

HOW THE DITHYRAMB GOT ITS SHAPE*

I. INTRODUCTION

- 1 Πρὶν μὲν ἔρπε σχοινοτένεια τ' αἰοιδά | διθυράμβων
 2 καὶ τὸ σὰν κίβδηλον ἀνθρώποισιν ἀπὸ στομάτων.
 3 διαπέπ[τ]α[ν]ται[. . .] . . . [κύ] | κλοιοι νέα[ι].¹

Formerly the dithyramb was stretched out like a rope
 and the sigma issued discredited from the lips of men.
 Now new gates are open for the circular choirs.²

Pindar's *Dithyramb* 2 opens with a reference to the historical development of the genre it exemplifies, the celebrated circular chorus of classical Greece. The first two lines were long known from various citations, notably in Athenaeus, whose sources included the fourth-century authors Heraclides of Pontus and Aristotle's pupil Clearchus of Soli. The third line appears, only partly legible, on a papyrus fragment published in 1919, which preserves some thirty lines of the dithyramb including most of the first antistrophe (thereby guaranteeing the metre for some reconstruction of the first strophe).³ The key citation of the passage reads:

Πίνδαρος δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀσιγμοποιηθεῖσαν ᾠδὴν, ὡς ὁ αὐτός φησι Κλέαρχος «οἶονεῖ γρίφου τινὸς ἐν μελοποιᾷ προβληθέντος», ὡς πολλῶν τούτῳ προσκρουόντων διὰ τὸ ἀδύνατον εἶναι ἀποσχέσθαι τοῦ σίγμα καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ δοκιμάζειν, ἐποίησε «πρὶν μὲν . . . ἀνθρώποις». ταῦτα σημειώσαιτ' ἂν τις πρὸς τοὺς νοθεύοντας Λάσου τοῦ Ἑρμιονέως τὴν ἀσιγμον ᾠδὴν, ἥτις ἐπιγράφεται Κένταυροι.⁴

Pindar wrote this (πρὶν μὲν . . . ἀνθρώποις) with reference to asigmatic composition, 'like a riddle couched in lyric' to quote the same Clearchus, because many objected to this on account of the impossibility of avoiding the sigma and of its being viewed with disfavour. One might point out these lines to those who deny Lasos of Hermione's authorship of the asigmatic song entitled *Centaurs*.

Thus the ancient commentators, disregarding the question of the connotation of *σχοινοτένεια*, sought to explain the passage as referring to Pindar's repudiation of *ἀσιγμοὶ ᾠδαί*. The latter term, taken to mean 'songs composed without the use of sigma', was connected unequivocally to its earliest and best-known practitioner, the sixth-century musician Lasos of Hermione, who was said to have been Pindar's teacher.⁵ The γρίφος in question has been thought to refer to the riddle posed by the absence of 's' in asigmatic lyric composition;⁶ but Clearchus may have been alluding

*I am grateful to friends and colleagues who commented on earlier drafts of this article. Books and articles cited more than once below are listed in the bibliography at the end.

¹ Pindar fr. 70b Maehler, 1–5. The augmented form ἔρπε, found in most MSS, should probably be retained in line 1 (Van der Weiden, p. 64) and is used henceforth.

² The translation is that given in Pickard-Cambridge, *DTC*, p. 23, incorporating the widely accepted supplements in Grenfell and Hunt, 34ff.: δὲ νῦν ἱροῖς | πύλα[ι κύ]κλοι νέαι. Other suggestions may be found in D. E. Gerber, *Emendations in Pindar 1513–1972* (Amsterdam, 1976), p. 164. I offer a new reading and reconstruction in Section VI below.

³ *POxy* 1604 no. II: line 3 corresponds to ὁ δὲ κηλεῖται χορευούσαισι κ[αὶ θη]ρῶν ἀγέλαις.

⁴ Athenaeus 10.455 bc. Cf. Dion. Hal. *De comp. verb.* 14.80, p. 54 U.-R., Aristoxenus fr. 87 Wehrli.

⁵ The tradition may partly depend on the allusion to Lasos detected in Pindar's lines (Privitera [1965], p. 61).

⁶ Privitera (1965), p. 32.

to a particular γρίφος, whose riddling terms were echoed in Pindar's lines.⁷ Athenaeus and others appear to have understood it to mean the riddle posed by Pindar's own words which, despite sundry attempts at explanation and restoration, have hitherto eluded definitive interpretation.⁸

In this article I first review some earlier approaches which, following the example of the ancient authors, centre on the attempt to elucidate line 2. A fresh approach to τὸ σὰν (εἴρπει) κίβδηλον leads to an interpretation of the lines which satisfies musical, historical, and papyrological criteria and enables us to reconstruct an obscure chapter of Greek cultural history.

II. THE PRODIGAL SAN

The casually precise and curiously unpoetic allusion in line 2 has attracted a host of hopeful theories. Before the discovery of the Oxyrhynchus fragment, scholars speculated about a linguistic explanation for τὸ σὰν κίβδηλον. The tradition of the literary dithyramb was Dorian, just as the dithyramb's 'successors', tragedy and comedy, were allegedly Dorian in origin.⁹ Nineteenth-century editors of Pindar (e.g. Böckh, Dissen, Donaldson) thus sought a special significance for the appellation *san* by contrast with *sigma*, assuming the reference to be to a Doric form of *s* employed in the pre-Pindaric dithyramb. If Pindar had written *san* with this intention, it might provide a ready, if unenlightening, explanation for τὸ σὰν κίβδηλον: 'once the false-sounding *san* was uttered, now we use only the pure *sigma*'. But there is no evidence that *san* and *sigma* were anything other than different names for the same sound: Δωριέες μὲν σὰν καλέουσι, Ἵωνες δὲ σίγμα.¹⁰

In the notes accompanying their publication of *POxy* 1604, Grenfell and Hunt accepted Athenaeus' testimony that the expression alluded to asigmatism, concluding that the reference to the *s* emerging κίβδηλον meant that it issued as 'base coin'; i.e. being worthless, it was not used at all by Lasos. This would be, as they acknowledged, a tortuous way of saying that Lasos had avoided *s* in composition. That κίβδηλον might be used by Pindar with such self-subverting force seems unlikely, even if it is the only plausible explanation of what Athenaeus understood by the phrase. No modern scholar (so far as I know) has yet rejected this explanation outright, and Pickard-Cambridge/Webster were cautiously disposed to accept it as offering 'the least objectionable translation'.¹¹

Subsequently, Wilamowitz quashed speculation about any *san/sigma* distinction by noting that the predicative force of κίβδηλον implied that the *letter s* was not the object of censure as such, but that the *sound* of *s* emerged in a corrupt way.¹² This led him to consider the possibility that a variant pronunciation of *s* was the issue. Translating κίβδηλον as 'unrein' (impure), he suggested a connection with the Aeolic dialect of Pindar's birthplace, Boeotia, which tended to have dental consonants where

⁷ Clearchus wrote a work on γρίφοι (frs. 84–95 Wehrli): they were commonly couched in dactylic or iambic verse, not in lyric.

⁸ Pickard-Cambridge (*DTC*, p. 24) concluded that 'the expression [τὸ σὰν κίβδηλον] remains difficult' and 'we cannot be certain to what exactly "stretched out like a rope" refers'.

⁹ Arist. *Poetics* 1448a28f.; Pickard-Cambridge, *DTC*, pp. 13.

¹⁰ Hdt. 1.139; cf. Athen. 11.467.

¹¹ *DTC*, p. 24.

¹² Wilamowitz, p. 342: 'Das S wird nicht als solches getadelt, sondern daß es κίβδηλον vom Munde kam, also seine Aussprache. Mit dem Namen des Buchstaben hat das nichts zu tun.'

other dialects had sibilants.¹³ The idea lacks conviction, as Pindar commonly uses a standard literary Doric devoid of dialectal variants.¹⁴ A more likely candidate for the unusual pronunciation of *s* might be Arion of Methymna, to whose alleged invention of the *κύκλιος χορός* at the Dorian-speaking court of Periander of Corinth (c. 625–585 B.C.) Pindar's lines have been thought to allude.¹⁵ But the curious specificity of Pindar's description suggests that the change in the dithyramb fell within living memory rather than the distant past.¹⁶ The virtually unavoidable supplement *δὲ νῦν* in line 2 (if not the *νεα[.]* of the damaged line 3) also seems to point to a recent innovation in the genre. The performance of Pindar's own dithyramb, which depicts a Dionysiac rite on Olympus, will have exemplified the results of the very transformation to which he refers. The semi-legendary Arion seems an unlikely figure to allude to in the context of a change in dithyrambic practice recent enough to be recognized as such by Pindar's audience.

Speculation about dialect tends to gloss over the fact that the *dithyramb* is the specific point of departure for Pindar's reference to the *san* emerging *kibdêlon*. It is scarcely credible, and ultimately there is no evidence, that in Lasos' or even Arion's time a dialectally variant *s* was peculiar to this genre. The assumptions of ancient commentators, who casually broadened the scope of reference from 'dithyramps' to singing in general (*ᾠδῇ*), have tended to overshadow the specificity of Pindar's reference.¹⁷ Both the context and structure of his expression show that the issue is concerned with dithyramps specifically: it forms part of a dithyramb's opening lines, it follows a reference to *ᾠοιδὰ διθυράμβων* and precedes a mention of *κύκλοι*, and it is bound to line 1 by *τε . . . καί* and by common dependence on the main verb *εἶρπε*.¹⁸ The opening lines present a contrast articulated as follows: '(A) formerly *a* and *b* but (B) now *c*': the flow of sense demands that the reference to the dithyramb, explicit in *a* and *c*, should also embrace *b*.

