READING THE VICTORY ODE

The victory ode was a short-lived poetic genre in the fifth century BC, but its impact has been substantial. Pindar, Bacchylides and others are now among the most widely read Greek authors precisely because of their significance for the literary development of poetry between Homer and tragedy and their historical involvement in promoting Greek rulers. Their influence was so great that it ultimately helped to define the European notion of lyric from the Renaissance onwards. This collection of essays by international experts examines the victory ode from a range of angles: its genesis and evolution, the nature of the commissioning process, the patrons, the context of performance and re-performance, and the poetics of the victory ode and its exponents. From these different perspectives the contributors offer both a panoramic view of the genre and an insight into the modern research positions on this complex and fascinating subject.

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In memory of our colleagues
M. M. Willcock and Stephen Instone

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Preface and acknowledgements

The essays which make up this collection were presented at the four-day conference 'Epinician: An International Conference on the Victory Ode' which took place on 5–9 July in the cold summer of 2006 in Bloomsbury, London. Organised under the joint auspices of University College London and the University of London's Institute of Classical Studies, it aimed to explore different strategies of reading a single genre of archaic and classical Greek poetry. The conference brought together experts in many different fields in a collective effort to visualise epinician poetry in its contexts of performance and reception. Scholars from the UK, Italy, Greece, France, the Netherlands, the United States and Canada, Argentina, Scandanavia and Eastern Europe met in the lecture hall of UCL's Institute of Archaeology. Delegates came from as far away as Germany and South Africa to hear the speakers, and there was a sizeable postgraduate contingent from UCL, Oxford, Cambridge and many other British and European universities. If they do little to convey the excitement of the occasion (performance being an emergent phenomenon), the editors feel that the selection of essays collected in this volume (slices from the banquet) represent a rewarding contribution to a rapidly developing area of study.

In combining and editing these heterogeneous papers into a book, we have not aimed to unify the authors' varied styles and voices. As always, transcription of Greek names was a problem, and we make no claim to consistency, but have generally opted for more familiar Latinate forms. The poets are usually cited from the most recent editions: Alcman from *PMGF* and Calame; Stesichorus from *PMGF*; Ibycus from *SLG, PMGF* or Campbell, Anacreon and Simonides from *PMG* (elegy from W²); Pindar from the latest editions of S–M (Epinicians) and M (Fragments). Theognis follows W; the *Homeric Hymns* Allen's OCT. Other poets and classical authors are cited from familiar recent editions. Translations are most often based on the Loeb Classical Library editions of W. H. Race and D. A. Campbell; but the authors have often altered the wording to fit the point at hand. The Greek

text was typeset in the GraecaU font produced by Linguist's Software, Inc. (PO Box 580, Edmonds, WA 98020–0580, www.linguistsoftware.com).

A project of this length and scale needs and finds many friends and helpers along the way. First of all, we must mention our sponsors: the British Academy, the Art & Humanities Research Council, the Institute of Classical Studies, University College London Graduate School, the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies and the Gilbert Murray Trust, without whose great generosity the conference would never have happened. We owe them a great debt of gratitude. We owe personal thanks to Professor Mike Edwards (then Director of the ICS), Nora Goldschmidt, David Leith, Herwig Maehler, Lucia Prauscello and Cornelia Roemer gave much assistance and encouragement. We would also like to mention a number of other scholars who gave papers and whose active participation added greatly to the experience of everyone who attended: Antonio Aloni, Silvia Barbantani, Jan Maarten Bremer, Ettore Cingano, Stephen Colvin, Armand D'Angour, A. M. González de Tobia, Alan Griffiths, Stephen Instone, Filippomaria Pontani, Cornelia Römer, Ian Rutherford, David Sider and Penny Wilson. A very active postgraduate section added much: the participants were Vasiliki Dimoula, Chris Eckermann, Jonathan Halliwell, Daniel Kozák, Kalle Lundahl, Victoria Moul, Florencia Nelli, Arlette Neumann, Maria Pavlou, Anna Tatsi, Lukas van der Berge, Evelyne van 't Wout and Maria G. Xanthou. (The papers of Barbantani, Carey, Dimoula, Rutherford, Pontani, D'Angour, Wilson, Kozák and Moul will be published in a forthcoming separate supplementary volume of the *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*; and others have already appeared elsewhere.) Peter Agócs also wishes to thank the Master and Fellows of Christ's College, Cambridge. Special thanks are due to Alan Griffiths, who, generous as ever with his time, read through the manuscript with painstaking precision and offered substantive changes as well as purging errors. We would also like to thank the two very helpful anonymous readers who read an early draft of the manuscript for Cambridge University Press and Theodora Hadjimichael, who compiled the index. Finally, there is one more name that must be mentioned: Amanda Cater, former administrator of the UCL Department of Greek and Latin. She devoted days of her time and led the organisation and running of the conference. Her kindness, utter selflessness and cool head in a crisis are warmly remembered. One can only say that none of this would have been possible without her.

