

ION OF CHIOS

THE CASE OF A FOREIGN POET IN CLASSICAL SPARTA

ABSTRACT

This paper aims to reassess one piece of evidence for the performance of music and poetry in classical Sparta: an elegy by the Chian poet Ion (fr. 27 West). It is argued here that this poem evokes the atmosphere of a Spartan festival and, specifically, a symposium held as part of that festival. Ion was present in Sparta not merely as a friend of prominent Athenians, as is often claimed, but as a professional travelling poet. This suggests that Sparta remained an important centre for μουσική in the classical period and, moreover, was part of a broader Panhellenic network of festivals and contests.

χαιρέτω ἡμέτερος βασιλεὺς σωτήρ τε πατήρ τε·

ἡμῖν δὲ κρητῆρ' οἰνοχόοι θέραπες

κινράντων προχύταισιν ἐν ἀργυρέοις· †ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς

οἶνον ἔχων χειρῶν νιζέτω εἰς ἔδαφος.†

σπένδοντες δ' ἀγνῶς Ἡρακλεῖ τ' Ἀλκμήνῃ τε,

Προκλεῖ Περσείδαις τ' ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχόμενοι

πίνωμεν, παίζωμεν· ἴτω διὰ νυκτὸς ἀοιδή,

ὀρχείσθω τις· ἐκὼν δ' ἄρχε φιλοφροσύνης.

ὄντινα δ' εὐειδῆς μίμνει θήλεια πάρευνος,

κεῖνος τῶν ἄλλων κυδρότερον πίεται.

May our king rejoice, our saviour and father; let the attendant cup-bearers mix for us a crater from silver urns; †Let the golden one with wine in his hands wash to the base †

Pouring libations piously to Heracles and Alcmene, Procles and the sons of Perseus
and Zeus first of all, let us drink, let us play, let our song rise through the night. Dance
someone, willingly begin the festivities. And anyone who has a fair girl waiting to
share his bed will drink more like a man than all the others.

(Ion fr. 27 West = Leurini fr. 90)

INTRODUCTION

Ion of Chios (died c. 422/1 B.C.) is one of the most intriguing poets of the fifth century. As a tragedian Ion was at the centre of poetic life at Athens. A contemporary and rival to Euripides and Sophocles, he was victorious at least once at Athens and was fondly remembered after his death by Aristophanes.¹ Yet to Callimachus he was also a model for versatility, composing works in both verse and prose in a bewildering array of genres.²

The poem quoted above describes the successive stages of a symposium and, in doing so, is broadly similar to Xenophanes fr. 1 West, with which it is quoted by Athenaeus. Like Xenophanes' elegy, most of the content of Ion's work is generally applicable to the experience of dining anywhere in the Greek world. This is probably deliberate if Ion envisaged reperformance at multiple symposia or other occasions. At the same time, however, Ion seems also to evoke a specific context through the invocation of the mysterious unnamed king of line one. As early as 1862 Haupt concluded that the poem was composed in

¹ Victory: Athen. 3f; defeat to Euripides and Iophon in 428: *Arg. Eur. Hipp.* 25-7; meeting with Sophocles: Athen. 603e-604d = *FGrHist.* 392 F 6 = Leurini fr. 104; death: Ar. *Pax* 835-7; cf. [Longinus] *Subl.* 33.5 for the later estimation of his tragedies as second to those of Sophocles.

² Fr. 203.30-3 Pfeiffer; *Dieg.* 9.32-38 in Callim. *Iamb.* 13 (fr. 205 Pfeiffer); for a list of works see Σ Ar. *Pac.* 835-837b (Holwerda p. 129).

Sparta and contained in its opening a reference to a Spartan king.³ Neither claim has been universally accepted. Objections to a Spartan context tend to rely on two assumptions: first, that Ion the tragedian was too loyal to Athens to praise a Spartan king; and, second, that Spartans and their kings were too austere to contemplate the sort of drinking party Ion has in mind.⁴ Whitby has even argued on this basis that the poem was written for an international symposium held by the Eurypontid descendants of Demaratus in Asia Minor.⁵ Yet recent years have seen a growth in interest in the performance of poetry at Sparta.⁶ In addition, it is

³ M. Haupt, ‘Index lectionum hibernarum 1862’, in *Opuscula* (Leipzig 1876), 207-17.

⁴ The former objection led Wilamowitz to attribute the elegy to Ion of Samos, rather than his Chian namesake: see U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Timotheos. Die Perser. Aus einem Papyrus von Abusir* (Leipzig 1903), 75 n. 1, and ‘Lese Früchte’, *Hermes* 62 (1927) 276-98, at 282-3. This suggestion is refuted, however, by M.L. West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (Berlin and New York 1974), 173. On Ion’s connections with Athens cf. F. Jacoby, ‘Some remarks on Ion of Chios’, *CQ* 41 (1947) 1-17, at 7. On Spartan austerity, cf. A. Katsaros, ‘Staging Empire and other in Ion’s Symptotica’, in Jennings and Katsaros (edd.), *The World of Ion of Chios* (Leiden 2007), 217-60, 225: ‘one might well wonder whether a Spartan—king or not—would have thought [this poem] entirely appropriate’. See also N.R.E. Fisher, ‘Drink, hybris and the promotion of harmony in Sparta’, in A. Powell (ed.) *Classical Sparta: Techniques behind her success* (London 1989), 26-50, 34-5, who questioned whether the presence of foreigners may have rendered the royal *syssition* less austere than usual.

⁵ M. Whitby, ‘An international symposium? Ion of Chios fr. 27 and the margins of the Delian League’, in E. Dąbrowa (ed.) *Ancient Iran and the Mediterranean world* (Krakow 1998), 207-224, at 215, citing Xen. *Hell.* 3.16 and *Anab.* 2.13, 7.8.17.

⁶ See most recently C. Nobili, ‘Threnodic elegy in Sparta’, *GRBS* 51 (2011) 26-48; G. D’Alessio, ‘The name of the Dithyramb: diachronic and diatopic variations’, in P. Wilson and

now increasingly recognized that poets frequently presented themselves as ‘wanderers’ and, moreover, that travel could form an important part of their work in the archaic and classical periods.⁷ New and continuing research into the existence and function of networks between Greek cities should encourage us to attempt to situate Laconia within a broader circuit of Panhellenic gatherings.⁸ Ion’s Athenian connections need not automatically rule out a link to Sparta if Greek festival culture may be said to transcend political divisions and if, as I suggest, Sparta was still an important destination for wandering poets in the fifth century. It may be not be inappropriate, then, to revisit this poem to see what it can tell us about Spartan μουσική and its connections with the broader Hellenic ‘song-culture’.

At stake is our understanding of both Ion’s career and Spartan society in the classical period. Sparta’s importance not only as a poetic centre, but also as a destination for foreign poets alongside Athens deserves more attention than it has previously received. In the

B. Kowalzig (eds.) *Dithyramb in Context* (Oxford 2013) 113-32, at 123-31; E. L. Bowie, ‘Cultic contexts for elegiac performance’, in L. Swift and C. Carey (eds.) *Iambus and Elegy: New Approaches* (Oxford 2016), 15-32, at 25-7; C. Nobili, ‘Choral Elegy: the tyranny of the handbook’, in L. Swift and C. Carey (eds.) *Iambus and Elegy: New Approaches* (Oxford 2016), 33-55, at 41-51.

