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GREEK LYRIC
STESICHORUS, IBYCUS,
SIMONIDES, AND OTHERS



Edited and Translated by
DAVID A. CAMPBELL

GREEK LYRIC

III

江苏工业学院图书馆
SIES CHORUS, BACCHUS,
SIMONIDES, AND OTHERS

藏书章
EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

DAVID A. CAMPBELL



HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
LONDON, ENGLAND

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*First published 1991
Reprinted 2001*

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Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 82-178982
CIP data available from the Library of Congress

ISBN 0-674-99525-2

*Typeset by Chiron, Inc, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
Printed in Great Britain by St Edmundsbury Press Ltd,
Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk, on acid-free paper.
Bound by Hunter & Foulis Ltd, Edinburgh, Scotland.*

PREFACE

This volume is devoted mainly to the poetry of Stesichorus, Ibycus and Simonides: Corinna, Bacchylides and other choral poets will follow in volume IV, and volume V will contain minor poets, drinking songs and other anonymous pieces.

It gives me pleasure to record my gratitude for Research Grants awarded by the University of Victoria and Research Time Stipends granted by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. I wish also to thank Malcolm Davies, Michael Haslam, John Oleson and Martin West for their help, the Librarian and staff of the McPherson Library, University of Victoria, for obtaining rare books and periodicals, the Egypt Exploration Society for permission to include parts of P.Oxy. 3876 (Stesichorus 222B), Philippa Goold for her careful editing, and yet again Mrs. A. Nancy Nasser for typing the manuscript.

David A. Campbell

University of Victoria
January 1991

**To my colleagues
in the
Department of Classics
of the
University of Victoria**

*πολλοὶ παρ κρήτηρι φίλοι γίνονται ἑταῖροι,
ἐν δὲ σπουδαίῳ πρήγματι παυρότεροι.*

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INTRODUCTION

OUR earliest texts of choral poetry are from the Peloponnese: Eumelus, a Corinthian nobleman, wrote his Delian processional song for the Messenians c. 750 B.C.; Terpander, Thaletas and Polymnestus made their homes in Sparta a century later; and Alcman's poems were composed for Spartan choirs in the last decades of the seventh century. In the sixth century, however, the most important figures belong to Sicily and south Italy.

ARION

Arion, like Terpander, came to the Peloponnese from Lesbos, but he provides a link with Western Greece, since he made a successful tour of Sicily and Italy as a cithara-singer. His professional career in Corinth fell in the reign of the tyrant Periander (c. 625–585: test. 3), and the dates offered by Eusebius and the *Suda* (testt. 1, 2) no doubt depend on this synchronism. Some authorities regarded him as a pupil of Alcman (test. 1), but he may have been his contemporary. His contribution to choral poetry lay in the development of the dithyramb, and the names which he gave to his poems (test. 3) must

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have indicated their various subjects, perhaps not all of them connected with Dionysus. Statements about his 'tragic style' (test. 1) or even his composition of tragedies (test. 6) must be due to scholars who, like Aristotle, believed that tragedy had its origin in the dithyramb. No scrap of his poetry survives.

STESICHORUS

Stesichorus referred somewhere in his poetry to a predecessor, Xanthus, who composed an *Oresteia* which Stesichorus was said to have adapted, and this Xanthus may have been a western Greek. Stesichorus certainly was, although there was dispute about his birthplace and the place of his burial. Perhaps he was born in Metauron in the toe of Italy, but he was called 'the Himeraeon' and must have spent some of his life at Himera on the north coast of Sicily: he mentioned the city and its river in his poetry (270). Anecdotes linked him with Locri (test. 17; cf. 19), and he may have lived there for part of his life. He seems to have been buried in Catana (testt. 1, 22) in east Sicily. It is possible that he spent some time in the Peloponnese: according to one report he was exiled from Pallantium in Arcadia (test. 1); he sets the story of Orestes in Sparta instead of Mycenae (216), possibly for the gratification of a Spartan audience; and if fr. S 166 (= Ibycus 282A fr. 1) belongs to him rather than to

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Ibycus, it too might be taken as evidence of his wish to please the Spartans. The *Parian Marble* records that he 'arrived in Greece' in 485/4 B.C. (test. 6), but the date is far too late and the entry is of doubtful value.

Stesichorus was known to have lived before Simonides, who mentioned him in his poetry (Stes. 179 = Simon. 564), and this fact must account for the dating of Stesichorus' death in the year in which Simonides was born (testt. 1, 2). Likewise the year of his birth was placed a conventional forty years after the *floruit* of Alcman (27th Olympian, according to *Suda*: Alcman. test. 1), who was believed to have been earlier. But the resultant dates for Stesichorus, c. 632–c. 556, fit reasonably well with other indications of his life-span, the synchronism with Sappho, Alcaeus and Pittacus (test. 4), with Phalaris though not with Pythagoras (test. 5), and with the dating of the poet's brother between Thales and Pythagoras (test. 15). The date offered by the *Parian Marble* (c. 485: test. 6) is clearly wrong, and the 87 years attributed to the poet by 'Lucian' (test. 7) may be inaccurate. The tale which linked him to the fighting between Locri and Croton would give a later date if it is correctly placed c. 540 (test. 19 with n. 2); but the link is a very weak one, and the date of the battle is uncertain. The eclipse which Stesichorus mentioned (271) is likely to have been that of 557 (see M. L. West, *Classical Quarterly* 21, 1971, 306). His active life belongs to the first half of

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the sixth century.