While the close connection of lines 1 and 2 thus demands that the *σὰν κίβδηλον* be related to the dithyramb specifically, Pindar's *πρὶν μὲν* is too general to refer solely to the dithyramps of the unnamed Lasos. Neither were Lasos' dithyramps all asigmatic, nor were they the sole object of his asigmatic experiments (see further below). This undermines the Grenfell/Hunt interpretation that *τὸ σὰν* (sc. *εἶρπε*) *κίβδηλον* meant,

¹³ E.g. *πλατίος* for *πλησίος*, *μέττος* for *μέσσος*, *Δεύς* for *Ζεύς*, *δοκιμάδδω* for *δοκιμάζω* etc.: Buck, pp. 57–8, 70, 71.

¹⁴ A well-known exception is the Boeotism in *Ol.* 1. 82, *τά κέ τις*. Boeotian has phonological features found in Doric dialects (Buck, pp. 345–6).

¹⁵ The question of Arion is discussed below, Section VII.

¹⁶ Cf. West (1992), p. 344: 'The reference to the "false-sounding 's"' clearly serves to define "formerly" as "before the refinements of Lasus".' In Anacreon fr. 388 Page, the opening *πρὶν μὲν* is balanced by *νῦν δέ* (line 10): there too the current situation is contrasted with a former one still vivid in the poet's memory. *πρὶν μὲν* is not *πάλαι ποτέ*.

¹⁷ The specificity was recognized by G. Huxley: in *Pindar's Vision of the Past* (Belfast, 1975) he speculated that dithyramps were originally imported from Anatolia, and that the pronunciation of *s* as *sh* preserved evidence of their 'outlandish origin' (p. 41).

¹⁸ The close interconnection of the lines is recognized by West (1971), who suggests (p. 310 n. 4): 'Pindar is saying that in the traditional dithyramb in the aulodic *σχοινίων νόμος* the *σ* did not come out true from men's mouth, it did not live up to its promise, because of the pipe accompaniment. His new dithyramb has quite a different sound.' However, an association with the *σχοινίων νόμος* here is unconvincing: *σχοινοτένεια* is descriptive of singing (*ᾠοιδά*) rather than alluding to any particular *νόμος*, and the *-τένεια* element cannot be overlooked (see below, Section V). *σχοινίων νόμος* is perhaps related to the bird so named (LSJ s.v. *σχοινίων*): such 'imitative' *nomoi* included the Pythian nome (see n. 44 below), and cf. Alcman's *Φοῖδα δ' ὀρνίχων νόμους παντῶν* (PMG 40).

for Pindar, that the *s* was absent in former dithyrambs (i.e. those of Lasos), in contrast to his own unrestricted use. These various approaches to the interpretation of τὸ σάν κίβδηλον thus face insuperable objections, which may be summed up as follows: (i) they disregard the unity of reference of the first two lines; (ii) they do not explain why dithyrambs specifically are related to τὸ σάν emerging κίβδηλον; and (iii) they do not unravel the allusion, assumed without question by the ancient commentators, to Lasos. To the evidence for the latter we now turn.

III. LASOS AND THE SOUND OF MUSIC

The only surviving example of Lasos' asigmatic composition is the opening of his *Hymn to Demeter*:

Δάματρα μέλπω Κόραν τε Κλυμένοι' ἄλοχον
μελιβόαν ὕμνον ἀναγνέων
Αἰολίδ' ἄμ βαρύβρομον ἄρμονίαν.¹⁹

That the dithyramb was Lasos' focus or original point of departure for asigmatic composition is not ruled out by this fragment, although it shows that he sought to tackle a similar problem at least with respect to other kinds of ὕμνοι as well.²⁰ I shall argue that our knowledge of this choice of genres for the purpose of Lasos' experimental asigmatism is not simply an accident of survival, but throws light on what that experiment was designed to counteract. That asigmatism was an experiment and not an invariable feature of his compositions is clear: it is known that he even wrote a dithyramb which was not asigmatic.²¹ So what was the point of his experiment? Clearly, it was a response to something that was deemed offensive about the sibilant, and offered a radical means of solving the problem: eliminating 's' altogether was, as Athenaeus recognized, an extreme measure. A different solution was required, and evidently, at some stage before Pindar composed this dithyramb, one was found.²²

The terms upon which a solution was sought clearly depended on how the problem itself was perceived. Wherein was the offensiveness of the sibilant thought to arise? This question raises subtly different angles for interpretation, and the tendency has been to connect it with considerations of euphony.²³ Athenaeus quotes the opinion

¹⁹ PMG 702 = Athenaeus 14.624e (quoting Heraclides of Pontus): 'I sing of Demeter and Kore, wife of Clymenus, raising my honey-voiced hymn in the deep Aeolian strain'.

²⁰ That the *Demeter* was not a dithyramb is indicated by its Aeolian mode; Heraclides called it simply ὕμνος ἄσιγμος (fr. 161 W). The only candidate for an asigmatic dithyramb by Lasos is the *Κένταυροι* cited by Athenaeus (we have only the title), whose attribution to Lasos was debated in antiquity.

²¹ Pickard-Cambridge comments that 'the only certain fact about the contents of his dithyrambs is the wholly unimportant one recorded by Aelian [*N.A.* 7.47] that he called a young lynx by the name of *skymnos* (whelp)' (*DTC*, p. 15). By the same token, ironically, this confirms that Lasos' dithyrambs were not all asigmatic. A line from Philodemus' *Περὶ ποιημάτων* (*PapHerc* 994, col. 37, 8–11) reads: οὐδὲ [τὰ] Λάσου μάλιστα τοῖς[αὖ]τι πεποικιλμένα ποιεῖν τ]οιοῦτον—'not even Lasos' compositions that are most elaborated in such a way do this sort of thing' (sc. omit the sigma?).

²² Clearly, the solution was not simply a more sparing use of *s*. Despite the interesting statistics presented by Clayman (p. 81), *s* remains much in evidence in Pindar, as in this actual dithyramb.

²³ Privitera writes (1965, p. 30): 'La questione delle lettere eufoniche e disfoniche, a cui Democrito dedicò un suo scritto (*Περὶ εὐφώνων καὶ δυσφώνων γραμμάτων* in *Vorsokr.*¹⁰ 68 B 18 b) era dunque viva già verso la fine del sec. VI.'

that οἱ μουσικοί, καθάπερ πολλάκις Ἀριστόξενός φησι, τὸ σίγμα λέγειν παρηγοῦντο διὰ τὸ σκληρόστομον καὶ ἀνεπιτήδειον ἀλλῶ.²⁴ Aristoxenus went on to cite the Pindaric verses in question as proof that in earlier times the sibilant was thought unpleasant. But his conclusion is tendentious: the 'harsh sound' of the sibilant is distinct from its 'unsuitability to the aulos'. Aristoxenus' opinion may perhaps be traced to a simple schematism which, by equating dithyrambos with Dionysos, Dionysos with the aulos, and asigmatism with (Lasos') dithyrambos, connected the avoidance of the sigma with the presence of the aulos.

I propose to reconsider the question from a different angle, beginning with an observation about the way that sung words and sounds are uttered and heard in choral performances. Given our uncertain knowledge of Greek music and performance, it is not surprising that this approach has hitherto been overlooked. The text-oriented perspective of commentators may have caused them to miss a truer appreciation of the nature of the aural experience that Lasos' asigmatism was designed to address.²⁵ In particular, they have overlooked the implications of the phrase ἀνθρώποισιν ἀπὸ στομάτων. It is generally assumed that ἀνθρώποισιν is a dative of possession dependent on στομάτων, i.e. 'from the lips of men'; but it may equally be read as a dative following εἶρπε. In that case, ἀνθρώποισιν would refer to the *audience* of the dithyramb (hence ἀνθρώποισιν, rather than ἀνδράσιν or παισίν), to whom the song came out σχοινοτένεια and the *s* κίβδηλον. As the citation was most often quoted ending with the word ἀνθρώποις, this is how many of the ancient commentators will have understood the word.²⁶ This is not to deny that, for Pindar, ἀνθρώποισιν might have served a dual semantic function (a version of what grammarians term ἀπὸ κοινοῦ): the dative after εἶρπε naturally becomes, by a kind of retrospective attraction, a possessive dative with ἀπὸ στομάτων. But for a moment the perspective shifts to how the sibilant was *heard* rather than how it was *uttered*.

In Lasos' time the dithyramb became a massed choral genre *par excellence*, performed at Athens by choruses of fifty men or fifty boys.²⁷ Given the size of the forces that took part, it is open to question how noticeable a particular *style* of uttering *s* could have been. It therefore seems reasonable to infer that the undesirability of the *s* may have been something to do with the effect of a *plurality* of voices emitting the sibilant in the dithyrambic performance, rather than to its pronunciation by individual singers.²⁸ This is not to deny that, in some contexts, the *s* itself was considered an unattractive sound, as Aristoxenus maintained; clarity and purity of vocal projection were valued by the Greeks, λιγύς being the most common term of approbation for singers and

²⁴ Fr. 87 W = Athenaeus 11.467: 'Musicians, as Aristoxenus often says, tended to avoid the utterance of the *s* because of its harshness and unsuitability to the aulos.'

²⁵ Lawler (1950) related σχοινοτένεια to the manner of performance of the dithyramb (see further below, n. 59), and Privitera (1988) raised the question of 'l'effetto spettacolare' of the κύκλιος χορός, but neither attempted to consider its aural impact.