⁷ See R. Hunter and I. Rutherford (eds.), *Wandering Poets in Ancient Greek Culture: Travel Locality and Panhellenism* (Oxford 2009); E. Stewart, *Greek Tragedy on the Move: The Birth of a Panhellenic Art Form c. 500-300 B.C.* (Oxford 2017), 43-63.

⁸ See e.g. I. Malkin, *A Small Greek world: Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Oxford 2011), 3-20; C. Taylor and K. Vlassopoulos, ‘Introduction: an agenda for the study of Greek history’, in C. Taylor and K. Vlassopoulos (edd.), *Communities and Networks in the Ancient Greek World* (Oxford 2015), 1-18, at 5.

process, we should also reassess some of our assumptions regarding the performance of elegy as a genre. Since Bowie's influential article of 1986, we have tended to divide elegiac poetry into shorter works composed for (private) symposia and longer ('historical') elegy designed for competitive festival performance.⁹ Ion's poem, however, may evoke a third and intermediate site of performance: a public meal within the context of a (Spartan) festival. As such it serves as an excellent example of what Budelmann and Power have recently termed 'the inbetweenness of sympotic elegy.'¹⁰

1. THE IDENTITY OF THE KING

There are two reasons generally given for locating the symposium Ion describes in Sparta: first, the choice of heroes who receive libations (lines 4-5) and, second, the opening greeting to a king (line 1).¹¹ The libation to Procles has unmistakable resonances with the Eurypontid house of Sparta. In fact all four libations, to Heracles, Alcmene, Procles and the sons of Perseus seem to be connected. They are related to the Heraclids who founded kingdoms in Argos, Messenia and Laconia. Procles was the son of Aristodemus, the great grandson (according to Herodotus 6.52) of Hyllus, the son of Heracles. He and his brother Eurysthenes were twins, hence the origin of the Spartan diarchy. The libations, then, provide a subtle yet definite hint to a Laconian connection.

⁹ E. Bowie, 'Early Greek elegy, symposium and public festival', *JHS* 106 (1986) 13-35.

¹⁰ F. Budelmann and T. Power, 'The inbetweenness of sympotic elegy', *JHS* 133 (2013) 1-19.

¹¹ See Haupt (n. 3), 209-10, who is followed broadly by U. Koehler, 'Aus dem Leben des Dichters Ion', *Hermes* 29 (1894) 156-8; Jacoby (n. 4), 7-8; G. Huxley, 'Ion of Chios', *GRBS* 6 (1965) 29-46, 31-3; M.L. West, 'Ion of Chios', *BICS* 32 (1985) 71-8, at 74-5; Fisher (n. 4); K. Bartol, 'Ion of Chios and the King', *Mnemosyne* 53 (2000) 185-92, at 185-6.

The same could be said of the opening line. During Ion's lifetime, only three individuals claimed the title of king: the rulers of Persia, Macedonia and Sparta. The libation to Procles points to the latter. The Eurypontid successor of Procles who reigned through the better part of Ion's adult life, and therefore the most likely candidate, is Archidamus (469-428 B.C.). This second claim – that Ion is referring to a real king of Sparta in the first line – has, however, been disputed. There are four other possibilities: a *symposiarch*, wine, the god of wine Dionysus and Zeus.¹² The first, a *symposiarch*, is least likely: as Haupt noted, the titles 'saviour and father' seem too strong for such an office, even though symposiasts can be addressed as 'kings'.¹³ Wine, our second option, is more plausible. Elsewhere Ion himself refers to 'the wine that is king' (βασιλεὺς οἶνος fr. 26.12 West). However, the identification of wine as a king is not made explicit in this fragment and again the combination of epithets tells against this possibility. If the king of our poem is a god, then Zeus is a much more likely candidate than Dionysus. Ion, in a similar elegy, does invoke 'father Dionysus' (πάτερ Διόνυσε fr. 26. 13 West) where he is also styled 'leader of the hearty symposia' (εὐθύμων συμποσίων πρύτανι 14). However, Dionysus is not one of the gods receiving libations in line five and this combination of epithets is nowhere else applied to Dionysus. The only god who is consistently styled king, saviour and father is Zeus. The king of the gods had a strong connection with the symposium. Three craters were generally drunk: the first was dedicated

¹² Wine or Dionysus: F.G. Welcker, 'Review', *RhM* 4 (1836) 424-51, 439-40; West (n. 4), 173; D.A. Campbell (1992) *Greek Lyric IV* (Cambridge, Mass. and London 1992), 363 n.1; Katsaros (n. 4), 222-3; F. Valerio, *Ione di Chio. Frammenti Elegiaci e Melici* (Bologna 2013), 86-7; Zeus: Whitby (n. 5), 210; for further bibliography see A. Leurini, *Ionis chii. Testimonia et Fragmenta* (Amsterdam 2000²), 53.

¹³ Haupt (n. 3), 210.

to the Olympians, the second to the heroes and the third to Zeus the saviour (σωτήρ).¹⁴ The first crater could also be dedicated to Zeus.¹⁵ In Ion's poem, we find that the first libation with which the symposium begins is made to Zeus (ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχόμενοι 6).

However, although gods can be addressed in the third person, we might expect the second person χαῖρε, as is the case in Ion's address to Dionysus in fragment 26.¹⁶ The imperative χαίρετω is more often used dismissively in the sense of 'let us leave him to rejoice.'¹⁷ Bartol has understood the word in this way, meaning 'let us stop praising the king'. He sees this as a response to an earlier sympotic offering by one of Ion's fellow guests, presumably an encomium for Archidamus.¹⁸ In addition, the possessive adjective 'our' (ἡμέτερος βασιλεὺς) would be an unusual way to address Zeus, who is king and father of all

¹⁴ Three craters: Eubulus fr. 93 K–A; *Suda* κ 2338; Zeus and libations: Call. *Hymn* 1.1-3; Zeus the saviour and third libation: Pind. *Isthm.* 6. 1-9; Σ *Isthm.* 6.4 (p.251 Drachmann); Aesch. *Suppl.* 26; Ag. 1384-7; *Eum.* 758-9; fr. 55 *TrGF*; Soph. fr. 425; Athen. 692f-3a; *Suda* τ 1024; for the third libation as a metaphor in tragedy see P. Burian, 'ZEYΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΤΡΙΤΟΣ and some triads in Aeschylus' *Oresteia*', *AJP* 107 (1986) 332-42.

¹⁵ E.g. Aesch. fr. 55 *TrGF*; Diphilus fr. 70 K–A connects the bowl of water for washing hands at the start of the meal with Zeus Soter.

¹⁶ Fr. 26.15 West = Leurini 89.15. The second person is the usual form of address to gods, especially in hymns (e.g. *Hom. Hymn* 7.58) and elegy (e.g. Simonides fr. 11.19 West); Eur. *Ion* 403 is a rare exception.

