

"THE PERFORMANCE OF PINDAR'S VICTORY ODES."

Lecture Handout
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Recent Bibliography

Solo hypothesis. The victory ode is sung by the poet to the lyre, perhaps most commonly after the komos has arrived at a sacred place where it is "received", such as a temple, or at another site of celebration (a temenos, or the patron's house). Naturally, the young men of the komos dance and sing songs (e.g., in praise of a local divinity) in the course of the celebration, perhaps to the accompaniment of the aulos, but they do not sing the words of the victory ode in unison. On this hypothesis, it is possible to explain why the "I" in the odes always refers to the poet, and how complex metrical patterns and long odes such as Pythian 4 could be performed both at the time of the victory celebration for which they were commissioned and afterwards, privately by other, even amateur soloists.

M. R. Lefkowitz, "Who sang Pindar's victory odes?", AJP 109 (1988): 1-11.

M. Heath, "Receiving the komos: the context and performance of epinician", AJP 109 (1988): 180-95.

Malcolm Davies, "Monody, choral lyric and the tyranny of the handbook," CQ 38 (1988): 52-64.

M. Heath and M. Lefkowitz, "Epinician performance: a response to Burnett and Carey", CP 86 (1991) 173-92.

M. R. Lefkowitz, First Person Fictions (Oxford 1991). [K. Morgan, BMCR 3.2 (1992) 139-145; D. Gerber, CW 86.2 (1992) 150.]

K. Morgan, "Pindar the Professional and the Rhetoric of the κῆμος," CP 88 (1993) 1-15.

Choral hypothesis. The victory ode is performed by a group of young men of the victor's acquaintance singing in unison, who have been trained by the poet or by his delegate. This hypothesis has the advantage of conforming with the opinions of commentators in the Hellenistic age and after, who understood κῆμος as being functionally equivalent to χορός.

→ Anne Burnett, "Performing Pindar's odes", CP 84 (1989): 283-93.

Christopher Carey, "The performance of the victory ode" AJP 110 (1989): 545-65.

J. M. Bremer, "Pindar's Paradoxical ἐγώ and a Recent Controversy about the Performance of his Epinikia," The poet's "I" in Archaic Poetry, ed. S. Slings (Studies in Honour of V. Jarcho, Amsterdam: 1990) 41-58.

↙ C. Carey, "The Victory Ode in Performance: the Case for the Chorus," CP 86 (1991) 192-200.

A. Aloni, "Proemio e funzione proemiale nella poesia greca arcaica," Aion 12 (1990) 99-130.

Solo Hypothesis: Basic Premises

A. The epinikion was sung as a solo by the poet or his delegate in the context of a komos. komoi celebrated the victory both at the site of the games (e.g., Q 9. 1-4, P 8. 16) and when he returned home (e.g., N 9. 1-4, 48 [cf. Bundy, p.22]; N 4. 1-8 [Bundy, p.2]; I 8. 1-5). Pindar's odes are songs for a komos (which does not entail that they are intended for unison performance by the komasts), hence he applies to his song such terms as ἐπικώμιος, ἐγκώμιος and ἀγλαόκωμος (Heath, p. 183).

B. References to the komos were misunderstood by Hellenistic and later scholars as references to a choros. Pindar consistently refers to the komos, (never to a choros; Heath, p. 184; cf. L. Lawler, TAPA 79 [1948] 259); his Hellenistic commentators regularly substitute choros and its cognates for Pindar's komastic vocabulary.

