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Bacchylides

Politics, Performance, Poetic Tradition

David Fearn

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Politics, Performance, Poetic Tradition

DAVID FEARN

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Preface

In what is the first monograph in English in over twenty years devoted to Bacchylides' poetry, this book offers an original and wide-ranging approach to Bacchylides in its exploration of his engagement with poetic tradition and in the evaluation of the relationship of the poetry to its multiple contexts of performance. It shows how details of poetic language in Bacchylides' manipulation of the style, diction, and mythology of the lyric and epic traditions form the heart of cultural and political engagements with a wide variety of patrons, commissioning states, and performance circumstances. It offers a significant and timely contribution to ongoing debates about the nature of fifth-century performance culture, the notion of genre in archaic classical Greece, and the relations between choral lyric forms. And, with its discussion of the nature of Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs*, it rescues from obscurity a kind of narrative choral poetry that was extremely prevalent in the classical period and had a major impact on the political and cultural self-definition of communities throughout the Greek world in the fifth century BCE.

Part One offers a new appreciation of two important but hitherto undervalued poems, a sympotic encomium for Alexander I of Macedon, ancestor of Alexander the Great, and a magnificent epinician ode for an Aiginetan pankratiast. Part Two looks into the nature and importance of the *kuklios khoros* (or 'circular chorus'), the mode of performance used not only for Dionysiac dithyramb at the Athenian City Dionysia, but also for a much broader range of narrative choral poems composed for festival performance across the Greek world, with no necessary connection with cults of Dionysos. This is a kind of poetry which Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs* best represent. I provide a new approach to the relationship between choral narrative poetry and its performance context through a detailed re-evaluation of ancient testimony concerning *kuklioi khoroi*, concluding with a detailed close reading of the first work preserved in Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs*, entitled *The Sons of Antenor*.

This book is an expanded and substantially rewritten version of

my doctoral dissertation. During the course of my research, I have had the great privilege and good fortune to have benefited from the diverse input of a large number of highly distinguished scholars. In the early days of my graduate work I was heavily influenced by Oliver Taplin, Peter Parsons, and Denis Feeney. In the latter stages, I am heavily indebted to my doctoral examiners Christopher Carey and Ewen Bowie, the latter of whom also oversaw the conversion into monograph form. My largest debt of gratitude must go to Peter Wilson, my supervisor for the final two years of the doctorate: his energy, enthusiasm, and scholarly dedication have influenced me hugely.

I have also benefited from sharing work and ideas with a number of others, some of whom were kind enough to comment on individual chapters: thanks in particular to Ian Rutherford, Armand D'Angour, Barbara Kowalzig, Julia Shear, Liz Irwin, Lucia Athanassaki, Felix Budelmann, and Douglas Cairns. I have also benefited from invaluable contributions by audiences at a number of seminars and conferences in Britain and North America. On an institutional level, I owe a first debt of gratitude to the British Academy for the award of a research studentship. Latterly, I am enormously grateful to the Master, President, and Fellows, of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, for electing me to a Junior Research Fellowship in Classics held jointly between the two colleges. Thanks of a different kind go to Eleanor Cooksey, Madeleine Reardon, Charlie Somers, Robert Stanier, and Michael Toolan. I am deeply indebted to Kathleen McLaughlin for her continuing love and support. Final and heartfelt thanks go to my parents, Brian and Gill.

D.W.F.

Corpus Christi College, Oxford
May 2006

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List of abbreviations

ABV	J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters*, Oxford 1956.
Agora XIV	H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora, XIV. The Agora of Athens*, Princeton 1972.
Alt-Ägina I.3	K. Hoffelner, *Alt-Ägina Band I,3. Das Apollon-Heiligtum. Tempel, Altäre, Temenosmauer, Thearion, mit beiträgen von E. Walter-Karydi. Herausgegeben von Hans Walter und Elena Walter-Karydi*, Mainz-Rhein 1999.
AP	*Palatine Anthology*.
ARV^2	J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, 2nd edn., Oxford 1963.
Blass	F. Blass, *Bacchylidis Carmina cum Fragmentis*, 1st edn., Leipzig 1898.
Bury	J. B. Bury, *The Nemean Odes of Pindar*, London 1890.
CEG	P. E. Hansen, *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca*, 2 vols., Berlin 1983 and 1989.
Denniston	J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, 2nd edn., Oxford 1954.
DFA	A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, 2nd edn. with addenda, revised by J. Gould and D. Lewis, Oxford 1988.
D–K	H. Diels and W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 3 vols., Berlin 1974.
Dr	A. B. Drachmann, *Scholia in Pindarum*, 3 vols., Leipzig 1903–27, reprinted Stuttgart 1997.
DTC^1	A. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy, and Comedy*, 1st edn., Oxford 1927.
DTC^2	A. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy, and Comedy*, 2nd edn. revised by T. B. L. Webster, Oxford 1962.
EG	D. L. Page, *Epigrammata Graeca*, Oxford 1975.
EGM I	R. L. Fowler, *Early Greek Mythography I: Texts*, Oxford 2000.
FGE	D. L. Page, *Further Greek Epigrams*, Cambridge 1981.

FGrH	F. Jacoby, *Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*, Leiden 1923– .
GL I–V	D. A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric*, vols. I–V, Cambridge, Mass. 1982–93.
GSAP	J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture, The Archaic Period. A Handbook*, London 1991.
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin 1873–1981.
Jebb	R. C. Jebb, *Bacchylides, The Poems and Fragments*, Cambridge 1905.
K–A	R. Kassel and C. Austin, *Poetae Comici Graecae*, Berlin 1983– .
Kenyon	F. G. Kenyon, *The Poems of Bacchylides*, London 1897.
Khoregia	P. J. Wilson, *The Athenian Institution of the* Khoregia. *The Chorus, the City and the Stage*, Cambridge 2000.
Lavecchia	S. Lavecchia, *Pindari Dithyramborum Fragmenta*, Rome 2000.
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae,* ed. L. Kahil, 8 vols., Munich 1981–99.
LSJ	*A Greek-English Lexicon*, ed. H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, 9th. edn., Oxford 1968.
Maehler	H. Maehler, *Bacchylidis Carmina cum Fragmentis,* 11th edn., Munich 2003.
Maehler I	H. Maehler, *Die Lieder des Bakchylides, I. De Siegeslieder*, *Mnemosyne* Supplement 62, Leiden 1982.
Maehler II	H. Maehler, *Die Lieder des Bakchylides, II. Die Dithyramben und Fragmente*, *Mnemosyne* Supplement 167, Leiden 1997.
M–L	R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Oxford 1988.
M–W	R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, *Fragmenta Hesiodea*, Oxford 1967.
PEG I	A. Bernabé, *Poetae Epici Graeci. Testimonia et Fragmenta Pars I*, Stuttgart 1996.
PEG II.1 and 2	A. Bernabé, *Poetae Epici Graeci. Testimonia et Fragmenta Pars II: Orphicorum et Orphicis Similium Testimonia et Fragmenta, Fasc. 1* and *2*, Munich 2004 and 2005.

PMG	D. L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci*, Oxford 1962.
PMGF	M. Davies, *Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, vol. 1, Oxford 1991.
POxy	*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, London 1898– .
RE	G. Wissowa et al., eds., *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alterumswissenchaft,* Stuttgart 1893–1980.
Rhodes–Osborne	P. J. Rhodes and R. G. Osborne, *Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404–323 BC*, Oxford 2003.
Rutherford	I. C. Rutherford, *Pindar's* Paeans. *A Reading of the Fragments with a Survey of the Genre*, Oxford 2001.
Schmid–Stählin	W. Schmid and O. Stählin, *Geschichte der Griechishcen Literatur,* Munich 1929–48.
Schwartz	E. Schwartz, *Scholia in Euripidem*, 2 vols., Berlin 1887–91.
Sn–M	B. Snell rev. H. Maehler, *Pindarus*, 2 vols., Leipzig 1987–9.
Sutton	D. F. Sutton, *Dithyrambographi Graeci*, Hildesheim 1989.
TrGF I	B. Snell, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, vol. 1: *Didascaliae Tragicae, Catalogi Tragicorum et Tragoediarum Testimonia et Fragmenta Tragicorum Minorum*, Göttingen 1971.
TrGF III	S. Radt, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, vol. 3: *Aeschylus*, Göttingen 1985.
TrGF IV	S. Radt, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, vol. 4: *Sophocles*, Göttingen 1985.
TrGF V	R. Kannicht, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, vol. 5: *Euripides*, Göttingen 2004.
V	E.-M. Voigt, *Sappho et Alcaeus: Fragmenta*, Amsterdam 1971.
W	M. L. West, *Iambi et Elegi Graeci post Alexandrum Cantati*, 2nd edn., 2 vols., Oxford 1991–2.

Tradition and Contextualization

December 1897 saw the publication of two papyrus book-rolls of Bacchylides which had been acquired in Egypt. This event was celebrated by *The Times* on Christmas Eve the previous year; the precise details of the discovery are vividly recounted in the memoirs of Sir Ernest Wallis Budge, keeper of Assyrian and Egyptian antiquities at the British Museum.[1]

But even subsequent to this remarkable event, after a few short years of intense activity by textual critics, scholars have generally ignored Bacchylides: 'While the discovery of the Bacchylides papyrus is certainly one of the most sensational and exciting developments in the history of classical scholarship, the first seventy years of Bacchylidean criticism form easily one of the most disappointing chapters in its history. . . . Although the last decades have done much good for Bacchylides, it is only fair to say that he is still among the most neglected of the archaic poets. . . . [O]ne cannot escape the feeling that we are still only at the beginning.'[2] The reasons for lack of critical attention are very deep seated indeed, and I reveal the twists and turns in the critical reception of Bacchylides when I discuss the contents of his book of *Dithyrambs* in Chapter 3. But the most obvious barrier to entry is the existence of Pindar's epinicians, poetry which has come to be viewed canonically as a by-word for

[1] *The Times*, 24 December 1896, p. 10 ('A Lost Greek Poet'): 'The British Museum has once again the satisfaction of announcing the recovery of one of the lost classics—an announcement which will be welcomed by all but schoolboys, and need not, in point of fact, greatly disturb even their enjoyment of the Christmas holidays'; Budge (1920) ii.345–55.

[2] Pfeijffer and Slings (1999*a*) 10–11.

genius and sublimity.[3] Bacchylides has not yet been able to compete in this company.[4] Add to this the fact that large passages of Bacchylides are lacunose and it is not too surprising that he has generally been passed over.[5] There has been a general failure to unite his works through overall readings, to relate them to the poetic tradition or to cultural contexts, or to ask what questions the reception of his works might offer for examination. These are the main tasks of my study.

To this end, I use the following discussion, as a precursor to my extended treatments of individual poems, to situate my readings of Bacchylides within a wider context of the way in which lyric relates to the poetry of the past.[6] The discussion will highlight the complexity of the relation between poet, poetic voice, *khoros*, and performance setting. It will serve as a warning against reading decontextualized language as an indicator of any simple or biographical connection between the workings of a poet's mind and the poetic tradition.

I begin by examining Bacchylides fragment 5. I shall look at two scholarly approaches which fail to address adequately the fragment in context, before developing a third line of approach.

I. BACCHYLIDES FRAGMENT 5

ἕτερος ἐξ ἑτέρου σοφός
τό τε πάλαι τό τε νῦν,
φησὶ Βακχυλίδης ἐν τοῖς Παιᾶσιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ῥᾶιστον
ἀρρήτων ἐπέων πύλας
ἐξευρεῖν.

[3] For which see most recently Hamilton (2003).

[4] Though see Hummel (1997) for a judicious treatment of the stylistic virtuosity of both Bacchylides and Pindar.

[5] For useful summaries of the generally disappointing scholarship on Bacchylides, see Stern (1970) and Pfeijffer and Slings (1999*a*). A mere glance at Gerber's (1990) survey of scholarship makes clear the lack of serious attention.

[6] Representative in this area would be Rosenmeyer's (1997) and Winkler's (1990*b*) treatments of Sappho, Goldhill's (1987), Williamson's (1998), and Hutchinson's (2001) treatments of Anakreon, and Irwin's (2005) treatment of Solon; see also the earlier treatments of Bacchylides 5 by Lefkowitz (1969) and Goldhill (1983).

One man learns his skill from another,
both in former times and today,
(says Bacchylides in his *Paeans*. For it is not the easiest thing)
to discover the gates of unuttered [or: unutterable] words.

The fragment is quoted in its entirety by Clement, and from οὐδὲ onwards by Theodoret.[7]

Intentionalist Readings

Maehler remarks in his commentary that in Pindar and Bacchylides σοφός frequently refers to the skilful poet.[8] Solon 13.52 W refers to the poet, taught by the Muses, as someone 'understanding the measure of delightful wisdom' (ἱμερῆς σοφίης μέτρον ἐπιστάμενος); as Maehler also shows, Bacchylides 10.39–48 alludes to this very passage.[9] It may appear therefore that Bacchylides is talking to us directly about his own poetic agenda, his own poetic heritage. Fragment 5 appears to present us with a self-conscious 'admission' that the discovery or invention of new poetic themes and new knowledge about mythological material, is a difficult thing to achieve; the note of understatement through the litotes of οὐδὲ γὰρ ῥᾶιστον seems to reflect the words of the poem rather than the sources, even if the wording cannot have been exactly the same, since the phrase cannot be analysed as part of the sequence of glyconics of which the remainder of the fragment is comprised.[10]

Jebb takes this idea further, reading the fragment directly with reference to Pindaric statements of original genius, such as in *Olympian* 2 which pours scorn on 'the learners' (μαθόντες) who lack inborn talent.[11] Jebb's translation of fragment 5 runs: 'Poet is heir to poet, now as of yore; for in sooth 'tis no light task to find the gates

[7] Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 5.68.6; Theod. *Graec. Cur.* 1.78.

[8] See also Ford (2002) 47 n. 9 for Greek poets from Hesiod on.

[9] Maehler II 308–9 ad loc fr. 5.1; I.2 189 ad loc. Bacch. 10.39–48; Romagnoli (1899) 163 ff.

[10] The fact that both Clement and Theodoret use the phrase may simply indicate that Theodoret has taken the phrase straight from the earlier Clement: see Opelt (1975) 83. I follow Maehler II 64 in printing the phrase in a smaller font size.

[11] Pind. *Ol.* 2.86–8: σοφὸς ὁ πολλὰ εἰδὼς φυᾷ· μαθόντες δὲ λάβροι παγγλωσσίᾳ κόρακες ὣς ἄκραντα γαρύετον Διὸς πρὸς ὄρνιχα θεῖον.

of virgin song.' And Jebb's charming analysis: ' "Can any lyric poet of our day"—so we might expand his thought—"confidently affirm that he owes nothing to the old poets from Homer onwards, the shapers of heroic myth, the earliest builders of lyric song, in whose footsteps Pindar himself has followed?" '[12]

In his note, he suggests the following: 'It seems not improbable that, in writing the words quoted by Clement, Bacchylides was thinking of such Pindaric utterances, which express scorn for the man who has learned from others, as distinguished from the man of original genius. If, however, that be so, the tone of the reply is gentle and modest.'[13] Cataudella, in pointing out that we do not necessarily need to relate the statement to Bacchylidean modesty, veers to the opposite end of the spectrum, arguing that the words are directly anti-Pindaric rhetoric containing no hint of modesty whatever.[14]

I have, in fact, been unable to find a modern scholar who, in discussing the fragment, does not relate it to poetic biography or *simply* to Bacchylides' poetic agenda: 'ad poetarum artem quin spectet haec modestia, vix dubitari potest'; 'Fr. 5: an affirmation of poetic tradition.'[15]

Early Christian Scholars

However, the Christian texts of Clement of Alexandria and Theodoret, the fourth-century Syrian bishop, texts which are the

[12] Jebb 23–4.

[13] Jebb 413 ad loc. It is significant that Jebb here refers us to the famous passage of Pindar's *Olympian* 2 which had become, according to the ancient scholiasts' biographical readings, the key text indicating Pindar's superiority over his twin rivals Simonides and Bacchylides: *Σ* Pind. *Ol.* 2.154b-8d (i.98–9 Dr). When reading his comments, one cannot help but feel that Jebb is writing in full knowledge of this biographical tradition, whilst trying, if not with total conviction, to restore Bacchylides' reputation. See here A. W. Verrall's comments in Lady Caroline's biography of her husband (Jebb, C. (1907) 474): 'The disinterred pieces of Bacchylides are a precious addition to a miserably defective chapter in the history of literature; one or two of them are notable works of art; but, if they were modern and familiar, five pages, instead of five hundred, would be enough to bestow upon them. "One does wish," as I heard Jebb say, with a sigh, in the midst of his labour, "that the man were just a little better." '

[14] Cataudella (1975) 121–2.

[15] Sn–M ad loc.; Rutherford 460. Cf. Bergk (1882) 574.

basis for the preservation of the fragment, demonstrate another line of reasoning.[16] For both these ancient authors cite the fragment within a strongly religious framework.

Clement cites the passage along with a line of Kallimakhos (*Ep.* 46.4) and a piece of Isokrates (12.30–2) to illustrate the point that even the Greeks had some inkling about the divinity of God and the Gnostic life: *ὁρᾷς πῶς τὸν γνωστικὸν βίον καὶ Ἕλληνες, καίτοι μὴ εἰδότες ὡς ἐπίστασθαι χρή, ἐκθειάζουσι;* ('You can see how even the Greeks, despite their lack of awareness of the importance of true knowledge, do revere the Gnostic life.')[17]

Theodoret cites part of the fragment to illustrate that, just as the eyes are the organ of sight, Faith is the organ for vision of the divine, but that this Faith must be acquired, in order for one to be able to see the realm invisible to the naked eye.[18]

Although it seems that Theodoret is merely copying and developing Clement's quotation and line of argument, it is plausible that Clement had knowledge of the wider context of the Bacchylidean lines; for he cites the fragment as coming from Bacchylides' book of *Paeans*, presumably to be identified with the Alexandrian edition to which he may have had access. Significantly, although the Christian interpretative framework of both these authors is as much a construction as the modern biographical readings, the *religious* context for the paean is emphasized by the way these authors choose this fragment for citation.

Performance and Ritual

But if we cannot accept the fragment at face value as a biographical statement of intent, it is also necessary to explore more fully the religious implications of the text in context. Two significant issues arise: (i) The cultural grounding of the metaphor of questing, roads, and journeys, embedded in the figurative 'discovering the gates of unuttered words', as a way of expressing authority within a particular

16 See Opelt (1975) 83–4.

17 Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 5.96.6 (ii.372 Stählin).

18 Theod. *Graec. Cur.* 1.78.

field of activity; (ii) The complexity of the choral lyric voice in paeans, and concomitant contextual considerations.

(i) Journeys

Archaic Greek poetry frequently describes the process of inspiration and poetic composition in terms of paths and journeys. One of the first poets encountered in Greek literature, Phemios in *Odyssey* 22, spared because of his usefulness to the Ithakan community, states that, though self-taught, some divinity has planted 'multifarious paths of songs' (*οἴμας παντοίας*) in his mind.[19] The use of images of travel to describe and to conceptualize various intellectual endeavours is widespread. Anthropological work has shown the extent to which societies and groups conceive of their own speech or writing as socially grounded and authorized by recourse to this set of images.[20] The creation and maintenance of paths depends on previous networks and iterations through a landscape, just as language depends on previous texts and utterances, previous assertions of authority.[21] Both journeys and uses of language are cultural, and intertextual, acts. 'A strong path is inscribed through a forest or across a tract of heathland through a multitude of pedestrian speech acts that keep it open; a strong text is also one that is kept open, read many times. Just as the writing of a text is dependent on previous texts (it has the characteristic of intertextuality), the creation or maintenance of a path is dependent on a previous networking of movements in particular, and reiterated directions through a landscape; it works in relation to a previous set of precedents.'[22]

So, the metaphor of the path as journey expresses how writing is

[19] *Od.* 22.347–8. Cf. *Od.* 8.73–4 and Lefkowitz (1991) 27 with n. 44; Becker (1937) 69–70; Murray (1981) 97. See also Diagoras fr. 738 *PMG* (Philodem. *De piet. PHerc.* 1428 cols. xi 5–xii 10: Henrichs (1974) 21–2, with Didym. Alex. *De trinit.* iii.1 *PG* 39.784b) for another expression of such double-motivation, a statement taken by Philodemus as sufficient to discredit criticism of Diagoras as atheist: Obbink (1995) 206–9.

[20] See esp. Tilley (1994).

[21] See e.g. Tilley (1994) 29–30; also Alcock (2002) ch. 1 on the importance of memory as a social process.

[22] Tilley (1994) 31.

necessarily a social, and therefore intertextual, practice.[23] The idea of a journey along a particular route marks the writing's location within and progress through a particular set of relations. Contextualization within a pre-existing pathway lends authority to the writing within a given field of social activity.

Therefore we cannot divorce what seems to be a personal statement of poetic intent from its cultural context: the pathways taken, and the journeys made by previous authors.[24]

(ii) Complexity of Choral Lyric Voice

Fragment 5 was excerpted from a paean, a form of religious poetry in which the speaker has been thought always to be the *khoros*. However, it is important not to create any dichotomy between this and, for example, victory odes, where the poet has been thought to speak in the first person.[25]

The opening of Pindar's *Paean* 6 illustrates the inherent dangers in such a false dichotomy. Lines 3–7 appear to support the view that Pindar is speaking in the first person. Stehle finds it implausible that the ode is 'Pindar's personal voice', believing that it is the *khoros* who speaks, not the poet.[26] In fact, poet's voice and the voice of the *khoros*

[23] I use the term writing here because, as Ford (2002) chs. 4 and 5 shows, Simonides, Pindar, and Bacchylides are the first poets who bear full witness to texts as physical objects. That Simonides and especially Pindar create physically transcendent metaphors from material objects belies the fact that their own works must originally have existed in some kind of written form.

[24] Becker (1937) devotes his energies to the symbolism of paths, but, as Kurke (1991) 22 points out, his classificatory scheme ends up divorcing the imagery from its social contexts.

[25] The dangers of such a classification have been pointed out by D'Alessio in his analysis of the opening of Pindar's *Paean* 6, and of the reference to Homer in *Paean* 7b: D'Alessio (1994*a*) 124–5; 126, correcting the over-schematic view of Lefkowitz (1991). Lefkowitz (1995) occasionally misrepresents or misunderstands D'Alessio's overall position, especially with regard to *Pae.* 6: his point is that the projection of the persona does not allow us to make a hermeneutic jump to determine that the poet is 'actually speaking' in the performance of the poem rather than the *khoros*; this issue is brought into sharper focus if we consider the possibility that paeans were dedicated to the sanctuary and meant for *re*-performance there (Rutherford 176)—access to the poet and/or the original choral role through the persona would then be further undermined; also Nagy (1994–5), esp. 23–4. Cf. Depew (2000) 61 on hymns as *agalmata* and *ktēmata*, that may transcend original poetic/performative contexts.

[26] Stehle (1997) 139.

are often difficult to separate.[27] And, when scholars discuss the 'personal voice' it is often left unclear whether they mean by this the projection of a first-person speaker in the text, or are seeking to go further and to identify this persona directly with the biographical poet.

Since it is highly probable that the words of Bacchylides fragment 5 were originally uttered by a *khoros* in performance, by analogy with Pindaric material we should avoid readings that view 'Bacchylides' in any directly antiphonal relationship with the 'Pindar' of, say, *Olympian* 2. Bringing a *khoros* into the equation necessarily makes matters more complex.

However, this does not mean that the words of fragment 5 cannot be interpreted as part of a comment on poetic utterance and its grounding. The fragment, whatever the voice, does seem to display an awareness of the fundamental role of tradition in the formation of new poetic ideas: creative imitation, if you like. But any reading of the words as (meta-)poetic need not construct some kind of direct or pointed interchange or 'epistle' between historical personages. A sensitive reading needs to bear in mind the complexity of the utterance as choral projection, but this does not undermine its complexity as a comment on poetic tradition and inspiration.

On the one hand, in a metapoetic context, with ἀρρήτων ἐπέων being understood as 'words not yet spoken', it is possible to consider the phrase in the light of the earlier anthropological observations on the journey metaphor. These words can be viewed as exhibiting a fundamental awareness of the importance of 'a previous networking of movements . . . and reiterated directions through a landscape'.[28] As well as not being an easy thing to achieve, perhaps the words suggest that attempting to find 'gates of unspoken words' is a flawed, self-deceptive, and self-contradictory quest.

On the other hand, in the (fundamentally religious) performance of the paean the metaphor operates as a statement by a poetically authorized *khoros*, to explain to the god being addressed in the paean the reason why they, in a position of constructed authority, have access to, and are able to narrate, a given myth in a certain way. Of

27 A point made strongly by D'Alessio (1994a) 125.
28 Again, Tilley (1994) 30.

course, we can only see an apparently unmediated access to the inner workings of the Bacchylidean poetic mind if the excerpt is taken away from its performance context. The fact that the text as we have it survived as an excerpt is, however, instructive because it shows that the passage was read in antiquity out of, and beyond, its original context(s), and this practice continued in modern scholarship. But its significance as a comment on poetic tradition need not be confined by the identification of the voice with Bacchylides the author.

Poetic Tradition and Pindar *Paean* 7b

We can think further about this complex relation between poetic and choral voices, and between tradition and innovation in fragment 5, particularly with reference to Pindar's *Paean* 7b.

This poem treats the mythological subject of the flight of Asteria, sister of Leto, from Zeus, and her transformation into an island, as a prelude to Zeus' seduction of Leto; the myth finishes before Apollo and Artemis are born. Any treatment touching on the relationship of Zeus and Leto must confront at some point an influential mythological source, the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*. Yet, on the most recent assessment, the *khoros* states in lines 11–14 that it will be travelling an untrodden carriage-way, in a chariot provided by the Muses, far from Homer:

> *Ὁμήρου [ἑκὰς ἄτρι]π̣τον κατ᾽ ἀμαξιτὸν*
> *ἰόντες ἀ̣[εὶ οὐκ ἀλ]λοτρίαις ἀν᾽ ἵπποις,*
> *ἐπεὶ αὐ[τοὶ τὸ πο]τανὸν ἅρμα*
> *Μοισα[ῖον ἐλαύνο]μεν.*[29]

> Travelling far from Homer always on an untrodden wagon-track,
> not on another's mares, for we ourselves are driving
> the winged chariot of the Muses.

Analogy with Parmenides here suggests a different kind of authority for the speaker beyond simply following a Homeric

[29] D'Alessio (1995). See also Rutherford 243–9. D'Alessio (1992) supersedes all previous interpretations of the papyrus-spacing.

model.[30] It lends to the passage a more metaphysical tone of true religious access, access only permitted the paean's *khoros*, and thus its audience, through the poet. Not only does this intensify the authority for the speaker of the paean, it also highlights this text's awareness of its problematic relationship to the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*.[31]

The choral voice distances itself from the standard account of the *Homeric Hymn*, in a way that draws attention to the novelty of their situation in graphic terms. This is brought out by the deep sense of paradox inherent in ἄτρι]π̣τον κατ' ἀμαξιτὸν, 'on an untrodden wagon-track'. Their new route is a route which is untrodden precisely because it is inspired: their motion is provided for by wings, not wheels or feet: πο]τανὸν ἅρμα ('winged chariot'), line 13.

This expression marshals the traditional diction of poetic *kleos* from, for example, Theognis 244–50 (being winged, Kyrnos' fame will travel over land and sea οὐχ ἵππων νώτοισιν ἐφήμενος, 'not seated on the backs of horses') to its own advantage.[32] The scope and authority for the mytho-poetic project of the performing *khoros* is thus massively increased.[33] The use of wings for poetic inspiration and authoritative utterance expresses the other-worldliness of the choral position, its otherness from the normal realms of everyday human experience, its transcendental quality.[34]

The extra-ordinary figurative flight far from Homer in *Paean* 7b sets out in vivid terms that Pindar's *khoros* and the poet himself are differentiating themselves from the *Homeric Hymn*; partly in relation to its mythical content, but more importantly to its own authority as religious text. The canonical quality and authority that the *Hymn*

[30] D'Alessio (1995) 170; though as we shall see, there may be strong background resonances shared both by Pindar and Parmenides that D'Alessio overlooks.

[31] The following attempts to rework the ideas of Rutherford (1988) and Bing (1988) 103–7 on the hymnic background in the light of D'Alessio's new assessment of the text. Rutherford's latest discussion could have done more to square the two. See also Depew (1998), esp. 172–8, according to whom Pindar's rival account is grounded in praise of Zeus, who has no role to play in the version of the Homeric Hymn.

[32] See D'Alessio (1995) 174–7.

[33] Cf. e.g. the image of the soaring eagle to illustrate the boundlessness of the pathway available for epinician praise of Hieron at Bacch. 5.31–3.

[34] And also its elitist exclusivity: Graziosi (2002) 59 suggests a contrast between wagon-way (suitable for the masses who travel in the Homeric wagon) and chariot, suitable only for the chosen few.

must have had on Delos, and more widely, in Pindar's day, posed a serious challenge for anyone engaging with the myth of the birth of the Delian twins in the context of the festival that sanctioned the performance of the *Hymn* itself. The *khoros* of Pindar's paean asserts authority for its own version of the past by qualifying the truth status of other myths, including, and especially, that of the *Hymn* itself.

The *persona loquens* of the paean refers us towards, and responds to, the authorizing and truth-asserting position adopted by the first-person speaker of the *Hymn* itself at its close. It is not insignificant that the paean goes on to assert the *blindness* of all those who seek the road of wisdom without the assistance of the Muses:

> [τ]υφλα̣[ὶ γὰ]ρ ἀνδρῶν φρένες
> [ὅ]στις ἄνευθ' Ἑλικωνιάδων
> βαθεῖαν ἐλα̣[ύ]ν̣ων ἐρευνᾷ σοφίας ὁδόν.
>
> For blind are the minds of men,
> whoever drives to seek out
> the deep road of wisdom
> without the Helikonian Muses.

lines 18–20.[35] This refers us to lines 166–76 of the *Hymn*, where its own speaker is foregrounded: the blind man of Khios is introduced as the man whose songs will live on in pre-eminence even after his own death: τοῦ πᾶσαι μετόπισθεν ἀριστεύουσιν ἀοιδαί, 'all his songs will be pre-eminent hereafter', line 173. Lines 18–20 of the paean are both an application of the kind of access to the divine shown in, for example, Parmenides, but also, following Treu and Bing,[36] provide an answer, with [τ]υφλα̣[ὶ γὰ]ρ ἀνδρῶν φρένες, to the blindness of the singer (τυφλὸς ἀνήρ, 172) in whose steps rival songs and/or singers are following in their praise of Delian cult.[37]

[35] Reading ἐλα̣[ύ]ν̣ων with D'Alessio (1995).

[36] Treu (1967) 151 and n. 11; Bing (1988) 104–5.

[37] See Stehle (1997) 184 for the panhellenically transferable nature of the κλέος of both the Deliades and the *Hymn* here. The association of blindness with the following of Homeric authority is not restricted to this passage; it is used also at Pind. *Nem.* 7.23. Stesikhoros' claim to have been returned from blindness by the recantation of Helen's being in Troy during the war may be implicated in his relation to, and distinction from, Homeric epic as an ultimate source of religious and mythological knowledge: see now Graziosi (2002) 149–50. The story of Homer's death and the riddle of the lice, found at the end of the *Certamen* (Allen *OCT* p. 238,

Furthermore, journeying far from Homer on a fresh track, not on the backs of anyone else's mares (line 12), is also an attack on the plural rhapsodes whose performances are aetiologically projected into the future in the *Hymn*, in the reference to the continuous reperformance of the Khian bard's compositions made in line 173 of the *Hymn*. Pindar's statement is a claim to originality in opposition to repeat performances of the *Hymn* by singers who are not in direct contact with the Muses, but who are blindly following an authority (who is himself blind) in making claims to the panhellenic truth of their version.[38] For Pindar and his *khoros*, the performances of others are merely a case of the blind being led by the blind.

Pindar's reference to this passage thus engages in a contestation not only of belief, but also of panhellenically authorized versions contemporary with his own. This is inevitably tied up with Pindar's naming of Homer, since, as Graziosi points out, 'the author Homer is the place where you establish your own special connection and interpretation'.[39]

The choice of Pindar's paean, with only one triad, not to delineate the myth of the birth-pangs of Leto further differentiates it from the *Hymn*. The *khoros* of Pindar's poem may be differentiating

323–end), and in a slightly different version in Alkidamas *PMitch* 2754, and Herakleitos B 56 D–K, is also connected with oppositions between blindness and insight, building on and part of the biographical tradition of Homer's blindness, as well as panhellenic authority: again, Graziosi (2002), 60–1. That blindness and sight are at issue in the riddle is made clear by Hippolytos, who introduces his citation of Herakleitos' version with Herakleitos B 55 D–K, *ὅσων ὄψις ἀκοὴ μάθησις, ταῦτα ἐγὼ προτιμέω*, in the course of his general discussion of religious insight. Herakleitos assaults the supposed insights of paragons of (poetically delivered) wisdom such as Homer and Hesiod (cf. B 57, B 42, A 22 D–K) to serve as a foil for his own deeper metaphysical insights: Homer is Herakleitos' target precisely because he was known as *τῶν Ἑλλήνων σοφώτερος πάντων* (B 56 D–K), but could not *really* see. Herakleitos was influenced by Orphic texts: Sider (1997) 146–7; and the language of initiation is important also for Pindar and Bacchylides (here in fr. 5 indeed, as we shall see) in grounding a sense of authority for their texts and performers.

[38] This polemically refigures the significance of blindness in the Homeric Hymn, since an explicit link is made there between the singer's blindness and the excellence of his poetry for all time, lines 172–3: Graziosi (2002) 150. It also interestingly anticipates in certain respects the kind of attitude found in Plato's *Ion*.

[39] Graziosi (2002) 89.

itself from the Deliades, who may have had a ritual role on Delos associated with Eileithyia and the birth of the twins.[40] However, whether or not the Deliades existed in reality in the archaic period outside of the confines of the *Hymn* does not strongly affect my position and is not at issue here: what is being contested is the power of the stance adopted by the *Hymn* itself.[41] Through the reference to Homer, and through the complex double voice of poet and *khoros*, the paean offers itself as a rival mouthpiece for both the panhellenic authority of the *Hymn*, and for the epichoric authority of the Deliades as choral group projected within the *Hymn*.

We may be able to take the sense of competitiveness between Pindar's paean and the *Homeric Hymn* further if we consider the evidence for the existence of an actual text of the Hymn on Delos. We have the interesting, though difficult, material from the *Certamen* to the effect that the Delians at some point dedicated the *Homeric Hymn* in the temple of Artemis there.[42] This may suggest that in Pindar's day there actually existed a copy of the *Hymn* dedicated there.[43] The origins of the *Certamen* can be fixed somewhere toward the end of the fifth century BCE.[44] It is likely that texts of hymns and paeans were dedicated during this century, and probably earlier, at major religious centres on stone or wood.[45] The rationale behind

[40] Suggested by Kall. *Hymn* 4.255–7. See Bruneau (1970) 215–16. For later 5th-cent. Athenian comic spin on Delian epichoric dance traditions with regard to the Deliades see Kowalzig (2005) 61.

[41] For the name Deliades as signifier of an unmarried female choral grouping, see Calame (1977) 66 n. 35; also 194–6. See also Henrichs (1996) 56 for references in Euripides; Rutherford 29 with n. 26 and (1990) 177–9 on Sim. fr. 519 *PMG* 55 a 3 *Δαλίων θύγατ[ρες*.

[42] *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi* 18. See Càssola (1975) 99; Förstel (1979) 71ff.; Herington (1985) 46 with appendix vi A. 2; Depew (2000) 76.

[43] Förstel (1979) 79.

[44] Förstel (1979) 71: lifetime of Alkidamas as *terminus ante quem*.

[45] Cf. Rutherford 144 and 177; Depew (2000) 76–7. If, as seems plausible, the inscription of Pind. *Ol.* 7 in the temple of Athena Lindia on Rhodes (Gorgon ap. *Σ* Pind. *Ol.* 7 *init.* (i.195 Dr)) was made soon after the poem was initially performed (so Càssola (1975) 99), the practice of inscription began *at least as early as* the time of Pindar. And the inspiration for this type of poetic inscription in regional localities probably came from the practice at the larger and panhellenically significant sanctuaries such as Delos and Delphi. Poetic dedication may have been introduced by analogy with law codes first set up in sanctuaries of Apollo (e.g. famously at Gortyn), for which see Hölkeskamp (1992), along with votive dedications more generally. If

such textualizations was to set the works 'before the eyes of the gods, as records of human achievement inviting protection'.[46]

The reference to a tablet (δέλτου) provided by the scholiast on line 25 of *Paean* 7b has plausibly been interpreted as evidence for a Pindaric metaphor of textuality, akin to the opening of *Olympian* 10, which refers to the reading out of what is inscribed in memory.[47] Such a reference to textuality in the paean would be intensified if set in relation to an existing text of the *Hymn*. Pindar and his *khoros* may be engaged in a metapoetic struggle for the authenticity of religious knowledge against a background of a textually fixed version of the *Homeric Hymn* dedicated in close proximity to the performance (and perhaps also dedicatory) context of Pindar's poem. It places in opposition the fixed, inscribed (because canonically panhellenic and reperformed),[48] version of the myth of Leto's labour as provided in the *Hymn*, and the authentic (because 'spontaneous' and inspired), vatic version of the myth as mediated by Pindar's own *khoros*.[49] Parallels for this survive in the contrast in Pindar's epinicians between the immediacy, survivability, and geographic transcendence of the fame of his own work set against the inferior ability of inscriptions, statues, or architecture to memorialize in eternity.[50] In this instance, however, the differentiation is established on poetic terms rather than in relation to the potential for rival artistic media to survive forever.[51]

Herakleitos dedicated his works in the temple of Artemis at Ephesos (Diog. Laert. 9.6), the reasoning would have been to differentiate his own σοφία against that of the religious, poetic, and legal texts, already and traditionally so dedicated; cf. Steiner (1994) 88–9.

[46] Osborne (1999) 347. Cf. Thomas (1995) 72–3; van Effenterre (1994) esp. 90–2.

[47] Pind. *Ol.* 10.1–3; Bing (1988) 105 n. 31, cf. 12 n. 5.

[48] Cf. Depew (2000) 76–7.

[49] We have here an intertextuality of rival performances within the festival context, over and above possible verbal references. For the connection between the status of all types of religious hymn as *agalmata* and *thusia* (sacrificial offerings) and their cultic reperformance in recurring festivals see Depew (2000) 63.

[50] Cf. e.g. *Nem.* 5.1–2 and the treasury of song of *Pyth.* 6.7–18. This is a notion very familiar from later poetry, for example, from the opening of Hor. *C.* 3.30 and, in a related way, Ov. *Met.* 15.871–9; see also Shakespeare: 'Not marble nor the gilded monuments | Of Princes shall outlive this pow'rful rhyme' (*Sonnet* 55.1–2).

[51] For a similar instance see Simonides fr. 581 *PMG*, where (according to Diog. Laert. 1.89–90) the poet answers the inscribed epigram of Midas composed by Kleoboulos of Lindos.

Moreover, τί πείσομα[ι in line 41 of the paean is also linked to the *Hymn*. It picks up πείσονται of line 176, and questions the kinds of truth claims made for myths featuring in religious poetry. The *Hymn* confidently asserts that all those peoples and *poleis* visited by the poet and his poetry will believe in the truth of the fame of both the Deliades and the subject matter of the *Hymn* itself. The *khoros* of *Paean* 7b answers this statement on behalf of their own city in a way that casts doubt on the truth status of the myth of the *Hymn*, and moreover points to a lack of secure belief in the original projection made by the poetic voice of that text.

Pindar's text therefore bears witness to a complex negotiation of mythological belief. The *khoros* plays out the problems inherent in an attempt to eschew a panhellenically sanctioned hymnic background to their mythologizing. It is also part of a complex political negotiation—by means of, and in terms of, mythology and poetry—between the *khoros*', and the Delian sanctuary's own, authorizing versions of a myth central to Hellenic religious experience.[52] The Delian festival stages a problematic coming-together of differing and mutually contradictory mythological and poetic traditions.[53] But questioning belief in stories about gods is very different from questioning belief in the gods themselves; and multiplicity of belief about stories about Apollo actually celebrates the fact that the god is being honoured *in the very performance* of such wide-ranging, and mutually contradictory, material.[54]

Pindar's text is therefore deeply connected with the issue of 'intersecting panhellenisms'.[55] Indeed, the metaphor of travel suits perfectly a poem whose *khoros* has been engaged in the ritual journey of θεωρία to reach the sanctuary and make their dedication of song to the god.[56]

[52] Another instance, therefore, of what Veyne (1983) 52–68 (and cf. Feeney (1998) 14–15) termed 'balkanisation des cerveaux'.

[53] One of the reasons why 'there is no straight line from a performance context to a solution of the problems of belief, authenticity or social function': Feeney (1998) 40.

[54] Buxton (1994) 158; 163.

[55] See Rutherford 178, subtitle to §21.

[56] For an elaboration of the theoric context of Pindar's *Paean* 6 see now Kurke (2005).

The idea of travel and journeys contrasts with the monumental permanence of the text of the *Hymn* on Delos. See the following remarks by Depew on the consequences of hymnic inscription:

An inscribed hymn, erected in a god's sanctuary, would perform several functions simultaneously. Placed in public view, such a text would become a perpetual reminder of an original celebratory occasion. It would also in and of itself become a dedication, offering, standing with other offerings in a prominent and public place for any visitor to the sanctuary to see and to admire. Again, it would serve as a script for reperformance at each celebration of the god's festival. Finally, it would stage its reenactment on a daily basis by representing these conventional aspects of its performance. . . . Such a text is a *mnêma* indeed, a 'memorial' in that it postulates a performative moment in a non-performative condition, separated in time, if not in place, from the original occasion it preserves.[57]

In the form of the inscribed dedication of the *Homeric Hymn*, this is what Pindar was up against. This is the background to the extraordinary poetic journey undergone by the poem's choral voice, in order to attain a rival, and greater, sense of performative authority.

Bacchylides fr. 5 in Context

Let's now return to Bacchylides' fragment. On a cautionary note, it is important to emphasize that the poetic stance of the fragment was originally related to a performance context, as part of a paean, and, moreover, that the content of the fragment is likely to have been connected with the choice of myth narrated in the lost remainder of that complete poem. The absence of further information may limit our observations to a certain extent.

Whatever the myth, the stance of the fragment is problematic, in terms of belief in that possible mythic narrative, in a similar way to Pindar's. In contrast, however, the Bacchylidean fragment's doubtful attitude appears to be fundamentally opposed to Pindar's in terms

[57] Depew (2000) 76–7.

of its relation to the mythological (in Pindar's case, Homeric) tradition.[58]

This potential doubt may be expressed in a constructed ambiguity in the sense of ἀρρήτων in Bacchylides' fragment, one which critics have failed to point out. Jebb and other scholars who assessed fragment 5 biographically did not consider fully the contextual complexity of the utterance. And, as we shall see, Jebb's translation of ἀρρήτων ἐπέων as 'virgin song' resolves the interesting ambiguity in Bacchylides' diction: Can we, should we, determine whether ἀρρήτων means 'unspoken', or 'unutterable'/'not to be spoken'?

First, in combination with ἐξευρεῖν, ἀρρήτων is redolent of the language of mystery-cult: ἀρρήτων can be taken to mean 'unspeakable' in the sense 'secret', words, sacred stories or utterances to which the uninitiated are denied access. This language is found elsewhere especially in contexts relating to cults of Persephone and Demeter.[59] And Bacchylides provides a perfect example with fragment 2, part of a hymn to Demeter: *αἰαῖ τέκος ἁμέτερον, | μεῖζον ἢ πενθεῖν ἐφάνη κακόν, ἀφθέγκτοισιν ἶσον*, 'Oh woe, my child, an evil has come too great for mourning, *akin to things unmentionable*', in a passage perhaps involving a conversation between Demeter and Persephone. A late mystic source refers to mysteries themselves in these terms.[60] A link with mystery cult may also be found in the language of *Paean* 7b and some other Pindaric passages. The idea that the worthy mules of the victor in line 27 of *Olympian* 6 must pass through the gates of song (*χρὴ τοίνυν πύλας ὕ- | μνων ἀναπιτνάμεν αὐταῖς*, 'we must then fling open the gates of song for them'), implies that access is only granted to those 'initiated' into victory; and there is a parallel in the

[58] The expression of difficulty concerning such a mytho-poetic exercise can be paralleled in other texts intended for ritual performance. For instance, the negative statements made by the *khoros* at Alkman 1.64–87 *PMGF* are part of a move from expressions of powerlessness to ritual success. One could easily imagine Bacchylides proceeding with an expansive image of mythical transcendence as an entry into the chosen myth. Equally, it seems possible that the lines preceding Pindar's image of carriage-ways in *Paean* 7b may themselves have expressed initial doubts or a lack of confidence concerning the choral project: see Rutherford 246 on lines 7ff.

[59] See Morenilla (2000). ἀρρήτος occurs eight times in the *Orphic Hymns*, referring to divinities and objects of belief: statistics from Quandt (1950).

[60] *χρησμούς ... ἀρρήτους Νυκτὸς περὶ Βάκχου*, *Orphic Argonautica* 1018T.28 (*PEG* II.2 471).

first lines of some notable Orphic poetry.[61] This matches the kind of rarefied imagery of poetic gates and pure roads found in Persephone cult, especially in the Hipponion tablet, with its *ὁδὸν ἔρχεαι ἅν τε καὶ ἄλλοι | μύσται καὶ βάκχοι ἱερὰν στείχουσι κλ⟨ε⟩ινοί* ('you are travelling along the same holy road which others too, glorious initiates, journey on'), lines 15–16.[62]

In the case of paeans, though it is difficult to link cults of Apollo or related divinities to mystery-cult or Orphism, the language is likely to suggest an air of initiation into a special realm of authority assertions through vatic and choral ritual. One might also consider here that *ἕτερος ἐξ ἑτέρου* might carry some notion of shared transmission of secret information: a plurality of authorities, with an emphasis on the preservation of shared bodies of knowledge in whatever field of expertise. But the use of the preposition *ἐξ* here does seem to suggest that the overarching idea is one of continuity, the transmission of the material that makes one *σοφός*.[63]

This would be another way for a *khoros* to garner a rival sense of authority for *its own* mythical account in opposition to any established or conflicting one. The use of such initiatory language in this fragment is useful for a poet *and* a set of performers in need of an elevated and thus powerfully authorizing metaphor for the psychological process of mythical elucidation. This is especially so in view of the fact that the paean is part of the realm of the divine art of *mousikê*, as well as Mnemosyne, the goddess who provides the link between eschatology and poetry.[64]

The litotes of *οὐδὲ γὰρ ῥᾶιστον*, 'not the easiest thing', needs further elaboration, since, crucially, it mediates between two senses inherent in *ἀρρήτων*, rather than to be thought of as expressing

[61] 1 F *PEG* II.1 2 *ἀείσω ξυνετοῖσι· θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε, βέβηλοι*; 3 F *PEG* II.1.14 *φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί· θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι.*

[62] Garner (1992*b*) 54; Lloyd-Jones (1985) 269–70.

[63] For an alternative expression of the *difference* between 'the men of old' (*οἱ μὲν πάλαι*) and men of today, in terms of poetics, see Pind. *Isth.* 2.1ff., with *Σ*, and Kurke (1991) ch. 10 for the ideological impulse behind this statement. For the use of *ἐξ* figuring immediate succession or transition, see e.g. Smyth (1920) 377 §1688c; cp. Hom. *Od.* 17.266, Plut. *De E ap. Delph.* 392e4. For the implication of genealogical succession see e.g. Pl. *Phaedr.* 246a, *ἀγαθοὶ καὶ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν*.

[64] For further exposition of the view in this paragraph, see Hardie (2004), esp. 30–2; Zuntz (1971) 277–393 for Mnemosyne and the golden tablets.

modesty. That the words being sought in fragment 5 are ἀρρητοί may of course suggest that they are *impossible* to find, hence οὐδὲ γὰρ ῥᾷιστον.

Second, together with its ritual, mystic quality 'unutterable', the word can also mean 'unspoken', 'unuttered', in the sense of original, new.[65] New words are of course not impossible to find. On these terms, Bacchylides' narrator can be understood to be constructing a link with poetic tradition, and more directly than was the case with Pindar's paean. There we saw the Muses themselves, rather than the poetic tradition (with 'Homer' as its figurehead), serving as the ultimate source of authority. Pindar's persona engages with the Homer of the *Hymn*, 'Homer' understood as a symbol of traditional (but mortal) poetic authority more broadly, by rejecting him in favour of a more vatic, and more direct relation with the Muses. Bacchylides' narrator operates very differently, here at least.

Of course, as we have established, we need not think in biographical terms about the Bacchylides of fragment 5 or the Pindar of *Paean* 7b as opposing statements of intent. Rather, Pindar and Bacchylides choose alternative strategies according to specific and differing circumstances. On other occasions, Pindar can and does claim Homeric authority for statements about mythical figures associated with individuals or communities: *Isthmian* 3/4 lines 55–7, praising Homer as part of a reference to Aias in a poem for an Aiginetan client, is a case in point.[66]

[65] Moreover, the use of ἐξευρεῖν seems deeply rooted in the language of composition, especially in contemporary lyric: e.g. at Pind. *Pyth.* 1.60, *Nem.* 6.54, *Nem.* 8.20, and fr. 122.14 (with van Groningen (1960*a*) ad loc.). Much the most interesting of the usages is *Nem.* 8.20, where the epinician persona is referring to the dangers of inventing (ἐξευρόντα) new epinician material because of the φθόνος it might provoke: A. M. Miller (1982) 114. The Pindaric persona uses this warning as the introduction to his myth of Aias' downfall; he could be said to be using traditional myth here not as something objectified and made difficult to react against, but as something already understood and taken into account: for Pindar and his victor mythical failure and historical victory work on the same plane as one another and offer mutual support. Here tradition is mobilized in such a way as to make it appear as if it were in some way *already* Pindaricized: 'Pindar has blurred the distinction between past and present, creating the illusion that the struggle against present envy and the struggle to set the ancient record straight are one and the same' (Nisetich (1989) 19).

[66] ἀλλ' Ὅμηρός τοι τετίμακεν δι' ἀνθρώπων, ὃς αὐτοῦ | πᾶσαν ὀρθώσαις ἀρετὰν κατὰ ῥάβδον ἔφρασεν | θεσπεσίων ἐπέων λοιποῖς ἀθύρειν.

It is instructive here to bring in a link with Bacchylides' uncle Simonides. In Simonides' *Plataea Elegy* the narrator praises Homer as the man who received 'the whole truth' from the Muses and thus was able to sing of the Greek victory at Troy: fr. 11.15–17 W.[67] Simonides alludes to the awesome figure of Homer and appropriates for the contemporary generation the power to immortalise military triumph. His engagement with Homer and the Muses operates here as a kind of poetic double motivation: qua *sophos* he has access to the literary tradition, but he can in the same breath also pray to the Muses for inspiration.[68] By contrast, Pindar's attitude is more often rather more lofty than this: his persona often constructs itself in a much more authoritative position than other 'mere mortals', in direct contact with the goddesses of poetic inspiration.

Again, this is not to say that Pindar does not draw upon and manipulate traditional poetic sources.[69] What is, however, so extraordinary about Pindar is the strength and scope of the projected persona, which generally maintains an explicit and well-developed ethical or religious stance which white-washes over other forms of authority embedded within the text. This is, in general, and so far as we can tell, different from the technique of Simonides, and of Bacchylides as well.

II. POETIC TRADITION AND PATRONAGE

Bacchylides' narrative technique, as we shall see, tends to flaunt its indebtedness to pre-existing, especially epic, narrative, in a way that the Pindaric narrator appears generally to have eschewed; put another way, we might say that Bacchylides' poetry is far more

[67] . . . *ἀ̣ν[δρὸς] ἕκητι | [ὃς παρ' ἰοπ]λοκάμων δέξατο Πιερίδ[ων] | [πᾶσαν ἀλη]θείην.*

[68] See in general Stehle (2001). For the operation of double motivation in the relation of the Homeric narrator to the Muse, see de Jong (1987) 45–53. Compare also Sim. 19 W, and Sim. fr. 579 *PMG*, alluding to Hesiod, *Works and Days* 289 ff.; cf. fr. 523 *PMG* for a possible allusion to Hesiod's *ἡμίθεοι*.

[69] Other examples include the use of the *Cypria* in the myth of Kastor and Pollux in *Nem.* 10, or the use of the *Kheironos Hypothēkai* in *Pyth.* 6. See Kurke (1991) 155–7; also now D'Alessio (2005).

Stesikhorean than that of his Theban contemporary.[70] More particularly, Bacchylides' general willingness to flaunt literary indebtedness quite often works in inverse proportion to the general dominance of the Pindaric, and the relative taciturnity of the Bacchylidean, *persona loquens*.[71]

However, poetic choices about source material and the use of tradition cannot be isolated from the wider context of composition: not only religious performance, but also the circumstances of patronage in general. If we think historically about how poet, *khoros*, and commissioning body interacted, communities and patrons had a reasonable idea of the kind of work they might be able to expect on commission. Poets were also likely to have received mythological 'briefs' by the commissioning state, family, or individual, in order for the complexities and ideological angles of mythology correctly to be articulated.[72] The khoregic structures of democratic Athens provide some evidence for the complex role played by officiating festival arkhons, mediating between tribes, *khorēgoi*, poets, and public.[73] Though this systematization might only be deemed typical of a highly regulated state like Athens, it is likely that similarly detailed

[70] The Homeric quality of Stesikhorean verse is a well-known and common feature of ancient literary criticism on lyric poetry. The lack of comment on Bacchylides in this regard may well be due to systematic and detrimental comparison solely with Pindar (found, for instance, in the Pindaric scholia and in Pseudo-Longinus). The treatment of Bacchylidean and Pindaric narrative technique by Pfeijffer (2004) is disappointing primarily because it fails to take account of the broader literary context and traditions in which the two poets were operating.

[71] Here I take note of Pind. fr. 180, though genre and context are unknown: *μὴ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀναρρῆξαι τὸν ἀρχαῖον λόγον· | ἔσθ' ὅτε πιστόταται σιγᾶς ὁδοί, | κέντρον δὲ μάχας ὁ κρατιστεύων λόγος*, 'Do not blurt out an ancient saying in front of everyone; there is a time when routes of silence are most trusty. The story which overpowers is a spur to battle' (reading *ἀρχαῖον* with Loscalzo (1988) following Clement, against Boeckh's *ἀχρεῖον*). Pindar himself may appear to rail against the use of archaic, and potentially overpowering, mytho-poetic tradition in preference for silence. But, as usual, he has his cake and eats it: metaphorical roads in Pindar generally figure poetic activity, and are thus full of words, rather than signifying silence, and of course Pindar is not silent here.

[72] Although the nature of the material we are dealing with does not provide us with separate historical evidence for this practice, the readings I offer of some very different poems will show by themselves the inevitability that such briefings and negotiations did take place.

[73] See *Khoregia* 61–70, esp. 61.

engagements were undertaken in other states.[74] We know that Keos had a khoregic system in the fifth century; it may have been more easy or politically desirable to have local poets, such as Bacchylides and Simonides, recruited, than foreigners of the likes of Pindar,[75] although Keos' close association with Delos through *theōriai* may have attracted non-native poets for performances on a panhellenic scale. Conversely, both Bacchylides and Pindar were likely to have been aware of the kinds of myths attached to individual communities that might be requested in works to be performed. Such knowledge would be crucial for their chances of being commissioned, and so for their ultimate success as poets.

The interaction and reciprocity here between poets and patrons makes it likely that both worked together when they deemed it mutually beneficial. Poets may have undertaken commissions from communities whose myths they were able to relate to their own personal poetic agendas, so that within the poems themselves, and the complex interactions between choral community voice and voice of the poet there existed a harmony of religious or encomiastic endeavour. For the ideology of a community like Phleious—for which see Bacchylides 9 and my previous detailed study[76]—the contract allowed their own stance on the role of a given myth to resonate more widely; for poets it allowed their own talents and preferences to be recognized broadly, thus preserving their work and ensuring future commissions from other communities or groups with mythical traditions in need of a wider authentication. This interrelation between states or groups on the one hand, and the poet on the other,

[74] We also have evidence from Herodotos of a khoregic system for Aigina, that pre-eminent patron of epinician and theoric poetry. See *Khoregia* 281–2.

[75] For *khoroi* on Keos, and the public dedication of victory crowns in temples, see *Khoregia* 285–6. Pind. *Pae.* 4 (D4 Rutherford) is the Theban's only known Kean commission; this is sometimes put down to the possibility that Simonides was dead, and Bacchylides either in exile or held in lower esteem (cf. Rutherford 284–5). The latter possibility is unlikely given the number of Kean epinicians we know he produced, and cf. Bacch. 17; we have no reason to doubt that if we had Bacchylides' *Paeans*, Kean commissions would be similarly prominent. Apollo features highly in what we know of Kean cult, according to the temples we have evidence for, from Koressos, Karthaia, Poiessa, and Ioulis: Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani (1991*b*) 266, 268, 320; all these temple precincts were expanded in the late archaic period at the end of the sixth century: see in detail Schuller (1985) 361–83.

[76] See Fearn (2003).

is fundamental for my readings of all the poems I discuss in what follows. And in many cases, it is clear that the poet had access to specific mythological and genealogical details that could have only been provided by members of those groups.

Yet, at the same time, these poets would also have had in mind the reception of their work by panhellenic audiences geographically removed from the specific circumstances of the community or individual who originally commissioned the work. However, the ensuing tensions between specific epichoric and broader panhellenic receptions do not make the poems problematic in a negative way. Just as with the complexities of choral and poetic voices and the competition between poetic tradition and inspiration, such tensions make the poems a richer seam to mine.

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Part I

Praise

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1

The Politics of Fantasy: Bacchylides on Alexander of Macedon (fr. 20B)

> *πολύφωνος ὁ οἶνος ἐστὶ καὶ λαλιᾶς ἀκαίρου καὶ φρονήματος ἡγεμονικοῦ καταπίμπλησιν.*
>
> Wine has many voices, filling everyone with pointless chatter and aspirations of leadership.
>
> Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 7.715a

> Like a myth, the symposium seems to be 'good to think with'.[1]

Bacchylides fr. 20B is an enkomion to Alexander, son of Amyntas, king of Macedon during the period of the Persian Wars.[2] Although

[1] Bowie (1997) 1.

[2] Enkomion: see Harvey (1955) 163–4: '[T]he Alexandrians, in adopting the word as a term of classification for lyric poetry, discarded the literary sense—the term *epinikion* suited them better—and borrowed from the rhetorical sense, which they defined in such a way as to exclude religious poetry . . . but to include almost any poem addressed to a man that was not already covered by the terms *threnos* and *epinikion*.' This classificatory scheme (cf. Körte (1918) 137 ff.) would go some way to solve the problem that Bacch. frr. 20A and D seem to be poems very different in character from frr. 20B and C from the same papyrus-roll. Moreover, while *POxy* 1361 does seem to confirm the existence of an otherwise unattested Hellenistic edition of Bacchylides' enkomia, it may well be that that edition was itself divided into different sections, one of which had the title *Skolia* or *Paroinia*, referring specifically to pieces with obviously sympotic content. Such a division into sections appears to be the case with Pindar's own *Enkomia*: see Gallo (1968) 72–8, Schröder (1999) 148–9, and D'Alessio (2000), with the suggestion of *ἐγκωμίων ᾱ ἐν [ᾧι] καὶ [παροίνια]* as a suitable reading at *POxy* 2438 line 38, part of a list of the ancient editions of Pindar in the Oxyrhynchus biography of him (cf. also Gallo (1968) 76 n. 7);

the poem is undated, it should belong to the period somewhere in the mid-490s just prior to Alexander's succession to the throne.[3] It seems surprising that this poem has received little comment and no historical contextualization, given the importance of this royal dynasty, and the significant space devoted to the actions of this same Alexander in the narrative of Herodotos. The poem demands to be taken seriously, and it can be used to study much more closely than hitherto the questions relating to the nature of Alexander's self-promotion, and about ethnicity and inter-cultural relations in the early fifth-century: here we have evidence from over half a century before Herodotos.

Maehler's recent commentaries on the poem are useful on a number of points, but too little is done to contextualize the poem or to discuss its rhetoric.[4] This is what I propose to do here. I show that the literary concerns of the remnants of this poem fit neatly with the political issues raised by the position of Alexander I and Macedon generally, both in Herodotos, and more broadly in recent historical analysis of the significance of Macedon during the Persian Wars period.

I take as my point of departure a sense of the peculiarity of a poem written by a celebrated Greek poet, using the language and traditions that mark the poem as Greek, that eulogizes a figure whose deep ambivalence towards Greece is now well documented. I explore in this chapter how Bacchylides' engagement with his subject opens up rival receptions of Alexander, in a poem which precariously balances praise of the future monarch against drunken visions of power and wealth; this risks sounding rather more than paraenetic,

compare too D'Alessio (1997) 54–5, arguing in favour of *παροίνια* in the transmitted text at *Σ* Pind. *Nem.* 11 *inscr.* a (iii.185 Dr): Dionysios of Phaselis was right to claim that *Nemean* 11 should be viewed as a sympotic text.

Grenfell and Hunt (1915) gave *POxy* 1361 the title 'Bacchylides, *Scolia*'; while it seems that the papyrus as whole is more likely to have contained an edition of 'Bacchylides, *Enkomia*', it is probable that at least fr. 20B could have been thought of as a paroinion or skolion, roughly interchangeable terms (cf. already Grenfell and Hunt (1915) 66; Dikaiarkhos fr. 88 Wehrli). For criticism of van Groningen's (1960*b*) improper distinction between enkomia as exclusively choral and skolia as exclusively monodic see Cingano (1990) 223; Cingano (2003).

[3] For detailed discussion of the date, see below, n. 94.

[4] Maehler II 327–33; Maehler (2004) 243–51.

even potentially critical of the nature of monarchy. I show how Bacchylides uses an overarching sympotic framework to explore problems pertaining to boundaries, definitions, illusion, and praise itself in relation to Alexander, at a time when political and cultural allegiance, and Greekness itself, is up for grabs, but is becoming a very serious issue in view of Persian threats from the East. The complexity of the poem's sympotic rhetoric cannot be divorced from these much broader themes.

First, a brief survey is provided concerning Herodotos' treatment of Alexander. We will have good cause to think about this later treatment of Macedonian monarchy in relation to Bacchylides' engagement with Alexander; by reading the two together we may supplement our understanding of both, just as recent work on Simonides' *Plataea Elegy* has enriched, and been enriched by, discussion of Herodotos on Plataea.[5]

My discussion of the poem itself is then in three parts. The first provides a detailed exploration of the *persona loquens* in the opening, and of the sympotic fantasy and its contents, covering the first four stanzas. I show that Bacchylides engages with established Greek sympotic *topoi* in order to focus minds on uncertainties pertaining to the nature and significance of Macedonian power. The shorter second section focuses on what may be gleaned from the fragmentary remains of the final four stanzas. In the final part, I bring these themes together to look at what the poem as a whole might say about Bacchylidean patronage, and to explore possible subsequent receptions for it. I also investigate the relation between the poem and its contents and Herodotos' narrative on Alexander, with specific regard to the striking parallel with conduct at the Macedonian symposium in Herodotos 5.17–22, at which Persian ambassadors are murdered. We will see that Herodotos' engagement with Alexander highlights the same set of problems pertaining to definition and to Macedonian relations to Greece; the subtlety of Herodotos' narrative is a later response to issues of Macedonian power that Bacchylides' poem makes available and memorializes.

[5] See esp. Boedeker (2001*a*); Hornblower (2001).

Alexander in Herodotos

Herodotos' treatment of Alexander and his father Amyntas has an important place in book 5, with significance for intercultural relations throughout the *Histories*: I discuss this in greater detail elsewhere, but I provide here a brief summary.[6] Chapters 17–22 of book 5 form part of a bridging narrative between Dareios' failed invasion of Skythia in book 4 and the Ionian revolt and subsequent Persian invasion of Greece in books 5 and following; they follow immediately on from Megabazos' deportation of the Paionians of Thrace to Persia on Dareios' instruction in the first sixteen chapters. The Macedonian ruling family is thus introduced in a way that focuses on relations with Persia, and this element is emphasized in these chapters. Alexander's political and strategic actions then become important for Herodotos' concern with Medism, and the question of the allegiance of Greek *poleis* to the cause against Persia in books 8 and 9.[7]

In Herodotos 5.17–21, Amyntas receives the Persian ambassadors sent by Megabazos to demand submission to Dareios and accepts their offer, giving a banquet to welcome the Persians. The youthful Alexander, outraged at the Persians' treatment of Macedonian women during the after-dinner drinking, assassinates the ambassadors by substituting for the women young men with knives to kill Persians; he then manages to keep the affair secret, by marrying off his own sister Gygaia to Bubares the leader of the Persian search-party.[8]

What is fascinating in view of Bacchylides' sympotic poem is that this action takes place within a Macedonian symposium, while the wine is still going round, after the eating is over.[9] Herodotos seems to mark this symposium as essentially Greek, in opposition to Persian

[6] Fearn (forthcoming). [7] Cf. Badian (1994).

[8] At 8.136 Herodotos tells us that the offspring of this union received the name of his maternal grandfather, Amyntas. This child is likely to have been the intended successor of Alexander as satrap-king after Xerxes' conquest of Greece: Badian (1994) 115–16. However, things turned out rather differently.

[9] Hdt. 5.18.2. The relatively rare word *διαπίνω* refers to sympotic practice: see Pl. *Rep*. 4.420e4; Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 7.711d5; cf. Poll. *Onom*. 6.19.9, glossing *διαπίνειν* with *διαμιλλᾶσθαι ἐν πότῳ*. It occurs in Herodotos only here and at 9.16.7, within another symposium where Medism is very much at issue.

practices. However, there is still a rather worrying ambivalence surrounding this symposium: even though Alexander's claim is to have killed these ambassadors, they are dining on the specific invitation of Alexander's father. The key term of the whole banqueting passage is *xenia*, an idea that encapsulates the 'friend or foe?' ambivalence of the relations between Macedonian and Persians here.[10]

Herodotos goes out of his way here to refer to his later treatment of the Hellenic descent of the Macedonian kings at 8.137, and in chapter 22, to justify this claim, brings in the notorious account of Alexander's competition at Olympia, according to which he proved his Argive descent to the *Hellanodikai*, and came joint first in the *stadion*. Together with the use of the symposium, reference to successful Olympic competition, another touchstone of Greekness, represents to some degree Macedonian pro-Greek propaganda in the face of charges of Medism in the period of the Persian Wars; yet we are left with lingering doubts about Alexander's Greekness.[11]

Alexander's next appearances are somewhat later, in the build-up to Thermopylai and Plataea. At 7.173.3 messengers from Alexander come to the Greek forces who are massing to defend Tempe; they suggest that the army withdraw, so as not to be trampled underfoot by the invading Persians, about the size of whose force they also provide some detail (information perhaps garnered from his Persian brother-in-law, Bubares, now one of the commanders of the Athos canal project: 7.22). Herodotos *seems* again intent on asserting the pro-Greek nature of this advice, and states that the Greeks heeded it.[12] But he immediately counters this with his own thought that the Greeks actually withdrew out of a fear that there was another way into

[10] *Xenia*-cognates in 5.18–20: *ἐπὶ ξείνια*, 18.1; *ξεῖνε Μακεδών*, *ξεινίζεις* 18.2; *τοῖσι ξείνοισι*, 19.2; *ὦ ξεῖνοι*, 20.1. Furthermore, although we are perhaps made to recall Herodotos' earlier observations on Persian drinking practices at 1.133 to account for Persian drunkenness here, it is not made clear in the narrative here in book 5 whether or not this drunkenness was a result of *Macedonian* drinking practices. But perhaps the focus on opposed conventions, at least concerning the role of women at symposia, argues against this. *νόμος* itself occurs three times in these sections.

[11] Cf. Hall (2001) 156, on the claim to Greekness at Olympia: 'The credibility of the claim may be less significant than its articulation—a case of form overriding content. . . . [W]hat mattered was that Alexander had played the genealogical game *à la grecque* and played it well, perhaps even excessively.'

[12] *ὡς δὲ οὗτοί σφι ταῦτα συνεβούλευον (χρηστὰ γὰρ ἐδόκεον συμβουλεύειν, καί σφι εὔνοος ἐφαίνετο ἐὼν ὁ Μακεδών), ἐπείθοντο.*

Thessaly through upper Macedonia, the way that Xerxes' army did in fact come in: Herodotos' narrative here overtly offers kind words for Alexander's advice, whilst undercutting them with a personal perspective borne out by fact, therefore suggesting disingenuousness on Alexander's part.[13] Herodotos' Greeks at the Isthmus in the chapter after next recall the warnings given by Alexander about Tempe in their consideration of the proposal to guard the pass of Thermopylai.[14] But this should not blind us to the fact that the main narrator has interspersed his Greeks' acceptance of the advice with his own questioning of that acceptance.[15]

Alexander and his actions feature a further four times in Herodotos' narrative. At 8.34 we are told that Alexander had garrisoned the Medizing cities of Boeotia and saved them by making it clear to Xerxes that the Boeotians were friends to the Medes just as he himself was.[16] At 8.121.2 a gold statue of Alexander is mentioned at Delphi, next to which the monument to the Greek victory by the allied states was erected after Salamis. This minor detail on the position of two dedications again situates Alexander in a discursive relation to the conflict between Greeks and Persians. The mention of a dedication by Alexander at Delphi is partly a sign of Macedonian propaganda;[17] but its mention at precisely this moment is a sign that Herodotos also invites us critically to compare Alexander's self-presentation with those of the allied Greeks and with those of Kroisos of Lydia: note the parallel positioning of the Aiginetan dedication next to the great bowl of Kroisos only a chapter later at 8.122. We are invited by the narrator to compare and contrast these dedications, their inspiration, and their aspirations. Again, Alexander's ethnic identity looks highly ambivalent.

[13] 7.173.4: *δοκέειν δέ μοι, ἀρρωδίη ἦν τὸ πεῖθον, ὡς ἐπύθοντο καὶ ἄλλην ἐοῦσαν ἐσβολὴν . . ., τῇ περ δὴ καὶ ἐσέβαλε ἡ στρατιὴ ἡ Ξέρξεω.* Badian (1994) 117.

[14] Hdt. 7.175.1: *οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπείτε ἀπίκατο ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμόν, ἐβουλεύοντο πρὸς τὰ λεχθέντα ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου . . .*

[15] All of this is all the more noteworthy if Robertson (1976) is right that Herodotos' account of the Greek withdrawal from Tempe is not historically accurate.

[16] Hdt. 8.34 as follows, with Badian (1994) 117–18, noting the emphasis (here underlined): *Βοιωτῶν δὲ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἐμήδιζε, τὰς δὲ πόλις αὐτῶν ἄνδρες Μακεδόνες διατεταγμένοι ἔσῳζον, ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀποπεμφθέντες. ἔσῳζον δὲ τῇδε, δῆλον βουλόμενοι ποιέειν Ξέρξῃ ὅτι τὰ Μήδων Βοιωτοὶ φρονέοιεν.*

[17] Borza (1990) 130.

8.136–43 is the climax of Herodotos' treatment of Alexander, one which implicitly points to the fact that Alexander has been for some time an ally of, and subject to, the Persian king.[18] Herodotos places his (delayed) exposition of Alexander's Temenid ancestry in chapters 137–9 just before one of Alexander's most conspicuous act of Medism, his role as Mardonios' ambassador to Athens to propose alliance with Persia (140). Herodotos again thus highlights the ambivalent status of Alexander and of Macedon; moreover, the fact that Alexander's actions fail to live up to his alleged Greek identity redounds to the discredit of the Athenians too, given their own tyrannical, or quasi-tyrannical behaviour at the time of Herodotos' writing.

Herodotos' last look at Alexander is at 9.44–5. On the eve of Plataea he has him ride up to the Athenian lines opposite—for the Macedonians are on the right wing of the *Persian* army.[19] Alexander reveals Mardonios' plans to the Athenian generals, and asks them to remember him in their concern for freedom, if the Greeks win the day.[20] This has rightly been read as Alexander hedging his bets on his own future, in view of a now probable Greek victory, and likely Greek retaliation against Medizers.[21]

The fullest description of Alexander's status is reserved for his night mission to the Athenian line before Plataea. Although Alexander is made to refer to himself simply as *Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν* at 9.45.3, the narrator introduces him at 44.1 as *Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀμύντεω, στρατηγός τε ἐὼν καὶ βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων*, 'Alexander son of Amyntas, general and king of the Macedonians'. In the very act of telling the Athenians of Mardonios' plans, and pledging allegiance to the Greek cause, metamorphosing into 'a spokesperson for the ideal of Greek liberty',[22] Alexander's rhetoric is undercut not only by his lining up on the opposing side in the battle, but also by the Herodotean narrator's

[18] See, with Badian (1994) 116–17, Hdt. 6.44 for Mardonios' addition of the Macedonians to the list of Dareios' subjects *c.*492: another detail covered over by the story of the murder of the Persian ambassadors.

[19] The Macedonians are posted by Mardonios on the right wing facing the Athenians (whose rejection of Alexander's embassy we recall from the previous book): Hdt. 9.31.5.

[20] See in particular 9.45.1–3.

[21] Badian (1994) 118–19; Flower and Marincola (2002) 188 ad loc. 9.44–5.

[22] Flower and Marincola (2002) 189 ad loc. 9.44–5.

culminating statement on Alexander's power. By reserving the appellation of *basileus* for him at precisely this moment, Herodotos highlights how alien to the Greek cause Alexander actually must be, and how duplicitous his words are. Whatever Alexander claims in his own words, it is his independently verifiable actions, such as his marrying-off of his sister Gygaia, referred to at 5.22, on which he must be judged; and these actions always align him with the Persians.[23]

Herodotos has it both ways with Alexander. He is keen to present his Greek *credentials*, but offers a very different take on his *actions*.[24] Herodotos' muddying of the waters here is, however, challenging not only for our thinking on Alexander and the Persians. That it undermines some certainties is significant also for Greek thinking on power and governance, inviting Greek audiences to examine carefully the actions of individuals and groups who were generally accepted to be Greek. Although Herodotos' treatment of Alexander offers implicit criticism of duplicity in the realms of international politics and military strategy, it also serves to put additional pressure on the supposed fixity of oppositions between Greeks and barbarians. We must now turn to Bacchylides' treatment of Alexander.

Below is my text of fr. 20B, complete with translation.

I. *πολύφωνος οἶνος*: SYMPOSIUM AND FANTASY IN LINES 1–16

[ΑΛΕΞΑ]Ν[ΔΡΩΙ ΑΜΥΝΤ]Α

Α′ *Ὦ βάρβιτε, μηκέτι πάσσαλον φυλ̣ά̣σ̣[σων]*
ἑπτάτονον λ[ι]γυρὰν κάππαυε γᾶρυν·
δεῦρ᾽ ἐς ἐμὰς χέρας· ὁρμαίνω τι πέμπ[ειν]
χρύ[σ]εον̣ Μουσᾶν Ἀλεξάνδρωι πτερὸν̣

[23] As Pelling (2002) 148 points out, Herodotos makes Dareios in his speech in the constitution debate of Hdt. 3 avoid using the term *basileia* precisely because of its overly narrow associations with the archetypally Persian form of government, deficient in resonance for Herodotos' Hellenic reception. Note further irony redounding against the Athenians: it does not work to their credit that they later attempted alliances with the son of the very man who formed up against them in the Persian Wars; Alexander also therefore provides a neat aetiology of subsequent Macedonian untrustworthiness, which, for political and imperial expediency, the Athenians ended up accepting.

[24] See Hall (2001) 170.

Β′ καὶ συμποσ̣[ίαι]σιν ἄγαλμ[ʼ ἐν] εἰκάδεσ̣[σιν,] 5
εὖτε νέων ἁ[παλὸν] ⸢γλυκεῖʼ ἀ⸣νάγκα
σευομενᾶν κ̣⸢υλίκων θάλπ⸣ησι θυμ⸢όν⸣
Κύπριδός τʼ ἐλπ̣⸢ὶς δ⟨ι⟩αιθύσσηι φρέ⸣νας,

Γ′ ἀμμειγνυμέν̣⸢α Διονυσίοισι⸣ δ̣ώροις·
ἀνδράσι δʼ ὑψο⸢τάτω πέμπει⸣ μερίμν̣⸢ας·⸣ 10
αὐτίκ̣⸢α⸣ μὲν π⸢ολίων κράδ⸣ε̣μ̣να ⸢λύει,⸣
πᾶσ⸢ι δʼ ἀνθρώποις μοναρ⸣χήσ⸢ειν δοκεῖ·⸣

Δ′ χρυ⸢σ⸣ῶ⸢ι δʼ ἐλέφαντί τε μαρμ⸣αίρ⸢ουσιν οἶκοι,⸣
πυροφ⸢όροι δὲ κατʼ αἰγλάεντ⸣α πό̣⸢ντον⸣
νᾶες ἄγο̣⸢υσιν ἀπʼ Αἰγύπτου μέγιστον⸣ 15
πλοῦτον· ὣς ⸢πίνοντος ὁρμαίνει κέαρ.⸣

Ε′ ὦ π[α]ῖ̣ μεγαλ[όσθενες] ὑ̣[ψαυχέ̣ο̣ς Ἀμύντα,]
[. . .]σ̣ουπ[. . . . .]ον[ ]
[. . . .]λάχ[ον·] τί γὰρ ἀνθρώ̣[ποισι μεῖζον]
[κέρδο]ς ἢ θυμ̣ῶι χαρίζε[σθα]ι κ[αλά;] 20

Ϝ′ [. . . . .]φρονο̣[. . . . .]ρʼ α̣[. . .]κα[ ]
[. . . . . .]επερ[. .] . . . . .[. .]μ̣[ ]
[ἀμφιλα]φὴ̣ς̣ σ̣κότος· ὀλβ̣[ον δʼ ἔσχε πάντα]
[οὔτις] ἀνθρώπων διαὶ σ[υχνὸν χρόνον]

Ζ [αἰῶ]νος· ἴσας δʼ ὁ τυχὼν . [⏓–⏑––] 25
[–⏑]α̣τ̣α̣ι̣ τοσα[–⏓–⏑––]
[.]ε̣[⏑⏑]ο̣ν θέμεθ̣[λ –⏓–⏑––]
θυ[⏑–⏓–]ποτε τρω[–⏑–]

Η′ θα[–⏑⏑]αν ζαθεο̣[⏓–⏑–⏓]
μν[–⏑⏑–]ατε δη κα̣[–⏑––] 30
[–⏑⏑ ἡ]μ̣ίθεοι π̣[⏓–⏑––]
[ ]ν συνβ[ ]ηκ . . ου[ ]

For Alexander son of Amyntas

Lyre, keep to your peg no longer,
withholding the clear voice of your seven tones.
Here, to my hands! I am stirred to send some
golden feather of the Muses to Alexander,

to adorn his banquets on festal days,
when the sweet compulsion as the cups race round
warms the hearts of youths to tenderness,
and expectation of Kypris rushes through the mind,

mixed with the gifts of Dionysos.
They send men's thoughts to soar sky-high:
for instance, a man is undoing the veils of cities,
and fancies he will be monarch over all men.

Halls gleam with gold and ivory,
and, bearing their wheat over a glittering sea,
ships carry from Egypt vast
wealth. So the heart of the drinking man is stirred.

(Mighty) son of (high-vaunting Amyntas),
. . . . . .
. . . obtained. For what (greater profit) for men is there than
indulgence of one's own heart with respect to fine deeds?

. . . thought. . . . . .
. . . . . .
(all-embracing) darkness. (No) man (kept) happiness
throughout (his whole life-time.)

The man who gets an equal (share)
. . .
. . . foundation
. . . once

. . . hallowed
. . .
. . . demigods
. . .

Notes: *POxy* 1361 frr. 1, 2, 3, 22, 39, 25, 20+23, and 26 (fully supplemented by Athenaios' quotation of lines 6–16), based on my own examination of the papyrus, BM Inv. 2443 (1). My text is almost identical to that of Maehler, with some minor adjustments. I follow Maehler and Snell in suggesting that the poem ended at verse 32. The result is a poem of eight stanzas in two neat halves with the direct address to Alexander exactly half way through; accordingly, I have omitted *POxy* 1361 frr. 37, 40, 14, 16, and 12 as fragments of different poems.

I have included Snell's supplements in lines 17 and 23–4, and Milne's reading of [ἀμφιλα]φὴς in line 23. In my quotations in the main body of the text that follows, I have omitted sublinear dots and half angle brackets for quotations of lines 6–16 (γλυκεῖ' ἀνάγκα . . . κέαρ) because of the full quotation of the lines at Athenaios 2.39e.

Topoi

Bacchylides' poem forms a pair with the enkomion by Pindar addressed to Thrasyboulos of Akragas. The similarities between them have produced some scholarly discussion. The remnants of Pindar's poem (fr. 124ab) are as follows:

A′ Ὦ Θρασύβουλ', ἐρατᾶν ὄχημ' ἀοιδᾶν
τοῦτό ⟨τοι⟩ πέμπω μεταδόρπιον. ἐν ξυνῷ κεν εἴη
συμπόταισίν τε γλυκερὸν καὶ Διωνύσοιο καρπῷ

B′ καὶ κυλίκεσσιν Ἀθαναίαισι κέντρον·
ἁνίκ' ἀνθρώπων καματώδεες οἴχονται μέριμναι 5
στηθέων ἔξω· πελάγει δ' ἐν πολυχρύσοιο πλούτου

Γ′ πάντες ἴσᾳ νέομεν ψευδῆ πρὸς ἀκτάν·
ὃς μὲν ἀχρήμων, ἀφνεὸς τότε, τοὶ δ' αὖ πλουτέοντες
(lines 9–10 missing)

Δ′ ⟨—⟩ ἀέξονται φρένας ἀμπελίνοις τόξοις δαμέντες 11

O Thrasyboulos, this chariot of lovely songs
I send to you for after dinner. May it be communal,
A sweet goad for symposiasts and for the fruit of Dionysos

And Athenian drinking cups;
When the wearying cares of men pass away
From their breasts, and in the sea of golden wealth

All alike we sail to a shore of falsehood.
Then he who has nothing is rich, and in turn the wealthy . . .
. . . increase in their minds, overcome by the shafts of the vine.

The similarity led to the usual charge, one might say scholarly *topos*: Bacchylides is unoriginal and uninventive so must be seen as Pindar's slavish imitator.[25] Van Groningen's assessment of the essential similarity of the two poems is wrong in that it fails to account for the differences of detail in Bacchylides' version.[26] The subject-matter of

[25] Severyns (1933) 38–9, tentatively following Körte (1918) 128; Bowra (1964) 232–6; van Groningen (1960*b*) 100–3; well debunked now by Maehler (2004) 248–9 ad loc. 10 See already Pohlsander (1963) for caution against using verbal parallels as arguments for dating Pindaric and Bacchylidean poems in relation to one another.

[26] For earlier criticism of van Groningen's position here see the review by Vermeule (1962), esp. 186–7.

fantasies brought on by drink is a sympotic *topos*, as highlighted by the jokey nod in this direction made in the following passage from Aristophanes' *Knights* (lines 92–4; Demosthenes to Slave):

> ὁρᾷς; ὅταν πίνωσιν ἄνθρωποι, τότε
> πλουτοῦσι, διαπράττουσι, νικῶσιν δίκας,
> εὐδαιμονοῦσιν, ὠφελοῦσι τοὺς φίλους.
>
> You see? Whenever men drink, then
> they're rich, they're successful, they win their cases,
> they're happy, they help their friends.

It should seem obvious that what we have is a broader tradition.[27] In this case Bacchylides' version should be seen as a negotiation with that tradition as a whole, rather than with a specific rival version such as Pindar's.

I do not propose to go through the detailed stylistic differences between the two poems to work out which is aesthetically more pleasing;[28] nor shall I likewise suppose that in terms of content the pieces are identical, which they clearly are not.[29]

It will be more useful to use the comparison to highlight the moments when Bacchylides is modifying a *topos*, and then to ask what the consequences of these modifications might be. Bacchylides' treatment is conventional, but this does nothing to stop it being a highly individual piece of work within the set of conventions underwritten by the poetic tradition.[30]

Let us now examine the invocation in the opening of Bacchylides' poem, and its *envoi*. With Pindar the invocation is to his patron. The

[27] Cf. Bowie (1997) 6 for Demosthenes 'having praised wine in traditional sympotic terms'. Cf. also Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 7.715a, discussed below.

[28] As van Groningen does, on the grounds that Pindar's piece is the more metaphorical and therefore superior. Cf. the even more extreme position of Bowra (1963) 236: 'Yet just because Bacchylides relies on his visual sensations and makes the most of them without much regard for indefinite associations behind them, he creates effects which may not have been beyond Pindar's powers but for which he need not have cared very much.'

[29] See van Groningen (1960*b*) 100. He does, however, produce a useful phrase-by-phrase comparison of the two poems.

[30] In a rather different context, see Hinds (1998) 34–47 for the problems associated with a conception of the nature of *topoi* as supposedly inert and fixed, and a sophisticated attempt to get beyond this.

diction used to express the dispatch of the poem to its patron does not set up parallels with the images in the later parts of the text: Ὦ Θρασύβουλ', ἐρατᾶν ὄχημ' ἀοιδᾶν | τοῦτό ⟨τοι⟩ πέμπω introduces a familiar 'chariot of song' metaphor, but the text later deploys a rather different seafaring image in lines 6–8. Both are found frequently elsewhere in Pindar's poetry, especially in the epinicians,[31] but the latter becomes the focus in this poem through the frequently-deployed analogy between sailors and symposiasts, travelling together on an uncertain voyage.[32]

By contrast, Bacchylides' opening looks rather more complex and does set up interesting parallels with later details. Rather than an invocation to the patron, we have an invocation to a musical instrument. Second, rather than simply Pindar's πέμπω, Bacchylides gives us ὁρμαίνω . . . πέμπ[ειν] (line 3). And rather than a chariot of song, we have a golden feather from the Muses: τι . . . χρύ[σ]εον̣ Μουσᾶν . . . πτερόν̣ (3–4). Although the latter is indeed also a conventional metaphor for poetry, it takes on a greater force here because of its connection with later themes. For Bacchylides uses the same words and the same ideas to describe the combined effects of expectations brought on by desire and the gifts of Dionysos, i.e. wine, in line 10: ἀνδράσι δ' ὑψοτάτω πέμπει μερίμνας·[33] There is also a parallel to be drawn between the motivations of sending

[31] Steiner (1986) 66–75; Kurke (1991) 33–4, 46–7, 51–2, on Pind. *Ol.* 12, *Pyth.* 1, and *Nem.* 4.

[32] This is a broader sympotic *topos*: see below, n. 152 for Ath. 2.37b–e on the story of the Akragantine house called 'Trireme'. See too Alkaios' frequent use of seafaring imagery, description, and allegory in sympotic monody (for which e.g. Gentili (1988) ch. 11), and the frequent deployment of seafaring iconography on sympotic vases; Stehle (1997) 227 with n. 59.

[33] For a parallel for drink sending men's thoughts aloft, see Ion of Khios fr. 744.4 *PMG*, οἶνον ἀερσίνοον, quoted in close proximity to the Bacchylidean citation at Ath. 2.35d–e; cf. Maehler (2004) 248 ad loc. 10.

Incidentally, it seems therefore more natural to read in Διονυσίοισι δώροις as the dominant neuter plural subject of πέμπει in line 10, rather than to side with the interpretation of Kurke (1996) and to see Κύπριδός . . . ἐλπὶς alone as the sole subject: the use of ἀμμειγνυμένα in line 9 marks this convergence, at the same time putting a Dionysiac, sympotic, spin on the involvement of the goddess of desire. Kurke's reading goes too far in taking Κύπριδός ἐλπὶς as the subject of the verbs in lines 11 and 12. Surely we move at this point to the imaginings of the man under the influence.

the song and the ponderings of the symposiast himself, set up by the repetition of the verb ὁρμαίνω from line 3 in the conclusion to the psychological flight of fantasy in line 16: ὧς πίνοντος ὁρμαίνει κέαρ (my translation of the ends of line 3 and 16 as 'I am stirred to send' and 'So the heart of the drinking man is stirred' is an attempt to bring this out in English). These parallels are absent from Pindar's text because of the rather more diffuse deployment of metaphor there. Pindar moves from the chariot of song, to the notion of poem as a 'sweet spur', γλυκερὸν κέντρον, to drinking.

We must now consider the position of the *persona loquens* here.[34] Again, a useful comparison can be drawn, this time with the opening of another Bacchylidean enkomion, fragment 20C, for Hieron of Syracuse. Lines 1–7 of the poem are as follows:

> Μήπω λιγυαχέ̣[α κοίμα]
> βάρβιτον· μέλλ[ω πολυφθόγγων τι καινόν]
> ἄνθεμον Μουσᾶ[ν Ἱ]έρων[ί τε καὶ]
> ξ̣α̣νθαῖσιν ἵπποις
> [ἱμ]ερόεν τελέσας
> [κα]ὶ συμπόταις ἄνδρεσσι π[έμπειν
> ⟨—⟩
> [Αἴ]τναν ἐς ἐΰκτιτον

Do not yet put to sleep the clear-sounding *barbitos*: I intend, now that I have completed something new, a lovely blossom of the (melodious) Muses, to (send) it to Hieron, (glorious in) his bay horses, and to his drinking companions in well-built Aitna.

The direct immediacy of the openings of both of these enkomia is striking given the rarity of emotionally heightened first-person statements in Bacchylides' epinicians.[35]

Deployment of the poetic 'I' is a convention of sympotic elegy also. In the Theognidean corpus the speaker establishes *himself* as the paragon of correct, moderate, conduct, both in the symposium and its macroscopic analogue, the *polis*: the task of ordering the

[34] The most advanced discussion of the *persona loquens* in Pindar and Bacchylides is that of D'Alessio (1994*a*). Essential discussion of Bacchylides specifically: Carey (1999).

[35] In general contradistinction to Pindar. See Carey (1999), esp. 18 and 22.

symposium is projected onto the ordering of the *polis*, as guaranteed by the first-person speaker.[36] But Bacchylides' encomiastic usage of the poetic 'I', in his take on sympotic poetics, is very different. Carey, in a discussion of Pindaric performance, discusses these two openings as follows: '[I]n both the poet speaks as though he were himself playing the lyre and singing at the performance. But in both the poet proceeds to speak of *sending* his song to its patron. This is another instance of the fiction . . . according to which the poet describes himself as participating physically in the celebration when he clearly did not.'[37] Once we realize that talk of the *poet himself* here somewhat misses a trick, and that the distinction between poet and singer are blurred and undermined in performance, as D'Alessio has pointed out,[38] what we are left with is a *persona* with a strangely double nature: a poetic 'I' that is both present in performance, but also performatively absent because of the construct of poetic 'sending' established in the opening stanza. I suggest that this doubleness is even more interesting in the case of fr. 20B for Alexander because of the more systematic way in which the poem in its first four stanzas draws the nature of the *poetic persona* into the game that this whole section of the poem is playing with reality and illusion.

The Bacchylidean openings both centre on their references to the *barbitos*. This instrument was the common musical feature of the archaic and classical symposium.[39] These poems are therefore marked as strongly elitist, and meant for sympotic performance,[40] confirmed by the subsequent references to symposia (fr. 20B line 5: καὶ συμποσ̣[ίαι]σιν ἄγαλμ[' ἐν] εἰκάδεσ̣[σιν,]; fr. 20C line 6: [κα]ὶ συμπόταις ἄνδρεσσι). In addition, the *barbitos* has strong eastern as well as East Greek associations. In the single reference to the *barbitos* in Pindar (again in an enkomion, to Hieron), its

36 Levine (1985) 180, with n. 1 and Thgn. 475–9, 543–6, 945–8, and the use of μὲτρον there; Pellizer (1990) 178 for the *symposiarkh.*

37 Carey (1989*a*) 564 n. 49 (original italics); cf. 560.

38 D'Alessio (1994*a*).

39 Snyder (1972) 331; West (1990) 57–9. Cf. Maas and Snyder (1989) 126.

40 See esp. Wilson (2003*a*) 190 ff., esp. 192, for the private and elitist associations of the instrument.

invention is attributed to Terpander of Lesbos.[41] It is closely linked, both in literature and art, with Anakreon and a certain kind of high-living lifestyle, which emulated non-Greek eastern practices.[42]

But Bacchylides' opening addresses the instrument itself, in a way that appears even to figure it as somehow animate and active: *Ὦ βάρβιτε, μηκέτι πάσσαλον φυλά̣σ̣[σων] | ἑπτάτονον λ[ι]γυρὰν κάππαυε γᾶρυν· | δεῦρ' ἐς ἐμὰς χέρας·*[43] This has two effects. The first is, obviously, to draw attention to the instrument and to what it signifies. In a poem which goes on to engage with the relation between Alexander and the East, it is the first of a number of details that point squarely in an eastern direction. Second, the focus on the somehow sentient quality of the instrument might well indicate contact with the divine. This is partly to do with the fact that music is the province of the Muses; and Pindar draws on this with his description of the transcendental and seemingly autarkic quality of the *phorminx* in the famous opening to *Pythian* 1. But the allusive nature of Bacchylides' version gives the impression that the lyre might 'sing' by itself, rather than wait for someone to pluck it as in Pindar's version.[44] Given that this 'voice', *γᾶρυν*, is heard only in the performance of a sympotic poem under the influence of Dionysos suggests involvement of that specific god in inspiring or conjuring up this miracle.[45]

[41] Pind. frr. 124d and 125; Philod. *De mus.* 3.12 (p. 76 Kemke) and Ath. 14.635b.

[42] Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague (1990); Kurtz and Boardman (1986) 62–4, with vase-paintings (produced between *c.*530 and *c.*470), and the evidence of Ath. 4.175e, 4.182f, and 13.600e = Kritias B 1 D–K (the last with an interesting bias as discussed by Wilson (2003*a*)). See also Snyder (1972) 333; Neer (2002) 19–20. West (1990) 58 n. 43 speculates about a connection between *barbitos* and the Middle Persian word for 'short-necked lute', *barbaṭ*.

[43] See Maehler II 327 ad loc.: 'das Instrument wird wie ein lebendes Wesen angesprochen'; Maehler (2004) 245 ad loc. 1–3 and 2.

[44] *ἐλελιζομένα*, Pind. *Pyth.* 1.4.

[45] Dionysos' activity may be confirmed by his making inanimate objects spring to life in e.g. Eur. *Bacch.* 447–8: *αὐτόματα δ' αὐταῖς δεσμὰ διελύθη ποδῶν | κλῇδες τ' ἀνῆκαν θύρετρ' ἄνευ θνητῆς χερός*. *θαῦμα-* cognates provide the key terms there used by Euripides generally to describe the miraculous abilities and transformations of its characters when under the influence of this god: see also 248, 667, 693, 716, 1063; as Seaford (1996) 186 notes ad loc. *Bacch.* 443–8, there may also be something of Dionysos 'The Liberator' here.

That a Dionysiac influence may be felt at this stage is corroborated by other details in the poem. Bacchylides' poem bears comparison with a fragment of the comic poet Hermippos, according to which Dionysos is hymned for having brought all *ἀγάθα* for mortals with him on ship from overseas:

> *ἔσπετε νῦν μοι Μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι,*
> *ἐξ οὗ ναυκληρεῖ Διόνυσος ἐπ' οἴνοπα πόντον,*
> *ὅσσ' ἀγαθ' ἀνθρώποις δεῦρ' ἤγαγε νηὶ μελαίνῃ.*
>
> Tell me now, Muses with your Olympian mansions,
> since the time when Dionysos voyaged over the wine-coloured sea,
> all the blessings he brought here to men in his black ship.
>
> Hermippos fr. 63.1–3 K–A[46]

As stated by Slater, in an important article on seafaring imagery in symposia, '[T]he illusions that come with wine are imported luxuries that come over the sea in the ship of Dionysos.'[47] This is of obvious interest when we consider that Bacchylides' poem itself is an imported luxury. It is sent from outside to be an *ἄγαλμα* (adornment) for symposia, by a speaker who is figured both as external to the celebration, but also as internal to it through the way the poem is voiced in sympotic performance. Dionysos' benefits to man in the poem are described in more general terms as 'gifts' (*δώροις*), in direct parallel with the metaphor traced by Slater; this is opposed to the way Dionysos is brought in more specifically, but less resonantly, in the Pindaric enkomion to Thrasyboulos, with *Διωνύσοιο καρπῶι* ('the fruit of Dionysos'), fr. 124ab.3. This is important and interesting for how we are induced once again to think about the identity of this 'epiphany', because of the immediacy and impact of the poetic 'I' as a speaking presence here. I therefore suggest that the speaker, possibly already intoxicated, is a mouthpiece for, or indeed is, Dionysos himself. Seafaring and song from overseas is a common metaphor for external praise in other non-Dionysiac contexts in

[46] See Gilula (2000) for a short treatment. For discussion of the interesting presence of the Macedonian king Perdikkas, Alexander's son, later in this fragment, see below, n. 158.

[47] Slater (1976) 165.

Pindar and Bacchylides.[48] But Bacchylides as the external poet here implicates his patronage by Alexander in this complex Dionysiac fantasy.

It now becomes important that the onset of drink and feelings of desire that go with it is figured as a 'sweet compulsion' (*γλύκει' ἀνάγκα*), line 6. In encomiastic poetry of the archaic and classical periods, patronage itself is not usually figured as an entirely free activity (the impression that we might get from the opening stanza), but as something contractual and obligatory (referred to in Bundyian terminology as the '*χρέος*-motive'), in spite of how frequent the references to spontaneous, inspired song there are in Pindar especially.[49] The praise must match the deed: the response must be on terms. But what seems to be occurring here is that the unmotivated deployment of song initially hides from view the more formal pattern of obligation which is here redirected through a sympotic prism. This can only make the whole issue and nature of patronage and praise more interesting and more significant in this case.

Again, the complexity of signification in Bacchylides' text makes us read the 'sweet compulsion' in two ways: as in the case of Pindar's *γλυκερόν κέντρον* (fr. 124ab.3–4), it might figure not only the onset of drink and feelings of desire, but also poetry itself. But the complexity of Bacchylides' text makes differentiation between poetic motivations and erotic impulses brought on by drink impossible to establish. For the choice of whether to take the genitive phrase *σευομενᾶν κυλίκων* in line 7 absolutely (as the cups race round), or whether to read it as dependent upon *γλύκει' ἀνάγκα* (hence 'the sweet compulsion from the racing cups') is a choice that affects

[48] The poet as helmsman, and song as cargo being sent, is figured in two other passages in Bacchylides not implicated in this sympotic game of reference: Bacch. 12.1–3: *Ὡσεὶ κυβερνήτας σοφός, ὑμνοάνασ- | σ' εὔθυνε Κλειοῖ | νῦν φρένας ἁμετέρας*; Bacch. 16.1–4: *ἐπεὶ | [ὁλκ]άδ' ἔπεμψεν ἐμοὶ χρυσέαν | [Πιερ]ίαθεν ἐ[ύθ]ρονος [Ο]ὐρανία, | [πολυφ]άτων γέμουσαν ὕμνων* . . .; cf. Pind. *Nem.* 5.1–5; also Sim. fr. 535 *PMG* = Him. *Or.* 47.14, for a possible, and contextually appealing, relation between song and sea-faring in his poem on the sea-battle of Artemision.

[49] See Bundy (1986 [1962]) 10–11; 54–9. For detailed analysis of the extemporizing fiction in Pindar, see especially Carey (1995) and (2000) and Scodel (1996).

the translation in English, but is a choice that Bacchylides' Greek does not have to make: it has it both ways.[50]

This complex *mixing* of impulses works on a larger structural level through the verbal repetitions absent from Pindar fr. 124ab: *ὁρμαίνω τι πέμπ*[*ειν*], line 3 ~ *ἀνδράσι δ' ὑψοτάτω πέμπει μερίμνας*, line 10 ~ *ὦς πίνοντος ὁρμαίνει κέαρ*, line 16.[51] As Leslie Kurke has noted, though she does not develop the point, in this first half of the poem, the poet's fantasy of sending encompasses the fantasy of the drinker.[52] Bacchylides' text systematically blurs any clear distinctions between the bondage of desire through drink, and the motivation to compose poetry, both in their origins and in their effects.[53]

This interesting mixing of themes and impulses continues in the section devoted to the drinker's flight of fancy. Here the content of drinking men's thoughts is made parallel to thoughts about poetry and poetic allusion, in a sympotic game that sucks in members of the audience as they think about the references of the words. For by reading or listening to, and imagining the content of these dreams, we ourselves come performatively under the influence of poetic language and poetic reference. Poetry makes us think about other poetry just as much as drink and desire make us think about possibilities for ourselves which may in actuality be illusory. And the corollary also applies: sympotic drinking makes us think about poetry just as poetry makes us think about representation, fiction, and illusion. The associations are deeply embedded in Greek literature right from the point when Odysseus tells Eumaios in

[50] There is no way to preserve this ambivalence in English, and my choice of 'sweet compulsion as the cups race round', i.e. reading absolutely, at least preserves a suggestive juxtaposition if nothing else.

[51] See above, pp. 39–40.

[52] Kurke (1996) 62.

[53] The oxymoron is also, importantly, used in erotic metaphor: see also Horace's oxymoronic *grata compede* at *C.* 1.33.14, in a poem addressed to the love-elegist Tibullus. Oxymorons based on an opposition between bitterness and sweetness as metaphors for erotic desire go back at least as far as Sappho: cf. 130.2 V for *ἔρως* as a *γλυκύπικρον ἀμάχανον ὄρπετον*; also Thgn. 1353–4. The first instance of a metaphor opposing sweetness to bitterness is that deployed by Akhilleus to describe anger, and to rile against it: *Il.* 18.108–10. See also Carson (1986).

Odyssey 14 that drinking and storytelling are very closely related.[54] How they might be applied to Alexander as subject of the poet's praise is a challenging question of fundamental significance.

The use of the sympotic fantasy here is therefore akin to Bacchylides' deployment of myth in epinician poetry: there the relation between the thoughts, outlooks, and actions of victors on the one hand and of mythical protagonists on the other are often not straightforward, especially in poems for tyrants.[55] The symposium is just as good to think with.[56]

Under the Influence

The *persona loquens* shifts from his focus on pondering what to send to Alexander into an extraordinary quasi-digressive foil begun by the temporal εὖτε of line 6; the whole of the fantasy section takes its point of departure from this subtle and seemingly low-key shift. The flow of the poem performs and maps the inner thought processes not only of its composing poet but also of men present at symposia when affected by the powerful deities there too.

Once within this digression, as readers or audience members, we are immediately transplanted into a different world, a place of imagination and of the imaginary. We are on high, in a dangerous and precarious realm for mortals, a place generally reserved for gods or divine things, but to which men are fleetingly allowed access through poetry,[57] itself a divine and immortal thing.[58] The transient access of mortals to the divine plane through poetry is in fact figured by Bacchylides in line 4, with direct reference to Alexander.

[54] *Od.* 14.463 ff. Given the complexities of the *Odyssey*'s poetics, we cannot separate out or avoid the collocations of poetry and drink, or questions of illusion and representation here either. Cf. also Arkh. fr. 120 W, or indeed much of early Greek elegy, iambus and monody, which incorporates within its own discourse a self-conscious engagement with wine and drinking.

[55] Esp. Bacch. 3 (Hieron ~ Kroisos) and 5 (Hieron ~ Herakles/Meleager).

[56] Cf. Bowie (1997) 1, cited above as the second of my epigraphs.

[57] See esp. Pind. *Ol.* 1.115, εἴη σέ τε τοῦτον ὑψοῦ χρόνον πατεῖν. As is well known, Pindar frequently uses myth to explore limits of mortality; see in particular the treatments of the Bellerophon myth in *Ol.* 13 and esp. *Isth.* 7.

[58] Kurke (1996) 72 n. 29 well compares Thgn. 237–54, Pind. *Pyth.* 8.34 and *Isth.* 1.64–5.

