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SIMONIDES REDIVIVUS

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Redivivus is not a word to be brought out and batted around every time a few more shreds of an ancient writer come to light. It does seem apt, however, on those comparatively rare occasions when new material appears that for the first time gives us a real sense of the style and character of an author's work. So it was in 1967 with the portfolio of Stesichorus fragments published in volume XXXII of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri; and so it is now, a quarter of a century later, with the fragments of elegies of Simonides in volume LIX.

It has not been easy hitherto to appreciate the reasons for the high reputation that Simonides enjoyed in antiquity. Of his melic poetry some 270 verbatim fragments are to be found in PMG, and another 70 or so (at least) in SLG.¹ But of these hundreds of fragments scarcely a dozen contain more than three lines of continuously legible text; and of them not more than two or three offer anything to kindle any keen sense that we are in touch with a great poet. Of his epigrams we have precisely two whose authenticity is reasonably assured.² Of his elegies we had, till now, something approaching fifty verbatim fragments,³ but it was hardly possible to derive from them any clear idea of what a Simonidean elegy might have been like. The longest piece, one of thirteen lines, had a question mark over its authorship; the question mark has now gone, but the passage has turned out to be a conflation of two separate fragments.⁴

The new fragments, admirably edited by Peter Parsons as P.Oxy. 3965, are 47 in number. The majority of them are, as usual, too exiguous to be informative. A few, however, are of sufficient substance in themselves, or overlap sufficiently with fragments previously known, to yield bigger patches of text than we have had before. What is more, some of these patches can be grouped together as belonging to the same poems, so that we begin to get glimpses of larger pictures.

The elegies represented in the two papyri (2327 and 3965) appear to fall into two categories: narrative poems about the great battles of the Persian Wars, and sympotic elegy of the more traditional sort. We can distinguish two poems in the first category and three in the second. In what follows I will try to recover the sense of parts of these five poems, and

¹ I refer to the fragments of P.Oxy. 2623 (= S 319-386, 'Adespota'), identified as Simonides by E.Lobel in P.Turner (1981), 21 f.

² The epitaph for Megistias, Hdt. 7. 228. 3 (Epigr. 6 Page); IG I² 673 + 850 (CEG 270). It is plain from Herodotus' words that Simonides was *not* known to him as the author of ὦ ξεῖν' ἀγγέλλειν, that damp squib so often extolled by nineteenth-century historians of literature for its 'classical restraint'. Cf. Wilamowitz, Sappho und Simonides, 204 n. 1.

³ Besides those printed under Simonides' name in the first edition of IEG there were the fragments of P.Oxy. 2327, printed as Adesp. Eleg. 28-60, but identified as Simonides by Lobel, *op.cit.* 23.

⁴ Fr. eleg. 19 and 20. 5-12 in IEG II² (1992), formerly fr. 8.

to bring out the most interesting considerations that arise from contemplation of the new material. I hope that this offering of ink to a ghost will enable him to speak to us more clearly than he has hitherto.

POEMS ON THE PERSIAN WARS

It was known that Simonides celebrated several of the great battles of 480 and 479, in verse of more than one genre. In the typically confused Suda notice on Simonides we read: καὶ γέγραπται αὐτῷ Δωρίδι διαλέκτῳ ἢ Καμβύσου καὶ Δαρείου βασιλεία καὶ Ξέρξου ναυμαχία καὶ ἢ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίδῳ ναυμαχία δι' ἑλεγείας, ἢ δ' ἐν Καλαμῖνι μελικῶς· θρήνοι, ἐγκώμια, κτλ. It seems highly unlikely that the reigns of Cambyses and Darius formed the subject of a poem or poems (as Schneidewin supposed), and "Xerxes' sea-battle" is equally suspect, especially as Artemisium and Salamis are mentioned separately. Bergk, PLG⁴ III 423, saw the essence of the corruption: "at auctor, quem sequitur Suidas, ut Simonidis aetatem describeret, haud dubie dixerat vixisse poetam regnantibus Cambyse, Dario, Xerxe."⁵ We are left with the statement that Simonides wrote (1) an elegy on the Battle of Artemisium and (2) a melic poem on that at Salamis. Other sources give notice of (3) a melic poem on the Battle of Artemisium (PMG 533), (4) a narrative about the Salamis battle, genre unspecified (Plut. Them. 15.4, Vit. Pind. l.c.), and (5) a narrative about the Battle of Plataea in elegiacs (Plut. De Herod. malign. 42, 872d). Bergk identified (1) with (3) and (2) with (4), assuming that δι' ἑλεγείας and μελικῶς in the Suda entry should be transposed. This seemed persuasive.

