*, see above p. 39.

161 Zeno fr. 167 SVF i.43, Suda s.v. Ἀριστόνικος. About the transmission of the text, see West 1966:48–52 and also 1978:63–71.

162 Cf. references in p. 39 n. 150. Nowadays, however, the proem is regarded as a genuine part of the *Theogony* (West 1966:136 f.).

163 About the similar development of the *Works* cf. West 1978:44–46. Further expansion to the *Theogony’s* original form as composed by Hesiod was made by addition of the transitional lines 1021–1022, and the whole *Catalogue* in five books to the *Theogony* (West 1966:48–50). It has even been assumed that the *Theogony* itself is an extraordinarily expanded proem to the *Catalogue of Women* (Lamberton 1988:45). The common opinion is that the *Theogony* is an earlier poem than the *Works and Days*. It has been proposed by West that the *Theogony* was composed for the competition at the funeral games of Amphidamas (1966:40–49). In that case the date of the *Theogony* depends on the date of the Lelantine War.

introduces each new heroine and her genealogy. On the other hand, it is argued that the *Catalogue* and *Ehoeae* were separate poems or two different sections of the same poem.\textsuperscript{165} Hellenistic commentators in general seem to have had no doubts about the authorship of the poem: Apollonius of Rhodes, Aristarchus, and Crates as well seem to have ascribed it to Hesiod.\textsuperscript{166} However, Aelian, perhaps under the influence of “the Boeotians” in Pausanias 9.31.4, claims that the *Catalogue* is falsely attributed to Hesiod.\textsuperscript{167}

Stesichorus is said to have ascribed the *Shield of Heracles* to Hesiod.\textsuperscript{168} The Peripatetic Megaclides recognized the poem as a genuine work of Hesiod, and so did Apollonius of Rhodes, on the ground of style and from the fact that Iolaus figures both in the *Shield* and the *Catalogue* (which he believed to be a Hesiodic poem as well).\textsuperscript{169} The *Shield* is ascribed to Hesiod also by Epaphroditus who is reported to have written an Ὑπόμνημα Ἀσπίδος Ἡσιόδου, and by the Suda.\textsuperscript{170} Aristophanes of Byzantium, on the other hand, suspected it to be a composition by somebody else whose intention was to imitate the Homeric *Shield of Achilles*.\textsuperscript{171} The *Shield* seems to have been transmitted with the text of the *Catalogue*, since, according to its *Argument*, the beginning of the *Shield* up to the fifty-sixth line belonged in the fourth book of the *Catalogue*.

Pherecydes of Athens was acquainted with the account of the death of the seer Calchas, otherwise known from the *Melampodia*, which related stories about famous seers, and was divided into at least three books.\textsuperscript{172}

\textsuperscript{165} See Hirschberger 2004:27 f. who gives a thorough overview of different modern opinions.

\textsuperscript{166} See the references in n. 164.


\textsuperscript{168} *Argum. Scuti* 1. Davison maintains that Stesichorus may have named Hesiod in connection with some incident or certain words which some later scholar recognized as reproducing something which he found in the *Shield*, or even that Stesichorus’ words unintentionally resembled those of the *Shield* (1968:82 f.). Even so, it was enough to give rise to the opinion that Stesichorus believed it to be Hesiod’s work.

\textsuperscript{169} Megaclides and Apollonius in *Argum. Scuti* 1.

\textsuperscript{170} Epaphrod. in *Et. Gud*. 91.18, 177.23 Sturz; Suda s.v. Ἡσιόδος. See also [Longin.] *De sublim.* 9.5.

\textsuperscript{171} *Argum. Scuti* 1. Modern commentators believe that the *Shield* is either composed in the early sixth century (not by Hesiod), or is a traditional oral poem, elaborated to its final form by the so called Hesiodic school (Davison 1968:82, Janko 1982:14, 127 f., West 1985:136; Lambert 1988:139, Most 2006:lviii).

\textsuperscript{172} Pherec. 3 F 142. *Melampodia* as Hesiod’s poem: Str. 14.1.27 (642) (= Hes. fr. 278
It is not clear, however, whether Pherecydes regarded Hesiod as the author of the poem.

Even less is known of the other poems. The *Ornithomanteia* was attached to the end of the *Works* until Apollonius Rhodius athetized it.\(^{173}\) Five fragments are preserved from the *Astronomy* (or *Astrology*, as Plutarch calls it) which dealt with constellations and the legends connected with them.\(^{174}\) The *Precepts of Cheiron*, a didactic poem addressed to Achilles by his teacher the centaur Cheiron, was apparently generally accepted as Hesiodic until Aristophanes of Byzantium denied the attribution some time around 200 BC.\(^{175}\) Nothing certain is known of the structure, contents or transmission of the *Great Works* and the *Great Ehoeae*, mentioned by several ancient authors.\(^{176}\) The *Idaean Dactyls* dealt probably with the discovery of metals and their working, and might have been appended to the *Great Works*.\(^{177}\) The *Aegimius* (which was also ascribed to Cercops of Miletus) was probably about the deeds of Heracles and the Dorian king Aegimius.\(^{178}\) The *Marriage of Ceyx* was ascribed to Hesiod with some hesitation by Athenaeus; Plutarch, however, thought it to be
an obvious interpolation in the works of Hesiod. The *Epithalamium of Peleus and Thetis* is thought to be a part of the *Catalogue* rather than an independent poem.\textsuperscript{179} The rest of the works—*Circuit of the Earth, Dirge for Batrachus, Theseus’ Descent into Hades, Seer’s Craft* and the *Ceramis*—are mere titles for us, as nothing of these poems has survived.\textsuperscript{181}

As is seen, in the Classical period and earlier, Hesiod was believed to have composed various didactic, genealogical, and heroic poems. The doubts about his authorship, based mainly on the grounds of style, arose only in the Hellenistic period, and as a result, several poems (the *Catalogue, Shield, Ornithomanteia, Precepts, Marriage of Ceyx*) and parts of the poems (the proems of the *Works* and *Theogony*) were detached from Hesiod. The extreme view that only the *Works and Days* was a genuine poem of Hesiod was shared among the Boeotians.

**Treatises on Hesiod**

Hesiod’s life, poetry and teachings were constantly and extensively discussed by commentators throughout antiquity.\textsuperscript{182} Most of the works are lost, but of some at least the titles or something about the contents is known. The following list of the titles and descriptions of treatises on the subject gives a glimpse of the impressive scope of the ancient writings and criticism on Hesiod.

Aristotle says that Cercops criticized the poet in the latter’s lifetime, and Xenophanes after his death.\textsuperscript{183} The latter is reported to have composed iambics attacking Hesiod and Homer and denouncing what they said about the gods.\textsuperscript{184} Acusilaus (5th c. BC) and Eumelus (8th c. BC)\textsuperscript{185} were reported to have turned the works of Hesiod into prose and

\textsuperscript{179} Athen. 49b, Plut. *Mor.* 730f.

\textsuperscript{180} Tz. in Lycophr. p. 4.13 Scheer, Hirschberger 2004:30.

\textsuperscript{181} *Circuit of the Earth*: Eph. 70 F 42, Str. 7.3.9 (302); the *Dirge*: Suda s.v. Ἡσίωδος; the *Descent*: Paus. 9.31.4; the *Ceramis*: Pollux 10.85. The latter poem was ascribed to Homer by the Suda (s.v. Ὀμηρος).

\textsuperscript{182} About the ancient scholarship and the transmission of the text of the *Works* and *Theogony* see West (1966:48–52, 1987:60–71) and Pfeiffer (1968:117, 44, 177, 220, 241 etc.).

\textsuperscript{183} Arist. fr. 75 R. About Cercops see above p. 42 n. 178.

\textsuperscript{184} Two of his critical fragments have come down to us: Xenoph. 21 B 11, 12, see also 21 A 1. Fr. 11 and 12 might be called iambics by their content, by metre they are hexameters.

\textsuperscript{185} Eumelus of Corinth the epic poet rather than Eumelus the 4th/3rd c. historian in FGrHist 77, see Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.131, Paus. 2.1.1, Athen. 1.22c, and Huxley 1969:22, 190, Mosshammer 1979:201.
presented them as their own, or amended the text in some way.\textsuperscript{186} Aristotle dealt with Hesiod’s life and death at length in his \textit{Orchomenian Constitution} and is reported to have written a treatise titled ‘\textit{Ἀπορήματα Ἡσίόδου}’ in at least two books.\textsuperscript{187} Among Diogenes’ list of the works of Heracleides Ponticus is one on the age of Homer and Hesiod (Περὶ τῆς Ὀμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου ἡλικίας) in two books, perhaps the same treatise which Chamaeleon claims to have been plagiarized from his own.\textsuperscript{188} Alcidamas wrote upon Hesiod’s death in his \textit{Museum}, and Ephorus gave the genealogies of Hesiod and Homer in his \textit{Local History}.\textsuperscript{189} Zeno is reported to have given an (allegorical) interpretation of Hesiod’s \textit{Theogony}, Philochorus investigated the date of Homer and Hesiod, and the death of Hesiod.\textsuperscript{190} There was also a treatise on Homer and Hesiod by the Hellenistic grammarian Antidorus of Cyme, and a work on their poetry by Hecataeus of Abdera.\textsuperscript{191} Zenodotus published a critical text of the \textit{Theogony} and also wrote a commentary on this poem.\textsuperscript{192} Aristophanes of Byzantium discussed the authorship of Hesiod’s works, and probably made a διόρθωσις at least of the \textit{Theogony}.\textsuperscript{193} Eratosthenes had a work called \textit{Hesiod} in which he dealt with the poet’s death, and probably also with his date and his knowledge in geography.\textsuperscript{194} Aristarchus edited both the \textit{Theogony} and the \textit{Works}, and possibly wrote a commentary on them as well.\textsuperscript{195} Demetrius Ixion is reported to have written a \textit{Commentary} on both Homer and Hesiod.\textsuperscript{196} Accius touched on the problem of the relative date of the two poets in his \textit{Didascalica}, and among Aristonicus’ grammatical works is one on the critical signs in the \textit{Theogony} of Hesiod and in the \textit{Iliad} and \textit{Odyssey}.\textsuperscript{197} According to Gellius, Plutarch wrote a

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{186} Clem. Alex. \textit{Strom.} 6.2.26, Joseph. \textit{Contra Apion.} 1.16.
\item \textsuperscript{187} Arist. fr. 565 R. (\textit{Orchomenian Constitution}), and 143 R. (‘Ἀπορήματα’).
\item \textsuperscript{188} Heracl. fr. 22 Wehrli (ap. Diog. L. 5.87), Chamael. fr. 46 Wehrli (ap. Diog. L. 5.92).
\item \textsuperscript{189} Alcid. in \textit{Cert.} 13–14, Eph. 70 F 1.
\item \textsuperscript{190} Zeno fr. 167 SVF i.43, Philoch. 328 F 210, 213.
\item \textsuperscript{191} Schol. Dion. Thrac. p. 448.6 Hilg., Suda s.v. Ἐκκατάιος. Nothing else is known about these works.
\item \textsuperscript{192} Cf. schol. on \textit{Th.} 5b\textsuperscript{2}, 116c, and Suda s.v. Ζηνόδοτος.
\item \textsuperscript{193} The existence of the critical edition of the \textit{Theogony} by Aristophanes is inferred from the schol. on \textit{Th.} 68, see Pfeiffer 1968:177, and West 1978:64f. Cf. also schol. on \textit{Th.} 126 by Aristophanes.
\item \textsuperscript{194} Eratosth. in \textit{Cert.} 14, in Str. 1.2.14 (23) and in \textit{Vita Romana}.
\item \textsuperscript{195} Cf. schol. on \textit{Th.} 76, 114–115, 138, 253a Di Gregorio; schol. on \textit{Op.} 97a, 207–212, 740a Pertusi; Pfeiffer 1968:220, and West 1978:65 with references.
\item \textsuperscript{196} Suda s.v. Δημήτριος: ἔγραψε δὲ ποιλλὰ ἢ- -/ -/ εἰς Ὁμήρου ἔξηγησιν, εἰς Ἡσίόδου ὄμοιως.
\item \textsuperscript{197} Accius in Gell. \textit{NA} 3.11.4 f., Suda s.v. Ἀριστόνικος.
\end{itemize}
Commentary on Hesiod, and he certainly referred frequently to the poet’s life, reputation, works, and date. Also Pausanias mentions Hesiod’s life and works many times. Another commentary on Hesiod is known to have been written by Dionysius of Corinth (an epic poet of the Roman period), and also by both Proclus and Tzetzes. In addition to the commentary, the latter two authors wrote also a Prolegomena, Vita Hesiodi, and many scholia on the poet’s works.

7. The date of Hesiod

Hesiod was too important a poet and linked with too important figures in Greek story-telling to be left out from the chronological system when it was in the making. The discussion about his date was in full swing already in the time we have the earliest chronographical accounts in Greek historiography. We hear the opinions about his date from Xenophanes, Hellanicus, Damastes, Pherecydes, Herodotus, Heracleides Ponticus, Ephorus, the Marmor Parium, Apollodorus, Eusebius, et al.,—practically no writer on early chronology could ignore the question of Hesiod’s date. However, the chronographers of the Classical period seem to have had nothing much to go on while trying to establish Hesiod’s time, apart from his poems and the stories which linked him with “historical” and therefore perhaps datable events and persons.

At first, they tried the much used standard method and looked for the clues in the poet’s own works. As we know, Hesiod claims in the Works that he had sailed to the funeral games of Amphidamas the king of Chalcis on Euboea and participated in the song contest there. According to the Certamen and Plutarch, Amphidamas was killed in a sea-battle in

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198 Gell. NA 20.8.7, cf. Plut. Numa 4.6, Thes. 3.2, Mor. 157ef, 402e–403a, 162c–f, 415cd, 674f–675a, 730f, 736e, 105d, 984d, 969e, fr. *25, 82, 84 Sandbach.
200 Suda s.v. Διονύσιος Κορίνθως.
201 Proclus: Vita Hesiodi, Vita Homeri, Suda s.v. Πρόξενος, Prolegomena and scholia in Gaisford’s edition of Hesiod. Tzetzes: Chil. 12.157–166, 13.649, Exegesis and scholia in Gaisford. There many extant scholia on Hesiod’s works also from other authors, for example, by Apollonius of Rhodes (on Th. 26b), Crates (Th. 126, 142), Didymus (Th. 126, Op. 304b), Seleucus (Th. 114–115, 160, 270, 573, Op. 96a, 150b, 549a, Scut. 415), Comanus (Op. 97a), etc.
the course of the Lelantine War.\textsuperscript{203} It is possible that Plutarch and others linked Amphidamas with the Lelantine War arbitrarily, simply taking this figure of the ancient hero from the \textit{Works} and placing him into the context of an ancient war\textsuperscript{204} or they may have, perhaps, confused two men of the same name, and Hesiod’s Amphidamas may have been, for example, a relative, grandfather, or grandson of Plutarch’s Amphidamas.\textsuperscript{205} Alternatively, there may have been a tradition independent of the \textit{Works and Days}, a history (known to Plutarch) which linked the same Amphidamas whom Hesiod mentions to the Lelantine War. However, if this tradition existed, it must have been chronographically useless, since ancient authors seem not to have a clue when exactly the Lelantine War took place, or when Amphidamas lived, except that it happened in Hesiod’s lifetime.\textsuperscript{206}

Consequently, chronographers had to turn to other stories. The person with whom Hesiod most often was synchronised is Homer. The opinion that they were contemporaries was current from the first half of the fifth century at latest.\textsuperscript{207} The synchronism between Hesiod and Homer relies, however, on the story of their contest at the funeral games of Amphidamas, which took chronographers into a vicious circle and did not help to find the date for Hesiod.

\textsuperscript{203} \textit{Cert. 6}, Plut. \textit{Mor.} 153f and fr. 84 Sandbach.
\textsuperscript{204} In the end of the eighth century (where the Lelantine War is usually located) Chalcis was under the rule of the aristocratic family Hippobotae (Arist. ap. Str. 10.1.8 (447)), and the fact that Amphidamas is called \textit{βασιλεύς} in the \textit{Certamen} has troubled some commentators (cf. for example Cary in CAH\textsuperscript{1}:iii.621). But Amphidamas may well have held the title \textit{βασιλεύς} as a member of the Hippobotae, and not as a true monarch (West 1966:44 n. 2).
\textsuperscript{205} Thus Janko 1982:94.
\textsuperscript{206} Thucydides says that the first sea-battle took place about two hundred and sixty years before the end of the Peloponnesian War (1.13.3–4), i.e. about 664 or 680 (cf. Hornblower 1991:44–45, Gomme 1998:122). As Amphidamas was said to have died in a sea-battle (Plut. fr. 84 Sandbach), this ought to be later than this date, if Thucydides was correct. The second part of the seventh century is a lower date than usually is suggested for the Lelantine War. Usually the war is placed around the end of the eighth and the beginning of the seventh century, although the consensus is not too strong. About the Lelantine War, see Cary in CAH\textsuperscript{1}:621–623, Boardman in CAH\textsuperscript{2}:760–765, Burn 1929:14–37, 1960:82 f. and 90–93, Bradeen 1947:223–241, Forrest 1957:160–175, Donlan 1970:131–142, Parker 1997:59–93 with bibliography, Janko 1982:94–98, Walker 2004:92–92, 156–171 and notes, \textit{et al}.
\textsuperscript{207} See Hellanicus’ genealogy (4 F 5b) in p. 12, Hdt. 2.53, also Archemachus and Euthymenes in Clem. Alex. \textit{Strom.} 1.117.4, Plut. \textit{Mor.} 153f–154a, 674f–675a (in \textit{Mor.} 155d Plutarch says that Hesiod is second to Homer in time, but it may well mean just that Hesiod was younger than Homer, their life-times overlapping), Cassius in Gell. NA
The way out was to derive a date for Homer from other sources and apply it to Hesiod on the grounds of the synchronism between the two poets. Herodotus says that both poets lived but four hundred years before himself, suggesting thus the date around 850, but does not explain why he chose that particular date for the poets. Thucydides, the younger contemporary of Herodotus says that only a little more than four hundred years separates his time from the law-giving in Sparta, i.e. from Lycurgus. Herodotus and Thucydides may have had the same 400 years in mind, derived from the old story that Lycurgus met Homer in Chios just before he returned to Sparta and began his law-giving career. In that case, both poets were dated according to Lycurgus. Ephorus who is the earliest known author to report the story of the meeting of Homer and Lycurgus, had Hesiod and Homer roughly contemporaries, Hesiod being one generation older than his cousin. Following the Spartan chronology according to which Lycurgus belonged to the sixth generation after Procles the ancestor of Spartan kings, Ephorus must have placed Lycurgus and Homer approximately to 870 BC. His date for Hesiod, one generation earlier, must have been therefore 900 or thereabouts.
According to the *Marmor Parium*, Homer lived 643 years before the *Marmor*’s base date of 264/63, thus in 907/06 B.C, and Hesiod about 30 years (one generation) earlier than Homer, in the year of 937.\(^{214}\) The latter figures are in the same relation as the ones in Ephorus, only with a shift of one generation earlier. Therefore, the *Marmor*’s dates are based probably on Ephorus’ calculations and on the synchronisms Homer—Lycurgus, and Homer—Hesiod.\(^{215}\)

Also Apollodorus synchronized Homer with Lycurgus. He accepted Eratosthenes’ dates for the Trojan War (1184) and the Ionian migration (1044) but he did not accept his date of Homer (1084).\(^{216}\) Instead, he put Homer’s *akme* a hundred years after the Ionian migration, to 944, probably in order to preserve the synchronism between Homer and Lycurgus.\(^{217}\) If Homer’s *akme* was in 944, he had to be born around 984 and the year of his death would have been around 914.\(^{218}\) Apollodorus’ date for Hesiod’s death is 777/76, i.e. 137 years after Homer’s death.\(^{219}\) Since Hesiod does not mention the Olympic Games in his poetry, the 777/76 may have been regarded as the latest possible date for Hesiod.\(^{220}\)

If Hesiod died in 777, his *akme* must have been around 807, and his birth around 847.\(^{221}\)

since he placed Hesiod in the previous generation from Homer, he must have believed that Hesiod lived one or two generations earlier than Lycurgus.

\(^{214}\) *Marmor* Ep. 28, 29. Another author who held (for unknown reasons) Hesiod to be earlier than Homer, was L. Accius (ap. Gell. *NA* 3.11.2).

\(^{215}\) See Jacoby’s commentary to *Marmor* 239 F 28–29, and Mosshammer 1979:195–196. Moreover, on the *Marmor* Homer’s name stands immediately before Pheidon the king of Argos, whose date is most probably synchronised with Lycurgus. See Kõiv 2001:343.

\(^{216}\) About Eratosthenes’ calculations, see p. 49 n. 225.

\(^{217}\) Apollod. 244 F 63.


\(^{221}\) Provided that his life-time was about 70 years, as it was believed to have been in Homer’s case (see Mosshammer 1979:195). If Hesiod reached extreme old age, as the proverb τὸ ῾Ησιόδου ἥμισυ suggests, say, to be 100 years old, his birth-date would go up to the first quarter of the ninth century.
Eusebius had two dates for Hesiod: 809 and 767/6 (Ol.3.2). The first coincides closely with the Apollodoran *akme* for Hesiod and is probably based on it.222 The other date, 767/6 for Hesiod, is probably based on Sosibius’ calculation, according to which Homer *floruit* in the eighth year of Charillus’ reign (867/6),—exactly one hundred years before the Eusebian date for Hesiod.223 Therefore, also this opinion has its roots in the synchronism between Homer and Lycurgus.224

Cassius, on the other hand, believed the poets to have lived more than 160 years after the fall of Troy. 160 years in question is probably four generations (4 × 40), and four generations was the span of time which was usually assumed to have been between fall of Troy and the start of the Ionian migration. Therefore, Cassius’ date may refer to the date 1044 BC which Eratosthenes calculated for the Ionian migration,—another event Homer was frequently synchronized with.225 Among those who believed that Homer lived at the time of the Ionian migration, was Aristotle.226 For Hesiod he had, however, a much later date as he accepted the story that Stesichorus was his son.227 Aristotle synchronized Stesichorus with

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222 Apollod. 2.44 F 333. Eusebius used Porphyry as his source, see Porph. 260 F 19. According to the Suda, Porphyry dated Homer 132 years before the first Olympiad, or 275 years after the Trojan War which makes 909 BC (1184–275 = 777 + 132). Porphyry computed 407 years between the fall of Troy and the first Olympiad (Suda s.v. "Ὀλυμπος"). He also accepted 100 years as an interval between Homer and Hesiod, and therefore 809 BC resulted as an *akme* for Hesiod. See Mosshammer 1979:193 ff.

223 Sosibius 595 F 2.


225 Cassius in Gell. NA 1.21.3. In calculating the date of the Trojan War, Eratosthenes (2.41 F 1) used the list of Spartan kings, which goes back to the return of the Heracleids. The first king in that list is Eurysthenes, whose reign began in 1104. Knowing from Thucydides (1.12.3) that the Heracleids returned to Peloponnesian eighty years (two generations) after the fall of Troy, Eratosthenes fixed the last year of the Trojan War in 1184 (1104 + 80). The Ionian migration took place two thirty-years-long generations after the return of the Heracleids, thus 1044 (1104 – 2 × 30). See Jacoby 1902:75–80. Eratosthenes’ date for Homer was one hundred years after the Trojan War (2.41 F 9ab with Jacoby’s commentary *ad loc*).

The *Vita Hesiodi* 2 transmits an opinion that Hesiod lived at the beginning of the thirty-five years long archonship of Archippus, and Homer at the end of it. According to Castor of Rhodes (250 F 4.19–20), however, Archippus’ rule lasted nineteen years, starting in 1013/2, and the reign of his father Acastus lasted 36 years, implying thus that the date of the poets in the source of *Vita Hesiodi* may originally have perhaps referred to the time of Acastus instead of Archippus. This would lead us again to the synchronism Homer—Ionian migration. Hesiod’s date would be one generation or about thirty years earlier, *ca*. 1079 BC.


227 Arist. fr. 76, 565 R. Aristotle did not, therefore, accept the strand of tradition that the poet Hesiod contested with at Chalcis, was Homer. See also above, p. 25. Euthymenes
Phalaris the tyrant of Acragas, which was was founded a little before 580 BC.\textsuperscript{228} Therefore, Stesichorus’ \textit{akme} would fall in the first part of the sixth century, around 580–570 BC.\textsuperscript{229} Consequently, Hesiod, if he fathered Stesichorus, must have lived in the latter part of the seventh century according to Aristotle’s calculation.\textsuperscript{230} With Hesiod Aristotle synchronized the Pythagorean or Orphic poet Cercops.\textsuperscript{231}

We can see that ancient authors used in their search for the date of Hesiod mainly the story of the song contest which gave the synchronism Hesiod-Homer, and the story of Hesiod’s death which linked him with Stesichorus. For Homer’s date they used either the synchronism between him and Lycurgus (whose date was usually calculated according to the chronology of the Spartan kings) or followed the account that Homer was born at the time of the Ionian migration. Since the stories about Stesichorus, Homer and Lycurgus suggested diverse chronologies, the dates the chronographers derived for Hesiod were contradictory, covering the span of time from the tenth to the seventh century.

Modern commentators cling to the reference about Amphidamas in the \textit{Works} and his alleged link to the Lelantine War as to almost the only existing hint to the real date of the poet.\textsuperscript{232} Nothing certain is known about the war, except that it took place between Eretria and Chalcis

\textsuperscript{228} Stesichorus warned the Himereans against giving military authority to Phalaris (\textit{Rhet.} 2.139b8–22). Aristotle had studied Phalaris’ tyranny: see Pol. 1310b. Other sources too locate Stesichorus usually between the second part of the seventh century to the first part of the sixth century, see p. 79 below. The foundation of Acragas: Thuc. 6.4.4, see also Burn 1960:149, Dunbabin 1948:137, 305–310. Aristotle, to whom this foundation date was accessible in the writings of Antiochus of Syracuse or in Thucydides, is not likely to have placed Stesichorus any earlier than that (Huxley 1974:208).

\textsuperscript{229} For more about Stesichorus’ date see p. 79 below.

\textsuperscript{230} \textit{Köiv}, in his \textit{A note on the dating of Hesiod} (yet unpublished), has pointed out that the middle part of the seventh century for Hesiod (suggested by Aristotle) may have been supported by an opinion that Homer flourished at the time of Archilochus and Gyges (see Tatian. \textit{adv. Gracc.} 31, Theopompus 115 F 205, Euphorion in Clem. Alex. \textit{Strom.} 1.117). Accordingly, his song contest with Hesiod must also have taken place at that time. Archilochus reference to the “lords of Euboea” (fr. 3 W) may have led to the synchronism between Archilochus and the Lelantine war. Since Archilochus was known as a contemporary of Gyges (fr. 19), a set of synchronisms was formed between Hesiod, Homer, the Lelantine war, Archilochus and Gyges. More about the synchronism Archilochus-Gyges in p. 111 below.

\textsuperscript{231} Arist. fr. 75 R.

\textsuperscript{232} There have been doubts, however, whether Amphidamas was a historical person at all, see Cary in CAH\textsuperscript{1} iii:621, Boardman in CAH\textsuperscript{2} iii:1:761.
who both had many allies. The war is thought to have arisen out of colonising activity, and has been dated by combining Plutarch’s reference that Amphidamas took an active part in a sea-battle with Aristotle’s statement that most of the fighting between Chalcis and Eretria was done by cavalry. Both, active kings and the beginning of the usage of cavalry in a battle point to the 8th century. According to ancient authors, there were several conflicts between different colonies in the latter part of the 8th century, which might have been linked to this war. All the signs of conflict and collaboration seem to have ranged between about 735 and 704, and the end of the 8th century is now often accepted as the date of the Lelantine War. Therefore, if Amphidamas took part in this war and was a contemporary of Hesiod, then we have ca. 700 BC for the latest date for Hesiod.

Hesiod as the author of the Works and Days (and the Theogony) has been placed at the end of the 8th century on the base of style and diction of the poems as well. It has been argued that although Hesiod used Homeric vocabulary and formulae, his way of thinking is closer to the early philosophers and lyric poets than to Homer. Consequently, it has been suggested that Hesiod composed his poems later than Homer. These considerations, however, have lost much of their value, as it has been pointed out that both Hesiod and Homer used common formulae from the oral epic tradition. In addition, the terminus ante 700 BC for Hesiod has been conjectured on the basis of the (possible) imitations and allusions to his poetry made by the poets of the 7th century (Archilochus, Tyrtaeus, Semonides of Amorgus), but most of the parallels may simply be formulaic phrases from the oral tradition. West has argued for a slightly later terminus ante quem for Hesiod, namely the beginning of the 7th century, on the grounds that the first certain imitation of Hesiod is made only by Alcaeus. West suggests the interval approximately

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236 See p. 46 n. 206.
237 RE s.v. Hesiodos.
240 Alc. fr. 347 ~ Op. 582–589. West adds, however, that there are several earlier probable or possible allusions: Epimenides (fr. 1 ~ Th. 26), Mimnermus (fr. 6.1 ~ Op. 91, fr. 12.3 ~ Th. 670), Semonides of Amorgus (fr. 6 ~ Op. 702–703, fr. 7.94–97 ~ Th. 592,
between 730–690 for the date of Hesiod. On the base of linguistic considerations Janko has brought Hesiod (or the works ascribed to Hesiod) down to an even a later time, the first half of the 7th century.\textsuperscript{241}

8. Formulaic themes and Orphic/Pythagorean influences in Hesiod’s tradition

Formulaic themes

Several traditional topics were mentioned in the section about the story of Hesiod’s death: the misinterpreted oracle, the poet as a healer, the animal-helpers, exceptionally long life, and the tendency to associate famous poets with each other in biographical traditions. In addition to those, however, there are still more formulaic themes found in the tradition of Hesiod.

One of these is the divine origin of Hesiod. His father’s ancestors were allegedly Atlas, Poseidon, Apollo, Calliope and Orpheus, and his grandfather on his mother’s side was Apollo.\textsuperscript{242} It is not surprising to find Orpheus, Apollo and Calliope, the divinities connected to poetry and song, among Hesiod’s ancestors. Orpheus may, on the other hand, have been inserted in the lineage of Hesiod by the Orphic poets who seem to have had an important role in developing Hesiod’s biographical tradition. The reason for the inclusion of Atlas and Poseidon in Hesiod’s pedigree remains obscure. It is worth mentioning, however, that Zeus does not figure in any surviving genealogy of Hesiod, which means that ancient authors probably did not understand \textit{Op.} 299 (Πέρση, δίον γένος . . .) as a reference to Zeus as an ancestor of Perses and Hesiod.\textsuperscript{243} Hesiod’s genealogies contain also Chariphemus the \textit{oikistes} of Cyme, and poets Linus, Melanopus, and Homer.

Another motif in the tradition of Hesiod common to the traditions of other poets and also of heroes is his father’s forced leaving or fleeing from his home town Cyme in Asia Minor; especially if the departure

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\textsuperscript{241} Ca. 680–660 BC (Janko 1982:200, cf. his discussion of Hesiod’s date on the base of the date of Lelantine War and allusions made by Semonides in pp. 94–98).

\textsuperscript{242} Orpheus was Hesiod’s forefather in Hellanicus \textit{et al.} genealogy (4 F 5, 5 F 11, 3 F 167). Atlas: in the Suda s.v. Ηοιοδος, Poseidon, Apollo, and Calliope: in \textit{Cert.} 3 and 4.

\textsuperscript{243} Pace West 1978:232 ad v. 299.
was caused not by “wretched poverty” as Hesiod himself explains, but because of a murder of a kinsman as the Cyme historian Ephorus has claimed. True, in myths the person exiled is usually the hero himself and in Hesiod’s case it was the father of the “hero,” but the motif is recognisably the same.

A common feature in traditions of seers and poets is their poetic or mantic initiation, like that of Hesiod by the Muses,—see, for example, the stories about Homer, Stesichorus, Archilochus.

Taking part in song contests is another recurring feature in the stories of the seers and poets. Of course, it is expected that good poets had competitions, but since Hesiod’s opponent at the contest was traditionally the most famous poet of all times, Homer, the story comes closer to archetypal legend. We know the parallel stories of two other great epic poets, Arctinus and Lesches, competing in song, and of two important seers, Calchas and Mopsus, having a riddle-competition in Clarus near Colophon. Aristophanes tells about the competition of Aeschylus and Euripides, which may indicate that stories of contests between the highly esteemed poets were common enough in the tradition of poetic biography.

Virgil informs us that Hesiod could charm ash trees down the mountain sides with his song, possessing thus power over natural phenomena. Comparable accounts are found in traditions of Orpheus, Melanopous, Amphion, Pythagoras and Homer. Hesiod was actually referred to as a seer: according to Pausanias, the Boeotians believed that the poet had learnt seercraft from the Acarnanians.

And finally, Hesiod lives up to the poets’ reputation of dying under unusual circumstances: he was killed by the brothers of the girl he loved. Other poets’ fate was not better: Orpheus was torn to pieces by the Thracian maenads, Homer died of sadness over failure to solve a riddle, Aeschylus was killed by a falling tortoise, Euripides was torn apart and

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244 Eph. 70 F 100.
245 For examples and references see p. 211.
246 For more see p. 208.
248 Aristoph. Ran. 830 ff.
250 See p. 214.
251 Paus. 9.31.5.
eaten by the descendants of the Macedonian hounds, Anacreon was choked by a grape-seed, Hipponax starved to death, Sappho committed suicide, and so on.\textsuperscript{252}

**Orphic and Pythagorean influences in Hesiod's tradition**

As is noted above, the story of Hesiod's death seems to have been closely connected to Orphic stories and derives possibly from the *Peplos*, composed probably close to the end of the Archaic era.\textsuperscript{253} Considering this against the background of other apparently Orphic and Pythagorean traits in Hesiod's biography, it seems probable that this account was essentially shaped by Orphic or Pythagorean poets. There are several small details in Hesiod's tradition which cumulatively may point to Orphic origin. First, Orpheus figures in Hesiod's genealogies.\textsuperscript{254} Secondly, several book-titles can be found in both: the *Descent into Hades* was ascribed to Hesiod, Orpheus, or to a Sicilian Orphic poet Orpheus of Camarina.\textsuperscript{255} The *Theogony* and *Astrology* were too sometimes ascribed to the latter poet.\textsuperscript{256} Even the *Works* figure in both traditions: according to Proclus and Tzetzes, Hesiod composed his poem because he did not agree with the *Georgia* written by Orpheus.\textsuperscript{257} Next, a Pythagorean called Cercops is recorded to have criticized Hesiod in his lifetime.\textsuperscript{258} We know that Hesiod's body was brought to land at the time of the feast of Ariadne.\textsuperscript{259} Since Ariadne was the wife of Dionysus the god so important to the Orphic poets, the allusion to her in the story may not be

\textsuperscript{252} For more see p. 217.
\textsuperscript{253} See p. 28.
\textsuperscript{254} See the genealogies by Hellanicus and the *Certamen* in p. 12 and 13, and also Charax' genealogy of Homer in p. 15.
\textsuperscript{255} Suda s.v. Ὀρφεύς and Ὀρφεύς Καμαριναῖος. See also DGRBM s.v. Orpheus.
\textsuperscript{256} Suda s.v. Ὀρφεύς Καμαριναῖος.
\textsuperscript{257} Vita Hesiodi 8 (Proclus), p. 9 Gaisford: ἐτὶ δὲ πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν τῶν τοῦ μεγάλου Ὀρφεός ἐγγον καὶ ἡμερῶν, ἦτοι τῶν περὶ γεωργίας. See frs. 768–776 Bernabé about Orphic *Georgia*, and also frs. 753–767 and 216 Bernabé about the Orphic *Ephemeredes* and Orphic personification of Dike (cf. Op. 256–262). In Tzetzes' version of the *Vita Hesiodi* (ch. 18, p. 20 Gaisford) the beginning of the *Georgia* is given. Since it matches with the beginning of Maximus' poem Πεῖοι Κατάργων, several modern commentators have concluded that Maximus' poem became attached to Orpheus in late antiquity; see Hermann 1805:viii, Kroll in RE s.v. Maximus (vol. xiv:2575), Wilamowitz 1930:250, West 1983:37. Lobeck (1829:i.2:423–424 with n. [m]) and Kern (1922:268) have suggested that Maximus plagiarized the old Orphic *Georgia*.
\textsuperscript{258} Arist. fr. 75 R. About Cercops see above p. 42 n. 178.
\textsuperscript{259} Alcid. in Cert. 14.
entirely insignificant. Besides Hesiod, also Arion the “inventor” of the dithyramb, a choral lyric genre connected with the worship of Dionysus, was brought to land by dolphins. Moreover, according to a legend, Dionysus himself once changed the pirates who wanted to rob him into dolphins. Thus, the reference to dolphins in the story of Hesiod’s death may be, perhaps, a trace of an Orphic tradition of Dionysus. And finally, in the Orphic context also Clymene, the name of Hesiod’s mother may have been a significant name. According to Pherecydes, Clymene was one of the daughters of Minyas. Her sisters were Pericl Clymene, Eteoclymene and Persephone,—variability which points to the synonymous meaning of the names. Lasus refers to the link between Clymene (Persephone/Core) and the Realm of Death, saying that Core was a wife of Clymenus, i.e. Hades; and Persephone was believed to be the mother of the Orphic god Dionysus-Zagreus. Additionally, as has been discussed above, the reference to Hesiod’s double youth and a double burial sounds Orphic or Pythagorean. Could it be that there was a tradition that Hesiod died, went to Hades and came back to this world as he was given another life? The story would at least in some points remind one of Theseus’ and Peirithous’ descent to Hades, which was believed to be the topic of one of the poems ascribed to both Hesiod and Orpheus. Cf. also Pythagoras’ descent to Hades where he saw the souls of Hesiod and Homer being tortured for what they had said about gods. One more possible hint to the Pythagorean influence is found in Homer’s genealogy by Charax, which includes a name Euphemus recorded also in Iamblichus’ list of early Pythagoreans. Even though Hesiod is not mentioned in Charax’ genealogy, it is certainly the same Cyme lineage known by Hellanicus and others.

The Orphics and the Pythagoreans as the compilers of theogonies were certainly highly interested in Hesiodic theogonic poetry. They must have known it well, and may also have preserved, performed and transmitted it in some way. Their attention may have consequently

260 Pl. O. 13.18–19, Hell. 4 F 86, Arist. fr. 677 R.
261 See HyDion. (7); Pi. fr. 236; Eur. Cyclops 11, Apollod. Bibl. 3.37–38 etc.
262 Pherec. 3 F 104b.
265 VP 63, see also p. 65.
266 See also Bruno Currie 2006.
267 Cf. also the possible references to the Hesiodic school by Aristotle (Met. B 4 p. 1000 a 9) and Pollux (5.42).
turned also to the author of these works, and the biographical tradition of Hesiod, or part of it, may have been shaped by the Orphic poets and the Pythagoreans in South Italy in the latter part of the sixth century BC. The Orphic/Pythagorean version of Hesiod’s life must have contained at least the story of Hesiod’s origin (cf. the Orphic genealogy of the poet, which may be influenced by the Pythagorean idea of metempsychosis) and the story of his death (including the assumption that Stesichorus was his son).

9. Two modern views on the tradition of Hesiod

Similarly to other biographical traditions about early poets, the tradition of Hesiod has usually been studied exclusively from the point of view of its reliability as a source for obtaining historical data about the poet. Much less attention has been devoted to the tradition itself, although it seems vital to assess its formation and development if we want to estimate its validity;—one cannot evaluate a source without first investigating its origin and nature.

Two scholars, Mary Lefkowitz and Robert Lamberton, have taken a deeper look into the nature and origin of the Hesiodic biographical tradition. Lefkowitz suggests that Hesiod has provided a “professional” biography in his works, and that he mentioned only those facts of his life which in some way could prove helpful to demonstrate to Perses and the audience the right way of living, and to explain why they ought to trust his advice, i.e. from where he obtained his knowledge. According to Lefkowitz, the Perses of Hesiod’s poem is an ideal person, a Silent Listener, to whom the Works and Days, a poem about the need for justice and hard work in human life, is addressed. Lefkowitz proceeds saying that the father of Hesiod and Perses is mentioned only as an exemplum of a man who earns a living by merchant shipping. Hesiod has no intention of describing himself as a person: his aim is merely to establish his poetic authority. The biographers of Hesiod, wishing to increase the importance of the poet and to create a more personal account of his life, took advantage of clues they found in the poems, added some material (invented by

268 Cf. the influence of Theagenes on the development of Homer’s biographical tradition, see p. 24 n. 73.
269 Cf. the numerous biographical links with the Pythagoreans in the tradition of Stesichorus, see p. 82.
them or earlier authors), elaborated and expanded the stories, and gradually built up the biography. Thus, according to Lefkowitz, the development of the biographical tradition of Hesiod was a prolonged process, which began in the fifth century when Thucydides mentions that Hesiod was believed to have died by fulfilling the prediction of an oracle; and had, according to an epigram attributed to Pindar, lived a second life.\footnote{Thuc. 3.06.1, Pi. ap. Suda s.v. τὸ Ἡσιοδοῦν γῆρας, Vita Hesiodi 4.} Lefkowitz suggests that the biography was in its main part established by the second century AD, and embellished further to the very end of antiquity.\footnote{Lefkowitz 1981:1–11.}

However, several aspects in Lefkowitz’ argumentation can be questioned. According to her, Alcidamas (4th c. BC) extended the passage in Op. 650–662 about the song contest in Chalcis to make it the contest between Hesiod and Homer. Other scholars have, however, traced the story back to the fifth and sixth century.\footnote{See p. 19 ff.} Furthermore, Plutarch appears to quote the cyclic poet Lesches in connection with the contest, which would take the story back to the seventh century.\footnote{Plut. Mor. 153f–154a. About Lesches’ authorship, see p. 23.} Secondly, Lefkowitz suggests that the story of the poet’s death, which was based on Op. 270–273 and on the reference of Thucydides, was elaborated by Alcidamas, and further by Aristotle and Philochorus, who added the detail that the son born to the girl Hesiod had seduced was Stesichorus.\footnote{Alcidamas in Cert. 13–14, Arist. fr. 565 R, Philoch. 328 F 213.} The compiler of Vita Hesiodi points out that the source of the account which mentions Stesichorus as the son of Hesiod and Ctimene, was the author of the Peplos, possibly Brontinus or Zopyrus.\footnote{Vita Hesiodi 3. About Brontinus and Zopyrus see p. 35 n. 131.} In that case, the account that Stesichorus was the son of Hesiod and the seduced girl, and most probably the whole story of the Hesiod’s death, had to be known already in the 6th century, long before Alcidamas’ and Thucydides’ lifetime. All this suggests the possibility that there existed a much earlier version of the story than the one by Alcidamas. Also a genealogy which gives the poet’s father as Dios and makes Hesiod Homer’s cousin is already found in the fifth century, in Hellanicus, Damastes and Pherecydes, and not just in Ephorus (who lived about a hundred years later), as proposed by Lefkowitz.\footnote{Hell. 4 F 5b, Damastes 5 F 11, Pherec. 3 F 167. Also, it is not probable, pace Lefkowitz, that the account of the loyal dog replaced the miraculous dolphins of an earlier version, since both dog and dolphins figure in Plutarch’s version and have different roles in the story.} Moreover, although Eratosthenes is the first to claim that...
the killers were the sons of Ganyctor, Ganyctor himself already figures in the version known by Aristotle as one of the murderers of the poet and a son of Phegeus. Furthermore, a Ganyctor is known from the Euboean tradition as the son of the Chalcidean king Amphidamas and as one of the judges of the contest of Hesiod and Homer. If the story of the contest has its beginnings in the sixth or seventh century as is argued above, then Ganyctor is hardly an invention of the late Classical scholars. Altogether, it seems that Lefkowitz has several times ignored or over-readily dismissed the data that point to an earlier dating of the tradition than she is inclined to posit.

A different, analytical view on the development of Hesiod’s biographical tradition is taken by Robert Lamberton. He argues that the Hesiodic poems are a creation of many anonymous illiterate improvising singers who manipulated and rearranged traditional material, eventually developing it into something close to what we have. These poems, originally produced by oral poets, were written down, performed and transmitted by non-creative rhapsodes. The poems were originally anonymous and not connected to any special region, just like the Homeric poems. The singers who performed the poems ascribed to Hesiod would have told stories about their alleged author to the audience, and so, on the basis of more or less authentic tradition, or simply owing to the creative imagination of the rhapsodes, many different short biographies were formed. Hesiod in the poems is a figure of convention rather than a historical individual and was not originally linked with the poems. He entered the texts as we know them with the proems, which contain most of the autobiographical data (the poet’s name, for example), topographic references (Boeotian toponyms, except for Ascr and Helicon) and Muse-cult material. Lamberton suggests that the proems (and Hesiod) were attached to the text of the poems only in the Hellenistic period, after

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278 Cert. 6.
279 Lefkowitz says: “Plutarch’s views about Hesiod’s date caused him to remove from his text as ‘nonsense’ Hesiod’s account of the contest at Chalcis and the dedication of his tripod (fr. 84 Sandbach).” In fact, in Mor. 153f–154a and in Mor. 674f–675a Plutarch explicitly says that the contest took place in Chalcis, at the funeral games of Amphidamas, between no one else but Homer and Hesiod, and thus seems to regard the poets as contemporaries and the passage in Op. as a genuine part of Hesiod’s work.
the Thespians had established the festival of the Muses in Helicon, and institutionalised the poems and the persona of their singer. Once that had happened and the powerful institution was constantly reminding the Hellenistic reading public of the association of Hesiod, the Muses and Boeotian topography, a convenient biography was selected for the occasion among the many short, early rhapsodic biographies, and it was further elaborated and eventually transmitted as part of the text of the poems.

There again are inaccuracies in the argument. Not all autobiographical information in Hesiod’s poems comes from proems. The account that Hesiod’s father used to be a seafaring trader, and was forced to leave his native town Cyme in Aeolis and to settle in Ascra near Helicon, comes in Op. 630–640. The verse on the basis of which the name of Hesiod’s father entered the tradition is Op. 299. The poet mentions his son in Op. 271. Lamberton claims that without the proems we no longer have a Hesiod with a special devotion to the Muses, and believes that the passage in the Works and Days (656ff.) in which the poet claims to have dedicated a tripod to the Heliconian Muses and to have learned a song from them on Helicon is just an aition for the artefact actually displayed at the festival of the Muses. Yet, Alcidamas, who wrote about the contest between Homer and Hesiod, knew the story of how Hesiod went to Chalcis and won a tripod. Alcidamas’ version (or some earlier version of the story known to him) of the contest was evidently inspired by the verses of the Works. Thus it seems probable that the story of the dedication of the tripod to the Muses by Hesiod was already known to Alcidamas at latest. Hence it must have been in the fourth century or earlier, and not in the Hellenistic period, that the particular verses and probably the whole Works as we know it were ascribed to Hesiod. Given the amount of biographical material in the poems outside the proems, it is hardly plausible that the poems remained anonymous before the establishment of the festival of the Heliconian Muses, as Lamberton claims.

10. Conclusion

An extensive part of the biography is undoubtedly based on the poet’s own works: details such as his father’s former homeland and profession and his departure from Cyme to their new home Ascra, the poet’s conflict with his brother over their father’s inheritance, and his participation in a song contest in Chalcis are drawn from the Works and Days; and, using
a traditional formulaic theme of mantic or poetic initiation, he gives an account of his encounter with the Muses in the *Theogony*.

The statements and hints in the poems were often expanded and developed into elaborate stories by later authors: the phrase δῖον γένος (Op. 299), for example, was interpreted as a reference to the name of the poet’s father (Dios), the initiation story was enriched with numerous details, and the account of the song contest became an elaborated and multiversant story in which Hesiod triumphed in a hard trial against Homer. On the basis of Hesiod’s hint of his father’s Cyme origin, the chronographers linked him with Cyme mythological history and created genealogies which combined his Cyme ancestry (Dios, Chariphemus, Melanopus) with his synchronicity with Homer (which was probably based on the story of the contest), provided the name of Hesiod’s mother (Pycimede), and included many important figures such as divinities Poseidion and Apollo, a Titan Atlas, nymphs Calliope and Methione, an oikistes Chariphemus and poets Orpheus, Melanopus and Linus. The story of Hesiod’s death is originally clearly a Locrian tradition, elaborated by the Orchomenians (the second grave in Orchomenus) and the Orphic poets or Pythagoreans (cf. Hesiod’s double youth, and the numerous Pythagorean allusions in tradition).

A number of details, such as Hesiod’s divine origin, possibly his father’s exile from Cyme, Hesiod’s poetic initiation by the Muses, his exceptionally long life, his participation in the song-contest, his death in accordance with a misunderstood oracle, the helpfulness of animals in rescuing of Hesiod’s body, and the beneficial powers of his remains, have a recognisably formulaic character.

It is clear from the works of Aristotle, Alcidamas and Ephorus, that the tradition as a whole was fully developed by the fourth century BC. The story of the poet’s death, however, was certainly current already a century earlier (Thucydides), as well as his genealogy and his synchronicity with Homer (Hellanicus, Herodotus), and also the double youth and double grave (Pindar). Furthermore, the abundance of the formulaic elements in the tradition and their similarities with the motifs in the early traditions of other famous persons suggests that much of it was originally created and transmitted orally, possibly before literary culture began to prevail in the Classical period. It is possible that many basic points of the Hesiodic *Life*, such as origin, death, and double youth, come from the Orphic and Pythagorean authors of the sixth century.

Another early tradition about Hesiod is the story of his contest with Homer, which gave the firm basis also to the assumption that they were
contemporaries. The latter detail was undoubtedly known to Herodotus, Hellanicus, Pherecydes and Damastes. In the extant version of the story there are verses similar to those composed by Theognis in the 6th century. It is possible that these rather proverbial verses were taken from the works of Theognis and included in the story of contest. On the other hand, we cannot rule out the possibility that it was Theognis who copied the verses from the then current version of the poets’ song competition. Plutarch mentions the seventh-century epic poet Lesches as his source of his version of the story of the contest at Chalcis, pointing to even earlier development of the story.

There might have existed other early stories about Hesiod which have not survived in any recognisable form, or are not datable in any degree of precision. For example we know a version of the contest of Hesiod and Homer, which took place in Delos instead of Chalcis. We cannot determine the exact time of origin of this, but it most probably existed already before the fourth century when Alcidamas in his writings secured the transmission and survival of the Chalcis-version of the story of contest. Another hint of a possible early strand of tradition comes from Ephorus who mentions murder as an alternative reason for why Hesiod’s father had left Cyme to the one given in the *Works and Days*. This information may possibly be derived from some early local tradition of Cyme.

In sum, the tradition about Hesiod seems to have had three or four recognisable sources: Hesiod’s own statements fixing his home, origin, family and some details of his life; local traditions such as the Cymean genealogies and Locrian account of the poet’s death, elaborated by Orphic poets and the Pythagoreans; and the poetry of Lesches, or oral tradition, fixed perhaps by Theagenes, for the synchronicity and contest of Hesiod and Homer. The early biographical accounts of Hesiod were elaborated and illustrated with new details, adapted to new moral, rhetorical or allegorical purposes, and mixed with each other by later authors up to the end of antiquity, providing thus many different versions of the stories, but the core of the biographical tradition of Hesiod seems to belong to the Archaic period.
1. The tradition

Stesichorus, whom the ancients did not hesitate to call the reincarnation of Homer, was a classic already by the beginning of the fifth century. His poetry was well known, and so was the man. The common opinion held Stesichorus to have been born in Himera in Sicily, but he had connections also with Mataurus, the Locrian colony in South Italy. Tradition knew five names for his father: Euphemus, Euclides, Euphorbus, Hyetes, and Hesiod, and Clymene or Ctemene (Ctimene) for his mother. He had two brothers: a famous geometer Mamercus and Helianax the law-giver. Stesichorus was initiated into poetry by a nightingale,—at his birth the bird sat on his lips and sang a sweet song. Later in his life the poet was temporarily blinded by Helen or the Dioscuri for writing abuse about her, but after he had realised the cause of his sudden blindness, and had written two recantations or *Palinodes*, the goddess restored his sight.

Stesichorus sometimes used his position of poet and singer for shaping the political views of his fellow citizens. Once he warned the Locrians against being presumptuous “lest the cicadas sing from the ground” and another time he admonished the Himereans to reject the tyranny that Phalaris (or Gelon) tried to establish in their city. On yet another occasion he restored peace between adversaries who were drawn up and ready for battle by standing between them and singing to them.

He was called μελοποιός and λυρικός by the ancient authors, and he was known to have composed hymns, fables, bucolic songs, love songs (παιδεία or παιδικά), choral songs to the cithara and possibly also paens. Stesichorus used old nomes such as the *Chariot* nome and some derivation of the *Orthian* nome, and was much praised for the excellence and grandeur of the settings of his subject matter, for giving his characters dignity, for his use of epithets and variety, and for thematic innovations. On the other hand, he was sometimes held redundant and extravagant, and, in the latter part of the fifth century, also old-fashioned.
At least in later antiquity, an opinion existed that the poet’s true name was Tisias, Stesichorus being a nickname or professional title given to him because he was the first to set up a chorus of singers to the cithara. He is reported to have travelled around in South Italy and to some extent perhaps also on the Greek mainland. When Stesichorus was around eighty-five years old, he was killed by a robber called Hicanus, and was buried in Catana near the gate which was later called the Stesichorean Gate.

His works were known to have been compiled in twenty-six books, or rather poems, of which the titles of seventeen are attested by ancient authors. Stesichorus was usually dated to the latter part of the seventh century and the first part of the sixth century, and synchronized with Pythagoras, Simonides, Alcman, Sappho, Alcaeus, and the tyrants Pittacus and Phalaris.

The modern views

The opinions on Stesichorus’ biographical tradition and its historical reliability have changed radically during the last century or so, growing more and more sceptical.\(^1\) Still, despite the increasing pessimism, there are a few things in the tradition which seem to be accepted as historically reliable by most modern scholars. First, Stesichorus is almost unanimously thought to have come from Himera, which is the dominant view also in ancient sources. Secondly, many authorities accept the Suda’s date for the poet (632–556 BC) even if admitting that it may be based on nothing more than synchronisation with other early poets.\(^2\)

Modern commentators have been interested in some of the topics of the tradition, such as the blindness and the name of the poet, as well as Stesichorus’ attitude towards tyranny, and the possibility that the poet travelled around South Italy and to the Peloponnese. The opinions on these particular issues will be discussed below in relevant sections. The development of the tradition in general, however, has been very

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\(^1\) Compare the entry “Stesichoros” in RE by Maas, and Dihle’s opinion that: “… practically nothing is known about the poet’s life” (1994:45). See also Lefkowitz 1981:32.

seldom touched upon by modern authors. Only a few scholars have taken an interest in it: West has very rightly emphasized the numerous links between Stesichorean and Pythagorean traditions, and Wilamowitz noticed the existence of the separate Locrian and Himerean traditions.  

2. Stesichorus’ family

Five different names for Stesichorus’ father are attested in tradition: Euphemus, Euphorbus, Hyetes or Euetes, Euclides, and Hesiod. The first three seem to belong in the Pythagorean tradition. Euphemus, who is first mentioned by Plato, and later by Stephanus of Byzantium and the Suda, appears later in Iamblichus’ list of early Pythagoreans, mentioned among the Metapontians with the Pythagoreans/Orphic poets Brontinus and Zopyrus who seem to have had an important role in the development of Hesiod’s tradition. Euphorbus as Stesichorus’ father is attested only by the Suda. According to the Pythagorean tradition, Euphorbus was a previous incarnation of Pythagoras, who wounded Patroclus and was himself wounded or killed by Menelaus in the Trojan War. The third name for the poet’s father, Hyetes in the Suda, is often emended into Euetes on the grounds that all other names for Stesichorus’ father (except Hesiod) begin with Eu-. It may be relevant that Iamblichus’ list includes one Euetes among the Pythagoreans from (Epizephyrean) Locris. A different tradition seems to lie behind the name Euclides as the father of Stesichorus attested on an inscription on a headless herm from Tivoli, and in the Suda. According to Thucydides, Euclides was one of

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4 Pl. Phaedr. 244a, Steph. Byz. s.v. Μάταυρος, Suda s.v. Στησίχορος, and also epigr. anon. ap. Σ Pind. (1.10.12 sq. Dr.), Iambl. VP 63. According to Charax’ genealogy (see p. 15), Homer had a great-great-grandfather called Euphemus (Suda s.v. Ὀμηρος). For more about Brontinus and Zopyrus see p. 35.
5 Suda s.v. Στησίχορος.
6 Il. 16.806–815, 17.9–60; Iambl. VP 63, Heracl. fr. 89 Wehrli, Diog. L. 8.4, see also Burkert 1972:138–141.
7 Suda s.v. Στησίχορος. The emendation εὐέτος pro ὑέτος was done by Wilamowitz 1913:236 n. 2, see also West 1971a:303. Wilamowitz believed the names Euphorbus and Euetes to be erroneous derivations from Euclides and Euphemus (ibid.), but it is equally plausible that the names come from different traditions or versions of the traditions.
8 IG 14.1213, Suda s.v. Στησίχορος.
the founders of Himera. Thus, the Himerean tradition seem to have linked the most famous poet of the city with its oikistes.