His work was collected in 26 books, according to the *Suda* (test. 1): this is a very large figure in comparison with Sappho's 9, Alcaeus' probable 10, Ibycus' 7, Anacreon's probable 5 and Pindar's 17; since he was quoted not by the book number but by the titles of his poems, e.g. the *Scylla*, it is likely that it was 26 long poems that survived. We have titles for about half of them, and we know that the *Geryoneis* had at least 1300 lines and may have been considerably longer (P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 7 = S 27). His subjects were the Trojan War and its aftermath (*Helen, Wooden Horse, Sack of Troy, Homecomings, Oresteia* in two books), the Argonauts (*Funeral Games of Pelias*), the adventures of Heracles (*Geryoneis, Cycnus, Cerberus, perhaps Scylla*), the Theban story (*Eriphyle, Europa*), and Meleager and the Calydonian boar (*Boar-hunters*).

The discovery of fragments of his poems on papyrus has confirmed the testimony of ancient writers that he was 'most Homeric' (test. 39: cf. 24, 34, 36, 37, 41): he dealt with epic themes, his metres were mainly dactylic although not in continuous hexameters, and his amplitude and nobility of style could be called Homeric. The other side of the coin, his longwindedness (test. 41: cf. 24), is also attested by the papyrus fragments: in the *Geryoneis* the speech in which Geryon ponders his death (fr. S 11) is separated by nearly 400 lines from the account of his death (fr. S 15).

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It has been universally assumed that Stesichorus was a choral poet: he was said to have acquired his name because he 'established choruses' (test. 1), and the triadic structure of his poems (test. 30) was taken to indicate choral performance. A strong case, however, has been made by M. L. West (*loc. cit.* 307 ff.) for regarding him as a singer, performing his own songs to his cithara accompaniment.

In comparison with the monodists and Alcman, Stesichorus attracted little scholarly attention. The Peripatetic writer Chamaeleon wrote a treatise on him c. 300 B.C., and in the Augustan age Tryphon will have drawn on him for his study of the dialect of Himera (test. 31).

ECHEMBROTUS AND SACADAS

We know little about the lyric poetry of these Peloponnesian musicians: Echembrotus inscribed six short lines on the tripod with which he commemorated his Pythian victory in pipe-singing (586 B.C.), and he says that he sang 'songs and laments' at the festival; Sacadas was famous for his performances on the pipes, but 'Plutarch' speaks of a composition, the Three-part nome, which he describes as a choral work, and it is possible that Sacadas was the author of a *Sack of Troy* which listed the Greeks who hid in the wooden horse. He may have composed choral music for the Peloponnesian festivals with which he was associated (test. 2).

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IBYCUS

The testimonia for the life of Ibycus are few and usually difficult to interpret. His birthplace is likely to have been Rhegium, and he is certainly referred to as Ibycus the Rhegine, but a late source (test. 2) offers Messana as an alternative. A Hellenistic epigram (test. 6), which may be no more than 'a flight of fancy' (Gow-Page), celebrates Rhegium as his burial-place. Antipater of Sidon, who gives the earliest version of the much-repeated story of his murder by bandits, says that the circumstances of his death were revealed in Corinth (test. 5).

There was a story that he might have been tyrant, presumably in Rhegium, but left the city instead (test. 4). According to the emended text of the *Suda* (test. 1) he went from Rhegium to Samos when Polycrates' father ruled the island. That Ibycus arrived in the time of the tyrant's father is likely to be an inference from 282(a), part of a poem which Ibycus ends by promising everlasting fame to Polycrates: it was (and still is) possible to interpret the lines as meaning that his fame would be due to his beauty, in which case he was a youth and not yet tyrant. Anacreon likewise was said to have been fetched to Samos by Polycrates' father to tutor the boy in music (fr. 491).

The date of Ibycus' arrival in Samos is expressed in two ways in the *Suda*: it was 'in the time of Croesus' and it fell in the 54th Olympiad (564/560

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B.C.). Croesus, who reigned in Sardis from c. 560 to c. 546, may have been mentioned by Ibycus in his poetry, or his name may be another way of indicating that Ibycus' arrival in Samos occurred before the maturity of Polycrates, who was tyrant in the days of Cambyses, son of Cyrus, the conqueror of Croesus. The 54th Olympiad is usually but not convincingly regarded as too early for Ibycus' arrival, and Mosshammer argues for 547/6 B.C., the year of Croesus' death. Eusebius' date for the poet's *floruit* is c. 540/539 (test. 3).

