Greek Lyric and the Sacred

STUDIES IN ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL GREEK SONG, VOL. 6

Edited by
LUCIA ATHANASSAKI
& ANDRÉ LARDINOIS

BRILL

MNEMOSYNE SUPPLEMENTS MONOGRAPHS ON GREEK AND LATIN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

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Studies in Archaic and Classical Greek Song, vol. 6

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André Lardinois

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Preface

This is the sixth volume in a series within Brill's Mnemosyne Supplements which records the proceedings of the Network for the Study of Archaic and Classical Greek Song (https://sites.rutgers.edu/greeksong/). Previous volumes in the series are *The Look of Lyric: Greek Song and the Visual* (2016), eds. Vanessa Cazzato and André Lardinois; *The Newest Sappho: P.Sapph. Obbink and P.GC Inv. 105, Frs. 1–4* (2016), eds. Anton Bierl and André Lardinois; *Authorship and Greek Song: Authority, Authenticity, and Performance* (2017), ed. Egbert Bakker; *Genre in Archaic and Classical Greek Poetry* (2020), eds. Margaret Foster, Leslie Kurke and Naomi Weiss; and *The Reception of Greek Lyric Poetry in the Ancient World: Transmission, Canonization, and Paratext* (2020), eds. Bruno Currie and Ian Rutherford. Two more volumes are in preparation: on performing texts and on the figure of the poet in archaic and classical Greece.

The Network was founded in 2007 as a means of facilitating interaction among scholars interested in the study of archaic and classical lyric, elegiac, and iambic poetry. Most of the papers included in this volume were originally presented at the conference entitled 'Lyric and the Sacred', organized by Lucia Athanassaki and André Lardinois at the Anargyrios and Korgialenios School of Spetses in the Summer of 2018. The publication of the volume was then planned jointly by Lucia Athanassaki and André Lardinois and the papers underwent a process of peer reviewing at the hands of the two editors, other core members of the network, and two anonymous reviewers for the Press. The process of editing the whole volume took longer than we expected, in part through the COVID pandemic, but all contributors had the opportunity to update their papers at the beginning of 2024. We would like to express our gratitude to the anonymous readers and the core members who reviewed individual contributions. We further would like to thank Debby Boedeker, who helped to correct the English of some of the non-native English speakers, Rosemary Tzanaki, who translated the contribution of Claude Calame from the French into English, the copy editor of Brill publishers, and our student assistants Jimke Laarhuis, Loes Fijen, Javan Kassenaar, and Kostis Angelopoulos, who helped to prepare the manuscript for publication. We finally like to thank the Radboud University for providing the funds to publish this book in Open Access.

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Names of ancient authors and titles of texts are abbreviated in accordance with the list in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, fourth edition (2012) xxvi–liii. Unless otherwise specified, Greek and Latin authors are quoted from the Oxford Classical Texts, but the early Greek lyric poets—with the exception of those listed below—are cited from Campbell (1982–1993); the early Greek iambic and elegiac poets from West (1989–1992). Alcaeus is cited from the edition of Liberman (2002), Anacreon from Bernsdorff (2020), Archilochus from Swift (2019), Sappho from Neri (2021), and Stesichorus from Davies and Finglass (2014), unless noted otherwise. Pindar is quoted according to the text editions of Snell and Maehler (1987: the *epinicia*) or Maehler (1989: the fragments). Translations are by the contributors themselves, unless noted otherwise.

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Introduction

Lucia Athanassaki and André Lardinois

The papers in this volume stem from a conference with the same title, the 5th Open Conference which we co-organized on the Greek island of Spetses from June 27th to July 1st 2018, on behalf of the Network for the Study of Archaic and Classical Song. When we decided to organize our conference an impressive body of work on the interface between religion and Greek lyric poetry, Pindar in particular, was already at hand.[1] The aim of the conference was to revisit the presence of the sacred in Greek lyric half a century after the 'performative' turn had changed the way we think about Greek song and important new evidence had come to light.

One of the profound changes in viewing song as performance is the replacement of the traditional relationship author–text–reader by that of performer(s) –song (song/dance)–audience, privileging in a specific space and time the communication that performers develop with their audiences. The study of the communicative dynamics between performers and audiences gave rise to a host of related questions, such as the identity of performer(s) and audiences, the relationship of poet and performer(s), gender dynamics, the context and mode of the original performance, the dissemination of song in different locales and societies, and so on.[2] Given that many of the surviving lyric texts were composed for local and Panhellenic festivals, the presence and significance of gods, their cults, and their sanctuaries could hardly be overlooked or overestimated.

A number of earlier studies on the performance of archaic lyric mined the references to religious rituals and sanctuaries in order to reconstruct the original venue of the performance of melic, elegiac, and iambic poetry. Other venues were also explored, notably the symposium, which, despite the secular character of the activities it hosted, did not lose sight of the sacred, both on account of its hymnic kick-off and the sacred canvas on which secular songs were woven. It is in general hard to separate the domains of the sacred and

1 See below n. 10.

2 For the communicative character of Greek lyric, see the pioneer studies of Gentili (1985): revised English translation (1988); Herington (1985); cf. the earlier work of Havelock (1963) and (1982), who emphasized the oral nature of culture in the archaic period which Herington (1985) labelled 'song culture'. See also Calame (1977): revised English translation (2001); E.L. Bowie (1986); Nagy (1990b); Lefkowitz (1991); Lardinois (1994) and (1996).

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the profane in ancient Greek culture, but it is worth noting that sometimes the sacred is treated seriously, while sometimes the mood is light-hearted.[3] Greek lyric comprises a wide range of different genres, ranging from folk songs to choral hymns, and its engagement with the divine is just as diverse.

Despite the focus of earlier studies on the reconstruction of various aspects of the original performance, it is worth noting that these studies did not lose sight of reperformance, which poses a different set of questions and considerations. Interest in reperformance was to be expected, of course, because the ambition of eternal survival through reperformance was boldly expressed in Theognis' famous programmatic elegy, the poet's promise to Cyrnus that he will be a song on the lips of lovely young men at every dinner party and public feast all over the earth as long as he lives and ever after (237–254). This confident statement presupposes the appeal of Theognis' poetry to successive generations all over the Greek world, regardless of the different occasions, venues, performers, and audiences and their ever-changing social and personal values and tastes.[4]

The ambition of eternal survival chiefly through reperformance is not confined, of course, to Theognis' self-assertive statement, but pervades Greek lyric and offers an explanation for the Protean nature of its self-referential statements and its tendency to transcend the *hic et nunc* in which it anchors itself.[5] Study of deictic lyric patterns has shown that performance self-references establish a *hic et nunc* which they often transcend through overloading deictics and similar strategies.[6]

Songs that have survived in their entirety—Pindar's epinicians in particular—offer a number of instances of the tendency to overload performance markers that are in conflict in as far as the reconstruction of a single performance is concerned. Pindar's *Olympian* 8, for instance, is a good example of two sets of deictics foregrounding two distinct performance contexts, both inspired by the sacred. The song opens with the *persona cantans*' request to the sacred grove of Pisa to receive the crown-bearing comastic procession.[7] In the third

3 See, for instance, Calame's and Casato's different takes on the sacred with references in this volume.

4 The scope and range of reperformances envisaged by Theognis draws attention to the uniqueness of every single performance and its unrepeatability, rightly emphasized by Budelmann and Philips (2018) 25 and *passim*.

5 See Herington (1985) 61 and *passim*; more recently Lardinois (2008), Bakker (2017a) and Athanassaki (2023).

6 For the indeterminacy of lyric deictic patterns see the essays in Felson (2004b) and van Emde Boas (2022). For Pindar's tendency to overload deictics see Athanassaki (2009b) and (2011b).

7 ἀλλ' ὦ *Πίσας* εὔδενδρον ἐπ' Ἀλφεῷ ἄλσος, / τόνδε κῶμον καὶ στεφαναφορίαν δέξαι, *Ol.* 8, 9–10.

triad, however, the local adverb δεῦρο indicates that the *persona cantans* has meanwhile relocated in Aegina, where Poseidon is said to have dropped off Aeacus when driving him in his golden chariot on their way back from Troy.[8] The second locale is not further specified: it could be a sacred place, such as Aeacus' Aeginetan shrine, or the house of the honorand, or another public or private space. There is no need to say that the two sets of deictics pointing to Olympia and Aegina are in conflict only if we wish to reconstruct the initial performance of the ode. If we think of the chain of reperformance, as envisaged by Theognis 237–254, it is clear that the Pindaric song invites us initially to picture a performance at Olympia and then another one in Aegina. From the point of view of the impact of the sacred it is worth noting that although the Aeginetan setting remains vague, its close association with Aeacus' homecoming in Poseidon's golden chariot chimes with the sacred ambience of the opening and sustains the magic and mystique of performance in a sacred locale.

We may now turn to our second example, Alcaeus fr. 129. Its opening lines, in which we have underlined all instances of external *deixis*, are as follows:

> … the Lesbians established **this**
> great conspicuous precinct
> to be held in common, and put in it
> altars of the blessed immortals,
>
> and they entitled Zeus God of suppliants
> and **you**, the Aeolian, Glorious Goddess,
> Mother of all [= Hera], and **this** third
> they named Kemelios, / Dionysus eater of raw flesh.

The singer of this song, who in its first performance may well have been Alcaeus himself, draws the attention of his audience to the temple of Hera, Zeus, and Dionysus, which has actually been identified at Mesa (ancient Messon) on Lesbos, and to the representations of Hera and Dionysus in it: but was this audience actually present at the shrine, and did they experience the epiphany of the two gods during the performance of the song, or are they expected to imagine them in their mind? Lowell Edmunds has remarked about this poem:

8 Ὀρσοτρίαινα δ' ἐπ' Ἰσθμῷ ποντίᾳ / … ἀποπέμπων Αἰακὸν *δεῦρ'* ἀν' ἵπποις χρυσέαις, *Ol.* 8, 48–51. For the poetic function of the two performance settings see Athanassaki (2011b) 259–265.

> Is the opening demonstrative a matter of ocular deixis, with Alcaeus situated in or near this *temenos* [= holy precinct] and addressing persons who could see it? … Or is it imaginary deixis, intending to invoke the *temenos* in the mind of an audience physically remote from it? It is difficult to decide between these alternatives, although one is drawn to the former. For the re-use of this poem, in other times and places, the deixis is per force imaginary, at first imaginary and accurately imaginable (by Lesbians and others who had visited the *temenos* …), then, with the passage of time, less accurately imaginable, and ultimately a matter of scholarly debate.[9]

Still, it is important to remember that for most Greeks Hera, Zeus, and Dionysus were real gods on whom one could call in situations like those described by Alcaeus in this song. In that sense these songs never became truly fictional in antiquity.

These two examples, Pindar *Olympian* 8 and Alcaeus fr. 129, show that references to the sacred, and specifically to human interaction with the divine in sacred spaces, might similarly appeal to the eye or to the imagination, or both, depending on circumstances that are for us irrecoverable. For their part the lyric poets were fully aware of the instability of deictic patterns and gestures and explored their full potential. The surviving songs bear unmistakable traces of the strong influence performance in sacred locales and communication with the divine exercised on poets, performers, and their audiences, regardless of our difficulty in reconstructing the original occasion.

As already mentioned, when we decided to organize our conference a number of studies had tackled the dynamics of poetry, religion, and performance.[10] Yet we felt that the time had come to reassess the picture for a number of reasons, not least the discovery of new fragments of Sappho and their importance for the religious scene on Lesbos.[11] Moreover, we wanted to explore further how the sacred fuelled poetic imagination and creativity without losing sight of the songs' *Sitz im Leben*, which differentiates Greek lyric from heroic epos and drama in spite of their fruitful dialogue. Ritual tradition and innovation, ritual movement, the impact of the material sacred environment on the poetic

9 Edmunds (2012), quoted by van Emde Boas (2022) 164.

10 See e.g. Farnell (1930) and (1932); Calame (1977); Krummen (1990): Engl. transl. (2014); Furley and Bremmer, vols. I and II (2001); Rutherford (2001); Currie (2005); Kowalzig (2007b); Kowalzig and Wilson (2013). More recently, Swift (2021); Eisenfeld (2022); Furley (2022); Marinis (2024).

11 On these new fragments, see Bierl and Lardinois (2016). The account of the provenance of the 2014 papyri as reported by Dirk Obbink in Bierl and Lardinois (2016) is incorrect: see Sampson (2020), Hyland (2021) and Mazza (2024) 89–106.

imagination, and the sensory experiences of performance in sacred places and its traces on song and in memory, were some of the areas that we felt deserved further investigation not only in much studied poets like Pindar but also in less studied poets and genres.[12]

The papers in this volume focus on several poets and genres and map the great variety and range of the impact of the sacred on surviving fragments or entire songs. We have divided them into three sections, having as our criterion their focus on context, imagery, or human communication with divine: but they all intersect in several other ways and can be profitably read together in different configurations.

The first section, 'Sacred contexts', opens with the performance of Alcman's Louvre *partheneion* at Sparta. In 'Dancing before dawn: the performance and ritual context of Alcman's *Partheneion*', Thomas Hubbard revisits Alcman's Louvre *partheneion*, arguing that a better understanding of the cultic context and performative execution can elucidate several passages that remain enigmatic. Like others before him, he thinks that the chorus performs in honour of the Dawn goddess at dawn or a little earlier. Adducing Pausanias' testimony (3.13.7), he suggests that the group of eleven, which the chorus mentions in the last strophe, are the Dionysiades with whom the Leucippides engaged in common ritual activity on other occasions. Regarding choreography, Hubbard gives a new twist to the old hypothesis of two semi-choruses: he argues that the first three strophes (1–35) are sung by a united chorus which then breaks into two semi-choruses, namely the chorus of Hagesichora, which sings the fourth and sixth strophes (36–49 and 64–77), and the chorus of Agido, which sings the fifth and seventh strophes (50–63 and 91). The two semi-choruses unite and sing in unison the last strophe (92–105).

Claude Calame takes us to Lesbos. In 'Forms of melic poetry as musical and ritualistic acts referring to the divine: neither "lyric", nor "sacred,"' Calame begins by enumerating the interpretative advantages of the emic terms *melos* and *hieros* for the study of archaic song culture and continues with an analysis of the personal and local *deixis* in a number of Sappho's poems, chiefly frs. 1, 10, 17, 26, 58b, and 58c, which he then compares with the deictic patterns of Pindar's *Sixth Paean* (composed for the Delphic *Theoxenia*), Bacchylides' *Third Dithyramb* (c. 17, composed for the *Delia*), fragmentary *threnoi* and *epithalamia*, and embedded *mele* in drama. On the basis of the similarity of *deixis* and diction in these different genres, especially melic invocations of the divine, performative speech-acts, and references to ritual contexts (e.g. *heorta*, *thalia*),

12 E.g. Mackay (2008), Athanassaki (2011a); Peponi (2012); Cazzato and Lardinois (2016).

Calame argues that in pre-classical and classical Greece representations of communication with deities and narrations of fictional actions are always realized in ritual acts or ritualized contexts, and stresses that this is also (and especially) true of Sappho's erotic *mele* that contain appeals to Aphrodite, Eros, and Hera. Calame's emphasis on the powerful effect of divine invocations serves as a reminder that Greek religion was epiphanic. Erotic requests and negotiations were therefore perfectly at home both within and outside the sanctuaries of the invoked deities.

From Lesbos we move to Athens with Stefano Fanucchi's 'Cultic space and dithyrambic performance in Pindar's fragment 75'. Fanucchi revisits the performance context of a dithyramb that Pindar composed for the Athenians, which has recently received the scholarly attention it merits.[13] Taking as his starting point the interplay between *deixis ad oculos* and *deixis am Phantasma* and offering a painstaking discussion of ancient sources and scholarly opinion, Fanucchi argues against the *agora* as the locus of performance. On his reading, Pindar composed the dithyramb for performance at the sanctuary of Dionysus at the City Dionysia, and he probably led the chorus. The initial invitation to the gods to come to the *agora* and the reference to choral celebrations of Semele are interpreted as evocations of divine and human choruses who perform separately at different spots in the vicinity of Dionysus' sanctuary at the same sacred time and space. Fanucchi's reconstruction is a novel take on the movement of human and divine choruses, ultimately based on the indeterminacy of *deixis*.

From Athens to Boeotia, Cameron Pearson guides us through Apollo's sanctuary at Ptoion. In 'The role of ritual and monument in creating *kleos*: the epigram of Alcmaeonides from the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios (*IG* I^3 1469 = *CEG* 302)', Pearson contextualizes a victory epigram (*CEG* 302) on a statue base commemorating the chariot victory of Alcmaeonides, son of Alcmaeon and probably brother of Pisistratus' famous political opponent, Megacles (111). The statue, now lost, was dedicated at the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios. All that survives from this intriguing dedication is a Doric capital and a five-line epigram in iambic trimeters, inscribed on three sides of the abacus. Taking as his starting point the tripartite split of the epigram that requires the viewer/reader to move from a frontal position, which enables them to read the opening two lines (*CEG* 302, 1–2), to the right in order to continue with the following two lines (*CEG* 302, 3–4), and then to the left in order to read the rest (*CEG* 302, 5), Pearson

13 Athanassaki (2022a), (2018), Neer and Kurke (2019), (2014) with references to earlier scholarship.

argues that the required movement/reading evokes the choral triadic pattern AAB and therefore epinician choral celebrations. Adducing as comparanda the Midas epigram (581 *PMG*) and the tombs of Hector and Odysseus (*Il.* 7, 89–91 and *Od.* 5, 308–312), he interprets Alcmaeonides' dedication as an interesting variant of the *kleos* discourse in song culture, which associates *kleos* with monument, ritual movement in sacred space, and poetic commemoration.

Gregory Nagy and Cecilia Nobili zoom in on the island of Paros and, taking their lead from Archilochus' poetry and subsequent hero-worship, offer different perspectives on the island's rich choral traditions and the cult of Apollo. In 'Sacred space as a frame for lyric occasions: the cases of Hippolytus at Troezen and of Archilochus at Paros', Gregory Nagy, like Claude Calame earlier, prefaces his discussion of the hero cults of Hippolytus and Archilochus with a section on terminology. Noting the association of the term 'lyric' with genre and of genre with occasion, he identifies four such contexts, i.e. composition, performance, reception, and transmission. He distinguishes between physical and notional 'frames' and defines the notional frames as occasions pictured as real by insiders, i.e. participants in the performance that eventually became the text. Sacred space, on the other hand, is a *temenos*. Terminology is followed by a detailed discussion of the Archilochean persona in the extant fragments (120W and 121W), in later reception (e.g. Arist. *Poetics* 1449a9 ff.), in the Mnesiepes inscription (initially choral but later rhapsodic, a tendency that Nagy has elsewhere labelled diachronic skewing), and in the cult the poet received in the Archilocheion. Nagy draws attention to the striking plethora of gods with whom Archilochus shares his *temenos* on Paros, something which he compares with the gods sharing Hippolytus' shrine in Troezen. Both can be considered frames for lyric occasions, but unlike Hippolytus' Troezenean sanctuary, which may have hosted choral performances, by the time of the Mnesiepes Inscription the Archilocheion seems to have hosted rhapsodic recitals.

In 'Between Delphi and Delos: Paros and Apollo from Archilochus to Pindar', Cecilia Nobili initially focuses on Archilochean fragments (26, 5–7W and 121W) and the Mnesiepes Inscription, which show the close ties of the island, the poet, and his family to Delphi. Through a survey of building initiatives already at the beginning of the sixth century BCE she traces the transition from the dominance of Pythian Apollo in the island's religious and artistic scene in the seventh century to the consecration of important cultic sites of Delian Apollo on Paros and the neighbouring Despotiko and the gradual elevation of Apollo Delios to an equal partner in the fifth century. Against this cultic and artistic background she interprets Pindar's *Paean for the Parians* (fr. 140a Snell–Maehler) and argues for a similar balance, i.e. a paean composed for Delian Apollo without losing sight of the god of Delphi. Noting the similarities of this

pattern to the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* she suggests that the balance between Apollo Delios and Pythios on the one hand and the negative depiction of Cretan dominion of Paros on the other give the paean an Athenian flavour. On this reading Pindar hits two birds with one stone: he pleases his Athenian elite friends and simultaneously his Parian patrons, who were growing as fond of the Delian as of the Pythian Apollo. According to Nobili, the political motives of the Parian commission of the paean from Pindar are similar to those that lie behind the Cean commission of a dithyramb from Bacchylides (c. 17).

The second section, 'The fabric and texture of the sacred', opens with Richard Martin's investigation of colour in the extant Pindaric corpus. In 'What color is the Pindaric sacred?', Martin begins his investigation with what is, in his view, the easy answer: the sacred in Pindar is gold, as the 96 occurrences of *chryseos*/*chrysos* and cognates make clear. But this is only the beginning, for Martin proceeds to establish the relation of an array of other colours to the sacred. He finds that the sacred is most often violet (*io-*), blue (*kyan-*), or grey/light blue (*glauk-*) and least often green (*chlor-*) and yellow/saffron (*krok-*). After violet and blue/grey come, in decreasing frequency, red (*phoinik-*), purple (*porphyr-*), and yellow/tawny (*xanth-*). Contrary to one's expectations from a poet obsessed with brightness, white (*arg-* and *leuk-*) scores low on the sacred spectrum. Focusing on selected scenes, for example the description of the birth of Iamus in *Olympian* 6 and crowning rituals, Martin looks at Pindar's combination of colours and argues for the poet's predilection for a warm palette. Reminding us of Isidore of Seville's etymological association of *color* with *calor*, Martin turns to what he calls Pindar's 'heat map' and, going back to the poet's colourful description of the birth of Iamos, which he takes as a proleptic allusion to the crowning of Iamos' descendant Hagesias, he suggests that the Pindaric palette is at its warmest in all those cases in which humans touch or are touched by the gods.

Amy Mars's contribution, 'Pindar and the ecopoetics of sacred space', turns to Pindar's representation of sounds in sacred spaces. On the basis of selected passages (*Isthmian* 1, 52–57, *Olympian* 14, 19 ff., *Olympian* 10, 76–84, *Nemean* 6, 35–36, *Pythian* 6, 1–10, *Pythian* 10, 4–9, *Olympian* 3, etc.) she argues that Pindar imagines a harmonious soundscape that combines his own songs with the sounds made by valleys, mountains, etc. On this reading Pindar's songs enhance and are enhanced by the sounds produced in the sacred landscapes in which they are performed. To give just one example of the synergy between human song and inanimate sound in a sacred place, *Pythian* 10 opens with a scene where Pytho, Pelinna, and the sons of Aleuas are envisaged as calling upon the poet (ἀπύει) to commemorate in comastic song the victory of Pytheas, whom the valley of Parnassus announced (ἀνέειπεν) a victor.

In 'The sacred in the aesthetic texture of song between female and male performance practice in Lesbos: a survey and some instances in the mythic-ritual poetics of Sappho and Alcaeus', Anton Bierl tackles sacred imagery from an aesthetic point of view on the basis of two, almost diametrically opposed lyric takes, Sappho's sacred eutopias hosting love-related discourses (frs. 1, 2, and 44) and Alcaeus' appropriation of the sanctuary at Messon for his vehement attacks on his political enemies (frs. 129 and 130b). On this reading the sacred contexts and festive ambience conjured up in Sappho frs. 2, 1, and 44 are integral to the aesthetic fabric of these songs regardless of their relation to the *hic et nunc* of performance: the sacred *locus amoenus* in fr. 2 symbolizes beauty and empowers Sappho's disciples to imagine the love life awaiting them; the series of intimate conversations between Sappho and Aphrodite in fr. 1 casts them in the roles of *symmachoi* in offering erotic education to Sappho's circle; the exuberant festivities surrounding the wedding of Hector and Andromache in fr. 44 add a divine lustre to this wedding which serves as paradigm for the weddings of Sappho's pupils. Anchoring performance in sacred space, however, can produce a dystopic vision, as is clear from Alcaeus' decision to utter his curse against Pittacus in the sanctuary of Messon (fr. 129), which intensifies its destructive power. In fr. 130b, on the other hand, the poet's association of his misery in exile with choral performances at the Lesbian *kallisteia* holds, on Bierl's reading, a covert hope for his eventual return and reintegration. Bierl's reading of Sappho's aesthetics complements Calame's reading of Sappho by exploring the effects of her songs on audiences (and readers) removed in time and space from the original performances.

In 'Narrative functions of the Muses in archaic lyric', Saskia Willigers compares the lyric poets' relationship with the Muse(s) with its influential Homeric representation. After a quick overview of the collaborative relationship of the primary epic narrator with the Muse who grants authority and *kleos* to his narrative, Willigers explores variants of this relationship in Greek lyric. This collaboration is sometimes expressed in a question-and-answer pair (Bacchylides 15.47–49, Pindar *Olympian* 10.60–63, 13.20–22, *Isthmian* 5.38–44) and can even take the form of a joined narrative in the famous Pindaric representation in *Nemean* 5.26 f., where the epinician speaker joins in the song of the Muses at some indefinable point. Some lyric narrators are more explicit about their collaboration with the Muses (e.g. Stesichorus fr. 100, 6–8, fr. 172), whereas others claim a more prominent role for themselves (e.g. Theognis 769–772). Simonides' *Plataea Elegy* is too fragmentary to allow certainty, but through the affirmation of Homer's privileged relationship with the Muse and her subsequent invocation the narrator self-consciously places himself in the tradition of Homer, highlighting his ability to guarantee a warrior's immortal fame.

Like Willigers, Lawrence Kowerski looks at Homeric sacred lore but from a different angle. In 'To seem to be a god among men: the sacred and poetic posturing in the *Theognidea*', he focuses on the significance of sympotic prayer for the persona of the Theognidean poet/performer. He discusses two prayers to Zeus (337–340 and 341–350), both related to punishment and drawing on epic heroic stylizations (θεῖος ἀνήρ). According to Kowerski, genre (prayer) and the simultaneous evocation of heroic wishes and acts (divine fame following the punishment of the speaker's enemies in 337–340; requital by drinking his enemies' blood in 341–350) work in tandem to construct the persona of an authoritative speaker who displays his familiarity with epic lore and aspires to divine fame.

The importation of religious diction and imagery into the world of the symposium is the subject of the contribution by Vanessa Casato[14] too, but unlike Kowerski she looks at its playful effects. In 'Playing with the sacred at the symposion', Casato looks at a number of songs and argues for the playful import of sacred diction and imagery in sympotic poetry. On this reading, Pindar's *Isthmian* 6 plays with what might have been the standard sequence of libations; Archilochus fr. 120W riffs on a baseline of Dionysiac sacredness without itself being a sacred song (or a dithyramb); Anacreon 356a *PMG* is subtly ironic, whereas Anacreon 357 *PMG* subverts the formal conventions of prayer. The chapter closes with an extended interpretation of Pindar's fr. 122 Snell–Maehler that emphasizes Pindar's playfulness in singing of Xenophon's vow to dedicate *hetairai* to Aphrodite and shows why this song is suitable for the symposium.

The third section, 'Representations of human communication with the divine', opens with 'Polytheism in Greek lyric poetry', in which Gabriella Pironti stresses that in the polytheistic ancient world gods were not metaphors or allegories, but divinities whom people worshipped by means of cultic offerings and of whom the poets sang. Thanks to the continuum between cult and poetry, polytheism can be understood through poetic language and vice versa. Pironti illustrates her point through the study of the polytheistic architecture of four songs, i.e. Sappho's 'Brothers poem' (fr. 10), an anonymous prayer to the Moirae (anon. fr. 1018, a-b), the *Hymn of Palaikastro* (*IC* III 2.2), and Solon fr. 4. What these different songs have in common is the belief in the dynamic synergy of a plurality of gods who can avert a crisis, be it familial or civic or both, by ensuring smooth communication between themselves and the mortals who pray to them. For instance, in the 'Brothers poem' the *persona loquens* prays to Hera

14 NB: Vanessa Casato used to spell her last name as Cazzato.

without losing sight of Zeus and their relationship, a prayer which, as Pironti reminds us, closely mirrors Lesbian cultic practice since Zeus was worshipped along with Hera in the sanctuary of Messon. The references to all gods (σύμπαντές τε θέοι, δαιμόνεσσιν, lines 7 and 14), and also to an unnamed god (δαίμον', line 18) whom Zeus sends to help those in need, illustrate the belief in divine collaboration that underpins this and the other songs discussed. Pironti concludes that the same network of divine powers that inhabited the Greek cities informed all its poetry, including of course Greek song.

In 'Sappho's persuasive prayers', Mary Bachvarova looks at human and divine communication in terms of efficacy and argues that Sappho resorted to her cutting-edge knowledge of how gods thought and felt in order to convince Aphrodite to come to her side. Through a survey of ancient theories of cognition and using Hittite and Homeric prayers as comparanda, Bachvarova argues that, unlike the traditional views of how gods' minds worked, which underlie Hittite and Homeric texts, Sappho used novel rhetorical strategies in trying to persuade Aphrodite to come to her side in frs. 1 and 2. Sappho's novel approach consists of using precisely the same irresistible weapons and methods the goddess uses in her dealings with mortals. The sense of long-standing intimacy and efficacious communication between Sappho and the goddess that these two prayers convey had an important sociopolitical and artistic cachet too. Sappho's privileged relationship with the goddess on the basis of cutting-edge knowledge and understanding of the divine mind is an asset in the aristocratic feuds in which Sappho was embroiled, and in her rivalries with other Lesbian poets and their circles.

The next three papers explore the interface between lyric and drama, focusing on representations of human and divine interaction. In 'Pindar fragment 70b Maehler: a literary archetype of Dionysiac *choreia*', Smaro Nikolaidou-Arabatzi looks closely at Pindar's description of the divine orgiastic dance on Olympus—probably on the occasion of Dionysus' arrival, which, she suggests, is a projection of the dithyrambic chorus dancing in the *hic et nunc* at Thebes and, simultaneously, the ideal model for this chorus. She then turns her attention to Euripides' *Bacchae* and, noting many verbal and thematic similarities between the Pindaric and Euripidean representations, she argues that Pindar's dithyramb was in all likelihood Euripides' model for the interaction of the onstage chorus of Dionysus' Lydian maenads with the offstage chorus of Theban maenads who honoured the god on Mt. Cithaeron. In this scheme the projection of the song-dance of the Lydian chorus onto the archetypal dance of the Theban maenads on Cithaeron enhances the performance of the Lydian Bacchae in the onstage *hic et nunc*. Nikolaidou-Arabatzi also suggests that Pindar fr. 70b Maehler is a model for [Arion] anon. fr. 939. Her argument is based

on the verbal echo between the designation of the dolphins dancing in circles as φριξαύχενες in [Arion] fr. 939, 8 and the Bacchic dance of the Naiads ῥιξαύχενι σὺν κλόνωι (Pindar fr. 70b, 14).

In 'Ritual synergy and intimacy in nondramatic and dramatic choral lyric: Pindar fragment 75, Euripides' *Cyclops*, and Aristophanes' *Frogs*', Athena Kavoulaki begins her investigation with Pindar's dithyramb for the Athenians, also discussed by Stefano Fanucchi in this volume. Unlike Fanucchi, however, her emphasis is not on the performance context, but on the imagined proximity and harmonious interaction of mortals and immortals in the course of a choral performance during the Dionysia, which, according Kavoulaki, is processional. She then proceeds to show the similarities and differences between the Pindaric representation and two dramatic takes on the interaction of mortal choruses with Dionysus. Her close reading of the diction and choral imagery of the scene of the Mystae performing in the imagined presence of Iacchus in Aristophanes' *Frogs* brings out a similar sense of proximity and synergy. In contrast, the chorus of Satyrs in Euripides' *Cyclops* underlines Bacchus' absence from the choral performance, an absence that pains the Satyrs, who miss the gods' *philia* and try to bridge their distance from him through hymnic diction and ritual acts. Kavoulaki's comparison of the Pindaric dithyramb with the theatricalization of two different takes on choral processions in honour of Dionysus reveals some impressive affinities between lyric representations of dithyrambic performances and dramatizations of Dionysiac choral performances.

In 'How "sacred" are the lyrics of Aristophanes?', Angus Bowie tackles the question by investigating if Aristophanes uses obscene language in his religious lyrics, given comedy's predilection for obscenity and in the light of the well-documented presence of *aischrologia* in several ancient Greek festivals, and also in modern rites. Looking closely at several examples, chiefly from Aristophanes' *Peace* and *Frogs*, Bowie concludes that although obscenity is not absent from representations of religious activity, Aristophanes avoids obscene language in his religious lyrics, especially in hymns to the Olympians. He argues for a similar tendency in his *phallika* and *epithalamia*, where despite one's expectations, one finds sexual innuendos rather than *aischrologia*. In the final section of his contribution Bowie takes Trygaeus' sacrifice to Peace in the eponymous play and asks how 'real' the dramatized ritual is: noting a number of irregularities, such as the anomalous treatment of the animal, the constant interruptions of the *chresmologos*, ridiculous oracular pronouncements, parodies, and violence, he concludes that whereas the audience is invited to watch a sacrifice that looks *prima facie* like a standard one, fictionality takes over and the audience lands in the religious world of comic *phantasia*.

The last paper of the volume takes us back to the world of the festival and explores the deep influence of the symbiosis of song and sacrifice on the poetic perceptions of song as sacrifice. In 'Song and/as sacrifice: on the sacrificial pragmatics of poetry', Pavlos Sfyroeras marshals literary and inscriptional evidence showing that song and sacrifice were performed side by side. This symbiosis, Sfyroeras argues, too widely attested to be accidental, shapes the perception of song by poets, performers, and audience. Focusing on Pindar's *Paean* 6 and the dithyrambic fr. 75, Bacchylides' *Paean* 4, and Philodamus of Scarphea's *Paean to Dionysus*, he argues that the analogy between song and sacrifice led to the perception of performance of song as a kind of sacrificial offering. Sacred laws, notably an inscription from Erythrai in Asia Minor (*IEry* 205) and an Eretrian decree regulating the festival of Artemis (*IG* xii 9.189) confirm the function of song and sacrifice as offerings that honour and please the gods to the benefit of mortals. This pragmatic symbiosis led eventually to a convergence of aesthetic and ritual categories: the perception of the performance of song as ritual process led to the imagery of the poem as a sacrificial animal, an evolution that can be traced, for instance, in the poetics of Callimachus but also in the later biographical tradition concerning Pindar.

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These different papers show that the engagement of Greek lyric songs with the divine was very diverse. Sometimes these songs were among the gifts offered to the gods at religious festivals, other times they reflected on the nature of the gods in more profane settings. Herodotus credited Homer and Hesiod with providing the Greeks with the image of their gods (Hdt. 2.53), but Greek lyric contributed to the formation of this image in significant ways as well.

PART 1

Sacred Contexts

CHAPTER 1

Dancing before Dawn: The Performance and Ritual Context of Alcman's *Partheneion*

Thomas K. Hubbard

First discovered inside a tomb by French archaeologists in 1855 and published in 1863, the so-called Louvre *partheneion* has provided us with both one of the most splendid and one of the most puzzling finds of Greek literary papyri. In part its difficulty is due to its strange archaic Laconian dialect, its unfamiliar generic form, our lack of knowledge concerning its original religious context, and not least, its incomplete preservation, with an indeterminate number of stanzas at the beginning missing and the tear at the edge of the papyrus only allowing us to see the line endings for the first three stanzas we do have; in addition, pieces of the last two stanzas are either missing or unreadable. However, Alcman was notorious for his difficulty even among ancient scholars of the Hellenistic period. Writing in the second century CE, the rhetorician Aelius Aristides (*Orationes* 49.2.508 Dindorf) remarks upon the torment Alcman causes the ἄθλιοι γραμματικοί who try to understand him. Unlike us, the Alexandrians had complete texts not just of this poem, but of many others they regarded as generically similar, both by Alcman's hand and those of later poets like Simonides, Bacchylides, and Pindar. Even so, Alcman was a challenge for them, despite attracting the attention of some of the best scholarly minds, including Aristarchus, Aristophanes of Byzantium, Sosiphanes, and Sosibius. And in modern times he has piqued the interest of no less distinguished a company of Hellenists: Wilamowitz, Diels, Blass, van Groningen, Bowra, Page, and in more recent decades West, Rosenmeyer, Gentili, Calame, Giangrande, Campbell, Segal, and many others. For, despite the obscurities, all these scholars, as well as many lesser luminaries like myself, have been captivated by the allure of a style that is so highly variegated and discontinuous, alternately narrative, sententious, sensuous, encomiastic, playful, self-conscious, and chatty. Everyone agrees that something very special and very beautiful must be going on with these Spartan maidens. The present essay will suggest that many of the difficulties of the Louvre *partheneion* can be resolved through a better understanding of its ritual context and performative execution, which I will argue was in part through responsive semichoruses.

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First, we should say a word about the generic designation of this poem as a *partheneion* or maidens' song. This term was invented as a generic category by the Alexandrian scholars who were responsible for collecting and organizing into books the surviving works of the archaic poets. As such, it was a catch-all term for many different types of poems intended for delivery by a maidens' chorus. The archaic poets themselves never used this term and would not have recognized it as a distinct literary form.[1] The poems of Pindar that the Alexandrians classified as *partheneia* would have probably been called *daphnephorika* in Pindar's own time, as our only three fragments that can with certainty be attributed to this book are all processional songs intended for a very specific annual ritual associated with the temple of Apollo Ismenos at Thebes. Indeed, one of them (fr. 94a) is likely not even a maidens' chorus at all, but the performers (if the first person is choral, as is usually assumed in ritual songs) clearly designate themselves as masculine. Similarly, it is likely that Alcman and his contemporaries regarded poems like the one on the Louvre papyrus and the more recently published, but even more fragmentary Oxyrhynchus papyrus listed as fr. 3, not as maidens' songs *per se* but as songs associated with a specific Spartan cultic performance. George Hinge's careful analysis of Alcman's language shows traces of several diachronic levels of morphology and diction within our extant texts, suggesting repetition and reperformance of these songs across several generations.[2]

1 Cultic Context

What can we say about this cult? With a few exceptions, most scholars today agree that the poem forms part of a ceremony in honor of a goddess who has something to do with the dawn, who is referred to as Orthria in line 61 (related to the root *orthros*) and Aotis in line 87 (likely derived from a Doric form of *Eos*, the Dawn goddess).[3] The references to light and the Sun in lines 40–43 and to

1 See Calame (1977) 149–176, and Lardinois (2011) 169. On Alexandrian generic classification of lyric poetry more generally, see Harvey (1955).

2 Hinge (2006) 282–348 and Hinge (2009) sees reperformance as a continuous tradition down to Hellenistic times, when the text was fixed.

3 In favor of Orthria and Aotis as a Dawn goddess, see Van Groningen (1935) 260; Schwenn (1937) 297–299; Calame (1977) II: 119–121, 124–126; Nagy (1990b) 346 n. 42; Monaldi (1991) 261; Ferrari (2008) 84. Robbins (1994) 14 usefully points out that the Dioscuri, so prominent in the mythical portion of the poem, in Vedic mythology serve the Dawn goddess Usas. However, Page (1951) 71–82 prefers to read Ὀρθίαι in line 61 as a nominative plural epithet of the Pleiades, and interprets Aotis as a locative expression meaning 'located in the East', which he sees as

competition with the Pleiades in the early morning sky in lines 60–63 support this association. It seems likely that no time would be more appropriate for a ritual honoring of the goddess of the dawn than dawn itself, or immediately before it.[4] That some ritual act of worship is taking place is indicated by the chorus' assertion that they are bringing a *pharos* to the goddess in lines 60–61 and that they wish to please her in lines 87–88; line 81 refers to the θωστήρια or ritual banquet.[5] As a symbol of the new day's birth and fertility, the Dawn goddess would certainly be appropriate for celebration by young maidens going through a transitional ceremony of rebirth into adulthood and sexual maturity. However, since we have no other testimonia about a Spartan cult of the dawn, many critics have been eager to identify the dawn as an aspect of some female figure whose cult is better attested at Sparta. Candidates have included Artemis Ortheia, Helen, Eileithyia, Aphrodite, Hera, and Phoebe, one of the two daughters of Leucippus, whose name suggests associations with brightness.[6] None of these identifications are supported by anything in our extant

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a likely epithet of Artemis in her lunar aspect. Given that the Moon and the Dawn are quite distinct goddesses, this is an unlikely way of referring to the Moon. Others, such as Davison (1968) 156–157 and E.L. Bowie (2011) 60 emend Ὀρθρίαι to Ὀρθαίαι based on a scholiastic suggestion that Artemis Ortheia is here invoked; this approach has the disadvantage of requiring an internal correption to fit the meter.

4 For performance at or just before dawn, see Schwenn (1937) 298–299; Page (1951) 75; D'Errico (1957) 29; Garvie (1965) 187; Griffiths (1972) 16–18; Calame (1977) II: 139–140; Clay (1991) 52–57; Monaldi (1991) 261; Ferrari (2008) 86–87, 92, 106, 115; Luginbill (2009) 35–36, 40. Boutsikas and Ruggles (2011) demonstrate that the temple of Artemis Ortheia is in fact oriented toward the East, like most Greek temples, and thus well-exposed to a dramatic sunrise. E.L. Bowie (2011) 59–60 argues for a daytime performance based on lines 41–43, where Agido "testifies that the sun shines for us." However, one can argue that the sun does indeed shine at dawn, even if not yet directly over the horizon. One need not press the present tense too closely.

5 E.L. Bowie (2011) 60–61 notes that the mention of the θωστήρια is immediately followed by an invocation to plural gods (σιοί) to receive the prayers of Agido and Hagesichora, and thereby casts doubt on any single divinity as the recipient of worship in this poem. However, it is possible that the θωστήρια were indeed meant as a theoxenic offering in honor of all the gods after the choral performance. The choral performance itself only names one divinity: Orthria/Aotis. Calame (1977) 113–114 takes θωστήρια merely as a vague term for "ritual," not necessarily a ritual meal.

6 For Artemis/Ortheia, see Diels (1896) 360–362, 367–368; Page (1951) 74–75; D'Errico (1957) 9–23; Griffiths (1972) 26–27; Luginbill (2009). However, as Davison (1968) 169–172 notes, the earliest epigraphic evidence for identifying Artemis with Ortheia is relatively late. For Helen, see Bowra (1934), 38–44; Calame (1977) II: 121–125. For Eileithyia, see Schwenn (1937) 315; Burnett (1964) 32–33; Hooker (1979) 212, 218. For Aphrodite, see Gentili (1988) 75–77; Cyrino (2004). For the Laconian Aphrodite Hera, see Monaldi (1991) 275–285. Garvie (1965) 186–187 proposes Phoebe (perhaps along with the other Leucippid, Hilaera). For other views, see Calame (1977) 121 n. 146.

text, and I regard all of them as highly speculative. Calame argues for an identification of Helen with the Dawn goddess, based primarily on a comparison of the two in one line of Theocritus (*Idyll* 18.26) and what he claims to be their association on Etruscan mirrors.[7] Accordingly, for purposes of this paper I shall simply call the goddess the Dawn goddess, without precluding the possibility that she may have later developed other cultic associations of which the text gives no evidence. We should not be unduly troubled by her absence in Pausanias' description of Sparta or in our very partial archaeological record of archaic Laconia. It is entirely possible that what was once a flourishing cult in the seventh century BCE had either died out or been syncretized with another cult by the time of Pausanias, Strabo, and most of our other sources. The Dawn goddess Eos was unquestionably a figure of Panhellenic stature by the seventh century BCE, well-known for her erotic aggressiveness with a series of mortals including Orion, Kleitos, Cephalus, and most famously Tithonus: she is present in the Homeric poems (*Iliad* 11.1–2; *Odyssey* 5.1–2, 5.121–124, 15.249–251; *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 218–238), Hesiod (*Theogony* 984–987), on the Amyclae throne (Pausanias 3.18.12, abducting Cephalus), and was a central character in the epic *Aethiopis*, which neo-analytic critics regard as derived from an even earlier tradition than the *Iliad*.

There are some other intriguing hints within our text that may tell us something useful about the poem's ritual significance. The stanza consisting of lines 64–77 advertises the chorus members' erotic allure. Indeed, lines 74–77 suggest that the girls might feel erotic attraction toward one another and/or toward Hagesichora. Within the mythical section of the poem, in lines 17–21, we have similar erotic language suggesting that the hybris of those punished in the myth had something to do with reaching for a marriage beyond their station. Setting these passages together with the similar language we find in Sappho's poetry, Bruno Gentili and Claude Calame both at approximately the same time proposed that the ceremony was one connected with female initiation into sexual maturity; Gentili even spoke in terms of a lesbian betrothal ritual within an

7 Calame (1977) II: 121–125. The comparison in Theocritus 18.26 forms part of a longer series of similes (26–31) illuminating Helen's preeminence; nothing in the passage conflates Helen with the Dawn goddess or alludes to any cultic worship of Helen as the dawn, any more than as the spring, a cypress tree, or a Thessalian horse. The two Etruscan mirrors to which Calame makes reference (plate 196 in vols. 2–3 and plate 78 in vol. 5 of Gerhard [1843–1897]) do not provide good evidence for syncretism; as Gerhard notes (III: 190–191), the figure of Eos in the sky is completely separated from Helen and her suitors in the lower portion of the mirror of plate 196, and the similar horse-drawn figure labelled *Aur* on the top of plate 78 is clearly masculine, the Sun god himself (V: 96–97).

all-female *thiasos*.[8] Of course, such ritualized female homoeroticism served the social function of preparing girls for ultimate marital consummation, hence its association with fertility imagery. This scenario has much to recommend it, but we should be cautious about not overextending the concept of 'initiation' to cover every type of ritual or literary work which involves males or females at this liminal stage in life.[9] To the extent that the girls of the chorus praise each other's beauty and advertise their desire for one another, they are actually advertising their availability and erotic appeal before an audience of Spartan males.[10] Thomas Scanlon has argued a similar function for the many institutionalized contexts of female athletic display at Sparta, including the practice of female nudity, something largely avoided in other Greek states.[11]

Pausanias 3.13.7 may help. Within his description of Sparta, Pausanias tells of a small hill upon which was located a cult of Dionysus Kolonatas, 'Dionysus of the Hill'. He notes that the eleven Dionysiades ('daughters of Dionysus') were joined by the two Leucippides in making sacrifice to Dionysus. Pausanias 3.16.1 adds the information that the priestesses in the cult of the Leucippides were themselves called 'Leucippides'. This is relevant because scholars have long supposed, following information recorded in the scholiast to Clement of Alexandria and perhaps going back to the local historian Sosibius, who also devoted a work to the elucidation of Alcman, that the highly fragmentary mythical section of the poem describes a struggle between the Dioscuri and their cousins, the sons of Hippocoon, over marriage to the Leucippides Phoebe and Hilaera.[12] Line 1 of our extant poem names Polydeuces and lines 3–11 list the names of the sons of Hippocoon; lines 17–20 are compatible with marriage as the source of their conflict. The matter is not absolutely certain, as tradition also records that Hippocoon and his sons seized the throne of Sparta that should have properly belonged to Tyndareus and the Dioscuri, so this may also have been the origin of the rivalry. But if we are right in supposing that the two daughters of Leucippus were a focal point of the narrative, we may have a key

8 Calame (1977) 86–97, and with broader reference to choral training, Calame (1997) 244–258; Gentili (1988) 72–77. Gentili's view is followed by Cantarella (1992) 81–82. However, for criticism of this interpretation, see Lardinois (2010) 17–20. The homoerotic implications were earlier noted by Diels (1896) 352–354, but unlike Calame, who favors Hagesichora, he saw Agido as the senior partner in the relationship.

9 See the cautionary remarks of Graf (2003).

10 See Stehle (1997) 79–88, and Luginbill (2009) 48–50, drawing on Plutarch's observation (*Lycurgus* 14.2–15.1) that female nudity as well as choral dance were inducements for young Spartan men to marry. See also Ingalls (2000) 5–6, and Cyrino (2004) 26–27.

11 Scanlon (2002) 121–138.

12 See Page (1951) 32–33; Calame (1977) 58; Robbins (1994) 12–14.

to the identity of the two female figures so prominently featured in the second half of the poem, Agido and Hagesichora. Perhaps, as several critics have suggested, they are the latter-day Leucippides, the two priestesses in the cult of the original Leucippides Phoebe and Hilaera; like the original heroines, they are young, beautiful, and eminently nubile.[13] Pausanias makes it clear that they had religious functions in other cults beyond that of the Leucippides themselves.

Perhaps most intriguing is that Pausanias' information could give us the key necessary to understanding the much-disputed lines 98–99: 'this decad sings instead of eleven girls'. The decad must refer to the present chorus singing and dancing this song, as the deictic form ἅδε suggests; it is no coincidence that eight chorus-members are named in lines 70–76, who with the addition of Agido and Hagesichora do indeed make ten.[14] Who then are the eleven girls? None other than the eleven Dionysiades whom Pausanias mentions as associated with the Leucippides in cult practice: the Leucippides and their choral followers assert an equal importance to the more numerous Dionysiades.[15] It may bear noting that the sons of Hippocoon who are listed in lines 3–11 are exactly eleven in number as well.

The glossographer Hesychius (4496, s.v. πωλία) tells us that the two Leucippides were also called πῶλοι or 'foals'. This tends to confirm that the priestesses would in fact be young maidens who were not yet fully adult. We find the same term in an interesting passage sung by the chorus of Laconian women at the end of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (1308–1315), which refers to Helen leading a

13 For this suggestion, see Diels (1896) 370–371; Garvie (1965) 185–186; Nagy (1990b) 346–347; Ferrari (2008) 83; more cautiously, Bierl (2011b) 431–432.

14 See Page (1951) 63–64; Calame (1977) 132. This is surely preferable to the view that choruses are normally eleven and someone is unexpectedly missing (see Van Groningen (1935) 259; Garzya (1963) 39 n. 72) or that there are really eleven chorus members, three of whom are unnamed, competing against Hagesichora, who sings with the force of ten (see Puelma [1977] 47–48; Robbins [1994] 10–11); Giangrande (1977) 156–160, offers the variant interpretation that Hagesichora by herself counts as ten against the eleven of the whole chorus (the eight named girls, the two chorus leaders, and Aenesimbrota). Griffiths (1972) 12–13 thinks the expression means that the chorus formerly consisted of eleven, but one (Agido) has been lost to marriage; this has the disadvantage of leaving only one girl in the chorus unnamed. Pavese (1992) 49–50, also denies that Hagesichora and Agido could be counted together with the other eight choreuts, on the grounds that they are *laudandae* rather than *laudatores*, and the two roles must be separated; however, the epinician conventions on which he bases this assertion may not be the same in other choral forms.

15 Bowra (1934) 37–38, 41–42, sees the chorus as a whole as Leucippides, rather than Agido and Hagesichora specifically. Clay (1991) 61–63 and Pavese (1992) 70 see a possible association of the eleven with the Dionysiades, but fail to see the identification of Hagesichora and Agido with the Leucippides.

chorus of girls like πῶλοι. This passage is probably a pastiche of Alcman's poetry, so it should not be pressed as an allusion directly to our poem.[16] What it does suggest is that Hesychius' citation of πῶλοι as a cultic term associated with the Leucippides can be traced back at least as far as the fifth century BCE, and very probably to Alcman's time as well. If so, it should then come as no surprise to us that we find so much horse imagery related to Hagesichora and Agido, the daughters of Leucippus ('white horse').[17]

Also intriguing is the information about Spartan ritual conveyed by another dramatic passage, Euripides' *Helen* 1465–1470:

> ἦ που κόρας ἂν ποταμοῦ
> παρ᾽ οἶδμα Λευκιππίδας ἢ πρὸ ναοῦ
> Παλλάδος ἂν λάβοι
> χρόνωι ξυνελθοῦσα χοροῖς
> ἢ κώμοις Ὑακίν-
> θου νύχιον ἐς εὐφροσύναν,
>
> I suppose she [Helen] would catch the Leucippid maidens beside the swell of the river or in front of a temple of Pallas, joining their choral dances after a time or the festivities of Hyacinthus for nocturnal celebration.

In a *propemptikon* bidding Helen and Menelaus a fair voyage back to Sparta, the chorus imagines the familiar scenes Helen will encounter upon her return.[18] Perhaps she would catch the dances of the Leucippides or the revels of Hyacinthus at a nighttime festival. This yields three pertinent pieces of information: that the Leucippides were known for a connection to choral dance, that such festivities might occur at night, and that they might occur in connection with a goddess' divine cult (Pallas in this case).

16 See Bierl (2011b) 417–419, and with reference to the meter, Calame (2004) 169.

17 On this pattern of references, see Calame (1977) II: 67–72.

18 Nagy (1990b) 346 sees this passage as establishing a cultic link between Helen and the Leucippides. But are we also to imagine Helen as a presence at the Hyacinthia or in the Spartan cult of Athena? It is more likely that the reference is simply to well-known Spartan rituals.

2 Performance

I believe that the obscurities that have dogged interpreters over the last 150 years stem mostly from a failure to understand the performative conditions of the poem. Much that seems opaque or ambiguous to us would have been perfectly transparent to an original audience in virtue of the patterns of dance, the positions of Agido and Hagesichora relative to the other performers, and deictic hand gestures or facial movements.[19] Accordingly, a proper appreciation of the poem's choreography is necessary for a correct philological understanding of its text. One of the principal problems interpreters have had with lines 39–101 is confusion over which of the two leaders is being praised when and whether they are compared in relation to each other, and if so, how. Much of this would have been obvious to the audience in performance, depending on who the rest of the chorus is looking at or dancing around. As even a ballet can speak to its audience with no verbal text at all, we must make allowance for how much the dance would clarify this complex piece.

In many ways, the praise of the two leaders Agido and Hagesichora seems evenly balanced, as would be appropriate if they are indeed the twin priestesses known as the Leucippides. As Martin West put it: 'Each is pre-eminent and without a rival for as long as we look at her: we never look at both together. Alcman tactfully preserves the balance between the two.'[20] Many critics since the nineteenth century have suspected that the poem splits into semi-choruses at this point. Indeed, the suspicion went back to the Alexandrians, as a scholion that is preserved opposite lines 48–49 (listed as VIII Page = A8 Calame) suggests a division between 'those on the side of Agido' and 'those on the side of Hagesichora'. The placement of this scholion I find interesting: we can hardly have speakers changing at the beginning or within lines 48 and 49. But with line 49, the stanza ends, and line 50 begins a new stanza. So what the scholion does suggest is that the Alexandrian scholars on whose work the scholia were based considered the strophic divisions to be a point where the shift from one semi-chorus to the other occurred.[21]

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19 On the importance of *deixis* in interpreting this poem, see Peponi (2004); Luginbill (2009) 38–39.

20 West (1965a) 197; similarly, E.L. Bowie (2011) 62–63. Contrast with Page (1951) 45–51, who insists that Hagesichora consistently receives more praise than Agido and is the more important chorus leader.

21 It should be noted that the new edition of Römer (2013) 114–117, based on a careful re-examination of the papyrus, also finds a scholion suggesting semi-choral division opposite line 36, at the very beginning of the strophe. However, opposite lines 43–44 yet another scholion suggests a shift from Agido's to Hagesichora's semi-chorus, so at least some

Unfortunately, most modern scholars (and the ancient scholia themselves) have made matters more complicated. Hermann Diels proposed dividing the 14-line stanzas into triads, with the first four lines of each constituting a strophe, the next four lines a metrically equivalent antistrophe, and the last six lines an epode.[22] In his view, one semi-chorus performed the strophe, another the antistrophe, and both together performed the epode. However, this scheme does not coincide with the logical sense breaks or changes of emphasis: for example, we would have lines 36–39 delivered by one semi-chorus, ending with the phrase ἐγὼν δ᾽ ἀείδω …, even though this clearly introduces a new thought, which will then be continued by the other semi-chorus. The antistrophe, consisting of lines 40–43, will itself end with another phrase introducing a new thought, ἐμὲ δ᾽ οὔτ᾽ ἐπαινῆν …, with the complementary infinitive completing the doublet left to the epode. While such enjambment is not unparalleled in some of Pindar's triadic systems, it would be very jarring to have changes of speaker at these junctures. It should also be observed that Diels' metrical divisions are not supported by period end: if the fourth and eighth line always end a strophe and antistrophe, we should expect to find the last syllable anceps, but in fact it is always long, with the sole exception of line 25, where the reading is uncertain.[23] Accordingly, Diels' proposal must be rejected.

A more common tendency has been to divide up the conversation without any regard to metrical structure at all. J.T. Sheppard came up with such a scheme in 1913, Franz Stoessl with another in 1947, and the very capable Jacques Péron with yet another in 1987, and most recently Francesca Schironi, who declines to speculate about the original performance, but argues from the scholia and *paragraphoi* that the ancient commentators believed in frequent alternation within lines 39–60.[24] Each scholar marks the divisions differently. To give an example, Péron believes the division into semi-choruses begins with line 39 and ends with line 59. In his view, we should assign lines 39–43 to Agido's semi-chorus, then beginning with the ἐμὲ δ᾽ οὔτ᾽ ἐπαινῆν in line 43, we have Hagesichora's speaking for the rest of the stanza, with Agido's semi-chorus uttering the first line and a half of the next stanza, followed by Hagesichora's

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Alexandrian scholars believed in amoebaean changes of speaker within the strophes as well. See also Schironi (2016) 33–38. We need not necessarily follow the scholia in their exact assignment of lines to one semi-chorus or another, but their testimony does suggest that they thought semi-choral performance might explain some of the discontinuities and shifts within the text.

22 Diels (1896) 374.

23 See Hinz (1993).

24 Sheppard (1913) 124–126; Stoessl (1947); Péron (1987); Schironi (2016). Adrados (1973) 330–331 was premature in declaring semi-choral division an 'abandoned thesis'.

in line 50 with ἀ δὲ χαίτα, and finally Agido's again in lines 58–59.[25] According to this scheme, we not only have choral speakers changing in mid-stanza, but in at least two cases even mid-line. How this change could work musically and choreographically is a mystery.

Already in 1937, in response to the earlier schemes of division proposed by Sheppard and Bowra, Denys Page undertook a careful study of changes of speaker within the lyrics of Greek tragedy.[26] While such division is common, especially in Euripides, what Page observes is that when it occurs within responsive strophes, it almost always occurs in exactly the same place(s) in both strophe and antistrophe. He identifies only six places where a non-responsive change of speaker occurs, three of them in Euripides' *Trojan Women*. But even in these rare cases, the non-responsive changes of speaker tend to be minor deviations embedded within a larger structure where the changes of speaker do respond properly. I would add that in most of these passages, it is difficult to tell whether we are dealing with a division into semi-choruses or into a babble of multiple speakers. The conventions are doubtless stricter for semi-choruses than for individual chorus members, who are more likely to be represented as confused and talking out of turn.

Those cases where division into semi-choruses seems unequivocal tend to be defined most strictly by strophic boundaries. A certain case of semi-choruses occurs in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, where the comic chorus is clearly split between a group of old men and old women, whose song is strictly amoebaean and responsive, the old men typically delivering the strophes and the old women the corresponding antistrophes. According to the scholia (*Scholia Ranae* 354a–b Koster), Aristarchus also suggested a division of the chorus of Initiates in Aristophanes' *Frogs*. Subsequent scholiastic references to a ἡμιχόριον (*Scholia Ranae* 382–383, 394, 398 Koster) suggest that the division began with the strophe of lines 385–388, referring to dances for Demeter by the female members of the chorus, with the antistrophe about jests in lines 389–393 presumably belonging to the men. The strophe in lines 409–412, expressing delight in glimpsing the exposed breast of a pretty girl, definitely seems male. Lines 445–446 do seem to announce that the female members of the chorus depart from the stage, leaving the men, so an earlier division of the chorus is entirely plausible. At the end of Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes* we clearly have the chorus split into two parts, one lamenting each brother, but it is impossi-

25 Schironi (2016) 34–37, believes the Alexandrian scholars favored the same divisions, with the exception of lines 58–59, which she assigns to Hagesichora's supporters, reading Agido as a nominative.

26 Page (1937).

ble to determine exactly where the divisions between the two semi-choruses occur; the divisions may well correspond to the strophic boundaries. In Sophocles' *Ajax*, the chorus reenter the stage from two directions as they search for their missing commander, but this passage is in astrophic lyric iambs and not responsive at all; similarly, the chorus of Sophocles' *Ichneutae* splits into two or three groups at one point, but this passage is entirely in trimeters. More useful to us may be Euripides' *Trojan Women*, where the scholia propose division into semi-choruses in the *kommos* with Hecuba; at least initially in lines 153–196, this division must be strophic, as the speakers of the antistrophe clearly announce that they have just come onto the stage; the next strophe-antistrophe pair in lines 197–234 appears to be divided among multiple individual voices.

Nor was choral division anything unique to Athenian drama. The grammarian Pollux (4.107) tells us that the Spartan poet Tyrtaeus set up τριχορία between alternating choruses of old men, mature men, and boys. We in fact possess such a song in Laconian dialect, quoted by Plutarch, listed in Page's *PMG* and Campbell's Loeb as fr. 870. The old men say: 'We were once brave young men.' The mature men say: 'We actually are; if you want, look at us!' The boys say: 'We will be much stronger!' This information is valuable to us because it demonstrates that such responsive choral alternation was known in seventh-century Sparta, and moreover that it could have an agonistic quality, as we see in fr. 870 where each succesive generation claims superiority to its predecessor. The Spartan historian Sosibius (595F5 *FGrH*) even attests that this tri-fold division between choruses representing three generations was conventional at the *gymnopaidia*, where songs by Alcman, Thaletas, and Dionysodotus were performed this way.[27]

All of these considerations lead me to favor the idea that any choral division within Alcman's poem must have followed the strophic boundaries. Despite seeming in many ways obvious, this approach has been advocated by only two scholars, who advanced the idea independently: the Italian scholar Alfonso D'Errico in a little noticed article of 1957 and one of my own teachers, the late Thomas Rosenmeyer, longtime at the University of California at Berkeley, who published a long and very learned article in 1966. Part of the reason their theory has gained so little acceptance from subsequent scholars is that to fit the existing stanzas into a framework of partisanship for each of the two chorus-leaders required them to exercise some considerable degree of hermeneutic contortion. Rosenmeyer also proposed a rather fanciful association between what he called amoebaean choral song and the amoebaean contests of pastoral poetry,

27 For this text and other evidence of Spartan semi-choruses, see Schironi (2016) 47–49.

on which he was then writing his important book *The Green Cabinet*. While I do not believe that we can with any justification trace a genetic link between these two very different genres, what they do both illustrate in different ways is the pervasively agonistic character of Greek society, something we have known about since the time of the cultural historian Jakob Burckhardt; in more recent times, Derek Collins has shown how poetic agonism was something fundamental to the culture of Greek song in all genres and periods. George Dunkel has even suggested, based on evidence from the Rig-Veda, that poetic competition was a fundamental characteristic of Indo-European society.[28]

I believe that D'Errico and Rosenmeyer were on the right track, but ultimately failed to come up with a persuasive division because they got it backward: they assigned stanzas 4 and 6 (which is to say lines 36–49 and 64–77) to Agido's semi-chorus, and stanzas 5 and 7 (which is to say lines 50–63 and 78–91) to Hagesichora's. I would propose that it is really the other way around: all of the stanzas praise both chorus leaders for their beauty and ability, but stanzas 4 and 6 give pride of place to Hagesichora, and stanzas 5 and 7 to Agido. What D'Errico and Rosenmeyer failed to appreciate was the power of an archaic convention discussed by another of my Berkeley professors, Elroy Bundy, whose *Studia Pindarica* (1962) analyzed the complexities of Pindar's multi-functional and often puzzling transitions through the concepts of 'foil' and 'cap'. What Bundy observed is the tendency of archaic poetry to present one or more praiseworthy terms (what he calls the 'foil') which are then rejected or passed over in favor of a final term (the 'cap'). When this rhetorical gambit involves multiple terms as foil, it is what we call a 'priamel', as in Sappho's famous fr. 16, where she says that 'many men praise an army of infantry or a fleet of ships as the most beautiful thing, but I say it is whatever one loves.' Stanza 6 of Alcman gives us a splendid example of a developed priamel, where all of the fine clothing, jewelry, and beautiful maidens listed in the first thirteen lines are surpassed by the final term listed in the fourteenth line, set off from the previous list by the adversative particle ἀλλά. In different forms, we see the same rhetorical structure repeated throughout the four stanzas of choral division: X is beautiful, but Y is absolutely stunning. The first term mentioned is always inferior in the implied comparison. In this respect, what we see at work in this choral poem is fully consistent with the amoebaean exchanges of pastoral poetry or the formal epirrhematic agons of Old Comedy: the second speaker always wins, because he or she gets to one-up their predecessor.

28 Burckhardt (1963), based on his original lectures of 1872; Collins (2004); Dunkel (1979).

Let us observe how this works out in actual practice within the four stanzas. Rosenmeyer and D'Errico want the fourth stanza (36–49) to belong to Agido's semi-chorus, since she is named twice and Hagesichora not at all. However, they are forced into rather desperate measures when it comes to lines 43–45, which quite clearly tell us: 'our famous chorus-leader allows us neither to praise her nor to blame her.' Clearly, the pronoun *nin* has to refer back to Agido, who was the focus of attention in the preceding sentence. D'Errico tries to refer it to the Sun, with which Agido is compared in line 41, but it hardly seems credible that Agido would forbid the rest of her chorus from praising the Sun, which she herself calls upon as a witness, particularly if, as we have posited, the poem celebrates the goddess of the dawn, who is allied with the Sun. Rosenmeyer takes the *nin* as reflexive, suggesting that Agido does not permit the rest of the chorus either to praise her or blame her, in other words to speak of her at all.[29] Yet under his interpretation the chorus does nothing but that for all of lines 39–49.

The following sentence introduced with a *gar* in lines 45–49 also makes better sense under this assumption. Rosenmeyer's interpretation is to the effect that Agido does not allow us to speak of herself because she is conspicuous enough herself that her beauty needs no verbal elaboration. This might be acceptable if a laconic δοκεῖ γὰρ ἤμεν αὔτα ἐκπρεπής were all we had. But the stanza goes on for another four lines elaborating the chorus-leader's beauty with a simile: she stands out as if someone in their dreams were to place a prize-winning horse among mere herds of mixed livestock. Clearly the sense of the passage is not that the girl's beauty is so outstanding that it speaks for itself; if so, no simile would be needed. Rather, the emphasis of the simile is how far her beauty outstrips all rivals: the epithet ἀεθλοφόρον conveys that she is the kind of horse who wins victories in the Panhellenic games by outrunning any other. That the dreamer sees her amid undistinguished βοτοῖς, a word which lumps together all grazing animals from goats to cattle, again suggests that her

29 D'Errico (1957) 25–26; for the same view, see Wade-Gery (1957) 323. For the reflexive pronoun, Rosenmeyer (1966), 340; Puelma (1977) 24–25. Taking *nin* as reflexive is highly problematic. Although Rosenmeyer cites the grammars of Chantraine and Schwyzer–Debrunner, careful examination of their examples suggests that a reflexive use of *nin* in cases like this one is extremely rare. One sometimes finds it used as a reflexive in subordinate clauses or after prepositions, and one sometimes finds the anaphoric dative pronouns also used as reflexives after infinitives and participles, but use of the anaphoric *min* or *nin* after an infinitive, as we would have here, seems very rare indeed: out of the many examples of reflexive use of anaphoric pronouns in Schwyzer–Debrunner (1953) II: 194, only one from Herodotus (1.45) is at all comparable. Given the rarity of this construction, our natural tendency would be to take *nin* in reference to someone other than the chorus-leader who is the subject of the sentence.

uniqueness and distinction are highlighted against the backdrop of universal mediocrity, at least in the subjective judgment of the dreamer who imagines this scene. Accordingly, the sentence beginning δοκεῖ γὰρ … makes better sense as an explanation for why this semi-chorus cannot praise Agido, despite her contribution to the cultic ceremony. Their own chorus-leader (Hagesichora)[30] so outstrips all others, including Agido, that it is impossible to praise anyone else; yet because of Agido's ceremonial importance, they cannot blame her either. It is not a matter of Hagesichora jealously commanding her choristers to praise none other; such a statement would hardly be encomiastic, but would suggest pettiness and conceit. It is rather a matter of no one other than her seeming to the choristers worthy of praise, as if to say: 'Hagesichora is so beautiful that I can't speak of anyone else when I look at her'. Deictic gestures in her direction almost certainly accompanied the transition half-way through the stanza, making it perfectly transparent to the audience who is meant by our χοραγός and who is dismissed as *nin*.[31]

The fifth stanza begins by picking up the horse metaphor with which the fourth stanza ended. This interweaving of stanzas is practiced throughout this poem and provides an element of continuity across the change of speakers; note the connective particle γάρ in the first line of stanzas six, seven, and eight. We have seen it already at the opening of the preceding stanza, which in lines 36–39 continues the gnomic statements that abstract the lessons of the previous myth. However, the second-person question in ἦ οὐχ ὁρῇς; does confirm that we must have a change of speaker here.[32] Whereas the first semi-

30 That χοραγός must refer to Hagesichora rather than Agido has been recognized by most commentators: see Diels (1896) 351–352, pointing to the scholia; Wilamowitz (1897) 253; Van Groningen (1935) 247; Page (1951) 49–50; Garzya (1963) 31–32; Marzullo (1964) 189–192; Griffiths (1972) 22–23; Calame (1977) II: 46–47; Eisenberger (1991) 279–281; Clay (1991) 49; Hutchinson (2001) 86; Luginbill (2009) 37; E.L. Bowie (2011) 43. However, Pavese (1992) 50–57, thinks the χοραγός must be a third person, the trainer of the chorus.

31 E.L. Bowie (2011) 42–43, also believes that deictic gestures would make the referents clear, but he posits that αὔτα and the rest of lines 45–49 must refer to Agido, on the ground that the Enetian horse of lines 50–51 (*men*) has to designate the same person as the dream horse of lines 47–49, but different from the horse with the golden mane in lines 51–54 (*de*), which is specified as Hagesichora. However, one would expect so emphatic a demonstrative αὔτα to refer to the last designated female, which was the χοραγός, who Bowie agrees must be Hagesichora, not to the more remote and unemphatic *nin*. Van Groningen (1935) 247–248, also takes αὔτα as Agido.

32 For the phatic force of this question, see D'Errico (1957) 30. Peponi (2004) 300–301 n. 6, admits that under the assumption of semi-choruses, the second-person must in the first instance be addressed to the other semi-chorus, but ultimately also seeks the attention of the spectating audience.

chorus had merely proposed the horse as a man's dream within a simile, this semi-chorus points deictically to the horse as if it is actually present: 'Don't you see it here? The race-horse is Enetian.' They go on to make their meaning clear in the next sentence: χαίτα can of course refer either to a horse's mane or to a human head of hair, and with the naming of Hagesichora we complete the loop from an unnamed human *laudanda* to simile to metaphor back to the human *laudanda*, this time fully identified with her name.[33] It is interesting that this semi-chorus calls Hagesichora 'my cousin' (τᾶς ἐμᾶς ἀνεψιᾶς, 52), as if to imply a relationship, but not the closest one, appropriate if this is in fact Agido's semi-chorus. We enter the realm of simile and metaphor again as Hagesichora's hair is likened to unalloyed gold and her face is said to be silver. As in the last stanza, we again have an aporetic formula about half-way, suggesting the insufficiency or impossibility of the spoken signifier in the presence of the inimitable signified: Ἀγησιχόρα μὲν αὔτα, echoing the αὔτα we saw back in line 45.

But *men* always gives way to *de*. For all the praise of Hagesichora that the first half of the stanza expresses, no superlatives or comparatives are applied to her. In this respect, the first half of this stanza is different from the second half of the preceding stanza. However, after the *de* of line 58 we do have comparison: 'The one who is second after Agido in beauty runs as a Scythian horse relative to a Lydian.' It is hard to avoid the conclusion that Hagesichora, for all of her excellence, is implicitly ranked second to Agido.[34] Some critics have objected that one cannot have both *men* and *de* in reference to the same person, but Janni refutes this idea with multiple parallels from Greek choral lyric:[35] indeed, we have already seen it in lines 50–51 or later in this poem, in lines 85–87. Even if we take ἁ δὲ δευτέρα as a generic designation, the shift in focalization to Agido is clear. Those who favor assigning this stanza to Hagesichora's semi-chorus or who believe that the chorus does not split, but throughout assigns first rank to Hagesichora, have to produce contorted interpretations of this line. Two approaches have prevailed: some scholars want to construe Agido as nominative rather than accusative so they can maintain her inferiority to Hagesichora. The form of the name itself could indeed be either case. How-

33 Most commentators believe the Enetian horse refers to Hagesichora, who is the focus of the preceding and following lines. However, Peponi (2004) 301, 307, takes it as Agido, perhaps assuming that the *men* must designate a different person from the ἁ δὲ χαίτα of Hagesichora.

34 Diels (1896) 358; van Groningen (1935) 249–250; Bowra (1961) 49–51; Davison (1968) 154, 191–192; Giangrande (1977) 161; Eisenberger (1991) 381; Robbins (1994) 8–9. This is admitted by D'Errico (1957) 26, but he still assigns the stanza to Hagesichora's semi-chorus.

35 Janni (1964) 60–61, followed by Puelma (1977) 29–32, and Giangrande (1977) 161 n. 34, giving more examples. On the other side, see Page (1951) 50–51; Hutchinson (2001) 90.

ever, reading it as nominative requires them to take *ped-* as either a prefix of the verb in tmesis or as an independent adverb after δευτέρα in the sense of 'the second afterward'.[36] Although μετά, of which this is the Laconian form, does sometimes occur adverbially, there are no parallels for its use this way with δευτέρα or with other comparative adjectives. The tmesis must also be rejected, as tmesis seldom takes place with the prefix this far away from the verb. Moreover, μετατρέχω simply does not mean anything like 'run in competition with'. It normally means 'run after something/someone to bring them back'.[37] Accordingly it is far more likely that we should stick to the obvious interpretation of the word order, which is to take *ped-* as a preposition governing the accusative name that follows it directly.[38]

Others have recognized that Agido must be accusative here, but have posited that whoever is second after Agido must be third after Hagesichora and a long way behind both of them.[39] However, nothing in this stanza expresses Hagesichora's primacy before Agido, other than the fact that her praise comes first, which as we have shown before, actually means that she is presented as a foil to Agido. The other problem with this approach is that it suggests a great degree of inferiority on the part of the Colaxian (or Scythian) horse relative to the Ibenian (or Lydian). But in fact the two breeds are more closely matched. Georges Devereux has devoted considerable erudition to the study of ancient horse breeds and argues that the Colaxian horses were in fact a fine cross-bred species used by Scythian royalty, equivalent to the modern Turkmen racers or Ferghana breed.[40] We may find support for the close ranking of the two breeds in the scholia. In addition to the scholia which are included with the original papyrus found in 1855, two later papyri were discovered at Oxyrhynchus and first published by Edgar Lobel in 1957: these include our remains of another *partheneion*,

36 For *ped-* in tmesis, see Garzya (1963) 33–34; Adrados (1973) 336–337; Calame (1983) 330; Hansen (1993) 119, who, however, relies upon an unnecessary emendation of Ἰβηνῷ to εἰβήνοις; Ferrari (2008) 73 n. 1; Schironi (2016) 35. For adverbial *ped-*, see Marzullo (1964) 196–197; Rosenmeyer (1966) 342–343; E.L. Bowie (2011) 43–44. For a more complete doxography and strong arguments against both interpretations, see Campbell (1987) 69–71.

37 See Péron (1987) 44–45.

38 Campbell (1987) 70–71, Eisenberger (1991) 281 n. 22, and Robbins (1994) 8–9, usefully note that this phrase would tend to be heard/read in line with the familiar Homeric formula of someone (Nireus, Ajax) being fairest of the Greeks 'after' Achilles (*Il.* 2.673–674, 17.279–780; *Od.* 11.469–470, 550–551 μετ' ἀμύμονα Πηλείωνα), a phrase also directly connected with evaluating physical appearance. See also n. 41 *infra*.

39 Scheidweiler (1950) 244–245; Page (1951) 47–48. Similarly, Pavese (1992) 65–71, who regards this foil as purely generic.

40 Devereux (1965). However, Pavese (1992) 66–67, argues that the Scythian horse is little more than a pony and obviously inferior to the stereotypically noble and luxurious Lydian.

fr. 3, and what appear to be additional scholia to the Louvre *partheneion*, which scholars nowadays refer to as the B-scholia. One of these B-scholia (fr. 6, col. I = B1.1–10 Calame) relates to the present passage and preserves the opinion of the great Alexandrian scholar Aristarchus that both breeds were conspicuous (ἀμφοτέρων πρεπόντων), but the Ibenian wins the prize. With all of the resources of the Alexandrian library at his disposal and the likelihood that one of the scholars working there had compiled a work on the different horse breeds mentioned in Greek literature, Aristarchus' testimony should not be dismissed as mere fancy; even if he were basing it only on the text of the poem itself, it does indicate how he read the text, namely as implying that the two horses, and thus the two girls, were closely matched, but with the one compared to the Ibenian horse slightly better. Mario Puelma adduced numerous Homeric examples of 'second after So-and-So' as an honorific formula, where 'So-and-So' is someone like Achilles, whose primacy stands beyond question.[41]

This same scholion may provide information about how the ancient commentators, whose knowledge of Greek certainly exceeded our own, viewed the syntax of lines 58–59, but the lacunose state of the papyrus leaves uncertainties. Calame reads the scholion as making Agido nominative, but much depends on how we supplement the gap at the beginning of line 3. In line 2, we have Agido in the nominative case and then in line 3 we have the ending -τέρα, which editors usually reconstruct from Alcman's text as δευτέρα. Calame assumed from these two words that the scholion took Agido as a nominative in Alcman and is thus explaining that she was 'second in beauty' behind Hagesichora.[42] But what this construction ignores is that a whole half-line is missing between Agido and δευτέρα. At the end of line 2, we may have the verbal prefix or preposition *pro-*: either way, it may go on to say that Agido is placed before someone else. The δευτέρα, possibly preceded by an article and particle, more likely begins a new sentence referring to whoever is second after Agido. Accordingly, one can also see the scholion as confirming a construction of Agido as accusative in the lines.

The allusion to the Pleiades in lines 60–63 has perhaps attracted more attention than any other crux in the poem, and in my opinion has given rise to much

41 Puelma (1977) 29–31, followed by Campbell (1987) 70–71 (who adds more examples), and Monaldi (1991) 258–259. See n. 38 *supra*.

42 Calame (1983) 330. So also Schironi (2016) 35, based on the supplement of Page *dubitanter*, supported by Garzya (1963) 34–35 n. 58, and Römer (2013) 22–24: Ἀγιδὼ πρὸ[ς Ἀγησιχόραν δευ]τέρα. However, δευτέρος is normally used with μετά, as in Alcman's text, or a genitive of comparison, not with πρός. Römer thinks the scholiast is wrong and argues in favor of taking Agido as accusative.

learned silliness. There are essentially three points of view: (1) that 'Pleiades' is the name of a completely separate rival chorus against which this one is competing,[43] (2) that it is a metaphor for the two chorus-leaders Agido and Hagesichora,[44] and (3) that it merely refers to the familiar constellation of that name.[45] It is the third view that I regard as the most straightforward and therefore preferable.

But first, let us dispose of the other two, more popular views. There is no evidence whatsoever that ancient choruses had special monikers like modern sports teams. Nor is there any evidence outside of this passage that this *partheneion* is part of a poetic competition against other choruses performing in the same genre. Indeed, our reconstruction of the probable cultic context as a pre-dawn ceremony led by the two priestesses in the cult of the Leucippides makes it very unlikely that other choruses were involved, as Dawn can only take so long to occur and there were only two Leucippides; although the Leucippides may have interacted with the chorus of Dionysiades in the very different context of Dionysiac sacrifices (see Pausanias 3.13.7 and lines 98–99 of this poem), Dionysian cult is not the occasion of the present ceremony.[46]

Similarly, the strange idea that 'Pleiades' was somehow a special name for Agido and Hagesichora implies that we do not see the two chorus-leaders as in any sense competing with each other for attention, but competing against, even 'fighting' against the other girls of the chorus (or, in the interpretation

43 Diels (1896) 359–361, thinking they are the girls named in the next strophe; Bowra (1934) 41–42, thinking they are the Dionysiades; Bowra (1961) 56–60; Scheidweiler (1950) 245–247; Page (1951) 52–57; West (1965a) 197; Rosenmeyer (1966) 344; Adrados (1973) 333–338, thinking they are Agido's competing chorus; cf. Eisenberger (1991) 282–283. An innovative modification of this view is that of E.L. Bowie (2011) 47–62, who speculates that 'Pleiades' was a local cult name of the harpy-like, girl-snatching Sirens mentioned in lines 96–98.

44 Wilamowitz (1897) 255–257; Schwenn (1937) 299–300; Garzya (1954) 52–55; Marzullo (1964) 197–200; Puelma (1977) 34–35; Giangrande (1977) 153–164; Calame (1977) II: 75–77, and (1983) 332; Gentili (1988) 73–74; Monaldi (1991) 259–260; Pavese (1992) 71–76; Robbins (1994) 9; Segal (1998) 26–32; Peponi (2004) 303; Schironi (2016) 37; Martin (2023) 165–166.

45 Van Groningen (1935) 252–255; D'Errico (1957) 28; Burnett (1964); Davison (1968) 158–160; Griffiths (1972) 17; Gianotti (1978); Clay (1991) 61; Hutchinson (2001) 90–93; Priestley (2007) 190–193; Luginbill (2009) 40. In an exhaustive recent treatment of the cosmological imagery in Alcman, Ferrari (2008) 83–104, takes the Pleiades as stars, but may be reading too much into the text to speak of the chorus as Hyades, who, although traditionally sisters linked to the Pleiades, are not mentioned in this poem; nor do any of the parallel passages which do mention the Pleiades and Hyades together speak of them "fighting," but only moving together, as Eckerman (2009) 2–3 observes.

46 However, Bowra (1934) argued with little evidence for a joint cult of Helen and Dionysus, with the Leucippides as priestesses of Dionysus.

of Calame, 'fighting for' the rest of the chorus).[47] Again, there is no evidence elsewhere in the poem for antagonism between the two leaders and the rest of the chorus; the rest of the chorus spends most of its time praising one or both of them. Alternatively, if they are 'fighting for' the rest of the chorus, it is left unclear against whom they are fighting, and this interpretation involves an unusual construction of this verb with the dative.

On the other hand, it makes perfectly good sense for the 'Pleiades' to be simply the Pleiades. If, as we have hypothesized, this song is dedicated to the Dawn goddess and invokes her epiphany in the nighttime sky, the chorus as a whole is effectively 'doing battle' with the night and all its stars in their very act of bearing a dedication to Orthria. The Pleiades are frequently invoked as appearing in the night sky immediately before dawn, as we see in Euripides, *Rhesus* 526–537 and *Phaethon*, fr. 773.63–66 Kannicht.[48] It is appropriate for the chorus to refer to itself 'doing battle' against the Pleiades, because in a metaphorical way, they are a chorus of seven stars in the sky; indeed, the Theocritean scholia attribute to Callimachus (= fr. 693 Pf.) a story to the effect that when the Pleiades actually were seven maidens, they first instituted *choreia* and the *pannychis*, the all-night women's ritual. Given Callimachus' extensive familiarity with archaic traditions and his probable knowledge of all Alcman's poems, it seems to me quite conceivable that this detail is something he drew out of Alcman's own work or that of another poet writing a maidens' song.

Proper understanding of this passage has been hindered by a widespread misreading of its syntax, which was correctly interpreted by Martin West in 1965, and then subsequently misinterpreted again. Most critics want to take the phrase νύκτα δι' ἀμβροσίαν ἅτε σήριον ἄστρον with the following participle ἀυηρομένοι and thus refer it to the Pleiades, inferring that they rise through the night sky menacingly, like the baneful Dog-star Sirius. West saw that it is patent nonsense to compare the Pleiades, all of whom are very faint, with Sirius, which is one of the brightest stars in the sky. He therefore proposed that we should instead take the phrase with the participle that precedes it, namely φεροίσαις: it therefore means: 'The rising Pleiades do battle with us as we bear a *pharos* to the Dawn, like the Dog-star in the immortal night.'[49] In other words, the cho-

47 Calame (1983) 332; Martin (2023) 165–166.

48 For these and other parallels, see Griffiths (1972) 17, and Gianotti (1978) 269–270.

49 West (1965a) 197–198. His interpretation was rejected by Giangrande (1977) 154 n. 21, but otherwise ignored. Another variant translation which avoids comparing the faint Pleiades to the brilliant Sirius is that of Garzya (1954) 52–55 and Priestley (2007) 180–187, who see the Sirius simile as a comparison to the brilliance of the robe, based on numerous epic comparanda where robes are said to be like stars.

rus boasts that they outshine the seven maidens in the sky just as much as the Dog-star does; once the chorus succeeds in getting Dawn to make her epiphany, the Pleiades will be nothing but a faint memory, drowned out in the light of a brilliant newcomer.

I have left the word *pharos* untranslated. We would normally expect this to mean 'robe' (φᾶρος) and we do have obvious parallels for dedication of a robe to a goddess by the city's women in both Homer (*Iliad* 6.286–312, of the Trojan women entreating Athena) and the ritual of the Panathenaea.[50] However, the scholia cite Sosiphanes as claiming that the word here means 'plow' (φάρος). Although it is not really essential to my interpretation, I suspect this may be right. Instead of Dawn driving a chariot through the sky, perhaps we are to imagine her driving a plow that cleaves a line between night and day. The instrument conjures up associations with agriculture and sexual fertility; plowing the earth is a frequent metaphor for the intercourse of man and woman.[51] Given that the Pleiades not only make their appearance immediately before dawn, but in the springtime, this passage may give us important information about the time of year during which the ritual occurs. It is not only at the birth of the day, but the birth of the agricultural year, and of course of the young maidens' sexual maturity.[52]

It is significant that the end of the strophe emphasizes the action of the chorus as a corporate entity as it worships the Dawn goddess and fights the night. The quasi-military language is picked up by Hagesichora's semi-chorus in line 65 with the verb ἀμύναι.[53] Note the postpositive γάρ at the opening of the strophe: **for** the jewelry, fine dress, and gold of the semi-chorus (64–72) are

50 In favor of the robe, see the comments of Calame (1977) II: 128–130, and especially Priestley (2007) with extensive doxography.

51 In general, see duBois (1988) 65–82. For the plow as a symbol of procreative fecundity in this passage particularly, see Gentili (1988) 74. For other arguments in favor of the plow, see Bowra (1934) 35–36; Giangrande (1977) 151–153; Luginbill (2009) 41–42.

52 If we date the time of the poem's performance to the heliacal rising of the Pleiades (early May), Sirius will not yet be visible in the sky (as it does not appear until mid-July). But it does not need to be visible, as the chorus takes its metaphorical place, outshining the dim Pleiades by conjuring up the dawn. Alternatively, we might think of the Pleiades' setting 40 days earlier, at the end of the winter and very beginning of spring, when it is properly time to bring out the plow (Hesiod, *Op.* 614–617; Aratus, *Phaen.* 254–267). This is the critical point at which the Pleiades are defeated in battle and disappear completely.

53 For the close connection of these two verbs, see E.L. Bowie (2011) 44–45. However, Rosenmeyer (1966) 346–347, would water down ἀμύναι to mean 'respond' in the sense of one semi-chorus replying to the other in amoebaean form, but this relatively rare usage is confined to the middle.

not by themselves sufficiently bright, in comparison with the joint dedication of the robe/plow by the full chorus in competition with the Pleiades (60–63). We have already observed that this whole sixth strophe is structured as a priamel: no excess of purple raiment, golden jewelry, nor even the girls themselves, in all their beauty, will be enough to defend them against the night.[54] Only Hagesichora suffices for the task. Aside from Hagesichora and Aenesimbrota, to whom we shall come in a moment, we should note that eight girls in total are named, in two equally balanced groups of four: the first two in both groups each receive a whole line, followed by two girls who share a line. This division conforms well with the hypothesis of two semi-choruses; if we add the chorus-leaders Agido and Hagesichora, each group will have five and the total will be ten, which as we have seen agrees with the total number assigned to the chorus in line 99.

Who then is Aenesimbrota in line 73, mediating the two groups of four? Why is her house considered a place of resort? Because of the erotic language in the following lines, West thought that she must be a well-known local witch who mixed and sold love potions, but I favor the older view that she was the girls' chorus trainer or sponsor.[55] Peter Wilson's work on the institution of the choregia in Athens makes it clear that one of the choregus' principal functions was to provide a space for the chorus to be trained, usually his own house, as well as feeding it during the period of training, providing a teacher or assistants, and purchasing the necessary costumes.[56] I would regard Aenesimbrota as likely a prominent and wealthy Spartan lady with a large house who fulfilled many of the same functions for the training of this girls' chorus. Her very name, 'the one who praises mortals', suggests as much, just as the names Hagesichora and Agido are both built on the root meaning 'to lead'. All the female names in this part of the poem are in my judgment names adopted for the role they play, not their real names.[57] The poem was likely intended for repeat perfor-

54 On the priamel structure here, see Race (1982) 54–55; Ferrari (2008) 81.

55 West (1965a) 199–200; Puelma (1977) 40–41; Robbins (1994) 11 n. 25. Eisenberger (1991) 283–284, argues strongly against such an identification. For Aenesimbrota as a music teacher responsible for the girls' training, see Diels (1896) 365; Wilamowitz (1897) 260; Page (1951) 65; Calame (1977) 11: 96–97; Hinge (2006) 292.

56 Wilson (2000) 71–89 surveys the various duties of an Athenian choregus, citing Antiphon 6.11 for the choregus' own house as a training space.

57 For these *redende Namen*, see Calame (1977) 11: 140–142; Nagy (1990b) 347–348; Hinge (2006) 290–292; Ferrari (2008) 82. Hinge (2009) 217–218 regards all the names in this poem, including the eight girls mentioned in the sixth strophe, as such generic names, rather than individuals.

mance at the same festival every year, with different girls participating, which explains why such a seemingly occasional piece of verse survived until Alexandrian times.[58]

If we accept that the two groups of four girls represent the followers of Agido and Hagesichora respectively, which group is which? In keeping with the principle that the latter term always takes precedence over the former term, I would propose that the first four girls are Agido's followers. The stanza should thus be understood as addressed to the first group of girls by the second group: 'you may think that you can fight off the Pleiades, but neither your splendid clothing, nor your jewelry, nor you yourselves will be enough to do so.[59] No, not even if you go to Aenesimbrota's and say that you wish we would become yours, would it be enough. Hagesichora keeps us on her side'. The verb τηρεῖ occasions controversy, since in the archaic Laconian alphabet this could equally well have been τείρει, which appears to have been the reading of the scholia (fr. 7, col. i(b) = B3 Calame).[60] So is the semi-chorus saying that Hagesichora watches over them and keeps them safe from seduction (τηρεῖ)[61] or is it continuing the erotic language of the preceding lines by saying that Hagesichora herself makes them pine with love (τείρει)?[62] I am genuinely undecided. Either way, the essential point remains the same: the semi-chorus declare their abiding loyalty to their leader Hagesichora, who stands as the cap to this strophe's priamel of enumerated insufficiency.

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58 On reperformance as key to the transmission of such an occasional work, see Hinge (2006) 292–294; Ferrari (2008) 82–83; Carey (2011) 454–456.

59 Pavese (1992) 86–87, objects to these eight girls being names of the choreuts on the grounds that elsewhere in Greek choral lyric, we never see the performers naming themselves. But as we have noted before, we cannot necessarily assume that the conventions of a cultic song like this one are the same as we find in epinician choral lyric two centuries later. Hutchinson (2001) 94 points to self-naming of chorus-members in Aristophanes.

60 Römer (2013) 29–30. However, Davison (1968) 189–195 doubted Lobel's reading of the papyrus here.

61 Schwenn (1937) 307–308, arguing that this verb complements ἀμύναι at the beginning of the strophe; Stoessl (1947) 99; Griffiths (1972) 22; Hooker (1979) 220; Eisenberger (1991) 285–286; Luginbill (2009) 45.

62 For parallel uses of this verb (most prominently, Hesiod, fr. 298 MW) and other arguments for taking it in the erotic sense, see Page (1951) 91; Marzullo (1964) 205; West (1965a) 199; Adrados (1973) 328; Puelma (1977) 39–40; Calame (1977) II: 89–90, and (1983) 339–340; Pavese (1992) 84; Hutchinson (2001) 96. D'Errico (1957) 30–33, and Rosenmeyer (1966) 348–349, both of whom assign this strophe to Agido's semi-chorus, are forced to take τείρει in a non-erotic sense, to the effect that Hagesichora irritates them; this use of the verb is not well-supported by parallels. Bowra (1961) 61, argues for 'tire out' in the sense of making the chorus exhausted with her praise.

Again, we see the following strophe interweave with the last one by picking up on its final point. After Hagesichora's semi-chorus names her in the last line, Agido's semi-chorus picks up her name in its first two lines, but goes on to say, '**for** [note the particle γάρ again] isn't Hagesichora right here next to Agido, doesn't she praise the banquet along with our chorus-leader?' The parallelism with the attention-grabbing rhetorical question that Agido's semi-chorus used to commence their previous strophe (the fifth) in line 50 is clear: there, too, they pointed deictically to Hagesichora (imaged as an Enetian steed), and later asserted that she was running along beside their chorus-leader Agido like two fine horses (58–59), and the chorus stood together in opposition to the fading Pleiades (60–63). In the present (seventh) strophe, the union of the two leaders moves beyond metaphor to literal presence before them, praising the ritual banquet and offering prayers, which the gods are asked to receive (82–83). This stands as an effective reply to the previous strophe's emphasis on the separation of the two groups: in effect, they are saying: 'why shouldn't we join together, since our two chorus-leaders stand side-by-side, jointly praising the banquet and praying to the gods?' The semi-chorus goes on first to address their own chorus-leader in line 84,[63] declaring their insufficiency when left on their own (ἐγὼν μὲν αὐτά …), sounding like a screech-owl from the rafters; but they nevertheless wish to please Aotis, who has healed their toils, presumably by finally appearing and thus allowing their song and dance to come to an end. As lines 90–91 assert, their toils have presumably also come to an end because, in virtue of Hagesichora (ἐξ Ἀγησιχόρας, alternatively 'from/on her side'), the young women of the other semi-chorus have set foot upon the lovely path of peace. With the two chorus-leaders united in their ritual devotions, the semi-choruses themselves can reunite for the last strophe.

Significantly, the last strophe (again punctuated with a γάρ) mentions the name of neither chorus-leader, but does speak metaphorically of a trace-horse in line 92 and a ship-captain in line 94, twin figures who control the direction of their teams on land and sea respectively. The chorus can now speak of itself as a united group of ten, not more tuneful than the Sirens, for they are goddesses, but like the swan on the river Xanthus.

To illustrate and summarize my analysis, I provide the table below:

63 The χοροστάτις must be Agido, as one would not address the same person in the vocative in the interior of the strophe and then shift back to an objective third person at the end (line 90). As a dative in line 80 and the last person named, Agido is more appropriate to receive the shift into focus that the vocative interpellates. Hagesichora is third-person in both line 79 and line 90.

First Three Strophes (1–35) *United chorus*	Myth of the Hippocoontids rising above their station in pursuit of the Leucippids, and being slain by the Dioscuri.
Fourth Strophe (36–49) *Hagesichora's semi-chorus*	Foil (39–43): Praise of Agido, who shines like the sun. Cap (43–49): But our chorus-leader excels all, like a prize-winning racehorse among indiscriminate herds.
Fifth Strophe (50–63) *Agido's semi-chorus*	Foil (50–57): Hagesichora is like an Enetian steed. Cap (58–63): But she runs second to Agido. All of us together outshine the Pleiades, as we summon Dawn.
Sixth Strophe (64–77) *Hagesichora's semi-chorus*	Foil (64–76): All your finery and beauty won't be enough, even if you woo us to your side. Cap (77): Hagesichora watches/captivates us.
Seventh Strophe (78–91) *Agido's semi-chorus*	Foil (78–84): Isn't Hagesichora standing with Agido, performing the ritual? Cap (84–91): Address to Agido, as Dawn relieves them of their toil and Hagesichora's girls join them in peace.
Eighth Strophe (92–105) *Reunified chorus*	All chorus members together with their two leaders stand as ten equal to the eleven Dionysiades, not as tuneful as the divine Sirens, but like the mortal swan on the river Xanthus.

CHAPTER 2

Forms of Melic Poetry as Musical and Ritualistic Acts Referring to the Divine: Neither "Lyric", nor "Sacred"

Claude Calame

"Lyric" and the "sacred"? There have been many calls over the past thirty years, particularly in our approach to manifestations of Greek culture, for an attempt to return to indigenous concepts and categories.[1] It is a fundamental requirement of any anthropological approach to a different culture, distant in time and/or space. Furthermore, insofar as pre-classical Greece has essentially come down to us through poetic texts, such an approach based on social and cultural anthropology, founded on comparison between cultures, is crucial; it is essential for the reconstruction of the semantic thickness, of the modes of utterance, of the pragmatics, and thus of the ethnographic and cultural context of language productions considered as forms of discourse and here as poetic creations that refer to significant practices.

Moreover, the return to the constituent values and categories specific to the "other" culture requires us to make a critical effort to engage in transcultural translation. Clearly, Greek "emic" terms and concepts should be transposed into our own, "etic" terms and concepts.[2] This translation work necessitates, from our own scholarly perspective, operational concepts that must be used critically, while being careful not to essentialise them; and, following the example of "gender," they should be adapted to our own constantly evolving social, academic, and cultural paradigm.

This is particularly true of the various forms of poetry produced and realised in a distant culture, in this case in the cultures of the Greek *poleis* which,

1 For my part, see the first call I made in Calame (1991) and (2008) for a departure from both the modern concepts of "myth" and "ritual" with an anthropological call to go back to "native," "emic" categories. I hope that readers of this chapter will excuse my self-referential tendency in mentioning previous publications; I do, however, recognise my debt to the many studies on the poems discussed here. Lucia Athanassaki and André Lardinois subjected a preliminary version of this study to a careful reading. I would like to thank them for their useful suggestions. Rosemary Tzanaki has translated this article from the French.

2 For the concept and practice of transcultural translation in anthropology, see my study Calame (2002), particularly the nuances introduced by Olivier de Sardan (1998) to the distinction between "emic" and "etic" proposed by Kenneth L. Pike.

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between the seventh and the sixth century BCE, are defined as 'song cultures': sung and danced poetic forms whose text and staging are attributed to poets such as Alcman, Sappho, Pindar, or Bacchylides, and which correspond to ritualised musical performances, often choral.[3] In an attempt at intercultural translation that is as delicate as it is difficult, the anthropological attitude, based, where these song forms are concerned, on an ethnopoetics, imposes a double requirement on us: it is not only a question of carrying out a semantic study of proper terms (such as the term μῦθος), but also one of criticising our own terms and concepts (such as the name and notion of "myth").

This double requirement compels us, first of all, to abandon the term and concept of lyric (poetry) in order to adopt that of *melos* ('melic poetry'). Let us recall once more that in the *Republic*, having discussed the content of tales (λόγους τε καὶ μύθους!) foregrounding gods and heroes, and having investigated the different mimetic forms adopted by poets for their narratives, Socrates proposes to address the musical form that these may assume. According to the definition provided by Plato, which may go back to Damon of Athens, *melos* implies three components: words (λόγος), harmony (ἁρμονία) and rhythm (ῥυθμός), in other words the song, the tune, and a cadence often corresponding to the choreography.[4] Taken in its limited sense of "melody," *melos* generally refers to words sung and danced to instrumental accompaniment. Thus, there is no "lyric" in pre-classical Greece in the romantic and modern meaning of the term: an author's poetic expression of his most personal and intimate feelings.

Nor is there the "sacred," but rather ἱερόν or ἱερά, as a substantive adjective designating the practices or spaces reserved for a deity, ἱερός as a qualifier of every action and place in which a divine power is present and active. So this is not the "sacred" that is contrasted, in the modern history of religions, to the "profane," as in Mircea Eliade,[5] for example. This modern notion of the sacred is also inscribed in Émile Durkheim's famous definition of religion: 'A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden—beliefs and practices which unite in one single moral community called a Church [*sic*], all those who adhere to them'.[6]

3 The term 'song culture' was first coined by Herington (1985) 3–5 in an introductory chapter with the title 'Poetry as Performing Art'. Cf. Kurke (2000).

4 Plato, *Republic* 398bd; for the concept of *melos*, see Calame (1998), (2008) and (2019), and for the different designations of poetic song Calame (2017c).

5 Eliade (1949).

6 Durkheim (1912) and (1998) 65; see also p. 50 for a first opposition between "sacred" and "profane." For the concepts of ἱερόν and ἱερά, see Rudhardt (1992), and more recently Blok (2017) 57–99. For the modern concept of religion, see the references I give in Calame (2023).

In the Greek cities, however, political life is not only punctuated by the cultic festivals of the tutelary gods of the civic community, but the gods and heroes are constantly called upon to intervene in domains which, for us, would come under the heading of the "profane." Among the means of communication with the gods that provoke their presence and ask for their intervention in the city, are different forms of melic poetry realised in musical and ritual performances. The historical anthropology perspective and the ethnopoetic approach of ritual poetry adopted here should prevent any risk of essentialisation, if not naturalisation, of modern notions: these are simply operational concepts relating to a particular state, located in academic time and space, of reflection and research in the humanities and social sciences.

1 The New Poems of Sappho and Relationships with the Divine

Then what about the multiple forms of melic poetry produced by poets such as Alcman, Sappho, Pindar, or Bacchylides, and frequently sung by choral groups in their relationships with gods and goddesses (and heroes and heroines)? Do these different forms of sung and danced poetry correspond to what we would consider ritual acts? We have had the opportunity to note on a number of occasions that these poems regularly offer performative verb forms (in the linguistic sense of the concept referring to speech acts), such as ἀείδω ('I sing'), gestures of spatial (suffix -δε) or temporal (νῦν) *deixis* referring to the *hic et nunc* of the poem's performance, and direct addresses to a deity who is named and qualified in the hymnic mode of *asyndeton*. One of the best-known examples comes from the first lines of the poem that opened the Alexandrian edition of Sappho, the so-called *Hymn to Aphrodite* (frs. 1, 1–2 and 5):

> Ποικιλόθρον᾽ ἀθανάτ᾽ Ἀφρόδιτα,
> παῖ Διὸς δολόπλοκε, λίσσομαι σε,
> …
> ἀλλὰ τυίδ᾽ ἔλθε …
>
> Ornate-throned immortal Aphrodite,
> wile-weaving daughter of Zeus, I entreat you
> …
> but come here …
>
> trans. CAMPBELL [1982]

Written in a metre known as the Sapphic stanza, these lines were sung and in all likelihood chorally danced to instrumental accompaniment;[7] where Sappho's compositions are concerned, this instrument is generally the lyre. However, the question arises whether these poems correspond to speech acts apparently indicated by first-person verb forms such as λίσσομαι σε, 'I entreat you'. Might not these be song acts? Musical and ritual acts addressed to a deity?

Let us begin with the two "newest" poems of the poetess of Lesbos, despite the flood of commentaries of which they have since formed the object. Firstly, the first two strophes of the Kypris Poem:[8]

⊗ πῶς κε δή τις οὐ θαμέως ἄϲαιτο,
Κύπρι, δέϲποιν', ὅττινα δὴ φίλ[ηϲι
κωὐ] θέλοι μάλιϲτα πάθος χἀλ[αϲ]ϲ[αι
τῶ γ'] ὀνέχηϲθα;

πᾶι ϲάλοιϲί μ' ἀλεμάτως δαΐϲδ[ηϲϲ
ἰμέρωι λύϲϲαντι; γόνωμ', ἄναϲ[ϲα.
πόλλ' ἀπά(μ)μαι μ', οὐ πρότερ' ἦϲ[θα – x
οὔτ' ὀνεέρξαι

How is it possible not to become endlessly dizzy now,
O Kypris, mistress, whoever the person whom one loves,
how is it possible not to want to be delivered from the suffering
which you impose?

Why in vain do you stir me up and tear me apart
with maddening desire? I implore you, queen,
you make me suffer so much; before you were not [...
and you did not repress me [...

Despite the extremely fragmentary state of the document, we observe that not only does the poem open with a direct address to Aphrodite, called 'mistress' in an appeal to her divine power, but also this first line is marked by an

7 On the choral performance of Sappho's poetry, see Calame (1996) and (2009), Lardinois (1996), Ferrari (2010) and Ladianou (2016).

8 Sappho fr. 26. After the *editio princeps* provided by Obbink (2016) 267, here I follow the text proposed by Neri (2017) 18. See my commentary in Boehringer and Calame (2019) 130–136, and now Neri (2021) 606–614.

emphatic gesture of actualisation, if not verbal *deixis*, by the demonstrative δή:[9] the question addressed to the goddess of erotic desire is thus inscribed in the present moment of the poem's musical performance. Unfortunately, as is generally the case in Sappho's poems, no allusion is made to the precise spatiotemporal coordinates of this emphatic process as a sung performative act, *hic et nunc*, especially given that in these lines the inspirer of desire is entirely anonymous, corresponding to an undefined τις. In the second strophe, the address to the goddess continues with reference to the subjugating effects of erotic desire, here incarnated in the power designated by the term ἵμερος, a desire so strong that it drives one mad. Might this mean that this poem returns once more to the specifically feminine "intimacy" perceived in Sappho's poems by several modern interpreters, from Denys Page to Eva Stehle via John J. Winkler?[10]

When we turn to the 'Brothers poem' (fr. 10), these equally Sapphic strophes seem to allude much more precisely to an apparently "personal" situation. If the 'you' to whom the poetic speech is addressed remains anonymous, similar to the undefined τις of the Kypris Poem, the third-person protagonist of the relationship with the poetic 'I' here receives a double name: firstly Charaxos, Sappho's older brother according to the Oxyrhynchus biographical note, and secondly Larichos, her younger brother, probably still an adolescent, the poetess's favourite according to the same note.[11] It will be observed that, again in terms of enunciation, the poetic 'I' of the first two surviving strophes becomes 'us' at the beginning of the third: 'may he (Charaxos) find us in good health' (line 13).

Lacking the first one or two strophes of the song, we do not know what gesture of *deixis* it opened with. In the lacunose state in which the text has come down to us, we have to wait until the final strophe for the 'we' stated in conjunction with the emphatic particle δή; the emphasis placed on the undefined moment (πότε) when Larichos will finally have become a man, in a time and space when the wish expressed by the poetic 'we' will come to pass, in the near future:[12]

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9 Denniston (1954) 203–227 confers an emphatic value on the particle δή, which he translates as 'verily', 'actually', 'indeed', apparently independently of any demonstrative value. The frequent use of the particle δή in melic poetry, however, confirms the value of evidence and confirmation accorded it by Kühner and Gerth (1904) 123–131: evidence of what is before the eyes when δή indicates a present situation.

10 See on this subject the references provided in my study Calame (2013a) 48–51.

11 *POxy*. 1800 fr. 1 = Sappho test. 1 Campbell = 252 Neri.

12 For the meaning of δή ποτε, cf. Denniston (1954) 213.

κἄμμες, αἴ κε τὰν κεφάλαν ἀέρρῃ
Λάριχος καὶ δή ποτ᾽ ἄνηρ γένηται,
καὶ μάλ᾽ ἐκ πόλλαν βαρυθυμίαν κεν
αἶψα λύθειμεν. ⊗

And we, when Larichos lifts up his head
and really becomes a man,
will immediately be released
from great heavy-heartedness

In contrast, in terms of *hieron* as ritual practice and of the relationship with divinity, Sappho's new song offers a particularly interesting enunciative staging. Not only does what is, for us, the first strophe offer an invocation of the knowledge held by Zeus and all the gods (θεοί); but the second strophe of the song corresponds to an indirect invitation by the anonymous 'you' to the poetic 'I' to implore Hera, here called 'queen' (βασίληαν, line 10): the person singing the poem asks to be charged by the anonymous 'you' to address Hera so that Charaxos may return τυίδε (line 11), here and now![13] The rationale of this indirect invitation is indicated by the enunciative transition from 'I' forms to 'we' forms: all things should be entrusted to the gods (δαιμόνεσσι), and only the king of Olympus can send a divine helper (δαίμονα, line 18), only Zeus can get men out of trouble and make them happy and prosperous.

Even if, from an enunciative point of view, Sappho's melic poem is not rendered as an act of singing, even if in its discursive dimension it does not apparently correspond to a specific ritual act, the power of the gods runs through the whole poem with the reference to a prayer to Hera, asking her to intervene in the present human situation.

2 Sappho Again: Ritual and Circumstances of Enunciation

But this is not all. The two sets of lines preserved in *P. Köln* 21351 should also be taken into account. Firstly, we have the lines—unfortunately fragmentary—which supplement the few lines listing the physiological drawbacks of old age

13 The different interpretations of this indirect invitation are considered in particular by Lardinois (2016) 181–187; on Hera as a 'queen' associated with Zeus, see Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti (2014) 209–212 (see also pp. 194–199) and Boedeker (2016). See also Pironti's contribution to this volume.

(fr. 58c); the point is illustrated by a version, refocused on the permanence of the voice, of the tale of the abduction of the young Tithonus by Aurora. I have explained elsewhere the sound reasons for integrating the two lines incompletely quoted by Athenaeus as the conclusion to the poem (fr. 58d):

> ἔγω δὲ φίλημμ᾽ ἀβροσύναν,....]τοῦτο καί μοι
> τὸ λά[μπρον ἔρος τὠελίω καὶ τὸ κά]λον λέ[λ]ογχε. ⊗
>
> As for me, I love the lush refinement (of youth) ...] this, for me also
> eros has made mine the splendour and beauty of the sun.[14]

Although, rather unexpectedly, these two concluding lines offer neither a gesture of *deixis* indicating the *hic et nunc* of the poem's performance nor any address to a deity, the poem is addressed from the very first line to anonymous παῖδες, probably a choral group of young girls.

More interesting, however, for the purposes of this discussion are the lines preceding this poem in the Cologne Papyrus (fr. 58b). In what is probably a concluding invocation of the Muse, we note the performative verb form ἀείδω, 'I sing'; and, corresponding to the last word of the poem, this act of singing is undertaken by a poetic 'I' expressed in the feminine voice (ἔλοισα). Moreover, and most importantly, the moment of the present celebration, including the musical performance of the poem, is not only marked by the reference to the present moment conveyed by the classic νῦν, 'now', but is actually pinpointed: it is a θαλία, a 'flourishing festival' like those of the Muses, as they sing in voices full of erotic allure and dance with the Charites and Himeros.[15]

This finally brings us to Sappho's song for Hera (fr. 17), whose fragmentary text has been improved by the very recent publication of small papyrus fragments. I, along with other scholars, have had the opportunity on two occasions to comment on these fragmentary lines, also composed in Sapphic strophes. Concerning the relationship between melic poetry and ritual practices addressed to a deity, I will limit myself to six points:

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14 The grammatical structure of the line makes it impossible to choose between the translation proposed here or the following: 'with me the desire of the sun has shared the brightness and the beauty'; for references to the incorporation of these two lines in the poem and how they are to be understood, see Calame (2013a) 58–60 with reference to earlier studies; see also the study by Boehringer (2013), and now the extended commentary by Neri (2021) 673–677.

15 Cf. Hesiod, *Theogony* 63–67, in conjunction with the name of the Muse Thalia (line 77); see the parallels provided by West (1966) 177–178.

– The poem opens with an address to 'powerful Hera' corresponding to a cultic invocation: the goddess is probably called upon to be present near the poetic 'I': πλάσιον δη μ̣[ ] πότνι' ϝΗρα, 'Here, near me (?), [appear …] powerful Hera'.[16]
– This ritual invocation is stressed by the emphatic particle δή: it is doubtless uttered by the singer, here and now.
– Due to the double staging, in the following lines, first of the figure of Zeus and then of the 'son of Thyone', meaning Dionysus, the space of the sung performance of the poem is easily identified: it is definitely the famous Pan-Lesbian sanctuary of Messon alluded to in two contemporary poems by Alcaeus, where three deities were jointly venerated: Zeus of Suppliants, Hera the Aeolian and Dionysus Kemelios.[17]
– In terms of enunciation, the heroic time of the Atreides' sojourn on the isle of Lesbos, at that same sanctuary of Messon, on their return from Troy, is mentioned twice, in deictic fashion, in the present tense. The poetic narrative tells how the Atreides 'first around Ilion […] left to come here' (τυίδε, line 7), to the island of Lesbos, if not the very sanctuary of Messon; the poetic 'I' then explicitly connects this heroic past to the present of the song's performance by means of the classic 'and now' (νῦν δέ, line 11). It should be noted that this past is, as in Herodotus and Thucydides, indicated by a word depending on πάλαι, 'older times', and not 'myth'.[18]
– It will also be noted that, still within the enunciative dimension of the poem, the narrative is partly formulated in the second rather than the third person, since Hera, the goddess invoked, is one of its protagonists (line 10): 'but they [i.e. the Atreides] could not find their way before meeting you [i.e. Hera] and Zeus the god of suppliants … as well as the charming son of Thyone [i.e. Dionysus] …'. There is significant overlap here between the two discursive modes operatively distinguished by the linguist Émile Benveniste: statements of the "narrative" type (in the third person, for narrative and assertive acts set in the past and in a different space), and those of the "discursive" type (expressed in the first and second person by gestures of enunciative *deixis* referring to the here and now of the linguistic utterance).[19]

16 For the figure of the goddess invoked in Sappho's poem, see Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti (2014) and (2016) 205–207.

17 Alcaeus fr. 129 and 130B; for the relationship of these poems to the sanctuary of Messon, see Caciagli (2010) and (2019), and Boedeker (2016) 196–200, along with the detailed commentary by Neri (2021) 586–594.

18 On the sense of παλαιόν as a synonym of ἀρχαῖον, designating the heroic past, cf. Calame (2011a) 66–70.

19 I therefore repeat here, in a purely operative way, the distinction outlined by Benveniste

– Lastly, as a sort of echo of the θαλία mentioned in the very fragmentary closing lines of the first poem contained in the Cologne Papyrus, the ritual occasion of the song is stated at the start: it is a 'festival' [...] (ἑορτ[. , line 2), apparently full of charm.[20]

3 Where Is the "Here"? When Is the "Now"?

In one of the chapters published under the title *Textual Events*, a collection of studies on the problem of performance for the "lyric" of archaic Greece, Giambattista D'Alessio has questioned whether demonstratives ending in -δε, such as τυίδε (or δή ...), refer really directly to what I would call the "performative" context, in other words the extra-discursive context of performance of melic poems. On the subject of the poem by Sappho, he states:

> There is certainly nothing in the text that *even* implies that the poem presents itself as part of a song performance, let alone a choral performance as taken for granted by Burris, Fish, and Obbink[21] [...]. In fact, the emphatic opening with a word meaning 'close' might actually be suggestive of a discourse that locates itself not quite at the center of the performance itself, but at its margin.

And he concludes:

> We should allow for the possibility that many, if not perhaps most, of Sappho's poems were intended to be performed *outside* the ritual performance proper, on which their words provided a very much needed [...] commentary and interpretation.[22]

Does this mean that an allusion to a θαλία or the reference to a ἑορτή specifically situated in the Lesbian sanctuary of Messon are merely marginal? Does it mean

(1966) 237–250 and 258–266; on the 'formal apparatus of enunciation', see Calame (1974) 79–88; see the proposed additions, particularly for Greek poetic forms, in Calame (2005) 13–26.

