

# Hesiod Redivivus

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THE LEGEND OF HESIOD'S DEATH is among the most famous, and most melodramatic, of the biographies of ancient poets. While details and locale vary among the extant sources (the *Certamen*, Tzetzes, *Suda*, Pausanias, Plutarch), a basic story is common to all.<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, warned by an oracle of danger at a place sacred to Zeus *Νέμειος*, avoided Nemea in the Peloponnese, only to be murdered at another site sacred to Nemean Zeus by two brothers who believed he had seduced their sister. His body was thrown into the sea, but was brought to land by dolphins. The poet was buried, and his killers came to a bad end. Later, however, the Orchomenians were directed by an oracle to obtain Hesiod's remains, which were transferred to Orchomenos. At least the roots of this story are old. Thucydides (3.96) reports a local tradition of Oeneon in West Locris, according to which Hesiod had died there in the Nemeion, as foretold by an oracle. In the fourth century Alcidamas in his *Μουσεῖον* described the contest with Homer and told of the murder.<sup>2</sup> Nothing in this rich tradition, however, explains the proverb *Ἡσιόδειον γῆρας*,<sup>3</sup> and equally a puzzle is the

<sup>1</sup> Citations of these sources will use the page and line numbers of the edition of U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Vitae Homeri et Hesiodi* (Berlin 1916). Tzetzes' life of Hesiod has been re-edited by A. Colonna, *BPEC* 2 (1953) 27–39; his work does not affect my argument. Apart from variations of nomenclature, the most outstanding variants are in the different fates allotted Hesiod's murderers (*Certamen* 14, p.42.13–19 W.), and in geography. Whereas Thucydides speaks of a local tradition at Oeneon near Naupactus in West Locris, and this is roughly the locale of the murder for Plutarch and Pausanias, the *Certamen* (p.42.3–9 W.) places the events at Oinoe, an otherwise unattested site in East Locris (cf. Tzetzes, p.50.25–30 W.). See Rzach, *RE* 8 (1912) 1172–73; Wilamowitz, *Ilias und Homer* (Berlin 1920) 406ff.

<sup>2</sup> I find P. Mich. inv. 2754 convincing evidence that Alcidamas is the main source of the *Certamen*, as F. Nietzsche had suggested, *RhM* 25 (1870) 528–40 and 28 (1873) 211–49; but the issue is controversial. Cf. M. L. West, *CQ* n.s. 17 (1967) 433–51; G. Koniaris, *HSCP* 75 (1971) 107–29; R. Renehan, *HSCP* 75 (1971) 85–106 and *Studies in Greek Texts* (Hypomnemata 43 [1976]) 144–59. Earlier literature is fully listed in R. Pack, *Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt*<sup>2</sup> (Ann Arbor 1965) no. 76 and 77; see especially E. Vogt, *RhM* 102 (1959) 193–221.

<sup>3</sup> Zenob. Athous 3.56; *App.Prov.* 4.92; *Suda* τ 732. The glossed proverb is no longer extant in the Athous, but is listed in the table of contents; E. Miller, *Mélanges de littérature grecque* (Paris 1868) 372.

epigram cited with the proverb and quoted by Tzetzes at the end of his life of Hesiod (p.51.9–10 W.):

χαῖρε, δις ἠβήσας καὶ δις τάφου ἀντιβολήσας,  
Ἡσίοδ', ἀνθρώποις μέτρον ἔχων σοφίης.

*Suda* and Tzetzes attribute this couplet to Pindar, and, according to the paroemiographer, it was cited in Aristotle's *Ὀρχομενίων Πολιτεία* (fr.565 Rose). Nothing in its language would prohibit an early date. Both aorist participles are in metrical positions they occupy already in Homeric epic (*Od.* 19.410, 6.275, etc.); the collocation *τάφου ἀντιβολήσας* appears at *Od.* 4.547. The phrase *σοφίης μέτρον ἐπιστάμενος* is used of a poet at Solon 13.52 West. While the attribution is generally, and rightly, dismissed, it is not inherently impossible.<sup>4</sup>

The problem, of course, lies in *δις ἠβήσας*. The praise of Hesiod's wisdom is praise of his poetry, with special reference perhaps to the didactic nature of his works or to his victory in the contest with Homer. The latter is clearly implied by another epigram, clearly not independent of this one, *Anth.Pal.* 7.54 (attributed to Mnasalces):<sup>5</sup>

Ἄσκη μὲν πατρὶς πολυλῆιος, ἀλλὰ θανόντος  
ὄστέα πληξίππων γῆ Μινυῶν κατέχει  
Ἡσιόδου, τοῦ πλείστον ἐν ἀνθρώποις κλέος ἐστὶν  
ἀνδρῶν κρινομένων ἐν βασάνῳ σοφίης.

The double burial clearly alludes to the two tombs of the tradition. But whatever 'twice-young' means, it cannot easily be connected with any part of the known biography. Unlike the 'Mnasalces' epigram, this couplet was not included in the *Anthology* or quoted in the *Certamen*; it probably owes its survival to having been

<sup>4</sup> Wilamowitz, *Ilias* 407, "natürlich sollte der Böoter dem Böoter gehuldigt haben," cf. Schmid-Stählin I.1 252 n.5, Rzach (*supra* n.1). The epigram is Pindar fr.6 (dubia) Puech; 428–29 in Page, *Epigrammata Graeca* (OCT, 1975). T. Preger's contention, *Inscriptiones graecae metricae* (Leipzig 1891) 200, that formulaic *χαῖρε* addressed to the deceased is not found in fifth-century epitaphs is contradicted by W. Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften* I 14, 1384.

<sup>5</sup> The 'Mnasalces' epigram (2650–53 Page) is quoted by Pausanias (p.54.1–4 W.), *Cert.* 14 (p.42.25–28 W.), and Tzetzes (p.51.4–7 W.), and was, apparently, inscribed on the tomb at Orchomenos. Its authenticity and the textual variant in line 3 are discussed in A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* II (Cambridge 1965) 412–13, and W. Seelbach, *Die Epigramme des Mnasalkes von Sikyon und des Theodoridas von Syrakus* (Wiesbaden 1964) 53–57. The 'Pindaric' epigram has recently been interpreted as alluding to the *certamen* by A. D. Skiadis, *Homer im griechischen Epigram* (Athens 1965) 42.

quoted in the *Orch.Pol.* Although Aristotle seems to have included some variant of the murder story in this work, and to have regarded Hesiod as the father of Stesichorus, the second burial seems to have been connected with the destruction of Ascra and removal of the survivors to Orchomenos.<sup>6</sup> The related epigram also mentions Ascra and Orchomenos, but not Locris, the usual location of the murder-story. Hence, only a second burial at Orchomenos is certainly associated with the couplet, and the rest of the tradition is not of any evident help.<sup>7</sup> Nor is the explanation of the paroemiographer very enlightening: the proverb is glossed as referring to the very old, and the epigram explained *παρόσον τό τε γήρας ὑπερέβη καὶ δις ἐτάφη*. This is an odd meaning for *δις ἠβήσας*. Yet the couplet's allusive brevity suggests that its author had a specific tradition in mind.

