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RECEIVED RESPONSES:
ANCIENT TESTIMONY ON GREEK LYRIC IMAGERY*

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ABSTRACT

This article attempts to assess the value of ancient responses (testimonia) to the imagery in Greek lyric (= melic) poems. As such it offers a contribution to the history of the reception of the lyric texts, as well as to the interpretation of specific images.

Such an investigation is severely impeded by the fragmented state both of the lyric poems and of the testimonia on them. Questions of content and context arise in almost every instance. Even the identification of an image can be uncertain. The impact or effect of the imagery on the original target audiences cannot be reconstructed; the responses of the testimonia, all later than the poetry, are all we have.

Nevertheless, the examples discussed show that ancient critics have a limited interest in imagery per se, yet often offer useful and even essential information on content and context, and on occasion even provide a valid literary evaluation of an image.

Introduction

There is a universal perception and expectation that all poetry should have imagery of one sort or another. The English critic I.A. Richards,

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once wrote: ‘Poets on the whole (though by no means all poets always) may be suspected of exceptional imaging capacity, and some readers are constitutionally prone to stress the place of imagery in reading, to pay great attention to it, and even to judge the value of the poetry by the images it excites in them.' 1 The Poet Laureate Cecil Day Lewis expressed similar thoughts: ‘Yet the image is the constant in all poetry, and every poem is itself an image. Trends come and go, diction alters, metrical fashions change, even the elemental subject-matter may change almost out of recognition: but metaphor remains, the life-principle of poetry, the poet’s chief test and glory.’ 2 Käthe Dietel, nearly sixty years ago, pointed out 3 that the ancient writers on style, such as Aristotle and 'Demetrius', also saw image (simile and metaphor) as the special characteristic of poetry. 4 One readily recalls Aristotle's famous dictum about metaphor: ‘Much the most important, however, is the (use of) metaphor, for this alone cannot be learned from another, and is a sign of natural ability’ (πολὺ δὲ μεγίστον τὸ μεταφορικὸν εἶναι, μὲνον γὰρ τούτῳ οὐτὲ παρ’ ἄλλου ἔστι λαβεῖν εὐφυΐας τε σεμεῖαν ἐστίν, Poet. 1459a7).

Joachim Latacz has argued that the concentration of scholars on what he calls the ‘pragmatic’ elements of ancient Greek lyric (place, time, author, public, occasion), important and valuable as it is, amounts to a neohistoric methodology, which runs the risk of overstressing the externals about and around the poetry at the expense of the internal, creative elements in individual poets. 5 By this he means something other than a treatment of the themes of Greek lyric, 6 other than the observation and comparison of Homeric echoes, 7 other than ‘Geistesgeschichte’. 8 It must comprise

4. Cf. in particular: χρήσιμον δὲ ἐνὶ καὶ ἐν λόγῳ, ὀλιγάκες δὲ: ποιητικὸν γὰρ (Arist. Rh. 3.1406b); πρῶτα μὲν οὖν μεταφοράς χρηστέον οὔτα γὰρ μάλιστα καὶ ἔξωθεν συμβάλλοντα τοῖς λόγοις καὶ μέγεθος (Demetr. Eloc. 78); τὰς δὲ παραβολὰς ταῦτας οὔτε ρᾳδίως ἐν τοῖς πεζοῖς λόγοι τιθέναι δεῖ, οὔτε άνευ πλείστης φυλακῆς (90).
the totality of 'innertextliche Konstituenten' (thematic material, motifs, diction, structure, style and attitudes, in short a 'Werkästhetik'), rather than only the 'außertextliche Konstituenten' (author, genesis of the poem, mode, audience, effect, in short 'Produktions- und Rezeptionsästhetik', 'Wirkungsästhetik'). Within this complexity of textual components imagery itself needs to be examined closely in the light of the newly published texts and modern literary theory. 'Die ästhetischen Valenzen eines Sappho-Liedes—Bild, Metapher, Wortfolge, Assoziation, Synästhesie, Klang usw.—sind noch längst nicht aufgedeckt; eine Typologie der dichterischen Zeichen ("poetische Semiotik"), wie wir sie dringend brauchten, ist nicht in Sicht.' 10 The present study is a modest attempt to tackle this important but difficult subject. The aim is to demonstrate the positive contribution of the ancient testimonia to our understanding of particular images in Greek melic poetry.

The two main areas where the testimonia make a valuable contribution are the content and context, and the literary value and effect of an image.

Contextual comment

Explanation of content and context is the simplest kind of image-elucidation, yet very useful for our investigations. Yet much comment in the testimonia can be irrelevant, inadequate, misleading or incorrect. For example, Servius (4th century A.D.) is off target when he quotes Anacreon's image of 'Love's burden' (fr. 460 PMG) to parallel Vergil's 'caroque oneri timet' (on Verg. Aen. 11.550); there is no connection at all between Anacreon's erotic use and Metabus' love and concern for his baby daughter as he is about to cross a swollen river.

Athenaeus (fl. c. 200 A.D.) recreates the broader context of the symposium, and is predictably more interested in the 'realia' of the banquet than the literary value of the images he cites. Anacreon's expression 'to play the Bacchant' (fr. 356.5f. PMG) was quoted by Athenaeus (10.427a, b) only to comment on the mixing of wine with water in the proportion of 1:2, 'as reflected in Anacreon's poem.' In fr. 360.3 PMG Anacreon describes a boy with girlish glance as holding the reins of the poet's soul. Athenaeus (13.564d) quotes the fragment, together with Sappho, fr. 138 L-P, as a further illustration of the power of the eye in love poetry. Though this comment places the general idea in a broader context, it contributes nothing on the image of the reins. Anacreon describes someone's chest as hollower than Pan-pipes (fr. 363 PMG). Here Athenaeus is more helpful. He first

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9. Latacz (note 5) 40.
10. Latacz (note 5) 55.
quotes (15.687e) Alcaeus 362 about pouring sweet perfume over breasts, as part of the preparations for a banquet. Then Athenaeus quotes Anacreon, fr. 363 PMG, which mocks an old man who anoints his chest with perfume despite his emaciated physique. Athenaeus' comment really only 'fits the Alc. passage, not the text of Anacr.'