20 On the meaning of ἑορτή, cf. Calame (1991/2008) 56–58.

21 Referring to Burris, Fish, and Obbink (2014) 5.

22 D'Alessio (2018) 45 and 62. I will come back in another study to the lack of relevance of the modern notion of "textual event" as far as the different forms of Greek melic poetry are concerned.

that in the songs composed by Sappho the repeated enunciative use of temporal or spatial adverbs specified by -δε, or emphatic particles of presence such as δή, are of the *Deixis am Phantasma* type, excluding *demonstratio ad oculos*?[23] Could it mean that the song ritually performed in the sanctuary of Messon actually corresponds to "an extreme example of parachorality," if not a monodic example of "choral fiction"?[24] Does it mean that the address to Aphrodite in the Kypris Poem and the address to Hera in poem 17, like the appeals to Aphrodite to come and appear here and now, at the beginning of the Hymn to Aphrodite (τυίδ' ἔλθε, referred to as a prelude) and in the first line of fr. 2 (δεῦρυ μ' ἐκ Κρήτας), are somehow fictional? Does it mean that these poems and songs correspond just to "textual events" as the title and the introductory remarks to the collection in which D'Alessio's proposal has been published would invite us to accept, independently of the ethnopoetic perspective required by essentially ritual poetry?

Let us attempt to provide an answer concerning the possible ritual reality of the apparent fictionality or marginality of spatiotemporal deictic references in the songs of Sappho by looking in more detail at different forms of melic poetry and their relationship to the gods invoked in their sanctuaries; that means the relationship with what for us has become the domain of the "sacred." To this end, we will move on from Sappho's poetry in order to turn to examples of each of the four melic forms identified as such, if not named, in the "archaic" period: the paean, the dithyramb, the *threnos* and the *hymenaios*, leaving aside the complex question of the citharodic nomos.[25] For none of the examples chosen to illustrate the choral and ritual character of each of these four melic forms would it be possible to speak of fictional performance and of parachorality.

4 Paean and Dithyramb: Pindar and Bacchylides

Let us begin with the easiest case, the paean, represented by Pindar's famous *Paean* 6. From the very outset, the initial invocation gives an indication of the place of performance of the song: Pytho is invoked as a divinity, referring to Delphi. Pytho is called upon by the speech act 'I beseech you' (λίσσομαι, line 2), with the aid of Zeus Olympios, Aphrodite and the Charites, in line with the sound rule of divine collaboration in a polytheistic regime. The double qualifi-

23 For references to these different discursive procedures see Calame (2005) 15–17.

24 As it has been recently suggested by Power (2019) 93–98, offering Sappho's poem 17 as 'a parachoral monody'!

25 See my thoughts on the subject in Calame (1998) 96–100, with reference to previous works.

cation of Pytho as 'covered in gold and famed for her seers' (line 1), in hymnic *asyndeton*, quite definitely refers to Apollo and his oracular sanctuary. So much for the place. As for the time, it is explicitly described as a 'holy time', a time that might be called 'sacred' (ἐν ζαθέωι χρόνωι, line 5). The configuration of the space evoked is then elaborated with successive allusions to the murmur of Castalia (line 8), the precinct (ἄλσος, line 14) of Apollo, the maidens (κόραι, line 14) of Delphi, and finally the omphalos (line 17). It is hard to imagine the musical performance of Pindar's paean taking place anywhere other than in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi!

It will also be noted that, with its allusion first to men's choruses (line 9) and then to the songs and dances (μελπόμεναι, line 17) of maidens at Delphi, it is no surprise to see the second long triad of the poem concluding with a ritual call to youths (νέοι) to sing 'the measures of the paean' near the omphalos 'now' (νῦν, lines 120–122).[26] Moreover, the choral performance of the paean forms the object of a first indirect allusion when Apollo's precinct is called the 'nurse of festivals' (line 14); the word used here is θαλία, as in the first fragment of Sappho in the Cologne Papyrus (fr. 58b).

Then, very explicitly at the end of the first triad, the honeyed voice of the poetic 'I' is associated with the Muses, inviting them to hear it 'now' (νῦν, line 58); the speaker then invites himself to the musical gathering (ἀγών, line 60) for Loxias, on the occasion of 'the hospitality offered to the gods' (θεῶν ξενία, line 61): the theoxenia. The transparent allusion here is to the great festival of Apollo's Theoxenia for which the paean of Philodamos, for example, was composed.[27] Each year, at winter's end, Apollo hosted a banquet to which other gods were invited; this included Dionysus, with whom Apollo shared his sovereignty over the site of Delphi during the summer.

These very precise deictic designations, not only of the time and place of the performance of the melic song, but also of its ritual and cultic circumstances, are confirmed at the end of the poem, at the conclusion of the third triad, with its unfortunately uncertain text, in a new and ultimate invocation of the god Paean (lines 181–183):

> Of the Muses, for one who frequently achieves his aim [?]
> receive, Paean, from just men the flourishing festival.

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26 For the controversial meaning of the expression, see my study Calame (2017a), in which I refer to the very large number of works devoted to the controversial unity of Pindar's poem in the Snell–Maehler edition (fr. 52f).

27 Fr. 39 Käppel; cf. Athenaeus 7, 372a; cf. Kowalzig (2007b) 188–191 and 200–201, also Calame (2017a) 25–27.

According to the most probable reconstruction, θαλία is the last word of the paean. Apollo is thus invited to welcome the choral performance of the melic song, in the usual game of ritual reciprocity which concludes, for example, most of the *Homeric Hymns*:[28] the poem being ritually performed is offered to the deity in exchange for the favours requested of him, in this case on the occasion of a musical and cultic festival at the sanctuary of the god at Delphi.

What about the second melic form identified as such in the pre-classical period, the dithyramb? I will first discuss Bacchylides' long and paradoxical *Dithyramb* 17. It will be recalled that, unusually, the poem does not open in the expected "discursive" mode, for example with an invocation to the Muses or a deity, but launches straight into the tale of the Cretan episode of Theseus' heroic biography, in narrative mode:

> Κυανόπρῳρα μὲν ναῦς μενέ-
> κτυ[πον] Θησέα δὶς έπτ[ά] τ' ἀγλαοὺς
> ἄγουσα κούρους Ἰαόνω[ν]
> Κρητικὸν τάμνε πέλαγος·
>
> The ship with the blue-black prow,
> as it carried Theseus, steadfast in the battle din,
> and the twice seven splendid youths and maidens of the Ionians
> was cleaving the Cretan sea …
>
> trans. CAMPBELL [1992]

'The ship was cleaving …' (τάμνε, line 4): in the past, elsewhere, thus immediately entering the "narrative" mode. There follows the long recital setting the scene of Minos challenging the young Athenian hero, who dives into the waves of the future Aegean Sea to visit his stepmother Amphitrite in the dwelling of his father Poseidon. Wearing the veil given to her by the goddess Aphrodite at her marriage, Theseus reappears on the deck of his ship, where his exploit is celebrated by a choral melic song: the paean is sung by the seven youths and maidens whom the Athenian hero was to lead to the Minotaur in the Cretan Labyrinth.

Echoing this choral performance described in "narrative" mode, only the last three lines of the 132-line poem shift into the "discursive" mode:

28 For the ritual conclusion of the *Homeric Hymns*, presented as musical offerings, see my study in Calame (2012a) 71–74.

Δάλιε, χοροῖσι Κηίων
φρένα ἰανθείς
ὄπαζε θεόπομπον ἐσθλῶν τύχαν.

God of Delos, rejoice in your heart
at the choirs of the Ceans
and grant heaven-sent fortune of blessings.
trans. CAMPBELL [1992]

The musical offering intended to delight the god is accompanied by the mortal singers' expectation of being granted many blessings. Despite its entirely narrative development, Bacchylides' dithyramb closes with the usual hymnic and ritual game of *do ut des* between man and god, with reciprocal offerings. The fact that the god invoked is named 'Delian' undoubtedly constitutes an allusion to the occasion of the song's performance: the great festival of the Delia, with the musical gathering of choral groups who were already charming Apollo himself on the isle of Delos in the famous *Homeric Hymn* to the god. These groups came from different cities of an Aegean henceforth controlled by Athens; cities which included the island of Ceos, Bacchylides' birthplace.[29] Here, at the very end of the song, we have an extremely succinct direct reference to the circumstances of the ritual performance of the dithyramb composed by the poet of Ceos.

5 *Threnoi* and *Hymenaioi*: Return to Sappho

Regarding *threnoi*, we have no surviving fragments of melic funeral songs. However, besides the lengthy dirge scenes that form part of the account of the funeral of Patroclus in Book 24 of the *Iliad*, we know that in the 17 papyrus scrolls into which the Alexandrian editors divided the poetic output of Pindar, an entire book was dedicated to the dirges composed by the Theban poet. Only a few short fragments of these have come down to us, lacking the beginning of the poems.

The exception is the strophe of Pindar handed down by a scholion on a line of Euripides' *Rhesus*, referring to Ialemos, the son of the Muse Calliope and

29 In Calame (2006/2009) 174–194, I offered an enunciative study of this dithyramb and the circumstances of its performance (with all the obligatory bibliographical references); on this subject see also the appropriate pages of Kowalzig (2007b) 88–94 and my own considerations in Calame (2013b) 346–348.

Apollo.[30] In the enunciative form of *praeteritio*, these lines list various forms of melic poetry: the paeans, the songs belonging to the children of Leto; the song to Dionysus 'crowned with flourishing ivy'; the three songs in memory of the deaths of the three sons of Calliope, first the lament for Linus, whose name is given to the refrain of a dirge, then the song in honour of Hymenaeus, who died on his wedding night, and lastly the song for Ialemos, telling of his sufferings. This poetic catalogue concludes with Orpheus 'of the golden sword' (like Apollo), the son of Oeagrus.

Unfortunately, these lines, expressed in the affirmative mode, do not provide the slightest indication, whether enunciative or deictic, about the circumstances of the musical and ritual performance of Pindar's *threnos*. However, the initial reference to Apollo and Artemis, followed by Dionysus, on the one hand, and the aetiological allusion to the various heroes of these forms of melic poetry on the other, connect the *threnos* composed by Pindar to what we have come to think of as the domain of the "sacred," the domain of the *hieron*. Apollo and Dionysus are the gods evoked or invoked in the paean and the dithyramb respectively; while Linus, Hymenaeus and Ialemos are the heroic protagonists of etiological stories providing a narrative explanation of the name of each of the three melic forms, by the death of the corresponding young man: the citharodic nomos, the *hymenaios* and the *threnos*.

Lastly, we come to the *hymenaios* itself, coming back in ring composition to Sappho's poems. The choral songs published by the Alexandrian philologists in the book dedicated to the *Epithalamia* have only come down to us in a few fragments. Indeed, the *Epithalamium for Severus* by the fourth-century orator and sophist Himerius introduces Sappho herself to the nuptial chamber; doubtless metaphorically, the poetess of Lesbos, having arranged the wedding bed, brings the maidens into the young bride's chamber and then allows Aphrodite herself to enter in a chariot, her hair adorned with scented hyacinths, accompanied by the Charites and a choral group of Erotes![31]

However, of the few surviving lines of Sappho's *hymenaioi*, only one mentions a deity: none other than Aphrodite herself.[32] Quoted by Hephaestion, these lines, in a choriambic pattern, open with an address to the 'happy bridegroom', who is congratulated for having won the maiden he wished for. As for

30 Pindar, fr. 128c Snell–Maehler, cited in the scholia on Euripides, *Rhesus* 895; see the commentary on this *threnos* fragment which I reiterated in Calame (1998/2008/2019) 97–98 (with bibliographical references in n. 24).

31 Himerius, *Orationes* 9, 4 = Sappho test. 194.

32 Sappho fr. 112; see the short commentary offered by Bierl (2021) 327, and Neri (2021) 786–789.

the bride, whom the implicit poetic 'I' also addresses as 'you', eros has invaded her lovely face; with her charming beauty and her eyes sweet as honey, she now enjoys all the honours bestowed by Aphrodite.

But for the pragmatic effect of the gestures of *deixis* perhaps referring to the circumstances of the poem's performance, we must turn to the *hymenaioi* in Sapphic stanzas apparently edited at the end of Book 1 of the Alexandrian edition of Sappho. From a performative point of view, particularly interesting are two strophes of a fragmentary poem addressed to a 'you' corresponding to a person who was once a 'young girl' (πάις) and who is invited to sing (μέλ-πεσθ᾽) 'these lines' (ταῦτα). Actually, both the ritual scenario depicted in the poem and the occasion of the performance itself are by no means certain.[33] Insofar as the poetic (choral?) 'we' describes the action in which it is engaged by singing 'for we are going to a wedding' (line 8), this may refer to the ritual of *nymphagogia*. In any case, the few fragmentary lines of this marriage poem reinforce the address to the anonymous 'you', formerly a young girl, by means of the emphatic and evidential particle δή (line 4), thereby referring to the invitation to sing and the circumstances represented in the poem in the *hic et nunc* of its musical performance, in a context in which the gods and Olympus are evoked, for us unfortunately in a very fragmentary way.

Does this mean that the circumstances of the probably choral performance of this song of Sappho are "marginal"? As a matter of fact, although it is necessary to name and qualify the deity in order to invoke their presence and action at the moment the poem is performed, it is not essential to describe what the singers and performers are seeing, except by the way of performative forms.

6 The Melic Poem as Ritual Act

To conclude, let us very briefly recall the far more complex situation, from an enunciative, deictic and referential point of view, with which we are faced in the case of the choral songs embedded in Attic tragedy regarding the relationship with the gods. Both the performative verbal forms and the numerous gestures of *deixis* supporting their enunciation refer in turn to the following:

– the heroic and fictional action performed in the drama, its narrative action situated in an "other" time and space;

33 Sappho fr. 27; on these fragmentary lines see especially the recent commentary provided by Caciagli (2009); for a connection with the ceremony of marriage, see Bierl (2021) 263, with the explanations given by Neri (2021) 614–615.

– the action which the choral group is performing ritually here and now by singing and dancing in the orchestra;
– the political, religious and ritual background of the audience of the play in the sanctuary-theatre of Dionysus Eleuthereus, at the foot of the Athens Acropolis, in the latter half of the fifth century.

I have shown elsewhere how significant the double deictic intervention concluding the third stasimon of Euripides' second *Hippolytus* was from this threefold point of view.[34] The references to 'this land' (ἥδε γῆ) in particular allude to the space (and time) of the heroic action depicted: whether Troezen, the city of which Theseus was king in the history of fifth-century Athens, or the Athenian cult space in which the dramatic performance is offered as a ritual act to Dionysus Eleuthereus. It should also be recalled that, in Attic tragedy, the mimetic narration of the heroic action calls for the appearance of the deity involved in the play, *ex machina*, as is the case, for example, of the goddess Artemis at the end of *Hippolytus*.

In pre-classical and classical Greece, there is no narration of a fictional action and no poetic representation of a relationship with the deity that is not realised in a ritual, or at least in a ritualised context. This rituality is inscribed in the poem itself, both by the enunciative procedures which support its poetic development and by the metrical rhythm referring to its musical and ritual performance. This rituality, specific to the poems belonging to the great form of *melos*, is a way of evoking the presence of gods and heroes, fictionally constructed in the poetic songs, *hic et nunc*, in and through the ritualised performance of the poem. As for "lyric" and the "sacred," the relationship with the divinity is a constituent element of all melic poems, practically realised in the ritual, if not the cultic development of the song. This is particularly true of erotic poetry: practically no erotic poem of Sappho's lacks a direct appeal to Aphrodite, her winged assistant Eros, or Hera.

34 Cf. Calame (2017b) 162–172 = (2024) 112–134.

CHAPTER 3

Cultic Space and Dithyrambic Performance in Pindar's Fragment 75

Stefano Fanucchi

One of the most debated topics concerning Greek lyric poetry is the relationship of cultic lyric (considered both in its textual and performative dimension) with the *hic et nunc* provided by the occasion and the ritual which the cultic songs fit into. In recent decades, the debate has been largely renewed by new approaches.

First, the lyric poets' deictic strategies have been demonstrated to be quite complex and subtly nuanced. *Deixis* can be distinguished at least into *deixis ad oculos* (i.e. references to things visible to the audience) and *Deixis am Phantasma* (i.e. references which do not reflect *sic et simpliciter* the performance setting, but rather point at something which is imagined). In most cases, there is no mere *deixis ad oculos* or mere *Deixis am Phantasma*; on the contrary, they are easily blurred. What is more, the deictic *origo* (i.e. the reference point for deictic devices) can shift in the course of a poem. Further, deictic features are intended to define the meaning of a poem and its relationship with patrons and audiences, rather than to simply depict the context.[1]

1 A fundamental theoretical text on *deixis* is Bühler (1984). On lyric *deixis*, see especially Ferrari (1990a); Felson (1999); Bonifazi (2001) 35–49 and *passim*; the studies collected in Felson (2004b); D'Alessio (2007), (2018) and (2020); Ferrari (2012). See also Rösler (1983) and Danielewicz (1990), who, however, as far as archaic and classical lyric is concerned, are mostly focused on *deixis ad oculos*. On deictic *origo*, see Green (1992) 122; Bonifazi (2001) 30–31; Felson (2004a) 256; on the possibility of a shift in the *origo* in the course of a poem, both locally and temporally, see Green (1992) 128; D'Alessio (2004) 277–278. On temporal *deixis*, see Martin (2004) and D'Alessio (2004). For an innovative explanation of the subtlety of lyric *deixis* in the light of recent cognitive-linguistic methods, see Van Emde Boas (2022) 170–174.

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Secondly, another theoretical innovation is represented by new approaches to ritual and ritualization as strategies aimed at redefining social relationships and cultural values. Rituals are not simple representations of given socio-cultural meanings; rather, they contribute to redefine them and express relationships of socio-political powers. As a consequence, rituals are not fixed, but change over time, together with the socio-cultural meanings they convey. As far as cultic lyric is concerned, this implies that verbal signs and non-verbal signs interact in the definition of a ritual event: that is to say, a cultic song does not simply express a pre-existent, extra-textual ritual, but **both** song and action, text and performance are part of the ritual and cooperate to express its social meaning.[2] This is strictly related to a further new approach about relationship of lyric poetry with space, proposed in a recent book by Leslie Kurke and Richard Neer:[3] lyric poetry is not to be imagined as simply inserted into a pre-existent space; rather, it contributes to the organization of space by its very spatial dimension, represented by choral dance, and the interaction of dance, music and word with the surrounding environment.

All these changes in approaching Greek lyric poetry have significantly enriched our understanding of Greek cultic song and contributed to overcome text-centred readings. As a matter of fact, an interpretation based exclusively on the text cannot give us every answer we need, not only because texts are only a part of the performance (and are sometimes transmitted in a precarious condition) but also because, as we saw, texts not only **reflect**, but **interact with** non-textual features. That is to say, performance, ritual, and text, as events located in time and space, have to be considered globally.

However, we should beware of pushing the pendulum to the other side—that is to say, of considering ritual and space as dominant features, a kind of Procrustean bed which the text has to fit into. Such an approach would be just as reductive as text-centred readings, since it makes the text not interact with, but merely reflect extra-textual features. What is worse, it depicts extra-textual features as more or less fixed, not as constantly reshaped by every single performative and ritual event. Rather, the text itself contributes to such a reshaping in

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2 Stavrianopoulou (2006) 7–22. For such new approaches in ritual studies, see Bell (2009); Kurke (2005) 81–84 and *passim*; the studies collected in Stavrianopoulou (2006).

3 Neer and Kurke (2019). For the victory song as a 'tridimensional' phenomenon (a good approach for cultic lyric as well), see also Bonifazi (2001) 15–16.

a number of ways (by selecting the extra-textual features it points at, by positing specific relationships among them etc.).

In reading Pindaric poems, it is particularly difficult to find a balance in interpretation and to avoid reductive readings. Pindar is usually subtle in referring to the performative context: his strategies are not always easy to detect and the global reconstruction of a Pindaric poem as a performative, ritual, and spatial event is always a delicate task. One of the most controversial cases is represented by fr. 75, where Pindar merges divine and human dimensions and involves the gods into the performance by invoking them and by pointing at spatial landmarks in the human city, i.e. at the urban shrines in which they are worshipped. Some scholars have posited a strict correlation between such spatial references and the performance of the ode, concluding that the gods' involvement mirrors some particular performative patterns. But, as usual in Pindaric studies, there is no agreement about the reconstruction of this poetic and ritual event. More than one interpretation is compatible with the text we can reconstruct and with the archaeological and antiquarian data we can recollect. However, I hope to be able to demonstrate that the following interpretation reaches a good balance among the many problems involved.

1 Gods in the *agora*

Pindar wrote a number of important dithyrambs for Athens. One of the largest fragments is transmitted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*De compositione verborum* 22.11). Dionysius himself informs us that the fragment coincides with the opening of a dithyramb (ἀρχέτω δὲ Πίνδαρος, καὶ τούτου διθύραμβός τις οὗ ἐστιν ἀρχή· δεῦτ᾽ ἐν χορόν κτλ.). I quote here the whole text with a translation:

Δεῦτ᾽ ἐν χορόν, Ὀλύμπιοι,
ἐπί τε κλυτὰν πέμπετε χάριν, θεοί,
πολύβατον οἵ τ᾽ ἄστεος ὀμφαλὸν θυόεντα
ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς Ἀθάναις
οἰχνεῖτε πανδαίδαλόν τ᾽ εὐκλέ᾽ ἀγοράν·
ἰοδέτων λάχετε στεφάνων τᾶν τ᾽ ἐαριδρόπων ἀοιδᾶν,
Διόθεν τέ με σὺν ἀγλαΐᾳ
ἴδετε πορευθέντ᾽ ἀοιδᾶν δεύτερον
ἐπὶ τὸν κισσοδαῆ θεόν,
τὸν Βρόμιον, τὸν Ἐριβόαν τε βροτοὶ καλέομεν.
γόνον ὑπάτων μὲν πατέρων μελπόμεν⟨ος⟩
γυναικῶν τε Καδμεϊᾶν ἔμολον,

ἐναργέα τ᾽ ἔμ᾽ ὥτε μάντιν οὐ λανθάνει,
φοινικοεάνων ὁπότ᾽ οἰχθέντος Ὥρᾶν θαλάμου
εὔοδμον ἐπάγοισιν ἔαρ φυτὰ νεκτάρεα.
τότε βάλλεται, τότ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀμβρόταν χθόν᾽ ἐραταί
ἴων φόβαι, ῥόδα τε κόμαισι μείγνυται,
ἀχεῖ τ᾽ ὀμφαὶ μελέων σὺν αὐλοῖς,
οἰχνεῖ τε Σεμέλαν ἑλικάμπυκα χοροί.

3 θυόεντ᾽ Snell et Maehler 10 post καλέομεν interpunxit Lavecchia 11 μελπόμεν⟨ος⟩ D'Alessio: μέλπε P: μέλπομεν FMVE: μελπέμεν Boeckh, prob. Lavecchia: μελπόμεν⟨οι⟩ Hermann, probb. Snell et Maehler 12 ἔμολον P, probb. D'Alessio, Lavecchia: Σεμέλην FMVE: Σεμέλην del. Snell et Maehler, qui etiam ἔμολον del. Snell et Maehler

Come here and join the dance, Olympians, and send over it glorious grace, you gods, who come to the city's crowded, incense-rich navel in holy Athens and to the glorious, richly adorned *agora*! Receive wreaths of plaited violets and of the songs plucked in springtime, and look upon me as I proceed from Zeus with splendour of songs secondly to the ivy-flamed god, whom we mortals call Bromios ('resounding') and Eriboas ('loud-shouting'). I arrived singing the offspring of the highest fathers and Cadmeian women and, like a seer, I do not fail to notice clear signs, when, as the chamber of the purple-robed Horae is opened, the nectar-bearing plants bring in the sweet-smelling spring. Then, then the lovely tresses of violets are cast upon the immortal earth and roses are fitted to hair and voices of songs echo to the accompaniment of pipes and choruses come to Semele of the circling headband.[4]

4 I mostly follow the text and layout of Maehler (1989). For divergences, see the apparatus (mainly based on Lavecchia's edition) and n. 89: I mostly follow the textual improvements suggested in D'Alessio (1991) 105. The translation is a revision of Race (1997) 2.311–313, adapted to the Greek text printed here and to the interpretation argued for in the following pages. Prodi (2021) 206–208 has argued that the poem could have opened the books of *Dithyrambs* in Alexandrian edition: he observes that in this section of Dionysius' treatise (chapters 22–26) examples are usually selected among the beginnings of books (Thuc. 1.1.1–2.1; Sapph. fr. 1; Isocrates *Areopagiticus* 1–5 etc.): an exception is Sim. fr. 543 (26.15), which does not seem to come from the beginning of a poem and, consequently, from the beginning of a book either (Prodi [2021] 206–207 n. 53). Prodi's point is well taken; but I am not sure that, if quoting from the first poem in the first book of *Dithyrambs*, Dionysius would have mentioned it as 'one dithyramb' with indefinite τις. Prodi ibid. also connects this argument with the hypothesis that our poem could have featured a narrative on the birth of Dionysus and the origins of the dithyramb as a genre (cf. Prodi [2017] 548–549): see below n. 37.

The whole fragment evokes the performative setting of the song in a subtle way. That the first lines refer to the performance is made clear by the exhortation to the gods to join the chorus, by means of a deictic adverb. Deictic strategies and references are certainly linked with the performance, but *how* they are linked with it is not clear. In particular, the relative clause has usually been interpreted as locating the performance in a hotspot of Athenian topography, the *agora*, since Pindar says that the gods go to the *agora*. Wilamowitz's identification of the *omphalos* with the Altar of the Twelve Gods strengthened this hypothesis. The identification is plausible, since the term *omphalos* can be explained by the use of the Altar as the reference point for measuring distance in Athens.[5]

Therefore, most scholars thought that the dithyramb was performed by a *kyklios choros* around the Altar, despite some disagreement about the festival which the song was composed for.[6] In a careful survey of the archaeological data, Neer and Kurke revised this hypothesis and argued that in Pindar's time the Altar was not yet in the classical *agora*, north of the Acropolis, but in the archaic *agora*, perhaps east of the Acropolis.[7] The attribute πανδαίδαλον would actually refer to buildings and monuments built in the archaic *agora* by the Peisistratids and Cimon.[8] This interpretation is part of an overall reconstruction of

5 *IG* II² 2640; cf. Hdt. 2.7.1–2. See Wilamowitz (1921) 310, (1922) 274; Wycherley (1957) 119; Lavecchia (2000) 258; Neer and Kurke (2014) 536–537 = (2019) 132; cf. Furley and Bremer (2001) 2.209. See also Neer and Kurke's comparison with the Delphic *omphalos* and the fact that the other Pindaric occurrences of the term refer to the very navel stone of Delphi (Neer and Kurke [2014] 534–535 and n. 11 = [2019] 130–131 and n. 31). Hamilton (1990) 221–222 does not exclude this interpretation, but is cautious about it and proposes a further identification of the 'navel' with the Acropolis, which is accepted by Furley and Bremer (2001) 2.210 *ad* 3. θυόεις is a good epithet for an altar (Farnell [1932] 416; Lavecchia [2000] 258 ad loc.).

6 Farnell (1930) 322, (1932) 415; Puech (1923) 153, n. 1; Pickard-Cambridge (1962) 21, 37–38 (Anthesteria); Privitera (1972) 137–138 (Anthesteria); Lavecchia (2000) 258–259 (City Dionysia); Neer and Kurke (2014) 530–536 = (2019) 129–132 (City Dionysia). A performance in the *agora* had been already supposed by Boeckh (1821) 577 and Christ (1896) 393. Some notable exceptions are Hamilton (1990) 221–223 and Van der Weiden (1991) 197, who think that the song was performed not around the Altar, but in the Sanctuary of Dionysus during the City Dionysia (see below); cf. Furley and Bremer (2001) 1.257, 2.210 *ad* 3.

7 Neer and Kurke (2014) 537–561 = (2019) 132–146, mainly based on Gadbery (1992), for the moving of the Altar, and Papadopoulos (1996) and (2003) 280–297, for the location of the *agora*. For a reference to the *archaia agora* (but with an identification of the navel with the altar of Zeus Agoraios) see also Schnurr (1995) 134–135. However, the relevance attributed in these studies to the archaic *agora* (attested, among the literary sources, only in Apollodorus of Athens *FGrH* 244 F 113), is problematic: the *agora* in the Kerameikos dates back to the end of the sixth century, and by Cimon's age it was probably established as *the agora* of Athens (see Longo [2014] 866–875, with further bibliography).

8 Neer and Kurke (2014) 560–563 = (2019) 145–147. On πανδαίδαλον, see also Van der Weiden (1991) 187.

the function of the poem (it would be part of the redefinition of the civic Athenian space in the early classical period) as well as of its context: by a comparison with a passage from Xenophon's *Hipparchichos* (to which we will return), Neer and Kurke think that the dithyramb is not part of the City Dionysia choral competition among tribes, but was performed during the *pompe* opening the same City Dionysia.

However, Pindar's wording suggests a different link between the *agora* and choral performance. The relative clause has been interpreted by Van der Weiden as hinting at a permanent, or somehow customary, fact. Van der Weiden's reading is based on the combination of the relative pronoun with the particle τε. One could also think that τε in line 3 is simply coordinated with the second τε in line 5, but its position, just after the relative, allows us to consider it a case of τε *epicum*, confirming Van der Weiden's interpretation. Compare *Pythian* 12.1–3, where Pindar refers to Acragas as home to Persephone through the same pattern.[9]

Therefore, Pindar is not saying that the gods are **now** going to the *agora*; the coming of the gods to the *agora* is rather mentioned as an attribute of the gods themselves. Listing attributes through relative clauses, especially places of worship distinct from the place of performance, is a typical feature of the hymnic style.[10] The mention of the *agora* as a usual destination for the gods is marked not only by the τε *epicum*, but also through the verb οἰχνέω. In the fragment, as observed by Furley and Bremer, this verb seems to have a frequentative meaning,[11] to mark recurrent rituals: compare line 19, concerning the recurrent celebration of the mother of Dionysus in springtime (οἰχνεῖ τε Σεμέλαν ἑλικάμπυκα χοροί).

The *agora* and the *omphalos* as usual dwellings of the gods are linked with the reference to the performance that opens the fragment, but not as Neer and Kurke (and others) interpret it. Pindar asks the gods to join the dance by means of two imperative clauses, coordinated by τε (1–2). In the first one the imperative is omitted, but could be inferred from δεῦτ(ε) ('come hither!').[12] The

9 Van der Weiden (1991) 193 *ad* 3; see also Ruijgh (1971) 984–986; Furley and Bremer (2001) 2.209. More general on τε *epicum* with relative pronouns, Ruijgh (1971) 2–5 and *passim*; Denniston (1954) 521–528. On τε in Pindar (both *epicum* and copulative) as marking traditional knowledge as shared with the public, see De Kreij in Bonifazi, Drummen, and De Kreij (2021) 11.4.5.

10 Norden (1913) 168–176.

11 Furley and Bremer (2001) 2.209–210 *ad* 3–5. For οἰχνέω referring to recurrent rituals, cf. also *Pyth.* 5.86.

12 Cf. e.g. Hom. *Il.* 13.481; *Od.* 8.132; Eur. *Med.* 894. In the first passage, δεῦτε is coordinated with the following verb by καί, as in our fragment δεῦτ(ε) is coordinated with ἐπί … πέμ-

mention of the *agora* is aimed at making this imperative more effective: Pindar is telling the gods: 'since you usually go to Athens to the *agora*, come now hither, to this chorus which is dancing in Athens'. The passage is not very different from the prayers in which the speaker asks the god to listen to her/him by referring to previous help (*da quia dedisti*). Compare Sappho's fr. 1 ἀλ⌋λὰ τυίδ' ἔλ⌊θ', αἴ ποτα … ἦλθ⌊ες, concluding ἔλθε μοι καὶ νῦν.[13]

One might also compare a lyric sample from Attic tragedy, namely the *parodos* of Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* (an ode imbued with ritual patterns). In the first antistrophe, together with Athena and Apollo, the chorus invoke Artemis, 'who sits on her circular glorious throne of the *agora*' (ἃ κυκλόεντ' ἀγορᾶς θρόνον εὐκλέα θάσσει, 161). The Theban *agora* is mentioned through a relative clause as home to the cult of Artemis Eukleia.[14] The fact that Artemis dwells in Thebes (cf. 160 γαιάοχον), especially in one of its focal points, does not imply that the song is imagined as performed in front of her sanctuary in the Theban *agora* (in the same passage Artemis is summoned together with other divinities, namely Apollo and Athena; and lines 19–20, from the prologue, seem to exclude that Oedipus' palace, represented by the *skene*, is located in any *agora*). Rather, it makes the chorus confident that the goddess will help them. It is to be noted the *da quia dedisti* motif is clearly employed in the concluding lines of the strophic pair (164–165).

Obviously the Altar was not the only place where the Olympians were worshipped in Athens, but it was the only one where they were worshipped **all**

πετε by τε. Van der Weiden (1991) 190 and Lavecchia (2000) 256 ad loc. provide full lists of parallels for the opening δεῦτε in hymns and prayers and for invitations to the gods to join the dance; see also Furley and Bremer (2001) 2.208–209 ad loc. To such lists, one could add *PMG* 935.1–2 (inscribed Epidaurian hymn to the Mother of the Gods, fourth-third century): some goddesses, almost certainly the Muses (who obviously are depicted as poetic assistants much more frequently than the Olympians), are summoned to leave the sky and join the lyric 'I' in singing a specific deity, the Mother of the Gods (*PMG* 935.1–4]ς θεαί, / δεῦρ' ἔλθετ' ἀπ' ὠρανῶ / καί μοι συναείσατε / τὰν Ματέρα τῶν θεῶν: see Maas [1933] 138 *ad* 1–3 and Wagman [1995] 135, with significant parallels, among which the most similar are Sapph. fr. 127 and Hor. *Carm.* 3.4.1–2). Finally, in the *Paean Erythraeus* (Käppel [1992] *Pai.* 37[E].19–20) Apollo is invited to visit the speaker's city (this example is adduced by Marinis [2024] 171 n. 137).

13 Lines 5, 8, 25. This is another recurrent hymnic feature: in the Pindaric corpus, see *Isthm.* 6.42–49. I thank Glenn Most for his suggestions on this point. On the function of the 'regular visiting' of the gods in fr. 75, cf. most recently Marinis (2024) 144–145.

14 Finglass (2018) 216 *ad* 160–161 (text and translation are taken from this edition). Compare εὐκλέ' ἀγοράν in fr. 75.5. In the same *parodos*, Artemis is featured again as a divine helper at ll. 206–209; see also the gods 'guarding the *agora*' invoked by Eteocles in Aesch. *Sept.* 272.

together. It is a collective home, urban counterpart of Mount Olympus: Athens is praised as a place inhabited by the gods, a city of the gods on earth.[15]

So δεῦτ(ε) should not necessarily be identified with the *agora*. I find it more promising to link it with the reference that the speaker makes to himself as 'going' to Dionysus (7–10), by means of a first personal pronoun (another deictic feature, while the relative clause does not have deictic nuances). The adverbs δεῦτε and δεῦρο indeed point at the speaker's position: they are examples of *Ich-Deixis*, just like the pronoun ὅδε.[16] Unlike the τε-clauses, δεῦτ(ε) does not hint at a usual destination, but at the present destination required by the performance, the place where the chorus is dancing, qualified as the deictic *origo*.[17]

2 Zeus and Dionysus

According to some scholars, the movement towards Dionysus reflects some particular performative patterns, such as a procession.[18] But processions to a shrine of Dionysus including also the performance of such complex dithyrambs are not documented with certainty in Athens. Neer and Kurke opt for another reconstruction: the song is performed during the civic parade (*pompe*) opening the City Dionysia, and every divinity mentioned in the fragment (even the Horae) would hint at a shrine, so that we have the temple of Zeus Olympios, the Sanctuary of Dionysus and the (still to be placed) Sanctuary of the Horae. By revolving around the *agora*, the *choreutai* would have pointed at all these sanctuaries in the surrounding city.[19] Neer and Kurke posit a mere adequation of text to space by detecting a *deixis* exclusively *ad oculos*.[20] Or, to put it bet-

15 The reference to the *agora* 'reflects the degree to which, in Athens, Dionysiac dance and song is an event that brings all together at the centre of the populous and prosperous city' (Wilson [2003] 169–170, even if Wilson thinks that the song was performed in the *agora* itself). On the civic relevance of dithyrambic poetry and contests, see Ieranò (1997) 264–265; Kowalzig (2004); Fearn (2013a) 135–137.

16 However, ὅδε is even more flexible, since it can also have an anaphoric or cataphoric function by pointing at a part of the text itself. On ὅδε in lyric poetry, see Danielewicz (1990) 9–16; Bonifazi (2004) 397–398; Calame (2004) 422–434; D'Alessio (2007) 99–100; Van Emde Boas (2022) 163–164.

17 On first and second personal pronouns as deictic features, see Bonifazi (2001) 36–38; Calame (2004) 415; Felson (1999) 4–5, (2004a) 256–257.

18 The dithyramb is thought to be processional by Privitera (1972) 140, followed by Sourvinou-Inwood (2003) 96.

19 Neer and Kurke (2014) 566–575 = (2019) 149–154 (see their map at [2014] 568 = [2019] 150).

20 In the Pindaric corpus, as we have it, a tendency to draw the audience's attention to the

ter, their interpretation implies that Pindar is resorting exclusively to one of the types of *Deixis am Phantasma* individuated by Bühler, namely the type by which one 'is able to indicate with his finger the direction in which the absent thing is seen with the mind's eye, more or less as our wanderer through the city indicates the direction to the train station'.[21]

However, the Horae are not a destination of the moving act pointed at by πορευθέντ(α): only Dionysus is. The passage Διόθεν … πορευθέντ' … δεύτερον ἐπὶ τὸν κισσοδαῆ θεόν describes a linear movement, not a clockwise one (whether this movement reflects a procession or not). Indeed, the deictic features of our fragment do not provide any grounds to argue for such a performative scenario.

Besides this, Neer and Kurke follow the hypothesis of Farnell that the *pompe* included some choral performances in the *agora* and that these performances touched several altars and shrines in the *agora* itself, including the Altar of the Twelve Gods. This statement is based on a passage from Xenophon's *Hipparchicos*.[22] I quote it in full:

> Τῶνδέ γε μὴν αὐτῷ ἤδη μέλειν δεῖ τῷ ἱππάρχῳ· πρῶτον μὲν ὅπως καλλιερήσει τοῖς θεοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ, ἔπειτα ὅπως τὰς πομπὰς ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς ἀξιοθεάτους ποιήσει, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα ἐπιδεικνύναι δεῖ τῇ πόλει ὅπως ᾗ δυνατὸν κάλλιστα ἐπιδείξει, τά τε ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ καὶ τὰ ἐν Λυκείῳ καὶ τὰ Φαληροῖ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἄλλα ὑπομνήματα· ὡς δὲ τούτων ἕκαστα κάλλιστ' ἂν πράττοιτο, νῦν αὐτὰ ταῦτα λέξω.
>
> Τὰς μὲν οὖν πομπὰς οἶομαι ἂν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς κεχαρισμενωτάτας καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς εἶναι εἰ, ὅσων ἱερὰ καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐστι, ταῦτα ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑρμῶν κύκλῳ [περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ] περιελαύνοιεν τιμῶντες τοὺς θεούς. καὶ ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις δὲ οἱ χοροὶ προσεπιχαρίζονται ἄλλοις τε θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς δώδεκα χορεύοντες.
>
> Now we come to duties that the cavalry commander must perform himself. First, he must sacrifice to propitiate the gods on behalf of the cavalry; secondly, he must take the processions during the festivals worth seeing;

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immediate context in such a prominent way as presupposed by Neer and Kurke for fr. 75 is not usual: on this fact and its possible explanations (and comparisons with tragic and comic texts), see D'Alessio (2007) 99–105.

21 Bühler (1984) 152.

22 The passage is cited with reference to fr. 75 by Farnell (1932) 415 and Lavecchia (2000) 259. A relationship of this passage with the *pompe* at the City Dionysia is reiterated in Pickard-Cambridge (1968) 62 and n. 6; Parke (1977) 127 and n. 156; Csapo and Slater (1994) 106; Wilson (2000) 98; cf. Caroli (2014) 1072. Even Csapo (2020) 586 speaks of a 'Dionysian parade' during the Panathenaic festivals by referring to this passage.

> further, he must conduct all the other obligatory displays before the people with as much splendour as possible, that is to say, the reviews in the Academy, in the Lyceum, at Phalerum, and in the Hippodrome. These again are only brief notes; and I will now explain exactly how the details of these various functions may be carried out with most splendour.
>
> As for the processions, I think that they would be most acceptable both to the gods and to the spectators if the cavalry honoured all the gods who have shrines and statues in the *agora* by riding round these [*scil.* shrines and statues], starting from the Herms, in a circular parade. At the Great Dionysia too the dance of the choruses forms part of the homage offered to the Twelve besides the other gods.[23]

According to Xenophon, the riders, during the *pompai*, should pay homage to all the gods worshipped in the *agora* by riding in a circle and touching all the ἱερά and ἀγάλματα. He observes that (more literally) 'during the Dionysia too the choruses gratify the Twelve Gods among other gods by dancing'. The City Dionysia is mentioned in order to take from it the example of the *choroi* as a model for the riders; but it is the circular movement of dithyrambic dance (*kyklios choros*) in its celebration of all the gods (in addition to Dionysus) during the dithyrambic performances that Xenophon is comparing with the riding all around the *agora* (**κύκλῳ** περιελαύνοιεν), **not** the fact that the choruses would be dancing all around the *agora* sanctuaries as well.[24] Further, Neer and Kurke, following Farnell and others,[25] think that Xenophon is specifically describing the riders' parade during the *pompe* of the City Dionysia; but this hypothesis is unfounded, since Xenophon is here speaking generally about the *pompai* celebrated during several festivals (*Hipparchicos* 3.1 τὰς πομπὰς ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς). That is to say, Xenophon is not thinking exclusively about the City Dionysia parade. This reinforces the hypothesis that, in this passage, the City Dionysia is relevant not as an occasion for specific *pompai*, but as an occasion for a performance compared with the *pompai*, namely the circular dances of the Dionysiac choruses. As a consequence, the *Hipparchicos* cannot be used as evidence for

23 Xen. *Eq. mag.* 3.1–2. Text: Marchant (1920). Translation (modified): Marchant (1968) 251–253. The syntax is difficult: I take ὅσων as governed by τοὺς θεούς. It would be easier to take it as governed by ταῦτα, but this would give no acceptable meaning.

24 *Pace* Neer and Kurke (2014) 531–532 = (2019) 129; cf. Delebecque (1973) 42 n. 2. See also the apparent redundancy of χορεύοντες, which points at the choral performance itself as the point of comparison for the parade.

25 See above, n. 22.

dithyrambic performances in the *agora* during the City Dionysia. Besides this, as Lucia Athanassaki pointed out to me, ritual changes over time (as emphasised by recent approaches in ritual studies)[26] and it is not safe to adhere so closely to the ritual described by Xenophon a century and a half later (whether it may be referring to a Dionysian parade or not).

Rather than a sheer *deixis ad oculos* (or *am Phantasma*), one can allow a mixture of *deixis ad oculos* and more imaginative references. *Deixis ad oculos* can be detected in the interrelation between δεῦτ(ε) and the reference to Dionysus as a destination: Dionysus is deictic *origo* because the song is dedicated to him and, most of all, because the song is probably performed in his sanctuary in a circular dance.[27]

One can compare the proem of *Pythian* 11, where Cadmus' daughters are summoned to move towards Melia (πὰρ Μελίαν), that is to say, to the Sanctuary of Apollo Ismenios (4–6).[28] Some scholars assumed that the movement of the Theban heroines reflected a particular performative pattern (just as other scholars did for fr. 75), the Theban procession of *daphnephoria*. However, recent studies have refuted this hypothesis: the heroines' song prefigures the victory ode itself without hinting at a procession or at a *daphnephorikon* performed besides *Pythian* 11 (the poem does not feature elements exclusively connected with the ritual of *daphnephoria*).[29] *Pythian* 11 is also a good point of comparison as a song which involves other deities and shrines besides the one where

26 See above, n. 2.

27 Maybe around the *thymele*, which was not a sacrificial altar but 'a marking stone prominent enough to define the sacredness of the centre but not large enough to interfere with the dramatic action' (Wiles [1997] 72). However, the evidence for a permanent *thymele* is not completely clear. On the question, see Gow (1912); Arnott (1962) 43–45; Rehm (1988) 264–271; Wiles (1997) 70–72.

28 The usage of παρά and other prepositions governing the name of a divinity to point at a shrine is well attested in epigraphic evidence (Robert [1970] 299 and n. 2; Charneux [1987]); see also Eur. *El.* 173–174 (Calame [1977] 1.218–219). In a Delian inscription (*IG* XI.2 219A.20) there is mentioned a route ἐπὶ Διόνυσον: it may refer to an altar of the god, but this is not certain (Bruneau [1970] 317–318; Charneux [1987] 219–220). It is highly probable that *Pythian* 11 was performed at the Ismenion or in its surroundings (D'Alessio [2010] 284–285, who confutes the scepticism of Finglass [2007] 31–32). Melia is a daughter of Oceanus who gave two sons to Apollo, Ismenos and Teneros, linked with the Sanctuary (Paus. 9.10.6, Pind. fr. 29.1, *Pae.* 9 [fr. 52k = A1 Rutherford], 41–43 etc.).

29 The most influential version of the "daphnephoric" interpretation of *Pythian* 11 is Bernardini (1989) (see also Burton [1962] 62–63; Vivante [1972] 50; Pavese [1975] 246–247): it has been developed in Sevieri (1997) 91–92 and (1999) 108–109. For arguments against it, see Ferrari (2008) 10–13 and (2012) 169–172; Finglass (2007) 29–31.

the song is performed. Semele and Ino are connected with the *agora* in the Kadmeia, while Alcmena is linked with the Sanctuary of Heracles, just outside the Elektrai gates, near the Ismenion itself.[30] In our fragment, ἐπὶ τὸν κισσοδαῆ θεόν corresponds to πὰρ Μελίαν as a spatial reference to the specific divinity who inhabits the place of performance.

Even if the choral dance is to be imagined as a circular one,[31] it is described as a voyage of the lyric 'I' to Dionysus. A linear representation is superimposed on a circular performance, not to suggest a procession, but to define the authority of the speaker and make the Dionysian ritual interact with the whole pantheon. In this strategy, a crucial word is Διόθεν. More than to a physical place, Διόθεν refers to Zeus as source of authority for the lyric 'I'. As a matter of fact, Διόθεν as a spatial reference is so imbued with metaphoric nuances that we are by no means obliged to think that it refers to a physical shrine. The most 'spatial' meaning which is attested for Διόθεν is 'from the sky'.[32] Usually, people or gods come Διόθεν when they are actually coming from Zeus to fulfil his wish;[33] more generally, Διόθεν refers to Zeus as source of authority and master of men's fate.[34] Therefore, even if it is actually a spatial syntagm and has to be translated as 'from Zeus' (consider its correlation with ἐπὶ τὸν κισσοδαῆ θεόν), it implies also that the lyric 'I' is coming 'by the will of Zeus'.[35] In addition to this, there are

30 Pausanias connected some ruins in the Kadmeia with Semele: his interpretation probably arose from a connection of the site with Cadmus, rooted in the archaic and classical age (Paus. 9.12.3–4: see Moggi and Osanna [2010] XXVII–XXVIII, 282–283). For Alcmene and the Herakleion, see Paus. 9.11.1. On the position of the Herakleion outside the Elektrai gates, see Pind. *Isthm*. 4.61, Schachter (1992) 27; Whitley (2004) 47–48; Aravantinos (2014).

31 On this point, see below, next chapter.

32 Ap. Rhod. *Argon*. 2.993, governed by ἐκ; Aratus, *Phaen*. 886; *Anth. Pal*. 7.390.4.

33 Cf. e.g. Hom. *Il*. 24.194, 561, [Eur.] *Rhes*. 455, with Fantuzzi (2020) 397 ad loc.

34 Thgn. 1.197, [Hes.] *Sc*. 22, Aesch. *Ag*. 43, Pind. *Nem*. 4.61. Sometimes Διόθεν can be translated as 'by the will of Zeus': see Aesch. *Cho*. 307–308, Ap. Rhod. *Argon*. 2.461. See also Privitera (1972) 140.

35 It would be possible also to interpret πορευθέντ(α) as passive and Διόθεν as agent ('sent/carried by Zeus'), as Privitera (1972) 139–140, n. 15 and Lavecchia (2000) 263 *ad* 7–8 do. This hypothesis is interesting, since there are good parallels for Διόθεν as agent with aorist passive participles (Hom. *Il*. 15.488–489; Eur. fr. 916 Kn. 6–7). In Pindar, an occurrence of Διόθεν as agent is to be found in *Nem*. 4.61 τὸ μόρσιμον Διόθεν πεπρωμένον 'the destiny which is assigned by Zeus', with a perfect passive participle (see the translations proposed by Köhnken [1971] 204, Henry [2005] 41, and Cannatà Fera [2020] 369). However, there is poor evidence for πορεύομαι as passive: even in the two passages quoted by Lavecchia ibid. and LSJ s.v. πορεύω II.1 (Soph. *Aj*. 1253–1254, *OC* 845), only the occurrence from *Oedipus Coloneus* could be interpreted as a passive, without excluding the possibility of interpreting it as a middle voice (in both passages, the verb is in the present tense, not in the aorist). A better argument is advanced by Privitera ibid., who observes that Pindar employs the

some parallels for the performer as coming to fulfil his task under the aura or the protection of Zeus and his *paredroi* divinities. In the opening of *Olympian* 4, the lyric 'I' addresses Zeus and describes himself as sent by Zeus' Horae as witness of the games (lines 1–3). In the opening of *Paean* 6, the speaker asks Delphi to receive him 'by Olympian Zeus' (fr. 52f = D6 Rutherford, 1–11). This is not to say that Zeus inspires the poet just as the Muses do,[36] but that the coming of the speaker (not an actual 'coming', but an image of the performance itself) is subject to the will of the supreme god. While ἐπὶ τὸν κισσοδαῆ θεόν actually refers to the Sanctuary of Dionysus, Διόθεν is not 'physical'; however, Pindar removes such a difference and employs both ἐπὶ τὸν κισσοδαῆ θεόν and Διόθεν as spatial references, as if the lyric 'I' were actually coming like a messenger of Zeus to the Sanctuary of Dionysus.

In *Olympian* 4, Zeus is relevant obviously because of his role as patron of the Olympic Games. In our dithyramb, the reference to Zeus as an ideal point of origin and source of authority for the speaker is related to the address to the Olympian gods as both audience and performers of the ritual held in honour of Dionysus: Pindar involves the whole pantheon in the celebration of the god. Furthermore, by stressing the relationship of Zeus as starting point with Dionysus as destination, Pindar celebrates Dionysus as the son of Zeus and Semele. The fragment will mention Semele as well, in a passage aiming at defining the prestige of the lyric 'I' as the one able to choose the right moment to celebrate Dionysus.[37]

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active πορεύω with the meaning of 'making go' (*Ol.* 1.77, *Pyth.* 11.21, *Nem.* 7.29). Nonetheless, the translation of Διόθεν … πορευθέντ(α) as 'sent by Zeus' is problematic as far as δεύτερον is concerned (see below).

36 As Lavecchia (2000) 262 *ad* 7–8 tries to argue for; but see the objections advanced by Neer and Kurke (2014) 564 = (2019) 148.

37 See below, penultimate chapter. Semele is sometimes linked with Dionysus in sacrifices: see Larson (1995) 30, 31, 34. In the tales concerning the introduction of Dionysiac cult, Dionysus' identity as the son of Zeus is often contested, and the confirmation of his divine origin is a crucial point in sanctioning his final victory: see e.g. some well-known passages from Euripides' *Bacchae*, as ll. 1–3, 26–31, 41–42, 88–98, 242–245, 466–468, 521–529, 1340–1343. Dionysus' birth seems to be a recurrent theme in dithyrambs: see Pind. fr. 70b.30–31, Bacchyl. 19.49–51, Timoth. fr. 792 (most plausibly referring to a dithyramb: Hordern [2002] 10, 249), Pl. *Leg.* 700 b4–5. It is featured in Philodamus' *Paean to Dionysus* as well (Käppel [1992] *Pai.* 39.6–23: see Clay [1996] 89). The origins of the dithyramb itself were sometimes related to the births of Dionysus (both to the first one from Semele and the second one from Zeus' thigh), as attested by Pindar himself (fr. 85; cf. again *Bacch.* 521–529; for other evidence, see Ieranò [1997] nos. 1–23 and commentary at 155–167; Lavecchia [2000] 288–289). On Dionysus' birth and Semele as recurrent topics in dithyrambs, see Mendelsohn (1992) 114–117; Furley and Bremer (2001) 1.258; Lavecchia (2013) 59–63; Prodi (2021) 198–200. Prodi (2021) 207–208 and n. 57 hypothetically attributes to our dithyramb also frs. 71

The correlation between Zeus and Dionysus is strengthened by δεύτερον. This occurrence of δεύτερον is quite difficult to interpret, but the most probable option, as shown by Neer and Kurke, is to consider it as a predicative adjective referring to Dionysus (hence the translation 'I come from Zeus to the ivy-flamed god as second' or 'from Zeus I come secondly to the ivy-flamed god').[38] Of course, if we accept this, we are almost obliged to interpret Διόθεν as 'from Zeus', since, if Zeus is not a starting point, Dionysus is second to nothing.[39]

Another possible interpretation of δεύτερον is to take it as an adverb meaning 'for the second time'; therefore, Pindar would be referring to his second participation in the dithyrambic *agones* (hence, this dithyramb would be the second one proposed by the poet at the City Dionysia).[40] Neer and Kurke objected that such a reference by the poet to himself would be irrelevant. This point is well taken, since such a reference would be odd in a choral *agon* where the tribe that provided the chorus and the *choregos* who financed it were in fact considered the true winners.[41] On the other hand, we must observe that dithyrambic poets were aware of their role, and there were some ways to celebrate them. The official *Fasti* (*IG* II^2 2318) listed only the tribe and the *choregos*, but the case is different for the choregic inscriptions found on the bases of the tripods assigned to winning *choregoi*: they often recorded the poet as well. The typical formula is '(name of the tribe) ἐνίκα, (name of the *choregos*) ἐχορήγει, (name of the poet) ἐδίδασκε'.[42] One may also compare the proem of Bacchylides'

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and 85, which concern the birth of the god and the origins of the genre; in this regard, he does not rule out that the proceeding 'from Zeus to Dionysus' may prefigure a subsequent narrative on these topics. These are very interesting suggestions, but the quasi-formulaic occurrence of Dionysus' origins in dithyrambs implies that frs. 71 and 85 are not necessarily traceable to our poem.

38 Neer and Kurke (2014) 565–567 = (2019) 148–150 (cf. already Boeckh [1821] 578, but with an obsolete text); see also Puech (1923) 153 n. 3. This interpretation seems to be presupposed by Wilson (2003) 169–170, as well as in the translation of Race (1997).

39 This excludes the interpretation of Διόθεν as agent, on which see n. 35; unless we admit that Dionysus is 'second' to the Olympian gods summoned in the first line, but it would be quite at odds with the fact that the Olympian gods are the interlocutors of the lyric 'I' in ll. 7–9 too.

40 Hamilton (1990) 214, n. 20; Van der Weiden (1991) 197; Zimmermann (1992) 52 n. 4; Lavecchia 2000, 255; Furley and Bremer (2001) 1.257; Sourvinou-Inwood (2003) 132, n. 149.

41 Neer and Kurke (2014) 564–565 = (2019) 148. For the *choregos* and the tribe as winners, see Pickard-Cambridge (1962) 36; Zimmermann (1992) 35–37; Ieranò (2013) 368.

42 For the identification of the διδάσκαλος with the poet in choregic inscriptions, see Wilson (2000) 214–216; Wilson (2007) 161. The choregic inscriptions are collected in Ieranò (1997) 331–361. On διδάσκαλος referring both to dramatic and lyric poets, see Herington (1985) 24–27, 39–40, 183–185; D'Alessio (2007) 97. Consider the use of διδάσκω and ἀντιδιδάσκω

Dithyramb 5 (*Ode* 19), which consists in a celebration of the poet's skill. This ode was composed for Athens, as revealed both by lines 9–10 and the title preserved on the papyrus. It looks like a song actually dedicated to Dionysus (the second half of the poem culminates in the birth of the god) and was plausibly performed during the City Dionysia.[43] The lyric 'I' invites Bacchylides himself, referred to with an elaborate circumlocution (Κηΐα μέριμνα 'Kean care'), to dedicate a new song to Athens (8–11). This passage is quite ambiguous: we could interpret it as if the chorus were talking to the poet, but we could also think that the poet is inviting himself to sing, a common device in choral lyric poetry.[44] Bacchylides composed his proem in a way suitable for both scenarios: 'the audience must have understood this as an address to the poet by the chorus, who pay him a nice compliment … Ultimately it is, of course, a self-address by the poet, the "nightingale of Keos"'.[45] Another (though not uncontroversial) parallel could be the proem of Pindar's *Paean* 6 (fr. 52f = D6 Rutherford, 1–18), where the lyric 'I' addresses Delphi. The distinction that the speaker is making between himself and some ἔται ('friends') of Delphi he is aiding (10–11) could be explained by identifying the speaker with the poet and the ἔται with the patrons who commissioned the song (the citizens of Delphi).[46]

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in connection with dithyrambic poets in Ar. *Vesp*. 1410–1411; *Av*. 1403–1404. On the prestige of dithyrambic poets in the City Dionysia *agon*, see Ieranò (2013). On the exclusion of poets from the official *Fasti*, see Pickard-Cambridge (1962) 36 and (1968) 75–76; Melena (1983) 209–210. On the *Fasti*, see also Ieranò (1997) 255–256, with further bibliography.

43 The ode is thought to have been performed during the City Dionysia by García Romero (1994) 114 (the other context hypothesised by him, the Anthesteria, is not probable: see below, n. 61) and Maehler (1997) 241.

44 On the lyric 'I' speaking to himself in choral poetry, see Carey (1989); more specifically on Bacchyl. 19, Carey (2017) 48–49. For a general assessment of the interaction between chorus and poetic persona, see Athanassaki (2022a). I am grateful to Lucia Athanassaki and Ewen Bowie for their suggestions about translation and interpretation of Bacchyl. 19.11.

45 Maehler (2004) 212 *ad* Bacchyl. 19.11 (cf. Maehler [1997] 252 ad loc.). A distinction in fr. 75 between the proem, performed by a soloist, and the rest of the song, performed by a chorus (Melena [1983] 211–213; cf. García Romero [1994] 115–116 on Bacchyl. 19) is not plausible: it has been built on a doubtful reconstruction of the "original" performance of dithyrambs as attested in Archil. fr. 120 (Melena [1983] 192–193; on Archilochus' fragment, see Privitera [1957] 95–101; Pickard-Cambridge [1962] 9–10; D'Angour [2013] 200–201; Swift [2019] 304–306).

46 See Rutherford (2001) 308–309: '… if the χορός performing the song were Delphians (compare the title [*scil.* ΔΕΛΦΟΙΣ ΕΙΣ ΠΥΘΩ]), then lines 10–11 rule out the possibility that the speaking subject could be a member of the χορός'. The performative setting of *Paean* 6 is debated (see D'Alessio [1997] 27, Rutherford [1997] 13–19 and [2001] 329–338 on the alternative title of the third triad and the possible performative scenarios it opens). How-

However, what is at stake here is not the **possibility** of a reference to the poet but, as Neer and Kurke point out, its **relevance** in the poetic strategy chosen by Pindar (even if I interpret this strategy in a way different from them). Of course, the lyric 'I' here is identifiable with the *choreutai*, but Pindar does not make the *choreutai* speak as performers opposed to the poet, nor as the poet speaking via the performers as his mouthpieces. Rather, he makes the *choreutai* an authoritative speaking (and dancing) persona summoning the Olympians themselves, coming from Zeus (and so blessed by the will of the supreme god) and able to choose the right moment to sing of Dionysus;[47] this is not the same strategy adopted by Pindar elsewhere, in *Paean* 6, or by Bacchylides in *Dithyramb* 5. This, and not the etiquette of dithyrambic *agones*, is the main reason why a reference to Pindar's potential 'second coming' is irrelevant here.[48]

Such an interpretation would stand even if we followed Wilamowitz in ascribing fr. 83 to our poem (ἦν ὅτε σύας Βοιώτιον ἔθνος ἔνεπον 'there was a time when they called Boeotian people pigs'): this too comes from the books of *Dithyrambs*, as attested by one of its sources (*Sch.*[BEQ] *Ol.* 6.152).[49] Wilamowitz's hypothesis was accepted in the Teubner edition and has recently been revived by Prodi, who argued that fr. 83 may be part of a passage praising Pindar himself as a Theban poet by confuting the proverbial insult 'Boeotian pig', just as happens in *Ol.* 6.89–90.[50] I totally agree with the interpretation of fr. 83 *per*

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ever, the hypothesis of a double patronage, a Delphian and an Aeginetan one, looks quite plausible, and is compatible with a bardic persona (Kurke [2005] 89; Carey [2017] 51–52; cf. Athanassaki [2018] 110–113).

47 See below, penultimate paragraph. On the lyric 'I' as the construction of an authoritative speaking persona, see especially D'Alessio (1994), who overcame Lefkowitz's distinction between a poetic persona in victory songs and a choral persona in ritual songs (Lefkowitz [1991]); cf. Felson (1999) 9–12. I will not deal here with the whole debate on the identity of the Pindaric (and lyric) 'I' (for more recent assessments, see Currie [2013]; Maslov [2015] 105–116; D'Alessio [2020]). Recently, an identification of the lyric 'I' with the performer in most lyric poems has been stated in Stehle (2017), followed by Athanassaki (2018) 82–83 (cf. Lattmann [2016]); but this is too rigid (see Carey [2017]; D'Alessio [2020] 13–21). Furley and Bremer (2001) 2.211 *ad* 8, in accordance with their interpretation of δεύτερον (see n. 40), identify the speaker with the poet, but observe that 'it remains somewhat strange, of course, that in this dithyramb—undoubtedly a choral song—the poet refers to himself as a professional poet'.

48 Even more difficult is the hypothesis according to which the chorus would be referring to his position in the contest ('look at me moving as the second chorus'), *pace* Privitera (1972) 139; Zimmermann (1992) 52, n. 4; Schnurr (1995) 134, n. 34. For objections on this point, see Van der Weiden (1991) 197 *ad* 8.

49 Wilamowitz (1921) 311, (1922) 274. Other sources: Str. 7.7.1; Gal. *Protr.* 7.

50 Prodi (2021) 207–208. On the passage from *Olympian* 6, see Adorjáni (2014) 275–276 *ad Ol.* 6.87–91, 281–283 *ad* 89–90.

se as an allusion to Pindar's poetic skill; on the other hand, its application to our poem is less convincing. Wilamowitz's argument is based on metrical grounds, but a metrical affiliation of fr. 83 with fr. 75 is difficult to prove, not only because it does not respond to any of the lines in the major piece (of course, one could think that it comes from an epode). If we assume *correptio Attica* in ἔθνος (a scansion with parallels in similar lines, but in different positions), we will have –⏑⏑–––⏑⏑⏑⏑–, namely two iambic *metra* (first one –⏑⏑–, second one ––⏑⏑) plus a resolved cretic (⏑⏑–).[51] The metre of fr. 75 is indeed iambic-cretic, the least attested metre in the Pindaric corpus (among the epinicians, it is to be found only in *Olympian* 2).[52] But the continuous run of six short syllables is alien to fr. 75, where we find at most four consecutive shorts (lines 2, 8, 10, 17): this restriction seems to be a tendency in iambic-cretics of choral lyric.[53] Rather, such a sequence of short syllables would affiliate fr. 83 with the so-called 'aeolic metre', a much more common metrical genre in the Pindaric corpus, which features abundant iambic and cretic patterns interspersed with aeolic ones.[54]

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51 Cf. Wilamowitz (1921) 311 n. 5 (who describes this as 'three iambs', according to his "pan-iambic" approach). Both forms of the iambic metre are to be found in fr. 75 (ll. 1, 5, 14, 15, 19); as for the cretic, same form at ll. 6, 10, 16, 19. Parallels for this *correptio*: *Ol.* 1.66 (final cretic with scheme –⏑–); *Ol.* 10.97, where it concerns a final *colon* ––⏑⏑–, spondee + cretic according to Snell and Maehler (1987), but it may be a dochmiac (for dochmiacs in choral lyric, see Pretagostini [1979]; West [1980] 149–150, [1982] 62; Martinelli [1997] 266–267). In fr. 83, if accepting *correptio*, one should posit period end or consonant after ἔνεπον (or even lengthening of the final -ον: on this prosodic feature, see Maehler [1989] 188): seven consecutive short syllables are extremely rare in Pindar (Itsumi [2009] 436 signals only *Ol.* 1 str. 8, *Pyth.* 7 str. 1).

52 The other main samples in choral lyric are Pind. fr. 108; Bacchyl. 17, fr. 14 + 57; Sim. frs. 541, 579. For a first orientation on this metre and further bibliography, see Gentili (1974); West (1980) and (1982) 60–61; Pretagostini (1980); Martinelli (1997) 194–195. I cannot provide here a full metrical discussion for fr. 75: different proposals in Wilamowitz (1921) 312–313; West (1980) 145–146; Van der Weiden (1991) 187–189; Zimmermann (1992) 55–59; Lavecchia (2000) 79, 254. I follow Pretagostini and Zimmermann's remarks in not reducing every pattern to iambic *metra* variously modified, as is the approach of Wilamowitz and West.

53 Maas (1966) 42; Gentili (1974) 88, 89 n. 14; West (1980) 141–142, (1982) 68–69.

54 On this metre, Snell (1982) 54–57; West (1982) 61–68; Martinelli (1997) 244–245; cf. Itsumi (2009) 88–92; on sequences featuring more than four consecutive shorts, Itsumi (2009) 434–436. Parallels for the scanning of ἔθνος with *correptio* come from 'aeolic' odes. Itsumi has proposed a split of this metrical class into two further classes ('aeolics' and 'freer dactylo-epitrites'): his proposal still needs to be properly addressed in Pindaric scholarship, but does not significantly affect my argument. He also ascribes *Olympian* 2 and Bacchylides' *Ode* 17 to 'freer dactylo-epitrites' (154–169), but this is not convincing (cf. Henry [2011] 175).

This affiliation would become even more plausible if we rejected *correptio*, so as to have –⏑⏑⏑––––⏑⏑–⏑⏑⏑– (before consonant or period end, or with lengthening of the final -ον) or –⏑⏑⏑––––⏑⏑–⏑⏑⏑⏑ (before vowel and no period end): this is not the place to provide a complete list of possible metrical interpretations for such a difficult scheme, as they vary widely depending on how far one is inclined to regard it as an autonomous period and to accept it as transmitted with no textual adjustments (although the text is overall sound). With the first option, which is easier to interpret, we would have a central aeolic *colon* (–––⏑⏑–, 'reversed *dodrans*') preceded and followed by resolved cretics: admixture of aeolic *cola* with iambic and cretic metre is common in aeolic odes.[55] It is true that fr. 75 has more aeolics than any other sample of iambic-cretics; however, it seems to employ aeolic *cola* more narrowly than aeolic odes, i.e. as clausulae or as self-contained sequences, just as other iambic-cretic poems do (but it is difficult to be certain due to the lack of responding passages).[56]

In any case, the metrical grounds for Wilamowitz's hypothesis are shaky, and I see no other cogent reason to ascribe fr. 83 to the same dithyramb from which fr. 75 was excerpted. Even accepting his view, the distance between the two fragments inside the song would have been considerable: we have seen that fr. 83 would come from an epode, and Prodi would probably be right in placing it in the coda as a sort of concluding *sphragis* (just as is the case with Bacchyl. 3.96–98).[57] Even in this reconstruction, a reference to the poet would not

55 See bibliography in previous footnote. On 'reversed *dodrans*' (××–⏑⏑–, variously named), West (1982) 61; Martinelli (1997) 236; Lourenço (2011) 111. Itsumi (2009) 24–25 describes it as –⏑–⏑⏑–, a too rigid scheme (see the following examples). I found no exact parallels for this line, but there are some parallels for cretic suffix attached to reversed *dodrans* (with base ⏑–; ⏑⏑⏑ only in *Nem.* 7): *Pyth.* 2 ep. 6; *Pyth.* 5 ep. 5 (with resolved cretic ⏑⏑⏑–); *Pyth.* 10 str. 2; *Nem.* 7 ep. 2. Whatever it may be, I would exclude –⏑⏑⏑– + ––⏑⏑ + –⏑⏑⏑– (iamb + ionic + iamb), temptatively proposed by Van der Weiden (1991) 224: there is no safe attestation of the shape ––⏑⏑ for ionic metre before the Hellenistic age (Gentili [1949], [1950] 69–85), despite some recent re-evaluations (cf. e.g. Gentili e Lomiento [2003] 165–174).

56 Cf. ll. 4 (hagesichorean), 9 (glyconic with base ⏑⏑–), end of 3 (reizianum, without eliding θυόεντα: see Lavecchia [2000] 79). Lines 6 and 18 feature more difficult patterns, which nonetheless look like aeolic *cola* with 'pendant close' (–⏑–– or –⏑–×), a typical clausular movement (6 –⏑⏑–⏑–⏑––, 18 – – ––⏑⏑–⏑–⏑––: on pendant close, see Stinton [1977] 39–40). On aeolic clausulae in lyric iambics, see Gentili (1974) 89; West (1982) 100–101; Martinelli (1997) 196.

57 The strophe seems to be at least nineteen lines long, as there is no responsion inside fr. 75; but one should take into account Snell's proposal to invert word order in line 19 (χοροί ‖ ἑλικάμπυκα), so as to make it respond to 1–2 (by scanning line 2 ἐπί τε κλυτάν as ⏑⏑–⏑–: the 'anapaestic' solution of the iambic metre is to be found at ll. 7, 16 as well: cf. West [1980] 145 n. 18; Zimmermann [1992] 58 n. 12; Lavecchia [2000] 254). The pattern of line 18 would fit a clausular movement quite well (see the previous footnote). Whatever it may be, the poem

be so relevant in the rhetorical strategy of the proem, which does not feature anything unequivocally traceable to a 'bardic' persona;[58] and one would not exclude that the concluding *sphragis* may have been uttered by a choral persona praising the poet, as is perhaps the case with the beginning of Bacchylides' *Ode* 19.

As a final note to this chapter, I would add that, despite the bond between Ὀλύμπιοι and Διόθεν, an interpretation of lines 8–9 as 'having begun from Zeus, now I turn to Dionysus' (proposed by Van der Weiden) is not plausible. This 'beginning' from Zeus would be identified with the very allocution to the Olympian gods in the first lines. But this is quite difficult to argue for: in the first lines of the fragment, the lyric 'I' invokes all the Olympian gods without singling Zeus out, and Διόθεν does not seem to refer to the same Ὀλύμπιοι whom the speaker is still addressing. In *Nemean* 1.1–5 and *Paean* 2 (fr. 52b = D2 Rutherford), ll. 1–5, quoted by Van der Weiden as parallels, the -θεν form which marked the passage from the addressee as a starting point is a second-person pronoun (σέθεν: in *Paean* 2, it is integrated through the papyrus scholia). More precisely, in *Paean* 2 we have exactly what Van der Weiden wants for fr. 75 (the song turns from the hero addressed in the first line to the main divinities to whom the song is dedicated). But in fr. 75 this would only be possible if we had a second person pronoun referred to the Ὀλύμπιοι instead of Διόθεν.[59]

3 A Performance during the City Dionysia?

We do not know the context of the fragment, but the best candidate has always been the City Dionysia, which hosted the most important dithyrambic perfor-

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was probably not astrophic, as astrophic songs are not attested with certainty in Pindar (a different view in Lomiento [1998] 113–114): Hor. *Carm.* 4.2.10–12 is no proof in this regard (Lavecchia [2000] 15–18; further bibliography in Fedeli and Ciccarelli [2008] 138–140 *ad* 9–12; Thomas [2011] 108–109 ad loc.).

58 Of course, the singular μελπόμενος / … ἔμολον (n. 89) is of little significance in this respect (on choral first-person singular, see Lardinois [1996] 160–161); on the meaning of δεύτερον, see above. A coda on the Boeotian identity of the poet would not correspond with the rhetoric of the lyric 'I' in the proem; rather, it would complement the initial emphasis on the Athenian setting. Again, compare Bacchylides' *Ode* 3, ending on Ceos and opening with an invocation to Demeter and Kore as patron goddesses of Sicily (1–3).

59 Van der Weiden (1991) 194–195 *ad* 7; same explanation in Slater (1969b) s.v. Διόθεν; Schnurr (1995) 134; Race (1997) 311 n. 2 (doubtfully); Furley and Bremer (2001) 2.211 *ad* 7; cf. Christ (1896) 393 ad loc. For objections to this interpretation, see also Lavecchia (2000) 262; Neer and Kurke (2014) 564 = (2019) 148.

mances in Athens.[60] There were other Athenian festivals with choral competitions and the City Dionysia were not the only occasion for *kyklioi choroi*. But the *agones* of the City Dionysia were the only ones in which the identification of *kyklioi choroi* with songs to Dionysus is documented for the fifth century.[61]

However, a performance during the City Dionysia re-opens the question addressed above, since it has been employed as an argument in favour of a performance in the *agora*: apparently, there are some grounds for a link between the *agora* and the festival, namely some evidence concerning early dramatic performances at the City Dionysia not set in the Theatre of Dionysus.[62]

According to this evidence, the first dramatic contests at the City Dionysia were held not in the Theatre, but somewhere else, where spectators were seated on 'benches' (ἴκρια). These benches eventually collapsed, and ancient scholars linked the event with the building of the Theatre in the Sanctuary of Dionysus. The chronology of this disaster is quite confused: according to *Suda* s.v. Πρατίνας (π 2230 Adler), the *ikria* collapsed during the performance of a drama by Pratinas. The *Suda*'s report is often thought to date the disaster back to the 70th Olympiad (500–497 BCE); what the lexicon actually says is that in the 70th Olympiad Pratinas competed in the dramatic *agon* against Aeschylus and Choerilus. A connection of this contest with the collapsing of the *ikria* is not clear.[63]

60 Schol. Aeschin. *In Tim.* 10. On the City Dionysia and the choral contests, Pickard-Cambridge (1962) 3–4, 32–38; Pickard-Cambridge (1968) 75–79; Parke (1977) 125–135; Csapo and Slater (1994) 103–121; Sourvinou-Inwood (2003) 67–100.

61 *Kyklioi choroi* is by no means a synonym for 'dithyrambs' as asserted by Pickard-Cambridge (1962) 32: rather, it is an umbrella term for several types of choral celebrations (other songs as well could be performed by 'circular choruses', such as the ones in honour of Apollo during the Thargelia: see Wilson [2007b]; cf. Parker [1996] 95, who however speaks of 'dithyrambic choruses'). On this point, see Ieranò (1997) 234–238; Käppel (2000) 24–26; Fearn (2007) 165–181; Wilson (2007b) 167–169; Fearn (2013a) 135; Ceccarelli (2013); Ieranò (2013), 368 and n. 1. On the City Dionysia contests as the only dithyrambic ones in the fifth century, see Ieranò (1997) 274–277; Fearn (2007) 165–167; D'Alessio (2013) 116 and *passim*. For other festivals with choral competitions, see *IG* II² 1138; [Xen.] *Ath. pol.* 3.4. The Anthesteria must be ruled out, since it probably did not host relevant dithyrambic contests (Hamilton [1990] 222–223; Ieranò [1997] 274–277; Furley and Bremer [2001] 1.257 and n. 25; Neer and Kurke [2014] 530 n. 3 = [2019] 129 n. 23, with further bibliography).

62 Lavecchia (2000) 259.

63 As observed by Pickard-Cambridge (1946) 12. The text reads as follows: ἀντηγωνίζετο δὲ Αἰσχύλῳ τε καὶ Χοιρίλῳ ἐπὶ τῆς ο′ Ὀλυμπιάδος, καὶ πρῶτος ἔγραψε Σατύρους. ἐπιδεικνυμένου δὲ τούτου συνέβη τὰ ἴκρια, ἐφ᾽ ὧν ἐστήκεσαν οἱ θεαταί, πεσεῖν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου θέατρον ᾠκοδομήθη Ἀθηναίοις. ('He competed with Aeschylus and Choerilus during the 70th Olympiad and was the first to write a satyr play. While he was performing [*scil.* a drama of his], the benches on which the audience were sitting happened to collapse: because of that the Athenians built the theatre'.)

In another entry, the lexicon s.v. Αἰσχύλος (αι 357 Adler) connects a collapsing of the *ikria* with Aeschylus' leaving for Sicily. The *Life of Aeschylus* provides several explanations for the trips to Sicily: it was probably an episode open to unsafe speculation.[64] The link with Pratinas seems to be more probable. The safest conclusion is that the disaster happened in the very first years of the fifth century (which is quite consistent with the archaeological evidence about the first Theatre).[65]

But where were the *ikria* exactly located? The best candidate has always been the *agora* itself: two passages, the one from Photius's *Lexicon*, the other from Eustathius' *Commentary on the Odyssey*, attest that the *ikria* stood in the *agora* 'before the building of the Theatre in the Sanctuary of Dionysus'.[66] Further, there are two relevant clusters of passages from lexicographers. The first cluster locates an ὀρχήστρα in the *agora* (without mentioning the *ikria*).[67] The second one speaks about a poplar placed near the back row of former *ikria*, hence the idiom αἰγείρου θέα or παρ᾽ αἴγειρον θέα to mean cheap seats far from the scene.[68] The sources of the second cluster do not locate the poplar in the *agora* itself: a poplar in the *agora* is attested by Hesychius, but with another function (to hang some *pinakia*, maybe lists of indictments),[69] and it is by no means certain that it was the same poplar.

By starting from this poplar, Csapo has significantly reassessed the question and proposed a revision and integration of what Wilamowitz and Scullion previously said about it. The most ancient testimony we can find for these facts is Eratosthenes, quoted as a source by Hesychius (π 513 Latte s.v. παρ᾽ αἴγειρον

It is possible that τούτου is corrupt and that we should read τούτους. In this case, the translation would be: 'while he was performing this [*scil.* a satyr play]' etc. This would imply that the *ikria* collapsed during the performance of a satyr play.

64 *TrGF* III 33.27–34.32.

65 Di Benedetto and Medda (1997) 7, n. 6. In favour of a link with Pratinas, see Pickard-Cambridge (1946) 13–14; Hammond (1972) 404–405. On the date of the first Theatre, see Scullion (1994) 9–10; Moretti (2000) 290–298, with further bibliography; Csapo (2020) 584. Maybe the archaic temple of Dionysus Eleuthereus is to be dated back to the same period: see Despinis (1996–1997).

66 Phot. *Lex.* ι Theodoridis (πρὶν ἢ κατασκευασθῆναι τὸ ἐν Διονύσου θέατρον), Eust. on *Od.* 3.350 (πρινὴ σκευασθῆναι τὸ ἐν Διονύσου θέατρον).

67 On these passages, see below.

68 Hsch. π 513 Latte s.v. παρ᾽ αἴγειρον θέα, α 1695 Latte s.v. αἰγείρου θέα: both passages refer again to the use of *ikria* before the building of the stone Theatre. The first entry cites Eratosthenes as source, probably the twelve books *On Ancient Comedy* (see Hammond [1972] 390–392; Csapo [2020] 576): on Eratosthenes, see below. Photius mentions Cratinus as an authority (*Lex.* α 505 Theodoridis s.v. αἰγείρου θέα καὶ ἡ παρ᾽ αἴγειρον θέα = Cratin. fr. 372 K–A). See also Hsch. θ 166 Latte; Phot. *Lex.* θ 47 Theodoridis; *Suda* α 2952 Adler.

69 Hsch. α 5716 Latte.

θέα), a passage from the poplar cluster. According to Hesychius, 'Eratosthenes says that near a poplar—poplar is a kind of tree—there was a place to watch close to the stands of seats. The stand of seats used to extend and be edified as far as this tree' ('Ερατοσθένης φησί, ὅτι πλησίον αἰγείρου τινὸς θέα—αἴγειρος δέ ἐστι φυτοῦ εἶδος—ἐγγὺς τῶν ἰκρίων. ἕως οὖν τούτου τοῦ φυτοῦ ἐξετείνετο καὶ κατεσκευάζετο τὰ ἴκρια). Then, the source describes the *ikria* as rows of benches 'upon which they [i.e. the audience] used to sit, before the theatre was built' (ἐφ᾽ αἷς ἐκαθέζοντο, πρὸ τοῦ κατασκευασθῆναι τὸ θέατρον).[70] There is no mention of the *agora*. Other sources mention a poplar 'above the *theatron*' by which people without a seat used to see the plays.[71] As observed by Csapo, such evidence implies that these benches which existed 'before the theatre was built' (and the poplar *above* them) were on 'steeply sloping ground to permit one placed behind the stands of seats to see over the seating into the theatre orchestra'; that is to say, they could not be on the flat ground of the *agora*.[72] So, the *ikria* were most probably the Theatre of Dionysus itself, in its first form (the wooden one), located on the southern slopes of the Acropolis: this is where the audience used to have seats before the stone theatre was built in the same place. This is what Eratosthenes (succinctly, due to Hesychius' epitomising) meant by saying that these benches were employed πρὸ τοῦ κατασκευασθῆναι τὸ θέατρον, as Csapo convincingly argues.[73] However, most lexicographers did not know Eratosthenes directly and tried to interpret him (together with some passages and excerpts from comic poets) by assuming the existence of *two* theatres, the first in the *agora*, the second on the southern slopes of the Acropolis, and con-

70 Text and translation of both passages (with minor changes) are taken from Csapo (2020) 574 (see there for textual issues).

71 *Suda* α 2952 Adler: αἴγειρος γὰρ ἐπάνω ἦν τοῦ θεάτρου, ἀφ᾽ ἧς οἱ μὴ ἔχοντες τόπον ἐθεώρουν 'above the theatre there was a poplar from which the ones who did not have a seat watched'.

72 Csapo (2020) 576; see Scullion (1994) 60.

73 Csapo (2020) 578–584, developing Wilamowitz (1886) and Scullion (1994); see also Caroli (2014) 1073–1074 and Papastamati-von Moock (2015) 41–45; cf. Pickard-Cambridge (1946) 13. We know from other sources that the Theatre of Dionysus, in the first part of the classical age, was a wooden and a temporary one, provided with *ikria* (Cratinus fr. 360K–A; Ar. *Thesm*. 395–396; Moretti [2000] 287; Csapo [2007]; Caroli [2014] 1073–1074; Csapo [2020] 576–578), so there is slight difference between the *ikria* allegedly located in the *agora* and the other *ikria*. Some scholars try to solve this problem by observing that the former *ikria* provided an artificial incline, while the Theatre turned to the safer incline provided by the slopes of the Acropolis (Hammond [1972] 399 and 405, n. 33; Polacco [1990] 26–29); but, as observed by Caroli, the wooden *ikria* in the Theatre were probably quite precarious nonetheless. The building of the stone theatre is traditionally attributed to Lycurgus, but this is highly debated: see Papastamati-von Moock (2015), with further bibliography.

necting the transfer of the Theatre with some accident that happened in the first years of the fifth century.[74] There were *ikria* in the *agora* as well, which, however, were designed for the public not of the dramatic performances, but of the Panathenaic parade.[75] As a consequence, the *ikria* in the *agora* cannot be safely connected with the history of the dramatic contests.

This refutes the existence of a theatre for the City Dionysia outside the Sanctuary of Dionysus, but not the possibility of choral performances in the *agora*: we said that another cluster of ancient sources attests an *orchestra* in the *agora*, i.e. an open space intended for choral performances.[76] However, there is no safe link between this *orchestra* and the dithyrambic contests held at the City Dionysia. In addition, I would not postulate two different locations for dithyrambic and dramatic contests: they were both attended by a large public and were connected with the same festival.[77] Therefore, if we cannot connect the *ikria*, the *orchestra* or any other structure in the *agora* with the dramatic performances, probably we cannot connect them with the dithyrambic contests either.[78]

Another more complex hypothesis about a performance of the dithyramb in the *agora* during the City Dionysia has been formulated by Sourvinou-Inwood. In her opinion, between the sixth and fifth centuries BCE, one of the preliminary rituals of the festival, the so-called εἰσαγωγὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάρας, was performed there, and the dithyramb is to be linked with it: the *eschara* itself would be the Altar of the Twelve Gods. However, ancient sources give a different picture. Before the festival, the statue of the god was transferred from the Sanctuary not to the *agora*, but to a temple in the Academy; then, with the *eisagoge*, it was carried again to the Sanctuary, to represent its arrival in Athens from its original location (Eleutherai).[79] It is true that these sources

74 This would be mainly due to the merging of the aforementioned poplar with the *pinakia* poplar attested in Hsch. α 5716 Latte, as Csapo (2020) 585–592 argues. For the passages from comic poets, see previous footnote.

75 Csapo (2020) 586.

76 Timaeus the Sophist *Platonic Lexicon* 998a s.v. ὀρχήστρα; Phot. *Lexicon* s.v. ὀρχήστρα (0 544 Theodoridis); one could add the controversial Pl. *Ap*. 26 e1. On the *orchestra* in the *agora*, see Hammond (1972) 401; Kolb (1981) 15–19; Caroli (2014) 1072 (who connects it with fr. 75 by interpreting the dithyramb as performed in the *agora*); Csapo (2020) 587 n. 44.

77 *Pace* Melena (1983) 201.

78 It is to be noted that Csapo's argumentation concerns exclusively the setting of the dramatic performances. Incidentally, he thinks that the *ikria* in the *agora* were put up 'for the Dionysian parade, that Xenophon (*Hipp*. 3.2) tells us included short stationary choral performances (not drama) in various part of the Agora'. But, as we saw above, Xenophon is not specifically speaking about a 'Dionysian parade'.

79 Paus. 1.29.2; Philostr. *VS* p. 549; *IG* II^2 1006, 12–14 (122/121 BCE); *IG* II^2 1011, 11–12 (106/105 BCE).

are quite late and that we cannot exclude that the ritual changed over time; but we have no evidence for other reconstructions and there is no reason to separate the *eschara* from the Academy. All in all, the safest grounds on which Sourvinou-Inwood built her hypothesis is the passage from Xenophon's *Hipparchicos* quoted above, a controversial basis itself, and not so easily linkable with the City Dionysia.[80]

Therefore, I tend not to accept Sourvinou-Inwood's interpretation of Pindar's fr. 75 as celebrating the *xenismos* of Dionysus in Athens, or the hypothesis that the involvement of the Olympian gods in the performance reflects some theoxenic ritual connected with Dionysus' *xenismos*. The only example of such a practice is to be found outside Athens (and in later times), in a decree from Magnesia on the Maeander (*I. Magnesia* 98), dating back to 196 BCE and attesting a theoxenic ritual, held during the festival of Zeus Sosipolis. It is an interesting ritual indeed, since it involved, besides Zeus, Artemis and Apollo (but not Dionysus), as well as the very Altar of the Twelve Gods in the *agora*; but it would be unsafe to project such a Hellenistic ritual practice from another *polis* onto the Athenian City Dionysia three centuries earlier.[81]

Even so, it is not impossible to connect choral performances with the *pompe*. Pickard-Cambridge observed that, during the *pompe*, a chorus hailed Demetrius of Phalerum (while he was leading the procession as an archon) by singing poems written by Kastorion of Solis.[82] Wilson quotes a decree dating back to 186/5 BCE: the *boule* and the Assembly awarded an ivy crown to 'the free boys and their *didaskalos*'. According to Wilson, the prize is due to a performance during the *pompe* instead of the *agones* (the rest of the decree concerns other honours related to the *pompe*).[83] Therefore, we cannot totally exclude that fr. 75 could be related to the *pompe*; but in this case, the 'coming' of the speaker 'towards the ivy-flamed god' would point at the arrival of the chorus to the Sanctuary of Dionysus, not at a passage through the *agora* (of course, we cannot

80 The distinction between the *eisagoge apo tes escharas* and the *pompe* can be inferred from *IG* II² 1006, 12–13. On hypotheses about the route of the *pompe*, see Csapo and Slater (1994) 105–106; Wilson (2000) 97. Other arguments advanced by Sourvinou-Inwood are weaker by far, such as an alleged inadequacy of the Academy in representing Eleutherai (Sourvinou-Inwood [2003] 89–93).

81 On this document, see Jameson (2014) 154–155; Petridou (2015) 292–293 (and 302–305 about Dionysus' *xenismoi*).

82 *SH* 312; Pickard-Cambridge (1968) 63 and n. 2: the source is Ath. 12.542e (transmitted is Σείρωνος τοῦ Σολέως, emended to Καστορίωνος by Leopardi, probably right, accepted in *PMG*, *SH* and Campbell [1993] 226–227, not accepted in Olson [2019]; cf. Ath. 10.454f). On this poet, see *SH* 310–312.

83 Wilson (2000) 346 n. 221 (*IG* II² 896.57–63).

know if the choral performances mentioned by Pickard-Cambridge and Wilson were held in the *agora*).[84]

However, the presence of Pindar during the City Dionysia is more easily linkable with the dithyrambic contests, which lured other great Panhellenic poets as well (such as Simonides).[85] In every case, the hypothesis that the dithyramb was performed in the Theatre inside the Sanctuary of Dionysus Eleuthereus is reinforced.[86]

The summoning of the Olympians, then, more than reflecting a *xenismos*, is a case of divine performance imagined alongside the human performance and overlapping with it, which is not an unparalleled pattern in Pindaric poetry. The other major fragment from Pindar's dithyrambs, fr. 70b (a Theban song), features a description of the gods singing, dancing, and celebrating Dionysus (6–22), even if on Mount Olympus, not in a human setting. One might also compare the almost imperceptible passage from human performance to divine scenario in the description of the power of the lyre in *Pythian* 1.1–12, or the already quoted proem of *Pythian* 11, which involves the Theban heroines in the performance.[87]

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84 One could then re-evaluate the identification of Διόθεν with an actual shrine (the temple of Zeus Olympios, according to Neer and Kurke), even if we know of no involvement of a sanctuary of Zeus in the City Dionysia *pompe*. Furthermore, the symbolic nuances implied by Διόθεν (see above) and by the arrival motif (see below) do not oblige us to interpret Διόθεν and the 'coming' of the chorus as physical.

85 On the provenance of the dithyrambic poets and the implications this had for their position in the festival, see Pickard-Cambridge (1962) 31–32 and (1968) 105; Ieranò (2013) 368–369. Observe the contrast with the dramatic contests, which hosted mainly local poets. Interestingly enough, during the Hellenistic age it is the other way round: the dithyrambic contests became more and more an epichoric occasion, while the dramatic contests featured professional 'wandering' poets (Wilson [2003] 166). See also the catalogue of dithyrambic poets in Ieranò (1997) 363–376 and Sutton (1989). On Pindar and the City Dionysia *agones*, see the following footnote.

86 The date of the Theatre (see n. 65) is compatible with our dithyramb, even if we consider that Pindar made his debut in the City Dionysia at a very young age. He won at the *agon* of the City Dionysia in 497/6 BCE (*POxy*. 2438, col. 2.6–12: see Lewis [1962] and Gallo [1969], who correct Lobel [1961] 5; more recently De Kreij [2019] ad loc.): it is almost certain that this victory was his first one (Pindar was born between 522 and 518 BCE; the first epinician to be dated, *Pythian* 10, dates back to 498 BCE). We cannot say if Pindar gained this victory with our dithyramb; we can only say that fr. 75 is to be dated back to 497/496 BCE or later (even after many years, as far as we know). On this *terminus post quem* for fr. 75, see also Furley and Bremer (2001) 1.257; cf. Neer and Kurke (2014) 529–530 n. 22 = (2019) 129 n. 22.

87 For the involvement of gods in poetic performances as *synchoreutai*, see, in a broader perspective, Athanassaki (2018) and (2022a) 13–17: on fr. 75, (2018) 106–108 and (2022a) 15–17 (with a reconstruction of the context which follows Sourvinou-Inwood).

This 'coming' is repeated in lines 11–12, where the speaker says, 'I came singing Dionysus as son of Zeus and Semele'.[88] Through the participle governed by the verb of movement (μελπόμενος / … ἔμολον), the act of singing extends beyond the present moment and includes also what immediately precedes it. The coming of the chorus to the shrine is completely imbued with the act of singing. Journeys and movements preceding the performance and implied by it are often incorporated into the performance itself, especially in victory songs.[89] A close parallel is provided by *Olympian* 14, more particularly by the following passage: 'I came by singing Asopichus in the Lydian mood and with great care' (Λυδῷ γὰρ Ἀσώπικον ἐν τρόπῳ / ἐν μελέταις τ᾽ ἀείδων ἔμολον, 17–18). As in our dithyramb, the aorist ἔμολον governs a present participle denoting the act of singing. This victory ode is structured in a way similar to fr. 75: the self-referential statement quoted above follows an elaborate address to the Graces of Orchomenos to listen to and observe the present performance, just as our dithyramb opens by summoning the Olympian gods to look upon the dance and join it. But in *Olympian* 14 the Graces are addressed only as spectators of the human performance; they are described as actresses only as far as divine performances on Mount Olympus are concerned.[90] In fr. 75, on the contrary, the gods are involved as performers on earth, summoned to leave the Olympus and join the dance.

4 Time and Space

Line 13 says: 'like a prophet, I do not miss what is evident'.[91] Scholars compare this passage with other well-known passages where choral poets speak of them-

88 After Καδμεΐᾶν, the verb ἔμολον is expunged in Maehler (1989) together with Σεμέλην; but while Σεμέλην is a mere gloss, ἔμολον is to be retained (consider the similarity with *Ol.* 14.18, discussed below). See Wilamowitz (1921) 310 n. 1; West (1980) 145 n. 18; D'Alessio (1991) 105; Lavecchia (2000) 166.

89 On the overlapping of several 'journeys' in victory songs, see Felson (1999) on *Pythian* 4, Martin (2004) on *Pythian* 8. Another possible text for line 11 would be the infinitive μελπέμεν ('I came to sing'), printed by Boeckh and defended by Christ (1896) 393, Farnell (1932) 417 *ad* 11–12, Puech (1923) 153, and Lavecchia (2000) 266 ad loc.; but the parallels quoted by D'Alessio (1991) 105 for μελπόμενος are closer to our fragment. Against μελπόμεν⟨οι⟩, proposed by Hermann, printed by Maehler (1989) and accepted by Furley and Bremer (2001) 2.212 *ad* 11, see Lavecchia ibid. On Pindar's employment of the aorist tense in verbs of movement, see Danielewicz (1990) 15 and n. 23.

90 Athanassaki (2003) 7–8 (differently Calame [2004b] 433), who compares by contrast *Nem.* 10.1–2 (Δαναοῦ πόλιν … Χάριτες / … ὑμνεῖτε); see also Athanassaki (2009a) 103–107.

91 The text has been restored by Van Groningen (1955).

selves as προφᾶται, 'prophets' or, more precisely, 'mouthpieces' of the Muses.[92] But the case of our fragment is subtly different. The mantic imagery here does not refer to the relationship with the Muses and the inspiration of the poet. Rather, it refers to the speaker's ability to associate some natural signs with dithyrambic occasions and performances. Thanks to this ability, he chose the right time to come to Athens and celebrate the god. That is why here the μάντις is the lyric 'I' itself, as has been already observed by Furley and Bremer:[93] in other poems, the μάντις is the Muse, while the speaker, as stated above, is her mouthpiece.[94]

In this way, the lyric 'I' focuses again on his poetic authority, depicting a common ability (i.e. to know what season it is) as exceptional.[95] Furthermore, this passage opens a section of the fragment where the occasion is defined even more precisely. After placing the performance in space, the poem places it in time. Dithyrambic performances are described as recurrent events, framed in the cycle of the seasons. Many details confer a general nuance on these verses: the plurals ὀμφαί and χοροί; the use of τότε instead of νῦν; the image of the Horae's θάλαμος, which is not a designated shrine, but the divine dwelling of the Horae as divinities presiding over the seasons. Their mention in the passage about flowers and plants is even more explicable if we remember that in Athens two Horae were worshipped, with two names clearly linked with vegetation, Thallo and Karpo (Paus. 9.35.2).[96] At the same time, these lines describe

92 See Van der Weiden (1991) 79 *ad* fr. 70b.24 and 201 ad loc.; Lavecchia (2000) 267–268 *ad* 13, 170–171 *ad* fr. 70b.23–24; Ford (2013) 326–331; Pavlou (2011) 74 (but we should remember that this is typical of other choral genres as well: see Calame [2013b] 336–337; Athanassaki [2018] 102–108, more particularly 107–108 on this song).

93 Furley and Bremer (2001) 2.212–213 *ad* 13.

94 As in Pind. fr. 150 μαντεύεο Μοῖσα, προφατεύσω δ' ἐγώ. Maslov (2015) 200–201 states that *prophatas* 'is not a case of appropriation of religious authority, but an improvised metapoetic term that marks the professionalization of poetic discourse'; but in fr. 150 at least the correlation μαντεύεο/προφατεύσω implies a religious nuance. The distinction between μάντεις and προφῆται is stressed in Pl. *Tim.* 72a6–b5, but such a stress actually reacts to the frequent interchangeability between the two terms: see Kadletz (1978) 95–96. On religious nuances in lines 13–19, see Pavlou (2011) 69 and n. 38. City Dionysia were actually celebrated in spring, during the month of Elaphebolion (between March and April). For the emphasis on the recurrent moment of the festival, see *Pae.* 3 (fr. 52c = D3 Rutherford) 14; *Pae.* 6 (fr. 52f = D6 Rutherford) 5. On springtime as a context for Dionysiac ritual, see also Philodamos' *Paean to Dionysus* (Käppel [1992] *Pai.* 39.3–4, with Clay [1996] 88), as well as Ar. *Nub.* 311–313, a description of the choral and dramatic competitions of the City Dionysia similar to the Pindaric passage (cf. Dover [1968] 142 ad loc.).

95 Such statements are not self-limiting, as Maslov (2015) 197–200 thinks.

96 Even if the passage is quite debated, Pausanias seems to be reliable here (see Habicht [1982] 87–89; Moggi and Osanna [2010] 415–417). On the Horae and the cyclical renewal

the present occasion as well, since the dithyramb is one of those songs 'plucked in spring' (6). The song is referring both to the cycle of seasonal festivals and to the present occurrence of the Dionysia.

5 Conclusions

Fr. 75 places the performance in space and time and makes several places and temporal levels converge into the present occasion. First, Pindar involves the gods in the performance by referring to their frequent coming to Athens; in this way, he can evoke a hotspot in the city of Athens besides the Sanctuary of Dionysus, namely the *agora* with the Altar of the Twelve Gods. Secondly, the ode itself is part of a recurrent festival celebrating Dionysus every year and is inscribed in the cycle of the seasons. Several journeys are embedded in this performance: of the gods to the *agora* of Athens; of the choruses to Semele; of this specific chorus to Dionysus. They all make the present performance meaningful and blessed by the gods. At the heart of this scenario, the lyric 'I' as a singing and dancing persona stands as the one coming from Zeus to Dionysus (8–10).

We have here a blurring of *deixis ad oculos* and imaginative representation: the very core of the fragment is the coexistence of a human and a divine level: two worlds—the natural and the supernatural—are colliding. The ritual, as interpreted and reshaped by Pindar, is not exclusively concerned with the reshaping of the civic space, but with both evoking hotspots in Athens and linking them with divine hotspots (Mount Olympus, from whence the gods are coming; Zeus himself as an ideal starting point for the speaker). This is made possible by superimposing a linear movement (from Zeus to Dionysus) onto the circular dance the chorus is performing and is compatible not only with Pindar's text and with antiquarian and archaeological data, but also with Pindar's nuanced approach to ritual contexts as we know it from other poems.

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in another song (*Paean* 1 [fr. 52a = D1 Rutherford]), see Pavlou (2011) 66–67. Neer and Kurke (2014) 570–573 = (2019) 151–152, individuate here a reference to the Sanctuary of the Horae, but this is unnecessary: the Horae were frequently linked with Dionysus (*Anth. Pal.* 13.28, a literary reworking of a choregic inscription; Archil. test. 4 Tarditi, col. 2.10–11; see Privitera [1966] 18; Ieranò [1997] 260–261; Furley and Bremer [2001] 2.213 *ad* 14–15). As Alessandro Giardini points out to me, θάλαμος can metaphorically refer to the earth (Aesch. *Pers.* 624, Eur. *HF* 807). It is also used of other natural places as dwellings of the gods (Soph. *OT* 195, Eur. *Bacch.* 560–561).

CHAPTER 4

The Role of Ritual and Monument in Creating *Kleos*: The Epigram of Alcmaeonides from the Sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios (*IG* I^3 1469 = *CEG* 302)

Cameron G. Pearson

One of the topics which this volume elicits is the role of religious ritual in the performance of song.[1] The following chapter explores this theme from the perspective of inscriptional evidence from the archaic period and focuses on a statue base dedicated by a certain Alcmaeonides (spelled Alkmēonides on the inscription) from the Apollo Ptoion sanctuary in Boeotia. One of the problems one faces when studying inscribed poems that only survive on stone, metal, or ceramics is that we do not know how well known they were outside of their original stetting and if they were ever reperformed. Thus, we may wonder if an inscribed dedication set up in a sanctuary was effective at communicating prestige. Put another way, were most inscribed dedications only meant for the gods? Did they only reach a limited local audience? Or could they spread fame far and wide? When we ask these questions of a literary text, such as a Pindaric ode, we are able to answer, at least partially, in the affirmative to the three questions above, since in addition to an original performance, the poem has somehow survived until our time. We also know that some inscribed epigrams were probably reperformed and were also later recorded. For example, those by Simonides and Cleobulus' epigram on Midas, discussed below. By contextualizing what an ancient reading of the dedication by Alcmaeonides would have entailed, it is argued that some inscribed poems, even though they did not become part of a literary tradition, were similar to a victory ode in

1 For a brief historiography of the study of religion and literature (song) in classical studies, see Bierl (2007). Any use of the term "ritual" herein is meant as "religious ritual" in the broad sense of the term as a repeated religious action. More restricted senses of ritual have been put forth, such as the theory that the authority of religious ritual derives from "counterintuitive agents" (e.g. gods) which cause some change and provide an end for causal explanations; this authority may then be used to distinguish religious ritual from other rituals, such as Catholic baptism from prayer, see McCauley and Lawson (2007), esp. 223–227. Here, however, I follow a ritual-performance model, such as that employed by e.g. Stehle (1997) 19 and *passim* and Calame (1997); see also Day (2010) 4–5 and *passim*.

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this respect; they were also part of a wider phenomenon—evident in archaic poetry—which anchored the spread of *kleos* in a specific local ritual.

My reading of the inscription is informed by recent scholarly work that applies theories of poetic performance to our interpretation of material culture. Pindar's odes have been especially well plumbed in this respect.[2] In addition, there is much recent scholarship on the cultural context of inscribed epigrams that has influenced the arguments in this chapter.[3] Especially pertinent is the argument that in an oral 'song culture'[4] a poetic inscription should be understood as a speech act whose reperformance was staged by the inscription as spoken autonomously by the passerby or reader.[5] Thus, for example, Joseph Day focuses on the following epigram written on the legs of a small bronze statuette (ca. 700 [all dates are BCE]):

> Μάντικλός μ' ἀνέθεκε ϝεκαβόλοι ἀργυροτόξοι
> τᾶς {δ}δε|κάτας· τὺ δέ, Φοῖβε, δίδοι χαρίϝετταν ἀμοιβ̣[άν].
> *CEG* 326

> Mantiklos set me up for the far-shooter, silver bowed (god), out of the tithe. As for you, Phoebos, grant a *charis*-filled return.
> trans. DAY [2010] 36

2 For example, see Steiner (2001); Athanassaki (2011) and (2012a); Power (2011). For recent debates and bibliography, see Fearn (2017) esp. 1–28, Neer and Kurke (2014) 527–528, n. 1; Day (2010) ch. 3 and 5, esp. 200, n. 94. Less emphasized in some of the references just cited, but significant are: Ebert (1972); Young (1983); Burnett (1989) and (2005); Bernardini (2000); Cummins (2009). For non-Pindaric lyric and material culture, see Cazzato and Lardinois (2016b).

3 Sourvinou-Inwood (1995) esp. 362–412; Day (1994), (2000), and esp. (2010) develop the implications of dedications and their epigrams as part of ritual and poetic performance; Furley (2010) for an emphasis on the statue and the meaning of *charis*. There are also many other important papers in Baumbach, Petrovic, and Petrovic (2010) and Petrovic, Petrovic, and Thomas (2018), e.g. see n. 5 below. Steiner (2021) argues that archaic and early classical epigraphy and dipinti were repeatedly intended as a representation of choral dance and song, see esp. 490–551.

4 The ubiquitous phrase is from Herington (1985).

5 Svenbro (1993) e.g. 26–43, 164–166; expanded by Day (2010) 21–25, 44–48 with rich bibliography; Schmitz (2010). For the relationship between the viewer/reader and the statue/epigram, see Lorenz (2010) Bruss (2010); and especially for the epigram as "framing" the experience of the statue, Tanner (1999) 158. For evidence and debates concerning ancient literacy, see Langdon (2015); Schmitz (2010); Day (2010) ch. 2; Stoddart and Whitley (1988); Svenbro ibid., Bakker (1993); Elmer (2005); for cautions against widespread literacy see, for example, Harris (1996) and Bing (2002).

He argues that a performance of this epigram entails the following:

> No reader could logically say 'Mantiklos dedicated *me*' as an autonomous utterance of their own; but, as often in performed poetry, the "ego" of an inscription read aloud was a "narrator," not to be identified with the one who uttered the "ego." Readers lent their voices to the "ego" of the dedication; the object would speak, but only when a reader uttered the words aloud. Whenever a reading occurred, the words of the first sentence fit the speech situation, that is, an object standing in front of the reader and, through his or her voice, calling the attention of anyone in earshot (the implied "you," which includes both reader and god) to itself and its unity with the words written on it. In the prayer, strongly marked off by the τὺ δέ from the first sentence to emphasize the deictic shift, readers continued speaking the role of "ego-narrator," but they could resume their own identity because nothing blocked them from identifying with the implied "ego" of the utterance.[6]

This interpretation places the performance of epigrams within the current scholarly understanding of the poetic 'I' in archaic poetry and also explains how an ancient reader would perform the deictic shift from 'I' to 'you' in Mantiklos's epigram.[7]

The monument that is the focus of this study was set up by Alcmaeonides, the son of Alcmaeon and the brother of the famous Megacles, who vied for power with Pisistratus and Lykourgos in the first half of the sixth century.[8] It is securely dated to around the middle of the sixth century based on the script (*IG* I^3 1469) and the historical connection to Megacles, whose 'birth-year can hardly be brought down much after 600'.[9] It celebrated a chariot victory of the Athenian Alcmaeonides won at Athens, but it was erected at the Apollo Ptoion Sanctuary in Boeotia. Various theories have been proposed in order to explain why an Athenian victor would set up a monument in Boeotia: the Alcmaeonidae courting favor with the Ptoion priests;[10] guest-friendship or intermarriage;[11] the monument as a representation of the Alcmaeonidae countering Theban support for Pisistratus' return in 547/546 (Herodotus 1.61.3, *Athenaion Politeia*

6 Day (2010) 45–46.
7 For the 'I' in lyric, see e.g. the papers in Slings (1990) and n. 63 below.
8 Hdt. 1.59–61.
9 Davies (1971) 372.
10 Bizard (1920) 235–236.
11 Jeffery (1984).

15.2);[12] or, assuming there were Panathenaic games in 547/546, Alcmaeonides may have won the chariot race in Athens, but did not have time to commemorate the monument there before being exiled in 546/545 (Jeffery *LSAG*, 73).[13]

A counter-argument to these political interpretations proposes that Alcmaeonides' dedication was not a political statement,[14] but was rather part of an overall increase in Panhellenic dedications for about a decade at the site after the destruction of the Apollo temple at Delphi in 548/547. This is contrary to Ducat's characterization of the site as regional,[15] which I believe is certainly correct. In fact, there is no evidence at the Ptoion for dedications from Western or Eastern Greeks, which Scott has shown to be a strong characteristic of Delphi during this period.[16] Furthermore, according to current dating, there is a general increase in votive *kouroi* dedications in the third quarter of the sixth century across the Greek world. Excluding the Ptoion, which has an increase from 22 *kouroi* in the second quarter of the century to 69 in the third quarter (Schachter's main data from the Ptoion), votive *kouroi* increase from 35 to 56 in the same period across the Greek world and at Delphi there is an increase from 1 to 5.[17] Since the increase of *kouroi* at the Ptoion sanctuary follows general trends rather than hinting at a regional anomaly and because Alcmaeonides' and Hipparchus' dedication (*IG* I^3 1470), decades later, are the only surviving inscriptions from the Ptoion that are not written in the Boeotian alphabet,[18] I argue below that the reason for an Athenian dedication at the Ptoion lies with the naming of the charioteer in Alcmaeonides' epigram. The political interpretations of this monument should be seen as paramount and readers or listeners to Alcmaeonides' epigram would interpret it as a symbol of his political power which also spread his *kleos*.

1 The Topographical and Archaeological Context of the Monument

Alcmaeonides' monument comes from the Boeotian sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios (also called the Ptoion sanctuary), which is about a 27 km or 17 mile walk north of Thebes. The sanctuary consisted of three main terraces: the lower terrace

12 See Lauffer (1959) *RE* 23: 1556, Ducat (1971) 246–249, Davies (1971) 373.

13 It is from this last inference as well as the letterforms that the date of 540? is given in *IG* I^3 1469 = *CEG* 302, which I argue below could also be earlier.

14 Schachter (1994) 294–299.

15 Ducat (1971) 445–446, 457.

16 Scott (2010) 55–56, 72.

17 Meyer-Brüggemann (2007) 251 and 257.

18 Ducat (1971) 457.

with a fountain, a middle terrace, and the upper terrace containing the main shrine and oracle with a male prophet (fig. 4.8). Due to later construction on the site, a sacred way has never been located, but, as in other Greek sanctuaries, one can imagine a path (or paths) lined with monuments that led uphill to the third terrace. The location is described in our literary sources and confirmed by dedications found there that call Apollo 'Ptoios'.[19] A Pindar fragment (fr. 51b Maehler) also names Apollo Ptoios and calls the area τρικάρανον (triple-peaked):

καί ποτε τὸν τρικάρανον
Πτωΐου κευθμῶνα κατέσχεθε κού[ρα].

And when [she or he] held the triple peaks of the sanctuary of Ptoios.[20]

This fragment is perhaps from a hymn or paean to Apollo Ptoios.[21] Regardless, it accurately describes the landscape of the Ptoion sanctuary, which is in a high valley named (in modern times) after the Perdikovrysi spring, looking up at a spur of Mt. Pelagia to the east, which is one of the summits of Mt. Ptoion. The site is surrounded by three peaks of the ancient Mt. Ptoion, referred to in Linear B fragments from Thebes, and now known by the names of Mt. Pelagia, Tsoukoureli, and Megalovouno.[22] The landscape today is spectacular, full of steep slopes, ravines, olive trees, and water flowing through the valley and down through the site of the sanctuary.[23] The Apollo Ptoios sanctuary is itself dominated by a sheer limestone spur that stands about 100 m above the site (plate 4.9). The setting is sometimes compared to a smaller version of Delphi, the spur above the site lending it a sense of majesty and wonder.

The name Ptoios associates Apollo's sanctuary with another: about 1.5 km to the west and in between the ancient city of Akraiphia and the Apollo sanctuary, is a sanctuary dedicated to a hero Ptoios and a *kourotrophos* (rearing mother).[24]

19 Hdt. 8.135, Paus. 9.23.6. Note that the epithet for Apollo at the Ptoion is spelled Ptôieus before the mid-fifth century BCE, while Ptôios is used throughout at the nearby hero sanctuary (Schachter 1981–1994 I, 55–56).

20 Translations by author unless stated. Maehler prints *kou*[*ros*] because in Strabo 9.2.34 the subject is a 'he' not a 'she', but see Guillon (1953) 377, n. 1 and Ducat (1971) 441 for the likely subject.

21 Guillion (1953).

22 See Del Freo (2009) 50–51; the reference in the Linear B tablets could solely be referring to the name of the area and need not mean that religious worship dates back to that period.

23 See Guillon (1953) and Ducat (1971) 40–42 for descriptions of the site.

24 Ducat (1971, 439, 442) debunks Guillon's (1943 II, 103–105) theory that the Hero Ptoios is

The whole area consisting of the city and the sanctuaries is bordered by the Kopais lake/plain to the west and northwest, and to the east and north the land rises toward Mt. Ptoion. To the south is lake Likeri (or Yliki). The area is on the way north from Thebes and would have benefited from a location where people and goods passed through to and from Lokris and Thessaly.

All that survives of Alcmaeonides' monument is a rectangular Doric capital (0.42 × 0.422 m) made of white, bluish marble, the abacus of which is inscribed on three sides with a dedication in iambic trimeter (figs. 4.1–4.5).[25] The inscription reads as follows:

A [Φοί]βο μέν εἰμ᾽ ἄγαλ[μα Λ]ᾳτ̣[οί]δα καλ[ό]ν· |
[καί μ᾽ Ἀ]λ̣κμέονος hυἱς Ἀλκμεονίδες |
B [h]ίποισι νικέ[σας ἔ]θεκεν [ὀκέαις],|
hὰς Κνοπις̣ [εἰ]σ̣έλαυν᾽ ho[ca. 6–8 — x — ˘ — (or — ˘ –-)] |
C *Vacat*
D hότ᾽ ἒν Ἀθάναις Παλάδος πανέ[γυρις].

2 [ho δ᾽ Ἀ] λ̣κμέονος Hansen *CEG* 302; [καί μ᾽ Ἀ]λ̣κμέονος author. 4 Κνοπι[ς εἰσ]έλαυν᾽ Ebert 1972 no. 3; Κ̣νοπι̣[άδα]ς ἔλαυν᾽ ho Hansen *CEG* 302= *IG* I³ 1469; Κνοπις̣ [εἰ]σ̣έλαυν᾽ author via autopsy.

> I am a beautiful *agalma* for Phoebos, son of Leto; and Alcmaeonides, son of Alcmaeon, set [me] (here), after he won with [swift] horses that Knopis the [?---] drove, when the festival of Pallas was at Athens.

If one is facing this monument, at its front is face A, containing two lines; face B is to the viewer's right of face A and also contains two lines; face C (opposite face A) was left blank, and face D (to the left of A) contains one line, giving us five lines of iambic trimeter (figs. 4.1–4.4). Logically, face C should contain

a local predecessor to Apollo by showing that the earliest finds from the Apollo Sanctuary are from the last quarter of the eighth century, while the evidence for the Hero Ptoios sanctuary begins around 580 BCE, except for two proto-Corinthian sherds which join. Schachter (1981–1994, s.v. Apollo Ptoion; Hero Ptoios), however, thinks that the Hero Ptoios sanctuary is not connected to the Apollo Sanctuary, the Hero cult going back to a Mycenaean proto-type of Hero and *kourotrophos* (rearing mother) and the Apollo cult being usurped from an earlier male prophet, perhaps similar to nearby Telphousa in the *Hymn to Apollo*.

25 See Kassel (1975) for names that do not fit dactylic or elegiac verse, such as Alcmaeonides. See also the patronymic put into iambs in *CEG* 362 = Ebert 1972 no. 2.

the last line that is inscribed on face D, but it is left empty. Ducat (1971: 250–251, with n. 5) argued that face C is the front of the monument, and was left blank because it overlooked a precipitous promontory and hence the opposite side could only be read after one had arrived at the highest plateau of the sanctuary. The two fragments that make up the monument were found at different times and neither was in situ. When examining the stone, I saw a clear carved lip on the top of the capital only on face A (figs. 4.6–4.7). Face C has no lip and is left roughly chiseled as if not intended for view. The lip on face A gave a border to whatever the capital supported. Thus, in fact, face A is clearly the front of the monument because of the carved lip and because it is where the poem begins.