A few days before the conference began, we received news of the death of a friend and colleague, Malcolm Willcock, former Professor of Latin at UCL, who would have liked to attend. His contributions to scholarship on

Pindar and Greek poetry are well known, and his acuteness, intelligence, humanity and teaching are fondly remembered by anyone who has read his work or had the good fortune to study under him. While the text was in the final stages of preparation UCL lost another devotee of Pindar, Stephen Instone, who died in Lake Geneva on 25 July 2009. An inspirational teacher, Stephen had a passion for all things classical – above all for Pindar. He is much missed. To these two colleagues this volume is dedicated.

Abbreviations

Adler	*Suidae lexicon* (5 vols.), edidit A. Adler. Leipzig 1928–38.
AION (Filol)	*Annali dell' Istituto Universitario Orientale Napoli. Dipartimento di Studi del mondo classico e del Mediterraneo antico, sezione filologico-letteraria*.
Allen	*Homeri opera* Recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit Thomas W. Allen. *Tom. v, Hymnos, Cyclum, Fragmenta, Margiten, Batrachomyomachiam Vitas continens*. Oxford Classical Texts.
An. Oxon.	*Anecdota Oxoniensia e codd. manuscriptis bibliothecarum Oxoniensium*, ed. J. A. Cramer. Oxford 1835–.
Ar.	Aristophanes
Arist.	Aristotle
ARV^2	J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase Painters*, 2nd edn (3 vols.). Oxford 1963.
Beazley *Add*.	*Beazley Addenda: Additional References to ABV, ARV*^{2} *and Paralipomena*, 2nd edn, compiled by T. H. Carpenter with T. Mannack and M. Mendonça at the Beazley Archive. Oxford 1989.
Bergk, *PLG*^{4}	*Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, 4th edn (3 vols.), recensuit Theodorus Bergk. Leipzig 1878–82.
Bernabé	*Poetae epici Graeci. Testimonia et Fragmenta, pars 1*, 2nd edn, edidit A. Bernabé. Stuttgart–Leipzig 1996.
Brussich	*Laso di Ermione. Testimonianze e frammenti*, ed. F. Brussich. Pisa 2000.
CAH^2, 4	*Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. IV, *Persia, Greece and the Western Mediterranean* c. *525–479* B.C.,

	2nd edn., eds. J. Boardman, N. L. G. Hammond, D. M. Lewis and M. Ostwald. Cambridge 1998.
*CAH*², 5	*Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. v, *The Fifth Century* B.C., 2nd edn, eds. D. M. Lewis, J. Boardman, J. K. Davies and M. Ostwald. Cambridge 1992.
*CAH*², 6	*Cambridge Ancient History*, vol., VI, *The Fourth Century* B.C., 2nd edn., eds. D. M. Lewis, J. Boardman, S. Hornblower and M. Ostwald. Cambridge 1994.
Calame	*Alcman. Fragmenta edidit, veterum testimonia collegit Claudius Calame. Lyricorum Graecorum quae exstant:* Collana di testi critici diretta di B. Gentili, 6. Rome 1983.
Campbell	*Greek Lyric*, with an English translation by D. A. Campbell. (5 vols.: I, *Sappho–Alcaeus*; II, *Anacreon, Anacreontea, and Choral Lyric from Olympus to Alcman*; III, *Stesichorus, Ibycus, Simonides, and others*; IV, *Bacchylides, Corinna and Others*; V, *The New School of Poetry and Anonymous Songs and Hymns*). Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, Mass.–London 1982–93.
*CEG, CEG*¹	*Carmina Epigraphica Graeca. Saeculorum* VIII–V *a. Chr. n.*, vol. 12, *Texte und Kommentare* edidit P. A. Hansen. Berlin–New York 1983.
CPG	*Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*, vol. II, *Diogenianus Gregorius Cyprius, Macarius Aesopus, Apostolius et Arsenius, Mantissa Proverbiorum*, ediderunt E. L. Leutsch et F. G. Schneidewin. Göttingen 1851; repr. Hildesheim 1958.
Cramer	*Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptis bibliothecarum Oxoniensium* (4 vols.), descripsit J. A. Cramer. Oxford 1835; repr. Amsterdam 1963.
Da Rios	*Aristoxeni Elementa harmonica*, recensuit, R. da Rios, *Scriptores Graeci et Latini*. Rome 1954.
Dav., Davies	see *PMGF*
Dilts	*Excerpta politiarum Heraclidis Lembi*, edited and translated by M. R. Dilts. Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Monographs no. 5. Durham, N.C. 1971.

