A Survey of Lyric Genres in Hellenistic Poetry: the Hymn

Transformation, Adaptation, Experimentation

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ABSTRACT: The paper is the first part of S. Barbantani's contribution *Lyric for the Rulers, Lyric for the People: The Transformation of Some Lyric Subgenres in Hellenistic Poetry*, in E. Sistakou (ed.), *Hellenistic Lyricism: Traditions and Transformations of a Literary Mode* (Trends in Classics 9, 2), Berlin - Boston 2017, 339-399 (which discusses encomiastic lyric, *epinikion* in Callimachus, Posidippus and inscriptional epigram, literary *epithalamia*, *threnoi* and *epikedeia*, poems in stichic lyric meters, *Carmina popularia*, anthologies for symposiastic use and mimes). This contribution analyses how some of the main lyric genres, developed in archaic and classical Greek poetry, underwent transformation in the Hellenistic period, following social, political and cultural changes. The paper specifically explores lyric poetry produced 'for the gods' (hymns, esp. paeans, preserved on stone and on papyrus).

KEYWORDS: dithyramb; epigram; hymn; inscription; lyric Hellenistic; paean; papyrus; symposium – ditirambo; epigramma; inno; iscrizione; lirica ellenistica; papiro; peana; simposio.

1. Introduction: the context

A complete analysis of the evolution of lyric genres from the 3th c. BC to the first centuries of the Roman empire is a difficult enterprise, and what is offered here must be taken only as an selective survey. This paper has been conceived as an introduction to my contribution *Lyric for the Rulers, Lyric for the people: The Transformation of Some Lyric Subgenres in Hellenistic Poetry* (Barbantani 2017) [1].

[1] The *Trends in Classics* paper constitutes Part III and Part IV of this contribution. Part III deals with «Lyric for rulers and learned Greeks» (3.1. A New type of encomiastic lyric. 3.2. *Epinikion*. Callimachus, Posidippus and inscriptional epigram. 3.3. Literary *epithalamia*, *threnoi* and *epikedeia*. 3.4. Poems in stichic lyric meters); Part IV focuses on «Lyric for the people» (4.1. *Carmina popularia*. 4.2. Anthologies for symposiastic use. 4.3. Mimes).

In the Hellenistic period the Greek-speaking world, from Gades to India, was as musical as the archaic and classical Greek world: music and song, at various levels, were pervasive in all contexts and among all the social classes. The first problem in the study of Hellenistic lyric resides in the paucity of the textual remains, especially when set against the documentary evidence of an exponential growth in musical events, endorsed by royal courts and local aristocracies, fostered by the increasing number of religious festivals and competitions [2], and facilitated by the organization of professional performers in guilds. Even when lyric pieces are found, either quoted by literary sources or preserved in papyrus fragments from Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, it not always possible to establish their date and authorship [3]. Sometimes it is also difficult to understand whether a fragmentary piece in lyric meters is part of a free standing composition or a drama.

Lyric poetry, old and new, was still performed in local and panhellenic festivals and competitions, but usually the only data we can gather from epigraphic documents are the names of the victors and sometimes a date and the title of the work performed or a definition of its genre: we cannot, however, match extant lyric pieces found in papyri with any winner in lyrical/musical *agones* known from epigraphic records. The same problem, the lack of surviving texts, can be observed in the case of lyric encomia of rulers defined as «paeans», while we are luckier with religious paeans, and in general with hymnic poetry: in panhellenic sanctuaries such as Delphi and Epidaurus are preserved inscriptional records of locally performed hymns, sometimes with musical notation.

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[2] van Nijf - Williamson 2016.

[3] Campbell 1993, 303 assessed that among the anonymous frr. 918-1045 only 1029-1037 may be Hellenistic; among them, only frr. 1023-1028 may come from lyric or tragedy. The dating of the fragments depends mainly on the possibility of establishing the date of their source. For example, several lyric fragments, with many other metrical *excerpta*, are quoted by a prose text first known from *P.Oxy*. I 9 (3rd c. AD, ed. 1898), which has later been joined with *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2687 (ed. 1968) and *P.Oxy*. XLIX 3456 (ed. 1982). Once the text copied on this roll was identified with Aristoxenus' *Elements of Rhythm*, it became clear that all the passages quoted from dithyrambs and other unidentified poems were earlier than the author of the treatise (4th c. BC), and this ruled out any identification of some of the fragments as Hellenistic lyric (*MP*3 166 = *LDAB* 407 = *TM* 59310). Cf. Calvié 2014; Marchetti 2009. The quoted fragments are Powell, *Coll. Alex.* 192-193 (22-25); Campbell 1993, 316-319, nr. 926. Cf. e.g. also nr. 927 (*P.Gr.Vindob.* 19996ab, 1st c. BC) and 930 (*P.Gr.Vindob.* 29774, 2nd-3rd c. AD), prose texts quoting dithyrambs; *PMG* 929 and *PMG* 926 (*P.Oxy*. 2687; cf. also Campbell 1993, 316-317; Pearson 1990, 36-33, 77-86), plus *PMG* 927-928 (*P.Hamb*. 128, *P.Hibeh* 172, 3rd c. BC, Campbell 1993, 318-321), list of compound words typical of dithyramb; cf. LeVen 2014, 39-40.

The Hellenistic period saw a revolution in canonical genres. In praise-poetry, the Platonic boundaries between hymn (to the gods) and encomium (to human beings) started to shift with the establishment of Hellenistic ruler-cult and the development of court poetry [4]. New subgenres, especially in the recitative meters, were born or underwent a radical mutation. Iambic poetry evolved into a combination of lyric-iambic verses, very effective for moralistic satire (Cercidas); the Hipponactean was used for mimetic works (Herodas), while iambic trimeters kept on being used, either in epodic systems or in stichic sequences, in literary and inscriptional epigrams. Epic poetry in every size received new life with the introduction of new themes, and spawned the mini-epic, or «epyllion». Elegy became the most dynamic and adaptable genre, bending to virtually any content and tone. Genres once associated with singing and dancing were transposed to recitative meters, as can be observed in many of Theocritus' *Idylls* (some of which adapt into hexameters – or aeolic stichic meters – themes and motifs of lyric poetry, both popular and «high»), or in Callimachus' and Posidippus' epinician compositions in elegiacs. Poets experimented with lyric meters re-used in stichic sequence (e.g. in Call. frr. 226-229 Pfeiffer) [5].

Traditional songs and their melodies were never or rarely transcribed, but were handed down orally, generation from generation, to accompany the labour of men and women, children's play, and in general every aspect of everyday life: we know some of these songs through lucky papyrus finds, or because Greek scholars of the Imperial period like Plutarch and Athenaeus transcribed them in their erudite works. We have therefore an unbalanced view of what lyric poetry had come to be in the Hellenistic period, as we know the experiments of the poets of the court élites better than the average lyric songs heard or even performed by the common people.

1.1. *Genre*

The definition and classification of Greek literary genres («eidography»), in the context of the reception and edition of ancient texts in the Library of Alexandria has been discussed in depth in the last fifty years [6]. Recent

[4] For the encomiastic lyric for rulers cf. Barbantani 2017, 342-35.

[5] On the refunctionalization of ancient lyric genres and their transposition to recitative meters (hexameter, elegy, iambic trimeters) or to lyric meters used in stichic or epodic sequences cf. Fantuzzi - Hunter 2004; on elegy, Barbantani 2001 and Barbantani 2015; on epyllion, cf. Gutzwiller 1981 and Baumbach - Bär 2012.

[6] Bibliography on the subject is quite wide and it is not possible to debate the issue in full here. Cf. Harvey 1955; Kroll 1991, 5-38; Rossi 1971 and Rossi 2000; Fantuzzi 1980;

scholarship has explored the social, formal and pragmatic elements of the relationship between lyric genres and performative context in the transition from the Classical to the Hellenistic period. For reasons of space, this chapter will not discuss thoroughly the evolution of ancient and classical elegy and iambic poetry, focusing instead on poetic genres which in the archaic and classical period were (mainly or exclusively) in lyric meter. Ancient genres were the product of an 'aural' society [7]: even if, or when, the texts were fixed, they were conceived mostly to be enjoyed in an oral performance; only a few centuries after their creation did they receive descriptive and prescriptive attention in written manuals and theoretical treatises. By «genre» we mean a set of implicit or explicit rules or traditional conventions, affecting internal characteristics (meter, style, themes, dialect, language, structure) of a literary creation, adaptable not only to the personal taste and choices of the individual artist but also to external and social factors such as the occasion and mode of performance (including music and choreography), the type of audience and its expectations, and in general the historical and social context. Although formally genres change according to these factors, they tend roughly to remain identifiable according to the goals of the performance (praising the gods, celebrating rulers, mourning the dead and so on), especially if these contexts enjoy a certain historical continuity. Ancient terminology defining lyric genre was also subject to change over time, and sometimes was hard to understand for whoever was not surrounded by the original cultural environment where the song was first produced [8]. Greek scholars in the Library of Alexandria received ancient lyric poetry in textual form, and found themselves dealing with genres which were, often, extinct or radically transformed; traces of their pragmatic and formal classification appear in late sources, such as Proclus 318f. Bekker [9]. Internal and formal features of the poems guided

Mathiesen 1999, 29-158; Fantuzzi - Hunter 2004; Rutherford 2001a; Ford 2006, 277-283; Carey 2009; Barbantani 2009 and Barbantani 2010b; LeVen 2014, 60-61. Cf. also Harder - Regtuit - Wakker 1998 and Depew - Obbink 2000. For the sources on ancient debates about lyric genres cf. Färber 1936.

[7] Cf. Gentili 1989[2].

[8] Ford 2006, 281-282 recalls the artificiality of some Hellenistic divisions into genres: «grammarians who found it convenient to distinguish songs meant to be sung while dancing (*huporkhêmata*) from those sung in procession (*prosodia*) sometimes had trouble knowing how to label paeans, which could be performed both ways. As a result differences of opinion could arise […] about whether a song was a paean, a prosodion or a hyporcheme». Some lyric poets produced compositions in all these genres (see e.g. Plut. *Lys.* 1134c-d); cf. Färber 1936, I, 32; D'Alessio 1997; Rutherford 2001a, 323-332, 336-338.

[9] Photius *Bibl.* cod. 239 sums up a section of Proclus' (the *grammaticus* of 2nd c. AD rather than the 5th c. AD philosopher) *Chrestomathia*. After observing that poetry can be

the Alexandrian taxonomy of ancient lyric, but external data on the specific time, context of performance and dedicatee were also retrieved when possible, at least for the main lyric authors (Pindar). Music, one of the key-elements in identifying lyric genre in the archaic and classical period, had radically changed in the course of late 5th-4th c. BC, with the advent of the so-called 'New Music' [10]. Experiments with increased polymetry, the disappearance of the ancient strophic structures [11], and the looser use of modes [12], unhinged the old, reassuring relationship between poetic forms and the traditional function of the genres. Plato was very critical of this new trend: in *Leg.* II 669d-e he denounces the divorce between meters and music [13]; in *Leg.* III 700a8-e4 he points out that, while traditionally a hymn would not be confused with a *threnos*, a dithyramb or a paean, in his time harmonies and melodies once applied to one particular genre had been disassociated from it [14]; in *Rep.* IV 424b5-c6 the philosopher explains his dislike for the New Music by linking the changes in types of music to those occurring in political constitutions, criticizing the «degenerate», mimetic element of contemporary music, that aims only to stir the emotions [15].

Pauline LeVen (2014) has filled a lacuna in this field, discussing for the first time systematically the remains of «post-classical» or «late-classical» lyric poetry (from the late 5th to the early 3rd c. BC), in particular dithyramb

divided into narrative genres (*diegematikon*: epos, iamb, elegy, melic) and mimetic genres (*mimetikon*: tragedy, comedy, satyr drama), the section on lyric poetry continues: Περὶ δὲ μελικῆς ποιήσεώς φησιν ὡς πολυμερεστάτη τε καὶ διαφόρους ἔχει τομάς. Ἃ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς μεμέρισται θεοῖς, ἃ δὲ <ἀνθρώποις, ἃ δὲ θεοῖς καὶ> ἀνθρώποις, ἃ δὲ εἰς τὰς προσπιπτούσας περιστάσεις. Καὶ εἰς θεοὺς μὲν ἀναφέρεσθαι ὕμνον, προσόδιον, παιᾶνα, διθύραμβον, νόμον, (320a) ἀδωνίδια, ἰόβακχον, ὑπορχήματα. Εἰς δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἐγκώμια, ἐπίνικον, σκόλια, ἐρωτικά, ἐπιθαλάμια, ὑμεναίους, σίλλους, θρήνους, ἐπικήδεια. Εἰς θεοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπους παρθένια, δαφνηφορικά, τριποδηφορικά, ὠσχοφορικά, εὐκτικά· ταῦτα γὰρ εἰς θεοὺς γραφόμενα καὶ ἀνθρώπων περιείληφεν ἐπαίνους. Τὰ δὲ εἰς τὰς προσπιπτούσας περιστάσεις οὐκ ἔστι μὲν εἴδη τῆς μελικῆς, ὑπ' αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ποιητῶν ἐπικεχείρηται· τούτων δέ ἐστι πραγματικά, ἐμπορικά, ἀποστολικά, γνωμολογικά, γεωργικά, ἐπισταλτικά. The last category is poetry «related to certain circumstances», basically didactic or occasional poetry, not categorized as already established «kinds (εἴδη) of lyric poetry», but division attempted or invented «by the poets themselves». Cf. Färber 1936; West 1982 138, 152-153; Rutherford 2001a, 101-108 (paeans, prosodia, nomoi); LeVen 2014, 60.

[10] Mathiesen 1999, 25-28; LaVen 2014; Dale 2010-2011, 371 recalls Pherecrates *PCG* 155, where Music personified complains about authors who ruined her (Melanippides, Cynesias, Phrynis, Timotheus).

[11] Melanippides was 'guilty' of introducing *anabolai* or «intermezzos» in place of the antistrophe, leading to new lyrics structures without responsion. Cf. LeVen 2014, 73 ff.; Dale 2010-11, 374-375.

[12] Dale 2010-11, 376.

[13] Fantuzzi - Hunter 2005, 26.

[14] Plato *Leg.* 3.700a-701. Cf. Dale 2010-11, 37-77.

[15] Cf. LeVen 2014, 191-192.

and nomos [16], also pointing out some stylistic elements which can be interpreted as 'pre-hellenistic', such as the concepts of *enargeia* ('vividness'), the preference for detailed descriptions (*ekphrasis*) [17]. In doing so, she also reassessed the social and cultural context of the 'New Music'. New Music poets and performers (intrumentalists and singers) not only ascended to stardom thanks to contemporary audiences who could attend their live performances, but had their fame confirmed by posterity, as their works were themselves judged excellent and engaging even on a simple reading, without the accompaniment of the virtuosic music [18]. Unlike ancient lyric, which could be still performed occasionally, in *excerpta*, during symposia, but had completely lost its original set, and was mostly approached as a 'silent' text, New Music poems enjoyed a double kind of circulation, both as re-performances and as written material, keeping their authors' fame alive and widespread until the first centuries of the Roman empire (see [Plut.] *De mus.* 1141d). Some of the oldest papyri found in Egypt (4th-3rd c. BC) are fragments of Philoxenus and Timotheus [19]. Although particularly active in Athens, New Music artists operated all over the Greek world, like the Hellenistic Technitai and itinerant poets [20]; some of them, like some of the Hellenistic royal *philoi* of the 3rd-2nd c. BC, were even sent abroad to diplomatic missions [21].

[16] On the nomos, cf. Rutherford 1995; Mathiesen 1999, 58-71, 80-81. It can be performed to the sound of a *kithara* or of an *aulos*, and is associated with Apollo. Its most famous example is Timotheus' *Persae*.

[17] Cf. LeVen 2014, 248-249. For the rhetorical elements which bring 4th century lyric poetry close to the works of contemporary sophists cf. LeVen 2014, 162 ff.

[18] Cf. D'Alessio 2017, 233-334. Many post-classical lyric poems are quoted by treatises on music or meter.

[19] Timotheus, *The Persians: P.Berol.* inv. 9875 = *MP*3 1537 = *LDAB* 4123 = *TM* 62931 (4th c. BC); Timotheus, lyric fragments (*Elpenor*?): *P.Grenf.* 2.8 (a) (Brit.Libr. inv. 693) + *P.Bad.* 6.178 + *P.Lit.Lond.* 49 (Hibeh, 3rd c. BC) = *MP*3 1538 = *LDAB* 4122 = *TM* 62930 = *GLP* nr. 89 = *PMG* nr. 925 (cf. Campbell 1993, 311 nr. 925: *P.Hibeh* 693 ab + *P.Heid.* 178cf: the six fragments on Odysseus meeting his mother in Hades were attributed by Gerhard to the *Elpenor*, but see, *contra*, Page *GLP* 397-398). Other lyric fragments related to Odysseus: *P.Tebt.* 3.691 (3rd c. BC) = *MP*3 1942 = *LDAB* 6939 = *TM* 65686 = *PMG* 923, Campbell 1993, 308-309, nr. 923 (Phemius is mentioned). Cf. LeVen 2014, 39-40.

[20] Cf. charts of 5th-4th c. BC personalities and dithyrambic victors in LeVen 2014, 22-32, 34-38

[21] In the 2nd c. BC a citharode from Teos, Menecles, was sent as diplomat to Crete and performed there the songs of Timotheus (*CIG* 3053). Cf. LeVen 2014, 52.

1.2. *The problem of musical notation*

Although also elegy and iambi may be accompanied by music, we tend to associate the concept of μέλος [22] to poetry in complex lyric meters, generally organized in strophes, at least until the 4th c. BC. We know from literary sources that some archaic and classical texts were still being performed in the Hellenistic period [23]. Ancient music accompanying famous poems could have been handed down by memory, or with a very rudimental system of notation [24] between the 4th and the 3rd c. BC; West was convinced that systematic score recording for ancient lyric poetry did not exist, and that there was a «continuing performance tradition of older music» down to the 4th c. BC. [25]. In the last two decades, many studies have appeared on the evolution of Greek music and notation [26]. The possibility of constant transmission of ancient music once linked to monodic or choral songs (in oral or written form) from the classic to the Hellenistic period, and therefore the possibility that Alexandrian scholars could match the texts transmitted in writing with original tunes (and base their colometric layout on these) has been the object of a vivid debate among scholars [27].

Although traces of colometric division appear already in papyri of the 3rd c. BC (e.g. the Lille Stesichorus, *PMG* 222b) [28], papyri show that ancient lyric poetry was systematically laid out with colometry in literary books only after the Alexandrian systematization traditionally assigned to Aristophanes of Byzantium (second half of the 3rd/early 2nd century BC); such editions, however, show no traces of musical scores, and are conceived purely as reading texts. Generally exempt from colometry are copies of famous New Music works (which, in spite of their appreciation by learned audiences [29], were never the object of book production with editorial crite-

[22] Cf. Massimilla 2017.

[23] D'Alessio 2017, 256 recalls Sophocles' paean to Asclepius, and the songs by Alcman, Thaletas and Pindar performed in 2nd c. BC Sparta (Sosibius *FGrHist* 595 F 5).

[24] Cf. Hagel 2009.

[25] West 2017, 157.

[26] E.g. West 1992; Pöhlmann - West 2001; Prauscello 2006; Hagel 2009. There is growing attention also to the works of Greek music theorists. The study of ancient music has been boosted by the creation in 2007 of the network of scholars affiliated to *MOISA* (International Society for the Study of Greek and Roman Music and its Cultural Heritage).

[27] The theory proposed by Fleming 1999 and Fleming - Koppf 1992, endorsed by Gentili - Lomiento 2001 and 2003, interprets the Alexandrian colometry as the product of an uniterrupted trasmission of music scores (on papyrus) from antiquity. Different view hold Parker 2001 and Prauscello 2006 (cf. 80-87).

[28] *MP*3 1486.100 = *LDAB* 3975 = *TM* 62787.

[29] Cf. LeVen 2014, 48.

ria comparable to the Alexandrian editions of ancient texts), and forms of more 'popular' entertainment like mimes [30]. Musical papyri, most of which contain anonymous lyric pieces, generally astrophic, show no colometric layout: lyric verses are written like prose, copied in long continuous lines forming wide columns; syllables are often marked, and spaced apart [31].

Ancient lyric compositions, especially from theatrical works, were occasionally copied with musical notation: although there are also collections of recitative parts [32], most anthologies focus on lyric 'arias': see e.g. *P.Stras.* WG 304-307 (3rd-2nd c. BC), written by a not very skillful hand, with a selection of Euripides' lyric pieces from *Phoenissae*, *Medea* and other unidentified tragedies [33]. On some Ptolemaic papyri, we find plays copied with a musical score for the lyric parts, which apparently were excerpted from the main text and copied on the back of the roll: *P.Sackler Library* inv. 89B/29-33 (3rd-2nd c. BC) [34] has recitative sections in iambic and anapaestic verses of the *Achilles* by Sophocles jr. on the *recto*, and the lyric parts with musical notation on the *verso*; *P.Köln* Gr. 6.241 (2nd c. BC) [35], also with a tragedy about Achilles, has two iambic episodes on the *recto* and a hardly legible note possibly specifying that there is «more on the back: choral s[ong]» (but the *verso* is blank). *P.Berol.* 6870 (2rd c. AD), written on the *verso* of a Latin document, is an anthology comprising fragments of a paean, another musical piece, a tragedy *Ajax*, and «another chorus» [36]. West comments on a papyrus of Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Aulis* written in the 3rd c. BC, which also belongs to an anthology (*P.Leiden* inv. 510) [37]: «We may guess that the man-

[30] On Ptolemaic papyri with and without colometric layout cf. Pordomingo 2005, but cf. the corrections by D'Alessio 2016, 438-439. On the typology of Ptolemaic texts without colometric division cf. D'Alessio 2016, 443.

[31] West 2017, 160; D'Alessio 2017.

[32] Cf. e.g. the 3rd c. BC anthology of Euripidean prologues on *P. Hamb.* 118-119 (Falivene 2010, 215: from El Hibe?).

[33] *MP*3 170 + 426 + 1349 + 1592 + 1698 + 735 = *LDAB* 1051 = *TM* 59939; Pordomingo 2013, 54-55, 90-93; Fassino 1999; Martinelli 2009b, 323-333. The provenance may be El-Hiba (Falivene 2010, 208-210). Prauscello 2006, 119-121 is convinced that the lyric pieces of this papyrus, although not provided with musical notation (unlike other Euripidean papyri, e.g. *P.Vind.* G 2315 and *P.Leid.* inv. 510), were nevertheless conceived for performance (cf. Lomiento, http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2007/2007-04-57.html).

[34] *MP*3 1471.21 = *LDAB* 7146 = *TM* 65882; Pöhlmann - West 2001, nr. 5 and 6; Hagel 2009, 258-271; Gammacurta 2006, 163-174; Pordomingo 2013, 101-102. The different pieces are marked by *paragraphoi* with coronis. According to Pöhlmann - West 2001, 38: «[…] we might expect them to be citharodes' repertoire, either excerpts from tragedies or citharodic nomes or dithyrambs […] Perhaps the poems were all the work of one author».