But then why the blank face C? A fresh study of what remains of the original excavation reports at l'École française d'Athènes shows that all other column dedications from the Ptoion whose findspots are known were found on the middle terrace of the sanctuary and that the best evidence for an archaic wall at the Ptoion is also on the middle terrace. Thus, it is possible that our monument was originally set up on this middle terrace against a wall, which abutted the blank face C.[26] Regardless of whether this suggestion was in fact the case, the layout of the inscription forced readers to move around the monument in order to read its dedication. I address this peculiarity below.

The inscribed capital would have been supported by an unfluted Doric column and there is a shallow rectangular D-shaped cutting on the top surface of the capital indicating that it in turn supported a statue. The column and statue were never found. This lost statue was probably either a small *kore*, *kouros*, or charioteer of bronze or marble.[27] Based on the diameter of the fitting for the

26 If there had been a copse of sacred laurels (Ducat 1971, 402–407, 457), monuments could have been within or just above it on the terrace. If it were possible to circumnavigate the monument, the blank face C would create a discontinuity.

27 Ducat (1971) 249–251, Day (2010) 127–128. Note that the genitive of Phoebos in the first line does not help us determine the form of the statue, see Ducat ibid; Schachter (1994) 291, Day ibid. As to the material, Ducat insists on bronze but marble is also possible; see the marble grave lion from Korakou, which Bookidis (2015) has shown rests atop a flat base in the Athens National Museum. Since there is no parallel for this type of cutting at the Ptoion, and because we do not know enough about the various techniques used there for erecting statues, I do not think it is prudent to argue for what the statue and its material in fact were. An educated guess is a chariot similar to Kidos' dedication of a small (h 0.147 m) bronze charioteer, ca. 540 BCE, see Ducat (1971) no. 120. However, note that the method of fixing statues to the marble is not the same as on the Athenian Acropolis where grooves of 4–6 cm were cut to attach the bronze (Raubitschek [1949] nos. 77, 147, 150, 178, 181; see also pp. 479–481). In contrast, plinth cavities for marble statues from the Athenian Acropolis are usually at least 2 cm deep, see Keesling (2003) 78. As Marcadé (1974) 321 says

top of the column (0.173 m), the whole monument would have stood, at most, at around a meter and a half in height, smaller than many of the earlier or contemporaneous *kouroi*.[28] In the authoritative publication of finds from the site, Jean Ducat (1971) publishes the remains of 90–135 *kouroi*. Many are fragmentary, but they are nevertheless the largest assemblage by far to survive from any Greek sanctuary.[29] Nonetheless, Alcmaeonides' monument would have stood out as a rare marble column dedication. As Ducat emphasizes, all of the other column dedications were made of poros and all but one may have been tripod supports.

The following is a hypothetical vignette of what an encounter with Alcmaeonides' monument may have been like: on a bright day in the latter half of the sixth century BCE, during the procession up the Perdikovrysi valley toward the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios, you look up after having paused for a drink of cold water, spouting from a bronze serpent attached to the fountain house.[30] Above a copse of laurel trees,[31] you would have glimpsed a city of marble *kouroi* awaiting you at the highest terrace as you prepared to encounter the oracle that never lies (Pausanias 9.23.7). After arriving at the intermediate level of the sanctuary with its sacred grove and offerings, you would likely have been surrounded by column dedications or tripods, with the many *kouroi* above you on the third and highest terrace. An odd column dedication would have stood out, or perhaps you saw other pilgrims shuffling around the monument as they had to walk around its sides in order to read out its long, five-line inscription, divided over three sides of its capital. The monument's relatively smaller size and profuse inscription made it an anomaly in the sanctuary, which sparked your interest and led you to take a closer look (see figs. 4.8–4.9 for a plan and photo of the site).

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about Delian dedications: 'En vérité, il n'y a pas de différence technique entre les plinthes des statues masculines et celles des statues féminines qui étaient portées par les colonnes votives …'.

28 E.g. see Ducat (1971) nos. 52, 54, 58, 59, 63, 64, 66, 67, 69, 70–75, 78, 79–90, 92–99, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 108, 109–114. Of note is that the "Attic" statues are for the most part smaller, see nos. 127–140, as are those of the "naxo-béotiens" style (nos. 165–178) and some of the "island" *kouroi* (nos. 143–164). The restored height of the column is based on the top diameter being roughly 1/5 of the column; e.g. see Ducat (1971) 400, Guillon (1943) II, 48.

29 For comparison, fragments of about 50 statues, mostly *kouroi* and about a dozen *korai* and a few horse and rider statues survive from the Apollo and Artemis sanctuary on Delos.

30 For the bronze serpent, see Ducat (1971) 425–429, pl. CXLVII; it likely dates later than Alcmaeonides' monument.

31 This is speculative; see Ducat (1971) 402–407, 457 with *SEG* 31.392.

The dedication with its statue would have been overshadowed by many others in a sanctuary known for its more impressive *kouroi*. This is noteworthy since this dedication is a monument erected by a member of the Alcmaeonidae, who were capable of building a temple at Delphi. However, the relatively unimpressive size of the dedication can be partially explained by its relatively long epigram. Only five archaic inscribed epigrams are longer.[32] Thus we have a rare example in archaic dedications where a long poem is inscribed below a relatively small statue. Possible explanations for this anomaly may include Cannon's theory of 'expressive redundancy', whereby elites lead the way in more modest display, and what Ian Morris calls, 'individualizing' as opposed to 'public' display.[33] The lost statue may also have been made of bronze or a precious metal, emphasizing the dedicant's wealth.

However, theories based on larger trends in display do not explain the efficacy of Alcmaeonides' dedication. I emphasize that within the context of the Apollo Ptoion sanctuary, which is most famous for its *kouroi*, and has left us with a paucity of inscriptions, and only two that can be connected to large stone statues,[34] the choice of a small statue and long inscription implies that the epigram played an important role in viewers' experiences of the monument.

More often, the local practice of inscribing dedications at the Apollo Ptoion sanctuary was similar to one of its earliest surviving inscriptions on stone (650–620 BCE?), inscribed *boustrophedon*, or writing alternatively from left to right and from right to left, like the path of a cow plowing a field, on the bottom of the *peplos* of a fragmentary female Daedalic statue (also a rarity at the site).

---ϱ̣ον ἀνέθεκε τοῖ Ἀπόλ →
ōνι τοῖ Πτōιεῖ ←
---ο̣τος ἐποίϝεσε →

---ron dedicated [me] to Apollo Ptôieus. ---otos made [me].
DUCAT, no. 46

32 In fact, besides two new public funerary epigrams (one from Arta, *SEG* 46.676 and the other from Thebes, Papazarkadas [2014] 223–233), King Croesus' dedication (Papazarkadas [2014] 233–251), and two Laconian examples, (Menon's *CEG* 375 and *CEG* 377), this is the longest dedicatory inscribed epigram in terms of metrical lines from the archaic period (the only longer poetic epitaphs are *CEG* 43, 58, 143). I have also heard that M. Adak discovered a new long archaic epigram in Teos that is as yet unpublished.

33 Canon (1989); Morris (1992) 149–155.

34 Ducat (1971) 457 records only fifty-one inscriptions on stone, bronze, and ceramics form the seventh to the fifth centuries BCE.

While, like most inscriptions from the Ptoion, this one is fragmentary, there is only enough broken away on the left edge for the missing names. We see here the common practice of the dedicator's name and a form of Apollo Ptoieus[35] with the addition of what is likely the sculptor's signature in the last line. All of the other archaic epigrams from the Ptoion, except for one, are one or two metrical lines (*CEG* 333–340). The longer one is a four-line inscription preserved on a terracotta tablet (restored to 0.25 × 0.06 m), whose purpose and display context is unclear (*CEG* 334, 550–525 BCE). We are left to look elsewhere for other examples of inscribed monuments that make the unusual demand of the viewer not only to walk to a different side of the monument, but to walk back and forth in order to read its letters.[36]

2 Reading and Moving: Other Examples

While there is no exact parallel for how Alcmaeonides' monument is inscribed, other examples of inscribed monuments that cannot be read from one position further suggest that physically moving while experiencing a monument was one of the ways in which monuments were connected to specific cultural practices in archaic Greece. There are, of course, many examples of epigrammatic dedications and funerary monuments, mostly later than this one, that are inscribed on multiple sides of a base, all of which, to my knowledge, however, follow the sequential order and do not leave one face blank before moving on to the next face.[37] The best parallel for an inscription on three sides of a monument that I have found is a rectangular (0.31 × 0.22 × 0.08 m) poros base dated from 600–550 BCE, from the Acropolis of ancient Halae in Opountian Locris. However, what the original monument was is unclear. It has rectangular cuttings on its top and bottom. Jeffery suggested that it may have been the crowning member of a pillar, on which was carved a relief or incised figure, such as a *kore* (*LSAG*: 107, no. 7). Goldman originally suggested it either supported a

35 See note 3.

36 For further examples of archaic writing which potentially mirror choral dance, see Steiner (2021) 490–551.

37 See Ebert (1972) nos. 14, 21, 27, and 32, with artist signature and repetition of name on the plinth. For multisided dedications at the Ptoion: Ducat (1971) nos. 257, 259, 261. See also the base for a large Apollo statue from Delphi (ca. 480–79 BCE): *CEG* 325; Flacelière (1954) *FD* III.4.2: 179; and *CEG* 130, 174, 180, 286, 375, 381, 383, 385, 386, 398; *IG* I^3 988. *CEG* 396, a small clay obelisk from Metapontum (525–500 BCE), is an interesting case, but its small base (0.09 × 0.04 m at the bottom) puts it in a different category.

stele or an early statue, perhaps similar to Nicandra of Naxos' dedication from Delos (Athens NM 1, ca. 650), or similar to the early Daedalic statue from the Ptoion (Athens NM 2 = Ducat no. 46 [quoted above], though with a different type of attachment to her base).[38] This dedication to Athena, consisting of two rough hexameters, begins on the left side of the base (face A), soon moves to the front (face B), and then to the right side (face C), before retracing its steps across the faces in the reverse direction and upside-down in false-*boustrophedon* (*IG* IX 1^2, 5 1867, pl. 4 [updating *CEG* 348]).

A **B** **C**
E ὔ ϝ α ν δ | ρ ό ς μ᾽ ἀ ν έ θ ε κ ε· [- |- -] ọ γ π ε ρ ι [κ]|- →
αλέα πọ[- | -]ν / χερσὶ φίλαισιν, ἔδο[κ|έ τ᾽] Ạ[θα]ναίαι ṛ [.]ΓΛ[.]Υ. ←
C **B** **A**

Euwandros dedicated me; … a very beautiful [? …] with his own hands, and he gave [me] to Athena …

While reading may seem difficult here, such irregularity in writing was not uncommon during this period. Furthermore, this was probably an important monument. It is only one of two surviving archaic inscribed monuments from the Halae acropolis, both dedicated to Athena (the other is *IG* IX 1^2, 5 1868). It is similar to Alcmaeonides' monument in that a viewer would have to walk around the monument and then retrace his or her steps in order to find the end of the dedication. While the inscription's graphic display may seem to reflect a lack of forethought, it does not. The inscription purposefully begins and ends on the same face (A), the short, left-hand side of the block. It also perfectly fills the available space with the letters, which become slightly smaller in the lower line, though this lower line is also broken off at the bottom so that the smaller effect is exaggerated.[39] There is a ridge marking off the space where the beginning and end of the inscription are, so we know that the writing fills the available space. It could be chance that Euandros' and Alcmaeonides' dedications both force their viewers to trace a similar path back and forth over three sides of a dedication, but as I argue below, it is also possible that this pattern of writing is influenced by culturally specific dynamics between viewer and

38 See Goldman (1915) 438–442, figs. 1–4 with *IG* IX 1^2, 5 1867.

39 Goldman (1915) was critical of the upside-down direction and irregularity of the size of the script, but there was no standard or "neat" way to write at this time, and what standards there were (e.g. epichoric script and false-*boustrophedon*), the inscriber follows.

monument that need explanation. The monument of Euandros need not have the same explanation as Alcmaeonides' monument, since the two dedications are quite different; e.g. Euandros' inscription extends to its sides, faces A and C, for about 10 cm less than the length of the front face, and is not an athletic dedication. But the similarity of their three-sided inscriptions shows that movement while reading deserves further investigation.

There is another interesting parallel for an epigram which would require reading and walking. This is the monumental polyandrion from ancient Ambracia (modern Arta), which was built for men killed on an embassy.[40] It has been dated to ca. 550 BCE or later (*SEG* 41.540A). The monument consists of a rectangular peribolos made of local dark limestone that is 12.4 m in length and 2.5 m in height. The inscription is carved on the upper tier of the monument in three *boustrophedon* lines, which form five elegiac couplets (the inscription often contains triple interpuncts that mark metrical lines). The text is somewhat problematic but can be construed as follows. The first line reads left to right, the second right to left, and the third, short line left to right.

Line 1. → Ἄνδρας [τ]ούσδ' [ἐ]σλοὺς ὀλοφύρομαι, hοῖσι Πυραιβῶν ⋮ παῖδες ἐμ̄ετίσαντ' ἀ[λ]κινόεντα φόνον, ⋮ ἀνγε[λ]ίαν με⟨τ⟩ιόντας ἀπ' εὐρυχόροι[ο Ϙορίνθου ⋮]→

[lacuna between lines 1–2 with missing pentameter and hexameter; with names of the Corinthian ambassadors (?)]

Line 2. ←πατρίδ' ἀν' ἱμερτὰν πένθος ἔθαλλε τότε. ⋮ Τ̄όδε δ' ἀπ' Ἀνπρακίας, Ναυσίστρατο⟨ν⟩ αὐτὰ παθόντε ⋮ Καλλίταν τ' Ἀΐδα δ̄ōμα μέλαν κατέχΕ ⟨⋮⟩ κα- ←

Line 3. →È μὰν Ἀραθθίōνα καÈ Εὔξενον ἵστε, πολίταΕ, ⟨⋮⟩ hōς μετὰ τōνδ' ἀνδρ̄ōν Κὰρ ἔκιχεν θανάτου. ⋮ →[41]

I lament these brave men, for whom, as they accompanied an embassy from [Corinth?] of the wide dancing places, the sons of the Pyraiboi devised a grievous slaughter … then in [their] beloved fatherland grief

40 See the relevant sections in Anderson (2018) for a treatment of this epigram's controversies.

41 The text mainly follows Day (2007) 30–31, with further references. See also from Cassio (1994) 103 and D'Alessio (1995) 26. The letter E at the end of a word represents the epichoric Corinthian vowel of that shape (as opposed to the angular B shaped vowel), which in Ionic, for example, would be rendered by *epsilon* and *eta*.

> blossomed. And these two from Ambracia, Nausistratos and Callitas, having suffered the same fate, the dark house of Hades confines. And—here!—know, citizens that the Ker of death overtook Aratthion and Euxenos together with these men.
>
> trans. from DAY [2007] 31

This cenotaph stood alongside a road to the city of Ambracia, not far from its gates. The large public monument would have been unavoidable as people left and entered the city. After leaving and entering several times one might have memorized the five couplets and the act of mourning (ὀλοφύρομαι, line 1) for these dead may have become part of a patriotic Ambraciot's weekly commute to the fields. But to fully read the inscription, the reader would have to retrace his steps back twelve and a half meters to where s/he began, and then walk forward again about another three meters to finish the third line (the last couplet).[42] Thus, in another way the poem is not designed to be read by the "passerby" common in other epitaphs. The act of reading and walking back and forth forces the reader away from the practical purpose of walking and into a ritual communion with its message that 'in [their] beloved fatherland grief blossomed' (2). To someone walking and hearing the elegy being read, the act of walking and the elegiac rhythm could have reminded him or her of the experience of funerary rituals, such as the *ekphora* (funerary procession).[43] Day has suggested that the 'motion [of readers, hearers, and viewers] might even replicate a processional ritual, or perhaps a choral performance with its back and forth motion of strophe/ antistrophe, at the monument's founding'.[44] Building on Day's interpretation, Steiner argues that, '[t]he diction of the cenotaph's

42 The letters themselves (0.06 m high) were carved along the thin, oblong rectangular blocks that make up the extant top of the monument (2.50 m high). The letters can only be read if one stands very close to the monument and looks up as one walks along; even if they were painted, they could not be read several meters away from where one can take in the monument as a whole.

43 For recent work on the various genres of funerary lament and its relation to ritual, see Palmisciano (2017) esp. ch. 3. For the rich debates about threnodic elegy which may in turn be related to funerary epigram, see e.g. Bowie (1986) 22–27; Day (1989) esp. 24–27 (connecting lament to funerary rituals); Cassio (1994) 106–113; Sourvinou-Inwood (1995) 119 n. 34 (*contra* Day 1989); Aloni and Iannucci (2007) 14–16, 68–69, 74–85, 203–204; Day (2007) 37–38; Faraone (2008) 132–135; Aloni (2009a) 169, 178–179; Budelmann and Power (2013) 12–14. See Petrovic (2016b) for the connection between elegy and the reading aloud of lists of the dead.

44 Day (2007) 40.

epigram furnishes an additional prompt to the reader to reperform the *thrênos* at the earlier funerary event, a choral procession and sung performance whose contents the lines all but perfectly "transcribe"'.[45]

3 How Monuments Generate *kleos*

The main question of this essay is how Alcmaeonides' monument activated a memory in its viewers and generated *kleos*. Before answering this question, I cite a few examples from our literary evidence in order to contextualize the relationship between monument and fame. The *Iliad* reminds its audience that it is not the monument, but what is spoken and remembered by people that will ensure *kleos*. For example, the epigram-like phrase Hector imagines being said at the sight of a Greek's tumulus:[46]

> 'ἀνδρὸς μὲν τόδε σῆμα πάλαι κατατεθνηῶτος,
> ὅν ποτ᾽ ἀριστεύοντα κατέκτανε φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ'.
> ὥς ποτέ τις ἐρέει· τὸ δ᾽ ἐμὸν κλέος οὔ ποτ᾽ ὀλεῖται.
> *Iliad* 7.89–91

> 'This is the *sema* of a man who died long ago, whom at his finest moment, once upon a time, famous Hector killed'. So will someone say, and my *kleos* will never die.

These lines have been interpreted proleptically as a very early example of an inscribed funerary epigram because of the phrase τόδε σῆμα (89) often found on such monuments.[47] If this were an epigram, however, the perspective would clearly not be that of the monument or the dead but of Hector, his killer, and thus it is not paralleled in extant funerary monuments.[48]

What is at play here is the emphasis on what is spoken over what is or what could be written. From Hector's point of view, the speech of a passerby and the memory of his own deeds are portrayed as more enduring than any inscription or marker that may have been part of the monument. Reading is certainly not

45 Steiner (2021) 517.

46 See also *Il.* 7.445–455 and 23.330–333.

47 For the ancient scholia, see Elmer (2005) with Petrovic (2016a); see also Dinter (2005) 153–154 with nn. 1–5 for bibliography.

48 Scodel (1992) 59, calls it an 'anti-epitaph'; however, see Muth-Petrovic (2012) for a different reading.

implied, since Hector imagines the lines being spoken by someone sailing past the funerary mound and looking at it from afar. The response to the tumulus is also characteristic of Hector's vanity. Nonetheless, the fantasy is predicated on his own *kleos*, as part of an oral tradition, framing the future interpretation of many tumuli on the Trojan shores.

The question then becomes, what effect did inscribed monuments have when they entered the fray and what was their relationship to other poetry, oral traditions, and *kleos*? One of the main arguments of Ute Ecker's (1990) book, *Grabmal und Epigram*, is that before writing was widespread, oral poetry was viewed as the safest way to preserve memory, and that once physical monuments came about they eventually were seen as more effective in transmitting *kleos*. However, Deborah Steiner (1994, esp. ch. 4) has shown that even in Herodotus' day, writing in ancient Athens is often associated with tyranny rather than democracy and freedom. In a similar vein, the following example shows how it is still the oral tradition that Herodotus portrays as true as opposed to the written evidence. In the course of listing the dedications which the Lydian King Croesus made at Delphi, Herodotus notes that of the two *perirrhanteria* dedicated by him, τῷ χρυσέῳ ἐπιγέγραπται Λακεδαιμονίων φάμενον εἶναι ἀνάθημα, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες· (1.51.3) ('the gold one is inscribed, saying it is a dedication of the Lacedaemonians, but they are wrong'). Herodotus goes on to say that he knows the Delphian who inscribed the vessel to please the Spartans, but will not say who he was.[49] Even in the fifth century, Herodotus' familiarity with an oral tradition that told the truth has a caché, at least in some cases, that the written word does not. Inscriptions were constrained by existing narratives and narrative forms.

One example which captures the relationship between monument and *kleos* is from Book 5 of the *Odyssey*, when Odysseus wishes he had died at Troy and been granted funeral honors (κτέρεα) which would spread his κλέος (5.311). It reminds us that poetry, monument, ritual, and *kleos* are ideally combined.

> ὡς δὴ ἐγώ γ' ὄφελον θανέειν καὶ πότμον ἐπισπεῖν
> ἤματι τῷ ὅτε μοι πλεῖστοι χαλκήρεα δοῦρα
> Τρῶες ἐπέρριψαν περὶ Πηλεΐωνι θανόντι.
> τῶ κ' ἔλαχον κτερέων, καί μευ κλέος ἦγον Ἀχαιοί·
> νῦν δέ με λευγαλέῳ θανάτῳ εἵμαρτο ἁλῶναι
>
> *Odyssey* 5.308–312

49 Prontera (1981) suggested that the Alcmaeonidae made the false dedication in an attempt to gain favor with the Spartans.

> Would that I had died and met fate on the day when the many Trojans hurled bronze spears at me around Achilles' body. Then I would have received funeral honors and the Achaeans would have spread my *kleos*. But now it is allotted me by a sad death to be taken.

In this passage what is emphasized are the material κτέρεα (funerary gifts or honors) and the oral spreading of κλέος as part of one ritual, which would also no doubt have been marked by some sort of monument, probably a mound. By the end of the poem, Odysseus is promised a future burial in Ithaca (11.134–138) as well as being remembered as the subject of the *Odyssey*. Thus the *Odyssey* imagines ritual, monument, and song as part of what accompanies *kleos*, which is more holistic than in the *Iliad*. Significantly, there is no *kleos* without the funerary ritual. Thus *kleos* must be anchored in a specific place, most often a monument.

One of Cleobulus of Lindos' poems (sixth century BCE), recorded by Diogenes Laertius (1.89–1.90) and Plato (*Phaedrus* 264D), is another early example of how monument and song are depicted as interdependent and located in a specific place.[50]

> χαλκῆ παρθένος εἰμί, Μίδα δ᾽ ἐπὶ σήματι κεῖμαι.
> ἔστ᾽ ἂν ὕδωρ τε νάῃ καὶ δένδρεα μακρὰ τεθήλῃ,
> ἠέλιός τ᾽ ἀνιὼν λάμπῃ, λαμπρά τε σελήνη,
> [καὶ ποταμοί γε ῥέωσιν, ἀνακλύζῃ δὲ θάλασσα,]
> αὐτοῦ τῇδε μένουσα πολυκλαύτῳ ἐπὶ τύμβῳ,
> ἀγγελέω παριοῦσι, Μίδας ὅτι τῇδε τέθαπται
>
> I am a maiden of bronze, and I rest upon Midas' tomb. So long as water shall flow and tall trees bloom, and the sun rise shining, and the shining moon [and rivers flow and the sea toss up its waves,] remaining on this very spot, over this much-lamented tomb, I will announce to those who pass that Midas is buried here.
>
> text and trans. from FORD [2002] 101

In the first line ('I am a maiden of bronze, and I rest upon Midas' tomb') we are to imagine a reader giving voice to a statue, which speaks to us in the manner of a funerary monument set up along the side of a road.[51] The monument

50 See Ford (2002) 101–109 and Markwald (1986) 34–83; see Fearn (2013b) for a similar argument.

51 On Markwald's (1986, 44) idea of deleting the first line, see Ford (2002) 101 n. 30.

proclaims that she will announce Midas' name, and thus his fame, in perpetuity. The poem, which we are to imagine on the monument, and the monument itself are also depicted seamlessly as part of one representation, without any distinction or opposition between song and material object.[52]

Furthermore, the significant point which I would like to emphasize is that the epigram reveals its own necessity by telling us that the bronze statue, probably a *kore* (χαλκῆ παρθένος line 1), is a memorial for Midas, which might have confused us, if we only saw the statue. It makes clear that the monument is not necessarily a mimesis of what is memorialized, and that only speech can actually clarify it. The epigram not only attests to the monument's immutability, but also to the power of the poem to define and frame how the monument is interpreted: ἔστ' ἂν ὕδωρ τε νάῃ … ἀγγελέω παριοῦσι, Μίδας ὅτι τῇδε τέθαπται ('as long as water flows … I will announce to passersby that Midas is buried here' [lines 2, 6]); that is to say that I, the maiden, will be necessary not only to understand the monument, but also to spread Midas' name.

The above examples show that there are various ways inscriptions, poetry, and monuments interact and that these relationships are part of a larger discourse about *kleos* in archaic Greece. What connects them is that in each case *kleos* is generated from a specific monument. Hector's imagined speaker repeats an oral tradition rather than looking to the monument for direction, but the monument is still necessary to initiate the memory. Inversely, the Midas inscription makes an appeal for the necessity of writing and is entirely part of the statue. Herodotus also reminds us that inscriptions themselves are not oral traditions and are thus constrained by the social or cultural memory associated with certain events or monuments.[53] But it is the passage from the *Odyssey* in which Odysseus longs to have been buried at Troy that points us toward an example of how ritual and performance are the middle ground between monument and *kleos*.

> τῶ κ' ἔλαχον κτερέων, καί μευ κλέος ἧγον Ἀχαιοί·
> *Odyssey* 5.311
>
> Then I would have received funeral honors and the Achaeans would have spread my *kleos*.

52 For treatment of 581 *PMG*, Simonides' famous riposte to Cleobulus' poem, see Fearn (2013b) and Ford (2002).

53 Social and cultural memory are vast fields beyond the scope of this paper and are also terms used in different ways in various fields of research; for an overview, see Wertsch and Roediger (2008).

It is the ritual of the burial accompanied by the material κτέρεα (funerary gifts or honors) that results in *kleos* for Odysseus. Similarly, in the following example, it is the dedication's ability to encourage a reperformance that connects the statue to the authority of a performed work, such as an epinician ode,[54] and thus enlarges its *kleos*.

The examples from the *Odyssey* and Cleobulus are closer to the dynamic and dialogue in Alcmaeonides' dedication; chronologically this also makes sense. They help us understand that the statue and epigram are both integral to the monument and part of one culturally and historically specific experience. *Kleos* needs to be activated by a *mnema*, which can mean either a memory or a monument.

4 The Performance Context of Alcmaeonides' Epigram

Let us return to the viewer who has reached the terrace in front of the statue. As stated previously, the long, five-line epigram, covering three faces of the capital, would have stood out and been a focal point of interest for ancient viewers, more habituated to the large *kouroi* of the Ptoion with their simpler inscriptions. The reader could have begun with any of the faces, depending on the direction of approach, and would then have reconstructed and reperformed the poem in its 'correct' order (A, B, D) by determining from μέν in the first line that the poem begins there, or by noticing that B and D do not read like the beginning of a dedicatory text.[55]

A [Φοί]βο μέν εἰμ᾽ ἄγαλ[μα Λ]ᾳτ̣[οί]δα καλ[ό]ν· |
[καί μ᾽ Ἀ]λ̣κμέονος hυἱς Ἀλκμεονίδες |
B [h]ίποισι νικέ[σας ἔ]θεκεν [ὀκέαις],|
hὰς Κνοπις [εἰ]σέλαυν᾽ ho[ca. 6–8] |
D hότ᾽ ἓ̣ν Ἀθάναις Παλάδος πανέ[γυρις].

I am a beautiful *agalma* for Phoebos, son of Leto; and Alcmaeonides, son of Alcmaeon, set (me here), after he won with [swift] horses that Knopis the [?---] drove, when the festival of Pallas was at Athens.

54 Another much discussed piece of evidence is Pindar *Nem.* 5.1–5, see note 57; it is later evidence for the discourse that statues as commemorative dedications were participating in. The fully detached ode was reperformable anywhere, while here I emphasize that the physically limited statue also claims to perpetuate fame through continuous reperformance, but as a ritual initiated in one place.

55 On ancient readers, see notes 14–15 above.

Most likely, the front of the statue and face A was where people began their inquiry. The *ich rede*, or first-person address, and the language of *agalma*, signifying a beautiful and pleasing object, situate this line within the discourse of religious dedications, which would have been familiar to its audience.[56] Many inscriptions stop there or only add a second line to identify who set up the monument. Or vice versa, as another inscription on a stone fragment (now lost) from the Ptoion shows:

[ἄ]νδρες ἑταῖροι δ[– ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – –]→
[– ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – Φοίβ]οι περικαλδὲς ἄγ[αλμα] ←
sic CEG 335, 550–500 BCE?

Male companions … [set up] … to [Phoeb]os (this) very beautiful dedication.

On our capital, by contrast, the second line is completely taken up by the name of the dedicator and his patronymic, Alcmaeonides the son of Alcmaeon, which is unusual. The second line is also grammatically incomplete and leads the reader to search for a verb. At this point, the interested reader could have turned either left or right to find the following lines. If she had turned left to face D (hότ᾽ ἓν Ἀθάναις Παλάδος πανέ[γυρις]), the anticipated verb, most often ἀνέθηκε in dedications, would still have been wanting and she would have been directed to retrace her steps, which might often have led to a rereading of the first line. If she had turned right, the introduction of the charioteer and the theme of νικάω on face B ([h]ίποισι νικέ[σας ἔ]θεκεν [ὀκέαις]) would have created a further question: where did the victory occur? This anticipation would again direct the reader back around the monument. The reader may also have expected to discover the ethnic or city of Alcmaeonides, which is not stated explicitly but implied and combined with the place of victory in line five of face D.

The elements of naming the victor and his father (line 2), a form of νικάω and the event (line 3), and city (line 5) make up the key elements of the *angelia*, or proclamation read out after victory.[57] In fact, this combination is found on many later statue bases from Olympia which repeat the *angelia*.[58] The conventionality of the *angelia* encouraged the reader to seek out the fulfilment of the form and to make her way back and forth, from side A to B, and then back again

56 See the example of Mantiklos' epigram above.
57 See Wolicki (2002); Day (2010) 209–210.
58 See Nash (1990) 185, n. 13.

to D, or vice versa, in search of the complete list found in such ditties. If this were a painted triptych with the main scene in the middle, the reader could have more easily recomposed the correct order of the poem. In this case however, the three dimensions forced the reader to stitch the poem together and reperform the epigram in its correct order after having explored the three sides of the statue. The reader, in fact, became both performer and recomposer of the epigram.

The viewer would recognize that the epigram was evoking a specific kind of performance associated with athletic victory as opposed to a different type of performance; for example, there are other inscriptions and dedications which have been argued to use hymnic language.[59] The force of the reperformance of the epigram is generated from the elements of the *angelia*, or from how the words are being used, what linguists call pragmatics, as opposed to semantics, or what anthropologists might refer to as the referent, as opposed to the sense.[60] This is not to argue that every viewer had the same experience, but that the elements of the *angelia* make possible a reception that many ancient readers would have recognized.

Even though the original statue was never found, current theories more often employed by art historians and archaeologists that engage with the complex dynamic between people and things (or embodied objects) elucidate how it is not solely the agent of the viewer or the agent of the monument, but rather their interdependence that creates the reperformance.[61] For example, after arguing that it is useless to question whether the ancient Greeks had a concept of the figural image, Neer states: '[s]tatues no less than statements are representation[s] of "what is seen." Not in the Romantic sense that they reveal their makers' subjective perception of the model, but in the grammatical sense that they reveal the maker's perception *of the statue*' (2010, 17). He is discussing issues of aestheticism and the complexities of a historicist approach to art history, but we can also apply this statement to the person who created or commissioned Alcmaeonides' monument. We cannot be certain if this was the Alcmaeonidae, a local sculptor, carver, or official at the Ptoion,

59 See Depew (2000). For evidence of paeans that may have been performed at the Ptoion, see Rutherford (2001) 435, Z9 [*Pa.* VII (f)] and p. 343, D7 with note, and Schachter (1981–1994) I, 56.

60 For the linguistic point of view, see Austin (1962); for the anthropological, see the reevaluation of Geertz in Silverman (1990) esp. 125–129; see also Day (2000) 38–42; (2010) 261.

61 For the interdependence of persons and things, see the seminal work of Hodder (2012). For an overview of recent art historical work on the agency of 'embodied objects', see the papers in Gaifman, Platt, and Squire (2018) esp. the intro.

but the point remains that the three elements of the *angelia* were divided onto the three separate surfaces of the monument apparently without much doubt that they would be readily understood as one poem, despite their non-sequential or discontinuous order. The three-sided inscribed capital reveals 'the maker's perception of the poem'. I will return to this three-part division below.

Here, the first two lines on face A would necessarily be read at least twice, since it may not have been possible to go behind the monument from B to D. This would have emphasized the two parallel genealogies on face A: Apollo the son of Leto and Alcmaeonides the son of Alcmaeon. Catherine Keesling calls these the μνῆμα or 'memorial' function, aimed at a human audience, and the ἄγαλμα or 'pleasing gift' function aimed at a god.[62] In a similar way to epinician odes, the reperformance of the *angelia* and the divine and human lineages also function as a means to recreate the moment of victory when Apollo's youthful power was connected with Alcmaeonides.[63] However, Apollo is addressed as 'Latoidas' rather than 'Ptoios', the usual cultic epithet found at the site. While it is difficult to discern the significance of the choice of matronymic, the addition of Leto could have been seen as adding to the religious mythology of the local Ptoion shrine in some manner (it is the only extant example of the epithet at the site).[64] Just as Alcmaeonides added an 'international' caché to the Ptoion, his dedication may have brought new myths inspired by his hippic victory in the form of now lost epinician songs.[65]

In addition to the reenactment of the *angelia*, there are further connections with later epinician odes.[66] First, the reference to the driver in Alcmaeonides' inscription, face B, line 4: hὰς Κνοπις [εἰ]σ̣έ̣λαυν᾽ ho[ca. 6–8 letters] '(the swift horses) that Knopis [son of …?] drove'. Knopis' name (or the earlier reading Knopi[iada]s) was followed by his patronymic or city. He could have been a local Boeotian as his name is similar to a local toponym.[67] But Knopis is other-

62 Keesling (2003) 91, 199–200.

63 See Day (2010) 198–228. For the recreation and forming of emotional experience in Pindar, see Athanassaki (2012b).

64 For another use of Latoidas in inscribed epigram, see *CEG* II 785 = 322a.

65 For the interactive relationship between myths and choral performance, see Kowalzig (2007b) 8, 23.

66 See Thomas (2007; with Rawles 2012) for the early history of poetic celebrations of athletes.

67 See Bizard (1920) 230–231, Strabo 9. 2. 10 (404), Nicander *Theriaka* 887–889, Schachter (1994) 292.

wise unrecorded and the only parallel for the other possible restoration, Knopiadas, is a Cretan from the third century BCE.[68]

Nicholson has shown that it is rare for a charioteer or anyone involved in the competition, besides the one paying for the enterprise, to be celebrated in monuments or odes, and when drivers are mentioned in epinician poetry they are always members of important families.[69] Furthermore, this is the only instance of a driver who is named on a surviving athletic dedication of this kind (i.e. except for public victory lists) that I know of from any period in the ancient world, though of course, there are many statues which depict drivers or riders, and this, perhaps, was one of them.[70] Because this is the sole extant example of a charioteer recorded on this type of individual dedication and because the name can possibly be connected to the surrounding area of Akraiphia, it seems likely that Alcmaeonides' connection to the driver of his horses was the reason for this dedication having been made at the Apollo Ptoion shrine.[71] Knopis or Knopiades was probably a member of an important local family whose support and friendship were important to the Alcmaeonidae. If this were the case, it would explain both the location of the Athenian dedication and the unique case of the name of the charioteer included in the epigram.

I date Alcmaeonides' dedication to before or soon after the Alcmaeonid exile to ca. 550 for the following reasons: his birth year cannot be much later than 600;[72] the inscription contains many early letterforms;[73] and the flat shape of the echinus of the capital is very early, with parallels dating to ca. 580–560.[74] A

68 Schachter (1994) 299 n. 39, *LGPN* I: 268.

69 Nicholson (2005) esp. 25–27, 43–53 for *Pyth. 5* and *6*; 53–57 for Alcmaeonides, *CEG* 302; 65–76 for *Isthm. 2*.

70 See the above note with Nicholson (2005) 54; for charioteers on vases, see Nicholson (2005) 27–32, 60–61.

71 See n. 53.

72 Davies (1971) 372.

73 Note the narrow *delta*, see Immerwahr (1990) 136, shape (2) (not distinguished in *LSAG*: 66 and *N.B.* the *delta* drawn in *IG* I^3 1469 is incorrect); H= *heta* (an early example, *LSAG*: 66; Immerwahr (1990) 142 no. 292). Dotted *theta* and *omicron*, from a cutting compass (as Alcmaeonides dedication ca. 550 BCE?, *IG* I^3 597). High *mu* with oblique and shorter fourth stroke (an early form). High *nu* with vertical and oblique third stroke (quite an early form, see *LSAG*: 31, 66; Immerwahr [1990] 151).

74 The line of the lower part of the echinus is almost straight: width (of the profile) 0.095 m, height 0.069 m. In the middle of each side, the echinus projects out from the abacus about 2 mm. The upper curve connecting back to the abacus curves toward the abacus for 3–4 mm. (Ducat [1971] 242–243). For close parallels with anterior dates, see Wesenberg (1971) 50–52, 57–59, figs. 94–110, esp. fig. 96 from Korkyra, 580 BCE.? and 103 from Amyklai, 'Schon sehr früh …' (56); and La Coste-Messelière (1942) 22–65, esp. 27 fig. 1, dated to as early as 580 or 560 BCE? and similar to the profile of Alcmaeonides' capital. Note that McGowan

date around the middle of the sixth century coincides with the political struggles of the Alcmaeonidae, perhaps countering Theban support for Pisistratus' return in 547/6,[75] or having been subsequently exiled in 546/5.[76] Our evidence does not permit us to choose definitively among these circumstances.

In addition to the reenactment of the *angelia* and the inclusion of the charioteer, it is also possible to see that Alcmaeonides' monument is similar to an epinician ode in that it transcends the limitations of a physical statue, just as an ode does the original location of its victory. It is adamant about sending its message back to Athens, shown in the Attic alphabet of its writing: the Attic *gamma*, the open or H-like *heta*, and the triangular *delta* on face A (plate 1A).[77] While it is not uncommon for dedications to use the script of the dedicator's origin, this and Hipparchus' dedication (*IG* I^3 1470) several decades later are the only surviving inscriptions from the Ptoion that are not written in the Boeotian alphabet.[78] Thus, Alcmaeonides' dedication would have been especially prominent as a foreign monument when it was first erected ca. 550.[79] The last line's mention of Athens confirms the viewer's suspicions: hότ' ἒν Ἀθάναις Παλάδος πανέ[γυρις]. The monument announces its Athenian origins, projecting the fame it generates back to its city of victory.

Furthermore, the five lines, broken up into two couplets and one final line (2, 2, 1 in structure) are similar to the triadic structure of strophe, antistrophe, epode (A, A, B) associated in its fully developed form with choral performance, including epinician. This triadic form also reflects an AAB structure found in earlier lyric.[80] Notwithstanding the use of stichic trimeter, the inscription forms a stanza that by adhering to the three-part division on the capital becomes compatible with our later evidence for epinician choral form. The distribution of the parts between three faces imposes this aspect of the form onto

(1993) dates this monument to the last third of the sixth century, citing the shape of the echinus. For parallel capitals she cites, Schuller (1985) 323 fig. 3, 339 fig. 17 S 26, 349 fig. 23, all dated after 540. However, the profile of Alcmaeonides' dedication is almost at a right angle where it meets the top of the column (see plate 1), which is not true of the Paros capital (Schuller [1985] 339 fig. 17 S 26), which has a higher profile.

75 Hdt. 1.61.3; *Ath. Pol.* 15.2.

76 See the introduction to this chapter and notes 7–8.

77 See *LSAG*: 73 for mention of the first two.

78 Ducat (1971) 457.

79 For epichoric alphabets as political statements, see Luraghi (2010), who, however, includes this inscription as complicating his argument (82). Note that while it is common, dedicatory inscriptions do not necessarily use epichoric script to signal origin, e.g. see Day (2013) 226 with *CEG* 425 and *LSAG*: 294–295.

80 Korzeniewski (1968) 12 notes an evolution of the triadic structure from Alcaeus and Sappho, via Alcman (fr. 1, 3 P) and Ibycus (fr. 282 P), to Pindar.

the viewer, which would have been less apparent in an inscription of five continuous lines.

Lastly, we can combine this triadic structure with the movement around the sides of the monument. In the steps to faces B and D and back to its front, there is an evocation of the structure and movement of an epinician chorus.[81] In a choral performance the various metrical parts of a strophe, for example, would be defined and in rhythm with the music and dancing of the singers (Korzeniewski 1968, 12; Mullen 1982, 90–93). Here the lines are neatly arranged so as to coincide with the edges of the stone. The two couplets and final line are deliberately arranged on separate faces. We may take this for granted, but this was hardly *de rigueur* in early, inscribed epigram, which often used *boustrophedon*, as we have seen in the other examples above. While the reader made his or her way around the statue, those movements would have defined the metrical units of the 2, 2, 1 structure of the epigram, the first two couplets echoing the AA repetition of early lyric segments and the final line distinguishing itself as the closing B period. The person's stops and starts were a reperformance of the AAB structure of the poem. Though our only written sources for the choreographic forms of early choral dancing are from after the first century CE, this evidence suggests circular dancing with stops and starts (Mullen 1982, 127–136). Other scholars include linear processions which may also produce a 'v' pattern.[82] The circular or semi-circular movement around Alcmaeonides' monument, combined with the stops to read the epigram, may have mentally and physically brought to mind the rhythms, structure, and poetic language of an epinician choral performance.

An important concept for understanding ancient viewership is that monuments were *semata*, signs, which represented a presence in front of the viewer and also the representation of someone or something that was absent.[83] 'They [statues] combine their ability to call an absent body or event most vividly to mind with an emphatic declaration of their own materiality and *poiesis*' (Steiner 2001, 20). Following this model of statues as creating a sense of both presence and absence, Neer has argued that the essential emotional reaction to ancient statuary as well as to dance was *thauma* or wonder.[84]

81 For the debate about the role of the chorus in epinician, see Burnett (1989); Carey (1989), (1991); Lefkowitz (1991), (1995); Morgan (1993); D'Alessio (1994); Pavese (1997) 29–49, et al., more recently, Eckerman (2011). For the argument that choral performance in general was depicted on early geometric pottery, see Carruesco (2016).

82 See Steiner (2021) 13, 532, 598–599 with further bibliography.

83 For a later example with ecphrastic epigram serving as the simulacrum, see Squire (2010).

84 See Neer (2010) esp. and (2018).

For the ancient viewers of Alcmaeonides' capital and statue, their wonder may have increased as they interacted with the monument: First, as they admire the relatively small statue, they notice that it displays a long inscription. This is peculiar since the sanctuary is dominated by large statues with few stone inscriptions. The inscription encourages people to move around the monument; perhaps others watch and listen as one or two people read out the inscription. As they admire the statue and read its epigram, the theme of athletic victory and elements of the *angelia* remind them of the celebrations they have seen or perhaps taken part in after such victories: short dances commemorating the victor in song. The monument has caused an absent performance to be present again. Their amazement is especially heightened when the tripartite division of the parts of the poem on the different faces of the monument correspond to the AAB structure so familiar to them from their education in and experience of choral culture in ancient Greece.[85]

It is also interesting that the earliest surviving theatrical structures from Attica (ca. 500) are more rectilinear, rather than oval, which is the shape delineated by the three inscribed faces of the monument.[86] All of these elements of choral culture that the monument evokes—dance, song, and possibly even the shape of the inscribed faces—were probably part of the early creation of the choral culture which we know mostly from the fifth century, rather than a set of ideas that were already in place.

While unique, this victory dedication is indeed an expression of its time and place. The material evidence suggests that athletics becomes more and more widespread in Greece after about 700 BCE.[87] The earliest victory celebrations may have been *kallinikoi* (victory chants).[88] But there is more acceptance of the evidence for early odes, even if quite short, composed for specific victors as opposed to traditional chants, which Pindar contrasts with the epinician he wrote for Epharmostos (*Olympian* 9).[89] Alcmaeonides' dedication is further evidence that beginning around the middle of the sixth century athletic victory monuments and early forms of epinician developed more or less contemporaneously and were also complementary to one another.[90]

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85 For the psychological effect of religious ritual on cultural objects and their meaning, see McCauley and Lawson (2007). For choral culture, see Steiner (2021).

86 See Paga (2016) 362–367.

87 See Christensen (2014).

88 Pindar *Ol.* 9.1–4. For what the actual refrain or hymn may have been, see Archilochus fr. 324 W, West (1974) 138–139; Casadio (1996) 67–72; Gerber (2002). Pòrtulas (2012) 223–228 is a recent treatment with bibliography.

89 See Thomas (2007) for a summary of early epinician with the note below.

90 Barron's initial (1984, esp. 120–122, with Jenner 1986) argument for Ibycus having written

Both forms of celebration perpetuated the victory long after its moment had passed.

If the epigram for Alcmaeonides and Knopis were successful, it would have been recognized as part of the larger material and poetic culture through its projection of an epinician chorus and through its dialogue with the poetic theme of *kleos*' relationship to monuments in archaic Greece. Namely, the monument was necessary to anchor the spread of *kleos* just as in the literary cases cited above, especially the *Odyssey*. The beauty of the dedication combined with the epigram recreate a specific ritual, the celebration immediately following the victory. The sacred precinct of the Apollo Ptoios sanctuary provides the local context for Alcmaeonides' and Knopis' Panhellenic fame.

The Ptoion dedication also emphasizes all of Alcmaeonides' relationships: first with Phoebos the son of Leto, then with his father Alcmaeon, then with Knopis, and then with Pallas. While the Alcmaeonidae would have had bastions of support in Attica and Athens, they would have also created a network of elite support, both real and symbolic, which was reenacted and actually created through reperformance in places such as the Ptoion. The sacred context of the sanctuary reconstituted those relationships within the immutable authority of the god.

Alcmaeonides' Ptoion dedication produces potential ritualization. It allows the viewer to become part of the performance and treat it as a meaningful experience, apart from other social and religious interactions.[91] In this close reading of the monument, I have proposed that the placement of the unusually long epigram on three sides of the capital should be understood within archaic Greek discourses about monuments and *kleos*. Monuments commemorated a ritual act which then had to be remembered and in this case reperformed for them to be effective. Here, the spectator's movements around the monument

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perhaps three or four victory odes around the middle of the sixth century is now often accepted (*POxy*. 2735 = S166 = 282 A with *POxy*. 2637 = S220–1 = 282B); e.g. see Golden (1998) 77, 99; Bernardini (1992); Nicholson (2005) 14; Rawles (2012). However, see Thomas (2007, 146–147, 152, 157, 164–165) emphasizing that epinician followed on from a tradition of ostentatious dedications. At Olympia or elsewhere there is not much evidence for an earlier statue habit dedicated by victors (as opposed to the dedication of objects such as weights) before the middle of the sixth century; see Herrmann (1988) with Thomas (2007) 153 n. 39 for *CEG* 394 (600–550?) and Smith's chart of Olympic victory statues in the same volume beginning around 550 (137–139). For Nemea, see *CEG* 362 (ca. 560?). For literary testimony for even earlier statues and the other Panhellenic sanctuaries, see Rausa (1994) 40–83. See Fearn (2017: 7–10, 24 n. 32) *contra* the idea that later epinician (esp. Pindar *Nem*. 5) is a reaction against an earlier statue habit, with other bibliography.

91 See Kowalzig (2007b) 40–41.

along with the poem's reenactment of the *angelia* could have recalled the structure and movement of a celebratory chorus and served much the same purpose as the family's later commissioning of Pindar's *Pythian* 7. However, in this case, we have further evidence for how monuments in religious shrines were imagined as anchors of fame in the archaic period.

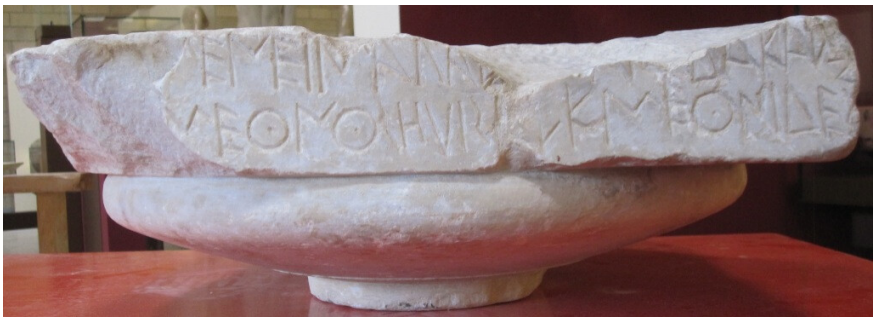

FIGURE 4.1 Face A of Thebes Museum no. 633 + 633a = Ducat 1971: no. 141 = *IG* I^3 1469 = *CEG* 302

FIGURE 4.2 Face B of Thebes Museum no. 633 + 633a = Ducat 1971: no. 141 = *IG* I^3 1469 = *CEG* 302

FIGURE 4.3 Face C of Thebes Museum no. 633 + 633a = Ducat 1971: no. 141 = *IG* I^3 1469 = *CEG* 302

FIGURE 4.4 Face D of Thebes Museum no. 633 + 633a = Ducat 1971: no. 141 = *IG* I^3 1469 = *CEG* 302

FIGURE 4.5 Close-up of the last four letters of the name Κνọ̄πις (line 4 on Face B) with the upper third, slanting stroke of a *sigma* before the break of the stone. While this may be confused with damage, it was likely part of a *sigma* since it is of the same depth as the other strokes and resembles how the upper third strokes of the other *sigmas* were carved in this inscription; for example, it has the same angle as the upper third stroke of the *sigma* in *Athanais* in line 5, which also follows an *iota*. This *sigma* is unrecorded in other editions.

FIGURE 4.6 Top surface with carved lip above face A (top)

FIGURE 4.7 Top surface with carved lip above face A. Face C, opposite face A is the blank surface (bottom).

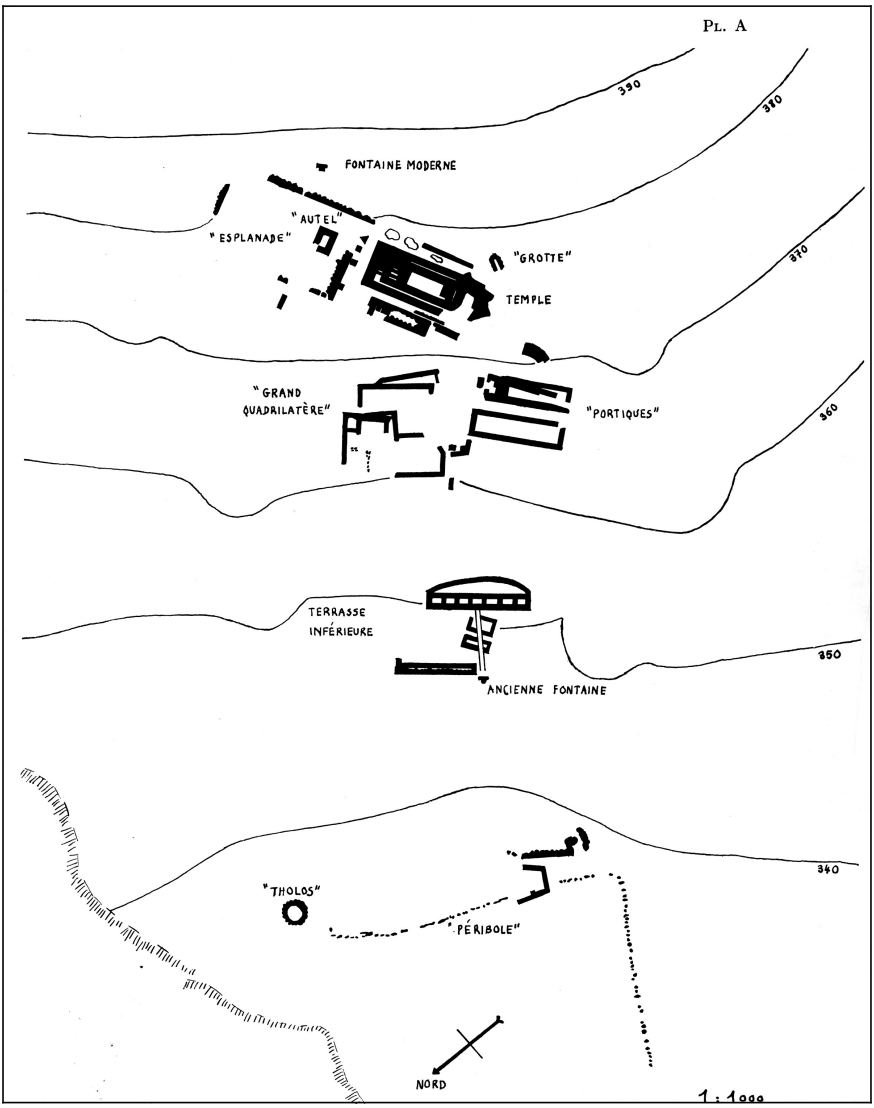

FIGURE 4.8 Plan of the Apollo Ptoion Sanctuary from Ducat 1971: pl. A

FIGURE 4.9 The Apollo Ptoion Sanctuary near modern Akraiphnion, taken from the NW (Oct. 2014). Bottom right are the remains of the fountain of the *terrasse inférieure* (photo by author)

CHAPTER 5

Sacred Space as a Frame for Lyric Occasions: The Cases of Hippolytus at Troezen and of Archilochus at Paros

Gregory Nagy

In this essay,[1] I argue that the historically attested hero cults of Hippolytus at Troezen and of Archilochus at Paros, documented respectively in the reportage of Pausanias, who lived in the second century CE, and in the text of an inscription that is dated to the third century BCE, can be viewed as ritual frames for the mythologized roles of these two figures. I also argue that Hippolytus and Archilochus were not only ritualized—I mean, they were not only worshipped as cult heroes by their respective communities—but they were also mythologized in song. For the moment, it does not matter whether such song is to be defined as lyric or merely as a poetic stylization of what I have just described, all too generally, as lyric. All that matters, at least for the moment, is that such song could be performed within a *temenos* or 'sacred space' set aside for a cult hero. In the case of Hippolytus, as we will see, a direct reference to such performance is attested in a drama by Euripides about this hero. As for Archilochus, there is a comparable reference attested in the inscription I already mentioned, dating from the third century BCE. But, in this case, the reference is indirect: the inscription, as we will see, refers to the role of Archilochus as a 'teacher' of 'iambic' performances. Such a reference, as I will argue, implies choral lyric. Similarly in the case of Hippolytus, as I will also argue, this figure in his role as cult hero is the subject of choral lyric performances that tell about his life. By contrast, however, Archilochus in his own role as cult hero is viewed mythologically not only as the subject of performances that tell about his life but also as the originator of such performances.

The three terms 'sacred space', 'frame', and 'lyric occasions' in the primary title of this essay all need to be questioned for their meanings, since each single meaning depends on the overall meaning of the title that combines these terms. As for the words 'case' and 'cases' in the secondary title, they refer to specific examples that give context to my questioning of the three highlighted

1 The earliest version of this essay appeared in *Classical Inquiries*, Nagy (30-06-2018).

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terms of the primary title. The questioning is meant to provoke some friendly debate, and the questioned terms can become the main subject for the debate itself. In the spirit of such friendly debate, I will now proceed to question the highlighted terms of the primary title, going in reverse order: lyric occasions, frame, and sacred space.

The word 'lyric' that I use in the primary title follows the conventions of the Network for the Study of Archaic and Classical Greek Song—and what I am presenting here is derived from a paper delivered at a meeting organized by members of that Network.[2] I should put on record here, as I had done there, that I find the term 'lyric' too broad to fit any single genre of poetry or song in the historical contexts that concern me now. For present purposes, it is enough for me to say that this word lyric involves, however amorphously, questions of genre, and that 'genre' needs be defined in contexts of occasion. Right away, I enumerate here four such contexts: composition, performance, reception, transmission.[3] As we will see, the lyric occasions for the compositions attributed to Archilochus are particularly problematic.

For now, in any case, I continue with my questioning of the three terms I have used in the primary title. Next in order, then, is the word 'frame'. From the standpoint of my overall argumentation, a frame for any occasion may be either physical or only notional. That is to say, an occasion may be real or only pictured as real. I draw attention here, already now, to a distinction I need to make in this formulation. When I say that an occasion may be notional in that it may not be real but only pictured as real, this is not the same thing as saying that such a notional occasion is fictional—if what we mean when we say 'fiction' is something that is at first imagined only by an author and that can then be imagined by readers or by audiences only after a reading or a hearing of the author's words.[4] The very idea of *fiction* could be misleading in the case of texts attributed to the persona of Archilochus—as also in other such texts to be found in "lyric" writ large, as for example in songs attributed to the persona of an Alcaeus or a Sappho. What may seem fictional for us as "outsiders" who are merely looking in, as it were, when we view an occasion as indicated in the text of, say, Archilochus, may have been seen as real by those who were "insiders" to the poetic traditions that shaped this given text. That is why I prefer to say pictured as real, not imagined as real, whenever I refer to occasions in the texts of Archilochus, Alcaeus, Sappho, and other such exponents of 'lyric'—whatever

2 Lyric and the Sacred: An International Conference (30-06-2018).

3 For more on all four of these contexts as I have just enumerated them, see Nagy (2009).

4 For a more nuanced use of the word 'fiction', see D'Alessio (2018).

we choose to call 'lyric'. Whereas the idea of fiction—or even falsehood—is at least implied in our everyday use of the word 'imagining', such an implication is not required if I use instead the word 'picturing'. To picture something is not necessarily a fictionalizing of that something.

It remains to ask, however: what was the prerequisite for becoming an "insider" to an occasion that was being pictured in the poetic traditions that shaped the text of Archilochus and of other such figures? The prerequisite, I argue, was that such an "insider" would already be familiar with the kind of poetry-in-performance that eventually became the text.[5]

I continue with my questioning of the three terms I have used in the primary title. Next and last in order, then, is the third one, 'sacred space'. My use of this term takes me back to an old article of mine that I contributed to the Festschrift for Bruno Gentili, published in 1993. The title of the article was 'Alcaeus in Sacred Space', with reference to a *temenos* or 'sacred precinct' mentioned in Alcaeus fr. 129.2 V (here and hereafter, V = ed. Voigt) and in fr. 130b.13 V.[6] This *temenos* is described in the language of the poet as a great federal space common to all the people of the island of Lesbos, and such a place can be identified with a sacred precinct that went by the name of Messon, mentioned in two inscriptions dated to the second century BCE, which Louis Robert connected with the name of the present-day place known as *ta Mesa* in Modern Greek.[7] This *temenos* or 'sacred precinct', situated on the island of Lesbos, was sacred to the goddess Hera—as also to Zeus and to Dionysus—so we read in the text of Alcaeus. And the identity of this place as sacred to Hera is likewise indicated in the songs of Sappho, as we can now see even more clearly since the recent discovery of new papyrus fragments.[8] But this sacred space was sacred not only to Hera and to other gods: as I argued in the Festschrift for Gentili, the *temenos* was sacred also to the poet Alcaeus himself in his role as a cult hero who is personified as speaking from the dead.[9] A comparable personification, as I went on to argue, is at work in Theognis 1209–1210, where Theognis, as poet, is likewise pictured as speaking from the dead—in the same role of cult hero. And now, in my essay here, I will extend my argument by comparing what we know about a sacred space situated on the island of Paros, where the poet Archilochus was

5 On situations where the audience needs to be already familiar, at least to some extent, with the poetry that is being performed, see Nagy (1996a) 83.

6 Nagy (1993).

7 Robert (1960).

8 I offer my own detailed analysis of the relevant texts in Nagy (2016a).

9 Nagy (1993).

worshipped in his own role as a cult hero. Here is where the evidence of the inscription to which I referred at the beginning of my essay will become decisive for my argumentation.

Having offered working definitions for 'lyric occasions', 'frame', and 'sacred space', I will now offer a set of three placeholders, as I call them, which will each support the argumentation as it gets underway.

1 Placeholder 1[10]

The compositions ascribed to Archilochus as poet take the form of a specialized kind of poetry that is differentiated from song. As we see from external references to this poet, including the testimony of Plato,[11] the professional performers of compositions attributed to Archilochus were *rhapsōidoi* 'rhapsodes', not *aulōidoi* 'aulodes' or *kitharōidoi* 'citharodes'.[12] In the era of Plato, the repertoire of rhapsodes, unlike the repertoires of aulodes or aulos-singers and citharodes or *kithara*-singers, was not 'song' as we know it. And yet, the persona of Archilochus, in texts of compositions attributed to him, refers to himself as a performer of song—even of choral song. In one fragment (Archilochus fr. 120 W), the performing poet is self-described as an *exarchōn* 'choral leader' of the *dithyrambos* 'dithyramb', where his performance is explicitly accompanied by the aulos or 'double-reed'; in the wording of this fragment, the dithyramb is described as sacred to the god Dionysus. In another fragment, Archilochus is self-described as an *exarchōn* 'choral leader' of the *paiēōn* [= *paiān*] 'paean';[13] implicitly, his performance there is accompanied by the *kithara* or 'lyre', as we see from the description of Apollo's own model performance of the paean in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (514–519), where the god accompanies on the *kithara* 'lyre' his own choral singing and dancing as a lead-in for performance by the rest of the chorus. We may compare two images I showed in another work, where we see Archilochus in the act of performing his compositions while holding a lyre—as pictured on the surface of coins minted by the state of Paros, the poet's homeland.[14]

10 Epitomized from earlier argumentation in Nagy (1990b) 363–364.
11 Pl. *Ion* 531a.
12 Nagy (1990b) 25–28.
13 Archil. fr. 121 W.
14 Nagy (06-06-2018).

2 Placeholder 2

The choral personality of Archilochus is also evident in the Life of Archilochus tradition as preserved by the Mnesiepes inscription (Archilochus T 4 Tarditi). It is this inscription, dated to the third century BCE, that I mentioned without specific reference at the beginning of my essay. Basically, the Mnesiepes inscription narrates the life of Archilochus, giving context to 'quotations' of the transmitted compositions that were attributed to him. The Life of Archilochus tradition, as memorialized by the Mnesiepes inscription, aetiologizes the hero cult of Archilochus; in fact the setting for the Mnesiepes inscription was the *Archilocheion*, the sacred precinct at Paros where Archilochus was worshipped as a cult hero.[15]

3 Placeholder 3[16]

As we have seen in Placeholder 1, the poetry of Archilochus refers to itself as a choral lyric medium: for example, the persona of Archilochus describes himself as capable of being an *exarchōn* 'choral leader' of a chorus that sings and dances in honor of the god Dionysus—to the accompaniment of the aulos 'double-reed'.[17] Such self-reference is an example of what I argue are earlier stages in the evolution of the lyric medium of Archilochus.[18]

With these three placeholders in place, I return to the point I made in the beginning of this essay, concerning the performance of choral lyric within the sacred spaces of hero cults. In elaborating on that point, I continue where I left off at Placeholder 3.

Aristotle in the *Poetics* says that both tragedy and comedy had an origin that is *autoschediastikē* 'improvisational' (ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς αὐτοσχεδιαστικῆς), and that tragedy was derived from the *exarchontes* 'choral leaders' of the *dithyrambos* 'dithyramb' (ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον).[19] Aristotle may have had in mind the wording of Archilochus fr. 120 W, where the persona of the composer declares that he knows how to be the *exarchōn* 'choral leader' of the dithyramb,

15 For more on the text of the Mnesiepes Inscription, see Nagy (2008).

16 Epitomized from earlier argumentation in Nagy (1990b) 394–397.

17 Archil. fr. 120 W.

18 As I have argued in Nagy (1990b), especially in Chapters 1 and 12, the medium of Archilochus was originally undifferentiated lyric, that is, it was sung and danced, but it evolved eventually into differentiated non-lyric recitative.

19 Arist. *Poet.* 1449a9–11.

performed in honor of the god Dionysus, while the poet's mind is thunderstruck with wine. The meter of Archilochus fr. 120 W is trochaic tetrameter catalectic. According to Aristotle the meter of dialogue in early tragedy, before it was replaced by iambic trimeter, was this same meter, trochaic tetrameter catalectic.[20] What Aristotle says about the evolution of comedy and tragedy implies that he thought that Archilochus was a typical *exarchōn* of dithyramb, which Aristotle understood as characterized by trochaic tetrameter catalectic, typical of both comedy and tragedy.

From the testimony of the Mnesiepes inscription (Archilochus T 4 Tarditi), we learn of a traditional myth, native to the island of Paros, that represented Archilochus as a chorus teacher of his community (T4 III 16–57). I propose to consider how this myth, preserved in the context of the poet's hero cult in Paros, dramatizes the social function of Archilochean poetry in the civic life of the *polis*.

In the wording of the Mnesiepes inscription, it can be argued, we are witnessing a cognate of the source of Aristotle *Poetics* 1449a and 1448b23, who considered Archilochus an exponent of primitive blame poetry. I summarize here the relevant story as retold in the Mnesiepes inscription, Archilochus T4 III 16–57 Tarditi. The story has it that Archilochus improvises ([αὐτο]|σχεδιασ[...] 19–20) a composition, which he teaches (διδάξαντα 22) to some of the citizens of Paros.[21] From the standpoint of the narrative, Archilochus seems to be represented here as a 'chorus teacher'. The Mnesiepes inscription then proceeds to quote the words of the composition (fr. 251 W = 219 Tarditi): the text is fragmentary, but we can see clearly that Dionysus figures prominently (251.1), in the context of the epithet *Oipholios* (251.5), a derivative of the obscene verb *oiphō* 'have intercourse [male subject]'. The *polis* finds this composition 'too iambic' (ἰαμβικώτερο[...] Mnesiepes inscription T4 III 38). Archilochus is put on trial (ἐν τεῖ κρίσει T4 III 42) and apparently condemned. But then the *polis* is afflicted with a plague that affects the genitalia (42–44). Emissaries of the polis consult Delphi (45–46), and the Oracle tells them that the plague will not abate until the *polis* honors Archilochus (47–50). The connection here of Archilochus with Dionysus and the notion of *Oipholios* institutionalizes the 'iambic' composition of Archilochus. I should stress the explicit testimony of the Mnesiepes inscription concerning the practice of worshipping various gods, along with the

20 Arist. *Poet.* 1449a22 and following.

21 I note here the context of μιμνησκομ[...] 'remember' at line 52, which seems to be pertinent to the concept of Mnēsiepēs 'he who remembers the words [as in *epos* 'word']'. See Nagy (1979) 304 § 4 n. 3 and Nagy (1990b) 363–364 n. 133.

cult hero Archilochus, in the sacred precinct of Archilochus, the *Archilocheion* (T 4 II 14–19 Tarditi): among the gods listed (1–13), Dionysus is accorded a position of particular prominence (10).

The narrative pattern of the story of Archilochus and the punishment of the Parians is typical of aetiologies concerning the founding of a hero cult: (1) some hero is dishonored, sometimes even killed, by a community; (2) the community is then beset by some plague; and (3) the Oracle is consulted and prescribes the hero cult of the given hero as the remedy. In such aetiologies the well-being of the community, as threatened by the plague, is visualized as fertility of crops and inhabitants alike—a fertility that is then restored and guaranteed to continue through the proper maintenance of the hero cult.[22] In the Archilochus story as well, the fertility of the *polis* is connected in general with the hero cult of Archilochus, which is after all the context for the telling of the story, and in particular with the institutionalization of Archilochus as 'chorus teacher'. Here we have the nucleus of the civic function of Archilochean poetry, in that the chorus is the traditional medium for the self-expression of the *polis*.[23]

The theme of fertility, then, is explicit in the story of Archilochus in his stylized role as chorus teacher, which is connected with the cult of Dionysus (cf. T 4 II 10 Tarditi and fr. 251 W; also fr. 120 W).

According to what we read in the text of the Mnesiepes inscription, the poet Archilochus was worshipped as a cult hero within an enclosure that was named the *Archilocheion*, as we see at line 17 of the text as I translate it here:

1 To Mnesiepes did the god [Apollo] make the oracular declaration that it is more propitious and just plain better if
2 in the precinct [*temenos*] that he [= Mnesiepes] is constructing he [= Mnesiepes] sets up [participle of *hidryein*]
3 an altar and makes sacrifice [participle of *thyein*] on it to the Muses and to Apollo
4 the Mousagetes and to Mnemosyne. And that he make sacrifice [infinitive of *thyein*] (and perform correctly the sacred acts [infinitive of *kallhiereuein*])
5 to Zeus Hyperdexios, to Athena Hyperdexia,
6 to Poseidon Asphaleios, to Heracles, to Artemis Eukleia.
7 (And) that he organize a delegation [infinitive of *pempein*] to go to Delphi and offer there to Apollo a sacrifice for well-being. [*paragraphē* mark here]

22 Examples for fertility of crops: Paus. 6.11 6–8; for fertility of humans: Paus. 2.3.6–7.
23 Nagy (1990b) 141–142, 144, 363–364. Cf. Stehle (1997) 26–70.

8 To Mnesiepes did the god [Apollo] make the oracular declaration that it
is more propitious and just plain better if
9 in the precinct [*temenos*] that he [= Mnesiepes] is constructing he [=
Mnesiepes] sets up [participle of *hidryein*]
10 an altar and makes sacrifice [participle of *thyein*] on it to Dionysus and
to the Nymphs
11 and to the Horae. And that he make sacrifice [infinitive of *thyein*] (and
perform correctly the sacred acts [infinitive of *kallhiereuein*]) to
Apollo
12 Prostaterios, to Poseidon Asphaleios, to Heracles.
13 (And) that he organize a delegation [infinitive of *pempein*] to go to Del-
phi and offer there to Apollo a sacrifice for well-being. [*paragraphē*
mark here]
14 To Mnesiepes did the god [Apollo] make the oracular declaration that it
is more propitious and just plain better if
15 he [= Mnesiepes] honors [participle of *tīmân*] Archilochus the poet, in
accordance with the intent (of the god).
16 And, in the light of this oracular declaration of Apollo,
17 we call this place [*topos*] the *Archilocheion* and we have set up [indica-
tive perfect of *hidryein*] the relevant altars
18 and we make sacrifice [indicative present of *thyein*] both to the gods
and to Archilochus and
19 we honor [indicative present of *tīmân*] him in accordance with what
the god declared to us.
20 Now, concerning what we wanted to put on record in writing, the fol-
lowing are the things that have been
21 handed down to us by the ancients and that we have made our concern.
22 For they say that Archilochus,
23 when he was still a young man, …

Mnesiepes inscription, column II, 1–23

This enclosure, called a *temenos* or 'sacred precinct' at lines 2 and 9, is also a sacred space for gods, and these gods receive the sacrifices of their worshippers on two *bōmoi* 'altars'. Sharing one of the two altars are Apollo Mousagetes, the Muses, and their mother, the goddess Mnemosyne, lines 3–4. After that, at lines 4–7, we read that these other gods also receive sacrifice: Zeus Hyperdexios, Athena Hyperdexia, Poseidon Asphaleios, Heracles, Artemis Eukleia. And then there is a second altar, to be shared by Dionysus, the Nymphs, and the Horae ('Seasons'), lines 10–11. After that, at lines 11–12, we read that these other gods also receive sacrifice: Apollo Prostaterios, Poseidon Asphaleios, Her-

acles. Finally, in the context of the reference to the entire enclosure as the *Archilocheion*, at line 17, it is prescribed at lines 17–19 that worshippers are to offer sacrifice on the two altars not only to the gods named but also to Archilochus, described as 'the poet [*poiētēs*]' at line 15. I note with special interest that the verb *thyein* 'sacrifice to' applies not only to the gods as recipients of sacrifice, lines 3, 4, 10, 11, 18, but also to Archilochus himself, line 18.

I also draw attention to the fact that the entire enclosure within which Archilochus is worshipped here as a cult hero is a sacred space that is shared by a variety of gods who are worshipped in the context of the hero cult.

Having argued in general that the sacred space where Archilochus was worshipped as a cult hero is essential for understanding his traditional role as a poet, I now turn to a point of comparison involving another sacred space where another figure was worshipped as a cult hero. This hero was not a poet, but the information we have about his sacred space is directly comparable to the information I have already surveyed about the sacred space of Archilochus.

Our source is a passage in Pausanias where our traveler describes a precinct in the city of Troezen that is sacred to Hippolytus, who is worshipped there as the city's primary cult hero. Before I quote my literal translation of the relevant passage, I emphasize already here the fact that the peribolos or 'enclosure' of Hippolytus, as mentioned by Pausanias at 2.32.2, is described already at 2.32.1 as the *temenos* or 'sacred precinct' of Hippolytus. Keeping this fact in mind, let us now consider the relevant passage:

> To Hippolytus, the son of Theseus, is dedicated a very famous precinct [*temenos*], in which is a temple [*naos*] with an ancient [*archaion*] statue [*agalma*]. Diomedes, they say, made [*poiein*] these, and, further, he was the first to sacrifice [*thyein*] to Hippolytus. The people of Troezen have a priest [*hiereus*] of Hippolytus, and he is consecrated [*hierasthai*] [to Hippolytus] for life. Also, it is an established practice for them to have annual sacrifices [*thysiai*] performed [for Hippolytus]. In addition [to this ritual practice performed for Hippolytus] they have another one. They perform-a-ritual [*drân*] that is as follows. Every girl before marriage cuts off for him [= Hippolytus] a lock [*plokamos*] of her hair and, having cut it off, she brings it, in an act of bringing-in-procession [*pherein*], to his temple [*naos*] and dedicates it. They [= the people of Troezen] are unwilling to accept that he died, dragged to death by his horses, and they do not show [*apophainein*] his tomb [*taphos*], though they know where it is. But they customarily-think [*nomizein*] that the one who is called the Charioteer [= Auriga = *hēniochos*] in the sky, this one [*houtos*], is that one [*ekeinos*], the Hippolytus who receives this honor [*tīmē*] from the gods.

> Within this enclosure [*peribolos*] [of Hippolytus] is a temple [*naos*] of Apollo Epibaterios ['boarding (the ship)'], a dedication of Diomedes for having weathered the storm that came upon the Greeks as they were returning from Troy. They say that Diomedes was also the first to hold the Pythian Contest [*agōn*] in honor of Apollo. Of Damia and Auxesia (for the people of Troezen, too, share in their worship) they do not tell [*legein*] the same story [*logos*] as do the people of Epidauros and of Aegina, but they say that they were maidens [*parthenoi*] who came from Crete. When factionalism [*stasis*] broke out everywhere in the city, even these girls, they say, were stoned to death by an opposing faction and they [= the people of Troezen] celebrate [*agein*] a festival [*heortē*] for their sake, calling it the Lithobolia ['throwing of stones'].
>
> In the other part of the enclosure [*peribolos*] is a race-course [*stadion*] named after Hippolytus, and looming over it is a temple [*naos*] of Aphrodite [invoked by way of the epithet] Kataskopia ['looking down from above']. Here is the reason [for the epithet]: it was at this very spot, whenever Hippolytus was exercising-naked [*gymnazesthai*], that she, feeling-an-erotic-passion-for [*erân*] him, used to gaze away [*apo-blepein*] at him from above, Phaedra did. A myrtle-bush [*mursinē*] still grows here, and its leaves—as I wrote at an earlier point—have holes punched into them. Whenever Phaedra was-feeling-there-was-no-way-out [*aporeîn*] and could find no relief for her erotic-passion [*eros*], she would take it out on the leaves of this myrtle-bush, wantonly injuring them.
>
> There is also the tomb [*taphos*] of Phaedra, not far from the tomb [*mnēma*] of Hippolytus, which is a piled-up tumulus near the myrtle-bush [*myrsinē*].
>
> PAUSANIAS 2.32.1–4

As we see from this passage, the *temenos* or 'sacred precinct' of Hippolytus contains not only a *naos* 'temple' that is sacred to him but also a *naos* that is sacred to Apollo and, even more interesting, a *naos* that is sacred to Aphrodite, who is given an epithet that evokes the myth about the love of Phaedra for Hippolytus.[24] But I save for last here the most interesting detail of them all, from the standpoint of my argumentation: also contained by the sacred space of Hippolytus is the tomb of Phaedra herself.

24 I give further commentary in Nagy (2013) Hour 20. On the epithet of Aphrodite, Kataskopia 'she who looks down from above', see Nagy (21-06-2018).

The presence of a tomb for the suicidal Phaedra within the *temenos* or 'sacred' precinct of Hippolytus is an indication of hero cult.[25] And, as I argue in another essay, the tomb of Phaedra is comparable to the tomb of the suicidal daughters of Lycambes as signaled in a fragmentary poem preserved in Dublin Papyrus 193a, dated to the late third century BCE, and in a poem by Dioscorides, likewise dated to the third century BCE, in the *Greek Anthology* (7.351).[26] Laura Swift, in a most perceptive analysis of these and other sources,[27] quotes a telling summary, formulated by Martin West, of the underlying story: 'A match was arranged between Archilochus and one of Lycambes' daughters, Neoboule. But Lycambes afterwards broke it off, whereupon Archilochus abused him and his two daughters in such fierce iambi that they (the daughters only, in the earlier sources) hanged themselves for shame. He claimed that he had met the girls in the precinct of Hera and that they had indulged in a sexual orgy or orgies together, the details of which were described with the most indecent explicitness'.[28]

About the daughters of Lycambes I will say only this much more for now: the references to these two doomed girls in the so-called First Cologne Epode of Archilochus do in fact signal erotic activity within a sacred space.[29] In another essay,[30] however, I argue that this activity is not simply an act of desecration, as Laura Swift describes it.[31] Rather, it is also an act of sacralization, sanctioned within a space that is sacred to the goddess Hera. I should add that I do agree with Swift when she points to this goddess as a model for the poetics of seduction, and we do see such poetics at work in the celebrated erotic scene of *Iliad* 14 where Hera seduces Zeus as if these two divinities were young lovers, not a mature married couple, but I disagree with her view that this seduction scene is some kind of epic model for the 'lyric' scene of seduction as narrated in the Cologne Epode. In making my own argument about Hera as a model for the poetics of seduction in 'lyric' traditions, I draw on the insights of the anthropologist Julian Pitt-Rivers in his study of 'women and sanctuary', who analyzes examples of 'ritual inversion' within various kinds of 'social order'.[32]

That said, I can now focus on comparing the sacred space of the *Archilocheion*, called a *temenos* in the Mnesiepes Insription, with that sacred space

25 Again, Nagy (June 21, 2018).
26 Nagy (July 7, 2018).
27 Swift (2015).
28 West (1974) 26.
29 Archil. fr. 196a W.
30 Nagy (July 7, 2018).
31 Swift (2015). Swift (2019) has now produced a new commentary on Archilochus.
32 Pitt-Rivers (1970) 873.

in Troezen, called a *temenos* by Pausanias, where Phaedra is worshipped along with Hippolytus in their joint function as cult heroes of that locale. As I have argued elsewhere, this joint function of Hippolytus and Phaedra as cult heroes whose bodies lie hidden within that sacred space, as Pausanias notes in passing, comes to life in ritualized choral performance by the local girls of Troezen in the context of their initiation into womanhood.[33] Pausanias never gets to say that, but Euripides, so many years earlier, not only says it: he turns the song of these girls into his own songs in his own theatrical creation, the tragedy titled *Hippolytus*, where the choral experience of the female singers and dancers of Troezen becomes an experience of civic education for the male chorus who re-enact, in the Athenian State Theater, the troubled thoughts of female initiands, girls from a distant place who re-enact in their song and dance a love from a distant time—but who may be in fact the singing and dancing girls of Troezen in the here-and-now of Euripides.

I am about to quote the relevant text in the Hippolytus of Euripides. The words in this text are spoken by the goddess Artemis, who foretells a ritual of female initiation that will be established in the post-heroic future by the people of Troezen. The goddess reveals how this ritual will re-enact the myth about the unrequited love of Phaedra for Hippolytus. Artemis makes this revelation to Hippolytus himself, appearing to him in an epiphany and speaking directly to the hero, who at this moment is experiencing his final agonies of dying from the horrific injuries he sustained in a spectacular crash of his speeding chariot. Here, then, are the words spoken by the goddess, followed by my working translation:[34]

σοὶ δ', ὦ ταλαίπωρ', ἀντὶ τῶνδε τῶν κακῶν
τιμὰς μεγίστας ἐν πόλει Τροζηνίᾳ
δώσω· κόραι γὰρ ἄζυγες γάμων πάρος
κόμας κεροῦνταί σοι, δι' αἰῶνος μακροῦ
πένθη μέγιστα δακρύων καρπουμένῳ·
ἀεὶ δὲ μουσοποιὸς ἐς σὲ παρθένων
ἔσται μέριμνα, κοὐκ ἀνώνυμος πεσὼν
ἔρως ὁ Φαίδρας ἐς σὲ σιγηθήσεται.

To you, poor sufferer, in compensation for these bad things that have happened to you here,

33 Nagy 2021.

34 Nagy (2013) 20§35 (p. 480 of ed. 2, Nagy [2020]).

> the greatest honors [*tīmai*] in the city [*polis*] of Troezen
> I will give to you: unwed girls before they get married
> will cut off their hair for you, and throughout the length of time [*aiōn*]
> you will harvest the very great sorrows [*penthos* plural] of their tears.
> And for all time there will be a thought [*merimna*] that comes along
> with the songmaking directed at you by virgin girls,
> and it will be a troubled thought. The story and the names will not fall
> aside unremembered
> —the story of the passionate-love [*eros*] of Phaedra for you. No, it will
> never be passed over in silence.
>
> EURIPIDES *Hippolytus* 1423–1430

But how are we to imagine what I described as the troubled thoughts of girls in Troezen, back in the time of Euripides, in the late fifth century BCE, who are about to be initiated into womanhood? In an earlier essay, I interpreted the choral singing and dancing of these girls as 'a sad love song'.[35] Or, to say it in the words of Euripides in his *Hippolytus*, the song of these girls is 'a troubled thought that comes along with songmaking' (μουσοποιὸς … μέριμνα 1428–1429). The Greek word that I translate here as 'a troubled thought' is *merimna*, which means literally a 'care' or a 'concern'. A *merimna*, in other words, is what you have on your mind. In a song of Bacchylides (19.11), the same noun *merimna* can even refer to the thought-processes of the poet himself as he is pictured in the act of composing his song. I think that the troubled thoughts of Euripides are in this case musically channeling, as it were, the personal anxieties of long-forgotten female initiands in the distant past.

As I bring this essay to a close, I circle back from the case of Hippolytus as cult hero—back to the case of that other cult hero, Archilochus. The hero cult of this poet, as documented in the Mnesiepes inscription, is described in that text as a potential context for choral performances at Paros, just as the hero cult of Hippolytus—paired with Phaedra—was the context for choral performances at Troezen. But I see a difference at Paros. The choral lyric songs that Archilochus had reportedly taught the people of his native Paros to sing and dance once upon a time—so the story is told in the Mnesiepes inscription—do not seem to be really "choral" any more in the era when the inscription was commissioned. And there is some doubt whether there was even any "lyric song" to be sung at Paros any more—in the sense of songs that a singer would sing while self-accompanied on a lyre of some kind. It seems more likely that

35 Nagy 2016b.

the "songs" of Archilochus were by now simply a matter of poetry, in the sense of "recitative" with reduced melody. Such recited poetry could still imitate the lyricism of song-and-dance, yes, but perhaps it was no longer a matter of "song" as we understand song. I have in mind here the wording of Archilochean poetry, already cited, that was composed in a meter known as the trochaic tetrameter catalectic. And the same can be said about Archilochean poetry composed in iambic trimeter. Only in the case of poetry composed in elegiac couplets can I imagine musical accompaniment, by way of the aulos, but, even in this case, the possibility of choral performance seems remote. So, in the era of the Mnesiepes inscription, the sacred space in Paros where Archilochus was worshipped as a cult hero can be considered a frame for lyric occasions only in a stylized sense. By contrast, the sacred space of Hippolytus in Troezen may well have been the context for full-blown performances of choral song—back in the earlier era of Euripides, who must have imitated such a medium in composing and then directing the choral songs of his Hippolytus.

CHAPTER 6

Between Delphi and Delos: Paros and Apollo from Archilochus to Pindar

Cecilia Nobili

In this contribution,[1] I will try to elucidate the relationship between the island of Paros and the Apolline sanctuaries of Delos and Delphi through the lens of lyric poetry, especially Archilochus and Pindar. Apollo, in fact, represents an important god in the *pantheon* of Paros, as Archilochus' poetry first demonstrates; the Mnesiepes inscription also testifies to a sort of exclusive protection of the poet by Pythian Apollo. In fact, in the age of Archilochus, the Parians looked for the protection of Pythian Apollo, instead of Delian Apollo. Such a preference must be probably explained in the light of Paros' colonizing effort in the seventh century (patronized by the oracle of Delphi) and by rival Naxos' influence over Delos in the same period (as the erection of the *oikos* of the Naxians testifies).

However, things changed at the end of the sixth century because the Parian presence at Delos became more relevant, and a Delion was erected on Paros. Such a new orientation of Parian cult towards Delos is testified to by Pindar's paean for the Parians (fr. 140a M.), which draws on local traditions in order to reshape Parian history in the light of the new Delian hegemony.

1 Archilochus and Pythian Apollo

The god of Delphi shows an undisputable and unusual predilection for the poet Archilochus. The story begins when his father Telesicles, around 680 BCE, received the following response from the Delphic oracle:

1 I wish to thank Lucia Athanassaki and André Lardinois for organizing an amazing conference on the spectacular island of Spetses, and I am grateful to them and the participants for the useful comments and suggestions; in particular, I wish to thank Giambattista D'Alessio for reading and commenting on an earlier version of this paper.

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ἄγγειλον Παρίοις Τελεσίκλεες ὥς σε κελεύω
νήσῳ ἐν ᾽Ηερίῃ κτίζειν εὐδείελον ἄστυ.

Announce to the Parians, Telesicles, that I bid you
to found a conspicuous city in the island of Eeria.[2]

We do not know the reason why Telesicles was sent to Delphi, but what is clear is that the oracle designates Telesicles as oikist of Thasos and commands him to announce to his fellow citizens the order to found the colony of Thasos.[3] While no safe grounds confirm the authenticity of this oracle, Archilochus' family certainly played an important role in the foundation of Thasos, as his poetry also shows,[4] and had an early and stable contact with Delphi.[5] Although Archilochus' biography was rewritten in later times in order to emphasize Apollo's protection of the poet,[6] several elements may possibly be traced back to his life and poetry. This is what the Mnesiepes inscription suggests, whose content is now generally considered to be actually based on material dating back to the archaic age and, possibly, to Archilochus' poetry.[7] According to the inscription, Telesicles interrogated the oracle again, and later more oracles were delivered to the inhabitants of Paros. The oracles elected Archilochus as the leading poet of the island and made him the object of a hero cult.[8]

The first oracle mentioned by the inscription concerns the encounter Archilochus had with the Muses,[9] and declares that the poet was going to become

2 Transmitted by Oenomaus of Gadara (fr. XVI 37–38 Hammerstaedt apud Eus. PE 6, 7, 8 314 Mras = Test. 116 Tarditi) and Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Θάσος = Test. 167 Tarditi). See Parke-Wormell (1956) II 230.

3 On the problems connected with a correct interpretation of the oracle and the possibility that Telesicles was indeed the oikist of Thasos, see Pouilloux (1954) 24–27, and (1964); Graham (1978) 75–80; Malkin (1987) 56–60.

4 Critias DK6 B 44 (from Ael. *V.H.* 10.13); Strabo 10.487. See Graham (1978) 72–86; Lanzillotta (1987) 58–71; Berranger (1992) 170–184; Aloni (2009b); Marcaccini (2001).

5 Pausanias (10.28.3) refers to the fact that the painter Polygnotus of Thasos depicted in the *lesche* of the Cnidians at Delphi a Nekya, where—among others—Archilochus' grandfather, Tellis, appeared with the priestess of Demeter Cleoboea. She is referred to as the one who brought the rites of Demeter from Paros to Thasos, so both of them may have been among the founders of the colony. See Ornaghi (2009) 183–205.

6 In this regard, see Giuseppetti (2022).

7 Corrêa (2008); Swift (2019) 260–261.

8 Podlecki (1974); Lanzillotta (1987) 34–47; Marcaccini (2001) 62–93; Clay (2004) 24–26; Swift (2019) 2–7.

9 Mnesiepes inscription, E_1, col. II, ll. 40–55. On this episode see Brillante (1990); Ornaghi (2009), 133–155; Aloni (2011); Swift (2019) 2–6.

immortal and famous, thus establishing the protection of Apollo over the poet and his work.[10] Two more oracles concerning Archilochus are mentioned in the inscription: the first one reports that when Archilochus was killed by a Naxian, named Calondas, the god of Delphi ordered a punishment for his killer; the second one, in the third century BCE, gave enthusiastic approval to Mnesiepes' idea of building an Archilocheion devoted to the cult of the poet. There he was honored and received sacrifices together with Apollo, the Muses, and Mnemosyne.[11] In sum, we can say that, according to tradition, the whole life of Archilochus, until his post-mortem cult, was protected by the oracle and by the god of Delphi.

A few fragments from Archilochus' literary production seem to confirm that the poet reciprocated Apollo's favor by composing a poem (fr. 121 = Athenaeus 5.180d–e), where he presented himself as a performer of paeans:

> αὐτὸς ἐξάρχων πρὸς αὐλὸν Λέσβιον παιήονα.
>
> I myself taking the lead in the Lesbian paean to the *aulos*' accompaniment.

Although this fragment is still quite obscure (why is the paean called 'Lesbian', or is the adjective better connected to the *auloi*, i.e. 'Lesbian *auloi*'?),[12] it reflects the image of Archilochus as a public poet, engaged in celebrating the local gods on behalf of his fellow citizens. The same image also emerges from the scanty fragments of his public and possibly choral songs in honor of other Parian gods, like the dithyramb for Dionysus or the ode to Demeter.[13] No wonder that he also performed a paean for Apollo, a god who played such an important role in his own life and in the history of Paros and Thasos.

Another fragment that may reveal a special connection between Archilochus and Apollo is fr. 26.5–7, a few iambic verses preserved by Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 1.17.9–10) and by *POxy*. 2310 (fr. 1), where Archilochus vehemently asks Apollo to ruin his enemies and, presumably, to favor him and his comrades, playing with the false etymology of the name Apollo as deriving from the verb ὄλλυμι.[14]

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10 Mnesiepes Inscript. E_1 col. III, 12–44. See Clay (2004) 16–23.

11 On Archilochus' cult in Paros, see Clay (2004).

12 See Corrêa (2009); Swift (2019), 306–307.

13 Grandolini (2001); Aloni (2009b).

14 For similar instances, see Arch. frs. 6, 126 W².

ὦναξ Ἄπολ⌊λον, καὶ σὺ τοὺς μὲν αἰτίους
πήμαινε ⌊καὶ σφας ὄλλυ᾽ ὥσπερ ὀλλύεις
ἡμέ̣ας̣ δὲ̣ .[

Oh Lord Apollo, ruin the guilty ones and destroy them, as you know how to destroy, but to us …

2 Seventh Century BCE: Paros and Delphi

However, the safest evidence in support of an actual relationship between Archilochus and the god of Delphi derives from the historical and archaeological context which characterizes his hometown Paros. The favor accorded by Pythian Apollo to Archilochus illustrates the close relationship between the island and the Delphic sanctuary in the seventh century BCE and represents a good starting point to investigate the political and religious connections between the Cycladic island and the major Apolline sanctuaries, namely Delphi and Delos.

Paros' interest in Delphi can easily be explained in the light of her involvement in the colonization of Thasos. As is well known, the Delphic sanctuary played a leading role in the promotion of the colonial movement and Paros' conquest of Thasos is no exception in this regard.[15] The Parians' first contact with the oracle, in fact, establishes Telesicles as *oikistes* of Thasos, and even if one dismisses Oenomaus' version of the oracle,[16] it is undisputable that Pythian Apollo was the most important god venerated in Thasos, together with Athena Poliouchos. The Pythion of Thasos was located on a terrace of the acropolis, and although the remnants of the temple now excavated date to fifth century BCE, there are safe grounds to assume that it replaced an older and smaller temple, installed by the Parian colonists as a form of thanksgiving to the god who had encouraged the expedition.[17]

Paros' connection with Delphi is not unique among the Aegean islands: the best parallel is that of Siphnos, which in the sixth century BCE commissioned the erection of the great treasury of the Siphnians at Delphi, to testify to the power and wealth of the small island and its regular frequentation of the sanc-

15 Malkin (1987) 56–60; Londey (1990); Dougherty (1993); Detienne (1998) 85–134; Donnellan (2015); see also Graham (1978); Pouilloux (1954) 24–27.

16 See above n. 3.

17 See Pouilloux (1954) 27–28, 116; Grandjean and Salviat (2000) 109–112. Thasos was not Paros' only colony: see Berranger (1992) 162–170.

tuary. As Neer has demonstrated, such a great expenditure was promoted by only one group of the citizens, namely the aristocracy, which looked at Delphi, an Alcmaeonid enclave, as a sort of aristocratic zone of influence, against the increasing power of the Athenian and popular forces sponsored by Pisistratus.[18] A similar political organization must be posited for Paros, too, where an oligarchy, enriched by the revenues deriving from the marble quarries and silver mines, ruled over the island until the fifth century BCE, when the Athenian influence established the democracy. A part of the frieze of the Siphnian treasury has been attributed to a Parian sculptor, and several other monuments erected in Delphi in the sixth century BCE, including the façade of the temple of the Alcmaeonids, were made of Parian marble.[19] This confirms that Parian artists and artisans visited the sanctuary of Delphi at this time.

Even Naxos, which was the main sponsor of the embellishment of the Delian sanctuary in the seventh century BCE, received colonial sponsorship from the oracle of Delphi. The sanctuary had promoted the colonization of Naxos in Sicily by a mixed contingent of Chalcidians from Euboea and Cycladic Naxians, under the command of the Chalcidian Theocles.[20] When they disembarked, they erected an altar in honor of Apollo Archegetes, who had led the expedition; Appian adds that next to the altar there was a statuette of Apollo Archegetes erected by the Naxians.[21]

Sanctuaries devoted to Pythian Apollo were also erected on some Aegean islands, including Ceos, Thera, and Paros itself.[22] The Pythion of Paros has been identified with a sixth-century BCE sanctuary dedicated to Apollo and located on a terrace overlooking the sea a few kilometers south of Paroikia.[23] It may be argued that even in Paros, as in Siphnos, the cult of Pythian Apollo was connected with the aristocracy of the island, and particularly with families, like that of Archilochus, who had been involved in the most ancient history of the island and the colonization of Thasos.

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18 Neer (2001).

19 Berranger (1992) 254–256.

20 Thuc. 6.3.1. See also Steph. Byz. s.v. Χαλκίς. See Malkin (2011) 97–118; Donnellan (2015). Guarducci (1996) argues that the sponsor was Delian Apollo, but this might be due to a possible reshape of the story in the classical age in order to emphasize Delian Apollo's involvement, as testified by Pind. fr. 140a M. (see below). Furthermore, any source attesting the existence of an oracle in Delos must be rejected (see Bruneau [1970] 142–161).

21 App. *B Civ*. 5.12.109.

22 See Angliker (2017) 33–34.

23 Schuller (1982); Berranger (1992) 97–103; Daifa, Angliker, Kourayos, and Tully (2018) 141; Angliker (2022), 250–251. Melfi (2002) suggests that an older temple dedicated to Apollo (not necessarily the Pythian one) was later replaced by a cult site dedicated to Asclepius.

But what about Delos? What were the connections between Paros and the major Ionic sanctuary of the Aegean Sea, located at a close distance and visible from its peaks? Delian Apollo apparently finds no place in the poetry of Archilochus or in the anecdotal tradition surrounding him.[24] This should not come as a surprise, considering that at that time Delos was a sort of Naxian enclave and was dominated by Paros' most hated enemy. In the course of the seventh century, the Naxians embellished the sanctuary of Apollo with buildings and monuments, such as the *oikos* of the Naxians (a sort of treasury or *hestiatorion* which included a nine-meter-tall *kouros*), the *stoa*, and the Terrace of the Lions; in addition, a great number of offerings are inscribed in the Naxian alphabet, which testifies to a deep penetration of the Naxians into the life of the sanctuary.[25] On the contrary, there is no significant archaeological evidence of Paros' presence at Delos until the mid-sixth century BCE. Until that time, the Parians seem to be orientated northward, attracted by the mines and the fertile lands of Thasos, under the protection of Pythian Apollo.

At that time the Ionian world, which had elected the sanctuary of Delos as its meeting point, was far from the Parian horizon, as the mythology connected to the island also demonstrates. Although Paros had a political and commercial alliance with Miletus,[26] there is no trace of the Ionian myths connected with the Neleids, who left Pylos and colonized the coasts of Asia, passing through Athens and various islands, such as Naxos. The main Parian hero is Dorian Heracles, who liberated the island from the domination of the sons of Minos and the local nymph Pareia;[27] Heracles also established a new form of government, and gave the Parians possession over Thasos. Heracles similarly appears in some of Archilochus' scanty references to the mythical heritage: his son, Telephus, is the protagonist of the recently discovered elegy (*POxy*. 4708 = fr. 17a–h Swift), and the name of the hero, according to some scholars, arguably appears in the last lines of the preserved fragment;[28] the encounter between Nessos and Deianeira was possibly the topic of a narrative elegy on the deeds of Heracles;[29] and finally, Archilochus was credited with being the inventor of the *tenella kallinike*, an epinician song dedicated to Heracles and performed

24 An epigram by Theocritus (21.1–4) seems to imply a sort of favor granted by Delian Apollo to Archilochus, but such an association is probably invented by the Hellenistic poet on a geographical basis.

25 Bruneau and Ducat (1965) 39–43, 77–82; Constantakopoulou (2007) 42–46; Angliker (2017) 29–31.

26 Berranger (1992) 203–216, 312–315.

27 [Apollod.] 2.5.9. See Aloni (2009b); Aloni and Iannucci (2007) 213–226.

28 See Nobili (2009); Bowie (2017); Swift (2019) 240.

29 Arch. frs. 286–288 W. See Bowie (2003).

at Olympia in honor of the athletic victors.[30] The mythical heritage of Paros is thus connected first with Cretan Minos and then with Heracles, whose cult and devotion were particularly rooted in Thasos.[31] There he overlapped with the Phoenician Melqart, and in his honor a great Heracleion was built, which hosted festivals and celebrations.[32] We cannot exclude that Heracles' cult was imported to Paros from Thasos, due to its ancient origins in the latter site, and that Archilochus played a role in this transfer.

3 Sixth to Fifth Century BCE: Paros and Delos

Things gradually changed over the course of the sixth century BCE, when Paros started being integrated with the Ionian world surrounding her. The archaeological evidence shows that the Parians began visiting the sanctuary of Delos and attending the Apolline celebrations: several *kouroi* manufactured by Parian workshops have been excavated in the sanctuary which date back to the second half of the sixth century BCE. The remnants of a building which has been interpreted as an *oikos* of the Parians date from the same period and confirm a permanent presence of the Parians on the island and their attempt to have a share in the Naxians' control of the sanctuary.[33] The strange hexagonal decoration of this building has been connected to a relief found in Thasos and suggests a Parian influence.[34]

Nonetheless, the beginning of Athenian control over Delos in the age of Pisistratus (in 540 BCE he purified the island)—which was to continue in the following years through Athens' emerging role as the leader of the Ionians, and result in the foundation of the Delian league in 475 BCE—forced Paros to limit her ambition over Delos and to invest more proficiently in sanctuaries on its own island. The investment on local sanctuaries devoted to the cult of Delian Apollo started at the beginning of the sixth century BCE, with the erection

30 Arch. fr. 324 W (= Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 9.1a). According to a scholion to Aristophanes' *Birds* (1764), the *tenella* narrated the fighting between Heracles and the Moliones and the institution of the Olympic games.

31 Papadopoulou (2018) also stresses the connections between Paros, Thasos, Heracles, and Apollo, although her arguments are mainly based on a hypothetical priority of Delian Apollo cult over the Pythian in both islands.

32 Hdt. II 44.2; see Pouilloux (1954) 97–99, 352–370 and (1974); Bergquist (1973); Grandjean and Salviat (2000) 142–145.

33 Constatakopoulou (2007) 46–47. The Naxians, however, continued to attend the sanctuary and its festivals as Pindar's *Paean* 12 for the Naxians in Delos shows.

34 Bruneau and Ducat (1965) 98–99.

of a great extra urban sanctuary dedicated to the Apollo–Artemis couple on the neighboring island of Despotiko.[35] This small and uninhabited island, now separated from modern Antiparos by a strait only a few meters wide, was in ancient times connected to the mainland by an isthmus and its protected bay represented a safe harbor for travelers and mariners. Recent excavation campaigns conducted by the archaeologist Yannis Kourayos have brought to light the remnants of a complex cultic site, articulated into several buildings and a main temple, whose acme is dated to the period between the mid-sixth century and the mid-fifth century BCE, when a sudden destruction seems to have put an end to the life of the sanctuary. The findings attest that the main god venerated there was Apollo, accompanied by his sister Artemis as on Delos, and the presence of a big *hestiatorion* suggests that the sanctuary was intended to house a mass of pilgrims. The number of buildings and storage rooms makes it the second biggest sanctuary in the Cyclades after Delos. The materials used for the construction show that the impulse and sponsorship came from Paros, whose richness was in this period assured by the marble quarries located on the island. However, the sanctuary was also attended by people, mainly mariners and traders, coming from all corners of the Aegean Sea. The great expenditure exhibited by Parian aristocrats in dedicating marble statues of *kouroi* reflects the ideology of the ruling class and its attempt to stand out from the elites of neighboring islands.[36] Although no literary or documentary source attests to the existence of this sanctuary, the archaeologists argue that it was built by the Parians in competition with Naxos and Delos, in order to establish a local cult of Delian Apollo which would attract visitors from all parts of the Aegean world, as Delos had done.[37]

In the same years, a monumental Delion was erected on Paros, on a hill located north of Paroikia, facing towards Delos. The visual connection with Delos and the presence of some dedications to Apollo Delios and Artemis Delia confirm that this sanctuary was a Delion.[38] The most ancient findings date back to the eighth century BCE, testifying that some cults had been in existence from the geometric epoch; nonetheless, its monumentalization, in overt imitation of the Delian sanctuary, dates back to the mid-sixth century BCE. The

35 See Kourayos and Burns (2004); Daifa, Kourayos, Ohnesorg, and Papajanni (2012); Daifa and Kourayos (2017); Angliker (2017) and (2022); Daifa, Angliker, Kourayos, and Tully (2018); Daifa, Kourayos, and Sutton (2018).

36 Daifa and Kourayos (2017).

37 For the Delian characterization of Despotiko, see Papadopoulou (2010 and 2013); Angliker (2022).

38 See Rubensohn (1962); Berranger (1992) 81–82; Angliker (2017); Daifa, Angliker, Kourayos, and Tully (2018) 140–141, 148–150.

cult focused on a couple of gods—Artemis and Apollo, as in Delos—but the main deity, to whom the temple was dedicated and whose worship was probably more ancient, was Artemis. She was given a great Doric temple, erected between the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century BCE, with a colossal statue inside it. The sanctuary was mainly visited by women, who offered the goddess jewels, fibulae, statuettes and everyday objects.[39] The altar and the *temenos* were dedicated to Apollo, but he did not have a cult statue. The lesser emphasis on Apollo in the Parian Delion may be due to the fact that Apollo had other cult sites on the island: the Pythion and the extra-urban sanctuary of Despotiko, where the dominant venerated deity was Apollo (not Artemis), especially in connection with the trading and maritime dimension.[40]

Nonetheless, in the fifth century BCE Despotiko was destroyed (possibly by Miltiades in his punishing campaign against Paros, guilty of having supported the Persians during the Persian Wars[41]). The site was abandoned, and the Delion remained the main Apolline sanctuary on the island.

The founding of this Delion was attributed to Heracles, who had liberated the island from the Cretan oppressors represented by Minos' sons. This is the object of a 40-line Pindaric fragment (140a M.) preserved by *POxy*. 408 and 2442, and which D'Alessio has convincingly labeled as a paean for a chorus of Parians in honor of Apollo.[42] The text is highly fragmentary, so that any discussion relies on precarious interpretations of the preserved lines; however, Rutherford's reconstruction possibly detects some important points that are in line with Parian contemporary history. In this paean, Pindar draws on local traditions in order to reshape Parian history in the light of the new Delian cultic hegemony.

Π]αρίοις [εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα (?)
[...]
b20 φ[ι]λ̣[.]ν̣ μι̣[– –
τοὶ πρόϊδ̣[ο]ν αἶσαν α̣[
ζοι τότ᾽ ἀμφε̣ . ουτατ̣.[
Ἡρακλ̣έης· ἁλίᾳ [δ᾽ ἐ]πὶ . [
ναῖ μ̣ολόντα σ[.]υ̣[...]π̣[.].[.].σ̣ο̣ε̣ν̣

39 Daifa, Angliker, Kourayos, and Tully (2018) 148–150; Angliker (2022) 259–261.

40 On the differences between the cult of Delian Apollo on Paros and the Despotiko sanctuaries, see Angliker (2022).

41 Daifa and Kourayos (2017); Daifa, Kourayos, and Sutton (2018).

42 D'Alessio (1997) 44–45. See also Lucarini (2011). Lavecchia (1996b) advances the hypothesis that the fragment belonged to the same poem as fr. 158 M.

θο ... οι φύγον ον[.....].[.] ...
πάντων γὰρ ὑπ[έ]ρβιος ἄνα. σ ἔφα[
ψυχὰν κενεῶ[ν] ἔμ᾽ ἔ[η]κ᾽ ἐρύκεν ... [
λαῶν ξενοδα[ΐ]κτα βασιλῆ-
ος ἀτασθαλίᾳ κοτέω[ν] θαμά,
ἀρχαγέτᾳ τε [Δ]άλου
πίθετο παῦσέν [τ᾽] ἔργ᾽ ἀναιδῆ· [βοᾷ]
γάρ σε λ[ι]γυσφαράγων κλυτᾶν ἀυ-
τά, Ἑκαβόλε, φορμίγγων.
μνάσθηθ᾽ ὅτι τοι ζαθέας
Πάρου ἐν γυάλοις ἔσσατο ἄ[ν]ακτι
βωμὸν πατρί τε Κρονίῳ τιμάεν-
τι πέραν ἰσθμὸν διαβαίς,
ὅτε Λαομέδον-
τι πεπρωμένοι᾽ ἤρχετο
μόροιο κᾶρυξ.
ἦν γάρ τι παλαίφατον [...] ... ον
ἵκε συγγόνους
τρεῖς π[...].εω[.]ν κεφαλὰν ... ρ ... ται[
ἐπιδ[.....]αιμα[...].[....]

For the Parians

... They foresaw their fate ... then ... Heracles; ... (someone) coming on a ship on the sea ... they fled ... superior to all in might ... he said (?) ... '(Apollo) sent me to suppress the spirit of foolish people, often angry at the arrogance of the people's guest-killing king ...' And he obeyed the leader of Delos and stopped shameless deeds ... Since, Far-shooter, the sound of bright-sounding famous lyres reaches (?) you, remember that he founded in the hollow of holy Paros an altar for the lord (Apollo) and the honored Cronian father, striding over the neck of land, when he began the appointed doom for Laomedon, a herald of it. For it was something long proclaimed. He came to the three relatives ... head.[43]

Rutherford reconstructs the narration thanks to Apollodorus' account of the story of Heracles on Paros, even though the two texts only partially coincide.[44]

43 Pindar, fr. 140a.20–42. The text and translation provided are by Rutherford (2001) 378–379, who attempts a fuller reconstruction of the fragment in accordance with Apollodorus' account.

44 Rutherford (2001) 380–382. See also Ferrari (1990b).

Pindar's story is apparently divided into two sections: the first one recounts how Heracles came to Paros, obeying the order of Delian Apollo, and slew the guest-killing king of the island and the sons of Minos (the expression 'they foresaw their fate' probably alludes to them; ll. 27–30 possibly constitute a direct speech pronounced by Heracles himself to the inhabitants of Paros); then there are a few connecting lines which contain a reference to the current performance ('the sound of bright-sounding famous lyres') and the foundation of an altar to Apollo and Zeus in the valleys of Paros; finally, the fragment ends with the mention of Heracles' journey across the Corinthian isthmus (he actually came from Thrace, where he had killed the mares of Diomedes), and with an allusion to his expedition to Troy to punish Laomedon. The fragment perhaps continued either with the punishing of Laomedon or with the Parian story: for we know that Heracles lifted the siege of Paros when the Parians agreed to give him as hostages two of Androgeos' sons, Minos' grandsons.[45]

This is not the only possible reconstruction: Lucarini, for example, discusses Rutherford's reconstruction of the fragment and argues that the ξενοδαΐκτης βασιλῆος is actually Cycnus, and that ll. 20–30 of the fragment refer to Heracles' killing of Cycnus.[46] Although some of Lucarini's hypotheses are attractive (i.e. the iconographic comparison with some vases representing Cycnus' killing, which include the presence of Apollo[47]), the connection of this episode with the founding of Apollo's temple on Paros is lacking.[48] For this reason, Rutherford's reconstruction, though uncertain in some points, still seems preferable.

The two myths of Paros and Laomedon thus emphasize Heracles' justice in punishing treacherous and unjust kings.[49] In particular, the killing of Minos' sons and of the king of Paros is presented as having been commanded by Apollo, upset by the arrogance of the Parian rulers, who had killed two of Heracles' companions, as they disembarked from the ship (ξενοδα[ΐ]κτα βασιλῆος). The present song ([βοᾷ … λ[ι]γυσφαράγων … φορμίγγων) is thus an aetiological homage to Apollo, who was honored by the Parians through the building of an altar, in conjunction with Zeus. As we know, the altar of the Delion was actually dedicated to Apollo and the cult of Zeus Basileus is equally attested there;[50]

45 [Apollod.] 2.5.9.

46 Lucarini (2011). Lavecchia (1996b) also advances the hypothesis that the fragment belonged to the same poem as fr. 158 M.

47 Lucarini (2011) 6, based on Zardini (2009), 95–96 and 103–104.

48 Lucarini (2011) 12 himself only advances the week hypothesis that the *leitmotiv del nostro frammento fosse l'accostamento di alcune benemerenze di Eracle nei confronti di Apollo*.

49 See Rutherford (2001) 380–382.

50 Rubensohn (1962) 44–45. Another temple of Zeus Hypatos existed on adjoining Mount Kounados. See Daifa, Angliker, Kourayos, and Tully (2018) 150–151.

Heracles was also venerated in the Delion as the founder of the altar,[51] so that Pindar's references find confirmation in the religious practice.

As for the occasion for the performance of this paean, several possibilities may be advanced: Rutherford and D'Alessio suggest a local celebration in the Parian Delion, and a fleeting reference in Aristophanes' *Wasps* (l. 1184) seems to allude to some *theoriai* sent to Paros.[52] Papadopoulou recently proposed the sanctuary of Despotiko, since the mention of the isthmus at l. 37 might refer to the neck of land that once connected Despotiko to Antiparos.[53] A seal (dated around 700 BCE) engraved in a votive deposit in the sanctuary shows a group of dancers and might testify to the importance of musical and dancing celebrations at this site since early times.[54] In both cases, we would have a poem composed for Delian Apollo, but meant for an original performance in a local sanctuary.

Kowalzig, on the other hand, advances the idea of a performance or reperformance in Delos, too.[55] In fact, the munificence that lies behind the commissioning of an ode to a famous poet may be understood as a display of power before a Panhellenic audience; it could also be interpreted as a sign of the renewed frequentation of Delos by the Parians, also confirmed by coeval archaeological sources, and by their desire to emphasize the connection between the local Delion (either on Paros or on Despotiko) and the main Delian sanctuary.

The praise of Delian Apollo in this ode reconciles the Parians with the Ionian world they belong to. But can we really say that Delian Apollo has now surpassed Archilochus' Pythian Apollo? The epithet by which Apollo is addressed

51 Rubensohn (1962) 45.

52 D'Alessio (1997) 44–45; Rutherford (2001) 382; see also Lavecchia (1996b). Rubensohn (1962) 48–50 also argues that the Parian Thargelia was celebrated in the Delion and possibly included some choral performances, as in Athens, on the basis of a corrupt fragment of Archilochus (Arch. fr. 255 W² = Hesych. s.v. Θαργήλια). An *aulos* has been found in the votive deposit of the sanctuary and may have been a dedication made by an *aulos* player, see Angliker (2018).

53 Papadopoulou (2010 and 2013) 410–415; Hestia was also venerated in the sanctuary with the epithet of Isthmia. See also Constantakopoulou (2018) ix–x. D'Alessio revised his previous position and independently supported this idea in a seminar held in London in 2013. However, the relationships between the newly discovered site of Despotiko and Delos still need to be carefully investigated, so that any connection between the Pindaric fragment and this sanctuary is, at the current state, immature (see also the perplexities raised by Angliker [2022] 253).

54 See Angliker (2020), who also examines other ceramics representing dancing and musical scenes found at Despotiko.

55 Kowalzig (2007b) 95–97.

in this ode is indeed curious. At l. 30 he is named ἀρχαγέτᾳ τε [Δ]άλου, thus connecting in a single formula two different qualities of the god: his being the lord of Delos, the sanctuary that hosted the performance, and his role as Archegetes, 'founder of colonies', the epithet by which the god of Delphi was venerated by the colonists, who wished to pay homage to the god who had promoted their mission.[56] This is also reflected by the recounted myth because Heracles' action on Paros is presented as an act of colonization and evokes the glorious colonizing past of the island. Pindar's paean is thus a song composed for the god of Delos, which also evokes the god of Delphi, who had played such an important role in the history of Paros and was still perceived as a major deity at the time.[57]

4 Fifth Century BCE: Paros and Athens

Of course, this was not the first time the Delian and Pythian aspects of Apollo were joined together. As everyone knows, the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* has exactly the same goal and its composition must be understood in the context of Polycrates' policy of integration of the two cults.[58] The same attempt was made in the same years by Pisistratus, who in Athens adopted a policy of integration between the cult of Pythian Apollo, traditionally connected with Athens and its aristocratic families, starting from the Alcmaeonids, and the cult of Delian Apollo, the god of the Ionian world, who was becoming an object of interest for the growing maritime power of Athens.[59] Pisistratus, arguably because of his bad relationship with Delphi, also promoted the building of a Pythion, southeast of the Acropolis, near the banks of the Ilissus,[60] which included the cult

56 The title *archegetes* may be applied to all the oikists of colonies; nevertheless, when it refers to Apollo, it normally implies Pythian Apollo, who encouraged the founding of new colonies. In this is sense it is used by Pindar also in *Pyth.* 5.60 (see also Thuc. 6.3). See Malkin (1987) 241–250; (2011) 97–118.

57 See also Pind. *Pae.* 2.96–98 (fr. 52b.96–98 M.), where Apollo is addressed as Pythian and Delian. This poem is characterized by colonial traits, as Dougherty (1994) has shown. In Pind. *Pae. 5*, Delian Apollo also plays an important colonial role in the Athenian history.

