

Ion of Chios

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ION OF CHIOS is remarkable not only for the extent of his poetical and literary work but also for the valuable evidence his fragments provide of social and political life under the Athenian empire at the height of its power. We shall discuss his writings in the context of Athenian imperialism and examine some of the problems of interpretation to which they give rise.¹ But first must be considered the evidence for the length of his life and the extent of his travels.

In the *Peace* [832–37] Aristophanes mentions the death of Ion as though it had occurred but shortly before. Trygaeus tells the slave that men who die become stars in the sky; Ion the Chian too, he explains, is a star, whom everyone in Athens called the *Ἀοῖος ἀστήρ*, the morning star. This, the Scholia explain, is an allusion to the ὠδή of Ion beginning

ἄοιον ἀεροφοίταν ἀστέρα
μείναμεν ἀελίου λευκοπτέρυγα πρόδρομον.²

Aristophanes, then, shows that Ion was dead by the spring of 421 B.C., when the *Peace* was produced. The date of his birth is not easily determined, but a hint is given by the poet himself in a story reported by Plutarch in his *Cimon* [9.1–5]: *συνδειπνήσαι δὲ τῷ Κίμωνι φησιν ὁ Ἴων παντάπασιν μειράκιον ἦκων εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐκ Χίου παρὰ Λαομέδοντι*. Plutarch in the *Brutus*³ uses *μειράκιον* of a youth under twenty-one, and from the fragment in the *Cimon* we may infer that Ion came as a

¹ This essay was read to a meeting of Hibernian Hellenists at Ballymascanlon, Dundalk on 27th November, 1964. I am grateful for the helpful discussion at that meeting and especially thank Professor H. W. Parke for suggestions made then. My debt to F. Jacoby's masterly paper, "Some Remarks on Ion of Chios" in *CQ* 41 (1947) 1–17, will be obvious to those who have read it. Most of the essay is printed here as it was read, but with some notes and references added. I also thank Mr W. G. Forrest for reading the manuscript and suggesting several improvements. Any remaining errors are my own.

² Schol. RV. Pac. 835 (= Ion Fr. 34, in A. von Blumenthal, *Ion von Chios. Die Reste seiner Werke* [Stuttgart–Berlin 1939] p. 24). For the fiction or image of the dead amongst the stars see the epigrams in Haussoullier, "ΑΣΤΗΡ . . . ΓΕΝΟΜΗΝ," *RevPhil* 33 (1909) 5–8 and W. Ludwig, "Plato's Love Epigrams," *GRBS* 4 (1963) 79–80.

³ 27. For further examples of *μειράκιον* in Plutarch, see Wytttenbach, *Lex. Plut.* 2.1009 (a reference due to W. M. Calder).

stripling to Athens. Possibly he was sent by his father Orthomenes to complete his education in the household of Cimon, whom Ion admired greatly: but owing to Plutarch's abbreviation of Ion's own words it is not certain that Cimon took Ion along to dinner at Laomedon's: the young man may have been staying with Laomedon and have met Cimon at Laomedon's house when the great man came as a guest to dinner there.⁴

It is significant that Orthomenes, who had the nickname Xouthos⁵ because he called his son Ion, sent his son to Athens at an impressionable age. Evidently he felt rather admiration than resentment at the triumphant progress of Athenian imperialism and, in Jacoby's words, "had whole-heartedly espoused the cause of Athens."⁶ The conversation at Laomedon's turned to a comparison between the victories of Themistocles and Cimon, the latter of whom was evidently, from the flattery bestowed upon him by the guests, then very powerful. Cimon told how he proved himself cleverer than the Ionian allies after the taking of Sestos and Byzantium. The dinner at Laomedon's was, however, about a decade later than that, when Themistocles was already in exile: the warm praise of Cimon suggests that he was already the victor at the Eurymedon, but the disaster of Drabescus during the Thasian war about 464 B.C. was perhaps not yet: certainly the attacks of Ephialtes had not yet begun. Whatever the date of the Eurymedon battle may be, and it cannot be before *ca.* 470, the dinner at Laomedon's may reasonably be placed in the years about 465 when Cimon was at the height of success and popularity. We can imagine him gently teasing the young Chiot with his story of how the Ionians chose the property of the Persians rather than the men themselves when he gave them the choice. Later the Athenian general was able to ransom the Persians to their friends and kin, who came down from Phrygia and Lydia to pay large sums for their release. If Ion was between fifteen and twenty at the dinner party, it follows that he was born between about 485 and 480, and there is no need to date his birth as early as about 490.⁷ From these calculations it is likely that Ion was

⁴ Cf. Jacoby, *CQ* 41 (1947) 4.

⁵ Harpokration *s.v.* "Ιων. A Xouthos, perhaps father of an Ion, appears in a Chiot epigram of the third or second century B.C.: *Ξούθου παῖς Χίος το[ῦτ'] ἀνέθηκεν Ἴων.* See *SEG* XVI. 497 and XVII.392.

⁶ *CQ* 41 (1947) 1.

⁷ Cf. T. B. L. Webster, "Sophocles and Ion of Chios," *Hermes* 71 (1936) 263ff, who suggests the period 492/488 B.C. for the poet's birth; and earlier, Schmid-Stählin I.2 (München 1934) 515-516.

not more than about 65 when he died. In addition, the Suda [s.v. *Ἴων Χίος*] remark that he produced his first tragedy in the 82nd Olympiad (452–449), and, as we learn from the Argumentum to the *Hippolytus*, another was performed in the archonship of Epameinon, 429/8.⁸ He must have been in Athens on both occasions, and his first plays may have been produced there at about the time of Cimon's return from exile.

