

Essays on Ancient Greek Literature and Culture

Volume 1: Greek Poetry before 400 BC

In this book one of the world's leading Hellenists brings together his many contributions over four decades to our understanding of early Greek literature, above all of elegiac poetry and its relation to fifth-century prose historiography, but also of early Greek epic, iambic, melic and epigrammatic poetry. Many chapters have become seminal, e.g. that which first proposed the importance of now-lost long narrative elegies, and others exploring their performance contexts when papyri published in 1992 and 2005 yielded fragments of such long poems by Simonides and Archilochus. Another chapter argues against the widespread view that Sappho composed and performed chiefly for audiences of young girls, suggesting instead that she was a virtuoso singer and lyre-player, entertaining men in the elite symposia whose verbal and musical components are explored in several other chapters of the book. Two more volumes of collected papers will follow devoted to later Greek literature and culture.

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Essays on Ancient Greek Literature and Culture

Volume 1

Greek Poetry before 400 BC

EWEN BOWIE
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- 1 'Early Greek elegy, symposium and public festival', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 106 (1986) 13–35.
- 2 'One that got away: Archilochus 188–192 W and Horace, *Odes* 1.4 and 5', in L. M. Whitby, P. R. Hardie, and J. M. Whitby (eds.), *Homo Viator, Classical Essays for John Bramble*, Bristol, Bristol Classical Press 1987: 13–23.
- 3 '*Miles ludens?* The problem of martial exhortation in early Greek elegy', in O. Murray (ed.), *Symptica. A Symposium on the Symposium*, Oxford, Oxford University Press 1990: 221–9.
- 4 'Lies, fiction and slander in Early Greek poetry', in C. Gill and T. P. Wiseman (eds.) *Lies and Fiction in the Ancient World*, Exeter, Exeter University Press 1993: 1–37.
- 5 'Greek table-talk before Plato', *Rhetorica* 11.4 (1993) 355–73.
- 6 'The *Theognidea*: a step towards a collection of fragments?' in G. W. Most (ed.), *Collecting Fragments / Fragmente sammeln. Aporemata* 1, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1997: 53–66.
- 7 'Early Greek iambic poetry: the importance of narrative', in A. Cavarzere, A. Barchiesi, and A. Aloni (eds.), *Iambic Ideas: Essays on a Poetic Tradition from Archaic Greece to the Late Roman Empire*, Lanham MD and Oxford, Rowman & Littlefield 2001: 1–27.
- 8 'Ancestors of historiography in early Greek elegiac and iambic poetry', in N. Luraghi (ed.), *The Historian's Craft in the Age of Herodotus*, Oxford, Oxford University Press 2001: 45–66.
- 9 'Symptotic praise', *Gaia* 6 (2002) 169–99.
- 10 'Early expatriates: displacement and exile in archaic poetry', in J.-F. Gaertner (ed.), *Writing Exile. The Discourse of Displacement in Greco-Roman Antiquity and Beyond*, Leiden, Brill 2007: 21–49.

- 11 'From archaic elegy to Hellenistic sympotic epigram?', in P. Bing and J. Bruss (eds.) *Brill's Companion to Hellenistic Epigram*, Leiden, Brill 2007: 95–112.
- 12 'Sex and politics in Archilochos' poetry', in D. Katsonopoulou, I. Petropoulos and S. Katsarou (eds.), *Ο Αρχίλοχος και η εποχή του / Archilochos and his Age*, Athens, Ekdoseis Diktynna 2008: 133–41.
- 13 'Wandering poets, archaic style', in R. L. Hunter and I. C. Rutherford (eds.), *Wandering Poets*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 2009: 105–36.
- 14 'Epigram as narration', in M. Baumbach, A. Petrovic, and I. Petrovic (eds.), *Archaic and Classical Greek Epigram*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 2010: 313–84.
- 15 'Historical narrative in archaic and early classical Greek elegy', in D. Konstan and K. A. Raafaub (eds.), *Epic and History*, Chichester, West Sussex and Malden MA, Wiley-Blackwell 2010: 145–66.
- 16 'Stobaeus and early Greek lyric, elegiac and iambic poetry', in M. Horster and C. Reitz (eds.), *Condensing Texts – Condensed Texts*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner 2010: 587–617.
- 17 'Marathon in fifth-century epigram', in K. Buraselis and K. Meidani (eds.), *Marathon: The Ancient Deme and the Battle*, Athens, Ekdoseis Kardamitsas 2010: 203–19.
- 18 'The Trojan war in Greek lyric, elegiac and iambic poetry', in L. Foxhall, H.-J. Gercke and N. Luraghi (eds.), *Spinning Time*, Stuttgart, Frank Steiner 2010: 57–87.
- 19 'Performing and re-performing Helen: Stesichorus' Palinode', in A. M. González de Tobia (ed.), *Mito y Performance. De Grecia a la Modernidad*, La Plata, EDULP 2010: 385–408.
- 20 'Simonides of Eretria (*redivivus?*)', in R. W. V. Catling and F. Marchand (eds.), *ONOMATOLOGOS: Studies in Greek Personal Names presented to Elaine Matthews*, Oxford, Oxford University Press 2010: 6–14.
- 21 Alcman's first *Partheneion* and the song the Sirens sang', in L. Athanassaki and E. L. Bowie (eds.), *Archaic and Classical Choral Song*. Trends in Classics Supplementary Volume 10. Berlin and Boston, de Gruyter 2011: 33–65.
- 22 'An early chapter in the history of the *Theognidea*', in X. Riu and J. Pòrtulas (eds.), *Approaches to Archaic Greek Poetry*. Orione 5, Messina, Dipartimento di scienze dell'antichità 2012: 121–48.
- 23 'Stesichorus and Ibycus: plain tales from the western front', in J. Marincola, L. Llewelyn-Jones, and C. Maciver (eds.), *Greek Notions of the Past in the Archaic and Classical Eras*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press 2012: 83–94.

