Space in archaic Greek lyric: city, countryside and sea
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4. THE SEA

4.1. INTRODUCTION

To date the sea in archaic Greek lyric has been investigated only in Albin Lesky’s *Thalatta* of 1947, in which he argued that it has symbolic associations with danger. In this chapter I will build upon his findings. In the first two sections I will show that the sea also has a role of setting and frame in mythological narratives journeys (4.2) as well as a role in similes (4.3). In the final section (4.4) I will focus on the particular ways symbolic associations with danger are conveyed in brief (sections of) poems about sea journeys, including arrival and departure.

4.2. THE SEA AS SETTING AND FRAME IN MYTHOLOGICAL JOURNEYS

My discussion of the role of the sea as setting, i.e. scenic backdrop, and secondary frame, i.e. place close to that scenic backdrop, in mythological narratives of sea journeys is based on analyses of two voyages: that of the Argonauts in Pindar’s *Pythian* 4 and that of Theseus in Bacchylides 17.309 These analyses will focus on the way the presentation of the sea is affected by the temporal structure of the narratives, i.e. by both their *duration*, which concerns the relation between the narrated time and the narrating time about the voyage, and *frequency* of the events recounted during the journey.

309 The role of the sea in other parts of Pindar’s *Epinician Odes* than the mythological narratives has been amply investigated by Péron 1974 (followed in Steiner 1986, 66-75). Péron has demonstrated that in these parts the sea especially has a *structuring* role, by which actuality and myth are joined, an idea is developed or another line of thought is passed on to. Additionally, the sea also has a *symbolic* role, as it stands for poetic inspiration or changes in destiny.
4.2.1. Pindar Pythian 4: The Argonauts’ Sea Journey

Pythian 4 was written to commemorate the victory of King Arcesilas IV of Cyrene, descendant of the city’s founder Battus, of the chariot race in Delphi. As the end of the poem suggests, a secondary aim of the *Ode* was perhaps to encourage the return of the aristocrat Damophilus, who had plotted to depose Arcesilas and had been exiled to Thebes, where he had known Pindar.\(^{310}\) The bulk of the *Ode* consists of a long, mythological narrative about Jason and the Argonauts.\(^{311}\) On the one hand, the narrative focuses on a prophecy by Medea about a clod of earth, which the Argonaut Euphamus had once received from a mysterious stranger on his return with the other Argonauts and Medea from Colchis, but which had been washed overboard. The clod betokens the return of Euphamus’ descendants to North Africa seventeen generations later, i.e. at the time of Battus. This serves to explain the colonisation of Cyrene by the Battiads and to underscore their descent from the Argonauts, which in turn legitimises their dynasty in times of increasing power of the Cyrenian aristocracy.\(^{312}\) On the other hand, emphasis is put on the *nostos*, or homecoming, of Euphamus’ descendants. This is to be brought in connection with the final appeal of the *Ode* for return of the exiled Damophilus.\(^{313}\)

Little attention is paid to the sea journey of the Argonauts in the mythological narrative. Their return journey is very briefly

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\(^{310}\) For the exile of Damophilus see Σ. *P.* 4.467, with Braswell 1988, 3-6 and 23-30, and Giannini 1995, 103-109.

\(^{311}\) Pythian 4 is the first instance in Greek literature in which the myth is recounted in detail. It is only briefly alluded to in epic poetry: see *Il.* 7.469; *Od.* 12.69-72; *Th.* 992-1002; *Hes.* frr. 63.263 and 154. For a comparison of the myth in Pindar with other versions in ancient Greek literature and art I refer to Braswell 1988, 7-23.

\(^{312}\) For the historical-political context of *Pythian* 4 see Braswell 1998, 2-4; Giannini 1995, 160; Currie 2005, 254-256.

\(^{313}\) On the functions of the mythological narrative see especially Robbins 1975 and Giannini 1979. On the theme of *nostos* see Crotty 1982, 117-119 and Segal 1986, 89-93.
recounted (lines 251-259a), merely to mention their intercourse with the Lemnian women, who gave birth to the ancestors of Battus.314 Their outward sea voyage to Colchis in search of the Golden Fleece is narrated in more detail in lines 188-213:

ἐς δ’ Ἰαολκὸν ἐπει κατέβα ναυτὰν ἀωτος, λέξατο πάντας ἐπαινήσας Ἰάσων. καὶ ὅ αἱ

190 μάντις ὅρνίχεσσι καὶ κλάροις θεοπροτέων ἱεροῖς Μόψος ἀμβασε στρατὸν ἐπει δ’ ἐμβόλου κρέμασαν ἀγκύρας ὑπερθεν, χρυσέας χείρεσσι λαβὼν φιάλαν ἀρχὸς ἐν πρύμναι πατέρ’ Ὀὐρανιδὰν ἐγχεικέραυνον Ζήνα καὶ ὑκυπόροις

κυμάτων ὑπὰς ἀνέμων τ’ ἐκάλει νύκτας τε καὶ πόντου κελεύθους ἀματὰ τ’ εὐφόρων καὶ φιλίαν νόστοις μοῖραν. ἐκ νεφέων δὲ οἱ ἀντάυσε βροντᾶς αἴσιον φθέγμα· λαμπρὰς δ’ ἥλθον ἄκορας στεραπᾶς ἀποφηγνύμεναι. ἀμπνοὰν δ’ ἥρωες ἐστασαν θεοῦ σάμασιν

200 πιθόμενοι. κάρυξε δ’ αὐτοῖς ἐμβαλεῖν κώπαισι τερασκόπος ἀδείας ἐνίπτων ἐλπίδας· εἰς δ’ ὑπεχώρησεν ταχειᾶν ἐκ παλαμᾶν ἀκορος. σὺν Νότου δ’ αὐραίς ἐπ’ Ἀξείνου στόμα πεμπόμενοι ἠλυθον ἐνθ’ ἀγνὸν Ποσειδάώνος ἐςσαντ’ εἰναλίου τέμενος,

φοίνισσα δὲ Θρηϊκίων ἀγέλα ταύρων ὑπάρχειν καὶ νεόκτιστον λίθων βωμοῖο θέναρ. ἐς δ’ κινδυνὸν βαθὺν ἰέμενοι δεσπόταν λίσσαντο ναὸν συνδρόμων κινηθμὸν ἀμαιμάκετον ἐκφυγεῖν πετρὰν. δίδυμαι γὰρ ἐσαν ζωαί, κυλινδέσκοντο τε κραιπνότεραι

210 ἡ βαρυγδούπων ἀνέμων στίχες· ἀλλ’ ἡ ἰδὴ τελευτὰν κεῖνος

314 See further below and 3.3.1.
After the pick of the sailors had come down to Iolcus, Jason praised and mustered them all. Then the seer Mopsos, prophesying for them by means of birds and sacred lots, gladly sent the host on board. And after they had hung the anchors above the prow, the captain took a golden bowl in his hands and, standing on the stern, called on Zeus, father of the Ouranides and wielder of lightning, and on the rush of the winds and of the waves to be swift-moving and the nights and paths of sea and days to be propitious and on their homecoming to be favourable. And from the clouds answered him an auspicious clap of thunder; and bright flashes of lightning came bursting forth. The heroes took fresh courage, trusting the god’s signs. The seer bade them to fall to the oars, as he announced cheerful expectations; from under their swift hands the rowing proceeded ceaselessly. Carried forth by the breezes of the South Wind they came to the mouth of the Inhospitable Sea: there they established a sacred precinct for Poseidon, (god) of the sea, and there was at hand a red herd of Thracian bulls and a newly built, hollow stone altar. As they sped on to grave danger they prayed to the lord of ships to escape from the raging and irresistible movement of the clashing rocks. For the two of them were alive, and would roll more swiftly than the ranks of loud-roaring winds; but that voyage of the demigods finally put an end to them. Next they came to Phasis: there they matched strength with the dark-faced Colchians in the presence of Aietes himself (…)
and during the sea journey than to the voyage itself. This is evinced by the temporal structure of the narrative, in particular the *duration*: the sea journey is recounted in broad strokes and with much speed, i.e. in an extreme form of *summary*. The journey from Iolcus (cf. line 188) by the Thracian Chersonese (cf. the Thracian bulls in 205) through the Black Sea (cf. *ἐπʼ Ἀξείνου στόμα* in 203) is summarised by one single reference to the *αὖραι*, cool breezes favourable for a sea journey, of the South Wind (*Νότου*) (203-204a). After the passage through the Black Sea, the Argonauts immediately reach the ending point of their journey: the river Phasis in Colchis (*ἐς Φᾶσιν δ᾽ ἔπειτα / ἥλυθον*, 211-212a).

The speed of the sea journey is further underscored by that of the Argo, literally ‘the Swift’ (cf. *θοᾶς Ἀργοῦς* in line 25), due to winds and rowing. A first indication is given in lines 194-195, where Jason calls on the rush of the waves and the winds (*κυμάτων ῥιπὰς ἀνέμων*) to be swift-moving (*ὠκυπόρους*). In epic and other lyric poetry the noun *ῥιπή* refers to wind, but in *Pythian* 4 to both wind and waves: the rush of the waves is to be considered a result of that of the wind. Because the epithet that accompanies *ῥιπάς*, *ὠκυπόρους*, is used of ships elsewhere in early Greek poetry, the swift movement of the wind and waves may refer to the speed with which the ship will sail to Colchis. A second indication of the speed of the ship is provided in line 202, where the rowing is said to proceed ceaselessly (*ἄκορος*) under the swift hands (*ταχειᾶν ἐκ παλαμᾶν*) of the Argonauts. Because

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315 The temporal structure of the *entire* mythological narrative has received much scholarly attention: see especially Hurst 1983 (without a distinction between the different narrative levels); de Jong 1991 and Nünlist 2007, 245-247 (in terms of Gérard Genette’s threefold division in order, duration and frequency).


317 Cf. especially *Op.* 670 and *infra* B. 17.6.


320 E.g., *Il.* 1.421 and 488; *h. Diosc.* 7; *Pl.* P. 1.74.

321 Cf. Gildersleeve 1965 (1890), *ad loc.*
ships are regularly called swift in early Greek poetry,\footnote{Mostly by the epithet θοός: for epic poetry see LfgrE, s.v. θοός; for lyric poetry see Sol. 19.3, Thgn. 12, Pi. fr. 221.5, N. 7.28-29, O. 12.3-4, P. 5.87.} this image, too, seems to refer to the speed of the ship, in that the continuously rowing hands speed up the ship.

Only three scenes are mentioned in the summary of the sea journey: the preparations before the sea journey, the founding of a precinct for Poseidon and the passage through the Syndromoi en route. This means that there are many ellipses, events passed over in silence by the narrator, with which the narratees were probably familiar from other lyric as well as epic poems. These include the abandonment of Heracles at Aphetae (cf. Hes. fr. 154) and the defeat of Amycus, king of the Bebryces, by Polydeuces (mentioned by Stesichorus, according to Zenobius 5.1.44).\footnote{For the events omitted see Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1922, 390; Burton 1962, 163-164; Duchemin 1967, 100.} The combination of summary and ellipses is a typical feature of Pindar’s narratives,\footnote{Cf. Nünlist 2007, 237-239 and 244.} because they recount mythological stories in condensed, lyric poems: presuming prior knowledge of the stories, the narrator includes only the most relevant parts. This is particularly clear from the return journey of the Argonauts, in which only one scene is recounted: the intercourse of the Argonauts with the Lemnian women who bear the ancestors of Battus (cf. lines 251-259a). The narrator recounts this scene to legitimise the descent of the Battiads from the Argonauts in order to strengthen the Battiad dynasty of Arkesilas IV, to whom the Ode is dedicated.\footnote{Cf. 3.3.1 for a discussion of the scene.} The question is why the narrator selects these three scenes of the Argonauts’ outward journey; in other words, how does the presentation of these scenes reveal the narrator’s aim in recounting the outward journey of the Argonauts?

To begin with the scene about the preparations for the sea journey (lines 193-201), emphasis is put on the auspicious start of the Argonauts’ expedition. After a prayer by the captain (ἀρχός) Jason, thunder and lightning are sent as favourable signs from the
clouds, i.e. by Zeus, and are affirmed by the cheerful expectations of the seer Mopsus. The auspicious thunder of Zeus before the sea journey (βροντᾶς αἴσιον / φθέγμα, 197b-198a), which signals a safe journey ahead, echoes that after Euphamus received a clod of earth, which betokens the later colonisation of Cyrene by his Battiaid descendants (αἴσιον δ’ ἐπὶ οἱ Κρονίων Ζεὺς πατήρ ἐκλαγὲ βροντάν, 23). This echo enables the narrator to connect the start of the Argonauts’ expedition with the colonisation of Cyrene and thus to show that both are divinely supported.\(^{326}\) This, in turn, serves to strengthen the dynasty of the Battiaid King Arkesilas IV against the increasing power of the Cyrenian aristocracy.

Turning to the actual sea journey of the Argonauts, a first scene (lines 204-206) deals with the building of a precinct for Poseidon (Ποσειδάωνος …εἰναλίου). Mention of a hollow (θέναρ) altar, which contains the fire on which sacrificial animals were burnt,\(^{327}\) and a red (φοίνισσα) herd of Thracian bulls hint that a sacrifice accompanies the act of building. In light of the use of the verb φοινίσσω and the epithets φοίνιος and φοινικόεις of the same root, which refer to reddening with blood in early Greek poetry,\(^{328}\) φοίνισσα may refer to the blood of the bulls as a result of their slaughter by the Argonauts. Both the building and the sacrifice are meant to please the sea god Poseidon, so that he may grant a safe passage through the Black Sea, which the Argonauts are about to enter.\(^{329}\) This reveals the danger of the Black Sea, as does the reference to it as the ‘Inhospitable Sea’. While the epithet ἀξεινος is used of an inhospitable person in epic poetry (Op. 715),

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326 De Jong 1991, 209 has argued that the favourable omens before the Argonauts’ expedition are a sign of the divine support for the colonisation of Cyrene. I add to this that the echo of line 23 reveals a more direct connection between the Argonauts’ expedition and the colonisation of Cyrene.

327 See Braswell 1988, ad loc.

328 For φοινίσσω see, for example, B. 27.36 and 13.165 (with my discussion in 3.2). For φοίνιος and φοινικόεις cf. Il. 23. 717; Od. 18.97; Sc. 194.

(Pindar) ἄξεινος and the euphemistic εὔξεινος (N. 4.49) denote the Black Sea in archaic lyric poetry. This referential difference shows that in Pindar the Black Sea is personified as an unwelcoming human who is hostile and dangerous to visitors.

The final scene of the sea journey describes the Argonauts passing through the clashing rocks (συνδρόμων...πετρᾶν), the Syndromoi, which are personified as twin brothers (δίδυμαι γὰρ ἔσαν ζωαί), to whose life the Argonauts make an end (τελευτάν) (lines 207-211a). The danger of their passage through the rocks had already been emphasised by the narrator. Firstly, he said that the Argonauts sped on to ‘grave danger’ (κίνδυνον βαθύν, line 207). Because of the frequent use of the epithet βαθύς about the sea in early Greek poetry, one would expect it to be used with a sea noun to express the deepness of the sea and, consequently, its danger. Instead, its danger is explicitly referred to by the noun κίνδυνον, while the epithet βαθύς stresses the intensity of the danger. Secondly, he said that the Argonauts prayed for assistance to the ‘lord of the ships’ (δεσπόταν λίσσοντο ναῶν), i.e.

330 In tragic poetry ἄξε(ι)νος is used about the Black Sea, for instance, in E. Andr. 794 (of the Argonauts), IT 218, 253 and 341 (parallels noted in Braswell 1988, ad loc.); for εὔξε(ι)νος cf. e.g. Hdt. 1.6.1. For personification see my introduction (1.2.2) and, applied to the city, 2.3.1.

