Space in archaic Greek lyric: city, countryside and sea
Heirman, J.G.M.

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2. THE CITY

2.1. INTRODUCTION

Considerable attention has been paid to the presentation of cities, most notably Troy, in epic and tragic poetry but not in lyric poetry. Setting out to fill this gap, this chapter focuses on the roles of the city in archaic Greek lyric, giving careful consideration to the diction used of the city. Firstly, I will discuss mythological cities (especially Troy) as settings and frames in war narratives (2.2). Secondly, I will examine contemporary cities (πόλεις, ἄστεα) as personifications (2.3.1) and metaphors (2.3.2).

2.2. MYTHOLOGICAL CITIES AS SETTINGS AND FRAMES

This section offers a discussion of mythological cities with a role as setting similar to Troy in the Iliad, i.e. the scenic background against which the events take place, and as distant frame, i.e. a place far removed from that scenic backdrop. My discussion is based on two fragments related to the Trojan saga: the ‘new Archilochus’ (P.Oxy.LXIX4708) and Ibycus’ Ode to Polycrates (fragment 282). My analyses will focus on the way setting and frame are affected by the temporal structure of the narratives, i.e. by their chronological or anachronical order and the frequency of the events recounted, as well as by the use of diction shared with epic poetry, especially epithets. As for the diction, I will also investigate whether there are lexical differences from epic poetry, by examining the particular combinations of epithets and nouns and the formation of an epithet, as well as semantic differences or

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89 For the role of Troy as setting in the Iliad see Anderson 1976, 15-37 and de Jong forthcoming b.
90 For diction and time see further my introductory chapter (1.1 and 1.2.1).
differences in meaning and referential differences, insofar as epithets are used of cities instead of people.

2.2.1. The ‘new Archilochus’

With the new Archilochus fragment (P.Oxy.LXIX4708) we have the first known example of a mythological narrative in elegiac couplets from the archaic Greek period. Since the fragment was only edited in 2005, textual criticism has been the main scholarly focus.\(^91\) Nonetheless, recent years have witnessed an increasing number of publications dealing with the interpretation of the text. These mainly fall into two categories: intertextual discussions with comparisons to Homer, Hesiod and Pindar, and discussions of the myth in relation to other ancient Greek literature and iconography.\(^92\) With my analysis of space, of the city in this chapter and of the coastal plain with a river in the next chapter,\(^93\) I hope to give an impetus to further literary discussions.

In the most recent edition\(^94\) the ‘new Archilochus’ runs as follows:

\[
\cdots\cdots
\]
\[
εἰ δὲ \[\cdots\cdots\cdots\ \]
\[
θεοῦ κρατερῆς ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης
\]

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93 See 3.2.
94 Because of its recent edition, the text of the ‘new Archilochus’ has not yet appeared in the Loeb editions. The text and translation I use derives from a forthcoming article by Dirk Obbink, which has few changes in comparison to his original edition of 2005. For the most recent apparatus criticus I refer to Lulli 2011, 90.
καὶ ποτ[ε] μούνος ἐώς Τήλεφος Ἀρκα[σίδης]
Ἀργεῖων ἐφόβησε πολὺν στρατ[όν], ὥ[ἰ δὲ φέβοντο]
ἀλκυ[μίοι] ἢ τόσα δὴ μοῖρα θεῶν ἐφόβει,
αἰχμηταὶ περ ἐόντε[ς]. ἐνφείτης δὲ [Κ[ά]ικος]
πιττόντων νεκύων στείνετο καὶ [πεδίον]
Μύσιοι, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ θίνα πολυφλοίσβοι[ο θαλάσσης]
χέρσ᾽] ὑπ᾽ ἀμελικτοῦ φωτὸς ἐναίρο[μενοι]
πρὸ]τροπάδην ἀπέκλινον ἐυκνήμ[ιδες Αχαιοί.
παῖδες τ᾽ ἀθανάτων καὶ ἀδελφεοί, [οὗς Αγαμέμνων
10 Ἡλίον εἰς ἑρήν ἦγε μαχησομένοι[μ].
ο[ἱ] δὲ τότε βλαφθέντες ὀδοὺ παρὰ θ[ίν] ἀφίκοντο,
Τευθραντος δ′ ἑρατὴν πρὸς πόλιν [ἐ]ξέπεσον.

ἐνθα [μ]ένος πνείοντες ὡμὼς αὐτο[ί] τε καὶ ἵπποι

ἀφραδίη[ν] 97 μεγάλως θυμόν ἀκηχε[δατο]·

20 φίάντο γὰρ υψίπυλον Τρώων πόλιν εἰσ[αναβαίνειν]

η[ν] 98 δ′ ἐπάτευν Μυσίδα πυροφόρο[ν].

Ἡρακλ[έ]ς δ′ ἰητησ[ε] βοῶν ταλ[α]κάρδιον [νιόν]


Τήλεφον ὃς Δαναοίς κακήν, [τ]ό[τε φύζαν ἐνόρσας]


97 Obbink forthcoming has ἀμφ᾽ Ἑ[λένη] ἀφραδιή (cf. II. 3.70: ἀμφ᾽ Ἑλένη καὶ κτήμασι πάσι μάχεσθαι, 'battling for Helen and all possessions'; see also Henry 2006 and Lulli 2011), but I choose for his initial reading ἀφραδιή (Obbink 2005; cf. II. 2.368: ἀφραδιή πολέμιο, 'by folly in war'). The mention of Helen at this point in the story would be odd, for why would the Greeks become distressed for the sake of Helen? The noun ἀφραδιή, on the other hand, makes perfect sense in the context of the Greeks' delusion of being in Troy (see further infra).

98 The reading of Obbink 2005 and forthcoming is αἶψα ἀκτήν (cf. also Henry 2006 and Lulli 2011), but there are two problems with this supplement: there is already a noun that functions as direct object, namely Μυσίδα, and it is hard to imagine that a coast would bear wheat (πυροφόρο[ν]). Several other supplements have been put forward (for a list of them see Burzacchini-Nicolosi 2008, 538, n27), none of which have gained general approval. Therefore, I believe it is best to remain prudent and accept only the two legible letters, ἦ[ν], as Nicolosi 2006 and 2007 does.
... One does not have to call it weakness and cowardice [sc. having to retreat], if it is under the compulsion of a god; we did well to hasten to flee from dreadful calamities...: there is a proper time for flight. Even once Telephus from Arcadia put to flight the great army of Argives, and they fled, the brave ones; indeed, so greatly was the fate of the gods routing them - although they were spear-men. The fair-flowing river Caicus and the plain of Mysia were being filled with falling corpses. And being slain at the hands of the relentless man [sc. Telephus], the well-greaved Greeks turned off with headlong speed to the shore of the loud-roaring sea. Gladly did the sons of the immortals and brothers fled to their swift ships, whom Agamemnon was leading to sacred Troy to fight. On that occasion, because they had lost their way, they arrived at that shore, and they set upon the lovely city of Teuthras. And there, snorting fury along with their horses, they came in great distress of spirit by their folly: for they thought they were ascending the high-gated city of the Trojans, but in fact they trod wheat-bearing Mysia. And Heracles encountered them [sc. the Greeks], as he shouted to his brave-hearted son Telephus, a relentless guardian in destructive battle, who, inciting unfortunate flight in the Danaans, strove in the front on that occasion to gratify his father...

The beginning of the fragment discusses a justification for retreat. Against an accusation of cowardice, fleeing is deemed rightful if it is compelled by a god (lines 2-4). A second justification for flight is an exemplum in the form of mythological narrative, which starts with ποτέ ('once')\(^99\) in line 5 and ends where our fragment breaks off. It recounts the Greeks’ fight with and flight from the Mysian Telephus after they had left for Troy but mistakenly landed in Mysia.

The mythological narrative is temporally structured as a ‘lyric narrative’, a device known from epic poetry and Pindar’s

\(^{99}\) For ποτε cuing a transition to a mythological narrative cp. Pindar’s Epinician Odes (e.g., O. 3.13, P. 1.16, I. 4.52, N. 4.25); see further Pfeijffer 2004, 216 and Nünlist 2007, 233.
lyric poetry.\(^{100}\) After mentioning the Greeks’ fight with the Mysian Telephus and their flight from the battlefield to the shore (lines 5-14a), the story moves backwards to its beginning: the Greeks’ journey to Troy (14b-15). Thereupon, it moves forwards again:\(^{101}\) the Greeks lose their way \textit{en route} to ‘sacred’ Troy (with τότε in 16 referring to their sea voyage), arrive at the Mysian shore and set upon the Mysian capital, which they believe to be Troy (lines 16-21). The narrative then ends where it began: with the Greeks being put to flight by Telephus, which is enabled by the half-god Heracles (lines 22-25). His assistance to Telephus makes a thematic parallel with the retreat under the compulsion of a god, referred to in the lines preceding the mythological narrative.

The city which is the setting of the narrative is the \textit{Mysian city}, called the city of Teuthras (Τευθραντος πόλιν, line 17), who was the stepfather of Telephus and the former king of Mysia. The epithet used of it is ἔρατην (‘lovely’), which only once refers to a city elsewhere in early Greek poetry (\textit{h. Ap.} 477, of the Cretans’ hometown), in contrast to the frequent use of the related epithet ἔρατεινός of cities. Both ἔρατεινός and ἔρατός occur especially in peaceful contexts: the former in a context of inhabiting a city, treading in it and coming to or moving away from it,\(^{102}\) the latter in a context of beauty and youth, music and festivities.\(^{103}\) In the ‘new Archilochus’, however, ἔρατός is used in a martial context, as the

\(^{100}\) For ‘lyric narrative’ (also called ‘epic regression’) in epic poetry see Krischer 1917, 136-140, Schadewaldt 1966 (1938), 84 and de Jong 2001, xiv; in Pindar cf. Slater 1983, 118-126. See also 1.2.1 and 3.2.

