

Bacchylides' *Ode 7* Again

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ᾠ λιπαρὰ θύγατερ Χρόνου τε καὶ
Νυκτός, σὲ πενήκοντα μῆνων ἡμέραν
ἐκκαιδεκάταν ἐν ᾽Ολυμπ[ίαι Πέλοψ?
. . .]βαρυβρ[έντα Κρονίδαο?] ἑκατι
5 . . .]ιτοσαιμα[
κρίνειν τα[χυτάτα τε] λαίψηρῶν ποδῶν
Ἕλλασι καὶ γυ[ίων ἀ]ρισταλκὲς θένος·
ὦι δὲ σὺ πρεσβύ[τατο]ν νείμηις γέρας
νίκας, ἐπ' ἀνθρ[ώπ]οισιν εὐδοξος κέκλη-
10 ται καὶ πολυζή[λωτ]ος. Ἄρις[τομ]έ[ει]ον
. . .]' ἐκόσμη[σας στε]φάν[οισι Λάχω]να

WHO is the invoked goddess?

(1) Jebb suggested the personified Hemera (with reference to Hesiod, *Theogony* 124, 'Hemera daughter of Night').¹ This identification was accepted by Desrousseaux,² Blass,³ Jurenka,⁴ Suess,⁵ Edmonds,⁶ Snell⁷ and Maehler.⁸

(2) But Wilamowitz suggested Selene,⁹ and Jane Harrison independently Hecate-Selene instead.¹⁰ The former referred to Pausanias

¹ R. C. Jebb, *apud* F. G. Kenyon's *ed.pr.* (London 1897) and in his own edition of Bacchylides (Cambridge 1905).

² A. M. Desrousseaux, "Notes sur Bacchylide," *RevPhil* 22 (1898) 187.

³ *Bacchylidis Carmina cum fragmentis*, ed. F. Blass (BT, Leipzig 1898), as in his 3rd ed. of 1904.

⁴ *Die neugefundenen Lieder des Bakchylides*, ed. H. Jurenka (Vienna 1898).

⁵ 4th Teubner ed., *cur.* W. Suess (Leipzig 1912).

⁶ J. M. Edmonds, but with a different text, in "Some Notes on the Great Bacchylides Papyrus," *CR* 37 (1923) 148=*Lyra Graeca* III (LCL, London 1927) pp.160-61.

⁷ 5th Teubner ed. B. Snell (Leipzig 1934)=8th ed. (1961).

⁸ *Bacchylides, Lieder und Fragmente*, ed. H. Maehler (Berlin 1968).

⁹ Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *GGA* 160 (1898) 130.

¹⁰ J. E. Harrison, "Ode VII" in "Notes on Bacchylides," *CR* 12 (1898) 140-41.

5.1.4 (Selene's fifty daughters by Endymion), the latter to Bacchylides' hymn to Hecate, fr.1B Snell:

Ἑκάτα δαΐδοφόρε,
ταν ἱε[ρ . . .
Νυκτὸς μελανοκόλπου θύγατερ . . .

Harrison also compared Bacchylides 7.1 λιπαρὰ θύγατερ with the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 25= 438 Ἑκάτη λιπαροκρήδεμνος.

(3) Furthermore, Steuding¹¹ established Hecate's concern with the competitions in sport by referring to Hesiod, *Theogony* 435–38, ἐσθλή δ' αἰθ' ὅπ' ἄνδρες ἀεθλεύωσ' ἐν ἀγῶνι κτλ.¹² and to Apollonius Rhodius 3.1211, Βριμῶν κικλήσκων [Jason] Ἑκάτην ἐπαρωγὸν ἀέθλων.¹³

(4) Finally, in a recent paper¹⁴ Mrs Gail Pieper came back to Harrison's Hecate, trying to defend it especially by stressing the link between the full moon and the Olympic games: cf. Pindar, *Olympian* 3.19–20, διχόμηνις . . . | . . . Μήνα (with the corresponding *scholia vetera*, e.g. ad *Ol.* 3.35a Drachmann, διχόμηνις, <ὅτι> περὶ τὴν 15' πανσελήνου οὔσης ἄγεται τὰ Ὀλύμπια) and *Olympian* 10.75.