## I. Traditional Interpretations

The most commonly accepted interpretation of the poem connects it with the story of Hesiod's seduction of a woman who thus became the mother of Stesichorus.<sup>8</sup> If he was contemporary with Homer, as the contest-legend requires, he would have had to be extremely old at the time he begat the later poet, even allowing for the most generous of the various datings assigned the early Greek poets by ancient opinion.<sup>9</sup> In any case, Hesiod seems generally to

<sup>6</sup> This is the simplest explanation of Schol. Pro. on *Op.* 631 (p.298 Gaisford, Arist. fr.565 Rose, Plut. fr.82 Sandbach), which says that Plutarch stated Ascra was even then uninhabited, for Thespieae had driven out the inhabitants, who had been received by Orchomenos, *ὄθεν καὶ τὸν θεὸν Ὀρχομενίους προστάζει τὰ Ἡσιόδου λείψανα λαβεῖν καὶ θάψαι παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶ γράφων τὴν Ὀρχομενίων πολιτείαν* (the wording may be Plutarch's, as it closely resembles *Mor.* 162F, though Plutarch there is describing a transfer of Hesiod's bones from West Locris, and Ascra is not mentioned). That Aristotle said that Stesichorus was Hesiod's son by Clymene is reported by Tzetzes, pp.49–50 W. (fr.565 Rose).

<sup>7</sup> For the original place of burial there seem to be at least four claimants: Oeneon and Oinoe (*supra* n.1), Naupactus (Pausanias, p.53.14, 25, 27 W.), and Ascra. The double burial itself is one of several features in the legend that are typical of stories surrounding cult heroes; see A. Brelich, *Gli eroi greci* (Rome 1958) 321–22.

<sup>8</sup> Most extensively argued by H. D. Evelyn-White, "Miscellanea Hesiodica," *CQ* 14 (1920) 126–31; accepted by Schmid-Stählin I.1 252 n.4 and Wilamowitz, *Ilias* 407 n.2.

<sup>9</sup> Variants and controversies in the realm of Homeric and Hesiodic chronology go back to Theagenes of Rhegium, and by the fourth century were labyrinthine; see J. Davison in A. J. Wace and F. Stubbings, *A Companion to Homer* (London 1962) 236, 240, and Jacoby's excellent comments on the Hesiod-Stesichorus connection, *ad FG rHist* 328F213.

be imagined as already old at the time of his triumph, and the affair would indeed prove sustained vigor and sexual virility. But the fantasy of one famous poet as the father of another seems to belong to one realm, and considerations of chronology to a different one. An attempt to reconcile the two by attributing a remarkable old age to Hesiod would be a scholar's effort, unlikely to create a proverb. But the strongest objection to this reading of the epigram is its vulgarity. A quasi-sepulchral poem in Hesiod's praise, and praise especially of his 'wisdom', would hardly emphasize a sordid anecdote of illicit sex.

A second interpretation separates proverb and epigram. McKay has proposed that the proverb be connected with Hesiod fr.304 M–W, which describes the long lives of the Nymphs by comparison with other creatures.<sup>10</sup> Thus, a 'Hesiodic old age' would be 'an old age to be expressed in Hesiod's fabulous terms'. This is a very peculiar and unnatural meaning for a simple phrase. The further suggestion that the epigram was intended to mean only that Hesiod, who was already old at the time of his poetic initiation, reasserted a new vigor and youth in becoming a poet, gives a weak and obscure sense to *δις ἠβήσας*. There is, moreover, no reason to think that an infusion of youth would be a natural result of poetic initiation; the chorus of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, for example, claims (104ff) that old age gives its song greater authority.

A more credible explanation along these lines might perhaps be that Hesiod's first 'youth' is that of Hesiod's life, while the second is the eternal youth of his poetic fame. A similar idea appears in the oracle given to Homer in the ps.-Plutarchean *vita* (p.23.16–19 W.):

*δοιὰς γὰρ ζωῆς μοίρας λάχες, ἦν μὲν ἀμαυρὰν  
ἠελίων δισσῶν ἦν δ' ἀθανάτοις ἰσόμοιρον  
ζῶντί τε καὶ φθιμένῳ· φθίμενος δ' ἔτι πολλὸν ἀγήρωσ.*

While perhaps more satisfactory than earlier suggestions, this reading still leaves the epigram obscure and askew, mixing the literal life and the life of glory as the oracle does not. The aorist participle *ἠβήσας*, moreover, would be odd, and the proverb left still unexplained.

There remains the later evidence for a tradition that Hesiod was literally rejuvenated. Symmachus (*Ep.* 7.20) tells his friend Attalus that the improvement of his villa will be easier *quam quod*

<sup>10</sup> K. J. McKay, "Hesiod's Rejuvenation," *CQ* NS 9 (1959) 1–5.

*Hesiodum ferunt posito senio in virides annos redisse.* Other references to this story appear in Servius Auctus and Schol. Bern. on Virgil, *Ecl.* 6.70, as Linus gives Gallus the same pipes *Ascraeo quos ante seni*. The scholiasts *ad loc.* offer a surprising tale:

Servius: *Hesiodo, qui Ascraeus fuit de vico Boeotiae quem dicuntur Musae pascentem pecus raptum de monte Parnasso poetam fecisse munere calamorum. Cui etiam bis pueritiam de senectute praestisse dicuntur.*

Schol. Bern: *Hesiodos poeta. cum iam per aetatem senesceret, in Helicon, montem Aoniae, subiit ibique a Musis coronam cum floribus dicitur accepisse, qua indutus caput iuuenis factus est.*

The anecdote is attached to the text by a misunderstanding of Virgil's Latin, and embedded in a mass of erroneous material. The tradition about Hesiod would be more credibly old, were its attestations demonstrably independent of one another; but the opposite is far more likely.

In all probability, these three notices all derive from the same immediate source, Aelius Donatus, and do not independently confirm one another. Symmachus shows no direct knowledge of Hesiod, but was surely intimately familiar with Virgilian scholarship.<sup>11</sup> Donatus, in turn, doubtless obtained the anecdote from an earlier commentary on Virgil.