58 Burkert (1979b); Janko (1982); Aloni (1989); Papadopoulou (2014).

59 Aloni (1989) 57–61; Shapiro (1989) 48–52; Constatakopoulou (2007) 63–66; Papadopoulou (2014). For some time Pisistratus himself was banned from Delphi, which was under the protection of the Alcmaeonids, and turned to Delos for support. This is the reason behind his purification of the island. Aloni (1989), 118–121, argues that the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* may have been reperformed by Cynaethus in Athens, possibly for the dedication of an altar in the temple of Pythian Apollo in 522/521 BCE.

60 See Travlos (1980²) 100–103; Shapiro (1989) 59–60; Marchiandi (2011) 430–434.

of both Pythian and Delian Apollo.[61] The most important festival celebrated in this shrine was the Thargelia, which featured musical contests similar to those celebrated at Delos,[62] and evoked the ritual of purification imposed on the Athenians after the killing of Minos' son Androgeos.[63] A Pythion was also installed by the Athenians at Delos, inside the sanctuary (located between the Keraton and the Artemision) in the fourth century BCE. It looked like a typical Athenian temple, with a frieze representing the deeds of Theseus.[64]

The integration of the cults of Pythian and Delian Apollo was thus promoted on several occasions by Athens and we may wonder whether this aspect of Pindar's paean is due to Athenian influence. The relationship between Paros and Athens is contradictory and oscillates between fierce opposition, fueled by Paros' great wealth and power, and unavoidable submission in the years of the Delian league.

The first important contacts between Paros and Athens possibly occurred at the time of Pisistratus, who started looking with interest at the Aegean world, and whose contacts with Lygdamis of Naxos, Polycrates of Samos, and the sanctuary of Delos are well known.[65] Around 499 BCE, Paros was for a short period under the control of Naxos and this may have encouraged more contacts with Athens.[66] However, in the following years, even though the Athenian influence and pressure on the Cycladic islands was becoming greater and greater, Paros' fierce opposition to Athens is evident in the support given to the Persian army during the Persian Wars.[67] The Athenian reaction culminated in the unsuccessful 26-day siege led by Miltiades in 490–489 BCE,[68] a failure which confirmed the island's great wealth and power, and her capacity to resist Athenian control. Nevertheless, a few years later the Parians adopted a more submissive approach to Athens, trying to win Themistocles' favor by paying a considerable amount of money in order to avoid a new attack.[69] This was the first step towards the

61 Matthaiou (2003); Wilson (2007) 153–155, 175–182.

62 The tripods dedicated by the winners in the musical contests of the Thargelia were similar to those discovered in the temple of Apollo on Delos. See Ducat and Amandry (1973) and Amandry (1977).

63 Calame (1990) 308–319; Wilson (2007); Nobili (2018).

64 Bruneau (1970) 114–142; Roux (1979); Gallet de Santerre (1982).

65 Hdt. 1.61–64. On the relationship between Peisitratus and Lygdamis, see Costa (1996); Constantakopoulou (2007) 65–66.

66 Hdt. 5.31.2.

67 Hdt. 6.133 affirms that Paros sent a trireme to Marathon in support of the Persian fleet.

68 See Hdt. 6.133–135; Ephorus *FrGrHist* 59 F 63; Corn. Nep. *Vita Milt.* 7. See Lanzillotta (1987) 106–114; Berranger (2000) 87–89; Ornaghi (2009) 205–218; Daifa, Kourayos, and Sutton (2018).

69 Hdt. 8.112.

entrance of the island into the Delian League, where she emerged as one of the first and main contributors.[70] From this moment onwards, until the end of the fifth century, Paros remained within the Athenian sphere and disappeared from the sources, meaning that she had now lost her political and military power and that her wealth was only devoted to maintaining her position in the league.

At the same time, Delos itself had gradually become an Athenian enclave.[71] From the beginning of the fifth century onwards, the Delian festivals were celebrated under Athenian patronage and the musical program was reformed in accordance with Athenian customs.[72] This Athenian pressure was perceived by the Ionian people who attended the sanctuary and the Delia. The preferred form of attendance of the rites at the sanctuary and of adherence to the ideological program imposed by Athens upon her allies was sending choruses (or *theoriai*) to the Delian festivals. As Kowalzig notes,

> sending a *choros* formed part of the religious tribute to the god. It almost seems that sending a (theoric) *choros* was 'obligatory' for membership in the worshipping community; the 'choral tribute' marked, along with the offerings, participation in the cult. … The ritual song thus ties the community to the centre.[73]

However, Kowalzig adds shortly afterwards:

> It is tacitly assumed that the choruses … and the phenomenon of fifth-century Delian *theoria* are theatrical expressions of sympathies on levels other than religious, the songs instruments of crude and direct political propaganda.[74]

Bacchylides' *Dithyramb* 17, composed to be performed at Delos by a chorus of Ceans, offers the best example of this tendency: an allied *polis*, willing to gratify Athens and to pay reverent homage to her political and maritime power, commissioned a Panhellenic poet to compose a poem that dealt with a specifically Athenian myth, such as Theseus' underwater journey to the house of Poseidon;

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70 Lanzillotta (1987) 115–119.

71 Constatakopoulou (2007) 63–75.

72 On dithyrambic contests in Delos, see Strabo 15.3.2; *CEG* 2.838; *IG* XII.5.544.A2.34–47; Ieranò (1989). On their Athenian patronage, see Rutherford (2004); Fearn (2007) 142–156 and (2013).

73 Kowalzig (2007b) 71–72.

74 Kowalzig (2007b) 81 and, more generally, 59–110.

the public, composed either of Athenians or of members of the allied *poleis*, was meant to perceive the 'Athenian tone' of the myth and approve the direct homage paid by Ceos to Athens.[75]

I follow Kowalzig in arguing that Pindar's paean for the Parians was composed with the same intention:[76] the Parians, wishing to regain the favor of Athens after the shame of Medism, commissioned a paean from Pindar to be performed at the Delian festival, controlled by the Athenians. Pindar, moreover, was on good terms the Athenian aristocracies, as *Pythian* 7, *Paean* 8, dithyrambic fr. 75 M. and the *threnos* for Hippocrates show, so that his ode may have been particularly appreciated by the Athenian circles which hosted some of his most prodigal patrons.[77] Although no safe date has been proposed for this ode, in accordance with Pindar's biography it might date back to the first phase of the Delian League, before the treasury was moved from Delos to Athens in 450 BCE, when Athens was still on good terms with the allied cities and her imperialistic domination had yet to reach its peak.

The narrated myth emphasizes the connections between Paros and Athens by recalling the episode of the killing of Minos' sons; furthermore, if the paean also narrated the subsequent events that we learn from Apollodorus, Heracles accepted as hostages the sons of Androgeos, who was killed by the Athenians.[78] Minos and his sons were Athens' traditional enemies, because of their connection with the figure of Theseus, who in the same years was becoming the Athenian national hero (as Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs* 17 and 18 also presuppose). Their depiction in the paean as unjust and bloody rulers was in all likelihood meant to please the Athenian audience.[79] Such a negative image of Minos was possibly an Athenian trait, unknown to the most ancient tradition connecting the Cretan king with the island.[80] As Callimachus and Apollodorus state, the news of the killing of Androgeos by the Athenians was reported to Minos while he was offering a sacrifice to the Charites in Paros; furious, he threw his garland away and silenced the flutes; this was the origin of a special Parian sacrifice

75 Fearn (2007) 242–256, (2011) 207–217, and (2013); Kowalzig (2007b) 89–94; Wilson (2007).

76 Kowalzig (2007b) 95–97.

77 For Pindar's relation with the Athenian aristocracies, see Hubbard (2001); Athanassaki (2011); Neer and Kurke (2014) and (2019), 123–158; Catenacci (2919).

78 [Apollod.] 2.5.9; 3.15.7.

79 Kowalzig (2007b) 91–92, 95–97. Minos was also seen in the light of Athenian imperialism as the first thalassocratic ruler of the Aegean sea; the Athenians succeeded him in this role. See Constatakopoulou (2007) 90–97.

80 The same thing happens in Bacchylides' *Dithyramb* 17, for a chorus of Ceans, because it represents Minos as an unjust tyrant, whereas in Ceos he was honored. See Kowalzig (2007b) 89–94.

to the Charites, which was celebrated with neither garlands nor flutes.[81] This seems to imply that Androgeos' killing was originally perceived in Paros as a mournful event and that it left a trace in the practice of the popular cult of the Graces.[82]

The Parian traditions were appreciated in Athens at the time: the painting of the Nekya in the *lesche* of the Cnidians in Delphi, commissioned by the Cnidians as a homage to Cimon, who had liberated Cnidos from Persian domination in 468 BCE,[83] included the oikists of Thasos Tellis, Archilochus' grandfather, and Cleoboea. The decoration of the building was entrusted to Polygnotus, the painter from Thasos, who was in close touch with Cimon, and had already decorated the Stoa Poikile and the Theseion in Athens. The choice of the Parian subject was thus intended as a homage to Polygnotus' hometown Thasos, but also as a favor towards the Athenians, who had finally placed Paros under their influence.[84]

To sum up, several elements in Pindar's paean for the Parians present an Athenian flavor: the mythical content, with the negative depiction of the early Cretan domination over the island, and the cultic implications underlying the mention of Apollo Delios and Archegetes, which points to a cultic peculiarity typical of Athens: the joint worship of Delian and Pythian Apollo. In doing so, Pindar was sure to satisfy both his Parian audience, who had a particular devotion to both Pythian and Delian Apollo, and, most of all, the Athenian elites, who were distrustful of the rich island which had given support to the Persian king, but which was now part of the Delian league and was trying to be culturally reintegrated into the Ionian world she geographically belonged to.

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81 Callim. *Aet*. frs. 3–7 Pf.; [Apollod.] 3.15.7.

82 Berranger (1992) 195–198.

83 Kebric (1983) 3–13; Ornaghi (2009) 183–205.

84 On the spread of traditions concerning the life of Archilochus in Athens in the years of Cimon's ascendancy, see Ornaghi (2009) 232–244; Giuseppetti (2022); Zanetto (2023).

PART 2

The Fabric and Texture of the Sacred

∴

CHAPTER 7

What Color Is the Pindaric Sacred?

Richard P. Martin

What Color is the Sacred? by the anthropologist Michael Taussig borrows its title from a rhetorical question once formulated by the surrealist writer and ethnographer Michel Leiris, in a talk before the *Collège de sociologie*, the grandiosely named, short-lived group of French intellectuals that included at one time Georges Bataille, Roger Caillois, and Pierre Klossowski (brother of the painter Balthus).[1] Leiris, in turn, may have picked up the question from Colette Peignot, the companion of Bataille. Originally, it might have been purely rhetorical, even parodic, ironically shadowing the dominant and respected social science of Émile Durkheim and Marcel Mauss.[2]

I do not offer an answer for this question by Leiris. For that matter, neither does Taussig, whose book rapidly ramifies into meditations on whiteness, colonialism, Proust, and Malinowski's pajamas. I *do* have a quick and easy initial answer for the color of the sacred in Pindar: in a word, *gold*. This preliminary response turns out to be a good deal less interesting than the full story, however. It is worthwhile to sketch briefly some features of the poetic deployment of gold, in order to ground my fuller demonstration that there is in fact a conjunction of other colors with sacredness in Pindar. This alignment is not at the level of one-to-one systematic signification, nor does it enter into a total set of symbolic structures, something that would have been easier to articulate, and more appealing to a certain kind of anthropological investigation.[3] Instead, as it happens, the coincidence of color and the sacred in Pindar can better

1 Taussig (2009) 31–34. On the history and work of the group, see Hollier (1979). The question was posed more personally, at least in the written version of the talk given by Leiris on January 8th 1938 and published as 'Le sacré dans la vie quotidienne' in *La Nouvelle Revue Française* (no. 298) in July 1938. There, he concluded a series of vivid memories of awe-inducing objects and sites (his father's Smith and Wesson revolver, the Auteuil racecourse, etc.) with the recommendation that each person scrutinize memories for 'a sign that permits him to discern the color *for him* of the sacred'. Further on this lecture: Hand (2002) 63–65.

2 On Peignot's views concerning the sacred and sacrifice: Connolly (2010); on the group's ideas in relation to those of Mauss and Durkheim: Bridet (2007). Both Leiris and Caillois attended lectures by Mauss at L'École Pratique des Hautes Études in the 1930s. For their ambivalence concerning the dominant sociological tradition, see Arppe (2009).

3 On structuralist and semiotic analyses of color in social use, see further below.

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be understood in terms of anti-structure, to be uncovered by close attention to performance, dynamic poetics, contextual features, the flow of narrative, and resistance to established structure.[4] It is, as Leiris intuited, a matter of the individual: not the 'color of the sacred' *in* Pindar but rather *for* Pindar, in his sublime idiosyncrasy.

Essential work has been done on the twin topics of luminosity and the visual world in Pindar by a number of scholars, starting with Duchemin in the 1950s, and extending to recent writing on the material correlates of Pindaric representation by David Fearn and Lucia Athanassaki. Michel Briand has given us brilliant analyses in a number of works, going back to his dissertation. Luís Guillen and Natan Grinbaum have tried to align color terminology with broader categories of Pindaric metapoetic discourse.[5] What this body of work does not attempt, however, is a systematic survey that would relate color terms as used in the poems to the sphere of the holy or supernatural: individual gods, numinous environments, or divinely inspired actions. My attempt to read Pindar in these terms is part of an effort to find ways (above and beyond the simple accumulation of lexical items) of addressing key problems of ancient Greek lyric in its relation to the sacred. The hope is that such a method might, in turn, be extended to other genres of Greek poetry as they relate to religious thinking and action.

Let us begin with gold. Like silver and bronze, what we call the "color" gold cannot be separated from the cultural value given to it as a precious substance, any more than it can be pried loose from the specific chemical structure that makes us perceive gold the way we do.[6] It is this combination of precious valuation and attractive glitter that makes gold the instant marker of divinity in Pindar—as of course it is in Homeric poetry: think of Poseidon's gold chariot (*Il.* 13.20–31) and the Trumpian magnificence of the palace of Menelaus (*Od.* 4.45–75).[7] Although I cannot go into detail about the other shiny metallic substances that also crop up in Pindar—silver and bronze in particular—a quick survey will show that these are much less prominent and more commonly describe human-owned objects.[8]

4 On notions of antistructure, initially developed by Victor Turner, see St John (2008).

5 Duchemin (1952) and (1955) 195–228; Fearn (2017); Athanassaki (2009); Briand (1990), (2013) and (2016); Guillén (1975) 159–166; Grinbaum (1990) 39–40. I am grateful to Michel Briand for further discussion at the Spetses conference and for sharing with me a copy of his dissertation.

6 On reflectivity, color, and the structure of metals, see Rossotti (1983) 30–42.

7 From recent studies of gold in Homeric poetry, I single out the sensitive study by Barolsky (2009). On gold in Pindar, see Finley (1955) 52–56 and Carne-Ross (1976).

8 For fuller analysis, see Briand (1990) 363–407.

Toting up the numbers can serve to confirm our initial impressions. 'Gold' (χρυσός) or 'golden' (χρύσεος), or compounds of either word, are found 96 times in the surviving poetry of Pindar, by my count. Of those 96 instances, 28 represent either epithets applied directly to a divinity—for example Amphitrite, the wife of Poseidon, 'with golden distaff' (χρυσαλακάτοιο πόσις Ἀμφιτρίτας, *Olympian* 6.104) or Apollo 'with gold instrument' (χρυσάορα Φοῖβον, *Pythian* 5.104). The adjective *chryseos* ('golden') can even be applied directly to a god—for instance the Muse (χρυσέαν καλέσαι Μοῖσαν, *Isthmian* 8.5) and Health (ὑγίειαν … χρυσέαν, *Pythian* 3.73). When *chryseos* is used of an object, it is most often one that belongs to a god: Poseidon's gift (θεός ἔδωκεν δίφρον τε χρύσεον, *Olympian* 1.86–87), the lyre of Apollo (Χρυσέα φόρμιγξ, Ἀπόλλωνος, *Pythian* 1.1), the golden bow of Artemis (δαμεῖσα χρυσέοις τόξοισιν ὕπ᾽ Ἀρτέμιδος, *Pythian* 3.9), the Olympian seats of the gods (Κρόνου παῖδας βασιλῆας ἴδον χρυσέαις ἐν ἕδραις, *Pythian* 3. 94), and so forth. Even when at first glance the 'gold' words do not seem tied to the gods, a closer reading reveals the connection. Thus at *Nemean* 8.27, the gold armor of which Ajax was deprived is specified as that set made by Hephaestus for Achilles (χρυσέων δ᾽ Αἴας στερηθεὶς ὅπλων φόνῳ πάλαισεν), and Heracles is called 'lord of golden houses' precisely at the moment he is celebrated for having married Eternal Youth, at the apogee of apotheosis (Ἥβαν τ᾽ ὀπυίει / χρυσέων οἴκων ἄναξ καὶ γαμβρὸς Ἥρας, *Isthmian* 4.59–60).

Chrysos as the noun denoting the substance 'gold' is also overtly connected with the gods. It is even explicitly genealogized as the 'child of Zeus' in fr. 222 (Διὸς παῖς ὁ χρυσός / κεῖνον οὐ σὴς οὐδὲ κὶς δάπτει). But the most elaborate and informative expression of the relation of gold to other entities, and to poetry, comes in the opening of *Isthmian 5*:

Μᾶτερ Ἀελίου πολυώνυμε Θεία,
σέο ἕκατι καὶ μεγασθενὴ νόμισαν
χρυσὸν ἄνθρωποι περιώσιον ἄλλων·
καὶ γὰρ ἐριζόμεναι
νᾶες ἐν πόντῳ καὶ ⟨ὑφ᾽⟩ ἅρμασιν ἵπποι
διὰ τεάν, ὦνασσα, τιμὰν ὠκυδινά-
τοις ἐν ἁμίλλαισι θαυμασταὶ πέλονται,
ἔν τ᾽ ἀγωνίοις ἀέθλοισι ποθεινόν
κλέος ἔπραξεν, ὅντιν᾽ ἀθρόοι στέφανοι
χερσὶ νικάσαντ᾽ ἀνέδησαν ἔθειραν
ἢ ταχυτᾶτι ποδῶν.

Mother of the Sun, Theia of many names, because of you men value gold as mighty above all other things; then too, when ships contend on the sea

> or horses yoked to chariots, it is through your honor, O queen, that they become wondrous to behold in swiftly turning encounters; and in athletic competitions a man gains the glory he desires, when thick crowns wreathe his hair after winning victory with his hands or the swiftness of his feet.[9]

Note the precise circuitry and timing imagined by this poem. *Theia* 'gleam' exists first—*then* comes the sun, to whom she is ontologically prior, as his mother. The same underlying personified abstraction, substantial and transcendent, is what enables gold to possess its culturally assigned status, as people consider it powerful (μεγασθενῆ) above other things. Surely the verb νόμισαν ('they value') here plays on *nomisma*—already meaning currency and coinage in the fifth century—but Pindar of course shies away from any such mere mercenary meaning.[10]

The final lines of this dense proem present coordinated, parallel processes: the *tima* of Theia (her value or we might even say 'honor-price') is what enables competing ships and chariots to become objects of wonder (θαυμασταί), and also what enables human competitors to win poetic glory (κλέος). But the victorious competitor is precisely the one singled out with a further detail: 'thick crowns wreathe his hair' (ὅντιν᾽ ἀθρόοι στέφανοι … ἀνέδησαν ἔθειραν). I would argue that the relative clause has prior-temporal or even causal force here. He wins *kleos*—*when or because*—he *has been* crowned.[11] Pindar collapses the logical sequence of the process, for the sake of a higher poetic truth: the gleam of *Theia* is what makes possible the highly marked visual moment of binding the hair with *stephanoi*, and it is to that extent, only, that the goddess' own *tima* can be said to have led to the athletic achievement. I highlight this key statement because I wish to circle back to the ritual of crowning at the end of this essay.

In unpacking this ontology, according to which the first entity to emerge is the gleam of Theia, and then transferring it to the realm of poetics, following Pindar's own lead, I am reminded of the preparations made for painting a traditional Orthodox icon.[12] After the preparation of the chosen wood, and an underlaying of linen and gesso, gold leaf is carefully made to adhere to the surface before any application of colored pigments. Just so, in terms of the Pindaric composition process, the gleam of gold is laid on first. Of course, the compositional primacy itself expresses a deeper ontological primacy: gods come first;

9 Unless otherwise indicated, all translations of Pindar are from Race (1997).

10 On the stylization of economic language generally in Pindar, see Kurke (1991b) 225–240.

11 Note Race's translation 'when' instead of the more literal 'whomever'.

12 On the preparation: Cormack (2007) 31–34.

gods are gold. Gold is the groundwork on which both poet and painter then go to work with precious colors. We should in fact take Pindar literally here. In the verbal icons of his poems, the primacy of gold is expressed by consistent reference to that substance in the opening verses, whether of epinicia, hymns or other genres. It is quite astounding, although it has not been noticed in earlier scholarship, that the stem *chrys-* (alone or compounded) appears so many times within the first ten lines of the epinicia (that is, within the first strophe or first strophe/antistrophe pairing). This occurs in no fewer than 19 of the 45 complete poems, or 42 % of the time.[13] On occasion, as in the splendid opening of *Pythian* 1, *chrysos* is the very first word: Χρυσέα φόρμιγξ, Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἰοπλοκάμων σύνδικον Μοισᾶν κτέανον. If we had more than sorry fragments of other poems, we might see this as a pan-generic phenomenon. In any event, it happens in such non-epinician openings as fr. 52f (*Paean* 6) line 1 (Πρὸς Ὀλυμπίου Διός σε, χρυσέα κλυτόμαντι Πυθοῖ, λίσσομαι) and in the similar proemic invocational strategies of frs. 37 and 195. This is surely a choice, not a coincidence. Perhaps it is a poetic trope that has been creatively expanded to the epinicia from its use in hymns and prayers.

Moreover, it is a strategy to which Pindar himself clearly alludes. The finest example of this conceit is one permeated with metapoetic meaning. It comes in the opening of a poem to which I shall return at the end of this paper, *Olympian* 6:

> Χρυσέας ὑποστάσαντες εὐ-
> τειχεῖ προθύρῳ θαλάμου
> κίονας ὡς ὅτε θαητὸν μέγαρον
> πάξομεν· ἀρχομένου δ᾽ ἔργου πρόσωπον
> χρὴ θέμεν τηλαυγές.
>
> Let us set up golden columns to support the strong-walled porch of our abode and construct, as it were, a splendid palace; for when a work is begun, it is necessary to make its front shine from afar.

This in a nutshell is the ideology that underlies Pindar's habit of dropping gold into a given poem's opening lines.[14]

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13 *Chrys-* appears within the first ten lines of *Ol.* 1, 6, 7, 8, 13, 14; *Pyth.* 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 11; *Nem.* 5; *Isth.* 1, 2, 5, 7, 8. [19 of 45 poems = 42.2 %].

14 On the elaborate opening of *Ol.* 6, see now Sigelman (2016) 78–85. Cf. also for the image of gold entrances fr. 194: κεκρότηται χρυσέα κρηπὶς ἱεραῖσιν ἀοιδαῖς.

Let us move now from this carefully applied, immanent gold background to the fuller color spectrum that it supports. It should not surprise us that two shades embodying the minimum of light and brightness function as binary opposites to gold.[15] Take, for instance, black. The 13 occurrences of the word *melas*, or compounds thereof, constitute a distinct set, the darkened background against which divine aid and victory shine forth. Death is the ultimate black (*Pythian* 11.56–57: μέλανος ἂν ἐσχατιάν καλλίονα θανάτου στείχοι; cf. *Olympian* 14.20–21, μελαντειχέα νῦν δόμον Φερσεφόνας ἔλθ').[16] It is thus appropriate for the gore from Telephus with which Achilles bloodies the Mysian plain (*Isthmian* 8.49–50, Μύσιον ἀμπελόεν / αἵμαξε Τηλέφου μέλανι ῥαίνων φόνῳ πεδίον), and it fits the dark-leaved peaks of Mt. Aetna, when they are mentioned precisely in reference to the volcanic mountain as eternal tomb for Zeus' enemy Typhoeus (*Pythian* 1.27–28, οἷον Αἴτνας ἐν μελαμφύλλοις δέδεται κορυφαῖς καὶ πέδῳ). Flooded earth, or fields that do not yield crops, are black (*Olympian* 9.49–51, λέγοντι μάν / χθόνα μὲν κατακλύσαι μέλαιναν ὕδατος σθένος; cf. *Nemean* 11.39–42, ἐν σχερῷ δ' οὔτ' ὢν μέλαιναι καρπὸν ἔδωκαν ἄρουραι). So is the silence of non-achievement and the threatening sea (fr. 94a.10, ὁ δὲ μηδὲν ἔχων ὑπὸ σιγᾷ μελαίνᾳ κάρα κέκρυπται; cf. fr. 70a.16, λέγοντι δὲ βροτοί / [ ]α φυγόντα νιν καὶ μέλαν ἔρκος ἅλμας / [κορᾶν] Φόρκοιο). The two times that the heart (*kardia*) is called 'black' occur explicitly in connection with lack of divine joy, or resistance to divinely inspired erotic attraction (fr. 225, ὁπόταν θεὸς ἀνδρὶ χάρμα πέμψῃ, πάρος μέλαιναν καρδίαν ἐστυφέλιξεν; fr. 123.2–5, τὰς δὲ Θεοξένου ἀκτῖνας πρὸς ὄσσων μαρμαρυζοίσας δρακείς ὃς μὴ πόθῳ κυμαίνεται, ἐξ ἀδάμαντος / ἢ σιδάρου κεχάλκευται μέλαιναν καρδίαν). The clearest marker of mortality, the very *seasonality* of humans, as creatures of day and subject to cyclic growth, is shadowed by darkness and night or foreshadowed by the black beard of young Pelops, cast out from Olympus to meet a mortal end (*Olympian* 1.67–69, πρὸς εὐάνθεμον δ' ὅτε φυάν λάχναι νιν μέλαν γένειον ἔρεφον, ἑτοῖμον ἀνεφρόντισεν γάμον).[17]

15 For extensive analysis of such contrasts of light and dark in Greek poetry, including Pindar, see Irwin (1974) 111–200; for close reading of this theme in *Pythian 3*, see Tsitsibakou-Vasalos (2010).

16 Irwin (1974) 173–182. The editors point out to me the tension between descriptions of chthonic beings and Olympian gods: the former, if designated as black, disrupt the regular association of gold with divinity. Of course, it is not always clear whether the poet intends *thanatos* (for example) to be read as a god's name or a common noun. As children of Night, Death and Fate are naturally 'black', the latter explicitly so (Hes. *Theog*. 211–212).

17 On black in conjunction with human ephemerality, see fr. 108b: θεῷ δὲ δυνατὸν μελαίνας ἐκ νυκτὸς ἀμίαντον ὄρσαι φάος, κελαινεφέι δὲ σκότει καλύψαι σέλας καθαρόν /ἀμέρας; cf. *Nem*. 7.2–4: ἄνευ σέθεν [i.e. Eleithuia] οὐ φάος, οὐ μέλαιναν δρακέντες εὐφρόναν τεὰν ἀδελφεὰν ἐλάχομεν ἀγλαόγυιον Ἥβαν.

A similar spectrum of associations goes with the grey-white color designated *polios*.[18] It marks the sea, a looming threat to heroic fame, as it is to the glory of Rhodes (*Olympian* 1.71, ἐγγὺς ἐλθὼν πολιᾶς ἁλὸς οἷος ἐν ὄρφνᾳ; cf. *Olympian* 7.61–64, πολιᾶς εἶπέ τιν᾽ αὐτὸς ὁρᾶν ἔνδον θαλάσσας αὐξομέναν πεδόθεν πολύβοσκον γαῖαν). Old age is grey, with grey hair as its herald, even on the young (*Olympian* 4.25–27, φύονται δὲ καὶ νέοις ἐν ἀνδράσιν πολιαί θαμάκι; cf. *Isthmian* 6.15, Ἀίδαν γῆράς τε δέξασθαι πολιόν). The depressing humanness of this color—as juxtaposed with shining divinity—is summed up in the insulting question that king Pelias hurls at Jason in *Pythian* 4—'who among the earth-born cast you out of a grey womb?' (*Pythian* 4.98–99, καὶ τίς ἀνθρώπων σε χαμαιγενέων πολιᾶς ἐξανῆκεν γαστρός;). And of course, bronze that kills or wounds is grey.[19]

In short, black and grey-white (*polios*) are definitely *not* markers of the sacred in Pindar. Yet they work to outline and highlight the colors that *do* carry positive connotations. In the remaining ten color terms, collectively used 60 times in Pindar, is there any order of collocation to be found? One might be highly tempted to conceive of a 'forest of symbols', along with Baudelaire and Victor Turner, in which,

> Like prolonged echoes mingling in the distance
> In a deep and tenebrous unity,
> Vast as the dark of the night and as the light of day,
> Perfumes, sounds, and colors correspond.[20]

Disappointingly, perhaps, this is not the case. Rather than argue for distinct matches of color with specific semantic associations (as is done, for example, in at least one recent analysis), I will suggest that instead one can find a spread of *intensity*.[21] Thus, the second answer to the question in my title about the Pindaric sacred is best summed up by the following chart:

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18 On the semantics of *polios*: Tsitsibakou-Vasalos (2007) 114–119.

19 Note the formula πολιῷ χαλκῷ in *Pyth*. 11.20–21 and *Pyth*. 3.47–48.

20 Translated Aggeler (1954) 22. For ethnographic exploration of such correspondence sets, see Turner (1967) especially 59–92, a brilliant explication of what he views as the red–black–white triad basic within a number of cultures.

21 See the point-to-point matching attempted by Darchia (2000).

1 Chart 1: Ten Pindaric Colors and Sacred Associations

[+ denotes clearly +DIVINE/SACRED; *denotes on maximal interpretation]

1 *Blue* (kyan-)

*_Olympian_ 6.40–41 λόχμας ὑπὸ **κυανέας** / τίκτε θεόφρονα κοῦρον (divine offspring)
+_Olympian_ 13.70–71 **κυάναιγις** … οἱ παρθένος τόσα εἰπεῖν
*Fr. 70c line 5 **κυανοχίτων** /]τεὰν τε[λετ]ὰν μελίζοι (festival of Dionysus)

2 *Gray/light blue* (glauk-)

+_Olympian_ 6.45–46 δύο δὲ **γλαυκῶπες** αὐτόν δαιμόνων βουλαῖσιν ἐθρέψαντο δράκοντες
+_Olympian_ 3.13 ἀμφὶ κόμαισι βάλῃ **γλαυκόχροα** κόσμον ἐλαίας (crown)
+_Olympian_ 7.50–51 ὥπασε τέχναν πᾶσαν ἐπιχθονίων **Γλαυκῶπις** ἀριστοπόνοις χερσὶ κρατεῖν.
*_Olympian_ 8.37–40 **γλαυκοὶ** δὲ δράκοντες, … οἱ δύο μὲν κάπετον αὖθι δ᾽ ἀτυζόμενοι ψυχὰς βάλον, εἷς δ᾽ ἐνόρουσε βοάσαις.
*_Pythian_ 4.249 κτεῖνε μὲν **γλαυκῶπα** τέχναις ποικιλόνωτον ὄφιν
+_Nemean_ 10.7 Διομήδεα δ᾽ ἄμβροτον ξανθά ποτε **Γλαυκῶπις** ἔθηκε θεόν·

3 *Green* (chlor-)

Nemean 8.40–41 αὔξεται δ᾽ ἀρετά, **χλωραῖς** ἐέρσαις ὡς ὅτε δένδρεον ἄσσει[22]
*Fr. 122 line 3–5 αἵ τε τᾶς **χλωρᾶς** λιβάνου ξανθὰ δάκρη θυμιᾶτε, πολλάκι ματέρ᾽ ἐρώτων οὐρανίαν πτάμεναι νοήματι πρὸς Ἀφροδίταν
Fr. 128f line 7–9 ὁ δὲ **χλωραῖς** οἴχεται Καινεὺς σχίσαις ὀρθῷ ποδί γᾶν.
[? _Pythian_ 9.38 Centaur ‘smiles greenly’: ἀγανᾷ **χλοαρὸν** γελάσσαις ὀφρύι]

4 *Purple* (porphyr-)

*_Olympian_ 6.55 ἴων **ξανθαῖσι** καὶ **παμπορφύροις** ἀκτῖσι βεβρεγμένος ἁβρόν σῶμα
Pythian 4.114–115 κρύβδα πέμπον σπαργάνοις ἐν **πορφυρέοις**, νυκτὶ κοινάσαντες ὁδόν
+_Pythian_ 4.182–183 Ζήταν Κάλαΐν τε πατὴρ Βορέας, ἄνδρας πτεροῖσιν νῶτα πεφρίκοντας ἄμφω **πορφυρέοις**
*_Nemean_ 11.28–29 κωμάσαις ἀνδησάμενός τε κόμαν ἐν **πορφυρέοις** ἔρνεσιν (crown)

5 *Red* (phoinik-)

Olympian 6.39 ἁ δὲ **φοινικόκροκον** ζώναν καταθηκαμένα
+_Olympian_ 6.94–95 **φοινικόπεζαν** / ἀμφέπει Δάματρα λευκίππου τε θυγατρὸς ἑορτάν

22 Retaining the text of codices BD in preference to emended version in Snell–Maehler.

+*Olympian* 9.5–6 Μοισᾶν ἀπὸ τόξων / Δία τε **φοινικοστερόπαν** σεμνόν τ᾽ ἐπίνειμαι

Pythian* 4.204–205 ἔνθ᾽ ἀγνὸν Ποσειδάωνος ἔσσαντ᾽ ἐνναλίου τέμενος, / **φοίνισσα δὲ Θρηϊκίων ἀγέλα ταύρων ὑπᾶρχεν

Pythian 4.64–65 ὥτε **φοινικανθέμου** ἦρος ἀκμᾷ, παισὶ τούτοις ὄγδοον θάλλει μέρος Ἀρκεσίλας

Pythian* 1.23–24 / ἐν ὄρφναισιν πέτρας **φοίνισσα κυλινδομένα φλὸξ ἐς βαθεῖαν φέρει πόντου πλάκα (cf. 21–22: τᾶς ἐρεύγονται μὲν ἀπλάτου πυρὸς ἀγνόταται ἐκ μυχῶν παγαί)

+*Isthmian* 4.18b–19 χθὼν ὥτε **φοινικέοισιν** ἄνθησεν ῥόδοις / δαιμόνων βουλαῖς (cf. *Olympian* 6.46)

+Fr. 52b line 76–77: ἄγγελλε δὲ **φονικόπεζα** λόγον παρθένος εὐμενὴς Ἑκάτα

+Fr. 75 line 14–15 **φοινικοεάνων** ὁπότ᾽ οἰχθέντος Ὥρᾶν θαλάμου/εὔοδμον ἐπάγοισιν ἔαρ φυτὰ νεκτάρεα.

*Fr. 129 line 3–5 **φοινικορόδοις** ⟨δ᾽⟩ ἐνὶ λειμώνεσσι προάστιον αὐτῶν καὶ λιβάνων σκιαρᾶν ⟨ | ⟩καὶ χρυσοκάρποισιν βέβριθε ⟨δενδρέοις⟩ (cf. Plutarchus *Consolatio ad Apollonium* 35. 120C: λέγεται δ᾽ ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ μελικοῦ Πινδάρου ταυτὶ περὶ τῶν εὐσεβῶν ἐν Ἅιδου·)

6 *Violet* (io-)

+*Olympian* 6.30 παῖδα **ἰόπλοκον** Εὐάδναν τεκέμεν (daughter of Poseidon)

+*Olympian* 6.55 **ἴων** ξανθαῖσι καὶ παμπορφύροις ἀκτῖσι βεβρεγμένος ἄβρόν σῶμα· (son of Apollo)

+*Pythian* 1.1–2 Χρυσέα φόρμιγξ, Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ **ἰοπλοκάμων** / σύνδικον Μοισᾶν κτέανον

+*Isthmian* 7.23 φλέγεται δὲ **ἰοπλόκοισι** Μοίσαις

*Fr. 75 line 6 **ἰοδέτων** λάχετε στεφάνων τᾶν τ᾽ ἐαριδρόπων ἀοιδᾶν (crowns for gods)

*Fr. 76 line 1 Ὦ ταὶ λιπαραὶ καὶ **ἰοστέφανοι** καὶ ἀοίδιμοι, Ἑλλάδος ἔρεισμα, κλειναὶ Ἀθᾶναι, δαιμόνιον πτολίεθρον.

7 *White* (arg-)

+*Olympian* 8.2–3 ἵνα μάντιες ἄνδρες ἐμπύροις τεκμαιρόμενοι παραπειρῶνται Διὸς **ἀργικεραύνου**

Olympian* 13.68–69 ἄγε φίλτρον τόδ᾽ ἵππειον δέκευ, καὶ Δαμαίᾳ νιν θύων ταῦρον **ἀργάεντα πατρὶ δεῖξον (cf. *Pythian* 4.204).

Pythian 4.7–8 ὡς ἤδη λιπὼν κτίσσειεν εὐάρματον πόλιν ἐν **ἀργινόεντι** μαστῷ[23]

Fr. 140b line 4–5 οἵ τ᾽ **ἀργίλοφον** πὰρ Ζεφυρίου κολώναν

23 Retaining ἀργινόεντι (with codices) instead of Schroeder's conjecture ἀργεννόεντι (adopted by Snell–Maehler).

8 ***White* (leuk-)**

+*Olympian* 6.94–95 φοινικόπεζαν / ἀμφέπει Δάματρα **λευκίππου** τε θυγατρὸς ἑορτάν

Pythian 1.66 **λευκοπώλων** Τυνδαριδᾶν βαθύδοξοι γείτονες, ὧν κλέος ἄνθησεν αἰχμᾶς.

+*Pythian* 3.98–99 **λευκωλένῳ** γε Ζεὺς πατήρ ἤλυθεν ἐς λέχος ἱμερτὸν Θυώνᾳ.

Pythian 4.109–110 πεύθομαι γάρ νιν Πελίαν ἄθεμιν **λευκαῖς** πιθήσαντα φρασίν /ἀμετέρων ἀποσυλᾶσαι βιαίως ἀρχεδικᾶν τοκέων·

Pythian 4.117 **λευκίππων** δὲ δόμους πατέρων, κεδνοὶ πολῖται, φράσσατέ μοι σαφέως·

Nemean 3.77–78 πέμπω μεμιγμένον μέλι **λευκῷ** σὺν γάλακτι, κιρναμένα δ᾽ ἔερσ᾽ ἀμφέπει, πόμ᾽ ἀοίδιμον

Nemean 4.80–81 μάτρῳ μ᾽ ἔτι Καλλικλεῖ κελεύεις / στάλαν θέμεν Παρίου λίθου **λευκοτέραν**·

Nemean* 7.77–79 εἴρειν στεφάνους ἐλαφρόν, ἀναβάλεο· Μοῖσά τοι κολλᾷ χρυσὸν ἔν τε **λευκὸν ἐλέφανθ᾽ ἁμᾶ καὶ λείριον ἄνθεμον ποντίας ὑφελοῖσ᾽ ἐέρσας. (crown)

Nemean 9.23 νόστον ἐρεισάμενοι **λευκανθέα** σώμασι πίαναν καπνόν·

Isthmian* 4.69–71 ἔνθα **λευκωθεὶς κάρα / μύρτοις ὅδ᾽ ἀνὴρ διπλόαν νίκαν ἀνεφάνατο (crown)

Fr. 166 line 3–4 ἐσσυμένως ἀπὸ μὲν **λευκὸν** γάλα χερσὶ τραπεζᾶν ὤθεον

Fr. 169 line 24–25 ἀράβη[σε] δια[λ]**εύκων** / ὀστέ[ων] δοῦπος ἐ[ρ]⟨ε⟩ικομένων.

9 ***Yellow/saffron* (krok-)**

Pythian 4.232–233 ὣς ἄρ᾽ αὐδάσαντος ἀπὸ **κρόκεον** ῥίψαις Ἰάσων εἶμα θεᾷ πίσυνος εἴχετ᾽ ἔργου·

Nemean* 1.37 ὡς οὐ λαθὼν χρυσόθρονον / Ἥραν **κροκωτὸν σπάργανον ἐγκατέβα· (Heracles revealed)

10 ***Yellow/tawny* (xanth-)**

Olympian* 6.55 ἴων **ξανθαῖσι καὶ παμπορφύροις ἀκτῖσι βεβρεγμένος ἁβρόν σῶμα·

+*Olympian* 7.49–50 κείνοισι ὁ μὲν **ξανθὰν** ἀγαγὼν νεφέλαν πολὺν ὗσε χρυσόν·

Pythian 4.148–149 μῆλά τε γάρ τοι ἐγώ καὶ βοῶν **ξανθὰς** ἀγέλας ἀφίημ᾽ ἀγρούς τε πάντας

Nemean 3.43 **ξανθὸς** δ᾽ Ἀχιλεὺς τὰ μὲν μένων Φιλύρας ἐν δόμοις, παῖς ἐὼν ἄθυρε μεγάλα ἔργα·

+*Nemean* 5.53–54 προθύροισιν δ᾽ Αἰακοῦ ἀνθέων ποιάεντα φέρε στεφανώματα σὺν **ξανθαῖς** Χάρισσιν (crown)

Nemean 9.17 **ξανθοκομᾶν** Δαναῶν ἦσαν μέγιστοι

+*Nemean* 10.7 Διομήδεα δ᾽ ἄμβροτον **ξανθά** ποτε Γλαυκῶπις ἔθηκε θεόν·

*Fr. 70b line 10–12 ἐν δὲ κέχλαδ[εν] κρόταλ᾽ αἰθομένα τε δαῖς ὑπὸ **ξανθαῖσι** πεύκαις· ἐν δὲ Ναΐδων ἐρίγδουποι στοναχαί μανίαι τ᾽ ἀλαλαί τ᾽ ὀρίνεται (rites for Dionysus and Great Mother)

*Fr. 122 line 3 αἵ τε τᾶς χλωρᾶς λιβάνου ξανθὰ δάκρη θυμιᾶτε, πολλάκι ματέρ᾽ ἐρώτων οὐρανίαν πτάμεναι νοήματι πρὸς Ἀφροδίταν,

Fr. 215a line 5–7 ἔστι μοι πατρίδ᾽ ἀρχαίαν κτενὶ Πιερίδ[ων ὤ]στε χαίταν παρθένου ξανθ̣[α ⏑– (--)?.] (= Theba?)

Chart 1, tracking every occurrence of each color-word, is summarized in tabular form by Chart 2 below, listing the minimal associations of color with rituals or divinities (marked with a plus-sign in the lists of Chart 1) and the maximal (marked with an asterisk in Chart 1). By minimal, I mean the most obvious, least disputable; by maximal, I mean those instances that require more argument or contextualization. For instance, under the first color (blue/*kyan-*), it seems clear that Athena being called *kyanaigis*, 'with blue aegis', associates the color with the goddess directly. On the other hand, it takes some attention to broader context to interpret λόχμας ὑπὸ κυανέας in *Olympian* 6.40–41 as linked to a sacred moment: the birth of Apollo's son Iamos in a dark blue thicket. That the immediate context describes Iamos with the term *theophrona* can be interpreted, however, as associating color and epiphany.[24]

2 Chart 2: Minimal and Maximal Readings of Color Associations

Color term	DIVINE (minimum)	DIVINE (maximum)
Blue (*kyan-*)	1/3 [33%]	3/3 [100%]
Gray/light blue (*glauk-*)	4/6 [66%]	6/6 [100%]
Green (*chlor-*)	0/3 [0%]	1/3 [33%]
Purple (*porphyr-*)	1/4 [25%]	3/4 [75%]
Red (*phoinik-*)	5/10 [50%]	8/10 [80%]
Violet (*io-*)	4/6 [66%]	6/6 [100%]
White (*arg-*)	1/4 [25%]	2/4 [50%]
White (*leuk-*)	2/12 [16%]	4/12 [33%]
Yellow/saffron (*krok-*)	0/2 [0%]	1/2 [50%]
Yellow/tawny (*xanth-*)	3/10 [30%]	6/10 [60%]

24 It is worth noting that this usage differs from the Homeric and Hesiodic. As Constantinidou has shown (2010), in the earlier poets, white, fire, and light accompany divine epiphanies.

There is no time to go through each and every color in order to argue for the poetic connections within the asterisked passages, although I believe individual inspection will bear out the general principle I am enunciating. The larger finding can be simply stated: *in Pindar, the sacred is most often violet, blue, or gray; it is least often green or saffron yellow*. In decreasing order, after violet and light blue/gray, on both the minimal and maximal readings, comes red (the ten occurrences of *phoinik*-); purple comes next on the maximalist spectrum of sacred colors, followed by *xanthos*; this pair is in reverse order of markedness on the minimalist spectrum.[25]

Surprisingly, the two Pindaric terms for white (from the roots *arg*- and *leuk*-), which one might expect to be tied to sacrality and divinity, given the poet's consistent obsession with brightness, score low on the scale.[26] The root *leuk*- is cognate with English 'light', Latin *luceo*, and Persian *roz* ('day')—yet its luminosity applies in Pindar to such apparently secular phenomena as white milk, white horses, and the 'white-flowered' smoke arising from corpses on a pyre (in *Nemean* 9). Another aspect of white appears to have been expressed in words from the root *arg*- which we know is quite old, given its connection with the so-called Caland-suffix system in Indo-European.[27] Zeus is *argi-keraunos*—'with white flashing lightning' in *Olympian* 8. But apart from this clearly linked divine usage, the three other Pindaric occurrences are a white sacrificial bull and two white hills (see Chart 1). The bull can be drawn into a metonymic relation with divinity; but even on the maximal interpretive scale, I cannot make a reasonable case for either piece of landscape being sacred.[28]

Meanwhile, at the more intense end of the spectrum violet and light blue/grey each occur six times; at a minimum, four of each are clearly in the realm of the 'sacred'. The Muses are violet-haired twice (*Pythian* 1 and *Isthmian* 7); Evadne, daughter of Poseidon, is also *ioplokos* (*Olympian* 6.30) and her son, Iamos, the offspring of Apollo, is memorably described as 'bathed by the golden

25 On the spectrum of visible light, by contrast, moving from ultraviolet to infrared, violet and blue abut green and yellow. It would be interesting, although beyond the scope of this paper, to co-ordinate my findings with work on the coloration of ancient Greek sculptures of divinities, following on the work of Brinkmann et al. (2017).

26 Briand (1990) provides an exhaustive and highly nuanced analysis of the complex and varied Pindaric innovations in representing light and luminosity, within an inherited poetic tradition. Especially valuable are his cautious distinctions regarding the composite nature of the sacred, and the wide range of lexical items relevant to its representation (7–12, 539–554).

27 For a recent overview of this system, see Rau (2009).

28 Briand (1990) 175–176 makes a case for the adjective ἀργινόεντι in *Pyth*. 4.8 being associated with fertility and splendor.

and purple rays of violets' (*ion*—hence his name).[29] The four securely sacred examples of grey/light blue (*glaukos*) fit the same pattern—twice we have the compound *glaukopis* describing Athena; once the snakes who nourish the baby prophet Iamos (again, *Olympian* 6) are *glaukopes*.[30] It is essential for my proposed sacral linkage that they do their task *daimonon boulaisin* (at the will of the gods). Once, a compound with grey/light blue (*glaukochroa*) describes the victor's olive wreath (*Olympian* 3.12), with the explicit immediate reference clarifying that this was the olive Heracles brought to Olympia from the land of the Hyperboreans.[31] The subsequent strophe elaborates: the Hyperboreans are servants of Apollo; and Heracles requested the olive to provide shade for the precinct of his father Zeus—as well as provide crowns. Thus, either by direct assignment to a divinity, or close association with the divine, *glaukos* becomes marked as a color of the 'sacred'.

With the mention of snakes and crowns, however I am led from the minimal examples just cited to the more speculative maximal interpretations. The spotted-back *poikilos* serpent that Jason must overcome to get the Golden Fleece, is also *glaukopa*, closely resembling three snakes described in *Olympian* 8, that once tried to jump Troy's walls while under construction, one of them triumphing with an implausible shout (*boasais*) while the other two die.[32] William Race translates the Colchian version as 'green-eyed' and the Trojan snakes as 'blue-grey'—but the instability of color denoted is not the main matter. Can we read their association with the adjective *glaukos* as marking sacredness?[33] The Trojan snakes, it turns out, are an omen, immediately, interpreted within the poem by Apollo, who observes to the hero Aeacus, one of the builders of the wall, that the serpent marks the spot where Troy will be vulnerable: 'Thus does the vision sent by the son of Cronos inform me.'[34] We might therefore nudge this example toward the [+DIVINE] column. As for

29 On the multiple levels of meaning in the name, see Briand (1990) 291.

30 On the complex semantic field covered by *glauk-*, see Briand (1990) 285–290. The word seems to cover light shades of blue, green, and grey, with further connotations of luminosity. Given the context of *glaukopis* in *Olympian* 6, I suggest that we have here further evidence confirming the adjective's proposed association with themes of male initiation, and further with the myths and rituals relevant to the story of the Cretan boy Glaukos, as brilliantly analyzed by Muellner (1998).

31 On the workings of the myth in this poem: Robbins (1982).

32 On the interpretation of this vexed passage: Robbins (1986).

33 It should be noted that some interpreters, influenced by the Pindaric scholia, claim that the adjective in this passage and elsewhere does not denote a color but rather a gleaming brilliance: Fogelmark (1972) 33–34. That reading, of course, would not prevent sacred connotations.

34 *Ol.* 8.43–44.

the Colchian guardian snake, as long and broad as a fifty-oared ship, Pindar is speeding up his narrative right at line 350 of *Pythian* 4, so we get no backstory within this particular poem. But the tradition, as told by Apollonius and others, made the sleepless Dracon the offspring of Gaia and Typhaon, whose blood fell from his head after he had been struck by the thunderbolt of Zeus. In other words, a divine snake, or so it seems—in which case the sacred connotations of *glaukos* are detectable in all six occurrences.

Of course, the reader has realized long before now that the title of this paper conceals a trick question: how can we assign *any* color to the "sacred" before defining the "sacred"? Are we just imposing our *etic* system on an otherwise very different *emic* situation? In the absence of any native informants, the best we can do is to rely on familiarity with recognized or named instances of *ta hiera* (the 'sacred') elsewhere in the culture.[35] The problem becomes especially acute when we turn to a category of color associations that I have reserved under the heading of maximal interpretation—to wit, the act of crowning. Can we say right off that this is a sacral moment? Surely, it involves games dedicated to divinities—Poseidon, Zeus, Apollo. But what can assure us that this action has been *made ritually sacred*?[36] Let me play out the theoretical scenario in question a bit further. Our problematic in this case parallels the general dilemma of how to define and delineate colors culturally, and this in turn changes somewhat depending on our intended focus: if we wish to make statements about culture *generally*, then it becomes a problem of linguistic anthropology.[37] But if we are talking about a performance genre *within* the culture, we have to begin with literary semantics. The two will inevitably intersect, but we have to start with the internal poetic analysis of individual texts. In fact, we end up with a four-cornered, mutually-supporting structure: the culture's perception of what is *sacred*; its general agreement on what *colors* regularly signify; and Pindar's slightly skewed—or even stridently resistant—views regarding the same two broader cultural points at issue.[38]

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35 Recent exploration of the practical problems of defining the sacred: Horster (2010); see also Peels (2015) and Blok (2017) 58–99.

36 On the crown as dedicatory object and *agalma*, see Kurke (1991b) 92–93.

37 Among anthropological studies on color and its place in broader cultural systems, of particular relevance are Classen (1990), Dubois et al. (2018), and MacLaury et al. (2007). Specifically focused on the ancient Mediterranean from this perspective are the essays in Carastro (2009), while those in Cleland and Stears (2004) combine analyses of lexical items and material culture. Zika (2018) provides a recent and provocative analysis of the history of philosophical thinking about color.

38 Recently, Fearn (2017) in a fine set of close readings has pointed to Pindar's flexibly shifting attitudes toward visuality, acutely questioning whether poets can ever provide evidence

I believe we can assert with confidence that crowning with wreathes, in archaic and classical Greece, *is* a ritual act implying sacralization. There is epigraphic evidence concerning dedications and plentiful material from the visual arts.[39] Within Pindaric poetry, a further connection has been detected among the notion of *kydos* (glorifying talismanic power), the act of ritual dedication, and the highly charged symbolic object, a victor's crown. It is further well-established that Pindar analogizes his own poetic action to that of crowning, and his poems to crowns as decorated objects.[40]

Not only is the very mention of the crowning ritual by Pindar his single-most important device for summoning up a sense of the sacred in general, within the epinicia; as I propose now, he also regularly deploys color terms to draw vivid attention to that process. There are at least seven such passages, as can be extracted from Chart 1 above:

+*Olympian* 3.13 ἀμφὶ κόμαισι βάλῃ **γλαυκόχροα κόσμον ἐλαίας**
Nemean* 11.28–29 κωμάσαις ἀνδησάμενός τε κόμαν ἐν **πορφυρέοις ἔρνεσιν
*Fr. 75 line 6 **ἰοδέτων λάχετε στεφάνων** τᾶν τ᾽ ἐαριδρόπων ἀοιδᾶν
*Fr. 76 line 1 **Ὦ** ταὶ λιπαραὶ καὶ **ἰοστέφανοι** καὶ ἀοίδιμοι, Ἑλλάδος ἔρεισμα
Isthmian* 4.69–71 ἔνθα **λευκωθεὶς κάρα /μύρτοις ὅδ᾽ ἀνὴρ διπλόαν νίκαν ἀνεφάνατο
+*Nemean* 5.54 ἀνθέων **ποιάεντα φέρε στεφανώματα σὺν ξανθαῖς Χάρισσιν**
Nemean* 7.77–79 εἴρειν στεφάνους ἐλαφρόν, ἀναβάλεο· Μοῖσά τοι κολλᾷ **χρυσὸν ἔν τε **λευκὸν ἐλέφανθ᾽** ἁμᾶ καὶ **λείριον ἄνθεμον ποντίας** ὑφελοῖσ᾽ **ἐέρσας**.

All are focused on color. Some are spectacular (for example, the *Nemean* 7 passage where the Muse glues together gold, coral, and white ivory).[41] This poetic device gains special prominence when we recall that the victory crowns at the major Games were notoriously simple creations of leaves, whether, olive, bay

for easily accessible "cultural" information. The attempt by Fogelmark (1972) 15–43 to use Pindaric color-terms to date the poems, while methodologically misdirected, contains useful bibliographical references about individual lexical items.

39 Neumann-Hartmann (2009) appears excessively skeptical in her re-examination of the relationship between crowning and dedication, and of epinician performances possibly accompanying the latter.

40 On this cluster of actions and analogies, see most recently Eckerman (2019), with further bibliography. The very mention of *stephanoi* is like the poet holding a prism up to a ray of sun and directing the resulting rainbow of color onto the visage of his *laudandus*. This creates on the human plane the action Pindar attributes to gods on a more transcendent level, the gleam of divine favor: *Pyth.* 8.95, σκιᾶς ὄναρ ἄνθρωπος. ἀλλ᾽ ὅταν αἴγλα διόσδοτος ἔλθῃ, λαμπρὸν φέγγος ἔπεστιν ἀνδρῶν.

41 On the *Nemean* 7 passage (once memorably dubbed by Dan Petegorsky 'coral poetry'), see Griffith and D'Ambrosio-Griffith (1988).

laurel, pine, or parsley. It seems Pindar, like a touch-up technician, is colorizing the moment—so we hear of *purple* shoots, *violet* crowns, or the *greenish-blue* of the olive wreathing a victor's head.

Crowning, then, is a key site, in Pindaric poetics, for the conjunction of color and the sacred. But it turns out that this tendency is not reserved solely for the ritual that celebrates the victor's moment of glory. Other crucial moments of contact between the divine and human—and the objects, natural and cultural, associated with them—are not just colorized, but painted in multiple shades by the poet.

This distinctive colorizing dynamic occurs in what we might call its "kernel" form, in *Nemean* 10. Channeling the spirit of Roman Jakobson, we can divide the line into three parts:

> Διομήδεα δ' ἄμβροτον // **ξανθά** ποτε **Γλαυκῶπις** // ἔθηκε θεόν·
> {+DIV & *med* / -HUM} {yellow/gray-light blue} {**-dheh*$_1$*- dhh*$_1$*-o* +DIV}

In Jakobson's famous illustration of an iconic sentence: 'I like Ike', the object of affection was phonically embraced by the verb that echoes his name (Ike, inside 'like').[42] The Pindaric sentence *transforms* Diomedes into a god, but both his name (*Dio-medes*—'god-devising') and his adjective (*ambroton*) already assert the *result* of that very transformation. Only when we get to the sentence-final etymological figure (*etheke theon*—both from the root of *tithemi*) do we realize that *ambroton* was in fact a *predicative* rather than an *attributive* adjective … *now* he is immortal—but that happened long ago (*pote*). Note how the agent of this change is doubly marked by color: in Athena's traditional guise (*Glaukopis*) and in her role as intermediary, heroizing her mortal protégé (*xantha*).

The same combination of two colors marks another passage where the theme of divine–human reciprocity and mediation is prominent (*Olympian* 7.48–51):

> καὶ τοὶ γὰρ **αἰθοίσας** ἔχοντες
> σπέρμ' ἀνέβαν φλογὸς οὔ· τεῦξαν δ' ἀπύροις ἱεροῖς
> ἄλσος ἐν ἀκροπόλει. κείν-
> οισι μὲν **ξανθὰν ἀγαγὼν νεφέλαν**
> **πολὺν ὗσε χρυσόν**· αὐτὰ δέ σφισιν ὤπασε τέχναν

42 Jakobson (1980) 85 (originally from his 1956 presidential address to the Linguistic Society of America).

πᾶσαν ἐπιχθονίων **Γλαυκ-**
ῶπις ἀριστοπόνοις χερσὶ κρατεῖν.

Thus it was that they made their ascent without taking the seed of blazing flame, and with fireless sacrifices they made a sanctuary on the acropolis. He brought a yellow cloud and upon them rained gold in abundance; but the Gray-eyed Goddess herself gave them every kind of skill to surpass mortals with their superlative handiwork.

The Heliades, children of the sun, striving to be the first to build a shrine to the newly born Athena and her father Zeus, forget to bring fire. At this stage, the aetiological point (therefore, the Rhodians worship with fireless sacrifices) converges with a poetic purpose. I cannot here rehearse the rich explication by Pavlos Sfyroeras, centered on this image, but would add just one more structural point to his analysis.[43] Just after we hear how the Heliades lacked fire, Zeus rains gold upon Rhodes from a *tawny yellow* cloud, and Athena *Glaukopis* gives them every sort of skill. Logically, within the poem's plot sequence, the gold is *not* compensation for lack of sacrifice; and yet imagistically, it is the absence of blazing yellow flame (αἰθοίσας … φλογός) that leaves space for the presence of two favored Pindaric elements (water, and gold, like shining fire … cf. *Olympian* 1.1–2 χρυσὸς **αἰθόμενον πῦρ** ἅτε διαπρέπει). Zeus's gift from a tawny yellow cloud, followed by the intervention of the *glaukopis* goddess—this striking juxtaposition highlights how joint divine effort led Rhodians to greatness.

A third example, from a dithyramb for the Athenians (fr. 75.14–19), mixes many hues while explicitly representing an ideal scene of ritual exuberance and fertility:

φοινικοεάνων ὁπότ᾽ οἰχθέντος **Ὡρᾶν** θαλάμου
εὔοδμον ἐπάγοισιν ἔαρ φυτὰ νεκτάρεα.
τότε βάλλεται, τότ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀμβρόταν χθόν᾽ **ἐραταί**
ἴων φόβαι, ῥόδα τε κόμαισι μείγνυται,
ἀχεῖ τ᾽ ὀμφαὶ μελέων σὺν αὐλοῖς,
οἰχνεῖ τε Σεμέλαν ἑλικάμπυκα χοροί.

As the chamber of the purple-robed Horae is opened, nectar-bearing flowers bring in sweet smelling spring and on the immortal earth are cast lovely tresses of violets, while roses are fitted to hair.

43 Sfyroeras (1993).

This strikingly triple-colored scene is the visual equivalent of the triply mixed voices, aulos-music, and choral movements offered to Semele. One could go further to investigate collocations of color. As might be seen from the following list, almost every one of the color-combination moments occurs in a clearly sacred context (except the *Pythian* 2 lines, which seem to me something of a Pindaric pun).

3 Chart 3: Colors Combined

Fr. 70d.37 Ὀλυμ]πόθεν δέ οἱ **χρυσόρραπιν** ὦρσεν **Ἑρμᾶν** / [καὶ π]ολίοχον **Γλαυ** [**κώπιδ**]α·

Fr. 129.3–5 **φοινικοróδοις** ⟨**δ**᾽⟩ **ἐνὶ λειμώνεσσι** προάστιον αὐτῶν καὶ λιβάνων σκιαρᾶν ⟨|⟩/καὶ **χρυσοκάρποισιν** βέβριθε ⟨δενδρέοις⟩

Nemean 1.16–18 ὥπασε δὲ Κρονίων πολέμου μναστῆρά οἱ **χαλκεντέος** λαὸν ἵππαιχμον, θαμὰ δὴ καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδων **φύλλοις ἐλαιᾶν χρυσέοις** μιχθέντα.

Nemean 1.37 ὡς οὐ λαθὼν **χρυσόθρονον** Ἥραν **κροκωτὸν** σπάργανον ἐγκατέβα·

Isthmian 7.23–27 **φλέγεται** δὲ **ἰοπλόκοισι Μοίσαις**, μάτρωί θ᾽ ὁμωνύμῳ δέδωκε κοινὸν θάλος, / **χάλκασπις** ᾧ πότμον μὲν Ἄρης ἔμειξεν· ..... ἴστω γὰρ σαφὲς ὅστις ἐν ταύτᾳ **νεφέλᾳ χάλαζαν αἵματος** πρὸ φίλας πάτρας ἀμύνεται,

Pythian 1.1 **Χρυσέα φόρμιγξ**, Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ **ἰοπλοκάμων** σύνδικον Μοισᾶν κτέανον·

Pythian 2.67–68 τόδε μὲν κατὰ **Φοίνισσαν ἐμπολάν** μέλος ὑπὲρ **πολιᾶς ἁλὸς** πέμπεται·

Fr. 52f (*Paean* 6) 82–95 **κυανοπλόκοιο** παῖδα **ποντίας Θέτιος** βιατάν, / πιστὸν ἔρκος Ἀχαιῶν, θρασεῖ φόνῳ πεδάσαις· ὅσσα τ᾽ ἔριξε **λευκωλένῳ** ἄκναμπτον **Ἥρᾳ** μένος ἀν[τ]ερείδων ὅσα τε Πολιάδι. πρὸ πόνων / δέ κε μεγάλων Δαρδανίαν ἔπραθεν, εἰ μὴ φύλασσεν Ἀπό[λ]λ[ω]ν· **νέφεσσι δ᾽ ἐν χρυσέοις** Ὀλύμποιο καὶ κορυφα[ῖσι]ν ἴζων μόρσιμ᾽ ἀνα[λ]ύεν Ζεὺς ὁ θεῶν σκοπὸς οὐ τόλμα·

It is difficult to decide which painter Pindar would best appreciate in his desire to depict the most compelling sacred moments through a profusion of gold, blues, reds, and violets. He seems as hieratic as Gustave Moreau, as erotic as Gustav Klimt. But it is preferable to push our analogies beyond the flat canvas surface. In closing, we can recall Michael Taussig's citation of the late-antique etymologist, Isidore of Seville, who derived the Latin noun *color* from the similar-sounding Latin *calor* ('heat')—naturally, according to Isidore, since both *color* and *calor* come from the sun.[44] Let us, then, try to imagine every

44 Taussig (2009) 5, 14. The derivation is asserted in Isidore *Etymologiae* 19.17.1.

Pindaric poem as a heat map. The hottest spots are where humans touch or are touched by the gods—the places we call sacred. You can feel this warmth most in the lines of *Olympian* 6 that, I would propose, allude proleptically to the visually rich crowning of an Iamid victor by imagining the birth of his ancestor in the purest technicolor (*Olympian* 6.39–47, 53–57):

ἁ δὲ **φοινικόκροκον** ζώναν καταθηκαμένα
κάλπιδά τ᾽ **ἀργυρέαν** λόχμας ὑπὸ **κυανέας**
τίκτε θεόφρονα κοῦρον. τᾷ μὲν ὁ **χρυσοκόμας**
πραΰμητίν τ᾽ Ἐλείθυι-
-αν παρέστασ᾽ ἔν τε Μοίρας·
ἦλθεν δ᾽ ὑπὸ σπλάγχων ὑπ᾽ ὠ-
δίνεσσ᾽ ἐραταῖς **Ἴαμος**
ἐς φάος αὐτίκα. τὸν μὲν κνιζομένα
λεῖπε χαμαί· δύο δὲ **γλαυκῶπες** αὐτόν
δαιμόνων βουλαῖσιν ἐθρέ-
ψαντο δράκοντες ἀμεμφεῖ ἰᾷ μελισσᾶν καδόμενοι …

… ἀλλ᾽ ἐν
κέκρυπτο γὰρ σχοίνῳ βατιᾷ τ᾽ ἐν ἀπειρίτῳ,
ἴων ξανθαῖσι καὶ παμπορφύροις ἀ-
κτῖσι βεβρεγμένος ἁβρόν
σῶμα· τὸ καὶ κατεφάμι-
ξεν καλεῖσθαί νιν χρόνῳ σύμπαντι μάτηρ
τοῦτ᾽ ὄνυμ᾽ ἀθάνατον. τερ-
πνᾶς δ᾽ ἐπεὶ **χρυσοστεφάνοιο** λάβεν
καρπὸν Ἥβας, Ἀλφεῷ μέσσῳ καταβαὶς
ἐκάλεσσε Ποσειδᾶν᾽ εὐρυβίαν …

She, though, laid down her crimson girdle and silver pitcher under a dark thicket and began to bear a divinely inspired boy. To aid her, the golden-haired god sent gentle-counseling Eleithyia and the Fates, and from her womb amid the welcome birth pains Iamus came immediately into the light. In her distress she had to leave him on the ground, but two gray-eyed serpents tended him through the gods' designs and nourished him with the blameless venom of bees. …. But in fact, he had been hidden in a bed of reeds within a vast thicket, while his tender body was bathed by the golden and purple rays of violets. That was why his mother declared that for all time he would be called by that immortal name.

The young mother Evadne's purple-yellow belt, the silver jug, the dark blue thicket, gold-haired Apollo hovering over all.[45] Nine words denoting color, within nineteen lines—but the most telling and moving is line 55: the baby's delicate body drenched by a prismatically split spectrum of purple, yellow, and the color of violets (the flower that will provide his name, Iamos). At this god-struck moment, *color* is indeed *calor*: those hues raining down upon the baby Pindar calls 'sun-rays' (*aktisi*). We feel this epiphanic moment as a drenching of sacred warmth. Saint Isidore would approve.

45 On the interplay among light, shade, and colors in this passage see Briand (2016) 246.

CHAPTER 8

Pindar and the Ecopoetics of Sacred Space

Amy Mars

Pindar's epinician lyrics are richly textured with sounds ranging from the sweet, delicate, and graceful to the resounding and terrifying.[1] Moreover, these sounds are deeply immersed within the natural world: mountains, valleys, rivers, and trees pervade his verses.[2] While Pindar's references to local landscape features have been well studied for the insight they offer into the odes' performance contexts, it is the purpose of this paper to show that these evocations of the natural environment also constitute an important part of Pindar's poetics.[3] I want to show here that Pindar's acoustic aesthetic is one imagined to exist in an ecological relationship with the sacred environment, in which his song and its physical surroundings work interactively to vivify his praise and endow it with a supernaturally reverberating quality. In what follows, my aim is to demonstrate how Pindar constructs for sacred spaces an acoustic imaginary in which the world is alive with sounds that perpetuate the acclaim of his honorands.[4]

1 I am deeply grateful to the audience of the 2018 Lyric and the Sacred conference hosted by the Network for the Study of Archaic and Classical Greek Song, whose comments greatly enriched my thinking on this subject. I am especially thankful to Lucia Athanassaki and André Lardinois for their organization of the conference and their feedback on this essay.

2 Worman (2015) (see especially 66–103 on Pindar and Hesiod) offers a recent and penetrating study on the relationship between landscape metaphors and aesthetic sensibilities in Greek thought, e.g. 'We can witness already in Pindar's odes how the poet-performer celebrates ritual centers such as Olympia and Delphi as received landscapes laden with sensory pleasures, cultural pride, and economic evaluations, as well as how these settings shape his poetic program and ground his aristocratic affiliations' (4). Numerous collections in recent years have also been devoted to the construction of place and landscape in ancient thought, see for instance the essays collected in McInerney and Sluiter (2016); Schliephake (2016); Barker, Bouzarovski, Pelling, and Isaksen (2016); Gilhuly and Worman (2014); Skempis and Ziogas (2013); Salmon and Shipley (1996); Alcock and Osborne (1994). See also Payne (2014); Heirman (2012); Cole (2004); Clarke (1997); Parry (1989); Elliger (1975) for individual studies of ancient Greek place and landscape.

3 On the contexts for Pindaric performances and reperformances suggested by particular odes, see especially Kurke (2017); Morgan (2015); Krummen (2014); Stamatopoulou (2014); Eckerman (2013 and 2014); Athanassaki (2012a); Pavlou (2010); Morrison (2007a); Burnett (2005). See Carey (2007) for a wide-ranging summary of the issues involved in reconstructing performance context from Pindaric lyrics. See also Kowalzig (2007b) on contexts for choral performances in the Greek world more generally.

4 This paper joins the recent and growing body of scholarship devoted to ancient sound and

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1 Echo and the Ecology of Praise

Isthmian 1 encapsulates the pivotal role Pindar allots to the sacred environment in epinician:[5] 'But as I adorn Poseidon and the sacred Isthmus and Onchestus' shores in my song' (ἐγὼ δὲ Ποσειδάωνι Ἰσθμῷ τε ζαθέᾳ / Ὀγχηστίαισίν τ᾽ ἀϊόνεσσιν περιστέλλων ἀοιδὰν, 32–33).[6] Pindar's song is 'adorning' Poseidon as well as the Isthmus and the shores of Onchestus in a formulation that ties together the patron deity of the games, the site of the games, and the victor's native territory as equal subjects of celebration.[7] And doing so turns out to be fundamental to his praise, as he expresses later on:

52 ἄμμι δ᾽ ἔοικε Κρόνου σεισίχθον᾽ υἱὸν
γείτον᾽ ἀμειβομένοις εὐεργέταν
ἁρμάτων ἱπποδρόμιον κελαδῆσαι,
55 καὶ σέθεν, Ἀμφιτρύων,
παῖδας προσειπεῖν, τὸν Μινύα τε μυχὸν
καὶ τὸ Δάματρος κλυτὸν ἄλσος Ἐλευ-
σῖνα καὶ Εὔβοιαν ἐν γναμπτοῖς δρόμοις·

Isthmian 1, 52–57

But it is fitting for us to celebrate our neighbor and patron of horse-racing, the earth-quaking son of Cronos, requiting his assistance to the chariots, and, Amphitryon, to call upon your sons, as well as the glen of Minyas,

voice (Butler and Nooter [2019]; Nooter [2017]; Gurd [2016]; Butler [2015]; Grand-Clément [2015]; Lachenaud [2013]; Bettini [2008]). While Pindar's voice (in the form of first-person utterances) has generated a massive bibliography for what it does (or does not) reveal about performance context (for a good summary of these issues with relevant bibliography, see Currie [2013] 243–248); the acoustic qualities attached to this Pindaric ego have received comparatively less attention (but see e.g. Gurd [2016] 109–113; Montiglio [2000] 82–93; Steiner [1993 and 2013]).

5 In invoking 'Pindar' as poet, my approach aligns with that of Spelman (2018) 12: 'The Pindar who emerges from the texts is not straightforwardly identifiable with the flesh-and-blood Pindar of Thebes but neither is he fully separable from that historical individual. His basic identifying features are that he is a well-known and inspired poet responsible for the composition of the text.'

6 Texts of Pindar are from Snell–Maehler (1987) while all translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

7 On the interpretation of such linkages of place names in Pindar, see e.g. Stamatopoulou (2014); Pavlou (2010); Morrison (2007a); Felson (1999). Also pertinent is Kirichenko (2016) on the centrality of metaphor to this process of blending spatial and temporal registers. On Pindar's metaphors of adornment and craftsmanship, see especially Steiner (1986) 40–66 as well as Ford (2004) 113–130.

and Demeter's famous sanctuary of Eleusis, and Euboea, when speaking of circling racecourses.

First, that Pindar claims κελαδέω as his style of pronouncement already situates his song at the intersection between the human and nonhuman.[8] As we will see in subsequent examples, this term is also one that communicates the temporal and spatial reverberations of song. Moreover, the various entities named here as the objects of κελαδέω—god, heroes, valley, precinct, territory, and racecourse—equally implicate the natural as well as the manmade and the living together with inanimate beings within the scope of song.[9] This mingling is one that will emerge as a consistent element of what I am calling Pindar's 'ecopoetics', a term that captures the convergences between music and environment depicted in the passages discussed here. As we will see, the sound of voices and instruments often participates in an ecological relationship with their surroundings, specifically in the form of echo.[10] By "ecological," I refer to the close and dynamic relationship between sound and space(s) depicted in these examples. And if the κελαδέω of *Isthmian* 1 implies such a relationship, the figure of Echo depicted in *Olympian* 14 (19–24) makes explicit a network of interactions between sound and sacred spaces:[11]

8 Cf. Power (2018) 24 on the κέλαδος: 'In Homeric poetry, *kelados* and its derivatives straddle both realms, describing the sound of natural phenomena (water and wind, the rustle of glades) as well as voices in human society, but always voices in their inarticulate aspect, as noise … that resemble nature's sounds.' By contrast, we will see how Pindar adopts *kelados* as a term to describe how (articulate) song channels the force of natural phenomena. See further Lather (2019) on the semantics of κελαδέω and its centrality for Pindar's poetic self-fashioning.

9 While Kaimio (1977) remains the standard comprehensive survey of archaic Greek terms for sound, the conclusions drawn here are in tune with another more recent work devoted to ancient sound, Gurd (2016) 134, which also identifies a 'nascently ecological impulse' in archaic and classical Greek evocations of sound: 'When song evokes sound, it becomes one means by which the enclosure of a society resonates with its environment, developing sensitivities to ambient entities and influences' (ibid.). Relevant to my project here are also the comments of Holmes (2016) xi in her foreword to the collection of essays *Ecocriticism, Ecology, and the Cultures of Antiquity*: '… *physis* begins to take on more of what we might call an "ecological" sense. The word comes to capture a vast network of relationships between beings, human and nonhuman alike, as well as the uncanny intelligence that seems to govern both the system and its parts.'

10 For a similarly ecological approach to archaic Greek poetry, see Brockliss (2018) on Hesiod's *Works and Days*. See also Pettman (2017) (especially pp. 65–77) for a study of voice, ontology, and ecology that lucidly articulates a non-anthropocentric approach to nonhuman forms of vocality.

11 On the hymnic qualities of this ode, see especially Athanassaki (2003) and the 'ambient mystique' (13) generated from Pindar's focus on divine, rather than human, figures.

οὕνεκ᾽ Ὀλυμπιόνικος ἁ Μινυεία
σεῦ ἕκατι. μελαντειχέα νῦν δόμον
Φερσεφόνας ἔλθ᾽, Ἀ-
χοῖ, πατρὶ κλυτὰν φέροισ᾽ ἀγγελίαν,
Κλεόδαμον ὄφρ᾽ ἰδοῖσ᾽, υἱὸν εἴπῃς ὅτι οἱ νέαν
κόλποις παρ᾽ εὐδόξοις Πίσας
ἐστεφάνωσε κυδίμων ἀέθλων πτεροῖσι χαίταν
Olympian 14.19–24

The land of the Minyae is victorious at Olympia thanks to you. Now go, Echo, to the house of Persephone with its black walls, bringing the glorious news to his father, so that when you see Cleodamus you may tell him that his son has won a crown for his youthful hair in the famous valley of Pisa with the wings of the renowned games.

That Echo's voice is incorporated alongside the Graces, who have their seat in Orchomenus, positions her as an equal harbinger of the victor's renown. Moreover, Echo bears a local connection to the victor's hometown because of her love of Narcissus, the son of Cephisus who was evoked at the beginning of the ode (1).[12] But whereas the Graces ensure the beauty and grace of song and celebration, Echo has a distinct role to play. It is fitting that she is called upon specifically as a conduit between Orchomenus, the underworld, and Olympia, given the ringing quality of the sound denoted by her name. The relevance of Echo's voice to this task is underscored by the identification of Hades and Olympia in terms of precisely those features of their topography (the 'dark walls' of Persephone's house and the 'famous valley of Pisa') that would generate an echoing sound. If the Graces are the guarantors of the current victory celebration's delightfulness, Echo provides the medium through which this victory can become audibly 'glorious' (κλυτάν) through its repetition. The repeating sound denoted by Echo's name, in other words, in *Olympian* 14 is imagined to actualize Asopichus' fame.[13]

12 Cf. Athanassaki (2003) 8, who notes that 'his [Pindar's] choice of Echo as a carrier of the *angelia*, as opposed to the personified Angelia, to whom the poet assigns the same task in the *Eighth Olympian Ode*, argues in favor of an old tradition known to Pindar.'

13 On the significance of the figure of Echo here, see also the comments of Kurke (1991a) 299, who focuses on the 'syntactic conflation' between father and son in this ode: 'We could describe Pindar's syntactic conflation of father and son as an 'echo effect': the two accusatives *Kleodamon* and *huion* are identified between the framing datives *patri* and *hoi*.' A distinctive but compatible role for resonating sound is envisioned by Gurd (2013) in his study of the aesthetics of sound in Aeschylus' *Persians*. See also the comments of

Of particular importance to Pindar's encomiastic task is the wide transmission of sound encapsulated in the figure of Echo. While *Isthmian* 4 does not invoke Echo explicitly, it does rehearse the connection between sound, space, and the transmission of *kleos* articulated in *Olympian* 14:

40 τοῦτο γὰρ ἀθάνατον φωνᾶεν ἕρπει,
εἴ τις εὖ εἴπῃ τι· καὶ πάγ-
καρπον ἐπὶ χθόνα καὶ διὰ πόντον βέβακεν
ἐργμάτων ἀκτὶς καλῶν ἄσβεστος αἰεί.
Isthmian 3/4, 40–42

For this carries on with immortal voice, if someone says it well, and the beam of fine deeds traverses over the all-fruitful earth and through the sea, eternally inextinguishable.

Praise that is expressed well will not only confer immortality, but more specifically, will become an undying source of sound. Like an endlessly reverberating echo, this sound carries far and wide, the sonic counterpart to the 'eternally inextinguishable beam of fine deeds' (ἐργμάτων ἀκτὶς καλῶν ἄσβεστος αἰεί, 42) that traverses earth and sea alike. The use of the verb ἕρπω in line 40 to describe the movements of this immortally sounding voice is significant because it conveys the temporal continuity of this sound: it is not just immortal in the sense of undying, but also in its eternal onward progression, which makes it akin to time itself.[14]

Olympian 10 similarly alludes to the temporal dimensions of echo by relating how the space of the precinct is implicated in the Olympic victory celebration:[15]

ἀείδετο δὲ πᾶν τέμενος τερπναῖσι θαλίαις
τὸν ἐγκώμιον ἀμφὶ τρόπον
ἀρχαῖς δὲ προτέραις ἑπόμενοι
καί νυν ἐπωνυμίαν χάριν

Segal (1998) 140, who refers to the 'aural resonance of the poet's song' as the means by which living and dead generations are linked.

14 Elsewhere in Pindar, ἕρπω can have a distinctively temporal sense, denoting the passage of time (e.g. *Nem.* 4.43, *Nem.* 7.68).

15 Cf. Connelly (2011), who illuminates how the physical space of sanctuaries contributed to the enactment of particular and multisensory forms of 'ritual kinesis'. See also Eckerman (2013) on Pindar's different strategies of incorporating aspects of Olympia's topography.

νίκας ἀγερώχου κελαδησόμεθα βροντάν
καὶ πυρπάλαμον βέλος
ὀρσικτύπου Διός
ἐν ἅπαντι κράτει
αἴθωνα κεραυνὸν ἀραρότα·
χλιδῶσα δὲ μολπὰ πρὸς κάλαμον
ἀντιάξει μελέων
Olympian 10.76–84

The whole precinct rang out with the delightful festivities, the fashion for the victory celebration. In keeping with these ancient beginnings, now we too will sing of the joy named for proud victory: the thunderbolt and fiery weapon of thunder-rousing Zeus, the blazing lightning befitting every show of strength, and the delicate strains of song will swell to answer to the pipe.

So fulsome is the sound stipulated by 'the ancient beginnings' (ἀρχαῖς δὲ προτέραις ἑπόμενοι, 78) that the entire precinct is imbued with song. This allusion to the archetypal Olympian celebration places the harmony between space and sound at center stage by suggesting that it is by making the precinct 'ring out' (ἀείδετο, 76) that the original performance is evoked.[16] And it is little wonder how this could be possible, considering that the particular verb used here to describe the singing of epinician, κελαδέω (κελαδησόμεθα, 79), carries a dual connotation inherited from Homer and Sappho. Conveying the sound of rushing water as well as the shouts of men, κελαδέω is a particularly apposite choice to capture the sound of epinician celebration because of this word's connection with sound that is both beautiful and forceful. The history of the term's uses helps to explain its frequent appearance in the Pindaric lexicon, where it is used for the first time in Greek literature to characterize the acoustics of human as well as divine song.[17] Given its connection with human vocalizations *en masse* as well as to natural phenomena like flowing water, the verb κελαδέω as it is used in *Olympian* 10 communicates both how human song can obtain the volume and impact of natural phenomena *and* how such sound is inevitably the product of the special environment in which it is performed.

Moreover, the epithet Pindar coins here to characterize Zeus, ὀρσικτύπου (82), literally 'din-maker', is significant. For by invoking Zeus in terms of the

16 Cf. Power (2018), who likewise identifies 'cultic soundmarks' associated with sacred spaces within the *Homeric Hymns*.

17 See also Lather (2019) 473–474 on the significance of the *kelados* to *Olympian* 10.

sonic qualities of his attributes, this epithet, like κελαδέω, encapsulates the direct confrontation between natural and man-made sounds elaborated in this strophe: the 'joy named for proud victory' (ἐπωνυμίαν χάριν, 78) that is 'sung' (κελαδησόμεθα, 79) consists in the 'thunderbolt' and 'fiery weapon' of Zeus (βροντάν καὶ πυρπάλαμον βέλος, 79–80); the 'blazing lightning' is literally 'joined' to 'every show of strength' (ἐν ἅπαντι κράτει αἴθωνα κεραυνὸν ἀραρότα, 82–83); and finally, the song 'swells to answer' the 'pipe' (χλιδῶσα δὲ μολπὰ πρὸς κάλαμον ἀντιάξει μελέων, 84). The song envisioned here, in other words, is one that forcibly mingles the visual and audible, the human and nonhuman, the man-made and natural. Indeed, it is this consonance that gives the music its power, as it recalls descriptions of divine music-making.

Pindar's attention to the sensational dynamics of echoes as they arise in natural, outdoor spaces belongs to a tradition best illustrated in the proem of Hesiod's *Theogony*, where the sounds of the natural environment go hand in hand with the Muses' singing and dancing: 'the dark earth resounded with their singing, and a lovely sound rose up beneath their feet as they went towards their father' (περὶ δ' ἴαχε γαῖα μέλαινα / ὑμνεύσαις, ἐρατὸς δὲ ποδῶν ὕπο δοῦπος ὀρώρει / νισσομένων πατέρ' εἰς ὅν, 69–71) and so too do 'the peaks of snowy Olympus and the houses of the immortal gods ring out' (ἠχεῖ δὲ κάρη νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου / δώματά τ' ἀθανάτων, 42–43).[18] In this portrayal, divine song and setting are integrated in a kind of antiphonal song as the Muses' singing and dancing cause the earth and mountain peaks to ring out in response.[19] A similar responsion between environment and song appears in the *Homeric Hymn to Pan*. This relates how the god's song is accompanied by the sounds of Echo, who 'makes the entire mountain peak resound with her voice' (κορυφὴν δὲ περιστένει οὔρεος Ἠχώ, 21).[20] By associating echoing environments with divine music, these examples make clear the aesthetic import of echo, as it arises from music that is as voluminous as it is superlatively beautiful.

The physics behind echoing was also a lively subject of philosophical inquiry, and Aristotle's treatment of the topic in *De Anima* proves remarkably in tune with Pindar's images of this phenomenon.[21] Aristotle recognizes that echoes have a material basis and occur when air rebounds within confined spaces:

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18 The text of Hesiod is from West (1966).

19 On the vocabulary of noise included in such descriptions of divine music, see Lather (2017). See also Power (2018) for more examples of such powerful acoustics in the *Homeric Hymns*.

20 Cf. Thomas (2016) 28–29 on an Epidaurian *Hymn to Pan*, where the god's music 'comes to destabilize the sky, sea, and earth' (29).

21 Cf. Democritus 68A135D–K = Theophr. *Sens*. 53. See also Bonadeo (2003) 25–30 for a survey of echo's theorizations in Presocratic and classical Greek philosophy.

> Ἠχὼ δὲ γίνεται, ὅταν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀέρος ἑνὸς γενομένου διὰ τὸ ἀγγεῖον τὸ διορίσαν καὶ κωλῦσαν θρυφθῆναι πάλιν ὁ ἀὴρ ἀπωσθῇ, ὥσπερ σφαῖρα. ἔοικε δ᾽ ἀεὶ γίνεσθαι ἠχώ, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ σαφής, ἐπεὶ συμβαίνει γε ἐπὶ τοῦ ψόφου καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ φωτός· καὶ γὰρ τὸ φῶς ἀεὶ ἀνακλᾶται
>
> *De Anima* 419b26–31

> Echo occurs when air rebounds, like a bouncing ball, from another body of air unified by the vessel which confines it, and prevents it from escaping. It seems likely that there is always an echo, but it is not always noticeable, since the same thing happens with sound as with light. For light is always reflected.[22]

In the same way that vision arises because light is reflected everywhere, so too does it seem that echoes occur in every instance of sound even if the echo is not audible. This conforms with his general theory of sound, which posits that all audible phenomena result from the movement of substances against one another ('For sound is the movement of what can be moved, in the way that things rebound from a smooth surface when struck against it', ἔστι γὰρ ὁ ψόφος κίνησις τοῦ δυναμένου κινεῖσθαι τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ὅνπερ τὰ ἀφαλλόμενα ἀπὸ τῶν λείων, *De Anima* 420a22–24). And this conception of sound as both material and dynamic is fundamental to Pindar's musical aesthetic, which likewise emphasizes how sound arises in distinctive ways from different material bases.[23]

Significant too is Aristotle's proposition that echoes are omnipresent in the same way that reflected light is. This is an idea embodied in Pindar's evocations of reverberating sound in connection with beaming light.[24] One exemplary instance, and relevant to the connection between Echo and the Graces discussed above in *Olympian* 14, is Pindar's verses at *Nemean* 6.35–36, 'And in the evening by the Castalian spring he was ablaze with the clamor of the Graces' (παρὰ Κασταλίαν τε Χαρίτων / ἑσπέριος ὁμάδῳ φλέγεν).[25] By imagining how the voluminous sound of the Graces' music illuminates Alcimidas' victory, this synaesthetic combination draws attention to the radiating force that

22 The text of *De Anima* is that of Ross (1961) and the translation from Hett (1957).

23 See also Porter (2010) 365–369 on the evidence for acoustic enhancement of ancient musical performance spaces and Rocconi (1999) on spatial terminology in Aristoxenus. See also Fearn (2017) on the intersections of materiality and visuality staged in Pindar.

24 Cf. Spelman (2018) 45–60 on the different valences attached to light and fire imagery in Pindar.

25 Trans. Race (1997).

belongs to light as well as sound and makes them of equal importance in establishing a victor's fame. Similarly, *Pythian* 9 establishes the light and sound of the Graces within the province of the poet: 'May the pure light of the resounding Graces not desert me' (Χαρίτων κελαδεννᾶν / μή με λίποι καθαρὸν φέγγος, 89–90). The link between luminosity and resounding sound drawn in such synaesthetic images thus distinguishes Pindar's song as audibly and visibly conspicuous, an idea explored more fully in *Pythian* 6.[26]

Pythian 6 is framed as a procession to the temple of Apollo, as it begins with an imperative to 'listen' combined with an image that fuses together features of the natural world with human activity:

ἀκούσατ᾽: ἦ γὰρ ἑλικώπιδος Ἀφροδίτας
ἄρουραν ἢ Χαρίτων
ἀναπολίζομεν, ὀμφαλὸν ἐριβρόμου
χθονὸς ἐς νάϊον προσοιχόμενοι·
Πυθιόνικος ἔνθ᾽ ὀλβίοισιν Ἐμμενίδαις
ποταμίᾳ τ᾽ Ἀκράγαντι καὶ μὰν Ξενοκράτει
ἑτοῖμος ὕμνων θησαυρὸς ἐν πολυχρύσῳ
Ἀπολλωνίᾳ τετείχισται νάπᾳ·
τὸν οὔτε χειμέριος ὄμβρος ἐπακτὸς ἐλθών,
ἐριβρόμου νεφέλας
στρατὸς ἀμείλιχος, οὔτ᾽ ἄνεμος ἐς μυχούς
ἁλὸς ἄξοισι παμφόρῳ χεράδει
τυπτόμενον. φάει δὲ πρόσωπον ἐν καθαρῷ
πατρὶ τεῷ, Θρασύβουλε, κοινάν τε γενεᾷ
λόγοισι θνατῶν εὔδοξον ἅρματι νίκαν
Κρισαίαισιν ἐνὶ πτυχαῖς ἀπαγγελεῖ.

Pythian 6, 1–18

Listen! for indeed we are plowing once again the field of bright-eyed Aphrodite or of the Graces, as we proceed to the enshrined navel of the loudly rumbling earth, where at hand for the fortunate Emmenidae and for Acragas on its river, yes, and for Xenocrates, a Pythian victor's treasure house of hymns has been built in Apollo's valley rich in gold, one which neither winter rain, coming from abroad as a relentless army from a loudly rumbling cloud, nor wind shall buffet and with their deluge of silt carry

26 See also Briand (2016) on the significance of light and visual imagery to the *Olympian Odes* in particular.

> into the depths of the sea. But in clear light its front will proclaim a chariot victory, famous in men's speech, shared by your father, Thrasybulus, and your clan, won in the dells of Crisa.[27]

That the speaker alludes to 'ploughing once again the field of Aphrodite or the Graces' (ἄρουραν ἢ Χαρίτων ἀναπολίζομεν, 2–3) situates the current song within an agricultural cycle attuned to the 'navel of the loud-rumbling earth' (ὀμφαλὸν ἐριβρόμου χθονὸς, 3–4). The echoing quality of the Delphic landscape is repeatedly evoked throughout the ode, not only in the repetition of the epithet ἐρίβρομος and the unique compound βαρυόπας to describe Zeus' voice, but also in the repeated references to the vales and glens of the area: the very features that would enhance the transmission of sound and indeed make the land 'loud-rumbling'.[28] The metaphor for song's creation in terms of cultivation thus achieves literal force with the evocation of the land's acoustic timbre. This styles Pindar's task as one that works in concert with the landscape of Delphi, as is underscored by the description contained in the following verses of the 'treasure house of hymns' (ὕμνων θησαυρός, 7–8).[29] This structure, like the image of song as plowing, embeds Pindar's praise within the physical territory of Delphi, the 'valley of Apollo, rich in gold' (ἐν πολυχρύσῳ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ τετείχισται νάπᾳ, 8–9). In this description, the splendor of Delphi's dedications (πολυχρύσῳ … νάπᾳ) becomes an attribute of the glen itself, rather than something separate and superimposed upon it.[30] On this formulation, the sanctity of Delphi consists not only in its topography, but in the way that sound interacts with these environs.

Further, that the treasure house is imagined to be immune to the forces of nature, including the 'relentless army from the loud-roaring cloud' (ἐριβρόμου νεφέλας στρατὸς ἀμείλιχος, 11–12), reminds us of the privileged position that the song occupies in relation to this landscape: namely, that it can be part of this setting without being subject to the forces of wind and rain that make this environment 'loudly rumbling' (ὀμφαλὸν ἐριβρόμου χθονός, 3–4). Instead, this structure is one with a façade perennially bathed in 'clear light' (φάει δὲ πρόσωπον ἐν καθαρῷ, 14) that 'proclaims' and makes renowned Xenocrates' victory,

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27 Trans. Race (1997).

28 'Apollo's valley, rich in gold' (ἐν πολυχρύσῳ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ τετείχισται νάπᾳ, 8–9); 'In the dells of Crisa' (Κρισαίαισιν ἐν πτυχαῖς, 18); 'In the haunts of the Muses' (ἐν μυχοῖσι Πιερίδων, 49). For the Delphic setting of the ode, see Athanassaki (2012a). On Pindar's references to Delphi, see Eckerman (2014).

29 On the ideological implications of this image, see especially Kurke (1991b) 189–194.

30 See also the important work of Bassi (2016) on the construction of the past through the material objects and natural landmarks evoked within ancient Greek texts.

specifically his triumph 'in the dells of Crisa' (Κρισαίαισιν ἐν πτυχαῖς ἀπαγγελεῖ, 18). As we have seen in previous examples, radiant light and audibility are linked in the expression of glory that is as indefatigable as the imagined treasure house.[31] In this way, Pindar's song and its subsequent performance(s), conceived through the 'plowing' and construction of a 'treasure house of hymns', claims a place in the landscape by evoking its material as well as its acoustic features as constitutive elements of praise. And the final component of this landscape is encapsulated in the reference to Thrasybulus (Xenocrates' son and the victorious charioteer), as he 'enjoys a youth without injustice or insolence, and culls wisdom in the haunts of the Pierians' (ἄδικον οὔθ' ὑπέροπλον ἥβαν δρέπων, σοφίαν δ' ἐν μυχοῖσι Πιερίδων, 48–49). This picture of the hidden territories not only echoes the previous invocations of Delphi's topography, but also correlates Thrasybulus' virtue with the performance of Pindar's song, its 'plowing the field of Aphrodite or the Graces'. This is because this image situates the youth in a similarly harmonious relationship with the Muses, one that is literally grounded in sacred land.

In this section we have seen how the figure of echo—expressed either in Pindar's explicit evocation of the nymph or in his references to voluminous, reverberating sound—is an integral component of his poetics because these echoes trace the interaction between music and sacred landscapes in particular. Not only do songs reverberate within sanctuaries, their far-carrying sound intimates the potential reperformance or echo of this praise in the future.[32] Having identified this ecological relationship between sound and space that is imagined to exist in these examples, the next section will focus on the relationship between the sounds of manmade and natural phenomena and the poet's voice in particular.

2 Poetic and Environmental Personae

Pythian 12, as an ode which purports to describe the origins of the *aulos*, has attracted a great deal of scholarly attention for its construction of the *aulos*' sound as 'the tune of many heads' (κεφαλᾶν πολλᾶν νόμον, 23) composed in

31 Cf. Ford (2004) 120: 'In fact, a word for "loud" or "sounding" almost invariably characterizes epinician comparisons between songs and works of art.' See also Steiner (1993) and Pavlou (2010) on Pindar's invocation of statuary in *Nemean* 5 to bolster the immortality of his songs; for *Pythian* 6, see Athanassaki 2012a.

32 Cf. Pavlou (2010) 14: 'Pindar's poetry is in constant unrest, plunging its audience from one temporal level to another and transporting them through space.'

imitation of the Gorgon's dying wail.[33] My interest, however, lies more in its allusion to the instrument's sound 'passing through the thin bronze and the reeds':

ὠνύμασεν κεφαλᾶν πολλᾶν νόμον,
εὐκλεᾶ λαοσσόων μναστῆρ᾽ ἀγώνων,
λεπτοῦ διανισσόμενον χαλκοῦ θαμὰ καὶ δονάκων,
τοὶ παρὰ καλλιχόρῳ ναίοισι πόλει Χαρίτων.
Καφισίδος ἐν τεμένει, πιστοὶ χορευτᾶν μάρτυρες.
Pythian 12, 23–27

> and she named it the tune of many heads, renowned reminder of the contests that draw crowds of folk, the strain that frequently passes through the thin bronze and reeds that dwell by the Graces' city of beautiful dancing places, in the precinct of the daughter of Cephisus, faithful witnesses of dancers.[34]

What is significant about this description is how the 'tune of many heads' produced through the bronze and reeds of the *aulos* leads directly into a description of Orchomenus, the city of Graces, where these reeds are said to grow. The grammar of this description effects a seamless transition by means of the relative pronoun (τοί, 26) between living plants and those of the instrument and so gives the impression that the song 'passes through' (διανισσόμενον, 25) both the reeds of the *aulos* and the reeds in the precinct. The song of the *aulos* is thus rooted in the materiality of the instrument's composition and its combination of manmade and naturally occurring elements, the latter of which finds its origins in the natural environment of Orchomenus. This reference is made more striking because of the fact that this is a revision of the myth that locates the *aulos*' origins in Phrygia.[35] By placing it in Orchomenus instead, Pindar ties the *aulos*' origins to the city of the Graces and, more specifically, to the environs of that city—its reeds in particular—and the precinct of the Graces situated therein. In this way, the music of Pindar's victory song, one that commemorates Midas of Acragas' victory in the *aulos* contest, imagines an aural as well as a material continuity between the victor's performance at Pytho, his home-

33 Clay (1992), Segal (1998), and Held (1998) remain seminal articles on *Pythian* 12, but see Steiner (2013) and Phillips (2013) for more recent reappraisals of the significance of Pindar's treatment of the *aulos*' origins.

34 Trans. Race (1997), slightly modified.

35 See especially Steiner (2013) 196–199 on this point.

town of Acragas, and the city of the Graces through this evocation of the reeds that produce the song in each place.

Further, it is these reeds that are cited as 'faithful witnesses of the dancers' (πιστοὶ χορευτᾶν μάρτυρες, 27), which personifies the plants as living components of choral performance. This personification has an added force because of the fact that the *aulos*' sound is also explicitly described as a personification of the 'loud shrilling' (ἐρικλάγκτης) wail of Euryale (μιμήσαιτ' ἐρικλάγκταν γόον, 19–21).[36] The *aulos* is imagined to retain the voluminous, piercing quality of the Gorgon's voice, but the medium of the instrument transforms it into a different kind of presence, as a 'faithful witness' to choral performance.

Similarly, at the opening of *Pythian* 10, Pytho, Pelinna, and the valley of Parnassus alike become sources of human speech:

> τί κομπέω παρὰ καιρόν; ἀλλά με Πυθώ
> τε καὶ τὸ Πελινναῖον ἀπύει
> Ἀλεύα τε παῖδες, Ἱπποκλέᾳ ἐθέλοντες
> ἀγαγεῖν ἐπικωμίαν ἀνδρῶν κλυτὰν ὄπα.
> γεύεται γὰρ ἀέθλων·
> στρατῷ τ' ἀμφικτιόνων ὁ Παρνάσιος αὐτὸν μυχὸς
> διαυλοδρομᾶν ὕπατον παίδων ἀνέειπεν.
>
> But Pytho and Pelinna are calling upon me, and Aleuas' sons, who want to present to Hippocleas the glorious voices of men in celebration, for he competes in the games, and the valley of Parnassus announced him to the crowd of neighboring people as the best of the boys who ran the diaulos.

The site of the games, the victor's hometown, and the Thessalian family are presented as equally invested in the commission of victory song, a victory which in turn 'the valley of Parnassus announced to the crowd of neighboring people' (ὁ Παρνάσιος αὐτὸν μυχὸς … ἀνέειπεν, 8–9). Like the description in *Olympian* 14 discussed above, Pindar's song is presented as having the ability to span a wide range of multiple geographies simultaneously. And here each of the locales referenced are equipped not just with vocal abilities, but specifically with powers of human speech: they do not just make sound but speak, as is clear from the use of ἀπύει and ἀνέειπεν in lines 4 and 9 respectively, verbs that predominantly refer to human speech. While Pindar's music has been depicted in the

36 Cf. Phillips (2013) 44 on the 'rhetoric of embodiment' articulated throughout this description, who observes how 'the auletic art is envisioned here as an embodying continuity of Athena's practice.'

examples so far as resounding and thundering noisily, here the sacred environs referenced are able to articulate human language and not just emit sound. Correspondingly, it is Pindar's song that perpetuates the fame of these places and literally gives them a voice in language and imagery that themselves delineate how sound and sacred space interact.

A distinctive voice is allotted to Pisa in *Olympian* 3, the land that in lines 9–10 commands the poet 'to lift up my voice, for from there come divinely allotted songs to men' (ἅ τε Πίσα με γεγωνεῖν: τᾶς ἄπο θεόμοροι νίσοντ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀνθρώπους ἀοιδαί, 9–10). This formulation establishes the physical territory of the games as the source of victors' renown (τᾶς ἄπο) through song, and positions the poet as the purveyor of these 'divinely allotted' songs:

> Μοῖσα δ᾽ οὕτω ποι παρέ-
> στα μοι νεοσίγαλον εὑρόντι τρόπον
> Δωρίῳ φωνὰν ἐναρμόξαι πεδίλῳ
> ἀγλαόκωμον. ἐπεὶ χαίταισι μὲν
> ζευχθέντες ἔπι στέφανοι
> πράσσοντί με τοῦτο θεόδματον χρέος,
> φόρμιγγά τε ποικιλόγαρυν
> καὶ βοὰν αὐλῶν ἐπέων τε θέσιν
> Αἰνησιδάμου παιδὶ συμμῖξαι πρεπό-
> ντως,
>
> *Olympian* 3.4–9

> And for that reason, I believe, the Muse stood beside me as I found a newly shining way to fit to the Dorian sandal a voice of splendid celebration, because crowns bound upon his hair exact from me this divinely inspired debt to mix in due measure the variegated voice of the lyre, the sound of pipes, and the setting of words for Aenesidamus' son.[37]

It is the mixture of lyric elements that is celebrated here, a variety that is itself embodied in the 'variegated voice' (ποικιλόγαρυν, 8) of the lyre.[38] And here, too, as we have seen in previous examples, the *aulos* is endowed with a voice (βοὰν αὐλῶν, 8) in a formulation that reminds us that the *aulos*' sound is also a hybrid because its production by means of human breath makes it, in a sense, part human. As Sarah Nooter puts it, 'its materials come from the earth and

37 Trans. Race (1997), slightly modified.

38 On the centrality of this kind of variegation (*poikilia*) to Pindar's aesthetic, see e.g. Wells (2009) 182–184 and Steiner (1986) 60–62.

its music is manufactured by the mouth.'[39] Similarly, the victory procession depicted here possesses its own voice, one that can be 'fitted' to the 'Dorian sandal' (Δωρίῳ φωνὰν ἐναρμόξαι πεδίλῳ, 5) like the garlands that are bound (χαίταισι μὲν ζευχθέντες ἔπι στέφανοι, 6) to Theron's hair. And like these garlands, this composition consists of distinctive intertwining strands: voice, dance, lyre, *aulos*, and words in a combination that reflects the conjunction of Pindar with the Muse (Μοῖσα δ᾽ οὕτω ποι παρέστα μοι, 4). And in the verses that follow, the hybridity of song is itself mirrored in the depiction of Olympia, which likewise derives its beauty from a combination of features.

The connection between the environment and victory articulated by Pisa's injunction to praise is strengthened by the mythical narrative that occupies the central position in this poem, which recounts Heracles' introduction of the olive tree to the precinct:[40]

ἅ τε Πίσα με γεγωνεῖν· τᾶς ἄπο
θεόμοροι νίσοντ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀνθρώπους ἀοιδαί,
ᾧ τινι, κραίνων ἐφετμὰς Ἡρακλέος προτέρας,
ἀτρεκὴς Ἑλλανοδίκας γλεφάρων Αἰ-
τωλὸς ἀνὴρ ὑψόθεν
ἀμφὶ κόμαισι βάλῃ
γλαυκόχροα κόσμον ἐλαίας: τάν ποτε
Ἴστρου ἀπὸ σκιαρᾶν
παγᾶν ἔνεικεν Ἀμφιτρυωνιάδας,
μνᾶμα τῶν Οὐλυμπίᾳ κάλλιστον ἀέθλων,
δᾶμον Ὑπερβορέων πείσαις Ἀπόλ-
λωνος θεράποντα λόγῳ·
πιστὰ φρονέων Διὸς αἴτει πανδόκῳ
ἄλσει σκιαρόν τε φύτευμα
ξυνὸν ἀνθρώποις στέφανόν τ᾽ ἀρετᾶν
ἤδη γὰρ αὐτῷ, πατρὶ μὲν βωμῶν ἁγι-
σθέντων, διχόμηνις ὅλον χρυσάρματος
ἑσπέρας ὀφθαλμὸν ἀντέφλεξε Μήνα,
καὶ μεγάλων ἀέθλων ἁγνὰν κρίσιν
καὶ πενταετηρίδ᾽ ἁμᾶ
θῆκε ζαθέοις ἐπὶ κρημνοῖς Ἀλφεοῦ·

39 See Nooter (2018) 10–15 on what she terms the 'corporeality' of *aulos*-playing and its depiction as an amalgamation of breath and materiality in ancient sources.

40 See also Eckerman (2013) 20–25 for a reading of this episode that illuminates the sexualization of Olympia through Heracles' fertilization of it.

ἀλλ᾽ οὐ καλὰ δένδρε᾽ ἔθαλλεν
χῶρος ἐν βάσσαις Κρονίου Πέλοπος.
τούτων ἔδοξεν γυμνὸς αὐτῷ κᾶπος ὀ-
ξείαις ὑπακουέμεν αὐγαῖς ἀέλίου.
δὴ τότ᾽ ἐς γαῖαν πορεύεν θυμὸς ὥρμα
Ἰστρίαν νιν· ἔνθα Λατοῦς ἱπποσόα θυγάτηρ
δέξατ᾽ ἐλθόντ᾽ Ἀρκαδίας ἀπὸ δειρᾶν
καὶ πολυγνάμπτων μυχῶν,
εὖτέ νιν ἀγγελίαις
Εὐρυσθέος ἔντυ᾽ ἀνάγκα πατρόθεν
χρυσόκερων ἔλαφον
θήλειαν ἄξονθ᾽, ἅν ποτε Ταϋγέτα
ἀντιθεῖσ᾽ Ὀρθωσίᾳ ἔγραψεν ἱέραν.
τὰν μεθέπων ἵδε καὶ κείναν χθόνα
πνοιᾶς ὄπιθεν Βορέα
ψυχροῦ· τόθι δένδρεα θάμβαινε σταθείς.
τῶν νιν γλυκὺς ἵμερος ἔσχεν
δωδεκάγναμπτον περὶ τέρμα δρόμου
ἵππων φυτεῦσαι.

Olympian 3.9–34

… and Pisa too bids me lift up my voice, for from there come divinely allotted songs to men, whenever for one of them, in fulfillment of Heracles' ancient mandates, the strict Aetolian judge places above his brows about his hair the gray-colored adornment of olive, which once Amphitryon's son brought from the shady springs of Ister to be the fairest memorial of the contests at Olympia, after he persuaded the Hyperborean people, Apollo's servants, with his speech; with trustworthy intention he requested for Zeus' all-welcoming precinct a plant to provide shade for men to share and a crown for deeds of excellence. Already the altars had been dedicated to his father, and the Moon in her golden chariot at mid-month had shown back to him her full eye at evening, and he had established the holy judging of the great games together with their four-year festival on the sacred banks of the Alpheus. But as yet the land of Pelops in the vales of Cronus' hill was not flourishing with beautiful trees. Without them, the enclosure seemed naked to him and subject to the piercing rays of the sun. Then it was that his heart urged him to go to the Istrian land, where Leto's horse-driving daughter had welcomed him on his arrival from Arcadia's ridges and much-winding valleys, when through the commands of Eurystheus his father's compulsion impelled

> him to bring back the golden-horned doe, which formerly Taygeta had inscribed as a holy offering to Orthosia. In pursuit of her he saw, among other places, that land beyond the blasts of the cold North Wind, where he stood and wondered at the trees. A sweet desire seized him to plant some of them around the twelve-lap turn of the hippodrome.[41]

In this narrative, the olive functions not only as a symbol of victory but as a feature integral to the topography of the Olympic sanctuary. And in Pindar's presentation of the olive's introduction, the tree is depicted as the material counterpart to Pindar's song. For while the allotment of the olive crown is what prompts Pindar's 'divinely allotted songs' (τᾶς ἄπο / θεόμοροι νίσοντ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀνθρώπους ἀοιδαί, 9–10, cf. 6–7, ἐπεὶ χαίταισι μὲν ζευχθέντες ἔπι στέφανοι / πράσσοντί με τοῦτο θεόδματον χρέος), this is so because the bestowing of such a crown mirrors the similarly reciprocal dynamic between the olive tree and the sanctuary.

The olive crown provides a 'fairest memorial of the contests' (μνᾶμα τῶν Οὐλυμπίᾳ κάλλιστον ἄθλων, 15) because these trees adorn the sanctuary and provide shade for its inhabitants (ἄλσει σκιαρόν τε φύτευμα ξυνὸν ἀνθρώποις, 18). Without them, the sanctuary 'was not flourishing' (οὐ καλὰ δένδρε᾽ ἔθαλλεν χῶρος, 23) and 'seemed naked' (ἔδοξεν γυμνὸς, 24), because its territory was 'subject to the piercing rays of the sun' (τούτων ἔδοξεν γυμνὸς αὐτῷ κᾶπος ὀξείαις ὑπακουέμεν αὐγαῖς ἁλίου, 24).[42] The use of the term ὑπακούω to characterize the space's exposure is significant because of how it personifies the land by suggesting that it is subordinate to the sun's rays.[43] And given that Heracles introduces the olive trees in order to 'provide shade for men to share' (σκιαρόν τε φύτευμα ξυνόν, 18), the use of ὑπακούω has the effect of making Olympia's visitors and the 'naked' land equal beneficiaries of the trees' shade. The topography of Olympia thus motivates Heracles' introduction of the very plant that will provide the 'fairest memorial of the contests'. This provides a clear analogue for Pindar's presentation of his motivation, since he says that it is Pisa as well as Theron's crown that compel his song-making (ἐπεὶ χαίταισι μὲν ζευχθέντες ἔπι στέφανοι / πράσσοντί με τοῦτο θεόδματον χρέος, 6–7; ἅ τε Πίσα με γεγωνεῖν, 9).

This narrative positions the olive tree and, correspondingly, Pindar's song, at center stage within the sanctuary. The establishment of the games is, by definition, a cultural institution, but one that is inseparable from the distinctive

41 Trans. Race (1997).

42 On the presentation of the environment as a harsh and unforgiving habitat for humans in Hesiod's *Works and Days*, see Brockliss (2018), whose interpretation relies on Timothy Morton's aesthetics of 'dark ecology'.

43 See LSJ s.v. ὑπακούω.

environment in which it takes place: 'the land of Pelops in the vales of Cronus' hill' (χῶρος ἐν βάσσαις Κρονίου Πέλοπος, 23) and 'on the sacred banks of the Alpheus' (ἐπὶ κρημνοῖς Ἀλφεοῦ, 22). And the introduction of the olive tree is prompted by the topographical specificities of this place: the exposure to sunlight that both makes the land 'seem naked' (ἔδοξεν γυμνὸς, 24) and deprives the sanctuary's inhabitants of a 'shade for men to share' (σκιαρόν τε φύτευμα ξυνόν, 18). It is by enabling the landscape to 'flourish' (ἔθαλλεν, 23) that the olive tree also comes to signify human victory at the games and provide a 'memorial of the contests'. In turn, the awarding of the olive crown prompts Pisa's injunction to Pindar to commemorate the victory. The claim that both Pisa and the garlands adorning Theron's hair urge Pindar to sing (χαίταισι μὲν ζευχθέντες ἔπι στέφανοι πράσσοντί με … ἅ τε Πίσα με γεγωνεῖν) thus accrues greater poignancy, since this captures how the olive trees and Pindar's song contribute equally to the adornment of the sanctuary. On this formulation, song and environment are both actors in the proper conferring of praise.

While I have focused here on a selection of especially illustrative passages, examples could be multiplied. *Pythian* 1, for instance, in its personification of the lyre (e.g. 'to you the footstep listens', τᾶς ἀκούει μὲν βάσις, 2) likewise situates the source of song at the center of a panorama of divinities, humans, animals, and natural phenomena, with particular emphasis placed on its ability to navigate between these realms and soothe even Zeus' thunderbolt and Ares' rancor (4–12). Given the recurrence of such imagery across the epinician corpus, it seems safe to conclude that the soundscape of Pindaric song is fundamentally as variable and far-ranging as the 'variegated voice' of the lyre itself (φόρμιγγά τε ποικιλόγαρυν, *Olympian* 3.8).

3 Conclusions

While it is a truism that landscape and local topography loom large in Pindar's epinicia, I hope to have shown here how Pindar's evocation of natural and manmade environs in fact are integral, both literally and figuratively, to his lyric aesthetic. This is because references to landscape markers not only help to ground Pindaric song within particular cultic and political spaces, but also promote the conception of epinician as intimately connected with sacred topography. As we have seen, the sound of Pindaric song both enhances and is enhanced by its environs and is able to audibly reverberate across space and time to give it a truly Panhellenic scope. In this sense, Pindaric ecopoetics envisions song poet, performers, and nonhuman entities as equally important to the formulation of praise and the celebration of sacred places and events.

CHAPTER 9

The Sacred in the Aesthetic Texture of Song between Female and Male Performance Practice in Lesbos

A Survey and Some Instances in the Mythic-Ritual Poetics of Sappho and Alcaeus

Anton Bierl

It goes without saying that the enlightened and modern concept of the autonomy of art or *l'art pour l'art* is anachronistic for archaic and classical Greek song, despite the numerous efforts to prove the opposite. At least in this period, the sacred is not neatly divided from the secular or profane but both are mutually interdependent.[1] That means politics, history, early science, cosmogony, and philosophy, or even art, song, and performance are intrinsically linked to religion; all public discourses interact with myth and ritual as well as with the sacred. On the basis of a mythic-ritual poetics that I have developed with others since the early 2000s,[2] I intend to explore the sacred from manifold interdisciplinary perspectives. This paper will shed new light on the construction of sacred space via festive imagery and *choreia* (Sappho fr. 2), divine epiphany (Sappho fr. 1), godlike marriage celebration (Sappho fr. 44), and anchoring the song in a sanctuary (Alcaeus fr. 129 and 130B). This contribution intends to show how the sacred, as it is associated with festive exuberance, effervescence, radiance, and multimodal attraction, is the core and engine of lyric song. The performance in its beauty and specific quality as sensual event often coincides with the ritual and sacral that aim at pleasing the gods with fresh and beautiful expressions appealing to all senses. But song can also draw from the darker aspects of the sacred to express ritual violence through curses and threats (Alcaeus fr. 129) or to stage a counter-world (fr. 130B).

