Who Sang Pindar's Victory Odes?

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Since the mid-nineteenth century most scholars seem to have assumed that choral and monodic lyric were different genres.[1] In his edition of the lyric poets Diehl even discarded the "chronological" arrangement of poets that had been established in late antiquity, in favor of a classification that grouped "choral" poets like Alcman, Stesichorus, and Ibycus apart from poets like Sappho, Anacreon, and Corinna.[2] But the notion of a firm distinction between choral and monodic poetry has no ancient authority.[3] The ancients classified poetry according to function, e.g., *eis theous*, *eis anthropous*, *eis theous kai anthropous* (e.g., *partheneia*), *eis tas prospiptousas peristaseis* (e.g., *emporika*); thus *hymnos* is opposed to *threnos*, *paian* to *dithyrambos*. If choral song is mentioned at all, it is without specific reference to monody.[4] Plato in *Laws* 6.764e separates contest performances of monodic poetry by rhapsodes, kitharodes, and auletes from choral performances, but only for purposes of judging.[5]

I would like to suggest that the ancients failed to draw a sharp distinction between "choral" and "monodic" poetry because in prac-

[1] E.g., K. O. Mueller, *Geschichte der Griechischen Litteratur* [1841] (Stuttgart 1882) 275–6; Th. Bergk, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte* II (Berlin 1883) 166; U. v. Wilamowitz, *Einleitung in die Attische Tragoedie* = *Euripides Herakles* I (Berlin 1889) 73–5; E. Reisch, "Chor," *RE* (1899) 2373–83; H. W. Smyth, *Greek Melic Poetry* (London 1906); F. Dornseiff, *Pindars Stil* (Berlin 1921) 3–9; Schmid-Staehlin, *GGL* I. 1 (Munich 1929) 453–7. For detailed discussion of the problem, see M. Davies, "Monody, Choral Lyric, and the Tyranny of the Handbook" *CQ* 38 (1988).

[2] E. Diehl, *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca* (Leipzig 1922–24) iii.

[3] Cf. A. E. Harvey, "The Classification of Greek Lyric Poetry," *CQ* 5 (1955) 159, n. 3; R. Pfeiffer, *A History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford 1968) 282–3.

[4] H. Faerber, *Die Lyrik in der Kunsttheorie der Antike* (Munich 1936) 16; R. Fowler, *The Nature of Early Greek Lyric* (Phoenix Suppl. 21; Toronto 1987) 132, n. 51.

[5] G. M. Kirkwood, *Early Greek Monody* (Ithaca 1974) 212, n. 16; cf. C. M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry*^{2}, (Oxford 1961) 4–6.

American Journal of Philology 109 (1988) 1 11

tice the two modes of performance were often combined. In addition to solo song, sometimes accompanied by lyre or *aulos*, there were songs sung by choirs, like Alcman's Louvre *partheneion* (*PMG* frag. 1), and songs sung by a soloist and danced by a chorus, to the lyre or *aulos*. All three modes of presentation are described by Homer: in *Il.* 9.186–9 Achilles plays the *phorminx* and sings of the famous deeds of men (monody); 22.391–2 suggests that the Achaeans join him in singing a paean because they have killed Hector (choir; cf. 1.472–4); in *Od.* 8.261–4, Demodocus sings to the *phorminx* while the young Phaeacian men dance (soloist with dancing chorus; cf. *Il.* 18.569–72; *Od.* 23.143–7).[6]

The type of performance in which a bard's song is accompanied by dancing seems particularly suitable for longer poems that could not easily be recited by a choir, like Stesichorus' long lyric poem about Oedipus' family, or his *Geryoneis*.[7] Since ancient scholars characterize Stesichorus as soloist in the Homeric tradition,[8] the *choros* in his name—whether it is programmatic or what his father gave him[9]—signifies not choir, but *dance*: "he was called Stesichorus because he first set up dance (χορόν) for songs to the lyre (κιθαρωιδίαι)" (Suda S 1095 IV 433 Adler); there is no reason to assume that *choros* refers to "choruses of song."[10] That the term *stesichoros* refers to the dance is shown by a verse inscription on a red-figured vase, where Muses or Graces are said to be "leading . . . a hymn that sets the dance going" (στησίχορον ὕμνον ἄγοισαι);[11] Beazley, in his notes on this inscription, compared the opening lines of Pindar's *Pythian* 1,

[6] Cf. G. S. Farnell, *Greek Lyric Poetry* (London 1891) 21–5.