If the epigram and proverb did not exist, it would be natural to assume that an over-ingenious reader had simply invented this story in order to support its peculiar reading of *ante seni*. But since the epigram does exist, it is unlikely to be coincidence that Hesiod should be called 'twice young' in both places. The situation is perplexing. The present attestation of proverb and epigram, and the absence of any allusion to Hesiod's rejuvenation in Greek sources, makes it seem unlikely that this story was part of common knowledge, familiar therefore to a reader of the *Eclogues*. On the other hand, the scholarly level of the scholiasts here is very low. It is possible that a reader who knew the epigram concocted this notice by combining his own interpretation of it with what he found in

<sup>11</sup> W. Kroll, *De Q. Aurelii Symmachi studiis graecis et latinis* (Breslau Philologische Abhandlungen 6.12 [1891]), suggests that Symmachus might have seen the epigram in Varro's *Imagines*, but there is no reason to think a Greek epigram would have been quoted there. Symmachus' only other reference to Hesiod (*Ep.* 1.53), has the Muses giving Hesiod a crown, the same error found in the Berne scholium. (I am indebted to Professor C. Murgia for a helpful discussion of ancient Virgilian scholarship).

Virgil. It is also possible that the extant notices represent residue of a genuinely learned note. If such a legend existed, associating Hesiod's rejuvenation with his initiation, it would have been appropriate to mention it. This original notice would then have been mingled with inferior material and corrupted. If that were so, an intermediary would probably be involved. It is possible that one of the Hellenistic epyllia on Hesiod (by Eratosthenes and Euphorion) could have included or alluded to such a legend.<sup>12</sup> Either the tale is an invention based on the extant material or the legend had an independent existence. But even if the latter is the case, the exact relationship of the legend to the epigram and proverb would remain ambiguous. If the legend were old, they could have arisen from it, and the vagaries of scholarly transmission resulted in their surviving in Greek, the legend in Latin. Or their original meaning could have been lost, and the tale as much a later attempt at explanation as the surviving glosses. At least an interpretation in terms of this story gives the epigram symmetry and meaning: a rejuvenation by the Muses would be a suitable topic for a couplet in the poet's praise.

## II. Mythical Rejuvenation

On the other hand, while the simple legend of rejuvenation offers a meaning for Hesiod's 'double youth' which at least makes sense, it provides no connection with the other fact mentioned in the epigram, the double burial. An unprejudiced reader would surely expect the two to be related, emphasized as their parallelism is by the repetition of *δίς*. A meaning that gives the double youth a logical association with the two burials is inherently preferable, while the two burials mentioned in the epigram need not necessarily be those found in the biographical tradition. The crucial fact seems to have been that Hesiod had a tomb at Orchomenos, though he was known to have died and been buried elsewhere;

<sup>12</sup> The *Ἀντερινός* of Eratosthenes, fr.17–21 Powell (XX–XXV, pp.80–93 Hiller); the *Ἡσιόδος* of Euphorion, 22 and 22b Powell, 101 Scheidweiler, 23 van Groningen. If Euphorion was the source, the legend's entry into Virgilian commentary might have been easier because he was already in mind on the passage; Servius on *Ecl.* 6.72: *hoc autem Euphorionis continent carmina, quae Gallus transtulit in sermonem latinam*. The subject of this poem was narrated in the *Melampodia* (fr.278 M–W). But nothing beyond pure speculation is here possible.

just where might be disputed. What kind of double youth, then, could have any connection with double burial?

In archaic poetry, *ἦβη* evidently means more than ‘youth’. It is used predominantly in explicit or implicit contrast to either childhood or old age. In epic, it represents the point at which Orestes will be able to take action against Aegisthus (*Od.* 1.41), and the period of life Nestor has passed, when he was a warrior (*Il.* 7.157, 11.669, 23.629). In these passages and elsewhere, *ἦβη* is associated with *βίη*, and at *Il.* 13.484 it is called the greatest source of *κράτος*. In lyric, it appears as the brief portion of life that is worth living, before old age inevitably approaches, with death close behind.<sup>13</sup> The shades of Sarpedon and Hector go to Hades at death (*Il.* 16.857, 22.363), *λιποῦσ’ ἀνδροτήτα καὶ ἦβην*. It is less a defined period in life than a state; it is etymologically connected with Lithuanian *jega*, ‘force’, ‘vital energy’.<sup>14</sup>

A connection between the ideas of a second youth and a second life is not, therefore, entirely surprising. In the Theognidean corpus the two are described as equally impossible: *οὐ γὰρ ἀνηβᾶν | δις πέλεται πρὸς θεῶν οὐδὲ λύσις θανάτου* (1009–10). Collocations of words for ‘two’ with forms of *ἦβη* are not frequent in Greek, but a few examples do occur in Hellenistic and later literature: Jason is *μέροψ δίσαβος* at line 2 of Dosiadas’ *Bomos* (*Anth.Pal.* 15.26); conversely, at *Anth.Pal.* 14.59.3–4 he is said for the same reason to have died twice:

*αὐτὰρ ὁ δις τέθνηκεν, ἐπεὶ δύο γαστέρες αὐτὸν  
τίκτον, χαλκείη, καὶ πάρος ἀνδρομέη.*

Synesius (*Ep.* 123: Migne, *PG* 66.1504) says that Aeson was supposed to have *δις ἀνηβῆσαι*. Both these heroes, along with the Nurses of Dionysus, were rejuvenated by Medea, through a process of decoction.<sup>15</sup> The same process is employed to restore youth

<sup>13</sup> Mimnermus 1 and 2 West; Anacreon 30 and 50 *PMG*.

<sup>14</sup> P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique* I (Paris 1968) 405; H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* I (Heidelberg 1960) 628.

<sup>15</sup> *Eur. Med. arg.* I. Aeson’s rejuvenation was told in the *Nostoi* (fr.6 Allen), that of Jason by Simonides (fr.43 *PMG*) and Pherecydes (*FGrHist* 3F113). The procedure is described at ps.-Apollodorus *Bibl.* 1.9.27 of the Peliades, *κρουροῦσι καὶ καθέψουσι*. Parallels from various cultures are listed by J. G. Frazer’s edition of *Bibliotheca* II (LCL, 1921) 359–62; a full treatment of the belief in reviving the dead by dismemberment, collection of bones, and cooking is found in C. Uhsadel-Gülke, *Knochen und Kessel* (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie [1972]), cf. also L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults* (Oxford 1921) 42–44.

to Demos at Aristophanes' *Equites* 1321ff (with schol. *ad loc.*). The patient is chopped up and then cooked in a cauldron, to emerge with renewed vigor; hence Aristophanes' hero must be a sausage-seller, experienced in mincing and boiling meat. Hence Jason can indeed be said to have died twice, and a variant in the method turns it into the murder of Pelias by his daughters. Pelops is called *δις ἠβήσαντα* by Lycophron (*Alex.* 157), a phrase very close to our epigram and possibly even modeled on it. Here the process is similar, but Pelops was not rejuvenated, but murdered, cooked, and restored to life. Even Pindar, when in *Ol.* 1 he notoriously rejected the usual story, retained the cauldron and the ivory shoulder, which mark his nearness to the gods. The ivory shoulder is reminiscent of the gold thigh of Pythagoras, a sign of divinity.<sup>16</sup> Likewise the Orphic Dionysus-Zagreus was dismembered, boiled, and resurrected, either through Rhea's reassembling his limbs or Semele's swallowing his heart.<sup>17</sup> The theme appears as part of the initiatory experience of shamans.<sup>18</sup> It seems clear that the restoration of life to the dead and of youth to the old are variants of each other.<sup>19</sup> Even where decoction is not involved, they can sometimes be linked. The rejuvenation of Iolaus, familiar from Euripides' *Heraclidae* (796, 851ff), was in Theban legend a resurrection: dead and buried, he rose to defeat Eurystheus.<sup>20</sup>

