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978-0-521-89878-2 - Wandering Poets in Ancient Greek Culture: Travel, Locality and Pan-Hellenism

Edited by Richard Hunter and Ian Rutherford

Excerpt

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CHAPTER I

*Introduction**Richard Hunter and Ian Rutherford*

TRAVELLING POETS

This volume explores the phenomenon of the itinerancy of ancient Greek poets, their movements around and engagement with the cities and cultural networks of the ancient Mediterranean and, more broadly, themes of travel and poetic itinerancy in Greek literature.

Travel and ‘wandering’¹ are persistent elements in both the reality and the *imaginaire* of Greek poetry, and intellectual and cultural life more generally, from the earliest days. They are, for example, central to the figure of Orpheus,² usually regarded by the Greeks as the first major poet and/or holy man (cf., e.g. Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1030–2), whether in his rôle as a teacher of holy rites, as an Argonaut,³ or as a lover grieving for the double loss of his wife Eurydice:

nulla Venus, non ulli animum flexere hymenaei:
solus Hyperboreas glacies Tanaimque niualem
aruaque Riphæis numquam uiduata pruinis
lustrabat, raptam Eurydicen atque inrita Ditis
dona querens.

No love, no wedding-songs bent his soul. Alone he roamed over the icy wastes of the Hyperboreans, the snowy Tanais, and the fields which are never free of Riphæan frosts, as he lamented the loss of Eurydice and the gifts of Dis brought to naught. (Virgil, *Georgics* 4.516–20)

In some versions it was that wandering which led to Orpheus’ death,

Men say that the wives of the Thracians plotted Orpheus’ death, because he had persuaded their husbands to follow him in his wanderings (πλανωμένωι). (Pausanias 9.30.5)

¹ For the distinction between the two cf. below pp. 16–17. Some general features of the theme of this book are treated in Schlesier and Zellmann 2004 and Montiglio 2005.

² The bibliography is huge: there is guidance in West 1983 and Graf and Johnston 2007.

³ On Orpheus as an Argonaut cf., e.g., West 2005: 45–6, Graf and Johnston 2007: 165–6.

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Even after death Orpheus' wanderings did not cease, for his still-singing head was believed to have been washed down the river Hebrus and across the Aegean to Lesbos.⁴ It is Orpheus whom the Platonic Socrates invokes to describe (with gentle amusement) the crowd of ξένοι whom 'Protagoras [the great fifth-century sophist] brings with him from all the cities through which he passes, enchanting (κηλῶν) them with his voice like Orpheus' (Plato, *Protagoras* 315a7–b1). Plato makes Protagoras himself claim that poets such as Homer, Hesiod and Simonides, and holy men such as Orpheus and Musaeus, were really sophists *avant la lettre* (*Protagoras* 316d, cf. *Republic* 10.600c–d).⁵ Six centuries later, Paideia holds out such universal fame and recognition to Lucian as one of the most attractive rewards of sophistic success (*The Dream or The Life of Lucian*), and Philostratus illustrates this many times over in the *Lives of the Sophists*.⁶

Two further examples of the 'Orpheus pattern' will illustrate the range and power of the idea of the 'wandering poet'. Empedocles of Acragas (early-mid fifth century BC), a poet and holy man with perhaps a better claim to reality than Orpheus, addresses his fellow citizens at the opening of his great poem *Purifications* as follows:

Friends, who live in the great city of the yellow Acragas, up on the heights of the citadel, caring for good deeds, I give you greetings. An immortal god, mortal no more, I go about (πωλεῦμαι) honoured by all, as is fitting, crowned with ribbons and fresh garlands; and by all whom I come upon as I enter their prospering towns, by men and women, I am revered. They follow me in their thousands, asking where lies the road to profit, some desiring prophecies, while others ask to hear the word of healing for every illness, long transfixed by harsh pains. (Empedocles fr. 112 D-K, trans. Kirk, Raven and Schofield)