The new material puts a different complexion on the matter. It confirms the existence of an elegiac poem on the Battle of Plataea and shows that it was on an ample scale. It also provides apparent confirmation of the statement in the Suda that there was an elegiac poem dealing with the Battle of Artemisium.⁶ This removes the basis for altering ἢ δ' ἐν Καλαμῖνι μελικῶς. In the first edition of IEG, accepting Bergk's reasoning, I included the two (extra Sudam) references to a Salamis poem, which Page quotes under PMG 536, and tentatively associated with them two small elegiac fragments that looked as if they could have to do with a naval battle. In the second edition I retained this arrangement, adding P.Oxy. 2327 fr. 31, now that this papyrus was known to be Simonides. I probably ought to have discarded the

⁵ He then cites Vit.Pind. (Ambros.) p. 2. 21ff. Drachmann, ἐπέβαλλε δὲ τοῖς χρόνοις Σιμωνίδῃ ἢ νεώτερος πρεσβύτερος· τῶν γοῶν αὐτῶν μέμνηται ἀμφοτέρωθεν πράξεων. καὶ γὰρ Σιμωνίδης τὴν ἐν Καλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν γέγραφε, καὶ Πίνδαρος μέμνηται τῆς † Κάδμου βασιλείας, with C.Schneider's emendation Ξέρξου for Κάδμου. In IEG II¹ 112/II² 114 I have proposed a form of words for the Suda's source.

⁶ See Parsons's notes on 3965 fr. 20 (p. 41). The testimony to a melic poem on the same theme (PMG 533) looks unassailable, so we must accept that there were two compositions in different genres on the same subject.

Man of the Sea.⁸ He is in the accusative, so he too appears to be affected by the Boreads' activity. The couplet may have gone something like this:

ἄριναν δὲ θάλασσαν ὑ[πὸ] τ[ρ]υγός· ἄ[ν] δὲ γέροντα
ἤγειραν, ταμίην ἀγ]λαόφημον ἄλός.

In the next line it seems certain, from the accented τίνα following a high point, that someone is asking a question. The narrator? It is much easier to suppose that it is the Old Man, roused from his repose and enquiring what is afoot - rather as Aeschylus' Darius, roused from the lower world by the Persians' clamour, asks

τίνα πόλις πονεῖ πόνον;
τένει, κέκοπται, καὶ χαράσσεται πέδον.

But a speech by the Old Man of the Sea might be expected to be prophetic, not merely questioning. I restore *exempli gratia*

εἶπε δὲ θεεπίζ]ων· τίνα δὴ [τ]ηλωπ[ὸν ἀκούω
δοῦπον ἄθ' ὑμίνης] ὅτε χ[ροῖζόμ]ενον;

"And he spoke in prophecy: 'What is this distantly perceived noise, as of battle, that I hear brushing my ears?'" In the sound of the rising storm he hears the coming clash of arms.⁹

This is all very rococo. It is the sort of thing we know well in Nonnus but did not expect in the 'chaste' classical period. Has the urge to restore led us so far astray? Did we miss some alternative way that would have led to equally plausible results? If so, I will be obliged to anyone who can point it out. Meanwhile it may be in place to recall Ibycus' rhetorical-decorative use of divine myth in contemporary context, a tendency more extensively disclosed by recent papyrus finds.¹⁰ Such conceits were to become commonplace in Hellenistic verse, but they had classical origins.

The Battle of Plataea

This is now the Simonidean composition of which we have the largest remains. One piece extends over 45 lines, and several others of lesser dimensions can be assigned to the poem with more or less confidence. The large fragment has revealed a crucial fact about the structure of the work that could not have been predicted. The narrative was preceded, like an epic rhapsode's narrative, by a hymn, the two parts being linked by a farewell and transition on the same pattern as those seen in many of the Homeric Hymns and in Hesiod's Theogony. The hymn occupied some thirty lines at least, and the link passage ten. The narrative part must have been much longer; hardly less than a hundred lines, perhaps much more. But the poem did not fill a roll. In both 2327 and 3965 it shared accommodation with sympotic elegies.