This close association of rejuvenation and resurrection, in which *δις ἠβᾶν* unites both, is clearest in the second stasimon of Euripides' *Heracles*, where the wish to escape old age is treated in detail. At 637–700 the chorus praises the hero, who has just returned from Hades to save his family from Lycus. The poem, often and justly admired, has a traditional form, but is extremely complex within the generic rules.<sup>21</sup> In the first antistrophe, the chorus, as often

<sup>16</sup> On the golden thigh of Pythagoras in relation to *catabasis* and initiation, see W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1972; trans. of *Weisheit und Wissenschaft* [Nurnberg 1962]) 159 ff, and *Phronesis* 14 (1969) 25.

<sup>17</sup> The most complete examination of the evidence for this myth is in I. Linforth, *The Arts of Orpheus* (Berkeley 1941) 307–64. While it is not explicitly attested earlier than Callimachus and Euphorion, there are probably earlier allusions, listed in W. Burkert, *Homo Necans* (Berlin 1972) 249 n.43.

<sup>18</sup> M. Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy* (New York 1964) 53ff.

<sup>19</sup> Uhsadel-Gülke (*supra* n.15) 39: "Verjüngen und Unsterblichmachen hängen eng zusammen, bei beiden geht es um ein Verlängern des gegrenzten irdischen Lebens. . . . Entscheidend ist, dass die Voraussetzung für eine Fortsetzung des Lebens der Durchgang durch den Tod ist."

<sup>20</sup> Pindar, *Pyth.* 9.79ff and schol. *ad loc.*; having defeated Eurystheus, *πάλιν τέθνηκεν*.

<sup>21</sup> A coherent analysis of the poem in generic terms is given by H. Parry, "The Second



in Euripides,<sup>22</sup> expresses an unattainable wish, a utopian fantasy (656–66):

*εἰ δὲ θεοῖς ἦν ζύνεσις  
καὶ σοφία κατ' ἄνδρας,  
δίδυμον ἄν ἦβαν ἔφερον  
φανερὸν χαρακτῆρ' ἀρετᾶς  
ὄσοισιν μέτα, καθανόντες τ'  
εἰς αὐγὰς πάλιν ἀλίου  
δισσοῦς ἄν ἔβαν διαύλους,  
ἀ δυσγένεια δ' ἀπλοῦν ἄν  
εἶχεν ζόας βίστον,  
καὶ τῶδ' ἦν τούς τε κακοῦς ἄν  
γνώναι καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοῦς . . .*

This passage has at least three levels of signification: for as a general statement it extends beyond the play into a wide intellectual context; within the action of the drama it clearly cannot be without reference to Heracles, who has just returned from the Underworld; and within the song itself the lines continue a self-presentation of the chorus, who have complained of their own age in the strophe. The wording of 658 is particularly close to the epigram, but its impact is increased by the repetition of the “two-fold double course.”

In the chorus' wishful thinking, the gods, if they had more sense, would bestow a second youth on the good, explicitly as an identifying mark, but obviously also as a reward. This second youth, however, is characterized by a return from Hades after death, and is thus identical with a second life. The return from Hades is not mere fantasy, since it is what Heracles has just done, as summarized only a few lines above (610–11):

AM. ἦλθες γὰρ ὄντως εἰς Ἄιδου, τέκνον;  
HER. καὶ θῆρά γ' ἐς φῶς τὸν τρίκρανον ἤγαγον.

So the unreal apodosis seems to correspond with reality, for the embodiment of excellence has performed the imagined deed. No reason appears in this achievement for the characterization of the journey to Hades and back as providing a second youth. Heracles was not old when he descended. Yet Heracles is closely associated with youth regained or retained, and this association is linked with

Stasimon of Euripides' *Heracles*," *AJP* 86 (1965) 363–74. Wilamowitz, *Euripides Heracles*<sup>2</sup> II (Berlin 1895) 147, comments that it was the “lieblingsstück” of Porson.

<sup>22</sup> *Hipp.* 616–24, 925–31; *Ion* 1313ff; *Med.* 573–75; *Supp.* 1080ff.

his death. Only after dying in the pyre does he become ageless and deathless. In fact, in the *Iliad* he is described as fully mortal (18.117), the *exemplum* of death's universality, while in the *Necyia* (*Od.* 11.601ff) an *eidolon* remains in Hades, though he himself dwells on Olympus, and in the *Ehoëae* verses which describe him as having gone down to Hades and as deified appear in sequence (fr.25.25–28 M–W).<sup>23</sup> Heracles received cult as both a hero and a god.<sup>24</sup> The mortal become immortal is also the victorious opponent of a personified Old Age in a group of Attic vase-paintings of the first half of the fifth century, in which he terrifies the hideous dwarf Geras.<sup>25</sup> And Heracles' immortality is of course marked by his marriage to *Ἥβη* herself.

Heracles, winner of youth, is connected with eschatological hopes in the Attic tradition of his *catabasis*, a tradition to which Euripides alludes. A poem on Heracles' descent can be partially reconstructed on the basis of Bacchylides 5, Aristophanes' *Ranae*, and the remains of a dactylo-epitritic poem on the *catabasis*, probably Pindar's *Cerberus*.<sup>26</sup> This work told the story with emphasis on Heracles' initiation at Eleusis and, probably, an 'Eleusinian' depiction of Hades. The initiation is mentioned by Euripides as essential to the hero's success (612–13):

AM. μάχη κρατήσας ἢ θεᾶς δωρήμασιν;  
HER. μάχη· τὰ μυστῶν δ' ὄργι' εὐτύχησ' ἰδών.

The initiations of Heracles and the Dioscuri are familiar in Attic vase-painting beginning in the late sixth century.<sup>27</sup> In this poem and in Attic belief, Heracles was a model for the good fortune to be expected by the initiate, and he was later to serve as an important focus for hope about the afterlife.<sup>28</sup> Thus, what the chorus

<sup>23</sup> Cf. G. Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans* (Baltimore 1979) 166; D. Roloff, *Gottähnlichkeit, Vergöttlichung und Erhöhung zu seligem Leben* (Berlin 1970) 93.

<sup>24</sup> For the dual nature of Heracles-cult see W. K. C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and their Gods* (Boston 1950) 235–41; W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion des archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (Stuttgart 1977) 319–20.