[7] P. J. Parsons, "The Lille 'Stesichorus'," *ZPE* 26 (1977) 7–36. Cf. M. L. West, "Stesichorus" *CQ* 21 (1971) 312–3; M. Haslam, "Stesichorean Metre," *QUCC* 17 (1974) 33; M. Davies, "The Paroemiographers on *ta tria tōn Stesichorou*," *JHS* 102 (1982) 210 n. 12; L. E. Rossi, "Feste Religiose e Letteratura," *Orpheus* n.s. 4 (1983) 8–9, 13; C. P. Segal, *Cambridge History of Classical Literature* I (Cambridge 1985) 187.

[8] Cf. Heraclides Ponticus frag. 157 Wehrli; Paus. 9.11.2 = Stes. frag. 230P; Quintilian 10.1.62; Antipater Thess. (?) 74 (*Garl. Phil.* 485–6 G–P); Dio Chr. 55.7; cf. Rossi (n. 7 above) 6, n. 3.

[9] Cf. M. R. Lefkowitz, *The Lives of the Greek Poets* (Baltimore 1981) 31–2.

[10] So J. M. Edmonds in the Loeb *Lyra Graeca*, vol. 2 (London 1921) 22; Segal (n. 7 above) 187; but see J. D. Beazley, *AJA* 52 (1948) 338, no. 3.

[11] See H. R. Immerwahr, "Book Rolls on Attic Vases," (Festschrift B. L. Ullman: *Storia e Letteratura* 93; Rome 1964) 19, no. 2. Since the book roll is half-open and an *auletes* is playing, it is natural to think of the phrase as poetry; the accusative is surely right, with part of the phrase left out; cf. Beazley (n. 10). The Muse Hesiod calls Terpsichore (*Th.* 78) is given the name Stesichore on the François vase; see M.

where dancers listen to the *phorminx*, and the singers (*aoidoi*) obey the opening bars of the "preludes that lead the dance" (ἀγησιχόρων προοιμίων). Since the scene the poet imagines is Zeus' house on Mt. Olympus, the lyre player is Apollo and the singers are the Muses.[12] Miss Dale compares the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, where Apollo plays a *phorminx* with a golden plectrum, the Muses sing in relay (ἀμειβόμενοι, as in *Il.* 1.603–4) of the immortal gifts of the gods and the sufferings of human beings, while the Graces, Seasons, Harmonia, Hebe, and Aphrodite dance, holding each other by the wrists (182–206).[13] In both Pindar's ode and the Hymn the singers do not dance and the dancers do not sing, and in the Hymn, presumably only one Muse sings at a time.[14]

Since there is no reason to suppose that Stesichorus' poems were sung by choirs, there is no need to assume that the triadic structure he is said to have used in all his poetry (Suda T 586 IV Adler) denotes "choral" performance. A, A, B verse patterns were employed for "monodic poems" by Sappho and Alcaeus, as well as for Alcman's Louvre *partheneion* (*PMG* frag. 1),[15] where the speaker is a maiden who describes the other nine girls in her choral group participating in a festival.[16] In any case, the proverbial "Stesichorus' Three" (*ta tria tōn Stesichorou*) more likely refer to the first three verses of his famous Palinode than to the elements of the triad, *strophe-antistrophos-epodos*, as the Suda understood it.[17] Perhaps, since in his poems and in Alcman's *partheneion* the triadic stanzas are longer than in Aeolic verse, the formal divisions of the triad associated

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Cristofani, "Materiali per servire alla storia del vaso François," *BdA* 72 (1980) 177–8. But the anomalous Stesichore cannot be taken as evidence that the painter knew the poetry of Stesichorus; cf. R. Janko, "The Shield of Heracles," *CQ* 36 (1986) 40, n. 14.

