

A Reading of Fragments 926(a) and 926(g) PMG within the Context of the New Music*

Vasiliki Kousoulini

National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Faculty of Philology, School of Philosophy,
University Campus Zografou, Athens 15784, Greece; vasiakous@yahoo.gr

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There has been much controversy regarding the date, the performative context, and the generic quality of fragment 926 PMG, which has been preserved on papyrus (P. Oxy. 9 + P. Oxy 2687) in a rhythmical treatise by an unknown author. The verse fragments on this papyrus were composed in iambic dactyls (⊖ — ⊖ —) and used as examples of the occurrence of syncope in various lyric meters. Fragments 926(a) and (g) PMG are from a composition performed by a maiden chorus which bear similarities to Alcman's *partheneia* and have affinities with archaic epic and lyric poetry. Supposedly, these fragments might have been fragments of *partheneia* composed in the time of the New Music. Nonetheless, they are not shaped according to the bulk of the aesthetic values and the compositional rules of the New Music. These fragments seem to belong to cultic songs created for maiden choruses, possibly, to honor Dionysus. The alternative is that they imitate such songs within a dramatic context. We may assume that these quasi-dithyrambic *partheneia* were composed to serve religious needs or at least imitated cultic songs. They looked backward to the archaic and early classical tradition of *partheneia*, and their existence is an indication that, in the days of the New Music, there was a poetic tradition upheld by “reactionary” poets.

Keywords: New Music, *partheneia*, late classical lyric.

1. Introduction

Late classical lyric poetry performed to the *auloi* or *kithara* is usually associated with the New Music.¹ Nonetheless, there are clues that, during the same period, more traditional lyric genres were still composed and performed. Fragments 926(a) and 926(g) PMG come from a third-century A.D. papyrus (P. Oxy. 9 + P. Oxy 2687) that contains an excerpt of a rhythmical treatise. These fragments are quoted along with five other fragments that betray characteristics of the dithyramb.² They refer to dance movements performed dur-

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¹ See LeVen 2010, 35. For the importance of the performances on *kithara* in regard to shaping the New Music see Power 2010.

² This is true especially for fragments 926(b), (c), (d), and (f) PMG. Fragment 926(e) is rather short and does not provide enough information regarding its performative context. Page believes that all of them are dithyrambic (see Page 1941). According to LeVen (2014, 61), they belong to dithyrambic contexts.

ing a ritual (fr. 926(c) *PMG*: ῥιπτεισθω ποδὸς ἱερὰ βάσις),³ to a deity who takes pleasure in cheerfulness and dancing choirs (fr. 926(b) *PMG*, ὅστις εὐθυμίη καὶ χοροῖς ἤδεται), to something that is a gift to the Graces and a rest for mortals from toil (fr. 926(e) *PMG*: φίλιον ὤραισιν ἀγάπημα θνατοῖσιν ἀνάπαυμα μόχθων),⁴ and to the birth of Dionysus.⁵ The rhythmical treatise provides no information to suggest that all these fragments come from the same song. Since most of them refer to Dionysus, have traits of the Doric dialect,⁶ and are examples of the same metrical phenomenon, they may even come from the same song or, at least, from songs that belonged to the same lyric genre and were composed around the same date. Most scholars assume that fr. 926(a) and (b) are from the same piece.⁷ Calviè suggests that fr. 926(c), (d), and (e) belong to the same song.⁸ Fragments 926(a), (b), (c), (g) seem to come from choral songs.

Unlike the rest of the fragments, 926(a) and (g) provide information regarding the gender of the performers; the reader learns that these are maiden choruses. This is a rather uncommon trait, provided that the fragments belong to a dithyrambic context. Dithyrambs were, normally, performed by men or boys; those performed by women were a rare phenomenon⁹ and are encountered mainly in drama.¹⁰ On the other hand, 926(a) and (g) have similarities with archaic *partheneia* and other traditional lyric and dramatic genres. Below it is claimed that, although composed in the time of the New Music, these fragments are not New Musical¹¹ songs and might be generically affiliated with *partheneia*.

2. The Fragments and their Date

A) 926(a) *PMG* (P. Oxy. 9 + P. Oxy. 2687, col. i–ii)

(col. i) οικει]ότατοι (col. ii) μὲν οὖν εἰσιν
οἱ ῥυθμοὶ οὗτοι τῆς τοιαύτης λέξεως·
χρήσαιτο δ' ἂν αὐτῇ καὶ ὁ δάκτυλος ὁ
κατὰ ἴαμβον ἀνάπαλι τῶν περιχουσῶν

³ I follow the text and the numbering of Campbell.

⁴ The wording resembles that of Crates' of Thebes hymn to Euteleia (fr. 361 SH: Χαῖρε, θεὰ δέσποινα, σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀγάπημα). It is not impossible that the song to which it belonged had a hymnic quality. It certainly belonged to praise contexts. The Horai were also mentioned in one of Pindar's dithyrambs (fr. 75 SM). They seem to have an association with Dionysus, and they could often appear in his train (see on this Neer 2014, 570–573, with more bibliography).

⁵ Cf. fragment 926(d): Διόνυσσον τὸν ἐκ πυρός and 926(f): φέρτατον δαίμον' ἀγνάς τέκος / ματέρος ἂν Κάδμος ἐγέννασέ ποτ' ἐν / ταῖς πολυολβίους Θήβαις.