Dion. (*de avibus*)	*Dionysii Ixeuticon, seu De aucupio libri tres, in epitomen metro solutam redacti*, recensuit A. Garyza. Leipzig 1963.
DK	*Die fragmente der Vosokratiker. Griechisch und Deutsch* (2 vols.), von H. Diels. Sechste verbesserte Auflage hrsg. von W. Kranz. Berlin 1951.
Dr.	*Scholia vetera in Pindari carmina* (3 vols.), recensuit A. B. Drachmann. Leipzig 1903–27; repr. Stuttgart–Leipzig 1997.
Ebert	J. Ebert, *Griechische Epigramme auf Sieger an gymnischen und hippischen Agonen*. Berlin 1972.
ed. pr.	*editio princeps*
EGF Davies	*Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, edidit M. Davies. Göttingen 1988.
enc.	encomium
E., Eur.	Euripides
Etym. Gen.	F. Lasserre and N. Livadaras (eds.) (1976–) *Etymologicum Magnum Genuinum, Symeonis Etymologicum una cum Magna Grammatica, Etymologicum Magnum Auctum*, vol. I (Rome 1976), vol. II (Athens 1992).
Eus.	Eusebius
FD	*Fouilles de Delphes*
FGE	*Further Greek Epigrams. Epigrams from before* A.D. *50 from the* Greek Anthology *and Other Sources, not Included in 'Hellenistic Epigrams' or 'The Garland of Philip'*, ed. by D. L. Page, revised and prepared for publication by R. D. Dawe and J. Diggle. Cambridge 1981.
FGrHist	F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (4 parts), Leiden–Boston–Cologne 1923–.
Gaisford	*Etymologicon Magnum*. [. . .], recensuit Th. Gaisford. Oxford 1848; repr. Amsterdam 1962.
Gentili *et al.*	*Pindaro. Le Pitiche*, introduzione, testo critico e traduzione di B. Gentili, commento a cura di P. Angeli Bernardini, E. Cingano, B. Gentili e P. Giannini. Milan 1995.
GGM	*Geographici graeci minores*, vol. II, e cod. recogn. [. . .] K. Müller. Paris 1859.

GHI	R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the end of the fifth century* BC, revised edn. Oxford 1988.
GMW	A. Barker, *Greek Musical Writings* (2 vols.: I, *The Musician and his Art*; II, *Harmonic and Acoustic Theory*). Cambridge 1984–9.
Hell. Oxy.	*Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, edidit M. Chambers. Stuttgart–Leipzig 1993.
Hense	*Ioannis Stobaei Anthologii libri duo posteriores* (3 vols.), recensuit O. Hense. Berlin 1894–1912.
Hilgard	*Scholia Londiniensia (AE) in artis Dionysianae*. In *Scholia in Dionysii Thracis Artem Grammaticam*, recensuit [. . .] A. Hilgard. In *Grammatici Graeci*, vol. I./iii. Leipzig 1901; repr. Hildesheim 1965.
Hollis	*Callimachus: Hecale*, ed. A. Hollis. Oxford 1990. 2nd edn with addenda and enlarged commentary. Oxford 2009.
Holwerda	*Scholia in Aristophanem*, edidit edendave curavit D. Holwerda. (3 parts, 9 vols.: I/3.2, *In Nubes*; II.2, *In Pacem*; II.3, *In Aves*.) Groningen 1974, 1982 and 1991.
IEG, IEG^2	see W, W^2
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
I. Lindos	*Lindos. Fouilles de l'Acropole. 1902–1914*, vol. II, *Inscriptions*, publiées [. . .] par Chr. Blinkenberg. (2 vols.: I, nos. 1–281.) Berlin–Copenhagen 1941.
Jul.	Julianus
K–A	*Poetae Comici Graeci (PCG)*, ediderunt R. Kassel and C. Austin. (8 vols.: III/2, *Aristophanes, Testimonia et Fragmenta*; VIII, *Menecrates–Xenophon*.) Berlin–New York 1984 and 1989.
Kannicht	*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. R. Kannicht. (5 vols: V.1–2, *Euripides*.) Göttingen 2004.
Lasserre	*Plutarque de la musique*, texte traduction commentaire [. . .] par F. Lasserre. Olten–Lausanne 1954.
Latte	*Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, recensuit et emendavit K. Latte (3 vols: I, A–Δ. Haunia 1953; II,