Now I would raise here the following objections to the candidacy of Hecate in our *Ode* 7, defending Jebb's Hemera.

(1) There is no evidence for Chronos being father of Hecate. Dr Pieper suggests (pp.233–34) that Chronos as father for Hecate in Bacchylides fr.1B is easily understood by its connexion with Chronos mentioned in *Ode* 7. But this is a circular argument: we still don't know whether Hecate is meant in this *Ode* 7. Her second argument is not better: "Bacchylides may well have in mind Pindar's χρόνος ὁ πάντων πατήρ (*Ol.* 2.17)." If so, then Chronos could be used as father for any deity we like (Hemera not being excluded).

Thus, while Harrison and Pieper have produced no evidence for Chronos as Hecate's father, I think that Chronos as the father of Hemera can be supported by Euripides, *Supplices* 787–88 (lyr.) Χρόνος παλαιὸς πατήρ | . . . ἀμερᾶν.¹⁵

¹¹ H. Steuding, in Roscher, *MythLex* I.2 (1886–1890) 1892.5–10, s.v. ΗΕΚΑΤΕ.

¹² M. L. West's reading in his ed. *Hesiod, Theogony* (Oxford 1966), cf. p.287.

¹³ Steuding's third reference, Plut. *De Herod. malign.* 862A, is not apt, for we must read there with Valckenaer and L. Pearson (*Plutarch's Moralia* XI [LCL, Cambridge (Mass.) and London 1965] pp.54–55 with n.a) τῆι ἕκτῃ instead of the transmitted τῆι Ἑκάτῃ.

¹⁴ "The Prooemium of Bacchylides' *Ode* 7," *GRBS* 10 (1969) 229–34.

¹⁵ Quoted by O. Waser, *RE* 3 (1899) 2482.10 s.v. CHRONOS 2.

(2) It seems to me that Favorinus' testimony strongly suggests Hemera in *Ode* 7:¹⁶ . . . ἐς μίαν ταύτην μελέτην ἀρετῆς ξυντελούντων· ἰδοὺ τοίνυν πάρεστιν ἢ κυρία προθεσμία, οὐ “πεντήκοντα μηνῶν” κατὰ τὸν Πίνδαρον “ἀμέρα ἐκκαιδεκάτα,” Πέλοπος ἢ τινος Ἰδαίου Δακτύλου νόμῳ πρὸς παν[(lacuna).

Now Snell may well be right in conjecturing Πέλοψ in line 3.¹⁷ But his alternative suggestion (“θέσαν . . . sc. Dactyli, quos αἴμονας v.5 nominatos esse putes”) has no chance of life, since Favorinus in the words ἢ τινος Ἰδαίου Δακτύλου is clearly alluding to Heracles only (in view of Strabo 8.355, ἕνα τῶν Ἰδαίων Δακτύλων Ἡρακλέα; Diodorus 5.64.6, αὐτῶν ἕνα . . . Ἡρακλέα; Pausanias 5.7.6, 5.7.9, 5.14.7). We can explain why Favorinus avoids mentioning the name of Heracles here: Heracles is his (and the Cynics') ideal fighter ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀρετῆς σταδίῳ,¹⁸ and as such cannot possibly be the founder of the Olympic games—a view rejected by our author.

Thus, it may be that Favorinus had found *Pelops* in his original, showing off his rhetorical erudition¹⁹ by adding the alternative late version about the Idaean Dactyl Heracles as the founder of the Olympiad.²⁰ To be sure, where Pindar follows the myth of Heracles as the founder of the games,²¹ he certainly does not have in mind the Idaean Dactyl. Finally, the word νόμῳ is a mannerism of Favorinus (cf. 4.3 γυναικὸς νόμῳ; 5.41 ἀγώνων νόμῳ; 6.17 <νομάδων?> νόμῳ).