The information that Hesiod was the father of Stesichorus is closely linked to the Ozolean Locris’ tradition of Hesiod’s death. It may be that Stesichorus was attached to the Ozolean Locris’ story by the Epizephyrean Locrians who felt it appropriate to connect the fates of two famous poets who composed thematically similar poetry. Epizephyrean Locris in South-Italy was in the sphere of influence of early Pythagoreans, whose impact on Hesiod’s tradition is discussed already above. The same tradition which linked Stesichorus with Hesiod provides the name of Stesichorus’ mother Ctemene, Ctimene or Clymene. The existence of at least one brother of Stesichorus was known by the middle of the fifth century: according to Hippias of Elis, the brother of the poet was a well-known geometrist. Owing to the poor state of the manuscripts we cannot know for certain what Hippias (and Proclus, thanks to whom this account has come down to us) reckoned as the name of the brother, but it may have been Mamercus. In later sources he was called Mamertius by Heron, and Mamertinus in the Suda. The second brother of the poet was, according to Suda, Helianax the law-giver. Both brothers can be associated with the Pythagoreans by profession: a law-giver and a well-known mathematician in Sicily/Italy around the middle

9 Thuc. 6.5.1: καὶ Ἰμέρα ἀπὸ Ζάγκλης ὡκίσθη ὑπὸ Εὐκλείδου καὶ Σίμου καὶ Σάκως.
10 P. 25 above. The references on Hesiod as Stesichorus’ father are on p. 11 n. 16.
11 It should be remembered that many more different poems were ascribed to Hesiod in antiquity than in present days, see above p. 37.
12 See p. 54. The tradition of a family link between Hesiod and Stesichorus persisted at least until the Roman times as Cicero rejects this opinion that Hesiod was the younger poet’s grandfather on chronological grounds (De Rep. 2.20).
14 Hippias B 12 DK ap. Procl. Eucl. Prolog. 2: μετὰ δὲ τούτων (sc. Θελήν) [Μάμερκος] ὁ Στησίχορος τοῦ ποιητοῦ ὄδηλας ὡς ἐγκατάμενος τῆς περὶ γεωμετρίας σπουδῆς μνημονεύεται. καὶ Ἡπίας ὁ Ἡλείος ἰστόριζεν ως ἄτι γεωμετρία δοξάζει αὐτοῦ λαβόντος. In the oldest manuscript (M) stands ὄμηρο[ο] instead of Μάμερκος to which a later hand has added μ in front of it, and corrected the spiritus lenis in acute, and i in κ. Friedlein, following these corrections and the reading in another manuscript (Z), emended the name into Μώμερκος. Other readings are Ἀμερίστος (B3, G, A)/ Amerestus (B, cf. Z) and Μωμέρκος (μωμέρκος, μωμέτος) (H2). See Friedlein 1873:65, Thomas 1957:147. Davies in Stesich. TA28 in PMGF, and Campbell (2001:36) in Stesich. T 15 accept the emendation; see also Wilamowitz 1913:237 n. 3.
15 Heron Defini. 136,1, Suda s.v. Στησίχορος.
16 Suda s.v. Στησίχορος. Helianax is not attested in other sources.
of the sixth century can hardly be a figure outside of the Pythagorean circle. Mamercus appears elsewhere also as the name of the son of Pythagoras and Μάρμαρος as the father of Pythagoras.

Thus, it seems that there existed two different traditions about Stesichorus’ family, as already has been pointed out by Wilamowitz. First the Himerean tradition, which linked the poet to Euclides the oikistes of the city; and secondly the Locrian tradition, which combined the Ozolean and Epizephyrean Locrian stories about Hesiod and Stesichorus. Since Stesichorus’ tradition contains some names of the early Pythagoreans (Euetes, Euphemus, Euphorbus, Mamercus) and because the Locrian tradition linked Stesichorus with Hesiod whose tradition is clearly influenced by the Pythagoreans, it is reasonable to assume that the Pythagorean features belong in the Locrian rather than Himerean tradition. Both strands of tradition and all main details about Stesichorus’ family were known in the Classical period.

17 West 1971a:303, but see Burkert 1972:417 n. 93, who finds that the linking of Stesichorus’ brother with Mamercus is built on sand.

Pythagoras was believed to have invented legislation: “He also founded another excellent kind of justice: legislation. /.../ That is why the best legislators were students of Pythagoras, first Charondas of Catana, then Zaleucus and Timaratus who wrote laws for Locri, and Theaetetus and Helicaon and Aristocrates and Phytius, who were the legislators for Rhegium. All these were given honours equal to the gods by their fellow-citizens” (Iambl. VP 172, transl. by Clark). Cf. ibid. 130 which repeats the same names (with Timares pro Timaratus) and adds Theocles of Rhegium. Also Zalmoxis the Thracian is mentioned, he was Pythagoras’ slave and, after he was set free, made laws for the Getae (ibid. 172).

18 Plut. Aem. Paul. 2.1, Numa 8.9, Festus, p. 22 Lindsey, Diog. L. 8.1. In another place (p. 116 Lindsey) Festus says, however: “Mamercus: praenomen Oscum est ab eo, quod hi Martem Mamertem appellant.”

19 In Wilamowitz opinion, the tradition as we know it is a mixture of the biographical traditions of three different poets with the same name. First, Stesichorus of Himera, son of Euphemus, Euclides, or Euetes (emended from Hyetes), who lived at the time of Phalaris (i.e. in the first part of the sixth century). In honour of this poet the brazen statue was set up in Thermae. The second Stesichorus, according to Wilamowitz, belongs to the Locrian tradition, and with him are associated the accounts of Mataurus, Hesiod and Ctimene as the parents of the poet, his brother Mamercus, and the story of the White Island. The third poet, who is mentioned in the Marmor (Ep. 73) as Stesichorus the Second, was from Himera, composed dithyrambs, and lived in the fourth century BC (Wilamowitz 1900:34 n. 3 and 4, 1913:234–238, 1937:61 with n. 1). Modern commentators have generally accepted the existence of two different poets called Stesichorus, cf. Vürtheim 1919:104–105, Edmonds 1952:222 n. 3, Page in PMG:443, West 1971:304, Campbell 1993:210–212, and ascribe to the later poet, in addition to the Cyclops, also the Daphnis and Scylla (Schmid-Stählin 1929:479, West 1970:206). In fact, the construction of the second (or third) poet of the same name is a frequently used device to explain chronological or
3. Stesichorus’ home and travels

In ancient sources the most frequently mentioned city for Stesichorus’ home town is Himera on the northern coast of Sicily. Among other authors, Glaucus of Rhegium, Plato and Megaclides call the poet Himerean and Aristotle tells a story how Stesichorus warned the Himereans against tyranny. He was linked to Himera also through his father: Euclides of Zancle, as mentioned in the previous section, was one of the three leaders of the colonisation of Himera.

Another home town attested for Stesichorus is Mataurus in South Italy, which was (according to Stephanus of Byzantium) a Locrian colony. The connection with Locris provides a possible reason why the poet was linked to Mataurus: as is already said above, the link between Stesichorus and the Locrian tradition about Hesiod was probably created in Epizephyrean Locris,—possibly by the Mataurians. According to Solinus, however, Mataurus/Metaurus was founded by the Zancleans. This information may too have its roots in Stesichorean tradition: if Euclides of Zancle was believed to have founded Stesichorus’ home town, and if, on the other hand, the poet was linked to the Locrian tradition, then his home town of Zanclean origin (Himera) may have easily become mixed up with the Locrian colony Mataurus in the tradition.

There are some accounts which suggest that Stesichorus travelled in Italy and the Greek mainland. He had warned the Locrians—presumably
Epizephyrean Locri in South Italy—not to prove wantons and cause their enemies (possibly the people of Rhegium) to invade their land.\textsuperscript{25} According to \textit{Marmor Parium}, the poet “arrived in Greece” in 485/4 BC, and came, according to the Suda, after he was exiled from Arcadian Pallantium, back to Sicily where he died in Catana.\textsuperscript{26} Good poets did usually travel a lot, performing their poetry at festivals in different cities and Stesichorus probably did the same, but the only destinations of his journeys which his biographical tradition records are Pallantium, Locri, and Catana. Some modern commentators have suggested that the account that Stesichorus visited Pallantium contains historically true information, and on the grounds of the Spartan flavour of some of the fragments of Stesichorus, Bowra has proposed that the poet visited on the Greek mainland also Sparta where he may have composed the \textit{Palinode} and \textit{Oresteia}, and travelled perhaps to Boeotia as well.\textsuperscript{27} Wilamowitz, however, supposes that the account of Pallantium is derived wholly from the \textit{Geryoneis}.\textsuperscript{28}

In sum, it seems that, as in the case of the parents, two different traditions existed also about the home town of Stesichorus: one that placed the poet in Himera and linked him with the founder of the city; and the other, Locrian tradition which claimed Stesichorus to have been the citizen of Mataurus, Southern Italy. According to ancient sources, he travelled at least in Sicily (Catana), in Southern Italy (Locri), and to some extent also on the Greek mainland (Pallantium).

4. \textit{Stesichorus’ poetry and music}

Stesichorus’ poetry was certainly well known in fifth-century Athens: Simonides refers to him side by side with Homer as a celebrated storyteller of the deeds of Meleager, and several of his lines are cited or paraphrased by Aristophanes as something well known to the audience.\textsuperscript{29} His

\textsuperscript{25} Arist. \textit{Rhet. 2.1395a}.  
\textsuperscript{26} \textit{Marmor} Ep. 50, Suda s.v. Στησίχορος. Pausanias (8.3.2) says that Stesichorus mentioned Pallantium in his \textit{Geryoneis} (182 PMG). In another fragment (181 PMG) he was said to have sung about Pholus the Centaur whose cave was in Arcadia, but not close to Pallantium—see Ruzokoki 2009:11–12.  
\textsuperscript{28} Wilamowitz 1913:236f., see p. 69 n. 26 above.  
\textsuperscript{29} Sim. 564 PMG, Aristoph. \textit{Pax} 756, 797, 800, \textit{Nub.} 967, and scholia \textit{ad loc.} (pp. 122,
poems are mentioned and/or cited by Isocrates, Aristoxenus, Plato, Dio Chrysostom, and others. In later antiquity an edition in twenty-six poems was available, and altogether seventeen titles of mythological and other songs of his have come down to us. According to Simonides, Stesichorus composed the *Funeral Games of Pelias* about the deeds of the Argonauts. At least three of his poems, the *Geryoneis*, *Cerberus*, *Cycnus*, and possibly also the *Scylla* were about the adventures of Heracles. The *Boar-hunters* was probably about Meleager and the hunt of the Calydonian Boar, and the *Europeia* and *Eriphyle* about the Theban legends. In his *Peace*, Aristophanes cites or refers to three lines of Stesichorus’ *Oresteia*, which was a work at least in two parts, or possibly two different songs with the same title. Stesichorus composed also at least two poems about the Trojan War: the *Sack of Troy*, and the *Returns*. Besides

these long mythological poems, which were possibly performed by a choir, Stesichorus composed shorter poems such as the (Epithalamium to) Helen, two Palinodes, love-songs (Calyce, Rhadine), and was said to have written a bucolic poem about Daphnis, hymns, fables, and possibly also paens.36

Only very little is known about Stesichorus’ music. The poet himself refers to his Oresteia as a Phrygian song, i.e. composed in the Phrygian mode.37 The emotional Phrygian mode was extensively used, probably by both the aulodes and citharodes.38 According to Glaucus, Stesichorus used the Chariot nome and the dactylic rhythm derived from the Orthian nome, being thus the follower of Olympus (the aulode) rather than of Orpheus, Terpander, Archilochus or Thaletas (the citharodes).39 The Chariot nome was associated with auletic music and was believed to have been invented either by Olympus or the Mysian pipers.40 The Orthian nome, on the other hand, was ascribed to Terpander, and possibly used in both citharodic and aulodic music.41 Therefore, as far as we can judge on the basis of this scarce evidence, the ancient authors seem to have believed that Stesichorus composed both aulodic and citharodic music.

The ancient sources refer to Stesichorus as λυρικ/Γ;ικΒΓΘacuteς, μελ/Γ;ικΒΓΘπ/Γ;ικΒΓΘι/Γ;ικΒΓΘacuteς, μελ/iΓtasubscΒιΥtΓωδ/Γ;ικΒΓΘacuteς and κι/tϊetatwΓαρ/iΓtasubscΒιΥtΓωδ/Γ;ικΒΓΘacuteς.42 The hints of his possible activity as a choral poet are found only in the Suda which says that the poet came to be called

extant ancient sources as a work of Stesichorus. It may have been a variant title for the IIli Persis, see West 1971b:262–264.


39 Glaucus in [Plut.] Mus. 7.1133f.

40 [Plut.] Mus. 7.1133f.

41 Orthios as citharodic nome: Poll. 4.65, [Plut.] Mus. 24.1140f, Suda s.v. Ὄρθιος νόμος. [Plut.] Mus. 7.1133f. may be understood also in the way that the Orthios nome was believed to be an auletic nome, see Barker 1984:252.

42 Λυρικ/Γ;ικΒΓΘacuteς in Vita Hesiodi 11 (by Tzetzes) p. 12 Gaisf., Suda s.v. Στησίχορος; μελο-
Stesichorus because he was the first to establish a chorus of singers to the cithara. The Suda also claims that all the poetry of Stesichorus was triadic, containing strophe, antistrophe and epode, a feature which is often regarded as characteristic of choral songs. The triadic nature of Stesichorus’ poetry must have been widely and well known, since it gave arise to an expression (τρία Στησιχόρου) which was used for scolding people who were devoid of culture and education: it was said that they did not know even the “three of Stesichorus.” Therefore, it seems that ancient authors regarded Stesichorus as a lyric poet who composed songs in different genres both for aulos and cithara, for soloists, and also for a choir.

In modern handbooks Stesichorus was used to be described exclusively as a choral poet. This opinion was based on the Suda’s view about how the poet received his professional name and on the triadic nature of extant fragments of Stesichorus’ poetry. Only recently the validity of this opinion has begun to be doubted, and it has been proposed instead that Stesichorus was a citharode and the triadic structure of his poetry is a purely traditional musical convention of composition. At present views vary considerably on that matter. There are still those who argue strongly in favour of the view that Stesichorus composed mainly choral poetry, and those who believe that Stesichorus may well have composed both monodic (citharodic, aulodic) and choral songs as well as poems and music in other genres (hymns, love songs, paens, etc.) for different occasions. The tradition, unfortunately provides no decisive help in the question whether Stesichorus was a choral or monodic poet or both. However, the fact that comparatively few details in tradition are drawn from his verses, may suggest that at least most of it was sung by the chorus and its leader, and the audience did not associate the “I” in the songs with the author as easily as, for example, in the case of Sapphic or Arcilochean poetry.

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43 Suda s.v. Στησιχόρος.
44 Suda s.v. τρία Στησιχόρου.
5. Blindness, Helen, and the Palinode

Only four lines of Stesichorus’ Helen have come down to us (187, 188 PMG). Neither of the fragments is very revealing about the story of Helen: fr. 187 is about Cydonean apples, myrtle leaves, roses and violets, fr. 188 mentions a footbath of litharge (lead monoxide). From the works of other authors, however, we know approximately what the poem was about: Stesichorus told about the abduction of Helen by Theseus and her rescue by the Dioscuri. While talking about Helen, he used a slanderous tone and possibly called the daughters of Tyndareus “twice-wed and thrice-wed and husband-deserters” (223 PMG). According to tradition, Stesichorus was struck blind for his blasphemy and regained his sight only after he had composed one or more recantations or Palinodes. In the Palinode(s) he was believed to have blamed Homer and Hesiod for telling lies about Helen, and to say that she never sailed to Troy with Alexander after all, and it was only a phantom of Helen over whom the Achaeans and the Trojans were fighting at Troy.

49 In addition to them five more lines are extant, if 223 PMG (about the restless character of the daughters of Tyndareus) belongs in Helen as Bergk has suggested.

50 Helen, pregnant by Theseus, gave birth in Argos and, as she was not married, gave her baby daughter Iphigeneia to her sister Clytemnestra the wife of Agamemnon. When Helen was back at home in Sparta, the best men of Greece came to woo her because of her lineage and beauty, and the Trojan War followed. See Paus. 2.22.6 (191 PMG), and schol. A Hom. II. 2.339 (190 PMG).

51 References to Helen and Palinode: Isocr. Hel. 64, Pl. Phaedr. 243a, cf. Resp. 9.586c, Dio Chrys. Or. 11.40 ff., Philostr. Vita Apoll. 6.11, Max. Tyre 21.2, Suda s.v. Στησίχωρος, etc., see also Wright 2005:86 ff. Fr. 223 PMG is located in the Helen by Bergk (Edmonds follows him; but cf. West 1969:144 n. 7), in Orestea by Geel, and in the Iliou persis by Blomfield and Welcker (see Page in PMG p. 120 ad loc.). In this fragment Stesichorus blames Aphrodite for making Tyndareus’ daughters unfaithful because he had forgotten to sacrifice to her. Helen’s partners were Theseus, Menelaus, Paris, Deiphobus, and on the White Island Achilles. Clytemnestra’s husbands were Agamemnon and Aegisthus.

52 Plato quotes three lines of the Palinode (Phaedr. 243a = 192 PMG, see also Resp. 9.586c = 193 PMG) and Chamaeleon quotes the first lines of the two Palinodes (POxy 2506 fr. 26 col. I = 193 PMG). Wright (2005:86–109) doubts in the authenticity of the lines quoted by Plato and suggests (p. 106 f.) that they are Plato’s own invention for the sake of his argument that the written word is nothing but a phantom of the real truth (see Phaedr. 276). Wright accepts, however, that Isocrates’ reference to the Palinode (Hel. 64) is independent of Plato and may be based on Stesichorus’ poem called Palinode (or some source which contained information about the poem).

According to Dio Chrysostom (Or. 11.40), Stesichorus had said that Helen did not leave Sparta at all, while some other authors believed that although she was carried off by Alexander, she stopped in Egypt and remained there to the end of the war: Hdt. 2.112–120, Eur. Hel., cf. Od. 4.349–570, see also Ael. Arist. Or. 1.128 with schol. ad loc. Lucian
The story of Stesichorus’ blindness is obviously based on his *Helen* and *Palinode*. Whether Stesichorus only composed the poems or told the whole story, i.e. that he became blind for slandering the goddess in *Helen* and had to compose the *Palinode* to regain his sight (as is told by Isocrates), is not certain. One detail, namely the way the poet became aware of the cause of his blindness, varies considerably in tradition. According to Isocrates he simply realized the cause of his plight, in Plato’s version he had some help from the Muses, in [Acro’s] scholium it is Apollo who advises him to compose the recantation, while the Suda says that the poet composed the *Palinode* as the result of a dream. In Conon’s and Pausanias’ version a Crotonian man Autoleon or Leonymus who had visited the White Island and met Helen there brings a message to Stesichorus saying that the loss of his sight is caused by the wrath of Helen and to be healed he needs to compose a recantation. According to Horace’s account, which may be influenced by another Italian legend, the story of Phormio, those who deprived Stesichorus of his sight and later restored it were the Dioscuri, the regular helpers of Helen. As both Autoleon and Phormio were wounded in the battle of Sagras fought between Locri and Croton, these accounts probably belong to the Locrian tradition. The variability of this detail indicates that there was no early authoritative source for it, i.e. Stesichorus probably did not say anything particular about how he became aware of the cause of his blindness.

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53 Isocr. and Pl. in p. 73 n. 51, [Acro] on Hor. *Odes* 1.16.1, Suda s.v. Στησίχορος.
54 Conon 26 F 1.18, Paus. 3.19.9–20.1. Autoleon/Leonymus had been in the battle between Croton and Locri in Italy where he was wounded by the ghost of Ajax son of Oileus. As the wound did not heal he went to Delphi for advice. The Pythia told him to travel to the White Island where Ajax would cure him. In the White Island he was healed and met besides Ajax several other heroes, and also Helen who was wedded to Achilles. About Conon’s version see Brown 2002:142 f.–147.
55 Hor. *Epod*. 17.42 and schol. Cruq. *ad loc*. Phormio of Croton was wounded in the battle on the River Sagras by one of the Dioscuri. Phormio’s wound could not be healed till he consulted the Pythia, who told him to go to Sparta, where his healer would be the first person who invited him to dinner. When he arrived at Sparta, a young man invited him in, and after dinner applied scrapings from his spear to Phormio’s wound. When Phormio was about to mount his chariot he suddenly found himself holding the knob of his own house door in Croton. The young host was none other than one of the Dioscuri who had helped the Locrians with whom the Crotonians had had a battle. See Theop. 115 F 392 ap. Suda s.v. Φόρμιος, Justin. 20.2–3, Cratin. fr. 238 K.-A., and also Paus. 3.16.2–3, Plut. *Mor.* 1103a. Clement of Alexandria links Phormio (of Lacedaemon) with Pythagoras and other magi (*Strom.* 1.133.2). See also the story of Telephus (*Arg. Cypria* 7).
56 See the notes 54 and 55 above.
Perhaps he mentioned his blindness only metaphorically, or maybe did not mention it at all. Graziosi has suggested that Stesichorus might have told the story of his blindness in order to emphasize his greater religious understanding than Homer’s: unlike Homer he realised the truth, the reason of his blindness, and found a way to retrieve the situation.\textsuperscript{57} The story, based probably at least to some extent on poetry may have also entered Stesichorus’ tradition simply as one of the conventional topics of early biographical traditions,—e.g. as a theme of a temporary calamity suffered by the person concerned and his subsequent healing. In any case, the story was known in the Classical period.

There is also a proverb which may be linked to the tradition of Stesichorus’ recantation of the story of Helen: according to the Suda, when someone was telling the opposite to what he had said, it was said that he is “singing a palinode.”\textsuperscript{58}

6. \textit{Stesichorus and politics}

There are three stories in Stesichorus’ tradition about the poet’s intervention in politics. First, Aristotle’s account that the poet warned the Himereans against the tyranny of Phalaris: when the Himereans had elected Phalaris as general with unlimited power and were offering him a bodyguard, Stesichorus made a speech and told them a fable of a horse who, annoyed by the damage a stag had done to his pasturage, asked a hunter to help him and punish the stag. The hunter agreed on the condition that the horse allowed him to bridle and mount him, and after the stag was killed the horse found himself trapped in the servitude to the man. Stesichorus finished his speech with an admonition not to try to take revenge on the enemies of Himera with the help of the general, lest the Himereans themselves would become his slaves.\textsuperscript{59} In the version told by Conon the would-be tyrant is Gelon.\textsuperscript{60} Gelon became the tyrant.

\textsuperscript{57} Graziosi 2002:147–150. Cf. also Lefkowitz 1981:32f. Bowra (1961:108), in turn, feels that the story of blindness “smacks too much of folk-lore to suggest that he told it himself,” but Stesichorus might have called himself \textit{τυφλός} in a figurative sense speaking of his former attitude to Helen in his \textit{Palinode}. The connected story of Leonymus has been regarded as a doublet of the story of Phormio and the Dioscuri, which was attached to the tradition of Stesichorus in order to shed light on the way the poet became aware of the cause of his misfortune. See Wilamowitz 1900:13, West 1971a:303f., Burkert 1972:152f.

\textsuperscript{58} Suda s.v. \textit{παλινοδία}. The Suda does not strictly link the saying to Stesichorus.

\textsuperscript{59} Arist. \textit{Rhet.} 2.1393b.

\textsuperscript{60} Conon 26 F 1.42.
of Gela around 491 BC, which, if we accept the usual date for Stesichorus' contemporary, is too late for being Stesichorus' contemporary.\textsuperscript{61} Thus, Gelon has probably replaced Phalaris in the older story. Phalaris, on the other hand, is placed in the latter part of the seventh and first part of the sixth centuries by ancient authors, and is thus more appropriate in the story told by Stesichorus.\textsuperscript{62} Phalaris, however, is primarily associated with Acragas on the southern coast of Sicily. It has been suggested that the whole story may be a conventional motif of the genre of early biography used by Stesichorus when he was creating his own version of the "story of warning" and performing it to the Himerean audience.\textsuperscript{63} Doing so he must have, however, at least hinted at the would-be tyrant by name, since it is very difficult to imagine that he told an "anonymous" fable the target of which even his contemporary audience did not grasp. The poet could have told about some other overambitious and power-greedy man whose name was later (but well before Aristotle who refers to the story as a familiar apophthegm) replaced by the name of the notorious tyrant. It is possible that Phalaris was inserted in the story by the Pythagoreans, for, according to tradition, Pythagoras himself had conflicts with him and was even arrested for his views by the tyrant.\textsuperscript{64} It is equally possible, however, that under a common Phoenician danger which threatened all the western cities, the Himereans decided to ally themselves to Phalaris, and Stesichorus indeed warned the citizens against the danger of tyranny.\textsuperscript{65}

In the section about the use of maxims in his \textit{Rhetoric}, Aristotle mentions another case when Stesichorus intervened in politics: the poet had warned the Locrians not to become insolent "lest the cicadas should chirp from the ground." Aristotle does not explain the meaning of this obscure

\textsuperscript{61} However, it fits with the date (485 BC) that the \textit{Marmor Parium} gives for the poet. About the date of Stesichorus see p. 79.

\textsuperscript{62} Eusebius' date for Phalaris is Ol.31 (656 / 3), the Suda places him in Ol.52 (572 / 69). According to OCD 3rd ed. s.v. Phalaris, the tyrant was in power c. 570-c. 549.

\textsuperscript{63} See Lefkowitz 1981:34 who suggest that the stories against tyrants are typical traditional anecdotes told by archaic poets without naming their enemies, and introduced later, probably after the fifth century, into Stesichorus' tradition, since the audience preferred to think of the poets as civic heroes. On the other hand, the association of Stesichorus with Phalaris has in modern times been one of the reasons why the poet has been dated to the sixth century, see Wilamowitz 1900:34, 1913:236, RE s.v. Stesichoros, Bowra in OCD 2nd ed. s.v. Stesichorus.

\textsuperscript{64} Iamb. VP 215–217, 221.

\textsuperscript{65} About the Phoenician threat to Acragas and Himera see Dunbabin 1948:318 f.
phrase, obviously expecting his readers to know it well.  

The saying is explained by Demetrius (who ascribes it to Dionysius the fourth-century tyrant of Sicily) as “lest their enemies would invade the country and cut down all the trees” (so that the cicadas would have to live on the ground). Thus, the accounts about Stesichorus as a political adviser are attested in both Sicilian/Himerean and Italian/Locrian traditions.

The third example of Stesichorus’ peacemaking activities is the account of how the poet restored peace between two groups of adversaries who had been drawn up to do battle with each other, by taking up his position between them and singing to them.

These stories place Stesichorus, whose extant poetry treats only mythical non-political topics, among the poets who used their talent to influence the political situation in their own or neighbouring cities, and, in a wider context, in the network of traditional themes according to which a poet functions as a healer or the re-establisher of a normal situation.

7. Stesichorus’ name and his death

According to the Suda, Stesichorus’ name was originally Tisias, “Avenger,” and he got his better known nick-name later owing to his activity as a choral poet. The meaning of the name points to the possibility that Stesichorus was, in tradition, predestined to take revenge for the murder of his kinsman. There is, however, no extant story of Stesichorus’ revenge.

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66 Arist. Rhet. 2.1395.
67 Demetr. Eloc. 413c.
68 Diog. Bab. ap. Philodem. Mus. 1.30 (281c PMG). Diogenes does not specify the location or the people involved in the story. Cf. the comparative story about Terpander ap. Suda s.v. μετά Λέοβεος ὑδῶν in which Terpander restores peace in Sparta, see p. 139.
69 See, for example, the poetry and traditions of Callinus, Tyrtaeus, Solon, Alcman, Terpander, Thaletas, etc., and p. 214 below.
70 Suda s.v. Στησίχορος.
71 However, some details in the story of Hesiod’s death and in the tradition of Stesichorus have similarities with the story about Alcmaeon (Apollod. Bibl. 3.7.5–6). The father of both Hesiod’s and Alcmaeon’s murderers was called Pegeus; the murderers were the brothers of a woman connected to Hesiod and Alcmaeon respectively; and the murders were retaliation for the wrong (supposedly) done by Hesiod and Alcmaeon (a rape or seduction in Hesiod’s case, swindling by Alcmaeon). Both stories are also located in the same region: Alcmaeon was active in Psophis, around the river Acheloos, and his avengers were pursued to Tegea which lies very close to Pallantium from where Stesichorus was expelled. Could it be that there existed a story, according to which
After he had been expelled from Pallantium, Stesichorus travelled to Catana in Sicily and was murdered there or on his way to the city. His murderer was a robber called Hicanus (“Competent”) who was blamed also for killing a piper called Aeschylus. Stesichorus was buried in Catana near the gate which was later called Stesichorean Gate. The tomb was an impressive octagonal monument with a column in each corner, and eight steps on each side. The shape of the tomb gave rise to the expression “eight all” (πάντα ὀκτώ), which, in turn, became current among dice-players who started to call the throw which turned out eight “Stesichorus.”

Only one account says that the poet was buried in his home town Himera. There was, however, a statue of Stesichorus, a bent old man holding a book, in the city. When Himera was destroyed in 409 BC, the survivors took the statue with other treasures to Thermae and set it up in their new home town. That the poet lived a long life is mentioned by Cicero according to whom Stesichorus continued to compose even in his old age, and by Lucian, who says that the poet was eighty-five years old when he died.

Stesichorus/Tisias the son of Hesiod was predestined to take revenge for the murder of his father and killed Phegeus and his sons in Pallantium from where he was banished for that reason? One of the works of Stesichorus is titled *Eriphyle* (194 PMG; S 148, S 149, S 150 SLG, fr. 194.L.V. PMGF. In S 148 SLG Alcmaeon is mentioned). Although most of the references to this poem deal with the problem of which of the heroes killed at Thebes were raised from the dead by Asclepius, the poem probably told also about the betrayal of Eriphyle in length. Stesichorus may well have referred to the death of Alcmaeon in his poem, and may thus have given rise to the development of the account with similar story-pattern about the poet’s own life. The hypothesis remains tenuous, however, and is not supported by the discrepancies found in the traditions of Hesiod/Stesichorus and of Alcmaeon: the avengers of Alcmaeon, for example, survived whereas Tisias was killed; and among several accounts about the death of the murderers of Hesiod (see p. 27) there is no extant version which would suggest the link between the son of Hesiod and the death of the murderers. Pallantium may also have entered Stesichorus’ tradition from the *Geryones* in which the city, according to Pausanias (8.3.2), is mentioned.

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72 Suda s.vv. *Στησίχορος* and ἔπιτηδευμα.
73 Antipater in *Anth. Pal.* 7.75, Photius *Lex.* s.v. πάντα ὀκτώ, Suda s.v. *Στησίχορος*.
74 Pollux 9.100, Photius and the Suda (loc. cit in n. 73).
75 Pollux 9.100.
76 Cic. *Verr.* 2.2.86. The statue is not extant. It is quite plausible that there was also a cenotaph of Stesichorus in Himera. The only other statue of Stesichorus recorded in ancient sources, is the (not extant) statue in the Baths of Zeuxippus at Constantinople, mentioned by Christodorus (*Ecphr.* in *Anth. Pal.* 2.125 ff.). About the images of Stesichorus, see Richter 1965:68.
77 Cic. *De senect.* 7.23, [Lucian.] Macr. 26. The eighty-five years for Stesichorus come
The tradition of Catana as the place where Stesichorus died is clearly supported (and may even be inspired) by the existence of a spectacular tomb in the city. It certainly helped to fix the tradition.\(^{78}\)

8. The date of Stesichorus

Most ancient sources place Stesichorus in the period between 650 and 550 BC. Eusebius’ dates for the poet’s \textit{akme} and death are Ol.42.2 (611 / 10) and Ol.55.1 (560 / 59) respectively;\(^{79}\) according to Cyril, Stesichorus \textit{flourished} after Ol.42 (612 / 09) which is his date for Alcmaeon (Alcaeus?) and Pittacus. The different entries in the Suda say that Stesichorus lived from Ol.37 (632 / 28) to Ol.56 (556 / 2), later than Alcman and earlier than Simonides, and was contemporary with Sappho, Alcaeus, and Pittacus whom the Suda placed in Ol.42 (612 / 09).\(^{80}\)

All these sources probably follow, directly or indirectly, Apollodorus who placed Stesichorus in relation to two other lyric poets, Alcman and Simonides, creating or using a chronological sequence according to which Alcman died in the year of Stesichorus’ birth, and Stesichorus died in the same year when Simonides was born.\(^{81}\) He may have derived the synchronism, for example, from Simonides fr. 564 PMG, in which Stesichorus is mentioned as a famous poet of the past; or from some tradition concerning the poets. The Apollodoran absolute date for Stesichorus, which is not extant in direct sources, may have been taken from an epigram which says that Simonides was eighty years old at the time of the archonship of Adeimantus (Adimandus) (477 BC).\(^{82}\) Simonides’ date of birth (and Stesichorus’ date of death) would, therefore, be in Ol.56 (556 / 53), as it stands in the Suda, and in Cicero.\(^{83}\) The Apollodoran date for Alcman’s death (and, therefore, the date for Stesichorus’ birth) was probably from a chronological speculation which linked Stesichorus with Alcman (who too is reported to have lived for 85 years) and Simonides, see p. 79.

\(^{78}\) After all, Stesichorus may have indeed died and been buried in Catana.

\(^{79}\) The Armenian version gives Ol.41.3 (608 / 7) and Ol.55.3 (558 / 7).

\(^{80}\) Suda s.v. \textit{Στησίχορος}, \textit{Σιμωνίδης}, \textit{Σαπφώ} and \textit{Πιττακός}.


\(^{82}\) Sim. fr. 77 Diehl (176 Edmonds, xxviii FGE). Modern commentators do not agree over the authorship of this epigram: Diehl and Edmonds (\textit{ad loc}. ) believe it to be Simonides’ own work, Page (1981:241 ff.) finds it quite likely to be Hellenistic (in which case the early chronographers could not have used it for calculating Simonides’ date).

\(^{83}\) Cic. \textit{Rep}. 2.10–20; Suda s.v. \textit{Στησίχορος} in which Stesichorus is “later than the lyric poet Alcman” and died in Ol.56. Cf. also the Suda s.v. \textit{Σιμωνίδης}, in which the
probably Ol.37 (632/29), as it is attested also in the Suda. This date fits with another synchronism given in the Suda: Sappho, Alcaeus, Pittacus and Stesichorus lived in Ol.42.2 (611). If Stesichorus was born in 632/631, he was twenty years old in 611 and therefore a contemporary to the Lesbians. Eusebius preserved the Apollodoran synchronism between Stesichorus and Simonides, but placed it slightly earlier, in Ol.55.1 (560/59) and understood the γέγονε for Simonides as his akme. He preserved also the synchronism Alcman-Stesichorus but placed it in Ol.42.2 (611/10), probably under the influence of the synchronism of Sappho-Alcaeus-Pittacus-Stesichorus-Ol.42. Eusebius (or his source) also made the synchronism of Alcman and Stesichorus literal, saying that both poets flourished in the same year, Ol.42.2 (611/10). We do not have Eusebius’ date for Stesichorus’ birth.

Aristotle gives no absolute date for Stesichorus. However, he synchronizes him with Phalaris, which leads us to the same period. In the

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Apolloedoran γέγονε is understood as his akme—see Mosshammer 1979:221 and Jacoby 1904:176.

84 Suda s.v. Σημυχωρος. Apollodorus may have calculated the date of Alcman on the basis of tradition that Alcman came from Sardis (16 PMG, Crates in Suda s.v. Ἀλκμαν, Anth. Pal. 7.709, 7.19, 7.18, Vell. Pat. 1.18.3, etc.) and that his songs were sung at the festival of Gymnopaedia which was established as an appeasement to the gods after the Spartan defeat at Hysiae, see Mosshammer 1979:224, Wade-Gery 1949:79–81. According to Herodotus (1.15), Sardis was captured by the Cimmerians at the time of the reign of Ardys. Mosshammer suggests that Apollodorus may have presumed that Alcman fled from Sardis when the city was overwhelmed by Cimmerian hordes, and arrived in Sparta in the same year as the battle of Hysiae, which Pausanias dates to Ol.27.4 (669/8), and composed hymnody which was performed next year at the first Gymnopaedia (Mosshammer 1979:219–225, Paus. 2.24.7). Thus, Alcman’s akme would be Ol.28.1 (668/7) and his date of death Ol. 37 (652/29).

85 Suda s.v. Σιπταχώ.

86 Ol.42.2 (611) was originally the akme of Pittacus (Suda s.v. Πίπταχως). See Mosshammer 1979:221 and 256–254. More about the date of Sappho and Pittacus, see p. 197 below.

87 See Mosshammer 1979:221.

88 If we accept that Stesichorus lived 75 or 76 years, as it follows from the Apollodoran dates, Eusebius’ date for Stesichorus’ birth would be 635 (Ol.36) (cf. the Suda’s date for Alcman’s death in Ol.37). If we follow Lucian’s information (Macr. 26) that Stesichorus lived 85 years, he would have been born in 645. If we assume that in Ol.42.2 (611) he was 20 years old (as it can be interpreted from the combined synchronisms of Apollodorus and the Suda), his date of birth would be in 631 (cf. again 632 (Ol.37) for Alcman’s death in the Suda) and he would have died at the age of 71.

89 Arist. Rhet. 2.1393b. The Eusebian dates for Phalaris are: Ol.32.1 (652) or Ol.32.3 (650) in the Armenian version: “Phalaris apud Acragantinos tyrannidem exercet”; Ol.38.4 (624) or Ol.39.2 (622) in the Armenian version: “Phalaris tyrannis destructa”; and Ol.52.2 (573/2) (the same in the Armenian version): "Phalaris tyrannidem exercuit annis XVI."
Vita Hesiodi Pythagoras is added to this synchronism.\textsuperscript{90} It is not possible to determine which synchronism, Stesichorus-Phalaris, Pythagoras-Phalaris, or Stesichorus-Pythagoras, came first and influenced the development of the other synchronisms: there are stories which link both Stesichorus and Pythagoras separately with the tyrant, and there are also plenty of details in tradition which connect the poet with the Pythagoreans.\textsuperscript{91} From the point of view of historicity, all three synchronisms may actually be of the same value, since they all may have emerged from tradition.

Marmor Parium, in turn, gives a much later date for Stesichorus, saying that the poet arrived in Greece in 486/5 or 485/4 (222 years before 264/3 which is the starting year of the Marmor), at the time of the archonship of Philocrates when Euripides was born and Aeschylus won his first victory with a tragedy.\textsuperscript{92} Stesichorus’ arrival in Greece in 486/5 would agree with Conon’s report that the tyrant against whom the poet warned the Himereans was Gelon who ruled ca. 491–478.\textsuperscript{93} Stesichorus could have been believed to have come to Athens in 486/5. Again, it is not possible to settle once and for all whether the author of the Marmor (or his source) placed Stesichorus in the first part of the fifth century because (1) the poet was in some version of tradition primarily linked with Gelon; (2) because Gelon had in some early source already replaced Phalaris (against whom the poet warned the people); or (3) the connection with the Syracusan tyrant was developed because the poet was placed in 480s, which ruled out the synchronism Stesichorus-Phalaris. The Suda’s account that the robber Hicanus murdered besides Stesichorus also the piper Aeschylus, may thanks to some further misinterpretation be derived from the same synchronism of Stesichorus and Aeschylus the tragedian (and Euripides) mentioned by the Marmor.\textsuperscript{94}

In sum, Stesichorus’ ancient dates rest upon two sets of synchronisms: first the synchronism Stesichorus-Alcman-Simonides which is

\textsuperscript{90} Vita Hesiodi 3: ὁ δὲ Στησίχορος οὕτος σύγχρονος ἦν Πυθαγόρης τῷ φιλοσόφῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀκραγαντίνῳ Φαλάριδι. The Eusebian dates for Pythagoras are Ol.62.4 (529) or Ol.62.1 (532, the Armenian version): “Pythagoras physicus philosophus clarus habetur,” and Ol.70.2 (499, in both versions): “Pythagoras philosophus moritur.”

\textsuperscript{91} Arist. Rhet. 2.1393b, Iambl. VP 215–221. For the Pythagorean connections see p. 82.

\textsuperscript{92} Marmor Ep. 50. Philocrates is not attested in other sources.

\textsuperscript{93} Conon 26 F 1.42. The date of Gelon: Paus. 6.9.4–5, Dion. 7.1, cf. Dunbabin 1948:410 ff.

\textsuperscript{94} Marmor Ep. 73 mentions Stesichorus the Second who had won the victory in Athens in 370/69 or 396/8.
a chronological calculation linking the famous poets, possibly on the basis of some poem or story which featured them. The synchronism was associated with another synchronism Stesichorus-Sappho-Alcaeus-Pittacus which was dated in OL.42. The second set, Stesichorus-Phalaris(Pythagoras), is linked with the story of the poet’s warning against tyranny. In this synchronism, Gelon has replaced Phalaris in one strand of tradition.\(^{95}\)

9. The connections with the Pythagorean tradition

It is clear from the previous sections that several details in Stesichorus’ tradition connect him with the Pythagoreans.\(^{96}\) First he is linked with the Pythagoreans through his family: his possible fathers Euphemus, Euphorbus and Euetes (if the emendation is correct) have Pythagorean background, the story of Hesiod’s death and Stesichorus’ birth was probably at least transmitted by the Pythagoreans; the poet’s brothers Mamicus and Helianax were probably connected or believed to be connected with the Pythagorean circle. Secondly, Autoleon or Leonymus, who was “the first to travel to the White Island,” came from Croton, the stronghold of the Pythagoreans in the latter part of the sixth century. He was also believed to have been wounded in the battle of the River Sagras. The story of this battle serves as an unhappy prelude to the triumph of the Pythagoreans of Croton in tradition, and it is only to be expected that the Pythagoreans were interested in everything concerned with this battle.\(^{97}\) From the White Island, which was possibly identified originally

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95 Modern commentators usually accept the first part of the sixth century as an approximate date for Stesichorus: see the references in p. 64 n. 2.
96 About Stesichorus’ connections with the Pythagorean tradition see also West 1971a:302–304. West maintains that the historical Stesichorus was not associated with (historical) Pythagoras himself. Indeed, the only direct link in tradition between Stesichorus and Pythagoras is the chronological synchronism in the *Vita Hesiodi* 3 cited in the previous section (p. 81 n. 90). From the point of view of this book, it is not relevant, however, whether the historical Stesichorus was acquainted with Pythagoras or, indeed, with the Pythagoreans. The formation of his biographical tradition is undoubtedly influenced by the Pythagorean tradition.
97 The battle took place around the middle of the sixth century when the Crotonians attacked Locri, a much smaller and weaker city. Locri gained some help from Rhegium, and enjoyed the favour of Delphi (the Locrians outbid the Crotonians by offering a ninth of the booty for the support of the Pythian Apollo, against a tenth). Furthermore, the Dioscuri sent by the Spartans miraculously fought on their side, and also the ghost of Locrian Ajax. The Locrians won the battle. The loss at Sagras was a great blow for
with the “White Rock” in the underworld and only later localized in the Black Sea, Autoleon brought back the message from Helen to Stesichorus. This account belongs most certainly among the stories of katabasis so important to the Orphics and Pythagoreans. The saying ascribed to Pythagoras, that the soul of Homer had found its second dwelling-place in Stesichorus, associates Stesichorus with the early Pythagorean theory of reincarnation and metempsychosis. Furthermore, both Pythagoras and Stesichorus had a conflict with Phalaris the tyrant of Acragas in tradition: the poet warned his fellow-citizens against his tyranny; Pythagoras was detained by Phalaris for his political and moral views. And finally a small but interesting detail: Stesichorus used the Pythagorean word Μεσ/Γ;ικΒΓΘacuteνυ/ksi for one of the planets known to the ancients (probably for Mars, less likely to Jupiter or Saturn). It is interesting, however, that there is no extant story which would link Stesichorus directly with Pythagoras.

Croton, and only the new influence and guidance of the Pythagoreans some decades later brought the city out from its decline. In 510 Pythagoras, according to tradition, advised the Crotonians to reject the unfair demands of Sybaris which led to the unexpectedly victorious war against this strong and powerful city. See Dunbabin 1948:358–360 and also Burn 1960:375.


99 Antipater in Anth. Pal. 7.75:

Στασίκ/ϊi/Γ;ικΒΓΘρ/Γ;ικΒΓΘν/dzetaαπλη/tϊetatwΓὲςἀμέτρητ/Γ;ικΒΓΘνστ/Γ;ικΒΓΘacuteμαΜ/Γ;ικΒΓΘύσαςἐκτέρισενΚατάναςαἰ/tϊetatwΓαλ/Γ;ικΒΓΘacuteενδάπεδ/Γ;ικΒΓΘν,

Of course, this might also mean that Stesichorus is very Homeric in his style, cf. [Longin.] De subl. 13.3.

100 See p. 75 and Iambl. VP 215–218.


102 There are some hints, though, which suggest the possible existence of such link. First, the notion that Stesichorus’ father was Euphorbus may be connected with the tradition about Euphorbus the previous incarnation of Pythagoras (see p. 65 n. 5). In that case, Stesichorus would be the descendant of Pythagoras’ immortal manifestation. Secondly, Stesichorus’ brother Mamercus was known also as the son or father of Pythagoras (see p. 67) which would make Stesichorus respectively either the son or uncle of the famous mage.
Stesichorus’ tradition contains many traditional themes, most of them already discussed in previous sections. The tradition includes an account of Stesichorus’ poetic initiation: Apollo taught him the tuning of the lyre while he was still in his mother’s womb and at his birth, when he had just reached the light of day, a nightingale sat on his lips and sang a sweet tune. Secondly, the story that Stesichorus was temporarily blinded by angry Helen or her brothers, reminds one the account about Homer whose blindness was (in one version) caused by Helen who was furious with him for the unflattering things he had said about her.

Stesichorus, just as many other poets, had disagreements with authorities: he warned the Himereans against the possible tyranny of Phalaris, Gelon, or some other tyrant. In the warning-story Stesichorus functions effectively as a healer, helping to restore the normal situation in the community. On another occasion he reconciled the enemies who were about to fight by his song and restored peace.

Famous figures are often connected with each other in some way in biographical traditions. Stesichorus is linked with Euclides the founder of Himera, with Mamercus the well-known geometer, and with Hesiod through family; and also with Pythagoras, Phalaris, Gelon, Sappho, Alcaeus, Pittacus, Simonides and Alcman through chronology. He is also connected with important mythological figures such as Helen, Castor and Polydeuces, who caused his temporary blindness and later healed him from it.

Another formulaic feature Stesichorus shares with other poets is inventiveness: the invention of the genre of hymn, and the metrum angelicum (a derivation from hexameter which was suited by its rapidity to messengers) are ascribed to him, and he was also believed to have been the first to set up a choir.

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103 Stes. 281(e) PMG ap. Plin. NH 10.82, Christod. Ecphr. in Anth. Pal. 2.125 ff. For more references of initiation-stories, see p. 208.
104 Vita Romana 5, and p. 73f. below. See also the references to the traditions about Homer, Teiresias and Demodocus, p. 209 n. 26 and 26. Among the explanations of the blindness of a Thracian diviner Phineus of Salmýdessus those that the gods maimed him for foretelling the future to the human race, and that Poseidon blinded him for having informed the children of Phrixus of the route from Colchis (Apollod. Bibl. 1.9.21).
105 See p. 77. About the healing motif in other traditions, see p. 214.
106 Clem. Alex. Strom. 1.16.78, Diom. Ars gramm. 3, Suda s.v. Στησίχορος.
He also travelled and was sent to exile, gave rise to a couple of proverbs, lived a long life and died a dreadful death, just like other poets.\footnote{See p. 68, 78, p. 72 n. 44, p. 75, p. 78. For travelling and exile as formulaic topics see p. 210 and 211.} At the age of eighty-five he was murdered, just like Ibycus, Hesiod and Pythagoras.\footnote{About celebrities’ long life and terrible death, see p. 216f.} Quite exceptionally however, there is no extant account of Stesichorus’ participation in a song contest, stories about his pupils or lovers, his tradition does not contain oracles, and he did not travel to Delphi or Egypt as many other poets used to do.

11. Conclusions

The tradition about Stesichorus’ life was quite well developed by the Classical period: the Classical authors knew about his home town (Himera), his blindness, his mother (Ctemene or Clymene), several traditions about his father (Hesiod, Euphemus, possibly Euclides) and his brother (Mermcus) who was most probably associated with the Pythagoreans. Classical authors synchronized the poet with Pythagoras and the tyrant Phalaris.

There are few details in the extant traditions of Stesichorus’ life which are probably drawn from his poetry. Such details are the accounts about his home town Himera, his temporary blindness, the warnings against a tyrant and being insolent, and perhaps his expulsion from Pallantium. In comparison to other poets’ traditions, however, the makers of the tradition about Stesichorus seem to have used the poetry less extensively as a source of information about his life. It may be, perhaps, because much of his poetry was choral and the “I” in the verses was not so easily associated with the poet.

The tradition seems to be a mixture of the Sicilian/Himerean, the Italian/Locrian, and possibly also of the Arcadian/Catanian traditions. The Sicilian/Himerean strand includes the poet’s home town Himera, Euclides the founder of the city, as a possible name of his father, and possibly also the story of warning against Phalaris. Also the account of the Himereans who, after their city was destroyed by the Carthaginians, settled at Thermae and set up a statue to their poet of old times, should belong in the Himerean tradition as well. The Arcadian/Catanian strand would contain the name Tisias and the account why and how the poet
was expelled from Pallantium and his revenge (if it ever existed), his death by the hand of Hicanus, the burial and tomb in Catana and the expression “πάντα δοκτώ.” The Italian/Locrian strand, whose development and transmission was to a great extent influenced by the Pythagoreans, has a link to the story about Hesiod’s romance and death at Oinoe, and was probably formed in Ozolean Locris. The account that Hesiod’s and Ctemene’s/Clymene’s son was Stesichorus was probably added to the story in Epizephyrean Locris, possibly by the Mataurians. The impact of the Pythagoreans on the Italian stratum of tradition is clearly visible: the poet’s brothers Mamercus and Helianax, his father Euphemus, Euphorbus, or Euetes, the story of the White Island, the poet’s synchronisms with Pythagoras and Phalaris, his association with the theory of metempsychosis and reincarnation,—all these details point to the Pythagorean influence. It seems that the Pythagoreans tried to connect Stesichorus to their own tradition as strongly as possible, falling short only in creating a story which would directly link the poet and the philosopher. Since Stesichorus’ poetry does not seem to contain anything very important for Pythagorean thought, they were perhaps interested in him simply as a famous poet in the region. Another reason for tying Stesichorus to their own tradition may have been his link with Hesiod, whose genealogical and cosmological poetry was certainly very important to them.
CHAPTER FOUR
ARCHILOCUS

1. The tradition

According to tradition, Archilochus was the son of a nobleman Telesicles and a slave woman Enipo. He was born and grew up in Paros, and had at least one sister and a brother. When Archilochus was a young man he met the Muses and received a lyre and a gift of song in exchange of a cow. Shortly after this event Archilochus’ father Telesicles received an oracle which foretold the future immortal fame of his son. Although Archilochus was of high origin and became a well-known poet, he remained poor and served as a soldier. For some time he lived in Thasos where the Parians, led by Archilochus’ father or the poet himself had founded a colony.

Archilochus fell in love with Neoboule the daughter of Lycambes. They were about to get married when Lycambes changed his mind and refused to give her to the poet. In his fury Archilochus composed such slanderous and fiery verses that Lycambes and/or his daughter(s) hanged themselves. Although his poetic talent was in general regarded very highly, his harsh ways and outrageous subject matter were often criticized. The Spartans, for example, considered his verses about fleeing from the battlefield and leaving his shield to the enemy so dangerous that they ordered him or his poems to be banished from the city lest his immoral views should indoctrinate their children.

Archilochus was killed in battle by a Naxian man called Calondas nicknamed Corax. His death saddened Apollo so that when Calondas came to Delphi for advice, the Pythia refused to let him, “the killer of the servant of the Muses,” enter the temple. He was pardoned only after he had done much praying and supplication, and had appeased the soul of the poet with libations.

Archilochus was believed to have invented the iambic verse and several other metres and poetic devices. He was held in great honour by the Parians and had his own cult established in the Archilocheion on Paros. He was synchronised with Homer, the Lydian king Gyges, and with the
early rulers of Rome—Romulus and Tullus Hostilius—, placing him thus approximately in a period between the middle of the 8th and the first half of the 7th century.

The sources of the tradition

Archilochus’ biographical tradition is built to a great extent around his own poetry. In the extant fragments the poet talks, for example, a great deal about the life of a soldier, mentions several times Paros and Thasos, and also Neoboule and Lycambes,—the places and persons closely connected to him in the tradition. Some of the poems are addressed to his companions and friends (Glaucus, Pericles, Aesimides) and to other people (Leophilus, the son of Peisistratus, Batusiades, Cerycides, Myclus). The first longer and more or less consistent reports of Archilochus’ life are two Hellenistic inscriptions found on Paros. One of them was set up by a man called Mnesiepes and his companions in about the middle of the third century BC, and the other by Sosthenes son of Prosthenes around 100 BC. The latter’s source is an account of Archilochus’ deeds compiled by Demeas who probably was a Parian historian or grammarian of the third century BC. Mnesiepes’ Inscription gives an overview of

2 Tsantsanoglou (2003:243 f.) suggests that the son of Peisistratus is no one else than Amphitimus, the archon mentioned by Sosthenes (A col. Ia).
5 Demeas is unknown from other sources. He seems to have relied heavily on the poetry of Archilochus and arranged the poems chronologically by Parian archons. Von Gärtringen (1900:9–12 and in RE Suppl. i:340–341) dated Demeas by the transmission of different versions of the story about Coeranus—mentioned in the inscription and also in the works of Phylarchus (81 F 26), Aelianus (NA 8,3) and Plutarch (Mor. 984 f.)—to the first part of the third century. Jacoby agrees with him and places Demeas ca. 300–250 BC (FGHist iii B 502 Demeas, and FGHist IIIb: 250–251). Peek (1955:43) in principle also agrees with this date, saying that Demeas had to write at least a hundred years before Sosthenes. Cf. also Bowie 1987:18–20, Hauvette 1905:9–10 and Marcaccini 2001:132–148.
the establishment of the cult of the poet, tells the story of his initiation, mentions Telesicles, Lycambes, the Pythian oracles about Archilochus, and describes in a very corrupt passages perhaps also how Archilochus helped to establish (a form of) the cult of Dionysus in Paros, and his death in a battle with the Naxians. It also includes thirty-seven verses of Archilochus’ poetry (frr. 89, 90). Sosthenes’ Inscription contains mainly poetry-based references with quotations about Archilochus’ doings in Thasos, and the troubles and battles with the Thracians and the Naxians.6 The almost illegible passage seems to include an account of Archilochus’ death and funeral on Paros. In the end of the inscription his mother is perhaps also mentioned.

However, pre-Hellenistic sources too contain many details about Archilochus’ life. His poetry and everything he says in it about “himself” were well known to the Classical authors, who had quite a clear understanding about his family, initiation, character, life-style, lovers, death, and his date,—the topics that will be discussed below.

Modern opinions about Archilochus’ life

Modern commentators have been much more interested in the historical Archilochus than in the formation of his tradition. For a long time Archilochus’ poetry was believed to be almost entirely autobiographical, and the tradition which was clearly formed mainly around his poetry was, consequently, regarded as historically more or less reliable.7 Gradually, however, it has become accepted that the first person in Archilochus’ poetry may be a conventional lyric “I” and not always express the personal feelings of the poet. Consequently, the biographical tradition which was formed around the “unreliable” poetry has in general also become regarded as unreliable although with some possible historically true information in it.8 A more radical approach, first introduced by

6 The fragments of the poems of Archilochus referred in the Sosthenes’ Inscription are 93a, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98 and 192.


M.L. West, sees Archilochus as a poet who composed in a ritual context and used traditional stock-figures in his poetry. This arrangement would have had the advantage of allowing the poet to narrate whatever kind of situation he wanted regardless of its autobiographical genuineness, and also to describe sordid or outlandish incidents with no loss of dignity. In the case of the daughter of Lycambes, for example, the advantage would be that the speaker would not subject a real girl to public humiliation. Obviously, if Archilochus used traditional stock figures in his poetry, his biography which grew around his poetry cannot be regarded as historically reliable.

G. Tarditi suggests that Archilochus’ biography took its shape largely in Delphi in the Classical period. He argues that Archilochus was regarded in Delphi as a poet whose greatness was foretold by both Apollo and the Muses, and concludes that the biography, based on Archilochus’ poetry and including the oracles, the story of the introduction of Dionysiac cult and also the tradition that the poet died in the war against Naxos, was formed at Delphi between ca. 477 and 350 BC. The purpose of it was to link the poet, who (as Tarditi supposes) was originally associated not with

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11 Not all modern commentators agree with the opinion that Lycambes and his daughters are mere stock-characters of iambus. They maintain that these figures may well have been historical contemporaries of the poet. Their main arguments are, firstly that the ancient authors seem to have never suspected that the story might be untrue, and we have no reason to believe that Pindar, Aristophanes, Cratinus and Critias failed to understand the intent of Archilochus’ poetry and the means which he applied to gain it (Rankin 1978:11–12). Secondly, if we assume that Lycambes and Neoboule were stock characters for iambic derision, we must also suppose that Archilochus created a whole love-story around them, and it is very hard to reconcile the conception of iambic invective with such a fictional romantic cycle (Slings 1990:23–24). Thirdly, unless we suppose that Archilochus’ fictional situations were limited to attacks on faithless fathers and faithless daughters there must have been other such characters. True, Archilochus is reported to have slandered also other persons but they do not form a gallery of typical figures (Carey 1986:64, see also p. 105 above). Also, the solemn and dignified language in which Lycambes is attacked is quite inappropriate for the stylised abuse of stock character (Carey ibid.).

12 Tarditi 1956:131–138. Tarditi determined the date of the Delphian additions to Archilochus’ tradition on the tenuous basis of Pindar’s unflattering comment about Archilochus (P. 52–56), maintaining that the poet had not yet entered into Delphi’s orbit by the time of Pindar. On the other hand it had to be formed before the first attestation of the Calondas oracle which is in Heracl. Pont. Pol. 8 (Tarditi 1956:137).
Delphic but with Delian Apollo, more firmly to the ambit of Delphi.  Podlecki who generally accepts Tarditi’s theory proposes that Delphi began to take an interest in Archilochus much earlier, possibly within the poet’s lifetime. He suggests that Delphi was in friendly relationship with Paros already in the time of the latter’s undertaking of colonisation of Thasos and supported it politically as well as by extending recognition to the outspoken Parian poet throughout the Greek world.  Parke too accepts the important role of Delphi in the development of Archilochus’ biography, and dates the Delphic influence to the fifth, and partly to the seventh century.  Kontoleon admits that someone in Delphi might have invented most of the oracles in Archilochus’ Life, but maintains that the “immortality” oracle given to Telesicles belongs together with the story of the Muses, the story of the introduction of Dionysiac cult, and the account of the war with Naxos, to the early Parian tradition which was known by the middle of the fifth century.  Finally, there is the view represented by M. Lefkowitz: “we know nothing about Archilochus’ life, since all the biographical ‘data’ we have about Archilochus (and for that matter, about every other archaic poet) was generated from Archilochus’ poetry by critical speculation, starting in the fifth century, /…/ and was finally formed by the third century BC.”

