

SARAH MACE

UTOPIAN AND EROTIC FUSION IN A NEW ELEGY BY SIMONIDES (22 WEST<sup>2</sup>)

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Only such sensational finds as have come to light with the publication of *P. Oxy.* 3956<sup>1</sup> could have overshadowed yet another treasure from the same papyrus: a beautiful and unusual new sympotic elegy by Simonides, now 22 West<sup>2</sup>. We owe the recovery of this poem to the efforts of P. Parsons, who worked out the relationships between a small fragment of the new papyrus (3956, fr. 27) and three separate scraps of anonymous elegiac verse published by Lobel in 1954 (*P. Oxy.* 22.2327 [hereafter "Lobel"]).<sup>2</sup> To accompany his reconstruction, Parsons also provided a wealth of parallels and suggested a variety of interpretations (Parsons, 24, 45-49). M. L. West, for his part, edited the elegy along with the other new fragments in *IEG II*<sup>2</sup> and suggested generous supplements for its many lacunae. West's own interpretation of the poem appears in *ZPE* 98 (1993), 1ff. (hereafter "West").<sup>3</sup> The following examination of the language and themes of Simonides 22 builds on these solid foundations, but leads to some conclusions that are more specific than Parsons' and different from West's.

The remains of the elegy consist of twenty-one, mostly fragmentary verses. Both beginning and end of the poem are lost, but luckily the best preserved portion contains its core: the speaker's wish to travel to an idyllic island. The text offered below is based on Parsons and West, with most supplements relegated to an *apparatus*.

*P. Oxy.* 2327 fr. 3 + 2(a) col. ii + (b) + 4 + 3965 fr. 27:<sup>4</sup>

1	[	]	οἱ τὶ θαλάσσης
	[	]	οὐσα πόρον·
	[	]	μενος ἔνθα περᾶνα[
4	[	]	οἶμι κέλευθο[ν
	[	]	ν κόμ[ο]ν ἰο[ε]φάνων
	[	]	ἔδος πολὺδενδρον ἰκο[ίμην
8	ε . [ . . . . ]	εὐαγ[έ]α νῆσον, ἄγαλμα β[ί]ου·	

<sup>1</sup> *P. Oxy.* 59.3956, edited by P. Parsons (hereafter "Parsons"), with remnants of at least two historical elegies by Simonides and fragments that radically alter our impression of a well-known extant elegy (Simonides 19 and 20 West<sup>2</sup>). I would like to thank Alan Cameron for first calling my attention to the new Simonides; David Sider and Deborah Boedeker encouraged and advised me in the first phase of composition. I am especially grateful to Ludwig Koenen, whose critical acumen and scholarly expertise helped improve this article. My colleague Scott Scullion kindly read the penultimate version of this piece and suggested some apt refinements.

<sup>2</sup> For the details see note 4. Lobel, who "assembled" the fragments of 3965 and "left a transcript and some notes toward a commentary" (Parsons, 4-5) saw the relationship between 3965 fr. 27 and 2327 fr. 3 and 4. The insight that "fr. 4 must combine with fr. 1-2 col. ii" as being "two parallel strips" belongs to Parsons (*ib.* 4-7, 24, 45, 46-49). He frames his invaluable proposal most modestly: "the combination of 2327 fr. 4 with fr. 1-2 ii produces sense enough to seem plausible" (*ib.* 49).

<sup>3</sup> References to Simonides' elegies follow the numeration in *IEG*<sup>2</sup>. To my knowledge only one other published discussion to date (March 1996) has been devoted to Simonides 22: R. Hunter, *ZPE* 99 (1993), 11-14 (hereafter, "Hunter"; see further n. 81). See also Rutherford and others forthcoming in *Arethusa* (1996), ed. D. Sider and D. Boedeker.

<sup>4</sup> *P. Oxy.* 2327 fr. 3 (22.1-7) = adesp. eleg. 29 *IEG II*<sup>1</sup>; *P. Oxy.* 2327 fr. 4 (22.8-14, center section) = adesp. eleg. 31 *IEG II*<sup>1</sup>; *P. Oxy.* 2327 fr.2(a) col. ii + (b) (22.8-21, left section) = adesp. eleg. 30 *IEG II*<sup>1</sup>; 3965 fr. 27 (22.6-15, right section). In both papyri variants and additions were made by the original hand, though in 3965 still others were made by a second hand (Lobel, 67; Parsons, 5). Parsons' observation (47) that "such interlinear variants may preserve corruptions just as much as corrections" is quite to the point. In the case of this poem, at least, the readings in *both* papyri seem superior to the variants. The correction in 1 (-οἱ τὶ to -οἶο) perhaps (?) regularizes a transferred epithet (see n. 6 below); in 7 the *l.v.* πολὺμνον in 2327 is less apposite than πολὺδενδρον (see n. 31 below); for λειβ- rather than λειπ- in 12, see n. 47 below; for εὐκομπ[ rather than εὐτομπ[ in 21, see Part III with n. 76 below.

κα[ί κεν] Ἐχεκ[ρατί]δην ξανθότρ[ιχα  
 ὄφ[ . . . . . ] ν χειρα λάβοιμ[ι  
 ὄφρα νεό[ν] χ[αρίε]ντος ἀπὸ χροὸς ἀν[θος  
 12 λείβοι δ' ἐκ βλ[εφάρ]ων ἡμερόντα [πόθον·  
 καί κεν ἐγ[ὼ(ν) ] ὄος ἐν ἄνθε[σι(ν)  
 κεκλιμένος λευκ[ο]ῖς φαρκίδακ ἐκ [·  
 χαίτη[ι]ν χαρίε[ν]τ]α νεοβλαστ[  
 16 [ . . . . . ] εὐάνθ[ε]α πλε[ . . . . . ] κτέφανον  
 μο[ . . . . . ] δ' ἡμερόντα λιγὺν [·  
 ἄρτι[επέα] νωμῶν γλωσσαν ἀ[  
 [ . . . . . ]  
 20 τῶνδε [·  
 εὐκομπ[·  
 [ . . . . . ]

1 ] οῖσι (l. v. ] οῖο) Lobel (o suprascr.) : ῥο[θ]ίοι (l. v. ῥο[θ]ίοιο) Parsons 2 ]ρῖ? Parsons : φέ[ρ]ουσα (sc. navis)? West  
 3 περάνα[ε Lobel vel περᾶνα[ι West 5 πρήσσοιμι West : ἀνύ]οιμι possis coll. Eur. *Hipp.* 742-743 κέλευθο[ν  
 Parsons 6 suppl. Lobel 7 εὐαγέων δ' ἀνδρῶν ἐς] e.g. West πολυδε[ 3965 : πολύ]δενδρον 2327 : πο-  
 λύ]υμον l. v. 2327 ἰκο[ίμην West 8 ε[ 2327 (εξ[ Lobel : ἐξ[περον spatío longius, Parsons) ]ευ litt. ] v  
 suprascriptis 2327; corr. ad finem verbi praecedentis ref. εὐ[βοτον] et l. v. εὐ[βοτρυν] suppl. West, sed litteram υ legi posse  
 negat Lobel ]ενα [2327 fr. 2(a) col. ii, ]α 2327 fr. 4; εὐαγ[έ]α West apud Parsons : ]εὐαέα West qui verbum corruptum  
 esse putat coll. lin. 7 β[ί]ου West (β vel κ[ Parsons qui θ[εῶν exclusit) 9 suppl. Parsons 10 ]ον vel ]ων  
 Parsons; ὄφ[θαλμοῖσιν ἰδ]ῶν West λάβοιμ[ι vel λάβοι Parsons λάβοιμ[ι φίλην (vel πάλιν) West 11 ὄφ-  
 ρα (ὄφρ' α-) Parsons; ὄφρα νεό[ν] χ[αρίε]ντος West ἀν[θος ἀείη] (vel ἔλοι με) West : ἀν[θινον ὄζει e.g. Parsons  
 12 λείβοι West : λείβει (l. v. λείπει) 2327 βλ[εφάρ]ων West [πόθον Parsons 13 κεν ἐγ[ὼ(ν) Parsons  
 ] 2327 (]ρ? Lobel , ]υ in utraque pap. Parsons); μετὰ πα]ιδὸς West ἐν ἄνθε[σι (vel ἄνθε[ι] Parsons; ἐν ἄνθε[σι  
 ἀβρὰ πάθοιμι West coll. Solon 24.4; coll. Arch. 196a.42-43 possis ἐν ἄνθε[σι τηλεθάεσσι 14 λευκ[ά]ς West vel λευ-  
 κ[ο]ῖς Parsons ἐκ[ροφυγῶν (π[ vel τ[ vel γ[ Parsons: ἐκτ[ὸς ἐλῶν West (vide etiam adn. 53) 15 χαίτη[ . . . ]ν  
 2327 : χαίτη[ι]ν vel χαίτη [μῆ]ν West apud Parsons χαρίε[ν]τ]α Parsons, West (χαρίε[ 2327; ]α 3965) νεο-  
 βλαστ[ 3965 : νεοβλάστ[οισιν ἔλαια Parsons : νεοβλάστ[οιο κυπέιρου (vel -οι' ἐλιχρύσου) West 16 π[οικίλον] e.g.  
 West πλε[κ- vel πλε[ξ- (πλε[ξάμενος) Lobel [κτέφανον Lobel 17 e.g. Μο[ύσαις], μο[λπαις], μο[λπῆι  
 West : μο[λπῆς] Parsons λιγὺν π[ροχέοιμι κεν οἶμον e. g. suppl. West coll. Alcaei fragmento *PLF* 347(b) 18 ἀρ-  
 τι[επέα] Lobel 20-21 e frustrulo separato huc adduxit Lobel 21 ευκομπ[ : ευπομπ[ l. v. (π supra κ scr.)

## I. Language and Themes

### A. Travel (1-5 [+6?])

Perhaps as many as twenty verses into the poem, but more likely nearer the beginning,<sup>5</sup> three frag-  
 mentary line-endings refer to a voyage by sea: 1 θαλάσσης;<sup>6</sup> 2 πόρον;<sup>7</sup> and 3 ἔνθα περανα[. <sup>8</sup> No part of  
 4 is preserved (a pentameter), but in the next verse the speaker expresses a wish to take a journey in his  
 own person: ]οιμι κέλευθο[ν.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> West estimates that "less than twenty lines" stood between this poem and Sim. eleg. 21 (12). Parsons, likewise: "ten to twenty verses might be lost in between" (49; cf. 7, 33). Since both beginning and end are lacking, Simonides 22 was at least 21+ verses long and could have been 41+; indications of a frame in the extant text suggest that the lower number is more nearly correct. Parsons (*loc. cit.*) wonders whether Simonides eleg. 28 (3, first line) with its "reference to a symposium, desire and perhaps old age" should be joined with 22. I agree with West (*loc. cit.*) that these fragments come from different poems; although the two share some themes, the development of each appears to be independent. Cf. Hunter (n. 3 above), 12 and Rutherford (n. 3 above).