[35] *MP*3 1711.01 = *LDAB* 6861 = *TM* 65610; West 1999; Gammacurta 2006, 173, 232.

[36] Pöhlmann - West 2001, nr. 51, 51, 52.

[37] Pöhlmann - West nr. 4; *MP*3 399.2 = *LDAB* 1034 = *TM* 59924. Cf. Prauscello 2006, 171-178; Gammacurta 2006, 143-150; Hagel 2009, 257-258; Pordomingo 2013, 65-68.

uscript was made not for a regular production of the play but for some sort of concert performance of highlights by a star vocalist» [38]. Another famous example of this category is the fragment of Euripides' *Orestes* (*P.Vienna* G 2315, from Hermupolis, 3rd-2nd c. BC) [39]. Either complete rolls or single sheets, these musical papyri are generally considered «libretti» belonging to professional companies, used for performances which could be held in traditional theaters but in other environments as well (private homes, villages of the Egyptian *chora*) [40]. Sometimes they may be just private copies of texts owned by theatre-loving Greeks, like the tragic fragment with musical notation from the Zenon archive *P.Cairo Zen.* 4.59533 (3rd c. BC) [41]. We have no way to know if the musical scores preserved on papyri represent the original 5th-4th c. BC music, or a later adaptation of it, or a new score altogether [42]. Musical notation must have been a familiar sight in the Roman period, if could be evoked with irony in Lucill. *A.P.* XI 78, 4, where the mutilated facial features of a boxer appear like a musical score on a lyric book: γράμματα τῶν λυρικῶν Λύδια καὶ Φρύγια [43].

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[38] West 2017, 159.

[39] Pöhlmann - West 2001, nr. 3, *MP*3 411 = *LDAB* 1047 = *TM* 59935. Cf. Prauscello 2006, 127-143; Gammacurta 2006, 131-142; Hagel 2009, 256-257. Other examples are Pöhlmann - West nr. 9: *P.Vienna* G 29825 a/b *recto* (3rd-2nd c. BC), scraps found with the *Orestes*, include tragic lyric fragments or, according to Pöhlmann - West 2001, 46 «a dithyramb or other festival composition»; Pöhlmann - West nr. 10: *P.Vienna* G 29825 a/b *verso*, also with music, could be a lyric piece from a satyr play or other dramatic composition; Pöhlmann - West nr. 11: *P.Vienna* G 29825c (3rd-2nd c. BC), similar in writing to the *Orestes*; Pöhlmann - West nr. 12-14: also from *P.Vienna* G 29825 d-f, are small scraps perhaps from tragedy, while nr. 15 «contains vocal music which is three times interrupted by instrumental sequences». The poem preserved in Pöhlmann - West nr. 17-18 (2nd c. AD) has a strophic composition, so it must be tragedy or classical lyric poetry. Cf. also West 1992, 277-280 for a list of poetic fragments with musical notation.

[40] On «copie di scena» and anthologies of dramatic pieces, especially by Euripides, cf. Gammacurta 2006. On the various types of musically annotated papyri (working copies, library copies, mixed copies) cf. Pernigotti 2009.

[41] From Philadelphia, 3rd c. BC: Pöhlmann - West 2001, nr. 8; *MP*3 1916 = *LDAB* 6931 = *TM* 65678. Cf. Gammacurta 2006, 256, 259, 280-281; Hagel 2009, 272-273: lyric fragment in dochmiac and paeonic meter, with musical notation.

[42] Lomiento (http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2007/2007-04-57.html) follows Fassino, 2003, 50-56 in believing that «we should basically distinguish, at least as regards the theatre, between two paths of tradition. The one, official and more stable, could have been that of the re-performances taking place mostly in occasion of the official festivals in Athens, where, apart from minor variations, the re-performed texts presumably kept their own (textual, musical) identity. The other and more flexible path, that of the re-uses – of re-setting and re-adaptations (in anthologies, parodies, pastiches), is certainly (in various degree) less respectful of the original. […] the scanty remains of ancient scores we possess seem at any rate not to belong to the first category».

[43] Floridi 2014, 10-141.

Prauscello 2006, 85-86 observes, on the basis of «a comparative analysis of musical papyri and epigraphic evidence», that in the Hellenistic period there «is, for instance, conversion to song of meters originally conceived for spoken or recitative delivery [44], astrophic and/or monodic re-performance of choral lyric, rhythmic alterations of strophic as well as astrophic structures to produce heightened pathos and greater polymetry». The origin of these preferences in the Hellenistic period may go back to the practice of sympotic reusing of lyric and recitative pieces from theatrical works, or of sections of ancient lyric, elegiac, iambic material as monodic songs in symposia, already during the 5th and 4th centuries BC [45]. The opposite path is followed by *docta poesis*, where lyric meters, once sung, are used in stichic sequences most likely devised for recitation only.

The only inscriptional musical notation that survives from the Hellenistic and Roman period is related to religious hymns exhibited as epigraphic monuments (μνήματα) in shrines [46], with the notable exception of a 'secular' text, the Seikilos epigram [47], which was inscribed on a stele in the form of a pillar, now broken. It dates to the 1st c. AD (although the poem may be earlier) [48]. An elegiac couplet (explaining the funerary nature of the pillar) is followed by a poem in four lines of iambic dimeters, each one with suprascript musical and rhythmic notation [49]. It is the only ancient epigram we know that is accompanied by music. Pöhlmann - West 2001, 91 suggest that the Seikilos son of Euter[pes?], named in the subscription could have been a professional musician from a family of Technitai of the *synodos* of Ionia and the Hellespont.

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[44] Prauscello quotes the examples of *P.Osl.* inv. 1413, fr. a ll. 1-15 (1st-2nd c. AD; non-lyric anapaests) and of *P.Mich*. 2958 ll. 1-18 (2nd c. AD; iambic trimeters set to music). Cf. Pöhlmann - West 2001, 128; Hagel 2009, 293-300, 302-304; Pernigotti 2009, 308-309. A peculiar case is Pöhlmann - West 2001, 184-185, nr. 56: on *P.Oxy*. 3705 (3rd c. AD) the same iambic trimeter from Menander *Perikeiromene* is repeated four times with different notation: it may just show how to deliver the lines with different intonation (recitative), cf. Pernigotti 2005 and Pernigotti 2009, 307.

[45] Cf. Fantuzzi - Hunter 2004, 22-23; Prauscello 2006, 86-87.

[46] Examples of paeans with musical notation: Pohlmann - West 2001, 62-85, 166-171.

[47] For the history of its discovery (and re-discovery) and for a musical commentary, cf. Pöhlmann - West 2001, 91-92, nr. 23; Hagel 2009, 286; Mathiesen 1999, 148-151; Solomon 1986, 457-459.

[48] Cf. Pöhlmann - West 2001, 51, nr. 11, *P.Vienna G* 29825c, with a *triseme* symbol otherwise only known from the Seikilos epigram.

[49] As it happens in some papyri, a text without musical notation and a text with it are separated but continguous on the same document, cf. Martinelli 2009a, 297, cf. Martinelli 2009c.

1.3. *Technitai and anonymous poets*

Professional poets and musicians, either itinerant or resident in a *polis*, always existed in the Greek world. In the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC professional instrumentalists, singers, and poets, whose number grew according to the increase in festivals – local or panhellenic – held throughout the Mediterranean world, organized themselves into Guilds of the Technitai of Dionysus [50]. Mimes and the performers who specialized in other forms of popular entertainment did not belong to these associations. Technitai and other unaffiliated professionals are responsible for the larger part of the poetic production of the Hellenistic and Roman periods: their mobility, following the calendar of religious festivals, competitions or simply the needs of clients, is comparable only to that of world-travelling professional athletes [51]. In the Roman period, their extraordinary productivity was lampooned by Lucillius, who describes a poetaster and *kithara*-player, the *melographos* Eutychides, able to produce 25 cistae of *nomoi* (*A.P.* XI 133) [52]. In the words of Acosta-Hughes and Stephens, the consequences of the diffusion of such professional associations of artists were as follows:

> (1) performance became more broadly available and exportable to whatever locations could pay the price of hiring the guild; (2) the standards of performance were raised as polished virtuoso efforts came to be the norm and production handled by companies rather than citizen amateurs; (3) the development of a repertory that could be performed again and again in various venues reduced the opportunities for the unique compositions for festival competition familiar from Athens; and (4) the performance of whole plays with actors and chorus gave way slowly to selections suitable for virtuosi now accompanied either by lyre or *aulos*. [53]

Important sanctuaries in the Roman period could, however, still count on both residential performers (e.g. the *paianistai* at Didyma; the choruses

[50] On the history and documents related to these associations cf. Le Guen 2001, II, 9-49 and Aneziri 2009. On poetic and musical competitions, cf. Manieri 2009. On the title of the Guilds, cf. Ceccarelli 2004.

[51] Cameron 1995, 47-53; Fauconnier 2016. On *poeti vaganti* cf. Guarducci 1927-1929; Pallone 1984; Gentili 1989²; Barbantani 2001, 3-32 and Barbantani 2014, 22, 49-51 (on mostly epic and elegiac performances); Hunter - Rutherford 2009; on the biographical anecdotes related to the performances of professional artists cf. Chaniotis 2009b. On the cultural significance of touring athletes and poets cf. van Nijf 2011, and van Nijf - Williamson 2016. Prize athletes were present also at the Grand Procession of Ptolemy II, just after the Technitai of Dionysus: cf. Athen. V 198c.

[52] Cf. Floridi 2014, 243-245 and 234: in *A.P.* XI 131 another bad poet is responsible for the death of his audience. On *A.P.* XI 131 cf. also D'Alessio 2017, 234-235.

[53] Acosta-Hughes - Stephens 2012, 90-91.

of boys locally instructed according to *I.Stratonikeia* 1101), as well as on visiting *theoriai* (e.g. on Delos) [54], including instructed choruses, from many different *poleis* and kingdoms. Epigraphic records confirm that some of the religious hymns transmitted with musical notation were performed by professionals, as in the case of the Delphic Paian (128/7 BC) composed by Limenius and sung by his fellow members of the Athenian guild of Technitai during a theoria for the Pythais festival [55]. In most cases, however, no para-text informs us about how performance was organized, or about the cultural context of many epigraphic hymns. (This is the case with the scanty hymnic fragments with musical notation preserved by an inscription dated to the 1st century BC from the sanctuary of the Carian god Sinuri at Mylasa [56]; the sanctuary was first protected by the local dynasty of the Hecatomnids, but later appears to have been sponsored by the Seleucids.) Therefore, it is not always possible to understand from the inscriptions whether hymns were «always sung in unison by a chorus, or were some sung by a solo voice (the poet himself on occasion), in alternation perhaps with choral passages» [57]. Likewise the phenomenon underlined by Acosta-Hughes and Stephens, according to which «the chorus itself became subsidiary to musical accompaniment that took on a solo or virtuoso voice» [58] may have involved mainly the choruses entering the competitions, but not necessarily also the performance of cultic hymns.

Individual *technitai* were honored by religious institutions for their activity as composers and/or performers [59]. More often, Technitai are mentioned in epigraphic documents related to contests. Judging from epigraphic records, most of the poetic *agones* held during festivals involved «epic» poetry, that is, in broad sense, poems composed in hexameters: rhapsodia, hymns to gods, encomia to men, narrative epic old and new [60]. In Boeotia, from the 4th century BC to the late imperial period, numerous festivals (Museia, Homoloia, Charitesia, Amphiaraia, Soteria etc.) included musical (thymelic) [61] and poetic competitions: encomia in verse and prose to gods or rulers are commonly listed in epigraphic documents, as well as

[54] Cf. Rutherford 2013b, esp. ch. 14, on the theoric chorus.
[55] Cf. Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 25. For Limenius' paean cf. below.
[56] Pöhlmann - West 2001, nr. 22. On Sinuri see Williamson 2016.
[57] So Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 25.
[58] Acosta-Hughes - Stephens 2012, 104.
[59] E.g. Aristonous of Corinth, Delphi *FD* III:2, 190. Cf. LeVen 2014, 294-304.
[60] Fantuzzi - Hunter 2004, 27; Le Guen 2001, II, 115.
[61] Le Guen 2001, II 123. Contests of poetry and music, excluding dramatic genres (tragedy, comedy and satyr play).

recitals of epic poetry [62]; among the musical specialties, the *prosodia* opened the Museia at Thespiae (*IG* 7.1760), which also included auletic performances and aulodia, *kithara* performances and *kitharodia* [63]. The collection of the extant documents on the Technitai gathered by Stephanis 1988, Le Guen 2001 and Aneziri 2009 allow us to assess how many were involved in lyric performances; of course the picture is far from complete, as we lack consistent evidence for many festivals, and often even the surviving inscriptions are fragmentary [64]. Many professionals are only listed as 'singers', others as instrumentalists or musicians, but their role is not always clear (are they soloists/virtuosi, chorus performers, or both according to need?); some technitai appear as poets in various genres, but could those listed as simple musicians also occasionally have composed poetry along with music? Most of the Technitai appear as *choreutai*, *chorodidaskaloi* and instrumentalists. Among the Athenian Technitai, many appear only as 'singers', actors, authors of tragedies or comedies, or instrumentalists [65]. The authors of the two Delphic paeans of 128 BC are Athenaeus son of Athenaeus, who is listed as composer of paean and hyporcheme [66] and as a singer (Stephanis nr. 517, Le Guen TE 8, 10) and Limenius son of Thoinus, who is listed as composer of the paean and prosodion, citharist and singer (Stephanis nr. 1553, Le Guen TE 9 and 10) [67]. In the same year another citharode is mentioned (Kal […], Stephanis nr. 1317, Le Guen TE 10), and for 130 BC is listed Theodotus as a citharode (Stephanis nr. 1140; Le Guen TE 5). In the 1st c. BC (98/7) appears a multi-talented «Eubius son of Eubius», who was a citharode, a singer, and a *chorodidaskalos* in tragedies [68]. Among the Technitai of the Isthmus and Nemea are documented a few lyric poets

[62] Cf. Manieri 2006, 349.

[63] Manieri 2006. On the *Mouseia* cf. also Schachter 2010-2011. On prosodion cf. Rutherford 2003; Mathiesen 1999, 81-83.

[64] LeVen 2014, 17-39 offers a prosopography of lyric poets and performers of the 5th-4th c. BC.

[65] Cf. Le Guen 2001, II, 46-55, 105-129; Aneziri 2003, 428 on citharodes for the Athenian *synodos*. Between 3rd and 1st c. BC there are almost 126 «singers», who can also be specialized in other activities; 14 citharists, 3 aulodoi, 7 epic poets, 6 auletai.

[66] Pöhlmann - West 2001, 73 mark the beginning of the hyporcheme after l. 29 (cretic meter), at the end of the paean. On the genre *hyporchema* cf. Mathiesen 1999, 88-89; it is strictly related to dance (esp. mimetic dance), but it is difficult to assess precisely in what it was different from a paean or a dithyramb. Cf. also note 8.

[67] On the two paeans and on the inscription listing Athenaeus and Limenius cf. pp. 85-88. The document describing the Athenian *theoria* to Delphi for the Pythaid of the 128 BC (*FD* III 23 nr. 47) enumerates, besides a good number of dramatic performers, a *chorodidaskalos* for the chorus (singing Limenius' paean), two flautists, seven citharists, an aulodos, a citharode.

[68] Le Guen TE 14, *IG* VII 416.20; Stephanis nr. 926.

and musicians in the 3rd c. BC: three citharodes, one citharist, three auletai and two composers of prosodia [69]. Known members of the Guild of Ionia and Hellespont involved in lyric music and poetry in the 2nd c. BC are two citharodes, three auletai and two citharists [70]. Documents from the guild of the Technitai of Egypt and Cyprus [71] are meagre at least as regards lyric: in the 3rd c. BC we find the citharist Heraclitus (Stephanis nr. 1090, Le Guen TE 61, ca. 246) and two citharodes, Menippus (Stephanis nr. 1661, Le Guen TE 61, ca. 261 BC) and Criton (Stephanis nr. 1511, Le Guen TE 62, 142 BC), while at the end of the 2nd c. BC a dithyrambographer, Nikagoras son of Eupolemus, is attested as a member of the Cypriot association (Stephanis nr. 1804, Le Guen TE 64) [72].

These epigraphic catalogues of victors in competitions and the documents of the *synodoi* are not the only trace of the activity of the Technitai. The most interesting testimony about the Technitai is provided by their own epigrams, either funerary or anathematic. See e.g. the dedication made by a *technites* (a singer or auletes or aulodos), for his victory at the Museia held on Mount Helikon, a festival sponsored by the Ptolemies from the reign of the Adelphi onwards; ironically, the epigram celebrating this lyric poet/musician is in iambic trimeters (*IG* 7.1818, 3rd c. BC). The speaking voice belongs to an object won in a competition (a tripod, like in the dithyrambic competitions at the Athenian Dionysia?) and dedicated after the victory [73].

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[69] Diopeithes son of Eupeithes (265/4 and 259/8, or 264/3), citharode (Stephanis nr. 767, Le Guen TE 24b); Diphilus son of Phrastus, of Megara (259/8 or 264/3), also a citharode (Stephanis nr. 790, Le Guen TE 24B), and Tyrannis, citharode and head of the men's chorus (Stephanis nr. 2441, Le Guen TE 26, 145-125). Charicles (265/4, 259 or 260, Le Guen TE 24B), Hermaiondas (225-220 BC, Le Guen TE 19) and …]es son of Timodemus (Le Guen TE24 B), auletai (Stephanis nos. 2611, 895, 1840). Philon of Megalopolis (265/4 and 259/8, or 264/3), composer of prosodion (Stephanis nr. 2561, Le Guen TE 24B); Pythonicus of Hermione (265/4 and 259/8, or 264/3) another composer of prosodion (Stephanis nr. 2177, Le Guen TE 24B). Dionysus, a citharist (145-125 BC, Le Guen TE 26). Cf. Le Guen 2001, II, 55-59, 116; Aneziri 2003, 425, 428.

[70] Cf. Le Guen 2001, II, 59-61. Citharodes: Ploutiades (2nd or 3rd quarter of the 2nd c. BC, Stephanis nr. 2071, Le Guen TE 53) and Zenotheus (2nd or 3rd quarter of the 2nd c. BC, Stephanis nr. 1025, Le Guen TE 53; cf. Aneziri 2003, 423, 428, 67, 35). Auletai: Kraton (Le Guen TE 44, 48, 49, 50 51, 52, from 171 to 133, Stephanis nr. 1501), Phaitas (Stephanis nr. 2456; Le Guen TE 53), Timokles (Stephanis nr. 2419, Le Guen TE 53). Citharists: Apollonius and Alexander (Stephanis nr. 268 and 107, Le Guen TE 53 and 56).

[71] Le Guen 2001, II, 59-61. Aneziri 2003, 428: two citharodes for the Egyptian and Cypriot koinon (E2 l. 42, E3 l. 5).

[72] Aneziri 2003, 425: E5 l. 5.

[73] Roesch, *IThesp* IV 204; Vottéro 2002, 102-103, nr. 41; Manieri 2009, 354-356.

1 ……ει δ' ἐμὲ
[ἀείρατ' ἦ]θλον, ἀλλὰ τᾶι τέχναι σοφὸς
[μελωιδ]ός, αὐλῶι φθόγγον εὖ προσαρμόσας,
[Μουσᾶ]ν ὅπ<ω>ς μελιχρὸν ἀπύσαι μέλος
5 [βάσ]ιν τιθ[εὶ]ς πρὸς τέρμα καίριον ῥυθμῶι.
[ἅπας δ' ἔβα] παρεῖμέν οἷς ἄειδ' ἀεί.
οὕτως ἐνῆς ἐν τῶι μέλει πολλὰ φάσις.
τοιόσδ' ἐὼν ἀείρατ' ἐγ Μουσᾶν ἐμέ,
Στράτων ἀγῶνος, σφᾶι πάτραι μέγα κλέος.
10 ἃ Θεσπία δ' ἔοικεν οὐ μόνομ φέρειν
ἄ<ν>[δ]ρας μα<χ>ητάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμ Μούσαις ἄκρο<υ>ς.

… [won me as a p]rize, but as a professional expert in the lyric song, harmonizing well the sound with/to the *aulos*, to make the sweet melody of the [Muses] resound, measuring the [cadence] adequate to the rhythm. [Everybody came] always to attend his performances, so much expression was in the singing/melody. Such was Straton who won me in the competition of the Muses, a great glory for his country, Thespiae, which, evidently, not only produces warriors, but also men excellent in <the arts> of the Muses. [74]

Technitai but also cultivated citizens from the gymnasium proudly celebrating their education in inscriptional epigrams are the answer of the *poleis* to the monopoly over the Hellenic poetic tradition widely publicized by the Ptolemies, creators and sponsors of the great Library and Museum

[74] The translation is tentative as some verses are lacunose, and integrations vary substantially. The performer could be a singer harmonizing his voice to the sound of the aulos, or a pipe-player himself accompanying a singer and/or a chorus dancing. For l. 6 cf. Peek 1937, 233-234, Vottéro 2002, 102. The stone has: ΛΙΣΔΕΙΑΠΑΡΙΙΜΕΝΟΙΣ. At l. 5 [βάσ]ιν (supplemented by Dittemberger), lit. «step», here «measured step» or «movement», could refer to a dance movement accompanying the auletic performance (LSJ: χορείας in Ar. *Th.* 968, cf. Pind. *Pyth.* I 2) or in general a metrical measure, a rhythm, without reference to dance (LSJ: Plato, *Resp.* III 400a, *Leg.* 670d). Peek suggested [Λύδ]ων (cf. Pind. *Ol.* V 19), to be referred to μέλος of the previous verse: «Lydian melody». Peek also suspected an error at l. 7, correcting φάσις instead of φράσις. Sylvain Perrot, in a private email (21/08/17) comments at l. 5: «[…] I would suggest that there are two levels of meaning in this verse. You can read it as if there were no particular reference to rhythmical theory, and it would just mean that you have to dance in time. Yet I am wondering whether there could be a reference to something more specific, because you find at the same time 'basis' and the verb 'tithemi', which may refer to the use of 'thesis' in rhythmical theory. In Aristoxenus' treatise on rythmics, you even find the term 'basis' for 'thesis', which corresponds to the time when the foot rests on the ground. So it could be a play on words, referring to the position of the foot during the dance. That would explain why at the end of the verse you have a clear reference to the 'rhythmos', which consists in the alternance of 'arsis' and 'thesis'. So it means that you dance well when you are doing the 'thesis' at the right time, and not where the 'arsis' should fall».

of Alexandria and of its dwellers, the learned poets/philologists editing ancient lyric poetry and experimenting with lyric meters [75].

