

IAN RUTHERFORD

*FOR THE AEGINETANS TO AIAKOS A PROSODION: AN UNNOTICED TITLE AT  
PINDAR, PAEAN 6, 123, AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE POEM*

aus: Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 118 (1997) 1–21

© Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, Bonn





130 ῥόθια δεκομένα κατερεῖς,  
 πόθεν ἔλαβες ναυπρύτανιν  
 6 δαίμονα καὶ τὰν θεμίξινον ἀρετῆαν.

123: Rutherford: γάρ ἐστι Σ Hom., γ' ἔνεσσι Grenfell and Hunt, Radt

(For, island ruling the Dorian sea, you are famous in name, bright star of Zeus Hellanius. For that reason we shall not lay you to rest without a feast of paeans, but you will receive waves of song and declare from where you received that ship-guiding fortune and virtue consisting in justice to guests.)

This address leads into an account of the birth of Aiakos, son of Aegina and Zeus (Aiakos has no direct link with Delphi), and a genealogy of the Aiakidai. Although much of the third triad is lost, the Aiakidai are still the subject near the end, and it seems likely that the whole triad was concerned with them, even the difficult final lines:

τῶν γε δο[ρικτ]ύπων[ . . . ]ειν ἀπείρονας ἀρετᾶς  
 Αἰακ[ιδ]ᾶν· φ[ιλ]εῖτε  
 . . . ]ι πόλιν πατρίαν, φι-  
 λείτε ]δ' εὐφ[ρον]α λαόν  
 180 τόνδε καὶ στεφάνοισί νιν  
 παν]θαλέος ὑγιε[ίας] σκιάζετε· Μοισᾶν  
 ἐπαβόλοντ[α] πολλάκι, Παιάν, δέ-  
 ξ' ἔννομων ἐ[νοπ]ῆαν.

|| 177 Αἰακ[ιδ]ᾶν Turyn || 178 Sn || 180 D'Alessio, στεφάνοισί from Σ, νοισι παν POxy 841, νιν POxy 841<sup>m</sup> : omitted by POxy 841<sup>1</sup>, perhaps also by PSI 147 || 181 πανθαλέος D'Alessio : πᾶν GH || ἐπαβόλοντ[α] Ferrari (from PSI 147): -λέοντ[ι] Sn || 183 ἐννόμωνθι or ε[ PSI 147, ῆαν POxy 841 | ἐ[νοπ]ῆαν Ferrari: θ[αλί]αν or θ[υσί]αν Snell.

(. . . spear-sounding . . . measureless virtues of the Aiakidai. Love your native city, love this kind people and cover them with garlands of all-blooming health. Receive, Paian, one who often has a share of the lawful songs of the Muses.)

In the immediate context of the Aiakidai, the city and people being mentioned would most naturally be those of Aegina, and the deictic pronoun τόνδε (recently restored here by D'Alessio) strongly suggests that the Aeginetans are present in the performance, if they are not the performers themselves.<sup>3</sup>

One link between the first two triads and the third undeniably exists, in so far as Neoptolemus was an Aiakid, so that the third triad could be thought to expand on the second, by providing background. It has also been postulated that the aetiology of the Delphic Theoxenia was presented in the poem as parallel to, and perhaps related to, the myth of Aiakos and the great drought.<sup>4</sup> But in the end, these explanations seem insufficient to explain why a poem performed by, or at least dedicated to, the Delphians included such an extensive encomium of Aegina and the Aiakids.

Scholars have resorted to other explanations. Farnell tried to link this with the well-known ancient tradition that the version of the death of Neoptolemus included in Paeon 6 offended the Aeginetans, and that Pindar wrote Nemean 7 as an apology.<sup>5</sup> He suggested that the original paeon (of two triads?) had offended the Aeginetans, and that Pindar added the third triad to mollify them. Farnell's approach has found few supporters.

<sup>3</sup> See D'Alessio/Ferrari, 1988, 163; also D'Alessio, 1994, 117–140

<sup>4</sup> References in Radt, 1958, 89–90.

<sup>5</sup> Farnell, 1930, 1. 313, 2. 408, argued for a later addition of the third triad in this way. The ancient evidence for the apology hypothesis: Σ *Nem.* 7. 48 (Dr. 3. 126. 8ff.), attributed to Aristarchus; Σ *Nem.* 7. 64 (Dr. 3. 129. 4), anonymous; Σ *Nem.* 7. 103 (Dr. 3. 137. 3ff.), attributed to Aristodemus, the pupil of Aristarchus. Modern discussions of the apology hypothesis: Lloyd-Jones, 1973, 128 (= 1990, 139), with full bibliography; Heath, 1993, 169ff.



theory that the lines are in the wrong place, neither next to the description of Neoptolemus killing Priam (113–4, in the following column; this is introduced afterwards as an explanation for why Neoptolemus failed to return), nor near the description of the death of Neoptolemus (117ff., also in the next column). There is room for a new approach.

I want to suggest that these lines are in fact not an ordinary scholion at all, but a title, introducing the third triad at line 123, that is they refer to the column of text on their immediate right, not the one some way to the left. My starting point is Diehl's supplement Αἰγ[υ]νή[τα]ις. *Prima facie* the dative plural is exactly the syntactic form that we find in the titles of Paeans and similar genres of lyric poetry, which usually have the structure:

Dative Plural (performers or dedicatees) + εἰς + place of performance or addressee

One example is the title at the start of Paean 6, cited earlier; another is the title of a Paean by Simonides, PMG 519 fr. 35(b): Ἀνδρῶν εἰς Πυθῶ.<sup>10</sup> In both these cases, the noun after εἰς is a place; in other cases it was a divinity or hero, as in the title of a Pindaric poem in honour of Aiakos: Αἰγυγήταις εἰς Αἰακόν ("Paean XV" in Snell–Maehler; despite their classification, the poem is more likely to be a Prosodion than a Paean).<sup>11</sup>

Furthermore, while the lines are in an unusual but not impossible position for a scholion on the previous column,<sup>12</sup> they are in exactly the right place for a title, immediately below the remnants of the coronis; we may compare the position of the title at the start of the poem; in both cases, the lower tip of the coronis terminates just above the penultimate letter of the first line of the title.

A further point is that the script of this scholion is different from that of the surrounding scholia; the explanatory scholia in this section of the papyrus are in two hands, one more regular (Grenfell and Hunt's S<sub>1</sub>), the other more rapid (Grenfell and Hunt's S<sub>2</sub>). But even the more regular of these hands is smaller and more rapid than the leisurely script of this "scholion", which Grenfell and Hunt class with one of the hands used for textual diorthoseis, "H<sub>2</sub>" in their terminology. It is also to H<sub>2</sub> that Grenfell and Hunt assign the hand of the title at the start of the poem. Thus, to judge from the script, the "scholion at line 108" is not a normal scholion and could well be a title. Notice, however, that although the H<sub>2</sub> of the title at the start of the poem and the H<sub>2</sub> of the "scholion on line 108" are similar in size and style, they are not identical; for possible implications of the difference, see p. 20.<sup>13</sup>

In the one other case in the papyrus where the start of a poem survives, it was marked by an asterisk.<sup>14</sup> In the case of the passage we are concerned with, the area where the asterisk would have occurred if this was marked up as the start of a poem is mostly lost. What does survive is a remnant of a horizontal line above and to the left of the lower part of the coronis (not reproduced in Grenfell and Hunt's transcription). It is very difficult to see what this could be if not right stroke of an asterisk, indicating that some ancient commentator took this as the beginning of a poem.<sup>15</sup>

Thus, I would suggest that the three lines of commentary should be supplemented as a title:

<sup>10</sup> Rutherford, 1990, 176–7. But there are many others among the miscellaneous fragments of Pindar.

<sup>11</sup> See Rutherford, 1992; Αἰγυγή[ταις] also occurs as part of a title in POxy. 2442, fr. 86 = Pindar, "Paean XXII(h)" (true genre uncertain).

<sup>12</sup> Parallels for a scholion which starts a long way to the right of the text and continues pretty well up to the next column include those on Paean 2, 37b, 55, 57, 63 and on Paean 6, 134.

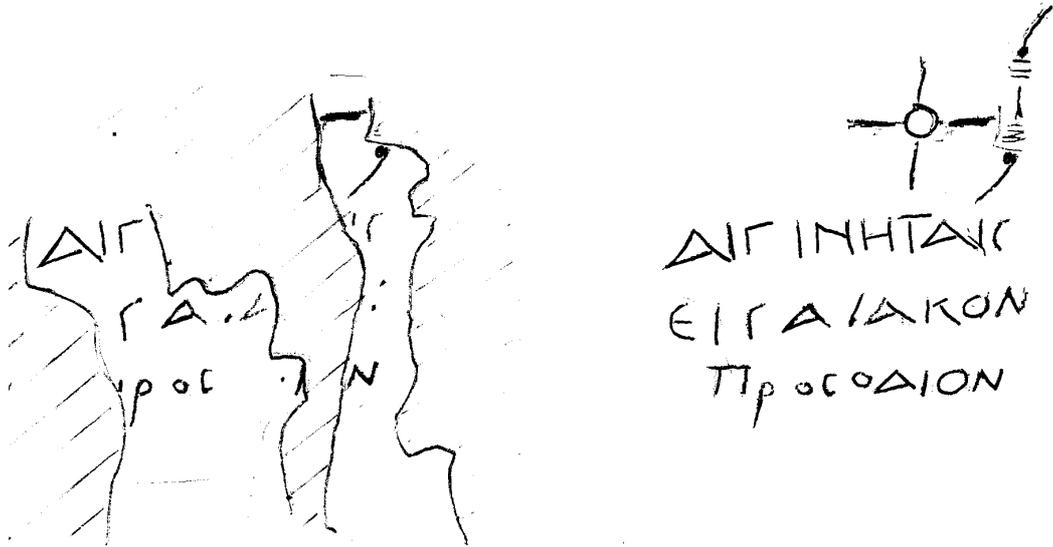
<sup>13</sup> Grenfell and Hunt, 1908, pp. 15–6

<sup>14</sup> The function of the asterisk in lyric poems is discussed by Hephaestion, *Peri Semeion* 74.8–14 (to indicate change of metre in the Aristophanic edition of Alcaeus, end of poem in the Aristarchan); it is discussed in Turner, 1987, 13, n. 62; McNamee, 1992, 25; R. L. Fowler, "Reconstructing the Cologne Alcaeus", *ZPE* 33, 1979, 28; Fowler reports an asterisk at the end of a triad in the papyrus of Stesichorus, Geryoneis, POxy. 2617, f. 1a12 = SLG S11, but this is analysed by K. McNamee (above), 20, as a form of χρ.

