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ON THE VALIDITY OF SOME ARGUMENTS FOR CHORAL PERFORMANCE OF STESICHORUS' POEMS

One of the most controversial issues regarding Stesichorus is the performance of his poems. Due to the lack of sufficient sources, it cannot be resolved definitively whether his works were written for choral or solo performance.[1] Stesichorus had been traditionally classified as a choral lyric poet, until M. West provided a well-argued defense of the thesis that he was a soloist accompanying himself on the cithara.[2] The point of view that prevails in recent works and seems the most probable is the intermediate interpretation: the poet could compose both for a singing and dancing chorus (perhaps accompanied by a cithara) and for a solo singer (perhaps accompanied by a silent dancing chorus).[3] Arguments which are hard to refute can be adduced in defense of both hypotheses. However, not all the reasons repeatedly quoted in the Stesichorean compendia are equally compelling. In 1993 Ettore Cingano argued for choral performance in an article,[4] which since then has often been referred to in overviews as an authoritative contribution in support of the choral theory.[5] The aim of this paper is to reexamine the three arguments proposed by the Italian scholar.

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[1] For a summary of the debate and a discussion, see Burnett 1988, 129–135; Willi 2008, 76–82; Curtis 2011, 23–36; Ercoles 2013, 494–499; 561–572.

[2] West 1971 (an extension of the suggestion precedingly made by Kleine 1828, 53 and Wilamowitz 1913, 238–239).

[3] E.g., Russo 1999, 339; Ercoles 2013, 499; 566; Davies–Finglass 2014, 30–32.

[4] Cingano 1993, 347–361.

[5] E.g., Russo 1999, 339 n. 1; Power 2010, 235 n. 116; Ercoles 2012, 10 n. 41; Carruesco 2012, 141 n. 2; Ercoles 2013, 562 n. 989; 990; Cipolla 2014, 79 n. 105; Finglass–Kelly 2015, 12 ("works by <…> and particularly Ettore Cingano readvocated the case for choral performance, in our view persuasively"); Coward 2018, 54 n. 83 ("persuasive arguments for choral performance").

I. Lexical Meaning of Words with the Root μελπ-/μολπ-

Cingano argues that μολπή and cognate words used in Stesichorus' poetry prove that his poems were performed by a chorus. The poet applies such words in three extant fragments, each time referring to the gods – the patrons of his own art.[6]

Fr. 90 F. = 193 *PMGF* (*POxy* 2506 fr. 26 col. i. 9–10):

Δεῦρ' αὖτε θεὰ φιλόμολπε

Fr. 271 F. = 232 *PMGF* (Plut. *De E apud Delphos* 394 b):

<χορεύ>ματά τοι μάλιστα
παιγμοσύνας <τε> φιλεῖ μολπάς τ'Ἀπόλλων,
κάδεα δὲ στοναχάς τ'Ἀίδας ἔλαχε.

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1 <χορεύ>ματά Wilamowitz : †μαλά† codd. : ἀλλά Crusius 2 <τε> φιλεῖ Blomfield : φιλεῖ codd. : φιλέει Schneidewin 3 κάδεα Welcker : κήδεα codd. | δὲ Blomfield : τε codd.

Fr. 278 F. (Athen. 5. 180 e):

καλεῖ δὲ Στησίχορος μὲν τὴν Μοῦσαν ἀρχεσίμολπον

Cingano uses the analysis of the lexical meaning of the words with the root μέλπ-/μολπ- as an argument for his point. He maintains that these terms are associated with the activity of choruses.[7] Hence, the use of the words with this stem by Stesichorus demonstrates the participation of the chorus in the performance of his poems.[8]

It is quite undeniable that words with the root μέλπ-/μολπ- often refer to a choral song accompanied by a dance. In many obvious cases μέλπω/ μέλπομαι and μολπή are applied to the description of a collective singing with a dance (such as in examples adduced by Cingano: Hom. *Il*. 1. 474;

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[6] Hereinafter Stesichorus' fragments are quoted from Finglass' edition: Davies–Finglass 2014.

