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

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*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, "La «onciale ogivale» dalle origini alla decadenza", *Studia Papyrologica* 15 (1976), 141ff.

31 δέ[ξαι (or δέ[ξο) τηλό]θε e.g., Snell, 32-3 ἄφαρ [ἐν κώ]μων e.g. Snell, 34 [φέροισα Snell, 35 supplement by Lobel, μίανύεται Snell, 40 πλεί[στα or πλεί[στ' ἀρετά Snell

( . . . wages of good-fortune . . . the clear-voiced Muse . . . 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?) )

Lines 31-2 seem to be about wages consisting in good renown,<sup>6</sup> which someone is presumably about to receive, probably the *honorand* of the song. For the thought, cf. *Ol.* 7. 77ff.:

τόθι λύτρον συμφορᾶς οἰκτρᾶς γλυκὺν Τλαππολέμῳ  
 ἴσταται Τιρυνθίων ἀρχαγέτα,  
 ὥσπερ θεῶ  
 μήλων τε κνισσάεσσα πομπὰ καὶ κρίσις ἀμφ' ἀέθλοισ.

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

The word λύτρον here is parallel to ἐπίχειρα in *Pa.* XIV, 31, though it governs an objective genitive (recompense for misfortune) whereas the genitive governed by ἐπίχειρα 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 μὲν, is that the Muse will converse (ἀορίζει)<sup>7</sup> at the rites (τελευταῖς), i.e. she will provide music that will be used in the celebration itself (ll.32-4).<sup>8</sup> The second function, introduced by δέ, is less clear. The sense seems to be something like: "The Muse (understood from l.32) will put in mind of the ἠρωίδος θεαρίας even someone dwelling far away from it". The word ἠρωίδος could be i) a noun with the sense "heroine" or ii) an adjective with the sense "pertaining to a hero" (known, for example, from Apollonius of Rhodes, *Arg.* 1. 1048: τιμᾶις ἠρωῖσι) or iii) the name of a festival, the Herois, known from Delphi (Plutarch, *Mor.*293c (*qu.gr.*)).<sup>9</sup> The word θεαρίας could be i) a noun with the sense "contemplation" or "sacred embassy"; ii) an adjective with the sense "pertaining to a sacred embassy";<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Wages for good fame (cf. ἀρετῆς ἐπίχειρα at Plato, *Rep.* 608c) seems less likely than: "wages consisting in good-fortune" (cf. ξιφέων ἐπίχειρα - "wages consisting in the sword" - at Sophocles, *Ant.*820).

<sup>7</sup> "Utter softly" is the basic meaning, particularly in the context of lovers' discourse. Pindar uses the word of poetry at *Nem.* 7. 69: ψόγιον ὄαρρον ἐννέπων, *Nem.* 3. 11: ἐγὼ δὲ κείνων τί νιν ὄαρροις | λύρα τε κοινάσομαι, *Pyth.* 1. 98: οὐδέ νιν φόρμιγγες ὑπωρόφια κοινανίαν | μαλθακὰν παίδων ὄαρροις δέκονται. Cf. οαρ| at *P.Oxy.* 2442, fr. 93, 2. Here λόγον could an internal accusative: cf. *hy.Hom.* 23.3: ὄαρρος ἀορίζει.

<sup>8</sup> This interpretation of τελευταῖς seems to be implied in SM's apparatus: ἄφαρ [ἐν κώ]μων τελευτᾶις. τελευτή is rare in this sense of "rite": see F. M. J. Waanders, *The History of τέλος and τελείω in Ancient Greek* (Amsterdam, 1983), 241. The other possible meaning for τελευταῖς would be "end", as it is taken by Waanders, 243; van Groningen (above, n.2), 128: "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 "rites".

<sup>9</sup> Cf. W. R. Halliday, *Plutarch's Greek Questions* (Oxford, 1928), 71. The possibility that the word refers to the name of a festival was suggested by W. J. Slater, *Lexicon to Pindar* (Berlin, 1969).