However remarkable the claims, they fall into a familiar and very long-lived pattern. Secondly, there is the (presumably largely fictional) case of the seventh-century poet Magnes of Smyrna which is reported for us by the Augustan historian Nicolaus of Damascus:⁷

Magnes of Smyrna was a very handsome man and noteworthy for both poetical and musical skill. He dressed himself splendidly and, clothed in purple and with his hair formed into a knot by a golden band, he travelled around the cities performing his poetry. Many were in love with him, but Gyges [of Lydia] burned a particular

⁴ On these myths cf. Faraone 2004. Gallus is a different sort of *poeta uaganas* at Virgil, *Eclogue* 6.64–5.

⁵ On the fifth-century sophists as 'wanderers' cf., e.g., Montiglio 2005: 105–17.

⁶ For the imperial period cf. also the material gathered in Puech 2002.

⁷ Jacoby rightly notes in his commentary that some doubt must attach to the poet's name, given the prominent rôle of the Magnesians in this story, but he resists the temptation to replace Magnes by Mimnermus.

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flame for him and was his lover. Wherever he went, he drove all the women mad with desire, particularly the women of Magnesia, and he slept with them. Their male relations were angry at the shame this brought, and so they took as an excuse the fact that in his poems Magnes had celebrated the bravery of the Lydians in their battle with the Amazons but had made no mention of them, and attacked Magnes, ripped his clothes, tore his hair and committed extreme violence against him. Gyges was very upset about this and made many incursions into Magnesia and finally overran the city; on his return to Sardis he celebrated a splendid festival. (Nicolaus of Damascus, *FGrHist* 90F62 = *Suda* μ 21)

If aspects of this narrative recall not just Orpheus but also the coming of Dionysus to Thebes in Euripides' *Bacchae* with the sexual power (and designs) over women that Pentheus imagines him to have, this will serve – as also does Empedocles' self-presentation – to remind us that it would be misleading to try to draw firm and persistent distinctions between 'wandering poets' and other kinds of 'wanderers', whether they be 'wizards' (γόητες), such as Pentheus imagines Dionysus to be (Eur. *Ba.* 234), or 'historians' or doctors; 'wandering poets' are in fact just one facet of a much broader phenomenon of Greek culture. The novelistic *Life of Aesop* records how, once freed, the legendary fable-teller and folk-philosopher 'decided to travel around the world and he gave lectures in public halls; he made a lot of money . . .'.⁸

Travelling poets are best attested in the historical (largely epigraphic) record from the Hellenistic and imperial periods, and the term 'poeti vaganti/wandering poets' is adopted for this book to honour Margherita Guarducci, who long ago collected a small corpus of decrees from the third and second centuries BC commemorating about twenty-five 'poeti vaganti' who were honoured for their 'presence' (*epidēmia*) and 'behaviour' (*anastrophē*) by foreign communities in which they had performed and which, in many if not all cases, they will have celebrated in their poems;⁹ the most common privileges bestowed upon them are *proxenia*, freedom from tax and grants of land. Thus, for example, we find the Delians honouring Demoteles of Andros for poetry on 'local myths' and Amphiklos of Chios for poems that 'brought lustre to the temple and the Delians';¹⁰ the payment of such honours is, of course, itself an act of piety: the Delphians honour the lyric poet Kleocharēs of Athens, who had written a prosodion, a paian and a hymn to the god, 'so that the city might be seen to honour those who write something worthy of the god'.¹¹ As these examples show, the honouring

⁸ Chapter 101 in the G version, which probably goes back at least to the second century AD.

⁹ Guarducci 1929. ¹⁰ Guarducci 1929, nos. viii and ix (p. 650).

¹¹ Guarducci 1929, no. vii (pp. 649–50).