<sup>25</sup> On these vases the most recent work is that of F. Brommer, *AA* 1952, 60–74, and J. Beazley, *BABesch* 24–26 (1949–51) 18–20.

<sup>26</sup> Pindar's poem is reconstructed on the basis of P.Oxy. XXXII 2622 and PSI XIV 1391. This work and the Eleusinian *catabasis* are discussed by H. Lloyd-Jones, "Heracles at Eleusis," *Maia* 19 (1967) 206–29; F. Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens* (Berlin 1974) 142–49.

<sup>27</sup> F. Brommer, *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensagen*<sup>3</sup> (Marburg 1973) 151; cf. G. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton 1961) 212, 213, 242; Burkert, (*supra* n.24) 327 (first literary source for the Dioscuri seems to be Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.6).

<sup>28</sup> Farnell (*supra* n.15) 154; Guthrie (*supra* n.24) 239–40; Burkert, (*supra* n.24) 324.

presents as an unreal condition becomes, in the light of Heracles-religion, a real hope. At this point in the play, the gods' wisdom is, by implication, vindicated. And despite the grimness of the intervening scenes, the drama ends with the establishment of the Attic worship of Heracles (1328–33).

The chorus' wish for a return from the Underworld for all the noble, however, evokes more esoteric beliefs. Here too Heracles is not perhaps entirely out of place: he was mentioned in the *catabasis* attributed to Orpheus, and those initiated into *βακχικά* wore crowns of the white poplar he had brought from the Underworld.<sup>29</sup> This association of Heracles helps place the chorus' words into a context in which what is presented as a dream on the part of the chorus is an allusion to actual belief. The idea of returning to the light of this world after death could hardly fail to recall, for either Euripides or his audience, the realm of Orpheus and Pythagoras, Empedocles and Pindar, a realm of thought here treated with neither assent nor hostility, but a kind of wishful nostalgia.

### III. Second Life

The exact doctrine imagined by the chorus is not clear, and doubtless was not intended to be. The mixture of themes is not fully logical. Belief in metempsychosis had many different forms, none precisely corresponding to the system imagined here, that the good would enjoy two lives, others one only.<sup>30</sup> The reference is distorted by the combination of metempsychosis with the chorus' longing for restored youth, and Euripides' habitual syncretism is a natural further source of difficulty.

Nonetheless, it can hardly be doubted that this passage does allude to metempsychosis. Menander's *Theophoroumene* (fr.1 Sandbach) provides a parallel for the allusion to no cycle of births, but a doubled life. To an ordinary person, the most remarkable idea in these doctrines was perhaps the suggestion that he himself would live again (1–5):

<sup>29</sup> Kern, *Orph. frag.* fr.296; Harpocration *s.v.* λεύκη.

<sup>30</sup> On the many varieties of metempsychosis-theory see Burkert, *Lore and Science* 134–35 with notes 80–87. E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley 1951) 149, points out that there was probably great diversity even among the books ascribed to Orpheus. Cf. W. Stettner, *Die Seelenwanderung bei Griechen und Römern* (Diss. Tübingen 1930) 7–25.

εἴ τις προσελθὼν μοι θεῶν λέγοι, “Κρατῶν,  
 ἐπὶ ἀποθάνης, αὐθις ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔσῃ,  
 ἔσῃ δ’ ὅ τι ἂν βούλη, κύων, πρόβατον, τράγος,  
 ἄνθρωπος, ἵππος· δις βιώσαι γάρ σε δεῖ  
 εἰμαρμένον τοῦτ’ ἐστίν· ὅ τι βούλει δ’ ἐλοῦ.”

The phrase *δις βιώσαι* bears an obvious resemblance to the double youth and double race of Euripides, but here the reference to metempsychosis is unmistakable. In Menander, the choice of a future life, derived from the Platonic myth of the soul, is the dominant feature, since the purpose of the speech is a satire on man.<sup>31</sup> Again because of Menander’s specific intent, there is no moral content (the speaker’s choice is absolutely open, and no reason other than fate is given for the second life), nor does it matter whether this fate is universal, unique, or anything between. The chance to choose is all, and the esoteric but evidently familiar doctrine provides a basis for imagining such a choice. Since more than one future life would be a distraction, only one is mentioned. The convenient god who presents the alternatives in Craton’s fantasy is a figure of popular and urbane literature, akin to the Hephaestus of Aristophanes’ speech in the *Symposium* (192D), who offers the lovers their true desire.<sup>32</sup> That such a figure is by nature a fulfiller of wishes may show, despite the neutral tone of Menander’s speaker, that a second life is desirable. At any rate, Craton does not object to it, so long as he is not compelled to be human. If not the proof of excellence it is in Euripides’ fantasy, it is not the punishment metempsychosis is in Empedocles (fr.115 D–K, 3 Zuntz) or the Pythagorean *acusma* ἐπὶ κολάσει γὰρ ἐλθόντας δεῖ κολασθῆναι (58 C4.34–35 D–K).

Among extant statements of the doctrine of palingenesis earlier than Euripides, Pindar fr.133 S–M seems closest:

οἴσι δὲ Φερσεφόνα ποινὰν παλαιοῦ πένθεος  
 δέξεται, εἰς τὸν ὑπερθεὺν ἄλιον κείνων ἐνάτω ἔτει  
 ἀνδιδοῖ ψυχὰς πάλιν, ἐκ τᾶν βασιλῆες ἀγαοὶ  
 καὶ σθένει κραιπνοὶ σοφία τε μέγιστοι  
 ἄνδρες αὔξοντ’ ἑς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἥρωες  
 ἄγνοι πρὸς ἀνθρώπων καλέονται.

<sup>31</sup> *Phd.* 81eff, *Resp.* 617Dff. Yet even the satiric point is reminiscent of the Pythagorean *acusma* (58C4.11 D–K): *τί ἀληθέστατον λέγεται; ὅτι πονηροὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι.*

<sup>32</sup> L. Radermacher, “Die Wahl der Lebensgüter,” *WS* 47 (1929) 79–86; N. Rudd, *The Satires of Horace* (Cambridge 1966) 29–30.

Unfortunately, the controversies surrounding these lines are notorious.<sup>33</sup> Their relation to Orphism and Pythagoreanism, Pindar's own belief in the teaching, and above all the nature of the 'ancient grief' have been disputed.<sup>34</sup> But a few points are clearly relevant to Euripides. Those described here must be the good or the initiated, since they occupy the highest forms of human life as kings, athletes, and poets (*cf.* Empedocles' final stage, fr.146 D–K, 17 Zuntz), and after this life will be honored as heroes. The fragment does not sound as if what preceded included a description of a long cycle of rebirths. Clearly, the fate of those from whom Persephone did not receive recompense must have been mentioned, and it seems most likely that they were not reincarnated, or at least not with the speed with which others were said to return.<sup>35</sup> If such a passage was in Euripides' mind when he composed the second stasimon of *Heracles*, the chorus' wish would be more understandable; the second life is glorious, and is followed by eternal honor.