<sup>6</sup> Unless Parsons' supplement is along the right lines, we need a "transferable" adjective that could have plausibly modified both θαλάσσης and an appropriate dative plural.

<sup>7</sup> -ουσι ἄπορον is possible (Parsons, *loc. cit.*), but ἔνθα implies arrival. For more on πόρος, see n. 14 below.

<sup>8</sup> "Apparently περάνα[ε for which περήναε would be expected" (Lobel, 75).

<sup>9</sup> West's supplement must be substantially if not literally correct. Hunter (n. 3 above), 13 suggests ἐθέλω]οιμι κέλευθο[ν (cf. Theocr. 7.61-2); for problems with interpreting Simonides 22 via Theocr. 7.61-71, see n. 81 below.

It might seem self-evident that 1-4 are part of the speaker's wish and that 5ff. are resumptive; Lobel paraphrased 3: "Having finished my journey?" (Lobel, 75). κέλευθος, however, could be indefinite ("a journey") and, thus, initiate a new phase of the discourse. In this case, 22.1-4 would contain a description of a voyage other than the poet's own; Simonides presumably identified the other traveller and (with ἔνθα) stated his destination.<sup>10</sup> West, too, believes that 1-4 are separate from the speaker's wish ("Simonides will hardly have spent seven lines getting from his embarkation to the mention of his destination"). He suggests that 1-4 refer to a journey to be undertaken by Simonides' addressee(s) and interprets the poem as a propemptikon (West, 13).<sup>11</sup> One must wonder, though, whether the link between the voyage described in 1-4 and the speaker's own was quite so arbitrary.<sup>12</sup> Should not this first voyage be more directly relevant to the speaker's wish—paradigmatic in some way?

Since the speaker refers in 5ff. to an imaginary journey to a utopian island (see Part II), any number of voyages from myth and heroic legend could have served as a paradigm for the poet's own.<sup>13</sup> One possibility is a voyage of adventure to a fabulous landscape like Herakles' trips to the far west, perhaps, or a journey involving the Argonauts.<sup>14</sup> A portion of Stesichorus' account of a voyage to the island of the Hesperides in the *Geryonis* resembles Simonides 22.1-8 at points (Stes. *SLG* S8.1-4; Erythia and an infant Erytion? Page, *SLG ad loc.*; cf. Davies, *PMGF* I):<sup>15</sup>

διὰ κ[ύ]μαθ' ἄλως βαθέας ἀφίκον-  
το θ]εῶν περικαλλέ[αν ν]ᾶσον  
τόθι Ἐσπερίδες π[αγγρ]ύσεια δώ-  
μα]τ' ἔχοντι·

Another possibility for the paradigmatic voyage of 1-4 is a subject that was already popular with the poets: Helios' daily trek from the East to the western Hesperides (with a requisite allusion to his return journey in his famous cup). Once again, Stesichorus' version recalls the opening verses of Simonides 22: ὄφρα δι' ὠκεανοῖο περάσας | ἀφίκοιτο, sc. Helios (Stes. *PMG* 185.2-3; *PMGF* I S17.2-4); despite a troubled text, Aeschylus' may as well.<sup>16</sup> The most likely hypothesis, however, is that 1-4 contain an account of some individual who was translated to an idyllic existence after death. Tradition associates several heroes with this fate (e.g. Menelaos, Achilles, Peleus, Diomedes, Kadmos), but the possibilities are by no means limited to these (cf. Parsons, 49):<sup>17</sup> an Attic skolion proclaims that Harmodius joined

<sup>10</sup> ]μενος and περάνα[ς (3) suggest a masculine subject.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Simonides' propemptikon for Hieron of Syracuse (*PMG* 580). West's proposal depends in part on reading the variant εὐπομπ[ι] at 21 (see n. 76 below and Part III with n. 81).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. West *loc. cit.*: "Simonides turned aside for a few moments to describe the voyage he personally would like to make." (My emphasis.)

<sup>13</sup> For heroic and mythic content in elegy, cf. e.g. Call. 6 (Thebes), Mim. 19 (Niobe) and 21 (Ismene) with West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (Berlin 1974), 14 and n. 22. (Hereafter, "West, *Studies*.") For the idea of a "mainly mythological" Lyde of Antimachus, see *ib.* 18. Most relevant to the present context are: Mim. 11, 11a (the Argonaut voyage, see next n., end) and 12 (the sun's cup, see below with n. 16).

<sup>14</sup> For πόρος of ocean crossings in the context of fantastic journeys, cf. e.g. πόρον Ὠκεανοῖο (Hes. *Th.* 292, Herakles' return with Geryon's cattle πέρην κλυτοῦ Ὠκεανοῖο [294]); παρ' Ὠκεανοῦ πατρὸς ἄβεστον πόρον (Aesch. *PV* 531, the distant home of the Oceanid Chorus). For Colchis described in fabulous terms cf. Mim. 11a (with 11 and Strab. 1.2.40).

<sup>15</sup> Both texts include: "voyage" (θαλάσσης . . . πόρον . . . περανα[ and κέλευθο]v Sim. 22.1-5; διὰ κ[ύ]μαθ' ἄλως βαθέας Stes. S8.1); "arrival" (ἰκο[ίμην Sim. 22.7; ἀφίκοντο Stes. S8.1-2); an idyllic island destination (εὐαγ[έ]α νῆσον Sim. 22.8; περικαλλέ[αν ν]ᾶσον Stes. S8.2) and at least one feature singled out by a relative adverb of place (ἔνθα Sim. 22.3; τόθι Stes. S8.3).

<sup>16</sup> Fr. 69.2-4 Radt: δέπας ἐν τῷ διαβάλλει πολλὴν οἰδματόεντα †φέρει δρόμου πόρον οὐθει† (περίδρομον Sidgwick [*aut sim.*]; cυθειεῖς "ingeniose M. Schmidt, Conington, Ellis, sed, si πόρον sanum est, contra metrum Ionicum" Radt). If Simonides did not treat the subject of the Sun's cup, he would be in the minority! We owe to Athenaeus (11. 469c-470d) a rich collection of passages from all genres alluding to this cup, often in the context of its loan to (or appropriation by) Herakles during his raid of Geryon's cattle.

<sup>17</sup> For the idea that the entire race of heroes is translated to the Islands of the Blest in Hesiod, see L. Koenen, *TAPA* 124 (1994), 5 with n. 12.

Achilles and Diomedes on the Islands of the Blest (*PMG* 894); a late fifth century hydria by the Meidias painter portrays Attic heroes in the garden of the Hesperides;<sup>18</sup> philosophers and poets, too, might join the ranks of the blessed dead.<sup>19</sup>

Verse 6 should also perhaps be referred to the poet's journey. One possibility is "[the sea], glory of the violet-crowned [Nereids]" (Parsons, 45). Theognis 250 (ἀγλαὰ Μουσάων δῶρα ἰοτεφάνων) suggests, on the other hand, that the individuals described in 6 as ἰο[τ]εφάνων are the Muses (cf. Bacchylides 5.3; *A.P.* 13.28.12).<sup>20</sup> κόμ[ο]ν could then refer to the poet's art (Lobel in Parsons, 45; West, 13). West neatly supplements 5-6 as follows (West, 12):

πρήσσοιμι κέλευθο[ν,  
φόρτον ἄγων Μουσέων] κόμ[ο]ν ἰο[τ]εφάνων

This proposal has much to recommend it: there are good parallels for κόσμος in the sense of "song" (Parsons, 32; West 13; esp. Sim. fr. eleg. 11.23; add Pi. *Ol.* 11.14: κόσμον --- ἀδυμελῆ κελαδήσω) and *Pyth.* 3.72-76 contains a similar idea about poetic "freight";<sup>21</sup> the idea also suits the transition from journey (5) to destination (7ff.); finally, a reference to poetry would anticipate the (re?)introduction of the theme at 17ff. Still, given the fragmentary nature of the text, we should not dismiss the other alternative out of hand: that κόμ[ο]ν is the speaker's first reference to his destination (cf. ἄγαλμα in 8). The "violet-crowned" ones in verse 6 would then be the inhabitants of the utopian island. These could still be Muses (Parsons, 45; for Muses in utopian settings see on Eur. *Bacch.* 402-426 in Part II); otherwise Simonides' island could have been the "glory of the Nymphs" (Parsons, *loc. cit.*) or, perhaps, the "glory of the violet-crowned Hesperides."

## B. The Island Destination (7-18)

After expressing his wish to travel at 5, Simonides turns next to describe his desired destination with ἰκοίμην at 7.<sup>22</sup> Not only the cumulative effect of the details in the opening description (7-8), but virtually all the features of the poet's imaginary island have ties to traditional representations of utopias in early Greek poetry.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>18</sup> L. Burn, *The Meidias Painter* (Oxford, 1987), 15-25.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. 'Speusippus' 1(a).2 *FGE* (of Plato's soul): ἀθάνατον τάξιν ἔχει μακάρων; cf. 1(b).2 ἰσόθειον τάξιν. For philosophers and poets together, cf. διατριβαὶ δὲ φιλοσόφων καὶ θεάτρα ποιητῶν (ps.-Plat. *Axi.* 371d). For poets alone, Parsons cites Aristoph. *Ran.* 85 where Agathon is said to have gone εἰς μακάρων εὐωχίαν and Dioscorides 18.8 *HE* (*A.P.* 7.407) where the μακάρων ἱερὸν ἄλλος is mentioned in connection with Sappho's fate (*loc. cit.*). Cf. also the Orphic Katabasis (n. 50 below, end) where poets are mentioned in the company of other virtuous men in Hades (103-6) and *A.P.* VII 12 (of Erinna beyond Acheron): ἔχειν δὲ χοροὺς ἄμμιγα Πτερίτιν.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. also Pi. *Isthm.* 7.23: ἰόπλοκος of the Muses.

<sup>21</sup> Pindar speaks of a hypothetical ocean voyage (εἰ κατέβαν 72; ἐξικόμαν κε βαθὺν πόντον περάσαι 76) which would take him to Hieron with a freight of celebratory poetry. Cf. *Nem.* 5.2-3: Pindar's instructions to his "sweet song" to board any available vessel to carry its message of victory from Aigina.

<sup>22</sup> Hunter (n. 3 above), 13 suggests ἰκοίτο, but ]οίμι (5) and the movement from travel to destination in 5-7 leaves little doubt about West's supplement; cf. also λάβοιμι (10).