\(^{101}\) Because the ‘lyric narrative’ is structured as first moving backwards and then \textit{forwards}, one should not speak in terms of \textit{analepsis} (Bernsdorff 2006, 4-5) or \textit{flashback} (D’Alessio 2006, 21; Nicolosi 2007, 311 and Burzacchini-Nicolosi 2008, 537; Lulli 2011, 99).


\(^{103}\) Beauty and youth: Sol. 4.20 and 25.1; Pi. O. 10.99; Thgn. 1131 and 1348; Tyrt. 10.28. Music and festivities: \textit{Th.} 65 and 70; Archil. 1.2; Pi. I. 2.31, P. 9.12, frr. 124.1 and 140b.17; Stes. 278.2; Thgn. 778. See also Fowler 1987, 45, who says that in epic and archaic lyric poetry ‘ἔρατός and related words are very common in a context of music, poetry and festivity’. 
Greeks set upon (ἐξ[ἐπέσον])\textsuperscript{104} the ‘lovely city’. Its use can be interpreted as referring to the situation before the Greeks’ attack, when the Mysian city was still lovely. At the same time, if we are aware that the narratee have already been informed (lines 8-10) that the ‘lovely city’ will be surrounded by a plain and a river filled with corpses later in the story, the epithet might contrast with the impending situation around the city, thus enhancing the grimness of the attack.\textsuperscript{105}

The city which is the distant frame is Troy, mentioned twice in the narrative (lines 15 and 20). Firstly, Troy (Ἰλιον) is the distant place to which Agamemnon is leading the Greeks (lines 14b-15). The narrator immediately links the journey to Troy with future battle in Troy through the participle μαχησομένο̣ς used for the Greeks. Moreover, he stresses the importance of the battle by the epithet ἱερὴν (‘sacred’) of Troy, for in early Greek poetry the epithet conveys that Troy is under divine protection, as it was built by gods and consists of many temples and cults for its tutelary deities.\textsuperscript{106} A sense of irony, however, seems to be evoked in this fragment by the fact that the Greeks are defeated in Mysia, a less significant town, on their way to ‘sacred Troy’.

The second time Troy is mentioned is in an instance of ‘embedded focalisation’,\textsuperscript{107} when the narrator renders the Greeks’

\footnotetext{104}{The supplement [ἐξ[ἐπέσον, suggested by Obbink 2005 and forthcoming, has been accepted by other scholars as well (e.g. Aloni-Ianucci 2007 and Lulli 201). Other supplements suggested, εἰσέβαλον (Luppe 2006) and εἰσανέβαν (West 2006), are less likely, because a ξ is visible, as I noticed myself when having a look at the papyrus in Oxford. Nevertheless, the reading [ἐξ[ἐπέσον in combination with πρὸς πόλιν is only possible if it is considered a kind of forerunner of the verb προσπίπτω, used in a context of city attack from the fifth century onwards (cf. especially Th., e.g. 1.5.1 and 4.25.9; see also LSJ, s.v. προσπίπτω II).}

\footnotetext{105}{Cp. Il. 21.218, where the epithet-noun combination ἔρατεινὰ ῥέεθρα (‘lovely streams’) contrasts with the present horrible situation of a river filled with bodies of Trojans killed by Achilles (cf. Richardson 1993, ad loc.). See further 3.2.2.}

\footnotetext{106}{See LfgrE, s.v. ιερός; Locher 1963, 36-52; Scully 1990, 23-40.}

\footnotetext{107}{For ‘embedded focalisation’ see Bal 1997 (1985), 100-118; de Jong 2004 (1987), 33-38 and 101-148.}
belief of ascending (εἰσ[αναβαίνειν])\textsuperscript{108} the city of the Trojans (Τρώων πόλιν, line 20). The verb φάντο already suggests that the Greeks were mistaken,\textsuperscript{109} and this is confirmed in the next line (21), where the narrator explicitly says that the Greeks in fact ‘trod wheat-bearing Mysia’ (ἐπάτευν Μυσίδα πυροφόρο[ν]):\textsuperscript{110} the narrator juxtaposes the distant frame (Troy) and the setting (Mysia) as imagined space against actual space to create an effect of dramatic irony.\textsuperscript{111} The use of one of the stock epithets of Troy in early Greek poetry, ύψιπυλος,\textsuperscript{112} underscores the Greeks’ mistaken belief that they have arrived in Troy.

2.2.2. Ibycus’ Ode to Polycrates

Ibycus 282 is an ode dedicated to Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, and is known as the earliest extant encomium in Greek literature. The bulk of the Ode consists of a mythological narrative about the Trojan War, which can be divided in two parts: the first concentrates on the sack of Troy (lines 1-9), while the second is a praeteritio focusing on praise of the Greeks (10-46) which leads on to the final praise of Polycrates (47-48).

\textsuperscript{108} The supplement εἰσαναβαίνειν, suggested by West 2006, has been taken over by Obbink forthcoming (cf. ll. 6.74=17.320 and 24.700). Another supplement suggested is εἰσαφικέσθαι (cf. ll. 13.645 and 22.17; see Obbink 2005 and Luppe 2006). I prefer the former, because the movement it expresses and the aspect of duration parallel the use of ἐπάτευν in the next line (21).

\textsuperscript{109} For this use of φημί (in epic poetry) see Fournier 1946, 14 and LfgrE, s.v. φημί I3b. Cf. Agamemnon’s mistaken dream of conquering Troy in ll. 2.37-38: φῆ γὰρ ὁ γ’ αἰρήσειν Πριάμου πόλιν ἠματι κείνωι, νήπιος (‘for he [Agamemnon] believed that he would take the city of Priam on that day, the fool’).

\textsuperscript{110} For a discussion of Μυσίδα πυροφόρο[ν] see 3.2.1.

\textsuperscript{111} For dramatic irony in the use of ‘embedded focalisation’ due to the characters’ limited knowledge I refer to de Jong 2001b (with an eye on Homer and Herodotus).

\textsuperscript{112} For lyric poetry cf. B. 9.46, where ‘high-gated Troy’ tastes the valour of Automedon, who sacked the city, and Ibyc. 282.14 about the unnameable day of the capture of high-gated Troy’ (see further 2.2.2). For epic poetry cf. ll. 16.698 and 21.544, where the Greeks would have taken ‘high-gated Troy’, if Apollo had not supported the Trojans; see further Scully 1990, 69-80 on epithets of Troy in epic poetry.
The mythological narrative is characterised by a marked use of diction shared with epic poetry. This was pointed out for the first time and at the same time criticised by Denys Page: he judged the narrative ‘little more than a series of epic formulae, rather pinned than painted in’, which ‘all come straight from the Epic, and...stand uprooted, unadapted, substitutes for thought’. To this he added that ‘[a]nother typical fault is observed in the excessive accumulation of epithets’ as part of ‘a cento of Homeric formulae hung on a feeble framework, loosely bound together with tedious repetitions and odious turns of phrase’. Page’s harsh verdict set the tone for further discussions of the Ode. Although scholars have noted that certain epithets and epithet-noun combinations are different from those used in epic poetry, the common opinion remains that the diction is conventionally epic and ornamental, without much, if any, contextual significance; in the words of Francesco Sisti: ‘l’imitazione omerica è superficiale e limitata alle espressioni più convenzionali dello stile epico. Gli epiteti ricorrenti, l’uso di clausole formulari fra le più note, spesso fuse fra di loro, determinano una andatura goffa e artificiosa’. In light of the fact that in other archaic lyric poets such as Archilochus and Bacchylides diction does differ from epic poetry, especially on a lexical level, and that epithets do have strong contextual significance, e.g. by intensifying pathos, I will try to review this negative judgment of Ibycus through a detailed investigation of the use of the diction about the Trojan city and its effects.

The fragment, of which we miss the opening strophe, runs as follows:

...]α̣ι Δαρδανίδα Πριάμου μέγας άστυ περικλέες ὀλβιον ἡνάρον.

113 1951, 165-166.


115 Sisti 1967, 74. Cf. also e.g. Harvey 1955, 222-223, who calls the diction ‘infelicitous’ and ‘trite’.

116 See further 1.1 and my discussion of the ‘new Archilochus’ and Bacchylides 13 in 3.2.
Ἀργ[οθεν ὑγινύμενοι
Ζη]νός μεγάλοιο βουλαῖς

5 ἐξα]νθας Ἑλένας περὶ εἴδει
dη]οιν πολύμυμον ἔχ[ο]ντες
πό]λεμον, κατὰ δ]αιρ[υ]ντα,
Πέργαμον δ’ ἀνέβ]λα ταλαπείριο[ν ἃ]τα
χρυσὸσεθειραν δ[ι]λὰ Κύπριδα.

10 νῦ[ν, δέ μοι οὔτε ἐξειναπάτ[α]ν Π[άρι]ν.
ὴν ἐπιθύμιον οὔτε ταν[σφ]υρ[ον
ύμ]νήν Κασσάνδραν
Ποι]άμιοι τε παίδας ἄλλου[ς

Τρο[ίας θ’ υπιπύλοιο ἀλώσιμον.

15 ἀμ]αρ ἀνώνυμον, οὔθ’ ἐπ[ελεύσομαι
η]ὼν ἀρέταν
ὑπ]εράφανον οὔς τε κοιλα[φ

να]ες] πολυγόμφοι ἐλεύσα[ν
Τρο[ία]ια κακόν, ἠρωὰς ἐσθ[λοὺς-
τόν] μὲν κρείων Αγαμέ[m]νων
ἀρχε Πλευθ[ενί]δας βασιλ[ε]ς ἀγός ἀνδρῶν
Ατρέος ἐσθ[θλός π]λάς ἐκγ[όνος.