Examples: P. 8.70 κῶμαι μὲν ἀδυμελεῖ = Σ P. 8.99a, II 215 Dr, τῆ μὲν χορῶ ἤμῶν. Other examples: Q. 11.16, συγκωμάζατε = Σ Q. 11.16a, I 346 Dr, συγχορεύσατε. Q. 14.16, κῶμον = Σ Q. 14.21b, I 393 Dr, τοῦτον τὸν χορόν. P. 5.22, κῶμος = Σ P. 5.24a, II 174 Dr, κῶμος καὶ ὕμνος ἀπὸ τῶν χορευτῶν... παιδία γὰρ Ἀπόλλωνι ἢ χορεία. P. 10.6, ἐπικωμίαν ἀνδρῶν κλυτὰν ὅπα = Σ P. 10.8b, II 243 Dr, ἐγκωμιστικὴν τῶν χορευόντων... φωνήν. N. 3.4, τέκτονες κῶμων νεανίαί = Σ N. 3.4-5, III 43 Dr, οἱ νεανίαί τέκτονες καὶ χορευταί. N. 3.11 κείνων ὄαροι = Σ N. 3.18a-c, II 44Dr, ταῖς ἐκείνων τῶν χορευτῶν φωναῖς. N. 9.1 κωμάσομεν = Σ N. 9.1ab, III 150 Dr, ἀπὸ τοῦ χοροῦ ὁ λόγος... χορεύσωμεν... καὶ ὑμνήσωμεν. Cf. also the presumption that a group of men is a chorus in Q. 4.5, ἐσλοί (i.e., friends) ἔσαναν = Σ Q. 4.7h, I 131Dr, ὁ χορὸς ἦδεται.

contra: (1) Carey, p.559, importance of chorus in Attic drama; Sophocles' "prose discourse" on the chorus in contention with Thespis and Choerilus (Sophocles T2 Radt) but cf. Lefkowitz, "Aristophanes and Other Historians of the Fifth-Century Theater," Hermes 112 (1984): 143-53. (2) theoretical historicity of scholia: Carey, "Performance," scholia *might have had* historical information; cf. Lefkowitz, "The Pindar Scholia," AJP 106 (1985) 269-82. (3) sacred nature of χοροί. Bremer: term avoided because χορός has sacral significance, e.g. Eur., Hel. 1465-74 (χορός for goddess Helen, κῶμος for hero Hyacinth).

C. Triadic form is not exclusively choral; cf. Davies 1988. Solos in drama can have a triadic structure (e.g. S. Ant. 838-882, Electra's opening solo in S., El.) Ps.-Aristotle, Problemata 19.15 (918b) deals with dithyramb and the choral songs of tragedy, mentions only antistrophes, never epodes; has no bearing on lyric.

D. Epinician could enter the solo repertoire after its original performance, (Davies 56-7); e.g., N 4. 14 (implied in N 5. 3). Cf. Ps.-Ar., Prob. 19.15 (918b) "it is easier for one person to execute many variations (μεταβάλλειν πολλὰς μεταβολὰς) than a group", and the description in Plu., Philopoemen 11.306e of Timotheus' virtuosity; C.J. Herington, Poetry into Drama (Berkeley, 1985) 153; Nagy, Pindar's Homer (Baltimore 1990) 113.

E. The "I" of the victory odes is the poet; cf. Lefkowitz, HSCP 67 (1963) 177-253; in the paeans and partheneia, the speaker is always the chorus; cf. I. Rutherford, "Pindar on Apollo," CQ 38 (1988): 67.

F. Stesichorus unlikely to have been a choral poet, because of length of song (M. Davies, JHS 102 [1982] 210 n.12; Lefkowitz, p.2); association with epic poets (Ps.-Plu, de Mus. ποιούντες ἔπη τούτοις μέλη περιετίθεσαν, 1132c; cf. Quintilian 10.1.62, epici carminis onera lyra sustinentem).

contra: Anne Burnett, "Jocasta in the West: the Lille Stesichorus," CA 7 (1988): 133, who translates Suda Σ 1095 IV 433 Adler (ἐκλήθη δὲ Σησίχορος, ὅτι πρῶτος κιθαροδία χορὸν ἔστησεν), "first set a chorus to the song of the lyre". κιθαροδία also can= "kitharodic singing" or "a kitharode's song"; and χορός can= dance rather than a singing chorus.

G. Nagy, "Early Greek Views of Poets and Poetry," Cambridge History of Literary Criticism, ed. G. Kennedy (Cambridge, 1989), p. 59, attempts to resolve the problem of length by suggesting that Stesichorus offered a "monodic mimesis of choral performance;" cf. Pindar's Homer (Baltimore, 1990) 371. Burnett "Jocasta in the West" p. 132, ingeniously proposes some alternative explanations for Page's stichometry, and for the great length attributed by ancient scholars to Stesichorus' Geryoneis and Oresteia. But compare Quintilian, 10. 1.62, si tenuisset modum...redundat atque effunditur.