Alexander's name, Ἀλεξάνδρωι, is skilfully, though fleetingly, placed within the divine frame of the language of the Muses' golden feather (χρύ[σ]εον Μοῦσαν . . . πτερὸν), in a line that secures his praise. Alexander, as the site for the exploration of limits and the distinction between human and divine, is attracted within an otherwise exclusively divine grouping.[59]

The very nature of the transcendence implied by the superlative ὑψοτάτω in line 10,[60] rather than an admonitory comparative (hence the translation 'sky-high', as opposed to, say, 'too high') raises the stakes by refusing to confer a moralizing appraisal on the status of thoughts brought on by drink: this just happens to be the kind of thing that people think about when under the influence. Whether it is good or bad to think in this way is a question whose answer is determined only through reception; the text itself does not direct possible responses. Again,[61] the text refuses to adopt the trope, familiar from sympotic elegy, of explicitly criticizing excess in favour of balance and measure, μέτρον.[62] However, by continuing its presentation of the psychological effects of sympotic experience without any moralizing, the text makes us question where exactly to fix the boundaries between sobriety, moderate drinking, and drunkenness as set up in the *Theognidea* and guaranteed by the *persona* there.[63] As a response to Alexander, Bacchylides' enkomion therefore focuses minds on the nature and reality of boundaries ever more.

To exemplify the power of drunken desire,[64] Bacchylides goes on to

[59] The use of height to figure otherness and remoteness of the divine is frequent in Pindar's epinicians, subsumed within general *parainesis* concerning the unbridgeable gulf between men and gods, and a concern for mortal limit. Cf. Bundy (1986 [1962]) 82: 'The flight motive is one of a number of conventional themes used to express the supernatural potency of victory and song'.

[60] Superlatives in fact frame the entire fantasy: ὑψοτάτω is balanced by μέγιστον in line 15, in the final image presented.

[61] Cf. above, pp. 40–1, on the very different presentation of the *persona loquens* in Theognis.

[62] For Theognis (498; 501), extremes of drinking are ὑπὲρ μέτρον.

[63] See esp. Thgn. 837–40: δισσαί τοι πόσιος κῆρες δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν, | δίψά τε λυσιμελὴς καὶ μέθυσις χαλεπή· | τούτων δ' ἂν τὸ μέσον στρωφήσομαι, οὐδέ με πείσεις | οὔτέ τι μὴ πίνειν οὔτε λιήν μεθύειν; cf. 475–9; Levine (1985) 183.

[64] Exemplify: αὐτίκα in line 11 is usually taken as temporal, but it can also be used to introduce a set of examples which serve to illustrate an idea. See LSJ s.v. II; cf. e.g. Ar. *Av.* 166 with Dunbar (1995) 187 ad loc. Thanks to Michael Reeve for the suggestion.

present us with a list with four members. These are: the sacking of cities (line 11); thoughts about monarchy (line 12); halls gleaming with gold and ivory (line 13); and the transport of a cargo of wealth over a shining sea from Egypt (lines 14–16).

Sacking Cities

The first detail we are told that a man thinks about is city-sacking. On a basic level, this is the kind of straightforwardly overweening fantasy that is parodied in the passage in Aristophanes' *Knights* cited earlier. But what is more interesting and more significant is the way that the idea is expressed. We are immediately sent to think of literary figurings of falling cities; this is a grand idea, and it goes with grand poetry. The metaphoric idea of 'undoing the veils of cities' (*πολίων κράδεμνα λύει*) is of course Homeric, and relates in the first instance to the fall of Troy, itself figured in Andromakhe's discarding of her veil in *Iliad* 22.[65]

The essential 'Trojanness' of this reference is fascinating given that Macedonian elite receptions of the association between Troy, Paris, and our own Alexander can be established.[66] Remains of an enkomion for Alexander by Pindar, perhaps roughly contemporary with Bacchylides' own, directly set up the parallel. Pindar fragment 120 preserves the opening of the poem as follows:

> *Ὀλβίων ὁμώνυμε Δαρδανιδᾶν*
> *παῖ θρασύμηδες Ἀμύντα*
>
> Namesake of the blessed offspring of Dardanos,
> Bold-counselling son of Amyntas . . .

I offer here two complementary readings of this association. Primarily, this is a rather bold instance of parainesis, modelled on a

[65] Maehler II 331 and (2004) 249 ad loc., with, in particular, *Il.* 16.100, *Τροιῆς . . . κρήδεμνα λύωμεν*; *Od.* 14.388, *Τροιῆς λύομεν . . . κρήδεμνα*; *Il.* 22.460–72; cf. *HHDem.* 151. For more on the metaphor see Nagler (1974) 44–60; Friedrich (1977) 295–6; for women's veiling in ancient Greece more generally, see Cairns (2002).

[66] The significance of the association has generally been overlooked, however. Most recently, Erskine (2001) fails to offer any discussion of Alexander's links with Troy constructed by Pindar and Bacchylides.

Trojan, and specifically Iliadic paradigm. For thinking about the *good fortune* of the Trojans makes us think about Trojan circumstances before the war and the arrival of the Akhaians: the key passage that serves to illustrate this point is *Iliad* 24.543–51, where Akhilleus, after mentioning the previous good fortune of his own father Peleus, turns to the consolation of Priam at the loss of his former prosperity. The key line is 543:

> *καὶ σέ, γέρον, τὸ πρὶν μὲν ἀκούομεν ὄλβιον εἶναι.*
> And you too, old man: we hear how once you were prosperous.[67]

The emphasis here on the *good fortune* of the Trojans, only remembered in the *Iliad* retrospectively through its absence, in a passage which itself is strongly marked, as are the Pindaric lines, by a focus on the relation between a father and a son, demarcates in the strongest possible terms the very things that are at risk in war, which for Alexander at least is likely to be in the offing in his future career as king of Macedon. This warning about the stakes involved in warfare works together with, and very much in counterpoint to, the second set of associations which the Pindaric lines trigger.

The second way of reading this fragment is based upon thoughts concerning localized Macedonian politics and militarism. For we know that one of the tribes of the central Balkans was called Dardani, or Dardanii, and it seems significant that in some (admittedly late) sources this tribe is linked with the name of the royal house of Troy; indeed, the very name of the tribe prompts our thinking thus.[68] We also know that Illyrian tribes were traditional enemies of Macedonia. Since our sources generally relate to the fourth century at the earliest,[69] we have therefore to be wary of retrofitting later historical

[67] Macleod (1982) 135 ad loc. 546 also compares *Il.* 18.288–92.

[68] Papazoglu (1978) 133; Diod. Sic. 5.48.3: *τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κτίσαι Δάρδανον πόλιν καὶ τὸ βασίλειον τὸ περὶ τὴν ὕστερον κληθεῖσαν Τροίαν συστήσασθαι καὶ τοὺς λαοὺς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Δαρδάνους ὀνομάσαι. ἐπάρξαι δ' αὐτόν φασι καὶ πολλῶν ἐθνῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ Θρᾴκης Δαρδάνους κατοικίσαι.*

[69] See Wilkes (1992) 117 for Illyrian attacks on Macedon and the 4th-cent. responses by Philip and by the early campaigns of Alexander the Great into Illyrian territory. Also Livy 40.57.6 for *Dardani, gens semper infestissima Macedoniae*; Papazoglu (1978) 135: 'The political history of the Dardanians is in fact nothing but the history of Dardano-Macedonian conflicts.'

conditions back into the late archaic situation. But it would seem natural to read the Pindaric piece as an earlier part of the same general struggle between neighbouring powers within a relatively small area.[70] What we seem to be presented with is a set of competing ethnic claims to authority based on the significance of the connection with Troy, part of an ongoing contestation of claims for the authority that goes with the Trojan name and Trojan lineage. I suggest that by having Pindar call him 'namesake of the blessed offspring of Dardanos', Alexander I is appropriating the ethnic link of another people to a mythical origin as a statement of imperial control or at least aspiration, and may even be celebrating a recent triumph over his Illyrian neighbours.[71]

It seems rather odd that this fragment has generally been ignored by scholars working on the ethnicity of the Macedonians. Sourvinou-Inwood claims that the Macedonians were Greeks because they wanted to present themselves as Greeks—especially through their Temenid ancestry, with which they are likely to have usurped rival territorial claims in the area—[72] and because they were perceived as such by others.[73] But her argument is made redundant by the existence of a fragment that at least goes some way to suggest that Alexander's territorial claims were projected on the basis of the non-Greek associations of his own name. And this in a poem to celebrate the fact composed by the most well-known Greek poet of

[70] Papazoglu (1978) 133 is able to say: '[T]hree powerful peoples of antiquity, the Epirots, the Macedonians and the Romans, considered the legendary Dardanus, the founder of the Trojan line, to be their distant ancestor, and it seemed to them humiliating to link their ancestry with a Balkan tribe known for its primitiveness and barbarous customs.' But it seems likely that, first, the 'primitiveness and barbarous customs' of the tribe were themselves an authorizing fiction of subjugation by powerful neighbours, and, second, that genealogical connections continued to be the battleground on which territorial claims and counterclaims were played out, in differing ways according to shifting ethnic and cultural attitudes. For more on the latter with regard to the Macedonians, see Hall (2001).

[71] Cf. Raymond (1953) 89 for Alexander's possible adoption of coinage motifs from the issues of tribes subjugated by him.

[72] See again Hdt. 8.137–8, and following Herodotos, Thuc. 2.99 (Temenidai becoming kings after driving out Pierians and Bottiaians).

[73] Sourvinou-Inwood (2002). This is to ignore the Greeks' opposition to Alexander at Olympia at Hdt. 5.22.2: *Ἀλεξάνδρου γὰρ ἀεθλεύειν ἑλομένου καὶ καταβάντος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο οἱ ἀντιθευσόμενοι Ἑλλήνων ἔξεργόν μιν, φάμενοι οὐ βαρβάρων ἀγωνιστέων εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀλλὰ Ἑλλήνων.*

the day! Alexander used rhetorical manipulation to be all things to all people, and assertions of his Greekness are only part of this overall picture. Whatever we think about this Pindaric fragment, it seems fairly clear that Alexander is not particularly concerned about Greek receptions of this association, which have the potential to make a radically different appraisal of the connection.[74] Though he enjoys Greek trappings of power, this does not define him as a Greek, and in fact to ask whether Alexander or the Macedonians were in reality Greeks is a redundant question.[75]

Bacchylides' text, however, makes us think about the dangerous potential of both poetic allusion and self-indulgent sympotic fantasizing through subtle exploration of the deeper possibilities of this Trojan connection. The sacking of cities is set within the sympotic fantasy, and this suggests that it is precisely the kind of thing that is rather dangerous to think about. This sort of action might seem all very well for the Macedonian Alexander at least, given his likely campaigns against rival territorial claims to the north and east. But a further question remains, Whose cities? We are given no indication concerning the cities in question and one possible implication is that one might be imagining the sack of one's own city.[76] The Homeric allusion may invite audiences to consider the analogies between Alexander son of Priam and Alexander son of Amyntas as destroyers of *their own cities*. The *Iliad*, of course, points to Trojan guilt at a number of significant points. Moreover, given the historical situation of the first two decades of the fifth century, and

[74] One might suppose, however, that the Alexandrian editors of Pindar would have been rather more favourably disposed towards the piece than readers or audiences prior to the Hellenistic period. The main reason why the fragment survives at all is that Dio of Prusa, in one of his works *On Kingship*, claims that Alexander the Great was fond of Pindar because of the eulogy of his own royal namesake and forebear, and therefore chose to save his house during the sack of Thebes in 335 BCE: Dio Prus. 2.32–3. Though this story is a transparent fiction (see Slater (1971) 147), its very existence adds additional weight to later interest in the relation between the Hellenistic king and encomiastic poetry of a traditional nature. See below for the possibility of allusions to Bacchylides' enkomion in Theokritos' *Enkomion of Ptolemy Philadelphos* (Theok. 17).

[75] See Hall (2001), esp. 172. More on this below, in § III.

[76] The underdetermined and unspecific imagining reminds one strongly of Herodotos and the destruction of Kroisos' empire by Kyros, alluded to in typically oracular style at Hdt. 1.53. Over-confidence is something else to be warned against.

the responses of Greek literature dating to the Persian Wars period, the analogy between Trojans and Persians in Greek minds might somewhat undercut the overall purpose of Bacchylides' poem as praise.[77] There is of course an additional and strong tradition associating the sacking of a city with excess, *asebeia*, *hybris*, and subsequent destruction.[78] Therefore, Bacchylides' poem addresses the notion of the sacking of cities in a manner which is thought-provoking, ambivalent, and potentially paraenetic for the young Alexander, rather than being straightforwardly celebratory.

What is of additional significance is that excesses of this kind are all governed by overweening desire and self-indulgent pleasure; they are also associated with Macedonian rulers: in the fourth century Aiskhines and Theopompos use essentially the same discursive tradition in order to react *against* the later Macedonian king Philip.[79] For Theopompos, it is the banquet which is the key area in which the dangerously over-lavish and over-indulgent practices display themselves. In fact, for a number of later hostile writers on Macedon, dangerously over-indulgent quasi-sympotic behaviour by the king and his court become a *topos* of criticism.[80]

[77] For the strongly negative parallelism between Trojans and Persians with a focus on Paris, see Simonides' *Plataea Elegy* of more than a decade later: Sim. fr. 11.11–12 W (with West's supplements *exempli gratia*), [*εἵνεκ' Ἀλεξά*]*ν̣δ̣ρ̣οιο κακόφρ*[*ονο*]*ς*, *ὡς τ̣ὸ̣ν̣* [*ἀλιτρόν*] | [*ἀλλὰ χρόνω*]*ι̣ θείης ἅρμα καθεῖλε δ̣ί̣κ̣*[*ης*]. See also the subtle reference Pindar's treasury of song at *Pyth.* 6.12 as impervious to a pitiless army of storm clouds from abroad, in an ode dating to 490 BCE; see also below, Ch. 5, p. 280 n. 66.

[78] The double-edged nature of the violation of a city is spelled out in the case of Troy by Klytemnestra in Aiskh. *Ag.* 338–42: *εἰ δ' εὐσεβοῦσι τοὺς πολισσούχους θεούς* | *τοὺς τῆς ἁλούσης γῆς θεῶν θ' ἱδρύματα,* | *οὔ τἂν ἑλόντες αὖθις ἀνθαλοῖεν ἄν.* | *ἔρως δὲ μή τις πρότερον ἐμπιπτηι στρατῶι* | *πορθεῖν τὰ μὴ χρὴ* . . .; cf. *Pers.* 809 ff. (Dareios on Persian violations and subsequent doom).

[79] Esp. Theopompos *FGrH* 115 F 224, cf. F 225 ap. Ath. 6.260d–61a, with Davidson (1997) 301–4, on the barbarity of the drinking practices of the Macedonians of the court of Philip II, and consequent similarity to centaurs.

[80] Of course, this does not tell us exactly what such occasions were actually like: Borza (1995) seems to be mistaken in his attempt to use archaeological evidence to provide firm grounds against which to test the precise historical veracity of the claims made about Macedonian drinking practices in the 4th cent.; Flower (1994) 107 is wrong to make uncritical use of Borza's work here. The point is that we are firmly within the terms of a discursive opposition between supposedly moderate, civilized, and united Greeks, and a supposedly external and barbarian threat. What is however, beyond contention, is that it is precisely the centrality to the political and diplomatic life of the Macedonian court of feasting and its associated activities that

Within the framework of Bacchylides' sympotic imagination-game, these negative corollaries are all brought on by uncontrolled desire, the twin motivation, along with drink, for the flight of fancy.[81] And how far all this is therefore to be linked to Alexander is a question that will stay with us throughout.

The relation between power and the destruction of cities here cannot, however, be divorced from more specific generic issues, and broader cultural ones. Small-scale sympotic poetry can secure its own continued existence by rejecting epic themes as unsuitable to its own more relaxed atmosphere. An elegy by Anakreon already points in this direction:

> *οὐ φιλέω ὃς κρητῆρι παρὰ πλέῳ οἰνοποτάζων*
> *νείκεα καὶ πόλεμον δακρυόεντα λέγει,*
> *ἀλλ' ὅστις Μουσέων τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ δῶρ' Ἀφροδίτης*
> *συμμίσγων ἐρατῆς μνήσκεται εὐφροσύνης.*

> I do not like the man who while drinking his wine beside a full
> mixing-bowl talks of strife and tearful war:
> I like the man who, by mingling together the Muses and
> Aphrodite's gifts, remembers the loveliness of the feast.
>
> Anakreon, *Eleg.* 2.[82]

It seems likely that Bacchylides' Homeric reference is a way of affirming the existence of this convention whilst, at the same time, making the point that within the confines of praise of Alexander, one risks getting above one's generic station. The poem's generic unity qua sympotic enkomion is in the end secure, but the inclusion of Homeric echoes, on a par with the divine and disorderly drink, retain the implication that things *could* get out of control. Moreover,

made it the focus of attack. It is interesting that connections between Macedon, the East, and Dionysos are present throughout the sources, from Bacchylides onwards, right through to the time of Alexander the Great. In the time of Alexander the Great, and perhaps even in the later 5th cent., Dionysos was himself even included in the Argead lineage: see Bosworth (1996) 125–6 and n. 128, with Eur. *Cycl.* 38–40 and Satyros, *FGrH* 631 F 1; *POxy* 2465 col. ii. 2–11 (an ingenious route to Herakles via Deianeira as daughter of Dionysos).

[81] That desire has a crucial role to play here is also made clear in lines 340–2 of the *Agamemnon* as cited in n. 78 above.

[82] Also compare Xenophanes' sympotic antipathy towards the poetry of warfare, with Ford (2002) ch. 2.

the juxtaposition of 'sky-high' thinking and a Homeric echo in a relatively small-scale sympotic piece, is suggestive. Although the connection between Homeric epic and sublimity is a much later construct in a radically different context,[83] perhaps we may see here an embryonic, contextually underwritten, musing on generic distinctions and the suitability of certain types of poetry to differing performance occasions. Loftiness is the natural companion of praise, as figured in a number of ways in epinician poetry.[84] But here the superlative followed immediately by the Homeric echo perhaps suggest something altogether more extravagant and potentially unsettling for enkomion.

Conflict and strife were things generally warned against as unsuitable to the utopian ideal of the symposium, as a model for the ideal *polis*, as a place defined by *kharis* and *euphrosynē*.[85] Symposia are not hermetically sealed institutions: the boundaries between inside and outside are always open; sympotic discourse is an important part of broader sociopolitical discourse.[86] This is so even when we draw a distinction between the symposium of the *hetaireia* (as reflected in the Theognidea especially), and that of tyrants and royalty, as reflected in the enkomia for Hieron and Alexander by Pindar and Bacchylides.[87] We can make further headway by contextualizing such assertions of sympotic tranquillity within a poetic tradition rejecting external threats to the male collective.[88] Theognis 757–64 and 773–88 both pray for ongoing sympotic tranquillity and security in the face of the increasing hostility of the invading Medes. See in particular 763–4, πίνωμεν χαρίεντα μετ' ἀλλήλοισι λέγοντες, | μηδὲν τὸν Μήδων

[83] See Too (1998) ch. 6 for essential unpacking of the scholarly and cultural contexts of sublimity in Longinus.

[84] See esp. Bacch. 5.16 ff. for the extended comparison of an eagle in flight, figuring the loftiness as well as breadth of encomiastic poetry for Hieron (note ὑψοῦ πτερύγεσσι ταχεί- | αις, lines 18–19). Cf. also Pind. *Pae.* 7b.13–14, discussed earlier, p. 10. I suggested there that Pindar's use of the loftiness of song in *Paean* 7b was part of a broader engagement with, and refiguring of, a 'Homeric' text; especially so given that κλέος in Homer is figured as reaching up to the heavens: esp. *Od.* 9.20; 19.108.

[85] Levine (1985) 190–4; also a commonplace at least as early as the *Odyssey*: Slater (1990), esp. 215.

[86] See esp. Levine (1985) on Theognis; e.g. Pellizer (1990), esp. 177–8.

[87] Rossi (1983) 42.

[88] e.g. Stehle (1997) ch. 5; Rösler (1980) for Alkaios.

δειδιοτες πόλεμον, 'let us drink as we have gracious conversation with one another, fearing not the war of the Medes', and 773–6, where Apollo is called upon, as the god who has founded the citadel of the *polis*, to defend it against destruction by the hybristic army of the Medes.[89] Here the Medes are the potential city-sackers.[90] These parallels show that talk about the Medes is a suitable topic for sympotic poetry. That eastern power, and Medism too, are at issue in Bacchylides' poem for Alexander becomes more clear when we come to the next element in the fantasy.

First Among Equals?

The next thought that the drinker conjures up in his mind is the thought that he will be a monarch: line 12, the end of the third stanza, reads *πᾶσι δ' ἀνθρώποις μοναρχήσειν δοκεῖ*, 'and he fancies he will be monarch over all men'.

It is possible that references to monarchy were another sympotic *topos*. But this does not of course mean that we must not treat individual cases seriously. It has been suggested that the reference in Alkaios to *monarkhia*[91] 'could also be a hallucination and not a political reference'.[92] Yet the idea of monarchy is used in very strongly political contexts in the elegy of Solon and Theognis.[93] In both these cases monarchy almost defines the breakdown of civil structures and codes of conduct; these passages serve as Greek (democratic and oligarchic) counterpoint to the Macedonian regal situation. I suggest that the reference in Bacchylides is also strongly political.

In Bacchylides' poem we are now drawn to consider more directly the identification of the unspecified drinker with Alexander. It seems likely that this poem (as well as Pindar's) was commissioned

[89] *Φοῖβε ἄναξ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπύργωσας πόλιν ἄκρην, | . . . αὐτὸς δὲ στρατὸν ὑβριστὴν Μήδων ἀπέρυκε | τῆσδε πόλευς, ἵνα σοι λαοὶ ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ κτλ.*

[90] Cf. Aiskh. *Pers.* 809 ff.

[91] Alkaios 6.27 V: *μοναρχίαν δ̣[* .

[92] Slater (1976) 170.

[93] Solon 9 W, esp. 3–4, *ἀνδρῶν δ' ἐκ μεγάλων πόλις ὄλλυται, ἐς δὲ μονάρχου | δῆμος ἀϊδρίηι δουλοσυνήν ἔπεσεν*; Thgn. 39–52, esp. 51–2, *ἐκ τῶν γὰρ στάσιές τε καὶ ἔμφυλοι φνοι ἀνδρῶν | μούναρχοί τε· πόλει μήποτε τῆιδε ἅδοι.*

by the father Amyntas to celebrate the young Alexander before he succeeded to the throne after his father's death;[94] the reference to future monarchy, together with the mentions, both here and in Pindar's enkomion for Alexander, of father and son together, point in this direction.[95] Indeed, Snell's plausible supplement ὑ̣[ψαυχέος ('high-vaunting') in line 17, ὦ π[α]ῖ̣ μεγαλ[όσθενες] ὑ̣[ψαυχέος Ἀμύντα], might suggest paternal patronage; Schadewalt's alternative ἐ]υ[ξείνοι' would also imply that Amyntas was still alive and on the throne.

Audiences, including Alexander himself, would thus be invited to think hard about the implications of monarchy at a symposium. Being in a high position in the symposium does not necessarily equate to being so in the real world, although the terms and titles are

[94] Badian (1994) 112 suggests that the date of succession can only be placed for certain within the confines of two boundaries: first, *c.*506/5, when Amyntas was on the throne and offered help to Hippias after his expulsion from Athens (Hdt. 5.94.1), and second, 480, when Alexander was king on the arrival of Xerxes. Neither Amyntas nor Alexander is mentioned by name at Hdt. 6.44–5 when Mardonios stays in Macedonian territory in 492. Bacchylides' enkomion is likely to be one of Bacchylides' earliest commissions, given that his latest dateable poem, Bacch. 6, dates to 452. The span of Pindar's epinician career is 498–446. Cf. Maehler II 322 and Hutchinson (2001) 320 with n. 1, though both are wrong to rely on Hammond and Griffith (1979) 59–60 for a more precise date of succession *c.*496/5. If the Macedonian coinage issued with Alexander's monogram on one side can be dated prior to 490 (see Raymond (1953) 59), then a succession date of sometime within the first decade of the fifth century would be probable, though matters are far from clear and prone to circularity. For discussion of the possible chronology for Alexander's coinage, see Raymond (1953), chs. 3 and 5; cf. Young (2003). Further, if, as suggested by Young, Mardonios' presence in Macedon in 492 was partly to test and renew Macedonian allegiance to Persia subsequent to Alexander's succession, then we can date the poem more precisely in the earlier part of this general period; Badian subsequently (116) assumes that Alexander was on the throne when Mardonios arrived.

[95] Comparative Bacchylidean evidence for young victors celebrated by fathers is as follows: Bacch. 2.14 (*Πανθείδα φίλον υἱόν*); Bacch. 6.12–13 (*Ἀριστομένειον ὦ ποδάνεμον τέκος*); Bacch. 7.10–11 (*Ἀρι̣[στομ]έν̣[ε]ι̣ον* | *[παῖδ]' . . . Λάχω]να*); Bacch. 11.14 (*παῖδα θαητ[ὸ]ν Φαίσκου*); Bacch. 13.68 (*Λάμωνος υἱέ*), cf. 13.224 ff.; the Automedes of Bacch. 9, son of Timoxenos (line 102), may well be young given the alluring manner of description in lines 26 ff. (see Fearn (2003) 362 ff.). These parallels contrast markedly with the presentation of Hieron, ruler of Syracuse, in Bacch. fr. 20C and Bacch. 3, 4, and 5 (esp. 5.1–2, *εὔμοιρε̣ [Σ]υρακ[οσίω]ν* | *ἱπποδινήτων στρατα[γ]έ*). See also Maehler II 322 and n. 2, and 333 ad loc. 17; Maehler (2004) 245 with 250 ad loc. 17.

interestingly analogous.[96] Interesting parallels for thinking big when drinking can be found in later sympotic literature. See, for instance, Nikostratos' take on this at Plutarch, *Table Talk* 7.715a:

οὔτε γὰρ ἐλλόγιμος οὔτε πλούσιος οὕτως οἴεται, καίπερ οἰόμενος, εἶναι τῶν πινόντων ἕκαστος ὡς φρόνιμος· διὸ καὶ πολύφωνος ὁ οἶνος ἐστι καὶ λαλιᾶς ἀκαίρου καὶ φρονήματος ἡγεμονικοῦ καταπίμπλησιν, ὡς οὐκ ἀκουείν ἀλλ' ἀκούεσθαι μᾶλλον ἡμῖν καὶ ἄγειν οὐχ ἕπεσθαι προσῆκον.

Every drinking man supposes himself to be not so much important or handsome or rich—though he does suppose all that—as prudent. This is why wine has many voices, filling everyone with pointless chatter and aspirations of leadership: we prefer rather to be listened to than to listen, to lead rather than to follow.[97]

This final idea of wine filling the drinker with ideas of leadership beyond his normal station is also found in Plato, with a possible play on the intra- and extra-sympotic senses of *ἄρχων*:

θορυβώδης μέν που ὁ ξύλλογος ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐξ ἀνάγκης προιούσης τῆς πόσεως ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἀεὶ ξυμβαίνει γιγνόμενος, ὅπερ ὑπερθέμεθα κατ' ἀρχὰς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι γίγνεσθαι περὶ τῶν νῦν συγγιγνομένων. . . . πᾶς δέ γε αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ κουφότερος αἴρεται καὶ γέγηθέ τε καὶ παρρησίας ἐμπίμπλαται καὶ ἀνηκουστίας ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ τῶν πέλας, ἄρχων δ' ἱκανὸς ἀξιοῖ ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων γεγονέναι.

Such a gathering inevitably tends, as the drinking proceeds, always to grow more and more uproarious; and in the case of the present day gatherings that is, as we said at the outset, an inevitable result. . . . Everyone is lifted up above his normal self: merry and bubbling over with loquacious audacity, while turning a deaf ear to his neighbours; regarding himself as competent to be ruler over both himself and everyone else.[98]

[96] See Pellizer (1990) 178 with n. 7, for the titles *basileus*, *prytanis*, *arkhon*, *symposiarkhos*, and *potarkhon*.

[97] Quoted in part in the first epigraph to this chapter.

[98] Pl. *Leg.* 2.671a–b (in the context of a discussion of the inherent dangers of disorder perhaps following participation in a Dionysiac *khoros*): usefully referred to by Teodorsson (1996) 136, commenting on the Plutarch passage. For Plato on the effects of continued drinking in the symposium in very similar terms, with the addition of hopes, see *Leg.* 1.649a–b: *πιόντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον αὐτὸν αὑτοῦ ποιεῖ πρῶτον ἵλεων εὐθὺς μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον, καὶ ὁπόσῳ ἂν πλέον αὐτοῦ γεύηται, τοσούτῳ πλειόνων ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν πληροῦσθαι καὶ δυνάμεως εἰς δόξαν;*

That Bacchylides is modifying a sub-category of the traditional fantasy-*topos* will not be surprising. But the use within a sympotic frame of the idea of monarchy, in a poem written to celebrate a future monarch is quite exceptional. One not particularly challenging way of reading this is that not everyone can be a monarch, and that the only real—as opposed to fantasy—king will be Alexander. But with Alexander as subject, the boundary between fantasy and reality will be broken. This makes us think that Alexander's rule might itself be in some way both real *and* illusory. On this reading Bacchylides is using his poem not only to examine, but also to form part of, a developing Macedonian regal ideology.

There is a shift in the text marked at this point by the change from plural to singular: as soon as the drinkers of line 10 start thinking, they become singular, alone.[99] In a brief discussion of the poem, Eva Stehle has suggested that the rhetoric of the text resolves any differentiation between individual and group here, by allowing anyone to imagine what it is like to be in Alexander's position, whilst securing Alexander's praise through the gift of immortal song; the poem 'gives a picture of the effects of wine and illustrates the reintegration into the group of the one who had been singled out'.[100] However, we have to ask whether Stehle is right to talk of reintegration here. She is right to point out that any man will be able to feel himself to be the equal of Alexander, but that this is a temporary illusion. And the text does indeed switch back to generalizing plurals in lines 19 and 24 with ἀνθρῴ[ποισι and ἀνθρώπων respectively, but not until we have had the vocative address to Alexander himself, by himself, in line 17, at the very centre of the poem: ὦ π[α]ῖ μεγαλ-[όσθενες] ὑ[ψαυχέος Ἀμύντα], 'Oh (mighty) son of (high-vaunting Amyntas)'. We are left to wonder how much this text is actually interested in those other symposiasts.

Two issues are worth further discussion here. First, the resonances and associations of being alone in the symposium: what is at issue in the shift from plural to singular verbs in the sympotic fantasy, which must map the uniqueness of Alexander's position? What is it to be singled out within a symposium, to become essentially a

[99] λύει and δοκεῖ, lines 11 and 12; πίνοντος, line 16.
[100] Stehle (1997) 219, 220–1.

'monoposiast'? That this might refer to the situation of Alexander is strengthened by further recourse to line 4, where Alexander's name precariously sits surrounded by rather more divine symbols and names.[101] That this mon-arch is indeed to be Alexander is perhaps also suggested by metrical correspondence between lines 4 and 12: *Ἀλεξάνδρωι* takes up the same metrical shape and space as *μοναρχήσειν* in line 12.

Second, what are the implications of imagining oneself to be not only a monarch, but a monarch over all men, as the text has it? It is clear from a range of Greek evidence that single dining was by definition at odds with the regulated practices of sympotic group-drinking. For instance, evidence for ritual practice during Khoes, the second day of the Ionian Anthesteria festival, when citizens were seated separately, and had to drink large quantities of unmixed wine without speaking to one another, is strongly indicative of a ritualized and temporary breakdown of the correct social order and regulated drinking of the symposium.[102] From a Greek perspective, there is a deep-seated contradiction in being a 'monoposiast'.[103]

The singling out of Alexander also invites consideration of his status as a man, of his ethnicity, and of his political positioning. For thinking about oneself as a monarch over all men is appropriate to a rather different kind of ruler than to Alexander the future king of Macedon. It is 'the great king, king of kings, king of countries containing all kinds of men, king on this earth far and wide', the Persian king, to whose power Bacchylides' text ultimately directs us.[104]

[101] See above, pp. 46–7.

[102] Burkert (1983) 218–20; Bowie (1993) 36–7; Khous as non-sympotic drinking vessel: Parker (1983) 99 with n. 101; Hamilton (1992) 114–15; Davidson (1997) 50 with 323 n. 21. Simon (1983) 95 is wrong to suggest that the wine was pre-mixed.

[103] See e.g. Bowie (1997) 7. Even if, on the name vase of the Phineus Painter (Khalkidian cup, Würzburg L 164), we read the presence of the Horai and the pursuit of the Harpies by Kalais and Zetes as a restoration of social order (Steinhard and Slater (1997)), Phineus as a 'monopotic' presence there is still at odds with normative Greek drinking conventions.

[104] See Kuhrt (1995) 676 and Briant (1996) 222–7 for the presentation of Dareios I on the inscription on his tomb at Naqsh-i Rustam; also Badian (1994) 110. See further Kuhrt (1995) 669–70 and Briant (1996) 184–5 for Dareios' 'foundation charter' for Susa, a text which revels in the multinational enterprise of the royal Persian building programme, and for the way in which the fabric of the new royal sites at Susa and Persepolis celebrate the cultural diversity and vast expanse of the Persian empire.

This goes hand in hand with the discussion of the conceptual dissonance of the 'monoposiast', as outlined above, since the iconography of the solo-banqueter is itself taken over from Near Eastern art. It made its first significant appearance there on the banquet relief of the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal dating from the mid-seventh century BCE. The practice of reclining at a feast was taken over by Greece and modified from eastern practice, where the focus on the single king was expressive of supreme wealth and power over all others. This is starkly at odds with the egalitarian ideal expressed in Greek sympotic texts:

> La valeur générale du motif du banquet oriental . . . appartient à l'imagerie royale et fait éclater la puissance et l'opulence du banqueteur dans une activité significative. Le changement que subit le motif en entrant dans le monde grec est frappant. Une composition continue en frise juxtaposant un certain nombre de lits et de convives prend la place d'une composition centrée sur un seul banqueteur. Le *symposion* grec semble étendre le privilege royal oriental à un groupe social beaucoup plus large.[105]

However, the Greek links with the East are not entirely broken. Images of gods such as Dionysos, and heroes such as Akhilleus and Herakles, who recline alone, have strong iconographic points of contact with the Near Eastern presentation of royalty; 'Il est significatif que le motif du banquet retrouve son caractère original dans le monde grec lorsque le banqueteur est un personage de rang royal ou

At the same time, it is interesting to note the somewhat paradoxical nature of line 12 of the enkomion. Bacchylides chooses to refer here neither to *τυραννίς*, not to *βασιλεία*, the customary companion for the idea of extreme Persian power. As Pelling (2002) 148 with n. 82 points out on Dareios' speech in the constitution debate at Hdt. 3.82, the use there of the more neutral *μουναρχίη* provides a term in theory at least extendable to Greece, allowing a reader 'to ponder the similarities and differences between the Persian and Greek experiences without having them blurred by an over-simple semantic distinction'. I suggest that Bacchylides, like Herodotos later, is interested very much in the suggestiveness for Greek audiences of rather alien forms of power which might actually come to seem quite relevant to their own situations; and for Bacchylides this might capture also something of the ambivalent position of Alexander himself.

[105] Dentzer (1982) 153. The situation of the Persian 'King's Dinner' recorded by Ath. 4.145a–b (citing Herakleides of Cumae) points to the gap between the king and all other diners: even those who dine close to him indoors are separated off by a one-way curtain, through which the king can see his subjects, but the subjects cannot see the king. See also Briant (1996) 213–16.

princier. Cette situation se trouve, dans le domaine grec, rejetée dans un passé légendaire ou mythique. La dignité et la puissance de ces héros ou de ces dieux ne peut s'exprimer qu'à travers l'imagerie royale.'[106]

Dentzer's observations on heroic myth also prove significant for Alexander; we have already seen how Pindar chose to eulogize him by association with a mythical (Trojan) background. The information of Herodotos and Thucydides about the ethnic self-definition of early Macedonian royalty through links with the mythical Argive Temenidai reinforces this point.[107] It also seems that Bacchylides in this poem made a closing reference to Alexander's links with the heroic past: see the reference to demigods, ἡ]μ̣ίθεοι, in line 31.[108]

Alexander's succession and his heroic lineage, when taken together in this sympotic context, make audiences think hard about what he is and what he signifies. The question thus raised is: where are we to situate Alexander on an axis stretching from some broadly isonomic sympotic standpoint associated with Greek practice, through thinking with heroes and demigods, to thinking about Persia and monolithic power? The more Alexander is separated from his fellow symposiasts, the more he becomes assimilated into a heroic, and ultimately Persian identity. This is a problem in a period when ethnic definitions of individual Greeks were themselves still in a state of constant flux and renegotiation. Of course, all this fits in perfectly with the focus on drinking, since as we know, the more one lets one's mind get out of control at a symposium, the more one becomes assimilated to a barbarian; for Herodotos, the Persians are the archetypes here, the type of men who make their best decisions when they are drunk! Athenaios cites this passage of Herodotos in a more general discussion of the Persians and their luxurious dining habits; but in the same general discussion, Xenophon is quoted for the dining practices of Hieron of Syracuse, another of Bacchylides' most wealthy patrons, and others are referred to for the lavish expenditure

[106] Dentzer (1982) 153.

[107] Above, pp. 33 and 50, with Hdt. 8.137–9 and Thuc. 2.99; see too Hdt. 5.22, discussed in full in Fearn (forthcoming).

[108] Discussed below, p. 73.

on dining made by Alexander the Great, the namesake and preeminent descendent of Bacchylides' current patron. Athenaios' collocation of texts here forces home the point that when it comes to luxurious dining, wealthy tyrants and kings end up looking no different from eastern barbarians.[109]

This is all implicit *parainesis* for Alexander himself. Part of the point of Bacchylides' enkomion is to examine the nature and prospects of the subject of the poet's praise. Bacchylides asks where we might locate Alexander both as a man and as a political force.

Gleaming Halls

The penultimate focus of the fantasy is on halls gleaming with gold and ivory, *χρυσῶι δ' ἐλέφαντί τε μαρμαίρουσιν οἶκοι*, line 13. We conjure up in our minds images of fantastic, mythical, divine, and eastern luxury. We may also hear allusions to two poems by Alkaios, 350 V and 140 V.

But first, ivory. Recall Penelope's statement about the ivory gates of illusory dreams at *Odyssey* 19.562–5:

> *δοιαὶ γάρ τε πύλαι ἀμενηνῶν εἰσὶν ὀνείρων·*
> *αἱ μὲν γὰρ κεράεσσι τετεύχαται, αἱ δ' ἐλέφαντι·*
> *τῶν οἳ μέν κ' ἔλθωσι διὰ πριστοῦ ἐλέφαντος,*
> *οἵ ῥ' ἐλεφαίρονται, ἔπε' ἀκράαντα φέροντες·*

> There are two gates through which the insubstantial dreams issue.
> One pair of gates is made of horn, and one of ivory.
> Those of the dreams which issue through the gate of sawn ivory,
> these are deceptive dreams, their message is never accomplished.

I suggest that Bacchylides may be drawing on the etymological association in Greek between ivory and deception established in this passage to bring home his point that the gleam of *μαρμαίρουσιν* is a deceptive, illusory, and imaginary one.

[109] Hdt. 1.133; Xen. *Hier.* 1.17; Ath. 4.143f in a discussion culminating in Alexander's expenditure at 4.146d. See Schmitt Pantel (1992) 429–35; 458–9, esp. 458: 'Alexandre [sc. le Grand] n'est encore qu'un apprenti dans l'art de la munificence orientale'.

Beyond this, Bacchylides' line also reminds listeners of the description of the palace of Menelaos in *Odyssey* 4, where Telemakhos is made to marvel at its grandeur and riches, and to liken it to Zeus' palace in his imagination:[110]

> *Φράζεο, Νεστορίδη, τῷ ἐμῷ κεχαρισμένε θυμῷ,*
> *χαλκοῦ τε στεροπὴν κὰδ δώματα ἠχήεντα,*
> *χρυσοῦ τ' ἠλέκτρου τε καὶ ἀργύρου ἠδ' ἐλέφαντος.*
> *Ζηνός που τοιήδε γ' Ὀλυμπίου ἔνδοθεν αὐλή,*
> *ὅσσα τάδ' ἄσπετα πολλά· σέβας μ' ἔχει εἰσορόωντα.*

> 'Son of Nestor, you who delight my heart, only look at
> the gleaming of the bronze all through these echoing mansions,
> and the gleaming of gold and amber, of silver and of ivory.
> The palace of Zeus on Olympos must be like this on the inside,
> such abundance of everything is here. Awe takes me as I look upon it.'

Here we are directed to another text where a character, and an audience, is, once again, invited to think, and to imagine. Bacchylides evokes a textual *mise en abîme*, and we as audience members continue to be implicated within a game of imagination, allusion, and comparison, with Alexander as the ground and the inspiration.

Comparison with Menelaos again leads us to think about wealth from the East, since, as the Oxford commentary directs us at this point, 'Telemachus' amazement at the palace's magnificence leads Menelaus to relate how he collected his treasures during seven years' wanderings',[111] during which time he visited many exotic places, including Egypt. Egypt is also significant for Bacchylides, as we will see shortly. Moreover, this, and Odysseus' later description of the palace of Alkinoos,[112] bear close comparison with oriental palaces and their descriptions in Neo-Assyrian and late Babylonian royal texts.[113] Although neither Bacchylides nor the poet of the *Odyssey* are likely to have had knowledge of these sources,[114] the generally exotic,

[110] *Od.* 4.71–5; cf. Maehler II 331 ad loc.

[111] Heubeck et al. (1988) 196 ad loc. *Od.* 4.68–112.

[112] *Od.* 7.84–90.

[113] See West (1997) 251 and esp. 419, with Lorimer (1950) 429 and n. 1, comparing the palace of Sargon II at Khorsabad; cf. Lapatin (2001) 39–42 on ivory in the Near East, and Khorsabad specifically.

[114] Although a direct connection between eastern sources and the description of Alkinoos' palace in the *Odyssey* has now been argued by Cook (2004).

eastern, atmosphere conjured up by these connections is interestingly corroborative of Bacchylides' orientalizing allusiveness in other parts of his poem.

A further thematic allusion to the East and to illusion may be provided by Alkaios 350 V. Here Alkaios mocks his brother's boastfulness about campaigning in Babylon and sends up the luxurious trophy that he has brought home with him:

> *ἦλθες ἐκ περάτων γᾶς ἐλεφαντίναν*
> *λάβαν τὼ ξίφεος χρυσοδέταν ἔχων*
> *συμμάχεις δ' ἐτέλεσσας Βαβυλωνίοισ'*
> *ἄεθλον μέγαν, εὐρύσαο δ' ἐκ πόνων,*
> *κτέννais ἄνδρα μαχάταν βασιλη⟨ί⟩ων*
> *παλάσταν ἀπυλείποντα μόναν ἴαν*
> *παχέων ἀπὺ πέμπων.*
>
> You've come from the ends of the earth
> with an ivory sword-hilt bound with gold.
> In your service with the Babylonians
> you achieved a great feat, and rescued them
> from troubles, by killing a man who was
> only a single palm's breadth short
> of five royal cubits tall![115]

Here Alkaios may also be pointing to the deceptive, illusory quality of ivory that draws listeners to link the lavish sword with the outlandish claims made by Antimenidas. This allusion adds weight to Bacchylides' rhetoric on wealth, the East, and illusion.[116]

If we return briefly to Telemakhos in *Odyssey* 4, imagining him imagining Zeus' palace when looking at Menelaos' wealth also makes *us* look to the divine, again asking us to think hard about where to situate Alexander on an axis stretching from ordinary mortal through mythical hero to supreme god or supreme king. As with Telemakhos, awe (*σέβας*) is one possible response, although there is a strong sense from the narrative flow and context of the *Odyssey*

[115] In line 3 I print *exempli gratia* the text proposed by Hoffmann.

[116] That ivory, and its collocation with gold, could have sympotic and Dionysiac connotations is also shown by the preservation of two skolia juxtaposed in Athenaios: *Carm. Conv.* 900–1 *PMG* = Ath. 15.695c–d; also Dio. Prus. 2.63 for the first of the two. See Kurke (1997) 117 for the juxtaposition, and the probability that the *γυνὴ* in the second refers to a *hetaira.*

passage that Telemakhos is something of a naïve reader of Menelaos' situation.[117] Once again, we are also invited to think about hybristic and transgressive aspects to the inclusion of Alexander in the Odyssean comparison between Menelaos and Zeus.

This is further exposed by the fact that the use of gold and ivory in relation to 'houses' is familiar in the Greek world from temples, especially in the form of chryselephantine statuary, the most exotic and lavish sculptural technique from this period, usually reserved for deities.[118] A specifically Bacchylidean association with temples is confirmed, by Bacchylides 3.15–21, which celebrates the sparkling dedications by Gelon and Hieron to the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi in very similar language to the present passage.[119] Moreover, of even greater significance here is Herodotos' information that there was a golden statue of Alexander at Delphi next to the allied Greeks' dedication from the spoils of Salamis.[120] Presumably this is accurate information that could be verified by autopsy (though Pausanias does not record having seen it); and perhaps it is possible to take the pseudo-Demosthenic text purporting to be a letter from the later Philip as a propagandist revisiting of Herodotos' juxtaposition of dedications here.[121] The dedication, presumably in the chryselephantine technique, of the statue of a *mortal* at Delphi would seem to be unusual, and Herodotos must be marking the outlandishness of the dedication by means of the above juxtaposition. That the Macedonian monarch was prone to such extravagant, and perhaps orientalizing,[122] self-aggrandizement and self-glorification—even if subsequent to Bacchylides' enkomion of him—again makes

[117] See de Jong (2001) 92 ad loc. 4.43–75, for Telemakhos' outdoing the description of the primary narrator; '[Telemakhos'] gawking signals to the narratees the limited experience of the young man who is travelling abroad for the first time.'

[118] Cf. Maehler II 331 ad loc. 13; Lapatin (2001). Deities: Lapatin (2001) 5: '[M]ost Archaic and Classical Greek chryselephantine statues . . . represented deities and were dedicated by wealthy individuals or collectives to the gods.' Also ibid. 59–60 for judicious speculation on the possible, but unproven, divine identity of statues in the Halos deposit.

[119] Esp. 17ff., λάμπει δ' ὑπὸ μαρμαρυγαῖς ὁ χρυσός κτλ.

[120] Hdt. 8.121.2, not mentioned by Lapatin (2001); above, p. 32.

[121] [Dem.] 12.21: see further Fearn (forthcoming) n. 53.

[122] See Lapatin (2001) ch. 4 for essential background on the origins and associations of the chryselephantine technique, and esp. p. 60 for Greek craftsmen learning from and modelling their work on Near Eastern motifs and technical expertise.

it fitting that Alexander should be our main focus here. But that the gleam is an illusory one within our fantasy might transport us further into Dionysiac territory with potential to unsettle or disrupt straightforwardly celebratory evaluations of Alexander's power and identity.[123]

These lines also contain a further allusion leading in a rather different direction. As was noted by one early commentator, the line also bears a strong resemblance to the first line of a sympotic monody by Alkaios about a gleaming hall;[124] but there the gleam is from bronze weapons, rather than from gold or ivory:

> *μαρμ⌋αίρει δὲ̣ ⌊μέγας δόμος*
> *χάλκωι, π⌋αῖσα δ' Ἄ⌊ρηι κεκόσμηται στέγα*
> *λάμ⌋πραισιν ⌊κυνίαισι, κὰτ*
> *τᾶν λεῦ⌋κοι κατέπ⌊ερθεν ἴππιοι λόφοι*
> *νε⌋ύοισιν, κεφά̣⌊λαισιν ἄν-*
> *⌊δρων ἀγά⌋λματα· χ̣⌊ά⌋λ̣κ⌊ι⌋α̣ι δ̣⌊ὲ πασ⟨σ⟩άλοις*
> *κρύ⌋πτοισιν ⌊π⌋ερικεί̣⌊μεναι*
> *λάμπραι κνάμι⌋δ̣ες, ἔρκ⌊ος ἰσχύρω βέλεος*
> *θόρρακές τε νέω λίνω*
> *κόϊλαί τε κὰτ ἄσπιδες βεβλήμεναι·*
> *πὰρ δὲ Χαλκίδικαι σπάθαι,*
> *πὰρ δὲ ζώματα πόλλα καὶ κυπάσσιδες.*
> *τῶν οὐκ ἔστι λάθεσθ' ἐπεὶ*
> *δὴ πρώτιστ' ὐπὰ τὦργον ἔσταμεν τόδε.*

The great hall gleams with bronze, and the whole ceiling is dressed for the war-god with bright helmets, down from which white horse-hair plumes nod, meant for the heads of men, as adornments. More bronze hides the pegs from which it hangs: shining greaves, a defence against a strong arrow, and corslets of new linen, and hollow shields thrown down on the floor. Beside these are swords from Khalkis, and many belts and tunics. These we cannot forget, ever since we have undertaken this task.

Alkaios 140 V

Again, we are drawn to think up another text, one which makes us re-evaluate the surface text. If Alkaios offers an idealizing view of

[123] For a telling parallel see Dionysos' conjuring up of shining visions to bewilder Pentheus, with the same use of *δοκῶ*, in Euripides' *Bacchae*: see 616 ff., esp. 624 and 629–31.

[124] Smyth (1900) 452.

traditional epicized weaponry as a call to arms,[125] how do we receive Bacchylides' engagement with this text? The most important thing to notice is the contrast; there is no suggestion of warfare or a call to arms on the surface of Bacchylides' text at this point. A number of different readings of this textual relationship might be possible. On a positive reading, Bacchylides might be implying that, for Alexander, an allusion to Macedonian militarism, in a poem celebrating the young heir, is a good thing. For a future king to be dreaming about power and military might bode rather well. However, an alternative way of reading this allusion within the flight of fancy is possible. One scholar has suggested that 'Alcaeus' description of the armour that hangs around the *andron* exploits the emotive force of the symbols of war in the context of peace'.[126] But surely Alkaios can already be read as presenting a destabilization of, or at least a threat to, the utopian tranquillity of the symposium. That the threat to tranquillity at the symposium, or at least at shared feasting, is an established *topos* is clear from its deployment in Homer in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.[127] Once again we may be made to think of transgressive threats to the ideal calm of the Greek symposium.[128] But for Bacchylides' text this would then be another danger conjured up by deep drinking and deep thinking.

Perhaps we can go a stage further here, and juxtapose Bacchylides with Herodotos on Alexander's murder of the Persian ambassadors in book 5. It now becomes interesting that both authors manipulate the traditional idea of the destabilization of the symposium in their engagement with Alexander. With Bacchylides the danger remains implicit, embedded deep within the textual structure of the fantasy section; in Herodotos the theme is played out explicitly. It seems

[125] Burnett (1983) 123–7. [126] Slater (1990) 215–16.

[127] Cf. *Il.* 24.560 (the threat of Akhilleus' anger), and usage of a lion simile at 572, with Macleod (1982) 137 ad loc. during a scene of hospitality, if not (yet) feasting. The *Odyssey*, of course, engages systematically with the theme of the disruption of the feast, through both the suitors' actions, and Odysseus' killing of them. It is no surprise that Antinoos, the chief suitor and the first to die, is shot in the process of raising a goblet to drink: *Od.* 22.8–21. See also Rutherford (1992) 231–2 ad loc. *Od.* 20.345–86 on the vision of Theoklymenos.

[128] For the mutual complementarity of as well as opposition between symposium and war, see Bowie (1997) 12 and n. 67, with Schmitt Pantel (1992) 17–31 and e.g. Pl. *Leg.* 1.640–41a, 2.670c8–75c7.

therefore likely that Bacchylides' enkomion for Alexander, and other occasional pieces composed for him, would have provided the background against which Herodotos set out his own narratives about Alexander.[129]

Taken together, all these allusions to fantasy, to extravagant and eastern forms of luxury, and to warfare and weaponry, are potentially unsettling. One way to read them might reinforce the point that such things *are* fantastic, and beyond the reach of sensible mortals. But another way to read might bring home the essential suitability of the luxuries to Alexander himself. This could still be read as diplomatic praise of a future king who, though he will be a monarch, will not be so extravagant and will not seem so eastern-looking.

Egyptian Wealth

The final element in the fantasy is ships bringing in vast wealth from Egypt: *πυροφόροι δὲ κατ' αἰγλάεντα πόντον | νᾶες ἄγουσιν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου μέγιστον | πλοῦτον*, lines 14–16. As we have already seen, having wealth brought from overseas is a *topos* of sympotic poetry associated with the illusory blessings brought by Dionysos.[130] We have also seen how, in this context, the 'I' of the poem could be read as donning a Dionysiac mask in the sending and/or performing of the poem of illusion to Alexander. It is therefore apt that the final stage of the fantasy is focused on imagining ships from overseas bearing foreign goods.[131] The Dionysiac connection must be the key to the way we must unlock but also preserve the complexity of this piece. And once again, the exact nature of these foreign goods is of deeper significance in the context of praise for Alexander, and fits perfectly within the more detailed rhetoric of Bacchylides' poem, since Bacchylides' mention of Egypt makes us again think about the barbarian world.

[129] Again, cf. Fearn (forthcoming).

[130] Above, p. 43 with Slater (1976). Again, more later on Perdikkas' presence in the fragment of Hermippos: below, p. 78 n. 158.

[131] In the version of Hermippos (fr. 63.12–13 K–A) Egypt supplies sails and papyrus.

What are our immediate reactions to this? Do we remark, as Maehler does, that this is the earliest reference to grain from Egypt in any Greek text, but then stop there?[132]

Again, there is a strongly eastern connection lurking beneath the surface here. Macedon under Alexander certainly underwent a process of imperial expansion, paving the way for the more extreme imperialist achievements of his descendants; but at the time of Alexander's succession, it seems probable that Macedon was yet to exhaust the supplies available from the local area, and had little need for foreign expansion and grain from Egypt (but one factor behind Athens' expedition against Egypt some decades later).[133]

This section of Bacchylides' poem is about regal desire rather than need, or in fact even trade, and the significance of the link with Egypt therefore bears a rather different political symbolism. Since Kambyses' invasion in the latter part of the sixth century, Egypt had been under Persian control. What Egypt, symbolizes, then, is allegiance to Persia. That such matters might well themselves be unstable and illusory, is suggested once more not only by the Dionysiac frame in which this operates, but also by the description of the sea here as glittering (*αἰγλάεντα*). This sheen might be part of the same complex of language associated with Dionysiac illusion that I suggested in the preceding section.[134] Bacchylides' diction is further nuanced, since the shine thus provided is also strongly associated with poetic praise and success.[135] Within an enkomion the doubleness of the language here is clever, and we are never able to get a clear

[132] Maehler II 332 ad loc. 14–16; cf. Maehler (2004) 249–50 ad loc. 14–16.

[133] See Borza (1990) 115–31 for a detailed summary of Alexander's territory; even for imperial Athens, grain imports may be less significant than often assumed: Garnsey (1988) chs. 6–8.

[134] See above, p. 62 ff., with p. 66 n. 123 and the references to Dionysos and Pentheus in Euripides. Although, as Maehler II 332 and (2004) 250 points out ad loc., Homer uses *αἰγλάεις* only of Olympos, he does have *ἅλα μαρμαρέην* at *Il.* 14.273, so once again Bacchylides is working in line with tradition. But within this fantasy section, after *μαρμαίρουσιν* in line 13, the effect is to emphasize the exotic, unreal, and perhaps even unworldly gleam of these visions.

[135] *Locus classicus*: Pind. *Pyth.* 8.96; note also the use of ạ[ἰ]γḷẹẹ[in line 1 of *CEG* i.61, a laudatory epigraphic poem. For more on *αἴγλα* in Bacchylides, see the next chapter, p. 135–6 below with p. 136 n. 136, on Bacch. 13.140, itself a usage inside a myth which interacts in an interesting way with the encomiastic frame celebrating the victory of the son of Lampon (literally 'shining one').

grasp of its precise connotation. Does this section therefore celebrate Alexander's wealth and prestige, or does it undermine it by alluding to Persian empire and to Alexander's delusions of grandeur? Again, this is a question than can only be worked out in and through receptions of the poem. Before we turn to these, we need to look at the fragmentary remains of the second half of the poem.

II. PRAISE, PARAINESIS, CULT: LINES 17 AND FOLLOWING

My reading of the very uncertain, even polyphonic, nature of the fantasy section in its relation to Alexander has so far been governed at least in part by the basic fact that only the first half of the poem remains fully intact.

The second half, beginning in line 17 with the direct address to Alexander, deals with encomiastic themes of noble deeds, gratification, the transience of the blessings of *ὄλβος*, and—implied—the concomitant need for commemoration in poetry. The poem then may have closed with some allusion to Alexander's patronage of, or connection with, local cult.

We are unfortunate not to have the opening of the second half intact,[136] but the encomiastic motif of gratification appears from the scraps in lines 19–20: *τί γὰρ ἀνθρώ̣[ποισι μεῖζον]* | *[κέρδο]ς ἢ̣ θυμ̣ῶι χαρίζε[σθα]ι κ[αλά;]* , 'For what greater profit for men is there than indulgence of one's own heart with respect to fine deeds?'[137] That, for

[136] The only idea that emerges is that of allotment, established by *]λάχ[ον·* in line 19; Bacchylidean parallels suggest that this might have to do with victory (e.g. Bacch. 6.2; 4.20), or power or good fortune allotted by the gods (e.g. Bacch. 1.166; 3.11). A potential link to victory is tantalizing given the Olympic victory claimed for Alexander by Herodotos at 5.22. Bacch. fr. 20C makes prolonged reference to Hieron's competitive successes in line 4 and lines 6–10, and we might expect Bacchylides to have devoted far more space to such an extraordinary success here; that none is given over to this suggests that *]λάχ[ον·* here is, unfortunately, not related to such a victory. No epinician poetry survives by Bacchylides or Pindar addressed to Alexander.

[137] Poetic gratification as a motif of enkomion: cf. Pind. fr. 121, from Pindar's own enkomion for Alexander: . . . *πρέπει δ᾽ ἐσλοῖσιν ὑμνεῖσθαι . . . καλλίστοις ἀοιδαῖς.* | *τοῦτο γὰρ ἀθανάτοις τιμαῖς ποτιψαύει μόνον,* | *θνᾁσκει δὲ σιγαθὲν καλὸν ἔργον.*

a patron such as Alexander, such gratification might imply wealth and all its trappings, including poetic memorialization, is confirmed by Theokritos' structurally parallel thought in his own enkomion to Alexander's distant descendant, Ptolemy Philadelphos, a poem which may well in fact be alluding to Bacchylidean precedent:

> *τί δὲ κάλλιον ἀνδρί κεν εἴη*
> *ὀλβίωι ἢ κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἀρέσθαι;*
>
> What finer thing could there be for a man
> with wealth to win than good renown among men?
>
> Theokritos 17.116–17.[138]

That Theokritos and Bacchylides share a focus on wealth, happiness, and gratification is confirmed by the parallel in the fully preserved text of Theokritos immediately following the lines quoted, for the Bacchylidean notions of darkness—of fate, implied[139]—and the transience of mortal *ὄλβος*. The idea contained in the severely damaged lines 21–5 of Bacchylides, . . . *ἀμφιλα]φῆ̣ς̣ σ̣κότος· ὀλβ̣[ον δ' ἔσχε πάντα] | [οὔτις] ἀνθρώπων διαὶ σ[υχνὸν χρόνον] | [αἰῶ]νος·* (' . . . wide-spreading darkness. No man kept happiness throughout his long life-time') compares well with Theokritos' lines following immediately on from those quoted above, on darkness and the aftermath of the sack of Troy:

> *τοῦτο καὶ Ἀτρεΐδαισι μένει· τὰ δὲ μυρία τῆνα*
> *ὅσσα μέγαν Πριάμοιο δόμον κτεάτισσαν ἑλόντες*
> *ἀέρι παι κέκρυπται, ὅθεν πάλιν οὐκέτι νόστος.*

[138] Gow (1952) ad loc. 116 ff. does not note the Bacchylidean parallel, and supposes that Theokritos is thinking rather of Pind. *Pyth.* 1.99. Maehler's notes ad loc. 19–20, also failing to draw on Theokritos, observe that Snell's original supplements were drawn from the parallel with Bacch. 3.83–4. Hunter (2003) ad loc. Theok. 17.118–20 well compares the similar theme of Theok. 16.59 and 30–57, and e.g. Pind. *Nem.* 6.29–30, cf. Isok. 9.3–4; Pind. *Nem.* 7.58–63; *Isth.* 1.47–52, but makes no mention of Bacchylides. That Theokritos borrows a specifically Bacchylidean device with this rhetorical question may be confirmed by comparison also with Bacch. 4.18–20 (on Hieron of Syracuse, another possible model for Ptolemy Philadelphos): *τί φέ̣ρτερον ἢ θ̣ε̣ο̣ῖ̣σ̣ιν | φίλον ἐόντα παντο[δ]α̣πῶν | λαγχάνειν ἄπο μοῖρα[ν] ἐ̣σ̣θλῶν;* Maehler I.2 77 ad loc. compares the end of Pind. *Ol.* 2, but rhetorical questions of the form 'what better . . .?' in relation to the good fortunes of the victor are not found in Pindar: the only parallel that is at all similar is *τί φίλτερον κεδνῶν τοκέων ἀγαθοῖς;* at *Isth.* 1.5, in a rather different context.

[139] Cf. Bacch. 9.90; Fearn (2003) 364.

This [sc. good renown] remains for the sons of Atreus also; but the countless treasure that they gained by sacking the great palace of Priam, this is hidden somewhere in darkness, in a place from which there is no way back.

Theokritos 17.118–20.

Milne's supplement [ἀμφιλα]φὴς, 'wide-spreading', in line 21 of Bacchylides' poem is very apposite. It cleverly modifies a concept, the darkness of fate, which naturally rather *takes away* the ὄλβος of the same line, the very idea which the adjective might be expected more usually to modify.[140]

That Bacchylides did in fact continue with a paradigm on ὄλβος connected with Troy might be suggested from the fragmentary remains of line 25. ἴσας δ' ὁ τυχὼν, which I have translated as 'the man who gets an equal (share)', could conceivably be taken to refer to the paradigm concerning Zeus' two jars of fortunes voiced by Akhilleus to Priam in the famously consolatory speech in *Iliad* 24:[141]

δοιοὶ γάρ τε πίθοι κατακείαται ἐν Διὸς οὔδει
δώρων οἷα δίδωσι, κακῶν, ἕτερος δὲ ἐάων.
ᾧι μέν κ' ἀμμείξας δώηι Ζεὺς τερπικέραυνος,
ἄλλοτε μέν τε κακῶι ὅ γε κύρεται, ἄλλοτε δ' ἐσθλῶι·

For a pair of jars lies on the threshold of Zeus
of the gifts which he gives, the one of evils, the other of good fortunes:
to whomever Zeus who delights in thunder gives a mixture,
at one time he meets with ill, and at another time good.

Iliad 24.527–30

Pindar's reuse of precisely this image at *Pythian* 3.80–2 in his consolation of the dying Hieron of Syracuse shows that this paradigm was deemed applicable to encomiastic poetry:

εἰ δὲ λόγων συνέμεν κορυφάν, Ἱέρων,
ὀρθὰν ἐπίστᾳ, μανθάνων οἶσθα προτέρων
ἓν παρ' ἐσλὸν πήματα σύνδυο δαίονται βροτοῖς
ἀθάνατοι.

[140] LSJ s.v. 3 offer the sense 'abundant, enormous' for ἀμφιλαφὴς; in Pindar it used of δύναμις (*Ol.* 9.82; 'ample power': Race); cf. Aiskh. *Ag.* 1015, *πολλά τοι δόσις ἐκ Διὸς ἀμφιλαφὴς*. For Bacchylides on the dangerous parallel of excess and the sacking of cities, see above, p. 48 ff, with p. 52 n. 78.

[141] Many thanks to Richard Hunter for this suggestion.

If you know how to understand the essence of sayings, Hieron,
you've learnt from bygone men and therefore know
how for every single good fortune the gods dole out two pains for mortals.[142]

If Bacchylides' words can be understood to be an additional allusion to a Trojan situation, this would not only add further strength to the relation constructed earlier between Macedon and Troy, but would also lend further weight to the rhetoric of the poem at this point concerning poetic immortality as a consolation for the insecurities of the mortal condition. Indeed, I suggested earlier that exactly this kind of *parainesis* was evident in Pindar's own enkomion for Alexander, and its reference to the former prosperity of Priam.[143]

Whether or not Bacchylides did go on to use a similar mythological paradigm—in the case of Ptolemy the paradigm of Argive wealth from Priam's Troy fits well for a monarch claiming descent from Temenid Argives, just like our Alexander[144]—Bacchylides appears to have ended his poem with a focus on religious practice and heroes. Line 27 preserves θέμεθ[λ, a rare poetic word used in Pindar, Apollonios, and Kallimakhos for the foundations of sacred buildings;[145] line 29 has a reference to something sacred: ζαθεο̣[; line 31 has a reference to demigods: ἡ]μ̣ίθεοι. Although it would be rash to speculate too far, we might suppose there to be an allusion here to dynastic Macedonian hero-cult, these heroes perhaps being Temenos and Herakles, the ultimate founders of the Argead line of

142 Scholars of Homer and Pindar have generally, though erroneously, argued either that Pindar, or Homer, or both, have Zeus dole out from three jars: Young (1968) 50–1 on Pindar and Homer; Macleod (1982) 133 and Richardson (1993) 330–1 ad loc. on Homer giving two, Pindar giving three. *Σ* Pind. *Pyth.* 3.141ab (ii.81–3 Dr) ad loc. argued that Pindar misread Homer and interpreted him as having three jars. However, for a correct assessment of both passages, see now Alden (2000) 33–5, esp. 33 n. 60: Zeus doles out different mixtures from two jars. Pindar can also, in fact, be seen to be talking of two jars alone: it is just that Pindar has amplified the consolatory rhetoric for his own encomiastic purposes, in order to suggest that Zeus doles out a proportion of 2:1 in favour of bad from his two jars.

143 See above, pp. 48–9.

144 See Hunter (2003) 62; 116 and 139 ad loc. Theok. 17.20 and 53.

145 Pind. *Pyth.* 4.16 (the sanctuary of Zeus Ammon at Kyrene); also of a mountain at *Pyth.* 4.180: see Braswell (1988) 262 ad loc. 180 (a); Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 4.118 (base of altar set up to Zeus by Phrixos); Kall. *Hymn* 2.15 (foundations of temple of Apollo on Delos), with Williams (1978) 27 ad loc. The word is Homeric, but relates there to sockets of eyes or the base of the stomach, not to buildings, which would appear rather more appropriate in this Bacchylidean context.

the Macedonian royal house.[146] If so, this would form part of the propagandist attempts by Alexander's court to present him as Greek. Panhellenic poetry is the perfect medium for the projection of these claims, and Alexander's patronage of Bacchylides puts an interesting new spin on Alexander's self-presentation years before we hear anything from Herodotos about him.[147]

Reference to Alexander's pious patronage of his own local Argead cult would form the basis of a standard oppositional discourse in encomiastic poetry relating to powerful monarchs or tyrants concerning the correct usage of wealth.[148] Praise of Alexander for the correct use of his wealth in the patronage of local cult would be paralleled in the way that, for example, Hieron of Syracuse is praised for his dedications to Delphi in Bacchylides 3. However, the irony, of course, is that reference to Alexander's promotion of *local* hero-cult, rather than patronage of an external panhellenic sanctuary, would be just another part of his self-promotion as a Greek by appeal to his own Temenid ancestry.[149] This would serve to emphasize the point

[146] This connection might in fact be corroborated by the presence of Herakles on some of Alexander's coins: see Raymond (1953) 60: 'The king's efforts to be recognized as a Greek might well include this allusion to Herakles on his coins.' For the connection between poetic references to ἡμίθεοι and hero-cult, see Nagy (1979) 159–61; also Stehle (2001), Boedeker (2001*b*), and Clay (2001) on Simonides' *Plataea Elegy*. The fragmentary remains of lines 13–15 of fr. 20C, Bacchylides' enkomion for Hieron of Syracuse, memorialize cult celebration, but this is more likely to have taken place at Olympia than in Syracuse: see Maehler II 335 ad loc. 13–18.

Despite the view of Sourvinou-Inwood (2002) 176–7 (who adduces archaeological evidence for an archaic sanctuary to Demeter at Dion), it seems unlikely that future discoveries will make it any easier for scholars to reconstruct a stable view of Macedonian ethnicity by recourse to cults, even if the latter appear to be Greek; for the problems here see again Hall (2001), 164.

[147] Cf. Hall (2001) 177 n. 79: 'The story of the Hellenic ancestry of the Argead dynasty was almost certainly invented by Alexander'; Borza (1982) 9: 'the stories originating at Alexander's court provide the sole basis upon which the Hellenic origins of the Macedonian royal house rest'.

[148] For the discourse on the proper use of wealth in epinicians for monarchs and tyrants, see Kurke (1991) chs. 7 and 8.

[149] It is also just possible that reference to foundations and a holy place here might be a reference to the dedication by Alexander of a gold statue of himself at Delphi referred to by Herodotos. I think that this is less likely. First, the reference to heroes may point rather towards local cult. Second, the notion of being praised for establishing a statue of *oneself* would seem rather alien to the kinds of dedicatory acts which encomiastic poetry for tyrants asserts as correctly recognizing the basic divide between gods and mortal rulers.

that the poet's praise cannot be separated from any Hellenizing presentation of Alexander.

What we now have to ask is how a Macedonian ideological construction in the second half relates to what we have heard in the first half of the poem, and then how this synthesis is connected first to Bacchylides' own thoughts on patronage, and then to the possibilities of divergent readings opened up by both Macedonian and panhellenic Greek receptions of this poem.

III. SYNTHESIS: BRILLIANT *AND* BARBARIAN?[150]

The praise of Alexander in the second four stanzas of the poem is balanced against, but subsequent to, the earlier allusions to illusion and to the uncertainties of regal power conjured up by desire and drink in the symposium. Of course, use of the sympotic frame, along with Alexander's likely cultic activity, and, implicitly, Alexander's (or his father's) patronage of a panhellenic Greek poet, all make cultural nods to a Greek identity for the monarchy.[151] But the content of the fantasy section might suggest that Alexander will look somewhat other than a Greek if he believes in his own power too much. We need only go as far as Herodotos to see that this is all very apposite for the political situation that Alexander found himself in when he succeeded his father to the throne, and for what Herodotos tells us, and what he implies, about Alexander's subsequent behaviour as a dangerous Medizer.

[150] Cf. Parry at Fagles (1998 [1961]) 123: 'The Alexander in this poem was an ancestor of Alexander the Great. The brilliant and barbarian tone that Bacchylides catches in it is worthy of the later world conqueror.'

[151] Cf. Hall (1989) 180: 'Pindar and Bacchylides both wrote encomia for Alexander I . . . , which would presuppose that the royal family at least was to be regarded as Greek'. As she notes, this is sharply at odds with Thrasymakhos' later assault against the 'barbarian' Arkhelaos, in his speech *For the People of Larissa* (delivered in response to an invasion by Arkhelaos): Thrasym. 85 B 2 D–K = Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 6.1; cf. Hall (2001) 160. If we are correct to date Bacchylides' poem to the first decade of the century, Badian (1982) 34 is incorrect to state the following: 'There is no evidence whatsoever of any Macedonian claim to a Greek connection before the Persian War of 480–479 B.C.' Again, I repeat my surprise that historians have not engaged with poetic treatments of Alexander.

Dionysos, Illusion, and the Ironies of Patronage

We have seen throughout Section I that Bacchylides makes us consider the nature of Alexander and of power itself by mapping the effects of drink and desire onto the thoughts of a symposiast. It is not only Macedonian royal power that is called into question, but also the power of a poet to praise. Bacchylides also likens the reception of this praise, along with its motivations, to the effects of drink, by leading us to consider the effect of this poem on audiences. The distinction between thinking when drinking, and thinking while listening to sympotic poetry, is broken down through the audience's engagement with the poem. The two thinking processes overlap and merge into a quite remarkable doubleness. This has the effect of making listeners self-consciously aware not only of the compelling power of poetic rhetoric but also of its inherently artificial and illusory nature, especially within a drinking context. Both drink and poetic rhetoric are here under the sign of Dionysos.[152] This puts quite a significant pressure on the question of who these listeners and thinkers might be.

It is of course quite likely that the Macedonian monarchy, including Alexander himself, could be well satisfied by an interpretation that made the majority of the extravagant details of stanzas three and four apply only to drunken fantasists with no prospect of attaining the *real* heights of power shortly to become available to the heir to

[152] Cf. Sim. fr. 647 *PMG* = Ath. 2.40a: *Σιμωνίδης τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρχὴν τίθησιν οἴνου καὶ μουσικῆς*. This *ἀρχή* (both 'source' and 'control') is very likely to be Dionysos. That we are sucked into the poem's game of illusion as we hear the song, imagine for ourselves the visions of power, and recall the allusions conjured up, is in line with the effects produced by another self-reflexive sympotic signifying system, the representation of symposia on sympotic pottery. For essential discussion of some of the issues here, with especial regard to frontal representations of drinkers, see Frontisi-Ducroux (1989) and (1995) 90–3. For short discussion and a useful catalogue see Korshak (1987) 11–14 with 54–8.

Ath. 2.37b–e, provides a comic aetiology for the naming of a house in Akragas as 'trireme' on the grounds that a group of young symposiasts became so intoxicated that they became convinced that they were on a stormy sea-voyage, with some social disruption as a result: Lissarrague (1990*a*) 108–10 for brief discussion. See too Lissarrague (1990*a*) ch. 6 for individual linguistic cases, and individual instances in pottery, where double meanings of words toy with the relations between sympotic drinking and illusory experiences such as those connected with seafaring.

the throne. Such a reading would be happy to accept the encomiastic framework and conventions of the poem, especially if the second half of the poem went into detail on the fine achievements and good fortune of the monarchy—the *κ[αλά* of line 20 and the *ὄλβ[ον* of line 23.

However, we have also to consider the possibility that Bacchylides is also engaged here in an investigation of his own project as poet of praise.[153] I noted earlier that the phraseology chosen at the start of the digression, 'when the sweet compulsion as the cups race round' in lines 6–7, could be taken to refer to the necessity of indulging one's patron in the writing of encomiastic poetry as well as to the onset of Dionysiac desire.[154] This is especially so as it follows closely after the powerful statement of motivation by the *persona loquens* in line 3, *ὁρμαίνω*. This again directly connects the very process of composing poetry for Alexander with the power of wine to induce thinking. If we push the connection further we might even see Bacchylides suggesting that wine *is* the inducement required in order to praise Alexander, or even that Bacchylides would have to be drunk in order to write poetry for him. Of course, the poem does not say this upfront, but it is one of the ways in which the twin effects of patronage and drinking can be figured. Both Bacchylides and Alexander could be among the youths of line 6.

Alternatively, or in addition,[155] the close juxtaposition of 'sky-high thinking' in line 10 with the epicizing line 11, as I suggested earlier,[156] along with the culminatory reference to monarchy in line 12, and combined with the parallel use of *πέμπω* in lines 3 and 10, could be seen as a subtle or perhaps embryonic rhetorical *praeteritio*, along

[153] Though, of course, we need not read this biographically as a young poet learning the ropes. And even if Bacchylides were new to the world of patronage, his poem exhibits clearly a deep familiarity and engagement with poetic conventions and tradition.

[154] See above, pp. 44–6.

[155] The idea of loft in line 10 is of course associated with poetic elevation, as well as to drink and its effects. See e.g. Bacch. 5.16 ff. for the use of the extended comparison of an eagle in flight to figure the loft as well as breadth of encomiastic poetry. Cf. also Pind. *Pae.* 7b.13–14 for a rather different and performatively authoritative appropriation of poetic elevation in order to engage with Homer: above, p. 10.

[156] Above, pp. 53–4.

the lines favoured by later writers when engaging with big subjects in poems of small compass.[157]

Just like the grain and wealth from Egypt in lines 15–16, Bacchylides' poem is itself a commodity sent to Alexander; it is to be an ἄγαλμα (line 5). Bacchylides is posing here a question about the trappings of power. The question that Bacchylides asks is with whom should Alexander be associating himself as king: should it be with panhellenic Greek poets like Bacchylides himself, or should it be with others who make submissions at the Macedonian court, people like the Persians? That Bacchylides' poem never answers this question, or allows both answers at once, captures something of the potentially dangerous ambiguity of Macedonian politics in this period, since Alexander, as Bacchylides suspects, will have it both ways; he will present himself as a Greek but also ally himself with the Persian cause when it suits him.[158] This again bears interesting comparison with the sympotic situation in Herodotos book 5. There we see Herodotos claiming the Greekness of the Macedonian monarchy whilst at the same time showing Amyntas as a satrap of the Persians and as a host of their ambassadors; the key idea there is *xenia*, in all its subtlety. Herodotos can now be seen to be exploring in a different medium, and for a different audience, precisely the kinds of questions that Bacchylides' poem sets up.

The pluralist ideological presentation of the Macedonian monarchy may be highlighted not only by Herodotos' engagement with Alexander, but by the numismatic evidence for Alexander's coinage: it is perhaps the case that there was a double standard,

[157] e.g. the *tenues grandia* of Hor. *C.* 1.6, although this is at least in part a development of a Hellenistic poetics some centuries ahead of Bacchylides.

[158] It is therefore interesting, if not ironic, that one of the two contemporary figures picked out for mention in the fragment of Hermippos (the other is Sitalkes, king of the Odrysian Thracians) recounting the wealth of materials that Dionysos imports to Athens is none other than the (similarly duplicitous) Macedonian king Perdikkas, son of Alexander, whose lies fill many ships: καὶ παρὰ Περδίκκου ψεύδη ναυσὶν πάνυ πολλαῖς, fr. 63.8 K–A. This fits precisely with the *sympotic* theme of the connection between seafaring and specifically Dionysiac illusion traced by Slater (1976) and discussed earlier above. Hermippos' fragment might then be regarded as a comic form of parainesis about the kinds of people Athens herself, many years after Bacchylides' poem, should associate with.

according to which some measures fitted into the Persian system, and some into the Athenian; certainly the diversity of the coin weights during the time of Alexander is at odds with Athenian use of a single standard and is a likely result of Alexander's political and cultural relations with both Greece and Persia.[159] This diversity—perhaps duplicity is a better word for it—is something that makes it perfectly natural for Bacchylides to use a Dionysiac framework to explore the nature of his subject.

As I noted earlier, thinking with Alexander as the subject within the symposium breaks down the boundary between reality and illusion, as he is a man for whom the thoughts of monarchy will, at least in part, come true. A Bacchylidean reply to this situation is to turn around the priority of reality over fantasy for what they can tell us about power and ideology. Bacchylides' poem is as golden (*χρύ[σ]εοṿ*, line 4) as the glitter from the fantastic halls of line 13 (*χρυσῶι*). Amyntas' possible denotation as high-vaunting in line 17 places Alexander's father in precisely the kind of lofty and uncertain terrain as the drinker whose thoughts are similarly figured in line 10. This provokes the thought that Bacchylides' poem *as a whole* might be as much an illusion as the objects and actions set out in the fantasy—even despite the separating transition in lines 16–17 between *ὧς πίνοντος ὁρμαίνει κέαρ* and the address to Alexander with *ὦ π[α]ῖ̣*.[160] This would then include not only the fantasy section, but also the damaged stanzas that, as we saw, probably set out praise of Alexander in traditionally encomiastic terms on the basis of his observance of cult and the correct use of his wealth. This would highlight the fundamental artificiality of Alexander's claims to Greekness, and of the whole ideological system through which he ruled, as well as the artifice of Bacchylides' place within this system as praise-poet of the monarchy.

[159] Raymond (1953) 59 for possible solutions to the complexity of the different coin issues; also Young (2003) for some further work in this area.

[160] However, another parallel—this time between the two vocatives, *Ὦ βάρβιτε* in line 1 and *ὦ π[α]ῖ̣* in line 17, would perhaps undermine this separation; indeed, the eastern associations of the instrument in the first invocation may be transferred to the subject of praise in the second invocation.

At the heart of the poem is Alexander, addressed for the first time directly at line 17. We have already seen in Section II above how Bacchylides' question *τί γὰρ ἀνθρώ̣[ποισι μεῖζον] | [κέρδο]ς ἢ̣ θυμ̣ῶι χαρίζε[σθα]ι κ[αλά;]* in lines 19–20 fits with established encomiastic patterns, and *can* be read as praise of Alexander for having poets like Bacchylides to praise him.

However, it is important that Bacchylides uses a question here, rather than a more straightforward statement of Alexander's pre-eminence. If the supplements are correct here, more sensitive readers or listeners might notice a potentially unsettling parallel between *μεῖζον κέρδος* here and *μέγιστον πλοῦτον* in lines 15–16 in the fantasy, both placed in the same location in their respective stanzas. On one level, the force of the rhetoric may drive home the point that there is, actually, nothing greater for powerful rulers than—poetic—gratification for good deeds, and that to look beyond is folly (compare Pindar's *τὸ δ' ἔσχατον κορυφοῦται βασιλεῦσι. μηκέτι πάπταινε πόρσιον*, 'the ultimate is crowned with kingship: no longer peer beyond', addressed to Hieron of Syracuse at *Olympian* 1.113–14). But if we take seriously the idea that Bacchylides' act of praise is a part with Alexander's potential configuration as something of a luxurious easterner, with the trappings of power that might very well include *μέγιστον πλοῦτον* (very great, if not in fact the greatest, wealth), we are in fact thus being provided with a way to 'peer beyond', and what we see may appear not entirely complimentary and perhaps rather questionable.

In addition, we have to be aware that Bacchylides chooses to make his question general, using *ἀνθρώ̣[ποισι* in line 19. We have to be open to the possibility that this question might apply to individuals other than Alexander or Amyntas. We might then ask what kind of indulgence or gratification, *χάρις*, this might encompass, and what these 'fine deeds' might be. 'What greater profit is there than indulgence of one's own heart with respect to fine deeds?' is a question that applies equally well, if not more so, to Bacchylides,[161] as

[161] Interestingly enough, this is an inherent ambiguity that Theok. 17.116–17 has flattened out. He reverses the thrust of Bacchylides' generalization to make his version of the question applicable only to Ptolemy himself (*ἀνδρί . . . ὀλβίωι*); the Bacchylidean *ἀνθρώ̣[ποισι* is now redeployed to figure the glorious reception of this rich individual.

the man who has gone out of his way to praise a man rather difficult to pin down, a man whose successes perhaps remain as yet precisely *unachieved*.[162]

Bacchylides will receive his μισθός for praising Alexander, but there is perhaps a suggestion that, for the poet himself, answers to the question might indeed be forthcoming, ones which might figure the 'fine deeds' as gratification of other and less challenging patrons. After all, the very nature of the first four stanzas as a kind of digression, with the pondering on praise as the point of departure, might suggest a less than whole-hearted engagement, or at the very least provide an expression of the problem of engaging with a patron whose nature and prospects are somewhat indeterminate: for pan-*hellenic* poets, Macedonians are difficult to work for.

But Bacchylides' poem, and performances of it, make it impossible for us to choose between these rival ways of reading. Once again, the rhetorical complexities of the *persona loquens* in performance makes it is impossible to ground a distinction between the poet's own voice and the voice of performing elite, and possibly even royal,

As Richard Hunter has pointed out to me, Theokritean parallels for self-consciousness rather more concerned with *poetic*, rather than dynastic, self-satisfaction might come from Theok. 16 (*Kharites or Hieron*): the second half of that poem is much involved in precisely the kind of encomiastic self-examination that I am suggesting here in the case of Bacchylides. See especially the closing lines 108–9, with perhaps further Bacchylidean allusion: καλλείψω δ' οὐδ' ὔμμε· τὶ γὰρ Χαρίτων ἀγαπατόν | ἀνθρώποις ἀπάνευθεν; ἀεὶ Χαρίτεσσιν ἅμ' εἴην. For detail, see Hunter (1996) ch. 3.

[162] The very youthfulness of Alexander at the time of Bacchylides' composition puts pressure on the nature, extent, or indeed very existence, of the καλά of line 20, as Simon Goldhill suggests to me. For his young age, see Maehler (2004) 244–5, though he relies too strongly on the possibility of a specific victory by the prince. The closest epinician parallels for references to an *absence* of success (in games) also come in odes written for *paides*, but in these cases the odes themselves do, of course, celebrate present victories: see Pind. *Nem.* 6.61–3 for the unlucky failures at Olympia in an ode celebrating the Nemean triumph of Alkimidas of Aigina; *Isth.* 6.1–9 for a future Olympic victory for Phylakidas of Aigina as the third sympotic libation to Zeus Soter, to come soon after his present Isthmian triumph; Bacch. 11.24–36 for misfortune at Olympia in an ode celebrating a Pythian victory; compare also the slightly different situation in *Nem.* 11.22–9 for Aristagoras of Tenedos. Also cf. Bacch. 8.26–32, Pind. *Nem.* 10.28–33, *Isth.* 1.64–7, *Isth.* 3/4.27–33, *Isth.* 7.49–51 for future hopes of adult victors. Bacch. 4.11–13 (narrow miss of a fourth Pythian victory by Hieron) comes in a passage emphasizing the already exceptional triumphs of the Syracusan tyrant at Olympia and Delphi.

Macedonians here. It is up to audiences and readers at the various points of reception to work through, to engage with, or to avoid, the possibilities of meaning that the poem opens up. It is to rival, potentially hostile, audiences that I turn in the final section, with the question of panhellenic receptions for Bacchylides' poem.

Balancing Acts: Alexander and Panhellenic Reception

As I have discussed earlier, Bacchylides' poetic output is only guaranteed by the fame of his poetry and continued patronage of it in a wide range of contexts with often very different outlooks and political agendas. Bacchylides' epinicians often serve as elaborate advertisements pointing to the achievements of individuals and states within the panhellenic arena of claims and counterclaims to status, frequently played out by the use of genealogy and myth-making.[163] Bacchylides' enkomion for Alexander presents us with something rather more extreme, in that the poet's patron in this case would be viewed outside of Macedon as, at best, marginal, and at worst, alien or even hostile to the interests of Greek elites or *poleis*, because of allegations of, and outright evidence for, Macedonian Medism. But at the same time, according to a symbiosis of mutual advantage and self-proclamation, just as Bacchylides needs the κλέος of his poetry to resonate in wide-ranging contexts in order to receive future commissions, Macedonian royalty also needs Greek receptions and Greek audiences for its own activities, in order to play the games with notions of Greekness that it wanted in order to secure its own position territorially and politically.

It should not be surprising that late-archaic enkomia could expect and indeed play with, the possibility of rival receptions. It is likely that the enkomion by Simonides for the Thessalian Skopas (Simonides fr. 542 *PMG*) generates rival receptions for itself. As Glen Most has pointed out, there is a delicate balance there too between praise and blame, guaranteed by, but also allowing for a wide range of responses to, Skopas as subject of the poem. It is worth quoting Most here in full, given the similarity of situations facing both Simonides and Bacchylides:

[163] See Fearn (2003) on Bacch. 9; Ch. 2 below on Bacch. 13.

> The poem itself is best seen . . . as the theoretical reflection of a practitioner of encomiastic poetry upon his poetic practice, designed to determine what kind of patron is the proper subject for encomium. Since at the same time the poem seeks to justify the choice of Scopas as an appropriate object for praise, it manages to combine a theorization of encomium with the practical performance of an actual encomium of Scopas. But therein lies a difficulty. For in effect Simonides was trying to use one and the same poem to convey two rather different messages to two quite different audiences: on the one hand to Scopas, whose commission he had accepted and who could expect to be praised extravagantly; and on the other hand to professional colleagues and a pan-Hellenic audience (including other potential patrons), who might well blame him for praising Scopas. He must balance his poem upon a razor's edge of tact if it is not to fall into one or the other of opposite kinds of failure.[164]

That Bacchylides should use a sympotic framework to play out such issues should not be at all surprising given the symposium's own predilection for discourse on balance.[165] Whereas Simonides plays on the doubleness and ambiguity of moral vocabulary, Bacchylides' poem itself seems to be formed out of two balanced sections, with Alexander as the fulcrum.

Bacchylides' poem plays explicitly with reception. It consciously opens itself up to receptions and further readings by projecting performance of itself and praise of Alexander into plural symposia—*συμποσ̣[ίαι]σιν*, line 5—, the settings at which (*εὖτε*, line 6) the flight of fancy takes wing. The parallel with the famously double-edged memorialization of Kyrnos by Theognis should make us take seriously the way in which memorialization of Alexander has to go hand in hand with rival, and mutually contradictory, receptions of him and of Macedon.[166]

[164] Most (1994); quotation from 145–6. His statement at 150 is also extremely apposite for my overall approach to Bacchylides: 'Not only Simonides' ode to Scopas, but many other ancient poetic texts, may end up benefiting by being put into historical contexts which are highly specific, not because they are made up exclusively of particular identifiable political or personal events, but instead because they form complex and dynamic ideological structures.'

[165] Hence my heading to this subsection: a reuse of the title of ch. 4 of Lissarrague (1990*a*), p. 76, a discussion of the iconography of games of balance on sympotic pottery.

[166] Thgn. 237–54, esp. 239–40: *θοίνῃς δὲ καὶ εἰλαπίνῃσι παρέσσῃ | ἐν πάσαις, πολλῶν κείμενος ἐν στόμασιν.*

That such receptions might indeed be hostile or cynical could be addressed by recourse to the frame within which Athenaios cites lines 6–16 of the poem, the section encompassing the sympotic fantasy. Significant portions of the second book of Athenaios, in which the fantasy section of our poem is quoted, are taken up with lists of examples where drink provokes confusion between reality and illusion.[167] The lines are used to illustrate the thoughts of the speaker as follows:

οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ πάσης εὐθυμίας καὶ πληρώσεως τὸ καυχᾶσθαι καὶ σκώπτειν καὶ γελοιάζειν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἀλλοιούσης τὴν γνώμην καὶ πρὸς τὸ ψευδὲς τρεπούσης, ἣ γίνεται κατὰ τὴν μέθην. διὸ Βακχυλίδης φησί·

Boastfulness, ridicule, and jest spring not from every kind of heartiness and fullness, but only from that which alters the spirit so completely that it inclines to illusion, which happens only through wine. Thus Bacchylides: . . .

Athenaios 2.39e

These framing lines are interesting because they have a bearing on our interpretation of Bacchylides' whole text, including the first five lines of the poem which Athenaios has not cited, thus giving no indication through this part of the *paradosis* that the excerpt in fact comes from an enkomion with praise as its chief motivation and concern.

Athenaios' list does not include praise; boastfulness, *τὸ καυχᾶσθαι*, would naturally be taken as a negative *response* to such praise. It is therefore possible that Athenaios, perhaps unknowingly, figures cynical, sceptical, or perhaps even skoptic Greek sympotic reactions to this poem as praise of Alexander: readings of the poem as at best boastfulness by Macedonians wishing to appear Greek, or at worst part of a Macedonian political agenda threatening the security of individual Greeks by attempting to mask Macedonian allegiance with Persia. The ways in which we have been able to read the intricacies of this poem would have enabled enlightened Greek readers aware of the implications of the rhetoric of the fantasy section to deconstruct the praise of Alexander, and to use this poem, through performance in Greek symposia, as a warning to Greeks themselves not only about the threat of Macedonian ideological self-constructions and the dangerously eastern-sounding trappings

[167] e.g. Ath. 2.37b–e on the story of the Akragantine house called 'Trireme'.

of luxury that might be found on the north side of Olympos, but also about the dangers of thinking too big themselves.[168] Whichever way, it seems likely that the poem survived through reperformance in Greek as well as Macedonian symposia, assuring the continued fame of Bacchylides in the process.[169]

We can now push further Most's point about rival receptions in the case of Bacchylides by looking back to Herodotos' engagement with Alexander and Macedon. I suggest that the poem takes a leading role in the ideological claims and counterclaims of the early decades of the fifth century concerning Macedonian Medism, playing off Macedonian and Greek receptions against one another. We saw earlier that Herodotos' engagement with Alexander was in part a diplomatic presentation of a Macedonian angle, especially regarding Alexander's claims to Greekness, but also an attempt to undercut it through juxtaposition with the shifting allegiances of the Macedonian monarchy and their propensity towards Medism.

If we consider now the possible relation between Herodotos' and Bacchylides' takes on Macedonian ideological self-construction, I believe it to be entirely possible that the narrative ambiguity of Herodotos' engagement with Macedon, and its opening use of the symposium motif at 5.17–21, is, at least in part, a reassertion of

[168] Bacchylides has been *very* careful not to make any direct equation between the fantasist and Alexander, but it is clear that Bacchylides has been pointing to dangers associated primarily with monarchy and tyranny, and made some telling analogies between composing poetry, listening to it, and fantasizing. On such a Greek reception, it therefore prefigures in some ways later Greek philosophical and historiographical engagements with tyranny: see e.g. Pl. *Rep.* 9.572–5 esp. 573c–d and 574e–5a with 572b, with links once more to banqueting and to festivity. Of course, for Plato as well as Herodotos, the discussion of tyranny feeds in to a pre-established discourse about wealth and how to use it found in encomiastic poetry written for tyrants such as Hieron of Syracuse: see e.g. Hdt. 1 on Kroisos, with Bacch. 3 and Pind. *Pyth.* 1.94; Hdt. 3.121 on Polykrates with Anakreon in attendance; Kurke (1991) ch. 7; Pelling (2002) on Herodotos book 3 generally. In many ways, this takes us back to our starting point with Herodotos. Of course, Greek sympotic elegy had already urged against 'monarchy' in the strongest possible terms: see above, pp. 55, with Solon 9 W and Thgn. 39–52.

[169] In any case, given the poem's obvious sympotic positioning, responses would be built in to reperformances of this poem within a culture of competitive capping, at least in more obviously Greek, non-Macedonian, contexts. For capping as a hallmark of Greek sympotic performance, see Collins (2004), though his study would have been improved through a consideration of sympotic reperformance of a fuller range of lyric texts than those he allows himself space to discuss.

exactly the balanced and ambiguous treatment of Alexander's power as presented in Bacchylides' version, but also a preservation of a Macedonian response to negative Greek receptions of Macedonian power made available by the allusive and rhetorical subtleties that Bacchylides' poem revels in.

As such Bacchylides' poem cannot, any more than Herodotos' narrative, provide straightforward answers to the question 'Who were the Macedonians?' Part of the energy and momentum of Bacchylides' poem derives precisely from his own engagement with this problem of definition.

Conclusion

Bacchylides' poem, right from the arch address to the *barbitos* in the first line, is a fiction, a poetic confection. It is therefore the perfect response to, and memorialization of, Alexander, whose self-image is also shown to be an artificial, ideological construct. As such the fictionality of Bacchylides' poem, with its flight of fancy and play with the boundary between reality and illusion, is fundamentally politicized through association with its subject.

Bacchylides' poem sends us under the influence of the gifts of Aphrodite and Dionysos not only to think about Alexander but also about the nature of praise itself. It uses sympotic fantasy in place of myth to explore these subjects. The placing of the praise of Alexander after that fantasy section only serves to highlight further the artificiality of such ideological constructs and the artificiality of their expression in poetry.

That the question of the ethnic allegiances of Macedon is an ongoing topic of controversy can be seen simply by reference to ongoing campaigns by Greek and Macedonian interests which still set out to prove finally one way or the other the true ethnic identity of the Macedonians by recourse to the same set of classical 'evidence'.[170] The discursive power of the past in the making of geo-political claims is an ever-present concern, from Bacchylides and Herodotos onwards.

[170] See e.g. http://faq.macedonia.org/history/ (FYROM); www.real.macedonia.gr (Greek).

2

Homeric Fire, Aiginetan Glory, Panhellenic Reception: Bacchylides 13

> 'Homeric values' are not transmitted to students any more than Homer expresses immediately the 'ideals of Western civilization.' The latter ideals are specific to individual social formations, to successive ideologies of tradition . . .[1]

> Greeks in different communities manipulated the dead in the material record and in the collective fabricated memory of myth and epic to create ancestors when none existed. This too is a form of monumentalization; it creates stability in the face of change and provides the space in which to enact and contest claims to power and authority.[2]

Bacchylides 13 was commissioned to memorialize the victory of Pytheas of Aigina, son of Lampon, in the Nemean pankration for boys, probably in 485 BCE.[3]

[1] Guillory (1993) 23. [2] Antonaccio (1993) 65.

[3] For the question of the date, see Appendix 1. That the victor competed as a *pais*, not as an *ageneios*, is known from line 6 of Pindar's *Nemean* 5, celebrating the same victory: *οὔπω γέννυσι φαίνων τερείνας | ματέρ' οἰνάνθας ὀπώραν*, 'though his cheeks do not yet show the ripeness of late summer, the mother of the tender vine-blossom' (i.e. Pytheas is pre-pubescent). See Robbins (1987) 26 with n. 3 (not cited by Pfeijffer (1999*a*) ad loc. Pind. *Nem.* 5.6), and now Burnett (2005) 47 n. 12 and 62 with n. 5 (*contra*: Blass lv–lvi; Klee (1918) 46; Maehler I.2 250 with n. 1; Pfeijffer (1998) 29; Stenger (2004) 172). Cf. Bury 84; Kenyon xxxvi. Maehler xlvii–xlviii is now more circumspect; Jebb 214 hedges his bets.

For the focus on the downy faces of *ageneioi*, youths who are themselves not yet fully-bearded men, see Bullock (1985) 183 ad loc. Kall. *Hymn* 5.75–6, with, among other examples, Hom. *Od.* 11.319–20; Aiskh. *Sept.* 534 (cf. Hutchinson (1985) 127 ad loc.); Xen. *Cyr.* 4.6.5; also Hom. *Il.* 24.347–8; Xen. *Symp.* 4.23–6. For more on athletic age-classes, see Klee (1918) ch. 4; Crowther (1988); Golden (1998) 104–16.

My discussion is in three main sections. In the first I locate Bacchylides' poem within its Aiginetan context. In the second, I show how Bacchylides uses imagery and Homeric narrative to support Aiginetan aristocratic heritage. The poem celebrates the continuity of Aiginetan cultic heritage, through the *exempla* provided by Pytheas on the one hand, and Aias and Akhilleus on the other, and through the celebration of Homeric poetry itself as an Aiginetan national treasure.[4] In the final section, I set against such pro-Aiginetan readings alternative receptions of the poem, implied by its panhellenic status and its incorporation, towards its close, of praise of Pytheas' Athenian trainer Menandros.

As it will transpire, the gleam of Aiakid success which reflects onto the victor Pytheas, and the imagery of blazing fires and pyres throughout the poem, are metaphors for the reception of the poem itself throughout Greece and not just on Aigina. Once again, Bacchylides the panhellenic poet stands in the centre, securing the continuity of his own patronage as well as his patrons' fame.

I. AIGINETAN CONTEXTS

Aiginetan Cult and Political History

Aigina is located in the Saronic Gulf south-west of Athens. Before we engage with the text of Bacchylides 13, I will relate it to the politics of the period and examine the nature of relations between Aigina and her neighbour Athens.

The overall impression from Herodotos is of deep-seated rivalry, enmity, and occasional outright hostility, between the two neighbouring states. Herodotos 5.79–81 tells us of how the Thebans bring the Aiginetans into hostilities with Athens, by means of a genealogical connection between themselves and the Aiginetans (the

[4] As such, my discussion provides an extended, but also more focused, treatment of a theme explored in rather limited fashion by Erskine (2001) 62–8.

Asopid link between Thebe and Aigina and her Aiakid progeny).[5] Aigina's prosperity and her 'ancient enmity' with Athens encourages her to comply and begin a war without formal declaration: *Αἰγινῆται δὲ εὐδαιμονίῃ τε μεγάλῃ ἐπαρθέντες καὶ ἔχθρης παλαιῆς ἀναμνησθέντες ἐχούσης ἐς Ἀθηναίους, τότε . . . πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπέφερον*, 'The Aiginetans, uplifted by great prosperity, and remembering an ancient enmity with Athens, then started an unheralded war against the Athenians'. This passage demonstrates the interconnection between cult and politics in the late sixth and early fifth centuries. It also indicates the importance of Aiakidai, and their appropriation by Aigina, to relations between her and Athens, particularly in military terms.

The significance of Aiakos himself for Aiginetan cultic and national identity cannot be overstated. Pausanias describes his elaborate shrine, in a prominent location in the main settlement on the island. The shrine had a low altar, understood to be the hero's grave, a grove of ancient olive trees, and a quadrangular enclosure in white stone. Aiakos himself was shown in a relief at the entrance, receiving envoys from all over Greece in the time of the drought which he was able to bring to an end.[6] Until recently it was thought that the Aiakeion was located on Kolonna Hill, just south of the temple of Apollo.[7] However, this building has now been identified as the temple of Artemis also mentioned by Pausanias. The Aiakeion was therefore likely not to have been on Kolonna Hill, but on another piece of high ground just to the east.[8] This location may be significant, since it puts the sanctuary even closer to the centre of Aigina town than before. In this shrine athletic victors dedicated their wreaths to the hero; Pindar refers to this at the close of *Nemean* 5, celebrating the same victory as Bacchylides 13.[9] The island had a major festival honouring Aiakos, the Aiakeia. At least one poem by

[5] Through the response of the Delphic oracle: *τῶν ἄγχιστα δέεσθαι*, 'they need those closest': see my discussion at Fearn (2003) 359.

[6] Paus. 2.29.6–7.

[7] Welter (1938a) 39, pl. 36; Musti and Torelli (1994) 310 ad loc. Paus. 2.29.72–3.

[8] Walter (1993) 54–6 with pl. 48; Walter-Karydi (1994) 132; see below, Figure 2.

[9] Pind. *Nem.* 5.53–4; cf. *Σ* Pind. *Nem.* 5.94e–f (iii.100 Dr); see in general *RE* i.921 s.v. Aiakeion. On *Nemean* 5 see further below, p. 113.

Pindar, perhaps a prosodion, was performed in honour of Aiakos, presumably at this festival: *Paean* 15 = S4 Rutherford, entitled *Α[ἰ]γινήταις εἰ[ς] Αἰακόν*, 'For the Aiginetans to Aiakos'; the festival may have involved a *theoxenia*.[10] The prosodion section of *Paean* 6 (lines 123–83) may itself have been performed independently at this festival, given that its separate title likewise honours Aiakos;[11] moreover, lines 144 and following, up to at least 155–6, probably detailed Aiakos' skills in arbitration, also mentioned at *Isthmian* 8.23–4.[12] The Aiakeia also seems to have involved athletic competition: the reference to Aiginetan games with *Αἰακιδᾶν εὐερκὲς ἄλσος*, 'well-bordered grove of the Aiakidai' in the victory catalogue of a Corinthian victor at Pindar *Olympian* 13.109 suggests that the games were open to outsiders, and indeed aspired to some degree of panhellenic status.[13]

In his discussion of the hostilities between Athens and Aigina, Herodotos also provides us with essential information concerning the *Athenian* response to the Aiginetan Aiakidai. At 5.89 Herodotos tells us that after Aiginetan raids on the Attic coastline, the Athenians receive a mysterious oracle from Delphi which amongst other things tells them to consecrate a sanctuary to Aiakos. Instead of waiting the thirty years before attacking, as instructed, Athens goes ahead and also consecrates a precinct to Aiakos. Herodotos remarks: *τῷ* . . .

[10] See Rutherford 413–17; Rutherford (1992).

[11] Also entitled *Αἰγ[ινήτα]ις [εἰ]ς Αἰα[κὸ]ν*, with the additional generic *προσ-[ό]δι[ο]ν*: see Rutherford (1997) 5. Kurke (2005) places the emphasis on prayers to Apollo Pythios at the Aiginetan Thearion (below, n. 14) in advance of theoric departure to Delphi. However, she does not deal sufficiently with the specific title given to the section, and passes rather too readily over the possibility of separate and/or subsequent performance on Aigina of the third triad in honour of Aiakos.

[12] Rutherford 326; cf. Rutherford 411 n. 1 with 331–2 for how the Aiakeia may itself have celebrated Aiakos' intervention to save Greece from the drought; recall how the story was depicted in part on the relief on the Aiakeion.

[13] See also *Σ* Pind. *Nem.* 5.78c and *Σ* Pind. *Ol.* 13.155 (i.386 Dr) (the latter, however, bracketed by Drachmann); the six Aiginetan victories of the great boxer Diagoras of Rhodes alluded to at Pind. *Ol.* 7.86 could have been won here; the festival is mentioned by the scholia ad loc., *Σ* Pind. *Ol.* 7.156b *ad fin.* (i.232 Dr). The Aiginetan Delphinia would be another possibility, despite its being held in the same month as the Nemean games: for this festival see below, p. 120 with n. 93. We know that the unknown Athenian of Bacch. 10 also won on Aigina, the likely supplement in line 35. See Rutherford 411 for speculation on the panhellenic status of the Aiakeia.