<sup>23</sup> Taken together, the features of Simonides' island are consistent with the Island of the Blest or Elysium (Parsons, 46 and 49; West, 12), but could imply any one of a number of idyllic abodes. It may or may not be relevant that Simonides spoke in an unknown context of Atlas holding heaven on his shoulders, a detail associated with the western island of the Hesperides (*PMG* 556; cf. Hes. *Th.* 517-19; Eur. *Hipp.* 742-47). Simonides also referred to the long-lived Hyperboreans (*PMG* 570) and to the marriage of Achilles and Medea in the Elysian Plain (*PMG* 558).

A comprehensive review of the scholarship on representations of utopias in classical poetry goes beyond the scope of this article; a selective survey follows with some attention to sources of additional bibliography. H. C. Baldry, *CQ* n.s. 2 (1952) 83-92. B. Gatz, *Weltalter, goldene Zeit und sinnverwandte Vorstellungen*, Spudasmata XVI (Hildesheim 1967). J. Ferguson, *Utopias of the Classical World* (London 1975). B. Lincoln, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 85 (1980) 151-64. A. T. Edwards, *GRBS* 26 (1985) 215-27 (with bibl. at n. 1). M. Davies, *Prometheus* 13 (1987) 265-84 (with bibl. at introductory n.). M. Gelinne, *Les Études Classiques* 56 (1988) 225-40 (with bibl. at n. 3). H. Lloyd-Jones, *Pindare*, Fondation Hardt, Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique 17 (Vandœuvres-Genève 1985) 245-83 (= *Greek Epic, Lyric and Tragedy, The Academic Papers of Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones* [Oxford 1990], 80-105, Addendum, 105-109). J. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient*

Descriptions of utopian locales in Greek poetry are conservative: poets used the same well-defined group of features to describe such various places as Elysium, the Islands of the Blest, the Hesperides' island and Olympos.<sup>24</sup> Prose writers, too, such as the early historians, Herodotus and Plato, employ the poetic language and *topoi*.<sup>25</sup> Utopian commonplaces were even common enough to be fertile subject matter for fantasy and parody. Mock utopias were a favorite among the writers of Old Comedy, and in the *Frogs*, in particular, Aristophanes exploits traditional utopian concepts and diction in his serio-comic portrayal of the blessed afterlife of initiates.<sup>26</sup> Lucian's parody of life on the Island of the Blest in the *True History* (II.4-29) is particularly instructive in that he selects the most distinctive utopian *topoi* for distortion and exaggeration.<sup>27</sup>

The defining features of Greek literary utopias are easily summarized.<sup>28</sup> Such places are regularly portrayed as removed from ordinary existence, either in time or by geography (at the ends of, or underneath the earth). Climate is always central: spring-like conditions prevail, particularly sunshine and fair breezes; there is a complementary exemption from inclement weather, such as clouds, rain and winter storms. Luxuriant plant growth is a constant: trees and flowers flourish and the earth produces her crops spontaneously. The inhabitants, accordingly, enjoy an abundant livelihood and a life of ease. The most far-reaching improvements on the human lot are health, strength and youth (exemption from disease, debility and old age); in some cases, inhabitants derive the ultimate benefit: immortality.

**ἔδος πολύδενδρον** (7). Simonides first refers to his distant<sup>29</sup> island destination as ἔδος (7). This noun (along with ἔδρα) is frequently used of idyllic locales in archaic and classical poetry, applied most often to the "abode" or "habitation" of the gods (e.g. θεῶν ἔδος, αἰπὸν Ὀλυμπον, *Il.* 5.367, etc.; θεῶν

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*Thought* (Princeton 1994). For "utopianism" in the late fifth and early fourth centuries, and in Xenophon, see J. Dillery, *Xenophon and the History of His Times* (London and New York 1995) 41-54; 63-95.

<sup>24</sup> The most familiar Greek utopias are found in Hesiod: the golden race (*Op.* 109-20; cf. Alcmaeonis *PEG* 7) and the Islands of the Blest (*Op.* 166-173; see further *RE* 14.1 [1930] 628-32, s.v. "μακάρων νῆσοι"). For related material in Hes., cf. *Op.* 43-46, 90-95, 225-37; fr. 1.6-13 and 204.95ff. with West, *CQ* 11 (1969), 132-36, *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women* (Oxford 1985), 119-121 and Koenen, *TAPA* 124 (1994), 1-34. Homer gives us: Elysium (*Od.* 4.563-68; see further *RE* 5.2 [1905] 2470-76, s.v. "Elysion"), Olympos (*Od.* 6.42-46; cf. Pind. fr. 143 and Bacch. fr. 23, p. 106 S.-M.) and several idyllic islands in the *Odyssey*, e.g. Ogygia, Scheria; cf. also the land of the Kyklopes. Pindar describes both the Island of the Blest (*Ol.* 2.56-80; cf. Pi. fr. 129) and the land of the Hyperboreans (*Pyth.* 10.29-46; see further *RE* 9.1 [1916] 258-79, s.v. "Hyperboreer"). For the Hesperides' island, cf. Hes. *Th.* 215-16, 274-75, 517-18; Stes. *SLG* S8 (cited in Part I.A above); Eur. *Hipp.* 742-51 (see Part II); also Adesp. *PMG* 1023 and Ibyc. *SLG* S182.4-8; see further West *Th.* ad 215 and 275; *RE* 8.1 (1913) 1243-48, s.v. "Hesperiden." Utopian concepts also appear in prayers for blessings (e.g. Aesch. *Eum.* 902ff. and *Suppl.* 625ff.; cf. Call. h. Art. 121-35) and in unspecified idyllic landscapes, e.g. Adesp. *PMG* 926(a) and Ibycus *PMG* 286; they are also the basis of Soph.'s idealized portrait of Colonus at *OC* 668-93 (see further n. 73 below). Finally, an Orphic katabasis (n. 50 below, end) describes an abode reserved for the blessed dead at 130-35.

<sup>25</sup> E.g. Pherekyd. *FGrHist* 3 F 16 (the Hesperides' island); 3 F 84 (the Isles of the Blest); Theop. 115 F 75 (with M. Flower, *Theopompus of Chios*, App.1, Romm [n. 23 above], 67 and Dillery [n. 23 above], 45-48). Hdt. 3.17ff. and 114 (Aithiopians); 4.32-35 (Hyperboreans). Plato, e.g. *Rep.* 363a-d (see n. 40 below), 614e; *Phaedr.* 247a-b, 248b; *Gorg.* 523a ff. (with Dodds' notes *ad loc.*); *Symp.* 179e-180b; *Statesman* 268d-275b. Cf. also Ps.-Plat. *Axi.* 371c-d. For further references and discussion, see Baldry (n. 23 above), 84 and 87 and Dillery (above) 41-54 *et passim*.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. also Aristoph. *Clouds* and *Birds*, *passim*. Other comic references appear at Athen. 6.267e-270a, for which (and others), see Baldry (n. 23 above), 84, 86 and 87.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. also Crates *SH* 351 (Diog. L. 6.85), a clever utopian parody on a wallet (πήρη). The fantastic traveller's tale of Iamboulos (Diod. Sic. 2.55-60) exploits nearly every utopian theme: a "fortunate island" (νῆσον εὐδαίμονα 2.55.4) in distant reaches where the traveller "will live blessedly" (μακαρίως ζήσεσθαι *loc. cit.*); temperate atmosphere; crops growing spontaneously and superabundantly; inhabitants dwelling in meadows, free of disease, living long and enjoying easy deaths (57.4-5). See Ferguson (n. 23 above), 124-29.

<sup>28</sup> Poets typically enumerate utopian features in catalogues that follow the form: liabilities absent, ἀλλά, assets present. Expressions with α-privative (negated or not as the context requires) are frequent; the eternal quality of the features mentioned is frequently emphasized (αἰεῖ; οὔτε ποτέ; ἡματὰ πάντα). See M. Davies (n. 23 above).

<sup>29</sup> The journey itself (5) implies geographical remove, as at Stes. *SLG* S8.1-2. Cf. δίχ' ἀνθρώπων βίοντον καὶ --- ἐν πείραισι γαίης (Hes. *Op.* 167-68, Islands of the Blest); τὴν νῆσον --- τηλόθ' εὐοῦσαν (*Od.* 5.55, Ogygia); ἐκὰς ἀνδρῶν ἀλφετᾶων (*Od.* 6.8, Scheria).

ἔδος αἰπὸν --- οὐρανόν, Sol. 13.21-22). Pindar actually restricts his use of ἔδος to "dwelling place, abode of gods and heroes" (e.g. ὁ δὲ χάλκεος ἀφραλὲς αἰὲν ἔδος μένει οὐρανός, *Nem.* 6.3-4; Slater, s.v.).<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, when used of utopian locales, ἔδος regularly stands in apposition to another noun (cf. examples cited above with Hom. *Il.* 5.868). Simonides' ἔδος apparently stands in apposition to νῆσον (8) or, perhaps, to another noun lost from the beginning of 7, 6 or 5 (e.g. ἀκτὴν, ἄλκος or κῆπον).

Simonides' idyllic island is also "rich in trees": πολὺδενδρον (7).<sup>31</sup> Poets regularly feature trees as part of the abundant plant life characteristic of Greek utopias,<sup>32</sup> often noting that they are remarkable in some respect (size, lushness or produce).<sup>33</sup> The trees on Simonides' island are especially numerous (πολυ-); further, πολυ- compounds appear elsewhere, on occasion, to emphasize the superabundance of flora in utopian contexts (e.g. πολὺκαρπον, a garland, *Ar. Ran.* 328; πολυρρόδου, meadows, *ib.* 448).

**εὐαγ[έ]α νῆσον** (8). In verse 8 Simonides specifies that his imaginary destination is an island, a typical utopian setting, and describes it as "bright," εὐαγ[έ]α (West in Parsons, 47).<sup>34</sup> Once again, Greek literary utopias of all kinds are traditionally bathed in bright light. This feature is particularly pronounced in underworld settings where there is praeternatural illumination (e.g. τοῖσι λάμπει μὲν μένος ἀελίου, *Pi.* fr. 129.1; ἄλιον ἔχοντες, *Ol.* 2.62; φῶς κάλλιστον, ὥσπερ ἐνθάδε, *Aristoph. Ran.* 155; ἥλιος καὶ φέγγος, *ib.* 454-55; ἀπαλαῖς ἡλίου ἀκτίων, ps.-*Plat. Axi.* 371d).<sup>35</sup> In open-air settings, like Simonides' island, bright sunshine goes hand in hand with the exemption from inclement weather (e.g. μάλ' αἴθρη | πέπταται ἀνέφελος, λευκὴ δ' ἐπιδέδρομεν αἴγλη, *Od.* 6.44-45, Olympos; cf. 4.566, the Elysian Plain).