⁶ See for example fr. 926(e) *PMG*, θνατοῖσιν, 926(f), ματέρος. The Ionic form εὐθυμίη encountered in fragment 926(b) was used by Wilamowitz as evidence that this fragment could not belong to a dithyramb. See Wilamowitz 1898, 699, n. 2.

⁷ See Rossi 1988, 24; Gentili 1995, 18; Horden 2002, 20, n. 55; Calviè 2014, 34.

⁸ See Calviè 2014, 34.

⁹ The surviving dithyrambs do not allow us to draw certain conclusions. Fr. 871 *PMG* could have been a dithyramb sung by women. See Calame 1997, 79–80. Women, possibly, performed a dithyramb preserved on a lyric papyrus PSI 1181 attributed to Bacchylides (fr. 60–61 dubia). It is likely that Bacchyl. *Dith.* 20 and Telesilla's fr. 748 *PMG* were dithyrambs performed by female choruses. See D'Alessio 2013, 125–126.

¹⁰ The songs of some of Euripides' female choruses have been considered dithyrambs or, at least, dithyrambic (e. g., the parodos of the *Bacchae*). See on this Seaford 1996, 29, 156–157; Csapo 1999–2000, 408–409, with more examples and bibliography.

¹¹ I prefer the term “New Musical” to the narrower term “New Dithyrambic”. This term, to the best of my knowledge, was first coined by Csapo (2009, 95, n. 1, with more bibliography).

ξυλλαβῶν τεθεισῶν εἰς τοὺς χρόνους ἢ ὡς
 ἐν τῷ κρητικῷ ἐτίθεντο· ἔσται δὲ τὸ
 σχῆμα τοῦ ποδὸς δι' οὗ ἡ ῥυθμοποιῖα
 πορεύσεται τὸ εἰς ἴαμβον οἶον·
 “Ἐνθα δὴ ποικίλων ἀνθέων ἄμβροτοι λ<εῖ>μακες
 βαθύσκιον παρ' ἄλσος ἀβροπαρθένους
 εὐιώτας χοροὺς ἀγκάλαις δέχονται.”
 ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ οἱ τε πρῶτοι πέντε πόδες
 οὕτω κέχρηται τῇ λέξει
 καὶ πάλιν ὕστεροι τρεῖς (...)

“These rhythms, then, are the most suitable for this sort of word-grouping. But the iambic type of dactyl (— ∪ —) may also use it (in the form (∪ —), the outside syllables being assigned to the feet in an order the reverse of that in which they are assigned in the cretic (— ∪ ∪)). The pattern of the foot in which the rhythmical composition proceeds will end in an iambus (∪ —), e.g.: ‘There immortal meadows of many-coloured flowers welcome in their embrace by the deep-shadowed grove the bacchant choirs of tender maidens.’ In this passage the first five feet use the word-group this way, as do three later feet also (...)” (Transl. Campbell 1993).

B) 926(g) PMG (P. Oxy. 9 + P. Oxy. 2687, col. iii)

χρήσαιτο δ' ἄν καὶ ὁ ἴαμβος τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ λέξει,
 ἀφυστέρον δὲ τοῦ βακχείου·
 τὸ γὰρ μονόχρονον οἰκειότερον τοῦ
 τροχαϊκοῦ ἢ τοῦ ἰάμβου, οἶον ἐν τῷ
 “βᾶτε βᾶτε κείθεν, αἱ δ' / ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ὀρόμεναι·
 τίς ποθ' ἄ νεᾶνις; ὡς / εὐπρεπῆς νιν ἀμφέπει”
 τρεῖς πόδας διαλείπουσιν αἱ ξυζυγίαι ὥστε περιοδῶδες τι γίνεσθαι·

“The iambus also may use this same word-group (∪ —), but less naturally than does the bacchius (— ∪ ∪ —), for the single element (∪ or ∪) is more at home in the trochaic part (of the bacchius) than in the iambus; e.g., in: ‘Come from there, come, and you other girls, come rushing, to the front whoever is that young girl? What handsome ..., surrounds her!’ — the couplings occur every third foot so as to produce a kind of periodic effect.” (Transl. Campbell 1993).

The papyrus is thought to contain excerpts of Aristoxenus' treatise *Elements of Rhythm*.¹² The cited verses in iambic dactyls exemplify the occurrence of syncope in various lyric meters.¹³ With syncope, under certain conditions, the long syllable can be lengthened to the value of three or more time-units, as the author attests.

Recently, the attribution of the papyrus to Aristoxenus has been challenged. Mathiesen remarks that this excerpt provides one of the specific topics regarded as missing from other fragments of the *Elements of Rhythm*, such as the specific comments on rhythmic compo-

¹² See on this Page 1962, 494.