	E–O. Haunia 1966; III [ed. P. A. Hansen], Π–Σ.). Berlin–New York 2005–.
Lenz–Behr	*P. Aelii Aristidis Opera Quae Exstant Omnia*, vol. I, Orationes I–XVI complectens, ed. F. W. Lenz and C. A. Behr. Leiden 1979–80.
Leutsch	see *CPG*
LGPN	*Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. Oxford 1997–.
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*
LSJ	*A Greek–English Lexicon*, compiled by H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, revised by H. S. Jones and R. MacKenzie, 9th edn. Oxford 1948; with Supplement, Oxford 1968.
M	*Pindarus pars II. Fragmenta. Indices*, edidit H. Maehler. Stuttgart–Leipzig 2001.
Macleod	*Luciani opera* (4 vols.), recognovit [. . .] M. D. Macleod. Oxford 1972–87.
Massimilla	*Callimaco. Aetia. Libri Primo e Secundo*, a cura di G. Massimilla. Pisa 1996.
ML	See *GHI*
Moretti (1953)	L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche. Studi Pubblicati dall' Istituto Italiano per la storia antica*, fasc. 12. Rome 1953.
Moretti (1957)	L. Moretti, *Olympionikai, i vincitori negli antichi agoni olympichi*. Rome 1957.
OCD^3	*The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edn, revised, eds. S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth. Oxford 2003.
Para	J. D. Beazley, *Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters and to Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, 2nd edn. Oxford 1971.
Pf., Pfeiffer	*Callimachus*, edidit R. Pfeiffer. (2 vols.: I, *Fragmenta*; II, *Hymni et epigrammata*.) Oxford 1949–53.
P. Köln	*Kölner Papyri (P. Köln)*. Bd. II. bearbeitet von C. Armoni, M. Grönewald et alii. Vol. VII/II, *Papyrologica coloniensia*. Abh. der nordrhein-westfal. Akad. der Wissenschaften, 2007.
Pl.	Plato
pl.	plate

Plut.	Plutarch
PMG	*Poetae Melici Graeci*, edidit D. L. Page. Oxford 1962.
PMGF	*Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, vol. I, *Alcman–Stesichorus–Ibycus*, post D.L. Page edidit M. Davies. Oxford 1991.
Pos.	Poseidippus
P.Oxy.	*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*
Preger	*Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, recensuit Theodorus Preger. Fasc. I, Hesychii Illustriou *Origines Constantinopolitanae*. Leipzig 1901–7.
Procl.	Proclus, *Chrestomathia*. See Severyns.
[Psell.] *De trag.*	Pseudo-Psellus, *De tragedia*. See Perusino 1993 in Bibliography.
Rabe	*Scholia in Lucianum*, edidit H. Rabe. Leipzig 1906.
Radt	*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (*TrGF*), vol. III, *Aeschylus*; vol. IV, *Sophocles*, ed. S. Radt. Göttingen, 1985 and 1977.
R–O	P. J. Rhodes and R. Osborne, *Greek Historical Inscriptions 404–323*. Oxford 2003.
RE	*Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, eds. A. Pauly, G. Wissowa and W. Kroll. Stuttgart 1893–1980.
Rose	*Aristotelis qui ferebantur librorum fragmenta*, collegit V. Rose. Leipzig 1886.
Rutherford	I. Rutherford, *Pindar's Paeans: A Reading of the Fragments with a Survey of the Genre*. Oxford 2001.
S	See *SLG, PMGF*
Σ Thom.-Tricl.	*Scholia Thomano-Tricliniana in Pindari* Pythia *v–xii ex cod. Florentino edita*, ed. T. Mommsen. Frankfurt a.M. 1867.
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. 1923–.
Serv.	*Servii grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina, commentarii* (4 vols.), recensuerunt G. Thilo et H. Hagen. Leipzig 1897–1902.
Severyns	A. Severyns, *Recherches sur la Chrestomathie de Proclos*. Paris 1963.
SH	H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons, *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, Berlin–New York 1983.