1 See Bremmer (1998) 24–31.

2 Yatromanolakis and Roilos (2004); Bierl (2007); Bierl, Lämmle, and Wesselmann (2007).

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1 A Short Survey of the Sacred in a Mythic-Ritual Poetics of Lyric

The situation in Greek culture is complex since 'Greek has three or four words for sacred, *hieros*, *hosios*, and *hagios/hagnos*, of which moreover, two, *hieros* and *hosios*, can stand in opposition, as if *hosios* meant sacred and not sacred at the same time'[3]—*hosios* designates 'all the rest' that is not *hieros* and at the same time everything sacred by looking 'at the boundaries from outside'.[4] *Hieros* demarcates something special by drawing boundaries around it. It thus defines objects as belonging to the sacred sphere and to the gods. *Hagnos* is more or less the attitude toward the cult, meaning 'sacred and pure', in which the person or thing is seen under the influence of a 'sacred-pure' power or 'field of forces that demands reverence and distance'.[5] The sacred can be defined (1) by a specific, delimited space through boundaries as meant by *hieros*, (2) by a sphere of an awe-inspiring 'field of forces' that is assigned to the adjective *hagnos*,[6] (3) by a holy and highly sensual atmosphere that is expressed through multimodality and perceived with various senses. It often occurs at marked periods of time, cultic and festive. The occasion for all these sensations is the festival, the marked and exceptional time in contrast to the everyday. On the linguistic level, this can be emphasized by two terms, *heorte* and *thalia*, which can be used for both a secular and a sacred festival.[7] The festive practices are always performed in various media through music, song, words, dance and movement, visual embellishment and design, and olfactory elements, in the sacred realm also through sacrifices, prayers, hymns, and processions. Each Greek *polis* throughout the ages celebrated its own rich cycle of festivals throughout the year in its calendar. The annual *polis* festivals are particularly rich. For Lesbos, I will focus on the famous pan-island festival of Messon. For the multimodality of the sacred, I recall the well-known examples of the Attic festivals, the Eleusinian mysteries with their revelation through words, deeds, and visual signs, *ta legomena*, *ta dromena*, and *ta deiknumena*. The sacred procession leading from Athens to Eleusis is another highly festive occasion with people dressing up in their best clothes, singing, laughing, mocking, praising the gods etc. Last but not least, I

3 Burkert (1985) 269–270.

4 Burkert (1985) 269; see Parker (1983) 147–151; Bremmer (1998) 28–30. On the term *hosios*, see also Peels (2015).

5 Burkert (1985) 271.

6 Burkert (1985) 271.

7 See ἐόρτα in Sappho fr. 9.4 Neri and Bierl (ἐόρταν); θαλία in Sappho fr. 2.15 (θαλίαισι) and fr. 58a.6 Bierl (58b.6 Neri); conjectures in fr. 44.28 (Edmonds) and fr. 168D(1).10 Neri.

mention the Great Dionysia in Athens with its festive procession and the performance of dithyrambs on the first day followed by four days of theatrical performances, comedy, tragedy plus satyr play, aimed at the different senses of the spectators.[8] In the polytheistic system specific gods that dwell in the sacred realm are the most important feature of the sacred. Divinities tend to manifest themselves in the aesthetic structure of the texture of performances and songs, embedded occasionally even in epiphanies and occasionally framed in festivals. For example, the sacred linked to Aphrodite or Demeter will be much different from one of Dionysus, Zeus, or Apollo. The gods are associated with particular rituals and myths, with practices and associated stories, doings, and sayings. Myths as traditional narratives with secondary application interact with rituals, programs of action.[9] Myths can aetiologically motivate rituals, but can also put them into question and undermine them. Going beyond the limited and often discussed questions of the performance venue, especially the symposion and common festivals, I am most interested in how the sacred, linked to specific gods, rituals, and myths, tends to be inscribed directly into the aesthetic texture of particular songs. This can apply to matters of form, the make-up of the performance and transmitted text, and content.

Thus, I will speak about the poetics of particular songs, their link to festivity, specific festivals, and the sacred in general, and to multimodal reflections of, for example, *panegyris* (a festive assembly), *pompe* (procession), *agon* (contest), *komos* (revel), *thysia* (sacrifice), *dais* (banquet), and *theoria* (embassy) affecting the acoustic, visual, kinetic, and even olfactory senses.[10] The concept of sacrifice can directly enter into the structure and words of a song. Poetry and songs are often associated with the concept of a sacrificial offering or libation given to the gods. Supplication, purifications, blessing and blaming, processions, prayers, hymns, oaths, laments, and funeral and wedding rites can partially fuse and prearrange the structure and words of songs. The overlaps and combinations can create a whole gamut of possibilities from the reflection of actual rituals to creative, multifarious, and innovative new aesthetic forms. The sacred is, moreover, marked through typical objects that can also assume a symbolic meaning, creating an aesthetic atmosphere. Myth and ritual are associated with metaphors that are features of elevated and artful textual production as well. Metaphors work as *movers* and *shifters*, transferring some-

8 On the Greek festival and its multimodality, see Bierl (2011a).

9 See Burkert (1979a) 23.

10 On the festive poetics, see Bierl (2011a), esp. 127–133 and Bierl (2014a).

thing from one realm to another.[11] They can turn normal speech into poetic performance.[12] Moreover, a metaphor can generate ritual or myth, by setting other metaphors in motion that are activated through similarity and contiguity.[13] Both rituals and myths attempt to control the external world through symbols, often through objects and food. Mythic and ritual scenarios can generate lyric condensation, mimetic performances, and extensive epic narration. Poetry is similar to ritual and myth through (1) its marked speech, (2) its repetition, (3) through a highlighted and staged elaborateness, expressive form, self-reference, and symbolic meaning. On the level of form, we encounter repetitions, magic speech, play, further figures of speech, variations, and rhyme.[14]

A significant reservoir is the cycle of life (birth, marriage, death) and the staging of rites of passage as social drama. The transition from maidenhood to the status of an adult woman in marriage plays an important role in the Greek performative culture.[15] In poetic transformations we often encounter objects, motifs, and themes that are characteristic of this process. Aestheticism is conveyed through the sacred and divine in the form of light, gold, and radiance. *Choreia*, the multimedial and multimodal performance of song and dance, is the festive, sacred, and ritual medium in the purest manner.[16] But monodic lyric song can take up the motifs as well, indirectly or notionally incorporating the concepts of *choreia*.[17] As said, all phenomena find expression in the aesthetics and poetics of the textual make-up, that is the texture of songs, and can be seen as framing phenomena.[18] The sacred can thus be not only a meta-communicative frame, reflecting the occasion, but the framing tends to inscribe itself in the script as well, using and negotiating certain signs, objects, etc. in new aesthetic performance products, engaging in a dynamic dialogue with the framing by illuminating, discussing, and undermining it.[19] Song can then soon separate itself from the sacred occasion (for example Sappho's performance at the pan-Lesbian festival at Messon) and use the aesthetic repertoire as fictional and poetic ingredients.

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11 In Alexiou's (2002, 318) words: 'Metaphor shapes ritual (conventional action), just as ritual gives body to metaphor.' See in general Alexiou (2002) 317–410.

12 Alexiou (2002), esp. 317–319.

13 See Fernandez (1977), (1986), (1991).

14 See Braungart (1996), esp. 139–254.

15 See Bierl (2007) 23–25.

16 See Burkert (1985) 102.

17 See Bierl (2016a); Weiss (2018) 23–36; Power (2019).

18 On aesthetics, see Peponi (2012); see also Bierl (2011a), (2014a).

19 See Bierl (2011a).

2 The Sacred in the Archaic Lyric of Sappho: Love, Female Choruses, and Aesthetics

Through the examples of a select number of Sapphic songs, I would like to show how Sappho deploys the sacred for her own poetry. It is well known that the maidens of the Sapphic circle experience beauty in choric *paideia*, while going through a rite of passage to adulthood. Music, rhythm, dance, and song lead to an intense reception and internalization of this aesthetic value. In these songs Sappho makes use of mythic and ritual discourses and means. The aesthetic experience is intensified through amorous relations among the girls and between Sappho and the members of the group.[20] Anastasia-Erasmia Peponi has aptly shown how Eros can be implied in an aesthetic process and how poetry in particular can have an erotic function in conveying pleasure and attraction.[21]

Last but not least, religious sensation and the closeness to Aphrodite help transform the intense corporeal and cognitive practices performed in multimodality into a totalizing aesthetic experience making the goddess and love present. In synaesthesia as well as through erotic attraction and desire Sappho creates consciousness about *to kallos* with an almost proto-philosophical depth.[22] Words, thoughts, micro-myths, and narrations go together with sensorial impressions, visual objects, cosmetics, haptic contacts, scents, sounds, music, and dance in a dreamlike nature of mutual love and sacred atmosphere.

3 The Sacred Space as a Symbol of Beauty in Song: Sappho fr. 2

A very good example is fr. 2 V.:[23]

> Come to me from Krete to this holy temple,
> here to your sweet apple grove,

20 On choral *paideia*, see Calame (2001) 221–244 and Bierl (2009) 2, 21–22, 68, 251.

21 Peponi (2012) 95–153.

22 See duBois (1995) 77–97, 98–126, esp. 101, 105–115.

23 On Sappho fr. 2: Norsa (1937); Theander (1937); Turyn (1942); Page (1955) 34–44; Matthiessen (1957); McEvilley (1972); Burnett (1983) 259–276; Lasserre (1989) 182–186; Tzamali (1996) 92–118; Aloni (1997) L–LII; Tsomis (2001) 57–60; Furley and Bremer (2001) 2.113–115; Yatromanolakis (2004) 63–67; Yatromanolakis (2007) 344–347; Heikkilä (2007); Tsantsanoglou (2008); Caciagli (2011) 137–148; Ferrari (2010) 151–155; Ferrari (2011); Ladianou (2016) 350–352; Bowie (2016) 154–155; Benelli (2017) 374–384; Neri and Cinti (2017) 283–286; D'Alessio (2018) 36–38; Bierl (2019); Bierl (2021) 237–239; Neri (2021) 546–551.

altars smoking with
frankincense.

Cold water ripples through apple branches,
the whole place shadowed in roses,
from the murmuring leaves
deep sleep descends.

Where horses graze, the meadow blooms
spring flowers, the winds
breathe softly …
*

Here, Aphrodite, after gathering …
pour into golden cups nectar
lavishly mingled
with joys.

trans. RAYOR [2023]

Cypris-Aphrodite is summoned to come into the *deury*, the here, to become present for Sappho or the group in an epiphany. Nature and the sacred complement each other in the creative adaptation of the hymnic form, and their symbols are set in metaphoric motion. But the evocation of a temple or grove (1) and other sacred signals do not make the song a pure cult hymn for a specific cultic occasion. With other critics, I would like to emphasize the song's intermediary status that links the purely cultic with other discourses.[24] Therefore, I would like to stress its imaginary, poetic, and symbolic character.[25] In this sense we can see how Sappho fuses poetry, performance, and religion. Following Anne Pippin Burnett, I would like to underline the symbolic level of eroticism in the context of the aesthetic education of the maidens on the brink of marriage.[26] The pointillist series of elements[27] evoking a scenery of sensu-

24 See Yatromanolakis (2004) 63–67. See also Bowie (2016) 154–155 and D'Alessio (2018) 36–38.

25 See McEvilley (1972) 331–333; Burnett (1983) 265–276; on the symbolic dimension from a pragmatic point of view, see also Caciagli (2011) 143–146.

26 Burnett (1983) 265–276. See also Winkler (1996) 107–108.

27 Pointillism, a style in painting flourishing between 1886 and 1910, is a technique in which numerous distinct dots of color are applied so that from a distance they blend together into an integral image. I apply it to this song, as numerous small symbols and impressions like dots form an integral erotic poem in synaesthesia.

ous opulence and effervescence in the idyllic landscape of a *locus amoenus* set metaphorical meaning in motion, whose erotic symbolism can be read in a diachronic cultural continuum over the centuries from archaic to imperial, Byzantine, and modern Greek mythopoeic texts.[28] Moreover, I would like to focus on the metapoetic dimension of the song. In the hymnic, and thus probably chorally performed address to Aphrodite to appear,[29] to make the goddess of love present, so to speak, the discourses of religion, female erotics, the concrete *Sitz im Leben*, the context of *paideia* in the Sapphic circle, and the medium, the aesthetics of the song, fuse in the flow of poetry and eroticism. Aphrodite is called to appear in her own territory where she is already and has always been present. In order to make Aphrodite manifest in a detailed synaesthesia, the second part of a traditional hymn, the *pars epica* or *hypomnesis*, is transformed into a series of erotically charged symbols that make the epiphany happen. The third part too, the prayer to appear, can be changed to a new form, since the goddess is already present.[30] Therefore, Aphrodite is called to pour out her sacred liquid nectar, which stands for song itself, and to make herself present in song and love as an aesthetic experience, and not as a cult figure.

According to the pragmatic approach, δεῦρυ (1) defines the here and now as *deixis ad oculos*, but as *deixis am Phantasma* it could, of course, designate also an imaginary landscape of a symbolic *locus amoenus* stylized to a mythic garden of nymphs.[31] The district is ἄγνον, implying the inviolate boundary of a 'field of forces' or 'a protective cloak which no indignity can penetrate', thus an inner psychic attitude, especially of virgins, against sexuality, blood, and death.[32] Ἄγος, the defiled, the taboo to be driven out, is the opposite of ἄγνον. It is an important paradox that the locale of chastity and purity can symbolize the abundance of sexuality and the trance status of κῶμα.[33] If the song was

28 See Alexiou (2002): among others, grove in the sense of ἔναυλος (in line 1), 234–235; apple and apple tree, 209, 217, 233–236, 244, 252, 261, 373–375, 399–400, 474–475 n. 76, 500 n. 45; rose, 123–124, 223, 475 n. 76; garden of love and restoration, 117, 123–125, 222–223, 360, 374–377, 381, 404; tree of love and life, 399–404; bough, 417–418; shade, 261, 327, 345, 402–404; sleep, 343, 368–369, 376–377; water, 321–322, 345, 385; cold, murmuring water, 160, 236, 258, 260–261, 380; spring, 419–420, 449–450; flowers, 345.

29 See Lardinois (1996) 152, 165.

30 On the transformation of hymnic elements, see Burnett (1983) 261–262 and Burzacchini (2005) 18–25.

31 See Merkelbach (1957) 25–29; Tsantsanoglou (2008) 51.

32 See Burkert (1985) 78, 271.

33 See Heikkilä (2007) 45–46; simultaneously, the apple stands both for purity and sexuality; another paradox is the pouring of wine that is only metaphorically (16) named; it is usually prohibited for girls to drink wine; this is one of the reasons why the song asks for nectar (15).

indeed sung by young women, they sing about their sexual maturity in view of the imaginary garden without having made the step from maiden to adult woman in real life. In a poetic imagination they anticipate their sexual fruition, becoming even more charming and beautiful. Simultaneously they frame their anticipated blossoming with a sacred district and cultic language that both guarantee their purity and make them sensually attractive.[34]

In the sacred space, there is a grove, whose attribute is χάριεν, that is emanating *charis*, charm and pleasure, and aiming at reciprocity and including Cypris in the event.[35] If the locale is really a temple (ναῦον, 1),[36] it is usually surrounded by a small woodland, a pasture for animals and a space for the celebrants. The trees provide shade; in this fragment we encounter apple-trees.[37] In the natural sacred space, there are altars smoking with incense (cf. Homer *Odyssey* 8.363; *Homeric Hymn* 4.59) that stimulates the olfactory senses. Cold water babbles through the apple-branches. The apple is the special ingredient in the garden of nymphs, who as divine beings represent the emblematically young brides on the brink of being married.[38] The apple serves as the symbol for love par excellence. Lovers throw apples to their beloveds.[39] The apple symbolizes virginity and its loss, especially the ripening girl to be plucked in her beaming beauty (Sappho fr. 105A), a metaphor for the critical rite of passage.[40] The place is shadowed by roses,[41] like the apple another symbol of love producing an enchanting scent. The 'field of forces' is thus made up by roses and apples that

34 On tranquility and aesthetics, see Peponi (2012) 14–32.

35 On reciprocity and *charis*, see MacLachlan (1993), esp. 3–12; Bierl (2009) 116–125, esp. 118 n. 92 with further literature.

36 Other critics (e.g. Pfeiffer [1937] and Yatromanolakis [2004] 66) reconstruct ἔναυλον ('grove'). This word would designate a natural dwelling of the nymphs; see Hes. *Theog*. 129–130. On the question of temple or grove, see now Budelmann (2018a).

37 See Burkert (1985) 85–86.

38 See Larson (1997); Bierl (2009) 112 with n. 73.

39 On *melobolia*, see Nagy (2013) 138; see also Sappho fr. 214A Campbell; in Theoc. *Id*. 5.88 Clearista throws apples after a shepherd whom she likes; *melobolein* is a proverbial expression for mutual love; see schol. Ar. *Nub*. 993. On the symbol of apples, see also Littlewood (1968), esp. on the erotic, 149–159; Dasen (2016) 77–80; on the apple in Sappho fr. 2, see Burnett (1983) 267–273; Caciagli (2011) 143–144; Winkler (1996) 104 regards the apple as a metaphor for the clitoris; according to him, fr. 2 describes 'ceremonies, to infuse the celebrants' participation with memories of lesbian sexuality' (108).

40 According to Himer. *Or*. 9.16 (Sappho fr. 105B) Sappho compared the maiden with an apple, the groom with Achilles.

41 On roses as a symbol that underlines that someone belongs to the circle and Aphrodite, see Sappho fr. 94.13 and 96.13, and Caciagli (2011) 215–216; in connection with music, see Sappho fr. 55.2; as a symbol of love, see Géczi (2006); on the rose in the meadow, focusing the maiden in the passage to adulthood, see *Hom. Hymn* 2.427.

lure Aphrodite hither, to herself. Since she is already present in this stylized garden of Aphrodite (cf. *Homeric Hymn* 2.58–66; Ibycus fr. 286 *PMGF*), a space full of her symbols, it is superfluous to call her. From the shimmering leaves the sleep of enchantment, *koma*, flows down and makes one drowsy.[42] It anticipates the symbolic death and the rebirth in the new status of marriage. As if in a state of flow the maidens experience a sense of fusion and union,[43] in their enchantment merging with the beautiful and sacred, actually with their divine source, Aphrodite herself. The girls are thus totally absorbed into the sacred place manifesting itself in synaesthesia. They are part of the *locus amoenus*, beauty itself, and its multimedia sensory power.

Being in the midst of the musical, natural, and sacred whole they are at the same time reflected in all different aspects.[44] There is a meadow, symbolizing again the young maidens or their sex,[45] where horses graze—the horses being again symbols of young girls on the edge of adulthood or of women craving for sex, even *hetairai*.[46] It blossoms with spring flowers and the winds blow gently. Nature and all senses fuse into the beautiful female body, symbol of Aphrodite. The sensuous 'field of forces' includes the young maidens and their inviolate bodies as well as Aphrodite herself, their ideal choral-leader, the divine source of the magic and enchantment. Cypris is finally called 'to pour into golden cups nectar that is delicately mingled with festivities' (ἔνθα δὴ σὺ … . ἔλοισα Κύπρι / χρυσίαισιν ἐν κυλίκεσσιν ἄβρως / ὀμμεμείχμενον θαλίαισι νέκταρ / οἰνοχόαισον, 13–16). Synaesthetically the male symposion with its characteristic drinking of

42 The secondary tradition by Hermog. *Id*. 2.4 has καταρρεῖ accepted by Furley and Bremer (2001) 2.114–115; however, this is not Aeolian; the correct form would be καρρέει, but this does not scan; see Benelli (2017) 378–381; perhaps the prefix was not assimilated so that we need to read κατάρρει; or we must reconstruct κάτω ῥέει (with synizesis) or a form with another prefix, e.g. διάρρει or ἀπύρρει. Of all suggested emendations, κατάγρει, 'grasps' seems to be most suitable.

43 See Peponi (2012) 70–94.

44 See Peponi (2012) 88–94.

45 Hipponax fr. 6 West; Eur. *Cyc*. 171; Henderson (1991) 20, 136; however, the eroticized meadow belongs rather to the maiden on the brink of the transformation to adulthood, whereas the garden of Aphrodite symbolizes the bride in full maturity; see Calame (1999) 153–164.

46 Beautiful maidens are compared with expensive horses (e.g. Alcm. fr. 1.46–59 *PMGF*), but in other instances with unyoked foals: see Anac. 417 *PMGF*; Eur. *Hipp*. 546, *Hec*. 142, *Hel*. 543; Ar. *Lys*. 1307; on the foal as metaphor for the maiden in the puberty-initiation, see Calame (2001) 195, 238–244. According to Gregory of Corinth (in Hermog. *Meth*. [*Rhet. Gr*. VII 1236. 10–15 Walz] Sappho (see fr. 156 Neri) said that a girl or a bride is prouder than a horse and more delicate than roses. According to fr. 194A Sappho compares the grooms with prize-winning stallions, the maidens with the elegance of roses.

wine is merged with a female ritual and the divine nectar.[47] The goddess is called to become present granting them a share of beauty, the divine power. Nectar stands for the divine substance,[48] the song itself, the musical quality,[49] and the sexual charm. The mixing symbolizes again the atmosphere of total fusion. Flux, the transfer from the goddess to the girls, happens in flow, in the heightened sensation of union with their divine model and in the synaesthetic enchantment of love and lust. The golden cups, *kylikes* (14), function both as metaphors for the female sex and receptacles where fluids and songs are mixed. Aphrodisian love, the Sapphic song, and the *choreia* of the female group are understood as a sacrifice or at least a gift to the gods, which, in accordance with the *charis*-relation, will again have repercussions for the chorus.[50] In terms of media and communication, sender and recipient interact in the sacred space. *Koma* emblematizes as concrete corporeal symbol the state of poetic enchantment and the enthralling effect of the song on the recipients.

It has become clear that in the song several concepts and ideas such as song, *hymnos kletikos*, cult, love, sex, landscape, sacred space, banquet, and festivity merge. The participle ὀμμεμείχμενον (15) marks and reflects this fusion on the linguistic level.[51] In a pointillist manner, the short impressions are mentioned in a series of catchwords and very short semantic units: grove, apple-trees, altars, incense, water, soundscape, shade, roses, enchanting trance, meadow, flowers, breeze. The poem is not romantic, like modern lyric about nature, but depicts a space defined by symbols that are set in motion. The fusion of word, music, and rhythm that the song produces as well as the themes expressed in the song create through a metonymic process a feeling of intensity. Everything in the fluid sequence is tailored to Aphrodite's flow of forces. The ring structure mirrors the totalizing sensation of fusion and flux. The poetical and

47 According to Yatromanolakis (2004) 65 and (2007) 346 and Bowie (2016) 154–155, the scene has a convivial dimension. Nectar was also used to restore almost-dead warriors (Achilles in *Il.* 19.352–353) and to preserve the dead from decay in epic poetry (*Il.* 19.379); see Burnett (1983) 273 n. 120.

48 On nectar in Orphic mystery belief, see *OF* 221.2 Bernabé; see also Lanata (1966) 69–70; Turyn (1942).

49 E.g. Pindar (νέκταρ χυτόν, Μοισᾶν δόσιν, *Ol.* 7.7). See Theander (1937) 466 n. 3; Nünlist (1998) 197; Ferrari (2010) 155 (he believes that not Aphrodite, but Sappho pours out the nectar); on pouring out song, see Bierl (2009) 303–305 and Nünlist (1998) 180–185; on flowing, 192; on mixing, 200–203, and on song in association with flowers, 206–209.

50 On *choreia*, performance, and poetry as sacrifice, see, among others, Svenbro (1984); Calame (2011b); Petrovic (2012), esp. 155–169 and Sfyroeras, this volume.

51 See Sappho's fr. 44 that also speaks about the musical production, where Sappho—twice in the final position of the line (frs. 44.24 and 30)—underlines the mixing (ὀνεμίγνυτο and ὀνεμείχνυτο) and fusion of all senses in synaesthesia during *choreia*. See below par. 5.

aesthetic form in sequence, repetition, rhythm, circular structure culminating in self-reference conveys a sense of unity and meditative focalization. The audience experiences sensuous impressions, briefly emitted symbols that are set in motion and must be arranged into a message and meaning. The short bites of information dissolve, losing their contours and merging with each other. Finally, rhythmic sound, music, and sense-perception come to the fore; the song is about the recognition of patterns and symbols set in motion; in short, *choreia* in performance or, if the song was delivered as a monody, *choreia* in imagination.[52] Through the interplay of variation, the concurrence of paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations, as well as the dynamic incorporation of metaphorical and metonymic dimensions in redundancy and repetition, sense starts emerging. The girls, perhaps the performers, or at least the addressees, of this highly sensual song develop a sensation of being integrated into a sacred whole, into the cosmic order of love.

4 A Series of Intimate Conversations with Aphrodite: Sappho fr. 1

A different, very intimate use of the sacred can be found in fr. 1. Here, Sappho transforms the *hymnos kletikos* into a direct encounter with the central goddess of her circle and poetry. By staging a personal, divine epiphany Sappho turns an otherwise undefined, almost neutral and domestic setting into a sacred space. Sappho changes the awe-inspiring almightiness into a poetics of the tiny, artful, and delicate. Aphrodite is envisioned as Sappho's source of inspiration. Through a poetic trick and mimetic techniques Sappho as singer in performance turns into her divine model. The direct exchange with her poetic model in directly re-enacting the goddess by citing her divine voice makes Sappho notionally become Aphrodite herself. The sacred as 'field of forces' becomes again the scenario for the poetic fusion of roles. Sappho sings about an endless chain of very personal visits that culminate in her latest, very intimate meeting with Aphrodite, when the goddess becomes her real ally, savior, or alter ego, providing Sappho with erotic charm, poetic success, and creativity, and the poem with its performative essence. The song is deeply ingrained with an erotic aesthetics of the sacred. The setting and the atmosphere are both sacred and sensual, as are the form, a hymn to address the gods, and the content, as Sappho stages a dialogue with the goddess of love about love.

52 See Tambiah (1985) 164–166.

Sappho uses again the traditional tripartite structure of the *hymnos kletikos* and appropriates it for her own needs.[53] The first address to capture the attention has very specific tones that have to do with Sappho's own poetry, especially with this poem that plays a performative trick on the audience and goes beyond the traditional form of the genre. She addresses Aphrodite as immortal goddess 'with varied embroidered cloth', or 'who has varied embroidered flowers on her mantle' (ποικιλόθρον', 1),[54] 'immortal' (ἀθανάτ', 1), 'child of Zeus' (παῖ Δίος, 2), 'weaver of wiles' (δολόπλοκε, 2). As a weaver, she invents frauds, deceits, and tricks, but weaving is also a feature of the artful poet who devises clever strategies to go beyond formal and generic conventions.[55] Fully in love, the poetic 'I' prays to the goddess (the "You", λίσσομαί σε, 2) not to devastate and subdue her heart, not to overpower her spirit (θῦμον, 4) with pain or sorrow, with feelings of nausea, weariness, satiation as well as discomfort, distress, and anguish (μή μ' ἄσαισι μηδ' ὀνίαισι δάμνα, 3), but to 'come hither' (τυίδ' ἔλθ', 5) and help. The emphasis on despair and subjugation—therefore Aphrodite is called 'mistress' (πότνια, 4)—is particularly strong.

In poetry, as in real life, people usually seek relief from troubles caused by external forces by invoking a god to appear and bring help against these negative powers. Yet, in this case, it is Aphrodite who is called upon, although she is also the one who causes the pain. It sounds ironic that the originator, the goddess responsible for the distress, is summoned to come to the rescue, not someone else. To solve this inherent paradox, we could only imagine the goddess stopping her negative influence and changing into a benign force. However, to our surprise, we hear much later, in the sixth strophe (21–24), that in this case of possibly unreciprocated love she will cause a radical reversal of the situation. Love will not cease, but the erotic hierarchy will be reversed, so that the beloved girl will be the one to suffer in the future. In the *hypomnesis* or *pars epica*, Sappho does not talk about a single past instance of Aphrodite's

53 See Burnett (1983) 247–248; Ritoók (1995); Furley and Bremer (2001) 1.50–63; Schlesier (2011) 417–419. On Sappho fr. 1: among others, Schadewaldt (1950) 85–91; Page (1955) 3–18; Bowra (1961) 198–205; Krischer (1968); Privitera (1974) 27–83; Svenbro (1975); Burnett (1983) 243–259; Rissman (1983) 1–29; Lasserre (1989) 201–214; Ritoók (1995); Tzamali (1996) 36–90; Nagy (1996a) 87–103; Stehle (1997) 296–299; Thomas (1999) 3–10; Hutchinson (2001) 149–160; Tsomis (2001) 38–44; Schlesier (2011); Nagy (2013) 122–129; Neri and Cinti (2017) 281–283 and Neri (2021) 535–546. This part was expanded on Bierl (2018b) 925–943, on which it draws now. See also Bierl (2021) 233–237.

54 On this meaning derived from *throna* ('embroidered flowers') against the usual translation derived from *thronos* ('seat', 'throne'), see Lasserre (1989) 205–214; Scheid and Svenbro (1996) 53–82; Nagy (1996a) 101 with n. 40. See also Chernysheva (2017).

55 On weaving and poetry, see (Nagy 1996a) 64–65.

appearance that could motivate her intervention also this time, but reports that Aphrodite had already appeared many times. Aphrodite is reminded that she had heard (ἔκλυες, 7) time and again Sappho's voice (τὰς ἔμας αὔδας ἀίοισα, 6), that is, her poetry in performance, urging her to come from afar (πήλοι, 6). She had left Olympus, the house of her father, and harnessed her chariot to come (ἦλθες, 8) over and over again. Beautiful and swift sparrows (κάλοι δέ … ὤκεες στροῦθοι, 9–10) swirling fast-beating wings (πύκνα δίννεντες πτέρ', 11), brought her (σ' ἆγον, 9) above the earth from heaven through mid-air (ἀπ' ὠράνω αἴθε- / ρος διὰ μέσσω, 11–12). Straightaway the birds arrived (αἶψα δ' ἐξίκοντο, 13).

Repeatedly in the past, the goddess had suddenly stood in front of her female singer, her alter ego. Time and again (δηῦτε, 15, 16, 18) Aphrodite, the holy and blessed 'you', had smiled and asked what the matter was this time, why Sappho called on her and what it was that she wished for in her maddened heart (14–18). Sappho speaks about the lovelorn *mania* that sickens the heart (μαινόλαι θύμωι, 18) and craves relieve. This erotic frenzy dangerously aligns the poetic 'I' with a maenad in the sphere of Dionysus.[56] At this point, the narrative abruptly shifts in line 18b into direct speech not framed by introductory and concluding formulas (18b–24); the 'I' and the 'you' switch places so that in her song Sappho takes on Aphrodite's persona. Through dramatic mimesis Sappho re-enacts the goddess, assuming Aphrodite's own voice and uttering her own words: 'Whom am I to persuade this time to lead you back to her love?' (τίνα δηῦτε πείθω / … σάγην ἐς σὰν φιλότατα; 18–19). Then the goddess, impersonated by Sappho, who is now playing both roles, asks her: 'Who wrongs you, Sappho?' (τίς σ', ὦ / Ψάπφ', ἀδίκησι; 19–20). Sappho, whose name means 'little sister', according to Gregory Nagy,[57] becomes a very personal partner of the almighty goddess.

While Sappho had called Aphrodite a tricking goddess (2), Aphrodite addresses her in intimate tones. But the main trickery of the poem consists in Sappho's sophisticated use of narration qua mimesis. Closely following her model, Sappho becomes a poetic 'weaver of wiles' (2). The magical lines of the sixth strophe[58]—'if she runs away, soon she shall pursue …' (21–24)—reverse all wrongdoing as well as the hierarchical role of lover and beloved. It culminates in the sentence that 'if she does not love, soon she shall love even against her will' (trans. Campbell [1982]) (αἰ δὲ μὴ φίλει, ταχέως φιλήσει / κωὐκ ἐθέλοισα, 24). In performing the enchanting lines composed by 'Sappho the sorceress',[59] but put in the mouth of Aphrodite, Sappho, suffering from love, gets respite

56 See Nagy (2007a) 256–258.
57 Nagy (2016a) 489–492.
58 See Petropoulos (1993).
59 See Petropoulos (1993).

from it. Emotional devastation cedes to both self-confidence and strength. Love involves a power struggle, almost a fight for life—just as in the Trojan war for the Homeric heroes. Someone does an injustice (ἀδίκησι, 20), but things may be repaired and vengeance plotted. The girl who now refuses to love her will be desperately in love with her,[60] and she will not be loved in return at first. Only in the end will love perhaps become a mutual affection between two more or less equal female lovers.

By telling a story that happens time and again and mimetically playing the part of Aphrodite, Sappho becomes equal to the goddess and gains relief through her own enchanting words. Divine speech possesses great power and authority. In this case, the words are invented and performed by Sappho, herself a woman of craftiness, artfulness, and poetic stratagems. The trick she devises to overcome her own pain consists in projecting herself into her sacred idol. The relationship assumes a very personal note as Sappho designs her own, very personal image of Aphrodite. While epiphanies often tend to be deadly, threatening, and frightful, Sappho molds the repeated direct encounters with Aphrodite into highly personalized and artful scenes endowed with a miniature-like quality. Whereas in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* the goddess as a superhuman, towering divine figure reaches the roof of the house in her famous epiphany in front of Anchises (*Homeric Hymn* 5.170–175), in this Sapphic song, although Aphrodite arrives in a chariot with an immortal smile on her face, she is reduced to almost human scale when she repeatedly manifests herself. The chariot (9) is drawn not by mighty horses, but, surprisingly, by sparrows (10).[61] The goddess sitting on such a chariot is almost reduced to her voice. Her figure is pure magic, suggesting a refined aesthetics of delicacy, *abrosyna*.[62] While the *pars epica* usually relates a previous incident of help to incite the god to come again, in this case it innovatively adjusts the pattern to a chain of precedents to the present situation: a series of innumerable intimate conversations, reported utterances of the goddess invented and enacted by Sappho. Thus, the mimetic report about numerous instances of performed dialogues that promised reversal and relief becomes a self-assuring monologue. By speaking in Aphrodite's voice, Sappho impersonates this sophisticated female figure, while the goddess in her theatrical role performs her words in direct speech. In

60 Not necessarily, according to Calame (1999) 23–27, who speaks about 'an essential asymmetry'.

61 See Erbse (1997); Hutchinson (2001) 153–154.

62 See Sappho fr. 58.23–26; on ἄβρος, see Sappho fr. 2.14 (Aphrodite), fr. 128 (Charites), fr. 44.7 (Andromache as bride), fr. 140.1 (Adonis), fr. 100 (cloth). See also Kurke (1992) 93–99; Ferrari (2010) 66–71; Ragusa and Rosenmeyer (2019).

reciting those magical lines, Sappho herself confidently assumes that she possesses this transcendental power as she appropriates the enchanting quality of the goddess.

After this rearranged *hypomnesis*, Sappho moves on to a more traditional third part, the genuine prayer or appeal to the goddess (25–28). Aphrodite should come also now to deliver her from her anxieties and fulfill all that her heart desires (ὄσσα δέ μοι τέλεσσαι / θῦμος ἰμέρρει, τέλεσον, 26–27). Finally, she prays that the goddess herself (αὔτα, 27) should become a *symmachos*, a fellow-fighter (28). This is a very strong and unusual expression of self-assertion. Sappho has gained confidence, she has the upper hand over her beloved girl. By singing and enacting she has brought about a change in the hierarchical constellation of love. As an ally, Aphrodite is set on an equal level, while Sappho now seems to be in the lead. She is the warrior while Aphrodite is the charioteer, just like Achilles, who is accompanied by his companion Patroclus.[63] Therefore, Cypris is described as arriving on a golden chariot (9–10). Love is war with different means; the lover–warrior metaphor is ubiquitous. Sappho uses this metaphorical overlap to compete with the Homeric tradition.[64] In *Iliad* 5, when Aphrodite actively intervenes in the Trojan war, she is rather weak and almost hilarious.[65] Wounded in the hand by Diomedes, she must retreat. Reshaping the Homeric Aphrodite, Sappho casts the goddess as a more efficient fighter in metaphorical terms. In the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, perhaps composed around the same time or shortly before Sappho's poems[66] (the myth probably circulated long before), the goddess stands entirely above the love affairs between men and gods before she too experiences passion, herself falling in love with Anchises. As the embodiment of love, she—as Sappho's ally—should therefore fight against herself. But we know that nobody, not even Aphrodite, can defeat the terrible pain of love when they fall prey to it. Obviously the battle does not aim at a total defeat but at a reversal of the emotional relation, and, perhaps, at reciprocal union. In order to reach this goal, it is vital to deploy *doloi*, frauds, and stratagems. Aphrodite is notorious for them. Sappho, as her alter ego, has found the right device to cope with a situation of crisis through poetry and rhetoric.[67]

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63 See Krischer (1992). The comparison is usually made with Diomedes, who is assisted by Athena as charioteer in *Iliad* 5. See e.g. Svenbro (1975); Rissman (1983) 9–11.

64 See Rissman (1983).

65 See Winkler (1996) 92–96.

66 On the relationship between Sappho's poetry and the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, see Janko (2017).

67 See Thomas (1999).

The multifarious variations on the passion of love make fr. 1 a very apt song for the beginning of a collection in which love is one of the common threads. Sappho and Aphrodite as a sacred pair of *symmachoi* find poetic strategies to deal with love and to communalize the feelings for the purpose of *paideia* in the Sapphic circle. The sacred as a 'field of forces' or energies becomes a place of traffic and change of power. In the sacred space, Sappho's 'house of those who serve the Muses' (fr. 150), or in the circle, she assumes the power of Aphrodite, almost becoming Aphrodite herself. Eros and the charm of aesthetics make the author turn into the recipient, the charmed interlocutor, who in the intimate dialogue with the goddess almost becomes the goddess herself. In fr. 2 the allies, Sappho and her goddess, will then make clear what the sacred field of symbolic forces means in erotic terms for Sappho's circle of maidens.

5 Festive Aesthetics about a Wedding of a God-like Couple in Holy Troy

In fr. 44, Sappho describes in a miniature-epic how the arrival of Andromache and Hector,[68] who left his home to bring the bride from her father Eetion, in light of the upcoming wedding in Troy becomes a holy, almost transcendental event. In the specific choric and festive poetics, the bride and groom are thus assimilated to gods. Whereas Iliadic warriors reach 'imperishable glory' (κλέος ἄφθιτον, 4) when they have fallen in battle, transcending the threshold of death,[69] according to the Sapphic strategy of aestheticized transfiguration, Andromache, the model for the maidens in the Sapphic circle, and Hector do the same at the very moment when they are about to marry.[70] Both the warriors

68 On Sappho fr. 44: Page (1955) 63–74; Rösler (1975); Burnett (1983) 219–223; Pallantza (2005) 79–88; Ferrari (2010) 128–133; Spelman (2017); Neri and Cinti (2017) 314–315; as a wedding song: Merkelbach (1957) 16–19; Fränkel (1969) 196–199; Rösler (1975); Aloni (1997) LXI–LXV, 80–83; Pallantza (2005) 79–88; Sampson (2016) with a reply by De Kreij (2020); Budelmann (2018a) 137–146; Bierl (2021) 272–275; Neri (2021) 635–644; for ominous readings—Hector will soon die—see Kakridis (1966) and Schrenk (1994).

69 On the use of *kleos aphthiton*, see Nagy (2013) 26–31. See esp. Achilles, contrasting his return home with his imminent heroic death in *Il.* 9.413, and Hector, imagining his future fame in *Il.* 7.91.

70 See Nagy (2013) 96–98. Rösler (1975) 279–280, following Merkelbach (1957) 16–19, argues that myth elevates reality; on the aesthetic circumstances, see Rösler (1975) 281–285; on audience reception and its fusion in fascination with the poet, see Peponi (2012) 70–94; Nagy (2013) 98 thinks: 'Song 44 of Sappho is an example of *epic as refracted in women's songmaking traditions*.' For more on female epics, see Nagy (1996b) 56–57; on meter, see Nagy (2016c).

at their transformation into heroes and the bridal pair on the brink of marriage are often compared to gods as they reach a status similar to a divine existence. Therefore, the poem conveys again a sacred atmosphere as it focuses on the rite of passage that is the *telos*, the ultimate goal, of the maidens. Andromache is thus the model for all aristocratic girls. Their *choragos* Sappho educates them so that they reach beauty through an all-encompassing and multimodal aesthetic training in *choreia*.

Through this *paideia* in all senses and media the maidens become marvelously attractive as brides for their future husbands. Sappho as quasi-divine leader of the choral group likes to resort to ritual and myth, in particular to occasions of festive wedding in mythic parallels. Since Lesbos is so close to the Troad and thus also an ally of Troy in the Trojan War, Andromache and Hector as well-known protagonists from the Homeric tradition become ideal figures upon whom Sappho can project poetic scenes of a first encounter of any bridal pair in the future that attains, so to speak, divine status.

In his mission to retrieve Andromache from his future father-in law Eetion, Hector and his companions escort Andromache from 'holy Thebes and from ever-flowing Placia' (Θήβας ἐξ ἰέρας Πλακίας τ' ἀ̣π̣' [ἀϊ]ν⟨ν⟩άω, 6) to her future household in Troy. The bride is ἄβρα (7), delicate and luxurious; *abrosyna*, all luxury coming from Lydia, where money had been recently invented, and Asia Minor, is the essential value of Sappho and the Cleonactids linked to *to kallos*, beauty.[71] Sappho thus highlights rich Troy and Thebes beneath Mt. Plakos in the foothills of Mt. Ida in Asia Minor, the nearby land just opposite Lesbos. And this is the reason why the poem focuses not on war but on wedding. Since Andromache is delicate, it is fitting that all sorts of delicate and luxurious objects are carried with her on the ship as a dowry: 'many golden bracelets (πόλλα δ' ἐλίγματα χρύσια) and perfumed purple robes (κἄμματα πορφύρα κατα-ῦ̣τμενα), ornate trinkets and countless silver drinking cups and ivory (ἀργύρα̣ τ' ἀνά̣ριθ̣μα ποτήρια κἀλέφαις)' (8–10). As we have learnt in fr. 2, objects of luxury are symbols and emblems of the exuberance and effervescence of the sacred atmosphere. The arrival is announced by the herald in Troy (1–3), envisioned as a festive place where the couple is expected, in direct speech (4–10). Now the people react in joy: old Priam leaps up (ἀνόρουσε, 11), the news spreads to his friends throughout 'the city of broad chorus-spaces' (κατὰ πτ̣όλιν εὐρύχο̣ρ̣ο̣ν, 12), anticipating the *choreia* to be celebrated. The male youth of Ilion yoke the mules to the carriages (13–14a), the whole crowd, παῖς ὄχλος (14), of women and maidens (γυναίκων τ' ἄμα παρθενίκαν τ.....σφύρων, 15) climb on board (14b–15).

71 See above n. 62.

Only the daughters of Priam remain apart (χῶρις, 16). Next to the female side the male population comes to the fore, the men (ἄνδρες, 17) and the ephebes (ἠίθεοι, 18) (17–20). At line 21 the focus is on the god-like couple, being ἴκελοι θέοις as the ritual formations meet. The space is again ἄγνον (22), just as in fr. 2 (discussed above), a field of forces forming a boundary against the impure. Both Hector and Andromache set out to enter Ilion (23).

It is all staged as a holy procession back and forth: (1) to Thebes in Placia, situated in the next bay around Mt. Ida near Adramyttium directly opposite Lesbos; (2) back to Troy in a ship convoy; then (3) a procession from the center of the city to meet them at the border (recalling Priam's arrival bringing Hector's body in *Iliad* 24);[72] finally (4) the different gender and age groups return again accompanying the couple entering Troy. At this moment the sacred space and atmosphere are emphasized through *choreia*, sacred music, words, and dance in festivity. The sounds of the flute, cithara, and castanets mingle in fusion. ὀνεμίγνυτο (24) indicates again the mix of sensations and media in a multimodal totalizing performance. It may mirror the *choreia* of the actual performance, despite the song's epic style; it also resonates with the atmosphere of the reception by an audience. Or, if the song was performed or reperformed as a monody, the intense choral self-references create the sensation of virtual chorality. In this way, the audience experience *choreia* in their minds, while they are listening to an epic poem in feminine cadences, which vividly conjures up a scene of a mythic wedding in its festive multimediality through both narrative and lyric words that are sung to a rhythm that is very close to Homeric meter.[73]

Maidens (πάρθενοι, 25) sing a holy song (μέλος ἄγνον, 26), a melody that fits the sacred space and atmosphere. Its sound of flow reverberates in a 'marvelous echo' (ἄχω θεσπεσία, 27). As it is 'divinely sounding' (θεσπεσία), it belongs already to the divine sphere and even reaches the sky (ἵκανε δ' ἐς αἰθερα, 26) so that the gods can have a share in this exemplary *choreia*. 'All over in the streets' (πάνται δ' ἦς κὰτ ὅδοις, 28) are κράτηρες, mixing-cups, and bowls (φίαλαι, 29). The olfactory dimension, myrrh, cassia, and frankincense (μύρρα καὶ κασία λίβανός τ', 30), is mingled again (ὀνεμείχνυτο, 30), taking up ὀνεμίγνυτο (24)—both

72 On the reference to *Iliad* 24, see Schrenk (1994) 146–148; see also Rösler (1975) 284; however, Rösler does not speak about the allusions to the final passage, Priam's procession-like arrival in Troy with the body of Hector (*Il.* 24.699–776), but only about the mules (*Il.* 24.266–274) referencing lines 13–15.

73 On fr. 44 as a choral song, see e.g. Fränkel (1969) 193, 196–198 (a chorus performing at a festive occasion, i.e. a wedding, and singing about it); as monody, see Lasserre (1989) 81–106 and Lardinois (1996) 158. On its epic and oral quality, see Nagy (2016c). In a similar vein of virtual chorality, see Weiss (2018) 215–216.

are in the final position of the line, emphasizing the multimodal and multimedia effect of festivity that involves all senses. The older women intone their *ololygmos* (ἐλέλυσδον, 31), their cry of joy, also the signal for the sacrifice, drowning out the critical moment when the animals are killed, while all men let forth the lovely high-pitched paean (ἐπήρατον ἴαχον ὄρθιον / πάον', 32–33).

The cry is identical with its god Apollo, the Archer, the 'shooter from afar, the god who plays well his lyre' ('Εκάβολον εὐλύραν, 33). He is called after the inarticulate cry 'paean'. Thus Paean/Paion-Apollo becomes, so to speak, the divine chorus leader summoned by the men to take over the hymn of the bridal pair through his specific and healing utterance of sound. In his acoustic dimension—the genre of the paean is the specific occasion of the performance—the god becomes present. While the women shout the *ololygmos*, the cry of joy, but also signaling the upcoming sacrifice,[74] the defloration on the first night—the bride becomes, so to speak, the holy sacrifice—men sing the paean, the song to overcome the crisis of the rite of passage, to heal and sanctify the state of marriage. All men thus praise Hector and Andromache as god-like (θεο⟨ε⟩ικέλοις, 34, taking up ἴκελοι θέοις, 21):[75] as they are about to marry, the song emphasizes in its final marked position (34) that they shift—just as in line 21—into the divine status, impersonating on the one hand Apollo, the god of the ephebes, and to some extent Ares and Zeus, on the other hand Aphrodite, and to some extent Hera.

By singing about this almost divine couple, Sappho anticipates the maidens' *telos* in marriage. Both the time in seclusion as well as the final goal of marriage are viewed as holy. Space and time become sacred. This is conveyed in multimodal *choreia* appealing to all senses. By singing or listening to songs of festivity about the wedding of a paradigmatic couple, the maidens can anticipate the totalizing *kallos*, becoming themselves more attractive. Sappho's ultimate medium to express the sacred nature of the life in the circle and in myth is music and dance. Through self-referentiality the actual or virtual ritual activity of choral song is mirrored and thus intensified, while its aesthetic effect of fusion can be conveyed to the audience.

74 See Deubner (1941), esp. 14; Burkert (1985) 74.

75 On the circular and recursive structure of fr. 44 that in ending with the report about the wedding leads back to its beginning, see Fränkel (1969) 197.

6 Alcaeus' Use of the Sacred in a Male, Convivial, Political, and Aggressive Context (frs. 129 and 130B)

Alcaeus, the male poet contemporary with Sappho, uses the sacred in a totally different way, that is, in a political and aggressive manner. He deploys the pan-Lesbian sanctuary of Zeus, Hera, and Dionysus at Messon,[76] a common sacred ground and perhaps also the setting of some of Sappho's songs, especially of fr. 1 (discussed above), addressing scenarios of alienation from and re-integration into the common civic body of the δᾶμος (Attic *demos*), that is, the entire city as well as the Lesbian and Panhellenic aristocracy.

Both poems revolve around negotiating power relations between agonistic groups and two opposing influential politicians and *hetairoi*, one inside the group, or the *polis*, the other outside. In fr. 129 Alcaeus, who due to his expulsion fiercely curses Pittacus, a former member of their common *hetaireia*, from a precinct situated at the margin. It is well known that after changing sides and loyalties Pittacus functions now as a new leader at the center of power inside the city.[77] In fr. 130B, on the other hand, the speaking 'I' projects himself again into the role of a person who lives in a sacred sanctuary at the border, leading a pure but wretched life, alienated and completely alone like a wolf until he notices a chorus of women dancing at the annual festival of the *Kallisteia*. This aesthetic experience of official ritual, I will argue, serves as a signal to return to the city.

7 Cursing the Political Rival in the Sacred Shrine and with the Energy of the Gods: Alcaeus fr. 129

In Alcaeus' fr. 129, the sacred precinct constitutes the scenario from which the singing person draws all the ritual power and energy to curse Pittacus. Alcaeus

76 See Robert (1960); Nagy (1993); (2007a); (2007b); Bowie (2007) 34; Caciagli (2010); Boedeker (2016); Caciagli (2019); other critics, e.g. Picard (1962), plead for Cape Phocas; see Furley and Bremer (2001) 1.173–174.

77 On fr. 129: Voigt (1971) 233–236; Liberman (1999) 1.61–62; Hutchinson (2001) 192–204; with further literature 192 n. 6; Furley and Bremer (2001) 1.171–176; 2.119–125; moreover: Page (1955) 161–169; Rösler (1980) 191–204; Burnett (1983) 157–163; Andrisano (1994); Kurke (1994); Bachvarova (2007); Catenacci (2007); Yatromanolakis (2008); Caciagli (2010); Edmunds (2012); Bierl (2016b) 19–23; Boterf (2018); D'Alessio (2018) 44; Romney (2018); Budelmann (2018a) 92–100.

deploys Dionysus *Omestes*,[78] the Raw-Eater and part of the triad,[79] as the center of violence as this god is linked with the cruelest forms of the Other, such as fantasies of human sacrifice, as well as the practices of *sparagmos* and *omophagia*. He serves as the embodied agent of the 'curse' (*ara*) that works according to the principle of *similia similibus* applied in curse tablets.[80] Therefore he merges with the Erinys (14), as Erinyes personify *ara* (10) and are often associated with the maenadic practice of the hunt, as we know from Aeschylus' *Eumenides* (500). Through his epithet *Omestas* (9), Dionysus, the quintessential dancer paradoxically bridging between the opposites outside and inside, animal and central god, alien/barbarian and native, is summoned to devour Pittacus, the greedy 'pot-belly' (φύσκων, 21), the grotesque devourer of the people and the city (23–24; cf. Alcaeus fr. 70.7).[81] The feet of the Erinys should overtake him who trampled oaths (23) with his feet (πόσιν, 22). Feet are a *pars pro toto* for and feature of the choral dance. The Erinys is envisaged as a dancer—like the choral group that pursues Orestes in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*[82]—attacking Pittacus, the grotesque dancer, who, being lame, has a strange gait, a typical sign of tyrants.[83]

Curses as speech-acts can do something with words, as they have a performative effect. They can metaphorically bind and kill the victim.[84] First of all the song focuses on the sacred space to which the speaking 'I' had to retreat. He emphasizes that the Lesbians, that is the entire people (*demos*) of the island, established a large τέμενος (2) for Hera, a temple, as ξῦνον (3), common to all

78 This subchapter is a condensed version of Bierl (2016b) 19–23, but with a different focus.

79 As *Omadios*, The Raw One, Dionysus also received human sacrifice (Porph. *Abst*. 2.55.3). Even Themistocles still allegedly sacrificed Persian captives before the battle of Salamis to Dionysus *Omestes* (Plut. *Them*. 13.2–5 = Phaenias fr. 25 Wehrli²). Plutarch refers to Phaenias of Eresos as his witness, who interestingly comes from Lesbos (fourth century BCE); see Henrichs (1981) 208–224. On the Raw-Eater, see esp. 219–222 and Henrichs (1978) 144 (mentioning also Alc. fr. 129). On two aetiologies of the name, see also *POxy*. fr. 1, col. II.17–30 with Porro (2004), 235–236: the common one derives the epithet from the *sparagmos* of the maenads (lines 27–30), the other one (lines 17–26) is attributed to Myrsilus; he reports that in the early period, during the times of the legendary founder Makar, a human sacrifice was performed to the god. The victim taken from the enemies was a person of royal descent.

80 See Versnel (2009) and Riess (2012) 164–234; on the rhetorical strategy of *similia similibus*, see Riess (2012) 186; for a comparison between ἀρά and *defixio*, see Riess (2012) 201–207.

81 See Lentini (2002) 5–6.

82 On the performative reading of the *hymnos desmios* in Aesch. *Eum*. 321–396, see Bierl (2009) 62–65.

83 See Vernant (1982).

84 We do, in John Austin's words (Austin [1975]), something with words, and they have an effect.

(1–4). By highlighting this sanctuary as the demarcated space at Messon, the territory in-between of pan-Lesbian status, belonging to the divine triad, the first-person speaker aligns himself with the entire population and marginalizes Pittacus from the in-group of Lesbos, 'othering' him as the enemy of the people and their common cultic system. In place of the *pars epica* we witness a detailed oath scene attended by Pittacus (14b–20).[85] Sacrificing an animal (τόμοντες, 15) they swore not to betray any member of the *hetaireia*. Moreover, they vowed to kill the opponents currently in power, obviously Myrsilus and his comrades, and deliver the people (δᾶμον, 20) from their suffering. Through this vivid recollection of the oath its breach becomes even more drastic. According to this logic Pittacus must die now, otherwise the *damos* will not regain freedom.[86]

Pittacus is being transplanted to the side of the barbarian and the animal, facing the threat of being hunted down, dismembered, and eaten. In killing the enemy Dionysus usually destroys a household to install community, civic harmony, and social cohesion. The native god Dionysus himself seems alien; in the same manner Alcaeus, a native aristocrat, feels alienated, marginalized, and isolated by Pittacus' propaganda. The god is thus summoned to destroy the tyrant and his house. Through this act *Luaios* or *Lusios* should release the *damos*, restoring cohesion and unity.[87]

8 The Exile in the Vicinity of the Sacred Shrine of Messon as Observer of Female Choruses: A Signal to Return to Civic Life

In the very difficult fr. 130B we seem to be still in the same sacred precinct at Messon.[88] The fragment says:

85 See Bachvarova (2007).

86 See ῥύεσθε (12) and ῥύεσθαι (20), with emphasis at the end of the strophe.

87 The social process is described according to Seaford (1994) in respect of fifth-century Attic tragedy. On Alc. fr. 129, see 259–260.

88 For critical literature on fr. 130B, see Page (1955) 197–209; Rösler (1980) 272–285; Burzacchini (1994); Andrisano (2001); Bowie (2007) 35–38; Edmunds (2012); Ferrari (2016); D'Alessio (2018) 44–45; Hutchinson (2018) 126, 129–130; Budelmann (2018a) 100–106; Ramer (2018)—specifically on wolf imagery, Romney (2019); Lentini (2023) 27–39. The interpretation of this unique song has turned out to be enormously difficult and comprises a whole gamut of biographical reconstructions or fictions. Taking the story at face value, it seems to be an expression of 'self-pity and resignation' (Page [1955] 208). More sophisticatedly, Burnett believes the song is a 'dramatic monologue' as a sort of self-ironical 'satire' of 'self-denigration' due to a 'collapse of will' and 'loss of pride' (Burnett [1983] 176–181, cit. 176, 179). In the very last chapter of his *Dichter and Gruppe* Rösler (1980) 272–285, even

ἀγνοισ..σβιότοισ..ις ὀ τάλαις ἔγω
ζώω μοῖραν ἔχων ἀγροϊωτίκαν
ἰμέρρων ἀγόρας ἄκουσαι
καρυ[ζο]μένας ὤγεσιλαΐδα
καὶ β[ό]λλας· τὰ πάτηρ καὶ πάτερος πάτηρ
κακγ[ε]γήρας᾽ ἔχοντες πεδὰ τωνδέων
τὼν [ἀ]λλαλοκάκων πολίταν
ἔγ[ω. ἀ]πὺ τούτων ἀπελήλαμαι
φεύγων ἐσχατίαισ᾽, ὡς δ᾽ Ὀνυμακλέης
ὠθά[ν]αος ἐοίκησα λυκαιχμίαις
φ[εύγων τ]ὸν [π]όλεμον· στάσιν γὰρ
πρὸς κρ.[....]. οὐκ ἄμεινον ὀννέλην·
.].[...].[...]. μακάρων ἐς τέμ[ε]νος θέων
ἐοι[.....]με[λ]αίνας ἐπίβαις χθόνος
χλι.[.].[.].[.]ν συνόδοισί μ᾽ αὔταις
οἴκημι κ[ά]κων ἔκτος ἔχων πόδας,
ὄππαι Λ[εσβί]αδες κριννόμεναι φύαν
πώλεντ᾽ ἐλκεσίπεπλοι, περὶ δὲ βρέμει
ἄχω θεσπεσία γυναίκων
ἴρα[ς ὀ]λολύγας ἐνιαυσίας
[ ].[΄].[.]. ἀπὺ πόλλων πότα δὴ θέοι
[ ].[΄]σκ...ν Ὀλύμπιοι·
[ ] [.....]
.να[ ]...μεν.

10 ἔνθα[δ᾽] οἷος Voigt: ὠθά[ν]αος Haslam coll. P.Oxy 3711 ἐοίκησα λυκαιχμίαις P.Oxy 3711 et Haslam, Liberman: ἐοίκησα λυκαιμίαις P.Oxy 2165 et Voigt: ἐοίκησ᾽ ἀλυκαιχμίαις Porro, Liberman

giving up his own conviction that archaic poetry is genuinely oral and Alcaeus is understandable exclusively in the *hetaireia*, interprets fr. 130B as a poetic epistle (esp. 276–277); it would serve to inform his comrades, from whom he is completely separated, about his current living conditions. Stehle (1997) 262–318, esp. 292–311, 323 believes that also Sappho, Alcaeus' contemporary in Lesbos, sent her poems in the form of letters to certain women in order to work on and overcome her erotic feelings of separation. Some critics, such as Fränkel (1969) 218 or Kirkwood (1974) 72, simply despaired of the inconsistent message. It was mostly connected with the biographical fact of exile as well—and many saw the link with fr. 129. The main difference consists in how critics regarded the role of the speaking 'I', passive and moderate or determined to strike back against Pittacus. Other scholars regarded the song as a new self-assertion of Alcaeus as a poet (Andrisano [2001] 59) or thought it even conveyed a 'promise for social integration' as the poet stylizes himself as cult-hero speaking from the sacred space, a realm of death, living on with his songs, even in Mytilene (Nagy [1993] 224 and [2007a] 214). On Messon, see above n. 76.

… I, poor wretch,
live a pure and sacred life, having the fate of a rustic,
yearning to hear the Assembly
being summoned, O Agesilaidas,

and the Council. From that (property) which my father
and father's father grew old possessing,
among these citizens who wrong one another,
from that I am driven away,

an exile on the very edge of things, and like the Athenian Onomakles
I have settled like a wolf-fighter
fleeing war, for it is not better to
take on stasis against the mightier ones

… to the precinct of the blessed gods …
… stepping on the black earth …
… me in the very gatherings …
I take abode, keeping my feet out of evil practices,

where women of Lesbos, being judged for beauty,
go back and forth in their trailing robes, and all around
rings out the divine echo-sound
of the women's holy shrill cry each year …

… from many toils when will the gods of Olympos rescue me? …
trans. after MILLER [1996]

The sacred space is obviously an ideal tool to think with. Alcaeus envisions himself as someone who lives a 'pure and sacred life' fitting to the precinct. It is my contention that Alcaeus stylizes himself as leading this pure (*agnos*) life in order to gain new Dionysiac energy to return. Like an ephebe in his initiation rite he moved to the *eschatiai* (9)—the word could be understood as an accusative of place in the plural (ἐσχατίαις) or as a dative plural (ἐσχατίαισ᾽)—an exile in the 'outmost region'. He has his dwellings thus at the border of the territory (χῶρα) of Mytilene, at the very edge and beyond the limits of her jurisdiction. After his segregation from the center of power Alcaeus envisages himself in the outback. He experiences a *rite de passage* and pictures himself notionally returning to the status which Victor Turner calls 'Betwixt and Between'.[89] In this scenario Alcaeus leads the life of an outlaw in the wilder-

89 Turner (1967) 93–111.

ness, in the vicinity of the common sanctuary, like a lonely wolf. As a wild man he lives here alone as a 'wolf-fighter' (λυκαιχμίαις as a nominative, if we take the χ *superscriptum* in *POxy*. 2165 into consideration, as reported also in *POxy*. 3711) or in the 'wolf-thickets' (λυκαιμίαις as a dative plural), wandering in this sacred space and treading on the dark ground, perhaps a sign of night and death.[90] The initiate must die to be reborn again and to return home. The *aition* of the precinct is the Lesbian return myth par excellence, when Agamemnon and Menelaus need help to return to Greece coming from Troy.[91] The lyric 'I' conjures up this place of extreme wilderness and lonely lupine existence drawing also from cultic reality in order to sketch a realm that is the complete opposite of the real, the political life in the *hetaireia*, in the city, where nothing is *agnos*, pure and sacred, but all is about willpower and the physical struggle for mere survival.

Due to the total loss of his usual life and his inherited status, he has a desire (ἰμέρρων, 3) for his former life, when he was involved in political activities as a leading citizen. He thus longs to hear the assembly of the *damos* in the marketplace and the *boule* being summoned (3–5). Moreover, he addresses a person called Agelaidas (4), a man 'who leads the *laos*', that is the *damos*. The name could refer to a real man from his *hetaireia*, but it could also represent an idealized, speaking name. Agelaidas personifies the function that he desires for himself: to 'lead the people' again.[92] This corresponds to the ideological self-image of the aristocrat. As we have seen, the speaking 'I' is removed from the citizens who wrong one another (τὼν ἀλλαλοκάκων πολίταν, 7), because the *polis* lives in *stasis*. The body of citizens is not *xynos*, acting in unison, but rather divided.

He has taken abode in the sanctuary like the Athenian Onomakles,[93] the 'Famous One'—the name could be an allusion to Orestes, the ephebe par excellence and the mythical forefather of the founder of Lesbos,[94] as he is renowned

90 On wolves and werewolves as signs of the Other and initiation, see Buxton (1986); Detienne and Svenbro (1989); Steiner (2015); esp. in *Il.* 10, see Gernet (1936); Jeanmaire (1939) 387–411, esp. 399–401; Davidson (1979); Schnapp-Gourbeillon (1981) 104–131; Bierl (2012) 151–155; see also Steiner (2015) 348–354; Ramer (2018); for an analysis in terms of initiation, werewolves, and human sacrifice, with emphasis on the 'ritualism' of the pseudo-Euripidean *Rhesus*, see Bernacchia (1990), esp. 46–53; see also Wathelet (1989) and Steiner (2015) 366–368.

91 See Sappho fr. 17 and the interpretation by Nagy (2016a) 464–484.

92 See the aristocratic name Agesidamos; Pindar (*Ol.* 10) is praising an eponymous aristocrat from Epizephyrian Locri for his victory in the game of boxing.

93 On opinions about Onomakles, see Porro (2004) 237–238.

94 See Bierl (1994); the *hetaireia* of the Penthelids drew its descent directly from Orestes, who

for his flight to the temple in Delphi and then to Athens. It is striking that Orestes also stylizes himself as a brutal wolf, a wolf-man, or wolf-fighter to take revenge in Aeschylus' *Choephori* (λύκος γὰρ ὥστ' ὠμόφρων, 421).[95] The wolf makes a lot of sense, since it is the animal of Apollo—he bears the title Lykeios, the wolf-like. It is well known that Apollo is the god of the ephebes,[96] who are often associated with wolves. In *Daphnis and Chloe*, a novel to be read in the context of puberty initiation and also located in Lesbos,[97] Dorkon, Daphnis' wild rival, planning a sexual assault on Chloe, is clothed in wolf's fur (Longus 1.20.2). Alcaeus' lyric 'I', being wolf-like, fights against the wolves.[98] By going into exile he flees the war (11). This seems to be an ignoble behavior going against the aristocratic code. As a wolf-man he must defend himself against wolves. The next sentence is extremely difficult to understand. The speaking 'I' seems to give a reason for his behavior: 'For (γάρ) it is not better to take up *stasis* (strife and revolt) against mightier ones'.[99] Another reason for abstaining from the usual combat probably consists in the fact that waging war is not appropriate for a pure life in a temple. However, he also could have emphasized his will to continue his resistance and fight, as he is used to leading a wild life, when he must defend himself against wolves.

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was regarded as the leader of the Aeolian migration: Hellan. fr. 32 and Lycoph. *Alex*. 1374–1377. He is also the exile par excellence: see φεύγων (9) and Aesch. *Cho*. 136.

95 See Liberman (1999) 2.215 n. 135; he criticizes the explanation by Hesychius Λ 1369 λυκόβροτος 'eaten by wolves' glossing λυκαιχλίαις, as reported in Marc. gr. 622 (in a more correct form in Vat. gr. 23 λυκαιχμίας· ὁ λυκόβρωτος); Porro (1989) 217–218, (1992), (1994) 176–181, and (2004) 229–230, 236–237, applying a different division of words (also in *POxy*. 3711, fr. 1, col. 11.32), reads ἐοίκησ' ἀλυκαιχμίαις, 'I settled as one who fled (ἀλύσκω) combat', i.e. a coward, to which φεύγων τὸν πόλεμον would be a gloss.

96 Burkert (1985) 145 connects the epithet Lykeios 'with the tribal gathering' [i.e. *apellai*], where youths who have passed their rite of passage to adulthood were admitted into the society of men and warriors. Therefore, Burkert derives Apollo from the Doric *apella*, i.e. *Apellon/Apellas*.

97 See Bierl (2014b).

98 Lefkowitz and Lloyd-Jones (1987), comparing ἱππαιχμίαι 'horse-battles' in schol. Pind. *Nem*. 1.23 (3.14 Drachmann), believe λυκαιχμίαις is a short dative, 'living on the basis of wolf-battles', i.e. 'in guerilla warfare' (p. 10), but this makes less sense. Page (1955) 205 and Voigt still had λυκαιμίαις from Hsch. (A 1955) αἱμοί· δρυμοί, 'living in the wolf-thickets', or nominative 'a wolf-thicket man', or acc. pl., but with *POxy*. 3711 we can now read -χμία; see also Burzacchini (1987) and (1992).

99 See Liberman (1999) 2.215 n. 137; according to him the question is whether ἀνελεῖν means 'to end the revolt' or 'to get engaged in a *stasis*'. It is unclear whether it is a statement or a question: 'Is it not better to remove *stasis*?' Or: 'Is it not better to take up *stasis*?' Or does it mean: 'for it is not better to get involved in a *stasis*', since he also emphasizes that he keeps

In the next stanza he highlights the sanctuary again, the sacred space of the divine triad, the blessed gods (μακάρων ἐς τέμενος θέων, 13). He feels some warmth and pleasure (χλιαίνω, 15) in the very *synodoi*. Leading a pure life close to the shrine and taking aesthetic pleasure from ritual practices, 'he keeps his feet out of evil', that is, he prefers to behave accordingly, that is, in piety. It looks as if the lonely wolf finds new political company. But the gatherings that the speaking 'I' is watching consist of beautiful Lesbian women with trailing robes dancing in a chorus. This counter-image of vivid *choreia* in the sacred space, 'where women of Lesbos, being judged for beauty, / go back and forth in their trailing robes, and all around / rings out the divine echo-sound / of the women's holy shrill cry each year …' (17–20) recalls again the scenario of fr. 44 (esp. ἄχω θεσπεσία, 27). The divine-sounding echo of the holy *ololygmos* in the annual festival marks the moment of sacrifice, of violence, but also of joy, displaying the marriageable girls in front of the people. The multimodal performance enchants the audience through all senses. In particular, the reverberating sound of music extends to the recipients, who are also deeply affected by the visual dimension of choral dance.

The beauty-contests, the *Kallisteia* for Hera, showcase beauty (*kallos*), usually the essential value of Aphrodite, in the domain of the goddess of marriage, the leading figure of the triad.[100] It is the central goal, *telos*, of the *parthenoi* who, being on the brink of becoming adult *gynaikes* and still more in the realm of Aphrodite, performed songs there under the direction of Sappho as well. With the new readings of Sappho fr. 17.13–14, choruses of both *gynaikes* and *parthenoi* are now clearly attested for this festive ritual.[101] Having styled himself as a man returning to his status as a young ephebe—in the counter-life he feels a strong desire to be back in the male gatherings (3–5)—he seems to picture himself now on the brink of marrying one of the maidens, the *telos* of the rite of passage that he conjured up on the edge of society in this song. Situated in the vicinity of the wilderness, the sacred precinct of the entire island of Lesbos is located where communal life is ritually acted out in choruses. The aesthetic experience of pleasure produced by these attractive choruses that affirm marriage, functions as a sign to return to his actual status of adult man, citizen, and warrior. Moreover, any aesthetic performance longs to produce beauty to enchant its audience.

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his feet out of trouble and any wrongdoings (16)? Or does Alcaeus want to say: 'for it is not better to remove strife', i.e. he wants to continue fighting against the mightier *hetaireia*?

100 On the beauty contests, see Liberman (1999) 2.216 n. 138.

101 See Nagy (2016a) 478–481; Caciagli (2016) 428–429, 433–434.

I strongly believe that this pleasurable feeling does not only serve as an aesthetic and poetic compensation for his negative experience as an exile.[102] It hardly underlines the depressing situation either, when the speaking 'I' realizes his isolation even more, as he cannot join the female dance and is therefore twice marginalized.[103] Rather, it can serve as a new self-assertion of Alcaeus' scattered identity, but neither in his role as poet, as Angela Andrisano argues,[104] nor anticipating his ongoing success as a singer after his death.[105] Instead, I would plead for a political reading. The annual festivals of multimodal female *choreia* celebrate the political unity of Lesbos. They contrast with and complement the male assembly and political council that the *persona cantans* longs to hear being summoned (3–5). After all, the whirling dances associated with the upcoming marriage in the *oikos* are an emblem of civic life. The highly aesthetic scene of *choreia* in the sacred realm, including the aspect of the audience reception, thus serves Alcaeus as a symbolic scenery and signal to return from his exile—envisaged as a notional return to his ephebic status—to Mytilene. This outcome is again conceived as rescue by the Olympians (21–22).

9 Conclusion

With these examples we realize that contextual factors, such as the gender of the poet and recipients, and the occasion (for example a festival, the female circle, or a male symposion), are essential for the use of the sacred in a mythic-ritual poetics. The sacred as space, grove, temple, festival, atmosphere, and holy place of gods is an ideal tool to use as symbols in lyric songs and to think with. It can serve as a source from which figures can draw energy. The polytheistic system can be applied according to the variety of functions that the gods adopt for numerous purposes. Lyric poetry, in particular the songs in archaic Lesbos, revolves around human life: in the female world it deals with the decisive rite of passage, beauty, and marriage; in the male world with war, death, and political struggle. The sacred in all variations and instances, especially in its multimodal appeal to the senses, is deployed to metaphorically express the elevated and marked status of song in meta-choral self-references.

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102 Burnett (1983) 178 with n. 50, citing voices for the opinion: " 'Exile means loss, but see what a lovely gain!' "

103 Rösler (1980) 283.

104 Andrisano (2001) 59.

105 See Nagy (1993).

To conclude, I have argued that the sacred associated with its festive exuberance, effervescence, radiance, and multimodal attraction is the engine of a highly aesthetic song and performance production. Moreover, the sacred dimension adds new aspects of meaning to these songs. Festive imagery and *choreia* help conjure up and construct a sacred space in nature, which is full of erotic symbolism. Flux and fusion can develop a sensation of being integrated into a sacred whole, into the cosmic order of love (Sappho fr. 2). The vivid recollection of numerous divine epiphanies experienced as a direct encounter with Aphrodite, Sappho's special deity, can render an undefined space sacred and add a metapoetic dimension to the song. The sacred as a 'field of forces' or energies can become a place of traffic and change of power (Sappho fr. 1). The marriage celebration expressed through all senses transfers a godlike dimension to the couple. Through self-referentiality the actual or virtual ritual activity of choral song can be mirrored and thus intensified while its aesthetic effect of fusion can be conveyed to the audience (Sappho fr. 44). In addition, by anchoring the song in a sanctuary, most probably the pan-Lesbian temple district of Messon, Alcaeus enhances the song's political dimension (fr. 129 and 130B). Using features of the gods involved, in particular Dionysus, the poet can increase the power of a curse (fr. 129). Finally, the emphasis on the choral festivity of the *Kallisteia* can highlight the singer's contrasting miserable condition in exile, as a signal of the singer's wish to return to the city (fr. 130B).

CHAPTER 10

Narrative Functions of the Muses in Archaic Lyric

Saskia Willigers

Many of the most influential and well-known poems of ancient Greek literature start with an appeal to a Muse.[1] Being a goddess, she gives songs a divine character. Yet, the exact function of the Muses is not easy to define because of their versatility and the multitude of their occurrences. In many instances, the Muses seem to have a role in the narration of a story. Thus, the Homeric narrator in both epics appeals to his Muse before he begins the narrative, requesting her to tell the story. Since the Muses are both goddesses and are often mentioned in relation to narrating a story, we may expect a narratological analysis of the Muses to contribute to the interpretation of this divine aspect of poetry.

In this paper, I discuss some aspects of the narrative function of the Muses in archaic lyric poems. Several poets identified the invocation and use of the Muses with Homeric poetry. This is, for example, clear from Hipponax fr. 128, which as a parody is a good place to look for generic markers of what is parodied, Ibycus S151 PMGF and Simonides' *Plataea Elegy*. The Muses are probably needed there as eyewitnesses, since the narrator tells of events he did not witness himself,[2] besides helping to preserve the *kleos* of men and lending authority to the professional singer. I will therefore start by looking at Homeric poetry for the way the Muses are used there as a narrative device and will subsequently compare this use with that in several lyric poems.

The narrative function of the Muses in Homer can best be demonstrated by comparing the narratives of the Homeric primary narrator, and his alter egos Demodocus and Phemius, with those of the other narrators, who are not professional singers and therefore do not have the privilege of the Muses. As "ordinary" narrators, they tell the story from a human perspective. If they have not witnessed the events they narrate, they say that they depend on hearsay and traditional stories for information.[3]

1 I would like to thank André Lardinois and Lucia Athanassaki for their help and insightful comments. I also wish to thank my PhD supervisor Irene de Jong; this paper and the research behind it would not have been possible without her support.

2 See e.g. Ford (2019) 57–89.

3 E.g. *Il.* 4.374–375, 9.524, *Od.* 3.187–188, 12.372–390.

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Narratological studies of Homer's epics have shown that the primary narrator, too, narrates from a human perspective in practice.[4] This human perspective is clear from his evaluation of the narrative and his sympathetic pity for the heroes. It comes explicitly to the fore when he, like many other narrators, mentions that he relies on other speakers' knowledge (*Iliad* 2.783, *Iliad* 17.674, and *Odyssey* 6.42).[5] Yet, he is also aided by the Muses, who see everything as eyewitnesses, as he states when he invokes them before the catalogue in *Iliad* 2.484–486. With their help, his knowledge is "doubly motivated,"[6] since it is not merely dependent on hearsay and traditional stories. In this way, the Muses grant authority to his narrative. So, since the primary narrator has the form of a professional singer aided by the Muses, his knowledge differs from that of secondary narrators in that it is authenticated by the Muses' first-hand knowledge. This increases his narrative authority.

There are multiple places where the Homeric narrator refers to the authority granted by the Muses. In the best-known references to the Muses in Homer, the two epics' proems, the narrator demands that the Muses sing about a particular theme. The narrative that follows, i.e. the whole narrative of the poem itself, may therefore be regarded as a narrative related by the narrator himself, but also as the Muses' fulfilment of the narrator's demand.[7] We see a similar form of cooperation in the other references to the Muses in the primary narrator's narrative, when the narrator poses questions to them, for example about who fought the best (e.g. *Iliad* 2.761–762, *Iliad* 11.218–220, *Iliad* 14.508–510). Such questions underscore the achievement of a particular warrior.[8] As in the proem, the answers given to these questions may be regarded as being issued from both the Muses and the narrator at the same time. This form reflects the double motivation of the narrator's knowledge: although the primary narrator is in charge of the narrative himself, by appealing and posing questions to the Muses he also closely involves them in it.

Another important observation may be made about the Homeric Muses. The questions posed to the Muses in the *Iliad* involve specific information, such as which warrior killed first (*Iliad* 14.508–510). Therefore, the Muses appear to be connected to the ability of the narrator *qua* professional singer to memorize

4 See De Jong (2004) 228–229.

5 The narrator's foregrounded human perspective in *Od.* 6.42 arguably serves to emphasize the differences between the pleasantness of Olympus and the harshness of the human world. In *Il.* 2.783, φασί confirms a superlative statement.

6 For this double motivation, see Lesky (1961) 30–31; Edwards (1987) 19 and 134–135.

7 E.g. Clay (2011) 14–37.

8 Also argued by De Jong (2004) 45–53.

and sing about a large number of names and events. This means that the Muses play a pivotal role in the promulgation of the warriors' *kleos*. In this light it is noteworthy that in two invocations the narrator uses the words κλειτῶν (*Iliad* 11.220) and κλυτός (*Iliad* 14.510), referring to the subject about which he is going to sing. These words often imply that a story exists in poetic form or oral tales. Here, they indicate that the narrator tells of events that are already well and widely known among his narratees. As a professional singer, however, he has privileged access to these events via the Muses, who know from autopsy the events of which ordinary narrators only know through *kleos* (*Iliad* 2.484–486). Hence, with each question, it may be that the Muse is asked to authenticate the *kleos* of warriors that mortals already know, thereby promulgating it. In addition, since κλειτῶν and κλυτός occur immediately after the invocations to the Muses, these words may have a self-referential and self-fulfilling force: the warriors are famous because singers like the narrator himself, with the help of the Muses, have sung about them.[9]

To conclude, in Homer, three observations are especially important with respect to the Muses, which may serve as input for our investigation of the Muses: they help professional singers, granting authority to their narrative (double motivation of knowledge); neither they nor the narrator are solely in charge of the narrative; and they have an important role in increasing the *kleos* of the poem's subjects. This is the divine authority that the narrator enjoys, which is expressed by his collaboration with the Muses. Now, I would like to ask the question of how this works in narratives in some archaic lyric genres.

Many of the immense number of studies on the Muses, for example Morrison's (2007) about the Hellenistic narrator, see the Muses in archaic lyric as occupying an important intermediate position between the Homeric and Hel-

9 In addition to the primary narrator, other professional singers mentioned in the *Odyssey* also have the privilege of access to the Muses. Thus, the Muses are mentioned before the primary narrator gives the contents of two of Demodocus' narratives (*Od.* 8.73–92, *Od.* 8.499–520). The other professional singer, Phemius, claims that he is not only self-taught, but also that a god has planted in his heart 'all ways of song' (*Od.* 22.347–348). As the primary narrator's alter egos, these professional singers receive help from the Muses as well. As to Demodocus' narratives, it may be significant that the Muse is not mentioned before the narrative about Ares and Aphrodite (*Od.* 8.266–366), but only in relation to two narratives about the Trojan War. A possible explanation is that these two narratives concerned warriors' *kleos* (cf. e.g. μοῦσ' ἄρ' ἀοιδὸν ἀνῆκεν ἀειδέμεναι κλέα ἀνδρῶν (*Od.* 8.73)) against a song about the—by definition immortal—gods Ares and Aphrodite. By mentioning the Muse in relation to the professional singer Demodocus in the narratives about the warriors of the Trojan War, the primary narrator underscores Demodocus' (and by extension, his own) active role in promulgating the *kleos* of warriors.

lenistic Muses. While the Homeric narrator was assisted by the Muses throughout his epics, Hellenistic narrators based their poems much less on the Muses. Likewise, lyric narrators—in Pindar especially—are *qua narrators* to a large extent independent from the Muses.

I will investigate what roles archaic lyric poets assign to the Muses. What narrative functions of the Muses can we find? In what form are the Muses included in the poems? And is there a strong relation to the narrators' status as (professional) singers? I will first discuss the characteristics of the—as they may be called—"Homeric" (or better, "epic") Muses, and investigate how several lyric poets of different genres adopted and developed these characteristics. Then, I will zoom in on three narratives in order to examine the narrative effects of the Muses.

First, I need to make some remarks about narratives in lyric poetry. There are many genres included in our concept of 'lyric poetry', and in most of them narratives are embedded in a lyric frame. It is difficult to draw a sharp line between narrative and non-narrative. Therefore, in my opinion, making a strict distinction is not the ideal methodology. When, for example, a Muse invocation occurs before the start of a lyric narrative, we would be missing an important aspect of the narrative if we left this out of consideration. I will, thus, focus on the narrative parts, but where necessary also involve their lyric frame. In addition, as I investigate the narrative function of the Muses, I focus in this paper on the content, which is of course only one aspect of the composition, and not, for example on dancing and singing.[10]

1 Muses in Lyric Poetry

I start with the poems of Stesichorus, who was heavily indebted to epic poetry.[11] His "debt" becomes clear from his use of the Muses too, since this shows similarities with the epic narrator's use of the Muses. For example, in the *Sack of Troy* (fr. 100), the narrator addresses his Muse (θεά, τὺ …, 6), and asks her to tell the following story (νῦν δ' ἄγε μοι λ⟨έγ⟩ε πῶς …, 9), as the Homeric narrator does in his proems. Yet, the Stesichorean narrator seems to draw more attention to his own role and status *qua* singer than the Homeric narrator, when in lines 7–8 he possibly—the lines are fragmentary—says that his heart longs to

10 For this topic, see Athanassaki (2022b).

11 See e.g. Kelly (2015).

sing (7–8).[12] In fr. 172 (the opening of the *Oresteia*), the Stesichorean narrator again invokes the Muse and presents her as his collaborator:

> Μοῖσα σὺ μὲν πολέμος ἀπωσαμένα πεδ᾽ ἐμοῦ
> κλείοισα θεῶν τε γάμους ἀνδρῶν τε δαῖτας
> καὶ θαλίας μακάρων …
>
> STESICHORUS fr. 172

> Muse, do you, rejecting wars with me, celebrating the weddings of gods, the feasts of men, and the banquets of the blessed …[13]

The phrase πεδ᾽ ἐμοῦ (2) suggests that the narrator and his Muse make the poem together. Thus the double motivation of Homer is made explicit.

In addition, in the two *Palinodes* (fr. 90), the narrator asks the Muse's help in rectifying the false version of the story of Helen: δεύρ᾽ αὖ|τε θεὰ φιλόμολπε (8–9), and χρυσόπτερε παρθένε (10).[14] This is reminiscent of Hesiod's *Theogony* (26–28), where it is implied the Muses are responsible for both truthful and false accounts.[15] Such explicit "corrections" of stories do not occur in Homer, but we see that Stesichorus uses Homer's authentication device. In the first *Palinode*, moreover, the narrator asks the Muse to come 'once more' (αὖτε), which suggests that she helps him regularly.[16]

In Bacchylides, we find a characteristic of the epic Muse in *Ode* 15.47, where the narrator, beginning a narrative on the Trojan War, poses a question to the Muse to introduce Menelaus' speech:

> Μοῦσα, τίς πρῶτος λόγων ἅρχεν δικαίων;
> Πλεισθενίδας Μενέλαος γάρυϊ θελξιεπεῖ
> φθέγξατ᾽, εὐπέπλοισι κοινώσας Χάρισσιν· …
>
> BACCHYLIDES 15.47–49

12 I base myself here on Davies and Finglass (2014) 415–416 *ad* 7–8.

13 Text and trans. Davies and Finglass (2014).

14 See e.g. Feeney (1991) 15–16.

15 A large amount of secondary literature on Hesiod's appeal to the Muses is summarized in Katz and Volk (2000), to which e.g. Clay (1988) 327–331 and E.L. Bowie (1993) 20–23 could be added.

16 Cf. e.g. the opening words of Sappho fr. 127. Differently, Davison (1968) 223 writes that αὖτε shows that 'the *Palinode* criticizing Hesiod (i.e. the first, lines 8–9) was intended to precede that criticizing Homer (i.e. the second, line 10)', thus assuming that the word means that the Muse should come to the second Palinode, too, as she came to the first. However, I

> Muse, who first began the words on the subject of justice? Pleisthenes' son Menelaus spoke with spell-binding words, making partners with the fair-robed Graces: …[17]

This πρῶτος-question recalls the *Iliad*.[18] Yet, Bacchylides uses the question-and-answer pair differently from Homer. Contrary to the πρῶτος-questions in Homer, Bacchylides' question is not about heroic deeds, such as which warrior was the first to kill an enemy or was the first victim. Instead, he asks who gave the first speech. The effect, however, is largely the same: through this question posed to the Muse the narrator draws attention to and adds weight to Menelaus' speech.

The Homeric idea that professional singers/poets who are aided by the Muses have superior knowledge occurs in elegy too. It is, for example, the subject of lines 769–772 of the *Theognidea*:

> χρὴ Μουσῶν θεράποντα καὶ ἄγγελον, εἴ τι περισσὸν
> εἰδείη, σοφίης μὴ φθονερὸν τελέθειν,
> ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν μῶσθαι, τὰ δὲ δεικνύναι, ἄλλα δὲ ποιεῖν·
> τί σφιν χρήσηται μοῦνος ἐπιστάμενος;
>
> *Theognidea* 769–772

> The servant and messenger of the Muses, if he has surfeit of knowledge, should not begrudge his wisdom; he should seek, he should show, he should create; what good is it to him, if he is the only one who knows?[19]

The poet is presented as the Muses' 'servant and messenger', which would enable him to have a 'surfeit of knowledge'. While the narrator in Homer is a largely covert narrator, here we see an active narrator/poet. Thus, the Theog-

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follow Davies and Finglass (2014) 331, who comment that the word refers to the narrator's hope that the Muse will assist him now as before, not specifically in the other *Palinode*.

17 Trans. Campbell (1992), sometimes adapted.

18 So note e.g. Jebb (1905) 365 and Maehler (2004) 161 *ad* 47. Cf. *Il.* 11.218–219, 14.508–509, 16.112–113, for which see De Jong (2014) 50–51 and Fearn (2007) 283–287. For the poem's intertextual relation with Homer (and Solon), see Fearn (2007) 257–337. Yet Fearn, in my view, goes too far in suggesting that these intertextual references are easily picked up by the audience. According to Fearn, Bacchylides' audience would here have been reminded of *Il.* 11.218–219, but it is relevant to notice that there are two other Muse-invocations starting with πρῶτος in the *Iliad*. Lyric question-and-answer pairs are also found in Pind. *Ol.*10.60–63, 13.18–22; *Isthm.* 5.38–44.

19 Trans. Fowler (2013) 81.

nidean narrator lays emphasis on the active role that a poet should have: a poet should τὰ μὲν μῶσθαι, τὰ δὲ δεικνύναι, ἄλλα δὲ ποιεῖν (771). Following Fowler, this probably means that he must seek information, present the results of this 'inquiry', and share this with other people through poetry.[20] It is particularly noteworthy that the poet should δεικνύναι, i.e. *show* what he knows, an element that is only very implicitly present in Homer (e.g. when he invokes the Muse, at the start of the *Odyssey*: τῶν ἁμόθεν γε, θεά, θύγατερ Διός, εἰπὲ καὶ *ἡμῖν* …, *Odyssey* 1.10, if 'us' refers to both the poet and the audience). In this respect it is significant that the poet in Theognis is called an ἄγγελος (769) of the Muses (besides the more frequent θεράπων in the same line),[21] referring to this "public" function.[22] While in Homer's epics the narrator only occasionally reveals his self-consciousness, most of all by invoking the Muse,[23] the Theognidean narrator, while using the same authenticating device, is much more self-conscious and explicit about his own role and speaks about poets themselves as the purveyors of the Muse's wisdom.

In many other poems, the narrator's knowledge is not authenticated by the Muses. For instance, they are almost completely absent from Archilochus' and Hipponax's poems, most likely due to the limited portion of narrative about events of the past in their poems. Yet the narrator can make invocations as a parody on epic in Archilochus 117 and Hipponax 128. This may suggest that the Muses had become closely associated with the epic genre and with epic subject matter for these poets. Further indicators of this are the narrator in Ibycus' fr. S151, who invites the Muses to embark upon *epic* themes,[24] and the Muse's prominent appearance in Pindar's *Pythian* 4 (1, 67, 279), with its epic flavour. Some of Alcman's poems may be an exception (frs. 11, 14a, 27). In these fragments the narrator invokes the Muses, but only a few lines of these poems have survived, so we cannot be certain that the narrator treated epic themes

20 Fowler (2013) 81–83, who compares the passage to Plato's *Prt.* 320b. Bagordo (2000) 197 interprets εἴ τι περισσὸν | εἰδείη (769–770) differently, namely as the capacity of a poet to perform the tasks mentioned in the next line.

21 E.g. Archil. 1.1–2 (εἰμὶ δ' ἐγὼ θεράπων μὲν Ἐνυαλίοιο ἄνακτος καὶ Μουσέων ἐρατὸν δῶρον ἐπιστάμενος); Hes. *Theog.* 100 (Μουσάων θεράπων); Bacchyl. 5.13–14 (χρυσάμπυκος Οὐρανίας κλεινὸς θεράπων).

22 As Woodbury (1991) 490 comments on this passage, the poet's art appears to comprise *two* basic elements, namely 'his particular wisdom *and his production of verses*', emphasis added. In this article (483–490), he also discusses many interpretations of the passage proposed by other scholars. Other interpretations are also discussed in Bagordo (2000).

23 For instances where the Homeric narrator refers to himself as a poet, see De Jong (2006) 188–207.

24 See further Woodbury (1985) 201.

in them.[25] Although I focus here on the narratives, it is further worth noting that the narrator in fr. 27 of Alcman asks the Muse not only to start the lovely verses, but also to make the choral dance graceful (χαρίεντα τίθη χορόν, 3).

Sappho mentions the Muses on several occasions in passages in which she is especially concerned with being remembered. The Muses—i.e. her poems—ensure her fame.[26] Thus, for example, Aelius Aristides writes that Sappho had boasted that she, thanks to the Muses, would not be forgotten after her death (fr. 193), and in fr. 55, Sappho says that the woman she addresses will not be remembered after death because she has no share in the roses from Pieria, the traditional habitat of the Muses (οὐ γὰρ πεδέχῃς βρόδων / τὼν ἐκ Πιερίας, 3–4).

A classic example of the function of the Muses in helping poets to spread someone else's *kleos* is found in Theognis (237–254), where the narrator addresses Cyrnus:[27]

> … σε πέμψει
> ἀγλαὰ Μουσάων δῶρα ἰοστεφάνων·
> πᾶσι δ᾽ ὅσοισι μέμηλε καὶ ἐσσομένοισιν ἀοιδὴ
> ἔσσῃ ὁμῶς, ὄφρ᾽ ἂν γῆ τε καὶ ἠέλιος·
>
> *Theognidea* 249–252

> … it is the splendid gifts of the violet-wreathed Muses that will escort you. For all who care about their gifts, even for future generations, you will alike the subject of song, as long as earth and sun exist.[28]

The narrator says that Cyrnus will have an immortal name thanks to Theognis' song, which suggests that, because of their relationship with the Muses, poets are capable of perpetuating their subjects' fame in a song to be sung at symposia and festivals.

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25 So notes e.g. Morrison (2007b) 80. The Muses are also addressed at the beginning of Alcman fr. 3, but it is unclear again if this address was followed by a narrative, epic or otherwise, as we do seem to find at the beginning of fr. 1.

26 See Stehle (2009) n. 33; Wilson (1996) 158–171; Hardie (2005). Palmisciano (1998) 190–191 discusses previous secondary literature on this subject. Furthermore, it has been suggested that Aphrodite, who is invoked in Sappho's fr. 1, functions as a double for the Muse, see e.g. Skinner (1991) 80–90. Yet, it is in fact the narrator Sappho herself who provides the information for which she asks.

27 For this passage, see e.g. Tarkow (1977).

28 Trans. Gerber (1999) 209.

Another instance of *kleos*, in the form of the Muse Clio, occurs in Bacchylides' *Ode* 3. Clio is invoked in an epic manner but in connection with an event of the *recent* past:

> ἀριστο[κ]άρπου Σικελίας κρέουσαν
> Δ[ά]ματρα ἰοστέφανόν τε Κούραν
> ὕμνει, γλυκύδωρε Κλειοῖ, θοάς τ' Ὀ-
> λυμ]πιοδρόμους Ἱέρωνος ἵππ[ο]υς.
> BACCHYLIDES 3.1–4
>
> Of Demeter, ruler of corn-rich Sicily, and of the violet-garlanded Maid sing, Clio, giver of sweetness, and of Hieron's swift horses, Olympic runners.[29]

The narrator asks the Muse to sing about Demeter and Persephone (a logical choice, seeing that the ode praises the Sicilian Hieron), and Hieron's horses. It may be significant that the narrator calls the Muse Κλειοῖ, her name implying her function: κλείειν.[30] This indicates that the Muse is invoked not only to authenticate knowledge of the distant past, but, more importantly, to spread *kleos*, which ties in well with the purpose of this genre.[31] The epic colour may suggest that the *laudandi* of today will be the heroes of the future.

So far, we have seen how the lyric Muses are said to cooperate with the lyric poets, are used as an authentication device, and are associated with superior knowledge and *kleos*. As a final topic, I would like to discuss the form in which the close collaboration between narrator and Muse can be expressed. In Homer, we saw that the appeal to the Muse in the proem and the questions posed to them were followed by an answer—the narrative itself—which may be regarded as being issued from both the Muses and the narrator at the same time. We find a similar use of the Muse in *Nemean* 5, where the Muses are said to sing at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis. While their role is introduced at the beginning with '[The Muses] first sang of august Thetis and Peleus …' (ἀρχόμεναι σεμνὰν Θέτιν Πηλέα θ' …, 26–27), the end is not capped by a closing remark. As a result, the Muses and narrator seem to sing *together* in the next part, per-

29 Trans. Campbell (1992) 127.

30 As Maehler (2004) 86 *ad* 1–4 notes, her name 'makes her particularly relevant for epinician poetry'.

31 In Bacchyl. 2.71, 92 and 5.1–4 too, as in 3.1–4, the Muse is not only mentioned in connection with the poet himself, but also in connection with the *laudandus*.

haps even for the rest of the ode,[32] and both can be heard as enunciators. In narratological terminology this is an instance of metalepsis.[33] What is more, the effect becomes even greater if it is remembered that a chorus (presumably) performed the ode, identifying itself with the chorus of Muses. Thus, there is a double blurring of voices: that of the narrator with the Muses and that of the chorus performing the ode with the Muses.

2 Simonides, *Plataea Elegy*

In order to illustrate the narrative effects of the Muses, let us turn to some longer narratives, starting with Simonides' *Plataea Elegy* (frs. 10–18). This poem exemplifies how Muses are referred to in order to ensure the song's and its subject's *kleos*. This poem starts with a hymn-like proem,[34] in which Achilles is addressed.[35] Despite its fragmentary state, it is probably safe to say that Simonides in this poem evokes the Trojan War as recounted by Homer to parallel the battle of Plataea, with Achilles standing for Pausanias (who may have himself commissioned the poem)[36] and other Greek warriors. West states that since a proem was always addressed to a divinity, as far as we know, Simonides accords Achilles the status of a god here and refers to his hero cult.[37] The nar-

32 Young (1968) 84, n. 2; Pfeijffer (1999) 72–73; De Jong (2009) 103–104. Burnett (2005) 70 states that in *Nemean* 5 the choral narrator assumes the voice of the Muses, and that it is not possible to say where the Muses' performance ends *until* Poseidon comes to the fore in line 38. She compares the passages with the mingling of the choral narrator's voice with those of the choruses set up by the daughters of Proetus in Bacchylides *Ode* 13, for which see e.g. Carey (1999) 20.

33 A similar phenomenon may be found at Bacchylides *Ode* 17.124–132, where the Cean chorus, the performers of the ode, blend with the paean-singing chorus of Athenian youths about whom they sing. See e.g. Maehler (1997) 167–168, 210; (2004) 173; Carey (1999) 20; Wilson (2000) 46, 330 n. 203; Kowalzig (2007b) 88–94; De Jong (2009) 103–104.

34 West (1993b) calls this proem a hymn, but e.g. Capra-Curti (1995) 30 and Lloyd-Jones (1994) 1 argue against this.

35 An address of Achilles is probable in fr. 10.5 and almost certain in fr. 11.19–20 (the passage quoted above). For Achilles' presence and address here, see e.g. Luppe (1993) 3; Obbink (1996) 194. It is unclear whether lines 7–8 (not printed) refer to Achilles' or Patroclus' death.

36 See e.g. Morgan (2015) 147–150 for the singling out and prominent role of Pausanias in the *Plataea Elegy*.

37 West (1993b) 5. He furthermore suggests that the poem may well have been composed at the time of some festival or ritual in Achilles' honour. See Shaw (2001) 164–181 for the status of Achilles as a cult hero. Lloyd-Jones (1994) 1, in contrast, states that the address to Achilles is explicable because the narrator is merely aiming to do for the warriors at

rator may have also envisioned such a cult status for the warriors who died in the battle of Plataea, but this is disputed.[38] Even if it is not correct to speak of heroization of the warriors in this passage, it would not contradict the idea that the narrator assures the fallen Greek warriors' undying fame by means of this poem (23–24), as Homer did for Achilles (17–18).[39]

The Muses are mentioned twice, once within and once immediately after the hymn-like proem:

τοὶ δὲ πόλι]ν πέρσαντες ἀοίδιμον [οἴκαδ' ἵ]κοντο
φέρτατο ἡρ]ωων ἀγέμαχοι Δαναοί[,
οἷσιν ἐπ' ἀθά]νατον κέχυται κλέος ἀν[δρὸς] ἔκητι
ὃς παρ' ἰοπ]λοκάμων δέξατο *Πιερίδ*[*ων*
πᾶσαν ἀλη]θείην, καὶ ἐπώνυμον ὀπ[λοτέρ]οισιν
ποίησ' ἡμ]ιθέων ὠκύμορον γενεή[ν.
ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲ]ν νῦν χαῖρε, θεᾶς ἐρικύ[δεος υἱέ]
κούρης εἰν]αλίου Νηρέος· αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ[
κικλήισκω] σ' ἐπίκουρον ἐμοί, π[ολυώνυμ]ε *Μοῦσα*,
εἴ πέρ γ' ἀνθρώπων εὐχομένω[ν μέλεαι·
ἔντυνο]ν καὶ τόνδ[ε μελ]ίφρονα κ[όσμον ἀο]ιδῆς
ἡμετ]έρης, ἵνα τις [μνή]σεται ὔ[στερον αὖ
ἀνδρῶ]ν, …

SIMONIDES fr. 11 W², 13–25

[And so] the valiant Danaans, [best of warr]iors,
sacked the much-sung city, and came [home;]
[and they] are bathed in fame that cannot die, by grace
[of one who from the dark-]tressed Muses had

Plataea here what Homer did for Achilles and the warriors of the Trojan War, and therefore the passage would not imply a cult. Yet this mere comparison of the narrator's poetic aim to Homer's does not explain why the narrator *apostrophizes* Achilles.

38 Boedeker (2001) 149–163; *contra* Bremmer (2006) 15–26.

39 So Obbink (1996) 200 states that there is a threefold analogy here: '1) What the Greeks of epic did in rites of burial and funeral cult for Achilles; 2) What Homer did in his divinely inspired poems for the heroes of the *Iliad*; and 3) What Simonides himself does in the present elegy for the near-contemporary subjects of the section which follows.' As scholars agree, I do not think that it is important that the death of Achilles, if that is what the *Plataea Elegy* narrates, is actually *not* recounted in Homer's *Iliad*; for Simonides Homer was also the poet of the cyclic epics, in which the death of Achilles was narrated. The quotation of Obbink should therefore better be corrected to 'What Homer did … for the Greek heroes fighting at Troy'.

the tru[th entire,] and made the heroes' short-lived race
a theme familiar to younger men.
[But] now farewell, [thou son] of goddess glorious,
[daughter] of Nereus of the sea, while I
[now summon] thee, i[llustriou]s Muse, to support,
[if thou hast any thought] for men who pray:
[fit ou]t, as is thy wont, this [grat]eful song-a[rray]
[of mi]ne, so that rem[embrance is preserved]
of those ...[40]

If the reconstruction is correct, the narrator says that Homer had the entire truth ([πᾶσαν ἀλη]θείην, 17) from the Muses, referring to the idea that the Muses authenticate the Homeric narrator's mortal hearsay knowledge and thus guarantee the truth of his story. The Simonidean narrator follows in Homer's footsteps when he, too, invokes the Muse (21). Yet he does not invoke her in connection with the distant past, but with reference to the immediate past, the battle of Plataea. His knowledge of the *distant* past is explained by the wide dissemination of Homer's stories about it (15–16).

From line 25 onwards, the narrator turns to the battle of Plataea. While the Homeric narrator's hearsay knowledge of the distant past was authenticated by the Muse, the Simonidean narrator does not need such an authentication: the battle occurred only recently, and the audience may well have witnessed (and could confirm) the events he narrates. This difference between Simonides' and Homer's temporal point of view is also reflected in the Simonidean narrator's knowledge in the *Plataea Elegy*. In Simonides' poem, Homer is aided by the Muses and seems to speak freely about the gods (if West's reconstruction is correct, Homer's subjects are Apollo, Hera, and Athena, because their wrath had caused the war, [9–10]). In the narrative of the battle of Plataea, however, no gods are mentioned by name, and the narrator states only that the warriors trusted 'omens' ([τεράε]σ̣σι π̣επ̣οιθότ̣ες̣, 39). Fr. 14, in addition, may have included a prophecy of the Spartan seer Teisamenos. This means that the narrator, as far as we know, only recounts what eyewitnesses and participants themselves could have experienced. With regard to the will and the doings of the gods, he only mentions what they learned from omens. We only have a reconstructed text, which makes it dangerous to draw conclusions. Yet, arguably, while the Muses allow Homer to know everything, even the gods' actions, the narrator "Simonides" recounts events only from a human point of view.

40 Trans. West. Full text and translation in Boedeker and Sider (2001) 13–29.

In what way, then, does the Muse help the narrator in the *Plataea Elegy*? West suggests that he asks her to [ἔντυνο]ν̣ (23), which he translates as 'fit out'. This word often means 'make x ready'/'prepare', and is frequently used in military contexts (for example, of warriors harnessing horses). In other words, it is military terminology.[41] Military terminology also occurs in line 21, where the narrator called the Muse his 'ally' or 'helper' (σ' ἐπίκουρον ἐμοί, 21).[42] But on top of that, ἔντυνον is also used when the Sirens start to sing in the *Odyssey* (λιγυρὴν δ' ἔντυνον ἀοιδήν, 12.183). In my view, both meanings are present here. For the purpose of this paper it is important to note that both meanings suggest that the narrator and the Muse make the following narrative together and that the song as a whole is the product of their collaboration. The narrator arguably has good reasons to emphasize the involvement of the Muse. He asks the Muse to confer lasting fame on the warriors fallen at Plataea (ἵνα τις [μνή]σ̣ε̣ται ὕ̣[στερον αὖ] | [ἀνδρῶ]ν, 24–25), which indicates that he mentions the Muse in order to emphasize the fame of these warriors.[43] This seems to be an important function of the Muse: while the Simonidean narrator does not employ the Muse to authenticate his hearsay knowledge, by invoking the Muse he draws attention to his ability to guarantee a warrior's immortal fame, as Homer did for the warriors of the Trojan War. We noticed the same above in the case of Bacchylides *Ode* 3 on the chariot victory of Hieron.

3 Pindar, *Olympian* 10

In Pindar's *Olympian* 10, the narrator exhorts the Muse to compose a song with him, but first asks the Muse and Truth to protect him from the reproach that his ode is late:

41 For Simonides' use of military terms in the *Plataea Elegy*, see Stehle (1996), especially 210–211.

42 It might also remind one of Sappho in her *Hymn to Aphrodite*, asking the goddess to be her σύμμαχος, fr. 1.28. Stehle (1996) 210 argues that the narrator (to whom she refers as the 'performer') depicts the Muse as his ἐπίκουρος to indicate that she is coming to a territory that is new for her: the battle of Plataea is a new sort of subject, 'one outside her area of normal operation'. In this way Simonides employs the differences between the two roles of the Muse to reinforce his deviation from epic and, at the same time, to present the *Iliad* as model and forerunner of his elegy. Boedeker (1995) 224, in addition, suggests that the Muse as ἐπίκουρος would function well in a context in which the *Plataea Elegy* was performed in competition, where the Muse helps the poet to win. She mentions that she owes this observation to Alessandro Barchiesi (n. 27).

43 See for this point also Aloni (1994) 16; (2001) 95.

Τὸν Ὀλυμπιονίκαν ἀνάγνωτέ μοι
Ἀρχεστράτου παῖδα, πόθι φρενός
ἐμᾶς γέγραπται· γλυκὺ γὰρ αὐτῷ μέλος ὀφείλων
ἐπιλέλαθ' · ὦ Μοῖσ', ἀλλὰ σὺ καὶ θυγάτηρ
Ἀλάθεια Διός, ὀρθᾷ χερί
ἐρύκετον ψευδέων
ἐνιπὰν ἀλιτόξενον.
Olympian 10.1–6

Read me the name of the Olympic victor, the son of Archestratus, where it is written in my mind, for I owe him a sweet song and have forgotten, O Muse, but you and Zeus' daughter, Truth, with a correcting hand ward off from me the charge of harming a guest friend with broken promises.[44]

In line 12, the narrator uses the first-person plural τείσομεν: so shall we pay back a theme of general concern as a friendly favour. Scholars disagree about this, but I believe that the first-person plural refers to the three of them (narrator, Muse, and Truth), who will pay this debt together.[45] In this way he presents the ode as the result of his collaboration with the Muse and Truth.

The narrator begins and recounts how Heracles founded the Olympian games, and then mentions in catalogue style the six victors of the first Olympian games:

τίς δὴ ποταίνιον
ἔλαχε στέφανον
χείρεσσι ποσίν τε καὶ ἅρματι,
ἀγώνιον ἐν δόξᾳ θέμενος
εὖχος, ἔργῳ καθελών;
σταδίον μὲν ἀρίστευσεν …
Olympian 10.60–64

Who then won the new crown with hands or feet or with chariot, after fixing in his thoughts a triumph in the contest and achieving it in deed? First, the winner of the *stadion* was …

44 Translations of Pindar are from Race (1997), sometimes adapted.

45 Cf. *Pyth.* 1.58–60 and *Nem.* 9.1–10, where the narrator also includes the Muse in the first-person plural.

The addressee is not named, but it seems clear that the Muses are again implied. First, there is the typical question form, directly followed by an answer. The question form is reminiscent of epic. Second, there is the position in the ode, at the transition to another part; in other Pindaric odes, too, a Muse marks the transition from one part to another.[46] However, this is not uncontested. What follows is not poetic language, but rather a victory list of ancient victors. Pavlou for example, argues that 'the catalogue's lack of elaboration and aesthetic value' suggest that Pindar has this information not from the Muses, but from a real victory list.[47] Yet this catalogue is not that strange in combination with the Muse; such a question also introduces the Catalogue in the *Iliad*. Furthermore, more important than asking what Pindar's source would have been is the idea that Pindar *used the style* of such a victory list. It suits the official character of the beginning of the ode, when he asked the Muse and Truth to 'read' him the name of the *laudandus*, representing an unfulfilled contract between victor and poet. By the repetition of the official character of the ode and the idea of "reading," we see how firmly the Muse is embedded in this song.

4 Pindar, *Isthmian* 5

In *Isthmian* 5, the narrator asks which men defeated some of the warriors at Troy:

> ἔλα νῦν μοι πεδόθεν·
> λέγε, τίνες Κύκνον, τίνες Ἕκτορα πέφνον,
> καὶ στράταρχον Αἰθιόπων ἄφοβον
> Μέμνονα χαλκοάραν· τίς ἄρ᾽ ἐσλὸν Τήλεφον
> τρῶσεν ἐῷ δορὶ Καΐκου παρ᾽ ὄχθαις; τοῖσιν Αἴγιναν προφέρει στόμα πάτραν,
> διαπρεπέα νᾶσον· …
>
> *Isthmian* 5.38–44

> Drive me now up from the plain; tell me which men slew Cycnus, which ones slew Hector, and the fearless general of the Ethiopians, Memnon of the bronze armour? Who then wounded noble Telephus with his spear by the banks of Caïcus? One's mouth proclaims Aegina as their homeland, that illustrious island; …

46 E.g. *Ol.* 9.81 ff., 13.96 ff., *Pyth.* 1.58 ff.

47 Pavlou (2012) 106. Cf. Kromer (1976) 433.

The verb ἔλα (38) suggests a chariot. As a typical attribute of the Muses,[48] it probably indicates that we have to imagine the Muse as the intended addressee.[49]

The answer to all four questions is Achilles, as most people in Pindar's audience familiar with the epic cycle will have known.[50] The plurals in the first two questions and in line 43 are significant, as Achilles is only one man. They emphasize Achilles' exceptional battle qualities, since he has single-handedly accomplished deeds that would normally be the work of many. The narrator mentioned earlier in the ode that Achilles has been a theme for poets (μελέταν … σοφισταῖς, 28), which means that the narrator, as in *Olympian* 10, poses questions to the Muse about subjects spread by poetry. However, the answer is not provided. The narrator only mentions Aegina as the men's ancestral homeland (43). He presupposes his audience's knowledge of these stories about Achilles so that, although the questions are posed to the Muse, the audience can supply Achilles' name.[51]

5 Conclusion

I have argued, first, how lyric poets adopted and developed characteristics of the Homeric Muses. Collaboration between the Muses and the narrator occurs throughout the lyric corpus. This collaboration is sometimes expressed in a question-and-answer pair (Bacchylides 15.47–49, Pindar *Olympian* 10.60–63, 13.20–22, *Isthmian* 5.38–44), and may even be reflected in a metaleptic form (Pindar *Nemean* 5.26–27). Compared with Homer, some lyric narrators are

48 A great deal of scholarly work has been conducted on the metaphor of the Muses' chariot, which occurs frequently in Pindar's odes: e.g. Steiner (1986); Asper (1997) 26–39; Nünlist (1998) 255–264; Calame (2012b).

49 E.g. Mackie (2003) 52–53 and Race (1997) 179 *ad Isthm.* 5.38 also state that these questions are addressed to the Muse.

50 The questions span the *Cypria*, *Iliad*, and *Aethiopis*. See West (2011) 61.

51 See Burnett (2005) 96: '[the chorus] challenge the listener with questions that force him to supply three battlefield contests to his own inner eye, then cap these with a fourth. "Who killed Kyknos? Hektor? Memnon? Who wounded Telephos?" the chorus cries, and each time the spectator responds with a silent shout, "Achilles!" ' (cf. 242). Burnett (Ibid.: 96–98) goes further in saying that the audience, because of their knowledge of older poetry, will remember a different Achilles-killer each time: against Cycnus a young warrior, against Hector a mature one, against Memnon a warrior that will soon die. The name of Telephus will recall 'the victory by which Achilles came of age, the one in which he made his first show of defensive courage, the one that foreshadowed all the deeds of his adult years' (97–98).

more explicit about this collaboration (e.g. Stesichorus fr. 100 7–8, fr. 172). In addition, as in Homer, Muses are used as authentication device (e.g. Stesichorus fr. 90) and also their superior knowledge may come to the fore (e.g. Thgn. 769–772), while the narrator draws more attention to his own active role.

Secondly, I have shown that Muses are often associated with epic (e.g. Ibycus fr. S151, Pindar *Pyth.* 4), and given the more active role of lyric the poet, it is no surprise that lyric Muses can be associated with the immortalizing power of the poets' own poetry and with the poets' self-conscious role as dispensers of *kleos*, both that of their topics and of themselves; we have seen this in many instances.

Finally, we have seen how the narrator in Simonides' *Plataea Elegy* does not use the Muse to authenticate his hearsay knowledge, but by invoking the Muse he self-consciously places himself in the tradition of Homer, drawing attention to his ability to guarantee a warrior's immortal fame, as Homer did for the warriors of the Trojan War. Pindar's *Olympian* 10 gave us an instance of a Muse who was firmly embedded in an ode. This ode started with the Muse, who was picked up later when the narrator turned to a victory list. In Pindar's *Nemean* 5, as my last example, the narrator uses the question-and-answer pair from Homer, but presupposes his audience's knowledge of these stories about Achilles so that, although the questions are posed to, and supposed to be answered by, the Muse, the audience, too, can supply Achilles' name.

To conclude, this narratological analysis of the Muses has given us insight into some aspects of this important divine characteristic of archaic lyric poetry, and by using observations from Homer as starting point for this investigation, we have not only seen how similar narrative techniques occur both in epic and lyric poetry, but also that the way in which the latter poets adopted these techniques adds to our understanding of archaic lyric narrative itself.

PART 3

Representations of Human Communication with the Divine

CHAPTER 11

To Seem to Be a God among Men: The Sacred and Poetic Posturing in the *Theognidea*

Lawrence M. Kowerski

The divine appears frequently in the *Theognidea*. This *sylloge* of some 1400 elegiacs ascribed to Theognis, but also containing verses assigned elsewhere to other elegists, opens with four short hymns and invokes the gods throughout in ways appropriate to its sympotic setting.[1] Yet, the *Theognidea* has not been an obvious source for the sacred in archaic Greek poetry. Instead, the challenges of the collection's authority and authenticity have dominated modern studies.[2] Any concerns about the sacred in the collection have tended to emphasize that the divine reflects an attitude of pessimism typical of archaic Greece.[3] Our uncertainty about the nature of the *Theognidea*, however, imposes real limits on our ability to see in it the coherent expression of an archaic *ethos*, religious or otherwise, especially when it is approached in search of authentic verses by a real Theognis. This paper approaches the *Theognidea* differently. It attempts to understand better how the presence of the sacred reflects the collection's poetics. The poetic merits of the collection have been ignored or denigrated.[4] If we approach the *Theognidea* as a *sylloge* for reperformance at symposia rather than as a representation of some lost collection of Theognis, a number of observations emerge that need not be bogged down by the unresolvable questions of authority and authenticity.[5] From this angle, the *Theognidea* possesses a certain poetic sophistication. This sophistication, it is argued, appears especially when the collection interacts with the divine.

1 For the make-up of the *Theognidea*, see West (1989–1992) xi–xiii. Manuscript A has two books. The first, 1–1230, is attributed to Theognis as ἐλεγείων α′. The second, 1231–1389, is titled ἐλεγείων β′. The second book only appears in this manuscript.

2 Modern scholarship is still framed by the views of West (1974), the volume edited by Figueira and Nagy (1985), and the numerous more recent efforts of Bowie (e.g., 1997 and 2012). For the most recent evidence and bibliography, see Bakker (2017b) and Brusuelas (2016).

3 Versnel (2011) 154–155. For the link between the divine and ethical themes in the *Theognidea*, Novo Taragna (1984) 213–237; Garzya (1989) 284–291; Labarbe (1993) 23–33.

4 For example, Gerber (1997) 126; Fowler (1987) 42–43; Adkins (1985) 141–142. Contrast Faraone (2008) and Budelmann and Power (2013).