13 Tarditi ibid., see also Graham 1978:79. Tarditi’s main evidence is the epigram recorded in the Anth. Pal. 7.664 (HE 3437) and ascribed to Theocritus, in which Archilochus is linked to Delian Apollo. Kontoleon found some additional support to this theory in similarities between Delian and Parian alphabets and in the so-called Melian pottery found in Delos which he claimed to be in fact of Parian manufacture—both of these arguments might point to artistic and cultic affiliation between Delos and Paros during the archaic period (Kontoleon 1963:66–67 and 58). However, the first argument is criticized by Jeffery who points out that the local script of Delos seems to have been a mixture of Naxian and Parian (1961:291), and the second by Rubensohn who maintains that Paros did not possess clay suitable for the manufacture of fine pottery, and the Melian pottery was imported to Delos from Miletus via Paros (1962:84,107).

14 Paros, in turn, may have offered a share for Pythian Apollo in any future dedication from her new colony (Podlecki 1974:4f.,17).

15 Parke and Wormell 1956 i:397, Parke 1958:94. See also below p. 96.


Ancient sources agree that the name of Archilochus’ father was Telesicles. He is first mentioned in the so-called Docimus’ Inscription from the middle of the fourth century BC, and also in the oracles which are dated to the fifth century or earlier. He was believed to be an aristocrat and influential citizen of Paros, who was several times sent to Delphi on civic matters and who led the Parian colonists to Thasos.

A young man called Tellis was depicted with a young woman Cleoboea in the boat of Charon on the fifth century painting by Polygnotus. The picture is not extant, but we have its description from Pausanias who was told that Tellis was grandfather of our poet, and that Cleoboea was the first to bring the mysteries of Demeter from Paros to Thasos. Some modern commentators have inferred from Pausanias’ passage that Cleoboea was married to Tellis and was, therefore, the grandmother of Archilochus.

Apart from the very corrupt line in the end of the Sosthenes’ Inscription which mentions Archilochus’ (?!) mother, the only extant piece of information about her is Critias’ passage which assumes on the basis of Archilochus’ verses that his mother was a slave woman called Enipo. In

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18 Docimus’ Inscription:

᾿Αρχίλοχος Πάριος Τελεσίκλεος ἔνθαδε κεῖται,
τὸ Δοκιμος μνημήνον ὁ Νεοχέρωντος τὸδ’ ἐθηκεν (SEG 2.674).

The inscription is in Paros Museum, inv. no. 733 and was first published by Orlandos 1960:184 f. See also Gerber 1999:14 and Clay 2004:9, 28 f., 54. About the oracles, see below p. 96.

19 Also the name of Archilochus, “a leader of a troop” or “a leader of a company” may indicate his upper class origin. The ancient commentators, however, do not discuss the meaning of the name nor use it as an argument with regard to the poet’s background. References to Telesicles: Docimus’ Inscription (see above), Mnesiepes’ Inscription A col. ii, Oenom. ap Eus. PE 5.32–39.9, Sosthenes’ Inscription B col. vii, Theodoretus Graec. affect. curatio 10.36 (141), Steph. Byz. s.v. Θάσος, Suda s.v. Ἀρχίλοχος.

20 Paus. 10.28.3. About Polygnotus’ painting see Robertson 1975:266–270.

21 Treu 1959:250. Others are more circumspect but seem not to exclude the possibility of Tellis and Cleoboia’s marriage, see Crusius in RE s.v. Archilochos, Pouilloux 1963:22 f., Rankin 1977:17, Burnett 1983:25, Brown 1997:45. It is sometimes suggested that the names Tellis and Telesicles may have got mixed up in ancient sources, Tellis being a shortened form of Telesicles, and both names being associated with τελέα,—see RE s.v. Archilochos and Tellis, West 1974:24, Rankin 1977:17, Podlecki 1984:32.

that case Archilochus would be an illegitimate son of Telesicles, a theme which, curiously enough, is not developed by other authors. Lefkowitz argues that Archilochus had, perhaps, said in some of his lost poems that he was “the child of abuse” (ἐνιπή), from which it was easy to deduce that his mother’s name was Enipo. Tarditi suggests, in turn, that Enipo may have been a proper name originating from Asia Minor (cf. Σαπ/ΥϊitwΓώ, Θεανώ) which did not carry the meaning in Greek.

There are only very few hints about Archilochus’ siblings in ancient sources. Plutarch refers to his sister, saying that one of the poems (fr. 11) was written after her husband was lost at sea. In the oracle given to Telesicles about the glorious future of his son, the name of the son is not specified, instead the Pythia says that whichever of his sons speaks first to him at his arrival at Paros will become immortal and a man of great renown. This implies that Telesicles was believed to have had more than one son, and Archilochus, therefore, at least one brother.

There is no hint about Archilochus’ wife in tradition, but he is sometimes accused of adultery and keeping mistresses.

Two companions of Archilochus who are known also from the poet’s extant fragments are attested in tradition: Glaucus son of Leptines is mentioned in an inscription on a marble monument found on Thasos and dated to the end of the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century BC, and Pericles, whom the poet calls his friend and tries to comfort in his grief (fr. 13), is reported to have been slandered by Archilochus.

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24 Tarditi 1956:125 f. He proposes a reading ‘Ἐνιποὺς ὦς, τῆς θεόκοιμης for Archilochus’ lost verse and implies that also Archilochus’ mother was linked with conducting some kind of cult.
25 Plut. Mor. 33ab.
26 About the oracle see p. 96.
27 Crit. 88 B 44 DK, Diphil. fr. 71 K.-A., cf. the tradition about Archilochus and the daughters of Lycambes. Clay (2004:48) has suggested that the woman represented in the late Archaic Totenmahl relief (Paros Museum, inv. nos. 758–759) is Archilochus’ wife,— but the identification of Archilochus on the relief is exceedingly tentative, see p. 107.
Archilochus’ home, journeys, and contests

In general, the ancient authors believed that Archilochus was born and raised on Paros.\(^{29}\) They also agree that he travelled to Thasos later in his life and lived there for a while.\(^{30}\) Both opinions are supported by Archilochus’ poetry and were probably supported also by local historical documents.\(^{31}\) The reason why the poet had to move from Paros to Thasos was either poverty or because he led the colonists from one island to the other.\(^{32}\) There is, however, another strand of tradition about the poet’s home town: an isolated and late source, a silver cup from the first century AD found from Boscoreale, depicts a throng of skeletons, one of whom is holding a seven-string harp and is named as Archilochus of Myrine.\(^{33}\) Myrine mentioned here is probably Myrrhine (the modern Mersini) on Paros rather than Myrina on the coast north of Aeolian Cyme or Myrina on the west coast of Lesbos.

The account of his expulsion from Sparta implies that he was believed to have travelled there but, on the other hand, it is more plausible that the story was always understood as a prohibition against performing his poetry (as is stated by Valerius Maximus) rather than physical banishment of the poet.\(^{34}\) The only other account which mentions the exile, this

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\(^{30}\) Crit. 88 B 44 DK, Plut. Mor. 604c, Oenom. ap Eus. PE 5.31.

\(^{31}\) Archilochus mentions Paros in fr. 116 and Thasos in frs. 21 (with Plutarch’s comment), 102, 93a. In fr. 5 he mentions a Saen who took his shield in a battle (see also Adesp. iamb. 38.5–11, and Obbink 2006 and West 2006). This may suggest that he travelled also to Thrace: the Saens or Sinti, or Sapaei were the Thracian people who lived on the coast around Abdera and the islands round Lemnos (Str. 12.3.20 (549, 550), Hdt. 7.110). In fr. 22 the river Siris is mentioned. This is thought to be either Siris on the gulf of Tarentum in South Italy, or the river Strymon near the Thracian town Siris, see Tsantsanoglou 2003:254–255 and cf. Marcaccini 2001:154–158.

\(^{32}\) Crit. 88 B 44 DK, Oenom. ap Eus. PE 5.31. About Arcilochus and the colonization of Thasos see Marcaccini 2001. Also p. 99 above, about the oracle given to the poet about colonization of the island.

\(^{33}\) Silver modiolus in Louvre. The other named skeletons on the cup are Menander, Euripides and Monimus, all of Athens. In addition to them there are three more skeletons and a female figure identified by the words “Envy and Resentment.” See Clay 2004:62,122, pl. 32.

\(^{34}\) Val. Max. 6.3: Lacedaemonii libros Archilochi e civitate suae exportari iussurunt, quod eorum parum verecundam ac pudicam lectionem arbitrabantur …; Plut. Inst. Lac. 34 (Mor. 239b): Ἄρχιλόχον τὸν ποιήτην ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ γεγομένοιν αὐτῆς ὡρᾶς ἐπιστάμενον, διότι ἐπέγνωσαν αὐτὸν πεποιηκότα ὡς ἠπατητῶν ἀποκαλεῖν τὰ ὀπλα ἢ ἀποθανείν.
time from Paros, comes from the scholiast on Ovid, and gives the poet’s vicious tongue as a reason for the expatriation.35

It seems that Archilochus was mostly believed to have travelled as a soldier rather than a performing poet. There is, however, an account that Archilochus once wished to sing a hymn to Heracles at Olympia, but lacking a cithara-player he imitated the rhythm and sound of the cithara by his voice and sang the song *Tenella kallinike* (fr. 324) which became a triumphal song for all winners to sing out at the moment of victory.36 Another strand of tradition says that Archilochus applied the refrain τήνελλα of his Heracles-hymn to himself after his victory in the contest for the hymn to Demeter in Paros.37

4. Archilochus’ encounter with the Muses

The story of Archilochus and the Muses, and his initiation to song is recorded in Mnesiepes’ Inscription (B col. ii). According to this, Archilochus while still a boy, once went to the district called Leimones (Meadows), to bring a cow to market. When he arrived at Lissides (Smooth Stones), he met a group of women. Assuming that they were neglecting their work he bantered with them. They jested and laughed with him, and asked whether he was going to sell the cow. When he said he was, they promised a good price for it, and a moment later the women and the cow disappeared, and the boy found a lyre lying at his feet. He was astounded, but after a little while, when he had recovered his senses he realised that it must have been the Muses who had appeared to him. He took the lyre, went home and told his father what had happened. Telesicles searched for the cow throughout the whole island but could find no trace of it.

The same story seems to be depicted on a pyxis painted in Athens ca. 460–450 BC: a cowherd, a cow, a female figure leading the cow, and five more figures with musical instruments.38 The shepherd is now usually

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35 Schol. Ovid. *Ib* 521d (p. 156f. La Penna).
36 Schol. ad fr. 324 (i.267.1–12 + 268.2–5 Dr.). Fr. 324:
- τήνελλα καλλίνικε
- Χαίε ἄναξ Ἡράκλεις,
- αὐτὸς τε καῦλαος, αἴχιστὰ δύω.

Unlike the ancients, modern commentators doubt Archilochus’ authorship of this poem, see West 1974:138 f.
38 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, H.L. Pierce Fund, inv. no. 98.887.
identified as young Archilochus. The five figures with instruments have generally been thought to be the Muses, but Clay has suggested that the one sitting on a folding stool and holding a plektron in one hand and a seven-string chelys lyre in the other is Archilochus later in his life.\(^{39}\) Kontoleon regards the story as an old Parian tradition which may go back to the Archaic period.\(^{40}\) The story of Archilochus’ encounter with the Muses is another example of a traditional initiation topic represented in almost every biographical tradition of early poets. When exactly the particular story about Archilochus was formed is not possible to say, but if the figure on the Boston pyxis is Archilochus, which is quite plausible, the story must have been well and widely known at least by the middle of the fifth century BC.\(^{41}\)

5. The oracles in the tradition of Archilochus

The tradition contains five Delphic oracles, two of them given to the poet’s father Telesicles, one to Archilochus, one to the Parians and one to Archilochus’ killer Calondas.\(^{42}\)

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39 Clay 2004:55–57, pl. 20, 21, 22. Caskey and Beazley (1931:34–37) identified the male-figure as Hesiod. Kontoleon (1955:57–59) was the first to suggest that the cowherd on the picture is Archilochus. Contra: Peek 1955:23–26, but see the reply of Kontoleon in 1963:47–49. Beazley later agreed that the male-figure is Archilochus rather than Hesiod (1963:774). Archilochus is conjectured to be represented also on another fifth century vase: the Attic red-figure bell krater (Palermo, Banco di Sicilia, inv. no. 196, dated to ca. 420 BC) shows a youth in travelling costume and holding two spears, see Beazley in ARV\(^2\) 1686, Clay 2004:57, pl. 24. See also the discussion on the first century BC relief which shows a front half of a bull or cow (a “vanishing” cow), which is sometimes thought to be linked with the story of Archilochus and the Muses: Kontoleon 1956:35 f. and 1960:54, Clay 2004:54 and pl. 9. There are also some Classical period statues which modern authors have sometimes thought to represent Archilochus: the “Louvre Poet” (Musée du Louvre, Ma 588), a head from Hekatonpylian (Paros Museum, inv. 345), and the “Old Singer” in Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (inv. no. 1563), see Poulson 1954:77 (No. 53) and pl. xxxvi–xxxix, Kontoleon 1963:44, Johansen 1992:138–141 (No. 57), Clay 2004:32, 60 f., 121. Richter regards the latter’s identification as Archilochus as dubious (1965:1.67 f.). The Ny Carlsberg statue is also thought to represent Pindar (Schefold 1943:138, 212–213) or Alcaeus (Lippold 1912:68 f., Zanker 1995: 146–149).

40 Kontoleon 1955:59 ff., 1963:50. A feeble support to this view are the place-names found in the story, which are not directly necessary for the narrative. Burnett (who does not take the picture on the pyxis into account) suggests that the story was attached to Archilochus in the Hellenistic period during his transformation into hero-poet (1983: 18 f., cf. Lefkowitz 1981:27 ff.).

41 See also Momigliano 1971:27 f.

42 Three more oracles are connected with the establishment of Archilochus’ cult.
The first oracle to Telesicles is about the future of his son. According to the Mnesiepes’ Inscription, after Archilochus had met the Muses, lost the cow and received the lyre, his father wondered a lot about what had happened, and decided to enquire of the Pythia about this matter. Before he could ask anything, however, the Pythia spontaneously gave him the following oracle:

᾿Αθανατός ουι παῖς καὶ ἄοιδιμος, ὦ Τελεσίκλεις,
ἐσσετ’ ἐν ἀνθρώπωσιν, δεῖ ἄν πρῶτός σε προσείη
νηὸς σής ἀποβάντα φίλη ἐν πατρίδι γαίη.\(^{43}\)

*Immortal and renowned among men, Telesicles, will be the son of yours who will speak to you first when you disembark from the ship in your dear homeland.*

The Pythia does not specify which son of Telesicles is meant, but since Archilochus was his most famous and the only traditionally significant son, the oracle must have been attached to him from the very beginning.\(^{44}\) An interesting feature of the oracle is the very traditional “first met” theme in it, which can be traced in various Greek sources as early as the fifth century.\(^{45}\) Also the word ἄοιδιμος is intriguing, since in the early instances of its use (as by Homer and Stesichorus) the word has a passive meaning, “famed in song.” Parke has argued that this meaning would apply just as well to a man of action as to the future poet, and if the word was used originally in this meaning, the oracle does not presume any

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\(^{43}\) Q 56 (Fontenrose)/PW (Parke-Wormell) 231. The whole story with the entire oracle is in the Mnesiepes’ Inscription (A col. ii), the text of the oracle is also in Anth. Pal. 14.113. The shorter version of it is in Oenomaus ap. Eus. PE 5.32–39 and in Theodoretus’ Graec. affect. curatio 10.36.

\(^{44}\) None of the ancients seem to have taken Apollo’s promise of immortality to Archilochus too verbatim, at least we have no reference to his being in the Isle of the Blessed or something similar, not even for fun as other poets such as Homer, Eumon, Arion, Anacreon, Stesichorus and Hesiod are moved to the Isle of the Blessed after their death in Lucian Ver. Hist. 2.15, 22.

\(^{45}\) Manto had to marry the first man she met on leaving the temple (L 2 (Fontenrose)/PW 20); in order to have a son, Cephalus had to mate with whichever female he first met (L 82/PW 322); in order to find water, the ruler of Haliartus had to kill the person he first met on his return to his homeland, who turned out to be his own son (L 128/PW 532); Xuthus enquired for a son and was told that the first person whom he met on leaving the shrine was his son (L 28/PW 190). Cf. also “the first heard” (Q 73/PW 23), “the first who welcomes” (Q 109/PW 60, Q 129/PW 78) motifs, etc. The earliest account is probably the “first to offer hospitality” in the oracle to the Dolonci about the elder Miltiades (Q 109/PW 60) attested in Hdt. 6.34–35. Manto’s oracle is from the Epigoni or the Thebais (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.308, see Allen 1912:116).
knowledge of the future career of Archilochus.\textsuperscript{46} I do not think, however, that we can separate the oracle from the poet’s biographical tradition, since Archilochus was famous, ὠνόματι, only because of his poetry, and his life story developed around it. The oracle has no meaning without Archilochus’ subsequent fame as a poet. Alternatively, the word ὠνόματι may be used in active sense, as it is attested from Pindar onwards, in which case the phrase in the oracle would mean “famous as a singer,” which certainly presupposes acquaintance with Archilochus’ biography.

The second oracle given to Telesicles is about the colonization of Thasos:

\[ ἠγγείλων Παρίοις, Τελεσίκλεεσ, ὦς σε κελεύω νήσοι ἐν Ἡσίην κτίζειν εὐθείαλον ἁστυ. \]

This oracle, too, could be interpreted in two different ways. One way is to render ὦς in the phrase ὦς σε κελεύω as “that”: “Tell to the Parians, Telesicles, that I bid you to found a far-seen city in the island of Eeria.”\textsuperscript{48} This translation would make Telesicles the one who has to lead the colonization of Thasos. The other possibility is to understand the phrase ὦς σε κελεύω parenthetically, in the sense of “as”: “Tell to the Parians, Telesicles, as I bid you, to found a far-seen city in the island of Eeria.”\textsuperscript{49} In that case the Parians in general are those who have to found the colony, while Telesicles simply has to mediate the god’s wish to them.\textsuperscript{50} The oracle

\textsuperscript{46} Parke 1956:i.396 f. About the change of the meaning of the word, see Breitenstein 1971:9 f.

\textsuperscript{47} Q 55/PW 230. Oenomaus ap. Eus. PE 6, 7 and 8, Steph. Byz. s.v. Θάσος.

\textsuperscript{48} This is the common way to translate the oracle, see Gerber 1999:75, Fontenrose 1978:286, Edmonds 1931:85. For more examples see Graham 1978:76.

\textsuperscript{49} See Graham 1978:76. The phrase νήσοι ἐν Ἡσίην in the oracle is explained by Oenomaus as a reference to Thasos drawn from Archilochus’ verses: καὶ ἐστι Θάσος μὲν ἡ Ἡσίια νήσος; οὖν δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτὴν Πάριοι, Ἀρχιλόχου τοῦ ἐμοῦ νῦν φρόσιαντος, ὁτι ἡ νήσος αὐτὴ πρὸν Ἡσίια ἐκαλεῖτο (Oenom. ap. Eus. PE 6.7, 8).

\textsuperscript{50} From the point of view of ancient history writing, however, it seems not to be important in which way the ancients interpreted the oracle. Apparently they did not know when Telesicles lived, and accordingly did not try to date the colonization on the basis of the oracle, as has sometimes been done by modern commentators,—see for example Myres in CAH:\textsuperscript{2} 654. The foundation date of Thasos given by Eusebius, 1425 BC (592 Abr.), depends on Herodotus’ remark that Thasos was colonised by the Phoenicians when they sailed in search of Europa (Hdt 2.44). All Phoenicians in early Greek history were attached to the figure of Cadmus, and so Eusebius linked the foundation of Thasos to the date of Cadmus (Graham 1978:72). According to Clement, Xanthus of Lydia dated the colonization of Thasos in Ol.18 (708 BC) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus in Ol. 15 (728 BC) (Clem. Alex. Strom. 1.131). These dates depend on two synchronizations: Archilochus-Gyges, and Archilochus-Thasos, both derived from Archilochus’ poetry (Gyges: fr. 19, Thasos: \textit{passim}. See below p. 111 ff.).
indicates that Archilochus’ father Telesicles was thought to have been the founder of the colony in Thasos. It is not possible to determine whether this opinion was based on some independent tradition (the name of the oikistes was usually remembered in the community) or was derived from Archilochus’ poetry in which Thasos certainly has a prominent place. If the first case is true, then also the oracle might be independent from the poetry.

The only oracle given for Archilochus himself is known from Oenomaus:

"Ἀρχίλοχος εἰς Θάσον ἑλθέ, καὶ οἶκει εὐχλέα νῆσον." 51

This oracle too has an ambiguous meaning: the Pythia is telling the poet either to take part in or lead the (Parian) colonization of Thasos. 52

Archilochus was later certainly dated to the time of the foundation of the Thasian colony, which in turn, was placed in the time of the reign of Gyges with whom Archilochus was synchronized on the basis of his own verses. The other possibility is that the poet was, according to the oracle, only recommended to move to Thasos and to live there. This interpretation would suit the tradition (attested from the first part of the fifth century on), that he had lost his reputation and property in political strife on Paros. 53

In any case, it is clear that at least two oracles linked the poet and his father with Thasos, and the foundation of the colony on it. As far as we know, Archilochus did not mention the colonization of Thasos by Telesicles in his poetry, which may indicate that this belief

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52 To the latter interpretation may point Clem. Alex. Strom. 1.131.7, where Archilochus is linked with the colonization of Thasos. Other poets who, according to tradition, led a colony are Semonides of Amorgus who founded three cities in Samos: Minoa, Aegialus and Arcesine (Suda s.v. Σιμωνίδης and the end of the account under s.v. Σιμίας, Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀμιογός, Tzetz. Chil. 12.52), and Solon who founded Soloi either in Cilicia (Diog. L. 1.51) or on Cyprus (Suda s.v. Ζόλον).
53 Oenomenaus may have preferred this interpretation as he says (ad. loc.): ἢ Ἀρχίλοχῳ τῷ Παρίῳ ἀποβαλόντι τὴν οὐσίαν ἐν πολιτικῇ φιλανδίᾳ, καὶ ὑπὸ λύπης ἤριζεν πρὸς σε, λέγειν Ἀρχίλοχος κτλ. He may have nevertheless believed that Archilochus was an oikistes.

The tradition that Archilochus was poor is reflected and may, in fact, have emerged from Pindar’s verses: εἶδον γὰρ ἐκας ἐων τὰ πόλλα ἐν ἀμακισία / ψυχαρίον Ἀρχίλοχον βασιλεύοντες ἐξθέον / πανινόμενον το πλουτεῖν δε σὺν τύχῃ / σπάμον σοφίας ἄμοσον (P. 2.52 ff.), though Pindar does not seem here to mean material poverty, as his scholiasts ad locum have assumed,—see the scholia ad loc. (P. 2.99–101, ii, p. 48 Dr.). See also Critias 88 B 44 DK: [Ἀρχίλοχος] κατακλάλων Πάρον διὰ πενίαν καὶ ἀμακισίαν ἠλθεν εἰς Θάσον. The only hint in Archilochus’ extant poetry of the possibility that he could not have been very rich is his statement that he is a soldier.
emerged from some independent source. In that case, the oracles could also come from an independent tradition.\textsuperscript{54}

On the third column of the stone A of the Mnesiepes’ Inscription we find an exceedingly fragmentary text which may be, if the reconstructions are correct, an account of how Archilochus introduced a Dionysiac rite to Paros. The restored story would approximately go like this: at a festival Archilochus had improvised some indecent verses which concerned Dionysus. The verses offended the Parians who considered them to have been “too iambic” and the poet was found guilty in a public trial, for which Apollo, in turn, punished the citizens by striking them with impotence. The Parians sent a delegation to Delphi to discover the cause of the calamity, and received a response which told them to honour Archilochus. The Parians realised their mistake and introduced (with the help of Archilochus) a new form of cult to Dionysus.\textsuperscript{55} The text of the oracle, of which only the beginnings of the lines have survived, has been reconstructed by Parke:

\begin{quote}
Τίπτε δίκαις ἄν[όμιος κεχωριμένοι ἤδε βίψι] ήλθετε πρὸς Π[υθῶ λομοὺ λύσιν αἰτήσοντες] οὐχ ἐστὶν πρὸι[Βάχχοιν ὀμείλυχον ἐξελάσασθαί,] εἰς ὃ κεν Ἀρχιλ[οχον Μουσῶν θεράποντα τίμητε.]
\end{quote}

The association of the story with the cult performed in Paros refers to its Parian origin. The text is, however, too corrupt for making any far-reaching conclusions about connections between Archilochus and the cult of Dionysus.

There is also an oracle linked with Archilochus’ death: the response given to Calondas.\textsuperscript{57} He had slain Archilochus in a battle between the Parians and the Naxians. Later, when he came to Delphi and wished to consult the oracle, the Pythia repulsed him with the words: “you have killed the Muses’ servant; leave the temple!” Calondas persisted in his

\begin{enumerate}
\item[\textsuperscript{54}] On the other hand, the whole strand of tradition about the colonization of Thasos may have derived secondarily from Archilochus’ lost songs referring to his life on Thasos.
\item[\textsuperscript{55}] See the reconstructions of the text in Kontoleon 1955:80, Gerber 1999:22 f., and Clay 2004:107–110. The verses quoted in the inscription are: ὁ Διόνυσος τ[υλάστων ζε/]/ὁμήφασες α[/ σύκα μελι]/ οἰσιλιων ἐξ[fr. 251].
\item[\textsuperscript{56}] Parke 1958:93, followed by Gerber 1999:22 f. The oracle is not printed in Parke-Wormell 1956 nor in Fontenrose 1978. Gerber’s translation: “Why have you (who use illegal) judgements (and force) come to P(ytho) to ask for a release from the pestilence)? It is not possible (to appease harsh Bacchus) until (you honour) Archilochus (servant of the Muses).”
\item[\textsuperscript{57}] His name was Calondas according to Suda s.v. Ἀρχιλόχος, in Plut. Mor. 560de it is Callondes, and Oenomaeus (ap. Eus. PE 5.32–39) calls the killer Archias.
\end{enumerate}
innocence arguing that he had killed Archilochus in war, and what he had done was a question of kill or be killed. Finally the Pythia relented to the extent of telling him to go to the tomb (or house) of Tettix in Taenarum and appease the soul of the poet with libations. He obeyed and became free of blood-guilt. 58 Taenarum, where the entrance to Hades was believed to be located, was certainly a suitable place to conciliate spirits of the dead. 59 Tettix was, according to Plutarch, a Cretan man who had come across the sea and founded a city not far from the *psychopompeion* at Taenarum. 60 His house or tomb was chosen by the Pythia probably because Archilochus had compared himself with a cicada (*tettix*). 61

Forrest has argued in his study of Greek colonization that the combined interests of Corinth and Chalcis in colonizing the West were furthered by Apollo’s oracle at Delphi, which in turn was rewarded as success crowned the western venture and its reputation was born in Magna Graecia. At the same time Delphi is absent from accounts of the colonial activity of Corinth’s competitors, prime among them Miletus. In Forrest’s view, Delphi ought to have no place in the foundation of Thasos the colony of Paros, which was in the rival colonizing bloc led by Miletus. Accordingly, Delphi should have had little or no place in the Archilochus’ tradition. 62 Tarditi, trying to solve the problem, has suggested that Delphi came into the picture much later, in the 5th century BC, when Archilochus’ reputation had been broadly diffused through Greece by rhapsodes’ recitation of his work and embellishments upon the elements in his life. 63 Parke and Wormell, in turn, proposed that since the Delphic authorities in the seventh century were particularly sensitive on the subject of blood-guilt, the oracle given to Calondas may originate from that time. 64 Parke suggests that interest in the legends of


59 When Heracles descended to Hades to fetch Cerberus and rescue Theseus from the Underworld, he went there through the cave in Taenarum (Apollod. Bibl. 2.5.12).

60 Plut. Mor. 560e.

61 Only one line of the particular poem has survived: τέττιγας ὕδραξιο πτεροῦ (fr. 223, ap. Lucian. Pseudolog. 1). Lucian gives the context and meaning of the phrase saying that Archilochus, being abused by someone who could not encounter the bitterness of his iambics, likened himself to the cicada which is by nature vociferous even without any compulsion and which cries out more loudly whenever it is caught by the wing.


63 See p. 90 with n. 12.

64 Parke and Wormell 1956:i.397.
Archilochus, which may have arisen from this particular episode of his killer’s inquiry, continued into succeeding generations and led ultimately, probably by the end of the fifth century, to the concoction of additional oracular responses connecting the poet and Pythian Apollo. In the third century Mnesiepes, while gathering the Delphian tradition which contained mainly the oracles, may have added it to the tradition from the “men of old,” i.e. the local Parian lore, and recorded it in marble. It is evident that Delphi had a significant part in the formation of Archilochus’ biography, but it remains unclear when the oracles were formed. Clearly, the oracles could not have come into being in isolation from the tradition of Archilochus, they must have been formed around it and supported by it. Perhaps it is worth recalling that the oracle given to Telesicles about his son’s future contains a very traditional “first met” motive. Although it is hard to date such a common motif, it would not be out of place in an early context.

6. Archilochus and the cult of gods

Some fragments of Archilochus’ poetry and references in tradition have led modern commentators to suggest that the poet and his family were professionally associated with worship of Demeter and Dionysus in Paros and Thasos. In fragment 20 Dionysus and dithyramb are mentioned, and Mnesiepes’ Inscription may present a story of the introduction of Dionysiac cult to Paros in which Archilochus had a central role. Also the general tone of several verses praising wine and love confirms the importance of the Bacchic god in Archilochus’ mind. Fragment 169 may be a part of the hymn to Demeter, perhaps even a scrap of the same hymn which, according to tradition, brought victory to Archilochus at the contest held in Paros. Fragment 322, a remnant of Iobacchus, which West lists as spurious but was ascribed to Archilochus in antiquity,
mentions the festival of Demeter and Core. We also know that Paros was one of the oldest centres of the worship of Demeter outside Eleusis itself, and that, according to the account of Pausanias, it was believed that the cult was taken from Paros to Thasos by Cleoboea the contemporary of the poet’s grandfather with whom she is depicted on a fifth century BC painting. West has suggested that the poetic genre iambus has its origins in the cults of Demeter and Dionysus. He associates the word ἰαμβός with ἱππωμίφος, θησιμός, and ἱππυμβός, words linked with the worship of Dionysus; and also with Ἰαμβή, a woman from the Hymn to Demeter who made the grieving goddess laugh by jest and bantering (lines 195–204). West concludes that the genre iambus is conventionally invective and obscene, and Archilochus as a representative of the genre often used its conventions in his poetry. The etymological approach applied by West in his argumentation on the development of iambus has been questioned by many, but the kernel of his theory has persisted and been developed, and during a quarter of century it has taken a quite generally accepted form that Archilochus represents a blame poet who composed in a traditional environment, using conventional αἰσχρολογία to protect his community from anyone who threatened its stability.

In the discussion about Archilochus’ family’s connections with cult the importance of the worship of two gods, Demeter and Dionysus, is often emphasized. The several references to Dionysus and the collocation of Tellis with the priestess of Demeter on the painting of Polygnotus have suggested the possibility that Tellis (and consequently also Telesicles and Archilochus) belonged to a priestly family with special connections with

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70 The fragment is ascribed to Archilochus by Hephaestio Ench. 15.16.

71 About the cult of Demeter on Paros see Hymn to Demeter v. 491, and Richardson 1974:213 and 321 (ad loc.). Cleoboea: Paus. 10.28.3. On a Parian silver coin (in the Münzkabinett der Stadt Winterthur) from the first century BC a young Dionysus is represented. On the reverse is a seated man, holding a lyre in his left hand and a book roll in his right hand, and inscriptions ΠΑΡΙΩΝ and ΠΕΙΣΙΒ, which probably refer to the Parian archon (Clay 2004:169 n. 149). The poet is not identified by name. Scheffold (1943:78, 172, 219), Zankler (1995:163–165), and Clay (2004:61 ff., 122) have suggested that he is Archilochus, but see Richter 1965:1.67.


these two gods.\textsuperscript{75} However, among his extant poetry we find fragments which may be remnants of hymns to other gods: for Zeus (177), Hephaestus (108), Apollo (26), and Heracles (324).\textsuperscript{76} In addition, there are references to Archilochus’ and his family’s connections with Apollo: the poet’s encounter with the Muses, Telesicles’ mission to Delphi, the oracles, and the anger of Apollo at Calondas. Thus it seems that if we leave aside Pausanias’ late statement about Tellis and Cleoboea, which is only indirectly linked with Archilochus anyway, and the tentative reconstructions of the extremely corrupted passage in the inscription of Mnesiepes discussed above, we have no solid information that any ancient author had ever claimed Archilochus or his family to have had specific hereditary religious duties towards Dionysus, Demeter or any other god. As a poet, he may well have composed hymns and praises to any god, according to the need, without any special professional obligation.

7. Lycambes and his daughters

According to tradition, Lycambes a Parian nobleman had two or three daughters, one of them called Neoboule.\textsuperscript{77} Neoboule was promised as Archilochus’ bride but eventually not given to him, and Archilochus, in anger, composed such abusive, slanderous and obscene poems against Lycambes and the girls, that they all or some of them hanged themselves.

In Archilochus’ extant poetry only five fragments refer to the characters of the story without doubt: fr. 118 and 196a mention Neoboule, 172 and 173 refer to the change of heart of “father Lycambes,” 38 speaks about the younger daughter of Lycambes.\textsuperscript{78} In addition we have a fragmentary

\textsuperscript{75} See Treu 1959:250. Further support for this hypothesis about the status of the poet’s family has been sought from the names Tellis and Telesicles which seem to be hieratic, suggesting τέλεα. See West 1976:24, Brown 1997:45, also Burnett 1983:25 and Rankin 1977:17.

\textsuperscript{76} Fr. 324 with scholia ad loc. See also p. 95. Heracles had a strong cult in Thasos where he and Dionysus were honoured together as the sons of Zeus (Pi. fr. 192.36–43 T, cf. Apollod. Bibli. 2.5.9). An early fifth-century gate at Thasos had an inscription which manifested Dionysus and Heracles as the guards of the city (IG xii 8. 356).

\textsuperscript{77} If the girl in the Cologne fragment (fr. 196a) is Neoboule’s sister, then Lycambes’ wife was called Amphimedo.

\textsuperscript{78} Although Lycambes is not mentioned by name in fr. 173, the context shows that it is he who has broken his promise. Fr. 196a tells the story of how Neoboule’s sister(?) was seduced by a young man (Archilochus?).
papyrus where Lycambes may be referred to.79 Outside of Archilochus’ poetry the story is attested from the fifth century onwards. The first extant reference is made by Cratinus who calls Lycambes a general since he battled with Archilochus.80 From Hellenistic authors more information about the story is preserved: in the epigrams of Dioscorides and Meleager Archilochus is said to have abused and slandered the daughters of Lycambes unjustly and without any basis, a fragmentary papyrus from the third century BC possibly mentions Lycambes’ virgin daughters twice, and in the Mnesiepes’ Inscription Lycambes is referred to as Telesicles’ travel companion on his mission to Delphi.81 It seems that the story became truly popular in the Roman era,—perhaps because of the development of satire. Ovid, Horace and Martial all knew the story well and referred to it, Gaetulicus and Julian wrote epigrams where they claimed that three or two daughters, respectively, hanged themselves, and also Lucian mentions the story several times.82 According to Aristides, Archilochus slandered Lycambes and also Cheidos (or Charilaus), Pericles, and a seer, and we have a scholium which says that Archilochus was killed by his enemies, because he composed slanderous poems against them.83 A comparable story exists about Hipponax and the brothers Boupalus and Athenis the sculptors of Chios, who committed suicide because of Hipponax’ invectives.84

79 POxy 2312 = frr. 54, 57, 60: Λυκάμβη (fr. 54.8); Δωτάδεω πατό[ (fr. 57, cf. Hesych. s.v. Δωτάδης: Δωτού νίος, ο Λυκάμβης); λυκ[. (fr. 60).
80 Cratin. fr. 138 K.-A. There are a few more uncertain references to the story from the Classical period, those in which Archilochus is criticized for his slanderous and rude style and for his sexual appetite and arrogance: Pi. P. 2.52, Critias 88 B 44, Alcid. ap. Arist. Rhet. 2.1398b.
81 Dioscorides in Anth. Pal. (7.352 HE 1555–1564), Meleager in Anth. Pal. 7.352, P.Dublin inv. 1934: Λυκάμβη παρθένους και Λυκάμβη πόλυγατρες. The reference to Lycambes in the Mnesiepes’ Inscription (A col. ii) is not necessary for the course of the story, which may point to the possibility that a Parian source existed which told the story of the Muses, the story of how Telesicles and Lycambes went to Delphi, and perhaps also the story of Lycambes and his daughters.
82 Ovid Ib. 53 f., 521–524 + scholia ad loc.; Hor. Epist. 1.19.23, Epod. 6.11 + scholia ad loc.; Mart. 7.12.6; Gaetulicus in Anth. Pal. 7.71; Julian in Anth. Pal. 7.69; Luc. Am. 3, Pseudol. 1.2 + scholia ad Luc. Bis acc. According to [Acro], Lycambes and one daughter, or only the daughters hanged themselves (scholia ad Hor. Epod. 6.11–14). Eustathius says that the daughters committed suicide (Eustath. in Od. 11.277), and in the schol. ad Ov. Ib. 54 the whole family, Lycambes, his wife and their daughter killed themselves.
84 Plin. NH 36.5.2 etc., see also p. 127. According to a muddled scholiast, Archilochus
The stories such as quarrels and love-affairs of a famous poet, his disappointment and wrath after being rejected by the bride’s father, and his subsequent revenge, fit well in comic context. We know that Diphilus made both Archilochus and Hipponax to be lovers of Sappho in his comedy, and that the accounts of Hipponax’ quarrel with Boupalus, and of Sappho’s love for Phaon were employed by other comedy writers. Although we have no other direct evidence than the above-mentioned reference to the “general Lycambes” by Cratinus, it would not be surprising if the comic poets had made use of and embellished the story of Lycambes (known from Archilochus’ poetry) in their works, for example in Cratinus’ Archilochoi or Alexis’ Archilochos.

8. The death of Archilochus

The commonest and the most wide-spread (and historically probably the trustworthiest) opinion is that Archilochus died in battle. It is not, however, the only opinion. Ovid hints that Archilochus died a violent death because of his combative iambics but does not give any details. His scholiast is more specific and states that Archilochus was killed by his offended enemies, and another scholiast says that after the poet had forced Lycambes to hang himself, the latter’s friends pursued him and eventually drove him to commit suicide.

composed invective iambics against Lycambes because the daughter of Hipponax who had been betrothed to Archilochus was eventually given to Lycambes (schol. ad Ov. Ib. 521).

85 Diphilus fr. 71 K.-A. About Hipponax and Boupalus see p. 127, and about Sappho and Phaon, p. 179.
86 Cratin. frr. 1–16 K.-A., Alexis frr. 22–23 K.-A. The chorus of the Archilochoi may have been made up of the characters of famous poets (Wilson 1977:279). The circumstance that the name of Archilochus was chosen for the title of the play implies that his poetry and person must have been well known among the fifth century Athenian audience. In his Peace (1298 ff.) Aristophanes uses Archilochus’ poem of the lost shield for the purpose of mocking Cleonymus, a political figure not noted for his courage in battle: his son is made to quote Archilochus’ lines as if they were arguments for peace, which, of course, they are not.
87 Mnesiepes’ Inscription B col. i, and the story of Calondas in Heracl. Pont. Pol. 8, Plin. NH 7.29, Plut. Mor. 560de, etc. (see also p. 100 with n. 58).
88 Ov. Ib. 521–524. He obviously was not aware of the story of Calondas.
89 Schol. ad Ov. Ib. 251, pp. 156 f. La Penna. Pliny (NH 7.29) mentions the murderers (in plural) but says, at the same time, that the killers were accused by Apollo for murdering the poet,—obviously having in mind the story of Calondas.
Sosthenes’ Inscription may include an account of Archilochus’ death and magnificent burial on Paros in one of its highly corrupt columns. Modern commentators have suggested that Archilochus, as an important citizen probably of noble birth, was buried in the agora of Paros.

The earliest extant epitaph associated with Archilochus is from the fourth century BC. It is the so-called Docimus’ Inscription on a Ionic capital found on Paros, which mentions Telesicles as the poet’s father and Paros as his home. In addition, there are two purely literary epitaphs by later authors: Gaetulicus admonishes a traveller to pass the grave quietly lest the waspish poet should awake, and the emperor Hadrian blames the Muse for having driven the poet to compose savage iambic.

9. The cult of Archilochus

The beginning of the Mnesiepes’ Inscription describes the establishment of cult in the Archilocheion on Paros. According to it, Apollo gave three oracles concerning the precinct which Mnesiepes was constructing. First he told Mnesiepes to set up the altar and sacrifices to the Muses, Apollo Musagetes and Mnemosyne, to sacrifice to Zeus Hyperdexius, Athena Hyperdokia, Poseidon Asphaleius, Heracles and Artemis Euclid, and to send thank-offerings to Apollo at Delphi. The second oracle advised Mnesiepes to establish an altar to Dionysus, the Nymphs and the Seasons, and to offer sacrifice to Apollo Prostaterius, Poseidon Asphaleius and to Heracles and, again, to send thank-offerings to Apollo in Delphi. The third oracle admonishes to honour Archilochus the poet. Mnesiepes and his companions did everything according to Apollo’s wish, they called the area Archilocheion, set up the altars, sacrificed both to the gods and to Archilochus, and honoured the poet. Therefore, the cult of Archilochus, which included sacrifices to the poet, was established on Paros in the third century BC at latest.

Clay, following Kontoleon’s suggestion that

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91 Clay 2004:36, 67, on the basis of the arrangement of “agora of the gods” on Thasos, which may perhaps reflect back the practice of the mother city Paros. I cannot agree with Clay’s further implication that the tomb in the agora necessarily means that the poet was worshipped as a hero with offerings from the Archaic period on (cf. Clay 2004 passim).
92 Cit. in p. 92 n. 18, and Clay 2004:28 f.
93 Anth. Pal. 7.71 and 7.674.
94 Mnesiepes’ Inscription A(E1) col. i.
95 Although the Sosthenes’ Inscription does not mention the cult or offerings to
the unnamed hero figure on the late-archaic Totenmahl relief found on Paros might be Archilochus, is of the opinion that the cult can be traced back to the end of the sixth century BC. The relief represents a seated woman holding a veil and looking towards the figure of reclining man facing her. Behind the male figure, a boy stands in profile looking at the other two figures and completing the composition. The identification of the reclining male figure depends on the images of a shield, helmet, and an object which Clay suggests to be a spear hanging on the “wall” above the figure, and on the interpretation of the empty socket with a shallow collar and the smooth oval area, both behind the figure of the boy on the upper right hand part of the relief. Kontoleon and Clay suggest that the socket may have contained a metal phiale (or other drinking vessel) or a metal wreath, and in the smooth area Kontoleon saw an outline of an inverted lyre. These objects would make a strong case for identification of the represented man as Archilochus the soldier and the poet, but we must bear in mind that both interpretations are very tentative and the suggested objects (phiale, wreath, lyre) are missing. Also Clay’s “spear” is rather short. Another source in which Clay sees a support for existence of the cult comes from Alcidamas who reports that the Parians honoured (τετιμήκασι) Archilochus even though he was slanderous. Alcidamas continues, however, with a list of poets (Homer, Sappho) and philosophers (Pythagoras, Chilon, Anaxagoras), whose high reputation, despite their different shortcomings (such as being a woman, foreigner, or too learned) he found to be surprising. Alcidamas says nothing about cult, offerings, altars etc., he only states that these people were honoured/respected by their cities. Therefore, there is no solid evi-

Archilochus, the very existence of a long document about “the great many deeds of the poet” supports the view that Archilochus had a formal cult in the Archilocheon (where the marble blocks of Sosthenes’ Inscription were probably set up) throughout the Hellenistic period.

98 See also MacPhail’s review in BMCR 2005.09.32.
100 Most of the sources in Clay’s catalogue of the evidence for the cult of poets (2004: 127–153) belong in the Hellenistic or later period. Classical period accounts in his catalogue do not provide strong enough evidence for the existence of hero cult of the poets: the presence of a funerary monument, statues, literary epitaphs or coins representing the poets, is not enough to prove the existence of the established practice of formal cult concerning the poets. The few exceptions had a cult in Classical period not because of their poetic activity, but because they had established a cult themselves with
dence for cult of Archilochus before the Hellenistic period.\textsuperscript{101} I tend to think that Archilochus was honoured, with no formal cult, simply as a very good and famous poet (and not as a hero) already in his lifetime and after his death more or less continuously throughout the Archaic and Classical period. The formal cult, similar to hero cult including \textit{temenos} and sacrifices, was developed only in the Hellenistic time when the cities all over Greece boosted their self-confidence and pride by heroizing the great men of their distant past (poets, philosophers, warriors), and establishing formal cults for them.\textsuperscript{102}

10. \textit{Ancient criticism of Archilochus}

Archilochus was much praised for the power and spirit of his poetry and for his innovative metre and lively style.\textsuperscript{103} Plato mentions him next to Homer and Hesiod as an author whose poetry all good rhapsodes knew and were able to perform; Plutarch talks about Archilochus and Hesiod as poets who both were honoured after their death because of the Muses; Hippodromus compares Archilochus with Homer calling the latter the voice of the sophists, but Archilochus their soul.\textsuperscript{104} The fact that Archilochus was frequently associated with Homer and Hesiod is certainly a sign of his fame and high reputation among ancient authors, even

\begin{paracol}{12}
which they became linked: Sophocles was worshipped in a private cult not for his poetic activity but because of his action of receiving Asclepius (IG II\textsuperscript{2} 1252, 1253, Plut. \textit{Numa} 4,8, \textit{Etymologicum Genuinum} 256.6, Ister \textit{Vita Soph.}, Anth. Pal. 6.145); the Thebans honoured Pindar with ceremonies because he had set up a statue of the Mother of the Gods and Pan, and another one for Demeter in front of his house after the divinities had appeared to him, or they had been heard singing his songs (Aristod. 383 F 13, \textit{Vita Ambrosiana}, scol. vet. 1.2.1–10 Dr.). Pausanias’ report (9.23.3) about the Pythia’s order to the citizens of Delphi that they should give to Pindar one half of all the first fruits they offered to Apollo, may be connected with the previous accounts. And if not, it seems that Pindar was honoured as a poet rather than a hero, as Pausanias refers also to his initiation to song and his great reputation as a poet in this context, and links him firmly with Apollo the god of music and poetry. About heroization of the poets see also p. 222 below.

\textsuperscript{101} About the oracles, which Clay also uses as his argument, see p. 96. None of them refers to any formal cult practice concerning Archilochus.


\textsuperscript{103} See for example, [Longin.] \textit{De subl.} 33.4; Hor. \textit{Epist.} 1.19.23; Quint. 10.1.60; Iulian. \textit{Imp. Or.} 7.207bc.

\textsuperscript{104} Pl. \textit{Ion} 531a–532a, Plut. \textit{Numa} 4.6 (62c), Hippodr. ap Philostr. \textit{V.S.} 6.620. See also Alcidamas’ passage (ap. Arist. \textit{Rhet.} 2.1398b) discussed in the previous section, in which Archilochus is mentioned alongside Homer and other famous people. Archilochus and Homer were connected also by chronography, see p. 112.
though the first example of that kind of account was not complimentary at all: according to Heraclitus, both Homer and Archilochus deserved to be chased from the contests and flogged.  

Despite a generally high evaluation of his poetry, the poet’s choice of themes was often criticised. This view is perhaps most precisely summed up by Quintilian: “We find in him the greatest force of expression, statements not only vigorous but also concise and vibrant, and abundance of vitality and energy, to the extent that in the view of some where he falls short is through a defect of subject matter rather than of his genius.” The author of *On the Sublime* thought that much of Archilochus’ poetry, though divine in spirit and comparable to Homer’s verses, was ill-arranged. Ancient authors strongly disapproved of the poet’s sharp-tongued and bellicose character. The audience had probably no difficulties to recall the slanderous poems towards Lycambes when Pindar said: “Although far away, I have seen blameful Archilochus in extreme want, fattening himself on heavy-worded hatreds.” And Callimachus: “[Archilochus] drew in the dog’s bitter bile and the wasp’s sharp sting, and has poison from both.” Critias decried him as being licentious and an adulterer, quarrelsome and harsh equally towards both friends and enemies. But even more than that he disapproved of the poet’s habit of revealing his personality in all its defects without concealing discreditable facts such as being the son of a slave woman, his poverty and the loss of the shield. The latter incident, according to tradition, troubled the Lacedaemonians and caused them to banish Archilochus (or rather his poems) from their city. Even a proverb “Ἀρχίλοχον πατεῖς” (“you are trampling on Archilochus”) was formed and applied to those who revile others as Archilochus had done.

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105 Heracl. 22 B 42 DK. Heraclitus’ obscure words have been a matter of discussion, see for example Nagy 1989:38, and Graziosi 2002:29 f. As a further example of Archilochus’ fame, see the anecdote about Plato and Gorgias (Hermipp. ap Ath. 505de).

106 Quint. 10.1.59.

107 [Longin.] *De subl.* 13.3, 33.5.

108 Pl. *P.* 2.52–56.


110 See p. 94 n. 34.

111 Diogen. *Pareom.* 2.95, Apostolius *Pareom.* 4.2, Suda s.v. Ἀρχίλοχος. See also the saying “τέττιγα τὸν ἄνδρα εἰληφέναι τοῦ πτεροῦ” (“a man has caught a cicada by its wing”) (*Luc. Pseudol.* 1–2).
On the other hand, there were many serious treatises on Archilochus’ style and poetry of which some are known to us only by titles: Aristotle’s ‘Ἀπορήματα Ἀρχιλόχου’, Heraclides Ponticus’ Περὶ Ἀρχιλόχου καὶ ‘Ομήρου α’β’, Aristarchus’ commentary on Archilochus whom he considered to be the best of the three most important iambic poets. Apollonius Rhodius is known to have written a treatise Περὶ Ἀρχιλόχου, and Aristophanes of Byzantium a commentary on Archilochus’ poems.

The criticism about Archilochus’ poetry and his personality was current already in the beginning of the fifth century BC (Heraclitus, Pindar, Critias), and continued well into late antiquity. The ancients, in describing and reproving his personality, relied on his poetry, and there is no sign that they had ever doubted the autobiographical character of Archilochus’ verses.

11. The date of Archilochus

Archilochus was most often synchronized with the Lydian king Gyges. The obvious reason for this is the reference to the king in his verses. Also Strabo’s opinion that Archilochus lived about the time of the invasion of the Cimmerians and the destruction of Magnesia, must derive from the same mention of Gyges in Archilochus’ poem, since the

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113 Ath. 451d, 85e.
114 Archil. fr. 19:

οὗ μοι τὰ Γύγεω τοῦ παλιχώσου μέλει,
οὖδ’ εἷλε πώ με ξῆλος, οὖδ’ ἀγαίωμα
θεόν ἔργα, μεγάλης δ’ οὐκ ἔρεω τυφανίδος;
ἀπόπροθεν γιὰ ἐστὶν ὅψθαλμοι ἐμῶν.

The synchronism Archilochus-Gyges: Hdt. 1.12: Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναταυμομένου Κανταῦλεο ύπεκδύς τε καὶ ἀποκτέινας αὐτὸν ἔσχε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν Γύγης; τοῦ καὶ Ἀρχιλόχος ὁ Πάριος, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον γενόμενος, ἐν ἰάμβῳ τρι-μέτρῳ ἐπέμνησθη.

Tatian. adv. Graec. 31: ἔτεροι δὲ κάτω τὸν χρόνον ύπήγαγον, σὺν Ἀρχιλόχῳ γεγο-νέναι τὸν Ὀμήρον εἰπόντες; ὁ δὲ Ἀρχιλόχος ἤρμασε περὶ Ὀλυμπιάδα τρίτην καὶ εἰ-κοστὴν, κατὰ Γύγην τὸν Λιδόν, ὕπερνον τῶν Τιακών ἔτεσὶ πεντακοσίοις.

Eus. PE 10.11.4: τινὲς δὲ πρὸ τῶν Ὀλυμπιάδων ἔφεσαν αὐτὸν [i.e. Ὀμῆρον] γεγο-νέναι, τούτοις μετὰ τὴν Τίλιου ἄλωσον ἔτεσι τετρακοσίοις; ἔτεροι δὲ κάτω τὸν χρόνον ύπήγαγον, σὺν Ἀρχιλόχῳ γεγονέναι τὸν Ὀμῆρον εἰπόντες; ὁ δὲ Ἀρχιλόχος ἤρμασε
Cimmerians, as was well known, had entered Asia and captured Sardis in the time of Gyges’ son Ardys.\textsuperscript{115}

Another person with whom Archilochus was synchronized is Homer, and consequently, Homer was sometimes thought to have been a contemporary with Gyges.\textsuperscript{116} The chronographers (Tatian, Theopompus and others) dated the synchronism of Archilochus-Gyges-Homertothetime500years after the fall of Troy.\textsuperscript{117} The ancient dates for synchronism Homer-Gyges (Ol.18 or 708 / 5 bc by Euphorion), and for Homer-Gyges-Archilochus (Ol.23 or 688 / 5 bc by Tatian, Eusebius, Cyril and Syncellus) fall almost precisely 500 years after the end of the Trojan War, only they were computed with different starting points: Euphorion used Marmor Parium’s date for the fall of Troy: 1209 / 8 – 500 = 709 / 8 (Ol.18.1), while others began their calculations from 1185 / 4 which is Eratosthenes’ (and Apollodorus’) date for the fall of Troy (1185 – 500 = 685 (Ol.23.4)).\textsuperscript{118} The Eusebian date for Archilochus, Ol.53 (907/4), seems to rely on the synchronism Archilochus-Gyges as well, only this time the poet is linked with the end of the reign of Gyges.\textsuperscript{119} Eusebius probably combined

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\textsuperscript{115} Str.47.4.7(971–972): καὶ τὸν Ναυάρα Συνεπέστεσας μὲν ἐν τῷ Αἰγείρω Αἴγιρας ἀνεξεζήτητα, Κυμενίου ἐθνος, εὐπηχήρατα ποιῶν χρόνον, τὸ δὲ ἐξής τοῦ Ἐφεσίου κατασχέον τὸν τόπον. Καλλάνος μὲν οὖν ὁ ἐν τῶι Μαγνητίων μείναιτας καὶ καταφθασάντων ἐν τῷ πρῶς τοὺς Ἐφεσίους πολέμιον Ἀρχιλόχος δὲ ἄκομα τὴν γενεαλογίαν αὐτίς συμφωνήσας. ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἀδὲ τὸν νεώτερον εἶναι τοῦ Καλλάνου τεσσαρεσθάτα πάρεστιν. The invasion of the Cimmerians in the reign of Ardy: Hdt. 1.15. Cf. Archil. fr. 20, Clem. Alex. Strom. 1.131. See Jacoby 1941.

\textsuperscript{116} Archilochus-Homer: Clem. Alex. Strom. 1.117: ναὶ μήν Θεόσωμος μὲν ἐν τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Φιλίππιτοι μετὰ ἑτῆ πεντακοσία τῶν ἑπτὰ Τίθων στρατευσάντων γεγονέα τὸν Ὀμηροῦ ἵστορεῖ. Εὐφαρίσου δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀλευρίων κατὰ Γύγην αὐτὸν τίθη γεγονέα, ὡς βασαλέντες ἔρξετο ἀπὸ τῆς ὀκτωκαίδεκάτης ὀλυμπιάδος, ὁν καὶ φησὶ πρῶτον ὁμοιόμαθαι τύραννον.

Synellus, Chronogr. 181: καὶ ἔτερον (scil. έκατον ἔκατον) ἀυτῆ τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα μετὰ ἑτῆ φ’ που τῆς ὀλυμπιάδος Τροίας.

Homer-Gyges: Euphoriou, Tatian, Eusebius (cit. loc.).

\textsuperscript{117} Cit. loc. and Theopompos 115 F 205.

\textsuperscript{118} Cit. loc. and Cyrill. contra Iulian. 1.12: εἰκοστῇ τρίτῃ ὀλυμπιάδι φασὶ γενέσθαι Ἀρχιλόχον. The Marmor’s date of the fall of Troy: FGrHist. 239 A 24. See Mosshammer 1979:212 f., and Jacoby 1902:145.

\textsuperscript{119} Eus. Ol.29.1: Archilochus et Simonides et Aristoxenus musicus inlustres habentur.
Archilochus 

Herodotus' information that the Cimmerians' invasion in Asia took place in the time of Ardys the successor of Gyges, and Strabo's account that Archilochus had mentioned the fall of Magnesia, which was known to have been destroyed by the Cimmerians. The same strand of tradition lies probably also behind Nepos' account that Archilochus was well-known at the time of Tullus Hostilius, since 664 falls in the period of 672–640 when, according to Cato's reckoning of the founding of Rome, Tullus ruled in Rome.

Next, Archilochus was synchronized with the colonization of Thasos. Clement transmits two dates for that event: Ol.18 (by Xanthus) and Ol.15 (by Dionysius of Halicarnassus). Both dates are obviously deduced from the date of Archilochus: Ol.18 (708/5) is the date given by Euphorion (referred by Clement) for Homer and Gyges and, consequently, also for Archilochus who was synchronised with the first two. The Dionysian date for Thasos (720/17) relies most probably on the Herodotean Mermnad chronology, according to which the Mermnads ruled 170 years, and the reign of Gyges (who was on the throne for 38 years) would fall in between 717 and 679 BC, if one starts counting from the Apollodoran date 546/45 for the fall of Croesus. In other

Ol.29.1 is the last year for Gyges in Eusebius. This date may reflect the Apollodoran date for Archilochus, see Jacoby 1941:100 (but cf. Mosshammer 1979:215).


122 Clem. Alex. Strom. 1.131.6: ναὶ μὴν καὶ Τέρπανδρον ἀρχαίοις τινες Ἑλλάνικος (4 F 85b) γοῦν τοῦτον κατὰ Μίδαν γεγονέναι, Φανίας (fr. 33 Wehrli) δὲ πρὸ Τέρπανδρον τιθεὶς Λέσχην τὸν Λέσβιον Ἀρχιλόχον νεώτερον φέρει τὸν Τέρπανδρον, δυσμελλόρθητα δὲ τὸν Λέσχην Ἀρχιλόχον καὶ γενικρηκάναν Σάνθος δὲ ὁ Λυδός περὶ τὴν ὀλυμπιακάτηταν ὄλυμπιάδα (708/5) (ὡς δὲ Διονύσιος, περὶ τὴν πεντακαιδεκάτην) (720/17) Θάσον ἐκτίθηκα, ὡς εἶναι συμφανές τὸν Ἀρχιλόχον μετὰ τὴν εἰκοσίτην ἡδή γνωρίζεσθαι ὀλυμπιάδα (700/697). μέμνηται γοῦν καὶ τῆς Μαγνήτων ἀπωλείας προσφάτους γεγενημένης. Σιμωνίδης μὲν ὄν κατὰ Ἀρχιλόχον φέρεται, Κάλλινος δὲ προσβότερος οὐ μακρῷ τῶν γὰρ Μαγνήτων ὁ μὲν Ἀρχιλόχος ἀπολογιότον, ὁ δὲ εὐήμερούτων μέμνηται.