**ἄγαλμα** (8). Simonides' introductory description of the island culminates in verse 8 with ἄγαλμα (in apposition to νῆσον). West's ἄγαλμα β[ίου] makes good sense. Translation to a utopian island, with all that it entails, might well be described as the crowning "glory" or "delight" of human life, whether construed as a mark of divine favor (like Menelaos' prophesied destiny in *Od.* 4) or as a reward for virtue (as in some eschatological passages). In sum, through a few but well chosen details in 7-8 (implied geographical remove, island setting, ἔδος, prolific plant life and bright light), Simonides has painted his desired island destination in the colors of a traditional literary utopia.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *LSJ* s.v. ἔδος 2. For ἔδρα | ἔδραι in the same sense, cf. e.g. εὐκυκλον ἔδραν (*Pi. Nem.* 4.66, Olympos); χρυσέαις ἐδραῖς (*Pyth.* 3.94, Olympos); ἐν ἔδραις ἐνθάδε (*Aristoph. Ran.* 324).

<sup>31</sup> πολύμυμον (*l.v.* 2327) lacks the pointedness of πολὺδενδρον in this utopian context, *pace* Parsons (45): "Neither epithet informative in itself." Cf. also εὐδενδρον --- τέμενος (Simonides *PMG* 507).

<sup>32</sup> E.g. νῆκος δενδρήεσσα (*Ogygia, Od.* 1.51); φέροντά τε δένδρεα καρπὸν (Hesperides' island, *Hes. Th.* 216; cf. Pherekydes *FGrHist* 3 F 16). Lucian says, hyperbolically, that every kind of flower and plant flourishes on the Island of the Blest: ἡ δὲ χώρα πᾶσι μὲν ἀνθεῖν, πᾶσι δὲ φυτοῖς ἡμέροις τε καὶ σκυροῖς τέθηλεν (*Ver. Hist.* II. 13). Cf. Parsons, 46.

<sup>33</sup> E.g. ἔνθα δὲ δένδρεα μακρὰ πεφύκασι τηλεθώοντα (*Scheria, Od.* 7.114); ὕλη δὲ πῆος ἀμφὶ πεφύκει τηλεθώοντα (*Ogygia, Od.* 5.63). Trees in Pindar's descriptions of the abode of the blessed dead are particularly striking: ἀγλαῶν δενδρέων (*Ol.* 2.73) and χρυσοκάρποισιν --- (δενδρέοις) (fr. 129.5). In his invented land of the Meropes, Theopompus features δένδρα τὸ μέγαθος πλατάνου μεγάλης (*FGrHist* 115 F 75c).

<sup>34</sup> The adjective that modifies νῆσον spans 2327 fr. 2(a) col. ii and fr. 4: εὐα [ ]α. At least two letters are needed to fill the gap. West ultimately printed εὐαέα, suggesting a "corruption ... to εὐαγέα" under the influence of εὐαγέων δ' ἀνδρῶν ἐς] which he supplies at the beginning of 7 (West, 13; cf. *IEG*<sup>2</sup> 22.8). The hypothetical nature of this corruption notwithstanding, εὐαέα would be apposite in the context. Pleasant winds, typically Zephyros, appear in a whole array of Greek utopias, e.g. *Od.* 4.567-68 (Elysian Plain) and 7.118-19 (Scheria); cf. Bacchylides *Epig.*(2).2 S.-M. (1 *FGE*) where Zephyros is the "most fecund" (πιεσιτάτω) of winds. Lucian draws attention to Zephyros as a standard utopian feature with a typical gesture of parody: this is the *only* wind that blows on the Island of the Blest: εἷς ἄνεμος πνεῖ παρ' αὐτοῖς ὁ Ζέφυρος (*Ver. Hist.* II.12). Cf. also ἔνθα μακάρων νᾶσον ὠκεανίδες αἰῶραι περιπνέουσιν (*Pi. Ol.* 2.70-72).

<sup>35</sup> Cf. L. Koenen, *TAPA* 124 (1994) 30 n. 69. M. P. Nilsson repeatedly emphasizes the contrast between light and dark as the essential opposition between a utopian afterlife and Hades, e.g. "einerseits das lichte Land der Inseln der Seligen ... andererseits die dumpfe und modrige Welt der wesens- und bewusstseinslosen Schatten" (*GGR* I, 1967, 329; cf. 324-329 *passim*).

<sup>36</sup> The description in 7-8 would suggest all the advantages that tradition attaches to such places. Cf. Dover on Aristophanes' description of the abode of the blessed initiates in the *Frogs*: "It is to be presumed that the paradise enjoyed by the initiates is exempt from toil, fatigue, pain, sickness, sorrow, and fear" (*Aristophanes Frogs* [Oxford 1993], 60).

**Flowers (13-14) and Garland (15-16).** When Simonides proceeds to describe his activities on the island in 9ff., new details are also consistent with the utopian setting. In 13-14 he speaks of "reclining" (κεκλιμένος) in "flowers" or in some flowery place (ἐν ἀνθε[ ]), and one need not seek far to find flowers as a feature of utopia.<sup>37</sup> Pindar adorns his eschatological paradise in *Ol.* 2 with gleaming "flowers of gold" (72) and elsewhere locates the blessed dead in "meadows of purple roses" (φοινικορόδοις --- λειμώνεσσι, fr. 129.3); he even uses the metaphor of blooming flowers to describe the unalloyed bliss of the inhabitants (παρὰ δέ σφισιν εὐανθήσ ἀπας τέθαλεν ὄλβος 129.7). Flowers abound in Aristophanes' description of the blessed underworld abode in the *Frogs* (351/2, 373-74a, 441-42, 448-49; stage-properties, perhaps?) and Lucian provides the touchstone of parody: not only does his blessed island bloom with every kind of flower (n. 32 above), but also visitors are bound with shackles of flowers, pass through a λειμὼν εὐανθήσ, sit on flowery couches and adorn themselves with flowers delivered by nightingales (*Ver. Hist.* II.5-6, 13-14).

Next the poet refers to "weaving" (πλε[κ- or πλε[ξ-]) what is certainly a "garland" (Lobel, 75; Parsons, *loc. cit.*). This garland is "lovely" (χαρίε[ντ]α 15), made (appropriately) "of beautiful flowers" (εὐανθέα 16) and is (or is associated with something else that is) "freshly bloomed" (νεοβλαστ[ ] 15).<sup>38</sup> When added to the speaker's reference to his reclining posture, the garland completes the suggestion of a sympotic scene.<sup>39</sup> Although the trappings of symposia provide the sole setting for much occasional archaic verse, they are also a traditional complement to utopian landscapes. Pindar's blessed dead sport garlands (*Ol.* 2.74), as do both his Hyperboreans (*Pyth.* 10.40) and Aristophanes' blessed initiates (*Ran.* 329-30/1); Plato criticizes "Musaïos and his son" for portraying the blessed afterlife as consisting of the merely frivolous pleasure of the symposium;<sup>40</sup> Lucian makes the symposium central.<sup>41</sup> On the other hand, this suggestion of a symposium among the flowers in Simonides 22 simultaneously sets the scene for a quite different aspect of the poet's fantasy: erotic love.<sup>42</sup>

**Eros (9-14).** At verse 9 the poet introduces into his imaginary scene a male<sup>43</sup> companion with attractive blond hair (ξανθότρ[ι]χα),<sup>44</sup> whom he presents in 10-12 as the object of his admiration and desire. Verse 10 contains the idea of desired physical contact (χεῖρα λάβοιμι[ι]),<sup>45</sup> followed by conventional erotic language focusing on skin and eyes in 11-12. The most reasonably secure supplements of

<sup>37</sup> Greek utopias are often set in flowery meadows, e.g. λειμώνες μαλακοί (*Ogygia, Od.* 5.72); Pi. fr. 129.3; Aristoph. *Ran.* 326, 373-74a, 448-49; Diod. Sic. 2.57.1 (Iamboulos' island) and λειμώνας τ(ε) ἱεροῦς (Orpheus DK B.20.6 [= 4[A 67].6, G. Colli, *La Sapienza greca*, Vol. I, 182-85]; cf. Dover, *Frogs*, 60). For the erotic associations of such settings, see n. 42 below.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Simonides fr. eleg. 27.4: στεφάνου[ς] εὐανθέα[ς]. See Parsons *loc. cit.* for other possibilities in 15-16. The alliteration of κ (14) and χ (11 and 15) is striking.

<sup>39</sup> For more sympotic "scraps" from 3965 see Parsons, 7 and West, 10 n. 20.

<sup>40</sup> Μουσαῖος --- καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ --- [τοὺς δικαίους] εἰς Ἄιδου --- ἀγαγόντες τῷ λόγῳ καὶ κατακλίναντες καὶ συμπόσιον τῶν ὀρίων κατασκευάσαντες ἐστεφανωμένους ποιούσι τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἤδη διάγειν μεθύνοντας (*Rep.* 363c-d).

<sup>41</sup> καὶ μὴν καὶ βοῆ σύμμικτος ἠκούετο ἄθρου --- οἷα γένοιτ' ἂν ἐν συμποσίῳ, τῶν μὲν ἀυλοῦντων, τῶν δὲ ἐπαδόντων, ἐνίων δὲ κροτούντων πρὸς αὐλὸν ἢ κιθάραν (*Ver. Hist.* II.5; cf. 14ff.). Cf. Parsons, 49. For idealized banqueting in the afterlife in Roman funerary art (often with the inclusion of music or Muses), cf. F. Cumont *Symb. Fun.* (Paris 1942 [1967]), 291-97, 371-79.

<sup>42</sup> For the persistent association in the Greek literary tradition of flowery landscapes (meadows in particular) with erotic love, see J. M. Bremer, *Mnemosyne* 28 (1975), 268-80; S.R. Slings, *ZPE* 30 (1978) 38. Simonides' flowers bridge the utopian and erotic themes quite concretely: ἄν[θος] (11) refers to the desirable young blooming beauty of his companion (see further n. 46); χαρίε[ντ]α (15), of the garland, picks up the phrase χ[αρίε]ντος ἀπὸ χροῦς (11), of the boy.

<sup>43</sup> The sex of the companion is confirmed by the strong likelihood of "Echekratidas" in 9 (see Part III) and type of erotic language. For attention, e.g., to the eyes in homoerotic contexts, cf. Alc. *PMG* 59(a); Ibyc. *PMG* 287.1-4; Pi. fr. 123.2-9. Cf. also Sim. eleg. 27.5: π[α]ῖδ' ἔρατόν.

<sup>44</sup> For ξανθός of hair, see E. Irwin, *Colour Terms in Greek Poetry* (Toronto 1974), 57 with n. 55; 91 with nn. 30-31; 135; Parsons, 45.