καὶ τὰ μὲ[ν ἄν]ηρ Μοίσαι σεσοφ[σ]μέναι
ἐν Ἕλικωνίδ[ες] ἐμβαίεν λόγω[ι·

διερός [……]†117 τὰ ἐκαστα ἑιποι,


ναὸν ὁ[σοις ἀρι]θμός ἀπ’ Αὐλίδος
Αἰγαῖον διὰ [πό]λευ[τον ἀπ’ Ἀργαῖος
ἡλύθο]ν ἐς Τροία[ν

30 ἰπποτρόφο[ν, ἐν δ]ὲ φώτες

117 The problems with this reading are discussed in detail in Hutchinson 2001, ad loc.
...they destroyed the great, far-famed, prosperous city of Priam, descendant of Dardanus, setting off from Greece by the plans of great Zeus, enduring much-sung strife over the beauty of auburn Helen in a tearful war, and ruin ascended much-suffering Pergamum due to the golden-haired Cyprian. But now it was not my desire to sing of Paris, deceiver of his host, or of slim-ankled Cassandra and Priam’s other children and the unnameable day of the capture of high-gated Troy, nor

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118 Campbell 2001 (1991) supplements with πυρός and tentatively translates with ‘who threw fire (on Troy?)’. However, the π is far from certain: others read γυρός (Page 1962, Gerber 1970 and even Campbell 1982 (1967)). Therefore, I believe it is better to remain prudent and print only ., as Davies 1991 and De Martino-Vox 1996 do.

119 In my analysis I do not pay attention to the mention of Troy and Argos in lines 36-37, because this part of the fragment has been too badly preserved.
shall I recount the proud valour of the heroes, whom hollow, many-bolted
ships brought to be an evil to Troy, noble heroes: they were commanded by
lord Agamemnon, Pleisthenid king, leader of men, noble son born to
Atreus. On these themes the skilled Muses of Helicon may well embark in
story; † but no mortal man in his life † could tell in detail, the great
number of ships that came from Aulis across the Aegean Sea away from
Greece to horse-rearing Troy, with bronze-shielded men on board, sons of
the Achaeans; among them foremost with the spear went swift-footed
Achilles and great and brave Telamonic Ajax...; (with them also went)
from Greece to Troy Cyannipus, the most handsome man...and golden-
girdled Hyllis bore..., and to him Trojans and Greeks likened Troilus as
gold already thrice-refined to orichalc, judging him very similar in
loveliness of appearance. These always have a share in beauty: you too,
Polycrates, will have imperishable fame as song and my fame can give it.

The setting of the first part of the narrative is Troy, as lines 1-9 focus
on the sack of the Trojan city. Ibycus’ Ode is one of our few extant
places in ancient Greek poetry in which the fall of Troy is
recounted in some detail.120 In epic poetry there was an entire
Ilioupersis as part of the Epic Cycle, but we only possess fragments
of it and a summary in Proclus’ Chrestomathia: the Odyssey (8.492-
520) is the only of the surviving epic poems that recount the fall of
Troy.121 From lyric poetry we know of an Ilioupersis by Sakadas,
which has been lost, and one by Stesichorus, of which only a few
scraps have been preserved (frr. 196-205; S88-143); sparse
references to the fall of Troy are attested elsewhere in lyric poetry
(most notably in Pindar).122 In tragic poetry the fall of Troy serves
as the background against which other parts of the Trojan saga are
recounted: only the situation before (e.g., Sophocles’ lost Lacoön) or
after (e.g., Sophocles’ lost Ajax Locrus and Polyxena, Euripides’

120 For the fall of Troy in epic and tragic poetry see Anderson 1997.
121 In the Iliad only indirect hints are found: in speeches by Trojan or Greek
characters, in similes about burning cities, through connections with the
destruction of Thebes and by the death of Hector (see further de Jong 2009).
122 I. 5.36-38; O. 8.45-46; P. 5.83-85 and 11.33-34; Pae. 6, triad B. Besides in Pindar,
also in Alc. 42; B. 13.166-167 (see 3.2.2); Thgn. 1231-1232.
Troades and Hecuba) the fall is dramatised, since the fall itself could, of course, not be staged.

As for the destruction of Troy recounted in lines 1-2, the Trojan city is referred to by the noun ἄστυ, with Δαρδανίδα Πριάμου μέγ’ as a fusion of two epic formulae before the noun, i.e. Πριάμου Δαρδανίδα and ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμου.123 and two epithets after the noun, περικλεές and ὀλβιον. The epithet περικλεής (‘far-famed’) is attested only here in early Greek poetry:124 it slightly differs in formation from περικλυτός (‘very glorious’), used of cities in the Odyssey.125 The use of the epithet in connection with a destroyed city can be interpreted in the sense that the fame of Troy persists even after the city has been sacked. This may have metapoetic implications, because it is perpetuated by epic and lyric poets, like Ibycus, who sing of Troy (cp. line 7 about the δῆριν πολύυμνον, ‘much-sung strife’, and the end of the Ode about the lasting fame of poetry). Moreover, if we consider that by destroying a far-famed city the Greeks have become famous themselves,126 the opening lines seem to pave the way for the praise of the Greeks in the rest of the Ode.

The next epithet of Troy is ὀλβιος (‘prosperous’). The fact that in most epic and other lyric poetry the epithet is used of people, while here (and in Pindar) of a city127 suggests a mild degree of personification. In epic poetry the epithet often has the connotation of past prosperity, which is explicitly marked by

123 Cf. Harvey 1955, 222; Sisti 1967, 70; Hutchinson 2001, ad loc.
124 Cf. later in A.R. 1.1322, where it is also used in combination with ἄστυ (about the foundation instead of the destruction of a city).
125 Of the Myrmidones, ruled by Achilles: Od. 4.9; of Ithaca, to which Odysseus and Telemachus go to kill the suitors: Od. 16.170 and 24.154.
127 Cf. Hutchinson 2001, ad loc.; for Pindar see N. 4.24 (Thebes), 9.3, (Aetna) O. 13.4 (Corinth), P. 10.1 (Sparta). For its use of people see LfgE, s.v. ὀλβιος for epic poetry (if not used of people, ὀλβιος is neuter plural and denotes prosperous gifts by the gods). For lyric poetry see Alc. 42.14, B. 3.8, 5.50, 17.102, Pi. N. 1.71, O. 7.10, P. 1.65, 6.5, 9.4, frr. 120 and 131, Sapph. 112.1, Simon. 521.2, Sol. 23.1, Thgn. 165, 167, 934, 1013, 1253, 1335 and 1375.
temporal adverbs such as πρίν (‘before’) and ποτε (‘once’) (e.g., about Priamus in Il. 24.543, about Odysseus in Od. 17.420 and 18.138). Although these explicit markers of temporality are here lacking, the idea of pastness may still be felt. A sense of pathos is evoked by the use of the epithet with the verb ἠνάρον: in light of the use of the verb ἐναίρω in connection with the killing of people (and animals) in epic and other lyric poetry, the city is personified as someone whose blessedness came to a brutal end through murder (‘activisation’). Thus, it is clear from the opening lines that the diction of the Ode differs from epic poetry on a lexical as well as a referential level and that this diction has important contextual effects, i.e. of revealing a balance between praise and pathos.

A sense of pathos is also evoked by the second mention of the fall of Troy in line 8, when the story widens its temporal horizon to cover the departure from Argos (Ἀργοθέν ὄρνυμένοι), the Greek Heimat of all warriors who fight against the Trojans, and war at Troy (lines 3-7). The image of ἀτα ascending (ἀνέβα) the citadel of Troy (Πέργαμον) may recall the Trojan horse: if we consider that in early Greek poetry ἀτα means ‘delusion’ or ‘ruin’, the noun might convey both the delusion of

128 Contrast this to the use of the epithet about cities in a current state of prosperity in Pindar (see the instances noted above).
129 Cf. LfgrE, s.v. ἐναίρω for its use in epic poetry; only in Od. 19.263, the verb is not said of people (or animals) but of the skin (disfigured by weeping). For lyric poetry (only Pindar) see Slater, s.v. ἐναίρω. The difference has also been noted by Page 1951, 166; Gerber 1970, ad loc.; Simonini 1979, 286; De Martino-Vox 1996, ad loc.; Hutchinson 2001, ad loc.; Bonnano 2004, 75-76.
130 For ‘activisation’ as a subtype of personification see 1.2.2; cf. also 2.3.1.
131 For a similar use of the present participle to widen the temporal horizon after mention of city destruction in archaic Greek lyric see Pi. P. 1.65-66: ἔχον δ’ Ἀμύκλας ὄλβιοι Πινδόθεν ὄρνυμένοι (‘they took Amyclae, the prospered ones, setting off from Pindus’).
133 For the meaning ‘delusion’ see epic poetry: LfgrE, s.v. ἀτατη. For ‘ruin’ see lyric poetry: Pindar, s.v. ἀτα; further B. 13.80, Sol. 4.35 and 13.3, Thgn. 103, 133 and 231.
the Trojans who think that the horse is an offer of the Greeks to the gods and the consequent ruin of Troy. The latter explains the use of the epithet ταλαπείριον of Πέργαμον, as it seems to foreshadow the suffering because of the ruin of Troy. If we are aware that the epithet is used only of people (ἱκέτης, ξεῖνος, πρέσβυς) elsewhere in early Greek poetry, a personifying image with a sense of pathos is evoked of the Trojan city as a human being in deep suffering (‘pathetic fallacy’). The end of the Trojan War seems to be connected to its beginning, as the mention in line 9 that the golden-haired Cyprian (χρυσόθειραν δ[υ]ὰ Κύπριδα) caused the sack of Troy is probably an allusion to the Judgment of Paris, whose choice for the charming Aphrodite led to the abduction of Helen and, consequently, to the Trojan War.