[12] W. Kranz, "Der Eingang des ersten Pythischen Siegesliedes," *Studien zur antiken Literatur* (Heidelberg 1962) 262 = *Sokrates* 7 (1919) 253. Cf. U. v. Wilamowitz, *Pindaros* (Berlin 1922) 298, n. 1.

[13] A. M. Dale, *Collected Papers* (Cambridge 1969) 159–60.

[14] Compare Hes. *Th.* 65–71, where the Muses sing and dance at the same time, but without lyre accompaniment.

[15] Davies (n. 7 above) 210.

[16] Though choral speakers can speak of themselves in both the singular and the plural, there is no reason automatically to assume that the song need have been sung by all the girls in unison. Various combinations of sub-groups and soloists have also been suggested; cf. C. Calame, *Les choeurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque* (Rome 1977) 46, n. 1.

[17] Davies (n. 7 above) 209.

with Stesichorus were employed for the convenience of dancers.[18] According to the metrical scholia to Pindar, the terms "turn," "counter-turn," and "the [turn] sung after" described the movements of the chorus: first right, then left, and finally standing in place. But the idea that *strophe*, etc., refer to dancing may have no ancient authority, since the allegorical explanation given in the Byzantine sources, that choruses moved in imitation of the courses of the sun and stars over the stationary earth, is surely fanciful.[19]

With these possibilities in mind, I should like to re-examine our information about the performance of victory odes. In discussing passages that deal with questions of "voicing" and singing, like everyone else, I have always assumed that victory odes were sung by choruses unless the poet clearly states otherwise.[20] Now I would like to look at these passages again, but with the assumption that, unless there is evidence to the contrary, the ode was sung as a solo, with or without choral-dancing accompaniment.

In *O.* 1.17–18 the poet speaks of himself as if he were a solo performer, one of several poets who sing about and enjoy the hospitality of Hieron:[21] "take down your Dorian *phorminx* from its peg" (Δωρίαν ἀπὸ φόρμιγγα πασσάλου λάμβαν'). This command to himself introduces a description of the Olympic victory he has been asked to celebrate. When in *Od.* 8.68, the Phaeacian herald takes the *phorminx* off its peg to give to the bard Demodocus, it is a signal that he will begin to sing of the famous deeds of men. We know from incidental references that epinician songs could be performed without

[18] But *strophe* can also designate a turn or twist of the music, as in Pherecrates 145.9 K; cf. W. Kranz, *Stasimon* (Berlin 1933) 114–5. W. Christ, *Metrik* (Leipzig 1874) 615.

[19] Cf. esp. the metrical scholia to Pindar, 3, 306, 311 Dr; similar documents in Faerber (n. 4 above) 2, 14–19, translated by W. Mullen, *Choreia* (Princeton 1982) 223–30. According to the Suda (S 1007 IV 425 Adler), *stasimon* designated a song which chorus members sang standing still; cf. schol. E. *Or.* 140. Miss Dale questioned the etymology because "such a divorce of dance from song is contrary to all we know of the classical tradition of choral lyric" (n. 13 above) 38. Similarly, Mullen throughout assumes that Pindar's choruses danced and sang simultaneously. But as we have seen, in certain performances, singers were in fact distinguished from dancers.

[20] Cf. esp. "The First Person in Pindar," *HSCP* 67 (1963) 177–253; M. R. Lefkowitz, "Autobiographical Fiction in Pindar," *HSCP* 84 (1980) 29–49; "Pindar's *Pythian* V," *EH* 31 (1985) 45–9; G. M. Kirkwood, "Pythian 5 . . . and the Voice of Pindar" *ICS* 6 (1981) 12–33.