[7] Cingano 1993, 349: "Nei diversi passi omerici ed esiodei μέλπω/μολπή ricorrono nel contest di *performances* corali fondate sull'associazione di canto, musica e danza, e indicano ora un canto connesso con la danza, ora solo la danza, ora un canto corale differenziato dal canto solista dell'aedo".

[8] Cingano 1993, 349–353; Cingano 2003, 26–29; cited with consent in Russo 1999, 339 n. 1; Ercoles 2012, 12 n. 53; Ercoles 2013, 562 with n. 990; Davies–Finglass 2014, 31 with n. 174.

16. 182; 18. 572; *Hom. h. Ap*. 197, etc.). However, Cingano's argument contains a logical fallacy. It is insufficient to demonstrate that the words with the root μελπ-/μολπ- can refer to a chorus in order to consider them indisputable proof of choral performance. It should be shown that these words are inapplicable to solo singing that is not accompanied by dance. Meanwhile, a thorough examination shows that this is not the case.

I have analyzed 58 passages by Archaic authors (beginning from the

The etymology of the words under consideration is not clear.[9] Vocabularies do record the meanings indicated by Cingano, but not as the only possible ones. Thus, LSJ gives the following meanings: μέλπω – (1) *poet. verb* celebrate with song and dance: Φοῖβον, Σπάρτην, (2) sing *intr*., + acc.: βοάν, let sound: τὰς κιθάρας ἐνοπάν, play on: αὐλῷ; μέλπομαι (med.) – (1) sing to the lyre or harp; dance and sing, as a chorus; let sound: στεναχάς; (2) sing of, celebrate: νόμους; μολπή – (1) dance or rhythmic movement with song; (2) (more freq.) song.[10]

I have analyzed 58 passages by Archaic authors (beginning from the Homeric epos and including Pindar and Aeschylus who are inclined to archaizing) that contain words with the root μελπ-/μολπ- based on the *TLG* data. Thirteen[11] of these are names (Μελπομένη, Εὔμολπος) and epithets (ἀρχεσίμολπος, φιλόμολπος, φιλησίμολπος, εὔμολπος, ἐρασίμολπος), which provide no information about the way of performance. The phrase κυσὶν/κυνῶν μέλπηθρα, which occurs three times in the *Iliad* (13. 233; 17. 255; 18. 179), has no relation to music. In four cases[12] the meaning is unclear, as the text has been only partially preserved. In seven passages[13] the mode of the performance cannot be identified with confidence from the context.

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[9] Frisk 1970, 204 s. v. μέλπω, -ομαι.

[10] Cf. Rocci 1943 s. vv.: μέλπω – "*canto; canto danzando*, assol.; *canto; celebro, festeggio con canti e danze*, acc."; μολπή – "*canto e danza*; freq. *canto*". Chantraine 1968 s.vv.: μέλπω/μέλπομαι – "'chanter et danser' notamment dans un choeur ... mais peut signifier 'chanter' en général, notamment avec l'accompagnement de la cithare"; μολπή – "chant mêlé de danse"; "chant". However, *LfgrE* is in accordance with Cingano: μέλπω – 'to perform song for choral dance (or rhythmical movements)': (1) sing and dance; (2) of singers supplying music and song for choral dance (Beck 1993a, 115–116); μολπή – 'song for accompaniment by choral dance (or rhythmical movement), dancing song': (1) with mention of dancing, dancers, (2) otherwise (Beck 1993b, 253–254).

[11] Beside 3 cases in Stesichorus, these are: *Hom. h. Cer*. 154; 475; Hes. *Th*. 77; fr. 227. 1 Merkelbach–West (= Herodianus, π. μον. λέξ. 10, ii. 915. 22 Lentz); Alcm. fr. S1 Davies; Pind. *Ol*. 14. 14; 16; *Nem*. 7. 9; Hecataeus *FGrHist* 1 F 119. 8 (= Strab. 7. 7. 1); Aesch. fr. 168. 19 *TGF*.

[12] Sappho fr. 27. 5; 96. 5 V.; Aesch. fr. 451 u 5; 451 d 1 *TGF*.

[13] Hom. *Od*. 21. 430; *Hom. h. Merc*. 452; Lasus fr. 1. 1 Privitera (= Athen. 14. 19. 624 e–f); Pind. *Ol*. 1. 102; 6. 97; 10. 84; *Nem*. 1. 20.