331 For the Syndromoi elsewhere in ancient Greek literature see E. IT 421; Theoc. Id. 13.22; A.R. 2.346. These rocks are also called Synormades (Simon. 546), Cyanaeae (Hdt. 4.85.1; S. Ant. 966) and, above all, Symplegades (E. Andr. 795; IT 241, 260, 355 and 1389; Med. 2). Cp. also the similar Planctae (on the return journey): Od. 12.59-72; A.R. 4.786-788 and 924-964.

332 For δίδυμαι as twins see also line 178 (about the Argonauts Echion and Erytus) and further in early Greek poetry: Il. 5.548, 6.26, 23.641; Pi. I. 8.17, N. 1.36 and 9.4, O. 3.35, P. 9.86. For the use of the noun τελευτή about the end of a human life see II. 7.104=16.787; Sc. 357; Pi. O. 5.22 and fr. 127.1 (these parallels are noted in Braswell 1988, ad loc.).

333 E.g. Il. 1. 532 and 13.44; Archil. 105 (discussed in 4.4.1); B. 17 (discussed in 4.2.2); Pi. N. 4.36, P. 1.24, 3.76 and 5.88.

334 For the intensity of βαθύς cf. its meaning ‘profound’, frequently attested in Pindar (see Slater, s.v. βαθύς 2a: e.g. O. 2. 54, 10.37 and 12.12). Braswell 1988, ad loc. and Giannini 1995, ad loc. say that the epithet-noun combination κίνδυνον βαθύν equals μέγας κίνδυνος, attested in Pi. O. 1.81. The difference, however, is that μέγας expresses the vastness of the danger, while βαθύς denotes its intensity.
the sea god Poseidon, to escape from the clashing rocks: this demonstrates their fear of sailing through the Syndromoi.

The danger of their passage through the Syndromoi is further stressed by the fact that the narrator presents the scene with an emphasis on the movement of the clashing rocks. This is done, first of all, by the epithet-noun combination κινηθμὸν ἀμαιμάκετον. In epic poetry the epithet ἀμαιμάκετος, probably derived from the verb μαιμάω with α-ιντινσίων, means ‘raging’, as suggested by its use about (the fire of) Chimaera, the sea and the mast of a ship in a storm at sea. Bacchylides and Pindar seem to give the epithet the meaning ‘irresistible’ by connecting it with ἀμαχός: this is clear from its use about strife (νεῖκος), force (μένος) and Zeus’ trident. In Pythian 4 both meanings seem to be at play, insofar as the epithet stresses the raging movement of the clashing rocks as well as their irresistibility, i.e. the impossibility of escaping (ἐκφυγεῖν) from them. Further emphasis is put on the speed of the rocks by the intensive verb form κυλινδέσκοντο, which indicates the continuous rolling of the rocks, as well as by the epithet with which the verb is used in alliteration, κραιπνότεραι. While in epic poetry the epithet κραιπνός (‘swift’) is used of winds, in Pindar it is used of rocks but compared to ‘the ranks of loud-roaring winds’ (βαρύγδουπων ἀνέμων στίχες, line 210). The comparison with winds might convey the frightening effect of the movement of the rocks, as suggested by both the reference to the loud noise of the winds by the epithet βαρύγδουπος and the military

335 Cf. the use of δεσπότας about Poseidon in Pi. I. 6.5.
337 Of νεῖκος: B. 11.64; of μένος: Pi. P. 3.33; of Zeus’ trident: Pi. I. 8(7).35. For the connection with ἀμαχός see Chantraine, s.v. ἀμαιμάκετος and Tichy 1983, 314-315; for the meaning ‘irresistible’ in Pindar see Slater, s.v. ἀμαιμάκετος. LfgE, s.v. ἀμαιμάκετος gives as translations both ‘raging’ and ‘irresistible’ for epic poetry, but the latter seems to be at play only in lyric poetry.
associations of the noun στίχες, which is often used about the ranks of an army in early Greek poetry.\textsuperscript{339}

The selection and manner of presentation of the last two scenes reveal that the narrator highlights the danger of the Argonauts’ sea journey. This might be to increase the glory of the (expedition of the) Argonauts and, consequently, of their descendants, the Battiaid kings of Cyrene, including Arkesilas IV, to whom the poem is dedicated.\textsuperscript{340} In this way, the scenes before and during the sea journey are selected and presented by the narrator to reinforce the position of the Battiaid dynasty against the increasing power of the Cyrenian aristocracy.

\section*{4.2.2. Bacchylides 17: Theseus’ Sea Journey}

\textit{κνίσεν τε Μίνω[ν] κέαρ ἰμεράμπυκος θεᾶς} \\
\textit{Κύπριδος [α]ίνα δῶρα· χεῖρα δ᾽ οὐ[κέτι] παρθενικὰς ἀτερθ᾽ ἐράτυεν, θίγεν δὲ λευκὰν παρη[ίδων. βόασ’ Ἐρίβοια χαλκο-}

\textsuperscript{339} For the use of στίχες about the ranks of soldiers see \textit{Il}. 4.221, 231 and 330; 16.173; 20.362; \textit{Pi. N}. 9.38. The military associations have been pointed out by Gildersleeve 1968 (1890), \textit{ad loc.}, Duchemin 1967, \textit{ad loc.} and Giannini 1995, \textit{ad loc.}

\textsuperscript{340} De Jong 1991, 209 has argued that the outward journey is recounted to convey a sense of glory. I would specify this by saying that it is the stress on the danger of the sea journey in particular that increases the glory. For the greatness of a trial reinforcing the greatness of glory see, e.g., \textit{Il}. 10.305-312.

\textsuperscript{341} I read π[ο]λεμαίγιδος (Kenyon, Taccone, Jebb) instead of π[ε]λεμαίγιδος (Maehler, Irigoin, Campbell); see further infra.
θώφα[κα Πλανδίνος

ἐκγ[ο]νον’ ἵδεν δὲ Ἰῃσεῦς,

μέλαν δ’ ὑπ’ ὀφθαλῶν

dία[σ]εν ὁμμα, καρδίαν τε οἱ

σχέτλιον ἄμυξεν ἄλγος,

eἰρέν τε· Ἰδώς νιὲ φερτάτου,

ὅσιον οὐκέτι τεάν

ἐσω κυβερνάς φρενῶν

θυμ[όν]· ἵσχε μεγαλούχον ἦρως βίαν.

ο ὁ μ[έ]ν ἐκ θεῶν μοίρα παγκρατίς

ἀμμι κατένευσε καὶ Δίκας ὤπει τά-

λαντον, πεπρωμέν[α]ν

αἴσαν [ἐ]κεπλήσομεν, ὅταν

ἐλθη. [σ]ὺ δὲ βαρείαν κάτε-

χε μήτιν. εἰ καὶ σε κεδνὰ

tέκεν λέχει Διὸς υπὸ κρόταφον Ἰδας

μιγείσα Φοίνικος ἐρα-

tώνυμος κόρα βροτῶν

φέρτατον, ἀλλὰ καμὲ

Πιτθ[έ]ς θυγάτηρ ἀφνεοῦ

πλαθείσα ποντίως τέκεν

Ποσειδᾶνι, χρύσεον

τε οἱ δόσαν ἰόπλο-

κοι κάλυμμα Νηρηίδες.

τω σε, πολέμαρχε Κνωσοῖων,

κέλομαι πολύστονον

ἐρύκεν ὑβρίν· οὔ γὰρ ἄν θέλοι-

μ’ ἄμβροτοι’ ἔραννον Αο[ῦς

ἰδεῖν φάος, ἐπεὶ τιν’ ἥθε[ῶν

σύ δαμάσεις αέκον-

tα. πρόσθε χειρῶν βίαν

dε[ι]ξομέν· τὰ δ’ ἐπιώντα δα[ίμων] κρίνει.’

tόσ’ εἶπεν ἀρέταιχμος ἦρως·

tάφον δὲ ναυβάται

φιωτὸς ὑπεράφανεν

125
θ]άρσου. Αλίου τε γαμβρῷι χόλωσεν ἥτορ, ύφαινε τε ποταινιᾶν
μῆτιν, εἰπέν τε ‘μεγαλοσθενές
Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἄκουσον· εἰ πέρ ἐμε νύμ[φα
Φοίνισσα Λευκώλενος σοι τέκεν,
νῦν πρόπεμπτ’ ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ θοάν
πυριέθειραν καὶ ξοδεύσας ἅπτοπαν
σαμι’ ἀρίγνωτον· εἰ
dὲ καὶ σὲ Τροιζηνία σεισίχθονι
μῆτιν ποταινίαν· εἶπέν τε·
μεγαλοσθενές Ζεῦ πάτερ,
ἄκουσον· εἴπέρ με νῦν

κλὺς δ’ ἀμεμπτον εὐχᾶν μεγασθενη[ς
Ζεῦς, ὑπέροχον τε Μίνωι φύτευσε
τιμάν φίλωι θέλων

παιδὶ πανδερκέα θέμεν,
ἀστραφε θ’· ὃ δὲ θυμάρμενον
ιδὼν τέρας χεῖρας πέτασσε
κλυτὰν ἐς αἰθέρα μενεπτόλεμος ἥρως,
εἰρέν τε· ‘Θησεῦ, τάδε μὲν <ἐ-

μά> βλέπεις σαφῆ Διώς
δώρα. σὺ δ’ ὀρνυ’ εἰς βα-

φύβρομον πέλαγος. Κρονί[δας
dὲ τοι παθήρ ἀναξ τελεῖ
Ποσειδὰν ὑπέτατον

κλέος χθόνα κατ’ εὐδενδρόν.
ὡς εἶπε· τῶι δ’ οὗ πάλιν
θυμὸς ἀνεκάμπτετ’, ἀλλ’ εὐ-

πάκτων ἐπ’ ικρίων

σταθεὶς ὀροῦσε, πόντιον τέ νιν
δέξατο θελημόν ἄλσος.
tάφεν δὲ Διός ύιός ἔνδοθεν
κέαφ, κέλευσέ τε κατ’ οὐ-
ρον ἵσχε[[ι]]ν εὐδαίδαλον
νάα: Μοῖρα δ’ ἔτέραν ἐπόρσυν’ ὀδόν.

ἰετο δ’ ὠκύπομπον δόμων σώει
ν[[ε]][[ε]][ι]ν βορεὰς ἐξόπη[[θε]]λν πνέουσ’ ἀήτα.
τρέσσαν δ’ Αθαναίων
ἡθέων <πάν> γένος, ἐπεὶ
ἡρως θόρεν πόντονδε, κα-
τὰ λειψίων τ’ ὀμμάτων δά-
κρου χέον, βαρεῖαν ἐπιδέγμενοι ἀνάγκαν.
φέρον δὲ δελφίνες ἐναλι-
ναίται μέγαν θοῶς
Θησέα πατρὸς ἵππι-
ου δόμων ἔμολεν τε θεῶν
μέγαρον. τόθι κλυτας ἰδών ἐδει-
σε Νηρῆος οἶλου
κόρας: ἀπό γὰρ ἀγλα-
ών λάμπε γυίων σέλας

ὡτε πυρός, ἀμφὶ χαῖταις
dὲ χρυσεόπλοκοι
dίνηντο ταινίαι. χορώι δ’ ἐτερ-
πον κέαφ ὑγροις[[v ἐν]] ποσ<σ>ίν.
eἰδὲν τε πατρὸς ἀλοχὸν φίλαν

σεμνὰν βοώπιν ἐρατοῖ-
σιν Ἀμφιτρίταν δόμοις·
α νιν ἀμφέβαλεν αἰόνα πορφυρέαν,
κόμαισι τ’ ἐπέθηκεν υύλαις
ἀμεμφέα πλόκοιν,
tὸν ποτέ οί ἐν γάμῳ

δῶκε δόλιος Αφροδίτα όδοις ἔρεμνον.
ἀπιστον ὁ τι δαίμονες
θέλωσιν οὐδὲν φρενοάραις βροτοῖς:
νάα παρά λεπτόπρυμνον φάνη. φευ,
οἴασιν ἐν φροντίσι Κνώσιον
ἐσχασὲν στραταγέταν, ἐπεὶ
μόλ' ἀδίαντος ἕξ ἀλός
θαύμα πάντεσσι, λάμ-
πε δ' ἀμφὶ γνίοις θεῶν δῶρ', ἀγλ<α>ό-
θρονοὶ τε κούραι σὺν εὐ-
θυμίαι νεοκτίται
ώλόλυξαν, ἐ-
κλαγεν δὲ πόντος· ἦθεοι δ' ἐγγύθεν
νέοι παιάνιξαν ἔφαταί ὥπι.

Δάλιε, χοροίσι Κηΐων
φρένα ιανθεὶς
ὄπαζε θεόπομπον ἔσθλῶν τύχαν.

A dark-prowed ship, as it carried Theseus, steadfast in the battle din, and
the fourteen noble youths of the Ionians, was cleaving the Cretan Sea: for
northern breezes fell on the far-shining sail thanks to glorious Athena,
who holds the war-like aegis. But Minos’ heart was chafed by the dread
gifts of the Cyprian goddess with desire in her headband; and he could no
longer keep his hand off the girl, but touched her white cheeks. Eriboea
shouted for the descendant of Pandion with the bronze breastplate; and
Theseus saw it and rolled his eyes darkly under his brows, and cruel pain
tore his heart, and he spoke: ‘Son of greatest Zeus, the spirit you steer
inside is no longer righteous: restrain your arrogant might, hero.
Whatever the all-powerful fate has assented to us from the gods and the
scales of Justice incline, we shall fulfil our destined lot, when it comes. As
for you, hold back from your stern scheme. Even if the dear, lovely-named
daughter of Phoenix bore you, greatest of mortals, after union in the bed of
Zeus beneath the brow of Ida, I, too, was born by the daughter of wealthy
Pittheus after she had coupled with the sea god Poseidon, and the violet-
haired Nereids gave her a golden veil. And so, warlord of the Cnossians, I
bid you to restrain your grievous insolence; for I would not wish to see the
lovely light of immortal Dawn, if you were to assault one of these youths.
Before that we will display the might of our hands; and what comes after
that a god will decide.’ So spoke the spear-valiant hero; and the seafarers
were astonished at the man’s overweening boldness. But the son-in-law of Helios felt anger in his heart, and he wove a new plan, and spoke: ‘Mighty father Zeus, hear me: if indeed the white-armed Phoenician girl bore me to you, send from heaven now a swift, fire-tressed lightning flash, a conspicuous sign; as for you, if Troezenian Aethra bore you to earth-shaking Poseidon, fetch this splendid gold ornament of my hand from the depths of the sea, boldly casting your body into your father’s home. And you will learn whether my prayer is heard by the son of Cronus, lord of the thunder and ruler of all.’ Mighty Zeus heard his blameless prayer, and engendered an eminent honour for Minos, wishing it to be seen by all for the sake of his dear son, and he flashed his lightning; and the hero, steadfast in battle, saw the well-pleasing marvel, and stretched his hands to the glorious sky and spoke: ‘Theseus, you see these clear gifts of mine by Zeus. So for your part, plunge into the loud-grumbling sea; and your father, son of Cronus, lord Poseidon, will grant you supreme glory over the well-wooded earth.’ So he spoke; and Theseus’ spirit did not recoil, but he took his stance on the well-built deck and leapt, and the precinct of the sea accepted him willingly. And the son of Zeus was astonished in his heart, and gave orders to keep the cunningly-made ship on course against the wind; but Fate was preparing another course. The swift-moving ship raced on; and the north wind, blowing astern, sped it along. And the whole group of Athenian youths trembled, when the hero jumped into the sea, and they shed tears from their lily-bright eyes, awaiting grievous doom. But sea-dwelling dolphins were swiftly carrying great Theseus to the house of the father of horses; and he reached the hall of the gods. There he was awe-struck at the glorious daughters of blessed Nereus; for a gleam as of fire shone from their splendid limbs, and gold-braided ribbons were whirled round their hair. They were delighting their hearts by dancing with liquid feet. And in that lovely house he saw the dear wife of his father, august ox-eyed Amphitrite; she put a purple cloak about him, and set on his curly hair a perfect wreath, dark with roses, which once guileful Aphrodite had given her at her marriage. Nothing that the gods wish is unbelievable to sensible mortals: Theseus appeared beside the slender-sterned ship. Oh, in what thoughts did he halt the Cnossian commander, when he came unwet from the sea, a marvel to all, and the gifts of the gods shone on his limbs, and the splendid-throned girls cried out with new-
founded cheerfulness, and the sea resounded; nearby the youths raised a paean with lovely voice. God of Delos, rejoice in your heart at the choirs of the Ceans and grant a god-sent fortune of blessings.