Αἰακῷ τέμενος ἀπέδεξαν τοῦτο τὸ νῦν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορῆς ἵδρυται, 'they put on show this precinct to Aiakos which is now set up by the *agora*'. This shows the importance of the role of localized cult in inter-state politics. In the light of Athens' subjugation of Aigina in 457, it seems likely that this is a *vaticinium post eventum*, invented later by the Athenian propaganda machine.[14] This does not rule out the possibility that a shrine was consecrated to Aiakos sometime at the start of the troubles with Aigina, and Athenians in the 450s may not have known about the exact time of its consecration.[15]

Important evidence has come to light for the existence of a shrine to Aiakos just outside the southern boundaries of the Athenian Agora.[16] It seems clear that this was an Athenian appropriation in order to appease or win over their enemy's most important cult hero.[17] As Visser suggests: 'an enemy hero could be a conqueror of the city that worshipped him, or a great man conquered by them. . . . Possession of his body was somehow an appropriation of his energy and power.'[18] Assault on the Aiginetan Aiakid genealogy may represent the start of a propaganda campaign by Athens.[19] Appropriation of Aiakos also fits closely the pattern of the earlier, but ongoing,

[14] Cf. Pfeijffer (1995) 331 with n. 62. It may have also been an attempt by Athens to undermine the strong ties between Aigina, Aiakos, and Delphi, given the role of Delphi in the myth of the drought: see Rutherford 331–8 and Currie (2005) 331–8 for Aiginetan links to Delphi. Part of the *temenos* of Apollo on Kolonna Hill was the Thearion, the meeting-place for Aiginetan *theōriai*, built in the late 6th cent. BCE: Pind. *Nem.* 3.69–70 (translated and discussed erroneously in Race's Loeb) with Σ Pind. *Nem.* 3.122a–b (iii.59 Dr); for location details see *Alt-Ägina* I.3 135–72 with pl. 77 and Walter-Karydi (1994); Currie (2005) 333–40 (with the attractive suggestion that the Thearion formed the site of initial performance for Pind. *Nem.* 7). This building appears to have been a banqueting-hall connected with the local Aiginetan priesthood and ruling class: the political dimension is denied by Bultrighini (1980) 142–4 and Walter-Karydi (1994) 134, but see Figueira (1981) 317; Rutherford 334; Burnett (2005) 143–4 with nn. 9–12.

[15] Stroud (1998) 86 is against any questioning of the oracle, since critics who do question its validity tend to use it to posit a later date for the Athenian sanctuary of Aiakos, which is no longer possible. But we do not have to connect the oracle so closely with the building of the sanctuary.

[16] Stroud (1994) and (1998). For a judicious review of the latter, see Osborne (2000).

[17] Cf. Stroud (1998) 88 and n. 9, with Kearns (1989) 47 and Williams (1987) 672.

[18] Visser (1982) 425.

[19] Williams (1987) 672.

contest between Athens, Megara, and Aigina itself over Salamis and Aias.[20]

The strength of this contest is further indicated by Stroud's suggestion that the Athenian Aiakeion, now identified with the remains of a rectangular *peribolos* (previously labelled 'Heliaia'),[21] was in fact a close imitation of Aiakos' shrine on Aigina. Pausanias' description of the Aiginetan shrine matches extremely closely what has been discovered in the Athenian site.[22] The Athenian shrine seems to have had a fine plaster front wall where court judgements could be written up.[23] It may even be that the wall of the *peribolos* was made of Aiginetan limestone.[24] Surely these can only be further attempts to make the Aiginetan hero feel at home in Athens. It may also be significant that one of Athens' most important families, the Philaidai, could trace their own history back to Aiakos: Pausanias tells us that Kimon and Miltiades were descended from Aiakos, Telamon, and Aias. We will come back to genealogies shortly, but suffice it to say here that this patently artificial genealogy for one of Athens' ruling families may well be linked politically with Athens' actual appropriation of the cult of Aiakos.[25] This will be important in connection with representation of Athenian citizens within Aiginetan epinicians,

[20] Cf. Shapiro (1989) 155; see also Hdt. 5.66.2 and Kleisthenes' incorporation of Aias into the new tribal structure of Attika, *ἅτε ἀστυγείτονα καὶ σύμμαχον*. Iconographic treatment of the rape of Aigina by Zeus on contemporary Attic vase-painting is given a new political treatment by Arafat (2002): it is symbolic of Athens' hostility toward the island in this general period. The story of the rape of Aigina became prominent in Athens in this period precisely as a reaction to the important place of the myth in Aiginetan cult, as, for instance, the kind of myth celebrated by the Aiginetan *parthenoi* embedded within Bacchylides' Aiginetan poem.

[21] See Stroud (1998) 96 for a diagram of the Agora in the 4th cent. BCE.

[22] Pausanias' failure to make any mention of the Athenian shrine is plausibly explained by Stroud (1998) 102: the change in function of the building from religious shrine to grain store and the addition of extraneous buildings would have rendered identification of the Aiakeion extremely difficult from the 4th cent. BCE on.

[23] *δίκαι* in *POxy* 2087.18. Cf. Stroud (1998) 99 with (1994) 5.

[24] Stroud (1998) 101 with n. 37.

[25] Paus. 2.29.4; cf. *Σ* Pind. *Nem.* 2.19 (iii.36–7 Dr). Alternatively, Pherekydes put forward the view that Philaios, founder of the Philaidai, was son of Aias: see *EGM* I 276 fr. 2. Other evidence suggests that Pherekydes meddled with the Aiakid genealogy; according to Apollodoros, he made Telamon a friend of Peleus and not his brother; this would have resulted in fissuring the family stemma of the Aiakidai: see *EGM* I 309 fr. 60.

including Bacchylides 13. Whether or not any specific connection was made between Aiakos and Aias in Athens,[26] the evidence so far presented makes it quite clear that the Athens of the late sixth and early fifth centuries was keen to reinflect and disturb rival Aiginetan claims to the Aiakid dynasty for political purposes.

Choruses, along with—and indeed part of—cult, can be seen to play an important role in these Aiginetan battles. This is shown by Herodotos 5.82–4, where the Aiginetans steal the cult statues of Damia and Auxesia, made of *Athenian* olive-wood, from Epidauros, 'an act symbolic of a newly-won independence from their old mother-city':[27] the Aiginetans establish *khorēgoi* to honour the two deities, to rival the choruses that honoured them in Epidauros.[28] Epichoric Aiginetan choral performances thus exhibit a power rivalling both Epidaurian and Athenian cultic, and so politically charged, performances. We will see with Bacchylides 13 how political and cultic rivalries of this sort are played out in Aiginetan *khoreia*, itself part of a broader cultic context, within a panhellenic performance setting.

Aiginetan relations with other Greek *poleis* in this period were complicated by the Persian threat. Herodotos at 6.49–50 describes how Dareios in 491 BCE sent envoys to numerous Greek states to test their nerve, and suggests that Aigina submitted. Athens, concerned that the Aiginetans had submitted out of a desire to take sides with Persia against them, protests to Sparta, accusing Aigina of betraying Greece. However, from Herodotos' account it is very likely that such accusations had much to do with Athenian propaganda, and their

[26] The appropriation of Aias begins in the sources with the sixth-century quarrel with Megara over Salamis: see Kearns (1989) 82 with n. 10, Plut. *Sol.* 10, and Paus. 1.35.1, for how Aias' sons Philaios and Eurysakes are made to take up Athenian citizenship and hand over Salamis to Athens. However, as we shall see from Herodotos, the same kind of power-play between states of the Saronic Gulf appears to be still operative at the battle of Salamis: see below, pp. 94–5. See too Pind. *Nem.* 2.13–14 for an Athenian view of the *Salaminian* Aias. Further discussion now in L'Homme-Wéry (2000), esp. 344–9.

[27] *Khoregia* 281.

[28] The same Epidauros whose citizens were instructed by Delphi to pay an annual sacrifice to Erekhtheus and Athena Polias by worshipping the olive-wood statues (i.e. to pay symbolic and financial allegiance to Athens and its cultic authority): Hdt. 5.82.3.

desire to project a self-image as the paradigmatic defender of Greece at the time of the Persian invasion.

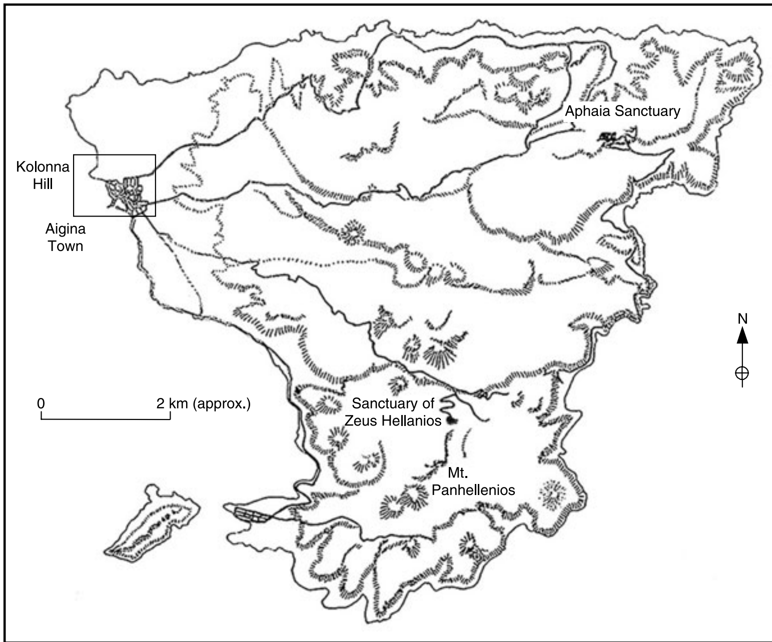

Figure 1 Map of the Island of Aigina.

After H. Walter, *Ägina: Die archäologische Geschichte einer griechischen Insel* (Munich, 1993) p. 4 fig. 1, by kind permission of Deutscher Kunstverlag GmbH.

The Aiginetans provided a strong response to Athenian allegations of Medism through their account of the role of Aiakid cult and therefore Aiginetan participation in the battle of Salamis. At 8.64 Herodotos tells how, on the dawn of the battle of Salamis, the Greeks call on the Aiakidai to fight alongside them; Aias and Telamon are brought from Salamis, and a ship is sent to Aigina for Aiakos and his other sons, presumably in the form of cult statues. This ship duly arrives from Aigina at 8.83. Aiginetans and Athenians make claims and counterclaims concerning which ship was the first to engage the enemy. Aiginetans claim that it was one of theirs: none other, in fact, than the ship which had just returned from Aigina. This story attests to the fact that the Aiakidai were used in national and international

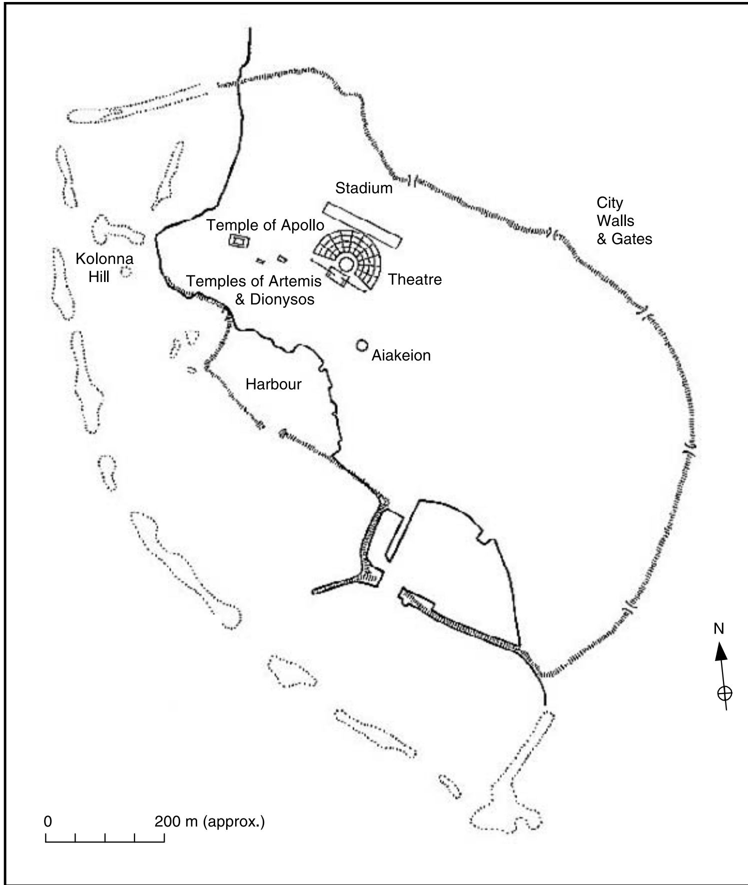

Figure 2 Map of Aigina Town.

After H. Walter, *Ägina: Die archäologische Geschichte einer griechischen Insel* (Munich, 1993) p. 55 fig. 48, by kind permission of Deutscher Kunstverlag GmbH.

political struggles by Aigina against Athens and against accusations of Medism.[29]

[29] According to Hdt. 8.82, Polykritos son of Krios passed close to Themistokles' ship during the battle and sarcastically asked whether he still considered the Aiginetans to be Medizers. The interpretation given at Plut. *Them.* 15.1 for an apparition of armed warriors coming from Aigina before Salamis as Aiakidai

Aiakid Iconography

Evidence from vase-painting of the period is heavily Athenocentric and cannot provide any clear information about iconographic uses of mythological figures important to one of Athens' greatest ever enemies. Representations of the Homeric episode narrated in Bacchylides 13, the stance of Aias before the Akhaian ships in *Iliad* 15, are rarely found on painted pottery.[30] Illustrations of two armed warriors are found on Attic vase-paintings (and identified there with Aias and Akhilleus), and also on sixth-century Aiginetan seals and shield-straps; but it is difficult to pick up any inter-*polis* rivalry in this imagery.[31]

However, specific artistic treatments from Aigina provide information of major significance. We know that Aias and Akhilleus become subjects of representation on the most important public monument on the island of the early fifth century, on the pedimental sculptures from the temple of Aphaia.[32] According to Ohly's analysis of the evidence, there are remains of four pediments from this temple.[33] The original two, reconstructed as showing the pursuit of the nymph Aigina by Zeus and an Amazonomachy or more general warrior group,[34] were replaced by a scene showing the combined *aristeiai* of Aias and Akhilleus at Troy, with Athena overseeing their successes;

also stresses partisan beliefs about cults as well as the connection of Aiakidai with historical battles. A similar set of beliefs is shown by the deployment of Spartan cult figures joining the march to Plataea in Sim. fr. 11.30 W and the Boreadai at Artemision at Sim. fr. 3 W, for which see Hornblower (2001) 140 with nn. 22–6.

[30] See Friis Johansen (1967) 276, who includes only Pausanias' description of a painting in Ephesos, and an Etruscan red-figure amphora in Munich. The list of Snodgrass (1998) 69–70 does not include anything from *Il.* 15.

[31] See Laser (1987) 137 nos. 1 and 2 with *LIMC* I.1 99–100 no. 415 s.v. Achilleus, and Maass (1984) 273, figs. 7a and b; Woodford (1982); Kurke (1999) 270 for brief discussion of possible ideological associations.

[32] For good illustrations see Stewart (1990) plates 239–53 and Ohly (1976).

[33] Ohly (1972) and (1976).

[34] Pursuit of Aigina by Zeus in presence of fleeing sisters: Ohly (1972) 68–70, with fig. 23 reconstruction; Ohly (2001) pll. 163–9 (extremely fragmentary); *LIMC* I.1 369 no. 31 s.v. Aigina. Amazonomachy: Stewart (1990) 137; less specific warrior group, perhaps Amazonomachy: Ohly (1972) 68–70; (1974) 64–6 (Eng. trans., with more conjecture); Ohly (2001) pll. 170–89 (very fragmentary); earlier discussion in Furtwängler (1906) i.256–74.

and by the earlier sack of Troy by Telamon and Herakles, on the west and east pediments respectively. Between the construction of the second west and second east pediments there was a distinct shift marking the change from late archaic to early classical style.

There are insufficient objective grounds for positing a specific date for the pedimental sculpture, or any direct relation between the sculptures and the mythology of Bacchylides 13.[35] But on the latest account, construction of the temple and all its pediments can be dated with reasonable confidence to 500–485 BCE.[36] Bankel's modification of Williams's dating of the completion, and his positing of a fifteen-year rather than a ten-year construction period allows more breathing-space for the building of such a richly adorned temple, and takes into account the rebuilding of the east gable. Bankel also suggests on stylistic grounds a completion date before 480. This conforms with the information concerning the pottery finds, none of which can be securely dated later than 480.[37] So in the general period within which Bacchylides 13 was performed on Aigina, Aiginetans would have been able to see parallel treatments of Aiakid mythology rising to completion on their temple of Aphaia.

There is now fairly widespread agreement that the motivation for the change in the pediments was political. Earlier views were that there was a competition to design and build the best pair of pedimental sculptures and that the loser received the runner's up prize of having his design set up in the temple precinct.[38] Alternatively, some have thought that the temple was damaged during its construction, perhaps sabotaged by the renegade Aiginetan Nikodromos (whose pro-Athenian activities are detailed in Herodotos 6.88–91), or damaged by Athenians or Persians; others suggested lightning damage. However, we have to account for the following important facts: (1) that the work of the same sculptors can be identified in parts of all four sets; (2) that all four sets

[35] Dating: Ohly: Set 1 510–500; West 2: 500; East 2: 495–490. Williams (1987) 671: *c.*500–480. Bankel (1993) 169.

[36] Bankel (1993) 169.

[37] See M. B. Moore (1986).

[38] Furtwängler (1906) i.272–4; see Williams (1987) 671 n. 15 for other similar hypotheses.

were put on public display;[39] and (3) the differences in their subject matter.[40] See the sensible remarks of Osborne:

> it appears that the original sculptures were removed shortly after they were put up, and replaced by new sets on different subjects. Although archaeology can reconstruct what happened, it cannot tell us why it happened. . . . Who had a right to the presence and support of such mythological ancestors was a matter of considerable political importance . . . In this context to replace sculptures that were politically anodyne with sculptures that were politically tendentious seems unlikely to have been accidental: so expensive a change of plan seems best explained by politics.[41]

Notwithstanding the fact that the representations on the first set of pediments were themselves politically charged, certainly in ethnic terms—notice the parallel here with the mythologies used in Bacchylides 9, for another Dorian state with an Asopid genealogical heritage[42]—the change of pediments must indicate some new political symbolism in Aiginetan public iconography.

The decision to use Athena on the temple can be read as another kind of appropriation, the intention being to counteract and neutralize the force of the Athenian cultic propaganda. Williams is right that 'any attempt to strike at the genealogy of their Aiakid heroes must have outraged the Aiginetans. It is surely against this background that we should see the change in the pediments, a change which set a unified pair of purely Aiakid pediments on a temple that overlooked the approaches to Aigina and was even visible from the Athenian Acropolis.'[43] Athena's presence within mythology of the conflict between Greeks and Troy emphasizes her support of the Greeks in the Trojan War and also suggests that the most important heroic figures of that war were Aiakidai from Aigina, despite the

[39] Cf. Ridgway (1970) 13.

[40] Williams also stresses the differing dates, but I am less inclined to use stylistic criteria alone as a basis. Even if the temple was slightly damaged in the conflict with Athens on the island (Hdt. 6.92), this may allow and even strengthen a political motivation for the change.

[41] Osborne (1998) 124–5.

[42] Fearn (2003).

[43] Williams (1987) 673. I will examine the marked shift in iconography of the temple pediments later. I note here that though Burnett (2005) ch. 2 does deal with the Aphaia pediments in relation to Aiakidai in Aiginetan epinicians, she offers little comment on why Athena was prominently placed on the new pediments.

lack of any connections in Homer between Aiakidai and Aigina.[44] This is a small part of the widespread attempts by individual states to use the mythical past to provide affirming aetiologies for alternative political constructions of the present. Myths concerning heroes from the Trojan War are especially associated with historical affirmations of military might, for instance in the case of the elegy presented on the herms in the Athenian Agora ('Simonides' *FGE* XL), Simonides' *Plataea Elegy*, and Herodotos' account of the Athenians' argument for priority over the Tegeans in claiming a wing of the Greek army at Plataea.[45] The Athenians' role in the Trojan War is mentioned just before their achievements at Marathon: clearly an extra effort to forge links between mythical battles and contemporary engagements.[46] It is no coincidence that the mythical battles are precisely those which come to iconographic prominence on the public buildings of the period.[47]

The presence of Aiakidai on the new Aphaia pediments can be interpreted as carrying a twin message. First, the juxtaposition of Athena with the Aiginetan Homeric heroes seems intended to counter Athenian claims to mythological prominence. Athens makes a poor showing in the *Iliad*; Athena in Homeric myth, and in Aiginetan construction of Homeric myth, supports not Athenian heroes, but the radically more significant Aiakidai, now claimed exclusively by Aigina. As we shall see, part of the point of the myth of Bacchylides 13 is to play up the specifically Homeric ties of the Aiakidai. Second, the reorientation was motivated by the threat from Persia and its consequences. The archer on the west pediment identified by Ohly as Paris wears characteristically oriental costume, with a tight-fitting full-length body suit and Skythian- or Mede-style head-dress.[48] In an atmosphere of hostility between Athens and

[44] See the next section for discussion. [45] Hdt. 9.27.

[46] For more detail about specifically Athenian engagement with Trojan-war paradigms, see Ch. 5 below, discussing Bacch. 15.

[47] See Boardman (1982) and Castriota (1992) for detailed discussion of Athenian Amazonomachy myths.

[48] For the best illustrations, see Schefold (1992) 235 pl. 290, Osborne (1998) 125, and, in detail, Ohly (1976) ii/iii pll. 138–44. Note how the hands and feet of the archer emerge from beneath the cuffs and bottoms of his body suit. For details of Persian dress, see the account of Hdt. 7.61, 7.62, 7.64; for negative portrayals of archery see Hall (1989) 139 on Athenian tragedy.

Aigina, this seems to be a reaffirmation by Aigina that they have more 'historical' grounds to support their opposition to the Persians than anyone else: more specifically, a greater claim than Athens. This ties in neatly with Aiginetan rejections of the Athenian accusations of Medism. Athena's presence on the pediments could also remind Aiginetan observers that Athens was a major threat to Aiginetan national identity, operating as a powerful message about Aiginetan independence and military might, even or especially in a period when a certain element within Aiginetan society had leanings towards Athens and democracy (hence Herodotos' treatment of the Nikodromos affair). Both sets of figures on the temple, apart from their nakedness and general lack of body armour,[49] could, with their hoplite shields, be made to create analogies with contemporary soldiers and campaigns: primarily with Persia in mind, but with the implication that Athens too is a rival whose power must be neutralized; indeed, Athena's incorporation on the pediments can be seen as an Aiginetan appropriation, transforming her into a pro-Aiginetan deity. This mirrors the remarks made by Osborne concerning the iconography of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi: 'The political issues remain generalized: we should remember that in the 480s *the Athenians* did not know whether Persia *or* Aigina posed the more immediate threat.'[50]

Asopos and Connections with the Mainland

We have already seen some of the ways in which Aigina used her Aiakid ancestry for practical purposes in the late sixth and early fifth centuries, in the forming of inter-*polis* alliances, and in the rejection of charges of Medism. However, it is a startling fact that the island is connected with the Aiakidai only relatively late in the mytho-poetic tradition.

[49] Though not Herakles or Paris.

[50] Osborne (1998) 128, with my italics. The Aphaia pediment does differ, however, in its presentation of at least one figure in exotic oriental costume, unlike the representation of the Amazons as ordinary hoplites on the Treasury scene; this enables us to press the Persian connection more strongly in the case of the Aphaia pediments. Though Persia is there the primary foe, the dangerous potential of Athens is not, however, lost.

In Homer, the genealogy of the Aiakidai is short: Zeus—Aiakos—Peleus—Akhilleus (*Il.* 21.189); the common patronymic *Αἰακίδης* in Homer only refers to Peleus and Akhilleus, not to Aias.[51] Homer and the pre-Homeric epic tradition fixed Aiakos, Peleus, and Akhilleus in Thessaly. Aiakos' creation of the Myrmidons is located in Thessaly by Servius;[52] he founded the Thessalian town of Dia according to one late source.[53] Peleus and Akhilleus are attached to the Thessalian river Sperkheios in the *Iliad*.[54] Phthia in Thessaly is associated with Akhilleus and the Myrmidons throughout the *Iliad*, and in the catalogues of *Iliad* 2 and *Iliad* 16 in particular.[55]

Things changed in the sixth century with the *Catalogue of Women*. In fr. 205 Aiakos' generation of the Myrmidons from ants is now located on an island, confirmed as Aigina by Tzetzes.[56] This deviates widely from the Homeric account: the island of Aigina is only referred to once in Homer, at *Iliad* 2.559, in a catalogue of the Argolid forces under the control of Diomedes;[57] no connection is made with the Aiakidai, and the island is made to sound insignificant. In stark contrast to this, the domain of Aias extends over the entire Saronic Gulf and Argolid coast to Asine, according to Aias' entry in the catalogue of Helen's suitors at fr. 204 lines 44–51 in the *Catalogue of Women*.[58] An extension of this nationalism, even if a later addition, is fr. 205, which even ascribes the invention of ships and sailing to the Aiginetans: *οἳ δή τοι πρῶτοι ζεῦξαν νέας ἀμφιελίσσας* | ⟨*πρῶτοι δ' ἱστί' ἔθεν νηὸς πτερὰ ποντοπόροιο*⟩, 'they were the first to lash together balanced ships, and the first to fix masts and sails to sea-going vessels'.[59] In the sixth century, therefore, we can see the development of the kind of pro-Aiginetan

[51] West (1985) 162; this genealogy may be the product of a local Thessalian epic tradition which was incorporated into the mainstream Homeric tradition at a relatively late stage: so West (1973) 189–91.

[52] Serv. ad Virg. *A.* 4.402.

[53] Steph. Byz. s.v. *Δῖα*; this is likely to reflect a local tradition, in addition to offering an unusual reinterpretation of *δῖος*.

[54] *Il.* 23.142; cf. 16.174–6.

[55] *Il.* 2.683–5; 16.173–8.

[56] Hes. fr. 205 M-W: *Σ* Pind. *Nem.* 3.21 (iii.45 Dr); *Σ* Pind. *Ol.* 8.26e (i.242 Dr); Tzetzes ad Lykophr. 176 (ii.85 Scheer); cf. Paus. 2.29.2.

[57] Cf. Hall (1997) 90.

[58] See West (2001) 180.

[59] Cf. Aigina as *ναυσικλυτάν* at Pind. *Nem.* 5.9.

nationalism which came to fruition in the odes of Pindar and Bacchylides.[60]

The prominence of Aigina in the sixth and early fifth centuries can be elaborated further, with specific relevance for Bacchylides 13: a direct link was created between the physical geography of the island and the mythical Aiakidai. This involved two steps, the first of which, the creation of a mythological link between the nymph Aigina, daughter of Asopos, and the Aiakidai, I shall explore in the next section with the specific detail provided by Bacchylides 13. Here I shall focus on the second link, the way in which the nymph Aigina was made to connect with the island itself.

The Aiginetans went to extraordinary lengths to provide themselves with a connection to Asopos and his daughter through the use of water. It has been shown, in a fascinating article by Privitera, that the Aiginetans some time in the sixth century built an underground watercourse following the route of a dry river-bed on the island, in order to carry water from the region of Mount Panhellenios in the centre of the southern part of the island to a spring in Aigina town.[61] The evidence for the existence of this spring, named Asopis, comes primarily from an allusion to it at the opening of Pindar's *Nemean* 3:

> Ὦ πότνια Μοῖσα, μᾶτερ ἁμετέρα, λίσσομαι,
> τὰν πολυξέναν ἐν ἱερομηνίᾳ Νεμεάδι
> ἵκεο Δωρίδα νᾶσον Αἴγιναν· ὕδατι γάρ

[60] Where and how this tradition developed is a question that naturally arises. Ian Rutherford suggests to me that the Aiginetan slant on Aiakid mythology came about in the sixth century through Aiginetan theoric involvement in the Delphic Amphiktyony, and subsequent Aiginetan contact with and input into a northern Greek strand of the heroic tradition; cf. Rutherford (2005); R. L. Fowler (1998). An alternative hypothesis would be that the *Iliad* itself may have innovated in the face of a pre-existing connection between Akhilleus, Aias, and Patroklos (first cousins in the *Catalogue*); the *Iliad* may have chosen to avoid this because of its own narrative interests in a different relationship between Akhilleus and Patroklos.

A connected issue here is the complexity of the relation between the entries on Aias in the Hesiodic *Catalogue* and the Iliadic *Catalogue of Ships*, for which see Finkelberg (1988) along with Rutherford (2000*a*) and (2005). However, even if Finkelberg (1988) 40–1 is right to downplay the Aiginetan aspect of Aias' presence in the Hesiodic *Catalogue* in favour of a more neutral panhellenic influence, the representation there of Aias' power would have provided the perfect basis for subsequent Aiginetan uses of Aiakid myth for the purposes of self-expression.

[61] Privitera (1988).

> *μένοντ᾽ ἐπ᾽ Ἀσωπίῳ μελιγαρύων τέκτονες*
> *κώμων νεανίαι, σέθεν ὄπα μαιόμενοι.*

O Mistress Muse, our mother, I beg of you, come, in the sacred Nemean month, to the Dorian island of Aigina abounding in hospitality: for, by the Asopian water, craftsmen of honey-voiced revels await, young men eager for your voice. (lines 1–5[62])

This proves that the spring has strong associations with choral performance at the time of Bacchylides, and that it is linked with the mythology surrounding the river-god Asopos. The reference to the spring here in *Nemean* 3 is likely to be a topographical indicator of the choral performance in the centre of the town, given the mention of the '*agora* of the Myrmidons' in lines 13–14 of *Nemean* 3. The building of a fountain-house in the south-eastern corner of the Athenian Agora in the Peisistratid period, with water also supplied by pipeline, provides a useful parallel for the Aiginetan water-supply.[63]

Despite a lack of any direct evidence, it is worth considering the possibility that the spring on Aigina named Asopis originated in or reflected the belief that it was somehow directly connected to the water of the mainland river(s) named Asopos; the analogy of the link between Elis and Ortygia, created through the pursuit of the nymph Arethousa by the river-god Alpheios, suggests itself.[64] However, in the Alpheios myth, the river pursues the nymph, whereas Asopos is bereft of his daughter, making this explanation perhaps less attractive.

An answer might, however, be forthcoming if we consider epichoric Aiginetan myths associating Aiakos, Aigina's son, with water and the physical geography of the island. The story of the drought, and Aiakos' role in bringing it to an end, was a powerful and functional myth for Aigina, an island without a plentiful water-supply.[65]

[62] Additionally Kallistratos at *Σ* Pind. *Nem.* 3.1c *ad fin.* (iii.42 Dr): *Ἀσωπίδα ἐν Αἰγίνῃ*, and *τὴν Ἀσωπίδα κρήνην* at *Et. Magn.* s.v. *Ἀμφιφορίτης*.

[63] For the Athenian fountain-house, see *Agora* XIV 197–9; Camp (1986) 42–4; T. L. Shear, Jr. (1978) 10–11; Camp (1994) 10. Exact location details for the Aiginetan *agora,* the Aiakeion, and the Asopis spring are unfortunately as yet unavailable, since the modern town has been built over much of the area of the ancient town, with the exception of the larger religious buildings on Kolonna Hill.

[64] Referred to most prominently at Pind. *Nem.* 1.1–3; Larson (2001) 213–14; cf. the Argive Inakhos in Epiros (Soph. fr. 271 Radt).

[65] On the significance of ancient irrigation technologies and their usage, see Horden and Purcell (2000) 244–50; S. G. Cole (1988) and (2004).

The fact that Aigina's water was brought (artificially) from Mount Panhellenios—where there was a cult of Zeus Hellanios, established, according to Pausanias, by Aiakos himself as thanks for ending the drought[66]—would suggest a divine origin for their water, and link in nicely with the myth of Aiakos' prayer for rain. This might also give an interesting epichoric twist to the Homeric phrase *Διὸς ὄμβρος*.[67]

Furthermore, it is possible that the Asopis spring in Aigina town was located close to the Aiakeion. For Isokrates reports that the Aiakeion was built on the precise spot where Aiakos made his prayer to Zeus to bring the drought to an end.[68] The location of the Aiakeion is significant for my reading of Bacchylides 13, and the aetiologies for the foundation of these two shrines, the Aiakeion and that of Zeus Hellanios, are obviously connected. Moreover, the foundation aetiology of another Asopid spring, namely Peirene, in Corinth, is worthy of consideration. According to Pausanias, the Asopid spring Peirene was a gift or bribe from Asopos to Sisyphos, ruler of Corinth, in exchange for the information he received about Aigina's disappearance:

τὴν δὲ πηγήν, ἥ ἐστιν ὄπισθεν τοῦ ναοῦ, δῶρον μὲν Ἀσωποῦ λέγουσιν εἶναι, δοθῆναι δὲ Σισύφῳ· τοῦτον γὰρ εἰδότα, ὡς εἴη Ζεὺς ἡρπακὼς Αἴγιναν θυγατέρα Ἀσωποῦ, μὴ πρότερον φάναι ζητοῦντι μηνύσειν πρὶν ἤ οἱ καὶ ἐν Ἀκροκορίνθῳ γένοιτο ὕδωρ· δόντος δὲ Ἀσωποῦ μηνύει τε οὕτως καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ μηνύματος δίκην—ὅτῳ πιστὰ—ἐν Ἅιδου δίδωσιν. ἤκουσα δὲ ἤδη τὴν Πειρήνην φαμένων εἶναι ταύτην καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτόθεν ὑπορρεῖν τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει.

They say that the spring behind the temple is the bribe Asopos gave to Sisyphos; although Sisyphos knew that it was Zeus who had carried off Asopos' daughter Aigina, he refused to tell Asopos when asked, until he had water also on Acrocorinth. When Asopos gave him the bribe, he told him the

[66] See Rutherford 332 with n. 99, and 415 with n. 14; Paus. 2.30.4; Furtwängler (1906) i.473–4; Cook (1914–40) ii.2 894; Walter (1993) 84–7; Goette (2001) 345–8: *c.*500 BCE. Cook iii.2 1164–5 gives details of an early 5th-cent. BCE bronze hydria with dedicatory inscription to Zeus Hellanios on the rim found high on the mountain: further information in Welter (1938b) 8–16 with figs. 3 and 4. The dedication of a hydria, the vessel for the carrying and storage of fresh water further establishes a connection between Zeus Hellanios and Aiginetan cult connected with the water-supply of the island.

[67] *Il.* 5.91 and elsewhere. For evidence that Zeus was considered particularly as a god of weather on Aigina, see Cook (1914–40) ii.2 894 n. 3: 'his mountain served as a public barometer', with Theophr. *De signis tempest.* fr. 6.24.8.

[68] Isokr. 9.14–15, esp. 15.

truth, and for revealing it he pays the penalty—if you believe this kind of thing—in Hades. I heard it said that this was Peirene, and that the water in the city runs down from it.

Pausanias 2.5.1[69]

I suggest that the Aiginetans may have had an analogous, though inverse, counterpart to this myth, one which connected Aiakos' piety with the appearance of a spring in the Aiginetan *agora.* As we have already seen, Aiakos is praised in many sources for his piety. He prays to Zeus to bring an end to the drought afflicting Greece, and dedicates the shrine to Zeus Hellanios to thank him for hearing his prayers and bringing rain. I suggest that, in recognition of such piety, Zeus brought it about that a spring should appear on Aigina, thus celebrating for all time on the island Aiakos' piety. He provides the island with an unstinting supply of water, and renews and confirms the link between Aigina, Aiakos, and the waters of his grandfather Asopos on the mainland.

These opening sections have illustrated two things. First, the importance of the connection between Aigina and the Aiakidai. Second, the possibility of connections between Aiakid myth and Aiginetan topography, especially through the aetiology of the Asopis spring. I now turn to the poem itself.

II. THE POEM

[*ΠΥΘΕΑΙ ΑΙΓΙΝΗΤΗΙ*
ΠΑΓΚΡΑΤΙΑΣΤΗΙ ΝΕΜΕΑ]

A′ (lines 1–7 are missing)
[– – ⏑ – –]
[– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑] Κ̣λ̣ειώ
[– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –]τρ̣[ᾱ]ι̣ 10
[– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –]
[– – ⏑ – – – ⏑ –]δαν·
(lines 13–33 are missing)

B′ (lines 34–39 are missing)
[– – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑] .ις 40
[⏑̲ – ⏑ – –]

[69] For detail on the archaeology of the springs at Corinth see Hodge Hill (1964).

[–⏑⏑–⏑⏑––]·
[–⏑⏑–⏑⏑––]
ὕβριος ὑψινόου
παύσει δίκας θνατοῖσι κ̣ραίνων, 45

οἷαν τινὰ δύσλοφον ὠ-
μηστᾶι λέοντι
Περσείδας ἐφίησι
χεῖρα παντοίαισι τέχναις·
[οὐ γὰρ] δαμασίμβροτος αἴθων 50
[χαλ]κ̣ὸς ἀπλάτου θέλει
[χωρε]ῖν διὰ σώματος, ἐ-
[γνά]μ̣φθη δ' ὀπίσσω
[φάσγα]νον· ἦ ποτέ φαμι
[τᾶιδε] περὶ στεφάνοισι 55
[παγκ]ρατίου πόνον Ἑλ-
[λάνεσσι]ν ἱδρώεντ' ἔσεσθαι."

[ὣς νῦν παρ]ὰ βωμὸν ἀριστάρχου Διὸς
[Νίκας] φ[ε]ρ̣[ε]κ̣υδέος ἀν-
[θρώπο]ι̣σιν ἄ[ν]θε̣α̣ 60
[χρυσέ]αν δόξαν πολύφαντον ἐν αἰ-
[ῶνι] τ̣ρέφει παύροις βροτῶν
[α]ἰ̣εί, καὶ ὅταν θανάτοιο
κυάνε̣ο̣ν νέφος καλύψηι, λείπεται
ἀθάνατον κλέος εὖ ἐρ- 65
χθέντο̣ς ἀσφαλεῖ σὺν αἴσᾱι.

Γ′

τῶν κα̣[ὶ σ]ὺ τυχὼν Νεμέᾱι,
Λάμπωνος υἱέ,
πανθαλέ̣ω̣ν στεφάνοισιν
[ἀνθ]έ̣[ων] χαίταν [ἐρ]εφθείς 70
[στείχεις] π̣όλιν ὑψιάγυιαν
[Αἰακοῦ, τε]ρψιμ̣[β]ρότων
ὥ̣[στε βρύεν] ἁ̣β̣[ροθ̣ρ̣]όων
κώμ̣ω̣[ν] πατ̣ρ̣[ώια]ν
νᾶσο[ν], ὑπέρβι[ον] ἰσχὺν 75
παμμαχίαν ἄνα φαίνων.
ὦ ποταμοῦ θύγατερ
δινᾶντος Αἴγιν' ἠπιόφρον·

ἦ τοι μεγάλα̣ν [Κρονίδας]
ἔδωκε τιμάν 80
ἐν πάντεσσι ν[εορτόν]

πυρσὸν ὣς Ἕλλ[ασι νίκαν]
φαίνων· τό γε σὸṿ[κράτος ὑμ]νεῖ
καί τις ὑψαυχὴς κό[ρα]
  [στείχουσ᾽ ἀνὰ γᾶν ἱε]ράν 85
  πόδεσσι ταρφέ͜ως
ἠΰτε νεβρὸς ἀπεν[θής]
ἀνθεμόεντας ἐπ[᾽ ὄχθους]
κοῦφα σὺν ἀγχιδόμ̣[οις]
  θρώισκουσ᾽ ἀγακλειτα[ῖς ἑταίρα]ις· 90

ταὶ δὲ στεφανωσάμε[ναι φοιν]ịḳέων
ἀνθέ͜ων δόνακός τ᾽ ἐ[πιχω-]
  ρίαν ἄθυρσιν
παρθένοι μέλπουσι τ[εὸν τέκο]ς, ὦ
  δẹ́σποινα παγξε[ίνου χθονός,] 95
[Ἐν]δ̣αΐδα τε ῥοδό[παχυν,]
  ἃ τὸ̣[ν ἰσ]ό[θε͜]ọν ἔτι[κτε Πηλέα]
καὶ Ṭελαμ̣[ῶ]ṿα [κο]ρ̣ṿ[στὰν]
  Αἰακῶι μειχθεῖσ᾽ ἐν εὐ̣[νᾶι·]

Δ′ τῶν υἷας ἀερσιμάχ[ους] 100
  ταχύν τ᾽ Ἀχιλλέ͜α
εὐειδέ͜ος τ᾽ Ἐριβοίας
παῖδ᾽ ὑπέρθυμον βοά[σω]
Αἴαντα σακεσφόρον ἥ[ρω,]
ὅστ᾽ ἐπὶ πρύμνᾱι σταθ[εὶς] 105
  ἔσχεν θρασυκάρδιον [ὁρ-]
  μαίνοντα ν[ᾶας]
θεσπεσίωι πυ[ρὶ καῦσαι]
Ἕκτορα χαλ[κοκορυστά]ṿ,
ὁππότε Πη[λεΐδας] 110
  ṭρα[χ]ẹῖαν[ἐν στήθεσσι μ]ᾶνιν

ὠρίνατ[ο, Δαρδανίδας]
  τ᾽ ἔλυσεν ἄ[τας·]
οἳ πρὶν μὲν [πολύπυργο]ν
[Ἰ]λ̣ίου θαητὸν ἄστυ 115
ọὐ λεῖπον. ἀτυζόμενοι [δὲ]
πṭᾶσσον ὀξεῖαν μάχα[ν,]
  εὖτ᾽ ἐν πεδίωι κλονέω[ν]
  μαίνοιτ᾽ Ἀχιλλεύς,
λαοφόνον δόρυ σείων· 120
ἀλλ᾽ ọ̔́τε δὴ πολέμοι[ο]

λῆξεν ἰοστεφάνο[υ]
Νηρῆιδος ἀτρόμητο[ς υἱός,]

ὥστ᾽ ἐν κυανανθέϊ θ[υμὸν ἀνέρων]
πόντωι Βορέας ὑπὸ κύ- 125
μασιν δαΐζει,
νυκτὸς ἀντάσας ἀνατε[λλομένας,]
λῆξεν δὲ σὺν φαεσιμ[βρότωι]
Ἀοῖ, στόρεσεν δέ τε πό[ντον]
οὐρία· Νότου δὲ κόλπ[ωσαν πνοᾶι] 130
ἱστίον ἁρπαλέως ⟨τ᾽⟩ ἄ-
ελπτον ἐξί[κ]οντο χέ[ρσον.]

Ε′ *ὣς Τρῶες, ἐπ[εὶ] κλύον [αἰ-]*
χματὰν Ἀχιλλέα
μίμνο[ντ᾽] ἐν κλισίαισιν 135
εἵνεκ[ε]ν ξανθᾶς γυναικός,
[Β]ρ[ι]σηΐδος ἱμερογυίου,
θεοῖσιν ἄντειναν χέρας,
φοιβὰν ἐσιδόντες ὑπαὶ
χειμῶνος αἴγλαν· 140
πασσυδίᾱι δὲ λιπόντες
τείχεα Λαομέδοντος
[ἐ]ς πεδίον κρατερὰν
ἄϊξαν ὑ[σ]μίναν φέροντες·

ὦρσάν τ[ε] φόβον Δαναοῖς· 145
ὤτρυνε δ᾽ Ἄρης
[ε]ὐεγχής, Λυκίων τε
Λοξίας ἄναξ Ἀπόλλων·
ἷξόν τ᾽ ἐπὶ θῖνα θαλάσσας·
[ν]αυσὶ δ᾽ εὐπρύμνοις παρα⟨ὶ⟩ 150
μάρναντ᾽, ἐναριζ[ο]μ[έν]ων
[δ᾽ ἔρ]ευθε φώτων
[αἵμα]τι γαῖα μέλα[ινα]
[Ἑκτορ]έας ὑπὸ χει[ρός,]
[ὀξὺ μ]εγ᾽ ἡμιθέοις 155
[ἰθεῖα]ν ἰσοθέων δι᾽ ὁρμάν.

[ἆ δύσφ]ρονες, ἦ μεγάλαισιν ἐλπίσιν
[πνεί]οντες ὑπερφ[ία]λον
[θρόησαν α]ὐχ[ὰ]ν
Τ[ρῶε]ς ἱππευταὶ κυανώπιδας ἐκ- 160
[πέρσασιν Ἀργείων] νέας

[στάσειν] χ̣[ο]ρ[ὸ]ν̣ [εἰλα]πίνας τ᾽ ἐν
  [λαοφό]ροις ἕξειν θ[εόδ]ματον πόλιν.
[μ]έλλον ἄρα προτε̣[ρο]ν δι-
  [ν]ᾶντα φοινιξειν [Σκ]αμανδρ[ον, 165

Ϝ′ [θ]νάισκοντες ὑπ[᾽ Αἰα]κίδαις
  ἐρειψ[ι]π̣ύ̣[ργοις·]
τῶν εἰ καὶ τ̣[⏑⏑– –]
ἢ βαθυξύλῳ̣[ι πυρᾶι –]
(lines 170–4 are missing)
οὐ γὰρ ἀλαμπέϊ νυκ̣[τὸς] 175
πασιφανὴς Ἀρετ[ὰ]
  κρυφθεῖσ᾽ ἀμαυρο[ῦται καλύπτρᾱι,]

ἀλλ᾽ ἔμπεδον ἀκ[αμάτᾱι]
  βρύουσα δόξᾱι
στρωφᾶται κατὰ γᾶν [τε] 180
καὶ πολύπλαγκτον θ[άλασσαν.]
καὶ μὰν φερεκυδέα ν[ᾶσον]
Αἰακοῦ τιμᾶι, σὺν Εὐ-
  κλείᾱι δὲ φιλοστεφ[άνωι]
  πόλιν κυβερνᾶι, 185
Εὐνομία τε σαόφρων,
ἃ θαλίας τε λέλογχεν
ἄστεά τ᾽ εὐσεβέων
  ἀνδρῶν ἐν εἰ[ρ]ήνᾱι φυλάσσε̣ι·

νίκαν ἐρικυ[δέα] μέλπετ᾽, ὦ νέοι, 190
[Π]υθέα, μελέτα̣[ν τε] β̣ροτω-
  φ[ε]λέα Μενάνδρου,
τὰν ἐπ᾽ Ἀλφειοῦ τε ῥο[αῖς] θ̣α̣μὰ δὴ
  τίμασεν ἁ χρυσάρματος
σεμνὰ μεγάθυμος Ἀθάνα, 195
  μυρίων τ᾽ ἤδη μίτ̣ραισιν ἀ̣ν̣έ̣ρων
ἐστεφάνωσεν ἐθείρας
  ἐν Πανελλάνων ἀέθλοις.

Ζ′ ε̣ἰ μή τινα θερσι̣[ε]πὴς
  φθόνος βιᾶται, 200
α̣ἰνείτω σοφὸν ἄνδρα
σὺν δίκᾱι. βροτῶν δὲ μῶμος
πάντεσσι μέν ἐστιν ἐπ᾽ ἔργοις·
ἁ̣ δ᾽ ἀλαθεία φιλεῖ
  νικᾶν, ὅ τε πανδ[α]μάτωρ̣ 205

χρόνος τὸ κᾱλῶς
[ἐ]ργμένον αἰὲν ἀ[νίσχει·]
⌞δ⌟υ⌞σ⌟μενέ⌞ω⌟ν δὲ μα[ταία]
[γλῶσσ’] ⌞ἀϊδ⌟ὴς μιν[ύθει]

(lines 210–19 are missing)

ἐλπίδι θυμὸν ἰαίν[ει·] 220
τᾶι καὶ ἐγὼ πίσυνο[ς]
φοινικοκραδέμνοις [τε Μούσαις]
ὕμνων τινὰ τάνδε ν[εόξαντον μίτραν]
φαίνω, ξενίαν τε [φιλά-]
γλαον γεραίρω, 225
τὰν ἐμοί, Λάμπων, σ̣[ὺ πορῶν δόσιν οὐ]
βληχρὰν ἐπαθρήσαις τ[έκει·]
τὰν εἰκ ἐτύμως ἄρα Κλειὼ
πανθαλὴς ἐμαῖς ἐνέσταξ[εν φρασίν,]
τερψιεπεῖς νιν ἀ̣ο̣ι̣δαὶ 230
παντὶ καρύξοντι λα[ῶ]ι̣.

For Pytheas of Aigina,
Pankration at Nemea

. . . Kleio . . .

‘ . . . He shall stop them from arrogance and violence, bringing about judgments of law for mortals:

what a neck-breaking hand the descendant of Perseus brings down on the flesh-eating lion, with every type of skill! The gleaming, man-slaying bronze refuses to pierce the unapproachable body: the sword was bent back. Truly, one day, I swear, in this very place, there will be sweat and toil for the Greeks, competing for crowns in the pankration.’

So now by the altar of Best-Ruling Zeus the blossoms of glory-bestowing Victory nurture for men golden conspicuous fame throughout their lives and forever—but only for a precious few—and when the dark cloud of death covers them, what is left behind is deathless glory for a fine deed, assured through the agency of a destiny sure of its footing.

All of this is yours, son of Lampon: you too have won at Nemea. Your hair crowned with garlands of flourishing blossoms, you walk the lofty streets of the city of Aiakos; for mortal pleasure your ancestral island burgeons with the sound of luxuriant revels: your rewards for a shining display of supreme force and complete warlike strength. Daughter of the whirling river, gentle-hearted Aigina,

truly the son of Kronos has granted you great honour, shining your newly-won victory like a beacon for all Greeks to see. And many a proud girl sings the praises of your power, walking on sacred soil, time and again lightly springing with her feet like a carefree fawn to the flowery banks with her far-famed neighbouring companions.

Crowned with red flowers and the local decoration of reeds, maidens sing of your child, mistress of an all-hospitable land, and of Endaïs with her rosy arms, who bore a man like a god, Peleus, and Telamon famed for his helmet, offspring of her union with Aiakos.

Of their battle-rousing sons, and of swift Akhilleus, and of the high-spirited child of beautiful Eriboia, shall I shout: Aias the shield-bearing hero, who stood on the stern and held off the bold-hearted man rushing to burn the ships with awful fire, Hektor with the bronze helmet, at the time when the son of Peleus stirred fierce wrath in his chest

and released the sons of Dardanos from ruin. Before this they had not left the many-towered marvellous town of Ilion, but, bewildered, had cowered in fear from the fierce battle, when Akhilleus raged and wrought havoc over the plain, brandishing his murderous spear. But when the unshakeable son of the violet-garlanded Nereid withdrew from battle,

as when the North wind on a dark-blossoming sea rends men's spirits beneath the waves, when it comes upon them as night rises up, but then withdraws at Dawn's arrival to shine on mortals, when a gentle breeze calms the sea; they unfurl their sail in the breath of the South wind and eagerly come to the dry land they despaired of reaching;

so the Trojans, when they heard that the spearman Akhilleus was remaining in his tent because of a blonde-haired woman, Briseis of the lovely limbs, raised their arms to the gods, looking upon a clear gleam from under the storm. With all speed they left the walls of Laomedon and rushed onto the plain to mount their attack,

and roused terror in the Danaans. Ares with fine spear urged them on, and with him the lord of the Lykians, Loxias Apollo. And they came to the shore of the sea, and fought beside the ships with their fine sterns, and the black earth was red with the blood of men slain by the hand of Hektor: a mightily keen, bitter contest for the heroes though the direct assault of those godlike men.

Ah, what fools! High-spirited in their great hopes those Trojan horsemen arrogantly boasted that, once they had utterly destroyed the dark-prowed Argive ships, their god-built city would set up a chorus and would hold feasting in its streets in their honour. But they were doomed before that to redden the whirling Skamandros,

dying at the hands of Aiakidai, those wreckers of towers.* Of these, if (their bodies have perished) . . . or on a pyre thick with wood . . .

. . .

for all-shining Excellence does not hide, not growing dim in the lightless veil of night,

but forever burgeoning in a glory that never grows weary, she roams the earth and shifting sea. And truly she honours the fame-winning island of Aiakos; with the aid of Eukleia, who loves crowns, she guides the state; and with Eunomia too, safe in mind, who has her fair portion of festivities, and who guards in peace the cities of pious men.

Sing, young men, of Pytheas' victory, which abounds in glory, and the helpful care of Menandros, which by Alpheios' streams has often been honoured by golden-charioted, holy, great-spirited Athena; already now she has garlanded the hair of countless men with crowns in the panhellenic games.

Unless a man is forced by bold-tongued envy, let him praise a skilful man as is proper. Blame from others covers all men's works. But truth likes to win, and all-subduing time always promotes a fine achievement. The pointless speech of enemies fades from sight . . .

. . . warms the spirit with hope. Trusting in it myself, and in the Muses with their crimson headbands, I present this newly combed headdress of songs, as I honour the splendour-loving hospitality which you, Lampon, have provided for me; may you regard this as a gift that is not slight in view of your son's achievement. And if it is true that flourishing Kleio has distilled this into my mind, songs filled with words of delight will proclaim him to all the people.

* For the reconstruction of lines 155–67, see Appendix 2.

Performance and *Parthenoi*[70]

Bacchylides' poem is unusual in the way that it refers both to masculine martial valour, to masculine choral performance, *and* to female heroines, female mythological archetypes, and to ritual performance by females.

[70] For an important account of the *parthenoi* here see Power (2000), with which I engage below. My discussion supplements his through its elucidation of the importance of the Asopis spring for the ritual dimensions of the ode; moreover, in § III below I offer some challenges to the strongly communitarian reading of the presence of the *parthenoi* that Power (2000) presents.

Pindar's *Nemean* 5, the shorter twin of Bacchylides 13, also written to celebrate Pytheas' success, focuses on success through piety rather than martial spirit. In its myth, despite the initial prayer made by Peleus, Telamon, and Phokos (their step-brother by Psamatheia) to Zeus Hellanios to make the island rich in men (lines 9–13), Peleus and Telamon are exiled after the murder of Phokos (14–16); Peleus is subsequently rehabilitated through his rejection of Hippolyta in favour of Thetis, prompted by fear of Zeus Xenios (lines 22–37); the poem closes with a catalogue of family victories and reference to the dedication of garlands at the entrance to the Aiginetan Aiakeion (lines 38–54). All this forms a neat ring which turns from the initial misdemeanour in the myth—initiated in one cult setting on the island, the sanctuary of Zeus Hellanios—to the rehabilitation and honouring of Peleus, departure from Aigina to compete in games, successful return, and triumphant dedication of victory spoils in another Aiginetan cult setting, the Aiakeion.[71] No mention is made in the entire poem of either Akhilleus or Aias, the two figures that are so central to the martial spirit of Bacchylides' version.[72] It has been suggested that *Nemean* 5 focuses rather more on the elder generations of the family, namely Euthymenes and Themistios, Pytheas' maternal uncle and maternal grandfather respectively, than on the victor himself; the mention of three generations of victors from one family in *Nemean* 5 is indeed unique in extant epinician.[73]

[71] For fuller interpretation of this ode, see Stern (1971); Segal (1974); Gärtner (1978); Robbins (1987); Burnett (2005) ch. 4.

[72] Cf. Robbins (1987) 30.

[73] Robbins (1987) 27–8; cf. Segal (1974) 407–8. The attempts by Pfeijffer (1995) and (1999*b*) to reinstate a reference to Pytheas himself in the victory catalogue of *Nemean* 5, and thus to downplay the emphasis on other victors from the same family, put excessive strain on Pindar's grammar and syntax, and are thus to be rejected (for more detail on the victory catalogue itself, see my Appendix 1). The concluding reference in *Nemean* 5 (lines 53–5) to a dedication of wreaths has caused some controversy concerning the identity of the individual performing the dedication: is it Pytheas or Themistios, or indeed someone else not specified? If we read *φέρε* in line 54 with Sn–M and Wilamowitz, and now Burnett (2005) 59 (*contra*: Robbins (1987) 27–8; Segal (1974) 407–8; Gärtner (1978) 39; Pfeijffer (1999*a*) 190–1; the scholia ad loc. are, however, inconclusive), lines 52–4 run as follows: *πύκταν τέ νιν καὶ παγκρατίου* | *φθέγξαι ἑλεῖν Ἐπιδαύρῳ διπλόαν* | *νικῶντ' ἀρετάν, προθύροισιν δ' Αἰακοῦ* | *ἀνθέων ποιάεντα φέρε στεφανώ-* | *ματα σὺν ξανθαῖς Χάρισσιν*, 'proclaim that in boxing and pankration he (sc. Themistios, line 50) clutched a twin virtue in victory, and bring to the entrance of Aiakos' shrine verdant garlands of flowers with the aid of the

As we shall see later, the focus of the myth of Bacchylides 13 is on the greatness in war of Aiginetan heroes. However, this is balanced by a focus on female figures elsewhere in the poem. Bacchylides 13 provides a full Aiginetan genealogy for the Aiakidai, with as great a focus on female as male figures important to the island's mythological heritage. In lines 77–8, Aigina herself is invoked as *ὦ ποταμοῦ θύγατερ | δινᾶντος Αἴγιν' ἠπιόφρον*, which makes the connection with Aigina and (an again unspecified) Asopos. Coupled with the genealogy given in lines 94–104, this gives the lineage illustrated in Figure 3.

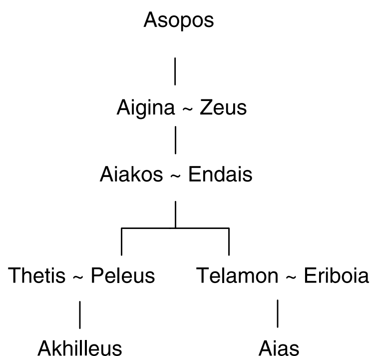

Figure 3 Genealogy of Asopos.

One could claim that *Nemean* 5 itself matches this to some extent through the way in which the Muses' singing at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis merges with the words of Pindar's own song in

blonde Graces'. Rather than focusing exclusively on any dedication by Themistios himself (the sense with *φέρειν*, sc. 'and proclaim that he (Themistios) *is bringing*'), the sense of the lines is more general, allowing Pytheas' victory to be implied whilst also keeping in mind the victories by Themistios, by means of a general appeal for memorialization of victory through dedication of wreaths, which allows for a merging of past and present victories; cp. Burnett (2005) 69 n. 36, reading *φέρε* as a 'choral self-injunction'. The essential theme with which Pindar concludes his poem, precisely by leaving open the identity of the dedicating individual, is continuity and togetherness in the family across generations through success and piety, with generalized memorialization and honouring of this family's victories at home in Aigina as a spur for other Aiginetan successes (see the emphasis on *πᾶσα πόλις*, line 47). Themistios' victories are in fact unlikely to lie in the *distant* past given the young age of Pytheas. The overly literal attempt by Pfeijffer (1999*a*) 190–1 (ad loc. *Nem.* 5.53–4, reading *φέρειν*) to see Themistios as personally dedicating Pytheas' wreath misses the force of this merging of different victories.

performance,[74] but it is clear that in Bacchylides' poem for Pytheas the use of a range of figures of both genders is much more sustained and varied, not to be explained by reference to the mother's side of Pytheas' family, as has been argued in the case of *Nemean* 5.[75]

Given that the closing focus in *Nemean* 5 is on the act of dedication of garlands at the Aiginetan Aiakeion, with the aid of the Graces, it is likely that that poem was itself performed near this sanctuary, as part of the celebrations in honour of Pytheas back on Aigina; the poem may have been specially commissioned as a special complement to the act of dedication of Pytheas' victory wreath.[76]

I have already suggested above that the Asopis spring was located in close proximity to the Aiakeion in the heart of Aigina town.[77] Moreover, we have seen from the opening of Pindar's *Nemean* 3 that at least one choral epinician performance by youths on Aigina took place by the spring. I want to suggest that Bacchylides 13 implies that its own performance took place by the Asopis spring. Of the two poems composed in celebration of Pytheas' victory Bacchylides' work is certain to have been the more important, in view of its greater scale and scope, and lack of direct reference to any one specific contextual detail relating to the victor as in the case of *Nemean* 5 and its close. Given the prominence of the victor's father Lampon in Bacchylides 13, it seems reasonable to suggest that he commissioned it.[78]

[74] As, for instance, Pfeijffer (1999*a*) 72.

[75] Robbins (1987) 31 and *passim*.

[76] Cf. Pfeijffer (1999*a*) 193 ad loc. *Nem.* 5.54 (though with an incorrect emphasis on Themistios); Pfeijffer at 192 ad loc. *Nem.* 5.53–4 offers the useful comparison of Pind. *Ol.* 9.111–12, where the wreathing of the altar of Ilean Aias, the epichoric Opountian hero, in celebration of Epharmostos' victory, is said to take place during his festival: . . . *Αἶαν, τεόν τ' ἐν δαιτί, Ἰλιάδα, | νικῶν ἐπεστεφάνωσε βωμόν.*

[77] Above, pp. 102–3.

[78] Lampon is mentioned twice in Bacchylides 13, and is picked out for special attention in lines 226–7, where, according to the supplementation by Barrett and Maehler, reference made to Lampon's receipt of Bacchylides' largesse would naturally suggest a relation of patronage existing between Bacchylides and himself; see Maehler I.2 290–1 ad loc. 226–7; indeed, Bacchylides' description of gift-exchange between himself and Lampon in these lines fits perfectly into the range of metaphors of embedded economics used to express the poet–patron relationship in epinician, as traced by Kurke (1991), esp. ch. 6. By contrast, Lampon is named only once in *Nemean* 5, in line 4, where his name merely serves initially to identify Pytheas' family. Given the presence of the victory catalogues of Euthymenes and Themistios in *Nemean* 5 it would be natural to suggest that either or both of these individuals had a hand in the commissioning of that work.

Unlike in the case of *Nemean* 3, where Pindar provides us with a more straightforward indication of the location of first performance by the Asopis, Bacchylides' only reference to his performers is at lines 190–1, with νίκαν ἐρικυ[δέα]μέλπετ', ὦ νέοι, | [Π]υθέα, ' sing, young men, of Pytheas' victory, which abounds in glory'. However, the poem also contains a different, and significant, set of ritual performers: dancing *parthenoi*, in lines 83–94.[79]

Claude Calame is correct to understand θρώισκουσ', 'springing', as a reference to one of the *parthenoi*, perhaps a *khorēgos*, dancing with her companions. Calame is also right to point out that μέλπω and its cognates (see μέλπουσι in line 94) are often used to signify the singing and dancing that identify the operation of a *khoros*;[80] significantly, this is also the term used for the youths of line 190 performing Bacchylides' poem. Moreover, what Calame terms 'appartenance géographique' is also well illustrated by these girls: as companions they are termed ἀγχιδόμ̣[οις], 'neighbouring'; they are also wearing local costume: flowers of a particular colour, and reeds. Moreover, if correct, Blass' supplement for line 85, [ἀνὰ γᾶν ἱε]ράν, which suggests a sacred location, would point to the possibility of the Aiakeion itself being the site of the dancing. The reference to *reeds* as part of the epichoric dress for *parthenoi* surely suggests a connection with fresh water. Given the importance of the Asopis spring in Aigina town, its mythologically allusive name connected with Aigina's own mainland origin, and the Asopid mythology that the *parthenoi* are said in lines 77 and following of Bacchylides' poem to sing (ὦ ποταμοῦ θύγατερ | διναντος Αἴγιν' ἠπιόφρον κτλ.), it is likely that Aiginetan performances by *parthenoi* took place in close proximity to this spring.

What is particularly significant for us is that this vivid representation of what must be a ritual choral performance by Aiginetan *parthenoi* is embedded within Bacchylides' poem which is itself performed by a *khoros* of young men. The projected singing of the *parthenoi* provides the frame and contextual foil for the male

[79] Text above, p. 107, using the supplements of Jebb and Blass in line 85 *exempli gratia*.

[80] Calame (1977) 164.

Aiakid myth of the song sung by these νέοι.[81] Bacchylides 13 in performance in the centre of Aigina town therefore arrogates to itself the traditional associations with hero-cult that the setting by the Asopis spring offered for performances by children.[82] In gender terms, this structured dynamic between the singing of *parthenoi* and of young Aiginetan males establishes the *parthenoi* in a direct relation to, and indeed as grounds for, the heroic, aristocratic ethos presented in the remainder of the ode. These *parthenoi* are acculturated as objects not only of fantasy but also of production, born to reproduce aristocratic Aiginetans and to celebrate the mythological naturalization of their social function.[83]

Moreover, although the text is damaged, it seems that the 'pronominal cap' τῶν in line 100 at the start of the fourth triad marks the transition to the male *khoros*' authorized position expressed in βοά[σω].[84] Reading the text in this way provides a neat division of labour between the two notional *khoroi*: the *parthenoi* sing and catalogue the female line of the Aiakidai, and the *khoros* of νέοι will sing of their sons, leading therefore into the Homeric narrative concerning Aias and Akhilleus. What this division of tasks amounts to is a projection of cross-gender co-operation at a choral level for the praising of every aspect of Aiginetan genealogy and mythology by a representation of Aiginetan youth as a whole. The immediate effect

[81] For a useful summary of the operations of choral projection in epinician, see Power (2000), esp. 67–70: 'In epinician, . . . choral projection is always an optimistic, validating rhetorical strategy. . . . By generating these alter-images it indirectly glamorizes and exalts its own performance of the victory song.'

[82] Power (2000) 78–80 suggests that the parallel of details linking the *parthenoi* on the one hand and Pytheas and the *neoi* on the other may suggest the marriage of Pytheas with one of the *parthenoi*. Although Power is importantly correct to focus on the eroticization and desocialization of the *parthenoi* through Bacchylides' use of the fawns simile, it seems that Pytheas—a *pais* – is himself too young to be of marriageable age, even if the *parthenoi*, and possibly the *neoi*, are: see above, n. 3, for Pytheas' age.

[83] See Stehle (1997) 106–7.

[84] Campbell follows Maehler here; Jebb is wrong to supply ⟨θ'⟩ after τῶν in 100 and βοα[θόο̣ν] in 103, which strain the metre and create an extremely long sentence running from line 77 to line 113. See Sn–M ad loc.: *puellae canunt Aeginam et Endaidem. poeta sibi proposuit Achillem et Aiacem celebrandos.* The necessary refinement to Snell–Maehler here would be the substitution of *persona loquens* for *poeta* here, for reasons which should be apparent.

is an expression of a united front of Aiginetan ritual and cultic solidarity.

The text also creates a 'synergy' of roles in the combined description and projection of alternative forms of Aiginetan *khoreia*, whilst emphasizing the choral authority of the *parthenoi*; 'The *parthenoi* praise in choral *molpē* Achilles and Ajax as local descendants of Aegina; the epinician *khoros* praises them in similar style, but as ancestors of and models for the panhellenic victor Pytheas.'[85] For, in a ploy of which Bacchylides was particularly fond, as we will see, the identity of the *khoros* of youths performing Bacchylides' ode becomes entwined with that of the performing *parthenoi*. While in performance the gendered identity of Bacchylides' νέοι would have been apparent, the panhellenized and memorialized voice of the text, βοάσω, marking the shift from the narrated *parthenos* to the first-person speaker of Bacchylides' ode, may still carry with it a trace of the voice of the *parthenos* of the previous section: the male voices in performance project not only their martial masculine mythology but also the kind of utterance traditionally voiced by *parthenoi*; moreover, I suggest that both sets of singers performed in the same location, encouraging the parallel between the two kinds of song.[86]

This choral power of the *parthenoi* works in two ways. First, incorporated and projected within the textual and performative structures of Bacchylides' ode, it serves to naturalize the subservience of female sexuality to the needs of Aiginetan aristocratic patriarchy, as argued by Stehle, cited above. Second, complementing and held in tension with this first function, culturally embedded and repeated[87] performance by *parthenoi* appears to naturalize and ritualize the epinician praise, which needs ideological and ritual frameworks to legitimate its potentially destabilizing power.[88] Epinician performance may be intrinsically far less fixed within the ritual structures of a given *polis* than, for instance, the hymnic praise of heroic ancestry in

[85] Power (2000) 76.

[86] As argued by Power (2000) 73–6; cf. Calame (1977) 164, 188–9.

[87] The force of ταρφέως in line 26, as persuasively argued by Power (2000) 81; as such 'the maiden chorus sympathetically imparts its metaphysical integrity—institutional longevity, temporal transcendence—to the epinician occasion on which it is invoked'. ταρφέως operates here in a similar way to δη̃υτε in Alkman, Sappho, and Anakreon.

[88] The argument of Power (2000).

works celebrating primarily heroes or gods rather than mortals. On these terms, the girls show the way for the boys in performance here: 'By projecting the performance of local *parthenoi* who celebrate Aegina and her heroic descendants in song and dance, and . . . by incorporating their cult song into the epinician song, the epinician *khoros* arrogates to itself the traditional epichoric prestige and standing of the maiden *khoros*.'[89]

This combined naturalization of arbitrary social structures and rôles is central to my interpretation of the ode.[90] Within its specific water-side setting, it celebrates the Aiakid line in a way that constructs gender roles and naturalizes Aiginetan aristocratic prestige by means of contact with the mythical tradition central to Aiginetan society and cults. Moreover, it fuses together in both performative and ideological terms two different aspects of Aiginetan performance culture within one single ritual locality.

There are no details provided in the ode that point securely to a specific context of performance. We have already seen that the close of Pindar's *Nemean* 5, the twin commission of Bacchylides 13, closes with a reference to its own performance, along with a dedication of wreaths, at the Aiakeion, and as such is associating itself with the ritual activities likely to form a prominent part of the Aiakeia festival. However, choral praise of Aiakos was probably part of the Aiakeia festival.[91] Given the embedded reference to traditional and repeated choral performances by *parthenoi* in honour of the prominent females in the Aiakid mythological complex suggested by Bacchylides 13, it seems plausible that *khoroi* of *parthenoi* also performed at this festival. I therefore suggest that Bacchylides' poem also links itself with cult activity associated with the Aiakeia.

Importantly, however, this does not mean that either Bacchylides 13 or Pindar's *Nemean* 5 were performed at the Aiakeia. Indeed, Power's argument discussed above shows well the extent to which epinician performance, at least on Aigina, was *not* strongly embedded in individual epichoric religious structures, and needed to usurp

[89] Power (2000) 71–2; cf. 77–8.

[90] On the importance of naturalization to the misrecognition of established social orders, see Bourdieu (1977), esp. 164. See part III for a recontextualization and destabilization of Bacchylides' aristocratic rhetoric here.

[91] See above, pp. 89–90, with Rutherford on Pindar's *Paean to Aiakos*.

the authority of other forms of *khoreia* which happened to be so embedded: I explore the implications of this below in § III. Even Pindar's *Nemean* 3—which Privitera has suggested could have been performed at the Aiginetan Delphinia[92]—need not have been performed at a specific festival, despite the fact that this poem clearly refers to a context of performance - the Asopis spring—of central importance to both the Delphinia and Aiakeia festivals.[93]

In conclusion, assumed female performance, along with the female aspect in Bacchylides' mythology, places the epinician within, and indeed constructs, Aiginetan social and cultic relations. This is achieved through the use of mythology and cult contexts associated with the Aiakidai. In the next section I explore Bacchylides' use of Homer in his treatment of these heroes.

Homeric Fire, Epinician Imagery, Aiginetan Myth

Rather than being merely conventional or communal, the diction and the mythological subject matter (the battle for the ships at Troy; Hektor's overweening pride; the valour of Aias and Akhilleus; and the ultimate destruction of the Trojans) combine to produce a poem that is intertextual with Homer and episodes from the *Iliad* in particular. This engagement with Homer is central both to the ode's enkomiastic function and to its political context. As with the Aphaia pediments, the Trojans of the myth express the threat to Aiginetan cultic or national identity in the 480s. It also operates as an Aiginetan assertion of Homer as cultural heirloom, in direct opposition to the claims of Aigina's newly democratized Athenian neighbour. Bacchylides 13 is the most overtly Homeric of all extant epinician odes, in terms of both language and mythological subject

[92] Privitera (1988) 69.

[93] The Delphinia was held in the month Delphinios, the same month in which the Nemean games were held (Pind. *Nem.* 5.44 with *Σ* Pind. *Nem.* 5.81a (iii.97 Dr)); it honoured Apollo in his capacity as *oikistēs* and *domatitēs* (*Σ* Pind. *Nem.* 5.81a); the Hydrophoria was performed here, and it also included other athletic competitions, including the pentathlon: Pind. *Pyth.* 8.65–6, with *Σ* Pind. *Pyth.* 8.88 and 91 (ii.215 Dr); *Σ* Pind. *Nem.* 5.81b (iii.97 Dr). The Hydrophoria was a competition strongly connected with the Asopis spring: see Privitera (1988), esp. 68–9. On the Aiakeia, see above, pp. 89–90.

matter, and we will see how this Homerizing fits in with the contemporary politics of the island.

Adam Parry, in his conclusions on Bacchylides 13 at the end of his note to Fagles' translation of it, suggests the following:

> The point of the poem is the contrast between the deceptive hope that dazzles the Trojans and the permanent brightness of the Aeacids' fame. Homer gave Bacchylides similes of storm and scenes of fire, images of light as salvation and darkness as death. Bacchylides has concentrated all these elements into a parable and picture relevant to his glorification of victory.[94]

I explore in detail here how Bacchylides produces these effects, and what the consequences are. A rich seam of symbolism of darkness and light runs through the poem. It is one of the forces that continually stress the victor's relevance to the great themes developed. It unites the poem around the theme of memorialization, and creates a continuity of praise from Aigina's cult heroes of the mythological past to the athletic victor of the poem's own time. At the same time, it serves as an explanation of and enkomion to the power of *κλέος*: in particular, Homeric *κλέος*, and the *κλέος* of Homer.

References to success and glory are couched in deeply allusive terms that play upon notions of light and dark. In the second episode (58–66) the poet discusses the rarity of success, but also stresses its eternal quality, even after death.

The first strophe of the third triad (67–78) asserts the victor's right of access, as one of the *παύροις βροτῶν* of 62, to the fame and achievement described in the previous lines. This is set up through the imagery of light. He is addressed not as Pytheas, but as the son of Lampon. From the etymological starting point provided by the 'brightness' of his father's name, the text revels in the symbolism of light, in lines 75–83, with the repetition of *φαίνων*.

Here Aigina's *τίμη*, and Pytheas' victory, is as a torch, or beacon, that shines for all of Greece to see. Through Bacchylides' poetry, Pytheas' success gives him access to the same *κλέος* after death that as we know—and as Bacchylides' mythology seeks to show—Homeric

[94] Parry at Fagles (1998 [1961]) 115. Cf. Whitman (1967) 129 and following for the thoroughgoing symbolism of fire in the *Iliad*.

warriors left behind through their achievement, and through poets' ability to pass those achievements on, as detailed in lines 63–6.[95]

Within the Myth

The extent to which Bacchylides is conscious of the stylistic and thematic differences and similarities between his own lyric and Homer, especially the *Iliad*, may be seen in an aspect of Bacchylides' description of the *parthenoi*. The *parthenoi* frolic, and indeed dance, like fawns in (Sapphic) lyric fashion rather than cower in fear like terrified Homeric warriors.[96] Moreover, Maehler's observation concerning ἀπενθής can be taken a stage further: this seems to serve as an allusion marker, making reader and audience aware of the difference of these fawns from their usual characterization within Homeric similes. This consciousness is all the more significant in the context of the distinct and systematic Homeric content and language of the poem's central myth. This myth constructs a parallel between Aiakidai against Trojans, and Aiginetans against enemies, seemingly emphasizing their solidarity in the context of war. Here Bacchylides uses Homer expansively, incorporating his poetry within his own, lyric, narrative. And, at the same time, Bacchylides may once again be appropriating the Lesbian poetry of Sappho.[97]

[95] I explore below, pp. 145–6, the poetic and contextual pointedness of the phraseology of these lines.

[96] Maehler I.2 266 ad loc. 87, with *Il.* 4.243, 21.29, and 22.1: ἀπενθής, not τεθηπότες or πεφυζότες. We will also see how Bacchylides' *parthenoi* are constructed as a counterpart to the epinician performance of Bacch. 13 itself, another projection of Aiginetan tranquillity and security in its own traditions and identity. The lyric, and indeed feminine, quality of this dancing is confirmed by the use of a fawn-simile to figure the former fondness for dancing offered by the aging Sapphic narrator in a poem addressed to female παῖδες, in lines 5–6 of the New Sappho Tithonos poem (fr. 58 V with major new additions): . . . γόνα δ' [ο]ὐ φέροισι, | τὰ δή ποτα λαίψηρ' ἔον ὄρχησθ' ἴσα νεβρίοισι. See West (2005) 3–6; Gronewald and Daniel (2004) 8 offer Bacchylides 13.84 ff. as a parallel for this Sapphic image. One could also imagine parallels for Bacchylides' description of *parthenoi* in *partheneia* by Alkman and others, given the further similarity between the end of line 5 of the New Sappho poem quoted above and Alkman fr. 26 *PMGF*, as noticed by West (2005) 6; compare also Ar. *Lys.* 1305–11 for *khoroi* of Spartan young girls prancing like fillies by the Eurotas.

[97] We have independent evidence for Bacchylides' familiarity with Sapphic imagery and figurative language, at Bacch. 9.27 ff., for which see Fearn (2003) 362–4.

In a study of Bacchylides' technique, Chris Carey has made a significant advance in determining the difference between the narrative style of Pindar and that of Bacchylides in terms that relate Bacchylides much more closely to Homer.[98]

Carey takes seriously, in a way that other earlier critics did not, Bacchylides' obvious narrative divergences from Pindaric technique, and equally obvious parallels with Homeric technique: 'The Homeric quality of Bacchylidean panegyric has long been a truism of Bacchylidean criticism . . . Usually however it is regarded as an adventitious aspect of presentation rather than a strategic posture.'[99] In the following discussion, I clarify and modify a few points made in Carey's assessment of Bacchylides' 'unobtrusive rhapsodic manner'[100] by taking a closer look at the mechanics of Bacchylides' narrative. Bacchylides' language and narrative picks up specific sections of Homer's narrative in the *Iliad*, but the Bacchylidean narrator significantly deviates from the narrative technique of the *Iliad*, offering a much more overtly pro-Greek, pro-Aiakid, and anti-Trojan account than Homer.

In his discussion of the myth, Maehler offers some useful comments on the separate but parallel handling of the two Aiakid heroes in lines 100 and following, and is quite right to point out the differences from Homer's version.[101] However, I will suggest that, parallel with the direct allusions to and reworkings of a famous scene from the *Iliad* on the poem's surface, the Homeric diction also operates at a deeper level in its new poetic context. The vivid pictorial detail of Bacchylides' surface narrative contrasts with the nexus of epithets and Homeric vocabulary which make the compressed action of the characters portentous and authoritative on a deeper level. Rather than scattering his epithets, or 'sowing from the whole sack',[102] Bacchylides' careful choice of language in various instances supports the final thrust of the narrative in unexpected ways, fitting the two Aiakid heroes through their roles in the *Iliad* into Bacchylides' narrative. Aias is picked out for specific mention for his

[98] Carey (1999), esp. 20–1. [99] Carey (1999) 21 n. 17, with Jebb 58.
[100] Carey (1999) 21. [101] Maehler I.2 253–4.
[102] Korinna's apocryphal attack on Pindar's myth-making technique: Plut. *Glor. Ath.* 348a.

heroism in book 15, and Akhilleus is used more in a way that picks up and plays with structural aspects of the *Iliad* and his role in it, thus massively increasing the scope of the narrative in Bacchylides' lyric myth.[103]

First, Bacchylides sets up detailed allusions to *Iliad* 15, especially in lines 104–9, which establish Aias' role in the fighting at Troy. When we look at how Aias' actions are described in *Iliad* 15, we may notice that things are not quite as Bacchylides makes them appear. This is partly because of the compressed treatment of this narrative in his poem, but Bacchylides has also developed Homer's narrative for his own purposes. To start with, we get the impression from Bacchylides' account that Aias' very presence on the stern of a ship was enough to put off the onset of the Trojans here. But this is not the impression we get from *Iliad* 15, where Hektor and the Trojans have a very much greater role to play. However, Bacchylides' further account of Trojan enthusiasm in Akhilleus' absence, along with certain other allusions, hints that he is fully aware of the threat the Trojans posed at this point. Next, in Homer, the treatment of Aias starts with his strutting up and down along the decks of the ships to ward off Trojans. By contrast, Bacchylides' portrayal of Aias, the *σακεσφόρον ἥ[ρω]* (line 104), is rather more static, as if he were some kind of divine protector of the ships rather than someone engaged in the cut and thrust of hand-to-hand combat as in the *Iliad*. This is made clearer by the simile actually used to describe Aias in the Homeric passage, where Aias is likened to a bareback horseman. But Aias' unusual actions, and refusal to stand with the other Akhaians, marks him out for special attention all the same, at *Iliad* 15.674–88, where he makes a stand on the decks.[104]

The lines on Hektor's desire to fire the ships depend, apart from the dénouement in the latter stages of book 15, on one *Iliadic* source,

[103] As we will see later in Ch. 5, this sensitivity to the inherent significatory breadth of the Homeric epithet is also strongly evident in Bacch. 15.

[104] It may be that Bacchylides is here influenced by representations of Aias in Aiginetan cult. See for comparison the episodes related in Teukros' defence of Aias in Soph. *Aj.* 1266 ff. esp. 1276–9; Aias' representation in this play has been related directly to Athenian hero cult (esp. Henrichs (1993)), and Homeric diction has an important role to play here too.

Hektor's speech to his fellow Trojans at 8.173–83, in which he says the following:

> *ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε κεν δὴ νηυσὶν ἔπι γλαφυρῇσι γένωμαι,*
> *μνημοσύνη τις ἔπειτα πυρὸς δηίοιο γενέσθω,*
> *ὡς πυρὶ νῆας ἐνιπρήσω, κτείνω δὲ καὶ αὐτούς*
> *Ἀργείους παρὰ νηυσὶν ἀτυζομένους ὑπὸ καπνοῦ.*
>
> But when I reach the hollow ships,
> Let there then be remembrance of raging fire,
> so I may set the ships ablaze, and kill the Argives
> themselves by the ships, bewildered by the smoke.
>
> *Iliad* 8.180–3[105]

Bacchylides picks up on these lines, but from a pro-Aiginetan attitude to Hektor's hostilities. There *will* be *μνημοσύνη τις . . . πυρὸς δηίοιο*, here in Bacchylides 13, but the destructive burning of Hektor's fire in the Akhaian ships will be reversed in the metaphorical fire and success of the Aiakidai and the victor, as represented by the beacon-fire of Pytheas' victory in lines 75–83, and the gleam from Akhilleus' funeral pyre in line 169.[106] Moreover, the aristocratic virtues of courage and manliness burgeon amid a glory that is qualified by a frequent Homeric epithet of *πῦρ*, *ἀκαμάτος*: see lines 175–81.[107] As Maehler points out, the phrase *ἀκαμάται . . . δόξαι* stands for the Homeric *κλέος ἄφθιτον*.[108] Through the parallel with Hektor's Homeric fire, Bacchylides' conceptualizes poetry itself, and Homeric poetry in particular, as a blazing fire. And as an Aiginetan cultural possession, this Homeric fire is the perfect

[105] The final line is now bracketed by West.

[106] Blass and Jebb reconstructed the damaged and missing lines 168–74 as follows. Blass: *quorum (Aeacidarum) etsi corpora obruta sunt βαθυξύλωι πυρᾶι sive (nempe Aiacis) terrae aggere, fama tamen immortalis viget*; Jebb: *τῶν εἰ καὶ* [*διόλωλεν*] | *ἢ βαθυξύλ*[*ωι πυρᾶι καυ-*] | [*θεντ᾽ ἢ κεκαλυμμένα τύμβοις*] | [*σώματ᾽, ἄφθιτόν γε μὲν*] | [*ζώει κλέος ἀθάνατον*] | [*Μουσᾶν λιγειᾶν*] | [*εὐκελάδοις ἐν ἀοιδαῖς.*]

[107] Text above, p. 109. In fact, *ἀκαμάτος* is used only eight times in the *Iliad*, and only twice in the *Odyssey*, and always with *πῦρ*. In extant lyric the word is only used by Bacchylides and Simonides, and by them, so far as we can tell, never of fire. Bacchylides' usage may also pick up *Il.* 15.727–31, a passage again concerned with the heroism of Ajax. We can see how Bacchylides consistently uses the language of fire and light to set off allusions to important scenes from the *Iliad*.

[108] Maehler I.2 281 ad loc. 178–9.

means for the memorialization and transmission of Aiginetan ἀρετή.[109]

With lines 110–20, which describe the Trojans' response to Akhilleus while he was still fighting, the textual confinement of the Trojans through the ring-compositional effect introduced by Akhilleus' μῆνις (μᾶνιν . . . μαίνοιτ') brilliantly reflects the confinement of the Trojans in their city. Bacchylides uses μᾶνιν in a prominent position at the end of a strophe to recall Akhilleus' specifically Iliadic wrath, as well as the first word of the *Iliad*, especially since μῆνις used of Akhilleus and his anger is relatively uncommon (12 times in the *Iliad*, and used of no other mortals; in lyric elsewhere, only otherwise of a mortal at Alkaios 44.8 V: again Akhilleus, in a poem recognized as also following Homeric myth). The prominence of μῆνις implies that Akhilleus is the controlling force of the war, and that as such all those in opposition to him, especially Trojans, will suffer badly.[110] In lines 116–19 the description of the Trojans' bewilderment and disarray are textually most closely paralleled in the *Iliad* at 18.6–7 where Akhilleus sees the approach of Antilokhos and worries for the plight of the *Akhaians*:

> ὤι μοι ἐγώ, τί ταρ αὖτε κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοί
> νηυσὶν ἔπι κλονέονται ἀτυζόμενοι πεδίοιο;
>
> Oh woe, how is it that once again the long-haired Akhaians
> are driven onto the ships in confusion from the plain?

Here, Greeks, not Trojans, are in disarray, the opposite of Bacchylides' narrative. Yet the context of this allusion is not insignificant. In Bacchylides, the previous distress of the Trojans when Akhilleus fought casts into relief their present joy. Yet it alludes to that moment in the *Iliad* when Akhilleus realizes the consequences of his absence

[109] Compare the use of ἀκάματον to qualify στέλεν in a memorializing epigraphic context: *CEG* i.108.5. Note too Ford (2002) 109 for 'ever-flowing' as a marker of poetry and oral traditions, with Sim. fr. 581.2 *PMG*, Pind. *Pyth.* 4.229, and Krit. B 18.1–2 D–K.

[110] See *Il.* 5.788–91, 9.352–5 and 16.69–73. In these last two examples the idea comes from Akhilleus' own mouth. See Kirk (1990) ad loc. 5.788. The epithet that Bacchylides uses to refer to Akhilleus' spear at this point, λαοφόνον, literally 'host-slaying', line 120, intensifies the action and the Trojans' fear by increasing the power and scope of the Iliadic epithet ἀνδροφόνος used to characterize Akhilleus (18.317; 23.18; 24.479) as well as Hektor and Ares.

and is about to return to the fighting. The implication is that Trojan joy in Bacchylides—in lines 145–56—will be as short-lived as its Homeric counterpart in *Iliad* 15.

The Storm Simile

These ideas are carried further through the extended simile in the following lines (124–40). Before looking in detail at the passage, I want to reject the interpretation of this passage offered by Emily Townsend:

> This is a curious passage. Its structure reflects Bacchylides' typical bracketing syntax patterns on a massive scale, but the middle term, the actual simile scene, is so extended in depth that it blocks the narrative completely. Language and conception are both Homeric, but lyric does not demand the kind of relief for which Homeric similes were designed, and this is far too big for its context. It transforms a scene which is already less stably present to the mind than the scenes in Homer, and it digresses from a myth which itself is a digression from the occasion of the poem. The simile illustrates beautifully the nature of Bacchylides' early struggle to transpose epic into lyric form.[111]

Townsend is wrong to find the simile so jarring, and it is interesting to see why. It is clear from the context in which this simile appears that it is not designed to provide relief from the narrative in the way Townsend viewed the functioning of Homeric similes. At any rate, Bacchylides, as we have already seen, should not be interpreted as only copying the style of Homer's own narrative, since the depth of allusion and the compression of Bacchylides' surface narrative highlight divergences from as well as similarities to the inner workings of Homeric narrative. Moreover, the opposition between the epic-style poetry and (choral) lyric is handily deconstructed already by some fragmentary remains of Stesikhoros.[112]

[111] Townsend (= Vermeule) (1956) 125. Cp. also Bowra (1964) 239.

[112] I think here particularly of the choral and communitarian character of a fragment of Stesikhoros' lengthy *Oresteia* (fr. 212 *PMGF*): *τοιάδε χρὴ Χαρίτων δαμώματα καλλικόμων | ὑμνεῖν Φρύγιον μέλος †ἐξευρόντα† ἁβρῶς | ἦρος ἐπερχομένου*. Cingano (2003) 29, reading plural *ἐξευρόντας*, is right to draw attention to the pact here expressed between poet and community that is paralleled in Pindar and Bacchylides;

Bacchylides' similes occur at climactic points, used to express additional thoughts or feelings not included in the narrative, but crucial to its development, just as with the extended epic simile.[113] As such, they are an important element of Bacchylides' narrative style in general.[114] In its context, Bacchylides' storm simile is another factor which directs us towards epic narrative, and its scale allows us further to take stock of the Trojan, and Greek, predicament in the light of the Iliadic situation. In addition, the precision of its placing immediately after the temporal clause begun with ἀλλ' ὅτε, 'but when . . .', in line 121, which marks the withdrawal of Akhilleus from the battle, provides a strong temporal pause. The main verb which should pick up the narrative again, to express the delight of the Trojans in Akhilleus' absence, is omitted altogether, directing us to infer the Trojan state of mind from the details provided within the simile itself concerning the fortunes of the sailors.

This pause, and the way it is brought about with the extended simile, creates two different effects. The primary effect is to allow

but his suggestion that in this fragment 'un certain nombre d'indices référentiels et sémantiques arrachent Stésichore du sillon de la tradition épique, où il a été relégué en tant qu'auteur de longs poèmes à sujet héroïque, et le rapprochent manifestement du contexte des performances de la lyrique chorale' establishes an unnecessary opposition between epic style and/or scale and communal and choral indications. With Stesikhoros, an important factor is the *combination* of traditionally epic and choral/communitarian/epichoric aspects.

[113] Bacch. 5.16 ff. (technically more an extended comparison than a simile); Bacch. 9.27–38, with Fearn (2003) 362–5. On the relation between similes and narrative, see the helpful remarks of Lyne (1989) 68: ' The main function of a simile is not to illustrate something already mentioned in the narrative, but to *add* things which are not mentioned, in a different medium: imagery.' Given the extent of Pindar's epinician corpus, a total of only five relatively short similes of more than a simple comparison in forty-six poems (cf. Schmid–Stählin I.1 597, 'Unhomerish ist auch die Seltenheit von der Sache abgesonderter Bilder . . .', with n. 3 for a list) is strikingly infrequent in relation to Bacchylides' three extended similes in fourteen.

[114] See the remarks of Segal (1976) 101: '[Bacchylides'] narrative stops to contemplate feelingly and to savor, in delight or in sadness, a specific mood or scene. The heavy accumulation of epithets slows down the action and forces us to become conscious of the details, the superfluous externals and not just the essentials (as in Homer or even in Pindar), of what is happening.' Cp. the interesting, though more general, remarks of Carey (1980) 234: 'Bacchylides' method of composition is similar to the Homeric simile, which often includes many details not for their own sake but to add substance to the scene in the simile and so give further emphasis to the narrative situation'.

members of the audience to recall events and detail from the narrative of the *Iliad* itself. And, more specifically, it allows for consideration of the predicaments of the Greek and Trojan sides in the narrative of the *Iliad* subsequent to Akhilleus' withdrawal. The positioning of the simile immediately after mention of Akhilleus' withdrawal therefore makes it all the more clear that Bacchylides is exploiting the act which is the most significant for the delineation of Homer's poem.

The storm simile is a reworking that takes its point of departure from the simile in *Iliad* 15.624–9, which describes Greek suffering at the hands of the Trojans. Maehler suggests that Bacchylides' simile is not Homeric in the sense that it does not pick up or illustrate a concrete action taking place in the narrative.[115] However, in the Iliadic source passages, the simile does in fact illustrate the state of mind of the afflicted warriors;[116] this is precisely the reason for believing that Bacchylides is following Homeric simile practice at this point. In *Iliad* 15, as in Bacchylides 13, the bewildered warriors are likened to terrified sailors, but in Homer the warriors are Greek rather than Trojan:

> *. . . τρομέουσι δέ τε φρένα ναῦται*
> *δειδιότες· τυτθὸν γὰρ ὕπεκ θανάτοιο φέρονται·*
> *ὣς ἐδαΐζετο θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν Ἀχαιῶν.*
>
> . . . and the hearts of the sailors shudder
> in fear: carried only a little way out of death's grasp.
> So the hearts in the breasts of the Akhaians were rent asunder.
>
> *Iliad* 15.627–9

The other Iliadic storm-simile that is here brought to mind appears at the start of *Iliad* 9, with Greek bewilderment at the Trojans encamped outside the city at the end of book 8: *Iliad* 9.1–8.[117] In this case too, Greek feelings of distress, with the metaphor of rending, provide the tenor: again, we have the clause *ὣς ἐδαΐζετο θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν Ἀχαιῶν* to conclude the simile, in this case at line 8; the

[115] Maehler I.2 254. Maehler however contradicts his own position at I.1 26. Cf. the comments made by Robbins in Gerber (1997) 280–1.

[116] See de Jong (1987) 124 for discussion of exactly this class of Homeric simile.

[117] Cf. Parry at Fagles (1998) 115.

vehicle is once more the storm at sea, though this time omitting the focalization of terrified sailors.

In Bacchylides' version, the 'rending of men's spirits', ἐδαΐζετο θυμὸς, is now incorporated within the *vehicle* of the simile, δαΐζει, line 126, instead of being the final detail of the *tenor* which sums up the impact of the simile as a whole as in the Homeric examples; we are invited to recall the narrative situation of the *Iliad* provided by the tenor of the similes from its counterpart inside the Bacchylidean vehicle.

Bacchylides' narrative thus exploits, in a sophisticated way, Homeric similes which show the Greeks at their lowest ebb, in order to form a perfect portrayal of Trojan sufferings and hopes, though soon to be defeated.[118] There is still, however, a sense in which we must still read into it the Iliadic situation and the woes of the Greeks too: Akhilleus' absence punishes the Greeks just as much, if not more, as shown in the section of the *Iliad* which stretches from book 9 to book 17; and it is ultimately Greek distress to which the main verb δαΐζει in Bacchylides' vehicle directs us. Moreover, the switch to the storm *vehicle* in line 124 has the effect of making us switch *texts* to the *Iliad* itself and its own storm similes in order fully to understand the implications of Akhilleus' withdrawal for Greeks and Trojans alike.

Directly after this image of suffering sailors, calm unexpectedly appears with the arrival of dawn, and the sailors reach dry land: lines 128–40. The imagery provided by the continuation of the vehicle vividly focalizes the Trojans' change of mood from distress to delight; the language is again strongly Homeric.[119] At the start of the reverse

[118] Cf. Schwartz (1904) 637: 'Es ist hübsch zu sehen, wie Bakchylides das Bild ausgeführt hat, um es von den Achaeern auf die Troer zu übertragen.' The simile is also possibly contaminated with that at *Il.* 7.4–6: see Maehler I.2 273 n. 11 ad loc. 124–32.

[119] Note esp. the unusual phrase στόρεσεν δέ τε πόντον, which follows exactly the metaphorical usage of the verb στόρεννυμι found uniquely at *Od.* 3.158, in a passage where Nestor describes the varied *nostoi* of the Greeks from Troy (the verb is found elsewhere in Homer in 21 non-metaphorical contexts, generally regarding the preparation of a bed). Note also the remarkable epic-style usage of the conjunction δέ τε: see Ruijgh (1971) 988. Outside epic this particular usage is extremely rare; see Sappho 105b V for another example, also imitation of an epic technique, in hexameters. According to Denniston's figures, it occurs elsewhere, outside Homer and Hesiod, only six times in elegy. Thus this is its only attestation in lyric metre.

in the Trojans' fortunes, or rather their own projected hopes of the reverse in fortunes, we have the incorporation of another passage, this time from the *Odyssey*, in the idea of a destructive storm followed by calm and the sight of land.[120] In book 5, on the dawn of Odysseus' third day in the waves, all of a sudden the sea is calmed and he catches sight of land, which will turn out to be the home of the Phaiakians: *Odyssey* 5.390–9, in particular lines 390–2:

> ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τρίτον ἦμαρ ἐϋπλόκαμος τέλεσ' Ἠώς,
> καὶ τότ' ἔπειτ' ἄνεμος μὲν ἐπαύσατο ἠδὲ γαλήνη
> ἔπλετο νηνεμίη, ὁ δ' ἄρα σχεδὸν εἴσιδε γαῖαν . . .
>
> But when Dawn with the beautiful locks brought about the third day,
> then the wind ceased, and there was windless calm,
> and he could see land close by . . .

See also Odysseus' words at 5.408–9:

> "Ὤ μοι, ἐπεὶ δὴ γαῖαν ἀελπέα δῶκεν ἰδέσθαι
> Ζεύς . . ."
>
> 'Oh, how Zeus has granted me the sight of land I never expected . . .'

Just as Bacchylides' simile initially took its departure from Greek suffering in *Iliad* 15 and 9, it now turns to another example, where that suffering is short-lived. Yet all is not well for the Trojans and their thoughts of an Odyssean rescue from the perils of shipwreck. Their projected hopes of safety are textually dashed on the rocks of the 'misquotation' of the lines for dawn. Instead of taking us to the ultimate safety of the Odyssean passages, where dawn is differently described, σὺν φαεσιμ[βρότωι] | Ἀοῖ in lines 128–9 transfers us directly to the last lines of the *Iliad*, and the funeral of Hektor: specifically, to the moment at the start of the tenth day, after nine days of preparing the pyre, when Hektor's body is brought out for cremation. The phrase φαεσίμβροτος ἠὼς is only used once in Homer, here, at *Iliad* 24.785.[121] The cessation envisaged by the sailors at 128 takes us not to the cessation of Akhilleus' fighting (line 122),

[120] See Maehler I.2 274 ad loc. 130.

[121] As Kenyon notes ad loc., though, as Maehler points out, the adjective is used of the sun at *Od.* 10.138 and 191; Pind. *Ol.* 7.39 and Thgn. 1183 have φαυσίμβροτος of the sun. For the subtlety of Homeric technique in naming Dawn, see Macleod (1982) 47–8.

but to the close of the *Iliad* itself, the end of Hektor, and the end of the truce: Troy's destruction is assured.[122] The phrase that Bacchylides uses in lines 128–9 will prove to embody a *false* dawn for Trojan hopes: rather than Trojan delight in the smoke of the Greek ships, as Hektor had projected at *Iliad* 8.180–3 (and its memorialization: 181), the flames and smoke are of Hektor's own funeral fire, the final and enduring image from the *Iliad*.[123] This allusion is further strengthened by its relation to the *leitmotif* of fire that runs through Bacchylides' poem. Furthermore, in these lines from the end of *Iliad* 24, the Trojans are also feasting. As feasting seems to be wished for by the Trojans in the damaged portion of the text (162), it is ironic that the feast they will *actually* be celebrating when the narrative of the *Iliad* has run its course is after the death of Hektor.

Rather than offering up the closure of the *Iliad* as a 'proud celebration of individual greatness',[124] for the Aiginetans the Bacchylidean construction of the *Iliad* is a negative paradigm. The Trojans are doomed to defeat, doomed to celebrate at the *funeral* of their overconfident hero, as a foil to the celebration and feasting that are the normal accompaniments, along with epinician odes, to victories at the major festivals.[125]

Closure. Trojan Destruction

The simile is at the heart of Bacchylides' myth, forming the centrepiece of a threefold mythical structure that culminates in doom for the Trojans:

[122] That the death of Hektor implies that of Akhilleus also is, moreover, highly suitable for an Aiginetan reception of the epic tradition according to which the heroic achievements and deaths of Aiakidai establishes the need for them to be celebrated in cult.

[123] Cf. Wilamowitz (1922) 173 of the Trojans: 'sie dringen mordend bis zu den Schiffen vor, aber sie haben ihre Rechnung ohne die Aiakiden gemacht'.

[124] The idealizing reading offered by Edwards (1987) 315, for example.

[125] I take issue here with the suggestion made by Carey, (1999) 25, that the reversal of fortune that the Trojans suffer is a mark of Bacchylides' tragic exposition. In an epinician in a highly militarized contemporary context, such a vigorous presentation of the Trojan reversal should not be regarded as tragic; in particular, their hopes for feasting in line 162 serve as the perfect epinician counterpart to the festivities of the successful victor Pytheas, back in his Aiakid homeland.

1 Narrative (114–23): Trojan bewilderment ⇒ release and jubilation.

This is matched in

2 Simile (124–32): sailors' distress during storm at sea ⇒ calm and dry land.

This is then reversed in the following lines:

3 Narrative (133–67): Trojan release and jubilation ⇒ destruction (prophesied).

In the resumption of the narrative, Bacchylides focuses again on Akhilleus, and the reason for his absence: Briseis (lines 133–7). The reference to Briseis in line 137 has been the subject of some critical interest. Carne-Ross suggested that the elaborate description of Briseis as *ξανθᾶς γυναικός . . . ἱμερογυίου*, the 'blonde-haired woman of the lovely limbs', lines 136–7, recalled the sensual mood of sixth-century lyric, and Anakreon in particular.[126] Since the most striking word, *ἱμερογυίου*, is a *hapax*,[127] it would be risky to suggest that Bacchylides was *directly* influenced by sixth-century lyric; what is more significant here is how the word affects Bacchylides' poem, his characterization of Akhilleus, and the Trojan reaction to Akhilleus' absence. Charles Segal suggests the following:

> The decorative richness of the two lines on Briseis enables Bacchylides to endow the remote causes of the hero's absence with a vivid reality in a short compass. He enormously simplifies and alters the motivation of the Homeric Achilles in order to highlight his foreground of battlescenes and the brightness of *arete* which flashes out of the darkness of suffering (cf. 175–77).[128]

Segal also has useful things to say about the epithets surrounding Thetis in lines 121–3, *ἀλλ' ὅ̣τε δὴ πολέμοι[ο] | λῆξεν ἰοστεφάνο[υ] | Νηρῆιδος ἀτρόμητος υἱός*, 'but when the unshakeable son of the violet-garlanded Nereid withdrew from battle':

> 'Untrembling warrior' stands in strong contrast with 'Nereid violet-crowned'. 'Violet-crowned' is so placed that it looks as if it might go both with 'war' and 'Nereid'. The colometry, in fact, encourages us to initially

[126] Carne-Ross (1962) 85.
[127] Cf. Maehler I.2 276 ad loc. 137.
[128] Segal (1976) 129.

translate 'war violet-crowned . . . .' We correct this 'mistake' at once when we read (or hear) the next line, but we may wonder whether this invitation to misconstrue may not be deliberate. In any event it creates not merely a pathetic collocation of opposites, but a violent fusion and interpretation of antithetical realms of experience.[129]

It is exactly this 'violent fusion and interpretation of antithetical realms of experience' which I believe Bacchylides is exhibiting throughout the poem by his descriptions of, and allusions to descriptions of, women. Moreover, this is a feature of the *Iliad* itself which Bacchylides is keen to appropriate and develop. Segal is therefore wrong to suggest that Bacchylides has significantly *altered* the motivation of the Homeric Akhilleus; indeed, he goes on to suggest Bacchylides' lines on Briseis 'stand out as a moment of relief after which the violence of war returns with redoubled concentration. War and love are sharply juxtaposed in a very unHomeric manner'.[130] However, in smaller lyric compass, Bacchylides is exploiting exactly the kinds of juxtaposition between love and war that Homer has established throughout the *Iliad*: both in the use of erotic metaphors for warfare, in passages such as *Iliad* 22.126–8, (the ὀαριστύς, 'sweet-talk', of war),[131] and in familiar from books 3 (Helen, Aphrodite, and Paris) and 6 (Hektor and Andromakhe).

Bacchylides' eroticized focalization of Akhilleus' thoughts in lines 133–7 expands upon Homer's κεῖτο γὰρ ἐν νήεσσι ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς | κούρης χωόμενος Βρισηίδος ἠυκόμοιο, 'for godlike Akhilleus lay among the ships, angry over Briseis the girl with fine-tresses', at *Iliad* 2.688–9, developing Akhilleus' character in the narrative context of a lyric myth that does not allow for the grand speeches of an *Iliad* 1 or an *Iliad* 9. Akhilleus' Iliadic μῆνις is still very much in evidence here in Bacchylides, but the momentary focus on Briseis through the exotic language used to describe her expresses her desirability to Akhilleus, though he is still a fierce foe when slaughtering Trojans on the battlefield.