¹³ The term δάκτυλος ὁ κατὰ ἰαμβον used in this papyrus is otherwise known only from Aristides Quintilianus 1. 17 (= 38. 5–6 W–I).

sition. Although he does not doubt that this excerpt was part of the *Elements of Rhythm*, he observes the similarities of language and approach to Aristides Quintilianus' treatise *On Music*.¹⁴ However, Calviè suggests that the views here expressed should not be attributed to one person but rather to a school.¹⁵ Moreover, based on papyrological, paleographical, linguistic, stylistic and thematic criteria, he argues that the papyrus should be attributed to a representative of a school rival to that of Aristoxenus, and probably active already in the fifth century BC.¹⁶ Marchetti emphasizes that, although the papyrus shares some technical terminology with Aristoxenus' *Elements of Rhythm*, its approach to rhythm is very different. According to Marchetti, the text is practical in orientation, as its author readily provides examples of many of his points. The papyrus also lacks a number of key Aristoxenian terms.¹⁷

Uncertainty reigns as to the date of the fragments. Wilamowitz suggested the late fourth century BC.¹⁸ Some modern scholars argue for the mid-third century BC.¹⁹ However, Marchetti pleads for a much earlier date, "the time of the New Music", i. e. the late fifth century.²⁰ Considering that the authorship of Aristoxenus is more than dubious, we may seek for the clues in the rhythmical analysis of the fragments. If the information from the author was lacking, anyone examining these fragments would probably have a different interpretation of their meter,²¹ namely, that the metrical sequence of fragment 926(a) is — 5 cr // 3 ia // 2 cr ith and the metrical sequence of fragment 926(g) is — 4 lec. Nothing but the evidence from the treatise enables us to learn that the first long in the cretic sequences — ∪ — was three time-units long. This could only be clear to someone who heard these poems performed. Therefore, the length of time between the composition of the poems and the treatise must have been short enough to allow for the transmission of the music. The fragments might have been performed during the author's lifetime. Thus, it is highly improbable that they belong to archaic lyric poetry.²² The triseme longs found in these fragments are also significant in terms of their dating. The lengthening of a syllable may require it to be dragged over different notes. This practice is called *melism* and is an acknowledged feature of the New Music.²³ The use of *melism* is an indication that these fragments belong to the timeframe of the New Music.

Experts in ancient music have noticed that the exact metrical practice of these fragments is unparalleled in classical drama. The tragedians did not use a triseme syllable for the first foot of an iambic dipody.²⁴ Nonetheless, they used triseme syllables in syncopated

¹⁴ See Mathiesen 1999, 343–344. Koster also observed the similarities with Aristides Quintilianus (see Koster 1972, 50–55).

¹⁵ See Calviè 2014, 35.

¹⁶ See Calviè 2014, 7–54, with more bibliography.

¹⁷ See Marchetti 2009, 237.

¹⁸ See Wilamowitz 1989. Cole 1988 and Rossi 1988 accept his arguments.

¹⁹ Reinach 1898, 389–414; Koster 1972, 47–56; Pearson 1990, 36–44, 77–86.

²⁰ Marchetti 2009, 251.

²¹ I owe this observation to the anonymous reader of *Philologia Classica*.

²² This could have been the case if the author had heard a reperformance of these songs that was extremely faithful to their original performance.

²³ Aristophanes in the *Frogs* (lines 1314, 1348) parodies this New Musical feature where a line from Euripides' *Electra* has its first syllable repeated anywhere from five to seven times. We encounter this feature in many New Musical songs (e. g., in the Rainer papyrus of Euripides' *Orestes* or in P. Berol. 6870 which probably contains fragments of Timotheus' *Mad Ajax*). On *melism* as a characteristic of the New Music see Csapo 2004, 223; Irigoin 2006, 30–31; LeVen 2014, 73 n. 10, with further references.

²⁴ See Marchetti 2009, 251, with more bibliography. Marchetti suggests that the tragedians used triseme longs in a sequence ∪ — ∪ — — ∪, that is, the fourth syllable of the diiambus and not the first

iambic and trochaic meters, and this can be surmised from the possibility of responsion between syncopated and non-syncopated forms.²⁵ In fact, cases of responsion between iambs or trochees and cretics are too rare and uncertain for any decisive conclusion of this kind. We cannot be certain whether or not this use of the metrical practice in question²⁶ excludes the possibility that the fragments belong to drama, at least to the late fifth-century drama.

3. New Musical Songs?

As we have seen, fr. 926(a) and (g) come from a treatise that was probably written during the fifth century BC.²⁷ Their date renders them candidates for being New Musical songs. Nonetheless, calling a song New Musical creates more problems than it solves. New Music was not a specific category of poetic compositions with established generic rules. Rather, it is an umbrella term used to describe the various trends of Greek poetry during the fifth and early fourth centuries.²⁸ These trends were a result of advances in musical practice that had an impact on instruments, design, and musical form which allowed (if not encouraged) the flexibility in melody.²⁹ A certain piece can usually be attributed to the New Music because of the name of its author³⁰ or, more problematically, because it includes the characteristic features for which the New Music pieces were notorious.

The existence of a “corpus” of New Musical songs is also disputable.³¹ Several later Euripidean odes have been considered examples of the above-mentioned trends.³² Very few fragments of cultic New Musical songs are preserved in mss. or papyri,³³ and there is a handful of short quotations by ancient authors.³⁴ The sources regarding private genres of the New Music are even more limited. As LeVen notes, “The bulk of data is related to the very public forms of late classical lyric, ... much less material is available about scolia, encomia, and epithalamia which were less civic and less religious kinds of songs”³⁵ She also notes that the fragments quoted by the authors of technical treatises seem to have a

one of the cretic would be triseme, since classical poetry does not allow resolution of a long syllable before syncopation, so the syllable before the syncopation was always the one lengthened to triseme.

²⁵ Wilamowitz 1898, 698, 700–701.

²⁶ See Reiter 1887, 1893; Denniston 1936, 121–144; Dale 1948, 73–75; West 1982, 103–104, 1990, 109–110. Some of the rare occurrences of syncopated iambic metra — mostly cretic — responding with full ones in tragedy might be the following: Aesch. *Cho.* 800–812; Eur. *Andr.* 140–146, *El.* 1185–1201, *Hel.* 174–186, *Or.* 965–976.

