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OLIGARCHIC HESTIA: BACCHYLIDES 14B AND PINDAR, *NEMEAN* 11*

Abstract: This article uses recent findings about the diversity of political organization in Archaic and Classical Greece beyond Athens, and methodological considerations about the role of civic Hestia in oligarchic communities, to add sharpness to current work on the political contextualization of Classical epinikastic poetry. The two works considered here remind us of the epichoric political significance of such poetry, because of their attunement to two divergent oligarchic contexts. They thus help to get us back to specific fifth-century political as well as cultural *Realien*.

Xenophanes of Kolophon famously challenged the right of successful athletes to receive lavish public honours. In *fr.* 2 W he complained that he was more worthy of receiving such rewards, being the man of true *sophiê*.¹ A major objection was that such athletes were dined at public expense in the *prytaneion*.²

Xenophanes' focus on athletics and civic honours provides useful background to two texts discussed in detail here, Bacchylides 14B and Pindar's *Nemean* 11.³ In both cases the connection between athletic prowess and civic administration criticized by Xenophanes is very close indeed, since both poems celebrate former athletes as public officials in oligarchic conditions, invoking Hestia as goddess of the civic hearth as they do so.

I. GENRES AND TITLES

Pindar's *Nemean* 11, with its title 'For Aristagoras of Tenedos, Magistrate' supplied by Boeckh, was positioned at the end of the Alexandrian book of *Nemeans* after *Nemean* 10,⁴ and considered as epinikian by some, but not by others.⁵ Aristophanes' decision to locate the poem at the end of the book indicates that even he was not particularly happy with its epinikian status within the Pindaric edition. Despite its obvious athletic content, Aristagoras' athletic achievements are in the past; the event which Pindar is commissioned to celebrate is an inauguration into civic office, not a current victory.

* I would like to thank Daniela Colomo of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri project in Oxford for allowing me to view *P.Oxy.* 2363; images of the papyrus presented here are courtesy of the Imaging Papyri Project, University of Oxford, and The Egypt Exploration Society: many thanks to Dirk Obbink. A number of people have provided helpful comments on drafts and shared ideas with me, and I am most grateful: audiences in Cambridge, Manchester and Atlanta, and the referees for *JHS*. I would also like to thank in particular Peter Wilson, John Ma, Armand D'Angour and Andrew Morrison.

¹ See Ford (2002) 46–66 for good discussion of Xenophanes in context. Also Marcovich (1978); Collins (2004) 150–51.

² Lines 8–9. See Bowra (1938) 274–75; Campbell (1990) 338 *ad loc.* 8. For the practice of dining victors in the *prytaneion*, see further Miller (1978) 7 with *IG* I².77; Pl., *Ap.* 36d (with Sokrates alluding to Xenoph., *fr.* 2); Ath. 6.237f; Plut., *De soll. an.* 970b; Ael., *De nat. an.* 6.49; *Agora XIV* 47 with n. 132; also Kurke (1993) 159, n. 40. Compare also Ar., *Equ.* 280–84, attacking Kleon for the potentially non-democratic flavour of his own lavish dining practices in the Athenian *prytaneion* after Sphakteria; Sommerstein (1981) 158 *ad loc.* 281.

³ The poems have not been widely discussed. There

is no entry for Bacch. 14B in Gerber (1989); (1990). Neither poem receives detailed discussion in Kurke (1991); Mann (2001); Nicholson (2005). Bacch. 14B is mentioned only in passing by Stamatopoulou (2007) 332. With *Nem.* 11, Lefkowitz (1979) and Verdenius (1982) focus on literary issues; other treatments are limited by the unsupported assumption that *Nem.* 11 is a late work. The poems are discussed briefly by Hornblower (2004) 143, 172–73.

⁴ *Nem.* 9, celebrating a Sikyonian victory, and *Nem.* 10, celebrating a victory at the Argive Hekatombaia, do not themselves celebrate Nemean victories.