SLG	*Supplementum Lyricis Graecis. Poetarum lyricorum fragmenta quae recens innotuerunt*, ed. D. L. Page. Oxford 1974.
S–M	*Pindarus. Pars I. Epinicia*, post B. Snell edidit H. Maehler. Stuttgart–Leipzig 1987; repr. 1997.
Snell	*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (*TGrF*), vol. I, *Didascaliae tragicae, catalogi tragicorum et tragoediarum testimonia et fragmenta tragicorum minorum*, ed. B. Snell. 2nd edn. by R. Kannicht. Göttingen 1986.
Syll^{3}	*Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* a G. (W.) Dittenberger condita et aucta (4 vols.), 3rd edn. Leipzig 1914–24.
T, test.	*testimonium*
TGF	*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 2nd edn, recensuit A. Nauck. Leipzig 1889.
TGrF	*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. See Snell, Radt and Kannicht.
TLG	*Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (www.tlg.uci.edu).
V., Voigt	*Sappho et Alcaeus. Fragmenta*, edidit Eva-Maria Voigt. Amsterdam 1971.
Vit. A, Ambr.	*Vita Ambrosiana* (vol. I, I–3, 14 Dr.).
Vit. Th, Thom.	*Vita Thomana* (vol. I, 4, 9–8, 4 Dr.).
W, W^{2}	*Iambi et elegi graeci ante Alexandrum cantati*, edidit M. L. West. (2 vols.: I, *Archilochus, Hipponax, Theognidea*, Oxford 1971; II, *Callinus, Mimnermus, Semonides, Solon, Tyrtaeus, Minora, Adespota* expanded 2nd edn, Oxford 1992.)
Wehrli	*Die Schule des Aristoteles. Texte und Kommentar*, hrsg. von F. Wehrli. (10 vols. and 2 Supplements: II, *Aristoxenus*; VII, *Heracleides Pontikos*; IX, *Chamaileon*.) Basel–Stuttgart 1969.
WJA	*Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft.*

Critical signs

ms, mss	manuscript, manuscripts
P., pap., Π	papyrus
α̣ β̣ γ̣	letters that are not securely read
[αβγ]	editor's supplement of letters that have not survived
<αβγ>	letters omitted by the scribe, but added by an editor
{αβγ}	letters on the papyrus which an editor would delete
[[α β γ]]	letters deleted by the scribe of a papyrus
δ(έ)	resolution of an abbreviation used by the scribe
α^{β}	β has been written above the line on the papyrus
†αβγ†	indication that corruption has obscured the text here
10 αβγ Heyne: δεζ **DG**	in line 10, the reading of *mss* D and G is δεζ; the reading accepted, αβγ, is a conjecture of Heyne.

For metrical signs, see the convenient explanations in Battezato 2009 (in Bibliography) and M. L. West, *Introduction to Greek Metre* (Oxford 1987); for dactyloepitrite, see P. Maas, *Greek Metre* (Oxford 1962), §55: 40–2.

Introduction

Peter Agócs, Chris Carey and Richard Rawles

The victory ode is something of a paradox. No more than a hundred years separate emergence from eclipse. But in that period it managed to attract some of the most talented poets Greece ever produced, and to encapsulate her highest physical and ethical ideals. And despite the relative brevity of its life as a productive poetic genre, the limited range of its values and aspirations and the social exclusivity of the groups to which it primarily spoke, it has through the poetry of Pindar exercised a lasting influence on subsequent literary tradition, notably the European classical tradition from the Renaissance through to the poetry of Hölderlin. Pindar still embodies Greek lyricism in all its fascinating otherness: he is a challenge and frustration to readers and critics alike. The nature, historical, generic and cultural context of the victory ode, its impact and transmission in antiquity and its reception in the modern world were the subject of an international conference held at University College London in July 2006. The premise was a simple one: that after half a century in which different trends and approaches have emerged in Pindaric criticism with remarkable speed, and different disciplines and theories within and beyond classical scholarship been brought to bear, the time had come to take stock of the state of research in the field and to see where the interesting ideas were to be found. This was the first conference of this type and scale devoted to the genre. The present book gathers together many of the papers from that conference which dealt with the victory ode in its Archaic and Classical Greek contexts. A separate volume currently in preparation addresses the reception of epinician poetry from fifth-century tragedy through ancient Alexandria to modern Greece.

A health warning is necessary at this point. This book is not a companion to the victory ode (though such a book would no doubt be useful – the need is partly fulfilled by Hornblower and Morgan 2007); nor does it provide an overview of every trend or movement in current scholarship, or of every issue. It is rather a series of deep 'drills' in areas of major activity.