<sup>15</sup> The position is even better if, as I conclude on the basis of the recto, the fragments containing the title are placed too high in the frame by about 5 mm. The change in position would bring the horizontal in the *asteriskos* exactly in line with that at Paean 6, 1 (i.e. just above line 1 of the poem).

Αἰγινήταις  
εἰς Αἰακῶν  
προσόδιον

(For the Aeginetans in honour of Aiakos a prosodion)



The use of a generic term such as “prosodion” seems natural in a title.<sup>16</sup> We do not find παιάν in the title of paeans in this papyrus, but there it is assumed that all the poems are paeans. In exceptional circumstances, it probably was the practice to specify the purported genre of a poem in a title, as for example in the case of the paean in *Paean VIIIb(a)*, where we find the phrase παιάν εἰς . . .<sup>17</sup>

The second line of the commentary has been read by editors as ]σασα]. Of the third letter, all that survives is a small hook on the line, which would be compatible with an iota; the small size of the space between the two alphas rules out most letters. In the usual pattern of titles, the second element immediately following the dative plural is a formula introduced by the preposition εἰς specifying the place of performance or the deity or hero. Hence, we might provisionally restore εἰς Ἄσα], except that Ἄσα] defies interpretation. As an alternative, I would like to suggest that Ἄϊακων should be read. The wording of the title finds an exact parallel in the marginal title of Pindar, “Paean XV”: Αἰγινήταις εἰς Αἰακῶν. And dedication to Aiakos suits the subject matter of the third triad of Paean 6, which (at least in the surviving strophe) is concerned with the birth of Aiakos. All that remains of the third letter is a small diagonal stroke on the line, moving from bottom left to top right; this stroke could indicate a sigma, which is what Grenfell and Hunt read and Radt confirmed. But equally the trace it is not incompatible with an iota, and in fact it can be paralleled in one of the iotas in the title at the start of Paean 6

<sup>16</sup> The only difficulty in this reading is the Δ. To the left of the I, half way up, there is a small mark, less than the thickness of a stroke. This is not where we would expect the right angle of the Δ. The problem is alleviated slightly if we allow that the I may protrude slightly below the line, as elsewhere in scholia. Furthermore, there are occasional cases elsewhere in the papyrus, particularly in the scholia, where the right angle of a Δ is higher than the line; examples include Πανδωρον in Paean 5, 45, a particularly good example (and the script is similar too, although Grenfell and Hunt class this as H3); Ἄβδ[ in fr. 5 (from Paean 2; δε at Σ Paean 2, 75, δο in Σ Paean 2, 43; also δυν- in Σ Paean 2, 32 and 33. Another excellent parallel is the same word in POxy. 2442, fr. 94 (as G. B. D’Alessio draws to my attention). There is a good parallel in POxy. 852, a papyrus of Euripides’ *Hypsipyle* [= Turner, 1987, 33].

<sup>17</sup> On this title, see Rutherford, 1991a, 5–8. D’Alessio in D’Alessio/Ferrari, 1988, 169, n. 29, restores the title of Paean to say: Θεβαίους εἰς Πτώιον προσοδίακός; προσόδιον would also be a possibility: cf. Wilamowitz (1922), 187.

(Δελφοῦς).<sup>18</sup> The small size of the space between the two alphas is also a factor in favour of restoring an iota here.<sup>19</sup>

This three-part title (dative plural; εἰς + noun; genre) can be compared to the description of the prosodion of Eumelus in Pausanias (PMG 767):

καὶ οἱ καὶ ᾄσμα πεποιημένον ἐστὶ προσόδιον ἐς Δῆλον τοῖς ἐπ' Εὐρίπω Χαλκιδεῦσι.

(Also a song was composed by him, a prosodion in honour of Delos for the Chalcidians on the Euripos)

The only difference is that in this case the three elements are in reverse order.

The three erased lines underneath the title perhaps contained a short discussion of the apparent inconsistency of the fact that the same triad occurs in a paean and in a prosodion. It seems acceptable that a comment about the title should be written immediately below it rather than to the right.

#### B. The Scholion on Paeon 6, line 124

There is something inherently improbable both in the idea of a second title occurring in the middle of a poem, and in that of a title in the middle of a paean referring to a prosodion. Before I try to explain how this situation might have arisen, it is necessary to consider a second scholion. This is the scholion to line 124, the second line of the third triad, situated (as scholia always are) to the right of the text. The handwriting is more formal than those of other explanatory scholia, and more like that of diorthoseis (H<sub>2</sub> in the terminology of Grenfell and Hunt).

ἐν τῷ . [ . ] . [ ] . πρ[ . . . . ] . ν φέρεται

after τῷ apparently a gap before the next letter | before first [ , εἰ, οἱ, αἱ | after first ] perhaps ω | after second ], ι, ν | ἐν τῷ π[ό]ντῳ π[ρ]ότερον φέρεται Diehl, ἐν τῷ π[ό]ντῳ τὸ π[ρ]ωτεῖον φέρεται Snell.

Diehl and following him Snell took the scholion as an exegesis of the metaphorical expression in lines 123–4, commenting on Aegina's prominent position in the Dorian sea. But their supplements were infelicitous, especially since the letter after τῷ is unlikely to be a π. More likely, this could be an example of an idiom found in the language of literary scholia and commentaries (as Grenfell and Hunt suggested and Radt endorsed), where the verb φέρεται, can mean “is transmitted” or “appears”, used of authorship of works, texts, and variant readings; a factor in support of this interpretation is that in this application, φέρεται is often found in construction with ἐν + the copy, work or group of works in which the text or reading is transmitted.<sup>20</sup>

After I developed the hypothesis about the title described in section A), I speculated that this scholion might include a reference to a πρ[ο]σόδιον. I began with the hypothesis that it began with some such formula as ἐν τῷ Θέωνος (“in the edition of Theon”);<sup>21</sup> we could restore the name of some scholar known to have worked on Pindar's Paeans, such as Aristonicus:

ἐν τῷ Ἀ[ρι]στο[ν]ικ[ο]ῦ πρ[ο]σόδιον φέρεται

(In the edition of Aristonicus it is transmitted as a prosodion)

<sup>18</sup> Cf. also the iota in Σ line 180: στεφάνοισι νιν, which seems to be in a very similar hand. Some iotas in the hooked hand of Paeon 8a and Paeon 9 are also comparable, as is one of the iotas in just below line 124: ἐν Αἰγίνη.

<sup>19</sup> Another possibility is εἰς Αἰακίδας (favoured by G. Howie), though we would have to assume that the last letter has disappeared without leaving any trace; also, we would expect the title to relate to a cult, but we know of no cult of the Aiakidai. The supplement εἰς Ἀφαίαν is ruled out on palaeographic grounds.

<sup>20</sup> Grenfell and Hunt, 1908, 99; Radt, 1958, 174; see LSJ, s.v. A. VIII. Examples are listed in section C below, including many with ἐν. From POxy. 841, cf. fr. 95.5: ἔν τισι μεταλ, where we might perhaps restore ἐν τισι μεταλγέγραπται (in some copies the reading is changed).

<sup>21</sup> For the construction, see the Σ at Alcman, PMGF 3, fr. 1 (POxy. 2387, fr. 1), cited on p. 20 below.

That might mean either that the poem appeared in Aristonicus' (?) edition of the Paeans, with the third triad marked off as a prosodion; or that the third triad appeared independently in Aristonicus' (?) edition of the *Prosodia*.

An objection to this interpretation of the scholion might be, what would be the point of such a comment if the editor of this text has in fact decided to give the third triad the title "prosodion"? It is a valid objection. It might be answered by the reflection that the comment was added first by one ancient copyist and the title later by another, or perhaps the comment is meant to explain the title: "This title should not be taken as of absolute value, but rather an indication that Aristonicus (?) classes the third triad as a prosodion".

Subsequently, Giovan Battista D'Alessio sent me an improved supplement:

ἐν τῷ ᾠ [τ]ῶν προσοδίῳν φέρεται

(It is transmitted in the first book of the *Prosodia*)

The omega in τῶν seems to suit the gap better, and to be confirmed by a trace of a letter on the papyrus which could come from the left loop of the omega. The space after τῷ suits a numeral,<sup>22</sup> and the surviving left hand edge of a loop suits ᾠ better than β̄.<sup>23</sup> With either numeral, this supplement implies that the commentator believes that in the standard editions of Pindar the third triad appeared as a *Prosodion*. One advantage of this supplement is that it does not leave us asking why the commentator has added the title; rather it implies that the force of the scholion was to explain the title by saying that this part of the poem occurred independently in the *Prosodia*.