In nineteen cases the chorus clearly takes part in the performance, and in three of them it echoes the singing soloist or dances to his accompaniment (Hom. *Il.* 18. 572; 18. 606; *Hom. h. Ap.* 197). Only three passages (containing six words with the stem μελπ-/μολπ-) have obvious indications that the chorus is both singing and dancing (*Hom. h. Pan.* 19; 21; 24; Hes. *Th.* 66; 69; Pind. *Paian* fr. 52 f 17 S.–M.). In three cases, the chorus is definitely not dancing (Aesch. *Pers.* 389; *Sept.* 870; 1023),[14] and in ten (containing twelve such words), there is no mention of a dance (Hom. *Il.* 1. 472; 474; 16. 182; Ps.-Hes. *Sc.* 206; Xenophan. fr. B 1. 12 D.–K.; Pind. *Pyth.* 3. 78; 3. 90; *Paian* fr. 52 b 96 S.–M.; *Dith.* fr. 75, 11 S.–M.; Aesch. *Ag.* 107; *Eum.* 1043=1047).

Besides, in three cases (Hom. *Il.* 13. 637 = *Od.* 23. 145; *Od.* 1. 152) the performer is irrelevant, since the passages deal with a desire for musical entertainment in general, but there is a clear contrast between the word μολπή and the words denoting dance (ὀρχηθμός, ὀρχηστύς). Thus, the author recognizes song and dance as different things, and μολπή indicates a song. It should be noted that in Stesichorus fr. 271 F. the reading <χορεύ>ματά also implies two different words for song (μολπαί) and dance.

The opposite cases in which the root μελπ-/μολπ- could indicate rhythmical movement without singing are dubious. In *Il.* 7. 241 the verb μέλπεσθαι may be interpreted as applied to solo dancing as a metaphor of battle, but the point of comparison is not certain (οἶδα δ' ἐνὶ σταδίῃ δηΐῳ μέλπεσθαι Ἄρηι).[15] Twice the word μολπή is somehow associated with gymnastic activities: in *Od.* 4. 19 (μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντες) the two acrobats are performing at a feast (at the same time with a singer), and in *Od.* 6. 101 (ἄρχετο μολπῆς) Nausicaa is playing ball with her girl servants (and perhaps singing).

The predominance of cases associated with choral singing and dancing can be simply explained by the fact that ancient Greek music tended to syncretism – a combination of poetry, dance and song. Since such performances were customary, no wonder they were frequently mentioned by ancient authors; nevertheless, it does not mean that the vocabulary used to represent them was specific. Similarly, the English words 'song' and 'to sing' are quite applicable to both a chorus and a soloist.

I have defined solo singing in seven passages (containing eight words with the stem μελπ-/μολπ-). There are two cases in Homer's (*Od.* 4. 17

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[14] As already noted by Willi 2008, 79 n. 114: "μολπή kann sogar verwendet werden, ohne dass von Tänzen die Rede ist".

[15] Cf. Rocci 1943, 1204 s.v. μέλπω: "cantare danzando in onore di Ares, i.e. combattere coraggiosamente".

and 13. 27): the bard is performing at a feast (ἐμέλπετο θεῖος ἀοιδός), while the banqueters are eating and neither singing nor dancing.[16] In the Homeric hymn to Hermes Apollo receives the lyre as a gift, and Hermes proposes him to sing and play it (476 μέλπεο καὶ κιθάριζε, 478 εὐμόλπει). In the poem about the contest between Homer and Hesiod (Hes. fr. 357 = *Sch. Pind. Nem.* 2. 1 [iii. 31 Dr.]) μέλπομεν refers to the solo singing of both contestants. In the prologue of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (17) ὕπνου ἀντίμολπον ἄκος 'song as a remedy for sleep' denotes the song of a guard who lies on the roof and tries to stay awake. In the same tragedy (1445), the expression μέλψασα γόον concerns the last words of Cassandra foreseeing her own death. This phrase cannot relate to dance and choral singing even in a metaphoric sense. In Simonides' poem (*AP* 7. 25. 9), Anacreon is represented as singing himself and playing the βάρβιτον, a stringed musical instrument which is not comfortable to dance with, so μολπή seems unlikely to be associated with dancing movements.