5 Questions of authority and authenticity should be asked. This paper simply aims to shift focus from them as a starting point and considers how the sympotic context assumed for most of

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Specifically, this paper considers two prayers to Zeus (337–340, 341–350) as moments of this poetic sophistication. In this consideration, the collection is approached as one that '[creates] its audience anew wherever it is recited' and 'even includes instructions for some particular means of its diffusion, namely the symposium and the pederastic relationship'.[6] The focus here is on sympotic reperformance and an unspecific poetic voice that could include an original poet named Theognis, but is not limited to him. This poetic voice comes to the surface in the various ways in which the *Theognidea* interacts with the divine. It is these levels of engagement within these prayers that show us the sacred as serving a poetic purpose that is integral to the sympotic context.

1 Symposia, the Sacred, and Poetic Voice

A few words on the link between the sacred and symposia set the stage. That the symposion as reflected in archaic and classical literature involves the sacred requires little argument. Plato and Xenophon explicitly open their symposia with libations and hymns.[7] Xenophanes' idealized symposion opens similarly.[8] Our two collections of archaic sympotic poetry, the *Theognidea* and the Attic scholia preserved by Athenaeus, mirror these practices and open with hymns.[9] The sympotic openings in these literary depictions are more than mere ornament. They are ritualized and sophisticated engagement with the divine in conversations that 'project the symposion as a divinely inspired religious celebration: in performance, song and image initiate attention to and communication with the divine'.[10] That is, 'sympotic experience was religious experience'.[11] Although scholars disagree on how the literary and material evidence correlate to this lived experience, some level of ritual, religiosity, or sacredness is understood to extend to the whole sympotic experience.[12] Yet, the evidence which reveals the sacred in symposia does not provide a static institution that is wholly religious. Rather, 'awareness and experience of the divine through

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the collection offers a better understanding of the *Theognidea*. See Vetta (1980 and 1984) for a similar approach to Book 2. For the importance of the relation between elegy and its performance context, see Slings (2000).

6 Edmunds (1985) 110.

7 Pl. *Symp*. 176A; Xen. *Symp*. 2.1.

8 Xenophanes fr. B1.13.

9 Thgn. 1–18; Ath. 694C–695F (*Scolia* 884–908). Reitzenstein (1893); Ferrari (2009).

10 Hobden (2011) 52.

11 Hobden (2011) 53.

12 Lissarrague (1990); Henderson (2000); Topper (2012); Hobden (2013).

performance—implemented through the event's orality and literacy—enhanced the communality of the drinking group'.[13] The sacred, as the awareness and the experience of the divine, sits obliquely behind some larger, primary emphasis on sympotic communality.

In the *Theognidea*, the link between the experience of the divine and the emphasis on communality through sympotic conversations offers a particularly rewarding source for locating the sacred within the symposia. The *Theognidea* appears to represent a sympotic experience. The claims that the poet's verses give immortality to Cyrnus at 237–254 establish a sympotic setting, at least for these lines; the four opening hymns and the numerous *catenae* found throughout the collection render it suitable for and reflective of sympotic performance as we understand it.[14] In these features, the sympotic experience of the divine takes shape and is especially audible in the voice of the performer assumed by these verses. On one level, the sacred is directly brought into the sympotic experience through the collection's many invocations of gods which stand as one-sided conversations between the divine and the performer.[15] On another level, the sacred is brought into the sympotic setting more indirectly through the sympotic *catenae* which are conversations involving multiple poetic voices *about* the divine. The multiplicity of voices in the *Theognidea* provides access to a variety of speech-acts as part of the sympotic context that involve engaging the divine and point to the presence of the sacred.

2 The *Theognidea*, the Sacred, and the Heroic Singer

The prayers to Zeus at 337–340 and 341–350 offer a distinct instantiation of this multiplicity of poetic voices engaging with the divine.[16] Through this engagement, the seemingly bold claims in these prayers demonstrate that the sacred

13 Hobden (2011) 54.

14 For sympotic *catenae*, Vetta (1980), Colesanti (2011), and Liberman (2016). For sympotic performance, Collins (2004).

15 Sappho fr. 1 is an example of a more interactive conversation between the performer and the divine.

16 Like most editors, I see these as two distinct prayers: Harrison (1902); Hudson-Williams (1910); Van Groningen (1966); Carrière (1975); Young (1976); West (1989–1992); Gerber (1999); Ferrari (2009); Dorda (2010). For the initial ἀλλά (341), Hudson-Williams compares Hom. *Il.* 1.508, Pind. *Ol.* 2.13, Xen. *Cyr.* 5.4.14 and Van Groningen adds Hom. *Il.* 10.126, Aesch. *Cho.* 540, Herodotus 6.11.3. Nagy (1985) 68–74 quotes the 'passage' as one unit without addressing the question of potential separation. See also Nagy (1990a) 68–69. Murray (1956), Napolitano (1996) and Condello (2013) are specifically concerned with the second

in the *Theognidea* has a poetic function. That is, part of the conversation both *with* the divine and with the other performers *about* the divine is very much concerned with poetic production and performance. The invocation of the sacred in the *Theognidea* becomes a way by which a poetic persona, as a heroic character constructed by a song, and a sacred persona, as a performer of the song, are presented as one.

Theognidea 337–340 exemplifies this interaction with the divine:

> Ζεύς μοι τῶν τε φίλων δοίη τίσιν, οἵ με φιλεῦσιν,
> τῶν τ᾽ ἐχθρῶν μείζον, Κύρνε, δυνησόμενον.
> χοὕτως ἂν δοκέοιμι μετ᾽ ἀνθρώπων θεὸς εἶναι,
> εἴ μ᾽ ἀποτεισάμενον μοῖρα κίχηι θανάτου.

> May Zeus grant me requital for the friends who love me and that I'll be more powerful than my enemies, Cyrnus. Thus, I would be considered a god among men, if my allotted death overtakes (shall overtake) me after I exacted retribution.[17]

These verses are a reported prayer to Zeus that is directed specifically at Cyrnus. The speaker begins with a wish for requital. As such, the prayer is unremarkable in the *Theognidea*.[18] In archaic hexameters, we also find parallels in the *Iliad* with Chryses's prayer to Apollo or Thetis's entreaty of Zeus on behalf of Achilles.[19] After the initial wish, the Theognidean singer's engagement with the divine shifts. Here, the performer notes that he has the potential to appear as a god, if death reaches him only after exacting retribution. This claim of potential godlikeness, while not unique, is striking. It emphasizes the singer's own repu-

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prayer and with possible divisions, or the lack thereof, in it. We are, however, probably in the middle of a sympotic *catena* wherein various breaking points can be observed.

17 For the subjunctive in the εἰ clause see Smyth (2010) 2327a. Cf. Garzya (1989) 288, … *je me croirais un dieu parmi les hommes si la mort qui m'attend me rencontrait après que j'aie rendu à tous la pareille jusqu'au bout*.

18 See Thgn. 851–852 and 1087–1090 as closely comparable examples; less close are Thgn. 757–764, 773–788, and 1119–1122. This is not a complete list of prayers or invocations of deities in the first book of the *Theognidea*. See Pulleyn (1997) 2–3, 217–226 for literary and epigraphic hymns.

19 Hom. *Il.* 1.37–42 and 503–510. See also Hom. *Od.* 3.55 and 6.324–327. For the comparison between Thgn. 342 and the prayer of Odysseus, see Pulleyn (1997) 198. The *Homeric Hymns* share this diction and at times form: *Hom. Hymn Ven.* (10)5, *Heracl.* (15)9 and *Vulcan* (20)9. In melic poetry, Sappho fr. 1 opens in the form of a prayer with an address and a request. See also Thgn. 1–18.

tation (δοκέοιμι).[20] Many cite Sappho fr. 31.1–2 and *Iliad* 24.258 as parallels, but these passages do not offer neat correspondences to the Theognidean claim.[21] In Sappho, it is 'that man' who is godlike; for Priam, it is Hector. These parallels focus on others who appear godlike, but the Theognidean singer boasts of his own potential godlikeness. From these parallels, then, questions arise about the nature of the engagement with the divine in the Theognidean prayer.

What does it mean to be considered a god among men? For this Theognidean prayer, West has glossed θεός as indicating a godlikeness '*quia* μακάριος (since blessed)'.[22] He applies a similar understanding to the parallel in Sappho fr. 31.1–2: 'He looks to me to be in heaven'.[23] The debate over the meaning of Sappho's verses is long. At some level, Sappho offers a μακαρισμός, a statement of someone's blessedness or good fortune often found in nuptial contexts.[24] It is not certain, however, that Sappho's verses represent a nuptial song. The comparison can also indicate that the godlike individual has some super-human attribute.[25] This understanding of the potential to appear as a god among men is most at home in heroic epic.[26] For example, Hesiod describes the heroic age as one of godlike men.[27] Further, μακαρισμός is also at home in heroic epic. In the *Odyssey*, Odysseus offers such a statement of blessedness to the shade of Achilles by telling him that his honor matched that of a god while he was living.[28] The comparison also has significance in the lived experience of heroization, in which 'to recognize someone as θεῖος ἀνήρ was not just a manner

20 Van Groningen (1966) 137, … *Il ne peut être question de l'opinion personnelle de l'auteur à son sujet, puisque la réputation doit durer après sa mort* (340).

21 Hudson-Williams (1910) 199; Van Groningen (1966) 137; West (1978b) 31–32. Hom. *Il.* 24.258: Ἕκτορά θ', ὃς θεὸς ἔσκε μετ' ἀνδράσιν ('and Hektor who was a god among men'); Sappho fr. 31.1–2: φαίνεταί μοι κῆνος ἴσος θέοισιν / ἔμμεν' ὤνηρ ('That man seems to me to be equal to the gods'). See also, Hom. *Od.* 11. 84 (Odysseus to the shade of Achilles).

22 West (1978b) 32. West (1993a) 69 later translated the verse as 'I'd feel then like a god on earth', which seems to have a similar thrust.

23 West (1993a) 38.

24 Aloni (2001b) 32 observes that to declare someone like a god 'is unusual and its use in epic is confined to heroes'. He continues, 'When referred to mortals, moreover, it is rare and exceptional in lyric poetry except in a specific case: in nuptial songs celebrating the merits of the newlyweds'. For μακαρισμός more generally, Wasdin (2018) 171–194.

25 Race (1983) 95–97. See also, Hutchinson (2001) 170 on ἴσος θέοισιν: 'such expressions denote admirable qualities rather than good fortune'.

26 See examples at Race (1983) 96.

27 Hes. *Op.* 159–160: ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖον γένος, οἳ καλέονται / ἡμίθεοι ('the godlike race of heroes, who are called *hemitheoi*'). For Homeric and Hesiodic examples with an emphasis on the implication for lived experience, Currie (2005) 179. See also, Griffith (2009) 72.

28 Hom. *Od.* 11.484 (ἶσα θεοῖσιν). At *Od.* 6.149–169, Odysseus wonders whether Nausicaä is mortal or divine in another μακαρισμός that may draw on the tradition of nuptial song.

of speaking. It had practical implications: the adoption of a particular attitude towards, and the performance of certain (ritualized) acts for, the person who was seen as more than human.'[29] We can understand that the Theognidean prayer draws on this tradition of heroization and heroic poetry in his claim that he can have the reputation of a god. At a poetic level, the Theognidean performer takes on the mantle of a heroic figure in this comparison. Put another way, the Theognidean performer can be seen to engage in role-play as a heroic figure when he notes his potential godlike reputation should he die after attaining τίσις.

Such role-play is natural in a sympotic setting.[30] Yet, when this sympotic singer claims the potential to appear as a god, it seems different from the mere imitation of a heroic figure by an actor on-stage or from a male sympotic performer pretending to voice the words of a woman. This role-play can, however, be recognized as having features that are inherent to its performance context. In it, the '*explicit* epic exhortation is conveyed *implicitly* by the context of the symposium itself'.[31] Role-play in sympotic elegy has the poetic function of turning the epic (or hexametric) into the sympotic (or in this case elegiac). Moreover, it can be understood as mimetic in the sense of re-enactment rather than imitation.[32] The Theognidean prayer, then, exhibits this literary role-play of re-enactment and the singer's claim that he expects to be considered a god becomes a speech act.[33] It is the re-enactment of the epic in elegiacs and it has the poetic function of bringing the epic into the sympotic performance.

29 Currie (2005) 179. Simon. fr. 11.18 seems to describe Homeric heroes as semi-divine (ἡμ]ι̣θέων) in a comparison to the *Plataiomachoi*. Simonides's fragmentary comparison shows these implications. See Kowerski (2005) 64–67. For the text of Simonides, consult Sider (2020) in addtion to West (1989–1992).

30 Bowie (1986) 16, presents the case through, in part, Thgn. 257–260, 579–580, and 861–864. See also Dover (1964); Tsagarakis (1977); Rösler (1985). Slings (2000) 10–15 considers the distinction between performers and *personae* within a broader overview of scholarship which emphasizes the difference between text and speech in Greek lyric.

31 Irwin (2005) 49 (italics are hers). Irwin focuses on elegiac exhortation as heroic role-play in aristocratic symposia which serves the purpose of 'justifying or asserting for its audience an economic/social position within their community, of flattering themselves, and reaffirming group identity'. See also 281–283.

32 Nagy (1994) 12–15; Nagy (1990a) 42–44 and 373–375; Nagy (1996a) 59–103. Nagy (1993) 224 identifies Alcaeus fr. 129 and 130b as a similar example of re-enactment. He argues that these fragments show 'the self-representation of Alcaeus as a cult-hero who is pictured as speaking from the dead and whose alienated voice holds forth a promise of social integration through an ultimate reckoning when finally the evildoers are punished and the noble are rewarded.'

33 Martin (1989) 94–98, 232–239; Nagy (1994) 13.

In 337–340, we see the engagement with the divine functioning on a couple of levels. First, the prayer to Zeus directly engages with the divine and brings the sacred into the symposion. Second, the claim of a potential godlike reputation if death comes after retribution signals a literary dimension to this engagement. Through his claim, the performer presents himself as a heroic figure and this role-play brings hexametric epic into sympotic elegy. We can understand the sacred in this prayer both as sympotic posturing and as part of a poetic stance. The sacred becomes a larger literary tactic whereby the performer, in an act of role-play, becomes a heroic figure such as would be found in the *Iliad*. From this point of view, the entire prayer becomes an expression of mimesis or re-enactment that brings heroic epic into the sympotic setting.

3 Sacred and Sympotic Interactions

The literary dimension of the sacred also appears in 341–350, the following prayer to Zeus. In fact, both prayers are similar enough to be understood as a pair in a *catena* within a collection that represents a sympotic experience. In the interaction between these prayers, the literary function of engaging with the divine becomes firmly rooted in the sympotic context. On the surface, the links between these prayers are strong:

Ἀλλά, Ζεῦ, τέλεσόν μοι, Ὀλύμπιε, καίριον εὐχήν·
δὸς δέ μοι ἀντὶ κακῶν καί τι παθεῖν ἀγαθόν.
τεθναίην δ', εἰ μή τι κακῶν ἄμπαυμα μεριμνέων
εὑροίμην. δοίην δ' ἀντ' ἀνιῶν ἀνίας.
αἶσα γὰρ οὕτως ἐστί. τίσις δ' οὐ φαίνεται ἡμῖν
ἀνδρῶν οἳ τἀμὰ χρήματ' ἔχουσι βίηι
συλήσαντες· ἐγὼ δὲ κύων ἐπέρησα χαράδρην
χειμάρρωι ποταμῶι πάντ' ἀποσεισάμενος.
τῶν εἴη μέλαν αἷμα πιεῖν· ἐπί τ' ἐσθλὸς ὄροιτο
δαίμων, ὅς κατ' ἐμὸν νοῦν τελέσειε τάδε.

Come, Olympian Zeus, fulfill my timely prayer; grant that I experience something good to be set against my ills, or may I die if I do not find some relief from my wicked anxieties. May I give pain in return for pain; for that is my due. But there is no retribution in sight for me against the men who have my possessions which they robbed from me by force. I am like the dog that crossed the mountain stream in winter's flood and shook everything off. May I drink their dark blood! And may an avenging spirit rise up so as to bring this to pass in accordance with my intent.

Here, the performer requests relief from his ills, either in the form of some good experience or through death. A second request is for retribution, followed by a despairing claim that no requital is in sight. A simile drives home the point. The performer equates himself to a dog crossing a stream and shaking everything off. The prayer closes with a gruesome wish to drink the blood of his enemies and a call for a protective spirit to accomplish these things. To be sure, these verses have ample textual and interpretative challenges, with their very integrity being called into question.[34] Yet, even with these challenges, circumstantial parallels to the preceding prayer stand. At the very least, we have two prayers to Zeus with requests for τίσις that follow each other in such a way that someone, at some point, understood some relationship between them.[35]

These similarities allow us to imagine some interaction between these prayers in a sympotic context. The wishes of the prayers mimic each other. Both prayers also reinforce a literary dimension for the sacred. As in verses 337–340, the engagement with the divine in 341–350 is linked to the evocation of heroic epic. One detail in which heroic epic would seem to appear is the performer's striking request to be able to drink the blood of his enemies. In this request, the *Theognidea* has been seen to provide an early image of what we might call Greek vampirism or a bloodthirsty revenant.[36] While both images are intriguing, heroes in early Greek poetry do not seem to drink the blood of their enemies. In the *Iliad*, Achilles wishes his stomach would allow him to eat Hector's flesh raw; Hecuba claims that she would eat Achilles' liver; for the gods, Zeus says that only eating Priam raw would sate Hera's rage.[37] Later sources mention that Tydeus ate the brains of Melanippus.[38] Yet, eating flesh or brains is different from drinking blood. In the *Oresteia*, the Furies, depicted as hounds, drink blood.[39] While the link between hounds and drinking blood is like the imagery of the *Theognidea*, the divine Furies' drinking blood is different from a mortal doing the same. In his *Syleus*, Euripides seems to have had

34 Start with Condello (2013). See also, Murray (1965) 278–279; West (1974) 153; Nagy (1982) 119; Nagy (1985) 68–70, 72; Napolitano (1996). Faraone (2008) 26–28 has 341–350 as a cohesive unit with ring composition in its five-couplet structure.

35 Per the *index verborum* in West *IEG*^{2}, these verses contain the only two uses of the word τίσις in the *Theognidea*.

36 Dorati (1993) focuses on vampirism; Nagy (1982) and (1985) develops the idea of a revenant.

37 Hom. *Il.* 22.347–348 (Achilles); 24.211–213 (Hecuba); 4.34–37 (Hera). See Hudson-Williams (1910) 200; Van Groningen (1966) 140.

38 Apollod 3.76–77; Sext. Emp. *P.* 3.208; *scholia* on Hom. *Il.* (5.126), Pind. (*Nem.* 11.43), Theocr. (*proleg.* 15–18b), and Lycoph. (1066.1–7).

39 Aesch. *Cho.* 924, 1054; *Eum.* 511–512. Cf. Thgn. 949–954 in which the poetic voice compares himeself to a lion who does not drink the blood of a fawn.

Heracles suggest that someone could drink his blood before he would speak flatteringly (fr. 687 K).[40] Again, Heracles' hyperbolic refusal is quite different from the Theognidean performer's request. The request to be able to drink an enemy's blood in the *Theognidea* stands out. It does, however, make sense if we understand it as part of the literary dimension of the engagement with the divine wherein heroic epic is brought into the symposion.

A parallel in the *Iliad* 22.66–71 establishes the Theognidean performer in the role of an epic hero:

> αὐτὸν δ᾽ ἂν πύματόν με κύνες πρώτῃσι θύρῃσιν
> ὠμησταὶ ἐρύουσιν, ἐπεί κέ τις ὀξέϊ χαλκῷ
> τύψας ἠὲ βαλὼν ῥεθέων ἐκ θυμὸν ἕληται,
> οὓς τρέφον ἐν μεγάροισι τραπεζῆας θυραωρούς,
> οἵ κ᾽ ἐμὸν αἷμα πιόντες ἀλύσσοντες περὶ θυμῷ
> κείσοντ᾽ ἐν προθύροισι.
>
> Me, myself, then, last of all, my dogs that eat raw flesh, in the place before the doors, will tear apart, after someone has struck me with a bronze spear or has hurled one and has torn the life from my limbs—dogs which I raised in my halls, at my table as guardians of the door, and which, after they have drunk my blood in the frenzy around their hearts, will lie in the doorway.

Here, Priam pleads with Hector not to fight Achilles; he claims that after Hector is killed, he too will be slaughtered and his own watchdogs will drink his blood. This parallel has suggested to some a literary allusion in the Theognidean passage that allows the drinking of blood to be connected to the dog emerging from the river.[41] The interpretative difficulties surrounding the image of the dog in this prayer make it difficult to find an exact allusion here.[42] Yet, even without an exact correspondence between these parallels, the emphasis on poetic interaction with heroic epic in this prayer remains plausible. This interaction with heroic epic further establishes a parallel with the reading of 337–340. That is, the specific way in which the Theognidean prayer finds a parallel in *Iliad* 22 can remain vague, but a more general use of imagery appropriate to heroic

40 Hudson-Williams (1910) 200; Van Groningen (1966) 140.

41 Napolitano (1996) 72–77, in response to Dorati (1993). Dorati looks at the prayer in anthropological terms for a link between drinking blood and lived experience.

42 See note 34 above. Also, some identify a lost fable in the image of the dog. See Hudson-Williams (1910) 199–200; Gerber (1999). Cf. Carrière (1975) 157 and Selle (2008) 257.

epic and on display in *Iliad* 22 is present.[43] One possible understanding is that the performer employs imagery (the dog and the drinking of blood) and diction (αἶμα πιεῖν / αἶμα πιόντες) appropriate to heroic epic as found in *Iliad* 22 to appear heroic. His use of this imagery and diction is not mirrored exactly in Priam's words, but it is parallel enough to link the performer with the heroic. This recall of the heroic, in turn, would provide a moment of heroic role-play that matches what we find in the previous prayer. The performer presents himself in the mold of an epic hero and, in doing so, he becomes the hero with the performance of these verses.

As in the previous shorter prayer, the engagement with the divine in 341–350 provides the platform from which the performer evokes heroic epic and engages in heroic role-play. It is this role-play that unites 337–340 and 341–350 as sympotic prayers which could interact. The prayer of Odysseus at *Odyssey* 6.324–327 provides an example from heroic epic of the posturing in these Theognidean prayers.[44] There, Odysseus reminds Athena that she did not listen when Poseidon battered him and asks that he be received well and find pity in Phaeacia. Odysseus' prayer to Athena for his just deserts is akin to the Theognidean requests of Zeus to allow τίσις. It is perhaps the sympotic setting and this heroic role-play that prompts these Theognidean prayers to be more elaborate in their claims about attaining the reputation of a god after death or dying if no relief is found or drinking the blood of an enemy as retribution. The emphasis on mortality in these histrionics adds weight to the ties to the heroic in each prayer. In both prayers, the performer speaks of his own death in relation to his current situation. A similar connection to the divine and mortality are features seen in Simonides's comparison between the Homeric heroes and the Plataiomachoi in the elegy represented primarily by fr. 11 W^2. In Simonides's verses, the heroes at Troy receive ἀθά]νατον … κλέος (15: 'immortal renown') from Homer and are ἡμ]ιθέων (18: 'semi-divine'); the Plataiomachoi also will be linked to something ἀθάνατο⟨ν⟩ (28: 'immortal'), presumably through Simonides's elegy.[45] It is possible, then, to see the evocation of heroic epic and the equation with heroic figures more broadly in elegy that focuses on poetics and poetic traditions. In the *Theognidea*, these features come in the sympotic interaction between these prayers and their heroic role-play, both of which have meaning at the level of poetics.

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43 For current views on allusion in early Greek poetry, see now Nelson 2023.

44 Pulleyn (1997) 198.

45 For more sophisticated attention to the details of this comparison, Stehle (2001) 116; Capra (2004) 119–120; Kyriakou (2004) 226; Rawles (2018) 87. See also Archilochus fr. 17a (= *POxy.* 4708, fr. 1). D'Alessio (2006); Lulli (2011); Swift (2019).

The prayer at 341–350 draws attention to this literary dimension with its diction at the very point of emphasis on the performer's mortality. At 343–344, death appears as the alternative to not receiving relief (τεθναίην δ', εἰ μή τι *κακῶν ἄμπαυμα μεριμνέων* / εὑροίμην). The phrasing for the relief from anxieties is pointed. Elsewhere, it appears in Hesiod's description of the Muses in the *Theogony* as those who give 'forgetfulness from evils and relief from anxiety' (55: λησμοσύνην τε *κακῶν ἄμπαυμά τε μερμηράων*). For Hesiod, it is song that provides relief. At *Theogony* 98–103, a similar sentiment in different phrasing appears; here, a singer brings about forgetfulness of anxiety and worries (102–103: δυσφροσυνέων ἐπιλήθεται οὐδέ τι κηδέων / μέμνηται) with songs about the glorious deeds of men from previous generations and the gods (100–101: κλεῖα προτέρων ἀνθρώπων … μάκαρας τε θεοὺς οἳ Ὄλυμπον ἔχουσιν).[46] More specifically, Hesiod emphasizes that relief from anxiety comes through heroic song. The performer of the Theognidean prayer employs diction and concepts tied to his own relief that hexametric poetry locates in heroic song. The Theognidean performer need not be alluding to Hesiod with his shared diction. Rather, as a sympotic poet in the act of composing an elegiac song he uses diction that elsewhere has a distinctly poetic emphasis. In this phrasing, the meta-literary elements of the prayer come to the surface.

In 341–350, the Theognidean performer uses language appropriate to his role as composer of song. This song is heroic through its use of heroic role-play marked by an engagement with imagery and diction appropriate to hexametric elegy. In voicing this prayer, the singer embodies the subject of his composition. Both the embodiment and this emphasis on composition emerge from an engagement with the divine. Each of these elements correspond to details in the previous prayer (337–340). Taken together, both prayers link interaction with the sacred to the production and performance of sympotic song.

4 Conclusion

This paper has considered two sympotic prayers as instances of the sacred in the *Theognidea*. As prayers addressed to Zeus and concerned with τίσις, some sympotic relationship between them is probable. The focus on the sacred has offered a sharper view of this interaction. In both prayers, the interaction with the divine is something more than the acknowledgement of the sacred in symposia. Rather, in both prayers, the sacred marks a meta-poetic self-

46 West (1966) 186–187.

consciousness in the voice of the performer. In 337–340, this literary dimension comes in the performer's claim that he would gain the reputation of a god if he died after gaining retribution. This claim of godlikeness is not just the invocation of the sacred. It is also a literary moment in which the performer evokes a tradition of heroic poetry. This introduction of the heroic (hexameter) into the sympotic (here, elegy) is oblique. It occurs through the performer's embodiment of an epic hero as part of role-play within the context of a symposion. A similar and corresponding emphasis on the poetic in the sacred comes in 341–350. Here, again, the performer assumes the mantle of heroic character by drawing on imagery appropriate to heroic epic, namely the wish to obtain requital and drink the blood of his enemy. This heroic posturing is part of the oblique evocation of the heroic tradition. Within this posturing, the performer interacts with the previous hymn and draws attention to his role as both performer and composer of his elegiac verse. The invocation of the divine becomes the frame within which this embodiment of the heroic occurs. In these sympotic prayers, the sacred signals this embodiment and its emphasis on poetic composition.

CHAPTER 12

Playing with the Sacred at the Symposion

Vanessa Casato

It is a commonly held understanding of the symposion that it is a space that has a significant sacred dimension. Symposia would open with libations and prayers to the gods, and there is a more general sense in which the symposion is a space that is sacred to Dionysus. But how should this affect our understanding of sympotic poetry? One way of answering this question—one that is, I think, often tacitly assumed—is to say that sympotic poetry could reinforce religious experience at the symposion. Thus, Fiona Hobden has argued that sympotic poetry would 'construct a discourse on the *symposion* as a religious space … define the sympotic space as a venue for prayers, libations, hymns, and attention to the gods … communion with the divine'.[1] Xenophanes' oft-quoted fr. 1 West is held up as an example:[2]

νῦν γὰρ δὴ ζάπεδον καθαρὸν καὶ χεῖρες ἁπάντων
καὶ κύλικες· πλεκτοὺς δ᾽ ἀμφιτιθεῖ στεφάνους,
ἄλλος δ᾽ εὐῶδες μύρον ἐν φιάληι παρατείνει·
κρητὴρ δ᾽ ἕστηκεν μεστὸς εὐφροσύνης·
ἄλλος δ᾽ οἶνος ἑτοῖμος, ὃς οὔποτέ φησι προδώσειν,
μείλιχος ἐν κεράμοις, ἄνθεος ὀζόμενος·
ἐν δὲ μέσοις ἁγνὴν ὀδμὴν λιβανωτὸς ἵησιν,
ψυχρὸν δ᾽ ἐστὶν ὕδωρ καὶ γλυκὺ καὶ καθαρόν·
παρκέαται δ᾽ ἄρτοι ξανθοὶ γεραρή τε τράπεζα
τυροῦ καὶ μέλιτος πίονος ἀχθομένη·
βωμὸς δ᾽ ἄνθεσιν ἂν τὸ μέσον πάντηι πεπύκασται,
μολπὴ δ᾽ ἀμφὶς ἔχει δώματα καὶ θαλίη.
χρὴ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν θεὸν ὑμνεῖν εὔφρονας ἄνδρας
εὐφήμοις μύθοις καὶ καθαροῖσι λόγοις,
σπείσαντάς τε καὶ εὐξαμένους τὰ δίκαια δύνασθαι
πρήσσειν· ταῦτα γὰρ ὧν ἐστι προχειρότερον,

1 Hobden (2011) 48.

2 Translation from Gerber (1999); all other translations are my own unless otherwise stated.

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οὐχ ὕβρεις· πίνειν δ᾽ ὁπόσον κεν ἔχων ἀφίκοιο
οἴκαδ᾽ ἄνευ προπόλου μὴ πάνυ γηραλέος.
ἀνδρῶν δ᾽ αἰνεῖν τοῦτον ὃς ἐσθλὰ πιὼν ἀναφαίνει,
ὡς ἦι μνημοσύνη καὶ τόνος ἀμφ᾽ ἀρετῆς,
οὔ τι μάχας διέπειν Τιτήνων οὐδὲ Γιγάντων
οὐδὲ 〈 〉 Κενταύρων, πλάσμα〈τα〉 τῶν προτέρων,
ἢ στάσιας σφεδανάς· τοῖς οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἔνεστιν·
θεῶν 〈δὲ〉 προμηθείην αἰὲν ἔχειν ἀγαθήν.

For now the floor is clean and clean the hands of everyone and the cups; [one servant] places woven garlands round [the heads of the guests], and another offers sweet-smelling perfume in a saucer; the mixing-bowl stands filled with good cheer; on hand is additional wine, which promises never to run out, mellow in its jars and fragrant with its bouquet; in the middle incense sends forth its pure and holy aroma and there is water, cool, sweet, and clear; nearby are set golden-brown loaves and a magnificent table laden with cheese and thick honey; in the center an altar is covered all over with flowers, and song and festivity pervade the room.

For men of good cheer it is meet first to hymn the god with reverent tales and pure words, after pouring libations and praying for the ability to do what is right—for in truth this is a more obvious thing to do, not deeds of violence; it is meet to drink as much as you can hold and come home without an attendant unless you are very old, and to praise that man who after drinking reveals noble thoughts, so that there is a recollection of and striving for excellence; it is not meet to make an array of the wars of the Titans or Giants or Centaurs, creations of our predecessors, or violent factions—there is nothing useful in them; and it is meet always to have a good regard for the gods.

This extended conjuring up of the symposion as a space for the performance of libations, hymns to the gods, and prayers for justice, with all the sacred *accoutrements* of incense, garlands, and an altar, seems to construct for the symposiasts a context for a shared religious experience. The speaker, positioning himself as *symposiarchos*, reminds the company of their duty to hymn the gods before all else (l. 13), and reminds them that this should be done with *euphemia* (a religious technical term) in order to preserve ritual purity (εὐφήμοις μύθοις καὶ καθαροῖσι λόγοις, l. 14). This is a pretty straightforward view of the poetry, which takes much of it at face value. It works well for this particular poem—though even here it tends to obscure possible ironies in the ending of the poem, which from ll. 17 onwards seems to shift in tone to become somewhat

polemical, a striking maneuver in the context of the earlier emphasis on harmony and restraint—but it seems to me on the whole to fail to do justice to the range of extant sympotic poetry. The aim of this chapter is to complicate that picture of how 'the sacred' operates in sympotic poetry, shifting the emphasis away from solemnity and towards playfulness. Such a move is appropriate to the symposion, with its imaginativeness and aptness for conjuring up fictional worlds, and its character as a place for showing off poetic sophistication and elegant humor.

1 Pindar

Let us borrow a well-worn trope of sympotic poetry and begin with the opening prayers of the symposion. Modern handbooks are fond of describing a standard sympotic procedure:[3] there would be an opening toast to the *agathos daimon*,[4] and then, with the mixing of each krater, libations would be poured to Olympian Zeus, heroes and chthonic deities, and Zeus Soter, in that order, and these would be followed by paeans or prayers to the gods.[5] But it is hard to imagine that in reality all symposia followed such a standardized format. The way in which the standard order for libations, for example, could be a theme for variation is most clearly exemplified by Pindar's *Isthmian* 6.1–9.

Θάλλοντος ἀνδρῶν ὡς ὅτε συμποσίου
δεύτερον κρατῆρα Μοισαίων μελέων
κίρναμεν Λάμπωνος εὐαέθλου γενεᾶς ὕπερ, ἐν
Νεμέᾳ μὲν πρῶτον, ὦ Ζεῦ,
τὶν ἄωτον δεξάμενοι στεφάνων,
νῦν αὖτε Ἰσθμοῦ δεσπότᾳ
Νηρεΐδεσσί τε πεντήκοντα παίδων ὁπλοτάτου
Φυλακίδα νικῶντος. εἴη δὲ τρίτον
σωτῆρι πορσαίνοντας Ὀ-
λυμπίῳ Αἴγιναν κάτα
σπένδειν μελιφθόγγοις ἀοιδαῖς.

3 Węcowski (2014) 38–39 with references.

4 The standard sources cited are Ar. *Eq*. 106; *Vesp*. 525, *Pax* 300, Athen. 15.675b, Nicostr. fr. 19 K.-A., Xenarch. fr. 2 K.-A., Theophr. fr. 123 Wimmer, etc. cited by Athen. 16.692f–693e.

5 Sch. Pi. *Isthm*. 6.4, 10a Drachmann (citing Soph. fr. 425 Radt, Aesch. fr. 55 Radt); Hesych. τ 1450 Hansen-Cunningham; Phot. τ 477 Theodoridis.

> As when a symposion of men burgeons
> and we mix the second krater of the Muses' song
> for the victorious offspring of Lampon,
> first at Nemea, o Zeus, having taken
> from you the flower of garlands,
> and now from the Lord of the Isthmus
> and the fifty Nereids with the victory of
> Phylacidas the youngest of the sons.
> May it be possible for us to prepare a third
> one for the Olympian Saviour and pour
> upon Aegina libations of honey-voiced songs.
>
> *Isthmian* 6.1–9

Here, in singing the praises of the Aeginetan victor Phylacidas, Pindar sets up an elaborate comparison with a celebratory symposion: he invokes a first krater for Zeus responding to an earlier victory at Nemea (sacred to Zeus), a second krater to Poseidon for the present victory at the Isthmus (sacred to Poseidon), before finally calling for a third krater to Zeus the Olympian Soter in auspicious anticipation of a victory in the upcoming games at Olympia. In so doing, Pindar is flattering his dedicatee and at the same time charming his audience by making a show of adapting for the symposion of his simile (with perhaps an implicit reference to the symposion that is the context of (re)performance of the ode) the convention of the triple dedication, while the apt recasting of conventional forms is itself, of course, a sympotic convention.

The point of the standard opening prayers or paeans at the symposion was to seek the gods' benevolence before each new sympotic endeavor: partaking of wine in the symposion was to the Greek mind in some sense a risky and momentous business. It is no accident that these religious actions mirror those that preceded putting a ship to sea: the sympotic libations and paean-singing correspond to the libations and paean singing at the beginning of sea voyages. Intriguingly, ships too could be garlanded, just as, at the symposion, it was not only the symposiasts themselves who were garlanded but also the krater.[6] This chimes nicely with the well-studied metaphor of the symposion at sea.[7] Propitiatory prayers, then, were a key sacred component at liminal stages in the symposion.

6 Paean and libations before setting sail: e.g. Thuc. 6.32. Garlands on ships: e.g. Pl. *Phd*. 58a (for a *theoria*).

7 Slater (1976); Davies (1978); Lissarrague (1990) 107–122; Corner (2010); Cazzato (2016); Gagné (2016).

However, the primary evidence shows that there was considerable freedom of choice over which deities to address: in this at least there was no standard procedure, so that we cannot reconstruct a precise 'morphology' of the opening of a symposion, as some of the literature tends to suggest. The four prayers or paeans that open the collection of the *carmina convivalia* (a practical handbook for sympotic performance) clearly were the kind of songs that were sung at the beginning of the symposion. In them, we find an assortment of gods. First, unsurprisingly in an Attic collection, the polyad goddess Athena, then Demeter and Persephone, Leto and Apollo and Artemis, and finally Pan. The Theognidean corpus also opens with a series of poems *eis theous*—here again editorial practice mirrors the performance practice of the symposion: first a prayer and a hymn to Apollo, then one to Artemis, and then one to the Muses and the Graces, which leads nicely into the *sphragis* poem, with its metapoetic concerns. In the Elephantina papyrus now in Berlin (P. Berol. inv. 13270), this, too, most probably a manual for performance at the symposion, we have a first poem, very fragmentary but with a title 'Muses' and an invocation to a 'daughter'; this is followed by a second poem that refers to the mixing of a garlanded or brimming krater of the Graces and to a toast, so that we are clearly still at the opening of a sympotic phase; the sequence continues with a prayer to Mnemosyne, the mother Muse, and this completes the slide from sacred prayer to self-referential poetic invocation. Following the same principle of mirroring performance practice in editorial practice, the first book of the Alexandrian edition of Anacreon also opened with an invocation to a god (fr. 348, to Artemis),[8] as did the editions of Alcaeus (fr. 307, to Apollo) and, of course Sappho (fr. 1, to Aphrodite). This last fact perhaps tells us something about her reception and the degree to which it was tied to the symposion.

So while the beginning of the symposion or the beginning of a new krater called for an invocation to the deity, it seems likely that there was scope for choice about which deity to address, and these addresses could also be lighthearted or decorative or self-referential; in short, they could place less of an emphasis on 'the sacred' and more of an emphasis on the poetic and on the assertion and display of sympotic sophistication. Let us for example take a closer look at the fourth *carmen convivale*:

8 According to Hephaestion's *On Poems* 4.8 (p. 68 Consbruch).

ὍΩ Πάν, Ἀρκαδίας μεδέων κλεεννᾶς,
ὀρχηστά, βρομίαις ὀπαδὲ Νύμφαις,
γελάσειας, ὦ Πάν, ἐπ᾽ ἐμαῖς
εὔφροσι ταῖσδ᾽ ἀοιδαῖς κεχαρημένος.

O Pan, lord of famous Arcadia,
dancer, attendant of the boisterous [or Bromian] Nymphs,
may you laugh, o Pan, delighting in
these cheerful songs of mine.

Carm. conv. fr. 887

According to one reading, advanced by several scholars since Reitzenstein, this is a reworking of the opening of Pindar's hymn to Pan:[9]

ὍΩ Πάν, Ἀρκαδίας μεδέων
καὶ σεμνῶν ἀδύτων φύλαξ,
***
Ματρὸς μεγάλας ὀπαδέ,
σεμνᾶν Χαρίτων μέλημα
τερπνόν

O Pan, lord of Arcadia
and guardian of sacred precincts
***
attendant of the Sacred mother,
delightful protegee of the holy
Graces

Pindar fr. 95

It is uncertain in what sort of context Pindar originally intended his poem to be performed, but it is easy to see how it could playfully be appropriated to the symposion. In both poems, the opening invocation to the god chimes with the ritual practice of the symposion that I have sketched above, but its adaptation for the *carmen convivale* has the effect of highlighting the singer's allusive skill, and the particular way in which the original has been modified—the emphasis on booziness and abandon over sacredness—suggests that the invocation serves here a more idiosyncratic purpose in setting the tone for a racy symposion.

9 Reitzenstein (1893) 16; see further Lehnus (1979) 94–95; skeptical, Fabbro (1995) 98–99.

What I am driving at is that already in relation to these more formalized, opening stages of the symposion—the part of the symposion that we tend to think of as the more structured and "sacred"—there is considerable scope for poetic playfulness: it is not all about correct religious procedure. A keen awareness of this playfulness is a healthy way to approach the extant body of sympotic poetry, and it is a good antidote against taking much of it too literally. Let me be clear, I do not by any means want to suggest that the category of 'the sacred' is irrelevant to the symposion, but simply that we should take care not to take the poetry at face value.

2 Archilochus

Let us experiment with keeping in mind this idea of playfulness in relation to the sacred at the symposion and start with two fragments of Archilochus: fr. 120 and fr. 121, taken with their context of citation.[10]

120 (Ath. 14.628a)
Φιλόχορος δέ [*FGrHist* 328 F 172] φησιν ὡς οἱ παλαιοὶ σπένδοντεςοὐκ αἰεὶ διθυραμβοῦσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅταν σπένδωσι, τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον ἐν οἴνωι καὶ μέθηι, τὸν δ᾽ Ἀπόλλωνα μεθ᾽ ἡσυχίας καὶ τάξεως μέλποντες. Ἀρχίλοχος γοῦν φησιν·
ὡς Διωνύσοι᾽ ἄνακτος καλὸν ἐξάρξαι μέλος
οἶδα διθύραμβον οἴνωι συγκεραυνωθεὶς φρένας.

And Philochorus says that when it comes to libations the ancients do not always sing dithyrambs; it is rather the case that when they pour libations on a wine-filled and drunken occasion they do so singing to Dionysus, while on a quiet and orderly occasion they sing to Apollo. Archilochus at any rate says:
for I know how to take the lead in the dithyramb, the lovely song of lord Dionysus, my wits thunderstruck with wine

121 (Ath. 5.180d–e)
οὐ γὰρ ἐξάρχοντες οἱ κυβιστητῆρες [*Il.* 18.606 = *Od.* 4.19], ἀλλ᾽ ἐξάρχοντος τοῦ ὠιδοῦ πάντες ὠρχοῦντο. τὸ γὰρ ἐξάρχειν τῆς φόρμιγγος ἴδιον. διόπερ

10 The text deviates from Swift's only in removing the confusing curly brackets around σπένδοντες in the first line: her translation implies she accepts the word. Cf. Pindar fr. 128c.1–4.

ὁ μὲν Ἡσίοδός φησιν ἐν τῇ Ἀσπίδι (205) ‘θεαὶ δ᾽ ἐξῆρχον ἀοιδῆς Μοῦσαι Πιερίδες’, καὶ ὁ Ἀρχίλοχος·
αὐτὸς ἐξάρχων πρὸς αὐλὸν Λέσβιον παιήονα.

For it was not the tumblers who took the lead, but they all danced while the singer led, since taking the lead is the lyre's proper function. That is why Hesiod says in the *Shield*, 'and the divine Muses of Pieria were taking the lead in the song', and Archilochus says:
I myself taking the lead in the Lesbian paean to the pipe's accompaniment

In these fragments, Archilochus speaks of himself as intoning a dithyramb and a paean respectively. It is not certain that these are fragments from sympotic poems—the nature of the evidence on fragmentary lyric poetry rarely allows scope for certainty—but it is at least likely. Fr. 120 in particular, with its mention of wine and drunkenness in trochaic tetrameters, is perfectly suited to the symposion. Both fragments seem to reflect the sympotic group dynamics whereby one participant intones a song to the god and the others follow suit; the verb ἐξάρχειν in both fragments appears to be a technical term for giving a lead (in key or content) for the benefit of a group of singers.[11] We might compare the similar usage in Alcman:

θοίναις δὲ καὶ ἐν θιάσοισιν
ἀνδρείων παρὰ δαιτυμόνεσσι
πρέπει παιᾶνα κατάρχην.

in banquets and *thiasoi*
of messes it is fitting
to intone the paean among the feasters
fr. 98 [= 129 Calame]

Being the earliest extant mention of the controversial genre of dithyramb, Archilochus fr. 120 has attracted a great deal of scholarly attention, and most scholars have wished to see in it the remains of an actual dithyramb.[12] But while the fragment references the subject's ability to intone the dithyramb,

11 Rutherford (2001) 52; cf. 66.

12 See e.g. Ieranò (2013) 369–370; D'Angour (2013) 200–201; Lavecchia (2013) 60–61; Zimmermann (1992) 19–23.

there is nothing to suggest that it is itself a dithyramb. It is more likely that what Archilochus is saying here is something along the lines of 'when I am very drunk, I like to sing loudly and wildly' (a behavior that is commonly depicted on sympotic pottery).[13] Moreover, the context of citation of this fragment makes it irresistible to speculate that frs. 120 and 121 are in some sense a pair of opposites. As we have seen, fr. 120 is cited by Athenaeus as proof of a symposiastic custom reported by Philochorus, according to which symposiasts could choose between songs to Apollo or Dionysus according to the tenor of the occasion. If the paean was the norm at the beginning of the symposion, the dithyramb may be a witty sort of answer to that—not itself sacred, but a sympotic play on a sacred song from the other end of the spectrum that spanned from sober restraint to drunken chaos. Like much other self-referential sympotic literature, then, this poem characterizes the degree of order *vs* abandon in this particular symposion of Archilochus. So here, the sacred is not entirely cast aside, but it is more a case of employing poetic generic play to riff on a baseline of Dionysiac sacredness at the symposion rather than any straightforward religious utterance. There is a difference between this and taking the songs at face value as sacred songs that facilitate religious experience at the symposion.

3 Anacreon

One of the things the poems can sometimes be seen to do is import a form of sacred discourse from some other cultic context outside the symposion in order to project it within the *andron*. Such projection from the world at large to the world of the symposion is something we see in relation to all sorts of spheres besides the sacred; there is a good reason why the symposion is so often termed a 'microcosm' of the Greek world.[14] Take Anacreon fr. 410:

> ἐπὶ δ' ὀφρύσιν σελίνων στεφανίσκους
> θέμενοι θάλειαν ἑορτὴν ἀγάγωμεν
> Διονύσωι
>
> let us place 'crownlets' of celery on our brow
> and celebrate the rich feast for Dionysus

13 Instone makes this suggestion in his review of Zimmerman's monograph on the dithyrambic genre: Instone (1994) 14.

14 See e.g. Gagné (2016) 207–208, with refs.

This is a textbook sympotic exhortation, firmly rooted in the here and now: there is mention of the wearing of garlands, and there is the inclusive invitation to enjoy the present festivities. But these present festivities are characterized in a way that imports elements from sacred activity that is not strictly speaking sympotic by mention of a θάλεια ἑορτή, a rich feast, that is to say a much larger-scale religious celebration. Perhaps the sorts of connotation that this noun is meant to import are indicated by the secondary meaning of the word according to LSJ, which is, by derivation, 'something that is enjoyed' and, from there, 'amusement' or 'fun'.[15] I wonder too if there is something pointed about the celery crowns, which draw attention to themselves by the highly unusual diminutive στεφανίσκους. Celery crowns do occasionally appear in sympotic contexts,[16] but in our fragment, where the symposion of the performance is modified by the notion of a larger scale festival, the other associations of celery crowns might come to the fore. As we know, celery crowns were the prize at the Isthmian and Nemean games; both games have aetiologies as funeral games, and often when celery crowns are mentioned in the ancient record it is in some kind of association to mourning.[17] If more than this snippet had survived of Anacreon's poem it might have been possible to comment on the point of this possible mournful allusion; as things stand we must confine ourselves to remarking that this is a case of a civic religious festival being projected onto the symposion.[18]

A similar effect recurs in another well-known fragment of Anacreon, *PMG* 356a, another classic sympotic exhortation:

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15 Cf. Thuc. 1.70.8, Antiphon Soph. fr. 10 Gernet, Pl. *Phdr.* 276b (cited by LSJ).

16 Bernsdorff (2020) ad loc.

17 Mentions other than in connection with the Isthmian games: Duris of Samos *FGrHist* 76 F 33 in Photius σ 136 Theodoridis: Σελίνου στέφανος· πένθιμος· τὸ γὰρ σέλινον πένθεσι προσήκει, ὡς ἔφη καὶ Δοῦρις ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἀγώνων 'celery crown: mournful; for celery befits grief, as Douris also says in his *On the Games*'; Diogenianus τ 57 von Leutsch–Schneidewin: Τοῦ σελίνου δεῖται: ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπισφαλῶς νοσούντων. Καὶ γὰρ εἰώθαμεν στεφανοῦν σελίνοις τὰ μνήματα 'all that is missing is the celery: used of people who are at death's door. For we also use celery crowns on tombs'; Polyaenus, *Strat.* 5.12.1: οἱ στρατιῶται τὸ σημεῖον ἐφοβήθησαν, ὅτι ἄρα παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς τὰ μνημεῖα τῶν ἀποθανόντων στεφανοῦται σελίνοις 'the soldiers were intimidated by the sign, for in their country the monuments of the dead are wreathed with celery' (the remainder of this passage illustrates the multiplicity of meanings that celery crowns can take on, here shifting from denoting mourning to denoting victory). I am indebted to Dennis Alley and Enrico Emanuele Prodi for helpful suggestions on this matter.

18 An anonymous reader speculates that it is not impossible that 'the symposium for which Anacr. composed 410 *PMG* happened at the *Isthmia*'.

ἄγε δὴ φέρ᾽ ἡμὶν ὦ παῖ
κελέβην, ὅκως ἄμυστιν
προπίω, τὰ μὲν δέκ᾽ ἐγχέας
ὕδατος, τὰ πέντε δ᾽ οἴνου
κυάθους, ὡς ἂν †ὑβριστιῶς†
ἀνὰ δηῦτε βασσαρήσω.

Come then boy and bring me
a cup, so that I may drink it
in one breath, first pour ten ladles
of water, then five of wine, so that I
might, once again, *anabassarize*
?without/with? *hybris*.

Again, what is interesting here is the way in which the final line departs from the sympotic 'here and now' to import something from sacred practice that does not of itself belong to the symposion. The verb *anabassarizein* refers to cultic activities involving *ekstasis* and projects them onto the symposion. Unfortunately, here again textual corruption hinders interpretation. The Bassarids were female devotees of Dionysus whose divinely inspired *mania* was similar to that of the bacchants. The implication, then, would be that Anacreon proposes to get very drunk. But the preceding lines appear to confuse the issue: the ratio of one part wine to two parts water seems weak, though this is probably compensated by the drinking of the contents of a *kelebe* (five *kyathoi*, we are told) in one breath. Ancient sources suggest that ἄμυστιν, 'in one breath', is a technical term of sorts; it is used in descriptions of sympotic games which involved draining a cup as a kind of dare (a little like the old-fashioned Oxford practice of 'sconcing').[19] The dilemma is perhaps insoluble given the corruption in the penultimate line: we do not know whether Anacreon proposes to sing with *hybris* or without *hybris*. In any case, would it be justified to argue, with Fiona Hobden, that Anacreon is here 'urg[ing] his companions into a communion with the divine'? I am unconvinced. I am inclined rather to the view that there is a large measure of irony here, an irony which would be entirely in keeping with Anacreon's tone elsewhere. The use of the adverb δηῦτε in the final line reinforces this impression: it is a well-recognized topos of pointed self-irony—'here we go again' is something that Anacreon says, well … again and again.[20]

19 For drinking ἄμυστιν, see Węcowski (2014) 44–47; for 'sconcing', see Murray (2018) 137 n. 12.
20 Mace (1993); cf. LeVen (2018) 225–232.

A slightly different sort of example of play with the sacred can be seen in Anacreon *PMG* 357. Here the poet seems to take things one step further. What this poem does—I would argue—is "pose" as a sacred utterance, while being something quite different, and it is not surprising that the fragment is preserved by Dio Chrysostom, who cites it precisely because it is a decidedly iffy sort of prayer:

> τούτοις γε μὴν ξυνέπεται μηδὲ εὐχὰς εὔχεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁμοίας μηδὲ αὖ τοὺς θεοὺς καλεῖν οὕτως εὐχόμενον ὥσπερ ὁ Ἰώνων ποιητὴς Ἀνακρέων·
>
> It follows that the king should not offer prayers like those of other men nor call on the gods in prayer after the manner of the Ionian poet Anacreon:
>
> *Orationes* 2.62 [i 29 von Arnim]

ὦναξ, ὧι δαμάλης Ἔρως
καὶ Νύμφαι κυανώπιδες
πορφυρῆ τ' Ἀφροδίτη
συμπαίζουσιν, ἐπιστρέφεαι δ'
ὑψηλὰς ὀρέων κορυφάς·
γουνοῦμαί σε, σὺ δ' εὐμενὴς
ἔλθ' ἡμίν, κεχαρισμένης δ'
εὐχωλῆς ἐπακούειν·
Κλεοβούλωι δ' ἀγαθὸς γένεο
σύμβουλος, τὸν ἐμὸν δ' Ἔρωτ',
ὦ Δεόνυσε, δέχεσθαι.

O lord with whom Eros the subduer
and the blue-eyed nymphs
and flushing Aphrodite
play, you frequent
the high peaks of the mountains,
I entreat you: come to me
kindly and pay heed
to my gracious prayer:
be a good adviser
to Cleobulus to accept
my love, O Dionysus.

PMG 357

Ostensibly—formally—this is a prayer: it has an opening invocation and a list of attributes (here the divine companions); γουνοῦμαί σε (l. 6) signals Anacreon's explicitly prayerful attitude; the request for benevolence is also formulaic, and the poem ends with an entreaty and possibly a dedication. But I would suggest that this is in fact no more than the shell of a prayer, a prayer with the sacred taken out of it, as it were, for the purposes of producing a fancy witticism for the symposiasts' amusement.

Ewen Bowie has already argued that this is a sympotic riddle, and that the reference to Dionysus, the Nymphs, and Aphrodite and Eros are metaphorical or allegorical references to wine, water, and love respectively.[21] I find this reading entirely plausible. The riddle then works by subverting the formal conventions of prayer. Normally, a prayer begins by ritually naming and identifying the deity, but here the deity is invoked yet left unnamed, and we are required to figure out who it is as we go along. By the time we reach the end we realize the full humor of this pretend-prayer: Anacreon is actually talking to his wine cup (or to the wine within it) and asking that it do its inebriatory job as he passes it *epi dexia* to his *eromenos*: 'make him drunk so that he may be more inclined to accept my advances'. An odd prayer indeed! It is worth clarifying once again that such a reading does not dispense entirely with the idea of the divine—of course there is some play with the divine (even beyond formal structures)—but it is more along the lines of what I have called 'riffing on a Dionysiac baseline': it is a long way from conventional attitudes to 'the sacred'.

4 Pindar Again

I come to my final and most elaborate example: Pindar's fr. 122. The fragment is transmitted by Athenaeus (13.573c–574b) who cites it from Chamaeleon of Heracleia's treatise *On Pindar*, together with the surrounding context.[22]

> νόμιμόν ἐστιν ἀρχαῖον ἐν Κορίνθῳ, ὡς καὶ Χαμαιλέων ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῷ περὶ Πινδάρου, ὅταν ἡ πόλις εὔχηται περὶ μεγάλων τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ, συμπαραλαμβάνεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἱκετείαν τὰς ἑταίρας ὡς πλείστας, καὶ ταύτας προσεύχεσθαι τῇ θεῷ καὶ ὕστερον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς παρεῖναι … . καὶ οἱ ἰδιῶται δὲ κατεύχονται τῇ θεῷ τελεσθέντων περὶ ὧν ἂν ποιῶνται τὴν δέησιν ἀπάξειν αὐτῇ καὶ τὰς ἑταίρας. ὑπάρχοντος οὖν τοῦ τοιούτου νομίμου περὶ τὴν θεὸν Ξενοφῶν ὁ

21 Bowie (2013) 36.

22 The translation of Pindar is my own, that of Chamaeleon is taken from Martano, Matelli and Mirhady (2012).

Κορίνθιος ἐξιὼν εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπάξειν ἑταίρας εὔξατο τῇ θεῷ νικήσας. Πίνδαρός τε τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔγραψεν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐγκώμιον, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· τρισολυμπιονίκαν ἐπαινέων οἶκον [*Ol.* 13], ὕστερον δὲ καὶ σκόλιον τὸ παρὰ τὴν θυσίαν ᾀσθέν, ἐν ᾧ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθέως πεποίηται πρὸς τὰς ἑταίρας, αἳ παραγενομένου τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος καὶ θύοντος τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ συνέθυσαν. διόπερ ἔφη· [18–20]. ἤρξατο δ᾽ οὕτως τοῦ μέλους· [1–9]. ἀρξάμενος δ᾽ οὕτως ἐξῆς φησιν· [13–15]. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι πρὸς τὰς ἑταίρας διαλεγόμενος ἠγωνία ποιόν τι φανήσεται τοῖς Κορινθίοις τὸ πρᾶγμα. πιστεύων δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, αὐτὸς αὑτῷ πεποίηκεν εὐθέως· [16].

Πολύξεναι νεάνιδες, ἀμφίπολοι
Πειθοῦς ἐν ἀφνειῷ Κορίνθῳ,
αἵ τε τᾶς χλωρᾶς λιβάνου ξανθὰ δάκρη
θυμιᾶτε, πολλάκι ματέρ᾽ ἐρώτων
οὐρανίαν πτάμεναι
νοήματι πρὸς Ἀφροδίταν,
ὑμῖν ἄνευθ᾽ ἀπαγορίας ἔπορεν,
ὦ παῖδες, ἐρατεινᾶις ‘ἐν’ εὐναῖς
μαλθακᾶς ὥρας ἀπὸ καρπὸν δρέπεσθαι.
σὺν δ᾽ ανάγκᾳι πὰν καλόν …
(desunt vv. 10–12)

ἀλλὰ θαυμάζω, τί με λέξοντι Ἰσθμοῦ
δεσπόται τοιάνδε μελίφρονος ἀρχὰν
εὑρόμενον σκολίου
ξυνάορον ξυναῖς γυναιξίν.
διδάξαμεν χρυσὸν καθαρᾷ βασάνῳ …

ὦ Κύπρου δέσποινα, τεὸν δεῦτ᾽ ἐς ἄλσος
φορβάδων κορᾶν ἀγέλαν ἑκατόγγυι-
ον Ξενοφῶν τελέαις
ἐπάγαγ᾽ εὐχωλαῖς ἰανθείς.

7 ἀπαγορίας: ἐπαγορίας Meineke[23]

It is an old custom at Corinth, as Chamaeleon the Heracleot reports in his book *On Pindar*, that whenever the city prays to Aphrodite about impor-

23 I accept Leslie Kurke's arguments for this Pindaric *hapax*: Kurke (1996).

tant matters, they include as many prostitutes as possible in their supplication, and the prostitutes pray to the goddess and later are present at the sacrifices … . Private citizens also pray to the goddess that if what they make their request about is accomplished they will bring prostitutes to her. Since this was the sort of custom there was concerning the goddess, Xenophon of Corinth, when he went to Olympia to the contest prayed that he would also bring prostitutes to the goddess if he won. And Pindar at first wrote an encomium for him, the beginning of which was, 'I praise a house thrice victorious at Olympia.' Later he wrote a song [*skolion*] for a sacrifice, in which he composed a beginning for the prostitutes who joined the sacrifice when Xenophon was on hand and sacrificing to Aphrodite. Therefore he said, [18–20]. But he began the song in this way: [1–9]. Having begun in this way, he continues, [13–15]. For it is clear that in directing his speech to the prostitutes he is expressing concern about what sort of action it will appear to be to the Corinthians. But with confidence in himself, it seems, he thereafter wrote. [16].

Girls who are hosts to many, attendants
of Persuasion in wealthy Corinth,
you who burn the fair tears of pale incense
again and again flying in mind

to the heavenly mother of loves, Aphrodite.
To you she has granted without the option to decline,
girls, in beds of love
to have the fruit of your soft prime plucked.
What is done by necessity is always good …
[3 verses missing]

But I wonder what the lords of the Isthmus
will say to me for devising such a beginning
of a sweet-minded *skolion*
joined with communal women.
We discover gold by testing it on a pure touchstone …

O mistress of Cyprus, here to your *alsos*
Xenophon brought a hundred-limbed herd
of grazing girls,
gladdened at the fulfillment of his prayers.

Chamaeleon fr. 31 Wehrli = 35 Martano

It is commonly acknowledged that Chamaeleon generally made up biographical details about poets and poems on the basis of his interpretations. According to his account, fr. 122 is from a companion poem to *Olympian* 13, which celebrates Xenophon of Corinth's double victory in stadion and pentathlon in 464. Xenophon had vowed that he would bring (ἀπάξειν) *hetairai* to Aphrodite in accordance with a supposed Corinthian custom in the event of victory at the games. According to Chamaeleon, this poem was performed at the sacrifice in which the prostitutes were brought to Aphrodite.

In modern editions, the fragment is grouped with the *Encomia*, which is the book in which sympotic poems would naturally fit. Indeed, it is the only extant poem of Pindar that expressly declares itself to be a *skolion*, a sympotic song.[24] There has been a huge amount of controversy on the kind of performance that this poem implies. On most readings, this is a sacred song performed in a cultic context; classic theories for the performance scenario of this poem involve performance at a sanctuary of Aphrodite on Acrocorinth, whether a choral performance (one suggestion has Xenophon leading a chorus of prostitutes) or a solo performance by the poet, either on the occasion itself of the dedication of the *hetairai* or at a banquet immediately following.[25] I wish to argue instead that this is a sympotic song, as the term *skolion* suggests, and that it is coherent with the kind of sympotic play with the sacred that I have tried to characterize thus far.

The interpretation of this fragment as belonging to a cultic song seems to me to rely on a literal interpretation of some aspects of Pindar's description and on a somewhat naive trust in the sources that preserve it for us. As we have seen, our text goes back to Chamaeleon, who bears the chief responsibility for the cultic interpretation of the fragment. Chamaeleon tells us that this *skolion* (as he, too, calls it) was performed *para ten thysian*, whatever exactly that means. This is clearly an inference from the text: on the face of it—on a literal reading—there is no straightforward way to make sense of a dedication of *hetairai* in an *alsos* of Aphrodite; given this and the *hetairai*'s burning of incense in the first stanza, it is easy to see why Chamaeleon would have come to this reconstruction of the poem's performance. Note that, in addition to calling the poem a *skolion*, Chamaeleon uses throughout the unmarked term *hetairai*, which is fully compatible with the sympotic sphere, and rather less compatible with the cultic sphere (not because *hetairai* could not take part in religious

24 I am not persuaded by Hubbard's distinction between a *skolion*, and an *archa skoliou*, l. 14, but even his reading explicitly anticipates sympotic reperformance: Hubbard (2011) 354.

25 See e.g. Hubbard (2011) 353–355; Currie (2011) 289–293; Cingano (2003) 42–44; Van Groningen (1960) 19–21.

cult, but rather there is no framework for a ritual involving the dedication of *hetairai* by a third party).

The difficulty over the dedication of *hetairai* to Aphrodite is usually surmounted by assuming that the *hetairai* are in fact *hierodouloi*, sacred prostitutes, though nowhere in the poem or in the source that preserves it is anything said to this effect. It follows that the cultic interpretation of this fragment relies on the assumption that sacred prostitution was practiced in ancient Greece, an assumption for which the evidence is questionable to say the least. Stephanie Budin has made a thorough study of the question, coming at it from the Near Eastern perspective, and this is important because Greek sacred prostitution is thought to have been borrowed from the Near East, so that, if, as Budin argues, it did not exist in the Near East then it cannot have been borrowed by the Greeks.[26] There are only two mentions of sacred prostitution in the whole of Greek literature, both in Strabo, and they are effectively dispatched by Budin in her study. The upshot is that there is no reliable evidence for the existence of sacred prostitution in ancient Greece. It is uneconomical to persist in positing the existence of sacred prostitution solely for the sake of Chamaeleon, especially when a more natural interpretation of the fragment suggests itself, as I argue presently.

Budin discusses our Pindaric fragment at length and though I find a lot of what she says unconvincing (various misconceptions are well pointed out by Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge in her review of Budin's volume), there is one detail on which I think Budin must be right: that is to say that the *alsos* is not a literal sacred setting but a metaphorical reference to the *andron* as the setting of the symposion.[27] The 'grove of Aphrodite' has usually been taken literally to indicate the sacred precinct of the goddess, but given what we know of the activities of the symposion, it is not a big leap to think of it a sacred place of Aphrodite. I have argued elsewhere that the symposion lent itself to being metamorphosed into a kind of imaginative backdrop, whether a ship at sea or a gathering in a garden.[28] Other chapters in this volume discuss Sappho's fr. 2 Neri, where too we have an *alsos* of Aphrodite. It is not controversial to argue that the *alsos* there is a symbolic scenario rather than a literal sanctuary. Specific elements of the text of fr. 2 that point against a literal interpretation are the metaphor of 'deep sleep dripping from shimmering branches' (7–8) placed in coordination with the other descriptors and without anything to distinguish it from them; the mention of νέκταρ; and the mention of the cups (*kylikes*, line 14)

26 Budin (2008); Pirenne-Delforge (2009).

27 Budin (2008) 115–140 and Budin (2006) 86.

28 Cazzato (2016).

in the return to the 'here and now' of the prayer, which are specifically sympotic rather than cultic, while the fact that they are made of gold suggests their extraordinariness.[29] The same conceit seems to be at play in our Pindaric fragment. If the *alsos* here is indeed an *andron*, if the setting is a symposion, then we can start to read this poem in the playful vein in which I contend it was composed.

The first two stanzas might be read as a generic twist on the genre *partheneion*, for which Pindar was, of course, renowned. As Oswyn Murray points out, the opening lines 'purport to be the address of a chorus master to his chorus in the style of Alcman's maiden-songs'.[30] I wonder if we can press this idea of parthenaic self-parody further. In these first two stanzas there is a remarkable focus on the identity and activities of the women. The present tense verb θυμιᾶτε in l. 4, if indeed with Maehler we understand that comma to belong before πολλάκι rather than after it, might be read as a particularizing present and as such as gesturing to the way in which *partheneion* as a genre has a sort ecphrastic obsession with what the young girls are doing—and indeed with what they are thinking: the striking image here in our Xenophon fragment of the girls 'repeatedly flying in their thoughts to Aphrodite' (πτάμεναι νοήματι) reminds me at least of the peculiar way in which *partheneion* seems to track in real time the inner life of the girls.[31] Be that as it may with regard to parthenaic self-parody, certainly the highfalutin opening address to a bunch of *hetairai* has something of the parodic to it.

So too the poem continues. Notwithstanding the gaps in the text, there seems to be a coherent humorous trajectory in what we have. The opening, posing as all-solemn and sacred, evokes a cultic action—θυμιᾶτε, l. 4—which seems to set up a sacred backdrop more than it points to a sympotic here and now. But then, in the middle section, there is an abrupt turn—ἀλλὰ θαυμάζω, l. 13—and all the pretense of the preceding lines is deflated: here we are firmly back with our feet in the symposion, and it is here that we have the mention of *skolion*. The women who in the preceding section had been addressed as Πολύξεναι νεάνιδες, ἀμφίπολοι Πειθοῦς ἐν ἀφνειῷ Κορίνθῳ (1–2) and ὦ παῖδες (8) are here rather more prosaically or bathetically termed ξυναί γυναῖκες, 'communal women', and the "punchline" is underlined by the sound-play in that line: ***xyn**aoron **xynai**s **gynaix**in*. In retrospect, we can begin to appreciate the irony

29 Cazzato (2021), acknowledging Felix Budelmann's commentary (Budelmann 2018). On the association of gold with the divine, see the contribution of Martin to this volume.

30 Murray (2018) 205–206.

31 E.g. Pindar fr. 94b.33–34: ἐμὲ δὲ πρέπει παρθενήια μὲν φρονεῖν 'it befits me to think maidenly thoughts', and esp., at great length and complexity, Alcman fr. 1.39–91.

of the opening word of the poem.[32] Πολύξεναι, l. 1, which I have translated as 'girls who are hosts to many' is a double-entendre, alluding to the language of *hetairoi* and the world of Pindar's patrons as well as to the *hetairai*'s profession, a wordplay that mirrors the one implicit in the words *hetairoi* 'companions' and *hetairai* 'female companions', hence 'courtesans'.[33] Once the game has thus been given away, in the third section, which opens with an address to the deity, the tone returns to a parody of the sacred, in lines which have been said to resemble the formulaic language of dedicatory inscriptions, including the reference to the deity, the name of the dedicator, the object being dedicated, the act of dedication, and the fulfilment of the vow.[34] There is a further dose of humor in this closing part: the women who had been the object of such keen focus in the opening have become a 'hundred-limbed herd': this is a riddle of sorts, not unlike that we have seen in Anacreon above, and of a kind which we know to have been characteristic of the discourse of the symposion.

On this reading, Pindar's Xenophon poem makes extended use of elements of sacred practice and speech in a way that is perhaps not 'secular'—if there is one thing that emerged clearly from the conference that gave rise to the present volume, it is that it is not useful simply to contrast the sacred with the secular—but certainly not literal, not straightforward, and in ways which place an emphasis on poetic playfulness. In the case of this poem as with our earlier examples, an openness to this kind of poetic playfulness in relation to 'the sacred' reveals itself to be a productive strategy.

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32 We are told explicitly by Chamaeleon that this is the beginning of the poem.

33 Cf. Kurke (1996) 59.

34 Schmitz (1970) 71 n. 50; Prodi (2018) 301–302.

CHAPTER 13

On Polytheism in Greek Lyric Poetry

Gabriella Pironti

Starting from some preliminary considerations about how the conception of a plural divine world characterises ancient Greek culture in all its manifestations, this essay aims to underline the close connections between poetry and religion, whilst simultaneously shedding light on the polytheistic architecture underpinning the very structure of poetic discourse. Rereading different types of poems (Sappho's "Brothers Song", an anonymous prayer to the Moirae, the *Hymn of Palaikastro*, Solon's *Elegy to Eunomia*), the essay not only devotes attention to the multiplicity of deities called upon, but highlights and explains the close network of relations connecting them to one another. Whilst overall these divine configurations turn out to be flexible, and thus able to adapt to the specific context (discursive and/or local), some connections are inscribed within a widely shared tradition. Divine plurality and connections are both essential to an understanding of the individual poem, as expressions of the polytheistic language that inhabits it and gives it its meaning.

The reflections formulated here on the relations between poetry and religion take as their starting point the fact that polytheism is an all-encompassing concept running through all of ancient Greek culture in its every manifestation. A dense network of divine powers is present not just in the cult practices of Greek cities, the iconographical documentation and the traditional tales that we call "myths," but also in the various forms of poetry, helping to structure their fabric. The considerations that follow are made specifically from the viewpoint of someone who works primarily on Hellenic polytheism, and include not only a reading of some poems from a polytheistic perspective but also some methodological issues that represent their necessary logical and epistemological premises. It is with the latter that I wish to begin.

We should first consider the term "polytheism" and the meaning that I ascribe to it.[1] Whilst "religion" is generally used to refer to the whole set of

1 On what follows, see Pironti (2018) with preceding bibliography. Among the studies that have dealt most directly with the problem of ancient polytheism, though at different times and from different perspectives, see Brelich (2007, but the text dates to the 1950s); Schmidt (1987); Versnel (2011); Bettini (2014). An excellent overview of Greek religion is provided by Parker (2011). On Greek polytheism, see also Pirenne-Delforge (2020).

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divine powers and heroic figures, myths and cults that characterise the culture of ancient Greece and that regulate the relations between human communities and the superhuman sphere, "polytheism" refers more specifically to the plural aspect of the divine world. This plurality is active on all levels and is not just quantitative but also, and I would say above all, qualitative. I am well aware of the "etic" dimension of the category of "polytheism," which derives from an outside and originally critical perspective on the many gods of ancient religions. However, I think that if used deliberately and as an analytical tool, this category may be pertinent and heuristically valid: it may help us to bring out a specificity of the Greek representation of the divine world and the society of gods, a specificity that usually escapes us and that we need to bear in mind. I mean the qualitative dimension of divine plurality.

Generally speaking, "polytheism" describes religious systems that postulate the existence of a plurality of divine beings. This is numerical, quantitative plurality. However, we can only progress in the study of ancient religions if polytheism is understood and analysed not as a static system with many gods, but as a dynamic instrument in which the multiple powers of the divine world are connected to one another in a flexible and meaningful network of relationships.[2] In other words, we should imagine ancient polytheism(s) not as a "system" or "structure" but more as a form of *language*. As such, given its relational nature and potential to forge appropriate configurations of deities, combining tradition and innovation, we can also learn to appreciate the plurality of gods in its qualitative dimension.

To illustrate these preliminary considerations with an example, let us consider the poetry of Sappho as a starting point. Her poems obviously have a religious dimension as they reference or invoke divine figures, above all Aphrodite. But that was the "old" Sappho. Thanks to the "new" and the "newest Sappho,"[3] notably fr. 17 and the so-called "Brothers Song", it seems clear that her "pantheon" is not limited solely to Aphrodite, as Hera too seems to play an important role. Were we to adopt the customary approach, we would probably identify a sort of "religion of Aphrodite" in some cases and a sort of "religion of Hera" in others. But this kind of religious reading in terms of juxtaposed henotheisms is simplistic. The point of view that I propose is different and suggests reading her poems from a fully "polytheistic" perspective. I do not wish to suggest that this is the only possible approach to the religious dimension of Sappho's poetry,

2 On divine configurations, see Pironti (2022).

3 For an overview, see Bierl and Lardinois (2016).

but I do think it is essential if we wish to contextualise it fully and correctly. The ideal example is the "Brothers Song" and it is with this extraordinary poem that I wish to begin.

1 Sappho's "Brothers Song" (fr. 10 Neri): A Poem "Full of Gods"

This poem is not constructed around a presumed "religion of Hera," though there is very likely a connection between the theme of the song, the circumstances of its execution, and the important cult in honour of this goddess on the island of Lesbos:[4] through the dialogue with an unidentified interlocutor, the *persona loquens* invites herself to address heartfelt prayers to the goddess Hera, who is recognised as the appropriate divine reference point in the present difficult situation. This is a pertinent and important fact, but there is more: Hera of course, but not only Hera. To understand fully the religious dimension of this poem, we must consider the fundamental role of Zeus and, above all, of the relationship between Zeus and Hera, strongly emphasised by the parallel epithets used to describe them, Hera the Queen (βασίληαν) and the King of Olympus (βασίλευς ʾΟλύμπω). It is also worth remembering that the relationship between these two gods in the poem closely mirrors the cultic world of Lesbos, since Zeus was honoured alongside Hera in the sanctuary located at the centre of the island. In the complex network of relationships among the divine powers summoned by the poem, a role is also assigned to 'all the gods together' (σύμπαντές τε θέοι),[5] in other words to the divine world in the plural and considered in its connected totality; to the δαίμονες, a generic divine plural; and to an individual figure, a δαίμων, whom the King of Olympus sends to help those in difficulty when he so wishes.[6]

4 See e.g. Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti (2014); Boedeker (2016); Nagy (2016a); Caciagli (2019).

5 As concerns 'all the gods', I have always asked myself if Alcaeus, when he speaks of the '*temenos xynos* of the Lesbians, where they have installed the altars of the blessed gods' in fr. 129 (lines 2–3), is referring to the cult of the three deities whose identities are specified later on in the poem—Hera, Zeus, and Dionysus—or whether he might in fact be alluding to a larger group, also comprising other deities, or to a cult of 'all the gods'. Whether or not this divine collective was cultically rooted in the Lesbos of the time, it seems certain that Sappho ascribes a role to 'all the gods' alongside Zeus and that this is not a purely decorative or secondary reference.

6 Sappho fr. 10 Neri (translation, Rayor in Rayor and Lardinois [2023]). For lines 17–20, I follow the text of Neri (2015, 2021), in spite of (our) difficulty in fully understanding the meaning attributed here to περτρόπην, probably 'to turn away'. The emendation proposed by West (2014), accepted by Ferrari (2014) and slightly modified by Libermann (2014), does not fully resolve the first problem and also introduces a second, in no way minor issue, since it implies

...
ἀλλ᾽ ἄϊ θρύλησθα Χάραξον ἔλθην
νᾶϊ σὺν πλήᾳ. τὰ μὲν οἴομαι **Ζεῦς**
οἶδε **σύμπαντές τε θέοι**· σὲ δ᾽ οὐ χρῆ
ταῦτα νόησθαι,

ἀλλὰ καὶ πέμπην ἔμε καὶ κέλεσθαι
πόλλα λίσσεσθαι **βασίληαν Ἦραν**
ἐξίκεσθαι τυίδε σάαν ἄγοντα
νᾶα Χάραξον

κἄμμ᾽ ἐπεύρην ἀρτέμεας. τὰ δ᾽ ἄλλα
πάντα **δαιμόνεσσιν ἐπιτρόπωμεν**·
εὐδίαι γὰρ ἐκ μεγάλαν ἀήταν
αἶψα πέλονται.

τῶν κε βόλληται **βασίλευς Ὀλύμπω**
δαίμον᾽ ἐκ πόνων ἐπάρωγον ἤδη
περτρόπην, κῆνοι μάκαρες πέλονται
καὶ πολύολβοι·

κἄμμες, αἴ κε τὰν κεφάλαν ἀέρρη
Λάριχος καὶ δή ποτ᾽ ἄνηρ γένηται,
καὶ μάλ᾽ ἐκ πόλλαν βαρυθυμίαν κεν
αἶψα λύθειμεν.

You keep on saying that Charaxos must come
with his full ship. Zeus knows this,
I believe, as do all the gods.
Don't think about that,

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that δαίμων has the meaning of 'fortune', when just a few lines earlier δαίμονες was used to refer to the gods in general: in addition to the lexical echoes (see Lidov [2016] 105), the logical connection between the two phrases, which express the idea that the gods, in the first instance, and the will of Zeus, in the second, have the power to remedy misfortunes, is further evidence supporting the use of the term δαίμων with a similar meaning. For other arguments in favour of this solution, see Bierl (2016c) 313–314; Kurke (2016), 257; Lidov (2016) 82 n. 42, 103; Lardinois (2016) 177; Obbink (2016) 213–214; Stehle (2016) 287. Neri (2015) 63–66 suggests interpreting περτρόπην as meaning 'turning to protection', on the basis of the meaning that περ- generally has in the poets of Lesbos. See also Neri (2021) 570–571.

but send me, yes command me
to keep praying to Queen Hera
that Charaxos return here
guiding his ship safely

and find us secure. Everything else
we should turn over to the gods,
since fair winds swiftly follow
harsh gales.

Whenever the king of Olympos wishes
a helpful god to turn people away
from troubles, they are blessed
and full of good fortune.

For us too, if Larichos lifts his head high
and in time grows into a man,
our spirits may be swiftly freed
from such heavy weight.

In her poem, Sappho thus summons a configuration of divine powers, where "configuration" should be understood in the sense of a group of divine figures, all linked to one another: Zeus and all the gods, Hera the queen, the δαίμονες, (Zeus as) the king of Olympus, a δαίμων. And the construction of the poem's subject cannot be dissociated from the relationships that its author establishes, more or less explicitly, between these multiple divine entities, some of which are themselves plural (σύμπαντες θέοι, δαίμονες), or complex groups ('Zeus and all the gods together'). The word, the will and the knowledge of human beings—according to the *persona loquens*—are limited and unable to condition events (in this specific instance the return of Charaxos with a full ship): only Zeus and all the gods know how things will end. For the humans concerned, the only effective approach is a ritual address to the gods, but not all the gods and not even Zeus directly, but another deity, in this case Hera. The Queen goddess is recognised here as the appropriate addressee of a supplication in the attempt to obtain her indispensable aid: in this case for the safe return of Charaxos and the reunion of the family. Again in fr. 17 of Sappho, as in fr. 129 of Alcaeus, out of the three gods mentioned, Hera, Zeus, and Dionysus, it is to the goddess that the speaker turns directly with a "you". This certainly suggests a privileged relationship, inscribed in a shared tradition and probably also in cultic reality. But whilst Hera is the immediate interlocutor for a spe-

cific supplication, in the "Brothers Song" she is also given the significant title of Queen, making explicit the goddess's connection with the King of Olympus, on whose will any reversal of an adverse situation ultimately depends. Furthermore, in the second part of the poem, the *persona loquens* again introduces a reference to the world of the gods in general, the δαίμονες, who alone know and have the power to change the course of events: this is confirmed by the subsequent metaphor, which illustrates their action through the image of the sudden transition from storm to calm. From this collective the speaker then extrapolates the figure of Zeus, here seen in his sovereign authority, and finally the specific δαίμων that the king of the gods may send to aid mortals,[7] turning them away from troubles and so reversing an adverse destiny in its contrary.

The poem thus establishes a difference between Hera, who can and must be addressed directly, and Zeus, whose *boule* is not within reach of mere mortals;[8] however, the couple that they form and the parallels between their epithets also suggest that their roles might be complementary, almost as if the queen's favour is a first fundamental step towards indirectly obtaining that of the king of the gods. Just as in the upwards relationship mortals must go through an appropriate intermediary to propitiate the benevolence of the gods, so the downwards manifestation of this benevolence seems to occur through a divine intermediary, a δαίμων, sent by Zeus.

The relational dynamics at work here can be usefully compared to those we see in the second oracle delivered by the Pythia to the Athenians on the eve of the battle of Salamis, as recounted by Herodotus:[9] human determination moves Olympus, at least in part; but how? Athena prays to Zeus for her people and manages to obtain from her father a possibility of salvation that was previously denied. This dynamic is certainly less explicit in Sappho's poem, but here too Zeus is presented as the figure expressing the divine will, and Hera as the deity close to him who acts as intermediary between the human community that worships her and the society of gods. As concerns the δαίμων, I do

7 Whilst δαίμονες (line 14) refers to the divine world in general, as it consists of countless divine powers, the singular δαίμων should be understood as an equally generic divine agent, whose specificity lies not in a predetermined theological status but in the contingent relationship that ties him to the will of Zeus and in the mission that he is called upon to carry out.

8 This difference is stressed by Boedeker (2016).

9 Hdt. 7.141: Οὐ δύναται Παλλὰς Δί' Ὀλύμπιον ἐξιλάσασθαι, / λισσομένη πολλοῖσι λόγοις καὶ μήτιδι πυκνῇ ('Vainly does Pallas strive to appease great Zeus of Olympus; Words of entreaty are vain, and so too cunning counsels of wisdom'; trans. Godley [1922]). In supplicating her father Zeus, Athena adopts the supplication addressed by the Athenian *theopropoi* to Apollo in his sanctuary at Delphi: in this case too, the ritual act, though initially aimed at a single deity, then involves, in a chain reaction, a network of divine powers connected to one another.

not think it helpful to ponder his identity:[10] as Sappho would say, this is known only by Zeus and all the gods. What is certain is that sending a god to help mortals is an action typical of Zeus, who rarely intervenes directly, but mostly does so through a divine intermediary to whom he entrusts the task of directing events where his *boule* wishes them to be conducted. We find numerous instances of this dynamic in the Homeric poems: suffice it to consider Athena, who in the *Iliad* comments ironically on all the times that Zeus sent her down from the heaven to rescue Heracles.[11] In conclusion, it seems to me that we cannot understand Sappho's poem without considering the relational dynamics, explicit and implicit, among the deities evoked; in other words the polytheistic background that structures the very theme of the discourse.

Additionally if, as I believe, Greek polytheism can be studied through the metaphor of language, in its lexical choices as in its syntax, it is worth stressing that we have here a fruitful intersection between the Panhellenic background and the local variant of this language.[12] Leaving aside the metaphor, the appeal to Hera results not just from the historical contingencies that make her the federal deity of the Lesbians; this local level is certainly significant, but it becomes fully meaningful only when correctly located within the broader context of the cults of Greek cities, in which Hera is not a wife and a queen in absolute terms, but wife of Zeus and queen at his side.[13] In other words, this is a fundamental form of organisation of the divine world, comparable to the pairing Zeus–Athena. Why Hera? Sappho addresses Hera not just because of the goddess's functions as protector of the family and of long-distance trade,[14] but also for her role as queen, local and Panhellenic, which makes her a privileged interlocutor with the king of the gods.

10 Bierl (2016c) and Obbink (2016) lean towards identifying the δαίμων as Dionysus, Kurke (2016) as the Dioscuri. Boedeker (2016) is more prudent. On Sappho's δαίμονες more generally, see Stehle (2016), 277–279, according to whom these divine agents are distinct from the *theoi* since they cannot be reached by supplication; but to repeat her own words (283, n. 58), in my view δαίμων 'signifies nothing more specific than "divine power" working either good or evil'. Consequently, it should not be identified as one of the δαίμονες mentioned by Hesiod (*Op*. 122–126) as helpers of Zeus, nor with any specific deity.

11 Hom. *Il*. 8.362–370. On the "saving" action of the gods in Homer, see Herrero de Jáuregui (2017).

12 See on this the valid considerations of Graf (2010) 57: 'the dialectic of a common Hellenic language and its multiple dialectal expressions might well be a useful model on which to understand the tension between Panhellenic and local religion'.

13 See Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti (2014 and 2022 [2016]).

14 On this topic see Kowalzig (forthcoming); more generally on the maritime dimension of Hera, see Boedeker (2016) 200–203.

A final point on this poem before we move on to another "exercise in polytheism." In the sixth book of the *Iliad* (6.251–270), when Hector returns to Troy and encounters Hecuba, his mother asks him if he has come to the city to pray to Zeus (σὲ δ' ἐνθάδε θυμὸς ἀνῆκεν / ἐλθόντ' ἐξ ἄκρης πόλιος Διὶ χεῖρας ἀνασχεῖν), and then invites her son to take a cup of wine to offer to Zeus the Father and the other immortals gods (Διὶ πατρὶ καὶ ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισι) and then to refresh himself. Hector replies that this is not the time for refreshment and that he is not in a sufficient state of purity to address Zeus, before basically telling her: the best thing you can do is to go and supplicate Athena, whilst I go and look for my brother Paris to take him back to the battle. This sequence can usefully be compared to the "Brothers Song", with which it shares some interesting features:[15] the family in difficulty, the dialogue between two interlocutors on how best to go about obtaining divine protection in a highly critical situation, the association between Zeus and the other gods as possible recipients of a ritual address, the dialectics between the appeal to Zeus, the distant god, and the ritualised supplication of the local deity. The connection between these two scenes need not necessarily be explained as an example of intertextuality between Homer and Sappho. What interests me, from the point of view of the workings of polytheism, is to focus attention on the analogies between the two scenes and the topics developed by the various interlocutors, but above all to compare the Zeus–Athena dialectics in the Homeric episode with the Zeus–Hera dialectics in the "Brothers Song".

2 A Polytheistic Prayer for the Polis: From the Moirae to the Horae

I will now move on to another polytheistic configuration, apparently less central than the sovereign couple, but nonetheless important and significant since it has parallels in a broad range of poetic compositions. I refer to the relationship linking Zeus, Themis and the Horae. In Hesiod's *Theogony* (901–906), it is formulated in genealogical terms: Themis, the goddess of order and normativity, is one of the wives of the king of Olympus and with him this goddess generates the Moirae, the goddesses of the 'part' more than of 'destiny', and the Horae, whose transparent theonyms, Eunomia, Eirene, Dike, illustrate and make explicit the civic and political prerogatives ascribed to these divine powers, generated by the union between the sovereign god and the divine

15 For a stylistic comparison, cf. Lidov (2016) 57, 104, and Lardinois (2016) 176.

Themis.[16] At the beginning of *Olympian* 13 (1–8) Pindar appeals to precisely this genealogical connection between the Horae and Themis to express the well-being and prosperity of the city of Corinth.[17] Bacchylides, for his part, adapts this configuration of deities to the context of the speech delivered by Menelaus to the Trojans in *Dithyramb* 15 (50–56): beneath the gaze of Zeus, the Trojan men are invited to accept responsibility and therefore to respect Dike, accompanied by Eunomia and Themis. The metre of Bacchylides' poem is similar to that of a prayer or hymn to the Moirae by an anonymous author:[18]

(a) κλῦτε, **Μοῖραι**, **Διὸς** αἵ τε πα-
ρὰ θρόνον ἀγχοτάτω θεῶν
ἑζόμεναι περιώσι᾽ ἄφυκτά τε
μήδεα παντοδαπᾶν βου-
λᾶν ἀδαμαντίναισιν ὑφαίνετε κερκίσιν.

(b) Αἶσα ⟨καὶ⟩ Κλωθὼ Λάχεσίς τ᾽, εὐώλενοι
κοῦραι Νυκτὸς,
εὐχομένων ἐπακούσατ᾽,
οὐράνιαι χθόνιαί τε
δαίμονες ὦ πανδείματοι·
πέμπετ᾽ ἄμμιν ⟨τὰν⟩ ῥοδόκολπον
Εὐνομίαν λιπαροθρόνους τ᾽ ἀδελφάς,
Δίκαν καὶ στεφανηφόρον **Εἰράναν**,
πόλιν τε τάνδε βαρυφρόνων
λελάθοιτε συντυχιᾶν.

Listen, Fates, who sit nearest of the gods by the throne of Zeus, and weave on adamantine countless and inescapable devices of counsels of all kinds.

Aisa, Clotho and Lachesis, fair-armed daughters of Night, hear our prayers, you all-terrible deities of heaven and the lower world; send us rose-bosomed Eunomia and her bright-throned sisters, Justice and garland-wearing Peace, and make this city forget its heavy-hearted misfortunes.

16 On this topic, see Rudhardt (1999). For Bremmer (2011) 177, however, 'the Horai were minor divinities who were especially associated with spring, flowers and erotic beauty'.

17 See also Pind. fr. 52a, 6 Maehler for the Horai 'daughters of Themis' (*themigonoi*) with a reference to the people of Thebes, crowned with the flowers of *eunomia* (10). On this poem, see Rutherford (2001) 254–257.

18 Anon. fr. 1018, a-b (trans. Campbell). Bowra (1958), on the basis of the metrics and style, attributed this poem to Simonides, Hansen (1990) to Timotheus. See also Furley and Bremer (2001) 1.63–64.

Here, the *persona loquens* addresses the Moirae, qualifying them by their privileged bond with the sovereign god, and extolling their prerogatives to determine and weave human events. It is precisely these divine powers who are asked for help so that a whole city may forget its troubles and resume its life course. This assistance is not generic but specific, and takes the forms and names of the Hesiodic Horae, Eunomia, Dike and Eirene, whom the Moirae are called upon to mobilise on behalf of the suffering community. Dispatching these divine powers can be usefully compared to what we find in the "Brothers Song": the prayer to the Moirae seems to me to illustrate the possibility that on this occasion not one δαίμων but several δαίμονες may be sent to help mortals in difficulty, transforming a situation from critical to prosperous and peaceful. Of course in this case the authority who does the sending is not Zeus; yet the poem, be it a prayer or a hymn, opens by praising the close bond between the sovereign god and the divine 'Parts'.[19] Nor should we forget that Zeus is the *Moiragetes*, the great distributor of 'parts', and sometimes the Moirae are conceived of as functional extensions of this god.[20]

In any case, what I wish to stress, once again, is the polytheistic architecture of the poem: here too, its logical and semantic structure cannot be dissociated from the web of relationships among the various divine powers mentioned or called upon. To consider this point in greater depth we could ask: why is the prayer not addressed directly to the Horae, since the prosperity of the city depends on their active presence? Instead, the prayer is aimed initially at another group of deities, the Moirae, here presented in close correlation with Zeus on the one hand and the Horae on the other. It is the Moirae who are called upon to act and to dispense the Horae. The multiplication of divine agents involved is not a decorative phenomenon, but the principal way in which the polytheistic language of Greek religion in general, and of this poem in particular, expresses itself. Furthermore, the relationships between these two groups of deities are not random and cannot be explained simply by recalling, in an erudite footnote, that according to Hesiod both the Moirae and the Horae are daughters of Zeus and Themis. The poet of the *Theogony* does not construct genealogical relationships arbitrarily either, and there are excellent reasons why the goddesses of the 'part', *moira*, who dispense to mortals either good

19 The double genealogy of Hesiod's Moirae, presented first as the daughters of Night and then as the daughters of Zeus, is discussed in Pironti (2009); an allusion to this theme also seems to be present in the anonymous poem, where these goddesses, very close to Zeus, are later also invoked as Νυκτὸς κοῦραι.

20 Paus. 5.15.5 (Olympia); 8.37.1 (Lycosura); 10.24.4 (Delphi). *IG* I² 80, l. 12 (Athens, fourth century BCE).

or evil, are sisters of the divinities of the *hora*, 'the propitious moment'; significantly, in Hesiod's poem, both groups spread through the universe following the union between the sovereign power of Zeus and the normative power of Themis. Nor should we forget that, in the religious culture of ancient Greece, the Moirae are given a series of prerogatives that are far more specific than the vague notion of 'destiny' might suggest.[21] These also include what we might call a regulatory prerogative. As Apollo recalls in the *Iliad*, the Moirae have given mortals a *thymos* capable of bearing misfortune,[22] and these goddesses preside over the respect for limits and due measure, which must be heeded even in grief. According to Pausanias,[23] Zeus sent the Moirae to Demeter to instruct the goddess to put an end to her sorrow and anger, so that order might be restored to the *kosmos*. By subordinating the Horae's arrival in the suffering city to the action of the Moirae, the author of this prayer appeals to the same type of prerogative, since he explicitly asks the goddesses to wield their power of forgetfulness on behalf of the city, helping it to forget its misfortunes and to turn the page. To take up a topic dear to Nicole Loraux, only forgetfulness of evils, *l'oubli des maux*,[24] can allow the community to function properly and flourish once again. The action of the Moirae is thus an indispensable precursor to the deployment of the Horae: only in light of the respective areas of influence of these two groups of deities and the way in which they are distinct but also connected to one another, can we fully understand the structure of the poem, which appears to be inseparable from the configuration of deities called upon.

The presence of the Horae in connection with civic harmony is, according to Bowra (1958, 239), a '*communis locus* in choral poetry dealing with the fortunes of cities'. From my perspective, the *communis locus* is actually this type of allegorising interpretation. Themis, the Moirae, and the Horae should not be considered rhetorical figures, personifications of abstract ideas, but true divine powers. As such, they are essential components of the world for a *poietes* living, thinking, and composing within a polytheistic culture like that of ancient Greece. In consequence, the bad habit of reducing them to allegories, like that of neglecting the relationships between gods that structure a poem, leads not just to the loss of the polytheistic dimension, but also to serious misunderstandings in the interpretation of the text itself.

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21 See Pironti (2009), Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti (2011 and 2015).

22 Hom. *Il*.24.49: τλητὸν γὰρ Μοῖραι θυμὸν θέσαν ἀνθρώποισιν ('For an enduring soul have the Fates given unto men': trans. Murray [1925]).

23 Paus. 8.42.3.

24 Whilst the topic in itself is dealt with extensively in Loraux (1997), the expression can be traced back to Hes. *Theog*. 55: λησμοσύνη κακῶν in association with the Muses.

3 Singing for the *daimones* and Their Leader: The *Hymn of Palaikastro*

So how should we think of the Themis with whom Zeus is called to unite in the *Hymn of Palaikastro*? Is she the goddess of the same name or, as seems more plausible given the context, is *themis* here the name of a sort of 'council', or can it simply mean 'order'?

Hymn of Palaikastro[25]

ἰὼ μέγιστε **Κοῦρε**, χαῖρέ μοι, **Κρόνειε**,
πανκρατὲς γάνους, βέβακες δαιμόνων ἀγώμενος.
Δίκταν ἐς ἐνιαυτὸν ἔρπε καὶ γέγαθι μολπᾶι,
τάν τοι κρέκομεν πακτίσι μείξαντες ἅμ᾽ αὐλοῖσιν
καὶ στάντες ἀείδομεν τεὸν ἀμφὶ βωμὸν εὐερκῆ.
ἰὼ μέγι[στε] Κοῦρε, κτλ.
ἔνθα γάρ σε παῖδ᾽ ἄμβροτον ἀσπι[δηφόροι τροφῆες]
πὰρ Ῥέας λαβόντες πόδα κ[ρούοντες ἀπέκρυψαν].
[ἰὼ μέγιστε Κοῦρε, κτλ.
[.....]
[..... τᾶ]ς καλᾶς ἀός.
[ἰὼ μέγιστε Κοῦρε, κτλ.
[ἄγροι δὲ? β]ρύον κατῆτος καὶ βροτὸς **Δίκα** κατῆχε
[καὶ πάντα δι]ᾖπε ζώ⟨ι⟩᾽ ἁ φίλολβος **Εἰρήνα**.
[ἰὼ μέγιστε Κοῦρε, κτλ.
ἀ[λλ᾽ ἄναξ θόρ᾽ ἐς στα]μνία καὶ θόρ᾽ εὔποκ᾽ ⟨ἐ⟩[ς ποίμνια]
[κὲς λάϊ]α καρπῶν θόρε κὲς τελεσ[φόρος οἶκος].
ἰὼ μέγιστε Κοῦρε, κτλ.
[θόρε κὲς] πόληας ἁμῶν, θόρε κὲς ποντο⟨π⟩όρος νᾶας,
θόρε κὲς ν[έος πο]λείτας, θόρε κὲς **Θέμιν** κα[λάν].
[ἰὼ μέγιστε] Κοῦρε, κτλ.

Refr. O supreme son of Cronus, salutations! All-powerful over refreshment,[26] you stand at the head of the gods. Come to Dicte at the turn of the year and take pleasure in our song.

25 *IC* III.2.2. This poem was found inscribed on a stele in the sanctuary of Zeus Diktaios in Eastern Crete. The inscription is dated to around 200 CE, the composition of the hymn to the third century BCE, or even earlier. The text quoted here is that translated by Alonge (2008), but see Furley and Bremer (2001) 1.65–76, 2.1–20, for its history, a critical apparatus and preceding bibliography. See also Alonge (2011).

26 Furley and Bremer (2001) translate πανκρατὲς γάνους with 'almighty splendour', Brulé (2012) with '*tout-puissant maître du* ganos'.

We weave it for you with lyres, having blended it with pipes, and we sing having taken our places around your well-walled altar.
Refr.
For on this very spot, your shield-bearing guardians received you, an immortal child, from Rhea and beating their foot, kept you hidden.
Refr.
[two verses missing] … of the beautiful dawn.
Refr.
The fields (Ὧραι?) teemed year by year and Justice held mortals in her power, and Peace, who loves prosperity, governed all creatures.
Refr.
But, lord, leap to our wine jars, and leap to our fleecy flocks, and to our fields of fruit leap, and to our homes made thereby productive.
Refr.
And leap to our cities and leap to our seafaring ships, and leap to our new citizens and leap to fair (or κληνάν 'famous'?) Themis (*themis*).
Refr.

This hymn has received several commentaries, including one by Jane Harrison (1908–1909), and I do not intend to deal with it in detail. Long connected to a fictitious Cretan *megistos kouros*, this choral song in lyric metre now seems essentially to be an invocation of Zeus son of Kronos, extolling his power and invoking his arrival.[27] The local and ritual context is fused with the shared narrative tradition and the god's arrival is presented, in the lines of the refrain, in close connection with the myth of his birth and his role as leader of the gods, the δαίμονες. In short, here too Zeus is not alone, and his position is defined by the genealogical and hierarchical relations connecting him to the other gods. Once again, the deployment of divine action on behalf of a community, which is the object of the prayer, takes the forms and names of Dike and Eirene, two of the Horae in the Hesiodic tradition. Indeed, most editors suggest inserting the theonym Ὧραι at the beginning of line 19. In the wish expressed by the chorus, every aspect of the world will flourish thanks to the arrival of Zeus and the full manifestation of that sovereign power which guarantees prosperity, security,

27 On the figure of this Zeus, see Brulé (2012) who follows the interpretation of Alonge (2006). See Perlmann (1995) for a study situating this poem in its historical context, comparing it with other documents from Hellenistic Crete; see also Kowalzig (2005) 57–60, who analyses it in light of the civic impact of its choral execution, and Kowalzig (forthcoming), on how the song evokes the long-term memory of a specific ritual landscape, echoing its social and economic configurations.

and order. The beneficial action of Zeus spreads like a wave to affect the cultivated fields, the flocks, the production of wine, domestic life. Even the civic and institutional sphere is involved, since Zeus is called to invest with his power the cities, the new citizens, and the ships that plough the sea: a prominent place is reserved for the prosperity of maritime trade.

Finally, a point that deserves careful reconsideration is the invitation addressed here to Zeus to unite with Themis. As I mentioned above, this line can be interpreted in different ways, depending on whether we understand Themis as a theonym or as a common noun, whether we print it with a capital or a lower case 'T'. In the former instance, it is the goddess Themis, the mother of the Horae, with whom Zeus is invited to unite, in a genealogical and theogonic perspective that seems to be supported by the presence in the preceding lines of Dike and Eirene, whose action matches that of the sovereign god. In the latter case, *themis* is to be understood not as a theonym, but as a common noun, a term that the preceding list (the city, the citizens and so on) and some Homeric parallels may allow us to translate as 'council' or 'assembly'.[28] In this case, the wish formulated by the chorus is that the sovereign power of Zeus will be deployed on the cities, the citizens, right into the heart of the civic institutions, and that his power will penetrate the assembly or council, or perhaps that his power will ensure 'order', *themis*.

We must admit that all these solutions make sense, to the extent that it does not seem logically possible to rule out one or the other; probably this impossibility of choosing is no accident. In other words, it seems likely to me that the discourse is constructed around a polysemic word game, with multiple meanings operating in unison: the Themis of the *Hymn of Palaikastro* is of course the goddess, partner of Zeus and mother of the Horae, in reference to a shared genealogical tradition, but is also the civic order or, possibly, the name given here to a civic institution.[29] Once again, rather than dismissing the goddess Themis as a mere allegory and thus neglecting the poem's specifically religious dimension, it seems to me preferable to recognise her role in this hymn within a configuration of divine powers, alongside Zeus, Eirene, and Dike.

28 This is how, for example, Rudhardt (1999) 25 and Furley and Bremer (2001) 2.19–20 interpret it. The reading κλ[ηνάν] in place of κα[λάν] in line 30 corroborates this choice. However, we cannot agree with Furley and Bremer when they state that an invitation to Zeus to unite with Themis would be 'an almost obscene ending to the hymn' (19).

29 The gods with a transparent name require, and permit, a study in which divine figure and concept are considered together and in their multiple interactions: for a "conceptual" approach see Miano (2018), who applies it to the study of Fortuna.

4 The Favour of the Gods and the Choice of Eunomia/*eunomia*: Solon fr. 4

Of the Hesiodic Horae, only Eunomia is not explicitly summoned in the *Hymn of Palaikastro*, though the good order of civic institutions is nonetheless guaranteed by her sisters and by the union between Zeus and Themis, at once the goddess, order, and possibly the "assembly." In order to give Eunomia her due honour too, I wish to conclude this series of examples with a brief mention of Solon's poem associated with her name:[30]

ἡμετέρη δὲ πόλις **κατὰ μὲν Διὸς** οὔποτ᾽ ὀλεῖται
αἶσαν καὶ μακάρων θεῶν **φρένας ἀθανάτων**·
τοίη γὰρ μεγάθυμος ἐπίσκοπος **ὀβριμοπάτρη**
Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη χεῖρας ὕπερθεν ἔχει·
αὐτοὶ δὲ φθείρειν μεγάλην πόλιν ἀφραδίῃσιν
ἀστοὶ βούλονται χρήμασι πειθόμενοι,
δήμου θ᾽ ἡγεμόνων ἄδικος νόος, οἷσιν ἑτοῖμον
ὕβριος ἐκ μεγάλης ἄλγεα πολλὰ παθεῖν·
...
οὔθ᾽ ἱερῶν κτεάνων οὔτε τι δημοσίων
φειδόμενοι κλέπτουσιν ἁφαρπαγῇι ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος,
οὐδὲ φυλάσσονται **σεμνὰ Δίκης θέμεθλα**,
ἣ σιγῶσα σύνοιδε τὰ γιγνόμενα πρό τ᾽ ἐόντα,
τῶι δὲ χρόνωι πάντως ἦλθ᾽ ἀποτεισομένη,
...
ταῦτα διδάξαι θυμὸς Ἀθηναίους με κελεύει,
ὡς κακὰ πλεῖστα πόλει **Δυσνομίη** παρέχει·
Εὐνομίη δ᾽ εὔκοσμα καὶ ἄρτια πάντ᾽ ἀποφαίνει
καὶ θαμὰ τοῖς ἀδίκοις ἀμφιτίθησι πέδας.

Our state will never perish through the dispensation of Zeus or the intentions of the blessed immortal gods; for such a stout-hearted guardian, Pallas Athena, born of a mighty father holds her hands over it. But it is the citizens themselves who by their act of foolishness and subservience to money are willing to destroy a great city, and the mind of the people's leaders is unjust; they are certain to suffer much pain as a result of their great arrogance.

30 Translation from Gerber (1999).

> …
>
> sparing neither sacred nor private property, they steal with rapaciousness, one from one source, one from another, and they have no regard for the august foundations of Justice, who bears silent witness to the present and the past and who in time assuredly comes to exact retribution.
>
> …
>
> This is what my heart bids me to teach the Athenians, that Lawlessness brings the city countless ills, but Lawfulness reveals all that is orderly and fitting, and often places fetters round the unjust.

The antithetical pairing Dysnomia/Eunomia would certainly lend itself to an allegorical interpretation as, in the current view, these are abstract ideas personified for rhetorical ends. But once again the price we pay is to downplay the more specifically religious aspect of the discourse. If we choose instead to interpret this poem in light of the polytheistic culture to which it belongs, we should allow for the possibility that the poet presupposes an indissoluble bond between divinities with a meaningful name, like Eunomia and Dike with a capital letter, and the concrete effects of their action, lower case *eunomia* and *dike*. It is true that the discourse foregrounds the description of the evils afflicting or threatening the city, but at the same time it suggests the positive forces that may counterbalance these harmful effects. Whilst among the evils we can identify a series of forces traditionally connected to the family of Eris, 'Conflict'/'Strife' (in addition to Dysnomia, *Ate*, *Algea*, associated with each other by Hesiod's *Theogony*, for example, as children of Eris),[31] the positive forces include a reference to the sphere of the Horae: Eunomia and Dike are explicitly called upon whilst Eirene the goddess and *eirene* the concept are indirectly referenced through the allusion to Polemos and the civil war that the poet wishes to forestall. The traditional connection of these goddesses with the sphere of Themis with a capital theta and *themis* with a small theta is also hinted at in the expression σεμνὰ Δίκης θέμεθλα in line 14.

But the polytheistic architecture underpinning Solon's poem is not limited to this traditional configuration of deities connected specifically to the well-being and suffering of the city. To fully grasp the complex network of divine powers around which it is organised, we must start with the opening lines: 'our city', says Solon, is not destined for destruction, this is not the lot reserved for it by Zeus, *Dios aisan*, this is not what the blessed immortal gods devise for it in their *phrenes*. In other words, Zeus and all the gods are tendentially favourable

31 See lines 9, 19, 35, 38. Cf. Hes. *Theog*. 226–230.

to Athens and guarantee her perennial survival,[32] but it is the Athenians who destroy their own city with their irresponsible conduct. The idea is that of a *co-agentivité*, to use a fashionable term, between gods and mortals in deciding human affairs: we are a long way from the deterministic conception that we moderns often associate with the notion of 'destiny'. But this is not the time to take up the vexed question of the relations among Zeus, the *moira*, and the Moirae. What I wish to stress, once again, is the plurality of divine powers summoned and the significant manner in which they are connected to one another. The gods work as a group, and Zeus is called to represent a sort of synthesis of this 'society': thus, divine benevolence towards Athens is expressed through the meaningful association among all the gods, favourable to the city, and the *aisa* of Zeus, the sovereign god who ratifies and implements this favour. It is important to remember that Aisa, with a capital A, is also one of the Moirae (as in the prayer addressed to them above), deities who like the Horae are connected to the sovereignty of Zeus and the sphere of *themis*. The formula *Dios aisa* is a conventional one and we cannot deduce from it a reference to these goddesses in Solon's poem, but it is no accident that in the Greek tradition one of the Moirae is given a name that usually expresses the will of Zeus. The sovereign god is not alone and his will translates into a resolution that entails a more general agreement in which all the gods are co-protagonists.[33]

On the one hand, then, Solon's elegy illustrates how the connections among Zeus, the sphere of *themis*, and the Horae are reconfigured, adapting to a specific poetic and performative context, as is also the case in the prayer to the Moirae and the *Hymn of Palaikastro*. On the other, this poem provides a further example of the fundamental link between Zeus and all the gods, which we also noted in the "Brothers Song". But we must not forget that, in the web of divine powers called upon by Sappho, between the sovereign god and the divine world as a whole, the function of interfacing with the mortal world is guaranteed in specific instances by the *daimon*, and more permanently by Hera, the sovereign goddess who is Zeus' partner in Sappho's poem and who is also associated with the god in the cultic world of the island of Lesbos. To add a final piece to this polytheistic rereading of some poems, I wish to stress that the role attributed by Sappho's poem and the island of Lesbos as a whole to Hera, the wife of Zeus, is

32 According to Blaise (2006) 124, 'the sense is not: "Neither Zeus nor the other gods are the causes of the ruin of the city," but: "because of Zeus and the other gods, the city will never perish."'

33 On the collective dimension of the divine decision, with regard to the gods of Homer, see Elmer (2013) 146–172 and Bonnet (2017).

assigned by Solon's poem, and by his city, to Athena, the goddess ὀβριμοπάτρη, daughter of a powerful father, who with her hands protects the city named after her.[34] These two deities, each in her own way characterised by a particularly close relationship with the king of the gods, also act as privileged intermediaries between the sovereign power of Zeus and a specific human community, whose interests they defend and to which they guarantee protection.

5 Conclusion

In the religious view of the world proper to ancient Greece, a multitude of deities are called upon to intervene in the lives of humans, to protect a city or a community, like Athena and Hera in our examples, but also to save a family or an individual in difficulty. In the polytheistic conception, their benevolent action is not solitary, but is organised more or less explicitly by the will of Zeus and the other gods. To this dynamic we should connect the passage of the "Brothers Song" that refers to the δαίμων who may come, sent by Zeus, to transform the situation from adverse to favourable; this situation finds a parallel in the preceding lines of the poem, which say that the δαίμονες may change a storm into calm weather. The δαίμονες, the gods, form a group with Zeus, and it is thus from the world of the gods as a whole and from its sovereign authority that appropriate and decisive divine assistance is dispatched. This is why, in my opinion, it makes no sense to ask who this δαίμων is, with what god we should identify him: the specific identity of the appropriate and decisive divine helper obviously changes depending on the context[35]. I think it likely that Sappho is speaking in general terms but referring specifically to a type of dynamic proper to the polytheistic conception of the world and of the interconnected divine forces that operate within it. A network of divine powers inhabits not only the cities of Greece, but also its poetry. Lyric poetry is no exception.

34 On ὀβριμοπάτρη, see Bonnet and Pironti (2022).

35 For a careful and renewed analysis of *daimon* in the archaic and classical poetry, see now V. Pirenne-Delforge (2025). Daimōn. *Modalités de l'action des dieux en Grèce ancienne*. Paris.

CHAPTER 14

Sappho's Persuasive Prayers

Mary R. Bachvarova

Just as Maximus of Tyre compared Sappho to Socrates (18.9), it has become conventional for modern scholars to find in her work precursors to philosophical ideas or rhetorical techniques. Although the conception of Sappho prefiguring sophistic abstraction, generalization, and classification has been critiqued by Helene Foley, she still finds her an important inspiration for Plato's application of the metaphors of homoerotic relationships and human desire to his philosophical project.[1] On the rhetorical side, Jeffrey Walker presents evidence that Sappho, like other lyric poets, was engaged in persuasive argumentation; she deploys shared presuppositions via enthymemes capping her discourse to steer her human audience towards making a particular ethical judgement.[2] Finally, Felix Budelmann has explored how a theory of mind (or mind-reading) was implemented in lyric poetry, including Sappho's.[3] In this chapter, I contribute to this line of research by discussing how Sappho manipulated a god's mind through prayer, or—to phrase it more safely—the representation of such manipulation in prayer, since the genre and purpose of many Sapphic songs remain a subject of dispute.[4] The major difference between my focus and that of earlier scholars is that I examine the responses elicited from divine, not human, listeners. Furthermore, I focus more on the quasi-physiological, nonrational mechanisms of the mind of which Sappho intends to take advantage. Therefore, I present evidence for Sappho's use of the folk theories about sensory input as triggers of emotions and actions that were later worked up into a more formal theoretical framework by Presocratic philosophers and exploited in Hellenistic rhetorical teachings. To some degree I am expanding on the work of Anne Sheppard, who begins her study of how vividness (ἐνάργεια) was thought to create images in the minds of listeners with examples from Homer and Gor-

1 Foley (1998) with earlier references.

2 Walker (2000) 222–249.

3 Budelmann (2018b).

4 As Burzacchini (2005) shows, elements of hymns or prayers are quite common in Sappho's poems, but their actual function and performance context remains difficult to determine. For the text of Sappho, I use the edition of Neri (2021) unless otherwise noted; the numbering of her testimonia follows Campbell (1982). All translations are my own.

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gias, but does not discuss lyric poetry.[5] Here, I demonstrate that Sappho too was making use of similar techniques, but she took into account presuppositions about how the gods' emotions differed from humans when attempting to compel a divinity to do what she wished.

In order to highlight how Sappho (or the Lesbian prayer tradition she provides an indirect glimpse of) reworked and re-oriented traditional material to correspond with contemporary ideas about the minds of divinities, I contrast Sappho frs. 1 and 2 with Homeric prayers as well as with Hittite prayers and incantations.[6] The Hittite material is separated from Sappho's Mytilene by six centuries and hundreds of kilometers but the parallels between Bronze Age Anatolian *mugawar* invocations and Sappho fr. 2 are too striking to attribute to mere accident, showing that in this case at least the Lesbian poet was tapping into a pan-Anatolian tradition of coercive verbal art. Moreover, the sequence of invocation, praise, argument, and request found in canonical Greek prayers such as those of Glaucus and Chryses in the *Iliad* and Sappho's fr. 1 is first found in Hittite prayers; an innovation in the Near Eastern world, the four-part structure of Hittite prayers was cobbled together from texts of disparate origins.[7] Thus, the multi-section Greek prayers first found in archaic Greek sources from Anatolia likely were an invention of the Hittites that was eventually transmitted to Greek-speakers within Anatolia.[8] In turn, the shared presumptions in Hittite and Homeric prayers about the minds of gods and the emotions they are expected to feel towards humans that can be attributed to a long-standing

5 A. Sheppard (2014) 20–22.

6 For editions and bibliography of the Hittite texts mentioned here, see http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/, where the texts can be looked up by their *CTH* number (Laroche 1971).

7 The categorization of subsections of Greek prayers goes back to Ausfeld (1903). The terminology 'argument' and 'request' divides a prayer into sections equivalent to Bremer's (1981) 196, but I follow Meyer (1933) 5 in splitting Bremer's 'invocation' into two sections, one calling the god—the invocation proper—and the other empowering him with suggestive and empowering praise. This matches the Hittite sections, on which see Laroche (1964), Lebrun (1980) 414–418, 423–449, and Wilhelm (1994). It is important to note that this multi-part prayer was not universal to the Greek-speaking world, but typical only of literary prayer, Homer and the Lesbian tradition first of all (D. Jakov and E. Voutiras in *ThesCRA* III. 115–117, Versnel [2015] 449, with earlier references).

