IAN RUTHERFORD

TWO HEROIC PROSODIA
A STUDY OF PINDAR, “Paeans XIV-V”


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Two Heroic *Prosodia*

A Study of Pindar, "*Paeans XIV-V"*¹

*C.Oxy. 2441 preserves about 20 lines from an ancient edition of lyric poetry covering the end of one lyric poem and the start of another.² The second poem is accompanied by a marginal title: Λιγυνήτας εἰς Αιακόν, which seems to indicate that the ancient editor believed that it was performed by a chorus of Aeginetans in honour of Aiakos (see "B" below). The poems are known to be by Pindar because of coincidences with another papyrus which certainly contained a roll of Pindar's poems.³ The fact that the poems were contiguous in the ancient edition probably indicates that for the Hellenistic editors the two poems belonged to the same genre. What genre it was is unclear: the editors of the Teubner edition of Pindar class them as *Paeans* (*Pa. XIV-V*),⁴ but it is possible to take a different view (see "C" below).

A) "*Pa. XIV*"

The larger surviving part of the first poem goes like this:⁵

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26 δ[. . . . .]ν πόλεων ἔχλεια
27 σ[i . . . ἴρ&oacute;. . . [
28 ] . [ . . [ .]
30 [. λα . . α . . . .] γ . [ . . [ .]
35 6 μνάσει δὲ καὶ τινά ναόν
-9 θε' λίγεια μὲν Μαία' ἀφα . [
36 μων τελευταῖς δοριζεί
λόγον τερπινών ἑπείων []
38 -6 θερίας' βασανι-
39 -3 σθέντι δὲ χρυσά τέλος . [
40 σοφία γὰρ ἄειρεται πλει]
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¹ I would like to thank Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones, Gregory Nagy and Emily Vermeule for help with earlier attempts to interpret these fragments.
³ The coincidence is with *P.Oxy. 1792*; the parallel was established by Lobel (above, n.2), 15.
⁵ The last 10 lines survive almost complete. Traces of earlier lines also survive, so that we know the poem was at least 40 lines long, and the last lines are conventionally numbered as if the final line is l.40.
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\[ \text{P.Oxy. 2441 fr. 1, col. 1 and col. 2, 1-15; 37-40 are preserved also in P.Oxy. 1792 fr. 30 + 65 + a new fragment (cf. Lobel (above, n.2), 15, fr. 8). For the unusual flattened uncial of P.Oxy. 2441, see A. Leone, \textit{La «onciale ogivale» dalle origini alla decadenza}, \textit{Studia Papyrologica} 15 (1976), 141ff.} \]

\[ 31 \text{ devªxai (or devªxo \ textit{thlovº⁄qe} e.g., Snell, 32-3 ãã√fær [ëv kûmwv e.g., Snell, 34 ãã√færsæ Snell, 35 supplement by Lobel,} ì√aìã√wætæ Snell, 40 ãã√fæsæta or ãã√fæstæ ãðæætæ Snell} \]

\[ (\ldots) \text{ wages of good-fortune} \ldots \text{ the clear-voiced Muse \ldots in the rites speaks a speech of pleasant words, and it will put even someone dwelling far away in mind of the heroic sacred embassy. When gold has been tested completion (comes to it?) Swift judgment (is a bad thing?) For by wisdom is raised (virtue? fame?)} \]

\[ \text{Lines 31-2 seem to be about wages consisting in good renown,}^6 \text{ which someone is presumably about to receive, probably the} \textit{honorand} \text{ of the song. For the thought, cf. \textit{Ol.} 7. 7\textit{ff.}} \]

\[ \text{tódh lôptron συμφοράς οίκτρας γλοκύ} \textit{Τλαπτολέμω} \]

\[ \text{Ïstatai Τειμινθέων ἀρχαγέτα,} \]

\[ ωσπερ θεώ \]

\[ μηλων τε κιννασάεσσα πομπά και κρίσις αμφί æθους.} \]

\[ \text{(There a recompense for pitiful suffering is set up for Tleptolemus, founding hero of the Tirynthians, just as to a god, and a procession of sheep rich in the smell of meat, and a competition over prizes.)} \]

\[ \text{The word} lôptron \text{ here is parallel to ϵίπιχειρα in Pa. XIV, 31, though it governs an objective genitive (recompense for misfortune) whereas the genitive governed by ϵίπιχειρα in Pa. XIV, 31 is appositional (wages consisting in renown). What follows (lines 32-7) specifies two functions of poetry. The first function, introduced by ìµέν, is that the Muse will converse (δαιρίζει)\textsuperscript{7} at the rites (τελευταῖς), i.e. she will provide music that will be used in the celebration itself (ll.32-4).}^8 \]

\[ \text{The second function, introduced by ð∂, is less clear. The sense seems to be something like: \textquote{The Muse (understood from l.32) will put in mind of the heroïdos ðαιριασ even someone dwelling far away from it\textquote{. The word ðαιριδοσ could be i) a noun with the sense \textit{heroine} or ii) an adjective with the sense \textit{pertaining to a hero} (known, for example, from Apollonius of Rhodes, \textit{Arg.} 1. 1048: \πιμαϊς ðαιρισι or iii) the name of a festival, the Heroïds, known from Delphi (Plutarch, \textit{Mor.} 293c (\textit{qu.gr.})).}^9 \text{The word ðαιριασ could be i) a noun with the sense \textit{contemplation} or \textit{sacred embassy};} \]

\[ \text{ii) an adjective with the sense \textit{pertaining to a sacred embassy};} \]

\[ ^6 \text{Wages for good fame (cf. ðαιριξς ϵίπιχειρα at Plato, \textit{Rep.} 608c) seems less likely than: \textquote{wages consisting in good-fortune}; cf. \textit{hy.Hom.} 23.3: ðαιρον ϵαιρίζει.} \]

\[ ^7 \text{\textquote{Utter softly} is the basic meaning, particularly in the context of lovers\textquotesingle discourse. Pindar uses the word of poetry at \textit{Nem.} 7. 69: \ψόγον δαρον ἐνύπτων, \textit{Nem.} 3. 11: ἔγω δὲ κεῖων τὶ νῦν ὀὰρος | λόρα τε κοινάσωμαι, \textit{Pyth.} 1. 98: οὐδε νῦν φόρμιγγες υπωφόραι κοιναίναν | μαλακῶν παῖδων ὀὰρος δέκορται. Cf. ðαιρι at \textit{P.Oxy.} 2442, fr. 93, 2. Here ðάρον} \text{ could an internal accusative: cf. \textit{hy.Hom.} 23.3: ðαιρον ðαιρίζει.} \]