Bacchylides 17 almost entirely consists of a mythological narrative about the sea journey of Theseus to Crete with fourteen Ionian youths and Minos on board a ship.\textsuperscript{342} It is based on a dramatic conflict between a protagonist (Theseus) and an antagonist (Minos) with a chorus-like group of youths that results from the antagonist’s sexual harassment of a girl called Eriboea. Theseus responds to the girl’s cries for help by declaring that he is the son of Poseidon and willing to resist even Minos, son of Zeus. After a flash of lightning has been sent by Zeus as proof of Minos’ divine paternity, Minos challenges Theseus to prove that he is the son of Poseidon, asking him to retrieve a ring he throws into the sea. Theseus dives into the sea and is carried by dolphins into Poseidon’s underwater precinct, where he receives a cloak and a garland from Amphitrite, with which he later reappears by the ship. At the end of the poem, the youths’ shouts of joy at Theseus’ reappearance merge with the Cean chorus’ final prayer imploring Apollo for blessings; in other words, the mythological narrative fuses with the actual performance of the poem in the end.\textsuperscript{343}

\textsuperscript{342} Most scholarly discussions have focused on comparing the Theseus myth in Bacchylides 17 with ancient Greek iconography (see especially Wüst 1968; Maehler 1991, 118-126 and 1997, 174-181; Athanassaki 2009, 299-327) and on the question of genre: some believe that the poem is a dithyramb, as the Alexandrinian classifiers of Bacchylides’ poetry thought (see Zimmermann 1992, 91-93, Villarrubia 1990, 31-32 and Calame 2009, 171-179), but most think it is a paean (cf. Jebb 1905, 223; Käppel 1992, 177-181; Maehler 1997, 167-168 and 2004, 172-173; Schröder 2000; Rutherford 2001, 55), as suggested by the end of the \textit{Ode}, in which paeanic cries are uttered (cf. \textit{ὠλόλυξαν} and \textit{παιάναξαν}) and the god Apollo (\textit{Δάλιε}) is addressed.

\textsuperscript{343} Cf. Käppel 1992, 177; Zimmermann 1992, 85; Maehler 1997, 210; de Jong 2009b, 107. For the performance context of the poem I refer to Ieranò 1989, Maehler 1991, 16-17 and Fearn 2007, 247-256, who state that Bacchylides 17 was performed by a Cean chorus during the Apollonia/Delia festival at Delos; see further the epilogue to this thesis for the performance contexts of archaic Greek lyric poetry.
In the bulk of the narrative the sea provides the background setting, against which the hostile actions and speeches of Theseus and Minos take place (lines 1-96 and 119-129). This is made clear in the beginning (lines 1-7) and in the course of the narrative (lines 90-91): in both cases the backgrounded role of the sea is lexically evinced by the use of imperfect tenses about the ship and the winds at sea (τάμνε in 4, πίνυ in 6, ἰετο and σόει in 90), whereas the foregrounded action on board is referred to by the predominant use of aorist tenses in the rest of the narrative. In lines 1-7 the narrative starts in medias res with an image of a ship cleaving the Cretan Sea (Κρητικὸ πέλαγος, line 4) that sets the scene for the dramatic conflict between Theseus and Minos around Eriboea (lines 8-89). By making use of the epithet Κρητικόν, the narrator locates the ship and, consequently, the narrative in the Cretan Sea, i.e. south of the Cycladic Islands and north of Crete. The setting, however, is not static, for the epithet-noun combination βορήιαι... αὖραι (‘northern breezes’, line 6) makes clear that the ship steadily moves southwards to Crete while the conflict develops on board. The fact that αὖραι denote cool breezes favourable for a sea journey in early Greek poetry indicates that the trip initially proceeds successfully. These favourable breezes are caused by Athena, probably because she takes on her role as war goddess (cf., if the emendation is correct, π[ο]λεμαίγιδος Αθάνας in line 7), protecting young martial heroes like Theseus. In lines 90-91 the reference to the racing of the ship sets the scene for Theseus’ dive after Minos’ ring and the reactions of those on board. Again the steady southward movement of the ship is conveyed by a reference to the northern wind (βορεάς...ἀήτα) which speeds the ship along (σόει). The speed of the ship is further

345 Cf. Pi. P. 4.203 in 4.2.1.
346 For Athena as protectress of the fleet see Käppel 1992, 165. Cf. also DNP, s.v. Athena for her role of protecting young warriors, with the aegis as her weapon.
347 See further infra.
suggested by the use of the verb ἵετο (‘races on’) with the epithet-noun combination ὤκυπομπον δορύ (‘swift-moving ship’).

After Theseus’ dive into the sea and before his reappearance by the ship the sea provides the background setting to his encounter with Amphitrite in Poseidon’s underwater precinct (lines 97-118). This means that the sea has a role as setting for what happens on it as well as deep inside of it. In both cases we are dealing with scenes, tableaux presented in great detail. The narration of one or more scenes of a myth in detail instead of larger parts or the entire myth is a common feature of Bacchylides’ poetry and serves as a means of dramatisation, which in this poem is enhanced by the beginning in medias res, the protagonist-antagonist-chorus scheme (Theseus-Minos-Ionian youths) and the prevalence of speeches over narration. While the scene on board the ship mainly consists of character-text, i.e. speeches of Theseus and Minos, that in the underwater precinct is one of complex narrator-text, as it is recounted by the narrator but focalised by the character Theseus. This is clear from the double use of the verb ὅραω: εἶδέν in line 109 indicates his perception of Amphitrite and ἰδών in 101 of the dancing Nereids. His perception of the underwater scene is given a lovely, even erotic ambience that contrasts with the hostile scene on board. This is evinced by the epithet used of the underwater precinct, ἐρατοῖσι (110-111), and by the sensuous appearance of the Nereids, with their splendid limbs and gold-braided ribbons in their hair (101-108). There are two hints that the scene may be connected with marriage: Theseus

348 On this see Maehler 2004, 21 and 23; Nünlist 2007, 248 (e.g. B. 3 and 5).
349 For the frequent beginnings of Bacchylides’ poems in medias res as a means of dramatisation cf. Maehler 2004, 21-22 (with references to B. 3, 15, 17 and 18).
350 For this contrast see Stern 1976, 40-45 and Pieper 1972, 400. Their supposition that the second scene ironises the violent and excessive behaviour of Theseus and Minos in the first scene has been refuted by Segal 1979, 25-26 and Scodel 1984, 137, of whom the latter points out that ‘in order to see the first part ironically…we must see Minos’ initial advance to Eriboea as harmless, so that Theseus’ response is inappropriate’. That touching a girl’s cheek by a man other than her husband or lover is considered inappropriate in archaic Greece has been demonstrated in detail by Clark 2003.
receives a cloak and garland with roses which Aphrodite had given Amphitrite for her wedding, and he witnesses Nereids, who perform an important role in wedding preparations. This link might be explained by a sequel of the story, in which Theseus later marries Eriboea and fathers a child (cf. Pheréc. FGrH 3F148 and Plu. Thes. 29.1, who call her Phereboea): this would also explain why Theseus stands up for Eriboea against Minos at the beginning of the poem.

If we take a look at the changes in scenes from on board to the underwater precinct and vice versa, we can see that Theseus’ dive and reappearance by the ship adds a vertical movement to the dominant, horizontal progress of the ship. The change of scene from above board to underwater is achieved by following a character from one scene to another: in lines 97-101a the narrator follows Theseus being carried by dolphins into Poseidon’s precinct. That Poseidon himself is responsible for the dolphins’ aid is hinted at by the epithet ἱππίου, used with the noun πατρός (‘father of horses’, Poseidon). The only other attestation of the epithet with Poseidon in early Greek poetry is Archilochus 192 (cited by Plutarchus in De sollertia animalium 3.984-985), where

351 That Theseus receives a cloak and garland, without bringing back Minos’ ring, has puzzled commentators. The explanations given are diverse: oversight or inconsistency (Fränkel 1975 (1962), 453, n23 and Campbell 1982 (1967), ad loc.), gifts destined for Ariadne (Scodel 1984, 138-143), more important gifts that outstrip Minos (Maehler 1997, 183 and 2004, 177; Burnett 1985, 27 and 32; Villarrubia 1990, 28-29; Käppel 1992, 172-173), gifts that point out a development from a warlike conflict to an agonistic contest (Danek 2008, 80), gifts that reveal a tension between male heroic epic and female genealogical poetry (287-291).

352 For the role of the Nereids in archaic Greek wedding preparations I refer to Barringer 1995, 167-169.

353 For these and other techniques of scene change (in Homer), with references to earlier literature on the topic, I refer to de Jong 2001, xii.

Poseidon Hippios is said to spare Coeranus from the wreck of his penteconter. The use of the epithet in Archilochus and Bacchylides can be explained in the sense that Poseidon, as god of horses and the sea, aids human beings like Coeranus and Theseus by sending them ‘horses of the sea’, dolphins, as benevolent escorts.\(^{355}\) The change in scene from the underwater precinct back to the ship is more abrupt, as it is affected only by a gnome and the interjection φεῦ (lines 117-119). The sudden change is meant to convey the marvel (θαῦμα) of the dramatic climax of the narrative, which is reinforced by the fact that Theseus reappears unwet (ἀδίαντος).

Turning from the duration of the mythological narrative to the issue of frequency, we can see that one event is repeatedly presented: Theseus’ dive. Firstly, the character Minos asks Theseus twice to dive into the sea (lines 62-63 and 76-77). In both instances the epithets Minos uses of the sea convey that he wishes to evoke a sense of danger to dissuade Theseus from diving into the sea. In line 62 he asks Theseus to fetch his ring ‘from the depths of the sea’ (ἐκ βαθείας ἁλός). In early Greek poetry the combination of the noun ἁλς with the epithet βαθύς is always used of divinities (of Iris in Iliad 1.532, of Poseidon in Iliad 13.44), easily leaping in or out of the depths of the sea where they reside. Its use here in connection with the mortal Theseus might suggest the difficulty of his endeavour. In line 76-77 Minos asks Theseus to plunge into the ‘loud-grumbling sea’ (βαρύβρομον πέλαγος). The epithet βαρύβρομος is attested only once in epic poetry, namely of dogs (epica adespota fr. 19 West). Its use of the sea reveals that Minos wishes to stress the hostility of the sea.\(^{356}\) Secondly, the narrator

\(^{355}\) The link with Archilochus 192 and the suggestion that the epithet bears contextual relevance have been made by Janko 1980 (contra Jebb 1905, ad loc. and Gerber 1970, ad loc., who consider it ornamental); see further 1.1 for my general claim that epithets bear contextual relevance in archaic lyric poetry.

\(^{356}\) Cp. E. Hel. 1306 (βαρύβρομον τε κύμ᾽ ἁλιον, ‘loud-grumbling sea-wave’). Pieper 1972, 403-40 claims that a sense of danger is expressed by the noun πέλαγος, which would bear negative associations as a hostile force, just as in line 4, where the ship cuts its way through it to Crete, where victims will be sacrificed. However, in 76-77 the danger is expressed by the epithet, while in 4 there is no suggestion of or reference to sacrifice.
presents two complementary versions of Theseus’ dive. The one recounted in line 94 is followed by a description of dolphins carrying Theseus to the underwater precinct,\(^{357}\) while the one narrated in line 84 is followed by a brief statement that the ‘precinct of the sea accepted him willingly’ (πόντιον τέ νιν / δέξατο θελημόν ἀλσος, 84b-85). Just like the narrator’s first mention of Theseus’ dive, the second also seems to be linked with Poseidon. This can be derived from the personification of the precinct, indicated by referential differences of θελημόν and δέξατο: while both are predominantly used of people in epic and other lyric poetry,\(^{358}\) they refer to a sea precinct in Bacchylides 17. The personification renders the impression that it is actually Poseidon who willingly accepts Theseus, although he does not explicitly figure in the story, and the epithet of the precinct, πόντιος, which echoes its use about Poseidon in lines 35-36 (ποντίωι... Ποσειδάνι), reinforces this impression. Because the verb δέχομαι is sometimes used of a father accepting a child as his legitimate son in early Greek poetry (e.g. h. Pan 41 and Il. 23.89), there might even be a hint that Poseidon accepts Theseus as his rightful offspring. This would imply that lines 84b-85 serve as a proof of Theseus’ divine parentage, claimed by Theseus in his speech to Minos (lines 33b-63a), just as the lightning of Zeus was a proof of Zeus’ divine fatherhood of Minos (cf. lines 64-73).\(^{359}\)

The double narration of Theseus’ dive is linked to a difference in focalisation by the characters. The narrator does not

\(^{357}\) See my discussion above.

\(^{358}\) For θελημός see Op. 118 about the people of the Golden Age, with the meaning ‘unforced’ instead of ‘willingly’ (for the latter cf. also Emp. B35.6). For the use of δέχομαι of persons accepting someone else see LfrE I4, s.v. δέχομαι for epic poetry; for lyric poetry see Alc. 374 and 386, Semon. 7.49, Thgn. 1046 and for Pindar see Slater, s.v. δέχομαι a.

\(^{359}\) My interpretation goes counter to the belief of most scholars (Wüst 1968, 531-532; Scodel 1984, 138; Burnett 1985, 27; Van Oeveren 1999, 40-41) that Poseidon is not present in the underwater precinct, because Theseus meets only Amphitrite, an assumption which has even lead to the hypothesis of denial of Theseus’ identity as son of Poseidon (Walker 1995, 86).
comment on the action, but presents only the emotional reactions of the characters. The first mention of his dive is focalised by Minos: he is astonished (τάφεν) and tries to stop the ship in vain (lines 86-91). His reaction points out his arrogance, believing that Theseus would not dare to dive, and echoes the astonishment (ταφαν, 48) of the youths at Theseus’ ‘overweening boldness’ (ὑπεράφανον θάρσος) in his speech to Minos. The second mention is focalised by the youths: they tremble (τρέσσαν) and weep (δάκρυ χέον) from fear when Theseus is about to jump into the sea (lines 92-96). Their reaction reveals their sympathy with Theseus and the danger of Theseus’ action. The emphasis on the emotional reactions of the characters to this key event further strengthens the dramatisation of the scenic narrative and stimulates the involvement of the narratees.

4.3. SEA SIMILES

In archaic Greek lyric there are two extended similes about the sea: Bacchylides’ Epinician 13.124-132 and Semonides 7.37-40. These similes will be analysed in comparison to Homeric sea similes, with an eye on differences in manner of presentation of the sea and roles of the similes. In Homeric similes, which appear mainly in the Iliad, the sea is usually presented as furious. The role of sea similes is to illustrate an event, i.e. the noise of the attack or retreat of a fighting mass (e.g., II. 2.207-210 and 394-397; 15.381-384), or emotions, i.e. the confusion or fear felt by a mass or a hero (e.g. II. 9.1-8; 14.16-22; 15.624-629).
οἱ πρὶν μὲν [.........]ν

115 Τ]λιοῦ θαπτόν ἄστυ
οὐ λεῖπον, ἀτυχόμενοι [δέ
πτᾶσον ὀξεῖαν μάχα[ν, εὐτ᾽ ἐν πεδίῳ κλονέω[ν
μαίνοιτ’ Ἀχιλλεύς,

120 λαοφόνον δόρι σείων. ἀλλ᾽ ὥστε ἐν κυανανθέναι ἄνέρων
πόντῳ Βορέας ὑπὸ κύ-
μασιν δαῖζει,

νυκτὸς ἀντάσας ἀνατε[λλομένας,

λήξεν δὲ σὺν φαεσμίμπρότωι
ἀοί,364 στόρεσεν δὲ τε πόντον

130 οὐρία. Νότου δὲ κόλπ[ῶσαν πνοαι
ιστιόν ἁρπαλέως <τ’> ἀ-
ελπτον ἐξί[κ]όντο χέρσον.