²⁶ E.g. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Strabo, and Clearchus quoted above (see n. 4). Such an interpretation is supported by reading διαπέπτανται . . . κύκλοισι as echoing the construction of εἶρπε . . . ἀνθρώποισιν.

²⁷ The boys' chorus may have been a later institution (see further n. 87). In the fifth century, each of the ten Attic tribes contributed both a men's and a boys' chorus for the City Dionysia (Pickard-Cambridge, *DFA*, p. 75 n. 1).

²⁸ The neglect of this point may have been encouraged by imprecise translations, e.g. Wilamowitz's 'vom Munde' (see n. 12 above) and West's 'from men's mouth' (n. 18 above).

orators.²⁹ But if the sibilant was itself undesirable, it was *a fortiori* unwelcome when uttered by an ensemble of voices.

Conscientious vocalists today take care not to prolong their 's's: a voiceless sibilant, the phoneme *s* cannot be sung to a pitched note and so is apt to stand out from the vocal melody. While ensuring the clean enunciation of sibilants and other phonemes is a desirable accomplishment for professional solo vocalists, it involves a further consideration for choirs and choral conductors. Choral directors take pains to control the tendency for choirs to anticipate, linger, and straggle on 's' in phrases such as 'Hosanna in excelsis'. This tendency is particularly noticeable at word ends when the syllable occupies more than one beat: if members of the choir alight upon the 's' at different points of time, the result can be a hiss of trailing sibilants. The hissing is particularly apparent when the melodic line is sung in unison at the same pitch or in octaves, as was commonly the case in ancient Greek singing.³⁰ A modern example is the 'Libera Me' from Fauré's *Requiem*: at the words 'dum véneris' the vocal line drops an octave following the climax on 'vén-': poorly synchronized sibilants (on '-ris') disrupt the melodic phrase.³¹

Reducing the impact of the sibilant was later to become a preoccupation of ancient literary authors and critics. But a trained and discriminating *aural* sensitivity is likely to follow from the essentially *oral* nature of Greek culture at this period.³² The effect of the sibilant will have demanded special attention during the rehearsal and performance of vocal, and in particular choral, music intended for a discerning audience: from the perspective of listener and χοροδιδάσκαλος, ᾄσιγμοι ᾠδαί are 'songs that do not hiss'.³³ For Lasos, the purpose of asigmatic composition was not the pursuit of an academic ideal of euphony or of lipogrammatic virtuosity.³⁴ It is more likely to have stemmed from an attempt to reduce the impact of poorly synchronized 's's, a problem relating to the *quality* of choral utterance about which he had some particular cause to be fastidious. The *s* may not have been the only issue for Lasos in this regard, but perhaps the main focus of his concern with uncoordinated enunciation. If the sound of the sibilant was in any case considered euphonicly undesirable by Greeks, its unsynchronized emission would have been a *bête noire* for

²⁹ West (1992), p. 42. λιγύς describes voices that are 'fine and concentrated, like those of cicadas, grasshoppers, and nightingales, and in general all those voices that are refined and have no extraneous sound accompanying them' (Ps.-Arist. *De Audibilibus* 804a21).

³⁰ West (1992), pp. 40–1.

³¹ When I conducted the 100-strong Kodaly Choir at Oxford, I sought to deal with trailing sibilants by instructing the choristers to substitute 'ts' for final 's'. In employing such contemporary criteria to evaluate ancient evidence, one caveat is that 'choral' today does not include the element of dance.

³² R. Thomas, *Literacy & Orality in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 117f.

³³ As if ᾄσιγμος were derived from αἰζώ (σιγμός, 'hissing', is used by Aristotle).

³⁴ Lipogrammatism, the deliberate omission of one or more letters of the alphabet as a test of literary skill (prodigiously employed in modern times in the work of Georges Perec, whose wholesale omission of the letter 'e' in *La Disparition* was emulated in Gilbert Adair's ingenious English translation *A Void*) was an Alexandrian pastime. It is strikingly demonstrated in the sixty-line fragment published by E. G. Turner as 'Papyrus Bodmer XXVIII: a Satyr-Play on the Confrontation of Heracles and Atlas' (*MH* 33 [1976], 1–23). Interestingly, in these verses ξ is not omitted (though there is no trace of ψ or ζ), which shows that the lipogrammatism was not based on purely aural criteria, as Lasos' *Hymn to Demeter* may have been (the short fragment avoids all three letters). Clearchus, in referring to Lasos' asigmatism in his *Περὶ γράφων* (fr. 86 W, see n. 7 above), may have been partly responsible for its being misleadingly characterized as an intellectual diversion; despite Lasos' penchant for wordplay (see below, n. 50), the omission of the sigma was not a gimmick.

the professional choral trainer.³⁵

The problem, then, which Lasos sought to tackle was that of the straggling, unconsouant *s*. We thus arrive at an interpretation which specifies the meaning of *κίβδηλον* as 'ragged' or 'imprecise'. There is no difficulty in making the word bear such a meaning, a natural extension of the sense of 'adulterated, impure' in this context. Perhaps it was a term coined by Lasos himself for this purpose: with his ear for amphibologies it will not have been lost on him that just as a *νόμισμα* might be issued *κίβδηλον*, so might a *νόμος*.³⁶ The possibility that it might have acquired a more technical connotation is raised by a curious verbal echo with the second element of the compound *αὐτοκάβδαλος*, used by Aristotle to mean 'careless, slovenly'.³⁷ That word also had a particular association with musical utterance, *αὐτοκάβδαλοι* being later recorded as a local name for Dionysiac performers who improvised their lines, perhaps in the tradition of the original *ἐξάρχοντες* of the dithyramb.³⁸

IV. LASOS IN CONTEXT

A good reason for Lasos' sharpened consciousness of this aural phenomenon is not far to seek. During the sixth century, political and musical considerations led to the staging of musical contests at the major Hellenic festivals.³⁹ In 558 B.C. solo kithara-playing became an official event at the Pythian festival along with aulesis and kitharody;⁴⁰ and musical events and competitions were a central feature of the remodelled festivals of the Panathenaea, Thargelia, and City Dionysia. These events reflected increased analytical attention to instrumental and choral music. Thus Lasos, who founded the dithyrambic contests at Athens, has also been connected with the acoustic experiments of his contemporary, Epigonos of Sicyon.⁴¹ Lasos' choral innovations may have paved the way for the metrical inventiveness and complexity demonstrated by Pindar's odes: types of choric song, whose origins lay in folk music and ritual, had become public events requiring extensive training and subject to critical appraisal. Success required skill in execution, the gratification of the audience, and innovation within the context of familiar traditions.⁴²

A competitive tradition existed which may actually have encouraged the use of the sibilant for dramatic effect. Some generations before Lasos, the aulete Sakadas of Argos had been successful on three occasions at the Pythian festival from its first

³⁵ Scholars have usually inferred that Lasos was personally sensitive in this respect ('empfindlich', Wilamowitz, p. 342), 'indulged his dislike for sibilants' (Pickard-Cambridge, *DTC*, p. 14, echoed by Webster, p. 91, 'Lasos disliked sibilants'), or was 'self-consciously intellectual' (West [1992], p. 342).

³⁶ Cf. *Ar. Ra.* 721–5: the way to discover *νομίσματα κεκιβδηλευμένα* was to test their 'ring', *καδωνίζειν*.

³⁷ *Rhet.* 1415b38.

³⁸ Pickard-Cambridge, *DTC*, pp. 137f. I have argued elsewhere for a Semitic origin of *κίβδηλος*, relating it to an original sense of 'counterfeit' coin, one of several money terms borrowed by the Greeks from Phoenicia.

³⁹ See in general Zimmermann, ch. 4.1, and Seaford (1977), pp. 88f.

⁴⁰ Paus. 10.7.7.

⁴¹ Aristox. *Elem. Harm.*, p. 3 Meib.

⁴² The tension between tradition and innovation is a feature of Greek music from its earliest mention in Homer. Musical history thus provides an important paradigm for the study of the meaning of innovation in Greek culture (the subject of my Ph.D. thesis, in progress). Anxiety about innovations is often assuaged by assimilating them to the past; the 'shock of the new' is thus absorbed, but historical memory is distorted. This may have happened with the account of Arion's and Lasos' respective contributions to the dithyramb (see Section VII below).

celebration in 586 B.C. for his performance on solo aulos of the tale of Apollo and Python.⁴³ The so-called *Πυθικός νόμος* was an early example of 'programme' music; on similar lines, the exploitation of sibilants and the clash of *s* with the aulos might have been effective contrivances, though they were later to be censured.⁴⁴ The kitharist Lysander of Sicyon, perhaps active at the beginning of the fifth century, even sought to emulate such 'bestial' effects by inventing a technique of *συριγμός* for the solo kithara.⁴⁵ Such instrumental effects offended conservatives, and were condemned in terms similar to those in which literary critics later censured the excessive use of 's' (also called *συριγμός*) in poetic composition.⁴⁶

Hissing sibilants might be thought no less appropriate to Dionysos than to Apollo.⁴⁷ Thus in *Dithyramb* 2, Pindar makes reference to snakes in connection with Athena's serpentine aegis; following the words *κλαγγαῖς δρακόντων* (line 18), the antistrophe seems to revel in sibilants. Conspicuous sibilance is quite common in Pindar without any obvious relevance to the context (e.g. *Isthm.* 1. 22–5); but whatever the *s* problem alluded to in the dithyramb's introduction, to allow such a collocation of sibilants later in the same piece shows that the solution adopted did not involve curtailing the use of sigma. However, Lasos may have sought to ensure that ophidian associations would not arise merely as a consequence of inadequate choral direction. He was reported to have sought *ἀκρίβεια* in various forms:⁴⁸ he exposed Onomacritus' attempt to forge the oracles of Musaeus⁴⁹ and he was famed for his penchant for wordplay.⁵⁰ But first and foremost he was a practical musician: Aristoxenus reports that he held the view that notes have *πλάτος* ('breadth'), perhaps a string-player's vote for pitching notes by ear and a riposte to Pythagorean attempts to define note-values in purely mathematical terms (in practice, pitching a note accurately does not require pinpoint precision).⁵¹ As an aulete and kitharist, Lasos would have approved of and

⁴³ Paus. 10.7.7.