The narrator mentions the fall of Troy for the third time in the praeteritio (lines 14-15a), presumably to pave the way for the praise of the Greek heroes who sacked the city. The phrase Τρόιας θυσιπύλοι άλωσιμον άμαρ άνώνυμον is similar to that in Stesichorus 89, in which a Trojan says that they are misled by a trick with a horse, which caused ‘the day of capture of spacious Troy’ (εὐρυχόρου Τρόιας άλωσωμον άμαρ, line 11). We find the epithet-noun combination άλωσιμον άμαρ with the genitive Τρόιας both in Stesichorus and Ibycus. In Ibycus the epithet ύψιπύλοι is used with Τρόιας (not εὐρυχόρου), which often appears in the context of the destruction of a city in early Greek poetry. Moreover, the epithet άνώνυμον is added to the noun άμαρ: it is used of a person in the sense of ‘nameless’ in epic poetry

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134 Cf. Maehler 1963, 76 for the proleptic use of the epithet.
136 Cf. also Hutchinson 2001, ad loc. for pathos being evoked by the epithet ταλαπείριον.
137 Cf. Maehler 1963, 76; Barron 1969, 133; Simonini 1979, 287. For the Judgment of Paris in early Greek poetry see Cypria and Il. 24.27-30.
138 The parallel has been noted by Simonini 1979, 289 and Hutchinson 2001, ad loc.
139 See my discussion of the ‘new Archilochus’ in 2.2.1.
(Od. 8.552), but in Ibycus’ Ode of the day of the capture of Troy in the sense of ‘unnameable’,\(^{140}\) as in his praeteritio the narrator says that he does not wish to recount the fall of Troy.

A final allusion to the fall of Troy seems to be made in lines 27b-30a, when the narrator says ‘from Aulis across the Aegean Sea away from Argos to horse-rearing Troy’. This phrase reveals the spatial situation of the bulk of the praeteritio (lines 15b-46) about the excellence and beauty of the Greeks. The setting is the Aegean Sea, which implies that the narrator sings the praise of the Greeks while they are on board ship (cf. also the mention of ships, κοίλα[ι / νάες] πολυγόμφοι, in lines 17-18). The distant frames are, on the one hand, Aulis and Argos, i.e. the city from which they have departed (απτό of απ’ Αὐλίδος as prefix of ἠλύθο) and the Greek homeland from which they are moving away (απτό of απ’ Ἀργεος as a preposition),\(^{141}\) and, on the other hand, Troy, the place to which they are heading. In contrast to its

\(^{140}\) Cf. Harvey 1957, 222; Gerber 1970 ad loc.; De Martino-Vox 1996, ad loc.; Gentili-Catenacci 2007, ad loc.; contra Maehler 1963, 75, n.3, who believes that the epithet has the same meaning as in epic poetry. Scholars have suggested that besides the primary meaning ‘unnameable’, the epithet also has a connotation of ‘hateful’ (cf. the meaning of δυσώνυμος, e.g. in Od. 19.571) (Nöthiger 1971, 166) or ‘inglorious’ (cf. the meaning in the only other lyric instance, Pi. O. 1.82) (Simonini 1979, 289 and Hutchinson 2001, ad loc.). Both of these connotations are based on the supposition that the destruction of Troy reflects an anti-Greek perspective. This is unlikely, because the repeated mention of the fall of Troy serves as a means to praise the Greeks in the rest of the Ode.

\(^{141}\) See LSJ, s.v. ἀπέρχομαι, LSJ, s.v. ἀπό I 1 and KG II.1.430.1. Supposing that Argos, too, denotes the place of departure, scholars have altered the text to make it intellegible. Hutchinson 2001, ad loc., for instance, has proposed that ἀπτ’ Ἀργεος intruded into line 28 because of the similar line-ending in 27. However, the question, which Hutchinson leaves unanswered, remains what would have stood in the place of ἀπτ’ Ἀργεος. Only Cingano 2004, 73 does not believe that Argos denotes the place of departure, but contends that it is the place where the Greek army gathered before moving to Aulis. This is, however, problematic, because just as in line 3 Argos rather seems to refer to Greece in general instead of to a city in particular, as Cingano himself admits for line 3. Furthermore, the mention of the ships (ναῶν ὑ[σσος ἀο[η]θμός) and the Aegean Sea (Ἀἰγαῖον διὰ [πόλ]ντον) makes clear that there is movement over sea (from Greece to Troy) instead of over land (from the city of Argos to Aulis).
ornamental use of places in other early Greek poetry,\textsuperscript{142} the use of the epithet \textit{ἱπποτρόφος} (‘horse-rearing’) of Troy in Ibycus’ \textit{Ode} may hint once more at the tale of the Trojan horse. In that case, the fall of Troy by the wooden horse would be foreshadowed already at the moment the Greeks are only on their way to Troy.

\textbf{2.3. THE CITY AS PERSONIFICATION AND METAPHOR}

My analysis of Ibycus 282 has shown that although the Trojan city primarily has a role as setting and frame, it is also personified. In this section I turn to contemporary cities with a more dominant symbolic role of personification (2.3.1) and metaphor (2.3.2). My discussion focuses on two points: the diction used of the cities in comparison to epic and other lyric poetry and the functions of the personifications and metaphors.\textsuperscript{143}

\textbf{2.3.1. City Personification: Theognis 39-52 and Solon 4}

City personification is most strongly at play in two elegiac poems: Theognis\textsuperscript{144} 39-52 and Solon 4. Both poems describe disorder and impending rise of tyranny and civil strife in a city as a result of \textit{hybris}, greed and unjust leadership of aristocrats, to whom the poems are directed.\textsuperscript{145} The instances of personification in both poems will be discussed together to facilitate the comparison. Before embarking on my discussion, I offer the texts and translations of the relevant (parts of the) poems.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{Op.} 507, Thrace; B. 11.114, cities of the Greeks; Pi. N. 10.41, Argos.
\item See further my introduction for metaphor and personification (1.2.2).
\item I speak of ‘Theognis’ in the sense of, and interchangeable with, \textit{Theognidea} or \textit{Corpus Theognideum}, ‘an anthology containing genuine works of Theognis, selections from other elegists (e.g. Tyrtaeus, Mimnermus, Solon) and anonymous poems, together with numerous verses repeated throughout the corpus, usually with some slight variation’ (Gerber 2006 (1999), 7; see further Nagy 1985 and Colesanti 2011).
\item See further Irwin 2006, 63-72 and Faraone 2008, 76-85.
\end{itemize}
Theognis 39-52:

Κύρνε, κυνεί πόλις ἢδε, δέδοικα δέ μὴ τέκηι ἄνδρα
eὐθυντῆρα κακῆς ὑβρίος ἡμετέρης.
ἀστοι μὲν γὰρ ἑθ᾽ οἴδε σαόφρονες, ἣγεμόνες δὲ
tετράφαται πολλὴν εἰς κακότητα πεσεῖν.
oυδεμίαν πω, Κύρν', ἀγαθοὶ πόλιν ἱλεσαν ἄνδρες·
ἀλλ' ὅταν ὑβρίζειν τοῖσι κακοίσιν ἄδη,

40 δήμον τε φθείρωσι δίκας τ' ἄδικοισι διδώσιν
οἰκείων κερδέων εἶνεκα καὶ κράτεος,
ἐλπεο μὴ δηρὸν κεῖνην πόλιν ἀτρεμέεσθαι,146

μηρ' εἰ νῦν κείται πολλὴ εἰ ἡσυχίη,

45 εὔτ' ἂν τοῖσι κακοίσι φίλ' ἄνδράς τα ἄνθρατα γένηται,
κέρδεα δημοσίωι σὺν κακῶι ἔρχομενα.

50 ἐκ τῶν γὰρ στάσιεσ τε καὶ ἐμφυλοί φόνοι ἄνδρῶν
μοῦναρχοι τε· póleí μήποτε τήδε ἄδοι.

Cyrmus, this city is pregnant, and I fear that she will give birth to a man who will set right our wicked insolence. These townsmen are still of sound mind, but their leaders have changed and fallen into the depths of depravity. Never yet, Cyrmus, have noble men destroyed a city; but whenever the base take delight in insolence and ruin the people and give judgments in favour of the unjust for the sake of their own profit and power, do not expect that city to remain calm long, even if it now lies in complete calmness, whenever this is dear to base men, profit that comes along with public harm. From these things arise civil strife, the spilling of kindred blood, and tyrants; may they never please this city.

Solon 4, lines 9-22:

οὐ γὰρ ἐπίστανται κατέχειν κόρον οὐδὲ παρούσας
eὐφροσύνας κοσμεῖν δαιτὸς ἐν ἡσυχίη

...............................................................

146 Gerber 2006 (1999) has ἀτρεμέεσθαι, but the manuscripts (OXUrI) have ἀτρεμέεσθαι (cf. Garzya 1958, 152; Van Groningen 1966, ad loc.; Campbell 1982 (1967), ad loc.): see further infra.
For they do not know to restrain excess or to conduct in an orderly and peaceful manner festivities of a banquet that are at hand...they grow wealthy, yielding to unjust deeds...sparing neither sacred nor public property, they steal with rapaciousness, one from one source, one from another, and they have no regard for the august foundations of Justice, who bears silent witness to the present and the past and who in time assuredly comes to retribution. This is now coming on the whole city as an inescapable wound, and the city quickly comes to wretched slavery: this arouses civil strife and slumbering war, which makes an end to the lovely youth of many; for at the hands of its enemies the much beloved city is quickly being worn out amid conspiracies dear to the unjust.