ώς Τρώες, ἐπ[εί] κλύον [αι-
χματάν Ἀχιλλέα

135 μύινο[ντ’] ἐν κλισίασιν
eἰνεκ[ε]ν ἡνθᾶς γυναικός,

Β]ο[ι]σηίδος ἱμερογυίου, θεοῖσιν ἀντειναν χέρας,

φοιβὰν ἐσιδόντες υπαί

140 χειμώνος αἰγλᾶν.
πασσυδίαι δὲ λιπόντες
teίχεα Λαομέδοντος

363 See the text in 3.2 for the reading in line 114.

364 Maehler, Campbell and Irigoin have Aoi, but I see no compelling reason why
dawn should be considered a personified goddess here (cp. its use in ll. 24.785).
Previously they would not leave the wondrous...city of Ilium, but in bewilderment they cowered for fear of the keen fight, when Achilles was furiously raging on the plain, brandishing his host-slaughtering spear. But when the fearless son of the violet-crowned Nereid ceased from the fight – as on a dark-blossoming sea Boreas rends men’s hearts under the waves, coming face to face with them after night has risen up, but ceases on the arrival of dawn which brings light to mortals, and a breeze levels the sea; and the South Wind’s breaths belly out the sail, and gladly they reach the unexpected dry land— so when the Trojans heard that the spearman Achilles was remaining in his tent on account of the blonde woman, lovely-limbed Briseis, stretched up their hands to the gods, after they had seen a bright light under the storm cloud. After having left Laommedon’s walls with all speed they rushed into the plain, bringing violent battle, and they roused fear in the Danaans.

Bacchylides 13 is an Epinician Ode dedicated to Pytheas, of a distinguished Aeginetan family, after his victory of the pancration during the Nemean games. In the Ode a mythological narrative is recounted about the heroic fighting of the Aeacidae Ajax and Achilles in the Trojan War (lines 100-167), which serves to glorify the Aeginetans, who considered themselves descendants of Aeacus. In the narrative a sea simile is inserted at a key moment of the story, when Achilles retreats from the battlefield.

In the simile the sea is presented in two ways. Firstly, in lines 124-127 it is presented in a state of storm at night (νυκτὸς ἀντάσας, 127) due to the North Wind (Βορέας, 125). Storm is

365 The aorists λῆξεν, στόρεσεν and κόλπῳσαν are generally translated as present tenses (cf. Maehler 1982 and Campbell 1992): see further infra for the tenses.
366 For a more detailed discussion of the Ode and its mythological narrative I refer to 3.2.
367 For Boreas as a storm wind cf. Od. 5.296; 9.67 and 81; 19.200; B. 5.46; Ibyc. 286.9; Tyrt. 12.4.
hinted at by the *hapax* epithet used of the sea, κυάνανθέϊ (‘dark-blossoming’): the first element of the epithet, κυάνεος, seems to express the darkness of the sea in the case of a storm, while the blossoming of the sea indicated by the second element might be symbolic of the heaving motion of rough waves because of storm. Secondly, in lines 128-132 the sea is presented in a state of *calmness* at dawn (σὺν φαεσιμ[βρότοι ἀοί, 128-129) because of the South Wind (Νότου, 130). This is particularly clear from the verb στόρεσεν, which does not only indicate that the sea surface levels but also expresses the calming down of the sea. By presenting the sea first as stormy and next as calm the Bacchylidean simile differs from Homeric similes, in which the focus lies on one aspect of the sea, i.e. either its calmness or, as is more often the case, its fury.

The question, then, is whether the sea simile also differs from epic poetry in its role. The simile begins by illustrating a *situation* in the narrative before Achilles’ retreat, for the storm at sea due to Boreas seems to remind of the rage of Achilles on the battlefield (cf. lines 118-120). The connection between Boreas and the rage of Achilles is reinforced if we bear in mind that Boreas is paradigmatic for its violence in early Greek poetry. The beginning of the simile also illustrates the emotional effect of Achilles’ rage on the Trojans, i.e. their fear (ἀτυζόμενοι / [δέ πτᾶσσον, 116b-117a), by the mention that Boreas rends (δαΐζει) the hearts of the sailors.

Next, the simile illustrates a narrative *event*: Achilles’ retreat. This is clear from the echo of the verb λῆξεν, which is used about Achilles (122) and Boreas (128): just as Achilles ceased from war, so

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368 Cp. the use of κυάνεος about clouds (Od. 12.405=14.303) and darkness (Simon. 543.12) in the case of a storm at sea.
369 Jebb 1905, *ad loc.* and Cairns 2010, *ad loc.* Cp. the epithet πορφύρεος about the sea, which expresses darkness of colour as well as heaving motion (see my discussion of Semon. 1 in 4.4.1).
370 For Notus as a favourable wind in early Greek poetry see e.g. Th. 870; h. Ap. 408; Pi. P. 4.203.
371 Cf. Od. 3.158 and h. Diosc. 15 (parallels noted in Maehler 1982, *ad loc.*).
372 This difference has been noted by Dietel 1939, 155-157. Cp. Semon. 7 in 4.3.2.
373 Cf. Il. 9.5 and 23.229-230; Op. 553; Ibyc. 286.9; Simon. eleg. 6.2; Tyrt. 12.4.
does Boreas cease on the arrival of dawn. That the second half of
the simile illustrates an event instead of a situation in the narrative
is underscored by the tenses: in the first half present tenses are
used with a durative aspect, and in the second half aorist tenses
with a punctual aspect.374 The simile also illustrates the emotional
effect of Achilles’ retreat. In the simile emotions of joy of the sailors
are referred to, first of all, when they arrive at the unexpected dry
land (lines 131-132), by the adverb ἁρπαλέως (‘gladly’).375 These
emotions are also indicated more implicitly, when the North Wind
ceases and the sea calms down (lines 128-130), by the epithet of
dawn (ἀοῖ), φαεσιμ[βρότωι (‘which brings light to mortals’). It is
used ornamentally with dawn (II. 24.785 and Thgn. 1183) elsewhere
in early Greek poetry, but in Bacchylides 13 it may acquire the
symbolic sense of joy and salvation of the noun φάος, from which
it is derived,376 as a result of the calming of the sea. The sailors’ joy
and salvation seem to illustrate the Trojans’ feelings about Achilles’
retreat, as a similar image of light from under the storm cloud
(ὑπαὶ/χειμῶνας αἴγλαν) that causes the Trojans to stretch out
their hands to the gods suggests (lines 138-140).377

374 See KG II.1.161, Ruijgh 1971, 258 and McKay 1988, 194-196 on the alternation
between present and aorist tenses in similes (durative versus punctual), with
examples of Homeric similes (II. 3.23-28 and 17.389-393).
375 This is the meaning the adverb has in archaic Greek lyric: see Mimn. 12.8 and
Thgn. 1046; cf. also Jebb 1905, ad loc. and Maehler 1982, ad loc. Campbell 1992
translates with ‘eagerly’, but this is the meaning in
epic poetry (Od. 6.250 en
14.110).
376 For epic poetry see Il. 6.6; 16.39 and 95; 20.95; 11.797; 15.741; 17.615; 18.102; Od.
16.23=17.41 (with discussion in Lossau 1994, 85-87). For lyric poetry see Alc. 34. 11
and Archil. 24.8 (with my discussion in 4.4.2), Pi. P. 3.75. Another interpretation of
the epithet has been suggested by Fearn 2007, 131: because the only time the
epithet is used in epic poetry is in the context of Hector’s funeral (Il. 24.785), Fearn
argues that in Bacchylides the epithet-noun combination foreshadows the fall of
Troy. However, I do not see what the function of a reference to the fall of Troy
would be at this point in the simile, especially since the narrator foreshadows the
fall of Troy at the end of the narrative (see lines 164-167, with my discussion in 3.2.2).
377 Cp. the symbolic sense of χειμῶν referring to calamity or troubles in ancient
Greek literature (e.g. Pr. 643 and 1015; see further LSJ, s.v. χειμῶν 2). My
interpretation of lines 139-140 differs from that of Fearn 2007, 135-136: based on
the use of αἴγλη about the (bronze of the) Greeks in the Iliad and about the victor
With its role of illustrating situations and events and their consequent emotions in the narrative, the Bacchylidean simile aligns with Homeric sea similes: in *Il.* 15.624-629, for instance, a simile about the fall of a violent wave on a ship that causes sailors to shudder in fear illustrates the attack of Hector and its frightening effect on the Greeks.\(^{378}\) However, as the Iliadic example shows, Homeric sea similes illustrate one set of emotions (usually fear), because the focus lies on one aspect of the sea (usually its fury),\(^{379}\) while the Bacchylidean simile illustrates fear as well as joy because it stresses both the fury and calmness of the sea. Moreover, the latter may still have another role. The fact that it focuses on the retreat of Achilles and its emotional effects on the Trojans underscores the hero’s importance in the Trojan War. If we are aware that the *Ode* is dedicated to an Aegenitan victor, who considered himself a descendant of the Aeacidae Ajax and Achilles, the simile ultimately serves to reinforce the praise of the *Ode*’s addressee.

4.3.2. Semonides 7

\[\text{τὴν δ’ ἐκ θαλάσσης, ἦ δ’ ἐν φρεσίν νοεῖ.}\]
\[\text{τὴν μὲν γελάι τε καὶ γέγηθεν ἡμέρης}\]
\[\text{ἐπαινέσει μιν ἔν δόμοις ἰδών’}\]
\[\text{30 οὔκ ἐστιν ἄλλη τῆσδε λυδών γυνὴ}\]
\[\text{ἐν πάσιν ἀνθρώποισιν οὐδὲ καλλίων’}\]
\[\text{τὴν δ’ οὔκ ἀνεκτὸς οὐδ’ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδεῖν}\]

in Pindar’s *Epinicians*, he argues that these lines undermine Trojan hopes, raised by the absence of Achilles, because of the appearance of the Greeks, and at the same time reinforce the praise of the Aeginetan victor. Problematic, however, is that Fearn denies the basic use of αἴγλη about the light of the sun (*Od.* 4.45 and 7.84), which just like φῶς seems to convey a sense of joy and salvation.

\(^{378}\) The double illustrating role of the simile in Bacchylides 13 has briefly been noted by Dietel 1939, 156; Maehler 1982, 254; Fearn 2007, 129; Cairns 2010, 309-310. Of these, only Fearn and Cairns have pointed out that illustrating emotions is not ‘un-Homeric’, exemplifying their point with *Il.* 15.624-629.

\(^{379}\) Cf. also e.g. *Il.* 9.1-8.
οὔτ' ἄσσον ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλὰ μαίνεται τότε ἀπλήτων ὁσπερ ἀμφὶ τέκνοισιν κύων, ἀμείλιχος δὲ πάσι καποθυμῆ ἐχθροῖσιν ἴσα καὶ φίλωσι γίνεται. ὁσπερ θάλασσα πολλάκις μὲν ἀτρεμής ἔστησ', ἀπήμων, χάρμα ναυτησίς κύων, θέρεος ἐν ὤρηι, πολλάκις δὲ μαίνεται βαρυκτύποισι κύμασιν φορεομένην. ταύτη τότε κύων ἐστὶ έοικε τοιαύτη γυνή ὑγιήν· φυήν δὲ πόντος ἀλλοίην ἔχει.

Another woman is from the sea, one with a twofold mind. One day she sparkles and is happy; when a guest sees her in the house, he will praise her: ‘no other woman is better than this among all mankind nor more beautiful’. But another day she is unbearable even to look at in the eyes or come close to; then she rages, unapproachable as a bitch around her pups, and she becomes implacable and hateful to everyone, friends and enemies alike. Just as the sea often stands calm, harmless, a great source of joy to sailors, in the season of summer, but often rages moving along with the loud-thundering waves. Such a woman resembles very much the sea in temperament: the sea has a variable nature.

In Semonides 7 portrayals of women are modeled after animal species, except for two women, who owe their origin to earth and sea (lines 21-26 and 27-42). The sea-woman receives more attention than all the other women: the speaker does not limit himself to a portrayal of the female, but adds a simile about her model, i.e. the sea, and explicitly compares them. From the comparison (lines 41-42) it is clear that the feature that they have in common is variability (φυήν...ἀλλοίην). That of the woman is evident from her

380 Although lines 41-42 have been variously emended and excised by some because of their so-called ‘flatness’ (cf. Campbell 1982 (1967), ad loc.; Verdenius 1968, 141; Hordern 2002, 582), currently most scholars accept the lines as genuine. Nonetheless, there remains a problem as regards the meaning of ἀλλοίην. The adjective does not really mean ‘variable’, but rather ‘of another sort or kind, different’ (LSJ, s.v. ἀλλοῖος; noted by Renehan 1974, 4, Lloyd-Jones 1975, ad loc. and Hordern 2002, 582). For the former meaning, the adjective needs to be
‘twofold mind’ (δύν φρεσίν νοεῖ, 27), which explains why she can be joyful and outstanding (28-31, τὴν μὲν... ἣμέρην...) as well as a hostile fury (32-36, τὴν δ...). That of the sea is clear from the juxtaposition of an image of a calm and harmless sea (37-39a) with a raging sea (39b-40) in a simile, which aims to characterise the woman’s variability. Both in the presentation of the sea and the role of the sea simile, Semonides 7 differs from Homeric similes: in the latter the focus lies on one aspect of the sea, usually its fury, and the characterising role is at play only in similes about people (especially the series of ‘parents-children’ similes about Achilles and Patroclus) or animals (especially lions). The characterising role of the Semonidean simile is further clarified by an analysis of the diction about the sea in comparison to epic and other lyric poetry, specifically in relation to the portrayal of the woman.

The positive part of the simile begins with an emphasis on the static and calm state of the sea through the perfect tense of the verb ἵστημι, ἕστηκ, and the epithet ἀτρεμής. The use of both words reveals referential differences from epic and other lyric poetry: ἀτρεμής (‘calm’) sometimes refers to objects (e.g. eyelids in Od. 19.212) but above all to people who are standing, sitting or sleeping; ἵστημι, in its intransitive sense, is sometimes used of objects capable of standing upright (e.g. a building in Pi. N. 5.2, a wave in Il. 21.313), but mostly of people and animals. The use of these words, which predominantly refer to people, to describe the sea in Semonides 7 perhaps suggests the calmness of the woman,
although it is not explicitly mentioned in the corresponding positive part of her portrayal.

Next, the calm sea is called ἀπήμων. In epic and other lyric poetry the epithet, in its active sense ‘harmless’, is used about all sorts of things (e.g. winds and laws), but only once about the sea, i.e. in Opera 670, where advice is given about the right time to sail. In the Opera the epithet is combined with the noun πόντος, which refers to the open, navigable sea and fits well its context, while in Semonides 7 it is used with θάλασσα, which denotes the sea in general and is aptly chosen in a simile about the sea as a general model of a woman. The harmlessness of the sea implies that of the woman, whose harmfulness is explicitly referred to in the negative part of her portrayal (lines 32-36) by the epithets ἀνεκτός (‘unbearable’), ἀπλητον (‘unapproachable’), ἀμείλιχος (‘relentless’) and ἀποθυμίη (‘hateful’).

The positive part ends with the mention that the sea is ‘a great source of joy to sailors’ (χάρμα ναύτηισιν μέγα, 38b). In epic and other lyric poetry the noun χάρμα is used of people, usually to say that one person has become a source of joy to another. The use of the noun about the sea in Semonides 7 reveals an instance of personification, more particularly of ‘pathetic fallacy’, as the sea is endowed with human feelings. This reinforces the connection with the sea-woman, whose joyfulness is referred to in the corresponding positive part of her portrayal (γελᾶι τε καὶ γέγηθεν ἡμέρην, line 28).