<sup>45</sup> Parsons notes (*loc. cit.*, with parallels) that the hand-clasp has a variety of connotations— "pledge," "reassurance," "welcome," and "courtship"; the context plainly implies the last.

the whole piece give us a "youthful bloom"<sup>46</sup> emanating "from lovely skin" and the dripping of "desirable longing from the lids."<sup>47</sup> Although the poet's recumbent posture is apparently a convivial rather than sexual pose, the passage is unmistakably erotic in tenor, reminiscent in some respects of the seduction scene in the Cologne Epode: παρθένον δ' ἐν ἄνθε[τιν | τηλ]εθάεεσι λαβῶν | ἔκλινα (Archil. 196a.42-44).<sup>48</sup>

Although not typically included in traditional catalogues of utopian assets, erotic love is at least implicit from the beginning: Menelaos will spend eternity in the Elysian Plain in the company of Helen (*Od.* 4.569) and Herakles lives ageless and immortal on Olympos with Hebe as his wife (*Hes. Th.* 950-55; fr. 25.26-29; fr. 229.6-13).<sup>49</sup> From the fifth century onward, references to eros in utopian settings are increasingly pointed. In Empedokles' revisionist account of the Golden Age, "Zeus was not king, nor Kronos, nor Poseidon but Cypris was queen" (*Kath.* DK B.128) and the comic poet Philetairos gives musicians the special privilege of erotic pleasures after death (τούτοις ἐν Ἄιδου γὰρ μόνοις ἐξουσία | ἀφροδιτιάζειν ἐτίειν, fr. 17.2-3 K.-A).<sup>50</sup> The most explicit conjunctions of eros and a utopian afterlife come from the Roman tradition. Tibullus claims that Venus herself will escort him to the Elysian plain where lovers continue to sport at the bidding of Amor (*Tib.* 1.3.57-58; 63-66); Roman funerary monuments often juxtapose images of an idyllic afterlife with Eroses.<sup>51</sup> Still, the most original aspect of

<sup>46</sup> Simonides' γέο[v] --- ἄν[θος] (11) may be a variation of the familiar ἡβης ἄνθος, i.e. a general reference to youth's "bloom"; cf. *LSJ* s.v. ἄνθος (A) II. From the earliest period ἄνθος was used in this way of either sex, e.g. κουρήιον ἄνθος ἔχουσαι (*Hom. H. Cer.* 108, the daughters of Keleus; cf. N. J. Richardson's nn. ad 108, 279); ἄνθος δ' ἀπερρῦηκε παρθε-νήιον (Archil. 196a.27); παῖς καλὸν ἄνθον ἔχων (Theogn. 994 West); νηπία ἐοῦς' ἔθανον καὶ οὐ λά[β]ον ἄνθος ἔτ' ἦβαι (Friedländer, *Epigrammata*, #32). Simonides' χ[αρι]ε]ντος ἀπὸ χροός may, however, indicate that ἄνθος refers more specifically to the downy skin of a pre-pubescent boy. Solon 27.5-6, e.g., marks the third stage of life by the growth of facial hair and loss of the skin's "bloom" (γένειον --- | λαχνοῦται, χροῦς ἄνθος ἀμειβομένης); cf. M. Griffith ad A. *Pr.* 23 and 7. On the development of ἄνθος / ἄνθέω from the literal sense of "upward physical growth," see J. M. Aitchison, *Glotta* 41 (1963), 271-78. The loss of the verb at the end of verse 11 hinders a definitive interpretation.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. τῶν καὶ ἀπὸ βλεφάρων ἔρος εἴβeto δερκομενάων | λυσιμελής (*Hes. Th.* 910-11, the Charites). West's λείβοι must be right: λείβει 2327 is superior to the variant λείπει in point of sense, and the emendation brings the mood in line with the other finite verbs in the text; cf. also Lobel, 75 and Parsons, 47. For the image of liquid desire, see M. Davies, *Hermes* 111 (1983) 496-97 and M. S. Cyrino, *In Pandora's Jar: Lovesickness in Early Greek Poetry* (Lanham 1995), 48-51, 63-64, 81-84, 138.

<sup>48</sup> Cited also by Parsons (48). Consider Simonides' focus on the body of the beloved: hair (9), hand (10), skin (11) and eyes (12).

<sup>49</sup> Hebe is a symbol of Herakles' eternal youth as well as his divine consort. For early passages that combine utopian *topoi* with the "meadow of love," see Bremer (n. 42 above).

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Dover (n. 36 above) 60, on the life of the blessed initiates in the *Frogs*: "We may surely take sexual activity for granted." For the appearance of abstract erotic forces in a utopian escape-wish by Euripides, see Part II; cf. also Dioscorides' wish that *Anacreon* may have the wherewithal in the underworld to enjoy drinking, dancing and "embracing golden Eurypyle" (βεβληκὸς χρυσέην χεῖρα ἐπ' Εὐρυπύλην, *A.P.* VII 31.9-10). Lucian describes the sex life of his utopian islanders, but largely as a parody of ethnographic writing (περὶ δὲ συνουσίας καὶ ἀφροδιτίων οὕτω φρονοῦσιν κ.τ.λ., *Ver. Hist.* II. 19). An Orphic Katabasis includes (34-36) the curious feature of Eroses inflicting tortures on the wicked in the afterlife (R. Merkelbach, *MH* 8 [1951], 1ff.; H. Lloyd-Jones, *Kyklos: Griechisches und Byzantinisches Rudolf Keydell zum neunzigsten Geburtstag* [Berlin and New York, 1978], 88-100 [with P. J. Parsons] = *The Academic Papers of Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones, Greek Comedy, Hellenistic Literature, Greek Religion, and Miscellanea* [Oxford 1990], 333-342). "Nodum solleter solvit C. W. Macleod: ... etiam post mortem vitia vitiosos torquere, libidines ergo libidinosos" (Lloyd-Jones, ad 35).

<sup>51</sup> Cumont, *Symb. Fun.* (Paris 1942 [1967]), 291-97, 336. Cf. esp. the bas-relief with Herakles reclining in an idyllic garden in the company of winged Eroses, Muses and an old man (291-92 with Pl. XXV, 1). Elsewhere we find a young man reclining with winged Eroses and a female musician (296-97 with Pl. XXV, 2), a married couple with Eroses (296-97) and Eroses at a funerary banquet (336). For another view of the significance of this iconography, see A. D. Nock, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, Vol. 2 (Oxford, 1972), 894: "Eroses in later art and poetry ... have no erotic suggestion whatsoever—no more than the Cupids on the columns of the Harvard Memorial Church." A few examples, however, seem unequivocal, e.g. Cumont, *Lux Perpetua*, (Paris 1949), 256-57: a painting depicting a female votary of Sabazius being introduced into the banquet of the blessed with "divertissements" of "une saveur érotique très accusée"; cf. also, epitaphs from Anatolia containing "le souhait d'obtenir encore dans l'autre vie les plaisirs amoureux" (257; cf. 302). Particularly arresting is a tomb that sports the following inscription: Γέρμης ἐξ Ἰερῆς Τελεείστρατος ἐν Ἰ Μακάρων νήσοις κείμει · ἔτι τῶνδε χρέος

Simonides 22 is not so much that it is an unusually early conjunction of utopian and erotic themes; rather that Simonides developed the erotic scene by exploiting another poetic tradition not elsewhere associated with utopian *topoi*.

**Wrinkles** (14). No single word in the fragment carries more weight for the interpretation of the poem as a whole than φαρκίδακ in 14.<sup>52</sup> Parsons and West both correctly seek to complete the lacunose verse-end with the idea of banishing or "driving away" these wrinkles; similarly, L. Koenen suggests e.g. ἐκ π[άλι δύς or ἐκ τ[ότε δύς.<sup>53</sup>

The concept of shedding or banishing old age is perfectly consistent with the poet's utopian fantasy. Exemption from old age is *de rigueur* in the utopian tradition everywhere from Hesiod's golden race (οὐδέ τι δειλὸν ἢ γῆρακ ἐπῆν [*Op.* 113-14]) to Pindar's Hyperboreans (οὔτε γῆρακ οὐλόμενον κέκραται ἢ ἱερῶ γενεῶ [*Pyth.* 10. 41-42]). The Chorus of blessed dead at Aristoph. *Ran.* 345 refer specifically to the corollary of rejuvenation: γόνυ πάλλεται γερόντων.<sup>54</sup> On the other hand, the speaker's express desire to be rejuvenated reveals the most telling fact about him, namely that he is advanced in age. The essence of the erotic scene, therefore, is an aging lover's desire for a young beloved, a situation that, in turn, participates in one of the most familiar themes of Greek erotic lyric and elegy: old age as an impediment to eros. Typically, an aging speaker laments that his years place a barrier between him and the object of his desire. In *Anacreon PMG* 358, for example, the speaker describes how an attractive young girl (νήνι 3) rejects him, heaping scorn on his white hair (τὴν μὲν ἐμὴν κόμην, λευκὴ γάρ, καταμέμφεται 6-7).<sup>55</sup> Simonides' unique twist to this theme of the frustrated desire of an aging lover, is to introduce the erotic situation in the context of a utopian fantasy — an imaginary setting where, *de facto*, the impediment of old age will no longer exist (see further, parts II and IV below).

Before φαρκίδακ, the papyrus shows λευκ[ ] : "spacing depends...on the precise ranging of the two strips" (Parsons, 48). Although West favors λευκ[ά]ς, "white wrinkles" is, at best, a peculiar phrase. A reference to complexion is unlikely since λευκόκ (*aut sim.*), while used regularly of women,

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ποθέω, where τῶνδε refers to erotic decoration on the tomb, including "Une scène érotique, dont l'acteur masculin fait preuve d'une verité démesurée" (Cumont, *L'Ant. Class.* 9 [1940], 5-7).

<sup>52</sup> For the rare φαρκίδακ, see Parsons, 45. Hunter (n. 3 above) 13, explains why the apparently anomalous short iota is no cause for concern. Hunter suggests further that φαρκίδακ may be "an otherwise unattested word for food of some kind, like the 'beans' of Theocritus 7.66." For specific objections to Hunter's "feasting" hypothesis and use of Theocr. 6 as a parallel, see n. 81 below.

<sup>53</sup> Per litteras cf. τὸ γῆρακ ἐκδύς (Aristoph. *Pax* 336); τὸ δ' ἐκδούμι (sc. γῆρακ, Call. fr. 1.35 Pf.); πολιδὸν δὲ γῆρακ ἐκδύς (Bergk<sup>4</sup>: ἐκάς P; *Anacreont.* 53.7 West).

<sup>54</sup> Parsons' skepticism about the link between exemption from old age and rejuvenation is misplaced ("I have found no evidence that the Blest were rejuvenated," 49); he does concede that "the idea itself seems natural enough." For a magical rejuvenation in Simonides, cf. *PMG* 548 (Jason by Medea). Theopompus takes the idea of utopian rejuvenation to its absurd extreme. In the land of the Meropes if one eats the fruit of trees that grow near the "river of pleasure," he not only sheds old age, but races backwards through all the phases of life until he disappears: τὸ μὲν γάρ γῆρακ ἀπορρίψακ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκμὴν ὑποστρέφει, εἶτα ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν μειρακίων ἡλικίακ ἀναχωρεῖ, εἶτα παῖς γίνεται, εἶτα βρέφοκ, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐξαναλώθη (*FGrHist* 115 F 75c). Cf. Dillery (n. 23 above), 46-48.