<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup>

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 *ἡρωίδος* will then most likely be an adjective in agreement with it. There are two possible meanings that *ἡρωὶς 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.<sup>12</sup> 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:

τόδε οἶε τι θαυμαστόν, εἰ ἀπὸ θείων, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, θεωριῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπειά τις ἔλθων κακὰ  
ἀσχημονεῖ τε καὶ φαίνεται σφόδρα γελοῖος . . . ;

(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* . . . *θεωριῶν* here must be "divine visions", and one suspects that the philosophical application is underwritten by the religious associations of *θεωρία*.<sup>13</sup>

This interpretation poses a difficulty if we want to take *ἡρωίδος θεαρίας* with *ἐκὰς*, 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 *ἡρωίδος θεαρίας* as directly dependent on *μνάσει*, with *ναίολιθ'* *ἐκὰς* standing in a looser relationship to it.<sup>14</sup>

If Pindar shared the well-documented ancient view that *θεωρία* is connected etymologically with *θεός*,<sup>15</sup> the expression *ἡρωίδος 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 θεός*.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Apollo was worshipped under this epithet in Troezen: see above, n.10.

<sup>12</sup> Aristophanes, *PCG* 3. 2 fr. 322 (*Heroes*): *κἀναθροῦντες τοὺς ἀδίκους | καὶ κλέπτας καὶ λωποδύτας*; cf. also Hesiod, *Op.* 122-3: *τοὶ μὲν δαίμονες ἄγνοι ἐπιχθόνιοι καλέονται | ἐσθλοί, ἀλεξίκακοι, φύλακες θνητῶν 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, θεωρὸς τῶνδε πραγμάτων γενοῦ*.

<sup>13</sup> H. Rausch, *Theoria: Von ihrer sakralen zur philosophischen Bedeutung* (Munich, 1982), 48ff., discusses the religious background of *theoria* in Plato.

<sup>14</sup> In their apparatus SM suggest that *τινα* might be Pindar ("sc. *Pindarum qui ipse non adest in hac 'theoria'*?). They are presumably thinking of the situation in some of the *Epinikia* where Pindar is not witnessing 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 *τινα* would be a strange way to refer to the poet.

<sup>15</sup> 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 étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots* (Paris, 1968-), s.v.; Rausch (above, n.13), c.1. On this logic the expression *θείων* . . . *θεωριῶν* at Plato, *Rep.* 517d3 (cited above) turns out to be a *figura etymologica*.

<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup> 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, γνώμας δὲ ταχείας συνίετων κρίσις, 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:

Α[Ι]ΓΙΝΗΤΑΙΣ ΕΙ[Σ] ΑΙΑΚΟΝ

A' Τῷδ' ἐν ἄματι τερπνῶ  
 ἵπποι μὲν ἀθάναται  
 Ποσειδᾶνος ἄγοντ' Αἰακ[  
 Νηρεὺς δ' ὁ γέρων ἔπετα[ι:  
 5 πατήρ δὲ Κρονίων μολ[οῦσι  
 πρὸς ὄμμα βαλὼν χερσ[  
 τράπεζαν θεῶν ἐπ' ἀμβ[ρο  
 ————— ἵνα οἱ κέχυται πιεῖν νεκταρ  
 ἔρχεται δ' ἐνιαυτῷ  
 10 ὑπερτάταν [ . . . ]ονᾶ  
 . [

*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 Αἰακίων or Αἰακῶ Ψαμάθ(ει)αν or Αἴγιαν, 4 Lobel, 5 μολοῦσι πελάζει Lobel, μολοῦσιν εὐφρον e.g. Snell, 6 e.g. [φίλα δέχεται Snell, 7 [ροσιάν, [ρόταν, [ρότων Lobel, 8 νεκταρ Lobel, but ε[ is very uncertain, 10 perhaps [ἀπ]ὸ να, e.g. να|πάν

(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 . . . )

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*Herakles on Thasos: the Archaeological, 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".