The negative part of the simile conveys an image of a raging (μαίνεται) sea moving along (φορεομένη) with loud-thundering

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385 For the meaning of θάλασσα and πόντος in early Greek poetry I refer to Lesky 1947, 10-14.
386 For epic poetry see Il. 3.51, 6.82, 10.193, 14.325, 17.636, 23.342, 24.706; h. Ascl. 16.4; Hes. fr. 193.19. For lyric poetry see B. 10.13; Pi. N. 7.88, O. 2.99 and 7.44, P. 1.59 and 9.64; Thgn. 692.
387 For ‘pathetic fallacy’ and other subtypes of personification see my introduction (1.2.2) and 2.3.1 (on the city).
388 Most commentators (Verdenius 1968, ad loc.; Lloyd-Jones 1975, ad loc.; Gerber 2006 (1999), ad loc.) consider the participle φορεομένη passive, accompanied by a dative of agent, and interpret the phrase as ‘being borne along by the loud-
waves (βαρυκτύποισι κύμασιν). That the rage of the sea characterises that of the woman is clear from the echo of the verb μαίνεται, which is also used in the corresponding negative part of her portrayal (line 33). While line 33 aligns with the predominant use of μαίνομαι about people in epic and other lyric poetry, line 39 is in keeping with exceptional usages about objects (a spear in Il. 8.111 and 16.75, fire in Il. 15.606). The latter are best considered instances of personification, particularly of ‘activisation’, insofar as human rage is projected on something inanimate. The connection between the rage of the sea and that of the woman is reinforced by another instance of activisation, namely the use of the epithet βαρυκτύποισι: whereas the epithet always refers to the loud thunder of a god in epic and other lyric poetry (mostly Zeus, sometimes Poseidon), it is used of the waves of the sea in Semonides 7. These and other referential differences, especially those that reveal instances of personification, ultimately reinforce the characterising role of the sea simile.

thundering waves’. To defend their interpretation, they refer to E. Hec. 29, where the ghost of Polydorus is ‘carried along by the frequent rise and fall of the waves’ (πολλοῖς διαύλοις κυματών φορούμενος). The passive makes perfect sense in Euripides, but there it is said of a person, not of the sea. That in Semonides the sea would be carried along by its own waves would be rather strange, for in that case agens and patiens would be the same. Another reason why interpreting the participle as passive is unattractive is that the sea is presented as a highly active, raging force in the simile. Therefore, it is better to consider φορεομένη a middle, with a dative of instrument, and interpret the phrase as ‘moving along with the loud-thundering waves’ (cf. Fränkel 1975 (1962), 236-237). The middle form is best to be considered a ‘spontaneous process middle’ (Allan 2003, 42-45), which denotes a changing state of the subject without direct initiation by an external agent.

389 Cf. LfgrE, s.v. μαίνομαι for epic poetry (in Il. 16.244-245 it denotes the hands of Hector, which I consider a pars pro toto for Hector). For lyric poetry see B. 13.85; Pi. P. 2.26; Thgn 313 and 1053.

390 Cf. Campbell 1982 (1967), ad loc. and Lloyd-Jones 1975, ad loc. The epithet is used of Zeus in: Th. 388; Op. 79; Sc. 318; h. Cer. 3, 334, 441, 460; Semon. 1.1. It is used of Poseidon in Th. 818; Pi. N. 4.87, O. 1.72 and Pae. 4.41.
4.4. THE SEA AS SYMBOL OF DANGER

Several decades ago Albin Lesky\textsuperscript{391} pointed out that the sea has symbolic associations with danger in archaic Greek lyric, on the basis of what is ‘largely a catalogue of references to the sea’.\textsuperscript{392} Based on more in-depth analyses, I will confirm that danger is evoked in these types of sea poems: poems in which one or more moments during a sea journey are evoked by a speaker or narrator and poems about the departure and arrival of a sea voyage (\textit{propemptika} and \textit{prosphonetika}). Moreover, I will focus on the ways in which danger is evoked: particular attention will be paid to the use of the diction about the sea that is shared with epic poetry, especially the sea epithets.

4.4.1. During the Sea Journey

The first type of sea poems describe one or more moments during a sea journey. This can be done, first of all, by a speaker who generally refers to sailors at sea in poems about man’s hopes to achieve wealth.

A first example is Semonides 1.15-17a:

\begin{quote}
15 οἳ δ’ ἐν θαλάσσῃ λαίλαπι κλονεόμενοι καὶ κύμασιν πολλοῖσι πορφυρῆς ἁλὸς θνήσκουσιν, εὖτ’ ἂν μὴ δυνήσωνται ζῦειν.
\end{quote}

*Others die at sea tossed about by a gale and many waves of the dark and heaving sea, whenever they are unable to gain a livelihood (on land).*

In lines 11-19 the speaker catalogues people’s hopes for prosperity, thwarted by old age, disease or death. In these cases, death is the result of war and suicide (13b-14 and 18-19) or a storm at sea (15-

\textsuperscript{391} Lesky 1947, 188-214.

\textsuperscript{392} See Westlake 1949, 118 in his review of Lesky’s chapter on the sea in archaic Greek lyric.
17), presumably when sailors have turned to fishing or commercially exporting goods because they were unable to gain a livelihood on land (cf. 17b).\textsuperscript{393} The sea scene is presented with much diction shared with epic poetry: \textsuperscript{394} the noun-verb combination λαίλαπι κλονέομενοι and the epithet-noun combination πορφυρής ἁλός.

To begin with the former, the noun λαίλαψ denotes a furious storm, as point of comparison with raging warriors on the battlefield (\textit{Iliad}), or as an actual storm at sea (\textit{Odyssey}), in epic poetry.\textsuperscript{395} In some cases the fury is reinforced by its use with the active participles τύπτων (‘smiting’) or θύων (‘raging’).\textsuperscript{396} In Semonides 1 λαίλαψ is combined with a middle participle with passive meaning of the quasi-synonomous verb κλονέω (‘toss’), by which an image is evoked of sailors as passive victims of a furious storm.

As for the latter, the combination of the epithet πορφυρόεος with the noun ἁλς appears only once in epic poetry: in \textit{Il.} 16.391 the loud-roaring flow of rivers into the sea (ἐς δ’ ἁλα πορφυρέην) is compared to the load-roaring rush of Trojan horses. Some scholars have argued that the epithet refers to the dark blue colours of the sea in \textit{Iliad} 16, supposing that πορφυρόεος is derived from the noun πόρφυρα, which refers to the purple fish and the purple dye

\textsuperscript{393} Two different interpretations have been given of line 17b: while Campbell (1982 (1967), \textit{ad loc.}) and initially Gerber (1970, \textit{ad loc.}) translate with ‘whenever they do not have the strength to live’, most scholars (Babut 1977, 77; Gerber 1984, 131 and 2006 (1999), \textit{ad loc.}; Pellizer-Tedeschi 1990, \textit{ad loc.}) have ‘whenever they are unable to gain a livelihood (on land)’. Although both are possible, the latter is more likely, because it parallels the choice for suicide as an answer to the problems of gaining a livelihood on land (lines 18-19): some turn to seafaring and risk their lives at sea, others see no other way than committing suicide (cf. also Sol. 13, discussed below, Thgn. 179-180 and \textit{Op.} 646-647 for seafaring as a means to escape poverty).

\textsuperscript{394} This has been noted by Campbell 1982 (1967), \textit{ad loc.}; Fowler 1987, 46; De Martino-Vox 1996, \textit{ad loc.}

\textsuperscript{395} \textit{Iliad}: 4.278; 11.306 and 747; 12.375; 17.57. \textit{Odyssey}: 9.68; 12.314, 400, 408 and 426; 24.42.

\textsuperscript{396} Cf. \textit{Il.} 11.306, and \textit{Od.} 12.408 and 426 respectively.
obtained from it. 397 Others have contended that it denotes the heaving motion of the sea, assuming that πορφύρεος is derived from the verb πορφύρω (‘heave’), used of the sea in Il. 14.16. 398 Both meanings, however, could be at play at the same time. 399 A first indication is provided by schol. D on the verb πορφύρω in Il. 14.16 μελαίνη, ταράσση (‘growing dark, becoming agitated’). The scholiast explains the connection between darkness and agitated motion by considering the former a result of the latter: εἴωθεν δέ, ὅταν ἀρχὴν λαμβάνῃ κινήματος ή θάλασσα, μελανίζειν (‘as a rule, the sea becomes dark, when it starts to move’). Another indication is given in the only Greek treatise on colour terminology we possess, ps-Aristotle’s Περὶ Χρωμάτων (972a22), where πορφυροειδής, an epithet derived from πορφύρεος, is used of the sea: 400 ὅταν τὰ κύματα μετεωριζόμενα κατὰ τὴν ἐγκλίσιν σκιασθῆι (‘when the waves, as they heave, are overshadowed in their inclination’). Again, the darkness of the sea is considered a result of its heaving motion, but the explanation is different: πρὸς γὰρ ταύτης κλισμὸν ασθενεῖς αἱ τοῦ ἡλίου αὐγαὶ προσβάλλουσι (‘for against the sloping line of the inclination [ταύτης], referring back to τὴν ἐγκλίσιν] the rays of the sun cut in weakly’). In Semonides 1, too, darkness and heaving motion could be at play simultaneously, but the latter meaning seems to predominate.401 This is clear from the adjective-noun combination κύμασιν πολλοῖσι, on which πορφυρῆς ἁλός depends, for it emphatically indicates many waves that seem to be caused by the heaving motion of the sea. Thus, the word groups λαίλαπι

398 Cf., for example, Platnauer 1921, 159; Dürbeck 1977, 130; Stulz 1990, 154-167. For a state of the art see LfgrE, s.v. πορφύρεος.
399 Cp. the verb καλχαίνω: ‘make dark and troublous like a stormy sea’ (LSJ, s.v.), often of emotions (e.g. in S. Ant. 20 and E. Heracl. 40).
400 The epithet πορφυροειδής is used of the sea in tragic poetry: see A. Supp. 529 and E. Tr. 124.
401 See Campbell 1982 (1967), ad loc. and Stulz 1990, 170-171. Cp. the other instances of the epithet-noun combination in archaic Greek lyric (Alc. 45.2, Alcm. 89.5, Anacr. 347.18, Simon. 571, Thgn. 1036), where the sense of ‘heaving’ also seems to dominate (see further Stulz 1990, 172-180).
κλονεόμενοι and πορφυρῆς ἁλός create an image of a furious sea of which sailors have become passive victims and which even leads to the death of the sailors (cf. the emphatic θνήσκουσιν in enjambment in 17a).

A second example of a speaker referring to sailors at sea in a poem about man’s hopes for wealth is Solon 13.43b-46:

σπεύδει δ’ ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος· ὁ μὲν κατὰ πόντον ἀλὰται ἐν νησίων χρήιζων οἰκαδε κέρδος ἄγειν

45 ἰχθυόεντ’ ἀνέμοισι φορεόμενος ἄργαλεοισιν,

Everyone has a different pursuit: one roams over the fish-filled sea in ships, longing to bring home profit; carried along by cruel winds, he has no consideration for his life.

In a catalogue of professions offered in lines 43-62 a shift is noticeable from man’s hopes to achieve wealth (seafaring, ploughing the land, hand working, composing poetry) to vain hopes for success (prophesying, curing people). Just like in Semonides 1, seafaring is referred to as one of man’s hopes to achieve wealth.\(^{402}\) While it is not clear in Semonides whether the sea scene is about commercial trade or fishing, the former seems to be at play in Solon, as is hinted at by οἰκαδε κέρδος ἄγειν in 44b.\(^{403}\) In Solon’s poem, too, the sea scene has much diction shared with epic poetry.\(^{404}\) This is especially evident in line 45, where the diction is similar to that about storms faced by Agamemnon and Odysseus near Cape Malea, told in *Odyssey* 4 and 9. In *Od*. 4.515b-516, a gale carried Agamemnon over the fish-filled sea (θύελλα /

\(^{402}\) For the link between both poems (in general) see Bowra 1960 (1938), 95-97; Nestle 1972 (1942), 208; Fränkel 1975 (1962), 235; West 1974, 32.


\(^{404}\) Contrast this to the sparing use of diction shared with epic poetry in Solon’s other poetry: see Campbell 1982 (1967), 232 and Mülke 2002, 17-18.
φέρεν πόντον ἐπ’ ἰχθυόεντα) as he approached Cape Malea. In *Od*. 9. 82-83a, Odysseus says that he was carried for nine days over the fish-filled sea by dire winds (ἐνθὲν δ’ ἐννήμαυ φερόμην ὀλοοῖς ἀνέμοισιν / πόντον ἐπ’ ἰχθυόεντα), as he was rounding Cape Malea.

A first point of comparison between both Odyssean passages and Solon’s poem is the use of the epithet-noun combination πόντον...ἰχθυόεντα. Because of the association of the epithet with threat at sea and the frequent references to fish devouring corpses in early Greek poetry, the epithet might signal the threat of death at sea.\textsuperscript{405} The contextual relevance of the epithet seems to be highlighted in Solon’s poem by its emphatic position in enjambment two lines after the noun with which it is combined. Next, in *Od*. 9.82 the noun ἀνέμοισιν is combined with the epithet ὀλοοῖς, and in Solon with the quasi-synonymous ἀργαλέοισιν.\textsuperscript{406} That the winds are called ‘cruel’ is because they bring sailors storms and, consequently, are a source of danger and suffering for them.\textsuperscript{407} Finally, the verb φέρω is used about sailors at sea in the Odyssean passages, while its intensive form φορέω is chosen in Solon’s poem. In epic poetry (the *Odyssey* only) φορέω is used only in the active form about winds carrying sailors along at sea (*Od*. 6.171 and 12.68). In Solon φορέω is used in the middle form with passive meaning about a sailor being carried along by winds,\textsuperscript{408} so


\textsuperscript{406} For the former cf. also *Od*. 14.313; for the latter see also, although in the accusative or genitive case, *Il*. 13.795; *Od*. 11.400 and 407; *h. Bacch*. 7.24; *h. Diosc*. 33.14.

\textsuperscript{407} My interpretation of the epithet differs from the common opinion (e.g., Treu 1955, 271 and Noussia-Fantuzzi 2010, *ad loc.*) that the epithet is used ornamentally in Solon 13. For my general claim that epithets have contextual relevance in archaic lyric poetry see my introductory chapter (1.1).

\textsuperscript{408} Cf. also *infra* my discussion of Alc. 208 and see Semon. 7 in 4.3.2.
that an image is created of a sailor as a passive victim of winds at sea.\textsuperscript{409}

The differences in use of diction in comparison with the storm scenes in the \textit{Odyssey} reveal that even more emphasis is put on the danger of the storm in Solon’s poem.\textsuperscript{410} Its danger is so important that it endangers the life of the sailor, for in line 46 he is said to have no consideration for his life (\textit{φειδωλὴν ψυχῆς οὐδεμίαν θέμενος}) because of his desire for \textit{kerdos}.

I now pass on to poems in which an image of a ship in a storm serves as an extended metaphor for a particular group or the whole \textit{polis} in danger because of certain socio-political upheavals (Alcaeus 208 and 6, Theognis 667-682).\textsuperscript{411} The choice of this metaphor becomes understandable if we take into account that one of the functions of metaphors is that of ‘cognitive elucidation’, i.e. presenting a situation or an event in a new light to deepen the recipient’s awareness of it.\textsuperscript{412} Applied to the ship metaphors under discussion, this means that the speaker in Alcaeus or Theognis wishes to present the socio-political upheavals in a different way to make his fellow aristocrats more aware of the danger involved for them.\textsuperscript{413} However, this does not imply that the message is conveyed in a straightforward manner, as the use of metaphors implies a

\textsuperscript{409} Cp. Thgn. 667-682 \textit{infra} and Semon. 1 \textit{supra}.