- 24 ‘Epinicians and “patrons”’, in P. Agocs, C. Carey, and R. Rawles (eds.), *Reading the Victory Ode*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 2012: 83–92.
- 25 ‘Unnatural selection: expurgation of Greek melic, elegiac and iambic poetry’, in S. J. Harrison and C. Stray (eds.), *Expurgating the Classics. Editing out in Greek and Latin*, London, Bristol Classical Press 2012, 9–24.
- 26 ‘Marathon: the 1500 days after; culture and politics’, in K. Buraselis and E. Koulakiotis (eds.), *Marathon: the Day After*, Athens, European Cultural Centre of Delphi 2013: 59–73.
- 27 ‘The sympotic tease’, in J. Kwapisz, D. Petrain and M. Szymański (eds.), *The Muse at Play: Riddles and Wordplay in Greek and Latin Poetry*, Berlin and Boston, de Gruyter 2013: 33–43.
- 28 ‘Rediscovering Sacadas’, in A. Moreno and R. Thomas (eds.), *Patterns of the Past: Epitēdeumata in the Greek Tradition*, Oxford, Oxford University Press 2014: 39–55.
- 29 ‘Stesichorus’ *Geryoneis*’, in L. Breglia and A. Moleti (eds.), *Hesperia: tradizioni, rotte, paesaggi*, Paestum, Pandemos – Fondazione Paestum, 2014: 93–100.
- 30 ‘Stesichorus at Athens’, in A. Kelly and P. Finglass (eds.), *Stesichorus in Context*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 2015: 111–24.
- 31 ‘Cultic contexts for elegiac performance’, in L. Swift and C. Carey (eds.), *Iambus and Elegy. New Approaches*, Oxford, Oxford University Press 2016: 15–32.
- 32 ‘*Quo usque tandem?* How long were sympotic songs?’, in V. Cazzato, D. Obbink, and E. E. Prodi (eds.), *The Cup of Song: Studies on Poetry and the Symposium*, Oxford, Oxford University Press 2016: 28–41.
- 33 ‘How did Sappho’s songs get into the male sympotic repertoire?’, in A. Bierl and A. Lardinois (eds.), *The New New Sappho*, Leiden and Boston, Brill 2016: 148–64.
- 34 ‘The performance contexts of trochaic tetrameters catalectic’, *Classica* 1.2 (2018) 31–43.
- 35 ‘Alcaeus’ *stasiotica*: Catullan and Horatian readings’, in B. Currie and I. C. Rutherford (eds.), *The Reception of Greek Lyric Poetry in the Ancient World: Transmission, Canonization and Paratext*, Leiden and Boston, Brill 2019: 279–94.
- 36 ‘Reconfiguring Archilochus. How have papyri and inscriptions changed perceptions of Archilochus’ iambic and elegiac poetry?’, *Ariadne* 23/24 (2016–17 / 2017–18) [2020] 17–40.