⁸ Aiolos is ταμίης ἀνέμων, Od. 10. 21; Poseidon is τριαίνης ταμία, Ar. Nub. 566, etc.

⁹ For τηλωπός of sound cf. Soph. Ph. 216 τηλωπὸν ἰώαν. The interpretation of the letters]ωτε as the dual ὅτε is supported by the variant ·ω·[(rather than ·ωι[] written above (-μ]εν)ον.

¹⁰ ZPE 57, 1984, 23-32.

The poem was thus effectively a mini-epic in elegiacs. The Artemisium elegy may or may not have had a similar form. It was not an entirely new form, for we know of one precedent from a century and a half earlier. I refer to Mimnermus' elegiac poem on the Smyrnaeans' repulse of Gyges, which bore the epic-style title *Smyrneis*, began with a 'prooimion' involving two generations of Muses, and contained narrative of sufficient amplitude to include speeches.¹¹ The subject matter was analogous: a glorious victory, against all rational expectation, over a powerful barbarian invader. This is just the sort of event that captivates the people's imagination, inspires new poems (plays, films ...), and demands to be measured against the great events of past times. Mimnermus was too young to celebrate the Hermos battle (which his own name perhaps commemorates) at the time when it was fought, but Smyrna's pride in it burned on for decades, and it was still a potent theme when he came of age. Xerxes' defeat was very quickly taken up by tragedians who normally looked back to the heroic age for their subject matter. At the end of the fifth century Choirilos of Samos was to give it full epic treatment. No one in Simonides' time ventured to go to that length, but Simonides did what Mimnermus had done, presumably not without having Mimnermus' precedent in mind. We may guess that these elegiac epyllia were designed to be performed, as entertainment, in that setting in which elegy was usually performed, with aulos accompaniment.

The discovery that the Plataea poem began with a hymn is less surprising than the fact that the hymn was addressed to Achilles. He is apostrophized as *κούρης εἰν]αλίας ἀγλαόφη[με πάϊ*,¹² and again as *θεῶς ἐρικυ[δέος υἱέ | κούρης εἰν]αλίου Νηρέος* (fr. 10. 5 and 11. 20 W.²). Achilles' cult as a hero is well attested, and in some places he was even venerated as a god.¹³ That Simonides accorded him the latter status may seem to be implied by his choosing him as the subject of his prooimion, for so far as we know, the rhapsode's prooimion was always addressed to a divinity.¹⁴ On the other hand, *θεῶς ἐρικυ[δέος υἱέ* carries the suggestion that Achilles is not himself a god; there is emphasis on his momentous death; and Simonides does not ask any favours from him in the extant lines. The farewell at 11. 19 (*ἀλλὰ εὐ μὲ]ν νῦν χαίρει*) would have been the natural place to do so. Instead Simonides turns at that point to the Muse for assistance. Why, then, the initial focus on Achilles? Possibly the poem happened to be composed at the time of some festival or ritual in Achilles' honour, and Simonides took his cue from that.

In the concluding lines of the hymn, if I have interpreted the remains correctly, Simonides refers to Achilles' heroic death and funeral, and appends a series of reflections: (a) it was only by Apollo's agency that Achilles was struck down, for no mortal hand could have done

¹¹ Mimn. fr. 13-13a; cf. my *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus*, 74.

¹² For the form *πάϊ* cf. fr. 64. 10 (pentameter end) *πάϊν*.

¹³ See E.Diehl, *RE* XXII. 11; H.Hommel, *Der Gott Achilleus*, *Sitzungsber. Heidelb.* 1980(1).

¹⁴ Heracles is treated in *h.Hom.* 15 as having been received in Olympus, and as having the power to grant *ἀρετήν τε καὶ ὄλβον*.

οἷ] δ' ἐπεὶ ἐς πεδίον [Βοιωτίων εὐρὸν κατήλθον.