¹⁷ E.g. Aesch. Ag. 252; Eur. *Med.* 1048, *Cyc.* 363-4; Theoc. 16.64-7.

¹⁸ Bartol (n. 11), 188-191.

gods and men.¹⁹ Zeus is only addressed as ‘our king’ by another god, Athena, in Homer and in this case Zeus is understood as ‘king of the gods’.²⁰ This, I suggest, is the exception that proves the rule.

An address to ‘our king’ would be more appropriate for a mortal ruler, and moreover one who is being compared to Zeus. The transference of Zeus’ epithets to a human ruler is easily explained. Monarchs are regularly compared to Zeus, who is their patron deity. In Homer kings are nurtured by Zeus, while in Hesiod kings come from Zeus.²¹ The Muses, Hesiod says, are the gods of poets and Zeus is the god of kings. In his hymn to Zeus, Callimachus (*Hymn* 1.79) quotes Hesiod, in order to make the same point. Mortal rulers can also be compared directly to Zeus. Cratinus compared Pericles to Zeus and Aspasia to Hera.²² Satyrus interpreted a reference to Zeus in Euripides’ poetry as an allusion to King Archelaus of Macedon.²³ Xenophon similarly conflated Zeus the King and the King of Persia in the interpretation of a dream (*Anab.* 3.1.12). Theocritus (*Id.* 17.1-4) sets the mortal Ptolemy II

¹⁹ Ζεῦ φίλε, θαυμάζω σε· σὺ γὰρ πάντεσσιν ἀνάσσεις Thgn. 372; cf. ὁ δὲ πάντων τύραννος, Gorgias fr. 11.20 D–K.

²⁰ ὦ πάτερ ἡμέτερε Κρονίδη ὕπατε κρειόντων *Il.* 8.31, *Od.* 1.45, 24.473; cf. Ζεύς, ἀθανάτων βασιλεύς Thgn. 1120, 1346.

²¹ διοτρεφέων βασιλῆων *Il.* 1.176; ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες Hes. *Theog.* 96; cf. *Hom. Hymn.* 25.4.

²² Fr. 258 K–A, cf. Plut. *Per.* 3.4; fr. 259 K–A. See M. Heath, ‘Aristophanes and his rivals’, *G&R* 37 (1990) 143-58, 148.

²³ Fr. 911 *TrGF*; [Ζ]ηνὶ συμ-|μεί[ξω]ν ὁρμάν, | λέγω[ν,] μετα-|φορικῶς ἐμ|φαίνει τὸν | μόναρχον Satyrus F6 (p.108 Schorn) = *P.Oxy.* 1176 fr. 39 col. 18. On fr. 911 see S. Schorn, *Satyrus aus Kallatis. Sammlung der Fragmente mit Kommentar* (Basel 2004), 322-4.

next to Zeus. However, individual kings only rule over their own lands, while Zeus is unique in being the supreme ruler of the cosmos: hence the qualification of the possessive adjective. Callimachus claims different kings have more power than others. He cites Ptolemy II, who has outstripped other rulers, as proof, referring as he does so to ‘our ruler’ (ἡμετέρῳ μεδέοντι *Hymn* 1.86). In this way, Callimachus’ ‘our king’ is easily identifiable as a mortal ruler. A Spartan king is just as likely to have been referred to in this way. Ion may have been following Tyrtaeus who described the Spartan king Theopompus as ‘our king’ (ἡμετέρῳ βασιλῆϊ fr. 5.1 West). We may also note that the Spartan kings held hereditary priesthoods of Zeus (Hdt. 6.56).

Ion’s choice of epithets for the king, when taken together, suggest that a mortal ruler, Archidamus, is meant here. Is the king actually present at the symposium? The stress laid on the fact that it is ‘our king’, together with the libations referring back to the royal line, suggest that the king is understood to be very much included in the festivities. If so, this explains the unusual third person imperative χαίρω as part of the series of third person imperatives that structure the poem. Ion progresses through the various stages usual in a symposium in the usual order. The servants prepare a crater, but before the guests drink, libations are poured. Then comes the wine and its accompaniments: song, dancing and general merriment as the company become steadily more inebriated. The first thing that must happen, Ion seems to be telling us, is that the king should be welcomed into the gathering.

Such a use of the third person is paralleled in the wedding hymn of Sappho where it is the bridegroom whom she bids to be joyful (χαίρω δ’ ὁ γάμβρος fr. 117 Voigt). Rather than dismissing the king, as Bartol believed, Ion includes him as a prominent and integral part of the assembly, like a bridegroom who comes as the honoured guest to a wedding feast. This is

appropriate to a Spartan context, since we are told by Herodotus that the kings were always seated and served first at any public occasion.

Ἦν θυσίη τις δημοτελὴς ποιῆται, πρώτους ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἵζειν τοὺς βασιλέας καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων πρώτων ἄρχεσθαι, διπλήσια νέμοντας ἑκατέρω τὰ πάντα ἢ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι δαιτυμόνεσι· καὶ σπονδαρχίας εἶναι τούτων καὶ τῶν τυθέντων τὰ δέρματα.

Whenever a sacrifice is held at public expense, the kings are the first to take their seats at the meal and are served first, and they distribute twice as much to each king as the other diners; and they hold the role of leaders of the libations and receive the hides of sacrificial victims.

(Hdt. 6.57.1)

Ion may reflect here the Spartan custom whereby the kings are seated (ἵζειν) first. This would make the references to Zeus all the more pertinent, as in Homer all the gods rise upon the entry of their king to the symposium on Olympus (*Il.* 1.533-6). The entry of the kings must also come before the libations if they hold the privilege of leading this ritual (σπονδαρχίας). Spartan kings may at times also have fulfilled the similar role of symposiarch. Plutarch tells an anecdote in which king Agesilaus himself appears in this capacity (*Apoth. Lac.* 208c). That Spartans appointed symposiarchs, in common with other Greeks, is confirmed by Xenophon (*An.* 6.1.30).

Lines 3-4 might have clarified whether the king was present at the symposium, but unfortunately the text is corrupt. Two interpretations are possible. First the line may refer to a servant who provides the bowl of water to wash the hands of the guests. Campbell has suggested that the omicron of οἶνον could be changed to a delta giving δῖνον (a drinking goblet). This change has the advantage of contrasting the crater prepared for the assembled guests (ῥμῖν δὲ κρητῆρ' 2) and their silver cups with the single golden cup held by this

unidentified figure. He therefore has proposed ὁ δὲ χρυσοῦν / δῖνον ἔχων χεροῖν νιζέτω εἰς ἔδαφος which he translates as ‘and let him who holds in his hands the golden jug wash our hands on to the floor’.²⁴ This is possible, although the sense is still imperfect. The meaning of εἰς ἔδαφος remains uncertain, since there is no reason why the act of washing should take place on the ground.²⁵

Second, these lines may refer back to the king from line one. In amending the text to include a golden cup, Campbell is following Haupt who went even further in restoring the line to ὁ δὲ χρυσοῦ / δῖνον ἔχων χεροῖν ιζέτω εἰς ἔδραν.²⁶ In doing so he removes a single nu which could easily have been added by mistake after χεροῖν / χειρῶν. Whitby attempts to retain ἔδαφος by taking ιζέτω as a transitive verb with δῖνον as its object, meaning ‘while another with a golden basin in his hands sets it on its base’.²⁷ However, I know of no instance where ἔδαφος is used to refer to a raised platform or stand of the kind Whitby envisages. The change from ἔδαφος (base or bottom) to ἔδραν (seat) better fits the identification of the subject in line three as the king, who is seated first at the meal.