Anacreon's expression 'boxing with Eros' for an erotic experience elicited much comment. Athenaeus (11.782a) was again only concerned with the 'realia' of the banquet, namely the practice, in the mixing of wine, of pouring the water first and then the wine. Demetrius of Phaleron (Eloc. 5) noted that the rhythm reflects the movement of an old drunken man. Anacreon's exhortation not to 'babble like the wave of the sea' (fr. 427 PMG) is ignored when Athenaeus cites the fragment (10.446f-447a): his concern is to explain the 'hearth-cup'. One may refer here also to Bacchylides' (?) description of the garland 'afame' (φάμαι) with rose buds (fr. 53a S-M) which is quoted by Plutarch (Quaest. conviv. 3.1.2 = Mor. 646a) in a discussion on the benefits of garlands.

Stobaeus, early in the 5th century, often simply quotes an image to illustrate a particular theme or topic. In Simonides' fr. 521.3f. PMG the change of a man's fortune is described as swifter than a long-winged fly's change of course. Stobaeus (4.41.9, 62) only identifies the theme. He also illustrates (4.51.5; 4.51.7) the inevitability of death by citing Simonides' expressions 'all comes to the one terrible Charybdis' (fr. 522.1) and 'death also catches up with the deserter' (fr. 524 PMG). Stobaeus also cites (3.11.19) the expression 'poetry reveals the truth like a touchstone gold' from Bacchylides (fr. 14) to illustrate the theme of truth. Bacchylides' image of Destiny moving a cloud (of war or civil strife) now over one land, now over another (fr. 24), is related by Stobaeus (1.5.3) to the theme of fate. The image of 'one boundary-stone, and one road' (ἐἷς ὅριος, μία ... ὁδὸς) to happiness in Bacchylides fr. 11 is quoted by Stobaeus (4.44.16) for the theme of the noble endurance of one's lot.

Diodorus Siculus (fl. c. 60–20 B.C.) considered Simonides' poem on the fallen heroes of Thermopylae (fr. 531 PMG) as a fitting eulogy of the valour of Leonidas and the Spartans (11.11.6), but unfortunately says nothing of the cluster of images.

The etymologists and lexicographers give brief but clear information on content. Important details have thus reached us. Anacreon's simile of a lover fleeing from a girl like a cuckoo (χοοξϰοζ, fr. 437 PMG) is glossed as follows by the ancient etymologists (Etym. Gen. = Etym. Magn. 524.50 =


Etym. Gud. 333.22 = Etym. Sym. = Etym. Vat. graec. 1708): the cuckoo is explained as a spring bird the size of a falcon, but also as a very cowardly bird (特派特ν δεσιλότταν). The point of the comparison is immediately made clear.

Sappho’s comparison of a girl to an apple (fr. 105b L-P) is explained clearly by Himerius (c. 310–c. 390): ‘It was Sappho who compared the girl to an apple ... and likened the bridgroom to Achilles and put the young man on a par with the hero in his achievements’ (Or. 9.16, p. 82 Colonna).13 In Anacreon fr. 403 PMG the poet/lover is portrayed as being carried ‘over hidden reefs’ (ἀπήμον οπέρ ἀμφάτων), suggesting the dangers lurking in (the sea of) love. Hesychius glosses ἥματα thus (Lexicon, E 5936; ii.194 Latte): ‘a support; or a rocky place in the sea, hidden from view by the waves.’14 The 5th century lexicographer explains ἥματα, without indicating the reference or application of the image.

Alcman, fr. 1.58–60 PMG

On the simile of Colaxaean and Ibenian horses the Scholiast B (P. Oxy. 2389), citing Aristarchus, explains what horses are referred to, that is, the content or referential value of the images is chosen for comment: they are a foreign breed, and both are exceptional, though the Ibenian is better. He also explains that Agido, ‘second in respect of her beauty’, is compared with the Colaxaean horse.15 The most obvious inference is that the two girls, Agido and Hagesichora, are compared to these breeds of horse to emphasise their exceptional beauty and (perhaps) proud, aristocratic breeding. Those scholars who subscribe to the rival chorus theory believe that the girls are required to run in races and are thus also praised for their swiftness of foot.16 Others relate the presence of the horse-similes to the ritual

context. 17

Alcman, fr. 26 PMG

Alcman yearns to be like a cerylus (βάλε δή βάλε κηρύλος ειπη). Antigonus of Carystus (fl. c. 240 B.C.) glosses it as follows (Miracula 23): ‘Male halcyons are called ceryli. When they become weak from old age and are no longer able to fly, the females carry them, taking them on their wings. What Alcman says is connected with this: weak from old age and unable to whirl about with the choirs and the girls’ dancing, he says: . . .’ 18

Here the context of the simile is explained: the ageing poet admits his inability to dance with the girls in the chorus (1–2). Modern criticism has, however, detected two technical errors. Firstly, the halcyon and cerylus are both mythical birds, sometimes identified with the kingfisher; Antigonus’ explanation is based on incorrect folklore or tradition. 19 Secondly, the point about the female supporting the male, mythical or real, is not in the fragment as we have it. In fact, the poet (or some other persona) does not long to have the good fortune of the ageing halcyon whose mate carries him along over the waves; he longs to be like a cerylus himself, to fly resolute and strong together with the halcyons. 20

Nevertheless one must remember that Alcman and his audience probably believed in the cerylus and halcyon as real birds; the first technical error is therefore strictly irrelevant. The power of an image is unaffected by the reality or not of its existence in the real world (think, for example, of fairy, ogre or unicorn). 21 The second technical error is a result of over-explanation, of pushing the text too far—a phenomenon not entirely unknown in present-day criticism. 22

passim (in favour of an initiation ceremony); Alcman. Introduction, texte critique, témoignages, traduction et commentaire (Rome 1983) 312–13.


18. Translation by Campbell (note 11) 417.


22. Bowra (note 15) recommended the avoidance of a romantic escapist interpretation in favour of a realistic reading in which the girls actually dance and impersonate the birds, and the poet, now in his own ‘winter’, is unable to dance with them. This view was rejected by S.L. Radt, Gnomon 30 (1964) 798 and Gerber (note 15) 99.
Sappho, fr. 31 L-P

Sappho’s famous poem on her love-symptoms (fr. 31 L-P) is accompanied by the equally famous interpretation of Ps.-Longinus, De sublim. 10.1–3.23 This exceptional analysis of Sappho’s symptoms unfortunately says nothing about the opening simile, a comparison between a suitor and the gods (Ἰσος θέων, 1), or the curious expression ‘greener than grass’ (χλωροτέρα ... ποίς, 14).24 The former occurs often in epic and in Sappho,25 and is best understood as encompassing all the attributes of the state of deities.26 The latter is original and potent, and variously explained.27 Obviously, it is intended to reflect or represent the poet’s physical and psychological state in contrast to that of the man and girl in the opening scene.