The remains of Ibycus' poetry add a little information about his life: it has been guessed from the allusions to Sicyonian myth (fr. 282(a). 40 ff., 308, 322) that he spent time in Sicyon, and frr. 282A(i) and (xi) and 339 may have been composed in Sparta. Fr. 282B(i) seems to commemorate an athlete from Leontini in Sicily; he sang of the mole built to connect Ortygia with the mainland (fr. 321), and an anecdote (fr. 343) mentions a journey from Catana to Himera. Schneidewin suggested that Ibycus' poetic career had two phases: an earlier period when he worked in the Greek west and wrote poems on mythological themes in the manner of Stesichorus, and a later period when he composed erotic verse to please his patron Polycrates; but it is sometimes difficult to separate the mythological and erotic themes (see especially 289, but also 282(a), 282B(v), 284, 309), and in any case there is no certainty that Ibycus stayed on in Samos after the murder of

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Polycrates in 522: Anacreon is known to have left for Athens. The construction of the Syracusan mole to which Ibycus refers is dated c. 530 by Dunbabin (*The Western Greeks* 62). He may well have spent the last years of his life in the west.

His poetry was collected in seven books, on what principle we do not know. His love-poetry was what later generations particularly remembered, sometimes with distaste (testt. 11, 12); but he made extensive use of mythological themes, whether in lengthy Stesichorean-type poems or as part of his love-songs. We have allusions to the adventures of Heracles (282A (viii), (xii), 285, 298–300), Meleager (290) and the Argonauts (291, 301) and to the Trojan war and its sequel (especially 282(a), 282B(v), 293–297), all themes which Stesichorus had handled. He displays a marked interest in those myths which have erotic interest: the rivalry of Deiphobus and Idomeneus for Helen's love (297), the reunion of Menelaus and Helen in Troy (296), the rape of Ganymede and of Tithonus, mentioned in 'the song to Gorgias' (289), the beauty and death of Troilus (282(a), 282B(v)), Endymion (284); and the description of Talos as *erastes* of Rhadamanthys (309) shows that he played a part in what K. J. Dover calls 'the homosexualisation of mythology'.

The earliest epinician poetry has been accredited to Simonides, but recent papyrus finds suggest that Ibycus anticipated him: 282B(i) talks of boasts and success and athletics, and in 282B(ii), the title of

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which, 'Callias', is likely to be the name of the honorand, Ibycus speaks of his boasts and of possible criticism (cf. fr. 311) in tones reminiscent of Pindar's victory-odes.

LASUS

Lasus belonged to Hermione, a small city in the northeast Peloponnese, and he composed a hymn for Demeter of Hermione, but much of his life seems to have been spent in Athens: it was there that he came upon Onomacritus in the act of forgery (test. 2), and there also that he played a role in the development of the dithyramb (testt. 1, 3, 5); in one of his poems (fr. 705) he mentioned Buzyges, a hero of importance only in Attica. Like Anacreon and Simonides he must have enjoyed the patronage of Hipparchus. The date of his birth is given as 548/544 B.C., and his known activities are datable to the late sixth century (test. 1 with n. 5, testt. 2-4).

His importance in the history of the dithyramb is clear from the ancient testimony but difficult to assess. Some scholars made him rather than Arion the first to organise the circular chorus which sang the dithyramb (e.g. Arion test. 4). The *Suda* (unless Garrod's emendation of the text is accepted) says that he introduced dithyrambic competitions, while the *Parian Marble* reports that the first dithyrambs were performed in 509/8 B.C., when the obscure Hypodicus of Chalcis 'was the winner'. It may be

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that Lasus introduced competing dithyrambs for the City Dionysia in the time of the tyrants, who attached great importance to the festival, and that the date of the *Marble* is that of the first competition to be held under the democracy. That Lasus was believed in the fifth century to have taken part in dithyrambic competition is shown by Aristophanes' joke about the rival chorus-masters, Lasus and Simonides (test. 3).

The *Suda* says that he was the first to compose a study of music. This has been doubted as improbable in the sixth century, although the book on medicine written by Alcmaeon of Croton would be contemporary. His views on musical theory were cited by Aristoxenus and later writers (testt. 7, 8, test. 1 n. 4), but they may have been known only through oral tradition. As a poet he was remembered for his experiments in euphony (frr. 702(b), 704) and for the elaboration of his work (test. 9). Like Simonides he was regarded as a sophist before his time, interested in the manipulation of words and in eristic skill (testt. 1, 10, 11). Some classed him among the Seven Sages (test. 1), and examples of his wisdom were quoted (test. 12). The Peripatetics were the first to display a scholarly interest in him: Chamaeleon wrote an account of him (test. 10), and Aristoxenus is likely to have devoted space to him in his work *On the Dithyrambic Poets* as well as in his *Harmonics* (test. 7).