G. Instrumentation

(a) lyres. Pindar's use of the term phorminx (rather than kithara, the professional's lyre) is idiosyncratic, and perhaps intended to recall the phorminx of the Homeric bard. M. L. West, JHS 101 (1981) 112 n.4; M. Maas and J. M. Snyder, The Stringed Instruments of Ancient Greece (New Haven, 1989), p. 60. Lyres mentioned in Q.1.17, Q.2.1, Q.4.2, Q.9.13, P.2.71, P.8.31, N.4.5, N.10.21, cf. I.2.2; signal a change of theme (Q.1.17, Q.9.13, N.3.26, N.4.44).

b) auloi (and, occasionally, one or more lyres) play for the κῶμος; ἐν αὐλοῖς refers to the activities of the komos, e.g. Q.10.84-5, where the dance that swells to the pipe (πρὸς κάλαμον) will meet the poet's song that has come to light (though late) beside the stream of Dirce. Cf. M. I. Henderson, "Ancient Greek Music," Oxford History of Music (Oxford, 1957), p. 381. On the aulos as the accompaniment for the (unison?) song of young men at a symposium, Theognis 239ff. (Carey, p. 554).

c) lyre and aulos (Q.3.7-8; Q.7.11-2; N.9.8; I.5.26-7; cf. also N.3.12, 79). An unusual feature; ordinarily lyric song was accompanied by either lyre or aulos (but not both at once); cf. J. M. Snyder, "Aulos and Kithara on the Greek Stage," in Panathenaia: Studies in Athenian Life and Thought in the Classical Age, ed. T. E. Gregory and A. J. Podlecki (Lawrence, Kansas, 1979), pp. 85-87. Accounted for in biographical tradition by that Pindar was taught to play the aulos first by his stepfather Scopelinus, and then was sent to Lasus of Hermione to learn lyre-playing (I 4 Dr.)

K. Morgan, "Pindar the Professional and the Rhetoric of the κῶμος," CP 88 (1993) 1-15.

Explanation:

solo hypothesis: combination of lyre and aulos orchestration is particularly appropriate to a convivial setting; in Xen., Symp. 3.1 a boy and girl dance to an auletris's piping, and then the boy tunes his lyre to the aulos (on need for tuning, cf. West 1981, 127) and sings a solo, presumably to the accompaniment of both instruments. Cf. A. Barker, Greek Musical Writings (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 120n.13, with 274 n.67. Both instruments accompany processional dances in "Hymn of Curetes" (CA 160. 7-8; 200 B.C.) and Lucian, Salt. 16).

choral hypothesis (Burnett, p. 292) a "new fashion" of orchestration: e.g. Q.3.4-6 refers to "more elegant manipulation of the dancers' voices", and Q.10.84-5 refers to "adding instruments, using pipe as well as lyre, or increasing length."

H. Voicing.

a. solo: the poet or other professional singer in initial celebration(s) by the komos; other solo singers in subsequent performances (P 10.56 [below], N 5. 2-3, N 4. 14-16; cf. Hippothales' solo encomium to Lysis, Pl., Lys. 205de)

b. ᾠδαὶ νέων or κῶμος: young men's song or songs in celebration of the victory= ?

1. special komos-song composed by the poet for the occasion, e.g. in praise of divinity responsible for the victory, e.g. Hera Parthenia in Q 6.88 [below], Zeus in N 3. 65-6 [below]; cf. Eur. Hipp. 58-71, where Hippolytus serves as ἔξαρχος of προσπόλων ὀπισθόπους κῶμος (54-5; Barrett 168-9, consisting of νέοι τῆσδε γῆς ὀμήλικες, 1098), which follows with short hymn to Artemis (possible analogues= Lamprocles 1=Stesichorus fr, 97; Anacreon, fr.3; Ar., Nub. 967)? Contrast Burnett p.287 "disorganized bands of revelers who perform in some unrehearsed or artless fashion..."