Sappho, fr. 112.4 L-P

Choricius, the 6th century rhetorician, gives us the information that Sappho’s words ἔρος δ’ ἐκ’ ἰμέρυν κέχυται προσώπῳ are addressed to the bride (Zach. 19, p. 86–87 Förster-Richtsteig). We may have deduced this from the context of the fragment, but that does not detract from Choricius’ contribution. But he says nothing of the metaphor of love ‘pouring’ over the bride’s countenance. The verb χέω is used metaphorically of many non-fluid things, but only here of the visible signs of love.28

Alcaeus, fr. 333 L-P

Alcaeus describes wine as ‘a peep-hole into man’ (ἀθρώπω διόπτρον), and Tzetzes (c. 1110–c. 1180) succinctly explains the application of the

G. Huxley, ‘Studies in early Greek poets’, GRBS 5 (1964) 26–28, viewed the girls as diving like halcyons; but then why, as rightly objected by Degani & Burzacchini (note 19) 282, are the girls ‘honey-toned, strong-voiced’? Cf. also Calame (note 15) 473.


25. Cf., for example, Hom. Il. 21.315; Od. 11.304, 484; 15.520; Hom. Hymn. 5 (to Aphrodite) 214, and Homer’s use of ἰσος, θεοσκλος, θεοδής, θεος ἕναλγκος. For Sappho’s use, cf. frs. 44.21, 34; 68a.3; 96.4, 21–23; 111.5. The ‘subtle fire’ (λέπτον/ ... ἀπ, 9–10) is probably literal, one of the physical symptoms, rather than metaphorical for ‘the fire of love’; cf. Perrotta & Gentili (note 20) 127.


27. The term χλωρός is used of a wide colour-range from green (of hills, glens, pines, emeralds, water) to pale yellow (of honey, sand). In Homer it is used of fear (Il. 7.479; Od. 11.43) and of a person exhibiting fear (Il. 10. 376; 15.4). For the copious literature on this poem, and on this adjective, cf. D.E. Gerber, ‘Greek lyric poetry since 1920, Part I: General, Lesbian poets’, Lustrum 36 (1993) 101–17.

28. E.g. of people streaming (Hom. Il. 16.267; Od. 10.415); of sheep wandering (Hom. Il. 5.141); of a person embracing another (Hom. Il. 5.314; 19.284; Od. 8.827); of bonds (Hom. Od. 8.297); of the sound of a voice (Hom. Od. 19.521; Hes. Stent. 396); of obscuring or enfolding darkness, mist, night or sleep (Hom. Il. 20.321; Od. 7.15; Hes. Theog. 727; Hom. Od. 19.590).
image (in Lycophron, *Alexandra* 212): ‘drunk men reveal their secret thoughts.’ The term ἱπποτρόπος occurs only here, and refers, not to a mirror (κάταπτρον), which reflects only the outward surface, but to a ‘meat for seeing through’ (LS), an instrument able to probe into and reveal the *inside*. The aptness of the metaphor applied to the effect of wine on a person is apparent. However, its reference needs to be defined in terms of Alcaeus’ audience. In the ambience of the aristocratic symposium the revealed ‘truth’ was the sincerity of friends and the revelation of shared interests and ideals.

Alcaeus fr. 358.2 L-P

Demetrius Lacon (2nd century B.C.) quotes Alcaeus’ fr. 358 L-P and supplies a rather full paraphrase. Much depends on the restoration of the text, but the metaphorical use of πεδίω is clear. Interesting for us is the attempt to paraphrase and elucidate a longer text than we have at our disposal. There is also some attention to the image of wine as ‘shackling the wits’ (πεδίως η γέρα ἡ), but the explanation shifts the focus on to the result of the ‘shackling’ wine. This use of the verb is unattested elsewhere.

Alcaeus, fr. 429 L-P

Diogenes Laertius (3rd century) both quotes and explains the reference of Alcaeus’ use of the metaphorical ‘well-swept’ (ἄγαςωφτος): the adjective is applied to Pittacus, ‘since he was slovenly and dirty’ (1.81). The word ἄγαςωφτος, a ἄσκος λεγόμενον, refers to the soiled state of Pittacus’ garment as it drags along the ground.

29. Translation by Campbell (note 12) 373.
33. It is used of cunning (Hom. *Il.* 23.585), sleep (Hom. *Od.* 23.17), and of deities overruling mortals (Hom. *Il.* 4.517; 22.5; 23.353).
34. Translation by Campbell (note 12) 429.
Porphyry (3rd century A.D.) grasps the impact of Ibycus’ expression ‘with the greedy mouth of Strife someone will one day arm himself against me’ ("Ερήσος ποτε μάργδων ἐχων στόμα/ ἀντία δήμων ἐμοί κορώσσοι") when he applies it to his own critics who resort to sophistic arguments (Comment. in Ptolem. harmon. 4 = p. 79 Düring). The use of μάργος with ‘stomach’ is not new; the metaphorical use of the phrase applied to ἔρις is. We have no way of knowing against whom Ibycus’ words were aimed.

Anacreon, fr. 389 and 450 PMG

Athenaeus’ comment misses the point. In frs. 389 and 450 PMG Anacreon expresses erotic desire in terms of thirsting for a drink. Athenaeus (10.433e, f) starts promisingly on fr. 389: ‘For thirst causes in everyone a powerful desire (ισχοράν ἐπιθυμίαν) for excessive satisfaction (τῆς ... ἀπολαύσεως).’ While ἐπιθυμία is itself erotic, being used especially of sexual desire (Democr. 234; Plato, Phaedr. 232b), there is no indication that Athenaeus understood the sexual implication of the ‘thirst’. He seems concerned only with the effect (powerful desire) and the resulting excessive satisfaction. Servius (on Verg. Aen. 1.749) is better on fr. 450: ‘bibebat amorem adlusit ad convivium. Sic Anacreon.’ Servius’ main concern is for the source of the expression in Vergil, but at the same time he recognises it as an image generated by the symposium. The metaphorical use of δίψα or δειπνά in the sense of a longing for something other than a liquid does not occur until Pindar, and its application here to love is unique.