Such testimonies confirm that μέλπομαι and μολπή can also refer to a soloist singing without being accompanied by dance. Hence, Cingano's argument that these words must be associated with choral singing and/or dancing is not convincing.

As regards the usage of the words under consideration in Stesichorus' poems, neither φιλεῖ μολπάς (fr. 271. 2 F.) nor θεὰ φιλόμολπε (fr. 9. 9 F.) taken alone allow us to characterize the mode of performance. The case of fr. 278 F. is more complicated and deserves special consideration. According to Athenaeus (5. 180 e), Stesichorus called the Muse ἀρχεσίμολπος ('the one who begins the μολπή'). In the poem *Eriphyle* (fr. 90 F.), the call Δεῦρ' αὖτε θεὰ φιλόμολπε must also refer to the Muse (the goddess who loves the μολπή).[17] Hence, in both cases μολπή likely denotes the same thing. Cingano interprets the epithet ἀρχεσίμολπος by correlating it with the expression ἄρχεσθαι μολπῆς applied to Nausicaa in Homer's (*Od.* 6. 101: τῇσι δὲ Ναυσικάα λευκώλενος ἄρχετο μολπῆς). Relating Homer's passage to the lines of Stesichorus, he concludes that the Muse in this fragment was depicted as "beginning choral singing and dancing".[18] Indeed, if one 'started' a song (ἐξάρχειν), there must have been those who 'joined in' (συνεπηχεῖν, ἀντιπαιανίζειν).[19] However, this meaning of the verb is assigned to the singing of mortals (e.g., Plut. *Symp. probl.* 615 b;

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[16] In the first case (*Od.* 4. 17) the banqueters are at the same time entertained by two acrobats (κυβιστῆρε), but the identity of the formula in both cases proves that their presence is irrelevant for the meaning of ἐμέλπετο.

[17] See parallels in Davies–Finglass 2014, 331.

[18] Cingano 1993, 350–351; Cingano 2003, 26–28.

[19] Rutherford 2001, 43; 52.

Alcm. fr. 98 *PMG* = 129 Calame), whereas Stesichorus invokes the Muse, therefore it is possible that she 'begins' the song of the poet (gives him inspiration) so that he may continue singing himself. This interpretation implies that the epithet ἀρχεσίμολπος may also describe a solo performance.

II. A Fragment of Stesichorus' *Oresteia* as an Indication of its Performance Modality

The second piece of evidence in favour of choral performance, according to Cingano,[20] is a passage from Stesichorus' *Oresteia* (fr. 173 F. = fr. 212 *PMGF* = *Sch. Aristoph. Pax* 797 c, p. 125 Holwerda):

> τοιάδε χρὴ Χαρίτων δαμώματα καλλικόμων
> ὑμνεῖν Φρύγιον μέλος ἐξευρόντα<ς> ἁβρῶς
> ἦρος ἐπερχομένου.
> ──────────────
> 2 ἐξευρόντα<ς> Kleine : ἐξευρόντα σ' vel ἐξευρόντα μ' Page.

The emendation in the second line is required to avoid hiatus. Kleine's conjecture is preferable, since in the version suggested by Page the personal pronoun appears in an unnatural position.[21]

Cingano accepts the emendation ἐξευρόντας and concludes that the plural form indicates a singing chorus.[22] Nevertheless, it is well known that traditionally both the chorus and the poet could alternately refer to themselves in singular and plural in poetry. Cingano himself proves it by numerous examples[23] without realizing that this argument can be used against his thesis rather than in support of it.[24]

Furthermore, the meaning of the verb ἐξευρίσκω ('discover, invent') indicates the activity of the poet, and not of the chorus.[25] Numerous

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[20] Cingano 1993, 353–356; Cingano 2003, 29–31.

[21] Cingano 1993, 355 n. 34; Cingano 2003, 32; Davies–Finglass 2014, 496; but see Lloyd-Jones 1995, 420 who adduces as a parallel Soph. *Trach.* 393 (Τί χρή, γύναι, μολόντα μ' Ἡρακλεῖ λέγειν;).