1.4. *Lyric education in Gymnasia*

Even as professional poets took over the performer's role in competitions and religious celebrations, middle and upper class citizens of Greek *poleis* (*hoi apo tou gymnasiou*, the «gymnasial class») throughout the Mediterranean world were still able to sing and play instruments as they did in Classical times: countless epitaphs and even funerary reliefs show that music and poetry were still part of the education of the civic élite in the Hellenistic and Roman period. The agonistic side of Greek education was expressed not only in athletic competitions, but also in musical and poetic contests within *gymnasia*. Epitaphs of young citizens killed in war boast with equal pride of their military valor and their closeness to the Muses [76]. A funerary eulogy from Aphrodisias (Caria, 2nd-1st c. BC), in iambic trimeters, for Epicrates, a cultivated ephebe who died young [77], is engraved on a round base. Following a common epigrammatic *topos*, the stone «speaks», indirectly extolling the qualities of the boy through a list of all the objects he left behind: in l. 4 is listed the βάρβιτ' ἀκλόνητα, that is an archaic instrument typical of Aeolic lyric poets, the *barbiton* [78] (here unusually in the poetic plural) «no longer strummed», and ταὶ θ' Ὁμηρικαὶ (i.e. σελίδες, γραφαί *vel sim.*), the Homeric poems; only later are listed the tools of athletic and military education. Lyric poetry and music and traditional epic thus seem to epitomize perfectly the core «humanities» curriculum of the young man.

1.5. *Poetae docti*

Scholars dealing with the edition of ancient texts in the Library of Alexandria were not living in an ivory tower: they were also poets in their own right, and citizens of one of the most cosmopolitan and culturally enthral-

[75] On the musical and poetic education of the Greek civic élites cf. Barbantani 2018.

[76] For musical/poetic contests in gymnasia cf. e.g. *SGO* II 09/07/09 (Kalchedon); for more examples, and on the topic of education in the gymnasium system, cf. Barbantani 2018.

[77] The epigram, discovered in 2007, is dated on palaeographic grounds to the 2nd - early 1st c. BC: for a thorough commentary cf. Chaniotis 2009a; Barbantani 2018.

[78] On the *barbiton* in literary epigrams (esp. those celebrating lyric poets of the past) cf. Pezzotti 2013, 272-279. Cf. Prauscello 2011, 292.

ling urban centres of the ancient world. Many of these scholars, as well as their preferred audiences (the court and its guests, the collegues in the Museum, the inhabitants of Alexandria having partial access to the royal quarters) either moved to Egypt from other places or travelled abroad for many reasons (diplomatic missions, religious *theoriai*, war, business, friendly visits): all of them were exposed constantly and on many different occasions to contemporary lyric poetry sung in theaters, sanctuaries, streets, palaces, homes, as well as to re-performances of older material (drama; religious hymns; timeless *carmina popularia*). As we have seen, professional performers by the 3rd c. BC had organized themselves into various regional guilds (the Technitai of Dionysus), sponsored by the same Hellenistic kings [79] and local powers who fancied, on special occasions, also the most exquisite *docta poesis*.

Lyric genres thus evolved on at least four paths, never very far apart and often intersecting with each other: (1) 'high art', intellectual creations by court poets or poet-philologists (solely devoted to the textual study of ancient lyric texts), usually destined for a restricted and refined public; (2) contemporary lyric poetry of a high – or at least dignified – quality, produced by Technitai or by court-affiliated learned poets, for performance in religious festivals, competitions, and theatres all around the Greek-speaking world (the audience could be the same as those who frequented the courts, plus everyone else); (3) everyday popular entertainment performed (and produced) by local or itinerant *troupes* or soloists, such as mime, which was generally not recorded – if not for practical purposes (in «scripts», «playlists», «libretti» for mimes, singers and actors) or for personal reason [80]: again, part of the audience could be the same as the audience of group (2), plus every lower-middle class Greek who had access to these itinerant performances. (4) Finally, traditional popular entertainment involving performances of symposium songs and work songs, sometimes extemporaneous compositions by common people in the context of everyday life.

Although poets, especially scholars, wanted to uphold the old fiction of inspiration as a gift of the Muses, poetry was seen more and more, also by the same *poetae docti*, as a product of *techne* [81]. *Polyeideia*, the «versatility of one poet in many genres» (Call. *Iamb.* 13) [82] was *de rigueur* among court poets, especially in Alexandria. Those who seemed to focus on only one genre, such as Theocritus with his *Idylls*, or Posidippus with his epigrams,

[79] Le Guen 2001, II, 88-90.
[80] On Dryton, cf. Barbantani 2017.
[81] Barbantani 2018.
[82] Depew 1992.

actually made this chosen genre a multi-purpose «box» in which to mix and reinvent many different genres (plus, in the case of the *Idylls*, with a good deal of allusions to *carmina popularia*) [83]. In the same period, professional poets affiliated to the unions of Dionysian Technitai could reach a high level of specialization in their own preferred genre, but, as we have seen, many professionals could excel in more than one discipline (e.g. in different dramatic genres, or being at the same time singer and chorus director, intrumentist and singer, or singer and composer) [84].

Poet-philologists found themselves in the best position to renovate lyric genres. On the one hand, they took part (as audience or as authors) in events full of contemporary lyric compositions; on the other hand, they knew well the texts of every major (and most minor) Greek author of the archaic and classical period. The nine «classic» lyric poets were probably the first 'canon' or list of literary models established in Alexandria [85]. Imitation and emulation of exemplary models (particular authors or texts) was more important than following abstract «rules of genre» [86]: and, for a creative mind, the better one's command of the rules and appreciation of the model, the greater the freedom to distance oneself from them. Revolutionary authors such as Callimachus fill their most innovative compositions with allusions to the ancient lyric poets. A conscious «contamination» or «mixing of genres», with a pinch of intellectualistic conceit or with an explicit desire for experimenting, happened only in the first group of lyric compositions I mentioned above [87]; the scholarly inclination towards experiment was less common in the second group of poems, where unusual features and changes in old genres usually responded to historical contingences and requests from customers (like the paean-dithyramb of Philodamus of Scarphaea, pp. 97-98). Unfortunately, we are not always in a position to compare between 'living' genres, whose boundaries are always floating, and the corresponding scholarly creations of the court poets. While, for example, we can compare plenty of epigraphically-recorded hymns and paeans performed in sanctuaries with hymns produced by poet-philologists, we do not know whether the ancient lyric *epinikion* still had a life, as one might infer from the increasing number of athletic competitions between the Hellenistic period and the Roman empire [88].

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[83] Cf. Pretagostini 2009 and Barbantani 2017.

[84] Like Athenaeus and Limenius. Cf. above, p. 73, note 67, and Le Guen 2001, II, 125-129.

[85] Cf. Barbantani 2009 and Barbantani 2010a; Acosta-Hughes - Barbantani 2007.

[86] Curtius 1948.

[87] Cf. Fantuzzi in Fantuzzi - Hunter 2004, 37.

[88] On Hellenistic literary epinikion (Callimachus, Posidippus) cf. Barbantani 2017, 346-352, with previous bibliography.

Another difficulty for the modern scholar is a lack of information on the actual modes of performance of Hellenistic lyric. Elegiac and iambic erudite poems could still be recited to some musical accompaniment, or just read; apart from one case (the Seikilos poem), epigrams were meant to be read on books or stone, or recited (e.g. during symposia); musical scores sometimes accompany epigraphic hymns but we do not have any further detail on the performance (choreography; type of intruments used, composition of the choir). Lyric choral poetry and music performed to be danced is mentioned on epigraphic lists of victors in various competitions («cyclic choruses»), as well as soloist virtuoso performances (dithyramb sung to the lyre).

Although Alexandrian erudite poets were clearly aware of their special position under their rulers' protection in the Greek intellectual *milieu* [89], a clear-cut separation between them and the world of the Technitai would be too artificial, in spite of the fact that we have poor evidence of their actual interaction. The performative nature of many «court poems» was argued by Cameron (1995), who underlined that even in what we use to define «book culture», performance poetry and music in many different settings was the rule. The idea has been recently revived by Acosta-Hughes and Stephens (2012). Although working in a privileged setting, poets/philologists, as I stressed above, did not live total segregation from the common people of their city. It is true, however, that evidence for performances of their poems outside the court is scarce: the names of the most renowned *poetae docti* do not appear in the registers of competitors in Panhellenic festivals or sanctuaries – apart from Asclepiades and Posidippus, who are honored in Delphi explicitly as epigrammatists (*IG* IX^2 1, 17; *FD* III:3, 192). There, honorands are most often poets who specialized in epic [90]. The only case of a «learned poet» who appears to be a member of a professional guild is Philicus of Corcyra (see below) who led the *technitai* of Dionysus in the Grand Procession organized by Ptolemy II, but was also a τραγωδοποιός and an erudite poet: it is uncertain, however, if he was actually affiliated to the association, or just an occasional leader at a grandiose public occasion. Likewise, we do not know whether Alexander Aetolus, a tragic poet of the

[89] Acosta-Hughes - Stephens 2012, 129-130 recall how Theocritus in *Idyll* XVII distinguishes a *Technites*, «a man of Dionysus» (ll. 112-113, cf. Hunter 2003, 182-184) from the «interpreters of the Muses» close to the king (ll. 115-116).

[90] Cf. Barbantani 2001, 32-33. On poets honored in Delphi cf. Bouvier 1985. The Delphic *proxenia* was granted to Nicander, Cleander of Colophon (*FD* III:2, 75), Amphiclus of Chios (*FD* III:3, 217), Eratoxenus of Athens (*FD* III 2, 158); many Peloponnesian authors are honored in the 3rd c. BC. It is not always clear if poets are praised as diplomats or for their artistic merits.

Alexandrian Pleiad and a philologist, was or might have been a member of a *synodos* of Technitai, which generally also included professionals in the dramatic arts.

Some Alexandrian poets (Callimachus *in primis*) were editors, or at least very attentive readers, of ancient lyric poetry. Their scholarly activity included antiquarian research into the lyric genres, linguistic, metrical analysis and probably also musical reconstructions of the transmitted texts; traces of this study are to be found in the many commentaries on lyric poets on papyri [91]. The best among the ancient lyric poets were the first to be 'elected' as authors who were considered models of literary excellence (see *A.P.* IX 184); Hellenistic literary epigrams celebrating them are numerous and include allusions to their poems [92]. The influence of ancient lyric poetry on Alexandrian learned poets close to the Library, such as Callimachus and Theocritus, has been recently reconsidered by Benjamin Acosta-Hughes (2010). Surprisingly, the 4th century New Music, which as far as we know was never edited and commented on in the Library of Alexandria, in spite of its wide circulation and longstanding appreciation among the Greek public, seems also to have been on Callimachus' radar and one of the sources of his inspiration [93], although some scholars suspect that – as in the case of Antimachus' *Lyde* [94] – the Cyrenaean poet felt simultaneously attracted to certain aspects of this poetry and rejection for others. According to Dale, when Callimachus explicitly disavows bombastic style (*Ait.* 1, 29-32) he is referring not just to epic, but also to dithyramb (e.g. fr. 604 Pfeiffer: «bastard songs») and to the New Music [95]. Although living side by side with the poets of the Tragic *Pleiad* and being himself an attentive reader of classical drama (the influence of Aristophanes on the *Aitia* prologue is firmly established), and in spite of being credited also with σατυρικὰ δράματα, τραγῳδίαι and κωμῳδίαι in *Suda* κ 227, Callimachus was not apparently particularly keen on theatrical genres performed in his own

[91] These are being edited in the *CLGP* (*Commentaria et Lexica Graeca in Papyris Reperta*). Cf. e.g. *P.Oxy*. XXIX 2506 = *MP*3 1950 = *LDAB* 193 = *TM* 59098, commentary or treatise on lyric poets, 2nd c. AD.

[92] Cf. e.g. Acosta-Hughes 2010, 6-7, 82-92 (on Dioscorides *A.P.* VII 407 alluding to Sappho' *hymenaei* and song for Adonis); Acosta-Hughes - Barbantani 2007; Barbantani 1993; Barbantani 2010a.

[93] Cf. Prauscello 2011; Acosta-Hughes - Stephens 2012, 98-100; LeVen 2014, 90-94, 97-98, 101-105. The accent is on *polyeideia* and *poikilia*.

[94] Cf. Barbantani 2015, 282; Krevans 1993.

[95] Dale 2010-2011, 379. Generally the Prologue of the *Aitia* is meant to refer either to epic or to elegy, or to both: cf. Barbantani 2015.

time [96]. While exposed to lyric hymns in Alexandria (cf. below, on Theocr. *Id.* XV) and in his homeland Cyrene (dithyrambs) [97], Callimachus chose instead to produce hexameter hymns and to treat lyric meters in an innovative way, in stichic sequences without music, reworking already established genres (see the so-called μέλη, frr. 226-229 Pfeiffer) [98]. It is impossible to guess the genre of many works listed in his *Suda* entry, which may or may not be in lyric meters (e.g. Ἰοῦς ἄφιξις, Σεμέλη, Ἄργους οἰκισμός, Ἀρκαδία, Γλαῦκος, Ἐλπίδες) [99].

Learned poets developed genres – hymns, *epinikia*, *threnoi*, *epithalamia* – which still enjoyed a common performance tradition (lyric or recitative) throughout the Greek speaking world. If their compositions were ever performed orally in a context other than reading, this must have taken a form quite different from that of the traditional genres. Callimachus, for example, often evokes dancing and singing choruses in his poetry [100], but his own works seem not to be meant for choral performance, unlike the dithyrambs, paeans and other «cyclic choruses» attested in contemporary and later inscriptions. What is true is that *docta poesis* did not exist in a void, but rather was in a continuous dialogue not only with previous prose and poetry production, but also with contemporary performed and inscribed poetry. I have recently defined the *Aetia* as a history and repertoire of the elegiac genre [101]. To put it with Acosta-Hughes and Stephens:

> Callimachus certainly composed in forms with continuing traditions of public performance (hymns, *epinicia*, lament). However, in his poetry he also takes advantage of his access to previous poetic performances to memorialize them via allusion and to add himself to their tradition. We suggest as an interpretive principle that within his poetic corpus Callimachus has performed various song-types like paean by *incorporating mini-generic histories into his text*, and allusions to other performers of the type, in an effort to transcend the ephemeral aspect of performance and to create a poem that

[96] Dale 2010-2011, 380-81 quotes as evidence *A.P.* IX 565 = *Ep.* 7 Pfeiffer, where Theaetetus, like Callimachus, follows a «pure road» which may not lead him to win in the contests of the Technitai of Dionysus. But cf. Fantuzzi 2007b, on epigrams (also by Callimachus) dedicated to theatre (on Theaetetus, 484-485).

[97] Cf. Ceccarelli - Milanezi 2013 on *SEG* IX 13 and *SEG* XLVIII 2052, proof of the existence of «dithyrambic choruses» in Cyrene. A reference to these choruses may be found at Call. *H.* II 85-87 (Ceccarelli - Milanezi 2013,199). Cf. also Rutherford 2001a, 70 (Cyrenaean paean, R69).

[98] For the μέλη, cf. Barbantani 2017, 363-364.

[99] Anonymous lyric verses were tentatively attributed to Callimachus: Campbell 1993, 443, nr. 1043 (Hephaest. *Ench.* 1.3, p. 2 Consbruch): one verse quoting Tiryns, ascribed to Callimachus by Diehl, now in *incert. auct.* fr. 760 Pfeiffer.

[100] Acosta-Hughes - Stephens 2012, 112-114.

[101] Barbantani 2015.

> was a first-order mimesis – the poem endeavors to become the performance, whether or not it was ever performed. [102]

If we lack information about the way court poetry was delivered and performed in Alexandria, we are even less informed about poets' activities in other courts. In the Seleucid kingdom too, official banquets were an important moment of sociability and assessment of power roles. Light poetry as entertainment in this context is attested: Mnesiptolemus' son, bearing the flattering dynastic name of Seleucus, wrote ἱλαρὰ ᾄσματα, «festive songs» [103] under Antiochus III or IV: what survives, quoted by Athenaeus, are a couple of pederotic *Asclepiadea a maiore*: Κἀγὼ παιδοφιλήσω· πολύ μοι κάλλιον ἢ γαμεῖν· / παῖς μὲν γὰρ παρεὼν κὴν πολέμῳ μᾶλλον ἐπωφελεῖ.

2. Lyric for the gods

2.1. *The Hymn and its subgenres*

In the archaic and classical periods, in spite of the distinction between ὕμνος and ἐγκώμιον drawn by Plato (*Rep.* X 607a), a poem composed for a god may not have had distinctive formal features from a poem composed for a human being [104]. In the Hellenistic period, with the blurring of the contours between leaders and god-like figures, boundaries between religious and encomiastic poetry started to shift, and paeans and hymns could be composed in praise of human beings, or include explicit encomiastic sections in praise of rulers. If a hymn conflates adoration, prayer and praise to the gods [105], it is easy to understand how such feelings – at least fictionally and for opportunistic reasons – may be addressed to a ruler, especially in areas where the king was historically identified as a god or a special manifestation of the divine.

A typology of the subcategories of religious songs (most of which are meant to be in lyric meters and performed to music), with distinctive formal elements identified for each, has not proved easy for modern scholars to create; it was probably no less difficult for Alexandrian philologists of

[102] Acosta-Hughes - Stephens 2012, 146-147.

[103] Powell, *Coll. Alex.* 176, Athen. XV 697d. Cf. Ceccarelli 2011. For Seleucus cf. Stephanis nr. 2248; Le Guen 2001, II, 113, TE 41.

[104] Cf. Mathiesen 1999, 29-36; Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 2-9.

[105] As summed up by Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 9, quoting *Etym. Gud. s.v.* ὕμνος.

the 3rd and 2nd c. BC [106]. The word indicating a «song», ᾆσμα, may be used to identify a religious hymn performed on a ritual occasion (e.g. Luc. *De salt.* 16 [107]), but also a «secular» song «offered to the god» in a sacred, yet not strictly ritual context (*FD* III:3, 128 = *SIG*³ 648B, 194 BC) [108]. Although «hymn» in Greek is a broad term referring to any form of religious poem (e.g. «hymn-paean») and sometimes also to poems with secular content (ὑμνεῖν in poetry commonly means «to celebrate»), the expression «proper hymn» (κυρίως ὕμνος) seems to point to a monostrophic or astrophic poem accompanied by the *kithara* and sung by a chorus in praise of the god near his altar, while the term *prosodion* indicates a processional song performed by the chorus moving towards the altar to the music of the *aulos* (Proclus 320a18-20 Bekker) [109]. However, these seem to be scholarly, artificial definition of types of songs whose main performative elements have already been lost.

The Hellenistic categorization of religious poetry as recorded by Proclus is mainly founded on types of occasion (different kind of religious festivals) and dedicatee (Apollo: paeans, *daphnephorika*; Dionysus: dithyramb, *iobakchos* etc.), as well as some formal features (e.g. presence of a certain refrain) and also the type of instrument and musical mode accompanying the song; it does not, however, specify in detail the key-elements which define the various species of poems. In the Classical period, it was understood that different musical harmonies were traditionally assigned to different genres (paeans, dithyrambs, *nomoi*), which also had distinction

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[106] Cf. above, p. 65; Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 9-13. On Hellenistic hymns cf. Cadili 1995.

[107] Ἐν Δήλῳ δέ γε οὐδὲ αἱ θυσίαι ἄνευ ὀρχήσεως ἀλλὰ σὺν ταύτῃ καὶ μετὰ μουσικῆς ἐγίγνοντο. παίδων χοροὶ συνελθόντες ὑπ᾽ αὐλῷ καὶ κιθάρᾳ οἱ μὲν ἐχόρευον, ὑπωρχοῦντο δὲ οἱ ἄριστοι προκριθέντες ἐξ αὐτῶν. τὰ γοῦν τοῖς χοροῖς γραφόμενα τούτοις ᾄσματα ὑπορχήματα ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ ἐμπέπληστο τῶν τοιούτων ἡ λύρα. «In Delos, not even sacrifice could be offered without dance and musical accompaniment. Choirs of boys gathered and performed their dance to the sound of flute and lyre, and the best of them were chosen to act characters; the songs written for these occasions were known as chorales; and the ancient lyric poetry abounded in such compositions» (transl. by H.W. Fowler).

[108] It is the Delphic inscription honoring a famous *auletes*, Satyrus (Stephanis nr. 2240; he was also honored in Delos, *IG* XI, 4 1079): Σάτυρος Εὐμένους Σάμιος· τούτωι πρώτωι συμβέβηκεν μόνωι ἄνευ ἀνταγωνιστῶν αὐλῆσαι τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ ἀξιωθέντα ἐπιδοῦναι τῶι θεῶι καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι μετὰ τὸν γυμνικὸν τῆι θυσίαι ἐν τῶι σταδίωι τῶι Πυθικῶι ᾆισμα μετὰ χοροῦ Διόνυσον καὶ κιθάρισμα ἐκ Βακχῶν Εὐριπίδου. «Satyrus of Samos, the son of Eumenes: he happened to be the first to play the flute in the contest without opponents, and he was chosen to offer to the god and the Greeks, at the sacrifice in the Pythian stadium after the athletic contest, a song with choral dancing – Dionysus – and a cithara piece from the *Bacchae* of Euripides». It is not clear if «Dionysus» is the title of a free-standing song, or it has something to do with the following *kitharisma* from Euripides' *Bacchae*: for the interpretation of the last controversial lines cf. Prauscello 2006, 104-110.

[109] Harvey 1955, 166; Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 10.

in content [110]. Alexandrian editors determined lyric genres on the basis of formal features and of their antiquarian knowledge of cultic contexts, and divided the works of ancient poets accordingly. Such distinction, however, did not influence the current production of lyric cultic poetry.

Tradition, especially oral tradition and habits deriving from it, may have influenced the choices of the composer, as well as his song's adaptability to different occasions, locations and historical circumstances. Although the Technitai did not have any specific antiquarian interests comparable to those of the Alexandrian poet-scholars, and although their access to literary sources was probably not as easy as for those working at the Alexandrian Library, hymns composed for cult or competition in the main sanctuaries of the Hellenic world show a reasonable degree of artistic refinement and awareness of the previous literary, mythical and cultural treatement of the god and his legend, while hymns for local cults show sometimes a more unrefined approach [111]. After all, in the Hellenistic and Roman period new songs were composed and performed, but ancient songs, archived in temples, were occasionally still reperformed [112]. Ironically, thanks to epigraphic recording, we have more complete paeans from anonymous or otherwise unknown authors of the Hellenistic and Imperial periods than from a revered classical author like Pindar, whose paeans did not survive to the Byzantine period. In the Hellenistic period, the main religious sanctuaries in Delphi, Delos, and Epidaurus were still operational, while new local festivals were being inaugurated or enhanced. *Prosodia* entered the competition-programme at festivals, e.g. at Delphi, Thespiai, Lebadeia [113]. Inscriptions record the name of the winning poets [114], but unfortunately not the songs; the only example we have clearly defined *prosodion* is the Delphic one by Limenius (see pp. 99-100). From what we gather, the contents and main structure of the most important religious genre, the hymn seems to remain unchanged: invocation, narrative about the god's birth and deeds, eulogy, salutation [115]. Changes between archaic and classical

[110] Plato *Leg.* 700b1-5. Cf. Harvey, 1955, 165-166.

[111] Cf. e.g. Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 39 on the Hymn of Palaikastro for the Curetes.

[112] Cf. Chaniotis 2009b, 83-87 (on old songs still being part of the repertoire sung by Technitai) and D'Alessio 2017, 257-259. «Ancient», ἀρχαῖος, however, may not indicate a composition very remote in time: according to D'Alessio 2017, 259 «their meaning coming closer to 'traditional' than to 'ancient'».

[113] Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 29.