So far, we have an attractive speculation, but no proof. It independently occurred to both me and D'Alessio that fr. 108 of the papyrus might belong here.

verso



recto



Grenfell and Hunt restored the verso like this:

προσοδι[  
]  
] . ν

The first line could well come from the lacuna in the scholion on line 124. In early September of 1996 D'Alessio, working from microfilm, managed to establish that the fragment did indeed belong here by examination of the census list on the reverse of the papyrus (the "recto"). The recto of fr. 108 has:

Ἡρακλῆ[  
]σ[

This completes the name Ἡρακλῆης and below it Ὀρῶς which had earlier been read at this point in the census-list.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> For the gap on either side of the numeral, cf. the practice in the Berlin papyrus of Didymus, e.g. col. 12, 47–8: ENTHI Δ ΤΩΝΠΕΡΙΑΥΤΟΝΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΩΝ. Also ΜΕΛΩΝ ᾠ in POxy. 1231, fr. 56 = Turner, 1987, 17b. Comparable also is POxy. 841, fr. 94: τῷ ἰ (The letter "i"), where there is a gap after the definite article.

<sup>23</sup> Two books: Dr. 1. 3. 71; POxy. 2438, 36; number of books not mentioned in Suda 4. 133. 6

<sup>24</sup> AR5, 13–4 = line 52 in Bagnall/Frier/Rutherford, forthcoming, 34.

Ἡρακλῆς (Παυφώ(ι)τος) τοῦ Ἀρτεμίδωρου (μητρὸς) Θερμούθου(ι)ος . . . [ . . . ] . [ Ὀρος ἀδελφὸς [ . . . ] . . . . . [ ἔτῳ]

(Herakles son of Pauphois son of Artemidorus, and of the mother Thermouthis . . . . Horos his brother . . . of x years)

The traces in the third line of the verso of fr. 108 also fit exactly, matching the nu and alpha of [ἐ]ν Αἰ[γ]ίνῃ in the scholion on line 125:

ἱερόν Διὸς Ἑλλ[ληνίου] [ἐ]ν Αἰ[γ]ίνῃ ὅπου συνελθόντες . [ εὔξα[ν]το περὶ τοῦ αὐχμοῦ

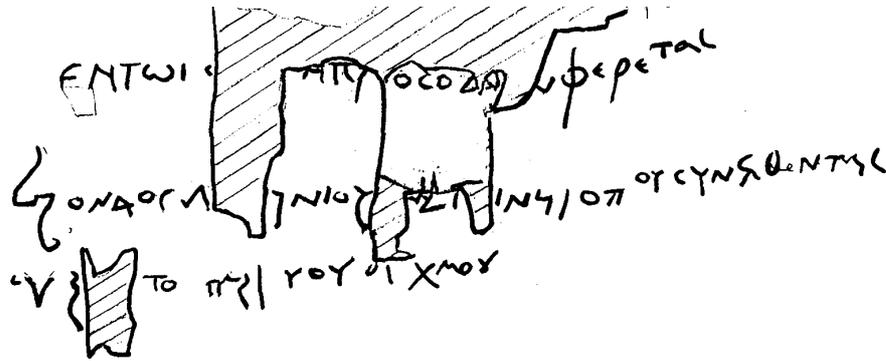
(The temple of Zeus Hellanius in Aegina where coming together they prayed concerning the drought)

I was able to confirm the position of fr. 108 by direct examination of the papyrus. So the scholion ends up looking like this:

ἐν τῷ ᾧ [τ]ῶν προσοδί[ω]ν φέρεται

D'Alessio's brilliant connection makes it certain that the subject of the scholion was the προσόδιον.

*Scholia on lines 124–6 (with fr. 108 included)*



*Scholion on line 124 restored*

ΕΝ ΤΩ ᾧ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣΟΔΙΩΝ ΦΕΡΕΤΑΙ

A sceptic might still claim that the subject of φέρεται might be not the triad, but a word in its opening lines or perhaps a phrase or metaphorical expression (for examples, see C below). The answer to this objection is: surely in that case we would expect the word or expression to be specified.<sup>25</sup> Since no such specification appears, it seems more likely that the reference is the triad as a whole, and that the scholion picks up and explains the title on the left hand side of the column. (This special editorial function is perhaps one reason that the style of handwriting used in the scholion is more formal than in other scholia, and more like the formal hands of the diorthoses and the title at the start of Paeon 6).

<sup>25</sup> It is in fact so specified in some of the examples listed in C) below, e.g. POxy. 874 (example ii under heading c), where a whole line of the text of Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* (3. 269) is repeated at the bottom of the column with ἐν τ(ισιν) οὕτως φέρεται next to it.

## C. The critical applications of φέρεται

In the previous section I referred to the use of the verb φέρεται to mean “is transmitted”. It may be helpful at this point in the argument to present a short survey of some of the specific functions with which it used.<sup>26</sup>

a) It is used of the ascription of works to authors. We find it used of forensic oratory, as in i) Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Dinarcho* 11 (1. 317. 3–4), of the *Kata Demosthenous Paranomon*:

οὗτος ἐν τοῖς Περγαμηνοῖς πίναξι φέρεται ὡς Καλλικράτους. ἐγὼ δ', εἰ μὲν ἐκείνου ἐστίν, οὐκ οἶδα . . . (In the *Pinakes* at Pergamum this is transmitted under the name of Callicrates. I do not know whether it is really his work . . .).

Compare the rare active form in ii) *De Dinarcho*, c. 10 (1. 312. 1) = Callimachus fr. 444.<sup>27</sup>

Δημόσιοι λόγοι γνήσιοι (sc. Dinarchi) . . . Κατὰ Θεοκρίνου ἔνδειξις· τοῦ πατρός, ᾧ ἄνδρες· τοῦτον Καλλίμαχος ἐν τοῖς Δημοσθένους φέρει (Genuine public orations: the indictment against Theocrines, beginning: “Of the father, men . . .”. This speech Callimachus classes among those of Demosthenes).

Do these passages suggest that the word occurred in the library catalogues of Alexandria and Pergamum?<sup>28</sup> We find similar idioms used of works of comedy, e.g. iii) in Athenaeus, *Deip.* 3. 127c of Antiphanes' *Anteia* (fr. 36 K.–A.)

τὸ δ' αὐτὸ δρᾶμα φέρεται καὶ ὡς Ἀλέξιδος (PCG II p. 30) ἐν ὀλίγοις σφόδρα διαλλάττον (The same drama is transmitted under the name of Alexis, differing in very few cases.)

So Athenaeus, 3. 123b of the *Aleiptria* of Antiphanes (fr. 26 K.–A.), and id. 14.642d of the *Homoia* of Alexis (fr. 168 K.–A.). The idiom is used also of prose works, such as:

iv) Athenaeus, 6. 273c (of the *On Pleasure* of Chamaeron)

τὸ δ' αὐτὸ βιβλίον καὶ ὡς Θεοφράστου φέρεται (The same book is transmitted as the work of Theophrastus);

or v) Galen, *Περὶ δυσπνοίας* 7. 960.3 K (= id. *Εἰς τὸ περὶ χυμῶν Ἰπποκράτους ὑπόμνημα* 16.3.9–10 K):<sup>29</sup>

. . . ὅσα δοκεῖ μὲν Εὐρυφῶντος εἶναι, φέρεται δ' ἐν τοῖς Ἰπποκράτους (. . . [works] which seem to be by Euryphon [of Cnidus], but are transmitted in the works of Hippocrates)

or vi) *Suda*, 2. 691. 4–5

Θεμιστογένης, Συρακούσιος, ἱστορικός. Κύρου ἀνάβασις, ἣτις ἐν τοῖς Ξενοφῶντος φέρεται (Themistogenes, Syracusian, an historian. The *Anabasis* of Cyrus, which is transmitted among the works of Xenophon)

<sup>26</sup> No convenient survey of these uses seems to exist. Related constructions are discussed in McNamee, 1977, 90ff. (οὕτως . . .) and 92ff. (ἐν τισι).

<sup>27</sup> For Callimachus' κρίσις of Demosthenes: M. J. Lossau, *Untersuchungen zur antiken Demosthenesexegese. Palingenesia* 2, Bad Homburg, 1964, 81–2; A. A. Anastassiou, *Zur antiken Wertschätzung der Beredsamkeit des Demosthenes*, Diss. Kiel, 1966, 83 n. 3; R. Blum, *Kallimachos. The Alexandrian Library and the Origins of Bibliography*, tr. H. H. Wellisch, Wisconsin, 1991, 159.

<sup>28</sup> Many similar instances occur in discussions of the Attic orators in Photius' *Bibliotheca*, in some cases in passages attributed to Caecilius of Caleacte: of Aeschines at Bibl. 61. 20a9 (attributed to Caecilius of Caleacte: fr. 127 Ofenloch); of Antiphon at Bibl. 259.486a1 (attributed to Caecilius: not included in fr. 103 Ofenloch, strangely), of Isocrates at Bibl. 260.486b5; of Lysias at Bibl. 262.488b14; at Demosthenes at Bibl. 265.490b42; of Dinarchus at Bibl. 267.496a40.

<sup>29</sup> Test. 7 in H. Grensemann, *Knidische Medizin* v. 1 (Berlin, 1975), 11.

This citation alludes to the tradition, emanating from Xenophon, *Hell.* 3. 1. 2, that the author of the *Anabasis* was not Xenophon but Themistogenes.<sup>30</sup>

In several of these cases (i) and v), perhaps iv) and vi) φέρεται is used of an attribution which the writer believes to be false.

b) Alternatively, φέρεται can refer to transmission of a passage in a book. Sometimes it is used when a text appears twice: either when it appears twice in books by different authors, as in i) Athenaeus, 15. 671d (of 243 K.–A.), a fragment of the *Sleep* of Alexis

τὰ αὐτὰ ἱαμβεῖα φέρεται καὶ παρὰ Ἀντιφάνει ἐν Ὑπνω (The same iambics are transmitted also in Antiphanes in his *Sleep* (cf. PCG 2 p. 437);

or when it appears twice in books of the same author, as in ii) Athenaeus, 8. 340c, of lines of Alexis' *Phaedo* or *Phaedrias* (fr. 249 K.–A.)