<sup>55</sup> The poet turns this melancholy situation into a triumph of revenge by leveling the charge of lesbianism at the girl (cf. S. Mace, *GRBS* 34 [1993], 347-49). Examples of poems based on the theme of frustrated desire in old age are easily multiplied: Ibyc. *PMG* 287 (an aged speaker expresses horror at the advent of a fresh love); *Anacreont.* 51 (a speaker urges a girl not to flee because of his white hair: white lilies among roses make garlands attractive!); the unkind Anac. *PMG* 394(b) (μῶτακ δηῶτε φαλακροῦς "Ἀλεξις, where "bald" presumably implies that Alexis was wooing at an advanced age; see Mace, *op. cit.*, 349-50; cf. *Anacreont.* 7 [female scorn for baldness]); Anac. *PMG* 379 (a) and (b) (an injunction that Eros fly past an individual with a grey beard); Pindar fr. 123.1 S.-M. (an aging speaker's concern for καιρόκ in the pursuit of young men; see further, Part III below); Palladas *A.P.* 11.54 (female scorn for the speaker's white hair with his profession of indifference and solace found in wine). For Anac. *PMG* 395.1-2 (and in general) see G. Giangrande, "Symptotic Literature and Epigram," *L'Épigramme grecque*, Fondation Hardt, Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique, 14 (Vandœuvres-Genève 1968), 100-03, 108-19. For eros and old age in Anacreon, the anacreontic poems, and elsewhere see also P. Rosenmeyer, *The Poetics of Imitation, Anacreon and the Anacreontic Tradition* (Cambridge 1992), esp. 57-61 and 138-39; also 53-54 and 60 on *Anacreont.* 52A and 178-80 on the possible relationship among Palladas *A.P.* 11.54, *Anacreont.* 7 and Theoc. 7.120-21. For references to grey hair in these poems and others, see nn. 58-59 below.

is pejorative for males (Irwin [n. 44 above], 129-35). A reference to a white beard, i.e. in the vicinity of the wrinkles, seems far-fetched.<sup>56</sup> Maybe the phrase is meant to recall the familiar γῆρας πολίων?<sup>57</sup> A second option is λευκ[α]ῖς, to be taken with χαίτη[τι]ν in the next verse. A reference to hair color often signals the contrast between youth and age in early lyric and elegy, particularly in erotic contexts.<sup>58</sup> Simonides could have identified his young beloved in 9 as ξανθότρ[ι]χα precisely in anticipation of a reference to his own white hair.<sup>59</sup> Still, this proposal would introduce a fairly radical hyperbaton and, more to the point, would violate the logic of the fantasy: an individual who is otherwise shedding the tokens of age (such as wrinkles) should not be referring to his white hair as a fact of the present. In the end, Parsons' λευκ[ο]ῖς (with ἄνθε[τι]ν) may be the least dramatic of the three suggestions, but at least yields plausible sense and syntax.<sup>60</sup>

**Poetry** (17-18). The final feature of the speaker's imaginary utopian existence is the practice of his own poetic calling: ἀρτι[επέα] νωμῶν γλῶσσαν (18).<sup>61</sup> Like other sympotic elements, musical performances of all kinds suit the utopian milieu: Pindar's Hyperboreans enjoy maiden choruses, lyres and auloi (*Pyth.* 10.37-39; Μοῖσα δ' οὐκ ἀποδομει, 37) and Aristophanes' initiates refer to the "breath of auloi" (*Ran.* 154, 313; cf. Pi. fr. 129.7).<sup>62</sup> At the same time Simonides also links this reference to poetry to the erotic theme through a verbal echo: ἡμερόντα λιγύν (17) picks up ἡμερόντα (12), associated with the boy's desirable eyes; suggested in 17 is a mellifluous seductive sound, perhaps of the aulos.<sup>63</sup> Finally, Simonides' reference to his poetic craft may also serve a transitional function, linking the themes of the fantasy directly to the *hic et nunc* of the poem's performance. On the principle that the skill of the poet redounds to the greater glory of the honorand, the speaker's claim to eloquence would be a suitable prelude to the section of direct encomium to which he may have turned next (see Part III).

## II. General Parallels

The impression that Simonides 22 contains an original, perhaps unique fusion of utopian and erotic themes can be reinforced by a brief survey of two groups of potential parallels: poems based on the theme of rejuvenation and those framed as utopian escape-wishes.

<sup>56</sup> Odysseus' rejuvenation, e.g., entails a reference to the darkening, specifically, of his beard: κυάνεαι δ' ἐγένοντο γενειάδες ἀμφὶ γένειον (*Od.* 16.176; cf. Irwin [n. 44 above], 90-91).

<sup>57</sup> Irwin (n. 44 above), 194 n. 91 gives more than a dozen citations from Homer to Aristophanes for γῆρας πολίων; cf. also *Anacreont.* 53.7 West; λευκὸν γῆρας apparently only once: *Soph. Ai.* 625 (Irwin, 195).

<sup>58</sup> For Anac. *PMG* 358 and 379, see next n.; λευκαὶ δ' ἐγένοντο τρίχες ἐκ μελαίναν (*Sappho* fr. 58.13-14); πολλοὶ μὲν ἡμῖν ἦδη κρόταφοι κάρη τε λευκόν (*Anac. PMG* 395.1-2; see n. 55 above); εὐτέ μοι λευκαὶ μελαίνης ἀναμειρίζονται τρίχες (*Anac. PMG* 420, probably an erotic context); μή με φύγησ ὀρώα τὰν πολιῶν ἔθειραν (*Anacreont.* 51.1-2; see n. 55 above); ἀλλ' ἐγὼ εἰ λευκάς φορέω τρίχας, εἶτε μελαίνας, οὐκ ἀλέγω (*Palladas A.P.* 11.54.3-4; see n. 55 above). Cf. τρίχας γέρον (*acc. spec., Anacreont.* 39.4). Cf. also Irwin (n. 44 above), 194-96 and Rosenmeyer (n. 55 above), 58-59.

<sup>59</sup> As in Anac. *PMG* 358, where χρυσοκόμης (2) of Eros (and thus associated with the love-object) anticipates the rejecter's reference to his white hair at 6-7; Anac. *PMG* 379 speaks of a grey-bearded man and Eros with wings of shining gold (*χρυσοφαέννων* [*χρυσοφαείνων*, Fick]). Cf. also Anac. *PMG* 418: κλυθί μεο γέροντος εὐθέιρα χρυσοπέπλε κούρα.

<sup>60</sup> See Parsons, 48 for lore on white flowers.

<sup>61</sup> Lobel first suggested ἀρτι[επέα] (76), but with reservations about the traces. Parsons and West endorse the supplement, the former citing ἀρτιεπῆς γλῶσσα (of the poet) at Pi. *Isthm.* 5.46-47 (48). West's ἀπὸ στόματος 18 fin. seems unlikely: as his parallels imply, a reference to the actual utterance seems needed to support the prepositional phrase: τέρεν φθέγγετ' ἀπὸ στ. (*Theogn.* 266); ψεῦδος --- ἐξέλθη --- ἀπὸ στ. (609-10). Cf. also Sim. *PMG* 585.1-2: ἀπὸ στόματος ἰεῖσα φωνῶν.

<sup>62</sup> Music is central to Lucian's parody both in general (individual performances and choruses) and by virtue of the presence of such luminaries as Homer, Anacreon, and Stesichorus (*Ver. Hist.* II. 15). Muses appear in *Soph.*'s idyllic *Colonus* (*OC* 691-92); for singing Hesperides at *Eur. Hipp.* 742-43 and an idyllic *Pieria*, seat of the Muses, at *Eur. Ba.* 409-11, see Part II below.

<sup>63</sup> λιγύς "may describe the singer, the instrument, the voice or the song" (Parsons, *loc. cit.*); West favors the last in this context. *Theogn.* 241-43 uses λιγυ- of both voice and aulos. For the aulos in elegiac performance, see West, *Studies*, 5-14 *passim*.

**Rejuvenation.** Alcman *PMG* 26 is a first-person wish for rejuvenation based on the speaker's fantasy of being transformed into a bird:<sup>64</sup>

οὐ μ' ἔτι, παρκενικαὶ μελιγάρνεε ἰαρόφωνοι,  
 γυῖα φέρην δύνονται· βάλε δὴ βάλε κηρύλος εἶην,  
 ὅς τ' ἐπὶ κύματος ἄνθος ἄμ' ἀλκύνεσσι ποτήται  
 νηδεὲς ἦτορ ἔχων, ἀλιπόφυρος ἰαρόδ ὄρνις.

In the prologue to the *Aetia*, Callimachus also bases a rejuvenation fantasy on a metamorphosis, in his case into a cicada (Fr. 1.32-36 Pf.):<sup>65</sup>

ἐγ]ὼ δ' εἶην οὐλ[α]χός, ὁ πτερόεις,  
 ἅ πάντως, ἵνα γῆρας ἵνα δρόσον ἦν μὲν αἰίδω  
 πρῶκιον ἐκ δίης ἠέρος εἶδαρ ἔδων,  
 αὔθι τὸ δ' ἐκδύοιμι, τό μοι βάρος ὄσσον ἔπεσσι  
 τρίγλῶχιν ὀλοῶ νῆκος ἐπ' Ἐγκελάδῳ.

These two wishes for rejuvenation would appear to have more in common with one another than either has with Simonides 22. By contrast with Simonides' utopian fantasy, both Alcman and Callimachus employ the motif of transformation. Whereas the underlying motivation of Simonides' rejuvenation wish is desire, the other two are motivated explicitly by feelings of decrepitude, and the wished-for transformations are designed to remove the debilities of old age.<sup>66</sup> Although poetry is just one of several elements in the sympotic milieu of Simonides' fantasy, it is central to the wishes of Alcman and Callimachus.<sup>67</sup> Finally, even the discursive style of Simonides 22 may be contrasted with the urgent and emotional tone of the other two.<sup>68</sup>

*Anacreontea* 53 West, though not a wish, also focuses on the theme of rejuvenation: the aging speaker describes how the sight of a company of young men inspires in him a feeling of youthfulness, an eagerness to dance and a kind of Bacchic frenzy (1-8; 9-14 add the element of wine):

ὅτ' ἐγὼ ἔνέων ὄμιλον  
 ἐσορῶ, πάρεστιν ἦβα.  
 τότε δὴ, τότε ἐκ χορείην  
 ὁ γέρων ἐγὼ πτεροῦμαι,  
 παραμαίνομαι, κυβηβῶ.  
 παράδος· θέλω στέφεσθαι·  
 πολὺν δὲ γῆρας ἐκδύς  
 νέος ἐν νέοις χορεύω.