\textsuperscript{410} Mülke 2002, \textit{ad loc.} and Noussia-Fantuzzi 2010, \textit{ad loc.} argue that a sense of danger is evoked through a reminiscence of \textit{Op.} 618-694, which relates the danger of trade over sea, but the only lexical echo is \textit{οἰκαδε κέρδος} (\textit{Op.} 632 and Sol. 13.44).

\textsuperscript{411} Elsewhere in archaic Greek lyric, there are very brief references to the ‘ship of state’, however without mention of the sea, namely in Pindar’s \textit{Pythian Odes} (1.86; 4.272-274; 10.71); for a discussion I refer to Péron 1973, 110-115. In ancient Greek literature the metaphor is especially popular in tragic poetry (Aeschylus’ \textit{Septem}: cf. van Nes 1963, 71-92) and Plato’s \textit{Republic} (book 6: see Keyt 2006). The most famous example in Latin literature is Horace’s \textit{Ode} 1.14.

\textsuperscript{412} For cognitive elucidation see my introduction; cf. also my discussion of political city metaphors in 2.3.2.

\textsuperscript{413} See also Gentili-Catenacci 2007, 174.
sense of indirectness: in Theognis’ poem the ship metaphor is called an enigma that contains a hidden message for the aristocrats (ταυτα μοι ηνιχθω κεκρυμμενα τοις άγαθοισιν, line 681). The riddling nature of metaphors could be connected with the context of the symposium, in which poems like those of Theognis and Alcaeus were probably performed: it could well have stimulated a popular sympotic form of competitive entertainment, that of εικάζειν (‘guessing’), as the symposiasts might have been encouraged to guess at the meaning of the metaphors.

In my discussions of the ship metaphors I start by briefly commenting on the metaphorical-political content, before focusing on the storm itself. I begin my discussion with Alcaeus 208:

\[
\text{ἀσυν<ν>έτημμι τών ἀνέμων στάσιν·}
\]
\[
\text{τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐνθὲν κῦμα κυλίνδεται,}
\]
\[
\text{τὸ δὲ ἐνθὲν, ἄμμες δ’ ὄν τὸ μέσσον}
\]
\[
\text{ναὶ φορήμ<μ>εθα σὺν μελαίναι}
\]

5 ἵπποι μοχθεντες μεγάλωι μάλα.
περ μὲν γὰρ ἄντλος ἱστοπέδαν ἔχει,
λαῖφος δὲ πᾶν ζάδηλον ἣδη,
καὶ λάκιδες μέγαλαι κάτ αὐτο,  

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414 See my introduction (1.2.2) and also my discussion of erotic city metaphors (2.3.2). In this way, the specific, historical-political message for the original audiences is impossible to retrace by us, moderns. Nevertheless, influenced by Heraclitus’ reading of the poems, scholars often read the ship metaphors in Theognis and, above all, Alcaeus as historical reflections of the rise of particular tyrants in the aristocratic societies of archaic Megara and Mytilene (see Page 1975 (1955), 179-196; Kirkwood 1974, 78-80; Rösler 1980, 126-148; Gentili 1984 and 1988 (1985), 197-215).

415 For the performance of the Theognidea and Alcaeus in the symposium see Levine 1985 and Rösler 1980 respectively. See further the epilogue to this thesis for the performance contexts of archaic lyric poetry.

416 See also my discussion of Thgn. 949-954 in 2.3.2.
χάλαισι δ’ ἄγκονναι,⁴¹⁷ τὰ δ’ ὄη[ϊ]α

τοι πόδες ἀμφότεροι μένο[ισιν]

ἐ<ν> βιμβλίδεσσι· τούτο με καὶ σ[άοι]

μόνον· τὰ δ’ ἀχματ’ ἐκπεπ[.].ἀχμενα

υ[νόσ.;]

νεπαγ[

πανδ[

βολή[

I fail to understand the direction of the winds: one wave rolls in from this side, another from that, and we in the middle are carried along with our black ship, much distressed in the great storm. The bilge water covers the masthold; all the sail lets the light through now, and there are great rents in it; the halyards are loosening; the rudders...my feet both stay (entangled) in the ropes: this alone (saves) me; the cargo...(is carried off) above...

The poem seems to express civil discord in the polis. This is hinted at in the opening line by the noun στάσις, which is used of civil strife elsewhere in archaic Greek lyric.⁴¹⁸ The rest of the fragment conveys the dangerous consequences for Alcaeus’ hetaeria and/or

⁴¹⁷ Gerber follows the reading of the codd. ἄγκυρ<ρ>αι (cf. also Voigt), but the loosening of anchors does not seem to make sense. I follow the conjecture ἄγκονναι (‘halyards’), adopted in Page; see further infra for a discussion.

⁴¹⁸ Cf. Alc. 130; Sol. 4.19; Thgn. 51 (1082) and 781. The fragment is usually read as an allusion to the rise of the tyrant Myrsilus, based on Heraclitus’ interpretation (All. 5: Μύρσιλος γὰρ ὁ δηλούμενός ἐστι καὶ τυραννικὴ κατὰ Μυτιληναίων ἐγειρομένη σύστασις, ‘it is Myrsilus who is indicated and tyrannical conspiracy roused against the Mytileneans’): Bowra 1961 (1936), 154; Campbell 1982 (1967), ad loc.; Rössler 1980, 139-140; Burnett 1983, ad loc.; Gentili 1984, 1988 (1985), 204 and Gentili-Catenacci 2007, 174; Porro 1996, ad loc.; De Martino-Vox 1996, ad loc.; Liberman 1999, ad loc. Although Heraclitus would have known the whole poem and not only the fragmentary remains we have at our disposal, I am reluctant to read the ship metaphors as historical documents for reasons mentioned above.
the *polis* \(^{419}\) by the image of a ‘ship’ in a ‘great storm’ (χείμωνι...μεγάλωι, line 5).

In the first stanza the speaker’s gaze is directed to the storm raging around him. At the end of the stanza the speaker renders the sailors’ lack of control in the storm by using φορήμ<μεθεθά: just as in Solon 13 discussed above, a middle form with passive meaning of the verb φορέω evinces that the sailors have become passive victims of a storm, lacking control over their ship. The danger it poses is multiplied by the position in which the sailors find themselves, namely in the middle (τὸ μέσσον, 3) of the sea, far from land: not only is there no shore nearby, but the sea is also the wildest in the middle (cp. *Od.* 5.132=7.250, where a storm in the midst of the sea causes the death of Odysseus’ comrades).

From the second stanza onwards the speaker shifts his attention from the storm to the state in which the ship finds itself due to the storm. A first consequence of the storm is the bilge water (ἀντλος, 6) that covers the masthold of the ship: the water which entered the ship has risen so high that it is about to wash over the ship. A second consequence is the appearance of rents in the sails that let the light through (lines 7-8): no longer able to use them, the sailors fail to steer a steady course. This demonstrates their lack of control, which was indicated in the first stanza, and accords with another consequence of the storm, namely the loosening of the halyards (line 9), i.e. the ropes which reach from the deck to the top of the mast and down again and which are used to raise the sails.\(^{420}\)

The danger of the storm and its consequences, as perceived by the speaker, are linked to the emotions he and his shipmates experience, as the greatness of the storm has caused equally great distress for the sailors (μόχθεντες...μάλα, line 5). These emotions

\(^{419}\) No consensus exists whether in this fragment (as well as in fragment 6) the ship stands for Alcaeus’ *hetaeria* (Adrados 1955, 210; van Nes 1963, 72-74; Péron 1973, 107-108; Rösler 1980, 119; Lentini 2001, 160; Cucchiarelli 2004, 195-201) or for the entire *polis* (Lesky 1947, 195; Fränkel 1975 (1962), 190, n4; Gentili 1988 (1985), 213 and Gentili-Catenacci 2007, 173). Perhaps the dilemma is false, as danger for the group also implies danger for the *polis* (cf. Kirkwood 1974, 77), at least from the perspective of the group.

\(^{420}\) Cf. Casson 1971, 262.
might be connected to the way the ship is depicted, i.e. as a dark ship (ναὶ...σὺν μελαίναι). In epic poetry the epithet μέλας, when used of a ship, has a pictorial sense, as it refers to the pitch with which the ship is daubed. This is different from its use in archaic lyric poetry. In the only other instance of the epithet-noun combination in archaic Greek lyric, the end of Alcaeus’ Hymn to the Dioscuri (34), Castor and Pollux are said to rescue men from death, leaping on peaks of ships, bringing light to the dark ship in the night of trouble (ἀργαλέαι δ’ ἐν νύκτι φ[όος φέ]θοντες / ναὶ μ[ε]λαίναι, lines 11-12). Here the epithet seems to have a symbolic sense in a context in which darkness and distress are set against light and salvation.421 A similar sense might be at play in Alcaeus 208 as well, as the darkness of the ship might be associated with the distress of the sailors.

A second ship metaphor is presented in Alcaeus 6:

\[
\text{τόδ’ αὐτὲ κύμα τώ πι[φ]οτερ[θ]ω ’νέμω}^{422} \\
\text{στείχει, παρέξει δ’ ἁμμὶ πόνον πόλυν} \\
\text{άντλην, ἐπεὶ κε νάος ἔμβαι} \\
\text{].όμεθ’ ἐ[}
\]

5 | [.][.] | [.][.][.][.][.]

\[
\phiαξάωμεθ’ ώς ὀκιστὰ [τοίχοις,} \\
\text{ἐς δ’ ἔχυρον λίμηνα δρό[μ]ωμεν·} \\
\]

καὶ μὴ τιν’ ὄκνος μόλθ[ακος ἀμβέων} \\
10 \text{λάβῃ πρόδηλον γὰρ μέγ’ [ἀέθλιον.} \\
\text{μνάσθητε τώ πάροιθε μ[όχθω·}

\[421\] For a discussion of the epithet in Alc. 34 see Broger 1996, ad loc.; for the epithet in epic poetry cf. LfgrE, s.v. μέλας. For a similar contrast between darkness and light in terms of an opposition between trouble and salvation see Archil. 24 infra (4.4.2).

\[422\] Campbell puts the reading adopted in most codd., προτέρω νέμω (ABG), between cruces, because it does not seem to make sense. I follow Voigt in her interpretation προτέρω ’νέμω, i.e. προτέρω ἀνέμω.
νῦν τις ἄνηρ δόκιμος γε[νέσθω].

καὶ μὴ καταισχύνωμεν [ἀνανδρίαι]
ἔσλοις τόκηας γὰς υπὰ κε[μένοις

This wave in turn comes by the previous wind, and it will give us much trouble to bail out, when it enters the ship’s...Let us strengthen (the ship’s sides) as quickly as possible, and let us race into a secure harbour; and let cowardly fear not seize any of us: for a great (ordeal) stands clear before us. Remember the previous (hardship): now let every man show himself trustworthy. And let us not disgrace (by cowardice) our noble fathers lying beneath the earth, who...

The poem seems to express the imminent rise of tyranny in the polis, as is hinted at in the first stanza by the image of the coming of a ‘wave’ that will give the ‘sailors’ much trouble to bail out. It is particularly clear if we are aware that the verb about the coming of a ‘wave’, στείχει, is used of people in early Greek poetry and if we connect this with the fact that tyranny is mentioned later in the fragment (μοναρχίαν, line 27). In the following stanzas, then, the speaker exhorts his companions to take action by making use of several imperatives and adhortative subjunctives.

Just as in fragment 208, the image of bilge water entering in the ship points at the threatening danger of a sinking ship. The choice of the tenses, however, reveals that the situation is not as

423 The fragment continues another fifteen lines, but the remains are too scattered to allow discussion.

424 For the use of στείχω about persons cf. LfgrE, s.v. for epic poetry; for lyric poetry cf. B. 9.17, 18.36, Pi. N. 1.25 and 65, 9.20, Sapph. 27.8 and 30.7. Most scholars (van Neso 1963, 73; Campbell 1982 (1967), ad loc.; Martin 1972, 53; Rösler 1980, 130-131; Gentili 1988 (1985), 205; Porro 1996, ad loc.; Liberman 1999, ad loc.) connect this fragment, just like fragment 208, with the tyrant Myrsilus, based on text-external grounds, i.e. Heraclitus’ interpretation of the poem and a comment in the lower margin of the fragment which has the name Myrsilus. For reasons mentioned earlier, I am again hesitant to follow a specifically historical reading.
pressing: whereas in fragment 208 only present tenses are used to stress the urgency of the situation, in fragment 6 the combination of the present στείχει with the future παρέξει reveals that the trouble (πόνον) will take place only in the (near) future. This means that the sailors still have some (limited) time to overcome the storm and explains why the speaker is able to urge the sailors to strengthen the ship and race into a secure harbour (ἐχύρον λίμενα) in the following stanza. By making use of the epithet ἐχύρον the speaker stresses the safety of the harbour as a point of contrast with the danger of the sea.425

The sense of danger, perceived by the speaker, is again connected to the emotions of himself and his fellow companions. In this case the speaker mentions emotions they should not have, for in lines 9-10 he uses a third person imperative to exhort his companions that cowardly fear (ὀκνος μόλθακος)426 should not seize any of them. By making use of the epithet μόλθακος the speaker negatively qualifies emotions of fear: anyone who is frightened in the presence of a storm is a coward.

A final ship metaphor occurs in Theognis 667-682.427

εἰ μὲν χρήματ’ ἔχοιμι, Σιμωνίδη, οἷά περ ἡδη

425 For the harbour as a place of safety, set against the danger of the sea, cf. also Sc. 207. Burnett 1983, ad loc. believes that the harbour stands for the gathering of the hetaeria in the symposium. However, this interpretation only holds if the ship stands for the hetaeria and not for the polis (cf. supra). Moreover, based on the opinion of metaphor specialists that metaphors do not function as mere substitutions of referents (see 1.2.2), I doubt whether the metaphor should be decoded that specifically.

426 The supplement μόλθακος has generally been accepted by editors (e.g. Voigt and Campbell).

427 Based on the addressee Simonides, who is also addressed in another Theognidean poem (lines 467-496) that has been ascribed to Euenus by Aristotle (Metaph. 4.5.1015a28), many scholars assert that the author of the poem is Euenus (Adrados 1981 (1956), ad loc.; Van Groningen 1966, ad loc.; Ferrari 1989, ad loc.). In this respect, it is important to restate (cf. 2.3.1) that the Corpus Theognideum is an anthology of archaic and classical Greek elegy which has only much later been ascribed to Theognis.
If I had wealth, Simonides, I would not feel distressed as I now feel in the company of the noble. But now I am aware that it passes me by, and I am voiceless because of need, although I know one thing still better than many, that we are now being carried along with white sails lowered beyond the Melian sea through the dark night, and they refuse to bail, but the sea is washing over both sides. In very truth, anyone has much difficulty saving oneself, because they are doing such things: they have deposed the noble helmsman who skillfully kept watch; they seize possessions by force, discipline is lost, and no longer is there an equal distribution in the common interest; the merchants rule, and the base are above the noble. I am afraid that perhaps a wave will swallow the ship. Let these be my

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428 Gerber follows the reading of the manuscript (O) γνοὺς ἂν, but ἂν with a participle is possible only in the case of an accusative plus participle (see Rijksbaron 2002 (1984), 119, n4). I adopt Van Groningen’s conjecture γνοὺς ἐν (other editors, e.g. Hudson-Williams and Carrière, opt for γνοὺς περ, which is paleographically less likely).

429 I follow the conjecture κακός, accepted by most editors (e.g. West and Ferrari, but not Young and Gerber), for κακόν. With κακόν the meaning would be ‘but anyone, if he is wise, can recognise even the calamity (of the situation)’, but in that case the use of καί with κακός is not understandable.
riddling words with hidden meaning for the noble; but even a base man, if he is wise, can recognise (their meaning).