Alternatively, Alan Sommerstein has suggested ἔδεος to me as a rare alternative for ‘seat’ that would better explain the corruption, while fitting the metre. The word is given by Hesychius as term for a Thessalian ‘seat’ (θρόνος). His source may have been the

²⁴ Campbell (n. 12), 363.

²⁵ This phrase is generally included with verbs of destroying to mean ‘raze to the ground’: see *LSJ* s.v. 2.

²⁶ Haupt (n. 3), 214; χρυσοῦν M.L. West, *Iambi et elegi graeci ante Alexandrum cantati vol. II²* (Oxford 1992), 80.

²⁷ Whitby (n. 5), 209.

Hippocratic corpus, since a passage in the *De Articulis* uses the term ἔδος θεσσαλικόν.²⁸ Is it possible that the text of *De Articulis* originally read ἔδεος, but that this was mistakenly changed by a later copyist to the common form ἔδος? A similar change in Ion's text would also explain the corruption of the line, as later editors struggled to make the verse scan. This suggestion may be speculative but at least it would make good sense as 'may he, holding a golden cup in his hands, take his seat'. The article (ὁ δέ) in line three, in that case, refers back to a previous subject, the king. Ion is taking note of the Spartan custom that the king, when present, must be welcomed and seated first. The king's cup and those of his subjects are filled in preparation for the libations, which the king will lead, as is his prerogative. The Athenian Lycurgus (*Leoc.* 107) knew of a tradition in which elegies, those of Tyrtaeus, were performed in the tents of Spartan kings on campaign. Perhaps Ion's ode was similarly intended for a royal audience.

2. WHY SPARTA?

We have seen that some connection with Sparta is highly probable given the libation to Procles. I hope to have shown that an address to a Spartan king is at least plausible, given the internal evidence of the text. But is there any reason why Ion chose to celebrate a Laconian symposium, rather than a diplomatic mission to the descendants of Demaratus, as Whitby suggested? It is usually believed that he visited Sparta in the company of one of his Athenian acquaintances; either Cimon in 463 or the 450s, or Thucydides son of Melesias around 440 during a period of peace between Athens and Sparta.²⁹ Plutarch relates an anecdote in which

²⁸ Hesych. ε 439 Latte; Hippocr. *de art.* 7.37. Latte amended the text to ἔδος. However, the word is given in a list of words beginning εδε and the original manuscript reading is likely to be correct.

²⁹ Koehler (n. 11); Jacoby (n. 4), 6-8; West (n. 11), 74.

the fourth century sophist Hecataeus was invited to the royal *syssition*, which suggests that distinguished foreigners or ambassadors could be admitted as guests.³⁰ But what was the purpose of his journey to Sparta? Though connections with either Cimon or Thucydides might have afforded an introduction to the king, this does not explain why he made the journey in the first place. And even though Ion had met and admired Cimon in his youth, there is no evidence that the great man adopted the young and then unknown Chian as his protégé.

I suggest that he was there to attend, and most probably perform at, one of the many festivals of Laconia. The region was already celebrated in the fifth century for its longstanding tradition of festivals and choral dances.³¹ Most important were the three festivals for Apollo: the Hyacinthia, Gymnopaedia and Carnea. Each of these gatherings were held over several days and seem to have involved multiple events.³² Xenophon states that the

³⁰ Plut. *Lyc.* 20. 2.1-3 = *Apophth. Lac.* 218b: Ἀρχιδαμίδας δὲ μεμφομένων τινῶν Ἑκαταῖον τὸν σοφιστὴν ὅτι παραληφθεὶς εἰς τὸ συσσίτιον οὐδὲν ἔλεγεν, “Ὁ εἰδώς,” ἔφη, “λόγον καὶ καιρὸν οἶδεν.” Jacoby *FGrHist* IIIa p. 33 identifies Archidamidas with Archidamus IV; on foreigners at *syssitia* see Fisher (n. 4), 34.

³¹ E.g. Pratinas 709 *PMG* = fr. 4 *TrGF* = Athen. 633a; Eur. *Alc.* 445-52; *Hel.* 1465-70; Ar. *Lys.* 1305-15.

³² Xenophon (*Hel.* 6.14.16) indicates that the Gymnopaedia lasted for more than one day in the fourth century. According to Polycrates (*FGrHist* 588 F 1), who was quoted by Didymus, the Hyacinthia lasted for three days and involved a period of ritual mourning for Hyacinthus, followed by celebrations on the second day that included musical performances, though a larger scale event may have been held in the classical period: see N. Richer, ‘The Hyakinthia of Sparta’, in T.J. Figueira (ed.), *Spartan Society* (Swansea 2004) 77-102, 80. According to

chorus of men was permitted to compete on the final day of the Gymnopaedia of 371.³³ Given that only one chorus is specified it is likely, as Bölte supposed, that an uncertain number of rival choruses had performed on previous days.³⁴ The designation of this chorus as one of men (τοῦ ἀνδρικοῦ χοροῦ) points to competitions in other age categories. Other sources refer to performances by three choruses of old men, young men and boys, but it is uncertain whether they refer to separate competitions in different age categories or a simultaneous performance by three choruses.³⁵ It has been suggested that Alcman's maiden

the second century B.C. scholar Demetrius of Scepsis (fr. 1 Guede = Athen. 141e-f), the Carnea was nine days in length, though whether this was true in the classical period is uncertain.

³³ τὸν μέντοι χορὸν οὐκ ἐξήγαγον, ἀλλὰ διαγωνίσασθαι εἶων. *Hel.* 6.14.16.

³⁴ F. Bölte, 'Zu lakonischen Festen', *RhM* 78 (1929) 124-143, 126.