[22] Accepted by Willi 2008, 81.

[23] Cingano 1993, 356 n. 35; Cingano 2003, 31.

[24] Cf. Davies 1979, 893 s.: "I wish to register a warning against the drawing of any conclusions as to the poem's mode of performance from the appearance of singular or plural participle in this fragment's text"; Pucci 2017, 251–252.

[25] Lloyd-Jones 1995, 420: "surely the one who 'finds out' the melody is the poet"; Pucci 2017, 251: "l'atto del trovare è riferito sempre in maniera piuttosto chiara al poeta"; Ercoles 2013, 564–565.

parallels proving this can be cited: Alcm. fr. 39 *PMG*; Pind. *Ol.* 1. 110; *Pyth.* 1. 60; fr. 122, 14 S.–M. etc.[26]

The passage from the *Oresteia* contains the hapax δαμώματα, which the scholiasts explain as 'songs meant to be sung in public'.[27] Indeed, the verb δαμωσόμεθα at the beginning of Pindar's eighth Isthmian Ode conveys an intention to compose songs for the public (Pind. *Isthm.* 8. 8). Cingano concludes that the *Oresteia* was intended to be sung at some festival and therefore was composed for the chorus.[28] It is plausible that the word δαμώματα describes public performance, but this fact does not determine the character of singing: a soloist citharode as well as a chorus could sing for people while participating in the feasts and contests. Thus, δαμώματα does not indicate that the performance is obligatory choral.[29]

Another proof of choral singing, according to Cingano, is the expression χρὴ ... ὑμνεῖν. He defines the meaning of the verb ὑμνεῖν as 'to sing in chorus', since it occurs in this sense in the Homeric hymns (*Hom. h. Ap.* 190, *Hom. h. Dian.* 19) and in Xenophanes (fr. 1. 13 D.–K.). However, there are cases where the verb is applied to the soloist's singing, e. g. Hesiod's *Theogony* 33:

> ὣς ἔφασαν κοῦραι μεγάλου Διὸς ἀρτιέπειαι,
> καί μοι σκῆπτρον ἔδον δάφνης ἐριθηλέος ὄζον   30
> δρέψασαι, θηητόν· ἐνέπνευσαν δέ μοι αὐδὴν
> θέσπιν, ἵνα κλείοιμι τά τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα,
> καί μ' ἐκέλονθ' ὑμνεῖν μακάρων γένος αἰὲν ἐόντων,
> σφᾶς δ' αὐτὰς πρῶτόν τε καὶ ὕστατον αἰὲν ἀείδειν.

Hesiod's art has never been associated with choral lyrics, hence it is incorrect to claim that the verb ὑμνέω always refers to the chorus.

Thus, an examination of the fragment of Stesichorus' *Oresteia* shows that it does not contain unambiguous indications of choral performance.[30]

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[26] See Ercoles 2013, 565; Davies–Finglass 2014, 496.

[27] *Sch. Aristoph*. *Pax* 798 (= Suda δ 53): δαμώματα· τὰ δημοσίᾳ ἀδόμενα. Hesych. δ 212: δαμώματα· κοινώματα, δημοσιώματα.

[28] Cingano 1993, 354; Cingano 2003, 29, repeating Smith 1900, 266 ("hymns composed for public delivery by choruses"); Cingano is quoted with consent by Morgan 2012, 43; Davies–Finglass 2015, 29 n. 168.

[29] Willi 2008, 81 n. 124; Ercoles 2013, 565; Pucci 2017, 252.

[30] Cf. Lloyd-Jones 1995, 420: "Cingano makes much of fr. 212". Cf. Ercoles 2012, 12: "il poeta si presenta insieme come compositore ed esecutore di canti pubblici per un contesto probabilmente festivo"; at the same time, Ercoles admits, although with caution, the participance of a chorus due to a mention of the Charites – which seems quite insufficient as an argument.