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Preface

I would like to use this preface to express my gratitude to the many institutions and individuals without whom this volume could not have been published. Among institutions to which I am grateful for providing financial support and an intellectually stimulating working environment Corpus Christi College, Oxford must take pride of place. Sharing ideas with brilliant and congenial colleagues and with very many gifted pupils, and constantly benefiting from the constructive criticism of both, had a decisive effect on how, during my time as E. P. Warren Praelector (1965–2007), I developed the ideas that are set out in this and in the remaining two volumes of *Essays*; and the College continues to offer me invaluable intellectual stimulus in my retirement. So too, of course, have my classical (and other) colleagues in the University of Oxford at large, as did Merton College (where I was a Harmsworth Senior Scholar 1962–3) and St John's College (where I held a Woodhouse Junior Research Fellowship 1963–5). In later years some weeks as professeur invité at the École normale supérieure in rue d'Ulm, Paris, and as Seymour Reader at Ormond College, University of Melbourne, both in 2001, were important in introducing me to different academic communities, something that I also gained from teaching a quarter as Bonsall Visiting Professor at Stanford (2008), a semester at the University of Washington, Seattle (2009), and a semester at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. To my good friends and colleagues in all these places; to members of the Department of Philology in the University of Crete who to the benefits of their always congenial company have kindly added my election to a Visiting Professorship for 2020–21; and to many others who have invited me to their institutions to teach for shorter periods (including the University of Chicago, the University of Freiburg im Breisgau, and the Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa), to give a single lecture, or to attend conferences, I continue to feel a gratitude that is especially warm in a period of Covid-19 restrictions on movement. Some such invitations that occasioned the writing of a paper are acknowledged in footnotes in this volume. But there are very many much-appreciated colleagues in Europe, the Americas, South Africa and Australasia whose names are not, and who are too numerous to list here despite their

friendship's very great importance to me over decades. The process of gathering the texts of the papers in this and the remaining volumes was made easier by a four-month stay (February to May 2019) at the Center for Hellenic Studies, Washington DC, which generously extended to me, as the spouse of a Fellow, hospitality and full library rights. In scanning papers not then accessible online I was greatly helped by George Tsimpoukis. Others who have given me assistance of various sorts in writing my introduction and in preparing versions of the papers suitable for submission to Cambridge University Press – much of that assistance indispensable in the conditions of last eighteen months – and whom I would here like to thank are Lucia Athanassaki, Luisa Breglia, Paul Cartledge, Vanessa Cazzato, Daniela Colomo, Jasper Gaunt, Liz Irwin, George Kavvadias, Roland Mayer, Oswyn Murray, Peter Parsons, John Petropoulos, David Sider, Jenny Vaphopoulou-Richardson, Mary Whitby and Graciela Zecchin. In Cambridge University Press itself I would like to thank Michael Sharp for deciding to publish these *Essays* and for securing the agreement of the Syndics, and to express my gratitude to him and to his team – Katie Idle, Natasha Burton and my indefatigable copy-editor Juliet Wilberforce – for their hard work and sharp eyes in the many stages of production. Finally the (hopefully) *mens sana in corpore sano* which is a prerequisite for getting things done is something I owe both to my supportive sons, Orlando and Ben, and above all (*sine fine*) to my wife Lucia.

Editions and Abbreviations

Unless otherwise stated, references to fragments of early elegy and iambus are to M. L. West, *Iambi et Elegi Graeci*, 2nd ed., vol. i Oxford 1989, vol. ii Oxford 1992. References to fragments of Sappho and Alcaeus are to E.-M. Voigt, *Sappho et Alcaeus: Fragmenta*. Amsterdam 1971, whose numeration was followed by D. A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric. Vol. i. Sappho and Alcaeus*. Cambridge MA and London 1982 and G. Liberman, *Alcée. Fragments*. 2 vols. Paris 2002. For fragments of Stesichorus references are given both to *PMGF* and to Finglass (see the abbreviations listed below). Modern works cited by author and date only are listed in the Bibliography. Abbreviations of journal titles are those of *L'Année philologique*. Greek literary and epigraphic texts are generally referred to by the abbreviations of LSJ (H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, H. Stuart Jones, and R. Mackenzie, R. (eds.), *A Greek–English Lexicon*, 9th ed., Oxford 1968. Revised Supplement, ed. P. G. W. Glare, Oxford 1996), with the following exceptions or additions:

<i>ad. el.</i>	<i>adespota elegiaca</i>
<i>ad. ia.</i>	<i>adespota iambica</i>
Aes.	Aeschylus
AR	<i>Archaeological Reports</i>
Bacchyl.	Bacchylides
Ch.	Chariton
CEG	P. A. Hansen, <i>Carmina Epigraphica Graeca</i> . Vol. i. Berlin 1983.
FdD	<i>Fouilles de Delphes</i> Vol. iii. <i>Épigraphie</i> . Paris 1909–.
EGM	R. L. Fowler, <i>Early Greek Mythography</i> . 2 vols. Oxford 2000, 2013.
Eur.	Euripides
FGE	D. L. Page, <i>Further Greek epigrams: epigrams before A.D. 50 from the Greek Anthology and other sources not included in 'Hellenistic epigrams' or 'The Garland of Philip'</i> , revised and prepared for publication by R. D. Dawe and J. Diggle. Cambridge 1981.

- FH P. Friedländer and H. B. Hoffleit, *Epigrammata. Greek Inscriptions in Verse from the Beginnings to the Persian Wars*. Berkeley and Los Angeles 1948.
- Finglass M. Davies and P. J. Finglass (eds.), *Stesichorus: The Poems, edited with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*. Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries 54. Cambridge 2014.
- fr. el.* *fragmenta elegiaca*
- GP A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, (eds.), *The Garland of Philip and some contemporary epigrams*. Cambridge 1968.
- G–P B. Gentili and C. Prato, *Poetarum elegiacorum testimonia et fragmenta*. 2 vols. Leipzig 1988, 2002 (1st ed. 1979, 1985).
- HE A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, (eds.), *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic epigrams*, Cambridge 1965.
- IAph2007 J. M. Reynolds, C. M. Roueché and G. Bodard, *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias*, 2007, available at <http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007/>
- IApollonia P. Cabanes and N. Ceka. *Corpus des inscriptions grecques d’Illyrie méridionale et d’Épire*. Vol. ii. *Inscriptions d’Apollonia d’Illyrie*. Études épigraphiques 2. Αθήνα 1997.
- IDelos F. Durrbach, P. Roussel, M. Launey, A. Plassart, and J. Coupry (eds.), *Inscriptions de Délos*. 7 vols. Paris 1926–72.
- IErythrai u. Klazomenai H. Engelmann and R. Merkelbach (eds.), *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* 1 and 2. 2 vols. Bonn 1972, 1973.
- Ilion P. Frisch. *Die Inschriften von Ilion. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* 3. Bonn 1975.
- IOlymp. W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold, K. *Die Inschriften von Olympia. Olympia* Vol. v. Berlin 1896.
- K–A R. Kassel and C. Austin (eds.), *Poetae comici Graeci*. Berlin 1983–2001.

List of Edition and Abbreviations

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Kaibel	G. Kaibel (ed.), <i>Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta</i> , Berlin 1878.
LGPN	P. M. Fraser, E. Matthews, R. Catling, et al. (eds.), <i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> , Oxford 1987–.
ISmyrna	G. Petzl (ed.), <i>Die Inschriften von Smyrna</i> . 2 vols. in 3 parts. <i>Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien</i> 23 and 24.1–2. Bonn 1982, 1987 and 1990.
ITeos	D. F. McCabe and M. A. Plunkett (eds.), <i>Teos Inscriptions: texts and list</i> . Princeton 1985.
LIMC	H. C. Ackermann and J-R. Gisler (eds.). <i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> . Zürich 1981–92.
ML	R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis, <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC</i> . Revised edn. Oxford 1988.
GVI	W. Peek, <i>Griechische Vers-Inschriften</i> . Vol. i. <i>Grab-Epigramme</i> . Berlin 1955.
PMG	D. L. Page, <i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> . Oxford 1962.
PMGF	M. Davies, <i>Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> . Vol. i. Oxford 1991.
PObbink	D. Obbink, ‘The newest Sappho: text, apparatus criticus, and translation’, in A. Bierl and A. Lardinois (eds.), <i>The newest Sappho: P. Sapph. Obbink and P. GC inv. 105, frs. 1–4. Studies in archaic and classical Greek song</i> , vol. ii, Leiden and Boston 2016, 13– 33.
SH	P. J. Parsons and P. H. J. Lloyd-Jones (eds.), <i>Supplementum Hellenisticum</i> . 2 vols. Berlin and New York 1983, 2005.
SLG	D. L. Page, <i>Supplementum Lyricis Graecis</i> . Oxford 1974.
Soph.	Sophocles
TrGF	B. Snell, R. Kannicht, and S. Radt, (eds.), <i>Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta</i> . Göttingen 1971–2004.
tri	trimeter
X.Eph.	Xenophon of Ephesus

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