123 On the basis of Hdt 1.7–26 and Apollod. in Diog. L. 2.3 (cf. Jacoby 1902:193):

1. Gyges reigned 38 years, 717–679 BC;
2. Ardys 49 years, 679–630 BC;
3. Sadyattes 12 years, 630–618 BC;
4. Alyattes 57 years, 618–561 BC;
5. Croesus 14 years, 561–547/6 BC.
words, Dionysius clearly synchronised the foundation of Thasos with the beginning of Gyges’ reign according to Herodotus’ chronology: the time of Gyges was, as recognised by Herodotus himself, also the time of Archilochus.\footnote{Hdt. 1.12.} We have no information about anything in the tradition which would link either Homer or Gyges with the colonization of Thasos, but Archilochus was certainly connected to the island by his poetry and by tradition. Therefore, it looks very likely that the date of the colonisation of Thasos was calculated to fall in the time of Gyges’ reign because it was assumed, most probably because of Archilochus’ poetry, to have taken place roughly in the poet’s lifetime.\footnote{About Archilochus and the colonization of Thasos see Graham 1978, Marcaccini 2001 and Owen 2003.}

In addition to Homer, Archilochus was linked chronologically to poets like Terpander, Callinus, Semonides, Aristoxenetus, and Hipponax. Terpander was sometimes thought to have been earlier than Archilochus, sometimes later.\footnote{Glaucus of Rhegium claimed Terpander to have lived earlier than Archilochus ([Plut.] Mus. 4.1132e, cited below in p. 160.). From the same source comes probably the statement that Archilochus was believed to have lived after Terpander and Clonas ([Plut.] Mus. 5.1133a). Phaenias Eresius, however, maintained Terpander to have been a later poet (Phaenias ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. 1.131, \textit{cit. in n. 122 above}). Terpander’s date was fixed by the establishment of the Carneian festival in tradition: Hellanicus calls him the “very first” victor at this festival (4 F 85a). For more about Terpander’s chronographical tradition see p. 158.} Callinus was unanimously believed to have been an older poet than Archilochus, since he had referred to Magnesia as a prosperous city, while Archilochus was obviously already aware of its fall and destruction.\footnote{Archil. fr. 20, Call. fr. 3, Clem. Alex. Strom. 1.131.} Semonides, Aristoxenetus and Hipponax were synchronised with Archilochus probably because they all composed iambic poetry.\footnote{Semonides: Clem. Alex. Strom. 1.131, Eus. Canon entry Ol.29.1 (although in both sources stands Semonides, there should not be any doubt that the poet of Amorgus is meant in them, see Mosshammer 1979:214), and Suda s.v. Σιμωνῖδης Ἄμιοργίνος. Aristoxenetus in the entry is most probably not the Peripatetic musicologist of Tarentum but the poet of Selinus whom Epicharmus (fr. 88 Kaibel) names as the first iambist, see Mosshammer 1979:214. Hipponax: Diphilus fr. 71 K.-A. Proclus gave a chronological sequence: Archilochus of Paros—Simonides of Amorgus—Hipponax of Ephesus (\textit{Chrest.} ap. Phot. Bibl. 339).}

An interesting question is why the ancient authors associated Homer with Archilochus and Gyges, and why they sometimes dated them all to 500 years after the fall of Troy. Jacoby has suggested that the synchronism of Homer and Archilochus was derived through the link of the
Cimmerians: Homer mentions the nation of that name in the *Odyssey*, and Archilochus refers to Magnesia whose destruction was caused by the Cimmerians. This explanation cannot be ruled out, though it seems rather improbable that the chronographers who generally used to date Homer completely by other means took this quite obscure reference in the *Odyssey* as a basis of their calculations. It seems more probable that Homer was intentionally synchronised with Archilochus, and that his supposed contemporaneity with Gyges was only a by-product of the synchronisation with the Parian poet. It is plausible that this synchronism emerged from the tendency to regard Archilochus as an early classic among the poets, worthy of Homer and Hesiod. On the other hand, it could be that the link between Archilochus and Homer derived from the opinion that Archilochus had alluded to the Lelantine War in his poetry. The synchronism would link Archilochus, Hesiod and Homer: Archilochus could be linked with the Lelantine War on the basis of his fr. 3, Hesiod mentioned Amphidamas in his *Works* (654–659), and Amphidamas was believed to have died in sea battle in the Lelantine War (Plut. fr. 84 Sandbach). Homer was the opponent of Hesiod at the song contest at the funeral games of Amphidamas according to tradition.

In conclusion, all Archilochus’ synchronisations with Gyges, the Cimmerians, and the colonisation of Thasos seem to rely on Archilochus’ poetry. The synchronism with Homer, however, is probably not derived from Archilochus’ verses, but has its origin either in the opinion that two great poets might have belonged in the same time, or in the belief that both poets were in some way linked with the Lelantine War.

130 Homer was synchronized with the Ionian migration (Arist. fr. 76 R., Aristarch. ap. Procl. Chrest. p. 101 Allen, and probably also Philoch. ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. 1.117); with Lycurgus (Eph. F 164, 149, Apollod. ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. 1.117); with Hesiod (Hdt. 2.53, Alcid. in Cert. 13–14, Plut. Mor. 153f–154a, 674f–675a, Eph. 70 F 1, 101a, Philoch. (328 F 213) and Xenoph. (21 B 12, 13 DK) in Gell. NA 3.11, Suda s.v. ‘Hoióboς’); and with the Trojan War (Dion. Cyclogr. FHG ii.10.10, [Hdt.] Vita Hom. 95 ff. Allen, Charax in Suda s.v. ‘Ωμήν, Crates in Vita Hom. vi.37–39 Allen).
132 See p. 50.
Archilochus’ biography is highly traditional and includes many conventional themes. Such themes are the poet’s significant origin (from the oikistes Telesicles); his initiation into poetry (with the help of the Muses and a cow); his poverty; the oracles (to the poet himself, his father, and his killer, and also to Mneseipes in connection with the establishment of Archilochus’ cult). He was believed to have taken part in a song contest (for the hymn to Demeter on Paros); to have travelled (to Thasos and Olympia, and perhaps also to Sparta), and to have been banished from Sparta for his unbecoming poetry. He had a quarrel with the Parians over the establishment of (Dionysiac) cult, and his garrulous behaviour was cast in proverbs (“τέττιγα τόν ἄνδρα ἐγληψέναι τοῦ πτεροῦ” and “Ἄρχυλοχον πατεῖς”). Archilochus was also linked with other famous people either by a story (Hipponax, Sappho) or chronology (Homer, Gyges, Simonides), and typically for a poet he died an early death either in battle, or by murder or suicide. All these features have been discussed in previous sections. A traditional topic not yet touched upon is the inventions of Archilochus. The truly impressive list contains inventions of various genres and devices of poetical technique, and must have been formed to a great extent on the basis of his poetry. As it was a common tendency to ascribe all the major inventions to the leading ancient figures of the field, the long list of Archilochus’ inventions shows his high reputation as a poet.\(^{133}\) The information about Archilochus’ inventions and innovations comes from late sources, though at least the author of the De musica certainly relied on the works of earlier authors such as Glau cus of Rhegium, Aristoxenus of Tarentum and others.\(^{134}\) The inventions ascribed to Archilochus are the following:

1. The iambus;\(^{135}\)
2. The iambic dimeter called Archilochean;\(^{136}\)

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\(^{133}\) About πρῶτος εὐφετής motif see Kleingünther 1933 passim and Fairweather 1974: 265.

\(^{134}\) About the sources of De musica see p. 151 n. 88.

\(^{135}\) Clem. Alex. Strom. 1.16.79, Ov. Ib. 521–524, cf. Gaetul. in Anth. Pal. 7.71. According to Atilius Fortunatus (Ars metr. 6., p. 286 Keil), the iambic was first used by Homer in his Margites although, he says, some ascribe the invention of iambic to Archilochus, and some to Hipponax.

\(^{136}\) Marius Victorinus (in GL vi.81,137) who gives the phrase “beatus ille qui procul” as an example of the metre.
3. The (iambic) trimeter;\(^{137}\)
4. The (trochaic) tetrameter;
5. The cretic;
6. The ithyphallic;\(^{138}\)
7. The epode;\(^{139}\)
8. The prosodiac;\(^{140}\)
9. The elegiac (couplet), invented by Archilochus, Mimnermus or Callinus;\(^{141}\)
10. The lengthening of the heroic (or dactylic) verse;\(^{142}\)
11. The combination of unlike measures, such as the iambic verse with the epibatic paean, or lengthened heroic verse with the prosodiac and the cretic;
12. Uneven and harsh metrical breaks;
13. The recitative or rhythmical recitation of poetry to music, and the instrumental music associated with it;
14. The practice whereby some iambics were spoken to musical accompaniment and others sung (as the tragic poets did afterwards, and as Crexus introduced into the dithyramb);
15. The musical accompaniment that is under the melody (i.e. he set the music of the accompanying instrument an octave lower than the voice), whereas all the earlier poets used the same register for music and voice.

13. Conclusion

The recognizable shapers of the biographical tradition of Archilochus are the local Parian story-tellers and chroniclers (such as Demeas, Mnesiepes and Sosthenes, for example), Attic comic poets, Delphic priests, the grammarians and chronographers.

The main source of the tradition is Archilochus’ own poetry. Since the ancients regarded it as autobiographical, they drew information about his life from the verses and built up a tradition about his life. In his extant poems Archilochus mentions his home (Paros, Thasos), friends, the

\(^{137}\) The source for [3]–[5] is [Plut.] Mus. 28.1140f.
\(^{138}\) Mar. Vict. in GL vi.85, describing the metre with a phrase “Bacche plaude Bacche.”
\(^{139}\) [Plut.] Mus. 28.1140f, Mar. Vict. in GL vi.104.7.
\(^{140}\) [Plut.] ibid.
\(^{141}\) [Plut.] ibid., Orion s.v. ἔλεγγος (col. 58.8 Sturz).
\(^{142}\) The source for [10]–[15] is, again, [Plut.] Mus. 28.1140f.
girl Neoboule and her father Lycambes, and the king Gyges—all details attested in the biographical tradition. He also mentions his sister, and describes his life as a soldier. Some stories came probably from the rich local Parian tradition (in which some details may be historically true): for example, the account of Archilochus’ initiation, an explanation of why the poet left Paros and went to Thasos, some information about Telesicles and Lycambes, and also the oracles, concocted originally perhaps in Delphi, about Archilochus and his father. Also the accounts of the poet’s victory at a contest in composing hymns held in Paros, his attempt to bring a Dionysiac cult to the island, his death in battle with Naxos, and his cult were transmitted probably in the Parian strand of tradition. The elaborate story of Lycambes, the accounts of Archilochus’ servile origin and poverty, and the exaggerations about his sexual appetite, vicious tongue and arrogance which led to his suicide or murder, belong rather in iambic and comic context. The grammarians added the criticism of his poetry, style and character, and the list of his inventions and innovations in art; and the chronographers attempted to identify the time when he lived.

The opinions and stories about Archilochus’ life began to form early. His parents Telesicles and Enipo are referred by the Classical authors. Also the story of Lycambes and his daughters was known at that time, as well as Archilochus’ death in a battle by the hand of Calondas, his encounter with the Muses, his poverty, and his slanderous and quarrelsome character. From the fifth century onward at latest the poet was synchronized with the Lydian king Gyges, and he was believed to have lived later than Terpander. Later on, the colonisation of Thasos was placed in his time, and he was synchronised with Homer. There are five oracles concerning Archilochus and the establishment of his cult in tradition. It is impossible to date most of these oracles accurately, but they contain nothing which would rule out their early, possibly even Archaic origin.

Mnesiepes and Sosthenes mention Demeas, the “men of old” and the nondescript “them” (λέγοντες) as their sources, indicating that at least some material in these Hellenistic inscriptions is of earlier origin. It seems that after the Hellenistic period the authors used to extend and elaborate the already established tradition about Archilochus’ life, and only very few new details were added in it. The story of Lycambes and his daughters continued to be popular among the Roman and later authors, possibly because of the rise of satire. Also the discussion about the poet’s style, character and date, which had begun already in the beginning of the
Classical period, continued in later antiquity. The one new topic which appears only in the sources of later antiquity, is the discussion of the poetic inventions ascribed to Archilochus; but even this discussion may, at least partly, be based on the works of the Classical authors such as Glaucus, Aristoxenus and others.\(^1\)

\(^{143}\) Glaucus and Aristoxenus as the sources of [Plut.] *De musica*, see p. 151 n. 88.
A brilliant poet, Hipponax of Ephesus was, according to tradition, an ugly and malicious man, a “bitter wasp” as ancient authors call him, who took pleasure in slander and abuse. Several of his family members (father, mother, uncle, sister, wife, son, daughter, mistress, father-in-law) are recorded in tradition, but information about them is most scarce. He was expelled from his home town and settled in Clazomenae where he held a long-lasting quarrel with the Chian sculptors Boupalus and Athenis. Hipponax was believed to have invented choliambic metre and begun to compose after an old woman called Iambe had told him off in choliambic verse. In addition to choliambus also the inventions of iambic trimeter, comic tetrameter and the genre of parody are ascribed to Hipponax. According to tradition, he either died of hunger or committed suicide. Ancient chronographers placed him between the first part of the seventh century and the beginning of the fifth century. He was synchronized with Archilochus and Sappho, Terpander, Aristoxenus of Selinus, the Phrygian king Midas, and the Persian king Darius.

In modern times the main issue of discussion has been whether the poetry of Hipponax can be taken seriously as autobiographical material, or treated as complete fiction, as part of a literary adaptation of some ritual of abuse, or as dramatic scripts for some abusive proto-comic performance.\(^1\) The prevalent opinion seems to regard his poetry as mainly a genre poetry, the representative of iambic blame-poetry, rather than a direct description of his own life, although he may have used iambic poetry also to attack his personal enemies.\(^2\) Some other problems such as the poet's origin, the story of Iambe, and the reason for the quarrel

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1. As is summarised by Knox 1985:164.
between the poet and the Chian brothers, have also attracted attention—the views on these issues are discussed in the relevant sections below.

As to the development of Hipponax’ biographical tradition, it is generally agreed that it is based on the information drawn from the poet’s verses, supplemented with scarce information from some other sources (inscriptions, local chronicles) and, mainly in the Hellenistic period, uncritically embellished with colourful and sometimes comical details. As a result the fictional image of a mean, poor and ugly poet emerged.3

2. Hipponax’ origin, home town and family

On the grounds of the meaning of the name Hipponax (hippos + anax) and the level of artistic perfection of his poetry, several modern commentators have maintained that Hipponax was of noble origin, although, perhaps, a déclassé.4 No ancient author has, however, associated the poet with high class origin.5 There is also no allusion even remotely to the cultured environment of noble class in the subject-matter of Hipponax’ poetry. There is no reason why a person who is not of aristocratic origin could not be a highly skilled and talented poet. I doubt that Hipponax’ name and the high technical level of his verses alone are enough to support the theory of his possible aristocratic descent.

The poet mentions Ephesus only once in his extant fragments, and even then only in adjective form: ἡ Ἑφεσία δέλερα (fr. 145).6 The first external reference to Ephesus as Hipponax’ home town comes from Strabo, who lists the famous Ephesians, and from then on, all relevant ancient sources agree about Ephesus as Hipponax’ home-town.7 The

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5 Cf. the strand of tradition that Hipponax’ father was a potter, p. 123 with n. 11.
6 “As an Ephesian pig (or sow).” Cf. Strabo’s commentary on Hipp. fr. 50, in which he reports Hipponax to have mentioned Smyrna, a place in Ephesus, in his verses (Str. 14.1.4 (633)).
7 Str. 14.1.25 (642). In addition to Hipponax, he mentions Heracleitus the philosopher, Hermodorus the law-giver, Parrhasius the painter, Apelles [the painter] and Alexander the orator as the notable men of Ephesus. Other references about Ephesus as
strong consensus in this detail suggests that there was a continuous (and possibly old) tradition about Hipponax in Ephesus which was picked up by the Hellenistic grammarians when they collected Hipponax’ poetry for the editions and treatises, from which, in turn, other authors could have drawn information once they became interested in his poetry and life.\(^8\)

Another town associated with Hipponax is Clazomenae where he was believed to have moved after the tyrants Athenagoras and Comas had expelled him from Ephesus.\(^9\) Hipponax mentions the Clazomenians in the same line with Boupalus, which suggests that the long-lasting (historical or fictional) quarrel between Hipponax and Boupalus and his brother was located in this city.\(^10\)

Ancient sources provide us with only a meagre and exceedingly confused information about Hipponax’ family. His father was believed to be called either Pytheas or Ebalus (the potter), and his mother either Protis or Pentida.\(^11\) Pentida’s brother Penthides, “the enemy of Hipponax,” is reported to have cursed Hipponax and driven him to commit suicide.\(^12\) Hipponax’ sister is called Medusa (or Melusa) by the scholiasts on Ovid.\(^13\) There is only one reference to Hipponax’ wife in tradition: the

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\(^8\) Kerkheker (1999:4 n. 11) has pointed out that Callim. Iambus 13 suggests that there was a continuous tradition of choliambic poetry in Ephesus up to the time of Callimachus. Callimachus says:

\begin{quote}
ἐκ γὰρ......[.οῦτ’] Ἡππώνας συμμείξας
οὔτ’ Ἐφεσον ἐλθόν, ἡτὶς ἐπισκόπημι.
"Ἐφεσον, οὖν περὶ οἱ τὰ μέτορα μέλλοντες
τὰ χολά τύπτειν μὴ ἄμαθὸς ἑναύονται.
(Ia. 13.11–14 Kerkheker)
\end{quote}

On the other hand, Callimachus may simply mean that Ephesus is “home” of choliambic poetry because of Hipponax.

\(^9\) Suda s.v. Ἡππώνας, cf. Sulpicia Max. Sat. 1–6. Athenagoras and Comas are obscure figures. It is known only that one Comas was δημοςεύθης, a confiscator of public property and therefore much hated by the people (Anecd. 34.16 Bekker).

\(^10\) Hipp. fr. 1.

\(^11\) Suda s.v. Ἡππώνας, schol. [Z] ad Ov. Ib. 447, p. 117 La Penna (T 10d Degani). Ebalus is attested only in Latin sources (schol. [C1] ad loc.). More often he is, however, claimed to be the father of Penthides, the enemy of Hipponax, see Conr. ad loc.: Penthides poeta, filius Abagi vel Ebali . . . , and schol. [Bab] and [CD] ad loc. where Penthides is “filius Ababi” or “filius Abacii” respectively. See also Leonidas, according to whom Hipponax snarled even at his own parents (Anth. Pal. 7.408).

\(^12\) T 10ad Degani, cf. 10cef. In 10e the abuser is Penthides the poet, and in 10f Penthides is the son of Ebalus.

\(^13\) Ov. Ib. 447f. with the scholia ad loc. (T 10a–f Degani). It is Penthides in three
scholium in the manuscript of Ovid’s *Ibis* says that Hipponax married the daughter of Lycambes!\(^{14}\) The father-in-law, who is sometimes identified as Boupalus, sometimes as Lycambes, is reported to have been bullied to death by Hipponax’ iambics.\(^{15}\) Just to make things even more confusing, the scholiasts claim that Hipponax’ daughter was initially engaged with Archilochus but then given to Lycambes who was for that reason forced to commit suicide by the rejected poet (Archilochus).\(^{16}\) Clearly, the better-known tradition of Archilochus has influenced the formation of the one of Hipponax, as the scholiasts have deliberately or out of sheer confusion transferred details from one tradition into another. The two famous iambic poets, both garrulous and abusive in their verses, are often mentioned together in other sources as well, cf. for example, Diphilus’ account that they both were the lovers of Sappho.\(^{17}\)

There is an amusing report that Aristophanes the grammarian had claimed that Hipponax called his own son a young wild boar (\(\muολοβρι\-\tauης\)).\(^{18}\) This opinion may have arisen from the corrupt reading \(\acute{\nu}ν\) (pig) instead of \(\acute{\upsilon}ον\) (son).\(^{19}\) Hipponax mentions several other people (Arete, Cicon, potter Aeschylides, Sannus, Metrotimus, painter Mimnes, Babys), but they are not known from external sources.\(^{20}\)
3. Hipponax’ inventions and the story of Iambe

Atilius Fortunatianus refers to two different opinions on the origin of iambus among ancient commentators: some believed it to be the invention of Archilochus, others ascribed it to Hipponax. The first quotation of Hipponax’ iambic poetry comes from Aristophanes. Hipponax was also believed to have invented both the comic tetrameter and the genre of parody. However he was most renowned for the invention of choliambic metre.

The invention of choliambic metre is associated with the story of the poet’s encounter with Iambe: once, walking by the seaside, Hipponax met an old woman called Iambe as she was washing wool. As he bumped into the washing-trough, she told him off, muttering in choliambic metre: “ἄνθρωπε, ἀπελάθε, τὴν σκάφην ἀνατρέψεις” (“begone, man, you are upsetting the trough”). Hipponax picked the metre up, named it after Iambe, and (chol)iambus was invented.

The story of Iambe serves also as an initiation story in Hipponax’ tradition. The earliest extant source for the story is Choeroboscus who attempts to explain the origin of iambus. First he refers to the legend known already from the Hymn to Demeter, about Iambē the maidservant of king Celeus, who compelled grieving Demeter to laugh by

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21 Atilius himself regarded Homer as a true inventor of the genre (Ars 10 in GL vi.268.2–9).
22 Aristoph. Ran. 659–661 (= Anan. fr. 1 W): Ἀπόλλον, ὁ δὲ που ἢ Πυθών ἔχεις. The verse is two lines later ascribed to Hipponax. On the basis of a scholiast’s note it is usually, however, ascribed to a iambic poet Ananius. The verse in the play is said by Dionysus who is being flogged by Aeacus. The scholiast explains: “Because of his pain and confusion [Dionysus] does not know what he is saying, since the line is not from Hipponax but from Ananius” (schol. ad loc.). According to Tzetzes, Aristophanes had borrowed also the notion that Plutus is blind from Hipponax (Hipp. fr. 36 ap. Tz. in Aristoph. Pl. 87).
jesting and jeering spontaneously using the iambic metre. Then he moves on to tell the story of Hipponax' encounter with Iambe (not the Eleusinian), referred to above, and gives another, "iambic" version of the story, according to which the old woman's admonition is in iambic metre: "ἄνθρωπ' ἂπελθε, τὴν σκάφην ἀνατρέπεις." Modern commentators have suggested that the words of Iambe, and possibly the entire story, go back to Hipponax' poetry, and ought to be printed among his fragments. Most other accounts of the story resemble the one given by Choeroboscus. An exception is a version found in a fourteenth century codex, in which the Eleusinian Iambe and the washerwoman Iambe are one and the same person. In this account Hipponax is not mentioned, but the story is undoubtedly the same: in Eleusis, Iambe once mockingly said to someone who had accidentally pushed her while she was washing (wool): "ἄνθρωπ', ἂπελθε, τὴν σκάφην ἀνατρέπεις." The passage continues with the words: "ἐμ’ ἔατ άνακταθύμος φαίνη, ἔγγον δὲ μωρόν ἐκτελεῖς σκάφην τρέπων," which may belong to the commentator, or may, as has been suggested, be the next two lines of Hipponax' poem.

Thus, the story of Hipponax's encounter with Iambe and his initiation into (chol)iambic poetry may originate from the poet himself. If not, it must certainly have been formed at some time before Choeroboscus who refers to different versions of the story told by "some." The story may have been known already to the Classical period authors who associated Hipponax with the invention of (chol)iambic metre, possibly also to Aristophanes who ascribed a choliambic verse to him.

25 HyDem 198–211. In the hymn the story functions as an aition of the ritual abuse practiced at the festival of Demeter, see Richardson 1974:213–217 and Rosen 1988b: 174ff. We also have an account of Iambe's death: according to a scholiast, the girl called Iambe, having been insulted, committed suicide by hanging herself, just as the daughters of Lyambe were forced to do by the verses of Archilochus (schol. on Hephaest., p. 281.8 Consbr.; cf. Archil. fr. 171 with commentaries ad loc.; and Eust. in Hom. p. 1684.45).

26 Choeroboscus gives also a further etymology for iambus, derived from the verb ἰαμβίζειν ("to assail in iambics"—LSJ). This etymology is attested already by Aristotle: διὸ καὶ ἰαμβίζον καλεταίν, ὅτι ἐν τῷ μέτρῳ τούτῳ ἰαμβίζον ἀλλήλους (Po. 1448b32). Cf. Gramm. Ambros. who derives the meaning of iambus from the verb ἰάπτειν ("to hurt", "to attack"—LSJ) (p. 255.14–20 Keil-Nauck).


28 Codex Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus 356, folio'. In Conibruch's edition the passage is stated to belong in folio' which includes also Tzetzes' commentary on Lycophron, but see Fowler 1990:6.

29 Rosen 1988b:177f., Fowler 1990: 3–4. Fowler assumes that the ἀνακταθύμος has ousted the original word(s) from the second, unmetrical verse. Nicholas Richardson has
4. The quarrel with Boupalus

Hipponax is reported to have been an extraordinarily ugly man: short, small, thin and skinny, and with unpleasant looks. At the same time he is said to have been very strong. His displeasing looks were the starting point for the disagreement between the poet and the Chian brothers Boupalus and Athenis. Hipponax certainly mentions Boupalus frequently and sometimes in offensive context in the fragments; Athenis is mentioned once, perhaps twice. Neither the reason for the quarrel nor the fate of the brothers are given in the fragments. The first external allusion to the story comes from Aristophanes who refers to the beating up of Boupalus in his *Lysistrata* as an episode well known to the audience. Callimachus and Horace allude to the story and mention Boupalus; Ovid refers to Hipponax as “he who attacked Athenis in choliambic metre.” The first author, however, who gives the full account of the story is Pliny. Having talked about the early distinguished sculptors of Crete he proceeds to the famous Chian family of sculptors, which included Melas (ca. Ol. 1), his son Micciades, and grandson Archermus the father of Boupalus and Athenis the adversaries of Hipponax. Pliny says that the brothers made a statue of Hipponax which emphasized his natural ugliness, and set it up so that the crowd could laugh at the poet. In anger, Hipponax assailed the brothers with such a fierce and mordant lampoon that they were driven to hang themselves. Pliny claims, however, that the account of the suicide cannot be true, since the brothers had later pointed out at the tutorial that the second line might have lost the last foot and could be scanned, for example, as - - - - - | - - - - | [− - | − - [− -].


31 “… capable of throwing an empty jug a very great distance,” — Metrod. and Eustath., loc. cit. in n. 30 above.


33 Aristoph. *Lys.* 360 f.


35 Plin. *NH* 36.4.11–12. See also the Suda s.v. Πηῖνας. [Acro] relates the same story, only Boupalus is now a painter who presented his insulting picture in the Panathenaia (schol. in Hor. *Epod.* 6.14 = T 9a Degani, cf. also T 9a,c).
made several statues in the neighbouring islands Delos, Iasos and also on Chios. The works of the Chian sculptors of that family are attested in other sources as well: Archermus’ statues were known from Delos, Lesbos, and Athens, and the scholiast on Aristophanes’ *Birds* 574 informs us that either Aglaophon or Archennos (as he spells the name) the father of Boupalus and Athenis was the first who had supplied the representation of Nike with wings. Micciades, Archermus and possibly Melas as well are mentioned in the 6th-century Delian inscription, which is often believed to have belonged with the statue of the winged Nike discovered beside the Artemision on Delos. Pausanias refers to the images of the Graces, and of Nike in Smyrna, and other statues of the Graces in Pergamon, made by Boupalus. All this is in favour of the view that Boupalus and Athenis were real people who lived in the latter part of the sixth century. They may have been acquainted with Hipponax and may have had a quarrel with him, which made him mention them in his verses. Whether or not Hipponax hinted their suicide as well, is impossible to determine. If he did, he probably lied. If he did not mention it, the detail of the suicide must have been created and attached to the story some time before the first century AD, since Pliny’s way of narrating the story in the context of family history of the Chian sculptors suggests that he has not invented it, but took the story from some earlier source. The whole account may have been formed according to the formulaic story-pattern of quarrel in *iambus* (supported by Hipponax’ poetry), and may be influenced to some extent by Archilochus’ tradition.

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36 Pliny adds that several of their statues were exhibited in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine and in many other buildings in Rome (*NH* 36.4.12–13).
37 Plin. *NH*, 36.4.13, *Inscriptions de Délos* No. 9 (CEG 425), Aristoph. *Av*. 574 and schol. *ad loc.*, schol. on Tz. *Chil*. 503. Degani has conjectured Archermos (Archermus) *pro* Archennos as it stands in most of the manuscripts, see also Holwerda 1991:96 and Homolle 1881:273. Aglaophon of Thasos was believed to be the first painter, the father and teacher of Polygnotus (Paus. 10.67.4, Plat. *Ion* 532e and *Gorg*. 448b, Suda s.v. Πολύγνωτος, Dio Chrys. 55, 558b).
39 Paus. 4.30.6, 9.35.6.
40 See Degani 1984:88 n. 27, Rosen 1988a:33 n. 15, Kurke 2000: 69f. Miralles has proposed that the reason for development of the story might have been the archetypal rivalry between the poets and artisans (1988:158–160).
5. The death of Hipponax

There are two strands of tradition about Hipponax’ death, neither of which carries much, if any historical veracity. The fr. 39 may be read as an allusion to an intention to commit suicide, and its first line κακοῖοι δῶσω τὴν πολύςτονον ψυχήν (“I will surrender my grieving soul to an evil end . . .”) was, perhaps, the source for Ovid’s scholiasts’ conclusion that Hipponax hanged himself. The cause of the suicide was, according to them, a malicious slander by a certain Penthides (Pentiades, Pentides) who is sometimes identified as the poet’s uncle. Ovid himself, however, offers a different account of this matter. In the Ibis 523 f., he curses his adversary: “And like him [i.e. Hipponax] who attacked Athenis with endless song, may you die hated through a lack of food,” referring to the tradition of Hipponax’ death of hunger, which may have, again, risen on the basis of Hipponax’ verses.

There is no information about Hipponax’ burial or grave in Ephesus, Clazomenae or elsewhere. Neither is there any reference to the existence of his cult. All we have is four Hellenistic and Roman literary epitaphs which are concerned with the poet’s waspish character and style rather than with the location of his tomb or with the circumstances of his death.

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41 Translation by Gerber 1999.
42 Hipp. fr. 39:

κακοῖοι δῶσω τὴν πολύςτονον ψυχήν
ἡν μὴ ἀποτελήσης ὥς τάχυσα μοι κρεῖσσον
μεδίνουν, ὡς ἐν ἄλοιπον ποιήσωμαι
κυκεῶν πίνειν φάρμακα ποιήσωμαι.

43 Conr. ad Ov. ad loc. (T 10e Degani), cf. T 10a.
44 Ov. Ib. 523 f. The extant fragments in which the lack of food is mentioned, or may be mentioned (the context is often unclear) are: 10, 26a, 29a, 128. The fragments about poverty: 32, 34, 36, 38.
45 Theocr. in Anth. Pal. 13.3 (HE 3430 ff.), Leonidas in Anth. Pal. 7.408 (HE 2325 ff.), Alcaeus of Messene in Anth. Pal. 7.536 (HE 76 ff.), Philip of Thessaloniki in Anth. Pal. 17.405 (HE 2861 ff.).
6. Ancient criticism and editions of Hipponax

In some ancient authors’ opinion, Hipponax was a rowdy man with a difficult character and foul language, who even invented a new lame and unrhymical metre in order to abuse his enemies more vigorously. At the same time others regarded him as a righteous man and a brilliant poet who attacked only those who had hurt him.

Ancient commentators included Hipponax firmly in the canon of the best three iambic poets, the two others being Archilochus and Semonides of Amorgus. They appreciated the power and elegance of Hipponax’ verses, and his innovative approach to the genre of iambus, but criticized his choice of subject-matter and somewhat disorderly verses. One of the main interests among the Hellenistic and later authors seems to have been Hipponax’ usage of extraordinary, dialectal and foreign words. At least one Hellenistic treatise of the kind is known by title: On Hipponax by Hermippus of Smyrna who seems to have set out to explain the obscure words used by the poet. Also Aristophanes the grammarian and an Alexandrian scholar Lysanias are reported to have touched upon Hipponax’ poetry in their works. The interest in Hipponax’ vocabulary among Hellenistic authors points to the possibility that there existed Hellenistic edition(s) of his poems, which were the basis of the grammarians’ studies, even though the edition of Hipponax’ poetry (at least in two

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50 Hermipp. ap. Ath. 7.327. Herodas used choliambic metre, as did sometimes Callimachus. Lykopron borrowed rare words from Hipponax (see Hipp. fr. 34).

51 Aristoph. Byz. in Eust. in Od. 17.219. Lysanias wrote a book on the iambic poets, see Ath. 7.30.46. A fragmentary papyrus of a learned commentary on Hipponax fr. 118 (POxy 2176, fr. 8.21, 2nd c. BC) contains the names Aristophanes (the grammarian), Hermippus, and Polemo.
books) is explicitly mentioned for the first time in the second century AD by Lucian and Pollux.\(^{52}\)

### 7. The date of Hipponax

The span of ancient dates for Hipponax cover about two hundred years: from the first part of the seventh century to the beginning of the fifth century. The Eusebian date for the poet is OL.23.1 (688 BC): *Hipponax notissimus redditur*. This date probably depends on the one hand on the synchronism of Hipponax and Archilochus, and on the other hand, on the date of Archilochus who was believed to have been contemporary with Homer and Gyges, five hundred years after the fall of Troy.\(^{53}\) However, the entry in the *Chronicle* includes only Hipponax and does not mention Archilochus. This has been explained as a consequence of a mistake made by chronographers or scribes, by which “Archilochus” was either simply left out or replaced with “Hipponax” in the entry which originally reflected the date of the Parian poet.\(^{54}\)

The synchronism Archilochus-Hipponax can be seen also in the background of Cyril’s information that according to “some,” Hipponax, Simonides (of Amorgus) and Aristoxenus the musician lived in OL.29 (664/61).\(^{55}\) A very similar entry is in Eusebius’ *Chronicle* at OL.29.1 (664/63): *Archilochus et Simonides et Aristoxenus musicus inlustres habentur*, which leads to the conclusion that both entries probably rely on the common tendency to synchronise celebrities (in this case the early iambic poets), and to attach to them the date of the most famous of them, i.e. the date of Archilochus, which, in turn, was determined by the (latest possible) date for Gyges, OL.29.1.\(^{56}\)

According to [Plutarch], “some” erroneously placed Hipponax in the time of Terpander while, [Plutarch] says, even the citharode Pericleitus

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\(^{54}\) See Jacoby 1902:146, Mosshammer 1979:213 f.

\(^{55}\) Cyrill. *contra Iulian.* 1.12. About Aristoxenus in this passage, see p. 114 n. 128.

was earlier than Hipponax. Since Terpander is usually placed in the first part of the seventh century, the date given by “some” agrees with the Eusebian date.

The *Marmor Parium’s* date for Hipponax, 541 / 540 BC, is linked to the fall of Croesus. On which basis the author of the *Marmor* derived the synchronism is obscure, but it does match with the only hint which Hipponax himself has given for his date: in fr. 42 he mentions the tomb of Attales as a landmark. Attales was the brother of Alyattes the last but one king of Lydia who reigned between 618 and 561, according to Apollodorus’ computing. By the end of Croesus’ rule, the tomb of Attales on the way to Smyrna had become a well-known landmark for travellers from Lydia to the coast of Asia Minor. Pliny’s confident claim that Hipponax was certainly alive in Ol.60 (540 / 37), is probably based on the *Marmor’s* date, or on the same chronographical tradition: since Pliny mentions this date in the course of relating the lineage of Boupalus and Athenis, and their quarrel with the poet, he may have gained the information about the lifetime of Hipponax from a local tradition.

Proclus places Hipponax even later, between the latter part of the sixth and the first part of the fifth century. He gives the dates for all three canonic iambic poets in his *Chrestomathia*, saying that Archilochus lived at the time of Gyges, Simonides of Amorgus at the time of Ananius the Macedonian, and Hipponax flourished at the time of Darius.

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57 [Plut.] Mus. 6.1133d: ἕνοι δὲ πλεινῶμενοι νομίζουσι κατὰ τὸν (αὐτὸν) χρόνον Τερπάνδρῳ Ἡππώνακτα γεγονέναι, φαίνεται δ’ Ἡππώνακτος καὶ Περίκλειτος ὄν πρεσβύτερος.

58 About Terpander’s date see p. 158. About Pericleitus, see p. 145.

59 *Marmor Parium* ep. 42: ἔτη ΗΗΓΔΔΔΙΙ, ἄρχοντος Ἀθηνησος[ν Εὐθ]υδήμου, ἀφ’ οὗ Κύρος ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς Σάρδεις ἐλαβεν καὶ Κροίον ὑπὸ Πυθίας σφαλ[έντα ἐξόγορθησεν, ἔτη ΗΗΓΔΔΔΓΠΠ], ἄρχοντος Ἀθηνησ ἢ δὲ καὶ Ἡππώναξ κατὰ τούτον ὁ ἱαμβόποιος.


61 Plin. NH 36.4.11–12. About the connection of Pliny’s date and the date of the *Marmor* see Jacoby 1904:171.

62 Procl. Chrest. 7 ap. Phot. Bibl. 239. “Ananios” in the codex has been emended into “Argaios” (archon, ruled between 684–647) by Clinton (cf. Degani 1984:85 n. 5), and into “Amyntos” by Syllburg. However, Ananius in the entry may just as well be the iambic poet Ananius to whom the invention of choliambic metre is sometimes ascribed. His name may have originally been included in the list of the iambic poets in this passage, or may have entered the text from the scholium, and replaced the name of the Macedonian ruler.

Eusebius’ dates for Darius are Ol.64.2 (523)—Ol.73.4 (486).
which compelled Proclus to synchronize Hipponax with Darius is not comprehensible.

In conclusion, the early dates of the 7th century for the poet (by Diphilus, Eusebius, Cyril, and Plutarch) rely on the synchronisms between Hipponax and Archilochus or Terpander. Pliny’s and the Marmor’s date of Ol.60 agrees with Hipponax’s reference to the tomb of Attales in fr. 42. The argumentation behind Proclus’ date between the second part of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century remains obscure. It is clear that ancient chronographers had no absolute date which could have firmly been linked with Hipponax. On the whole, the date calculated for him held no great significance in the fabric of ancient chronography.

8. Formulaic themes in Hipponax’ tradition

Hipponax’ biographical tradition contains the following formulaic topics: initiation (the story of Iambe), exile (from Ephesus) and travelling (to Clazomenae), quarrels with authorities (the tyrants of Ephesus), poverty, inventions (iambic and choliambic metre, comic tetrameter, parody), and a grim death (starvation or suicide). Hipponax was also, although mostly only by chronological calculations, linked to other famous poets such as Archilochus, Semonides of Amorgus, Aristoxenus of Selinus, Sappho, and tyrants Croesus and Darius.

9. Conclusion

Although most accounts of Hipponax’ life come from Hellenistic, Roman and later sources, some details from the two most important stories of the tradition, the one of the quarrel with Boupalus, and the story of the invention of choliamb, were known in the Classical period. The earliest extant external reference to Boupalus comes from Aristophanes who mentions him as a figure well known to the audience, and there was also an ancient local Delian/Chian tradition about the famous family of the sculptors to which Boupalus and his brother belonged (see the Delian inscriptions from the middle of the fifth century, p. 128). The invention of choliambic metre is ascribed to Hipponax by Heraclides Ponticus.

It is remarkable that several potentially good topics represented in Hipponax’ extant poetry have not entered his biographical tradition. Neglected are, for example, allusions to stealing (3a, 79?), hints to
pornographic and adulterous relationships (12, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 84, 92, 114a, etc.), and the theme of pharmakos (5–10, 92, 152, 153), not to mention the poet’s potential lameness which could have easily been inferred from the limping metre he used. The only really well established stories in the tradition are the ones of Boupalus and of Iambe.

As Hipponax’ poetry belonged in iambus context and later in comic context, it may be that, owing to the lack of appropriate occasion, it was otherwise not often performed and not very well and widely known in the Classical period. Since the development of biographical traditions is closely connected with the performance of poetry of a particular poet,—the more people know the poetry the richer is the poet’s biographical tradition,—not many legends of Hipponax’ life were developed to any great extent, or were widely circulated. It seems, however, that there may have been a continuous tradition of choliambic poetry in Ephesus down to Callimachus’ time (see p. 123, n. 8), and it is probable that certain stories and facts about the life of the greatest local representative of the genre were remembered, embellished and transmitted in his home town. The texts preserved in Ephesus may well have been the basis of the Alexandrian edition(s) of Hipponax’ poetry, and with text some old legends may have been transmitted (e.g. the parents’ names, the poet’s exile, etc.). With the wider circulation of Hipponax’ poetry also the interest in his life was restored, and the tradition grew and developed further using elements typical of the biographies of poets, such as the accounts of initiation, opposition to authorities, exile, travelling, poverty, inventions and unhappy death. The comic poets and also the grammarians who scrutinized his poetry helped to establish the representation of Hipponax as a brilliant poet but harsh, ugly and slanderous man. The chronographers, in turn, tried to fit the poet into the chronological scale among other famous persons. Hipponax’ tradition is also clearly influenced by the much better established tradition about Archilochus.

63 Compton argues that the poets as satirists of the vices of society were highly honoured but often also exiled or executed, i.e. perceived as scapegoats in archaic Greek society (2006:39–40, 325 and passim). There is, however, no account in ancient sources that Hipponax had ever been treated as a scapegoat. See also p. 223 n. 94 below.
CHAPTER SIX

TERPANDER

1. The tradition

Now nearly forgotten, Terpander was highly honoured among the ancients. He was one of the greatest Greek musicians of the Archaic period, the first and foremost in the row of celebrated citharodes of Lesbos, and an extensive tradition of his life was developed. He set both his own and Homer’s hexametric poetry to music, and composed also in lyric metres. His musical performances took him far beyond his home island: he is reported to have travelled to Sparta, Phocis, Egypt and, perhaps also to Asia Minor. Terpander is recorded as a winner at the musical contests at the Carneian festival and the Pythian games. In Sparta he supposedly organized music in some way, and also restored peace or healed people with the help of his music. Sparta was also the place where he died choking on a fig. Many innovations in music were ascribed to him, such as several citharodic and aulodic nomes, a new mode, improvement of the harp, the inventions of the barbitos and the genre of drinking songs. Ancient chronographers placed Terpander roughly in the time of Midas and Archilochus, i.e. in the first part of the seventh century BC.

Terpander’s poetry as a source for his biographical tradition

The extant nine fragments of Terpander’s poetry (or the fragments ascribed to him) contain almost no hints to his life. All that appears from them is that Terpander had dactylic prooemia and hymns in his repertoire, that some of his compositions were, perhaps, sung to four notes (or to a four-stringed lyre), some to seven notes (or to a seven-stringed cithara), and that some of his songs may have been thematically connected to Sparta.
Four cities are mentioned as Terpander’s home towns in ancient sources: Antissa and Methymna on Lesbos, Arne (in Boeotia), and Cyme in Asia Minor. The earliest extant references are from the fifth century: Pindar says that Terpander came from Lesbos, and the citharode Timotheus of Miletus specifies that Terpander’s home town was Antissa.\textsuperscript{1} Antissa remained the most frequently mentioned among the poet’s home towns, and its claim is strengthened by the fact that there is no other reason to maintain that Terpander was its citizen except that the bard had actually lived there.\textsuperscript{2} Methymna, mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, was usually believed to be a birth-place of Arion, and might be transferred into Terpander’s tradition from the one of Arion.\textsuperscript{3} Beside the information that Terpander came either from Arne, Antissa, or Cyme, the Suda says that the poet was a descendant either of Hesiod or Homer, suggesting that Terpander was a Homerid, in a way. It gives a genealogy: \textsuperscript{4}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{1} Pi. fr. 125 Sn.-M.: τὸν ὁδὸ Τέρπανδρος ποθ’ ὁ Λέσσιος εὗρεν / πρώτος ἐν δείπνοισι Λυδῶν / ῥαμλόν ἄντιψηθογγον ψηφιὰς ἀκούσαν παπτίδος; Timoth. Pers. fr. 6e (791.221–231 PMG), see p. 157 n. 117.
  \item \textsuperscript{2} Other Antissa references: [Plut.] Mus. 30.1141c, Clem. Alex. Strom. 1.78.5, Steph. Byz. p. 101.1 s. Meineke, Photius Lex. s.v. μετὰ Λέσσιον ῥδόν, Suda s.v. Τέρπανδρος and μετὰ Λέσσιον ῥδόν. Modern commentators almost unanimously regard Terpander as having come from Antissa, see DGRBM s.v Terpander, Schmid-Stählin 1929:404, RE s.v. Terpandros, OCD 2nd and 3rd ed. s.v. Terpander, Podlecki 1984:90, etc. West leaves it open whether Terpander was a Lesbian or Cymean citharode (1992:334).
  \item \textsuperscript{3} Diod. Sic. 8.28 ap. Tz. Chil. 1.388, cf. Boethius Inst. mus. 1.1: Terpander atque Arion Methymnaeus Lesbios atque Iones gravissimis morbis eripuere prae sidio. Arion was also presented on coins of Methymna, see Richter 1965:68 and figs. 269–270. More about Arion see below p. 144.
  \item \textsuperscript{4} Suda s.v. Τέρπανδρος- Άρναιος, ἢ Λέσσιος ἀπὸ Ἀντίσσης, ἢ Κυμαῖος· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀπογόνον Ἑιδόου ἄνεγραφαν, ἄλλοι δὲ Ὀμήρου, Βοίου λέγοντες αὐτὸν τοῦ Φωκέως, τοῦ Ἐφνδωντος. τοῦ Ὅμηρου· λυρικος, οἱ πρώτος ἐπὶ χορδῶν ἔσοιρε τὴν λύραν καὶ νόμους λυρικούς πρώτος ἔγραψεν, εἰ καὶ τίνες Φιλάμμωνα ἥξινον γεγραφέναι.
The names Boeus and Phoceus in the genealogy may be simply another way to say that Terpander’s father was the Boeotian, and his grandfather the Phocian. The same applies to the Marmor Parium’s entry that the poet’s father was Derdenes or Derdenis, which might be a real name, but might as well be an allusion to Terpander’s Aeolian origin: Dardanus was the ancestor of the Trojan kings in the Iliad. We know from several sources that Terpander used to sing besides his own hexametric poetry also that of Homer. This might be one of the reasons why the tradition emerged that Terpander, like the Homerids of Chios, was a descendant of Homer: according to tradition, Homer, while in Chios, had married Aresiphona the daughter of Gnotor of Cyme, and had two sons, Eriphon and Theolaus, and a daughter who became a wife of Stasinus of Cyprus. Perhaps the Eriphon in this account is the same as Euryphon in the Suda’s genealogy of Terpander. Cyme is, with Smyrna and Chios, the city which had the strongest claim for Homer’s citizenship, and also Hesiod is through his father’s home town strongly linked with this city.

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5 Or Boeus of Phocis.
6 Marmor Ep. 34: ἀφ’ οὗ Τέρπανδρος ὁ Δερδένεος ὁ Λέοβιος τοῦ νόμου τοῦ[ζ κι[ῳρωδ[ι]ούς | θαιαυλητ ... | ἔκα| νοτόμη|σε καὶ τὴν ἐμποροῦσθαι μονυσικῆν μετέ- στησεν, ἔτη ΗΗΗΓΔΔΔΙ, ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνην Δρωπίδου (Jacoby’s emendations). The nominative form of the father’s name in Aeolic dialect may be Δερδενεύς, see Bechtel 1917:117. Cf. also Il. 20.215 Δάρδανος, and Aristoph. Vesp. 1371 where a flute girl is called ἡ Δαρδανίς.
8 Suda s.v. Ὄμηρος 34–37 Allen.
9 Tzetzes says that Homer was married to Eurydice and had sons Seriphon and Theolaus, and a daughter Arisiphone (as he spells the name) who married Stasinus (Chil. 634 ff.). ‘Seriphon’ may be an erroneous reading of Suda’s account: “… οί δ’ υἱὲς Ἐρίφων…”
10 The genealogies, which the two epic poets share, include several Cymeans, see p. 12.
Thus, if Terpander was believed to be a descendant either of Hesiod or Homer, he may have been indirectly regarded also as a citizen of Aeolian Cyme. The same reasoning may lie in the background of the claim that Terpander came from Arne, if Arne here is the town in Boeotia mentioned in the *Iliad*, for it has been suggested that Lesbos was colonized by the Aeolians of Boeotia. Also one of the nomes of Terpander is called *Boeotian* and it is emphasised that this nome (just as the one called *Aeolian*) was named after the people whose music formed the basis of the nome. Hesiod, of course, was a Boeotian whose father had moved to Boeotia from Cyme. Thus, Arne and Cyme as Terpander’s home towns may be derived from the Boeotian origin of Aeolians on Lesbos, or from the traditions of Hesiod or Homer to which Terpander’s tradition became attached. In other words, the traditions of Arne and Cyme may reflect the opinions about Terpander’s ancestors and his status as a poet and musician, rather than the opinions about his home town.

The Boeotian Aeolians were of the same race as the Pierians among whom, it seems, Orpheus was thought to have belonged. According to tradition, after the women had torn Orpheus in pieces, his head and harp were thrown into the sea and borne across to Antissa. The head prophesied for a while on Lesbos and was eventually buried in a cave near Antissa; Orpheus’ harp was taken to Terpander. On these grounds, and supported by the possible significance of Terpander’s name, some

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12 *Il*. 2.507, 7.9, Paus. 9.40.5, etc. Some sources locate Arne in Thessaly: e.g. Thuc. 1.12, Steph. Byz. s.v. "Ἄρνη". See the entries *Arne* in RE and Brill’s New Pauly.
13 See Huxley 1966:36. The suggestion is based on Str. 9.2.3 (401), 13.1.3 (582) and Thuc. 3.2.3. Strabo says that the Boeotians returned from Thessaly to Boeotia at the time the sons of Orestes were despatching to Asia (9.2.3), and that Lesbos was colonized by Gras, a great-grandson of Orestes (13.1.3). He does not explicitly say that the Boeotians joined the Aeolian colonists. According to Thucydides, however, the Lesbians still regarded the Boeotians as their kindred at the time of the Peloponnesian War (3.2.3). Cf. Sakellariou 1990:180–182.
15 Hesiod is never connected with Arne in tradition. Zenodotus, however, emended "Ἄρνη" in *Il*. 2.507 as "Ἄσκρην".
16 Although we have no information that Terpander had sung the poetry of Hesiod, there are traditional epic works ascribed to Hesiod which Terpander could well have performed at the contests, e.g. *The Shield of Heracles*.
17 Although Orpheus is generally called a Thracian, his grave and cult belong not to Thrace but to Pieria in Macedonia, a region which formerly had been inhabited by the Thracians, cf. OCD 3rd ed. s.v. *Orpheus*.
modern commentators have postulated that Terpander belonged to an ancient family of Lesbian musicians. Against this opinion, however, is the fact that there is not one figure in tradition who could be linked with the pre-Terpanderian musical tradition of Lesbos.

3. Terpander in Sparta

Sparta is another place where Terpander’s tradition is localised. Although the details are rather scattered, Terpander was probably linked with Sparta by a continuous tradition. It included, in brief, a calamity (unrest or illness) in Sparta, and the Pythian oracle that peace or health would be re-established if the Lacedaemonians listened to the singer of Lesbos. Accordingly, the Spartans invited Terpander to sing at their syssitia, and order was restored.20

His talent gave rise for a proverb “μετὰ Λέσβιον ϕόδον” (“next to the singer of Lesbos” or “not quite as good as the singer of Lesbos”). The earliest author known to mention it is Cratinus in his comedy Cheiron.21 Cratinus’ exact text is lost, but Zenobius, who refers to it, explains that the saying is about those who come off second best, for the Lacedaemonians liked Terpander’s music so much that any other musician seemed to be inferior compared to him.22 Aristotle gives a slightly different version: he says that Terpander was so highly esteemed among the Lacedaemonians that in later times his descendants were first invited to perform at the Spartan festivals, while next came any other musician of Lesbos who happened to be present and finally, “after the singer of Lesbos” (i.e. the Lesbians generally), the rest of the performers.23 Since Aristotle

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19 Müller 1858:199 f., followed by Philip Smith in DGRBM s.v. Terpander; also Gostoli 1990:xi–xii. Müller suggests that the whole story of Orpheus’ head is an allegory about the transference of the art of music from Pieria to Lesbos.


22 See also Phot. Lex. s.v. μετὰ Λέσβιον ϕόδον.

23 Arist. fr. 545 R. Later references to the saying are: Plut. De sera num. vind. 13.558a; Ael. Dion. λ 7, p. 127 Erbse (who links the proverb either with Terpander, Euaenetides, or with Aristocleides); Zenob. 5.9; Hesych. s.v. Λέσβιος ϕόδος (Terpander, Euaenetides
mentions the proverb in his *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*, he probably talked about it in connection with the closely linked story of how the Lacedaemonians invited Terpander to Sparta. In fact, the proverb may be alluded to already by Sappho in one of her nuptial songs:

πέρροφοχος ὦς ὄν ἄοιδος ὁ Λέσβιος ἄλλοδάποιοιν.\(^{24}\)

Pre-eminent, as the bard of Lesbos among strangers.

Since Terpander was regarded as the first and the most famous person in the long line of the great citharodes of Lesbos, the verse of Sappho’s which summarizes the superior reputation of the poets of the island may well be an allusion to the proverb and Terpander. In that case, of course, the proverb and its connection to Terpander must have been known already in the seventh century.

Some accounts of the Pythian oracle given to the Spartans, including the earliest one by Demetrius of Phaleron, suggest that it did not specify which singer of Lesbos the Spartans should send for.\(^{25}\) It does not necessarily mean that Terpander’s name was added to the story later, since as we have seen, he was already in the Classical period at latest linked to the above mentioned proverb which was certainly connected to the story.\(^{26}\) In other accounts the Pythia explicitly refers to Terpander in her oracle.\(^{27}\) Sickness, madness, internal strife, and war with neighbours, all mentioned as reasons why the Spartans called for Terpander in the first place, are nothing but different manifestations of an overwhelming calamity typical in a certain type of Greek stories. The kind of story usually begins with human injury which brings about pollution and divine vengeance. A solution is sought from a (Delphic) oracle, and eventually the normal situation is restored,—the structure very similar to the story of Terpander.\(^{28}\) In Spartan context the person who brings the solution is usually Lycurgus but, in addition to Terpander, also Thaletas of

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\(^{24}\) Sappho fr. 106.9 Voigt.


\(^{26}\) Cf. Arist. 545 R.

\(^{27}\) Cf. Diod. Sic. 8.28, Philod. *De mus.* 1, fr. 30.31–35 (p. 18 Kemke), and 4, pap. Hercul. 1497, col. xix 4–19 (pp. 85f Kemke), Zenob. 5.9, Suda *loc. cit.* (the second version).

\(^{28}\) See Kõiv 2003:23 ff., 170f. Cf. the story of Stesichorus as a peacemaker (p. 75). Boethius mentions Terpander, Arion, and the Ionians as the healers from the most grievous diseases by means of song (*Inst. mus.* 1.1).
Gortyn is mentioned, and in some accounts Tyrtaeus as well. According to Christodorus, Terpander’s peacemaking was connected with Spartan foreign politics: he calmed the Amyclaeans, the neighbours and enemies of the Spartans by his song. Photius and the Suda add an interesting detail: the poet was exiled from Antissa because of a murder at the time the Spartans received the oracle and invited him to their city.

According to Hellanicus, Terpander was registered as the first winner of the Carneian festival. This record, which firmly fixed the bard in the early chronology and connected him with a victory in an ancient and important Spartan festival, certainly helped to spread his fame, poetry and music, and to develop and transmit his biographical tradition.

[Plutarch] mentions that in addition to settling the civil strife Terpander was the first to organize music at Sparta in some way. What exactly this obscure account means is not clear. It has been suggested that he either established some musical institutions, founded the Spartan citharodic school, or simply introduced new themes in Spartan music.

Brelich has proposed that this *katastasis* is the establishment of the Carneian festival by Terpander. In any case, the poet was held in such great honour

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29 Aelian (*VH* 12.50) says that among the poets the Spartans invited to their city on the occasion of sickness, madness or any other such civic disaster were Tyrtaeus, Nympheaus of Cydona and Alcman. In the majority of accounts Tyrtaeus is, however, invited to Sparta to sing exhortative songs to the Lacedaemonians and urge them to fight during the Second Messenian War. Plutarch maintains that Terpander, Thales (= Thaletas) and Pherecydes pursued the same ideals as Lycurgus (*Agis* 10.5–6).

30 Christod. in *Anth. Pal.* 2.111.

31 Photius *Lex.* and the Suda, both under the headline μετὰ Λέσβουν ὄδόν.


33 Cf. Dihle 1994:42.


35 West 1992:330, Gostoli 1990:xiv, 84, and 1988, Smyth 1963:165–166, Müller 1858: 200f., DGRBM s.v. *Terpander*. Weil & Reinach have suggested that intrinsic to the Terpandrean *katastasis* were citharodic, aulodic and auletic solo performances in almost exclusively epic or elegiac metres, whereas at the second *katastasis* choral music was prevailing, and various rhythms were used (1900:36 n. 89).


The Terpandrean *katastasis* may be perhaps connected with the invention of his *Orthian* nome. The occasion for which Terpander may have composed the prooemium in this nome (cf. for example his fr. 2) may have been the festival of Artemis Orthia, one of the most important initiation cults in archaic Sparta, which was believed to have been significantly modified by Lycurgus. The story of the establishment of the cult is given by Pausanias and it has a traditional structure similar to the story of calling for Terpander, containing a crisis caused by a crime in the sanctuary (the Spartans from all four *komai* killing each other at the altar), divine vengeance (disease), oracle (“disease would end if
in Lacedaemon that even three hundred years later, when the Thebans invaded Laconia and told their helot prisoners to sing the songs of Terpander, the helots refused regarding his songs as being too noble to be performed by them.\(^{37}\)

Terpander was believed also to have died in Sparta (see below, p. 147).