At this juncture Herodotus sets out the two armies' dispositions; compare Sim. fr. 15. Then, after a lengthy explanation of how Teisamenos came to be the Spartans' seer, he relates the results of this expert's divination. 9. 36 οὗτος δὴ τότε τοῖσι Ἑλληνι ὁ Τεισαμενὸς ἀγόντων τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐμαντεύετο ἐν τῇ Πλαταιίδι. τοῖσι μὲν νυν Ἑλληνι καλὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱρὰ ἀμυνομένοισι, διαβᾶσι δὲ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν καὶ μάχης ἄρχουσι οὗ. I believe that this announcement by the seer is to be recognized in the difficult fr. 14 (3965 fr. 21). Direct speech seems to be guaranteed by 3]εγω, whether it was ἐγὼ or a verb such as προλέγω. There is mention in successive lines of a river, an initial pressing forward (?), a terrible disaster, and everlasting memory. A coherent restoration is not easy to devise, but the following may catch the essence.

προλ]έγω ποταμοῦ λα[οῖς ἐθέλουσι
 ὅτι πέρην μά]ρψαι πρῶτα β[ι]η[καμένοι
 5 δεινὸν ἀμαι]μάκετόν τε κακ[όν· μίμνουσι δ' ἔσθεσθαι
 νίκην, ἧς μνή]μην ἤματα πάντ[α μενεῖν.

But the prophecy does not stop there. It evidently continues, and widens its scope, in the following lines. 7,]ξι[]ελασεινευσαντο[, clearly contains ἐλάσει, "X will drive (out) Y",¹⁸ and νεύσαντο[ε, "with the approval of" (Zeus). I cannot see anything likelier than

7 ἐξ Ἄ]ξι[η]ε ἐλά(ε)ει, νεύσαντο[ε ∪ — —
 (Zeus), και]νήν συμμα[χ]ίην φιλέω[ν (v.l. τελέω[ν).

If ἐξ Ἄ]ξι[η]ε is right, 'Asia' will here mean 'Ionia', and the reference will be to driving the Persians out of that part of the world. A masculine subject, not Zeus himself: who but Ares? He appears as an agent in some of the rhetorical 'Simonidean' epigrams of the period (45. 2, 47. 2, cf. 15. 1 Page; CEG 421). Ζηνὸς Ἄρης will be too long for 8 if και]νήν is rightly restored. But the sentence must overrun into 9 by one or two words, as is shown by the position of γάρ at the caesura of that line:

9]νοι γὰρ [] [] κ]ρηπίδα τ[

So there is room for Ἄρης (iamb or spondee) there, or just possibly at the beginning of 7 (Ἄρης φ'), though that would involve an abrupt asyndeton. The space after νεύσαντος might be filled by some adverb, or perhaps by Ἀθήνη. We also need an expressed object. Here, at a hazard, is a possible reconstruction of the whole passage:

Μήδους δ' ἐξ Ἄ]ξι[η]ε ἐλά(ε)ει, νεύσαντο[ε Ἀθήνη
 ὁπὲ Διός, και]νήν συμμα[χ]ίην τελέω[ν
 Ἄρης· εὐδά]φνωι γὰρ [ύ]π[ὸ κ]ρηπίδα τ[ανύσει
 10 νήσωι, ἄδην] ἐπά[γων εὐπ]ορίην β[ιότου,

¹⁸ This future is otherwise first found in Xenophon and the Hippocratic corpus; KB II 416 cites "παρελάσειε ψ 427" (which should be Ψ 427), but this is an inferior reading. Perhaps ἐλάσει already had some currency in Ionic in Simonides' time, or perhaps it is a late corruption of ἐλάει.

παρβασιῶ]ν δὲ [δίκη]ν λήψ]ει ποτὲ Φ[οῖ]βος Ἄπόλλων.
 τόσσα μὲν Ἰαμίδης μαντι]πόλῳ[ι στόματι
 θεεπίζων προύφαινε.]

Unless this is completely on the wrong track, it appears that Simonides' poem was composed sometime after the establishment of the Delian League, whose aspirations or achievements are here summarized. Simonides has taken the historical fact of Teisamenos' interpretation of the omens before Plataea - "advance across the Asopus and we lose; wait here and we win" - and, picking on this as the fateful moment of decision, upon which hung the whole outcome of the war, he has developed it into a far-seeing vaticination of the glorious future that was there waiting to be chosen. Here we recall the prophecy of the Old Man of the Sea in the Artemisium poem, and wonder whether it served a similar purpose.