Anacreon, fr. 408 PMG

Several ancient writers quote these lines, in which Anacreon uses the simile of the new-born fawn which, out of fear, remains close to its mother, but all focus only on single words: Athenaeus (9.396d) on γαλαθήνας, Eustathius (Il. 711.34) on νεφρός. Aelian and the scholiast on Pindar, Ol. 3.52 on καρόσσης. This last word caused controversy: Aelian (c. 170–235) quotes the text as proof of the fact that female deer have horns. He also defends καρόσσης, ‘horned’, with Aristophanes of Byzantium, against Zenodotus who wanted to be zoologically correct and read ἐφολοσθής, ‘lovely’ (NA 7.39, ii.152ff. Schofield; schol. Pind. Ol. 3.52). There is no comment on

36. Cf. γαλαθήνας μάργαρη (Hom. Od. 18.2); metaphorically of the sea in Empedocles (100.7).
37. Campbell (note 11) 77.
38. Pind. Pyth. 9.104 (of song); Nem. 3.6 (general); also Plato, Rep. 562c (of freedom).
the meaning or application of the simile, which is almost certainly to be understood in an erotic context.\textsuperscript{40}

The simile may echo Homer's simile of the fawns left in a lion's den by their mother (\textit{Od.} 4.335–39 = 17.126–30).\textsuperscript{41} There are verbal echoes (νεβρόις ... νεγιανέας γαλαθηνούς), and in both poets the helplessness of the young fawns is clear. However, the application and emotional register of the similes are different. Homer focuses on the mother's desertion of her young (\textsuperscript{42}Penelope's suitors) in a lion's den, and their inevitable slaughter by the lion (\textsuperscript{43}Odysseus). There is no pity for the fawns: their lot is inevitable. The attention is on the devastating power of the lion. Anacreon dwells on the natural, instinctive fear of the (single) fawn (\textsuperscript{44}= a young girl, on the threshold of sexual maturity?), separated in the woods from her mother's protection.\textsuperscript{45} Anacreon's simile is quite different in tone and meaning.\textsuperscript{46}

Simonides, fr. 508 \textit{PMG}

In fr. 508 \textit{PMG} Simonides seems to be using a simile involving the fourteen fine-weather, or 'halcyon', days ordered by Zeus ('as when in the winter month ...': ος ὀπτόταν/ χειμάρρων κατὰ μῆνα). Aristotle (\textit{HA} 542b) explains the reference: the halcyon breeds during the winter solstice; and this is the reason for the calm weather during the seven days before and seven after the solstice being called halcyon days.\textsuperscript{47} Photius (9th century A.D.) records that the number of days was variously given: Simonides 'in his \textit{Pentathletes} and Aristotle 'in his account of animals' (\textit{Lexicon} A 981, I.105 Theodoridis) mentioned fourteen.\textsuperscript{48} Nothing, however, is said on the actual simile, and we cannot know to what it was applied.

Simonides, fr. 514 \textit{PMG}

Athenaeus' inadequacy is clearly revealed when he is not the only surviving commentator on an image. He refers (7.318f) to Simonides' expression

\begin{itemize}
\item[41.] Campbell (note 15) 327.
\item[42.] Some scholars understand the masculine νεβρόι as referring to a boy (Bowra, Marzullo, Gerber), but, as Degani & Burzacchini (note 19) 253 point out (citing Bacch. 13.87–90 and Hor. \textit{Carm.} 1.23.1–4), the masculine form does not exclude reference to a girl.
\item[43.] Other occurrences (Archil. \textit{P. Colon.} inv. 751.31; Ale. fr. 10B.5; Sappho, fr. 58.16; Bacch. 13.87–90) also differ in use from Anacreon's; cf. Degani & Burzacchini (note 19) 253.
\item[45.] Cf. Campbell (note 43) 373.
\end{itemize}
'looking for an octopus' (πώλυς θηκέμνος) only to comment on the Doric pronunciation πώλυς for Attic πουλύς. We are supplied with essential information by the Cod. Paris. suppl. gr. 676 (ed. L. Cohn, Zu den Paroemiographen, 79): 'The Carian fable: Simonides mentions this when singing the praises of a charioteer who had been victorious at Pallene and had won as his prize a cloak which he used to keep off the cold; for (the games) were held at Pallene in winter. They say that a fisherman saw an octopus in the winter and said, 'If I don't dive, I shall starve', and that this is the Carian fable.'

The application is thus made clear: just as a hungry fisherman must dive for an octopus in the winter, so Orillas must take part in the winter games at Pallene and win a cloak to keep him warm.

Simonides, fr. 515 PMG

The context of the expression 'daughters of storm-footed horses' (ἄκληξεξοδών θύγατες ἵππων) is given by Aristotle: 'When the victor in the mule-race offered Simonides only a small fee, he refused to compose a poem, since he took a poor view of writing in honour of mules; but on being given an adequate fee he wrote "storm-footed horses ...".'

Aristotle then criticises Simonides for not mentioning the fact that mules were also daughters of asses. Aristotle's logical mind realised the flaw in the hyperbole. The use of ἄκληξεξοδών of swift-running animals is common enough in epic, but the iunctura with θύγατες and the application to mules are unique.

Simonides, fr. 597 PMG

On Simonides' description of the black swallow as 'famous messenger of Spring' (χώρας κυλιτ εφος), the scholiast on Aristoph. Av. 1410 reports only that some consider Aristophanes' use as a parody of Alcaeus' (345 L-P) and Simonides' lines. Birds are 'messengers' of augury in Homer (Il. 24.292, 296), and the nightingale is Zeus' messenger in Sophocles (El. 149), but Simonides' use seems original.

46. Translated by Campbell (note 43) 383. According to ['Diogenian'], Praef. paroem. (I.179 Leutsch-Schneidewin) this was an idiom which was also used by Timocreon (fr. 734 PMG). He places it in the epinician for Orillas.


Simonides, fr. 606 PMG

Simonides’ depiction of the swallow as ‘a chatterbox (χωτίλη) is accurately explained by Tzetzes on Hes., Op. 372: ‘In Anacreon (453 PMG) and Simonides the swallow is called “chatterbox” because it is garrulous.’

Simonides, fr. 616 PMG

Plutarch (1st century) gives a full explication of Simonides’ description of Sparta as ‘a breaker-in of men’ (δαμασιμβροτον): ‘That is why they say Sparta was called “breaker-in of men” by Simonides, since Sparta above all made her citizens obedient to the laws and manageable by means of her customs, like horses that are broken in right from the beginning’ (Ages. 1).