⁴⁴ There is no evidence for a sung version of the *Πυθικός νόμος*, but musical onomatopoeia occurs in dithyrambs of the late fifth century. Timotheus, for instance, was said to have imitated a storm in his *Nauplius* and Semele's birthpangs in his *Semele* (Athenaeus 8.337f, 352a).

⁴⁵ Philochorus, *FGrH* 328 F 23.

⁴⁶ Plato would have banned solo kithara-playing altogether as *μεστόν φωνῆς θηριώδους* (*Laws* 669e6). Dionysius of Halicarnassus writes: ἄχαρι δὲ καὶ ἀηδὲς τὸ σίγμα καὶ πλεονάσαν σφόδρα λυπεῖ θηριώδους γὰρ ἀλόγου μᾶλλον ἢ λογικῆς ἐφάπτεσθαι δοκεῖ φωνῆς ὁ συριγμός (*De comp. verb.* 14.80, p. 54 U.-R.).

⁴⁷ Dionysos and Apollo were closely associated at Delphi: the dithyramb took over from the paeon during the winter months (Plut. *de Ei ap. Delph.*, p. 388e). For the connection of Dionysos with snakes cf. Eur. *Ba.* 101–4 with Dodds' note, and the invocation of Dionysos *φάνθηι . . . πολύκρανος ἰδεῖν δράκων* (*Ba.* 1017–18). In the *parodos* of the *Bacchae* the sibilance is notable (*Αἰῖας ἀπὸ γᾶς κτλ.*): Euripides was conscious of its power for dramatic effect (the *locus classicus* is *Medea* 476–7; see Clayman, p. 69).

⁴⁸ Privitera (1965, p. 53) compares Protagoras' *ἀκρίβεια τῶν ὀνομάτων*, but Lasos' concern had a more practical aspect.

⁴⁹ Hdt. 7.6.3. Herodotus actually says that Lasos caught Onomacritus 'in the act' (*ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ*), but perhaps this dramatizes what may have been an act of stylistic detective work on Lasos' part.

⁵⁰ Lasos' wit and verbal skill gave rise to the term *Λασίσματα* (Hesychius s.v.). His fourth-century biographer Chamaeleon reported two anecdotes (fr. 30 Wehrl): in one Lasos puns that a raw fish might also be *ὀπτός* (not 'cooked' but 'visible'), in the other he plays on the different meanings of *λαμβάνειν* ('catch' and 'possess').

⁵¹ The Aristoxenian school opposed the Pythagorean in affirming the priority of the musical ear over arbitrary mathematical hypotheses: Porph. *In Ptol.* 23.25ff.

practised the sort of empirical, rule-of-thumb musicianship which later drew Plato's censure.⁵²

Lasos was retrospectively classified as a precursor of fifth-century musical 'revolutionaries' such as Melanippides, Phrynīs, Timotheus, and Philoxenus.⁵³ Although some of the latter's innovations may have been projected onto him, he emerges as a versatile musician with a keen ear for words.⁵⁴ Dissatisfaction with the prevailing tradition of dithyrambic execution, combined with the new context for its performance, may have impelled him to seek a novel solution to the problem of the obtrusive *s*. His solution was connected to the growing predominance of the aulos: traditionally the instrument of Dionysos, it became the main, if not exclusive, melodic instrument in the formal competitive performances of dithyrambs. A *hyporchema* of Pratinas of Phlius, in which he complains about the aulos stealing the limelight, is dated to this period:

τὰν ἀοιδὰν κατέσταςε Πιερίς βασιλείαν· ὁ δ' αὐλός
ὑστερον χορευέτω· καὶ γάρ ἐσθ' ὑπηρέτας.⁵⁵

It is Song that the Muse appointed queen: let the aulos
dance behind, for it is but the servant.

The image evoked in these lines implies not only an enhanced status for the aulos, but a changed *position* for the aulete: he is no longer dancing at the back of the line but in the centre of the dancers, on the steps of or standing next to the 'clattering altar of Dionysos' (line 2 ἐπὶ Διονυσίαδα πολυπάταγα θυμέλαν). Positioned for greater audibility, the aulos, with its penetrating, 'toad-like' sound (lines 10–11 τὸν φρυνεοῦ ποικίλαν πνοὴν ἔχοντα), might help to synchronize the conflicting rhythms of dance and music (line 13 παραμελορυθμοβάταν).⁵⁶ With its increased authority, it might also minimize the problem of wayward sibilants.⁵⁷

V. THE SOLUTION TO THE RIDDLE

The problem Lasos faced was to find a means of calling to order the sibilants which emerged ἀνθρώποισιν ἀπὸ στομάτων in a slovenly, uncoordinated fashion. Why might simply an improved vocal technique or better choral training not provide a satisfactory solution? The reason is suggested by Pindar's first line: the singing of dithyrambs formerly emerged σχοινοτένεια. The word has been taken to connote 'long-winded' or 'monotonous': modern studies approvingly quote Wilamowitz's opinion that 'die σχοινοτένεια ἀοιδά kann also nur schleppende, ungegliederte, sei es

⁵² *Phlb.* 56a. Lasos' regard for the practical approach is perhaps suggested by the response attributed to him in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Xpeia* (Stobaeus 3.29.70): Λᾶσος Ἑρμιονεὺς ἐρωτηθεὶς τί εἴη σοφώτατον, «πείρα» ἔφη.

⁵³ Privitera (1965), p. 82.

⁵⁴ The *Suda* states that Lasos was the first person to write a treatise (λόγος) on music. West (1992, p. 225) suggests that he may actually have coined the word μουσική, first attested shortly afterwards in Pindar and Epicharmus.

⁵⁵ *PMG* 708.6–7; Pickard-Cambridge (1962), pp. 17f., Seaford (1977).

⁵⁶ A. Barker, 'Heterophonia and Poikilia: Accompaniments to Greek Melody', in B. Gentili and F. Perusino (edd.), *Mousike: Metrica Ritmica e Musica Greca in memoria di Giovanni Comotti* (Rome, 1995), pp. 46–7, 55.

⁵⁷ τὸν ὀλεσισιαλοκάλαμον (line 11) has been translated 'spittle-destroying reed', but it also suggests 'hiss-suppressing reed'.

Diktion, sei es Melodie, sei es Rhythmpoeie bedeuten'.⁵⁸ But ironically, by failing to observe his earlier dictum that 'die Adjektiva prädikativ stehen', Wilamowitz effectively narrowed the possible range of interpretation in a way which made it easy to overlook performance aspects and to focus simply on the compositional implications of 'Diktion'. His very expression 'die σχοινοτένεια ἀοιδά' suggests a constitutive aspect of earlier ἀοιδά, i.e. that it *was* σχοινοτένεια, whereas Pindar's expression implies a certain adventitiousness, that the singing happened to *come out* σχοινοτένεια. This distinction virtually dictates the perspective from which Pindar's lines are to be interpreted, i.e. whether they refer to a structural element of the composition as such (ἀοιδά = 'song') rather than a possible feature of how it sounded in performance (ἀοιδά = 'singing').

The emphasis on a literary interpretation of σχοινοτένεια has meant that the passage's patently visual and topographical implications have passed largely unremarked.⁵⁹ But the manner in which the first line sets up a contrast in spatial terms with the fragmentary third line is unmistakable. Where the first line evokes an image of thin-drawn linearity, the third opposes it with an impression of expansive circularity. εἶρπε (the verb is cognate with *serpo*) seems to enhance the image suggested by σχοινοτένεια in line 1.⁶⁰ But ἔρπω is regularly used by Pindar to indicate movement in a neutral sense of 'proceed', as in, for example, *Isthm.* 4.44 ἀθάνατον φωνᾶν ἔρπει and *Ol.* 7.52 ζώοισιν ἐρπόντεσσι (which, notwithstanding the sibilance, does not mean 'serpents!'). While the verb here relates primarily to utterance and not to movement, it connects the way the sound emerged with the movement of the singers, who were at the same time the dancers. The ἀοιδά proceeded in a straight line because the ἀοιδοί did so, and in so doing they created the problem of the straggling *san*. The aural effect was consequent on the arrangement of the choreuts, something reflected by the syntax of Pindar's lines: line 2 appears almost as an afterthought to line 1, with the lack of a new main verb lending a consequential force to the initial καί: 'and as a result the *s* emerged κίβδηλον'.

