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A NEW PAPYRUS OF PINDAR'S *PAEANS*:
NOTES ON P.OXY. LVI 3822 (= PA. VIII, VIII B)

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The publication of *P.Oxy. 3822* in the most recent volume of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* has provided us with a few more minute but precious scraps of Pindar's *Paeans*¹. The purpose of this paper is to offer observations on the new fragments.

A) *P.Oxy. 3822*, fr. 5 and the structure of *Paean VIII*

]·[
]· οισ[
κλυτοῖ μάλιντιες Ἄπολλωνος
[ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ χθόνιος,
5 [ὑ]πέρ τ' ὠκεαν[οῦ
]τεπ· [

Lines 3-5 also occur in a fragment of *P.Oxy. 841*, and comparison with the metrical pattern of *Pa.VIII* suggested to Snell that they were from the start of a strophe or antistrophe of that poem². Snell further suggested that since the metrical pattern of the preceding line was roughly the same as that of the final line of the strophe in *Pa.VIII*, κλυτοῖ μάλιντιες Ἄπολλωνος was the first line of an antistrophe, and he thought that this might be the first antistrophe (making it l.13, since the strophe has 12 lines). There were always some doubts about this reconstruction³, and we now know it to be false: the editors point out that]· οισ[does not correspond to anything in the preceding line in *P.Oxy. 841*, fr. 83-4, and that it suggests an intralinear title of the form found in other paeans such as: Δελφοῖς εἰς Πυθῶ, so that κλυτοῖ μάλιντιες Ἄπολλωνος will be the first line of the poem⁴. The lines preceding in *P.Oxy. 841*, fr. 83-4 can now be assigned to another *Paean* (Maehler makes it "*Pa.VIID*" in his most recent edition of the fragments of Pindar).

The question naturally arises what is the relation between the opening of *Pa.VIII* and the large stretch of the final two triads. Snell believed that he could determine this by extrapolating where inter- and intra-triadic breaks will occur in the columns of *P.Oxy. 841*⁵. He reasoned from the following premises.

¹ *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* LVI (1989), 1ff. The edition of the fragments was left in draft by E. Lobel, and H. Maehler prepared it for publication. Maehler has made use of them in the new edition of *Pindari Carmina cum fragmentis: pars II: Fragmenta: Indices* (Leipzig, 1989).

² B. Snell, "Pindars 8. Paian über die Tempel von Delphi", *Hermes* 90 (1962), 1ff.

³ The major problem is that the preceding line, which ought on Snell's reconstruction to be the last line of a strophe, can be made to correspond metrically to the final line of a strophe later in the poem only if one assumed that a long syllable in the former corresponds to a double short, which is not impossible but a little suspicious. The line is μάλα πρᾶξον [δι]καίως (~ ~ - - ~ -), which must correspond with the last line of the strophe in the final triad (line 86, = z, 12):]παντα σφιν ἔφρα[σ . ν. (. . - - ~ ~ ~ -). In addition, Barrett (see the apparatus to Snell-Maehler) pointed to *P.Oxy.2442*, fr.23, which preserves the first letters of two consecutive lines κ[and εγ[, accompanied by the lower tip of a coronis, suggesting that they come from the beginning of a poem or at least from a strophe, though it seems to me that the position of the coronis may be a fraction too high for this hypothesis.

⁴ This would incidentally go against Snell's hypothesis that this was an Athenian poem (above, n.2).

⁵ Snell, (above, n.2).

1) The strophe of *Pa.VIII* has 12 lines and the epode 13 lines, making a total of 37 lines for the triad.

2) The line κλυτοὶ μάντιες Ἀπόλλωνος was the first line in an antistrophe, and therefore l.13 in its triad, and since this line was the third line from the bottom of a column, the next column must have started with l.4 of the antistrophe or l.16 of the triad.

3) The number of lines per column is generally 15⁶.

4) The right edge of the column of *P.Oxy. 841* that contained the end of the poem survives (fr. 82, col.1), and to judge from the scholia that column contained both the end of *Pa.VIII* and the start of the next poem, *Pa.VIIIa*. One line - which could be either sixth or seventh in the column - seems to have jutted out beyond the others, and since the last line of the epode of the penultimate column is longer than the other lines of the epode, Snell came to the conclusion that this probably represented the last line of *Pa.VIII*⁷.

5) A few other parts of the poem are preserved from *P.Oxy. 841*, among them fr. 90 (= *Pa.VIII* 66-70, = y, 28-33 [I refer to the final triad as "z", the penultimate as "y" and the antepenultimate as "x", and so on]) and fr. 87 (= *Pa.VIII* 72-75 = y, 35 - z, 1). Any reconstruction must take account of these⁸.

On the basis of this Snell figured out that a suitable correlation of column and triad would occur in the antepenultimate triad ("x")⁹.