Literary comment

In this category the testimonia offer far more interesting and sophisticated literary comment.

Alcman, fr. 1.46–49 PMG

On Alcman’s haunting reference to horses of the kind that appear in ‘under-the-rock dreams’ (τῶν ὑποπτεριδῶν ἀνευρων), we are fortunate to have the comment of the Scholiast A (P. Louvre E 3320), who not only fleshes out the image and adds a parallel from Homer, but confirms the textual reading in line 49.

The general application of the dream-imagery is well grasped and formulated, and one applauds the methodology of comparison with Homer. But the quotation from Homer has nothing to do with the sense of the image as used in Alcman’s lines. Also, the description ‘under-the-rock’ is not adequately or correctly explained. The Etymologicum Magnum (783.20 = Et. Genuinum 163 Calame) preserves another interpretation when it glosses ὑποπτεριδῶν as a metathesis for ὑποπτεριδῶν (‘winged’). Modern interpretation still shows the split. Page preferred to follow the Etymologicum, giving the meaning ‘horses of winged dreams.’ Others follow the scholiast’s connection of ὑποπτεριδῶν with πέτα, and explain the phrase as the type of horses dreamt of while sleeping in the shade of a

50. Translation by Campbell (note 43) 479.
51. Translation by Campbell (note 43) 485.
52. Campbell (note 11) 371.
Whatever the correct reference, it is clear that something magical and wonderful is conjured up, as the scholiast noted.  

**Alcman, fr. 1.60ff. PMG**

Another intriguing image in Alcman's first *parthenion* is the reference to 'the Peleades'. The Scholiast A explains that the chorus is comparing Agido and Hagesichora to doves, but adds no further comment. Only tantalizing phrases of the Scholiast B are legible on this point. Here, too, modern scholars have offered different interpretations. The 'Doves' have been taken to refer to another, rival choir to the star-cluster in the constellation of Taurus, as nick-names or cult-names for Agido and Hagesichora, or as the supposed inventors of choral dances. For all these views there are arguments and counter-arguments, and the debate continues.

**Sappho, fr. 34 L-P**

In fr. 34 L-P Sappho refers to stars that lose their brightness around the full moon. Eustathius (729.21) explains that in Homer's expression *φανερὰ ἄμμις σελήνην* ('around the shining moon', II. 8.555) one should not understand the light of a full moon, as the stars would then be outshone, 'as somewhere in Sappho.' Julian explains that Sappho described the

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55. Fränkel (note 8) 165; B. Marzullo, 'Il primo Partenio di Alcmane', *Philologus* 108 (1964) 133-94; Campbell (note 15) 203; cf. his translation 'rock-sheltered dreams,' (note 11) 365. Page (note 15) 87 followed the scholiast in understanding the phrase as 'dreams living under rocks.'

56. Page (note 15) 86-87 also comments that persons or things seen in dreams are often considered superior to their equivalents in real life.


60. For example, H.W. Smyth, *Greek Melic Poets* (New York 1899, repr. 1963) 4-7, 175-88; Van Groningen (note 15) 241-61; Davison (note 15) 146-72; Anne P. Burnett, 'The race with the Pleiades', *CPh* 59 (1964) 30-33; Marzullo (note 54) 199.


moon as silver (ἀργυρία) which then hides the stars (Epist. 194.387a). Both explanations state the obvious reference to the fact that stars are dimmed by a full moon. Eustathius helpfully links Homer and Sappho, but neither author comments on the context, application or effect of the image. The image appears in fr. 96.6-14, where it is applied to a girl surpassing others. There is no testimonium on fr. 96, which was discovered on papyrus (P. Berol. 9722), but the fragment reads:

Now she stands out among Lydian women like the rosy-fingered moon after the sun’s setting, surpassing all the stars; and its light spreads alike over the salty sea and the many-flowered fields.

In our methodology we apply intertextuality to elucidate surviving texts. The main point of the comparison in fr. 96 is the superior radiance of a particular girl among her companions. It is a reasonable assumption that in fr. 34 the moon is applied in a similar way. Light-terms appear in both fragments (φάννον, κλήθουσα ... λάμπη, fr. 34; φῶς, fr. 96.9). No colour is specified in fr. 34, although the full moon is silver (as Julian points out). Colour dominates the lines in 96: βροδοδάκτυλος (8), πολυανθέμοις ἀρούραις (11), τεῖχος/κακία ... βρόδα (13f.), μεγάλως ἀνθεμίδας (14). Also, the moon shines ‘rosy-fingered’ when the sun, whose light in its turn dims the moon, has set.

Sappho, fr. 136 L-P

Sappho describes the nightingale as ‘the messenger of spring’ (ἓρος ἄγγελος), which is adequately glossed by the scholiast on Soph. El. 149 (p.

64. Cf. Campbell (note 12) 83.
66. Cf. Perrotta & Gentili (note 20) 129, who compare Bacchyl. 9.27-29, and note how Sappho views the stars as living beings; Campbell (note 15) 278; Degani & Burzacchini (note 19) 147-48, who also compare Julian, Or. 3.109c and Theocr. 18.26-28; and note Sappho’s transformation of Homer’s idea of stars shining around the (not so full) moon into her new vision of surrounding stars being outshone by the full moon.
110 Papageorgiou: 'Sophocles uses the expression “messenger of Zeus” of the nightingale because it signals the coming of spring; ... cf. Sappho.'

The image is found in Homer (Od. 19.518–20), but has been simplified and adapted for lyric song.

Sappho, fr. 156 L-P

Sappho's similes 'far more sweet-sounding than a harp' ... more golden than gold' (πάλι πάκτιδος ἄδωμελεστέρα ... χρόσω χρυσοτέρα, fr. 156 L-P) were considered interesting enough to warrant lengthy comment in antiquity. Demetrius of Phaleron offered some sophisticated interpretation (Eloc. 127, p. 30 Radermacher): 'Sappho's phrase, "more golden than gold", is certainly expressed as a hyperbole and involves an impossibility, but it does not fall flat: rather it derives charm from the impossibility. Indeed one of the most amazing characteristics of the divine Sappho is that she uses with charm a device that is of itself hazardous and difficult.' Further on he adds (Eloc. 161–162, p. 37 Radermacher): '... every hyperbole involves an impossibility; ... Of the same kind are such phrases as “healthier than a pumpkin”, “baldier than a cloudless sky”, and Sappho’s ...' Gregory of Corinth (12th century A.D.) expressed a similar response: 'The ear is basely flattered by erotic phrases such as those of Anacreon and Sappho; for example, “whiter than milk”, “more gentle than water”, “more tuneful than lyres” (rather ‘harps’), “haughtier than a mare”, “more delicate than roses”, “softer than a fine robe”, “more precious than gold”’ (on Hermog. Meth., Rhet. Gr. 7.1236 Walz). Intriguing for us is the characterisation of these similes as ‘erotic’.