\[ ^8 \text{This interpretation of τελευταῖς seems to be implied in SM\textquote{s apparatus: ãã√fær [ëv kûmwv τελευ-} \]

\[ \text{ταῖς. τελευτὴ is rare in this sense of \textquote{rite}; see F. M. J. Waanders, \textit{The History of τέλος and τελέω in Ancient Greek} (Amsterdam, 1983), 241. The other possible meaning for τελευταῖς would be \textquote{end}, as it is taken by \textit{Waanders}, 243; van Groningen (above, n.2), 128: \textquote{The Muse attaches a tale of delightful verses to the results of . . . . But the general context suggests cult, and for that reason I incline strongly to the interpretation \textquote{rites}.} \]

\[ ^9 \text{Cf. W. R. Halliday, \textit{Plutarch\textquoteright s Greek Questions} (Oxford, 1928), 71. The possibility that the word refers to the name of a festival was suggested by W. J. Slater, \textit{Lexicon to Pindar} (Berlin, 1969).} \]

\[ ^10 \text{Cf. Troezen IV B.C. 4. 748. 16, Pausanias, 2. 13. 6.} \]
or iii) a proper noun, "Thearia", perhaps the name of a heroine, which would be otherwise unattested, though the masculine "Thearios" is known.11

The number of possible permutations is reduced greatly if we recognize that θεαρίας is probably a noun, since the adjective is extremely rare, and we have no special reason to posit the existence of a heroine Thearia. If it is a noun, the word ἤρωδος will then most likely be an adjective in agreement with it. There are two possible meanings that ἦρως θεαρία might have. One is "heroic sight", so that the phrase taken together might mean that the speaker will remind even someone who lives out of sight of the hero, perhaps where the hero cannot see him, since heroes like other deities are sometimes conceived of as watchers.12 Alternatively it might mean "going and seeing a hero" and so "sacred embassy in honour of a hero". For the use of the adjective, compare the expression θείας θεωρίας in Plato's Republic 517d3:

τὸδε αἰεὶ τι θαυμαστών, εἰ ἀπὸ θείων, ἢν δ' ἐγώ, θεωρῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια τις ἔλθων κακὰ ἀνεχθομεν τε καὶ φαίνεται σφόδρα γελαῖος . . . ;

(Do you think it amazing, I said, if coming from divine sights to the world of men someone looks bad and appears quite ridiculous?)

The sense of θείων . . . θεωρῶν here must be "divine visions", and one suspects that the philosophical application is underwritten by the religious associations of θεωρία.13

This interpretation poses a difficulty if we want to take ἤρωδος θεαρίας with ἐκάς, because a sacred embassy would not usually be regarded as a fixed point in reference to which one's dwelling place can be specified. In view of that it is probably better to take ἤρωδος θεαρίας as directly dependent on μνάσαι, with ναόιοιθ' ἐκάς standing in a looser relationship to it.14

If Pindar shared the well-documented ancient view that θεωρία is connected etymologically with θέος,15 the expression ἤρωδος θεαρίας would be reminiscent of the oxymoron ἦρως θεός used of Heracles at Nem. 3. 2. In that case this passage would provide quite a powerful defence against Maas's suggestion that ἦρως θεός, a beautifully concise expression conveying the ambiguous status of Heracles between hero and god, should be emended away to ἦρως θοῖος.16

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11 Apollo was worshipped under this epithet in Troezen: see above, n.10.
12 Aristophanes, PCG 3. 2 fr. 322 (Heroes): κάνασθωντες τούς ἀδίκους | καὶ κλέπτας καὶ λαποδότας; cf. also Hesiod, Op. 122-3: τοι μὲν δαίμονες ἄγριοι ἐπιχαράγαν καλέονται | σθόλοι, ἀλεξικακε, φόλακες θητῶν ἀνθρώπων. That θεαρία might be used in the sense of a deity watching over mortals is at least suggested by the fact that at Aeschylus, Ch. 246 Orestes asks Zeus to become θεωρός of what is happening: Ζεῦ, Ζεῦ, θεωρός τοῦτο πραγμάτων γεινόν. That θεαρία might be used in the sense of a deity watching over mortals is at least suggested by the fact that at Aeschylus, Ch. 246 Orestes asks Zeus to become θεωρός of what is happening: Ζεῦ, Ζεῦ, θεωρός τοῦτο πραγμάτων γεινόν.
13 H. Rausch, Theoria: Von ihrer sakralen zur philosophischen Bedeutung (Munich, 1982), 48ff., discusses the religious background of θεωρία in Plato.
14 In their apparatus SM suggest that τινά might be Pindar ("sc. Pindarum qui ipsa non adset in hac 'theoria'?"). They are presumably thinking of the situation in some of the Epinikia where Pindar is not witness-nessing the performance of the poem, and they may also have in mind passages of the Epinikia in which Pindar describes a hero as his γείτων. But surely τινά would be a strange way to refer to the poet.
15 Philodemus de musica 1. 23. 15ff. Krevelen, Ps.Plutarch, De mus. 27 (= Mor.1140E); the etymology is perhaps implied also in Aristotle NE 10. 7. 1; on the etymology, see L. Ziehen, REA 10. 2239- s. Theoroi, 2243-4. C. P. Bill, "Notes on the Greek θεωρός and θεωρία", TAPA 32 (1901), 196ff.. P. Chantraine, Dictionnaire éymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots (Paris, 1968-), s.v.; Rausch (above, n.13), c.1. On this logic the expression θείων . . . θεωρῶν at Plato, Rep. 517d3 (cited above) turns out to be a figura etymologica.
16 P. Maas, "Ἡρως Θεός", MH 11 (1954), 199. Since this status was something specially associated with Heracles (see particularly Herodotus, 2. 44 on cults of Heracles on Thasos; and on this B. Bergquist,
The reflections about poetry are continued in the last four lines, which seem to constitute a sort of gnomic close. The progression of thought can be made out well enough, and it seems to consist of three statements. 1) First, something along the lines of "testing gold is the way to determine its worth." Gold is a common subject for gnomic statements concerning value. In this case the reference is clearly to the poem, which will be shown to be good if it stands the test of time. 2) Second, some sort of condemnation of "fast opinion", i.e. a premature judgment about the poem's worth. Snell's suggestion, γινώμαι δὲ ταχείας συμμετοχών κρίσεως, is perhaps on the right lines. 3) Third, an explanation of this: wisdom is an excellent thing. The wisdom could belong either to the poet or to the audience who judge the poem.