III. The Testimony of Timaeus

Discussing the genre and the modality of performance of Stesichorus' poems, Cingano regards a fragment of Timaeus (*FHG* I 224 = *FGrHist* 566 F 32) as a decisive testimony of choral singing.[31] Preserved by Athenaeus and Polyaenus, it deals with the adventures of Damocles, the flatterer of Dionysius the tyrant.

Stesich. Tb5(a) Ercoles (Ath. 6. 250 b–c):

ἔπειτα πρε-
σβεύσας ποτὲ μεθ' ἑτέρων †ὡς τὸν Διονύσιον†, καὶ
πάντων κομιζομένων ἐπὶ τριήρους κατηγορούμενος ὑπὸ
τῶν ἄλλων ὅτι στασιάζοι κατὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν καὶ
5   βλάπτοι τοῦ Διονυσίου τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις καὶ σφόδρα
τοῦ Διονυσίου ὀργισθέντος ἔφησεν (sc. Δημοκλῆς) τὴν διαφορὰν γε-
νέσθαι αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς συμπρέσβεις, ὅτι μετὰ τὸ
δεῖπνον ἐκεῖνοι μὲν †τῶν Φρυνίχου καὶ Στησιχόρου,
ἔτι δὲ Πινδάρου παιάνων† τῶν ναυτῶν τινας ἀνειλε-
10   φότες ᾖδον, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν βουλομένων τοὺς ὑπὸ
τοῦ Διονυσίου πεποιημένους διεπεραίνετο. καὶ τούτου
σαφῆ τὸν ἔλεγχον παρέξειν ἐπηγγείλατο· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ
αὐτοῦ κατηγόρους οὐδὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἀσμάτων
κατέχειν, αὐτὸς δ' ἕτοιμος εἶναι πάντας ἐφεξῆς ᾄδειν.

2 ὡς τὸν Διονύσιον A : del. Schweighäuser : ὡς τὸν Δίωνα Casaubon 8–9 τὸν ... παιᾶνα A : τῶν (Dobree) … παιάνων Kaibel : τοὺς ... παιᾶνας Ercoles 9 τῶν ναυτῶν A : τῶν αὐτῶν Schweighäuser : ἢ τῶν αὐτῶν Casaubon : {τῶν αὐτῶν} Dalechamps | τινες A : τινας Meineke : τινα Casaubon

Cf. Stesich. Tb5(b) Ercoles (Polyaen. *Strat.* 5. 46):

Δημοκλῆς πρεσβεύσας κατηγορούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν
<ἄλλων> πρεσβευτῶν, ὅτι μεγάλας τοῦ Διονυσίου πράξεις
ἔβλαψεν, ὀργισθέντος τοῦ τυράννου 'ἐμοὶ πρὸς τού-
τους', ἔφη, 'γέγονε διαφορά, ὅτι μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον
5   οὗτοι μὲν τοὺς Στησιχόρου καὶ Πινδάρου παιᾶνας
ᾖδον, ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ σοῦ πεποιημένους'· καὶ συνῇσε
τοὺς παιᾶνας αὐτοῦ. Διονύσιος ἡσθεὶς οὐκέτι ἠνέσχετο
τῶν ἐγκλημάτων.

2 <ἄλλων> πρεσβευτῶν Melber : <συμ>πρεσβευτῶν Casaubon 3–4 τούτους F : τούτοις M 6 ᾖδον edd. : εἶδον F | συνῇσε vel συνῇδε Korais : συνῆψε F

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[31] Quoted with consent in Ercoles 2013, 524.

Cingano interprets this fragment as compelling evidence of the choral performance of Stesichorus' paeans in Sicily, the poet's homeland, in the first half of the 4th century BC. In particular, he notes that the ambassadors invited sailors in order to reproduce the authentic way of singing Stesichorus' poems in chorus.[32] Nevertheless, this interpretation may be questioned. Let us try to clarify the details of the scene described by Timaeus.