τὰ αὐτὰ ἱαμβεῖα φέρεται κἀν τῇ ἐπιγραφομένῃ Εἰς τὸ φρέαρ (fr. 87 K.–A.) (The same iambics are transmitted also in the so-called *Into The Well*)

Another case is iii) the hypothesis to the Ps. Hesiodic *Shield*:

Τῆς Ἀσπίδος ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ Καταλόγῳ φέρεται μέχρι στίχων ν' καὶ ς'. (The start of the *Shield* is transmitted in the fourth Catalogue, up to line 56)

In this case the second transmission is attested at *Catalogue of Women* fr. 195. φέρομαι can also be used of the position or classification of a text in an author's works, even when it only occurs once, as in iv) the hypothesis to Pindar, *Nemean* 9 (3. 150.3 Dr.):

διὸ κεχωρισμένα φέρονται (referring to Nemeans 9–11) (For which reason they are transmitted as separate)

Slightly different is v) Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Thuc.* 42 (1. 398.8ff.):

ὑπὲρ ἀπάσας δὲ τὰς ἐν ταῖς ἑπτὰ βύβλοις φερομένας (sc. δημηγορίας) τὴν Πλαταιέων ἀπολογία τεθαύμακα . . . (Beyond all the speeches transmitted in the seven books I admire the defence of the Plataeans . . .)

Here the speeches are spoken of as if independent works. Again, φέρομαι can also be used of the transmission of a text in a collection, as in vi) Diogenes Laertius, 1. 90, referring to Cleoboulos:

φέρεται αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς Παμφίλης Ὑπομνήμασι καὶ αἰνίγμα τοῖον (Also the *Hypomnemata* of Pamphile is transmitted this riddle [FHG 3. 521])

Here may belong vii) a scholion on Euripides, *Troades* 1051:

ὁ στίχος οὗτος ἐν παροιμίαις φέρεται (This verse is transmitted among proverbs)

Was this a collection of proverbs like the *Menandri Sententiae*?<sup>31</sup> or is this just a way of saying that the line has the status of a proverb?

c) Often φέρεται is used of textual variants, when different readings are transmitted in different editions, as in i) PMG 608, line 16, a hypomnema on Simonides:

φέρεται [δὲ καὶ] ἄλλη γραφή . . . (Another reading is also transmitted . . .);

<sup>30</sup> On Themistogenes, see Malcolm Maclaren, "Xenophon and Themistogenes", *TAPA* 65, 1934, 240–247; W. Speyer, *Die literarische Fälschung im heidnischen und christlichen Altertum; ein Versuch ihrer Deutung* (Munich, 1971) [= *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, 1. Abt., 2. T.], 30.

<sup>31</sup> The *Menandri Sententiae* (see the edition of S. Jaekel, Leipzig, 1964), contains some lines of Euripides but not *Troades* 1051. But, as David Bain points out, one would expect παροιμίαις to be qualified in some way.

Another example is found in ii) *POxy.* 874, a text of Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 3. 263–271, where an alternative version of line 269 seems to have been written beneath the line, with the following comment.<sup>32</sup>

ἐν τ(ισιν) οὔ(τως) φέρετ(αι) (In some copies it is transmitted thus);

Another example iii) is *POxy.* 2737, fr. A i. 11, a hypomnema on a lost play of Aristophanes (fr. 590, 11 K.–A.)

οἱ φ. τὸ λοιπὸν | τοῦ στίχου (The rest of the verse is not transmitted)

Many other instances of this use occur, often in the scholia to Euripides, rarely in the scholia to Homer, reporting that a word or line does not appear in some, many or most copies.<sup>33</sup> We also find it of larger sections of texts, as in iv) the hypothesis to the *Rhesus*:

καὶ ἐν ἐνίοις δὲ τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἕτερός τις φέρεται πρόλογος (And in some copies a different prologue is transmitted);

And in some cases it is used of whole texts, as at v) Achilles, *In Arati Phaen.* 80.26–7 Maas (cf. 81.4–7)

φέρεται δὴ τὰ Φαινόμενα ὑπὸ μὲν τινῶν ἀπροοιμίαστα . . . (The *Phainomena* is transmitted by some without a proem);

or (vi) a scholion of Sopater on Hermogenes, *Peri Staseon* 53.13 (4. 429.3–5 Walz):

σύγγραμμά ἐστιν Ἑρμογένους περὶ προοιμίου ὃ εὔρηται μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς· οὐ φέρεται δὲ . . . (There is a work by Hermogenes on the proem which is found in the lists, but it is not transmitted)

d) By an easy transition, φέρεται can be used generic classification within an overall scheme of genres; the one example of this is a scholion by Heliodorus on Dionysius Thrax (A. Hilgard, *Scholia in Dionysii Thracis Artem Grammaticam* [= *Gramm. Graec.* 1.3] (Leipzig, 1901), 451.17–20):

προσόδιόν ἐστι ποίημα ὑπὸ ἀρρένων ἢ παρθένων χοροῦ ἐν τῇ προσόδῳ τῇ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀδόμενον· φέρεται δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ γένει καὶ τὸ ἀποτρεπτικόν (ἀποπεμπτικόν Hilgard, ἀποστεπτικόν Kaibel). ἔστι δὲ ποίημα ἀσπαστικόν (Kaibel: σπαστικόν: MS), κατὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν χωρισμὸν ἀδόμενον. (A prosodion is a poem sung by men or by girls in procession toward the god. The “apotreptic” is also classed in this genre. It is a poem of farewell (?), sung during withdrawal from the gods.)

The prosodion genre includes the highly obscure “apotreptic” genre, which seems to be a sort of inverse prosodion in which the chorus depart from (turn away from?) the presence of the deity.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup> In the line below appears ὡς φέρεται [, mysteriously.

<sup>33</sup> The chief variants are: ἐν τισι (ἀντιγράφοις) οὐ φ. (Σ *Hec.* 1100, unusually of a single word αἰθέρα; Σ *Ph.* 375); ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀντιγρ. οὐ φ. (Σ *Ph.* 1035, 1225, *Andr.* 1254; ἐν πολλοῖς ἀντιγρ. οὐ φ. (Σ *Ph.* 1282; *Hipp.* 1050; Σ *Or.* 1229; ἐν τῷ ἀντιγράφῳ οὐ φέρονται οἱ δὲ Ἰαμβοί, ἐν ἄλλῳ δέ. Unique is Σ *Hec.* 13, where the emendation of Didymus: ἦν is contrasted to the *paradosis* ἧ which ἐν τοῖς ἀντιγρ. φ., characterised as the κοινὴ ἀναγνώρισις. Homeric scholia: ἐν τισι οὐ φ.: *Il.* 2.121 (1. 211 Erbse); ἐν πολλοῖς οὐ φ.: *Il.* 13. 480 (3. 495 Erbse); *Od.* 11. 428 (2. 514 Dindorf); ἐν ἐνίοις δὲ οὐ φ.: *Od.* 4. 569 (1. 222 Dindorf); οὗτος ὁ στίχος ἐν ταῖς Ἀρισταχείαις οὐ φ.: *Od.* 8. 142 (1. 365.31 Dindorf); (στίχου) οὐ φερόμενον ἐν ταῖς Ἀριστάρχου *Il.* 21.73 (4. 137 Erbse); *Il.* 8. 130.11: ἐν τισι τῶν παλαιῶν φέρονται δύο στίχοι Σ *Hesiod, Op.* 242–47: τοὺς ἐν πολλοῖς φερομένους . . . δύο στίχους; *POxy.* 2819, fr. 2. 5 (commentary on hexameter poetry); Harpocration, *Lex.* 211.2 (= *Suda* 3. 439.19 Adler): . . . μήποτε βέλτιον φ. ἐν τοῖς Ἀττικιανοῖς *Ναυκρατικὰ*, where the *Attikiana* are a group of preferred manuscripts: see *RE* 2. 2337–9; Σ *Plato, Laws* 930d (p. 366 Greene [1938]); the words τοῦ δούλου are omitted from the text of the Vatican manuscript, but added in the margin by a second hand, and yet another hand supplies the comment: ἐν τισι τῶν ἀντιγράφων οὐ φ.

<sup>34</sup> See G. Kaibel, *Die Prolegomena περὶ κωμωδίας* [AGGW II 4] (Berlin, 1898), 36, who wants to assimilate to the ἀποστεπτικὸν ἄσμα performed on departure according to *EM* 131. 37; Färber (1936), I. 31.

e) Finally, the idiom can be used of the appearance of certain words in authors, as in Eustathius, e.g. Homer, *Od.* 14.12 (1748) on the word μελάνδρουν:

φέρεται δὲ καὶ Αἰσχύλου χρήσις ἐν Φιλοκτῆτῃ . . . (The usage is attested of Aeschylus too, in the *Philoctetes* (TrGF 3. 251) . . .)

This seems to be a late development.<sup>35</sup>

The use of φέρεται in the scholion to Paeon 6. 124 is a case of b).

#### D. Preliminary Objections: Metre, Genre and the Opening

The suggestion is that the text that we know as the third triad of Paeon 6 (henceforth “ὄνομακλύτα . . .” for short) appeared in the ancient edition of Pindar both as part of Paeon 6 and as a Prosodion. The examples of the use of φέρεται collected under heading b) in the previous section show that a text could appear in two parts of a collection of an author’s works. Nevertheless, *prima facie*, there are some problems with the idea that ὄνομακλύτα . . . existed as an independent poem. These concern a) metre, b) genre and c) the opening of the poem.

a) Metre. No one doubts that ὄνομακλύτα . . . is in the same metre as paeon 6, triads 1–2, but it could be objected that two texts in the same metre are likely to have been regarded as parts of the same poem and not as independent compositions. However, we have a counter example in the case of *Isthmians* 3–4, which ancient scholarship regarded as two independent compositions in the same metre. Modern critics differ in their interpretations: some think there was really only one poem (e.g. Snell in his edition, Thummer in his commentary); some (e.g. Köhnken, Privitera, Race) think there were two independent poems written for separate victories (Isthmian pankration in 473 in *Isthmian* 4, Nemean chariot race in 474 in *Isthmian* 3 according to Köhnken, two chariot victories according to Privitera). The dominant view among modern scholars has been a compromise: *Isthmian* 4 was supplemented with a new poem when Melissus won his second victory. The truth about *Isthmians* 3–4 is not, fortunately, crucial here; what matters is that their treatment in the ancient edition shows that two texts in the same metre could have been regarded as separate compositions.<sup>36</sup>

b) The genre. There are two problems relating to genre: bi) First, ὄνομακλύτα . . . mentions paeans (line 127), apparently with self-reference, and the poem also ends with an address to Apollo as “Paian” of the sort that we would expect in a paeon (line 182). Why would a poem so manifestly marked as a paeon be classed as a prosodion? bii) Second, while we naturally think of the defining feature of the prosodion as performance in the course of procession, there are no obvious signs of procession in the text (contrast the beginning of Paeon 6, where the singer seems to be approaching Delphi), although it must be said that much of the third triad does not survive.