[114] E.g. among the Technitai of the Isthmus and Nemea in the 3rd c. BC are registered as composer of *prosodia* Philon son of Phanias of Megalopolis and Pythonicus son of Nikis, of Hermione: cf. above, note 65.

[115] Cf. Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 50 ff.: structure of the hymns (element of the composition).

lyric poems and their Hellenistic analogues seem to have affected mainly the type of accompanying music and the choice of meters and cola; the major importance accorded to virtuoso professional soloists must also have had an impact on hymns [116]. Choral hymns could be performed not only by Technitai but also by locally trained citizens (and not only in the most conservative communities) [117], as had been customary in the archaic and classical period. In the Hellenistic and Roman period many of the élite citizens had a gymnasial education including poetry and active musical practice. When in Pergamum, Aelius Aristides, who also composed prose hymns, quotes one of these «ancient songs» (ἀρχαῖον ᾆσμα): a hymn to Zeus in anapaestic meter, sung by a chorus of boys (*Or.* XLVII 30 Keil) [118]. In the private sphere, ordinary Greek-speaking people executed songs with broad religious connotations, such as magic spells, sympotic songs addressed to various deities, wedding-songs and whatever could pass under the definition of *carmina popularia* [119]. One such «private paean» may be the text written on *P.Oxy* IV 660 (*PMG* 922) a lyric narrative describing the birth of a son with the usual *iè paieon* refrain [120].

Paeans. The most prolific period for paeanic compositions seem to have been in the 6th and 5th centuries BC [121]. In the Hellenistic period, Alexandrian scholars established a number of features by which such a poem could be identified [122]. Some, like the the refrain or paean-cry, are easily recognizable and they are exploited in late paeans as explicit «generic signatures» [123]. The original performative setting of the paean involved a choral execution by a group of men, who embodied the cohesion of the community (both in war and in peace); the song and dance performances were «orderly, dignified and severe […] projected an attitude of controlled celebration and concerted strength, even when the performance served an apotropaic function» [124]. From being addressed exclusively to Apollo in the

[116] Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 27-28 recall the *assolo* of the *virtuosa* in Theocr. *Id.* XV (for which cf. below).

[117] Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 27-28 mentions Sparta and Arcadia (Polyb. IV 20.8-11).

[118] Cf. D'Alessio 2017, 246-248, 257-258, 260: cf. also the choruses of boys instructed to sing hymns to the gods in *I.Stratonikeia* 1101 (3rd c. AD). Greek *poleis* were still sending choruses to sing at the Apollo's sanctuaries like Claros in the Roman period.

[119] Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 32.

[120] Rutherford 2001a, 465, R97.

[121] Rutherford 2001a, 4-6.

[122] On the genre, cf. Käppel 1992; Mathiesen 1999, 36-58; Rutherford 2001a, 5-6, 90-91, 107-109, at 463-466: repertoire of paeans of the Hellenistic and post-Hellenistic periods; cf. Ford 2006, 277-278 for a history of recent studies on the genre «paean».

[123] Rutherford 2001a, 128-129.

[124] Rutherford 2001a, 85-86.

archaic period, the paean was employed from the Classical period until the 4th c. BC also as a hymn to Asclepius, while only in the Hellenistic period we find paeans for living rulers (see below), and for deities other Apollo and Asclepius [125].

As for the accompanying music, classical paeans were sung to the sound of the *aulos*, but sometimes paeanic songs, like the Delphic paeans, were accompanied by a combination of *aulos* and string instrument [126]. The genre is more associated in ancient sources with the severe Dorian mode, in contrast to the more emotional impact of the dithyramb (Plut. *De E apud Delph.* 389a-b) [127]. Musical scores engraved on the stones of Atheneus' and Limenius'paeans

> provides our most extensive evidence for Greek music, allowing us to establish that the former [i.e. Athenaeus' paean] (which has vocal musical notation) spans the Phrygian τόνος and the Hyperphrygian τόνος, while the latter [i.e. Limenius'] (which has instrumental musical notation) is written in the Lydian τόνος and the Hypolydian τόνος. The ethnic terminology is suggestive, but unfortunately the τόνοι are simply keys, abstract scale types, without the idiosyncrasies of tuning, tempo, pitch, and style which probably characterised the ἁρμονίαι; any similarity between their names and those of the old ἁρμονίαι is superficial, a mere vestige of the earlier system. The musical range of both poems is very similar: in each case a range of about an octave and a half. The difference in notation – instrumental notation in the case of Limenios, vocal in the case of Athenaios – suggests that an instrument played a more direct part in the performance of Limenios'song, but it is difficult to be sure. [128]

The layout of the Limenius paean, although lacking colometric division of the verses, uses (sometimes even together) blank spaces and *paragraphoi* to signal the beginning of the various parts, each one with its own tonality (ten sections, against the five of Atheneaus' poem) [129].

Rutherford [130] has suggested that in the Hellenistic period the traditional choral performance of paeans may have been affected by the general

[125] Rutherford 2001a, 130-131.
[126] Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 34.
[127] Rutherford 2001a, 80-83, 85.
[128] Rutherford 2001a, 81. On the modulation cf. Pöhlmann - West 2001, 84. The hymns have been studied from the musical point of view by A. Bélis (cf. Bélis 1992 and Bélis 2001). Cf. also Pöhlmann - West 2001 nr. 20 (Athenaeus) and 21 (Limenius), with musical score (cf. Pöhlmann - West 2001, 72-73). For the music of Athenaeus' paean cf. also Barker 2002, 117-132. Rhythmical notation is absent from both paeans, indicating that the rhythm corresponds to the meter, and that accents follow the melodic line: cf. Pöhlmann - West 2001, 72.
[129] Pöhlmann - West 2001, 85, Martinelli 2009b, 319-320, cf. Martinelli 2009c.
[130] Rutherford 2001a, 127-130.

decline of dance performances, interpreting as evidence for this decline a literary reinterpretation of a paean, Callimachus' *H.* II, which recreates the illusion of an actual performance by including the *epiphthegma* at ll. 97 and 103 (ἰὴ ἰὴ παιῆον, cf. ἰὴ ἰὴ at ll. 25, 80) [131]. However, if it is true that in the Hellenistic period there may have been a decline of dance associated with dithyramb, choral dance nonetheless is still well attested in epigraphic records of festival competitions in Athens and elsewhere, and survived also in ritual practice, as we see for example in Cyrene, Callimachus' homeland [132]. Acosta-Hughes and Stephens [133] have even left open the possibility that Callimachus' hymn could not simply be read, but performed. The Callimachean reiterpretation of the paean in hexameters may not in fact be so odd in the context of the history of the genre paean as previously thought: in the Hellenistic period some inscribed paeans are based on dactylic sequences [134], and in the Roman period, sources seem to acknowledge the existence of such a tradition, apparently developed in Athens (Diog. La. II 42, Dio Chrys. XLIII 10 and Epict. II 6.26-27, define as a «paean» the famous Homeric hymn to Apollo, in hexameters) [135]. In other words, Callimachus' choice of the hexameter form for *H.* II could point not just to the revered archaic tradition of the Homeric hymns, but to an old Athenian tradition of paeans in dactylic sequences. A paean may even take the shape of an epigram in hexameters, like the anonymous acrostic epigram that lists in alphabetical order all the epithets of Apollo (*A.P.* IX 525), with an invocation to Paian at the beginning and at the end [136].

Even when not composed in hexameters or other dactylic sequences, Hellenistic paeans show a metrical composition quite different from the triadic strophic systems of the past. All the inscriptional paeans we have seem to be astrophic or monostrophic, and made up, at least partially, of stichic sequences of lyric meters [137]: the Delphic paeans by Limenius and Athenaeus present stichic sequences of cretics (see below, p. 100); a paean

[131] Rutherford 2001a, 128-130, R64.

[132] Cyclic choruses are associated not only with dithyramb, but also with other genres like the paean (Prauscello 2011, 301) or the pyrrhic (Hordern 2002, 23; Ceccarelli 1998). Cf. below, pp. 92-93.

[133] Acosta-Hughes - Stephens 2012, 107-108, 115-116.

[134] A paean to Asclepius from Epidaurus and a paean to Telesphorus are in hexameters (cf. p. 102); sections of Isyllus' paean are also in stichic hexameters (cf. below, p. 102). Cf. Faraone 2011, below, pp. 105-106.

[135] Faraone 2011, 224-225.

[136] Rutherford 2001a, 466, R108.

[137] Again Rutherford 2001a, 127-128 reads the post-classical use of stichic meters as a clue that «texts were no longer performed, at least not in such an elaborate way» as classical paeans.

to Telesphorus is in anapaests (see below, p. 102); the Spartan paean to Eurus is in stichic paroemiacs (see here below).

The only clearly recognizable Hellenistic paean (see col. I 1; II 2: παιαν) preserved on papyrus is *P.Oxy.* IV 675 (ca. 50 AD) [138]. The poem seems to be a library copy: unlike many post-classical lyric poems copied for private use, this text is apparently laid out with colometric division (a *paragraphos* is visible at col. I 2). Extraordinarily, it mentions Alexandria as a sacred city (ll. I 3-5), and possibly a king (I 5); there are «libations» and an invitation to drink (ll. I. 6, 8), followed by a second column full of allusions to songs and poetry. This suggests a symposiastic setting, or a solemn celebration with ritual libations such as the one envisaged by the *Paean for Seleucus* (see below). It may be compared with one of the prose works copied on *P.Berol.* inv. 13045 (1st BC), a Hellenistic 'mirror for princes' (col. A I-III), recently edited by Davide Amendola: in the second column we can catch a glimpse of a «praise of Alexandria», and in the third column is a depiction of the ideal good king [139]. The date of the Spartan paean to the wind Eurus which appears in *P.Stras.* inv. W.G. 306-307v, from an anthology of the 3rd-2nd c. BC, is uncertain [140].

In the Imperial period, professional bodies of *paianistai* are frequently mentioned in literary and epigraphic sources: they are linked to the cult of Asclepius (e.g. Athens, *IG* II² 2481, 2nd AD, and Munichia, *IG* II² 2963, 3rd AD) [141]; or devoted to the cult of Sarapis and of the emperor (e.g. in Rome: a sacred association of *paianistai* from Alexandria: *IGUR* 77 = *SIRIS* 384.1: ἡ ἱερὰ τάξις τῶν Παιανιστῶν | τοῦ ἐν Ῥώμῃ Διὸς Ἡλίου | Μεγάλου Σαράπιδος καὶ θεῶν | Σεβαστῶν, 146 AD). In the Hellenistic period, however, specialized singers of paeans are already attested, e.g. in Rhodes (*IG* XII [1] 155.75, 2nd BC) [142]. In a Spartan inscription of the 1st c. BC are listed several *paianistai* who may not just be performers but also composers [143]: Hippomedon (*IG* V/1 209.23); Aristolas, Eudemidas (*IG* V/I 2010 II 47); Aristolas, Pratonicus (*IG* V/I 212 II 45); Soteridas, Diocles, Eutuchus, Nanius, Arcadion, and Lacon (*IG* V/I 1314 side A II 37 ff.).

[138] = *P.Graz* inv. I.1922 = *MP*3 1928 = *LDAB* 4303 = *TM* 63100. *PMG* 1035; Campbell 1993, 432; Rutherford 2001a, 61 n. 7 R68. For the most recent edition and commentary cf. D'Alessio 2017, 236-240.

[139] *MP*3 2102 + 2570 = *LDAB* 6760 = *TM* 65510. Amendola 2017, Hendriks - Parsons - Worp 1981.

[140] *PMG* 858; Käppel 1992, nr. 44; Rutherford 2001a, 401; Neri 2003, 216-219; Pordomingo 2013, 220-222. Cf. D'Alessio 2017, 236, n. 20.

[141] Rutherford 2001b, 41.

[142] Rutherford 2001a, 60-61; Acosta-Hughes - Stephens 2012, 106.

[143] Rutherford 2001a, 465, R86-96.

The evidence of older paeans from Greece copied in Roman Egypt, like the Paean of Erythrae inscribed at Ptolemais in 97 AD (see p. 105) may suggest local interest possibly going back to Hellenistic times, although we lack any evidence prior to the 1st c. AD [144].

Dithyrambs. This, together with the *nomos*, was probably the genre most affected by the development of the New Music, especially with the abandonment of triadic strophic structure in favour of *anabolai* [145]. Hellenistic philologists/poets edited dithyrambic poems by Simonides, Bacchylides and Pindar, and their uncertainty about classifying ancient dithyrambs on purely formal grounds is evident in a well-known passage of the *hypomnema P.Oxy.* XXIII 2368 = *Suppl. Hell.* 293, about the discrepancies in the classification of Bacchylides' *Cassandra*: according to Callimachus it was a paean, while according to Aristarchus a dithyramb [146]. Along with 4th c. BC examples of New Music dithyramb, ancient dithyrambs continued to be read for many centuries (or at least known through anthologies and indirect quotations, especially metrical treatises), but not reperformed as far as we know. Theoretical debates about the nature and features of dithyramb continued into the Roman period (e.g. in rhetorical treatises, like Dion. Hal. Περὶ συντάξεως 19, and Demetrius *On Style*), developing the old Platonic idea (Plat. *Rep.* III 394b-c) that this genre, in contrast with other lyric kinds, had a particular form of narrative. The «opposition between dithyramb and paian, explicitly attested for Philochorus (*FGrH* 328 F 172), although it is implied in Bacchylides' *Ode* 16» [147] was still common in Roman times.

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[144] Building on a hypothesis advanced by R. Bagnall, Rutherford 2001b suggested that the most complete extant edition of Pindar's paeans preserved by *P.Oxy.* V 841 (91-92 AD) could also have come originally from Ptolemais. For other Egyptian *paianistai* cf. again Ruterford 2001a.

[145] Cf. Harvey 1955, 173; Mathiesen 1999, 71-81; Franklin 2013, 213-236; LeVen 2014, 73, 76, 112, 119. Arist. *Rhet.* 3.9, 1409b24-32 attributes the *anabolai* to Melanippides.

[146] Pfeiffer 1968, 130, 122; Harvey 1955, 172-174; Hadjimichael 2014 and Hadjimichael 2016. Ceccarelli 2013, 169 n. 80 argues that Callimachus' reluctance to classify the *Cassandra* as a dithyramb could depend on the fact that in Cyrene dithyrambs were still performed in the Hellenistic period: in her words, «remarkably, the two inscriptions from Kyrene mentioning performances of dithyrambic and tragic *choroi* mention also *exarchoi*, a category present in Arist. *Poet.* 1449a11, but also in Archil. fr. 120and 121 W2, respectively a dithyramb and a paian».

[147] So Rutherford 2013a, 413. Discussion of the influence of dithyramb on music in the 5th and 4th c. BC is found in the Hellenistic and later periods in treatises such as Philodemus *De musica* 1 and [Plut.] *De mus.* (cf. Rutherford 2013a, 413-419). On the theoretical debate over dithyramb cf. also Rutherford 2001a, 97-99; Rutherford 2013a, 413-414; Acosta-Hughes - Stephens 2012, 107.

As mentioned above, the most popular dithyrambs and *nomoi* of the 4th c. BC shifted the taste of the public towards a new type of lyric poem: astrophic, musically and rhythmically engaging, emotionally charged, exploiting an imitative language full of compounds, synesthetic imagery and vivid descriptions. If Callimachus seem to have maintained a sort of ambivalence towards the New Music, other Hellenistic poets showed unambiguous appreciation for the main authors of dithyrambs and *nomoi*. Hermesianax includes Philoxenus in his canon of «literary» lovers in the *Leontion* (Powell, *Coll. Alex.* 98-105, fr. 7, 69-74) and Alexander Aetolus, one of the members of the Alexandrian *Pleiad* and a contemporary of Callimachus, recalls in his elegy *The Muses* how Timotheus was hired by the Ephesians to sing in the temple of Artemis [148].

In the meantime, new dithyrambs were produced for cultic and agonistic performances all over the Greek-speaking world, as we see from the inscriptions related to the guilds of the Technitai. While dithyrambs composed by New Music authors (Melanippides, Philoxenus, Timotheus) were accompanied mainly by the *aulos* [149], in the Hellenistic period there seems to be a revival of dithyrambs sung by a soloist to the sound of the *kithara* (*kitharoidia*), an instrument which had already been used in the archaic dithyramb and was associated with this genre through the legendary figure of Arion [150]. In Hellenistic Alexandria, Arion's lyre became a symbol of high quality poetry sponsored by the queen (Posid. *Ep.* 37 A.-B.) [151]. Pathetic narrative songs (*nomoi*, dithyrambs?) focusing on epichoric legends were still accompanied by the *aulos* at Thebes in Greece in the 1st c. AD, if we believe a passage of Dio' *Trojan Discourse* (*Or.* 11, 9) on the local poetic competitions: καὶ ταῦτα [*scil.* the myths of the Labdacids and the Niobids] καὶ αὐλούντων καὶ ᾀδόντων ἀνέχονται παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, καὶ τιθέασιν ἆθλα περὶ τούτων, ὃς ἂν οἰκτρότατα εἴπῃ περὶ αὐτῶν ἢ αὐλήσῃ· τὸν δὲ εἰπόντα ὡς οὐ (10) γέγονεν οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἐκβάλλουσιν. «These are the themes that they can endure to hear interpreted by the flute or song in their theatres, and they offer prizes for the most pathetic interpretation of the story in words or in song accompanied by the *aulos*; but the man who says

[148] Alexander Aetolus *Coll. Alex.* 124-125 = *PMG* 778a (Macrob. *Sat.* V 22.4-5); cf. LeVen 2014, 19-20.

[149] Timotheus composed *nomoi* in the style of dithyrambs according to [Plut.] *De mus.* IV 1132e; Ceccarelli 2013a, 168 mentions the *nomoi* performed as dithyrambs, to the sound of the *aulos*, in Arcadia (Polyb. IV 20.8-9).

[150] On the use of wind and string intruments in the dithyramb and on the changes of practice over time cf. Franklin 2013, and Ceccarelli 2013, 167.

[151] Cf. Barbantani 2017, 340.

that none of these things occurred they expel from their city» (transl. by J.W. Cohoon, adapted) [152].

There is next to nothing we can say about the kind of dance that accompanied dithyrambic songs in the Hellenistic period, apart from the

[152] The excessively pathetic nature of lyric songs related to these myths and performed by the sound of the *aulos* is underlined by Dio, with Platonic contempt, also in *Or.* 7, 119-123: ἄλλως δὲ ὑπὲρ ἀγωγῆς τινος καὶ μετριότητος βίου. καὶ τοίνυν οὐδ' ὑποκριτὰς τραγικοὺς ἢ κωμικοὺς ἢ <διά> τινων μίμων ἀκράτου γέλωτος δημιουργοὺς οὐδὲ ὀρχηστὰς οὐδὲ χορευτάς, πλήν γε τῶν ἱερῶν χορῶν, ἀλλ' <οὐκ> ἐπί γε τοῖς Νιόβης ἢ Θυέστου πάθεσιν ᾄδοντας ἢ ὀρχουμένους, οὐδὲ κιθαρῳδοὺς οὐδὲ αὐλητὰς περὶ νίκης ἐν θεάτροις ἀμιλλωμένους, εἰ καί τινες τῶν ἐνδόξων πόλεων ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡμῖν δυσχερῶς ἕξουσι, Σμύρνα καὶ Χίος, καὶ δῆτα σὺν ταύταις καὶ τὸ Ἄργος, ὡς τὴν Ὁμήρου τε καὶ Ἀγαμέμνονος δόξαν (120) οὐκ ἐώντων αὔξεσθαι τὸ γοῦν ἐφ' ἡμῖν· τυχὸν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι χαλεπανοῦσιν, ἀτιμάζεσθαι νομίζοντες τοὺς σφετέρους ποιητὰς τραγικοὺς καὶ κωμικούς, ὅταν τοὺς ὑπηρέτας αὐτῶν ἀφαιρώμεθα, μηδὲν ἀγαθὸν φάσκοντες ἐπιτηδεύειν. εἰκὸς δὲ ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ Θηβαίους, ὡς τῆς νίκης αὐτῶν ὑβριζομένης, ἣν προεκρίθησαν ὑπὸ (121) τῆς Ἑλλάδος νικᾶν ἐπ' αὐλητικῇ· ταύτην δὲ τὴν νίκην οὕτω σφόδρα ἠγάπησαν, ὥστε ἀναστάτου τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῖς γενομένης καὶ ἔτινῦν σχεδὸν οὔσης πλὴν μικροῦ μέρους, τῆς Καδμείας [οἰκουμένης], τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐδενὸς ἐφρόντισαν τῶν ἠφανισμένων ἀπὸ πολλῶν μὲν ἱερῶν, πολλῶν δὲ στηλῶν καὶ ἐπιγραφῶν, τὸν δὲ Ἑρμῆν ἀναζητήσαντες πάλιν ἀνώρθωσαν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἦν τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ περὶ τῆς αὐλητικῆς, Ἑλλὰς μὲν Θήβας νικᾶν προέκρινεν ἐν αὐλοῖς· καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ μέσης τῆς ἀρχαίας ἀγορᾶς ἓν τοῦτο ἄγαλμα ἕστηκεν ἐν (122) τοῖς ἐρειπίοις· οὐ δὴ φοβηθέντες οὐδένα τούτων οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐπιτιμήσοντας ἡμῖν, ὡς τὰ σπουδαιότατα παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι ψέγομεν, ἅπαντα τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐκ αἰδημόνων οὐδὲ ἐλευθέρων ἀνθρώπων ἀποφαινόμενοι ἔργα, ὡς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ δυσχερῆ πρόσεστιν αὐτοῖς καὶ δὴ μέγιστον τὸ τῆς ἀναιδείας, τὸ μᾶλλον τοῦ δέοντος φρονεῖν τὸν ὄχλον, ὅπερ (123) [μέγιστον] θρασύνεσθαι καλεῖν ὀρθότερον. «Furthermore, we shall not permit our poor to become tragic or comic actors or creators of immoderate laughter by means of certain mimes, or dancers or chorus- men either. We except, however, the sacred choruses, but not if they represent the sorrows of Niobe or Thyestes by song or dance. Nor shall the poor become harpers or flute-players contending for victory in the theatres, even if we shall offend certain distinguished cities by so doing, cities such as Smyrna or Chios, for example, and, of course, Argos too, for not permitting the glory of Homer and Agamemnon to be magnified, at least so far as we can help it. (120) Perhaps the Athenians also will have a grievance because they believe that we are disparaging their poets, tragic and comic, when we deprive them of their assistants, claiming that there is nothing good in their calling. It is likely that the Thebans too will be resentful, on the ground that indignity is being offered their victory in flute-playing which was awarded them by Greece. (121) They cherished that victory so dearly that when their city had been destroyed – almost as it remains today except for a small part, the Cadmea, which is still inhabited – they cared nothing for the other things that had disappeared, for the many temples, many columns and inscriptions, but the Hermes they hunted out and set up again because the inscription about the contest in flute-playing was engraved upon it. 'Greece awarded to Thebes the victory in playing on flute-pipes'. And now in the middle of the old market-place stands this one statue surrounded by ruins. (122) But we shall have no fear of any of these people nor of those who will charge us with disparaging the things which the Greeks cherish as most important, but shall declare that all such activities have no place with self-respecting or free men, holding that many evils are due to them, the greatest of which certainly is shamelessness, that overweening pride on the part of the populace, for which arrogance would be a better name» (transl. by J.W. Cohoon).

persistent mention of «circular choruses» [153]. The terminology used in the Hellenistic period, especially in inscriptional documents, to indicate dithyrambic performance is not always clear, and was recently thoroughly investigated by Paola Ceccarelli (2013). Dithyrambic competitions at the Athenian Dionysia in the Classical period involved ten choruses of fifty men and ten of fifty boys, dancing and singing to the music of the *aulos*; choregic monuments record the main data of the victor, without the explicit mention of the genre «dithyramb» [154], and also without using the expression κύκλιοι/κυκλικοὶ χοροί (which instead appears in literary sources defining dithyrambic choruses at the Athenian Dionysia) [155]. Outside Athens, in inscriptions from Euboea, the Cyclades, Rhodes, Kos, and Thasos [156] of the 4th-2nd c. BC, related to Dionysian festivals, the expression κύκλιοι or κυκλικοὶ χοροί clearly refers to a dithyrambic chorus accompanied by an *aulos* [157]. Elsewhere, however, «circular choruses» are not always the same as «dithyrambic choruses», nor is «dithyramb» always defined as a choral performance. In the *Marmor Parium*, a Polyidos of Selymbria who won in the Athenian contests between 398 and 380 BC, is said to «have won in the dithyramb» and not with a «cyclic chorus»; in the Delian *tabulae archontum* under the year 236 BC, a dithyrambic poet is mentioned, but the choral performances in honor of Dionysus on the same document are not called «dithyrambic», but simply referred to as «dances of *paides*» [158]. In sum, according to Ceccarelli, the term «dithyramb» in Hellenistic epigraphic sources generally does not refer explicitly to a choral dance, with the notable exception of the choral dithyrambic performances at Cyrene in an inscription dating 335 BC [159]. In many cases, «dithyramb» identifies a

[153] Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 33. The invention of dithyramb and of the *kyklios choros* is attributed to the *kitharoido*s Arion by Herodotus (I 23) and Hellanicus (Dicaearch. fr. 75 Wehrli): cf. D'Alessio 2013, 113-118. On the disparaging definition of the New Music dithyrambographers as «songbenders of circular choruses» in Ar. *Nub.* 333, cf. Franklin 2013.