In his *Epidemiai* or "Visits", the earliest example in Greek literature of memoirs, a genre which Ion may have invented, the Chian described the speech in which Cimon exhorted the Athenians to help Sparta during the great helot revolt.⁹ Prevailing over the arguments of Ephialtes, Cimon persuaded the people to send out a hoplite force: "Athens must not look on while Hellas is made lame and the city becomes unevenly yoked," said the general whose love of Sparta was so great that he called one of his sons Lakedaimonios.¹⁰ These metaphors have the immediacy of an eye witness, and we cannot reasonably doubt that Ion was in Athens on a visit when he heard Cimon appeal on Sparta's behalf. Cimon had the admiration and respect of Ion, who wrote affectionately of the general's great handsome face and thick curly hair,¹¹ and it is possible that he had remained in Cimon's entourage from the period of Laomedon's party until the desperate appeal of the Spartan Perikleidas for Athenian help.¹² Moreover Jacoby has argued attractively that the young man followed Cimon to the allied camp before Ithome as a member of his staff.¹³

The evidence for Jacoby's theory lies in the drinking-song for an Eurypontid king of Sparta which Athenaeus [11.463A and 496c] ascribes to Ion. Since the elegy enumerates toasts to Herakles, Alkmena, Prokles, and the Perseidai beginning with Zeus, a Herakleid descended from king Prokles of Sparta is obviously meant, and he was no doubt the host. This holds whether the first line *Χαιρέτω ἡμέτερος βασιλεὺς σωτήρ τε πατήρ τε* refers either to Zeus or to a Spartan king as Jacoby thought, or to *βασιλεὺς Οἶνος* whom the Chian praises in another elegy also quoted by Athenaeus [10.447D].¹⁴

⁸ p. 2, 8 Schw. (= *FGrHist* 392 T 6).

⁹ Plut. *Cimon* 16.10.

¹⁰ Stesimbrotos, *FGrHist* 107 F 6.

¹¹ Plut. *Cimon* 5.3.

¹² Ar. *Lysistrata* 1138; Plut. *Cimon* 16.8.

¹³ *CQ* 41 (1947) 7–9.

¹⁴ Ion Fr. 26 line 14, von Blumenthal.

In view of the date of Ion's *floruit* the Spartan king honoured in the poem is Archidamos the Eurypontid. Now U. Koehler thought that the occasion of the elegy was a visit of Ion and Thucydides son of Melesias to Sparta after the latter's ostracism.¹⁵ However, we don't have any evidence that Ion ever mentioned Thucydides in his *Epidemiai* or indeed in any other work of his, and at the time of the Samian revolt *ca.* 441 B.C. the poet was in fact in Chios, where he attended a dinner party at which the poet Sophocles was present as general.¹⁶ Koehler's dating of the Archidamos elegy therefore has nothing to recommend it. Plutarch [*Pericles* 8.5] does record a conversation in which Thucydides son of Melesias neatly described to Archidamos his political wrestling with Pericles, but Ion is not given as author and the story could well come from a pamphlet of Stesimbrotos the Thasian.¹⁷ A more fitting date for the Archidamos elegy is 463 or 462, when the king, having defeated the Messenians, was investing Ithome—the words βασιλεὺς σωτήρ τε πατήρ τε fit the situation, and the reference to female camp followers, not wedded wives, in the two lines at the end—

ὄντινα δ' εὐειδῆς μίμνει θήλεια πάρευνος
 κείνος τῶν ἄλλων κυδρότερον πίεται —

is just the kind of remark a high-spirited young man might make on his first campaign away from home.¹⁸ I said that there is no evidence that Ion had been to Sparta, but he had evidently seen enough of Spartans, and heard enough about them from members of the Cimonian circle, to share his mentor's admiration for "the Laconian city" which, in Ion's verses from an unidentified tragedy, "is not bastioned with words, but wherever drastic Ares falls upon the army, Council governs, and the hand executes."¹⁹ We may well have here an allusion

¹⁵ "Aus dem Leben des Dichters Ion," *Hermes* 29 (1894) 156ff.

¹⁶ Plut. *Cimon* 9.

¹⁷ *CQ* 41 (1947) 9.

¹⁸ The presence of female company at Ithome is perhaps also implied by Eupolis, who wrote of Cimon [Fr. 208]:

κακὸς μὲν οὐκ ἦν, φιλοπότης δὲ κάμελης,
 κἀνίστ' ἂν ἀπεκοιμᾶτ' ἂν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι,
 κἂν Ἑλληνικήν τῆδε καταλιπὼν μόνην.

¹⁹ Sext. Emp. 679, 24ff Bekker (= Ion Fr. 107 von Blumenthal).

οὐ γὰρ λόγοις Λάκαινα πυργοῦται πόλις·
 ἀλλ' εὖτ' ἂν Ἄρης νεοχμὸς ἐμπέσῃ στρατῶ
 βουλή μὲν ἄρχει, χεὶρ δ' ἐπεξεργάζεται.

to the helot revolt in "Ἀρης νεοχμός, because in Ionic νεοχμόν τι ποιέειν means 'to mutiny'.²⁰

If it is granted that Ion was at Ithome in 463 or 462 before Cimon and his forces were dismissed, then the likelihood that another anonymous fragment of the *Epidemiai* can be seen in Plutarch's *Cimon* [17.1–3] is strong: this is the conversation between Cimon and Lachartos, the Corinthian general, who objected to the passage of the Athenian force through Corinthian territory. Unfortunately we cannot be sure that Plutarch found in Ion's *Epidemiai* evidence for his belief that Cimon made two expeditions into Peloponnese: Plutarch definitely believed that there were two campaigns, but we must here ignore what is a genuine, if peripheral, problem of Pentekontaetia chronology.²¹ That the Lachartos episode in Plutarch's *Cimon* may well come from Ion is also suggested by the fact that the Chian was held to have known Corinth well. He is said to have attended the Isthmian games in the company of Aeschylus,²² and in his own elegies he confessed his love for the Corinthian Chryzilla, daughter of Teleos, whom Teleclides in his *Hesiodoi* said that Pericles loved too.²³ We do not know when Ion was in Corinth for the Isthmian games, but his presence with Aeschylus there cannot have been later than the Athenian's second departure for Sicily. Nor do we know how firm Ion's acquaintance was with Aeschylus, who, unlike Ion, was not close to the Cimonian circle: but Ion's testimony that Aeschylus took part in the battle of Salamis cannot be questioned.²⁴

In spirit Sophocles was a latter-day Cimonian, and indeed the poet was awarded his first dramatic success by Cimon and his fellow generals, who in the Dionysia of 468 preferred him to Aeschylus.²⁵ But in the age of Periclean dominance he stood apart from party politics with the other *Χρηστοί*, being in Ion's words τὰ μέντοι πολιτικά οὔτε σοφὸς οὔτε ῥεκτήριος.²⁶ For Sophocles Ion felt affection and sympathy.