[21] As Wilamowitz observed, (n. 12 above) 233, cf. 240 (on *O.* 2).

choruses, either singing or dancing. In *N.* 4.13–17 Pindar tells the victor "if your father Timocritus were still warmed by the strong sun, often playing on his lyre (κιθαρίζων), and leaning on this melody, he would have sung an intricate victory song (ὕμνον καλλίνικον)" for his son.[22] In Aristophanes' *Clouds* 1355–6, Strepsiades explains how he asked his son to take up his lyre (λύραν) and sing a song of Simonides (*PMG* frag. 507), which according to the scholia was a victory ode.[23] It may be this kind of informal performance, rather than a choral performance of his ode, that he has in mind when he says in *P.* 10:

> ἔλπομαι δ' Ἐφυραίων
> ὅπ' ἀμφὶ Πηνεϊὸν γλυκεῖαν προχεόντων ἐμάν
> τὸν Ἱπποκλέαν ἔτι καί μᾶλλον σὺν ἀοιδαῖς
> ἔκατι στεφάνων θαητὸν ἐν ἅλιξι θησέμεν ἐν καὶ παλαιτέροις
> νέαισίν τε παρθένοισι μέλημα.
>
> I hope, as the citizens of Ephyra pour forth my sweet voice, and with my songs to make the victor still more admired, among his age-mates and among older men, and sought after by young women. (55–9)

Here he seems to have in mind two different types of song: earlier in the ode (5–6) he speaks of bringing for the victor "the sounding voice of men in a *komos*" (ἐπικωμίαν ἀνδρῶν κλυτὰν ὄπα). But this *komos*, too, need have been involved not in the performance of his ode, but in some more informal celebration of the victory singing in unison as well as dancing.[24] In *I.* 8.3–4 the poet directs young men to send someone to bring a *komos* to the victor Kleandros' door; like the victor Arcesilaus in *P.* 5.22–3, 98–100, he and his achievements are "sung" in his home town; in *P.* 3.73 the poet wishes that he could have come to Hieron bringing "golden health and a *komos*, the glory of the Pythian contests."

A passage in *O.* 6 has always been taken as firm evidence of choral performance, though even here other interpretations are possible. The poet has been expressing his friendship, and claiming kinship as a Theban with the vector's homeland:

[22] My thanks to Prof. Peter Bing for this reference.

[23] Cf. D. L. Page, "Simonidea," *JHS* 71 (1951) 140–2.

[24] As in, e.g., Ar. frag. 505 K-A; *Scut.* 281–2; see esp. M. Heath, "Receiving the κῶμος" (forthcoming, *AJP* 109(2)). Cf. G. Fraustadt, *Encomiorum in litteris Graecis usque ad Romanam aetatem Historia* (diss. Leipzig 1909) 20.

ἀνδράσιν αἰχματαῖσι πλέκων
ποικίλον ὕμνον. ὄτρυνον νῦν ἑταίρους,
Αἰνέα, πρῶτον μεὺ Ἥραν παρθενίαν κελαδῆσαι,
γνῶναί τ' ἔπειτ', ἀρχαῖον ὄνειδος ἀλαθέσιν
λόγοις εἰ φεύγομεν, βοιωτίαν ὑν. ἐσσὶ γὰρ ἄγγελος ὀρθός,
μὐκόμων σκυτάλα Μοισᾶν, γλυκὺς κρατὴρ ἀγαφθέγκτων ἀοιδᾶν·
εἰπον δὲ μεμνᾶσθαι Συρακοσσᾶν τε καὶ Ὀρτυγίας·