[154] The only exception would be the 3rd c. BC inscription *IG* II² 3779 proving that «dithyramb» was a new specialty introduced to the Lenaea: cf. Ceccarelli 2013, 156, 166.

[155] There is only one exception, cf. Ceccarelli 2013, 164.

[156] Ceccarelli 2013, 157.

[157] Ceccarelli 2013 164 recalls two epigrams (Aneziri 2003, 53-54, 135), one from Thasos (*CEG* II 675, 4th-3rd c. BC) for a *chorodidaskalos* of *kyklioi choroi*, and one from Hermione in Argolid (*IG* IV 682, 3rd c. BC) for a Pythocles, *aulodos* and rhapsode of *kyklioi choroi*. The only use of *kyklioi* in festivals other than the Dionysia is in the decree *I.Did.* II 479.38, 300/299, where Antiochus, the son of Seleucus I, had the *probedria* at the Dionysia in Miletus and at the Didymeia in Didyma, during «the cyclic competitions».

[158] Ceccarelli 2013, 160.

[159] Cf. Ceccarelli 2013, 158 and Ceccarelli - Milanezi 2013. It is not clear in honor of which deity the contest was held. Possibly the Karneia, in honor of Apollo, or at a festival for Demeter, also a local goddess. Cf. also Prauscello 2011, 301-302.

solo performance by a citharode, singing what seems to be narrative pieces of mythological content [160].

Considering the growing importance of citharodic dithyramb in the Hellenistic period if compared to the choral dithyrambic performances accompanied by the *aulos* which were predominant in classical Athens, Franklin 2013, 222 uses this phenomenon to explain «the dithyramb's occasional intersection with the realm of Apollo, for instance the patronage of *kyklioi choroi* at Delphi and the Athenian Thargelia, (explicit) dithyrambs at the Karneia at Kyrene, and so on». The citharodic dithyramb would be, rather than a real Hellenistic innovation, a return to the earliest phase of dithyramb, an archaizing phenomenon.

Although one of poets linked to Ptolemy Euergetes II, Nikagoras of Euesperides, mentioned in a decree by the Technitai of Cyprus [161], was a διθυραμβοποιός, there is not much literary or epigraphic evidence for the performance of dithyrambs in Hellenistic Alexandria [162]. The lack of evidence, however, may just be fortuitous. The last dithyrambographer of antiquity, actually, is an anonymous man from Egypt (Andronicus of Hermoupolis? 4th c. AD) mentioned by Themistius (*Or.* XXIX 347a) [163]. In comparison to other artists listed in the inscriptions of the Guilds of the Technitai, dithyrambographers, defined explicitly as such, are not numerous: only five names appear in the extant inscriptions [164]. However, it is also possible that a poet who specialized in paeans or prosodia, or a musician listed simply as a citharist, citharode, auletes or aulode, could also compose dithyrambs (see note 160 on the Teos victors' list). After all, Hellenistic inscriptions prove that dithyramb, both in the form of narrative song performed by a solo kitharode, with or without a chorus, and as a dance performance to the *aulos*, was popular all over the Greek Mediterranean in the

[160] Cf. Ceccarelli 2013, 161-163. Four inscriptions from Teos (2nd c. BC) are related to competitions among Technitai, enumerating winners in satyr-play, tragedy/comedy, and dithyrambs: one lists, under the entry «dithyramb», Demetrius from Phocaea, poet and citharode, presenting an *Andromeda*; another, the poet Nicarchus of Pergamon, presenting the *Persephone*, accompanied by the citharode Demetrius of Phocaea; on another list is mentioned the poet Callippus of Maronea, presenting the *Hippos* (the Trojan horse?), performed again by the above mentioned Demetrius.

[161] Aneziri 2003, E6, Le Guen 2001, TE 64, and Ceccarelli 2013, 160.

[162] Hordern 2002, 23.

[163] On Andronicus cf. Miguelez Cavero 2008, 81; for the last dithyrambographers and for cultic performance of dithyrambs during the Roman empire cf. Rutherford 2013a, 410.

[164] Cf. Ceccarelli 2013, 169, who adds new inscriptions from Teos to the evidence already provided by Stephanis 1988, nos. 564-568, 570-574, Le Guen 2001, II, 113-114, and Aneziri 2003, 423-428.

3rd-2nd c. BC. In Athens, the classical choral competitions (one chorus for each tribe) at the Great Dionysia were still organized in the 1st c. AD, even though we do not have any examples of actual songs performed. The last composers of dithyrambs are mentioned in inscriptions of the 2nd-3rd c. AD (T. Claudius Attalos Andragathos, *IG* II² 1105 face B, VIII.53; Dionysodorus; *IG* II² 3120).

2.2. *Inscriptional paeans and other religious poetry*

The guilds of Technitai provided a pool of professional composers and performers from whom the *polis* could commission paeans and other hymns for special occasions [165]. Today, apart from a few exceptions [166], the authors of cultic poetry remain anonymous. In the archaic and classical periods, lyric songs were not commonly inscribed, at least not on public buildings; only in the Hellenistic period, but especially under the Roman empire, cultic lyric poetry was inscribed on official monuments as a κτῆμα ἐς αἰεί, and offered to a wider public to be enjoyed in a communal way [167]. Many Greek hymns composed to be performed in rituals were, in the Hellenistic period or later, engraved in stone *in situ*, and survived for centuries, not just because of their original cultic, 'liturgical' nature, but also in their new function, as a dedication, therefore a μνῆμα, «memorial», of an event. A controversial case is that of the lyric fragment *PMG* 932, recently completed with new pieces found by Petrakos, and reassessed by D'Alessio [168]. The poem, which deals with the battle of Marathon, where the local goddess Nemesis sided with the Greeks (Paus. I 33.2; the paean is in fact preserved on an inscription from the temple of Nemesis at Rhamnus dating between the 1st c. BC and the 2nd c. AD), could have been composed at a time close to the event (5th BC), but also in the Hellenistic period, or even later, for a commemoration of the victory in the Persian war: D'Alessio 2017, 255 remarks that the diction, classical overall, is interspersed with Aeolisms, which is not unusual in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, cf.

[165] *FD* III 23 nr. 47 = *SIG* 698 describes the impressive delegation of the Athenian Technitai, including a full chorus, at the Pythais when were performed Athenaeus and Limenius' paeans. Cf. Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 134-135.

[166] Aristonous, Athenaeus and Limenius were members of the Athenian Technitai; another Athenian, Cleochares, is praised in a Delphic inscription of the 3rd c. BC (*FD* III:3, nr. 78) for having composed a processional song, a paean, and hymn for the local *Theoxenia*.

[167] Cf. LeVen 2014, 284-286.

[168] Peek 1942, 159-160, nr. 333; Campbell 1993, 346, nr. 932; Pouilloux 1954, 160-161, nr. 52; Petrakos 1999, II, 165; Stafford 2005; D'Alessio 2017, 252-254.

e.g. the *Hymn to Pan* at Epidaurus (*PMG* 936, possibly 2nd c. AD). As for its metrical structure, D'Alessio 2017, 254 recognizes in the first column variations on the dactylo-epitrite, and long dactylic sequences in the second column. Although there is no colometry, apparently the layout «with its lines of various length, always ending with word-end and compatible with the end of a verse, was meant to match the metrical structure of the poem».

The metrical form of epigraphic hymns varies. If the mysterious Athenian hymn just mentioned is composed of various dactylic sequences, many epigraphic hymns are composed in epic verses or elegiac couplets, following the tradition of the Homeric hymns and Hellenistic elegy. In Egypt, four hymns to Isis by a local priest, Isidorus (1st BC), are inscribed on the gate of a temple in Medinet Madi (Fayum) [169], and from Egypt derives a long tradition of Isis aretalogies in prose or in various meters, scattered across the Greek world [170]. Several shorter epigraphic hymns from Egypt, which may just be votive and not liturgical, have been collected by E. Bernand: they are mainly in hexameters, but polymetry also is attested [171]. Outside Egypt, in mainland and island Greece, we occasionally find epigraphic poems with hymnodic features: e.g. what may, judging by its first lines, be a hymn in elegic couplets to a goddess (probably Artemis Polo), composed by a certain Nikiades [172], is actually a private dedication by him and his wife. Furley

[169] The hymns, two in hexameters and two in elegiacs (Bernand 1969, 631-652, nr. 175; Vanderlip 1972), are a token of loyalty to the king Ptolemy IX Soter II, and are strictly related to rituals performed in the temple where they originally were inscribed: cf. Moyer 2016.

[170] A *Hymn to Isis* from Cyme (*I.Cyme* 41, 49-50; Aeolid, 1st c. BC); an iambic poem from Cyrene (1st c. AD, *SEG* IX 1938, 192); hymn of Andros, in hexameters (1st c. AD; *IG Suppl.* 1939, p. 98), possibly the work of an Alexandrian scholar (Peek 1930). Other hymns are later (2nd-3rd c. AD) (Bernand 1969, 631-652; Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 48-49; Barbantani 2008, 13-14). Some of these hymns to Isis are known from papyri: e.g. *P.Oxy.* XI 1380; *PSI* VII 844 (*LDAB* 5244; Heitsch 1961, 165-166, nr. XLVIII; 3rd AD?). Most of the Isis aretalogies however are in prose (on prose hymns Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 48).

[171] Bernand 1969 collected *proskuneseis* to the god Mandulis (identified with Apollo); Rutherford 2001a, 465 lists a «syncretic» epigram from Talmis in Nubia (Bernand 1969, nr. 167) with an invocation of Paian (R81), and an acrostic epigram (Bernand 1969, nr. 169) by Paccius Maximus from Talmis in Nubia, in honor of the god Mandules, with an invocation of Paian (R82; Mairs 2013; Garulli 2013); cf. also the Moschion's stele (2nd AD, Bernand 1969, nr. 108), engraved with a poem in honor of Osiris in fifty-three verses (elegiacs, sotadean, iambic tetrameters) and accompanied by a demotic text, possibly by the same author.

[172] *IG* XII 5, 229 (Paros, 2nd -1st c. BC). Cf. Queyrel 1981; Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 379-380, II, 385-390, nr. 12.5. Another ambiguous case is the Athenian inscription *IG* II/III^2 4347 (2nd c. AD), where a couple of readable verses could belong to a *hymn to Athena* in iambic verses, but it could be simply an epigram with hymnic incipit, such as *Suppl. Hell.* 982. Cf. Kaibel nr. 796; Peek 1974 (not convinced about its hymnic nature).

and Bremer (2001, I, p. 380) noting that elegy could be also sung (like the hexametric hymns from Epidaurus), suggest that this poem could have been performed at the inauguration of the temple of this goddess built with the help of the two benefactors (cf. below the paean of Philodamus, for the inauguration of the sixth Delphic temple). The most famous literary example of a hymn in elegiacs is of course Callimachus *H.* V, which, however, has its roots in hymnodic elegies such as the *prooimion* of Simonides' *Elegy for Plataea* (a hymn to Achilles), in ancestral «Doric elegies» [173], and in sympotic addresses to deities (e.g. Theogn. I 1-18; Crates' *Hymn to the Muses*, *Suppl. Hell.* 359, 4th c. BC). The elegiac *Hymn to Demeter* (*Suppl. Hell.* 206) by Aristocles, quoted by Aelian, is undated [174].

Moving to the Seleucid kingdom, the evidence ofr epigraphic hymns is scarce. Some hymns in non-dactylic metre are attested epigraphically: *SEG* VII 1934, 14 (Seleucia, in Susiana, 1st c. BC or 1st c. AD) is a *hymn to Apollo-Helios* of thirty-one lines in Priapean meter [175] (glyconic + pherecratean), with an acrostic revealing the name of the composer, probably Herod[or]os son of Artemon of Seleucia [176]. An interesting lyric hymn, probably Hellenistic [177], comes from Herakleia at Latmos, and is focused on the local hero-god, Endymion [178]: it mentions divine anger towards the city founded by Endymion (l. 6), the cave where he sleeps, a celebration, a marriage; apparently there are also references to Athena Tritogenes (ll. 1, 12, 20, 53) [179].

Paeans seem to be the most common type of poem inscribed in the Hellenistic and Roman period [180]. Great sanctuaries were a repository of inscriptional copies of performed hymns. Delphi remained the main Apollinean shrine also in the Hellenistic period, along with Delos and Miletus. One of the first authors whose hymns survive on stone is Aristonous of Corinth (4th BC), who is honoured in a Delphic decree (*FD* III:2, 190) [181]

[173] Cf. Nobili 2011.

[174] Fantuzzi - Hunter 2005, 32.

[175] Cf. Powell, *Coll. Alex.* 176-177, Euphronius Chersonesites, *Priapeia* (in Hephaest. *Ench.* p. 56 Consbruch, *de antispastis*).

[176] Powell 1933, 202-203. Cf. Paccius Maximus' acrostic poems, above note 171.

[177] D'Alessio 2017, 251-252, who is preparing an edition of the poem, suggests the 2nd c. BC.

[178] First edition in Dain 1933, 66-73: *I.Louvre* nr. 60 (with the notes of B. Haussolier, at p. 69: erroneously he considers the poem a *partheneion*; and the commentary by Wilamowitz, at pp. 70-73: he gives a tentative metrical reading of some verses); Robert 1978, 483-490, fig. 21; Campbell 1993, 434-437, nr. 1037; D'Alessio 2017, 251-252.

[179] Cf. Robert 1978, 488.

[180] Käppel 1992, 189-290; Cameron 1995, 292-294.

[181] Ἀριστόνοος Νικοσθένους Κορίνθιος Ἀπόλλωνι Πυθίῳ τὸν ὕμνον («Aristonous son of Nicosthenes, of Corinth (wrote) the hymn to Pythian Apollo»). For the date cf. Vamvouri-Ruffy 2004, 211-215. Cf. Alonge 2011, 218 on the set of honorary inscriptions

specifically for his «hymn», possibly composed for the Theoxenia. The decree is followed by a copy of his *Paean to Apollo* (*FD* III:2, 191) [182], and by a *Hymn to Hestia* (*FD* III:2, 192) [183] in dactylo-epitrites. The *Hymn to Apollo* is characterized by the usual paean cry, even though the poem is never defined as a «paean» in the inscription. The hymn is composed of six identical strophes in aeolic cola, with two paean refrains, the *epiphthegma* ἰὴ ἰὲ Παιάν (as a *meshymnion*) and ὦ ἰὲ Παιάν (as *ephymnion*). Each strophe is a quatrain that twice repeats the sequence three glyconics + a catalectic pherecratean [184]. Fantuzzi 2010, 194-195 connects Aristonous' paean, which was found near the Athenian Treasury, with Athenian political interests, comparing it to the paean by Philodamus, even though «it is possible that Aristonous, a Corinthian, was simply inspired by the construction at Delphi of a new porch to Athena Pronaia» [185].

The paean by Philodamus of Scarphaea (Locris), dedicated to Dionysus was also found at Delphi [186]. As in the case of Aristonous, the poem is accompanied by a decree of *proxenia* (dated to 340/339 BC, the year of the inauguration of the sixth Temple) [187] granted by the Delphians to Philodamus, son of Aenesidamus of Scarphea, to his brothers and to their descendants, as a reward for «the paean» they composed according to a «μαντεία of the god»; ll. 110-112 of the paean make it clear that it was Apollo himself who gave order to the Amphictyons to offer this hymn to Dionysus and to the gods at the Theoxenia. No affiliation to a Guild of Technitai is mentioned in the inscription. Philodamus and his broth-

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of the first half of the 3rd BC: Aristonous' decree is the most ancient (340 BC) and the only one accompanied by the two poems. On the decrees in his honor cf. also LeVen 2014, 294-304.

[182] Powell, *Coll. Alex.* 162-164; Käppel 1992, nr. 42; Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 119-121, II, 45-52; Rutherford 2001a, 28 ff., R54; Vamvouri-Ruffy 2004, 94-96, 206-215; Fantuzzi 2010, 192-195; Alonge 2011; LeVen 2014, 296-302.

[183] Powell, *Coll. Alex.* 164-165; Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 116-118, II, 38-45. On the structure of the *Hymn to Hestia* cf. also LeVen 2014, 296-303: «the poem makes no reference to performance, except at the closing of the last strophe».

[184] Cf. p. 96, the *Hymn to Apollo-Helios*. Fantuzzi - Hunter 2004, note 112 remark that in Call. fr. 104a Pfeiffer, a 'hexameter' is followed by a lyric verse, which can be interpreted, e.g., as an iamb + a Pherecratean with two dactyls. On the meter in Aristonous' paean cf. Furley - Bremer 2001, II, 47, and LeVen 2014, 299.

[185] On which cf. Vamvouri-Ruffy 2004, 212-216.

[186] Powell, *Coll. Alex.* 165-171; Käppel 1992, nr. 39; Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 121-128; Rutherford 2001a, 131-136, R53; Neumann-Hartmann 2004; Alonge 2011, 217-218; Fantuzzi 2010, 189-192; Prauscello 2011, 298-306 (on the intersection of Dionysian and Apollinean elements in Callimachus and contemporary poetry); Petrovic 2011, 279-282 (Apollo as a lawgiver and a «literary critic» approves the generic mixing of Philodamus and the poetic of Callimachus in *H.* II); LeVen 2014, 295-96, 304-317.

[187] Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 57. In this case, the hymn precedes the decree.

ers could have been professional «wandering poets», «or they could have been members of the local elite, like Isyllus of Epidaurus (cf. pp. 102-103), who devoted some of their wealth in the name of the community – and for the advertisement of their poetic talent» [188]. However, Fantuzzi, with Vamvouri-Ruffy, makes a strong case for an Athenian involvement in the entire project of enhancing the role of Dionysus at Delphi [189]. As far as we know, the Athenian Technitai were not yet organized into a Union until the first decades of the 3rd c. BC (*IG*^{2} 1131.1-39, *FD* III:2, 68) [190], but Philodamus and his brothers could have had other, personal, links to Athens. The poem, laid out in two columns as on a papyrus roll (a format similar to that of the Hellenistic epigraphic elegy «The pride of Halikarnassus», *SGO* I 01/12/02) [191], has twelve strophes (fifty lines in all), including the usual paeanic *epiphthegma* (again, like in Aristonous, we have a *mesymnion*: Εὐοῖ ὦ Ἰό[βακχ' ὦ ἰὲ Παιά]ν, and an *ephymnion*: ἰὲ Παιάν, ἴθι σωτήρ, / [εὔφρων τάνδε] πόλιν φύλασσ' / εὐαίωνι σὺν [ὅλβῳ.]). The poem defines itself as a «hymn» (110, 112), and makes explicit its choral performance (112-113), however its «materiality» as an inscribed text fixed and displayed to the public and as a gift to the god is also underlined (l. 110: τόνδ'ὕμνον δεῖξαι) [192]. The most interesting feature is the use of the ritual paeanic invocation (well expected in a composition inscribed at the Apolline shrine of Delphi), in a poem celebrating Dionysus, who is generally associated with dithyrambs. As the decree accompanying the hymn declares, the novelty of the choice has been approved or even suggested by the god himself. Although the syncretism between paean and dithyramb proposed by Philodamus could be seen as a «generic transgression» [193], the hymn has nothing of the intellectualistic experimental quality of some Alexandrian hymns (e.g. that of Philicus): the innovation is based on the existence of a Dionysian cult already well established at Delphi, and on a practice already described by Bacchylides *Dith.* 16 – a dithyramb was sung to Dionysus during the absence of Apollo

[188] So LeVen 2014, 295-296.

[189] Vamvouri-Ruffy 2004, 200-207; Fantuzzi 2010, 193.

[190] Cf. Le Guen 2001, II, 6-8, 14-17; Ceccarelli 2004. «Technitai» are mentioned in literary sources since the 4th c. BC, but they are not yet organized in guilds until the early 3rd c. BC. Arist. *Rhet.* III 1405a, 23-4 mentions actors/technitai in a disparaging way. In *IG* XII 9.207 (Euboea) technitai are mentioned, but not a specific association (294-288 BC).

[191] *Editio princeps* in Isager 1998.

[192] Cf. LeVen 2014, 311-313.

[193] Rutherford 2001a, 133. On the historical contrast between two alleged opposites, Apollo and Dionysus, Paean and Dithyramb (Philoch. *FGrHist* 328 F 172) cf. Rutherford 2013a, 414, 416-417.

from Delphi, who would receive paeans upon his return [194]. We do not know the details of the performance, as they are not provided by the paratext accompanying the hymn; however, the paean itself suggests some choreutic elements which points towards ritual «circular chorus» [195].