Alcaeus, fr. 120 L-P

Alcaeus' use of the image of 'ploughing free furrows' (πῶγας ἀργοτρώμετ', ἐλυθέρας) is explained by the scholiast on line 5: 'these words are mocking remarks addressed to a man who married (before he) had grown a beard.' The scholiast clearly realised the sexual nature of the ploughing-image.

67. Translation by Campbell (note 12) 153.
68. Cf. Perrotta & Gentili (note 20) 175.
69. Not ‘lyre’ (as Campbell), but Aeolian harp; cf. Perrotta & Gentili (note 20) 184.
70. Translation by Campbell (note 12) 165.
71. Translation by Campbell (note 12) 165.
72. Translation by Campbell (note 12) 165.
73. Translation by Campbell (note 12) 295.
Alcaeus, fr. 326 L-P (= 208)

Alcaeus uses the image of the ship of state at least three times, and when in fr. 326 L-P he describes the ship foundering in a stormy sea, Heracleitus (1st century A.D.), who is the main source of our text, comments (Alleg. Hom. 5) fully and competently. In his assessment, Heracleitus identifies the type of analogy (allegory), explains the reference (political upheaval caused by tyrants), notices the effect of the analogy (one would think the fear of sailors is being expressed, that is, the image is so real and dramatic), observes the occurrence of the analogy elsewhere in Alcaeus (and Archilochus), and offers the criticism that the poet overworks the analogue. His explanation of the reference to tyranny is confirmed by the fragmented 2nd century A.D. commentary on Alcaeus in which Myrsilus is also named (P. Oxy. 2306 col. I.19 = fr. 305.19). This is as good a discussion of an image as one may expect from a mind in antiquity. Modern scholars have followed the basic data given by Heracleitus. Of course, in accordance with contemporary scholarship and literary analysis, they have expanded on the style, impact and influence of the image.

74. Frs. 6 and 73 L-P; also in Theognis 668–62; Aesch. Septem 62ff.; 208ff.; Hor. Carm. 1.14.
76. Campbell (note 12) 343.
77. This assessment of Heracleitus is not invalidated by the criticism of his reliability by G.W. Most, 'Aleman's "cosmogonic" fragment (fr. 5 Page, 81 Calame)', CQ 37 (1987) 1–19. E. Bowie, 'Early Greek elegy, symposium and public festival', JHS 106 (1986) 17–18 also challenges Heracleitus' allegorical interpretation, and believes that, in his description of the ship caught in a storm, Alcaeus 'recalls in the company of hetairai an experience he had shared with them or with men they knew.' But would his captive audience have enjoyed or tolerated such a narration, even with variations, over and over again? Besides, such a literal interpretation would strip the verse of its impact: a repeated account of a bad experience at sea could never have stimulated the imagination as much as a figurative use of such an experience to portray something else that affected more persons than were present at the first performance of the song.
Alcaeus, fr. 347a L-P

For us, Alcaeus' exhortation to 'soak the lungs' (τέγγε πλεύμονας, fr. 347a L-P) is metaphorical for 'to drink (wine).' Yet this was not necessarily the perception of antiquity, or the poet himself. Proclus (on Hesiod, Op. 584) quotes the fragment from Alcaeus only to indicate that the latter had imitated Hesiod (Op. 582–96).79 Plato (Tim. 70c, 91a) understood the expression literally: the wine flows into the lungs. Plutarch (Quaest. conviv. 697f–698a) found Alcaeus' expression justifiable, as the lungs are close to the stomach and therefore benefit from the drink.80 His interpretation is still literal. Aulus Gellius (17.11.1) refers to Plato's and Plutarch's views, and actually blames Alcaeus as the initiator of the 'error'. We cannot be sure that the expression was used or perceived as metaphorical.

Alcaeus, fr. 359 L-P

Alcaeus' reference to the limpet (λεπάς) as 'child of the rock and grey sea' (πέτρας καὶ πολλὰς θαλάς/σας τέχνον, fr. 359 L-P) caused some uncertainty in antiquity. Athenaeus (3.85f) glossed it as follows: 'Callias of Mytilene on the word λεπάς in Alcaeus says there is a poem of Alcaeus which begins ἐκ δὲ πατρών ἐκ πατρών ἐκ πατρών, at the end of which is ἐκ δὲ πατρών ἐκ πατρών ἐκ πατρών, ἐκ δὲ πατρών ἐκ πατρών. But Aristophanes (of Byzantium) writes χέλως instead of λεπάς and says that Dicaearchus was wrong to accept χέλως in the sense of λεπάς.81

This sounds like modern textual criticism. It is certainly commendable that Athenaeus has cited earlier authorities. Nothing, however, is said about the metaphorical description of the λεπάς (or χέλως) as 'child of rock and sea', i.e. born among the rocks in the ocean. Aristophanes' comment on Dicaearchus is in itself significant since there is more than a century separating them (Dicaearchus, c. 326–296; Aristophanes, c. 257–180 B.C.). We may tentatively reconstruct the gloss from the information supplied by Athenaeus: Callias read λεπάς ('limpet') in Alcaeus' text; both Aristophanes and Dicaearchus read χέλως, but Aristophanes believed Dicaearchus was wrong to accept χέλως instead of in the (figurative) sense of 'lyre' (made from tortoise-shell). Two interpretations result: the limpet is 'child of rock and sea,' able to fill with

80. Cf. also Plut. De Stoic. repug. 1047d.
81. Translation by Campbell (note 12) 391–93, adapted and with retention of the Greek terms.
pride the hearts of children (as Campbell translates),
who pick it up on
the sea-shore and play with it and treasure it; or it is the lyre of tortoise-shell
that is 'child of rock and sea', able with its music to charm the hearts
of boys. To this latter interpretation one may object that tortoise-shells,
and not turtle-shells, were used for lyres. Although Greek had no separate
word for turtle, the 6th century account of the 'invention' of the chelys-lyre
by the infant Hermes in the Homeric Hymn to Hermes (4.41–54) involves
a mountain tortoise (δρασκώδος χελώνης); and vase-paintings clearly show
the variegated pattern of blocks on the shell.83

On the other hand, however, the erotic interpretation in a poem of
Alcaeus is not unlikely. For one thing, the verb ἔκσωκνώω really means
'make someone vain and arrogant', 'make someone gape and stare',
rather than Campbell's 'fill with pride'. For another, it is difficult to see how an
insignificant shell such as that of a limpet could instill pride in a Greek
child's heart. Yet, even with a fuller text at their disposal, the ancient
critics still differ on the meaning. We have less chance of deciding between
the literal and figurative interpretations.