The imprecise emission of the sibilants thus resulted from the dithyrambic chorus proceeding, or being arrayed, in a straight line.⁶¹ An examination of σχοινοτένης

⁵⁸ Wilamowitz (p. 342); quoted, for example, by Privitera (1988), p. 131 n. 19, and Zimmermann, p. 44. Van der Weiden (p. 63) refers to the meaning of σχοίνος as 'land-measure' (Hdt. 2.6) as well as 'rush, reed', but strangely concludes that 'in both cases the interpretation is "monotonous"'.
⁵⁹ Lawler (1950, p. 81) is an exception: 'Pindar may be telling us that before his reforms in the dithyramb the dancers often used the old-fashioned formation with hands joined or enmeshed; but that in his day newer, freer dance forms were coming into the cyclic performance.' This ingenious interpretation of σχοινοτένεια does not take account of the word's connotation of 'straightness' or its close connection here with the sound of *san*.

⁶⁰ Disson translated it *labebatur ex ore*, and A. D. Barker translates 'In earlier times the dithyramb crept along . . .' (*Greek Musical Writings, Vol. I: The Musician and His Art* [Cambridge, 1984]). Bowra (p. 95) thought that εἶρπε suggested 'not indeed that the old Dithyrambs crawled along, but at least that they do not dance': he related Pindar's lines to Arion's institution of a 'stationary chorus'. Privitera (1988) objected that as the verb is qualified by ἀπὸ στομάτων, it cannot refer to the *choreutai*, but to 'come l'ode e il *san* uscivano, come venivano cantati' (p. 131 n. 19). Although this may be strictly the case, the verb in context (as Bowra saw) encompasses the movement of both the sound and the singers.

⁶¹ Following G. Thompson's inspired account of the dithyramb's development in *Aeschylus & Athens* (London, 1946), ch. 10, many scholars including Bowra (p. 95), Webster (p. 68), Seaford (1981, p. 270), and Privitera (1988, p. 129) have gestured towards interpreting Pindar's fragment along these lines. Privitera connects it to Arion's establishment of a κύκλιος χορός, followed by L. Comotti (*Music in Greek and Roman Culture* [Baltimore, 1989], pp. 23f.). Zimmermann

shows that at this period it connoted little more than 'straight', like the line produced by literally 'stretching a rope' between two points. Herodotus' use of the word is purely topographical: its concrete application is strikingly apparent from two (out of three) passages in which it occurs, which are concerned with canal-building.⁶² Stretching a rope between two stakes was precisely how straight lines were (and are) marked out for purposes of surveying. There are no necessary implications of excessive or monotonous length. The word only assumes a metaphorical meaning, with overtones of this kind, in much later rhetorical authors.⁶³ The rhetoricians' use of the word may be indicative of what they (incorrectly) understood Pindar's expression to mean, perhaps influenced by the example of the later, long-winded style of dithyrambs.

In the third Herodotean context, the word is used to describe the straight gangways along which women in Babylon were allegedly arrayed to be viewed by potential customers.⁶⁴ This image brings to mind a further practical observation that may be relevant to Arion's (rather than Lasos') innovations in the dithyramb. For purposes of artistic performance, a natural arrangement for a 'stationary' chorus (i.e. one standing still or dancing on the spot) would be in a row facing the audience. However, a line of singers/dancers, whether facing their audience or processing behind one another, would not be ideal for ensuring vocal clarity and coordination (a preferable arrangement might be semi-circular, whereby singers might be able to observe fellow-choreuts while following the rhythm of the aulos at one end of the line). In Greek choruses, the cue for singing and dancing was given by the coryphaeus, and the beat was audibly initiated and sustained.⁶⁵ But arranged in a line, the further away the performers are from the source, the less easily they might follow the beat with accuracy.⁶⁶ The longer the line (and fifty choreuts would make a long line), the less effective becomes an auditory cue. In a processional or marching line, the coordination of subtle song-rhythms would be virtually impossible to achieve. If sibilants were heard as particularly undesirable, a practical (if ultimately impracticable) response when composing processional odes would have been to omit them altogether: ergo Lasos' asigmatic *Hymn to Demeter*.

The purpose of Lasos' asigmatic experiment is thus established. This account leads

categorically states (p. 26) 'Arion hat den Dithyrambos vom einfachen Prozessionslied zum kunstvollen Rundtanz gemacht', but refers this conclusion solely to Proclus' dubious testimony (discussed below, Section VII).

⁶² Hdt. 1.189.3, 7.23.1.

⁶³ E.g. Hermogenes, *De Inventione* 4.4: τὸ ὑπὲρ τὸ ἡρωϊκὸν σχοινοτενὲς κέκληται. West (1992), Zimmermann et al. have also sought to explain σχοινοτένεια as 'long-winded' by analogy with the ἰμονιοστρόφου μέλη of Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1296 (schol. *ad loc.* refers to σχοινοστρόφου μέλη, 'a rope-winder's songs').

⁶⁴ Hdt. 1.199.2.

⁶⁵ Pollux 7.87, Hesychius s.v. κρούεζα: Pickard-Cambridge, *DFA*, p. 262. Pindar's chorus may also have wielded κρόταλα, like the Olympians in their dance (line 10). Audible 'conducting' was common well into the modern period: the story of how in 1687 the composer Jean Baptiste Lully died from an abscess which developed after he struck his foot with the rod he was using to conduct a choir is well-known to music students. Rousseau, in his *Dictionary of Music* (1767), writing about a conductor of the Paris opera, mentions 'le bruit insupportable de son bâton qui couvre et amortit tout l'effet de la Symphonie' (see further under 'Conducting' in P. A. Scholes, *The Oxford Companion to Music* [Oxford, ¹⁰1970]).

⁶⁶ 'Follow' is a term which holds untold risks for rhythmical co-ordination ('conform to the beat' is less misleading). I recall a competition in which a group of twelve wind-players took the stage in a broad semi-circle without a conductor, and sought to 'follow the beat' set by the foot-tapping tuba player at one end. In taking up the beat in succession, each slightly late, the players unwittingly demonstrated with their feet the reason for their lack of ensemble.

us to reconsider Clearchus' phrase *οἶονεὶ γρίφου τινὸς ἐν μελοποιίᾳ προβληθέντος*. Did Clearchus have in mind a *γρίφος* proposed by the word-smith Lasos himself, and subsequently transposed into lyric (from the more usual hexameters or elegiacs) by Pindar?⁶⁷ Animals and musical instruments, notably those associated with Dionysiac ritual (bull, aulos, drum), were common subjects for *γρίφοι*. A Lasian *γρίφος* might have riddled about the snake-like appearance of the slow-moving, hissing *Schlange* of the dithyrambic *κῶμος*. Thus, to the question 'What crawls like a snake but does not hiss?' the answer would have been 'An asigmatic dithyramb'.⁶⁸ This conjecture has a further significance for Pindar's choice of word in *ἀνθρώποισιν ἀπὸ στομάτων*: the sibilant emerged to a *human* audience (rather than a divine one) from *human* mouths (rather than from those of serpents).

For a large choir to keep time and synchronize their 's's, the ideal disposition of the singers is one in which they can easily follow a rhythmic cue—aural, visual, or preferably both—given from a central point. Thus the most effective solution to trailing sibilants would have been a radically improved arrangement of the chorus: the *κύκλιος χορός*. For Lasos, this meant ranging his performers in a wide circle facing inwards towards the centrally placed aulete—the standard shape of the fifth-century dithyramb.⁶⁹ The new arrangement of the chorus suggests that the audience for competitive dithyrambs was by this period raised above the performers, i.e. on the slopes of a hillside or in a theatre: in a level auditorium such as the agora, half the members of the new circle would have presented their backs to their audience, whereas viewed from above it might appear both visually and aurally satisfying. Equally, from an elevated position, the resemblance of the slow-moving line of performers in the former dithyramb to a snake would have been unmistakable. One is bound to draw a connection with the programme of public building works initiated by the tyrants: the first elevated theatre was probably built at just this time, towards the end of the sixth century.⁷⁰

In the new circular arrangement, the choreuts could mirror the movements of their counterparts across the circle while following the rhythm set by the central aulete, who might use head, feet, and aulos to supplement audible means of setting rhythm and tempo.⁷¹ The new position of the aulete, which made him both more visible and more audible to the dancers and audience, would focus attention on his musical leadership

⁶⁷ I owe this suggestion to Professor Richard Seaford, who intends to elaborate it in a forthcoming article.

⁶⁸ Alternatively 'It looked like a rope and emitted many "s"s, but was not a snake: what was it?' (Answer: a dithyramb). I propose a Greek version *exempli gratia*:

σχοινίον ὥς ἐφάνη καὶ σίγματα πολλὰ πρόηκεν·
οὐκ ὄφεις οὔτε δράκων, οὔτε δράκαινα· τί οὖν;

⁶⁹ Sch. Aeschin. *In Tim.* 10: 'in circular choruses the aulos-player stood in the middle'. Sch. *Il.* 14.200 cites an Aeschylean passage: *ὕμεις δὲ βωμὸν τόνδε . . . κύκλῳ περιστήτε*, suggesting that the aulete stood on the step of the central altar.

⁷⁰ Early theatres had rising tiers of wooden benches (*ἵκρια*; see Photios s.v.), set up in a central public space such as the agora: on one occasion (perhaps in 498 B.C.) such a structure collapsed, killing many spectators (*Suda* s.v. *Πρατίνας*). The earliest surviving stone theatre is that of Dionysos at Athens: part of its construction appears to date to the early fifth century.

⁷¹ Pratinas' words *ὁ δ' αὐλὸς ὕστερον χορευέτω* suggest that the aulete was expected to dance as well as play (cf. Arist. *Poetics* 1461b31). The aulete Pronomos of Thebes was famous for his gyrations: *ἐπὶ τοῦ παντός κινήσει σώματος περισσῶς δὴ τι ἔτερπε τὰ θέατρα* (Paus. 9.12.4).

and instrumental prowess. Clearly the changes that Pratinas deplored were a live issue for him. The chronology fits well with the attribution to Lasos of the circular dithyramb: at some time towards the end of the sixth century the aulete assumed a new, central location and status as conductor of the κύκλιος χορός.