(3) Harrison's (and Pieper's) comparison of 7.1 λιπαρὰ θύγατερ with the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 25=438 Ἐκάτη λιπαροκρήδεμνος proves nothing. First, if the epithet λιπαρά, 'shining, radiant, resplendent, bright', is suitable to the moon goddess, it is even more so if applied to the goddess of the daylight. But it is also quite possible that Bacchylides in λιπαρὰ θύγατερ had in mind just the healthy look and the beauty of a sleek-skinned young woman: cf. his *Ode* 5.169 λιπαρὰν . . . ἄκοιτιν (where Jebb's interpretation 'queenly, for a richly adorned bride' is refuted by *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 79 θαλερὴν . . . ἄκοιτιν and by Pindar, *Nemean* 1.71 θαλερὰν Ἡβαν ἄκοιτιν: a 'blooming, buxom

¹⁶ Favorin. *Περὶ φυγῆς* col. 4.46–50, in *Il papiro vaticano greco* 11, edd. M. Norsa and G. Vitelli (*Studi e testi* 53, Vatican 1931).

¹⁷ Cf. e.g. Pind. *Ol.* 9.9 and Bacchyl. 5.181, 8.31.

¹⁸ Cf. Favorin. *Περὶ φυγῆς* 6.3–4, 3.32ff, 21.8 (*supra* n.16).

¹⁹ Cf. W. Schmid, *RE Suppl.* 6 (1935) 68.29–50, s.v. FAVORINUS.

²⁰ Cf. also O. Kern, *RE* 4 (1901) 2019 s.v. DAKTYLOI, and O. Gruppe, *RE Suppl.* 3 (1918) 916–17 s.v. HERAKLES.

²¹ *Ol.* 2.3, 3.11ff, 6.68, 10.22ff; *Nem.* 10.33, 11.27.

bride'). Callimachus (*Epigram* 5.5 Pf.) invokes Arsinoe-Aphrodite as *λιπαρή θεός*; Theocritus (2.102–03) has *λιπαρόχρων . . . Δέλφιν*; Catullus uses (2.5) *desiderio meo nitenti*; (61.185–86) *uxor . . . ore floridulo nitens*, etc.²²

Secondly, *λιπαροκρήδεμνος* 'with a bright headband' is something different. And besides, Hecate is not the only one who possesses such a 'mantilla'; it is common to Rhea (in the same *Hymn to Demeter*, v.459), Charis (*Iliad* 18.382), Hecuba (22.406), Penelope (*Odyssey* 1.334, 16.416, 18.210, 21.65), Mnamosyna (Pindar, *Nemean* 7.15 *λιπαράμπυξ*), and *παρθένοι* (Pindar, *Paean* 2.99); and (by the tyranny of epic oral verse-making) the battlements crowning the walls of Troy (*Iliad* 16.100) are also called *λιπαρά* (*Odyssey* 13.388).

(4) Dr Pieper's last argument against Hemera reads (p.231): "The only celebration on the sixteenth of which we have definite knowledge is the public feast in the Prytaneum, which occurred in the evening (Paus. 5.15.12)." It is easily refuted by Bacchylides himself. No matter which goddess is meant in *Ode* 7, she is said to decide (v.6 *κρίνειν*) about the winner, to award him the prize (vv.8–9 *νείμητι γέρας νίκας*), and to adorn him with crowns (v.11 *ἐκόσμησας στεφάνοισι*) on this very sixteenth day of the month (vv.2–3 *ἄμεραν ἐκκαϊδεκάταν*).

Thus, *Ode* 7 is a precious piece of evidence for the crowning of the winning athletes on the last (sixteenth) day of the Olympic games (in 452 B.C.). It goes well with *schol.vet. ad Pind. Ol. 3.35d* Drachmann (*καὶ τῆι ἐκκαϊδεκάτῃ γίνεται ἡ κρίσις*) and with *schol.rec. ad Ol. 5.8* Boeckh (*καὶ ἐτελείτο μέχρι καὶ τῆς ἐκκαϊδεκάτης, ἐν ἧι τὰ ἄθλα ἐδίδοτο*).²³

It is true that we don't know whether the ceremony took place during the day or in the evening; but the point is that this lack of evidence cannot be used as an argument against Hemera and for Hecate.

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²² The same semantic evolution, 'shiny with oil, anointed' > 'beautiful', lives e.g. in the Serbo-Croat *lep* 'beautiful' from the same root as *λιπαρός*.

²³ So also J. Wiesner, *RE* 18 (1939) 27–28, s.v. OLYMPIA.