A first subtype of city personification attested in both poems is anthropomorphisation, the bodily presentation of the city (πόλις) as a
human being.\textsuperscript{148} In Theognis 39-40 the city is anthropomorphised as a pregnant woman who is about to give birth. This is suggested by the referential difference in the use of the verbs κυέω and τίκτω, which refer to females in epic and other lyric poetry.\textsuperscript{149} The presence of these verbs (and activities) makes it less likely that we should interpret the use of πόλις as metonymical, i.e. representing the inhabitants of the city, rather than as personification. The one to whom the city is about to give birth is ‘a man who will set right our wicked insolence’, probably a tyrant who will bring an end to the aristocratic misconduct.\textsuperscript{150} It is somewhat paradoxical that the birth of a tyrant is feared, but that its effects are positively valued: it conveys to the aristocratic addressees that, if they do not take up their responsibility, someone from outside the aristocratic circle will seize power and restore order. A more hostile stance towards tyranny is adopted in a doublet of lines 39-40 later in the Theognidea (lines 1081-1081b), as the tyrant is considered one who commits \textit{hybris} himself: while line 1081 is the same as 39, in 1081b we have ύβρίστην, χαλεπῆς ἡγέμονα στάσιος (‘an insolent man, a leader of grievous strife’).\textsuperscript{151}

\textsuperscript{148} For personification and its subtypes see my introduction (1.2.2).
\textsuperscript{149} For κυέω (women and mares) cf. \textit{Il.} 19.117 and 23.266. For τίκτω (women and goddesses) see \textit{LfgrE}, s.v. τίκτω 2; Slater, s.v. τίκτω a (Pindar), B. 1.126, 5.119, 17.29, 36 and 54 and 19.49.
\textsuperscript{150} Scholars have tried to find out which particular tyrant is alluded to: some (West 1974, 68-69 and Calame 2004, 425) have argued for the tyrant Theagenes of Megara. However, because the city is presented as a general, paradigmatic \textit{polis} rather than the city of Megara in particular, it seems better to speak of the rise of tyranny in general (cf. Nagy 1983, 90-91 and 1985, 41-42; von der Lahr 1992, 10; Irwin 2005, 68).
\textsuperscript{151} For a discussion of the difference I refer to Nagy 1983, 85-88 and 1985, 44-46; von der Lahr 1992, 87-89; Lardinois 2006, 30-31. An overtly positive stance towards a monarchical rule by the anthropomorphisation of a city as a woman giving birth is attested elsewhere in archaic Greek lyric. In Pindar’s \textit{Second Olympian Ode}, dedicated to Theron of Acragas after his victory of the chariot race, it is said that ‘no city for a hundred years has given birth to a man more beneficent in his mind or generous with his hand for his friends than Theron’ (τεκεῖν μη τιν’ ἐκατόν γε ἐτέων πόλιν φίλοις ἄνδρα μᾶλλον / εὐεργέταν πριατίσιν ἀφθονέστερον τε χέρα / Θήρωνος, lines 93-95a).
In Solon 4 anthropomorphisation is twice at play. Firstly, the city (πόλις) is anthropomorphised as a slave, i.e. a person deprived of his civil rights, in line 18. This is suggested by the referential difference in the use of δουλοσύνην, which is used of slaves in the household (Od. 22.423) and people enslaved as a result of tyranny (Sol. 9.3-4 and 11.4), debts because of poverty (Thgn. 1215) or marriage (Pi. P. 12.15) in epic and other lyric poetry. By the use of the epithet κακήν (‘wretched’) of δουλοσύνην city slavery is negatively qualified, as it is considered the cause of civil strife and war (cf. lines 19-20). The reference to city slavery is probably an allusion to the rise of tyranny, not only because δουλοσύνη is the result of tyranny elsewhere in Solon’s poetry (9.3-4 and 11.4), but also because the connection of tyranny with civil strife and war is a recurrent theme in ancient Greek literature (cf. Thgn. 51-52 and Hdt. 3.82.3).

Secondly, in line 21 there is mention of the ‘much beloved city’ (πολυήρατον ἄστυ). In epic and other lyric poetry the epithet πολυήρατος is used of a whole range of nouns, but mostly of female εἶδος and of youth. It is used of a city only twice: to describe Thebes (Od. 11.275), in contrast with the dreadful situation caused by Oedipus, and Athens (B. 19.9-10), to praise the city of the Athenians for whom the poem is destined. In Solon’s poem its use of the city (ἄστυ) of the speaker evokes an image of a city as a person he dearly loves: this points at their emotional bond and at

152 Cp. the popular anthropomorphisation of a city, not as slave because of tyranny, but as a tyrant itself, in the fifth and fourth centuries BC (especially Thucydides, e.g. 1.122.3, 1.124.2-3, 3.37.2; see further Connor 1977, Rauflaub 1979, Tuplin 1985).

153 Cf. Stahl 1992, 392-393; Mülke 2002, ad loc.; Irwin 2005, 98-104; Henderson 2006, 131; Noussia-Fantuzzi 2010, ad loc. Masaracchia 1958, 264 believes that slavery has to be connected with debts because of poverty, but this is the theme of lines 23b-25, which deal with the situation of the poor only (τῶν δὲ πενιχρῶν / ἱκνέονται ἐς ἀλλοδαπήν / πραθέντες δεσμοῖσί τ’ ἀεικελίοισι δεθέντες, ‘and many of the poor are going to a foreign land, sold and bound in shameful fetters’).

154 Of female εἶδος: Hes. Th. 908, frr. 10a.45 and 17a.7; h. Cer. 315. Of youth: Od. 15.366; h. Ven. 225 and 274; Hes. frr. 30.31 and 205.2; Simon. eleg. fr. 8.6; Thgn. 1305.

155 For the latter cf. also Ar. Nub. 300b-301.
the same time contrasts with the dreadful attitude of the aristocratic leaders towards the city (cf. lines 22 and 9-14).\footnote{Cp. the loving relationship between a city and its citizens in ancient Greek literature, presented as romantic (in tragedy, e.g. A. Eu. 851-852, and historiography, e.g. Pericles’ Funeral Oration in Thu. 2.35-42) or passionate (in comedy, e.g. Ar. Eq. 731-740, and philosophy, e.g. Pl. Grg. 481d and 513a). See further Yatromanolakis 2005.}

A second subtype of city personification is the \textit{pathetic fallacy}. It occurs only in Theognis’ poem (lines 51-52), when emotions of delight are attributed to the city ($\pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\iota$). It is clear from the referential difference in the use of the verb $\alpha\delta\omicron\upsilon$: in epic and other lyric poetry the verb $\alpha\nu\delta\alpha\nu\omega$ is used with a dative of \textit{person} to convey that someone or something pleases \textit{someone} else.\footnote{Cf. \textit{LfgrE}, s.v. $\alpha\nu\delta\alpha\nu\omega$ for epic poetry. For lyric poetry Pi. \textit{I}. 4.15 and 8.18, N. 6.36 and 8.38, \textit{O}. 3.1, \textit{P}. 1.29, 2.96 and 6.51; Sol. 34.8 and 36.23; Thgn. 26, 34 and 44. For similar instances of the ‘pathetic fallacy’ in archaic Greek lyric see Archil. 13.2, where the city ($\pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\iota$) ‘will take pleasure in festivities’ ($\theta\alpha\lambda\iota\iota\varsigma\tau\varepsilon\phi\varepsilon\tau\alpha\iota$), even though citizens have been washed over at sea (see 4.4.2 for a discussion of the poem), and Xenoph. 2.20, where it is said that ‘there would be little joy for the city’ ($\sigma\kappa\mu\mu\kappa\rho\omicron\omicron\delta\iota\nu\tau\iota\pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\iota\chi\alpha\omicron\mu\alpha\gamma\epsilon\nu\omicron$) from an Olympian victory, because it would not fatten the city treasury.}

Although the emotions of delight are attributed to the city, the wish that the city may not be delighted in civil strife, the spilling of kindred blood and tyrants is ultimately directed to the aristocratic addressees.

A final and most frequently attested subtype of city personification is \textit{activisation}, by which a city is endowed with physical or mental life. In Theognis 47-48 the city ($\pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\iota$) is activised as a person who now lies in complete calmness but will not remain calm for long. This is evinced by the referential difference in the use of the verb $\kappa\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota$ and the noun $\eta\sigma\upsilon\chi\omicron\iota$, which denote rest and calmness of \textit{people} in epic and other lyric poetry.\footnote{For $\eta\rho\upsilon\chi\omicron\iota$ used of persons see \textit{Od}. 18.22; \textit{H. Merc}. 356; Archil. 196a.16; Pi. \textit{O}. 4.16, \textit{P}. 1.70 and 4.296. For $\kappa\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota$ of persons see \textit{Od}. 5.457, 9.75, 14.502; \textit{H. Merc}. 21; Alc. 6.14 and 129.18; Archil. 24.17 (see 4.4.2) and 130.2; Hipp. 115.12; Pi. \textit{N}. 7.35, \textit{P}. 1.15, 5.93 and 9.83, fr. 203.2; Sapph. 55.1; Simon. 543.17; Thgn. 428, 568 and 1268; Tyrt. 10.22.} It is also communicated with the verb $\alpha\tau\rho\epsilon\mu\epsilon\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$: the
verb ἀτρεμέω is attested in early Greek poetry only in Opera 539, where it is used of goose pimplies, while the more frequently attested adverb ἀτρέμα(ς) (‘without motion’) is mostly used of people who are sitting, standing or sleeping. The activisation of the city as a person who will turn from calmness to agitation renders the imminent turmoil in the city, caused by the misconduct of the aristocrats (cf. lines 44-46 and 49-50).