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community was often a city associated with a prominent sanctuary which had attracted the interest of poets – Delphi, Delos, Tenos, Samothrace – but this is certainly not a rule: we might think of the decrees for the poetess Aristodama of Smyrna by the cities of Lamia in Thessaly and Khalaion in Phokis (see Rutherford, this volume). Guarducci's dossier of evidence remains fundamental to this subject,¹² though travelling poets were only a small fraction of the total volume of travelling historians, 'intellectuals' and performers in this period.¹³

The decrees assembled by Guarducci attest to a very lively poetic and performance culture, but are unfortunately usually less forthcoming about the poets themselves or the circumstances of their performances. Only occasionally can we fill in some of the picture, as with Cicero's client Archias of Antioch, whose travels took him through the cities of Asia Minor, Greece and Italy, where – according to Cicero – he was showered with honours and 'lionised' by the cultural and political élite and those who imagined themselves part of it; here too we may feel the resonances of the 'Orpheus pattern':

When he travelled in the rest of Asia [outside Antioch] and all of Greece, his presence was so celebrated that expectation surpassed the reports of his talent, and his actual arrival and the wonder he aroused surpassed expectation. (Cicero, *Pro Archia* 4)

The performers studied by Guarducci were probably professionals, and as such almost certainly members of one of the guilds of 'Artists of Dionysus', though again the decrees do not give details.¹⁴ The songs they performed seem mostly to have been ἔπη, i.e. narrative and encomiastic poems in hexameters, probably recounting local history and traditions; we hear also of hymns and lyric poetry, and, occasionally of drama.¹⁵ On the face of it, the Hellenistic 'poeti vaganti' might seem very different from the more celebrated poets who lived and worked at the Ptolemaic court of Alexandria in Egypt, supposedly secluded within the scholarly confines of the Museum,

¹² Chaniotis 1988b was able to make some additions, and cf. also Bouvier 1985, Cameron 1995: 47–9. It is intriguing to find the city of Cos honouring an Ion, son of Menippus, from Chios for poems of praise in a recently published inscription (Bosnakis and Hallof 2003: 204); was this a name which ran in poetic families on Chios? For Hellenistic poetic patronage in general cf. Hunter 1996b: 76–82, 2003: 24–45 (with further bibliography); useful discussion of the phenomenon of 'wandering poets' in Hardie 1983: 15–30.

¹³ Cf. Guarducci 1929: 640–4, Chaniotis 1988b, and Chaniotis (this volume).

¹⁴ For the Artists cf. Aneziri (this volume), with further bibliography; several of the contributions to Wilson 2007b contain relevant material.

¹⁵ Guarducci no. xii is an honorary decree for the tragedian Dymas of Iasos from his native city, cf. Rutherford 2007. Cf. also A. Schachter and W. J. Slater, *ZPE* 163 (2008) 81–95.

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but perhaps the differences have been exaggerated. The recently published epigram-book of Posidippus of Pella¹⁶ shows a remarkable engagement with a wide range of cities, both within and without the Ptolemaic orbit, and epigraphic evidence seems to confirm that Posidippus was indeed no immobile composer of epigrams;¹⁷ he was honoured as Posidippus ὁ ἐπιγρᾶμματοποιός at Thermi and probably also at Delphi.¹⁸ It is as clear as such things can be that Theocritus too was a travelling, if not actually a ‘wandering’, poet; his poetic activity seems to embrace at least Sicily and the Greek west, Alexandria, and the eastern Aegean. *Idyll* 28 celebrates the poet’s journey to Miletus to visit his friend (and patron?) Nicias, and *Idyll* 15 marks (*inter alia*) the coming of Sicilian mime traditions (i.e. the poetry of Theocritus) to Alexandria. At the opening of *Idyll* 16 Theocritus complains that no one will receive his ‘Graces’ into his home, but everyone sends them away ‘without a gift’, so that they complain that their journey (ὁδός) has been in vain; *Idyll* 17, a hexameter encomium of Ptolemy Philadelphus, is a surviving example of a type of poetry probably performed all over the Hellenistic Aegean and beyond.¹⁹