³⁵ Performances by at least two choruses of men and boys are suggested by the text of Sosibius *FGrHist* 595 F 4 = Athen. 678b-c (χοροὶ δ' εἰσὶν τὸ μὲν † πρόσω παίδων, τὸ δ' ἐξ ἀρίστου † ἀνδρῶν), though unfortunately the text is corrupt; for the various conjectures see Jacoby's apparatus. Three choruses: Pollux 4.107 τριχορίαν δὲ Τύρταιος ἔστησε, τρεῖς Λακώνων χορούς, καθ' ἡλικίαν ἐκάστην, παῖδας ἄνδρας γέροντας. cf. Pl. *Leg.* 664b; Plut. *Lyc.* 21.3 = *PMG* 870; see N. Robertson, *Festivals and Legends: The Formation of Greek Cities in the Light of Public Ritual* (Toronto 1992), 159-61; Nobili (2016 n. 6), 46-7.

dances took place within a competition.³⁶ The Dorian *phylae* may have provided the competing choruses, a form of organisation perhaps alluded to by Alcman.³⁷

In addition, the fifth or fourth century inscription of Damonon lists athletic contests at no fewer than nine festivals held in Laconia or its environs. One of these, the Paparonia, held in the contested area of the Thyreatis, is said by Hesychius to be a site for choral performance.³⁸ Another site of Damonon's victories is a celebration for Athena, conceivably connected to the temple of Athena *Chalkioikos* on the Spartan Acropolis.³⁹ If so it is possible that the chorus of Euripides' *Helen* are referring to this festival when they imagine the heroine rejoining the Leucippidae before the temple of Pallas (πρὸ ναοῦ / Παλλάδος 1466-7). The ode to Athena at the close of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (1320-1) may similarly allude to choral performances for the goddess. Finally it has also been suggested that the Eleusinia,

³⁶ 1.60-3 *PMGF* may refer to a rival chorus, see D.A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric Poetry: A Selection* (London 1982), 205; for alternative interpretations see C. Calame *Alcman* (Rome 1983), 331-2 and G. O. Hutchinson, *Greek Lyric Poetry* (Oxford 2001), 90-3.

³⁷ Fr. 10b.8-9, fr. 11 *PMGF*; see C. Calame, *Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece. Translated by D. Collins, and J. Orion* (Lanham 1997) 155-6, 219-21 and Calame (n. 36), 388-9.

³⁸ *IG* V.213.44-9, 62-4; Hesych. π 1003 Hansen ἐν ᾧ ἄγῶν ἦγετο καὶ χοροὶ ἴσταντο; on the Thyreatis see Paus. 2.38.2-7. For the suggestion that the Thyreatic crown, worn by chorus leaders at the Gymnopaedia (Sosibius *FGrHist* 595 F 4 = Athen. 678b-c), was originally a feature of this festival before the loss of Thyrea in 371 see Bölte (n. 34), 130-2; H. T. Wade-Gery, 'A note on the origin of the Spartan Gymnopaediai', *CQ* 43 (1949) 79-81; Jacoby IIb pp. 646-7 on *FGrHist* 595 F 5; *contra* Robertson (n. 35), 179-80.

³⁹ *IG* V.213.10.

a sanctuary dedicated to Demeter and the site of yet another family victory, also played host to dithyrambs sung by female choruses.⁴⁰

The Laconian sanctuaries of Artemis are likely to have hosted choral performances from the archaic period. In Pausanias' time, choruses of maidens performed annually (κατὰ ἔτος 3.10.7) at the shrine of Artemis at Caryae. Pausanias (4.16.9) believed that these dances dated as far back as the wars against Aristomenes in the seventh century. This notion receives support from Athenaeus' reference to a work by the early fifth century poet Pratinas, entitled Καρυάτιδες or Δυμαῖναι, which may well have concerned this festival (Athen. 392f = 711 *PMG* = *TrGF* I 4 F 1). The Dymainai, one of the Dorian tribes, appear in Alcman as chorus members, while the term is also applied by Hesychius to female Bacchic dancers in Sparta.⁴¹ Similar maiden dances are likely to have taken place, perhaps from the time of Alcman, at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, Artemis Limnatis on the Messenian border and conceivably also at those of Artemis Corythalia at Clela and Helen at Therapnae.⁴²

⁴⁰ See D'Alessio (n. 6), 129-30; cf. Paus. 3.20.5 on the sanctuary.

⁴¹ Alcman fr. 10b.8-9 *PMGF*; αἱ ἐν Σπάρτῃ χορίτιδες Βάκχαι Hesych. δ 2600 Latte. On Bacchic dances in Sparta see S. Constantinidou, 'Dionysiac Elements in Spartan Cult Dances', *Phoenix* 52 (1998) 13-30, 22; L. Battezzato, 'Dithyramb and Greek Tragedy', in P. Wilson and B. Kowalzig (edd.) *Dithyramb in Context* (Oxford 2013) 93-110, 102-9; D'Alessio (n. 6), 127; cf. Calame (n. 36), 155 who stresses differences between the cults of Artemis and Dionysus.

⁴² For Artemis Orthia as the goddess invoked in Alcman S1 *PMGF*, see J. A. Davison, 'Alcman's Partheneion', *Hermes* 73 (1938) 440-458, 446-8; D. L. Page, *Alcman, The Partheneion* (Oxford 1951) 69-82; Campbell (n. 36) 196, 205-5; R. D. Luginbill, 'The Occasion and Purpose of Alcman's *Partheneion* (1 *PMGF*)', *QUCC* 92 (2009) 27-54.; *contra*

This summary is by no means exhaustive and, in any case, our evidence is hardly sufficient for a complete survey. Yet it should be evident that musical performances and competitions were a frequent occurrence throughout the Spartan year, much as they were at Athens. At this point we may wonder how the Lacedaimonians maintained such a busy festival programme. The question is all the more pressing because we know of no native Spartan poets from the classical period. Athenaeus and other later authors do at least indicate that by their time the Spartans possessed a substantial corpus of traditional Laconian ‘old songs’.⁴³ Some later reperformances of local poems could have taken place at festivals, as Polycrates and Sosibius suggest in their accounts of the Hyacinthia and Gymnopaedia respectively.⁴⁴ Pausanias similarly states that the dance of the maidens at Caryae was of a

B. Gentili, ‘Il *Partenio* di Alcmane e l’amore omoerotico femminile nei tiasi spartani’, *QUCC* 22 (1976) 59-67, who proposed Aphrodite, and C. Calame, *Les Choeurs de Jeunes Filles en Grèce Archaique II: Alcman* (Rome 1977) 121-8, who argues for the cult of Helen at the Platanistas. Artemis Limnatis: Paus. 4.4.2, Strab. 8.4.9, Calame (n. 37), 142-9; dancers for Corythalia see Hesych. κ 3689 Latte: κουθαλίστραι αἱ χορεύουσαι τῇ Κορυθαλίᾳ θεᾷ; for Artemis Corythalia: see Paus. 3.18.6; for the festival of Tithenidia at Artemis Corythalia see Polemon fr. 86 = Athen. 139a, Calame (n. 37) 169-71; Therapnae: see Alcman fr. 7 *PMGF*, Calame (n. 37), 193-201.

⁴³ τηροῦσιν δὲ καὶ νῦν τὰς ἀρχαίας ὥδὰς ἐπιμελῶς πολυμαθεῖς τε εἰς ταύτας εἰσὶ καὶ ἀκριβεῖς. 632f.

⁴⁴ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τινὰ ποιημάτων ᾄδουσιν Athen. 139e = Polycrates *FGrHist* 588 F 1. γυμνῶν ὀρχουμένων καὶ ἀδόντων Θαλήτου καὶ Ἀλκμᾶνος ᾄσματα καὶ τοὺς Διονυσοδότου τοῦ Λάκωνος παιᾶνας. Athen. 678b-c = Sosibius *FGrHist* 595 F 5.

peculiarly ‘local’ kind.⁴⁵ He also mentions a Spartan Gitiadas, the creator of the statue of Athena, who also composed Dorian songs and a hymn to the goddess.⁴⁶ Yet although reperformances of traditional music may have provided Spartan festivals with a distinctive local character in the Hellenistic and Roman eras, it seems unlikely that the old songs alone could have been enough for so many choral performances each year and in all periods.