With respect to bi), we cannot be sure that a self-reference to the poem as a παιάν or an address to a deity as Paian would have been regarded as a sufficient condition to classify the poem as a paeon if no other features corroborated that identification.<sup>37</sup> Another important criterion was perhaps some sort of relevance to Apollo, but in the case of ὄνομακλύτα . . ., the main part of the text may well have been a

<sup>35</sup> Many times in Eustathius; otherwise I find it only in in Σ Lucian, 170.12 Rabe.

<sup>36</sup> Ancient scholarship is well-summed up by Köhnken, 1974, 87, n. 1; G. A. Privitera, “Le Istmiche III e IV nel P. Oxy. 2451 e nell’edizione alessandrina”, *Studi in onore di Aristide Colonna* (Perugia 1982), 255–6; the “compromise” view: Bowra, 1964, 317, Wilamowitz, 1922, 336. Krummen, 1990, 33, n. 2, sidesteps the issue. Lidov, 1974, argues the slightly paradoxical view that they were two songs, but composed for and performed on the same occasion one after the other, so a variation on the “dominant” view; Bowra, 1964, 317, 281note, lists counterexamples to “one metre, one poem”. The “dominant view” of *Isthmian* 3–4 provides an interesting model for theories about Paeon 6: see p. 16 below. G. A. Privitera, “Le vittorie di Melisso nelle Istmiche III e IV”, *Helikon* 18–9, 1978–9, 3–21, in arguing for two separate poems, makes the interesting suggestion that *Isthmian* 3, the later one, was composed in the same metre as *Isthmian* 4 because the Theban chorus who performed the poem had already learnt that metre, a suggestion which *mutatis mutandis* could be applied to Paeon 6.

<sup>37</sup> I discuss this in Rutherford (1997).

narrative with no direct relevance to Apollo or with any other subject matter that would be recognised as characteristic of the paean.

Some illumination is provided here by the discussion of lyric genre attested in POxy. 2368, in which Callimachus is credited with the view that the poem in question was a paean because of the refrain, whereas Aristarchus is said to believe that it was a dithyramb because of the narrative of Cassandra, his assumption apparently being that a non-Apolline narrative would suit the narrative dithyramb. This is a parallel to the present case in so far as it shows that possession of a generic signature – a refrain in this case – need not have been a sufficient condition to ensure classification as a paean.

Now, since ὀνομακλύτα . . . ended up being classed as a προσόδιον rather than as a dithyramb, the reasoning behind the classification cannot have been exactly the same. And this brings us to bii): why a προσόδιον? The range of possible motivations for this classification includes the following: 1) *Textual reasons*: Perhaps the singers were made to describe themselves as processing in the lacuna in lines 157–168; 2) *Knowledge about the segmentation of the paean*: ancient critics may even have had direct evidence that the third triad was traditionally regarded as a prosodion following a two-triad paean; in the extreme case, the title at the start of the third triad could be original; 3) *Knowledge about the performance of ὀνομακλύτα . . .*: critics may have known that this poem was performed as a prosodion in contemporary Aegina, or elsewhere;<sup>38</sup> or there may have been a belief in the background that Aiakos was often honoured with prosodia (an example of such a poem may be the fragment known as “Paean XV”, which is probably from a prosodion in honour of Aiakos), or that the prosodion was a genre with a particular popularity on Aegina. And it is always possible that some combination of these factors was operating.

c) The opening. A third difficulty, as Prof. W. Race pointed out to me, is that ὀνομακλύτα . . . does not start like the beginning of a new poem. This problem is even more serious now that it has turned out that the likeliest reading at the opening of the triad is not γ’ ἔνεσσι<sup>39</sup> but γάρ ἔσσι. It is just possible that γάρ refers forward to οὐνεκα (“since you are famous . . . therefore we will praise you”).<sup>40</sup> But it is more likely to refer back (just as the γάρ at the start of the second triad picks up the reference to the festival at the end of the first triad), in which case it is an impossible beginning.

Even so, the introductory particle is not a decisive objection, because the “independent” version could have had a slightly different text. The “independent” version could have been doctored to make it look like a new poem, perhaps by substitution of a different particle such as μέν, or alternatively the “independent” version could have been doctored to make it fit into the paean.<sup>41</sup>

Since none of these difficulties is insurmountable, there seems to be no serious difficulty with the hypothesis that ὀνομακλύτα . . . (or a text almost identical to it) appeared as an independent poem in the Pindaric *Prosodia*.

### 3. Explaining the Double Transmission of Ὀνομακλύτα . . .

I now want to turn to explaining the double transmission. There seems to be a range of explanations, and they can be grouped under the following three headings.

<sup>38</sup> D’Alessio (1997), p. 30, stresses that extra-textual factors, e.g. information about contemporary performance traditions, may have contributed to the classification of the prosodia in the Hellenistic edition.

<sup>39</sup> The use of the particle γε in openings of speeches within works is well discussed by J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford, 1959), 116 (referring to Plato, Rep. 614b) and 127.

<sup>40</sup> Radt, *ad loc.*, compares Pythian 9. 89–95: Χαρίτων κελαδενῶν | μή με λίποι καθαρὸν φέγγος. Αἰγίνα τε γάρ | φάμι Νίσου τ’ ἐν λόφῳ τρίς δὴ πόλιν τάνδ’ εὐκλείξαι, | σιγαλὸν ἀμαχανίαν ἔργῳ φυγῶν | οὐνεκεν, εἰ φίλος ἀστῶν, εἴ τις ἀντάεις, τό γ’ ἐν ξυνῶ πεποναμένον εὖ | μή λόγον βλάπτω ἀλίῳ γέροντος κρυπτέω· | κείνος αἰεῖν καὶ τὸν ἐχθρὸν | παντὶ θυμῷ σὺν τε δίκῃ καλὰ βέζουτ’ ἔνεπεν. But here γάρ could point back.

<sup>41</sup> D’Alessio (1997) argues that there were colometric differences between the versions of the poem in the Paeans and the Prosodia, so why not textual differences also?

## A. Detachment

The first scenario I want to suggest is that the poem was originally a three-triad composition, but that the third triad was detached, for independent performance or circulation. Who might have detached it, and when?

One possibility is that the Hellenistic critics were responsible for this detachment. They may themselves have been puzzled by the fact that triad 3 is thematically unconnected with the earlier part of the poem. This theory becomes attractive if we bear in mind that Paean 6 is the poem that in ancient sources is supposed to have offended the Aeginetans and occasioned the composition of the apologetic *Nemean* 7, in which Pindar presented a more acceptable version of the death of Neoptolemus at Delphi.<sup>42</sup> Whether or not this hypothesis is true is not something I want to get into now, but it is clear that some ancient scholars seriously maintained it, particularly Aristodemus, the pupil of Aristarchus. Now, a *prima facie* problem with this “apology-hypothesis”, or at least the part of it that depends on Paean 6, is that the third triad of Paean 6 amounts to an encomium of Aegina; why would the Aeginetans have been offended by a poem containing such a glowing laudation of their own island? However, we are now in a position to argue that the ancient scholars covered that objection by positing that the encomiastic third triad of *Paean* 6 was a separate poem, leaving a triads 1–2 as an independent Delphic poem without a phil-Aeginetan coda.

This is a neat solution. But I find it difficult to imagine that a strategy as radical as grouping the third triad of the poem as a prosodion could have come about without some basis in the earlier tradition. In the same way, it seems likely that the double position of the first 56 lines of the Ps. Hesiodic *Aspis* in the Hesiodic canon represents the continuation of a prehellenistic tradition, and the same goes for most, if not all, of the textual variants mentioned earlier.

Alternatively, the detachment of the third triad could be pre-hellenistic. It could be as early as the Persian Wars, if the poem was early; in that case, perhaps Pindar detached it himself, reusing his own work.<sup>43</sup> One thinks of the symbolic involvement of the Aiakidai in the conflict: was it detached to supply a need for a hymn in their honour? Alternatively, the detachment could have happened later on, in the late 5th century or early 4th century. Reperformance of the third triad (as a prosodion?) would most naturally have taken place on Aegina or in the context of some other cult of Aiakos (such as the Aiakeion in Athens, attested from the early 5th century BCE [cf. Herodotus, *Hist.* 5. 89]?). The cult of Aiakos enjoyed a revival on Aegina during the 2nd century BCE, in the period of domination by Pergamum, and it is possible that the detached prosodion was still being performed in that context.<sup>44</sup>

This scenario can be adapted to accommodate some version of the apology-hypothesis. We might surmise that the poem was first performed at Delphi, whether by a Delphian chorus or an Aeginetan one; it subsequently came into the possession of the Aeginetans, who, offended by what they took to be the oblique criticism of Neoptolemus in the second triad, chose to memorialise only the third. Hence

---

<sup>42</sup> For the apology hypothesis, see above n. 5.

<sup>43</sup> The “reuse” idea was suggested to me by Prof. D. Boedeker.