2. tenella kallinike

τὸ μὲν* Ἀρχιλόχου μέλος
 φωνᾶεν Ὀλυμπία,
 καλλίνικος ὁ τριπλῶος κεχλαδῶς
 ἄρκεσε Κρόνιον παρ' ὄχθον ἀγεμονεῦσαι
 καμάζοντι φίλοις Ἐφαρμόστῳ σὺν ἑταίροις·
 ἀλλὰ νῦν* ἑκαταβόλων Μοισᾶν ἀπὸ τόξων...
 (Q 9. 1-5)

Cf. Ar., Ach. 1231-4; cf. Eur., HF 180, with Bond's note, Lawler TAPA 79 [1948] 259-62), cf. Callim., fr. 384. 35-9 ἔδωκαμεν ἠδὺ βοῆσαι / νηὸν ἔπι Γλαυκῆς κῶμον ἄγοντι χορῶ / Ἀρχιλόχου νικαῖον ἐφύμνιον.

3. *impromptu encomia*. Cf. the congratulatory songs sung by comic choruses to comic heroes; e.g. Ar. fr. 505 PCC, εἴτ' ἰσθμιακὰ λαβόντες ὥσπερ οἱ χοροὶ αἰδῶμεν ἐσ τὸν δεσπότην ἐκῶμιον, cf. C.W. Macleod, "The Comic Encomium," Phoenix 35 (1981) 142-4 = Collected Essays (Oxford 1983) 49-51.

4. songs without words, as in Ar., Eq. 9-10 where synaulia is rendered as μμῦ for the length of the line; cf. A.C.Pearson, The Fragments of Sophocles (Cambridge, 1917; reprint 1963) I, p. 39. τεπετίζειν in a musical context denotes humming a melody or the human voice imitating the sound of the lyre; Restani, pp.186-8 (contrast Burnett, "twittering" pp. 283-5)

II

Disputed Passages

Q. 1.17-18:

ἀλλὰ Δω-
ρίαν ἀπὸ φορμίγγα πασσάλου/ λάμβαν'

cf. Od. 8.68; Davies (p.56) compares Bacchylides fr.20B.1-3, 20C.1-2 (from encomia). Wilamowitz, Pindaros (Berlin 1922) 233 n.240. Literal or figurative?

Q. 6.87-92

ὄτρυνον νῦν ἑταίρους,
Αἰνέα, πρῶτον μὲν Ἥραν
 Παρθενίαν κελαδῆσαι
γνῶναί τ' ἐπεῖτ', ἀρχαῖον ὄνειδος ἀλαθέσιν
λόγοις εἰ φεύγομεν, Βοιωτίαν ὕν.
 ἔσσι γὰρ ἄγγελος ὀρθός,
ἦυκόμων σκυτάλα Μοι-
 σᾶν, γλυκὺς κρατῆρ ἀγαφθέγκτων ἀοιδᾶν.
εἶπον δὲ μεμνᾶσθαι Συρα-
κοσσᾶν τε καὶ Ὀρτυγίας.

solo hypothesis: Aeneas, acting as Pindar's messenger, proclaims Pindar's message (which means, since the message is a song, that he sings it). The message includes instructions addressed to Aeneas himself, so he sings those too. His instructions are that he should encourage his fellow-komasts to sing a hymn to Hera (distinct from Pindar's song, but closely related to it, since both are aspects of the same komos) and solicit their praise for Pindar's song. Pindar's song is designed as a contribution to a komastic celebration; and the komos will sing in praise of Hera when arrives at its destination, the temple of Hera Parthenia (or παῖς, cf. Paus. 8. 22.2); cf. Q 5.9-12, where the victor sings on his return from Olympia of Athena's temenos in Camarina, or the hymn to Artemis sung by Hippolytus and his komos (premise H above).

The two songs have a close contextual relation, since both are components of the same komos-celebration. Cf. N 3 1-12 (below): has Pindar composed both songs? The komasts are Aeneas' companions because he is a participant in the komos with them. Pindar (as an absent well-wisher) and Aeneas (as a participant) both have reason to desire the success of the komos, and therefore to offer friendly encouragement.

choral hypothesis: Carey argues that the commands in these lines are self-fulfilling (p.557): (κελαδῆσαι) in 89-90 is "in all likelihood equivalent to a statement of the truth of Pindar's praise of Hagesias rather than a reference to activity to be carried on outside the ode". But would a bare mention that says nothing of her cult or her powers pay the goddess due honour? A specific song for her seems to be called for, cf. the honour paid by komoi to the kings of Cyrene in their tombs, p. 5. 96-103, and by a komos of Arcesilaus' helikia (ἐν αἰδοῦ νέων) to Apollo.