In this poem the metaphorical nature of the ship image is made manifest in the final two lines, where the poem is said to be a riddle for the aristocrats. The socio-political overtones of the metaphor are brought to the foreground in the second part of the metaphor, i.e. the situation on board the ‘ship’ (lines 675-679). The speaker, who is in the company of the noble (cf. τοῖς ἀγαθοῖσι συνών in 668), i.e. his fellow aristocrats, is distressed, because his companions have made an end to the orderly rule of the ‘helmsman’ (κυβέρνητης), probably some sort of tyrant. This has provoked chaos and injustice on the ‘ship’, i.e. in the polis, and has enabled the ‘merchants’ (φορτηγοί), presumably the nouveaux riches, to gain power. The image of a ‘ship’ in a ‘storm’ in the first part of the metaphor (lines 671-674) is then a husteron proteron, as it is the result of the shift in power narrated in the second part. The speaker chooses for this reversed order to make the socio-political content only gradually clear and to begin the metaphor with an emphasis on the danger of the present situation.

430 Cf. supra for a discussion of the end of Theognis’ poem.
431 The adjective ἀγαθός predominantly refers to aristocrats in the Theognidea: see lines 43, 57, 111, 148, 188, 190, 315, 319, 372, 398, 436, 438, 525, 614, 792, 797, 893, 1097, 1111, 1162c.
432 Cp. the use of the noun εὐθυντήρ, which has associations with steering a ship (cf. A. Supp. 717, and the verb ἱθύνω in Il. 23.317 and Od. 11.10), and is used about a tyrant in another Theognidean poem (Thgn. 40), which similarly to 667-682 adopts a positive stance towards tyranny and complains about the chaos and injustice caused by fellow aristocrats. This interpretation, which I owe to André Lardinois, goes counter to the common opinion (e.g., Van Groningen 1966, ad loc. and Ferrari 1989, ad loc.) that considers the κυβέρνητης to represent the aristocrats. The problems with this opinion are that the aristocrats are already represented by the ‘noble men’ who accompany the speaker and that it is implausible that one helmsman would represent a group of aristocrats.
433 See Van Groningen 1966, ad φορτηγοί: ‘il fait allusion aux marchands enrichis [cf. e.g. Simon. XL.3] qui, dans les villes, supplantent l’ancienne aristocratie terrienne’.
First of all, in lines 671-672 the sailors are said to be carried along with white sails lowered beyond the Melian Sea through the dark night. The sailors’ lack of control in the storm is indicated by the fact that the sails are lowered as well as by the middle form with passive meaning φερόμεσθα. In epic poetry (the Odyssey only), the verb is mostly used in an active form about winds and waves carrying sailors at sea (e.g., Od. 5.111 and 330, 10.26), but here its middle form with passive meaning about sailors being carried along at sea (in the Odyssey only in 9.82) depicts the sailors as passive victims of a storm, lacking control over their ship. The sense of danger it affects is reinforced by the time of sailing, i.e. the dark night which makes it impossible for the sailors to view what is happening, as well as by the place of sailing, namely out of the Melian Sea. If one sails out of the sea to the west round the Cycladic island Melos, one approaches Cape Malea at the southeast coast of the Peloponnese. That the sea around this promontory is notoriously treacherous and difficult to navigate, with its high cliffs and powerful storms, is clear from the nostoi of several Greek heroes, mentioned in the Odyssey (3.286-90, Menelaus; 4.514-518, Agamemnon; 9.79-81, Odysseus; 19.186-187, Odysseus in a lying tale).

Next, in lines 673-674a sailors refuse to bail out the ship, even though the sea is washing over both sides. Just as in Alcaeus’ fragments, the image of bilge water in a ship points at the danger of sinking. The situation is extremely urgent in this poem, for the water is threatening to the sailors’ lives (cf. lines 674b-675a). That the dangerous situation is intensified by the sailors’ unwillingness to bail out the water makes the image harsher, since they represent the aristocratic companions, to whom the metaphor is directed (cf. line 681).

Finally, the end of the metaphor (680) returns to the opening part on the storm with another reference to the imminent danger, by drawing on the image of a ship about to be swallowed by a wave. At this point, the danger of the sea, perceived by the

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434 Cp. φορέω supra in Alc. 208 and Sol. 13.
435 See de Jong 2001, ad 4.514. Cf. also DNP, s.v. Malea.
speaker, is connected to emotions of fear he experiences (δειμαίνω). In contrast to Alcaeus’ fragments, the speaker’s emotions are not shared by his companions. In this way, the speaker distances himself from the other aristocrats: by criticising their behaviour and offering an instructive metaphorical image, he hopes that they will become aware of the gravity of the situation for which they are held responsible (cf. lines 681-682).

I now proceed to poems with an even more manifest connection between danger at sea and feelings of fear. A first one is Archilochus 105:

Γλαῦχ’, ὡρα ἀθυρό γὰρ ἡδη κύμασιν ταράσσεται πόντος, ἀμφὶ δ’ ἄκρα Γυρέων ὀρθὸν ἰσταται νέφος, σήμα χειμώνος· κιχάνει δ’ ἐξ ἀελπτής φόβος.

Look, Glaucus: the deep sea is now being disturbed by the waves, and a cloud stands straight round about the heights of Gyrae, a sign of storm; from the unexpected comes fear.

In these lines a sense of danger is created by the perception of a storm (χειμώνος) when it is about to take place. That the position from which the imminent storm is being perceived seems to be the ship rather than the coast is suggested by the contrast between the deep sea beneath and the clouds round about the heights of Gyrae above. The contrast also enhances the sense of

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436 Most scholars (Bowra 1940, 127; Campbell 1982 (1967), 150; Clay 1982, 201; Gentili 1988 (1985), 213-214; De Martino-Vox 1996, ad loc.) read the poem as an allegory for impending war, in the wake of Heraclitus, who cites these lines (All. 5.2). However, nothing in the lines we possess refers to war. It could be that the rest of the poem dealt with war, but this is not certain at all (for these and other objections to an allegorical reading see Dietel 1939, 72-73 and Elliger 1975, 168-169).

437 The contextual significance of the epithet βαθύς, evinced by the contrast between the deep sea and the heights of Gyrae, refutes the belief of Harvey 1957, 219 that the epithet is merely ornamental here. Already the fact that noun and epithet are separated from each other hints at contextual significance. See further
danger, as is particularly clear from the reference to Gyrae. Rather than referring to a real, geographical location, Gyrae is a place symbolic of danger at sea, as is known, for example, from the story of Ajax Oileus/Lesser Ajax, mentioned in the *Odyssey* (4.500-511). The story goes that Poseidon threw Ajax against the rocks of Gyrae, but then saved him from the waves. Afterwards, Ajax sacrilegiously boasted that he had escaped death at sea, despite the gods’ will. Poseidon got angry and split up the rocks of Gyrae with his trident: consequently, part of the rocks fell down and crushed Ajax. As the end of the poem evinces, the sense of danger is connected to emotions of fear (φόβος).

The ‘ship of state’ poems as well as Archilochus 105 show that the symbolic associations of the sea with danger have a psychologising function, as they are connected with the emotions of the human subjects. The psychologising function is still more thoroughly worked out in a fragment by Simonides (543), of which we miss at least one strophe. In this fragment the person who finds himself at sea is a mythological, female character, as the fragment tells part of the story of Danaë. She was shut up in a tower by her father because of a prophecy that his grandson would murder him. Zeus

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438 Cf. Clay 1982, 203. Many scholars, however, have tried (in vain) to geographically locate them. While Bowra 1940, 128-129 first suggested the south east of Euboea, based on the mention in the *Nostoi* that the shipwreck of Ajax took place off the promontory of Caphereus in Euboea, other suggestions made are Cycladic islands, such as Myconos or Delos, where the alleged grave of Ajax was situated (Apollod. 6.5 and Lyc. *Alex*. 400-407), and Tenos, based on a gloss of Hesychius who names Γύρας a mountain in Tenos (for Tenos see, for instance, Sandbach 1942; Adrados 1981 (1956), *ad loc.*; Campbell 1982 (1967), *ad loc.*; Gerber 1970, *ad loc.*; De Martino-Vox 1996, *ad loc.*). Most of these Cycladic islands suggested are supported by a letter of Cicero (*Ad Atticum* 5.12.1), in which he locates the άκρα Γυρέων in the neighbourhood of Delos, as well as by a biographical reading, insofar as they are visible from Paros, the birth island of Archilochus (but see Tsagarakis 1977 for problems with biographical readings of iambic poetry).

439 For the psychologising function of space see 1.2.2 (and 3.3.1 on fields).

himself fell in love with her, came to her in the form of a shower of gold and made her pregnant. When her father heard that she had given birth to a son, called Perseus, he put mother and child to sea in a chest. At this point of the story, the fragment begins:

Ὅτε λάρνακι
ἐν δαιδαλέαι
ἀνεμός τε μιν πνέων
κινηθείσα τε λίμνα δείματι
έρειπεν, οὐκ ἄδιαντοισι παρειαῖς
ἀμφὶ τε Περσέι βάλλε φίλαν χέρα
eἰπέν τ’ · ὦ τέκος, οίον ἔχω πόνον·

σὺ δ’ ἀωτεῖς, γαλαθηνῶι
δ’ ἦτορι κνωόσσεις

ἐν ἄτερπέι δοῦραι χαλκεογόμφῳ
νυκτὶ <τ’ ἀ>λαμπέι
κυνέωι τε δυνόφωι σταλεῖς.

κύματος οὐκ ἀλέγεις, οὐδ’ ἀνέμου
φθόγγον, πορφυρεῖς

κέλομαι <δ’>, εὕδε βρέφος,
eὐδέτω δὲ πόντος, εὐδέτω <δ’> ἄμετρον κακόν.

ζεὺ πάτερ, ἐκ σέο·

ὅτι δὲ θαρσαλέον ἐπος εὔχομαι
ἡ νόσφι δίκας,

σύγγνωθι μοι.
When in the cunningly-carved chest the blowing wind and the agitated sea prostrated her in fear, with streaming cheeks she put her loving arm about Perseus and said: ‘My child, what suffering is mine! But you sleep, and with babyish heart slumber in the dismal boat with its brazen bolts, sent forth in an unlit night and the dark murk. You pay no attention to the deep spray above your hair, as the wave passes by, nor to the sound of the wind, lying in your purple blanket, a lovely face. If this danger were a danger to you, why, you would turn your tiny ear to my words. Sleep, my baby, I urge you, and let the sea sleep, let the immense trouble sleep. May some change appear from you, father Zeus: if anything in my prayer is audacious or unjust, pardon me.’

The fragment opens with an image of the sea in a state of storm: the wind is blowing (ἄνεμος…πνέων) and the sea is agitated (κινθηθεῖσα τε λίμνα). The stormy state of the sea is immediately connected to the emotions of Danaë, for the agitated sea is said to prostrate her in fear (δείματι / ἔρειπεν). The shift after the opening scene from narrator-text about Danaë to character-text (direct speech) by Danaë herself adrift at sea not only enhances the sense of danger of the sea, as it is perceived directly through her eyes, but also neatly links it to her emotions of fear. This is immediately clear from Danaë’s opening words, which exclaim the suffering (πόνον) she undergoes. The use of the first person singular ἔχω reveals that it is Danaë alone who is suffering, whereas her infant child, whom she addresses, sleeps and does not pay attention to what happens around him (cf. lines 8-9).

441 According to Rosenmeyer 1991, 16, the participle κινθηθεῖσα points at Danaë’s emotional disturbance. There are, however, two problems with this hypothesis: the participle is not used about Danaë and the meaning of the verb Rosenmeyer suggests is not attested in early Greek poetry (cf. LSJ, s.v. κινέω 2: from Plato onwards).


443 The contrast has briefly been noted before, for instance, by Fränkel 1975 (1962), 316; Rosenmeyer 1991, 15; Poltera 2008, 507.
δνόφωι, 12) conveys the distress of the person who makes the utterance, rather than that to whom it is directed. The contrast between the emotions of Danaë and the carelessness of Perseus is further elaborated in the rest of Danae’s speech.

Firstly, in lines 13-16 Danaë speaks to Perseus about the high spray above his hair (ἄχναν δ’ ὑπερθε τεᾶν κομᾶν / βαθεῖαν), as the wave passes by, and the sound of the wind. In epic and other lyric poetry the epithet βαθύς is combined with ἁλς and πόντος with the meaning ‘deep sea’, but in Simonides’ fragment with ἁχνα in the sense of ‘high spray’, as the noun is used ‘nur speziell von der hoch spitzenden Gischt, die sich beim…starken Sturm bildet’. The danger of the movement is, however, only apparent to Danaë, for Perseus does not pay attention to it (ὦκ ἀλέγεις in line 15).

Secondly, in line 18 the double use of δεινόν about the sea by Danaë stresses its danger. Although the use of the particle τοι makes clear that the utterance is directed to Perseus, the unreal present expressed by the imperfect ἦν in the conditional clause (εἰ) shows that Perseus does not actually perceive the danger. All this is to be ascribed only to the person who makes the utterance: Danaë.

Finally, in line 22 the repetitive use of the imperative εὐδέτω with πόντος and ἄμετρον κακόν indicates that the sea

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444 Cp. the associations of δνόφος with grief because of death in A. Ch. 52; for associations of darkness with distress in archaic Greek lyric see also Archil. 24 (ζόφος, discussed in 4.4.2) and 130.1b-2 (μέλας), Alc. 34.11-12 (μέλας, discussed supra).
445 For its use with ἁλς see my discussion of B. 17.62 in 4.2.2. For πόντος cf. Archil. 105; Thgn. 10 and 511; Pi. N. 4.36, P. 1.24 and 3.76.
446 LfgrE, s.v. ἁχνη: cf. Il. 4.426 and 11.307; Od. 5.403 and 12.238; in lyric poetry it is attested only in this fragment. The noun ἁχναν is, in fact, an emendation by Page, accepted amongst others by Campbell, for the codd. readings αὐλέαν (PV) and αὐλαίαν (M). Another emendation suggested is ἁλμαν (‘salt sea’, cf. e.g. Poltera), but this one seems less likely, for spray of the sea is more easy to imagine being above the head of the child than the (salt) sea itself.
447 For the use of δεινὸς about the sea in early Greek poetry cf. Od. 3.322; see also its use about death at sea in Op. 687 and 691.
causes immense trouble to Danaë. To calm the sea she turns the lullaby she is singing to her child (line 21), who has already fallen asleep, into a lullaby to the sea. The use of the verb εὔδω (‘sleep’) about the sea reveals an instance of personification. While the verb is mostly used about people in early Greek poetry, its use about the sea aligns with exceptional instances about nature (of winds in Il. 5.524; of mountains, valleys and earth in Alcm. 89). These cases are to be considered instances of personification, particularly of ‘activisation’, by which inanimate nature is endowed with physical life. In Simonides’ fragment the personification of the sea does not only dramatise the danger of the situation, but also underscores the pathos of the futility of Danaë’s attempt to communicate with the sea.

4.4.2. Before and After the Sea Journey

A second type of sea poems is about departure and arrival of a sea voyage. I begin with the former, on the basis of a brief Theognidean poem: 691-692.

Χαίρων, εὖ τελέσειας ὁδὸν μεγάλου διὰ πόντου,
καί σε Ποσειδάων χάρμα φίλοις ἀγάγοι.

449 For the predominant use of the verb about persons see LfgrE, s.v. εὔδω for epic poetry; for lyric poetry see Pi. O. 13.67 and P. 1.6, Sol. 37.3, Thgn. 469 and 1045.
450 For ‘activisation’ and other subtypes of personification see 1.2.2 (and my discussion of city personification in 2.3.1).
451 For personification as a means of dramatisation see Biddle 1991, 187 and Yatromanolakis 1991, 37ff.: see further 1.2.2 (in general) and 2.3.1 (on city personification); the problems of communication for Danaë in this fragment are the subject of Rosenmeyer 1991. Scholars (Bowra 1961 (1936), 336-339; Fränkel 1975 (1962), 315-316; Burnett 1985, 13-14; Rosenmeyer 1991, 13-14) have argued that the prayer to Zeus in lines 23-27 reveals a shift from fear to faith in Zeus’ power of salvation. However, there are no indications that Zeus will save Danaë and Perseus, for the optative φανείη shows that μεταβουλία remains only a wish. Moreover, one has to distinguish between the limited knowledge of the character (Danaë) at this point in the story and the broader foreknowledge of the narratees: in contrast to the narratees, Danaë is not aware that she will eventually be saved.
Chaeron, may you safely complete your voyage (rejoicing) over the vast sea, and may Poseidon bring you as a source of joy to your friends.