Pindar imagines the Olympians celebrating Bromios' rite in similar fashion to the recently modernized dithyramb. As restored by Grenfell and Hunt, the subsequent lines of *Dithyramb 2* read:

[σοφοὶ οἱ ἐ]ἰδότες
οἷαν Βρομίου [τελε]τάν
καὶ παρὰ σκάπτων Διὸς Οὐρανίδαι
ἐν μεγάροις ἴ[σ<τ>αν]τι.⁷²

Wise are they who know
what manner of rite of Bromios
likewise by Zeus' sceptre the celestials
hold in their halls.

The choreuts performing the dithyramb will thus be seen to mirror the immortals' dance. But while the gods celebrate παρὰ σκάπτων Διὸς, it is the aulete ἐπὶ Διονυσίαδα θυμέλαν who is the central figure in the mortal ring-dance.⁷³ On his podium at the epicentre of the dance-circle, the aulete has assumed the position of the sacred, ivy-wreathed column around which the dancers of Dionysos are seen to circle in pictorial representations of the dithyramb.⁷⁴

VI. THE NUCLEUS OF THE DITHYRAMB

- Πρὶν μὲν εἶρπε σχοινοτένειά τ' αἰοιδᾶ
διθυράμβων
καὶ τὸ σὰν κίβδηλον ἀνθρώποισιν ἀπὸ στομάτων,
διαπέπ[τ]α[ν]ται [.] [.]
5 κλοισι νεα. [.] ἐἰδότες
οἷαν Βρομίου [τελε]τάν
καὶ παρὰ σκάπτων Διὸς Οὐρανίδαι
ἐν μεγάροις ἴ[σ<τ>αν]τι.
- 4 διαπέπτα[ν]ται δὲ νῦν ἱροῖς] πύλα[ι κύ]κλοισι (G.-H.) |]ΠΥΛΑ[,]ΝΦΑΛ[,
]Ρ[]ΨΑΛ[(sim.) (S.-M.)
- 5 νέαι· σοφοὶ οἱ suppl. G.-H. νέαι· ἰαχεῖτ' suppl. Maas

In the light of the above discussion, the import of Pindar's introductory words comes into sharper focus, urging a closer analysis of the papyrus and its lacunose lines.⁷⁵ Restoration revolves around the word-fragments ΔΙΑΠΕΠ, ΚΛΟΙΣΙ, and ΝΕΑ. The most viable assumption is that ΔΙΑΠΕΠ initiates a form of the reduplicated perfect tense of a verb (responding to the imperfect εἶρπε): on lexical and semantic

⁷² Lines 5–8 M. In Section VI below I offer a new supplement for line 5.

⁷³ παρὰ σκάπτων rather than περί may indicate the stationary (non-proceSSIONAL) aspect of the circular dance depicted (as may ἴσαντι).

⁷⁴ E.g. on the 'Phrynichos' krater (Pickard-Cambridge, *DTC*, Plate Ib). For the ivy, cf. Pindar fr. 75.9 ἐπὶ τὸν κισσοδαῖ θεόν. 'Dionysos the column': Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 1.24) quotes a late oracular verse στῦλος Θηβαίοισι Διώνυσος πολυγηθής.

⁷⁵ I am grateful to Dr Revel Coles of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, for making the papyrus and an excellent facsimile available for inspection.

grounds, a form of διαπετάννυμι remains the best candidate.⁷⁶ The restoration of [κύ]κλοισι is inevitable both lexically and on grounds of sense. The letter following NEA might be I or N:⁷⁷ possible supplements (νέαι, νέα, νέαν, νεάν, νεαν[ίαι] etc.) present different implications for sense ('new', 'young', 'young women', 'boys' etc.).

While πρὶν μὲν appears to demand a following δὲ νῦν, these words are not found in this order elsewhere in Pindar, and the supplement has been questioned on the grounds that the normal expression in Greek responding to πρὶν μὲν is νῦν δέ.⁷⁸ It has been argued that δέ here may be continuative, with no real contrast implied. The passage is then read to mean 'Formerly the dithyramb was this and that, and now it is such-and-such . . .', anticipating the eventual contrast 'but only I am its true exponent' (line 23 ἐμὲ δ' ἐξαίρετον κτλ.).⁷⁹ But the emphatic placing of διαπέπτανται (δέ), effectively in opposition to (μὲν) εἶρπε, serves to emphasize the primary, visual point of contrast: διαπέπτανται and κύκλοισι together respond, as argued above, to the linear imagery of εἶρπε σχοινοτένεια.

What is the subject of διαπέπτανται? πύλα[ι], Sandys' restoration in Grenfell and Hunt, is problematic. The word evokes a new and indeterminate image, which by its lack of specific contextual relevance sits awkwardly with the precision of reference in the previous lines.⁸⁰ Furthermore, ΠΥΛΑ does not correspond to the six traces which seem to represent four letters. The first pair of traces taken together might make a Π or M (they look too wide for a N), assuming the first mark to be the mutilated foot of the left perpendicular of either letter (a similar foot may be seen on the M beginning the sentence μυρίων φθογγάζεται in line 18). The second letter-trace shows the top of a small circle: its shape and position relative to the right perpendicular of the Π or M indicate the remains of a Φ. A comparable MΦ may be seen lower down (in PIMΦA at the beginning of line 19), and lexically MΦ is most likely (πφ is a rare collocation). The subsequent traces (three marks in two letter-spaces) show the left tip of a stroke followed by the ends of two diagonal flourishes coming from top left [. \ \]: hence AA or AΛ might be read. The narrower width allowed for the second letter urges AΛ (the width compares with the AΛ in ΠΑΛΛΑΔΟΣ in line 17, where the converse arrangement, ΛA, measures about 15% longer than that of AΛ). The most likely interpretation of the traces is thus MΦAΛ. This reading demands a vocalic continuation (MΦAΛ cannot be followed directly by [ΚΥ]ΚΛΟΙΣΙ, but requires a further syllable before ΚΥ). There is ample room in the wide right margin for extending the word into the lacuna, and there are good grounds for doing so: syllable for syllable, MΦAΛ falls at the same point of the fourth line as the letters ΑΙΣΙ below in the corresponding antistrophic line ὁ δὲ κηλείται χορευούσασι καὶ θη|ρῶν ἀγέλαις. Thus we may reasonably expect that there were letters representing two long syllables before the end of line 3 (i.e. --| corresponding to κα[ι] in line 22).

⁷⁶ Diodorus (17.10, p. 117 Fischer) uses διαπετάννυμι similarly to connote 'spread out in a circle around a central point': λεπτόν ὕφασμά τι διαπεπετασμένον ὦφθη, τὸ μὲν μέγεθος ἔχον ἱματίου, κύκλῳ δὲ περιφαῖνον ἱρὴν τῇ κατ' οὐρανὸν εἰοικυῖαν.

⁷⁷ ν is more likely: the trace shows the 'beginning of a rising stroke, probably ν, because thicker and higher than most ι's' (Van der Weiden, p. 52).

⁷⁸ E.g. in Anacreon fr. 388 Page (see n. 16 above). πρὶν μὲν does not occur elsewhere in Pindar, so a contrastive use of δὲ νῦν cannot be categorically ruled out.

⁷⁹ So Van der Weiden (p. 66), but the length of the intervening section before line 23 surely rules out her interpretation. Furthermore, continuative δὲ νῦν 'and now' (as opposed to νῦν δέ 'but now') still contains some element of temporal contrast, e.g. Soph. O.C. 932 εἶπον μὲν οὖν καὶ πρόσθεν, ἔννεπον δὲ νῦν ('I said it before, and I say it again now').

⁸⁰ Elsewhere Pindar uses only the compound ἀναπετάννυμι for gates opening, e.g. Ol. 6.27.

ΜΦΑΛ immediately suggests a form of *ὀμφαλός* ('navel, central altar'), a word well-suited to the context (it also occurs in another Pindaric dithyramb, fr. 75 M, line 3). This might point to a restoration such as *διαπέπτανται δὲ νῦν ἄμφ' ὀμφαλὸν κύκλοισι*, 'now they (sc. the above-mentioned sounds) are spread apart circles about an *omphalos*'. On this conjecture, 'they' must pick up the subjects of the previous lines (*ᾄοιδά* and *τὸ σάν*). But the absence of a specified subject strains both meaning and syntax, and the now bare *κύκλοισι* seems to demand a suitable epithet to replace Grenfell and Hunt's *ἱροῖς*. A strikingly appropriate candidate (replacing the somewhat inelegant *ἄμφ' ὀμφαλόν*) is the compound adjective *εὐόμφαλος*.⁸¹ The word has few attestations, and has even been emended out of existence (LSJ s.v. *εὐομφος*). Athenaeus tells us that Timachidas of Rhodes (first-century A.D.) recorded that 'the Arcadians called the rose *εὐόμφαλος* instead of *εὐοσμος* (fragrant)'.⁸² The word nicely evokes the rose's symmetrical arrangement, its *ὀμφαλός* ringed by concentric rows of petals; it is equally appropriate to describe a circle of dancers spread about a central point.⁸³ In the light of our exposition of the *κύκλιος χορός*, *εὐόμφαλος*, 'fair-centred', may confidently be restored to the lexicon.