It is likely, therefore, that the Spartans depended to some extent on foreign poets and musicians. In hosting festivals, few cities can be said to have relied purely on local talent alone. At the Athenian contests, a substantial proportion of the poets who directed the choruses, as well as the aulos-players who accompanied the dancing, were non-citizens. In his list of dithyrambic poets, Sutton includes only six Athenians from the classical period.⁴⁷ By contrast, we know of as many as twenty non-citizens who were active at Athens.⁴⁸ Like Athens, Sparta could have offered the aspiring poet a range of opportunities to display his abilities.

One might object that Sparta was not the same as Athens and that we need to take into account not only the possibility of Spartan exceptionalism, but also ancient reports of Laconian hostility towards foreigners, particularly artisans and other specialists.⁴⁹ Yet there is

⁴⁵ καὶ ἐπιχώριος αὐταῖς καθέστηκεν ὄρχησις 3.10.7.

⁴⁶ ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ ᾠσματα Δώρια ὁ Γιτιάδας ἄλλα τε καὶ ὕμνον ἐς τὴν θεόν. 3.17.2-3.

⁴⁷ D.F. Sutton, *Dithyrambographi Graeci* (Hildesheim 1989): Lamprocles (12); Cinesias (22); Telesias (35); Lysiades (51); Speusades (55); and Pamphilus (57).

⁴⁸ See Stewart (n. 7), 82-7 for a full discussion.

⁴⁹ On the claim of Spartan uniqueness: see S. Hodkinson, ‘Was Sparta an exceptional polis?’, in S. Hodkinson (ed.), *Sparta: Comparative Approaches* (Swansea 2009), 417-72; ξενηλασία: Ar. Av. 1012-13, Thuc. 1.144.2, Xen. *Lac. Pol.* 14.4, for full references see T.J. Figueira,

good evidence that foreigners could attend Spartan festivals in the classical period. Xenophon records that a certain Lichas became famous for hosting foreign visitors at the time of the Gymnopaedia.⁵⁰ Plutarch, in noting that the news of defeat at Leuctra arrived while the festival was being held, claims that the city was full of foreigners (ξένων οὔσα μεστή Ages. 29.2) while the choruses were performing in the theatre. As at the Athenian festivals, some of these foreigners may have been present in an official capacity. Thucydides (5.23.4-5) states that the truce in 421 between Sparta and Athens was to be renewed each year, with the cities sending delegations to the Spartan Hyacinthia and Athenian Dionysia respectively. These festivals were chosen presumably because both the Hyacinthia and the Dionysia were attended by international visitors from allied states. The same logic is likely to lie behind the decision to publicise the treaty with stelae at the Panhellenic sanctuaries at Olympia, Delphi and the Isthmus (5.18.10).

Laconian xenophobia does not seem then to have extended to Sparta's festivals. This is hardly surprising, since gatherings of this kind were one of the few places where Greeks from hostile polities could regularly meet. Similarly, poets and athletes regularly travelled

'Xenelasia and Social Control in Classical Sparta', *CQ* 53 (2003) 44-74, 45 n.6; absence of foreigners due to a lack of currency: Plut. *Lyc.* 9.3-4, cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1272b15-20. Figueira has argued that this did not amount to a sustained policy of xenophobia that could prevent foreigners from visiting Sparta; see also K.M.T. Chrimes, *Ancient Sparta, a re-examination of the evidence* (Manchester 1949), 310 and S. Rebenich, 'Fremdenfeindlichkeit in Sparta? Überlegungen zur Tradition der spartanischen Xenelasiae', *Klio* 80 (1998) 336-59.

⁵⁰ *Mem.* 1.2.61; cf. Plut. *Cim.* 10.5.

unmolested through the territory of warring cities.⁵¹ But is there any evidence to suggest that foreign poets actually came to Sparta to compete? Later sources credit the establishment of the great Laconian festivals entirely to outsiders. Terpander, from Lesbos, was known as the first victor of the Spartan Carnea, which was believed to have been founded in the first quarter of the seventh century.⁵² According to pseudo-Plutarch (*de Mus.* 1134b-c), a second generation of foreign poets, which included Thaletas of Crete, Xenodamus of Cythera, Xenocritus of Locri and Sacadas of Argos, were associated with the establishment of the Gymnopaedia. Although these traditions are mostly recorded in later sources, the founding myths date to at least the fifth century. The fifth century historian Hellanicus of Mytilene recorded Terpander's success in his catalogue of victors at the Carnea (*FGrHist* 4 F 85a). The existence of such a work suggests that the Carnea was recognised as an ancient festival of Panhellenic importance by the fifth century.

Hellanicus' catalogue may also have been designed both to celebrate the success of performers from his home-island of Lesbos and to justify their continuing special status at Sparta in the citharodic contest. One fifth century poet who is likely to have cultivated this myth is Aristocleitus, or Aristocleides, who was active at around the time of the Persian Wars and is said to have claimed descent from Terpander.⁵³ According to the Aristotelian *Spartan Constitution* (fr. 545 Rose) both he and Terpander were connected with the saying 'after the

⁵¹ Note, for example, that the actor Aristodemus was sent as an Athenian ambassador to Philip in the fourth century because of his easy access to the king due to his profession (διὰ τὴν γνῶσιν καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν τῆς τέχνης Aeschin. 2.15.8-9).

⁵² Hellanicus *FGrHist* 4 F 85a = Athen. 635e-f; date: Sosibios *FGrHist* 595 F 3 = Athen. 635e-f.

⁵³ Σ Ar. *Nub.* 971a (Holwerda I 3.1 p. 187); *Suda* φ 761.

Lesbian poet'. This is attested first by Cratinus (fr. 263 K–A) and was explained as a reference to the right of descendants of Terpander to compete first at Sparta. Phrynis of Mytilene, another performer from Lesbos and pupil of Aristocleitus, is said to have performed at Sparta. Plutarch illustrates Spartan conservatism in music by an anecdote, in which an ephor threatens to cut the additional strings off the lyre belonging to Phrynis of Mytilene.⁵⁴ This story is likely to be apocryphal, since he applies the same anecdote to Terpander and Timotheus of Miletus, the leading poet of the New Music (*Inst. Lac.* 238c). Yet it is an example of how legends surrounding earlier legendary poets from the archaic period could be transferred to fifth century performers. As Power has suggested, later citharodes were probably responsible for propagating these myths, as part of an attempt to situate themselves within an older and grander tradition.⁵⁵

The story of how Thaletas cured the Spartans of plague was also told by Pratinas of Phlius, a contemporary of Aeschylus.⁵⁶ Pseudo-Plutarch uses this anecdote to illustrate the capacity of music to benefit a city, and it is possible that Pratinas may have drawn a similar moral from his tale. The career of Pratinas seems to have resembled that of Ion in the following generation. At Athens, he was a foreigner who also produced tragedies.⁵⁷ At the same time, he seems to have composed non-dramatic lyric poetry and may have had links with Sparta.⁵⁸ In addition to the work *Δυσμαίνει* or *Καρυάτιδες*, which is likely to have

⁵⁴ *Agis* 799f-800a; *Apophth. Lac.* 220c; *Prof. Virt.* 84a.