²⁷ Marchetti 2009, 251; Calviè 2014, 7–54.

²⁸ See on this Csapo 1999–2000, 401; D’Angour 2006, 267.

²⁹ See Csapo 2004, 25; 2009, 108; 2012; D’Angour 2006, 264–288; Franklin 2013, 214–220.

³⁰ If he is among those who are criticized in ancient sources, as for instance Melanippides of Melos, Cinesias of Athens, Timotheus of Miletus, Philoxenus of Cythera (and/or Leucas), Telestes of Selinous, Polyidus of Selembria, and the musicians Phrynys of Mytilene and Pronomus of Thebes. Most of these names appear in a passage from a comedy by Pherecrates (*Cheiron* fr. 155 K–A) which describes the innovations introduced in traditional music at the end of the fifth century BC.

³¹ I regard that there was no corpus of New Musical texts in the sense that the composers of songs that were considered New Musical self-consciously composed them. When I refer to the New Musical “corpus”, I mean the texts exhibiting some of the characteristics that ancient literary critics and contemporary scholars attribute to late classical lyric poetry.

³² On this see Csapo 1999–2000; 2003.

³³ For evidence see LeVen 2014, 33–39.

³⁴ For a comprehensive catalog of the modern editions of these fragments see *ibid.* 2010, 35, n. 1.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 39–40.

more Dionysian tone and are less elaborate than the rest of the New Poems.³⁶ The public forms of the New Music include pieces composed for regular festivals, such as dithyrambs and nomos. Informing on the authors considered to have composed the New Music, yet without mentioning the term itself, the Suda refers to the lyric songs and dithyrambs, musical nomos in hexameters, preludes, “adaptations” (διασκευάς), encomia, dithyrambs, hymns, and other works (s.vv. Κινησίας, Μελανιππίδης, Τελέστης, Τιμόθεος, Φιλόξενος). We should perhaps suppose that each New Musical genre had different “generic” traits.

No less difficult is to specify the characteristics of the New Musical songs, though many scholars, both ancient and contemporary, have tried to define them. The lists of distinguishing marks predominantly come from the criticisms of philosophers and adversaries of democracy.³⁷ The poets who composed those pieces were not obliged to self-consciously align themselves with strict compositional rules. Nevertheless, some of the characteristics noted by ancient scholarship on the matter can be encountered in a large part of the surviving poetry of the period. The many-notedness (πολυφωνία) and complexity (ποικιλία) became objectives for practitioners of the New Music.³⁸ The songs that have been considered New Musical seem to have rather particular stylistic features in language,³⁹ meter, and sound effects.⁴⁰ The New Music texts are usually dense with verbal sound effects, puns, far-fetched metaphors, elaborate periphrases, riddles, and bold compound epithets.⁴¹ Their syntax is accumulative and avoids hypotaxis.⁴² They seem to mix traditional and innovative styles.⁴³ To their features belong intertextuality⁴⁴ and

³⁶ Ibid. 61, n. 92.

³⁷ See Csapo 1999–2000, 404–405; Martin 2003, 153–154. Philosophers considered the New Music to be a product of democratic mob-culture and believed that it appealed to the vulgar tastes of the masses: Pl. *Leg.* 700 a–701b; Arist. *Pol.* 1341b; [Plut.] *De Mus.* 1135e. For the political overtones of the description of the practitioners of the New Music in Pherocrates’ *Cheiron* (fr. 155 K–A) see Franklin 2013.

³⁸ See Csapo 2004, 220; Franklin 2013, 216; Budelmann 2014, 191. For many-notedness as a characteristic of the New Music see Pherocrates’ *Cheiron* (fr. 155 K–A); [Plut.] *De Mus.* 1141d. For ποικιλία see [Plut.] *De Mus.* 1142b–c.

³⁹ Language was a distinguishing feature of the New Dithyramb. On this see e. g., Schönewolf 1938, 25, 41; Dover 1997, 47; Hordern 2002, 40; Csapo 2004, 223–224; Ford 2013, 313; Budelmann 2014, 191–192.

⁴⁰ For the repetitions of sounds as characteristic of the New Music see examples in Csapo 2004, 223–224. See also Leven 2014, 187. Csapo notes that the repetition of words or syllables was typical of archaic hymns and cultic songs, especially those of Dionysos, and it was revived by the New Dithyramb poets.

⁴¹ See Ford 2013, 314; Budelmann 2014, 191. The existence of compound epithets is not evidence per se that a fragment belongs to the New Music, since these are not infrequent either in archaic choral lyric or in classical tragedy.

⁴² See Csapo 2004, 225–226; 2009, 108; Ford 2013, 315; Budelmann 2014, 191. For the simplicity of syntax being characteristic of New Musical texts see also the examples (mainly from Timotheus’ *Persians*) in LeVen 2014, 151–152; 184.

⁴³ On this point, however, caution is necessary. As Weiss (2018, 10–11, 23–58) underlines, New Music should not be viewed within a cultural vacuum, as a movement wholly divorced from previous musical trends. There has been a long tradition of innovation in archaic and classical lyric and more traditional aspects of New Musical compositions. LeVen (2014, 103–108, 244–245) also notes that the New Poets relied on traditional diction, images, and themes. Csapo (2004, 230–247) believes that there was not such a thing as a timeless musical tradition opposed to the New Music. This unchanging, universal tradition was an invention of critics. New Poets often tried to recreate or reinvent the cultic and Dionysiac character of dithyrambic and cultic music. The style and imagery of many New Musical verses depend on traditional cultic and Dionysiac forms (on this Csapo 2003, 70).