The account of the battle itself still lies ahead. I have conjecturally assigned to it fr. 17 (3965 fr. 19), connecting Δημητ[in the first line and δηρὸν [in the fifth with the decisive engagement round the shrine of Demeter Eleusinia at Argiopion (Hdt. 9. 57. 2); cf. Hdt. 9. 62. 2, ἐγίνετο μάχη ἰσχυρὴ παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν. It was here that Mardonios was killed, and νίκη]ν ἀναιρεῖται καλλίστην ἀπαρέων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Πausanias ὁ Κλεομβρότου τοῦ Ἄναξανδρίδew (63. 2-64. 1). But there are 24 line-beginnings in the fragment, and I cannot catch any sense-connections between them.

The greater part of the poem is lost. But from what we have we can see that it was characterized above all by grandeur, not only of scale but also of style. The initial hymn to Achilles struck an epic note for the composition and set the conflict against Mardonios upon a heroic plane. It is full of elevated language, Homeric and para-Homeric epithets, and there is even an epic simile (fr. 11. 1-3). There is no change of register as we move into the main narrative. Corinth is dignified as ἐπικλέα ἔργα Κορίνθου (11. 35) or as πόλιν Γλαύκοιο, Κορίνθιον ἄετῳ (coupled with the Homeric Ephyra, 15. 3); Megara is Νίκου πόλις (11. 37); the Peloponnese is [νῆ]κος Τανταλίδew Πέλοπος (11. 36); Attica is [γαῖα] Πανδίωνος (11. 41); the Spartans are Δώρου καὶ Ἡρακλέος παῖδες (13. 9 f.). The human heroes are assisted by gods; Teisamenos is made into a Homeric seer like Helenos (Il. 7. 44 ff.), who can report on the Olympians' deliberations and sketch out the whole plan of the events that are to unfold. History is shown subject to divine justice, to the nod of Zeus.

SYMPOTIC ELEGIES

We had little of these till now. A couple of improvised requests for delicacies; a couple of phrases in praise of wine; a thirteen-line fragment on the brevity of life, which many people (including Wilamowitz, Diehl, and Maas) preferred to assign to Semonides of Amorgos; that was all. The new papyrus gives us a feeling of wealth.

Lives, leaves

Firstly it confirms that those thirteen lines came from the elegies of Simonides of Ceos.¹⁹ However, it shows that the first five lines, which stand only in the oldest manuscript of Stobaeus (S), were a self-contained excerpt, and that 6-13 should have been separated from them by a new heading, τοῦ αὐτοῦ, as these lines now appear in Oxy. 3965 fr. 26 preceded by remnants of verses unknown. They are followed by a recommendation to pay heed to something old Homer once said, and at least three lines seem to have been devoted to praise of Homer's timelessness and infallibility. Here is a conjectural restoration of the passage (fr. 20. 13-19 W.²):

..... ...(. .) φράζεο δὲ παλα[ιγενέος ἔπος ἀνδρός·
 ἦ λήθην] γλώσσης ἔκφυγ' Ὀμηρ[ος ἔης,
 15 κοῦ μιν] πανδαμά[τωρ αἰρεῖ χρόνος οὐδ' ἀπαμαυροῖ,
 οὐδέ ἔπ]ω ψυδρῆις εἶλεν ἐπ' ἀγγελίηις,
 ὡς νῦν] ἐν θαλίηι [καὶ εἰλαπίνηι ματαίως
 αἰε]ῖ εὐστρέπτοι [μὰ ψ παταγεῦσι λόγοι (v.l. εὐστρέπτων)
 ἀνδρ]ῶν ἔνθα καὶ [ἔνθα.