²⁰ Herodotus 9.99.3 and 9.104.

²¹ The words βοηθήσας and ἀπήει may mean that Plutarch thought the Lachartos episode to have taken place when Cimon was leading his troops on the return journey of the first expedition. He later remarks [17.3] that the Lakedaimonians again called for the help of the Athenians against the Messenians and helots in Ithome. For the problem of two expeditions see most recently W. G. Forrest, *Phoenix* 17 (1963) 163.

²² Plut. *De prof. in virt.* 8, p. 79DE.

²³ Athen. 10.436F.

²⁴ Ion, *FGrHist* 392 F 7.

²⁵ Plut. *Cimon* 8.8. See also W. G. Forrest, "Themistokles and Argos," *CQ*, n.s. 10 (1960) 238.

²⁶ Athen. 13.604D, and *cf.*, in general, V. Ehrenberg, *Sophocles and Pericles* (Oxford 1954).

Athenaeus preserves a long extract from the *Epidemiai* in which a dinner party in Chios which the two poets attended is described.²⁷ Sophocles as general had come northwards to Chios and Lesbos to summon ships to the aid of the Athenian force attacking Samos. Evidently the generals had agreed that the poet's charm could be better used in persuading the allies to help them in fighting the Samians. Sophocles was aware of this, for after stealing a kiss from a pretty youth at the Chian dinner party, he remarked "I am practising my generalship, gentlemen. Pericles says that I know how to be a poet, but not a general. But did not my stratagem (the kiss) work out correctly just now?" Ion must have been delighted by the conversation at the party, for it was well spiced with quotations from Simonides and Phrynichus, and Sophocles' gentle refutation of some wooden criticism of Phrynichus by a pedant in the company won the admiration of his fellow tragedian from Chios. In spite of Ion's obvious sympathy for Sophocles, there is no cogent evidence that the Athenian ever influenced the Chian poet in the subject matter or language of his tragedies, and the attempt to trace literary links between Ion and Sophocles must, I think, be declared still inconclusive.²⁸

We would give much for an eyewitness account of Pericles from his contemporary Ion; but in fact there is no proof that Ion knew the Olympian statesman closely. Ion had compared Themistocles with Cimon unfavourably, but only so far as we know in the matter of his musical education²⁹: of Pericles, the political heir of Themistocles, however, Ion was outspokenly critical, complaining of his *μοθωνικὴ ὀμιλία* (an expression perhaps current amongst philo-Laconians in Athens, who borrowed it from their noble Spartan friends' complaints about the servant problem) and of his disdain and contempt for others.³⁰ The words used are definitely hostile. Pericles, Ion asserted, boasted that Agamemnon had taken ten years to capture Troy, whereas he had defeated the Samians, the most powerful of the Ionians, in nine months.³¹ Pericles may never have made so tasteless a remark: but it is significant that Ion believed (or at least reported)

²⁷ 13.603E-604D (= *FGrHist* 392 F 6).

²⁸ Cf. Webster, *Hermes* 71 (1936) 263ff.

²⁹ Plut. *Cimon* 9.1.

³⁰ Plut. *Pericles* 5.3. The tone of these remarks hardly befits the period of Pericles' Olympian dominance: but Athenian Tories may well have spoken thus about him while he was in the ascendant, ca. 465.

³¹ Plut. *Pericles* 28.7.

that he had, and did not hesitate to quote it as an example of the statesman's *μεγαλαυχία*. Yet the supposed boast may be no more than a piece of gossip amongst extremist clubmen in Athens which made its way to Chios in 439. Jacoby³² insists that Ion's dislike of Pericles the man does not mean that he hated Periclean home or foreign policy, but I feel less confident. As a Chiot Ion could condemn Periclean imperialism while still remaining a loyal friend of Athens. The harsh treatment of Samos must have caused him to wonder how Chios would be treated in the event of a dispute with Athens, and the Periclean doctrine that the empire must be held, if need be, like a *τυραννίς* was far harsher than the old precepts of the Cimonian imperialists, for whom the principal enemy was always Persia. Yet whatever doubts he may have had, Ion remained a staunch friend of Athens, and perhaps taught his son to love Athens too. For in 412 or 411 Tydeus, son of an Ion, and his party were killed for their *ἀττικισμός* by Pedaritus the Spartan in Chios.³³

Ion, like some Irishmen, knew that admiration for a powerful neighbour is consistent with local patriotism. The man who was rich enough to send, after one of his tragic victories, a jar of wine to each of the Athenians³⁴ expressed his love for his native island by writing its history. The *Χίου κτίσις* of Ion was a prose work, as Pausanias' description of it [7.4.8] as a *συγγραφή* and the one surviving verbatim fragment show.³⁵ It is as well to state this at once, because the *Founding of Chios* is sometimes called an elegiac poem. The evidence cited for the latter view is the single pentameter

τήν ποτε Θησεΐδης ἔκτισεν Οἰνοπίων,

which Plutarch quotes in the *Theseus*.³⁶ Plutarch does not, however, ascribe it to a *Χίου κτίσις*; he simply states that Ion was speaking about his own country, and the fragment perhaps comes from a drinking song composed for Athenians—Ion may have said, for instance, “<the dark wine we now drink comes from Chios> which once Oinopion, Theseus' son, settled.” It is significant that in Pausanias' long but rather disordered excerpt from the prose *Χίου κτίσις*,

³² CQ 41 (1947) 16, App. II.