**Other musicians in Sparta**

Some other musicians active in Sparta are linked with Terpander. First, the Cretan singer Thaletas of Gortyn who was invited to Sparta by Lycurgus himself, and was said to have composed tranquil songs there, which urged people to obedience and harmony, thus helping Lycurgus to carry out reforms.\(^{38}\) In another version of the story, told by Pratinas, Thaletas arrived at Sparta in accordance with an oracle, and by means of his music he healed the Spartans and saved the city from the plague.\(^{39}\) He was said to have invented the cretic rhythm (named after his homeland) and to have been the first to compose the _hyporchemata_ and some kind

\(^{37}\) Plut. _Lyc._ 28.10.

\(^{38}\) Philod. _De mus._ 4, [Plut.] _Mus._ 42.1146bc, 9.1134bc, _Ael. VH_ 12.50, Plut. _Lyc._ 4 who calls him Thales. Eusebius has four entries for Thales: Ol.8.2 (747/6)—Thales Milesius physicus philosophus agnoscitur (no respective entry in the Armenian version), Ol.35.1 (640/39)—Thales Milesius, Examyis filius, primus physicus philosophus agnoscitur, quem aiunt vixisse usque ad lviii olympiadem (the same in the Armenian version), Ol. 48.3 (546)—Solis facta defectio, cum futuram eam Thales antedixisset (Ol.49.1 in the Armenian version), and Ol.58.1 (548)—Thales moritur (the same in Armenian version). The dates of the two latter entries must belong to Thales the philosopher since they fall into the period of the Seven Sages (cf. Apollodorus’ dates for Thales 662/3 to 548/5 in 244 F 28). The dates of the first two entries, however, probably belong to Thaletas (whose name was often spelled as Thales) and who was sometimes confused with the philosopher. See also Arist. _Pol._ 1274a28, Paus. 1.14.4, _Diog. L._ 1.38. Therefore, Eusebius probably had two dates for Thaletas, derived by different methods. First, Ol.8.2 comes probably from synchronism with Lycurgus (one generation younger than the law-giver). The second, Ol.35.1 is very close to Eusebius’ date for Terpander (Ol.34.3), and as is argued below; may come from the poets’ synchronism with the Second Messenian War (see p. 162). Cf. also Eus. _Chron._ Abr. 1266 (750 bc) in which Terpander, Thaletas, and Pherecydes are linked with Lycurgus; _Diog._ L. 1.38 in which the “third” Thales is synchronized with Homer and Hesiod; Suda s.v. Θαλήτας Κρής (lived before Homer), and s.v. Θαλήτας Κνώσσης.

\(^{39}\) Pratin. 713 iii PMG. Cf. Paus. 1.14.4, _Ael. VH_ 12.50.
of “native” (ἐπικυρίωςις) songs. Thaletas, with Xenodamus of Cythera, Xenocritus of Locri, Polymnestus of Colophon and Sacadas of Argos, was also associated with the second organisation or *katastasis* of the Spartan music, and with the establishment of the Gymnopaediae, another main initiation festival beside the Orthia at Sparta. The only (almost) local musician among them is Xenodamus whose home-island Cythera off the Cape Malea was seized by Sparta from Argos around 550 BC, and the inhabitants of the island became *perioikoi*. It appears that no school of local musicians developed in Sparta, and all the famous bards, citharodes and aulodes connected with Sparta were visitors or immigrants. Martin West is probably right in suggesting that Sparta’s function in its development of music in archaic times was mainly organisational encouragement. They organized music contests, like the Carneian festival and the Gymnopaediae, which attracted musicians from all over Greece, but they lacked their own good native singers, citharodes, and aulodes. Therefore, we cannot conclude that Terpander’s “πρώτη κατάστασις τῶν περὶ τὴν Μουσικήν” could mean that he established a genuine citharodics school in Sparta, as sometimes has been proposed.

As is suggested above, Sappho may have alluded to the proverb referring to Terpander’s fame in one of her poems. Since Terpander’s fame was largely based on his activity in Sparta in tradition, it may be that Sappho knew about his visit(s) there as well. The tradition was, perhaps, supported by Terpander’s own verses: among his extant fragments is, for example, one about the brave men, superb music and good laws of Sparta.

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40 Eph. ap Str. 10.4.16 (481), Sosib. 595 F 23, [Plut.] Mus. 9.1134bc, but cf. 10.1134d.
41 [Plut.] Mus. 9.1134bc, cf. Str. 10.4.16 (481). Polymnestus, son of Meles (*sic!*) composed the *Polymnestian* nomes and verses on Thales’ (Thaletas’) music for the Spartans (Paus. 1.14.4, [Plut.] Mus. 5.1133ab). According to Athenaeus (15.678b, his source was probably Sosibius), the songs by Thaletas and Alcman were sung at the Thyreatic festival which was founded around 546 BC and was held at the same time as the Gymnopaediae. About the Gymnopaediae see Kõiv 2003:128 f. Since the second *katastasis* by Thaletas was linked with the establishment of this festival, it is reasonable to assume that Terpander’s *katastasis* may have involved the arrangement of music for the cult of Artemis Orthia rather than the establishment of the Carneian festival which was a general Doric festival in honour of Apollo rather than initiation cult (cf. OCD 3rd ed. s.v. *Carneia*).
42 OCD 3rd ed. s.v. *Cythera*.
45 Sappho fr. 106.9 Voigt, see p. 140 n. 23.
46 Terp. fr. 7 Campbell, cf. also fr. 3 Campbell. See p. 150f. below.
4. The citharodes of Lesbos

Terpander was clearly believed to have been the first in the row of famous citharodes of Lesbos. Among his successors we first hear about Cepion or Capion, a disciple or younger lover of Terpander after whom the latter had named one of his nomes. Cepion is also associated with the establishment of the “modern” form of the so-called Asian cithara. He may be a historical figure, a musician particularly celebrated for one of his nomes to the cithara, who was gradually overshadowed by Terpander’s fame until he blended into his tradition as a pupil or lover of the more famous musician.

Arion of Methymna, who shares his home town with Terpander in tradition, is best known for his miraculous escape from the hands of wicked sailors. Like Terpander and the Ionians (the Homerids?), he was believed to be capable of healing people from the most severe diseases by his song. Arion is said to have spent a long period of his life in the court of Periander the tyrant of Corinth (625–585) where he supposedly improved the citharodic nomes and also invented the dithyramb: the Suda even reports that his father was called Cyclus. According to “some,” Arion was a pupil of Alcman, composed preludes to epic poems, and was the first to introduce satyrs speaking in verse. Arion’s date was derived from his synchronism with Periander and his akme was placed in Ol.40.2 (619/8) or Ol.42.3 (610/9) by Eusebius, and in Ol.38 (628/5) by the Suda. Since Hellanicus mentioned him in his Carneian Victors,
Arion was probably recorded in the original Spartan list of the victors of the festival (around Ol. 40).\textsuperscript{56}

Nothing much but a name and home town is known about Euaenetides of Antissa, who is mentioned with Terpander, Aristocleides, and Phrynis in connection with the proverb \( \mu η \text{λα Θροηδου ϖδαν}. \)\textsuperscript{57} He too was probably a member of the 'Terpandrean citharodic school, and was possibly mentioned in Hellenicus' work as another Lesbian winner at the Carneia. We do not know his date, but if the sequence of how the names of the citharodes are mentioned in our sources has any significance at all then he might have lived earlier than Aristocleides and Phrynis and later than Cepion who was placed closest to Terpander.\textsuperscript{58}

According to [Plutarch], the last of the unbroken succession of victorious citharodes of Lesbos was Pericleitus who must have won a victory at the Carneia some time in the first part of the sixth century, since he was thought to have lived earlier than Hipponax.\textsuperscript{59} Since [Plutarch's] source here is probably Hellenicus' \textit{Carneian victors}, the passage must mean that Pericleitus was the last of the succession of the Lesbian citharodes who had won at the Carneia continuously since the time of Terpander, but not the last of all in the citharodic school of Lesbos.\textsuperscript{60} There were other celebrated musicians on the island even after Pericleitus, such as, for example, Aristocleides or Aristocleitus,—another person associated with the above mentioned proverb. Aristocleides is reported to have been a descendant of Terpander and to have lived at the time of the Persian War. He was in favour with Hieron the king of Syracuse who allegedly gave him his cook Phrynis as a present. Phrynis apparently changed profession and became an aulode, and Aristocleides taught him how to play cithara as well.\textsuperscript{61} Phrynis was another candidate for the Lesbian singer in

\textsuperscript{56} Hell. 4 F 86.
\textsuperscript{57} Ael. Dion. \( \lambda \) 7, p. 127 Erbse, Hesych. s.v. Λέσβιος ϖδός.
\textsuperscript{58} Aelius Dionysius mentions the bards in sequence Terpander-Euaenetides-Aristocleides; Hesychius gives the sequence Euanetides-Phrynis; and Suda s.v. Φρυνίς and schol. Aristoph. \textit{Nub.} 971a: Aristocleitus-Phrynis.
\textsuperscript{59} [Plut.] \textit{Mus.} 6.1133cd. The \textit{Marmor Parium} and Pliny place Hipponax in Ol. 60 (540/537), the latest ancient date for the poet is his synchronism with Darius (523–486), see p. 131.
\textsuperscript{60} Cf. West 1992:330 n. 8.
\textsuperscript{61} Schol. Aristoph. \textit{Nub.} 971 (Suda s.v. Φρυνίς): ο Φρυνίς κεναφοφός Μιτυληναίος ουτος δε δωκε πρωτος κιθαρος παρ’ Αθηναιως και νικήσας Πεονίδηνα επι Καλλι(μαχο) ου άρχοντος (446/5) iην δε (ο Φρυνίς) Αριστοκλείδου μακητης ο δε Άριστοκλείδης κεναφοφός ιην άριστος το γένος ιν από Τερπάνδρου, ημιασε δε εν τη Ελλαδι κατα τα Μηδικα, παρακαληδων δε τον Φρυνιν αυλησθούντα κιθαριζειν εδίδαξεν.
the Spartan proverb according to Hesychius, who also criticised him for “killing and vulgarising” music.62 Other authors say that he changed the style of citharodic music which had remained quite simple from the time of Terpander, probably by creating a new kind of neme which combined hexameter and free rhythm.63 Phrynis is also reported to have used more than seven strings on the harp, to have been “the first to play the cithara among the Athenians” and to have won the first prize at the Panathenaic contest, probably in 446 BC.64

Thus, we have an almost continuous sequence of citharodes of Lesbos:

1. Terpander of Antissa (first part of the seventh century);
2. Cepion (Terpander’s younger contemporary);
3. Arion of Methymna (synchronized with Periander, and linked chiefly with the Corinthian rather than the Lesbian tradition);
4. Euaenides of Antissa (possibly later than Cepion and earlier than Aristocleides);
5. Pericleitus of Lesbos (the first part of the sixth century);
6. Aristocleides (the first part of the fifth century);
7. Phrynis (first prize at Panathenaea in 446).

The most celebrated poets of Lesbos ever, Sappho and Alcaeus, are usually regarded as lyric poets rather than musicians. However, they are known to have sung to the harp, and perhaps the performance of the citharodes and Sappho or Alcaeus was not so different at all.65

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62 Hesych. s.v. Λέσβους φθοράς.
64 Phot. Bibl. 320a33–b11, schol. Arist. Nub. 971, which gives 456 to the year of Phrynis’ victory, but cf. Jacoby (1904:189) and West (1992:360 n. 15): 456 was not a year when the quadrennial Panathenaea was celebrated, and the scholiast must have replaced Callimachus (archon in 446/5) with Callias (456).
65 The same applies to Archilochus: cf. for example, the list of his musical innovations in p. 116. Sappho and Alcaeus mention the barmos (Sappho fr. 176, Alc. fr. 70.4); on the early fifth century BC vase-painting the poets are depicted holding the barbitoi. There is also a statue of Alcaeus(? ) holding the lyre; a hydria from the end of the sixth century with Sappho and the barbitos; and the coins of Mytilene and Eresus with Sappho playing the lyre (Richter 1965:69–72, pl. 244–245, 252–256, 259–261).
5. The death of Terpander

A poem ascribed to Trypho the Hellenistic or later epigrammatist, tells the story of the death of one Terpes who, while singing to the phorminx at the Sunshades, was choked by a fig:

Τέρπης εὐφόρμηγα κρέκων Σκιάδέσσιν ἀοιδών
κάτθανε νοστήματα (ορ κάτθανεν ἔξαπινης—Plan.) ἐν Λακεδαιμονίοις,
οὐκ ἄφεν πληγεῖς, οὐδ’ αὐ νέλει, ἂλλ’ ἐνι σύνῳ
χεῖλεα. φεῖ, προφάσεων οὐκ ἀπορεῖ θάνατος. 66

Terpes, having returned to Sparta, died, (or: Terpes died suddenly in Sparta) while striking his sweet-sounding harp and singing at the Sunshades. He was not struck by a sword nor by an arrow; he was smitten by one single fig between his lips. Alas, death is not in want of pretexts.

Since the Suda tells a very similar story about Terpander, according to which the poet, while he was starting to sing was choked by a fig which someone accidentally threw at him, the Terpes in Trypho’s poem and Terpander are in all likelihood the same figure.67

The poet was probably believed to have returned to Sparta after many years, and to have died while singing once again at the Carneian festival,—the “sun-shades” in the first line of Trypho’s poem most probably refer to the σκιάι, shades, which were used at the Carneia as a kind of pavilions in which the artists performed.68 The Suda has the story under a rather obscure headline “γλυκύ μέλι καὶ πνισίατω” (“honey is sweet and let him choke”),—possibly referring to another proverbial expression associated with Terpander.

It is noteworthy that although Terpander was reported to have died at the Carneia, there is not even a hint of his grave in Sparta (or anywhere else). He was not, however, the only victim of a fruit among the

68 The different editors prefer different readings of the second line of Trypho’s poem: firstly, κάτθανε νοστήματα—“having returned to Sparta” (emended by Preisendanz and followed by Page in FGE:100, Livrea 1993:3, Campbell 1988:302, et al.); secondly, the Planudean reading κάτθανεν ἔξαπινης—“died suddenly” (Gostoli 1990: T 16 a and comm. ad loc. in p. 82 f.); and κάτθαν’ ἀνοστήματα—“he died never to return” (Edmonds 1928:28). About the manuscript readings and modern emendations, see FGE:100 f., Livrea 1993:3 n. 2, and Gostoli 1990: T 16 a.
ancient poets: according to tradition, Sophocles was choked to death by a grape, and Anacreon by a grapestone.\footnote{Anacreon: Plin. 7.5, Val. Max. 9.12.8; Sophocles: Ister and Neanthes in the \textit{Vita Anon.}, see also p. 217.} Since many other poets and famous ancient figures were believed to have died under unusual circumstances, we may say that the story of Terpander’s death is, in fact, quite typical.

6. Terpander’s poetry and music

Poetry

We have five extant fragments of poetry which are ascribed to Terpander by ancient authors.\footnote{The fragments of Terpander’s poetry are in Bergk PLG\textsuperscript{4}iii.7–12; Smyth 1963:1–2, Edmonds 1928:30–33; Campbell 1988:315–319; Gostoli 1990:49–56; 697, 698 in PMG (Page), and S6 in SLG (Page).}

(a) First, a dactylic verse (probably a part of an hexametric line) in an anonymous commentary on Aristophanes:

\[
\text{κύκνος ύπο πτερύγων τοιόνδε[τί]}: \quad \text{(fr. 1 Campbell)}
\]

The swan sings a song such as this to the accompaniment of its wings.

The commentator says that the fragment was ascribed to Terpander by Aristarchus, to Ion (of Chios) by Euphronius, and to Alcman by the author of the \textit{Paraploke}.\footnote{The \textit{Paraploke} is a work unknown from other sources.} Having said that the commentator goes on to contradict all these views and inform us that the fragment comes, in fact, from one of the hymns of Homer.\footnote{\textit{HyAp} 21.1: Φοίβε, σέ μεν και κύκνος ύπο πτερύγων λίγ’ ἀείδει. Modern commentators (Gostoli, Page, Campbell) ascribe the fragment cautiously but unanimously to Terpander.} The uncertainty about the authorship, and the occurrence of the phrase in other early poetry including the highly formulaic Homeric hymn, suggests that the phrase \textit{κύκνος ύπο πτερύγων} is a traditional formula which was used by many poets in many poems.
(b) The line

\[ \text{ἄμψφι μοι αὖτε ἄναχθ᾽ ἐξατηβόλον ἀδέτω (ά') φρήν} \]  

(fr. 2 Campbell)\(^{75}\)

*Of the far-shooting lord let my heart sing again*

is believed to be Terpander’s by the Suda who explains the word \( \text{ἀμφιανακτίζειν} \) as “to sing Terpander’s name called the Orthian, the prelude of which begins as \( \text{ἄμψφι μοι αὖτε κτλ.} \ldots \)”\(^{76}\)

(c) According to Strabo, “some” believed the following lines to be Terpander’s:

\[ \text{σ/Γ;ικΒΓΘὶδ’ἡμεῖςτετράγηνἀπ/Γ;ικΒΓΘστέρ/ksiαςἀ/Γ;ικΒΓΘιδὰν} \]

\[ \text{ἑπτατ/Γ;ικΒΓΘacuteν/iΓtasubscΒιΥτΓω/ΥϊitwΓ/Γ;ικΒΓΘacuteρμιγγινέ/Γ;ικΒΓΘυςκελαδήσ/Γ;ικΒΓΘμενὕμ/Γ;ικΒΓΘυς} \]  

(fr. 6 Campbell)\(^{77}\)

*For you we shall sing new hymns on a harp of seven (strings), and will love the four-voiced song no more.*

Strabo cites the verse as a proof for a wide-spread opinion that Terpander was the first to use the seven-stringed cithara instead of the old-fashioned four-stringed lyre.\(^{78}\) On the other hand, West might be right in suggesting that the lines may be transitional verses from the piece (a prooemium) played on four notes to one of seven notes.\(^{79}\)

(d) Plutarch ascribes to Terpander the hexametric verses about Sparta:

\[^{75}\] Fr. 2 in Bergk, Smyth, Edmonds, and Gostoli, and 697 in PMG. West believes, on the grounds of the metre and by the function attributed to \( \varphiήν \), that the verse is a forgery of the fifth century (1971:307 n. 3).

\[^{76}\] Suda s.v. \( \text{ἀμφιανακτίζειν} \). Cf. Suda s.v. το \( \text{προοομαίζειν} \), in which the verse is most probably mistakenly ascribed to Periander (pro Terpander): see Bergk in PLG\(^4\) iii.9, and Negri 1992, who further suggests that Pindar’s fr. 325 might be a part of the fragment of Terpander. About the different readings and emendations of the line, see Gostoli 1990:50, PMG p. 362, and Bergk in PLG\(^4\) iii.9. The main concern is the reading of \( \text{ἀειδέτω} \), which in manuscripts is lettered also \( \text{ἄδέτω} \) and \( \text{ἀιδέτω} \), none of which gives a pure hexameter. Several attempts have been made to emend the line into regular hexameter, among which the most followed seems to be the one by Hermann: \ldots \text{ἄδέτω (ά') φρήν}, see loc. cit., but cf. Robbins 1992, and Gerber 1997:233.

\[^{77}\] The fragment is printed as Terpander’s by Bergk (fr. 5), Edmonds (fr. 5), and Gostoli (fr. 6), but discarded as not genuine by Wilamowitz 1900:7f., Smyth (fr. [6]) and Page in PMG, p. 363. West suggests that the verses might genuinely be the work of some early citharode who contributed to the corpus of prooemia later attributed to Terpander (1981:116 n. 24).

\[^{78}\] Str. 13.2.4 (618). The reason why Wilamowitz (1900:7f.) and Smyth (1963:169) regard the fragment as a forgery is that they do not believe the story that Terpander invented the seven-stringed cithara.

There the spear of the young men, the clear-voiced Muse and Justice, the helper of noble deeds who walks the broad streets, bloom.

Smyth has suggested that the fragment may belong in the song by which Terpander was believed to have calmed the discord in Sparta, but the lines may just as well come from any hexametric poem or song about Sparta, perhaps, for example, from one performed at the Carneian festival.  

(e) The last extant verses ascribed to Terpander in antiquity, belong in a hymn to Zeus composed in spondaic feet:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Zeũ, πάντων ἀρχά, πάντων ἀγίτωρ,} \\
\text{Zeũ, σοὶ πέμπω ταῦταν ὑμῶν ἀρχάν} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Zeus, the beginning of all, the leader of all;  
Zeus, to you I send this beginning of hymns.

The solemn metre composed exclusively of long syllables, and the phrase ὑμῶν ἀρχά (“the beginning of the hymns”) suggest that the verses come from a prooemium or hymn composed for a religious ceremony; cf. the end-lines of the Homeric Hymns. The song is suitable for libations (σπονδία). We may have here an example of a song composed to the Spondeion melody/nome, and used to accompany offerings to Zeus Agetor, the leader of Lacedaemonian troops in battle, before the army went to war.

In that case we have a fragment of another “Spartan” poem of Terpander.

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82 Clem. Alex. Strom. 6.11.88. Clement’s source is most probably Aristoxenus (fr. 84 Wehrli) who is cited only in a previous sentence. In modern editions the fragment is number 6 in Bergk, Smyth, and Edmonds, 5 in Gostoli. Page does not believe the fragment to be Terpander’s (PMG, p. 363). About the many different arrangements of the fragment’s metre, see Bergk in PLG:iii.8, Müller 1858:206 f., and Campbell 1993:71.

83 See Richardson 1993 AD 23.221. LSJ: ὁ σπονδείας (νόμος); “a piece of music used at libations.” The auletic Spondeion was ascribed to Olympus and was believed to be the first composition in enharmonic genus, see Aristox. (fr. 83 Wehrli) ap. [Plut.] Mus. 11.1134f—1135b, and also the aulodic σπονδείας έν οὐ σπονδειακός τρόπος in 19.1137bc. See also West 1982:55 f., 1992:73 f., Barker 1984:i.216–217 with notes and 255–257, Winnington-Ingram 1928, Weil & Reinach 1900:46.110 (ad 11.1135b).

84 See Clement’s commentary (Strom. 6.121.88) on the verses. Clement adds that the piece was composed in the Dorian style/mode. About Zeus Agetor see Burkert 1985:257. Another spondaic song used at libations is fr. 4 Campbell which is ascribed to Terpander besides Campbell by Bergk (fr. *3), Edmonds (3), Gostoli (*8), Smyth (3).
Three other fragments (4 and 5 Campbell) are cautiously ascribed to Terpander by some modern commentators, but these ascriptions have no support from ancient sources.\(^{85}\)

As is seen from the fragments and their testimonia, Terpander was believed to have composed prooemia and hymns in spondaic and dactylic (not always a regular hexameter) metres. He is also reported to have composed in elegiac metre.\(^{86}\) The fragments indicate that Terpander used traditional formulaic language in his songs, which may explain why so little of his poetry has survived: they were probably merged in the pool of traditional hexametric poetry.\(^{87}\) It may also explain why Terpander’s biographical tradition relies comparatively little on the verses ascribed to him. The formulaic poetry simply gave no hints about the life of its author.

*The nomes, prooemia, and scolia*

Terpander’s music was a topic of a great interest for the scholars of the Classical period. We have fragments of information concerning it by Pindar, Timotheus, and Glaucus from the fifth century, and by Aristotle, Heracleides Ponticus, and Phaenias of Eresus from the fourth century.\(^{88}\) However, the extant information is so confused and contradictory that it seems that the Classical period and later authors had no clear conception of what exactly was meant by the “music of Terpander.” For example, according to Heracleides Ponticus, the citharodic nome was a kind of definite melody set for poetry sung to the cithara, and it was established, or at least named, at the time of Terpander.\(^{89}\) He especially emphasizes

\(^{85}\) Two are ascribed to Terpander by Bergk (fr. *3 and *4 Bergk in PLG\(^{4}\) vol. iii = *7, *8 Gostoli), and one by Leutsch (fr. *9 Gostoli). See Bergk in PLG\(^{4}\)iii.10, Gostoli 1990:54–56 with a commentary in pp. 146–151, and also Negri (1992:494–499), who argues that Pindaric 325 Sn.-M. may belong to Terpander.

\(^{86}\) Heracl. in [Plut.] *Mus.* 3.1132c.

\(^{87}\) Although several modern commentators doubt the authorship of the few fragments ascribed to Terpander, there is no reason why some of his songs might not have been transmitted and performed under his name throughout the Archaic and Classical period.


that Terpander set his own and Homer’s hexameters to music appropriate to each nome. However, from the list of the titles of Terpanderian nomes by Heracleides, Pollux, and the Suda, it follows that the nomes could be also in other metres, for example in trochaic and lyric metres.90

Seven to ten nomes are mentioned as Terpander’s in ancient sources.91 They were called Aeolian and Boeotian allegedly according to the people whose music they were modelled, Oxys and Tetraoidios by the mode, Terpandrean and Cepion/Capion with reference to the poet himself and to his lover or disciple, and Trochais and Orthios by their rhythm.92 [Plutarch’s] information that Terpander was also believed to have invented the

90 Herac. Pont. ap. [Plut.] Mus. 4.1132d: οἱ δὲ τῆς κιθαρῳδίας νόμοι πρῶτον (οὗ) πολλῷ χόρῳ τῶν αἰλωνικῶν κατεστάθησαν ἐπὶ Τερπάνδρῳ ἐκεῖνος γοῦν τοὺς κιθαρῳδίους πρῶτος ἐνόμισε, Βοιωτίαν τινα καὶ Αἰόλιον Τροχαίον τε καὶ Ὄξων Κιπτιονά τε καὶ Τερπάνδρει ταλάν, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Τετραοιδίου. Clement uses the verb μελοποιεῖ while talking about Terpander’s activity in composing the “Lacedaemonian nomes,” perhaps referring to the lyric metres of these nomes: μέλος τε αὐτῷ πρώτος περιέθηκε τοῖς ποιήματι καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίων νόμοις ἐμελοποιήθη Τερπάνδρος ὁ Ἀντισσαῖος (Clem. Alex. Strom. 1.78.5).

Pollux Onom. 4.65: νόμοι δ’ οἱ Τερπάνδρου ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἑυθὸν ἐθεῖν ἦν, Αἰόλιος καὶ Βοιώτιος, ἀπὸ δὲ ὀνύμων Ὄρθιος καὶ Τροχαῖος, ἀπὸ δὲ τριῶν Ὅξως καὶ Τετραοιδίος, ἀπὸ δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἑρωμένου Τερπάνδρειος καὶ Καπίων. σφάλλεται δ’ οἱ καὶ ἀπόθετον προστιθέντες αὐτῷ καὶ σχοινίοντα ὑπὲρ τριῶν καὶ ὀνύμων.

Suda s.v. νόμος: ὁ κιθαρῳδίου τρόπος τῆς μελῳδίας, ἀρμονίαν ἔχον ταχύν καὶ ἀνυθμόν ὀρθομένον. ἦσαν δὲ ἐπὶ οἱ ὑπὸ Τερπάνδρου, ὁν εἰς ὄρθιος, τετράδιος, δέξια.

91 According to [Plutarch], some of the cithara nomes ascribed to Terpander were in fact believed to have been composed by Phylammon of Delphi (Mus. 5.1133b, see also the Suda s.v. Τερπάνδρος, p. 136 n. 4). The “glorious-voiced” Phylammon son of Apollo and Cyllene is first mentioned by Hesiod (fr. 64 MW, also Hyg. Fab. 200 and 161). He was believed to have been the father of Thamyris who challenged the Muses in singing (Paus. 4.33.3, Apollod. Bibl. 1.3.2, schol. ad Eur. Rhes. 916 ap. Apollod. 244 F 162), and to have lived before the return of the Heracleids in Sparta (Paus. 2.37.2), in 1283 (Eus. Chron. p. 55b Helm) or 1293 (the Armenian version) BC. He was said to have established the mysteries of Lerna (Paus. 2.37.2) and gained the victory at the second Pythian Games (Paus. 10.7.2). Heracleides says that Phylammon sang about the wanderings of Leto and the birth of Apollo and Artemis, and that he was the first to set up choirs at the Delphic shrine (Herac. ap. [Plut.] Mus. 3.1132a, cf. Pherec. 3 F 120, and Eus. Abr. 734 (Helm) or 724 (Karst)).

92 Pollux Onom. 4.65, [Plut.] Mus. 4.1132d, Suda s.v. Ὅρθιον νόμον καὶ τροχαῖον. Modern commentators share the view that the Tetraoidios gained its name by its structure rather than by mode, containing four parts which may or may not have been sung in different tonality (cf. Lasserre 1954:94, Barker 1984:1.251, Gostoli 1990:xxi). Lasserre explains the name of the nome Cepion as a derivation from the diminutive of the word
marked trochee, and the style of orthian melody which uses the orthian foot, agrees with the latter account.\textsuperscript{93} Suda, however, citing Aristophanes’ lines which include the words “τὸν Ὀρθιόν νόμον,” offers an alternative derivation for the name of the nome: it gained its name either by its steep pitch (ὀφθιός) or from the word “day-break” (ὀφθαλός).\textsuperscript{94} It is more likely, however, that “Orthios” in Aristophanes’ text is a pun on an old citharodic nome rather than a separate nome or another name for Terpander’s Orthian. Two other nomes which were ascribed to Terpander were Apothetos (“secret”) and Schoinion (“stretched (?)”).\textsuperscript{95} These were auletic nomes and for that reason they are discarded from the works of Terpander by Pollux and modern commentators, but I cannot see why Terpander could not have composed music both to cithara and aulos, especially when a considerably earlier source than Pollux, the \textit{Marmor Parium}, seems to refer to Terpander’s auletic nomes as well.\textsuperscript{96} Moreover, the Phrygian nome, which was otherwise linked to Olympus and was therefore probably believed to be aulodic, is linked to Terpander by some sources.\textsuperscript{97} Pollux says that the Terpanderian nome was divided into seven parts: ἄγχα, μεταγχα, καταγχα, μετακαταγχα, ὀμφαλός, σφαίρις, and ἐπίλογος.\textsuperscript{98} At least in later antiquity the composition of early nomes was thought to have been strictly regulated: [Plutarch] reports that the

\textsuperscript{93} [Plut.] \textit{Mus.} 28.11.40 f. The occasion for composing and performing music in the Orthian nome (and consequently for inventing the orthian foot) may have been the cult of Artemis Orthia, as is argued in p. 141 n. 36.

\textsuperscript{94} Suda s.v. Ὀρθιός νόμος: οὕτω καλούμενος νόμος κυδωνιδικός. Ἀριστοφάνης πολλάς ἐννιότεροι μὲ ἐξ ἐκκλησίας ἄωμι νύκτωρ διὰ τὸν ὀφθιόν νόμον. ὀίμαι, ὀρθίαν ἔλεε, ἢ ὀρθίον, διὰ τὸν ὀφθιόν (cf. Aristoph. \textit{Eccl.} 741).

\textsuperscript{95} Pollux \textit{Onom.} 4.65. LSJ and Suppl. gives “an air on the aulos,” “rope,” and “reed” for σκοινιος. Einarson and De Lacey 1963:360 translate the Schoinion as “cable” meaning a loose and long nome, West calls the nome “drawn out like a rope.”

\textsuperscript{96} \textit{Marmor Ep.} 34, see p. 137 n. 6. The invention of the Apothetos and Schoinion were ascribed also to Clonas, an aulode of Tegea or Thebes ([Plut.] \textit{Mus.} 5.1133a, Pollux 4.79).

\textsuperscript{97} Schol. ad Aristoph. \textit{Ach.} 13: τὸ δὲ Βοϊώτιον μέλος οὕτω καλούμενον, ὅπερ εὑρεῖ Ἐὔσπανδρος, ὅσπερ καὶ τὸ Φρύγιον. But see the Suda s.v. Μόσχος ζώων Βοϊώτιον τὸ δὲ Βοϊώτιον οὕτω καλούμενον εὑρεῖ Τέρπανδρος ὅσπερ καὶ ὁ Φρύγιος [i.e. Olympus]. The Phrygian nome is ascribed to Olympus by Apostolius (11.79) and Pollux 4.78. Stesichorus mentions a Phrygian melody in fr. 212 PMG.

\textsuperscript{98} Pollux \textit{Onom.} 4.66. About the structure of the nome, see Groningen 1955:177–182, Barker 1984:i.251 with n. 264, Gostoli 1990:xxiii f. Another late explanation of the term “nomos,” by Photius (\textit{Bibl.} 320A33 –b11), runs into a vicious circle: he says that the nome was named after Apollo Nomimos, and Apollo was called Nomimos because people sang the nome for him to the cithara or aulos in ancient times.
nomes were called “nomoi” because it was forbidden to transgress the accepted pitch established for each type.  

Heracleides says that Terpander performed his own hexameters and those of Homer according to his own nomes at the contests. Ancient sources do not specify which of Terpander’s nomes was hexametric, but since Terpander gained the greatest fame probably by performing the noblest of poetry, the hexametric, in competitions at big festivals at which multitudes of people gathered and listened to his singing and playing, it may well be that the Terpandorean was one of the hexametric nomes, named after its famous author. Cf. Photius’ information that Terpander improved the nome by using it with the hexameter.

The different and complicated definitions of the nome proposed by modern commentators indicate that they do not have a unanimous conception of what should be meant by an Archaic nome either. Firstly, Müller and his followers suggest that the Terpandorean citharodic nome is a finished monodic composition with distinctive normative parts, in which a certain musical idea was systematically worked out and maintained throughout the song. Fowler adds that the nomes were used to sing the non-Ionian alternative to epic, i.e. epic themes in not necessarily pure hexametric metre. The second cluster of opinions has the nomes as specific, fairly fixed monodic, probably traditional, musical patterns among which a citharode could choose the suitable one and adapt it for a certain formal occasion.

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99 [Plut.] Mus. 6.1133bc ἐν γὰρ τοῖς νόμοις ἐκάστῳ διετήρουν τὴν ὀικείαν τάσιν. διὸ καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ἑκατετάρχῃ ἐπονομάζεται εἴρητος νόμοι γὰρ προσπίσχονθησαι, ἑπειδὴ οὐκ ἐξήν παραθέναι (τὸ) καθ' ἕκαστον γενομενόν εἴδος τῆς τάσεως. Cf. the story by Plutarch that the Spartans took Terpander’s cithara and fined the poet for adding an extra string to give variety of sound (Inst. Lac. 17.238c).

100 Heracl. Pont. fr. 157 Wehrli (see below, p. 152 n. 89).

101 Photius Bibl. 320a33–b11.


103 Fowler, loc. cit. Barker maintains that the extant ancient sources about the meaning of the nome reflect the views of the Classical and later scholars who used a piece of modern terminology as a label for ancient traditional compositions ascribed to Terpander, the compositions which they thought to have been subject to strict rules. According to Barker, the ancient authors believed the citharodic nome to be a genre of solo concert songs written in epic hexameter, and performed most frequently (but not only) at competitive festivals by a soloist accompanying himself on a cithara. Barker emphasizes that this is a view of the fifth century and later authors and it does not explain adequately the genuine practice of seventh and sixth century citharodes. See Barker 1984:38, 249–255, ii.432 n. 146.

early nomes to have been genre-specific, some do not.\footnote{West 1992:216: “[The nome] was not, initially, genre-specific: the word could be applied to melodies accompanying hexameter poetry, elegy, iambic verse, lyric narrative, epinicians, dithyrambs,” pace Robbins 1990:9: “Terpander was principally a musician who established specific melodic patterns to be performed on the seven-stringed lyre and used them for the singing of hymns and of Homer.”} Smith believes that the early nomes were simple tunes from which others could be freely derived by slight variation; and these latter were called \( \mu \varepsilon \lambda \eta \). Some of the nomes were derived from old tunes ascribed to the ancient bards (Terpander among them), and others from national melodies. Thus the nomes were, according to this view, neither fixed compositions nor even distinctive formal melody-patterns, but simply traditional tunes. Neither were they all adapted to the heroic hexameter but accompanied also other metres.\footnote{Philip Smith in DGRBM s.v. Terrander, Vetter in RE V.A s.v. Terrandros. Apart from all the views mentioned above stands Farnell’s opinion that the term νόμος is applied to early religious monodic song, chiefly to chants or tunes of a fixed type in hexameter, sung by the priest, to the accompaniment of the lyre, at the altar of Apollo (1891:6f.).}

Heracleides informs us that, in addition to hexametric poems set to the nomes, Terpander composed the preludes sung to the cithara in hexameters as well.\footnote{[Plut.] Mus. 4.1132a: τεπεικήνα ἃς τῷ Τερπάνδρῳ καὶ προονίμα καθαροδικὰ ἐν ἔπειον. Cf. Heracleides in p. 152 n. 89 as well.} From that we can conclude that the citharodic nomes and the citharodic prooemium were believed to be different settings, although they both were (according to Heracleides) in hexameter, and sung to the cithara. Since the extant ancient sources never mention any themes of Terpander’s songs, and imply that the nomes could be used for accompanying songs in different metres, and since several names of the nomes are at least seemingly derived from their musical properties, it seems most likely that the ancient authors generally saw the early nome as entirely a musical term: a melody-pattern suitable to accompany different types of songs or poems, whereas the citharodic prooemium could have been seen as a piece of poetry in various metres used to introduce an epic poem or hymn. The prooemia were accompanied by cithara music, usually by nomes but not necessarily always, since, according to [Plutarch], the citharodes used to “dedicate themselves to the gods (i.e. to sing a prooemium) in any way they wished” before proceeding to the poetry of Homer and other authors (accompanied by the music-patterns fixed in a higher degree).\footnote{[Plut.] Mus. 6.1133c. Cf. Suda s.v. νόμος according to which the nome is determined by distinctive harmonia and rhythm.} Modern commentators
have suggested that there existed a set of citharodic prooemia collectively ascribed to Terpander, comparable to the corpus of rhapsodic prooemia ascribed to Homer (the *Homeric Hymns*), but there is nothing in ancient sources to support this view.\(^\text{109}\)

The invention of the *Mixolydian* mode is ascribed to Terpander by [Plutarch] (*Mus*. 28.1140f.), although only a few chapters above (16.1136c) he had referred to the opinions of Aristoxenus and “the writers on harmonics” that it was Sappho who had invented this mode. Terpander was also credited with the invention of the genre of drinking songs (the *scolia*).\(^\text{110}\) This suggests that he, like other poets in Archaic period, composed different types of music choosing the genre according to occasion: for festivals he wrote prooemia and hymns, for soldiers going to battle he wrote songs of exhortation, for symposia and syssitia the *scolia* and other types of lyric poetry.\(^\text{111}\)

**Terpander and the musical instruments**

According to Pindar, Terpander invented the *barbitos* after hearing the Lydian *pectis*.\(^\text{112}\) *Barbitos* is a long-armed bowl lyre with a deeper pitch and softer tone than the common lyre used mainly at symposia.\(^\text{113}\) It is possible that Terpander built an instrument similar to the Lydian *pectis* and *magadis* (which were sometimes thought to have been one and the same instrument), but it is more probable that he simply used the *barbitos*

\(^{109}\) Wilamowitz 1900:7, followed by West 1971a:307, Pavese 1977:237, and Fowler 1987:96. The *Homeric Hymns* as the prooemia of Terpander or his school: Weil & Reinach 1900:19 n. 45, more cautiously Barker 1984:138. It is more probable that the *Hymns* are older pieces of traditional poetry performed by both rhapsodes and citharodes, the latter (or both) accompanying the song on the cithara. See also Müller 1858:206, Gostoli 1990:xxix–xxxiii. I agree with Robbins that Gostoli’s distinction between prooemia and citharodic epic as genres is a bit too far-reaching. See Gostoli 1990:xxxiii–xxxvii, Robbins 1992:8.


\(^{112}\) Pi.fr. 125 Sn.-M., see p. 136 n. 1 above.

\(^{113}\) See Barker 1984:1.14, 264 n. 19, Maas & Snyder 1989:9f., 113 f., West 1992:57f. and plate 19. Cf. Pindar (fr. 124d Sn.-M.) that Terpander was an inventor of the *scolia* which were performed at symposia.
to accompany his songs, and being famous himself he popularized this rich-sounding instrument known already by earlier musicians.\textsuperscript{114}

Aristotle, inquiring into the question why the diapason is so called and not named “diocto” after the number of notes, suggests that the harp originally had seven strings (and seven notes), of which Terpander removed the third highest one (the original τρίτη), and added another, the highest-pitched string (the νήτη).\textsuperscript{115} Plutarch agrees with Aristotle in respect of the number of the strings Terpander added to the lyre, telling a story how the musician was fined by the Spartan ephors and his cithara was taken away and nailed on the wall because he had fitted one extra string to six-stringed lyre.\textsuperscript{116} Nicomachus, in turn, lists the persons who had added the strings to the lyre: Hermes, the inventor of the lyre, had attached four strings to it, Coroebus the king of Lydia added the fifth string, Hyagnis the Phrygian the sixth, and Terpander the seventh following the model of seven planets.\textsuperscript{117} Other sources, however, represent the strong belief that Terpander improved the “old” four-stringed lyre by adding three extra strings and thus inventing the seven-stringed cithara.\textsuperscript{118}

\textsuperscript{114} Puech 1961:192, van Groningen 1960:118–121, \textit{contra}: Gostoli 1990:111f. Some commentators suggest that Terpander invented the \textit{barbitos} in order to play elaborate tunes on the \textit{pectis} and \textit{barbitos} simultaneously (Edmonds 1928:17, Gulick 1937:429, Campbell 1988:305), or in order to accompany the lyre in such a way that the two instruments together would sound as if played on the \textit{pectis} (Gostoli 1990:112), but we have no information whatsoever that there would have been two (or more) musicians playing at the performance of Terpander’s music and poetry. About the \textit{pectis} and \textit{magadis}: Aristox. and Menaechm. in Athen. 14.635e.

\textsuperscript{115} Arist. \textit{Probl.} 920a, cf. [Plut.] \textit{Mus.} 28.1140f which says that Terpander was credited with the invention of the Dorian \textit{nete}.

\textsuperscript{116} Plut. \textit{Inst. Lac.} 17.238c.

\textsuperscript{117} Nicomachus \textit{Exc.} 1 and ap. Boeth. \textit{De mus.} 1.20 (pp. 205–228 ss. Friedlein). See also the \textit{Hymn to Hermes} 39–51. The corrupt text of Timotheus (791.221–231 PMG): ΤΕΡΠΑΝΔΡΟΣΕΠΙΤΩΙΔΑΣΕΜΘΕΤΕΥΣΕΜΟΥΣΑΝΩΛΑΙΣ has been read by Wilamowitz as \textit{Τέρπανδρος δ’ ἐπὶ τῷ δέκα ζεύξε} (1903:27, followed by Schmid-Stählin 1929:404 and Campbell 1988:306), meaning that Terpander attached ten strings to the cithara (ὡδαί as “the strings”). Mazon (1903:209–214) interpreted Wilamowitz’ reading as meaning that Terpander had composed ten different nemes (or songs, cf. Edmonds 1928:19), and Del Grande (1923:6) suggested that Terpander used several seven-stringed citharas simultaneously so that the music they produced sounded like a ten-voiced melody. See Gostoli 1990:112–114, and PMG p. 413. I agree with Gostoli (1990:112–114) that it might be better to interpret the actual lettering in the papyrus as meaning that Terpander simply took the art of singing to the new level.

\textsuperscript{118} Str. 13.2.4 (618). The seven- and eight-stringed instruments were used already in the Minoan culture. However, they begin to appear on vase-paintings more regularly and abundantly only in the seventh century when Terpander was (thought to be) active. Terpander may have been one of the earliest bards to use the seven-stringed cithara regularly, helping it to spread throughout the Greek world (Gostoli 1990:xl, West 1992:53).
7. The date of Terpander

Terpander has a quite clear position in time in relation to other poets and musicians in tradition.\footnote{119} He was always regarded as a later figure than the (legendary) musicians Orpheus, Linus, Amphion,\footnote{120} and epic writers Homer, Hesiod, Lesches, and Arctinus.\footnote{121} He was also believed to be younger than Chrysothemis of Crete who “wearing splendid clothes took the cithara, and imitating Apollo, was the first to sing the neme in solo.”\footnote{122} The early aulodes were placed slightly earlier than Terpander by Glaucus, and somewhat later by Heracleides,—the early aulodia and citharodia were probably felt to have developed more or less in the same time.\footnote{123} Archilochus too was sometimes placed slightly earlier and sometimes a little later than Terpander, yet allowing the poets to be contemporaries.\footnote{124} Thaletas of Crete was, on the one hand, believed to be slightly later than Terpander, as he established the second katastasis of music in Sparta.

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Since Strabo cites the fragment ascribed to Terpander (fr. 6 Campbell) as a proof for the information that our musician was the first to use the seven-stringed instead of the four-stringed lyre, the whole tradition of augmenting the cithara probably gained support also from Terpander’s poetry. Other authors who regard Terpander as an inventor of the seven-stringed cithara are Pliny (NH 7.204 in which the inventor of the original four-stringed cithara was either Amphion, Orpheus, or Linus), [Plutarch] (Mus. 30.1141c), and the Suda (s.v. Τέρπανδρος).


\footnote{120} Timoth. 791.221–231 PMG, Plin. NH 7.204, Nicom. Exc. 1. The stories about Orpheus as an Argonaut, Linus as the teacher of Amphion and Heracles, and Amphion as the builder of Theban walls place them before Terpander as well (Pi. P. 4.315, Sim. 567 PMG, Apollod. Bibli. 1.3.2, 2.4.9, 3.5.5–6, Paus. 9.5.6–8, 9.29.9, Suda s.v. Λίνος, and s.v. Ὀμυρέας).

\footnote{121} Suda s.v. Τέρπανδρος, Phaenias fr. 33 Wehrli, Eus. Chron. Ol.1.1 and 5.1 or Ol.1.2 and 4.4 Arm. (Arctinus), Ol.30.3 (Lesches), and Ol.34.3 (Terpander).

\footnote{122} Phot. Bibli. 320a33–b11. Photius regards Chrysothemis of Crete as the first to sing a neme, and Terpander to have improved it by using hexametric poetry for the song. See also Ps.-Censorin. De mus. in GL vi.610.8ff.

\footnote{123} Glaucus ap. [Plut.] Mus. 4.1132e, Heracl. Pont. ap. [Plut.] Mus. 4.1132d. Heracleides is not mentioned as a direct source in the latter passage. In the end of the previous section, however, the third paragraph of his Συνήθεια is referred to as a source for the compositions of Terpander. In the fourth paragraph when the topic is resumed, [Plutarch] seems to have returned to Heracleides’ book. The Suda places “the younger” Olympus in the time of Mida (s.v. Ὀλυμπίος, omicron 219 and 221 Adler).

\footnote{124} Phaenias fr. 33 Wehrli, and the Eusebian dates for Archilochus (see p. 112) and Terpander (Ol.34.3). The relative dates of Archilochus and Terpander do not, however, come from the succession of the genres of iambus and citharodia, but are probably derived from the synchronisms with Gyges and Mida respectively.
and founded the Gymnopaediae. On the other hand, they both were synchronized with Lycurgus, Thaletas by Plutarch and Terpander by Hieronymus of Rhodes. Hieronymus (or his source) probably derived the date for Terpander from the link between him and Lycurgus in Spartan tradition.

Hellanicus may have used some ancient Spartan document as a source while writing his *Carneian Victors*. From the extant accounts we know that he must have included the citharodes of Lesbos who had won at the Carneia in his list,—otherwise we would probably know nothing about such figures as Euaenetides, Aristocleides or Pericleitus. It seems, however, that the list Hellanicus compiled was not continuous. Had it been, it would have enabled to trace the absolute date of the first Carneian festival starting from some historically datable event. And if Hellanicus’ list had provided an absolute date for the Carneia, Athenaeus would not have needed to use Sosibius’ date for the festival in his passage. Thus, Sosibius probably did not take his 676 for the first Carneia from Hellanicus’ list. Although it cannot be ruled out that he got the date directly from some Spartan document, if it existed, which also Hellanicus may have used, Mosshammer has proposed that Sosibius, seeking for the absolute dates for the establishment of the various festivals, simply placed the Carneia exactly one hundred years after the first Olympiad. This date, 676 BC, became on the grounds of Hellanicus’ synchronism between the poet and the festival, the point of reference for Terpander.

On the other hand, Sosibius may have derived the Carneian date from Hellanicus’ another account for Terpander: the poet lived (γέγονε) at the time of Midas the king of Phrygia. There was a tradition that Midas

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125 See p. 143.
126 *Lyc.* 4
127 Hieron. in Athen. 14.635ef. ὅτι δὲ καὶ Τέρπανδρος ἀρχιμνότερος ἀνακρέοντος δήλων ἐν τούτων· τὸ Κάρνεια πρῶτος πάντων Τέρπανδρος νικᾷ, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος (4 F 85a) ἱστορεῖ ἐν τέ τοῖς εἰμέτροις Καρνειοφίλοις καὶ τοῖς καταλογύδην ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ θέσις τῶν Καρνειῶν κατὰ τὴν ἔκτην καὶ εἰκοσιτίχην ὀλυμπιάδα (676/2), ὡς Σωσίβιος (595 F 3) φησιν ἐν τῷ περὶ Χρόνων. Ἰερώνυμος (fr. 33 Wehrl) δ’ ἐν τῷ περὶ Κιθαροφόδων, ἀπερ ἐοτί πέμπτον τῶν Περί ποιητῶν, κατὰ Λυκοῦργον τὸν νομοθέτην τῶν Τέρπανδρῶν φησι γενέσθαι, ὃς ὑπὸ πάντων συμφώνως ἱστορεῖται μετὰ Ἰφίτου τοῦ Ἡλείου τὴν πρώτην ἀρχηγοθέτεσαν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων (777/6) θέσιν διασειναι. 
128 In the same way as he used the list of Athenian archons in his *Attic History* and Argive chronology in his redaction of the priestesses of Hera (see Mosshammer 1979:88, 91). About his use of the list of Carneian victors see also ibid. 92.
130 Hell. 4 F 85b ap. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.131, cit. in p. 113 n. 122.
poisoned himself in the face of a Cimmerian invasion of his kingdom.\footnote{Eustath. in \textit{Od.} 11.14, cf. the account, ascribed to Africanus by Geltzer (1875:252 with n. 6), that Midas died at Ol.26 (676/2).} According to Herodotus (1.15), the Cimmerians stormed Asia Minor at the time of Ardyss the son of Gyges. Apollodorus’ date for the first year of Ardyss’ reign is 678/7.\footnote{See Jacoby 1902:193. About the dates of the Lydian kings, see p. 113 n. 122.} Therefore, Sosibius’ 676 is the third year of Ardyss in Apollodorus’ system, and would be suitable for the date of the Cimmerian invasion and Midas’ death. Midas and Terpander were, as was known from Hellanicus, contemporaries, and since Terpander was a victor of the first Carneicus, Sosibius may have concluded that the festival was established in 676.

Glaucus of Rhegium believed Terpander to have lived earlier than Archilochus.\footnote{\textit{καὶ τὸς χρόνος τὸς σφυρίδα παλαῖας ἑστὶ πρεσβύτερον γονὶ ἀυτὸν Ἀρχιλόχου ἀποφαίνει Γλαῦκος ὁ Ἑλλαδικός ἐν συγγραμμάτι τινι τῷ Περὶ τῶν Ἀρχιλόχου ἀναποτικῶν τε καὶ μουσικῶν ἑρμηνεύῃ γὰρ ἀντί χρονὸν ἑστάλην γενέσθαι μετὰ τοῦς πρώτους ποιήσασας αὐλοῦδας ([Plut.] \textit{Mus.} 4.1132e).} Obviously he regarded citharodia as a genre (represented by Terpander) as having developed later than aulodia, and slightly earlier than iambic poetry (represented by Archilochus).\footnote{Gostoli suggests that Glaucus meant Archilochus to be the one who “came second after the first aulodes,” and thus Terpander would be only slightly older than the iambic poet,—the reading which would fit with Apollodorus’ opinion of the chronology of the two poets (1990:73 f., and see below). Although Terpander and Archilochus most probably were near contemporaries, I do not think that Gostoli is quite correct in reading the passage that way, since Terpander is linked with the tradition of the first aulodes much more strongly than Archilochus, and it is Terpander’s, not Archilochus’ antiquity that is discussed in [Plutarch’s] passage.} Since Archilochus was synchronized with Gyges who was believed to have been a younger contemporary of Midas, Glaucus must have agreed with Hellanicus (or vice versa?) stating that Terpander was a contemporary with Midas.\footnote{The synchronism Archilochus-Gyges derives from Archilochus’ poetry (fr. 19 W) and from Hdt. 1.12. Midas was believed to be earlier according to Hdt. 1.14 which says that Gyges was the second barbarian after Midas to send an offering to Delphi: οὕτως δὲ ὁ Γύγης πρῶτος μυθόδραφον τῶν ἱερῶν ἱέρειν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθηκε ἄναθηματα μετὰ Μίδην τὸν Ζώδιαν, Φρυγίς βοσκέα.} Phaenias of Eresus, in turn, claims Terpander to be later than Archilochus, and therefore does not agree with Glaucus or Hellanicus.\footnote{Phaenias fr. 33, see above p. 113 n. 122.} It has been suggested that Phaenias’ opinion may be based on his understanding of the development of music and poetry.\footnote{Jacoby 1904a:164,189, Mosshammer 1977 and 1979:229–232.} He may have compiled a relative chronology of the musical styles, placing citharodia (Terpander)
after early iambus (Archilochus) and cyclic epic (Lesches), and before dithyramb (Arion), and thus established an interval between the early iambists (the end of Gyges' rule) and Arion/Periander (the beginning of Alyattes' rule) corresponding roughly to the years 670 to 620. Furthermore, Phaenias (or indeed Hellanicus) may have derived the absolute dates by applying a theory of musical succession: starting from the Panathenaic victory of Phrynis in 446/5, the fifth forty-year period would yield a date 645/4 recorded for Terpander in the *Marmor Parium*.\textsuperscript{138} 645/4 is also very close to the Eusebian date Ol.34.3 (642/1) for Terpander. Mosshammer concludes that Phaenias was the source for both the *Marmor* and Eusebius in respect of the dates of Lesches, Terpander, and Arion.\textsuperscript{139}

This theory, however, is not without a few problems. First, why would Phaenias have regarded iambic poetry (Archilochus) as earlier than epic poetry (Lesches)? If Phaenias compiled the list of poetic styles concerning Lesbian poetry only, which would explain the choice of Lesches of Mytilene or Pyrrha as a representative of epic poetry, then what is the Parian Archilochus doing on the list?\textsuperscript{140} And if Phaenias really compiled his chronological list of musical genres and their representatives, which became the source for Eusebian respective dates, then why did he use the forty-years interval only for establishing the relative dates of the members of Terpandean school, and did not use this device in calculating the intervals between the representatives of the genres? For there is forty-years interval only between Arion and Lesches in Eusebius' *Chronicle*, whereas Terpander is placed only sixteen years later than Lesches,

\textsuperscript{138} ibid.

\textsuperscript{139} Mosshammer 1979:229f. The dates for these poets, according to Eusebius, are Ol.30.3 (658/7) for Lesches, Ol.34.3 (642/1) for Terpander, and Ol.40.2 (619/8) for Arion. Syncellus' (401, 402 Mosshammer) accounts that the poet lived around 741–614 BC according to the list of Macedonian kings, are probably based on the Eusebian date, see Mosshammer 1977:132 n. 72 and 1979:342 n. 7 pace Miller 1971:109–112 (see also Downey 1974:1152).

\textsuperscript{140} Even the inclusion of Archilochus in the list would not explain why iambic poetry is placed before epic poetry. Phaenias synchronized Lesches with Arctinus of Miletus (*cit* in p. 113 n. 122). According to Artemon of Clazomenae, the contemporary of Pericles (443 F 2), Arctinus was a pupil of Homer, and lived in Ol.9 (744/1). Eusebius placed him in Ol.1.1 (777/6) or, in the Armenian version, Ol.5.1 (760/59). Eusebius' date may depend on the synchronisms Homer–Lycurgus–Ol.1 (see p. 47), and Homer–Arctinus (the latter's pupil). Eusebius placed Lesches much later, in Ol.30.3 (658/7), synchronizing him with Alcman. It seems that the opinion that Lesches was a later poet developed after the Classical period. The view that Cyclic epic is later than the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is modern.
and twenty-three years earlier than Arion. Thus, although it is quite plausible that the Lesbian chronographers (Hellanicus, Phaenias) had a clear idea about the relative chronological positions between the poets and musicians of Lesbos, we still do not know what made Phaenias claim Terpander to be later than Archilochus. Nor can we be sure that Eusebius derived his date for Terpander from Phaenias’ work, as Mosshammer has suggested.

Both Marmor’s and the Eusebian dates for the poet (ca. 645/640) correspond, however, almost exactly with the Eusebian and the Suda’s dates for the Second Messenian War, and also with the Spartans’ sending for Tyrtaeus (644/633). Could it be that Terpander’s activity in settling the civil strife was believed to have been connected with the unrest during that particular war, and the poet was, consequently, placed in the time of Tyrtaeus and the Second Messenian War? If this is the case, then the Eusebian and the Marmor’s date would be established on the basis of Spartan chronography.