As the elegy was presumably performed in sympotic surroundings,²⁰ these last lines would be a humorous put-down of other people's efforts. Simonides must have gone on to say which particular sentiment of Homer's he wished to be remembered. There is a good chance that the Homer quotation in the first Stobaeus excerpt (fr. 19 W.²) in fact belongs here, a few lines after the passage which we had thought it preceded.²¹ It fits the context perfectly, and makes for an excellent example of ring composition:

Fr. 20. 5	When he is young, a man is foolish.	A
7	He has no anticipation of old age or death, and does not appreciate the brevity of mortal youth and life.	B
11	But you must learn this lesson and make sure you enjoy life.	
13	Take heed of what Homer said—	C
14	he has escaped oblivion, and never proved false,	D
17	in contrast to the sophistries of present-day elegy—	E

¹⁹ As I had argued in *Studies*, 179 f., though with some reservation about the authenticity of the verses, which I no longer see any reason to question.

²⁰ Among the minor fragments of the new papyrus we find probable or possible mentions of garlands (27. 4, 30. 3, 32. 4), Dionysus (30.5) a παῖς ἐρατός (27. 5), and a βάρβιτος (29. 3; see my *Ancient Greek Music* (1992), 57 f., especially n. 47).

²¹ Suggested by Parsons, 43.

Fr. 19. 1	and one thing the Chian poet said that was finest of all:	D
	οἷη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοιήδε καὶ ἀνδρῶν.	
3	Few men have taken that properly to heart,	C
4	for they have (false) expectations,	B
	that grow naturally in the breasts of the young.	A

Spots on the ivory

Secondly, in view of the overlaps of 3965 with 2327 we are now able to identify as Simonides the author of that intriguing fragment of 2327 which was Adesp. eleg. 28;²² it is now Sim. eleg. 21. Here is the main portion, lines 3-9, with a new restoration of line 8:

- ⊗ ο]ῦ δύναμαι ψυχ[ῆι] πεφυλαγμένον ε[ἶ]ναι ὀπηδός·
 χρυσεῶπιν δὲ Δίκ[ην] ἄζ]ομαι ἀχνύμενος,
 5 ἐ]ξ οὗ τὰ πρῶτιστα νεο[τρεφέ]ων ἀπὸ μηρῶ[ν
 ἡ]μετέρης εἶδον τέρμ[ατα πα]ιδείης,
 κ]υά[ν]εον δ' ἔλεφαντίνεόν [τ' ἀνεμί]αγετο φέ[γγος,
 ποίην] δ' ἐκ νιφάδων [ῆν νεοθηλέ' ἰ]δεῖν.
 ἀλλ' αἰδ]ῶς ἤρυκε, νέου δ[ι]]ι[] ὕβριν.

Simonides announces that he can no longer maintain circumspection in ministering to his soul, that is, in allowing himself enjoyment of the good things in life.²³ He has, albeit with pain, respected the golden visage of Right²⁴ ever since he saw on his young thighs the signs that his boyhood was at an end. Dark hairs sprouted to speckle the ivory white; the image of the ivory and the theme of the colour contrast on the maculate thighs are no doubt drawn from Iliad 4. 141-7. In the next line the metaphor changes. The previously unblemished thighs are now represented by νιφάδες, snows. What was the complementary symbol representing their maculation? I think the picture must be of a snow-covered field in which, as spring approaches and the snows melt, spots of grass begin to appear here and there. *Diffugere niues, redeunt iam gramina campis*. It is a brilliant image, not just pictorially apt but hinting at the burgeoning of sexual vigour.²⁵

Where is the poet heading? He has always striven, hard though it was, to stay on the path of right; αἰδῶς held him in check; but now he is unable to minister to his soul πεφυλαγμένως, with proper caution. It is evidently a love poem. The degree of

²² I wrote some notes on it in *Studies*, 167 f.

²³ Cf. 20. 12 ψυχῆι τῶν ἀγαθῶν τλήθι χαριζόμενος with *Studies*, 180, adding Eur. Supp. 884 (ψυχῆι for φύσει cj. Lenting). Perhaps I was wrong, in editing 21. 3, to substitute a vocative for the papyrus' presumed ψυχῆι; the sense is not greatly affected, but ὀπηδός is easier with a dative expressed.

²⁴ Cf. Soph. fr. 12 τὸ χρύσειον δὲ τὰς Δίκας δέδορκεν ὄμμα, Eur. fr. 486 Δικαιοσύνης τὸ χρύσειον πρόσωπον. In quoting these two passages, Aristoxenus (fr. 50 Wehrli) forgot Simonides.