The resulting *διαπέπτανται δὲ νῦν εὐομφάλοις κύκλοισι* fits the lacuna perfectly, but it renders the continuation of the sentence unsatisfactory as it stands. In the following gap Grenfell and Hunt proposed the overlong supplement *σοφοὶ οἱ* (scanned √ √ – with 'epic' correction).⁸⁴ But this preempts Pindar's claim to special *σοφία* in line 23 and creates (like Maas's *ἰαχείτ'*, which is also too long) an awkward asyndeton. Such a break in sense is avoidable if the sentence as a whole is recast, assuming an overarching construction whereby *εἰδότες* agrees with the subject of *διαπέπτανται*. This would link the opening lines to the body of the poem, without an abrupt shift of mood or change of subject. The choice of words may be guided by a possible metrical constraint, Porson's Law: a word-break before a final cretic (– √ –) at period end (here at *εἰδότες*||) was commonly avoided, unless preceded by a monosyllable.⁸⁵ Although Pindar is generally less strict about this practice (so that conjectures such as *νέαν ἰδέαν* and *νέαν ἰαχάν* are permissible) he avoids word-end in the corresponding place in the antistrophe (line 23 has *ἐξαίρετον*).⁸⁶ We may thus seek to restore a suitable monosyllable to precede *εἰδότες*: the obvious choices are *εἶ* or *οὐ*.

In consequence of this consideration, a convincing subject for the sentence finally emerges to fit the small space remaining in the lacuna: *νεαν[αῖαι εἶ (vel οὐ) εἰδότες*. Pindar's performers are thus specified as *νεανῖαι*—interestingly, the first explicit appearance of 'youths' as performers in the dithyramb.⁸⁷ Is it to be *εἶ* or *οὐ*? If we

⁸¹ Arist. *Poet.* 1459a9: τῶν δ' ὀνομάτων τὰ μὲν διπλᾶ μάλιστα ἀρμόττει τοῖς διθυράμβοις ('compound words are particularly suited to dithyrambs').

⁸² Τιμαχίδας τὸ ῥόδον τοὺς Ἀρκάδας φησὶ καλεῖν εὐόμφαλον ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐοσμῶν. Athenaeus 15.682 (cf. Eustathius, *Comment. in Il.* 1295.14).

⁸³ 'Petals' recalls Pindar's *διαπέπτανται* (*πέταλον* has the same root). LSJ s.v. *ὀμφαλός* III.2 has 'central part of a rose' (citing Ps.-Arist. *Pr.* 907a20); if this were thought to constitute its nectary, *εὐόμφαλος* would also connote 'fragrant-centred'.

⁸⁴ 'Epic' correction in dactylo-epitrites is found in the sequence – √ √ –: Maas, p. 80.

⁸⁵ An extension of Porson's Law (known as Maas's Law or the Maas–Barrett Bridge) applies here: M. L. West, *Greek Metre* (Oxford, 1982), p. 74.

⁸⁶ For Pindar's neglect of Porson's Law (in contrast to Bacchylides), see Maas, p. 35.

⁸⁷ Simonides' fr. 79 D (477/6 B.C.?) refers to fifty-six dithyrambic victories won with choruses of men, which 'raises the question whether the choruses of boys may not have been a later institution than the choruses of men' (Pickard-Cambridge, *DTC*, p. 16). The introduction of youths as dithyrambic performers might be connected with the requirement for men to remain on military alert during the Persian Wars; Pindar's dithyramb might then be dated to the 470s.

In fact, this tradition has been more categorically asserted by modern scholars than it was by the ancients themselves.⁹¹ The attribution of the 'circular chorus' to Arion was already a matter of dispute in antiquity, and Pindar's own assumptions may be shown to contradict it. The moment has come to re-evaluate the traditional account. The earliest 'dithyramb' were cult songs without mythical content, sung by a composer-*exarchon* with a choral refrain.⁹² They may have been performed by dancers imitating maenads, or padded and dressed up in imitation of satyrs or fertility spirits.⁹³ Traditions of Dionysiac worship diverge, and only a rigidly schematic account can ascribe the dithyramb's development to a series of 'inventors' in linear chronology (the achievements of *πρῶτοι εὐρεταί* relate to innovators within a tradition as well as to original founders).⁹⁴ Informal ring-dances abound in many cultures (ring-o'-roses, Maypole dances, and the hokey cokey) and find a parallel in the 'folk' manifestations of Dionysiac cult. On vase-paintings it is hard to ascertain when dithyramb' are represented, and whether the depictions (usually on circular surfaces) show the dancers in linear or circular formation. Occasionally a circle is clearly implied by the presence of a central figure or object: but the 'Phrynichos' krater of c. 425 seems to be the earliest uncontested depiction of a formal dithyramb, with robed performers facing inwards towards a central aulete. Satyr-dancers are commonly depicted dancing forward in a follow-my-leader, processional profile.⁹⁵

'The fundamental medium of group formation is the procession, *pompe*.'⁹⁶ The early dithyramb seems to offer uncontested points of contact, in terms both of form and function, with the characteristic festal processions of Dionysiac worshippers, *θίασοι*, and komasts. A further parallel is evident in the rectangular formations of the chorus in performances of tragedy, and in particular in the processional marching formation preserved in the disposition of the tragic chorus who filed into and out of the *orchēstra* during the *parodos* and *exodos*.⁹⁷ According to Aristotle, tragedy arose 'from the leaders of the dithyramb' (*ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον*), while comedy derived from *φαλλικά* (phallic processions) 'which even now continue as a custom in many of our cities'.⁹⁸ There are scattered occurrences of ring-dances in later comedy, but when a chorus in Aristophanes breaks into a round dance they are explicit about its novelty in this

⁹¹ L. B. Lawler wrote (*The Dance in Ancient Greece* [London, 1964], p. 79): 'it is generally believed that Arion gave to the dithyrambic dance a circular form, with movement around the altar of Dionysus—the form which arose became its distinguishing characteristic, and from which the term "cyclic chorus", as commonly applied to a group of dithyrambic singers and dancers.' Zimmermann calls Arion without qualification 'der Erfinder des κύκλιος χορός' (p. 25), while Privitera writes: 'Quasi certamente era ciclico già il coro istituito da Arione a Corinto' (1988, p. 129). Van der Weiden alone has cautiously suggested that 'the introduction of the circular dance would not be incompatible with the picture of Lasus as it emerges from other sources' (p. 10).

⁹² Privitera (1988), p. 125.

⁹³ Pickard-Cambridge, *DTC*, p. 118.

⁹⁴ The classic study is A. Kleingünther, *Πρῶτος Εὐρετής* (*Philologus*, Suppl. Band XXVII, 1933).

⁹⁵ Pickard-Cambridge, *DTC*, pll. Ia, b.

⁹⁶ W. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, tr. John Raffan (Oxford, 1985), p. 99.

⁹⁷ G. Thompson's, loc. cit. n. 64, is the classic statement. The word *διθύραμβος* itself has been linked to *θρίαμβος* (etymologically related to *triumphus*), signifying a kind of procession.

⁹⁸ *Poet.* 1449a14f.

context.⁹⁹ The fact that tragedy and comedy show little or no trace of the circular chorus suggests that the dithyrambic chorus, whatever the precise course of its evolution, may have existed in a *non-circular form* at the period shortly before it developed into these formally distinct genres. Thus, even if the *Poetics* does not rule out the possibility that elements of the later dramatic genres arose from an earlier *κύκλιος χορός*, it may be presumed (if Aristotle's statement is to be credited at all) that tragedy emerged from the dithyramb *before it formally became a circular chorus*.

Accordingly, a *terminus post quem* for the existence of the dithyramb as a circular chorus might be provided by the success of Thespis in the performance of tragedy. At some stage in the late sixth century, Dionysos and the dithyramb took centre stage for the first time in Athenian cultural life.¹⁰⁰ It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the dithyramb, which became (at least at Athens) a large-scale performance event uniquely requiring the annual selection and training of twenty choruses of fifty *choreutai* each, underwent its crucial transformation at the hands of Lasos. Musical reasons aside, the establishment of the dithyramb once and for all as a circular dance served to distinguish it from the newly established genre of tragedy, which controversially contained myths and other elements which had 'nothing to do with Dionysos'.¹⁰¹

Arion had no compelling reason for altering the traditional formation in which dithyrambs were sung and danced. Unlike Lasos, he was not required to deal with an unusually large force of *choreutai* in competitive circumstances. None of the innovations ascribed to him entails a reform of the chorus from a row into a circle, and the earliest literary evidence suggests otherwise. 'Whence did the graces of Dionysus appear with the ox-driving dithyramb?' asks Pindar—*ταὶ Διονύσου πόθεν ἐξέφανε* *σὺν βοηλάτῃ χάριτες διθύραμβῳ*;¹⁰² Although the allusion is meant for Arion, Pindar does not use the term *κύκλος*, only *διθύραμβος*, and the epithet *βοηλάτας* ('ox-driving') is graphically descriptive of a cultic procession, with Dionysos driven ahead of it in the form of a bull.¹⁰³ If Arion's re-creation of the dithyramb had involved arranging the chorus in the form of a circle, it seems unlikely that Pindar, far from mentioning the fact, should have used a word which effectively negates such an impression.