In conclusion, the chronographers followed chiefly two strands of argumentation for dating Terpander. The sources of the first strand were the works of Hellanicus and Glaucus, which synchronized the poet with king Midas, the establishment of the Carneian festival in Sparta, and with Archilochus (the latter being younger than Terpander). Sosibius may have either constructed the date of the first Carneia on the basis of the date of the establishment of the Olympic Games, or used Hellanicus’ synchronism between Midas and Terpander, Herodotus’ information about the Cimmerian invasion, and the tradition that Midas committed

\[\text{141 Ol.29.1 (664/3) for Archilochus is probably an Apollodorean date in Eusebius. Nevertheless, even the alternative Eusebian date for Archilochus, Ol.23.1 (Praep. Evang. 10.11.4, cf. Eus. Chron. Ol.23.1) is still only thirty years earlier than the date for Lesches.} \]
\[\text{142 Suda s.v. Τυρταῖος: Tyrtaeus flourished in Ol.35 (640/37); Eus. Chron. Ol.36.4: Μυρταῖος (pro Tyrtaeus) Atheniensis poeta cognoscitur. According to some accounts, Tyrtaeus was, just like Terpander and Thaletas, invited to Sparta to reverse a civic disaster (Ael. VH 12.50, Arist. Pol. 1360b36).} \]
\[\text{143 As is suggested by Mait Kõiv in yet unpublished A note on the dates of the poets and festivals in Archaic Sparta (a provisional title).} \]
\[\text{144 Also the date of the establishment of the Gymnopaediae by Thaletas in 688 ([Plut.] Mus. 9.1134bc) may be linked with the Second Messenian War,—according to Pausanias (4.15.1, 4.23.4) the war took place between 685 and 668. However, if Terpander had been synchronized with the Second Messenian War, one would expect some more links between him and Tyrtaeus in tradition.} \]
\[\text{We do not have Apollodorus’ exact date for Terpander. Mosshammer has suggested that he may have accepted Glaucus’ (and Hellanicus’) claim that Terpander was earlier than Archilochus, see Mosshammer 1977 and 1979:226–233, and Jacoby 1902:148.} \]
suicide at the time of that invasion, for deriving the absolute date for the first Carneia and therefore also for Terpander.

Another strand of chronology seems to be based on the synchronism between Terpander and the Second Messenian War, and is represented by the Marmor's and Eusebius' dates for the poet (645/4 and 642 respectively). Marmor and Eusebius may or may not have used Phaenias' work as their source. Hieronymus' synchronism between Terpander and Lycurgus is probably based on Terpander's numerous links with Sparta in tradition.

The relative dates for the Lesbian musicians were probably expressed clearly already in Hellanicus' Carneian victors which used the old records of the festival as a source. Hellanicus' list did not, however, include all the victors but only the ones of Lesbos. If we accept the forty-years long generation, the relative chronology of the citharodes of Lesbos may have looked like the following (see also p. 146):145

1. Terpander (ca. 645/4);
2. Cepion (the pupil of Terpander, ca. 605/4);
3. Euaenetides (ca. 565/4);
4. Pericleitus (the last Lesbian citharode who won at the Carneia, ca. 525/4);
5. Aristocleides (flourished at the time of the Persian War, ca. 485/4);
6. Phrynis (the pupil of Aristocleides, won the music contest at the Panathenaea in 446/5).

Almost all the absolute dates for Terpander lead to the first part and the middle of the seventh century, making Terpander more or less contemporary with Archilochus, Tyrtaeus, and Callinus.

8. Formulaic themes in Terpander's tradition

Typically, as with other poets, Terpander was believed to have famous ancestors: Homer, Hesiod, and perhaps also Dardanus the son of Zeus and an ancestor of the Trojan kings. Secondly, Terpander's tradition includes an oracle,—given to the Spartans about summoning the Lesbian singer to help them overcome the trouble at home. Consequently, Terpander's tradition includes the motif of healing by song: the poet

145 Counting back from Phrynis' victory at the Panathenaea in 446/5. About Hellanicus' generations see Prakken 1943:64f.
reconciled the Spartans and restored peace, delivered them from pestilence, or soothed their belligerent neighbours, by singing to the phorminx on the bank of Eurotas.

He participated in song contests, winning the music contests at the Carneian and at four successive Pythian Games. In addition to Sparta and Delphi, he travelled to Egypt, taking along the lyre of Orpheus, which was together with the latter’s severed head thrown into the sea by the Thracian women and washed ashore in Antissa. In Egypt he showed the lyre to the local priests, lying that he himself had invented the instrument. The account of Orpheus’ lyre and prophesying head could function as an initiation story in Terpander’s tradition, only it is hard to see why the fishermen should have taken the lyre to Terpander if he had not already been an established musician. Pindar’s account that Terpander invented the barbitos “when he heard at Lydian feasts the plucked strings of the lofty pectis,” could imply that the poet travelled to Lydia as well and took part (and, perhaps, performed his music) at the feasts there. On the other hand, the “δείπνα Λυδῶν” in the fragment could have been understood as the feasts of the local Lydians of Lesbos.

Terpander was, suitably for a poet exiled from his home town: at the time the Spartans were looking for “the singer of Lesbos,” he was banished from Antissa for a murder. He also quarrelled with authorities (the Spartan ephors fined him and took his cithara for adding a string to it), and had a pupil (Capion or Cepion). The inventions and innovations ascribed to Terpander include the musical instruments (the barbitos and lyre) and their improvement (the increasing of strings of the cithara either to seven or ten), a new genre (the scolia), the citharoidia (singing and accompanying oneself to the cithara), musical devices (the Mixolydian mode, several citharodic and auletic nomes), and new metres (the marked trochee and the orthios foot).

There is no clear account about the length of Terpander’s life in his tradition, but as he was believed to have taken part in four consecutive Pythian Games, his active career must have been taken to last at least twenty-five years, since originally the Games took place every eight

146 Nicom. Excerpta 1. See also p. 138.
148 See also p. 141.
149 For the references of the inventions, see p. 136 n. 1, p. 164 n. 146, p. 157 n. 115, 116, 117 and 118, p. 156 n. 110, p. 151, p. 137 n. 6, p. 153 n. 95, p. 156 n. 109, [Plut.] Mus. 6.1133bc, 28.114of, Clem. Alex. Strom. 1.78.5.
years. His death from suffocation is again quite typical for a poet and musician. Terpander’s life gave rise to two proverbs, the “Next to the singer of Lesbos” (μετὰ Λέσβου φιδόν) and an obscure “Sweet as honey and let him choke” (γλυκύμελικαὶ πνισκώ), probably referring to his voice/music and death. He was also linked with other famous people both chronologically (with Midas, Lycurgus, Orpheus, Lesches, Clonas, Thaletas, Pericleitus, Archilochus, Anacreon, and Hipponax) and in stories with Orpheus (his lyre), Dardanus, Homer and Hesiod (ancestors).

In sum, Terpander’s biographical tradition is highly formulaic and contains traditional topics such as the significant origin of a poet and his connections to other important figures; and the poet as a healer, traveller, inventor, teacher, murderer and an opponent to the authorities. There are hints about his initiation into poetry in tradition, and also about his exile, his song contests, his long life and his unusual death. His tradition also contains an oracle and a couple of proverbs. The high level of formulaic features in the tradition may indicate that by the Classical period nothing much was known about the historical poet, neither from the poems ascribed to him nor from local traditions.

9. Conclusion

The biographical tradition of Terpander centres mainly around two large topics. First, his visit to Sparta. This strand of tradition includes several elements conventional to the genre of biography, such as the oracle, sending for the poet who has been exiled from his home town for murder, restoring peace by song, the proverb, and death by accident. The whole account was probably developed and transmitted in local Spartan and Lesbian traditions,—at least some details are attested in the works of the Lesbian authors such as Hellanicus, Phaenias, and perhaps also in the poem of Sappho. Another main theme in the tradition is Terpander’s music (his nomes and their names, the chronological relations of citharodia with other genres, innovative usage of different metres in songs, development of musical instruments and new genres). Besides the local legends, the tradition is to some extent formed on the basis of early records of the winners of musical contests (the list

150 Cf. OCD 3rd ed. s.v. Pythian Games, Weil & Reinach 1900:20 n. 46.
151 See p. 139 and 147.
of the Carneian and Pythian victors), which gave the names of the
citharodes of the Lesbian school, and provided the relative dates for
poets and musicians. Also the works on the history of early music by
Classical and later authors (Glaucus, Aristotle, Aristoxenus, Heracleides,
Hieronymus of Rhodes, et al.) provided the tradition with the opinions
about the relations of Terpander (and the beginning of citharodia) and
the representatives of other poetical and musical genres, and with the
views how Terpander improved music, instruments and poetry. His own
verses were probably the source of information about some his doings,
for example about the types of songs he sang (proems, hymns, see frr.
1, 2, 3, 6 Campbell), the augmentation of the number of strings of the
cithara (fr. 6), and the metre he used. The tradition about Terpander's
connections with Sparta was to some extent supported by Terpander's
poetry as well (frr. 7, 2?, 3?).

Terpander’s tradition is of early origin. From the Classical sources
we know his home town Antissa on Lesbos (Timotheus, Pindar) and
several details of his life in Sparta: his victory at the Carneia (Hellan-
icus), account of the discord in Sparta, an oracle and the summoning
of the Lesbian singer (Demetrius of Phaleron), and the proverb (Crati-
nus, Aristotle). The latter may be referred to already by Sappho. Among
the inventions of Terpander, the Classical authors ascribed him the genre
of drinking-songs and the barbitos (Pindar), the invention or naming of
nomes (Heracleides Ponticus, Phaenias), and the augmenting of strings
of the cithara from four to seven (or more) (Aristotle, Timotheus). The
Classical authors were familiar with his dactylic (including hexametric),
elegiac and other lyric poetry, as well as his citharodic music, which they
knew he had performed at festivals, contests, and symposia (Pindar, Hel-
nicus, Glaucus, Aristotle, Heracleides). Also a quite clear conception
about the date of Terpander existed in the Classical period: he was syn-
chronized with Midas and the establishment of the first Carneian festival
(Hellanicus), and with other poets and musicians (Timotheus, Glaucus,
Phaenias), i.e. placed approximately between 700 and 650.
CHAPTER SEVEN

SAPPHO

1. The tradition

For some ancient authors Sappho was a beautiful poetess, “the Muse of Mytilene,” with bright eyes, smooth skin and “face both gay and grave.” For others she was a dark, unpleasant-looking, short, small and lustful woman, but nevertheless honoured for her wisdom and poetry.

According to tradition, she came from a well-off family, honoured and influential on Lesbos, which was forced to spend some time in exile on Sicily. Her mother’s name is reported to be Cleis; her father, who may have been of foreign origin, is provided with ten different names by tradition, Scamandronymus being the most frequently mentioned among them. Sappho had three brothers called Larichus, Erigyius (or Eurygius), and Charaxus. The latter had a long-lasting and somewhat ruinous relationship with a notorious courtesan called Rhodopis or Doricha, for which he was much reproached by his sister, and which may have led him to become a pirate in the end.

Sappho was reportedly married to Cercylas, an immensely rich businessman from Andros. They had a daughter who was named Cleis after her grandmother. Sappho had many female companions, some of them being her friends, some pupils and some lovers. She was also believed to have had relationships with many men. One of these, a particularly unhappy love-affair with young, handsome Phaon is reported to have led her, broken hearted, to leap to her death from a cliff of Leucas.

Ancient authors synchronized Sappho with the Egyptian pharaohs Mycerinus, Amasis and Psammetichus, the Lydian king Alyattes, the tyrant Pittacus of Lesbos, and with the poets Alcaeus, Anacreon, Archilochus, Stesichorus and Hipponax, placing her therefore in a time span between \textit{ca.} 2500 BC and the second part of the sixth century BC. Her absolute dates in ancient sources pin her, however, clearly to the turn of the seventh and sixth century BC.
Biographical information in Sappho’s own and in other archaic poetry

Among Sappho’s extant fragments are some which are thought to contain autobiographical material, provided that the “I” in the poems refers to herself,—something which is impossible to prove or disprove.

She mentions her name in at least three fragments, spelling it with initial “psi”: Ψάπψ’ in frs. 1, and 94, and Ψάπψ’οι in fr. 65. In most other ancient sources the name begins with “sigma.”1 G. Zuntz has explained this inconsistency in spelling by suggesting that Sappho used Ψ to denote a sound not exactly corresponding to Greek “sigma.” He proposes that Sappho’s name is of Asiatic origin, linked to god Šapôn, and “psi” in Ψάπψ’οι stands for sibilant ƶ which other Greek authors replaced by ordinary “sigma.”2

In fr. 5.1–10 she talks about her brother (probably the one called Charaxus) and his “past mistakes”: 3

1 The only exceptions are an inscription on the late sixth century hydria in Goluchow, Poland, and some Lesbian coins of Roman date, see p. 172 below. In a very corrupt fr. 213A, Sappho’s name is repeatedly mentioned and spelled with an initial “sigma,” but the name in this fragment probably belongs to the commentaries between the verses rather than to poems.

2 Zuntz 1951:12–35, see also the summary of the other proposed etymologies by different commentators in this article. Podlecki (1984:84) has suggested that there may be a link between Sappho’s family and Naucratis since the name “Sapph-” occurs as the inscription on an early potsherd found there, but does not give any references. According to Zuntz, the name Sappho (Σαπψ’οι, Σαψψ’οι) is found in many inscriptions and seems to have been quite common in Asia Minor, at least in the Alexandrian and Roman period.

3 Fr. 5 L.-P. (Poxy 7 + 2289.6). The fragments are referred to (if not stated otherwise) by Lobel & Page enumeration (1955) in this chapter. Translations are from Campbell (1982) or my own. Charaxus is mentioned also in 213A(b) Χαραξ’, (c) Χαραξαξ’, (d) Χαραξ[ι]ξου, (e) Χαρ[ι]ξου[ι] and Χαραξ[ι]. More about Sappho’s brothers is in p. 175.
(Cypris and) Nereids, grant that my brother arrive here unharmed and that everything he wishes in his heart be fulfilled, and grant too that he atone for all his past mistakes and be a joy to his friends and a bane to his enemies, and may no one ever again be a grief to us; grant that he may be willing to bring honour to his sister . . .

According to a corrupt POxy 2506, Sappho seems to have written at least one more poem about her brothers. She mentions (her) mother in one fragment, and a daughter Cleis in two fragments. In a corrupt fragment she (?) complains about (her) old age, and is confident that through her poetry she will be remembered forever.

Other names found in Sappho’s published fragments are actually mostly emendations and suggestions made by modern commentators in very fragmentary papyri which could be read in different ways. In fragment 96, for example, ἀρι...γνώτα cw has been read as a name Arignota and as an adjective “far-famed” or “infamous.” The commentators have taken the names from tradition, and this, in turn, has influenced the interpretation of the poems. However, the names possibly mentioned in Sappho’s extant poetry are Doricha the mistress of her brother; (Sappho’s companions) Anactoria, Atthis, Mnasidica, Gyrinno, Irana, Dica, Gongyla, perhaps also Abanthis, Mica, Arignota, Megara, Cydro; and (her rivals?) Andromeda, Gorgo, and Archeanassa (or Pleistodica).
In a very damaged section of fr. 98(b) Sappho mentions Mytilene (which was traditionally held as her home town), but the context of the poem is not clear. She also refers to the exile of the Cleanactidae in this fragment. Another important family in Lesbos, the house of Penthilus, is mentioned in fr. 71.

There are also some references to Sappho(?) in the works ascribed to other poets of the Archaic period. First, she is mentioned in a verse:

\[ \text{ιόπλοκ' ἄγνα μελλχόμειδε Σάπφοι.}\]

_Violet-haired, holy, sweetly-smiling Sappho._

Hephaestio, whose _Enchiridion_ is the source for the verse, does not mention its author. Modern commentators ascribe the fragment to Alcaeus.\(^9\)

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\(^9\) “Ἀτή” in standard editions, but see Parker 2006. In fragment 8 (POxy 2289 fr. 3.3) τῇς [has been read as “Ἀτής τοίς [ (Lobel, Snell); in S 476.3 SLG α’[εροχοοσατ’][ανχάφωςαγ] has been read as ἀ’γέρωςας ἄτῆς [Icn χαροεόςαγ (214C Campbell), and in Alc. fr. 256.5 (= incert. auct. 31a Voigt) ἔθηκαν κεφάλα. Lobel has suggested “Ἀτήδημαν κεφάλαγ.”

Mnasidica: 82(a) (Heph. Ench. 11.5) Μνασιδίκα.

Gyrinno: 82(a) (Heph. Ench. 11.5) Γυρίννως ...; 29 (POxy 2166(a)1231.1.3 = fr. 29(24).3 L-P) Γ’γυρίννοι (Lobel), cf. commentary in fr. 90 (POxy 2293 fr. 1(a) col. iii.15) καὶ Γυρίνν[ (L-P).

Irana: 91 (Heph. loc. cit.) π’Οἴρανα (Voigt: πο Εἴρανα) and fr. 135 (ibid. 12.2) Ὄι- 

Mica(?): 71 σεμίκα (POxy 1231 fr. 6) has also been read as μισσε Μίκα (L-P), followed by Campbell and Voigt.

Andromeda: 133(a) (Heph. Ench. 14.7) Ἀνδρόμεδα, 131 (=130 Voigt) (ibid. 7.7) Ἀνδρόμεδαν; and perhaps in 65 (POxy 1787 fr. 4.2) [... Ἀνδρόμε[δα (Hunt) but .....]δομε[ in LP, Campbell and Voigt), 68a (POxy 1787 fr. 7.5 Ἀνδρόμεδαν (Hunt), 213A(k) (POxy 2506(k) fr. 60.2) Ἀνδρόμε[δαν [ (Page); cf. comm. in 213 (POxy 2292 fr. 1(a) col. iii.27) Ἀνδρόμε[δαν (Lobel).

Archeanassa: 214 (= 103C Voigt) (POxy 2357 fr. 1.4) Ἀρχανασσα[ (Lobel), cf. commentary in fr. 213 (POxy 2292.2) Ἀρχανασσα[ (Lobel). Archeanassa may be the same person as Pleistodica, mentioned in 213.


Then there are two “dialogues”, first between Alcaeus and Sappho, and the other between Anacreon and Sappho. Alcaeus is reported to have said:

\[ \text{Θέλω τί τ’ εἴπην, ἄλλο με κωλύει} \]
\[ \text{αἴδως …} \]

I wish to say something to you, but shame prevents me …

and Sappho replied:

\[ \text{αἰδ’ ἤκιες ἐσλών ἱκίες ἔσλων ἱκίαν ἔσλων,} \]
\[ \text{και μὴ τί τ’ εἴπην γλώσσο’ ἐνύκα κάκων,} \]
\[ \text{αἴδως ἡκέν σε οὐκ ἤκιν ὄλπατ’,} \]
\[ \text{ἄλλ’ ἐκαγες ἦπερ τοῦ δικαίωτ}. \]

But if you had a desire for what is honourable or good, and your tongue were not stirring up something evil to say, shame would not cover your eyes, but you would state your claim.\(^11\)

The Peripatetic author Chamaeleon of Heraclea transmits the opinion of “some” that Anacreon had addressed a poem about a Lesbian girl to Sappho:

\[ \text{σύ iτιwΓαίρ/iΓtasubscΒιΥteηδη العاليτέμεπ/Γ;ikΒΓΘρ/ΥϊitwΓυρ/iΓtasubscΒιΥteῆ} \]
\[ \text{betatwΓάλλων/κϊiρυσ/Γ;ikΒΓΘκ/Γ;ikΒΓΘacuteμης῎Ερως} \]
\[ \text{νήνι ποικιλοσαμβάλω} \]
\[ \text{συμβαίζειν προκαλεῖται’} \]
\[ \text{ἡ δ’, ἐστὶν γάρ ἀπ’ εὐκτίτου} \]
\[ \text{Λέσβου, τὴν μὲν ἐμὴν κόμην,} \]
\[ \text{λευκή γάρ, καταμέμπεται,} \]
\[ \text{πρὸς δ’ ἄλλην τινὰ ἱπέκασε}. \]
\[ \text{12} \]

Once again golden-haired Love strikes me with his purple ball and summons me to play with the girl in the fancy sandals; but she—she comes from Lesbos with its fine cities—finds fault with my hair because it is white, and gapes after another—girl.\(^13\)

and the poetess had allegedly replied with the lines:

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\(^{12}\) Anacr. 358 PMG.

\(^{13}\) Campbell’s translation (1988).
You uttered that hymn, oh golden-throned Muse, which from the fine land of fair women the glorious old Teian man delightfully sang.

2. Ancient portraits and appearance of Sappho

The earliest extant portrait of Sappho is on a hydria from late sixth century BC: a smiling woman named ΦΣΑΘ, clad in chiton and himation, is playing the barbitos. From the Brygos Painter of Athens (ca. 480–470 BC) we have a stunning painting of Alcaeus and Sappho on a psyker found in Agrigentum. The poets are both standing, Alcaeus (inscribed Ἀλκαῖος) is wearing chiton and headband and is playing a barbitos using a plectrum. Sappho (inscribed Σαψώ), wearing chiton and himation, and a fillet in her long hair, holding a barbitos in one hand and plectrum in the other hand, is looking at him with somewhat surprised expression. The fact that she is represented here together with Alcaeus implies that the Athenian painter believed them to be contemporaries, fellow-citizens, or connected in some other way.

On another vase whose painting recalls, according to Beazley, the “Hector Painter” (440–430 BC), a woman, inscribed Σαψώ, is sitting on a chair and reading a scroll. Three young women (friends? The Muses?), standing around her are looking at her. One of them (right of Sappho) is holding a lyre.

On a large mosaic of Roman period found in Sparta, Sappho (inscribed as ΣΑΦΩ) is depicted in front view, wearing chiton, himation and headband, and Pollux (2nd c. AD) reports Mytilenean coins on which Sappho’s portrait was engraved and indeed, coins of the first, second and third century AD, on which the poetess is depicted, sometimes holding

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14 Adesp. 953 PMG.
15 Campbell’s translation. The authorship of Sappho’s poem to Anacreon was denied by Athenaeus (13.599d), and the fragment is published as a despoton in 953 PMG.
16 Richter 1965:I.71, fig. 263; Beazley 1928:8–10.
19 Richter 1965:71, 1984:196; Megaw 1964:8 and fig. 7.
the lyre, sometimes in bust have been found from Mytilene and Eresus. On some of them her name is engraved next to the picture of her.\(^{20}\)

Cicero reports that a bronze statue of Sappho by Silanion (4th c. BC) stood in the prytaneum at Syracuse in Sicily, until Verres carried it off.\(^{21}\) Neither the statue nor the description of what it looked like is extant. Another lost statue at Pergamon of Roman date carried an inscription attributed to Antipater of Thessalonica (1st BC/1st AD):

\[\text{oινομα μεν Σαπφω, τοσοον δ' ύπερφεχον αοιδαν θηλειαν, ανδρων δοσον ὁ Μαιονίδας.}\]

*My name is Sappho. I surpassed all women in song as much as Maeonides (Homer) surpassed men.*\(^{22}\)

On all the extant portraits Sappho is remarkably beautiful. This agrees with the widespread tradition that she was a very attractive woman indeed. Plato, too, calls her “beautiful Sappho,” and the Hellenistic poet Hermesianax says that her beauty was supreme among the many women of Lesbos.\(^{23}\) On the other hand, there was a strand of tradition, that she was rather ugly, dark, short and small, “like a nightingale with deformed wings enfoldings a tiny body.”\(^{24}\) This belief appears in the sources of late fourth century BC, and its origin lies probably in Athenian comedy.\(^{25}\) Maximus of Tyre brings the two opinions together suggesting that Plato (or Socrates) called her beautiful because of the beauty of her verses and not because of her looks.\(^{26}\)

### 3. Sappho’s home and family

The first extant external reference to the poetess’ home town comes from Herodotus who says that Sappho’s brother Charaxus (and therefore also Sappho) came from Mytilene on Lesbos.\(^{27}\) Aristotle agrees with

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\(^{22}\) About the authorship of the epigram, see Gabathuler 1937:35, and Gow & Page HE:31 f., 42.


\(^{26}\) Max. *Tyr.* 18.7 Trapp.

\(^{27}\) Hdt. 2.135.
Herodotus and reports that the Mytileneans held Sappho in great honour because of her wisdom and despite the fact that she was a woman.\(^{28}\) The tradition of Mytilene as Sappho’s home town continued to be strong throughout antiquity: it is mentioned by the *Marmor Parium*, the Hellenistic epigrammatist Nossis, in the *Lament for Bion* by [Moschus], by Tullius Laurea, Strabo, Pollux, and others.\(^{29}\)

Another town which claimed to be the home of Sappho was Ere- sus, mentioned by Dioscorides and Suda.\(^{30}\) Nymphodorus the historian, rationalizing the tradition, links Eresus with “the second Sappho,” a courtesan.\(^{31}\)

Thus, the tradition about Mytilene as Sappho’s home town is attested in the Classical sources, and may well be a historical fact known to biographers since Sappho’s life-time. The tradition about Eresus had developed by the second part of the third century BC at latest, possibly in connection with the formation of the tradition of the “second Sappho.”

**Sappho’s parents**

Sappho does not mention her father in the extant verses. The earliest source for his name is Herodotus who says that Sappho’s father was called Scamandronymus (“named after Scamander”).\(^{32}\) A papyrus of late second or early third century AD reports of two opinions: “some” believed that Sappho’s father was called Scamander, and “others” Scamandrony-

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\(^{28}\) Arist. *Rhet.* 1398b.


\(^{30}\) Dioscor. 18 Gow-Page; Suda s.v. Σαπφοί [1]. In 13.2.4 (618) Strabo mentions two other famous Eresians, the Peripatetic philosophers Theophrastus and Phaenias, but not Sappho. This concurs with his claim in 13.2.3 (617) that Sappho, along with Alcaeus and Pittacus, lived in Mytilene.

\(^{31}\) Nymphod. 572 F *6*, ap. Athen. 13.596ε. The manuscript reading for the source referred to by Athenaeus is νύμφης ἐν περιπλω ὀσίας, but the author of the *Voyage around Asia* is named as Nymphodorus in Athen. 13.609ε, cf. 6.265cd, 7.322a, 4.331ε. See Jacoby’s commentary *ad loc*.

\(^{32}\) Hdt. 2.135. Scamander is a river in Troas (either Menderes or Neretva) and, in mythology, the son of Oceanus and Tethys (Hes. *Th.* 337–345). According to Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 3.12.1–3), Scamander the river was the father of Teucer the ancestor of the Trojan kings, and later also the father of the two Trojan queens, of Callirhoe the wife of Tros, and of Strymo the wife of Laomedon.
This information may perhaps come from Chamaeleon (4th c. BC) who is mentioned in the papyrus as one of its sources. Aelian repeats the information saying that Sappho was a daughter of Scamandronymus, and the Suda provides a long list of his possible names: Simon, Eunomius (or Eumenus), Eerigyus (Erigyius), Ecrytus, Semus, Camon, Etarchus, and Scamandronymus. The scholium on Pindar mentions Eurygyus as her father alongside her mother Cleis. The above mentioned POxy 1800 too refers to Sappho’s mother, saying that the poetess’ daughter Cleis was named after her. The Suda records simply: “Σαπφώ / ... / μητρός δὲ Κλειδός.” No other name for her is recorded. The ancient authors may have taken her name from some local Lesbian record, or perhaps, from a poem in which Sappho explicitly mentioned Cleis as her (or the narrator’s) mother. On the other hand, her name may have been derived from the name of Sappho’s daughter Cleis, in a kind of reverse process of a common practice of naming a child after his or her grandparent.

**Sappho’s brothers, and Doricha**

Tradition says that Sappho had three brothers, Larichus, Erygium (Euryg) and Charaxus. Only the latter is mentioned in Sappho’s extant fragments. According to Athenaeus, Sappho frequently praised Larichus who was a wine-pourer in the prytaneum of Mytilene, a job which was done by handsome young noblemen. Suda lists all three brothers, Larichus, Charaxus, and Erygium. Also POxy 1800 agrees that the poetess had three brothers and probably also mentions their names. Unfortunately the state of the papyrus allows us to identify only Charaxus and Larichus with any certainty. The third name, of which only one letter has survived, is restored as Erygium on the basis of tradition.

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33 POxy. 1800 fr. 1 = Chamael. fr. 27 Wehrli, if Hunt’s emendation is correct: [πατρός δὲ Σκαμ]άνδρου, καὶ τὰ δὲ τινὰς Σκαμάνδρωνυ[μου].
34 Ael. VH 12.19. Suda s.v. Σαπφώ[1].
35 Schol. in Pi. εἰς τοὺς ἐννέα λυρικοὺς (p. 10f. Dr.): Σαπφώ Κληίδος καὶ πατρός Εύρυγιον ... .
36 POxy. 1800 fr. 1: θυγατέρα δ’ ἔσαρξ Κλείν ὁμώνυμον τῇ ἐαυτῆς μητρί.
37 Suda s.v. Σαπφώ[1].
38 The manuscript readings in the Suda are Ηερηγίου and Εύρυγιου, emended into Ἐρυγίου Hemst., Ἐρυγίου Schone and Ἐριγίου Adler. See Suda s.v. Σαπφώ[1] Adler.
39 Fr. 5 and 213A, see p. 168 n. 3.
40 Sappho fr. 203 (ap. Athen. 10.425a) with a schol. T II. 20.234.
41 Suda s.v. Σαπφώ[1].
42 POxy. 1800 fr. 1: ... ἀδελφοὺς δ’ ἔσαρξ τρεῖς, [Ερ][γιον καὶ Λά]ριχον, πρεσ-
Herodotus mentions Charaxus in connection with Rhodopis, a famous courtesan. He says that Rhodopis, Thracian by birth, was, together with the fable-writer Aesop, a slave to Iadmon of Samos. She was taken to Naukratis in Egypt by another Samian, Xanthes, and was there bought at a great price and given freedom by Charaxus,—a deed for which he was bitterly rebuked by his sister when he had returned to Mytilene (without Rhodopis). Rhodopis, now free, continued in her profession and grew wealthy so that she was able to make a significant offering of iron ox-spits to Delphi, and was even believed by some Greeks to have built a pyramid to the pharaoh Mycerinus, son of Cheops.  

Herodotus himself, however, does not agree with these Greeks, arguing that, first, as a courtesan Rhodopis could never have been rich enough to build a pyramid, and secondly, that she lived much later, at the time of the pharaoh Amasis. The offering of ox-spits by Rhodopis was, according to Athenaeus, mentioned also by Cratinus (5th c. BC) in some of his lost works.

Rhodopis is usually identified as Doricha, mentioned in some of Sappho’s fragments. Not always, however: Athenaeus, for example, reproached Herodotus for not understanding that Doricha was not the same woman who dedicated the spits at Delphi, i.e. Rhodopis dedicated the spits, but the lover of Charaxus was Doricha. The early third century BC epigrammatist Posidippus of Pella calls the mistress of Charaxus Doricha in an epigram to her (imaginary) tomb in Naukratis, and Apellus Ponticus (3rd c. BC) seems to have believed that a pyramid in Egypt was built in honour of Rhodopis. Strabo, reporting of the pyramids of Egypt, explains that one of them, smaller but more expensive as made

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43 Hdt. 2.134–135.
44 Hdt. 2.134.
46 See p. 169 n. 8. It has sometimes been suggested that Rhodopis (“Rosie”) may have been a professional name or nickname for Doricha, see Page 1955:49n. 1, Campbell 1982:15.
47 Athen. 13.596b.
48 Posid. 17 Gow–Page ap. Athen. 13.596c. Posidippus is also reported to have referred to Doricha many times in his Aesopeia (Athen. loc. cit.), Apellus 266 F 8 ap. Suda s.v. Ροδόπης ἀνάθημα. Suda refers to Herodotus in connection with Apellus’ account but in Herodotus (2.134) the pyramid was built, as told by “some Greeks,” in honour of Mycerinus at Rhodopis’ expense.
of Ethiopian black stone, was believed to have been built by the lovers of a courtesan sometimes called Rhodopis, but to Sappho known as Doricha, the mistress of the poetess’ brother Charaxus when he once, being engaged in wine-business, visited Naucratis. Strabo continues with a Cinderella-story about Rhodopis/Doricha: according to “some,” once when Doricha was bathing, an eagle snatched her sandal, carried it to Memphis, where the king was judging cases in the open air, and dropped it into the king’s lap. The king, amazed by the beauty of the shoe and by the action of the bird, ordered his servants to find a woman who owned the sandal, and when she was brought to Memphis, he married her. Later, when she died, she was honoured with the above-mentioned pyramid. Aelian repeats the story, and identifies the Egyptian king as Psammetichus. In Ovid’s Sappho to Phaon the poetess is made to complain about Charaxus, her impoverished brother who, captured by love of a courtesan spent too much money on her, and now, “reduced to poverty he roams the dark seas, and wealth he lost by evil means he now seeks by evil means,”—perhaps referring to Charaxus’ new activity as a pirate? Hesychius simply states that Rhodopis belonged in Sappho’s family. Finally, the Suda broadly repeats Herodotus’ account of Doricha the Thracian who became as slave to Iadmon, and worked as a courtesan until Charaxus ransomed and married her, and had children by her. At some point in her life, according to the Suda, she gave the offering of spits to Delphi, and a pyramid in Egypt was built in her honour.

Thus, Charaxus and the story of his and Rhodopis/Doricha’s love was known by the beginning of the fifth century, and proved to be very persistent, being retold with variations by many authors all through antiquity. It was at least partly based on Sappho’s poetry. The story functions as an aition, explaining the existence of certain ox-spits in Delphi in the 5th century and giving an account of the ‘history’ of a temple in Egypt.

49 Str. 17.1.33 (808).
50 Str. ibid.
51 Ael. VH 13.33.
53 Hesych. s.v. Ροδόπης.
54 Suda, the headwords Ροδόπης ἄναθημα (Photius gives the same text under the same headword), Αἴσωπος, Ιάδμων and Χάραξις. Under the Ροδόπης ἄναθημα the name of the owner of Doricha before Charaxus freed her, is spelled Ἀδμων.
Sappho’s husband and daughter

Sappho’s husband, Cercylas or Cercolas, mentioned only in the Suda, was believed to have been a very wealthy man from Andros. He and Sappho had, according to tradition, a daughter called Cleis. The name of the husband, Cercylas of Andros, “Prick of (the isle) of Man” probably belongs in comic context.

On the basis of the sources referred to above, it seems that ancient authors believed Sappho to have belonged to an influential and wealthy family: her father bears a significant name linked to the important hero/river of Troas, one of her brothers had the honour to pour wine at the prytaneum, the other had means to ransom a famous courtesan; Sappho herself was married to a rich foreigner. Furthermore, when she (or the whole family) was important enough to be sent to exile, they chose Syracuse as a destination of their exile perhaps because they had connections with the people in power there, and above all, she had enough spare time to compose poetry in peace and quiet (and the topics of her verses are love and festivals, instead of weaving, cooking and other such matters). Modern commentators in general share the view of Sappho’s aristocratic origin.

The names of Sappho’s parents (Scamandronymus and Cleis) and her brothers are another detail which many modern commentators have readily accepted as historically true, in some cases even without supportive reference in Sappho’s own verses. Podlecki has suggested that Sappho’s ancestor, perhaps her grandfather, might have earned distinction in the fighting around Troy’s major river Scamander. Ramsay points out that the word Σκαμ in Skam-andros is of eastern derivation mean-
ing “earth” (Skt. *ksham*, Gr. *χΘδϊν*), giving thus some support to the proposal that Sappho and her name have non-Greek origin.\(^{60}\) Also Bauer has placed Sappho’s family among influential immigrants.\(^{61}\) The information about the names of the family members of such an important poet as Sappho, especially if the family held a high position in society, was probably preserved in local tradition. On the other hand, having important parents or ancestors, or a parent with a significant name, is a commonplace in the traditions of poets but it is not easy to see why the particular names for Sappho’s family would have been invented.

### 4. Sappho and Phaon, her exile and death

There are two stories connecting Sappho with the western parts of the Greek world: the story of her death in Leucadia, and the account of her exile in Sicily.\(^{62}\) According to the former tale, Sappho fell in love with a handsome young Phaon of Mytilene, and as her love remained unanswered, she drowned herself leaping from the Leucadian cliff.\(^{63}\) Two other stories lie in the background of this account. First, the story of Phaon. According to this, Phaon was a good-hearted elderly ferryman on Lesbos who accepted money only from the rich. One day Aphrodite, disguised as an old woman, came to him and wished to cross the strait. Phaon quickly carried her over and asked for nothing. In return Aphrodite gave him an alabaster box which contained myrrh.\(^{64}\) When Phaon rubbed it on,

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Menelaus kills the Trojan hero Scamandrius son of Strophius, and 6.402: Hector’s son Scamandrius/Astyanax.

\(^{60}\) Ramsay 1904:286. See p. 168 above, and Zuntz 1951:22 n. 68.


\(^{63}\) Pliny (NH 22.20) adds that the poetess fell in love with Phaon under the influence of the root of sea-holly, a rarely-found aphrodisiac: portentosum est quod de ea [sc. erynge] traditur, radicem eius alterius sexus similitudinem referre, raro inventu, set si viris contigerit mas, amabilis fieri; ob hoc et Phaonem Lesbian illectum a Sappho.

\(^{64}\) Cf. the myth, according to which Adonis’ mother was Smyrna or Myrrha (“myrrh”) who was turned into myrrh-tree (Apollod. Bibl. 3.14.4 with Frazer’s commentaries ad loc.)
he was transformed into a most handsome young man. Many women of Lesbos fell in love with him, among them Sappho, but in the end he was caught committing adultery and was executed.\(^65\)

The other story is an old aetiological legend of Adonis, transmitted as a whole by Ptolemaeus Chennus (\textit{ca.} 100 AD) in Photius’ \textit{Library}, but referred to already by Anacreon, Stesichorus, Euripides and Praxilla.\(^66\) According to it, Aphrodite was looking for her lover Adonis who was killed by a boar, and found his body in the temple of Apollo Erithius on Cyprus. The grieving goddess told Apollo about her love for the dead youth. Apollo took her to a cliff on Leucas, and said that if she wanted to overcome her grief she had to throw herself from the cliff. Aphrodite followed his advice and was healed of love. The astonished goddess asked Apollo how it could happen, and he explained that, being a seer, he knew that every time Zeus falls in love with Hera, he comes to this place and is cured.\(^67\)

Phaon and Adonis do not have much in common in the extant versions of these stories apart from being connected with Aphrodite. Perhaps there existed other variants that linked the figures of the legends.\(^68\) Ancient authors, in fact, did sometimes confuse one with the other. According to Callimachus, Eubulus, and allegedly also Sappho herself, the dead Adonis was, for some reason or other, hidden among lettuces by Aphrodite, while Cratinus said that it was Phaon whom Aphrodite loved

\(^65\) Ael. \textit{VH} 12.18, Servius in \textit{Verg. Aen.} 3.279, Ps.-Palaeph. in \textit{Myth. Gr.} iii.2.69 Festa, Suda s.v. Φαών (on a proverb which was used of those who are both lovely and disdainful). Stat. \textit{Silv.} (5.3.154 f.) placed the story in Calchis (or Chalcis, see p. 183 n. 83 below). Cf. Wilamowitz 1913:28; and Lucian (\textit{Nav.} 43, \textit{Nec.} 361) in Chios; Ovid (\textit{Her.} 15.51 f.) linked Phaon with Sicily. About localizing the myth, see Dörrie 1975:33–36.


\(^67\) Strabo says (10.2.9 [452]) that, for the sake of averting evil, the Leucadians had an old custom at an annual sacrifice in honour of Apollo to throw from the cliff a criminal to whom they had previously fastened feathers and birds of all kinds which by their fluttering might lighten his fall. A number of men were waiting below in small fishing-boats to pick the scapegoat up (if he survived) and to take him outside their borders. In a version told by Servius, the people were hired once a year to throw themselves from the cliff into the sea (in \textit{Verg. Aen.} 3.279). See also the myth of Cephalus who leapt from the cliffs driven by love for Pterelas son of Deioneus (Str. 10.2.9 [452]). According to Apollodorus, Cephalus was the ancestor of Adonis (\textit{Bibl.} 3.14.3).

\(^68\) Phaon has been regarded as a mythical double of Adonis and the myth of Aphrodite and Adonis/Phaon as a double of the myth of Eos and Phaethon (Gerber 1997:158 n. 11, Nagy 1973:137–177), see also Williamson 1995:8, Robinson 1924:40, and Kirkwood 1974:101 f. Dörrie does not share their view, see 1975:29 f.
and who was laid out among the lettuces.⁶⁹ Although we have no extant verse where Sappho mentions Phaon, she is reported to have often sung about her love for him.⁷⁰ Adonis is referred to in her fragments (140a, 168).⁷¹ The first known author to link the stories of Phaon and the Leucadian Leap with Sappho is Menander in his comedy Leucadia.⁷² Since there were several other comedies in which the story might have been told, it is mostly believed that the fourth-century Athenian comic poets are responsible for having created, on the basis of Sappho’s poems, the story of Sappho’s love for Phaon and her leap to death from the Leucadian cliff.⁷³ This may well be true, although on the basis of extant material it is not possible to prove the exact time when the story of Sappho, Phaon and the Leucadian Leap was formed. Menander, at least, seems to refer to it as a well known legend. All we can say is that the story of Sappho’s death must have been formed according to an excellently suitable story-pattern of a poet(ess)’ rather romantic death provided by the legends of Aphrodite, Adonis and Phaon, some time before Menander, i.e. before the end of the fourth century.

There are several hints of old age in Sappho’s extant verses, which would provide an excellent basis for the tradition that the poetess lived a long life.⁷⁴ It would fit perfectly well into the general story-pattern of the life of poets, who as well as with philosophers and seers, were usually

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⁷⁰ Ps.-Palaeph. in Myth. Gr. iii.2.69 Festa. He may have, however, taken this information from tradition without ever seeing the poems of Phaon by Sappho.
⁷¹ Also in Sappho or Alcaeus fr. 24(b), and tentatively also in Sappho fr. 96.23 in which ἀ[...]νιδή/Γ;ikΒΓΘν is supplied as ἀ[...]νιδή/Γ;ikΒΓΘν by Edmonds (1928:434, fr. 86A). Cf. Dioscorides who says that Sappho is lamenting with Aphrodite as she mourns the death of Adonis (fr. 18 Gow-Page).
⁷² Menand. Λευκαδία fr. 1 K.-A.:
οὐ δὴ λέγεται πρώτη Σαπφώ τὸν ὑπέρκομπον δηρόσα Φάων’
οἰότροντι πόθῳ ἄπυψεν πέτρας
ἀπὸ τῆλεφανοῦς ἀλλὰ κατ’ εὐχήν
σήν, δέσφοτ’ ἄναξ’, εὐφημείσθω
τέμνειν πέρι Λευκάδος ἀκτῆς.
⁷⁴ See the references in p. 169 n. 6.
believed to have lived long. In Sappho’s case, however, the hints in poems were not developed any further. We have no ancient account of her doings in her later life. It may be that the story of Phaon and the poetess’ unhappy love affair which led her to commit suicide suppressed the development of the detail of Sappho’s old age in tradition.

Sappho’s exile is another detail in tradition that modern commentators are prepared to accept as a historical fact. It is explicitly mentioned, however, only in one source: according to the *Marmor Parium*, the poetess was banished from Mytilene and she sailed to Sicily at the time when the wealthy landowners (γαμήλιοι) held power in Syracuse. In addition it is known that there was a sculpture of Sappho at Syracuse up to the time of Cicero (which may, however, have been set up there in any time between the seventh and first century BC). Another detail in Sappho’s tradition which may point to her being at Syracuse is her synchronization with Stesichorus the Sicilian. Sappho’s banishment (if it ever happened) was probably caused by political reasons. It would mean that Sappho’s family took an active part in politics on Lesbos, which, again, supports the view that they held a significant position in society. We do not know, however, on whose side they might have been. Usually it is thought that Sappho was on the same side with Alcaeus and they both were exiled with other members of rebellious families by Myrsilus the Cleanactid when he came to power. Bauer, on the other hand, has proposed that Sappho and Pittacus, with their families, were immigrants, the κακοπατρίδαι mentioned in Alcaeus fr. 67 L.-P., against whom Alcaeus, who belonged to the “old” nobility, turned in the fight for power in Mytilene. He suggests that when the Cleanactidae were defeated by Alcaeus’ faction at the time when Pittacus was engaged in the war for Sigeum, Sappho and her family had to go to exile with

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76 *Marmor* Ep. 36, cit. in p. 179 n. 62. About the γαμήλιοι, Hdt. 7.155.

77 See p. 173 n. 21.

78 Suda s.v. Σαπφώ[1].

79 Although the *Marmor* does not state the reason of her exile, it would most probably have been political banishment as in the case of the poetess’ contemporary and fellow islander Alcaeus.

80 For example, Page 1955:102.

81 Bauer 1963:8 f. He supports his claim that Sappho belonged among immigrants by Sappho’s and her father’s non-Greek name, Sappho’s dark non-Greek(?) appearance, and her husband who came from Andros. See also Saake 1972:37–50.
the Cleanactids, and returned when Pittacus came to power. There is nothing in Sappho’s fragments and her biographical tradition which would give any evidence about Sappho’s political views, or explain the reason of her exile. The account of Sappho’s stay on Sicily may have, however, helped to connect her with Leucas, an island on the ship-route to Italy. Rather surprisingly, there is no account of Sappho’s tomb on Lesbos. It may be explained by the belief that she died far from home, or was lost in the sea after her leap from Leucas or some local White Cliff on Lesbos; or that the tradition that she died in a foreign land developed fairly early and become strong enough to cause her real grave to sink into oblivion, and to prevent the establishment of a fake tomb of hers.

5. Sappho’s reputation, circle, and rivals

Sappho held a twofold reputation in antiquity: on the one hand she was regarded as the best and the most brilliant female poet, equal to the Muses, but on the other hand she was mocked and reproached as the model of a frivolous married woman who had many, both male and female, lovers.

Plato mentions Sappho among “ancient wise men and women.” His respect towards the poetess was shared by Aristotle, and Dioscorides who in addition to calling the poetess the companion of Aphrodite, is the first of the long line of authors who placed Sappho among the Muses. Several authors have listed her among famous people: Antipater of Thessalonica mentions Sappho among the famous poetesses Praxilla, Moero, Anyte,
Erinna, Telesilla, Corinna, and Nossis; Dio Chrysostom with Rhodogyne the warrior-princess, Semiramis the queen, Timandra “the beautiful,” and Demonassa the law-giver. The scholiast on Aeschylus’ *Persians* does not limit the list only to remarkable women but includes famous Lesbians such as the severed head of Orpheus(!), Arion, Pittacus, and Alcaeus. Strabo calls her simply the best poetess, and Ovid states that although Sappho was small and ugly she was wise and had a name which “fills the world.” Pinytus claims Sappho’s wise words to be immortal, Lucian calls her “the delicious glory of the Lesbians” and sets her up as a paragon for “ladies of culture and learning.” Galen compares Sappho with Homer: “You have only to say the Poet and the Poetess, and everyone knows you mean Homer and Sappho.” And finally, Aelian relates a famous legend of how Solon, when his nephew sang a song of Sappho’s, liked it so much that he asked the boy to teach it to him; and when someone asked why, he replied, “So that I may learn it and die.” It is clear from the references above that Sappho was held in high esteem. This, however, did not prevent the growth of the tradition of her as an immoral and wanton bisexual woman.

The main theme in Sappho’s personal poetry is certainly love. Sometimes the poems are about love or friendship among women, Sappho mentions the names of her (if she is the “I” in the poems) girl-companions, which makes the poems very intimate and at least seemingly autobiographical. Since so many different opinions about the poetess and her friends have been built on these, it might be worth taking a look at what exactly is said about them in the extant poems and in tradition, and how the tradition has influenced the interpretation of the fragmentary lines.

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87 Antip. Thess. in *Anth. Pal.* 9.26 (Timandra being possibly the mistress of Alcibiades, see Plut. *Alcib.* 39), Dio Chrys. *Or.* 64.2. Clement compares Sappho with the poetesses Corinna, Telesilla, and Myia, and painters Irene the daughter of Cratinus, and Alexandra the daughter of Nealces (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 4.1.22), Eustathius with Erinna, Praxilla, Corinna and Charixena (Eustath. in *Il.* 326.43–327.9).

88 Str. 13.2.3 (617), Ov. *Ep. (Her.*) 15.31–40.


91 Galen. 4.771 Kühn.

92 Ael. ap Stob. *Flor.* 3.29.58; see the comparable account of Solon and Stesichorus’ poetry in Amm. Marc. (4th c. AD) 28.4.15.

93 Cf. frs. 1, 22, 31, 49, possibly also 16, 23, 48, 62, 126.

94 Cf. frs. 121, 138, 211. No names of (her) male friends are mentioned in the extant fragments.
Anactoria is mentioned in only one papyrus fragment in which she “who is not here” is yearned for and recalled as more beautiful than all the great military displays: “I would rather see her lovely walk and the bright sparkle of her face than the Lydians’ chariots and armed infantry.”96 The poem is full of love and Anactoria is certainly referred to as someone very dear to the poet.

Atthis figures in fragment 131 as a former close friend, perhaps lover, with whom the poet has had a quarrel; she has left her and gone off to Andromeda, and the poet seems to miss her bitterly:

"Ἀτθί, οἰοὶ δ’ ἐμεθέν μὲν ἀπήχθετο
φροντίαδην, ἐπὶ δ’ Ἀνδρομέδαν πότη.

(fr. 131)97

In fr. 96, written perhaps before the quarrel (if the quarrel ever happened) the poet comforts the “gentle” Atthis, saying that another girl, now in Lydia, has not forgotten her:

πόλλα δὲ ἵπποιτας ἄγάνας ἐπι-
μνάσθενο Ἀτθίδος, ἵμεροι
lexerαν ποίερεν κή όσα βρώηται. 98

All we know about Mnasidica is that she was more beautiful than “gentle” Gyrinno:

eὐμορφωτέρα Μνασίδικα τάς ἀπάλας Γυρίνως . . .

(fr. 82a)99

Gyrinno probably figures also in a corrupt papyrus commentary (fr. 90) in which the word “proud” may be associated with her, and perhaps in fr. 29.100

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96 Fr. 16 (POxy 1231 fr. 1 col. I: 13–34, ll. 15–20), Campbell’s translation. About conjectures, see Grenfell & Hunt in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri x:23 f. and Lobel-Page 1955:14 f. Campbell (1967:270) has suggested that Anactoria might be the Milesian Anagoromentioned in the Suda s.v. Σαπφώ[1].

97 Fr. 131 ap. Heph. Ench. 7.7.

98 Fr. 96 (PBerol 9722 fol. 5.16, Schubart and Wilamowitz 1907). About fr. 49, in which the codices’ ἄτοι or ἄτε has been emended as Ἀτθί purely on the basis of tradition, see Parker 2006. It has been suggested that Atthis is mentioned also in three more very corrupt papyri fragments: fr. 8-3, S 476.3 SLG, and in Alc. fr. 256.5, see p. 169 n. 8.

99 Fr. 82a in Heph. Ench. 11.5.

100 Fr. 90 (POxy 2293 fr. 1(a) col. iii 13 ff.): ἀγε[φόχου[5 . . . ἄγαν ἑχοῦ[σας γερας . . . καὶ Γυριν[. . . τας τουατας . . . ἔ]νω τὸ κάλłoς ἐπετ. [. . . με(α) δον κτλ. (L-P, followed by Campbell), see Lobel & Page 1955:68 f. Fr. 29 (POxy 2166(a) 1231.1.3): Γ]υρίνωι (Lobel).
Irana may be mentioned twice, first in fr. 91 in which she is found to be annoying or harmful:

ἀσαρτήγας οὐδάμα πισᾶνα σέθεν τύχουσαν,

and in fr. 135 where the poet addresses Irana asking her about Procne the daughter of Pandion:

tί με Πανδίουνις, Ἵμιανα, χελίδων ...

Dica in fr. 81 is encouraged, possibly in connection with some ritual, to wear garlands made of anise on her locks:

σὺ δὲ στεφάνας, ὦ Δίκα, πέριθεσθι ἑρώτων τομάς ἀνήτω συντοκεφάλων ἀπάλωμοι χέρων· εὐάνθεα τὸ πέλεταί καὶ Χάριτες μάκαιραι μᾶλλον τὸ προτερήματι, ὄστεφανότοιοι δὲ ἀποκέρασθονται.

... and you, Dica, put lovely garlands around your locks, binding together stems of anise with your soft hands; for the blessed Graces look rather on what is adorned with flowers and turn away from the ungarlanded.

In the fourth line of another poem of yearning, fr. 95, Gongyla is mentioned (Γογγυλα.). Some lines on the text go: “I get no pleasure from being above the earth, and a longing grips me to die and see the dewy, lotus-covered banks of Acheron ...” (95.10–13). Unfortunately, the text above the lines is damaged and it cannot be said with any certainty whether it is Gongyla who is missed by the poet. Gongyla may perhaps be mentioned also in fr. 22 lines 9–14 (POxy 1231 fr.15.2):

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101 Fr. 91 ap. Heph. Ench. 11.5. πώσαναν cod. A, ὄσρανα cod. I, εἰρήνα cod U, ἀπώρανα cod. K—πΩἴρανα L.—P. (see also Choerobosco’s commentary to the line ad loc.).
102 Fr. 135 (ibid. 12.2) ὄσρανα cod.—总承包 (Lobel).
103 Fr. 81 ap. Athen. 15.674e with Athenaeus’ commentary ad loc.
104 προτερήματι cod. A, προφερήν Lobel, προτόρηα Seidler, followed by Campbell.
105 Campbell’s translation.
106 Fr. 95 ap. PBerol 9722 fol. 4.4 (see Schubart & Wilamowitz 1907:15, Lobel & Page 1955:77). Campbell’s translation.
107 Page 1955:86: “It is an obvious but unverifiable conjecture that it was unsatisfied love for Gongyla which was the cause of Sappho’s despair expressed in the last more or less complete stanza; the common opinion is that she is merely the person to whom Sappho is speaking.”
Campbell translates: “I bid you, Abanthis, take (your lyre?) and sing of Gongyla, while desire once again flies around you, the lovely one—for her dress excited you when you saw it; and I rejoice: . . .”. It is a poem about love, but whether it is love between Gongyla and Abanthis, depends on rather tentative conjectures.

It has been suggested that the papyri fragments may contain four further names of Sappho’s companions. In fr. 71 (POxy 1787 fr. 6) a girl called Mica seems to be reproached (?) for having chosen the “friendship of the ladies of the house of Penthilus,” and is possibly described both “villain” and “soft-voiced.” The relationship between Sappho (?) and Mica (?) in the poem depends on whether the Penthilids were regarded as a friendly family, or as one housing rivals. There are no other references about Mica either in Sappho’s poetry or in tradition. The exceedingly fragile readings which have been suggested to be names Arignota, Megara, Cydro and Gorgo have been already discussed above (p. 169).

Another two names figure in the poems, and perhaps not in the same positive manner as in the case of the above-mentioned girls. In the
fr. 133(a) Sappho says that Andromeda has (received) a good recompense or payment: ἕχει μὲν Ἀνδρομέδα κἀλαν ὀμοίβαν. It does not necessarily follow that the piece is “sharp-toned” as claimed by Kirkwood, or that Andromeda was necessarily a rival to Sappho. In fr. 131 Andromeda is mentioned as a person for whom Atthis left Sappho, but again, without any context it is impossible to decide whether Andromeda is here mentioned as Sappho’s rival, whether in profession or in love. According to Athenaeus, Sappho derides Andromeda for her “country-clothes” in fr. 57, but the verses cited in loco are unmetrical and the context is missing, therefore we can only take the word of Athenaeus that Andromeda is mocked in the poem. In the introduction to fragment 155, Maximus Tyre, thanks to whom the fragment has come down to us and who probably had the whole poem in his possession, asserts that Sappho censures Andromeda and Gorgo who seem to have belonged to the house of Polyanax, and uses irony saying: “I wish the daughter of the house of Polyanax a very good day.” In the case of Gorgo the situation is even more vague. In fragment 213 an Archeanassa and perhaps also Gongyla are called Gorgo’s yoke-mates (σύντεκτη), possibly with pejorative meaning, as is usually presumed, but it really depends on the context which we do not have. Fragment 144 has been read μάλα δὴ κεκορῃμένος Γόργω, but even if the reading is correct, we do not know who has had enough of Gorgo and why. As we can see, the names of the girls in fragments are in many cases highly conjectural and more than often drawn from tradition.

The character of the circle of Sappho is discussed by Maximus of Tyre (2nd c. AD). He compares the preferences of Sappho and Socrates, and concludes that the only difference is that Socrates loved men, Sappho women: what Alcibiades, Charmides, and Phaedrus were to Socrates, Gyrinno, Atthis and Anactoria were to Sappho; and what the rival craftsmen (ἀντίτεκτοι) Prodicus, Gorgias, Thrasy machus and Protagoras were to him, Gorgo and Andromeda were to her. Maximus says that the poetess sometimes censured them, sometimes questioned them,
sometimes treated them with sarcasm,—just as Socrates did.\textsuperscript{117} Maximus obviously interprets Sappho's poetry and is helping to create a strand of tradition about the rival poetesses and their groups. We have, however, only one other ancient reference about the other groups: Philostratus (2nd/3rd c. AD) mentions a Pamphylian poetess Damophyla (unknown from Sappho's fragments or any other source), who was said to have been associated with Sappho, to have had girl-companions as she had, and to have composed love-poems and hymns just as Sappho did.\textsuperscript{118} Philostratus does not say anything about the nature of the relationship between Sappho and Damophyla. Somewhat surprisingly, most modern commentators have, on the basis of these two late and fairly vague sources and on unreliable readings of papyri fragments, come to the almost unanimous conclusion that the existence of rival groups and their leaders Andromeda and Gorgo is a historical fact.\textsuperscript{119} In my view, all we can say is that in later antiquity an opinion was formed that other groups of women engaged in activities similar to those of the group of Sappho existed in archaic era. Of the two sources which mention these groups and their leaders, Maximus regards Andromeda and Gorgo as rivals of Sappho only in their art,\textsuperscript{120} and Philostratus does not mention rivalry between Sappho and Damophyla at all.

It seems that Sappho's homoeroticism did not trouble early authors. Anacreon's attitude to the love between girls from Lesbos does not sound reproachful (358 PMG); Herodotus, Aristotle, Plato, and other classical authors (except the comedy-writers) do not refer to Sappho's alleged homosexuality at all. The lesbian eroticism simply does not seem to be anything that the early authors would have found disturbing.

The first sources to hint at the development of Sappho's ill-repute are the fourth-century Athenian comedies. We know that several of them

\textsuperscript{117} Max. Tyr. Or. 8.9 Trapp. He continues by saying that, just as Socrates was angry with Xanthippe for wailing when he was dying, Sappho told her daughter not to lament in the house of those who serve the Muses (Max. Tyr. Or. 18.9 Trapp = Sappho fr. 155).

\textsuperscript{118} Philostr. Vita Apoll. 1.30.