³³ Thucydides 8.38.3. See also Wilamowitz, *Phil. Untersuch.* 1 (Berlin 1880) 13 n.14 and I. A. F. Bruce, “Chios and PSI 1304,” *Phoenix* 18 (1964) 276.

³⁴ Suda s.v. *Ἴων Χίος*.

³⁵ Ion, *FGrHist* 392 F 3.

³⁶ 20.2. Von Blumenthal justly remarks (p. 23): “Offenbar handelt es sich um eine gelegentliche Erwähnung in anderem Zusammenhang; von einer elegischen *Χίου κτίσις* kann keine Rede sein.”

Oinopion is said to come from Crete but is not called a son of Theseus. Oinopion's parentage is left unstated also in the most interesting list of his followers and wives in an epichoric Chiot inscription of the first century B.C. published by N. M. Condoleon.³⁷ The inscription gives a list of sons of Oinopion different from that in Pausanias, but both have Athamas (later to be founder of Teos) in common, and the inscription confirms the correction of the corrupt *Ἀγελος* in the text of Pausanias to *Σάλαγος*, another son's name. Ion or a predecessor patriotically claimed Athamas as a son of Oinopion the Cretan, but others considered him to have come to Teos, not from Chios, but from central Greece [Pausanias 7.3.6]. The one verbatim fragment of the *κτίσις* of Ion perhaps refers to the coming of Athamas from Chios to Teos as founder:

ἐκ τῆς Τέω λόγῃς λόγῃας ποιεῖν πεντήκοντα.

Orion³⁸ here explains that *λόγῃ* is an Ionian word used by Ion in the *Χίου κτίσις* and means *μερίς*, 'share'. The fragment about Teos may therefore imply that after Athamas was assigned Teos as his portion, he divided it into fifty parts. Such a division of the land recalls the *πύργοι* or very ancient demesnes of Teos into which the land was for long divided.³⁹ By making Athamas come from Chios Ion was attempting to stake a prior Chiot claim to territories in mainland Ionia. When Oinopion was king, Carians, Ion reported, came to the island to settle and also Abantes from Euboea. Later Amphiclus, who came over from Histiaia in Euboea in obedience to an oracle from Delphi, took over the kingship from the descendants of Oinopion.

It is interesting that, unless Pausanias is abbreviating drastically, Ion had nothing to say about Egertios, whom Strabo [633] names as a founder of Chios. The great-grandson of Amphiclus was, according to Ion, king Hector: he fought against the Carians and Abantes in the island, killing some and forcing others to leave by treaty. When peace came, Hector caused the Chiots to join with the Ionians in sacrifices at Panionion.⁴⁰ Interestingly Ion regarded Chios as distinct from Ionia

³⁷ *RevPhil*, SER. III 23 (1949) 5ff. For a possible phratry *Οἰνοπίδαι* in Chios, see W. G. Forrest, "The Tribal Organization of Chios," *BSA* 55 (1960) 189.

³⁸ *Etym.* p. 94, 25 Sturz (= Ion, *FGrHist.* 392 F 3). Mr. Forrest points out to me that *λόγῃαι* are found (though with uncertain meaning) in a Chian *Lex sacra* (E. Schwyzer, *Dialectorum Graecarum exempla epigraphica potiora* [Leipzig 1923] no. 695, 12).

³⁹ D. W. S. Hunt, "Feudal Survivals in Ionia," *JHS* 67 (1947) 68-76.

⁴⁰ For a conjectural dating of this event see H. T. Wade-Gery, *The Poet of the Iliad* (Cambridge 1952) 9.

before Hector's time, and indeed the evidence for a pre-Ionic Aeolian substratum in the island is strong in its dialect, place names and traditions. From Ion's own name we might have expected him to date the Ionizing of Chios as early as possible, but in deference to local tradition he did not.

A last, obscure, fragment, whose text is corrupt, refers to the Greeks at Troy. A seer whose name is corrupted or lost in the text is said to have advised Palamedes that the Greeks would be able to sail if they drank their wine with water in the proportion three to one, whereas the Greeks used to drink in a stronger mixture, five to two.⁴¹ We perhaps have here an allusion to a Chiot custom of drinking their strong dark wine with more water in it—Melas, one of Oinopion's sons, was perhaps so named in honour of the island's wine. The fragment mentions Palamedes, who was sent by Agamemnon to Anios in Delos to find a cure for the famine⁴² which afflicted the Greeks before Troy.⁴³ Anios, who may well be the seer in the fragment of Ion, sent his daughters Oino, Spermo and Elaiis to bring succour to the starving host at Rhoiteion. Anios was a grandson of Staphylos, the Cretan, in whom Ion may have also been interested owing to his ties with Oinopion.⁴⁴

From Ion the local antiquarian we turn to Ion the philosopher and historian of philosophy. A single sentence, perhaps from the *Epidemiai*, is the earliest biographical evidence for the philosopher Socrates. Diogenes Laertius [2.23] remarks that Socrates never left Athens except on military service, a view already held by Plato in the *Crito*. Diogenes however in an afterthought gives as evidence against the view Ion's statement that Socrates went to Samos with Archelaus as a young man, and adds that according to Aristotle Socrates went to Delphi. From the context clearly Ion meant that Socrates did not go to

⁴¹ Athenaeus 10.426E (=Ion, *FGrHist* 392 F 2): strictly, this need not come from the *κτίσις*. Athenaeus cites the fragment as being *ἐν τῷ περὶ Χίου*. Professor Parke suggested to me that the passage may have something to do with the Oinotropoi of Delos. In view of the link between Palamedes and Anios (see below) that is very likely. Jacoby gives the following text of this passage: *περὶ δὲ ταύτης κράσεως (scil. δύο πρὸς πέντε ἢ ἕνα πρὸς τρεῖς) Ἴων ὁ ποιητῆς ἐν τῷ Περὶ Χίου φησὶν ὅτι τεύρων ὁ μάντις Παλαμῆδην ἐμαντεύσατο πλοῦν ἔσεσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησι πίνουσιν τρεῖς πρὸς ἕνα κθάθους· οἱ δ' ἐπιτεταμένως χρώμενοι τῷ ποτῷ δύο οἴνου ἔπινον πρὸς πέντε ὕδατος. For τεύρων . . . Παλαμῆδην, Jacoby proposes "(Eigenname) ὁ μάντις Παλαμῆδης"; for τεύρων I suggest Ἄνιων a by-form of Ἄνιος attested for Delos by Diodorus 5.79.2.*

⁴² Von Blumenthal's *πλοῦτον* for *πλοῦν* makes good sense in Athenaeus 10.426DE, if the context of the fragment is Greek starvation during the siege of Troy.