⁵⁵ T. Power, *The Culture of Kitharôidia* (Washington DC 2010), 320-3.

⁵⁶ Pratinas fr. 713iii *PMG* = [Plut.] *de Mus.* 1146b.

⁵⁷ See *TrGF* I 8.

⁵⁸ See [Plut.] *de Mus.* 1133e; 1134c; 1146b, where he is cited primarily as an authority on lyric poetry. His largest extant fragment is described by Athenaeus (617b) as a hyporchema.

involved Sparta and choral poetry in some way, he is known to have celebrated the Spartan choral tradition with his reference to ‘the Laconian cicada, well-suited for the chorus’.⁵⁹

In Bacchylides’ sixth dithyramb we may possess at least one example of a poem intended for performance by a Spartan chorus. Its opening lines allude to a dance by Spartan maidens.

Σπάρτᾱ ποτ’ ἐν εὐρυχώρῳ

ξανθαὶ Λακεδαίμονι...

τοιόνδε μέλος κ[...]

Once in Sparta [of the wide dancing grounds] golden haired [maidens] of the Spartans
[sang] such a song.

(20.1-3 = Dith. 6 Snell-Maehler)

The papyrus preserves the title ‘Idas for the Spartans’ (Ἰδας Λακεδαιμονίοις). Idas is associated with the abduction of Marpessa from a chorus and, in one tradition, with the story of the first rape of Helen (usually attributed to Theseus).⁶⁰ Bacchylides’ poem appears to have concerned Marpessa. As Maehler has noted, such a theme would be suitable for

R. Seaford, ‘The “hyporchema” of Pratinas’, *Maia* 29-30 (1977-8) 81-94, at 84-94 argued that it forms part of a chorus from a satyr play.

⁵⁹ Λάκων ὁ τέττιξ εὖτυκος ἐς χορόν fr. 4 *TrGF* = 709 *PMG* = Athen. 633a.

⁶⁰ Marpessa: Ἰδας ὁ Ἀφαρήϊος καὶ ἄρπάσας ἐκ χοροῦ ἔφυγεν, Plut. *Parallel. Min.* 315e;

Helen: Plut. *Thes.* 31.1. The Helen episode was depicted on the throne at Amyclae (Paus. 3.18.15), while the cult of Helen was prominent at Sparta and may have been honoured with choruses; see Calame (n. 37), 197-201.

performance at Sparta, given the association of the cults of Artemis at Caryae and other sanctuaries with myths of rape.⁶¹ A scholion on the Alcman papyrus notes that the Spartans in the time of its author used foreign poets / chorus trainers.⁶² The Bacchylides dithyramb suggests that this was indeed the case in the fifth century. Moreover if, as is argued by Bowie and Nobili, Simonides' elegy on the battle of Plataea was another work composed for a Spartan audience, then perhaps Bacchylides accompanied his uncle on the journey from Ceos to the banks of the Eurotas.⁶³

While the evidence is admittedly far from conclusive, it is conceivable that for Ion, as perhaps for Pratinas and Bacchylides, both Athens and Sparta formed important centres in a network of festivals covered by travelling poets, tourists and pilgrims. They, like their forbears in the archaic period, were probably attracted, as Nobili has put it, 'by the long series of musical festivals which characterized Spartan religious life and by the enlightened community which gave much importance to music.'⁶⁴ He is likely to have toured some of these festivals from early on in his career. In his *Epidemiae*, Ion recalled a conversation he had had with Aeschylus while watching the boxing at the Isthmian games. This must have

⁶¹ H. Maehler *Bacchylides: A Selection* (Cambridge 2004) 219; see also D. Fearn, *Bacchylides: Politics, Performance, Poetic Tradition* (Oxford 2007), 226-34, who prefers one of the Spartan festivals for Apollo.

⁶² καὶ νῦν ἔτι [ξε]νικῶ κέχρη[ν]ται διδασκάλῳ χο[ρῶν P.Oxy.2506 fr. 1 col. 3.37-8; for the text see G. Bastianini, *Alcman. Commentaria et Lexica Graeca in Papyris Reperta* (Berlin 2013), 143.

⁶³ See Nobili (2011 n. 6), 26-7; Bowie (n. 6), 25-7.

⁶⁴ Nobili (2016 n. 6), 41-2.

taken place before Aeschylus' final departure for Sicily at some point after 458.⁶⁵ It may therefore have coincided with a visit to Athens in the 460s, where in his youth Ion attended a banquet at which Cimon was also present.⁶⁶ Ion could easily have extended such a tour to include Sparta, either on this occasion or later in his career. It may be significant that the Isthmia took place in the spring, roughly between the Athenian Dionysia and Spartan Hyacinthia.⁶⁷

3. DINING AT FESTIVALS

Let us now return to the poem with which we began. We have seen that if Ion did visit Sparta it was most likely on the occasion of one of the great Laconian festivals. Yet fr. 27 West describes the progress of a symposium. Those who have accepted the likelihood of a Spartan context have assumed that we have here a description of the royal *syssition*, to which Ion gained access as a friend of a prominent Athenian. There is, however, another possibility: that Ion is recalling the king's presence at a public meal held as part of a city festival.

We have already noted the special privileges granted to the Spartan kings on the occasion of a public sacrifice (θυσίη τις δημοτελής Hdt. 6.57.1). Foreigners appear to have also partaken of such meals and sacrifices. Cratinus (fr. 175 K–A) mentions a type of Spartan meal (κοπίς) held in tents at which foreigners would be feasted. This fragment is preserved

⁶⁵ Plut. *de prof. in virt.* 79e = *FGrHist* 392 F 22 = Leurini T3 and fr. 108. See West (n. 11), 72.

⁶⁶ Plut. *Cim.* 9.1-5 = *FGrHist* 392 F13 = Leurini fr. 106. Jacoby (n. 4), 1-2 dates this visit to the 460s in the period between the battle of the Eurymedon and Cimon's exile. He suggests 465 for the dinner at Laomedon's house; cf. T.B.L. Webster, 'Sophocles and Ion of Chios', *Hermes* 71 (1936) 263-74, at 264. Leurini (n. 12), 68, favours an earlier date around 477/6.