The Delphic Theoxenia continued to provide an occasion for hymnodic production during the Hellenistic period and beyond. In 227 BC, Cleochares of Athens composed a *prosodion*, a paean and a hymn for this feast, as we know from *SIG* 450 = *FD* III:2 78 [196]. For the Athenian *Pythais* (procession from Athens to Delphi) of 128/7 BC were composed two further paeans, both with authorial attribution and interlinear musical notation [197], which were inscribed and displayed on the external wall of the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi (*FD* III:2, 137-138) [198]. One of these, more damaged and incomplete, is the paean (and hyporcheme) of Athenaeus [199]. The heading of the second defines it as a «paean and prosodion» and names the author, Limenius [200], who also appears in the decree accompanying the poem as «Limenius, son of Thoinus, Athenian». There he is qualified not only as the composer, but also as a singer and musician, unlike some dithyrambographers mentioned in the Tean inscriptions, who left the execution of their composition to another citharode [201]. In fact the

[194] On the historical and ritual context of this song, and on the role of Dionysus at Delphi cf. Vamvouri-Ruffy 2004, 206-207; LeVen 2014, 304-311. Fantuzzi 2010, 189-192 draws a parallel between the mixing of the genres Paean and Dithyramb and the contemporary reconstruction of the temple of Apollo, decorated with an innovative iconography (Dionysus Musagetes): «the syncretistic paean supports the syncretistic decorations and vice versa» (192).

[195] LeVen 2014, 315.

[196] Rutherford 2001a R72.

[197] Cf. above, introduction, pp. 72-73.

[198] Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 129-131, 135-136; Wagman 2013, 223; Fantuzzi 2010, 193-194. Most scholars now believe with Bélis 1992 that the two poems were performed in the same year, but there has been some debate on the subject: cf. Furley - Bremer 2001, 130-131; Pöhlmann - West 2001, 70-73 (the paeans are «among festival decrees concerning the Athenian *Pythaides* of the years 138/7, 128/7, 106/5 and 97/6»).

[199] Delphi inv. 517, 526, 494, 499; *FD* III 147 ff.; Powell, *Coll. Alex.* 141-148; Käppel 1992, nr. 45; Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 129-135, II, 83-92; Pöhlmann - West 2001, nr. 20; Hagel 2009, 281-283. The name *Athenaios* has been restored by Bélis 1992, 48 ff., 53 ff., who found it in the decree of Limenius.

[200] Delphi inv. 489, 1461, 1591, 209, 212, 226, 225, 224, 215, 214; *FD* III, 163 ff.; Powell, *Coll. Alex.* 149-159; Käppel 1992, nr. 45; Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 135-138, II, 92-100; Pöhlmann - West 2001, nr. 21; Hagel 2009, 283-285. The refrain (*epiphthegma*) of the paean is missing and the paeonic meter may be used for other genres too (cf. Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 82). The *prosodion*, which accompanies the procession to the temple, is not divided into sections by any sign (it should stop at l. 33, according to Fantuzzi). On the overlapping between prosodion and paean cf. D'Alessio 1997, 30 ff.

[201] Cf. above, note 160.

prose inscription *FD* III:2 47.22 tells us that Limenius was one of the Athenian Technitai of Dionysus (also mentioned in the paean, ll. 19-21), who took part in the majestic *theoria* of the Athenians to Delphi in 128/7 BC; his paean was performed by the full chorus of the Guild. The two paeans lack any immediately recognizable «paeanic marks» such as a *epiphthegma*, or any other kind of refrain, but the content of both is clearly Apolline. They are similar in structure, which could be a traditional, recurrent pattern in local paeans (invocation to the Muses, praise and epiphany of Apollo, sacrifice, a reminder of the god's deeds, final prayers): Limenius expands more the central, narrative section on the deeds of Apollo [202]. They also have a similar metrical structure [203]: both the paeans (in Limenius, ll. 1-33, in Athenaeus, ll. 1-27) are in cretics; in the composition by Limenius, the part with the concluding prayers (ll. 33-40) is a *prosodion*, in glyconics and coriambic dimeters + pherecratean; in Atheneus' poem the end of the stone is broken, but the continuing section in cretics should be the hyporcheme.

While the two Athenian paeans of 128 BC were immediately inscribed at Delphi as a means of political propaganda, the Asklepieion of Epidaurus seem to have organized, in the Roman period, an epigraphic collection of inscribed hymns, of different date and meters and created for various occasions [204]. It is a true «anthology», representing the musical and poetic history of the sanctuary. Although the lettering suggests a unified institutional project, Wagman has noticed that the hymns have been copied «as they were in the originals» (the original writing support could have been marble, papyri, tablets), with different punctuation, colometric and spelling habits [205]. The hymns (*IG* IV² 1, 129-135; *SEG* XXX 390) were displayed, probably, in the Hestiatorion renovated as an Odeion in the 2nd c. AD, in an impressive, single wall inscription, dated, on palaeographical grounds, to the 2nd-3rd c. AD, certainly with a «promotional purpose» [206]. The hymns

[202] Cf. Furley - Bremer 2001, 130-131; Fantuzzi 2010, 193-194 (for the philo-Athenian attitude of Limenius' paean). Limenius recalls the link between Apollo and Athens in the mythical past, while, instead of describing the journey of Apollo, Athenaeus included a celebration of the Athenian Technitai playing the kithara for the god at Delphi (9-18).

[203] Pöhlmann - West 2001, 72-73, 85; Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 131, II, 86 (Athenaeus) and 94 (Limenius).

[204] Wagman 2013, 222: the texts appear to be organized in two categories: «songs composed for special occasions, such as festivals, contests and privately sponsored events, and songs performed at fixed times during the daily ritual».

[205] Cf. Wagman 2013, 223.

[206] So Wagman 2013, 219; on the original location of the slabs, the evolution of the Hestiatorion and the involvement of the imperial senator Iulius Maior Antoninus Pythodorus in the renovation of the sanctury: cf. Wagman 2013, 226-227. On the specifics of every single hymn cf. Wagman 2013, 299-231.

to all the gods, to Pan and to the mother of the gods (*IG* IV² 1, 129-131) were inscribed on the same slab of limestone [207]. The *Hymn to all the gods* (*IG* IV², 129) [208], for which Page suggested a Hellenistic date (3rd-2nd BC), is a poem of thirteen lines, in a mixture of epic and lyric meters (iambic trimeters, ithyphallics, hexameters). The *Hymn to Pan* (*IG* IV² 1, 130) could also be Hellenistic [209]; the meter is stichic catalectic trochaic dimeter. Short lines with stichic meters are also characteristic of the third poem on the same stone, the *Hymn to the mother of the gods* (*IG* IV² 1, 131): again, the hymn may be as early as the 4th-3rd c. BC [210], and it was possibly a prize composition in a festival for the goddess, who, venerated as Demeter, had a cult in Epidaurus. It is composed in Telesilleans κατὰ στίχον (named after the poet Telesilla of Argos, author of a *Hymn to Artemis*) [211]. A second «anthology» type inscription, probably from the same period and from the same building, was reused and found in what is now the *basilica* of Epidaurus; it preserves on one column the famous and very popular *paean to Hygieia* by Ariphron of Sicyon (*IG* IV² 1, 132) [212] and a *hymn to Asclepius* (*IG* IV² 1, 133; meter uncertain); on the left column there is what seems to be a *hymn to Apollo* or *Asclepius* (*IG* IV² 1, 133; meter uncertain) and six lines of a *hymn to Athena* (*IG* IV² 1, 134). Three other fragments preserve more hymns (*IG* IV² 1, 131-134) [213], including a hymn in hexameters to Asclepius, possibly Hellenistic in date, with musical notation on the upper margin [214]. An exceptional case in this «anthology» is the inscription with the *hymn to Athena* which, before the poem, adds ὥρᾳ τρίτηι, that is, a indication of the specific moment of the day when the hymn should be recited. According to D'Alessio, this detail suggests that «some of the hymns might have still been performed at the time of the inscription» [215].

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[207] Wagman 2013, 220: the text is on two columns: on the left the *Hymn to all gods* and the *Hymn to Pan*, on the right the *Hymn to the mother of the gods*; «It is very likely that additional poetry was lost in the break above these texts».

[208] Campbell 1993, 356, nr. 937.

[209] Powell 1933, 203 = *PMG* 936; Campbell 1993, 354-355; Rutherford 2001a, 70; Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 240-243.

[210] Powell 1933, 204-207; Campbell 1993, 350-351, nr. 935; Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 214-223, 241; Furley 2013.

[211] Powell 1933, 205: the meter is an «acephalous glyconean», frequent in Sophocles.

[212] *PMG* 813; Käppel 1992, nr. 34; Campbell 1993, 813; Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 224-227; Rutherford 2001a, 37-38; LeVen 2014, 277.

[213] *IG* IV² 1, 135 I-II: *Hymn to Asclepius*, possibly in hexameters. On the epigraphic details of this collection cf. Wagman 2013, 221-222.

[214] *SEG* XXX 390: cf. Pöhlmann - West 2001, nr. 19; Hagel 2009, 280-281; on the singing of hexameter poetry cf. West 1986: music of the Roman period is diatonic (e.g. the Seikilos epigram), while chromatic melody, as in this piece, is older.

[215] D'Alessio 2017, 250.

Also from Epidaurus, but separated from the hymnic collection just presented, comes one of the most frequently studied inscriptional hymns, Isyllus' *Paean to Asclepius* [216], dated either to the late 4th, or to the late 3rd c. BC [217]. The poem is divided into seven sections in different meters (a prose introduction; ll. 3-9 in catalectic trochaic tetrameter; ll. 10-26 in hexameters; ll. 26-31 also hexameters, and a pentameter; ll. 32-36 in prose; ll. 37-61, a paean in ionics; ll. 62-84 in hexameters) [218], and narrates two aetiological tales: the foundation of the cult of Asclepius at Epidaurus and the reasons and circumstances of the present inscription [219].

> … Isyllus' strategy consists of his validating his authority in order to throw into relief the paean's originality, which includes its thematic and epichoric features. By using distinctively different metric patterns in its various sections, the whole inscription relies on the memory of diverse modes, and contexts, of performance – from inscription in prose to hexametric poetry (the meter used for stone or literary epigrams, sacred regulations, and gnomic poetry), and from spoken meters (trochaic tetrameters) to sung rhythms (ionics) – and thus manipulates its audience's horizon of expectation. The existence of the paean as a song cannot be separated from its existence as a written record. (LeVen 2014, 328)

Antiquarian anthologies of older songs, as those at major shrines such as Epidaurus and Delphi, but less ambitious in scale, are present in other Greek sancturies still active in the Roman period. A stele from the Athenian Asklepieion, now preserved in the Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel (inv. SK 61 = *IG* II² 4533, 3rd c. AD) [220], includes the *Paean to Hygieia* by Ariphron, which also appears in the Epidaurian collection (see p. 101), preceded by a morning song to Asclepius in hexameters, and followed by two hymns to Telesphorus son of Asclepius, one in anapaests (the third poem on the stele), and one in hexameters (the fourth poem) [221].

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[216] For the most complete edition and commentary cf. Kolde 2003 (previously: Powell, *Coll. Alex.* 132-136; Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 227-239). Cf. also Rutherford 2001a, 41 R63; Fantuzzi 2010, 183-189; LeVen 2014, 317-328.

[217] Its date depends on the uncertain identification of the invader «Philip» quoted in the paean (Philip II or Philip V).

[218] Fantuzzi 2010, 184-185 links the use of trochaic tetrameter in lines 3-9 to the political poetry of Solon in tetrameters and iambi.

[219] On the intertwined temporal planes and narratives, cf. LeVen 2014, 318-328: the opening of the paean suggests a dedication (of the stele, of one of the pieces inscribed – mainly the paean –, of an object); the final lines (83-84) remind the opening, in ring-composition, and quote the name of Isyllus as the author.

[220] Cf. Wagman 2013, 221-222.

[221] Rutherford 2001a, 42, R104-R105; Furley - Bremer 2001, nr. 7.6 and 7.7.1 and 7.7.2: I 267-268 and II 234-235 (song to Asclepius in hexameters), I 268-269 and II 235-236

While inscriptional anthologies display the ritual and musical history of a sanctuary over the centuries, certain cultic lyric songs were so much appreciated that they were copied many times in different locations over a span of centuries, and with only a few variants. An example is the *Paean to Hygieia* by Ariphron (see above p. 102), a monostrophic poem in dactylo-epitrites of uncertain date [222], which was inscribed in two major Asklepieia in the Roman period: in the Epidaurian collection and in Athens (respectively *IG* IV² 1.132 and *IG* II² 4533). The definition «paean» for this poem comes from Athen. XV 701f-702b, where the song is performed at the end of a symposium [223]. Very popular in antiquity, the «toast to Health» not only was often copied and displayed epigraphically, but also circulated orally, since it is quoted with small variants in many literary sources [224]: it is found in prose authors of the Roman period such as Lucian, *Pro lapsu* 6, where it is said to be «extremely famous and on everybody's lips» (τὸ γνωριμώτατον ἐκεῖνο καὶ πᾶσι διὰ στόματος), Plut. *Mor.* 450b (*De virt. moral.* 10), Max. Tyr. VII 1, Sext. Emp. *Math.* XI 49 (from Licinnius), and, finally, in Stob. IV 27.9. The paean even survived in the medieval manuscript tradition (*Ottobonianus gr.* 59, 13th/4th c. AD, which also preserves the hymns of Mesomedes) because it was extensively used in manuals for musical teaching [225].

The most relevant example of a paean in multiple copies is the anonymous *Paean to Asclepius*, first recorded (ca. 380-360 BC) in the Asklepieion at Erythrae [226]. The date of composition of the poem is hard to decide: it

(hymn to Telesphorus in anapaestic dimeters acatalectic), I 269-271 and II 236-239 (hymn to Telesphorus in hexameters).

[222] The poem first appears in a quotation by Plutarch (2nd c. AD), who considers it «ancient». Many date the author to the 4th c. BC because an Ariphron in mentioned in *IG* II 3.1280 (4th c. BC) as a chorus teacher (Campbell 1993, 134; LeVen 2014, 277-282); Arrigoni 2001, 19 even suggests the 5th c. BC; on the contrary Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 224-227 lower the date of the hymn to the Hellenistic period for stylistical and content reasons. Recently D'Alessio 2017, 248 expressed scepticism towards a very high date («ancient» in the Imperial period may just mean «old, traditional», cf. above).

[223] For paeans sung during symposia cf. Rutherford 2001a, 50-51; LeVen 2014, 278.

[224] Alonge 2011, 220-221: «Not all of the differences between the extant versions of the paean should be discounted as mere scribal error or as divergences from an original […] If the hymn was as well known as Lucian says […] some of these differences may be products of oral transmission, resulting in new versions which take on lives of their own, while still notionally being 'Ariphron's paean».

[225] Cf. D'Alessio 2017, 249-250: the manuscript includes only the texst of Mesomedes and Ariphron, but it was copied from an *antigraphon* which had musical notation, and descended from a tradition of manuals with musical scores for school use.

[226] Powell, *Coll. Alex.* 136-138; *PMG* 934; Käppel 1992, 193-196, nr. 37; Campbell 1993, 348-351; Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 211-214; Rutherford 2001a, 39-40, 462 R43; LeVen 2014, 286-294; D'Alessio 2017, 250. On its structure cf. Fantuzzi 2010, 188-189.

could belong to the Classical period [227], but it could also be a post-Classical example of a basic ritual song, useful, in its simplicity and adaptability, for cultic purposes «in all circumstances and places» [228]. The paean is recorded on the *verso* of a stele, after the opening, fragmentary lines of another paean, which is probably the continuation of what we find on the *recto* (so Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 213) [229]. The stele also carries a *lex sacra*, a short prose instruction addressed to those who are in the temple for incubation and would like to sacrifice to Apollo and Asclepius. The *lex* instructs the visitors to accompany their offerings on the altar of Apollo with a short paeanic utterance (παιωνίζειν) repeated three times: the song follows, with the ritual paeanic *epiphthegma* and a prayer to Apollo for the protection of boys, *kouroi* – perhaps the members of a chorus? At this point the stone is broken, but probably the same paean continues on the *verso*. On the same stone, just after the paean to Asclepius written on the back (ll. 74-76), has been added, in or after 281 BC, the paean to Seleucus [230].

Unlike many Hellenistic astrophic hymns, the Erythrean paean to Asclepius is composed in dactylic sequences [231], arranged in three stanzas (without responsion), which are highlighted in the layout of the stone. Each is followed by a refrain [232], or *ephymnion*, including the ritual cry ἰὴ Παιάν, Ἀσκληπιὸν, / δαίμονα κλεινότατον, / ἰὲ Παιάν. The paean opens with the usual exhortation to young men (the paeanic chorus) to sing Apollo (ll. 1-4), followed by a central section on the genealogy of Asclepius and a list of his children (this section is variously adapted in local versions of the hymn over the following centuries), and finally by a prayer to Asclepius for protection of the city. A version of the Erythrean Paean to Asclepius was

[227] For a date to the 5th c. BC cf. Rutherford 2001a, 39-41, 462 R43 (possibly Sophocles?).

[228] On its structure cf. Fantuzzi 2010, 188-189: «it is quite possible that the author of this song or his patrons purposely chose not to record his identity exactly because anonymity was essential to its desired dissemination as a standard text»; Käppel 1992, 193-196 saw in this hymn an «automatized» composition, almost a copy-and paste patchwork of formulae and themes taken from the Homeric hymns. Against the *Automatisierung* theory cf. Rutherford 2001a, 129; LeVen 2014, 287-289: she observes that «Rather than seeking to trace the evolution of the 'genre' be it by 'contamination' or 'automatization', we should consider how the features of different hymns bear witness to strategies of adaptation to specific circumstances, both local and temporal».

[229] Powell, *Coll. Alex.* 140; *PMG* 933; Käppel 1992, 189-193, nr. 36; Campbell 1993, 348-349; Rutherford 2001a, 21, 40-41, 70, R57.

[230] Cf. Barbantani 2017, 345.

[231] Cf. Furley - Bremer 2001, II, 163. Cf. Faraone 2011, 209.

[232] On the typology of paeanic refrains cf. Rutherford 2001a, 69-70.

copied in Ptolemais, Egypt, in 97 AD [233], according to the short text that introduces the paean on the occasion of the restoration of the local temple of Asclepius and Hygieia, ordered by the *polis* under the prefect Pompeius Planta and the *epistrategos* Calpurnius Sabinus. The Erythrean paean to Asclepius has also an Athenian version of the 1st-2nd c. AD, copied again with other texts on the same stone [234], and one from Dion, in Macedonia, which dates to the 2nd c. AD. The main differences from the Erythrean copy are in small changes motivated by local needs (the toponym Dion at l. 14; an extra stanza on Egyptian gods and on the Nile floods in Ptolemais); in ll. 4 and 8 the will to conform to an Epidaurian, Athens-endorsed version of the genealogy of Asclepius is also evident [235].

The model of the Erythrean paean was followed, with the addition of a prayer for Athens, in the 1st c. BC / 1st c. AD in the *Paean to Apollo and Asclepius* composed by Macedonicus of Amphipolis [236], whose fragments have been found near the Athenian agora. The heading includes the name of the composer. The hymn was to be performed locally by a chorus of young men, on an occasion which Faraone [237] suggests was something disastrous, e.g. a plague or some other disease (cf. Sophocles' paean to Asclepius, *PMG* 737B) [238]. According to Faraone the Erythrean paean and its later copies would prove the existence of a tradition of monostrophic Athenian paeans in dactylic verses, possibly going back to the 5th c. BC. The simplest model opens with a tetrameter and ends with the paeanic *epiphthegma*; these units are arranged in various segments, but over time a trend to create longer and longer dactylic sequences developed [239], as we

[233] Bernand 1969, nr. 176; cf. also Rutherford 2001b; Furley - Bremer 2001, II, 163-167; Leven 2014, 293: «this paean could have been performed at a ceremony; the inscription would have been dedicated during the inauguration of the restored temple and at festivals of Asclepius (and Hygieia), in a continued dialogue between oral and written ritual».

[234] The same stone includes fragments of the Sophocles' paean in dactylic sequences: cf. Faraone 2011, 210, 225-228, with previous bibliography.

[235] In the later copies of the Erythraen paean is cancelled the original reference to Asclepius' birthplace in Thessaly: Phlegyae toponym becomes the gen. of Phlegyas, father of Coronis; among Asclepius' children is added Akeso, venerated in Attica. Cf. Faraone 2011, 211-212.

[236] The poem is earlier (possibly 2nd-1st c. BC) than the stone, 1st-2nd c. AD. Powell, *Coll. Alex.* 138-140; Käppel 1992, nr. 41; Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 266-267; Rutherford 2001a, 42, R100; Fantuzzi 2010, 189; Faraone 2011, 215-224.

[237] Faraone 2011, 220.

[238] Sophocles' paean survives in a 3rd c. AD Athenian incription, the Sarapion monument (Alonge 2011, 219; Rutherford 2001a, 39).

[239] Cf. Ael. Arist. I 23.73: «stretching the strophae as long as possible» (Faraone 2011, 222-223).

see in the paean of Macedonicus, an astrophic composition with exceedingly long verses composed of dactyls [240].

In his hexametric *Hymn to Zeus* (*H.* I 52-53), Callimachus alludes to the Couretes' dance on Crete; we do not know if he was informed about actual local rituals and the epichoric hymns. A *Hymn to the Curetes*, or to Zeus, probably composed around 300 BC, was inscribed in the Roman period (3rd c. AD) at Palaikastro, Crete, which had been the site of a cult of Zeus active at least until the 2nd c. BC [241]. Unlike many Hellenistic hymns, the poem is composed of six short strophes of four *ionici a maiore* dimeters [242], followed by a last strophe in *ionici a minore*, and separated by a longer lyric refrain, repeated seven times [243]. It addresses Zeus as the child of Cronus, inviting him to his annual festival at Dicte to enjoy there the performance of the hymn. On the *verso* of the stele carrying the hymn there is another copy of the same poem, probably a first draft or a bad copy, full of errors [244]. Disputing the idea that poor copies of hymns, like this or the copy of Ariphron's paean on the Kassel stele, which is also full of mistakes, would be evidence that the hymns had ceased to be performed altogether, D'Alessio attributes these errors simply to badly trained stonecutters (or to the poor models they followed) [245]: at least in the case of Ariphron, we know that also good copies of the same poem were circulating when the inscription was made. Bowra suggested that the refrain of the *Hymn to the Curetes* might be older than the stanzas of the hymn (which he said were Hellenistic), possibly dating back to the Classical period; this idea has been cautiously revived by Alonge [246], who believes that other short 'hymns'

[240] «For the most part, the stonecutter laid out Macedonicus' poem in a manner that illustrates its structure, dividing it into segments of unequal length that each end with some version of the paeonic cry […]. To isolate these segments, he indents the line when the text continues the segment from the line above, and he usually puts a space before the final *epiphthegma*, perhaps to facilitate a choral response to a solo performance or audience response to a choral performance» (Faraone 2011, 216).

[241] Powell, *Coll. Alex.* 160-162. Alonge 2001, 221-223; Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 68-76, II, 1-20; Fantuzzi 2010, 195-96. On the date, Alonge 2011, 224-228. On Zeus at Palaikastro cf. Brulé 2013.

[242] In the classical period used in processional songs: cf. Furley - Bremer 2001, II, 3.

[243] For the meter if the refrain cf. Furley - Bremer 2001, II, 3.

[244] Alonge 2011, 223.

[245] D'Alessio 2017, 251.