<sup>44</sup> Hellenistic cult of Aiakos: 1) there was a cult of Aiakos at Athens in 4th century BCE: R. S. Stroud, “The Aiakeion and Tholos of Athens in POxy 2087”, *ZPE* 103, 1994, 1–9; id., “The Sanctuary of Aiakos in the Athenian Agora”, *AJA* 97, 1993, 308–9, draws attention to a reference to the Aiakeion in a decree from 374 BCE. 2) Honour was paid to Aiakos in the 4th century as an ancestor of the kings of Salamis in Cyprus: IG 4. 583; Isocrates, 9, 14ff. 3) There was a cult of Aiakos on Aegina in the post-classical period: in 210 BCE Aegina became part of the Kingdom of Pergamum; there are Pergamene coins with Aiakos on them (see LIMC s. Aiakos); D. Kleine Pauly, s. Aigina; R. E. Allen, “Attalos I and Aegina”, *BSA* 66, 1971, 1–12 (cf. R. E. Allen, *The Attalid Kingdom: A Constitutional History*, Oxford, 1983, 147), pointing to an inscription connecting Pergamum and Aiakos. 210 BCE is about the time Aristophanes was compiling his edition. And there seems to have been Pergamene interest in the cult of Aiakos on the island (Inscriptions relating to the Aeginetan Thearoi also date from the second century BCE: see *Alt-Ägina* 1, 2. *Die spät-römische Akropolismauer*, ed. W. W. Wurster and F. Felten, Mainz, 1975, I. 2; E. Walter-Karydi and K. Hoffelner, “Das Thearion von Ägina. 1. Zum Apollonkult auf Ägina, 2. Der Thearion-Bau”, *AA* 1994, 125–148.

might have arisen the tradition that Pindar offended the Aeginetans. Perhaps the defensive stance of *Nemean 7* can be explained by some such context as this.

If we explain the independent transmission of the third triad in this way, there is no change to the issue of the original performance scenario of the song. However, the clean segmentation between the second and third triads (both on the level of theme and of form) invites us to explore the possibility that the independent or semi-independent status of the third triad could be original, and here we move into an area where the traditional approach would be jeopardised.

#### B. Supplement or Compensatory Supplement

In the previous section, I assumed that the poem was originally in three-triads (as we have it), but that at a later point the third triad was detached. But it is also possible that the third triad was not originally part of the poem.

One possibility is that triads 1–2 and triad 3 were originally independent poems composed in the same metre, a Delphian Paean and an Aeginetan Prosodion. Later a scholar, perhaps a Hellenistic one, decided that the third triad was really a continuation of the Paean, basing this on grounds of their possession of the same metrical structure. But the second poem managed to hang on to its status as an independent poem.

A powerful objection to this might seem to be that it seems unlikely that two poems would have been composed in the same metre. The only example of two poems composed in the same metre is *Isthmians 3* and *4*, but it is by no means certain that these poems are indeed independent and not part of the same poem.<sup>45</sup> We might rescue the hypothesis that Paean 6 triads 1–2 and triad 3 were independent isometric poems if we could show that there was some special link between them that might explain the shared metrical structure. *Ad hoc* hypotheses could perhaps be devised. For example, we might surmise that the two poems were part of the same cycle of ritual events. Perhaps an Aeginetan pilgrimage to Delphi began (or ended) with a song-dance performance in honour of Aiakos on Aegina,<sup>46</sup> and the musical/metrical form of such a performance might well have been the same as that of the paean performed at Delphi when the Aeginetan pilgrims arrived (perhaps because an Aeginetan chorus performed the paean). But such a *recherché* hypothesis is perhaps best resorted to only if all others fail.

Alternatively, perhaps the third triad is a supplement, lacking in the original version. The earliest version may have consisted only of two triads or it may have had a different third triad. The version with the third triad may have been intended for performance by Aeginetans, whereas the version without the third triad, or with a different third triad, may have been performed by some other group (Delphians). Or perhaps the earlier version, without the third triad or with a different third triad, was performed by Aeginetans at the Delphic Theoxenia, and then a revamped version, with the extant third triad, was produced for Aeginetan consumption.<sup>47</sup> (For the sake of completeness, I ought also to mention the possibility that the “original” might have been the third triad, an Aeginetan prosodion, to which the first two triads were later added when Pindar came to write the Delphic poem).<sup>48</sup>

<sup>45</sup> For *Isthmians 3–4*, see n. 36 above.

<sup>46</sup> Some sort of ritual activity might well have been expected from departing pilgrims. Thus, Thucydides, 6. 3. 1, tells us that when pilgrims set out from Sicily they offered sacrifice in the altar of Apollo Archagetes at Naxos in Sicily. In the Hellenistic period sacrifice was held on Cos when the *θεωρία* set out for Delos and Delphi, attended by representatives from neighbouring states: L. Sokolowski, *Les lois sacrées des cités grecques* (Paris, 1969), 156B.

<sup>47</sup> Two versions might have survived a) at Delphi and b) at Aegina. Alternatively, one version could have been transmitted as the “published” version, the other as part of Pindar’s private papers, as Gregory Nagy suggests to me.

<sup>48</sup> It is relevant in this context to note that in an important recent contribution to the problem of Paean 6, D’Alessio and Ferrari, 1988, have shown that there were two versions of the penultimate colon of each epode, differing by the inclusion or omission of one syllable. This variation suggests that two slightly different versions of the poem were in circulation, and probably had been since the classical period (since it is hard to see how such a variation could have arisen in the hellenistic period). Could these two different editions perhaps be correlated with the two different versions of the poem posited above,

It is worth remembering that such hypotheses about two different versions of the same poem have been entertained in the case of Isthmians 3–4.<sup>49</sup> The view most commonly accepted until recently is that Isthmian 4 is the earlier version, and Isthmian 3 represents a proem added to an earlier poem. So in the case of Paean 6, we may have to reckon with earlier and later stages in the process of composition. Equally, it has recently been argued – by Privitera – that Isthmian 3 and Isthmian 4 may have been entirely independent compositions; possession of the same metre should be explained in some other way, for example by the hypothesis that it was a concession to the performers who had already been trained in the given metre/melody/dance. So in this case the explanation could be that an Aeginetan chorus were trained in the metre/melody/dance of one song (either triads 1–2 or triad 3), so that when Pindar came to write the other song it was convenient to write it in the same metre.

There is an easy connection to some version of the “apology hypothesis” concerning the presumed link between Paean 6 and Nemean 7. This time, we are talking not about the possibility that Hellenistic critics invented this (as on p. 14 above), but the hypothesis of modern scholars that some scenario such as this actually lay behind the poem. This is not an uncontentious point; Pindarists have taken sides on it. But the view that the unusual tone of Nemean 7 may be motivated by a desire to compensate for an unfriendly treatment of Neoptolemus in an earlier poem, and that this earlier poem was Paean 6, has enough general acceptance to make the following sub-hypothesis worth suggesting.<sup>50</sup>

Perhaps, as Farnell suggested,<sup>51</sup> the third triad was indeed added by Pindar at some later point, after an earlier version of the poem, perhaps consisting merely of the first two triads, perhaps consisting of the first two triads plus a different third triad, had offended the Aeginetans, the cause of the offence either being part of the presentation of the story of Neoptolemus (or something else contained in an original third triad), or the absence in the original poem of praise of Aegina.

In either case, we should have to assume a complex transmission: a) the three-triad poem as we have it is transmitted to the Hellenistic editors; b) some sort of tradition also records the fact that the third triad was not originally integral to the poem. Of course, this information would not in itself be enough to identify the final triad as a Prosodion to Aiakos, and to that extent this hypothesis might appear to be unsatisfactory as an explanation for the second title. But perhaps the identification of the third triad as a Prosodion to Aiakos represents an attempt by a Hellenistic scholar to interpret in generic terms the transmitted datum that the triads 3 did not originally belong together with triads 1–2.

A problem with the versions of B) presented so far is that we would not expect the third triad to have been preserved independently. One could devise a refined solution that could obviate this difficulty. Again, let us assume that there was an earlier version of the poem, a Delphic paean, either triads 1–2 of the extant poem, or triads 1–2 plus a different third triad. Subsequently, Pindar composed a poem of one triad in the same metre, a poem in honour of Aiakos. At a later point, the latter poem was for some reason appended to the earlier poem. If the earlier poem originally had more than two triads, the third triad and any later ones will have been deleted; but if the former poem had only two triads, the process of combination will have been more straightforward. After two poems were combined in this way, the second one will have had an ambiguous status, playing a dual role as both an independent prosodion in honour of Aiakos and an integral part of the Delphic paean.

This scenario accommodates the apology-hypothesis well. We may surmise that Pindar composed the third triad as an independent poem after the Delphian Paean had angered the Aeginetans, and offered it to them as a gesture of compensation, a sort of *Palinodia*, though one which, as we can see, does not contain an explicit admission of transgression. While the poem was designed for independent

---

one with the phil-Aeginetan third triad and one without, or one with a version preserved at Aegina (in the Aiakeion?), and one in a version preserved at Delphi?

<sup>49</sup> For Isthmians 3–4, see n. 36.

<sup>50</sup> For the hypothesis see n. 5 above.

<sup>51</sup> See n. 5 above.

performance on Aegina, the common metrical pattern shows that it was also intended as a supplement to the Paean. The text of the original performance of the poem was probably not sacrosanct, and Pindar may himself have ensured that in the revised version, the Aeginetan prosodion appeared as the third triad.<sup>52</sup>

### C. Split Performance?

In B) I considered the possibility that independence of the third triad can best be accounted for by the hypothesis that the original text of the poem was revised and provided with a supplement. But is it possible that the separateness of the third triad is part of the original conception of the poem? There are a number of different possibilities with interesting consequences for performance.