B) "Pa. XV"

The fragment of the second poem is as follows:

A]ΠΞΝΗΤΑΙΣ ΕΙ[Σ] ΑΙΛΑΚΩΝ

Α: Τιγ' ἐν ἄματι τερπνῷ
Τίπποι μὲν ἀθάνατα
Ποσειδάνους ἄγοισ' Αἰακ[
Νηρεὺς δ' ὅ γέρων ἐπεταύ[
5 πατήρ δὲ Κρονίων μολὼσι
πρὸς ὅμης βαλὼν χερὶ[
τράπεζαν θεῶν ἐπ' ἀμβρῷο

ινα οἱ κέχυται πιεῖν νεκταρ
ἐρχεται δ' ἐκαυτῷ

10 ὑπερτάται [. . . κυν]

P.Oxy. 2441 fr. 1 col. 2, 16-26; 1-4 P.Oxy. 1792 fr. 30 + 65 + a new fragment (fr. 8, 5-8 Lobel (above, n.2) 15); 6ff. P.Oxy. 1792 fr. 29 (Lobel (above, n.2), 18).

3 Αἰακὸν οὗ Λαῖκοὶ Ψαμάθεων or Αἰγίνον. 4 Lobel, 5 μικρῶς πελάξει Lobel, μικρῶς εὑρον e.g. Snell, 6 e.g. [φιλά δέχεται Snell, 7 [ροσίαν, [ροταν, [ροτὶν Lobel, 8 νεκταρ Lobel, but e] is very uncertain, 10 perhaps [ἀπ'] ἃνα, e.g. νοθάν

(On this pleasant day the immortal mares of Poseidon lead . . . and old Nereus follows. Father Zeus . . . casting his eye . . . to the immortal table of the gods, where nectar is poured out to drink. At the end of a year there comes . . . )

Herakles on Thasos: the Archaelogical, Literary and Epigraphical Evidence for the Sanctuary, Status and Cult Reconsidered (Uppsala, 1973), perhaps this is an indication that Heracles was the dedicatee of "Pa. XIV":

17 Cf. fr. 122. 15: διδάξαμεν χρυσὸν καθαρὰ βασιλῆα, Pyth. 10. 67: πειρώμεν δὲ καὶ χρυσὸς ἐν βασιλῆα πρέπει καὶ ἱδρος ὃρθος, Nem. 8. 20: νεαρὰ δ' εὐεξηρωτα δόμει βασιλῆα ὁ ἐλεγχων, ἀπας κινδυνος, Nem. 4. 82-3: ὁ χρυσὸς ἐφώτειον σύχας ἐθειεῖν ἀτας τας, Bacchylides, fr. 14 (from a υπόρχμη, according to Stobaeus, Flor. 3. 11. 19): ἀδίκα ὡς γὰρ λίθος | μανάζει χρυσῶν, ἀνήβων δ' ἀρετὰς σόφα τα παγκατην τ' ἐλέγχεσ, ἀθλησ, fr. 33: χρυσὸν βροτῶν γνώμασι μανάζει καθαρὸν. The last two passages suggest that μανάζεται might be the right supplement at the end of line 38.
We begin with the title. I take it to represent an inference made by a Hellenistic editor on the basis of the complete text of the poem, to the effect that it was in honour of Aiakos and that it was performed by an Aeginetan chorus. We have no reason to doubt its reliability. The festival may well have been the Aiakeia. We know this only as an athletic festival, but it is likely to have had other dimensions also. A panhellenic athletic competition is perhaps not likely to have taken place every year, but for all we know the Aiakeia itself was yearly, but served as the occasion for panhellenic games only every two or four years.

A comparison immediately suggests itself with the Prosodion in honour of Artemis Aphaea mentioned by Pausanias. The existence of at least a third poem performed by an Aeginetan chorus can be inferred from the title ΑΊΑΚΗΣ ΕΙΣ found in a fragment of another papyrus (P.Oxy. 2442, fr. 105). There will no doubt have been many more.

The poem opened with a description in the present tense: on this sacred day the mares of Poseidon are bringing someone or something, who or what is unclear. Αἰακ. probably represents either the direct or the indirect object of the verb. If it is the indirect object, the person being brought would probably be someone else, for example Aiakos’ Nereid wife Psamatheia. The presence of Nereus is also compatible with the hypothesis that the theme had to do with a wedding, since he would be the father-in-law. The wedding of Thetis and Peleus seems to be ruled out because that took place on Pelion.

The idea of the mares of Poseidon transporting Aiakos or someone else might suggest a mythological narrative, but for the present tense. At least, the only ways of reconciling mythological narrative with the present tense would be to posit that the poem opens in direct speech or that it was a sort of dramatic dialogue along the lines Bacchylides 18, but these seem remote possibilities. It is much more likely that this is a description of a sacred event conceived as happening in present time, like an epiphany of a god. In that case τῷ δὲ ἐν ἄματι in the first line is a deictic reference, such as we find in Pyth. 4. 2, or Ol. 6. 28. The word ἐναυτῶ in 1.9 perhaps indicates that the sacred event was thought of as having happened yearly, and was not a once and for all event, such as the inauguration of a temple.