⁴⁴ For intertextuality as a trait of New Musical texts (especially of Timotheus’ *Persians*) see LeVen 2014, 69–113, 184–185. More specifically, later fifth-century poets had to become indebted to the earlier lyric tradition to mark their innovations, as Fearn has suggested (see Fearn 2015, 2). Acosta-Hughes rightly considers the poets of the New Music pre-Hellenistic poets.

genre-blending.⁴⁵ The New Music poets tried to influence the emotional life of the audience.⁴⁶ They created synesthetic images, full of sensuality and vividness.⁴⁷ The imagery was feminine, orientalizing or bacchic.⁴⁸ The poets were preoccupied with Dionysus, displayed interest in everything exotic, emphasized less familiar aspects of mythology and erudition.⁴⁹

The fragments under analysis do exhibit certain morphological features of the New Musical songs. Wilamowitz was the first to stress that the metric variation encountered in these fragments is an indication of their later date.⁵⁰ *Melism*, a recognized feature of the New Music, also appears. Fragment 926(a) is full of repetitions of *b* and *l* (ποκίλων, ἄμβροτοι, λ<εῖ>μακες, βαθύσκιον, ἄλσος, ἀβροπαρθένους, ἀγκάλαις), and in fragment 926(g) there is a repletion of the word βᾶτε for emphasis and probably of *r* sounds (πρόσθεν, ὀρόμεναι, εὐπρέπης). As concerns their syntax, they both lack hypotaxis. Nonetheless, these are not decisive clues to suggest that the fragments at hand belong to the New Music, since most of these features do appear in archaic poetry. Intentional sound effects are not easily detected, and it is often unclear whether their use was deliberate.⁵¹ Sound effects are very common in tragedy, especially in Aeschylus.⁵² The anadiplosis in addressing is not a peculiarity of the New Musical songs. It also appears in archaic lyric and classical drama.⁵³ Abundant use of subordinate clauses is typical for these genres as well.⁵⁴

The language of the fragments displays elements of the Doric dialect (ποθ', ἄ).⁵⁵ It has affinities with archaic epic and lyric diction,⁵⁶ and there are rare words, such as ἀβροπάρθενος (a *hapax*), λείμαξ (the derivation from λειμών used in later Euripidean drama, cf. *Phoen.* 1571; *Bacch.* 887), εὐώτης (coming from εὔιος, an epithet of Dionysus, this word is found in the fragments of Moschion⁵⁷), the poetic verb ἀμφέπω in the place of the more common ἀμφιέπω.⁵⁸ The similarities with 5th and 4th century tragedy make it

⁴⁵ The idea of past generic purity is a construct, seen most clearly in Pl. *Leg.* 700a–701d. Genre-blending was not alien to archaic lyric (cf. e. g., Pindar's description of the origins of lamentation in fr. 128 SM and Ford 2002, 15–16), but we encounter it more often in late classical lyric poetry. There were dithyrambs composed about Hymenaios, a figure who was a marker of *epithalamia* (such as Philoxenus' 825 and Telestes' 868 *PMG*). Artemis was described in terms more suited to Dionysos in a dithyramb composed by Timotheus (778b). Persephone was the subject of a dithyramb by Melanippides (759).

⁴⁶ Csapo 2004, 217, 226; 2009, 95, 108; 2011, 77; LeVen 2014, 187, 168, 226; Budelmann 2014, 192.

⁴⁷ LeVen 2014, 170–178.

⁴⁸ Csapo 2011, 130. Csapo notes that most of the *personae* chosen for the choruses and solos are female. He notes that almost every Euripidean play after *Heracles* has a female chorus.

⁴⁹ Cf. Csapo 2004, 215; Franklin 2013, 217, 231–232; Power 2013, 239; LeVen 2014, 64. On erudition as a characteristic of the New Music: Pl. *Leg.* 700e.

⁵⁰ Wilamowitz 1898, 698, 700–701. Wilamowitz argues that these fragments cannot belong to the corpus of archaic lyric poetry. See also Marchetti 2009, 251.

⁵¹ See Stanford 1967, 99–100.

⁵² See Nooter 2017, 70–123.

⁵³ E. g., in *Carm. Pop.* fr. 2 Page and Archil. fr. 128 West. According to Plutarch's *Aetia Romana et Graeca* 299B, anadiplosis in addressing appears after an appeal to Dionysus in a hymn performed at a festival by the women of Elis (ἄξιε ταῦρε, ἄξιε ταῦρε, 871 *PMG*). See on this Calame 1997, 79–80.

⁵⁴ See Mülke 2002 on fr. 36 W.

⁵⁵ This is true especially for fr. 926(g) (ποθ', ἄ).

⁵⁶ Ἀμβροτος is often used in archaic epic and lyric poetry. Cf. for instance Hom. *Il.* 5. 339; 5. 870; 16. 381; 16. 670; *Hymn. Apoll.* 184, 190; Hes. *Theog.* 43; Pind. fr. Dith. 75; Bacchyl. 3. 42. βαθύσκιος is used in the Homeric hymn to Hermes 229.