As for Callimachus, the standard picture of him is of a man who travelled once from his home in Cyrene to Alexandria, where he then stayed safe in the Library. We should not give such a picture too much unthinking credence,²⁰ any more than it is necessary to assume that poems on Cyrenean subjects must have been written in Cyrene. What is important in the present context is that when in the *Aitia* (fr. 178.32–3 Pf.) Callimachus speaks as though ignorant of sea-travel, he is not merely revising a stance associated with Hesiod (cf. *Works and Days* 648–53), the authorising ‘model’ for the *Aitia*, and situating himself within a specifically Hellenistic discourse about how information is gathered, recorded and disseminated (a discourse about ἱστορίη in fact), but he is also reacting against a very traditional image of how poets operate.²¹ Some suggestive evidence from Hellenistic poetry must, however, be treated very carefully. The imagination of Hellenistic poets was filled with a ‘sacred geography’ of the past in which places were associated with famous poetic figures – Chios of course

¹⁶ Bastianini and Gallazzi 2001.

¹⁷ This is not to imply that we know very much about who wrote the thousands of funerary epigrams, of very varying levels of ambition, which survive from the post-classical period; it is normally assumed that they are the work of local (‘amateur’ or ‘professional’) poets, but there can be no certainty, and we can hardly discount the possibility that many are the work of ‘poeti vaganti’, perhaps indeed one of their staple forms of commission.

¹⁸ Cf. Test. 2–4 in Austin and Bastianini 2002, Fraser 1972: I 557, II 796–7. For the geographic breadth of his poems cf. Bing 2005 (with earlier bibliography).

¹⁹ Cf. Hunter 2003. ²⁰ Cf. Cameron 1995: 49–53.

²¹ On these various aspects of fr. 178 cf. Hunter 1996a, Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004: 76–83.

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with Homer, Mount Helicon with Hesiod, Paros with Archilochus, Lesbos with Sappho, and so forth; the cults of poets in their home towns and elsewhere reinforced this map of 'sacred' space.²² In these circumstances 'travel to' such places can be a matter of literary association and imitation rather than of physical relocation. Callimachus apparently claims that he is criticised for writing 'Hipponactean' choliambics although he has never been to Ephesus, the home of Hipponax (fr. 203.11–14 Pf.); literary 'travel' can thus take more than one form.²³ The act of reading itself, as the modern Greek verb διαβάζειν shows, is a movement across space.

An important draw for professional poets and singers at all periods were musical competitions held at local and pan-Hellenic festivals. These were particularly widespread in the Hellenistic and imperial periods, though their origins go back much earlier: the first musical contest of which we know was that held at the funeral games of Amphidamas at Chalcis in Euboea, to which Hesiod travelled the short distance from his home and where he claims to have won a tripod (*Works and Days* 654–7), a claim which (in part) gave rise to the famous story of 'the contest of Homer and Hesiod'. Particularly in the early period, the major musical competitions tended to focus on a limited range of genres and performances, notably kitharody (which in practice could mean many different forms of poem sung to the kithara), and rhapsody, i.e. the recitation of Homeric epic. Performances of drama and choral lyric were rarer at festivals outside Athens (the participation of foreign poets in the dithyrambic contest of the Athenian Dionysia is a striking exception to general practice), but drama and choral lyric seem to have figured in the *Sōtēria* at Delphi.²⁴ In the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* we find a visiting poet apparently performing at a festival on Delos and offering to carry the fame of his hosts 'over all the land which I travel to the well-ordered cities of men' (vv. 174–5). In Plato's *Ion* Socrates interrogates a rhapsode just after he has returned from success at the festival of the *Asklēpieia* at Epidaurus, and Socrates teases him with 'rhapsodising as he travels around'²⁵ Greece' (541b8). For the early period a distinction between 'poets' who perform their own compositions and 'rhapsodes' performing the works of others is at best blurred, at least as far as performance at public festivals is concerned,²⁶ and it is certainly not to be pressed. The 'Lives

²² Cf. Clay 2004.