Such a ritual in present time might well reflect and reenact a mythical event. There is a good example of how a ritual event described in the present tense can reflect a mythical event 18 Pindar, Ol. 7. 86 with scholion (Dr. 1. 232. 17), and Nem. 5. 78, with scholion (Dr. 3. 97. 9ff.), which talks about a contest involving the carrying of jars of water (the ὀδροφόρα); the aetiology for this was a visit by the Argonauts to Aegina on their return voyage: see Ap. Rhod., Arg. 4. 176ff.; Callimachus, Iamb. 8 (= fr. 198Pfeiffer) with Diegesis col. 8; EGen. (A) s. ἀμφορίττης ἀγών (cited by Pfeiffer), which places the contest by the Ἀσσωτίς κρήνης. I am not sure that the ὀδροφόρα is part of the Aiakeia. It is easy to imagine that the aetiology of the Aiakeia as a whole might have been the visit by the leaders of the Greeks to Aegina during the great drought (see below). We may have the aetiology of the pentathlon at the Aiakeia in the myth that Telamon and Peleus killed Phocus after challenging him to a pentathlon (Pausanias, 2. 29. 9). In the scholion on Pindar, Ol. 7. 86 the syllable ακ followed by a lacuna is restored by Drachmann Οἰνώπαια, implying that this was an alternative name for the festival, though Pfeiffer (ad fr. 198) suggests that we restore Ἄπροφορα.

19 Pausanias, 2. 30. 3 = Pindar, fr. 89b.

20 This is implied in SM's apparatus, where it is also suggested that the chariot might be bringing Thetis for Peleus, which I find less attractive, considering the title. Prof. Jerzy Danielewicz suggested something similar to me a few years ago. It is presumably less likely that the mares would be bringing Aiakos’ mortal (and now dead) bride Endeis from her home in Megara.

21 This sense of ἐναυτῶ seems to be “at a year's end”, as in the Gortyn Law Code (IC 4. 72), col. 1.36 and 47. Otherwise the dative without preposition seems to occur only when the year is specified by an ordinal.
described in the past tense in *Pyth.* 5, 78-88, a passage framed by an account of the arrival in Cyrene of Theran colonists led by Aristoteles:

> ἑκατερὰ ἀναδεξάμενοι,
> 'Ἀπολλώνι, τεῦ.
> 80 Ἰεράνας ἄγακτιμένων πῶλιν
> ἔχοσι τὰν χαλκοχάρμια δίκαιοι
> Τρῖτος Ἀρτανώραδοι σὺν Ἐλένῃ γὰρ μόλον,
> κατηνθείσιν πάτραν ἐπεὶ ἔδω
> 85 ἐν Ἀρεί τὸ δ’ ἐλάσσιππον ἔθνος ἐνδυκέως
> δέκοιται θεσίαισιν ἄνδρες οἰχνεώτες σφὲ δωροφόροι,
> τοὺς Ἀριστοτέλης ἄγαγε νοσιὶ θοᾶς
> ἄλλος βαθείαν κέλευθον ἀναγών.

(Receiving a feast of many sacrifices from there (Thera), Apollo Carneius, we revere the strongly founded city of Cyrene in your feast, the city which is occupied by the sons of Antenor, strangers with bronze spears. They came with Helen when they saw their native city turned to smoke in war. The horse-driving race is kindly received in sacrifice by men who visit them bearing gifts, the men who Aristoteles brought in swift shifts, opening the deep path of the sea . . . )

Here Pindar deals rapidly with two arrivals in Cyrene (that of the Antenoridai and that of the Therans) and three temporal stages: mythical past, historical past and present. The pronoun τοὺς must refer to the Theran colonists, but the antecedent (ἄνδρες οἰχνεώτες . . . δωροφόροι) seems to be their descendents, the present day inhabitants of Cyrene, since the present tense of the verb most likely refers to an action in the present and not an historical event.22 The meaning of the lines must be that the Cyreneaeans receive the Antenoridai (τὸ δ’ ἐλάσσιππον ἔθνος) in a theoxenic festival, which reenacts their mythological arrival from Troy.23

The sacred event described in *Pa.* XV seems to be thought of as a procession with at least two components: the mares of Poseidon leading, bringing someone or other, and Nereus following. Perhaps these mythological figures were represented by statues which were transported in a sacred procession that was believed to reenact the mythical event. A statue of Psamatheia might perhaps have been taken down to the sea and ritually cleansed (such cleansing rituals seem to have been commonly associated with the idea of *hieros gamos*).24

The last two lines of the first stanza seem to refer to a feast, perhaps a wedding-feast, and they suggest that the gods attended and dined on divine food, for example nectar (if that is the right supplement in line 8). Thus the festival was a *theoxenia*,25 and *Pa.* XV would be one of a

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22 See the excellent discussion in E. Krummen, *Pyrsos Hymnon: Festliche Gegenwart und mythisch-rituelle Tradition als Voraussetzung einer Pindarinterpretation (Isthmie 4, Pythie 5, Olympie 1 und 3)* (Berlin/New York, 1990), 117ff., who talks about the "doppelte Zeitebene" (120, 124). She rightly rejects the idea that the passage might refer to the Antenoridai, the original colonists of Cyrene, receiving the Theran colonists; this would not so naturally be described in the present tense.

23 Krummen (above, n.22), 120ff., has an excellent discussion of the theoxenic aspects of the festival.

24 See the rituals grouped under type A) in the appendix.

number of ancient lyric poems believed to have been performed in connection with theoxenic festivals.\textsuperscript{26} The only evidence for an Aeginetan theoxenia previously known is a scholion on Pindar \textit{Nem. 7}, which reports the myth that Aiakos once entertained Heracles, and has been taken to reflect a theoxenic ritual.\textsuperscript{27} If that inference is right, the theoxenic ritual it reflects might for all we know be the same as the one referred to in \textit{Pa. XV}.