8 In Bachvarova (2024) I discuss the means by which Hittite-style prayer could have reached Israel to leave its mark on the Biblicsl psalms and on prayers embedded in the narrative of the Torah. Pulleyn (1997) 22–24, 26 does admit that Hittite prayers have strong parallels with Homeric prayers in their use of the *da quia dedi* argument, but attempts to discount the implications with the Orientalizing claim that, unlike Homeric prayers, the Hittite worshipper sees his relations with the gods as a servant–master relationship, a point of view decisively contradicted by Lebrun (1980) 457–458.

shared regional tradition of appealing to the gods, contrast with and highlight Sappho's novel assumptions about appropriate ways to address the divine. That is, we can concentrate on the differences among the prayers discussed here to understand how conceptions about the mind and personality of gods changed over time and to clarify how during the archaic period rhetorical tropes used in prayers developed in response.

1 Sappho's Cultural Context

But first, I need to make clear my interpretation of Sappho's cultural context, in order to explain why she would be interested in exploiting cutting-edge techniques of persuasion. My view of Sappho's *Sitz im Leben* builds on some of the insights of Franco Ferrari, who has brilliantly sketched out how Sappho participated in the fractious world of Lesbian clans, competing against rivals attempting to attract girls to their own circles.[9] Gorgo and Andromeda were not solely erotic competitors, but training their own sets of girls to perform songs similar to Sappho's.[10] In fact, I assume that many, if not all, of Sappho's songs, although they were performed monodically in classical Athenian symposia, were originally intended for public choral performance; her *hymenaioi* at least were certainly performed publicly by maidens.[11] This scenario is not strictly necessary for the rest of my argument, but imagining that her songs represent choral performances of marriageable maidens, ostensibly directed at the gods but also displaying them to men looking to establish marital alliances, which were weaponized in the deadly serious competition for political control of Mytilene referenced in Alcaeus' songs,[12] helps to explain our inability to clearly separate the personal and erotic from the religious in Sappho's repertoire, as she made use of a theory of persuasion that applied both to physical desire among humans and to religious devotion, and turned it on the gods to draw them closer and to persuade them to act on the performer's and his or her community's behalf.

9 F. Ferrari (2010), especially 1–54, 81–98.

10 Frs. 55, 71, 133, 144, 155, 213; T 20. See F. Ferrari (2010) 23–26, 95–98; also Walker (2000) 227–232.

11 See Lardinois (1996; 2001) on Sappho as leading public choral performances, contra Bowie (2016). Note, however, the cogent objections of D'Alessio (2018) 57–62, with earlier refs.

12 Alcaeus' *hetairia* received funding from the Lydians (fr. 69; Günther 2006); girls from Sappho's circle married Lydians (frs. 16, 96, 132); on Pittacus' marriage alliance with the Penthilids: Alc. fr. 70 (Gagné 2013: 212). See J.W. Smith (2013) 234–244 on Lesbian marital alliances.

Sappho participated in an artistic, intellectual, and political world that extended beyond Lesbos, in which personal ties to aristocrats in other cities, as well as the ability to display oneself on the world stage, garnered prestige and political power in one's home town.[13] She attracted girls to her circle from as far away as Miletus, Colophon, and Salamis.[14] She was aware of Pieria as the Muses' cult place (fr. 55), and she supposedly spent time in exile in Sicily (T 5). She appears to respond to Mimnermus of Colophon (fr. 4 West) in the Tithonus Poem, and she seems to be aware of the kinds of philosophical discussions about change found in Thales of Miletus.[15]

However, while Sappho was participating in the wider conversation about how persuasive rhetoric worked, it was not necessarily because she had the intellectual curiosity of a "philosopher" engaged in rational inquiry, like Plato. In the archaic period, the pursuit of wisdom was inextricably embedded in the aristocratic pursuit of prestige,[16] and lyric poets were actively participating in the intellectual competition. Xenophanes of Colophon mocked the lyric poet Simonides of Ceos for his stinginess (T 22), while Simonides argued against the legendary Wise Men and contemporaries of Sappho, Cleobulus of Lindos and Pittacus (frs. 542, 581), and Alcaeus mentioned his fellow aristocrat Thales in a festival song (fr. 448). Poetry and song were considered perfectly acceptable vehicles for novel philosophical ideas, as shown by the incorporation of fairly abstract discussions of the cosmos by Alcman in his own *partheneia*,[17] and the use of verse by, e.g., Xenophanes when expressing his disdain towards the sort of anthropomorphic gods imagined by Sappho.[18] Thus, by exhibiting sophisticated knowledge of contemporary intellectual trends, Sappho would improve the standing of her own Cleanactid clan in the high-stakes game of aristocratic competition on early sixth-century Lesbos,[19] and as a chorus leader setting marriageable girls on the public stage she would make her product—girls used as currency in inter-clan or international alliances—more marketable, at least for consumers who agreed with the aphorism attributed to Cleobulus, that brides should be girls in body, mature women in mind.[20]

13 On the outward-facing perspective of Mytilene, see Spencer (2000).

14 TT 2, 214B fr. 1.8–11; see F. Ferrari (2010) 35–36.

15 Fr. 58 with its recent additions; Greene (2009), Johnson (2008).

16 See Herda (2019) on early philosophers as aristocratic political leaders.

17 Frs. 1, 5, 14; G. Ferrari (2008), Sassi (2005).

18 E.g., DK 11 B14, 23, 25, 26.

19 Sappho as Cleanactid: fr. 98; F. Ferrari (2010) 17–23.

20 Diog. Laert. 1.91. Also note Sappho fr. 56, exalting the σοφία of a maiden. Compare Alcman fr. 3.82: παῖδα βα[θ]ύφρονα ('deep-minded girl').

Sappho also needed to keep abreast of current rhetorical theory about the mind in order to win the competition among humans for the gods' attention. The gods Sappho hoped to persuade to come closer were being importuned at the same time by performers at various shrines, loca for competitive display throughout the Greek world—the Muses at Pieria; Hera at Samos, Argos, and Olympia; Aphrodite at Miletus, Paphos, and Naucratis; Apollo at Naucratis, Claros, Didyma, Delos, and Delphi; Artemis at Ephesus, Perge, and Orthia, just to name a few of the more famous contemporary shrines of the deities we know Sappho invoked.[21] Indeed, Menander Rhetor remarks how long Sappho's invocations were, since she needed to list all the places she imagined a god staying.[22] Thus, performers of choral hymns were not only competing for human attention, but also for the attention of the gods.

2 Ancient Greek Theories of Cognition

The schools of ancient Greek philosophy for which we have relevant evidence assume a mechanistic chain of causation from sensory input to emotional reaction to action, although the exact details of the process can be imagined differently.[23] While the Atomist Democritus imagined air compressed by the object being sensed entering our bodies through the appropriate sense organ,[24] the Epicureans postulated a process close to a folk belief of passive reception (e.g., pollution entering via the eyes): very small, fast-moving particles constantly streaming off all objects in the external world leave a correspondingly shaped impression (τύπος) or image (εἴδωλον, φαντασία, φάντασμα) on our mind—if we focus (ἐπιβολάς).[25] Empedocles makes use of another folk belief concerning vision in particular, which imagines the eye actively seeking input by shooting out its own rays (e.g., the evil eye).[26] While for the other senses painful or unpleasant sensations are caused by the lack of match with their already existing recipient pores (πόροι), and pleasant ones by things that match their

21 Muses: frs. 103.8, 127, 228; Hera: fr. 17; Aphrodite: frs. 1, 2, 35, 194, T 47; Apollo: frs. 99, 208; Artemis: T 21.

22 *Or*. 9.123, 134 = T 47.

23 Theophr. *Sens*. surveys the relevant theories.

24 DK 68 A135 = Theophr. *Sens*. 50; see discussion by Taylor (1999) 208–211.

25 E.g., Epicurus, *Ep. Hdt*. 46–53.

26 On the folk beliefs of active and passive perception in ancient Greece and how they were used in philosophical theories as well as references in literary sources (not including lyric poetry), see Cairns (2011).

pores, for vision Empedocles thought in terms of like allowing for the transfer of like sensory information, the fire in our eyes corresponding to the fiery light emitted by the object we see, with different colors fitting into differently sized pores.[27] Among the lyric poets, Simonides certainly thought of the senses as the passive partners in the process of sensation, with the objects of sense exerting the active role, for he describes blowing wind as able to prevent 'honeyed voice from fastening onto the ears of mortals'.[28] And, Sappho's simile of Eros as a wind shaking her mind may allude to the concept of minute particles flowing from the object triggering desire.[29] Moreover, I will show that she thought in terms of "like operates on like," which in turn suggests Empedocles was systematizing further folk beliefs in this facet of his theory of sensory perception.

Thinking was considered to be carried out by means of mind-pictures (φαντάσματα) corresponding to the impressions, and recalling a memory meant making a counter-impression, like imprinting a seal on wax, which was also realized as a φάντασμα (or φαντασία).[30] A citation in the *Etymologicum Gudianum* of an Alcmanic coinage δόρκος from δέρκομαι ('see') to describe memory suggests he already knew this theory of mind: 'for we see original conditions (τὰ ἀρχαῖα) with our intellect'.[31]

Since words are also external "things," they can make or fit into already existing impressions, not of their sound-forms, but of their referents, activating the mind-pictures that are the means by which we think and remember, and putting into motion the mechanistic chain of causation. In Homer, the chain of cause and effect appears in his image of Rumor aflame among the Achaean troops driving them to gather in assembly,[32] and the theory informs

27 Empedocles DK 31 B84–87, 95, also Arist. *Sens.* 437b23–438a5, discussing Empedocles, who is possibly following Parmenides (DK 28 A46, B16); Arist., *Metaph.* 1009b21; Theophr. *Sens.* 1–4. For Empedocles, each sense corresponds to an element, and therefore is able to perceive that specific element (DK 31 B109), a view that influences Aristotle's thinking in *de Sensibus*. See Long (1966) on Empedocles' theory.

28 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐννοσίφυλλος ἀήτα / τότ' ὦρτ' ἀνέμων, ἅτις κ' ἀπεκώλυε / κιδναμένα μελιαδέα γᾶρυν / ἀραρεῖν ἀκοαῖσι βροτῶν (fr. 595).

29 Fr. 47: Ἔρος δ' ἐτίναξέ μοι / φρένας, ὡς ἄνεμος κὰτ ὄρος δρύσιν ἐμπέτων. ('Eros shook my mind, like a wind falling upon oaks on a mountain'.) Similarly, Alc. fr. 336.

30 Arist. *De an.* 431a, *Mem.* 450a. Similarly, Gorg. *Hel.* 17: οὕτως εἰκόνας τῶν ὁρωμένων πραγμάτων ἡ ὄψις ἐνέγραψεν ἐν τῷ φρονήματι. ('In this way sight engraved images of the activities seen on the mind.') See Webb (2009) 11–13.

31 Alcm. fr. 133 (= fr. 191 Calame 1983) 166, discussion p. 601; Calame suggests reconstructing a compound such as πάνδορκος instead of the more usual πανδερκής.

32 μετὰ δέ σφισιν Ὄσσα δεδήει/ ὀτρύνουσ' ἰέναι, Διὸς ἄγγελος (*Il.* 2.93–94). Alc. frs. 283.3–9, 307 follow the same chain of causation.

Gorgias' tendentious claim in his *Defense of Helen* (8) that 'the word is a great master, which with the smallest and most invisible body completes the most god-like works; for it is able to stop fear and remove pain and cause joy and increase pity'.[33] Moreover, here Gorgias appears to be picking up on Sappho's depiction of Helen in fr. 16 where she connects the power of [Aphrodite/Eros] (line 13) specifically with sight (beauty) and describes her as led astray (παράγαγ' αὔταν, line 11), thus mapping out the mechanistic sequence of sight, reaction, and motion towards or away that Gorgias builds on when he uses Eros as the paradigmatic illustration of the compulsive power of sensory input.[34]

3 Rhetorical Persuasion

The problems with the theory of mechanistic causation for those trying to live a good life are obvious, as it undercuts any notion of moral responsibility and free will.[35] Different philosophical schools came up with different solutions, from Epicurean 'atomic swerve', to Stoic 'assent' and Aristotle's insistence on cognizing's place in the chain from external sensory input to emotional reaction,[36] to denying that the world perceived by the senses represents true reality;[37] therefore, the successful philosopher always maintained his equanimity and remained stalwartly unmoved in the face of alluring or frightening sensory information.[38]

Rhetoricians, of course, had exactly the opposite interest—how to make use of this chain of cause and effect to compel their audiences to act—and Sappho proves to be a consummate orator according to the rhetorical guidelines based on these theories of cognition, although they are not explicitly discussed until much later. As Quintilian puts it in his handbook on oratory, philosophers think that 'to be affected by emotion is a sort of failing',[39] but an orator in court

33 λόγος δυνάστης μέγας ἐστίν, ὃς σμικροτάτῳ σώματι καὶ ἀφανεστάτῳ θειότατα ἔργα ἀποτελεῖ· δύναται γὰρ καὶ φόβον παῦσαι καὶ λύπην ἀφελεῖν καὶ χαρὰν ἐνεργάσασθαι καὶ ἔλεον ἐπαυξῆσαι.

34 See Breitenberger (2007) 145–149 on how eros has its effect on humans and Spatharas (2019) 24–37 on how Gorgias uses the passive reception theory of vision in his *Defense of Helen*.

35 Arist. *De an*. 431b, 433a; Epict. *Ds*. 1.1.

36 Epicurean swerve: Cic. *Fat*. 22–23; Stoic assent: Cic. *Acad*. 2.145.

37 Parmenides, DK 28 B2, 3, 6–8; Heraclitus, DK 22 B123; Pl., e.g., *Resp*. 5–7.

38 See, e.g., Democritus: 'imperturbable wisdom is worth everything' (σοφίη ἄθαμβος ἀξίη πάντων, DK 68 B216), and Plato's description of the flighty student who is not a good candidate for philosophical inquiry (*Tht*. 144ab).

39 *vitii loco est adfici* (*Inst*. 6.1.7).

must try to manipulate the judge's emotions, either arousing or assuaging the judge's pity or anger towards the accused or accuser (*Inst.* 6.1.8), particularly when the facts of the case support the other side. 'He is rare, who can truly seize the judge and lead him into whatever state of mind he wishes, so that when he speaks it is necessary to weep or become angry' (6.2.5–6). 'So true is it that the breath and soul of this task is, as it were, in the manipulation of emotions' (1.2.7).

Therefore, the orator's goal was to arouse mind-pictures so moving to the judge that they overrode logic through descriptions containing a sufficient number of details that matched the hearer's memories and shared social conventions to provide ἐνάργεια (vividness).[40] While Quintilian thinks of ἐνάργεια as actively pushing its pictures on the judge's mind (8.3.61–62), Pseudo-Longinus phrases it even more strongly: 'when mixed … with factual argumentation it not only persuades the listener, but also enslaves him'.[41] Such a description is an ecphrasis;[42] indeed, Simonides termed poetry 'speaking painting'.[43] Sappho in fr. 94 does exactly that with her lush portrayals of the joys of festival preparations and intimate companionship, which will allow her weeping and unwillingly departing companion to retain the memory as a source of joy in her future life.[44] Sappho's imaginings are typically meant to call up a strong emotion in the here and now while recalling a past strong emotion;[45] thus, in fr. 22, she reminds her addressee Abanthis how she used to feel about Gongyla and exhorts her to call up that longing (πόθος) once again as she sings about her.

Finally, in order to present a persuasive picture, the orator first has to vividly imagine it to himself, even put himself in the character of the person he defends.[46] As Anne Sheppard has shown, Homer considered the ability to imagine as if one were there to be essential.[47] Sappho, of course, has been recognized by modern scholars as exceptionally adept at assuming another's subject position,[48] for example when she imagines, for the benefit of Atthis a woman now

40 Also, Arist. *Rh.* 1411b24; Webb (2009) 87–100. See Webb (2009) 107–130 on the importance of shared social conventions in triggering memories.

41 κατακιρναμένη … ταῖς πραγματικαῖς ἐπιχειρήσεσιν οὐ πείθει τὸν ἀκροατὴν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ δουλοῦται (*Subl.* 15.9). Also [Longinus] 15.10.

42 On ecphrasis see Goldhill (2007), Webb (2009) 1–86.

43 ζωγραφίαν λαλοῦσαν, Plut. *De glor. Ath.* 346F = Simon. T 47b.

44 Discussion Burnett (1983) 290–300.

45 Discussion Burnett (1983) 300–313.

46 Quint. *Inst.* 6.1.25, 2.25–36; Webb (2009) 97.

47 A. Sheppard (2014) 20–22.

48 See, e.g., Janko (2017) 276–279, Budelmann (2018b) 238–239.

in Sardis, how she is 'going back and forth, as she remembers gentle Atthis with desire. Surely her delicate heart is consumed by your fate'.[49]

In Sappho frs. 1 and 2, the praying I-persona proves to be using these same techniques, but now applied to compelling Aphrodite to come to her. In fact, for the worshipper trying to persuade a god to listen to him or her, properly activating pre-existing impressions created during their past interactions and making new ones via external objects reaching the mind through the senses would quasi-inevitably cause the god to come near—at least if worshippers at other sanctuaries were not successfully producing more persuasive and alluring impressions at the same time.

4 Persuasive Prayers before Sappho

For a prayer to be successful, the person praying needed a strong grasp of what emotions it was culturally appropriate to attempt to arouse in the gods via mind-pictures. Whereas an orator in a legal trial would want to arouse pity, horror, or indignation (νέμεσις) in his listeners, depending on what side of the case he was arguing, David Konstan has argued that according to Aristotle's definition of pity as requiring the ability to imagine ourselves in the recipients' place (*Rhetoric* 2.8.2, 1385b), it should be an emotion alien to the gods, since they would certainly not expect to suffer as their worshippers do. Indeed, for Empedocles, God had only one emotion, rejoicing (DK 31 B27.4). Konstan shows that while the gods in Homer only occasionally take pity on humans when called upon, by the fifth century the gods' pitilessness was a tragic topos.[50] As I will illustrate, in the songs under discussion, Sappho appears to avoid trying to elicit pity from the gods, confining her famously piteous language to descriptions of desire. Not only Homeric prayers, but also Late Bronze Age Hittite prayers and incantations show that this was an innovation in the thinking about how gods' minds worked. Sappho, the master of matching her language to her subject matter,[51] prefers to apply the theory of "like accepts like," as articulated by Empedocles in his theory of sensations.

The prayer of the wounded Glaucus calling on Apollo epitomizes the Homeric appeal to divine sympathy (*Iliad* 16.514–526):

49 πόλλα δὲ ζαφοίταισ' ἀγάνας ἐπι- / μνάσθεισ' Ἄτθιδος ἰμέρῳ / λέπταν ποι φρένα κ[ᾶ]ρ[ι σᾶι] βόρηται (fr. 96.15–17). I follow here the text of Campbell (1982). The supplement is by Page.

50 Konstan (2006) 201–218.

51 Demetr. *Eloc.* 166–167 = frs. 195, 110(b).

κλῦθι, ἄναξ, ὅς που Λυκίης ἐν πίονι δήμῳ
εἶς ἢ ἐνὶ Τροίῃ· δύνασαι δὲ σὺ πάντοσ᾽ ἀκούειν
ἀνέρι κηδομένῳ, ὡς νῦν ἐμὲ κῆδος ἱκάνει.
ἕλκος μὲν γὰρ ἔχω τόδε καρτερόν, ἀμφὶ δέ μοι χεὶρ
ὀξείῃς ὀδύνῃσιν ἐλήλαται, οὐδέ μοι αἷμα
τερσῆναι δύναται, βαρύθει δέ μοι ὦμος ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ·
ἔγχος δ᾽ οὐ δύναμαι σχεῖν ἔμπεδον, οὐδὲ μάχεσθαι
ἐλθὼν δυσμενέεσσιν. ἀνὴρ δ᾽ ὤριστος ὄλωλε,
Σαρπηδών, Διὸς υἱός· ὁ δ᾽ οὐδ᾽ οὗ παιδὸς ἀμύνει.
ἀλλὰ σύ πέρ μοι, ἄναξ, τόδε καρτερὸν ἕλκος ἄκεσσαι,
κοίμησον δ᾽ ὀδύνας, δὸς δὲ κράτος, ὄφρ᾽ ἑτάροισι
κεκλόμενος Λυκίοισιν ἐποτρύνω πολεμίζειν,
αὐτός τ᾽ ἀμφὶ νέκυι κατατεθνηῶτι μάχομαι.

Listen, lord, you who are somewhere in the fertile land of Lycia or in Troy; you are able to listen everywhere to a man who suffers, as now suffering has come on me. For I have this grave wound, and my hand is pierced all around by sharp pains, nor is my blood able to dry up, and my shoulder is weighed down under it, and I am unable to hold my spear firmly, nor to fight, going against the enemy. And the best man has perished, Sarpedon, son of Zeus, nor did he help his son. But you at least, lord, cure this grave wound and soothe the pains and grant me strength, so that by calling on them I may urge on my Lycian companions to fight, and I myself may fight for the dead body.

Glaucus' invocation and praise of Apollo are brief. Most of his prayer is taken up with his complaint, meant to persuade Apollo to accede to his request to heal his injury and to allow Sarpedon's body to be recovered. He vividly details the physical symptoms rendering him helpless and pointedly contrasts Zeus' lack of sympathy even for his own son to what Glaucus expects from Apollo.

Turning now to Hittite prayers, in their argument section, the prayer-ego, although not in such a dire situation as Glaucus, complains just as vehemently with descriptions full of vivid details meant to compel the gods to act, if only to shut him up, like a parent with a complaining child. One typical complaint found in Hittite prayers, which is derived from Mesopotamian models, tries to pull the god's heartstrings thus:[52]

52 Güterbock (1978) 134.

> And for me, my house confronted with illness has become a house of anguish (*pittuliyaš*, lit. 'constriction'), for me confronted with anguish, my soul keeps leaking away to another place, like one sick for a year, I too have become likewise. Now the illness and anguish are too great for me.[53]

This compellingly vivid description of physical symptoms is comparable to Sappho's own striking description of suffering preserved for us by an ancient critic: 'and the Aeolians call pain (ὀδύνην) dripping (στάλαμος), Sappho: κὰτ ἔμον στάλαγμον (lit. 'down my dripping'), for they drip away and flow' (fr. 37).[54] But Sappho's vivid descriptions of suffering, wherever we understand their context, refer to erotic passion and are typically meant to remind her human audience of comparable emotions within themselves (famously, fr. 31).[55]

Another conventional persuasive complaint, about how hard the worshipper has worked for the god, is a variant of the *da quia dedi* ('give because I gave') argument that is a characteristic staple of Hittite prayer:[56] 'Your (wheat) meal, [your] liba[tions …] I repeatedly carry out, I am reverent towards the gods. I am wearing myself out, I am wea[ring myself out] with meal, bread […], libations'.[57] The *da quia dedi* argument is a feature shared with Homeric prayers, used, for example, by Chryses when he calls upon Apollo to punish the Achaeans (*Iliad* 1.37–42):

> κλύθι μευ, ἀργυρότοξ', ὃς Χρύσην ἀμφιβέβηκας
> Κίλλαν τε ζαθέην Τενέδοιό τε ἶφι ἀνάσσεις,
> Σμινθεῦ, εἴ ποτέ τοι χαρίεντ' ἐπὶ νηὸν ἔρεψα,
> ἢ εἰ δή ποτέ τοι κατὰ πίονα μηρί' ἔκηα
> ταύρων ἠδ' αἰγῶν, τόδε μοι κρήηνον ἐέλδωρ·
> τείσειαν Δαναοὶ ἐμὰ δάκρυα σοῖσι βέλεεσιν.

53 *CTH* 373.A rev. 14–17.

54 See Campbell (1982) for the full context of the quote. Such parallels were the basis of Müller's (1995) attempt to compare Mesopotamian *šuilla* prayers directly with Sappho fr. 1. The parallel, if significant, is likely to be the result of indirect contact, with the Hittites one possible link in a chain of intermediaries.

55 Thus, perhaps we should be careful about reconstructing it for the recently published Kypris poem; see Bierl's (2016c) 344–348 discussion of the suffering (ἄσαιτο) mentioned there. In fr. 172 Sappho calls Eros ἀλγεσίδωρος ('giving pain').

56 As opposed to Mesopotamian prayer; for descriptions of Mesopotamian prayer see Lenzi (2011) and Jaques (2015).

57 *CTH* 389.2.B obv. 9–12 with D obv. 4′–7′.

> Listen to me, silver-bowed one, you who haunt Chryse, and very holy Killa and rule Tenedos with strength, Smintheus, if I ever roofed over a shrine pleasing to you, or if ever I burned fatty thigh pieces of bulls and goats, grant my wish. May the Danaans pay for my tears with your weapons.

After the invocation cleverly combined with empowering epithets and before he makes his demand, Chryses makes clear that he has kept his end of the worshipper–deity agreement through caring for Apollo's temple and keeping up the round of expected sacrifices.[58] This is strikingly similar to the standard "only in Hatti" argument of Hittite prayers:[59]

> To you gods Hattusa only is a pure land, and we in the land of Hattusa alone repeatedly give sacrifices to you that are pure, great, pleasing. We hold for you gods reverence in the land of Hattusa alone.
>
> You gods alone know by means of your divine soul: before, no one had paid attention to your temples like us.
>
> N[o one] had held reverence for your [temple]s in this way. No one had paid attention to the goods, the gold, the silver, the libation vessels, the clothes of you [gods] like us.[60]

… And so on and so forth. Such complaints were used to explain rationally to the gods that the depredations of an invading enemy were their problem too, for the enemy were depriving the gods of their most diligent worshippers.

5 Sappho's Persuasive Prayers

As for the Lesbian singer, in Sappho fr. 1 she sticks closely to the traditional four-part prayer structure, but with important differences in tone and persuasive technique:

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58 Also Nestor, *Il.* 15.372–376.

59 See Singer (2002) 11. On Greek requests based on past interactions, see Pulleyn (1997) 16–18, 26–38.

60 *CTH* 375.1.A i 4′–16′.

Ποικιλόθρον᾽, ἀθάνατ᾽ Ἀφρόδιτα,
παῖ Δίος δολόπλοκε, λίσσομαί σε,
μή μ᾽ ἄσαισι μήδ᾽ ὀνίαισι δάμνα,
πότνια, θῦμον·

ἀλλὰ τυίδ᾽ ἔλθ᾽, αἴ ποτα κἀτέρωτα,
τὰς ἔμας αὔδας ἀΐοισα πήλοι
ἔκλυες, πάτρος δὲ δόμον λίποισα
χρύσιον ἦλθες

ἄρμ᾽ ὑποσδεύξαισα· κάλοι δέ σ᾽ ἆγον
ὤκεες στροῦθοι περὶ γᾶς μελαίνας
πύκνα δίννεντες πτέρ᾽ ἀπ᾽ ὠράνω αἴθε-
ρος διὰ μέσσω.

αἶψα δ᾽ ἐξίκοντο. σὺ δ᾽, ὦ μάκαιρα,
μειδιάσαισ᾽ ἀθανάτῳ προσώπῳ,
ἤρε᾽, ὄττι δηῦτε πέπονθα κὤττι
δηῦτε κάλημμι,

κὤττι μοι μάλιστα θέλω γένεσθαι
μαινόλᾳ θύμῳ· “τίνα δηῦτε πείθω
ἄψ σ᾽ ἄγην ἐς ϝὰν φιλότατα;[61] τίς σ᾽, ὦ
Ψάπφ᾽, ἀδικήει;

καὶ γὰρ αἰ φεύγει, ταχέως διώξει,
αἰ δὲ δῶρα μὴ δέκετ᾽, ἀλλὰ δώσει,
αἰ δὲ μὴ φίλει, ταχέως φιλήσει
κωὐκ ἐθέλοισα.”

ἔλθε μοι καὶ νῦν, χαλεπᾶν δὲ λῦσον
ἐκ μερίμναν, ὄσσα δέ μοι τέλεσσαι
θῦμος ἰμέρρει, τέλεσον, σὺ δ᾽ αὔτα
σύμμαχος ἔσσο.

Ornate-throned, immortal Aphrodite, child of Zeus weaving wiles, I beg you, don’t overcome my heart with pains and sorrows, lady,

61 I follow Campbell (1982) here.

> but come here, if ever at another time also perceiving my calls from far away you listened, leaving your father's house you came, your golden
>
> chariot hitching up; and beautiful swift sparrows drew you across the black earth, whirling rapid wings down from heaven through the middle air,
>
> swiftly they arrived, and you, oh blessed one, smiling with your immortal face. She asked what again I suffered, and why yet again I am calling,
>
> and what I most wish to happen with my maddened mind. 'Whom yet again should I persuade to lead [*sic*] you back into her love? Who, oh Sappho, is doing injustice to you?
>
> 'For even if she flees, swiftly she will pursue; if she doesn't accept presents, she will give; if she doesn't love, swiftly she will love, even if she doesn't wish to.'
>
> Come to me right now, free me from harsh distress; as much as my mind longs to fulfill, fulfill; and you yourself be my ally.

Sappho opens the song with a series of suggestive epithets praising Aphrodite, begging the goddess to spare her the pains brought on by erotic desire. She then quickly pivots to a delicate description of the goddess's arrival, which mimetically straddles the distance between heaven and earth across the second and third stanzas and extends into the fourth stanza. While Glaucus subtly makes the point that Apollo has particular obligations to the Lycians as their local god by wondering whether Apollo is nearby in Troy or far away in Lycia, Sappho calls the goddess from the house of her father as if exerting an agogic spell on her, as she wishes Aphrodite will do to her beloved.[62] Thus, Sappho fr. 1 shows the principle of like with like, the worshipper not only presenting herself with the same attitude she hopes for from the goddess, but doing to the goddess what Sappho wishes to be done to her beloved. In stanza 4, she uses the traditional Greco-Aryan dawn goddess epithet 'smiling',[63] but here it also serves

62 Cameron (1939) 8–10; Faraone (1999) 136–137 with earlier references on the close of Sappho fr. 1 as an agogic spell.

63 On the Greco-Aryan origin of Aphrodite's epithet φιλομμειδής ('smile-loving') see Boedeker (1974) 23–26. On the motif of the receptive smiling god, see Cameron (1939) 5. Burzacchini (2005) 17: a sign of her divine serenity.

to poke fun at herself as she makes Aphrodite present by imagining the serene goddess actually speaking to her. Sappho makes clear that she has no interest in trying to disturb the equanimity of the 'blessed' (μάκαιρα) goddess, who laughs at the crazed spirit (μαινόλᾳ θύμῳ) of her worshipper, 'yet again' (δηῦτε) pained by unreciprocated love.[64] Thus, she has the goddess herself affirm the depth and extent of their relationship[65] and promise to persuade the recalcitrant beloved, indeed compel her to chase after Sappho, in this way placing before the goddess's mind's eye a vivid image of what she wants to happen. The coercive violence implicit in the theory of perception applied here only reveals itself with the final two stanzas imitating an agogic spell and demanding that the goddess be an ally (σύμμαχος) in this fight. This last image transfers a prayer trope used in reference to military enemies to the zero-sum games of love and prestige, as Sappho compels the goddess to come to her instead of some other singer, whether in Lesbos or some other place in the Greek-speaking world.

When putting in the goddess's mouth memories of previous times she had aided her worshipper, Sappho makes use of her standard trick of recalling former intimacy, in this case shared between goddess and worshipper, by reorienting the traditional prayer motif of the past relationship to focus on triggering memories through vivid imagery in order to call up an emotion that leads to movement. She lays aside claims reminding the goddess how she has served her with building projects and offerings, instead reworking the Homeric *da quia dedisti* ('give, since you have given before') motif found, for example, in Chryses' second prayer to Apollo in the *Iliad* when he calls off the plague that he had persuaded the god to loose (*Iliad* 1.453–456):[66]

ἠμὲν δή ποτ᾽ ἐμεῦ πάρος ἔκλυες εὐξαμένοιο,
τίμησας μὲν ἐμέ, μέγα δ᾽ ἴψαο λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν·
ἠδ᾽ ἔτι καὶ νῦν μοι τόδ᾽ ἐπικρήηνον ἐέλδωρ·
ἤδη νῦν Δαναοῖσιν ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἄμυνον.

Indeed before, once, you heard me when I prayed and honored me, and you pressed greatly the host of Achaeans. Now also again carry out this wish for me; now at this time ward off unseemly plague from the Danaans.

64 See Mace (1993) on δηῦτε in erotic poetry.

65 Cameron (1939) 7–8, 11.

66 Cameron (1939) 2; Lang (1975) 311–312.

Instead of pleading, the emotional tone of Sappho's song is kept light and positive.[67] Sappho positions herself as worthy of χάρις by giving χάρις to the goddess in her beautifully worded, sung, and possibly chorally danced song. She focuses on giving χάρις, as she hopes to receive it from the goddess to avoid mismatches between the sensory objects produced by her and the goddess. Just as Aphrodite could soothe the sea, and her κεστὸς ἱμάς could reconcile quarrelling spouses, so Sappho uses the soothing and enchanting power of beautiful words and music to charm the goddess.[68] Here Sappho's persona of adult woman chorus leader also plays an important role, the charming feminine persuader teaching her erotic arts to the young women in her care; this role is what enables Sappho to take on the goddess's persona.[69] Thus, we can diagram a mutually reinforcing triangle connecting Sappho, Aphrodite, and Peitho ('persuasion'), the daughter of Aphrodite and the personification of the quality Sappho is attempting to exercise with regard to the love goddess.[70]

6 Sappho's Invocations: Tradition and Innovation

I turn now to contrasting Sappho fr. 2 with Bronze Age Anatolian precursors to show that Sappho's use of contemporary conceptions of how the gods' minds worked physiologically helps to explain key differences between the otherwise strikingly similar Sapphic song and the Anatolian *mugawar* incantation, as she implements the principle of like attracts like and manipulates sensory input to create appealing sensations that inexorably put the deity in motion towards the worshipper.

The *mugawar* was used to retrieve a disappeared god.[71] After s/he has been found, the deity is lured closer by sweet-smelling and tasty offerings and soothed with analogic magic, which works on the god through a series of suggestive examples that underline changes of state. For example, malted grain

67 Cameron (1939) 15–16.

68 Aphrodite soothes the sea in spring: Alc. fr. 286. Sappho was particularly known for the charming quality of her words. Demetrius (*Eloc.* 127 = fr. 156) marveled that even when Sappho is hyperbolic, she still charms. See further below on the κεστὸς ἱμάς.

69 See Bierl's contribution to this volume on Sappho assuming characteristics of Aphrodite.

70 Peitho as daughter of Aphrodite: fr. 200; Breitenberger (2007) 123–127.

71 This storyline was very widespread in the eastern Mediterranean: see Bachvarova (2008) 29–33. I quote here from the full translation of the composite text of a *mugawar* directed at the Anatolian vegetation god Telipinu provided by Bachvarova in López-Ruiz (2013) 451–458.

and yeast are transformed into intoxicating beer, which causes a second pleasant transformation in the drinker:

> As malt and beer bread are joined together with their soul [… let] your soul likewise b[e] joined together with the words of humans. … [As] hone[y] is sweet, as fine oil is soft, let [his] so[ul], that of Telipinu, likewise be sweet, and let it likewise be soft.[72]

> [Here now for you m]alt and beer bread [likewise] lie. [As] malt and bread join together with [their so]ul, and their [soul] (and) insides are made one, […]. They make drunk an angry [perso]n with beer, and his anger [vanishe]s [away], and they [make drunk] a fearful man and his fear [vanish]es [away], [likewise may the malt and beer bread] make you also, [Telipinu,] drunk.[73]

As the deity approaches, his or her presence is imagined to cause the sacred fleecy hunting bag (*kurša*) hanging on the eya-tree near the practitioner to be filled with abstract good things emblematic of agricultural prosperity (perhaps physically represented by tokens of some sort). The good things in the *kurša*, which has many congeners in Greek culture, including Zeus' aegis, Jason's Golden Fleece and the Διὸς κώδιον,[74] are described in a series of clauses beginning with *anda*:

> ^{d}*Telipinuš=za* LUGAL-*un kappuwet*
> ^{d}*Telipinuwaš peran* ^{GIŠ}*eya arta*
> ^{GIŠ}*eyaz=kan* UDU-*aš* ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš kankanza*
> *n=ašta anda* UDU-*aš* I_3-*an kitta*
> *n=ašta anda ḫalkiaš* ^{d}GIR$_3$-*aš* ⌜GEŠTIN⌝-*aš kitta*
> *n=ašta anda* GU$_4$ UDU *kitta*
> *n=ašta anda* MU.KAM.GÍD.DA DUMU.MEŠ-*latar kitta*
>
> *n=ašta anda* SILA$_4$-*aš mūuš ḫalugaš kitta*
> [*n*]*=ašta anda* [*n*]*ūš tūmantiyaš kitta*
> *n=ašta anda* ^{d}x-x KI.MIN
> [*n*]*=ašta anda kunnaš wallaš ki*⌜*tta*⌝
> *n=ašta* [*and*]*a* [*šalḫa*]*nt*[*i*]*š m*[*annittiš išpiyatarr=a kitta*]

72 *CTH* 324.1.A ii 24′–27′.

73 *CTH* 324.2.D iii 8′–15′, C iii 13′–16′.

74 Rutherford (2020) 95–97, comparing the *kurša* with the *dios koidion*. See also n. 85.

Telipinu took notice of the king.
In front of Telipinu an eya tree stands.
From the eya is hanging a hunting bag of sheep(-skin),
and therein lies fat of a sheep,
and therein lie (that) of grain, Shakkan, (and) wine,
and therein lie cattle (and) sheep,
and therein lie long years (and) descendants.

And, therein lie the mild calls of the lamb,
and therein lie [content]ment (and) obedience,
and therein the god [X] likewise,
and therein lies the right thigh,
and [there]in [lie abund]a[nc]e, g[rowth, and satiety.][75]

The key shared feature with Sappho fr. 2 is the Hittite repeated expression *anda* at the front of each clause, imitated with the expression ἐν δέ or a variation on it at the beginning of three of the four stanzas in Sappho's poem. I have suggested elsewhere that the parallels in phraseology, because they are too great to be the result of chance, show that the poetic tradition Sappho drew upon had incorporated from the Lesbians' Anatolian neighbors a text type that was considered effective at bringing a distant god closer, precisely because they considered themselves to be competing for the attention of the same gods.[76] Yet, the *mugawar* uses a different theoretical framework for persuasion than the one Sappho uses.

In Sappho fr. 2 the I-persona attracts the goddess from an alternate residence to her sacred precinct on Lesbos, luring her first with incense, which can reach the heavens, then, as the goddess gets nearer, with sounds and then sights, until the goddess has landed and participates actively in the ceremony as cup-bearer:

δεῦρυ μ᾽ ἐ⟨κ⟩ Κρητας πρ[οσίκαν᾽] ἔναυλον[77]
ἄγνον, ὄππ[ᾳ] χάριεν μὲν ἄλσος
μαλί[αν], βῶμοι δ᾽ ἔ⟨ν⟩ι θυμιάμε-
νοι [λι]βανώτῳ·

ἐν δ᾽ ὔδωρ ψῦχρον κελάδει δι᾽ ὔσδων
μαλίνων, βρόδοισι δὲ παῖς ὀ χῶρος.

75 *CTH* 324.1.A iv 27–35.
76 Bachvarova (2009) 26–31.
77 I follow F. Ferrari (2010) 152 for the first line.

ἐσκίαστ᾽, αἰθυσσομένων δὲ φύλλων
κῶμα καταρρεῖ·[78]

ἐν δὲ λείμων ἱππόβοτος τέθαλε
†τωτ … (.)ριννοις† ἄνθεσιν, αἱ ⟨δ᾽⟩ ἄνηται
μέλλιχα πν[έο]ισιν ⟨ ⟩
⟨ ⟩

ἔνθα δὴ σὺ στεμ⟨ματ᾽⟩ ἔλοισα, Κύπρι,[79]
χρυσίαισιν ἐν κυλίκεσσιν ἄβρως
⟨ὸ⟩μ⟨με⟩μείχμενον θαλίαισι νέκταρ
οἰνοχόασον.[80]

Hither to me from Crete approach, to your holy haunt, wh[ere the] grove is lovely [with] apples, and in which the altars smoke with [fra]nkincense,

where cool water sounds through the apple boughs, and the whole space is shaded with roses, and as leaves quiver sleep pours down,

and where the horse-grazing meadow flourishes with […] flowers, and the winds sweetly blow […].

Here indeed, you Cypris, taking up branches, pour delicately ambrosia mixed in gold cups for the festivities.

As in the *mugawar*, in Sappho fr. 2 the presence of the good things in Aphrodite's sanctuary is supposed to lure her there along with the spoken words themselves. There are, however, three telling differences between the two texts. First of all, the *mugawar* focuses heavily on the god's rage, which can be provoked by the very process of searching for him/her, for example, when the bee finally finds the vegetation-god Telipinu and stings him awake:

He went, the bee. He [searched] the high mountain[s], he searched the [deep valle]ys, [he searched the dark blue] wav[e …]. He use[d] up the

78 I prefer the reading of Hermog. *Id.* 2.4.

79 I follow the ms. reading here. Athenaeus, who quotes part of this stanza, has ἔλθε; so Neri (2021).

80 I follow Campbell (1982) for the final word. See De Kreij's (2016a) 64–66 discussion of the final stanza's textual issues.

> honey in [his heart], he [us]ed up [the wax …. And, he found] him in a meadow in the city Lihzina, [in a grove], and he stu[ng him] on his hands (and) his feet, [and he got up.]
>
> On his part, Telipinu [said], 'I [was sulking …], I was […, why] then [did] you (pl.) [rouse …] me, who was sleeping, and why did you (pl.) make [me,] who was sulking, speak?' [Telipinu] was [enra]ged, and the spring, the *šilma* […] he […]-ed. He dragged the flowing rivers. […] he […]-ed. He tore them down, the banks […]. He overturned [citi]es, [he] over[threw] houses.[81]

Secondly, the *mugawar* was considered to be a complaint, as shown by the term's use as a gloss in a Sumerian-Akkadian-Hittite lexical list matching Akkadian *tazzimtu* 'lament, complaint'.[82] Sappho, in contrast, completely eschews any negative tone. Thus, rather than attracting the god's attention through loud whining, then causing a change of state in the angry god through suggestive analogies, Sappho focuses on using pleasant words and music that charm and seduce Aphrodite. Her song (and choral dance?) pleasantly fasten onto the goddess's sensory organs just like the scents of incense, roses, and apples wafted by the gentle breeze and the cool tinkling spring.[83] She does keep the motif of pleasant intoxication, but here it is turned into an image of intimate contact between goddess and worshipper over cups of wine. Finally, the use of the lyric mode, as opposed to the spoken Homeric and Hittite prayers and incantations, is a key element in enhancing the charm of her performance.[84]

The "like meets like" principle extends even to the motif of repeated initial ἐν δέ or a variation, for it matches the Homeric description of Aphrodite's κεστὸς ἱμάς (*Iliad* 14.215–217):

> … ἔνθα δέ οἱ θελκτήρια πάντα τέτυκτο.
> ἔνθ᾽ ἔνι μὲν φιλότης, ἐν δ᾽ ἵμερος, ἐν δ᾽ ὀαριστύς
> πάρφασις, ἥ τ᾽ ἔκλεψε νόον πύκα περ φρονεόντων.

81 *CTH* 324.3.B ii 1–12.

82 *CTH* 300.5 obv. 5′; see Bachvarova (2008) 31. Melchert's attempt to argue against this meaning (2010) is vitiated by the preceding entry in the lexical list: Hittite *pittul*[*iyaš*], Akkadian [*n*]*issatu* 'anguish, worry', which shows an associative link between the two entries, as is common in the lists.

83 As noted by Syrianus in Hermog. *Id.* 1.1, quoting Sappho frs. 2.5–8 and 105(a); Hermogenes himself, in his section on sweetness, also singles out this poem as a pleasing description of things pleasant to the senses (*Id.* 2.4).

84 See Gorgias (*Hel.* 9–10) on the charming power of music (ἐπῳδαί).

> … therein all her charms are depicted. Inside is love, inside is desire, inside is flirtation that leads astray, which steals the mind, even when firm, of thoughtful people.

So, Sappho is turning the goddess's own love charm, which can override logic and sense, against her. The fact that the descriptions of the *kurša*, the κεστὸς ἱμάς, and Zeus' aegis (*Iliad* 5.738–742) all share the motif suggests that the aegis and ἱμάς were manipulated in rituals descending from the *mugawar*.[85] Here is not the place to follow up on the implications of this, but we should note that Sappho substitutes for a ritual container the goddess's shrine as a whole, containing the beautiful things her worshippers have arranged and cultivated for her enjoyment. Thus, the reworked motif allows her to delicately make the point articulated so bluntly by Chryses and the Hittites: look at what our hard work has provided for you; you owe us.

7 Conclusion

Using the Homeric and Hittite texts as comparanda allows us to study Sappho as a master rhetorician sophisticatedly reworking traditional material. Manipulating Aphrodite not by 'shamefully flattering the ear', as Gregory of Corinth put it,[86] but by using her cutting-edge knowledge about how to interact with the divine, Sappho bests her competitors vying for the gods' attention. She can bring before Aphrodite's mind's eye the most compelling imagery because of her outstanding ability to take on others' points of view. She elicits strong emotions from the goddess based on their shared memories, but only from a circumscribed set, and they are in fact the same as the goddess arouses in others. While erotic charms inexorably draw the beloved to her lover, when the right sensory input is directed at Aphrodite it exerts an analogous traction on her. Thus, Aphrodite is served a dose of her own medicine.

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85 Watkins (2000) on descriptions of the *kurša* and Zeus' aegis; Breitenberger (2007) 80–81 on descriptions of the aegis and Aphrodite's κεστὸς ἱμάς. Although Faraone (1999) 97–110 instead compares the κεστὸς ἱμάς to objects manipulated Mesopotamian rituals, his discussion helps to explain the kind of ritual context in which elements of the *mugawar* incantation would be transmitted.

86 'Those things shamefully flatter the ear, as is typical of erotic poetry.' (αἰσχρῶς μὲν κολακεύει τὴν ἀκοὴν ἐκεῖνα ὅσα εἰσιν ἐρωτικά, *in* Hermog. *Meth.*, ed. Walz 1968: vii.1236, providing the context of Sappho fr. 156.)

CHAPTER 15

Pindar Fragment 70b: A Literary Archetype of Dionysiac *Choreia*

Smaro Nikolaidou-Arabatzi

Pindar's *Second Dithyramb* (fr. 70b), entitled *Κατάβασις Ἡρακλέους ἢ Κέρβερος Θηβαίοις* (*The Descent of Heracles or Cerberus for the Thebans*), was probably composed for a Theban festival,[1] although it opens with a metapoetic statement.[2] The poet starts by criticizing past dithyrambic poets for abuse of the letter sigma[3] and continues by describing a scene in which the Olympian gods are involved in the ecstatic worship of Dionysus (1–26):

Πρὶν μὲν ἔρπε σχοινοτένειά τ᾽ ἀοιδὰ
διθυράμβων
καὶ τὸ σὰν κίβδηλον ἀνθρώποισιν ἀπὸ στομάτων,
διαπέπ[τ]ανται ... .] ... . [
κλοισι νέαι [... . ε]ἰδότες
οἵαν Βρομίου [τελε]τάν
καὶ παρὰ σκᾶ[πτ]ον Διὸς Οὐρανίδαι
ἐν μεγάροις ἵσταντι. σεμνᾷ μὲν κατάρχει
Ματέρι πὰρ μεγάλᾳ ῥόμβοι τυπάνων,
ἐν δὲ κέχλαδ[εν] κρόταλ᾽ αἰθομένα τε
δαῖς ὑπὸ ξανθαῖσι πεύκαις·
ἐν δὲ Ναΐδων ἐρίγδουποι στοναχαί
μανίαι τ᾽ ἀλαλαί τ᾽ ὀρίνεται ῥιψαύχενι
σὺν κλόνῳ.

1 See the commentaries by Lavecchia (2000) 106–175 and Van der Weiden (1991) 53–85; further, Lavecchia (1994), (1996a), (1997) and Hedreen (2013) for possible connections of the ode with archaic vase-paintings. For Pindaric dithyrambs, see also Hamilton (1990).

2 Dion. Hal. *Comp*. 14 and Ath. 10.455bc comment that Pindar criticized past dithyrambic poets for avoiding the use of the letter sigma; Athenaeus, in particular, cites Lassos of Hermione as an example of such poets. According to Vita Thomana (4.13 Drachmann), Lassos was Pindar's teacher.

3 Pindar's criticism is rather general and relates to issues of both music composition and choral performance; the old technique is criticized as long-winded and slow in comparison to new, more flexible formations, which may be circular. See Lavecchia (1997); Porter (2007).

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ἐν δ᾽ ὁ παγκρατὴς κεραυνὸς ἀμπνέων
πῦρ κεκίνη[ται τό τ᾽] Ἐνυαλίου
ἔγχος, ἀλκάεσσά [τ]ε Παλλάδο[ς] αἰγίς
μυρίων φθογγάζεται κλαγγαῖς δρακόντων.
ῥίμφα δ᾽ εἶσιν Ἄρτεμις οἰοπολὰς ζεύ-
ξαισ᾽ ἐν ὀργαῖς
Βακχίαις φῦλον λεόντων α[υυ–υυ–
ὁ δὲ κηλεῖται χορευοίσαισι κα[ὶ θη-
ρῶν ἀγέλαις. ἐμὲ δ᾽ ἐξαίρετο[ν
κάρυκα σοφῶν ἐπέων
Μοῖσ᾽ ἀνέστασ᾽ Ἑλλάδι κα[λ]λ[ιχόρῳ
εὐχόμενον βρισαρμάτοις ο[–υ Θήβαις.

In the past the song of dithyrambs came forth
stretched like a measuring line
and the *san* came falsely from the mouths of men,
but new … have been thrown open … knowing
what kind of festival of Bromios
the Ouranidae hold also beside the scepter of Zeus
in their halls. In the presence of the venerable
Great Mother the whirlings of tambourines lead off,
there too castanets ring, and the blazing torch
beneath the yellow pine trees;
there too the loud-sounding groans of the Naiads
and the ecstatic cries are aroused
in the agitation of tossing necks.
There too the all-powerful, fire-breathing thunderbolt
is shaken, as is Enyalios'
spear, and the intrepid aegis of Pallas
rings out with the hisses of countless snakes.
And lightly comes solitary Artemis,
having yoked the race of lions
in bacchic frenzy …
and he is charmed by the dancing herds
even of wild beasts. And the Muse has appointed me
as her chosen herald of wise verses
for Hellas of wide dancing spaces,
boasting for Thebes, powerful in chariots.[4]

4 Trans. Race (1997).

The Olympian feast honors Dionysus as *Bromios* ('Roarer'). The Olympians are portrayed as dancing beside the scepter of Zeus, probably in circular formation.[5] Their leader is the Great Mother (the Phrygian Mother Goddess), whose music and cult had a special relationship with Dionysus (9).[6] Beside her the whirling motion of the drums begins first;[7] in addition, castanets ring and flames rise from the pine torches held by the dancers (10–11). In the ritual world of Dionysus nothing remains motionless, neither the thunderbolt of Zeus, which struck Semele before the birth of the god, nor the spear of Ares (15–16). On the boss of the aegis of Pallas ten thousand snakes begin hissing (17–18); nearby, Artemis yokes the wild race of lions in Bacchic frenzy (19–21). Dionysus himself watches enchanted.

The dance of the Naiads is expressed in a specific mode (12–14). Their loud cries (ἐρίγδουποι στοναχαί, σὺν κλόνῳ) are manic and celebratory (μανίαι τ' ἀλαλαί τε) while their bodies stir with their tossing necks (ῥιψαύχενι).[8] The Naiads are Nymphs (Homer *Odyssey* 13.104 ἱρὸν νυμφάων αἱ νηϊάδες καλέονται) who have a different role in other contexts in Pindar.[9] In the *Hyporchema* by Pratinas the Naiads participate in Dionysus' revels,[10] racing over mountains in honor of the god (*TrGF* 1, 4. 3.3–5: ἐμὸς ἐμὸς ὁ Βρόμιος, / ἐμὲ δεῖ κελαδεῖν, ἐμὲ δεῖ παταγεῖν / ἀν' ὄρεα σύμενον μετὰ Ναϊάδων ['mine, mine is Bromios; I deserve to sing and stomp for him over mountains, racing with the Naiads']).[11] In Pindar's hands

5 See D'Angour (2011) 195–198; Hedreen (2013) 195–196.

6 The prominence of the Great Mother becomes more obvious from the σεμνᾷ … / Ματέρι πάρ (8–9) than from the verb κατάρχει (8), which may simply refer to the incipient *choreia*. Strabo (10.3.13) preserves the text of the same lines with a direct invocation to the Great Mother, which reinforces her prominence in the Dionysiac *choreia* of the gods: σοὶ μὲν κατάρχειν, μᾶτερ μεγάλα πάρα ῥόμβοι κυμβάλων ('In your presence, O Great Mother, the whirlings of tambourines are at hand to lead off!').

7 See Gurd (2016) 111; Ieranò (2020) 39.

8 The words κλόνος ('stir', 'clang') and ἀλαλαί (ἀλαλά) are usually associated with war scenes; cf. Homer *Il.* 5. 167 κλόνον ἐγχειάων ('clang of spears'), Aesch. *Ag.* 404–405 ἀσπίστορας κλόνους ('clang of shields'), Pind. *Nem.* 3. 60 δορίκτυπον ἀλαλάν ('the spear-clashing battle cry'), *Isth.* 7. 10 καρτερᾶς ἀλαλᾶς ('the fierce battle-cry').

9 In Pindar's epinician odes nymphs represent the city of the victorious athlete and are directly addressed by the poet at the beginning of the ode (*Ol.* 5. 1–3, for the nymph of the lake Camarina) or the end (*Pyth.* 8. 98–100, for the nymph Aigina); see Larson (2001) 37–39.

10 Larson (2001) 36. Pratinas, a skilful poet of satyr plays, was dead in 467 BCE (*TrGF* 1, 4 T2, DID C4 δεύτερος Ἀριστίας Περσεῖ, Ταντάλῳ, ⟨– --, ? ⟩ Παλαισταῖς σατύροις τοῖς Πρατίνου ⟨τοῦ⟩ πατρός); thus, his *Hyporchema* is, in all probability, earlier than Pindar's ode.

11 That image could spring from Homer's *Iliad* (132–136) where the infant Dionysus is accompanied by nurses (in the story about Lycurgus, the king of Edoni in Thace who fought against Dionysus).

they become a ceremonial chorus with ritualized ecstatic movements. They are depicted in the middle of the *choreia* scene as if inspired by the sounds of tambourines and then transmitting their orgiastic impulses to animate beings (Artemis' lions) and inanimate objects (Athena's aegis) on Olympus.

In fact, Pindar's depiction is a choral projection of the actual dithyrambic chorus of Thebes onto an imaginary Bacchic *thiasos* of all the Olympians suffused with the ecstasy of Dionysus.[12] This shifts the audience's attention from the performance in the *hic et nunc* to Olympus.[13] In all probability, the scene enacts Dionysus' advent on Olympus and his reception by the Olympian gods.[14] Pindar's description is significant. The gods are called 'Ouranidae', a designation that transfers the scene to the heavenly, boundless palace of Zeus, where everything is eternal. The presence of *Bromios* ('Roarer') strikes everything with Bacchic frenzy. As S. Lavecchia observes, Dionysus (*Bromios*) is referred to at the beginning and the end of the scene 'as if "encircling" the heavenly *choros*'; he thus 'manifests himself as the beginning and the self-fulfilment' of the true Bacchic *choreia*.[15] The heavenly feast is called a festival (τελετά) and the participants are described as 'knowing' (εἰδότες). Elsewhere Pindar uses τελετά in the more general sense of 'ceremony' (Pindar *Olympian* 3.41: μακάρων τελετάς; *Pythian* 9.97–98: τελεταῖς / ὡρίαις). τελετά here, however, refers to a rite in which specific knowledge is acquired (εἰδότες, 5). This by no means implies that in our fragment τελετά has the sense of initiation, but the atmosphere evoked by Pindar's description points to the specific meaning of a rite connected with an ecstatic and mystery cult. Most significantly, the poet uses the relative pronoun οἵαν (6), with which he exalts the exemplar of his dithyramb as a mimesis of a divine *choreia*. Apart from its metapoetic implications,[16] Pindar's self-comment enables us to explore the question whether his depiction of the Bacchic *choreia* of the Ouranidae serves as an archetypical performance for other choruses in honor of Dionysus.[17]

12 'Choral projection' is a literary device defined by Albert Henrichs (1994/95) and (1996a) as the evocation of choral performances in the choral lyrics of tragedy.

13 Cf. Weiss (2018) 35–36.

14 For a comparison with Hephaestus' return to Olympus, see Hedreen (2013).

15 Lavecchia (2013) 69.

16 The metapoetic implications of οἵαν concern Pindar's self-comment on the use of the letter 'sigma'; see above no. 2 and 3.

17 For the choruses' ritual interaction with gods (the Muses, Apollo, and Dionysus), see Athanassaki 2018.

1 Euripides' *Bacchae*

Euripides' *Bacchae* is the last surviving tragedy and the only one about the god Dionysus. It was composed by Euripides in Macedonia just before his death in 406 BCE and produced in Athens at the Great Dionysia in 405 BCE by one of the poet's sons or nephews of the same name. The chorus of the play is orgiastic and features members of Lydian Bacchae; they accompany Dionysus from Asia to Greece and support him in his struggle to establish the Bacchic cult first in his birthplace, Thebes, where his relatives have denied that Dionysus is a god. Upon his arrival in Thebes, Dionysus inspires the women of Thebes with his sacred mania and sends them to Mt. Cithaeron in three groups led by Agave, Autonoe, and Ino, the three sisters of his mother Semele (32–36):

> τοιγάρ νιν αὐτὰς [ἀδελφὰς ἐμᾶς μητρός] ἐκ δόμων ὤστρησ' ἐγὼ
> μανίαις, ὄρος δ' οἰκοῦσι παράκοποι φρενῶν·
> σκευήν τ' ἔχειν ἠνάγκασ' ὀργίων ἐμῶν,
> καὶ πᾶν τὸ θῆλυ σπέρμα Καδμείων, ὅσαι
> γυναῖκες ἦσαν, ἐξέμηνα δωμάτων
>
> And so myself I stung them [the sisters of my mother] with frenzies from their homes, and they are dwelling in the mountain, their minds deranged. And I forced them to wear the trappings of my mysteries. And all the female seed of the Cadmeians, as many women as they were, I drove mad from their homes.[18]

As regards his Lydian Bacchae, Dionysus calls them 'my *thiasos*' and he himself installs their group onstage as the chorus of the play. At the end of the prologue Dionysus invites the Lydian Bacchae to enter the stage beating their drums while circling the palace of the god-resisting Pentheus, Agave's son (55–61):

> ἀλλ', ὦ λιποῦσαι Τμῶλον ἔρυμα Λυδίας,
> θίασος ἐμός, γυναῖκες, ἃς ἐκ βαρβάρων
> ἐκόμισα παρέδρους καὶ ξυνεμπόρους ἐμοί,
> αἴρεσθε τἀπιχώρι' ἐν πόλει Φρυγῶν
> τύμπανα, Ῥέας τε μητρὸς ἐμά θ' εὑρήματα,
> βασίλειά τ' ἀμφὶ δώματ' ἐλθοῦσαι τάδε
> κτυπεῖτε Πενθέως, ὡς ὁρᾷ Κάδμου πόλις.

18 Text from Diggle 1994; trans. Seaford 1996.

> But you who have left Mt. Tmolos, the rampart of Lydia, my *thiasos*, women whom from among the barbarians I brought to my companions in rest and in travel, raise up the drums that are at home in the city of the Phrygians, inventions of mother Rhea and of myself, and coming round this royal house of Pentheus, beat them, so that the city of Cadmus sees.

Immediately afterwards, the god announces that he is departing for Cithaeron to join in the dances of his Theban maenads (62–63):

> ἐγὼ δὲ βάκχαις, ἐς Κιθαιρῶνος πτυχὰς
> ἐλθὼν ἵν᾽ εἰσί, συμμετασχήσω χορῶν.
>
> But I will go to the folds of Mt. Cithaeron, where the bacchants are, and join in their dances.

Dionysus' departure for Mt. Cithaeron introduces the Theban maenads in the play as a second—imaginary—chorus; its members are the Theban women maddened by the god and perform orgiastic rites on Mt. Cithaeron where Dionysus is omnipotent.

The Lydian Bacchae enter the orchestra swiftly, performing their sweet labor for Dionysus and uttering their ecstatic cries of *euoi* (Βρομίῳ πόνον ἡδὺν/κάματόν τ᾽ εὐκάματον, Βάκ-/χιον εὐαζομένα, 66–68). They enjoin reverence from whoever wishes to participate in their rites (ἅπας ἐξοσιούσθω, 70) and ask for sacred silence (στόμα τ᾽ εὔφημον, 70) in order to sing eternal hymns for Dionysus (τὰ νομισθέντα γὰρ αἰεὶ / Διόνυσον ὑμνήσω, 71–72). Wearing ivy wreaths and shaking their *thyrsoi* (80–81), they sing that blessed is he who acquires knowledge of the divine rites (τελετὰς θεῶν εἰδώς, 73) and sanctifies his life (βιοτὰν ἁγιστεύει, 74) with holy purifications (ὁσίοις καθαρμοῖσιν, 77) and by dancing on mountains as a member of the ecstatic *thiasoi* of Dionysus (ἐν ὄρεσσι βακχεύων, 76). The Bacchae recall the mythic account of Semele being blasted by a lightning-bolt and of the stitching of the newborn Dionysus into the thigh of Zeus, from which the god was born in due course (88–100); how Zeus then crowned his son with wreaths of snakes, like those caught by the maenads and wrapped in the curls of their hair (100–103). Holding drums in their hands, the Bacchae recount how the Corybantes invented the drum (120–129): while dancing in the holy cave of Ida, in order to muffle the cry of the newborn Zeus, the excited Corybantes mingled the sound of the drum with the sweet-voiced breath of Phrygian pipes and then handed the instrument, reverberating with the rhythms of the Bacchic dances, to mother Rhea.

The chorus cry that Dionysus is their god and call upon Thebes to welcome him (105–119): to grow green with bryony teeming with berries (107–108), to become bacchants (109 καταβακχιοῦσθε) with boughs of oak or fir, decorating their dappled fawn skins with fringes of twisted wool (111–113), and handling the violent wand of the god with holy care (113–114). They feel that the whole earth will dance at once (114 αὐτίκα πᾶσα γῆ χορεύσει) whenever *Bromios* leads his *thiasoi* to the mountain (Βρόμιος εὖτ' ἂν ἄγῃ θιάσους / εἰς ὄρος εἰς ὄρος, 115–116) where the throng of the Theban women awaits, driven from their homes in the madness caused by Dionysus (116–119).[19] This recalls Dionysus' departure for Cithaeron at the end of the prologue. The chorus imagines the god leading the dance of the mountain maenads (†ὁ δ' ἔξαρχος† Βρόμιος, 141).[20] A new choral projection introduces the sacred *choreia* on Mt. Cithaeron in all Dionysiac choruses—in Phrygia, in Lydia (ἰέμενος εἰς ὄρεα Φρύγια Λύδι'[α], 140). Dionysus wears the holy garment of the fawn-skin (137–138), runs with his *thiasoi* hunting the fresh blood of the slain goat (138–139), and falls in sweet rapture to the ground (135–137), which is flowing with milk, wine, and nectar of bees (143–144). He rises again, raises the flaming torch on his *thyrsos*—like the smoke of Syrian incense—(144–146), and rouses his Bacchae (147–148) with joyful cries (ἰαχαῖς τ' ἀναπάλλων, 149; εὔια τὸν εὔιον ἀγαλλόμεναι θεόν, 157), the heavy beating of drums (βαρυβρόμων ὑπὸ τυμπάνων, 156), and the sweet sounds of flutes (160), and tosses his hair in the air (τρυφερόν ⟨τε⟩ πλόκαμον εἰς αἰθέρα ῥίπτων, 150). The entrance song of Euripides' *Bacchae* thus broadens the performance of the chorus with fictional mirrors of Bacchic choruses celebrating Dionysus in heaven and on earth. Through the interaction between the onstage chorus of the play and the offstage *thiasoi* on Mt. Cithaeron, the entrance song of the play becomes representative of the authentic Dionysiac *choreia*.[21] Moreover, the song proves to be a complete dithyramb and could be performed, like its lyric counterpart, Pindar fr. 70b, outside the context of tragedy.

In particular, the *choreia* of the Theban maenads on Mt. Cithaeron may be considered a parallel to the Dionysiac *choreia* of the Ouranidae in the dithyramb of Pindar. In Euripides' *Bacchae*, Mt. Cithaeron is presented as the heaven of Dionysus, the holy place where the god is all-powerful. The space is open and ethereal. In the prologue Dionysus says that his Theban maenads sit on roofless rocks (ὁμοῦ δὲ Κάδμου παισὶν ἀναμεμειγμέναι / χλωραῖς ὑπ' ἐλάταις ἀνορόφους ἧνται πέτραις, 37–38). Later, from the messenger's speech (677–774)

19 Kowalzig (2007a).

20 For issues connected with the depiction of Dionysus as the leader of his maenads on Mt. Cithaeron in the *Bacchae*, see Henrichs (1984) 85–91.

21 See Bierl (2013) 215–221 and (2017b) 109–110.

we learn that their maenadic rites are performed with miraculous orderliness (θαῦμ᾽ ἰδεῖν εὐκοσμίας, 693). Waking up from a deep sleep (691), first they let down their hair over their shoulders (695); then they tie up their fawn-skins and gird the dappled hides with snakes that lick their cheeks (696–698). Some of them hold in their arms a gazelle or a wild wolf-cub and suckle them (699–702). They put on crowns of ivy, oak, and flowering bryony (702–703). One maenad takes her *thyrsos* and strikes it against a rock; suddenly a stream of water gushes forth (704–705); another strikes the earth with her *thyrsos*, whereupon a fountain of wine, sent by Dionysus, leaps out (706–707). The maenads who desire white drink scrape the ground with their fingertips and immediately have streams of milk (708–710); sweet streams of honey drip from their *thyrsoi* (710–711). As the messenger comments, all of Cithaeron joined the Bacchic frenzy of the maenads (πᾶν δὲ συνεβάκχευ᾽ ὄρος, 726), who were a miracle to behold (θαῦμ᾽ ἰδεῖν, 693).

A number of similarities between Pindar fr. 70b and Euripides' *Bacchae* are noteworthy. Of musical instruments, drums are the most prominent Dionysiac emblems; in both texts they are connected with the Great Mother and are mentioned first. In Pindar the Great Mother starts the Bacchic dance by beating drums (9);[22] in Euripides she has a hand in the invention of the Bacchic music together with the Corybantes (120–131). The wording in Pindar's text (ῥόμβοι τυπάνων, 9) points to a sort of drum that moved through the air (cf. *Olympian* 13. 93–94: εὐθὺν ἀκόντων / ἱέντα ῥόμβον ['in casting whirling javelins on their straight path']), while in Euripides' *Bacchae* the drum has a sheet of hide stretched over its circular hoop (βυρσότονον κύκλωμα, 124). In addition, Pindar's ecstatic Naiads deliver their ritual cry *alalage* (Ναΐδων … ἀλαλαί, 12–13), though *alala/alalage* is properly a male war-cry;[23] the female ritual cry is *ololyge*. This is somewhat subversive and perhaps suggests the enigmatic nature of the ecstatic worship of Dionysus. In the *Bacchae*, Euripides employs the linguistic form *ololoyge* for the revels of his maenads on Cithaeron (ἀνωλόλυξα, 24; ἡ σὴ δὲ μήτηρ ὠλόλυξεν ἐν μέσαις / σταθεῖσα βάκχαις, 689–690) but prefers the cry *alalage* (ὁ μὲν στενάζων ὅσον ἐτύγχαν᾽ ἐμπνέων, / αἱ δ᾽ ἠλάλαζον, 1132–1133) when the maenads defeat Pentheus.[24] However, the term ἀλαλά prevails in the third stasimon of his earlier *Helen* (412 BCE), in a Bacchic *choreia* of the goddesses under the lead-

22 See Van der Weiden (1991) 69 (ad loc).

23 See above, n. 8.

24 ἠλάλαζον in the manuscripts (P); Diggle writes ὠλόλυζον. Henrichs (1994–1995) 104 n. 99 and (1996b) 59–62 thinks that the alternation between the two terms is indicative of Dionysus' ambiguity; Cf. Seaford (1988) 134.

ership of the Graces and the Muses (1338–1368);[25] they are summoned forth by Zeus to cure with their ritual cries (ἀλαλᾷ, 1344) Demeter's grief over the abduction of her daughter Persephone, and Demeter expresses her satisfaction with ἀλαλαγμῷ (1352). Of the elements of Dionysiac revels referred to in this stasimon,[26] the dinning rhombus is the most impressive (ῥόμβου θ' ἑλισσομένα / κύκλιος ἔνοσις αἰθερία ['the whirling beat of the tambourine circling in the air'], 1362–1363),[27] because it is distinguished from Aphrodite's τύπανα βυρσοτενῆ (1347), a phrase obviously similar to Pindar's wording in 70b (ῥόμβοι τυπάνων).

We might suppose that in Euripides' *Bacchae* the dancing Naiads of the Pindaric dithyramb have developed into Dionysus' official maenads who personify the sacred relationship with the god through their ritual cries and tossing heads throughout the play (*Bacchae* 150, 185, 240–241, 695, 864–865, 930).[28] Similarly, Euripides' depiction of the roe deer or wild wolf-cubs suckled by the Theban maenads (*Bacchae* 697–702) might be regarded as an advanced state of the Bacchic frenzy of Artemis' lions in Pindar's *choreia* of the Ouranidae (fr. 70b 19–21). The same holds for the snakes that lick the cheeks of the Theban maenads with their tongues (*Bacchae* 767–768); they expand Pindar's depiction of the hissing snakes on the shield of Athena (fr. 70b 17–18) and create the extraordinary condition of wild creatures of nature coexisting peacefully with man.[29] And as in Pindar's Olympus, nothing in Euripides' Cithaeron remains motionless (οὐδὲν δ' ἦν ἀκίνητον δρόμῳ, *Bacchae* 727); the entire mountain revels along with the Theban maenads and the wild animals (πᾶν δὲ συνεβάκχευ' ὄρος / καὶ θῆρες, *Bacchae* 726–727). Most significantly, in the entrance song of the *Bacchae* the ecstatic atmosphere of the Dionysiac *choreia* is rendered with the terms τελετάς and εἰδώς (73–74), which are exactly the same in Pindar's song (lines 5–6).[30]

25 The Muses and the Graces are often seen dancing in Pindaric *Odes* (e.g. *Ol.* 14.1–10; *Pyth.* 1.1–4; *Nem.* 5. 22–25).

26 See Nikolaidou-Arabatzi (2015) 43–45.

27 West (1992) 122.

28 Cf. Eur. *Hel.* 1364: βακχεύουσά τ' ἔθειρα Βρομίῳ, *Cycl.* 74–75: ὦ φίλε Βακχεῖε … / ⟨ποῖ⟩ ξανθὰν χαίταν σείεις.

29 Cf. Eur. *HF* 880–884, where a hundred hissing serpent-heads accompany the Gorgon, as she joins with Lyssa in inspiring mania in Heracles.

30 According to its title, the lost section of Pindar's fr. 70b would have featured the story of Heracles' descent into Hades in search of Cerberus. Heracles was a primordial mystic of the Eleusinian mysteries and could serve as a link for a religious connection between Athens and Thebes. Pindar also composed a dithyramb for the Athenians (fr. 75 Maehler) in which the Olympians, too, are summoned to dance, but in the holy center of Athens.

Of course, Pindar and Euripides could draw on old Dionysian rites. A scene recalling Pindar's verses is described, for instance, in the *Homeric Hymn to the Mother Goddess* (14. 1–5):[31]

> Μητέρα μοι πάντων τε θεῶν πάντων τ᾽ ἀνθρώπων
> ὕμνει Μοῦσα λίγεια Διὸς θυγάτηρ μεγάλοιο,
> ᾗ κροτάλων τυπάνων τ᾽ ἰαχὴ σύν τε βρόμος αὐλῶν
> εὔαδεν, ἠδὲ λύκων κλαγγὴ χαροπῶν τε λεόντων,
> οὔρεά τ᾽ ἠχήεντα καὶ ὑλήεντες ἔναυλοι.
>
> Clear-voiced Muse, daughter of great Zeus, celebrate the Mother of all gods and all men, to whom the sound of castanets (*krotala*) and drums (*typana*) together with the roar (*bromos*) of *auloi* is a delight, and the howl of wolves and flashing-eyed lions, and resounding mountains and wooded glens.

In Pindar fr. 70b, however, the ritual of the Mother Goddess is combined with that of Dionysus in the unique depiction of the orgiastic dance of the heavenly gods which may have served as a literary example for Euripides when he manipulated the device of choral projection of the chorus onstage into an ideal one on the mountain.[32] The maenadic rites on Cithaeron could enhance the *choreia* of the Lydian Bacchae in the *hic and nunc* with elements of an unlimited Dionysiac *choreia*. Moreover, the rites were necessary to fulfil the dramatic purpose of the *Bacchae* itself. So when Dionysus leads the god-resisting Pentheus to Cithaeron to be punished, the onstage Lydian Bacchae project their rage onto the *mania* of the Theban maenads on the mountain. Dionysus calls on the maenads on Cithaeron to open their arms and punish the god-fighter as he deserves (973–981) and the Bacchae rush like dogs to Cithaeron to join the *thiasoi* of Cadmus' daughters (973–981):

> **ΔΙ.** ἔκτειν᾽, Ἀγαύη, χεῖρας αἵ θ᾽ ὁμόσποροι
> Κάδμου θυγατέρες· τὸν νεανίαν ἄγω
> τόνδ᾽ εἰς ἀγῶνα μέγαν, ὁ νικήσων δ᾽ ἐγὼ
> καὶ Βρόμιος ἔσται. τἄλλα δ᾽ αὐτὸ σημανεῖ.
> **ΧΟ.** ἴτε θοαὶ Λύσσας κύνες ἴτ᾽ εἰς ὄρος,
> θίασον ἔνθ᾽ ἔχουσι Κάδμου κόραι,
> ἀνοιστρήσατέ νιν

31 Ieranò (2020) 39.

32 For choral-projections in Euripides' tragedies, see my catalogue in Nikolaidou-Arabatzi (2015) 28 n. 11.

ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν γυναικομίμῳ στολᾷ
λυσσώδη κατάσκοπον μαινάδων.

DI. Stretch out, Agaue, your arms, and you her sisters, daughters of Cadmus; I bring this young man to a great contest, and the winner will be myself and Bromios. The rest the event itself will show.
CHO. Go, rushing hounds of Frenzy, go to the mountain, where the daughters of Cadmus have their *thiasos*; goad them to madness against the man dressed up as a woman, the frenzied spy on the maenads.

When Agave, after the dismemberment of Pentheus, returns from Cithaeron and joins the chorus without recognizing her son's head in her hands, the offstage maenadic *thiasoi* and the onstage Lydian Bacchae unite in a single chorus to perform the most tragic *choreia* for Dionysus (1168–1171):[33]

ΑΓ. Ἀσιάδες βάκχαι-
ΧΟ.τί μ᾽ ὀροθύνεις, ὦ;
ΑΓ. φέρομεν ἐξ ὀρέων
ἔλικα νεότομον ἐπὶ μέλαθρα,
μακάριον θήραν.
ΧΟ. ὁρῶ καί σε δέξομαι σύγκωμον.

AG. Asian bacchants … **CHO.** Why do you call out on me, ⟨woman⟩?
AG. We are carrying from the mountains a newly cut tendril to the halls, a blessed hunting.
CHO. I see and will receive you as a fellow-reveller.

2 [Arion] anon. fr. 939 *PMG*

The anonymous dithyrambic fr. 939 *PMG* is attributed to Arion by Aelian (*De natura animalium* 12.45),[34] but is dated around 400 BCE because it is written in the manner of the New Dithyramb,[35] which was widely criticized for its musi-

33 Bierl (2013) 223–224.
34 Ael. *NA* 12.45 ὕμνον δὲ χαριστήριον τῷ Ποσειδῶνι μάρτυρα τῆς τῶν δελφίνων φιλομουσίας οἱονεὶ καὶ τούτοις ζωάγριαι ἐκείνων ὁ Ἀρίων ἔγραψε καὶ ἔστιν ὁ ὕμνος οὗτος …
35 Mantziou (1989); West (1982); Campbell (1993) 361; Furley and Bremer (2001) 377–378; Nikolaidou-Arabatzi (2015) 37–39.

cal innovations.[36] In the preserved lines, an invocation of Poseidon is followed by images which describe the dolphins that rescued Arion as dancing around Poseidon in a circle (1–11):[37]

ὕψιστε θεῶν
πότνιε χρυσοτρίαινε Πόσειδον
γαιάοχ᾽ ἐγκύμον᾽ ἀν᾽ ἅλμαν·
βραγχίοις δὲ περί σε πλωτοὶ
θῆρες χορεύουσι κύκλῳ
κούφοισι ποδῶν ῥίμμασιν
ἐλάφρ᾽ ἀναπαλλόμενοι, σιμοὶ
φριξαύχενες ὠκύδρομοι σκύλακες, φιλόμουσοι
δελφῖνες, ἔναλα θρέμματα
κουρᾶν Νηρεΐδων θεᾶν,
οὓς ἐγείνατ᾽ Ἀμφιτρίτα·

Highest of gods, gold-tridented Poseidon of the sea, earth-shaker amid the teeming brine, with their fins swimming beasts dance round you in a ring bounding lightly with nimble flingings of their feet, snub-nosed bristle-necked swift-racing pups, the music-loving dolphins, sea nurslings of the young goddesses the Nereids, whom Amphitrite bore.[38]

The circular mode (κύκλῳ, 5) of the dolphins' dance is obviously dithyrambic and Dionysiac, with romping movements that imitate Bacchic dancing.[39] What is important for my purposes is the epithet φριξαύχενες (bristle-necked) because of its obvious similarity with ῥιψαύχενι (tossing-neck) in Pindar's fr. 70b (ῥιψαύχενι σὺν κλόνῳ, 14). In the later dithyramb, φριξαύχενες depicts the dolphins' tossing of their necks (8) and has more obvious choral connotations than ῥιψαύχενι, because it is compounded with φρίξ (deriving from the verb φρίσσω), which means 'ripple', 'shudder'. In Euripides' *Bacchae* the streaming hair of the maenads is described differently, and instead of ῥιψαύχην the epithet ὑψαύχην is used metaphorically for the fir-tree, on top of which Dionysus raised Pentheus

36 Csapo (2004).

37 For the cultural (dithyrambic) connection of dancing dolphins with Arion, Kowalzig (2013) 32–37.

38 Trans. Campbell (1993).

39 For the idea that the circular chorus of Arion's dolphins may be a mythical prototype of the dithyrambic circular choruses, see Lavecchia (2000) 64–65 esp. nn. 39 and 40. For further discussion on the circular choruses and their connection to the dithyrambic genre, see Pickard-Cambridge (1962) 32; Ceccarelli (2013) esp. 162–170.

(ἐς ἐλάτην ὑψαύχενα, 'a high-necked fir-tree', 1061). Since all of Cithaeron was gripped with Bacchic frenzy (συνεβάκχευεν, 726), we might suppose that ὑψαύχην acquires a ritual sense similar to Pindar's ῥιψαύχην.[40]

In addition, the reference to the tossing of the dolphins' necks is inserted between the calm and wild images of the dolphins, joining them in a twofold image of Dionysiac dancing, which recalls the messenger's report of the calm and wild deeds of the maenads in Euripides *Bacchae* (692–711 and 731–764, respectively). In some cases, the dolphins leap calmly, lightly tossing their feet (6–7); in others they rush quickly and aggressively, like dogs (8). Their light movements may be compared with the ethereal dance of the fawn (νεβρός) in the third stasimon of the *Bacchae*, particularly 864–867: δέραν / αἰθέρ' ἐς δροσερὸν ῥίπτουσ', / ὡς νεβρὸς χλοεραῖς ἐμπαί- / ζουσα λείμακος ἡδοναῖς ('tossing my throat to the dewy air of heaven, like a fawn playing in the verdant pleasures of a meadow'). The same is true of their wild rush; it can also be compared with the rush of the maenads of Cithaeron in *Bacchae* 977, who are ordered to tear Pentheus apart as θοαὶ Λύσσας κύνες ('rushing hounds of Frenzy').

To sum up: through projection onto an ideal chorus, Pindar's *Second Dithyramb* manifests Bacchic *choreia* as a divine rite capable of metamorphosing even the Olympian gods through Dionysus' ecstasy. Thus, it appears to have served as a literary archetype especially for Euripides' idea to divide the *choreia* of his *Bacchae* on two levels, on stage and in the mountains, in order to reveal the ambiguity of the orgiastic world of Dionysus. Pindar's Bacchic depictions were significant until the period of the New Dithyramb, when poets could adapt the orgiastic spirit of their New Music to elements that featured the *choreia* of the heavenly gods so brilliantly manifested in the Theban dithyramb of the classical poet.

40 For the Bacchic symbolism of the depiction of Pentheus' fir-tree in the *Bacchae*, see Kalke (1985) 416–417.

CHAPTER 16

Ritual Synergy and Intimacy in Nondramatic and Dramatic Choral Lyric: Pindar Fragment 75, Euripides' *Cyclops*, and Aristophanes' *Frogs*

Athena Kavoulaki

In archaic and classical Greece, choruses performing *choreia*[1] played a pivotal role in the festivities and more broadly in the ritual activities of the Greek communities. By "ritual activities" I mean practices prescribed and sanctioned by tradition, regularly enacted, associated with cosmological theories and related not only to human but also to superhuman or non-human agents (such as the gods).[2]

In a brief but valuable contribution regarding "emic" denotations of the concept of ritual, Chaniotis underlines that the ancient Greek language does not have a word that corresponds to the modern notion of "ritual".[3] There are terms that denote specific rituals (e.g. θυσία or ἐναγισμός) and there are also more integrative terms, such as ἑορτή (festival); but, as he notes, even this general term *heorte* tends to be replaced in the sources by paraphrases that list the main ritual components of religious celebrations: 'a procession, a contest, and a sacrifice (*pompe kai agon kai thysia*)'.[4]

Excluding sacrifice in the strict sense,[5] all stages of this complex structure that lies at the heart of ancient Greek festal practices could feature choral activ-

1 Χορεία is the basic term for song and dance performed by a group: χορεία γε μὴν ὄρχησίς τε καὶ ᾠδὴ τὸ σύνολόν ἐστιν (Pl. *Leg*. 654b); on defining *choreia* see Weiss 2020.

2 Ritual has been notoriously difficult to define; its description and definition have been long debated in the fields of anthropology, sociology, and religion. Practical, dynamic, and performative aspects of rites are important in my approach; on these and other theoretical issues, see (only indicatively), Snoek, Stausberg, and Kreinath (2006); Bell (2009); Michaels (2010).

3 It is worth mentioning that 'ritual' (substantivated) as an autonomous entity or cross-cultural given is an artificial object constructed by theories of ritual. As an adjective, however, it helps define nouns (e.g. 'practices' or 'actions') and refers to particular activities within a culture which differentiate and mark themselves off in space and time from quotidian activities as defined within the culture, leading to an embodied sense of the order of the cosmos; on these perspectives, see Bell (2009) 69–117.

4 Chaniotis (2006) 69 (a lexicographic survey). Calame (1991) on indigenous and non-indigenous categories.

5 Sacrifice can be complemented by choral odes sung by the altar; for the earliest poetic repre-

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ities. This emphatic presence of choruses cannot be explained away in a simple or singly unifying way. The ritual context in which choral performances would be situated could have consequences on the compositional level of the choral songs, while songs would imaginatively rework experiences and relationships in their turn. Being an integral part of the complex festive procedure, the choral performance proved invaluable for the interplay of the multiple communicative modes (song, music, dance, speech, gesture, etc.) that operated in such contexts. The interaction between song and context is complex and multilateral, and every insight that can be gained from an investigation of the surviving material can add to our understanding both of the poetics of the choral material and of the cultural form and significance of choral events.[6]

In my paper, I would like to focus selectively on choral songs that seem to be related to the first stage of the ritual complex that lies at the center of Greek religious life (as mentioned above), i.e. the stage of the *pompe*. My attention will be drawn to some characteristic instances of surviving songs incorporating motifs that are relevant to the broader ritual pompic context which enables linearly progressive movements (with a ritual destination) combined with stationary, circular ones.[7] It is noteworthy that the deployment of such motifs allows the choruses to set up a process of interaction with the gods in the direction of implicating the gods in the choral action and even inscribing the gods in the body of the performing group, enhancing a sense of embodied communication and community between mortals and immortals.[8]

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sentation of such a performance, see *Il.* 1.440–474 (the most detailed description of a sacrificial procedure in the *Iliad*).

6 Anthropologically informed readings of Greek poetry have offered valuable insights in the last fifty years or so. A recently proposed shift to 'textual events' (Budelmann and Philips 2018) may function as a complement (not substitute). My approach has long been influenced by balanced views such as Feeney (1998) 137–143.

7 In Greek choral traditions, linear choreography could alternate with dancing in circles or rings (*Il.* 18. 569–571 and 599–602 are well-known examples). Mythical choruses would often make their transitions dancing and singing: e.g. Hes. *Theog.* 9–11 στεῖχον ὅσσαν ἱεῖσαι / ὑμνεῦσαι [the Muses], *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 514–519 βάν ῥ' ἴμεν. ἦρχε δ' … Ἀπόλλων, / … ἐρατὸν κιθαρίζων, … οἱ δὲ ῥήσσοντες ἕποντο … ἰηπαιήον' ἄειδον; historical choruses could sing and dance during linear, processional rites: e.g. Xen. *Anabasis* 6. 1. 11 ἦσάν τε ἐν ῥυθμῷ … καὶ ἐπαιάνισαν καὶ ὠρχήσαντο ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς προσόδοις. Rutherford (2001) 64–65 and Steiner (2011) 304 discuss the interplay between linear and circular dance.

8 On embodiment as a crucial aspect of ritual practices, see (indicatively) Bell (1992; 2006); this dimension helps make concrete the non-concrete: disembodied or non-embodied agents are included in indigenous (emic) notions of agency (as anthropologists worldwide have noted; Sax 2006); the Greek paradigm is not an exception, as the texts under discussion and many other sources suggest; see also Chaniotis (2010).

Representations of the gods as fellow-choreuts and fellow-celebrants during choral performances recur in surviving texts of the archaic and classical periods, and recently Lucia Athanassaki collected and discussed characteristic examples in order to explain and illuminate the issue of choral authority.[9]

From my perspective, it is important to draw attention to the capacity of the chorus to explore the potential of the initial, pompic stage of the ritual context and to rework poetically its place in it. My study, in other words, will focus on how relationships between human, non-human, and divine agents seem to be conceptualized and thematized in the choral poetry that imaginatively recreated or mediated such ritual occasions. The discussion will include various means that the chorus employs (patterns, motifs, and artifices expressed in performative language or imagery), so that in the new reworked environment agency can be broadened, human and superhuman (or non-human) agents can be harmoniously engaged in the action, and a confluence of mortals and immortals can be creatively fashioned in the powerful atmosphere that the multimedial choral events create.

My test case will be the famous prelude of a dithyramb for the Athenians composed by Pindar (fr. 75) for a historical Dionysiac feast in Athens. Apart from Pindar's dithyrambic composition, however, dramatic choruses (and more particularly Aristophanes' *Frogs* and Euripides' *Cyclops*) will also furnish material for my analysis. In the passages that will be discussed below, the choral, space-traversing event enacted or thematized seems to be orchestrated, so as to activate a flow of mutual "liking" between the agents involved (mortal and immortal) and to enhance a sense of intimacy and reciprocity that turns the whole choral undertaking into a synergetic achievement.

1 Pindar's *Dithyramb for the Athenians* (fr. 75)

The beautiful prelude of a Pindaric *Dithyramb for the Athenians* has been preserved thanks to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who cited it as an example of 'severe style'.[10] It is a splendid fragment of choral lyric that allows us to form an impression (to some extent at least) of the sort of choral business that may have taken place in historical settings and more particularly in such bustling places as the *agora*. The surviving text (according to Maehler 1989) runs as follows:

9 Athanassaki (2018).

10 Dion. Hal. *Comp. Verb.* 22; Ieranò 1997, 39–40 (testimonium 68).

Δεῦτ᾽ ἐν χορόν, Ὀλύμπιοι,
ἐπί τε κλυτὰν πέμπετε χάριν, θεοί,
πολύβατον οἵ τ᾽ ἄστεος ὀμφαλὸν θυόεντ᾽
ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς Ἀθάναις
οἰχνεῖτε πανδαίδαλόν τ᾽ εὐκλέ᾽ ἀγοράν·
ἰοδέτων λάχετε στεφάνων τᾶν τ᾽ ἐαριδρόπων ἀοιδᾶν,
Διόθεν τέ με σὺν ἀγλαΐᾳ
ἴδετε πορευθέντ᾽ ἀοιδᾶν δεύτερον
ἐπὶ τὸν κισσοδαῆ θεόν,
τὸν Βρόμιον, τὸν Ἐριβόαν τε βροτοὶ καλέομεν,
γόνον ὑπάτων μὲν πατέρων μελπόμεν⟨οι⟩
γυναικῶν τε Καδμεΐᾶν {Σεμέλην}.
ἐναργέα τ᾽ ἔμ᾽ ὥτε μάντιν οὐ λανθάνει.
φοινικοεάνων ὁπότ᾽ οἰχθέντος Ὥρᾶν θαλάμου
εὔοδμον ἐπάγοισιν ἔαρ φυτὰ νεκτάρεα.
τότε βάλλεται, τότ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀμβρόταν χθόν᾽ ἐραταὶ
ἴων φόβαι, ῥόδα τε κόμαισι μείγνυται
ἀχεῖ τ᾽ ὀμφαὶ μελέων σὺν αὐλοῖς
οἰχνεῖ τε Σεμέλαν ἑλικάμπυκα χοροί.

Come to the chorus, Olympians,
and bestow on it glorious grace, you gods
who are coming to the city's crowded, incense-rich navel
in holy Athens
and to the glorious, richly adorned agora.
Receive wreaths of plaited violets and the songs plucked in springtime,
and look upon me with favor as I proceed from Zeus
with splendor of songs secondly
to that ivy-knowing god,
whom we mortals call Bromios and Eriboas,
as we sing of the offspring of the highest of fathers
and of Cadmeian women.
Like a seer, I do not fail to notice the clear signs,
when, as the chamber of the purple-robed Horae is opened,
the nectar-bearing flowers bring in the sweet-smelling spring.
Then, then, upon the immortal earth are cast
the lovely tresses of violets, and roses are fitted to hair
and voices of songs echo to the accompaniment of pipes
and choruses come to Semele of the circling headband.

trans. RACE [1997] with an alteration in l. 2[11]

The extant prelude presents—in the words of Claude Calame—'a highly sophisticated example of practical poetics'.[12] A male chorus is apparently on the move (πορευθέντα) at the center of 'holy Athens' and as they make their way, they dare venture a direct communication with the Olympian gods, inviting them (in iambic rhythms) to intervene *hic et nunc* in their choral performance. As Nagy has stressed,[13] this is not a script of a performance but a composition that reworks poetically and refashions (in an imaginatively open way) spatiotemporal parameters characteristic of the community for which it was composed and in which it could be performed and reperformed.

The surviving fragment has a distinct Dionysiac coloring which leaves no doubt that it was composed for performance at a Dionysiac festival in Athens and most probably for the City Dionysia (given the temporal references to springtime in the fragment). The program of the festival included dithyrambic competitions, but this song seems to differ from the large-scale and thematically "open" literary compositions (such as Bacchylides' dithyrambs for example) intended for inclusion in the program. The narrative part of the dithyramb has not survived, but we can assume that it also retained its Dionysiac character, since Pindar's dithyrambs stand out for the connection they establish with Dionysus both on a performative-cultic level and on a narrative level.[14]

At all events, the prelude constitutes a cultic piece of increased intensity, directly evoking communal festivities, in which the divine sphere is synchronized with the actions of human worshippers, and the natural world comes to merge with the social world.[15] The opening appeal to the Olympian gods to come and join the chorus (line 1) situates the gods and their movement (οἰχνεῖτε) in the 'all-decorated *agora*', i.e. the very center of the polis, and more particularly the 'much-trodden, fragrant-with-incense *omphalos*, i.e. navelstone of holy Athens' (ll. 3–5). The second reference is definitely to an altar

11 Race 1997 l. 2 'and send over it glorious grace, you gods'; on re-semanticizing πέμπετε, see below.

12 Calame (2013b) 340.

13 See Nagy's contribution to this volume. Athanassaki (2009) has traced the balance between performance and diachronic performability in a large section of Pindar's corpus (mainly epinicia). In the dithyrambic fragment under discussion this balance is so imaginatively demanding that it may leave some room for *aporia* regarding its *Sitz im Leben* (see Fanucchi's contribution to this volume).

14 Pindar can be credited with an affirmation of the ritual, Dionysiac nature of the dithyramb according to the evidence: see Ieranò (1997) 214–216. See also Calame (2013b) for the difference between Bacchylides' and Pindar's dithyrambs.

15 The strong evocation of communality in festivities is characterized as 'highly atypical' by Maslov (2015) 198.

(much in use and smelling of incense), and given that this altar is designated as *omphalos* (l. 3), it has been taken to designate the Altar of the Twelve Gods in the Athenian *agora* which stood as the 'navel', the notional center of the polis. Thus, the gods are described as approaching the *agora* and an altar in the *agora*, an indication which has long made scholars infer that this dithyrambic song was intended for performance in the *agora* (and not in the Theatre of Dionysus).[16]

The possibility of choral performances in the Athenian *agora* during the feast of the City Dionysia may sound weak at first sight. Nonetheless, we have good classical evidence of a tradition of choruses going round in a circle in the *agora* during the Dionysia. In a passage discussing processions in the *agora* (expected to be κεχαρισμενωτάτας, 'most pleasing'), Xenophon refers to this tradition, mentioning explicitly that at the Dionysia the choruses gratify (προσεπιχαρίζονται) the other gods and especially the Twelve by singing and dancing.[17] Accordingly, the Altar of the Twelve Gods must have had an important role in the choral celebrations of the Dionysia taking place in the *agora* of Athens.

In her book on tragedy and religion,[18] Sourvinou-Inwood tried to explain the importance of the Altar of the Twelve Gods in the context of the Dionysia, by associating it with her hypothesis of an early *xenismos* of Dionysus during the City Dionysia festival.[19] In her reconstruction Pindar's dithyramb would have been sung by a chorus processionally approaching the altar during the sacrifice, while the phrase ἐπὶ τὸν κισσοδέταν θεόν would imply that the chorus approached the statue of the god placed by the *eschara* in the vicinity of the Altar of the Twelve Gods. In this context, the Altar of the Twelve Gods would have figured prominently.

The processional context in which the performance of fr. 75 seems to be inscribed (according to Sourvinou-Inwood's hypothesis) is stressed by other

16 On the issue of the setting, see Lavecchia's discussion (2000) 257–261 with references to previous bibliography; he supports a performance in the *agora* (and not in the Theatre of Dionysus, even if the competitions had moved to the theatre; he differs on this point from Van der Weiden [1991] 197). The dating of the dithyramb is uncertain: Lavecchia (2000) 255 proposes an early date, perhaps 496/495 BCE.

17 Xen. *Eq. Mag.* 3.2: 'As for the processions, I think they would be most acceptable both to the gods and to the spectators (*κεχαρισμενωτάτας*) if they included a gala ride in the market place … The starting point would be the Herms; and the cavalry would ride round saluting the gods at their shrines and statues. So at the Great Dionysia the dance of the choruses forms part of the homage offered to the Twelve and to other gods' (trans. G.W. Bowersock).

18 Sourvinou-Inwood (2003) 89–97.

19 When rites of *xenismos* were performed for an Olympian god, all the twelve gods were believed to have visited as well as guests and were acknowledged in various ways. See on *Theoxenia* Petridou (2015) 289–309.

scholars too, such as L. Farnell,[20] who preferred, however, to combine it not with a possible ritual of *xenismos*, but with the great festal procession of the City Dionysia festival, the grand *pompe*, which (analogously to some extent to the great *mystai pompe* to Eleusis) had a large participation and included sacrifices, offerings and other events on its way through the *agora* to the theatre.[21]

The suggestion of the grand *pompe* as the larger context of the choral performance of Pindar's fr. 75 has been adopted by Neer and Kurke, who stress that this must have been a poem which was intended for performance by a choral group circling around the altars of various gods as part of the festival *pompe*; they even propose that it might have been a composition that was 'performed regularly for many years at the Dionysia (hence its familiarity)'.[22]

The complex reconstructions and hypotheses mentioned above point at diverse cultic ceremonies; however, the common denominator that emerges from the sources and constitutes the basis for our understanding of the event is the fact that the broader cultic occasion for the performance of this dithyrambic song would be a pompic celebration involving choruses and sacrifices.[23] In other words, the Pindaric fragment assumes and gives voice to a chorus set on the way as part of a festive procession organized apparently in the Athenian *agora*.[24] The communicative character that characterizes a moving parade is both mediated and strengthened in the Pindaric text:[25] the strong communicative and cletic dimension is imposed from its opening, as we have a strong invitation to the gods (formulated in a straightforward, almost everyday manner with the adverb δεῦτε: δεῦτ᾽ ἐν χορόν) to approach and to join in,

20 Farnell (1932) 415.

21 On the *pompe* of the City Dionysia, see (indicatively) Cole (1993). The procession to Eleusis, recalled in the parodos of the *Frogs* (discussed below), was also another grand pompic occasion which accommodated various other rituals on the way, in a manner that was familiar and established in various places of the Greek world that staged such big events (such as Olympia, Delos, Miletus etc.); cf. Kavoulaki (2022).

22 Neer and Kurke (2014) 533. They follow John Papadopoulos and others who have argued for the relocation of the *agora* to the area of Ceramicus after the Persian Wars and propose that the performance of the dithyramb may have taken place in the old *agora* (which was close to the precinct of Dionysus); ibid. 561–575; cf. Neer and Kurke (2019) 123–156 for this and other aspects of the dithyramb.

23 In this respect, the associations that Sfyroeras (in this volume) suggests in his analysis of choruses and sacrifice prove particularly pertinent.

24 It is worth recalling here that the dithyramb itself was originally a processional song according to all indications; see d'Angour (1997) and (2013, with emphasis on Pindaric evidence); from a more Dionysiac perspective Seaford (1994) 241–275 and (2004) 79–81.

25 The Pindaric song has many hymnal features (e.g. the cletic δεῦτε, the imperative ἐπι … πέμπετε, the invocation followed by a relative clause etc.) noted by scholars; see indicatively Van den Weiden (1991) and Lavecchia (2000).

to move along and dance with the chorus, an invitation that must have linked the processional-choral imagery of the song to the spectacle performed in situ. This is suggested by the abundance of verbal forms denoting movement (δεῦτε, πέμπετε, οἰχνεῖτε, πορευθέντα, ἐπάγοισι, οἰχνεῖ) and the number of local markers in the song, all of which create a strong connection between the poetry and the processional ritual. Gods and mortals come and move in the market, they sing and dance, while spring makes its arrival too with the roses and the violets, the songs and the pipes.[26]

Intriguingly in Pindar's 'practical poetics', the two verbs which are most clearly evocative of the processional context are the terms πέμπετε (l. 2) and ἐπάγοισι (l. 15). Notably, none of these verbs takes as a subject the chorus or the singers or generally the mortal participants of the pragmatic pompic celebration; the terms which denote the action taking place in pragmatic terms are structured with subjects which refer to the less visible and less self-evident agents, namely the gods and nature. This seems to be a bold choice rendered possible through the medium of poetry that can convey this process of 'coming together', of meeting and of friendly contact between mortal and immortal spheres, between various agents that are turned into co-actors in the same choral movement (a process that will be further highlighted below).

From the opening appeal to the gods, the chorus makes manifest that their concern is not simply to communicate with the immortals or to require their help, but to involve them and include them in their performance, in the choral pragmatics of the feast. For this reason, perhaps, Pindar selected an obsolete construction of ἐν with accusative,[27] which allows a combination of the notions of both movement and inclusion (stressed by ἐν). This strong appeal for participation in the choros-movement of the processional event is followed by another strong request, expressed this time with the first verbal form used in the song, which is the imperative πέμπετε (ἐπί τε … πέμπετε):[28] the initial invitation for divine participation in the *choreia* is coupled with an exhortation and request that the gods (who are approaching the city's navel) should extend their *charis* to the chorus: … ἐν χορόν, … ἐπί τε κλυτὰν πέμπετε χάριν (l. 2).[29]

26 Much of the force of the song seems to derive from the synaesthetic quality of its choral imagery: see Peponi (2013b) 32–34.

27 Retained in Boeotian and north Greek dialects; see Hummel (1993) 151–152.

28 The tmesis (noted also by Kirkwood 1982, 329) allows πέμπετε (and its associations) to stand out more straightforwardly.

29 Lavecchia (2000) 256 notes the alliteration and the paretymological 'play' between the two terms χορόν … χάριν.

Given the opening appeal and the processional context in which the chorus participates, it is hardly likely that πέμπετε would not evoke the processional activity of the feast. Standard translations of the line, however, use 'send' to render the imperative, introducing thus a distancing perspective which contradicts the opening invitation for arrival and participation. Besides the contradiction, it is often overlooked that (ἐπι)πέμπετε is not only preceded by δεῦτ' ἐν χορόν but is also followed by οἰχνεῖτε, in other words it is framed by verbs which stress the presence, the mingling, and the movement of the gods in the spatiotemporal context of the mortal community. In such a semantic context (ἐπι)πέμπειν is better understood not as sending from afar but as bringing, leading and escorting, i.e. in terms of the primary semantic associations that the verb has and which the verb displays in the majority of its ritual uses.[30] That the object of the verb (πέμπετε) is divine *charis* (and not a personal object) forms not an obstacle to the sense[31] but rather a logical complement: the gods are invited to dance along with the festive group *in person*. The association between divine presence and divine *charis* becomes explicit in the broader context of Pindaric poetics: the remains of a *daphnephorikon* (included in the *partheneia* collection) present the god (Apollo) arriving in person and in a friendly spirit at the celebrating community, in order to bring his divine *charis*, so that the celebrations can start (fr. 94b. 3–6):[32] ἥκε]ι γὰρ ὁ [Λοξ]ίας / π]ρ[ό]φρω[ν] ἀθανάταν χάριν /Θήβαις ἐπιμ⟨ε⟩ίξων. ἀλλὰ ζωσαμένα τε πέπλον ὠκέως / … ὑμνήσω … ('For Loxias has come / gladly to shed immortal glory on Thebes. But quickly tying up my robe …, I shall hymn …' [trans. W.H. Race]).

Bringing their *charis* in person proves to be a mark of the gods' favor (suggested by the adjective πρόφρων in the Pindaric fragment) and guarantees the *charis* of the *heorte*. In the dithyramb *charis* is insightfully intertwined with the chorus' request for divine *pempein*: χάριν (ἐπι)πέμπετε.[33] In Pindar the term πέμπετε (ἐπι … πέμπετε) escalates the original appeal (δεῦτε): it enriches it with

30 The compound συμπροπέμπω (in the form of the imperative again) is used as the standard ritual formula of request to the attendant deity in the *Frogs*' parodos (discussed below).

31 It is understandable that with such an object the rendering of the verb as 'send' gives a much smoother result in a modern language (so precision may be 'sacrificed'). This tolerance, however, should not obscure the fact that (according to all textual indications) the verb does not signify 'send from afar' but 'bring' or 'carry along (during the escort)' in person.

32 On *charis* in Pindar (mainly his epinicia), see MacLachlan (1993) 81–123. Athanassaki's discussion of *Ol.* 14 is also relevant (Athanassaki 2003); Marinis (2024) *passim* has interesting points.

33 The notion of *pempein* (or its opposites) is important in the other two passages to be discussed below.

connotations of escort and presents the conveyance of *charis* in a manner that poetically picks up and invests the action going on in the mortal community with a divine aura. This second request seems to ask for an engagement of the gods in terms that seem comparatively deep and subtle. Pindar's strategy seems to unfold in a stage-by-stage procedure which affects a gradual building-up of a meeting and confluence between mortals and immortals. Thus, the chorus' request to the gods (the gods who already frequent the mortals' communal space, οἰχνεῖτε l. 5) to come and participate by bestowing their *charis* in escort is reciprocated by the mortal movement which takes the form of a ritual offering of wreaths,[34] wreaths of flowers and wreaths of songs (l. 6): the imagery strengthens the sense of approach, extending it to the level of tactile contact (both ritual and imaginative). This sense is made even stronger and more pressing by the chorus' call for attention to its spatio-kinetic show of processional movement (ἴδετε πορευθέντα) executed σὺν ἀγλαΐα: we seem to have here an attempt by the chorus to attract the gods through a procedure of 'like for like':[35] the mortals move and offer beautiful offerings, wreaths and songs executed with splendor in exchange for the gods' presence, escort, and glorious *charis*.

The approach and meeting of the two sides that are being gradually built up seem to lead to fruitful results, since in the next few lines (which are very corrupt but not totally obscure) the speaker[36] appears to develop mantic skills (μάντιν l. 13 is an emendation but it is widely accepted), an unmistakable sign of choral authority, as Athanassaki (2018) has indicated. Despite recently expressed skepticism about the chorus' divinatory intuition,[37] I think that the text suggests that what the ritualized bodies and senses of the choreuts perceive goes beyond ordinary experience. The spring that the chorus realize is coming is not just any spring; the signs of the arrival of the spring are νεκτάρεα φυτά: divine-essence-bearing plants which ἐπάγουσι the sweet-smelling spring

34 On wreathing generally, see Blech (1984).

35 See also Bachvarova's contribution to this volume.

36 The problem with the first-person voice in Pindar is well-known (see, indicatively, Van der Weiden [1991] 78 f. and 195 f.; d'Alessio [1994]); in this dithyrambic song there seems to be some fluidity: there is an oscillation between singular 'I' and plural 'we', and an intriguing mantic 'I' (which is usually but not always [e.g. Maslov (2015) 157] associated with the poet). Peponi (2013a) 314 is rightly aporetic, noting the different consequences in each case. For a recent insightful discussion (focusing on Pindar's *partheneia*), see Calame (2020).

37 Maslov (2015) 199. But his suggestion that a communal subjectivity is more in place (rather than the individual poet) sounds persuasive.

(l. 15).[38] As was mentioned above, the verb ἐπάγουσι is a verb denoting processional entry and reception (ἄγω and all its compounds have strong processional associations[39]). In the dithyramb, the adoption of such a term (which playfully evokes the pragmatic context) seems to confer agency upon the divinely scented plants and makes the coming of the spring another divinely mediated escort that amplifies the general sense of ritual movement. Thus, the chorus seems to be gradually able to perceive a broader cosmic choral-processional movement revealing the epiphanic signs of the god and synchronizing with the mortal festal movement.[40] In their turn, the divine signs become a kind of dynamo that further activates the mortals' ritual business (17–19): appropriate decoration of the hair, playing of music (pipes), echoes of song and—last but not least—the processional approach of mortal choruses (χοροί) to the shrine of Semele, an approach which is designated with the use of the verb οἰχνεῖ (l. 19),[41] which evidently picks up the gods' οἰχνεῖτε above (l. 5). This emphatic repetition is a marker of the metamorphosis hinted at earlier in the song: not only the senses but even the bodily movements have been transformed in the course of a performance enacting synergy with the gods. The powerful images and the poetic language used to convey this transformation record the whole experience as pleasurable.

Thus, we have come full circle: the choral action reflects and complements the divine action; there is a kind of mutual interpenetration of festal movement, and Pindar seems to have managed to map out the procedure, or the strategy that allows this fusion. The *pempein* of the gods (the escorting and bestowal of the gods' *charis*) collapses with the ritual and real *pempein* of the chorus (the ritual choral activity wherever and whenever practiced); the *charis* as the result of the gods' *pempein* blends with the beauty of the mortals' choral performance which takes place in the context of the ritual *pompe*, which encompasses the whole.

The context of the *pompe* that initiates a new spatiotemporal frame seems to stand as a fertile field for the cultivation of a sense of togetherness, of an experience of confluence that is both a basic condition for carrying out the

38 Van der Weiden (1991) 202–203 points at the divinized quality of the natural elements (plants in l. 15 and earth in l. 16).

39 Various ritual terms for activities including a processional part have an ἄγω-root (e.g. καταγωγή, Καταγώγια, κλειδὸς ἀγωγή, etc.). In the comic Initiates' hymn, the imperative ἔξαγέ με signals a culminating point in the choral-processional action (as discussed below).

40 On dithyramb and the epiphany of Dionysus, see Lavecchia (2013) 59 ff. with further previous bibliography. On epiphanic strategies through choral imagery, see Bierl (2017a).

41 As Kirkwood (1982) 330 notes, the prolific use of the *schema Pindaricum* in the song seems to hint at 'a freedom from normal syntactical controls suitable for the dithyrambic spirit'.

feast and its result. It constitutes both the beginning of the celebration and its endless continuation: in Pindar the coming of the gods is tied to the advent of the spring, cyclically returning every year; thus, the mortal festivities triggered by this joined advent are not presented in the first-person voice, familiar from the rest of the song, but in a generalizing third person and in the present tense (οἰχνεῖ) embracing all generations to come.

2 Euripides' *Cyclops*

In Euripides' *Cyclops*, a satyric drama which has by definition a pronounced Dionysiac character,[42] we move onto the plane of mythical action. The introductory part of the play affords us a privileged view of Dionysus' mythical festive procession and of certain values associated with it. The perspective we have is that of the celebrants, of the followers, and attendees of the god's revel-procession, who are not mortal in this case but extraordinary and otherworldly: the satyrs are traditional attendants of the god Dionysus and they are often depicted in art reveling with the god.[43] Along with the maenads, they constitute the mythical retinue of the god. Following Dionysus in his whereabouts, dancing their way to places of symposia and festivities, the satyrs are 'ontologically' attached to the god. In the play (and more particularly in the prologue which will be discussed below), the Dionysiac activities of the κῶμος are portrayed as an ideal state of happiness, a state that the satyrs have temporarily lost.[44] Along with their father, the old man Silenus, the satyrs (who form the chorus of the play) are slaves of Polyphemus, the Cyclops who obliges them to do all sorts of menial work and to tend his flocks. Interestingly, however, in the choral parodos of the play and more particularly in the *epodos*[45] the satyrs curse their current state, invoke the god chorally, and seek a return to his retinue portrayed as a restitution of *philia*.

The choral activity of the satyrs is announced at the end of the prologue. Silenus, who is outside Polyphemus' cave cleaning the place, discerns the cho-

42 Seaford (1984) remains important on the Dionysiac character of satyric drama and on the *Cyclops* generally; Hunter and Laemmle (2020) and Seidensticker (2020) offer also valuable insights on various aspects of the play. We do not have clear evidence for the dating of the play which is still debated between 412 and 408 BCE.

43 See (indicatively) Seaford (1984) 5–10; Bérard and Bron (1989); Hedreen (2007); Lissarrague (2013).

44 This loss (usually unexplained) is a basic assumption behind the plot of satyric dramas.

45 The last strophe, distinct from the rest, due to its different rhythm and melody without responsion.

rus from a distance (εἰσορῶ, 37), as they are driving the sheep back to the Cyclops' cave; he is apparently struck by the sound they are making on their way and comments appropriately:

> ἤδη δὲ παῖδας προσνέμοντας εἰσορῶ
> ποίμνας. τί ταῦτα; μῶν κρότος σικινίδων
> ὁμοῖος ὑμῖν νῦν τε χὥτε Βακχίῳ
> κῶμος συνασπίζοντες Ἀλθαίας δόμους
> προσῆτ᾽ ἀοιδαῖς βαρβίτων σαυλούμενοι;
>
> But now I see my sons driving the flocks this way. What is this, lads? Can it be a beating of feet dancing the *sikinos* same as when you reveled in line at Bacchus' side to the house of Althaea, swaggering in to the music of the *barbitos*?
>
> trans. KOVACS [1994]

The view and sound of a multitude approaching *en bloc* is a first signal of a coming procession. The aural signal triggers memories of reveling, loud-sounding processions of the past (κῶμος),[46] in which the satyrs danced closely in line with Bacchus (συνασπίζοντες[47]), enjoying his presence and guidance (39–40). In the theatre, the processional imagery of Silenus' recollections associated with the distanced aural stimulus must have raised expectations of a processional entry, a convention that often characterizes the structure of dramatic plays. The appearance of the chorus from the parodos must have shattered expectations. The nostalgic recollection of the god at the head of the choral group dancing and parading during a *komos* (an image displaying a unity and a tone of fellowship with the god) would have contrasted sharply with the spectacle of the satyrs toiling with the flock of sheep. The extant text (with the repeated questions and imperatives) suggests disoriented roaming and lack of cohesion; the only 'fellowship' that may exist (if any) is a kind of fellowship with the animals, i.e. the sheep, which the satyrs chorally address and chase here and there in order to drive them to their pens (*Cyclops* 42–63). The atmosphere has a pastoral tone (it is perhaps the earliest pastoral ode in Greek literature) but the pastoral identity has nothing to do with the satyrs' real identity, being comastic and Dionysiac.[48] Their current choral activity and more particularly their

46 'A ritualistic drunken procession' is the characterization of κῶμος by Rothwell (2007) 34 who discusses related material.

47 The verb strongly denotes fellowship, as it means literally 'to be a shield-fellow or comrade'; see LSJ[9] ad loc.

48 On satyr-choroi, Griffith (2013) 264 aptly remarks that 'they always more or less overtly

choral approach to a destination that has nothing to do with their Dionysian dwellings makes apparent the contrast with their past and their Bacchic nature. Thus, in the epodic finale of the parodos the satyrs burst into a self-conscious, lyric recognition of their alienation, renouncing in a ritual fashion (note the repeated οὐ) an un-Bacchic way of life:

οὐ τάδε Βρόμιος, οὐ τάδε χοροὶ
Βάκχαι τε θυρσοφόροι,
οὐ τυμπάνων ἀλαλαγμοί,
οὐκ οἴνου χλωραὶ σταγόνες
κρήναις παρ᾽ ὑδροχύτοις·
οὐδ᾽ ἐν Νύσᾳ μετὰ Νυμ-
φᾶν ἴακχον ἴακχον ὠ-
δὰν μέλπω πρὸς τὰν Ἀφροδί-
ταν, ἂν θηρεύων πετόμαν
Βάκχαις σὺν λευκόποσιν.
†ὦ φίλος ὦ φίλε Βακχεῖε,
ποῖ οἰοπολεῖς
ξανθὰν χαίταν σείεις;†
ἐγὼ δ᾽ ὁ σὸς πρόπολος
Κύκλωπι θητεύω
τῷ μονοδέρκτᾳ δοῦλος ἀλαίνων
σὺν τᾷδε τράγου χλαίνᾳ μελέᾳ
σᾶς χωρὶς φιλίας.

No Dionysus is here, no dances, no Bacchic worship and carrying his wand, [65] no ecstatic noise of drums by the gushing springs of water, no fresh drops of wine. Nor on Mount Nysa can I join the Nymphs in singing the song 'Iacchus Iacchus' [70] to Aphrodite, whom I swiftly pursued in company with white-footed Bacchants. Ah me, lord Dionysus, where are you faring without your companions, [75] shaking your golden hair? I, your attendant, serve this one-eyed Cyclops, a slave in exile, [80] dressed in this wretched goat-skin cloak and deprived of your friendship.

trans. KOVACS [1994]

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acknowledge a collective devotion to Dionysus, as an integral component of their choral identity'.