[246] Bowra 1970; Alonge 2001, 226-228 (228): «The Palaikastro Hymn may have been composed in its entirety in the Hellenistic period, as many scholars believe, or it might be the result of a more complicated process, through which the traditional refrain was transmitted orally for a couple of centuries, while the stanzas were either replaced in a piecemeal fashion over time (with the rest also preserved orally through reperformance) or recomposed as a set every so often, maybe even every year».

might in fact be archaic traditional refrains which survived orally through the centuries, a core around which local ritual hymns grew [247]. As for the previous hymns, scholars argue about the actual use of the inscribed version of the poem: was it a script for a continuing liturgical performance, or a simple antiquarian memorialization [248]? The latter seems to be the most convincing interpretation according to Alonge: he remarks that there are no traces of the cult of Zeus at the site of Palaikastro by the 2nd c. AD; however, the will to commemorate a specific performance (as in the case of Limenius' paean) may have played a role as well. The Hellenistic authors and patrons of these hymns did not want to rely only on oral transmission for their preservation, but entrusted to writing both the texts, and the reason for their compositions [249]. I must add that, like Hellenistic royal decrees or letters engraved on stone and exhibited to the widest public, the monumentalization of religious texts confirms the power and the grandiosity of the sanctuaries that commissioned them, and also the cultural vivacity of the Greek communities, for whom they were an important mean to preserve their Hellenic identity under the Roman empire. The presence of indications, inside the inscribed poetic text or in prose paratexts, or ritual directions for performance recalls the illusionistic mimeticism of Callimachus' hymns (II, V and VI) and the «the performance as experience» of Pindar's *epinikia* (Carey 2009) [250]. Fantuzzi's suggestion that «in its concern with politics and contextualization, the fictionalized festival poetry of authors such as Callimachus and Theocritus reflects religious poetry […] composed for actual religious festivals» [251] has recently been strongly supported by Ivana Petrovic's study of the close relationship between Callimachus' second *Hymn* and real temple inscriptions which preserves rules and regulations concerning local rites [252].

2.3. *Hymns on papyri and ostraka*

Anonymous hymns from the Hellenistic and Roman period are sometimes preserved on papyrus. Most are in hexameters and follow the Homeric

[247] Another example could be the hymn of the women of Elis for Dionysus, quoted by Plutarch (*Quaest. Gr.* 36, *mor.* 299b) but usually dated to the archaic period: *PMG* 871; Furley - Bremer 2001, nr. 12.1.

[248] Cf. Fantuzzi 2010, 195-196.

[249] So Alonge 2011, 231.

[250] Cf. Fantuzzi 2010.

[251] Fantuzzi 2010, 189.

[252] Petrovic 2011.

hymnodic tradition [253]; in this case, given the fragmentary nature of these papyrus finds, it is sometimes impossible to evaluate whether the surviving scraps of text belong to the narrative section of a hymn or are a part of a mythological epic [254]. Problems arise also with hymns in lyric meters: as we noticed above, it is sometimes difficult to assess whether a given poem belongs to the Hellenistic period, or is a copy of a 4th c. BC piece, or even whether the lyric verses belong to a drama or are a fragment of a free-standing lyric poem. This is the case of *P.Schub.* 17 (*P.Berol.* inv. 13428) [255], dating to the 3rd-2nd c. BC, which has been variously interpreted as a choral song from a tragedy (Euripides?) or a Hellenistic lyric piece on the nocturnal voyage of the sun. The lyric verses on *P.Oxy.* XXXII 2635 col. I (3rd c. AD) [256] and *P.Oxy.* XXXII 2625 fr. 1-13 (2nd c. AD) are enigmatic [257]. *P.Oxy.* 2625 includes two poems whose author may or may not be the same. One, *P.Oxy.* 2625 fr. 1 = *SLG* 4602 (only the end is preserved), which makes references to the Argonautic saga and reinterprets a folk song, has been judged Hellenistic by its *editor princeps* (E. Lobel). Later commentators are, however, more prone to consider it Bacchylidean (R. Führer) [258], or in any case pre-Hellenistic. Pardini rightly observes that the editorial signs visible on the papyrus (the *asteriskos* that marks the end of the first poem, and the *paragraphos* that separates the strophes in the second) are only

[253] E.g. *P.Oxy.* IV 670 (*MP*3 1231.1 = *LDAB* 2050 = *TM* 60920) seems to preserve the Homeric hymn to Dionysus, but it has also been identified with a more recent (Hellenistic? 4th c. BC?) hexameter hymn: cf. Faulkner 2010.

[254] It could be the case of *P.Harris* 1.6 (*P.Harr.* inv. 173e, 2nd-3rd c. AD; provenance unknown; *MP*3 1859 = *LDAB* 4987 = *TM* 63774), an elegantly written roll, possibly preserving a *hymn to Demeter* in hexameters; in fact, it could be a narrative poem in which Hermes addresses the goddess. Cf. also *P.Lond.* III 970 (3rd c. AD; provenance unknown; *P.Lit.Lond.* 38 = *P.Brit.Mus.* inv. 970 = *MP*3 1814 = *LDAB* 5313 = *TM* 64095): narrative fragment in hexameters where Galatea and Apollo are named: it is possibly an epyllion or a hymn, while according to Miguelez Cavero 2008, 39-40, nr. 8 (following A. Körte), is an epithalamium.

[255] *MP*3 1921 = *LDAB* 1042 = *TM* 59932; *PMG* 1023; *TrGF* II adesp. F 692. The verso has a demotic text. Cf. http://berlpap.smb.museum/03722/.

[256] Campbell 1993, 931M = *SLG* 473 = *MP*3 01921.100 = *LDAB* 5100 = *TM* 63886. A lyric or tragic piece from a post-Euripidean drama.

[257] Campbell 1993, 931L = *SLG* 460-472 = *LDAB* 4815 = *TM* 63606. Cf. Rutherford 2005, Pardini 1997.

[258] Cf. Rutherford 1995, 39-43 (43): «If *SLG* 460 is Hellenistic, I suppose its ἴτω- refrain could be modelled on the passages of Aristophanes *Birds* (227ff.). Alternatively, if it is by Bacchylides, it would be possible that Aristophanes has imitated it. But, whatever the relative dating, it is equally possible that both passages draw on some lost folk-song with a similar refrain, perhaps also involving nightingales, and perhaps also performed processionally. The Rhodian swallow song (*PMG* 848), and its ritual-scenario of chelidonismos (sketched by the local historian Theognis whose views are summarised by Athenaeus), provide a suggestive parallel».

found in editions of ancient lyric poets [259]. The second ode (Page *SLG* 460-463, 465), entitled [ΔΗ]ΜΗΤΡΟΣ ΚΕΙΟΙΣ, in aeolo-choriambic meter with an iambic refrain, could be a Ceian *prosodion* invoking Demeter Eleusinia, possibly performed at the Eleusinian festival in Athens, but there are no clues to the original performative context or to the date of the piece.

Hymns are not only monumentalized in imposing inscriptions, but also scribbled in private copies or school exercises on papyri and *ostraka*. On the *ostrakon O. Edfu* III 326 (2nd-1st c. BC) [260] the refrain of a hymn in iambic meters [261] (deriving ll. 5-6 from Eur. *Phoen.* 3; West 1992 suspected a reprise from Archilochus'epodes at ll. 2-3) can be read, in which the king is identified with Helios and with Horus (as a hawk). The *editor princeps*, Manteuffel, hypothesised that this copy was used by students, since excavations in Edfu brought to light many *ostraka* related to a school, and Parsons and Lloyd-Jones have noticed similarities with the literature of Pharaonic Egypt (e.g. the encomium of Sesostris III). Only West read in this fragment a joke on a person named Hierax, perhaps even the (in)famous Hierax, a governor of Antioch who offered the throne to Ptolemy VI Philometor (Diod. XXXII 9c; Ios. *A.I.* XIII 113-116) [262].

Anonymous hymns, either in lyric meters or in hexameters, also survive in private anthologies. *P.Köln Gr.* VI 242 = *SSH* 1192 [263] (2nd-1st c., or 3rd c. BC, according to Perale 2012), derives from *cartonnage*. It preserves an anthology that includes anapaestic tetrameters catalectic (col. A) and a *hymn to Aphrodite* in hexameters (coll. B-D), celebrating the birth of the goddess from the sea: a *diple* and and abbreviated word (a title?) mark the beginning of the hexameter text [264]. At the end of col. B.1 is visible the name Μ]ητροδόρου, possibly the author of the poem [265]. Pordomingo catalogues those pieces among the «miscellaneous anthologies» [266]: the tetrameters, which focus on the god Dionysus, have often been interpreted as a fragment of a comedy (*TrGF* V 2 *646a) [267]; she, hovever, suggests

[259] Pardini 1997, 52.

[260] *MP*3 1934 = *LDAB* 1050 = *TM* 59938; cf. *Suppl. Hell.* 989 and Cribiore 1996b, nr. 130 for further bibliography.

[261] L. 2 is an iambic dimeter, ll. 3-4 are hemiepes, ll. 5-6 iambic trimeters.

[262] Manteuffel 1949; Parsons - Lloyd-Jones 1983, 505; West 1992, 9.

[263] *P.Köln* inv. 20270-4 (*MP*3 1620.01 = *LDAB* 6860 = *TM* 65609); for further bibliography cf. Barbantani 2008, 16; Perale 2010, 25-27 and Perale 2012, cf. also Pordomingo 2013, 250-257.

[264] Perale 2012, 614.

[265] Perale 2012, 615-616.

[266] Pordomingo 2013, 250-257.

[267] The tetrameters correspond to a piece already known from another papyrus, *P.Fackelmann* 5: cf. Di Marco 2003; Battezzato 2006.

that we recognize here a work by Alexander Aetolus, comparing the fragment with the *Hymn to Demeter* by Philicus in catalectic choriambic hexameters (see below). Other papyri with miscellaneous texts have been tentatively labelled «anthologies with hymns». According to the *editor princeps* Bartoletti, *PSI* XV 1480 (1st c. BC - 1st c. AD) [268], with its two hymns to Cybele (ll. 1-11 are iambic trimeters and hexameters; ll. 12-27 are lyric verses), may have been an anthology put together for ritual use [269]; today, the text has been recognized as a dramatic fragment possibly from Menander's *Theophoroumene* [270]. On the contrary, *P.Berol.* 6870 *verso* + 14097 *verso* (2nd-3rd c. AD, from the Arsinoites, or Apollonopolis) [271] is clearly an anthology of instrumental and sung pieces with musical notation, written on the *verso* of a military document dating to 156 AD. One of the poems is apparently a paean, composed exclusively in longs syllables, like other «spondaic invocations» [272], and lists places dear to Apollo. *P.Berol.* inv. 21160 [273], a roll with a blank *verso* from Elephantine or Hermoupolis (2nd c. AD) carries a collection of hymns in iambic and aeolic (glyconean) meter [274], apparently organized in alphabetical order according to the name of the god celebrated [275], with *lemmata* dividing the poems (fr. I 5 Ἄνουβι [276], fr. I 6 Ἀφ[ροδιτηι). In the hymn to Aphrodite, the poet invites some κοῦροι to sing (ὑμνῆσαι) the goddess (l. 7), which could be a hint of an actual performance or else a fictional ritual order, like in Callimachus' hymns; cfr. also Posid. *Ep.* 51, 116, 8-9 and 119, 2 A.-B., and Hedyl. *HE*

[268] *PSI* inv. 2411 = *MP*3 1309.100 = *LDAB* 2725 = *TM* 61576. Unknown provenance. http://www.psi-online.it/ documents/psi;15;1480.

[269] Bartoletti 1965, 9-15; Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 220-221, compare it to the Epidaurian hymn to the Mother of the gods.

[270] Cf. Bastianini 2004, with previous bibliography.

[271] *MP*3 1706.1 = *LDAB* 4985 = *TM* 63772; Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 378, II, 383-385; Pöhlmann - West 2001, 56-60, nr. 17-18 and 166-173, nr. 50-52 (P. 6870 + 14097); Gammacurta 2006, 209-217; Hagel 2009, 277-280 and 308-312; Pernigotti 2009, 315; Pordomingo 2013, 55. Ll. 1-12: a paean; ll. 13-15: an instrumental piece; ll. 16-19 and 23: tragic fragment; ll. 20-22: another instrumental piece (drama or dithyramb): Bélis 1998 recognized in these lines a fragment of Timotheus' *Mad Ajax*. For bibliography and description cf. http://berlpap.smb.museum/01743/.

[272] Cf. Terpander, *PMG* 941. West 1982, 179; Golston - Riad 2000, 146-147.

[273] *MP*3 1863.1 = *LDAB* 4579 = *TM* 63372; Maehler 1969, 94-101; Ioannidou 1996, 92-93, nr. 63, Pl. 31. http:// berlpap.smb.museum/04366/.

[274] Maehler 1969, 95 remarked in the style of these hymns a close similarity with Hellenistic cultic poetry.

[275] Other hymns have *lemmata* with the name of the god in dativ: cf. Aristonous' *Paean to Apollo* and *to Hestia* (Powell, *Coll. Alex.* 162, 164; Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 116-119).

[276] Cf. *SGO* II 09/01/02, p. 135, from Bithynia, in which Anubis is linked with Isis and Sarapis-Zeus-Ammon.

IV 9-10. Another lyric poem mentioning Aphrodite, still unpublished, has been copied on the back of a Greek account, *P.Duk.* inv. 761 *verso*, also dating to the 2nd c. AD [277].

We already know polymetric hymns from inscriptions. One such is the *Hymn to all the gods* from Epidaurus [278] (as we have seen, the stone dates to the 3rd c. AD, but the poem may be earlier), a chaotic mix of hipponactean, anapaestic dimeter, iambic trimeter, ithyphallic, and dactilic hexameter meters [279]. Papyri confirm this trend: the *Hymn to Tyche* copied, probably by an Egyptian or Greek-Egyptian [280], on the *verso* of a papyrus, *P.Berol.* inv. 9734 (*BKT* V 2.142-143) [281], whose the *recto* carries a treatise on Greek meter, is polymetric and astrophic, and exceptionally laid out in *cola* (composed of iambi, dactyls, trochaees) [282]. While the papyrus and the poem have been commonly dated to the 3rd c. AD, and while, according to Powell, the «dactylic and iambic medley» pointed to a period «when the lines of the classical lyric structure had been forgotten» [283], D'Alessio has recently revised the evidence, opting for an earlier date for the papyrus (1st c. BC) on the basis of the hand copying the text on the *recto*, thus confirming the hypothesis already formulated by Furley that the hymn could be Hellenistic [284]. Apparently then the text could be reinterpreted as an early example of a polymetric hymn.

In spite of such occasional, experimental polymetry, in the Roman period Greek hymns are still composed mostly in hexameters; hymns in magical papyri are also in hexameters or trimeters [285]. A hexameter hymn to a single deity, who is addressed as various male gods (Uranos and

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[277] *MP*3 1957.930 = *LDAB* 4645 = *TM* 63437. http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/records/761v.html.

[278] Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 244-245, nr. 6.7. Cf. the *Hymn to all gods* preserved by Stobaeus (Heitsch 1964, 42, S 3).

[279] Cf. Wagman 1995, 59; Furley - Bremer 2001, II, 203.

[280] The scribe uses a broad *kalamos* and make mistakes (cf. D'Alessio 2017, 240), cf. with the (possibly) Egyptian scribe of the anthology on *P. Mich.*, cf. Barbantani 2017, n. 434, p. 76.

[281] *MP*3 1926 = *LDAB* 5199 = *TM* 6398. Powell, *Coll. Alex.* 196; *GLP* nr. 99; Heitsch 1961, 172, fr. LV; D'Alessio 2017, 238-240. http://berlpap.smb.museum/02692/.

[282] *MP*3 2170 = *LDAB* 5200 = *TM* 63985; http://berlpap.smb.museum/02691/.

[283] Powell 1921, 59.

[284] D'Alessio 2017, 239; Fuley 2010.

[285] Petrovic 2015, 245: «Metrical invocations of the gods in *PGM* really do bear a close resemblance to Greek hymns. Most are composed in hexameters (22 out of 30). There are several in iambic trimeter, most notably the longest composition in the collection, nr. 17, which addresses Hekate-Selene-Artemis in 103 verses, but most other hymns vary between 15-50 verses».

Poseidon) is preserved on *P.Köln* I 6 (1st c. AD, provenance unknown) [286]. An hexameter *Hymn to Eirene*, written on the *recto* of *PSI* XV 1482 [287] (1st c. AD), and reproduced with interlinear variants on the *verso*, to be compared to *O.Zucker* 36 [288], may possibly be an autograph [289]. A *Hymn to Aphrodite* in hexameters appears on *P.Goodspeed* 2 (3rd c. AD), which carries other poems in the same meter [290]. An hexameter hymn to Dionysus, featuring the punishment of Lycurgus (*P.Ross.Georg.* I 11) [291] is probably an autograph of the 3rd c. AD: the final fragmentary lines (58-61) refer to a sacred festival, with the last two written sideways along the margin of the papyrus, followed by three very fragmentary lines of prose «which seem to prescribe certain ritual actions, probably relating to the performance of the hymn in its ritual context» [292]. A *hymn to the Nile* in hexameters, scribbled (with errors) on a wooden waxed notebook by a student of the 4th c. AD [293], opens with an exhortation to sing, and mentions choruses of men and boys. If it is not a «mimetic» literary composition, it was designed to be performed, but possibly also inscribed on stone [294].

As we have seen above, in the section on epigraphic hymns, in the Hellenistic and Roman period many aretalogies for Isis in Greek were composed, either in verse or in prose. Some of the hymns to Isis in hex-

[286] *P.Col.* inv. 1174 *recto* = *MP*3 18969.100 = *LDAB* 4465 = *TM* 63260. Perale 2010, 25: «La tecnica del συναθροισμός, insieme alla ripetizione del saluto al dio (χαῖρε), si riscontra nello stile di testi generalmente seriori: nel *corpus* degli *Inni orfici*; nelle invocazioni esametriche estratte dai papiri magici in prosa riedite in Heitsch, *GDRK* LIX (vd. part. 3 e 9), o nei testi liturgici cristiani».

[287] *PSI* inv. 2232 = *MP*3 1861 = *LDAB* 4297 = *TM* 63094; http://www.psi-online.it/documents/psi;15;1482.

[288] Hymn in rythmic prose, Christian amulet, 5th-6th c. AD (*LDAB* 6111 = *TM* 64872). Cf. Koenen 1968; Uebel 1965.

[289] Dorandi 1991, 19. Cf. another authograph, *P.Oxy.* VII 1015, a *Hymn to Hermes* which is in fact an *Encomium to Theon* (3rd c. AD; *GMAW*^{2} nr. 50).

[290] Meliadò 2008; Barbantani 2008. Fr. F apparently is in hexameters and trimeters. The *Papyrus Chicaginiensis* could have been a model for a *lapidarius* («graveur») for Pordomingo 2007; otherwise Barbantani 2008 (a text copied from an inscription?) and Meliadò 2008, 21-22.

[291] *MP*3 1861 = *LDAB* 4911 = *TM* 63701; Barbantani 2008, 4; Furley 2015.

[292] Furley 2015, 122.

[293] Cribiore 1995; Cribiore 1996a, 518-523; Battezzato 1996. The hymn is copied, along with other school material (alphabet, mathematical exercises etc.) on a codex made of wooden tablets, now at the Museé du Louvre, inv. MNE 911; it has been published as *P. Flor*. 118.23-32 by P. Caudelier. On the outside of the booklet is written the name of Ammonios.

[294] For the context cf. Cribiore 1996a, 521; Battezzato 1996. The mariners' song on *P.Oxy* 425 too mentions the smiling waters of the Nile. The invocation to the Nile to rise according to the prayers is included in Pharaonic hymns, and was part of the school curriculum.

ameters are known from papyri, such as *PSI* VII 844 [295] (second half of the 3rd c. AD); the invocation *P.Oxy.* XI 1380 (2nd c. AD) is in prose [296]. Less frequent are Greek hymns dedicated to other Egyptian gods, like *P.Schubart* 12 (3rd c. AD) [297], a fragment of a Sarapis aretalogy in hexameters, written on the *recto* under a document; on the *verso*, we find a text on a cult practice.

2.4. *Hymns as Literary poems: Callimachus, Philicus and the rest*

Many of the 4th c. BC compositions examined by Pauline LeVen and attributed to famous representatives of the New Music are not, strictly speaking, cultic poems. A similar verdict should apply to the experimental ὕμνος to Poseidon attributed to Arion by Ael. *H.A.* XII 45, and quoted as evidence that dolphins love music, along with an epigram on the statue of Arion at Cape Taenarum [298]. The polymetry [299], the compound adjectives, and the mimetic element all point to the 4th c. BC rather than to the archaic period: the song is a monody to be performed by a singer taking the role of Arion rescued from the sea, possibly accompanied by a dancing chorus impersonating fishes. While Bowra considered the poem complete, and tentatively linked it to the ritual commemoration of Arion in the area of Corinth, Furley and Bremer suggested that it is «literary, not devotional» and could be «an introduction to a longer piece, possibly even a monody in drama» [300].

I shall focus in this section on hymns composed by learned poets, in particular those active in the Ptolemaic environment. The occasions for public performance of hymnic poetry, either produced by average

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[295] *MP*3 1862 = *LDAB* 5244 = *TM* 64029; Heitsch 1961, fr. XLVIII. http://www.psi-online.it/documents/psi;7;844.

[296] *P.Oxy.* 11.1380 (*Bodl.Libr.* inv. Gr.cl.b16(P)/1-3r) = *MP*3 2477 = *LDAB* 4897 = *TM* 63688.

[297] *MP*3 2481 = *LDAB* 5162 = *TM* 63947; Heitsch 1961, 166, nr. IL. Other Sarapis aretalogies in verses are the school text *P.Vindob.* G. 29248b (*MP*3 1935 = *LDAB* 4403 = *TM* 63198: lyric hymn to Bacchus and Sarapis, 1st c. AD) and *P.Berol.* inv. 10525 (*MP*3 1933 = *LDAB* 5182; Heitsch 1961, 166-167, nr. L: Sarapis aretalogy in Phalaecians, 3rd c. AD).

[298] Cf. Bowra 1963, 124-134. On the story of Arion cf. also Ael. *H.A.* XII 45, Paus. III 25.7, IX 30.2; Plut. *Conv. sept sap.* XVII 160e (on which cf. Rutherford 2013a, 415-416; D'Alessio 2013, 115).

[299] Bowra 1963, 127 reports this sequence: anapaests, 4 dactyls, iambic, adonius, trochaic dimeter, iambic, trochaic, anapaests, Cretic, anapaestic dimeter, anapaestic trimeter catalectic, iambic dimeter, glyconic, trochaic dimeter, reizianum, anapaests, 4 dactyls, paroemiac, glyconic, reizianum, glyconic, telesillean, iambic penthimimer.

[300] Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 373-375; Bowra 1963.

Technitai or more refined poets, were the festivals organized in Alexandria. Besides local religious celebrations, like the annual feast of Adonis described by Theocritus, royal festivals provided an international stage for artists of every level. Whitin a generation from the foundation of Alexandria, the Ptolemaia were established by Ptolemy II in honor of his deceased and deified father, Ptolemy Soter (who probably also inspired the foundation of the Soteria), and the Basileia, which celebrated the king coronation. Such events could also inspire learned poets close to the court to produce literary hymnic poetry which recreated rites and performance experiences but was meant for reading or for recitals at court, or in side-events outside the actual cultic performance [301].