The aim is not to create or to reflect an orthodoxy. Certain modes of reading, particularly the New Historicist criticism of Pindar developed by American or US-based scholars like Leslie Kurke, Carol Dougherty and Nigel Nicholson, and strongly represented in the work of contemporary British Classicists like David Fearn (represented here by a rather different kind of essay) are largely and unintendedly absent. For at least the last century there has fortunately never been a time when monolithic scholarly consensus has prevailed in this area. This volume is faithful to that tradition, to the point that some contributions run distinctly against the grain of contemporary work. Insofar as a coherent picture emerges, it is one of diversity and complexity: complexity, both diachronic and synchronic, within the genre and the individual oeuvres; diversity of factors which generate the text, and of perspectives on the text. The book is organised into sections which consider the epinician from different perspectives – in terms of origin and evolution, social and political environment, physical or occasional setting, performance, rhetoric and literary theory, with a pyrotechnic finish by Michael Silk. Any division inevitably forces the material, and the reader will recognise that the boundaries between parts and chapters are permeable. In the end, what we have is a richer and (in many ways) more incomplete picture of the world of epinician poetry. The richness only adds to the incompleteness, as solutions to old problems raise new questions for the future.

Part I, The lost history of epinician, concerns aspects of the history of the victory ode (the fragmentary epinicia of Ibycus, Simonides and Pindar; epinician music; poetic patronage) which are often neglected, still obscure, or effectively lost to us. In 'Early epinician: Ibycus and Simonides', Richard Rawles grapples with the origins and pre-Pindaric history of the genre in the sixth century BC. Thanks to the survival, largely intact, of Pindar's four books of victory odes through the mediaeval tradition when the other thirteen books of his sacred and secular songs were lost together with the rest of the lyric corpus, the victory ode is today the most familiar and accessible form of Greek public lyric. It was, however, a very late entry into the repertoire. Its emergence is inextricably linked with the sudden expansion of athletic activity connected to the sixth-century reorganisation of the Panhellenic games. Beyond this, it is very difficult to extract anything like a satisfactory picture. Though the sixth-century victory ode is vital to our understanding of the origins and evolution of the genre, its nature is elusive. Until very recently we could comfortably assert that the victory ode began with Simonides, until John Barron suggested that it can be traced back to Ibycus a generation before. Rawles examines the earliest attested

or postulated beginnings of epinician. He tentatively concludes that the genre in some sense begins with Ibycus, but also that its emergence is evolutionary and hard to define. There is no single moment or place where epinician comes into being. Though most attempts to obtain a sense of the victory ode as a type have tended to emphasise convergence, Rawles uncovers a picture of diversity within both expectations and practice.

The history of the text of Pindar is a combination of canonisation and accident. Most classical scholars work on the unspoken assumption that we have Pindar's epinician oeuvre more or less as he wrote it. The sheer volume of his epinician corpus can obscure the fact that it is incomplete. But the accident which projected the *Nemean* odes in front of the *Isthmian* odes when the text made the transition from papyrus roll to codex left the *Isthmians* vulnerable at the end of the collection. Giovan Battista D'Alessio ('The lost *Isthmian* odes of Pindar') restores lost poems of Pindar's *Isthmians* from fragments preserved on papyrus. The paper is an outstanding example of philological reconstruction. It will be a standard reference for future work on the fragments, which D'Alessio is currently editing.

The need to revisit and revise historical narratives also motivates the chapter of Lucia Prauscello, 'Epinician sounds: Pindar and musical innovation'. Discussions of Greek music generally focus on seismic changes in the medium in the second half of the fifth century BCE. The tendency for comic poets and especially Plato to frame the history of lyric within an antithesis of past and present meant that Pindar, as the lyric poet (along with Simonides) most often quoted or cited by Aristophanes, was recruited posthumously in Athens as a musically conservative figure, just as he is regularly presented in modern sources (on the basis of a single fragment (fr. 209) and a self-narrative which stresses his piety) as intellectually conservative. Prauscello presents a radical new synthesis of developments in Greek music around the turn of the sixth century, documenting in particular the influence of the famous composer Lasus of Hermione on the music of the young Pindar. Her survey allows us to see Pindar as the radical musical innovator he was in his own time.