²⁵ Related imagery perhaps in line 11]οφύλλοις. For ποίη metaphorically in an erotic context cf. Archil. 196a. 23 f. ἐς ποη[φόρους κ]ήπους, Pind. Pyth. 9. 37 ἐκ λεχέων κείραι μελιαδέα ποίαν. A possible alternative supplement would be ἄνθεα.

introspection is unusual, but the general category, "I am in love, but reluctantly", is familiar. In this case it is not just that the poet is apprehensive of the pain and stress of love. He feels it to be somehow discreditable. We can compare Theognidea 1341 f. (Euenus fr. 8c),

αἰαί, παιδὸς ἐρῶ ἀπαλόχροος, ὅς με φίλοις
 πᾶσι μαλ' ἐκφαίνει κούκ ἐθέλοντος ἐμοῦ.

That poem, if 1341-50 are all one piece, is addressed to a Simonides, and he may well be our Simonides.²⁶ Perhaps Thgn. 1271-4 comes from the same period or circle.

The Happy Island

The advent of 3965 fr. 27 welds what were three scrappy Adespota (29-31) into one coherent fragment of singular beauty (22 W.²). It followed the snows fragment quite closely — there were probably less than twenty lines between them — but it comes, to all appearance, from a different poem, doubtless the next in the book. In lines 5-18 Simonides is describing a journey that he wishes he could make to that island of shady trees and pleasant breezes where he might be reunited with the fair Echekratidas, erase the wrinkles of old age, and enjoy the perfect pleasures of song, fragrant garlands, and a delightful companion.

5 πρήσσ]οιμι κέλευθο[v,
 φόρτον ἄγων Μουδέω]ν κόμ[ο]ν ἰο[τ]εφάνων,
 εὐαγέων δ' ἀνδρῶν ἐς] ἔδος πολύδενδρον ἰκο[ί]μην
 ες[....] εὐαέα νῆσον, ἄγαλμα β[ί]του·
 κα[ί] κεν] Ἐχεκ[ρατί]δην ξανθότρ[ι]χα τοῖςδε γεραιοῖς
 10 ὀφ[θαλμοῖς] ἰδ]ῶν χεῖρα λάβοιμ[ι] φίλην,
 ὄφρα νέο[v] χ[α]ρίε]ντος ἀπὸ χροὸς ἄν[θ]ος ἀείη,
 λείβοι δ' ἐκ βλ[εφάρ]ων ἡμερόεντα [πό]θον.
 καί κεν ἐγ[ὼ] μετὰ πα]ιδὸς ἐν ἄνθε[σιν] ἀβρὰ πάθοιμι
 κεκλιμένος, λευκὰς φαρκίδας ἐκτ[ὸς] ἐλῶν,
 15 χαίτη[σιν] χαρίε[ντα] νεοβλάτ[το]ιο κυπείρου
 π[οικίλον] εὐανθέα πλε[ξάμενος] κτέφανον·
 Μο[ύσαις] δ' ἡμερόεντα λιγύν π[ροχέοιμι] κεν οἶμον
 ἄρτι[επέα] νωμῶν γλῶσσαν ἀ[πὸ] στόματος.

The island must be the Isle (or one of the Isles) of the Blest, where it is attractive to believe that the best people go after death.²⁷ Echekratidas can reasonably be identified as that ruler of Larisa whose son Antiochus was one of Simonides' patrons.²⁸ He is dead now, but Simonides recalls him as an old and dear friend.

²⁶ Sim. eleg. 33. 4 οὐκ ἄχαρις γε[] recalls Thgn. 496 (also from an elegy addressed to Simonides, presumably by the same poet), χούτως συμπόσιον γίνεται οὐκ ἄχαρι.

²⁷ See Parsons, 46 and 49.

²⁸ Theoc. 16. 34 with sch. (PMG 528), see Gow II 312; Y.Béquignon, RE Supp. XII 1051 f.

6 Simonides would take some songs with him. For the expression cf. fr. 11. 23 μελ]ίφρονα κ[όρμον ἀο]ιδῆς [ἡμετ]έρης, and Solon 1. 2, Parm. B8. 52, Pind. Ol. 11. 13 and fr. 194, Democr. B 21, Orph. fr. 14.