I weave an intricate hymn for fighting men. Now urge on your comrades, Aeneas, first to sing of Hera Parthenia, and then to know if we have escaped with truthful speech the ancient jibe "Boeotian sow." You are a straight messenger, a *skutale* of the Muses with their beautiful hair, a sweet mixing bowl of loud-sounding songs. Tell men to remember Syracuse and Ortygia. (86–92)

The scholia report that Aeneas was the *chorodidaskalos*, "whom [Pindar] employed because his own voice was weak and because he was not able to chant (καταλέγειν) to the choruses, which most of the poets with loud voices did in competition, teaching the choruses themselves" (148a: I 186–7; cf. 149a: I 188 Dr; cf. Eust. 32: III 302 Dr). Although this information sounds plausible, it has every sign of being an aetiology invented to explain why the poet refers to explicitly to these fellow Thebans involved in the celebration.[25] If Pindar's voice had been weak, it is hard to understand why he speaks of himself performing odes like *O.* 1. The story that Sophocles had a weak voice (*Vit. Soph.* 4), which appears to have been intended to explain his use of three actors,[26] is similarly contradicted by stories of his singing to the lyre in his *Thamyras* (*Vit.* 5), his singing the part of Nausicaa in his *Plyntriai* (T 29–30 Radt), and dying while straining his voice while reading the *Antigone* out loud (*Vit.* 14). The Hellenistic commentary/commentaries on which our scholia are based assumed that Pindar trained his choruses as an Athenian *chorodidaskalos* prepared his choirs for a dithyrambic, comic, or tragic competition. The same basic scenario is used to explain Simonides' riddle, "he who does not endure the task of a cicada will give a big banquet for Epeius" (frag. 70 Diehl): Simonides was training choruses, the donkey that brought

[25] Cf. M. R. Lefkowitz, "The Influential Fictions in the Scholia to Pindar's *Pythian 8*, *NCP* 70 (1975) 173–85; "The Pindar Scholia," *AJP* 106 (1985) 271.

[26] Lefkowitz, *Lives of the Greek Poets* (n. 9 above) 78; J. M. Bell, "Simonides in the Anecdotal Tradition," *QUCC* 28 (1978) 62. With characteristic malice, biographers attributed a weak voice to Aristotle (D.L. 1) and Isocrates (*XOrat.* 837a), bad pronunciation to Demosthenes (*XOrat.* 844e) and Virgil (*Vit. Donat.* 16).

them water was named Epeius after the water bearer for the Atreidae (Stes. *PMG* frag. 200); thus those who didn't want to sing fed Epeius (Ath. X. 456e–f). The association of cicada with singers and dancers (e.g., Archil. Frag. 223 W, Call. frag. 1.29ff Pf., Anacreontea 34.15 W)[27] would have encouraged the fanciful aetiology. But a simpler explanation of the riddle can be provided: "anyone who doesn't work will pay a penalty," as in the fable of the ant and the cicada (Babrius 140 Luzzatto/La Penna).[28]

If Aeneas is not a *chorodidaskalos* training the chorus to sing Pindar's ode, what is he doing and why does he deserve special mention? Pindar asks him first to urge his comrades to sing of Hera Parthenia; the song he has in mind need not be this victory ode, which does not mention the goddess again. Then he asks Aeneas to urge his comrades to know if they are "escaping the ancient jibe, Boeotian sow, by true speech" that is, if they have been industrious in their praise—which again might be expressed in another song or songs. Then Pindar calls Aeneas "a true messenger, a *skytale* of the Muses with beautiful hair, a sweet mixing bowl of loud-sounding songs"; the series of metaphors, messenger, message stick, and mixing bowl mark Aeneas as a performer, a singer, and even a dancer (since the Muses inspire both). The poet tells him to remind men of Syracuse and Ortygia, but he does not say explicitly whether in this song or in another. Thus it is possible that Pindar thinks of Aeneas as leading a *komos* of male voices, like those described in *P.* 10 or *P.* 3 or B. 13.190; or Pindar may simply be indicating that Aeneas is the singer of the victory ode, *O.* 6 in Pindar's absence, like Nicasippus in *I.* 2, whom Pindar asks in that ode's last line to deliver his praise to his friend the victor. In either case, we need not assume that Aeneas' "comrades" are involved in the *singing* of the victory ode, whatever else they may have sung. It is significant that there is no reference to "chorus members" (*choreutai*) in the scholia to *I.* 2 because Pindar does not refer to any of Nicasippus' "comrades."