<sup>17</sup> Cf. fr. 122. 15: διδάξαμεν χρυσὸν καθαρῶ βασάνῳ, *Pyth.* 10. 67: πειρῶντι δὲ καὶ χρυσὸς ἐν βασάνῳ πρέπει καὶ νόος ὀρθός, *Nem.* 8. 20: νεαρὰ δ' ἐξευφρόντα δόμεν βασάνῳ | ἐς ἔλεγχον, ἅπας κίνδυνος, *Nem.* 4. 82-3: ὁ χρυσὸς ἐψόμενος | αὐγὰς ἔδειξεν ἀπάσας, *Bacchylides*, fr. 14 (from a ὑπόρημα, according to Stobaeus, *Flor.* 3. 11. 19): Λυδία μοι γὰρ λίθος | μανύει χρυσόν, ἀνδρῶν δ' ἀρετὰν σοφία τε παγκρατῆς τ' ἔλεγχει | ἀλάθεια, fr. 33: χρυσὸν βροτῶν γνώμῃσι μανύει καθαρόν. The last two passages suggest that μανύεται 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,<sup>18</sup> 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.<sup>19</sup> The existence of at least a third poem performed by an Aeginetan chorus can be inferred from the title ΑΙΓΙΝΗ[ΤΑΙΣ] 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.<sup>20</sup> 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 τῶδ' ἐν ἄματι in the first line is a deictic reference, such as we find in *Pyth.* 4. 2, or *Ol.* 6. 28. The word ἐνιαυτῶ in 1.9 perhaps indicates that the sacred event was thought of as happening yearly, and was not a once and for all event, such as the inauguration of a temple.<sup>21</sup>

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

<sup>18</sup> 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 ὑδροφόρια); the aetiology for this was a visit by the Argonauts to Aegina on their return voyage: see Ap. Rhod., *Arg.* 4. 1765ff.; Callimachus, *Iamb.* 8 (= fr. 198Pfeiffer) with Diegesis col. 8; EGen. (A) s. ἀμφορίτης ἀγών (cited by Pfeiffer), which places the contest by the Ἄσωπις κρήνη. I am not sure that the ὑδροφόρια 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 οἰ followed by a lacuna is restored by Drachmann Οἰνώναια, implying that this was an alternative name for the festival, though Pfeiffer (ad fr. 198) suggests that we restore Ἵδροφόρια.

<sup>19</sup> Pausanias, 2. 30. 3 = Pindar, fr. 89b.

<sup>20</sup> 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.

<sup>21</sup> This sense of ἐνιαυτῶ 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:

ἔνθεν ἀναδεξάμενοι,  
 Ἄπολλον, τεῶ,  
 80 Καρινῆι, ἐν δαιτὶ σεβίζομεν  
 Κυράνας ἀγακτιμέναν πόλιν·  
 ἔχοντι τὰν χαλκοχάρμαι ξένοι  
 Τρῶες Ἄντανορίδαι· σὺν Ἑλένα γὰρ μόλον,  
 — καπνωθεῖσαν πάτραν ἐπεὶ ἴδον  
 85 ἐν Ἄρει· τὸ δ' ἐλάσιππον ἔθνος ἐνδυκέως  
 δέκονται θυσίαισιν ἄνδρες οἰχνέοντες σφε δωροφόροι,  
 τοὺς Ἀριστοτέλης ἄγαγε ναυσὶ θοαῖς  
 ἄλδς βαθεῖαν κέλευθον ἀνοίγων.

(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 οἰχνέοντες . . . 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.<sup>22</sup> The meaning of the lines must be that the Cyrenaean receive the Antenoridai (τὸ δ' ἐλάσιππον ἔθνος) in a theoxenic festival, which reenacts their mythological arrival from Troy.<sup>23</sup>

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*).<sup>24</sup>

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*,<sup>25</sup> and *Pa.* XV would be one of a

<sup>22</sup> See the excellent discussion in E. Krummen, *Pysos 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.

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

<sup>24</sup> See the rituals grouped under type A) in the appendix.

<sup>25</sup> On theoxenies, see F. Deneken, *De Theoxeniis* (Berlin, 1881), F. Pfister RE s. *Theoxenia* A10. 1711 and s. *Theodaisia* A10. 2256-8; D. Gill, "Trapezomata: A Neglected Aspect of Greek Sacrifice",

number of ancient lyric poems believed to have been performed in connection with theoxenic festivals.<sup>26</sup> The only evidence for an Aeginetan theoxenia previously known is a scholion on Pindar *Nem.* 7, which reports the myth that Aiakos once entertained Heracles, and has been taken to reflect a theoxenic ritual.<sup>27</sup> If that inference is right, the theoxenic ritual it reflects might for all we know be the same as the one referred to in *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 *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.<sup>28</sup> 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 *heroon*.<sup>29</sup> 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.<sup>30</sup>

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.<sup>31</sup> The moment when Aiakos received the supplication of the Greek

*HThR* 67 (1974), 117ff. D. Flückiger–Guggenheim, *Göttliche Gäste* (Bern, 1984), 24ff.; C. Milani, "Osservazioni sul latino lectisternium", *Istituto lombardo (Rendiconti classe di lettere e scienze morali e storiche)* 110 (1976), 231–42. A. D. Nock, "The Cult of Heroes II", in *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, ed. Z. Stewart, 2 (Cambridge, 1972), 585–6; Louise Bruit, "The Meal at the Hyakinthia: Ritual Consumption and Offering", *Symptotica: A Symposium on the Symposium* ed. O. Murray (Oxford, 1990), 170ff.; Krummen (above, n.22), 121, 223ff.