7 V.1. πολύμνον. The supplement at the beginning, besides being suitable for the sense, has the merit of helping to account for the presumed corruption of εὐᾶέα (νήσον) to εὐαγέα in the next line. Otherwise one might opt for εὐκεβέων, with an eye on the θάλαμος or χώρος εὐκεβέων of fourth-century and later epitaphs (CEG 545, Call. epigr. 10. 4 Pf.; Rohde, *Psyche*⁸ II 383 (Eng. II 571 n. 133); [Pl.] Ax. 371c).

13 μετὰ πα]ιδός: Echekratidas? Perhaps rather an unspecified couching-companion. Cf. fr. 27. 5, Sol. 24. 5; Anacreont. 42. 3 f., 50. 13-20. For ἀβρὰ παθεῖν cf. Sol. 24. 4, Thgn. 474 (a poem to Simonides).

What was the context of this idyllic fantasy? The elegy was surely addressed to Echekratidas' son Antiochus or to some other member(s) of the family. Aristides, Or. 31. 3 (PMG 528), implies that Simonides wrote a lament for Antiochus' death and that it referred to the prince's grieving mother, Dyseris. This melancholy event had probably not yet occurred at the time of our elegy, or Simonides might have pictured Antiochus in the Happy Island rather than his father. Simonides already feels old, but that need not exclude a date as early as the 490s.²⁹

Preceding the passage quoted above are the line-ends 1] οιο θάλασσης, 2]ρουα πόρον (φέ]ρουα, subject a ship?), 3]μενος ἔνθα περὰνα[. After it, we find the line-beginnings 19 τῶνδε [, 20 εὐπομπ[(corrected from εὐκομπ[). I suspect that these are not part of the Elysian visit — Simonides will hardly have spent seven lines getting from his embarkation to the mention of his destination — but of its frame: a voyage to be undertaken by Antiochus, or whoever the poem was addressed to. It was, in other words, a propemptikon.³⁰ The word εὐπομπ[is especially suggestive; perhaps εὐπομπ[ος predicatively of a god (e.g. Poseidon), with optative verb.

This provided the point of departure for the imaginary journey. From wishing his noble Thessalian patron godspeed, Simonides turned aside for a few moments to describe the voyage he personally would like to make: to the Happy Island, to see Echekratidas again, grasp his hand, surrender anew to the charm that used to surround him; and himself to shed the weight of years, to return to the blithe, garlanded, songful times he had shared with his friend long ago. One may well be reminded of Callimachus:

²⁹ The dates 520-490 given for Antiochus' ταγεία by Béquignon, RE Suppl. XII 1053, seem to be mere guesswork.

³⁰ Early examples of this 'genre' are Sappho 5, Thgn. 691-2; cf. Sol. 19.

ἄ πάντως, ἴνα γῆρας ἴνα δρόσον ἦν μὲν ὠείδω
 πρῶκιον ἐκ δίης ἡέρος εἶδαρ ἔδων,
 αὖθι τὸ δ' ἐκδύοιμι, τό μοι βάρος ὄσον ἔπετι
 τριγλώχιν ὀλοῶι νῆκος ἐπ' Ἐγκελάδωι.

Is the Cyrenaean elegist recalling the Cean?

However that may be, we cannot but feel that in this fragment, more than anywhere else, we have found the real Simonides, speaking from the heart. And it is wonderful.

ADDENDUM

In fr. 11. 35 f. of the Plataea poem,

]ν καὶ ἐπικλέα ἔργα Κορίν[θ]ου
]Τανταλίδεω Πέλοπος,

the sense is 'they reached the Isthmus and Corinth'. 36 certainly referred to the Peloponnese as νῆκος Πέλοπος. But how was the phrase attached to 35? In ed. pr., Parsons thought of νῆσον δ' ἐξέλιπον], and I of νήσου τ' ἐχρατιήν].

The poet's nephew suggests a different solution. In his first Ode, which is for an Isthmian victor, he apostrophizes the Isthmus thus (13 f.):

ὦ Πέλοπος λιπαρᾶς νάσου θεόδματοι πύλαι.

So perhaps

ἔνθα πύλαι νήσου] Τανταλίδεω Πέλοπος.