It is clear that the paeans were intended for a male chorus, and there were several people involved in singing in the fragment. However, the text of Athenaeus needs emendation: the words τὸν ... παιᾶνα are in the singular, as if the same paean were attributed to Phrynichus, Stesichorus and Pindar.[33] Furthermore, we have no other evidence that Phrynichus and Stesichorus composed paeans. Presumably, Timaeus spoke only of a paean (or paeans) of Pindar,[34] who is known to have written them. Remarkably, Pindar's name stands apart: it is added to the other two in a specific way – with ἔτι δὲ instead of καὶ. I would suggest an emendation applying τὰ instead of τὸν: τὰ Φρυνίχου καὶ Στησιχόρου, ἔτι δὲ Πινδάρου παιᾶνα(ς). Consequently, the ambassadors sang some pieces by Phrynichus and Stesichorus, and besides a paean or paeans by Pindar. According to this interpretation, Athenaeus' passage cannot serve as evidence that Stesichorus was an author of paeans and composed choral songs. Although I admit the clear mention of "Stesichorus' and Pindar's paeans" in Polyaenus' version, there is no proof that he possessed Timaeus' original text.[35] It is possible that we are dealing with an emendation of the same corruption which is notable in Athenaeus.

Moreover, singing after dinner can hardly be considered as an authentic performance of the poems by Stesichorus,[36] Phrynichus and Pindar. It seems that the participants of a symposium could choose any song to sing in chorus (or to respond with a cry to a soloist), even one originally associated with monodic lyrics. A scene in Aristophanes' *Clouds* (1354–1372) confirms this suggestion: Strepsiades asks his son to sing something from Simonides, and then from Aeschylus, whereas Phidippides begins to quote Euripides' *Aeolus*. Thus, it is quite possible that monodic poems could be sung at a symposium in chorus, although

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[32] Cingano 1993, 358–360; Cingano 2003, 26.

[33] Ercoles 2013, 523.

[34] Willi 2008, 79 n. 119.

[35] At least, his version has been heavily epitomated (Ercoles 2013, 523 with n. 883).

[36] As already noted by Willi 2008, 79 with n. 117.

they were not originally intended for it, just like choral songs could be reproduced by a solo singer like Phidippides.

Furthermore, Timaeus' fragment does not show the contribution of each member to the singing at table. It does not exclude that the ambassadors sang one after another and that the sailors were engaged only in performing Pindar's paeans.

In spite of the doubts indicated above, it cannot be ruled out that the whole episode in Timaeus did indeed deal with the singing of paeans only. Their performance is attested at a feast, both at the beginning and at the end.[37] Moreover, the "fault" of the ambassadors implied by Damocles would look still greater, if they addressed exactly the lyric genre Dionysius worked in, but did not choose Dionysius' poems. At the end of the passage Athenaeus mentions the same genre again: Damocles asked the tyrant to let him learn his most recent paean to Asclepius.

However, even if we admit that Stesichorus composed paeans and Timaeus was aware of it, it does not yet follow that the extant fragments of Stesichorus' narrative poems formed part of paeans. This genre is associated with deliverance from danger (war, pestilence, natural disaster, etc.). The song is aimed at either averting evil, or celebrating its repulsion, or prolonging good fortune.[38] The main formal feature of the genre is the exclamation ἰὴ παιάν (or similar).[39] Obviously, according to these criteria, none of the known fragments by Stesichorus can be classified as paeans: there is neither refrain nor details concerning the purpose and circumstances of the performance. Moreover, there is evidence (Ps.-Plut. *De mus.* 1134 E and *POxy* 2368 col. I, 9–20) that a narrative heroic plot in a song was considered as an indication that it was *not* a paean. This excludes all of Stesichorus' narrative poems from consideration.

Thus, firstly, it is doubtful that the paeans in Timaeus' were attributed to Stesichorus. Secondly, amateurish singing after dinner does not reflect the mode of the performance that was originally implied by the poet. Thirdly, the impact of the ambassadors and sailors on the performance is not as clear as Cingano puts it. Finally, even if Stesichorus' paeans did exist, it is difficult to identify them with the preserved fragments of his poems.[40]

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[37] Rutherford 2001, 50.

[38] Rutherford 2001, 6–7.

[39] Rutherford 2001, 18–23.

[40] Lloyd-Jones 1995, 420: "C. tries to extract too much from Timaeus' vague statement about the singing of paians in the time of the young Dionysius (in Athenaeus 6.250B)".