[129] Segal (1976) 130.

[130] Segal (1976) 129.

[131] For a detailed discussion, see McLaughlin (2005), ch. 5, 'Metaphors of War and Vengeance', esp. 5.2; see also Janko (1992) 83 on *Il.* 13.288–91; Vermeule (1979) 101.

From a contextual Aiginetan perspective, this makes perfect sense. We have already seen that Bacchylides' poem presents ritual dancing of eroticized *parthenoi* and the glories of warrior child-production as a celebration of Aiginetan tradition and nationhood. To have Akhilleus serve as the mythical paradigm for the latter aspect is a natural extension of the constructed operations of gender in the rest of the poem outside the myth.[132] The positive mention of Thetis in 'Nereid violet-crowned' in lines 122–3 is another illustration of the same point, aligning this mythical and heroic paradigm of motherhood with the other figures in the poem crowned with garlands: the Nemean victors in the pankration of line 55, the victor Pytheas himself in lines 69–70, the *parthenoi* in lines 91–3, the Aiginetan guardian-deity Eukleia in line 184,[133] and the other victory crowns of line 197.[134] Bacchylides' compressive use of epithets at this point expresses within the comparatively exiguous confines of an epinician myth the expansiveness of epic narrative. Moreover, audience-members are again made to sympathize with the situation of Akhilleus rather than that of the Trojans, through a skilful and subtle expansion manipulation of Briseis' Homeric epithet.

Trojan hopes raised by the absence of Akhilleus are again textually undercut in lines 139–40. Bacchylides' diction undermines the Trojan exultation and release from suffering imposed by Akhilleus' raging on the battlefield. At 139–40, by suggesting to us that the Trojans see—or think they can see φοιβὰν . . . ὑπαὶ χειμῶνος αἴγλαν, 'a bright gleam from under the storm', Bacchylides recapitulates and further extends the vehicle of the earlier simile. αἴγλη is itself a Homeric word, but is never used of sunlight, and never used in a Trojan context: it is used twice, both referring to the glint of bronze armour, in passages where it is the Akhaians, and not the Trojans, who are rushing on to the battlefield; indeed, the second of the two

[132] Again, see above, pp. 118–19, with Stehle (1997) and Power (2000).

[133] Power (2000) 80 n. 58 links Eukleia with the cult of Artemis Eukleia and so marriage, with Plut. *Arist.* 20.6: τὴν δ' Εὔκλειαν οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ καὶ καλοῦσι καὶ νομίζουσιν Ἄρτεμιν, and Braund (1980). If this association is correct for Bacchylides' day, it would further emphasize the theme of the continuity of the production of heroic children from the mythical into the contemporary Aiginetan world.

[134] For more detail on the significance of the last reference, see below, p. 154.

passages is that where the Akhaians pour forth in book 19, with Akhilleus now back in their midst.[135]

If that were not enough, and indeed we might doubt a twofold Bacchylidean allusion to two different Iliadic contexts in the one expression, Bacchylides also uses standard epinician terminology here. For in epinician, *αἴγλα* is used as a metaphor for victory, the most prominent example being at Pindar *Pythian* 8.96–7: *ἀλλ' ὅταν αἴγλα διόσδοτος ἔλθῃ, λαμπρὸν φέγγος ἔπεστιν ἀνδρῶν καὶ μείλιχος αἰών*, 'but whenever god-given brilliance comes, bright light shines upon a man and life is kind'.[136] Trojan suffering stands in contrast to both the successes of the Aiakid heroes, who will dash their hopes, and for Pytheas the Aiginetan victor, who, thanks to his father Lampon, is under the epinician spotlight. What Bacchylides does differently from Pindar here is to modify and extend Homeric usage of narrative and simile to achieve this contrast.

Lines 141–56 allude to scenes in the *Iliad* that show the Trojans in the ascendant. As Buss and Maehler have discussed, lines 141–4, which describe the Trojans rushing from the city onto the plain to do battle,[137] pick up *Iliad* 2.807 and following, where Hektor leads the Trojans into battle and the Trojan Catalogue begins. This is another key section of Bacchylides' narrative, in that it points to a structurally important passage in the *Iliad*, the point where the Trojans are first sent out to fight. However, it is an instance of Bacchylidean manipulation of the epic context, in that it portrays the Trojans in a negative light: the reference in lines 141–4 to the 'walls of Laomedon' make us think of Trojan hubris. No mortal character in the *Iliad* refers to the building of Laomedon's Troy; only gods refer to it. At 21.441–57 Poseidon challenges Apollo's allegiance to the Trojan cause by making reference to the hubristic actions of Laomedon that they both suffered. Although Trojan guilt is strongly implied, and indeed re-enacted, in the main narrative of the *Iliad*, through, for instance, the presence of Helen and the actions of Paris in book 3,

[135] *Il.* 2.458; *Il.* 19.362–3.

[136] See also Pind. *Ol.* 13.36, *Pyth.* 3.73, and *Nem.* 1.35. For Bacchylides' contextually very different, but still comparable, usage of *αἰγλάεις*, see above, p. 69, on fr. 20B.14: the gleam in both Bacchylidean cases is untrustworthy for those looking upon it.

[137] Text above, p. 108.

and Pandaros in book 4,[138] this particular instance of ancestral Trojan guilt is not a feature of the main narrative of the *Iliad*.

The narrative continues, at lines 151–4, with the effect of Hektor's slaughter of the Akhaians: . . . *ἐναριζ[ο]μ̣[έν]ων* | *[δ' ἔρ]ευθε φώτων* | *[αἵμα]τι γαῖα μέλα[ινα]* | *[Ἕκτορ]έας ὑπὸ χει[ρός]* . . . , 'and the black earth was red with the blood of men slain by the hand of Hektor'. The closest parallel for this phrase again comes from *Iliad* 15 at the point just before Hektor grasps hold of a ship and calls for fire to be brought, therefore causing the retreat of Aias not covered by Bacchylides' narrative earlier:

> *πολλὰ δὲ φάσγανα καλὰ μελάνδετα κωπήεντα*
> *ἄλλα μὲν ἐκ χειρῶν χαμάδις πέσον, ἄλλα δ' ἀπ' ὤμων*
> *ἀνδρῶν μαρναμένων· ῥέε δ' αἵματι γαῖα μέλαινα.*
>
> Many fine swords, black-handled with heavy hilts,
> some from hands, others from shoulders, fell to the ground
> as men fought. The black earth flowed with blood.
>
> *Iliad* 15.713–15

As Demarque rightly points out, 'Homer is referring to the general bloodshed of this encounter while Bacchylides restricts himself to that shed specifically at the hands of Hector'.[139] Bacchylides now expands the effect of Homer's phrase to emphasize the effectiveness of Hektor as a warrior. However, this only works through the parallel with the Iliadic Akhilleus, whose own slaughter of the Trojans in similar fashion in *Iliad* 20 is the precursor to the death of Hektor:

> *ὣς ὅ γε πάντῃ θῦνε σὺν ἔγχεϊ δαίμονι ἶσος*
> *κτεινομένους ἐφέπων· ῥέε δ' αἵματι γαῖα μέλαινα.*
>
> So he rushed everywhere with his spear, like a god,
> harrying them as they died. The black earth flowed with blood.
>
> *Iliad* 20.493–4[140]

[138] On Pandaros see e.g. Taplin (1992) 103–9.

[139] Demarque (1966) 177.

[140] Also note how Bacchylides, in describing blood reddening the black earth flaunts the artistry of his own language of colour: he goes beyond the limitations of the traditional Homeric formula, according to which blood and earth are both black, except when blood mixes with water, as at *Il.* 21.21.

This identification of Hektor and Akhilleus serves to emphasize that Hektor can only shine in Akhilleus' absence.

The damaged section of text at lines 157–61 provides a climactic description of the Trojan hopes of destroying the Akhaian ships. The narrator's characterization of them in line 157 with *ἦ μεγάλαισιν ἐλπίσιν* suggests Trojan overconfidence. This passage refers us both to *Iliad* 15 and to Hektor's speech at the end of *Iliad* 8:

> *Τρωσὶν δ' ἤλπετο θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἑκάστου*
> *νῆας ἐνιπρήσειν κτενέειν θ' ἥρωας Ἀχαιούς.*
>
> The spirit in every Trojan heart hoped
> to set the ships ablaze and kill the Akhaian heroes.
>
> *Iliad* 15.701–2

and

> *νῦν ἐφάμην νῆάς τ' ὀλέσας καὶ πάντας Ἀχαιούς*
> *ἂψ ἀπονοστήσειν προτὶ Ἴλιον ἠνεμόεσσαν·*
> *ἀλλὰ πρὶν κνέφας ἦλθε, τὸ νῦν ἐσάωσε μάλιστα*
> *Ἀργείους καὶ νῆας ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης.*
>
> Now I thought that having destroyed the ships and all the Akhaians
> I would return back to windy Ilion.
> But ahead of me darkness has come: this beyond all else
> has now saved the Argives and their ships in the breakers on the shore.
>
> *Iliad* 8.498–501

The possibility of a direct reference to Hektor's words at this point is strengthened by the use of *θ[εόδ]ματον*, 'god-built', as an epithet of Troy (163) which deploys a Homeric epithet only used once, of Troy's towers, at 8.520, in this very speech. Though there is no hint of the suggestion in Homer's own narrative, when coupled with Bacchylides' earlier reference in line 142 to the walls of Laomedon, we are again directed to think of the treachery of Laomedon and the first sack of Troy, and Aiginetan versions of this story. This is a theme used elsewhere in Aiginetan epinician by Pindar, at *Nemean* 3.36 and following, and also in *Olympian* 8, and a scene depicting the first sack of Troy was prominently displayed on the east pediment of the temple of Aphaia on Aigina.[141]

[141] See above, p. 96–7.

However, the epithet hints that Troy may feature as a paradigm of Aigina itself. In Bacchylides 12, in praise of the victory of Teisias of Aigina, Bacchylides refers to Aigina as follows:

ἐς γὰρ ὀλβιάν
ξείνοισί με πότνια Νίκα
νᾶσον Αἰγίνας ἀπάρχει
ἐλθόντα κοσμῆσαι θεόδματον πόλιν . . .

. . . for lady Victory orders me to go to Aigina's blessed island and adorn its god-built city for my hosts.

Bacchylides 12.4–7

Aigina was also, of course, 'god-built', in the sense that Aigina herself was chosen by Zeus as a partner, and Aiakos' piety won Zeus' subsequent favour, resulting in the population of a hitherto barren island: the 'god' in question is as much Aiakos as it is Zeus.[142] As such, in Bacchylides 13 the reference to the 'god-built' city is the first of a number of details in this section that creates an implied identification and contrast between Troy and the *polis* of Aigina.

With *ὑπερφ[ία]λόν* in line 158 the Bacchylidean narrator comments on the arrogance of the Trojans. There are twenty-eight occurrences of the phrase in Homer, but there is a divergence in usage between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. In the *Iliad*, where five out of eight of the occurrences describe Trojans from the viewpoint of Greeks or pro-Greek gods, there are no examples from narrator-text. In the *Odyssey*, on the other hand, where seventeen of the twenty examples refer to the suitors, there are six examples from narrative-text, which all refer to the suitors (not including the single Odysseus/narrator instance at *Odyssey* 9.106 referring to the Kyklopes).[143] Bacchylides has noted and taken over from the *Iliad* the association with the Trojans, but has combined it with the Odyssean perspective of the narrator on the suitors. This enables Bacchylides to allude to the petty arrogance of the Odyssean suitors as well as the heroic

[142] Cf. Maehler I.2 247 ad loc. 7. For the mythical background to Aigina, see my discussion above, pp. 100–5.

[143] *Iliad*: 3.106, 5.88, 13.521, 15.94, 21.224, 21.414, 21.459, 23.611. *Odyssey*: 1.134 (narrator), 2.310, 3.315, 4.503, 4.774, 4.790 (narrator), 6.274, 9.106, 11.116, 13.373 (narrator), 14.27 (narrator), 15.12, 15.315, 15.376, 16.271, 18.167, 20.12 (narrator), 20.291 (narrator), 21.289, 23.356. See de Jong (2001) 499.

hubris of the Iliadic Trojans. Bacchylides' main narrative therefore offers a systematically anti-Trojan perspective unlike that offered by the Iliadic main narrator: he emphasizes the underlying negative characterization of the Trojans in the *Iliad*. This is a remarkable effect, achieved by a combination of his appropriation of Homeric language, narrative style, and thematics with an allusive compression of detail which flattens out much of the complexity of characterization and motivation offered in the *Iliad* itself.[144]

Bacchylides concludes his myth by stressing the destruction of the Trojans, in direct conflict with their foolish hopes. By going back in mythical and poetic time, he can simulate the Homeric narrator (compare, for instance, the phrase *νήπιοι, οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔμελλον* ..., 'fools: they were not to' at *Iliad* 17.497), to allow himself the luxury of prophesying the Trojans' destruction, using a wonderfully expressive phrase in lines 164–5: *[μ]έλλον ἄρα πρότε[ρο]ν δι- | [ν]ᾶντα φοινίξει[ν Σκ]άμανδρ[ον]*, 'but they were doomed before that to redden the whirling Skamandros'.[145]

In Bacchylides 13 both Aias and Akhilleus are responsible for bloodying the Skamandros. Bacchylides draws out dramatic irony by the repetition of the language used for blood: in lines 151–4 Hektor's initial successes are marked by the flowing of blood; in 164–5 this is overturned in the bloody slaughter of the Trojans by the Aiakidai.

In *Iliad* 21 and 22 it is of course Akhilleus alone who is responsible for the killings in the Skamandros. However, Bacchylides seems to enhance the status of Aias for his Aiginetan audience, just as Pindar does elsewhere, for instance in *Isthmian* 5, an ode celebrating a pankration victory by Pytheas' younger brother Phylakidas. There, although the Aiginetan heroes are referred to in general terms as the sons of Aiakos in line 35, and it is the achievements of Akhilleus in particular that are implied in lines 39–42, Aigina is called the city of Aias in line 48. Akhilleus was always the more significant of the two heroes, and Bacchylides' systematic allusions to the narrative of the

[144] Cp. Simonides' *Plataea Elegy* at fr. 11.11–12 W, where Paris is described by the narrator in post-Iliadic terms, but in a style and context that makes us believe that this is a systematic characterization offered by the Iliadic narrator himself.

[145] Compare Bacchylides' own usage at Bacch. fr. 27.36–7: *φατί νιν [διναῖ]ντα φοινίξειν Σκά[μανδρον] | κτεί νον[τα φιλ]οπτολέμους | Τρῶας·* Also the golden-whirling Paktolos red with blood in the plausibly supplemented Bacch. 3.44.

Iliad itself highlight this; but Aias is allowed some equality with him in the culminating reference to the slaughter of the Trojans. Moreover, it seems that Bacchylides celebrates the heroic funerals of the two together in the following lines; whilst the likely reference to Akhilleus' funeral pyre in the damaged line 169 produces an intertextual contrast with the funeral pyre of Hektor, which I suggested above has been subtly brought to mind in Bacchylides' extended simile, there is no reference, for instance, to Patroklos, as is found in *Iliad* 23 and *Odyssey* 24. This would get in the way of the insistent focus on the specifically Aiginetan heroic pairing.[146]

The location of the slaughter is significant. In both Homeric and Bacchylidean versions, the Skamandros is a dangerous place, and not a place for women, at least in wartime. In fact, the reference to slaughter by the river Skamandros as played out in the latter stages of the *Iliad* works in counterpoint to the earlier description of *parthenoi* in Bacchylides, given that the location of the dancing is likely to have been beside Aigina's own source of fresh water, the Asopis spring: this is suggested by the epichoric adornment of their hair with reeds, as stated in lines 92–3, *δόνακός τ' ἐ[πιχω-] | ρίαν ἄθυρσιν*, as well as the river-banks of line 88.[147] Moreover, however unrecoverable the significance in Aiginetan cult of the particular colour chosen for the flowers in their hair,[148] here in Bacchylides it matches the colour of the Trojan blood mingling in the eddies of the Skamandros: compare *[φοιν]ι̣κ̣έων | ἀνθέων* in lines 91–2 with *φοινίξειν* in line 165. As I suggested earlier, the girls were likened to deer in a way which marked precisely Bacchylides' reference to a Homeric type of simile comparing warriors to deer that are timid or bewildered, but also the divergence from the Homeric model in the statement that the deer in Bacchylides' version are, precisely, care*free*, *ἀπεν[θῆς]*, line 87.

[146] The twin burial of Akhilleus and Patroklos together may also have been referred to in Simonides' *Plataea Elegy*, a text without a focus on any one epichoric situation as in the case of Bacchylides 13: see Sim. fr. 11.6 W (with West's supplementation), with West (1993) 6 and Pavese (1995) 9–10.

[147] See above, p. 116.

[148] Perhaps we might speculate that it might function as an external representation of menstrual blood, and as such a kind of performed advertisement of their sexual availability and readiness for marriage; cf. Plut. *Lyc.* 15.1 on a Spartan readiness for *parthenoi* to demonstrate their availability for marriage to potential suitors in public, cited by Stehle (1997) 32.

Furthermore, in the *Iliad* the Trojans are likened to fawns only in two places, both times when they are threatened by Akhilleus: first, on the banks of the Skamandros when Akhilleus hauls out Trojans to take alive in revenge for Patroklos, and second, when Trojans flee back to Troy to escape Akhilleus' devastations by the Skamandros of book 21.[149] This juxtaposes the two waterside situations and invites comparison. The Aiginetan Asopis, along with the acts which take place beside it, now seems like a mirror-image of the Skamandros, and the violent, but equally parallel, actions which took place there. Bacchylides has created in epinician a comparison between the ritual context of Aiginetan *parthenoi* singing about the genealogy of their river, and the location of Trojan destruction at the hands of the now Aiginetan hero Akhilleus.

Inside Bacchylides' myth, the Trojans *think* that they will soon be celebrating in similar fashion: lines 157–63 appear to reference to Trojan hopes of celebration and feasting (εἰλα]πίνας is among the more secure restorations), after, according to their aspirations, they have seen off the Akhaians. But the Trojans are wrong, and they have not taken into consideration the Aiginetan Aiakidai, as the text states explicitly in lines 164–5, coupled with the plausible supplement δύσφ]ρονες in line 157.

In addition to the parallelism with the Aiginetan waterside situation which I suggested above, the feasting of Trojans would surely have resonated with the feasting which likely as not formed part of the Pytheas' victory celebrations. For we hear that the Aiginetan Thearion was used by the elite, as a place of feasting.[150]

This contrast between the Aiginetan and Trojan *poleis* may operate at a *choral* level also: after studying the papyrus at first hand, I offer the reconstruction of lines 162–3 as [στάσειν] χ̣[ο]ρ̣[ὸ]ν̣ [εἰλα]πίνας τ' ἐν | [λαοφό]ροις ἕξειν θ[εόδ]ματον πόλιν.[151] Trojan *khoroi* provide a negative paradigm and aetiology for the foundation and continuation of Aiginetan ritual *khoreia*: in this case, choral 'rejection' rather than 'projection'. The failure of the Trojans' hopes for feasting

149 *Il.* 21.29; *Il.* 22.1.

150 See Pind. *Nem.* 3.67–71 with *Σ* Pind. *Nem.* 3.122a–b (iii.59 Dr), and above, p. 91 n. 14, with Walter-Karydi (1994), esp. 133.

151 See above, pp. 108–9, for the full reconstruction of lines 157–63. I discuss the reconstruction in detail in Appendix 2.

and *khoroi* are framed within the context of Pytheas' victorious return to Aigina, as illustrated by lines 69–75, Aiginetan choral celebration (see *ἁβ̣[ροθρ̣]όων κώμ̣ω̣[ν]* in 73–4) and banqueting in Pytheas' honour.

So the focus on women and peace suggested by a reading of the topography of, and textual allusiveness to, water in Bacchylides' poem celebrates and so naturalizes peaceful and secure Aiginetan festivity and ritual in the performance present; Aigina, it is of course implied, is a city of pious men, at peace and full of festivity: see lines 186–9, *Εὐνομία τε σαόφρων,* | *ἃ θαλίας τε λέλογχεν* | *ἄστεά τ' εὐσεβέων* | *ἀνδρῶν ἐν εἰ[ρ]ήνᾱι φυλάσσε̣ι*, 'and with Eunomia too, safe in mind, who has her fair portion of festivities, and who guards in peace the cities of pious men', also perhaps implying a contrast with Troy whose destruction has been assured. And it also naturalizes epinician celebration by the elite as part and parcel of what it is to be an Aiginetan, in line with the mythological and poetic tradition used to construct the aristocratic patriliny.[152]

In sum, Bacchylides' epinician myth projects the possibility that the Aiginetan aristocratic and cultic status quo will be memorialized and celebrated for eternity in much the same way as the Aiakidai themselves, offered up, as they are, as symbols of eternal Aiginetan values, not to be overridden by any hostile threat. The symbolic gleam of Aiakid pyres and the beacon-like gleam of Pytheas' victory operate as a sign of all that Aigina stands for. For good or ill, Aigina will stand as a beacon herself, glorifying and prolonging contact with her mythological heritage.

III. THE ARISTOCRACY OF CULTURE: BACCHYLIDES' AIGINETAN RHETORIC

So far, I have focused on the way Bacchylides' poem operates within an epichoric Aiginetan context. In this final section I will examine how Bacchylides' deployment of Homeric themes is part of a wider,

[152] For the aristocratic connection between the lineage of Aiakidai, and historical Aiginetan elite family structures, see Nagy (1990) 175–8.

but also essentially narrow, projection of Aiginetan values onto a panhellenic stage.

The notion of Aigina as a place which welcomes outsiders is constructed from an Aiginetan perspective already in the opening lines of Pindar's *Nemean* 8, lines 7–12:

> *ἔβλαστεν δ' υἱὸς Οἰνώνας βασιλεύς*
> *χειρὶ καὶ βουλαῖς ἄριστος. πολλά νιν πολ-*
> *λοὶ λιτάνευον ἰδεῖν·*
> *ἀβοατὶ γὰρ ἡρώων ἄωτοι περιναιεταόντων*
> *ἤθελον κείνου γε πείθεσθ' ἀναξίαις ἑκόντες,*
> *οἵ τε κρανααῖς ἐν Ἀθάναισιν ἅρμοζον στρατόν,*
> *οἵ τ' ἀνὰ Σπάρταν Πελοπηιάδαι.*

A son was born as king of Oinona, the best in might and counsel. Many times many men pleaded to see him. For without summons the choice of neighbouring heroes wished willingly to obey at least his lordly command: those who marshalled the host in rocky Athens, as well as the sons of Pelops in Sparta.

This scenario is mirrored in the portrayal of Aiakos receiving *xenoi*, as depicted on the entrance to the Aiginetan Aiakeion itself.[153] In *Nemean* 8 it is given an anachronistic and directly political dimension through the focus on Athens and Sparta, an attempt to naturalize Athenian and Spartan willing subservience in the Saronic region.

The beginning of Pindar's *Nemean* 5, the twin of Bacchylides 13, represents an opposite strategy, opening out and transmitting local Aiginetan celebration onto the broader stage:

> *ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάσας*
> *ὁλκάδος ἔν τ' ἀκάτῳ, γλυκεῖ' ἀοιδά,*
> *στεῖχ' ἀπ' Αἰγίνας διαγγέλοισ', ὅτι*
> *Λάμπωνος υἱὸς Πυθέας εὐρυσθενής*
> *νίκη Νεμείοις παγκρατίου στέφανον . . .*

So, on every merchant ship and every boat, sweet song, go forth from Aigina and spread the news: that the son of Lampon, mighty Pytheas, has won at Nemea the crown for the pankration. (lines 2–5)

[153] Paus. 2.29.7: *ἐπειργασμένοι δέ εἰσι κατὰ τὴν ἔσοδον οἱ παρά Αἰακόν ποτε ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σταλέντες*. For the Aiakeion see above, p. 89.

The rhetoric of Bacchylides 13 offers a combination of these two strategies. It invites the outside world in to see Aiginetan festivity, and also propels outwards in time and space this same view of Pytheas' victory, in order for it to achieve panhellenic recognition.

Aiginetan Aristocratic Values in Context

Bacchylides focuses on the victory festivities back in Aigina in honour of Pytheas at the start of the third triad, and in his image of Pytheas' honour shining like a beacon for the whole of Greece to see, in lines 79–83, puts the epichoric Aiginetan situation into a panhellenic context. Aigina is herself described as mistress of an all-hospitable land, δέ̣σποινα παγξε[ίνου χθονός], in line 95. In ode 13, as we saw in the previous section, Bacchylides uses another strategy, unique in extant epinician: the systematic use of specifically Iliadic myth. Bacchylides uses the panhellenic power of Homeric epic, and the *Iliad* in particular, in a similar way to his use of the Aiginetan *parthenoi*. He is thus able to celebrate Pytheas' contemporary victory in a medium and style that bestows on its essentially ephemeral nature a poetic grandeur which, whilst given a markedly Aiginetan twist, enables Pytheas' victory to transcend time and space.

Bacchylides 13 also incorporates the panhellenic status of the Nemean games, and in particular the mythical aetiology for the foundation of the Nemean pankration itself, the event which Pytheas had won: see lines 43–57.[154] This enables Bacchylides to arrogate to Pytheas' epichoric celebration back home on Aigina an extra degree of panhellenic prestige, initially instantiated by the unidentified deity who speaks the lines:[155] note in particular the focus by the deity on the panhellenic aspect of the pankration in lines 54–7, with Ἑλ- | [λάνεσσι]ν. There is also a sense in which Pytheas' victory and its

[154] Text above, p. 105.

[155] It is perhaps most likely to be Athena: see Maehler I.2 252, and 259 ad loc. 44–57, and Parsons (1977) 41 on the Bacchylidean allusion at the opening of Kall. *Aetia* 3. Athena would work well in Bacchylides' poem given the later focus on Athena in lines 193–8, for which see below, pp. 154–5. For a rather different appropriation of a Nemean aetiology in Bacchylidean epinician, see my discussion in Fearn (2003) of the opening of Bacch. 9.

concomitant κλέος has been guaranteed by the gods and by fate, as set up in lines 58–66; the security of fate is figured in Bacchylides' rhetoric by the use of ἀσφαλής, a word whose metaphorical associations with wrestling in this epinician context further honour Pytheas' victory: hence my translation 'through the agency of a destiny sure of its footing' in line 66. This κλέος, of course, receives even further amplification by means of the Iliadic myth in the centre of the poem.

One way of reading Bacchylides' poem would be to accept Bacchylides' rhetoric unreservedly, i.e. to accept one's place within its naturalizing power. According to such a reading strategy, the joint actions of Aias and Akhilleus of the myth would be invoked in order to assert and indeed confirm a sense of Aiginetan *collective* identity: the victor Pytheas would be made to take up a space symbolic of community successes and collective continuity of Aiginetan cult of the Aiakidai which would create a link between the mythical past and the Aiginetan present.[156] We might suggest that such an exemplification of Pytheas enacts his successful reintegration into Aiginetan society. The return of the Trojans to their city in jubilation, doomed to failure in the myth, would then be reversed in the continuity of Aiginetan success in war and athletics which Pytheas' victory expresses.

This is indeed the way that other Aiginetan epinicians have been read. For instance, the storm simile forming the centre of the myth of Bacchylides 13 can itself be fitted into a reintegrationist approach by analogy with Leslie Kurke's interpretation of seafaring metaphors in, for example, *Nemean* 3. The Trojan hopes that prove groundless and are vividly expressed in the storm simile can be seen to act in exactly the same way that the aimless wanderings of the ψεφεννὸς ἀνὴρ, 'man of obscurity', of *Nemean* 3 lines 41–2, provide a negative paradigm for Akhilleus' being carried by gusts of wind over the sea to Troy (59) to his death and glory. The light from Akhilleus' tomb contrasts perfectly with the obscurity of this ψεφεννὸς ἀνὴρ.[157] And, most recently, Jan Stenger has produced a reading of the *gnomai* of Bacchylides 13 which sees Bacchylides' project as essentially one of

[156] Cf. Mann (2000) 44; (2001) 213–14.
[157] See Kurke (1991) 25 with n. 31.

reintegrating Pytheas into his community whilst affirming the political status quo.[158]

However, now that we have established the important strands that come together to make up Bacchylides' poetic memorialization of Pytheas' victory, some pressure should be applied to such communitarian readings. Investigation needs to be made of the underlying rhetoric that makes such a claim at least plausible, and which in fact must have been an important factor in the very preservation of Bacchylides' poem. Moreover, there should be sensitivity not only to what Bacchylides tells us, and how, but also to the gaps in his presentation, and to what he does not tell us about.

Despite the atmosphere of intense celebration in Aigina that is generated in the enkomiastic frame of the poem, any grasp of a coherent festival context—that would provide a *polis*-sanctioned basis for any performance of Bacchylides' poem—is not forthcoming.[159] Although I argued for a parallel in performance locations between the projected ritual *khoreia* by the *parthenoi* and that of Bacchylides' *neoi*, through analogy with the opening of Pindar's *Nemean* 3, the poem provides no detail that suggests any such context of *polis*-sanctioned cult for this; indeed the very presence of the *parthenoi* in the poem suggests that such a ritual context was precisely unavailable.[160] Although Tim Power suggests that the presence of the *parthenoi* in Bacchylides 13 avoids any confrontation with culturally embedded *polis*-ritual, it need not.[161] Indeed, it could

[158] Stenger (2004) 291–7, esp. 293: 'Bakchylides entwirft auf der allgemeinen Ebene der Gnomik das Bild eines gleichberechtigten, reziproken Verhältnisses zwischen dem Individuum und der Gemeinschaft. Er zeigt einen Weg auf, wie die Balance zwischen beiden Seiten wiederhergestellt werden kann, wenn sie durch herausragende Einzelleistungen ins Wanken gerät.'

[159] As discussed above, pp. 119–20.

[160] Cp. Power (2000) 80–1.

[161] See Power (2000) 77–8: 'By identifying the epinician chorus with the maiden chorus . . . Bacchylides historicizes and naturalizes the former's performance within the epichoric choral traditions that would be familiar to a majority of Aiginetans. The effect of this identification is rhetorical: it counters the privatized, secular, newcomer status of epinician choral performance . . . In turn this naturalized epinician chorus is a more effective medium for the reintegration of the panhellenic victor and his exploits into the local community. Thus the hybridization of the two choruses can be counted as one more of the "strategies of inclusion" that Kurke has argued are so important to the effectiveness of epinician in its civic context.' Compare also Stenger (2004) 291.

more plausibly be viewed as something approaching the opposite of this: as a deliberate appropriation of such an embedded form of *khoreia* in order to project a totalizing and harmonious view of Aiginetan festivity for the specific benefit of a minority of aristocratic Aiginetans.[162]

I made some brief comments above about the way in which an aetiology for the Nemean pankration is incorporated into Bacchylides' poem. The appropriation of Herakles' first labour here in Bacchylides 13 is one of the best examples of an aristocratic use of the myth of Herakles to promote aristocratic ideals.[163] Parallels can be established between the hubris of the defeated lion which Herakles successfully kills, ὕβριος ὑψινόου in line 44, and the arrogant boastfulness that dooms the Trojans to a death at the hands of Aiginetan Aiakidai rather than victory celebrations back home in their city, in lines 157 and following. But from a situation far

[162] Again, I disagree with Stenger (2004) for placing too strong an emphasis on an overly loose sense of 'Gemeinschaft' and 'Integration' with respect to this poem. See, for instance, Stenger (2004) 199 n. 471 on the poem's complex choral projection and Power's interpretation of it: 'Selbst wenn man Power darin folgt, daß das Epinikion noch einer solchen historischen Legitimierung bedurft habe, wird noch nicht ersichtlich, weshalb dadurch dann auch Pytheas in die Gemeinschaft eingebunden wird. Die integrierende Wirkung liegt vielmehr darin, daß ein die Gemeinschaft repräsentierender imaginärer Chor in der Ode einen herausragenden Platz erhält.' Nagy (1994–5) is importantly correct to discuss the sense in which epinician poetry has a tendency to overload references to its own performance; but I am prepared to question the extent to which such referentiality concerning performance necessarily 'reflect[s] a reality that is external to the performance of these songs' (Nagy, 25), if that means that epinician poetry can in all cases give us direct access to the specifics of occasional performance, and, by implication, social function also: my reading of Bacch. 13 gives me reason to doubt that this need always be so.

[163] For more on Herakles' labours as a construct of elite ideology see Golden (1998) 146–57, with brief mention of Bacch. 13 at 152–3. Golden discusses the example of Pind. *Ol.* 10 and its use of Herakles' labours at (1998) 155–6. Stenger (2004) 295–6 argues that Herakles' defeat of the lion as a triumph of δίκα over ὕβρις provides an integrating model for both Pytheas himself and the Aiginetan community; yet Stenger's suggestion at 296 that the victor's family '. . . angesichts der unruhigen Lage Aiginas in diesen Jahren die Siegesfeier und das Epinikion als der Situation angemessene Selbstdarstellung nutzen wollte' surely prompts the thought that the very celebration of Pytheas' victory, and the support which it offers to a powerful family within Aiginetan society, may also be interpreted as a singular *threat* to the peace and internal stability of Aiginetan society at large. For the myth of the impenetrability of the Nemean lion's hide and its connection with the Nemean landscape—in particular, Mount Tretos ('Mount Perforated')—see Tyrrell (2002).

removed from the Aiginetan context, the artificiality of such rhetorical parallelism may become apparent. We could point to parallels with the above in the violence of Pytheas' own victory in the Nemean pankration: see in particular its characterization as *ὑπέρβι[ον]* in line 75. What is of further interest is what Bacchylides fails to tell us about this event. Though perhaps not as dangerous as boxing,[164] pankration was clearly a barbaric sport the brutality of which is fully documented in ancient sources.[165] Even when rules against certain tactics were in place, there is clear evidence that they were not consistently enforced.[166] What is also significant is the fact that the pankration, as Poliakoff comments, was an event incorporated only relatively late in the programme of the stephanitic games:

> Although later Greeks gave the sport a mythological origin, that does not reflect history, and in reality pankration was practically the last athletic event to appear in the ancient Olympics, with the men's contest starting in the 33rd Olympiad (648 BCE) . . . Pankration does not appear in Homer or in any other literature before the fifth century. It was, moreover, a sport of the Greek and Roman worlds with no counterpart in the ancient Near East. Clearly, as archaic Greek society developed, the need for expression in violent sport increased, and pankration filled a niche of total contest that neither boxing or wrestling could.[167]

Bacchylides' inclusion of the mythical aetiology of the Nemean pankration ties in with his incorporation of Homeric myth, and the arrogation of the traditional form of *khoreia* by *parthenoi*. It lends to the victory of Pytheas an air of rootedness in tradition and society at large that it did not in actuality possess.

Moreover, it seems most probable that during the late archaic period athletic competition, along with involvement in theoric delegations to the mainland sanctuaries which were the sites for the

[164] Poliakoff (1987) 63 with 172 n. 9 citing Artemidoros 1.62.

[165] Poliakoff (1987) 54–63; Stephen G. Miller (2004) 57, with Philostr. *Imag.* 2.6.3, in a discussion of the death of Arrikhion during the Olympic pankration in 564 BCE: 'The pankratiasts . . . practice a dangerous brand of wrestling. They have to endure black eyes, which are not safe for the wrestler, and learn holds by which one who has fallen can still win, and they must be skilful in various ways of strangulation. They bend ankles and twist arms and throw punches and jump on their opponents. All such practices are permitted in the pankration except for biting and gouging.'

[166] Poliakoff (1993) 69.

[167] Poliakoff (1987) 54.

stephanitic games, was the preserve of the aristocratic elite, and this is highly plausible in the case of Aigina.[168] Although the games were at least in theory open to all-comers, the time and expense needed for training and travel meant that in practice such competitions were in general the preserve of the Greek aristocracy.[169] In the case of Aigina, the only individual we hear about from Herodotos who is associated with an athletic victory is explicitly referred to as coming from the upper echelons of Aiginetan society, namely Krios son of Polykritos.[170] It is also possible that the Lampon son of Pytheas referred to at Herodotos 9.78 comes from the same *patra* – the

[168] Here an important link may be made between the Aiginetan Thearion as a meeting-place for *theoroi*, its use as a place for aristocratic feasting, and mention made of it in Pind. *Nem.* 3.69–70; I suggested earlier, p. 142, that Bacchylides' poem in its projection of Trojan feasting would point to feasting as part of the celebration of Pytheas' victory, and that this could have taken place at the Thearion.

[169] For excellent discussion see Poliakoff (1987) 129–30; (1989); (1993) 68–9; Pleket (1992); Golden (1998) ch. 5 *passim*, with Pleket (1975). Compare the situation in Athens, for which see Fisher (1998) on athletics as a leisure-activity, with in particular [Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* 1.13 and 2.10 where the narrator complains about the hijacking of athletics by the Athenian democracy, making it no longer an exclusively elite preserve. Pindar's two Athenian epinicians can be seen to represent different responses to the question of the relation of success in the stephanitic games to Athenian democracy. On the one hand, *Pythian* 7, written for the ostracized Megakles, seems (*pace* Kurke (1991) 191–2) to represent an attempt to figure Alkmaionid adornment of Delphi, rather than of Athens itself, as the perfect expression of patriotism: this puts a rival, and extremely elitist, gloss on the democratic notion of 'adorning the city'; the poem implicitly criticizes the Athenian demos for failing to appreciate aristocratic success (*phthonos* in line 19 implies ostracism and antipathy towards *hippotrophia*, for which see below, n. 186), and it is in line with, rather than opposed to, the earlier Alkmaionid act of erecting a monument celebrating a *Panathenaic* hippic victory not in Athens, but in northern Boeotia in the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoieus, a location perhaps chosen as an alternative to Delphi which may have been unavailable at the time: Schachter (1994), with *CEG* i.302; one might infer that one reason for this was that they were exiled and therefore that Athens was unavailable as a site for monumental hippotrophic display. On the other hand, *Nemean* 2, written for a demesman of Akharnai, seems to play out a tension, present in the victor's very name Timodemos (is it 'Honouring-the-deme', or 'Honoured-by-the-demos'?), between incorporation within Athenian democratic structures and elite self-presentation above and beyond the demos: it is here, if anywhere, that Kurke's reintegrationist approach does seem to work well; note also Bacch. 10.16–20 for an Athenian victory in the Isthmian games which brings glory to the Oineis tribe as well as to Athens. Compare *Khoregia* ch. 5, esp. 214–16 on the 'epinician' monuments dedicated by Athenian *khorēgoi*.

[170] Krios son of Polykritos: see Hdt. 6.73.2, among *τοὺς πλείστου ἀξίους καὶ πλούτῳ*; cf. Sim. fr. 507 *PMG*, an epinician composed in his honour, and below, n. 197, for its reception in Athens.

Psalykhiadai—as our Lampon and Pytheas.[171] Again, he is among 'the first men of the island'.[172]

There is a strong suggestion that aristocratic athletics provides the natural link to the heroic martial past, a claim that is indeed common throughout extant epinician. Bacchylides' poem constructs a systematic association between Pytheas' athletic victory and its κλέος, and the might in war of Aiakid heroes and their own subsequent heroization and κλέος through epic. Bacchylides claims that neither a man's κλέος, nor indeed Aiginetan virtue, will die and be veiled in darkness when they are accompanied by panhellenic song: see lines 63–5 and lines 175–81. Bacchylides 13 conforms to all other Aiginetan epinicians apart from the late *Pythian* 8 in its use of a central Aiakid myth. It places a continued stress on war and martial valour, not only inside the myth, but also external to it: Pytheas is presented as having displayed ὑπέρβι[ον] ἰσχύν παμμαχίαν, 'supreme force and complete warlike strength' in his victory, in lines 75–6. Moreover, there is an insistent focus on κλέος, a result of Bacchylides' exploitation of the possibilities of an extended Iliadic-style narrative. κλέος and its cognates are used in the poem four times, a remarkably heightened usage compared with Bacchylides' use of the word elsewhere in epinician, perhaps only once in total.[173]

In the Aiginetan context, the link between athletics and war in turn offers an authorization of elite aristocratic command in war in the contemporary context, which, as we have seen in my discussion earlier, was very highly militarized. However, the usefulness of individual athletic prowess for warfare was, and is, open to question.[174] Individual elite prowess would have made little contribution to organized success in sailing, ship-board combat, or on the battlefield now dominated by hoplite tactics. Poliakoff can claim that '[t]he

[171] See Bury 234–5; Pfeijffer (1999*b*) 104; cf. Hornblower (2004) 210 (rightly cautious). The father of our Lampon is named by Pindar in *Isth.* 4 and 5 as Kleonikos.

[172] Hdt. 9.78.1: Αἰγινητέων ⟨ἐὼν⟩ τὰ πρῶτα.

[173] κλέος in line 65; the ring-composition of Bacch. 13 in its double reference to Kleio, the divine personification of κλέος, in lines 9 and 228; κλύον in line 133; compare also the phrase ἀκ[αματᾶι] . . . δόξᾶι in lines 178–9, modelled on the epic κλέος ἄφθιτον: see above, p. 125. Compare Bacch. 9.40 (κ[λέος supplemented); 11.106 ἔκλυε.

[174] See Poliakoff (1987) 99–103, following on from 94–9; (1993) 69–70.

competitions of Greece's archaic past—heroic combat on the battlefield and monopolization of political power—were discouraged or even proscribed, but in the stadium, these passions were given free reign'.[175] However, part of the point of Bacchylides' poem, within its Aiginetan context, is to press an aristocratic claim to leadership in war through success in athletics, even with the poem's closing focus on Aiginetan peace in line 189; and the rhetoric of this closing statement is to suggest that peace can only be guaranteed by competitive *kleos* of a specifically aristocratic kind.[176]

The military threats facing the island are at odds with the contrast established by Bacchylides 13 between peaceful cultic celebration on Aigina, and the myth of Aiakid fighting far from home on the plains of Troy. An Aiginetan elite reception might enjoy the victory of Pytheas as a reassertion of Aiginetan elite solidarity in a period when it was under heavy pressure. The poem could be seen to expatriate military threats by having its military themes placed in myth and located on the plains of Troy far from Greece. But, by analogy with tragedy, we know how close Troy can be when historical issues of a military nature arise.

Bacchylides 13 and Pytheas' Athenian Trainer

To investigate the Aiginetan connections with Athens in Bacchylides 13, we need to look into the reference made in lines 190–8 to Pytheas' Athenian trainer Menandros. Pindar, celebrating the same victory, also refers to Menandros in *Nemean* 5 lines 48–9. References to the Athenian trainer have caused problems for scholars aware of hostility between Athens and Aigina. Moreover, two scholars set out overly historicist interpretations of the two poems on this basis.[177] Thomas Cole, assuming that praise of an Athenian would be impossible unless Athens and Aigina were at peace, dates the poems to 481 and a

[175] Poliakoff (1993) 70.

[176] For the fundamental association between *kleos*, competitiveness and social hierarchies in Homer—whose values as well as language Bacchylides is appropriating in this poem—see Goldhill (1991) 70, discussing Redfield (1975) 33–4: '*Kleos* . . . is a measure, an identity, formed by *competitive* action in a *hierarchical* society.'

[177] A. T. Cole (1992); Pfeijffer (1995).

supposed reconciliation in the face of Persian aggression. However, this is unlikely for the following two reasons. On the one hand, tensions between states did not always pose a problem for private inter-state relations between members of the aristocracy. On the other, neither Bacchylides 13 nor Pindar's *Nemean* 5 are state commissions. Cole goes on to suggest that the references to Aias in Bacchylides 13, when specific praise is also given to an Athenian, indicates that a party or faction with some connection to the victor or his sponsor was espousing pro-Athenian sentiments at a time when, even quite recently, the renegade Nikodromos had been able to whip up sufficient pro-Athenian support on the island that Athens was persuaded to help join in the attempted coup. However, once again, Cole's argument is unlikely to ring true. Especially in a period when the evidence for political appropriations of cults by mutually hostile states is very strong, it need not be at all problematic that Bacchylides 13 can mention Aias as an Aiginetan hero virtually in the same breath as he appears to offer praise of an Athenian and his city. Such an argument fails to recognize the likelihood that Bacchylides 13 represents an Aiginetan aristocratic statement of Aias' strongly epichoric Aiginetan associations; moreover, a case can be made for the poem as representing, in its mention of Menandros and Athena, an appropriation of Athens' own patron goddess to serve the interests of that same Aiginetan elite.

Aiginetan attitudes to Athena's presence in line 195 may be deduced elsewhere in the poem through Aiginetan treatment of the Aiakidai, and also, perhaps, through Athena's sponsorship of the Nemean pankration itself. First, by analogy with the iconography of the Aphaia pediments, the mythology of Bacchylides 13 would be seen to have Athena guarantee the success of Aiakid heroes fighting Trojans: this would create analogies with Aigina's fight against Athens and Persia, whichever of the two posed the greater threat.[178] This works directly against Athens' charge of Medism which operated as a conscious polarization of the political situation, enabling Athens to figure Aigina as an enemy alongside Persia. Both Bacchylides 13 and the collocation of Athena with the Aiginetan heroes on the Aphaia pediments could then be read as an attack on

[178] Cf. Osborne's remark cited above, p. 100.

Athens' poor showing in the Trojan War. Second, if Athena is the deity who speaks of the foundation of the Nemean pankration when watching Herakles' unarmed combat with the Nemean lion in lines 44–57, it is she who ultimately guarantees the Aiginetan success of Pytheas in the same event.

In lines 190–8, Athena is referred to as honouring Menandros' work by creating a wealth of victors for him in the panhellenic games.[179] The usual way to interpret Athena's presence here, in line 195, is to make a straightforward connection with the fact that Menandros is an Athenian: naturally therefore he would receive honour from his own city, Athena being a simple metonym for Athens.[180] However, given the appropriation of Athena on the Aphaia pediments in a propaganda war with Athens, we should not simply assume that any reference to Athena even in the mention of an Athenian citizen must automatically refer to her as Athens' patron goddess in an Aiginetan ode. Even if she can be so viewed, we will see that the light in which she is cast is distinctively *un*-Athenian. It is equally possible in this highly charged situation that reference to Athena could have been seen by Aiginetans as an indication that *Aigina's own Athena*, rather than Athens', was endorsing and honouring Menandros' achievements.

Consider for a moment the epithet used to describe Athena here: *χρυσάρματος*. This gives the goddess a peculiarly aristocratic air; indeed, the Homeric connotations of the epithet,[181] in the context of Bacchylides' Homerically inspired poem, transport the goddess into the mythological and epic realm where the Aiginetan Aiakidai are located through Bacchylides' choice of myth. Moreover, 'golden-charioted' is particularly unlike the view of Athena as a goddess of less aristocratic, more banausic, skills, that we find in Athenian sources.[182] The evidence from epinician and its ancient commentators is worth bearing in mind. Elsewhere in Aiginetan odes the

179 Text above, p. 109.

180 See e.g. Kenyon ad loc.

181 For Athena's association with exotic chariots in Homer see e.g. *Il.* 5.719ff.

182 This is a very different denotation than that made for Athens in an epinician for her ally Argos at Pind. *Nem.* 10.33–6, which makes mention of panathenaic prize amphorae in the phrase *γαίᾳ . . . καυθείσᾳ πυρὶ καρπὸς ἐλαίας*.

only mythological figures to be 'golden-charioted' are the Aiakidai themselves. This is in *Isthmian* 6, likely to date either to 484 or 482 BCE, an ode to celebrate Pytheas' younger brother Phylakidas.[183] That golden chariots were not to be associated with Athens in particular is felt by an ancient commentator on Pindar, noting a perceived problem with the geographical referents figured at the opening of *Pythian* 2: . . . *καταφέρεσθαι γάρ πως τὸν Πίνδαρον εἰς τὸ τὰς Ἀθήνας λιπαρὰς προσαγορεύειν, τὰς δὲ Θήβας χρυσαρμάτους καὶ εὐαρμάτους καὶ λευκίππους καὶ κυανάμπυκας*, '[Dionysios says to] compare how Pindar addresses Athens as "shining", and Thebes as "golden-charioted" and "with fine chariots" and "with white horses" and "dark-crowned".'[184]

However, Bacchylides' lines are also in praise of the trainer. To call Athena 'golden-charioted' can still allow a reference to Athens. But this is an exceedingly aristocratic, symbolic, configuration.[185] Praise of the Athenian background of Menandros is only granted on aristocratic terms, making a link with the elite ties of *xenia* existing between him and the family of the victor.[186]

[183] Pind. *Isth.* 6.19. For the date, see Appendix 1.

[184] *Σ* Pind. *Pyth.* 2 *inscr.* (ii.31 Dr); see Pind. fr. 76 for *λιπαραὶ*, along with *ἰοστέφανοι* and *ἀοίδιμοι*, of Athens; Aristophanes makes the joke that Pindar uses an epithet for Athens more suitable as a description of sardines, of all things (Ar. *Ach.* 633–40). A banausic interpretation is available for Aristophanes' use of a word far removed from the aura presented by *χρυσάρματος*.

[185] A symbolic reading is confirmed when we consider that no Aiginetan hippic victories are recorded, let alone celebrated by Pindar and Bacchylides; the imagery is aristocratic in its configuration.

[186] For horsemanship and the Athenian elite of the early 5th cent., one need look no further than the Philaidai. See Barron (1980) 3: Plut. *Cim.* 5.2 describes a dedication of bit and bridle on the Akropolis by Kimon; his son was hipparch; Hdt. 6.35.1 notes the family's association with chariot-racing; and the elder Kimon won three back-to-back chariot races at Olympia: Hdt. 6.103.2–3. But it is also clear that *hippotrophia* carried extensively negative connotations *within* Athens throughout the 5th cent. Numerous *ostraka* attacking the Alkmaionid Megakles son of Hippokrates have been found recently; he is directly attacked as a *hippotrophos*, and associated with high-living, arrogance, and even sexual deviance; a graffito also has a representation of a *hippeus*, perhaps indicating Megakles himself; cf. also Ar. *Nub.* 46 ff. on the later Megakles, an Olympic chariot-race victor. See Brenne (1994) 16–17 and Brenne in Siewert (2002) 108–20 on Megakles, with 524 fig. 3 for graffito. Further discussion also in Golden (1998) 169–75; Hornblower (2004) 249–51. Recall also that the Alkmaionid *CEG* i.302, from Boeotia, celebrates an Athenian hippic victory: above, n. 169, with brief discussion of Pind. *Pyth.* 7.

In a changing world this reference to Menandros is potentially unsettling for the security of the community of Aigina as a whole, since the aristocratic families of Athens, such as the Philaidai, were none other than those which provided much of the ruling class of Athens of the time: men like Kimon, whose policies implied opposition to Aigina. The notion that an Aiginetan ode could not possibly incorporate within its structure an individual whose background was strongly anti-Aiginetan is countered by the likelihood that the trainer in Pindar's *Olympian* 8, dated to 460, only three years before Aigina fell under Athenian control, is Melesias, an Athenian.[187] It has indeed been argued that he is a member of the Philaiad dynasty itself, nephew of Kimon and father of Thucydides the Athenian general.[188] It is therefore quite plausible that certain long-standing connections of *xenia* between the Aiginetan and Athenian aristocracies at this time were exerting influence over Aigina, and not necessarily to the advantage of the social cohesion of Aiginetan society as a whole.

Bacchylides' panhellenic status is, once again, the key to his continued patronage.[189] Pytheas' fame demands a wider audience than simply an Aiginetan one. Yet the connection with Menandros would have allowed for wider and rival interpretations of the reference to

[187] Also mentioned at Pind. *Nem.* 4.93 and *Nem.* 6.65, in two other Aiginetan odes, tentatively dated to 473 and to 465 respectively; Athenian origin stated at *Σ* Pind. *Nem.* 4.155a (iii.87 Dr): οὗτος δὲ ἀλείπτης ἐστὶ τὸ γένος Ἀθηναῖος.

[188] Wade-Gery (1958) 245–6; Woloch (1963) 102, with Pl. *Men.* 94; Kyle (1987) 207. See Robbins (1986) for discussion of Melesias in Pind. *Ol.* 8; the stress on cooperation within this ode may extend to the level of inter-*polis* networks. This would therefore provide good grounds for resisting a straightforwardly communitarian, anti-Athenian interpretation of those epinician odes which contain references to members of the Athenian elite; cf. Hornblower (2004) 231. For Athenian trainers in general, see Kyle (1987) 141–5; also now Nicholson (2005), with ch. 8 devoted to Menandros. At p. 186 Nicholson suggests that, though *Nem.* 5 and Bacch. 13 were commissioned for the same occasion, Bacch. 13 was commissioned not by Lampon but by Menandros himself; by itself, this idea is unproven, and seems unable to account for why therefore Pindar's work for Lampon mentions Menandros at all. Although I agree with Nicholson that the presence of Menandros in Bacch. 13 does need to be explained, I find it difficult to agree with him that 'in Bacchylides 13 there is a clear tension between the claims of inheritance and the claims of training' (189), a view that takes rather far the notion that commissioning aristocrats, in having their victorious sons' trainers praised, necessarily put at risk their own personal prestige.

[189] See above, pp. 82 ff., for similar remarks in Ch. 1.

Menandros and to Aiakidai themselves. Just as Menandros' support for Pytheas has provided his victory, Athenian training has underwritten many other panhellenic triumphs, and not specifically Aiginetan or Athenian ones. Any Athenian reading of this would implicate Athenian influence in other states' achievements, especially those of Aigina. This could be extended to the realms of mythology and cult. Just as Athenian training dominated international athletics, so, on any Athenian interpretation, did their cults dominate, underwrite, or defuse the power of, those of their rivals. Moreover, such interpretations are likely to have been forthcoming within Aigina itself, if we consider details provided by Herodotos' account of the period. In particular, although the Nikodromos affair recounted in Herodotos book 6 is set up in terms that make the attempted coup sound like a popular uprising against the Aiginetan elite,[190] Nikodromos' very name suggests an aristocratic, athletic, background;[191] and Nikodromos' activities may have been just one indication amongst many others of the fundamental challenge that elite links with Athens posed for the Aiginetan aristocracy as a whole.[192]

Bacchylides' poem concludes with a reference to παντὶ . . . λα[ῶ]ι̣: Kleio has inspired Bacchylides, and as a result he will be able to act as a herald in proclaiming Pytheas' success to 'all the people': see lines 228–31.[193] Given all that has gone before, and the interpretations which I have offered, we have to consider these closing words very carefully. What kind of audience is this that Bacchylides conjures up here at the end of its poem? Once again, the passage has something of a Homeric feel, and perhaps we are made to think of Iliadic heralds addressing the masses of lower ranking troops, the people on whose safety, at least in the *Iliad*, so much depends.[194] On this interpretation, the appeal to the *laos* would suggest that the

[190] Hdt. 6.91.1. Herodotos' account here is coloured by anachronisms dating to Athenian dealings with Aigina and the establishment of a kleruchy at the start of the Peloponnesian War over fifty years later.

[191] Cf. Hornblower (2004) 220.

[192] Here I am in agreement with Hornblower (2004) 230: 'Aigina's proximity to Athens meant that disaffected Aiginetans always had an obvious recourse and refuge in times of *stasis*: Nikodromos was surely neither the first nor the last.'

[193] Text above, p. 110.

[194] 'Homer's people', for which see the detailed discussion of Haubold (2000).

Aiginetan populace as a whole was able to watch Bacchylides' poem in performance, an invitation to the whole of Aigina itself to take part in the celebration. If so, it would be just possible to take this as a part of Bacchylides' communitarian presentation: on this interpretation Pytheas' victory would serve as the act around which Aiginetan society as a whole might unite, in celebration of not only the achievements by—at least aristocratic—members of its own contemporary society, but also revel in their shared mythological heritage, underwritten here by Bacchylides' reliance on Homeric allusion.[195] However, there is no reference here to a specific site of reception—no *polis* mentioned, for example. So alternative readings are available. I suggest that it is more plausible to read this closing construction of an audience, or audiences, for Bacchylides' praise as an enactment of panhellenic appreciation of Pytheas' victory, removed in time and space from any audience incorporating the whole of Aiginetan society that one might have expected to be signified in *παντὶ . . . λα[ῶ]ι̣*. The voice of the herald (hence the metaphorical *καρύξοντι* here in line 231) could be taken to mimic the announcement of Pytheas' victory in front of a panhellenic audience at Nemea.[196] One has to consider that the closing act of

[195] Even if one were to cite Pind. *Nem.* 5.46–7, *χαίρω δ' ὅτι | ἐσλοῖσι μάρναται πέρι πᾶσα πόλις*, as a corroborative example for this reading, where the Pindaric *persona loquens* takes pride in the 'fact' that the *whole city* of Aigina is striving for athletic success, one would come up against the immediate problem that the only achievements referred to in the immediate context of that statement are the victories by three generations of the same aristocratic family, including, of course, that of Pytheas himself celebrated also here in Bacch. 13. What Pindar is more likely to be referring to is inter-elite competitiveness on Aigina, whilst attempting to suggest that it is aristocratic prowess that holds Aiginetan society together, though from the top down, not from the bottom up. Contrast this view with that of Stenger (2004) 296, discussing the treatment of the victor in Bacch. 13: 'Bakchylides versucht also, insbesondere in den Gnomai eine auf Harmonie und Eintracht angelegte Interpretation der sportlichen Leistung zu liefern. Vermutlich handelte es sich dabei um ein Anliegen der Familie des Siegers, die angesichts der unruhigen Lage Aiginas in diesen Jahre die Siegesfeier und das Epinikion als der Situation angemessene Selbstdarstellung nutzen wollte. Obgleich Pytheas den Sieg *realiter* in erster Linie für sich selbst errungen hatte, versucht das Epinikion, diesen also Dienst am Gemeinwohl vor dem Volk zu legitimieren.'

[196] Theoric audiences at sanctuaries are described in similar fashion in epinician: see, for instance, the plausibly-reconstructed *θρόησε δὲ λ[αὸς* (with either *Ἀχαιῶν*, *ἀπείρων*, or *ἀγασθείς*) at Bacch. 3.9, *βοὰν λαῶν* at Bacch. 9.35, and the reference in Pind. *Nem.* 5.38 to *εὔφρονες ἶλαι* at the sanctuary of Poseidon at the Isthmus. That

Bacchylides' poem is merely to pay lip service to any notion of community within Aigina itself, except for a small elite, preferring to project Pytheas' praise into a panhellenic arena where it may receive an aristocratic appreciation among *xenoi*, possibly even to include Athenians.[197]

The Aiginetan situation I have here outlined does not mean that all other epinician odes have to be read in the same way. The Aiginetan case marks something of an extreme, with the high number of panhellenic victories, as well as of epinician odes written, suggestive of a very high degree of inter-elite competitiveness on Aigina. I have argued elsewhere that in the case of Bacchylides 9, in celebration of a victor from Phleious, it is the scarcity of Phliasian athletic success that enables an individual victory to be represented as a success for the whole *polis*.[198] In the Aiginetan case, however, the remarkable frequency of athletic successes is surely a marker of aristocratic competitiveness for prestige and superiority over the remainder of Aiginetan society. In other words, Aiginetan epinician can be seen to represent the expression of aristocratic power in all its

such groups could be considered elitist and non-communitarian in spirit in Aiskhylos' day, at least from an Athenian democratic perspective, is perhaps shown by the parody, criticism, and ultimate rejection of them in the opening of Aiskhylos' *Isthmiastai* (*TrGF* III frr. 78a and c), where the theoric satyrs visiting the Isthmus are criticized, most probably by Dionysos himself, for forming the wrong kind of grouping: the implication being that they should properly be forming a democratically representative satyr-*kōmos* for the Athenians. For more on the pre-eminence of the social elite in sport in classical Athens, see Kyle (1987).

[197] Here I note the presence of quotations from and allusions to non-Athenian encomiastic poetry in Old Comedy; in particular, it seems likely that the presence in Athenian literature of Sim. fr. 507 *PMG* (which, *pace* Page (1951) 140–2, was surely an epinician in *praise* of the notable Aiginetan Krios: see Kugelmeier (1996) 76–9), quoted and parodied at Ar. *Nub.* 1355–6, must have its origin in this kind of inter-elite *xenia*; it was through such means that non-Athenian lyric came to be reperformed in the kinds of aristocratic Athenian contexts so ridiculed by Aristophanes. Ironically, it is the rival (Herodotean as well as Aristophanic: see Hdt. 6.50 for another negative view of the pun in Krios' name spelled out by Simonides) Athenian memories about Krios, directly at odds with Simonidean and Aiginetan memorialization, that have been canonized and so commemorated in the majority of modern scholarship on fr. 507 subsequent to Page: see most recently Hornblower (2004) 218–19. For the idea and importance of competing 'memory communities' see Alcock (2002) *passim*, esp. 15–17 for a discussion of the term.

[198] Fearn (2003).

inter-competitive 'glory', and as such the continued expression of a social problem, rather than the reintegrationist solution to it.[199]

In conclusion, that Bacchylides' poem is the most overtly Homeric of all extant epinicians does not mean that it is simply a formal or stylistic *tour de force*. The reception of Homer in this work provides the ground for political and cultic power-plays that we have seen taking shape. Homer is at the heart of the matter, *the* panhellenic text to be established and appropriated as the possession of individual states. Homer is appropriated for the benefit of an Aiginetan elite intent on situating themselves as benefactors of the Aiginetan community, through shared cults and values. But Homeric poetry also operates at the centre of a poem whose message was not perhaps ultimately intended for Aiginetan society from the bottom up and may not in fact have operated to the benefit of Aiginetan society at all.

[199] Again, therefore, I disagree with Stenger (2004), who sees the poem as a legitimation of individual success for the whole of Aiginetan society, despite the fact that access to any notion of 'Aiginetan society as a whole' can only be granted through the aristocratic rhetoric of this poem.

Part II

Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs* and the *Kuklios Khoros*

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3

Bacchylides and the *Kuklios Khoros*: Performance, Genre, and Reception

Let us now turn to the nature of the Alexandrian edition of Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs*.[1] We can only properly begin to appreciate the works contained in this book once we have investigated issues concerning the contexts of their original performance, how they were received, and how they came to be classified generically. With two exceptions, these poems have no explicitly Dionysiac mythical content and do not imply a Dionysiac performance setting. This fact runs contrary to the view of some contemporary scholars that poems classified as *Dithyrambs* should have a close relation to Dionysos; this shows that a reassessment of that assumption is necessary.[2] In general, the comment made by a scholar in 1955 still holds true today: 'What sort of poems Bacchylides' "dithyrambs" originally were is a mystery.'[3] This chapter is an attempt to resolve this mystery, to enable Bacchylides' poetry to be appreciated on its own terms.

My argument is developed through five sections. Section I examines the importance of the *kuklios khoros*, or 'circular chorus', and looks at poetic evidence for the affiliations of the term διθύραμβος during the period in which Bacchylides was operating. I examine

[1] My discussion is indebted to the following: on questions of Alexandrian classification, D'Alessio (1997), Käppel (2000), and Schröder (1999); on the New Music, Csapo (2004). For some rather more limited thoughts on genre, and an analysis of Bacch. 16, 18, and 20, see Villarrubia (2001).

[2] See primarily Zimmermann (1992); Privitera (1977); also García Romero (2000) and Bremer (2000).

[3] Harvey (1955) 174.

problems of generic definition in formal terms, and then look into the question of mythical content. Most importantly, I emphasize the centrality of the *kuklios khoros* to Athenian culture: failure to recognize the significance of performance across the festival spectrum of classical Athens has resulted in a general misconception of works classified by the Alexandrians as *Dithyrambs*. At the heart of the matter is a lack of clarity, even controversy, both ancient and modern, concerning the relation between the performance term *kuklios khoros* and the cultic term *dithyrambos*. In Section II I discuss ways in which poetry became embroiled in scholarly, sophistic, and musical controversy about the ritual affiliations of choral culture: my focus here is on the New Music. A full understanding of ancient and modern attitudes to the New Music shows how the lyric poetry of previous generations, in which Bacchylides was operating, has been put under scholarly pressure to conform to certain theoretical notions of religious and musical purity in opposition to the putative degradations of subsequent practitioners. Section III considers how the Alexandrians came to understand the term διθύραμβος and make it into a canonical genre, following Platonic and Aristotelian approaches to classification. Section IV focuses on later reception, in later antiquity and into the nineteenth century, to show how the orthodoxy concerning Bacchylides' poetry arose. I conclude in Section V by suggesting that a more discursive conception of genre needs to be adopted to do justice to Bacchylides' work. Furthermore, I argue that a more dynamic view of the interaction between the notions of genre and performance needs to be established.

I suggest that idealizing readings, both ancient and modern, which link works later classified as *Dithyrambs* exclusively with Dionysiac contexts, involve a thorough misconception of original performance. Such readings also situate Bacchylides within an erroneous theory of cultural decline from an original Dionysiac purity. This is not to say that Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs* could have been thought to have had *no* contact with the Dionysiac. In fact, it is precisely the problem of deciding whether dithyrambs *should* have such a contact that gets to the heart of the generic difficulties.

I. THE *KUKLIOS KHOROS* AND DITHYRAMBIC DEFINITION

This section reintroduces the importance of the *kuklios khoros* to the issue of the nature of the evidence for fifth-century choral lyric. *Kuklioi khoroi* played a huge part in Athenian cultural life.[4] They were famously connected with Dionysos at the City Dionysia, where each year every tribe provided a *khoros* of men and one of boys, with fifty *khoreutai* each, totalling some one thousand citizen performers.[5]

The evidence of Aristophanes *Birds* 1377–1409 provides references to both 'dithyrambs', *τῶν διθυράμβων* (1388) and to a 'producer of *kuklioi khoroi*', *κυκλιοδιδάσκαλον* (1403), and also uses circle metaphors,[6] in its lampoon of Kinesias, a well-known exponent of the New Music. This shows that the terms *kuklios khoros* and *dithyrambos* are closely associated in classical Athens.[7] However, it is an important point, though often obscured, that *kuklioi khoroi* were not exclusive to the City Dionysia. There is compelling evidence from both literary and epigraphic sources, to be discussed further later, that *kuklioi khoroi* also performed at least at the Thargelia and Panathenaea and perhaps elsewhere too. Athenaios' statement at 4.181c, that 'the Athenians used to prefer Dionysiac *khoroi* and circular ones' gives further credence to the idea that Dionysiac and *kuklioi khoroi* could be distinguished.[8] Moreover, archaeological evidence shows that dancing in circles has a long history in Greece, beyond Athens

[4] See e.g. Ath. 4.181c: *καθόλου δὲ διάφορος ἦν ἡ μουσικὴ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι, τῶν μὲν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς Διονυσιακοὺς χοροὺς καὶ τοὺς κυκλίους προτιμώντων . . .*

[5] *Σ* Aiskhin. 1.10 (29 p. 15 Dilts) *ἐξ ἔθους Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ φυλὴν ἵστασαν πεντήκοντα παίδων χορὸν ἢ ἀνδρῶν, ὥστε γενέσθαι δέκα χορούς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ δέκα φυλαί. διαγωνίζονται δ' ἀλλήλοις διθυράμβῳ, φυλλάττοντος τοῦ χορηγοῦντος ἑκάστῳ χορῷ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ὁ δ' οὖν νικήσας χορὸς τρίποδα λαμβάνει, ὃν ἀνατίθησι τῷ Διονύσῳ. λέγονται δὲ οἱ διθύραμβοι χοροὶ κύκλιοι καὶ χορὸς κύκλιος.* Cf. *DFA* 66, 75.

[6] 1379: *τί δεῦρο πόδα σὺ κυλλὸν ἀνὰ κύκλον κυκλεῖς;*

[7] Cf. *Σ* Ar. *Av.* 1403a (p. 206 Holwerda): *κυκλιοδιδάσκαλον· ἀντὶ τοῦ διθυραμβοποιόν.*

[8] See above, n. 4.

and Dionysos.[9] This suggests that *khoroi* that were circular in form were widespread in Greece before their appearance in the literary and epigraphic record and before their application to the specific structures of democratic Athens.

The widespread impression that all *kuklioi khoroi* are dithyrambic in a straightforwardly Dionysiac sense has been influenced by the remark of the scholion on Aiskhines 1.10 quoted above, according to which 'dithyrambs are called *kuklioi khoroi* and *kuklios khoros*'. But the association here set up between the terms 'dithyramb' and '*kuklios khoros*' is intended to apply specifically to performances and terminology at the Dionysia, and to the relation with Dionysos there.[10] The comment of Pickard-Cambridge that '[t]he name "circular chorus" . . . always means dithyramb'[11] overlooks the reasons why Athens felt it had to use a term specifically relating to performance in the first place, instead of continuing with the name 'dithyramb', in official records at least. Pickard-Cambridge's straightforward elision of *kuklios khoros* with 'dithyramb' has prevented scholars from making specific links between the history of dancing in circles, its connection with Athens, and questions relating to the cultic associations of the *kuklios khoros*.[12]

[9] Weege (1926) pl. 35–6 (terracotta ring-dancers from Crete and Olympia); Jost (1985) 421–2; Reichel and Wilhelm (1901) 40 (Pan as piper danced around by others; terracotta, associated with cult of Nymphs); Lonsdale (1993) 116 with 118 fig. 15 (Minoan terracotta ring-dancers, similar to Weege pl. 35); in general, Tölle (1964); see also e.g. *Archaeological Reports* 47 (2001) 45 with fig. 82 and Larson (2001) 237 fig. 5.5 (cult of Nymphs/Pan, 5th cent. BCE). We have no information about how exactly an individual *kuklios khoros* was arranged in performance, but I note the similarity in formation between the ring of singers around a central musician shown in Larson's 5th-cent. example of 'ring-dancers' above, and the 1930s Sikelianos reconstruction of the *khoros* of fifty Danaids for Aiskhylos' *Supplices*, shown below, Fig. 4; I assume that, in general, *kuklioi khoroi* performed as static, or rotating, rings around the central *aulos*-player. For the importance of circularity in ancient dance compare now, from a different perspective, David (2006) 256–7, though his claim that the *kuklios khoros* was essential to and distinctive of tragedy is unable to explain the ancient Athenian terminology which differentiated *kuklioi khoroi* from their tragic as well as comic cousins: see below with n. 15.

[10] Although the origin of the information remains a mystery, it is perhaps a combination of isolated snippets from a variety of (oratorical?) sources.

[11] *DTC*² 32.

[12] Neither need the comments by [Plut.] *X Orat.* 835b on Andokides' funding of a *kuklios khoros* in a dithyrambic contest at the Dionysia imply that *kuklioi khoroi* were only specific to Dionysiac festivals.

At least at Athens, the term *kuklios khoros* was used as well as 'dithyramb' because the production of *khoroi* played a very large part indeed in the festive life of the city, given the large number of *khoreutai* required: it was natural for Athenians to refer to public performance poetry in choral terms. Yet the double usage also attests to the suitability of the narrative mythical content of poems performed by *kuklioi khoroi* to a wide range of different performance and ritual scenarios. The performance term was deemed more appropriate, given that the term *dithyrambos* had Dionysiac connotations.

With regard to Bacchylides' output, narrative style and the content of mythical narrative is very important. Narrative content will allow us to put further pressure on the association between dithyramb and the Dionysiac. We have evidence from generations earlier than Bacchylides for works which came to be considered as dithyrambs on the strength of their narrative content, by the likes of Ibykos and Simonides.[13] These works would have had their own ritual contexts—indeed, we are told that Simonides' *Memnon* was connected with Delos—but we need not make any necessary connection with Dionysos in these cases. We do well to remember that Bacchylides is working, on the one hand, within this same poetic tradition of lyric narrative, and, on the other, within the fully developed choral structures of fifth-century *poleis* like Athens.

With very few—markedly aristocratic—exceptions, the *kuklios khoros* was the only format we know of in use in classical Athens for the performance of public non-dramatic choral poetry, whether or not such poetry had ever had associations with Dionysos.[14] The

[13] Ibyk. fr. 296 *PMGF* = *Σ* Eur. *Andr*. 631.ii 293 Schwartz, narrating the encounter between Helen and Menelaos in Troy; Sim. fr. 539 *PMG* = Strabo 15.3.2 (iii.248 Kramer), narrating part of the story of Memnon, including (probably) his death and subsequent burial in Syria. For the former see Ieranò (1997) 195. For speculation on the latter in the right direction, see Privitera (1970) 138 and Rutherford (1990) 204. Although we hear of no Alexandrian edition of Ibykos' *Dithyrambs*, even though he was collected in seven books (TA1 *PMGF*: *Suda* s.v. Ἴβυκος), the lack of titles for these books might indicate that they all contained relatively short and diverse poems; if some were pure narrative poems they could have been considered as dithyrambs.

[14] Poetry which may originally have been loosely termed κῶμοι: see the title of the *Fasti* inscription (*IG* II^2.2318), with *DFA* 102 and Csapo and Slater (1995) 41. D'Angour (1997) 348 interestingly suggests that tragedy itself may have emerged from the dithyramb '*before it formally became a circular chorus*' (his italics), though

widespread use of the choral terminology, together with the scarcity of the term 'dithyramb', especially in official inscriptions, was a way of differentiating one familiar *choral* form from its dramatic relatives within Athens. See for example a fragment of Aristophanes' *Gerytades* (listing a delegation of poets to the underworld):

> πρῶτα μὲν Σαννυρίων
> ἀπὸ τῶν τρυγῳδῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τραγικῶν χορῶν
> Μέλητος, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν κυκλίων Κινησίας.
>
> First, there's Sannyrion
> to represent the *khoroi* of comedy; from the tragic *khoroi*
> there's Meletos; and from the *kuklioi khoroi* Kinesias.
>
> Aristophanes fr. 156.8–10 K–A[15]

We now need to examine ancient and modern assessments of the *kuklios khoros* a little more closely. As recently reconstructed, reference is made to *kuklioi khoroi* in Pindar's Theban *Dithyramb* 2 (fr. 70b Sn–M) line 2:] | κλοισι is most easily filled by κύ-] | κλοισι as a choral self-reference.[16] We thus have poetic evidence that *kuklioi khoroi* performed outside Athens in the early fifth century. However, scholarly discussion often occludes this because of a tendency to connect *kuklioi khoroi* only with Athenian 'dithyrambs'. This is by no means an accurate or complete view.

Recent discussion by Bernard Zimmermann, developing previously published ideas, has suggested that Arion of Methymna was a key player in the transformation of 'dithyramb' beyond the unique preserve of the Dionysiac.[17] The important but difficult evidence of Herodotos 1.23 tells us that Arion 'is the first man we

the use of the term 'dithyramb' here somewhat prejudges the question. Aristocratic exceptions: the obscure but seemingly most atypical *Orkhēstai*, who performed for Delian Apollo (Theophr. fr. 119 Wimmel ap. Ath. 10.424e–f); and the choral performances at the Oskhophoria, which were led by two well-born youths and featured a procession: see *Khoregia* 33 with 321 n. 113 and 327 n. 180; Parker (2005) 181 and 212–13. In the case of epinician poems for Athenian victors by the likes of Pindar and Bacchylides, even if such works were chorally performed, they cannot have been public in the way that *khoroi* officially sanctioned for festival performances were.

[15] See also the use of references simply to ἀνδρῶν and παίδων (men's and boys' sc. (*kuklioi*) *khoroi*) on the *Fasti* inscription (*DFA* 104–7), and *Σ* Ar. *Nub.* 313 (p. 78 Holwerda).

[16] D'Angour (1997) 346; Lavecchia 133 ad loc.

[17] Zimmermann (2000).

know to have composed, named, and produced a dithyramb, in Corinth' (καὶ διθύραμβον πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ποιήσαντά τε καὶ ὀνομάσαντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ). Zimmermann suggests that Herodotos is careful not to say that Arion invented the dithyramb. He argues that what Herodotos does tell us is that Arion gave his new poetic product the old name *dithyrambos*; he fitted out the old cultic form with new content and submitted it to a new form of performance. He then suggests a link between *dithyrambos* and hero-cult.

Zimmermann's move here is an advancement of his earlier argument concerning the development of dithyramb,[18] which, as we shall see in Section II, is highly deficient in a number of important respects. The extra step that Zimmermann now makes is to see in the person of Arion the point at which Dionysiac dithyramb gained additional and non-exclusively Dionysiac characteristics by association with hero-cult more broadly.

There are problems with this position, however. Zimmermann supports his view of Arion as a specifically Dionysiac cult-hero by referring to the *Suda* entry on Arion, which states that his father was a man called 'Kukleus', an obvious reference to a connection between dithyramb and the *kuklios khoros*.[19] But Zimmermann first needs to provide firm evidence for the idea that the *kuklios khoros* is to be associated only with Dionysiac cult, which he does not. Indeed, archaeological evidence suggests that this could not have been the case.[20] Furthermore, Herodotos is likely to have been influenced by artificial reinterpretations of the place of Arion in the development of the *kuklios khoros*, contemporary with the rise of the New Music.[21] Herodotos provides no unmediated access to the facts about the development of the dithyramb and the *kuklios khoros*.[22]

Zimmermann's championship of the importance of Arion ultimately breaks down because of a problem with definitions.

18 Zimmermann (1992).

19 α 3886 (i.351 Adler) = Arion T4 Sutton.

20 See above, n. 9.

21 Especially if fr. adesp. 939 *PMG*, which celebrates Arion's rescue by the dolphin, is a product of the New Music: see in general Bowra (1963) 125–6; West (1982*b*) 5–6; Zimmermann (1992) 144–5. Cf. Wilson (2004) 285.

22 Later sources crediting Arion with the invention of the *kuklios khoros* may be simply misremembering Herodotos: see Proklos *ap.* Phot. *Bibl.* 5.320a.32 for Ἀρίονα . . . ὃς πρῶτος τὸν κύκλιον ἤγαγε χορόν.

Zimmermann in his earlier work suggests that the important transformation took place when Arion, or indeed Lasos of Hermione, transformed a pre-existing and simple 'Dionysiac cult-song' ('das einfache Kultlied des Dionysos') into a cultic poem ('kultischen Dichtung') performed by a *kuklios khoros* that needed a longer preparation time.[23] By itself, this opposition between a simple or primitive ritual form and a new and more complex performance type seems ill-conceived. However, another reason for Zimmermann's problems is that the terms in which he sets up the transformation are anachronistic. As Andrew Ford has pointed out, the differentiation between 'song' and 'poetry' was a later, fifth-century, conception, making its first appearance in prose in Herodotos, the same Herodotos whose views about Arion are central to Zimmermann's position.[24]

Similarly, Armand D'Angour has recently suggested that Lasos introduced the circular choral form to Athens around the time of Kleisthenes as an invention to solve difficulties posed by massed choirs.[25] However, neither Zimmermann nor D'Angour take sufficient account of the general likelihood that it was a state, rather than an individual poet, which provided the ideological driving force behind the institution of a new form of public performance poetry. Neither Athens nor Corinth would have had to invent a new form of *khoreia* from scratch; far more likely is that they modified and adapted a pre-existing one and gave it a more central role in their cultures.

[23] Zimmermann (1992) 26. See also Ieranò (1997) 189–90 for speculation about Arion as the first *didaskalos* of dithyramb.

[24] Ford (2002) ch. 6, esp. 146–52 for the place of Herodotos.

[25] D'Angour (1997), esp. 342–3. But see *Khoregia* 314 n. 32 for serious reservations about what this tells us about the Athenian situation, considering the Theban context of the Pindaric source. For the centrality of the organization of the *kuklios khoros* in the reforms of Kleisthenes, see *Khoregia* 17. By connecting D'Angour's new reading of the opening of Pind. fr. 70b with fr. 346a–c (lines, detailing Eleusinian mystery cult, that have now been reassigned to this same poem), Wilson (2003*b*) suggests that the poem shows Thebes' appropriation of Athens' mystery-cult of Demeter, back from Athens to its 'proper' homeland, along with (i.e. 'properly' Dionysiac) dithyramb to its 'true' home in Thebes (however tendentious, considering, for instance, the rival claims of Corinth: cf. Pind. *Ol.* 13.18–19, with *Σ* Pind. *Ol.* 13.25a–c (i.361 Dr)).

Poetic Evidence for Cultic Affiliations

Bacchylides 16 has rightly been described as 'a vital piece of evidence for a general contrast between paeans and dithyrambs in the fifth century'.[26] It opens with an address to Apollo, performed at Delphi during Dionysos' residence in the period of Apollo's sojourn among the Hyperboreans. The reference to paeans in line 8 was what led Kenyon to view this not as a dithyramb but as a paean.[27] But there is a plausible connection here with Dionysos, however implicit. In fact, it seems likely that the reference to paeans here is precisely to mark the performative or contextual boundary between paeans and dithyrambs. With its reference to paeans in line 8, the poem in fact binds itself to Dionysiac festivity because it marks itself off as related to Dionysos, in Apollo's continued absence until his return in spring.[28] This is the force of *πρίν γε*, 'but until such time', in line 12. To paraphrase, 'Until such time as you return to be greeted by paeans, Apollo, we will continue to sing our dithyramb, with its mythological narrative':

. . . . . .]δ̣' ἵκηι π̣αιηόνων
ἄνθεα πεδοιχνεῖν,
Πύθι' Ἄπολλον.
τόσα χοροὶ Δελφῶν
σὸν κελάδησαν παρ' ἀγακλέα ναόν.

πρίν γε κλέομεν λιπεῖν
Οἰχαλίαν πυρὶ δαπτομέναν
Ἀμφιτρ͜υωνιάδαν κτλ.

. . . you might come to share in the flowers of paeans, Pythian Apollo: all those which choirs of Delphians sing out by your far-famed temple.

[26] Rutherford (1995) 117.

[27] Kenyon 147.

[28] See also Alk. fr. 307c *PMG* (Him. *Or.* 48.10–11) for a poem describing the birth of Apollo, his sojourn with the Hyperboreans and his welcome at Delphi; Rutherford 27 makes the plausible assumption that this poem too was performed at Delphi. Even in a text this early we may feel the force of a myth explaining the worship of a god at Delphi for only a part of the year. See Rutherford 91 for the classificatory problems posed by this piece. For further comment on its performance, see below.

But until such time, we shall glorify how Amphitryon's son left Oikhalia consumed in fire . . .

Bacchylides 16.8–15

And so the myth of Herakles and Deianeira progresses.[29] Within this Dionysiac context it is remarkable to note the *praeteritio* praising Pythian Apollo and therefore Apollo's connection with Delphi. The thematic and performative shift is displayed markedly by the strophic break after the first stanza dealing with Apollo. Bacchylides is able to play here with audience expectations, by opening a poem meant for Dionysiac cult with a reference to paeans as a discrete type. This stresses the separation but also the complementarity between the cults of Apollo and of Dionysos at Delphi.

The differentiation here is between cults, not performance forms.[30] Important additional information is given by Himerios (*Or.* 48.10–11) on a poem by Alkaios (fr. 307c *PMG*), in a passage that commentators have ignored. In what he states is an accurate summary of Alkaios' 'paean', Himerios suggests that the Delphians summoned Apollo to Delphi as follows: παιᾶνα συνθέντες καὶ μέλος καὶ χοροὺς ἠϊθέων περὶ τὸν τρίποδα στήσαντες, ἐκάλουν τὸν θεὸν ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἐλθεῖν, 'by composing a paean and a tune and *arranging* khoroi *of youths around the tripod*, they called on the god to come from the Hyperboreans'. This summary contains fascinating evidence of Delphic choral self-reference familiar from extant archaic and classical lyric. Alkaios' poem may therefore have legitimized repeated and/or competitive theoxenic choral performances in *circles* (note plural χοροὺς) at Delphi in honour of Apollo.

The need to differentiate between rituals and types of song appropriate to different deities, as a defining feature of Greek religion more broadly, is replicated beyond the boundaries of Delphi. But were the ritual or theological associations of performances at different festivals able to cross-contaminate? Whatever the situation

[29] Rutherford 88–9 suggests that thus '[t]he implied Dionysiac context of the genre accommodates the deployment of the themes of social disaster'. Whether this assessment is correct raises an issue about the extension of Dionysiac 'feel' into narratives with less specific ritual associations. I address this below in the section on 'Dithyrambic Myth'.

[30] For some modes of performance at Delphi see Rutherford 63–8.

on the ground, there was certainly a debate in Athens about the suitability of certain types of poem to different cults, as we shall see in due course with specific reference to the question of the connotations of the term 'dithyramb'. One way in which the tripod may have got to Athens as the prize for victory with *kuklios khoros* may have been through the Peisistratids' earlier cultivation of the festival relating to Apollo in Athens, the Thargelia, a festival older than the Dionysia, at which tripods were also awarded.[31]

Pindar uses paean and Dionysiac hymn as prevalent forms against which to define his own *threnos*, through the mythological laments that put to sleep the sons of Kalliope:

> *Ἔντι μὲν χρυσαλακάτου τεκέων Λατοῦς ἀοιδαί*
> *ὥ[ρ]ιαι παιάνιδες· ἐντὶ [δὲ] καί*
> *θάλλοντος ἐκ κισσοῦ στέφανων {ἐκ} Διο[νύ]σου*
> *βρομι⟨ο⟩παιόμεναι·*
>
> For the children of Leto with golden distaff there are
> paean-songs in due season. And for Dionysos
> flourishing with crowns of ivy
> there are ones of drunkenness.
>
> Pindar *Threnos* 3.1–4 (Cannatà Fera fr. 56)

But, again, this does not show that all works perceived to be dithyrambic *had* to be connected to Dionysos. We also have Aiskhylos fr. 355 Radt, stating the suitability of dithyramb to Dionysos: *μειξιβοάν πρέπει διθύραμβον ὁμαρτεῖν σύγκωμον Διονύσῳ*, 'the dithyramb with its mixed shouting is suitable accompaniment for Dionysos in his revels'.[32] This fragment indicates that the term *dithyrambos* is one amongst a number of similar terms which appear to be connected to Dionysos. Yet this says nothing about the significance or the general application of the *kuklios khoros*, or about the ritual associations of all the poems, including those by Bacchylides, which were subsequently classified as *Dithyrambs* by the Alexandrians.

[31] Parker (1996) 96 was the first to raise the problem of the link between the Thargelia, tripods, and the Peisistratids; see too *Khoregia* 16.

[32] Cited by Plut. *De E ap. Delph.* 389b. We will see later, however, that in the latter stages of the fifth century, as part of an increasing theoretical investigation of music, the suitability of forms of music and performance to specific lyric types will become the matter of some debate.

I suggest that there was some debate in classical Athens regarding the applicability of the term *dithyrambos* across the Athenian festival spectrum to other poems performed by *kuklioi khoroi*, poems and performances without any obvious connection to Dionysos. The slippage between the cultic and modal terms, and indeed their very equation, is helped by the importance of *kuklioi khoroi* at the Athenian City Dionysia. This slippage creates debates about generic definitions based upon performance criteria and about associated ritual affiliations.

Formal Criteria

Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs*, as poems of a predominantly narrative type, tend to lack references to formal features that would help in fixing them as a generic type in relation to a specific deity, with the special exception of Bacchylides 16 discussed above. Even Bacchylides 19, a Dionysiac poem, contains narrative on the origins of the god rather than *Du-Stil* hymnic features.

Bacchylides' works seem generally to have lacked refrains: this seems to be true even for the two poems related to Apollo (Bacchylides 17 and fr. 4+22); Bacchylides 17 does, though, feature a *Du-Stil* address to Apollo at its close, and has a reference to the singing of paeans embedded in its narrative.[33] Paeans very often incorporated an invocation to Paian, often in the form of a stylized refrain. The lack of any such invocation seems to have been at least a contributory factor in Aristarkhos' classification of Bacchylides 17 as a dithyramb and not a paean.[34]

[33] Bacch. 17.129–33. See the next chapter for detail on this poem's generic identity.

[34] Ieranò (1997) 294–7 has suggested that narrative dithyrambs may have emerged as a genre through their loss of non-rhythmical proems that linked them more closely with Dionysos. This is a short-sighted view in the light of the relation of narrative dithyrambs to earlier lyric narrative poems; Ieranò's point loses its force because of a lack of clarity over when and why such proems might ever have been lost. Schmidt (1990) 28–9 suggests that Bacch. 17 may have been a hyporcheme, but problems with evidence for this 'genre' are insurmountable, and Schmidt fails to deal sufficiently with *παιάνιξαν*; cp. Ieranò (1997) 324 n. 8 ad fin. For what we can say about the hyporcheme, see Di Marco (1973–4).

Nor was there any strict metrical divide between poems classified as paeans, and dithyrambs. Despite the existence of the metrical term *παιών*, there is no evidence to suggest that cretic-paeonic rhythms were especially associated with paeans: such metres are equally prevalent in epinicians. Bacchylides 17 is written in a complex form of paeonic iambic.[35] Metre is a coincidental rather than a generically defining feature: the fact that the Alexandrian editors placed Bacchylides 17 in the *Dithyrambs* shows that metrical considerations meant little for their classificatory scheme. This is partly because any references to rhythmical or metrical terminology the Alexandrians may have encountered were associated with the original musical accompaniment and so performance, to which they had no unmediated access.[36] Moreover, given the broad contextual fluidity of music and rhythm, it would seem improbable that metrical or rhythmic patterns could be made into generically defining features.[37]

It might be thought that civic praise could be a defining criterion. Works classified as dithyrambs which we know or suspect were performed in Athens all appear to praise the city. This is likely to be closely connected to the agonistic context of the performance: the main basis for our knowledge of Pindar's dithyramb fr. 76 is that it is lampooned in the *parabasis* of Aristophanes' *Acharnians* in the context both of external praise of the citizens by foreigners and of the wish for a favourable verdict at the hands of the presiding judges in the competitions of comedy.[38] In Bacchylides' poems for Athens

The presence or lack of any refrain does not even seem to have been a sufficient criterion for classification: the case of Bacch. fr. dub. 60 is a case in point. This fragmentary poem, which seems to have contained a myth on a Trojan theme, ends at line 37 with the refrain *ἰὴ ἰή*; yet its classification by the Alexandrians within a collection of *Dithyrambs* seems confirmed by its appearance in the same papyrus roll as the poem immediately following (fr. dub. 61), which is given a mythological title (*Leukippides*). Attribution of these poems to Bacchylides is most plausible, but Simonides is another strong contender. For more on the Alexandrians' principles of classification, see § III below.

[35] See Rutherford 76–9 for the metres of paeans.

[36] Though as Budelmann (2001) 222 points out, there is evidence to suggest that the Alexandrians and later scholars had some access to information at least about the music.

[37] For an overview of the issue, see Budelmann (2001).

[38] *Khoregia* 66, with Ar. *Ach.* 633–40; Zimmermann (1992) 53–4. See also von Reden (1998) 179–80 for Pindar's description of Athens as *Ἑλλάδος ἔρεισμα*, and the allusion to this description in Soph. *OC* 54–8.

we have explicit praise of Athens at least five times.[39] The lack of such information might make one wary of considering Bacchylides 15 an Athenian poem, but as I shall argue in the final chapter, the choice and source of the poem's mythology achieves a similar effect by reference to Athenian cultural identity. However, simply because certain poems composed for Athens contain laudatory material, it seems implausible that such material could in fact guarantee generic stability. Other surviving works classified as dithyrambs were not written for performance in Athens and do not contain straightforwardly laudatory material.[40]

Nor can one differentiate by appeal to musical accompaniment or musical modes. The *aulos* accompanied poems for Dionysos and Apollo, and was a central feature of circular choral performance.[41] Though paeans were also accompanied by the *kithara* (and perhaps especially at Delphi), the *aulos* was commonly associated with this form too.[42] The term 'choral *lyric*' is essentially a misnomer. The majority of our evidence suggests *aulos* accompaniment, and where accompaniment was provided by the lyre, it had more to do with the festival context than the demands of the form of the poem being performed.

Aristoxenos comments that Simonides composed paeans and other works in the Dorian mode.[43] Pindar is cited as stating in a paean that the Dorian mode was the most solemn.[44] The Dorian mode was deemed especially suited to paean accompaniment, but by itself this is not generically defining. Such views need to be contextualized within Aristoxenos' conservative attitude toward *mousikē*.

[39] Bacch. 18.1, 60; Bacch. 19.10, 50 (reading *ἀγλαῶν ἀγώνων*); Bacch. 23.1 (reading something like *Ἀ[θανᾶν εὔαν]δρον ἱερᾶν ἄωτο[ν]*); Comparetti (1970 [1898]) 397. Note also the reference to the favouring wind for Theseus' ship granted at Bacch. 17.7 *κλυτᾶς ἕκατι π̣[ε]λεμαίγιδος Ἀθάν[ας·]*.

[40] Prime examples would be Bacch. 16 and 20.

[41] And literally, given that the *aulētēs* stood in the centre of the circle. Cf. Wiles (1997) 72; *DTC*² 35; again, *Σ* Aiskhin. 1.10 (25 p. 15 Dilts). A large amount of information from inscriptions and elsewhere attests to the connection between *aulētai* and *kuklioi khoroi*, not just from Athens, as collected by Stephanes (1988).

[42] Rutherford 79–80 and n. 40. *Kithara* at Delphi: Rutherford 28. Allusions to the *aulos* in texts classified as paeans and dithyrambs: Pind. *Pae.* 3.94; *Pae.* 7.11. In Bacchylides' Athenian poems, cf. e.g. *αὐλῶν πνοᾶι* in Bacch. 23.4 (*Cassandra*).

[43] Aristox. fr. 82 Wehrli = [Plut.] *De mus.* 1136e160; cf. Rutherford 80 with n. 43.

[44] Pind. fr. 67: *Σ* Pind. *Pyth.* 6.5c (ii.194–5 Dr); West (1992*a*) 179–80; Rutherford 80.

He took a stand against the supposedly wild musical violations and degeneracy of the New Music and its followers.[45] Elsewhere he warns of the inaccuracy, flux, and lack of control which the *aulos* engenders.[46] His views on modes and poetic forms are coloured by prejudice against the supposed interference of the New Music in the purity of the traditional Greek poetry and music. As we shall see, he follows Plato here.

Scholars working with certain agendas occasionally set the Dorian and Phrygian modes in opposition, but the evidence starts relatively late.[47] The opposition is broken with the khoregic epigram of Antigenes for an early-fifth century Dionysiac dithyramb, referring to the 'Dorian *aulos*', surely shorthand for the musical mode.[48]

In the time of Pindar, Bacchylides, and Simonides, there were only general tendencies and personal preferences, rather than genre-defining, or generically defined, musical features. The evidence for Pindar from fr. 67 does not prescribe that all paeans *must* be written in the Dorian mode. And though the Phrygian mode may have been especially at home in performances of the New Music, their polymetric style also went hand in hand with the mixing of modes in single compositions.[49]

Dithyrambic Myth

In Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs* there is a general absence of mythical content that we can associate directly with Dionysiac ritual, or with

[45] Aristox. fr. 124 Wehrli = Ath. 14.632a; in general, Csapo (2004).

[46] *Harm.* 43.10–24.

[47] Philokh. *FGrH* 328 F 172; Plut. *De E ap. Delph.* 389a–b. Arist. *Pol.* 1342^{b}7 for the 'agreed' association between dithyramb and the Phrygian mode; Aristotle favours the Dorian for purposes of education. He even suggested that Philoxenos failed to compose his *Mysians* in the Dorian mode and returned to the Phrygian fold: see West (1992*a*) 364. This is likely to be another example of theoretical spin against the polyphonic treatments of the New Music: more on this below.

[48] *AP* 13.28; West (1992*a*) 181; *Khoregia* 120–2; Wilamowitz dated the epigram to *c*.490–80 BCE. Slings (2005) 46 doubts the early date on metrical grounds, but I note that the combination of dactylo-epitrite metre in combination with ithyphallic cola is found already at Simonides fr. 581 *PMG*, for which West (1982*a*) 71–2.

[49] See West (1992*a*) 364–5.

'dithyramb' understood simply or uniquely as a hymn to Dionysos, i.e. content associated with the birth and fortunes of the god.[50] The main question to ask is whether the myths Bacchylides used, or the actual practice of using in these poems mythical narratives involving graphic and detailed characterization, should always be related to Dionysos. I do not believe this to be the case.

Bacchylides' use of narrative and graphic characterization is a familiar hallmark of his epinicians, especially in Bacchylides 5, a poem which cannot plausibly be assumed to have any link with Dionysos. We encounter there a different part of the same general myth as in Bacchylides 16, which was intended for a Dionysiac context. But narrative by itself cannot point towards Dionysos.

It is sometimes assumed that the presentation of myths associated with divinities should suit the nature of each god. We do well to remember that, on a general level, myths connected with Apollo, the supposedly calm and orderly god, are not without their disruptive or destructive features: one only has to think of his role in the *Homeric Hymn to Pythian Apollo* (his abduction of the Kretan merchants), or indeed in Pindar's *Paean* 6 (his killing of Akhilleus), to realize that there is no easy dichotomy in these terms between the myths of poems intended for cults honouring different deities.

We might then ask what kinds of narrative we can expect to find. Ian Rutherford suggests that with Bacchylides 16—and its myth of Herakles and Deianeira—'Bacchylides seems to be telling us that a "tragic" love story like this, without a strong religious dimension, is not appropriate subject-matter for a *παιάν*'.[51] This is in need of qualification. It is by no means certain that we should postulate a more general distinction between poems classified as paeans and poems classified as dithyrambs in terms of their 'tragic' atmosphere.[52] Rutherford rather fudges his point here about genre in any case, because of a lack of specificity about what he means by

[50] Cf. Proklos *ap*. Phot. *Bibl.* 5.320a-b; Ieranò (1997) §§ *Ia* and *Ic*.

[51] Rutherford 75.

[52] Cf. Rutherford 87: 'If genre reflected deity, dithyrambic song-dance performances might have tended to represent the subversion of social and political norms, or at least their relaxation. And in that case there would be a clear contrast with the much stabler and polis-oriented *παιάν*.' I will argue that such a clear-cut distinction between genres, at least at Athens, is not possible on these terms; also, Rutherford's 'stabler' and 'polis-oriented' are too vague and carry far too much weight here.

his usage of 'tragedy' and 'tragic'.[53] If there is no direct link to Dionysos in the mythological content of a poem that is supposedly Dionysiac, does this mean that such links should be sought elsewhere, through appeals to broader ritual themes, functions, or structures?

The significant question to ask now is: where, if at all, are we to locate the Dionysiac element in other *Dithyrambs* of Bacchylides, and are we to take the example of Bacchylides 16 as paradigmatic? The solution to these challenges might be considered the holy grail for scholars wishing to reassert a Dionysiac connection in all of Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs*, and to resurrect an idea of perfect generic coherence through reference to Dionysos.[54]

The term *dithyrambos* is indeed connected with worship of Dionysos as far back as the evidence takes us: Arkhilokhos fr. 120 W. But with the majority of Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs*, ties to Dionysos are much less evident. Moreover, any attempt to locate the Dionysiac in metaphors of liberation, subversion, or mimetic representation of mythologies becomes too general or loose to inform our understanding of the poetry, particularly without a securely grounded Dionysiac context.

If we accept, as I think we must, the general adaptability of the *kuklios khoros* to a wider range of festival contexts, with their own rituals and relations to other cults, we would be unwise to seek an overarching Dionysiac ritual functionality to explain all poems which came to be classified as *Dithyrambs*. The case of tragedy is not parallel. Though tragedies do not generally contain myths that can be related directly to Dionysos, their *khoroi* do sometimes contain cardinal references to Dionysos which seem to attest to an underlying drive towards Dionysiac tragic dénouement.[55] The confounding of audience expectations witnessed by the claims of 'Nothing to do with Dionysos' can in part be understood as responses to a general lack of Dionysiac content in tragedies: but at least we can be sure that the original setting for the performance of those works was a festival of Dionysos.

[53] See Most (2000) for assessment of such Romantic constructions of 'tragic'.

[54] Consider here Ieranò's attempt to save the Dionysiac element in all of Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs* by appeal to lost proems: Ieranò (1997) 294–5.

[55] See Schlesier (1993); Zeitlin (1993); Henrichs (1995).

I am unconvinced by the more general arguments of scholars who locate the Dionysiac in all myths of civic disorder. It seems logical that any piece of public performance art, associated with any given festival could address issues of civic or familial disorder. Yet this need not entail a Dionysiac background, as if, in a quasi-structuralist fashion, the successful end of a quest to find the Dionysiac in a given myth could provide a perfect explanatory framework for every case. As we shall see, even in the case of Bacchylides 15, which Richard Seaford might argue would fit perfectly with his view of Andromakhe and Theano in *Iliad* 6,[56] we need not bring in an absent Dionysos in order for the full force of Bacchylides' poem to take effect. Simon Goldhill is correct to describe the circumstances of the City Dionysia as the festival which 'offers a full range of Dionysiac transgression; . . . not just the power and profundity of a great dramatic literature but also the extraordinary process of the developing city putting its developing language and structure of thought at risk under the sway of the smiling and dangerous Dionysos'.[57] Yet none of this undermines the possibility that essentially the same kind of exploration and questioning of civic issues could go on within other choral performances during festivals of other gods at Athens.[58] It is just that drama tends to dominate matters, just as it should given the relative abundance of the preserved evidence.

We do not therefore need to suggest links with Dionysos and Dionysiac cult in every work we meet in a book of *Dithyrambs*, even if it contains the type of myth in short compass that would not look out of place in any tragedy. Of course, this is not to deny that some dithyrambs (including the majority of Pindar's fragmentary dithyrambs) do have strongly Dionysiac content.

[56] See Seaford (1993) 142–6; (1994) ch. 9, esp. 337–8.

[57] Goldhill (1990) 128.

[58] I discuss this idea in detail in the following chapters, especially with Bacch. 15. Indeed, I make comparison with the elegies of Solon. One would be hard pushed to bring in the Dionysiac in order to explain Solon's highlighting of risks to Athenian society inflicted by the foolish δῆμος (although I do note a passing reference to Solon 4 W at Seaford (1994) 338 in discussion of the Dionysiac in *Iliad* 6 and Athens). For more on Solon 4 W see now Mülke (2002) and Irwin (2005), esp. part II; for Solon and Bacchylides, see below, Ch. 5.

In the case of Bacchylides 19, the only one of Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs* to contain a myth involving Dionysos, the way the poet ingeniously swings around his genealogical myth from Io at the opening to Dionysos at the end may suggest that the poet is playing with audience expectations of a Dionysiac myth in performance at a Dionysiac festival.[59] This should indicate that connections between dithyramb and directly Dionysiac content even at festivals to Dionysos were not beyond manipulation; however, it is even possible, and perhaps likely, that poems performed at festivals of Dionysos were not required to have any Dionysiac mythological content.

II. THEORIES OF DECLINE

The complexity of terminology has lead some scholars to posit a process of change to explain apparent inconsistencies which conveniently ties in with the conviction of some ancient critics that in the fifth-century poetry and music was in a state of decline.

Passages such as Aristophanes *Birds* 1377–1409, discussed at the start of Section I, along with passages like Lysias 21.1, which has a defendant list his khoregic victories, and provides evidence for men's (circular) *khoroi* at the Thargelia ('victorious at the Thargelia with a *khoros* of men,' *Θαργηλίοις νικήσας ἀνδρικῷ χορῷ*), have caused modern scholars a good deal of confusion.[60] Pickard-Cambridge was worried about the transfer of a supposedly Dionysiac art-form to

[59] Cf. Webster (1970) 103.

[60] The possibility that Athenian circular choral performances were not termed 'dithyrambs' officially may be suggested by the lack of epigraphic testimony for the usage of *διθύραμβος*, at least in the Classical period: see *Khoregia* 314 n. 22. Compare the reference to *παίδων χορὸν ἢ ἀνδρῶν* in *Σ* Aiskhin. 1.10. The two terms *khoros paidōn and khoros andrōn* were understood as sub-categories of the term *κυκλίος χορός*: *IG* II^2.2318 and Lewis (1968) 375 for the reading *κυκλίοις π[αίδων]* in an inscription of the second half of the 4th cent. recording victories at the City Dionysia; for the inscriptional formulae, see e.g. J. L. Shear (2003*a*) 166. Forthcoming work by John Ma and Paola Ceccarelli shows that *διθύραμβος* does appear in some khoregic inscriptions from the Hellenistic period; but it would be unwise to read this evidence back into the classical period.

a non-Dionysiac festival context, and his concerns have clouded discussions ever since. But as we shall see, by positing a theory of cultural and religious decline, his views follow notable ancient precedent.