The *Heracles* passage is not the only place where Euripides employs the motif of a second life. The same theme appears in the complaint of Iphis at *Supplices* 1080ff:

<sup>33</sup> The problems of this fragment cannot be separated from those of the almost equally difficult *Ol. 2*. Full bibliography in D. Gerber, *A Bibliography of Pindar, 1513–1966* (APA Monograph 28 [1969]) 19–24, 103–04. Among general works on Pindar, a helpful discussion of his treatment of the afterlife is found in E. Thummer, *Die Religiosität Pindars* (Commentationes Aenipontanae 13 [1957]) 121–30.

<sup>34</sup> The fullest treatment of this issue is that of Linforth (*supra* n.17) 346–50, who somewhat unwillingly accepts the 'Orphic' interpretation of H. J. Rose, "Notes: the Grief of Persephone," *HTHR* 36 (1943) 247–50. This interpretation is accepted by Burkert (*supra* n.17) 249 n.43, but rejected by (*e.g.*) Thummer (*supra* n.33) 129 n.1; H. S. Long, *A Study of the Doctrine of Metempsychosis from Pythagoras to Plato* (Diss. Princeton 1948) 40–41. I accept it, but fortunately the issue is not critical to the present discussion; *cf.* Virg. *Aen.* 6.724ff, where corporeal existence seems to require purification, quite apart from personal guilt, and *veterumque malorum* (739) resembles *παλαιὸν πένθος*. Here also only a single rebirth is in question.

<sup>35</sup> Possibly both here and in *Ol. 2* Pindar has in mind two earthly lives and one stay in Hades; this interpretation goes back to T. Mommsen, *Annotationis criticae supplementum ad Pindari Olympias* (Berlin 1864) 24. It has been disputed particularly by K. von Fritz, "Ἐστρίς ἐκατέρωθι in Pindar's Second Olympian and Pythagoras' Theory of Metempsychosis," *Phronesis* 2 (1957) 85–89, but it is the easiest to reconcile with fr.133, where those who return for an earthly life after which they will be honored as heroes are introduced in a way that would be peculiar if previous rebirths had been mentioned. The idea that Hades is inversely parallel to this world (so that it could be one of the 'lives') interested Euripides, as is clear from these lines from *Polyidus* (fr.638 N<sup>2</sup>):

τίς δ' οἶδεν εἰ τὸ ζῆν μὲν ἔστι καταθεῖν  
τὸ καταθεῖν δὲ ζῆν κάτω νομίζεται;

This theme is as old as Heraclitus (fr.62 and 88 D–K).

οἴμοι· τί δὴ βροτοῖσιν οὐκ ἔστιν τόδε,  
 νέους δις εἶναι καὶ γέροντας αὖ πάλιν;  
 ἀλλ' ἐν δόμοις μὲν ἦν τι μὴ καλῶς ἔχη,  
 γνώμαισιν ὑστέραισιν ἐξορθούμεθα,  
 αἰῶνα δ' οὐκ ἔξεστιν. εἰ δ' ἤμεν νέοι  
 δις καὶ γέροντες, εἴ τις ἐξημάρτανε,  
 διπλοῦ βίου λαχόντες ἐξωρθούμεθ' ἄν.

Here the logic is even more peculiar than that of the chorus of *Heracles*, who express hatred of old age by wishing for a second life that would inevitably, in the end, return them to the condition they so lament; Iphis imagines a second life in which the lessons of the first would be useful, but the errors of the first would not be canceled, nor would its suffering be less. The lines are an ironic comment on the theme of *πάθει μάθος*, and credible psychologically as an evocation of the universal fantasy of being able to repeat experience.<sup>36</sup> Here again, the speaker is an old man, and the second life is to be better than the first; the language is that of second youth and metempsychosis.<sup>37</sup> The terms are the same in both Euripidean passages and in Menander. There is a special mode of treating metempsychosis, where in preference to the familiar *ἀνά-*compounds, the identifying terms are *δις*, *αὖθις*, *αὖ*, and *πάλιν*.

#### IV. Poets and the Other World

The antistrophe of the second stasimon, however, uses not only the *Heracles*-theme and that of doubled life, but also that of recovered youth. The song begins with the praise of youth and the expression of the chorus' hatred of the old age that weighs upon them like Mt Etna (637ff). When the singers, therefore, turn to

<sup>36</sup> The passage has been compared with Antiphon fr.52 D–K and called 'sophistic', *ἀναθέσθαι δὲ ὡσερ πεττὸν τὸν βίον οὐκ ἔστιν*; Iphis, however, speaks not of the chance to 'retract' one's errors, but to repeat the game. Antiphon's statement forms part of a hedonistic *carpe diem*, Iphis' speech aims at pathos, cf. W. Schadewaldt, *Monolog und Selbstgespräch* (Neue philologische Untersuchungen 2 [1926]) 130ff.

<sup>37</sup> It may be worth noting that Iphis ends his speech with a lament on old age (1108ff) and a declaration of his intent to commit suicide; *Heracles* also intends suicide, and must be dissuaded by Theseus (1247ff). In both these plays rebirth is treated as a fiction. Plato's Cebes, on the other hand, says that he has heard Philolaus assert that suicide is wrong (*Phd.* 61E), and the reason Socrates offers at 62B is called *ὁ ἐν ἀπορρήτοις λεγόμενος λόγος*. The morality of suicide may be associated with the rebirth-theme.

their wish for a different order of things, this wish appears as highly personal. The dream of second life is placed between the chorus' statements about old age, their personal burden, and their self-presentation in the second strophe. Here their age is a continuing topic, but a new element is added, their role as singers (673ff):

οὐ παύσομαι τὰς Χάριτας  
 Μούσαις συγκαταμειγνύς,  
 ἀδίσταν συζυγίαν.  
 μὴ ζώην μετ' ἀμουσίας,  
 αἰεὶ δ' ἐν στεφάνοισιν εἶ-  
 ην ἔτι τοι γέρων ἀοι-  
 δὸς κελαδεῖ Μναμοσύναν.

The phrase *γέρων ἀοιδός* is repeated in the same position in the antistrophe, for this status of the chorus is critical to the ode's meaning. Their presentation of the second life as a new youth is partially explicable as the expression of their hatred of their own age, while their claim to be among those deserving this favor is substantiated not only by their loyalty to Heracles, but also by their being singers, just as Pindar joins poets with athletes and kings. When the chorus turns from fantasy to an attainable, optative wish, it speaks of remaining in this role. Inevitably, poetry and song function as a consolation, a second-best to the recovery of youth.