In the next two essays, Ewen Bowie discusses the mechanics of patronage in Pindar's world, while Simon Hornblower asks what became of the families and descendants of Pindar's aristocratic patrons in the very different political and social climate of the fourth century. In 'Pindar and his patrons', Bowie presents a critique of what has become the orthodox reading of Pindar's statements about patronage (*Pyth.* 11.41–4, *Isth.* 2.1–11, cf. Gentili 1965 and 1985; Kurke 1991; Nicholson 2003): namely that the praise-poet was a paid craftsman working for a *misthos* or wage. The

recognition from the time of Wolfgang Schadewaldt in the first half of the twentieth century that claims of the poet to be the *philos* and/or *xenos* of the patron represent a generic topos leads almost inevitably to a reading of Pindar which sees in his emphasis on friendship a means to palliate the uncomfortably mercantile aspect (and apparent insincerity) of selling praise for cash. Understandably, therefore, scholars over the last five decades have placed the emphasis more on the commercial than on the interpersonal aspect of the poet's relationship with those who hire his services. Bowie presents an iconoclastic view of the currently fashionable economic interpretation of Pindar's poetry, asking whether the poet's relationship to his patrons really was as strongly coloured by the cash relationship as has often been thought. The poets, he argues, were not dependents but rather fellow aristocrats, bound, as equals, to their patrons by real ties of friendship and gift exchange.

By the mid fifth century, the victory ode had reached the end of its life as a major Panhellenic song-form. After Pindar and Bacchylides, we have one victory ode: that for Alcibiades attributed to Euripides (755 *PMG*). But that is clearly a revival or a last gesture towards a moribund art form. It is difficult to tease out the reasons for the disappearance of epinician as a productive poetic genre. But however we explain the decline of the epinician in the fifth century, the disappearance of its clientele (implied in the tacitly Athenocentric narratives of Pindar as the spokesman for a disappearing world found in some modern studies) is not an option. In a prosopographical study ('What happened later to the families of Pindaric patrons – and to epinician poetry?') Simon Hornblower uses test cases to examine what became of Pindar's aristocratic patrons, demonstrating that these families persisted and remained influential. It has long been recognised that athletic verse inscriptions become more ambitious in the fourth century, and it is not unreasonable to see here an attempt to fill the lacuna left by the demise of epinician lyric. But as Hornblower argues, the lacuna is not total; the victory ode shrinks rather than disappearing entirely, its place being taken by less ambitious, local, less celebrated and ultimately short-lived compositions. The older songs of Pindar and Bacchylides were re-performed at family celebrations which kept the archaic victors' memories alive. The argument is not only important to our understanding of the social background of fifth-century epinician poetry, but has serious implications for the survival and transmission of the poems themselves.

The essays in Part II (*Contexts of performance and re-performance*) reflect what is perhaps the greatest tectonic shift in Hellenic studies of the past two generations. This is the realisation (see e.g. Herington 1985), grounded

in the pioneering work of Parry and Lord on Homer and reflecting similar developments in the study of Greek drama, that early poetic texts, lyric included, though often transmitted in writing, were realised in performance before an audience. The context and mode of choral or solo performance have profound implications for the meaning of lyric texts; indeed, as has become clear, they are in many ways definitive of genre. In recent Pindaric studies (see e.g. Currie 2004; Hubbard 2004; Morrison 2007b) there has been a move away from one single hypostasised context of celebration towards a deepening consciousness of the ways in which praise-song, to be an effective vehicle for the victor's fame, had to stand its ground in multiple contexts of performance and re-performance. Several of the essays here reflect this view of the multiplicity of epinician performance contexts. Various models are proposed. Some are more hierarchical and focused on the meaning of the poetry in particular defined historical contexts; others take a more de-centred and relativistic stance, asking how references to context help to define the world of each given poem and of the genre. Again we have no one answer to the questions (methodological and otherwise) posed by this new field of study, but the essays can be read together with profit as an attempt to map out an emerging and rewarding field of research.

Andrew Morrison's 'Performance, re-performance and Pindar's audiences' is the first piece in this sequence. He adopts a model (in line with recent work by Currie 2004, and using a methodology rehearsed at greater length in his own book on the Sicilian odes of Pindar (Morrison 2007b)) of multiple potential occasions for performance and (re-)performance before multiple audiences which in some cases overlap, but whose interests and prejudices may conflict. Through a detailed study of odes for Sicilian tyrants and Arcesilas king of Cyrene, he presents a model for understanding the diffusion of Pindar's odes from the 'primary' audience to 'secondary' and even 'tertiary' audiences, showing how this variety of audience viewpoints will have affected the meaning of Pindar's victory odes both individually and in relation to other songs. He asks how Pindar took his different audiences into account in composing his victory songs. His work is of particular interest in understanding the political dimension of the victory ode as a form of propaganda; but its implications are wider. It is in fact the first sustained and systematic attempt to grapple with what it was that Pindar's audiences brought to the act of listening to epinician song over a large corpus of the poetry, and to define the 'horizon of expectation' against which the text, as a performance, was heard in each particular place and time.