We now know that Snell's reconstruction was wrong, but it might still be possible to adapt his method to the changed data. What we would be looking for is a triad which began 3 lines from the bottom of a column (i.e. the 4th line of a triad would have been at the top of a column). If one assumes a 15 line column, one could produce a suitable reconstruction with 3 or 5 triads, though one would have to assume that only two or three lines overlapped into the final column, which is perfectly reasonable (the unusually long line in the 6th or 7th line of the first column of fr. 82 would then have to belong to *Pa.VIIIa*)¹⁰.

However, this sort of reconstruction comes up against a decisive obstacle: Snell was probably wrong to assume a regular 15 column throughout *P.Oxy. 841*. It is true that most of the surviving columns have 15 lines, but almost all of the surviving columns come from section A of the papyrus (which represents about ll.900 to ll.1400 of the book-roll)¹¹. However in sections D, C and B of the papyrus, which probably came earlier on in the roll, the proportion of 16 line columns seems to have been much higher. In fact of the two columns preserved in section D both have 16

⁶ For the number of columns in lines, see *editio princeps* (= A. S. Grenfell and B. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri V* (London, 1908)) 13.

⁷ See the convenient plate III in the *editio princeps*.

⁸ Snell (above, n.2). Two other fragments of *P.Oxy. 841* may belong in the poem: fr.143 may correspond to *Pa.VIII* 79-80 and Fr.107 may belong near *Pa.VIII* 58-9.

⁹ Assuming that each column had 15 lines, Snell postulated that the initial lines in the columns were (working back from the end): z, 32; z, 17; z, 2; y, 24; y, 9; x, 31; x, 16; x, 1. This hypothesis has been generally accepted by commentators. I refer in particular to K. Förstel, "Zu Pindars Achtem Paian", *Rh.M.115* (1972), 97ff.

¹⁰ For three triads, the initial lines of columns (again working back from the end) would be: z, 35; z, 20; z, 5; y, 27; y, 12; x, 34; x, 19; x, 4. For five triads they would be: z, 36; z, 21; z, 6; y, 28; y, 13; x, 35; x, 20; x, 5; w, 27; w, 12; v, 34; v, 19; v, 4. A five triad *Pa.VIII* would be 185 lines long, which would be comparable to two other Delphic paeans the length of which we know: Pindar *Pa.VI* (183 lines) and Philodamus of Scarpheia's *Paeian to Dionysus* (165 lines).

¹¹ For discussion of the sections of the papyrus, see S. L. Radt, *Pindars Zweiter und Sechster Paian: Text, Scholien und Kommentar* (Amsterdam [1958]), 1ff.

lines; in section C (which is the section of the papyrus containing *Pa.VIII* and *Pa.VIIIa*), the single column that survives complete had 16 lines, and the single column preserved from section B is the one with 17 lines¹². The evidence is thin, but what there is suggests that in the earlier sections of the papyrus it was 15 line columns that were rare and not 16 line ones, and we cannot even rule out 17 line columns. If we allow the possibility of 16 or even 17 line columns, any chance of determining the number of triads in the poem vanishes. The only thing we can be sure of is that there was more than one¹³.

Regrettably, one has to conclude that in view of the fact that the number of lines per column in section C of *P.Oxy. 841* could have varied between 15 and 17 lines, we will not be in a position to make a reliable guess about the length of *Pa.VIII* until we will have a little more data about how the poem was deployed in the columns of the papyrus.

B) A Title

The editors identify an interlinear title in line 5 of fr. 1 (*Pa.VIIIb*, (a)):

	] . ε . [] . [
	] . εἶσο . [
	] . τοῖτοτε . [
	παῖ]ανά τ' ἔπορσα . [
5	]παιάν εἰς[
	]τε προοιμ[
	] . τον Ὀλυμπ[
	'Α]πόλλωνι
	] . ταλιάνδ
10	] . οντίμο . [
	] . . [ ]ωγαρχ . [
	] . ιβατᾶνα[
	] . ο . []τονδ[
	]ε . [. .]μμε[
15] . . . [

If this is right, the form is different from that elsewhere found in papyri of the *Paeans* (the usual form includes a specification of the performers (in the dative) and the place of performance (εἰς + accusative), but no specification of the genre: Δελφοῖς εἰς Πυθῶ is the title of Pindar, *Pa.VI*; Ἄνδρῖοις εἰς Πυθῶ is a title in Simonides, *PMG*519, fr. 35). The problem is not only the variation in form, but also the fact that referring to a poem as a paean in an edition of *Paeans* would have been superfluous. This might lead one to doubt whether the fragment is from the *Paeon* book at all and not perhaps from some context in which it would have been necessary to identify the genre of the poem, such as an anthology. However, it is not necessary to resort to this hypothesis. A title in the *Paeon*-book might have referred to a paean without superfluity if it were part of a more

¹² In section A the 16 line columns are col.xvii (*Pa.IV*, 21ff.), col.xxix (*Pa.VI*, 95ff.); in section D they are the column comprising the surviving section of *Pa.X* (= fr.129-35) and that comprising the second half of *Pa.IX* (= "col.4"); in section C they are fr.82, col.1 (*Pa.VIIIa*), and note that fr.83-4 may have had 16 lines; and in section B fr.16 (*Pa.VIIIb*) seems to have 17 lines.