In Solon’s poem activisation is twice at play. Firstly, the city (πόλις) is activised as a vulnerable human being in line 17. This is suggested by the referential difference in the use of the noun ἐλκος, which refers to the wound of a person in epic and other lyric poetry. The epithet used of ἐλκος, ἄφυκτον, conveys the inescapability of the wound, i.e. the harm to the city. Because τοῦτ’ at the beginning of line 17 refers to the assured retribution of Dikè told of in lines 15-16, the harm to the city is caused by the goddess Dikè. However, if we are aware that the retribution of

159 Several conjectures have been suggested for the manuscript reading ἀτρεμέεσθαι (OXUUrI): the most noteworthy are the aorist ἀτρεμέ ἦσθαι (Young) and the future ἀτρεμίεσθαι (Bergk, West, Gerber). None of these conjectures, however, are necessary, for the verb ἐλπομαι can be constructed with a present infinitive in the sense of ‘expect’ or ‘suppose’ (cf. LfgrE, s.v. ἐλπομαι/ἐλπω 1aabb for epic poetry, e.g. ll. 10.355 and 13.309; Slater, s.v. ἐλπομαι d for Pindar: O. 1.64 and fr. 61). Therefore, I follow the manuscript reading ἀτρεμέεσθαι (cf. also Garzya 1958, 152, Van Groningen 1966, ad loc., Campbell 1982 (1967), ad loc.; see also originally Gerber, who notes in 1970, ad loc. that ‘it would be better, however, to leave the text unchanged’).

160 Cf. ll. 2.200 (sitting), 13.280 and 438 (standing), 14.352 (sleeping); Od. 13.92 (sleeping). See also my discussion of Semon. 7 in 4.3.2.


162 See Adkins 1985, ad loc.; Mülke 2002, ad loc.; Henderson 2006, 131. For epic poetry cf. LfgrE, s.v. ἐλκος; for lyric poetry see Archil. 13.8; Pi. N. 8.29, P. 1.52, 3.48 and 4.271; Thgn. 1134.

Dikè is the result of the misconduct of the aristocrats,\textsuperscript{164} the aristocrats are ultimately responsible for harming their own city. In this way, the image of the ‘inescapable wound’ acquires grim overtones that are reinforced by the use of the noun πόλει with πάσηι, as one segment of the city, the aristocratic, is guilty of wounding the whole city.\textsuperscript{165}

Secondly, in lines 21-22 the city (ἀστυ) is activised as a human who is being worn out (τρύχεται), as is clear from the referential difference from epic and other lyric poetry, where all passive and most active forms of the verb τρύχω refer to people.\textsuperscript{166} Again the aristocrats, who meet in conspiring factions, are considered responsible: they are called ‘unjust’ (ἀδικέουσι) and even enemies (δυσμενέων). In this way, both instances of activisation in lines 17 and 21-22 create a grim image of a city as a human being afflicted by his own citizens, the aristocrats.

The question, finally, is which function the city personifications in both poems have. First of all, their basic function is that of dramatisation,\textsuperscript{167} as they present the disastrous situation in the city in a vivid and dramatic manner. Next, they have a persuasive function: the aristocratic addressees are emotionally engaged by the anthropomorphisation of the cities and the attribution of emotions to the cities, in order to be persuaded to take action and prevent the disastrous events from unfolding.\textsuperscript{169}

\textsuperscript{166} See Adkins 1985, ad loc. and Mülke 2002, ad loc. For the use of persons see Od. 1.288, 10.177, 15.309, 16.84 and 17.387, Thgn. 752. In three instances active forms of the verb are used of Odysseus’ household (οἶκος), worn down by the suitors.
\textsuperscript{167} For personification and dramatisation see Biddle 1991, 187; Yatromanolakis 1991, 37ff. See also my introductory chapter (1.2.2).
\textsuperscript{168} For the persuasive function of metaphors, including personification, see further my discussion of Archil. 23 (2.3.2). Cp. also Adkins 1985, 124-125 and especially Irwin 2005, 85-198, who point out that Solon 4 is a speech to persuade, rather than a political treatise (contra Jaeger 1926; Siegmann 1975; Stahl 1992).
\textsuperscript{169} A modern parallel of a (more explicit) persuasive function of personification can be found in a novel written by the French Nobel Prize winner Jean-Marie Gustave Le Clézio. In Ourania the internal narrator, a geographer, gives a lecture
2.3.2. City Metaphors

Cities can also be used as metaphors in archaic Greek lyric. First, I discuss political city metaphors (Theognis 233-234 and 235-236) and, next, erotic city metaphors (Archilochus 23 and Theognis 949-954).170

Politics as War: Theognis 233-234 and 235-236

The first city metaphors I discuss occur in Theognis 233-234. In this poem the speaker complains about the lack of recognition an aristocrat (ἐσθλὸς ἄνήρ)171 gets from the ‘empty-minded people’ (κενεόφρονι δήμωι). The efforts the aristocrat makes for the people are made clear by his metaphorical representation as an ἀκρόπολις and a πύργος:

Ἀκρόπολις καὶ πύργος ἐὼν κενεόφρονι δήμωι,
Κύρν', ὀλίγης τιμῆς ἐμμορεν ἐσθλὸς ἄνήρ.

Although a noble man is a citadel and a bastion for the empty-minded people, Cyrnus, his share of honour is slight.

about a Mexican valley for a Mexican audience, which he ends as follows: ‘J’ai fait pour vous....le portrait de votre Vallée et de sa terre fertile, depuis son émergence de la fôret jusqu’aujourd’hui, à l’ère de la monoculture intensive. En le faisant, il me semblait que je peignais pour vous le corps d’une femme, un corps vivant à la peau sombre,...un corps de femme indienne plein de force et de jeunesse. Prenez garde à ce que ce corps de femme si beau et si généreux ne devienne, du fait de votre âpreté ou au gain de votre insconscience, le corps desséché et stérile d’une veille à la peau grise, décharnée, vouée à la mort prochaine’ (p. 96).

170 I have written an abbreviated version of this section in Dutch in Heirman 2011. For metaphors see further my introduction (1.2.2).

171 For ἐσθλὸς ἄνήρ as an aristocrat cf. also Thgn. 35, 57, 71, 186 and 441. See further Hasler 1959, 122-123; Van Groningen 1966, 93; von der Lahr 1992, 22; Gerber 2006 (1999), ad Thgn. 35.
In epic and other lyric poetry, the noun ἀκρόπολις literally refers to the citadel of a city, but it is used as a metaphor for a person in Theognis 233. In light of the fact that a citadel provides solid defense to the inhabitants of a city, the aristocrat is represented as a source of protection for the people. This leads to another difference from its literal usage: whereas a citadel provides martial defense, in Theognis’ poem an aristocrat provides martial protection by his military prowess as well as political protection by his role in the polis.

The noun πύργος usually refers to a bastion of a city in epic and other lyric poetry. In some instances it is used as a metaphor, mostly in a martial sense of a warrior whose solid defense in battle is praised: in Od. 11.556 Odysseus praises Ajax as a bastion lost to the Greeks (τοῖος γάρ σφιν πύργος ἀπώλεο); in Callinus 1.20 it is said of a soldier who bravely fights and whom the people see as a bastion (ὡσπερ γάρ μιν πύργον ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὃρώσιν); in Alcaeus 112.10 warlike men are praised by being called a bastion of the city (ἄνδρες γὰρ πόλιος πύργος ἀρεύοι). In Pindar Pythian 5 the metaphor has a political sense on top of its martial sense: the prosperity of Battus, founder and first king of Cyrene, is called a bastion of the city (πύργος ἀστεος, line 56), in order to legitimise and even praise the reign of Arkesilas IV of Cyrene, the addressee

172 For epic poetry see Od. 8.494 and 504. For lyric poetry see e.g. Pi. O. 7.49 and Thgn. 1232.
173 For epic poetry see LfgrE, s.v. πύργος; for lyric poetry Archil. 98.9 and 15, Pi. I. 5.48 and O. 8.38, Tyrt. 23.12.
174 Cp. also the use of the adverb πυργηδόν (‘like a citadel’) of soldiers fighting in close array to prevent a breakthrough of the enemy in the Iliad (12.43; 13.152; 15.618).
175 According to Longo 1974, 220-228, the πῦργος metaphor has a political sense in Alcaeus as well, because the names mentioned at the right-hand parts of the end of Alcaeus’ fragment, Κλεανακτίδαν and Ἀρχεανακτίδαν, refer according to the scholiasts to the Mytilenean tyrants Myrsilus and Pittacus. However, the scholia are our only sources that equate the names with Myrsilus and Pittacus (cf. Page 1979 (1955), 174-175). Moreover, even if these tyrants were alluded to, a connection with the metaphor is hard to defend, as the part of the fragment between the end and the metaphor consists of hardly anything but lacunae.
of the *Ode*.

In Theognis, too, the *πύργος* metaphor seems to have a *martial* as well as a *political* sense, but here the ideological stance differs, as instead of a monarch an *aristocrat* is praised as someone who provides protection for the people on a martial and a political level. The fact that *πύργος* is used in a similar metaphorical sense as *ἀκρόπολις* strengthens the martial-political importance of the aristocracy, while at the same time it adds a particular effect of praise.

In the distich that follows Theognis 233-234 another city metaphor is used (lines 235-236):

Ωὐδὲν ἐτί πρέπει ἧμιν ἀτ’ ἀνδράσι σωζόμενοισιν, ἀλλ’ ὡς πάγχυ πόλει, Κύρνε, ἄλωσομένη.