Memory, whom the chorus invokes, links the reality of poetry with the dreams of eschatological hope. She is, of course, the mother of the Muses and patron of the poetry of praise in its battle against oblivion. But Memory is also critical in *catabasis* and the journeys of the soul. The gold lamellae call themselves her gift, and direct the soul to her water; the most recently discovered and oldest of the tablets (*ca* 400 B.C.) names her no less than four times.<sup>38</sup> At the oracle of Trophonius, with its famous imitation of a descent into the Underworld, a drink from the spring of Mnemosyne was required to ensure that the inquirer remembered what he learned below.<sup>39</sup> If the double course imagined by Euripides' chorus were a reality, her aid would be indispensable. Hence the

<sup>38</sup> Discussions of the new text include G. Zuntz, *WS N.F.* 10 (1976) 129–51; R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 8–9; M. L. West, *ZPE* 18 (1976) 229–36; S. G. Cole, *GRBS* 21 (1980) 223–38. The others (see Zuntz, *Persephone* [Oxford 1971]) which mention the waters of Mnemosyne are B 1.4 and .9 (Petelia) and B 2.4 (Pharsalus).

<sup>39</sup> The chief ancient source is Paus. 9.39. On memory in archaic thought see J. P. Vernant,

chorus' emphasis on its age and poetic role is not only an assertion of the propriety of their praise of Heracles, but an exposition of their special claim to double life.

Euripides' *δίδυμον ἤβαν* is very similar to the epigram's *δὲς ἠβήσας*, and the two contexts are similar. Both involve aged poets.<sup>40</sup> The Latin tradition makes Hesiod's rejuvenation the gift of the Muses, to whom the Euripidean singers are devoted. The evidence points to Euripides' having known and used a tradition of Hesiod's second life. The resemblance of both language and content makes Euripides' poem not only an echo of the epigram, but a guide to its interpretation, especially since Euripides' poem is much closer to it in date than later interpretations. What the chorus wishes for is the *Ἡσιόδειον γῆρας*, for proverb and epigram arose from a tradition of Hesiod's having been granted a second life.<sup>41</sup>

The precise nature of this second life cannot be ascertained. Although metempsychosis and simple resurrection seem very different, they are united in figures like Pythagoras, who claimed both to have descended into the Underworld and to recall his prior existence as Euphorbus,<sup>42</sup> and Epimenides, who combines the long sojourn in the cave (A 1, 109; B 1.18–21 D–K) with the claim *πολλάκις ἀναβεβιωκέναι*. For Ennius, having the *ψυχή* of Homer makes him *alter Homerus* in a very real sense. The legend of Aesop, better attested than that of Hesiod, shows a similar ambiguity. The earliest allusion is in Plato Comicus (fr.68 Kock):

A. καὶ μὴν ὁμοσόν μοι μὴ τεθνάναι τὸ σῶμ'. B. ἐγώ.  
 ψυχὴν δ' ἐπανήκειν ὥσπερ Αἰσώπου ποτέ.

Plutarch (*Sol.* 6) offers an anecdote derived from Hermippus, who in turn attributed it to one Pataecus, who claimed to have the *ψυχή* of Aesop. In Photius, *Bibl. Cod.* 190 (III 69 Henry), Ptolemaeus son of Hephaestion is the source of the story that Aesop *ἀνεβίωσεν* to help the Greeks at Thermopylae. Perhaps, if more evidence were

"Aspects mythiques de la mémoire et du temps," in *Mythe et pensée chez les grecs* (Paris 1974) 80–107.

<sup>40</sup> Alcaeus of Messene in line 6 of *Anth.Pal.* 7.55 (3230–35 Page) calls Hesiod simply *ὁ πρέσβυς* (in a highly Callimachean context).

<sup>41</sup> While the epigram seems to have been understood this way in the past, the interpretation has not been defended. A. Puech, *Pindare* IV (Paris 1952) 237 n.1, speaks of "cette fable d'une résurrection d'Hésiode," and the same word is used by A. and M. Croiset, *Hist. de la litt. grecque*<sup>6</sup> I (1928) 475 n.4. Brelich (*supra* n.7) 321 says apropos of the epigram, "Secondo non si sa bene quale mito . . . egli avrebbe avuto due vite, due volte giungendo all' adolescenza e due volte alla tomba."

<sup>42</sup> Burkert, *Lore and Science* 155–59 and *Phronesis* 14 (1969) 22ff.



available, these could all be joined to give a single and coherent legend, but its form is hard to imagine.

In the case of Aesop, whose legend is a reflection of *pharmakos*-ritual, the motive for a story of rebirth can be guessed.<sup>43</sup> For Hesiod, it is not so clear. Yet the fact that it is his wisdom that the epigram praises is suggestive. Poets occupy the highest human level in the cycle of rebirth as presented by Pindar and Empedocles, but *σοφία* is more than a poet's technical skill. The two characters of mythology most noted for *σοφία*, Sisyphus and Odysseus, both emerge unscathed after visiting Hades, *δισθάνεες* (*Od.* 12.22) as Circe calls Odysseus' companions (*δίζωος* is used of Odysseus by Dosiadas, *Bomos* 17). In connection with his escape from Hades Sisyphus is called *πολύϊδρις, πλειῖστα νοησάμενος* (*Theog.* 669–711, Alcaeus fr.38 L–P). Heraclitus (fr.40 D–K) joins Hesiod with Pythagoras as *exempla* of the fact that *πολυμαθέη οὐ νοῦν διδάσκει*. The well-known lines from Sophocles' *Electra* in which Orestes expresses his willingness to be reported dead emphasize the connection of return from the other world and *σοφία* (62–64):

ἤδη γὰρ εἶδον πολλάκις καὶ τοὺς σοφοὺς  
λόγῳ μάτην θνήσκοντας· εἴθ' ὅταν δόμους  
ἔλθωσιν αὖθις, ἐκτετίμηνται πλέον.

Nothing is greater proof of wisdom or a more impressive sign of power than successful *catabasis* or remembered metempsychosis, where the latter is not yet a universal, but an indication of special status.<sup>44</sup> In Aristophanes' *Ranae*, the nether powers are remarkably helpful about sending back to this world the adjudged victor in poetic *σοφία*; in *Gerytades*, a delegation of poets was sent to confer with the poets below (fr.150 Kock). The intermingled types of poet and 'wise man' link the two worlds.

And Hesiod is not only the paradigmatic didactic poet. As the author of a *Theogony*, he was the natural companion of Musaeus and Orpheus—tradition made him a descendant of the latter—and of Epimenides.<sup>45</sup> Later theogonies rival, but also imitate, his. He was the author of a *catabasis* of Theseus and Perithous (fr.280 M–W), and while not every author of such a poem need have visited the realm he describes, Orpheus, at least, had. The ancient

<sup>43</sup> A. Weichers, *Aesop in Delphi* (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 2 [1961]).

<sup>44</sup> Dodds (*supra* n.30) 151: what began as the privilege of a few changed character in becoming a general theory; cf. Burkert, *Lore and Science* 135 n.87.