In actually-performed hymns, the author, through the voice of the actual singer, occasionally gives clues about the ritual activity that is taking place, e.g. by inviting the chorus to sing or dance in a certain way. The same device may be imitated by authors composing a purely literary hymn, as is generally thought to be the case in Callimachus' so-called «mimetic hymns» [302]. Recently however, Acosta-Hughes and Stephens envisaged the possibility of an actual performance of Callimachus' hymns (*H.* IV: in a Delian *theoria*; *H.* II: during the Cyrenean Carneia) [303]. Moreover, in the context of her research on Greek sacred laws, I. Petrovic has underlined the strong relationship (both thematic and formal) between Callimachus' *Hymn* II and the extant sacred regulations (*programmata*), especially Cyrenean, that are specifically related to ritual purity; she also analyzes the role

[301] Barbantani 2001; Acosta-Hughes - Stephens 2012, 86-87.

[302] On the mimetic hymns, cf. Pretagostini 1991; Depew 1993; Haslam 1993; Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 48, and Rutherford 2001a, 129 (on *H.* II). Furley and Bremer 2001, I, 46, write: «Callimachus experiments in Hymns 2, 5 and 6 with a 'mimetic' presentation. […] Now most scholars are agreed that these vivid commentaries on ritual would make poor 'scripts' for real ceremonies, as, for one thing, the timing is most awkward […]. Moreover, who was this 'master of ceremonies', as he has been dubbed by modern writers, commenting on, and supervising, ritual? We do not know of ancient equivalents, although heralds of course led a congregation in prayer and indicated the correct form of worship. The conclusion seems inevitable that Callimachus' hymns are purely literary in intention»; cf. Fantuzzi - Hunter 2005, 370-371: «We may speculate that, because in the archaic age the composition of the poem preceded the actual performance of the religious event which the song was to accompany, the poet could forecf. with certainty only a few details of what would happen; in Callimachus, however, the role of the song as an accompaniment for the celebration was, above all, a literary pretence»; they concede (32): «if these hymns were actually recited, perhaps in the context of a Ptolemaic policy of religious restoration; […] the explicit ritual detail would serve a didactic purpose for a watching audience, as well as nourishing the *phantasia* of readers».

[303] Acosta-Hughes - Stephens 2012, 113-115, and *passim*; a similar position was expressed by Cameron 1995. Cf. for more recent bibliography Gramps forthcoming.

of Callimachus as speaker, in his capacity as a priest of Apollo. Belonging to an aristocratic Cyrenean family that was devoted to the Apollinean cult for generations, the poet seems to be well aware of the diction, style and content of sacred laws, and may have experienced in the first person (or though his relatives) a sacerdotal role in the cult of Apollo [304].

Apart from one (*The Bath of Pallas*, in elegiacs), Callimachean hymns, although inspired by the archaic and classical lyric tradition, and possibly by contemporary lyric cult poetry, are in hexameters, like the Homeric hymns [305]. As we have already underlined, in the Hellenistic period and under the Roman Empire, hymns in hexameters were still produced and performed as cultic poems in Egypt (Isidorus' hymns in hexameters and elegiac couplets) and elsewhere [306].

Poetae docti may embed a iambic or hexameter «transposition» of the lyric hymn genre inside compositions belonging to other genres. This happens for example in two mimetic poems that are almost contemporary, and thematically very similar: Herodas' *Mime* IV, and Theocritus' *Id.* XV, both involving two women friends who go to attend and perform a religious rite.

In his fourth *Mime*, Herodas introduces Cynno and Kokkale, who are visiting the Asklepieion at Kos and admiring the local *ex-votos*: anticipated by the short «paean» to Asclepius declaimed by one of the ladies, who at ll. 1-18 salutes the gods and his associates (Coronis, Apollo, Hygieia, Panacea, Epiò, Iasò, Podalirius and Machaon) in the shrine, a local temple-warden (νεωκόρος) raises another paean to Asclepius at ll. 82-85, followed by another short prayer by Kokkale [307].

χαίροις, ἄναξ Παίηον, ὃς μέδεις Τρίκκης
καὶ Κῶν γλυκεῖαν κηπίδαυρον ὤικηκας,
σὺν καὶ Κορωνὶς ἥ σ' ἔτικτε κὠπόλλων
χαίροιεν, ἧς τε χειρὶ δεξιῆι ψαύεις
Ὑγίεια, κὤνπερ οἵδε τίμιοι βωμοί
Πανάκη τε κηπιώ τε κἰησὼ χαίροι,
κοὶ Λεωμέδοντος οἰκίην τε καὶ τείχεα
πέρσαντες, ἰητῆρες ἀγρίων νούσων,
Ποδαλείριός τε καὶ Μαχάων χαιρόντων,
κὥσοι θεοὶ σὴν ἐστίην κατοικεῦσιν

[304] Petrovic 2011, 283-284.

[305] For the influence of the Homeric hymns on Callimachus, cf. Petrovic 2012. For the influence of lyric poetry, cf. e.g. Acosta-Hughes 2010, 123-130 (esp. on Alcaeus and Sappho).

[306] Cf. above p. 95 and in the section on papyri pp. 109-110.

[307] Wünsch 1904; Di Gregorio 1997, 258-261, 301-303; Rutherford 2001a, 41; see, for a commentary, Furley - Bremer 2001, I, 243-244 and II, 199-205.

καὶ θεαί, πάτερ Παίηον· ἵλεωι δεῦτε
τοῦ ἀλέκτορος τοῦδ', ὄντιν' οἰκίης †τοίχων†
κήρυκα θύω, ταὐτίδορπα δέξαισθε.
οὐ γάρ τι πολλὴν οὐδ' ἕτοιμον ἀντλεῦμεν,
ἐπεὶ τάχ' ἂν βοῦν ἢ νενημένην χοῖρον
πολλῆς φορίνης, κοὐκ ἀλέκτορ', ἵητρα
νούσων ἐποιεύμεσθα τὰς ἀπέψησας
ἐπ' ἠπίας σὺ χεῖρας, ὦ ἄναξ, τείνας.

Greetings, Lord Paeeon, who rulest Tricca and hast settled sweet Cos and Epidaurus, and also may Coronis who gave thee birth and Apollo be greeted, and she whom thou touchest with thy right hand Hygieia, and those to whom belong these honoured altars, Panace and Epio and Ieso be greeted, and the sackers of Laomedon's house and walls, curers of cruel diseases, Podalirios and Machaon be greeted, and whatsoever gods and goddesses live at thy hearth, father Paeeon: may ye graciously come hither and receive this cock which I am sacrificing, herald of the walls of the house, as your dessert. For our well is far from abundant or ready-flowing, else we should have made an ox or a sow heaped with much crackling, and not a cock, our thank-offering for the diseases which thou hast wiped away, Lord, stretching out thy gentle hands. (Transl. by I.C. Cunningham)

<ΝΕΩΚ.> ..... ἰὴ ἰὴ Παίηον, εὐμενὴς εἴης
καλοῖς ἐπ' ἰροῖς τῆισδε κεἴ τινες τῶνδε
ἔασ' ὀπυιηταί τε καὶ γενῆς ἄσσον.
ἰὴ ἰὴ Παίηον, ὦδε ταῦτ' εἴη.
<ΚΥ.> εἴη γάρ, ὦ μέγιστε, κὐγίηι πολλῆι
ἔλθοιμεν αὖτις μέζον' ἴρ' ἀγινεῦσαι
σὺν ἀνδράσιν καὶ παισί.

(Warden) Hail hail Paeeon, mayest thou be well disposed for their fair offerings to these ladies and to any who are their spouses and near kin. Hail hail Paeeon; so may it be.

(Cynno) May it be, o most mighty, and in good health may we come again with our husbands and children, bringing greater offerings. (Transl. by I.C. Cunningham) [308]

Brief paeanic utterances could be part of the normal ritual experience (see above, on the *lex sacra* accompanying a short paean on the stone that also comprises the Erythrean paean). Here, of course, both paeans follow the diction and contents of real prayer-songs, but are in the meter of Herodas' poems, the Hipponactean choliambic.

[308] In Rusten - Cunningham 2003.

Even more extreme is the case of Theocritus *Id.* XV 100-144, a lyric *Hymn to Aphrodite and Adonis* transposed into hexameters [309]. In the context of a yearly festival in honor of Adonis taking place both in the streets of Alexandria and in the royal palace, two Syracusan ladies come to listen, with expectation, to the lyric song of a well known *virtuosa* (Γυνὴ Ἀοιδός), hired by the rulers, who will perform at the Ptolemies' *regia*; Gorgo, who is clearly a fan, exclaims: (ll. 96-99)

> σιγᾷ Πραξινόα: μέλλει τὸν Ἄδωνιν ἀείδειν
> ἁ τᾶς Ἀργείας θυγάτηρ πολύιδρις ἀοιδός,
> ἅτις καὶ πέρυσιν τὸν ἰάλεμον ἀρίστευσε.
> φθεγξεῖταί τι σάφ' οἶδα καλόν: διαθρύπτεται ἤδη.
>
> Be quiet, Praxinoa. She's just going to being the song, that Argive person's daughter, you know, the 'accomplished vocalist' that was chosen to sing the dirge *last* year. You may be sure *she*'ll give us something good. Look, she's making her bow. (Transl. by J.M. Edmonds)

Then follows the lyric song, adapted into forty-four hexameters, focusing on the wedding of Aphrodite and Adonis and then on the grief of the goddess over the death of her lover. After the song Gorgo comments: Πραξινόα, τὸ χρῆμα σοφώτερον ἁ θήλεια. / ὀλβία ὅσσα ἴσατι, πανολβία ὡς γλυκὺ φωνεῖ. «O Praxinoa! what clever things we women are! I do envy her knowing all that, and still more having such a lovely voice» (transl. by J.M. Edmonds). Theocritus is paying a double compliment to Arsinoe II: once, by reporting the song, whose words contain an encomium of the queen (it is linked to the *apotheosis* of her mother Berenice) [310], and secondly by stressing, through the voice of Gorgo, the quality of the song and therefore the care of the Ptolemies (in this case, the queen) in hiring the best singers on the market, for the entertainment of the Alexandrian people and to the glory of the god Adonis. One may expect this kind of showcase-performances was frequent during festivals and religious rites sponsored by the court, and attracting audiences not only from Alexandria, but from all over the Greek speaking world. In this context, and in the real world, an exceptional soloist would advertise the role of the Ptolemies as patrons of the arts as much as Callimachus', Theocritus', and Posidippus' erudite poems (and with a more immediate effect). The author of the dirge for Adonis is unknown: either Theocritus is making it up, or he is imitating and reworking the content of a lyric hymn he himself had heard in a ritual context. Apart

[309] For an analysis of the hymn, cf. Hunter 1996, 123-127 and Prioux 2013, 139-142. Cf. also Acosta-Hughes - Stephens 2012, 88.

[310] Acosta-Hughes 2010, 71-72.

from traditional elements related to the Adonis festival, the hymn contains strong, specific encomiastic elements: it is thus not simply a «traditional song» (like the Erythrean paean) but a literary construction designed to fit the political climate of that year. It is likely that the Ptolemies hired as a composer for such lyric pieces one of the Technitai of Dionysus of the Egyptian and Cypriot guild, but we should not exclude even a member of the Museum: *polyeideia* was not only a Callimachean feature.

One of such composers might have been Philicus of Corcyra, a contemporary of Callimachus and Theocritus, and a member of the *Pleiad* (a group of tragedians linked to the court). Although he may have gained immediate popularity appearing, as a priest of Dionysus, as the leader of the Technitai in the *Pompe* organized by Ptolemy II [311], he is renowned for a lyric piece that (unlike the Adonis dirge of Theocr. *Id.* XV) could have hardly fascinated the masses: his very erudite *Hymn to Demeter* [312] (defined as a «prooimion» in *schol.* AC *ad* Hephaist. *Ench.* 140.14 Consbruch), in stichic catalectic choriambic hexameters. The address to his fellow γραμματικοί suggests that the poem was not meant for cultic performance, even though it is explicitly defined as «a gift» to the gods (*Suppl. Hell.* 676: Demeter, Persephone, Clymenos) – and implicitly for his royal patrons [313]. Although a generation earlier Philitas, one of the tutors of Ptolemy II, had composed a poem *Demeter* in elegiac couplets (*Suppl. Hell.* 674-675), and Philicus' contemporary Callimachus had dedicated to the goddess a hexameter hymn (his 6th), it has been suggested that the inspiration for Philicus', at least for its incipit and content, could rather have been the lyric *Hymn to Demeter* by Lasus of Hermione (first half of the 5th c. BC) [314]. In his section on choriambics (*Ench.* IX 4, p. 30 Consbruch), Hephaestion observes that Callimachus used catalectic choriambic pentameters in his *Branchus* (fr. 229 Pfeiffer), while Philicus used the same foot (in hexameters) in stichic sequences for his entire poem. He also rebukes Philicus' false pride at being the first to employ this meter (*Suppl. Hell.* 677: καινογράφου συνθέσεως τῆς Φιλίκου, γραμματικοί, δῶρα φέρω πρὸς ὑμᾶς:

[311] Callix. *FGrHist* 627 F 2 (Athen. V 27, 198b-c); *TrGF* 104 T 4.

[312] *Suppl. Hell.* 676-680; *GLP* 402-407, nr. 90; Powell 1933, 198-200. Cf. among the latest studies Fantuzzi-Hunter 2005, 37-38; Fantuzzi 2007a; Furley 2010; Giuseppetti 2012; Bowie 2015, and Danielewicz 2015.

[313] For the archaic idea of the hymn as an offer, or a gift (*agalma*) to the god, reprised in the Hellenistic period by Philicus and Boiscus, cf. Petrovic 2012, 173-176.

[314] *PMG* 702. Giuseppetti 2012, 118: «The archaic hymn and its Hellenistic counterpart were both, in different respects, exceptional poems and one may even perceive, in Philicus' adoption of a very long meter as the choriambic hexameter, a *tour de force* that, in this respect, is on a par with Lasus' asigmatic hymn». For the recurrence of the mystery-cult of Demeter in the Alexandrian poets, including Apollonius, cf. Massari 2017, 265-270 and *passim*.

Philicus is obviously referring to its stichic use), because Simias of Rhodes had used it before, mixed with other meters, in the *technopaignia* «The Axe» and «The Wings» (Powell, *Coll. Alex.* fr. 25.1 and 24.1). Besides the two verses transmitted by Hephaistion (*Suppl. Hell.* 676-677) [315], a papyrus of the 3rd c. BC (*PSI* 12.1282) [316] preserves five fragments with more than sixty lines dealing with the rape of Persephone and with the *consolatio* of Demeter by Iambe, which very likely belong to Philicus' hymn: the papyrus is almost contemporary with the poem, but does not carry any markers of performance (e.g. musical notation); it is thus apparently part of a library roll, or the lack of a score is just the proof that the poem was meant to be recited without musical accompaniment (unless the musical score was on a separate sheet). The truth is that we have no way to know if, when and how this poem was actually performed (e.g. at the Eleusinian ceremonies in Alexandria, as Furley 2010 imagines), or if, after all, it was a purely literary composition to be read or recited. Although the entire Grand Procession of Ptolemy II was a triumph of loud music and noise [317], Callixeinos' description of it (abridged by Athenaeus) does not specify anything about song or music when mentioning Philicus as a leader of the Technitai. More in tune with the Dionysiac apparatus of the Ptolemaic feasts were poems such as the encomiastic ithyphallic hymn by Theocles [318].

The anonymous Hellenistic fragment *Suppl. Hell.* 993 = *P.Mich.* inv. 4336 *recto* (2nd c. BC) [319], apparently also in stichic choriambs (Parsons and Lloyd-Jones: *metrum ionicum vel choriambicum; versuum longitude plane incerta*), reminds us very closely of Callimachus' *Aitia* Prologue, and looks like a declaration about poetics, or the tale of a poetic investiture: it mentions the Macedonian Muses, a spring and a crown, and probably some adversaries (see *Suppl. Hell.* 993, 10, cf. ll. 16-19); something «old» (πάλαι-) is probably rejected (cf. Timoth., *PMG* 796 and Philicus, *Suppl. Hell.* 677).

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[315] Possibly the beginning and the end of the poem, cf. Giuseppetti 2012, 117.

[316] *Suppl. Hell.* 678-680 = *MP*3 1342 = *LDAB* 3536 = *TM* 62371.

[317] Callix. in Athen. V 197d and ff. On top of the loud Bacchic sound and rhythm which surrounded the Procession, at 199a sixty satyrs are said to sing a song related to the vintage, to the accompaniment of pipes (ἑξήκοντα Σάτυροι πρὸς αὐλὸν ᾄδοντες μέλος ἐπιλήνιον), and at 201f, after the images of kings and queens, proceeds a chorus of six hundred men accompanied by three hundred citharists (μεθ' ἃς χορὸς ἐπόμπευσεν ἀνδρῶν ἑξακοσίων· ἐν οἷς κιθαρισταὶ συνεφώνουν τριακόσιοι, ἐπιχρύσους ἔχοντες ὅλας κιθάρας καὶ στεφάνους χρυσοῦς). The only known female trumpeter, Aglaia (Chaniotis 2009b, 80-82) made a special impression there. On the Procession, cf. Rice 1983. On the theatrical aspects of royal self-presentation cf. Chaniotis 1997 (also on the Daphne procession of Antiochus III).

[318] Cf. Barbantani 2017, 344.

[319] Provenance unknown. *MP*3 1968.200 = *LDAB* 6880 = *TM* 65629; Gronewald 1974. On the *verso*, a cursive hand.

It is very tempting to assign the fragment to either Callimachus or Philicus; in fact Parsons and Lloyd-Jones very cautiously suggest the latter.

Experimentation in hymns to Demeter was not only a prerogative of learned poets: a 3rd c. BC papyrus from *cartonnage* (*P.Berol.* inv. 11793, *Suppl. Hell.* 990) [320], probably a private copy, preserves an anonymous hymn to this goddess in the epodic system 'first Archilochean' (dactylic hexameter + dactylic tetrameter), a combination attested only in Hor. *carm.* I 7.28, but possibly, according to Parsons and Lloyd-Jones, already used in Archil. fr. 195 West (of which only a tetrameter survives) [321]. Page judged this hymn to Demeter the «work of an amateur, a schoolmaster or a public servant»; however, his remarks about meter, style and content (apparently in dialogue with Callimachus, *H.* I 57-66), seem to point towards a sophisticated author – possibly one of the Technitai?

Following the precedent of Philicus, who offered his poem in an unusual format to Demeter and to his fellow philologists, Boiscus of Cyzicus, possibly to be identified with a «poet of New Comedy» [322], declares that he presents his invention, a hymn to Apollo in catalectic iambic octameters (two iambic tetrameters, the second catalectic), «as a gift» to the god, introducing himself, with a name-*sphragis*, as the proud «author of a new poem» (*Suppl. Hell.* 233) [323]: Βοίσκος ἀπὸ Κυζικοῦ, καινοῦ γραφεὺς ποιήματος, / τὸν ὀκτάπουν εὑρὼν στίχον, Φοίβῳ τίθησι δῶρον. The ancestral trope of offering the song as an ἄγαλμα to the gods is applied once again to an experimental creation.

Short hymns to the Nile were so common in Egypt that they could also be a product of «popular culture» (see above, p. 112). The Nile also featured in sympotic poetry from Egypt [324]. Famous authors living in Egypt could not avoid this pervasive subject [325]. Five lines of a *Hymn to the Nile* (l. 1 opens with the apostrophe: Αἰγύπτιε Ζεῦ Νεῖλ') by Parmenon of Byzantium (3rd c. BC) survive thanks to ancient literary sources [326]. The meter, choliam-

[320] Provenance unknown. *MP*3 1943 = *LDAB* 6924 = *TM* 65671; Roberts 1934; *GLP*, 408-409, nr. 91.

[321] Parsons - Lloyd-Jones 1983, 507-508: «distichi cuiusque finem paragrapho signat, intra distichum hexametri finem neglegit atque omnia uno tractu (quamquam in duobus scripturae versibus) continuat, quod alibi in bicolis 'asynartetis' solebant» (cf. Rossi 1976, 212).

[322] Son of Antiochus: appears as a victor in Thespiae in an inscription of the early 1st c. BC (*IG* VII 1761.7-8).

[323] Cf. Kwapisz 2013, 161.

[324] Cf. Barbantani 2017, 372, 376.

[325] A description of the Nile's flood in a flamboyant prose appears in what could be the fragment of a novel or of a geographic work, *P.Michael.* 4 (*P.Schoyen* inv. MS 2931) = *MP*3 2271 = *LDAB* 4612 = *TM* 63404; cf. Stramaglia 1993.

[326] *Suppl. Hell.* 604 A; Powell, *Coll. Alex.* 237, fr. 3. It is preserved by indirect sources. For other Hellenistic choliambics cf. *Suppl. Hell.* 216-217 (Powell, *Coll. Alex.* 190).

bics κατὰ στίχον, is more frequently associated with non-hymnic poetry, such as the work of Hipponax and Ananius, and in the Hellenistic period that of Aeschrion of Samos or Miletus (*A.P.* VII 345 in choliambics; for other iambic epigrams see Barbantani 2017, 366-368) and Phoenix of Colophon; still, hymnic passages can be found in Callimachus' *Iambi* [327], and, as we have seen above, in Herodas' choliambic *Mimiambi*. A mysterious composition belonging to the anthology *P.Goodspeed* 2 (fr. F), which alludes to initiation rites related to Artemis and apostrophizes «mystic Paian» and «Dionysus» (ll. 13-14), is in mixed hexameters and choliambics [328].

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Abbreviations [329]

A.-B.	C. Austin - G. Bastianini (edd.), *Posidippi Pellaei quae supersunt omnia*, Milano 2002.
IGUR	L. Moretti (ed.), *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae*, Roma 1968-1990.
LDAB	*Leuven Database of Ancient Books*, http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/.
*MP*3	Mertens-Pack 3 *Online Database*, http://cipl93.philo.ulg.ac.be/Cedopal/MP3/dbsearch_en.aspx.
Pfeiffer	R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, I, *From the Beginning to the End of the Hellenistic Age*, Oxford 1968.
SGO	R. Merkelbach - J. Stauber (hrsgg.), *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten*, I-V, Stuttgart 1998-2004.
SIRIS	L. Vidman (ed.), *Sylloge Inscriptionum Religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae*, Berlin 1969.
SSH	H. Lloyd-Jones (ed.), *Supplementum Supplementi Hellenistici*, Berlin 2005.
TM	*Trismegistos*, http://www.trismegistos.org/index2.php.
Wehrli	F. Wehrli, *Dikaiarchos. Die Schule des Aristoteles. Texte und Kommentar*, I.2, Basel 1967.

[327] Acosta-Hughes 2002, 70-71; on Alcaeus' influence on Alexandrian poetry cf. also Acosta-Hughes 2010, 123 ff.

[328] Meliadò 2008, 35 mentions as the only parallel the epigram *A.P.* VII 132. The papyrus carries a series of poem in hexameters of various genres (cf. above).

[329] Abbreviations used and already present in the list of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* are not listed here.

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