Anacreon, fr. 376 PMG
Anacreon visualises himself diving from the Leucadian cliff, 'drunk with
love' (μεθών ἐρωτι, fr. 376 PMG). Hephaestion (Poem. 7.2) quotes the
fragment as an example of the 'pro-ode' (in which a short line is followed
by a long one). A number of ancient critics explain the reference to the
cliff on the island of Leukas: it was evidently the site of religious ritual and
a lover's leap. Strabo (10.2.9) mentions that there was a temple of Apollo
Leucatas and that the leap was believed to cure love.84 No one, however,
noticed the metaphorical 'drunk with love.' Anacreon uses it again, in fr.
450 PMG: ἔρωτα πίνειν. Both uses seem original: the closest parallels to the
use of μεθώσων in connection with love are ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης (Xen. Smp.
8.21) and ὑπὸ τρυφῆς (Plato, Critias 121a); and πίνειν has no apparent
parallel.

Anacreon, fr. 378 PMG
Anacreon visualises himself as flying to Olympus to find Eros. The scho-
liast on Aristoph. Av. 1372 notes only that Aristophanes' use comes from

82. Cf. H. Eisenberger, Der Mythos in der òolischen Lyrik (Diss. Frankfurt am Main
1956) 44.

83. Cf. Martha Maas & Jane M. Snyder, Stringed Instruments of Ancient Greece (New
Haven/London 1989) 34–30, with illustrations (pp. 49, 100, 102, 105, 107). The
tortoise has been identified as Testudo marginata, a land tortoise native to Greece
(p. 95).

84. Cf. Campbell (note 12) 23, with further references.
Anacreon. Such a metaphorical transformation into a bird (cited and applied to himself by Julian, *Epist.* 193), though frequent enough after Anacreon,⁸⁵ occurs here first.

Anacreon, fr. 407 PMG

Anacreon uses the expression ‘pledging’ slender thighs instead of wine (ἄλλα πρόπνευ/ ἐκδυναμοῦς ὡς φῶς μηροὺς). The scholiast on Pind. *Ol.* 7.5a (I.200 Drachmann) explains πρόπνευν as referring to the gift of a cup and mixture of wine, used instead of χαρίζομαι, ‘grant’. The literal meaning is given (προπόνευν used of wine), and the metaphor explained (προπόνευν used instead of χαρίζομαι). This is good, precise comment, though the obviously erotic connotation is not explained.⁸⁶

Anacreon, fr. 417 PMG

Anacreon’s famous analogy of a girl with a Thracian filly (fr. 417 PMG) is quoted and explained by Heracleitus (*Alleg.* Hom. 5, p. 5f. Buffière): the poet attacked ‘the meretricious spirit and arrogance of a haughty woman,’ and ‘used the “allegory” of a horse to describe her frisky disposition.’⁸⁷ Though the metaphor is incorrectly called an allegory, the application of the sustained comparison as well as the point of the comparison ('frisky') are supplied.

The comparison of girls with fillies is early and widespread.⁸⁸ What makes Anacreon’s use of the image so telling is the way in which he sustains it,⁸⁹ the reason, it seems, why Heracleitus regarded it as an allegory. The behaviour of girl and horse runs parallel: the sidelong glance from the corner of the eye (λοξῶν ὀφθαλμὸς ἀλλεποθα),⁹₀ the stubborn resistance and retreat (κηλέως φεύγεις, 2), the untamed freedom, playfulness and friskiness (καταφύσα τέ βυσσάκι κούφα το σκορπόσα παῖνης/ δεξίον γὰρ ἱπποκείμενον/ οὐκ ἔχεις ἐπιμιμάην, 5-6). The analogy of poet and rider is

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³⁵. In addition to Aristophanes, it appears also in Hdt. 4.132; 5.55; Antipho, fr. 58; Eur. *Med.* 440; *Ion* 796; Plato, *Lg.* 905a.
³⁶. Cf. Fränkel (note 8) 337, 343 n. 28; Degani & Burzacchini (note 19) 263.
³⁷. Translation by Campbell (note 11) 95.
also sustained: the handling-skill (σοφός, 2), the challenge to put on a bridle (Ἰσθι τοι, καλὸς μὲν δὲ τοι/τόν χαλινὸν ἐμβάλομι, 3), the ability to pursue the course to its climaxcal finish (ἦσας δ’ ἔχον στρέφομι/ σε ἄμφι τέρματα δρόμου, 4). The *doubles entendres* are obvious: the sidelong glance, stubborn resistance, playfulness ‘in the meadows’ are part of the erotic teasing,91 a challenge met by the poet’s *σοφός*, his expert skill as a ‘rider’. This confrontation is emphasized in the strong contrast between the poet’s threat (what could happen) and the woman’s present situation (νῦν δὲ, 5). Scholars have noted, too, how the light lyric tone has been blended with epic words to give a mock-heroic, parodic effect; in contrast, the compound word ἱπποπεζήρη occurs nowhere else.92

If we apply Heracleitus’ information to the surviving text, we realize that the ‘filly’ is in fact not an innocent young girl, shy and hesitant about a (first) sexual encounter (as in Horace, *Carm.* 2.11.9–12), but a proud woman with the mentality of a *hetaira*, perhaps one of the flute-players or dancers at a symposium.93 To this we may add the gloss of Hesychius: πώλος· ἐπαφή. This helps us determine the tone: personal and playful, but hardly gently persuasive; rather: challenging, slyly critical or mocking, emphatic (Ἰσθι τοι . . . τοι, 3), admirably suited to the atmosphere of the banquet.94 Irony can also be detected. The woman’s behaviour does not accord with her real nature: she acts like a young ‘filly’, but is in fact an experienced courtesan. She flees the poet, but frolics ‘in the meadows.’