C1) The first two triads were performed by Delphians, the third triad by the Aeginetans. The Delphians perhaps perform at the altar, the Aeginetans while they process towards the altar (or perhaps when they leave? The prosodion included songs performed in the course of departure from the gods to judge from Σ Dionysius Thrax, p. 451.17–20 Hilgard, cited on p. 11). A point against this is that speaking-subject revealed in lines 9–11 cannot be a member of the Delphic community.

C2) The whole poem is performed by the poet at the Delphic Theoxenia, on an occasion when the Aeginetans were visiting. The poem had two parts, dedicated to two different groups, and effecting a sort of negotiation between them. One section (triads 1–2) was “for the Delphians”, describing the origin of the festival, and the death of Neoptolemus; the second section, the “third triad”, was for the Aeginetans, praising their island and giving an account of Aiakos and his family.

C3) A mixture of C1) and C2): Pindar sings triads 1–2; then the Aeginetans sing their part. The range of alternative performance-scenarios will be as in C2), with the poet either taking part in a procession, or performing at some other point.

C4) It is also possible that the Aeginetans originally performed both sections, the first “paean” section and the second “prosodion” section. The generic terms in the title are thus accurate, the dative plurals not so (one might imagine the text being transmitted with ΠΑΙΑΝ and ΠΡΟΣΟΔΙΟΝ at the start of the two sections). How we decide that issue may depend in the end of what we think of lines 9–11. All things being equal, this sounds more like the poet talking, but it is still possible the Aeginetans performed it.

For the idea of a paean and prosodion performed in succession, we have a parallel in the hellenistic Paean of Limenius (probably performed in 129 BCE), designated in its title as a “paean and prosodion” (παίαν καὶ προσόδιον). The double title seems to refer to a paean (in cretic metre) and to a prosodion (in aeolo-choriambic metre). True, in this case the two sections are formally distinct, but both seem to be regarded as parts of the same composition.<sup>53</sup> Was Limenius perhaps following a traditional pattern of composition, of which Paean 6 is an early example?<sup>54</sup>

<sup>52</sup> In that case the question arises of the relative chronology of the third triad and *Nemean 7*. Perhaps the third triad came first, and then, when that fails to satisfy Aeginetan anger, Pindar made an explicit poetic confession of his error in *Nemean 7*. Alternatively, perhaps it was the failure of *Nemean 7* to convince that necessitated the reworking of *Paean 6*. It is even possible that the third triad of *Paean 6* was designed for the same occasion as the performance of *Nemean 7*, during the victory celebrations for Sogenes' victory in Aegina.

<sup>53</sup> Text of the Limenius poem: CA 149–51; A. Bélis in *Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes* (Paris, 1977–) 3.2, n. 128, p. 85; discussions: *id.*, “A proposito degli <Inni delfici> ad Apollo”, in B. Gentili and R. Pretagostini, *La musica in Grecia*, Rome, 1988, 205ff.; M. West, *Ancient Greek Music*, Oxford, 1992, 293–300. The title is disputed; π[οθό]διον has also been read; Pöhlmann, 1970, 64. The 4th century poet Cleochares, SIG<sup>3</sup> 450, wrote a ποθόδιον καὶ παίαν καὶ ὕμνος for the Delphic *Theoxenia*; this seems to be three distinct compositions, but could it also have been three poems linked together?

<sup>54</sup> One is also reminded of the concept of the hybrid προσοδιακὸς παίαν, referred to in Σ Isth. 1 (3. 197.1 Drachmann) and often linked to *Paean 4*. This term seems to imply that the poem had features both of a paean and of a prosodion (the form and/or function of a paean and perhaps the performance-context of a prosodion). In this case, then, the two forms are not combined in succession but fused together. Confusion between paean and prosodion is also attested by Proclus, *Chrestomathia* 320a21–5: ὁ δὲ παίαν ἐστὶν εἶδος ᾧδης εἰς πάντας νῦν γραφόμενος (συγγραφόμενος Lloyd-Jones)

Needless to say, we might include a range of more complex possibilities also, in which there are three performers: the poet (triad 1), the Delphians (triad 2), and the Aeginetans (triad 3). But the absence of a title at the start of the second triad seems sufficient reason not to give any of these serious consideration at this stage.

In the case of any of possibilities C1–3, the Aeginetan *theoroi* returned to Aegina and took only ‘their part’ of the poem. Perhaps the whole poem was memorialised at Delphi; or perhaps first two triads were transmitted separately also, with the whole poem also having a panhellenic circulation. So we would have three versions of the poem: a Delphian one (2 triads); an Aeginetan one (1 triad) and a panhellenic one (three).

It seems worth developing the hypothesis of split performance further. The first two triads were performed by Delphians, the third triad by Aeginetans. The Delphian section introduces the poem and narrates the story of Neoptolemus. The Delphians speak in the person of the poet. They introduce the Aeginetan section, which is a mini-genealogy of the Aiakidai. The Aeginetans conclude their section by wishing benefaction on their own people.

In addition, it is worth paying special attention to the end of the second triad. In these lines, the singers (presumably members of the Delphian chorus) appeal to some unidentified νέοι to sing μέτρα παιηόνων (121–2):

ἰή> ἰήτε, νῦν, μέτρα παιηόνων  
νῶν ἰήτε, νέοι.

(Ie! Ie! Shoot now measures of paeans, Ie! young men)

This appeal turns out not to be so much a coda completing the preceding narrative but an introduction to and a sort of speech frame for the whole third triad, amounting to: “now sing your section, Aeginetans!”

On this interpretation, the death of Neoptolemus is dealt with in the Delphian section, as if in the context of the festival it was felt that this was inappropriate for the Aeginetans. It would be interesting to try to link up this complex scenario of “split performance” with the apology hypothesis. Thus, the original performance of the poem at Delphi articulates the difficult relationship between Aeginetan pilgrims and a Delphic myth which involves an unflattering account of an Aiakid. The Delphic perspective (Neoptolemus was an aggressor, and was justly punished) and the Aeginetan perspective (Aiakos and his family be praised) were juxtaposed. This strategy, we might surmise, might have been intended to minimise Aeginetan embarrassment by saving them from narrating the death of Neoptolemus themselves. But (we may surmise) this strategy may have backfired, inflaming the anger of the Aeginetan singers by confronting them with the Delphian articulation of the myth.

The second point has to do with the dramatisation implied in the poem. With the end of the second triad, the poem approaches a sort of crisis: the death of Neoptolemus is unresolved, the poem ends in dramatic conflict, hostility on two levels: between Aiakid and Delphians, between Aiakid and Apollo. The appearance of the Aeginetan chorus in the third triad seems to resolve both conflicts: just as the narrative of the birth of Aiakos rehearses the element of cooperation between Aiakids and gods, so the peaceful arrival of the Aeginetan chorus at Delphi dramatises cooperation between Aeginetans/Aiakids and Apollo.<sup>55</sup>

How the performance might have been staged is another matter. Perhaps the Delphians sang their part at the altar, and then the Aeginetans sang their part in procession towards the altar; or perhaps the Delphians performed their part at some distance from the sanctuary (near the Fountain of Castalia? Cf.

---

θεούς, τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν ἰδίως ἀπενέμετο τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ἐπὶ καταπαύσει λοιμῶν καὶ νόσων ἀδόμενος. καταχρηστικῶς δὲ καὶ τὰ προσόδια τινες παιᾶνας λέγουσιν (The paeon is a lyric genre now written in honour of all gods, but originally it was devoted to Apollo and Artemis in particular, sung to stop plagues and diseases. Some misuse the word “paeon”, applying it to prosodia.) I have discussed this material in Rutherford, 1995.

<sup>55</sup> I owe this point to Peter Wilson.

line 3, which makes explicit reference to the sound of the fountain), and then the Aeginetans processed up to the temple; alternatively perhaps there were two independent processions towards the altar (as Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood suggests to me).<sup>56</sup>

If the titles are accurate, then Paean 6 would provide an excellent example of negotiation between panhellenic and local traditions within the context of ancient pilgrimage. The arrival of a delegation at a sanctuary, and its reception (“θεωροδοκία”) was not a simple process, but a negotiation between the delegates representing their community and the community responsible for the sanctuary. This relationship is well illustrated by a 4th century inscription recording agreement between the Sciathians and the Delphians.<sup>57</sup> The community in charge of the sanctuary acted as host and facilitator, but demanded in return observance of regulations and payment. Harmonious cooperation in the process of θεωροδοκία is well evoked by performance of a song which is in part dedicated to the host community (and perhaps performed by a chorus drawn from them), and partly dedicated to the community represented by the delegates (and perhaps performed by a chorus accompanying them).

#### 4. The Status of ὄνομακλύτα . . . in the Paeans

The double transmission of ὄνομακλύτα . . . came about in one of the ways described above. There remains the issue of what attitude ancient scholars took to ὄνομακλύτα . . . within the Paeans. Let us assume that in the hellenistic archetype prepared by Aristophanes of Byzantium poems appeared with titles and some critical signs, including the asteriskos indicating poem beginning.<sup>58</sup> We saw that at line 123 of the Paean there is not only a title but also an asteriskos. It seems highly unlikely that both the asteriskos and the generic designation “προσόδιον” can go back to the hellenistic archetype, because an independent prosodion would never have been classed as a paean. More likely we see the result here of two or more stages of editing. In the hellenistic archetype of the Paeans, I would suggest, Paean 6 appeared without asteriskos or title at line 123, and ὄνομακλύτα . . . appeared in the Prosodia; at some later point the asteriskos and the title may have been added at Paean 6, 123 by a scholar or scribe who inferred from comparison with the Prosodia that ὄνομακλύτα was not part of the Paean. The date of the revision is uncertain, but it probably belongs to the first few generations of Hellenistic scholarship.

Other possibilities should not be excluded. In particular, I would not want to rule out the possibility that the archetype inherited a title at line 123, or at least the title Αἰγινήταις εἰς Αἰακόν, minus the generic designation (this would be compatible the “split-performance” and “compensatory-supplement” scenarios outlined above, although it is not required by them). Without the asteriskos such a title would have been a mere sub-title, not indicating the beginning of a new poem. However, it is more economical to assume that both title and *asteriskos* were added in the revision.