²³ Cf. also Nossis, *AP* 7.718 (= *HE* 2831–4), with Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004:16.

²⁴ On the terms 'rhapsody' and 'kitharody' cf. Ford 1988; for the *Sōtēria* at Delphi cf. Sifakis 1967: 63–85, Nachtergaele 1977: 306–8.

²⁵ πῆριόν probably plays on Ion's name, cf., e.g., Montiglio 2005:106; cf., however, *Republic* 10.600d7.

²⁶ Cf. Graziosi 2002: 18–49, with earlier bibliography.

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of Homer' (of very varied dates) and the 'Contest of Homer and Hesiod' tell us about the alleged travels of Homer himself,²⁷ but these traditions perhaps reflect as much a belief about the appeal and spread of Homeric poetry as a shaping of Homer after the fashion of subsequent 'wandering poets'.²⁸

The itinerancy, both real and imagined, of poets is intimately tied to the ambitions of and for their poetry to enjoy fame and reception all over the world.²⁹ Theognis' claim to his beloved Kyrnos is perhaps the most celebrated instance of this idea:

σοὶ μὲν ἐγὼ πτέρ' ἔδωκα, σὺν οἷς ἐπ' ἀπείρονα πόντον
 πωτήσῃ καὶ γῆν πάσαν ἀειρόμενος
 ῥηιδίως· θοίνῃς δὲ καὶ εἰλαπίνῃσι παρέσση
 ἐν πάσαις κτλ.

I have given you wings, which will carry you easily as you fly over the boundless sea and every land. You will be present at every feast and celebration . . . (Theognis 237–40)

Even after his death, Kyrnos will continue to roam (στρωφώμενος, 247) the Greek world, transported, as are both poems and poets, by the gifts of the Muses. So too, Pindar imagines his song in honour of Pytheas of Aegina travelling over the world and thus spreading the fame of both patron and poet:

οὐκ ἀνδριαντοποιός εἰμ', ὥστ' ἐλινύσοντα ἐργά-
 ζεσθαι ἀγάλαματ' ἐπ' αὐτᾶς βαθμίδος
 ἔσταότ'. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάσας
 ὀλκάδος ἐν τ' ἀκάτῳ, γλυκεῖ' ἄσιδά,
 στεῖχ' ἀπ' Αἰγίνης διαγγέλλοισ', ὅτι
 Λάμπωνος υἱὸς Πυθέας εὐρυσθενῆς
 νίκη Νεμείους παγκρατίου στέφανον κτλ.

I am not a maker of statues, so as to fashion unmoving images which remain standing on the same base. Rather, on every ship and boat, sweet song, go out from Aegina, bearing the news that mighty Pytheas, the son of Lampon, has won the crown for the pancratium at the Nemean games . . . (Pindar, *Nemean* 5.1–5)

No image for the process of composing or enacting a poem is as common as that of a journey, sometimes, as we have seen, a flight above the earthbound, pedestrian (πεζός) world of prose.³⁰ The idea is strikingly thematised in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius in which, as has been

²⁷ These are most easily accessible in West 2003. ²⁸ Cf. Graziosi 2002.

²⁹ Cf., e.g., Montiglio 2005: 98–9. ³⁰ Cf. Becker 1937, Asper 1997: 21–107.

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well recognised, the wanderings of the heroes are overtly linked to the wandering paths of song and the narrator almost travels as an extra Argonaut himself.