Q.14. 16-8

.....ἐπακοῦτε νῦν, Θαλία τε
 ἐρασίμολπε, ἰδοῖσα τόνδε κῶμον ἐπ' εὐμενεῖ τύχῃ
 κοῦφα βιβῶντα. Λυδῆ γὰρ Ἀσώπιχον ἐν τρόπῳ
 ἐν μελέταις τ' αἰείδων ἔμελον...

solo hypothesis: song (ἐπακοῦτε) is distinguished from dance (κοῦφα βιβῶντα) in passage referring to the komos as a whole; as the subject of "singing", the "I" is distinguished from the rest of the komos (Heath, p.187), while remaining part of the komos.

choral hypothesis: Carey (p.560) "would make the singer... part of the komos"; and komos=chorus.

P. 1. 1-4

χρυσέα φόρμιγξ, Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἰοπλοκάμων
 σύνδικον Μοισᾶν κτέανον· τᾶς ἀκούει
 μὲν βάσις ἀγλαΐας ἀρχά,
 πείθονται δ' αἰδοὶ σάμασιν
 ἀγχιχώρων ὅπταν προοιμίων
 ἀμβολὰς τεύχης ἐλελιζομένα.

solo-hypothesis: golden phorminx of Apollo and the Muses inspires dancers (μὲν) and bards (αἰδοί, i.e. not choreuts) at any and at all times; cf. West 1981, 122 (and n.56): "the preliminary notes of the lyre serve as a signal and guide to dancers and singers." βάσις denotes the step that marks the rhythm (hence its later connotation, "beat"); ἀμβολαί (i.e. ἀναβολαί) are phrases of the prooemia that set musical performances going. Dancing is done by κῶμος (in Q.2.46 the victor gets "songs of komoi and of lyres" (ἐγκωμίων τε μελέων λυρῶν τε τυγχανέμεν). On musical terms, cf. J. Taillardat, Les Images d' Aristophane (Paris, 1962), pp. 456-7; E. K. Borthwick, Hermes 96 (1968) 71-3; D. Restani, "Il Chirone di Ferecrate e la "Nuova" Musica Greca," Rivista Ital. di Musicologia 18 (1983): 158-63.

choral hypothesis: (Burnett p.286) refers to chorus singing in unison, βάσις denotes a dancer's step (cf. Ar., Thesm. 968).

Π. 5.22

δέδεξαι τόνδε κῶμον ἀνέρων / Ἀπολλώνιον ἄθυρμα

solo hypothesis: a makarismos: Arcesilaus is blessed because he is the recipient of a komos; the komos is the delight of Apollo because it sang his praises at Delphi in a short song like that sung by Hippolytus' komos (above, premise H). Reception-motif suggests komos here means the whole mobile celebration (Heath, p. 180-2, 188-90, (e.g. in I.2.30-2 the victor's house is accustomed to both komoi and songs (μελικόμπων ἀοιδῶν). κῶμος never refers to the victory ode alone (cf. Q.4.9, δέξαι Χαρίτων θ' ἕκατι τόνδε κῶμον, χρονώτατον φάος... Φαύμιος γὰρ ἵκει... The komos in this case is "enduring" because the occasion is unusual, esp. for Camarina, and marked by special sacrifices and games, Q 5. 6-7).

choral hypothesis: Carey (p.548-9) refers κῶμον specifically to Pindar's song, arguing that "it is far more likely... that Pindar would count his patron "blessed" for the receipt of his song than for any other part of the celebration".

Π. 5. 103-4

τὸν ἐν ἀοιδῶν νέων
πρέπει χρυσάορα Φοῖβον ἀπύειν

solo hypothesis: ἀοιδῶν νέων refers to the unison singing of the komos: Arcesilaus is under an obligation to honour Apollo by a celebratory komos to his temple.

choral hypothesis: Burnett (p.290), refers to Pindar's song, seeking confirmation by cross-reference to 22-3 "where the visible chorus is described as Apollo's delight".