⁵⁷ Fr. 7 p. 633 N. It is used to designate the vines in a fragment describing the human condition before civilization.

⁵⁸ See Soph. *Ant.* 1177, *El.* 651; Eur. *Phoen.* 149, 340, *Hyps.* 164, *IT.* 1249.

possible that the fragments belong to the same context. Nonetheless, there are differences between them and the canonical New Musical songs. They do not contain any of the puns, metaphors, or periphrases encountered in the New Dithyramb. Written, most probably, at the same time as the canonical New Musical songs, they seem more traditional.⁵⁹

4. *Partheneia*?

The genre of the above cited fragments is questionable. Their performative context is not entirely discernable and does not provide definite clues regarding their generic quality. The rest of the fragments preserved on the papyrus are dithyrambic, but we cannot know if all of them came from the same song. Fragment 926(a) seems to be composed for outdoor performance, perhaps in a meadow near a grove. The performers are likely to be the Bacchic chorus of maidens (ἀβροπαρθένους εὐώτας χορούς), though this is not quite clear since the identity of the speaker remains unknown. The fragment was performed by a circle of bacchantes or created to represent this performance.⁶⁰ There is little information regarding the context of fr. 926(g). The chorus of maidens (αἱ, ὁρομέναι, ἅ νεᾶνις) is ordered to take its place to perform a song (ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ὁρομέναι) and among them a certain young woman seems to be more distinguished than her companions. It is unconvincible, whether the speaker describes a chorus or is its member. No intratextual clues definitely tie this fragment to a Dionysian performative context.

The Dionysian character of the fragments has not gone unnoticed, and the most authoritative hypothesis regarding their genre is that like the rest of the fragments preserved on the same papyrus they belonged to dithyrambs.⁶¹ Some suggest that they might be fragments of a satyr-play.⁶² It has also been assumed that fragment 926(g) belongs to tragedy.⁶³ LeVen notices that the fragments show traits “characteristically associated with the dithyrambic style,”⁶⁴ but seem to belong to less public or less showy forms of performance and have a prominent Dionysian tone.⁶⁵ She wonders whether they could be fragments of traditional cultic poems; still, no definite answer on this point is provided.⁶⁶ Page suggests that fragment 926(g), at least, seems to come from a *partheneion* and not from a dithyramb.⁶⁷ Calame tends to agree with this, based on the content of the fragment.⁶⁸

⁵⁹ Cf. Hordern 2002, 20; Calvié 2014, 35.

⁶⁰ The intratextual indications for the performance of a song can be misleading. Sometimes choruses seem to imitate other performances. Henrichs has coined the term choral projection to describe the tendency of tragic choruses to locate their own dancing in the past or the future, or refer to groups of dancers who are outside the concrete space of the orchestra and who dance in the realm of the dramatic imagination. See Henrichs 1994/95, 6; 1996, 49. On choral *mimesis* see also Nagy 1990, 42–44; 2013, 227–229.

⁶¹ See Grenfell 1898, 14; Wilamowitz 1898; Blass 1899, 35; Pearson 1990, 79; LeVen 2014, 40; 61; Cole 1988; Rossi 1988; Marchetti 2009. In Powell’s edition (1970), fr. 926(a) is labeled as a dithyramb and fr. 926(g) as a *partheneion*.

⁶² See Grenfell 1898, 14; Blass 1899, 35. In the time of the New Music, there was continuity of themes between satyr-plays and dithyrambs (see on this LeVen 2014, 223).

⁶³ See Klimek–Winter 1995, 93, 315–316 and Calvié 2014, 34–35, with bibliography on the hypothesis that fr. 926(g) belongs to Euripides’ *Andromeda*. This fragment is part of some of the modern editions of Euripides’ *Andromeda* (Bubel 1991 [fr. 4] and Jouan 1998, 188).

⁶⁴ LeVen 2014, 40.

⁶⁵ LeVen 2014, 61. Fragment 926(a) includes a reference to the Dionysian cultic cry (εὐώτας).

⁶⁶ LeVen 2014, 61–62.

⁶⁷ Page 1941, 395.

⁶⁸ Calame 1997, 43, n. 102.

Both fragments have a great deal in common with *partheneia*. They were not intended for reading, provided that the author of the treatise has heard them performed. Both seem to be sung by a female chorus. However, their dating excludes the possibility that they belong to archaic *partheneia*. Thus, we are left to suggest that they are, in fact, *partheneia* that were composed during the time of the New Music. It is true that their mention of bacchantes and Dionysus situates them with dithyrambs. Still, it is not impossible for a poem to have generic affiliations with both dithyramb and *partheneia* at the same time — due to the very nature of the latter.

Partheneia were sung by maiden choruses on religious occasions and marked the transition of their performers from adolescence to adulthood. Alcman, Pindar, and other poets are credited by the ancient tradition to have composed suchlike songs.⁶⁹ They were also performed in classical Athens,⁷⁰ although not a line survives of these oeuvres. The extant fragments have various and rather heterogeneous characteristics. Conceivably, *partheneia* is not a literary genre in the strict sense.⁷¹

Their authors, such as Alcman, and their audiences were conscious of composing songs to be performed by maidens on specific occasions. They were likewise aware of the distinctive character of the poems sung by these choruses. What the extant *partheneia* have in common is that they are related to the status of the performers. Hence a *partheneion*, at least until the Hellenistic times onward, could encompass even a dithyramb if performed by a maiden choir.⁷² We do encounter references to Dionysus in Alcman's fragments (53, 56 *PMGF*) that may belong to *partheneia*.⁷³ The performance of a *partheneion* by bacchantes is not impossible. According to D'Alessio, there were Dionysian *partheneia* in classical Sparta.⁷⁴ Considering vanishingly scarce evidence for dithyrambs performed by female choirs it is not impossible for a fragment to bear characteristics of a dithyramb and be classified under *partheneia*.