The editor who first added the asteriskos at line 123 thereby committed himself to the belief that the end of the second triad was the end of the poem. Such a segmentation of Paean 6 is comprehensible not only because the third triad begins abruptly and has little direct relevance to the first two triads, but also because the end of the second triad, with its description of the death of Neoptolemus, and its injunction to young men to sing paeans over him, could easily be interpreted as providing a satisfactory ending to a

<sup>56</sup> A. von Blumenthal, *RE* XVIII 2 (1942), s. Paian, 2357,33f., had already suggested that the third triad was sung when the chorus reached a monument of the Aeginetans at Delphi.

<sup>57</sup> Sourvinou-Inwood, 1990, 297: “The *polis* anchored, legitimated and mediated all religious activity” (speaking of the role of Delphi in dealing with pilgrims and sacred delegations; P. Amandry, “Convention religieuse conclue entre Delphes et Skiathos”, *BCH* 63, 1939, 183ff.; id. “Note sur la convention Delphes-Skiathos”, *BCH* 68–9, 1944–5, 411ff.

<sup>58</sup> The evidence for Aristophanes’ edition is collected in W. J. Slater, *Aristophanis Byzantii Fragmenta* (Berlin, 1986), fr. 381

poem. True, there would be no major closing section of the sort we find in many poems, but there are plenty of parallels for poems that end more or less in the middle of the myth.<sup>59</sup>

There is a parallel for the two-stage process of editorial activity I have described in a scholion at the start of Alcman, PMG 3, fr. 1 (POxy. 2387, fr. 1):

[π]αρεγγρά(φεται) ἐν [τοῖς ἀντιγρά(φοις) αὕτη [κάν τῶ] πέμπτῳ· καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ [ἐν μὲν τῶ] Ἀριστο(νί(κου) περιεγγρά(πτο), ἐν δὲ τῶ Πτολεμαίου) ἀπερ(ί)γρα(πτος) ἦν (In copies this poem is falsely inserted in the 5th book also; and in that it was deleted in the edition of Aristonicus, but undeleted in that of Ptolemaios).

We can infer that in the hellenistic archetype the same poem occurred twice in the edition, and later, in some copies at least, the text in book 5 was marked for deletion by round deletion marks (περιγραφαί).<sup>60</sup>

Earlier on I pointed out that the style of handwriting of the title at line 123 is subtly different from that of the title at the beginning of Paeon 6. Is this difference linked to the fact that the second title belongs to a revised edition? A direct connection is unlikely, since the revision is probably centuries older than POxy. 841. However, an indirect connection is possible: perhaps title and asteriskos at line 123 appeared only in some copies of the Paeans (cf. the differences between copies of Alcman, Book 5 attested in POxy. 2387, fr. 1). POxy. 841 might originally have lacked them, but a *diorthotes* might have added them, finding them in another copy.

## 5. Towards a Conclusion

While the new data of the title and scholion at the start of the third triad might have been expected to provide a definitive solution for Paeon 6, in fact their effect is to multiply the number of possible interpretations. The one thing we have established is that *ὀνομακλύτα* . . . circulated as an independent poem before the Hellenistic period. As to how that situation arose, there are three plausible theories: A) the hypothesis of “detachment”; B) that of “compensatory supplement” and C) that of “split performance”. Deciding between these is not easy. But it seems to me that the fact that the segmentation between the second and third triads is so clean (both on the level of theme and the level of form) points toward the independence of the third triad being part of the original design of the poem. Hence I incline against A) and in favour of B) or C).

Thus, it turns out what has traditionally been seen as the central problem in the interpretation of the poem – the incongruity between the Delphic performance scenario and the Aeginetan emphasis of the third triad – can now be explained by one of two extraordinary scenarios. Can we say which of B) or C) is likelier? It is an advantage of scenario C) that it avoids the necessity to postulate a complex process of composition. Scenario C) also offers an attractive picture of cooperation between two groups of performers in the context of a panhellenic sanctuary. On the other hand, scenario B) perhaps provides a better explanation of why the third triad was transmitted independently as an Aeginetan Prosodion. And the perfect compatibility between scenario B) and the apology hypothesis may be a reason for giving credence both to the apology-hypothesis and to the scenario.

<sup>59</sup> Paeon-cries frequently occur in final position of poems. I discuss this in Rutherford, forthcoming. In fact, the occurrence of the paeon-cries alone might in line 121–2 might have suggested to some ancient scholar that the poem ended at that point. For poems ending in mid-myth, see Rutherford (1997) 53–56. Closural aspects of this coda are also discussed in Rutherford, 1991b.

<sup>60</sup> Turner, 1987: 16. There is no sign of such deletion marks in the case of Paeon 6.

## Bibliographical abbreviations

- Bagnall, Frier, Rutherford, forthcoming: R Bagnall, B. Frier and I. Rutherford, *The Census Register P. Oxy. 984. The Reverse of Pindar's Paeans* [Pap. Brux.]
- Bowra, 1964: C. M. Bowra, *Pindar*, Oxford
- D'Alessio/Ferrari, 1988: G. B. D'Alessio and F. Ferrari (1988), "Pindaro, *Paeana* 6, 175–183: una ricostruzione", *SCO* 38, 159–79
- D'Alessio, 1994: G. B. D'Alessio, "First-Person Problems in Pindar", *BICS*, 117–140
- D'Alessio, 1997: G. B. D'Alessio, "Pindar's Prosodia and the Classification of Pindaric Papyrus Fragments", *ZPE* 118 (1997) 23–60
- Drachmann (1903–27): A. B. Drachmann, *Scholia in Pindarum* (Leipzig)
- Färber, 1936: H. Färber, *Die Lyrik in der Kunsttheorie der Antike* (Munich)
- Farnell, 1930: L. R. Farnell, *The Works of Pindar, translated with literary and critical commentary*, London
- Finley, 1951: J. H. Finley: "The Date of Paeon 6 and Nemean 7", *HSCP* 60, 61–80
- Greene, 1938; W. C. Greene, *Scholia Platonica* (Haverford, Pennsylvania)
- Grenfell and Hunt, 1908: B. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. 5 (London)
- Heath, 1993: M. Heath, "Ancient Interpretations of Pindar's *Nemean 7*", *PLLS* 7, 169ff.
- Hoekstra, 1962: A. Hoekstra, "The Absence of the Aeginetans", *Mn.* n.s. 15, 1–14
- Köhnken, 1971, A. Köhnken, *Die Funktion des Mythos bei Pindar. Interpretationen zu sechs Pindargedichten* (Berlin)
- Krummen, 1990: E. Krummen, *Pyrros Hymnon: Festliche Gegenwart und mythisch-rituelle Tradition als Voraussetzung einer Pindarinterpretation (Isthmie 4, Pythie 5, Olympie I und 3)*, Berlin/New York
- Lidov, 1974: J. B. Lidov, "The Poems and Performance of Isthmians 3 and 4", *CSCA* 7, 174–85
- Lloyd-Jones, 1973: H. Lloyd-Jones, "Modern Interpretations of Pindar", *JHS* 93, 109–37; (= *Greek Epic, Lyric and Tragedy. The Academic Papers of Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones*, Oxford, 1990, 110–53)
- McNamee, 1977: K. MacNamee, *Marginalia and Commentaries on Greek Literary Papyri* (thesis, Duke University)
- McNamee, 1981: K. McNamee, *Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri and Ostraca [Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists, Supplement 3]* (1981)
- McNamee:, 1992: K. McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia in Greek Literary Papyri [= Papyrologica Bruxellensia, 26]*
- Most, 1985: G. W. Most, *The Measures of Praise. Structure and Function in Pindar's Second Pythian and Seventh Nemean Odes [= Hypomnemata 83]*, Göttingen
- Pöhlmann, 1970: E. Pöhlmann, *Denkmäler altgriechischer Musik* (Nuremberg 1970 = Erlanger Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kunstwissenschaft, Band 31)
- Radt, 1958: S. L. Radt, *Pindars zweiter und sechster Paian. Text, Scholien und Kommentar*, Amsterdam
- Rutherford, 1990: I. C. Rutherford: "Paeans by Simonides", *HSCP* 93, 169–209
- Rutherford, 1991a: I. C. Rutherford, "New Fragments of Pindar's Paeans", *ZPE* 86, 5–8
- Rutherford, 1991b: I. C. Rutherford, "Neoptolemus and the Paeon-Cry", *ZPE* 88, 1–10
- Rutherford, 1992: I. C. Rutherford, "Two Heroic Prosodia: A Study of Pindar, *Pa.* XIV–V", *ZPE* 92, 59–72
- Rutherford, 1995: I. C. Rutherford, "Apollo's Other Genre: Proclus on Nomos and his Source", *CP*, 354–61
- Rutherford, 1997: I. C. Rutherford, "Odes and Ends. Closure in Greek Lyric Poetry", in *Classical Closure. Reading the End in Greek and Latin Literature*, ed. D. Fowler, D. Roberts (Princeton)
- Rutherford, forthcoming: I. C. Rutherford, *Pindar's Paeans. A Reading of the Fragments with a Survey of the Genre* (Oxford)
- Sourvinou-Inwood, 1990: C. Sourvinou-Inwood, "What is *Polis* Religion?", in *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander*, edd. O. Murray and S. Price, Oxford, 295–322
- Thummer, 1968–9: E. Thummer, *Pindar: die Isthmischen Gedichte, textkritisch hrsg., übers. und kommentiert, mit einer Analyse der Pindarischen Epinikien* (Heidelberg), 2 vol.
- Turner, 1987: E. G. Turner, revised P. J. Parsons, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World<sup>2</sup>* (= *BICS Suppl.* 46) London
- Wilamowitz, 1922: U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Pindaros*, Berlin