<sup>45</sup> *FGrHist* Pherecydes 3F167 (= Hellenicus 4F5, Damastes 5F11).

author was closely identified with his work, and his biography often echoes that of his characters.<sup>46</sup> Hence the death of Homer resembles that of Calchas, the end of Euripides is like that of Actaeon or Pentheus. Hesiod was regarded as the author of the *Idaeian Dactyls* (fr.282 M–W), figures who were not just metalworkers, but possessed of occult powers.<sup>47</sup> More important still, he was the composer of the *Melampodia*: a Hesiod modeled after Melampus could be expected to be the subject of truly wondrous tales, and Teiresias offers another possibility. Teiresias lived, according to the poem, for seven generations (fr.276 M–W), and had an oracle in the city of Hesiod's own tomb, Orchomenos (Plut. *Mor.* 434c), which failed forever after a plague, as Hesiod himself was, in one tradition, brought to end one (Paus.1.38.3 = p.53.21ff W.).

The tradition of Hesiod's two lives places him among those other mysterious archaic poets and wonder-workers, the 'shamans': not only Pythagoras and Epimenides, but Abaris with his arrow, Aristeas with his long disappearance and presumed death and his poem on the Arimaspi, Empedocles with his self-proclaimed divinity.<sup>48</sup> It is a tradition to which he can belong, though at first he may seem slightly out of place there, while Homer remains distinctly apart. The epic genre and Homer's determined avoidance of the bizarre, perhaps, resisted assimilation. Hesiod, on the other hand, even in his extant works, claims direct instruction in poetry from divinities, tells of ultimate origins and demons beneath the earth, and explains the days, though he says that this is an esoteric knowledge (*Op.* 824).

## V. Later Echoes

Euripides recalled this tradition in his ode because it expresses the special claim poets can make upon the natural order. Whether or not there was ever a single and unambiguous story, in Euripides the allusion seems to be simultaneously to metempsychosis and to rejuvenation. Callimachus, in the preface to the *Aetia*, uses the latter theme subtly and to moving effect. The proem (35–36) directly echoes Euripides in the image of Mt Etna, but the entire

<sup>46</sup> M. Lefkowitz, "The Euripides Vita," *GRBS* 20 (1979) 187–210.

<sup>47</sup> V. Sybel in Roscher *Lex.* 1.940; W. Burkert, "Γόνος: zum griechischen 'Schamanismus'," *RhM* 105 (1962) 36–55.

<sup>48</sup> Dodds (*supra* n.30) 141–47; Burkert, *Lore and Science* 147–55.

passage is deeply influenced by Euripides.<sup>49</sup> It is also filled with Hesiodic reminiscence, and Hesiod is directly evoked in the following *Somnium*.<sup>50</sup> Callimachus unites his longing to escape old age with his polemic about true poetry in the image of the cicada, which is at once the delicate singer and the creature to whom old age is not burdensome, because it sheds its slough, its *γήρας*. The Muses are not a mere consolation, for their gift is presented as a genuine metamorphosis, a very real proof of their fidelity (37–38):

... Μοῦσαι γὰρ ὄσους ἴδον ὄθματι παῖδας  
μὴ λοξῶ, πολιοῦς οὐκ ἀπέθεντο φίλους.

Callimachus alludes, through Euripides, to Hesiod as the model for his wish for an escape from old age through a change of nature. Plato's cicada-myth (*Phdr.* 259 B–D), though Callimachus does not follow it in detail, offers imaginative links between Callimachus' fantasy and the *Ἡσιόδειον γήρας*, for the cicadas were originally men, who died of self-neglect from love of the Muses; therefore they are given the privilege of singing as long as they live and of acting after death as the musical equivalent of Hesiod's *daimones*, informing the Muses how they are honored among men. The metamorphosis is thus truly a second life.

Callimachus uses the theme of rejuvenation. The poet's second life is critical to Ennius in a very different way. As the dream of Ennius, though very different from that of Callimachus, is unlikely to be independent of it, so his self-presentation as a poet is unlikely to be without a debt to the tradition about Hesiod. Self-conscious reincarnation is associated particularly with poets; Ennius' initiation is the dream in which he learns his true identity as the new Homer, and this identity is the basis of his poetic endeavor.<sup>51</sup> Although Homer is the appropriate model for the poet of the *Annales*, that he performs the Hesiodic function, at the poem's opening, of explaining the *rerum natura* (Lucr. 1.126) helps to place him within the Hesiodic tradition. If the dream took place on Helicon, as it may have, a Hesiodic association was inevitable.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>49</sup> R. Pfeiffer, *Hermes* 63 (1928) 328–29, showed Callimachus' use of the ode from Euripides' *Heracles* and suggested that Callimachus was alluding to the *Ἡσιόδειον γήρας*, but did not connect Euripides with the Hesiod-tradition.

<sup>50</sup> H. Reinsch-Werner, *Callimachus Hesiodicus* (Berlin 1976) 325ff.

<sup>51</sup> For Ennius' dream, and the relationship between Homer and the Muses at the opening of the *Annales*, see A. Kambylis, *Die Dichterweihe und ihre Symbolik* (Heidelberg 1965) 191–204, with bibliography there cited.

<sup>52</sup> Lucretius (1.118) names Helicon, Persius (*prol.* 2) Parnassus; I am inclined to follow

Whether the theme was treated explicitly or implicitly elsewhere cannot be known. But this brief epigram, and the tradition it represents, have a part in literary history considerably greater than its length or literary merit could indicate. Its author remains unknown, and the story to which it refers, though it seems to have been better known than at first appears, remains vague and elusive. The attribution to Pindar could possibly go back to a time when the reference to metempsychosis was still understood, for he would be an obvious choice as author of a poem using such a teaching. For dating and the milieu of the poem's composition, his name may point in the right direction. The legend of a double life cannot have arisen before there was a well-established tradition of Hesiod's tomb at Orchomenos, for its point of departure is the existence of two tombs, and the allusion to metempsychosis implies a date no earlier, surely, than the end of the sixth century. The echo in Euripides places it before the *Heracles*, variously dated from 422 to 416.<sup>53</sup> Somewhere in the intervening century, Hesiod, exemplar of wisdom among mortals, contrived to be born again.<sup>54</sup>

HARVARD UNIVERSITY  
August, 1980

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O. Skutsch, *Studia Enniana* (London 1968) 127, in thinking that Ennius probably did not name his mountain at all, but intended Helicon.

<sup>53</sup> E. B. Cael, *CQ* 35 (1941) 78, dates *Heracles* to 416 on metrical and general stylistic grounds; it is closest to *Troades* (415). Others have dated it as early as 422.

<sup>54</sup> This essay originated in a seminar on Greek and Latin epigrams given by my colleague Professor Richard Thomas in the fall semester of 1979. I am grateful to him for his permission to attend as well as for much aid and comfort, to all the students who participated, to Professor Mary Lefkowitz, and to my fellow-traveler in the seminar, Professor Albert Henrichs.