One of the most eminent characteristics of the fragments in question is their self-referentiality, a well-known mark of *partheneia*:⁷⁵ βᾶτε βᾶτε κείθεν in 926(g) brings to mind other cases of the choral self-reference encountered in the opening lines of

⁶⁹ For ancient evidence on the genre see Hes. *Theog.* 205; Alcman fr. 13 *PMGF*; Ar. *Av.* 919; Dion. Hal. *Dem.* 39; Suda s.v. παρθεναία; Phot. *Bibl.* 319b, 321a. Pindar's fragment 94 SM. probably belongs to this genre.

⁷⁰ See Hamilton 1989; Swift 2010, 186–188; Almazova 2012, 63–70; Budelmann 2015.

⁷¹ Songs for the choruses of young women were composed and performed throughout the archaic and classical age. Aristophanes (*Av.* 919) uses the term *partheneion* showing that he is aware of the distinctive character of the poems sung by choruses of young women, without being more precise about the contents of *partheneia*. Nonetheless, it seems that the Alexandrians invented the technical term *partheneion* to classify a choral production that was otherwise difficult to classify. See on this Calame 1997, 88.

⁷² According to Calame, *partheneia* encompassed a variety of choral songs. In his study of the performances of women's choruses, he divides the songs the maidens sang into six categories (hymns, paeans, dithyrambs, citharodic *nomoi*, *threnoi* and *epithalamia*). See Calame 1997, 88.

⁷³ In fr. 53 *PMGF*, a female speaker (perhaps the maiden chorus) is dressed in animal skin. In fr. 56 *PMGF*, we encounter a description of a feast that takes place in the mountains. During this feast, the women are said to have produced cheese from a lion's milk for Hermes. Some of Alcman's *partheneia* might have had similar performative contexts (see on this Calame 1983b, 520–521 and the work of Bravo on female nocturnal dances).

⁷⁴ See D'Alessio 2013.

⁷⁵ For self-referentiality as a characteristic of the genre of *partheneia* see Pavese 1967, 133–134; Lefkowitz 1991, 23; Swift 2010, 175–185. For some of the self-referential moments of extant *partheneia* see, for example, Alcman fr. 1, 64–76 *PMGF*, 3, 1–10 *PMGF*; Pind. fr. 94b, 6–15 SM.

partheneia.⁷⁶ The fragments describe the *hic et nunc* of the performance, as was usual in archaic *partheneia*.⁷⁷ In fragment 926(g), the speaker, who is probably a chorus of maidens, describes one girl (probably the chorus-leader) who seems detached from the rest of the maidens and gives them orders to take their positions to perform the song.⁷⁸ It is the scenery, not the girls of the chorus, that is in the limelight in fr. 926(a). The performance seems to take place in an idyllic landscape that resembles other idyllic landscapes encountered in fragments of archaic lyric not belonging to *partheneia* but related to female singing activity. Sappho in fr. 2 V invokes Aphrodite to come from her temple in Crete, where there is a nice grove (χάριεν ἄλλος) with apple trees. This place is shadowed by roses (βρόδοισι δὲ παῖς ὁ χῶρος ἔσκιαστ'). Aphrodite's temple is located in a full-blossomed meadow (ἐν δὲ λειμῶν ἰππόβοτος τέθαλεν ἡρίνοισιν ἄνθεσιν). The speaker uses the same marker for the invocation of a god (ἔνθα δὴ).⁷⁹ The sensual tone is also the same.⁸⁰ In Ibycus 286 *PMG*, there is a description of an “unravished garden of maidens” (παρθένων κήπος ἀκήρατος), where vine buds are growing under shadowy branches.⁸¹ Full-blossomed meadows, where maidens' Bacchic dances take place, also appear in Alcman's fr. 56 *PMGF* which is tied to a Dionysian context. In fr. 56 we encounter the description of a feast that occurs in a secluded place in the mountains. Fr. 926(a) might come from the beginning of a poem in which the landscape is amply described before a god is invoked — as in Sappho's 2 V. The mention of immortal meadows seems more than natural in a cultic song by girls who may be speaking of maenads or even imitating them.⁸² They come together to participate in a choral performance. There is no mentioning of the deity they are going to honor.⁸³ Nonetheless, both fragments 916(a) and (g) might belong to a cultic context, either real or imaginary. The phenomenon of choral projection, as it is observed in archaic *partheneia*, seems to occur, at least, in 926(g), if not in 926(a) also. The members of the chorus refer to their present or

⁷⁶ See for example: Alcman, fr. 3, 1–10 *PMGF* and Pindar, fr. 94b, 1–15 S–M.

⁷⁷ The maidens in archaic *partheneia* refer to the ritual objects they carry during the ceremony (e. g., ΦΑΡΟΣ in Alcman's fr. 1 *PMGF* and an unknown silver object that maybe was an offer to the gods in fr. 3, 77). They mention the musical instruments used in the performance of the song (*cithara* in Alcman's fr. 38; μάγαδις in fr. 101; aulos in fr. 126). The maiden chorus also describes the place (possibly in lines 8 and 73 of Alcman's fr. 3 ἀγῶν' and κατὰ στρατὸν refer to the place of performance) and the time (e. g., in fr. 1 and 89) of the choral performance.