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

<sup>27</sup> The source is a scholion on Pindar, *Nem.* 7. 86 (Dr. 3. 134. 15–6): ἀπέστρεφε δὲ τὸν λόγον πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέα, ὡς τοῦ Αἰακοῦ ὑποδεγεμένου καὶ ἐξενικότος. Cf. scholion on *Nem.* 4. 22 [Dr. 3. 69. 22ff.]; Deneken (above, n.25), 26; and the myth of Heracles' reception by Telamon in Pindar, *Isth.* 6, which the scholion says is derived from Hesiod's *Eoiai* (Dr. 3. 255. 19–20; fr. 250MW).

<sup>28</sup> See the rituals grouped under type B) in the appendix.

<sup>29</sup> Pausanias, 2. 29. 6: περίβολος τετράγωνος λευκοῦ λίθου. Pausanias also records the presence of an altar there, which was supposed to be a memorial to Aiakos.

<sup>30</sup> 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", *BCH* 58 (1934), 184ff.; P. Bruneau, *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, *Xoana and the Origins of Greek Sculpture* (Georgia, 1988), 69ff.), and of Achilles on the island of Leuke (Arrian, *Periplus ponti Euxini* 21 (32M)), and of Ἰάνα of Aeneas in Zacynthus and Ambracia (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant.* 1, 50; Donohue (*op.cit.*), 78).

<sup>31</sup> See Isocrates, 9. 14f., Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3. 12. 6. 9f., Diodorus, 3. 61. 1, Pausanias, 1. 44. 9, 2. 29. 7f. For more, S. L. Radt, *Pindars zweiter und sechster Paian, 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.<sup>32</sup> 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.<sup>33</sup> 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.<sup>34</sup> The shrine there was said to have been set up by Aiakos in gratitude for the cessation of the drought.<sup>35</sup> 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 (*Ol.* 8. 48ff.):

Ὅρσοτρίαινα δ' ἐπ' Ἴσθμῳ ποντιᾷ  
ἄρμα θοὸν τάνυεν,  
50 ἀποπέμπων Αἰακὸν  
δεῦρ' ἀν' ἵπποις χρυσέαις

καὶ Κορίνθου δειράδ' ἐποψόμενος δαιτικλυτάν.

(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,

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

<sup>32</sup> Cf. J. Toepffer *RE* s. *Aiakeion* 1. 921-2; Pausanias, 2. 29. 6; Pindar, *Nem.* 5. 53: προθύροισιν δ' Αἰακοῦ. There was also one in Athens: Herodotus, 5. 89, Hesychius, 1. 59 (Latte), s. Αἰάκειον. Does Pindar perhaps reflect this visual imagery in *Nem.* 8. 13: ἰκέτας Αἰακοῦ σεμνῶν γονάτων . . . ?

<sup>33</sup> Pindar and Aphaea: fr. 89b = Pausanias, 2. 30. 3.

<sup>34</sup> Pausanias, 2. 30. 4. See A. B. Cook, *Zeus* (Cambridge, 1914, 1925, 1940), 3. 2, 1164, referring to a bronze *hydria* found on Mt. Hellanicus with an inscription indicating that it was a dedication to Zeus Hellanius.