*It is no longer fitting for us to regard ourselves as men who are being saved, Cyurus, but as a city that will be completely conquered.*

In order to explain the use of *πόλει* with *ἄλωσομένη* we need to take the use of *ἡμίν* into account. Although *stricto sensu* it refers to the speaker and the addressee Cyurus, the fact that the former takes an aristocratic stance throughout the *Theognidea* and

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176 See further Currie 2004, 227-257 (especially 254-257) for other ways in which Arkesilas’ reign is justified in *Pythian 5*: through his dependence on the supposed divine right of the Battiads to rule and their special status in the form of a hero cult.

177 Gerber reads *ἐπιπρέπει* (see also Young and Van Groningen), a conjecture for the reading of the manuscript (A) *ἐπιπρέπει*, which is generally considered implausible, because the verb is never attested in an impersonal form and its meaning ‘to turn/leave/entrust to’ (LSJ, s.v. *ἐπιπρέπω*) does not fit the present context. I follow another conjecture: ἐτί πρέπει (see Hudson-Williams, Garzya, West and Ferrari). Just as *ἐπιπρέπει*, πρέπει means ‘it is fitting’ (LSJ, s.v. *ἐπιπρέπω* II and *πρέπω* III.4) when used impersonally with a dative and an infinitive, which is here unexpressed (as in X. *HG*. 4.1.37). The reason why I am inclined to opt for *ἐτί πρέπει* is because it reflects a common paleographical error, the transposition of letters (τι and τ), and well indicates the change in the situation compared to the previous distich (see further my discussion of the poem).
indirectly addresses his fellow aristocrats through the latter implies that the poem is about the situation of the aristocracy in general. In this way, ἁλωσομένη-πόλει is a political metaphor, insofar as city conquest stands for the impending downfall of the aristocratic power. With the metaphorical-political sense of ἁλωσομένη-πόλει Theognis’ poem differs from most other early Greek poetry, where the verb ἀλίσκομαι is used in a literal sense of city conquest.

Both Theognis 233-234 and 235-236 show that references to (parts of) the city are metaphorical for aristocrats. The political sense of the metaphors reveals that in both poems martial diction is adapted to a political context, so that politics become represented as war: aristocrats think of their political power as a source of protection for the people which has to be consolidated but which nevertheless collapses. This brings us to the question which function the metaphors in Theognis have. In light of the fact that they are used by an aristocrat who addresses his fellow aristocrats, their function might be to establish what in metaphor theory has been called ‘cognitive elucidation’, i.e. the presentation of a situation or an event in a new light to deepen the recipient’s

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179 Cf. II. 2.374 and 4.291, Od. 22.230, B. 3.27, Pi. O. 8.42, and cf. the epithet ἀλώσιμος (Ibyc. 282.14 and Stes. 89.11) and the noun ἁλωσίς (Pi. Pae. 6.81); cp., however, the erotic metaphor of city conquest infra. My interpretation differs from that of commentators (Van Groningen 1966, ad loc.; Gerber 1970 and 2006 (1999), ad loc.) who believe that ἁλωσομένη has to be interpreted in a legal sense of ‘condemned’ or ‘convicted’, as in Antiphon’s Against the Stepmother for Poisoning 2.3.6: τὸ μὲν ἁλῶναι καὶ ἀποφυγεῖν ἀμφοτέρας τὰς διώξεις ἐν ἴσαις ἐλπίδας ἐνθαμμένα οὕτως αὐτῷ εἶναι (‘Let us presume that his expectations of conviction or acquittal were the same in the one suit as in the other’). Problematic, however, is not only that the parallel stems from a later period in a different, oratory context, but also that the legal sense does not fit the use of the verb with the noun πόλει, for it is hard to imagine how and why a city would be ‘condemned’ or ‘convicted’.
180 Cp. the use of war imagery in a political context in Solon 4 (especially lines 1-8), discussed in detail in Irwin 2005, 91-111. For modern parallels of ‘politics as war’ I refer to the metaphor specialists Gibbs 1994, 140-145, Lakoff 2002 (1996), 400-403, Kövecses 2005, 174 (with examples from American politics) as well as to Sluiter 2005, 7-9 (with the example of the ‘war against Islamism’ in Dutch politics).
awareness of it. In both Theognidean poems there is a tone of nostalgia, as the speaker wishes to make clear to his fellow aristocrats through the metaphors that their former political superiority is being threatened: in lines 233-234 their martial and political importance is undervalued by the people, and in lines 235-236 their political dominance is over.

Love as War: Archilochus 23 and Theognis 949-954

I now turn to erotic city metaphors in archaic Greek lyric, on the basis of discussions of Archilochus 23 and Theognis 949-954.

In Archilochus 23 a man responds to a speech of a woman, which has been lost, with a speech of his own, which he ends with an image of a woman conquering a city:182

181 For cognitive elucidation see my introduction (1.2.2). See also my discussion of the ship of state metaphors in 4.4.1.

182 Although some editors (Laserre-Bonnard, Treu, Tarditi) treat fragments 23 and 24 as one poem, because no paragraphus is visible, I follow the common opinion (cf. Lobel, Peek, Adrados, West, Slings, Bossi, Gerber) by considering them separate poems, because there is a difference in subject matter: in fragment 23 a man holds a speech of defense to a woman, while fragment 24 is about the return of a sailor after a sea voyage (for the latter see my discussion in 4.4.2).
...for deeds...I replied: ‘Lady, have no fear of the evil rumour that people spread; as for kindly report (?), that will be my concern. Make your heart propitious. Do you think I have reached such a degree of misery? I seemed to you then to be a base man, not the sort of person I am and my ancestors were. Indeed I know how to repay love with love and hatred with hate and biting abuse (?) like an ant. There is truth then in what I say. You turn towards that city. Men have never sacked it, but now you have captured it with the spear and you have gained great fame. Rule over it and retain your dominance; you will surely be envied by many people.

Some scholars assume that the man talks about an actual city conquest by a woman, i.e. Artemisia, a female ruler of Halicarnassus praised in Hdt. 7.99 and 8.68-69, or the wife of the Lydian king Candaules. I rather side with other scholars, who consider the city a metaphor for the man who is speaking to the woman, because he tries to persuade her to reject the slanders spread by his enemies, which apparently have made her distrust him, (lines 8-16) and urges her to retain her dominance over the

183 For Artemisia cf. Kamerbeek 1961, 9-15, Kirkwood 1974, 29, Rankin 1977, 79-80, Slings 1987, ad 8-21, Luppe 1995, 21. For the wife of Candaules see Clay 1986, who refers to Hdt. 1.12.2, which states that the story of Gyges and Candaules was mentioned in a iambus of Archilochus. The problem with the latter is not only that Hdt. 1.12.2 does not necessarily refer to fragment 23, for it could easily refer to fragment 19, in which there is mention of Gyges’ possessions, but also that the end of the fragment is not really in line with the story: Candaules’ wife would not capture the city, for she is already the Queen (for other objections against Clay’s hypothesis I refer to Bossi 1990, 110).

city, i.e. himself (lines 17-21). The metaphor of city conquest has an erotic sense: his statement that men have never sacked (ἐξε[πόρθη]σαν) the city, but that only the woman has captured it (εἶλες) and is able to rule over it, expresses that she is the only one who is privileged to engage erotically with him. This also explains the jealousy of other people.

The metaphor of city conquest reveals a gender reversal compared to epic poetry, as is particularly clear from the word groups εἶλες αἰχμῆι and μέγ᾽ ἐ]ζῆ[(ω) κ[λ]έος. To begin with the former, in the Iliad a man sacks a city and takes a woman captive with his spear: in ll. 16.57, for instance, Achilles speaks of a girl whom he conquered with his spear after he had sacked a well-walled city, sc. Lynnessus (δουφὶ δ᾽ ἐμώι κτεάτσα πόλιν εὐτείχεα πέρσας). In Archilochus’ fragment, however, a woman captures a city as a soldier with a spear, i.e. as an αἰχμητής.

On the metaphorical level this implies that the woman erotically dominates the man, which is unlike other male archaic poetry,

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185 Lobel’s supplements πό|λιν and ἐ]πιστρέ[φεα] in line 17 have been accepted by most editors (Tarditi, West, Bossi, Gerber; Slings does not accept the latter supplement, even though he considers it probable). The use of ταύτην with πόλιν about the speaker may surprise, for usually the speaker is referred to by ὅδε (‘this-here’) instead of by οὗτος (‘that-there’) (see KG II.1.467.1). In Archil. 23 the use of οὗτος could be explained by its connotation of familiarity (see KG II.1.467.5 and LSJ, s.v. οὗτος Clb: Pi. N. 9.29, S. OT 56, Pl. PhD 69c), expressing what is known to the female addressee, i.e. the man himself.

186 The supplement ἐξε[πόρθη]σαν, suggested by Lobel, has been adopted in most editions (West, Bossi and Gerber; not in Tarditi or Slings, although the latter calls it a ‘logical supplement’).

187 For the captivity of women as a stock element of city conquest in epic poetry see further e.g. Il. 6.453-462 and Od. 8.523-530; see also in tragic poetry e.g. A. Th. 325-368 and E. Ph. 561-565.

188 My suggestion that the reference to the spear represents the woman as an αἰχμητής counters the opinions that the reference is unimportant or too concrete to fit the metaphor (see West 1974, 119 and Slings 1987, ad 8-21 respectively) or that it is a phallic symbol (Crowther 2003, 96), which implies that penetration is carried out by a woman. The latter opinion is further complicated by the acknowledgement of metaphor specialists that metaphors are no mere substitutions of referents (see further 1.2.2, with the example of Archil. 196a, and cf. also 3.3.3 on Thgn. 1249-1254).
where ‘erotic desire is typically presented in accordance with the active/passive model, with the male in the active role and the woman in the passive one’. As for the latter, κλέος (‘fame’) is the result of the fighting by male warriors in the *Iliad*, but it is attributed to a *female* warrior in Archilochus. On the metaphorical level there is an *ideological* reversal compared to the *Odyssey*: in the *Odyssey* Penelope gains κλέος from her faithful and chaste life during Odysseus’ long-lasting absence, whereas in Archilochus the woman acquires it through her erotic activity with the man.