Both Pickard-Cambridge and, more recently, Zimmermann sought to explain the spread of dithyramb in different, but comparable, ways. Pickard-Cambridge first suggests that the link between Apollo and Dionysos at Delphi indicates the ease by which the dithyramb became associated with other gods; he then slips into suggesting popular appeal as the main factor in the performance of dithyrambs at other—non-Dionysiac—festivals:

> [T]hat the dithyramb was performed not only at the festivals of Dionysus, in Athens and elsewhere, but also on certain other occasions, is scarcely a valid obstacle to the belief in its primarily Dionysiac character.
>
> In classical times the most important non-Dionysiac festivals of which it certainly formed a regular part were those of Apollo. At Delphi, indeed, the regular performance of dithyrambs in winter is connected with the fact that three months of the winter were sacred to Dionysus. But at Delos also 'circular choruses' were performed. . . .
>
> But the chief regular performances of dithyramb, apart from Dionysiac festivals, were those at the Thargelia at Athens. . . .
>
> The performance of dithyrambs at Apolline festivals may perhaps be accounted for by the close association of Dionysus with Apollo at Delphi . . . ; once established at Delphi the dithyramb would naturally be adopted in the worship of Apollo and elsewhere. *But it may partly have been a natural result of the desire to enhance the attractiveness of popular festivals by adding performances which appealed to the people even if they were originally appropriated to other celebrations. This may account also for the isolated mentions of dithyrambs at the Lesser Panathenaea and at the Prometheia and Hephaesteia, evidently as a regular part of the festival and provided by the choregoi.*[61]

His evidence for the overlap in dithyrambs between Apollo and Dionysos at Delphi is based on Bacchylides 16; as I suggested earlier, this poem suggests that hymns to Dionysos and hymns to

[61] *DTC*^{2} 3–4, with my italics. For more detail on *kuklioi khoroi* in other contexts see Chs. 5 and 6 below.

Apollo at Delphi are complementary. Yet this does nothing to prove the contention that all subsequent poems performed by *kuklioi khoroi* or all poems subsequently classified as 'dithyrambic' had originally had a close ritual connection with Dionysos that they had now lost.[62]

Bernard Zimmermann emphasizes the roles politics and entertainment played in the dynamic constructed by Pickard-Cambridge, and suggests that Pindar, as the good religious and social conservative that he was, reacted against this unreligious trend first found in Bacchylides:

> Bei den zahlreichen Aufführungen dürfte es daher kaum Erstaunen erregen, daß der Dithyrambos zu der lyrischen Gattung des demokratischen Athen wurde und daß er deshalb auch immer mehr seinen Charakter als Kultlied des Dionysus einbüßte.
>
> . . .
>
> Der Nachdruck, mit dem Pindar seinen Dithyramben einen dionysischen Anstrich verleiht—die Paiane weisen kein entsprechendes apollinisches Aüßeres auf—, legt die Vermutung nahe, daß Pindar damit auf eine undionysische Strömung der Dithyrambendichtung reagiert, die eben Bakchylides repräsentiert.[63]

There is something very wrong in both these assessments. Behind both of them lurks the assumption that if any art form is seen to have lost a primary and original religious function (in this case, praise of Dionysos), the motivation for this must be

[62] This is ironic given that *DTC*[1] 128 is more circumspect when considering Aristotle's notion that tragedy originated in 'those leading the dithyramb' (*Poe.* 1449a11): there Pickard-Cambridge is likely to be right to suggest that Aristotle's theory was based upon little more than observations on the similarities between tragedy and the greater mimeticism of New Musical dithyramb during his own lifetime long after choral performance forms had made their first appearance in Athens.

[63] Zimmermann (1992) 37–8; 115–16. This position is followed closely by García Romero (2000) 56, in a paper which completely fails to take serious account of the complexity of the problem of the diversity of Bacchylides' output. See also the bogus dichotomy inherent in Bremer (2000) 66, relying on the treatment by Herington (1985) 223 n. 4 (according to whom '[t]he distinction here drawn between strictly religious ritual on the one hand, and artistic or athletic activities more or less loosely attached to a god's festival on the other, will be familiar enough to any student of the Greek cults'). Bremer uses this view to assert 'das allmähliche Abgleiten des Dithyrambos' from the 'proper', Dionysiac, 'Sitz im Leben' into mere competitiveness.

explained by a shift from religion towards popular demand, politics, or entertainment. For Greece of the fifth century, any such notion needs to be dispatched forthwith since it is also suggestive of a false dichotomy between serious religion and popular, and hence more frivolous, artistic phenomena. Rather, it should be clear that music, like all cultural productions, is part of a discourse which can overlap with, intersect with, or compete against, the discourse of religion. Neither could ever have had any independent existence.[64]

So Zimmermann is on the wrong track if he wishes to contrast the religious primacy of dithyramb, as figured in Pindar and earlier, with the innovations of Bacchylides that led to the radical revisionism of the New Music. Indeed, there is no evidence whatsoever for the view that Pindar reacted against this supposed trend. The quest for an original 'age of Kronos' when art forms, genres, and cults worked perfectly in relation to one another always fails.[65] Such attitudes mar the views of Pickard-Cambridge and Zimmermann on 'traditional' dithyramb.[66] Scholars may be right to view Bacchylides as the precursor of certain features of the New Music.[67] But they are wrong if

[64] Cf. *Khoregia* 322 n. 115 for brief remarks. The falsity of the dichotomy between 'serious' religion and 'frivolous'/'entertaining' literature is expressed well by Feeney (1998) 23; 25.

[65] See Feeney (1998) 23.

[66] Cf. Csapo (1999–2000) 415; Käppel (1996) 584 for criticism of Zimmermann's position on the 'New Dithyramb': 'damit ist Z[immermann] . . . eindeutig seinen polemischen Gewährsleuten (allen voran Aristophanes und Platon) auf dem Leim gegangen'. This criticism needs also to be levelled at his view of Bacchylides' place within the decadence/degeneration theory. For discussion of the theory of decline in Attic comedy from Aristophanes to Menander, see Csapo (2000). The death of 'religious dithyramb' in the course of the 5th and 4th cents. has been just as grossly exaggerated or wrongly construed as the death of political comedy in the 4th; although the reasoning is different in the two cases, the attitudes and prejudices are not: what Csapo (2000) 129 calls 'the polemics of disgruntled ancient elites'. Cf. also the excellent work by Csapo (2004) on the New Music.

[67] For instance, Stehle (1997) 68 cites Jebb 234 for the view of Bacchylides as a forerunner in certain respects of a dramatic strand in Athenian New Music, without prejudicing the case of Bacchylides. But see also Jebb 50–3 for the rise of the new school of music (Jebb accepts Plato's view) as the cause of 'the complete cessation of higher work in that province'.

they make a necessary and concomitant link with a decline from a purity of sociological function.[68]

Zimmermann's modified view, which adduces the importance of hero-cult as well as of Dionysos for dithyramb deals with these problems to some degree, since a religious function in relation to a range of hero-cults fits well with the development and centrality of hero-cult for the formation of group identity in cities like Athens, especially after the Kleisthenic reforms, and for certain works by Bacchylides.[69] But Zimmermann still suggests that Dionysiac content became less prominent with the increase in focus on group identity within the *polis*.[70] This is not necessarily so. In Athens *kuklioi khoroi* performing works at the Dionysia existed side by side with *kuklioi khoroi* performing works elsewhere in the city, at festivals in honour of other deities, at the Thargelia and the Panathenaea at least.[71] The possibility of diminution in Dionysiac content in performances by *kuklioi khoroi* at the Dionysia is an issue parallel to the controversy over the content of tragedy. But this does not necessarily indicate an overall religious decline in the performance of *kuklioi khoroi* over the breadth of Athenian festival culture.[72] The presence of satyr-play as the culmination of the tragic spectacle would have gone some way to counterbalance any perception of a diminution in Dionysiac cultic material in the other performances at this festival.[73] Yet, more importantly, performance of *any* kind at a given festival has to be viewed as potentially religious as well as entertaining or political.

[68] Such formulations can be traced back to Romanticism through early 20th-century classical scholarship on myth and religion and Nietzsche; they also have important classical antecedents. For further discussion see below, § IV. For a mention of the development of dithyramb within the 'temporality' of 5th-cent. democracy, see Csapo and Miller (1998) 114, referring, without implicating themselves in the same account of decline, to Zimmermann's (1992) view of dithyramb as the democratic art form.

[69] Zimmermann (2000); Athenian focus on Theseus in Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs* fits this rather well.

[70] Ibid. 20.

[71] For specific evidence and more detailed discussion, see the next chapter.

[72] Since my focus is on *kuklioi* rather than dramatic *khoroi* here, I make no apology for not investigating fully the issues facing tragedy, which would take me far off course. I hope that my discussions of this choral form might pose interesting questions for scholars working in the better-studied varieties.

[73] For the relation of satyr-play to tragedy, see Easterling (1997*b*) 37–44.

To ignore this possibility is, not without some irony, to repeat the methodologically and sociologically skewed views of certain ancient critics.

Classical Theorizing and its Motivations

(i) Plato's Laws

The source of these problematic modern accounts can be found in a variety of ancient texts, many of which seem to hark back to Plato.

The first passage in *Laws* to present a history of Greek music in ethical terms as a narrative of corrupting—and democratized—decline is 3.700a–1a: 'dithyramb' is one of the 'forms' (*eidē*) here implicated, from what Plato sees as a period where genres were fixed, hymns were correctly sung to their respective gods, modes were correctly prescribed for their respective genres, and religious and moral order was properly engendered. Whereas Aristophanes attributed the decline in music and concomitant moral behaviour to the new trends in education (best exemplified by the divergence between father and son in *Clouds*), for Plato's Athenian the decline begins with, and is part and parcel of, the democratization of religious and hence all civic life: that is, retrojected beyond the innovations of the sophists and the New Music:

διῃρημένη γὰρ δὴ τότε ἦν ἡμῖν ἡ μουσικὴ κατὰ εἴδη τε ἑαυτῆς ἄττα καὶ σχήματα, καί τι ἦν εἶδος ᾠδῆς εὐχαὶ πρὸς θεούς, ὄνομα δὲ ὕμνοι ἐπεκαλοῦντο· καὶ τούτῳ δὴ τὸ ἐναντίον ἦν ᾠδῆς ἕτερον εἶδος—θρήνους δέ τις ἂν αὐτοὺς μάλιστα ἐκάλεσεν—καὶ παίωνες ἕτερον, καὶ ἄλλο, Διονύσου γένεσις οἶμαι, διθύραμβος λεγόμενος.

. . .

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου, ἄρχοντες μὲν τῆς ἀμούσου παρανομίας ποιηταὶ ἐγίγνοντο φύσει μὲν ποιητικοί, ἀγνώμονες δὲ περὶ τὸ δίκαιον τῆς Μούσης καὶ τὸ νόμιμον, βακχεύοντες καὶ μᾶλλον τοῦ δέοντος κατεχόμενοι ὑφ' ἡδονῆς, κεραννύντες δὲ θρήνους τε ὕμνοις καὶ παίωνας διθυράμβοις, καὶ αὐλῳδίας δὴ ταῖς κιθαρῳδίαις μιμούμενοι, καὶ πάντα εἰς πάντα συνάγοντες, μουσικῆς ἄκοντες ὑπ' ἀνοίας καταψευδόμενοι ὡς ὀρθότητα μὲν οὐκ ἔχοι οὐδ' ἡντινοῦν μουσική, ἡδονῇ δὲ τῇ τοῦ χαίροντος, εἴτε βελτίων εἴτε χείρων ἂν εἴη τις, κρίνοιτο ὀρθότατα. . . . καὶ ἀντὶ ἀριστοκρατίας ἐν αὐτῇ θεατροκρατία τις πονηρὰ γέγονεν.

In those days our musical culture was divided into various categories and forms: one type of song consisted of prayers to gods, which were called hymns; and there was an opposing type—one might well have called them laments—; and paeans were another type; and another, whose theme was the birth of Dionysos, called dithyramb.

. . .

Later, as time went on, poets arose who started an uncultured perversion of the rules: men who had natural talent, but were ignorant of the judicious and legitimate standards set out by the Muse. Gripped by a Dionysiac frenzy and excessively gripped by pleasure, they mixed together laments with hymns and paeans with dithyrambs, and even imitated *aulos*-tunes when singing to the *kithara*: in general, they confused everything. Unintentionally, through cultural ignorance, they falsely claimed that music admitted of no standard of correctness whatever, but that the best criterion for judging was the pleasure of a man who enjoyed the performance, whether he were a good man or not. . . . And instead of an aristocracy in the matter, a sort of vicious theatrocracy was born.

Plato, *Laws* 3.700a–1a[74]

Plato frames his tendentious diachrony within the confines of Athenian fifth-century democracy; interestingly, this chronology does not fit well with what we know about the dates for the New Music, the target of the assault by at least Aristophanes and other comic poets.[75]

As Andrew Ford now shows, Plato was actually not all that concerned to offer a fully coherent, theorized position on archaic and classical genres.[76] Plato was out to discredit contemporary

[74] Note also how similar in many respects this is to the view espoused by Aristoxenos fr. 124 Wehrli: *καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ θέατρα ἐκβεβαρβάρωται καὶ εἰς μεγάλην διαφθορὰν προελήλυθεν ἡ πάνδημος αὕτη μουσική, καθ' αὑτοὺς γενόμενοι ὀλίγοι ἀναμιμνησκόμεθα οἷα ἦν ἡ μουσική.*

[75] For relationship between Plato and tragedy here see Wilson (1999–2000), esp. 439. Philodemus *De mus.* 4.8 (p. 57–8 Neubecker) groups the comic poets with the *harmonikoi*, the Damonian and Platonic school of thought which took the ethical effects of music very seriously, in a passage rejecting their views on the feminizing effect of certain kinds of music: see Csapo (2004) 230–1. But Philodemus is approaching this from an Epicurean angle according to which music could not have any ethical or psychological effect, and such a grouping suits his purpose in this passage. Plato's criticisms were partly aimed at what the New Music represented qua an assault on *mousikē* as a traditional elite preserve; his reaction was generally broader and more deep-seated than that of the comic poets.

[76] Ford (2002) 258–61.

performance forms for the ideologically and ethically bad habits they inculcated in citizens. It is not all that surprising that dithyramb is wheeled in as part of Plato's critique: but dithyramb here is a pre-democratic, pre-choral, religiously pure category.

However, rather than siding with Plato, and the majority of modern scholars, we should abandon the idea that there was an original antediluvian version in which god, festival, and poetic content, and performance form tessellated perfectly. Zimmermann's earlier suggestion that Pindar was reacting against Bacchylides' innovatory separation of dithyramb from any contact with the Dionysiac is further undermined when we recall the information about Simonides and Ibykos presented earlier.[77] Rather than suggesting that Bacchylides' poems are reactionary in their lack of Dionysiac content, the few scraps of evidence for work by the famous names in lyric of the preceding century which came to be classified as dithyrambs points to a tradition that Bacchylides was following rather than deviating from. Indeed, the connection with Ibykos may be a sign of influences on Bacchylides' work from Western Greek mythical narrative as represented by the likes of Stesikhoros.

(ii) Dithyramb and the New Music

Despite Plato's cries of foul play, the applicability of the *kuklios khoros* to a wider range of Athenian festivals than simply the City Dionysia, and the possible cross-contamination of the term 'dithyramb' surely attests to a flourishing culture, rather than to a degradation. And in fact, a major part of the problem, as has been pointed out by Eric Csapo with regard to the New Music, is that increasing musical and stylistic sophistication went hand in hand with a spread of professionalization in Athenian cultural life and widened access to and expertise in traditional aristocratic *mousikē*, usurping and marginalizing elite interests:

[77] Above, n. 13. We also hear that Simonides wrote a poem entitled *Europa*: fr. 562 *PMG*. This is also likely to have been a narrative poem classified by the Alexandrians as a dithyramb. See also Praxilla (fl. 450s), who appears to have written poems to which the Alexandrians gave mythological titles: *Achilles*, *Adonis* (frr. 748 and 747 *PMG*). Hephaistion's citation (*Ench.* 2.3) of the former includes the phrase *παρὰ Πραξίλλῃ ἐν διθυράμβοις*.

Economic and social conditions in the second half of the fifth century brought a class of independent and competitive professional musicians together with mass audiences eager for virtuosity and novelty. A desire to develop and promote music's contribution to the performance of nome, dithyramb, and drama lies behind a great variety of features that characterize the new style. The result was a music of unprecedented power and complexity, which took musical accomplishment well beyond the range of amateur talents.

The music criticism of the day gives us a much distorted picture of these developments. They characterized New Music's 'liberation' of music as a rejection of traditional forms of control, whether the laws of genre, the words of the song, or the requirements of dance. The critical assault took a pattern familiar to fifth-century ideological debate, tainting the New Music as effeminate, barbarous, and self-indulgent. The diatribe expressed the hostility of a class which felt the loss of its ascendancy in matters of culture, as in so much else.[78]

Evidence from the Bacchylidean corpus shows that formally and stylistically similar poems were commissioned by and performed in states such as Sparta, in the case of Bacchylides 20 (which I discuss in the chapter following), as well as Athens. It would be rather rash to term all of these poems as 'Dionysiac dithyrambs', given that they are likely not to have had any Dionysiac connection: rather, Bacchylides' expertise in narrative poetry for choral performance was a significant factor in his panhellenic appeal, whereby the inherent applicability of such a narrative style to a range of different performance contexts made it more easy for his works to be commissioned by widely divergent *poleis* with divergent mythical traditions. Though other methods of performance cannot be ruled out, given the cultural embeddedness of circular choral groupings throughout Greece from an early period, many if not all of Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs* would have been suitable for performance by choral groups arranged in circles; and this predates the musical and stylistic experimentation of the New Music.

Dionysos and the New Music

Writing on the relation between Dionysiac cult and the place of dithyramb in the New Music of the later fifth century, Zimmermann

[78] Csapo (2004) 245–6.

suggests that in contrast to the formal and technical innovations that the genre underwent, the content remained traditionally Dionysiac.[79] As he notes, however, we may have a significant bias in our evidence for new dithyramb: he notes that the majority of the fragments come from Athenaios.[80] This is perhaps problematic for his argument: there may be a 'deipnologistic', oenologistic, and hence falsely over-Dionysiac, slant to our evidence. Indeed, of the titles attested for works by the likes of Melanippides, Timotheus, Telestes, and Philoxenos, only Timotheus' *Birth-Pangs of Semele* seems to indicate obvious Dionysiac content. Timotheus' *Artemis* appears to have been influenced by Bacchic language (cf. 778b *PMG*); his *Cyclops* may have been influenced by satyr-play. But such titles as *Danaids*, *Hymenaeus*, *Mysians*, *Scylla*, *Laertes*, and *Sons of Phineus* do not obviously suggest Dionysiac content. Nor do Melanippides' *Persephone* (759 *PMG*), Timotheus' *Elpenor* (779 *PMG*), and *Niobe* (786 *PMG*, involving Kharon), despite possible khthonic aspects to these works.[81] Moreover, Simonides' *Memnon* and probably *Europa*, Praxilla's *Achilles*, and the majority of Bacchylides' works, should remind us that poems with mythological titles, whether related to Dionysos or not, were not the exclusive preserve of the New Music.[82]

However, we need not view any dichotomy between Dionysiac and non-Dionysiac content in the 'New Dithyramb' as evidence

[79] Zimmermann (1992) 129.

[80] Ibid. (1992) 129 n. 1. All the citations at all connected with Dionysos in both Melanippides and Telestes come from Athenaios.

[81] Not all of these are securely identified as dithyrambs. However, *Scylla* (Timotheus 794 *PMG*: Arist. *Rhet.* 3.14. 1415[a]10), *Hymenaeus* (Telestes 808 *PMG*: Ath. 14.637a), and *Mysians* (Philoxenos 826 *PMG*: Arist. *Pol.* 8.6. 1342[b]) are. For Timotheus' *Elpenor* we have evidence for circular choral performance (779 *PMG*: *IG* II².3055, *νικήσας χορηγῶν . . . παίδων*). For a brief account of Timotheus' works, see Hordern (2002) 9–14.

[82] There are references to three other works by Bacchylides classified as dithyrambs which do not survive on papyrus. Fr. 7 (*Σ* Pind. *Pyth.* 1.100 (ii.18–19 Dr)) told the story of Philoktetes. Fr. 9 (Serv. ad *Virg. A.* 2.201) told of the death of Laokoon. Fr. 8 (Serv. ad *Virg. A.* 11.93 on the Arkadian practice of holding spears, commenting on a funerary context in Virgil) is perhaps the most intriguing. The original context for this piece might have had some kind of connection with *pyrrhikhē*, considering what we hear about holding spears and *euskhēmosunē* at the Panathenaea from sources like Ar. *Nub.* 987–9, the possible funerary connections of the *pyrrhikhē* (for which Ceccarelli (2004) 111–15), and links between Arkadian myth and the Apatouria (for which Ceccarelli (2004) 102–5), though of course the *pyrrhikhē* was unaccompanied by song. Maehler connects fr. 9 with fr. 21, but this is only a guess.

for religious superficiality on the one hand or mere archaizing mannerism on the other, as Zimmermann tends to. We can accept that some poems which were thought by Aristotle to be dithyrambs were Dionysiac in content, and some were not; but we need not view this as direct evidence for the decadence model of generic decline, whilst also observing that such slippage of content caused problems on the ground and was part of the basis for criticism of the New Music.

In fact, Eric Csapo points out in his discussion of the politics of the New Music that the ideological debate about musical decline evidenced by Plato, for example, may have stung the musical practitioners themselves into action. The prominence of ritual Dionysiac music in their own works (in drama as well as lyric: consider Euripides' *Bacchae*) was part of a rival tradition in which the Dionysiac was stronger than ever.[83] This does nothing to suggest that the practitioners of the New Music were consciously trying to outdo their forebears in any stronger sense than the likes of Pindar decades before, since every new poet or artist of any kind strives to construct his own relation to the past in a way that places him at the forefront.[84] Moreover, within the democratic tradition of phyletic choral competitiveness at Athens, innovation is likely to have been a strong feature of the poetry performed, throughout the fifth century.

Csapo states that '[f]ar from embodying the final collapse of the religious impulse, New Music constitutes a revival of the Dionysian element in theatre music, at a time when it had come close to extinction, to judge from the dithyrambs of Bacchylides';[85] but he is thus left unable fully to account for Bacchylides' place in the development of choral poetry.[86] I suggest an alternative view, according to which Bacchylides' narrative poetry fits into a tradition of its own, which can be traced back to at least Stesikhoros, but also prefigures some of the output of the New Music, some of which attracted the label

[83] Csapo (2004), esp. 246–8.

[84] Cf. Hinds (1998), esp. ch. 3; this is generally better appreciated for Hellenistic and later classical poetry, but holds no less true for the period I am investigating. See now, however, Irwin (2005) 13 n. 26 and ch. 4, esp. 100 with n. 35, for use of the term 'archaic' with reference to Solon, and his engagement with martial elegy.

[85] Csapo (1999–2000) 417. [86] Ibid. 408.

'dithyramb'.[87] We should no longer worry about Bacchylides as a problem case: his *Dithyrambs* represent an important link between age-old traditions in lyric poetry and the diversity of festive contexts for choral performance in the fifth century.

Lyric and Drama

A further question is the relation between fifth-century choral lyric and drama. We have at least some evidence that 'New Dithyramb' may have been close to drama: perhaps the best example of this is Philoxenos' *Cyclops or Galataea*,[88] in which the love-stricken protagonist was presented on stage, and it seems that the poet's light-hearted treatment (and possible allegorical plot) seems to associate the poem most closely with Old Comedy's mythical burlesques (for example, Kratinos' *Dionysalexandros*). If the 'actor'[89] of Philoxenos' *Cyclops* wore a mask along with his elaborate costume, this might bear witness to the relation between this kind of work and the Dionysiac, but only by a relatively indirect route, that probably shows a secondary and derivative relation to the way masks were already used in tragedy and comedy.

It is just possible that characters in the New Dithyramb could have worn masks, given the increasing proximity over time between dithyramb and drama. But the evidence of the Pronomos Vase is weak: though the possibility has been raised that its performers are dressed for dithyramb, it is now generally taken to represent a satyr-play chorus.[90]

[87] Cp. Hordern (2002) 13 for formal similarities between Stesikhoros' and Timotheus' poetry.

[88] 820 *PMG*. See Sutton (1983); West (1992*a*) 365–6 refers to this piece as bursting the traditional bounds of dithyramb; he sees fit to describe it as 'a chamber opera or operetta'. If only 'the traditional bounds of dithyramb' were as clear-cut as West appears to think; his introduction of thoroughly anachronistic performance terms does not help matters.

[89] *Σ rec.* Ar. *Plut.* 298e (p. 87 Chantry) *τὸν Κύκλωπος ὑποκριτὴν εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν εἰσαγόμενον*.

[90] *DFA* 363. The evidence available suggests that Athenian *kuklioi khoroi* of the earlier classical period did not wear masks; *ARV*² 1276.2 celebrates a khoregic victory, with on one side *khorēgos*, satyr, Nike, and victory tripod, and on the other two women, possibly Muses, honouring a man wearing a himation, but with no signs of a mask; he might represent a member of a *kuklios khoros*. Csapo and Slater (1995) 57 suggest that Copenhagen 13817 (Kleophon Painter) may be a synecdochic representation of a 'dithyrambic' *khoros*. Here too there are no masks. Cf. *DFA* 77; Comparetti (1970 [1898]) 400–1.

We know from Bacchylides 18, and perhaps even from the Lille Stesikhoros,[91] that in rather earlier times myth could be presented in a quasi-dramatic fashion; but the poets of the New Music took this further.[92] Even though Sutton concludes that Philoxenos' *Cyclops* was a unique kind of composition, the fact that the *Suda* considers Telestes a comic poet and refers to his *Argo* and *Asclepius* as δράματα, 'dramas', attests to confusion as to the difference between drama and New Dithyramb.[93] The increased theatricality of later lyric may have suggested to some that Dionysos' influence was spreading into contexts in which he did not properly belong. Moreover, tragic references to fifty-strong *kuklioi khoroi* all appear in Euripides, a practitioner of the New Music, employed within choral odes at climactic parts of plays: these may represent a later tragic reappropriation of the *kuklios khoros* as a specifically Dionysiac phenomenon.[94] Alternatively, such a theatrical development in lyric in the later decades of the fifth century could also have been viewed from an opposing angle: others could quite easily have regarded tragedy as no longer Dionysiac at all because of the influence of quasi-dramatic lyric pieces that could still have been referred to as dithyrambs because of the dominant influence of the City Dionysia in crystallizing generic terminology.

Bacchylides and Further Attacks on the New Music

Bacchylides' poetry has not fared well in all of this, despite its suggesting a sense of continuity in lyric style of a certain kind reaching back into the sixth century. The religious, moral, and political criticisms levelled originally at the New Music have been dusted down and targeted on Bacchylides' own works by modern

[91] Fr. 222(b) *PMGF*: Burnett (1988); Hutchinson (2001) 120–39 for commentary.

[92] This is connected with the wider spread of the theatre and an increase in professionalism on the part of those who acted and played in performance; recall Plato's slur against the rise of theatrocracy at *Leg.* 3.701a; Csapo (1999–2000) 416–17 and (2004). Also note Aristox. fr. 26 Da Rios (= [Plut.] *De mus.* 1142b–c) for the Theban Telesias' spurning of his upbringing in the proper lyric of Pindar, deceived ὑπὸ τῆς σκηνικῆς τε καὶ ποικίλης μουσικῆς, ὡς καταφρονῆσαι τῶν καλῶν ἐκείνων, ἐν οἷς ἀνετράφη, and turning to the καινοτομίαν of the likes of Philoxenos and Timotheus.

[93] *Suda* τ 265 (iv.518 Adler).

[94] *Andr.* 1265–9, *Hel.* 1312, *Ion* 1081; *IA* 1055; *IT* 274. See Csapo (1999–2000) 418–19.

scholarship, because his oeuvre appears not to fit with the supposed generic and cultic purity of dithyramb posited for the previous generations.

However, this disapproval is not unanimous; nor does it present a balanced account of the ancient testimonia. In fact, Bacchylides is listed favourably by Aristoxenos, highly critical of the New Music, as one of the practitioners of the old style of Dorian music.[95] Aristoxenos elsewhere contrasts the positive edifying dithyrambs of Pindar with those of Philoxenos, suggesting that Telesias was saved from composing in the style of the latter, 'because of the excellence of his training from childhood', *αἰτίαν τὴν ἐκ παιδὸς καλλίστην ἀγωγήν*.[96] Note the highly elitist account of education given here in Aristoxenos' view of music's slide into decadence, a point also of great significance for other critics of the New Music.

An instance from old comedy sums up the overall feeling of ire against the practitioners of the New Music: in one fragment of Pherekrates' *Cheiron*, Mousike herself is brought on stage to complain to Justice at her outrageous treatment at their hands. She names and shames Melanippides, Kinesias, Phrynis, and Timotheus.[97] Kinesias also came under heavy attack by Aristophanes for his impiety, especially in *Frogs*, where, according to the scholia, it is Kinesias who is being referred to at line 366, the *khoros* leader including him in those barred from access to the Mysteries, stating, rather vividly, that he *κατατιλᾷ τῶν Ἑκατείων κυκλίοισι χοροῖσιν ὑπᾴδων*, 'he shitted on the offerings for Hekate whilst singing with *kuklioi khoroi*'. Strattis too, in the play he named after the poet, has Kinesias termed 'the *khoros*-killer'.[98]

What this actually means is highly debatable, but we may be able to discern a strongly-felt hostility towards Kinesias' possible diminution of the role and importance of the *kuklios khoros*. It seems that he had to defend himself in court against the charge of impiety on at least two separate occasions, since we know that Lysias wrote

[95] Aristox. fr. 82 Wehrli (= [Plut.] *De mus.* 1136f): *οὐκ ἠγνόει δὲ* (i.e. *Πλάτων*) *ὅτι πολλὰ Δώρια παρθένεια Ἀλκμᾶνι καὶ ἄλλα Πινδάρωι καί Σιμωνίδηι καὶ Βακχυλίδηι πεποίηται* (following the plausible reading of West (1992*b*) 33).

[96] Fr. 76 Wehrli (= [Plut.] *De mus.* 1142c).

[97] Pherekrates fr. 156 K–A.

[98] Strattis *Cinesias* fr. 15 K–A: *σκηνὴ μὲν ⟨ ⟩ τοῦ χοροκτόνου Κινησίου.*

two speeches attacking him, from one of which an excerpt survives in Athenaios.[99] Impiety was a relatively vague charge usually made against generally anti-democratic troublemakers. Whether or not Kinesias was in fact anti-democratic, Lysias certainly seems to try to give us this impression when he describes the lawless private symposium that he alleges that Kinesias held. Poets like Kinesias are also grouped together in Aristophanes' *Clouds* along with all the other purveyors of new-fangled sophistic quackery that the Clouds are said to foster:

> *Σω* *οὐ γὰρ μὰ Δί' οἶσθ' ὁτιὴ πλείστους αὗται βόσκουσι σοφιστάς,*
> *Θουριομάντεις, ἰατροτέχνας, σφραγιδονυχαργοκομήτας·*
> *κυκλίων τε χορῶν ᾀσματοκάμπτας, ἄνδρας μετεωροφένακας,*
> *οὐδὲν δρῶντας βόσκουσ' ἀργούς, ὅτι ταύτας μουσοποοῦσιν.*

Sokrates: No, my good man, you've got it all wrong: these girls back sophists, prophets from Thourioi, quack doctors, and those lazy-long-haired-onyx-ring-wearers; *those song-twisters of kuklioi khoroi*, those quack meteorologists, all those good-for-nothing slackers: it's because all those chaps use the Clouds for their Muses.'

Aristophanes, *Clouds* 331–4

The purveyors of the New Music could not win. On the one hand, critics such as Plato deemed them to have degraded the aristocratic form of old-fashioned *mousikē*. On the other hand, like tragedians, *kukliodidaskaloi* were practitioners of a vital form in democratic Athens, and were therefore popular targets when they were perceived to have erred. The *kuklios khoros* in the late fifth century is now democratically valorized, especially according to representations of it in the pro-democratic forms of comedy and forensic oratory. Whatever we are to make of Kinesias' dealings with Hekate, it may be that people took offence at Kinesias' maltreatment or misrepresentation of cult in a poem which, again, may have been more like a mini-drama than a fully fledged performance by a *kuklios khoros*.[100] Such accusations as these should be considered in the overall context of

[99] Ath. 12.551e–2b with Lys. fr. 53 Thalheim.

[100] Cf. *Σ* Ar. *Ran.* 366c (pp. 61–2 Chantry) for reference to the work as a *drama* rather than a dithyramb: . . . *ὃς εἰσήνεγκεν ἐν δράματι τὴν Ἑκάτην* . . . Compare this with ancient thoughts concerning the generic affiliations of works by Telestes and Philoxenos; see above, nn. 89 and 93.

the attacks on the New Music as a decadent, morally corrupt, and thoroughly irreligious mistake, and as such part and parcel of an overall negative attitude towards a decline in religious life in Athens of the later fifth century, and part of an oratorical and comic valorizing of democratic (in theory at least) performance forms. In Kinesias' case, his unfortunate infamy may therefore be the result of a combination of separate but intersecting factors: first, complaints made in general about a perceived decline in musical standards and standards in *khoreia* in particular; second, the increased musical complexity of the New Music, perhaps out of step with choral traditions; third, *ad hominem* accusations of impiety and/or the public misrepresentation of cult.

The general tendency of influential modern scholarship tacitly to buy into this same general theory of decline with the New Music has put a heavy burden of religious authority on the poets of the earlier decades, as represented by Pindar, Bacchylides, and Simonides. As few of Bacchylides' own *Dithyrambs* appear at first glance to have obvious cultic connections he has generally been overlooked or patronizingly located within the same notional slide toward decadence. Yet, although many criticisms are levelled against both Bacchylides and the New Music, they fail to form a coherent proof that poetry and music were indeed in decline, and that Bacchylides played a part in this.

Not all ancient critics were as hostile to the New Music as for example Plato. In fact, there seems to have been a substantial dialogue between its proponents and its critics. The epicurean theorist Philodemus compared the New Musician Philoxenos and Pindar, suggesting that, in spite of a great difference in 'superficial characteristics' (τῶν ἐπιφαινομένων ἠθῶν), there is in fact a broad similarity of 'style' (τρόπον).[101] Philodemus' comparison could fit in with his reaction against the views of the *harmonikoi* of the likes of Aristoxenos. Given that Aristoxenos and others produced their own view of the history and decline of *mousikē*, Philodemus perhaps points out the flaws in their arguments by referring to similarities between supposedly different musical styles and periods.[102]

[101] *De mus.* 1.23 (ix.67 fr. 5 p. 133 Rispoli).

[102] See West (1992*a*) 250–1 for general remarks on Philodemus' Epicurean tack in opposition to the *harmonikoi*.

Another source, the fourth-century comic poet Antiphanes (fr. 207 K–A) portrays Philoxenos in a positive light for lacking the negative, and Dionysiac, qualities of his own contemporaries. The theme of decline in lyric poetry is familiar, but this time, unlike Plato's or Aristophanes' criticisms, we have praise of a late fifth-century poet for being better than the current crop, notwithstanding the fact that he is a practitioner of the New Music. This again attests to the subjectivity of narratives of decline. [103]

Another strand of the debate is illustrated by the evidence of the Hibeh papyrus.[104] This indicates that by the latter stages of the fifth century the association of some specific kinds of music with an Apolline or Dionysiac atmosphere was not altogether uncontroversial, though the very fact of the reaction suggests that such a differentiation was widely prevalent. In an extract from a speech, the anonymous author delivers an attack on the music critics of his day, men like Damon of Oa, who was a strong influence on Plato and Aristotle: first, such critics have no practical expertise in music, so are theorizing without proper knowledge of their subject; second, the theories themselves are complete fabrications; third, these theories are nothing more than subjective views on supposed ethical associations of different musical types. See in particular lines 31–2 for the third prong of this assault:

καὶ οὐδὲ αἰσχύν[ονται ἀξιο]ῦ̣[μ]ε̣[ν]ο̣ι π̣[ερὶ
τῶ[ν] μελῶν, τὰ μὲν δ̣άφνης ἔξειν [ἴδιον] τ̣ι, τὰ δὲ κιτ[τοῦ·

and nor are they (the *harmonikoi*) ashamed to make claims about types of song, that some will have an association with bay, and others with ivy.

In the words of West, 'Some have taken our author to be saying that the songs in question are claimed to evoke visual images of bay or ivy, but we should not think in such concrete terms. The point of reference is ethical as before. The *ἁρμονικοί* perform certain melodies and argue that each has a distinct, inherent ethos. Rhythm and mode

[103] Also compare the praise poured on the 'conservative' Arkadians by Polybios (4.20.8–9) for their use, in traditional fashion, of Philoxenos and Timotheus.

[104] *PHibeh* 13, revised by West (1992*b*) 16–23 (there entitled Alkidamas (?) *Κατὰ τῶν ἁρμονικῶν*); Barker (1984) 183–5.

would be important factors affecting the characterization.'[105] This text indicates that such theorizing on the ethical associations of music supposedly associated with Apollo (hence the bay) or Dionysos (hence the ivy) as independent entities was a matter of hot debate at the end of the fifth and early decades of the fourth centuries, probably fuelled by the difficulty felt concerning the generic and cultic applicability of contemporary music. Much of this would have been associated with choral performances, not only for tragedy, but also *kuklioi khoroi* for so-called 'New Dithyramb'. The view being attacked in the Hibeh papyrus is that of Damon and his associates, some of whose ideas were adopted by Plato, himself taught by one of Damon's pupils.[106] Plato in his discussion of rhythms in *Republic* 3.400a–b suggests the promotion of ethically and politically harmonious ones, and this is likely to have been similar to Damon's own approach. Although the majority of our evidence for Damon's views comes from Platonic polemic, here Plato may go further than Damon in arguing for political influence. He suggests a more thorough interrelation of music and politics; the addition of a radically conservative streak is the mark of the mature Plato.[107]

We can also locate in this general atmosphere evidence of a theoretical discussion of the origins of dithyramb found in a papyrus dating to the third century CE.[108] This again sheds interesting light on scholarship on the generic associations of Dionysos. The discussion seems to use a Pindaric dithyramb, narrating the myth of the blinding of Orion by satyrs,[109] to support Aristotle's view of the development of tragedy from dithyramb via satyr-play given in *Poetics*; Pindar's poem may have offered some kind of Dionysiac aetiology

[105] West (1992*b*) 22.

[106] Ibid. 19 with Pl. *Lach.* 180d, 197d, and *Rep.* 3.400a–b.

[107] For Plato's view of Damon, see Rossi (2000) 60–2, in connection with *Leg.* 3.699d–701b; Anderson (1966) 77, with the view that Plato 'regarded Damon as an ally, but a dangerous one. . . . [H]e was not a man after the model of the *Republic* and *Laws*'. For more on Damon, see Wallace (2004).

[108] *PBerol* 9571 verso; between col. i.22–3 (citation of Pind. *Ol.* 13.18–19 on dithyramb at Corinth) and col. ii.38–41 (Aristotelian account).

[109] Lavecchia 64–5 with 273–4; Del Corno (1974) 107–8; for the myth of Orion's blinding by satyrs see Serv. ad Virg. *A.* 10.763.

of dithyramb involving satyrs.[110] Whatever the original context for Pindar's poem was (perhaps a Theban Dionysiac festival[111]), it is now deemed irrelevant; decontextualized, it becomes part of one side of a debate about genre.[112] And the very existence of this discussion implies the existence of other, directly opposed views, such as those suggested by the Hibeh piece.

(iii) Other Responses

The passage from Plato's *Laws* discussed earlier makes it clear that the ensuing cross-contamination between festivals and cults through increasingly elaborate performances and increasingly appetitive audiences was to be severely condemned because it promoted negative ethical tendencies, and may have been viewed as being the work of Dionysos,[113] through the innovations of the New Music. In the section in *Laws* where Plato sets out the regulations for ritual *khoroi*, his Athenian is made to complain about the blaspheming cacophony produced by the rabble of tragic *khoroi* attending sacrifices in his part of the world, as follows:

[110] See Lavecchia 64–5; Del Corno (1974) 109. Note also that the circular frieze on the khoregic monument of Lysikrates depicts a scene involving Dionysos, satyrs, and men metamorphosing into dolphins: this may be connected with the story of the Tyrrhenian pirates, and is possibly an illustration of the subject of the victorious dithyramb performed at the Dionysia by *kuklios khoros*; for more detail see *Khoregia* 222–5 with 371 nn. 86–7.

[111] See the reference to Thebes in fr. 71.

[112] Compare also Seaford (1984) 11 for a hyper-Aristotelian satyric slant on the development of dithyramb. His view is pretty extreme, and seems to connect with the idea that the satyrs on the vase labelled 'Singers at the Panathenaea' (New York 25.78.66; *ARV*^{2} 1172.8) reflect satyric dithyramb at the Panathenaea, a view that has been thoroughly discredited by Lissarrague (1990*b*) 230. For more on performances by *kuklioi khoroi* at the Panathenaea, see the next two chapters.

[113] Hence the Dionysiac language (βακχεύοντες, κεραννύντες) of *Laws* 3.700d pointed out by Wilson (1999–2000) 439 n. 41. Plato's view of the Dionysiac is matched elsewhere. At *Rep.* 3.399e1–3 (with Anderson (1966) 66) he rejects the *aulos* as Marsyas' instrument. In *Laws* 2.665a–6b, Dionysiac *khoreia* is relegated to third place after *khoroi* for Apollo and the Muses, left as a patronizing pick-me-up for old men. Notice also the similarity with the over-fifties age prescription of 7.802a–b, referred to above: Dionysiac *mania* has a limited use, for sending babies to sleep (4.709d–e)!

δημοσίᾳ γάρ τινα θυσίαν ὅταν ἀρχή τις θύσῃ, μετὰ ταῦτα χορὸς οὐχ εἷς ἀλλὰ πλῆθος χορῶν ἥκει, καὶ στάντες οὐ πόρρω τῶν βωμῶν ἀλλὰ παρ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐνίοτε πᾶσαν βλασφημίαν τῶν ἱερῶν καταχέουσι, ῥήμασί τε καὶ ῥυθμοῖς καὶ γοωδεστάταις ἁρμονίαις συντείνοντες τὰς τῶν ἀκροωμένων ψυχάς, καὶ ὃς ἂν δακρῦσαι μάλιστα τὴν θύσασαν παραχρῆμα ποιήσῃ πόλιν, οὗτος τὰ νικητήρια φέρει· τοῦτον δὴ τὸν νόμον ἆρ᾽ οὐκ ἀποψημιζόμεθα;

When some official performs a public sacrifice, a *khoros*—no, a mob of *khoroi*—arrives. They stand not far from the altars and sometimes right next to them, and pour out over the rites all manner of blasphemies: using words and rhythms and harmonies of the most bewitching kind that work up the emotions of their audiences, and the prize is awarded to the one which succeeds best in making the *polis*—just having performed the sacrifice—burst into tears. Well, that's certainly a 'nome' on which we must pass an unfavourable judgment, isn't it?

Plato, *Laws* 7.800c–e

This is a perfect expression of the confusion in which Plato thought Athens embroiled.[114] With the regulations imposed on such choral forms later in this section of the *Laws* Plato attempts to retain the aristocratic euphony and *euphēmia* of musical culture, an influential way of controlling the souls of the citizens of his ideal city. And we should expect performances by *kuklioi khoroi* themselves to have fallen under such controls.[115] One possibility is that, subjected to Plato's schematizing and made to perform only hymns of praise for Dionysos, *kuklioi khoroi* would have taken their place as one of the types selected to be performed by men no younger than fifty; the charge that 'dithyramb' had 'nothing to do with Dionysos' would once more be redundant.[116] Alternatively,

[114] Cf. England (1921) II 263 ad loc. 7.800c5, who speaks of the blaze of Plato's 'indignation at the chaotic state of contemporary music'. See Stehle (2004) 135 for Plato's assault on tragic *khoroi* here.

[115] Ford (2002) 283–4 with n. 39.

[116] Zen. 5.40, *Οὐδεν πρὸς Διόνυσον· ... ἐπειδὴ τῶν χορῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰθισμένων διθύραμβον ᾄδειν εἰς τὸν Διόνυσον, οἱ ποιηταὶ ὕστερον ἐκβάντες τὴν συνήθειαν ταύτην, Αἴαντας καὶ Κενταύρους γράφειν ἐπεχείρουν. ὅθεν οἱ θεώμενοι σκώπτοντες ἔλεγον, Οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον*. See *DTC*² 124–6, and the conclusion that 'nobody knew exactly what the real origin of the proverb was', but also Winkler and Zeitlin (1990) 3 for the impossibility of finding any such perfect tessellation between ritual and performance in any 'anterior, even utopian, moment'.

the *kuklios khoros* may have been rejected entirely by Plato as the mode of performance for Dionysiac cult song. The *kuklios khoros*, because of its use in a wide array of Athenian festivals, would have been blasphemically counter to Plato's aim for a discrete purity to ritual occasions; yet rearticulated as pure organic *khoreia*, it could be welcomed back as fundamental to the ethical and cultural well-being of the Magnesian *polis*.[117]

Another line of approach might have been that suggested by Xenophon. Peter Wilson has well brought out how, in the *Oeconomicus*, that fourth-century upper-class lifestyle compendium, the aristocratic Iskhomakhos is rather vexed at the Athenian democracy's current lack of respect for traditional nobility when it comes to adorning the city with *leitourgiai* that include the funding of *khoroi*: no one calls him 'gentleman' (τὸν καλὸν τε κἀγαθόν) when asking him to perform such an honour, addressing him instead as plain Iskhomakhos, his father's son (7.3); 'what had been the realm of aristocratic largesse is now controlled by the equalising, individuating power of the law, where even that most prized of possessions, birth . . . is figured simply as a means of identification for an administrative end.'[118]

To emphasize the overall thrust of Xenophon's argument about the moral improvement of his audience along traditional lines, he has Iskhomakhos refer to the correct functioning of Athenian *khoroi* on two occasions. First, at 8.3, he says the following:

ἔστι δ᾽ οὐδὲν οὕτως, ὦ γύναι, οὔτ᾽ εὔχρηστον οὔτε καλὸν ἀνθρώποις ὡς τάξις. καὶ γὰρ χορὸς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων συγκείμενός ἐστιν· ἀλλ᾽ ὅταν μὲν ποιῶσιν ὅ τι ἂν τύχῃ ἕκαστος, ταραχή τις φαίνεται καὶ θεᾶσθαι ἀτερπές, ὅταν δὲ τεταγμένως ποιῶσι καὶ φθέγγωνται, ἅμα οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι καὶ ἀξιοθέατοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι καὶ ἀξιάκουστοι.

So there is nothing, wife, as useful or fine for men as order. For instance, a *khoros* is made up of people. Whenever each individual member of it

[117] Cp. Pl. *Leg.* 7.802a–b, referring to πολλά . . . παλαιῶν παλαιὰ περὶ μουσικὴν καὶ καλὰ ποιήματα, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ὀρχήσεις ὡσαύτως. For the importance of elemental and communitarian *khoreia* in *Laws*, see e.g. *Leg.* 2.654a; for *pyrrhikē*, *Leg.* 7.815a.

[118] *Khoregia* 186. Compare 7.3 with 11.9, where Iskhomakhos sets out the pleasure he takes in honouring the gods and adorning the city 'magnificently' (μεγαλείως), i.e. in 'proper' and traditional aristocratic style.

does as he likes, there is chaos and it is unpleasant to behold. But when they perform and act in orderly fashion, they seem to be worth watching and listening to.

If we make the comparison with Plato's castigation of Athenian democratic choral culture in the *Laws* discussed earlier (3.700a ff., cf. 7.800c–e), Xenophon is a little less hostile: so long as *khoroi* perform on the noble basis of proper order, they are a good thing that can contribute to the moral improvement of his audience—and the importance of *khoroi* for *paideia* justifies their presence here at the start of a list of activities where 'order' (*taxis*) is crucial, ahead even of the military. Furthermore, Xenophon omits Plato's extended diatribe against the worst excesses of a perceived decline in choral standards, preferring to rehabilitate Athenian choral culture for his own aristocratic ends.

Xenophon comes full circle when returning to *khoroi*—and the *kuklios khoros* specifically—at the end of his list at 8.18–20. He has Iskhomakhos discuss the importance of the correct *taxis* of kitchen utensils, using an interesting choral analogy:

ὡς μὲν δὴ ἀγαθὸν τετάχθαι σκευῶν κατασκευὴν καὶ ὡς ῥᾴδιον χώραν ἑκάστοις αὐτῶν εὑρεῖν ἐν οἰκίᾳ θεῖναι ὡς ἑκάστοις συμφέρει, εἴρηται· ὡς δὲ καλὸν φαίνεται, ἐπειδὰν ὑποδήματα ἐφεξῆς κέηται, κἂν ὁποῖα ᾖ, καλὸν δὲ ἱμάτια κεχωρισμένα ἰδεῖν, κἂν ὁποῖα ᾖ, καλὸν δὲ στρώματα, καλὸν δὲ χαλκία, καλὸν δὲ τὰ ἀμφὶ τραπέζας, καλὸν δὲ καὶ ὃ πάντων καταγελάσειεν ἂν μάλιστα οὐχ ὁ σεμνὸς ἀλλ' ὁ κομψός, ὅτι καὶ χύτρας φημὶ εὔρυθμον φαίνεσθαι εὐκρινῶς κειμένας· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἤδη που ἀπὸ τούτου ἅπαντα καλλίω φαίνεται κατὰ κόσμον κείμενα· χορὸς γὰρ σκευῶν ἕκαστα φαίνεται, καὶ τὸ μέσον δὲ πάντων τούτων καλὸν φαίνεται, ἐκποδὼν ἑκάστου κειμένου· ὥσπερ καὶ κύκλιος χορὸς οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς καλὸν θέαμά ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μέσον αὐτοῦ καλὸν καὶ καθαρὸν φαίνεται.

'How good it is to keep one's stock of utensils in order, and how easy to find a suitable place in a house to put each set in, I have already said. And what a fine sight is afforded by boots of all sorts and conditions arranged in rows! How fine it is too see cloaks of all sorts and conditions kept separate, or blankets, or bronze vessels, or tableware! Yes indeed, no serious man will smile when I claim that there is good grace [lit. good rhythm] in the order of even pots and pans when set out in neat order, however much it may move the laughter of a wit. There is nothing, in fact, which does not gain in nobility by being set in order. *For each set looks like a* khoros *of utensils, and*

the centre of each set is fine to behold, with each individual piece set aside from it. Just as a kuklios khoros *is itself a fine spectacle, and its middle is fine and pure to behold.*'

Xenophon's overall response is more relaxed and tongue-in-cheek than Plato's, though no less politicized for that. Although clearly meant in jest, there is a serious underlying point to Iskhomakhos' analogy between the ideal ordering of both pots and pans and of the *kuklios khoros*. On the one hand, Xenophon is conjuring up for his readers, on his own terms, a normative sense of correct deportment in choral performance, according to which the *kuklios khoros* really does have a centre that was 'fine and pure' (*kalon kai katharon*)—whether or not Xenophon actually believed that the *khoroi* performing in the festivals of democratic Athens could still live up to this ideal of perfection: Plato certainly didn't, and we might suppose that Xenophon too had his doubts. Such a choral ideal is exactly that offered up by Pindar many decades earlier at the start of the fifth century in Thebes, and Xenophon may in fact be echoing the sentiment:

> *διαπέπ[τ]α[νται δὲ νῦν εὐο]μφάλ[οις κύ-]*
> *κλοισι νεαν[ίαι, εὖ ε]ἰδότες*
> *οἵαν Βρομίου [τελε]τάν*
> *καὶ παρὰ σκᾶπτον Διὸς Οὐρανίδαι*
> *ἐν μεγάροις ἵ[σ⟨τ⟩αν]τι.*
>
> Now young men are spread out wide *in splendidly-centred*
> *circles*, knowing well
> what kind of Bromios-revel
> Olympian gods likewise by Zeus' sceptre
> hold in their halls.
>
> Pindar fr. 70b. 3–6 (following D'Angour (1997) 346)

At least, this is the aristocratic dream. It is clearly absurd for Iskhomakhos to suggest that arrangements of kitchen utensils can be made to look anything like a *khoros* in full array. Yet the joke is presumably on the choreography of the current crop of *kuklioi khoroi*, the degeneracy and lack of purity of which is far removed from the ideals that Iskhomakhos has in mind: we need once again to remind ourselves of the attacks on New Musicians like Kinesias, a man rebuked and perhaps even brought to court for maltreating—

and indeed 'killing'—his *khoros*.[119] However, Xenophon is more relaxed in his attitudes than Plato is. He can make jokes at the expense of the Athenian demos from his ivory tower, but there is a strong sense that he is already preaching to the converted.

Yet Plato's weighty antipathy was the more influential. It was in the Dionysiac that Plato saw the origin of cultural and ethical licentiousness and *polupragmosunē* afflicting the city of Athens at his time of writing; originally, according to his construct of *Laws* 3.700a-b, the Dionysiac had been relegated simply to the dithyramb proper, but later its tendrils extended into the other major parts of Athenian musical life, rendering functional distinctions inoperative. Plato makes a skewed assessment of the spread and mixing of different performance types that was a feature of the professionalism and interdisciplinarity of the New Music. However, and most importantly, this by no means precludes the possibility that, in fact, the kinds of lyric poetry performed for Dionysos in the period before the New Music were also performed in the rituals of other gods, through the use of the *kuklios khoros* across the festival spectrum. Plato succeeds in showing how very different his view is from the chaotic and confused situation that he saw on the ground in the festival life of contemporary Athens, a situation which he exaggerates for his own purposes.[120]

The Hibeh papyrus should make us think that the theorizing which resulted in the views expressed in Plato's *Laws* was by no

[119] See above, n. 98. Furthermore, Pherekrates *Cheiron* fr. 155.8–10 K–A = [Plut.] *De mus.* 1141c has Mousike herself complain of her maltreatment by Kinesias, because of a convolution between the *kuklios khoros* and the *pyrrhikhē*: Ceccarelli (1998) 44; (2004) 107. Compare also the decline in standards in the *pyrrhikhē*—offensive to Athena—criticized by the traditionalist Stronger Argument at Ar. *Nub.* 985–9, and connected with Kinesias again at *Ran.* 145–53: Ceccarelli (1998) 29, 31, 42–3; (2004) 107; Mullen (1982) 54. The famous dancer and scholar of dance Lillian Lawler concludes her (1950) article on Kinesias with the following (88): 'His cyclic choruses, as displayed before the Athenian populace, must have furnished a sharp contrast not only with the traditional choric dithyramb, but also with the newer dithyrambs of Pindar and others—which were undoubtedly in far better taste.'

[120] Other instances of *dithyrambos* in Plato (*Crat.* 409b12–c3; *Phaedr.* 241e1 with 238d) are derogatory or ironic and refer to the pomposity of style of contemporary 'New Dithyramb', also lampooned in comedy. I come to the reference at *Rep.* 3.394b–c in the following section.

means one-sided. Though the Hibeh papyrus appears to present an appeal to the average Athenian in its negative characterization of outlandish theorists with strange ideas about music and morals, it is clear that it also forms part of an ongoing cultural debate about the role, and classification of, different kinds of *mousikē*. It also makes it clear that the kinds of views that Plato was to develop and espouse in his late works were by no means the only ones that could be expressed concerning the place of *mousikē* in Athenian culture.

This section has highlighted the origins and the ideologically charged nature of theories of decline. It has also shown how criticism of the New Music and its religious affiliations also severely affected criticism of the poetry of the previous period, in which Bacchylides was operating. Now we need to see how the Alexandrians dealt with this state of affairs.

III. THE ALEXANDRIAN CLASSIFIERS

The Alexandrians' principles of classification with regard to their creation of the genre 'dithyramb' show that, although they do seem to have shown some interest in original contexts of performance, they were unable to find in these a sufficiently compelling genre-defining criterion. What we can say, though, is that their groupings together of poems under the heading 'dithyramb' are a coincidental result of an original stylistic overlap between works performed in the same traditional choral format, at both Dionysiac and non-Dionysiac festivals: works which would have been called dithyrambs at least at Dionysiac festivals, and perhaps elsewhere too, but for which the terminology of performance was also prominent and perhaps even more widespread: such poems, especially those not performed at Dionysiac festivals, are likely to have been referred to as *kuklia*, or *kuklia melē* ('circular songs'). For this term, we have the precious evidence of Aristophanes' *Birds*. In a passage lampooning the role of choral lyric and its procurement, an unnamed poet arrives hawking various types of choral lyric, one of which is indeed named as κύκλια (μέλη):

ΠΟΙΗΤΗΣ
Νεφελοκοκκυγίαν τὰν εὐδαίμονα
κλῇσον, ὦ Μοῦσα, τεαῖς ἐν ὕμνων ἀοιδαῖς.
ΠΙ. Τουτὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ποδαπόν; Εἰπέ μοι, τίς εἶ;
. . . .
Ἀτάρ, ὦ ποητά, κατὰ τί δεῦρ᾽ ἀνεφθάρης;
ΠΟ. <u>Μέλη πεπόηκ᾽ εἰς τὰς Νεφελοκοκκυγίας</u>
<u>τὰς ὑμετέρας κύκλιά τε πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ</u>
<u>καὶ παρθένεια καὶ κατὰ τὰ Σιμωνίδου.</u>
ΠΙ. Ταυτὶ σὺ πότ᾽ ἐπόησας; Ἀπὸ πόσου χρόνου;
ΠΟ. Πάλαι, πάλαι δὴ τήνδ᾽ ἐγὼ κλῄζω πόλιν.

POET Celebrate Cloudcuckooland the blessed,
O Muse, in the songs of your hymns.
PEISTH. What’s this? Where did *this* come from? Speak to me. Who are you?
. . .
So, poet. What bit of bad luck brought you here?
POET *I’ve made songs for your Cloudcuckooland:*
many fine kuklia *songs and ones for maidens,*
and ones like the songs by Simonides.
PEISTH. And when did you compose these? Since when . . .?
POET Long, long indeed it is that I’ve been celebrating this city.

Ar. *Birds* 904–21[121]

This piece of evidence shows that, at least in Athens, and probably elsewhere too, there did exist a generic label that was based on the mode of performance (compare, for instance, the term *prosodion*),

[121] The collocation in this passage of *kuklia* and *partheneia*, both introduced by *melē,* invites us to wonder how early literary genre-terms such as *to partheneion* (rather than *partheneion melos*) emerged; current evidence is insufficient to provide a definitive answer. I do, however, note that the references in LSJ to this passage of *Birds* are mutually contradictory, given that both *kuklia* <u>and</u> *partheneia* are being used adjectivally there: whereas LSJ s.v. *kuklios* 2 cites the passage as evidence for *kuklia* used purely adjectivally in the phrase *kuklia melē*, s.v. *partheneia, ta* cites the passage as evidence for the non-adjectival genre-term, translating ‘songs sung by a chorus of maidens’. Ford (2002) ch. 11 argues that the notion of poetic genres as literary, formal, and with their own discrete nomenclature only becomes a fully realized possibility with the advent of Aristotle’s *Poetics*; this, however, does not mean that prior to the 4th cent. poets and theorists had not already begun to think about issues of classification and terminology, and indeed that such issues were made necessary by festival contexts such as the Panathenaea which set prizes for competitors in a broad range of different categories of performance: see further Rotstein (2004). Also note the earlier contributions by Harvey (1955), Rossi (1971), and Calame (1974).

that could be used separately from *dithyrambos* to refer to a range of different poems intended for a variety of contexts.

However, our pressing task is to discover why the Alexandrians never used the terminology *kuklion* / *kuklia* (with or without *melē*), and continued to use 'dithyramb'. Again, Plato plays a central role. In an important discussion,[122] Lutz Käppel suggests that the Alexandrians adopted Plato's association of dithyramb with pure narrative made in an important passage of the *Republic*:

τῆς ποιήσεώς τε καὶ μυθολογίας ἡ μὲν διὰ μιμήσεως ὅλη ἐστίν, ὥσπερ σὺ λέγεις, τραγῳδία τε καὶ κωμῳδία, ἡ δὲ δι' ἀπαγγελίας αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποιητοῦ—εὕροις δ' ἂν αὐτὴν μάλιστά που ἐν διθυράμβοις—ἡ δ' αὖ δι' ἀμφοτέρων ἔν τε τῇ τῶν ἐπῶν ποιήσει, πολλαχοῦ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοθι, εἴ μοι μανθάνεις.

One kind of poetry and story-telling is wholly based on *mimesis*: tragedy and comedy, as you say; another, on the narration of the poet himself—you'll find this most of all in dithyrambs. And a third kind is based on both, as in epic poetry and in many other places, if you understand me.

Plato, *Republic* 3.394b–c

Plato here distinguishes dithyramb, as pure narrative lyric, from the wholly mimetic form of drama and the mixed form of epic. But the Alexandrians, Käppel argues, took this out of context and used the 'narrative principle' to differentiate dithyramb from other choral lyric poetry. When faced with a large and disparate body of narrative poems by different authors, the dithyrambic heading seems to have been deemed most appropriate as an umbrella term.[123] Ironically, it seems to me, this mirrors the way that in Athens, as I have already suggested, the *kuklios khoros* became an umbrella term. The 'narrative principle' was actually quite appropriate as a classificatory criterion considering the likelihood that the terminology of *kuklios khoros* / *kuklia* (sc. *melē*) was used as a way of referring to the contextual flexibility of works with generally narrative content.

If Plato's account in the *Republic* of 'dithyramb' as a narrative genre seems to have been partly responsible for the editorial stance of the Alexandrians, they may also have had further corroborative evidence: most importantly, they would have had far more Old Comedy,

[122] Käppel (2000). [123] Ibid. 15–17.

and fifth- and fourth-century oratory and musical theory than we possess. The Alexandrians did have an interest in contexts of performance: Kallimakhos, for instance, wrote a work entitled *On Contests*, *Περὶ ἀγώνων* (fr. 403 Pfeiffer), a work which may have covered *mousikē* as well as athletics; the Hellenistic historiographer Semos of Delos wrote an *On Paeans*, *Περὶ παιάνων* (*FGrH* 396 F 23–4), and it is plausible that the information he gathered came from inventories to be found in sanctuaries such as those on Delos.[124]

Yet this is not sufficient by itself to explain why the Alexandrians scholars seem to have ignored the importance of the *kuklios khoros* and taken no account of passages such as that from Aristophanes' *Birds* referred to above. One solution is to view the Alexandrians as operating with a formalist mindset, as a result of the revolutions taking place in literary criticism, according to which, especially after Aristotle's *Poetics*, literary works could be analysed in purely formal terms, without recourse to the original mode or circumstances of performance.[125]

However, this runs contrary to three important complementary details. First, *kuklioi khoroi* performed throughout Greece beyond the fifth century, through the Hellenistic period and into the Roman imperial period: continued performances in this form must surely have affected thinking about the contexts for the poetry of the classical period.[126] Second, the late fourth-century Aristotelian

[124] See also Schröder (1999) 123.

[125] See Ford (2002) 262–6, esp. 263.

[126] *Khoregia* 309–10 and esp. Ieranò (1997) 74–86 for inscriptional evidence; also e.g. Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 1.628a; again, forthcoming work by John Ma and Paola Ceccarelli. These records indicate that such performances were themselves not exclusively Dionysiac; the inscriptions preserve the same performative terminology found earlier in the fifth-century Athenian record (see e.g. *IG* xii.5.544 for *τῶν ἀνδρῶν* and *τῶν παίδων* on a sizeable khoregic inscription referring to competitions for Apollo in Karthaia on Keos from the end of the 4th cent.; *Khoregia* 285) and often mirror the choral competitiveness found in Athens in the 5th cent. Yet sometimes they contain anomalous details not well-represented in the earlier period. We now know that at the 3rd-cent. Dionysia on the island of Kos, as well as tragedy and comedy, *kuklioi khoroi* were performed, but they are given the additional label *κυκλίων τᾶι πυρρίχαι*: Ceccarelli (1995) 292–300 and (1998) 123–4 on Segre (1993) *ED* 234 (as opposed, one might suppose, to *κυκλίων τῶι διθυράμβωι*, perhaps). For reperformance in the late 4th cent., see *Khoregia* 226–30. Such evidence is sufficient to render the following claims made for the Hellenistic world by Fantuzzi at Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004) 23 as too simplistic: 'besides being much more limited in

Dikaiarkhos of Messana, who is likely to have had a strong influence on Hellenistic eidography, wrote both an *On Musical Contests* (*Περὶ μουσικῶν ἀγώνων*) and an *On Dionysiac Contests* (*Περὶ Διονυσιακῶν ἀγώνων*).[127] Furthermore, this same Dikaiarkhos is one of our sources for the suggestion in the former work that it was Arion who invented the *kuklios khoros*. Third, and most directly, we have the evidence of *POxy* 2368, a fragment of a papyrus commentary on Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs*, according to which Aristarkhos is attested to have disagreed with Kallimakhos over the classification of a certain poem, Bacchylides 23, as dithyrambic: Kallimakhos classified it instead as a paean.[128] See lines 7–20 of the papyrus, as follows:

Ἀθ̣[ανᾶν εὔαν]δρον ἱερᾶν ἄωτο[ν· ταύτην τ]ὴν ᾠιδὴν Ἀρίσταρχ(ος) [μὲν διθ]υραμβικὴν εἶ[ναι φησι]ν διὰ το παρειλῆ[φθαι ἐν α]ὐτῆι τὰ περὶ Κασ[σάνδρας,] ἐπιγράφει δ' αὐτὴν [καὶ Κασσ]άνδραν, πλανη[θέντα δ' α]ὐτὴν κατατάξαι [ἐν τοῖς Π]αιᾶσι Καλλιμαχόν [φησιν ὡς] οὐ συνέντα ὅτι [τὸ ἐπίφθ]ε̣γγμα κοινόν ἐ[στι καὶ δ]ιθυράμβου. ὁμοί[ως δὲ ὁ Φ]ασηλίτης Διονύσιο(ς).

'Pick of holy Athens, fine men . . .': Aristarkhos says that this song is dithyrambic because the story of Kassandra has been included in it, and he gives it the title *Cassandra*. He says that Kallimakhos classified it among

number, the places and modes of public performance no longer had the same institutional significance as they had had in the archaic and classical periods; in the Hellenistic age, for the first time, literary communication was first and foremost through reading'. Earlier, in the year 319, Timotheus' *Elpenor* (779 *PMG*) was reperformed with the aristocrat Nikias as *khorēgos*: see *Khoregia* 226–30.

[127] Frr. 75 and 79 Wehrli. Fr. 75 = *Σ* Ar. *Av.* 1403b (p. 206 Holwerda) and Arion T8 Sutton. Schröder (1999) 123; also D'Angour (1997) 349.

[128] Bacch. 23 (*Cassandra*), with Porphyr. ad Hor. *C.* 1.15: *hac ode Bacchylidem imitatur; nam ut ille Cassandram facit vaticinari futura belli Troiani, ita hic Proteum*. The objection by Rutherford 237–8 to this attribution faces the difficulty of how the poem he thinks is the one being referred to here (he believes it to be Pind. *Pae.* 8a (B3) and not Bacch. 23) got into a book of paeans (*POxy* 841) in the first place. One would, of course, like to have more of Bacchylides' *Cassandra* poem. However, I note in passing that it may be significant that Horace appears to have chosen as his model for *C.* 1.15 a poem or poems that posed classificatory headaches for the Alexandrians (for more on Horace and the possibilities provided by the narrative lyric format, see below Ch. 5, n. 97). For another attestation of classificatory difficulty between dithyramb and paean, see [Plut.] *De mus.* 1134e–f for Xenokritos of Lokri: Were his poems paeans, or dithyrambs (thought of as poems with heroic subject matter)? For brief comment, see Barker (1984) 215 n. 76 and Rutherford 99.

the *Paeans* because he was misled by the refrain and did not realize that this is a feature of the dithyramb also; similarly Dionysios of Phaselis.[129]

The arrangement of our extant texts, and the consistency of Bacchylides' book in particular, suggests that Aristarkhos' classification of narrative poems as dithyrambic won out; yet the awareness of the potential significance of a refrain, in terms of a relation to an original cult context, highlights the fact that the Alexandrians were keen to assign works according to original contexts of performance.[130]

If, therefore, the Hellenistic editors were in fact interested in circumstances of original performance to help with classification, what was it that stopped them from seeing the significance of the *kuklios khoros* and its relation to poetry that had found its way to Alexandria? It is perhaps the case that the very diversity of performances by *kuklioi khoroi* in the Hellenistic period, in both geographic and contextual terms, meant that they were unable to find a perfect and simple relation between poetry and ritual context that would have been any help for their classificatory procedures. Use of the term 'dithyramb' by Aristarkhos would have provided the Alexandrians with a more meaningful and ritually grounded term, even though this term had strong Dionysiac connotations.

Käppel has suggested that Kallimakhos in his *Hymn to Delos* hints that he knew that Delian poems were in fact performed by *kuklioi khoroi*.[131] If Kallimakhos classified Bacchylides 17 also as a paean, he may have been directed to do so by the reference to the singing of paeans embedded in the narrative of Bacchylides 17, exactly the passage that Kallimakhos appears to be picking up in his reference to

[129] For the text, see Ucciardello (1996–7); for the spelling ἐπί]φθεγγμα, see Ucciardello (2000); D'Alessio (2000). Also D'Alessio (1997) 53–4. For the presence of the refrain in a poem classified as a dithyramb, see Bacch. fr. dub. 60 (and above, n. 34).

[130] The *sillybos* title Βακχυλιδου διθυραμβοι attached to *POxy* 1091 and written over the title of Bacch. 15, the first dithyramb on the London Papyrus (see Edmonds (1922) 160: the title of the first dithyramb was originally written here by mistake for the title of the book itself; Dorandi (1984) 198 with plate ɪva and b; Maehler I.1 43) shows that the papyri bear direct witness to the Aristarkhan scheme of classification. Cf. D'Alessio (1997) 54. See Schröder (1999) 122 for the significance of the refrain for the Alexandrian editors.

[131] Käppel (2000) 26 with Kall. *Hymn* 4.313, κύκλιον ὠρχήσαντο.

kuklioi khoroi in *Hymn* 4. This might show insight into the importance of the *kuklios khoros* as a performative factor. And the debate in Alexandrian scholarship which Kallimakhos lost might have been fuelled by Kallimakhos' own argument that Bacchylides 17 was technically to be classified as a paean, but also that it had been performed on Delos by a *kuklios khoros*. Whatever the precise details of this scholarly debate, the extant evidence does suggest a degree of artificiality in Bacchylides' book with regard to certain poems like Bacchylides 17.[132] This classification, albeit artificial, was preserved at least partly because of Aristarkhos' position on Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs*.

The Alexandrians had two sets of information available to them that might have been considered useful for purposes of classification. First, they had the primary contextual evidence provided both by certain poems and also by the evidence of archives and inscriptions;[133] and second, they had the scholarly opinions of Plato and Aristotle, and subsequent theorists like Aristoxenos and Dikaiarkhos. From Plato they had two different views: first, that traditional dithyramb had a purely Dionysiac content—for which see *Laws* 3.700b: *καὶ ἄλλο, Διονύσου γένεσις οἶμαι, διθύραμβος λεγόμενος*, 'and another [type of song], whose theme was the birth of Dionysos, called dithyramb'; second, the formalist view of *Republic* 3.394b–c[134] based on narrative content. In the case of poems which contained no obvious pointers to ritual contextualization, the editors opted for the more formalist classification based on narrative style, even though such cases seemed to lack obvious Dionysiac references.

We should recall here the evidence of the Pindaric work narrating

[132] For more on this poem see the chapter following.

[133] For another view that the Alexandrians were often in the dark concerning performance contexts, see Herington (1985) 231 n. 68. We have the isolated information from a fragmentary life of Pindar preserved in *POxy* 2438.8–10 to show that at least some later classical scholars were aware of a Pindaric victory with a dithyramb in the Athenian competitions of the early 5th cent.: [*ἐ*-] | *π' Ἀρχίου* (497–496 BCE: Lewis (1962)) *γὰρ ἠγώνισται ἐν Ἀθήναι[ς διθυράμ-]* | *βωι καὶ νενίκηκεν*. The Athenian victory lists did not list the poets of the *kuklioi khoroi*, although poets were named on khoregic monuments. However, the form of the reference to Pindar's victory in the papyrus is an isolated occurrence that does not copy the manner of Athenian inscriptions in naming, for instance, the *khorēgos* or tribe; it may have come from a khoregic monument.

[134] See above, p. 207.

the myth of Orion's blinding,[135] a poem which may well have been placed at the start of the Alexandrian edition of his *Dithyrambs*.[136] Accordingly it seems that Aristarkhos chose to place a paradigmatically Dionysiac poem first in the Pindaric edition, by analogy with, for instance, the choice of the poem narrating the aetiological myth of the first Olympic chariot race for the start of the *Olympians*, to represent the history and identity of the genre. This would follow the general tendency, following Plato (and perhaps with some of Plato's ideological baggage), to define their genre 'Dithyramb' as paradigmatically Dionysiac, even if also definable on the basis of narrative content. If this was the course followed by Aristarkhos, again it might have interesting implications for the views of the Alexandrians concerning poetry such as that represented by Bacchylides, much of which did not have any links with Dionysos. Following Plato and Aristotle, though perhaps contrary to Aristoxenos,[137] it may be that they were keen to think of Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs* as dithyrambic only in the sense that the similar output of the New Musicians, like Timotheus and Telestes, could be thought of as dithyrambic. This later poetry was characterized by florid narrative content, but could be thought to have forsaken the proper purity (religious but also aristocratic) of Pindar's work, either by removing Dionysos altogether (compare Bacchylides), or else by going over the top with Dionysiac content in poetry that was no longer deemed worthy at all of the venerable ritual-based title 'dithyramb'. The Alexandrians in their classificatory deliberations may, tacitly or explicitly, have accepted a version of the theory of musical decline which we can trace back to Plato. In this context it is most conceivably the New Musical 'dithyramb' to which Kallimakhos is referring when he says 'and bastard songs flourished'.[138]

[135] Referred to above, pp. 198–9.

[136] See Pind. fr. 71 with *Σ* Pind. *Ol.* 13.25c (i.361 Dr); Lavecchia 276.

[137] For whose view of Bacchylides see above, p. 194 with n. 95.

[138] Kall. fr. 604 = Suda s.v. *Κυκλίων τε χορῶν ᾀσματοκάμπας*: *καὶ Καλλίμαχος δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀποτεινόμενος οὕτω πως αὐτῶν καθάπτεται· νόθαι δ' ἤνθησαν ἀοιδαί*; cf. *Σ* Ar. *Nub.* 333d (p. 84 Holwerda).

IV. LATER RECEPTION

Bacchylides' works, now canonized in the Alexandrian edition as *Dithyrambs*, entered libraries, and would generally have been experienced and interpreted, not in performance, but on the page.[139] This is where Longinus met Bacchylides. In the famous passage of *De sublimitate*, at 33.5, he constructs an interpretation of Bacchylides that has remained implicit in pretty much all subsequent scholarship. Pindar is preferred to Bacchylides, who, like Ion of Khios, is praised for his technical perfection and smoothness of style (ἐν τῷ γλαφυρῷ πάντη κεκαλλιγραφημένοι), but is not set alight with blazes of inspiration, like Pindar or Sophokles. Though the latter occasionally fall flat, their high points are far higher than those of the former.

I bring Longinus in here in regard to the reception of Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs* for the following important reason. The favoured terms of Longinus' literary criticism are related in particular to the Dionysiac. Most importantly, the concept of sublimity itself is related to the idea of *ekstasis*, a psychological phenomenon whereby readers when associated with the great truly sublime, works of literature, are taken on a journey which extracts them from their previous situation.[140] From within a Dionysiac framework, it would be natural to have poets like Pindar preferred to Bacchylides, if only because of the frequent and impassioned self-presentation by the Pindaric persona,[141] and because of the strongly Dionysiac tone of the remains of Pindar's *Dithyrambs*.[142]

[139] It is not out of the question that Bacchylides could have been reperformed in the Hellenistic period. But scholarship of the day would without doubt have encountered Bacchylides primarily on the page.

[140] *De subl.* 7.2, 10.3, 36.3.

[141] For which see Carey (2000).

[142] See van der Weiden (1991) 21–6 and Lavecchia 13–18 for detail on the style of Pindar's fragments in the genre. Horace too uses the symbolism of Bacchus as a poetically authorizing strategy: cf. *C.* 1.1.29–32. Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) ad loc. are wrong to suggest that Horace's assertion of links with Bacchus and satyrs here is a statement of modesty. Horace wears a *Pindaric* mantle at this point. Horace adopts Pindar's dithyrambic style at *C.* 4.2.5–20 (esp. 10–12 *seu per audaces nova dithyrambos* | *verba devolvit numerisque fertur* | *lege solutis*) to affirm his poetic and aesthetic autonomy; cf. *Σ* Hor. *C.* 4.2.10 (i.369 Pauly). See most recently Carey (2000) 176 for the aura of Pindaric authority donned by Horace. Compare also Fowler (2002) 145–8 for the opposition between Apollonian *technē* or *ars* and drunken Dionysiac *ingenium*, with specific reference to Longinus.

We should not decontextualize Longinus' theories as offering a timeless aesthetic.[143] Yun Lee Too has recently suggested ways to contextualize Longinus' theory within the general tendency of the authors of the Second Sophistic to present an idealized view of Greek antiquity. Longinus and authors of his time differentiate this sense of Greekness from their own situation within the developments and degradations of Roman imperialism.[144] It is only natural, therefore, to consider Longinus' remarks as a renewal, from a different angle, of the same general theory of decline, in the same general tradition of Plato and Aristotle. Longinus, much like his predecessors, models a new idea of culture through radical reinterpretation of its heritage, a renewal in different terms of the quest for and revivification of the (very few) paradigmatic authors of the past:

> The critical process as enacted in *On the Sublime* is in effect rigorous to the point that all it maintains as being acceptable and useful for the political community are a very few excellent, that is sublime, texts produced by a mere handful of authors . . . The acceptability and usefulness of these texts lies precisely in their capacity to detach the recipient from the larger body of contemporary texts through ecstatic response.'[145]

Given what we have already seen about Plato, and the natural slide by certain influential modern scholars into tacitly readopting Plato's tendentious narrative of decline, we ought to be wary of taking Longinus' remarks about the relation between Pindar and Bacchylides and any other literary texts out of context.

Bacchylides' re-emergence from the Egyptian sands occurred at a critical time for the development of classical, and especially Pindaric, scholarship.[146] Though I will not discuss the variety of views put forward at the time, since they are well documented by Stern, and more recently by Calder, a constant theme is a lack of a Pindaric

[143] For decontextualization and misrecognition of ideological slants in canon-formation, see Guillory (1993) esp. 57.

[144] Too (1998) ch. 6 *passim*, with Bowie (1970) on the Second Sophistic in general.

[145] Too (1998) 217.

[146] See Stern (1970) 301 ff.; also Calder (1994) 77–9 for private correspondence pertaining to the discovery of the London Bacchylides papyrus.

profundity and 'inspiration'.[147] Paradigmatic is the view of Farnell (above all, a historian of religion):

As every Greek poet of the first rank, of whose works we have any considerable remains, has contributed something to our knowledge of Greek religious forms or religious thought, every scholar interested in Greek religion, immediately on the discovery of the new Bacchylides, would be naturally eager to learn what we can gather from him in this field. The result is somewhat disappointing, in spite of his bright and occasionally original treatment of certain myths. As regards religious poetry proper, the sphere in which his contemporaries Pindar, Aeschylus and Sophocles, achieved much, we can quote nothing of first importance from Bacchylides. He moralises like the others on the divine government of the world, but his words do not strike home; *he speaks without profound or original conviction and without the glow of inspiration.*[148]

This is pretty much a decontextualized appropriation of the view of Longinus, situated within the polemics of contemporary Pindaric scholarship, with a tendency towards the biographical that was much in evidence in the work of Farnell's day. But the view has persisted, especially with regard to the reinterpretation of Longinus, to the extent that Donald Russell, editor of Longinus, could say that 'L[onginus]'s implication that Bacchylides is a good second-rate poet is borne out by the judgement of most modern critics since the discovery of the papyri'.[149]

This is in general contrast to Pindar.[150] Although Pindar's *Dithyrambs* themselves did not make it into the medieval manuscripts, Dionysius of Halicarnassus quotes and comments on a

[147] Also note that this idea of poetic inspiration, generally differentiated from mere technical accomplishment, is generally anachronistic for these poets, and again follows Plato (following Demokritos) and his conception of *ἐνθουσιασμός*: Murray (1981), esp. 88 n. 10; Ford (2002) 167–9.

[148] Farnell (1898) 343. See the further references of Stern (1970) 295 n. 14.

[149] Russell (1964) 159 ad loc. 33.5.

[150] Ironically, previous to the publication of Bacchylides, many scholars seemed to think little of Pindar either: see Young (1970 [1964]) 38 ff., esp. on the views of Wilamowitz. But things changed swiftly after Bacchylides: Wilamowitz' vigorously negative response appeared only weeks after the publication of Kenyon: Wilamowitz (1898); see Pfeijffer and Slings (1999*a*) 8; Käppel (2000) 11.

significantly Dionysiac portion.[151] Dionysius cites it as an example of the 'austere style', characterized by nature rather than art, to display emotion rather than character; again, there is a quest here for the literary purity of the distant past. As Dionysius states, 'I am sure that all readers with moderately well-developed literary sense will attest that these lines are vigorous, robust and dignified, and possess much austerity; . . . and that they exhibit not the showy beauty and polished elegance of our day, but the austere beauty of a distant past' (. . . *καὶ οὐ τὸ θεατρικὸν δὴ τοῦτο καὶ γλαφυρὸν ἐπιδείκνυται κάλλος ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀρχαϊκον ἐκεῖνο καὶ αὐστηρόν*). What is crucial here is that the terms of engagement are similar to those adopted by Longinus in his framing of the opposition between Pindar and Bacchylides.[152] By comparing Longinus with Dionysius, and also with Farnell, we can see more clearly that Longinus' preference for Pindar is part of the same general cultural quest for an archaized and natural Greek literary purity. Moreover, Dionysius' attitude toward the New Music fits this overall pattern: by contrast to its bold licentiousness of mode, melody, and rhythm, 'with the ancients the dithyramb was just as regulated as anything else' (*ἐπεὶ παρά γε τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τεταγμένος ἦν καὶ ὁ διθύραμβος*).[153] Again we can feel the pull here toward a forced conception of earlier generic and musical purity that does not square with the evidence.

Scholarship contemporary with and subsequent to the rediscovery of Bacchylides found itself free to decontextualize and persist with such ancient interpretations, unable to understand the lack of Dionysiac 'enthusiasm' that they might have expected to find in Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs.*[154] Behind this frame of reference also lurk Romantic reinterpretations of Longinus himself, whose views were seen to fit perfectly with the Romantic conception of the lyric genius and the Kantian conception of sublimity.

Moreover, Nietzsche is a strong presence. Bacchylides' papyrus

[151] Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 22 = Pind. fr. 75.

[152] And in Dionysius' use of *τὸ θεατρικὸν* I also wonder whether there might be a hint of Plato's attack on *θεατροκρατία τις πονηρὰ* at *Leg.* 3.701a.

[153] Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 19.

[154] See Käppel (2000) 11.

was published twenty-five years after the publication of *The Birth of Tragedy*, enough time to allow for classical scholarship to forget its wrath against Nietzsche and to take on board his understanding of the relation between Apollo and Dionysos.[155] Nietzsche's view of dithyramb is expressed in the following example: '[I]n the Dionysian dithyramb man is incited to the greatest exaltation of all his symbolic faculties.'[156] This kind of statement obviously suits Nietzsche's own post-Kantian position in the philosophy of aesthetics, which reunites Kant's 'sublime' and 'beautiful' in the constructed tension between Dionysos and Apollo.[157] Though Beard and Henderson speak of his tendency to 'rhapsodize weirdly',[158] his underlying assumptions exhibit and develop schematizations widespread in German Romanticism.[159] Nietzsche's influence has been strongly felt in modern scholarship. Silk and Stern may state that '[t]he dithyrambic parts of Nietzsche's thesis are not erroneous so much as speculative',[160] but they have been very influential. A sense of opposition between the strongly Dionysiac archaic dithyramb, and its New Musical degenerate brother is also very strongly marked by Nietzsche:

If we have been right in assigning to music the power of reproducing myth from itself, we may similarly expect to find the spirit of science on the path where it inimically opposes this mythopoeic power of music. This takes place in the development of the *New Attic Dithyramb*, the music of which no longer expressed the inner essence, the will itself, but only rendered the phenomenon approximately, in an imitation by means of concepts; from

[155] Though there were still some who resisted: see the amusing remark made by Crusius in *RE* VI (1903) 1230 in his article *Dithyrambos*, quoted by Zimmermann (1992) 14 n. 28.

[156] Nietzsche ([1872]) section 2.

[157] For more on Nietzsche's position see Silk and Stern (1981) ch. 4; Henrichs (1984); Tanner (1994); on Kant, Saville (1993).

[158] Beard and Henderson (1995) 67.

[159] See also Most (2000) 26–32 on Romantic conceptions of tragedy, with comment on Edmund Burke, Kant, Schiller, Schlegel, Nietzsche, and Schopenhauer; also Zimmermann (1992) 14–15. Given the connection often made by Romantics between the sublime and the 'tragic', again it is not so surprising that modern scholars have, in their wake, been prone to make links between dithyramb and the 'tragic' too: most recently Rutherford in his work on paeans.

[160] Silk and Stern (1981) 139.

which intrinsically degenerate music the genuinely musical natures turned away with the same repugnance that they felt for the art-destroying tendency of Socrates. The unerring instinct of Aristophanes was surely right when it included Socrates himself, the tragedy of Euripides, and the music of the New Dithyrambic poets in the same feeling of hatred, recognizing in all three phenomena the signs of a degenerate culture.[161]

Thus we are taken back to where we started with the notion of decline, to Pickard-Cambridge and Zimmermann. The idea of cultural decline represented in the degeneration of dithyramb is still widely prevalent, and indeed the latest monograph on dithyramb buys into it whole-heartedly.[162] But thankfully the ancient theories are now being fully contextualized by scholars such as Eric Csapo.[163] Notwithstanding Crusius' ironic remark that Nietzsche's readership could now understand more about dithyramb than antiquity did, critics preferred to side with Nietzsche on dithyramb, rather than to believe that Bacchylides' poems offered a satisfactory sample of the ancient evidence.[164]

Now that we have dealt with the repeated reuses of decline theory and Bacchylides' unfortunate implication within it, we can move on with something approaching a clean slate. In the next section I prepare the methodological groundwork for my own readings of the *Dithyrambs*, especially my extended treatment of Bacchylides 15 in the final chapter.

[161] Nietzsche ([1872]) section 17; notice the implicit reference to Ar. *Nub.* 331–4.

[162] Ieranò (1997) 206.

[163] Esp. Csapo (2004). See too Csapo (1999–2000) 415–16, who traces the theory in 'modern' scholarship back to the mid 18th cent. and German Romanticism, starting with Herder; '[t]he ancient critics were motivated by antipathy to democracy, European romantics by nostalgia for antique piety and spirituality'. See also Alcock (1993) 215–18 for a good general discussion.

[164] The point here, again, is that the Romantics, with 19th-cent. scholarship in tow, were free to construct their own view of what lyric poetry was supposed to be. In a sense this was a natural reaction to the lack of any definitive classificatory discussion surviving from the ancient debates. See too Lowrie (1997) 27, with Genette (1979) and Johnson (1982). For more on the cyclical process of canonization, according to which certain antique texts are continually lionized, see e.g. Guillory (1993), 175, concluding a discussion of Eliot and the New Criticism.

V. GENRE, STYLE, AND THE UNITY OF BACCHYLIDES' *DITHYRAMBS*

In the case of Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs*, we should resist the temptation to throw up our arms and side with Plato, disgusted by the lack of a perfect fit between genre and context. Some of Pindar's fragmentary *Dithyrambs* containing chthonic connections or possibly incorporating Dionysiac rejection myths could be used as a foil to what Rutherford sees as the more socially harmonious paean, but I have grave doubts about his overall differentiation through social function, which Rutherford believes applies equally when 'dithyramb' is considered more broadly as a genre defined by narrative content.[165] It seems likely that the works of Pindar classified as *Dithyrambs* were given mythological titles indicative of narrative content: one such poem was given the title *Heracles or Cerberus*,[166] and it seems plausible that other poems in the collection also received such titles. Yet it still remains improbable that on the basis of this we should conclude that all lyric poems containing mythological narrative which the Alexandrians classified as dithyrambs need originally to have had anything to do with Dionysos or need be thought of as dithyrambs at all if by this we mean a necessary connection with Dionysiac cult; this may even include some of Pindar's own works, though as Lavecchia's commentary makes clear, the Pindaric fragments do contain a great deal of Dionysiac or more broadly 'teletic' information.[167]

So, it should not be problematic that we find little Dionysiac content in Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs*, except in the two differing instances of Bacchylides 16 and 19. On the basis of formal criteria, in consideration of the propensity of short bursts of vivid narrative, Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs* do stand together as a coherent set notwithstanding the fact that they were composed for a variety of different states and festival settings. This may indicate that states commissioning such narrative works from Bacchylides knew what they were likely to receive in terms of the formal features of the

[165] Rutherford 87; 89.
[166] *Dith. II* Lavecchia.
[167] Lavecchia, esp. 11–13.

poems (though Bacchylides 18 is perhaps unusual in this regard with its quasi-dramatic structure), and it may also therefore indicate the central importance of the poet in selecting the style and content of such works. This may lead us to think about genre defined as an interplay between the ideas and talents of the individual author and his audience, instead of being guaranteed purely by social context, or problematically to be merely equated with performance. Genre in choral lyric has been understood by direct reference to occasion; less subtle versions of this thesis have made an equation between genre and performance within one specific context.[168] More recently, however, Nagy has suggested that with epinician poetry at least one needs to bear in mind the importance of multiple and diachronic performances: 'If we think of occasion as a performative frame . . . then what we see in a Pindaric composition is an absolutized occasion. Moreover, this occasion is absolutized by deriving from the diachrony of countless previous occasions. In other words, a Pindaric composition refers to itself as an absolute occasion that cannot be duplicated by any single actual occasion. Only an open-ended series of actual occasions, occurring *in a continuum of time*, could provide all the features of an absolutized occasion.'[169]

We have no real way of knowing very much at all about how, or even if, the choral lyric poetry written for agonistic or theoric festival contexts was reperformed. But Nagy's idea that the interrelation between epinician poems and their occasions can be thought of as something complex and dynamic is important for my focus on the question of genre and performance with Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs*. These poems simply do not fit a schematic equation between genre and single performance occasion. The irony is that questions of performance, and especially the importance of the *kuklios khoros*, have, for various reasons, systematically been ignored or misinterpreted in the course of these poems' reception.

[168] For instance, Kurke (1991) 1 writes of how audience expectations must have shaped and constrained each individual composition, but her conception of '*the* occasion that informed their expectations' (my italics) is too limiting.

[169] Nagy (1994–5) 19, italics original.

Nagy further suggests that the concept of genre either only becomes necessary, or else only takes on a fully realized significance, when the original occasions for performance are lost.[170] However, such views involve him in what now seems an over-schematic view of Hellenistic poetry since the corrective advanced by Alan Cameron;[171] moreover, pre-Hellenistic thinkers and poets were themselves aware of, and implicated in controversy surrounding, notional genres and their applicability to a range of performance scenarios, as we have already seen with the New Music and the varied reactions to it. The problem with Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs*, a problem exacerbated by the Alexandrian edition of Aristarkhos but symptomatic of the poems he encountered is that, on internal stylistic criteria, it is difficult to distinguish stylistically between works composed for performance for different gods at different festivals.

Even though we now have the *kuklios khoros* to think with, we cannot assume that performance across the festival spectrum reliant upon a well-grounded performance format would necessarily have provided solid grounds for Bacchylides' stylistic stability, since nothing would have prevented a poet who was composing for circular choral performance from producing stylistically more vigorous poems for Dionysiac festivals than elsewhere. Again, 'dithyramb' is not a particularly useful generic label to preserve in relation to Bacchylides' oeuvre, because of the tendency of scholars still to overlook the contextual problems associated with the application of the term. We can understand genre and generic identity here as the dynamic interplay between audience expectations and the structuring—but not limiting—authority of composing poets engaging with poetic and cultural traditions, poem by poem and performance by performance.[172] We can consider that many of the poems collected in Bacchylides' *Dithryambs* were works composed for performance

[170] Nagy (1990) 362 n. 127; Nagy (1994–5) 13–14.

[171] Cameron (1995), esp. 63–70.

[172] This might be compared fruitfully with Silk's (2000) view of Aristophanes' quest for comic identity and definition in relation to tragedy (esp. Euripides). Consider also that the generic complexities of, for instance, Simonides' *Plataea Elegy*, or indeed Solon (according to the reading of his poetry by Irwin (2005)) cannot be reduced simply to questions of performance context. Compare Carey (1995) 90–1 on Pindar; also Irwin (2005) 160–4 on the interrelation between the audiences for the poetry of Solon, and Solon's engagement with literary tradition.

by *kuklioi khoroi*, poems which we are now in a better position to refer to as *kuklia* (*melê*); so we should think in terms of a practised overarching propensity for vivid narrative, within a relatively brief poetic structure, and the opportunities such a narrative style offered for the presentation of myths in a variety of performance contexts.[173]

It may still seem surprising that none of Bacchylides' poems that survive intact for us match precisely the teletic or Dionysiac poems that we know Pindar wrote; if Bacchylides had also written such works, presumably they would have been included in the Alexandrian edition of the *Dithyrambs* and we would be likely to have at least fragmentary evidence for them. The collection opens with *The Sons of Antenor, or the Request for the Return of Helen*, Bacchylides 15, and this poem sets the tone for the remainder; it seems rather unlikely that Bacchylides wrote any more directly Dionysiac, even dithyrambic, poems than Bacchylides 19, which is as close as we come to feeling Dionysos' presence.

We might relate this absence to the different national affiliations of Pindar and Bacchylides. We already saw the possibility that in a Theban poem Pindar could assert Thebes' own claim to the religious authenticity of the Dionysiac dithyramb through claims to Thebes' mythological heritage; the same is likely to be true in the case of the poem on Orion, perhaps giving a Dionysiac aetiology for dithyramb, located in Thebes.[174] When he wrote poems for the Dionysiac festivals of other states, his own Theban nationality, and the Theban claim to Dionysiac authenticity, might not have been far from the surface.[175] Bacchylides' own allegiances were more strongly Ionian,

[173] The generic issues here are thus similar to those presented by *iambos*: see Bowie (2001).

[174] Lavecchia 64–6 and 274–6; above, nn. 109–11.

[175] For a view of Pindar's Theban religious myth-making in the *Hymn to Zeus*, see Hardie (2000); Pindar stresses his Theban nationality in his epinicians quite readily. A scholion on Pindar's *Olympian* 13, a Corinthian epinician, states that Pindar claims different origins for the dithyramb in different works: Pind. fr. 71 = *Σ Ol.* 13.25c (i.361 Dr), *ὁ Πίνδαρος δὲ ἐν μὲν τοῖς ὑπορχήμασιν ἐν Νάξῳ φησὶ πρῶτον εὑρεθῆναι διθύραμβον, ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν διθυράμβων ἐν Θήβαις, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐν Κορίνθῳ*. Yet even in *Olympian* 13, Pindar's drawing attention to the Corinthian invention of dithyramb may be a way of praising Corinth whilst also implying traditional Dionysiac connections between Corinth and Thebes which underwrite the relation of patronage between the Theban poet and the Corinthian Oligaithidai. For an

given the amount of poetry he wrote for Athens, for Keos, and for performance on Delos. Moreover, the information we have for the Kean *khorēgia*, centred in the *polis* of Karthaia, may suggest a direct connection between Bacchylides and the sanctuary of Apollo there, as is also possible with Simonides.[176]

As we shall see in the following chapters, Bacchylides, as a poet working with socially sanctioned choral performances that his poetry was composed for, uses a narrative style well rooted in the tradition of lyric poetry as the ground on which to play out both social and literary engagements; we shall see with Bacchylides 15 how he uses Homer and Solon. But we should not necessarily think of this as a kind of genre-crossing between epic, elegy, and choral lyric, for such terminology is rather too blunt to deal with the way in which poets and performers interacted within a live musical and poetic tradition continually shaped by performance and ongoing song traditions.[177] What is important is that, within the confines of a poetic form continuously shaped by both the poetry of the past and contemporary patronage and the requirements and expectations of different festival audiences, Bacchylides is able to use a traditional narrative style as the *basis* for an exploration of language and mythology. My position here is aligned to that offered by Stephen Hinds for the attitude of Latin poetry to its own literary heritage, except that with poetic forms that operate in social contexts that to some degree guaranteed their very identity, engagement with other poetic types does not call into question the stability of the form

authoritative mythological connection between Pindar's Thebes and the family background of another patron, see *Olympian* 6 (written for Hagesias of Syracuse, a man of Stymphalian origin), where at lines 84–6 Pindar claims that his own 'grandmother', the nymph Metopa, mother of Thebe, came from Stymphalos. For Pindar's mention of Dionysos' initiation by Thebe—made in a Theban epinician—see *Isth.* 7.1–5.

[176] See *Khoregia* 285–6. Simonides is said by Athenaios to have been training a *khoros* in the *khorēgeion* at the sanctuary of Apollo at Karthaia: Ath. 10.456f.

[177] For a sensitivity to the complexities of generic interrelation in the case of Euripides, see Mastronarde (1999–2000), esp. 38–9: '[T]he terminology of genres is useful as a heuristic device . . . But when the terms rely principally on story-patterns and plot-outcomes or on conceptions of personality and causation that are poorly matched to the habits of thought of the Greek tradition, they are too crude a tool, encouraging a view of genre that is too prescriptive and that oversimplifies the stemmatics of intergeneric affinities. The way forward is not to abandon these terms altogether, but to use them with care and self-consciousness'.

within which the poet is operating.[178] It is only by decontextualizing the poetry from its original contexts that scholars have, in the past, been able to criticize Bacchylides for, for example, over-reaching the bounds of lyric through too much use of epic language and style.[179]

Bacchylides' myth-making, within a narrative kind of lyric indebted to poets like Stesikhoros, is still a highly individual and pragmatic poetic stance. Rutherford is surely correct to allow for a degree of flexibility by even classical poets in their manipulation of conventions for their own purposes; moreover, 'generic theory may in some respects have lagged behind innovating generic practice'.[180] This may appear nowhere more true than in the controversy surrounding the nature of 'dithyramb', and the general occlusion of the significance of the *kuklios khoros.* Rutherford in fact suggests that a diachronic understanding of genre was important and available for classical Greece, in terms of adherence to (and so also differentiation from) inherited types,[181] and this is the case with Bacchylides' poetic response to the challenges of choral performance. Moreover, Bacchylides' use of a self-constructed conception of genre as the ground on which to build individual interactions means that we should allow him a subjective perspective on literary histories important for his work, which not only inform his poetry but can also respond to and sometimes comment on the social situations of performances and audiences. Indeed, this must have been what Pindar himself was doing with the poem aetiologizing Dionysiac dithyramb in relation to satyrs, in the context of a festival honouring Dionysos. Rutherford suggests elsewhere that in this period 'the defining feature of the genre is not so much adherence to some distant model but rather . . . poets' knowledge of and competence in using a range of shared practices'.[182] But competence and shared practices have to be

[178] Hinds (1998), esp. ch. 5 ('Tradition and Self-Fashioning').

[179] Cf. e.g. Townsend (1956) 125, criticized earlier in Ch.2 in relation to the storm simile in Bacchylides 13.

[180] Rutherford 91.

[181] Rutherford 4–5. See Pind. fr. 70b with D'Angour (1997) for differentiation from an earlier asigmatic tradition; also possible engagement with Xenokritos as a predecessor in paeans: fr. 140b (G 9 Rutherford). This matches the engagement by the Pindaric *persona loquens* in innovations within traditions and mythologies that, for instance, we see illustrated in his epinicians.

[182] Rutherford (2000*a*) 91.

grounded in an awareness of previous work within the given area of operation; genre becomes consensually agreed through awareness of earlier work. The works collected in the Alexandrian edition of Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs*, many of which we may now think of as *kuklia melē*, are fascinating products of interactions between traditional narrative poetry and the diverse structures of festival performance in fifth-century Greece, within which *kuklioi khoroi* were often formally sanctioned and came into full bloom.

In the following two chapters I explore in more detail the contexts in which Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs* were performed, and their significance.

4

Contexts

Further evidence concerning the performance contexts of Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs* adds more weight to the suggestions made in the previous chapter about the importance of the *kuklios khoros*. We have already seen that representations of ring-dancers are well attested in the archaeological record from the classical period right back into the Minoan age.[1] Moreover, I have put forward the possibility that *kuklioi khoroi* were a feature of Apolline cultic celebration at Delphi in the archaic period as well as being prominent in Dionysiac performance at Thebes.[2] It is therefore reasonable to suppose that Bacchylides 16 and Pindar fr. 70b (= *Dith.* II Lavecchia) were both performed by *kuklioi khoroi*, at Delphi and Thebes respectively. Here, in a shorter transitional discussion, I consider some other contexts in which Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs* were originally performed. I start with Bacchylides 20 and Sparta, a case where performance by a *kuklios khoros* remains only a possibility; I then move on to cases where *kuklioi khoroi* are fully documented, in preparation for a full treatment of Bacchylides 15 in the final chapter.

I. SPARTA AND BACCHYLIDES 20

Ancient testimony bears frequent witness to the fecundity of Spartan choral culture from at least the archaic period. Here are alternative accounts from Pindar and Pausanias:

1 Above, Ch. 3, n. 9.

2 Above, Ch. 3, p. 172 on Alk. fr. 307c *PMG*, and p. 203 on Pind. fr. 70b.3–6, with D'Angour (1997) 346.

ἔνθα βουλαὶ γερόντων
καὶ νέων ἀνδρῶν ἀριστεύοισιν αἰχμαί,
καὶ χοροὶ καὶ Μοῖσα καὶ Ἀγλαΐα.

where (sc. at Sparta) the counsels of elders
and spears of young men excel,
along with *khoroi* and the Muse, and Splendour.

Pindar fr. 199[3]

Σπαρτιάταις δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς Πυθαέως τέ ἐστιν [καὶ] Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Λητοῦς ἀγάλματα. Χορὸς δὲ οὗτος ὁ τόπος καλεῖται πᾶς, ὅτι ἐν ταῖς γυμνοπαιδίαις—ἑορτὴ δὲ εἴ τις ἄλλη καὶ αἱ γυμνοπαιδίαι διὰ σπουδῆς Λακεδαιμονίοις εἰσίν—ἐν ταύταις οὖν οἱ ἔφηβοι χοροὺς ἱστᾶσι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι.

In their agora the Spartans have statues of Apollo Pythaeus, of Artemis, and of Leto. The whole of this space is called Khoros, because at the Gymnopaidiai, a festival which the Lakedaimonians take more seriously than any other, the ephebes form *khoroi* in honour of Apollo.

Pausanias 3.11.9

The most well known, but still highly obscure, choral poetry composed for Sparta, is that of Alkman. Large fragments of his *Partheneia* are extant. The best preserved of these contains a myth which relates directly to marriage and the preservation of mortal limits. It may also have contained, more specifically, a narrative about the death of the sons of the Spartan king Hippokoon at the hands of Herakles and Kastor and Pollux, to restore the latter as proper suitors for the daughters of Leukippos.[4]

But Alkman also wrote poetry for young men: poem 10b seems to point toward the same degree of self-presentation by young males as do the better-preserved *Partheneia* by young females. Here we have the names Hagesidamos and Damotimos, names which balance nicely against the names attributed to speakers in the *Partheneia*, such as Hagesichora, Agido, and Megalostrata:

[3] Quoted by Plut. *Lyc.* 21.3, who calls the Spartans *μουσικωτάτους . . . ἅμα καὶ πολεμικωτάτους*. Cf. also Pratinas fr. 709 *PMG* for *Λάκων ὁ τέττιξ εὔτυκος ἐς χορόν* with Contantinidou (1998) 26–8, and Terpander fr. 5 Gostoli (which—if genuine—Pindar may be imitating: Gostoli (1990) 141 ad loc.).

[4] Alkm. 1 *PMGF*, esp. lines 1–37; for more recent detailed discussion of the various controversies, see Stehle (1997) 30–9, 73–100; Too (1997); Robbins (1994).