⁴³ Schol. Lycophr. 581 (vol. 2, p. 200 Scheer).

⁴⁴ Schol. Lyc. 570.

Samos in 441/0 on war service, and the frequent assertions in the textbooks that Socrates took part in the Samian war miss the point of Diogenes' quotation from Ion and Aristotle. It is, besides, doubtful that Socrates could be called νέον ὄντα in 440 B.C., and anyway Porphyry⁴⁵ dated the association between Archelaus and Socrates (though not necessarily the visit to Samos) to a time when Socrates was seventeen, about 452 B.C. This is about the time when Ion was again in Athens, the 82nd Olympiad; then Ion won his first dramatic victory, and we may perhaps infer that the fragment about Socrates comes from the *Epidemiai*. Indeed we can go further and say that possibly Ion knew Socrates in Athens when the young Athenian was just beginning his philosophical studies with Archelaus. These were the happy years between Cimon's return from exile and his death in Cyprus. Now Archelaus belonged to the Cimonian circle; he wrote poetry on Cimon's lineage and, according to Panaitios, an elegy to console him for the death of his beloved Isodike.⁴⁶ It is a matter of no little interest that the young Socrates can be seen therefore to have associated with a Cimonian, and those who assert that nothing at all can be said about the early intellectual development of Socrates are definitely misleading. Socrates in fact was brought up close to the international philo-Laconian aristocracy, of which Cimon was the chief Athenian representative; and if we ask why Socrates visited Samos with Archelaus an answer is to hand: they went not to fight in the Samian war, but a decade or so earlier to visit the great statesman and philosopher Melissos, who later directed the defence of Samos against the Athenians under Pericles. About 452 Athenian visitors were sure of a warm welcome in Samos: this was a period of strong Samian friendship, immediately after the transference, at the proposal of Samos, of the League treasury from Delos to Athens.⁴⁷

Where Ion learnt to philosophize we do not know, but it is worth considering whether he may not have been taught some Pythagorean ideas by his father. Aristotle [*Physics* 4.9.216B22] mentions a certain Xouthos, who argued from condensation and refraction in the world to the existence of a void, and furthermore claimed that if there were

⁴⁵ *FGrHist* 260 F 11c.

⁴⁶ Diels-Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*⁹ 60 B 1 (Archelaos). Like Ion, Archelaus was an acquaintance, and perhaps a friend, of Sophocles, who wrote an elegy about him [*Vorsokr.*⁹ 60 A 5a].

⁴⁷ Plut. *Aristides* 25.3. See also J. P. Barron, "Religious Propaganda of the Delian League," *JHS* 84 (1964) 48.

no void, then either there would be no motion or the entire universe would rise in waves (*κυμανεῖ*). Xouthos' name may also appear, though corruptly, in a list of Crotoniate Pythagoreans in Iamblichus [*Vit. Pyth.* 267], but that he may in fact be a Chian Pythagorean is quite likely: Pythagorean ideas must have been acceptable in fifth century Chios, as the activity of the astronomer Oenopides and the mathematician Hippocrates suggest. Whether Ion's father was a Pythagorean or not, Ion himself was a considerable philosopher in the Pythagorean manner. His *Triagmos* or "Triple Division" is perhaps the same as the work called *Kosmologikos* in the Aristophanes scholia [on *Pax* 835]. The title *Τριαγμός* perhaps is cognate with *ἄγνυμι* 'break'. The opening sentence is preserved in Harpokration,⁴⁸ though in a sadly corrupt state. A possible restoration is as follows:

<"Ἴων Χίος> [τάδε] <λέγει>· ἀρχή μοι τοῦ λόγου· πάντα τρία καὶ πλείω
<οὐδὲν οὐδὲ> ἐλάσσω· ἑνος ἐκάστου ἀρετῆ τριάς, σύνεσις καὶ κράτος καὶ τύχη.

"Ion of Chios thus speaks" (somewhat as Hecataeus before and Herodotus after him began their books): "... All things are triples, and nothing is more or less than three. The worth of each thing is a triad, intelligence and strength and chance." Here *σύνεσις* and *τύχη* are conjoined: elsewhere, in a passage not necessarily from the *Triagmos*, Ion compared *σοφία* with *τύχη*, remarking that while they were unlike each other, yet they were fashioners of things very alike.⁴⁹ Another instance of his personification of abstract entities is his hymn to Kairos, which Pausanias mentions [5.14.9]. In Ion's opinion Kairos was the youngest of the children of Zeus; he may have had a Pythagorean's liking for the concept, since the *Theologoumena Arithmeticae* [p. 44 Ast] assert that *καιρός* was the sect's name for the number Seven. In the *Triagmos*, as we are informed by Philoponos,⁵⁰ earth, air and fire formed a triple, being, evidently, the constituents of the universe. Part of the *Triagmos* was concerned with astronomy, for Aetius [2.25.11] remarks that Ion thought the moon to be transparent or ice-like, part illuminated, part not.

Pythagoras also found a place in the book: according to Ion, the Samian sage ascribed some of his own poems to Orpheus.⁵¹ Ion re-

⁴⁸ s.v. *Ἴων* (perhaps from the *Pinakes* of Callimachus).

⁴⁹ Plutarch, *De fort. Rom.* 1, p. 316D. *Qu. Conv.* 8.1.1.