\textsuperscript{120} καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ περὶ Σωκράτης οἱ ἀντίτηχες Πρόδικος καὶ Γοργίας καὶ Θρασύμαχος καὶ Πρωτογόρας, τοῦτο τῇ Σαπφοῖ Γοργώ καὶ Άνδρομέδα (Max. Tyr. 18.9).
were titled Sappho. Although we have not enough extant material to decide how exactly she was represented in them, we can imagine that a character important enough to give a title to these most probably lewd comedies could not have been described as a modest housewife. Instead she was probably treated in these plays as a stock-character of a lascivious woman with many partners. Diphilus made the erotic poets Archilochus and Hipponax her lovers; Hermesianax added Alcaeus and Anacreon in the list of Sappho’s partners. A character in Epicrates’ comedy claims to have “learned thoroughly all the love-affairs (τὰ φωτικά’) of Sappho.” As is mentioned above, there were also comedies in which Sappho’s love for the handsome ferryman with dubious reputation may have been treated. Thus, the direct evidence, scanty as it is, indicates that comic writers often represented Sappho as a lustful woman with many male partners. The evidence does not show that the Late-Classical comic poets would have represented her as a homosexual poetess.

Nor does the tradition of the “second Sappho” have anything to do with Sappho’s alleged ill-repute caused by her homosexuality. The earliest author to refer to this tradition is the Hellenistic historian Nymphodorus, who says that there was a courtesan from Eresus who had the same name as (the poetess) Sappho, and she was famous for having loved the handsome Phaon. Later sources make the “second Sappho” a harp-player of Mytilene who threw herself from the Leucadian cliff for love of Phaon. Didymus the Grammarian is reported to have written a treatise on the topic whether Sappho was a prostitute. It seems that the tradition of the “second Sappho” developed as a reaction to the exaggerated and unpleasant image of the poetess as a woman with many male-lovers, which the comic writers had created for her.

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123 Epicr. Ἄντιλαῖς fr. 4 K.-A. Cf. the hints about the bad reputation of the Lesbians in sexual matters in Aristophanes’ comedies: the verb λεσβιακόνειν/λεσβιακός εἰν as “to suck” in the Frogs (v. 1308) and the Wasps (v. 1346). He does not mention Sappho in the context though. See also Lucian Pseudol. 28 about λεσβιακός εἰν and φωνιακός εἰν.
124 Cf. p. 181 n. 73.
125 Nymphod. 572 F *6 (= Nymphis 432 F 18) ap. Athen. 13.596e (see also p. 174 n. 31 above).
126 Suda s.v. Σαπφώ [2], and Φώνων.
127 Didym. ap Sen. Epist. 88.37. Aelian repeats the information given by Didymus that the “other” Sappho was a courtesan from Lesbos (VH 12.18).
By the Roman time Sappho’s notoriety has expanded to a new level: now she is regarded as having been not only heterosexually but also homosexually lascivious. Horace calls her *mascula Sappho*, who is singing about the girls of her city.\(^{129}\) Ovid asks: “what else did Sappho of Lesbos teach her girls but love?” and proclaims her wanton; Martial calls Sappho simply *amatrix*.\(^{130}\) In his *Heroides* Ovid makes the poetess accuse her fellow-islanders of causing her bad reputation, and to state that she no longer takes pleasure in the maids of Lesbos. Ovid also gives the names of three of these women: Anactoria, Cydro, and Atthis.\(^{131}\) It seems that, contrary to the authors of the Classical period, the sexuality in Sappho’s poetry troubled the Roman authors.\(^{132}\)

The topic continued to be popular: in a papyrus from the turn of the second and third century AD, Sappho is reported to have been accused of being irregular in her ways and a woman-lover.\(^{133}\) The Suda mentions three of her companions and friends: Atthis, Megara, and Telesippa, and adds that Sappho was falsely accused of shameful friendship with them.\(^{134}\) The Suda names also three of her pupils: Anagora of Miletus, Gongyla of Colophon, and Eunica of Salamis.\(^{135}\) And finally, in a piece of papyrus of 2nd century AD it is said that Sappho was involved with teaching the noblest girls not only from the local families but also from families in Ionia.\(^{136}\)


\(^{132}\) See also Williamson 1995:23 f.

\(^{133}\) POxy 1800 fr. 1.

\(^{134}\) Suda s.v. Σαπ/ΥϊιτωΓώ[1]. According to Zuntz, Atthis is an Asiatic name (1951:22). Telesippa might perhaps be Telesilla, the late-sixth century lyric poetess of Argos who has here become a part of Sappho’s tradition? She is mentioned with Sappho by Antipater of Thessalonica (*Anth. Pal.* 7.15) and by Clement (*Strom.* 4.122).

\(^{135}\) Suda s.v. Σαπ/ΥϊιιτωΓώ[1]. Eunica is not known from other sources. The Suda (s.v. Ὡηνυκα) and Eustathius (in *ll.* 326.43–327.9) mention also an epic poetess Erinna of Teos, Lesbos or Rhodes, who was, according to them, a friend of Sappho, and who died when she was only nineteen years old. Erinna lived, in fact, probably in the fourth century BC, and is here simply linked to the tradition of the most famous female poetess of old. In two epigrams ascribed to Sappho (157, 158 *Diehl*) Arista and Timas are mentioned. But these epigrams are probably Hellenistic imitations of Sappho’s style and the girls mentioned in them have probably nothing to do with the poetess, see Gow & Page 1965 ii:597.

\(^{136}\) PColon 5860 (Sappho fr. 214B = S 261 A SLG).
Modern opinions about the nature of the circle, and the relationship between Sappho and the girls vary extensively and have considerably changed during the last 100–150 years, owing to the changes in the attitudes towards sexuality in society. In the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, as a reaction to an image of Sappho as a lascivious bisexual woman, a theory of “Sappho’s school” appeared, according to which she was a leader of a girls’ “boarding-school” where lessons in music, poetry, and in moral and social topics were taught, and the girls were prepared for their adult life as brides, wives and mothers. Since then many different suggestions have been made about Sappho’s circle, the most influential of them, perhaps, the one according to which the girls formed a closed group, thiasos, whose main purpose was to worship Aphrodite and the Muses, and that Sappho was a priestess of Aphrodite. In Sappho’s extant fragments Aphrodite, Hera, Artemis, Apollo, Zeus, Ares, Hermes, Dionysus, and the Dioscuri are mentioned, but only in the case of fr. 2 and 140(a) (Aphrodite), and fr. 17 (Hera) can it be said with some certainty that these are ritual songs. Neither has any ancient author recorded that Sappho might have been a priestess. The lack of evidence has led to a current general opinion that Sappho’s circle consisted the choruses whose leader she was and included her young lovers, or was a fairly informal group of young women, friends of Sappho rather than formal pupils, and that although Sappho certainly composed for and performed at ritual events, the circle of Sappho does not seem to have been formally dedicated to any particular service, and

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139 Aphrodite is mentioned in frs. 2 (invocation to the goddess), 5 (a request for a safe return of a brother from a voyage), 1, 22, 33, 36, 102 (love-songs?), 44, 112 (epithalamia?), 65, 73, 90, 96, 133, 134 (uncertain context). Hera: 17 (a prayer), 9 (uncertain context). Artemis: 44, 84 (uncertain context). Apollo: 99(b), 208 (uncertain context). Zeus: 180, 166, 204, cf. 17 (uncertain context). Ares: 111 (epithalamium). Hermes: 141 (epithalamium). Dionysus: 17 (Θυώνας ἵματος [φόεντα παιδα]). Dioscuri: 68(a). Also Nymphs (124, 214A), Nereids (5), Graces (53, 103, 128), and the Muses (127, 128, 150, 187, 208) are mentioned.
140 Lardinois 1994.
the poetess did not hold any official post as a priestess. In my view, Sappho, as with many other early non-professional poets (Archilochus, for example), composed for religious ceremonies and public occasions when necessary, and she and the girls took part in the rituals on the same basis and as frequently as other women and girls in the community.

6. Sappho’s inventions and music

As with other famous poets, some inventions were ascribed to Sappho. All of them are connected with music or poetry. First, Menaechmus of Sicyon (ca. 300 BC) reports that she invented the pectis, which, he and Aristoxenus say, is the same as the magadis. Pectis is probably a harp-type triangular string-instrument of Lydian origin, which could be played without a plectrum, by simply plucking the strings with the fingers. The pectis is mentioned in fr. 156 by Sappho. Aristoxenus ascribes to her the invention of the Mixolydian mode (elsewhere believed to be invented by Terpander or Pythocleides the aulete); and the Suda reports that Sappho invented the plectrum for plucking the strings. It is possible that the Mixolydian mode became linked to Sappho because it was frequently used in her songs. We have only two late sources to describe how Sappho’s poetry was performed in antiquity, by Plutarch and Gellius: both say that it was sung at the symposium after dinner. I do not think there can be any doubt that her poems were usually sung to the accompaniment of some instrument from the start and probably throughout antiquity. In addition to the pectis, the lyre (frr. 58, 118), aulos (fr. 44), the baromos or barbitos (fr. 176), and

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142 See also Parker 1993:341–346.
143 Menaechm. 131 F 4, Aristox. fr. 98 Wehrli, both ap. Athen. 14.635e.
145 See also fr. 117 A(1) Campbell (1944A Voigt).
146 The Mixolydian mode by Sappho: Aristox. fr. 81 Wehrli ap. [Plut.] Mus. 16.1136c; Terpander as an inventor of the mode: [Plut.] Mus. 28.1140f.; and Pythocleides: ibid. 16.1136d. About the Mixolydian mode see West 1992:174 f. and 182. The plectrum: Suda s.v. Σαπ/Υϊτω Γώ[1]. Smith (in DGRBM s.v. Sappho) and Campbell (1982:7) have suggested that the Suda may have confused the plectrum with the pectis.
147 Plut. Mor. 622c, Aul. Gell. NA 19.9.3.
148 See also West 1970:307 f.
castanets (fr. 44) are mentioned in Sappho’s extant fragments,—all of
these instruments may have been used to accompany her songs.

Sappho’s main metre, the Sapphic hendecasyllable was, however,
believed to have been invented by Alcaeus, but as there was a discussion
over this matter, it seems that there were those as well who ascribed the
invention of this metre to her.\textsuperscript{149}

\begin{center}
7. The ancient editions of Sappho’s
poetry, and the treatises on her life
\end{center}

The fact that the initial “psi” in Sappho’s name in the fragments of her
poetry has survived despite the habit of other ancient authors to spell
her name with an initial “sigma” may indicate that the first written text
of her poetry was made locally, or even that Sappho herself wrote her
poems down. In the latter case, there must have existed a 7th/6th century
manuscript of Sappho’s poetry. The transcriptions of this manuscript
could have been a basis for the edition which was used by Plato, Aristotle,
and other Classical authors. A Lesbian edition based on the original
manuscript (and a similar edition of Alcaeus’ poetry) may have been used
by Callias of Mytilene (\textit{ca.} 200 BC) when he was writing his commentaries
on the (poetry of the) Lesbian poets.\textsuperscript{150} We do not know, however, any
details about this possible early manuscript or edition.\textsuperscript{151} The edition
which became canonical and was used by the majority of later authors
was made in Alexandria (possibly on the basis of the local Lesbian
dition). It probably included nine books, eight of them arranged by
metre and the ninth including the epithalamia.\textsuperscript{152}

\textsuperscript{150} Callias ap. Str. 13.2.4 (618).
\textsuperscript{151} The earliest known copies of Sappho’s poems, preserved not as citations in other
authors’ works, are frr. 58 and 65 (PColon 21351), fr. 2 on a potsherd (Ostracon Flor.),
and fr. 98 (PHAun 301), all from the third century BC and some of her poems were
included in Meleager’s \textit{Garland} (1 Gow-Page). But these were single poems not a compact
dition. About PColon 21351 see Gronewald & Daniel 2004a:1–8 and 2004b:1–4, and
West 2005b; about PHAun 301 see Vogliano 1941 and Page 1955:98, about the ostracon,
Gallavotti 1941.

\textsuperscript{152} Lobel 1925:xiii–xvii, Page 1955:112–116. All nine books are referred to by Tullius
Laurea (1 Gentili-Prato), the Suda (s.v. \textit{Σαπφώ} [1]), and possibly in POxy 1800 fr. 1;
Photius mentions the eighth book (\textit{Bibl.} 161), whose contents may be shown on POxy
2294 (Sappho fr. 103). Hephaestio (\textit{Ench.} 10.5) and M. Plotius Sacerdus (\textit{Ars gramm.}
in GL vi.546) talk about the metre of her seventh book; the fifth book is mentioned by
Caesius Bassus (\textit{De metr.} in GL vi.258), Pollux (7.73), Athenaeus (9.410e), and Atilius
Apart from the editions of her poems, occasional references in other authors’ works, and comedies on her, there were also many treatises on Sappho and her songs. Some information about them has come down to us: Chamaeleon (4th/3rd c. BC) is known to have written a book Περὶ Σαπφοῦς which presumably contained information also about her life;\(^{153}\) Didymus the grammarian, who is said to have written four thousand books, had one on the topic of whether Sappho was a prostitute;\(^{154}\) and from the turn of the second and third century AD we have a biographical papyrus on her.\(^{155}\) Also the Byzantine lexicographers mention her in several articles.\(^{156}\)

Her music was studied by Aristoxenus and Menaechmus, style and poetry by Demetrius of Phaleron, Clearchus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, [Longinus], Plutarch, and Menander the Rhetor.\(^{157}\) Sappho’s metre was investigated in Draco of Stratonicea’s book Περὶ τῶν Σαπφοῦς μέτρων, and also by Marius Victorinus and Atilius Fortunatianus.\(^{158}\)

8. The date of Sappho

Herodotus reports the opinion of “some Greeks” that Rhodopis the mistress of Sappho’s brother, and consequently a contemporary of the poetess, lived in the time of the pharaoh Mycerinus.\(^{159}\) Since Mycerinus

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Fortunatianus (Ars gramm. in GL vi.295). The second and third book’s metre is analyzed by Hephaestio (Poem. 1); and the first book is mentioned in a scholium on the metre of Pindar’s Pythian 1.

\(^{153}\) Chamael. fr. 26, 27 Wehrli. He is known to have written on several other early poets, such as Homer (fr. 14), Alcman (frs. 24, 25), Stesichorus (28, 29), Pindar (31, 32), Simonides (33–35), Anacreon (36), and Aeschylus (39–42) as well. About ancient criticism on Sappho see Dörrie 1975:19–28, Williamson 1995:34–49.

\(^{154}\) Didymus ap. Sen. Ep. 88.37. He, too, wrote on other poets’ lives, for example, on Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Bacchylides, \textit{et al.}, see OCD 3rd ed. s.v. \textit{Didymus} (1).

\(^{155}\) PÔxy 1800 fr. 1. One of the sources of this compilation is Chamaeleon, cited in the end of the scrap.

\(^{156}\) Photius’ \textit{Lexicon} s.v. ‘Ῥοδώπιδος ἀνάθημα, Σῦδα s.v. Σαπφῶ[1] and [2], s.v. Φάων, Ἡμίννα, Ῥοδώπιδος ἀνάθημα, Αἰσχοπός, Ιάδμων, and Χάριζος.


\(^{158}\) Draco in Sûda s.v. Δοῖλων; he wrote on Alcaeus’ poetry as well (Sûda, \textit{ibid.}); Mar. Vict. \textit{Ars gramm.} in GL vi.161, Atil. Fort. \textit{Ars gramm.} GL vi.295.

\(^{159}\) Hdt. 2.134. Herodotus synchronizes Rhodopis (and consequently Charaxus and Sappho) also with Aesop the fable-teller. Plutarch (\textit{Mor.} 152c) synchronizes Aesop with Solon (i.e. with the Seven Sages), Diogenes Laertius (1.72) with Chilon (another Sage)
belonged in the fourth dynasty (*ca. 2613–2498 BC*) this date is certainly too early for Sappho, as Herodotus himself asserts.\(^{160}\)

He provides also another synchronism for Rhodopis (and Sappho): the famous courtesan had lived in the time of Amasis.\(^{161}\) Amasis, or Ahmose II, the last great pharaoh of Egypt, was probably the fifth ruler in the 26th dynasty, and Eusebius dates his reign to Ol. 53.2 (567/6)—Ol. 63.4 (525/4).\(^{162}\) It is probable that behind Herodotus’ synchronism Sappho—Amasis there lies the opinion that the Seven Sages lived at the time of Croesus, whom Herodotus synchronizes with Amasis the Egyptian.\(^{163}\) Among the Sages belonged Pittacus of Mytilene whom Alcaeus is reported to have reviled in his poetry for political reasons.\(^{164}\) Alcaeus, again, was firmly believed to have been contemporary to Sappho: according to Aristotle, Alcaeus had addressed one of his poems (fr. 137) to her, who also replied to him.\(^{165}\)

Aelian, in turn, synchronizes Rhodopis (and therefore also Sappho) with the pharaoh Psammetichus, while Athenaeus places Sappho loosely within the Lydian king Alyattes’ rule.\(^{166}\) Psammetichus (or Psamatik) I reigned, according to Eusebius, from Ol. 30.3 (658) to Ol. 41.2 (615), and Psammetichus II from Ol. 43.1 (608) to Ol. 45.4 (597).\(^{167}\) Eusebius and says that Aesop’s *akme* was in Ol. 52 (572/69) when Chilon was already an old man. The *Suda* in s.v. Αἴσωπος (alphaiota, 334) synchronizes Aesop with Croesus and gives Ol. 40 (620/17) as his *akme* and Ol. 54 (564/1) as the date of his death, and mentions him also in connection of Rhodopis, Charaxus and Sappho.

\(^{160}\) Hdt. *ibid*. About Micerinus (or rather Menkaure) see CAH\(^2\) i.2:169, 176, 995.

\(^{161}\) Or Ol. 53.3 (566/5)—Ol. 64.1 (524/3) in the Armenian version. See CAH\(^1\) iii:302 ff., CAH\(^2\) iii.2: 414, 708 ff., 719 and OCD 3rd ed. s.v. *Amasis* who both give 570–526 BC as the period of Amasis’ reign.

\(^{162}\) See Solon’s visits to Amasis and Croesus in Hdt. 1.30–33; Bias of Priene and Pittacus of Mytilene and Croesus in 1.27, the Seven Sages and Croesus in 1.28.


\(^{164}\) Arist. *Rhet.* 1367a with Stephanus’ schol. *ad loc*. Cf. also the 5th century vase painting in which Sappho and Alcaeus are represented together (see p. 172 above), and Alcaeus’ poem (fr. 384) allegedly about Sappho (p. 170 above). About Sappho’s, Alcaeus’ and Pittacus’ date, see Mosshammer 1979:246–254 and Jacoby 1902:156–165.

\(^{165}\) Ael. *VH* 13.33, Athen. 13.599c. Aelian does not mention Sappho in the passage, but his source seems to be Strabo who tells the same story and links Rhodopis with Sappho in 17.1.33 (808).

\(^{166}\) The Armenian version gives Ol. 30.4 (657)—Ol. 41.3 (613) for Psammetichus I, and Ol. 43.2 (606)—Ol. 47.2 (591) to Psammetichus II. The modern dates for the pharaohs are
regarded Psammetichus II as contemporary to Alyattes, giving the latter the dates Ol.42.1 (611) to Ol.54.2 (563). In the time of Alyattes he located, probably following Apollodorus, the Seven Sages (incl. Pittacus), and also Sappho and Alcaeus. The *Marmor Parium*’s statement that Sappho went into exile between 604/3 and 596/5, at the time when Critias I was an archon in Athens, leads approximately to the same period and is probably based on the same synchronisms between Alyattes-Pittacus, Pittacus-Alcaeus, and Alcaeus-Sappho. Alcaeus and Sappho are synchronized with Pittacus also in Strabo and the Suda, the latter adding them Stesichorus and locating the synchronism in Ol.42 (612/608). It is the same date as the one he gives for Pittacus’ victory over Melanchrus the tyrant of Mytilene, and over the Athenian commander Phrynon at the war for Sigeum, regarding this date obviously as Pittacus’ akme. Stesichorus’ date was usually expressed by the synchronism Stesichorus’ death—Simonides’ birth, which the Suda (following Apollodorus) placed in Ol.56 (556/2). In Ol.42 (Sappho’s, Alcaeus’ and Pittacus’ akme in the Suda) Stesichorus would be twenty years old, and therefore conveniently contemporary to the Lesbians.

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168 The Eusebian date for Sappho and Alcaeus is Ol.45.1 (600) or Ol.46.2 (596) in the Armenian version: *Sappho et Alcaeus poetae clarae habebuntur.* His date for Pittacus is Ol.43.2 (607): *Pittacus Mytileneus, qui de septem sapientibus fuit, cum Frynone Atheniensi Olympionice congressus eum interfecit,*—cf. Plut. *Mor.* 858ab, Str. 13.1.38 (599–600) (= Alc. fr. 428A), and the Suda s.v. Πιττακός. The Eusebian date for Solon is Ol.46.3 (594); for Thales: Ol.48.3 (586); Ol.50.2 (579) is for the naming of the Seven Sages (*Septem sapientes appellati*); and Stesichorus’ date is Ol.42.1 (611). Apollodorus, the most likely source of Eusebius’ dates, probably took into account also the information about the war between the Athenians and Mytileneans for Sigeum in which Alcaeus lost his shield, Pittacus killed the Athenian commander Phrynon, and Periander of Corinth (another Sage) served as an arbitrator, see Alc. fr. 428, Hdt. 5.94–95 and Suda s.v. Πιττακός. Cf. Mosshammer 1979:246–254 and Jacoby 1902:157–165 with his commentary on 239 F 36 FGrHist.

169 *Marmor* Ep. 36, *cit.* in p. 179 n. 62. The date in the *Marmor* is lost in the lacuna and the date of Critias’ archonship is not known from other sources. The dates in the Ep. 35 and Ep. 37 show, however, that Sappho’s exile must have taken place between 604/3 and 591/0, and the years 594/5 to 592/1 can be excluded as already associated with other archons’ names, see Jacoby 1904a:165, Mosshammer 1979:250.

170 Suda s.v. *Σαπφώ*[1]: … γεγονωκα τα την μη Ὀλυμπιάδα, δε και Ἀλκαῖος ἦν και Στηφάιος και Πιττακός.

171 Suda s.v. Πιττακός. The small discrepancy between the Suda’s and *Marmor*’s dates could be explained, perhaps, with the confusion about the dates of the two Psammetichus,—the Suda synchronizing Pittacus (and Sappho and Alcaeus) with the end of the reign of Psammetichus I, and the *Marmor* with the beginning of Psammetichus II?

172 For more about Stesichorus’ date see p. 79.
synchronism was supported by the tradition that Sappho visited Stesichorus’ home-land Sicily.\footnote{Suda s.v. Σαπφοί[1], see Mosshammer 1979:221.}

Therefore, in general we have three ancient dates for Sappho, all correlated with the pharaohs, presumably because of Rhodopis’ Egyptian connection:

1. The extreme synchronism with Mycerinus, reported by Herodotus, which places Sappho in \textit{ca.} 2500 BC.
2. The synchronism with Psammetichus (either the First or the Second) in the turn of the seventh and sixth century, which is another way of saying that Sappho lived in the time of Alyattes, the Seven Sages, and Alcaeus. This synchronism is expressed by the \textit{Marmor Parium}, Strabo, Ovid, Athenaeus, Aelian, Eusebius, and the Suda.

\section*{9. Conclusions}

Sappho’s biographical tradition has to a great extent grown around the details found in her poems. The tradition was formed early and continued to develop throughout antiquity. By the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century BC, Sappho as a poet and musician was known widely and well enough to be represented on vases with her name inscribed next to the portrait. Classical authors had a clear understanding about her origin and family: they knew that she was a native of Mytilene on Lesbos, that her father was called Scamandronymus, and that her brother Charaxus had a relationship with a courtesan Rhodopis. The names of her second brother Larichus, Sappho’s daughter Cleis, and most of the names of the poetess’ female companions must have been known to Classical authors as well since they are mentioned or reported
to have been mentioned in Sappho’s verses, but we do not know whether any stories were told in connection with these names yet. At least one invention, the Mixolydian mode, is ascribed to Sappho by a Classical author. On the basis of the story of Rhodopis, she was synchronized with the Egyptian pharaohs Mycerinus and Amasis, and also the synchronism Sappho-Alcaeus-Pittacus (drawn possibly from the local tradition of Lesbos) was known by that time. The fourth century Attic comic writers are probably responsible for creating the strand of tradition about Sappho as an ugly woman who had many affairs with men (including Archilochus and Hipponax), and who died because of love for young Phaon. By the Roman time the tradition of Sappho’s bad reputation had grown to the extent that she was scornfully called a “woman-lover.” As a reaction the tradition of the “second” Sappho, a prostitute of Eresus was developed.

Other new details mentioned in Hellenistic and later sources are some of the names of Sappho’s companions (taken perhaps from her lost poems), some of whom are specified as her pupils. We also hear of another eight further names for Sappho’s father in later sources. In addition we hear about her husband Cercylas. The latter detail may too have its origin in Attic comedies.

Thus we can conclude that Sappho’s biographical tradition began to develop already in the Archaic period and continued to develop throughout antiquity. The essential features concerning her life were known to the authors of the Classical period, and later only the details and the stories about her reputation were added. Sappho’s biographical tradition is typical of a poet, and it was formed around the hints found in her poetry, which were arranged and developed further according to the traditional formulaic conventions and story-patterns. The makers of the tradition seem to have, however, completely ignored the hints about her old age in the poems. This potential topic, which, in general, is very typical to the biographical traditions of poets, was probably suppressed by the development of the strong tradition that Sappho committed suicide by leaping from a cliff when a fairly young woman. This may also explain the lack of information about any grave of Sappho. It is sometimes very difficult to distinguish between conventional themes and possible historical events in Sappho’s case: for example, her link with Alcaeus and the exile to Sicily may well be historical facts. At the same time, her association with Anacreon is most probably a formulaic connection between two famous poets, just as her death in Leucas and possibly also her inventions and pupils are conventional topics in the tradition.
In a way, Sappho’s tradition has continued to develop even in the recent past, as modern commentators while examining the papyri found in Egypt have supplied letters and sometimes words in them. In this way, for example, they have helped to fix the names of Sappho’s friends known from a very few ancient sources in the fragments of Sappho’s poetry.
Having studied the traditions about poets’ lives in detail, we may now make some conclusions about how, when and by whom these traditions, and biographical traditions of poets in general, were formed.

1. Sources

The identifiable sources which provide information are local traditions about the poets’ families and lives, poets’ own verses, some specific sources (lists of victors, for example), traditions formed by particular groups, literary works, writings of chronographers, grammarians, musicologists, etc. In some cases, a tradition of one poet’s life has influenced the formation of the tradition about another poet.\(^1\)

It is only natural that people took interest in the lives of the important poets of their society. The poems were preserved in memory and writing, and stories, both true and invented, were told about them. Gradually the local traditions were evolved with all the different strands and variations. Typical information transmitted by local traditions is the details concerned with the poet’s origin, family and ancestors (e.g. the Cyme tradition about Hesiod’s origin), the stories which link the poet to a particular place and people (e.g. Terpander’s deeds in Sparta), and the details or legends about the circumstances of the poet’s death and his cult (e.g. the Parian account about Archilochus’ death in a sea battle against the Naxians, and the description of the establishment of his cult).\(^2\) Also some inscriptions provide (true or fictional) information about the poets, e.g.

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\(^1\) About the sources of biographical traditions in general see also Fairweather 1974:232–256. She has included also Classical and later poets in her study.

\(^2\) Cf. also the Spartan and Athenian traditions of Tyrtaeus (Suda s.v. Τυρταῖος, Pl. *Leges* 1.629a–b and schol. *ad loc.*, etc.), Corinthian and Lesbian traditions of the escape of Arion of Methymna (Hdt. 1.24), the numerous local strands in Homer’s tradition (see the biographies of Homer referred to in p. 9 n. 5), and Jacoby 1933. There is no way to say with any certainty whether or which of the details in local traditions are historically correct or not.
the Glaucus and Docimus’ inscriptions, and Mnesiepes’ and Sosthenes’ Inscriptions in Archilochus’ tradition, IG 7.4240c which includes the name of Hesiod’s father Dios, and IG 14.1213 with Stesichorus’ home town and his father’s name.

Another, and the most frequently used source is the poet’s own poetry. Anything that the poet said in his or her verses, especially if they used the first person statements, could have been linked to their life, and so the hints and details found in the poems were often used and developed into elaborate stories of the poet’s origin, family members, life-style and activities. The information drawn from the poems gives to the particular tradition its individual character, and forms the basis for most of the major stories. They often give grounds also for speculations about the poet’s date. Not all topics mentioned by the poets, however, entered the biographical traditions or were developed any further. For example, there are no stories of drunken Archilochus, or about Hesiod’s life as a shepherd apart from the account that he was tending the sheep when he met the Muses; Hipponax is never presented as a lame pharmakos even though several fragments of his poetry, written in a “lame” iambic metre, describe the ritual of a scapegoat, nor have we accounts of Sappho’s wedding or marriage, her old age, or of the location of her grave, which could have easily been developed on the basis of her verses.

Specific sources such as lists of victors were used at least in the case of Terpander and other Lesbian musicians, and possibly also in Archilochus’ tradition (cf. the account that he won the contest for the hymn to Demeter in Paros).

The biographical traditions were shaped and transmitted by people who were involved with the performance of poetry and music, the audience who listened to the performances, the scholars who studied different aspects of poets’ creation, and groups who wished for one reason or another to link themselves with the poet. Sometimes such groups can be identified: the Pythagoreans, for example, had an influential role in shaping Hesiod’s and Stesichorus’ traditions (cf. especially the story of Hesiod’s death/Stesichorus’ birth, the details of Stesichorus’ brothers, and the story of Autoleon/Leonymus’ journey to the White Island); the performers and the audience of iambus and comedy developed considerably some aspects in Sappho’s, Archilochus’ and Hipponax’ traditions (e.g. the exaggeration of their lascivious or harsh character), the circle

3 For example the tradition of Archilochus and the daughters of Lycambe, or the story of Hesiod’s initiation.
of Delphian priests may have had some influence on Archilochus’ tradition (cf. the oracles in his tradition). Early musicologists, such as Glau- cus of Rhegium and Aristoxenus of Tarentum, studied Terpander’s, Sappho’s and others’ music and innovations in it, philosophers, grammarians and chronographers were interested in the works and life of all poets. The fiction writers too, such as Lucian, had their part to play in the process of formation and transmission of traditions. One biographical tradition could influence another, as is clearly visible in the case of Hipponax whose tradition adopted details from the Lycambes story of Archilochus’ tradition.

2. Time

The extant biographies, more or less continuous, of the poets discussed in this work, belong to the Hellenistic period. These are the Mnesiepes’ and Sosthenes’ Inscriptions on Archilochus, and Sappho’s “biographical” papyrus POxy 1800. From an earlier period we know that Theagenes of Rhegium (6th c. BC) wrote a treatise on Homer, Aristotle had works on poets, and Chamaeleon (4th/3rd c. BC) on Sappho, Alcman, Stesichorus, Homer, Pindar, Anacreon and Aeschylus. These treatises have not survived. The majority of the information we have about the poets, comes from the scattered references in the works of ancient authors, and therefore we cannot expect the direct sources about the traditions to reach back much further than the end of the sixth and beginning of the fifth century BC. The fifth-century authors, however, frequently refer to the details and stories about the poets as well known facts. This implies that the core of many stories had been developed and were well known already by the beginning of the Classical period. In Hesiod’s case, the story of his fathering of Stesichorus, his death according to a misunderstood oracle, and the removal of his bones from Locris to Orchomenus were referred to by Pindar, Thucydides and by the author of the (Pythagorean) Peploi.

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4 The Homerids shaped Homer’s tradition (Pi. in Eustath. in Il. 4.17, Acusil. and Hellan. (4 F 20) in Harpocr. Όμηροίδαι, Isocr. Hel. 65, Pl. Rep. 599e, cf. also Pi. N. 2.1–5, Pl. Ion 530d). See also Burkert 1979, West 1999, Graziosi 2002: 201 ff., etc. The Pythagoreans and Neoplatonists wrote about Pythagoras, see for example Iamblichus’ De Vita Pythagorica liber and Porphyry’s De Vita Pythagorae.

5 See the references to Stesichorus, Pythagoras and Homer in his VH 15 and 20-22.

(6th c. BC?), and his father Dios and the rest of his ancestors were represented in a detailed early fifth-century genealogy which took account of his Cymean origin and synchronicity with Homer. Since the synchronism Hesiod-Homer is most probably based on the story of their encounter at a song-contest, the story of their competition at Chalcis must have been known by the beginning of the Classical period, possibly from the work of Lesches (7th c. BC?), supported by Hesiod’s own lines in the Opera (646–662, see also a parallel reading which mentions Homer). Another version of the story known from verses ascribed to Hesiod (fr. 357 MW), located the contest in Delos. We do not know the date of this fragment, but as it seems to be connected with the creation of the Hymn to Apollo, which Thucydides ascribed to Homer, the version of the story of the contest on Delos too may have been known by the beginning of the fifth century. Also Hesiod’s authorship of the Opera and Theogony appears to be strongly established by the fifth century, as Simonides calls Hesiod “a gardener” and says that he told legends of gods and heroes (cf. also Aristophanes Ran. 1030).

Also Homer’s tradition is of very early origin: in addition to the story of the contest, many accounts of his life were known to the early Classical authors. Anaximenes, Damastes, Simonides and Thucydides mention Chios as his home town, Pindar calls Homer both Chian and Smyrnian, Bacchylides says that Homer came from Ios, for Stesimbratus he was a Smyrman, for Hippias a Cymean, and for Callicles a Salaminian. It was known that he was blind (Thucydides), that his father was Maion (Hel- lanicus, Stesimbratus), Dmasagoras (Callicles) or a river Meles (Eugaeon, Critias), that he gave the Cypria as a dowry to his son-in-law Stasinus (Pindar), and that there were the Homerids on Chios who were named after the poet (Pindar, Hellanicus, Acusilaus). Heraclitus refers to his death and criticizes him, as did Xenophanes and Stesimbratus as well.

Different accounts of his time and his genealogies were in circulation in the fifth century. It was also believed at that time that he composed the

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8 Anaxim. 72 F 30, Damast. fr. 11 Fowler, Simon. (or Semonides of Amorgus, see Campbell 1991:510 n. 1) eleg. 8 Campbell, Thuc. 3.104.1–6, Pi. fr. 264 Sn.-M., Bacch. fr. 48 Bl., Stesimbr. 107 F 22, Hipp. 6 F 13, Callicl. 758 F 13.
9 Thuc. 3.104.1–6, Hellan. 4 F 6, Stesimbr. 107 F 22, Callicl. 758 F 13, Eug. fr. 2 Fowler, Crit. in Philostr. VS 490, Pi. 265 Sn.-M., N 2.1–5 and ap. Eustath. in Il. 4.17, Acusil. and Hellan. 4 F 20.
10 Heracl. 22 B 22,42,56, Xenoph. 21 B 11,12 and in Diog. L. 9.18, Stesimbr. ap Pl. Ion 550cd.
11 Damastes 5 F 11, Hellan. 4 F 5, Pherec. 3 F 167, Gorgias 82 B 25 DK, Hdt. 2.53, Xenoph. in Gell. NA 3.11.
The formation of biographical traditions

The Baid (Callinus) and Margites (Archilochus(?), Cratinus, Aristotle), and the Cypria (Pindar), although the latter’s ascription to Homer was debated (Herodotus), just as there were doubts about his authorship of the Odyssey and Iliad (believed to be Homer’s by Heraclitus(?), Pindar and Herodotus, and questioned by Hellanicus).¹²

In Stesichorus’ tradition the pre- and early-Classical elements are his links with the Pythagoreans (cf. the above-mentioned connection with Hesiod known perhaps from Pythagorean work, and the reports that Stesichorus’ brothers belonged in their circle), his Himerean origin from an oikistes Euclides (mentioned by Thucydides), and the story of his temporary blindness and the palinode (known to Isocrates and Plato, and based probably on his own poetry). Stesichorus’ poetry was well enough known to fifth-century Athenian audiences for Aristophanes to splice Stesichorean quotations deliberately (and recognizably to the listener) with his own verses in his comedies.

Also Archilochus’ poetry appears to have been well known by the fifth century, as his bad reputation as a pathetic slanderer (based on his own poetry) is mentioned by Pindar and Critias. He too was criticized by Heraclitus. There may have been some stories about his performances in circulation, as Pindar quotes Archilochus’ “Tenella”-song which was (in later sources) linked to the poet’s victory at the contest for the Hymn to Demeter on Paros, or to his performance of a Hymn to Heracles at Olympia. The synchronism between him and Gyges was firmly established by the time of Herodotus; his connection with the colonization of Thasos was probably known to Xanthus and Critias (mid-fifth century). His initiation to poetry, although first related in detail in a Hellenistic inscription, must have been known in the first part of the fifth century, as it is depicted on a vase from ca. 450 BC. Several other details concerning Archilochus in Hellenistic inscriptions (references to his father’s and Lycambes’ visit to Delphi, the Delphic oracles in the tradition, the trouble over “too iambic” verses at the Dionysiac festival, and his death in the (sea-)battle with the Naxians), were drawn from earlier sources referred to by name (Demeas) or as “they say.”¹³

In the case of Hipponax, the earliest extant sources are available from a somewhat later time than in the case of other poets, but it is clear

¹³ About Archilochus see the discussion and references in chapter 108.
that the two main topics of his tradition, his connection to choliambic verse and the story of Boupalus, were established by the second part of the fifth century, as Aristophanes quotes (or misquotes) his choliambic verse and mentions Boupalus who should be silenced by beating (Ran. 659 ff., Lys. 360 f.). Aristophanes may have also been aware of some details of the family of Chian sculptors to which Boupalus and Athenis belonged.\(^4\)

Terpander’s reputation as a preeminent musician (and perhaps his connections with Sparta, on which his fame was largely based) may have been mentioned by Sappho, and his reputation as innovator of music was firmly established by Pindar’s time. Hellanicus knew about his victory at the Carneian festival in Sparta. Therefore, we have hints that both main topics in Terpander’s tradition, his activities in Sparta and his musical inventions, had been formed by the Classical period.\(^5\)

Herodotus refers to “some of the Greeks” when he talks about Rhodopis, a rich courtesan and mistress of Sappho’s brother Charaxus. He also knows that Sappho’s home was in Mytilene and her father was called Scamandronymus. Another detail in Sappho’s tradition, which may have been known by the fifth century (perhaps as an expansion from Sappho’s verses) is the story of her leap from the Leucadian cliff, possibly referred to by Anacreon and Euripides. There are also some details which, although known from later sources, are quite plausibly drawn from an earlier tradition: the oracles in Archilochus’ tradition; the information that Stesichorus’ name was originally Tisias and he had a brother called Helianax; also the story of Hipponax and Lambe was probably known well before Choeroboscus who provides an account of it.

The character of the references by Classical authors to the lives of the poets indicates that the readers were fully aware of the stories. Therefore, the main stories must have been well established some time before they are first mentioned in the extant sources. The number of references and the fact that the same details are often referred to by different sources and in different variations show that not all of them were the inventions of the authors of our sources. It is not unreasonable to assume that the biographical traditions of early poets began to develop in their life time or at least very soon after their death. We have later examples of the process

\(^{14}\) Aristoph. Av. 574 with sch. ad loc. There is also a possibility that a (continuous?) tradition of Hipponax existed in Ephesus up to Callimachus’ time, which transmitted his poetry and possibly also accounts of his life, see p. 123.

\(^{15}\) Chapter 63.
of formation of legends during the poets’ life time: Xenophanes called his contemporary Simonides of Ceos a niggard (κιμβιτξ), and Pindar’s complaint of contemporary poets’ love for money was understood as a hint at Simonides’ avarice. Anacreon is represented wearing a woman’s head-dress on a contemporary vase by the Cleophrades Painter (ca. 520 BC), Aristophanes poked fun at Euripides in the Acharnians and Thesmophoriazusae during his lifetime and in the Frogs only a year after the poet’s death, and Ion of Chios told about his witty friend Sophocles’ fondness for boys in his Sojournings. In an environment where not many written texts were around and the poems were performed and transmitted mainly orally, the link between a particular poem and a poet would hardly have persisted, if people had become interested in poets’ lives and started to invent the stories about them only long after their death.

In the Hellenistic period and later the already existing stories continued to develop further and, in accordance with already established conventions they were elaborated and enriched with new details: for example, the tyrant against whom Stesichorus warned the Himereans became Gelon instead of Phalaris, the Lycambes story in Archilochus’ tradition was enriched with different accounts about the girls’ fate. Sometimes the commentators attempted to rationalize the stories which seemed unsuitable or incredible to them: the stories of Sappho’s bad reputation induced, for example, the rise of a legend of the second Sappho the courtesan, and Hesiod’s own description of his initiation to song was degraded into an allegoric dream. The topics in which the Post- Classical authors seem to have taken special and continuous interest are the chronological speculations on poets’ dates, and the issues which followed from the growing scope of research done on the poets’ works which led them, for example, to associate particular poets with the “invention” of particular metres and ascribe to them many innovations in poetry and music. We also usually hear of the exile of a poet from later sources.

16 Xenoph. (21 B 21 DK) ap. schol. Aristoph. Pax 695, Pi. I 2.6 ff. with the scholia ad loc. See also Bell 1978:34 f. Aristophanes (Pax 695) accused Simonides of the same sin not long after the poet’s death.
18 Cf. the numerous Homeroi in the Vita Hesiodi 3,—an attempt to reconcile the different speculations on Homer’s date, on the authorship of his poems, and on the tradition of his synchronicity with Hesiod (whom the author of the Vita places four hundred years later than Homer).
19 See, for example, the long list of various inventions in Plin. NH 7.57.
3. Formulaic themes

As is apparent from the previous chapters, the biographical traditions of poets contain numerous formulaic themes which are repeated in small variations from tradition to tradition.

One of the traditional elements is certainly the significant (divine or otherwise important) origin. The shared lineage of Hesiod and Homer includes gods (Poseidon, Apollo), a Titan (Atlas), nymphs (Calliope, Methione), poets (Orpheus, Linus, Melanopus), and an oikistes (Chariphemus); Homer’s separate genealogies add the nymph Cretheis, a river-god Meles, mythological/epic figures Polycaste and Telemachus, an Ietan daimon, and a poet Musaeus.\(^{20}\) Stesichorus was believed to be either the son of Hesiod or Euclides the founder of Himera, Archilochus’ father was Telesicles the oikistes of Thasos, Terpander was allegedly a descendant of either Hesiod or Homer. Significant origin is very characteristic in the biographies of people of other walks of life too: many heroes have divine ancestors such as Zeus (the ancestor of the Atreids, Heracles, Perseus, Sarpedon, Agenor, Ajax, Peirithous, etc.), Poseidon (allegedly a father of Theseus, and grandfather of Neleus and Pelias), Aphrodite (Aeneas’ mother), Nereids and Nymphs (Achilles, Jason).\(^{21}\) Pythagoras’ ancestors include Zeus and Apollo, the seer Teiresias is the son of a nymph Chariclo, the seer Melampus’ grandfather is Abas a diviner and “the first man to discover that illnesses could be cured by drugs and purification,” and another seer Mopsus’ forefathers are Apollo and the above mentioned Teiresias.\(^{22}\) Significant origin, of course, adds a status and authority to the person, whether a poet, a seer or a hero.

The poetic, musical, or mantic initiation, as a defining event in the life of a poet or seer, is also a recurring theme in their biographical traditions. Hesiod was initiated into song by the Muses on Helicon, Stesichorus when a nightingale sang while sitting on his lips, and Archilochus when he exchanged a cow for the Muses’ lyre. Hipponax became inspired when he met Iambe, and Terpander, perhaps, when he received Orpheus’ lyre. Aeschylus was said to have started to write tragedies after he had met

\(^{20}\) For Homer’s references see his biographies (see p. 9 n. 5).
Dionysus in a dream. Melampus learned the language of birds and the prediction of the future from the snakes who licked his ears and purified them. Helenus and Cassandra too acquired the gift of prophecy with the help of snakes, or according to another account, Helenus learned the art of prophecy from a Thracian soothsayer, and Cassandra received it from Apollo. Sometimes the initiation is linked to the loss of sight as in the case of Homer who received the gift of poetry when Thetis and the Muses took pity on him after he became blinded by the dazzle of Achilles’ armour, and in the case of Teiresias to whom the prophetic powers were given as a compensation for the loss of sight either by Athena or Zeus. Blindness, however, is not a very prominent feature in the traditions of poets. Apart from Homer only Thamyris and Stesichorus lost their sight. They were, however, blinded not to balance the initiation but as a punishment for their mistakes. The gift of poetry and music could sometimes also be removed from a poet, cf. the stories of Marsyas and Thamyris who lost their skill because of arrogance, and Cassandra, of whose prophecies Apollo took away the power to convince after she had refused to share his bed with him.

Next, a frequent detail in the biographical traditions is the poet’s (seer’s etc.) troublesome relationship with authorities: Hesiod’s quarrel with greedy and unjust kings was known from his own verses and continued to be referred to; Stesichorus was reported to have been in opposition to Sicilian tyrants; Archilochus and Hipponax fell out with the Parian and Ephesian authorities respectively because of their indecent and harsh verses; Terpander was fined by the Spartan ephors for adding a string to his cithara; Sappho’s and Alcaeus’ families had problems with the rulers of

\[23\] Paus. 1.21.3.
\[24\] Apollon. 1.65–68; Apollod. Bibl. 1.9.11.
\[26\] Homer: *Vita Hom.* vi.45 ff., cf. [Hdt.] *Vita Hom.* 8, and also schol. E ad Od. 8.63, in which Moira deprives Homer of his sight and grants him song instead. According to [Hdt.] *Vita Hom.* 7, Homer lost his sight because of illness. Another story says that as an infant he was fed with honey from the breast of his nurse, the prophetess, daughter of the priest of Isis, and later some birds provided him with ambrosia (Alex. Paph. in Eusth. in *Od.* 1713, 17). Teiresias: Pherecydes and Hesiod (fr. 275 MW) in Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.6.7, Callim. *Hy.* 5.57 ff., Suda s.v. Τειρεσίας, Eustath. in *Hom.* p. 1665.42, schol. in *Od.* 10.494, Hygin. *Fab.* 75, cf. Paus. 9.33.1. See also Graziosi 2002:132–133, 138–143 and 148. Also Demodocus, the bard in the *Odyssey*, was deprived of his eyes in exchange for sweet song (*Od.* 8.62 ff.). He, however, is rather a literary figure and has no tradition outside the *Odyssey* and therefore is not quite a comparable to others in this context.

Lesbos. Pythagoras left Samos because of the tyranny of Polycrates, and later had conflicts with the Sicilian tyrants Phalaris and Dionysius, Solon had troubles with Peisistratus, of whose politics he did not approve, and Bias of Priene was in opposition to Alyattes who attempted to conquer his home town. Another group which was constantly tangled in quarrels with rulers is the heroes, as in the legends of Orestes, Jason, Perseus, Theseus, and others.

Travelling from city to city goes with the way of poets’ (seers’, heroes’) life. The master traveller is Homer, but all others travelled as well. Hesiod went, according to different accounts, to Euboea, Delphi, Delos, and Locris, Stesichorus visited the cities in Sicily and South-Italy and went to Arcadia, and Archilochus sailed about the Aegean and to Thasos and sang a song at Olympia. Terpander went to Sparta, Delphi, Egypt, and perhaps also to Lydia, and Sappho travelled to Sicily and Leucas. Only Hipponax’ tradition lacks any significant journeys: he is reported to have moved only from Ephesus to Clazomenae. Among other poets, Anacreon had to move to Abdera in Thrace, and later lived in Samos and Athens, Ibycus went from Italy to Samos and Corinth, Alcman and Tyrtaeus were believed to have moved to Sparta, one from Lydia and another from Athens.

The main reason for poets to travel was the participation in song contests at festivals, funeral games, and other occasions which included poetry and singing. The archetypal legend of poetic contest is certainly the one between Homer and Hesiod at Chalcis. Comparable stories exist about Arctinus and Lesches who competed in epic poetry, and of the seers Mopsus and Calchas who held a riddle competition in Clarus near Colophon. Both Hesiod and Homer are reported to have wished to enter also the contest at the Pythian games, but were disqualified for not

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28 About Alcaeus see Str. 13.2.3 (617), Diog. L. 1.74, 2.46, Arist. Pol. 1285a, [Acro] on Hor. Carm. 2.13.28, Cic. Tusc. 4.71, and the fragments of Alcaeus’ poetry.
31 About the travelling poets see also Od. 17.383f, HyAp 169–176.
32 Arctinus and Lesches: Phaenias 299 F 18, Lesches won. Mopsus and Calchas: Hes. fr. 278 MW, Calchas died of disappointment after losing the contest. Cf. also the mock contest between Euripides and Aeschylus in Aristophanes’ Frogs.
knowing how to sing and play the cithara at the same time. Terpander is said to have taken victories at the Carneian and Pythian festivals, and Archilochus at the contest for the hymn to Demeter in Paros. Orpheus was believed to have won the musical competition at the first Isthmian games, and Chrysothemis and Philammon are listed among the Pythian winners. Different was the outcome for Marsyas and Thamyris at their contests with Apollo and the Muses respectively,—they lost, and Marsyas was consequently flayed alive, whereas Thamyris was deprived of sight and of the power of singing.

Poets had, of course, other reasons for travelling as well: Archilochus travelled as a soldier and went out, just like Semonides of Amorgus and Solon, to found a colony, Terpander and Thaletas were invited to Sparta to heal people and settle conflicts. Travelling is also a characteristic of the seers (for example in the traditions of Melampus, Calchas, Epimenides, Mopsus, Helenus, Pythagoras) and heroes (Theseus, Heracles, Perseus, Jason, etc.). The latter group needed to travel mainly in order to accomplish heroic deeds, such as to kill monsters and highwaymen, and save damsels in distress.

One of the most popular destinations (besides Delphi) was Egypt, where people travelled to perform their music (Terpander) or learn geometry, mysteries and other skills from the local priests and wise men (as in the case of Pythagoras, Melampus, Thales, Solon, Lycurgus). Also Alcaeus is reported to have travelled there and, according to a somewhat esoteric strand of tradition, Homer was born in Egypt. Sappho herself did not go to Egypt, but her brother did and met the courtesan Rhodopis there.

Sometimes the reason for travelling was expulsion after a quarrel with authorities, as happened in case of Archilochus, Hipponax, Sappho and Alcaeus. Terpander had to leave his home town because of a murder,
exactly as Hesiod’s father had had to do, according to a less known version of tradition. Stesichorus was expelled from Pallantium for an unknown reason. Exile is, in general, one of the most persistent topics in poets’ biographical traditions (see also the traditions of Anacreon, Onomacritus, Xenophanes, et al.), and is frequently found in legends about heroes (Theseus, Jason, Sarpedon, Neleus, Tydeus, Diomedes, Patroclus, etc.).

In addition to connections created by conflicts and contests, famous persons had story-level links with each other in several other ways too. Sometimes they were believed to have been relatives, as in the case of Homer and Hesiod (cousins), Hesiod and Stesichorus (father-son), Hesiod and Terpander (father-son), Homer and Terpander (ancestor-descendant). Bias and Melampus were brothers, the epic poets Creophylus and Stasinus are both reported to have been the sons-in-law of Homer. The poets had also famous lovers: Archilochus, Hipponax, Anacreon and Alcaeus are all reported to have been the lovers of Sappho, Terpander’s beloved was Cepion the musician, and Solon’s the young Peisistratus. The poets often had pupils: the above-mentioned Cepion was sometimes identified as Terpander’s pupil, Anagora, Gongyla and Eunica as Sappho’s pupils, Olympus was the pupil of Marsyas, Arion the pupil of Alcman; Homer’s teacher was said to be either Creophylus or Aristeas of Proconnesus, and his pupil was Arctinus. Lasus taught, according to tradition, Pindar to play the lyre and Lamprus was Sophocles’ teacher; Thales is said to have taught Lycurgus of Sparta the manner how Rhadamanthys and Minos published their laws. Pythagoras had

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41 Most of them were connected chronologically as well but these links are chronological necessity rather than the expression of traditional elements.

42 According to an obscure scholium (sch. B (a*) Ov. Ib. 521), Archilochus was Hipponax’ son-in-law.


46 Lasus: schol. Pl. 1.4 Dr. (Vita Thomana). Lamprus: Athen. 1.20e. Thales: Eph. 70 F 149.
several famous teachers, such as Creophylus, the latter’s descendant or pupil Hermomadas, Pherecydes of Syros, Thales of Miletus, Epimenides of Crete, but also the Egyptian priests, Chaldean magi, Phoenician hierophants, and Delphic priestess Themistoclea. In turn, Pythagoras himself had many disciples, just as Homer had the Homerids, Creophylus the Creophylids, and Hesiod “those around him.” Linus taught music to Heracles, but in general, the heroes were usually sent to Cheiron for education. Then there are stories about one famous figure meeting another: Lycurgus was said to have visited Homer on Chios and received his epics from him, Solon met Croesus, Anacharsis and Aesop; Thales helped the army of Croesus to pass the river Halys by turning the course of water; all the Seven Wise Men are reported to have met in Delphi, Corinth, Sardis, or at the Panionium on Mount Mycale. Some poets were reported to have lived in the courts of tyrants in great luxury: Ibycus and Anacreon belonged in the court of Polycrates and his father, Anacreon later moved from Samos to the court of Hipparchus where also Simonides lived for a while. After Hipparchus’ death Simonides, along with Aeschylus, was summoned to Syracuse by Hiero.

Oracles are frequently found in biographical traditions. Hesiod was warned that he would die at the temple of Nemean Zeus, and there were also two oracles concerning the fate of his remains. Archilochus’ tradition includes a prophecy about the poet’s immortality, two oracles concerning the colonization of Thasos, another one commanding the

47 Iambl. VP 9, 11, 14, 18, 19, 151, 158–159, Diog. L. 8.2–3, 8.
51 Paus. 1.2.3, Ael. VH 9.1.4, Str. 14.1.16 (638), Plut. Mor. 604f, [Pl.] Hipp. 228bc. The reports, or some of the reports of famous people meeting each other, just as some of the accounts of travelling, exile, and origin, may be historically correct, in which case they cannot be strictly regarded as formulaic motifs in the particular biographies. Formulaic themes often reflect what the story-tellers regarded as typical and appropriate for a particular type of illustrious persons. Sometimes the story-tellers may have even had in mind some historical exemplum which they then applied to other figures.
52 Paus. loc. cit., Vita Aeschylis, p. 332 Page OCT.
Parians to honour the poet, two oracles given to his killer, and one more concerning the establishment of the Hellenistic cult of the poet. In Terpander’s tradition there is an oracle for the Spartans to send for the Lesbian poet in order to be reconciled among themselves again. Homer’s tradition includes four oracles: an obscure prophecy about his future fame given by his Egyptian nurse, two different Pythian oracles given to Homer about his native land and his death, and one given allegedly to the emperor Hadrian about the poet’s origin. Oracles are to be found also in the traditions of Pythagoras, Calchas, Solon, Lycurgus, of heroes such as Theseus, Achilleus, Perseus, Jason, Heracles, Orestes, and others, and of the tyrants Periander, Peisistratus, Polycrates, Croesus, et al.

According to Virgil, Hesiod could call ash trees down the mountain sides with his song. The power over creatures and natural phenomena has parallels in other stories about seers and poets: Orpheus charmed tigers and moved rocks and trees by singing and playing the lyre, Melampus understood the language of birds and animals, and Homer evoked adverse winds on the sea and caused fire by his song. Amphion built the walls of Thebes by making the rocks to roll in their place by the power of music, and Pythagoras mastered wild animals, birds and snakes, calmed storms, and was greeted by the river Nessus.

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. Even the bones, especially the remains of heroes, were often believed to have beneficial powers, and therefore their location had to be kept secret, so that those who wanted to find it could do it only by divine help. The

53 Alex. Paphius in Eustath. ad Od. 1713.17, Cert. 3 and 5, [Plut.] Vita Hom. I.4, Procl. Vita Hom. 4 and 5.
Spartans, for example, when they could not prevail in the war against Tegea, were instructed by the Pythia to bring the bones of Orestes to Sparta, and the Athenians were directed to take the bones of Theseus from Scyrus as a remedy to help overcome plague or famine or, as it stands in another strand of tradition, the bones of Theseus which protected Scyrus against enemies had to be removed from the city before the Athenians could conquer it. The location of Oedipus’ grave in Colonus had to be kept in secret in order to keep the country safe. Among the traditions of poets, the feature of beneficial bones is visible in Hesiod’s tradition, whose remains were brought, by the advice of the Delphic oracle, from Ascro or Locris to Orchomenus in order to cure plague.

Another feature which Hesiod shares with some other poets, famous seers and heroes, is the existence of animal Helpers in his tradition. Hesiod’s body was carried to the shore by dolphins, exactly as the body of young Melicertes which was eventually buried by Sisyphus, and in whose honour the Isthmian Games were established. Arion was rescued by a dolphin from the hands of Corinthian sailors who wanted to rob his gold and kill him. A dog helped to identify the murderers of Hesiod, and another dog, called Maera, helped to find Icarius’ body. Of the birds, cranes ensured that vengeance was taken on the murderers of Ibycus, a crow guided the Orchomeniaturas to the place where Hesiod’s bones lay, and an eagle sent by the Pythia helped the Athenians who were looking for the bones of Theseus. Melampus the seer was helped by snakes, woodworms and a vulture.

Inventiveness is another strong characteristic in biographical traditions of poets. The πρῶτος εὑρετής of choliambic metre was Hipponax; the iambic metre was ascribed either to Hipponax, Semonides or

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57 The Spartan story: Hdt. 1.67 f. The Athenian story: Plut. Cimon 8, Theseus 36, sch. on Aristid. 46.241. The Spartans were also instructed by an oracle to bring the bones of Orestes’ son Tisamenus from Achaean Helice to Sparta (Paus. 2.18.6–8 and 7.1.8, Apollod. Bibl. 2.8.2–3, cf. Fontenrose 1978: 74 f.).
58 Soph. OC 1756–1767.
59 Pl. fr. 6.5 Sn.-M.; Arist. fr. 637 R.; Plut. Mor. 677b; Paus. 1.44.11, Apollod. Bibl. 3.4.3.
60 Hdt. 1.24, Plut. Mor. 160d; cf. the alleged song of Thanksgiving by Arion, in PMG 939. See also the story of Coeranus, a good-hearted Parian man who was saved from distress at sea by dolphins whom he had some time before rescued and set free (Plut. Mor. 984f–985b, cf. Archil. fr. 192, Phylarchus 81 F 26, Ael. NA 8.3).
61 The story of Icarius: Hyg. Astron. 2.4, Paus. 9.38.4.
63 Apollod. Bibl. 1.9.11–12, cf. Paus. 4.5.3.
Archilochus, and the latter was believed to have created many other metres and poetical techniques. To Stesichorus the invention of hymns, several metres and new themes in poetry were assigned, Terpander was responsible for many musical innovations, and Sappho was regarded as the inventor of the *pectis* and the *plectrum*. The *Mixolydian* mode was believed to have been invented either by Terpander, Sappho or Phytocleides, and the hendecasyllabic ("Sapphic") metre by Sappho or Alcaeus.