τὺ δ[. . .]λαις ἄρχε ταῖς Δυ-
μαί[ναις] Τυνδαριδαιενα[
εσα[ ]εν αἰχμαι σι-
οφιλὲς χο[ρα]γὲ Ἁγησίδαμε
κλεε[νν]ὲ Δαμοτιμίδα· *καὶ*
μικρ[ὸν π]ροελθὼν περὶ τῆ[ς]
ἡλ[ικίας] αὐτοῦ λέγει καὶ τό[δε·]
.γερώχως κήρατὼς χο-
[ρα]γώς· αυτα γὰρ ἁμῶν ἥλι-
[κ]ες νεανίαι φίλοι τ' ἀγ[έ]νει-
[οι κ]ἀνύπανοι· *αὐτόν τε γὰρ*
τὸ]ν Ἁγησ[ί]δαμον ἀγένει-
ον] ἀποφα[ίνει . . .

'And you, god-loved leader of the *khoros*, Hagesidamos, glorious son of Damotimos, lead the Dymainai . . . Tyndariad(ai) . . . the spear': and a little later he says this also about his youth: 'proud (?) and lovely *khoros*-leaders; for our young comrades themselves (are) dear and beardless and without hair on the lip': for he shows that both Hagesidamos himself is beardless . . .

Alkman 10b lines 8–20 *PMGF* = *POxy* 2506 fr. 5 col. ii 8–20, part of an ancient commentary on the life of Alkman

This particular poem may have been performed in a Dionysiac setting—relatively unusually for Sparta, where Apolline cult tended to predominate[5]—since independent ancient evidence attests a link between Dumainai (or Dusmainai) and Dionysiac cult at Sparta.[6] No evidence is preserved, however, concerning the precise method of choral performance.

Turning now to Bacchylides 20, I will argue that this was composed as a conservative Spartan choral poem, for performance at a festival of Apollo. Only the opening lines 1–11 are preserved, as follows:

[5] See Parker (1989); also Constantinidou (1998).

[6] Hesykh. s.v. *Δύμαιναι· αἱ ἐν Σπάρτηι χορίτιδες Βάκχαι*. Cf. also Euphorion fr. 47 with Alkm. 4 fr. 5 *PMGF* for the phrase 'curl-loving Dumainai'; Pratinas fr. 711 *PMG*; Ieranò (1997) 219–21; Constantinidou (1998) 23 for the possible identification between Alkman's Dymainai (interpreted as 'maidens from Dyme') and rituals associated with Artemis and Dionysos at Karyai.

ΙΔΑΣ
ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΙΣ

Σπάρτᾱι ποτ᾽ ἐν ε̣[ὐρυχόρωι]
ξανθαὶ Λακεδα[ιμονίων]
τοιόνδε μέλος κ[ελάδησαν παρθένοι]
ὅτ᾽ ἄγετο καλλιπά[ρᾱιον]
κόραν θρασυκάρ[διος Ἴδας]
Μάρπησσαν ἰοτ̣[ριχ᾽ ἐς οἴκους]
φυγὼν θανάτου τ[έλος εὖτ᾽ ὑπόπτερον]
ἀναξίαλος Ποσ⟨ε⟩ι[δὰν ἅρμ᾽ ὄπασσεν]

ἵππους τέ οἱ ἰσαν[έμους]
Πλευρῶν᾽ ἐς ἐϋκτ[ιμέναν σεύοντι· τὸν δὲ]
χρυσάσπιδος υἱὸ[ν Ἄρηος]
. . .

Idas, for the Spartans

Once in spacious Sparta blond maidens from among the Lakedaimonians sang such a song as this, when the bold-hearted Idas was bringing home the lovely-cheeked girl, Marpessa with violet hair, after he had escaped the fate of death, when sea-lord Poseidon had given him a winged chariot and wind-swift horses as he sped on his way to well-built Pleuron. The son of gold-shielded Ares [Euenos] . . .

(I include *exempli gratia* the supplements of Maehler,
lines 2–3; 7–8; 10, and Jebb, line 6)

The remains of the poem as we have them do not supply the kinds of choral names and chorally grounded speakers familiar from Alkman. We are presented with a brief introduction to a narrated myth about Idas and Marpessa. We can assume that this poem, which got into the Alexandrian edition of Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs* and not the *Partheneia*, did not contain the degree of feminine personal utterance familiar from partheneia themselves. Indeed, the poem coheres perfectly well with the remainder of the poems preserved in the papyrus of Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs*, in terms of mythical narrative with little or no introduction.

In order to think more closely about this poem, we need to examine the myth it contains. It is likely to have detailed the marriage of Idas and Marpessa after Idas' successful escape from Marpessa's father Euenos, who had developed the dubious habit of roofing the

temple of Poseidon at Pleuron with the skulls of unsuccessful suitors.[7] Zimmermann and Maehler have both suggested performance at a festival of Artemis by a group of Spartan girls, as an initiatory *rite de passage* into adulthood.[8] The focus would then presumably have been their initiation into adult society through the projection of the kind of hymeneal song a mythical *khoros* sang on the occasion of Idas' and Marpessa's successful return to Sparta.

However, this does not deal successfully with the fact that the poem was classified as a dithyramb and not a partheneion. In fact, it seems plausible that it was performed by a group of Spartan young males at a festival of Apollo: the Hyakinthia, the Gymnopaidia, or perhaps the Karneia. Bacchylides 20 may indeed have been performed by a *kuklios khoros*.[9]

Apollo is closely involved in the mythology of Idas' marriage to Marpessa, since it is he whose advances Marpessa spurns and from

[7] For which see *Σ* Pind. *Isth.* 4.92a (iii.236 Dr).

[8] Zimmermann (1992) 105 (Artemis Karyatis); Maehler II 261–2, with, in addition, Artemis Limnatis.

[9] Hyakinthia: Ath. 4.139e (*χοροί τε νεανίσκων παμπληθεῖς εἰσέρχονται καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τινὰ ποιημάτων ᾄδουσιν*); Xen. *Ages.* 2.17 and *Hell.* 4.5 (choral singing of paeans); Gymnopaidia: Paus. 3.11.9 (above, p. 227); Hesykh. s.v. *Γυμνοπαίδια· ἔνιοι μὲν ἑορτήν φασι Σπαρτιατικήν, ἐν ᾗ τοὺς ἐφήβους κύκλῳ περιθεῖν τὸν βωμὸν τύπτοντας ἀλλήλων τὰ νῶτα. ταῦτα δέ ἐστι ψευδῆ· ἐν γὰρ ἀγορᾷ ἑορτάζουσι· πληγαὶ δὲ οὐ γίνονται, ἀλλὰ πρόσοδοι χορῶν γεγυμνωμένων* (cf. Nilsson (1906) 141): that Hesykhios here argues against a view that ephebes at the Gymnopaidia ran round altars by proposing that there were *prosodoi* of naked *khoroi* instead strongly suggests that at least one authority in antiquity claimed that ephebes performed *kuklioi khoroi* there. See also Sosibios *FGrH* 595 F 5 with *Khoregia* 393 n. 178; Plut. *Ages.* 29.2 and Kennell (1995) 67; cf. Pl. *Rep.* 8.556d. For kitharoidic competitions at the Karneia, and the notorious barring of Timotheus, e.g. Ath. 14.636e and Plut. *Apophth. Lac.* 238c; for *melos* and *molpai* there, Eur. *Alc.* 445–54. It is possible that *kuklioi khoroi* were a feature of the Karneia too: that Hellanikos of Lesbos made reference to Arion as the inventor of the *kuklios khoros* in his work on the Karneia (*FGrH* 4 F 86) may indicate that he found evidence in Sparta for this form (cf. Ford (2002) 139); however, Hellanikos could equally have found the information elsewhere, only to report it in that work.

For *khoreia* as a key part of the Spartan *agōgē*, see Pettersson (1992). For the initiatory and communitarian focus of such festivals see Brelich (1969) 186–7; for the possibility of young men performing armed dances in Sparta, see Ceccarelli (1998) 17 n. 34, 99–108. For the question of whether Spartans ever commissioned epinician poetry, see Hornblower (2004) 235–43.

whom Idas escapes with the help of Poseidon's horses.[10] There is nothing intrinsic to this myth to connect it with Dionysos. If the myth was similar to that offered in Bacchylides fr. 20A, Bacchylides 20 may have made a connection between the moment of Marpessa's capture by Idas (dancing in the precinct of Artemis) and a tradition of girls' initiatory performance that the poem invokes at its opening: fr. 20A has Idas carry her off from the sanctuary of Artemis; that she was at that very moment taking part in a *khoros* is a detail provided by a scholion on *Iliad* 9.[11] Marpessa's name seems even to define her as a victim of rape or abduction (undoubtedly cognate with the verb *μάρπτω*, 'to snatch' or 'to take hold of').

Bernard Zimmermann wanted to make a more specific connection between Bacchylides 20 and the cult of Artemis Karyatis, which seems to have exhibited certain orgiastic features also reflected in its cultic mythology.[12] The relation between the Karyatides and Dionysiac cult is perhaps strengthened by a link between Karyatides and Dymainai suggested by a connection between Karyatides and Dymainai (or Dysmainai) in the title of a poem by Pratinas recorded by Athenaios 9.392.[13] For Zimmermann, this connection provides specific evidence for the exclusive connection between narrative dithyramb and Dionysiac ritual.

However, despite the possibility of an association between the cults of Artemis Karyatis and Dionysos and choral performance at Sparta, we have good reason to doubt Zimmermann's conjecture. He has picked up on a Spartan cult with Dionysiac associations and made it relevant to the poem in question without considering how the Dionysiac element of the ritual mythology of the cult of

[10] See Sim. fr. 563 *PMG* = *Σ* bT Hom *Il.* 9.557–8 (ii.518–19 Erbse); Paus. 5.18.2; for the conflict between Idas and Apollo over Marpessa, also see the following vases: *ARV*[2] 361.3 (Louvre CP 10834); *ARV*[2] 556.101 (Munich Antikensammlungen J745), Pan Painter psykter; *ARV*[2]583.1 (London BM 95.10–31.1).

[11] Bacch. fr. 20A.25–8; Maehler II 263; *Σ*D *Il.* 9.553; cf. [Plut.] *Parallela Minora* 315e5 = Dositheos *FGrH* 4 F 401. Euripides has Helen abducted from a Spartan performance by *kuklioi khoroi* (Eur. *Hel.* 1312–13: *τὰν ἁρπασθεῖσαν κυκλίων χορῶν ἔξω παρθενίων*), but the fact that this evidence is derived from an Athenian choral context prevents us from having any direct access to choral traditions on the ground in 5th-cent. Sparta.

[12] Zimmermann (1992) 105 and Wide (1893) 108.

[13] For which see above, n. 6. For recent comment on the problematic dating of Pratinas, see Zimmermann (1992) 124; Csapo (2004).

Artemis Karyatis might be reflected in Bacchylides 20. The cause of this is a desire to explain prescriptively all poetry classified as dithyrambic with reference to Dionysos, notwithstanding the fact that we can relate the majority of Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs* to other festivals honouring other gods.

The specific details of the mythology pertaining to Artemis Karyatis and the involvement of Dionysos therein bear no relation whatever to the story of Idas and Marpessa. According to Servius' version of the aetiology of this cult of Artemis, Dionysos fell in love with Karya, one of the three daughters of Dion, mythical king of Lakonia; her sisters opposed the relationship, thus enraging the god, who turned them to stone, and changed Karya into a walnut tree.[14] As Calame points out, this myth does play out the violence of female sexual transitions;[15] yet it bears no obvious relation to our poem's myth. Furthermore, given that Sparta itself is the focus of attention for the poem's choral aetiology, rather than some outlying ritual site, such as at Karyai on the northern frontier with Tegea, or at Volimnos on the western frontier with Messenia in the case of Artemis Limnatis,[16] it would be better to suggest a connection with a cult of central Sparta, and one associated primarily with Apollo, whilst also including Artemis as of great importance for female transitions. I suggest that the myth of Bacchylides 20 follows a recognized pattern familiar in relation to youths of both genders, in terms of marriage after a mythical trial, symbolizing real transitions toward adult life: a key feature of Alkman's poetry for Spartan consumption.

In the light of my suggestion that Bacchylides 20 was performed by young men, we now need to consider the fact that female choral song is projected within the opening of the poem. Bacchylides provides another example of this phenomenon in the Aiginetan epinician ode 13, in a passage I analysed previously.[17] I argued there that such embedding of both male and female performance in the one poem

[14] ad Virg. *Ecl.* 8.30. See further Nilsson (1906) 196. This is a classic example of a Dionysiac rejection myth.

[15] Calame (1977) 271.

[16] On which see Calame (1977) 253–64. For the location of these cult sites see Cartledge (2002) 176; 72, 86.

[17] See above, pp. 118–19.

seeks to project a unity of ritual endeavour, as a cross-gendered expression of the successful functioning of the Aiginetan community as a whole. This is perhaps how we should read the opening of Bacchylides 20 also. The connection of masculine *khoreia* with embedded mythology relating to performing *parthenoi*, rape, and marriage, might be productive for a Spartan ideology of social cohesion and legitimate production of offspring, in a way parallel to and compatible with the ritual symbolism of Alkman's *Partheneia.*[18] Moreover, the very fact that Bacchylides uses an aetiology for ongoing Spartan choral tradition in the opening of his poem ('a song like this one was first sung by *parthenoi* when Idas brought home Marpessa') represents a way for Bacchylides' fresh composition to fit naturally into the cultural context of Sparta, a place which appears to have been resistant to innovations in *mousikē*; the aetiological 'timelessness' that this opening lends to the poem could then have enabled Bacchylides' own poem to become part of a canon of Spartan choral songs capable of continual reperformance.[19] The opening of Bacchylides 20 may provide us with an insight into the way Bacchylides' general propensity for mythological narrative was here skewed towards the presentation of an aetiological myth in a specific context: even if Bacchylides 20 shows that panhellenic poets could be commissioned by Sparta, and thus that Spartan cultural life was not insular, the method by which the narrative of the poem is framed does suggest that Bacchylides needed to fine-tune his presentation of a myth in order to fit the requirements of a culture that was institutionally highly conservative.[20]

[18] Stehle (1997).

[19] Spartan musical conservatism: Ath. 15.678c = Sosibios *FGrH* 595 F 5 for the continued choral reperformance of songs by Thaletas and Alkman and paeans by the otherwise unknown Spartan Dionysodotos; Plut. *Inst. Lac.* 238c (*εἰ δέ τις παραβαίνοι τι τῆς ἀρχαίας μουσικῆς, οὐκ ἐπέτρεπον*), citing the abuse of Timotheus as a case in point; for abuse of Timotheus at Sparta (self-professed but perhaps also apocryphal, the result of the influence of Attic Old Comedy), see also Timotheus 791 *PMG* lines 202–12 and Boeth. *De inst. mus.* 1.1; Marzi (1988); forthcoming work here by Lucia Prauscello.

[20] Compare my comments in the previous chapter (above, p. 219 ff.) on how the generic identity of Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs* is shaped in part at least by the interrelation between narrative form and the requirements and expectations of diverse contexts of performance. Gostoli (1990) 141 suggests that Pindar fr. 199 (genre unknown) is dependent upon either Terpander fr. 5 directly, or upon Spartan poetic

Reference to Apollo's twin sister would, therefore, not be out of place even if the myth of Idas and Marpessa was performed by young men at a festival of Apollo. Moreover, the poem is likely to have presented a masculine angle on the story of Idas and Marpessa, with an emphasis on the figure of Idas as a paradigmatic figure for Spartan youth, especially given the poem's title *Idas* on the papyrus: this compares with the significance of Theseus for Bacchylides 17 and 18, both the titles of which feature his name. The Spartan myth of the rivalry between Idas and Apollo, and the focus on Idas in our poem places a firm emphasis on male transitions, from young man to husband, within the context of the Spartan culture which prized communitarianism in all its forms to an astonishing degree, focusing strongly also on young females.[21]

Bacchylides 20 therefore can be interpreted as providing an instance of a poem which, though subsequently classified as a dithyramb, was chorally performed at a Spartan festival more likely in honour of Apollo than of any other god, and contained mythical narrative intended for a specific ritual context with no necessary relation to any cult of Dionysos.

II. ATHENS

I now turn to Athens, looking at contexts in which we know for certain that *kuklioi khoroi* performed, and concomitantly investigating possible contexts for Bacchylides' Athenian compositions. Evidence is preserved for circular choral performances in Athens beyond the City Dionysia; the two securely attested additional festivals are the Thargelia and the Panathenaea. Once again, I suggest that to make straightforward or exclusive associations between the choral form and the god Dionysos does not offer a coherent or sufficiently sophisticated analysis of the issues.

and cultural tradition more generally (cf. above, n. 3); if so, then Pindar might be thought, in a way analogous to Bacch. 20, to be appropriating established Spartan poetry or cultural practice to make his own song fit with the conservative ethos of its Spartan context of performance.

[21] I note that Alkman 10b *PMGF*, quoted at the start of this section, seems to have a male youth Damotimos lead a group of young females.

Kuklioi khoroi provided the main performance spectacle at the Thargelia.[22] This was an Ionian festival of considerable antiquity, associated with purification of ritual scapegoats and with the offering of first fruits of the corn harvest to the god, cooked up in the special *thargelos* vessel;[23] the festival may also have served a secondary and rather ad hoc occasion for the admission of boys into their phratries under the protection of the ancestral Apollo Patroos, in a way parallel with the much better attested Apatouria.[24] Choral competitions were held at the Thargelia between five *khoroi* of boys and five of men, drawn from the ten tribes.[25] The date of the introduction of khoregically organized *kuklioi khoroi* at this festival is a matter of some controversy. As Wilson points out, the khoregic inscriptional evidence goes back into at least the mid-fifth century.[26] The presence of the Eponymous Arkhon as organizing official rather than the Arkhon Basileus (*Ath. Pol.* 56.5) suggests democratic modification of this ancient festival subsequent to its association with the tyrants.[27]

[22] Discussed in detail at *Khoregia* 15–16 and 32–4; *DTC*^{2} 37. See *IG* II^2.1138 for a decree honouring the *khorēgia* of Nikias (and see *Khoregia* 171); *IG* II^2.3063–72 and *IG* I^3.963 for Thargelian dedicatory khoregic inscriptions celebrating victories by men's and boys' *kuklioi khoroi*. For the tripods themselves, Amandry (1977); these are associated with Apollo as well as Dionysos: *Khoregia* 201; compare my suggestions about Delphic links in the previous chapter.

[23] Deubner (1932) 179–98; Parke (1977) 146–9; Parker (1983) 25–6 on scapegoats. There is some evidence to suggest that such scapegoating had a mythological connection with Akhilleus' punishment for the theft of Apollo's sacred *phialai*, and that Thargelian ritual was performed in imitation or re-enactment of this punishment: Deubner (1932) 179 n. 5, with Harpokrat. *Lex.* 219.12 s.v. *φαρμακός*, citing Istros; Nagy (1979) 279–80; but no connection is made with the Athenian festival specifically.

[24] Lambert (1993) 216–17, and 66–8 discussing the unique evidence of Isaios 7.15.

[25] For the number involved in the performance, see *Khoregia* 119 on Antiph. 6.22: 'The detail that these [fellow-*khoreutai*] came to "more than fifty" suggests to me that fifty must have been the number of *khoreutai* in the Thargelian *khoros*. Otherwise this *khoregos* had a lot of young people hanging around in his house for no obvious good reason.' So the likelihood is that *kuklioi khoroi* were fifty-strong at both the City Dionysia and the Thargelia. I suggest below that this numbering applied to the Panathenaea also.

[26] *Khoregia* 321 n. 112 on *IG* I^3.963.

[27] *Khoregia* 33; for the role of the Eponymous Arkhon and his place at the Thargelia see Parker (1996) 8. For the association between the festival and the tyrants, see *Suda* s.v. *Πύθιον*: *Ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀθήνησιν ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου γεγόνος, εἰς ὃ τοὺς τρίποδας ἐτίθεσαν οἱ τῶι κυκλίωι χορῶι νικήσαντες τὰ Θαργήλια*. Also Ieranò (1992) 174; Hedrick (1988) 206 and 202 n. 126 for the altar 'dedicated by the younger Peisistratos', *IG* I^2.761 [= M–L 11], with Thuc. 6.54.6.

As the Thargelia was dedicated to Apollo, one might have assumed that paeans would have been performed here, and one important question to ask is whether any Dionysiac baggage was carried with the circular choral form.[28] In fact, a plausible view would be that *kuklioi khoroi* were not specifically associated with either Apolline or Dionysiac cult at the time when they were introduced to the festival, perhaps under the tyrants.

However, there is evidence to suggest a Dionysiac slant to some of the rituals at the Thargelia.[29] Though this may have impinged to some extent on choral performances, we need not think that it implies a necessary or original connection between Dionysos and the *kuklios khoros*. Again, the conclusion provided by the discussion in the previous chapter stands: the *kuklios khoros* was a modal term relating to performance, and would thus have overlapped in differing and complex ways with cultic terms such as paean and *dithyrambos* in different contexts; indeed, we do not hear of the term *dithyrambos* being used in relation to the Thargelia. On the one hand, the connection between the Athenian Thargelia and Delphic cult is not to be doubted, given that the Athenian festival honoured Apollo Pythios. On the other hand, we cannot assume exclusive contact between Dionysos and Thargelian choral performance by appeal to such a text as Bacchylides 16, whose relation to Dionysiac cult had a very particular function within a local Delphic context with no parallel in the Athenian setting.[30]

Claude Calame has gone to great lengths to show the complementarity between Apollo and Dionysos in Athens, even though

[28] Bodensteiner (1891) 48 speculated that the poems performed by the *khoroi* of boys and men were hyporchemes and paeans respectively. This underappreciates the complexity of the issue, and again ignores the significance of the *kuklios khoros*.

[29] *Khoregia* 33.

[30] On Bacchylides 16, see above, pp. 171–2. Slings (2005) 54–5 uses the evidence of Bacch. 16 to support an argument in favour of the originally Dionysiac nature of choral *agōnes* in Athens, and also states that 'I feel that the possibility of a choral agon being instituted at the Thargelia before a similar agon was introduced at the Dionysia . . . is out of the question. . . . [O]ne cannot but suppose that the Thargelia agons were a *calque* of the Dionysia agons.' Once again, the antiquity of the *kuklios khoros* has not been taken into account; moreover, the Suda reference to the Athenian Pythion (above, n. 27) may itself suggest a link between Peisistratos and *kuklioi khoroi* at the Athenian Thargelia; on the issue of tripods and connections with Delphi, see above, ch. 3, p. 173, with *Khoregia* 16.

this is not by itself sufficient to account for the complexity of the term 'dithyramb'.[31] In addition to indicating that sub-Nietzschean oppositions between Apollo and Dionysos are wrongly over-schematic, Calame shows how the pairing of Apollo–Dionysos functions within the broader theological system in Athens. We can take Calame's lead here, but we have to bear in mind also that the *kuklios khoros* was a feature not solely of festivals in honour of Apollo or Dionysos, as we shall see.

The attribution of a text to a particular festival is a complex task. We have to be careful not to be overly prescriptive about the specific details of particular narratives that might be suitable for specific festivals. But the identification of narrative poems with specific cult contexts has less to do with the poems' narratives than it has to do with contextual hints with no primary relation to the overall thrust of the myth being narrated. In the case of Bacchylides 16, the poem's opening points us to a Dionysiac festival context at Delphi before the myth has begun. In the case of Bacchylides 17, we have only the closing reference to Delian Apollo which directly ties in the poem to performance on Delos; with Bacchylides 15, it is the opening reference to Theano as Trojan priestess of Athena, when taken together with the closing focus on the Giants, which points to the Athenian Panathenaea; Bacchylides 19 points to performance in Athens and closes with what is most plausibly taken as a hint to the City Dionysia.[32] With Bacchylides 20, as I have argued above, the myth would be appropriate to a central Spartan festival, though exactly which one is difficult to determine on the basis of current evidence; with Bacchylides 18, there are no obvious contextual clues. Again, the classificatory system we have inherited from the Alexandrians is too schematic to be able to deal with the issues raised by the *kuklios khoros.* If any Thargelian poems had reached Alexandria, they would undoubtedly have been classified as dithyrambs; and it is likely that Bacchylides' output represents well the kind of poetry that the *kuklioi khoroi* at the Thargelia would have

[31] Calame (1996), esp. 364–9.

[32] Bacch. 16.1–13, for which see above, pp. 171–2; Bacch. 17.130; Bacch. 15.1–7, 63: more below, 240–1 and Ch. 5; Bacch. 19.10, 49–51, with West's supplement in line 50.

performed in the earlier part of the fifth century at least. This is also the case with Simonides: his Athenian choral poems are referred to in the victory epigram XXVII *FGE* by their modal performance title, as seen on Attic victory inscriptions: *διδαξάμενος χορὸν ἀνδρῶν*, 'having trained a *khoros* of men' (line 3).[33] Bacchylides is unlikely to be the first or only poet to have composed poems that were originally categorized according to their method of performance.

The fact that the *kuklios khoros* did not have an unshakeable connection with Dionysos at the time of its khoregic institutionalization in Athens would have paved the way for its becoming subsequently the mode of performance for poetry unrelated contextually, ritually, or mythologically, to Dionysos. If we can find a festival involving a central nexus of myth which is mirrored or alluded to in a work later classified as a dithyramb, there should be no barrier to thinking that the poem may have been performed by a *kuklios khoros* at that festival, whatever the ritual associations of that festival, if we have evidence that *kuklioi khoroi* performed there.

In the case of the Panathenaea, we have three pieces of primary evidence which suggest that *kuklioi khoroi* performed there.[34]

First, though least reliably, we have the evidence of the Old Oligarch, who, in his diatribe against the public life of the Athenian

[33] Page, and Slings (2005) 46, questioned the authenticity of both *FGE* XXVII and XXVIII; but for contextual and circumstantial arguments in favour of an early dating see *Khoregia* 218 with 369 nn. 69 and 70.

[34] It had been thought that the so-called Atarbos base and associated inscriptions attested a victory with *kuklios khoros* at the Panathenaea: *IG* II^2.3025, Ath. Acr. 1338: *Khoregia* 39–40 with fig. 2; 325 nn. 155–7; Ceccarelli (1998) 34; 244 *IV*.2, with Tav. I; Boegehold (1996) 101–3 with figs. 4.1 and 4.2 and n. 15. However, all these discussions are superseded by that of J. L. Shear (2003*a*), which shows that though this monument was originally erected to celebrate a victory at the Panathenaea with *pyrrhikhē*, the details recording a victory with a men's *khoros* were added subsequently and should not be connected with the earlier Panathenaic success.

For the possibility that an early khoregic inscription for *χο]ρôι ἀνδρô[ν]* (*IG* I^3.833*bis*, reconstructed by Peppas-Delmousou (1971)) might relate to the Panathenaea given its Acropolis find-spot, see Gallavotti (1975) 165; also Raubitschek (1949) 346. However, Wilson, *Khoregia* 217, relates this to a victory at the Dionysia, as well as a celebration of victories throughout Greece more widely, and therefore not to be related to the Panathenaea. The find-spot cannot be relied on for such an exiguous inscription, itself dating to a period of great disturbance: it may predate or be contemporary with the Persian sack.

democracy, mentions *khorēgoi* at the Dionysia, Thargelia, Panathenaea, Prometheia, and Hephaesteia.[35] However, the usage of *khorēgoi* in this passage is extended to include other comparable but non-choral liturgies, such as the torch-race. We know from epigraphic evidence that tribally competitive torch-races and pyrrhic dances took place at the Panathenaea.[36] This passage therefore does not provide sufficient evidence for *kuklioi khoroi*.[37]

Second, we have the direct evidence of Lysias 21.1–2, which sets out the financial extravagances involved in providing for choral performances in late fifth-century Athens. The defendant, an unidentified *khorēgos* with a vast personal fortune, tells us that he spent the extraordinarily large sums of 2,000 drakhmai on a male *khoros* at the Thargelia, 800 drakhmai on pyrrhic dancers at the Great Panathenaea, 5,000 drakhmai on a male *khoros* at the Dionysia (including the dedication of the tripod), and 300 drakhmai on a *kuklios khoros* at the Lesser Panathenaea. If *kuklioi khoroi* performed at the yearly Panathenaea festival, it is likely that they also did so at the four-yearly Greater Panathenaea.[38] It has been mooted that the relatively small outlay on the Lesser Panathenaic *khoros* may be explained by the lack of importance of the *kuklios khoros* at the Panathenaea, and that therefore it also may have had less than the full fifty performers.[39] But one would expect more money to have been lavished on liturgies at the more important four-yearly festival. Nothing in our sources suggests that Athenian *kuklioi khoroi* performed with anything less than fifty choreuts.[40]

Third, we have the evidence of Demosthenes 21.156:

ἀλλὰ μὴν τί ἄλλο; τραγῳδοῖς κεχορήγηκέ ποθ' οὗτος, ἐγὼ δ' ἀνδράσιν. καὶ ὅτι τοῦτο τἀνάλωμ' ἐκείνης τῆς δαπάνης πλέον ἐστὶ πολλῷ, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ δήπου.

[35] [Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* 3.4. See also Davies (1967).

[36] e.g. *IG* II².2311 (4th cent.); Neils (1992*a*) 16; J. L. Shear (2003*b*).

[37] However, for argument in favour of choral competitions at the Hephaesteia and Prometheia on the basis of this evidence, see J. M. Moore (1971).

[38] Cf. Davies (1967) 37 for the guess that choral competitions were introduced at the Great Panathenaea by Perikles. In my view, Bacchylides 15 provides evidence for an earlier date.

[39] *Khoregia* 90.

[40] Cf. *DTC*² 37, revising *DTC*¹ 48. *Khoroi* with fifty performers go back at least to the time of Simonides: *FGE* XXVIII.4.

κἀγὼ μὲν ἐθελοντὴς νῦν, οὗτος δὲ καταστὰς ἐξ ἀντιδόσεως τότε, οὗ χάριν οὐδεμίαν δήπου δικαίως ἄν τις ἔχοι. τί ἔτι; εἱστίακα τὴν φυλὴν ἐγὼ καὶ Παναθηναίοις κεχορήγηκα, οὗτος δ' οὐδέτερα.

What else? He has once served as *khorēgos* in the tragic competitions; but I have done so for men's *khoroi*; and everyone knows that the latter involves much greater expense than the former. Furthermore, my service is voluntary; his was only undertaken after a challenge to exchange property, and so no one could justly give him any credit for it. *What else? I have feasted my tribe and served as khorēgos at the Panathenaea*; he has done neither.[41]

In the context of a discussion of his *leitourgiai* with specific reference to *kuklioi khoroi*, Demosthenes' reference to khoregic service at the Panathenaea should naturally be taken as a reference to his funding of a performance by *kuklios khoros*, as with the evidence of Lysias 21 above. It now seems that Panathenaic *khoroi* were phyletically organized; and from Demosthenes' immediately preceding reference to his provision of a feast for his tribe, in the same sentence, we should continue to think in tribal terms with reference to his service at the Panathenaea.[42]

In addition to these three testimonia, there is a further piece of evidence which suggests that, with specific reference to a poem by Bacchylides most plausibly linked to the Athenian Panathenaea, a *kuklios khoros* performed with the full complement of fifty *khoreutai*, the same number as at the Athenian City Dionysia and possibly also at the Thargelia.[43] Zimmermann, following Jebb, has ingeniously pointed out that this is suggested by the incredulous response of a

[41] For the text here (deleting αὐληταῖς before ἀνδράσιν) taken as a reference to Demosthenes' *leitourgiai* with *kuklioi khoroi*, see *Khoregia* 77, with 340 n. 180.

[42] Wilson (*Khoregia* 304–5) suggests, on the basis of inscribed khoregic victory dedications for *pyrrhikhē* at the Panathenaea, that choral performances were not phyletically organized at this festival. However, khoregic dedications which do not mention the tribe involved do not provide unbiased evidence, since they were technically dedications by the individual *khorēgos* rather than tribal dedications. J. L. Shear (2003*b*) offers a reconstruction of *IG* II^2.2311 in which she inserts, in lines 93 g–k, references to prizes for men and boys' tribal *khoroi*: see esp. 93, with n. 24. Moreover, she states that *pyrrhikhē* must itself have been tribally organized, since it is listed in the inscription under the same section as the prizes for winning tribes in the *euandria* and *lampadēphoria*; and this is the only place where victories by *khoroi paidōn* and *andrōn* will fit. See also Parker (2005) 256.

[43] There is insufficient evidence from other contexts to state with any certainty whether fifty *khoreutai* was canonical for Athens alone or was more widespread.

Homeric scholiast to a reference in Bacchylides to Theano's having given birth to *fifty* children:

πιθανὸν μίαν τεκεῖν ἐννεακαίδεκα, οὐχ ὡς Βακχυλίδης πεντήκοντα τῆς Θεανοῦς ὑπογράφει παῖδας.[44]

I can believe that one woman could give birth to nineteen, but not the *fifty* which Bacchylides indicates was the number of Theano's children.

*Σ*T *Il.* 24.496b (v.602 Erbse)

It appears that the scholiast is picking up a reference to fifty sons in Bacchylides' text, with his rather vague *ὑπογράφει* ('indicates'). Since Theano and her sons are referred to in Bacchylides 15, the first poem in the Alexandrian edition of the *Dithyrambs*, entitled *The Sons of Antenor, or the Request of Helen's Return*, this must be the poem to which the scholiast is referring. Maehler indeed ingeniously supplements line 12 of the poem as follows: [*τῶν δὲ πεντήκοντ' ἐμῶν παί*]*δ̣ων τυχόντες*, 'having met my fifty sons', with Theano the speaker. Since Theano already had ten sons named in the *Iliad*, there would have been little obvious mythological motivation for any radical increase in her child-bearing capacity.[45] So the explanation based on performance context, which the Homeric scholiast missed, is all the more plausible.[46] Zimmermann must be correct to develop this numerical detail with implications for the choral performance: the fifty Trojan sons of Theano in some sense map onto the fifty *khoreutai*.[47] For a full examination of Bacchylides 15, see the next chapter.

[44] Zimmermann (1992) 68; cf. Jebb 221 and 365 ad loc. 15.37 ff.

[45] Listed by Jebb 221. Zimmermann (1992) 68 n. 77 suggests that this point may be spoilt by the fact that tragic *khoroi* can represent larger groups of people (e.g. twelve *khoreutai* as fifty Danaids in Aiskh. *Suppl.*). However, the fact that the mythical tradition regarding Theano's offspring does not demand the larger number of fifty surely works in favour of the influence of performative criteria for Bacch. 15. Hekataios fr. 19 *EGM* I makes the sons of Aigyptos fewer than twenty in number, as opposed to the fifty in his Hesiodic source, and this may have something to do with rival versions of the myth offered by Danaid epic (for which see *PEG* I 121–2) and Phrynikhos (fr. 1 *TrGF* I) as well as by Aiskhylos; but it is impossible to tell whether this had anything to do with performance criteria. In the case of the number of Theano's offspring, there is no evidence of any controversy on the issue between Homer and the time of Bacchylides.

[46] See also Maehler II 129–36. Only Irigoin (1993) 5–6 has seriously suggested that it was performed elsewhere (Sparta).

[47] An issue I explore in the following chapter.

III. DELOS AND THE ATHENIANS: BACCHYLIDES 17

Representation of Athenian concerns is not confined to performances by Athenians at local festivals, but seems to have spread as her sphere of influence extended across the Aegean. For example, although clearly a work performed by Keans (but, importantly, on Delos not Keos) the mythological and ideological force of Bacchylides 17 is strongly Athenian. The presentation of Theseus and the likelihood of a symbolic connection between Theseus' overcoming of Minos and Athenian dominance of the Aegean, ultimately by reference to a mythical connection with Delos, shows this.[48] It is therefore to be read as a document of Athenian cultural imperialism.[49] This ties in with an Athenian poem, Pindar's *Paean* 5, in which Delos and Euboea are claimed as Athenian colonies by appeal to Delian cult mythology. See especially lines 35–42:

[– ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ *Εὔ*-]
βοιαν ἕλον καὶ ἔνασσαν·

ἰήϊε Δάλι' Ἄπολλον·
καὶ σποράδας φερεμήλους

[48] See Calame (1996) and (forthcoming); the prominence of Athens in the Theseus myth is marked most clearly by the insertion of Delos as a significant but autonomous part of the heroic narrative. Calame, and Castriota (1992), are surely right to see this as part and parcel of Athens' formation of the Delian League. Bacchylides 17 itself must date from this general period, just after the Persian Wars. See especially the reference to Minos' descent from 'the daughter of Phoinix' (i.e. Europa, never named): lines 31–2 and 53–4 with Castriota (1992) 61, and the fact that the Persian fleet was mostly Phoenician.

[49] See Castriota (1992) 60; Calame (1996), esp. 440–1; cf. Maniet (1941). Giesekam (1976) and van Oeveren (1999) argue against a negative portrayal of Minos in Bacch. 17, but they either miss or misconstrue the Athenian impact on the poem's mythology. Athenian cultural imperialism with Bacch. 17 and its negative treatment of Minos is confirmed, not contradicted, by comparison with two other Kean poems, Bacch. 1 (esp. lines 122–7), an epinician for performance on Keos, and Pindar's *Paean* 4, as well as in the description by the Kean historian Xenomedes which survives in Kallimakhos' *Aetia* in the story of Akontios and Kydippe. The latter epichoric myth presents the story of Dexithea's marriage to Minos after the devastations in the time of the Telkhines, and the birth of Euxantios, presenting him as culture hero. See Rutherford 288–93, who notes the theoxenic character of this myth of Minos.

ἔκτισαν νάσους ἐρικυδέα τ' ἔσχον
Δᾶλον, ἐπεί σφιν Ἀπόλλων
δῶκεν ὁ χρυσοκόμας
Ἀστερίας δέμας οἰκεῖν·

. . . (they) took Euboea and settled there.

Ieie Delian Apollo!
And they colonized the scatttered
islands to be rich in flocks, and held
glorious Delos, since Apollo
of the golden locks gave them
the body of Asteria to inhabit.

Here the settling of first Euboea, then the Cyclades, and then Delos itself, is appropriated for Athenian colonization.[50] This strategic colonization of the region and control of Delos by Athens would fit well within the period of the early fifth century, during the early stages of the Athenian empire.[51] In the same mould is the reference in Pausanias to a sanctuary to Athena, Apollo, Artemis, and Leto on Cape Zoster just south of Athens, purported to be on the site where Leto 'loosened her girdle' in preparation for her giving birth on Delos;[52] noteworthy too is the 'Delian speech' delivered by Hyperides as representative of the Athenians in their bid to regain control of the island in the fourth century: fragment 67 mentions this same detail—perhaps appropriating mythological material from theoric paeans—in order for Hyperides to reinforce an Athenian claim to the

[50] Rutherford 295, with marginal scholion on line 35 *ἀπὸ Ἀθηναίων*. Even the epithet *φερεμήλους* used of the islands in line 38, which Rutherford translates as 'rich in flocks', can be understood in these terms: the word might suggest the idea that the islands are founded *in order to bear* theoric sacrificial provisions for Delos, on Athenian terms; hence my translation '*to be* rich in flocks'.

[51] Although Delos was central to the cultural policy of Peisistratos in the late 6th cent., it seems that Delos was allowed to maintain notional independence from Athens: see Parker (1996) 87–8, 149–50; Smarczyk (1990) 466–71 and 504–25. Sixth-century external impingements on Delos should be situated within tyrannical claims and counter-claims for control of the island by the likes of Lygdamis of Naxos and Polykrates of Samos, as well as by Peisistratos, by contrast with, though as a precursor to, the subsequent Athenian religious and propagandist domination.

[52] Paus. 1.31.1. The sanctuary dates to the late sixth century: Goette (2001) 197 with n. 156.

island.[53] Again, these examples provide aetiological–mythological links between Athens and Delos to affirm Athenian claims to the island. An analogous, though more complex, engagement is represented by Bacchylides 17.

What is significant about Bacchylides 17 is the way it combines very strongly Athenian mythology with performance by Keans for Apollo. As Rutherford is correct to point out, the high-point of Athenian theoric activity on Delos itself ties in with the exercise of Athenian power though the Delian Amphiktiony.[54] We have the evidence from Plato's *Phaedo* which points to regular late fifth- and fourth-century Athenian *theōriai* to Delos to commemorate exactly the type of myth presented in Bacchylides 17.[55] We are therefore entitled to inquire how and why Keans rather than Athenians perform a poem whose myth is very strongly Athenian.[56] The version of Bacchylides 17, totally unprecedented in Kean mythology, could be viewed as an attempt by Keos to appeal to Kimonian ideological uses of the Theseus myth, or as a kind of cultural misrecognition of the ideological force of the Athenian myth.[57] Instead, however, I read it as Athenian impingement on choral performances by an ally at the

[53] Hyp. *Deliakos* fr. 67: *λέγεται γὰρ τὴν Λητὼ κυοῦσαν τοὺς παῖδας ἐκ Διὸς ἐλαύνεσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς Ἥρας κατὰ πᾶσαν γῆν καὶ θάλατταν· ἤδη δὲ αὐτὴν βαρυνομένην καὶ ἀποροῦσαν ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν χώραν τὴν ἡμετέραν, καὶ λῦσαι τὴν ζώνην ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, ὃς νῦν Ζωστὴρ καλεῖται.*

[54] Rutherford 284; also Rutherford (2004).

[55] Rutherford (2004) 82–6; Pl. *Phae.* 58a–b. Note in particular the parallel use of *δὶς ἑπτά* at Bacch. 17.2, also picked up by Virg. *A.* 6.21 with Servius ad loc., referring also to Sappho. Also used in Eur. *HF* 1326–7 (from Theseus' own mouth); cf. Diod. Sic. 4.61.3; Maehler II ad loc. Servius' reference to Sappho is intriguing, since it attests to the existence of a part of the myth in an earlier period; see also the allusion to this on the François Vase, where, on the left-hand part of the upper frieze, Theseus with lyre leads the fourteen Athenians, male and female alternating, holding hands.

[56] The oddity of this is perhaps what makes Zimmermann (2000) 18 erroneously suggest that the poem was performed by *Athenian* ephebes. Again, the reference to *χοροῖσι Κηΐων* at line 130 militates against this interpretation.

[57] For the ideological link to Kimon and Athenian naval imperialism, see Shapiro (1992*b*) 37, 39–40; Castriota (1992) 58–63 on Mikon's painting in the Theseion; Calame (1996) 440–1. Mills (1997) 224 n. 5 points out that this negative portrayal of Minos matches his portrayal in Athenian tragedy, citing esp. Plut. *Thes.* 16.3 and [Pl.] *Min.* 318d–21a. However, her claim (194) that Bacchylides detaches Minos from any connection with Keos within the myth so that the Kean *khoros* can celebrate Theseus' triumph without being troubled by the negative representation of their own ancestor is vacuous considering the use of this myth of Minos in the first place.

Delian festival. It attests to an Athenian manipulation of allied Kean involvement in *theōriai* to Delos.

We have a number of pieces of evidence pointing to Kean expertise in performances for Apollo, including on Delos. Pindar's *Paean* 4, mentioned above, contains references to Artemis, Delos, and the Kean *polis* of Karthaia, as well as the familiar *iē Paian* refrain; this poem could have been performed on Delos, though equally it could have been performed back on Keos.[58] At least two later khoregic inscriptions from Keos celebrate victories in Apolline musical contests held at Karthaia, the main site of Apolline cult on Keos, one of which mentions a victory on Delos.[59] '[T]here could be no better model than Keos in matters of choral culture. It had a spectacularly flourishing tradition from at least the archaic period . . . The Keans were highly active participants in the Panionic festivals of nearby Delos.'[60] It seems likely that Athens was willing to use this choral culture for her own ends.

There is historical evidence for long-standing links between Keos and Athens. The earliest time we hear about Keos as an ally of Athens, as a member of the Delian League, is in the Athenian tribute list of 451/0 BCE, where the *polis* of Koressos is listed as paying separately and disproportionately from the other *poleis* of the island, listed together as 'Keans'.[61] As has been pointed out, this detail may well suggest that Koressos was being punished for some kind of disaffection at this time.[62] We hear from Herodotos (8.46.2) that the Keans, who provided ships for Salamis, were 'Ionians by race, of Athenian descent', *ἔθνος ἐὸν Ἰωνικὸν ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων*. Even if we cannot use this as direct evidence for Kean cultural self-identification in this earlier period, it seems to me that the evidence of Bacchylides 17 provides evidence for a merging of identities between Keans and Athenians that bears out Herodotos' passing comment, whether or

[58] For detail on *Paean* 4 see Rutherford 280–93; Rutherford (2000*b*).

[59] *IG* XII 5.544 and 1075 (Ieranò (1997) Test. 132 and 142a); Rutherford 284; see also *Khoregia* 285–6 and 387 n. 101. For a fuller list of Kean inscriptions, many of which come from the sanctuary of Apollo at Karthaia, see Osborne (1991) 325 n. 1. Compare also above, Ch. 3, p. 223.

[60] *Khoregia* 285.

[61] Meritt et al. (1939) List 4: I.21 *HHΔΔΓ Κορέσιοι*; V.22 *HΔΔ - - - - Κεῖο*[ι].

[62] Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani (1991) 239, following Meiggs (1972) 119–24 against Meritt et al. (1950) 198.

not the people of Keos in the later fifth century accepted this view of their own ethnicity.

The relation between Athens and her allies in Delian performances has been explored in recent work by Ian Rutherford. He discusses the early fourth-century 'Sandwich Marble' inscription detailing Athenian Amphiktionic administration of Delos: *ID* 98.94 [= Rhodes-Osborne no. 28 fr. a].[63] Interestingly, this inscription provides evidence for a choral *agōn* with tripods awarded to the winners. As Rutherford points out, this sounds very similar to the kinds of contexts available for performances by *kuklioi khoroi* in Athens itself, at the Dionysia and Thargelia.[64] The contestants for such an *agōn* are unknown, but one might suppose that Athenian *khoroi* performed alongside those of allied states with longer-standing expertise in Delian *theōriai*. Whatever the exact details, this evidence is a natural follow-on from the Athenian imperialism of the later fifth century, after both the reorganization of the Delian festival recorded by Thucydides and the renewal of Athenian control over the island in the 390s.[65] At such a date, as Xenophon tells us, performances by other states' *khoroi* stood no chance of success against one from Athens: ὅταν γε χορὸς εἷς ἐκ τῆσδε πόλεως γίγνεται, ὥσπερ ὁ εἰς Δῆλον πεμπόμενος, οὐδεὶς ἄλλοθεν οὐδαμόθεν τούτῳ ἐφάμιλλος γίγνεται, 'when this city produces one *khoros*, as in the case of the one sent to Delos, no other from anywhere else can rival it'.[66]

Bacchylides 17 predates this situation by several decades. Yet the oddity of the relation between Keos, Delos, and Athens that it illustrates surely points to Athenian manipulation of theoric performance in this earlier period. Even if Athens was, in this earlier period, unable to have its own *khoroi* dominate in performance on

[63] Rutherford (2004) 86–9.

[64] Line 33 τρίποδες νικητήρια τοῖς χοροῖς.

[65] Rutherford (2004); Davies (1967) 38; Thuc. 3.104 and Plut. *Nic.* 3.4, with Hornblower (1991) 517–18. For another continuity with the festival institutions of 5th-cent. Athens, see Rutherford (2004) 87 n. 98 with Amandry and Ducat (1973) 24–41 for the suggestion of a close resemblance between the circular form of the Delian tripod-bases and that of those from the Pythion in Athens, the site for the dedications by victorious *kuklioi khoroi* at the Thargelia. For the 'Sandwich Marble' Amphiktionic inscription—itself seemingly erected in the Pythion at Athens—as a renewal of previous 5th-cent. Athenian control of Delos, see Rhodes–Osborne 142 ad loc. with *IG* I^2.377 and *SEG* X 303 [= M–L 62], *ID* 93, and *IG* II^2.1634 = *ID* 97.

[66] Xen. *Mem.* 3.3.12; again, Rutherford (2004).

Delos, it was able to influence those performed by others. Zimmermann was right to point out the complexities of choral projection within the poem, whereby the Kean *khoros* merges its identity with the Athenian *dis hepta*.[67] This merging suggests an imposition of an Athenian, albeit mythical, identity onto the Keans by means of their theoric performance. Despite Bacchylides' focus on Ionians, the fact that the myth presented is so strongly Athenian implies Athenian command over the Ionians as saviour and protector. Compare lines 2–3 *Θησέα δὶς ἑπτ[ά] τ' ἀγλαοὺς . . . | κούρους Ἰαόνω[ν*, 'Theseus and the fourteen glorious youths of the Ionians', with Bacchylides 19 lines 1–2, referring to Aigeus, Theseus' father, as *βασιλεῦ τᾶν ἱερᾶν Ἀθανᾶν, | τῶν ἁβροβίων ἄναξ Ἰώνων*, 'king of sacred Athens and lord of the Ionians who live in luxury', in a poem for performance in Athens.[68] Bacchylides, as *the* Kean representative of panhellenic poetry of his generation, and a poet who also operated in Athens, was surely in a unique position to produce such a composition and merging of identities.

Bacchylides 17 illustrates the complexity of the relation between Athens and Keos on several levels, all closely connected. First is the significance of choral forms to this poem: in particular the *kuklios khoros*, which by this time had become in Athens the most significant choral performance form across the festival spectrum, and the Delian *geranos*, or 'Crane Dance'. Whatever we think of the early history of the *geranos*, it seems likely that an Athenian interpretation of *dancing* on Delos in any form (rather than, say, performing during a procession, as perhaps with prosodia and some paeans)[69] would link it aetiologically to the heroic deeds of Theseus.[70] Moreover,

[67] Zimmermann (1992) 85; cf. Fränkel (1975) 515; Ieranò (1989) 174. This is similar to the projection of *parthenoi* in Bacch. 13 shown earlier. But what is particularly remarkable in this case is that we have projection across state boundaries.

[68] Cf. *Khoregia* 46: 'A celebration of Kean youth, to the greater glory of Apollo, which assimilates that youth to the mythic youth of Athens under Theseus' care, establishes a potent analogy for the contemporary, paternalistic protection by Athens of the "youth" of the Ionian Aigean.'

[69] Procession: Rutherford 105–7 with Prokl. *Chrest.* 320a17 ff. for prosodia; Kurke (2005) for Pind. *Pae.* 6; Rutherford (1992) for Pind. *Pae.* 15.

[70] For speculation about the nature of the *geranos* see Lawler (1946); Roux (1979); inscriptional evidence from the 4th to 2nd cents. BCE, and the detail provided by Kall. *Hymn* 4.300–13, may suggest that at this time the dance was performed during the evening, with torches.

I suggest that Bacchylides 17 attests to, and indeed plays on, some slippage between the fifth-century *kuklios khoros* and the *geranos*. Although we do not know exactly how *kuklioi khoroi* were arranged in performance, it seems likely that they would have been highly suited to fit the performance of the *geranos*, a dance with 'twisty' connotations. This is particularly significant for my reading of Bacchylides 17, since the narrative of Bacchylides 17, understood as a celebration of the triumph of Theseus over Minos, mirrors an Athenian view of the *geranos* as a dance on Delos celebrating Theseus' triumph.[71]

Later evidence for the *geranos* makes it appear very much like a Delian version of a *kuklios khoros*. The *geranos* was a dance in imitation of the twists and turns of the Labyrinth from which Theseus and the Athenian youths had escaped.[72] That this dance could be performed in a format akin to a circle should not be surprising.[73] Moreover, sources also suggest that the dance was performed in a circle around the Delian altar: see especially Hesykhios s.v. *Δηλιακὸς βωμός*: *τὸ περιτρέχειν κύκλῳ τὸν ἐν Δήλῳ βωμὸν καὶ τύπτειν· ἤρξατο τούτου Θησεύς, χαριστήριον τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ λαβυρίνθου φυγῆς*, 'running in a circle around the altar on Delos and striking it: Theseus began this practice, as a thank-offering for his escape from the labyrinth'; also Kallimakhos, *Hymn to Delos* 310–15: *οἵ χαλεπὸν μύκημα καὶ ἄγριον υἷα φυγόντες, | Πασιφάης καὶ γναμπτὸν ἕδος σκολιοῦ λαβυρίνθου, | πότνια, σὸν περὶ βωμὸν ἐγειρομένου κιθαρισμοῦ | κύκλιον ὠρχήσαντο. χοροῦ δ' ἡγήσατο Θησεύς*, 'Having escaped the cruel bellowing and the wild son of Pasiphae and the twisting labyrinth, around your altar, Lady, they roused the music of the *kithara* and *danced in a circle. Theseus led the* khoros'.[74] This sounds so similar to

[71] The importance of Theseus for the Peisistratids and later 6th-cent. Athens is well expressed by Smarczyk (1990) 470 n. 81; the connection between Theseus and Delos is likely to originate during this period.

[72] Plut. *Thes.* 21.1–2 = Dikaiarkhos fr. 85 Wehrli; Poll. *Onom.* 4.101.

[73] And see Roux (1979) 117–18 and Fig. 5 for a hypothetical reconstruction of its route around the 'Horn Altar'; compare Fig. 4 for a reconstruction of a *kuklios khoros*.

[74] Kallimakhos' reference to circular dancing may well relate to Hellenistic knowledge of a tradition of Delian performances by *kuklioi khoroi*: see above, Ch.3, pp. 210–11. Reference to what sounds like the *geranos* in archaic representations does not suggest any explicit circularity to the dancing, and does not locate it specifically

the *kuklios khoros* familiar from the Athenian evidence to be worthy of note.[75] I suggest that Athens is taking advantage of Kean traditions of performance with *khoroi* on Delos, performances which, though unlikely to have been—at that time at least—institutionally defined and canonical, were usefully similar to the *geranos* and its roots in Delian mythology. Furthermore, in a period after the *kuklios khoros* had been institutionalized across the festival spectrum of Athens and had received a democratic aspect through competitive tribal participation, Athenian influence, however subtle, may have made its mark on the performances by Kean *khoroi*.[76]

Athenian influence may also be suggested by the differentiation of the roles of Theseus and the Ionian youths suggested by Bacchylides 17. Theseus is viewed as a prototypical ephebe, whose mythical quest marks his transfer into full adulthood. But the Ionians themselves are set apart from him throughout the poem; the Ionian 'youths' (ἠΐθεοι) respond to the action first with trepidation, in lines 92–3, and then with celebration, in lines 128–9. Narratives of transition of this kind are familiar from other forms of choral lyric, the most notable example being Alkman's *Partheneia*: there, negative female expression and lack of self-confidence is subsumed within a choral work whose ritual teleology does allow them to address their audiences authoritatively. Here in Bacchylides 17 what is most significant is that it is chorality and responses to it *within* the mythological narrative which provides the catalyst for the Ionians' transition from trepidation to celebration. Theseus himself is made afraid by the choral

on Delos: see *Il.* 18.590–605, referring to a complex dance imitating one designed by Daidalos for Ariadne on Krete. The François Vase seems in fact to represent a synoptic account, presenting before-and-after snapshots in the same image (both the arrival on Krete and the arrival elsewhere after the escape): Simon (1996) 11–12, against Shapiro (1989) 146–7 who located the scene on Krete alone following Friis Johansen (1945). A synoptic reading creates insurmountable problems for a straightforward identification of the dance it presents with the *geranos*, or even dancing at all, despite what looks very much like an Athenian version of the myth. Nor does anything in the image locate the post-flight events as taking place on Delos; Naxos, for instance, is not ruled out.

[75] Circular form of the *geranos* in later sources already noted by Calame (1977) 77–8.

[76] And for another connection between Delos and a mythological poem classified as a dithyramb, cf. the case of Simonides' *Memnon* (fr. 539 *PMG*), discussed earlier, Ch. 3 p. 167.

performance of the Nereids in line 101, despite the primary narrator's alternative focalization of enjoyment in lines 107–8:

τόθι κλυτὰς ἰδὼν
ἔδεισε⟨ν⟩ Νηρέος ὀλ-
βίου κόρας· ἀπὸ γὰρ ἀγλα-
ῶν λάμπε γυίων σέλας
ὧτε πυρός, ἀμφὶ χαίταις
δὲ χρυσεόπλοκοι
δίνηντο ταινίαι· χορῶι δ' ἔτερ-
πον κέαρ ὑγροῖσι ποσσίν.

There *he was afraid* at the sight of the glorious daughters of blessed Nereus. For from their splendid limbs there shone a light like fire, and in their hair there twirled ribbons banded with gold. *But they were delighting their hearts by dancing with liquid feet.*

The positive narratorial response, as uttered in performance by the *khoros* of Keans, has a normative force, fully confirmed when Theseus' fear is forgotten and the poem ends with an instantiation of celebratory *khoreia*, with a favourable response anticipated by an external audience as well as by Apollo:

φεῦ,
οἵαισιν ἐν φροντίσι Κνώσιον
ἔσχασεν στραταγέταν, ἐπεὶ
μόλ' ἀδίαντος ἐξ ἁλὸς
θαῦμα πάντεσσι, λάμ-
πε δ' ἀμφὶ γυίοις θεῶν δῶρ', ἀγλαό-
θρονοί τε κοῦραι σὺν εὐ-
θυμίαι νεοκτίτωι
ὠλόλυξαν, ἔ-
κλαγεν δὲ πόντος· ἠίθεοι δ' ἐγγύθεν
νέοι παιάνιξαν ἐρατᾶι ὀπί.
Δάλιε, χοροῖσι Κηΐων
φρένα ἰανθεὶς
ὄπαζε θεόπομπον ἐσθλῶν τύχαν.

Wow, in what thoughts did he check the commander from Knossos, when he came unwet from the sea, and wonder for all to behold, and the gifts of the gods shone from his limbs; and the splendid-throned girls cried out in new-founded joy, and the sea rang out; nearby the youths sang a paean with

lovely voice. Delian, with your mind warmed by *khoroi* of Keans, grant a fortune of blessings conveyed by god. (lines 119–32)

Theseus' reappearance from the sea spontaneously produces the song of celebration by the youths, which merges with the Keans' performance of the praise to Apollo. However, this paeanic ending still carries a strongly pro-Athenian slant, because of the way in which the metaphor of travel and good fortune is continued from within the myth. We see within the poem how the course of fate, and in fact the course of the narrative of the poem itself, is in line with the way things will turn out positively for Theseus, therefore at odds with the course that Minos thinks events will take; see especially lines 86–9:

> *τάφεν δὲ Διὸς υἱὸς ἔνδοθεν*
> *κέαρ, κέλευσέ τε κατ' οὖ-*
> *ρον ἴσχεν εὐδαίδαλον*
> *νᾶα· Μοῖρα δ' ἑτέραν ἐπόρσυν' ὁδόν.*

The heart within the son of Zeus was shocked, and he ordered that the well-wrought ship be kept on course in the wind. But Fate was arranging another route.[77]

In performance, the Kean *khoros* adopts an air of authority generally akin to that possessed by an epic narrator, partly because of the way Bacchylides' poem apes a quasi-realist Homeric narrative style, and partly because of the heroic stand-off between Minos and Theseus. However, this style suddenly merges with the paeanic *Du-Stil* address to Apollo which, while seemingly to validate Kean choral autonomy, actually assimilates the Keans with the Ionians under Theseus' protection in the myth, and at the same time authorizes Athenian rather than Kean dominion over Delos and the oceans surrounding it. This point can be stated more clearly if we recall the ending of Pindar's *Paean* 5, where the Athenians call upon Apollo to look after their own interests in Ionia; here in Bacchylides 17, by subtle deployment of the same metaphor that coupled fate with travel earlier, conveying the Athenian hero Theseus to his goal, a Kean *khoros* is made to celebrate the position of Keos within a structure in which Athens and Athenian myth-making is the dominant force.

[77] For the text of lines 87–8 see Maehler II 199 ad loc. 87.

The date of Bacchylides 17 is indeterminate, but if it is to be dated to the early period of the Delian League, Athenian involvement with the Delian festival would not necessarily have had to be thought of as crude interference: the manipulation of the cult mythology of a friendly state, as an early stage in wider Athenian influence on the structure of the Delian festival, would rather better be termed a subtle exercise of influence, especially after the defeat of the Persians, when Athens' panhellenic prestige was high and as yet unsullied by later imperialist strategies.

Claude Calame has suggested that the evidence for the Delian Theseia (modelled on the Athenian equivalent, with a torch-race), though late (second century BCE), follows the precise logic of Athenian ideological use of Theseus on Delos much earlier, in the early fifth century, and so may be part of, or a renewal of, a long tradition.[78] Whatever we think about the spread of the Theseia itself, we must, at the very least, be prepared to accept the possibility that Athenian hegemonic power in the early days was promulgated through the most deeply embedded cultural modes: most obviously *theōria* and *khoreia*, in the case of Delos. The more we think about the cultural symbolism of such activities, the less surprising their manipulation for ideological purposes becomes. 'Choral rituals mixed myth into an immediate occasion, fixing and expanding a present institution, and consequently they were much in demand where men had recently invented or reinvented the forms of society.'[79] Athenian fifth-century choral involvement is also suggested by the existence of a high classical Attic red-figure *pyxis* representing Leto, Apollo with *kithara*, and Artemis offering a sacrifice to Delos (labelled) seated on an *omphalos*, in the presence of Hermes, the Delian palm tree, and a tripod with circular base. The combination of these deities, the Delian location of the scene, the tripod (the standard Athenian accoutrement for a khoregic victory by *kuklios khoros*), and the *omphalos* (a possible link with Apollo Pythios),

[78] Calame (1996) 428. See also *Khoregia* 327 n. 180. The Theseia in Athens was also rejuvenated at this time in the 2nd cent., but nothing at least *rules out* the possibility that Athens had founded a Delian Theseia much earlier; lack of inscriptional evidence for the earlier 5th cent., prior to the Athenian revival of the Delia in the 420s, again hampers matters.

[79] Burnett (1988) 141, quoted at *Khoregia* 279.

suggests that the vase itself represents, or indeed celebrates, a khoregic triumph by a *kuklios khoros* on the island under Athenian, and perhaps specifically Thargelian, influence.[80] A number of circular tripod-bases dating to the fifth and fourth centuries have themselves been found on Delos, and we have already seen that these show a very strong similarity with those dedicated by victorious Thargelian *khorēgoi* in the Pythion at Athens.[81] This evidence, along with that of Plutarch *Nicias* 3.4 and Thucydides 3.104, invites us to think that Athens had in fact had a strong influence on the khoregic structures of the Delian festival in the later fifth century both before and after the reforms noted by Thucydides.

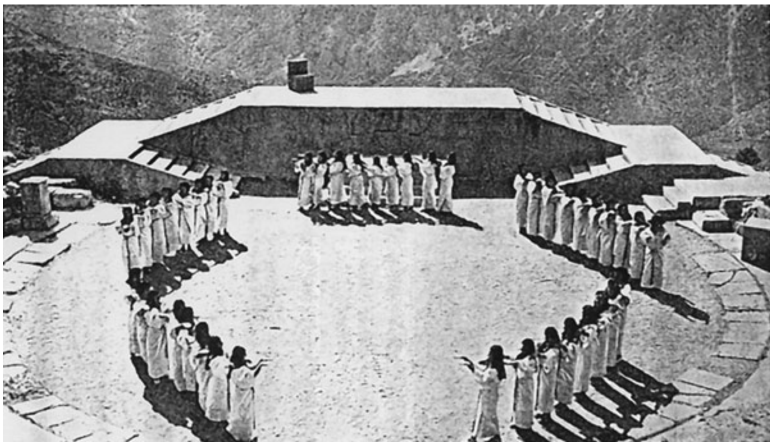

Figure 4 Illustration of the shape and size of a *kuklios khoros* (in fact, an experimental chorus of Danaids from the Sikelianos production of Aiskhylos' *Supplices* at Delphi in 1930: note absence of *aulos*-player and *thymelē*, and female 'Egyptian' *khoreutai* rather than men or boys).

Beraki: Museum Photographic Archive N 1864, by kind permission.

[80] Riccioni (1966) with pll. 70–2; Gallet de Santerre (1976), with figs. 1–4; Bruneau (1985); *LIMC* III.1 368–9 no. 1: *ARV*^{2} 1277.22 (Marlay Painter, Ferrara Mus. Arch. 20298, from Spina), dated 440–30.

[81] Gallet de Santerre (1976) 295, with n. 18; Amandry and Ducat (1973); cf. the reference to khoregic victory tripods on the 'Sandwich Marble', and the similarity noted between the Athenian Thargelian and Delian tripod bases.

Given the paucity of evidence for the earlier period of the fifth century, it seems unwise to suggest direct Athenian involvement in the structuring of the Delian festival at that time; and the very fact that Keans, rather than Athenians, are performing the Athenian myth of Bacchylides 17 implies something more subtle. Despite this, however, Bacchylides 17 is no less significant or interesting for the early relations between Athens and its allies.

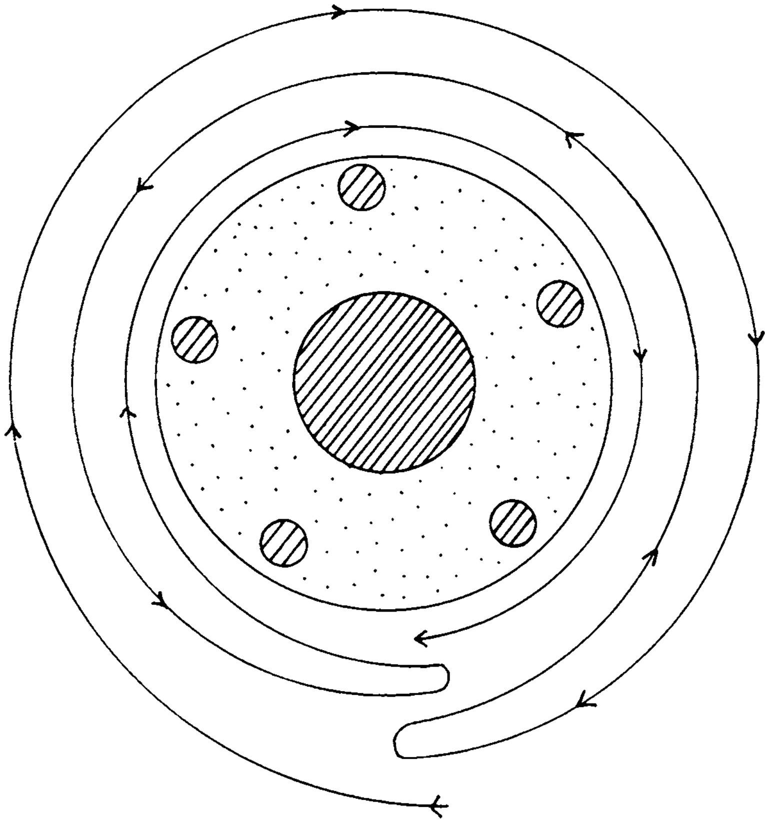

Figure 5 Reconstruction of route of *geranos* around Delian 'Horn Altar'. From G. Roux, 'Le Vrai Temple d'Apollon à Délos', *BCH* 103 (1979), p. 118. © EfA

Theseus usurps Minos as paradigmatic thalassocrat;[82] and his triumph is celebrated by the Kean *khoros* in a mimetic way at the end of the poem that mirrors the mythical establishment of the *geranos* on Delos itself. This also therefore buys into an Athenian imperial myth, and uses a traditional form of Kean performance to express a myth whose detail implies that it is the mastery of the sea and its chorally proficient deities by the Athenian Theseus that guarantees Kean *khoreia*.

This also helps to understand the identity of Bacchylides 17. If we think with the idea that the poem was performed by a Kean *kuklios khoros* under Athenian influence, the generic question is clarified. The *kuklios khoros* as a modal term relating to a performance grouping would have subsumed the *geranos* as the specific dance-form within its own performance.[83] At the same time, from an Athenian point of view the *geranos* itself could have been deemed especially fit for Apolline festivity through Theseus, something of an 'avatar' of Apollo, and would have provided the ideal way for the Athenians to think of introducing their own growing choral experience into a festival which, though external to the boundaries of their *polis*, was, however, crucial for their imperialist objectives.[84]

Bacchylides 17 offers an insight into the imperial foreign policy of democratic Athens, whereby mythology of sacred performance is used to spread Athenian myth and culture. Theseus is presented as something of a mythical *khorēgos* for the performing Ionians.[85] In Bacchylides 17 it is his reappearance from the sea that spontaneously produces the song of celebration by the *kouroi*/Keans. Such a presentation of Theseus would mirror in ideological terms the activities of Athens herself as a symbolic *khorēgos* for the Ionians on Delos, underwriting and guaranteeing allied *khoreia*.

The role of the *kuklios khoros* here might also further explain the reference to *kuklia* (*melē*) in Aristophanes *Birds*, discussed in the

[82] For Minos as the 'First Sea Lord', see Thuc. 1.4 and Hdt. 3.122, with Kurke (1999) 107–9.

[83] Compare Naerebout (1997) 180–1 n. 389 for the differentiation between the stems of *khor-* and *orkh-* and the relation between the two.

[84] See Calame (1996) 208; cf. Shapiro (1989) 147. On the François Vase Theseus carries a lyre. Athenian festivities honouring Theseus are closely connected with Apollo as well as Dionysos throughout calendar: see Calame (1977) 230–2, and (1996), esp. 374 fig. 3 for a useful breakdown.

[85] Again, Calame (1996) 208; cf. Kall. *Hymn* 4.315, quoted above.

previous chapter.[86] That passage makes clear the extent to which *melē* including 'circular' ones were deemed appropriate for the celebration of colonial foundations. The mythologies of such poems would most obviously have provided foundation aetiologies.[87] The narrative format used by Bacchylides, and probably Simonides also, would have been very useful for the expression of such myths; and *kuklioi khoroi* could well have been among the most suitable vehicles for their performance.[88] Although Bacchylides 17 is not a poem to aetiologize and affirm colonization (like, say, Pindar's *Paean* 5), we do know that Athens' allies were later treated as ἄποικοι ('colonists') at the Panathenaea.[89] Bacchylides 17 provides an earlier more subtle but perhaps more effective example of imperial objectives, according to which Athens as the Ionian Metropolis offers symbolic mythological protection and choral support to its island relatives.

For more detail on circular choral performance within Athens, I turn now to discuss the fascinating case of Bacchylides 15.

[86] Ar. *Av.* 917–21: above, p. 205–6.

[87] And see Dougherty (1993) 84: 'This passage confirms our suspicion that no specific genre of foundation poetry existed before Hellenistic times, for the poet is prepared to sing a wide variety of songs in celebration of the foundation of Cloudcuckooland . . . these are all choral songs, and I want to suggest that choral poetry, especially the epinician ode and tragedy, provides the kind of civic, performance context well suited to the ongoing re-enactment and public negotiation of the story of a city's origins.' There is no reason why *kuklioi khoroi* could not have been equally significant. Furthermore, the significant and allusively proleptic role that fate plays in Bacch. 17, especially at its close, allies the poem with narrative and metaphorical strategies that Dougherty has seen as strongly aetiological for colonial foundations: see further Dougherty (1993), esp. chs. 3 and 4**.** For the role of narrative in Pindar's colonial epinicians, see the important contribution of Athanassaki (2003); for fate in Bacch. 17 see Scodel (1984).

[88] Especially given that we hear nothing about Athenian 5th-cent. expertise in other narrative forms such as epic in this regard. It is possible that Athens employed epic poets such as Panyasis of Halikarnassos and Khoirilos of Samos for this, but we have no evidence that they did, though we hear that Khoirilos celebrated in verse the Athenian victory over Xerxes (*PEG* 1 187–8 test. 1). If Hieron of Syracuse had commissioned *kuklia melē* from Simonides this again would indicate the early and geographically widespread nature of the form. Ktistic literature in prose seems to have existed in the 5th-cent., as we hear from the sophist Hippias in Pl. *Hipp. Mai.* 285d. Inscriptional evidence shows that wandering purveyors of ktistic and genealogical narrative prose and poetry were a common feature of Greek culture in the Hellenistic period and beyond, sometimes operating among and alongside guilds of *tekhnitai*: see here Chaniotis (1988), Guarducci (1929), and forthcoming work by Ian Rutherford.

[89] Cf. Loraux (1986) 84 with line 58 of *IG* I^2.63 [= M–L 69].

5

Bacchylides 15: Troy in Athens

> En effet, ce qui intéresse avant tout Bacchylide, c'est le fond moral de la décision que l'assemblée des Troyens doit prendre: elle a le choix entre l'insolente démesure et la sage justice, le choix qui se pose si souvent dans la vie.[1]

> For the Greek world, Homer even when nodding, is the exemplary text: the paradigm not merely of the genre of epic but of the very possibilities of literature to inform, to teach, to illustrate.[2]

In the previous two chapters I argued that poems classified as *Dithyrambs* could have been performed in a wider array of festival contexts than simply those related to Dionysos. Also, I suggested a Panathenaic performance context for Bacchylides 15 by a *kuklios khoros*.[3]

Here I argue that Bacchylides 15, which narrates part of the embassy of Menelaos and Odysseus to Troy, discusses matters of fundamental concern to the city of Athens through a twin engagement: through performance, with the cult of Athena; textually, with Homer and Solon, both poets regarded as Athenian cultural treasures at the time of Bacchylides' composition. Performative and textual engagements, taken together, will open the way for a more excursive exploration of issues relating to Athenian cult and performance culture, and the issue of the security of *poleis* which the poem addresses, by way of the implicit parallel drawn between Athens and Troy, the site of the poem's narrative.

[1] van Groningen (1960*a*) 192, discussing Bacch. 15.
[2] Goldhill (1994) 60.
[3] Above, pp. 240–1.

Discussion will be in three major sections. In the first, I highlight the centrality of Homer in the culture of the *polis* in which Bacchylides 15 was performed. In the second, I detail how the language of Bacchylides' poem engages with passages from Homer and Solon, passages which deal with the guilt of the Trojans and the threats to their own city in the *Iliad*, and with the threat to Athens as a *polis* through the actions of its own foolish citizenry. In the third, I develop the cultural significance of the poem, and examine how close Bacchylides 15 is to tragedy through the role and authority of its *khoros*. I consider how Bacchylides' presentation confirms a particularly democratic emphasis on correct civic behaviour. I also look at its presentation of non-Athenians, again in relation to tragedy.

The diction of Bacchylides 15 zooms us in to the specific cultural context of Athens. My discussion uses a single Bacchylidean choral poem to illustrate Athenian democratic familiarity with traditional texts, as well as the ideological impact of these texts, through their continual reperformance and appropriation in Athens in the earlier part of the fifth century.

I. HOMER AND SOLON AS ATHENIAN CULTURAL CAPITAL

The significance of Homer and Solon in the democratic *polis* is shown by the use and abuse of their poetic authority in a wide range of texts available for public consumption throughout the century.

The theatre provides the most obvious examples. The importance of Homer to Athenian tragedy cannot be overstated. For instance, Sophokles' *Ajax* or Euripides' *Troades*, to cite just two of the most conspicuous examples, would mean far less to us if we lacked an awareness of how they are systematically informed by Homeric epic, making us think about the meaning not only of tragedy but also of Homer as privileged and paradigmatic texts.[4] The attitude of

[4] For discussion of *Ajax* see e.g. Easterling (1984); Goldhill (1990), 115–18; for *Troades*, Croally (1994); Goldhill (1986) ch. 6 for both. The fact that tragedy is constantly negotiating with Homer shows how essential both Homer and tragedy are as parts of the cultural complex that was 5th-cent. Athens.

Old Comedy towards Homer indicates the wider contestation of the significance of Homeric expertise, and the cultural centrality of the epics for Athens.[5] Perhaps the most important text in this regard is the famous fragment of Aristophanes' *Daitales* (fr. 233 K–A), a play in which an old man has two sons, one educated in the traditional style, the other devoted to the sophists. In the fragment, one character quizzes another over the meaning of exotic and obscure Homeric phrases. It has been suggested that the text offers a story of decline in Homeric glossing, whereby the exclusive preserve of the rhapsode had, by the end of the fifth century, become 'the tedious staple of Athenian boys' education'.[6] But the sophistic young man in *Daitales* uses the Homeric glosses as examples of ancient legal terminology to be used in sophistic arguments concerning inheritance,[7] the likely crux of the relation between the father and the two sons in the play. Thus the text bears witness to the extensive glossing and counter-glossing of Homer as an authority on all matters in both contemporary and earlier generations.

By the century's close, the glossing of Homer had become appropriated as a specific τέχνη by rhetoricians and philosophers. Demokritos, for instance, who perhaps spent a good deal of time in Athens, wrote a work entitled περὶ Ὁμήρου ἢ ὀρθοεπείης καὶ γλωσσέων, *On Homer: The Proper Use of Words and Glosses.*[8]

[5] See Aiskhylos' view of the 'divine Homer' at Ar. *Ran.* 1033–6, but also, e.g., the gloss of the wise Nestor of *Il.* 1.248 and 4.293 as ἀγορητής by the sophistic Worse Argument at *Nub.* 1055–7. For plays with specifically Homeric subject matter, see the introduction to the fragments of Kratinos' *Odyssēs* in K–A. For more detail on 5th-cent. sympotic dexterity with Homeric and lyric texts, see Ford (2002) ch. 8, esp. 191–2.

[6] Ford (1999) 236.

[7] Ibid. 240, with Ehrenberg (1951) 289.

[8] Demokr. 68 B 20a D–K; cf. 68 A 101 D–K (Arist. *De an.* 404[a]27); see in general Henrichs (1971) 99–100; Ford (2002) 169–70. For the late evidence linking Demokritos with Athens, see Guthrie (1965) 349 and n. 2. Despite the likelihood that the closeness of the relation between the thought of Demokritos and Protagoras is likely to be a construct of the later Epicurean tradition (for which see Warren (2002) 15–18, with 15 n. 17), a link between Demokritos and Athens does sound plausible given his rough contemporaneity with Protagoras who we know travelled there. For Demokritos' political thought, see Taylor (2000), who concludes that he had a democratic outlook; though this may have been related to local Abderan politics, his work might have been fostered by contact with Athens.

Andrew Ford has shown the extent to which Homeric glossing in fourth-century forensic oratory sustained Athenian literary culture more widely than simply in the state-sponsored public performances. This is an extension of what was already happening in the previous century.

The same is true of Solon. As poet, orator, and Athenian lawmaker, his texts were also open to complex renegotiation in public. This is shown by the case of Solon 4 W, transmitted in the text of Demosthenes 19.255. At 19.256 Demosthenes states outright that Solon's words stand as an eternal account of how gods protect their city.[9] Just prior to this quotation of Solon, Demosthenes had claimed that Solon had been falsely used as an *exemplum* by his opponent Aiskhines, since the statue of Solon, set up 'as a paradigm of the wisdom of the public speakers of those days', *τῆς τῶν τότε δημηγορούντων σωφροσύνης παράδειγμα*, represents a radically superior kind of character both to that of those who erected the statue relatively recently, and to that possessed by those speakers who make appeal to it now.[10] This contestation of a canonical figure is characteristic of the appeals and counter-appeals of forensic oratory; the same passage from the opening of Solon 4 W is reinterpreted by Aiskhines, and turned against bad orators (the likes of Demosthenes).[11] As Rosalind Thomas states in a discussion of the reception of Solon as a lawgiver,

> Solon clearly has a character, and it is his moral intentions which are brought to the fore, not merely the prim citation of a particular law, or the bare tag of his name. The prestige of the ancient lawgiver is exploited for all that it is worth and in a way which was presumably thought acceptable, indeed highly appealing, to the jurors.[12]

This is also possible for the reception of Solon's poetry, where his 'moral intentions' could have been thought to have found

[9] *ἐγωδ' ἀεὶ μὲν ἀληθῆ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἡγοῦμαι καὶ βούλομαι, ὡς ἄρ' οἱ θεοὶ σῴζουσιν ἡμῶν τὴν πόλιν.*

[10] Dem. 19.251. For comment on the statue of Solon, see Ma (2006) 333.

[11] 3.130 *οὐδεμίαν τοι πώποτε ἔγωγε μᾶλλον πόλιν ἑώρακα ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν θεῶν σῳζομένην, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ῥητόρων ἐνίων ἀπολλυμένην*; cf. Parker (1997) 143–4; in general, Thomas (1994).

[12] Thomas (1994) 124.

their clearest expression.[13] As we shall see, the poetry of Solon, and fragment 4 W in particular, is important for Bacchylides 15 too.[14]

There are further examples of the use and abuse of Solon, some of which are very public. In Plato's *Timaeus*, the notorious oligarch Kritias is allowed to illustrate how close Solon, in his poetry, showed himself to be to his great-grandfather Dropides.[15] The aristocratic virtue of Kritias' family is said to have been handed down 'through Anakreon and Solon and many other poets' according to Sokrates, in Kritias' presence, in Plato's *Charmides*.[16] However, this glorious ancestral virtue, celebrated by, amongst others, Solon, is turned against Kritias by the Athenian demagogue Kleophon, as Aristotle tells us.[17] Kleophon borrows a Solonian line to suggest that not only the earlier Kritias, who was Dropides' son, but also, by implication, Kleophon's own contemporary opponent Kritias, should have listened to their fathers: the suggestion is that the sons are disobedient and degenerate. Kleophon does not provide the second line of the Solonian distich that actually praises Kritias' family.[18]

We have good reason to believe that, originally, elegiac texts by the likes of Solon and Theognis were generally composed for symposia.[19] Though Solon in 4 W directs his words at the foolish demos, such words as these could very easily have been replayed by singers with oligarchic tendencies, for instance, in order to deconstruct the continuing democratic significance of such works. This may indeed be the case with the epitaph on the grave of the same Kritias discussed above, which bore a representation of Oligarchy setting fire to

[13] Though see Irwin (2005) 276 for the possibility that Solon was himself open to criticism, perhaps implied by Dem. 19.255.

[14] See below, pp. 388 ff.

[15] Solon 22 W: Pl. *Tim.* 20e; Wilson (2003*a*) 187 with 201 n. 39.

[16] Solon ibid: Pl. *Charm.* 157e. One should include Theognis in this roster: cf. Lane Fox (2000), 45–51.

[17] Arist. *Rhet.* 1375b32; Aristotle provides a version of the first line of a Solonian distich: *εἰπεῖν μοι Κριτίᾳ πυρρότριχι πατρὸς ἀκούειν.*

[18] Provided by Prokl. *In Tim.* 20e, 1.81.27 D: *οὐ γὰρ ἁμαρτινόωι πείσεται ἡγεμόνι.*

[19] See primarily Bowie (1986).

Democracy.[20] The elegiac distich, with *δῆμον* emphatically placed at the start of line 2, is an obvious redeployment of Solon's own warnings to the foolish demos.[21] Solon attempts to resolve the tensions inherent in his demos by offering generalized warnings against *ἀδικία*, 'injustice'. For Kritias, however, the demos is by definition always unjust, and indeed *κατάρατος*, 'accursed', and therefore needs controlling by oligarchs like him: Kritias did what he could in the short time available to him.[22] This is a very public reuse of the poetry of Solon which had by now achieved the status of a public, democratic, heirloom.

Plato also gives accounts, however skewed, of sophistic skill in glossing Homer as a rhetorical model for emulation.[23] And again, the context is very public. As Andrew Ford has discussed, at *Gorgias* 485d Plato has Kallikles recontextualize *Iliad* 9.441, Phoinix' words to Akhilleus:

ὅταν δὲ δὴ πρεσβύτερον ἴδω ἔτι φιλοσοφοῦντα καὶ μὴ ἀπαλλαττόμενον, πληγῶν μοι δοκεῖ ἤδη δεῖσθαι, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὗτος ὁ ἀνήρ. ὃ γὰρ νυνδὴ ἔλεγον, ὑπάρχει τούτῳ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ κἂν πάνυ εὐφυὴς ᾖ, ἀνάνδρῳ γενέσθαι φεύγοντι τὰ μέσα τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὰς ἀγοράς, ἐν αἷς ἔφη ὁ ποιητὴς τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀριπρεπεῖς γίγνεσθαι, καταδεδυκότι δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν βίον βιῶναι μετὰ μειρακίων ἐν γωνίᾳ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων ψιθυρίζοντα, ἐλεύθερον δὲ καὶ μέγα καὶ ἱκανὸν μηδέποτε φθέγξασθαι.

But when I see an elderly man still carrying on with philosophy and not giving it up, that man, Sokrates, is someone who I think deserves to be whipped. For as I just said, this person, however handsome he may be, is

[20] Krit. A 13 D–K, *Σ* Aiskhin. 1.39 (82 p. 22 Dilts): *μνῆμα τόδ' ἐστ' ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν, οἳ τὸν κατάρατον | δῆμον Ἀθηναίων ὀλίγον χρόνον ὕβριος ἔσχεν.*

[21] Solon 4.7–8 W: *δήμου θ' ἡγεμόνων ἄδικος νόος, οἷσιν ἑτοῖμον | ὕβριος ἐκ μεγάλης ἄλγεα πολλὰ παθεῖν.*

[22] Perhaps we are even meant to think of *ὀλίγον χρόνον* as a pun on *oligarkhia*, understood as 'rule for a short time' rather than 'rule by the few'), and thus to read the epitaph as an appeal to oligarchic solidarity based on sympathy as well as an outraged rejection of all that democracy stands for.

[23] e.g. Pl. *Prt.* 325e–f. with Ford (1999) 233; *Ion passim*; notoriously, *Rep.* 3.386–92. Plato's banishment of poetry (because of its disturbance of psychic harmony: Lear (1992)) in the majority of its forms from his ideal city belies its paraenetic and paedeutic importance in 5th- and 4th-cent. Athens; cf. e.g. Goldhill (1986) 142; Too (1998) ch. 2.

> bound to become unmanly because of the way he flees the centres and marketplaces of the city, in which, as the poet said, ‘men become pre-eminent’; he must hide away and spend the rest of his life whispering in a corner with three or four lads, and never to say anything befitting a man who is free, important, or adequate. [24]

Kallikles reuses Homer for his own needs, as a fifth-century sophist with political ambitions for whom the marketplace is crucially important as the central site where ideas can be communicated.[25] Perhaps more importantly, though, this also shows the important place of Homeric poetry itself in the Athenian Agora. Continued performance of Homeric poetry in the Agora during the Panathenaea was an important contributory factor which allowed men like Kallikles to seek authority for their own discourse through appropriation of it.[26] However, Plato does not let Kallikles have it all his own way: he makes Kallikles’ Homeric allusion backfire. Sokrates, to whom he is speaking, is now cast in the heroic guise of the youthful Akhilleus, the paradigm of *andreia* (’courage’, ‘manliness’) to whom old Phoinix is addressing his own words in *Iliad* 9, rather than as the diffident whispering child, the identity which Kallikles’ rhetoric attempts to construct for the ‘unmanned’ philosopher.

An earlier example of Athenian public use of Homer is the epigram in the Agora inscribed on the three herms erected to celebrate the Kimonian victory over the Thracians and Persians at Eion in 476/5 BCE.[27] As is well known, this alludes to the Athenian entry in the Catalogue of Ships at *Iliad* 2.552–4[28] with the reference to Mnestheus in lines 3–4 as follows:

> *ὅν ποθ᾽ Ὅμηρος ἔφη Δαναῶν πύκα θωρηκτάων*
> *κοσμητῆρα μάχης ἔξοχον ὄντα μολεῖν.*

[24] *Il.* 9.441: . . . *ἀγορέων, ἵνα τ᾽ ἄνδρες ἀριπρεπέες τελέθουσιν.*

[25] Ford (1999) 237 with 237 n. 20.

[26] For more on the importance of the Agora for Plato’s *Gorgias*, and Sokrates’ rival claim to authority based on familiarity with the Agora, see Ober (1998) 193–4; 201–13.

[27] ‘Simonides’ *FGE* XL. See Castriota (1992) 6–8.

[28] *τῶν αὖθ᾽ ἡγεμόνευ᾽ υἱὸς Πετεῶιο Μενεσθεύς. | τῶι δ᾽ οὔ πώ τις ὁμοῖος ἐπιχθόνιος γένετ᾽ ἀνήρ | κοσμῆσαι ἵππους τε καὶ ἀνέρας ἀσπιδιώτας·*

whom once Homer said went as pre-eminent
in organizing the well-armed Greeks for battle.

κοσμητῆρα here picks up the Homeric *κοσμῆσαι* at 554, but replaces the Homeric *ἵππους τε καὶ ἀνέρας ἀσπιδιώτας*, 'chariots and spear-bearing men', with the less archaic and less hierarchical gloss *μάχης*. This use is itself intensely ideological. One of the two sources for this text provides essential democratic commentary. Aiskhines 3.183 states that the herms were erected only on condition that the Athenian generals at Eion were not mentioned in the epigram.[29] Elite interests are downplayed to the point of invisibility (at least in theory: note Aiskhines' *δοκῇ εἶναι*). This is intended to develop at least the perception that the epigram is a possession of the demos not of the elite: democratic, not elite, cultural capital. The epigram, qua democratic inscription, does not mention the contemporary generals, including, obviously, Kimon. Instead, it projects Athenian leadership onto Mnestheus, the figure from the mythological past who now provides a paradigm for the children of Athens to follow. However, there is still an inherent tension between elite individual and democratic group. The victory at Eion is made to transcend the immediate circumstances, to become a source of inspiration for the collective citizenry of Athens. But, at the same time, there is an obvious sense in which this is also an *attempt* by the elite to generate a false consciousness.[30] This is a democratic monument, as Aiskhines makes clear, but at the same time it is correct for Castriota to state that 'Cimon and his aristocratic supporters were well attuned to the enormous political value of manipulating mythic analogues in this fashion'.[31] Kimon and his supporters could also have used the mythical paradigm to naturalize elite hegemonic control, through

[29] *ἐφ' ᾧτε μὴ ἐπιγράφειν τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἑαυτῶν, ἵνα μὴ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ δήμου δοκῇ εἶναι τὸ ἐπίγραμμα.*

[30] Although I agree with Morris (1996) 21 that, in the case of Athens at least, elite ideology was dominant only in the sense that it 'reinforced solidarity *within* a would-be elite'. The aristocratic elite position was not securely grounded in 'false-consciousness' as such, but was negotiated in opposition to democratic interests, working best outside the civic space, in aristocratic symposia and inter-*polis* ties within *genē* and between *xenoi*. It was always contested by a rival, open, democratic position.

[31] Castriota (1992) 7.

reliance on general familiarity with the Homeric text. The epigram uses a mythical individual from Homer in order to remove any trace of class divisions; but the singling out of Mnestheus as leader can also be seen still to project individual elite power onto a mythical terrain. And all this takes place within the *polis*-centred context of the Agora which was the Athenian home of Homer, through performance during the Panathenaea.

The reason why publicly performed poetry is so important is because of the access allowed to the demos as a whole, however briefly, to traditional and authoritative forms of discourse which the demos could then claim as its own. In the early classical period, elite symposia were a major outlet for the performance of literary texts, since Athens had no *formal* education system. The Douris cup provides a perfect illustration of self-representing elite culture and the centrality of texts, both written and orally communicated, in the early decades of fifth-century Athens.[32] François Lissarrague shows how the representation of reading and performing on the cup offers an idealized view of traditional education, with the text legible for both internal *and* external viewers, as part of a trajectory towards poetic performance in elite symposia.[33] The cup itself bears representations of two similar cups, symbolizing the future performance opportunities of the boys being educated. The cup also bears two named *kalos*-inscriptions, which come to life and communicate within the particular elite sympotic milieu.[34]

Performance at public festivals whose locations included the Agora, gave the demos as a whole access to such material. However, this was only a relatively fleeting glimpse, until the systematizations and later professionalizations of book production and teaching brought in later by the sophists. And even then, education did not come cheap. This puts huge weight on the ideological impact of public festival performances and the references to culturally embedded texts that they contain. Kritias' reuse of Solon, which we saw earlier, is only part of a more general oligarchic assault from

[32] *ARV*^{2} 431.48; Beck (1975) 31, pll. 53–4.

[33] Lissarrague (1990*a*) 138–9. For more on book rolls in Attic vase-painting, see Immerwahr (1964) and (1973).

[34] Lissarrague (1999).

within on the texts and performances that were part of the Athenian ideological construct.[35] An important example is provided by the Pseudo-Platonic *Hipparchus*. This text offers an oligarchic perspective in the suggestion that it is tyrannical benevolence that established the particular musical culture of Athens, in particular the Homeric performances in the Agora, in order for the demos to become *sophoi* and *kalokagathoi* just like the nobility. See in particular 228b1–c6 thereof, where Sokrates is used to espouse this view:

ΣΩ. Εὐφήμει· οὐ μέντ᾽ ἂν καλῶς ποιοιήν, οὐ πειθόμενος ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ σοφῷ.

ΕΤ. Τίνι τούτῳ; καὶ τί μάλιστα;

ΣΩ. Πολίτῃ μὲν ἐμῷ τε καὶ σῷ, Πεισιστράτου δὲ υἱεῖ τοῦ ἐκ Φιλαϊδῶν, Ἱππάρχῳ, ὃς τῶν Πεισιστράτου παίδων ἦν πρεσβύτατος καὶ σοφώτατος, ὃς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἔργα σοφίας ἀπεδείξατο, καὶ τὰ Ὁμήρου ἔπη πρῶτος ἐκόμισεν εἰς τὴν γῆν ταυτηνί, καὶ ἠνάγκασε τοὺς ῥαψῳδοὺς Παναθηναίοις ἐξ ὑπολήψεως ἐφεξῆς αὐτὰ διιέναι, ὥσπερ νῦν ἔτι οἵδε ποιοῦσι· καὶ ἐπ᾽ Ἀνακρέοντα τὸν Τήϊον πεντηκόντορον στείλας ἐκόμισεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν· Σιμωνίδην δὲ τὸν Κεῖον ἀεὶ περὶ αὑτὸν εἶχε, μεγάλοις μισθοῖς καὶ δώροις πείθων· ταῦτα δ᾽ ἐποίει βουλόμενος παιδεύειν τοὺς πολίτας, ἵνα ὡς βελτίστων ὄντων αὐτῶν ἄρχοι, οὐκ οἰόμενος δεῖν οὐδενὶ σοφίας φθονεῖν, ἅτε ὢν καλός τε κἀγαθός.

Sokrates: Quiet! Surely it would be wrong of me not to follow a good and wise man.

Companion: Who do you mean? And to what in particular are you referring?

Sok.: To a fellow-citizen of yours and mine, Peisistratos' son Hipparkhos of the Philaidai, who was the eldest and wisest of Peisistratos' sons, and who, among his many noble displays of wisdom, was the first to bring the epics of Homer to this land, and compelled the rhapsodes at the Panathenaea to recite them in succession, one taking up where the other left off, as they still do now. And he dispatched a penteconter and brought the Tean Anakreon to this city. And he had Simonides the Kean always by his side, winning him over with large payments and gifts. *He did these things through a wish to educate the citizens, so that he might have subjects of the highest possible*

[35] See, for instance, Wilson (2003*a*) 188–9 for Kritias as a tragedian.

quality, since he did not deem it right to deprive anyone of wisdom, given his own nobility and good taste.[36]

All of the texts that we have surveyed in this section are significant for a full appraisal of Bacchylides 15, a poem which, as performed by Athenians in the Athenian Agora, contains its own corresponding mythological city-centre setting, the Trojan *agora*.

II. HOMER AND SOLON: TEXTUAL CONFLICT RESOLUTION?

ΑΝΤΗΝΟΡΙΔΑΙ Η ΕΛΕΝΗΣ ΑΠΑΙΤΗΣΙΣ

Α′ [Ἀντή]ν̣ορος ἀντιθέου
[κεδνὰ πα]ρ̣ά̣κ̣ο̣ι̣τ̣ις Ἀθάνας πρόσπολος
[ὤϊξεν ἁγνὸν] Παλλάδος ὀρσιμάχου
[ναὸν πύλας τε χ]ρυσέας
[ἀγγέλοις δισσοῖσι]ν̣ Ἀργείων Ὀδυσσεῖ 5
[Λαρτιάδαι Μενελ]ά̣ωι τ᾽ Ἀτρεΐδᾱι βασιλεῖ
[ὥς ποτ᾽ ἤντησεν βαθύ]ζωνος Θεανώ

[– – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑]ον
[– – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –]ν προσήνεπεν·
[“ξεῖνοι, τί δὴ Τροίαν ἐς ἐ]ϋκτιμέναν 10

[36] Whatever the historicity of the Peisistratean recension of Homer (see e.g. Jensen (1980) 128–58, Seaford (1994) 149–51; M. L. and S. West (1999) 71 for comment), the important point which is often lost in discussion of this text is its radically elitist standpoint on the relation between *mousikē* and *paideia* in Athens, and on the place of Homer in this. I disagree with the view of Wohl (1996) 44 that Hipparkhos is here democratized, in order to eliminate *phthonos* of the elite by the demos; the (presumably early 4th-cent.) aristocratic author is using Hipparkhos' authority in an attempt to undermine *rival* and *contemporary* claims that it is democracy that underwrites Athenian *paideia*. This approach, via what we might call 'tyrannical biography', is rather different in tone from the outrage shown by the Old Oligarch (see in esp. [Xen.] *Ath Pol.* 1.13—perhaps from the pen of the notorious oligarch Kritias who wrote tragedies and other poetry for Athenian performance: Wilson (2003*a*)) or by Plato, e.g. in *Laws* (esp. *Leg.* 3.701a–b; see above, Ch. 3, pp. 186–8), but it has a similar source and aim, presumably preaching to the already converted, in private and not in public. For a comparable view of Plato's use of Sokrates for private anti-democratic purposes, see Ober (1998), esp. ch. 4; see also Morgan (2003*a*), esp. 204. This passage from the *Hipparchus* is not, in my view, using the Panathenaic authority of Homer to bridge the gap between classes (Wohl, 43). Given the mention of Anakreon in the passage, see also the appropriation of him by Kritias, discussed by Wilson (2003*a*) 190–5.

[––⏑–––⏑–]
[τῶν δὲ πεντήκοντ' ἐμῶν παί]δων τυχόντες
[–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–––⏑⏑]ς̣ σ̣ὺν †θεοῖς
[–⏑–––⏑–––⏑–]δ̣ους

(epode α′ missing)

Β′ [––⏑⏑–⏑⏑–]
––⏑⏑ οὐ γὰρ ὑπόκλοπον φορεῖ 23
βροτοῖσι φωνάεντα λόγον σοφία
(11 verses missing)

ep. *Β′* [––⏑–––⏑⏑–⏑⏑–] 36
ἆγον, πατὴρ δ' εὔβουλος ἥρως
πάντα σάμαινεν Πριάμωι βασιλεῖ
παίδεσσί τε μῦθον Ἀχαιῶν.
  ἔνθα κάρυκες δι' εὐ- 40
  ρεῖαν πόλιν ὀρνύμενοι
Τρώων ἀόλλιζον φάλαγγας

Γ′ δεξίστρατον εἰς ἀγοράν.
πάντᾱι δὲ διέδραμεν αὐδάεις λόγος·
θεοῖς δ' ἀνίσχοντες χέρας ἀθανάτοις 45
εὔχοντο παύσασθαι δυᾶν.
Μοῦσα, τίς πρῶτος λόγων ἆρχεν δικαίων;
Πλεισθενίδας Μενέλαος γάρυϊ θελξιεπεῖ
φθέγξατ', εὐπέπλοισι κοινώσας Χάρισσιν·

"ὦ Τρῶες ἀρηΐφιλοι, 50
Ζεὺς ὑ⌊ψιμέδων⌋ ὃς ἅπαντα δέρκεται
οὐκ αἴτιος θνατοῖς μεγάλων ἀχέων,
ἀλλ' ἐν ⌊μέσ⌋ωι κεῖται κιχεῖν
πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις Δίκαν ἰθεῖαν, ἁγνᾶς
Εὐνομίας ἀκόλουθον καὶ πινυτᾶς Θέμιτος· 55
ὀλβίων π⌊αῖδές⌋ νιν αἱρεῦνται σύνοικον.

ἁ δ' αἰόλοις κ̣έ̣ρδεσσι καὶ ἀφροσύναις
ἐξαισίοις θάλλουσ' ἀθαμβὴς
Ὕβρις, ἃ πλοῦτ̣[ο]ν̣ δύναμίν τε θοῶς
ἀλλότριον ὤπασεν, αὖτις 60
  δ̣' ἐς βαθὺν πέμπει φθόρον·
  [κε]ί̣να καὶ ὑπερφιάλους
[Γᾶς] παῖδας ὤλεσσεν Γίγαντας."

The Sons of Antenor, or, The Request for Helen's Return

Godly Antenor's loyal wife, priestess of Athena, opened up the holy temple of battle-rousing Pallas with its golden doors to the twin messengers of the Argives, Odysseus, Laertes' son, and king Menelaos son of Atreus. So deep-girdled Theano once met them . . .

. . . she spoke to [them: 'Guests, why have you come to] well-built [Troy?] . . . and you have met (my fifty) sons, . . . with the gods' help

. . . since there is nothing deceitful in the spoken word brought to mortals by wisdom . . .

[The sons of Antenor] brought them, while their father the wise hero declared the whole message to king Priam and his sons: the word of the Akhaians. Then heralds, speeding through the broad city, gathered the ranks of Trojans

into the agora where the people muster. And their loud word ran about in all directions. Raising their hands to the deathless gods, they prayed for an end to anguish. Muse, who was the first to begin the words of righteousness? Pleisthenid Menelaos spoke with spell-binding words; the fair-robed Graces informed his words:

'Trojans, lovers of war, Zeus on high who sees all things is not accountable to mortals for their great woes. It lies open for all men to attain upright Justice, companion to pure Order and provident Law. Blessed are they whose sons choose her to share their homes.

But, luxuriating in shifty cunning and outright folly, brazen Hybris, who swiftly hands a man another's wealth and power, only to send him into deep ruin: she it was who destroyed those arrogant sons of Earth, the Giants.'

The *Iliad*

Bacchylides 15 stages, *in medias res*, the mythical meeting between the two Greek ambassadors Odysseus and Menelaos and the assembled Trojans at the start of the Trojan war. This is referred to at *Iliad* 3.199–224 in the scene where Antenor retrospectively recalls having entertained the two Greeks. I provide a text and translation of lines 205–24:

> *ἤδη γὰρ καὶ δεῦρό ποτ' ἤλυθε δῖος Ὀδυσσεὺς,*
> *σῆς ἕνεκ ἀγγελίης σὺν ἀρηϊφίλωι Μενελάωι·*

τοὺς δ' ἐγὼ ἐξείνισσα καὶ ἐν μεγάροισι φίλησα,
ἀμφοτέρων δὲ φυὴν ἐδάην καὶ μήδεα πυκνά.
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ Τρώεσσιν ἐν ἀγρομένοισιν ἔμιχθεν,
στάντων μὲν Μενέλαος ὑπείρεχεν εὐρέας ὤμους,
ἄμφω δ' ἑζομένω, γεραρώτερος ἦεν Ὀδυσσεύς·
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ μύθους καὶ μήδεα πᾶσιν ὕφαινον
ἤτοι μὲν Μενέλαος ἐπιτροχάδην ἀγόρευεν,
παῦρα μέν, ἀλλὰ μάλα λιγέως, ἐπεὶ οὐ πολύμυθος
οὐδ' ἀφαμαρτοεπής· ἦ καὶ γένει ὕστερος ἦεν·
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ πολύμητις ἀναΐξειεν Ὀδυσσεὺς,
στάσκεν, ὑπαὶ δὲ ἴδεσκε κατὰ χθονὸς ὄμματα πήξας,
σκῆπτρον δ' οὔτ' ὀπίσω οὔτε προπρηνὲς ἐνώμα,
ἀλλ' ἀστεμφὲς ἔχεσκεν ἀΐδρεϊ φωτὶ ἐοικώς·
φαίης κε ζάκοτόν τέ τιν' ἔμμεναι ἄφρονά τ' αὔτως.
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ὄπα τε μεγάλην ἐκ στήθεος εἵη
καὶ ἔπεα νιφάδεσσιν ἐοικότα χειμερίῃσιν,
οὐκ ἂν ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆΐ γ' ἐρίσσειε βροτὸς ἄλλος.
οὐ τότε γ' ὧδ' Ὀδυσῆος ἀγασσάμεθ' εἶδος ἰδόντες.

Yes, once before now brilliant Odysseus came even here:
for your sake, on an embassy with warlike Menelaos.
These men I entertained and treated kindly in my halls,
and from both I learned their natures and their close counsels.
Now when they came among the assembled Trojans,
and stood up, Menelaos was the bigger by his broad shoulders,
but when both were seated, Odysseus was the more stately.
Now when they spun their words and counsels for all,
Menelaos indeed spoke rapidly, with words
that were few, but very clear, since he was no wordy speaker,
nor wasteful with his words. And he was the younger man, too.
But when resourceful Odysseus sprang up
he would stand there and look down, his eyes fixed on the ground
beneath,
nor would he wield the sceptre back and forth,
but kept clutching it tight, like a man who knows nothing.
Indeed, you could call him an angry man, and a fool too.
But when he let the great voice go from his chest,
and the words like snows in winter,
not then would any mortal man contend with Odysseus.
Not then did we wonder so much beholding Odysseus'
appearance.