Conclusion

The absence of reliable testimonies of Stesichorus' poems does not allow explicating the mode of their performance. There are arguments in favour of both the choral and solo versions. To compromise, Stesichorus could work in both genres. However, this assumption does not obviate the need for a balanced assessment of the data. None of the observations made by Cingano prove that the preserved fragments of Stesichorus' songs belong to the choral lyrics.

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The paper examines three arguments by E. Cingano (Cingano 1993) in favour of the hypothesis that the works of Stesichorus were intended for choral performance. First, the words φιλόμολπε, μολπάς and ἀρχεσίμολπον are analyzed (Stes. fr. 90; 271; 278 F.). According to Cingano, the words with the root μελπ-/μολπ- refer to a choral song accompanied by a dance. Hence, the use of words with this stem by Stesichorus demonstrates the participation of the chorus in the performance of his poems. However, there are testimonies that confirm that μέλπομαι and μολπή can also refer to a soloist singing without being accompanied by dance. Second, the fragment from Stesichorus' *Oresteia* (fr. 172 F.) is examined. According to Cingano, it contains indications of a choral performance. However, the participle ἐξευρόντα<ς>, though the emendation of the singular form into the plural must be accepted, does not denote a choral performance of the *Oresteia*. The hapax δαμώματα describes the public performance of the poem, but it does not mean that the chorus was involved in the performance, since a soloist citharode could also sing for people at feasts and in contests. Neither is the verb ὑμνεῖν an unambiguous indication of choral singing (cf. Hes. *Th*. 33). Third, the passage of Timaeus

(*FGrHist* 566 F 32. 6–13) is parsed. It refers to "the paeans of Stesichorus, Phrynichus and Pindarus" which several people sung after dinner. However, the text is not sound, and it cannot be excluded that the paeans were attributed only to the last of the mentioned poets, Pindarus. Furthermore, singing after dinner can hardly be considered as an authentic performance of the poems by Stesichorus. Moreover, the participants of a symposium could sing one after another instead of as a chorus. Finally, even if Stesichorus' paeans did exist, it is difficult to identify them with the preserved fragments of his poems. Thus, none of the observations made by Cingano prove that the extant fragments of Stesichorus' songs belong to the choral lyrics.

В статье взвешиваются три аргумента Э. Чингано (Cingano 1993) в пользу гипотезы о том, что произведения Стесихора были предназначены для хорового исполнения. Во-первых, анализируются слова φιλόμολπε, μολπάς и ἀρχεσίμολπον (Stes. fr. 90; 271; 278 F.). Согласно точке зрения Чингано, слова с корнем μελπ-/μολπ- означают хоровое пение с танцем, так что их употребление у Стесихора показывает, что поэт писал для хора. Однако есть примеры, где такая лексика указывает на сольное пение, причем без танца. Во-вторых, рассматривается фрагмент из *Орестеи* Стесихора (fr. 172 F.), который, по мнению Чингано, содержит указания на исполнение хором. Однако причастие ἐξευρόντα<ς>, хотя исправление единственного числа на множественное нужно принимать, не свидетельствует о хоровом исполнении *Орестеи*. Гапакс δαμώματα говорит о публичном исполнении поэмы, но отсюда не следует участие в представлении хора, поскольку и кифареды-солисты выступали публично на празднествах. Наконец, глагол ὑμνεῖν также не является однозначным указанием на хоровое пение (ср. Hes. *Th*. 33). В-третьих, разбирается пассаж Тимея (*FGrHist* 566 F 32, 6–13), где речь идет о "пеанах Стесихора, Фриниха и Пиндара", которые несколько человек поют после обеда. Однако текст испорчен, и нельзя исключить, что пеаны приписывались только последнему из упомянутых поэтов – Пиндару. Далее, пение сотрапезников после обеда необязательно отражает аутентичное исполнение поэм Стесихора. Кроме того, петь могли по очереди, а не хором. Наконец, даже если допустить, что Стесихор действительно писал пеаны для хора, отсюда не следует, что дошедшие до нас фрагменты поэм восходят именно к пеанам. Таким образом, ни одно из соображений, приводимых Чингано, не доказывает, что лирику Стесихора надо считать хоровой, а не сольной.