This is only one possible reconstruction. A different set of solutions suggest themselves if we allow that Aiakos may have been driving the chariot, and that the ritual may not have been primarily one of \textit{hieros gamos}. The main reason for thinking of a marriage ritual was the presence of Nereus, but that could equally be explained as a symbol of Aeginetan sea-power. An initial difficulty with this hypothesis is that there is no parallel for the ritual carrying of statues in the cult of heroes; for that matter the only male deity of any description regularly associated with statue carrying rituals is Dionysus.\textsuperscript{28} However, there is some reason to think that the manner of worship with which Aiakos and the Aiakidai were honoured on Aegina was grander than that normally paid to heroes. Pausanias' description of the Aiakeion suggests that it was an unusually grand edifice for a \textit{hero}.\textsuperscript{29} And the idea that the statues of Aiakos and the Aiakidai were capable of being moved seems to find a resonance in Herodotus' account of how Aiakos and the Aiakidai were twice summoned for help in battle by Greek armies.\textsuperscript{30}

What mythological event concerning Aiakos is most likely to have been commemorated in such a poem? Perhaps the story of how when their territories were afflicted by a drought (due either to the murder of Androgeos the son of Minos by the Athenians, or of Stymphalos by Pelops) the champions of Greece, on the advice of Delphi, petitioned Aiakos to prevail upon his father Zeus to bring rain.\textsuperscript{31} The moment when Aiakos received the supplication of the Greek


\textsuperscript{26} Among the others would be Pindar, \textit{Pa. VI}, Bacchylides, fr. 21, Philodamus, \textit{Paean}, and Pindar, \textit{Ol. 3}, which probably served the dual function of celebrating the return of a victor and celebrating a Theoxenia; also Plato, \textit{Lysis} 205c; cf. Krummen (above, n.22), 219ff. (contra S. Shelmerdine, "Pindaric Praise and the Third Olympian", \textit{HSCP} 91 (1987), 65ff.).

\textsuperscript{27} The source is a scholion on Pindar, \textit{Nem. 7} 86 (Dr. 3. 134. 15-6): \textit{ἀπέστρεφε δὲ τὸν λόγον πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέα, ὡς τοῦ Αἰακοῦ ὑπὸδεδημενίον καὶ ἔξενικότος}. Cf. scholion on \textit{Nem. 4}, 22 [Dr. 3. 69. 22ff.]; Deneken (above, n.25), 26; and the myth of Heracles' reception by Telamon in Pindar, \textit{Isth.6}, which the scholion says is derived form Hesiod's \textit{Eoiai} (Dr. 3. 255. 19-20; fr. 250MW).

\textsuperscript{28} See the rituals grouped under type B) in the appendix.

\textsuperscript{29} Pausanias, 2. 29. 6: \textit{περὶξολος τετράγωνος λεικοῦ λίθου}. Pausanias also records the presence of an altar there, which was supposed to be a memorial to Aiakos.

\textsuperscript{30} Herodotus, 5. 80-1; 8. 64, 83. Statues of heroes are fairly rare, though some are known, for example statues of the Tyndaridai on Delos (ID2548; see F. Robert, "Inscription métrique trouvée au Dioscourion délien", \textit{BCH} 58 (1934), 184ff.; P. Bruneau, \textit{Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale}, Bibliothèque de l'École française d'Athènes et de Rome, 217 (1970), 383ff.; A. A. Donohue, \textit{Xoana and the Origins of Greek Sculpture} (Georgia, 1988), 69ff.;), and of Achilles on the island of Leuke (Arrian, \textit{Periplus ponti Euxini} 21 (32M)), and of \textit{ξώανα} of Aeneas in Zacynthus and Ambracia (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, \textit{Ant}.,1, 50; Donohue (op.cit.), 78).

\textsuperscript{31} See Isocrates, 9. 14ff., Apollodoros, \textit{Bibl}.3, 12, 6. 9f., Diodorus, 3. 61. 1, Pausanias, 1. 44. 9, 2. 29. 7f. For more, S. L. Radt, \textit{Pindars zweiter und sechster Paian}, \textit{Text, Scholien und Kommentar}
leaders was so central in Aeginetan traditions that it was this scene that was represented on a frieze above the entrance of the Aiakeion.\textsuperscript{32} It is easy to see that this event could have been commemorated every year in Aegina.

We can speculate about the direction of the procession. The Aiakeion was probably a focus, providing the starting point or the terminus, and perhaps even both, if the cult statue was first taken from the shrine and then brought back. What might the other focal points have been? The most prominent cult site - in antiquity as now - was the temple of Aphaea in the East of the island, but this had no direct connection with the myth of Aiakos and the drought.\textsuperscript{33} A particularly important site of Zeus worship in Aegina was near the summit of Mt. Hellanicus, where he was worshipped under the title of Zeus Hellanius.\textsuperscript{34} The shrine there was said to have been set up by Aiakos in gratitude for the cessation of the drought.\textsuperscript{35} In view of the mythological associations this would have been a natural place to bring the statue of Aiakos. He would have symbolically renewed his relationship with Zeus and guaranteed the prosperity with the island. And it is encouraging that Zeus seems to be described in ll.5-6 of the poem as welcoming the procession. The procession would presumably have started from the Aiakeion, processed the five miles or so South and then East to the summit of Mt Hellanicus and then returned to the Aiakeion.

Another possibility is that Aiakos was represented as returning to the Aiakeion from somewhere else. Pindar knew the myth that Aiakos returned from Troy in Poseidon’s chariot (\textit{Ol.} 8. 48ff.):

\begin{verbatim}
(Orsotrivaina δ’ ἔπ’ ἑσθμῷ ποντιᾷ
 ἄρμα δοῦν τάννειν,
 50 ἀποπέμπων Αιακόν
deiρ’ ἄν’ ἔπεος χρυσέας

καὶ Κορίνθου δειμάθ’ ἐποθόμενος δαιτικλουτάν.
\end{verbatim}

(The trident-rouser steered his swift chariot to the Isthmus by the sea, conveying Aiakos thither on golden horses, and intending to visit the ridge of Corinth, famous for feasts.)

There must be a chance that a ritual at the Aiakeia commemorated this event (the parallel with the Cyrenaean ritual of the reception of the Antenoridai would then be almost exact). Alternatively, Aiakos might have been represented returning to the underworld: according to later mythographic sources Aiakos became one of the three judges in the underworld after his death,

\footnotesize{(Amsterdam, 1958), 133, n.1. In Apollodorus Pelops murdered Stymphalus, in Diodorus the Athenians murdered Androgeos the son of Minos.)

\textsuperscript{32} Cf. J. Toepffer \textit{RE} s. \textit{Aiakeion} 1. 921-2; Pausanias, 2. 29. 6; Pindar, \textit{Nem.} 5. 53: προβήρουσιν δ’ Αιακόν. There was also one in Athens: Herodotus, 5. 89, Hesychius, 1. 59 (Latte), s. Αἰάκειον. Does Pindar perhaps reflect this visual imagery in \textit{Nem.} 8. 13: ἵκετας Αιακὸν σεμιῶν γονάτων . . . ?