Anacreon, fr. 445 *PMG*

Anacreon’s fr. 445 *PMG* refers to ‘the weapons’ (τὰ βέλη) of the Erotes, and Himerius (*Orat.* 48.4, p. 197f. Colonna) explains that Anacreon used the lyre and his songs against the Erotes, whenever he was scorned by the boy he fancied. A more specific case is then related: Anacreon loved a handsome youth, and when ignored, Anacreon tuned his lyre and threatened never to sing the praises of the Erotes unless they wounded the youth with their bows and arrows. This is a rather full explanation, in which the point of the quote and the context and application of the image are given.

Anacreon, fr. 481 *PMG*

Anacreon’s simile of ‘people living like Lydians’ (λυδοπαθεῖς τινες) is accurately explained by the scholiast M on Aristoph. *Pers.* 42 (p. 22 Dänhardt):

91. For the erotic significance of παῖζεις and the meadows of Aphrodite (as in fr. 346 *PMG*), cf. Perrotta & Gentili (note 20) 268, 270–71.
93. Cf. Perrotta & Gentili (note 20) 268; Degani & Burzacchini (note 19) 269.
94. Cf. Perrotta & Gentili (note 20) 270.
the reference is to the Lydians' luxurious and effeminate way of life.95

Ibycus, fr. 287.6–7 PMG

Here Ibycus uses two images to characterise the approach of love. The first presents the situation from the side of the agent of love: Eros hurls his victim (the poet) into the 'nets of Aphrodite' (δίκτυα Κύπριδος, 4). There is no surviving ancient comment on this image taken from the hunt. Eros is portrayed as a stalking hunter, driving his prey into the inescapable nets.96 The idea of the net of Aphrodite is implied in Sappho fr. 1.1–2 (‘Αφροδίτης, / παί Δίος δολόπλοκε) and Simonides fr. 541.9–10 PMG (δολόπλοκοι/…‘Αφροδίτης).97 Its use here is, however, original in its detailed and sustained expansion, and in the way in which it encapsulates the approach of love from the 'other side', that of the agent Eros, and, by implication, the object of the love, probably a παιδία.98

The second image, derived from the world of the games, presents the experience from the point of view of the recipient of love: the poet fears the approach of Eros like a prize-winning, but ageing horse reluctantly going to race.99 In Plato's Parmenides (137a), the protagonist expresses his reluctance, given his age and failing strength, to accept the invitation to participate in the complicated and difficult debate, and likens his position to that of the ageing horse in Ibycus' poem. He paraphrases and explains the simile in all its detail: the champion horse (τπως ἄθλοφόρος, 6), still bearing the yoke despite his age (φρέξυγος…παλ γήρα, 6), and reluctant to compete in the chariot race (άεξων σον δυσκόποιθοεις ες ἄμωλλαν ἕβα, 7). He adds further comment that is not explicitly in the surviving text, but can easily be understood: the horse trembles in anticipation (τρέμοντι το μέλλον) as he has been through this process before (δι' ἐμπεριφαν). Then he explains how Ibycus had used the comparison for his own experience of love arriving at a late stage in his life and against his will.100 This is very good commentary: the content and application of the simile are explained fully and accurately, and re-used for the speaker's own situation. In both cases, one may add, the reluctance was in vain: the power of love and the demands of the platonic debate are irresistible.101

99. The antithesis between the two images is well noted by Perrotta & Gentili (note 20) 302: the two images reflect 'due opposti stati emotivi.'
100. Cf. Campbell (note 43) 257
101. The excellent observation is made by Degani & Burzacchini (note 19) 310 that
The simile of the ageing horse seems original, both in the actual language used to draw the picture, and in the personal application to the ageing poet. The simile occurs often after Ibycus in various contexts.102

Conclusion

From the above discussion some general conclusions can be drawn. In the first place, it is noticeable that there is no tendency for later critics to 'improve' on their predecessors' judgements. As with their modern counterparts, both earlier and later critics produce both good and indifferent interpretations. 'Early' is therefore not necessarily 'better.'

Secondly, most of the critics encountered here have contributed information still useful for the interpretation of the imagery. Aristotle, Demetrius of Phaleron, Heracleitus, Diogenes Laertius give consistently sound judgements on the images they cite, and contribute in a very real way to our understanding of the imagery.

Thirdly, reconstructing the reception of ancient texts is difficult at the best of times. In the particular case of the imagery of Greek lyric poetry, two factors make this kind of study more in the nature of a probe than a discovery. In the first place there is the fragmented state of the majority of the texts themselves, where images are quoted without the rest of the poem. In the second, there is the fact that the earliest testimonia on the surviving lyric texts date from much later, in most cases nearly two centuries later, than the poems themselves. Reconstruction of any synchronic or contemporary reception is impossible, of subsequent reception until the Renaissance at most unsatisfactory. Even in the case of longer fragments and complete poems, we have only a limited insight into the way in which the audience, readers and writers closer to the time of the texts responded to the imagery in those texts.

Finally, poetry communicates thoughts, opinions, attitudes, knowledge and feelings. Poetic texts do not simply display metrical, dialectical, linguistic, historical, ceremonial phenomena and characteristics. In treating imagery this is particularly the case. The provenance ('pedigree'), linguistic form, even metrical pattern, are surely of lesser significance and impact on the original and subsequent audiences than the thought and feeling conveyed. Both thought and feeling are, however, at the best of times

Ibycus presents a positive attitude to love in old-age which contrasts with the negative attitude of Mimnermus (e.g. fr. 1.9 W), the peremptoriness of Archilochus (the Cologne fr.), the 'expressiva emblematica' of Sappho (fr. 58.13ff. L-P), the pathetic regret of Alcman (fr. 26 PMG) and the 'autoironica maniera' of Anacreon (frs. 358, 381 and 423 PMG). Cf. also Perrotta & Gentili (note 20) 298 on the originality of Ibycus' view of love.

notoriously difficult enough to recapture in ancient texts. In the case of early Greek lyric there is the added difficulty of the absence of context and most of the text. Fragmented thought and feeling are not easily recaptured. One would have thought that early commentators would have relished quoting images from the texts still at their disposal, but this is not so. Yet, the testimonia, often disappointing as they are, are our only key to an understanding of many of the images in the Greek lyric poets, and in fact are generally more helpful than has hitherto been recognized.
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