In the absence of the god the satyric choruses fail to be truly Dionysiac and the satyrs' agency proves insufficient to restore the Dionysiac character of their *choreia*. Their desperate invocations of the god as φίλος acknowledge the missing presence and intimacy, which ultimately guarantees the true nature of their dances. Reappraising (and re-confirming) their identity as πρόπολοι (77), servants and attendants of Dionysus, the satyrs characterize their sojourn with the Cyclops (and arrival at his cave according to the stage action of the entry-song) as wandering and exile: ἀλαίνων (79).[49] In a play thematically connected with the Odyssean epic, the choice of this particular verb for defining the satyrs' current situation is not accidental. ἀλαίνω is the tragic form of the epic ἀλάομαι ('wander about'), the verb that recurs in the Homeric epics—mainly the *Odyssey*—as a synonym of πλάζεσθαι and stands in contrast to verbs denoting direction such as πέμπω. In the *Odyssey*, πλάζεσθαι and ἀλᾶσθαι are the basic key-words that support the broad associations of straying and roaming, and signal the hero's suffering.[50] On the other hand, salvation from this suffering is finally made possible through the gift of πέμπειν that the Phaeacians generously offered to Odysseus in the context of their *philia* ('guest-friendship') (5.35–38, 8.545–546, 13.38–41),[51] initiated by the goddess Athena, who boasts about it openly (τέ τοι αἰεὶ / ἐν πάντεσσιν πόνοισι παρίσταμαι ἠδὲ φυλάσσω / καὶ δέ σε Φαιήκεσσι φίλον πάντεσσιν ἔθηκα, 'I always stand by your side and guard you in all your toils, and I made you beloved by all the Phaeacians', 13.301–302). In the *Cyclops*, the use of ἀλαίνω suggests the appropriation of the Odyssean connotations of the verb. The additional use of tragic diction (μελέα, 81) further indicates that the satyrs pose like suffering heroes condemned to wandering due to lack of divine φιλία. The analogy has comic overtones and it playfully brings to the foreground the nexus of divine agency, πομπή, and φιλία that the intertextual associations with the *Odyssey* suggest.

In the theatre, these associations would resonate with the satyrs' return to Polyphemus' rustic abode in an un-Dionysiac fashion (ἀλαίνων/σὺν τᾷδε τράγου χλαίνᾳ μελέᾳ / σᾶς χωρὶς φιλία).[52] Even though they approach the cave as a chorus, dancing and singing in a group, they are not chorally marshaled by the Bacchic god, they do not form the body of his own attendants, and they

49 The participle ἀλαίνων zooms into the present (and theatrically presented) situation, i.e. the actual return of the satyrs to Polyphemus' cave, through its adverbial complement *σὺν τᾷδε τράγου χλαίνᾳ μελέᾳ*: the deictic τᾷδε is a strong marker of events on stage.

50 The terms have been analyzed by Montiglio (2005). On *pompe* in the *Odyssey*, see Loney (2019). Cf. Kavoulaki 2020.

51 *Od.* 8.545–546. εἵνεκα ξείνοιο τάδ᾽ αἰδοίοιο τέτυκται, / πομπὴ καὶ φίλια δῶρα, τά οἱ δίδομεν φιλέοντες.

52 Ussher (1978) *ad* 78–79 is right to stress the connotations of movement that ἀλαίνω has.

do not move to the destination of a komos-party (as they used to do in the past). Their choral action underlines the loss of divine agency and presence and inspires the satyrs to draw the analogy with the Odyssean model, in the context of which divine initiative, escort, and *philia* can be restored. In correlation to the imagery of the happy past in the prologue, the *restoration* of the sacred *philia* that the satyrs confess to have missed would have the god συνασπίζειν and συντάσσειν his choral retinue, συγχορεύειν and συγκωμάζειν with his πρόπολοι, leading them to their proper abodes (as described in the epode itself, namely θυρσοφορία, ἀλαλαγμοί, σταγόνες χλωραί etc.), where there is true festivity.[53]

In retrospect, in the epodic finale the satyrs realize, conceptualize, and characterize their present state as ἀλαίνειν, enacting the Odyssean model in the context of which escape from ἀλαίνειν can be ensured through *pempein*. From the satyrs' perspective, this would imply a return to the god's revel-procession and the restitution of bonds that in the satyrs' case equate with *philia*. The thematic associations with the *Odyssey* that the satyrs comically and poetically explore allow the re-introduction of the perspective and possibility of divine agency and fellowship.

Intricately, however, this perspective is intertwined with an active engagement on the part of the satyrs to reciprocate and work ritually to reunite with the god. In this respect, it is important that they choose to close their self-aware epode with the phrase σᾶς χωρὶς φιλίας. This particular phrasing with the reversing of pronoun and preposition (σᾶς χωρίς) echoes apparently a religious formula.[54] In this way, the epode culminates not in a self-critical or self-deplorable tone, but in a hymnic-precatory tone. Singing and dancing in religious terms, using formulae sanctioned by tradition with a strong communicative and performative character (note especially the use of the second person), the satyrs manage to "work" ritually in the direction of activating an interaction that could potentially restore their comastic identity and fellowship. Surprisingly, the satyrs' prayer is answered almost immediately by the appearance of Odysseus and his men, who will eventually mediate and liberate Silenus and the satyrs from their captivity. This positive outcome will be gradually worked out in the play with the aid of patterns of *philia* and types of affinities (between animate or inanimate agents) structuring the plot, as has been suggested in

53 The nostalgic picture of the Bacchic god leading the *thiasos* in festivity has many features reminiscent of the parodos in Eur. *Bacch.*; see the comments in Seaford (1984).

54 See also Seaford (1984) ad loc., who refers to Ariphron's hymn to Hygieia (the text is included in the collection of Furley and Bremer [2001]) which closes with a hymnal σέθεν χωρὶς οὔτις εὐδαίμων.

analyses of the play.[55] In the course of the choral performance of the parodos, the satyrs seem to have acquired not renewed bodies (as in the Pindaric dithyramb above) but a renewed awareness and friendly disposition towards alliances and bonding that will ultimately lead to reunion with the god and the regaining of their proper place in his retinue. Through their *choreia*, which draws on the imagery of *pompe* and ritually enacts a rapprochement with the god, the satyrs are shown to advance to a re-ordering of their world.

3 Aristophanes' *Frogs*

What the satyric chorus strives to regain, i.e. participation in the retinue and celebration in the god's company, seems to be the posthumous reward that the *mystae*, i.e. the initiates in the mysteries,[56] seem to enjoy in the comic Underworld of Aristophanes' *Frogs*.[57] Their distinct *olbos* takes the form of a sacred choral ceremony, consisting in marching, singing, and dancing, reminiscent of the festivities that took place on the long journey of the *mystae* procession from Athens to Eleusis. This blissful choral existence is not simply portrayed in the parodos song. From strophe to strophe, the surviving entry-song makes manifest the progressive stages of a hymnal ritual activity, which brings about a confluence of mortal and immortal agents and which the play projects as efficacious, procuring eternal blessings and consolidated in an eternally iterative, monumental form.

Similarly to the parodos in the *Cyclops*, the *mystae* parodos is first perceived through aural signals. This time it is the repeated vocative Ἴακχ' ὦ Ἴακχε (*Frogs* 316 f.) which defines the chorus' utterance as a communicative action: the chorus is unmistakably implicated in a communicative interaction with the divine sphere, since Iacchus is the male divinity personifying the mystic cry who eventually became identified with Dionysus.[58] The communicative interaction will

55 Nikolsky (2009); Konstan (1981).

56 I take the mysteries to be (chiefly) those of Demeter and Kore (at Eleusis), as A. Bowie (1993) 248–260 has persuasively argued; Dover (1993) 58–61 acknowledges that the Eleusinian echoes predominate (and this is the general scholarly opinion nowadays). The role of the Initiates, along with other mythical and ritual points in the play, is discussed by Lada-Richards (1999).

57 Dated to 405 BCE, but possibly subject to some revision: see Sommerstein (1996) 20–21.

58 In early fifth century, no connection was probably made between Iacchus as a divine figure and the mystic procession to Eleusis. Kern (*RE* IX 1, s.v. Iakchos) argues that the connection was made after the battle of Salamis, and he bases his conclusion on the Herodotean passage in which the belief in the Iacchus figure and his presence along the way is absent.

be further developed along the lines of the traditional hymnal language which allows mortals to reach out to immortals in a progressive, orderly manner, as becomes obvious from the first strophe:

῾Ιακχ᾽ ὦ πολυτίμητ᾽ ἐν ἕδραις ἐνθάδε ναίων,
῾Ιακχ᾽ ὦ ῾Ιακχε,
ἐλθὲ τόνδ᾽ ἀνὰ λειμῶνα χορεύσων
ὁσίους ἐς θιασώτας,
πολύκαρπον μὲν τινάσσων
περὶ κρατὶ σῷ βρύοντα
στέφανον μύρτων, θρασεῖ δ᾽ ἐγκατακρούων
ποδὶ τὴν ἀκόλαστον
φιλοπαίγμονα τιμήν,
χαρίτων πλεῖστον ἔχουσαν μέρος, ἁγνήν,
ἱερὰν ὁσίοις μύσταις χορείαν.

> Iacchus, here abiding in temples most reverend, / Iacchus, O Iacchus, / come to dance in this meadow; / to your holy mystic bands / Shake the leafy crown / around your head, brimming / with myrtle, / Boldly stomp your feet in time / to the wild fun-loving rite, / with full share of the Graces, the holy dance, sacred / to your mystics.
>
> trans. DILLON [1994]

The opening part of the hymn is entirely focused on the immortal recipient whom the chorus calls out and invites with a direct ἐλθέ ('come'): the imperative constitutes a standard formula in the cletic hymns which traditionally welcome the presence of the divine in festive ceremonies.[59] In the comic Initiates' hymn, the cletic invitation 'come' is strengthened by two important defining parameters: first, the locus or milieu of the god's arrival which will be the θιασῶται, i.e. the organized group of the *thiasos* that professes to be dedicated to the god; and second, the purpose for the god's coming which is no other than danc-

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In classical times, Iacchus was considered a divine or demonic personage and was identified with Dionysus (already in Soph. *Ant*. 1152 and Eur. *Bacch*. 56–72); see Graf (1974) 51–66; Burkert (1983) 279.

59 On cletic hymns, the most relevant ancient source is Menander Rhetor (on which, see Russell and Wilson 1981, 333–335). On divine presence in cult, see also Petridou (2015) 251–288. In the *Frogs*, the performative aspect is strong as the imperative is defined by the future participle χορεύσων; the use of performative future is important not only in Pindar (see Bundy [1962] 20–22; Slater [1969a]) but in all kinds of ritually informed poetry (see e.g. Faraone [1995]).

ing (χορεύσων), i.e. the very activity presided over by Iacchus-Bacchus[60] and enacted by the chorus. In other words, the mortal request ('come') is fully in compliance with the god's immortal nature and action: the god is invited to come to *his own* people, to visit his own 'territory' and domain of action that constitute his apportioned honor (τιμή). The coming and the dancing of the god coincide with the chorus' song-dance which stands as the gracious divine feast.

Stressing and enacting such an affinity between god and mortals, the chorus will gradually start witnessing the signs of the god's presence in their midst. In accordance with hymnal and poetic theology, suggested also in Pindar's dithyramb above, the chorus' action and the god's action, as the first strophe already revealed, intermingle and produce signs of a gradual transformation. The poetry of the antistrophe mediates the experience:

ἐγείρων φλογέας λαμπάδας ἐν χερσὶ προσήκεις,
Ἴακχ᾽ ὦ Ἴακχε,
νυκτέρου τελετῆς φωσφόρος ἀστήρ.
φλογὶ φέγγεται δὲ λειμών·
γόνυ πάλλεται γερόντων·
ἀποσείονται δὲ λύπας
χρονίους τ᾽ ἐτῶν παλαιῶν ἐνιαυτοὺς
ἱερᾶς ὑπὸ τιμῆς.
σὺ δὲ λαμπάδι φέγγων
προβάδην ἔξαγ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀνθηρὸν ἕλειον
δάπεδον χοροποιόν, μάκαρ, ἥβην.

Awake, for it has come tossing torches in hand, / Iacchus, o Iacchus, / the light-bringing star of our nocturnal rite. / Now the meadow brightly burns, / old men's knees start to sway. / They shake away their pains / and the long cycles of ancient years / through your holy rite. / Beaming with your torch, / lead forth to the flowering stretch of marsh / the youth that makes your choruses, o blessed one!

trans. DILLON [1994]

60 The *choreia* as the domain of Bacchic action and identity is strongly emphasized in the epode in the *Cyclops* (above) but is also monumentally formulated in the *Bacchae* (e.g. αὐτίκα γᾶ πᾶσα χορεύσει / Βρόμιος εὖτ᾽ ἂν ἄγῃ θιάσους, 114–115). It is worth noting that both the language and the rhythm of the hymn to Iacchus (which is ionic) recall at various points the parodos of Euripides' *Bacchae* (as noted by scholars, e.g., indicatively, Dover [1993] *ad* 323/452, Sommerstein [1996] *ad* 323–353).

The opening lines (340 ff.)[61] abound in imagery associated with appearance and vision: rising, light, fire, and stars are all elements of making apparent, of making manifest. Especially the φωσφόρος ἀστήρ of 342 makes a strong image, and the star is a well-established symbolic manifestation of the god.[62] Like light itself, divine presence permeates the atmosphere, and the tokens of the god's arrival and participation multiply. If in Pindar's dithyramb (see above) the chorus acquires a new kind of vision and bodily movement, here the body of the *thiasotai*, enriched by the god's presence, manifests differently the embodied results of *choreia*: physical and spiritual strength is restored (345–349), human nature is rejuvenated (345), and mortal participants are ready to move forward (προβάδην) under the guidance of the god. ἔξαγε 'lead on' (351) is the chorus' cry that is the culmination of the antistrophe part and reveals that the divinity is the powerful agent of the processional choral action. This is a critical moment, signifying perhaps the ultimate mark of the god's presence: the chorus has a direction and a goal, is characterized by youth and dynamism (ἥβη), and becomes creative in dance (χοροποιός, 'maker' or 'leader' of the dance), concurring with and complementing the god. Co-operation and synergy in space and action are well under way.

In this respect a new, all-inclusive body is organized and a common moving-forward is co-orchestrated (372–374): χώρει νυν πᾶς ἀνδρείως / ἐς τοὺς εὐανθεῖς κόλπους / λειμώνων … ('Let each one boldly march to the flowery meadows and glens'). The movement is comprehensive and aims at engaging even more divine agents such as Demeter and Kore, goddesses of the Mysteries. The divinities are addressed (Δήμητερ, 385) and they are explicitly invoked and implored through vocabulary that has the συν- prefix which signals togetherness, such as συμπαραστάτει (385 Δήμητερ, ἁγνῶν ὀργίων/ ἄνασσα, συμπαραστάτει. 'Demeter, mistress of our holy rites, / be present now at my side').

Compounds with the συν- prefix multiply in the scene. Iacchus-Bacchus is effectively called the *συν-*έμπορος of the *choreia*, a fellow-traveler all along the course. His unfailing presence guarantees and conveys the distinct features of the whole endeavor listed by the chorus: beauty and seasonality (ὡραῖος),

61 The first line (340) is textually problematic, but our manuscripts attest to the use of the verb ἥκει(ς) ('you have come/he has come'), an apparent response to the original ἐλθέ of the strophe (327), if accepted or even if emended to προσήκεις as is proposed by Sommerstein [1996] and adopted by Wilson in his Oxford edition of Aristophanes (followed here). Some editors excise; hence the Greek text of the Loeb edition by Henderson.

62 As in Soph. *Ant.* 1146 ff.—the Sophoclean stasimon and its imagery are analyzed by Bierl (2018a), who refers to his previous works which are also relevant; my approach to Aristophanic choruses in general has been informed by Bierl (2009).

sweetness of song (ἥδιστον μέλος), easiness in every effort (403), and thus successful completion of the effort (404).

Ἴακχε πολυτίμητε, μέλος ἑορτῆς
ἥδιστον εὑρών, δεῦρο συνακολούθει
πρὸς τὴν θεὸν
καὶ δεῖξον ὡς ἄνευ πόνου πολλὴν ὁδὸν περαίνεις.
Ἴακχε φιλοχορευτά, συμπρόπεμπέ με.

Iacchus, honored by all, deviser of our festal song, most sweet, follow us here / to the goddess and / show us how / you travel a long road with ease. / Iacchus, lover of dance(rs), lead me onward (and make with me the way).

trans. DILLON [1994] (parentheses added in the last line)

It is worth noting that the chorus insists on the unfailing presence of the god all along the way (400 συνακολούθει / πρὸς τὴν θεόν) and strengthens its appeal with a long formula rich in meaning: Ἴακχε φιλοχορευτὰ συμπρόπεμπέ με (403, 408, 413). The formula includes a direct request for συμπροπέμπειν (for accompaniment and participation in escorting the chorus), a request that is further amplified with the open acknowledgment of the god's good disposition toward the chorus: the god is addressed as φιλοχορευτά, an epithet that mainly signifies 'friend to dancing' without perhaps excluding 'friend to dancers' (as Dover suggests).[63] By attributing to the god(s) this friendly stance towards the members of the chorus in the context of the request for συμπροπέμπειν, the chorus builds a link between the god's friendly, positive disposition and divine participation in the escort. Thus, the cooperative element emphasized by terms with the συν- prefix develops gradually to the level of intimacy and personal ties, as the hymnal activity smoothly unfolds and the Mystic chorus approaches its destination.

Notably, in Aristophanes' comic theatre, this ritually climactic point does not go unmarked but receives further elaboration in a comic manner: the 'charm' of one of the dancers (i.e. the breast of one of the girls, τιτθίον l. 412) makes the god declare that he is a 'lover of processional ceremonies' (φιλακόλουθος l. 414), and that 'there is nothing he likes better than joining in such a procession' (in Dover's words[64]). The result is hilarious and softens the seriousness of the situation, but in the background the ritual chain of 'charm—

63 Dover (1993) *ad* 403.

64 Dover (1993) 247 (he gives l. 414a&b to Dionysus).

liking—joining' becomes apparent, crudely palpable perhaps but definitely marked. Thus, in the concluding parts of the Initiates' *choreia* the link between divine favor and human escort is both chorally enacted and playfully acted out by Dionysus' reaction to the spectacle of the procession, which is thus made manifest as irresistibly attractive. The Athenian public concern to make processions κεχαρισμενωτάτας (graceful, pleasing) to the gods (a concern disclosed by Xenophon in his discussion of choruses in the *agora* mentioned above[65]) is here answered in a most reassuring way.

Notably, the dimension of charm and beauty was suggested at the early stages of the chorus' festive activity (326–335), when the *mystae* explicitly invited the god to come to dance and inaugurate with the beat of his feet a sacred rite full of grace, or full of the gifts of the Graces,[66] a sacred *choreia* in honor of the god (ἐλθὲ χορεύσων … ἐγκατακρούων ποδὶ … τιμήν, χαρίτων πλεῖστον μέρος ἔχουσαν … ἱερὰν χορείαν). The god's presence seems to guarantee the gifts of the Graces in the *choreia*; in its turn *choreia* is vigorously executed throughout the journey by the mortal choreuts who keep attributing its beauty and grace to the god whom they invoke to lead and escort them. The flow of *charis* from both directions is sustained all along the way and is reminiscent of the blending of mortal and immortal *charis* that the Pindaric dithyramb suggested above.

Setting the chorus on the way for a graceful progression through space seems to constitute a basic festive condition that necessitates the joined action of both men and gods. It is on this condition that choral activity (song and dance) concentrates, so as to effect this 'collapse' of the boundaries between divine and human χάρις that is deemed worthy in Aristophanes to last forever.

4 Conclusion

In the examples discussed above, aspects of the importance of participating in choral processional events have been variously formulated and poetically explored. In all cases, the processional context is presented as fertile ground for the gods to act; choruses tend to provoke, enact, or reflect on divine activity, illuminating complex patterns of agency and promoting a synergetic model of action conceptualized as togetherness and reciprocity through guidance and

65 See above. Being pleasing and dear to the gods guarantees friendly (in the sense of favorable) relationships with the divine: Konstan (1997) 167.

66 Dover (1993) *ad* 336 supports a reading with capital; this does not affect my argument: the gift of the *Charites* (the divinities) is *charis*, grace.

escort *en route*. The articulation of such a model is not theoretical but operates through mind and body: singing and dancing choruses tend to inscribe the gods in the body of the performers and to witness gradual transformations.

Anthropologists have suggested that the 'religious' postulate of superhuman agents distinguishes ritual from other modes of action.[67] It is noteworthy that, in the Greek world, the involvement of superhuman or non-human agents that confer a distinct religious character upon social action is delegated to a large extent to choruses who sing and dance sophisticated poetic compositions at various moments and more particularly in the initial stages of the complex ritual procedures (according to the examples discussed above). This choice has important implications. The choral performance actively enacts or works out the presence and synergy of the gods in the context of a spatiotemporal transition, which acquires features of a purposeful action guided by the god and carried out by all agents engaged in it. Under these circumstances, guidance and escort *en route* (offered from both sides) prove to be decisive parameters that can work out a sense of confluence that gives meaning and content to the whole festive occasion. It is worth stressing, however, that it is not the festive context *per se* that produces meaning. Context and action are refashioned and mediated through the powerful medium of poetry performed in singing, marching, and dancing. The beauty of the poetry or rather of the poetic compositions performed allows the sense of confluence generated in processional contexts to be conveyed as a harmonious ordering of the cosmos in which personal ties can be formed (or re-formed in continuous festive tradition) in an atmosphere of intimacy.

67 Lawson (2006); McCauley and Lawson (2002).

CHAPTER 17

How "Sacred" Are the Lyrics of Aristophanes?

Angus M. Bowie

That Aristophanes is happy comically to depict religious activity is not in doubt.[1] Most striking is the oath-swearing in *Lysistrata*, which begins chaotically with discussion of the appropriate victim and is conducted almost exclusively in terms of explicitly described sexual activity;[2] Philocleon's prayer to the hero Lycus to escape the house ends with a promise that he will not urinate or relieve himself on his fence;[3] and Mnesilochus' prayer to the Thesmophoro expresses his hopes for his children in mildly sexual terms.[4]

What is noticeable about these passages, however, is that they are in iambic, not lyric, metres. This article will consider those lyric passages of Aristophanes which have in some way a "sacred" aspect to them to see whether, in a comic genre known for its free use of such material in social and political spheres, obscenity or other apparently inappropriate material plays a role or not,[5] and if they do, how they are handled. The very obviously comic, burlesque, and obscene features in the hymns and rituals raise the question of how far comic lyrics can be thought of as "serious" sacred acts in the play,[6] as opposed to simply parodies or burlesques to be enjoyed by an audience familiar with the conventions of the relevant religious genres.[7] As we shall see, the answer is that obscenity is found in these lyrics but in strictly controlled and varied ways: "sacredness" is largely and subtly maintained.

1 In addition to those on Spetses, I would like to thank the members of the audience at the INDA Conference in Syracuse, Sicily in February 2019; the comments of the anonymous referee were also especially helpful.

2 *Lys.* 181–239. There is similar travesty of ritual in the later depiction of the woman celebrating Adonis as a drunkard, but her cries, which appeared inappropriate during an Assembly debate, fatally had no effect on Democrates' rabid promotion of the campaign in Sicily (*Lys.* 387–398). See Markantonatos (2020) 172–176.

3 *Vesp.* 389–394.

4 *Thesm.* 282–293.

5 On Aristophanes' lyrics generally, see Silk (1981); Kugelmeier (1996). For commentary on selected comic hymns see Furley and Bremer (2001) 2.331–371, and Furley (2007) on hymns and prayers more generally.

6 On the problem of what "serious" means in Aristophanes and the varieties of seriousness which can be distinguished, see Silk (2000) 301–349, also the essays in Swallow and Hall (2020). In this article, "serious" is used in a very general sense.

7 On parody in Aristophanic lyrics, see generally Kleinknecht (1937a) 20–122; Horn (1970) 1–122.

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There lurks of course the question of what was "obscene", etc. to ancient Greeks, and to which Greeks, where and when.[8] Here is not the place for a full discussion, but many of the examples discussed below involve what one may generally term *aischrologia*. That this was something out of the 'ordinary' is shown by the fact that the sources specifically mention its presence in a relatively small number of rituals involving the inversion of normal existence, such as those when women gathered apart from men. The subjects of this *aischrologia* are mainly sexual and scatological, and in Greek literature they are largely confined to iambus, satyr-play and comedy.[9] When marking something as "obscene" or "ribald", therefore, I do not imply that this would have shocked audience members: obscenity is, as it were, in certain contexts, a religious duty.

1 Ritual Humour in Greece and Elsewhere

Such rituals can easily be paralleled elsewhere in the world.[10] In different ways they mark "marginal" periods which both act as "safety-valves" for the release of tensions in society through mockery of the sexual and political norms, and yet at the same time reinforce those structures. Amongst the most spectacular examples is that of the Yaqui Indians of Mexico, who will perform all manner of scatological gestures when the name of the Virgin Mary or of Jesus is mentioned at certain ritually specialised times of the year.[11] The mixture of crudity and sophistication that can be found is well illustrated by the songs of the 'Charioteer' of Lord Lingaraj, a form of Shiva, at the Hindu rite in Orissa.[12] From his chariot, he throws out rhyming or rhythmical verses, which employ allusions, puns, and imagery alongside the very direct and explicit obscenities directed at participants and religious beliefs: 'the chariot songs are not simply crude and unsophisticated dirty limericks, but compact symbolic messages

8 For an overview on Greek attitudes, see for instance Dover (1974) 205–216. On 'carnivalesque' comedy, see Bakhtin (1984) and Goldhill (1991) 176–188. The bibliography on obscenity in Aristophanes is considerable and usefully listed in Willi (2002) 10–11: see e.g. Henderson (1991); von Möllendorff (1995); Rosen (1988); Degani (1993); Robson (2006) 70–92; Kamen (2020) 36–59.

9 On *aischrologia* see Rosen (2015).

10 The bibliography is vast. For a full account of ritual humour, specifically among the peoples of Chiapas in Mexico but also demonstrating the remarkable variety of possible types, see Bricker (2010), with 167–218 on other parts of SW America and Mid America and on Spanish aspects transported there. See also on Africa e.g. Evans-Pritchard (1929); Gluckman (1935); Van der Berghe (1963).

11 Apte (1985) 159; see 151–176 for a cross-cultural discussion of ritual humour.

12 See Freeman (1977).

that refer simultaneously to many basic features of their religion. Their songs remind them of their relationship with their deity'.[13] The parallels with Aristophanes will become clear.

Given the paucity of evidence, we do not know much in detail about the obscenity used in Greece: the language used in the sources is rather general.[14] However, "authorised" playfulness, enjoyment, and scurrility are found in a number of places, especially in the cults of Demeter and Dionysus.[15] Thus, on their way to Eleusis for the Mysteries, the Initiates were subjected to insults (*gephyrismos*) when crossing a bridge (or bridges),[16] which in some way reflected the grieving Demeter's laughter at Iambe's antics.[17] Men and women exchanged insults at Pellene at the festival of Demeter Musia;[18] on Anaphe at that of Apollo Aigletes;[19] at the festival of Damia and Auxesia at Epidaurus and on Aegina;[20] and in Sicily in celebration of Demeter's laughter;[21] there were insults too at the sacrifices for Heracles in Lindos.[22] In Argos, it is not stated explicitly that ribaldry was involved alongside change of clothes, but the name 'Hybristica' might suggest as much.[23] In Attica, there were also the phallic processions and songs for Dionysus,[24] including mockery 'from wagons',[25] and the *aischrologia* employed by women at the Thesmophoria,[26] Stenia,[27] and Haloa.[28]

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13 Freeman (1977) 892.

14 E.g. Pl. *Leg*. 637a3 ὕβρεσι καὶ ἀνοίᾳ, Arist. *Pol*. 1336b17 τωθασμόν (cf. Ar. *Vesp*. 132–1363), Hsch. s.vv. Στήνια· ἑορτὴ Ἀθήνησι· καὶ διασκώπτουσι καὶ λοιδοροῦσιν, and στηνιῶσαι· βλασφημῆσαι, λοιδορῆσαι.

15 For the evidence for and detailed discussion of the various rituals, see *in primis* Halliwell (2008) 155–214 (table on 192), with 155–263 generally on laughter and ritual in ancient Greece, and 159–160 supporting the idea that the Greeks had a concept of 'ritual humour'; also Fluck (1931), Rösler (1993), O'Higgins (2003) 15–36 (on female *aischrologia*).

16 Strabo 9.1.24, Hsch. s.vv. γεφυρίς, γερυρισταί; Halliwell (2008) 169–171.

17 *Hom. Hymn Dem*. 200–205.

18 Paus. 7.27.9.

19 Ap. Rhod. 4.1719–1730, Apollod. 1.26. This is the only example of such activity in honour of an Olympian apart from Dionysus and Demeter.

20 Hdt. 5.83.3.

21 Diod. Sic. 5.4.7.

22 Callim. *Aet*. 7.19–21 Pfeiffer = 9.19–21 Massimilla.

23 Plut. *De mul. vir*. 4, Paus. 2.20.7–8.

24 E.g. *Ach*. 237–279, Semos in Ath. 622b–c, and further below.

25 Paus. Att. τ 14 Erbse.

26 Schol. Lucian *Dial. meret*. 2.1. On *aischrologia* generally, see Rösler (1993), Halliwell (2008) 215–263, Rosen (2015).

27 See n. 14.

28 See especially Schol. Lucian *Dial. meret*. 7.4, and Apollod. 1.5.1, *Hom. Hymn Dem*. 203–205.

2 *Epithalamia* and Dionysiac Songs

Unfortunately, since the only lengthy descriptions of such rites are those of the Thesmophoria and Haloa, we have very sketchy evidence for Greece concerning what verbal forms mockery took, whether it was simply spontaneous utterances or involved trained performers with special poetic skills. However, Halliwell detects 'a strong tendency towards the dynamics of quasi-theatrical performance, i.e. the provision of a "staged" spectacle for an audience (sometimes literally a theatre audience)'.[29] Two areas where we do have very sketchy evidence for ritual humour are wedding-songs and Dionysiac cult.

Two fragments of Sappho give us a flavour of *epithalamia*.[30] In one we find mockery of the *paranymphos* who manned the door when the couple retired:[31]

> θυρώρῳ πόδες ἑπτορόγυιοι,
> τὰ δὲ σάμβαλα πεμπεβόεια,
> πίσσυγγοι δὲ δέκ᾽ ἐξεπόνησαν
>
> The door-keeper's feet are seven fathoms long, his sandals made of five ox-hides, and ten cobblers worked on them.
>
> SAPPHO fr. 110

Here, the ribaldry and the more banausic πίσσυγγοι[32] are counterbalanced by epic-style epithets ἑπτορόγυιοι and πεμπεβόεια:[33] learning and comedy go together. Even when more risqué ideas are used, they are expressed by allusive language and not explicitly:

> 1 ἴψοι δὴ τὸ μέλαθρον,
> ὐμήναον,
> ἀέρρετε τέκτονες ἄνδρες·
> ὐμήναον.

29 Halliwell (2008) 194.

30 On *epithalamia* see Contiades-Tsitsoni (1990), with 68–109 on Sappho.

31 Hsch. s.v. θυρωρός, Poll. 3.42.

32 σκώπτει … ἐν πεζοῖς ὀνόμασι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν ποιητικοῖς ('she mocks him in prosaic rather than poetic language'; Demetr. *Eloc.* 167). Alexander Aetolus said of Euboeus that ἔγραφε δ᾽ ὠνὴρ / εὖ παρ᾽ Ὁμηρείην ἀγλαΐην ἐπέων / πισύγγους ἢ φῶρας ἀναιδέας ('the man wrote well of cobblers or shameful thieves in parody of Homer's splendour'; fr. 5.5–6 *ap.* Ath. 699c); Pollux attributes the word to comedians (7.82 = Adesp. fr. 801 K–A). Cf. also Herod. 7.39, 108, schol. Ar. *Ran.* 507b.20, *Plut.* 81.5.

33 For ἑπτορόγυιοι see only *Od.* 11.312 ἐννεόργυιος; for πεμπεβόεια cf. *Il.* 7.220, etc. ἑπταβόειος.

γάμβρος εἶσ' ἴσ' Ἄρευι,
〈ὑμήναον,〉
ἄνδρος μεγάλω πόλυ μέσδων.
〈ὑμήναον.〉
SAPPHO fr. 111

Raise high the roof—hymenaion! Raise it carpenters—hymenaion! The bride-groom enters like Ares,—hymenaion!,—much bigger than a big man
—hymenaion!

We can see something similar in the hymn to Hymen celebrating the wedding of Opora and Trygaeus at the end of *Peace*. The chorus look forward to the benefits of peace in terms of the goddess's body:[34]

—τί δράσομεν αὐτήν;
—τί δράσομεν αὐτήν;
—τρυγήσομεν αὐτήν,
—τρυγήσομεν αὐτήν.
Pax 1351–1352

—What shall we do to her?
—What shall we do to her?
—We shall harvest her!
—We shall harvest her!

Explicitly sexual vocabulary is avoided: 'harvest' is clear, though rare in this metaphorical sexual sense.[35] Similarly, later in the hymn, they sing

τοῦ μὲν μέγα καὶ παχύ,
τῆς δ' ἡδὺ τὸ σῦκον.
Pax 1351–1352

His is big and fat; her fig is sweet.

Again, innuendo is used rather than explicit vocabulary: μέγα καὶ παχύ is regular of the penis,[36] and figs are used of male organs sporadically,[37] though not of the

34 The text for Aristophanes is Wilson's OCT; the translations are my own.
35 Cf. *Anth. Pal.* 12.256.1 (Meleager) τρυγήσας / παίδων ἄνθος ('having harvested the flower of boys').
36 *Ach.* 787, *Lys.* 22–23, *Eccl.* 1048; cf. also *Nub.* 539.

female.[38] Athenaeus provides the only two examples of Dionysiac songs. That of the *Phallophoroi* is not at all ribald,[39] that of the *Ithyphalloi*, who entered the orchestra in silence before singing, more instructive:[40]

> ἀνάγετ', εὐρυχωρίαν
> τῷ θεῷ ποιεῖτε·
> θέλει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ὀρθὸς ἐσφυδωμένος
> διὰ μέσου βαδίζειν.
>
> Give way, make a broad path for the god, for he wants to march amongst you erect and bursting.

Σφυδόω is very rare, being found only in the comedian Timocles of heavy eaters and in Hesychius,[41] so again an obscure word protects against overly crude obscenity.

This scanty evidence can be compared with Dicaeopolis' phallic hymn at his Rural Dionysia:[42]

> Φάλης, ἑταῖρε Βακχίου,
> ξύγκωμε, νυκτοπεριπλάνητε, μοιχέ, παιδεραστά,
> ἕκτῳ σ' ἔτει προσεῖπον εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐλθὼν ἄσμενος,
> σπονδὰς ποιησάμενος ἐμαυτῷ, πραγμάτων τε καὶ μαχῶν
> καὶ Λαμάχων ἀπαλλαγείς.
>
> πολλῷ γάρ ἐσθ' ἥδιον, ὦ Φάλης Φάλης,
> κλέπτουσαν εὐρόνθ' ὡρικὴν ὑληφόρον,
> τὴν Στρυμοδώρου Θρᾷτταν ἐκ τοῦ φελλέως,
> μέσην λαβόντ', ἄραντα, καταβαλόντα καταγιγαρτίσαι.
>
> *Acharnenses* 264–275

37 E.g. *Eccl.* 707–709, Pherecr. fr. 103.

38 Though see Hsch. συκάζειν· … τὸ κνίζειν ἐν ἐρωτικοῖς ὁμιλίαις ('*sukazein*: to tease in sexual intercourse'); Strattis *Atalantus* fr. 3.1–2 τὴν Ἰσοκράτους παλλακὴν / εὑρεῖν με συκάζουσαν ('I found Isocrates' mistress *sukazousan*'), where the lady is alone and the meaning uncertain.

39 Ath. 622c (= Semus of Delos *FGrH* 396 F 24 = *PMG* 851b). See Bierl (2004) 267–325 for a very full discussion of and the scholarship on these songs.

40 Ibid. = *PMG* 851a. See Bierl (2004) 290–295.

41 ἐσφυδωμένος Meineke; MSS ἐσφυρωμένος 'wearing buskins'. See Timocles fr. 1.2, Hsch. σφυδῶν· ἰσχυρός, εὔρωστος, σκληρός ('robust, strong, tough'), διασφυδῶσαι· αὐξῆσαι ('increase').

42 On the lyric aspect of this passage see Kugelmeier 1996: 151–154.

> Phales, Bacchus' companion, fellow-comast, night-wanderer, adulterer, pederast, I address you after five years, coming gladly to my deme, having made a treaty for myself, freed from trouble, battles and Lamachus. It's much nicer, Phales, Phales, to find Strymodorus' pretty Thracian wood-collecting slave-girl stealing in the fallow land and to pick her up, throw her down and depip her.

The epithets μοιχέ and παιδεραστά are uncompromising, but at the same time clearly laudatory and like ἐσφυδωμένος apt for a sexually voracious deity. The punishment of the slave-girl is uncompromisingly rape, but discomfort is mitigated at least in part by the comic compound καταγιγαρτίσαι (275), whose meaning is both *prima facie* clear, and yet on further thought unclear. It is found only here in literature (though ἐκγιγαρτίζω is regular for 'remove the stone(s) from').[43] Attempts at translation show its elusiveness, such as 'remove her seed', i.e. 'deflower' (Starkie), 'press her like a grape' (Van Leeuwen), 'to have intercourse, because the pip is the penis' (the scholia), which are not very helpful,[44] but it is the very uncertainty of the meaning which palliates any excessive crudity, along with the mixing in of a metaphor from wrestling in 275. Altogether, though overtly or allusively risqué language opens and stands at the centre of the song, taken together it is notable for its restraint.

This restraint in ribaldry is seen *in extenso* in the long scene with the Eleusinian Mystae in *Frogs*,[45] which also illustrates how humour is found least in lyric passages. The two initial hymns to Iacchus (324–352, interrupted briefly by Xanthias)[46] eschew humour, but the chorus hint at the suitability of it in such a religious contest:

330 θρασεῖ δ' ἐγκατακρούων
ποδὶ τὴν ἀκόλαστον
φιλοπαίγμονα τιμήν,
χαρίτων πλεῖστον ἔχουσαν μέρος, ἁγνήν,
335 ἱερὰν ὁσίοις μύσταις χορείαν.
Ranae 330–335

43 E.g. Dioscorides 1.25, Andromachus *ap.* Gal. 13.23.

44 Σ 275a REΓ3. Cf. Suda s.v. καταγιγαρίσαι· κατὰ τῶν γεωργικῶν γιγάρτων βαλεῖν καὶ καταμηρίσαι ('to throw down among the agricultural seeds and penetrate').

45 *Ran.* 316–459.

46 For a possible obscenity in 337–339 see Seager (1981) 250.

> Boldly stamping out with your foot the rhythm of the unbridled and playful honour due to the god, very full of grace, the dance sacred to the holy initiates.

The song is to be 'sacred', 'holy' and 'graceful' but also 'unbridled'.

The importance of the appropriateness of the humour recurs, when they encourage each other, ὑμεῖς δ᾽ ἀνεγείρετε μολπὴν / καὶ παννυχίδας τὰς ἡμετέρας, αἳ τῇδε πρέπουσιν ἑορτῇ ('and you raise song and dance and our night-rituals that befit this festival'),[47] and pray to Demeter for reassurance:

καί μ᾽ ἀσφαλῶς πανήμερον
παῖσαί τε καὶ χορεῦσαι·

καὶ πολλὰ μὲν γελοῖά μ᾽ εἰ-
πεῖν, πολλὰ δὲ σπουδαῖα, καὶ
τῆς σῆς ἑορτῆς ἀξίως
παίσαντα καὶ σκώψαντα νι-
κήσαντα ταινιοῦσθαι.
Ranae 387–393

> that I play, sing and dance all day safely, and say many humorous things and many serious and that, playing and jesting as befits your festival, I am victorious and wear the victor's ribbons.

This three-fold emphasis on the importance of appropriate jesting thus provides a reassurance that when they do use humour they do not want it to be offensive. This then accommodates the subsequent ribald passage concerning the torn clothing traditionally worn, in which Xanthias and Dionysus enthusiastically join:

Χο. σὺ γὰρ κατεσχίσω μὲν ἐπὶ γέλωτι
κἀπ᾽ εὐτελείᾳ τόδε τὸ σανδαλίσκον
καὶ τὸ ῥάκος,
κἀξηῦρες ὥστ᾽ ἀζημίους παίζειν τε καὶ χορεύειν.
Ἴακχε φιλοχορευτά, συμπρόπεμπέ με.
καὶ γὰρ παραβλέψας τι μειρακίσκης
νῦν δὴ κατεῖδον καὶ μάλ᾽ εὐπροσώπου,
συμπαιστρίας,

47 *Ran.* 370–371.

χιτωνίου παραρραγέντος τιτθίον προκύψαν.
Ἴακχε φιλοχορευτά, συμπρόπεμπέ με.
Δι. ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἀεί πως φιλακόλουθός εἰμι καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτῆς
παίζων χορεύειν βούλομαι.
Ξα. κἄγωγε πρός.

Ranae 404–416

Ch. You've torn this sandal and this cloak for our amusement and entertainment, and you've found a way for us to play and sing and dance with no sanction. Iacchus, lover of dance and song, be my escort. Indeed, looking around, I've just caught sight of the tit peeping out of a torn dress of a very pretty young play-mate. Iacchus, lover of dance and song, be my escort.
Di. I always like to join in the fun and I want to dance and sing with her.
Xa. Me too!

The chorus thus claim divine sanction for their words. It is the god who is responsible for things (ἐξηῦρες), including their ability to enjoy themselves 'without sanction'[48] and for the torn clothing 'for our amusement'. Καὶ γάρ ('I say this because'), introducing the jest about the girl, is then the proof of this: the god causes the 'wardrobe malfunction' (κατεσχίσω).[49] These justifications of ritual humour then prepare the way for more robustly obscene mockery of the son of Cleisthenes, Sebinus and Callias in imitation of Eleusinian *gephyrismos*.

Before moving to the very different situation with the Olympian deities, it is worth noting that Phales and Iacchus are "lesser" deities and further proof that Aristophanes is happier to use ribald language with that class, perhaps because mortals felt a greater affinity with them,[50] is provided by the aggregation of remarkable adjectives used in the songs to the Muse in *Peace*, which begin seriously enough with a recital of her activities, before turning to advising her what to do with various tragedians: Cratinus' sons are

ὄρτυγας οἰκογενεῖς, γυλιαύχενας ὀρχηστὰς
νανοφυεῖς, σφυράδων ἀποκνίσματα, μηχανοδίφας.

Pax 789–790

48 This is the more common meaning (LSJ, s.v. I 2): Sommerstein's 'out of pocket' (1996: ad loc.) makes less sense of καὶ γάρ, though it follows 404–406 well.

49 τιτθίον, very rare outside comedy, is a neutral word: *Ach.* 1199, *Pax* 863, *Thesm.* 143, 691, *Plut.* 1067.

50 On the comic portrayal of gods generally see Kleinknecht (1937b).

> home-bred quails, scraggy-necked dancers of dwarfish size, snippets of dung balls, smart artificers.

Morsimus and Melanthius are

> Γοργόνες ὀψοφάγοι, βατιδοσκόποι Ἅρπυιαι,
> γραοσόβαι μιαροί, τραγομάσχαλοι ἰχθυολῦμαι.
> *Pax* 810–811

> Delicacy-munching Gorgons, Harpyes who search after skates, foul lovers of old women, demolishers of fish, with arm-pits like goats.

3 Olympian Deities

In prayers to Olympian deities, we again find humour, but this is more delicately handled than with lesser deities, and so does not disturb the reverence for the gods. This is not perhaps surprising when the prayer is addressed to the god's face, as when the chorus beg Hermes for help, using the standard reference to earlier sacrifices in a somewhat familiar manner:[51]

> εἴ τι κεχαρισμένον
> χοιρίδιον οἶσθα παρ᾽ ἐ-
> μοῦ γε κατεδηδοκώς,
> τοῦτο μὴ φαῦλον νόμιζ᾽ ἐν τουτῳὶ τῷ πράγματι.
> *Pax* 386–388

> If you remember eating a delicious little piglet from me, don't think it a small matter in these circumstances.

However, other hymns work in the same way. The hymn to Zeus, Poseidon, and Ether in the parabasis of *Nubes* is simply laudatory,[52] but describes Poseidon as γῆς τε καὶ ἁλμυρᾶς θαλάσ- / σης ἄγριον μοχλευτήν ('wild leverer of the earth and salty sea', 567–568), where μοχλευτής gives a mildly comic image of the

51 For hymns to the Olympians uninterrupted by irreverence see too that to Peace in *Pax* 581–600, and the hymns of the women in *Thesm.* 312–330 and 352–371.

52 *Nub.* 563–574.

god causing earthquakes armed with a crowbar and is not found again outside this play in classical Greek, but this is hardly irreverent.[53] The parallel hymn to Apollo, Artemis, Athena, and Dionysus has Athena as the αἰγίδος ἡνίοχος ('rider of the aegis', 602), a phrase which may look a little quaint but which has poetic parallels.[54] Even more delicate, in the hymn to Poseidon in *Knights*,[55] are the descriptions of the triremes the god delights in as not just 'with blue rams' but also as 'tribute-bringing' (554–555), a local joke which might seem of little importance to the god.

The respect shown to the Olympians is also visible in the contrast with corresponding non-lyric passages. In the opening scene of the Thesmophoria festival in *Thesmophoriazusae*, there are two lyric choral hymns which are without comic or intrusive material,[56] the first with a large number of purely laudatory epithets. These hymns surround the Curses, which begin seriously enough with a call for prayers to various deities but soon turn to comedy in their proscription of 'anyone who makes overtures to Euripides or the Medes to the detriment of the women or plots tyranny, or the return of a tyrant, or informs on a woman passing off her child as another's'.[57] Similarly, in *Nubes*, the trochaic epirrhema and antepirrhema voice comic complaints about the Athenians' neglect of the Clouds' warnings and their carefree way with the calendar, whereas the lyric ode and antode have hymns summoning eight Olympian deities, again in serious terms.[58] In the hymns in *Birds* to Peisetaerus as successor to Zeus, there is no trace of comic subversion of the joy expressed, and the welcome to the new 'tyrant' is interestingly sincere.[59] Even Agathon's hymn to Apollo, Artemis, and Leto,[60] on whose titillating quality Mnesilochus comments, is on its own terms a perfectly serious composition, with the gods treated in a highly poetic but respectful manner.

There is one example of notably ribald obscenity in a hymn which might seem to contradict this claim, in Cinesias' prayer about Myrrhine in *Lysistrata*:

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53 Cf. 1397 ὦ καινῶν ἐπῶν … μοχλευτά of the orator Pheidippides. Words of this root are largely confined to comedy and technical writers.

54 Cf. Pind. *Nem.* 6.66 χειρῶν καὶ ἰσχύος ἀνίοχος ('charioteer of manual strength'), Simon. *Anth. Gr.* 16.2 (= 30 Page) παλαισμοσύνας δεξιὸς ἡνίοχος ('skilled charioteer of wrestling'), *IG* II².6626.2 (Attica, IV) ἡνίοχος τέχνης τραγικῆς.

55 *Eq.* 551–564. The balancing hymn to Athena (581–594) is without obvious comic elements.

56 *Thesm.* 312–330, 352–371.

57 *Thesm.* 336–340.

58 *Nub.* 563–619.

59 *Av.* 1720–1743.

60 *Thesm.* 101–129.

ὦ Ζεῦ Ζεῦ·
εἴθ᾽ αὐτὴν ὥσπερ τοὺς θωμοὺς
μεγάλῳ τυφῷ καὶ πρηστῆρι
ξυστρέψας καὶ ξυγγογγύλας
οἴχοιο φέρων, εἶτα μεθείης,
ἡ δὲ φέροιτ᾽ αὖ πάλιν εἰς τὴν γῆν,
κᾆτ᾽ ἐξαίφνης
περὶ τὴν ψωλὴν περιβαίη.
Lysistrata 972–979

O Zeus, Zeus, I wish you'd sweep her up and spin her round like grain in a great tornado and lightning, bear her off, and then let her go, so that she was carried to the ground again and fell suddenly on my stiff prick.

However, this is not quite like the other prayers we have looked at. It is not part of a formal cultic occasion, but an *ad hoc* appeal of a rather colloquial kind.

4 Variations with Humour

The flexibility and complexity of Aristophanes' use of ritual humour can be seen in a pair of extended passages, where the disruptive potential of obscenity is mitigated, either by linguistically integrating it or suiting it to the particular aspect of the ritual. In Trygaeus' hymn to Peace,[61] the immediate context is a ribald joke about chickpeas and insults to the chorus conducted in iambics, before Trygaeus begins his hymn seriously enough with an elevated tone that evokes cultic conventions:[62]

ὦ σεμνοτάτη βασίλεια θεά,
πότνι᾽ Εἰρήνη,
δέσποινα χορῶν, δέσποινα γάμων,
δέξαι θυσίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν.
Pax 974–977

O most holy queen, goddess, lady Peace, mistress of choirs, mistress of marriage, receive this our sacrifice.

61 On sacrifice in comedy, see Bowie (2011a); Redfield (2012); Chepel (2020) 157–186.

62 δέξαι … ἡμετέραν is formulaic, as at *Nub*. 274, *Vesp*. 876: see Kleinknecht (1937a) 44–48.

The chorus respond with a bomolochic remark:[63]

δέξαι δῆτ', ὦ πολυτιμήτη,
νὴ Δία, καὶ μὴ ποίει γ' ἅπερ αἱ
μοιχευόμεναι δρῶσι γυναῖκες.
καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖναι παρακλίνασαι
τῆς αὐλείας παρακύπτουσιν,
κἄν τις προσέχῃ τὸν νοῦν αὐταῖς
ἀναχωροῦσιν,
κᾆτ' ἢν ἀπίῃ παρακύπτουσ' αὖ.
τούτων σὺ ποίει μηδὲν ἔθ' ἡμᾶς.
Pax 978–986

Yes indeed by Zeus, receive it, most honoured one, and don't do what the women intent on adultery do. They open the courtyard door a bit and peep out, and when anyone takes notice they retreat; and then when he goes away they peep out again. Don't you do that to us anymore.

δῆτα and νὴ Δί' appear to pick up and emphasise Trygaeus' plea, but then introduce an unexpected image of Peace as a teasing harlot. The language is however restrained, μοιχεύω being a relatively prosaic word.[64] These ribald remarks are carefully re-integrated into the hymn by Trygaeus:

μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' ἀπόφηνον ὅλην σαυτήν
γενναιοπρεπῶς τοῖσιν ἐρασταῖς
ἡμῖν, οἵ σου τρυχόμεθ' ἤδη
τρία καὶ δέκ' ἔτη.
Pax 987–990

No indeed, but reveal yourself fully and as befits a noble lady to your admirers, who have longed for you for thirteen years now.

Μὰ Δί' and ἀπόφηνον ὅλην σαυτὴν might suggest the continuation, reinforced by ἐρασταῖς, of the chorus' sexual inuendo about Peace revealing herself. However, ἐραστής can be used neutrally,[65] and γενναιοπρεπῶς begins to move the

63 The argument is not affected whether the chorus, as Brunck suggested, or the Slave, as in MSS R and V, speaks these words.

64 E.g. *Lys*. 1.15, Pl. *Resp*. 360b1, Arist. *Hist. an*. 586a3, 619a10.

65 E.g. *Ach*. 143, *Eq*. 732, 1341.

context away from saucy to noble women.[66] The return to respectability is then furthered by τρυχούμεθ', a largely poetic word for strong suffering, used for respectable pining for a husband in Sophocles,[67] but not for erotic love until the *Anthology*.[68] The chorus' remark thus suggests that this will be a comic prayer, but Trygaeus then steers it back to seriousness.

The rest of the prayer proceeds without further ribald interruption. Trygaeus does introduce various forms of material that would normally be extraneous to a religious context, but these are integrated by the way the language charts a careful course between the serious and the comic. He continues:

> λῦσον δὲ μάχας καὶ κορκορυγάς,
> ἵνα Λυσιμάχην σε καλῶμεν·
> παῦσον δ' ἡμῶν τὰς ὑπονοίας
> τὰς περικόμψους,
> αἷς στωμυλλόμεθ' εἰς ἀλλήλους.
>
> *Pax* 991–995

> Break up our battles and turbulence, so we can call you Lysimache, stop our arrogant suspicions, with which we waste time nattering against each other.

κορκορυγάς and στωμυλλόμεθ' are hardly words one expects to find in a serious hymn. The first is very rare: it is found of war in Aeschylus, κορκορυγαὶ δ' ἀν' ἄστυ (*Septem* 345), but the scholia note that κεκωμῴδηται δὲ ἡ λέξις. λέγεται γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ βορβορυγμοῦ κοιλίας ('the language is comic, because it is used more of tummy-rumblings');[69] there is also a unique instance of the corresponding verb in *Nubes* 387 κλόνος … [γαστέρα] διεκορκορύγησεν ('a turmoil growled through your stomach'), a similar mixture of high and low registers. στωμύλλω is confined to Aristophanes in classical Greek, and it and its cognates are clearly of low register. However, these vulgarisms do not function to debase the hymn but rather to pour scorn on the manner in which the Greeks conduct their affairs, by which Trygaeus is establishing a close and genial relationship with the goddess.

Trygaeus now moves into culinary discourse:

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66 For the sense 'as befits a noble lady', cf. δουλοπρεπής, θεοπρεπής. 'Boldly' (Olson (1998) ad loc.) does not do it justice.

67 *Trach.* 109–110 ἐνθυμίοις εὐναῖς ἀνανδρώτοισι τρύχεσθαι.

68 *Anth. Pal.* 12.88, 143 (anonymous).

69 So Σ r[1].

μεῖξον δ᾽ ἡμᾶς τοὺς Ἕλληνας
πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς
φιλίας χυλῷ καὶ συγγνώμῃ
τινὶ πραοτέρᾳ κέρασον τὸν νοῦν.
Pax 996–998

Make a new blend of us Greeks from scratch with an infusion of friendship, and mix our minds with a more gentle forgiveness.

The wittily deployed metaphors from the sympotic mixing of wine mark the point where food replaces sexual innuendo as the dominant topic, as desired foods in the markets are listed without any humour: food is one of the blessings of Peace.

Mockery of gluttonous tragedians reintroduces coarse language, but the coarseness is restricted to two words, τυρβάζεσθαι ('jostle'), a largely comic word used scornfully by prose-writers,[70] and τένθαις ('gluttons').[71] The picture of the chaotic market-place finally mediates the move from formal hymnody back to the comic plot. Thus, through strict command of register, Aristophanes navigates between the Scylla of too great formality and the Charybdis of comic bathos.

5 *Frogs*

The combination of irrelevant and irreverent material also informs Dionysus' crossing of the Styx in *Frogs*.[72] The Frogs encourage themselves to sing the song

ἣν ἀμφὶ Νυσήιον
Διὸς Διώνυσον ἐν
Λίμναισιν ἰαχήσαμεν,
ἡνίχ᾽ ὁ κραιπαλόκωμος
τοῖς ἱεροῖσι Χύτροισι χω-
ρεῖ κατ᾽ ἐμὸν τέμενος
λαῶν ὄχλος.
Ranae 215–219

70 *Pax* 1007; cf. Xen. *Cyr*. 1.2.3, Isoc. *Antid*. 130; Polybius apologises for using it (1.67.3); see also Neil (1901) on *Eq*. 310.

71 *Pax* 1009; a comic word, found in Cratinus fr. 320, Cephisodorus *ap*. Euseb. *Praep. evang*. 15.2.

72 *Ran*. 209–267. See Halliwell (2008) 211–214.

> which we sang in honour of Nysian Dionysus, son of Zeus, at the Marshes, when the hung-over crowd of people goes through my sanctuary at the sacred feast of the Pots.

κραιπαλόκωμος stands out as a striking word in a religious context, but it well describes the crowds after the Choes drinking-competition the day before, and so has its place here.

The hymn is interrupted by Dionysus with coarse remarks, but the Frogs ignore him and like Trygaeus soon get the hymn back on track:

> Δι. ἐγὼ δέ γ᾽ ἀλγεῖν ἄρχομαι
> τὸν ὄρρον, ὦ κοὰξ κοάξ.
> Βα. βρεκεκεκὲξ κοὰξ κοάξ.
> Δι. ὑμῖν δ᾽ ἴσως οὐδὲν μέλει.
> Βα. βρεκεκεκὲξ κοὰξ κοάξ.
> Δι. ἀλλ᾽ ἐξόλοισθ᾽ αὐτῷ κοάξ·
> οὐδὲν γάρ ἐστ᾽ ἀλλ᾽ ἢ κοάξ·
> Βα. εἰκότως γ᾽, ὦ πολλὰ πράττων.
> ἐμὲ γὰρ ἔστερξαν ⟨μὲν⟩ εὔλυροί τε Μοῦσαι.
> καὶ κεροβάτας Πάν, ὁ καλαμόφθογγα παίζων·
> προσεπιτέρπεται δ᾽ ὁ φορμικτὰς Ἀπόλλων,
> ἕνεκα δόνακος, ὃν ὑπολύριον
> ἔνυδρον ἐν λίμναις τρέφω.
>
> *Ranae* 221–233

> Di. I'm beginning to get a pain in my anus, o koax, koax.
> Fr. Brekekekex koax, koax.
> Di. You couldn't care less, I suppose.
> Fr. Brekekekex koax, koax.
> Di. Damn you and your 'koax': there's nothing but 'koax'.
> Fr. And quite right too, you busy-body. For the Muses with their lovely lyres are fond of me, and Pan the hoofed god who performs tunes on his reeds, and Apollo too the lyre-player because of the reed for the lower bridge of his lyre which I look after in the water.

Coarse though Dionysus' opening remark is, the word he chooses for his rear is ὄρρος, a rare word found in comedy and sparsely in medical writers: πρωκτός, restricted in classical Greek to iambic poetry and comedy,[73] would have given a very different tone.

73 Hipponax fr. 104.32; 47x in Old Comedy.

The next exchange follows the same pattern of complaint and defiant response, but Dionysus' language becomes coarser, with πρωκτός now employed:

Δι. ἐγὼ δὲ φλυκταίνας γ᾽ ἔχω,
χὠ πρωκτὸς ἰδίει πάλαι,
κᾆτ᾽ αὐτίκ᾽ ἐκκύψας ἐρεῖ—
Βα. βρεκεκεκὲξ κοὰξ κοάξ.
Δι. ἀλλ᾽, ὦ φιλῳδὸν γένος,
παύσασθε.
Βα. μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν
φθεγξόμεσθ᾽, εἰ δή ποτ᾽ εὐ-
ηλίοις ἐν ἀμέραισιν
ἡλάμεσθα διὰ κυπείρου
καὶ φλέω …
Ranae 236–244

Di. And I've got blisters; my arse has been sweating for ages, and it's about to peep out and say …
Fr. Brekekekex koax, koax.
Di. Stop, please, song-loving race.
Fr. No way: we're going to sing even more, if ever on sunny days we leapt through the lotus and reeds …

The more intimate details of his rear's ailments and the suggestion of a fart in 238–239 seem to be taking the scene into very unreligious territory, but the religious aspect of the song is not affected, since it turns out that this finished at 239 after the climactic boast of the Frogs' relationship with the major gods: now the subject has shifted away from divine matters to the Frogs' daily lives in the marshes. Furthermore, mention of the fart is cleverly side-stepped by the Frogs' 'brekekekex', which continues the joke of that refrain but is also an appropriate continuation of the sentence in an allusive manner. Finally, that the ribaldry in the song comes from the god Dionysus himself gives it some form of sanction. It is only from here on that Dionysus' interventions become much more intrusive and eventually succeed in silencing the Frogs: when the rough-and-tumble starts, Aristophanes moves away from the sacred to the mundane.

6 A Contrary Case?

A final confirmation of Aristophanes' preservation of the sacred aspect of religious utterances can be gained from Agathon's servant's announcement of his arrival in *Thesmophoriazusae*, where in a parody of divine epiphanies a hymn is brutally dismantled:[74]

ΘΕ. εὔφημος πᾶς ἔστω λαός,
στόμα συγκλήσας· ἐπιδημεῖ γὰρ
θίασος Μουσῶν ἔνδον μελάθρων
τῶν δεσποσύνων μελοποιῶν.
ἐχέτω δὲ πνοὰς νήνεμος αἰθήρ,
κῦμά τε πόντου μὴ κελαδείτω
γλαυκόν·

Κη. βομβάξ.
Ευ. σίγα. τί λέγει;
Θε. πτηνῶν τε γένη κατακοιμάσθω,
θηρῶν τ᾽ ἀγρίων πόδες ὑλοδρόμων
μὴ λυέσθων.
Κη. βομβαλοβομβάξ.
Θε. μέλλει γὰρ ὁ καλλιεπὴς Ἀγάθων
πρόμος ἡμέτερος—

Κη. μῶν βινεῖσθαι;
Θε. τίς ὁ φωνήσας;
Κη. νήνεμος αἰθήρ.
Θε. δρυόχους τιθέναι δράματος ἀρχάς.
κάμπτει δὲ νέας ἀψῖδας ἐπῶν …
καὶ χοανεύει.
Κη. καὶ λαικάζει.
Θε. τίς ἀγροιώτας πελάθει θριγκοῖς;
Κη. ὃς ἕτοιμος σοῦ τοῦ τε ποιητοῦ
τοῦ καλλιεποῦς κατὰ τοῦ θριγκοῦ
συγγογγύλας καὶ συστρέψας
τουτὶ τὸ πέος χοανεῦσαι.

Thesmophoriazusae 39–53, 57–62

74 See also Horn (1970) 94–106, Kugelmeier (1996) 271–276.

Se. Let all folk keep silent, shutting their mouths, for the *thiasos* of the Muses has come to stay in the halls of our poetic master. Let the windless air still its breezes, and the glaucous swell of the sea not roar.
Mn. Bombast!
Eu. Shut up. What's he saying?
Se. Let the races of winged ones be still, and the feet of the wild beasts not be loosed so they may roam the woods.
Mn. Bombalobombast!
Se. For the fair-voiced Agathon, our leader will soon …
Mn. Surely not 'be buggered'?!
Se. Who spoke?
Mn. The windless aether.
Se. … lay down the oaken foundations of his play … He bends the new felloes of his words … and moulds it.
Mn. And sucks.
Se. What peasant comes near these coping-stones?
Mn. One who is ready, once he's twisted round and rolled up you and your poet with his pretty words, under your coping-stone to round you out with this cock.

His call for *euphemia* regularly precedes significant rites,[75] and the reference to the arrival of the Muses suggests an epiphany by them, an idea supported by the call for quiet in the natural world which also precedes numinous moments.[76] However, in other religious contexts, the speaker largely sings without interruption, but here he is six times heckled by Mnesilochus. The mixture of registers, normally avoided in religious songs, here undermines any seriousness. High-style εὔφημος πᾶς ἔστω λαός contrasts with the curter στόμα συγκλήσας[77] and the prosaic ἐπιδημεῖ (rare in poetry);[78] poetic μελάθρων, δεσποσύνων (a poetic plural), πνοάς, νήνεμος αἰθήρ, κῦμα, κελαδείτω, γλαυκόν, πτηνῶν culminate in a rather inelegant closure about the feet of the beasts. Mnesilochus' interventions move from nonce words, βομβάξ, βομβαλοβομβάξ, to brute obscenity with μῶν βινεῖσθαι, λαικάζει and συγγογγύλας καὶ συστρέψας / τουτὶ τὸ πέος χοανεῦσαι,

75 E.g. Aesch. fr. 87, Soph. fr. 893, Ar. *Ach*. 237.
76 *Av*. 777–778, Eur. *Ba*. 1084–1085, Limenius fr. 1.7–10.
77 Eur. *Hipp*. 498 οὐχὶ συγκλήσεις στόμα, Ar. *Eq*. 1316 εὐφημεῖν χρὴ καὶ στόμα κλήειν.
78 For its use of gods see Ar. fr. 407, Callim. *Hymn* 2.13, with schol. Ψ 1, *IG* IV^2.122.10–13 (Epidaurus, ca. 320).

ending with a bravura collection of metaphors for poetic construction. Halfway through it is revealed that no god, but a man is expected: there being no risk of offending a deity, Aristophanes can have some fun with hymnic lyric.

7 Conclusion: Choruses' Ritual Acts?

Aristophanes is thus generally careful not to let obscenity or irreverently irrelevant material have a major effect on formal cultic song. With the Olympians the restraint is especially noticeable: comedy is happy to make fun of them,[79] but not in lyric hymns. Even in genres such as *phallika* and wedding-songs where colourful language is expected, the more ribald material is never of an extreme kind, and the language often metaphorical rather than explicit. In other cases, comic expressions can mitigate the obscene material, and careful control of linguistic register helps to integrate it into the context. Only in a hymn that is not truly cultic does he allow a demolition to take place.

It may perhaps be no surprise that Aristophanes essentially reproduces Greek, or at least Athenian, religious practice with regard to scurrility and the gods.[80] It does, however, raise the thorny question of whether the rituals performed on stage can thus be thought to be "real" rituals: is it true that 'the comic chorus is … not only derived and descended from ritual, but is to a large extent ritual as well'?[81] It is not difficult to conceive of a tragedy or comedy as a *whole* as a 'ritual', in the sense of an *agalma* or source of delight to the gods, just as the Olympic games were.[82] However, though speech-act and performance theories provide modes of conceiving comic rituals as actually effective, the complexities and wit we have seen in Aristophanes make one wonder whether an audience would have been thinking they were involved in a "real" ritual.

A test case is one of our most complete descriptions of a sacrifice, Trygaeus' to Peace.[83] Unlike in most other comic sacrifices, at both the start (962–967) and end (1115) of the sacrificial scene the audience is explicitly included in

79 See Bowie (2010) 148.

80 For the similarities between Aristophanes' depiction of ritual and actual practice, see Chepel (2020) 33–87.

81 Bierl (2009) 267. His is the strongest statement of this theory; he is followed by Chepel (2020). On this, see Halliwell (2008) 206–214. A similar question is raised about tragedy: see e.g. Easterling (1989); Henrichs (1996a), (1996b); Krummen (1998); for a different view Scullion (2002). On choral activity and ritual, see also Stehle (2016).

82 Cf. *Eq.* 551–558 for Poseidon's delight in chariot-racing.

83 Similar points could be made about the rite conducted by Peisetaerus in *Av.* 865–1057 which is in iambics. See also Furley (2007) 120–121.

the proceedings. *Pax* was performed at the Dionysia, and so in the presence of Greeks from a wide variety of cities, which makes credible a sense that this is a real as well as a fictional religious celebration of a Greece-wide peace.

However, one has also to take account of the considerable amount of comic business: it is notable that from the moment the sacrifice begins, we have not solemn ritual but sexual jokes. The throwing of the barley-grains to the audience brings punning on κριθαί (also 'penis'). Trygaeus does use a standard cry before a rite τίς τῇδε; ('who is here?'), to which the response was πολλοὶ κἀγαθοί,[84] but he gets no reply, causing him to ask ποῦ ποτ' εἰσὶ πολλοὶ κἀγαθοί; ('where on earth are many and good?'). The slave ironically suggests they treat the chorus as such, but Trygaeus demurs and the Slave feebly says they count as such because of their bravery when sprinkled with a little water. Thus, though the audience are apparently included in the rite, their credentials are not accepted and the sacrifice turns its focus back to the stage.

The rite proceeds in an unusual way with anomalous treatment of the animal. Ordered to slaughter the sheep, the Slave wittily says Peace does not like blood-sacrifice, so the sheep is taken inside and the thigh-bones brought out, Trygaeus joking that this will save the Choregos the cost of the (scrawny) beast. The arrival of the *chresmologus* Hierocles then leads to the rite being conducted, not with solemn process, but with constant interruption, ridiculous oracular pronouncements, insults, literary parody, and violence. An enormous amount is done to distract the audience, so it would have been hard for the most devout to feel that he or she was at an actual rite. We ought to give both the sacrifice, which has many features of a standard one, and the humour, which works hard to subvert it, equal weight: the audience is initially invited to take part in the rite as if it were "real," but is then side-lined as fictionality takes over: they have a complex negotiation to make.

84 Schol. RV on 968.

CHAPTER 18

Song and/as Sacrifice: On the Sacrificial Pragmatics of Poetry

Pavlos Sfyroeras

Already from its earliest appearance in Greek poetry, choral singing is paired with sacrificial ritual. The hecatomb for Apollo in *Iliad* 1.447–474, the first of a whole series of sacrifices in the epic narrative, includes all the familiar elements: preliminary gestures, prayer, slaughter, preparation of the animal, cooking, and feast. The ritual sequence, however, is not fully complete until the Achaeans have spent an entire day (πανημέριοι) propitiating the angry god with song and dance (μολπῇ), by intoning and dancing the beautiful paean (καλὸν ἀείδοντες παιήονα … μέλποντες); it is in these sounds, in fact, that Apollo is specifically said to rejoice in his heart (φρένα τέρπετ᾽ ἀκούων, 1.472–474).

This pairing seems to set the tone for what is to come: in poetic diction and sacred inscriptions of archaic, classical, and post-classical Greece, song, often accompanied by dance, and sacrifice are performed side by side, often as part of the same festival setting; in addition, we often hear singing around, or in close proximity to, sacrificial symbols like altars or tripods, or in contexts such as the symposium that presuppose, notionally if not in actuality, a sacrifice. There are songs, of course, that are performed in other ritual settings: Alcman's *partheneia* represent one such example. What is more, we may even come across songs that have no discernible ritual association at all. Yet, the prominence of the sacrificial connection, so widely attested that it may even be taken for granted, seems worth exploring. Starting therefore from the established coexistence of these two different genres of performance, lyric song and sacrifice, I wish to ask how it shapes the perception of song by poet, performer, or audience. How would they understand the relation of song to the ritual gestures next to it? Can we reconstruct what a "native on the ground" might have said to an inquiring ethnographer engaged in fieldwork in ancient Greece?

1 From Symbiosis to Convergence

The evidence for what I would call the symbiosis of song and sacrifice is too extensive to be presented fully. I shall therefore limit the following overview

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to some instances that seem to point to something more than simple co-existence, namely to a kind of convergence, spatial as well as conceptual.

Let me start with the spatial convergence, by which I mean the performance of song and dance around an altar. This practice finds a divine prototype in Hesiod's *Theogony*, which opens by evoking the image of the Muses dancing around the spring and altar of Zeus on Mount Helicon (περὶ κρήνην … ὀρχεῦνται καὶ βωμόν, 3–4).[1] The deities that are invoked as the source of poetry are thus from the first connected with an emblem of sacrifice. Zeus appears at the center of another divine prototype in the Dictaean hymn, recorded on a later (third century CE) inscription discovered at Palaikastro in Eastern Crete but probably originating in the early Hellenistic period, if not earlier.[2] In the opening of the hymn (1–10), the Dictaean Zeus is addressed as the 'Greatest Kouros' and invited to rejoice in the song and dance of the Kouretes (γέγαθι μολπᾷ, 6). The performers, presumably impersonating the Kouretes, figures of armed youths in myth, summon the divinity by referring to their own performance: 'we weave (or pluck) lyres mixing them with pipes and sing standing around your well-walled altar' (τεὸν ἀμφὶ βωμὸν οὐερκῆ, 9–10). Both the actual performance and its reenacted mythical archetype focus on the *bomos* at the center; the occasion to which the god is called combines performance of poetry and the symbolic evocation of sacrifice.

Even when they are not explicitly mentioned, divine models of performances around an altar may be said to underlie human cultic occasions, such as the festival promised to Apollo in the Theognidean corpus if the god saves Megara (773–783, esp. 776–779):

> ἵνα σοι λαοὶ ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ
> ἦρος ἐπερχομένου κλειτὰς πέμπωσ᾽ *ἑκατόμβας*
> τερπόμενοι **κιθάρῃ** καὶ ἐρατῇ *θαλίῃ*
> **παιάνων τε χοροῖς** ἰαχῇσί τε *σὸν περὶ βωμόν*.
>
> So that people in good cheer when the spring arrives send you renowned hecatombs, as they take pleasure in the lyre, in lovely festivity, in choruses of paeans, and in shouts of joy around your altar.

1 To reverse the perspective, 'the dancing of the Muses is modelled on that of mortals', as West (1966) 152 notes, adducing the dance of Cretan women ἀμφ᾽ ἐρόεντα βῶμον (°290 Neri = inc. auct. fr. 16 V.).

2 *IC* III. 2.2. For recent discussions see Furley and Bremer (2001) no. 1.1 and Alonge (2011) 221–228, 230–233.

The spring festival in this passage that echoes with epic tropes includes both hecatombs and music. Their coexistence is evident in the persistent alternation of sacrifice and song, which at the same time intertwines divine honor and human pleasure. The hecatombs, offered to Apollo in an atmosphere of human cheer, give way to the *kithara* and then the lovely feast—both sources of human pleasure—which continues with paeanic choruses and ritual cries around the altar. This definition of space, with the final zooming in on the altar (σὸν περὶ βωμόν), further underlines the correlation of performance and sacrifice by coming back full circle: as the singing dancers are envisioned to encircle the altar, the human pleasure derived from the sounds and movements is imagined to be shared by the divine recipient, whose altar is the center of the occasion.[3]

This evocation of the Megarian festival may draw on a tradition of performances around the altar that are particularly associated with the cult of Apollo, on Delos, at Delphi, and elsewhere. The final section of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (474–523) offers an early aetiology of this practice: the god himself instructs the Cretan sailors and future priests to build an altar on the shore, around which (περὶ βωμόν) they are to stand and pray (490–492, 508–510). After they complete their feast, Apollo, playing his lyre, leads them in procession to Delphi, while they sing the paean (500–501, 514–519).[4] Against this cultic and poetic background, a simile in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes (1.536–539) describes a dance performed by youths (ἠίθεοι) around an altar (περὶ βωμόν, 538) in Apollo's honor on Delos, at Delphi, or by Ismenos' waters in Boeotia.[5] A striking example from a related cultic sphere that joins Apollo with Asclepius is provided by an early fourth-century inscription from Erythrai in Asia Minor.[6] This list of sacrificial regulations concludes with the

3 On the passage, see Van Groningen (1966) 299–302. For the convergence of human and divine pleasure, see below.

4 Despite the burning of barley (491, 509) and feasting (497–499, 511–513), the passage refrains from explicitly mentioning animal sacrifice, which the poet seemingly reserves for Apollo's concluding instructions to his Delphic priests (535–536); the reticence may be explained through the conclusion of this essay, more fully developed in Sfyroeras (2020). Athanassaki (2018) correlates this important scene, on which see also Richardson (2010) 144–152, with Plato's depiction of Apollo as fellow-dancer and fellow-celebrant of mortals in *Laws*; see below.

5 We could possibly connect this dance with Bacchylides 17, also performed by youths for Apollo on Delos. The conclusion of Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos*, however eccentric, brings together not only the mythical dance of Theseus and the Athenians (312–313) and the mysterious ritual of visitors (321–323), both performed around an altar, but also the geographical chorus of the Cycladic islands around Delos (300–301) with its fragrance of incense (300) and its many altars (316).

6 Sokolowski (1955) no. 24; *IEry* 205; Burkert (1985) 268.

depositing of the 'sacred portion' of the meat (τὴν ἱρὴν μοῖραν), while a paean is performed three times around the altar of Apollo (παιωνίζειν πρῶτον περὶ τὸμ βωμὸν τοῦ 'Απόλλωνος τόνδε τὸμ παιῶνα ἐς τρίς, 34–36). The symbolism of the altar is obvious: in addition to the explicitly sacrificial occasion, the deposition of the sacred portion of the meat on it is simultaneous with (and parallels) the performance of the paean around it.

It should be acknowledged at this point that blood sacrifice, i.e., ritual slaughter of an animal typically followed by preparation and consumption of its meat by the sacrificial community, is not the only form of *material* gift made to the gods at their altars, but one among many. One could mention, for example, libations of milk, wine, and honey; offerings of first fruits (ἀπαρχαί) of agricultural produce; garlands and wreaths; choice parts (ἀκροθίνια) of war spoils, etc. All these can be brought to the altar, some even consumed.[7] But there is no doubt that the predominant mode of offering to the gods is that of animal sacrifice: it is no accident that for Plato's Socrates 'sacrificing' becomes synonymous with 'making a gift to the gods' (Plato *Euthyphro* 14c8). By contrast, other types of gifts, whether accompanying sacrifice or not, form the periphery of what we might call the sacrificial center. We could therefore say that, whatever secondary associations it may have, the altar by itself serves as a primary metonymy, linguistic or visual, of sacrificial ritual practice, as in the inscription from Erythrai just mentioned.

To return now to song and dance: far from being an Apolline idiosyncrasy, performances around an altar feature in various other settings.[8] Consider, for instance, Pindar's *Dithyramb for the Athenians* (fr. 75), and its call to the Olympian gods who approach the 'frequented fragrant navel of the city' (πολύβατον … ἄστεος ὀμφαλὸν θυόεντ[α], 3). The gods are invited by the Pindaric chorus to bestow χάρις on it and to take their fill in its spring songs (λάχετε … τᾶν τ' ἐαριδρόπων ἀοιδᾶν, 6). These include of course the present dithyramb, performed in close proximity to a location that has been persuasively identified with the Altar of the Twelve Gods at the Agora.[9] Similarly, in Pratinas'

7 See, briefly, Burkert (1985) 66–73.

8 Sappho fr. 154 Neri (αἰ δ' ὡς περὶ βῶμον ἐστάθησαν) is too fragmentary for any conclusions about dancing. Equally fragmentary, Pindar's *Third Paean* (fr. 52c) seems to combine a fragrant altar with 'well-woven' songs (θυόεντα βωμόν … ἀοιδαῖς ἐν εὐπλεκέσσι 8–12); see Rutherford (2001) 277.

9 On the setting of Pind. fr. 75, see Sourvinou-Inwood (2003) 89–98, who views the *omphalos* as *part* of the agora. More recently, Neer and Kurke (2014) and (2019) 123–156 have convincingly located it in the old agora east of the Acropolis. On the pragmatics of this poem, see Calame (2013b) 340–341. Adding to the analogies between fr. 75 and Plato's *Laws* that Athanassaki (2018) discerns, I would compare the proximity of χορόν and χάριν (75. 1–2) with the

hyporcheme (fr. 708 = *TrGF* 4F3), the chorus protests against the new tendency of the *aulos* to dominate the choral performance, which (and this is our concern here) focuses on the 'much-clattering altar of Dionysus' (ἐπὶ Διονυσιάδα πολυπάταγα θυμέλαν, 1). The genre, occasion, and date of this fragment have been debated at length;[10] yet there is no doubt that it describes the performance of a chorus around a sacrificial emblem.[11]

Another metonymy of sacrifice is the tripod, which designates the combination of a cauldron (*lebes*) and its three-legged supporting stand, i.e. a three-legged cauldron, attested as a prize in athletic and other contests, including dithyrambic ones.[12] Primarily used for the boiling of sacrificial meat after the grilling of the entrails (*splanchna*), it represents a later moment in the sacrificial sequence.[13] Its strong sacrificial connotations underlie Herodotus' observation (2.41.3) that, because of their aversion to sacrificing oxen, Egyptians would never use a Greek's knife, spit, or cauldron, considering these objects polluted by virtue of their association with sacrificial practice. These same connotations seem to have led Pindar (fr. 59.11–12) to pair tripods and sacrifices (τριπόδεσσί τε / καὶ θυσίαις).[14] Given the regrettably fragmentary state of this poem, we cannot be certain that the *phorminx* (φόρμι]γγι, fr. 59.9) that is partially restored before the 'tripods and sacrifices' is directly linked to them, or that this song, which has been reasonably assumed to relate to the oracle of Dodona, could exemplify the 'tripod-carrying song' (τριποδηφορικὸν μέλος) that accompanied the transportation of tripods from Thebes to Dodona.[15]

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etymological link of χορός and χαρά in *Leg*. 654a. For a different view of the location of the performance of this song, see Fanucchi's contribution to this volume.

10 The suggestion of Seaford (1977) that it comes from a satyr play has found adherents but not universal acceptance; for a recent discussion and bibliography, see O'Sullivan and Collard (2013) 242–247.

11 Space permits only a passing reference to the tragic and comic choruses; typically identified with the genres in their totality (*IG* ii² 2318; cf. Pl. *Leg*. 800b–c), they performed around the *thymele* at the center of the orchestra, on which see Wiles (1997) 71–78. I treat the implications of this for the interpretation of comedy in a forthcoming monograph, for which the present reflections serve as *prolegomena*. My approach does not depend on claims about origins; the classic formulation of such a claim for tragedy is of course Burkert (1966).

12 On tripods as athletic prizes and their sacrificial associations, see Sansone (1988) 88–90, 94. On sacrificial bulls and tripods as dithyrambic prizes, see Heinemann (2013) 300–306 and Ieranò (2013) 373–377.

13 On the boiling of sacrificial meat, see Ekroth (2008a) and (2008b) 274–276.

14 On the fragment, see Rutherford (2001) 427–429.

15 Procl. *Chrestomathy* 321b33; cf. Rutherford (2001) 354–355, 429. For a discussion of the cultural dimensions, especially the cultic aetiology, see Kowalzig (2007b) 331–352.

But at another oracle, at Delphi, the connection between the tripod and choral performance is more securely attested. The chorus in Euripides' *Ion* locates Apollo's mantic activity at the point 'where the choruses dance around the tripod' (περιχορευομένῳ τρίποδι, 463). Though the text here is not absolutely certain, the generally accepted emendation περιχορευομένῳ seems preferable on the basis of a statement by Himerius in the fourth century CE (Phot. *Bibl. Codex* 243 p. 369b 32 = *Or.* 12 Colonna) that the Delphians have always been dancing around the tripod with paeans (Δελφοὶ … λατρεύουσι μὲν ἀεὶ τῷ θεῷ καὶ περιχορεύουσι μετὰ παιάνων τὸν τρίποδα).[16] Yet, even the manuscript reading παραχορευομένῳ τρίποδι or Scaliger's emendation παρὰ χορευομένῳ τρίποδι ('near the tripod honored with dances') would demonstrate Euripides' awareness of the Delphic practice, which is confirmed by other evidence. Again Himerius, seemingly paraphrasing Alcaeus' *Paean to Apollo* (fr. 307), narrates how the Delphians, seeking to attract the god from the Hyperboreans, composed a paean and a tune (παιᾶνα συνθέντες καὶ μέλος) and set up choruses of youths around the tripod (καὶ χοροὺς ἠϊθέων περὶ τὸν τρίποδα στήσαντες, Himer. *Or.* 48.10–11).[17] Alcaeus' hymn, of course, would be an instance of such a paean; performed near the tripod, it both recalls the first performance and re-enacts it in the present, to invite once again the god from the far north.

As arrangement in space inevitably shapes mental perceptions, spatial approximation in the case of performance leads to conceptual convergence. Let me illustrate this shift by examining first Bacchylides' *Paean for Apollo Pythaieus at Asine* (fr. 4). This long fragment deals with the foundation of the altar and shrine of Apollo in Asine after Heracles defeated the Dryopians and resettled them there; its complex aetiological narrative has been meticulously analyzed against the background of ethnic and social integration in the Argolid and of Spartan–Argive rivalry, political and cultural.[18] I shall limit myself to the song's celebration of the resulting ritual harmony (61–68). After the Bacchylidean choreuts move from the past foundation of Apollo's shrine to the present of the cultic occasion, they list the boons of peace and pair the 'flowers of honey-tongued songs' (63) with burning thighs of oxen and sheep on altars:

16 In his Teubner edition, W. Biehl (1979) adopts περιχορευομένῳ, Musgrave's correction of the manuscripts' παραχορευομένῳ. In addition to Himerius, he adduces Eur. *Phoen.* 234ff with the Scholiast's gloss (τὸ γὰρ ἐλίσσων ἀντὶ τοῦ περιχορεύων).

17 Furley and Bremer (2001) no. 2.1. If [Plut.] *De musica* 14.1135F refers (as has been assumed; cf. fr. 307c) to the same hymn as Himerius, he offers indirect evidence for its sacrificial associations. It is unclear, however, how closely Himerius paraphrases Alcaeus' hymn.

18 Kowalzig (2007b) 128–160.

τίκτει δέ τε θνατοῖσιν εἰρήνα μεγαλάνορα πλοῦτον
καὶ *μελιγλώσσων ἀοιδᾶν ἄνθεα*
δαιδαλέων τ᾽ ἐπὶ βωμῶν
θεοῖσιν αἴθεσθαι βοῶν ξανθᾷ φλογί
μηρί᾽ εὐμάλλων τε μήλων
γυμνασίων τε νέοις
αὐλῶν τε καὶ κώμων μέλειν.

Peace gives birth to noble wealth for mortals, to the flowers of honey-tongued songs, to the burning for gods of thighs of oxen and fleecy sheep in yellow flame on elaborate altars, to young men's concern with athletics, with pipes and revelry.

The position of the phrase μελιγλώσσων ἀοιδᾶν ἄνθεα (63) is syntactically intriguing. While it parallels πλοῦτον as the second object of the verb τίκτει, it also precedes, in the continuation of the song, the infinitive αἴθεσθαι, still dependent on τίκτει.[19] The resulting juxtaposition of the flowers of song with the elaborate altars and the burning offerings on them is very effective in fusing different sensory experiences, literal or metaphorical, of song and ritual, into a whole; it brings home synaesthetically the connection between sacrifice and poetry, which is perhaps evoked again with the duet of pipes and festive revels (αὐλῶν τε καὶ κώμων, 68).[20] It is not unreasonable to identify the 'flowers of honey-tongued song' with this very paean, presumably performed at the altar of Apollo Pythaieus that Melampous is said to have founded earlier in the poem (βω]μόν τε Πυθα⟨ι⟩εῖ κτίσε[, 52).[21]

Singing and sacrificial burning are brought together again in striking fashion at the end of the fragment (79–80):

συμποσίων δ᾽ ἐρατῶν βρίθοντ᾽ ἀγυιαί,
παιδικοί θ᾽ ὕμνοι φλέγονται.

The streets are laden with lovely feasts, and the songs of boys rise like flames.

19 On this "zeugma," combining nouns and infinitives, see Maehler (2004) 231.

20 On synaesthesia as an anthropological, rather than psychological, concept, applied to ritual, see Kowalzig (2007b) 47–48.

21 Maehler (2004) 223 and Kowalzig (2007b) 135–137.

This seems to be a daringly innovative variation on a traditional motif, in which it is usually sacrificial smoke (κνῖσα) that fills the streets, as in the apparently formulaic phrase κνισᾶν ἀγυιάς.[22] Here, what is implicitly suggested in the image of streets heavy with lovely feasts becomes explicit when we hear the powerful description of burning hymns: instead of the fragrance of burning fat that accompanies a sacrifice, we find something else reaching upwards, namely blazing songs. The passage clearly intimates the homoerotic atmosphere of the symposion;[23] its sensory power is precisely enhanced by the boldly evocative metaphor, which suggests a synaesthetic substitution of poetic sound for sacrificial smell.

As the context for this celebration is the pacification of the Dryopians after they were settled in Asine, the "ritual" peace is implicitly contrasted to the origin of the conflict between Heracles and the Dryopians, which is rife with sacrificial transgressions, committed by both Heracles and the Dryopians. Among other sources, Apollodorus (2.7.7) enables us to flesh out the background: he describes how Heracles, in need of food, unceremoniously slaughtered and devoured the bull of a Dryopian (σφάξας εὐωχεῖτο).[24] For the Dryopians' part, their king Laogoras' hybristic feasting in Apollo's shrine is presented as one cause of his death at the hands of Heracles (ἐν Ἀπόλλωνος τεμένει δαινύμενον, ὑβριστὴν ὄντα καὶ Λαπιθῶν σύμμαχον).[25] Some of this was most probably treated in the lost opening of the poem, preceding Heracles' reception to the feast of Ceyx, which then forms, along with Melampous' altar, a bridge from the initial sacrificial violation to the ritual harmony of peace. On this reading, it is choral song itself, drawing attention to the reality of its own performance and its fusion with sacrifice, that helps restore sacrificial order, both inside the narrative and outside of it.[26]

A similar effect seems to be produced over a century later in the Dionysiac paean of Philodamus of Scarphea (39 Käppel).[27] In the ninth stanza of that

22 This phrase appears in e.g. Ar. *Eq*. 1320; *Av*. 1233; Dem. *Meid*. 51. Although these are later than Bacchylides, they seem to preserve oracular diction.

23 I share the view of Maehler (2004) 234, who rightly inscribes the 'blazing songs' in a homoerotic context and would translate 'lovesongs in praise of boys', not 'songs performed by boys'.

24 Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.1213; see Maehler (2004) 224.

25 Cf. Diod. Sic. 4.37.1; see Kowalzig (2007b) 136.

26 To borrow terms from 'speech-act' theory, the illocutionary dimension of the passage makes it performative, in the sense that it achieves a perlocutionary result.

27 For full discussions, see Käppel (1992) 207–284, Furley and Bremer (2001) no. 2.5, Bowie (2015).

intriguing poem, Apollo urges the Amphictyons to establish a sacrifice and a hymnic performance in honor of Dionysus at the Delphic Theoxenia (110–114):

110 *δεῖξαι δ᾽ ἐγ ξενίοις ἐτεί-*
οις θεῶν ἱερῷ γένει συναίμῳ
τόνδ᾽ ὕμνον, θυσίαν τε φαί-
νειν σὺν Ἑλλάδος ὀλβίας
πανδήμοις ἱκετείαις.

> To present, in the annual feast of hospitality, this hymn for his brother to the family of gods, and to celebrate a public sacrifice on the occasion of the universal supplications of blessed Hellas.[28]
>
> trans. FURLEY AND BREMER, modified

The convergence between the two forms of divine honor is first suggested here by the momentary impression, as the words are sung, that τόνδ᾽ ὕμνον, θυσίαν τε are both direct objects of δεῖξαι. But even after the mention of φαίνειν clarifies their true syntactical relationship, the convergence is reinforced by the chiastic word order (δεῖξαι … τόνδ᾽ ὕμνον, θυσίαν τε φαίνειν), which zeroes in on the juxtaposition of the nouns ὕμνον, θυσίαν τε serving as objects of the two framing infinitives δεῖξαι and φαίνειν. Both infinitival phrases, though readily intelligible, are surprisingly *hapax legomena*. Their demonstrable rarity, combined with the near synonymity of the verbs, both meaning 'to show, reveal, make manifest', serves to enhance the close parallelism of these two types of performance.[29] The phrase θυσίαν φαίνειν, in particular, is nowhere else attested, but the verb φαίνω is used from Homer onwards to describe the production of song or other musical sounds.[30] As a result, Philodamus' audience would note the unexpected substitution of θυσία for the more familiar song as the object

28 Furley and Bremmer (2001) ii.77 are right to follow Vollgraff in taking θεῶν both with the preceding ξενίοις ἐτείοις and with the following ἱερῷ γένει. This ἀπὸ κοινοῦ figure, combined with συναίμῳ (111), brings together the kinship of Dionysus to Apollo and to the other gods with the Theoxenian commensality of mortals and immortals.

29 See Käppel (1992) 253 n. 177; for δεῖξαι ὕμνον, he adduces Alcman fr. 59 τοῦτο ϝαδειᾶν ἔδειξε Μωσᾶν δῶρον. We may add Pindar's *Hymn to Zeus*, fr. 32 (Furley–Bremer [2001] no. 5.1): μουσικὰν ὀρθὰν ἐπιδεικνυμένου; see Nikolaev (2012), who argues for an archaism inherited from the Indo-European poetic language.

30 Eur. *IT* 464–466 (cf. Käppel [1992] 254 n. 178) is not a real parallel to θυσίαν φαίνειν. Examples of φαίνειν with song include *Od.* 8.499 (φαῖνε δ᾽ ἀοιδήν); Pind. *Ol.* 10.84–85 (μελέων, τὰ … φάνεν); Bacchyl. 13.223 (ὕμνων … [δόσιν] φαίνω); Aesch. *Eum.* 568–569 (σάλπιγξ … γήρυμα φαινέτω). See Vollgraff (1925) 126–128 and Nikolaev (2012) 563–564.

of φαίνειν. Moreover, given the traditional attraction of ὕμνος and φαίνω, they would hear, in the sequence ὕμνον θυσίαν τε φαίνειν, the enclosure of sacrifice between two song-related terms.

The homology between the two types of performance is indeed confirmed in the penultimate (eleventh) stanza of the poem, which reiterates Apollo's ritual injunction on the Delphians to establish the Pythian festival (132–136):

Πυθιάσιν δὲ πενθετή-
ροις προπόλοις ἔταξε Βάκ-
χου *θυσίαν χορῶν* τε πολ-
λῶν κυκλίαν ἅμιλλαν –
Εὐοῖ ὦ ἰὸ Βάκχ', ὦ ἰὲ Παιάν—
τεύχειν.

To the organizers of his quadrennial Pythian Festival the god has given the command to establish, in honor of Bacchus, a sacrifice and a contest of many circular choruses—euhoi, o io Bacchus, o ie Paean.

trans. FURLEY AND BREMER, modified

By placing yet again the sacrifice and the contest of circular dances in adjacent positions and by framing them with the verb ἔταξε and the infinitive τεύχειν, on which the nouns depend syntactically, Philodamus underlines once more their close connection within the Delphic ritual. Like the synaesthesia in Bacchylides' paean, the sequence of accusative and genitive in θυσίαν χορῶν creates a temporary sound effect, a momentary illusion of identification, as though the sacrifice consisted in the choruses, before of course the particle τε is heard and the pair is syntactically resolved into its two components.[31] We should add, however, that Philodamus' pairing resonates with the attempt, mentioned in pseudo-Plutarch's *On music* (14.1135F) but possibly traceable to Alcaeus (fr. 307c) in a Delphic setting, to credit Apollo with the invention of *aulos*-playing on the grounds that men presented both choruses and sacrifices to the god to the accompaniment of the *aulos* (δῆλον δ' ἐκ τῶν χορῶν καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν, ἃς προσῆγον μετ' αὐλῶν τῷ θεῷ).[32]

31 Proof that Greek poets use such linear perception to create special effects can be found, for example, in Soph. *OT* 928, as interpreted also by the ancient scholiast.

32 The attribution by [Plut.] of this to Alcaeus increases its significance as evidence, whether or not it comes, as has been reasonably supposed, from Alcaeus' *Hymn to Apollo* (fr. 307).

Leaving aside the intricate Delphic politics of the poem, I add some spatial considerations:[33] Philodamus' paean was found on the reverse of a slab used to pave the Sacred Way near Apollo's altar ('the altar of Chios'). Its exact original position cannot be recovered, of course, but its proximity to the altar is illuminating. Whether the paean was performed near the altar or in procession leading to it, the inscription anchors the performance in its intended destination and reinforces, in perpetuity, its link to sacrifice. Besides possibly commemorating an original event, i.e. the premiere of the paean, the inscribed poem also serves to represent a continuous reenactment in the future without end; in other words, a perpetual performance.[34]

It is worth noting that, far from being merely metaphorical, such poetic tropes reflect the realities of cultic practice, so we should refrain from ascribing them simply to a poet's idiosyncratic conception. Rather, the language of a sacred law can be argued to capture the values, however contested, of a community. A good example is an inscription that preserves a decree from around 341/340 BCE, with which the city of Eretria regulates the festival of Artemis.[35] A fuller discussion would not be possible here, but we might point to the precise parallelism near the beginning of the document between two responsibilities of the *polis*, i.e. to arrange a musical competition and to provide lambs for the five days before the festival (τιθεῖν … ἀγῶνα μουσικῆς … καὶ παρέχειν ἄρνας, 5–7). The same parallelism returns at the end of the decree, which is to be inscribed and set up in the shrine of Artemis:

ὅπως ἂν κατὰ τοῦτα γί-
νηται *ἡ θυσίη καὶ ἡ μουσική* τεῖ Ἀρτέμιδι εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χ-
[ρό]νον (42–44)

So that the sacrifice and the music can be performed for Artemis, in accordance with these regulations, in perpetuity.

The initial pair of music and sacrifice is chiastically repeated at the end as sacrifice and music; in between, the two activities are interwoven, subtly but clearly.

33 The elucidation of Philodamus' Delphic politics by Clay (1996) may now need to be partly revised; cf. Bowie (2015) 109–110, who also explores (101–110) some formal aspects of narrative in the paean.

34 On the role of writing as an alternative to performance in cult, see Nagy (1990b) 18; Svenbro (1993); Osborne (1999); with more emphasis on choral performance, Alonge (2011).

35 *IG* xii 9.189; Sokolowski (1969) 180–182 [no. 92]; Rhodes and Osborne (2003) 362–367 [no. 73]. Nagy (2002) 39–53.

First, all the participants in the various musical contests are also to perform, in the costume of the official competition, at the *prosodion* of the sacrifice (12–14), and to take part in the sacrificial procession (38–40), thus creating a bridge between the two components of the festival. Moreover, the element of judgment that is presupposed in the musical contest is also prominent in the area of sacrificial ritual, where we find a double process of selection: first, two of the lambs provided for the period before the festival are designated as 'choice' (ἐγκρίτους, 8); second, the animals offered by each of the city's districts for the grand sacrifice are subject to judgment and undergo a process of selection according to established rules (ἱερέα κριτά, 26–27; κρίνειν τὰ ἱερέα κατὰ τὸν νόμον, 30). This presumably determines their ordering in the procession (36–38), so that procession and sacrifice turn out as beautiful as possible (ὅπως ἂν ὡς καλλίσστη ἡ πομπὴ καὶ ἡ θυσία γένηται).[36] More generally, the Eretrian decree employs θυσία and θύειν in both a marked and an unmarked sense: in the marked sense, the term denotes sacrifice proper and is thus distinguished both from the procession (40) and the musical contest (43). But the unmarked sense is also represented by the use of θύωριν (2) in the heading of the inscription; there the term encompasses participation in the festival as a whole, thus including also the musical competition. The oscillation between marked and unmarked θυσία results in a certain terminological fluidity that, while stopping short of an explicit fusion of sacrifice and music, at the very least suggests a convergence of the two components.[37]

While the Eretrian regulations distinguish clearly between the participants in the musical contest and those in charge of the sacrificial procession and ritual, elsewhere the two roles may even coincide. Gregory Nagy has drawn attention to the 'fellow sacrificers to the Hesiodic Muses' (τῶν σ[υν]θυτάων τᾶμ Μωσά[ων τ]ῶν Εἰσιοδείων), a "guild" at Thespiae that may also have been in charge of the Hesiodic corpus.[38] Nagy compares them to Ardalos of Troezen, whom Plutarch describes both as an αὐλῳδός 'aulos-singer' and as a ἱερεὺς τῶν Ἀρδαλείων Μουσῶν 'priest-sacrificer to the Ardalean Muses', their cult having been established by an ancestor of the same name.[39] It is perhaps unwarranted

36 Nagy (2002) 52–53 further hypothesizes that the competing musicians who have to join the procession (39–40) conduct the specially chosen (ἐγκρίτους) lambs mentioned at line 8. On processions in general, see Kavoulaki (1999).

37 A comparable instance is found in Hdt. 5.67.5, where the honor of a god or hero is said to consist of choruses (χοροὺς μέν) and the 'rest of the sacrifice' (τὴν δὲ ἄλλην θυσίην); despite the 'exclusive' use of ἄλλος here, there is a hint that the choruses themselves may be viewed as a kind of sacrifice.

38 *IG* vii 1785; cf. also 4240.

39 Plut. *Conv. sept. sap.* 149f–150a; cf. Nagy (1990b) 29 n. 66. Paus. 2.31.3 attributes to Ardalos,

to go so far as to claim, in these two cases at Thespiae and Troezen, that performance of poetry should be identified with performance of sacrifice. But there is no doubt that, at the very least, we are dealing here with intimately linked activities, since the same person undertakes both functions, the sacrificial and the poetic: the poet *is* the sacrificer to the Muses.

2 From Convergence to Analogy: Biomorphic Poetics

This convergence of genres of performance, possibly the result of a symbiosis of poetry and ritual, allows us to discern a perception of song as sacrificial process. From that, in turn, we can trace an eventual shift of emphasis that takes the form of presenting the artifact of the poem as a sacrificial animal.[40] The evolution of this analogy from process to object leads, for instance, to Pindar's biographical tradition. I refer to a late anecdote, preserved in the Pindaric *apophthegmata* and, more fully, in the preface to the Pindaric scholia composed by Eustathius, the twelfth-century bishop of Thessalonica:[41]

> Δελφόσε δὲ ἐρωτηθεὶς [*scil.* Πίνδαρος] τί πάρεστι θύσων, παιᾶνα, εἶπε, μονονουχὶ λέγων ἐκ τῶν ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν θυσίαν εἶναι λόγους τῷ κρείττονι· πρὸς ὃ συλλαλεῖ καὶ ὁ γράψας, ὡς ἄκαπνα θύουσιν ἀοιδοί.
>
> Arriving at Delphi and asked what he had come to sacrifice, he [i.e. Pindar] said 'a paean', meaning in effect that words are the learned men's sacrifice to the superior being. In agreement with that is also the one who wrote that singers offer sacrifices without smoke.

In the logic of this anecdote, discussed in a seminal article by Jesper Svenbro (1984), a paean can be an appropriate substitute for a sacrificial victim, at least

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Hephaestus' son, a shrine of the Muses, the invention of the *aulos*, and the dedication of an altar at which sacrifices are offered to the Muses and Sleep.

40 This analogy is not meant to exclude other ritual gestures or offerings that serve as images for poetry, such as libation (e.g., Pind. *Ol.* 7.1–10; *Isthm.* 6.1–3, 9) or wreaths (e.g., Pind. *Ol.* 14.20–24; Nem. 7.77–79); see above. A full discussion would be beyond the scope of this essay, but for some preliminary thoughts, see Sfyroeras (2020).

41 In Pindar's *Apophthegmata* (*Schol. Pind.* V. iii, p. 302, 15 Drachmann), reported more fully by Eustathius in his *Proem to the Commentary on Pindar* 31.1; Kambylis (1991) 27. Eustathius continues by citing the Callimachean ἄκαπνα θύουσιν ἀοιδοί (fr. 494 Pfeiffer) but without mentioning Callimachus. On the Callimachean fragment, see below. On the *apophthegma* in connection to Pindar's *Sixth Paean* (fr. 52f), see Kurke (2005).

in the case of learned men. For them, Eustathius' reasoning goes, poetry serves as a proper sacrificial connection to the divine recipients. However eccentric Pindar's reply to the Delphians may have seemed, in other words, it is undeniably based on the assumption, shared by the poet and his interlocutors, that performances of song and dance could be viewed, symbolically at least, as sacrificial offerings. The same idea underlies another Pindaric fragment, θύσων διθύραμβον 'about to sacrifice a dithyramb' (fr. 86a), restored by Snell from the testimony of Philodemus' *De musica* 4 (fr. 135.10–13 Delattre).[42]

Whatever the historical merit of such testimonia, their underlying presupposition is confirmed by Pindaric poetry itself. In the *Sixth Paean* (fr. 52f), presented, like Philodamus' poem, at the Delphic Theoxenia, the chorus address the island of Aegina, personified as the divine recipient of the last triad, with the promise: 'for this reason we shall not lay you to rest without a feast of paeans' (οὕνεκεν οὔ σε παιηόνων ἄδορπον εὐνάξομεν, 127). This authoritative statement, with its performative future, confidently envisions the performance of the current song—at least the third triad—as a sacrificial feast. It may even suggest that this function of music as a divine feast is, not unlike Bacchylides' *Paean for Apollo Pythaieus* (fr. 4), precisely what restores the sacrificial harmony disturbed, in this case, by Neoptolemus' visit, which is symptomatic, as has been argued, of the proverbial tensions surrounding the apportionment of meat in Delphi, especially at the Theoxenia. It is this song, moreover, that makes the Delphic Theoxenia an occasion of commensality, both human and divine.[43]

Be that as it may, the Pindaric evidence, both direct and indirect, illustrates two crucial developments: Pindar's poetic diction and testimonia show, as we mentioned, a shift from process to artifact; at the same time, we can also discern a shift from analogy to substitution. In other words, the equivalence becomes so complete that the song itself can now *stand for* sacrifice.

42 I follow Snell's construction of διθύραμβον as the object of θύσων, on the basis of Callim. fr. 494 Pfeiffer; this dovetails with the logic of Philodemus' argument much better than the view of Ieranò (2013) 377, who takes the participle intransitively ('in order to perform sacrifices'). This preference of song over literal sacrifice, implied in the Pindaric evidence, is projected onto Apollo in a later (third century CE) hexameter oracle from Didyma, on which see Rutherford (2013) 237–238 and D'Alessio (2016) 204–207. While this substitution of hymn for hecatomb is inscribed within the new philosophical critiques of sacrifice (Bradbury [1995] 332–347), it seems to stop short of viewing song *as* sacrifice.

43 On Pindar's *Sixth Paean*, see Rutherford (2001) 324–325; (2013) 244–245, Kurke (2005), Kowalzig (2007b) 181–223. They all discuss the marginal subtitle of the last triad 'For the Aeginetans, in honor of Aeacus, a prosodion'. Kurke and Kowalzig treat fully the sacrificial tensions in Delphi.

There is one final step in this evolution, whereby the analogy serves to establish aesthetic criteria, so that the transition from the ritual process of a performance to the morphology of an artifact is complete. Thus Callimachus, reporting Apollo's advice to the young poet, includes the following injunction (*Aetia* 1.1.23–24):

καὶ γὰρ ὅτε πρώτιστον ἐμοῖς ἐπὶ δέλτον ἔθηκα
γούνασιν, Ἀπόλλων εἶπεν ὅ μοι Λύκιος·
.....] ἀοιδέ, τὸ μὲν θύος ὅττι πάχιστον
θρέψαι, τὴ]ν Μοῦσαν δ᾽ ὠγαθὲ λεπταλέην.

For, when I first placed a tablet on my knees, Lycian Apollo said to me: '... singer, feed the sacrificial victim to be as fat as possible but, my friend, keep the Muse slender'.

The Alexandrian poet's programmatic contrast between the slender Muse (λεπταλέη Μοῦσα) and the fattened sacrificial victim (θύος πάχιστον) is predicated on a fundamental affinity: the point is not that poetry is completely unlike a sacrificial offering, but rather that it is an offering of a refined (λεπταλέος) kind.[44] This becomes clear also in another fragment (494 Pfeiffer): ἄκαπνα γὰρ αἰὲν ἀοιδοὶ / θύομεν ('For we singers always offer sacrifices without smoke'). These verses are cited so often, from Athenaeus (1.8e) to Byzantine authors (as in Eustathius above), that they acquired proverbial status, yet without reference to Callimachus, with the exception of Constantine Manasses in the twelfth century, our sole authority for the attribution.[45] As the context of that particular fragment is lost, we cannot draw any conclusions about Callimachean poetics. It is clear, however, that it builds on the sacrificial analogy that is also at work in the *Aetia* to shape the biomorphic principle that influences Latin poets and that underpins notions of organic unity in literary criticism, notably in Horace's *Ars Poetica*.[46] I should add that the same biomor-

44 Similarly, albeit less explicitly, the ἄεισμα διηνεκές (Callim. *Aet.* 1.1.3), the 'continuous poem' that the poet will not create, may be understood in light of Homeric νώτοισι διηνεκέεσσι (*Il.* 7.321), the 'continuous chine' of a sacrificial victim; cf. διανεκεῖ λόγῳ (Pl. *Hp. mai.* 301e3).

45 On transmission, Callimachean attribution, meaning, and parallels, see Pfeiffer (1985) i.367. Wilkins (2000) 71–72 refers to Athenaeus 1.8e, but without expounding the implications. Athenaeus employs it to mean simply that poetry is not actual food but can be given in exchange for food; whatever its original context, the fragment unmistakably illustrates the analogy between sacrifice and poetry.

46 For Latin passages that draw on *Aet.* 1.1.23–24, see Pfeiffer (1985) i.5. For the sacrificial analogy in Aristophanic comedy, see Sfyroeras (2004).

phic conception of discourse, poetic or otherwise, determines—as Svenbro noted—the analytical methods and criteria of both Plato and Aristotle.[47] But as this would take us further afield, I shall circle back to song, to speculate a little on what I call the sacrificial pragmatics.

3 Fleshing out the Ritual Pragmatics of Song

I have traced a development, first, from the coexistence of song and sacrificial ritual to a certain convergence, then from an emphasis on process (i.e. the religious and social aspects) to a morphological focus on artifact. The ensuing analogy between poetry and sacrificial victim facilitates the substitution of the poem for the animal, but also the eventual formulation of aesthetic criteria that employ biomorphic concepts. It is worth pointing out that this development is neither strictly linear nor exclusive or inexorable: for instance, even after the shift to the artifact in Pindaric poetics, it is still possible for a later poetic tradition to go back to a self-perception that is based on process. With that caveat, I now wish to return to the first part of the story, and ask a chicken-and-egg question: can we determine the diachronic causality between symbiosis and analogy? Does the coexistence of song and sacrifice lead to a semantic "bleeding" or osmosis between the two? Or are the two types of performance brought together as a result of this very analogy? Although the former is far more likely, the issue is somewhat complicated by the cross-cultural attestations, especially some parallels in the cognate Indic tradition.

To consider a couple of examples, in *Ṛg-Veda* 10.71.1–3 (cf. 8–11) it is through the performance of sacrifice that the Sages (*ṛṣis*) are said to 'trace the path of sacred speech (*Vak*)', which (not unlike meat) is 'portioned out' to many. By acting as the performers of sacrifice, the Sages are also the performers of the sacred word. The performance of sacrifice is thus inextricably linked with the emergence or actualization of primordial language, which is represented by the sacred language of the *Ṛg-Veda*.[48] In a way reminiscent of the function of song in Bacchylides' *Paean for Apollo Pythaieus* (fr. 4) as discussed above, the Vedic

47 For the biomorphic metaphor in Pl. *Phdr.* 264c2–5, and its implications for literary composition, see Heath (1989) 12–17. For the debt of Horace and Neronian poets to Platonic notions of organic unity, see Gini (1992) and Most (1992). The idea of organic unity becomes dominant in later criticism; borrowing it from Goethe's biological works, Vladimir Propp applies it even to traditional tales; cf. Sifakis (1992) 125.

48 Martin (1998) 121–123 sees here a parallel to, and perhaps the origins of, the tradition concerning the Seven Sages, in which 'a communal, public form of the all-important sacrificial meal could, in turn, have been the original stage for the sages' "performance" of wisdom'.

poetry does more than merely accompanying sacrificial rites; rather, it is what renders the sacrifice efficient, thus becoming an important component of the ritual.[49] In light of the Vedic conception, therefore, it is no surprise that meters can be described as the 'cattle of the gods' (*Śatapatha Brahmaṇa*, 4.4.3.1).

In the Indic tradition, in fact, the homology between poetry and sacrifice is broadened to encompass all linguistic utterances and all ritual gestures, in a myth found in *Mahabhaṣya*, the grammatical commentary attributed to Patañjali. In his desire to learn Sanskrit, the story goes, the god Indra asked Bṛhaspati, the divine teacher of the gods, for instruction. So Bṛhaspati started enunciating the forms of each particular word, but he could not reach the end, even over a period of a thousand divine years. Given its infinity of forms, language must therefore be captured by finite means, i.e. the rules and exceptions of grammar (*Mahabhaṣya*, 5.23–6.3). Most interestingly, Patañjali goes on to compare the recursiveness of language with that of rituals: even the linguistic expressions that are never used 'have of necessity to be laid down by rules, just like protracted rituals' (8.23; 9.15).[50] The awareness of a homology between the two systems, the structure of language and the structure of ritual, is thus confirmed both on the ritual/poetic and on the theoretical side.

Whether the Greek and the Indic instances are inherited or independent phenomena, we are reminded that our modern reluctance to accept the sacrificial dimension of song is the exception and results in part from an especially rigid bifurcation between thought and action that, as Catherine Bell (1992) has argued, is inherent to the study of ritual and, more generally, the intellectual legacy of the Enlightenment, which tends to privilege thought over action. The unity of thought and action, represented respectively by poetry and ritual, is intuitive in traditional societies and is grounded, in Greek culture, in the perception of all performance, including choral performance, as *ponos*, an intensely physical exertion of a collective body that is offered to the gods.[51] In recent decades, we have learned to recover and appreciate this unity, within ritualized activity, of thought and action, with the help of theoretical approaches revolving around pragmatics and speech-act theory, thus focusing on the performative aspects of both ritual action and poetic utterance.[52] In this vein, let

49 Nagy (1974) 16 n. 34.

50 On this myth expressing the perceived affinity between grammatical rules and rules of ritual, see Staal (1990) 40, 89, 109, 360–364 and *passim*. Further, concepts of literary criticism are based on taste (the classificatory system of *rashas*).

51 The Dionysiac chorus describe their dancing as πόνον ἡδὺν κάματόν τ᾽ εὐκάματον (Eur. *Bacch*. 66–67; cf. Ar. *Ran*. 402), underlining the duality of human toil that honors the gods and human pleasure.

52 See, for instance, Bell (2009), applied e.g. by Bierl (2009).

me conclude by very briefly sketching my understanding of the performative aspect of song, employing "native" categories.[53]

Choral song and sacrifice are said to bring pleasure (*terpsis*) and honor (*time*) to gods, yet they do so in distinctly different ways. As demonstrated by Jean-Pierre Vernant among others, sacrifice connects but also divides the human and the divine realm. Hesiod's foundational aetiology of Promethean sacrifice insists on this distinction: from early epic onwards, gods are said to attend sacrifices, but in a way that emphasizes the fundamental distance between mortals and immortals, as they partake of different parts of the sacrificial victim.[54] We can thus speak of commensality only in a limited sense, as evident in the exception that proves the rule, i.e. the ceremonies classified as *theoxenia*.[55]

By contrast, gods and men respond to music in similar, even identical fashion: just as humans find pleasure in music, the Olympians' love for it is a given in poetic accounts from Homer (e.g. *Iliad* 1.472–474) to Menander (fr. 188) and beyond. Consequently, in genres that are performative, i.e. that enact their own utterances, gods are fully present at the performance as it is taking place. The implications of such epiphanic moments are already clear in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (140–173), where spectatorship virtually transforms a human audience into a divine one. It thus comes as no surprise to hear Plato describe the gods as 'companions and leaders of dance' (συγχορευτάς τε καὶ χορηγούς, *Leges* 665a; cf. 653d–654a).[56]

In short, both sacrifice and choral song define and even enact the relationship between mortals and immortals in different yet complementary ways. As it is song that engenders full community of gods and men, it is perhaps no accident that poems which state more boldly their sacrificial efficacy tend to derive, as we have seen, from Theoxenian contexts. In other words, in claiming a share of the ritualized activity that includes sacrifice, song mends the inevitable rift created on and around the altar. By doing so, to paraphrase the words of Socrates' Diotima, 'it fills up the space in the middle so that the whole is bound together with itself' (Plato *Symposium* 202e6–7).

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53 The term "performative" is of course employed here in the Austinian sense: Austin (1975).

54 See, for instance, Vernant (1989).

55 On theoxenia, see especially Jameson (1994); Ekroth (2008a), (2011).

56 I develop this point in Sfyroeras (2020). On the significance of the Platonic passage, see Athanassaki (2018).

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Herodotus famously credits Homer and Hesiod with shaping the Greeks' image of their gods. Yet the contribution of the Archaic and Early Classical lyric poets was equally, if not more, important. This book explores images of intimate interactions of mortals and immortals in sacred and profane locales, and assesses how performance *sub specie divinitatis* fired poets' imagination, taking into account both new scholarly approaches to lyric and Greek religion and the discovery of important new fragments.

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