Herodotus makes Hesiod and Homer responsible for composing the first Greek theogonies and giving names to Greek gods. The stringed instrument *sambyce* was, according to tradition, made by Ibycus, several names and rhythms were ascribed to Olympus, Polymnestus and Thaletas, the dithyramb to Arion, and the elegiac couplet either to Callinus, Archilochus or Mimnermus. Amphion was believed to have invented music in general, Pan the flute with a single pipe, and Marsyas the double-pipe. The seers, too, were creative: Teiresias, they say, discovered divination by entrails of birds, Amphiaraus divination by fire, Epimenides was the first to build temples and to purify buildings and land. Pythagoras made many discoveries in mathematics and music, was the first to introduce weights and measures into Greece, to declare that the Evening and Morning Stars are the same, to call the universe *kosmos*, to use the word "philosopher," to call the earth spherical, and so on.

It seems that famous people were usually believed to have lived a long life. Hesiod's lifetime, as we know, is reported to have been exceptionally long and to have included two periods of youth. Stesichorus, whose statue at Thermae represented him as a bent old man, was said to have died at the age of eighty-five. Homer was almost always represented as an

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64 About the πρῶτος εὐφημή motif and the *heuremata*-literature in general see Kleingünter 1933.

65 Phytochleides the aulete as the inventor of the Mixolydian mode: [Plut.] *Mus.* 16.1.136d.

66 Hdt. 2.53. Hexameter was believed to be the invention of Phemonoe the daughter of Apollo and the first Pythia (Paus. 10.5.7, cf. Plin. *NH* 7.57), the Pleiades (Paus. 10.12.10), Phantothea the wife of Icarius, or the Titaness Themis (both in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.16.74–80).

67 Suda s.v. Ἰβύκος and Ἀρίων, Athen. 4.175d, [Plut.] *Mus.* 5.1.133ab, 7.1.133df, 10.1.134d, 11.1.134f, 29.1.141b, 33.1.143a, cf. Str. 10.4.16 (480–481), Hdt. 1.23, Orion *Lex.* s.v. ἐλέγης.

68 Plin. *NH* 7.57 which contains a long list of various inventions of many fields. Another list of inventions is in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.16.74–80. About the *heuremata*-catalogues see Kleingünter 1933:143–151.


old man, Simonides of Ceos is reported to have lived either eighty-nine, ninety or more years, Anacreon for eighty-five, Solon and Periander both for eighty years.\textsuperscript{71} Both Bias the wise man of Priene and Chilon of Sparta are reported to have died in their extreme old age.\textsuperscript{72} Pythagoras’ life span was said to have reached eighty or almost a hundred years, Thales lived either seventy-eight or ninety years, and Pittacus over seventy, eighty or a hundred years.\textsuperscript{73} Teiresias was granted up to seven or nine generations, Sarpedon three, and Nestor over two generations; Epimenides’ life lasted, according to different accounts, either 150, 154, 157, 190, or 299 years, of which he spent fifty-seven or ninety years sleeping.\textsuperscript{74} Exceptional among our poets are Archilochus who was (believed to have been) killed in battle and therefore could not live to old age, and Sappho whose tradition of suicide seems to have been strong enough to overrule her own remarks about her old age. We have no direct information about the length of Terpander’s life, but as he was believed to have taken victories at four Pythian games, he could not have died young.\textsuperscript{75} There is no information about Hipponax’ age in ancient sources.

None of our poets died a natural death. On the contrary, dying of most bizarre causes seems to be one of the strongest formulaic elements in traditions. Hesiod and Stesichorus were murdered, Archilochus died in battle or in the hands of the people he had insulted in his verses, or committed suicide, Hipponax either starved to death or hanged himself, Terpander was suffocated by a fig and Anacreon by a single pip, and Sappho leapt to her death.\textsuperscript{76} There are many comparable examples in the stories about other notable persons. Ibycus for example was killed by highwaymen and Alcaeus is reported to have fallen in battle.\textsuperscript{77} Pythagoras was, according to some accounts, murdered by the Crotonian mob. Alternatively he may have starved himself to death out of despair at the


\textsuperscript{72} Bias: Diog. L. 1.84 f. Chilon: \textit{Ibid.} 1.72.


\textsuperscript{75} See p. 164 n. 149.

\textsuperscript{76} Anacreon: Val. Max. 9.12. ext.8.

death of his disciples and extinction of his school. Again he was said to have died during the war between Agrigentum and Syracuse, when while fleeing he chose not to cross a field of beans and was killed.\textsuperscript{78} Sophocles was choked to death by a grape or, according to other versions, he died either because of overjoy at obtaining a victory at a drama contest, or because he sustained his voice so long without a pause that he lost his breath at the public recitation of the \textit{Antigone} and died.\textsuperscript{79} Drusus the son of the emperor Claudius was choked by a pear.\textsuperscript{80} Homer and Calchas both died of sadness over a failure to solve a riddle, Chilon of Sparta, on the other hand, died of overjoy when his son was victorious in boxing at the Olympic games.\textsuperscript{81} Lycurgus was said to have starved himself to death in Delphi where he had travelled after he had exacted an oath from the Spartans that they would keep his laws until he should return.\textsuperscript{82} Another law-giver, Zaleucus of Locri, committed suicide after he had breached the law made by himself that no citizen could enter the Senate house in arms.\textsuperscript{83} Aeschylus was hit and killed by a falling tortoise, Euripides was torn in pieces by hounds and Orpheus by the Thracian women; Alcman and Pherecydes of Syros died of \textit{phthisias}, an infestation by lice.\textsuperscript{84} Also most heroes were killed. As we can see, according to biographical traditions, to die a terrible or unusual death is almost inevitable for famous people whether they are poets, law-givers, soothsayers or heroes.

Finally, the legends of poets’ lives sometimes gave rise to proverbial expressions. Old age came to be referred to as “Hesiodic” (τὸ Ἑσιόδειον γῆρας), about those who reviled others it was said that they “trample on Archilochus” (Ἀρχιλόχοι πατεῖς), people who came off second best were

\textsuperscript{79} Ister and Neanthes in the \textit{Vita Anon}.
\textsuperscript{80} Plin. 7.5, Val. Max. 9.12.8, Suet. \textit{Claud}. 27.
\textsuperscript{83} According to Suda (s.v. Ζάλευκος) he fell fighting for his country.
“not quite as good as the Lesbian singer,” i.e. Terpander (μετὰ Λέοβιον ὕδόν). If somebody was completely devoid of culture and education, he was said not to know even the “three [verses/strophes] of Stesichorus” (τρία Στησιχόρου), and the shape of Stesichorus’ magnificent tomb in Catana was turned into an expression “all eight” (πάντα ὀκτώ) which was used in card games as a name of a throw which came to eight. Ibycus’ tradition gave besides the well-known “cranes of Ibycus” (derived from his death story) an expression “ἀρδεντερος ἄνοιγτερος Ἰβύκου” which was used of hopelessly stupid people. 85 “The way of Chilon” (Χιλώνειος τρόπος) referred to brief Spartan style of speech, “Επιμενίδεων δέμα” was used in reference to secrets and was derived from a story according to which long after Epimenides’ death his skin was found, covered with tattooed letters which no one could read. 86 Pythagoras’ tradition contains numerous proverbs, such as “The long-haired lad of Samos” (τὸν ἔξω Σάμου κοιμήθην), “Humans are bipeds, and birds, and a third besides” (ἂνθρωπος δύτης ἐστι καὶ δόνυς καὶ τρίτον ἄλλο)—both referring to Pythagoras as someone special and worthy of great respect; “They belong to the Pythagoreans” (τῶν Πυθαγορείων εἶοι) was used of those showing each other unusual goodwill, and “These are not Ninon’s times” (οὔ τάδε ἑστίν ἐπὶ Νίνωνος) refers to the man who cruelly persecuted the Pythagoreans. 87 From the countless accounts of Theseus’ exploits rose a proverb “Not without Theseus” (οὐκ ἄνευ Ὄησών), and he himself and a man comparable to him was called “another Heracles” (ἄλλος οὕτος Ἡρακλῆς). 88

Therefore, the biographical traditions are shaped according to formu-
alic themes. A closer look at them reveals, however, that even though figures of different walks of life often share some of the formulaic topics, each “profession” seems to attract a characteristic set of formulaic themes at the same time. Whereas travelling, death under unusual circumstances, quarrels with authorities, significant origin and links with other “celebrities” occur again and again in traditions of almost every poet, seer, tyrant, wise man, or hero, the poets seem to have been believed

85 Suda s.v. Ἰβύκους, Diogen. 2.71 and 5.12 Leutsch & Schn.
86 Chilon: Suda s.v. Χιλων. Epimenides: ibid. s.v. Επιμενίδης.
87 Iambl. VP 11, 30, 144, 230 and 264.
88 Plut. Thes. 29.3. I have not found a proverb about Homer. The lines of his poems, however, sometimes became proverbial: e.g., “πάλι‘ οἶδ’ ἄλωπτης, ἄλλ‘ ἐγίνος ἐν μέγα” (“the fox knows many things, but the hedgehog knows one big thing”) which was ascribed either to Homer or Archilochus (Paroem. Graeci, Z V.68 Leutsch & Scheidewin).
to be, in addition, poor but generally more inventive people than others, they have usually experienced an initiation into their art, they have pupils, they take part in song contests and are often banished from their home towns. They also have some power over the natural phenomena, their deeds give rise to numerous proverbs, and they are sometimes honoured with a cult after their death. The seers are represented typically as wise and wealthy people who write poetry, have famous teachers and take part in politics. They are usually initiated into their art and possess, similarly to the poets, a power over natural phenomena. The wise men or sages are typically witty and wealthy old men who have learned their wisdom in Egypt, they are law-givers or judges, counsellors and teachers, they compose poems and utter maxims. They also belong roughly in the same time, the first part of the sixth century.\textsuperscript{89} The tyrants, on the other hand, are traditionally powerful, wealthy, often wise, and sometimes cruel people whose life is guided by oracles. Their personal life is usually unhappy. Characteristic of heroes is that they grow up abroad, their name is changed at some point of their life, they have many lovers and children, they tend to kill a close relative and are often exiled. They found new cities, take part in contests,\textsuperscript{90} sometimes use magical objects, and after their death their bones have beneficial powers and they are honoured by an important hero-cult. Their traditions too almost always include oracles. The typical topics, arranged roughly by the frequency of occurrence in different traditions are listed in the following table.\textsuperscript{91}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\hline
89 Martin (1988) distinguishes the skill to write poetry and perform it and the involvement in politics as characteristic features of the Seven Sages. By these criteria only, however, Stesichorus (who is never listed among the Wise Men) would come very close to filling the requirements of a Sage.

90 Hero-contests were in skills useful in heroes’ everyday life which was full of chasing monsters, punishing highwaymen, stealing, fighting, and rescuing princesses. The athletic contests for heroes included wrestling, armed duelling, boxing, foot-race with or without full armour, throwing of discus and javelin, archery, riding and chariot race. About hero-contest see Favorinus \textit{Corinth.} 14 (the first Isthmian Games), \textit{Il.} book 23 (the funeral games of Patroclus), Verg. \textit{Aen.} book 5 (the funeral games of Anchises), and Paus. 5.17.9–11 (the funeral games of Pelias).

91 The “links with others” stands for the connections with other notable persons either on story-level or in chronography. The “two or more persons” means that some strands of tradition provide two or more persons under the same name owing to rationalization of the tradition. Cf. the two Sapphos (the poetess and the courtesan), and the three Homeroi. “Divine/immortal” means that the person is called divine or immortal in the tradition. See the Appendix for the references.
\end{tabular}
Table 8.1: Formulaic themes in the traditions of different “professions.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poets</th>
<th>Seers</th>
<th>Wise Men</th>
<th>Tyrants</th>
<th>Heroes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Poetry]</td>
<td>[Clairvoyance]</td>
<td>[Wisdom]</td>
<td>[Politics]</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Travelling</td>
<td>Links with others</td>
<td>Links with others</td>
<td>[General at war]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Links with others</td>
<td>Wisdom</td>
<td>Maxims</td>
<td>Links with others</td>
<td>Quarrels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inventions</td>
<td>Travelling</td>
<td>Unusual death</td>
<td>Travelling</td>
<td>Significant origin</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Quarrels</td>
<td>Poetry</td>
<td>Wisdom</td>
<td>Cult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initiation</td>
<td>Significant origin</td>
<td>Old age</td>
<td>Oracles</td>
<td>Oracles</td>
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<tr>
<td>Exile</td>
<td>Unusual death</td>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>Contests/single combats</td>
<td>Grows up abroad</td>
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<tr>
<td>Quarrels</td>
<td>Initiation</td>
<td>Law-giver/judge</td>
<td>Proverbs</td>
<td>Many lovers and children</td>
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<tr>
<td>Significant origin</td>
<td>Cult</td>
<td>One of the 7 Wise Men</td>
<td>Old age</td>
<td>Unusual death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power over nat. phen.</td>
<td>Inventions</td>
<td>Travelling</td>
<td>Supports arts</td>
<td>Links with others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Song) contests</td>
<td>Contests (in wisdom)</td>
<td>Significant origin</td>
<td>Unhappy personal life</td>
<td>Exile</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pupils</td>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>Wit</td>
<td>Poetry</td>
<td>(Hero) contests</td>
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<tr>
<td>Poverty</td>
<td>Oikistes</td>
<td>Inventions</td>
<td>Unusual death</td>
<td>Proverbs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Proverbs</td>
<td>Power over nat. phen.</td>
<td>Quarrels</td>
<td>Quarrels</td>
<td>Change of name</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wisdom</td>
<td>Old age</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Significant origin</td>
<td>Politics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cult</td>
<td>Oracles</td>
<td>Wealth</td>
<td>Two or more persons</td>
<td>Oikistes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Old age</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Cult</td>
<td>Wealth</td>
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<td>Pupils</td>
<td>Maxims</td>
<td>Kills a close relative</td>
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<td>Wealth</td>
<td>Proverbs</td>
<td>Law-giver/judge</td>
<td>Establishes a festival or rite</td>
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<td>Teachers</td>
<td>Oracles</td>
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<td>Magical objects</td>
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<td>Own oracle</td>
<td>Establishes a festival or rite</td>
<td>Kills a close relative</td>
<td>Teachers</td>
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<td>Pupils</td>
<td>Poverty</td>
<td>Establishes a festival or rite</td>
<td>Poetry</td>
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<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>Proverbs</td>
<td>Two or more persons</td>
<td>Cruel</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
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<td>Oikistes</td>
<td>Change of name</td>
<td>Blindness</td>
<td>Exile</td>
<td>Divine/immortal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>Blindness</td>
<td>Oikistes</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Inventions</td>
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<td>Animal-helpers</td>
<td>Clairvoyance</td>
<td>Wit</td>
<td>Initiation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Animal-helpers</td>
<td>Divine/immortal</td>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>Heroic deeds</td>
<td>Unhappy personal life</td>
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<td>Maxims</td>
<td>Supports arts</td>
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<td>Magical objects</td>
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In recent scholarship the representation of the poets in ancient sources has often been compared to the representation of the heroes, and it has been concluded that the poets were perceived, worshipped and honoured as “new” heroes. This is true if we read the word “hero” as a “significant person in the community.” However, if we compare the “professions” of poets and heroes we see that while the poets do indeed share some of the formulaic themes with the heroes in their traditions, such as participation in contests (Hesiod, Homer, Archilochus, Terpander), founding cities (Archilochus, Semonides, Solon), beneficial powers of their bones (Hesiod), the change of name (Homer, Stesichorus), and existence of (Hellenistic) cult (in Hesiod’s, Homer’s and Archilochus’ case), their traditions have their own distinctive set of formulaic themes (initiation, inventions, pupils, poverty, power over nature, etc.). Therefore it is not quite correct to say that the poets were, as a whole, perceived as heroes, at least not in pre-Hellenistic times.

As a whole each ‘professional’ group seems to have had distinctive traditional features in

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93 The two sources sometimes brought as a support for the view of the heroization of poets (e.g. in Currie 2005:129–130), Empedocles 31 B 146 DK and Pindar fr. 133 are about the doctrine of metempsychosis rather than the worship of poets. Both passages are also general, giving no evidence about the “heroization” of any particular poet. Pindar says that in the ninth year the souls of athletes go back to earth and become kings, “men swift in strength and greatest in wisdom,” and are called holy heroes. He gives no details about the existence of any cult of the ooroi. Empedocles maintains that the souls of seers, poets, healers and chiefs become “gods,”—not linking them with heroes at all. On Alcidamas’ account about honouring the poets in different cities, see p. 168 above. The only archaic poets in whose case it is possible to accept the existence of pre-Hellenistic formal cult on the basis of the evidence we have, are Homer and Hesiod, even though the sources referring to their cult are late (Alcaeus of Messene, Aelian, the Certamen). In Hesiod’s case, the tradition about his death in Locris is so early and detailed that the existence of his cult in some form at the precinct of Nemean Zeus in Locris is quite plausible (see p. 35). The Certamen (ch. 17) reports that the leaders of Argos, being exceedingly delighted with the praise of their race by Homer, set up a bronze statue of the poet and introduced a daily, monthly and yearly sacrifice for Homer, and also sent another offering every fifth year to Chios in honour of him. They revered him, however, as a poet, not as a hero: cf. Aelian (VH 9.15) who maintains that the Argives ranked all other poets second to Homer, and when they sacrificed they invited Apollo and Homer to their feasts. In addition there are two late accounts about the cult of the mythical Orpheus and Linus the son of Urania and Amphimarius: Conon reports (26 F 45) that Orpheus’ head was buried in a heroon (the tomb of a hero) but later the place became a hieron (a temple of a god) and he was offered sacrifices that the gods receive (cf. Philostr. Her. 28.8–12). According to Pausanias (9.29.6), people offered sacrifices (ἐναγί/dzeta/Γ;ikΒΓΘυσι) to Linus before they offered sacrifices (πρ/Γ;ikΒΓΘΝΒaΡe τῆς /tϊetatwΓυσίας) to the Muses every year in Thespiae.
addition to the overlapping ones, and the poets were perceived and
honoured rather as poets, seers as seers, wise men as wise men, tyrants
as tyrants, and heroes as heroes.\footnote{Compton (2006) argues that poets were perceived as scapegoats, warriors and heroes in Greco-Roman society. But the traditions of poets are rich in all kinds of motifs and if one sets one’s mind to it, one can easily find references to show that the poets may have been perceived as scapegoats, but also as travellers, inventors, rebels, and so on. It is therefore misleading to isolate a particular feature or features in this way. See also Lefkowitz’ review (2007) of Compton’s book.}

Another aspect the modern commentators have been interested in is
the value of biographical traditions as historical documents. Owing to
the formulaic framework of the traditions, to the ambiguous meaning
of the first person statements in early poetry, and to the nature of other
sources, which did not always concern themselves with strict historical
veracity, it is clear that the stories and details in them should not be
taken at face value. It would be equally incorrect to say, however, that
the biographical traditions may not contain any truth at all, or in other words,
that we cannot know anything about early Greek poets’ lives.\footnote{E.g. Lefkowitz 1978 and 1981.}

There is
no reason to doubt too much that Hesiod lived in Ascrea; that Stesichorus
came from Himera and Archilochus’ home was on Paros where he served
as a soldier, that he spent some time of his life on Thasos, had a friend
called Glaucus, and was killed in a battle. In the same way, Sappho was
in all probability born in Mytilene and Terpander in Antissa, and the
latter probably visited Sparta during his life. Hipponax was probably an
Ephesian and aquainted with the family of Chian sculptors in which
Boupalus belonged. Terpander was certainly a prominent and celebrated
citharode whose songs on traditional themes were set mainly in dactylic
metre, and he may well have won the Carneian song-contest and made
some important innovations in music. It is very likely that Sappho’s father
was called Scamandronymus and brother Charaxus, and among her
friends were Gongyla, Atthis, Anactoria and Mica.\footnote{Homer’s tradition is formulaic and complex to the greatest extent. The most plausible elements in his tradition are that he lived on the coast of Greek Asia Minor, and composed traditional hexametric epic poetry primarily on the theme of the Trojan War. The best attested candidates for his home town are Smyrna, Chios and Cyme, he may have been blind and called Melesigenes as a boy, and he may have had a tomb on Ios. Everything in Homer’s tradition is, however, highly controversial and questionable from the point of view of historical veracity. About Homer’s tradition see Kivilo 2010.} At the same time, of
course, there are many fictional details in the traditions. Therefore, even
though biographical traditions of early poets include many fictional and
formulaic details and story-patterns, and great care is needed while trying to distinguish between plausible details and sheer fiction in traditions, we may still be able to learn something of the historical personalities. Even so, however, the results of such speculations will always remain open to debate.

\footnote{See also Fairweather 1974:275, Compton 2006:323–324.}
CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION

The following conclusions from the previous chapters may be emphasized:

– The creators of the biographical traditions of the poets were people who performed, listened to and studied this poetry.
– The traditions of poets, as well as those of seers, tyrants, sages and heroes, were formed by using regular story-patterns which, although overlapping in details to a certain extent, form characteristic sets of formulaic themes for the particular profession. In that respect, the process of the formation of early biographical traditions is not dissimilar to the development of epic poetry and myths.
– The details drawn from poets’ verses, local traditions, chronicles and other sources were fitted into the traditional patterns and gave each tradition its individual character. One of the most important sources of the information about a particular poet was his or her own poetry. However, not all the details in the tradition are taken from poetry and not all “biographical” references in the poems were further developed into accounts about the poet’s life.
– The traditions began to form very soon after the deaths of the poets, and at least in some cases even while they were still alive. Most of the main stories had been formed by or during the Classical period, as is clear from the references in ancient authors’ works. The early formation is supported also by the existence of shared motifs between the stories about poets and other types of celebrities. The traditions were continuously embellished with new details by later authors, right to the end of antiquity.
– The first attempts to write down the continuous accounts of poets’ lives were made in the end of the sixth century (Theagenes’ treatise on Homer), and in the Classical period (Aristotle’s works on poets, for example), but as none of these works has survived, the only available information on the earlier, orally developed strands of tradition is in the fragmentary and scattered references in the works of mostly Classical and postclassical authors.
- Some accounts in the traditions may be authentic and the ultra-pessimistic view that we cannot possibly know anything about the archaic poets’ life is not entirely justified. However, it is usually very difficult to separate historically reliable information from formulaic conventions and pure fiction.
## APPENDIX

1. Formulaic themes attested in the traditions of poets.

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<td>Divine/immortal</td>
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<td>Teachers</td>
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<td>Law-giver or a judge</td>
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<td>Own oracle</td>
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<td>Wit</td>
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<td>One of the 7 Sages</td>
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<td>General at war</td>
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<td>Grows up abroad</td>
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<td>Many lovers and children</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kills a close relative</td>
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<td>(+)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Establishes a festival or rite</td>
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<td>Magical objects</td>
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<td>Supports arts</td>
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<td>Cruel</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unhappy personal life</td>
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REFERENCES

Homer

[links with other famous persons]: Tz. Chil. 637, Suda s.v. Ὀμηρός (Stasinus), Procl. Vita Hom. 5, Suda s.v. Κρεώνυλος, Str. 14.1.18 (638–639) (Creophylus), [Hdt.] Vita Hom. 11 (the sons of Midas), Cert. 6–13, etc (Homer); Eph. 70 F 149, Str. 10.4.19 (482) (Lycurgus); [travelling]: [Hdt.] Vita Hom., Cert., Suda s.v. Ὀμηρός passim, etc.; [inventions]: Hdt. 2.53 (theogonies, the names of gods), Suda s.v. Πυρρώνειος (skepticism), Str. 1.1.2 (2) (founder of the science of geography); [death]: Cert. 18, Arist. fr. 76 R, [Hdt.] Vita Hom. 36, [Plut.] Vita Hom. 1.4, cf. Heracl. 22 B 56, Procl. Vita Hom. 5, Vita Romana 6, etc. (of grief about not being able to solve a riddle); Vita Hom. 2.3 (of starvation); [initiation]: Vita Romana 5, [Hdt.] Vita Hom. 8, Alex. Paph. in Eustath. Od. 1713.17; [quarrels]: [Hdt.] Vita Hom. 12–15 (the Cymeans), Paus. 1.2.3 (the kings); [origin]: Gorgias 2.56, Pherecydes 3 F 167 (Orpheus), Arist. fr. 76 R (a daemon), Crit. in Philostr. VS 490 (a river), Cert. 2, etc. (Melles), Suda s.v. Ὀμηρός (Linus, Orpheus), etc.; [power over natural phenomena]: [Hdt.] Vita Hom. 15 (a curse on the Cymeans), 19 (a contrary wind), 30 (a curse on a woman), 31, Alex. Paph. in Eustath. Od. 1713.17 (talks to birds); [cult]: Cert. 17 (the Argive cult), [Hdt.] Vita Hom. 10 (a Neontechean cult), Str. 14.1.37 (646) (the Homereion in Smyrna), cf. [Plut.] Vita Hom. 1.4 (a statue in Colophon); [ contests]: Hes. Op. 657 (a parallel reading), Cert. 6–13, Plut. Mor. 1.53–154a, 674f–675a, Varro ap. Fell. NA 3.11.4, etc. (contest with Hesiod); [origin]: Gorgias 82 B 25, Damastes in Vita Romana 6 (Musaeus), Damastes 5 F 11, Hellanicus 4 F 5, Pherecydes 3 F 167 (Orpheus), Arist. fr. 76 R (a daemon), Alex. Paph. in Eustath. Od. 1713.17 (fame), Cert. 3, etc. (Melles), Suda s.v. Ὀμηρός (Linus, Orpheus), etc.; [power over natural phenomena]: [Hdt.] Vita Hom. 15 (a curse on the Cymeans), 19 (a contrary wind), 30 (a curse on a woman), 31, Alex. Paph. in Eustath. Od. 1713.17 (talks to birds); [cult]: Cert. 17 (the Argive cult), [Hdt.] Vita Hom. 10 (a Neontechean cult), Str. 14.1.37 (646) (the Homereion in Smyrna), cf. [Plut.] Vita Hom. 1.4 (a statue in Colophon); [ contests]: Hes. Op. 657 (a parallel reading), Cert. 6–13, Plut. Mor. 1.53–154a, 674f–675a, Varro ap. Fell. NA 3.11.4, etc. (contest with Hesiod); [intelligent child]: Cert. 3, Str. 1.2.3 (17), 8.3.23 (348) etc.; [old age]: Cert. 18, Procl. Vita Hom. 8, Suda s.v. Ὀμηρός; [oracles]: Arist. fr. 76 R, Cert. 5, [Plut.] Vita Hom. 1.4, Procl. Vita Hom. 5 (parents, home, death), Alex. Paph. in Eustath. Od. 1713.17 (fame), Cert. 3, [Plut.] Vita Hom. 1.4 (origin, home, fate); [Egypt]: Vita Romana 2, Vita Hom. 5, Cert. 3, Alex. Paph. in Eustath. Od. 1713.17; [two or more persons]: Vita Hesiodi 3; [change of name]: [Hdt.] Vita Hom. 13, Vita Hom. 2.1, Eph. 70 F 1, Cert. 3, Vita Romana 5, etc.; [blind]: Thuc. 3.104.6, Eph. 70 F 1, Procl. Vita Hom. 3, Suda s.v. Ὀμηρός, Vita Rom. 5, Vita Hom. 2.1, Cert. 3, [Hdt.] Vita Hom. 7, [Plut.] Vita Hom. 1.1, etc.; [Homer’s teacher]: Cert. 3, [Plut.] Vita Hom. 1.4, Lucian VH 2.20 ff.; [divine/immortal]: Str. 14.1.18 (638) (Creophylus, Aristeas of Proconnesus), Tz. Chil. 633 (Pornapides); [wealthy]: [Hdt.] Vita Hom. 25, Procl. Chrest. p. 101 A.; [clairvoyance]: [Hdt.] Vita Hom. 20 (a prophecy about the Cymaean colonization of Cebrenia).
Pythagoras

Iambl. VP passim, Porph. VP passim, Diog. L. 8 passim (see the indexes).

Teiresias

[clairvoyance]: Apollod. Bibl. 2.4.8, 3.6.7, Soph. Ant. 988 ff., OT 316 ff., etc.; [links]: Od. 11 (Odysses), Soph. Ant. (Creon), OT (Creon, Oedipus), Str. 9.5.22 (443) (Mopsus); [inventions]: Plin. NH 7.75 (invents the divination by entrails of birds); [death]: Apollod. Bibl. 3.7.3, Paus. 9.33.1, cf. 7.3.1, Str. 9.2.36 (413); [initiation]: Apollod. Bibl. 3.6.7, Callim. Hy 5.57 ff., cf. Paus. 9.2.3; [quarrels]: Soph. OT 354 ff. and passim, Soph. Ant. 1094 ff.; [origin]: Apollod. Bibl. 3.6.7; [cult]: Apollod. Ep. 7.34, cf. Paus. 9.18.3, Str. 9.2.27 (411); [wisdom]: Apollod. Bibl. 3.7.3, Soph. OT 300 ff., Soph. Ant. 1094 ff., Teleg. argum. 1; [old age]: Apollod. Bibl. 3.6.7, Tz. on Lycophr. 682 (Hes. fr. 276 MW), cf. Paus. 9.33.1 (seven or nine generations); [blindness]: Apollod. Bibl. 3.6.7, Callim. Hy. 5.57 ff., Hygin. Fab. 75, Ov. Met. 3.320, etc.; Od. 10.492 f., Str. 16.2.39 (763) (retains memory in Hades) [divine/immortal]; [own oracle]: Plut. Mor. 434c.

Melampus

[clairvoyance]: Hdt. 9.34, Apollod. Bibl. 1.9.11–12, 2.2.2, Paus. 4.36.5, 8.18.7; [links]: Apollod. Bibl. 1.9.11–12 (Bias), Paus. 2.23.2 (Amphiarus); [traveling]: Apollod. Bibl. 1.9.12 (Messene), Hdt. 2.49 (Egypt?), Paus. 4.36.5 (Thessaly); [inventions]: Apollod. Bibl. 2.2.2 (discovers that illnesses can be cured by drugs and purifications), Athen. 2.45 (the first to invent the mixing of wine with water); [initiation]: Apollod. Bibl. 1.9.11 (snakes clean his ears, meets Apollo); [quarrels]: 2.2.2 (quarrel with Proitus); [origin]: 1.9.11 (Cretheus), 2.2.2 (Abas); [power over natural phenomena]: 1.9.11 (language of birds), 2.2.2, Str. 8.3.19 (347), Paus. 2.18.4, Hdt. 9.34, Diod. Sic. 4.68.4, Eustath. in Il. p. 288 (heals the Argive women); [cult]: Paus. 1.44.8; [contests]: 10.7.3 (wins the citharodic contest at Delphi); [wisdom]: Hdt. 2.49; [Egypt?]: ibid., Diod. Sic. 1.97 (learns about the Dionysiac worship from the Egyptians or from Cadmus); [wealth]: Apollod. Bibl. 1.9.12, 2.2.2, Paus. 4.5.3, 2.18.4 (receives the cattle of Phylacus, becomes a king of Argos). [establishes a rite]: Hdt. 2.49 (introduces the worship of Dionysus and the phallic procession nto Greece).

Calchas

[clairvoyance]: Il. 1.69, 2.322, etc., Cy. arg. 6, 8, Apollod. Bibl. 3.13.8, Ep. 3.15, 3.20–21, 5.8, 5.25, Paus. 9.19.5; [links]: Apollod. Ep. 6.2–4, Str. 14.1.27 (642–643), Conon Narrat. 6 (Mopsus), Il., passim (the heroes); [traveling]: Apollod. Bibl. 6.2–4, Nos. arg. 2, Str. 14.4.3 (688) (Colophon), Soph. in Str. 14.1.27 (675), 14.1.27 (643) (Cilicia), Cy. arg. 6, 8 (Aulis, Troy), Str. 14.1.27 (642), Paus. 7.3.4 (Clarus); [cult]: Str. 6.3.9 (284) (a hero-temple and oracle in Daunia); [death]: Apollod. Ep. 6.2, 6.4, Str. 14.1.27 (642–643), 14.5.16 (675), Callin. in Str. 14.4.3 (668) (of grief), Conon Narrat. 6 (suicide), Serv. ad Verg. Ecl. 6.72 (of laughter), Tzetzes On Lycophr. 980 (killed by Heracles); [contest]:

*Mopsus*


*Helenus*

Lycurgus

[wisdom]: Plut. Lyc. 29.1–3 and passim; [links]: 1.2 (Homer), 1.1, 23.2 (Iphi-tus), 4.1 (Thales), 4.4 (the Creophylids); [travelling]: 3.5, 4.1 (Crete), 4.3
(Asia), 4.6 (Libya, Iberia, India), 5.3, 29.3 (Delphi); [law-giver and inventor]:
1.1, 5.6–8 and passim; [death]: 29.5; [quarrels]: 3.5, 11.1; [origin]: 1.4, 2.1;
[cult]: 31.5; [a disciple]: 11.2–3; [poverty]: cf. 8, 9, 13.3; [old age]: 29.4; [oracles]:
5.3, 6.1, 29.3–4, cf. 23.2; [Egypt]: 4.5; [two different persons]: 1.2; [blind
of one eye]: 11.1, cf. 11.4; [estab-lishes a rite]: 1.1, 23.2 (estab-lishes Olympic
Games), 25.2 (sets up a statute of Laughter, organizes drinking parties); [teachers]: 4.1; [politics]: 5.4–5 and passim; [maxims]: 19.3–4.

Solon

[wisdom]: Plut. Sol. 3.4, 8 and passim, Diog. L. 1.46; [links]: Plut. Sol. 1.2
and passim (Peisistratus), 4.1 (the Seven Sages), 5.1 (Anacharsis, Thales),
6.1 (Thales), 12.4 (Epimenides), 27 (Croesus), 28.1 (Aesop), Diog. L. 1.64
(Periander, Epimenides), 1.66–67 (Peisistratus, Croesus); [travelling]: Plut.
Sol. 2.1, 4.1 (Delphi, Corinth), 6.1 (Miletus), 26.1 (Egypt, Heliopolis, Sonchis
of Sais), 26.2 (Cyprus), 27 (Sardis), Diog. L. 1.50 (Egypt, Cyprus, Sardis),
5.51 (Cilicia), Suda s.v. Σόλον (Cilicia, Cyprus); [origin]: Plut. Sol. 1.1–2;
[poetry]: Plut. Sol. 2.2–3, 3.2–3, 3.4–5, 8.1–2, 14.4–6, 15.2, 16.2, 18.4, 26.1, 30.2, 31.3, Diog. L. 1.47–49, 1.52, Suda s.v. Σόλον;
3.3, 8.1–3, 14 and passim, Diog. L. 1.46, 1.49 and passim; [poverty]: Plut.
Sol. 3.1; [wealth]: Plut. Sol. 2.1, 3.2; [law-giver]: Plut. Sol. 1.3, 15.3 ff., 16.3,
17–25, Diog. L. 1.55 and passim, Suda s.v. Σόλον; [wit]: Plut. Sol. 5.1–2;
[one of the Seven Sages]: Plut. Sol. 3.4, 4.1, Suda s.v. Σόλον; [oikistes]: Plut.
Sol. 26, Diog. L. 1.51, Suda s.v. Σόλον (the foundation of Soloi); [maxims]:
15.7.

Bias

[wisdom, wealth]: Diog. L. 1.82–83, Hdt. 1.27, Suda s.v. Βίαντος Πριηνέως
dίξη; [travelling]: Hdt. 1.27 (Sardis); [links, politics]: Diog. L. 1.83 (Alyattes),
Hdt. 1.27 (Croesus); [a judge, old age, death]: Diog. L. 1.84; [poetry]: 1.85;
[maxims]: 1.86–88; [cult]: 1.88.

Chilon

[wisdom]: Hdt. 3.59, 7.235, Diog. L. 1.68 and passim, Paus. 10.24.1, cf. 3.16.4;
[links]: Diog. L. 1.69 (Aesop), 1.68 and Hdt. 1.59 (Hippocrates), Diog. L. 1.73
(Periander); [poetry, a judge]: 1.68, 1.71; [old age, death]: 1.72; [wit, politics]:
1.68; [maxims]: 1.69–1.70, 1.73; [clairvoyance]: 1.68, 71–72, Hdt. 3.59; [one
of the Seven Sages]: Paus. 10.24.1, Suda s.v. Χίλων; [cult]: Paus. 3.16.4; [a
proverb]: Suda loc. cit.
Thales

[wisdom]: Plut. Sol. 6, 21.6, Suda s.v. \( \Thetaαλης \), Hdt. 1.170, Diog. L. 1.23–24 and passim, (but cf. Diog. L. 1.34: fool as he falls into a ditch); [links]: Plut. Sol. 5.1 (Solon), Plut. Lyc. 4.1 (Lycurgus), Diog. L. 1.27 (Thrasylbulus), 1.38 (Croesus), 1.43–44 (Pherecydes and Solon), Hdt. 1.75 (Croesus); [traveling]: Diog. L. 1.24, 1.27 (Egypt), 1.43 (Crete, Egypt), 1.44 (Asia); [inventions/discoveries]: 1.23–24, 1.27; [death]: 1.39, Suda s.v. \( \Thetaαλης \); [origin]: Diog. L. 1.22; [poetry]: 1.29, Plut. Lyc. 4.1–4.2 (pro Thaletas?); [pupils]: Iambl. VP 12 (Pythagoras); [old age]: Suda s.v. \( \Thetaαλης \), Diog. L. 1.38; [politics]: 1.23, 1.25; [wealth]: 1.26; [maxims]: 1.33, 1.35–37, 1.40, Suda s.v. \( \Thetaαλης \); [wit]: Diog. L. 1.26, 1.35–37; [one of the Seven Sages]: 1.22, 1.28–31, 1.42, Paus. 10.24.1, Suda s.v. \( \Thetaαλης \).

Anacharsis

[wisdom, wit]: Hdt. 4.46, Eph. ap. Str. 7.3.9 (303), Str. 7.3.8 (301), cf. Paus. 1.22.8; Diog. L. 1.101 (Solon), 1.105 (Croesus); [travelling]: 1.101 (Athens), Paus. 1.22.8 [links]: (Delphi), Hdt. 4.76–77 (many places, Cyzicus, Greece); [inventions]: Diog. L. 1.105, Eph. ap. Str. 7.3.9 (303) (the bellows, anchor, potter’s wheel); [quarrels, establishes a rite, death]: Hdt. 4.76–77, Diog. L. 1.102–103; [origin]: Hdt. 4.76; [poetry, proverb]: Diog. L. 1.101; [maxims]: 1.103–104; [a law-giver]: 1.101–102; [one of the Seven Sages]: Eph. ap. Str. 7.3.9 (303).

Pittacus

[politics]: Diog. L. 1.74, Suda s.v. \( \Piττακος \); [poetry]: Suda loc. cit., Diog. L. 1.78; [links]: Hdt. 1.27, Diog. L. 1.75, 1.77, 1.81 (Croesus), 1.74 (Periander), 1.74 (Alcaeus); [travelling]: Hdt. 1.27 (Sardis); [quarrel, contest/single combat]: 1.74, Suda loc. cit.; [wisdom, wit, maxims]: Diog. L. 1.76–77, 1.79–80, Suda loc. cit.; [law-giver]: 1.76, Suda loc. cit.; [old age]: Suda loc. cit., Diog. L. 1.79; [two or more persons]: 1.79; [one of the Seven Sages]: Suda loc. cit.; [general at war]: Diog. L. 1.74; [unhappy personal life]: 1.81.

Periander

[politics]: Diog. L. 1.98, Suda s.v. \( \Piεριανδρος \) (pi,1068), Hdt. 5.95; [poetry]: Diog. L. 1.97, Suda s.v. \( \Piεριανδρος \) (pi,1067); [links]: Hdt. 1.20, 1.23, 5.92.6, Diog. L. 1.95, 1.100 (Thrasylbulus), 1.73 (Chilon), 1.64, Plut. Sol. 4.1 (Solon), Hdt. 1.23–24 (Arion); [death]: Diog. L. 1.96, Suda s.v. \( \Piεριανδρος \) (pi,1067); [origin]: Diog. L. 1.94, Hdt. 5.92.6–7, 5.95, 1.23; [contest]: Ephorus (70 F 178) in Diog. L. 1.96 (chariot-race); [wisdom]: Diog. L. 1.97–98, Hdt. 5.95; [old age]: Diog. L. 1.95, Hdt. 3.53; [an oracle]: 5.92.7; [two or more persons]: Diog. L. 1.98–99; [wit, maxims]: Diog. L. 97–98; [one of the Seven Sages]: Paus. 1.23.1, 10.24.1, Diog. L. 1.41, Suda s.v. \( \Piεριανδρος \) (pi,1067, cf. 1068); [kills a relative]: Hdt. 3.52, Suda s.v. \( \Piεριανδρος \) (pi,1068) [general at war]; Diog. L. 1.94, Hdt. 3.50; [supports arts]: Hdt. 1.23–24; [cruel]: Diog. L. 1.94–96, Hdt. 5.92.6–7, 3.48–53, Suda s.v. \( \Piεριανδρος \) (pi,1068), cf. Paus. 1.23.1; [unhappy personal life]: Diog. L. 1.94–95, 1.97.
**Peisistratus**

[politics]: Hdt. 1.59–63, 5.94, 6.35, Thuc. 6.54, Plut. Sol. 29.2–3, 30.1–4, 31.1–2, Diog. L. 1.66; [links]: Plut. Sol. 1.4, 29.2–3, 30.1–5, 31.1 (Solon); [travelling]: Hdt. 1.61 (Eretria), Eus. Chron. Ol.54.3 (Italy); [exile]: Hdt. 1.61–62, Eus. Chron. Ol.54.3; [origin]: Plut. Sol. 1.1, Hdt. 5.65; [wisdom]: 1.59, 1.63; [proverb]: Suda s.v. Ἐν Πυθιῳ κρεῖττον ἢν ἀποπατήσῃς (epsilon, 1428); [old age]: Thuc. 6.54; [oracles]: Hdt. 1.62, 1.64, cf. 1.59; [a law-giver]: Plut. Sol. 31.2, Suda s.v. 'Ἐν Πυθιῳ κρεῖττον ... (epsilon, 1428); [general at war]: 1–59, 1.62, 5.94; [establishes a rite]: Suda s.v. Πῦθιον (sets up a temple), Hdt. 1.64 (purifies Delos); [supports arts]: Ael. VH 13.14, Cic. De or. 3.34.137, Paus. 7.26.13, Vita Hom. 4, 5 (Anth. Pal. 11.442), Suda s.v. Ὀμήρου (collects the works of Homer), Gell. NA 7.17 (establishes the first public library at Athens).

**Polycrates**

[politics]: Hdt. 3.39, 3.44, 3.120, 3.122; [links]: 2.182, 3.39–40, 3.42–43, 3.125 (Amasis), 3.44 (Cambyses), 3.120, Paus. 1.2.3, Str. 14.1.16 (Anacreon), 14.1.16 (638), Iamb. VP 11, 88, Suda s.v. Πυθαγόρας (Pythagoras), cf. Suda s.v. Ἰβίκος (Ibycus on Samos at the time of Polycrates’ father); [travelling]: Thuc. 1.13, Hdt. 3.39 (captures many islands and towns), 3.125 (Magnesia); [death]: 3.122–125, Str. 14.1.16 (638), cf. Suda s.v. Πῦθα καὶ Δήλα (murdered); [quarrels]: Hdt. 3.39; [proverb]: Suda s.v. ταῦτα καὶ Πῦθα καὶ Δήλα; [oracles]: Hdt. 3.124, Suda s.v. Πῦθα καὶ Δήλα καὶ ταῦτα οἱ καὶ Πῦθα καὶ Δήλα, cf. Hdt. 3.132 (Polycrates’ soothsayer), 3.40–42 and Str. 14.1.16 (638) (the story of Polycrates’ ring); [kills a close relative, wealth]: Hdt. 3.39; [general at war]: Hdt. ibid., 3.54; [establishes a rite]: Suda s.v. Πῦθα καὶ Δήλα καὶ ταῦτα οἱ καὶ Πῦθα καὶ Δήλα (the Pythia and the Delia festivals on Delos); [supports arts]: Hdt. 3.120 (Anacreon in his court); [cruel]: Hdt. 3.39, 3.46, Suda s.v. Νεώσικοι.

**Croesus**

[politics]: Hdt. 1.26–57, 1.59, 1.65, 1.69–72, 1.73, 1.75–81, 1.84, 1.88, 1.155–156, 1.207; [links]: Hdt. 1.27 (Bias, Pittacus), 1.29–32, (the Sages and Solon), Suda s.v. Κροίος (kapa,2499), Diog. L. 1.67, Plut. Sol. 27–28 (Solon), Suda s.v. Μᾶλλον ὁ Φούξ (the Sages, Solon, Aesop), Plut. Sol. 28, Suda s.v. Αἶσος (alphaioi,334) (Aesop), Hdt. 1.75 (Thales), 1.86–90, 1.153, 1.211, 1.207–208, 1.153–156, 3.14, Suda s.v. Κρόος (kapa,2500), Plut. Sol. 28 (Cyrus); [travelling]: Hdt. 1.71 (Cappadocia), 1.153 (as a prisoner), 3.14 (Egypt); [origin]: Hdt. 1.6–21, 1.25–16; [wisdom]: 1.88, 3.34–36; [oracles]: Hdt. 1.34 (a dream), 1.46–49, 1.53, 1.55, 1.75, 1.78, 1.85–86, 1.90–91, Suda s.v. Κροίος (kapa,2500) and Λοξίας; [general at war]: Hdt. 1.29–32, 6.125, Suda s.v. Κροίος (kapa,2498,2500), Plut. Sol. 27 [wealth]; Hdt. 1.26, 1.71–81, 1.84; [unhappy personal life]: Hdt. 1.43–45 (son’s death), 1.86 ff. (a prisoner).
Heracles

[heroic deeds]: Apollod. Bibl. 1.3.5 (captures Troy), 1.6.1–2 (kills and wounds the Giants), 1.7.1 (releases Prometheus), 1.9.14 (rescues Persephone from Hades), 1.9.9, 2.7.3 (sacks Pylos, kills the sons of Neleus), 1.9.16 (one of the Argonauts), 2.4.9 (kills two serpents when infant), 2.4.9 (kills the lion of Cithairon), 2.5.1–12 (12 labours), 2.5.9 (rescues Hesione), 2.15.12 (rescues Theseus), etc.; [links]: Apollod. Bibl. 1.9.16 (the Argonauts), 2.4.11 (Creon), 2.5.12, Ep. 1.16, Paus. 1.17.4–5 (Theseus); [travelling]: Apollod. Bibl. 1.3.5, 2.6.4, 3.12.5 (Troy), 2.5.11, Str. 15.1.6 (Egypt), Apollod. Bibl. 2.5.11 (Arabia, Libya), 2.4.12 (Delphi, Tiryns), Stn. 11.5.5, (505), 15.1.6 (686), 17.3.7 (828) (India), 1.9.14 (Hades), etc.; [death]: Apollod. Bibl. 2.7.7, Str. 9.4.14 (428); [quarrels]; Apollod. Bibl. 2.6.4 (Laomedon), 2.6.1 (Eurytus), etc.; [exile]: Apollod. Bibl. 2.7.6; [origin]: Apollod. Bibl. 2.4.8, Str. 8.3.3 (355); [cult]: Apollod. Bibl. 2.5.11, Paus. 9.11.2, 1.19.3, 30.2, 5.15.7, Str. 5.3.3 (230), 15.1.58 (712), etc.; [contests]: Favorin. Corinth. 14 (Olympic games, pancration), Str. 8.3.30 (355) (Olympic games), cf. Apollod. Bibl. 2.5.10, 2.5.12, 1.6.1, 2.7.5; [proverbs]: Suda s.vv. Εἰκάς αὐτῆς τί Ἔρακλεῖ Εἰκάς αὐτῆς Ἔρακλῆς ἐσκεν, Γυνή εἰς Ἔρακλεῖς ὁποτα ἤσκεν, Ἔρακλῆς τί μαίνεται; [oracle]: Apollod. Bibl. 2.6.4, 2.6.2, Paus. 10.13.4, cf. Str. 5.3.3 (230); [change of name: from Alceides to Heracles]: Apollod. Bibl. 2.4.12; [οἰκιστές]: Str. 3.1.7 (140) (Calpe); [general at war]: Apollod. Bibl. 1.3.5, 2.6.4, 3.12.5 (Troy), 1.9.9, 2.7.3 (Pylos), 2.7.2 (Elis), 2.7.7 (Oichalia), etc.; [divine]: Apollod. Bibl. 2.7.7, cf. 2.4.12, Paus. 1.15.4, 1.32.4, Str. 5.3.3 (230); [teachers]: Apollod. Bibl. 2.4.9 (Amphilcon, Autolycus, Eurytus, Castor, Linus); [grows up abroad]: Apollod. Bibl. 2.4.9; [many lovers and children]: Apollod. Bibl. 2.6.4, 2.7.5 (Deianeira), 2.6.1, 2.7.7 (Iole), 2.7.4, 3.9.1 (Auge, Telephus), 2.4.11 (Megara and three sons), 2.7.6 (Tlepolemos), 2.7.7 (Hebe), 2.7.8 (wives, children); [establishes a rite]: Apollod. Bibl. 2.7.2, Pi. O. 10.23–27 (Olympic games, an altar of Pelops, six altars to the twelve gods), 2.7.7 (the altar to Cenian Zeus), Paus. 9.17.1 (a shrine to Artemis), Pi. O.2.3–4, 6.67–70, cf. Str. 8.3.30 (355), etc. (Olympic games); [magical objects]: Apollod. Bibl. 2.4.11 (a sword from Hermes, a bow and arrows from Apollo, a golden breastplate from Hephaestus, a robe from Athene); [unhappy personal life]: Apollod. Bibl. 2.4.12 (killed by Lycomedes, or slips and falls down the cliff); [quarrels]: Plut. Thes. 13.1–3, etc.; [exile]: Soph. OC 562–564, Plut. Thes. 35.3, Apollod. Ep. 1.24; [origin]: Plut. Thes. 3.1, cf. 6.1, 7.1; [cult]: Paus. 1.17.2, 1.17.6, Plut. Thes. 4, 27.5, 35.5, 36.2–3; [contests]: Plut. Thes. 19.2–3 (at funeral games in Crete),

Theseus

[heroic deeds]: Paus. 1.17.2–3, 1.27.8–9, 8.1–2, Plut. Thes. 9.1, 10.1, 11.1, 14.1, 15.1–19.1, 29.3, Apollod. Bibl. 1.8.2, 1.9.16, 2.6.4, 3.16.1–Ep. 1.5, Ep. 1.7–10, etc.; [poetry]: Plut. Thes. 25.3; [links]: Paus. 1.27.8, 1.17.4, Plut. Thes. 7.1, 26.1, 30.4, 35.1, Apollod. Bibl. 2.5.12 (Heracles), 1.9.16 (the Argonauts), Plut. Thes. 29.3 (Jason, Meleager, Adrastus); [travelling]: Plut. Thes. 5.1 (Delphi), 8.1 ff., 26.1, etc.; [death]: Plut. Thes. 35.4–5, Apollod. Ep. 1.24, cf. Paus. 1.17.6 (killed by Lycomedes, or slips and falls down the cliff); [quarrels]: Plut. Thes. 13.1–3, etc.; [exile]: Soph. OC 562–564, Plut. Thes. 35.3, Apollod. Ep. 1.24; [origin]: Plut. Thes. 3.1, cf. 6.1, 7.1; [cult]: Paus. 1.17.2, 1.17.6, Plut. Thes. 4, 27.5, 35.5, 36.2–3; [contests]: Plut. Thes. 19.2–3 (at funeral games in Crete),

**Achilles**


**Perseus**

[heroic deeds]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.2–3, Paus. 3.18.11, 3.17.3, 1.22.6–3, Suda s.v. Γογγώνες and Περσέως, etc. (the head of Gorgon), Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.4, Paus. 4.35.9, cf. Str. 10.5.10 (487) (rescues Andromeda); [travelling]: Apollod.
Bibl. 2.4.2, Paus. 3.17.3 (Asia, Ethiopia), Hdt. 2.91, cf. 6.53–54, Str. 17.1.43 (814), cf. 17.1.18 (801) (Egypt); [inventions]: Paus. 2.16.2 (discus); [quarrels, politics]: Apollod. Bibl. 2.4.4; [origin]: Il. 14.320, Apollod. Bibl. 2.4.1, Hdt. 6.53–54; [cult]: Paus. 2.18.1, Hdt. 2.9; [contest, kills a close relative]: Apollod. Bibl. 2.4.4; [oracles]: Apollod. Bibl. 2.4.3–4, Paus. 2.16.2; [oikistes]: Apollod. Bibl. 2.4.4, Paus. 2.15.4–16.3, Str. 8.6.19 (377) (Mycenae), Apollod. ibid. (fortifies Midea); [grows up abroad]: Apollod. Bibl. 4.9.1; [many lovers and children]: Hdt. 7.61, Apollod. Bibl. 2.4.3, 2.4.5 (Andromeda, sons and a daughter), Str. 16.4.20 (779) (Erythas); [magical objects]: Apollod. Bibl. 2.4.2, Paus. 3.17.3, Suda s.v. Περσεύς, cf. Hdt. 2.91, 2.150 (winged sandals, the kibibis, the cap of Hades, the sickle of Hermes); [establishes a rite]: Hdt. 2.91 (a gymnastic contest in Egypt).

Jason

[heroic deeds]: Apollod. Bibl. 1.8.2 (Calydonian boar), 1.9.16, Pi. P. 216 ff., Suda s.v. Δέος (the golden fleece); [links]: Apollod. Bibl. 1.8.2 (Calydonian boar hunters), 1.9.16 (the Argonauts), 1.9.28 (Creon); [travelling]: Pi. P. 216 ff., Eur. Med. 1–14, Apollod. Bibl. 1.9.16 ff. (on Argo), Paus. 2.3.7 (Corfu), Str. 11.4.8 (503), 11.13.10 (526), 11.14.12 (531) (Armenia, Media), 1.2.39 (46); [death]: Diod. Sic. 4.55 (of grief), Eur. Med. 1386–1388 (Argo’s poop falls upon Jason and kills him); [quarrels]: Apollod. Bibl. 1.9.18 (Çyüzis), 1.9.23 (Aetes), 1.9.27 (Pelas); [exile]: Eur. Med. 1–14, Apollod. Bibl. 1.9.27; [origin]: 1.9.16, cf. Str. 1.2.38 (45); [cult]: Paus. 1.34.2, Str. 11.4.7 (503), 11.13.10 (562), 11.14.12 (531), 1.2.39 (45); [contests]: Paus. 5.17.10 (takes part in wrestling competition at the funeral games of Pelas); [oracles]: Apollod. Bibl. 1.8.2, 1.9.16, 1.9.21; [change of name]: Pi. P. 4.119 with schol. ad loc. (211 ab Dr.); [politics]: Paus. 2.3.7 (king of Corinth); [a teacher]: Pi. N. 3.53–54 (Cheiron); [general at war]: Apollod. Bibl. 3.13.7, Suda s.v. Αταλάντη; [grows up abroad]: cf. Apollod. Bibl. 1.9.16 (lives in the country); [many wives and children]: Pi. P. 4.221, Eur. Med. passim (Medea, the Corinthian princess), Paus. 2.3.7, 5.18.3, Apollod. Bibl. 1.9.23, 1.9.25 (Medea), 1.9.17, Il. 7.468–470, 23.747, Str. 1.2.38 (45) (Hypsipyle and sons), Apollod. Bibl. 1.9.28 (Glauce), Paus. 5.1.8 (Apis); [establishes a rite]: Apollod. Bibl. 1.9.26, Apoll. Rhod. Argon. 4.1765–1772, Str. 6.1.1 (252); [magical objects]: Apollod. Bibl. 1.9.23 (bronze-footed bulls, dragon’s teeth), 1.9.24 (Argo speaks).

Orestes

[heroic deeds]: Apollod. Ep. 6.27, Paus. 3.16.7 (brings the wooden statue from Tauris, rescues Iphigeneia); [travelling]: Apollod. Ep. 6.24 (Delphi), 6.25 (Athens), 6.27 (the land of the Taurians, Rhodes), 6.28 (Arcadia), etc.; [death]: 6.28, cf. Str. 13.1.3 (582) (of snake-bite at Orestes in Arcadia), cf. Paus. 3.11.10 (a grave in Laconia); [quarrels]: Apollod. Ep. 6.25, etc.; [exile]: Str. 7.7.8 (326); [origin]: Soph. El. 153, Eur. Or. 20–24, Apollod. Ep. 2.1–16; [cult]: cf. 6.28, Paus. 8.34.2–3, 8.54.4, 2.17.3, Str. 12.2.3 (535); [a proverb]: Suda s.v. Εὔνοος ὁ σφάστης; [oracles]: Hdt. 1.67–68, Eur. Iph. Taur. 83 ff., Or. 1643, Apollod. Ep. 6.24, Paus. 8.5.4, 3.11.10, 3.3.6; [politics]: Paus. 2.18.5
(king of Sparta, acquires most of Arcadia), 8.5.1 (king of Achaea), 3.16 (king of Laconia); [oikistes]: Str. 7.7.8 (326), 13.1.3 (582); [grows up abroad]: Eur. El. 15–18, Apollod. Ep. 6.24; [many lovers and children]: Apollod. Ep. 6.14, 6.28, Paus. 1.33.7, 2.18.5, Tzetzes On Lycophr. 1374 (Hermione and Tisamenus), 2.18.5, 7.6.2, 3.2.1, Apollod. Ep. 6.28, Str. 13.1.3 (582) (Erigone and Penthilus); [kills a close relative]: Aesch. Cho. and Eum. passim, Apollod. Ep. 6.25, Paus. 1.22.6, etc. (mother); [establishes a rite]: Paus. 7.25.4, cf. Suda s.v. Χόες (chi, 369 and 370).
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