A second lyric poem that contains an erotic metaphor of city conquest is Theognis 949-954:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{νεβρὸν ύπεξ ἐλάφων έλέων ὡς ἀλκί πεποιθώς} \\
\text{ποσσὶ καταμάρψας αἴματος οὐκ ἐπιον.}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{τειχέων δ’ υψηλῶν ἐπιβὰς πόλιν οὐκ ἀλάπαξα·} \\
\text{ζευξάμενος δ’ ἵππους ἄρματος οὐκ ἐπέβην·}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{πρήξας δ’ οὐκ ἔπρηξα, καὶ οὐκ ἔτελεσσα τελέσσας,} \\
\text{ἀνύσας δ’ οὐκ ἀνύσας.}
\end{align*}
\]

Like a lion trusting in its might, I snatched a fawn from under a doe with my claws, and did not drink its blood; I mounted the high walls of a city, and did not sack it; I yoked horses, and did not mount the chariot; I have done, and not done, completed, and not completed, performed, and not performed, accomplished, and not accomplished.

The image of city conquest in line 951 is presented along with other images which all serve to point out, as is particularly clear from the final distich, that the narrator did something which gave him the

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189 Greene 2008, 25-26 (see e.g. Anacr. 417 and Archil. 196a, both discussed in 3.3.3).
191 In *Od.* 24, for instance, Agamemnon praises Penelope’s loyalty to Odysseus in bitter contrast to his own wife Clytaemnestra, saying that the glory of her virtue will never perish (τῶι οἱ κλέος οὐ ποτ’ ὀλείται ης ἀρετῆς, 196b-197a).
power to do something else which he did not complete. The erotic
sense of the image of city conquest is clear from that of the other
images: the image of a lion snatching a fawn reappears in the
predominantly (homo)erotic book 2 of the *Theognidea* (1278cd) and
is charged with a more manifestly erotic sense in the *Anthologia
Palatina* (12.146, Rhianus), while the image of yoking a horse is
attested as an erotic metaphor elsewhere in archaic Greek lyric
(e.g., Anacreon 346<1> and 417). In this way, all the images seem
to convey that the narrator did something which gave him erotic
power over his partner but did not complete his erotic actions.
This is also suggested by erotic uses of the verbs in the final
distich.

The erotic metaphors of city conquest in Archilochus 23 and
Theognis 949-954 are used because metaphors may be employed to
express emotions and experiences, especially erotic ones, indirectly,
because these are often difficult to talk about in a straightforward
manner. In Archilochus 23 this might serve a persuasive purpose:
metaphors are highly persuasive, because they are not only based
on emotions but also activate emotional responses by the
receiver. In this light, the metaphor of city conquest suits the

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192 See further 3.3.1 on Anacr. 346<1> and 3.3.3 on Anacr. 417. Cp. also the erotic
metaphor of horse-back riding in Thgn. 267-270 (with Van Groningen 1966, *ad
loc.*).

193 That the poem is erotic has been argued by most scholars: Hudson-Williams

194 See Van Groningen 1966, *ad loc.* Admittedly, most of the parallels which Van
Groningen lists are from a later period (Theoc. and AP), but for ἐτέλεσσα -
tελέσσας there is a parallel from Sapph. 1.26-27, where ‘Sappho’ prays to
Aphrodite and begs: ὡσσα δὲ μοι τελέσσαι θύμος ἱμέρρει, τέλεσον (‘fulfill al that
my hearts longs to fulfill’). Although Van Groningen 1966, *ad loc.* was the first to
point out the erotic parallels, he nonetheless thought that the point might be
political, speculatively thinking of Miltiades after his defeat at Paros, recounted in
Hdt. 6.134.

195 See my introduction (1.2.2); cf. also my discussion of the ship of state metaphors
in 4.4.1.

196 For the persuasive function of metaphors see my introduction (1.2.2); cf. also
my discussion of city personification (2.3.1). My interpretation of the metaphor
differs from the biographical explanation by Crowther 2003, 97-99: because
man’s speech to persuade the girl to reject the slanders, spread by his enemies, and to turn towards him. In Theognis 949-954 the indirectness could be linked with ancient Greek views on metaphors as enigmas or riddles, known from Aristotle’s *Rhetorica* (1405b4-5: μεταφοραί γὰρ αἰνίττονται; cf. also 1458a26) and Theognis’ ‘ship of state’ metaphor (671-682), in which a riddling message has been hidden for the aristocrats (ταῦτα μοι ἡνίχθω κεκρυμμένα τοῖς ἀγαθοῖσιν, line 681): the riddling nature of the metaphors seems to be hinted at by the playful juxtaposition of participles and main verbs in the final distich of Theognis 949-954. This riddling use of metaphors could be connected with the performance context of the *Theognidea*, i.e. the symposium, 197 where a popular form of competitive entertainment was that of εἰκάζειν (‘guessing’).198

In terms of erotic metaphors of city conquest, Archilochus 23 and Theognis 949-954 differ from epic and other lyric poetry, where the verbs αἱρέω, ἀλαπάζω and πορθέω/πέρθω are used in a literal sense of capturing and sacking a city.199 The erotic sense

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197 That Theognis’ poems were most likely performed in the context of the symposium is the common opinion in lyric scholarship: see Bartol 1993, 51-57, Gerber 1997b, 92-93, Stehle 1997, 215, Aloni-Ianucci 2007, 69-74 and Aloni 2009, 170. See further the epilogue to this thesis for the performance contexts of archaic Greek lyric.

198 For the sympotic play of guessing, with reference to Theognis (257-260, 861-864 and 1229-1230) and based on evidence from Aristophanes’ *Wasps*, Plutarch’s *Symposium of the Seven Sages* and fragments of the New Comedy, I refer to Martin 2001, 61-64 and Collins 2004, 127-129. The connection between this play and the use of metaphors has been made for the horse metaphor in Thgn. 1249-1252 by Vetta 1980, *ad loc.;* see also my discussion of the ‘ship of state’ metaphors in 4.4.1.

reveals that martial diction is adapted to an erotic context in both poems, so that love becomes represented as war.\textsuperscript{200} This can be regarded as a reversal of a practice in the \textit{Iliad} to describe military clashes on the battlefield as erotic encounters (cf. the use of \textit{όαριστύς} and \textit{μείγνυμι}).\textsuperscript{201} The use of the war ‘frame’ for erotic matters is very popular in Hellenistic Greek poetry, where the lover is represented as a helpless, unarmed victim of an armed Eros (cf. A.R. 3.275-298 and several epigrams in \textit{AP} 12, e.g. 45, 50 and 80-83), and above all in Latin elegiac poetry in the form of the ‘warfare of love’ motif (\textit{militia amoris}), most famously employed in Ovid’s \textit{Militat omnis amans} (\textit{Amores} 1.9, ‘every lover is a soldier’). Although Latin scholars\textsuperscript{202} often consider it to be a typically Latin elegiac motif resulting from Roman military culture, there are earlier instances in Hellenistic poetry and its origins can ultimately be traced back to archaic Greek lyric.

\section*{2.4. CONCLUSION}

This chapter has illustrated two of the roles the city can play in archaic Greek lyric. Firstly, mythological cities predominantly have a role as \textit{setting} similar to Troy in the \textit{Iliad}, i.e. the scenic backdrop to the action, or as \textit{distant frame}, i.e. a place distant from the action. In this case, much of the diction apparently shared with epic poetry (especially epithets) actually differs on a lexical level, in the particular combinations of epithets and nouns and the formation of epithets, a semantic level, in differences in meaning of epithets, and a referential level, insofar as epithets are used of cities instead of

\begin{footnotesize}

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{10.32 and \textit{P}. 1.54 (\textit{πέρθω}); \textit{P}. N. 4.26 (\textit{πορθέω}). \textit{Cp.}, however, the political metaphor of city destruction in Thgn. 235-236 \textit{supra}.}
\item \textsuperscript{200 \textit{Cp.} also the use of war imagery in Sappho’s erotic poetry (frr. 1, 16, 31 and 44), discussed in detail in Rissman 1983. For modern (English) parallels of ‘love as war’ I refer to the metaphor specialists Lakoff-Johnson 2003 (1980), 49 and Kövecses 2005, 26 (e.g., ‘She fled from his advances’ and even the verb ‘conquering’ itself).}
\item \textsuperscript{201 Examples are 13.291; 17.228; 22.127-128; 15.509-510. See further Monsacré 1984, 63-77.}
\item \textsuperscript{202 Cf. Barsby 1991 (1973), \textit{ad Ov. Am.} 1 and Lyne 1980, 71-78.}
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
people. Particularly when combined with the anachronical order of a ‘lyric narrative’, the dominant effect of the diction is that it enhances the grim overtones of the attack or destruction of a city.

Secondly, contemporary cities have a symbolic role, i.e. are personified or metaphorical. Instances of personification have been revealed by referential differences in the use of the diction compared to epic and other lyric poetry. Their function is to dramatise the narrative and persuade to take action. In the case of the metaphors martial diction has been adapted to a political and an erotic context: the capture of a city becomes a metaphor for an erotic ‘conquest’ or the downfall of political power. The function of political city metaphors is to establish ‘cognitive elucidation’, while that of the erotic city metaphors is to express sexual experiences in indirect manner, either as a means of persuasion or to evoke a play of guessing.

203 My discussion of Ibycus 282 has also pointed out instances of personification about Troy, but the roles of the Trojan city as setting and distant frame predominate. In this respect, the distinction between setting and symbol is one of gradation according to the dominant role.