In 'Performance and re-performance: the Siphnian Treasury evoked' Lucia Athanassaki is also interested in time and place. In particular, she asks how a sense or a memory of a place can be enacted in the song, and the relationship between song and this physical, especially monumental, environment. She looks at the multiple performance settings implied in Pindar's sixth *Pythian*, both in its Delphic context (where she draws attention to the link with one of the most famous masterpieces of late archaic architectural sculpture: the Siphnian Treasury) and in sympotic re-performance. She finds that the ode inscribes more than one performance setting without explicitly declaring for either, thus allowing it to function successfully both at the original celebration and in subsequent sympotic settings.

The next three chapters look at broader contexts of performance: religious festivals, the *symposion* and the *komos*. It has long been argued that some victory odes were celebrated at civic festivals, though the evidence is often ambiguous and individual instances are invariably contentious. The most important contribution in this area is Eveline Krummen's *Pyrsos Hymnon* (1990). In 'Representations of cult in epinician poetry' Franco Ferrari presses Pindar's possible allusions to cult practices in a number of odes and also a number of allusions in the ancient scholia, examining both their relevance to the performance of the victory ode, and the meaning of the religious background which informs so much of the poetry. He finds reason to attach *Olympian* 3, *Pythian* 2 and *Pythian* 3 to cult practice, but rejects the commonly accepted link of *Pythian* 5 to the Carneia at Cyrene.

The chapters of Budelmann and Athanassaki can be viewed as companion pieces. Both in different ways examine the relationship between the epinician and the context(s) of feasting or festivity in which it locates itself. In 'Epinician and the *symposion*: a comparison with the *enkomia*', Felix Budelmann presents a lucid and careful discussion of the permeable boundary between the epinician and the encomium. He finds that the encomium locates itself more explicitly in a sympotic context, unlike the epinician, where references to the symposium are more ambiguous. The epinician is less easy to fix in (original) performance, a fact he connects at least in part with the potential for re-performance. Peter Agócs' essay 'Performance and genre: reading Pindar's ΚΩΜΟΙ' continues and develops many of Budelmann's themes. He too is interested less in reconstructing particular historical performances than in examining what epinician says about itself through the language of occasion and performance. As the most richly attested mode or context of epinician singing, the *komos* plays

a special role in the way individual songs define themselves as examples of a genre.

Finally, Rosalind Thomas' chapter examines Greek epinician poetry from a broader ethnographic perspective, as an example of the genre 'praise-poetry'. Half a century ago Bundy (in a memorable formulation) observed: 'it should be evident that the Epinikion must adhere to those principles that have governed enkomia from Homer to Lincoln's *Gettysburg Address*'. Though this bold statement ignores what is culturally specific to Greek public praise, it remains the case that comparative study has much to contribute to our understanding of the nature of praise-poetry. In 'Pindar's "difficulty" and the performance of epinician poetry: some suggestions from ethnography', Thomas uses living traditions of oral praise-poetry in sub-Saharan Africa to explore aspects of Pindar's epinicians. She argues from the style of African praise texts for dense language as an important part of Pindar's communicative strategy designed to engage the audience.

The third part, *Critical approaches to the victory ode: rhetoric, imagery and narrative*, examines epinician from a variety of more 'literary' angles. Glenn W. Most's comparative study, 'Poet and public: communicative strategies in Pindar and Bacchylides', begins from the fact that Pindar and Bacchylides sometimes composed songs for the same occasion and audience: odes that are nevertheless very different in language, tone and form. Through close comparison of two such pairs of odes (Bacchylides 13 and Pindar *Nemean* 5, written for an Aeginetan boy victor at the Nemean Games of 485 BC; and Bacchylides 5 and Pindar's first *Olympian*, written for the chariot victory of the Sicilian tyrant Hieron at Olympia a decade later), Most is able to show the great differences in the rhetoric ('communicative strategies') of the two poets, and to suggest reasons for the differences. His essay is an important examination of the diversity of means and thought in epinician: a question often underrated since the work of Bundy (1962), with its notion of genre and its conventions as something fixed by tradition, set the tone of critical thinking on the poets, particularly in the English-speaking world.

The following two essays study Pindar's use of imagery, one of the most immediately striking and memorable aspects of his poetic technique, and also one of the greatest obstacles to the first-time reader's appreciation of the poetry. It also points to another, broader and more philosophical sense of 'world'. In 'Image and world in epinician poetry', Gregory Hutchinson, building on recent theoretical and philosophical work on the nature of metaphor, presents a comprehensive overview of the sources and use of metaphor in Pindar and Bacchylides. He writes profoundly about how imagery contributes to the reader's sense of a poetic world. Where