This poem features neither magical transformation nor translation to an idyllic locale; instead the speaker's rejuvenation is akin to the altered psychological state of an ecstatic devotee of Dionysos (5; cf. 9, 14). Though it may be said that *Anacreontea* 53 shares an erotic element with Simonides 22, this speaker's desire for the young men of verse 1 remains only implicit; desire would, in any case, have to be interpreted as one of several *sources* of his feeling of rejuvenation rather than the underlying *motive* for the wish as in Simonides 22.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Antigon. Caryst. *mir.* xxiii (27), ad Alc. 26.

<sup>65</sup> West has already proposed that the passage is relevant to Simonides 22: "Is the Cyrenaean elegist recalling the Cean?" (West, 14); cf. Hunter (n. 3 above), 12 n. 2.

<sup>66</sup> Alcman complains about the weakness of his limbs (1-2) and old age weighs as heavily upon Callimachus as Sicily does upon Enkelados. Alcman's *kerylos* enjoys the power of free flight; life as a tiny winged cicada would restore Callimachus to agility and mobility.

<sup>67</sup> Alcman wants to restore waning artistic powers and Callimachus desires to become a creature that is, above all, a singer.

<sup>68</sup> Alcman employs repetition (βάλε δὴ βάλε, 26.2) and Callimachus combines repetition (ἵνα γῆρας ἵνα δρόσον, 33) with asyndeton (32), interjection (33) and anacolouthon (33-35). Cf. D. Fehling, *Wiederholungsfiguren* (Berlin 1969), 176; 303.

<sup>69</sup> See also Rosenmeyer (n. 55 above) 60-61. A curious inversion of a rejuvenation wish appears at Euripides' *Her.* 637-54. The Chorus begin by praising youth and (in verses that apparently inspired Callimachus) excoriating old age as "a burden

**Utopian Escape-wishes.** Turning now to the utopian theme, several well-known choral passages by Euripides contain first-person fantasies about escaping some undesirable situation by fleeing to an idyllic locale.<sup>70</sup> Even though none of the fantasies involves old age, two passages invite comparison with Simonides 22 on the basis of other shared themes.

At *Hipp.* 732-51 the Chorus wish to be transformed into birds so that they might wing their way west, ultimately to "the apple-sown shore of the singing Hesperides" (cited also by Parsons, 46). Euripides portrays the Hesperides' island as the garden of the gods, situated Ζηνὸς παρὰ κοίταις (749), where Zeus and Hera celebrated their marriage (Barrett, p. 305). Although this utopian escape-wish shares erotic overtones with Simonides 22, it ultimately leaves an entirely different impression. Euripides' passage is highly stylized, populated by divinities and riddled with mythical allusions, some of them obscure.<sup>71</sup> Simonides features neither gods nor figures of myth in his fantasy, but instead uses simple language to paint a naturalistic scene with an emphasis on the human element: the beloved boy and poetry performed by himself.

The utopian escape wish at *Bacchae* 402-16 yields a similar contrast. Here the Asiatic maenads fantasize about exchanging their persecution in Thebes for three idyllic destinations where they might worship Dionysos in peace: Kypros, Paphos and Pieria.<sup>72</sup> Here the erotic element is even more pronounced: Kypros is "the island of Aphrodite" and home of the Erotes (402-05) and Pieria, as well as being "seat of Muses" (μούσειος ἔδρα), is the dwelling place of the Charites and Pothos (409-15). The thematic correspondences between this passage and Simonides 22 (desired travel to a utopian locale, eros and music) again reveal the essential difference. In this Euripidean utopia, too, music and eros are stylized, appearing in the form of divinities and abstractions.<sup>73</sup> Absent again is the humanizing focus and, with it, the particularity and poignancy of Simonides' development of the theme of the aging lover.<sup>74</sup>

A third poetic treatment of the theme of utopian escape comes from the Latin tradition: Horace Ep. 16. In an apocalyptic vision of the fall of Rome as a result of civil war (1-14), Horace exhorts the Roman people to abandon the city for some idyllic locale (arva, beata | petamus arva, divites et insulas, 41-42). Then, after a (more or less) traditional description of the desired utopian destination (43-62), Horace finally proclaims: piis secunda vate me datur fuga (67). Save for the common theme of utopian escape, the contrast between Simonides 22 and Epode 16 is stark. Nothing in Simonides' personal occasional poem anticipates Horace's application of the theme to contemporary politics nor his authoritative delivery of pronouncements to fellow citizens as poet-vates.

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heavier than the crags of Aitna" (637-40). Then, rather than fantasizing about fleeing old age themselves, they wish to banish *it*: under the sea, from the habitations of men and, finally, away through the aither bourne on its *own* wings: ἀλλὰ κατ' αἰθέρ' αἰεὶ πτεροῖσι φορεῖσθω (653-54).

<sup>70</sup> On Euripidean escape lyrics in general, see Barrett, Eur. *Hipp. ad.* 732-34 and 1290-93.

<sup>71</sup> The Chorus imagine themselves borne over the "water of Eridanos" (737), "a purely fabulous stream of the far west" (Barrett *ad loc.*), where Phaethon's female kin mourn him with amber tears (i.e. in tree form, 738-41); the garden itself is guarded by the Old Man of the Sea where Atlas holds up the vault of heaven (744-47); there is mention of the divine marriage and the Hesperides themselves and their music; the place flows with "ambrosial (i.e. immortal)" springs and the gods themselves are present to enjoy the bounty of "the divine earth, giver of *albos*" (750-51).

<sup>72</sup> Kypros here represents the eastern boundary of the known world and Pieria is a northern extreme (see Dodds' nn. *ad loc.*). On the text of 406, see Diggle. L. Koenen, who at one time (*ICS* I [1976], 140 n. 44) had endorsed Meineke's <χθόνα> θ' ἂν ἐκατόκτομοι | βαρβάρου ποταμοῦ ῥοαὶ | καρπίζουσιν ἄνομβροι (406-08; Πάφον, codd.), now prefers Diggle's text (but {θ} ἂν instead of <τ>ἂν; per litt.).

<sup>73</sup> For other examples of abstract erotic forces in utopian settings, cf. Soph.'s description of an idyllic Colonos at *OC* 668-93 (esp. ἄ χρυκάνιος Ἀφροδίτα, 691-92); also Emped., *Kath.* DK B.128 (quoted in Part I above).

<sup>74</sup> A third utopian escape wish appears at Eur. *Hel.* 1478-86. The Chorus wish to take wing and fly to a utopian Libya situated at the southern extreme of the known world, marked by an ideal climate and abundant produce. Specifically they wish to exchange ὄμβρον --- χειμέριον (1481) for ἄβροχα πεδία καρποφόρα τε (1485). The "picturesque" predominates here with no other thematic overlap with Simonides 22.

Of the poets who did handle the themes of rejuvenation and utopian escape, it would appear that Simonides alone chose to exploit the connection between the two.

### III. Fantasy and Reality

**Transition to the here-and-now** ([19?+] 20-21 [+22f.?]). The final tattered verses of Simonides 22 yield only scanty clues (two words in all), which may nevertheless provide some hint as to the direction in which this complex of utopian, sympotic and erotic themes was ultimately heading.<sup>75</sup> τῶνδε in 20 is conceivably part of a forward-looking transition: a reference to the men (or things) of "here and now." One could hardly fail to associate the elements of εὐκομπ[ in 21<sup>76</sup> with the idea of ennobling poetry. The word may have marked a transition to the subject of encomium.<sup>77</sup> To be sure, these details are hardly secure or informative enough to help answer questions concerning the aim, audience and occasion of this sympotic elegy. A suggestion of Parsons, however, makes it possible to pursue all these questions in considerably greater depth.

**Echekratidas.** Parsons has made the important observation that in 9 one may read the proper name Ἐχεκ[ρατί]δην (Parsons, 47). There are two known Thessalians of this name, the earlier of whom has a confirmed connection to Simonides. Echekratidas (1) was the father of Antiochos, one of Simonides' patrons; Echekratidas (2), was a Thessalian king and father of an Orestes mentioned by Thucydides as an exile in 457/6.<sup>78</sup>

Tempting as it might be to introduce Echekratidas (1) into this poem, the dramatic fiction makes the identification improbable: Simonides would hardly have expressed a poetic wish to take a journey to a timeless idyllic landscape so that he could enjoy erotic pleasures with his patron's aged (or, worse, dead) father. In fact, West's identification of the individual in verse 9 with Echekratidas (1) is the point at which his interpretation of the fantasy goes badly awry (cf. Hunter [n. 3 above], 14 n.12). West suggests that the poet greets his old friend Echekratidas with a hand-clasp at verse 10 and then turns to the object of his desire, "an unspecified couching companion" (West, 13); at verse 13 he offers: ἐγ[ὼ μετὰ πα]ιδός. The paleographical problem of the supplement notwithstanding,<sup>79</sup> there is no indication that more than one other person joins the speaker in this idyllic landscape; nor is there any hint that the desired physical contact in 10 is merely "friendly" by contrast with the erotic tenor of the following verses. If anything is certain about this poem, it is that the blond mentioned in 9 and the individual on whom the speaker focuses erotic attention at 10-12 are one and the same.<sup>80</sup> West does, in fact, take this point into account with an alternative scenario: παιδός could refer to a *rejuvenated* Echekratidas (*ibid.*; cf. Parsons

<sup>75</sup> "20-21 on a detached fragment (fr. 2[b] of 2327) which Lobel thought 'located here by both cross and vertical fibres.' Note that the overlap of cross fibres is very small, so that the horizontal alignment is not necessarily reliable" (Parsons, 48). Cf. Hunter (n. 3 above), 13 with n. 10. It makes no difference to the argument even if a substantial number of verses intervened between 18 and 20.

<sup>76</sup> 21 εὐκομπ[ suprascr. π, i.e. εὐπομπ[ : perhaps another reading that is preferable to a variant (see n. 4). West (13) favors εὐπομπ[ and, in keeping with his interpretation of the poem as a propemptikon, detects a wish for a fair journey: "perhaps εὐπομπ[ος predicatively of a god (e.g. Poseidon), with optative verb" (see Part I with nn. 11-12 above; see also further below). If εὐπομπ[ is correct, I would suggest instead a reference to a "following" breeze that would waft the speaker to his utopian island—in other words, a conclusion to the fantasy by way of ring composition.

<sup>77</sup> For κόμπος as the epinician "vaunt," cf. Pi. *Nem.* 8.49; *Isthm.* 1.43 and 5.24; also *Pyth.* 10.4. For related εὐ-compounds in encomiastic poetry, cf. e.g. φρενός εὐκλέας οἴκτους (*Ol.* 2.90); λύτρον εὐδοξον --- καμάτων (*Isthm.* 8.1).