The ode that seems to offer the strongest evidence for choral performance is *N.* 3. But even here, whatever one's initial assumptions, the poet is not explicit about how he means the ode to be performed. He begins the ode by asking the Muse to come to the island of Aegina in the sacred month of Nemea:

[27] Cf. M. Davies and J. Kathirithamby, *Greek Insects* (London 1986) 122.
[28] Cf. Erbse ad schol. *Il.* 23. 665a: 469–70.

ὕδατι γὰρ
μένοντ' ἐπ' Ἀσωπίωι μελιγαρύων τέκτονες
κώμων νεανίαι, σέθεν ὅπα μαιόμενοι.
διψῆι δὲ πρᾶγος ἄλλο μὲν ἄλλου,
ἄεθλονικία δὲ μάλιστ' ἀοιδὰν φιλεῖ,
στεφάνων ἀρετᾶν τε δεξιωτάταν ὀπαδόν·
Τᾶς ἀφθονίαν ὄπαζε μήτιος ἀμᾶς ἀπο·
ἄρχε δ', οὐρανοῦ πολυνεφέλα κρέοντι θύγατερ,
δόκιμον ὕμνον· ἐγὼ δὲ κείνων τέ μιν ὀάροις
λύραι τε κοινάσομαι.

for young men, the carpenters of sweet-speaking *komoi* are waiting at the water of the Asopus, seeking a voice from you. Every deed thirsts for something different, but a victory in the games desires a song most of all, as the most adroit companion for crowns and achievements; give an abundance of this [song] from our skill; begin a glorious hymn to the ruler of the sky with its many clouds, daughter [of Zeus], and I will combine it with the talk of these [young men] and with the lyre. (3–12)

Hellenistic scholars queried (ἐζήτηται) why the young men "through whom he called the Muse to come, were waiting not in Aegina but in Nemea" (schol. 1a: III 41–2 Dr). Aristarchus thought that the young men were a chorus who sang an impromptu victory song at the site of the victory, or Archilochus' refrain τήνελλα καλλίνικε (cf. schol. *O.* 9. 1k: I 268 = Archil. frag. 324 W), and then went to Aegina and were ready to sing the victory ode written by Pindar. Didymus said that the "Asopian water" was one of the many Asopus rivers, and referred to a river in Aegina; Callistratus thought it was the "Asopis" in Aegina. A final anonymous opinion is recorded: "but it could mean at the Asopus river in Boeotia; in that case chorus members from Aegina are begging Pindar to write the victory ode for Aristoclides."

It is clear from these recorded opinions that all of the commentators did not know specifically what Pindar had in mind, and so were required to guess; it is also evident that none came up with a convincing answer. None of the possible venues for "the Asopian water" can be ruled out. Since the river Nemea is daughter of the Phliousian Asopus (B. 9.39, Euphronius *CA* 84.4), she could be called "Asopian," as Bacchylides calls Heracles "Alcmenian hero" (5.71).[29] Or there many have been a body of water called "Asopian" in Aegina,

[29] Other references in R. C. Jebb, *Bacchylides* (Cambridge 1905) 278 ad loc.

even though there were no rivers on the island, because Aegina was a daughter of the Boeotian Asopus (cf. schol. *I.* 8. 37a).[30] But it is also possible that the "Asopian water" is the Boeotian river Asopus, father of Aegina's twin sister Thebe.[31] Similarly, they could not agree on the precise identity and purpose of the young men waiting at any of these three places. Aristarchus thought they were a chorus who performed an impromptu song at the site and then came to Aegina to sing Pindar's ode; the anonymous scholium assumes that they were Aeginetans who went to Thebes to ask Pindar to write the poem.