We are missing an important intertext, namely the *Cypria*, where, according to Proklos' summary, the embassy was narrated.[37] No mention is made of Antenor in Proklos' account, though this may be simply a result of Proklos' summarizing. There are, nevertheless, strong poetic reasons for privileging Iliadic material over the *Cypria* as key intertexts for Bacchylides 15.[38] As has been well stated by Griffin and Davies, the *Iliad* systematically avoids any of the narratives of fantasy and romance, especially in regard to Helen, that the cyclic material, including the *Cypria*, seems from our evidence to have developed.[39] And it is the Iliadic intensity of expression in Menelaos' desire for recompense that is figured in Bacchylides' narrative. Most importantly, even if the idea for the military encounters before the embassy was taken from the *Cypria*,[40] and even if stories associated with Antenor's family were present in the pre-Iliadic tradition as represented in the *Cypria*,[41] the *language* of line 46 will point us in an altogether Iliadic direction.

Two things should be the focus of our attention when we look at the similarities and differences between the accounts given by Homer's Antenor and by Bacchylides. First, Bacchylides 15 closes just at the moment we might think that Odysseus would have begun speaking. Second, note the indirect way in which Bacchylides informs his audience about the outcome of the embassy. Bacchylides 15 uses diction taken from a number of important passages in the *Iliad* in order to refer in an allusive fashion to events occurring in mythological time after the conclusion of his short narrative, in a way that works against the forced closure of the poem.

[37] *PEG* I 42. The names of Odysseus and Menelaos are supplied by Apollod. *Epit.* 3.28: Maehler II 131.

[38] Later I develop contextual reasons for this privileging of the *Iliad* through connections with the performance setting.

[39] Griffin (1977), esp. 43, with *PEG* I *Cypria* 12; Davies (1989) 48–9. The *Cypria* gives Helen a son, Aganos, by Paris, as well as a son, Pleisthenes, by Menelaos. The *Iliad* takes pains to portray Helen as childless.

[40] Jebb 365 ad loc. 46.

[41] As reasonably argued by Burgess (2001) contra Espermann (1980), with Gantz (1993) 594–6, 651–4; Scaife (1995) 186–9; Anderson (1997); Kullmann (1960); Wathelet (1989). However, contra Scaife (1995) 189, I seriously doubt that consideration of Bacch. 15 will shed any more light on the content of the *Cypria*, for reasons that will become obvious.

Pfeijffer's analysis of the poem is sensitive to some of the issues raised by the presence of Menelaos' speech.[42] As he makes clear, even if, as seems likely, Odysseus did give a short speech in the earlier scene, this does not solve the problem about audience expectations concerning the speech that Odysseus reportedly gave *after* Menelaos according to Antenor in the passage from *Iliad* 3, quoted above.[43] Even if Odysseus did speak to Theano earlier in the lacunose section soon after the poem's opening, this would do nothing to dull our anticipation of a demonstration of Odysseus' rhetorical power as recounted so famously by Antenor in Homer, notwithstanding the possibility that the description of Menelaos' speech as θελξιεπεῖ would naturally suggest the rhetorical prowess of an Odysseus.[44]

However, Pfeijffer's account of the audience's feelings about the absence of Odysseus' speech is less convincing. He goes on to say 'Bacchylides' audience will not have had any difficulty to imagine what Odysseus' verbal blizzard would have been like'.[45] But we are entitled to ask: *What would* Odysseus' speech have been like? What are the *problems* inherent in making such a judgement? Pfeijffer fails to take note of the difficulty facing modern scholars when trying to understand the simile at *Iliad* 3.221.[46] Bacchylides hints at an indeterminacy built into the Homeric text. Pfeijffer is correct to point out that Bacchylides has followed Antenor's analysis of the form of Menelaos' speech closely.[47]

Also noteworthy is Bacchylides' use of the poetic *hapax* ὑπόκλοπον in line 23: it is probably being used by Theano in direct speech, offering the Greek ambassadors the opportunity for an open debate

[42] Pfeijffer (1999*a*).

[43] Ibid. 50; cf. Zimmermann (1992) 67–8.

[44] Given the importance of θέλγω in the *Odyssey*, especially in relation to storytelling by Odysseus: see esp. *Od.* 17.518–21.

[45] Pfeijffer (1999*a*) 51.

[46] Cf. Kirk (1985) ad loc.: Do Odysseus' words come thick and fast, or are we to imagine a slow, cumulative, build-up? Although Pfeijffer cites both Kirk's and Willcock's comments, he conflates their divergent accounts, smoothing over the textual indeterminacy just as the words of his Odysseus hide 'any unevenness from view': Pfeijffer (1999*a*) 46.

[47] Pfeijffer (1999*a*) 46.

with no insidiousness, whilst also warning the ambassadors themselves to be open.[48] Theano's use of the *hapax*, whose sense might range from 'deceitful', to 'underhand' and 'contrary to appearances', could be a diplomatic way of referring to Odysseus, the hero of *mētis* whose cunning is displayed in the *Iliad*, but is most prominent in the *Odyssey*: see in particular the use of ἐπίκλοπος and κλοπίων at *Odyssey* 13.291 and 295 in Athena's praise of him; the verb ὑποκλοπέομαι also occurs, as a *hapax*, in the *Odyssey*, at 22.382. What Antenor remembers in *Iliad* 3 about Odysseus' behaviour in the ensuing embassy is precisely the way his true nature was contrary to initial appearances (3.216–24, quoted above). Bacchylides takes this Odyssean characteristic of trickiness and reality contrary to initial expectations, and applies it directly to his own poem: audiences expect the great speech by Odysseus in Bacchylides 15, but it is denied to us.[49]

A number of important questions therefore arise. What is at stake in the poem's forced closure, or lack of a genuine sense of closure?[50] What happened between the end of Bacchylides' narrative and Antenor's *Iliad* 3 retrospective? Are we even entitled, knowing full well from the *Iliad* that Odysseus' speech is supposed to follow, to think that Odysseus' speech *would* have been next if the poet had

[48] Lines 23–4 = fr. 26, located in Bacch. 15 by Blass, and printed in this position by Maehler. Blass noted a connection between φωνάεντα λόγον and αὐδάεις λόγος in 44 and βροτοῖσι and θεοῖς in 45. This parallel is marked strophically if Blass' verses are inserted at 23–4 (the second and third lines of the second strophe to match the second and third lines of the third strophe, with θεοῖς and βροτοῖσι matching each other at the openings of their respective lines), but not if the verses were placed elsewhere.

For interest in Antenor's description of Menelaus and Odysseus in ancient rhetorical theory, see Kennedy (1957), esp. 26 ff., and Russell (1964) p. xxxvi; I take Bacchylides' use of the Homeric passage as evidence for earlier poetic interest in issues of speech, style, and communication that Homeric poetry generated, at a time before subsequent rhetorical and theoretical systematizations.

[49] Cf. Maehler II 131.

[50] Note also the early textual critics' lack of consensus as to whether in fact the ode is complete as we now have it preserved on papyrus: Wilamowitz was in the vanguard of critics who wished to see Bacchylides 15 as incomplete, because the question 'Who first spoke?' raised by the narrator in line 47 actually seems to suggest that a second speech must have surely followed (though note that Bacchylides didn't choose to write, for instance, πρότερος, instead: cf. van Groningen (1960*a*) 192). But see Stern (1970) 294 and further Carey (1999) 26.

chosen to continue his narration? And what of the Trojans' reaction? Indeed, would the *Iliad* have in fact been composed (as a testimony to the Greek victory?) if the embassy narrated had in fact been successful? Bacchylides can be understood to be making a play on the *Iliad's* own internal reliance upon the failure of the Greek embassy in order for its own narrative of Hektor's downfall and the imminent doom of Troy to be played out fully. Mortal contingency and failure are here necessary for and, in fact, generate, Bacchylides' poetic achievement. If the embassy had been successful, we would have no *Iliad*. But neither would Bacchylides have been able to compose his poem, and use it to exemplify and to explore human moral frailty.

We are invited to ponder on the outcome of the Greek embassy, and also to think specifically about the moralizing words of Menelaos. He offers the Trojans a choice. We know from the *Iliad* that the Trojans failed to choose justice, and Bacchylides allows us to reflect upon what is at stake generally in making such a choice, without making it clear, on his version of the narrative, which choice they made. Moreover, Menelaos' speech marks the culmination in the poem of a systematic transference of language from the *Iliad* used there in specific scenes that are, in *mythological* time, later than the Embassy episode. This redeployment of Homeric language figures the scene created in Bacchylides' narrative as, in mythological time, proleptically fulfilled in the *Iliad*; it also makes us look more closely at the *Iliad*'s own account of Trojan guilt over Helen's abduction, and the ways in which the *Iliad* itself foreshadows Troy's destruction.

The marked lack of closure of the episode so at odds with the poem's own conclusion marked formally by metre, and, on the papyrus, by the start of a new poem, itself serves as a marker to send readers and audience back to the Homeric text in their hand or head to scrutinize again what happens according to the narrative there.[51] This invitation to read or recall Homer in order to fill out the meaning of the poem is an implicit homage to Homer.

[51] Cf. Kenyon xxxix. Kenyon 147 points out that, although the starts of the lines are lost at this point on the papyrus, the start of a new poem is guaranteed by a change in metrical structure (though still dactylo-epitrite).

However, Bacchylides' poem runs like a live radio report or web link which experiences a transmission failure. This loss of connection with the Homeric material invites us to ask penetrating questions about the gulf between Homer's text and that of Bacchylides, and to recontextualize our reading of both, and the audience's own reading of both, in the light of the final words of the poem. Bacchylides' poem asks us to privilege Menelaos' words, and makes a forceful point about poetic self-positioning after Homer. A poet can flaunt his right to choose what to narrate and what not to narrate, how to follow Homer, how to trump him, and how to turn down the invitations for literary re-enactment that he offers.

Crucially, moreover, because of the implications for audience responses, these ploys also encompass wider social issues. We must ask questions about the reception of Menelaos' speech: Who is listening? We are, at least; Bacchylides' Athenian audience will be listening and watching. Are the Trojans? We know from the *Iliad* that Antenor listened. Even if his thoughts concerning the Greeks' offer of a settlement failed to win the day, he at least seemed able to imagine what might happen if the Greeks' offer was rejected.[52]

The description of Menelaos and Odysseus in *Iliad* 3 is narrated by Antenor, and the episode is set up by Antenor's reference to his hospitable treatment of the two Greeks, at 3.207. Bacchylides' narrative invites us to recall this episode, and we are thus asked to associate Antenor with hospitality towards the two Greeks. In fact, in our poem, the words used to describe Antenor, themselves either not Homeric, as in the case of *εὔβουλος*, or not used in the *Iliad* of Antenor, in the case of *ἥρως*, stress the positive side of his character, and particularly in the case of *εὔβουλος* his moral excellence.[53] Antenor at lines 37 and following himself communicates the 'word of the Akhaians' (39)—presumably the news of their arrival, and possibly the stated reasons for their arrival—to Priam and his sons. Antenor is thus implicated as an active party in the communication of language, rather than a mere recipient of it. This puts Antenor—and his sons who lead the Greeks into the assembly: *ἆγον*, 37—on the

[52] See the mixed reaction of the Trojan elders, with Antenor among them, at the approaching Helen at the start of the *teikhoskopia* at *Il.* 3.156–60.

[53] For *euboulia* in the *Iliad* see Schofield (1986).

same communicative level as Menelaos. Note too the stress on moral vocabulary in the characterization of both of them: *εὔβουλος* in 37 of Antenor finds its analogue in *λόγων . . . δικαίων* in 47 of the Greeks' words. Moreover, if the words in lines 23–4 were uttered by Theano, offering a suggestion to the two ambassadors about the correct functioning of language in accordance with proper mortal wisdom, this would allow for an interesting comparison and contrast to be made with the presentation later of the futility of the Trojans' prayers and Menelaos' just speech about mortal responsibility.

Bacchylides implies a direct contrast, spelled out through an emphasis on the language of communication, between Antenor and his family, and the rest of the Trojans.[54] These points seem to destabilize any simple polarity between Greeks and unified Trojans.

One implication of the stress on communication, and the issue of who might be receiving the advice given, is that subsequent audiences and readers, acting in knowledge of the *Iliad*, are in a better position to internalize Menelaos' warnings than the Trojan audience internal to the poem. In this light, the poem as a whole seems to be making a general point about communication and the internalization of moral precepts. Patricia Rosenmeyer offers a similar suggestion in her reinterpretation of Simonides' Danae fragment (fr. 543 *PMG*):

> the Simonides fragment primarily concerns language, both its power and its weaknesses. The text crackles with the constant tension of attempts at communication and the apparent futility of human speech or understanding. Messages are sent out into the void, and the intended audience never responds, in word or action, within the confines of the fragment.[55]

The exact same is true of the relation between Menelaos and the Trojans in Bacchylides 15. Menelaos' words are spoken into a void, forced by the closure of the text. This asks audiences and readers to place themselves in the position of the Trojans, whose response is not forthcoming.

[54] van Groningen (1960*a*) 193 suggests alternatively that Antenor's good counsel is meant to contrast markedly with the lack of counsel of *his own* sons. My view is that interpretation of the responses of all the Trojans apart from Antenor and his family is pointedly underdetermined.

[55] Rosenmeyer (1991) 11.

Moreover, by putting a moral *exemplum* (in this case the destruction of the Giants by Hubris) into the mouth of a character, Bacchylides comments on the nature of *exempla* and the use of mythology for raising ethical questions.[56] Menelaos' address to the mythical Trojans maps onto a *khoros* in performance addressing an external audience. The open-endedness that results invites audiences and readers to ask questions about the potential for such *exempla* to have positive effects. It also suggests that the poem is a model on a larger scale for the offering of moral advice. The fact that the moral precepts are put into the mouth of a character internal to the poem's narrative invites the comparison between the process of communication between Menelaos and the Trojans, and the process of communication between Bacchylides' *poem* and *its* audience.[57] So questions concerning the reception of Bacchylides 15 are built into the narrative of its dialogue (or lack of dialogue) between Menelaos and the Trojan audience.

The main theme that I highlight in the following discussion is that the textual hints that Bacchylides provides remind us of what happened after the Trojans made the wrong choice, as delineated in the narrative of the *Iliad*. The open-endedness of Bacchylides' text (that is, issues of closure that it sets up) leaves it open for a *polis*-situated audience to question which choice Bacchylides' Trojans (i.e. rather than Homer's) would make. As we shall see, this makes members of the external audience for the performance of Bacchylides' poem ask whether they might ever have to make a comparable kind of choice for Athens, what such a choice might be

[56] It should therefore be obvious that we cannot argue, with Kirkwood (1966) 103, that Bacchylides puts moral maxims in the mouths of his characters because he did not have the poetic skill to carry them off in his own person.

[57] I note here that communication and interpretation through narrative are at issue in Hor. *C.* 1.15, a poem which uses Bacchylidean 'dithyrambic' lyric narrative as its main paradigm: see Lowrie (1997) 123–37, esp. 126 and 130; Lowrie (1995) 41–2. This is important, since Horace has captured exactly the theme of communication and interpretation as represented in an originally choral work by Bacchylides. I will develop a model of communication for Bacch. 15 later, when I consider the question of choral authority. For further work on *C.* 1.15 see e.g. Athanassaki (2002), though I would perhaps emphasize more than she does the communicative issues for which Horace must have been indebted to Bacchylides, and also probably Simonides: see above for Sim. fr. 543 *PMG* with Rosenmeyer (1991).

a choice between, and what the implications of a wrong decision might be for themselves.

The presentation of Theano as priestess at the temple of Athena at the opening of the poem recalls Theano's introduction in the *Iliad*, at 6.297–300, as well as the ominous context of that appearance.[58] Theano, priestess of Athena at Troy, opens the temple to the other Trojan women, and takes a *peplos* to the temple with the other Trojan matrons, to pray for salvation. Athena denies their prayers, and we are allowed a view of Troy's fall denied to the characters. The context of *Iliad* 6 holds the key for us to make sense of the link between the opening of Bacchylides' poem and the later description of Trojan prayers and general excitement at the approach of the Greeks to the Trojan agora. Line 42, Τρώων ἀόλλιζον φάλαγγας, '[the heralds] gathered the ranks of Trojans' again directs us towards the *Iliad*; first, via the verb ἀόλλιζον.[59] This transfers us to *Iliad* 6.287, where Hekabe's maids 'gathered the old women from around the town', ταὶ δ' ἄρ' ἀόλλισσαν κατὰ ἄστυ γεραιάς, to make their way to the temple, acting on Hektor's suggestion to Hekabe at *Il.* 6.269–80; the same verb is used at 270: ἀολλίσσασα.[60] Furthermore, line 45, θεοῖς δ' ἀνίσχοντες χέρας ἀθανάτοις, 'raising their hands to the deathless gods', although formulaic for prayers in the *Iliad*,[61] directs us in this context to *Iliad* 6.301, the description of the Trojan women's prayer to Athena: αἳ δ' ὀλολυγῆι πᾶσαι Ἀθήνηι χεῖρας ἀνέσχον, 'and, wailing, they all raised their hands to Athena', the line immediately following the intertext which structures the opening of Bacchylides' poem.

Bacchylides points us to the *Iliad* here to pose questions of interpretation, this time concerning his language. We are invited to think about the sense of φάλαγγας in line 42, especially in regard

[58] Pfeijffer (1999*a*) 48. The parallel is mentioned by Jebb 363 and Maehler II 136 ad loc. 2. See also Peppas-Delmousou (1971) 64 n. 38. I discuss in a later section the issue of Athenian cultic background to this episode.

[59] Pfeijffer (1999*a*) 49.

[60] This verb is itself exceedingly rare. Apart from these instances—see too *Il.* 15.588 (in a simile) and 19.54—it does not occur again until Bacchylides. Elsewhere it is only used in poetry: apart from 20 instances in Nonnus and one in Quintus, by Kall. *Hymn* 4.18 and Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 1.863, Hellenistic poets whose intertextual sophistication is widely appreciated. Its epic credentials are assured by the glosses in Apollonius Sophistes' *Homeric Lexicon* (37.20) and in Hesykhios.

[61] Cf. Kirk (1990) ad loc. *Il.* 6.257; the same form ἀνίσχοντες is used at *Il.* 8.347 and 15.369.

to δεξίστρατον, 43. As Maehler notes, *φάλαγγες* is always used of rows of warriors in Homer;[62] alternatively, as Jebb notes, Bacchylides may have in mind the Akhaians' march to a place of *assembly*, at *Iliad* 2.92. Awareness of the militarized undercurrent reminds us that, despite the air of diplomacy in Bacchylides' surface narrative, the situation not only for Troy, but also for the Greek ambassadors, is critical and fraught with danger.

The use of Trojan heralds (κάρυκες δι' εὐρεῖαν πόλιν imitating the Homeric κήρυκες δ' ἀνὰ ἄστυ[63]) suggests that, by analogy with the above Iliadic passages from within the walls, Bacchylides' use of φάλαγγας might be transferred onto a more peaceful situation. Even with the parallel from *Iliad* 2, the gathered Trojans must be unarmed, otherwise they would have had to have come in off the battlefield, which Bacchylides suggests is not what happened: the Trojans were called to assembly from around the city.[64] Coupled with the verb used in *Iliad* 6 to describe the assembly of Trojan matrons, the text offers us one interpretation, namely that the Trojans are unarmed, and that φάλαγγας is not used in a military sense. Surely the Trojans want an end to the troubles, and offer prayers to the gods to make it so (45–6).[65] So it cannot be, surely, that the Trojans are openly hostile to the embassy?

Or can it? Bacchylides problematizes interpretation of the scene by using a coinage of his own, δεξίστρατον (43), to describe the Trojan *agora*. We are forced to ask the same question again. Jebb translates the phrase in the manner of a Homeric epithet as 'the marketplace where warriors muster', suggesting that, on the model of Homeric epithets, although the marketplace can be so described because it could be a gathering-place for the Trojans before they go out to fight, the current situation is different, and the Trojan gathering is entirely peaceful.

[62] Τρώων . . . φάλαγγας / -ες occurs nine times in the *Iliad*.

[63] *Il.* 3.245: the fetching of animals for sacrifice; *Il.* 8.517: the announcement to the old men and boys to keep watch on the towers of Troy overnight.

[64] Although a sense of urgency is expressed with ὀρνύμενοι (41); this urgency is continued in the metonymous imagery of line 44, especially with the repetition of the preposition δι' as a prefix in διέδραμεν 44: cf. Silk (1974) 172 (momentary impression of a *human* runner). Such urgency is transmuted to the level of communication and λόγος that is at the very heart of the poem, as we shall see.

[65] And see Maehler II 141–2 ad loc. 44.

Usages of *στρατός* in Pindar not obviously military in sense can refer to an audience or gathering of spectators at games: for example, *Olympian* 9.95 refers to games in Arkadia. *Pythian* 10.8 refers to Delphi and its environs with *στρατῷ τ' ἀμφικτιόνων*, 'host of local peoples'.[66]

Two further passages are also of interest. The people of Athens are called the 'host of Aigeus' (*Αἰγέως στρατῶι*) at Aiskhylos *Eumenides* 683 in a democratic context.[67] *στρατός* is used in an obviously negative way by Pindar at *Pythian* 2.87, as *ὁ λάβρος στρατός*, to characterize democracy.[68] Both these passages refer to a people as a democratic body.

For an Athenian audience, these two different non-military parallels combine to add further subtlety to Bacchylides' usage. The description of the *agora* as *δεξίστρατον* would resonate for an audience within the Athenian Agora watching the performance of the poem. The Athenian Agora was a place both for hosting spectacles, including games, at festivals like the Panathenaea, and a place where numbers of soldiers would have gathered before going on campaign.[69] Moreover, it was an essentially democratic forum. I return later to these issues.

[66] Though as Rose (1992) 168 notes, given the previous military domination over the Delphian Amphiktyonic League by Thessaly (the ode's victor is Thessalian), the usage is not devoid of military connotations. Pind. *Pyth.* 6.12 refers to storm clouds from abroad as a *στρατὸς ἀμείλιχος*, but in the context of the contemporary threat from Persia (the ode is dated to 490), this usage is also militarily coloured. A peaceful setting does, however, seem certain in Alkman 3.73 *PMGF*: *Ἀ]στυμέλοισα κατὰ στρατόν*.

[67] Cf. also *Eum.* 762.

[68] Pind. *Pyth.* 2.86–7. Gildersleeve (1890) ad loc. cites Milton's 'fierce democratie' (*Paradise Regained* 4.269).

[69] Though there is no evidence for formal military gatherings in the Athenian Agora before campaigns (and given the large numbers involved this is hardly surprising), two sets of evidence do show that the Agora was an important location for Athenian citizen-soldiers immediately prior to departure: first, the fact that, from at least the middle of the 5th cent., phyletic call-up lists were set up in front of the statues of the respective eponymous heroes in the Agora (Ar. *Pax* 1179–81 with Olson (1998) 293 ad loc.; Pritchett (1971) 33); second, the functioning of the Agora as a food-market would have been important for soldiers buying their three-days' provisions: circumstantial evidence is provided by Aristophanes (e.g. *Ach.* 1085 ff.; *Lys.* 554 ff.), and we know independently that food-markets were set up on campaign for soldiers continually to be provided for (Pritchett (1971) 37). The *strategeion* was also in the Agora: Aiskh. 2.85.

But however we choose to interpret δεξίστρατον, we cannot escape the military connotations that the word carries in the context of a poem which looks forward, and back, to the *Iliad*, especially when warfare is at issue (cf. line 46). Bacchylides' reuse of Homeric glosses and invention of quasi-formulaic coinages in a non-formulaic, more allusive, style of poetry for a fifth-century context precludes stable interpretation of this language. This also means that we have no access to stable characterization of the Trojans' actions or motivations within the narrative. These militarized pieces of vocabulary should direct us to the martial scenarios evidenced by much of the text of the *Iliad*. Even though the phrase Τρώων φάλαγγας is Iliadic, it only occurs in scenes of fighting, *outside* the city. Bacchylides' text directs us to the military, Iliadic consequences faced by the Trojans if they make the wrong choice. We know from parallel treatments of the story of Antenor in art that Antenor escaped harm for helping the Greeks,[70] but there is no way of telling on the strength of Bacchylides' narrative what the other Trojans will do. The description of the Trojan *agora* as δεξίστρατον can also be understood as virtually proleptic: the Trojan στρατός in the *agora* may be on the receiving-end of the στρατός of the Akhaians, if the Trojans make the wrong choice.

The next phrase to note is μῦθον Ἀχαιῶν, in line 39, relating to the Greeks' request for Helen's return. An interesting reference lurks behind this seemingly inert phrase, since it has a Homeric antecedent at *Iliad* 7.406. Perhaps even more surprising is the fact that the phrase only occurs once in Homer, in that line, and nowhere else in Greek apart from this Bacchylidean occurrence, and in three late scholarly discussions of the *Iliad* line.[71] This rarity should give us license to investigate the context in which the phrase is used in the *Iliad*.

At *Iliad* 7.345 and following, Antenor and Paris debate about Helen and her possessions, during a disturbed Trojan *agora*.[72]

[70] From the Polygnotan Knidian Leskhe at Delphi from the second quarter of the century: again, discussed later.

[71] Porph. Tyr. *Quaest. Hom.* 1.524.28; Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 2.482.4; *Σ Il.* 7.403–4.

[72] *Agora* in the usual Homeric sense of 'meeting': *Il.* 7.345–6.

Antenor suggests they give her back (348–53); Paris refuses (357–64). Priam then changes the subject, realizing that the slight concession Paris has made will not be accepted by the Akhaians. Priam suggests that at dawn of the following day they make a request for a temporary truce to allow for the cremation of bodies. The Trojan herald Idaios duly makes the request to the Greeks, themselves assembled *εἰν ἀγορῆι* (382), and the Greeks' answer, voiced by Diomedes, and applauded by others, then follows, with Agamemnon's final word to Idaios. The phrase used by Priam, and repeated by Idaios, to request the temporary cessation, is *παύσασθαι πολέμοιο δυσηχέος* (7.376 = 395), on which Bacchylides has modelled his own *εὔχοντο παύσασθαι δυᾶν*, line 46. Idaios repeats Priam's announcement that they will subsequently go on fighting until fate determines that one side should be victorious: *Iliad* 7.377–8 = 396–7. Although Priam's general request for a truce is accepted by Agamemnon (408–11), these final words of Priam and Idaios are rejected in no uncertain terms by Diomedes: any fool knows that Troy is doomed to destruction; any appeasement is now impossible.[73] It is in Agamemnon's acceptance of this typical bluntness that Diomedes' response is described as summing up the *μῦθον Ἀχαιῶν*.[74]

It must surely be felt as strongly ironic that the *muthon* which in Bacchylides' poem we are lead to believe is the start of the Greeks' diplomatic negotiations with the Trojans is encapsulated in the *Iliad* by Diomedes' uncompromising bluntness when faced with the possibility of a negotiation, and summed by the Akhaians' generally delighted reaction to his strongly felt words rejecting any such negotiation. His words on the inevitability of Troy's downfall *with or without* the return of Helen, which Bacchylides' phraseology directs us towards, is a total rejection of the diplomacy that the events of Bacchylides' narrative exemplify. In the 'epic time' of Bacchylides' poem, the time for an end to hostilities is precisely now. But the recycled Iliadic phrase points us in exactly the opposite direction: hostilities continue, and Troy will be destroyed. Bacchylides' incorporation of the seemingly inert phrase *μῦθον Ἀχαιῶν* therefore invites us further to investigate the consequences

[73] *Il.* 7.400–2. [74] *Il.* 7.406.

of a Trojan failure to respond correctly to the embassy's request, through the textual undercurrents of the diction.

Additional textual links to Iliadic scenes where Trojan decision-making, ethics, and guilt are at issue, add to the overall sense that an Iliadic 'final solution' is impending. The juxtaposition between the Trojan prayers for an end to their troubles in line 46 and the content of the following line 47 is pointed. We might have expected line 47 to voice the prayers. But instead, the narrator breaks in with a Muse-invocation, which will again take us in directions that undercut the Trojans' appeals for a cessation, rather like the way in which the prayers of the Trojan women in *Iliad* 6 are refused at once by Athena at *Iliad* 6.311.

In line 47, the Muse-invocation which introduces the speech of Menelaos, 'Muse, who was the first to begin the words of righteousness?', again takes us to the *Iliad*.[75] De Jong investigates the three Iliadic '*πρῶτος*' Muse-invocations.[76] She points out that the last of the three (*Il.* 16.113) differs, in that the question there is not 'who?', but 'how?'[77] It seems, therefore, that Bacchylides' direct models were the two taken from *Iliad* books 11 and 14: *Iliad* 11.218–20, introducing the second half of Agamemnon's *aristeia*, and *Iliad* 14.508–10, introducing Aias. The context of these passages obviously concern *fighting*. Again, this might seem to be at odds with the seemingly peaceful diplomacy of Bacchylides' narrative. But military and Iliadic undercurrents are present just beneath the surface.[78]

Immediately we are struck by the first of the two passages. The narrator's own answer to the question he asks of the Muse at *Iliad* 11.218–20 supplies Iphidamas as the first man to come up against Agamemnon: *Iliad* 11.221. And he is a son of Antenor.

Agamemnon kills Iphidamas; he receives a grand and detailed introduction, along with the unusual intrusion of the epic narrator into the text at line 242 to call him *οἰκτρός*, 'pitiful'.[79] His brother

[75] Cf. Jebb 365 and Maehler II 142 ad loc.

[76] *Il.* 11.218–19; 14.508–9; 16.112–13.

[77] de Jong (1987) 51.

[78] It is, of course, also highly appropriate that the most strongly felt intertextual negotiation of the poem should be marked by the narrator's request for information from the Muse, the same goddess to whom appeal is made at the very start of the *Iliad*, which provides the most significant intertexts for Bacchylides' poem.

[79] See de Jong (1987) 12 on the pathos of the passage, with *Σ Il.* 11.243c[1] and c[2]. Also Griffin (1980) 133–4.

Köon—the eldest of Antenor's sons, whom the narrator calls ἀριδείκτος ἀνδρῶν, 'most conspicuous among men' in line 248—is then grief-stricken at the sight. He wounds Agamemnon with a stone (which eventually forces him to leave the field of battle), and yet is himself killed by Agamemnon. At 262–3 the two brothers are given a coda of their own by the narrator, which adds further pathos to the passage and memorializes Köon's fraternal devotion and bravery. We are taken by Bacchylides to exactly this passage in order to get a view of the miserable fate of even those of the Trojans who are pitied by the epic narrator, again so that the direct consequences of the Trojan choice in the embassy can be played out.

The killing of these two sons of Antenor is paralleled by the earlier episode from Agamemnon's *aristeia* of book 11, where the two sons of Antimakhos, Peisandros and Hippolokhos, are also killed by Agamemnon. A contrast in Homer's narrative is thus set up between the twin sons of Antenor and the sons of Antimakhos, who tried to bribe Agamemnon to spare them just as their father was bribed by Paris to prevent Helen's return to the Greek ambassadors.[80] The overall context of the *Iliad* 11 passage thus helps to create additional meaning for Menelaos' Bacchylidean speech and the implications of it for Trojan moral choice. Agamemnon rejects pleas for clemency by the sons of Antimakhos because they are deeply implicated in the Trojan outrage, and because they continue to show their lack of moral judgement by offering Agamemnon a bribe from their father's estate, money and possessions that their father received from Paris (131–5). Antimakhos even tried to kill Odysseus and Menelaos on their embassy: 136–42. Again we have a reference to debate in a Trojan *agora*; we are led to a scene in the *Iliad* where the embassy episode is again referred to. Bacchylides expresses the possible result of a scene he is describing by reference to a poetic text that in chronological time is prior to his own, and which he is systematically showing his linguistic indebtedness to. However clever this is on its own, the result is more important. We are directed to scenes from that text where Homer is himself looking back to an outcome that occurred in mythological time before the mythological time of

[80] Cf. Hainsworth (1993) 248.

Homer's own narrative. Bacchylides' poem skilfully leaps across textual and temporal boundaries to forge links and allow Homerically aware audiences to read more out of the text, through this extraordinary back-to-the-future style. This is marked by a Muse-invocation, the metapoetic marker most apt for an engagement with poetic heritage. These textual undercurrents invite us, and an Athenian audience, to ponder three alternatives. Will the Trojan audience of Menelaos' speech react with diplomacy and return Helen (Antenor's preferred course of action)? Will they react negatively, refuse the request, and suffer the Iliadic consequences of this choice? Or will they do away with the two Greeks altogether, siding with the view of Antimakhos and Paris as suggested in *Iliad* 11?

With this Iliadic background, we need now to consider Menelaos' speech. In a valuable contextualization of the speech within the language of contemporary morality, Fisher highlights how Menelaos' words match his portrayal of Trojan guilt in his speeches in the *Iliad*. The generalizations do not map onto Paris and the Trojans perfectly, and Menelaos' words fit into more generalized poetic paradigms concerning the fates of cities.[81] Fisher is right to point us in the direction of Menelaos' speech, at *Iliad* 13.620–39, when standing over the body of (another![82]) Peisandros. Here Menelaos is most explicit about his feelings of moral outrage against the Trojans; in general, his words work well as a model for Menelaos' speech in Bacchylides 15, as the only example of hubris or its cognates being applied to the Trojans in the whole of the *Iliad*.[83] In the second half of his speech Menelaos remonstrates with Zeus for showing favour to such men, and attacks the Trojans further, since they even fail to show satiety in warfare; he calls them *μάχης ἀκόρητοι*, 'insatiable in fighting', at line 639.

There is an additional pointer in this direction, through one of the characteristic devices of Bacchylides' poetry, his appropriation of and reorientation of traditional epithets. We might ask ourselves

[81] Fisher (1992) 227–8.

[82] This may be significant: see Parry (1972) 19–20 for a discussion of this second episode involving a Peisandros in the light of the book 11 scene.

[83] Elsewhere at 1.203, 214 (of Agamemnon); 11.694 (Nestor of the Epeans).

why Bacchylides has Menelaos address the Trojans as ἀρηΐφιλοι, 'lovers of war' in line 50. In itself, the word used in the context of Menelaos should direct us towards Homer, since in the *Iliad* it is used of Menelaos himself in nineteen out of a total of twenty-six times, and its only occurrence in the *Odyssey*, at 15.169, also describes him. It is never used in Homer of the Trojans.[84]

Bacchylides modulates the sense of the Homeric *glossa* and turns the tables on Homer's own usage, perhaps seeing an irony in the fact that Menelaos, whose characteristic epithet in the *Iliad* describes his fondness for fighting, is made to attack the Trojans for this same characteristic in the *Iliad* 13 passage at line 639. Bacchylides' text again breaks down any easy differentiation between Greeks and Trojans. Moreover, Bacchylides can again be seen to be making a play on communication and interpretability. The word could be understood as a harmless piece of epicizing vocabulary, and indeed we are left to wonder what the exact tone of Menelaos' terminology here is; but if we see behind it the reference to his speech in *Iliad* 13, again we are directed toward language marking future Trojan actions as morally outrageous.

Another speech of interest is that at *Iliad* 3.96–112. Menelaos' words are more diplomatic at this early stage than his words from book 13; but he calls Priam's sons ὑπερφίαλοι καὶ ἄπιστοι, 'arrogant and untrustworthy', in line 106. The language of lines 62–3 of Bacchylides 15, where Menelaos uses the phrase ὑπερφίαλους . . . παῖδας, 'arrogant sons [of Earth]' of the hubris of the giants as an *exemplum* for the Trojans, points to this Iliadic passage, where Menelaos had used the exact same phraseology to characterize Priam's sons: surely this is part of the point of Menelaos' saying in line 56 ὀλβίων παῖδες νιν [sc. Δίκαν] αἱρεῦνται σύνοικον, 'blessed are they whose sons choose [Justice] to share their homes'. We are pointed towards the passage in *Iliad* 3 where Menelaos indicates that Priam's sons have, by implication, not chosen Justice to share their homes: in fact, Paris has done the opposite and chosen Hubris, embodied in Helen, to share his.[85] Moreover, we will see in the next sections how the particular emphasis on sons is significant for the

[84] See Maehler II 144 ad loc.

[85] Cf. Fisher (1992) 228.

context of the poem's performance, external to the mythical space created by Bacchylides' narrative.

The historical and *polis*-oriented background for Menelaos' mythical *exemplum* begins to take shape. When we see Priam's sons behind the *exemplum* of the Giants this adds further depth to the suggestion I made earlier. The use of this *exemplum* in a speech embedded within a morality-tale directs us to analyse the whole of Bacchylides' poem itself as an *exemplum* concerning morality in general, particularly when we will see that both Trojans and Giants were powerful and well-grounded *exempla* for a contemporary, Athenian, audience.

The possibility that we are to take Bacchylides' text as itself a kind of paradigm is further confirmed by a final Iliadic intertext. In lines 53–4 Menelaos tells the Trojans that 'it lies open for all men to attain upright Justice', *ἀλλ' ἐν [μέσ]ωι κεῖται κιχεῖν | πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις Δίκαν ἰθεῖαν*. These words have been seen to transfer us to *Iliad* 18 and the description, on Akhilleus' shield, of the court case taking place in the peaceful city: 18.497–508.[86] Once again this is a scene that takes place in a city *agora*.[87] Lines 507–8 tell us that two talents of gold were lying *ἐν μέσσοισι*, 'in the centre', for the judge 'who could make the straightest case among them', *ὃς μετὰ τοῖσι δίκην ἰθύντατα εἴποι*. We are led to another text telling us about decision-making *ἐν μέσωι*. Moreover, Menelaos' reference takes us to *another* city, a paradigmatic example of a city functioning properly, which is thus another *exemplum*, in the context of the archetypal ekphrastic description, the shield of Akhilleus.[88] This allusion to complex Homeric exemplarity on the theme of civic responsibility further encourages us to read Bacchylides' whole poem, by analogy, as a similar kind of set-piece description. The central issue in Menelaos' speech, and by extension Bacchylides' poem, is correct moral action *within a polis environment*.[89]

[86] See Pfeijffer (1999*a*) 47. [87] Line 497.

[88] An ekphrasis that has been the recipient of recent work, relating it to events of the *Iliad*'s main narrative: Alden (2000) ch. 3, esp. 57–60 on the trial-scene. See also the study by Dubois (1982).

[89] Cf. Wilson (2003*b*) 168, with *Khoregia* 305–7 for the extremely limited evidence for performance by *kuklioi khoroi* in the demes, unlike with drama.

Solon

Certain references made by Menelaos take us to texts beyond the *Iliad*. He begins by suggesting to the Trojans that no good will come if they take no responsibility for their own actions and continue to hold the gods responsible in the controlling of men's lives: 'Zeus on high who sees all things is not accountable to mortals for their great woes', *Ζεὺς ὑψ[ιμέδων ὃ]ς ἅπαντα δέρκεται | οὐκ αἴτιος θνατοῖς μεγάλων ἀχέων*, lines 51–2.

As Pfeijffer correctly observes, this is in stark contrast to the Trojans' appeals to the gods as the first reaction to news of the embassy.[90] Menelaos' first words fit the narrative perfectly as an understandable and obvious reaction to the sight of Trojans offering prayers to the gods for salvation (lines 45–6), when in fact there are very practical things that the Trojans should be doing given the current circumstances. Indeed, we have already seen that references to *Iliad* 6 show how Trojan appeals to divine help to save the city (made specifically to Athena) are doomed.

But the content of Menelaos' speech, and the conception of justice and morality that it entails, are distinctly post-Iliadic. As Maehler points out, the immediate reference is to Zeus' words at the start of the *Odyssey* concerning the crimes of Aigisthos: note that this is another moral *exemplum*, one which acts there as a systematic model for the crime and punishment of the suitors.[91]

Other texts also feature. Hesiod in particular—on the contrast between Dike and Hubris at *Works and Days* 225 and following—is a strong presence.[92] This whole section of Hesiod seems a useful direction in which to take Bacchylides, since the Hesiodic description accurately matches both Bacchylides' own text and the intertextual relationships already set up (especially with regard to the city at peace from *Iliad* 18, and its counterpart the city at war). At *Works and Days* lines 225–37 we get the description of the consequences of having a just city, and at lines 238–47 we have the description of the consequences of hubris, the focus of Menelaos' speech in Bacchylides

[90] Pfeijffer (1999*a*) 45.
[91] Esp. *Od.* 1.32 ff. Cf. Maehler II 144–5 ad loc. 51 and 52.
[92] Noted by Zimmermann (1992) 68.

15. After this we get the warning to the kings, in which the following lines occur:

> *πάντα ἰδὼν Διὸς ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ πάντα νοήσας*
> *καί νυ τάδ᾽ αἴ κ᾽ ἐθέλησ᾽ ἐπιδέρκεται, οὐδέ ἑ λήθει*
> *οἵην δὴ καὶ τήνδε δίκην πόλις ἐντὸς ἐέργει.*
>
> The eye of Zeus sees all and understands all,
> and looks upon these things too, if he pleases; nor does he fail to notice
> what standard of justice this is that the city keeps within it.
>
> Hesiod, *WD* 267–9

These words have a significant parallel in the wording of line 51 of our poem (*Ζεὺς ὑψ[ιμέδων ὃ]ς ἅπαντα δέρκεται*).[93] Moreover, we are again directed to a passage where the justice of cities, and their elites, is at issue. However, Hesiod makes it clear that Zeus punishes men for their crimes (cf. *WD* 240–7). Bacchylides' Menelaos makes it clear that men themselves are responsible for their own downfall, and that therefore Zeus should not be held responsible for men's misfortunes.

This takes us to Solon.[94] Solon also works within an Hesiodic observance of justice and avoidance of hubris,[95] but it is his notion that men are responsible for the moral choices they make that is strikingly echoed in the opening words of Menelaos' speech.[96] The passage in Solon that most closely matches Menelaos' words is the opening of the fragment (perhaps complete poem) 4 W (*ἡμετέρη δὲ πόλις* . . .). Lines 1–10 of the poem highlight a number of themes that

[93] *Ζεὺς ὑψιμέδων* is also Hesiodic (and not Homeric): *Theog.* 529, with West (1966) 316 ad loc. Furthermore, as West (1978) 224 points out ad loc. *WD* 268, *ἐπιδέρκεται* is only used in this passage of Hesiod of Zeus: elsewhere in Homer and Hesiod the verb is confined to Helios.

[94] Fisher (1992) 227 and Zimmermann (1992) 68; see too Maehler II 145 ad loc. 52; earliest, and perhaps most detailed, Romagnoli (1899). No one has, however, yet asked why Solonian influence might be significant, except to provide additional strength for the grounding of a performance context in Athens.

[95] See now Irwin (2005) ch. 6 *passim.*

[96] See Anhalt (1993) 70 on this fundamental feature of Solon's thought in poems 4 and 13; again, Irwin (2005) ch. 6. The thought is also used in Theognis (833–6), but as Anhalt (1993) 63 n. 76 points out, Theognis offers a less consistent view of human versus divine responsibility.

we have already seen Bacchylides' poem pick up in Homer. We have seen Theano pray to Athena in *Iliad* 6. We have seen the punishment of the sons of Antimakhos, whose father was implicated in the rejection of the embassy, and was in fact bribed by Paris (compare *χρήμασι πειθόμενοι* at Solon 4.6 W). And the words of Menelaos' speech in *Iliad* 13 about the Trojans' insatiability in war which lurk behind the transferred epithet *ἀρηΐφιλοι* in line 50 bear interesting comparison with Solon 4 W line 9: 'they do not understand how to keep their satiety in check', *οὐ γὰρ ἐπίστανται κατέχειν κόρον*. There is an additional emphasis in both texts on hubris as the cause of mortal pain through an excess of thoughtlessness, *ἀφροσύνη*. Moreover, the ode to Eunomia, Solon 4.32–9, is redeployed in the collocation in line 55 of Eunomia with *πινυτᾶς Θέμιτος*, and in the vegetative imagery of flourishing attached to hubris. In Solon's poem Eunomia is guarantor for men of all 'sensible thoughts', *πινυτά*: 4.38–9.[97] Again we find a direct correspondence between the advice and criticism that Solon offers his Athenian public, and the advice, and implicit criticism, that Menelaos offers to the internal Trojan audience of Bacchylides' poem.

Anhalt's discussion of Solon 4 W sets out how unusual and surprising Solon's words are; her analysis is also informative when thinking about Bacchylides' poem.[98] In the opening lines Solon seems to be suggesting that Athens ('our city') will not be destroyed by external enemies, since she has a suitable divine protector in the form of Athena.[99] However,

> Solon's point, is of course, the opposite of reassuring. In spite of the fact that Athens has a divine protector, *αὐτοὶ δὲ φθείρειν μεγάλην πόλιν ἀφραδίῃσιν | ἀστοὶ βούλονται* (Solon 4.5–6). Solon's collocation is both disturbing and

[97] In poetry preceding or contemporary with Bacchylides, this adjective is only used elsewhere at Thgn. 501, and Pind. *Isth.* 8.26 (cf. also *Il.* 7.289 as a noun), and in none of these other passages is it used in connection with Eunomia.

[98] Especially if the poem originally opened with a contrast between Athens and Troy: so Anhalt (1993) 73; cp. Irwin (2005) 95. However attractive, this must remain a speculation. The *δέ* of line 1 is possibly an inceptive usage (Denniston 172–3); or it might mark the opening of a new piece in a sequence of orally performed texts, given the probability of early sympotic transmission: see further Mülke (2002) 100; Irwin (2005) 86 n. 4.

[99] Again, Anhalt (1993) 73.

unusual. The expected assertion would be *either* that the gods are providing protection, and, therefore there is no need to worry, *or* that the gods are not to blame, but we are destroying ourselves.[100]

Menelaos' speech makes it plain that the gods themselves are not responsible for men's pains; moreover, even though the Trojans do have a protecting divinity in the shape of Athena, she happens to be on the Greek side in the war. The point that Solon was making, in an Athenian context and to an Athenian audience, and that Bacchylides is also making, also in Athens, at the Panathenaea, is that *even if* a great city—such as Athens, or Troy—has a protecting divinity with a prominent temple, who receives prayers and dedications, the actions of *men themselves* are to blame for the refusal of gods to offer help.

Here we must replay the passage from *Iliad* 6 which Bacchylides' poem has already deployed, where Trojans guided by Theano pray to Athena for salvation, but where their prayers are denied: lines 297–311. By leading us to both of these passages, Bacchylides offers an implicit reinterpretation of Theano's prayer in the light of Solon's words. The first four lines of Solon's poem could almost be placed in inverted commas, the projected statement of a member of Solon's foolish δῆμος, the misguided assertion of confidence in the power of a protecting divinity to overlook the mortal wrongs that take matters out of the hands of that divinity: higher forces take over. Theano invokes Athena as ἐρυσίπτολι, 'protector of the city', at *Iliad* 6.305, in the same way that Athena is Athens' ἐπίσκοπος at Solon 4.3 W.[101] But as the *Iliad* makes clear, and as Solon makes clear in the case of Athenian excesses, prayers offered are no good when the protection requested cannot save the city from itself.[102] Moreover, the separate identities of Athens and Troy are again problematically merged.

[100] Ibid. (1993) 75.

[101] See too *Hy. Hom.* 28.3 for Athena as παρθένον αἰδοίην ἐρυσίπτολιν ἀλκήεσσαν; *Hy. Hom.* 11.1 for Athena as ἐρυσίπτολιν. Athens would have provided a plausible performance context for such compositions, whatever their date.

[102] Another interesting and suggestive parallel for Trojan prayers to Athena is Hdt. 7.43 where Xerxes offers sacrifices on an 'epic' scale to the Trojan Athena at the first halt on the way from Sardis. Here Herodotos is surely alluding to the same *Il.* 6 passage, to align Xerxes too closely with Troy for his own good (in the tradition of artistic parallels made between Troy and Persia): he thus offers an intertextual pointer towards Xerxes' future downfall. See also Castriota (1992) 103.

There may also be an engagement with Solon 13 W, especially lines 25–32 thereof. Again, the theme is the omniscient mind of the Zeus, able to punish mortal wrongs. Solon disturbingly projects such punishment into future generations with an emphasis on children and all descendants: 'even though they are not responsible, their children or their descendants thereafter pay for their deeds [sc. of their forebears]', *ἀναίτιοι ἔργα τίνουσιν | ἢ παῖδες τούτων ἢ γένος ἐξοπίσω*, lines 31–2. These lines could themselves be read as a negative corollary to the correct choice of Dike by the children of the blessed projected by Menelaos in line 56 of Bacchylides' poem. Again, a threatening undercurrent of specific application for an Athenian audience operates behind Menelaos' words, hinting at likely punishment if the correct course of action is not followed through.[103]

It is therefore highly significant that Bacchylides' poem, which shows a high degree of interest in moral choice and in the impossibility of fully understanding the world,[104] should have a character within its Homeric detail who uses language and moral argument in a way that points us in the direction of the Athenian Solon. This renegotiation of Solonian ethics through Homeric subject matter, narrative style, and characterization, operates through appeals to an audience internal to the text who are unaware, and to an audience external to the text who *are* (or at least *should* now be?) aware, of the implications of their moral choice.

In addition to such pairainetic uses of exempla, Bacchylides' mythological use of hubris to figure an act of aggression to be punished by war might also strike more positive and glorificatory notes for an Athenian audience. The dedicatory epigram inscribed on the Akropolis in *c.*506 to celebrate the Athenian victory over the Boeotians and Khalkidians (*CEG* i.179 = M–L 15) figures Boeotian and Khalkidian aggression as such:

> *δεσμôι ἐν †ἀχλύοεντι† σιδερέοι ἔσβεσαν* h*ύβριν*
> *παῖδες Ἀθεναίον ἔργμασιν ἐμ πολέμο*
> *ἔθνεα Βοιοτôν καὶ Χαλκιδέον δαμάσαντες,*
> *τôν* h*ίππος δ̣εκάτεν Παλλάδι τάσδ' ἔθεσαν.*

103 I consider the specific relevance of the focus on children for an Athenian context below, 300 ff.

104 See Carey (1999) 29 for the expression of these sentiments.

> In dismal iron chains they quenched the hubris,
> the sons of the Athenians in deeds of war,
> taming the races of the Boeotians and Khalkidians;
> for which they set up these horses as a tithe for Pallas.[105]

Read with this kind of text in mind, the evocation of hubris in Bacchylides 15 may provide a positive guide for Athenians on the correct and indeed glorious functioning of their own city in times of war. Yet we need to bear in mind that Bacchylides' poem is far from straightforwardly glorificatory: exemplification of Trojans and Giants in the poem is complex. It fits with two points Goldhill makes concerning behavioural paradigms:

> [T]he positioning of examples within a narrative not only produces the interplay of the narrativised example in tension with the framing narrative, but also requires a recognition of the constant recontextualisation and realignment of the example . . . [T]his constant recontextualisation also involves an intertextual dynamic, as the exemplary narrative is construed within a tradition of exemplification.[106]

This could even have been written as a comment on Bacchylides' poem. Bacchylides uses the Trojan context as a frame in which to direct his audience (us included) towards exemplary forms of moral action and the consequences that these have for the correct functioning of civilized society. Homer, and the *Iliad* in particular, is a treasury from which to learn about moral action, but Athens is further specified as the context where such exemplification can be worked through, primarily by means of the references to the Athenian *polis*-oriented poetry of Solon, and because of the resonance for Athenian identity of the gigantomachy.

The appropriation of Solon's language by a mythical noble within a democratic performance form creates additional complexities. Fisher points out that the question of whom the language of Menelaos' speech is directed at is allowed further play. Solon's 'blossoming of hubris' is either an abuse of justice by the rich, depriving others, or an attempt by members of the demos to seize

[105] For brief discussion, see Fisher (1992) 139 with Hdt. 5.77. That the inscription was deemed to be of continued significance for the Athenians is confirmed by the existence of two versions, one to replace the original damaged in the Persian sack.

[106] Goldhill (1994) 70.

wealth and power above their station.[107] There is a crucial sense in which the choice between these two positions is unresolved, deferred even, by the way it is bound up in the communicative complexity of Bacchylides' poem: a Solonian ethical and political position is represented to audiences by a member of Homer's mythical elite within a mythological narrative. I deal further with these complexities, and their ideological consequences, in the following sections.

III. ATHENIAN CULTURAL CONTEXTS

Performance in the Athenian Agora

Let us look again at lines 53–4 of Bacchylides' poem: *ἀλλ' ἐν [μέσ]ωι κεῖται κιχεῖν | πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις Δίκαν ἰθεῖαν*, 'it lies open for all men to attain upright Justice'. In addition to alluding to *Iliad* 18, as I argued earlier, the lines also provide a peculiarly contemporary gloss on archaic epic phraseology. The importance of the idea of 'the centre' for Greek thought about the *polis*, and for democratic Athens in particular, is succinctly stated by Paul Cartledge:

> For the Greeks, moreover, the 'civic space' of the political was located centrally. Public affairs were placed *es meson* or *en mesōi* ('towards' or 'in the middle'), both literally and metaphorically at the heart of the community, as a prize to be contested. The community in turn was construed concretely as a strongly inclusive political corporation of actively participating and competing citizens.[108]

While Bacchylides has been able to pick up the germ of this idea in the *Iliad*, in the Shield of Akhilleus, Menelaos' words resonate fully within the contemporary setting of performance for Bacchylides'

[107] Fisher (1992) 228.

[108] Cartledge (2000) 11–12, with Vernant (1985) 238–60; Lévêque and Vidal-Naquet (1996 [1964]) 9–17. See also e.g. Detienne (1999 [1967]) 89–106; de Polignac (1984) 87–90; Croally (1994) 165–6; cf. e.g. Herodotos' loaded introduction to Otanes' proposal of popular government in the constitution debate at Hdt. 3.80.2 with the formula *ἐς μέσον . . . καταθεῖναι τὰ πράγματα*, with Pelling (2002) 140 n. 54.

poem, the Athenian Agora during the Panathenaea.[109] And performance by *kuklios khoros*, the archetypally *urban* form in Athens, would provide the ideal basis for this.[110]

For Bacchylides' Menelaos, and at least the Athenian audience, justice is to be sought 'towards', or 'in', 'the centre', through the correct orientation of individuals towards the central, public, and inter-personal negotiations of a civic society. This is highly significant when we consider the likely performance context of Bacchylides' work at the Panathenaea, in the heart of Athens, even as part of a competition by citizens, something which we will return to later in the final part of this chapter.

In the previous chapter, I established the grounds for thinking that Bacchylides 15 was performed at the Athenian Panathenaea. Now I want to be a little more specific. The choral performance of Bacchylides' poem was part of a range of performances at the festival, and the content of the poem relates to, and can be seen to comment on, other such performances: in particular, performance of Homer, and the Panathenaic procession itself. For instance, Bacchylides picks out for particular attention the role of ritual in honour of Athena, because of Theano's presence in the opening line as priestess of Athena. As is well known, the priestess and her attendants occupied an important place in the Panathenaic procession, and, as we have already seen, Bacchylides' poem alludes to Theano's prominent role in *Iliad* 6, part of a work also performed at the festival.[111]

[109] We are here talking about the classical Agora, which should now be dated to the start of the 5th cent.: Robertson (1998) 283 with T. L. Shear (1994) 228–45. This new Agora will have been used for the Panathenaea even if there was some overlap in use between the archaic and classical locations, since this would fit with Peisistratos' refocusing of the festival procession to the north-west of the Akropolis: Robertson (1998) 290–1.

[110] See above n. 89 for the extreme paucity of evidence for *kuklioi khoroi* in the demes.

[111] We might consider at this point whether the presence of Trojan prayers to Athena in *Iliad* 6 is itself a later Athenian interpolation, as argued by Lorimer (1950) 442–3 and Sealey (1990) 130–1, following Bethe (1922) 310–20. Kirk (1990) 165 suggests that the method of electing Theano priestess at *Il.* 6.300 might be an addition sometime later in the tradition, perhaps relating to an Athenian recontextualization of the poem in the later archaic or classical period. However, Homer is not at all specific about the process of selection, so stronger evidence would be needed to prove the influence of Athens on the text. Nor is there anything necessarily anachronistic or specifically Athenian about the details of Athena's temple or statue in Troy.

It seems likely that the location for the Panathenaic musical contests was the Agora, before the Odeion was built next to the theatre of Dionysos, in the time of Perikles.[112] The route of the Panathenaic procession to the Akropolis made the Agora the obvious central space for the Panathenaic competitions.[113] Thus at the time of the performance of Bacchylides' poem the location of Panathenaic performances of both *kuklioi khoroi* and the *mousikoi agōnes*, including the rhapsodic recitations of Homer, was in the Agora.[114] Archaeological evidence exists for grandstands (*ikria*) in the classical Agora, in the form of post-holes at points along the Panathenaic way.[115] From these grandstands, spectators could watch both the Panathenaic procession and the various competitions and events of the festival.[116]

As with drama at the City Dionysia, the ritual context of the Panathenaea is crucial for a full appreciation of the poetry that was performed there, since the Agora was the site for both poetic and ritual performance; or rather, poetic performance there is a necessary part of ritual performance. Bacchylides 15 self-consciously uses Homer to comment on the performance of Homeric poetry in Athens, as part of the ritual and festival institutions of Athens in general and the values that they might instil.[117]

[112] Plut. *Per.* 13.11–12 (not in the time of Themistokles, as Vitr. *De arch.* 5.9.1, *pace* Davison (1958)); see now M. C. Miller (1997) 221ff.; Mosconi (2000); Musti (2000) 8. For choral spaces in the Agora, see Stephen G. Miller (1995) 219 and n. 148. Although we do not know of the precise date of Bacch. 15, his career roughly spanned from 495 to 450; as we saw in the previous chapter, Bacch. 17 may date to the early years of the Delian League immediately after the Persian Wars, but this does necessarily shed any light on the date of Bacch. 15.

[113] For the importance of the Agora for the Panathenaea, see Kolb (1981) 25: 'Schwerpunkt auf der Agora'.

[114] Cf. Maehler II 135–6, suggesting a close relationship between the reference to the gigantomachy myth mentioned at the poem's close and the gigantomachy scene on the *peplos* being paraded through the Agora in the context of the festival. More on this shortly.

[115] *Agora* XIV 126; Neils (1992*a*) 18 with 19 fig. 4; T. L. Shear (1975) 362–3; Travlos (1971) 3. These are likely to be connected with events at the Panathenaea. See Pickard-Cambridge (1946) 10–15 for discussion of the testimonia.

[116] On the 'theatricality' of the procession through the Agora, see Stephen G. Miller (1995) 218 n. 140 and *Agora* XIV 129.

[117] See Winkler (1990*a*) 38; Sourvinou-Inwood (1994) 271–2 on the City Dionysia and Panathenaea as archetypally *polis*-oriented festivals; Goldhill (1990) on the City

Civic Ideology

Despite a general familiarity with questions relating to the social function of tragedy, nothing comparable exists for works performed by *kuklioi khoroi*.[118] Straightaway, however, one might wonder whether any consensus about 'social function' is a useful goal to aim at. It seems beyond doubt that performances of mythologies about, for instance, the relation between state and individual, civic responsibility, or religious observance, were expected to resonate for both performers and audiences, asking them to mull over the kinds of choices on offer. But we should not take a retrograde step and state that tragedy, *or kuklioi khoroi*, force easy solutions on audiences and performers as collectives by appeal to the strictures of their festival frameworks.[119] Whether we see tragedy as offering deconstructive aetiologies for state ritual,[120] or as expressing the fissures within Athenian social hierarchies,[121] it is important to emphasize the level of internal questioning, or at least examination, of the very democratic structures that ground the performances themselves.[122] The delicate and paradoxical balance is well preserved in the following: On the one hand, 'Cannot such exploration itself be authorized by civic "ideology", the features of the city's character which citizens regarded as its most distinctive strengths?'; on the other, '[Recognition of competing ideologies . . .; questioning] must be set in relation to the recuperative, reassimilating power of an ideological frame.'[123] Goldhill is right to stress how the power of *tragedy* removes the possibility for univocal interpretation, but this lack of univocality

Dionysia. Sourvinou-Inwood (2003) 63 n. 120 criticizes Goldhill for an overly schematic distinction between poetry and ritual based on modern assumptions, but the very importance of Goldhill's article lies in the way it invites us to look at tragedy as a space within ritual that allows questions to be asked about such ritual; this point is reemphasized by Goldhill (2000) in response to Griffin (1998). Sourvinou-Inwood (2003) 250–1 seems to me to subscribe to precisely this view of the relation of tragedy to ritual, in her claim to be reading tragedy without the '"secular" filters' of others.

[118] See the assault of Griffin (1998), with responses by Goldhill (2000) and Seaford (2000). I return later to discuss Zimmermann (1992).

[119] See Griffin (1998) 41 against Longo (1990), though perhaps something of a straw target considering the age of Longo's 1978 original.

[120] Gellrich (1995).

[121] Griffith (1995).

[122] Pelling (1997*a*) 226.

[123] Ibid. 225; Goldhill (2000) 47.

does impinge on all ideological structures, including those of contemporary Athens itself.

Yet a similar balance operates in the tension between the symbolism of the performance of Bacchylides 15 by a *kuklios khoros*, the ritual context of its performance, and the narrative that the poem contains. We must see the poetic text as an important ingredient in the mix, not something somehow outside of any political framework.[124] But nor can we any longer conceive of tragedy, or the City Dionysia, as the unique arena available for social questioning. Goldhill states: 'It is the combination of and tension between plays and rituals which together makes up the Great Dionysia as the constitutive performance of the citizen as θεατής.'[125] *Kuklioi khoroi*, across the festival spectrum, also have an important, and central, role to play.[126]

Jasper Griffin has claimed that questioning of values is something that occurs already in Homer, and is not something unique to tragedy or to Athenian democracy.[127] However, it is surely true that in fifth-century Athens the theatre as well as the other arenas set out for institutionalized public performance did allow for detailed and focused examination of questions of importance for citizens of the *polis*, including questions about the very structuring of their city's institutions.[128] Moreover, Griffin does not take sufficient account of

[124] The 'text' versus 'context' paradigm has had a potent effect here. See Pelling (1997*a*) 224–5 for tragedy as *part of* an ideological system.

[125] Goldhill (2000) 47.

[126] This should be self-evident, considering, for instance, the 'serious' claims of comedy: see Silk (2000); recall the generalizable claim made at Ar. *Ran*. 1055 that poets have important things to teach the city. The possibilities of *kuklioi khoroi*, are, however, still generally ignored.

[127] Griffin (1998) 48–9.

[128] Rhodes (2003) wonders how close such questioning of political topics might bring us to thinking specifically about Athenian theatre as a distinctively democratic institution. In the case of Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs*, these works were written for a wide range of contexts relating to panhellenic sanctuaries in addition to multiple *poleis*. What I would say in the case of Bacchylides' Athenian poems is that, especially in the case of 15 and 18, there is a strong element of questioning with reference to a *polis* (Troy; mythical Athens), in addition to the kind of celebration that we feel in Bacch. 19; and I would suggest that this is something that is not present to anything like the same degree in Bacch. 16 or 20, the latter (despite its fragmentary state) looking like a far more conservative use of myth—in fact recalling Alkman—in order to uphold the traditions of Spartan ritual: see my discussion in the previous chapter.

the difference in themes explored by Homer and tragedy respectively, nor of the changing performance contexts of Homer.[129] Richard Seaford suggests, in response to Griffin, that '[T]raditional myth did not provide much scope for dramatizing "the conflict between democracy and aristocracy/oligarchy". It was rather centred around the crimes and disasters of powerful *individuals*, unencumbered by the institutions of the state.'[130] Although we might quibble with Seaford's refusal to bring the status of Troy as a *polis* in the *Iliad* into the equation here, he is right to suggest that tragedy is in part a reaction to 'the new realities of the polis'.[131] Moreover, we can see with Bacchylides 15 how closely the poem interacts with Homer as a text which has now itself become part of the contemporary Athenian festival context: Griffin fails to take account of the fact that the *Iliad* itself was constantly reperformed and appropriated throughout the

I disagree with Rhodes' conclusion (119). If 5th-cent. Athens, as a democracy, was a city which allowed at least some questioning of its own institutions—as Rhodes admits—and managed to welcome and promote the work of an extraordinarily diverse range of poets, artists, and intellectuals, in order, in part at least, to allow this, I do not see that such a substantial jump is needed in order to allow for the possibility that at least some of the Athenian festival-going public might notice that such freedom to ask questions was what made Athens, as a democratic state, so very different from other, rival, non-democratic places such as Sparta. I note here the view set out in Parker (2005) 181–2: 'Hymning the god and dancing for the god are fundamental forms of Greek worship. and yet it is remarkably hard to find Athenian men engaging in them in their simple form in the classical period. . . . [T]he great gap that emerged between Athens and, say Sparta in the fifth century concerned not just the presence in Athens of a new cultural element absent from Sparta, drama, but also the transformation undergone there by a traditional element, choral song, which lived on in Sparta in more or less its old form.' We should query Parker's idea of a 'simple form' of Greek worship through song for any period (see again Feeney (1998) 22–5), and I would add that Bacch. 20 shows that new 'choral songs' were produced in Sparta; but Bacch. 20 does seem to indicate a use of Spartan myth to figure the poem itself as strongly traditional rather than innovatory.

[129] See the response of Seaford (2000) 35–6.

[130] Ibid. 36.

[131] Ibid. Seaford's refusal here to deal with civic institutions in the *Iliad* is a product of his view that the total failure of *polis*-institutions in the Homeric poems (as he reads them) is a hallmark of their specifically aristocratic context of production: see e.g. Seaford (1994) 5–6; however, this is to neglect, for instance, the role of the cities on the shield of Akhilleus in *Iliad* 18 (which Alden (2000) 54–67 has argued function in parallel to the main narrative of the *Iliad* and offer comment upon it), as well as the importance of the *Iliad*'s own, admittedly fragmented, references to the embassy picked up by Bacchylides.

fifth-century when choral performances were at their height, and what the implications of such recontextualization might be.

In the case of Bacchylides 15 at least, I suggest the following: that the poem is inviting us to refamiliarize ourselves with sections of the *Iliad*, in particular the episodes mentioning the embassy and the consequences for Troy of its rejection, in order to make us think of the importance for any *polis* of the behaviour of its individual citizens, and of the relation between individual and collective. This relation between individual and collective is something which the *Iliad* is interested in (above all with Akhilleus), but not the unique focus of its attention, and not uniquely in relation to a *polis*-setting (there Troy). Johannes Haubold has argued that Homer offers an embryonic analysis of political issues relating to the people as a whole (the *laos*). My argument here is a complement, with a different emphasis. Haubold focuses on the possibility of institutional progress represented by the dynamic between the content of Homeric narrative and performance of such narrative in the institutional setting that the Athenian Panathenaea provided.[132] I focus on the way Bacchylides 15 might offer a response to such a notion of progress: How far has fifth-century Athens moved on from Homer's Troy in terms of the ability of its citizens to control the city and its destiny? Bacchylides' *polis*-oriented poem reorients the *Iliad*, putting this issue at the top of the agenda, for consideration at the Panathenaea, in the Agora.

Bacchylides uses the Agora, allusion to Homer and to Solon, and—as I suggest below—a *khoros* of boys, to engage directly with the way Athens used poetry and performance by boys to educate the citizenry as well as to celebrate itself. *Agorai* are used and alluded to throughout Bacchylides 15, as the central contexts in which the issues at the heart of this poem are raised. The decision involving the return of Helen and moral choice more generally is sited in the Trojan *agora*. It is to the *agora* that the Trojans are called at lines 40–3.[133] As we have seen, Bacchylides' language in lines 39 and 53–4 directs us

[132] Haubold (2000) 188–95.

[133] Note how reference to the *agora* is delayed in order for it to take up a prominent position at the start of the third triad at line 43.

towards Iliadic *agorai*: at *Iliad* 7.345 and following, *Iliad* 7.382, and *Iliad* 18.497 and following.

Solon's elegies, however initially performed,[134] were reperformed in public settings on festival days, which may have included performance in the Athenian Agora. Indeed, the seemingly apocryphal story about the initial performance of Solon's *Salamis* in the Agora related by Plutarch may itself have arisen through a retrofitting of the later circumstances of the poem's public reperformance.[135] Moreover, evidence is preserved that relates the performance of Solon in Athens directly to the public education of boys. The text of Plato *Timaeus* 21b provides evidence for the reperformance in public of celebrated Athenian poetry, including Solon, at the Apatouria, a festival that sought to affirm Athenian civic ideology:

ἡ δὲ Κουρεῶτις ἡμῖν οὖσα ἐτύγχανεν Ἀπατουρίων. τὸ δὴ τῆς ἑορτῆς σύνηθες ἑκάστοτε καὶ τότε συνέβη τοῖς παισίν· ἆθλα γὰρ ἡμῖν οἱ πατέρες ἔθεσαν ῥαψῳδίας. πολλῶν μὲν οὖν δὴ καὶ πολλὰ ἐλέχθη ποιητῶν ποιήματα, ἅτε δὲ νέα κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ὄντα τὰ Σόλωνος πολλοὶ τῶν παίδων ᾔσαμεν.

It happened to be the day of the Apatouria called Koureotis. The customary ceremony for boys held at this festival on each occasion was held then too, our ancestors having arranged contests in recitation. So while many poems by poets were recited, since at that time the poems of Solon were new, many of us children sang them.

Even if we are to suspect that mention here of (the anachronistically new) Solon in particular by Plato's Kritias is not an accident, with its own peculiar intent,[136] we can still see the rationale behind such a link between poetry and performance by children. As Eva Stehle comments, 'The Apatouria was the festival at which young men were received into the phratry. The point of the performances is easy to

[134] Bowie (1986) argues for the symposium as the initial context, whilst stressing the problems of interpreting the occasionality of these poems; he dismisses West's suggestion of 'some kind of public meeting': see esp. 18–19. Tedeschi (1982) 41 ff. argues that Solon's *Salamis* was originally performed in the Agora. Irwin (2005) 136–42 focuses on the rhetorical construction of a specifically Odyssean public identity for Solon here.

[135] Solon 8.1–3 W.

[136] Cf. Wilson (2003*b*) 187, with 210 n. 39 on Pl. *Tim.* 20e; see above, pp. 261–2, for Kritias' use of Solon to create an Athenian authority for his own oligarchic poetic output.

see: boys recited poetry that shaped their consciousness of political and ethnic identity at a festival confirming legitimacy, the basis of citizenship.'[137]

This is crucial for my argument about the power of Bacchylides 15 within its own context. Performance of Bacchylides' poem by boys would create an even stronger parallel between the internal and external contexts for Menelaos' words. A performance by a *khoros* of boys (*χορὸς παίδων*), sons of fully enfranchized Athenian male citizens, squares well with internal detail of the poem. There are references to sons in Menelaos' speech: line 56 *ὀλβίων παῖδές νιν αἱρεῦνται σύνοικον*, 'blessed are they whose sons choose her [sc. Justice] to share their homes', a line which directs us towards Menelaos' Iliadic words about Priam's sons, and also to Solon's words about injustice coming home to roost in future Athenian generations. And most important, as we have seen in the previous chapter, Maehler's reconstruction of line 12 [*τῶν δὲ πεντήκοντ' ἐμῶν παί*]*δων τυχόντες*, 'and you have met my fifty sons', provides a detail which makes sense only by reference to a choral performance by an Athenian *χορὸς παίδων*.[138]

The poem ends very abruptly with stress laid on the destruction of the Giants, themselves described as sons, *Γᾶς παῖδας*, in line 63. This final paradigm is highly significant. The myth of the gigantomachy was central to the Panathenaea, and thus central to Athenian identity. Although Bacchylides 15 tells us that, metaphorically speaking, it was Hubris who overcame the Giants, it was Athena who carried out the punishment. This action was celebrated on the pediments of the Archaic Temple of Athena,[139] and was woven into the *peplos* processed during the Greater Festival through the Agora,[140] the precise site of the performance of Bacchylides 15, indeed the major spectacle to watch from the *ikria*. It also featured later on the East Metopes of the Parthenon, as well as on the sculpted shield of the statue of Athena Parthenos.[141] More generally, the paradigm of the Giants was

[137] Stehle (1997) 65–6. Cf. Lambert (1993) ch. 4, esp. 160–1 with n. 103. Cf. Wilson (2003*b*) 168 on dancing for Dionysos by *paides*. For more on the Apatouria, see now Parker (2005) 458–61.

[138] See above, ch. 4, p. 241.

[139] e.g. *GSAP* 155 and fig. 199; Shapiro (1989) 12, 15, 38 and pll. 4 d–e.

[140] e.g. Pl. *Euthyphr.* 6b–c.

[141] See e.g. Castriota (1992) 138–43.

significant for Athenian ethnic self-definition. As an autochthonous race, the Athenians were themselves ultimately children of Earth. But unlike with the story of the Giants or other known mythological figures born from the earth, the Athenians had a fertile and so productive mythological origin in Erekhtheus/Erikhthonios, an origin that represents the foundation of the city as a civic body. This civic order was also renewed by the yearly celebration in the Panathenaea of Athena's birth and her destruction of the Giants.[142] Hubris and Athena destroy the Giants before they are able, even if capable, to have sons of their own. It has further been suggested that Athena's operations form the centre of a polarity between good and bad examples of earth-born. She slays the Giants, but protects the autochthonous Athenians.[143]

Such an opposition is, however, broken down by Bacchylides 15. In general the paradigm of hubris and the Giants was so powerful for an Athenian citizen because it mirrored, and offered a rival ethical possibility for, Athena's nurtured progeny. More specifically, the final words of Bacchylides' poem have relevance beyond their mythical confines and hit home for an Athenian audience. Athenians are invited to consider the potential for closing the gap between themselves and their mythical counterparts. The paradigm of the Giants used inside the myth is perhaps even more appropriate for this third party, the Athenians themselves. We saw earlier how Bacchylides' reuse of Homer plays on an uncertainty about how Trojans will respond to Menelaos' words: the *Iliad* tells us how the Trojans should respond, but we don't know how Bacchylides' Trojans will. Nor do we know how Bacchylides' Athenian audience will respond to Menelaos' words. Uncertainty about future moral conduct becomes as important an issue for Athenians as it is for citizens of Troy, and is an important issue for Solon, to whom Bacchylides has also alluded. This closes the gap between Athenians and Trojans in a way that allows for the paradigm of the Giants to apply to the Athenians as well, rather than to work in opposition to them, and as such we are to wonder about the possibility that Athens' own citizenry may be destroyed in the future because of the hubris of the current

[142] Loraux (1993) 47–8. [143] Ibid. 224.

generation.[144] Bacchylides manipulates the relation between epic myth and contemporary political realities in his usage of Homeric-style myth in a poem for civic performance by a *kuklios khoros*; and so Bacchylides 15 has the potential to destabilize the opposition between 'mythical fiction' and 'social reality'.[145]

The Panathenaea would have been the most prominent Athenian festival at which Athenians prayed to their patron goddess for protection, as well as success in all spheres of life, including war: in addition to receiving the *peplos*, she received an *aristeion* ('award for prowess') in the form of a dedicated crown, and prayers and sacrifices were offered to her cults of Athena Nike and Athena Polias. This, then, is Athena as the Athenian paragon of protection and success, and success because of her victory over the Giants.[146] Yet such positive cultic paradigms are set against rather more ambivalent and potentially troubling ones provided by the content of Bacchylides' poem, and its Homeric, Hesiodic, and Solonian intertexts.

The poem also plays on a double sense of *paides*. First, these *paides* are specific sons with specific fathers: the number of the mythical fifty sons of Antenor is invented—according to the reconstruction of line 12—precisely to map onto the fifty sons performing the poem in Athens, real sons with real fathers. Priam and his sons are also implicated, in Antenor's message to them in lines 37–9, and in Menelaos' words to his internal Trojan audience about the good fortune of fathers who have sons who are not like Paris (the message behind line 56).

[144] Here I take issue with Parker (1997) 153 when he suggests a contrast between the treatment of delayed divine punishment between Solon and oratory on the one hand, and tragedy on the other. Punishment of the innocent can be interpreted as a further problem rather than a solution: the varied responses to delayed divine punishment across genres from Theognis (731–42), through Euripides (*TrGF* V fr. 980), to Plutarch (*De ser. num. vind.*, esp. 12–14, 556e–8f) bear witness to continued conflict of opinion about whether such punishment of the innocent is unjust or not. At the very least, the fact that Solon leaves it unclear exactly *how* and *when* justice will come home to roost might strike some as disturbing. Parker is of course still correct to state the tragedy presents a more intense exploration of the issue of delayed divine punishment, through its frequent use of the theme of inherited guilt.

[145] Interestingly comparable, but even more extreme, is Gellrich's (1995) reading of Euripides' *Bacchae*.

[146] See Parker (2005) 265–6; 397–9 with Eur. *Ion* 1528–9.

Second, however, the reference to the Giants as sons of Earth with which the poem closes creates a parallel with the autochthonous citizens of Athens as a whole who are also sons of Earth. It is this double reference to both a general and a specific sense for *paides* in Athens that provides the link between, on the one hand, a specific choral performance by a group of Athenian boys in the Agora, and, on the other, questions and concerns for the whole citizenry of Athens. The context which generates this link is the Panathenaea, which celebrated, in part, Athena's victory over those Earth-born Giants.

Moreover, as Stehle's observation quoted earlier makes clear, performance by boys shaped their political consciousness.[147] My interpretation of Bacchylides 15 therefore fits with the observation of Jack Winkler, albeit in a discussion of drama: Bacchylides 15 was itself an 'elaborate symbolic play on themes of proper and improper civic behavior, in which the principal component of proper male citizenship was military'.[148] Participation in *kuklioi khoroi* performing works like Bacchylides 15 reinforced the education of Athenian boys in the social operations and ethical foundations of their city.

Tragedy, Rhapsody, and Closure

In order to understand how Bacchylides 15 engaged with its audience as a choral performance, we need to develop a model for the authority of its *khoros*. This will take us in three directions: to comparison with the role and operation of the tragic *khoros*; to the way in which Homeric rhapsodes were thought to engage with their

[147] Indeed it is possible that Panathenaic *kuklioi khoroi* were influenced by a military strand present in Panathenaic *pyrrhikhē* which was likely to have been performed, at least in the earlier post-Kleisthenic period, in the Agora also: see esp. Ceccarelli (1998) 87 with n. 279; Ceccarelli (2004) 93–9 for a brief survey of Panathenaic *pyrrhikhē*. For *khoreutai* exempted from military service, see Stehle (1997) 13 and esp. Winkler (1990*a*) 48 with Dem. 21.15 and 39.16; cf. Winkler (1990*a*) 56 for Aristoxenos' evidence for boys' training in both *khoroi* and military dancing; Foley (2003) 8–9, with nn. 33 and 36.

[148] The classic formulation of Winkler (1990*a*) 20.

audiences; and to the issue of closure. The reason for this triple focus is that while Bacchylides' *khoros* bears comparison in some ways to tragic *khoroi*, the communicative strategy and style of the poem is rather more reminiscent of the way rhapsodic performance of Homer, and performance of other predominantly narrative forms such as narrative oratory, were thought to operate. Comparison with the tragic *khoros* will help us think about the authority of Bacchylides' *khoros* as a group of speakers; comparison with other kinds of performance will encourage us to think about how Bacchylides' poetic style may have been influenced by a tradition of narrative lyric in performance, as well as by the expectations of a specific festival audience and by contamination and influence by other performances at this festival, and how Bacchylides invites his audience to empathize with the events narrated. A discussion of closure will highlight how Bacchylides responds to the conditions and limitations of choral performance in order to allow the performance further to affect its audience.

Because so little work has been done on the role or function of the *kuklios khoros*, we have to turn to consideration of the tragic *khoros*, which has received more attention. More importantly, by thinking about the communicative dynamic between *khoros* and audience with *kuklioi khoroi* we might be in a better position to situate this form on a discursive axis of Athenian public performance ranging between the opposing poles of tragedy, with its power to disorder, and of funeral oration, with its power to idealize.[149] In the case of the earlier classical *kuklioi khoroi*, the likely absence of masks marks an important difference from tragedy.[150]

The model of the *khoros* as an 'idealized spectator' suits *kuklioi khoroi* even less well than it does tragedy.[151] Matters are different in the case of this form because of a difference from tragedy in terms of the *khoros*' marginality and its 'rootedness' in certain social and ritual scenarios.[152] If the *khoreutai* did not wear masks, their identity would have been rooted in the context of the performance rather than in the world of the myth which they narrate. However, this does

[149] See Pelling (1997*a*) 229; 235.

[150] Absence of masks: see above Ch. 3, n. 90.

[151] Goldhill (1996) 245 on tragedy.

[152] See Gould (1996) 226 on tragedy.

not mean that the questions of communication or interpretation are any less complex than with tragedy. Menelaos' words, ventriloquized by the *khoros* in performance,[153] are directed at a body of Trojans internal to the narrative, but resonate beyond their mythical confines into the performance setting, imposing themselves on members of the external audience for internalization. This narrated body of Trojans, whose responses are not described, are in a sense in the same position as would be the *khoros* in a tragedy if Menelaos' words, as spoken by an actor, were directed at a large body of people on the stage in the same kind of mythical setting. But Menelaos' words can be interpreted as more directly engaging the *external* audience than with tragedy, since the internal audience is not fully represented. I suggest that it is the group-identity of the performing *khoros* as visible and recognizable Athenians that plays an important part in authorizing their narrative and the words of Menelaos.

The authority of Homer and of Homeric performance also plays a significant part. The way in which Bacchylides' *khoros* can access mythological material and present the words of a mythological character to its audience can be thought of as mimetic. However, this is more reminiscent of the way rhapsodes might be thought to be mimetic. We do have ancient evidence that suggests that 'dithyramb' was thought of as mimetic. In the notorious passage from book 3 of the *Republic* Plato (394b–c) seems to separate out 'dithyramb'—as a non-mimetic narrative form in which the poet or performer speaks as himself and does not adopt a different identity—from other more mimetic forms of Homer and especially tragedy.[154] However, Plato has a classificatory agenda here which actually ignores the operation of the *khoros*. Plato makes no mention here of *kuklioi khoroi*, and he also ignores the fact that the New Musical *dithyrambopoioi* of his

[153] It is not clear that there was any strict distinction of parts between *khoros* and *koruphaios* in early performances by *kuklioi khoroi*. No division of parts is visible in Bacch. 15; and even in the case of Bacch. 18 it is far from certain that Aigeus' words would have been sung by a single voice rather than by the *khoros en masse*; in any case, the existence of some separate parts for a *koruphaios* would not imply that a *koruphaios* did not also sing with the *khoros* in other sections. See more below on the significance of group identity in *kuklioi khoroi*.

[154] Above, Ch. 3, p. 207.

day were likely to have produced extraordinarily mimetic works, far more so than in Bacchylides' day: these are crucial omissions.[155] Only a few sections later Plato does in fact admit that even works which do not necessitate the adoption of another persona can be considered mimetic in some sense.[156] Later in the *Laws* he admits that all forms of *khoreia* can be imitative.[157]

Aristotle chooses to describe as mimetic even those forms which involve speaking in one's own person without adopting the persona of another.[158] Although he refrains here from applying the name 'dithyramb' to this category, his analysis of representative mimetic types a little earlier does include 'dithyramb', at *Poetics* 1447[a]13–16.[159] Furthermore, as Andrea Rotstein has argued, the six different poetic types mentioned there by Aristotle map directly onto categories of competition at the major Athenian festivals, the City Dionysia and Great Panathenaea in the fourth century as attested epigraphically.[160]

We can, therefore, make some headway if we consider the narratological similarity between some of Bacchylides' '*kuklia*' and Homer, and the way in which rhapsodes *performed* Homer at festivals such as the Panathenaea. As is plain to see, even in the case of works such as Bacchylides 15 and 17, there is plenty of scope for character-text: there are (or were) speeches by Theano, possibly by Odysseus, and by Menelaos in Bacchylides 15; by Theseus and Minos in Bacchylides 17; this is also true with Simonides' Danae fragment, which may also

[155] For the later New Musical output, see above Ch. 3, p. 188 ff., with Csapo (2004); mimeticism: Zimmermann (1992) 127–8.

[156] *Rep.* 3.396c–d: *Ὁ μέν μοι δοκεῖ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, μέτριος ἀνήρ, ἐπειδὰν ἀφίκηται ἐν τῇ διηγήσει ἐπὶ λέξιν τινὰ ἢ πρᾶξιν ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ, ἐθελήσειν ὡς αὐτὸς ὢν ἐκεῖνος ἀπαγγέλλειν καὶ οὐκ αἰσχυνεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ μιμήσει, μάλιστα μὲν μιμούμενος κτλ*. Cf. Plato's earlier discussion, *Rep.* 3.393a–b, of Homer's imitation of Khryses in the opening of the *Iliad.*

[157] *Leg.* 2.655d: *Ἐπειδὴ μιμήματα τρόπων ἐστὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς χορείας, ἐν πράξεσί τε παντοδαπαῖς γιγνόμενα καὶ τύχαις, καὶ ἤθεσι καὶ μιμήσεσι διεξιόντων ἑκαστων, οἷς μὲν ἂν πρὸς τρόπου τὰ ῥηθέντα ἢ μελῳδηθέντα ἢ καὶ ὁπωσοῦν χορευθέντα κτλ.*

[158] *Poe.* 1448[a]19–29.

[159] *ἐποποιία δὴ καὶ ἡ τῆς τραγῳδίας ποίησις ἔτι δὲ κωμῳδία καὶ ἡ διθυραμβοποιητικὴ καὶ τῆς αὐλητικῆς ἡ πλείστη καὶ κιθαριστικῆς πᾶσαι τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι μιμήσεις τὸ σύνολον.*

[160] Rotstein (2004).

be part of a '*kuklion*'.[161] If we consider Bacchylidean narrator- and character-text as mimetic, this bears on how the poem affects both performers and audiences. The passage from *Republic* 396c–d cited above implies that, even in narrative, poets or readers, or indeed performers and audiences, are capable of thinking for themselves about the characters whose words and actions are represented in the words of such narratives, and how they themselves relate to such characters.

The capacity of rhapsodes to communicate expressively with their audiences in the performance of Homeric narrative is explored in detail in Plato's *Ion*. Though the outlandish claims of Ion are designed to sound ridiculous, they contain enough truth to offer a picture of what one might expect from an accomplished rhapsode. Bacchylides himself exploits the authority of Homer to enable his *khoros* effectively to engage its audience, as is clear in the use of the Muse-invocation in line 47 of Bacchylides 15. Menelaos' speech to the Trojans works as a voice from the void, summoned from a construction of the epic past in a choral performance to authorize the words the *khoros* sings. The Homeric artificiality of diction and the epicizing use of dactylo-epitrite metre are also designed to impress the audience, as well as displaying Bacchylides' indebtedness to a tradition of narrative lyric taking us back via Simonides to Stesikhoros, who may also have operated in contexts where performance of Homer was prominent.[162] Use of highly stylized diction is comparable with, though once again interestingly different from, the utterance of the tragic *khoros*: in tragedy, the high style of choral lyric which intensifies their utterance and thus impacts more strongly on audiences frequently clashes markedly with the lower status of the fictional roles that *khoroi* adopt.[163] For Bacchylides 15, however, the stylization of the narrative which is one among a number of factors

[161] In addition to these better-known texts, compare the following fragments of Bacchylides, all of which contained direct speech: Bacch. 24 (ταῦτ' ϵ[ἶ]πϵ, 13); Bacch. 27, *Khiron*(?) (direct and reported speech: ἐνέπϵι, 35, φατί, 36); Bacch. fr. dub. 60 (τοι[α]ύτα φάτις, 21, following a section containing female first-person subjects lamenting on a Trojan theme).

[162] Stesikhoros and Homeric performance: Burkert (1987). See earlier, Ch. 3, p. 188 for Bacchylides' place in this branch of the lyric tradition.

[163] Silk (1998), esp. 16–17.

designed to impress and affect an audience does not clash with any question about the status of the *khoros* per se, who are visibly Athenian citizens authorized to sing by access to Homeric myth and language. The ability to affect the emotions of an audience are crucial to success in rhapsodic competitions also, as Ion so brashly points out to Sokrates.[164]

The precise mechanisms by which texts engage their audiences come within the broad, if rather loose, category of mimesis, but it is to these rhetorical techniques that we need now to turn. One particular hallmark of Bacchylidean narrative and speeches is their vividness, *enargeia*. As Chris Carey has discussed, it is the way that Bacchylides also uses narrative to explore and evince moral character in order to create *pistis*, 'credibility', in his audience that is a hallmark of his style, and one that makes Bacchylides on occasion seem rather more akin to Homer than he does to Pindar.[165] This is nowhere more true than with his *Dithyrambs*. Bacchylidean clarity or vividness of description is a constant in literary criticism, but in general this is equated far too regularly with stylistic simplicity, the result being that Bacchylides is damned with faint praise.[166] It is no accident that *enargeia* is the quality that Ion picks up on as Sokrates in the *Ion* questions the rhapsode about his own emotional state when he affects the emotions of his audience through climactic narrations:

> *ΣΩ. Ἔχε δή μοι τόδε εἰπέ, ὦ Ἴων, καὶ μὴ ἀποκρύψῃ ὅτι ἄν σε ἔρωμαι· ὅταν εὖ εἴπῃς ἔπη καὶ ἐκπλήξῃς μάλιστα τοὺς θεωμένους, ἢ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα ὅταν ἐπὶ τὸν οὐδὸν ἐφαλλόμενον ᾄδῃς, ἐκφανῆ γιγνόμενον τοῖς μνηστῆρσι καὶ ἐκχέοντα τοὺς ὀιστοὺς πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν, ἢ Ἀχιλλέα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἕκτορα ὁρμῶντα, ἢ καὶ τῶν περὶ Ἀνδρομάχην ἐλεινῶν τι ἢ περὶ Ἑκάβην ἢ περὶ Πρίαμον, τότε πότερον ἔμφρων εἶ ἢ ἔξω σαυτοῦ γίγνῃ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πράγμασιν οἴεταί σου εἶναι ἡ ψυχὴ οἷς λέγεις ἐνθουσιάζουσα, ἢ ἐν Ἰθάκῃ οὖσιν ἢ ἐν Τροίᾳ ἢ ὅπως ἂν καὶ τὰ ἔπη ἔχῃ;*
>
> *ΙΩΝ Ὡς ἐναργές μοι τοῦτο, ὦ Σώκρατες, τὸ τεκμήριον εἶπες·*

[164] Pl. *Ion* 535e.

[165] Carey (1999), esp. 17–21.

[166] In particular [Long.] *De subl.* 33.5, followed by Kirkwood (1966), e.g. 101 on his use of epithets: 'On the whole the effect is of great naïveté rather than of cleverness of application, of fervor, or of philosophical profundity. The impression in general is simplicity, tunefulness, color, and pictorial effect. In other words, Bacchylides' use of epithets is essentially a part of his narrative and descriptive art.'

Sokrates: Stop now and tell me, Ion, without reserve, what I ask: when you give a good recitation and particularly thrill your audience, either when you sing of Odysseus leaping forth onto the threshold, revealing himself to the suitors and pouring out his arrows at his feet, or of Akhilleus rushing at Hektor, or part of the pitiful story of Andromakhe or Hekabe or Priam, are you then still in possession of your senses, or are you carried out of yourself, *and does your soul suppose in ecstasy it is part of the scenes you are describing, whether they be in Ithaka, or in Troy, or anywhere else the poems put them?*

Ion: *How vivid this part of your proof is, Sokrates.*

Plato, *Ion* 535b–c

It is precisely these kinds of rhapsodic set-pieces, notable for their vividness, which Bacchylides appropriates for different performance form with different concerns.

Enargeia is a quality that Bacchylides shares not only with Homer, but also with other authors renowned for the style and impact of their narratives, most obviously with the poetry of his uncle Simonides, the vivid quality of whose work is noted by critics in antiquity.[167] In the case of the orator Lysias, Dionysius of Halicarnassus states it is because of its 'vividness', *enargeia*, that his narrative grips its audiences or readers:

ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐνάργειαν πολλὴν ἡ Λυσίου λέξις. αὕτη δ᾽ ἐστὶ δύναμίς τις ὑπὸ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἄγουσα τὰ λεγόμενα, γίγνεται δ᾽ ἐκ τῆς τῶν παρακολουθούντων λήψεως. ὁ δὴ προσέχων τὴν διάνοιαν τοῖς Λυσίου λόγοις οὐχ οὕτως ἔσται σκαιὸς ἢ δυσάρεστος ἢ βραδὺς τὸν νοῦν, ὃς οὐχ ὑπολήψεται γινόμενα τὰ δηλούμενα ὁρᾶν καὶ ὥσπερ παροῦσιν οἷς ἂν ὁ ῥήτωρ εἰσάγῃ προσώποις ὁμιλεῖν. ἐπιζητήσει τε οὐθέν, ⟨οἷον⟩ εἰκὸς τοὺς μὲν ἂν δρᾶσαι, τοὺς δὲ παθεῖν, τοὺς δὲ διανοηθῆναι, τοὺς δὲ εἰπεῖν. κράτιστος γὰρ δὴ πάντων ἐγένετο ῥητόρων φύσιν ἀνθρώπων κατοπτεῦσαι καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα ἑκάστοις ἀποδοῦναι πάθη τε καὶ ἤθη καὶ ἔργα.

Vividness is a quality which the style of Lysias has in abundance. He has a certain power of conveying the things he is describing to the perceptions of his audience, and it arises out of his grasp of circumstantial detail. *Nobody*

[167] See Sim. fr. 557 *PMG* = [Long.] *De subl.* 15.7 for Simonidean *enargeia* (no-one represented more vividly, *ἐναργέστερον*, the appearance of Akhilleus' phantom at his tomb); notice also the analogy between painting and poetry attributed to Simonides by Plutarch, *Glor. Ath.* 346f: 'Painting is silent poetry, poetry a speaking picture'; the most striking example of *enargeia* from Simonides' extant poetry is of course the Danae fragment, fr. 543 *PMG.*

who applies his mind to the speeches of Lysias will be so obtuse, insensitive or slow-witted that he will not feel that he can see happening the actions which are being shown, or that he is encountering the characters in the orator's story as if they were really there with him. And he will require no further evidence of the likely actions, feelings, thoughts or words of the different persons. He was the best of all the orators at observing human nature and ascribing to each type of person the appropriate emotions, moral qualities, and actions.

De Lysia, 7

Therefore, by thinking about *enargeia* as a purposeful rhetorical strategy,[168] we can begin to see that the authority of Bacchylides' *khoros* is derived from this ability, which he shares with Lysias and with rhapsodes, to engage an audience, and *make them think they are part of the narrated situation*, which, in Bacchylides' case, is mythological.

This produces a creative tension in the utterance of Bacchylides' *khoros*, comparable with, though different from, the situation with tragedy. Such a tension is not located primarily in the status of the *khoreutai* themselves, because they are identifiable as Athenians, unmasked as they are likely to have been.[169] Rather, the tension is transferred onto the *audience*, since the *enargeia* of Bacchylidean narrative sucks the audience into the mythical world, and Menelaos' closing words are thus directed in performance onto an audience whose identity is problematized by means of the Trojan myth. This is analogous in some ways to how the tragic *khoros* functions, but in that case the words of the *khoros* are picked up by both the characters on the stage and the members of the audience. With narrative choral poetry the doubleness of addressee that we find with tragic *khoroi*, who voice their words both to the actors on stage playing specific roles and to the external audience, is compressed because of the lack of choral interplay with actors (if we assume no formal separation of

[168] The sophistication of *enargeia* had already been discussed as an important rhetorical phenomenon in Arist. *Rhet.* 3.11, 1411b–13b; cf. Demetr. *Eloc.* 209–20.

[169] Compare the situation with tragedy: see Goldhill (1996) 254: 'It is . . . the tension between authoritative, ritual, mythic utterance and specific, marginal, partial utterance that gives the chorus its special voice in tragedy.' This view is qualified a little by Foley (2003), but Goldhill is fundamentally correct to focus the issue on the interplay between the situation internal to the fictional world of the drama and the group identity of the *khoros* within the specific Athenian festival structure.

roles between a *khoros* and its *koruphaios*).[170] More weight therefore comes to rest on the external audience. In the case of Bacchylides 15, the external audience is Athenian, but there is a productive sense in which they are invited to *think as* Trojans.

As I pointed out in the previous chapter, the increase in the number of sons for Theano to fifty, as noted by the Homeric scholiast, creates a parallel external to the myth, in performance;[171] this might allow for an imaginistic relation to be drawn between the parallel situations of the groupings of sons. This notwithstanding, members of the audience are still allowed to recognize the performing sons of Athens. And it is primarily the vividness of Bacchylides' narrative that allows for the external audience to engage empathically with the mythical situation.

In the choral performance of Bacchylides 15, the focus of the narrative is on the responsibility of a *wider group*, rather than on the responsibility of a small set of individuals separated or opposed to this group. This is interestingly different from the situation with tragedy, where the tragic *khoros* generally operates as functionally 'other' in relation to the heroic protagonists of the play, and mirrors and explores a productive tension between group and individual integral to the functioning of democracy in the external world of Athens.[172]

Though we do know from the *Iliad* that the city of Troy was ultimately swayed by individual voices of the likes of Paris and Antimakhos rather than Antenor, Bacchylides 15 focuses on the question of the Trojans' response as a *community*. How will the Trojans react as a group to the suggestions and implied threats posed by Menelaos? How will they deal with the possible conflicts of opinion within their own ranks, conflicts pointed out by a detailed dependency on events or viewpoints narrated in the *Iliad*? Bacchylides 15 is able to highlight issues affecting a group, and to impose such issues onto external

[170] See above, n. 153. Again, the situation may have been somewhat different with the later New Music, where we do hear of actors playing roles in works that were sometimes thought of as dramas: see above, Ch. 3, nn. 88, 89, and 93 for discussion of some of the ancient evidence concerning Philoxenos and Telestes.

[171] Above, Ch. 4, pp. 240–1.

[172] Gould (1996) 219, 224; Goldhill (1996) 248–9. It is importantly true that a recurrent theme of tragedy is the interplay and tension between, on the one hand, individuals, and, on the other, groups, whether represented internally by a *polis* or *oikos*, or mimetically by the *khoros*: cf. e.g. Goldhill (2000) 45. Cf. Silk (1998) 15–17.

audiences precisely because of the lack of dramatic interplay between *khoros* and individual protagonists allowed in tragedy.[173]

Within a democratic social framework, this and other extant works with pure mythical content which Bacchylides composed for Athenian festival performance do leave the answers to the questions they posed open, up for discussion. It is the constructed artificiality of closure in these poems that brings this about.[174] Moreover, the narrative format creates such questions without allowing them to be resolved by appeal to any obvious frame of reference internal to the text. Importantly, this is in general contrast to epinician, where narrative myth is framed by, and thus grounded in, a specific encomiastic relationship.

Such openness is partly a result of the relative brevity of the lyric format, but the fact that questions are left without answers gives these myths their significance for contemporary audiences and provides these texts with their real political charge.[175] The abrupt ending of Bacchylides 15 is another important feature which forces audiences and readers to play out in their own minds the possible moral contained in Menelaos' speech both for Troy and for their own city. Once again, there is an important relation between openness at a textual, poetic level, and openness at a social level, at least within an Athens which wanted to project itself as an open democratic forum for debate.[176] A concern for endings is fundamental for tragedy (one thinks of the paradigmatic opening words of the entire *Oresteia*, for instance). Yet Bacchylides makes a virtue of the much briefer compass of his style of lyric to allow much greater focus on such closural issues.

[173] Here again Bacch. 18 may be different because of the quasi-dramatic dialogue between group and individual.

[174] Contrast, however, the use of the interplay between myth and performance context in Bacch. 19, for the City Dionysia, whereby the ancestry of Dionysos is transformed at the poem's close into a self-referential celebration of Athenian choral provision.

[175] This contrasts with the case of Sparta with Bacch. 20, discussed in the previous chapter: there it seems the poem's opening provides a conservative aetiological framework in which the myth of Idas and Marpessa was situated; compare above, n. 128.

[176] The importance of (amongst much besides) the mapping of social and poetic concerns arising from issues of textual closure are brilliantly explored by Fowler (1989) and (1997*b*).

The way that Bacchylides concentrates Homeric narrative only suddenly to break it off puts into even greater relief the moral and political questions that the poem raises. In the next section I look at how this might resonate with issues pertaining to the political context of Athenian Panathenaic performance.

Murder, *Polis*: The Panathenaea and the Problem of Civic Violence[177]

We can now put some more pressure on the relation between myth and specific context with Bacchylides 15. The poem functions as generalized civic *parainesis*, but there are further, more specific, cultural resonances. These are produced by one of the possible outcomes of the mythical embassy: the murder of the Greek ambassadors, as recalled by *Iliad* 11, and our poem's allusion to it. Relating this to the 'myth' of another murder in an *agora* may provide us with interesting results. This other murder carried enormous symbolism for an early fifth-century Athenian audience: it is none other than the murder carried out by the tyrannicides, an act which was purported to have taken place during the Panathenaic procession. Thus we need now to consider Bacchylides 15 as an examination of Athenian political ideology in general, and of the ideology of the Panathenaic procession in particular.[178]

[177] I have benefited greatly in this section from the work on the tyrannicides by Julia Shear: see J. L. Shear (forthcoming); many thanks to Julia for sharing her findings with me.

[178] The link I offer below between Bacchylides 15 and Athenian discourse about violence, diplomacy, and the significance of the tyrannicides is far from being an allegorical oversimplification. The fact that Bacchylides 15 cannot be dated with any precision prevents us from viewing the poem as offering any exact references to, or explicit conclusions about, how to deal with the complex relation between the aristocracy and the demos within Athens and about external influence in Athenian affairs. Yet even if the *events* that took place during the Panathenaic procession of 514 BCE were no longer exactly current, the *stories* that Athenians could continue to tell about them, and indeed the songs which they could sing in memory (the tyrannicide *skolia*, 893–6 *PMG* with 911 *PMG*: Ath. 15.695a–b, Ar. *Lys.* 632 with *Σ*, Ar. *Ach.* 980 with *Σ*; Ar. *Vesp.* 1225), throughout the 5th cent. and beyond make it clear that, at whatever stage Bacchylides 15 was performed, tyrant-slaying would have been in people's minds when they watched the various performances at the festival. For a list of selected political events coinciding with Great Panathenaic years in 5th-cent. Athens, see Phillips (2003) 208–10.

The shift in locations within Bacchylides 15 points towards this. The Panathenaic procession moved from the Kerameikos, through the Agora, and on to the Akropolis. The narrative of Bacchylides 15 moves in the opposite direction: we start with Theano opening the doors of the temple of Athena on the Akropolis of Troy, but we close with the debate in the Trojan *agora*. This oppositional movement mirrors the ritual movement of the Panathenaic procession.[179] As Thucydides and the Aristotelian *Constitution of Athens* famously asserted, the procession of the *peplos* was the moment chosen by the tyrannicides to do away with Hippias and/or Hipparkhos.[180] As Victoria Wohl points out, what is important here is not what actually happened, but the ideological significance of what was thought to have happened.[181] She suggests that the story of the tyrannicides, as well as the Panathenaic procession itself, represented an ideological struggle between democratic and aristocratic interests. The Panathenaea was a festival which put on show to the city, to outsiders, and to the gods, the very structure of the demos itself; and, given the fact that the tyrants were assassinated during the Panathenaic procession, the festival could be taken by the demos as the ideal representation of democracy in performance.[182] On the other hand, the festival was an outlet for the nobility to put themselves on parade as natural leaders of the demos. It is the dynamic between these two aspects that is important.[183]

This is important for the mythology of Bacchylides 15 within its Panathenaic performance context, a context in which the statues of the tyrannicides would have been visible, set up as they were in the heart of the Agora close to the Panathenaic way, as a reflection of the purported location of the killing; they served as an insistent

[179] And in itself it may be a movement towards death: as Loraux (1993) 42 ff. points out, there is a strongly oppositional relation between the Panathenaic procession to the Akropolis, and the funeral procession for Athenian war-dead to the Kerameikos; both play on the autochthony of Athenian offspring.

[180] Thuc. 6.56.2; [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 18.2.

[181] Wohl (1996) 33–4.

[182] Ibid. 26 with n. 4 citing e.g. Neils (1992*a*) 27. See also Kavoulaki (1999) 298–306; Maurizio (1998).