Π. 8.67-71

κῶμος μὲν ἀδυμελεῖ Δίκη παρέστακε

solo hypothesis: Pindar means that the whole celebration (the komos) to which his ode is a contribution has taken place with the support of Justice. Muses participate in komos in N 9. 1-3.

choral hypothesis: Burnett (p.291-2): "He cannot mean that Justice took part in some disorderly revel that has preceded the singing of his ode, for that would be both irrelevant and absurd."

Π. 10.4-6

ἀλλά με Πυθώ
τε καὶ τὸ Περινναῖον ἀπύει
Ἄλεῦα τε καῖδες, Ἴπποκλέα θέλοντες
ἀγαγεῖν ἐπικωμίαν ἀνδρῶν κλυτὰν ὄπα.

solo hypothesis: offers justification for Pindar's song by listing the forces which prompt it: the place of victory, the victor's home town, and the victor's family. The family call on Pindar θέλοντες ἀγαγεῖν ἐπικωμίαν ἀνδρῶν κλυτὰν ὄπα = the komos.

choral hypothesis: "collective singing by a group of men" (Carey, p.547, cf. Burnett, p. 287 n.16).

P. 10. 55-9

ἔλπομαι δ' Ἐφυραίων
 ὅπ' ἀμφὶ Πηνειὸν γλυκεῖαν προχρόντων ἑμάν
 τὸν Ἴπποκλέαν ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον σὺν αἰδαῖς
 ἕκατι στεφάνων θαπτὸν ἐν ἄλι-
 ξι θησέμεν ἐν καὶ παλαιτέροις
 νέαισιν τε παρθένοισι μέλημα.

solo hypothesis: refers to subsequent informal performances (e.g., Q. 10. 91-96, N. 4. 13-6, [p. 2 D above]).

choral hypothesis: Carey (p.548) argues that ring-composition links this passage with 4-6; also "there is nothing in the text to suggest that the reference is to later performances."

N. 3. 1-12

Ἦ πότνια Μοῖσα, μήτηρ ἀμέτερα, λίσσομαι,
 τὰν πολυξέναν ἐν ἱερομηνίᾳ Νεμεάδι
 ἵκεο Δαφρίδα νᾶσον Αἴγινα· ὕδατι γάρ
 μένοντ' ἐπ' Ἀσωπίῳ μελιγαρύων τέκτονες
 κόμων νεανῖαι, σέθεν ὅπα μαιόμενοι.
 διψῆ δὲ πρᾶγος ἄλλο μὲν ἄλλου,
 ἀεθλονικία δὲ μάλιστ' αἰδᾶν φιλεῖ,
 στεφάνων ἀρετᾶν τε δεξιωτάταν ὀπαδόν·
 τᾶς ἀφθονίαν ὄπαζε μήτιος ἀμᾶς ἄπο·
 ἄρχε δ' οὐρανοῦ πολυνεφέλα κρέοντι, θύγατερ,
 δόκιμον ὕμνον· ἐγὼ δὲ κείνων τέ νιν ὄροις
 λύρα τε κοινάσομαι.

solo hypothesis: Pindar (maintaining a pose of spontaneity) asks the Muse to inspire a song for komasts who are waiting in Aegina. to receive it; since komasts typically sing, they are described as "builders of sweet-voiced komoi" (μελιγάρυος denotes choral singing in Alcman PMG 26; in P 3. 113 epic poets are described as τέκτονες σοφοί). So Pindar's solo song contributes to a celebration that also involves unison singing (he will "share" his song with the young men's "voices and the lyre"); for choral and solo song at same celebration, cf. P. 1. 97-8..

For location of "Asopian water" (in Aegina), see G.A. Privitera, QUCC n.s. 29 (1988) 63-70; Carey, p. 552 (contrast Burnett, p. 288). On ὄραος=voice, cf. B.K. Braswell, A Commentary on the Fourth Pythian Ode of Pindar (Berlin, 1988), pp. 222-3; analogy in P.1.97 (cf. Theognis 239ff, Carey p.554).

choral hypothesis: the young men are singing Pindar's victory ode itself; the poet pretends in addition that the chorus which has in fact rehearsed and is currently performing his song is waiting for him to provide them with it - and he adopts this pretence precisely in that song.