Since none of these opinions can be considered authoritative, we need not assume a priori that the young men waiting at the Asopian waters were the chorus that performed Pindar's ode. He calls them "carpenters" not of *hymnoi* or *epinikia* (Aristarchus), but of *komoi*, celebration, who seek their "voice" from the Muse. But Pindar seems to have another song in mind when he states that victory requires song, and the poet asks the Muse to give "an abundance from our [i.e., the poet's] mind," because he requests that she "begin" a hymn to Zeus. It is this "hymn" (as distinguished from the young men's *komoi*) that the poet "will combine [or associate, κοινάσομαι] with the soft voices of these young men and with the lyre." In other words, rather than infer that the young men while waiting on the Asopian water are singing Pindar's victory ode for Aristonicus, we can take him to mean that he wishes to sing *his* song in addition, and that they had been singing an "impromptu" song for the victor, either at Nemea, as Aristarchus suggested, or at the victor's home, like the *komos* that Pindar summons to the victor's door in *I.* 8 or that accompanies him in *O.* 14.16–7.

But what does Pindar mean by his description of the performance of the new hymn that he asks the Muse to begin? The ancient commentators understood the phrase "but I will combine it with the soft voices of these young men and with the lyre" to mean that the young men would sing the hymn along with him: "I shall sing the hymn jointly with the young men who are waiting with me" (schol. 8a: III 44 Dr); "I shall sing the hymn jointly with the voices of the

[30] On mistaken geography in the scholia, cf. Lefkowitz, "Influential Fictions," (n. 24 above) 180–1, "The Pindar Scholia," (n. 25 above) 277, n. 21.

[31] Cf. H. Erbse, "Pindars dritte nemeische Ode," *Hermes* 97 (1969) 273–5 = *Ausgewaehlte Schriften* (Berlin 1979) 105–7.

chorus members and with the lyres" (schol. 18b, c). These paraphrases interpret ὄαροι as singing voices, but normally the word denotes the sound of familiar conversation.[32] Pindar describes a similar scene of celebration in *P.* 1.97–8: "the lyres (φόρμιγγες) in the hall did not receive [the evil king Phalaris] in sweet association with the conversation (ὀάροισι) of boys" [as they are now receiving Pindar's patron Hieron]; but because of the presence of boys the ancient commentators understood the poet to be speaking of a symposium rather than of the performance of the victory ode (188: II 29 Dr).[33] Thus in *N.* 3 the young men's ὄαροι would more properly refer to conversation (as at a banquet) rather than singing, and by "associating" his song with this conversation and with the lyre the poet may simply mean that he wishes to add his song to the celebration that they have already begun; as he says at the end of the poem, he is sending his song "late," which may be why he specifies that the young men are "waiting" at the "Asopian water" (4).[34]

Although our re-examination of these passages cannot prove conclusively that Pindar did not use a choir singing in unison to perform these (or his other) victory odes, I believe that it has given us reason to question the standard ancient and modern assumptions about choral performance. At the very least it indicates that we need not assume that all odes without exception, especially the extraordinary *P.* 4, were sung by a chorus;[35] at most, it may even suggest that *all* victory odes were essentially monodic, with or without dancing accompaniment. That the poet rather than chorus is the first person of the victory odes would seem to support the possibility of monodic performance; choruses, as I have tried to show, speak in their own

[32] Cf. also *P.* 4.137, *N.* 7.69. See esp. P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire Etymologique* (Paris 1968) *s.v.*; A. W. Bulloch, *Callimachus: The Fifth Hymn* (Cambridge 1985) 174, on 1.66, where ὄαροι, 'dalliance' is distinguished from organized dancing.