The poem is a propemptikon, a speech of a friend with a wish for a safe journey to a departing voyager. It is based on a word play. The initial Χαίρων may function both as a vocative of a person’s name, the addressee of the poem, and as a participle of the verb χαίρω with the meaning ‘rejoicing’, which would reveal a neat connection with the consequent joy (χάρμα) to his friends. Moreover, it may also remind of the imperative form χαίρε, ‘farewell’, a standard saying at leave-taking.

The safety of the sea voyage wished for is stressed not only by the adverb εὖ, but also by the reference to Poseidon, who is asked to secure a safe journey because he is the protector of seafarers (cp. the Hymn to Poseidon). This shows that the sea is considered a potential source of danger and fear, which is further evinced by the way the sea is described: that the ‘vast sea’ (μεγάλου...πόντου) bears associations with fear is demonstrated by the story of Menelaus’ return, mentioned in Odyssey 3 (lines 321-322), where the quasi-synonomous epithet-noun combination πέλαγος μέγα is called vast and fearful (μέγα τε δεινόν τε).

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452 That Thgn. 691-692 is a propemptikon has been noted by Van Groningen 1966, ad loc.; West 1974, 16; Ferrari 1989, ad loc. For a discussion of the propemptikon in Greek and Latin literature I refer to Cairns 1972, 7-16.

453 Scholars have argued that Χαίρων is either a participle (Van Groningen 1966, ad loc. and Ferrari 1989, ad loc.) or a vocative (West 1974, 158 and Gerber 2006 (1999), ad loc.), but they do not take the possibility into account that both meanings could be at play at the same time. That Theognis likes word plays is proven by other poems: cp., for instance, the play with χαλεπῶς in 520; see also my discussion of the erotic city metaphors in 2.3.2 and supra the ship metaphors for verbal games in the symposium.

454 For the latter cp. Sappho 5, where ‘Sappho’ prays to the Nereids for a safe arrival of her brother, so that he may become a joy to his friends (καὶ φίλοισι χάραν γένεσθαι).

455 Cf. e.g. Od. 5.205, 8.461 and 13.59; see further LSJ, s.v. χαίρω III.2.

456 Cf. also infra my discussion of Archil. 24.
I now turn to poems about arrival of a sea voyage. These form part of the *prosphonetika*, in which a traveller who has safely arrived is welcomed back by a friend. In epic poetry sea *prosphonetika* are attested in the *Odyssey*: Telemachus is welcomed back by Eumaius (*Od*. 16.11-67) and Penelope (17.28-60) after his journey to Pylos and Sparta, and Odysseus after his long *nostos* by Telemachus (16.197-234), Penelope (23.205-350) and Laertes (24.345-412). In Odyssean and other ancient Greek *prosphonetika* the danger of the sea journey is evoked by references to divine assistance throughout the voyage, the dangers and sufferings undergone by the voyager, and the sufferings of the friend during the voyager’s absence and/or joy because of his return.\(^{457}\) A good example of a sea *prosphonetikon* in archaic Greek lyric is Archilochus 24:\(^{458}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{n̄n̄ī sūn σμικρή μέγαν} \\
\text{πόντον περήσας ἠλθες ἐκ Γορτυνίς} \\
\text{σο ωτίτ γεπεστάθη[[v]]} \\
\text{και τόδ’ ἀφπαλ[ι]ζομ[α]ι} \\
\text{κρηγυίς ἄφικ[} \\
\text{λμοισιν εξ[. . . . .].ζ} \\
\text{χειρα και π[αρ]εστ[ά]θης} \\
\text{ουσας[.φ[ορτ]των δὲ μοι μέ[λ]ει} \\
\text{ήκιστα,[} \\
\text{νέ φιτ’ ἀπώλετο} \\
\text{v ἐστι μηχανή}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{457}\) For these and other features of the *prosphonetikon*, with references to the *Odyssey* and other ancient Greek and Latin literature, followed by a discussion of Theoc. *Id*. 12, I refer to Cairns 1972, 18-31.

\(^{458}\) That this fragment is a *prosphonetikon* has been noted by Burnett 1983, 45, n34 and Slings 1987, *ad loc.*; another sea *prosphonetikon* in archaic Greek lyric is Theognis 511-522, but this poem deals more with the theme of poverty (of seafarer and welcomer) than with the sea journey itself. Although some editors (Laserre-Bonnard, Treu, Tarditi) treat fragments 23 and 24 as one poem, because no *paragraphus* is visible, I follow the dominant opinion (Lobel, Peek, Adrados, West, Slings, Gerber) that considers them separate poems because there is a difference in subject matter: in fragment 23 a man holds a speech of defense to a woman (see further 2.3.2), while fragment 24 is about the return of a sailor after a sea voyage.
δ᾽ ἄν ἄλλον οὕτιν’ εὐφοίμην ἐγὼ
εἰ σικῆς κύμ᾽ άλος κατέκλυσεν

ή.ν χερσίν αἰχμητέων ὑπό
15 νῦν δ᾽ θεὶ καὶ σε θε[ός ἐφ]φύσατο
].[.] κάμμε μουνοθέντ’ ἰδ. .

…(after having crossed) the vast (sea) in a small ship you arrived from Gortyn…I am glad of this…you came on a good (?)…(held over you?) his hand and you got here…I am (not at all) concerned about the cargo…whether it was lost (or)…I could not find another…(if?) a wave of the sea had washed you over (or)…at the hands of spearmen…you had lost the splendid prime of your youth. (But as it is)…and a god saved you…and me left alone…lying in the darkness I am restored to the light of the sun.

A first indication of the dangers of the voyage is the contrast between the vastness of the sea (μέγαν πόντον) and the smallness of the ship (νηῒ σὺν σ[μ]ικρῆι) in lines 1-2 – a contrast which is reinforced by the fact that σ[μ]ικρῆι and μέγαν stand next to each other: we know from Op. 643-645 that a small ship is beautiful, but a large one better in the case of a storm, and from Od. 321-322 that a ‘vast sea’ (πέλαγος μέγα) is vast and fearful (μέγα τε δεινόν τε).

Secondly, in line 2 the danger of the voyage is underscored by the place from which the voyager has come from: the Cretan Gortyn. That Gortyn has symbolic associations with danger can be derived from the story of Menelaus’ journey from Troy to Sparta,

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459 Although we do not possess the noun with which the epithet μέγαν is combined, Adrados’ supplement πόντον has been accepted by most editors (West, Slings, Bossi and Gerber): cp. Od. 6.272, 9.129 and 24.118, Pi. P. 3.76.

460 Cf. Slings 1987, ad loc.

461 For the latter see also supra my discussion of Thgn. 691-692.
told by Nestor in *Od.* 3.292-297: when Menelaus’ fleet approached Gortyn, it was driven to the rocks because of a storm, but fortunately the sailors managed to save themselves.

Next, the possible dangers and sufferings during the voyage are alluded to in lines 8-14. Lines 8-12 seem to express the danger of a potential shipwreck, which may involve the loss of cargo and, more importantly, the death of the sea voyager. Lines 12-14 seem to allude to possible death at the hands of spearmen (12-14), presumably pirates or barbarous tribes on coasts. If the emendation θὲ[ὸς ἐρύσατο in line 15 is correct, the welcomer ascribes the seafarer’s success in overcoming these dangers and sufferings to divine assistance.

Finally, the end of the poem conveys the past sufferings and present joy of the welcoming friend (lines 17-18): the claim that he was lying in the darkness but is now restored to the light of the sun symbolises his emotional development from distress because of the absence of his friend to salvation and joy because of his return.

As a final example of the prosphonetikon I turn to an elegiac poem by Archilochus (13):

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462 Only Slings 1987, *ad loc.* has noted the parallel, pointing out that the area around Gortyn is ‘one of the riskiest parts of the seas sailed by the Greeks’. Other scholars (West 1974, 120; Burnett 1983, *ad loc.*; Gerber 2006 (1999), *ad loc.*) simply note that Gortyn is the Cretan Gortyn.

463 See Slings 1987, *ad loc.*

464 The emendation was suggested by Lobel and has been accepted by most editors (Tarditi, West, Slings, Bossi and Gerber). There might be yet another reference to divine assistance: in line 7 Χειρα might have formed part of a phrase in which a god is said to hold his hand over the sea voyager (cf. West 1974, 120, Bossi 1990, *ad loc.* and Gerber 2006 (1999), *ad loc.*). However, due to the fragmentary state of the poem this cannot be stated with certainty.

465 Cp. *Od.* 16.23 and 17.41, where Telemachus is said to be a source of joy (φάος) to Eumaius and Penelope because of his return. For a similar contrast between darkness and light in terms of distress versus salvation and joy cf. Alc. 34.11 discussed above. For darkness and its associations with distress elsewhere in early Greek poetry see further Simon. 543.12 discussed above. For light (φάος) as a metaphor for salvation and joy see further my discussion of B. 13.128-129 in 4.3.1.
κήδεα μὲν στονόεντα, Περίκλεες, οὔτε τις ἀστών
μεμφόμενος θαλῆς τέρψεται οὐδὲ πόλις
τοίους γὰρ κατὰ κῦμα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης
ἐκλυσεν, οἰδαλέους δ᾽ ἄμφ᾽ ὀδύνης ἔχομεν
πνεύμονας. ἀλλὰ θεοὶ γὰρ ἀνηκέστοις κακοίσιν,
ὡς φιλ',[ έπι κρατερὴν τλημοσύνην ἔθεσαν
φάρμακον. ἀλλοτε ἄλλος ἔχει τόδε νῦν μὲν ἐς ἡμέας
ἐτράπεθ᾽, αἴματόεν δ᾽ ἐλκος ἀναστένομεν,
ἐξαύτες δ᾽ ἐτέρους ἐπαμείψεται. ἀλλὰ τάχιστα
τλήτε, γυναικείον πένθος ἀπωσάμενοι.

Our grievous woes, Pericles, no citizen will blame, when delighting in
festivities, nor even the city: for such important men did a wave of the
load-roaring sea wash over, and we have lungs swollen because of grief.
But, my friend, for incurable woes the gods have set powerful endurance
as an antidote. This woe comes to different people at different times; now
it has turned upon us, and we bewail a bloody wound, but later it will
pass to others. Come, endure with all haste, thrusting aside womanly
mourning.

This elegiac poem is a mixture of consolation and exhortation to
endurance after the drowning of important men (cf. τοίους in
enjambment in 3a). The poem can be read as a reversal of the
prosphonetikon, insofar as it substitutes a safe and happy arrival
after a sea voyage by death that causes grief. The death of the
sailors is referred to by an image of a ‘wave of the loud-roaring sea’
(κῦμα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης) that washes over
(κατὰ...ἐκλυσεν) the sailors.

The use of the expression κῦμα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης
may link the death of the sailors to consequent emotions of grief of
the citizens. In epic poetry the expression is used five times, twice
in a simile. In Il. 2.209 the noisy return of the Greeks to their ships
is compared to the thundering of a ‘wave of the loud-roaring sea’,

466 The codd. read ἄμφ᾽ ὀδύνης ἔχομεν (S) and ἔχομεν ἀμφ᾽ ὀδύνη (Par. 1958),
but the correction ἄμφ᾽ ὀδύνης ἔχομεν has been generally accepted (e.g. by West
and Gerber).
and in 13.798 the attacking Trojans are compared to winds which cause surging ‘waves of the loud-roaring sea’. In these similes the expression seems to mirror the noisy actions of Greek and Trojan warriors in the narrative. In Archilochus 13 it could also have a mirroring function, in that the loud noise of the sea might mirror the citizens’ γυναικεῖον πένθος (‘womanly mourning’, line 10), an extreme and loud form of lamentation.

The connection between death and consequent emotions of grief is made more explicit in lines 4b-5a, where the lungs of the living citizens are said to be swollen because of grief (οἰδαλέους δ’ ἀμφ’ ὀδύνηις ἔχομεν / πνεύμονας). On the basis of the previous reference to death at sea, one would rather expect the lungs of the sailors to be swollen from exposure to water. Through the use of the verb οἰδάνω about the lungs of the living, swollen from weeping, a smooth transition is established from the death of the sailors at sea to the consequent grief of the people in the polis, which facilitates the transition in the poem from the sea scene to the exhortation to endurance.

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467 The other three epic instances are: Il. 6.347, where Helen wishes that, on the day of her birth, a ‘wave of the loud-roaring sea’ had swept her away, so that all the misery of the Trojan War had been avoided; Cypr. fr. 9.8, where Nemesis, adopting the form of a fish, flees over a ‘wave of the loud-roaring sea’ to escape from Zeus; h. Ven. 6.4, where the birth of Aphrodite is referred to by the mention that the western wind carried her in soft foam over a ‘wave of the loud-roaring sea’.

468 Contra the opinion that the epithet πολυφλοίσβοιος is here ornamental (Lesky 1947, 192-194; Harvey 1957, 216; Page 1963, 126; Adkins 1985, 43); see my introduction (1.1) for my general claim that epithets have contextual significance in archaic lyric poetry. In the case of its use with θίς, the epithet-noun combination πολυφλοίσβοι θαλάσσης also seems to have a mirroring function: in 3.2.3 I argued that it mirrors emotional agitation of persons who are feeling sad on the shore (in epic poetry) or chaotic retreat (in the ‘new Archilochus’).

469 This has been pointed out by Burnett 1983, 47-48; Adkins 1985, 39 and 44.

470 Thus, the transition is earlier prepared than by ἀλλά (5) alone – contrary to what commentators believe (Van Groningen 1958, 139; Campbell 1982 (1967), ad loc.; Gerber 1970, ad loc.; De Martino-Vox 1996, ad loc.).
4.5. CONCLUSION

This chapter has revealed three of the roles the sea can play in archaic Greek lyric. Firstly, in mythological narratives about sea journeys the sea has a role as setting, i.e. scenic backdrop, and secondary frame, i.e. place close to the setting, and is subordinated to the action and speeches in the narrative. In this respect, archaic Greek lyric aligns with the *Odyssey*, in particular the part about Odysseus’ wanderings before his arrival on Ithaca (books 5-13). There, the sea is the setting when Odysseus is sailing and the secondary frame when he is on land (e.g. on the island of Polyphemus or the Lotophagi), subordinated to the plot of his adventures. In my discussion I focused on the way the temporal structure of the narratives, i.e. the duration and frequency, affects the presentation of the sea journey. In Pindar’s *Pythian* 4 the summarised narrative is presented by the narrator with an emphasis on the danger of the journey, in order to glorify the Argonauts and their Battiad descendants; in Bacchylides 17 the characters’ emotional reactions to the repeated key event of the scenic narrative dramatise the narrative and stimulate the involvement of the narratees.

Secondly, in similes the sea is presented both as calm and stormy. This is unlike Homeric similes, where the focus lies on one aspect of the sea, usually its fury. The roles of the sea similes are not only to illustrate situations and events and their consequent emotions, as in epic poetry, but also to characterise a person or reinforce the praise of someone.

Finally and most importantly, in other, brief (sections of) poems about sea voyages, including arrival (*prosphonetika*) and departure (*propemptika*), the sea has a symbolic role, as it is associated with danger. In Pindar’s *Pythian* 4, too, emphasis is put on the danger of the sea, but in that case the role of the sea as setting and frame still predominates over that as symbol. In this respect, the distinction between setting and symbol is one of gradation according to the dominant role.
Based on more in-depth analyses, I demonstrated that in many poems the danger is reinforced by the diction about the sea, epithets in particular. Moreover, I pointed out that the symbolic associations with danger have a ‘psychologising function’, as they are connected to emotions, especially of fear, by the sea voyager (in poems about the sea journey itself) or his friend (in propemptika and prophontika).