N 3. 65-6

Zeū, τὸν γὰρ αἶμα, σέο δ' ἄγῶν, τὸν ὕμνος ἔβαλεν
ὅπι νέων ἐπιχώριον χάσμα κελαδέων.

solo hypothesis: refers to a song sung previously (hence aorist) by the κῶμος at Nemea in praise of Zeus (like song to Hera Parthenia in Q 6 (above) or Hippolytus' hymn to Artemis (premise H).

choral hypothesis: Carey (p.558) remarks that "there is nothing in the context to support" the view that the reference is to an earlier celebration, such as that on the occasion of victory.

N.5.22-3

πρόφρων δὲ καὶ κείνοισι ἄειδ' ἐν Παλίῳ
Μοισᾶν ὁ κάλλιστος χορός

solo hypothesis: comparison between the Muses' song and Pindar's emphasises importance of Aeacidae, not generic similarity between the two songs.

choral hypothesis: Carey and Burnett both argue that conclusions may be drawn about the mode of performance of Pindar's song from that of the Muses' song with which it is compared (Carey, p.558) or on which it is modelled (Burnett, p. 285). But the proem of Hesiod's Theogony establishes an even clearer connection with the Muses' choros, but no one believes that Hesiod's poetry was choral.

I.1.1-10

ἀμφοτερᾶν
τοὶ χαρίτων σὺν θεοῖς ζεύξω τέλος,
καὶ τὸν ἀκερσικόμαν Φοῖβον χορεύων
ἐν Κέφ' ἀμφιρύτῃ σὺν ποντίοις
ἀνδράσιν, καὶ τὰν ἄλιερκέα Ἴσθμοῦ
δειράδ'.

solo hypothesis: Pindar applies the word simultaneously to a choral performance of the paean and to informal dance accompanying the solo performance of the epinician (Heath, p. 185-6); the use of a verb in two senses with different objects is consistent with Pindaric usage. Cf. Q.1.88, N.10.25-6, P.1.40; for more violent forms of zeugma in Pindar, cf. P.8.19, P.4.104); cf. D. E. Gerber, Pindar's Olympian One (Toronto, 1982), pp.136-7; F. Dornseiff, Pindars Stil (Berlin, 1921), p. 106.

choral hypothesis: Pindar uses one verb (χορεύειν) to refer to a paean and an epinician; if the verb implies exactly the same mode of performance in each case, then both songs were performed chorally.

I.8.62-5

τὸ καὶ νῦν φέρει λόγον, ἔσ-
 σταιί τε Μοισαῖον ἄρμα Νικοκλέος
 μνάμα πυγμάχου κελαδῆσαι· γεραίρετέ νιν...

solo hypothesis: functionally this command is equivalent to a statement that Nicocles is praiseworthy, and this "statement" is substantiated in 63-5. The (plural) command (unlike singular commands that refer to the poet himself) has reference external to the poem. If epinician is interpreted as komos-song, then it is designed not to stand in isolation, but to function as part of a specific communal festivity. Therefore it makes connections in various ways with its context of performance.

choral hypothesis: the praise of Nicocles in 63-65 is the fulfilment of the command γεραίρετε (Carey 550; W. Slater, *CQ* 19 (1969) 86-94), which is addressed to the komos of νέοι summoned in the poem's opening lines. But why can't it apply to everyone present (including the poet)?

Bacchylides 11.9-12

σέθεν δὲ ἕκατι
 καὶ νῦν[ν Μετλαπόντιον εὐ-
 γυίων κ[ατέ]χουσι νέων
 κῶμοί τε καὶ εὐφροσύνη θεότιμον ἄστν.

solo hypothesis: komoi and feasts in celebration of the victory are occurring all over the city, and in all of them Alexidamus' praise is being sung - a claim that is more honorific to the victor than a restricted reference to this one song would be. It would be odd to say of one song - or even one komos -that it fills (κατέχουσι) the town. Here, therefore, we can see how the broad horizon of reference which we have argued is appropriate for komos-song is also apt for epinician's function as (in the later sense of the term) encomium.

choral hypothesis: Burnett, p. 287 n.18, νέων κῶμοι are praising the victor; Carey (p.551 n.14), passage refers to the mode of performance of the ode itself.

III

Conclusions

The existing evidence does not allow us to reconstruct the conditions of epinician performance with confidence or in detail on either hypothesis. But we still believe that the available data can be accommodated more easily on the assumption that most (if not all) victory odes were composed to be sung as solos.

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