⁵⁰ *De gen. et corr.* p. 207, 18 Vit. (= Ion, *FGrHist* 392 F 24c).

⁵¹ Diog. Laert. 8.8.

turned to Pythagoras in one of his elegies preserved by Diogenes Laertius [1.119]:

ὡς ὁ μὲν ἠγορέη τε κεκασμένος ἠδὲ καὶ αἰδοῖ
καὶ φθίμενος ψυχῇ τερπνὸν ἔχει βίοντον,
εἶπερ Πυθαγόρης ἐτύμως ὁ σοφὸς περὶ πάντων
ἀνθρώπων γνώμας εἶδε καὶ ἐξέμαθεν.

ὁ μὲν is Pherecydes; Ion is saying that if Pythagoras is to be believed Pherecydes has a happy life after death. Kranz⁵² appositely asked, if ὁ μὲν is Pherecydes, who is ὁ δέ who must be mentioned later in the poem? And he reasonably suggested Heraclitus, because Ion's words περὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων γνώμας εἶδε καὶ ἐξέμαθεν look like a hit at the bitter criticism of Pythagoras made by the Ephesian philosopher, who asserted that he ἐποίησατο ἑαυτοῦ σοφίην, πολυμαθίην, κακοτεχνίαν, having practised *ιστορίη* more than all other men, ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα πάντων.⁵³ As an exponent of πολυμαθίη Ion cannot have liked the Heraclitean doctrine πολυμαθίη νόον ἔχειν οὐ διδάσκει: possibly Ion's poem went on to say that unlike Pherecydes, Heraclitus was *not* enjoying bliss after death.

Appropriately for an admirer of Pythagoras, Ion interested himself in musical theory. An elegiac fragment,⁵⁴ whose genuineness has however been doubted,⁵⁵ describes the intervals of the eleven-stringed lyre, the successor of the seven-stringed instrument of Terpander. The text is not quite assured, but the sense is: "Eleven-stringed lyre, who hast ten intervals, three triples of harmony tuned together. Formerly did all Greeks play thee with seven tones and scales of four strings, as they raised up their limited music."⁵⁶ An eleven-stringed lyre has three κρούματα, scales of four strings, and ten intervals, whereas a seven-stringed instrument has but two scales of four. But though Ion may well have praised the new lyre, it was left to Timotheus to exploit its revolutionary possibilities. Ion's interest in

⁵² W. Kranz, "Vorsokratisches II," *Hermes* 69 (1934) 227.

⁵³ Diog. Laertius 8.6 (needlessly placed amongst the *dubia* in *Vorsokratiker*⁹ 22 v 129).

⁵⁴ Kleonid. *Eisag.Harm.* 12 (*Euclidis op.* 8.216 Menge) [=Fr. 26 von Blumenthal].

⁵⁵ Cf. Wilamowitz, *Hermes* 37 (1902) 306 and F. Marx, *RM* 83 (1934) 376ff.

⁵⁶ ἑνδεκάχορδε λύρα, [τῆν] δεκαβάμονα τάξιν ἔχοισα,
τρῆς συμφωνούσας ἁρμονίας τριάδους,
πρὶν μὲν σ' ἐπάτονον ψάλλον διὰ τέσσαρα πάντες
Ἕλληνες σπανίαν μούσαν ἀειρόμενοι . . .

In line 1 von Blumenthal prints ἔχοις, ζ, and in line 2 εἰ [τὰς].

musical instruments reappears in a fragment of the *Omphale*, a satyr play in which the Lydian *magadis* was mentioned.⁵⁷

The *Omphale* and the *Agamemnon* are the two plays of Ion of which substantial fragments survive. The *Suda*⁵⁸ state that Ion wrote twelve plays, or 30 or 40 according to others. The numbers 30 or 40 mean ten trilogies with or without the satyr plays, and presumably twelve plays of the trilogies reached Alexandria. The author of the *Περὶ ὕψους* [33.5] remarks upon their smoothness and lack of blemish, but also asks whether anyone would not prefer the *Oedipus* of Sophocles to all the plays of Ion. The date of the *Agamemnon* is unknown, and if it owed anything to Aeschylus' play or suggested anything to Ion's Athenian acquaintance we have no evidence. Near the beginning a speaker offers somebody a cup won by Castor in a race, a prize from Pelias, as pay for some action.⁵⁹ Clytemnestra is perhaps the speaker, and she may be addressing the watcher who is to look out for Agamemnon's return, like the *σκοπός* in the *Odyssey*⁶⁰ who was stationed to look for his approach. The words *ἵππικόν χλίδος* suggest that Ion like Aeschylus may have brought *Agamemnon* on to the stage in a chariot, but they do not prove it.⁶¹ The line *ἀπροσδοκῆτως κἄνοπλοι πορθούμεθα* is ascribed to Ion, but not to his *Agamemnon*: it would however suit the dying scream of the king well, but proof is lacking here too.⁶²

The plot of the *Omphale* is recoverable, at least in outline. Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1611 states that the following couplet came from the beginning of the play:

ὄρων μὲν [ἦ]δη Πέλοπος ἐξελαύ[νο]μεν
Ἐρμῆ, βόρειον [ἵπ]πον, ἄνεται δ' ὁδός.

Herakles is being brought by Hermes, whom he here addresses, from the bounds of Pelops (that is, Phrygia) to Lydia, where he is to serve the princess *Omphale*. The *βόρειον ἵππον* was recognised by T. W. Allen⁶³ as a horse of the breed which were sired upon the Trojan mares by Boreas, as Homer describes (*Iliad* 20.219–229). The creature

⁵⁷ Athenaeus 14.634c.

⁵⁸ s.v. Ἴων Χίος.

⁵⁹ Athenaeus 11.468c–f (= Fr. 40 von Blumenthal).

⁶⁰ 4.524; see also von Blumenthal, *op.cit.* pp. 28–29.

⁶¹ Hesychius s.v. ἵππικόν χλίδος.

⁶² Quoted by the Berlin Photius s.v. ἄνοπλοι. Cf. von Blumenthal on Ion Fr. 45 in his edition.