⁷⁸ For the eminent position of the chorus-leader in Alcman's *partheneia* see for example fr. 1, 44–59, 77, 96–98 *PMGF*. In Pindar's *partheneia* the chorus-leader is also the object of praise fr. 94b, 10–11, 66–77 S–M. See Calame 1997, 59–62.

⁷⁹ Dickmann–Boedeker 1974, 85; Stehle 1977, 98 n. 25.

⁸⁰ Stehle 1977, 98, n. 25; McIntosh–Snyder 1991, 7–8.

⁸¹ This fragment has a lot in common with Sappho's poetry. See Bowra 1961, 244; Stehle 1977, 98, n. 35, with more bibliography. In Ibycus, nevertheless, there is no invocation of a god. The poet contrasts his desire and inner turmoil with the tranquility of nature. Mace 1996, 237, n. 24 has also noticed the similarities between fragment 926(a) and Ibycus' 286 *PMG*.

⁸² Diodorus Siculus described the worship of Dionysus in a similar setting. Choruses of maidens carry the *thyrsus*, feel the inspiration of the god and cry “Euai” while worshipping Dionysus (see Diodorus Siculus 4, 3, 3). Chrissyoulaki provides an overview of the various Dionysiac festivals and rituals in which women participated. See Chrissyoulaki 2008, 267–275.

⁸³ Grenfell and Hunt suggested that νεάνις could have been used to describe the epiphany of Dionysus (Grenfell 1898, 20). This seems unlikely, not only due to the female article, but because this was not a very usual cultic epithet of Dionysus.

future activity, i. e., performing a song.⁸⁴ The *deixis* enhances the self-referentiality and, as a result, the vividness of a poem.⁸⁵

5. “Reactionary” Songs?

The fragments 916(a) and (g) can be considered late classical *partheneia*. Composed, as it seems, for female choruses, they are tied to the time of the New Music by a number of morphological features. The excerpt from the metrical treatise in which they are contained, must be of the same date. They have generic affiliations with dithyrambs and their diction seems to bear similarities to the language of drama. As Csapo has suggested, late classical cultic songs were influenced by drama.⁸⁶ Supposedly, the songs from which these fragments come, have been composed with regard to cultic practices. This becomes more evident if we situate them with the rest of the fragments collected under 926 *PMG*. Less probable is that they imitate such songs within an unspecified dramatic context. Their differences from New Musical songs suggest that they belong to a different poetic school from that described by ancient literary criticism.

New Music was hardly considered revolutionary or radical beginning from the 4th century BC.⁸⁷ Its texts turned to be canonical, and their “programmatic principles” became the norm. Aristoxenus⁸⁸ is the only source of a list of musicians and composers of the fourth century who worked outside the tradition of the New Music preserving the “classical” style (ἀρχαῖος τρόπος) that he approved: Pancrates, Andreas of Corinth, Tyrtaeus of Mantinea, and Thrasyllus of Phlius are praised for the archaic simplicity of the “classical” poets. Power notes that Aristoxenus’ passage seems to indicate the existence of a dedicated school or movement of reactionary poets who emulated archaic lyric poetry.⁸⁹ The dating of fragments 926(a) and 926(g), which makes them contemporary with New Music, their discrepancy with “canonical” New Musical texts on the one hand, and their affinities with archaic epic and lyric poetry (especially with Alcman’s *partheneia*) on the other allow us to assume that these fragments may give us a glimpse of an alternative poetic production composed alongside the New Music. They looked backward to the archaic and early classical tradition of *partheneia*, and their existence is, I think, an indication that, during the time of the New Music, there was a poetic tradition upheld by “reactionary” poets.

⁸⁴ Some of the examples of choral projection used in archaic *partheneia* are the following: Alcman 3, 1–10 *PMGF*; Pind. 94b *SM*, 1–15.

⁸⁵ Alcmanian *partheneia* (and to a certain degree Pindaric *partheneia*) were constructed to draw the attention of the audience to the ceremony and the maidens. Some of the markers of *deixis* encountered in these fragments are the following: ἰδῆν ποτεοικότας, ἔνθα δῆ, κείθεν, ὀρόμεναι, τις ποθ’ ἄ νεάνις. *Deixis* as a mode to capture the attention of the audience, was frequently used by Alcman (e. g., 1, 50: ἦ οὐχ ὀρήϊς): Peponi 2004, 295–316. *Partheneia* appeal especially to the sense of sight and they are rich in feminine imagery.

⁸⁶ See Csapo 2004, 208.

⁸⁷ See Power 2012, 129–130; LeVen 2014, 50–51. The stance of an aristocrat in Xenophon’s *Memorabilia* who equates Melanippides to Homer, Sophocles, Polycleitus, and Zeuxis in their respective art and genre is indicative (see Xen. *Mem.* 1. 4. 3).

⁸⁸ See [Plut.] *De Mus.* 1137e–1138c.

⁸⁹ Power calls them the “Neoclassicists” (see Power 2012, 142). These poets opposed themselves to the mainstream. According to him, they were also those who tried their strength in the style of the New Dithyramb and archaic lyric poetry.

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