[183] Wohl (1996) 27.

reminder of the relation between the Panathenaea and tyrant-slaying, and the responsibilities of the demos.[184] Bacchylides' poem invites its audience to focus on a question at the heart of Athenian democracy: the tensions inherent in the citizen body. These tensions are worked out in the myth through allusion to tensions as to how to deal with problematic and threatening individuals within Trojan society (especially Paris, as shown by the debate in *Iliad* 7), but also, through allusion to *Iliad* 11.136–42, to how the elders of Troy did (or will) respond to the embassy. Antimakhos suggested murder; Antenor suggested appeasement. Here in Bacchylides 15, it is up to the assembled ranks of the Trojan people, *Τρώων φάλαγγας*, line 42, to listen to Menelaos' words and to decide. However briefly, a division between elite individuals and the rank-and-file of Troy is established.

Bacchylides' use of the Homeric phrase *Τρώων φάλαγγας* creates another link with the Athenian context. For a fifth-century Athenian, the *phalanx* was the essential military grouping, representing, to some at least, the Athenian demos itself under arms.[185] Goldhill relates this to presentations of Athenian civic identity at the City Dionysia through tragedy; I suggest that something similar occurs at the Panathenaea. *Kuklioi khoroi* in performance offer comparable plays on Athenian cultural symbolism. War was a constant concern for Athens throughout the fifth century. The use of *φάλαγγας*, a term relating in contemporary Athenian terms to a democratic grouping, within a poem presenting a mythical gathering of a Trojan citizen-group, as performed by a *khoros*, itself a paradigm example of a citizen-grouping for Athenians,[186] cannot but pose important

[184] J. L. Shear (forthcoming); cf. Ajootian (1998).

[185] See Goldhill (1990) 108–12, with Loraux (1986) and Perikles' funeral oration; Ober (1989) 160. Recall the possibly democratic resonances of *δεξίστρατον* in line 43, discussed above (pp. 279–80). Of course, we have also to remember that the relation between the hoplite class and the demos as a whole was at best synecdochic; see Ober (1989) 83 for discussion of the relation between hoplite and naval successes and constitutional change in 5th-cent. Athens, with n. 70 for elite construction of Athens as a city of hoplites not reliant upon lower-class sea power.

[186] However, we should bear in mind that though they may be drawn from all across a tribe (and thus the demos itself), *khoreutai* do not seem to have been representative of the demos socio-economically; the choral paradigm is not necessarily, if at all, a democratic one: see below n. 224.

questions for Athenian civic identity in relation to warfare. More particularly, the use of *φάλαγγας* invites questions about specifically demotic power and responsibility, because Bacchylides' narrative implies that ranks that gather are summoned by heralds from across the whole breadth of the city, *δι' εὐ- | ρεῖαν πόλιν*, lines 40–1. It is the Trojan demos as a whole that is faced with the question of how to deal with members of the elite (Paris in particular) whose conduct may be contrary to the interests of the demos.

This stands in an interesting relation to the significance for an Athenian audience of the murder committed by the tyrannicides during the Panathenaic procession, an event which played an important, though contested, part in the foundation of democracy itself.[187] According to one Athenian view, the murder was to be remembered and celebrated precisely as the sign of the demos taking control: statues were set up to celebrate the tyrannicides in public cult, their descendants were dined at public expense in the prytaneion, allowed exemption from taxation, and so forth.[188] However, Thucydides states, offering a view confirmed by a passage in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, that this is a form of false-consciousness designed to provide a neat solution to the complex and problematic nature of the shift in power from tyranny to democracy, and it ignores the important role played by Sparta in the liberation of Athens from the tyranny.[189] For Thucydides, the tyrannicides, far from being idealized democrats, are themselves aristocrats out of control; they kill Hipparkhos, who was not in fact tyrant at the time, because of an aristocratic dispute based upon very private pederastic concerns, rather than out of any altruistic or populist concern for the liberation of Athens: in fact, this 'tyrannicide' led to a period of intensified tyranny, since Hipparkhos' brother Hippias clamped down on rival aristocratic factions. According to Thucydides, at 6.59,

[187] Moreover, the relation may in fact be suggested further by some slippage of iconographic detail between the portrayal of the gigantomachy and that of the tyrannicides: see J. L. Shear (forthcoming) on the iconography of the second tyrannicide group and its impact on the iconography of vase-painting.

[188] Thomas (1989) 257–61; Rauflaub (2003) 66; Pliny *NH* 34.16–17 (statues); see also Sim. I *EG* with *SEG* x 320; privileges for descendants (*sitēsis*, *ateleia*, *prohedria*): *IG* I.2 77.5; Dem. 19.280, 20.29, 20.159–62; Din. 1.101; Isai. 5.46–7.

[189] Thuc. 6.53–9; Ar. *Lys.* 1150–6; Thomas (1989) 244–7.

and Herodotos, at 5.55, it is only some four years later in 510 that the outside influence of Sparta provides the solution to the political crisis. The importance of Sparta is also confirmed by Herodotos, at 5.55. The subtlety of Herodotos' position on the shift from tyranny to democracy in Athens also confirms that any simple focus on the tyrannicides' role in the liberation of the city is simplistic; alternative traditions involving the Alkmaionidai also carry weight, but neither is Herodotos uncritical in his reporting of their role.[190]

A recent discussion of the importance of the tyrannicide story throughout the fifth century has suggested that it offered the Athenians a rare example of what he calls 'therapeutic' civil conflict, 'a moment in which it is (at least in retrospect) regarded as having been healthy and right for one citizen to run at another with a sword drawn and to shed blood in a public place'.[191] Although the popularity of this way of reading the tyrannicide story is confirmed by Thucydides' criticism of it, and although it was useful as a form of democratic false-consciousness, the case of Thucydides shows that this was not the only way of reading it. We know from one, and perhaps two, later sources that the tyrannicides are connected with the honouring of Athenian war-dead:[192] any link of this kind is surely the ultimate externalization of conflict, making what was essentially an act of civic bloodshed into a triumphant idealization of the elimination of an external foe, and the liberation of the city.[193] However, we might suspect that forms of Athenian discourse other than

[190] See esp. Thomas (1989) 247–51.

[191] Ober (2003); quote from 225.

[192] [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 58.1; Hyp. 6.39. Some reservations have been voiced as to the exact wording of the former text, and any link between rituals for the war-dead and for the tyrannicides has been questioned: J. L. Shear (forthcoming). This notwithstanding, the evidence of Hyp. 6.39, from the *epitaphios* for Leosthenes and other Athenians who fought and died in the attempt to ward off the Macedonians, suggests that Harmodios and Aristogeiton were ideal exemplars for Athenians to follow, and indeed surpass, in wars against foreigners: '[W]hat these men did was no less a task than theirs [the tyranncides']; it was indeed, if judgement must be passed, a greater service still. Those two brought low the tyrants of their country, these the masters of the whole of Greece.' This text does not say that Harmodios and Aristogeiton were actually honoured as war-dead, but the association made between the two groups is important nonetheless. Compare Ekroth (2002) 83–5.

[193] Cf. J. L. Shear (forthcoming) for a shift in the early 5th-cent. representation of the tyrannicides: from 'deliverers' of the city, to 'saviours' and 'liberators' subsequent to the Persian Wars.

oratory may have found the tyrannicide story useful as an allusive background for an exploration of the problem of violence in civic society: indeed, this is what I believe in the case of Bacchylides 15. This does not mean that other discourses might reject the democratic celebration of tyrannicide and replace it straightforwardly with a rival model of the demos as arrogant tyrant, as has been argued recently in relation to the positions of Thucydides and Plato: they would use the tyrannicide story to explore the stakes involved and the questions that remain in such a democratic celebration of civic violence, from within forms of performance that could themselves be viewed as celebrations of the democratic and participatory structures of the Athenian democracy; this would be the case with tragedy, and especially so with *kuklioi khoroi*. Such questioning would not be anti-democratic, but could be thought to represent democracy in action. The content of performances by *kuklioi khoroi* is here akin to myth in tragedy, and the way it relates in only a broad sense to political or civic issues affecting democratic Athens.[194] Choruses of both the tragic and circular kind can be understood as operating on the level of general rather than specific exploration, whilst not undermining the importance of the issues being raised.

In Bacchylides' and Homer's myth, murder of the Greek ambassadors is the most extreme course imaginable, one that would ensure the destruction of the city by the Greek army: this is implied by Bacchylides' allusion to Agamemnon's *aristeia* in *Iliad* 11 and reference to Antimakhos' suggestion. Bacchylides' poem presents us with an act of diplomacy whilst also reminding us of the dangers of violence that might ensue if such diplomacy is rejected. If we accept reference to the tyrannicides in Bacchylides' allusion to the *Iliad*'s mention of the plot to murder the ambassadors, we might suppose Bacchylides' poem to be strongly questioning the act of tyrant-slaying. However, set against this are Menelaos' words in the speech which closes Bacchylides' poem, promoting the idea that the ruling class be accountable to the whole of the community for its actions.

[194] See e.g. Pelling (2000) ch. 9, esp. 170–1 on 'topicality', and the famous evidence of Hdt. 6.21 for the Athenians' fining of Phrynikhos for reminding them of their own *oikēia kaka* in his play 'The Sack of Miletos'.

What Bacchylides is alluding to is an act of violence which would symbolize the failure of communication and diplomacy. Athenians are to think about the fundamental importance of communication and of words themselves for the resolution of civic conflict, as well as about the place that violence has in political discourse. Bacchylides' allusions to the Panathenaea, the Panathenaic procession, and the act of tyrant-slaying in the Agora underline the way in which the ideology of the Panathenaic procession was itself an act of highly contested significance: Was it the demos itself which was on display, showing off its ability to control the elite in the performance of civic ritual for the benefit of all? Or does the strong and lingering impression that it is the elite who are on display, showing off their superiority, and *pre*-Kleisthenic roles, in the procession undermine this?

And what about the carrying of weapons in the heart of the city? We have already seen that Bacchylides' poem raises an interpretative problem about whether or not the Trojans who gather in their *agora* are armed.[195] According to Thucydides' account of the tyrannicide, the Great Panathenaea was specially chosen as the only occasion when armed citizens were permitted to gather in numbers inside the city. According to the Aristotelian account, the bearing of arms in processions was a later democratic institution.[196] I therefore suggest that the complexity of Bacchylides' narrative is a response to the complexity of the issues of democratic freedom and democratic control of violence: it preserves a fundamental ambivalence in Athenian society about whether citizens could carry arms within the city, and what might happen if and when they did.

This also raises a question about the limits of diplomacy: when, if ever, is the demos justified in the use of other potentially violent means to rid itself of problematic elements in its own society? Though the tyrannicides can be thought to provide a paradigm for democratic responsibility, they only represent a single occasion when action was taken, and Bacchylides' use of Homer's Antimakhos and the fate of his sons to question civic violence highlights the dangers

[195] See above, pp. 279–80.
[196] Thuc. 6.56.2; [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 18.4.

involved in as extreme a course of action as murder.[197] Though in Homer the act of murder would imply destruction of a city by outside forces, Bacchylides' additional allusions to Solon's Athenian focus on 'our city' in 4 W raises the spectre of civic strife and destruction of the city of Athens from within.

The importance and limits of diplomacy become more significant when we consider that Menelaos' words to the Trojans are projected in performance by an Athenian *khoros* onto an Athenian audience who are implicated in another form of communication. Bacchylides has expressed doubts about the efficacy of communication, at least to a Trojan audience, whilst perhaps strengthening the importance that words and communication, rather than violence, should have in any democratic performance. One might then suppose that Bacchylides is therefore working with the premise that choral communication at this festival offers a rival kind of therapy for Athens, based on communication in words, rather than by the violence memorialized in the action of tyrant-slaying at the same festival.[198] But even if

[197] The presence of the sculptures in the Agora made it seem that slaying of would-be tyrants was an ongoing, and endlessly recycled, possibility; cf. especially the renewed interest in the tyrannicides at the end of the 5th-cent. as a way of conceptualizing rejection of oligarchic tyranny and the return of exiled democrats: again, J. L. Shear (forthcoming). However, whilst the absence of a representation of Hipparkhos from the sculptural group would have allowed individual Athenians to have had some experience of the dangers of becoming another Hipparkhos, the very incompleteness of the grouping, and the absence of the actual moment of the killing, at the same time made the actualization of violence more remote; and see Neer (2002) 168–81, esp. 180: 'The statues allowed Athenians to skip over the factional strife that had come in the wake of the tyrant's fall: to repress the years of *stasis* and substitute for them a glorious instant in which democratic and aristocratic sentiment coincided'.

[198] For discussion of the way that the very organization of the *kuklios khoros* stood in a very immediate relation to the political upheavals at the end of the 6th cent., and that its institutionalization worked as a form of performed *stasis*-management, see Wilson (2003*b*). Griffin (1998) 42 is right to point out that it is not obviously true that Athenian drama had a simple and conscious aim of strengthening social cohesion: 'No doubt the experience of being part of a large audience at a powerful and spectacular public presentation produced, among other things, a sense of pride in the city that put it on; but had the city had as its unambiguous purpose to foster civic consciousness, then it surely could have found many simpler and clearer ways.' I suggest that this is the case with what we can glean from at least the content of the majority of Bacchylides' Athenian poems too, even if competitiveness in *kuklioi*

this were true, the questions raised by any such therapy, or 'stasis-management', are far from easy: they raise fundamental issues about the effectiveness of diplomacy and about Athens' uneasy relation to civic violence. And the fact that Menelaos' words end suddenly leaves it up to civic audiences to work out for themselves what to do, and to take responsibility for their own actions individually and as a community.[199]

The Representation of Non-Athenians

The representation of non-Athenians in Bacchylides 15 is analogous to the way in which tragedy explores nationality. Generic differences between the two performance forms need not imply differences in the characterization of non-Greeks. But tragedy's relationship towards foreigners as culturally 'other' can be looked at afresh from our different perspective; and we may get an even better sense of how Bacchylides' poem plays a part in the Athenian cultural context by exploring similarities and differences with tragedy as well as with other media.

The story of Antenor was a popular and informing piece of public mythology in Athens, from the middle of the first half of the fifth century on. There is the evidence of a lost play entitled *Antenoridae*

khoroi was a democratic invention to reduce more serious civic conflict and competitiveness, as Wilson (2003*b*) suggests. I would seek, however, to correct Griffin's Griffin's assertion ((1998) 43) that the only kinds of question that *khoroi* raise are ethical, not political: as we see with Bacchylides 15, the question of ethical choice has emphatically political consequences. Bacchylides 19, which celebrates Dionysos' role in Athenian competitiveness, especially in its final lines, can be understood to match what Griffin sees as a choral expression of civic pride.

[199] Again, this does not mean that I would recommend reading Bacch. 15 as a direct or pointed reference to contemporary events. Griffith (1995) 90–6, esp. nn. 101 and 112, argues that the presentation of Orestes and Pylades in Aiskhylos' *Choephoroe* suggests an analogy with the tyrannicides, but I would suggest that such resemblance might only be a passing one; in any case, Griffith is right not to make this analogous juxtaposition allegorical. The tyrannicide contextualization that I have offered for Bacch. 15 is one that might allow it to play on the thoughts of, and stories familiar to, members of the Panathenaic audience, to raise basic issues without offering a solution to them.

by Sophokles:[200] only three exiguous quotations remain, but according to the summary of Strabo, Antenor's house was spared in the sack of Troy by the sign of the leopard skin over the door, and his family then made its way in exile to Venice.[201] Since in Sophokles' version the family escaped death at the hands of the Greeks, through the help offered to the Greeks by Antenor, the plot may have hinged on Antenor's betrayal of his own city to the Greeks in order to save his own family.[202] This would provide a suitably tragic theme given that Sophoklean theatre, as well as tragedy more generally, frequently plays on oppositions between *polis* and *oikos*.

We also know from Pausanias that Polygnotos' wall-painting of the *Iliou Persis* in the Knidian Leskhe at Delphi, datable to the middle of the first half of the century, contained a version of the myth largely similar to that presented by Sophokles.[203] One of Antenor's daughters was represented standing alone by an altar; Pausanias suggests that she was allowed to flee by the Greeks.[204] Pausanias then describes the depiction of the house of Antenor and of the family preparing to leave Troy;[205] once again, we have the leopard skin over the door suggesting that the family has been spared. Castriota in his discussion of the scene highlights the extent to which Athenian art and literature, including Bacchylides, sought to make a story that could easily have drawn an extremely negative picture of Greek hostility into a vision of Greek righteousness against polar opposites.[206] The paintings offered positive heroic depictions of Greek achievement best paralleled, not by tragedy, but by epinician

[200] See Leigh (1998) 83 for the view that *Antenoridae* and *Helenes Apaitesis* were separate plays; cf. *TrGF* IV for separate entries. The view that they were the same relies too heavily on the double title of Bacch. 15. Double titles of tragedies are common, but in the case of these plays it would be safe to assume that they treated different temporal sections within the same general myth.

[201] Strabo 13.1.53; see *TrGF* IV 160–1.

[202] Though as Leigh (1998) 82 n. 4 points out, the earliest substantial evidence for this angle on the myth is Hellenistic: Lykophr. *Alex.* 340–3.

[203] For reconstruction of the scenes see Castriota (1992) 110 and 113 figs. 10a–c and 11d, with Stansbury-O'Donnell (1989) 208–9 figs. 3–5.

[204] Paus. 10.26.7–8.

[205] Paus. 10.27.3–4.

[206] Castriota (1992) 96–7. For general discussion of Polygnotos' revisionist treatment, see 96–118.

and rhetoric.[207] The scene depicting the family of Antenor holds a central position in Castriota's view of Polygnotos' differing treatment of the story of the Sack. The artist changed the image of Greeks to mollify their more outrageous acts and to create a subtle but detailed ethical antithesis between the positive portrayal of the Greeks as a whole. Lokrian Aias and Neoptolemos act as foils for the Greeks, with the family of Antenor as foils for the Trojans.[208]

Castriota draws Attic drama as well as the portrayal of Menelaos and the Trojans in Bacchylides 15 into this paradigm; he notes the sympathetic portrayal of Antenor and the welcoming figure of Theano in Bacchylides 15.[209] However, he does not take sufficient account of the large contextual shift between different media. A presentation of an Athenian vision of Trojans in a panhellenic setting like Delphi would necessarily be different from a representation of non-Greeks in the context of Athenian choral festival poetry, whether dramatic or otherwise. These are both facets of Athenian ideological construction, but they offer competing and divergent models. Castriota's analysis takes seriously the point of Bacchylides' use of the Antenor myth in his poem, highlighting an important strand in the Athenian ideological representation of non-Greeks in the fifth century. He rightly stresses that Antenor and family are portrayed in a light different from the other uncommunicative Trojans. Given this parallel evidence, some members of an Athenian audience for Bacchylides' poem could indeed have understood in the positive treatment of Antenor's family an allusion to their escape from the fate of the other Trojans. But in view of both the problematic closure and the reference to the pitiful Iliadic deaths of even dutiful sons of the hospitable Antenor, attuned audiences would consider these sets of paradigms for community action as somewhat more problematic. Sophokles' presentation of the story of Antenor's leaving Troy would not itself have been without its own set of social questions to be worked through.

An interesting tragic parallel for representation of cultural oppositions here is Aiskhylos' *Persae*. There are striking parallels between the speech of Menelaos in Bacchylides 15 and the final and climactic speech of Dareios' ghost there; see in particular *Persae* 816–26:

[207] Ibid. 100–1, with 87. [208] Ibid. 116. [209] Ibid. 102; 115.

τόσος γὰρ ἔσται πελανὸς αἱματοσφαγὴς
πρὸς γῆι Πλαταιῶν Δωρίδος λόγχης ὕπο·
θῖνες νεκρῶν δὲ καὶ τριτοσπόρωι γονῆι
ἄφωνα σημανοῦσιν ὄμμασιν βροτῶν
ὡς οὐχ ὑπέρφευ θνητὸν ὄντα χρὴ φρονεῖν·
ὕβρις γὰρ ἐξανθοῦσ' ἐκάρπωσε στάχυν
ἄτης, ὅθεν πάγκλαυτον ἐξαμᾶι θέρος.
τοιαῦθ' ὁρῶντες τῶνδε τἀπιτίμια
μέμνησθ' Ἀθηνῶν Ἑλλάδος τε, μηδέ τις
ὑπερφρονήσας τὸν παρόντα δαίμονα
ἄλλων ἐρασθεὶς ὄλβον ἐκχέηι μέγαν.

So great will be the bloody sacrificial slaughter on the earth of Plataea by Dorian spear. Piles of corpses will voicelessly sign to the eyes of men even three generations hence that mortals must learn not to think above their station. For hubris flowered and produced a crop of disaster, and from it reaped a harvest full of lamentation. Seeing what the penalties for this are like, remember Athens and Greece, and let no-one out of scorn for his present fortune lust after what others have, and pour away great prosperity.

The emphasis here on the exuberant crop of disaster, or moral blindness, produced by hubris, stands in a similarly strong relation to Solon's *Eunomia*, fr. 4.34–5 W, as do Bacchylides 15.57 and following.[210] Dareios is made to muse on the career of Xerxes in a way that echoes the kind of language we have seen Bacchylides' Menelaos using in his Solonian speech; this means that audience responses would have to be played out in terms more complex than simple glorification at Xerxes' demise. The fact that Dareios, played by an Athenian actor in front of an Athenian audience, uses Greek ethical concepts *at all* should have reminded any Athenian audience that the *origins* of this ethical language were in the context of moral exhortation and advice directed at *them*. So to see Bacchylides 15 as expressing only the same kind of imperialist ideology as Polygnotos' painting is to fail to see its *agora*- and *polis*-oriented significance.

We have seen how, in a different way to tragedy, the audience of Bacchylides' poem would be able to watch fellow citizens at least describing, and also ventriloquizing, 'the other'. Members of the

[210] See Fisher (1992) 260–1 on the specific link with Solon's *Eunomia* in *Persae*; cf. Hall (1996) 164–5 ad loc. 821–2, esp. 164: 'Dareios' theological views could not sound more Greek if he tried', especially from an Athenian perspective.

audience are themselves invited to empathize with this 'other'. The complexities and insecurities of communication and representation are not therefore an exclusively dramatic phenomenon. The *khoros* conjures up an impression of another, foreign (Trojan), *agora* in their own Agora.

The current orthodoxy that the City Dionysia, the major stage for tragic performances, was *the* Athenian arena where problematic dialogues between mythological and current *poleis* were explored and questioned needs itself to be questioned. Again, we do not need to bring in the Dionysiac to *kuklioi khoroi* performed at non-Dionysiac festivals to explain this. The Solonian undercurrent has shown how it is Athena herself who frames the questioning.

Pierre Vidal-Naquet offered up tragedy's 'expatriation' of political conflict from the boundaries of its own *polis*, in contrast with how, in funeral oration, political conflict may be denied, and in comedy, derided.[211] However, he offers no account of *kuklioi khoroi*; other performance forms are radically oversimplified. Application of this view to Bacchylides 15 would place a heavy stress on the Athenian politico-religious system as ordered and correctly functioning in the goddess's honour. But this would not allow for the playing out, in Bacchylides, of the social tensions embedded within the mythology attached to the Agora and the Panathenaea. Vidal-Naquet does, however, allow himself to assert that 'Troy acts as a permanent reminder of the fact that cities are mortal'.[212] As Pelling points out, 'rejected alternatives have a habit of coming uncomfortably near to home. Features of the Other usually distance, but occasionally zoom'.[213] In Bacchylides 15 the intertexts which operated through audience-knowledge of the *Iliad* and Solon highlight ethical questions of direct relevance for democratic Athens, and hence 'zoom'. Trojan prayers to Athena offer a rather worrying aetiology for the procession, prayers,

[211] Vidal-Naquet (1988) 332–3.

[212] Vidal-Naquet (1997) 113. But I think here of *Il.* 4.30 ff. where the gods discuss the destruction of other cities in the light of Troy's fate. This is exactly the point made by Anhalt (1993) on her reading of Solon 4W that we have already discussed, and behind the words of Dareios in *Persae.*

[213] Pelling (1997) 228–9, citing at n. 51 Sourvinou-Inwood (1989) for the 'cinematic analogy'.

and offerings by Athenians which took place at the festival for which Bacchylides' poem was commissioned.[214]

We know that episodes from the sack of Troy appear later in the fifth century on the Parthenon. Osborne argues that the correlation of the Parthenon metopes and the West Pediment brings into question the safety of cities protected by Athena, because of the deployment of scenes involving the flight of Aeneas, and Helen, Menelaos, and the Trojan cult image of Athena, on metopes on the north side of the temple.[215] This is further evidence to show that artistic works central to the Panathenaea can indeed question the very nature of the ritual of Athens' most important festival. Bacchylides 15 achieves a similar effect several decades before the construction of the paradigmatic architectural offering to the goddess.

Coming Full Circle. *Kuklioi Khoroi*, Homer, and Athenian Cultural Diversity

We should now be able to see exactly why Bernhard Zimmermann's discussion of the politics of 'dithyramb' is disappointing.[216] He sees the democratic aspect of Athenian 'dithyramb' as operative in the structures of choral provision, suggesting that the phyletic structuring of *khoroi* was an important means for creating tribal identity in the years after the reforms of Kleisthenes. The move to politicize such an important public performance form is obviously correct.[217] However, he is obviously concerned with function, and we have already criticized functional arguments concerning tragedy: they offer 'closed' readings because they overly circumscribe meaning. In particular, Zimmermann makes no attempt to figure either the interrelation between the social make-up of performers and mythical content of the poems being performed, or the process of exemplification. The impact of mythical presentation becomes more significant, not less, given the numbers involved in and the

214 Again, see Gellrich's (1995) reading of Euripides' *Bacchae* along similar lines.
215 Osborne (1994) 146–7 with metopes 24–8. See also Ferrari (2000).
216 Zimmermann (1992), esp. 35–8.
217 See also Wilson (2003*b*), esp. 167–70 and 182–4.

potentially huge symbolism of phyletic provision for *kuklioi khoroi* in Athens. It has been suggested, quite reasonably, that performance by *kuklioi khoroi* after the Kleisthenic reforms provided a new sense of an overarching democratic cohesion to the extraordinary richness and complexity of Athenian religious and festive life. If the number of *khoreutai* was canonically set at fifty, this would resonate in an interesting way with the same number of delegates to the *boulē* provided by each tribe.[218] The democratic ideology of classical Athens after Kleisthenes would be driven home on every single occasion when a *kuklios khoros* of men or boys performed.

Peter Wilson has also suggested that the agonistic patterning of the *kuklios khoros* may have been a striking innovation in Greek *khoreia*: such large-scale participation and competition might have been intended to weaken the aristocratic connotations of traditional *mousikē* by devising new democratic cultural structures to contain and to exploit it.[219] We have to be careful here, since, although the evidence is very meagre, we do know that agonistic competition *per se* was not a new feature of, or unique to, post-Kleisthenic Athens, since *mousikoi agōnes* were held earlier elsewhere.[220] More importantly, huge, but nonetheless tantalizing, holes, exist in our evidence: to what extent might there have been competition built in to Spartan *khoreia* from Alkman on? What, for instance, of the situation in archaic Rhegion, where we hear of some sixty days of festivity set aside for performances of paeans, twelve per day:[221] might not there have been some competitive element here too, honouring Artemis? And sixth-century Aigina might also have held agonistic choral competitions.[222] Even in the case of Athens, the situation is far from

[218] See *Khoregia* 17 with 315 n. 33; Wilson (2003*b*) 182–4.

[219] Ibid. 182.

[220] Ibid. with n. 76.

[221] Burnett (1988); West (1990); *Khoregia* 279–80 with Aristox. fr. 117 Wehrli. The fact preserved by Paus. 5.25.2 that *khoroi* from other neighbouring localities performed in Rhegion might also suggest competition. Moreover, despite a different musical context, the legendary kitharoidic *agōn* between Ariston of Rhegion and Eunomos of Lokri suggests that musical competitiveness was not new to Rhegion as a basis on which to play out social or political rivalries: see Berlinzani (2002) for discussion; and I note that Eunomos is also associated with *khoroi* (Luc. *Ver. Hist.* 2.15).

[222] The possible parallel with the Athenian situation is noted at *Khoregia* 385 n. 70.

transparent. Although we know that *kuklioi khoroi* performed there from at least 500, and though the Parian Marble inscription shows that some change took place at the time of the Kleisthenic reforms, this evidence is not strong enough to show that agonistic performance by *khoroi* did not take place before this time.[223]

Even if the view that phyletically organized *kuklioi khoroi* were intended to reduce factional conflict within Athens, rather than continuing to remind audiences of the pre-Kleisthenic situation—audiences who might have been watching performers who were themselves predominantly aristocrats[224]—it is fascinating to note that Bacchylides 15, as performed by one of these *kuklioi khoroi*, is an exploration through myth of the social questions that had fractured Peisistratid Athens and that Kleisthenic Athens sought to incorporate and defuse. Indeed, it focuses on the Panathenaea itself as a festival whose location might be where conflict could arise, and where murderous conflict *did* break out. Viewing the poem in context in this way in fact matches Wilson's conclusion about the dialectic between Athenian choral culture as a locus of contestation between elite and democratic interests, and the content of the literature that was produced for performance within it, though I suggest that this dialectic was present across the festival spectrum and not unique to the City Dionysia.[225]

The questions and issues that the mythology of Bacchylides 15 brings to the fore cannot be reduced to a denial of the possibility of social rifts, *even if* the competitive framework of ritual performance was an attempt to defuse tensions and to incorporate elites. This is the fundamental reason why it would seem possible to position

[223] Wilson (2003*b*) 179 with n. 66 and 182–3 with n. 78; *Khoregia* 17, 216–18; *Marm. Par.* Ep. 46. The possibility that Lasos of Hermione, the supposed inventor of the *kuklios khoros*, was involved with the tyrants (Hdt. 7.6.3; cf. *DTC*[1] 23–5; D'Angour (1997) 335) causes some difficulties for this reading; cf. *DFA* 72. Cf. Ceccarelli (2004) 97–8 on *pyrrhikhē* and evidence that even in the 4th cent. the Panathenaea preserved elements of pre-Kleisthenic organization.

[224] For the socioeconomic background of *khoreutai* and the role of the aristocratic *khorēgoi*, see *Khoregia* 75–6, 128–30, esp. 128–9: 'Against any notion of the radical "democratisation" of *khoreia* is the persistent association, evident into the late fifth century, between participation in *khoroi* and highly traditional, conservative educational and social values', with 352 n. 70; Ar. *Ran.* 727–9; *Nub.* 983 ff.; *Plut.* 1162–3.

[225] *Khoregia* 108.

performances by *kuklioi khoroi*, at least from the evidence of Bacchylides 15, much closer to tragedy on an axis of Athenian systems of signification than has hitherto been considered, in view of the resonant myth-making that Bacchylides' narrative style was able to produce.

Zimmermann's own focus on the celebratory strand present in Athenian 'dithyramb' to the exclusion of its incorporation of potentially threatening mythology risks making it akin to *epitaphios* as a celebration of an idealized Athenian society.[226] This denotes a failure to mark the difference between the significance of mythical paradigms and the significance of performance; a failure to go in search of meaning in the tension *between* mythical paradigm and symbolic performance.

We know that *kuklioi khoroi*, when they performed at the Dionysia and Thargelia, were arranged phyletically, though the exact arrangement was different. And it seems possible that a phyletic structure operated at the Panathenaea too, whatever the exact form this might have taken.[227] If *kuklioi khoroi* within Athens were generally arranged to compete against one another phyletically, one might expect the mythologies of their respective poems to be related to the respective tribal eponyms. This is in fact possible in the case of Bacchylides 18, as suggested by Peter Wilson.[228] However, if this is so, Bacchylides 15 might make matters slightly more complex. I raise the possibility here that the title of Bacchylides 15, *Antenoridae* (or at the very least the prominence of Antenoridai within its myth—from which the title of the poem must ultimately be derived)[229] might resonate with the eponymic nomenclature of the performing tribal *khoros*, a possibility that might comment on the potential of the mythical eponyms to forge tribal identity, given the plural patronymic form of the names of the collective tribal groupings: Erekhtheidai, or Aigeidai, or Pandionidai, or Leontidai, and so forth, performing

[226] Zimmermann (1992), esp. 35–8. This notwithstanding the riders already delivered by Pelling (1997) 230 ff. on the stability of this view for *epitaphios* itself.

[227] See above, Ch. 4, p. 240 n. 42.

[228] Wilson (2003*b*) 169.

[229] Although the date of the association of titles to these works is unknowable; it may have been a decision taken by the Alexandrian editors with nothing to go on beyond mythological content.

Antenoridae. However, with Bacchylides 15 the very naming of the Antenoridai would thus further destabilize oppositions between Troy and Athens, because of this extra-fictional, though imprecise, parallel with the collective identity of the performing *khoros*. The number of tribal myths relating to, or indeed celebrating, the deeds of their eponyms, would be soon exhausted given the demands on tribes to provide *khoroi* several times each year. Therefore, given what we know about the very loose and general relation between tragic myth and choral identity, there is no good reason to impose a strict mapping of tribal onto mythical subject-matter with Athenian *kuklioi khoroi*. In fact, Bacchylides 15 shows how fruitful the potential for general questioning could be when based on a less direct interaction between mythical content and the identity of the performers.

If one or at most two days were allotted within festival structures for the performance of *kuklioi khoroi*, the essential brevity of these texts might be explained by their individual place within a much larger inter-tribal competition.[230] Music and dance would have added much to the words of our texts, and may have extended performance time considerably, allowing the words and the closure of the myth to resonate during non-verbal sections of performance.

Current findings suggest that within the developing structure of a single tragedy, lyric metres are socially challenging because of their complex generic and formal heterogeneity.[231] Within a single lyric poem designed for performance by a *khoros andrōn* or *paidōn*, metrical patterning is more static and therefore more predictable. But for an audience watching a sequence of five or ten individual performances with, one might suppose, individually very different metrical structures, the effect might actually be quite similar to witnessing the metrical diversity of a single tragedy in performance. The phyletic structure of competition would have made interpreting such performances, let alone judging between them, even more complex.

In addition to questioning, offering civic advice, and educating, Bacchylides' poem and its performance, was a *celebration*. A celebration of Athenian cultural heritage by reference to the mythological

[230] Cf. *DFA* 66 for the possible arrangement at the City Dionysia.
[231] Stehle (2004).

paradigms we have been discussing.[232] This means Homer specifically, in the context of the festival that offered up various performance forms as a celebration of the culturally Athenian. Performances of the Homeric poems were themselves set up there as celebrations of Athens' cultural superiority: 'Peisistratus and his associates proclaimed themselves to be reconstituting the glorious Panhellenic narratives for definitive recitations at Athens. Indeed the Panhellenic nature of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* was a precondition for this reconstitution.'[233] In the context of rhapsodic performances of Homer at the Panathenaea, which it has been argued continued throughout the festival, in order for the whole epics to be recited correctly and in sequence,[234] it is intertextually, inter-performatively, and culturally significant that Bacchylides has referred us throughout his poem to language and episodes occurring in the course of the *Iliad*. Indeed, we might even be able to suggest that the very choice of myth and the form it takes, while playing to Bacchylidean Homerizing strengths that we have seen elsewhere in the case of Bacchylides 13, provides an individual demonstration of how the content of Panathenaic *kuklioi khoroi* might be attracted towards, and form a response to, the expectations of the Panathenaic audience about a specifically Homerizing repertoire.

In a general atmosphere where, as we have seen in the first part of this chapter, traditional texts form the site of tensions between elite and democratic interests, it is a small and natural step to go from imitation and emulation of characters for their pedagogic value,[235] to imitation and redeployment of the Homeric text itself, on the kind of systematic level that we have witnessed in Bacchylides 15. In fact, the two fuse together. Knowledge of Homer and other poets was a

[232] Note too the potentially glorificatory note struck if a link is made between Bacchylides' use of hubris and the use of hubris to denote unprovoked foreign hostility in an official dedicatory epigram: above, pp. 292–3 with *CEG* i.179 = M–L 15.

[233] Seaford (1994) 152–3. We have seen above, however, how the aristocratic spin to Plato's *Hipparchus* appropriates Homeric epic as well as lyric poetry, by their association with the Peisistratids, as specifically elite cultural capital.

[234] West (1992*a*) 20.

[235] See, classically, Loraux (1986) 145: 'The same system of representations by which the city lived . . . extracted from the Homeric epic examples that still had real meaning, and made Athenian history a repetitive gesture, in which the battles of the present copied those of the past and foreshadowed exploits to come.'

characteristic of the 'traditional education' in Athens, rather than some later fifth-century development. The sophists may be seen to represent the next logical step in the progression, in terms of a more systematic professionalization concerning knowledge and interpretation of archaic poetry, rather than as something completely new. Archaic poets themselves can and do play on audience appreciation and understanding of traditional poetry, by recourse to mythology and diction familiar from epic.

On the one hand, as seems likely from my discussion in § 1, in the early fifth century during the decades of Bacchylides' activity, full and continued access to the poetic texts that he draws on were only available to a small elite. On the other hand, Homer was intermittently but directly available to a much wider group at the Panathenaea. How therefore do the texts which Bacchylides uses resonate within the intertextual framework that Bacchylides 15 has provided? There would have been a deep-seated ambivalence to such public usages of these texts, even within socially sanctioned performances like *kuklioi khoroi.* Later members of the elite could pour scorn on sophists and the *demos* for popularizing their own cultural heritage.[236] Members of the aristocratic elite may have been displeased with poetry performed by *kuklioi khoroi* too, if new phyletic structuring represented for some a democratization of elite cultural forms. On the one hand, the Hipparkhos of the Platonic dialogue would certainly have felt aggrieved that the demos was appropriating traditionally aristocratic *sophia* for its own interests. On the other, we have seen already how Old Comedy lampoons traditional education and perhaps therefore reflects democratic unease at continued aristocratic control of such modes of education.

The major reason for this general feeling of unease is because of the centrality of schooling and education—and by extension *performance itself*—in the formation of canons of works with paradigmatic cultural value.[237] Andrew Ford points out that such traditional education would have engendered techniques suited to

[236] Cf. above, n. 36.

[237] Guillory (1993) 55: 'Canonicity is not a property of the work itself but of its transmission, its relation to other works in a collocation of works . . . .' Cf. Martindale (1993) 24.

the complex practices of forensic oratory, especially in helping interpretation of archaic laws, in order to inform the wider populace as to their legal position.[238] But the essential point here is that, since there was no official schooling, and so no state-controlled compulsory systematization of learning, individuals of *whatever* ideological streak were free to use and abuse traditional texts in any way they wished.[239] Yet the very struggle between different social groups over linguistic cultural capital is embedded in the language of the literary texts themselves.[240]

We know little about the precise operations of choral provision for the *kuklios khoros* in Athens.[241] More information on this aspect of the Athenian khoregic system would help to indicate how the poet, the wealthy aristocratic *khorēgos*, the officials working on behalf of the democratic city,[242] and the *khoros*, worked together to produce performance art of this kind. A main point here is that poets themselves, with the famous exception of the frequently derided Kinesias, were generally non-Athenian. Wilson explains this by suggesting that praise by others was more acceptable and effective than praise by Athens' own citizens.[243] But we have already seen here that matters are more complex; poetry of this sort cannot be reduced simply to *polis*-encomium. Recruitment of non-Athenian poets, with pre-established connections with the Athenian aristocracy, could be understood in different ways: on the one hand, it could have been

[238] Ford (1999) 239–40.

[239] Again, see Wilson (2003*a*) for an investigation of Kritias' use of Anakreon within the anti-democratic counter-culture of the elitist symposium. Systematizations of schooling have the effect of ossifying, decontextualizing, and dogmatizing, in order to reproduce the social institutions themselves with all their problematic social hierarchies, without necessarily questioning these hierarchies: Guillory (1993) 57. Indeed, this is what has happened with Bacchylides himself: see Ch. 3 above. But in an era before systematic schooling, the situation would have been far more fluid, involving the thoroughgoing contestations we have been discussing.

[240] Guillory (1993) 63 ff., developing a Marxist approach to Bakhtin's *heteroglossia*. As my own approach to intertextuality should make clear, social contestation is embedded in the nexus of relations between different types of text that constitute the literary texts we have been discussing.

[241] What we do know has been examined in detail by *Khoregia* 66–70.

[242] If Bacchylides' compositions are datable before the limited reforms of the early 460s, the arkhons would themselves still have been drawn from the upper echelons of Athenian society.

[243] *Khoregia* 66–7.

thought to appropriate the ties of *xenia* between poets and patrons for the benefit of the demos, or might perhaps have allowed Athenians a sense of cultural supremacy over poets from allied or even inimical states.[244] The testimony concerning the fine Pindar incurred from Thebes for praising Athens, though apocryphal, may preserve some perception of this kind of inter-state rivalry.[245] On the other hand, the personal, elitist, and potentially anti-democratic connections between external poets and aristocratic *khorēgoi* contained the potential to be read back into, and thus even to underwrite, democratic *khorēgia* and *mousikē*. The conjunction of *khorēgos* and poet by lot would have gone some way to undermine any possible charge of aristocratic collusion, but it wouldn't have eliminated it completely.[246] Competitive tribal performances may also have weakened any perceived anti-democratic force, though the possibility, still remaining, that such performances were a part of Athenian culture under the tyranny, might have suggested to some that *aristocratic* competitiveness was alive and well. Nevertheless, the fact that *khorēgoi* of *kuklioi khoroi* as well as of tragedies felt the need to commission separate epinician epigrams (by the same poets) for the khoregic monuments in celebration of their victories goes to show that members of the aristocracy felt the need to find other, more personal, and potentially more elitist, ways of self-expression.[247] It is here that any ties of *xenia* would have been worked out. Such ties would have broken through, and operated beyond, the democratic and phyletic stratifications of the democratic *polis* by means of far-reaching inter-*polis* family networks. But even in the act of projecting their elite power through some monuments, *khorēgoi* are tied to their tribal victories, showing their dedication to 'adorning the city'.

To conclude, against such an elaborate and conflicting social background provided by Athens of the earlier fifth century, we can see that the deployment of poetry with cultural baggage attached in a democratic state-authorized performance form and setting allows for an analysis or questioning of embedded class distinctions: a discussion of the stakes involved in contesting class-based claims to

[244] See *Khoregia* 63–4 for the nationality of *dithyrambopoioi*.
[245] Isokr. 15.166; Eust. *Prooem*. 300.12 Dr.
[246] Cf. *Khoregia* 67.
[247] Ibid. 120–3.

Homer and Solon as elite, or demotic, cultural capital. This means that we can view Bacchylides 15 as operating along the same general lines as tragedy according to recent ideologically charged readings of the latter.[248] Where my account differs is through the way in which Bacchylides 15 offers a truncated view of a social group—the Trojans—as a generally undifferentiated mass, asked to respond to the suggestions and implied threats of members of a mythological (and hostile) elite; Griffith's account of the *Oresteia* chooses to stress the systematic expression of elite interests.

Bacchylides' text allows for a contestation of class interests that constitute the tensions within, but also bears witness to the very diversity of, contemporary Athenian society. On one reading, the Athenian elite, through their rigorous education in traditional poetry beyond the public realm of poetic performance, could be seen as *most* able to pick up the references and analogies that were in part directed at their own unsettling position in Athenian society. Alternatively, an aristocratic reading could suggest that the final references to Solon suggested that the hubristic nature of the demos needed to be challenged and undermined. The fact that Solonian texts were performed by Athenian παῖδες as part of their entry into the phratry could mean that Athenian citizens would have been *generally* able to interpret Bacchylides 15 as democratic, and indeed traditionally grounded, *parainesis*; but the fact that the text which provides us with our only evidence for this has an intensely elitist spin, providing the basis for Kritias' discussion in Plato's *Timaeus*, bears witness to the systematic challenge to democratic readings of key Athenian performances by rival elite ones.

The balance between these readings is necessarily a delicate one. But my interpretation of Bacchylides 15 has offered these up for investigation. The poem offered meaning, enjoyment, and challenge to its contemporary audience, and should continue to do so for subsequent readers and critics.

[248] Esp. Griffith (1995).

Conclusion

The overall aim of this book has been to re-evaluate Bacchylides' poetry by offering a new approach: first, in terms of the study of its engagement with tradition, working on the basis that Bacchylides' use of traditional poetic diction has much broader cultural ramifications; and second, in terms of the relation of the poetry to multiple contexts of performance and reception. Moreover, I have engaged with the debate about the nature of Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs* and choral lyric forms in general, offering new thoughts on the significance of narrative style in lyric, and the relation of poetry to specific contexts of performance.

The results of my treatments of Bacchylides' encomiastic poetry in Part I show that Bacchylides must have received detailed mythological briefs from the states and individuals he was commissioned to serve. This should really come as no surprise, but an acceptance that this did happen should open the way for further close readings of individual treatments of myths throughout the corpus of work by Bacchylides and Pindar, and Simonides too. We can also see that engagements with past poetry are underwritten by a thoroughgoing interrelation between personal poetic motivations on the one hand and cultural requirements on the other.

My discussions in Part I also show how cultural and genealogical traditions are skewed and appropriated by different states for different ideological reasons and with different results. Current studies of ethnicity in the circles of ancient mythography, history, language, and archaeology, can be used here to produce fascinating results. We should not be surprised to find myths being appropriated in intensely political ways in poems of this sort. These poems themselves were initially mediated through sympotic and choral

performances with their own individual political charges within their own contexts, either in the heart of city-states or at panhellenic sanctuaries. Bacchylides 13 and fragment 20B reveal the manipulation of lyric and especially Homeric source-material for the needs of localized elites, in ways that are suggestive for the political appropriation of Homer in the early classical period more broadly. Greater sensitivity to Bacchylides' supposed overabundance of and redundancy in 'ornamental' epithets reveals the depth of both the textual and the cultural resonances of individual words and phrases. With Bacchylides fragment 20B, I highlight specific examples of traditional diction relating to dreams, drunkenness, wealth, and power, and how they form a meditation on Macedonian royalty and Macedonian identity; in Bacchylides 13, I highlight the Homeric and political resonance of epithets relating to fire and light in particular.

Reception is crucial. With fragment 20B, consideration of the delicate balance between sympotic praise and blame opened up by wider, and not exclusively Macedonian, receptions, allows the poem to take its place as part of controversy about Greekness and relations with Persia and the East during the period of the Persian Wars, controversy which Herodotos picks up later in the fifth century. In the case of Bacchylides 13, a focus on the variety of possible ancient receptions allows for a nuanced treatment of the political significance of Aiginetan epinician poetry. This takes us well beyond the limitations of a Bundyist analysis according to which epinician poetry can be reduced to its praise-function. My own approach to lyric creates open readings that are aware of the possibility of divergent receptions not only within but also beyond contexts of original performance, and attempt to do more than offer up the poems as historicist expressions of the realities of elite power-relations. Bacchylides, the panhellenic poet, operates at the centre of the claims and counterclaims to myth and its political possibilities. It is traditional poetry that forms the basis for his expression of myths which can affirm but can also be regrafted into new contexts. This generally means Homer, though Bacchylides also uses other important texts such as the Hesiodic Catalogue as well as earlier lyric.[1] Bacchylides' own poems

[1] Cp. Fearn (2003) and D'Alessio (2005) for Bacchylides' use of material from the Hesiodic Catalogue.

are themselves illustrations of the possibility for traditional poetry to be received and replayed.

My analysis of Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs* in Part II aims to break new ground, through analysis of both the cultural functioning of, and the attitudes to, this poetry in and beyond its original settings. Through a reassessment of the relation between Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs*, the *kuklios khoros*, Dionysiac cult-song, and the history of archaic and classical choral performance, I open up a somewhat obscure area of Athenian cultural history, and, at the same time, offer a view of how both ancient and modern scholarship on Greek, and especially Athenian, festivals and the poetry associated with them has affected assessment of Bacchylides' work.

Bacchylides' narrative style provided a flexible aid through which individual pieces of mythology could be made to reach a wide range of intended audiences. In the specific case of Bacchylides 15, there is an interesting sense in which the very form of the poem as a piece of epic-style narrative allows for a multiplicity of readings of its potential messages within democratic Athens. The lack of any simple answers, and the very 'openness' of the poem as a text with no definitive sense of closure, invites members of the audience to question their own identities, whilst reasserting the importance of *group* decision-making within the democratic *polis*. Again, reception is at the heart of the matter. Bacchylides receives Homer in a way that suggests that his audience take seriously the way *they* should receive Bacchylides' own poetry, and the poetry embedded within *it*: questions concerning the reception of Bacchylides 15 itself are built into the narrative of the communicative relation of Menelaos to the audience within the poem's own myth. And yet, as a corollary, this reinvigoration of Homer's cultural and political relevance to Athens is another way of expressing Athenian pride in the Homer they can claim as their own: Homer has, by now, become the Athenian text, the guarantor of Athenian cultural supremacy.[2]

[2] I hope therefore that my contextual readings of Bacchylides' narrative style can assist scholars in other areas. Too often Latinists embark on discussions of Horace without being fully aware of, or else unable to find discussions of, the extent to which essentially similar questions arise already with archaic and classical lyric: consider Lowrie (1997) on narrative in Horace. Some work on the connection between Horace and Bacchylides has begun already: see Lefèvre (2000).

Classical scholarship has generally sought to evaluate Bacchylides negatively by placing him side by side with Pindar and aestheticizing the poetry and separating it from the contexts in which it was originally commissioned. It is not that value-judgements on the relative merits of the two poets are impossible, unnecessary, or embarrassing. But it is necessary to bring to light and thus to *reframe* the social situations in which value judgements relating to poetry and literary canons are made *throughout* their history, and thus to have an awareness of the background to one's own cultural and theoretical position.[3] And, at the very least, I hope to have shown that reading and studying Bacchylides' poetry is a challenging, insightful, and thoroughly worthwhile activity.

[3] See Guillory (1993), esp. 340 on canons and aesthetic judgement (with a reformist agenda); also, from a slightly different perspective, Fowler (1994) 253–4.

APPENDIX 1

DATING BACCHYLIDES 13

I set out here the evidence for the dating of this poem, which celebrates Pytheas son of Lampon. I conclude that 483 or 485 BCE are most plausible.

Three odes by Pindar provide information around which to build up a picture of the dating of the Aiginetan victories of the 480s: these are *Isthmians* 5 and 6 and *Nemean* 5 (commissioned for the same victory as Bacch. 13). None can be dated by objective criteria since no lists exist for Nemean and Isthmian victories. Therefore we need to work backwards from the most secure information in order to build up a plausible picture. The victory catalogues in *Isth.* 6 and *Nem.* 5 are controversial and have been subject to differing interpretations. Starting with the information of *Isth.* 5, lines 48–50, as follows:

> *καὶ νῦν ἐν Ἄρει μαρτυρήσαι*
> *κεν πόλις Αἴαντος ὀρθωθεῖσα ναύταις*
> *ἐν πολυφθόρῳ Σαλαμὶς Διὸς ὄμβρῳ*
> *ἀναρίθμων ἀνδρῶν χαλαζάεντι φόνῳ.*

These lines refer to the Battle of Salamis, which we know occurred in the autumn of 480. This would leave the next Isthmian Games of spring 478 as an attractive date for *Isth.* 5. Alternatively, Gaspar (1900) 62 n. 3 suggested that Phylakidas' victory was actually won in 480, but not celebrated until after the battle. This may well be right. Maehler I.2 250 n. 2 deems Gaspar's suggestion unlikely, but if true, it would push back the date of *Isth.* 6, also won by Phylakidas, from 480 to 484 at the latest, since the hopes of Olympic victory which appear at 7 ff. would fit an Olympic year best (see also Turyn (1948) 164). There is also the evidence of *Isth.* 5.17–19:

> *τὶν δ' ἐν Ἰσθμῷ διπλόα θάλλοισ' ἀρετά,*
> *Φυλακίδ', ἄγκειται, Νεμέᾳ δὲ καὶ ἀμφοῖν*
> *Πυθέᾳ τε, παγκρατίου.*

These lines indicate that Pytheas had no Isthmian victory (cf. Carey (1989*b*) 295), and that by this time Phylakidas had gained a Nemean victory. These facts help us to build up a picture of the situation.

Isth. 6.3 ff. indicate that the first victory of the sons of Lampon was at Nemea, a reference to the victory celebrated by Bacch. 13 and *Nem.* 5. These

two poems must therefore pre-date *Isth.* 6. Although *Isth.* 6 is conventionally dated to 480, the adoption of Gaspar's suggestion that *Isth.* 5 should be dated to 480 would push back *Isth.* 6 to 482 or 484.

Isth. 6.60 ff. provides a catalogue which is difficult to interpret:

> *ἄραντο γὰρ νίκας ἀπὸ παγκρατίου*
> *τρεῖς ἀπ' Ἰσθμοῦ, τὰς δ' ἀπ' εὐφύλλου Νεμέας,*
> *ἀγλαοὶ παῖδές τε καὶ μάτρως.*

Scholars are divided on how to read this passage: does it refer to three victories in total by Pytheas, Phylakidas, and Euthymenes; does it refer to three Isthmian victories and an indeterminate number of Nemean victories; or does it suggest something else? Bergk, Bury, Maehler, and others suggest reading three victories in total, with a comma after *τρεῖς* (Bergk (1882) 352; Bury (1892) 116–17; Maehler I.2 251; see Carey (1989*b*) 294 n. 29). Thummer suggests that no comma should be supplied, but that the total number is still three; the vagueness of the reference is hence said to add praise on the victors by giving the impression that they won more than three. Bury worried that there was no authority for an Isthmian victory by Euthymenes apart from the uncertain evidence of *Σ Nem.* 5.67 *ad fin.* (iii.94 Dr).

Bury suggests: 'the decisive consideration is that, if *τρεῖς* qualifies *νίκας ἀπ' Ἰσθμοῦ*, the following *τὰς δέ* is perfectly indefinite and may mean any number from two upward. If anything is certain in such a matter, it is certain that Pindar told the exact number of such rare and important victories. It follows that *τὰς δ'* is determined by *τρεῖς*. The full phrase would be *τρεῖς νίκας, τὰν μὲν ἀπ' Ἰσθμου, τὰς δ' ἀπ' εὐφύλλου Νεμέας*'.

However, even the certainty of Bury has been challenged. Carey (1989*b*) and Cole (1987) have both undermined the idea that Pindar is always exact on matters of numbering: see in particular Carey n. 29 with n. 24, although he remains sensibly unconvinced by Cole's argument that Pindar remains *persistently* ambiguous in this regard. Carey and Pfeijffer both argue that the verse is intended to be construed in two balancing halves, and that three refers only to the Isthmian victories (see Carey (1989*b*) 294; Pfeijffer (1995) 321). Pfeijffer goes too far in suggesting that Bergk's interpretation is a violation of Greek syntax.

Pfeijffer makes the point that there is nothing to stop us from supposing that Euthymenes had actually won twice at the Isthmus and once at Nemea between Bacch. 13/*Nem.* 5 and *Isth.* 6. Hummel (1993) 402 § 510 agrees with Carey and Pfeijffer, though to call it 'la solution habituelle' belies the fact that there are no objective grounds for deciding either way.

Alternatively, Hamilton (1974) 106 suggested that *τρεῖς* refers to three

victors not three victories. But as Carey points out this does not square with the practice of other Pindaric victory catalogues, where the victories, not the number of victors, are at issue; furthermore it also states the obvious considering that the victors are spelled out directly at the end of the verse.

So, from the evidence of *Isth.* 6, so far we have to account for a total of three Isthmian and Nemean victories, or three Isthmian victories and an unspecified number of Nemean victories, to account for before *Isth.* 6, datable to either 480 or perhaps more likely 482 or 484, and possibly between *Isth.* 6 and Bacch. 13/*Nem.* 5. We also know from *Isth.* 5.17–19 that Pytheas had no Isthmian victory, and that Phylakidas had two including the *Isth.* 6 success, and that they both had won once at Nemea. *Isth.* 6 also indicates that Phylakidas had not yet won a Nemean victory. Phylakidas' victory of *Isth.* 6 is the second that Pindar has celebrated, the first being Pytheas' single Nemean success of *Nem.* 5; Pindar would be expected to have mentioned that Phylakidas had won at Nemea previously. *Isth.* 6.3–5, *ἐν* | *Νεμέᾳ μὲν πρῶτον, ὦ Ζεῦ,* | *τὶν ἄωτον δεξάμενοι στεφάνων*, must be too vague to refer to a Nemean victory of Phylakidas' in the first ode Pindar wrote for him, and must be oblique praise of Pytheas for his. This victory of Phylakidas must therefore be placed between *Isth.* 6 and *Isth.* 5.

To see whether the Isthmian victories need necessarily fit between *Isth.* 6 and Bacch. 13/*Nem.* 5, we need now to consider the evidence of the victory catalogue of *Nem.* 5. Again, unfortunately this passage is controversial. Lines 41ff. read as follows:

> *τὺ δ' Αἰγίναθε δίς, Εὐθύμενες,*
> *Νίκας ἐν ἀγκώνεσσι πίτνων*
> *ποικίλων ἔψαυσας ὕμνων.*
> *ἤτοι μεταΐξαις σὲ καὶ νῦν τεὸς μάτρως ἀγάλλει*
> *κείνου ὁμόσπορον ἔθνος, Πυθέα.*
> *ἁ Νεμέα μὲν ἄραρεν*
> *μείς τ' ἐπιχώριος, ὃν φίλησ' Ἀπόλλων·*
> *ἅλικας δ' ἐλθόντας οἴκοι τ' ἐκράτει*
> *Νίσου τ' ἐν εὐαγκεῖ λόφῳ.*

We need now to decide how many Nemean and Isthmian victories to ascribe to Pytheas and Euthymenes on the basis of the information provided in this passage. How does it square with the information set out earlier, especially that of *Isth.* 6? An answer will enable us to set the basic grounds for the number of years and victories to interpose as a minimum between *Isth.* 6 and *Nem.* 5/Bacch. 13. Interpretation of the passage is not helped by a seriously corrupt text in 41 and 43, but for the reasons set out by Carey at least 41 seems correctly restored as Snell–Maehler now print it. In 43 the manuscripts read *μεταίξαντα* and *Πυθέας*. It will be useful in this case to

discuss each discrete phrase individually to see what conclusions can be drawn from each part. Individual interpretations of this passage have been highly influential for understanding of the passages from the later victory catalogues discussed above.

First, lines 41–3. Here Euthymenes, Pytheas' uncle, is praised for two victories. The problem is how to understand *Αἰγίναθε*. Carey suggests that, rather than in connection with *Εὐθύμενες* (meaning the banal 'Euthymenes from Aigina'), the adverb must be taken with the idea of motion inherent in the verb *πίτνων*. He therefore sides with Bowra's translation: 'And you, Euthymenes, twice from Aigina casting yourself | rushing into the arms of Victory made contact with ornate songs'; compare now Race's 'Euthymenes, twice from Aigina did you fall into Victory's arms and enjoy elaborate hymns.' If this is correct, rather than a reference to local games, the adverb, now understood as a separative rather than a locative, indicates that '*Αἰγίναθε* is . . . a pregnant means of referring to a victory abroad' (Carey (1989*b*) 295 with n. 33). If so, the two victories abroad that Euthymenes is said to have won were at the Isthmus, whose games are in fact referred to just before in a transition to this passage (37 ff.):

> *γαμβρὸν Ποσειδάωνα πείσαις, ὃς Αἰγᾶθεν ποτὶ κλει-*
> *τὰν θαμὰ νίσεται Ἰσθμὸν Δωρίαν·*
> *ἔνθα νιν εὔφρονες ἶλαι*
> *σὺν καλάμοιο βοᾷ θεὸν δέκονται,*
> *καὶ σθένει γυίων ἐρίζοντι θρασεῖ.*
> *Πότμος δὲ κρίνει συγγενὴς ἔργων πέρι*
> *πάντων. τὺ δ' Αἰγίναθε δίς, Εὐθύμενες κτλ.*

If Carey is correct and lines 41–2 refer to two Isthmian victories by Euthymenes, this counteracts the claim made for the sense of the catalogue of *Isth.* 6 as referring to three victories in total, including only one at the Isthmian games (that of Phylakidas). Now, if we add two victories for Euthymenes, we get the total of three Isthmian victories, which accords with the alternative way of understanding that passage. Pfeijffer (1995) 319 objects that the mention of the Isthmian games in the previous lines understood as the referent for Euthymenes' two victories is objectionable on the grounds that Pindar would have referred in more precise fashion to where victories were won. Pfeijffer (1995) 320 n. 12 also counters Carey with a list of separatives that can be understood to refer to the place of victory, i.e. the place from which the prize has been carried away. However, all of these citations refer to games the localities of which the victor is not or could not be a citizen (Delphi, Olympia, the Isthmus (*Pyth.* 5.105–7, *Isth.* 1.64–7, *Ol.* 12.17–18); Thebes in an ode for a citizen of Akragas (*Isth.* 1.10–11)). In the

present case, the passage does not seem capable of bearing this interpretation considering that it would be tautologous for a victor resident in Aigina to take away his prize from Aigina. If Aigina is a periphrasis for local games, surely Pindar would have gone into more specific detail at this point about local competitions, which he does in fact do in 44 ff., where local games *are* in fact discussed, but in reference to a *different* set of victories. It also works against Pfeijffer that he fails to account, as Carey does, for the mention of Isthmian games in lines 37 ff. just before the victory catalogue. Carey must therefore be preferred to Pfeijffer on these points.

Pfeijffer still wants to allow for two Isthmian victories by Euthymenes, but in the period between *Nem.* 5/Bacch. 13 and *Isth.* 6. Carey's view has the advantage of explaining the interpretation of *Isth.* 6.61 as referring to three Isthmian victories, but the two of these won by Euthymenes on his argument precede *Nem.* 5/Bacch. 13 rather than post-date it. Hence they cannot be used to fill a gap up to Phylakidas' Isthmian victory of 480/482/484. This has obvious repercussions for the latest possible date for *Nem.* 5/Bacch 13.

Carey (1989*b*) 292 nn. 23 and 24 uses Thummer's evidence ((1968–9) i.27–8) for the relative importance of the various games to argue that reference to local games in 41–2 before the reference to Nemea in 44 is out of character, particularly as local games are mentioned in 44–6, and Pindar's practice elsewhere is to gather together victories by locale, either listed paratactically or bundled together in a single reference. This is what happens here in 44–6, but a reference to local games in 41–2 would pre-empt and disrupt his usual practice, also making the reference in 44–6 rather pointless if both these passages are to refer to the same person's victories.

In 43 Euthymenes (third-person *ἀγάλλει*, with *μεταΐξας σε*) is praised for winning in games posterior to Pytheas' Nemean victory (cf. Pfeijffer (1995) 319 n. 7). Carey raises the problem that if Euthymenes' successes are meant literally to follow Pytheas', and that they both refer to Nemean victories, Euthymenes' victory must be the most recent; it would therefore seem *Nem.* 5 was indeed composed at least two years after Pytheas' victory, with Pindar suggesting that the uncle and the nephew have both won recently. Pindar, if correctly read at this point, seems fairly definite on the chronology of these two events, but we need not necessarily posit a two-year gap, or agree with Carey that Pindar is being vague; it might well be the case that Euthymenes also won in the same games as Pytheas—hence his extended praise in this ode—, but in a different category (and one which took place subsequent to Pytheas' pankration for youths? Euthymenes, his uncle, would therefore compete in adult categories).

In 44 ff. I initially considered that Pfeijffer was correct to posit a change of subject, thus to refer to Pytheas' victories. Pfeijffer notes ἅλικας and suggests that this indicates 'boys of the same age', which strengthens the reference to Pytheas. He, unlike Euthymenes (who competed in the men's category), was a boy who competed in the category for *paides* (line 6: οὔπω γένυσι φαίνων τερείνας ματέρ' οἰνάνθας ὀπώραν). Lines 45–6 would therefore refer to victories by Pytheas at local games, and 44 allude to his victories in the Nemean and Delphinian Games. This suggestion would counteract part of Carey's argument against a reference to local victories in 41–2, since with a change of subject, Pindar could no longer be charged with repeating himself. However, the fact that Pytheas is in the vocative and the third-person verb continues in 45 seems to indicate that Euthymenes is being extensively praised here. Carey gets around the problem of the reference to youths' events by suggesting that these actually refer to the victories of Euthymenes' youth and not to those of Pytheas. This analysis makes more continual sense than Pfeijffer's suggestions.

We can now build up alternative chronologies according to the alternative interpretations of particularly the controversial passages of *Nem.* 5 and *Isth.* 6. If we start with Pfeijffer, the two points that he uses to build his scheme are his interpretations of *Isth.* 6.60 ff., which he takes to refer to three Isthmian victories by the sons of Lampon and their uncle, and an unspecified number of Nemean victories. From his interpretation of *Nem.* 5.41 ff., he believes that there are no references here to either Isthmian or Nemean victories by Euthymenes, since he believes that lines 44 ff. refer to victories by Pytheas. This means that, for him, the two Isthmian victories of Euthymenes indicated at *Isth.* 6.60 ff. must fall between *Nem.* 5 and *Isth.* 6, so that at their latest *Nem.* 5/Bacch. 13 must be five years before *Isth.* 6 to allow these two Isthmiads. Hence Pfeijffer's chronologies are as follows (alternatives B and C, not actually sketched by Pfeijffer, follow through Gaspar's suggestion for an alternative dating for *Isth.* 5, allowing for the dating of *Isth.* 6 to 482 or 484):

Pfeijffer:

A **485** Nemead 45; Pytheas
(***Nem.* 5/Bacch. 13**)
484 Isthmiad 49; Euthymenes
483 Nemead 46; (Euthymenes)
482 Isthmiad 50; Euthymenes
481 Nemead 47; (Euthymenes)
480 Isthmiad 51; Phylakidas
(***Isth.* 6**)

B **487** Nemead 43; Pytheas
(**Nem. 5/Bacch. 13**)
486 Isthmiad 48; Euthymenes
485 Nemead 45; (Euthymenes)
484 Isthmiad 49; Euthymenes
483 Nemead 46; (Euthymenes)
482 Isthmiad 50; Phylakidas
(***Isth.* 6**)

479 Nemead 48; Phylakidas
478 Isthmiad 52; Phylakidas (***Isth.* 5**)[1]

481 Nemead 47; Phylakidas
480 Isthmiad 51; Phylakidas (***Isth.* 5**)

C **489** Nemead 43; Pytheas (***Nem.* 5/Bacch. 13**)
488 Isthmiad 47; Euthymenes
487 Nemead 44; (Euthymenes)
486 Isthmiad 48; Euthymenes
485 Nemead 45; (Euthymenes)
484 Isthmiad 49; Phylakidas (***Isth.* 6**)
483 Nemead 46; [Phylakidas]
482 Isthmiad 50; ?
481 Nemead 47; [Phylakidas][2]
480 Isthmiad 51; Phylakidas (***Isth.* 5**)

On the hypothesis of Maehler that *Isth.* 6.60 ff. can only refer to three victories in total, the picture may look as follows, again, with B and C factoring in the alternatives provided by Gaspar's dating of *Isth.* 5:

Maehler:

A **483** Nemead 46; Pytheas (***Nem.* 5/Bacch. 13**)
482 Isthmiad 50; ?
481 Nemead 47; Euthymenes
480 Isthmiad 51; Phylakidas (***Isth.* 6**)
479 Nemead 48; Phylakidas
478 Isthmiad 52; Phylakidas (***Isth.* 5**)

B **485** Nemead 45; Pytheas (***Nem.* 5/Bacch. 13**)
484 Isthmiad 49; ?
483 Nemead 46; Euthymenes
482 Isthmiad 50; Phylakidas (***Isth.* 6**)
481 Nemead 47; Phylakidas
480 Isthmiad 51; Phylakidas (***Isth.* 5**)

C **487** Nemead 44; Pytheas (***Nem.* 5/Bacch. 13**)
486 Isthmiad 48; ?
485 Nemead 45; Euthymenes
484 Isthmiad 49; Phylakidas (***Isth.* 6**)
483 Nemead 46; [Phylakidas]
482 Isthmiad 50; ?
481 Nemead 47; [Phylakidas][2]
480 Isthmiad 51; Phylakidas (***Isth.* 5**)

[1] The bracketed Nemean victories of Euthymenes in 483 and 481 remind us of the possibility that Euthymenes may have won more than once at Nemea; on Pfeijffer's hypothesis *Isth.* 6.60 ff. is not specific on the number of Nemean victories won, and nor is *Nem.* 5.

[2] Phylakidas' Nemean victory was in either of the two bracketed years; *Isth.* 5.17–19 indicates that he won twice at the Isthmian Games and once at Nemea.

Maehler also believes (I.2 251) that *Nem.* 5.41–2 refers to two *local* victories of Euthymenes and no Nemean victory as yet: hence Euthymenes in 481.

Finally, we have Carey's hypothesis, the most important points of which are that he agrees with Pfeijffer that *Isth.* 6.60 ff. must refer to more than merely three victories in total, but significantly rejects his view that *Nem.* 5.41 ff. refers neither to Euthymenes' Nemean victory or victories nor to his two Isthmian victories, but that the lines indicate that Euthymenes' Isthmian victories pre-date this ode. With the correction that one of Euthymenes' Nemean victories may have been won at the same festival as Pytheas', the alternatives look as follows:

Carey:

A **481** Nemead 47; Pytheas (***Nem.* 5/Bacch. 13**) + Euthymenes(?)
480 Isthmiad 51; Phylakidas (***Isth.* 6**)
479 Nemead 48; Phylakidas
478 Isthmiad 52; Phylakidas (***Isth.* 5**)

B 485 Nemead 45; Pytheas (***Nem.* 5/Bacch. 13**)
484 Isthmiad 49; Phylakidas (***Isth.* 6**)
483 Nemead 46; [Phylakidas]
482 Isthmiad 50; ?
481 Nemead 47; [Phylakidas]
480 Isthmiad 51; Phylakidas (***Isth.* 5**).

C **483** Nemead 46; Pytheas (***Nem.* 5/Bacch. 13**)
482 Isthmiad 50; Phylakidas (***Isth.* 6**)
481 Nemead 47; Phylakidas
480 Isthmiad 51; Phylakidas (***Isth.* 5**)

Note that the lower dates on Carey's hypothesis are the direct result of his pre-dating of Euthymenes' victories before *Nemean* 5. This accords with Jebb's dating of the ode; Maehler objects to Jebb's dating because it would force Euthymenes' Nemean victory into the same games as Pytheas', and Maehler believes that such a possibility is ruled out by *Nemean* 5.41 ff. However, as I have argued above, *Nemean* 5.43 can be interpreted this way. Also note that all these dates are latest possible dates: *Nemean* 5 and Bacchylides 13 may have been composed earlier, although on Carey's hypothesis these would have to be fitted into a scheme that took account of the earlier victories of Euthymenes.

Carey's interpretations are thus the most plausible. Gaspar seems right to fit *Isth.* 5 into 480 after Salamis, so I think that 485 or 483 as the latest date fits this most difficult set of evidence the least badly. Although it is difficult to decide either way purely on the evidence of *Isth.* 6.60 ff., Carey's interpretation of the *Nem.* 5 passage seems best. He analyses it in the greatest

detail, and must be right to allow no change of subject after line 43. His discussion of the transition from lines 37 ff. to lines 41 ff. is not given the attention it deserves by Pfeijffer. The admittedly circumstantial evidence of these lines provides grounds external to *Isth.* 6 to indicate that more than three victories in total had by that time been won by members of the family, but Carey seems right to hypothesize that Euthymenes' Isthmian victories may have been won before Pytheas' Nemean success celebrated by the two poets. This means that the most plausible dating for Bacch. 13 is 483 or 485 BCE.

APPENDIX 2

A NEW RECONSTRUCTION OF BACCHYLIDES 13.155–67

Here I offer a reconstructed text for Bacchylides 13.155–67. This is an attempt, based on a personal inspection of the papyrus in the British Library, to shed some further light on the lines beyond what has already been achieved by Maehler, who had taken advantage of Barrett's unpublished notes reassessing the first of two fragments correctly relocated here by Blass (see Blass 104, nn.; Kenyon 126). I offer a diplomatic and interpretative transcript, an image of the reconstruction, a translation, and a full textual and interpretative commentary.

Diplomatic Transcript

[....]εγ’ημιθεοις
[.....] . ϊcọθεωνδ’ι̶ορμαν·
[.....]ρ̣ονεc· ημεγαλαιcινελπιcιν
[....]οντεcυπερφ[..]λον
..χ̣
[........]υ̣δ̣[.]ν̣τ̣[...]cιππευταικυανώπιδαcεκ
[space for ±16 letters]νεαc
[.......]χ̣[.]ρ[.] . [....]πιναcτ’εν
[.....]ρ̣ο̣ιcεξεινθ̣[...]ματονπολιν·
[.]ελλοναραπροτ . [..]νδι
[.]ἆνταφοινιξει . [..]αμανδρ̣[
[.]ναcκοντεcυπ̣[...]κιδαιc
ερειψ[.]π̣ύ̣[

Interpretative Transcript

[ὀξὺ μ]εγ’ ἡμιθέοις 155
[ἰθεῖα]ν̣ ἰσοθέ͜ων δι’ ὁρμάν.
⟨ — ⟩

[ἆ δύσφ]ρ̣ονες, ἦ μεγάλαισιν ἐλπίσιν
[πνεί]οντες ὑπερφ[ία]λον
[θρόησαν α]ὐ̣χ̣[ὰ]ν̣

Τ̣[ρῶε]ς ἱππευταὶ κυανώπιδας ἐκ- 160
[πέρσασιν Ἀργείων] νέας
[στάσειν] χ̣[ο]ρ[ὸ]ν̣ [εἰλα]πίνας τ' ἐν
[λαοφό]ροις ἕξειν θ[εόδ]ματον πόλιν.
[μ]έλλον ἄρα πρότε̣[ρο]ν δι-
[ν]ᾶντα φοινίξειν [Σκ]αμανδρ[ον, 165

⟨)— ⟩

[θ]νᾴσκοντες ὑπ[' Αἰα]κίδαις
ἐρειψ[ι]π̣ύ̣[ργοις·]

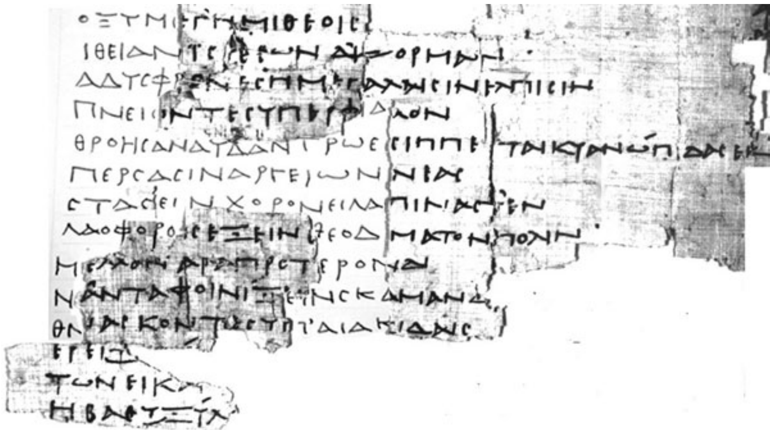

Figure 6 Image of Bacch. 13.155–69 on papyrus (BM inv. no. 733 col. 27), together with a drawing of supplementation for lines 155–67.

Image of papyrus by permission of the British Library (Pap. 733 folio 3 (right), order number 21374).

Translation (155–63)

. . . , a mightily keen, bitter contest for the heroes though the direct assault of those godlike men. Ah, what fools! High-spirited in their great hopes those Trojan horsemen arrogantly boasted that, once they had utterly destroyed the dark-prowed Argive ships, their god-built city would set up a chorus and would hold feasting in its streets in their honour.

Textual Notes

155 18 mm of space from projected left-hand margin for 4 letters. **156** 19.5 mm of space for 5 letters.]̣, vertical ink trace at two-thirds height

just below left-hand dot of following trema, 1 mm to the left, on very edge of papyrus, folded back and overhanging, so no chance of other ink remaining. This could be part of a right-hand vertical (η, ι, μ, ν, π), the far r.-h. end of a mid-height crossbar, i.e. c (*pace* Barrett), γ, or ψ, or very right-hand edge of ρ, ϕ, or ω. The trace is too low for a letter-tops crossbar, therefore ruling out τ, and if it were anything else we would have expected more ink to the lower right to be visible, therefore ruling out e.g. α.

cọθ, as Jebb and Kenyon rightly say, an omicron has been written over an erasure. δ'ι̶ορμαν, it seems right that **A**[2] or **A**[3] inserted an apostrophe and put a deletion stroke through the ι, and the gap between ι and ο was also filled with another stroke. It is possible that **A** originally intended to write δια but felt some uncertainty (did he find his exemplar difficult to read here?) and left a space instead of writing α. **157** Overlap here with small fragment added by Blass. Projected 19 mm space for 5 letters.]ρ̣, trace of bottom of descender. No ink at top (since papyrus breaks off), so it is impossible to say whether originally there was any ink above or to the right. Maehler, on this basis, suggested]ϊ as an alternative possibility, but this does not account for the extension below the bottom line. **158** Projected 15.5 mm space for 4 letters. It is difficult to see why Barrett could expect to be so accurate with tracing that he thought πνε⟨ί⟩]οντες would use up the space better than πνεί]οντες. Without the iota, π, ν, and ϵ would have to be at their broadest to fill up the available space.

At the bottom of the first fragment incorporated by Blass, beneath τεc in the line above, there appear very faint remnants of ink between the lines, followed by the blotchy remains of one letter. There are faint spidery traces of two (or three?) letters, so faint and thin as to be hardly visible on a photograph of the papyrus; even under strong magnification on a view of the original, they seem very hard to interpret. They might be said to resemble *CM* in form, but if so, the letter forms do not correspond with any other supralinear additions elsewhere in the papyrus. Certainly, they do not seem compatible enough, in stroke-shape or thickness, to represent letters in the same hand as the following trace or the hands of the main scribe or those of the subsequent editors. It is unclear whether these initial traces are to be interpreted as original ink at all, and it seems that they are best regarded as accidental, since the ink traces only remain on the very top of the top surface of the papyrus; they are quite clearly different from the following trace. The final trace seems more blocky and thick in appearance than letters written in the hand of **A**, and this may suggest that it had been corrected, written over, or even erased, but perhaps just damaged. But it seems best interpreted as χ; though the surface is damaged, and some of the ink seems anomalous, on the left-hand side the two obliques characteristic

of χ can be made out. Indeed, it seems to correspond well with the form of the supralinear χ at col. 15(11).9 (Bacch. 5.164), by **A**[2] to correct κρη to χρη. There is no way of telling whether the letter beneath was cancelled or not.

159+160 Projected 24 mm space for 7 or 8 letters. ̣]υ̣δ̣[̣]ν̣τ̣[̣ ̣ ̣], beneath the interlinear traces, at the break-off of the papyrus, there appear to be two traces level with letter-tops, separated by 4 mm. Between these there are two minute specks. These two traces correspond to Barrett's]α̣υ̣[. The first trace is a speck ±1 mm wide, and could be the remnants of either the apex of α or δ, or the tip of the upper left-hand oblique of any tall letter which falls away to the lower right. If it were ν or μ we would possibly expect there to be a further upper extension of the vertical beyond the join of the oblique. Therefore I propose υ, the trace corresponding to the uppermost tip of the left-hand part of the bowl. The two tiny specks before the next trace could be then interpreted as ink from the other side of the bowl of this υ. The second trace, which Barrett takes as υ̣, is slightly larger, about 1 mm lower in the line than the previous trace, preserved on a small piece of papyrus hanging off to the bottom. The trace appears to be angled more overtly in the direction of the lower right. I believe it to be perhaps a little low for υ, and therefore suggest δ̣. If this is the case, it could represent part of the small extension to the upper left often seen at the apex of this letter. Then, after a gap of 9 mm (space for 1 or 2 letters), there again appear letter-top ink traces, beneath the π and ϵ of the line above. The first is a horizontal hairline trace, below and to the left of which the top surface is missing, followed, after a gap of 1.5 mm, by a blob of ink, and then, after a 1 mm gap, a group of traces 3 mm long level with letter-tops. The first of these appears as a 1 mm long horizontal stroke; the rest are minute dots. This group of traces would be compatible with the cross-bar of τ. Also possible would be π, but often the l.-h. descender projects above the cross-bar, and there is no evidence of this here. Certainly Barrett's τ̣ seems very likely, forming the start of Τ̣[ρῶϵ]ϲ, but ν̣ is very much more uncertain. The trace described above as a blob could certainly be interpreted as the top of a descender; in following Barrett and reading this as the r.-h. descender of ν, it is important that the trace 1.5 mm before this be taken into account. If we read this as part of the same ν, the spacing would mean that this would have to be part of the oblique of ν. Although some concern may be felt that the trace is only slightly lower than the top of the next trace, it does seem that there may be just enough space to allow for it indeed to represent part of the l.-h. part of an oblique of ν. After the τ there is enough space for three letters before the remnants of the ϲ.

161 Projected 57 mm of space, enough for about 15 or 16 letters.

162 Overlap with Blass' second fragment, the top-left of which has surface missing. Projected 30 mm of space, enough for about 7 or 8 letters.]χ̣[.]ρ[.].[, above ξ, r.-h. descender of ν, and ι, in εξειν in line below, three small traces of ink (the second 7.5 mm from the first, the third 5.5 mm from the second), all at low-line level. The first is slightly rounded and pointing toward lower left, compatible with bottom l.-h. tip of α or χ (not δ: no ink to the right necessary for horizontal stroke of δ). The second and third are mere specks, most plausibly bottom tips of verticals; the second is lowest of three and angled slightly down to the left, thus compatible with tip of descender of ρ. There is enough space between first and second to suggest a missing letter in between. The last trace is roughly 13 mm before start of π of πινας, enough room for about 4 letters. Barrett offered π]ά̣[λ]ι̣ν̣. I would suggest, however, that the trace which Barrett interprets as ι is too low in the line: this I take as the ρ̣. It is also possible for a small letter like ο or c, that would sit higher in the line, to fit in the gap between the second and third traces here; hence my ρ̣[.]ν̣ as opposed to Barrett's ι̣ν̣. Furthermore, I interpret Barrett's reading of the third trace as the base of the left-hand descender of ν. This fits the space slightly better than Barrett's reading of it as the right-hand descender, and suits the projected space before]πιν. Furthermore, on this analysis the spacing for the χ, ρ, and ν matches that for the χ, ρ, and ι in χοροί in Bacch. 14.14, col. 35(29).26 **163**]ροιc, surface missing (17 mm space, enough for 5 letters, before first trace to projected l.-h. margin), then descender of ρ, then, after 2 mm gap, trace of bottom of a curved letter, between bottom and mid-height, then 2 mm gap, then lower half of a descender, almost certainly ι. Total space between ρ and ι 4.75 mm. This is exactly the same as for ραι in μίτραισιν in Bacch. 13.196, col. 34(28).12, so Desrousseaux (*Rev. Phil.* 1898) is incorrect if he is interpreted as saying that α is ruled out *on spacing* (194: ' . . . il n'y a pas la place d'un *A*, mais plutôt d'un *O*.'). However, we would expect the base of α to show much lower than the trace here actually does; therefore certain that this is in fact ο not α. Irigoin (1993) reads]ρειc, but again the trace seems too high to represent the bottom curve of ε. **164** τ.[..]ν, after τ bottom half of a short descender, then space for two letters before ν. **165** ι.[, after ι, speck of ink at break-off level with top of preceding letter. ρ̣[, tip of below-line descender, too far to left to be υ or φ. **166** Maehler's text ought to read ὑπ[' Αἰα]κίδαις rather than ὑπ[' Αἰακίδαις, since the end of the line is preserved. Omission of the square-bracket must be a misprint. **167** ψ[.]π̣ύ̣[, below κον in line above, remnants of a topstroke, compatible with π, followed by an acute accent, either side of which there is a speck of ink, therefore compatible with ύ, which, coupled with the compound-word stoke beneath ψ, would produce the supplement ἐρειψ[ι]π̣ύ̣[ργοις].

Notes on Supplementation

Metre: Dactylo-Epitrite. In the discussion of individual lines below I give Maehler's metrical analysis (Maehler I.1. 17) at the start, though there are difficulties when the length of the link *anceps* is in question.

Lines 155–6 are a self-contained problem. There is a stop after ὁρμάν, and in the context of the antistrophe end, it seems that we require a two-line phrase summing up the action of the Trojans' assault in 141–54. μ]εγ' appears most plausible. (Possible alternatives might be verbs ending in -εγω; possibilities whose forms might be compatible with the metre and spacing might be λέγω, ἀλέγω, φλέγω, ὀρέγω, στέγω, and ψέγω. Something like ἥν ὀρέγ' might be possible after χειρός in 154 ('under the hand of Hektor, which he stretched out . . .') but it seems extremely difficult to see what sense this would make when coupled with what follows. I also briefly considered ἔλ]εγ', but couldn't see where that might lead us either.) It seems that we require something in the neuter for μεγ' to agree with, or else an adjective (of any gender) for μεγ', if understood adverbially, to intensify. Maehler suggests that we need a noun with the sense 'pain' or 'fright', describing the negative effect on Greek morale of the Trojan upsurge. Barrett alternatively suggests [ὄναα]ρ in 156, turning the sense round to describe the positive effect on *Trojan* morale here (citing *Il.* 22.432 ff. as a parallel). The problem is that the most obvious supplement, Jebb's πῆμα in 155, seems about a letter and a half too long for the available space. This has led to the positing of a simple verb for 'there was' at the start of 155, leaving the start of 156 for a noun (hence Barrett). The problem is also compounded because of uncertainty over the quantity of the first-syllable *anceps* in 156. Maehler in his notes suggests ἴυγμα for the start of 156, but it now seems that this final alpha is ruled out because of incompatibility with the initial trace (see textual note on 156 above). If, agreeing with Jebb, we might supply an epithet to modify ὁρμάν, reading the original ἰσοθέων instead of Tyrrell's and Barrett's alteration to ἰσοθέον (Jebb seems right that 'these two verses speak of heroes pitted against heroes', with ἡμιθέοις balancing ἰσοθέων in reference to Greeks and Trojans respectively), Jebb's ὀξεῖαν seems too long for the space, as does Blass' βαρεῖαν. I suggest ἰθεῖαν, my preference for which is discussed below. We are then left with the start of 155. None of the supplements so far offered seem to fill the space well enough. Barrett's ἦν ⟨δὲ⟩ μέγ' is an obvious compromise over Schwartz' offering, and perhaps seems a little short. If, as I believe, we still need a word to work in apposition to the previous phrase, I suggest ὀξὺ, in the metaphorical sense of 'grievous' or 'painful', or, working closely in apposition to the previous phrase, meaning

something like 'keenly contested' by analogy with its usage with *μάχῃ*, (see further below) and intensified by *μέγ'*, used here adverbially. The resultant word-order is unusual, but cf. *Il.* 22.88 for emphatic use of *μέγα* following the adverb it intensifies (*ἄνευθε δέ σε μέγα νῶϊν* | *Ἀργείων παρὰ νηυσὶ κύνες ταχέες κατέδονται*).

157 is the start of an epode, and the narrator describes the Trojans' over-indulgent ambitions for success against the Greeks. It seems likely that a main verb expressing the Trojans' confidence and hopes is required in 159, rather than another participle after the one we have already had in 158. It therefore seems unwise of Maehler to give preferential treatment in his text to Barrett's supplements for 159 (he prints Barrett's *θ' ἱέντες] ạὐ̣[δὰ]ν*). This main verb ('the Trojans cried out/boasted/thought that . . . ') is to introduce an accusative-and-infinitive construction (or a mixture of a nominative and an accusative with separate infinitives); since the Trojans cannot be the subject of *ἕξειν* (on sense grounds the object would then have to be *πόλιν*, and it is difficult to see where this could lead us), *πόλιν* must at least be the internal subject of this verb. There are two courses of action here. Either (i) we take *πόλιν* as the internal subject of the whole clause, with the *τ'* linking two separate infinitives to describe *two* actions the Trojans hope that *the city* will carry out, or (ii) we take the *τ'* as making a divide between the first half of the clause (nominative & infinitive: 'the Trojans hope that, once victorious, *they* will do x') and the second (acc. & inf.: 'and that *the city* will do y'). Jebb objects to a nominative participle in 161 (pp. 349–50: 'A nomin., *ἐκπέρσαντες*, would . . . imply that they actually destroyed the ships.'), since this nominative could be understood to have its force outside of the Trojans' projected hopes (we know that in fact the Trojans *didn't* destroy the Greek ships). Jebb therefore supplies a dative *ἐκπέρσασιν* dependent upon *ἕξειν*, therefore anterior to their prospective celebrations. Given the validity of this objection, it seems that for option (ii) no nominative could be suitable to satisfy the conditions for the first half of the supposed construction. Barrett, siding with option (ii), offers the verb introducing the infinitive construction (*ᾤισθεν*) in 161 *after* his *ἐκπέρσαντες*, and this seems openly to fall foul of Jebb's objection over the force of the nominative. Barrett offers *νεῖσθαι πάλιν* in 162 ('The Trojans thought that they would come back home); as Maehler notes, he cites *Il.* 8.498–500 for the sense, but it seems to me that perhaps we do not need a verb to state the Trojans' return; this would surely already be implicit in the city holding celebration for them. After some deliberation, I have decided therefore to side with option (i). This has the advantage of not forcing a change of subject midway through the infinitive construction, but it might be said on the other side that a dative participle

dependent on a noun that appears two lines later at the end of the clause is little more satisfactory. However, a comparison with Pindaric syntax on this issue suggests that a dative would be possible, and possibly even desirable: cf. Hummel (1993) §132: 'On compte un certain nombre de tournures formulaires qui font partie des composantes conventionelles de l'épinicie où sont associés poète, éloge et destinaire'; she cites e.g. Pind. *Nem.* 4.73–4, *Θεανδρίδαισι δ' ἀεχιγυίων ἀέθλων κάρυξ ἑτοῖμος ἔβαν*, and *Nem.* 1.7, *ἔργμασιν νικαφόροις ἐγκώμιον . . . μέλος*. With such Pindaric parallels, though we obviously have to be careful in making analogies between the syntax of these different poets, the separation of the dative participle from *ἔξειν πόλιν* seems less of a concern. The translation I have offered tries to bring out this force for the dative (' . . . in their honour'). The double infinitives linked by *τ'* also seem quite satisfactory on this alternative hypothesis, given that they now have the same subject.

155 Metre: D *ἦν δὲ μέγ'* (Schwartz) too long. *ἦν δὲæ μέγ'* (Barrett) perhaps a little too short. *ἦε μέγ'* (Pfeiffer) too short. *πῆμα μέγ'* (Jebb) and *δεῖμα μέγ'* (Jurenka) both too long. Although I am unable to find any parallels for *ὀξὺ* standing without a noun in close proximity for it to qualify, there are enough parallels for it modifying a noun meaning 'pain' that I believe it would be understood in the light of these connotations in this context. See, for instance, *ὀξὺ . . . ἄχος* (*H.H.Dem.* 40), *ἄχος ὀξὺ* (*Il.* 19.125). Furthermore, in apposition to the last clause describing the Trojan assault, it could be likened to its usage with *μάχη*: see *ὀξεῖαν μάχαν*, also at Bacch. 13.117, in the sense of 'keenly contested' (LSJ cite Hdt. 9.23). This appositional usage would also strengthen its position, qualifying the previous phrase, despite the fact that, being in the neuter, technically it has no *noun* to qualify. Kühner–Gerth II 1.285 cite among others Soph. *Ant.* 44, *ἀπόρρητον πόλει* for this appositional use of a neuter adjective or participle to pass judgement on the clause preceding. For the usage of *μέγα* adverbially with adjectives in positive form, see e.g. *μέγ' ἔξοχος* (*Il.* 2.480), *μέγα νήπιος* (*Il.* 16.46) and *μέγα πλούσιος* (Hdt. 1.32 and 7.190); again, cf. *ἄνευθε . . . μέγα* (*Il.* 22.88). I believe that the force of both senses is at play here: hence my translation ('. . . , a mightily keen, bitter contest . . .').

156 Metre: —E—||| *φέροντος* (Jebb ap. Kenyon) ruled out by spacing. *τεύχοντος* (Desrousseaux) ruled out by spacing, as are *ὀξεῖαν* (Jebb) and *βαρεῖαν* (Blass). Barrett's *ὄνααρ* fits the spacing, and also takes account of the minute ink trace at cut-off of papyrus. However, to go along with Barrett also requires the dangerous alteration (first offered by Tyrrell) of the uncorrected extant *ἰσοθέων* to *ἰσοθέον* to agree with his *ὄνααρ*. *ἰθεῖα*]*ν̣* is paralleled by Bacchylides at 15.54, qualifying *Δίκαν* and with the sense

there of 'straight' i.e. 'upright', and has the added advantage over Jebb's suggestion that it modifies ὁρμάν in a very logical fashion, in the sense of 'direct'. Although I can find no parallels for the coupling of ἰθεῖαν with ὁρμάν, and no adjectival usage of ἰθύς in Homer, I suggest that Bacchylides could be thought to have elaborated on Homeric phrases such as ἰθὺς μαχέσασθαι (*Il.* 17.168), and ἰθὺς μεμαῶτος (*Il.* 8.118), which the scholia gloss with ἄντικρυς βουλομένου ὁρμᾶν; consider also *Σ Il.* 6.79a, where Homer's πᾶσαν ἐπ' ἰθύν (used as a noun in the sense 'endeavour') is glossed as εἰς πᾶσαν ὁρμήν, and similarly *Σ Od.* 4.434.1, where ἰθύν is glossed with ὁρμὴν as well as πρᾶξιν. The supplementation here is complicated somewhat by the metrical problem of the quantity of the initial *anceps*. As Jebb correctly notes, in all other corresponding places the initial *anceps* is long where it is preserved. A further question to ask is to what extent short *anceps* is theoretically ruled out here. Barrett (*Hermes* 84 (1956) 248–9), cited by West (1982*a*) 74, states for Pindaric practice that the first triad sets the precedent for long or short *anceps* for the rest of a given poem. He also suggests that 'short *ancipitia* in Bacchylides tend to correspond: a place which admits ⏑ tends to admit it in more instances than one (though not normally in all). Pindar, in whom ⏑ is relatively only half as common, has the same tendency to correspondence, though it is in general less strongly marked'. Therefore, despite the fact that Bacch. 13 'shows an exceptionally free technique in both frequency and position of ⏑' (ibid. 250) it seems that a short *anceps* in this place would be betrayed by a corresponding instance elsewhere in the poem. Maehler therefore seems correct to print the initial position as long rather than *anceps* in his metrical schema. If this is the case then it is a further objection to Barrett's ὄνααρ, as well as to φέροντος, though Barrett obviously felt that considering the nature of the evidence a short syllable would not be impossible.

157 Metre: —D×e| Of compatible supplements, Blass offers ἆ δύσφρονες, Barrett χαλίφρονες, Jurenka ἆ πάρφρονες. The otherwise attractive τλάμ]ονες read by Kenyon, Desrousseaux, and Jebb is now unfortunately ruled out: the amount of ink at below-line level in the initial trace is unaccounted for by Barrett, and is incompatible with a r.-h. descender of e.g. μ̣. ἆ accords well with Homeric usage; cf. Jebb on Bacch. 3.10: 'The exclamation ἆ is regularly found in expressions of *pity* or *reproof*, as in the Homeric ἆ δειλ' (*Il.* 11.441 etc.)'. Jebb objects to Blass' δύσφρ̣ονες, suggesting that it more frequently means 'melancholy' or 'malevolent' rather than 'misguided'. Though it seems that this is very much a subjective matter, there seems no obvious and unambiguous parallel for 'misguided' which couldn't also be interpreted as 'malevolent' or 'hostile'. More often than not, in fact the word does seem to mean 'hostile' (cf. e.g. Aiskh. *Supp.* 511,

Ag. 547, 608). Jebb parallels Aiskhylos' usage at *Sept.* 875 (with reference to Eteokles and Polyneikes), but this could refer to the brothers' mutual hostility as well as, if not more than, to their misguided actions. However, I believe that this works *in favour* of δύσφρονες: in the context of the Trojan assault, it is clear that they are hostile *as well.* Furthermore, Bacchylides may also be offering a modification of the Iliadic δυσμενής, 'hostile', here, with the sense of pity or reproof added by analogy with the Homeric usage of νήπιος and with the coupling with ἆ (see Jebb above). Once again, the supplementation here is complicated somewhat by the metrical problem of the quantity of the initial *anceps.* As with the previous line, the initial link *anceps* is long in all corresponding extant places (though in this case we are lacking information for the start of the first two of the poem's seven epodes). Theoretically there appears the same indeterminacy as there was in the case of the previous line. Barrett's offering of χαλίφρονες, with initial short, again seems to indicate that he thought that an initial short *anceps* here could not be theoretically ruled out.

158 Metre: —D Though theoretically the length of the link syllable is difficult to determine, as Jebb states, 'πνείοντες (Jurenka, Ludwich) is more likely than πνέοντες (Blass), because in all the corresponding verses (59, 92, 125, 191, 224) the first syllable is long'. Here Barrett's πνε⟨ί⟩]οντες indicates that he considered that the initial link here ought to be long too.

159 Metre: ×e—| All supplements previous to Maehler are outdated since Barrett's analysis of the ink traces. I offer here a main verb for the utterance of the Trojans' overweening ambitions. A main verb the length of ἔκλαγξαν would be slightly too long to fit the space. The word I adopt, θρόησαν, is paralleled at Bacch. 3.9. The short *anceps* here accords with the evidence of the majority of other places (short in five out of six of the extant corresponding places) and with Barrett's analysis of this poem's predilection for short *anceps* in the position ⏑e(×) (*art. cit.* 250). Furthermore, the phrase τίνα θροεῖς αὐδάν; occurs relatively frequently in Euripides (*Troades* 1239, *Or.* 1249, *Hipp.* 571), providing a parallel for **A**'s error, on my hypothesis (see below). On the possibility of this phrase or verb introducing indirect speech with an infinitive construction, though I can find no precise parallels, Bacch. 3.9 ff. is of interest. Although Maehler argues against taking 3.10–14 as direct speech after the verb (as Jebb), his arguments (he suggests that such appreciation of the victor would not square with the excited state of the hypothesized spectators) strike me as weak. See Carey, 'Ethos and Pathos in Bacchylides' 24: 'Only modern printing methods can distinguish whether these lines 10–12 are a statement by the poet or a cry by the crowd at Delphi; it is difficult to see how the identity of the speaker could have been brought out in performance. The result is an indeterminacy in the authority for the

statement.' If therefore this verb can be used to introduce *oratio recta* (at least as a possibility) in Bacchylides, it seems only a short step to using it to introduce *oratio obliqua*. What I believe has happened in the text of the papyrus is that **A** wrote *αὐδὰν*, and that **A**[2] offered the variant *αὐχὰν* by writing a *χ* over the δ (or else that the δ originally had cancellation stroke though it); this *χ* can still be seen above the traces of this line (a reconstruction of the line by tracing alerted me to this hypothesis). I believe *αὐχὰν* to be the better alternative, since it conveys more of an emotional charge to the Trojans' arrogant utterances: boasts, not mere words. Supralinear correction with concomitant deletion is paralleled in most columns of the papyrus; examples of variant readings added without deletion of letter beneath are col. 19(15).7: **A**[3] offering *ἔ[δ]ωκεν* for *ἔ[θ]ηκεν* **A** in Bacch. 9.26, and col. 31(25).6: **A**[3] offering *υφαυχας* for **A** in Bacch. 13.84.

161 Metre: —E‖ Once we have a main verb in 159 to govern the infinitive construction, we no longer need Barrett's ingenious *ὤισθεν*, so can return to Jebb's *Ἀργείων* (or Desrousseaux's *Ἑλλάνων*). The use of the rather grandiose *ἐκπέρσασιν* (Jebb) rather than the more descriptive *ἐκφλέξασιν* (Nairn) or *ἐκκαύσαντες* (Desrousseaux) captures perfectly the overweening ambitions of the Trojans. The initial long *anceps*, though not theoretically established beyond doubt, accords with all five extant (or securely supplemented, as with v. 62) corresponding places, where it is also long. Furthermore, if a compound of *πέρθειν* is the right, we may find its usage ironic in the context: normally it is used of the Greeks whose wish it is utterly to destroy *Troy*: cf. *Il.* 1.19, 9.20, etc., and indeed it is their main priority; see also Sim. fr. 11.13 W. For a parallel for the ironic usage, see Rhesos' overbold wish to destroy Greece at Eur. *Rhes.* 471–2: *ξὺν σοὶ στρατεύειν γῆν ἐπ' Ἀργείων θέλω* | *καὶ πᾶσαν ἐλθὼν Ἑλλάδ' ἐκπέρσαι δορί.*

162 Metre: —D×| All supplements (apart from *ειλα]πίνας*, which seems unassailable) previous to Maehler are outdated since Barrett's analysis of the ink traces. The initial long *anceps*, though not theoretically established beyond doubt, accords with the five extant (or securely supplemented, as with vv. 63 and 96) corresponding places, where it is long. If, as I believe, we need an infinitive explaining something that the Trojans hoped that their city would provide for them, in parallel to *εἰλαπίνας ... ἕξειν*, and their return is already implicit, an alternative interpretation of the ink could produce *χορὸν* rather than Barrett's *πάλιν*. This is particularly useful, since Jebb (following Nairn) and Jurenka actually offered *χορὸν* here before Barrett interpreted the ink traces he found, and it frees up the start of the next line. Headlam (*CR* 14, (1900), 13), who suggested *καὶ χο]ρ[ο]ὶς* for the start of the next line, remarked '*χοροί* are the natural accompaniments of peace and joy, Ar. *Pax* 976, Eur. *H. F.* 755, Hes. *Scut.* 272–285 after Hom *Σ*

491 *sqq.*' Once we have χορὸν, a useful verb to go with it could be στάσειν, for ἵστημι is used elsewhere for the establishment of a chorus or choruses: e.g. Hdt. 3.48; *Σ* Aiskhin. 1.10 (29 p. 15 Dilts); in particular Bacch. 11.112 (χοροὺς ἵσταν γυναικῶν: part of the festivities celebrating the return of the Proitidai). Musical celebration is also apposite (quite apart from the self-reflexive, or 'projected' usage in a myth within a poem performed chorally) by analogy with the celebration of Akhilleus and the rest of the Greeks in *Iliad* 22 after his killing of Hektor (22.391); cf. also Timoth. 791 *PMG* lines 196–201. For ἵστημι of choruses see too Calame (1977) 88.

163 Metre: E×‖ Now that the problems over the remnants of the start of the line have been resolved, i.e.]ροιϲ not]ραιϲ or]ρειϲ, and 'dancing' has been displaced to the previous line, Barrett's λαοφόροις seems plausible. Headlam's [καὶ χ]ορ[ο]ῖς would fit, going after Blass' μετ' εἰλα]πίνας τ' ἐν (Headlam cites Pind. *Ol.* 2.28, 7.26, *Pyth.* 10.58 and *Nem.* 7.31 as parallels for ἐν καὶ), but this no longer squares with a reading of the previous line, and it is very unclear how to fit this with the rest to make plausible sense, especially considering the earlier τ'. Desrousseaux reads [εὐπό]ρ[ο]ῖς, which would also fit and mean something similar to Barrett's offering. However, despite Maehler's qualms, a parallel which neither Barrett or Maehler appears to have spotted for λαοφόροις seems to me to alter the balance in its favour: the word λαοφόρον is used in Homer, only once, in *Iliad* 15, in the simile describing Aias' leaping from ship to ship in warding off the rampaging Trojans (λαοφόρον καθ' ὁδόν· at 15.682). Since *Iliad* 15 is a recognized source for much of the material in this poem's myth, it seems highly likely that Bacchylides may have also been influenced by some of its unique diction. Alternatively, it might be possible that εἰλαπίνας should have read εἰλαπίναις, but was left uncorrected, and that therefore the word at the start of 163 could have been a compound adjective in the dative to agree. This highlights the problems of supplementation in these lines, but it would seem extremely rash to alter a preserved ending where the existing one can be reconstructed to fit correctly into a meaningful sentence. The problem with having a compound adjective at the start of 163 (not to mention the problems we might have deciding what it should be, considering Bacchylides' innovatory coinages; in any case, this use of λαοφόροις would itself be innovatory considering that the only usage before Bacch. 13 (*Il.* 15.682) *is* as a compound adjective rather than a noun) is that without εἰλαπίνας as the accusative object of ἕξειν, the temptation would be to make πόλιν the object of ἕξειν, and it seems unlikely that anything could be made from this. It would destabilize the τ', which might also have to be deleted, again a rash procedure.

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See also List of Abbreviations for works frequently cited.

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