<sup>78</sup> For Echekratidas (1) see Parsons, 47 (esp. Theoc. 16.34 and schol. [= Sim. *PMG* 528]) and West, 12 and 13 with nn. 28 and 29. For Echekratidas (2) see Parsons, *loc. cit.*

<sup>79</sup> M. W. Haslam in his otherwise highly favorable review of *IEG II*<sup>2</sup> singled out this supplement as one of the few that "stretch the evidence to or beyond the breaking point" (*BMCR* 4 [1993], 135). For the difficulty of filling the gap in a way that suits the traces, see Parsons, 48.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Haslam (previous n.), 134: "this is a romantically homo-erotic piece in which it seems that the aged poet envisions ... reclining on flowers in the sensual company of the lovely Echekratides." Parsons also thinks that Echekratidas is the love-object (46, 49 *et passim*) and contributes the (queried) suggestion that this older Echekratidas is young "in the poet's memory" (Parsons, 47).

at n. 82 below). Still, this leaves us with a hypothesis that is nearly as awkward: that the poet is celebrating the past adolescent homoerotic allure of a man presumably best known to his audience as head of the family and father of the adult Antiochos.

Of the two individuals identified by Parsons, the more suitable candidate for a part in Simonides 22 is Echekratidas (2). This solution is hardly satisfactory, though, for the obvious reason that it involves rejecting evidence that connects Echekratidas (1) directly with the poet. We need not, however, retreat from the question at this impasse, since there is a third possibility that is open to none of the objections of the other two. Antiochos might well have named a son after his father. This hypothetical Echekratidas (3), grandson of the known Echekratidas (1), would not only have been the son of Simonides' patron, but presumably also of a suitable age to receive a homoerotic compliment. As it turns out, we have an excellent parallel for the situation in Pindar's encomium for Theoxenos of Tenedos (fr. 125). Here, too, a poet in the guise of an aging admirer wrote to celebrate the desirability of a patron's young relative: a brother of Aristagoras for whom Pindar wrote *Nem.* 11 (see further below).

**Aim, Audience and Occasion.** On the evidence available to us, obviously we cannot, in the end, conclusively identify the Echekratidas of this poem. Still, an occasional sympotic elegy that focused on *any* named individual must have had some point for its original audience. We must, therefore, return to the dramatic fiction for hints as to what that point might have been.

The poet's wish to travel to an idyllic island in order to shed old age and consort with the desirable young Echekratidas is manifestly the centerpiece of the elegy. West's view that the poem is a propemptikon is unsatisfactory for relegating the central utopian wish to a mere *πάρεργον* and, accordingly, the prominently featured Echekratidas to a secondary role (see Part I with nn. 11 and 12).<sup>81</sup> Moreover, by either of West's hypotheses, Simonides' fantasy involves meeting a friend in the hereafter who has predeceased him.<sup>82</sup> If the elegy were a tribute to a dead family member, it would, in effect, be a lament or consolation, which it is surely not;<sup>83</sup> the specter of death, if present at all, hangs only vaguely over the speaker whose advanced age is the basis of his wish to become young again.<sup>84</sup> Nor does the elegy contain any element that could be construed as paraenetic.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Hunter (n. 3 above) pursues the idea of the propemptikon and proposes two alternative interpretations on the basis of Theocr. 7.61-71: "either a wish for X's [the addressee's] safe journey to the island and a description of the party X will hold on arrival (vv. 1-12), followed by the corresponding party which the poet will hold (vv. 13ff.); or a wish for X's safe journey to the island (vv. 1-8), followed by the celebratory party which the poet will hold (vv. 9ff.)." The primary objection is—as has been argued throughout—that the island is no real destination, but an imaginary utopian locale. Moreover, correspondences between Sim. 22 and Theocr. 7.61-71 are no more (and perhaps a little less) than what one would find in any two sympotic passages: a flowery garland (Theocr. 7.64), reclining posture (66) and music (71ff.). The differences are more marked: Theocritus' fireside setting (66); Lycidas' herdsman companions (71) and the speaker's toast of his beloved (65; 69-70). Even Hunter muses on the question "whether the similarity between the two passages ... is fortuitous."

<sup>82</sup> West, 13: "Echekratidas ... is dead now, but Simonides recalls him as an old and dear friend." Cf. Parsons' "extreme view" (49): "The aged Simonides longs to escape ... to meet again the dead Echekratidas in all his desirable youth."

<sup>83</sup> Consider, by contrast, the pathos of a real Simonidean consolation: *ἤμα καταφθιμένοιο Μεγακλέος εἶτ' ἄν ἴδωμαι, ἰοικτίρω σε τάλαν Καλλία, οἷ' ἔπαθεε* (eleg. 91; cf. West *Studies*, 21). Simonides' lament for Antiochos includes a reference to the grief of his bereaved mother (*PMG* 528; cf. West, 13). Even the two words of Simonides fr. eleg. 23 speak more to the topic of consolation than the remains of 22 in their entirety (*ἀμύντορα δυσφροσυνάων*, of wine). Nor does the fragment resemble any other early extant consolation poetry, e.g. Archil. 11-13; Theogn. 355-60; Pi. *Nem.* 8.44-51; *Isthm.* 3/4.34-42 and the poems classified by West, *Studies*, 16 as "praise of a dead friend."

<sup>84</sup> Since Simonides presumably composed his work to be performed *in propria persona*, even a loose verisimilitude would suggest that he regarded himself as relatively advanced in age at the time. Still, this does not necessarily help to date the elegy. Since perceptions of what constitutes old age are relative (and poetic licence is always a consideration), Simonides (?b. Ol. 56 [556/552, Suda Σ 439]) might have referred to himself as old when in what we would consider early middle age. Cf. West *loc. cit.*: "Simonides already feels old, but that need not exclude a date as early as the 490s." For discussion of this issue and a collection of interesting examples, see A. Cameron, *Callimachus and His Critics* (Princeton 1995), 175-81.

<sup>85</sup> Consider, by contrast, the overtly paraenetic posture of Sim. eleg. 20 (esp. *ἀλλὰ σὺ ταῦτα μαθὼν --- φράζεο δὲ ---* [11-13]); Sim. eleg. 19 offers instruction in the proper understanding of a Homeric dictum; 21 contains the didactic *topoi* of *δίκη*, *ὑβρις* and (possibly) *αἰδώς*.

We are left with the conclusion that Simonides 22 is, as it appears, an erotic poem. But, as the dramatic fiction implies, the elegy is not erotic in the most straightforward sense (i.e. written with intent to woo). By expressing his wish to consort with Echekratidas, Simonides celebrates the young man's desirability. Yet by casting the scene in the form of a fantasy and emphasizing his own advanced age, he implicitly renders the issue of any erotic relations between them moot.<sup>86</sup> But this rejection takes the playful form of the poet's utopian rejuvenation on the wishful island of nowhere. Thus he has made Echekratidas the object of encomium with an erotic theme and at the same time offered him a compliment that is a masterpiece of delicacy to which no one could object. Pindar, too, in his homoerotic encomium for his patron's relative, distances himself delicately from the role of suitor. He stresses his own advanced age and the importance of *καίρος* in erotic pursuit, disparages *other* men who could resist Theoxenos' flashing eyes (fr. 123.2-9) and hints finally that his own admiration is part and parcel of a general appreciation of the beauty of boys (εὖτ' ἂν ἴδω παίδων νεόγυιον ἐκ ἥβην [11-12]).<sup>87</sup>

The occasion for which Simonides composed this elegy was presumably a private (rather than public or festival) gathering at which the recitation of erotic and encomiastic poetry would have been equally at home.<sup>88</sup> A convivial setting appears to be reflected in elements of Simonides' fantasy: his reclining posture (14), garland (15-16) and poetic performance (17-18). We should probably imagine a party hosted by Antiochos (father of the honorand) with Echekratidas himself present in the company of family members and a circle of intimates to appreciate the compliment.

#### IV. Conclusion

Simonides based his homoerotic encomium for Echekratidas on an apparently unique fusion of the themes of utopian escape and the trials of the aging lover. The effect of this unusual meeting of ideas is powerful. Descriptions of utopias in Greek poetry, from Homer and Hesiod on, speak to the human yearning to be exempt from the liabilities of the mortal lot, particularly old age and death. Equally compelling is the predicament of unrequited desire, not least when old age offers the impediment. Simonides forges a link between the erotic and utopian themes (and thus the poetic traditions associated with them) through the idea of rejuvenation. The result is that, in the context of this occasional erotic encomium, Simonides' twofold wish-fulfilling fantasy offers to the imagination—if only for a moment—the attainment of two supremely desirable goals.<sup>89</sup> It cannot help but exercise a doubly powerful appeal.

Union College  
Schenectady, New York

Sarah Mace

<sup>86</sup> Simonides' erotic encomium is, therefore, in effect a *recusatio*. The Suda-entry (s.v. Σιμωνίδης Λεωπρεποῦς) catalogues the poet's literary output as: historical elegies/lyrics, θρήνοι, ἐγκώμια, ἐπιγράμματα, παιᾶνες, καὶ τραγωδία καὶ ἄλλα (cf. *IEG* II<sup>2</sup>, p.114). Eleg. 22 is not an epigram in the sense that the word is applied to the collection transmitted under Simonides' name; nor, as just argued, is it in any sense a θρήνος. If it corresponds to any category in the Suda-entry, it is to the "encomia." D. A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric* III (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), 331 glosses these ἐγκώμια as "epinicians," but cf. the Suda-entry for Pindar: ὀλυμπιονίκας, πυθιονίκας, ... ἐγκώμια.

<sup>87</sup> Despite this poetic disclaimer, the biographers had their way with Pindar, recording that he died ἀνακεκλιμένον εἰς τὰ τοῦ ἐρωμένου Θεοξένου αὐτοῦ γόνατα (Suda, s.v.); see van Groningen, *Pindare au Banquet* (Leiden 1960), 51-83, esp. 76-78; Bowra, *Pindar* (Oxford 1964), 274-77.

<sup>88</sup> See West *Studies*, 10-21 (11-12 on the "civilian symposium"; 13-14 on elegiac performance) and J. Herington, *Poetry into Drama* (Berkeley 1985), 36-38 with Appendix V.A: "Testimonia on Elegiac Performance."

<sup>89</sup> Elsewhere, by contrast, Simonides treats old age and mortality in a more direct and uncompromising fashion, e.g. *PMG* 520, 641, fr. eleg. 19, 20, 21.5ff. At 20.12f. Simonides' advice is to accept the inevitable with an admixture of endurance and hedonism: ψυχῆ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τλήθῃ χαριζόμενος.