⁶³ *ap.* Grenfell and Hunt, *POxy* 1611.

had been taken by Herakles from Laomedon after the sacking of Troy. Because Herakles had killed his host Eurytus, Zeus ordered Hermes to take and sell him as a punishment for the murder, as Pherecydes described.⁶⁴ So Hermes brought Herakles to Lydia and sold him to Omphale for three talents.

The play opens with the god and the hero approaching the palace of the queen. The queen appears and in iambic dimeters orders the attendant maidens to bring out the cups and the bowls with bosses in the middle [Athenaeus 11.501F]:

ἴτ' ἐκφορεῖτε, παρθένοι, κύπελλα καὶ μεσομφάλους.

Herakles explains that he must celebrate all year long—the time of his bondage, which here is amusingly called a feast or festival; Ion uses the Ionic word for it [Athenaeus 6.258F]: ἐνιαυσίαν γὰρ δεῖ με τὴν ὀρτὴν ἄγειν. The queen also bids the Lydian women sing ancient hymns to the accompaniment of harps in honour of the guest [Athenaeus 14.634F]. Omphale or another Lydian then remarks that unguents and myrrh and the fashion of adorning their skin in Sardis are better than the way of life in Peloponnese [Athenaeus 15.690B]. Lydian cosmetics also must have caught the poet's fancy, for the use of kohl as black to line out the eyes is mentioned in another fragment.⁶⁵ Herakles is evidently presented, by contrast to Asiatic luxury, as the epitome of Peloponnesian simplicity and toughness. He pours a libation, and then is told, no doubt to his astonishment, to drink Pactolus water instead of wine.⁶⁶ When the meal is cooked the burlesque continues with the gluttonous Herakles devouring the wood and ashes of the fire [Athenaeus 10.411B], an easy task for a hero who in Ion's view had three unbreakable rows of teeth.⁶⁷ Whether in the midst of all this he was dressed as a Lydian maiden is not certain. That the words

βραχὺν λίνου κύπασσιν ἐς μηρὸν μέσον
ἐστάλμενος [Pollux 7.60]

belong to the *Omphale* was denied by von Blumenthal,⁶⁸ who remarked that a female *κύπασσις* reached to the feet. However, a

⁶⁴ *FGrHist* 3 F 82B.

⁶⁵ Fr. 68 von Blumenthal.

⁶⁶ Fr. 70 von Blumenthal (= *Etym. Mag.* 671.41) *πίθι· ἔσπεισας· ἀλλὰ πίθι Πακτωλοῦ ῥοάς*. However, as von Blumenthal points out, these words may be addressed to a satyr.

⁶⁷ Tzetzes, *Chil.* 3.959. See also Webster, *Hermes* 71 (1936) 269.

⁶⁸ *Op.cit.* 42 and 51.

maiden's *κύπασσις* would reach only to the thigh of a Herakles, and it would be quite in Ion's manner to bring the hero on in an ill-fitting tunic. The matter remains undecided.

Apart from the fragment of the *Omphale* the papyri have added no new knowledge about Ion's tragedies. Wilamowitz tentatively suggested that fragments of a satyr play about Phineus or Oineus may be by Ion,⁶⁹ but Sophocles is equally a possible author, as Hunt, the editor of the papyrus, pointed out.

There is however a tragic fragment on papyrus for which Ion may perhaps be claimed as author. Mr E. Lobel published⁷⁰ a Greek historical drama whose subject was Gyges' usurpation of the throne of Lydia after he had seen Kandaules' wife naked, a subject made famous by Herodotus. In the fragment the queen speaks and recounts the events of the previous night, having got her husband out of the house at daybreak to do his king's business. Lobel ruled out Aeschylus as author, both because the style is plain and because it would be strange if no reference to a play by so famous an author on so remarkable a subject should have survived. He suggested instead that Phrynichus deserved consideration; but he was prepared to consider a non-Athenian author, as can be seen from his words ". . . I approach with great reluctance the question of the name of the author of these verses, supposing him to have been an Athenian—or more exactly an exhibitor of plays in Athens—of the first half of the fifth century B.C."

The language of the fragment suggests, as Lobel and after him Page in his inaugural lecture⁷¹ point out, an early date of composition. Without exception mute+liquid make position: we find *προἔδραμεν, ἔγρησσοντα, ὁ δρασας, αὔπνιας*. Such scansion is exceptional amongst the Attic tragedians (though we do find *αὔπνος* in Aeschylus, *Prometheus* 32), but is strictly observed by the earliest Ionian writers of iambics and would not be out of place in the poetry of a fifth-century Ionian. The lengthening of ὄ, as in *ὁ δρασας*, is as Porson showed not admitted in Attic tragedy from Aeschylus' time onwards, but such treatment of a final short vowel of a word coming before mute+liquid is regular in early Ionian writers. The lengthening of augment before mute+nasal is exceedingly rare in Attic, but is

⁶⁹ POxy 1083.

⁷⁰ *ProcBritAcad* 35 (1949) 207–216.

⁷¹ *A New Chapter in the History of Greek Tragedy* (Cambridge 1951).

regular in Ionians, for instance in Archilochus and Simonides of Amorgos. All these points were noted by Page, who however did not propose as a working hypothesis that the author was an Ionian of the first half of the fifth century.⁷² In favour of Ion's claim to authorship we can adduce the following facts. The Chian did lengthen naturally short vowels before mute+ liquid, thus: ἀλλ' ὦ θυρέτρων τῶνδε κωμῆται θεοί (from the *Phoenix*).⁷³ But his practice is by no means consistent. Compare τέμνων πρότρητα πορθμόν from the *Omphale* [Strabo 1.3.19 (C 60)]. The papyrus has lines that are without exception end-stopped, and there are no resolutions. Rarity of resolution is typical of Ionian iambographers, but Ion allows resolutions. On the other hand, a high proportion of his lines are end-stopped in the fragments. Besides, the solemnity of the queen's speech in the papyrus may have demanded few or no resolutions, and we cannot be sure that its author's practice was always as consistent as the papyrus suggests.