¹³ For example, it could have had four triads, with the following column beginnings: z, 32 (15); z, 17 (15); z, 2 (15); y, 24 (15); y, 9 (15); x, 31 (15); x, 15 (16); w, 36 (16); w, 20 (16), w, 4 (16); or it could have had two, with the following column beginnings: z, 31; z, 14 (17), y, 35 (16), y, 19 (16), y, 4 (16). Maehler (above, n.1), 41, acknowledges that there might have been two or three triads (for the sake of clarity he still numbers the lines as if there had been three), but he should also recognise that there might have been more than three.

complex title. I can think of two scenarios in which a poem might have been provided with a complex title. First, uncertainty might have been felt about the genre. There are in fact a number of cases in which we know that ancient authorities were uncertain about whether a poem was a paean or an instance of a different genre¹⁴. In such cases a scrupulous editor might have given a poem a title of the form: προσόδιον ἢ] παιάν εἰς [Δία. The second scenario I have in mind hinges round the fact that there was a general awareness in antiquity that there were special forms of paean. For example, we hear of the ἐπινίκιος παιάν ("victory paean")¹⁵, and also the προσοδιακὸς παιάν ("a processional paean" or "a paean with some properties of a prosodion")¹⁶. I would suggest, then, that παιάν εἰς in fr. 1, 1.5 is part of a complex title either specifying a particular type of paean or expressing uncertainty about the genre.

C) A closing paean-cry

À propos of 1.4 of fr. 1, the editors note that ἐπόρνημι occurs only here in Pindar, though the simple form of the verb is used by him elsewhere of song. The unique occurrence of the word is explained nicely if we bear in mind that verbs with the prefix ἐπι- are used frequently in the context of the paean-cry, with the implication that the paean-cry is uttered as a sort of additional endorsement or encouragement¹⁷. The poem ended with a paean-cry, then. This could represent the last instance of a repeated paean-refrain, or it might be a one off paean-cry with closural force (cf. Bacchylides 17, 128-9; Simonides PMG 519, fr. 35, 10-11)¹⁸.

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¹⁴ *P.Oxy.*2368 (= SH293) shows that two editors disagreed on how to classify a certain poem: Callimachus thought that it was a paean because of the refrain, but Aristarchus thought that it was a dithyrambic because of the narrative, and thinks that a refrain can occur in any genre; Athenaeus (15, 696b4) discussing Aristotle's poem in praise of virtue in honour of Hermeias of Atarneus (*PMG* 842) says that although it has been regarded as a paean, it really is not, because it does not have a refrain; Ps.Plutarch, *De Musica* c.9 (1134c) says of poems of Xenodamus of Cythera that they might be either paeans or hyporchemes; id. c.10 (1134e) says of poems of Xenocritus of Locri that they might be either paeans or dithyramps.

¹⁵ Plut. *Rom.*16, 5; *Aem.*34, 7; *Marc.*8, 4; *Mar.*20, 1; another such term is ἐπιβατήριος παιάν ("marching paean": see Plutarch, *Lyc.*22, 2; W. K. Pritchett, *Ancient Greek Military Practices* [Berkeley, 1971], 105ff.), but this probably did not have a literary form, so we would not expect to find one among Pindar's Paeans.

¹⁶ Scholion on Pindar, Isthmian I: Drachmann, III, 197, 1. Compare also the title of the Hellenistic paean by Limenius of Athens (*Collectanea Alexandrina* 149): παιάν δὲ καὶ π[ροθό]διον εἰς τὸν θεὸν ὃ ἐπόησεν καὶ προσεκιθάρισε Λιμήνιος Θ[ο]ρίνοισι Ἀθηναῖος, where the two terms in the title παιάν δὲ καὶ π[ροθό]διον probably denote two sections of the same poem

¹⁷ Among the numerous examples of verbs in ἐπι- introducing paeans I cite ἐπαείδω in Thuc. *Hist.*4, 43 and 96; ἐπιμέλω in A. *Se*869; ἐπευφημέω in A. fr.350, 4; ἐπανθίζω in A. *Ch.*156; ἐπεξιακχιάζω in *Se.*635; συνεπηχέω in Xen. *Cyr.*3, 3, 58 and 7, 1, 25.

¹⁸ For the latter, see "Paeans by Simonides", *HSCP* 93 (1990). The quasi-refrain in Pindar *Pa.*VI, 121-2 perhaps also has closural force within the second triad of the poem. I would like to acknowledge the helpful comments of Prof. R. F. Thomas on an earlier version of this paper.