Herodotus' reticence on this count may be as suggestive as Pindar's. In speaking of Arion he makes no mention of *κύκλοι*, but describes him as an inventive poet and

⁹⁹ *Thesm.* 966f.; Pickard-Cambridge, *DFA*, pp. 239f. Wilamowitz's suggestion (*Einleitung in die griechische Tragödie* [Berlin 1907], pp. 78, 79) that the *κύκλιοι χοροί* were in fact rectangular formations danced in a circular *orchestra* is an attempt to square the circle. It seems likely that at least the less formal dithyrambic performances, such as those we find portrayed on vases, took place in the agora and other non-circular arenas until quite a late date, even after they were called *κύκλιοι χοροί*: in Pindar fr. 75 the gods are summoned to the 'richly-adorned and glorious agora'.

¹⁰⁰ The traditional reading of the *Marmor Parium*, 'Thespis first won a prize for tragedy at the City Dionysia in 534' is unreliable: W. R. Connor, 'City Dionysia and Athenian Democracy', *ClMed* 40 (1989), 7–32. Tragic competitions may have been instituted by the fledgling democracy (argued by Connor), but the organization of the City Dionysia seems to antedate Cleisthenes' tribal reform (C. Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Something to Do with Athens: Tragedy & Ritual', in S. Hornblower and R. Osborne (edd.), *Ritual, Finance, Politics: Democratic Accounts Rendered to D. M. Lewis* [Oxford, 1994], pp. 269–90).

¹⁰¹ *Suda* s.v. *Ὀδδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον*, Plut. *Symp. Quaest.* 1.1.5.

¹⁰² *Ol.* 13.18–19. The rhetorical question arises in the context of an ode in honour of Pindar's Corinthian patron Xenophon. As the scholiast (on *Ol.* 13.25) points out, Pindar knew of other traditions which traced the origins of the dithyramb to Naxos and Thebes.

¹⁰³ This is so even if *βοηλάτας* also alludes to the ox that was won as the prize for the best dithyramb.

chorodidaskalos.¹⁰⁴ Writing more than half a century after Lasos' reforms, he may have had no reason to assume that the dithyramb had ever been anything but a ring-dance. But his contemporary, the chronicler Hellanicus of Lesbos, was bound to take a patriotic interest in the matter:

(κυκλιοδιδάσκαλον) ἀντὶ τοῦ διθυραμβοποιόν. εἴρηται γὰρ ὅτι ἐγκύκλια διδάσκωσιν. Ἀντίπατρος καὶ Εὐφρόνιος ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασί φασι τοὺς κυκλίους χοροὺς στήσαι πρῶτον Λάσον . . . οἱ δὲ ἀρχαιότεροι, Ἑλλάνικος καὶ Δικαίαρχος, Ἀρίονα τὸν Μεθυμναῖον, Δικαίαρχος μὲν ἐν τῷ Περὶ μουσικῶν ἀγώνων, Ἑλλάνικος δὲ ἐν τοῖς Καρνεονίκαις.¹⁰⁵

Kukliodidaskalos: instead of dithyramb-composer. So named because they teach circular dances. Antipatros and Euphronios in their commentaries say that Lasos first set up the circular choruses . . . but the older authorities, Hellanicus and Dicaearchus, say it was Arion of Methymna, Dicaearchus in his *On Musical Contests*, Hellanicus in his *Winners at the Karneia*.

This may be the earliest attestation to the creation of the *κύκλιος χορός* as such. Euphronios lived in the third century B.C. (the *Suda* names him as a teacher of Aristophanes of Byzantium)¹⁰⁶ and Antipatros is otherwise unknown. These later authors may have adduced arguments to contradict the assertions of the older authorities. But perhaps the apparent controversy was due to the scholiast's misunderstanding that two different, but not mutually exclusive, opinions were being asserted. Thus Hellanicus and Dicaearchus may simply have ascribed to Arion the founding of the *dithyramb*, while Euphronios and Antipatros recorded that Lasos, as has been argued above, was the creator the *circular chorus*.

The only other apparently authoritative attribution to Arion of the *circular chorus* is Proclus' alleged testimony to Aristotle's *On Poets*:

εὐρεθῆναι δὲ τὸν διθύραμβον Πίνδαρος ἐν Κορίνθῳ λέγει· τὸν δὲ ἀρξάμενον τῆς ᾠδῆς Ἀριστοτέλης (Ἀριστοκλῆς Edmonds) Ἀρίονά φησιν εἶναι, ὃς πρῶτος τὸν κύκλιον ἤγαγε χορόν.¹⁰⁷

Pindar says that the dithyramb was founded in Corinth: Aristotle says that the originator of this song-genre was Arion, the man who first directed the *kuklios choros*.

It is not clear whether the comment here about the *κύκλιος χορός* actually goes back to Aristotle (or even Aristocles) or is Proclus' own gloss. Either way, it need not imply anything more than that Arion invented the dithyramb, which by Aristotle's day had been a circular dance from time immemorial. If Aristotle did not question the equation but indiscriminatingly referred to the dithyramb/ring-dance as Arion's invention, his pupil Dicaearchus, in assigning the invention of *κύκλιοι χοροί* to Arion (as reported by the Aristophanic scholiast cited above), may simply have followed suit.

Arion's contribution to the dithyramb was of sufficient importance for him to be accorded the status of a *πρῶτος εὐρετής*. The *Suda* reports:

λέγεται . . . πρῶτος χορὸν στήσαι, καὶ διθύραμβον ᾄσαι καὶ ὀνομάσαι τὸ ᾄδόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ χοροῦ, καὶ σατύρους εἰσενεγκεῖν ἔμμετρα λέγοντας.

¹⁰⁴ Hdt. 1. 23: διθύραμβον πρῶτων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ποιήσαντά τε καὶ ὀνομάσαντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ.

¹⁰⁵ Schol. Ar. Av. 1403 (Sutton, p. 15, T.8).

¹⁰⁶ R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1968), pp. 160f.

¹⁰⁷ *Chrest.* 12 (Sutton, p. 13, T.3). Edmonds suggested reading 'Aristocles' for 'Aristotle', after the author of a book entitled *Περὶ τῆς Ἑρμῶν ἱερῶν* (FGrH 463 F 1).

He is said to have been the first to assemble a (stationary?) chorus, to sing a dithyramb and to give a name to what the chorus sang, and to introduce satyrs declaiming in verse.

From this it has been inferred that Arion made the dithyramb a performance event, and allocated titles to individual dithyrambic compositions.¹⁰⁸ He may have lengthened the composition by introducing to it the elaboration of cultic myth; he may have used antistrophic structures on the lines of his contemporary Stesichorus; and he may have ranged his performers in a row facing their audience.¹⁰⁹ But there is no evidence of formal circularity. Arion's importance for what was *later* to be called the κύκλιος χορός was marked by the retrospective attribution to him of a father with the implausibly prescient name of Κυκλεύς (known only from the *Suda*). The fact remains that the term κύκλιος χορός is never mentioned in connection with Arion until well after the period in which it became synonymous with 'dithyramb'. For when Pindar mentions in his *Dithyramb* 2 the dithyrambic κύκλος, its first attested appearance in history, it is not in connection with Arion at all, but with Lasos.

It is easy to see how different traditions regarding the dithyramb may have become confused over time. Given Archilochus' explicit reference to the genre, Arion's founding of the dithyramb as such was not to be taken literally; and Lasos himself was later credited with having 'invented' the dithyramb.¹¹⁰ These attributions were a recognition of the latter musicians' role in developing the choric dithyramb into the form in which it became familiar. But once the term 'circular chorus' had become synonymous with 'dithyramb' in the course of the fifth century, its invention *in that form* was mistakenly ascribed to Arion, the dithyramb's by then semi-mythical founder, and the fact and purpose of Lasos' innovation was obscured. The tradition was later embellished: Kukleus was invented to guarantee the shape of Arion's destiny, and Arion was credited with a hymn (probably of late fifth-century authorship) in which dolphins are described gambolling in a circle around Poseidon.¹¹¹ Just as Kukleus, like the spurious ode, was foisted on Arion, we now have reason to suppose that the κύκλιος χορός was incorrectly fathered on him as well. And so it might have remained, had not the riddle of Lasos, preserved by Pindar's elusive lyrics, survived to challenge us for a solution to how the dithyramb got its shape.

University College London

ARMAND D'ANGOUR

¹⁰⁸ The development of the dithyramb from a popular cult revel into a 'literary' genre has been associated with the promotion of the Dionysiac cult by Periander: Zimmermann, pp. 24ff.

¹⁰⁹ If χορόν στήσαι can be held, perhaps by contrast with the χορόν ἄγειν of Proclus, to allude to the dancers not changing their location (that is, dancing 'on the spot' as suggested by Pindar's ἵσταντι, cf. n. 73 above), the beginnings of a change from a processional dance may already be implied. Webster (p. 68) tentatively makes this suggestion, and connects the stationary form (cf. *stasimon*) with the triads of Stesichorus (p. 77; cf. Pickard-Cambridge, *DTC*, pp. 11–12). In classical times, however, χορόν στήσαι simply meant 'to assemble a chorus'.

¹¹⁰ Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 1.16: διθύραμβον δὲ ἐπενόησε Λάσος Ἑρμιονεύς. Tzetzēs (*Lyc.* p. 252 Miller) attempts to reconcile both traditions: διθύραμβον δὲ ἦτοι κυκλικὸν χορόν ἐν Κορίνθῳ πρῶτος ἔστησεν Ἀρίων ὁ Μηθυμναῖος, δεύτερος δὲ Λάσος Χαβρίνου (*Χαβρίου* codd. dett.) Ἑρμιονεύς.

¹¹¹ *PMG* 939; C. M. Bowra, 'Arion and the Dolphin', *MH* 20 (1963), 121–34.

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