\textsuperscript{33} Pindar and Aphaea: fr. 89b = Pausanias, 2. 30. 3.

\textsuperscript{34} Pausanias, 2. 30. 4. See A. B. Cook, \textit{Zeus} (Cambridge, 1914, 1925, 1940), 3. 2, 1164, referring to a bronze \textit{hydria} found on Mt. Hellanicus with an inscription indicating that it was a dedication to Zeus Hellanius.

\textsuperscript{35} Pausanias, 2. 30. 4.)
and there is reason to believe that this myth is both at least as early as the 5th century and Aeginetan.36 One might pay special attention to Isth. 8. 26-7, according to which Aiakos acted as a divine arbitrator:

{o} καὶ
daimónies díkaia épíranê.

(. . . who also brought to a conclusion claims of justice for the gods)

What follows suggests that Pindar was thinking of the dispute between Zeus and Poseidon for the hand of Thetis. It is clear from this that Aiakos had the reputation of being an honest judge already in the 5th century and that the myth that he became a judge in the underworld was already current at that time. This remains true even if we follow Thomas Hubbard's attractive hypothesis that the motif of Aiakos as divine arbitrator along with the closely associated topic of the prophecy of Themis is a Pindaric innovation.37 Perhaps Aiakos was conceived of as spending alternate parts of the year in Aegina and in Hades. His arrival will have been celebrated in the Aiakeia with games and a theoxenia, which Zeus, as his father, will have been represented as attending, perhaps coming from his outpost on Mt. Hellanicus. To speculate on the movement of the procession, I would guess that a statue of Aiakos was first taken to some point outside the city, and then brought back to the Aiakeion to the accompaniment of music and song (perhaps ἐπιχώριοι ὑμνοὶ of the sort that Pausanias mentions in his account of a Sicyonian ritual that involved the carrying of a statue of Dionysus).38 Our information about Aeginetan sacred geography is insufficient to allow us to pin down the point outside the city from which the return procession would have started. One possibility would be the shrine of Zeus Hellanius on Mt. Hellanicus;39 another would be the temple of Aphaea five miles East of the main town (cf. Pindar's Prosodion in honour of Aphaea); a third starting point would perhaps be the mysterious Asopian fountain (Ἀσωπῖς κρήνη) which according to a late lexicographical source was the venue for the ἀμφορίς ἀγών, which we have independent grounds for believing was part of the Aiakeia.40 The sequence would perhaps have been: procession out, race, procession back, perhaps with the winner of the race leading the procession.41

37 T. Hubbard, "Two Notes on the Myth of Aiakos in Pindar", GRBS 28 (1987), 5ff. Support might be sought in Pa. VI, 155-6; another tradition (of unknown provenance) relating to the arbitration of Aiakos is preserved by Pausanias, 1. 39. 6: he served as an arbiter in a dispute between Sciron and Nisus son of Pandion.
38 Pausanias, 2. 7. 5: see below, appendix, section B:
39 In the apparatus I suggested ἰπέρταταν ὄνταν καὶ πᾶν, which might refer to Mt. Hellanicus; this or a similar supplement would work with other hypotheses about the starting-point.
40 See above, n. 18.
41 One might compare the Athenian Oschophoria, which had elements of procession and race, though in the reverse order: the procession (to the temple of Sciras at Phaleron) preceded the race. See I. C. Rutherford and J. A. D. Irvine, "The Race in the Athenian Oschophoria and an Oschophoricon by Pindar", ZPE 72 (1988), 43ff.
C) The Hellenistic Classification of the Poems

The contiguity of Pa. XIV and Pa. XV in the papyrus shows that these fragments are from poems that Hellenistic editors placed in the same genre (unless the papyrus was an anthology), but the genre remains uncertain. SM class them as Paeanes, apparently basing this on the fact that P.Oxy. 1792 contributes to them. However, the hypothesis that Pa. XIV-XV are from Paeanes is difficult to reconcile with the fact that they contain no reference to Apollo. One would also expect a παιάν refrain at the end of the first poem, and although we cannot rule out the possibility that line 40 ended with a short refrain of the form ἵνα ἵνα, the chances are against it. The form of the title of Pa. XV might be expected to shed light on the question: there is no parallel for it among the Paeanes, but we cannot assign it to any other specific genre either. One thing we can be reasonably sure of is that it is not the title of a Dithyrambos, because the titles of Dithyramboi seem generally to have specified mythological subject matter.

The available genres are Prosodia or Hyporchemata or even Partheneia (since the third book of the Partheneia - the κεχωρασμένα παρθένεια - seems to have contained a miscellany). In the end, we have insufficient evidence to decide between these alternatives, but I incline in favour of Prosodia on the grounds of the movement implied in the first two lines of Pa. XV. If the celebration involved the representation of a hero being drawn by horses, it would not be surprising if the chorus moved along as well, whether or not along the route I suggested above. For all we know, that might have been enough for Hellenistic editors to class the poem as a Prosodion, but it is also possible that there were further clues specifying mode of performance later on in the poem.

The fact that both poems relate to heroes may have a consequence for our knowledge of the Hellenistic classification of Pindar's poems and of the Prosodia in particular. It suggests that there was a subsection of the genre devoted to heroes, there being at least one other subsection covering gods. Since there were two books of Prosodia, the likeliest scenario would be that the first consisted of poems devoted to gods and the second of poems devoted to heroes. Alternatively, the Prosodia to heroes might have occupied the latter part of the second book.

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42 See L. Lehnus, L’ Inno a Pan di Pindaro, Testi e Documenti per lo Studio dell’ Antichita, 64 (1980), 79ff.

43 Lobel (above, n.2), 25 and 29, also seems to have inclined toward tentatively identifying the fragments as from Prosodia.

44 Two books of Prosodia are specified in two of the three lists of the works of Pindar’s works: in P.Oxy. 2438 and in the Vita Ambros. (Dr. 1. 3. 6ff.). The other list - that in the Suda (4. 133. 6ff.Adler) - does not specify that there were multiple books of any genre, and we may discount it.
It seemed useful to provide a short survey of Greek rituals involving the carrying of a statue. A full survey - which this does not claim to be - would have to take account also of non-Greek rituals, many of which are mentioned in Greek sources. I distinguish the following categories: A) rituals of purification; B) rituals involving Dionysus; C) miscellaneous rituals; and D) references to statue-carrying in literature that cannot be related to any particular ritual.