<sup>35</sup> 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.<sup>36</sup> One might pay special attention to *Isth.* 8. 26-7, according to which Aiakos acted as a divine arbitrator:

ὁ καὶ  
δαμόνεσσι δίκας ἐπέειρανε·

( . . . 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.<sup>37</sup> 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 ὕμνοι of the sort that Pausanias mentions in his account of a Sicyonian ritual that involved the carrying of a statue of Dionysus).<sup>38</sup> 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;<sup>39</sup> 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 (Ἄσωπις κρήνη) which according to a late lexicographical source was the venue for the ἀμφορίτης ἀγών, which we have independent grounds for believing was part of the Aiakeia.<sup>40</sup> The sequence would perhaps have been: procession out, race, procession back, perhaps with the winner of the race leading the procession.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Aiakos in the underworld: see Isocrates *Ev.* 15; Plato, *Ap.* 41A, *Gorg.* 524A; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3. 12. 6. In MSS at Aristophanes, *Ran.* 464, also Euripides/Critias, Peirithoos = *TrGF* 1. 43, fr. 1 (lines 6ff. = Euripides, *TGF* 591).

<sup>37</sup> 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.

<sup>38</sup> Pausanias, 2. 7. 5; see below, appendix, section B:

<sup>39</sup> In the apparatus I suggested ὑπερτάταν [ἀπ]ὸ να|πᾶν, which might refer to Mt. Hellanicus; this or a similar supplement would work with other hypotheses about the starting-point.

<sup>40</sup> See above, n.18.

<sup>41</sup> 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 *παλιάν* 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 *ἰὴ ἰή*, 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 *κεχωρισμένα παρθένεια* - seems to have contained a miscellany).<sup>42</sup> 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.<sup>43</sup>

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*,<sup>44</sup> 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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<sup>42</sup> See L. Lehnus, *L'Inno a Pan di Pindaro, Testi e Documenti per lo Studio dell' Antichita*, 64 (1980), 79ff.

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

<sup>44</sup> 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.

### Appendix: Statue-Carrying Rituals

It seemed useful to provide a short survey of Greek rituals involving the carrying of a statue.<sup>45</sup> 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:<sup>46</sup> i) the ritual described in Callimachus' *Fifth Hymn*, in which Athena is represented by a statue;<sup>47</sup> ii) the Athenian Plynteria, in which the cult statue of Athena was carried to Phaleron every June, ritually bathed and carried back;<sup>48</sup> iii) the Samian Tonaia, 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;<sup>49</sup> 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;<sup>50</sup> 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;<sup>51</sup> vi) Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Taurica* may preserve reflexes of a ritual of a sacred washing of a cult statue of Artemis: Euripides represents Iphigeneia as removing the statue on the pretext that it has been defiled and needs to be washed in the sea.<sup>52</sup> Here, then, washing is a pretext for removal, whereas in the statue-washing rituals we have seen it is a preliminary to reintegration.<sup>53</sup> As a whole the play

<sup>45</sup> 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).

<sup>46</sup> René Ginouvès, *Βαλανευτική: recherches sur le bain dans l'antiquité grecque* (Paris, 1962), 283ff., E. Fehrle, *Kultische Keuschheit im Altertum* (Giessen 1910), 171ff.

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

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

<sup>49</sup> Athenaeus 15, 672c; Fehrle (above, n.46). 173ff.; Ginouvès (above, n.46), 289, n.6.

<sup>50</sup> 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 Ἡρεσίδες either because that was the name of Hera or παρὰ τὸν ἀρύσω (?) μέλλοντα, ἀρυσίτιδες, αἱ ἀρυσόμεναι τὰ λουτρά, also Hesychius: Ἡρεσίδες· κόραι αἱ λουτρά κομίζουσαι τῇ Ἡρᾷ; Antimachus fr. 179Wyss, col. II, 17.

<sup>51</sup> 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.

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

<sup>53</sup> 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 Iphigeneia with the statue reports how Orestes carried Iphigeneia on his shoulder to the ship (1379-81: κἂν τῷδε, δεινὸς γὰρ κλύδων ὤκειλε ναῦν | πρὸς γῆν, 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.<sup>54</sup> 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.<sup>55</sup>

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;<sup>56</sup> 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;<sup>57</sup> iii) according to Pausanias the Sicyonians brought two images of Dionysus (Baccheius and Lysius) from the κοσμητήριον to the temple of Dionysus, accompanying them with torches and "local hymns" (ὑμνων ἐπιχωρίων);<sup>58</sup> iv) a Methymnan inscription talks about the "carrying around" (περιφορά) of a statue of Dionysus;<sup>59</sup> v) we hear of a statue-carrying ritual involving Dionysus Theopantus on Delos;<sup>60</sup> vi) many statues of Dionysus were carried in the great procession organised by Ptolemy Philadelphus.<sup>61</sup>