Travelling poets, and honorific decrees for them, continue to be well attested in the Roman Empire and later antiquity; there is a strong sense of continuity with the pre-imperial world. For the earlier imperial period we may cite the case of Paion of Pamphylian Side, who held high office at Pergamum, received citizenship from Tarsos and Rhodes, and whose epigrams, like those of Julia Balbilla, were inscribed on the statue of Memnon at Thebes in Egypt; a surviving inscription describes Paion as 'a poet of very many victories, lyric poet and rhapsode of the divine Hadrian', and another hails him as 'devoted to the Emperor' (φιλοκαίσαρ) and 'a new Homer'.³¹ In the early second century Halicarnassus rewarded a poet from Aphrodisias, C. Julius Longianus, who had given 'varied performances (ἐπιδείξεις) of all kinds of poems', with full citizenship and twenty bronze statues to be erected 'in all the most distinguished places in the city, including the *temenos* of the Muses and the gymnasium of the ephebes, next to Herodotus of old'; Longianus' books were also to be deposited in the libraries 'so that the young may be educated by them in the same way as by the writings of the ancients'.³² Another typical case is Nestor of Laranda in Lycaonia (late second–early third century AD), whom we find honoured at Paphos, Ephesos, Kyzikos and, most notably of all, Roman Ostia;³³ a high-born Roman lady of cultural pretensions (φιλόμουσος) dedicated a statue of him to Aphrodite (and it is perhaps not entirely frivolous to recall the effect which Magnes of Smyrna is said to have had on his female audiences).³⁴ Of Nestor's many poems very little remains, but he still enjoys a certain notoriety for having composed a 'lipogrammatic' *Iliad*, in which Book 1 contained no α, Book 2 no β, and so on. For the later period, Alan Cameron's study of the phenomenon in late antique Egypt reveals that, even when the poetic competitions had largely died out, many of the same motivations led to poetic mobility, notably the desire to receive commissions for celebrating the antiquities (πάρρια), buildings and local worthies of particular towns.³⁵

Dio Chrysostom describes the excitement that the arrival of a 'star' could generate:

³¹ Cf. Robert 1980: 10–20, Bowie 1989: 202–3, 1990b: 61–6.

³² *MAMA* VIII.418b, cf. Bowie 1989: 202. Another related inscription (*MAMA* VIII.418c) apparently calls Longianus 'a poet of tragedies'.

³³ Cf. Guarducci 1961, Robert 1980: 20, Weiss 1990: 228–35.

³⁴ Cf. above pp. 2–3. ³⁵ Cameron 1965.

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[When I was in Kyzikos] the greatest living kitharode and one, in some people's opinion, not at all inferior to those of the past arrived . . . as soon as people learned that the man was in town (ἐπιδημοῦντα), immediately there was amazing excitement and everyone went off towards the council chamber [where performances would take place]. I myself joined the very front of the crowd, thinking that I too could listen and share with three thousand and more in such a wonderful entertainment . . . (Dio Chrysostom 19.2–3)

The most common form of performance continued to be encomia of the host city and its traditions. The topics of such celebrations in prose and verse are familiar not just from the encomia which survive, but also from the prescriptions gathered together under the name of Menander Rhetor;³⁶ Dio takes the citizens of Alexandria to task for failing to understand the formulaic and limited nature of such compositions:

Perhaps you enjoy listening to me, and you think that you are being praised when I say these things, as you are by the others who are always flattering you. But I praised water and soil and harbours and places and everything except you yourselves. Where did I call you wise and sensible and just? Was it not rather the opposite? . . . Arrivals and departures of ships, great crowds of people and goods and ships, these are material for encomia of a festival or a harbour or a market-place, not of a city. If someone praises water, this is not praise of men, but of wells; if someone speaks of the good climate, he is not saying that the people are good, but the land; if someone praises fish, he is not praising the city. You, on the other hand, if someone delivers an encomium of the Nile, are as proud as if you yourselves flowed down from Ethiopia. Certainly, most other people also take pleasure in such things, and count themselves blessed if they live, as Homer puts it, on an island which is 'tree-clad' or 'deep-soiled' or in a land which is 'rich in pasture land', 'rich in sheep' or near 'shade-giving mountains' or 'translucent springs'. None of these things belongs to them! Of virtue they take no thought, even in their dreams. (Dio Chrysostom 32.37–8)