A) The first class comprises rituals involving purification, particularly when the statue is transported to the sea or to sacred water. This is found only in association with the cults of goddesses, sometimes associated with hieros gamos on the level of myth: i) the ritual described in Callimachus' Fifth Hymn, in which Athena is represented by a statue; ii) the Athenian Plynteria, in which the cult statue of Athena was carried to Phaleron every June, ritually bathed and carried back; iii) the Samian Tonaea, in honour of Hera, in which a statue of the goddess was taken down to the sea, washed and brought back. Here there was an aetiological myth attached to the rite: the statue was once stolen by pirates, but they were unable to set sail with the statue on board and they abandoned it on the shore; iv) Pausanias reports that Hera recovered her virginity every year at Canathos near Nauplia, and this myth is sometimes thought to reflect a ritual bathing of a statue; v) according to a late source a cult statue of Artemis was taken to a place called Daitis and ritually feasted by young men and women; vi) Euripides' Iphigeneia in Taurica may preserve reflexes of a ritual of a sacred washing of a cult statue of Artemis: Euripides represents Iphigenia as removing the statue on the pretext that it has been defiled and needs to be washed in the sea. Here, then, washing is a pretext for removal, whereas in the statue-washing rituals we have seen it is a preliminary to reintegration.

45 No full study exists at time of writing. Of greatest help is J. G. Frazer, Pausanias' Description of Greece II (London, 1913), 379-80; also M. Nilsson, "Die Prozessionstypen im griechischen Kult", Archäologisches Jahrbuch 31 (1916) 314-5 = Opuscula Selecta 1 (Lund, 1951), 174-5 in n. 46. Among examples of non-Greek statue-carrying rituals mentioned in a Greek source are several in Herodotus' account of Egypt (Hist. 2. 63.; also 2. 42 and 2. 48); and a Babylonian purification ritual mentioned in Lucian, De Dea Syra 33, 47 and Aelian, Nat. Anim. XII, 30 (cf. Ginouvès (below, n.46), 296ff.; this is close to the rituals grouped in category A) below).


47 See, e.g., A. W. Bulloch, Callimachus: The Fifth Hymn (Cambridge, 1985), 8-9; Ginouvès (above, n.46), 293.

48 Bulloch, (above, n.47); Fehrle (above, n.46), 171ff.; H. W. Parke, Festivals of the Athenians (London, 1977), 152ff.; Ginouvès (above, n.46), 292ff.

49 Athenaeus 15, 672e; Fehrle (above, n.46). 173ff.; Ginouvès (above, n.46), 289, n.6.

50 Pausanias 2, 38, 2-3; Ginouvès (above, n.46), 288-9. Also the evidence of Etymologicum Magnum: the priests of Hera at Argos were called Πρέσιδες either because that was the name of Hera or para τουν άρως (?) μέλλουσα, άρως θεός, αι άρωνεια τα λαυτρα, also Hesychius: Πρέσιδες: κόραι αι λαυτρα κομίζουσαι τη Ήρα; Antimachus fr. 179Wyss, col. II, 17.

51 The source is the Etymologicum Magnum s. Δαιτίς. See Fehrle (above, n.x), 174; referring to R. Heberdey, "Δαιτίς. Ein Beitrag zum ephesischen Artemiskult", JÖAI Bd.VII (1904), and Beiblat, 44 and 210ff. Ginouvès (above, n.46), 291 and n.6.

52 1039-41, 1199 etc.; Ginouvès (above, n.46), 290 and n.7.

53 The account of the removal of the statue deserves close study. I single out one detail: the messenger who reports the flight of Orestes and Iphigenia with the statue reports how Orestes carried Iphigenia on his shoulder to the ship (1379-81: κάν τιμή, δεινός γάρ κλίδων ὄφειλε ναῦν | πρῶς γήν, φόβος δ'...
could be seen as providing an aetiology for the origins of the cult statue of Artemis Tauropolos at Halae Araphenides on the East coast of Attica, and it is quite possible that it reflects an otherwise unattested statue-washing ritual reenacting the origin of the statue that took place there; vii) again, at Ancyra statues of Artemis and Athena were bathed every year even in the 5th century A.D.\textsuperscript{54} For Aphrodite we have no epigraphical evidence, though Ginouvès suggests that many depictions of Aphrodite immersed in water should be interpreted as depictions of her statue being washed.\textsuperscript{55}

\textbf{B)} The other frequently occurring class of statue-carrying rituals comprises Dionysiac rituals. i) For example, the Athenians moved the statue of Dionysus Eleuthereus out of its proper sanctuary in Athens to a small temple of Dionysus in the Academeia and back before the Great Dionysia;\textsuperscript{56} ii) according to Pausanias the citizens of Patrae brought three images of Dionysus (Mesateus, Antheus, Aroeus) into the theatre to the temple of Dionysus Aesymnetes once a year;\textsuperscript{57} iii) according to Pausanias the Sicyonians brought two images of Dionysus (Baccheius and Lysius) from the ΚΟΣΜΗΘΒΡΙΟΝ to the temple of Dionysus, accompanying them with torches and "local hymns" (διμων ἐπὶ χορών);\textsuperscript{58} iv) a Methymnan inscription talks about the "carrying around" (περιφορά) of a statue of Dionysus;\textsuperscript{59} v) we hear of a statue-carrying ritual involving Dionysus Theophantus on Delos;\textsuperscript{60} vi) many statues of Dionysus were carried in the great procession organised by Ptolemy Philadelphus.\textsuperscript{61}

What is the significance of the fact that such a high proportion of statue-carrying rites have to do with cults of Dionysus? It may be connected with the fact that Dionysus thought of as a god who arrived from the outside, and this arrival is symbolically commemorated in this way.\textsuperscript{62}

\textsuperscript{54} A. Brinkmann, \textit{RM} 60 (1905), 160; referring to P. Franchi de’ Cavalieri, \textit{Martirium di S. Theodorus e di S. Ariadne con un appendice sul testo originale del martirium di S. Eleutherio} (Rome, 1901, = Studi e testi 6); Ginouvès (above, n.46) 291 and n.11.