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.<sup>62</sup>

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ἦν παρθένω τέγξαι πόδα, | λαβῶν Ὀρέστης ὄμιον εἰς ἀρίστερον . . . ). I wonder if this is not meant to conjure up an image of Iphigeneia like a statue. For the identification of Artemis and Iphigeneia implied in this thought, I would compare Herodotus' statement (4, 103) that the goddess worshipped by the Taurians was Iphigeneia. For the idea that someone is like a statue, cf. *Phoenissae* 220-1 (from the *parodos*): ἴσα δ' ἀγάλμασι χρυσοτεύκτοις Φοίβω λάτρεις ἐγενόμαν, also Euripides fr. 372 (from the satyr play *Eurystheus*) according to which statues made by Daedalus are so lifelike that they appear to move and to speak (cf. R. Kassel, "Dialogue mit Statuen", *ZPE* 51 (1983) 5).

<sup>54</sup> A. Brinkmann, *RM* 60 (1905), 160; referring to P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *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.

<sup>55</sup> Ginouvès (above, n.46), 294ff. Note the Roman Veneralia, on which Ovid, *Fasti* 4, 136-9.

<sup>56</sup> Pausanias I, 29, 2; Philostratus, *V.S.2*, 1, 5; IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 1011, 1. See J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias' Description of Greece II* (London, 1913), 379-80

<sup>57</sup> Pausanias 7, 21, 6

<sup>58</sup> Pausanias 2, 7, 5.

<sup>59</sup> S. Reinach, "Inscription de Methymna", *BCH* 7 (1883), 37ff. : ... πρὸ τᾶς τῷ ἀγάλματος περιφορᾶς.

<sup>60</sup> IG xi2161A, discussed by Bruneau (above, n.30), 198ff. (Artemis) and 249ff. (Hera)

<sup>61</sup> Athenaeus 197c-203b = Kallixenus of Rhodes *FGrH* 637F2; see the exemplary study of E. E. Rice, *The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Oxford, 1983).

<sup>62</sup> W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (tr. J. Raffan, Cambridge, 1985), 71ff.; W. Otto, *Dionysus: Myth und Cult* (tr. R. B. Palmer, Indiana 1965), 79ff.

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.<sup>63</sup> This case seems to reenact the original arrival of the statue: it had been taken from Patrae to Mesoa by one Preuges, 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 Stratonicaea on the occasion of the great festival of Zeus known as the Panamaraea. 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 ἀνάβασις or ἄνοδος.<sup>64</sup> In this case it seems the statue was moved to take part in the festival, which was at Stratonicaea. One can compare the case of Artemis Limnatis above. Since Stratonicaea 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.<sup>65</sup> 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*.<sup>66</sup> But the differences are as striking as the parallels - the fact that the δαίδαλα 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 θεοφορία (cf. M. Chadwick, J. 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.

<sup>63</sup> 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

<sup>64</sup> See J. Hanslik-Andrée, in *RE* s. *Panamaros*, 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 ἄνοδος/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.

<sup>65</sup> Pausanias 9, 3, 2-8, Plutarch wrote a work περὶ τῶν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς δαιδάλων, of which fragments survive (5. 754Wyttenbach = fr. 157Sandbach = Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelii* iii, Proem). The best modern studies are by A. Schachter, *Cults of Boeotia* (Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, Supplement 38.1), 242ff. (drawing an interesting comparison with the Theban Daphnephoria); and by F. Frontisi-Ducroux, *Dédale: mythologie de l'artisan en grèce ancienne* (Paris, 1975), 193ff.

<sup>66</sup> 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 ξοανηφόροι, 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.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> The evidence is a scholion on Aeschylus *Septem* 304: εἴρηται δὲ καὶ ἐν Ξοανηφόροις Σοφοκλέους ὡς οἱ θεοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰλίου φέρουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων τὰ ἑαυτῶν ξόανα, εἰδότες ὅτι ἀλίσκεται. 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 ξοανηφόροι 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 ἐμελλε πορθηθῆναι ἡ Τροία, ἐφάνησαν οἱ θεοὶ τοῖς Τρωσὶν ἀνελόμενοι 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 ξόανα implied may not even be statues but musical instruments, as in Sophocles fr. 238, which seems unnecessarily circumspect.