⁶⁷ Isthmia: Thuc. 8.7-9; Hyacinthia and Isthmia: Xen. *Hell.* 4.5.11; see Richer (n. 32), 85.

by Athenaeus (138e) in a discussion of Spartan dining practices. It is followed by a lengthy description of the Hyacinthia festival.⁶⁸ Another quotation from a fifth century comic poet, Epilycus, indicates that a feast, which Athenaeus terms a κοτίς, is to take place at the temple of Apollo in Amyclae: the location of the Hyacinthia.⁶⁹ The Carneia also involved feasting in tent-like structures (σκιάδες), in which, according to a Hellenistic epigram by Trypho, Terpes (or Terpander of Lesbos?) was singing when he died from choking on a fig.⁷⁰ There is no reason why Ion's description of a symposium would have been inappropriate for a Spartan audience in the fifth century. Communal drinking was as important to Spartan society as any other Greek city, though with certain modifications designed to discourage total inebriation and a loss of self-control.⁷¹ In the Spartan 'mirage', as it is presented to us by Xenophon and Plutarch, Spartans are exceptional not for eschewing wine, but for being moderate drinkers.

Large scale public meals of this kind were a common part of festivals elsewhere in the Greek world. They also seem to have imitated the practices of the symposium and included

⁶⁸ 139d-f = Polycrates *FGrHist* 588 F 1.

⁶⁹ ἐν Ἀμύκλαισιν παρ' Ἀπελλῶ fr. 4 K-A; cf. Polemon fr. 86 Preller = Athen. 138f ἐπὶ τὴν δὲ κοπίζωσι, πρῶτον μὲν δὴ σκηναὶ ποιοῦνται παρὰ τὸν θεόν. Hyacinthia: Thuc. 5.23.5; Paus. 3.19.1-5; M. Pettersson, *Cults of Apollo at Sparta. The Hyakinthia, the Gymnopaediai and the Karneia* (Stockholm 1992), 9.

⁷⁰ Trypho *Anth. Pal.* 9.488 = *FGE* 380-3. σκιάδες: Athen. 141e; Pettersson (n. 69), 57.

⁷¹ These include the prohibition of toasts (Critias fr. B 6.1-4 D-K) and the rule that Spartiates were not allowed to leave the *syssition* with a torch (Xen. *Lac.* 5.4-7; Plut. *Lyc.* 15.3). See A. Rabinowitz, 'Drinking from the same cup. Sparta and late archaic commensality', in S. Hodkinson (ed.) *Sparta. Comparative Approaches* (Swansea 2009), 113-91.

the drinking of wine.⁷² A symposium, with the priest of Dionysus in attendance, takes place as part of the rural Dionysia in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* (1085-94). Knemon in Menander's *Dyscolus* (448-9) imagines that those wishing to sacrifice at a rural shrine for the Nymphs will bring jars of wine (σταμνία) with them for their own consumption. According to Athenaeus (3f), Ion awarded each of the Athenians with a present of wine following his victory at the Dionysia. In the first century A.D. a similar allowance of free wine was granted to those gathered for the festival of Apollo Ptoios in Boeotia.⁷³ Public dining rooms have been discovered at the sanctuary of Heracles on Thasos, among other sites; Bowie has suggested that shorter elegies could have been performed there following the main festival contest.⁷⁴

Elegy had been performed at festival competitions from the archaic period. It is likely such poems were also recited at symposia held as part of public festivals. In another fragment of elegy Ion praises Dionysus (and his wine) as the *raison d'être* for foreign sages (or poets?) in precisely these types of venues:

αὕτη γὰρ πρόφασις παντοδαπῶν λογίων,
ἧ τε Πανελλήνων ἀγοραὶ θαλῖαι τε ἀνάκτων

⁷² For arguments against any rigid distinction between the 'private' symposium and 'public' festival banquet, see P. Schmitt Pantel, 'Sacrificial meal and symposium: two models of civic institutions in the archaic city', in O. Murray (ed.), *Symptica: A Symposium on the Symposion* (Oxford 1990), 14-33; M. Vetta, 'Convivialità pubblica e poesia per simposio in Grecia', *QUCC* 54 (1996) 197-209, 203-4.

⁷³ *IG VII* 2712.64-7; see P. Schmitt Pantel, *La Cité au Banquet: Histoire des Repas Publics dans les Cités Grecques* (Rome 1992), 343.

⁷⁴ Bowie (n. 6), 23-4.

For this is the reason for learned men from all parts, where there are Panhellenic gatherings and the banquets of rulers

(fr. 26.2-3 West; trans. Campbell).⁷⁵

Ion here juxtaposes festivals and meals at which rulers are present. A passage attributed to Theognis suggests that his works may also be reperformed in similar contexts.

σοὶ μὲν ἐγὼ πτέρ' ἔδωκα, σὺν οἷς ἐπ' ἀπείρονα πόντον

πωτήσῃ καὶ γῆν πᾶσαν ἀειρόμενος

ῥηϊδίως. θοίνῃς δὲ καὶ εἰλαπίνῃσι παρέσσης

ἐν πάσαις, πολλῶν κείμενος ἐν στόμασιν,

I have given you wings, with which you will fly, rising with ease, across the boundless sea and all the earth. And you will be at every banquet and feast, lying on the tongues of many.

(*Theogn.* 236-8 West)

It is often assumed that Theognis is referring here to reperformance at the symposium in general. Yet, as Budelmann and Power note, the words θοίνῃς δὲ καὶ εἰλαπίνῃσι point to ‘a

⁷⁵ On line 2, λογίων could conceivably be neuter plural meaning ‘learned speeches’.

However, it more probably refers to poets / sages in the masculine. For such a use see Pind. *Pyth.* 1.94; *Nem.* 6.45; Hdt. 1.1.1 and 2.3.1. This is the view taken by most editors: Leurini (n. 12), 50: ‘viri res gestas dicendi periti’; Valerio (n. 12), 69; cf. Wilamowitz (n. 5) 279-81; Katsaros (n. 4), 229-30. The meaning of line 3 is similarly uncertain. I follow Edmonds’ conjecture, also printed by Campbell, of ἤ. West (fr. 26); Leurini (fr. 89) and Valerio (fr. 1) preserve the original manuscript reading: αἶ. Leurini (n. 12), 98 translates this sentence as ‘e da allora vi sono riunioni panelleniche e feste di re’.

more public and more large-scale event than the symposium.⁷⁶ They suggest that what Theognis has in mind here is the later celebration of Cynus in choral lyric or festival contests of elegy sung to the aulos: ‘sympotic elegy, Theognis’ claim would be, turns into public elegy.’ But why can sympotic elegy not be public elegy, especially if it is performed at a festival meal? In bidding the assembled company to prepare for dinner, Ion’s poem might perhaps be an ideal work with which to round off a musical contest.

CONCLUSION

Fr. 27 West is best understood within the context of a Spartan festival, perhaps one of the great Laconian gatherings for Apollo. It certainly evokes a Spartan event and probably contains an address to an actual Eurypontid king, almost certainly Archidamus. Ion may perhaps also allude to the honours and privileges due to Spartan kings at public sacrifices. Sparta would be a natural destination for Ion given its large festivals and long-established tradition of choral performance. He would also be following a pattern well-established by previous generations of itinerant poets, including Pindar and Simonides, who commonly portrayed themselves as guests at the tables of great men. This poem is thus but one piece of evidence for Laconia’s importance as a Panhellenic centre that attracted both spectators and performers from across the Greek world.

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⁷⁶ Budelmann and Power (n. 10), 4.