\textsuperscript{55} Ginouvès (above, n.46), 294ff. Note the Roman Veneralia, on which Ovid, \textit{Fasti} 4, 136-9.

\textsuperscript{56} Pausanias I, 29, 2; Philostratus, \textit{V.S.} 2, 1, 5; IG ii\textsuperscript{2}, 1011, 1. See J. G. Frazer, \textit{Pausanias’ Description of Greece} II (London, 1913), 379-80

\textsuperscript{57} Pausanias 7, 21, 6

\textsuperscript{58} Pausanias 2, 7, 5.

\textsuperscript{59} S. Reinach, "Inscription de Methymna", \textit{BCH} 7 (1883), 37ff. : ... πρὸ τάς τῶ ἀγάλματος περιφοράς.

\textsuperscript{60} I G xi2161A, discussed by Bruneau (above, n.30), 198ff. (Artemis) and 249ff. (Hera)

\textsuperscript{61} Athenaeus 197c-203b = Kallixenus of Rhodes \textit{FGrH} 637F2; see the exemplary study of E. E. Rice, \textit{The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus} (Oxford, 1983).

C) A number of other statue-carrying rituals fall outside these two groups:

1) Movement of a statue was also part of the festival of Artemis Limnatis at Mesoa near Patrae in Achaea. This case seems to reenact the original arrival of the statue: it had been taken from Patrae to Mesoa by one Preugenes, so in being brought back to Patrae once a year it was brought back to its real home. We are reminded of the aetiology of the Samian Tonaea, although in this case we are not told of any ritual washing.

2) One of the best examples is the movement of the statue of Zeus Panamaros from his temple at Panamara to and from Stratonicea on the occasion of the great festival of Zeus known as the Panamaracea. The statue was carried on horses, which were sacrificed at the festival, and the return journey, to which special sacred significance seems to have attached, seems to have been called the ἄναβασις or ἀνόδος. In this case it seems the statue was moved to take part in the festival, which was at Stratonicea. One can compare the case of Artemis Limnatis above. Since Stratonicea was a Seleucid foundation, there must be a good chance that the festival is not pre-Hellenistic.

3) A problem case is the festival of the Lesser and Greater Daedala, described by Pausanias and other literary sources. The lesser Daedala involved the manufacture of a wooden statue of Hera from an oak tree which had been selected by crows. Pausanias is not clear how often it took place - every six years or less. The Greater Daedala took place every 57 years, by which time 14 statues had accumulated. These were assigned to different communities participating in the ritual, who assembled together at the river Asopus (presumably in Plataea?). Each was carried onto a wagon together with a young woman and the wagons were drawn across the river to the summit of Mt. Cithaeron. There a great sacrifice took place in which the statues were burnt. A number of factors suggested to Ginouvès that this was another purificatory ritual: the presence of the river, the fact that a female divinity is involved, and the fact that the aetiology of the festival associates it with hieros gamos. But the differences are as striking as the parallels - the fact that the daidala are not normal cult statues and that they are consumed in the festival. I think it probably belongs in the second category.

4) Mention should also be made of some possible references to the carrying of the statues of gods in the Linear B tablets. In two Knossos tablets we find the word te-o-po-ri-ja (KN Ga 1058 + 5671 and KN Od 696), which is usually interpreted as a form of the word that was later represented as qe-fo-re-va (cf. M. Chadwick, Documents in Mycenaean Greek [Cambridge, 1973] 585). The context is quite unclear, as is the identity of the gods involved, but the likeliest hypothesis must be that the tablets refer to a ritual involving the carrying of statues.

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63 Pausanias 7, 20, 8. For other examples, see Frazer ad. loc., referring to BCH 8 (1883), 37ff; Pickard-Cambridge, Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy 2, 60; S. Goldhill, "The City Dionysia and Civic Ideology", JHS 107 (1987), 59.

64 See J. Hanslik-Andrée, in RE s. Panamara, 453-4; H. Oppermann, Zeus Panamaros (Giessen, 1924), 72ff. Oppermann argues against an earlier suggestion (J. Schaefer, De Jove apud Cares culto (Halle, 1912) 425, M. Nilsson, Griechische Feste (1906) 29) that the ἀνόδος/ἀνάβασις took place during the Komyria, a festival of Zeus Komyros held yearly at Panamara, and that it was a movement within the περίβολος of Zeus. See also F. Sokolowski, Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineur (Paris, 1955), nn.67-9.


66 Ginouvès (above, n.46), who seems to think of a purification ritual.
D) My fourth category consists of references to statue-carrying that cannot be related to any particular ritual. Here I only have one example: Sophocles seems to have used the word ἡξανθήσθαι, apparently of gods leaving Troy when it became clear that the city was about to fall, carrying their own statues. Our source suggests that this was the title of a play, and it is easy to imagine that the burlesque topic of the gods leaving Troy with their own statues could have formed the topic of a satyr-drama.67

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67 The evidence is a scholion on Aeschylus Septem 304: εἴρηται δὲ καὶ ἐν ξοανθήσθαι Σοφι, κλέους ὡς θεοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Τήλου φέροντες ἐπὶ τῶν ὄμων τὰ ἑαυτῶν ξίναν, εἰδότες ὅτι αὐτοὶ λυκέται. F. G. Welcker, Die griechischen Tragödien mit Rücksicht auf den epischen Cyclus (1839-41), 661ff., followed by S. Radt, Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta IV, 374, rejected the idea that this could have been the title of a play and suggested that the text of the scholion is corrupt and that the phrase θεοὶ ξοανθήσθαι might have occurred in a play by Sophocles, perhaps with reference to the story that when Troy fell the gods would leave carrying their statues, comparing a scholion on Aeschylus Septem 217: λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι ὅταν ἔμειλε πορθήματι ἡ Τροία, ἔφαγαν οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀνελόμεναι ἐκ τῶν ναῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα αὐτῶν. If so, the use of the word by Sophocles might indicate that statues were carried in cult in the 5th century B.C. The fragment is helpfully discussed by Donohue (above, n.30), 69ff., 16ff., who thinks that the ξίναν implied may not even be statues but musical instruments, as in Sophocles fr. 238, which seems unnecessarily circumspect.