For the pre-Hellenistic period, we lack the relative reliability of epigraphic data, and have therefore to rely more on claims made by other writers about poets, or by the poets themselves. Plato certainly assumes a world of itinerant poets. In the *Republic* Socrates explains what would happen to a supreme artist of *mimēsis*:

So then, if a man whose cleverness allowed him to become anything he wanted and to imitate all manner of things were to come to our city, and bring his poems with him, and he wanted to put on a performance (ἐπιδείξασθαι), we would bow before him as being holy and wonderful and a source of pleasure; we would, however, tell

³⁶ Cf. Men. Rhet. 344.15–367.8 Spengel = pp. 28–74 Russell and Wilson, Hendriks, Parsons and Worp 1981: 74–5; for the earlier period cf. Kienzle 1936.

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him that it is not lawful for such a man to be in our city, and we would send him off to another city, having poured unguent over his head and crowned him with a fillet of wool. (Plato, *Republic* 3.398a)

The most famous ‘wandering poet’ of Greek literature, though in a rather special sense, is of course Odysseus himself, and such poets are a familiar feature of the society which the *Odyssey* creates (cf. *Odyssey* 17.382–7).³⁷ In the *Odyssey* itself, however, poets seem to be tied to specific courts, Demodokos on Phaeacia and Phemios on Ithaca. If there was only a small number of major political centres (as seems likely for the Late Bronze Age), then we might indeed expect poets to have been closely tied to these centres, with very little mobility and catering almost entirely to a local audience.³⁸ When, however, the arrogant Antinoos delivers a tirade against (wandering) beggars, Homer’s Eumaeus (*Odyssey* 17.380–91) points out that invited strangers are most likely to be one of four types of ‘craftsmen’ (*dēmiourgoi*) who are invited from abroad, and one of these types is the divine singer.³⁹ If poets are not actually shown travelling, it is clear that poems do. Demodokos has learned a song of events at Troy (from where?, cf. *Odyssey* 8.487–91),⁴⁰ and before Odysseus returns to Ithaca Phemios can sing of the ‘terrible return of the Achaeans from Troy which Pallas Athena imposed upon them’ (*Odyssey* 1.326–7); when Odysseus proudly claims that he is ‘known to all men and my fame reaches heaven’ (*Odyssey* 9.19–20), he will be thinking of epic song.⁴¹ Odysseus’ travels themselves may be read, like the ‘Lives of Homer’,⁴² as a dramatisation of the spread of epic song all over the known (and unknown) world; here again we may recall the promise to the maidens of Delos from the ‘blind man of Chios’ (*Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 174–6).⁴³

As they travelled, poets of the archaic and classical periods carried many different kinds of poetry (‘genres’) with them, and such travel often led to innovation.⁴⁴ Decisive moments in the poetic, as in the cultic, history of a community often came by way of an intervention or arrival from outside, such as is recorded for Olen from Lycia, when he composed what

³⁷ Cf. further below. For some of the characteristics which distinguish Odysseus from a ‘real’ bard cf. Scodel 1998.

³⁸ For the Bronze Age cf. Bachvarova (this volume). These issues of cultural mobility are well summed up by Moyer 2006.

³⁹ The whole of Burkert 1992 may be seen as an extended gloss on these verses of Eumaeus.

⁴⁰ On this passage cf., e.g., De Jong 2001: 214–15.

⁴¹ On this passage cf., e.g., Danek 1998: 160–1. ⁴² Cf. above p. 7.

⁴³ Cf. above p. 6, Martin (this volume) pp. 89–90. For another way in which the ‘wanderings’ of Homer and Odysseus resemble each other cf. ‘Longinus’, *On the Sublime* 9.13.

⁴⁴ Cf. Bowie (this volume), Martin (this volume) on *polyeideia*.