A Lydian theme is most appropriate for the Chian poet, whose knowledge of Lydian ways was displayed to good advantage in the *Omphale*. Nor would a historical drama surprise us in a poet who broke with Attic convention so completely as to give one of his plays not a heroic or contemporary title, but simply the name *Μέγα Δράμα*. It is in the vocabulary of the papyrus that correspondences with Ion's fragments are interesting. The last line (16) of the second column begins

Γύγην δέ μοι κλητήρ.[.

Now Aeschylus used κλητήρ in the singular, but Ion used it too: Hesychius quotes from the *Φρουροί* of Ion κλητήρα, which he glosses τὸν καλέσαντα.⁷⁴ This is the sense required in the papyrus: "the sum-

⁷² H. Lloyd-Jones, *ProcCamPhilolSoc* 182 (2) (1952-53) 36-43, considers the possibility that the fragment is by Archilochus. I agree that the author is Ionian, but doubt that he need be so early. Atticisms noted by Lloyd-Jones (*op.cit.* 40)—δρασθέν, δράσας, ἀνπνίας, ἡμέρας, λέχους, λαῶν and in col. iii, line 8 δράσα—need not be due to Attic disturbance of an Ionic text, but to the play being composed by an Ionian for performance in Athens. J. C. Kamerbeek, "De novo fragmento tragico in quo de Gyge et Candaule agitur," *Mnemosyne* SER. IV, 5 (1952) 108-115, considers Ion a possible author of the fragment, but prefers a Hellenistic date. A. E. Raubitschek, "Gyges in Herodotus," *CW* 48 (1955) 48-50, suggests Ion. In a letter of 5.12.1964 Professor Raubitschek informs me that one of his students has made "a more thorough investigation of the metrical peculiarities of the papyrus fragment and of the fragments of Ion, and found them to be very similar, though different from the normal *sermo tragicus*."

⁷³ Pollux 9.37.

⁷⁴ Fr. 94 von Blumenthal.

moners went to fetch Gyges”: compare Herodotus’ words *ἐκάλεε τὸν Γύγαα*. In lines 10 and 11 of column ii the papyrus has

ἐπεὶ δ’ ἀνῆλ[θε]φαῖς Ἐωσφόρος
τῆς πρωτοφειγ[γοῦς ἢ]μέρας πρ[ο]άγγελος.

In the first line *παμφάης*, Page’s supplement, fits well. “When Venus,” says the queen, “first rose to shine, the harbinger of the first light of day . . .” Ion’s interest in the planet Venus impressed Aristophanes, as we have seen. The likeness between the queen’s words and Ion’s which began

ἄοιον ἀεροφοίταν ἀστέρα
μείναμεν ἀελίου λευκοπτέρυγα πρόδρομον

is noteworthy. His interest in pre-dawn scenes can be seen also in a fragment from an unnamed tragedy in the Berlin Photius

νῦν δ’ ἐγγύς ἡοῦς ἠνίκ’ οὐδέπω φάος
οὐδ’ ἀμβλὺς ὄρθρος.⁷⁵

καρδίας κυκωμένης [col. ii, 6] is good Ionic for “being mentally distressed,” as Archilochus’ words *θυμέ, θυμ’, ἀμηχάνοισι κήδεσιν κυκώμενε* show. *ἐγρήσονται* “being awake” used of Kandaules in line 4 of column ii is Homeric, but to Mr Lobel’s belief is not attested in Attic. *προτοῦ* “heretofore” [col. 1, 12] is found in Aeschylus (*Agamemnon* 1204) but not elsewhere in tragedy except in the satyric *Ichneutae* of Sophocles. But it is good Ionic and appears in Herodotus [1.122.1]. In column i, 7 *γλεφ . . .* is a group of letters inexplicable in Attic, but *γλέφαρα* is Aeolic for *βλέφαρα*: conceivably an Aeolism of Chios? *τὸ δρασθέν ἔγνων κα[ὶ] τίς ὁ δράσας ἀνὴρ* [col. ii, 5] is a surprising line. Attic tragedy uses *τὸ πραχθέν* for *τὸ δρασθέν*, and usually *ὁ δρῶν* for *ὁ δράσας*. What might easily have been written here, Lobel points out, is *τὸ πραχθέν ἔγνων καὶ τίς ἦν ὁ δρῶν ἀνὴρ*. The line in the papyrus is so unusual as to create serious doubts that an Attic tragedian could have written it. Ion’s liking for the word *δρᾶν* is to be seen in the title of his tragedy *Μέγα Δρᾶμα*.

All these details are enough, I think, to suggest that the author of the papyrus fragment was not an Athenian but an Ionian. If anyone wishes to claim that the play belongs to the fourth or a later century he cannot be refuted, but neither can he produce any cogent evidence for his view, because so little is known about the subjects and language

⁷⁵ Fr. 108 von Blumenthal.

of Greek tragedy after 400.⁷⁶ Arguments from general probability are notoriously compounded of ignorance and prejudice, and I leave them aside. We know next to nothing about fifth-century Ionian tragedy apart from Ion: but if we are to assign the papyrus hypothetically, an Ionian is the obvious claimant to authorship. As to whether Herodotus was prompted by the Gyges play to tell the story in his *Λυδίακᾶ* we have no means of judging: but obviously, as Herodotus shows, the tale of Kandaules' wife was popular amongst the eastern Greeks about 450 B.C.; and it pleased equally the storyteller's imagination of Herodotus and the author of the Gyges fragment.

The extraordinary successes of Cimonian and Periclean Athens tend to draw our attention from the flourishing intellectual life of other parts of Ionian Greece in the fifth century. Of the Hellenic intellect in all its variety Ion is a distinguished representative, who deserves to be well known. I trust that this paper has shown the fragments of his work and the evidence for his life to be rewarding objects of study.

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⁷⁶ Cf. A. Lesky, "Das hellenistische Gyges-drama," *Hermes* 81 (1953) 1ff.