[33] Cf. *P.* 8.29–31: "I have no time to dedicate the whole of a long discourse to the lyre and soft voice (φθέγμα)," which denotes a singing voice.

[34] The anonymous commentator in schol. 1b: III 42 Dr. connected the "waiting" to the sending of the poem late, by suggesting that the young men went to beg Pindar to write the ode. Other language at the end of the poem suggests that the poet is referring to the ode's beginning (a technique he uses in other odes, e.g., *O.* 1, *P.* 5, *N.* 4, *I.* 6); he returns to the metaphor of poetry as drink (6), at the end of the ode, when he calls his ode "a singing draught in the Aeolian breathings of *auloi*" (79).

[35] For reservations about *P.* 4, cf. West, Segal (loc. cit., n. 7 above), C. J. Herington, *Poetry into Drama* (Berkeley 1985) 27–31.

persona and tend to describe who they are, so that we can usually tell when they are the first person speaker.[36] As such, they tend to be the speakers in song for local occasions and informal performance, like *partheneia*, dithyrambs, paeans, and folk songs, while songs commissioned for international festivals, such as Pindar's Sixth *Paean* for the Delphians at Pytho (frag. 52b) are spoken by the more authoritative voice of the poet. Victory odes, especially those commissioned for the Crown Games, naturally fall into the latter category.

The possibility that victory odes could be sung as solos should help to solve old questions about the performance of extraordinary odes in the collection, like the "poetic letter" *P.* 3. Vase paintings of victory celebrations also seem support the notion of monodic performance. *Komoi* are depicted as dancing while a single singer sings to the *phorminx*,[37] or men, young or old, accompany the returning victor. But even if we continue to believe that some victory odes were performed by choirs, it is no longer advisable to infer that victory odes had a more "public" function than established types of monody.[38]

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[36] Lefkowitz, "First Person," (n. 20 above) 185–95.

[37] E.g., NY 41.162.184 (*CV* USA 12, pl. 17) = *ABV* 305/22, where a seated bearded man, crowned with ivy, plays the lyre, while two men dance on either side of him; T. B. L. Webster, *The Greek Chorus* (London 1970) no. 86; Herington (n. 35 above) 31; cf. bearded man singing to an *aulos* player on *ABV* 155/63 = D. v. Bothmer, *The Amasis Painter and his World* (Malibu 1985) fig. 94; Cydias playing *aulos* for dancers *ARV* 173/2 = K. Schefold, *Griechische Dichterbildnisse* (Zurich 1965) 52/3, Anacreon plays lyre while young men dance, Webster no. 207 = K. Schefold, *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner, und Denker* (Basel 1943) 50/1, 2; cf. *ARV* 31/3. In *ABV* 135 (Group I) = Webster no. 112, naked youths stride on either side of the victor who is carrying a tripod; in Heidelberg S 1 = *ABV* 51.1 = Webster 111, walking bearded men follow the victor, perhaps singing the τήνελλα καλλίνικε; cf. the welcoming committee for a horseman of older bearded men on the Siana Cup in Cleveland, USA 15, pl. 21.2.3. Singers can be distinguished from dancers by their long costume and standing posture; e.g., the group of young men standing and singing, perhaps at the Stoa Basileia, training for a dithyrambic contest; *La cité des images* (Paris 1984) fig. 23; cf. M. Bieber, "A Tragic Chorus on a Vase of 475 B.C.," *AJA* 45 (1941) 529–30.

[38] Contrast B. Gentili, *Poesia e Pubblico nella Grecia Antica* (Rome 1984) 204–5; A. P. Burnett, *The Art of Bacchylides* (Cambridge, Mass. 1985) 5–6; C. P. Segal, *Pindar's Mythmaking* (Princeton 1986) 4–5, 10; F. Cairns, "Propertius and the Battle of Actium," in T. Woodman and D. West, eds. *Poetry and Politics in the Age of Augustus* (Cambridge 1984) 139–43.