⁵ Aristophanes' edition classified the poem as *Nemean* on the basis of the theme of victory in lines 13–29 (D'Alessio (1997) 54, n. 183) and because lines 22–29 only state that Aristagoras missed out on Olympian and Pythian victories (*cf.* Σ Pind., *Nem.* 11 inscr. a (iii.184–85 Dr); also Silk (2007) 180–81 on the classification of Pind., *Ol.* 12.). Although it seems that no rival edition was produced, others, including Dionysios of Phaselis and Didymos, disagreed with Aristophanes' classification, considering *Nem.* 11 a *paroinion*: see Σ Pind., *Nem.* 11 inscr. a (iii.185 Dr) *ad fin.*, with D'Alessio (1997) 54, n. 183; Σ Pind., *Nem.* 11 inscr. b (iii.185 Dr).

Similar issues surround Bacchylides 14B. Only the opening ten lines survive, and the fragmentary marginal title has been reconstructed in different ways.⁶ Edgar Lobel in his *editio princeps* of the papyrus initially supposed that the title celebrated a Delphic chariot-race victory.⁷ However, he noted that Πύθια cannot be reconstructed in the marginal title, and that the two Pythian victories referred to in lines 7–10 must be previous victories;⁸ he saw no means of further progress. Nor is another attempt by Bruno Snell to read a reference to Delphi in the title compelling.⁹

A breakthrough was reached by Herwig Maehler, who reconstructed the title as [Ἀριστοτέλει Λ]α- / [ρισαίωι ἵπ]πά(ρχη), *For Aristoteles of Larisa, Hipparkh*: he took the suspended alpha as an abbreviation, indicating not Snell's 'Pythian Games', but rather 'Hipparkh'. Maehler therefore understood the poem as analogous to Pindar's *Nemean* 11. He argued that the poem came from the end of the Bacchylidean book of epinikia,¹⁰ suggesting that this position indicated a similar classificatory principle to that adopted for Pindar's *Nemean* 11: Bacchylides 14B was placed at the end of the book because it was not straightforwardly epinikian.

Maehler's original interpretation is briefly reasserted in the recent Cambridge commentary, without further argument.¹¹ However, his account had already been challenged in a review of 1983 by Chris Carey, who offered the title [Ἀριστοτέλει Λ]α- / [ρισαίωι] πα- / [λαιστή] / [Πύθια], *For Aristoteles of Larisa, wrestling, Pythian Games*. Carey's challenge has not yet been rebutted.¹²

Carey's principle objection was that Bacchylides' epinikia show no clear principle of arrangement. This is not, however, the case. As Maehler and more recently Nick Lowe show, the odes are arranged by the significance of the victors, except that a pair of Keian poems opens the book.¹³ If ode 14B celebrated a Pythian success, it should have taken structural precedence over the epichoric ode 14, even within its smaller Thessalian grouping of odes 14–14B; but it does not. Carey's objection is structurally weak. On Maehler's interpretation, the length of the book (approximately 1,300 lines) seems appropriate.¹⁴ Even if there were further poems after

⁶ Though the poem names Aristoteles of Larisa and Kirrha. Pind., *Pyth.* 10.15 (an ode for a runner dating to 498 BC) reveals the presence of athletic as well as equestrian contests at Kirrha in Pindar's day.

⁷ Lobel (1956), reading Ἀριστοτέλει Θεσσαλῶι (or more specifically Λαρισαίωι) ἵπποις Πύθια, on the basis of lines 7–10.

⁸ Cf. the catalogues of previous successes by the *laudandus* that are a feature of Aiginetan poems, esp. Pind., *Pyth.* 8.78–80; *Nem.* 3.83–84; *Nem.* 4.18–21.

⁹ Snell (1949) suggested in his apparatus that the extant letters of the second line, if interpreted as π^α, might be an abbreviation for Π(ύθ)ια. This is very unlikely. Lobel saw that π^α should, in all likelihood, signify an abbreviation; yet he interpreted it as]π()α, not]π()α. Abbreviations by suprascript (much the most common form) generally use the suprascript letter as the last letter retained in the word; abbreviation by contraction is exceptional (McNamee (1981) xii, xiii) and the guiding principle is clarity (McNamee (1981) xiv). Our scribe, if he were referring to Delphi and needed an abbreviation, would surely therefore have written π^υ, not π^α. Scribal practice in the London Bacchylides papyrus is corroborative: in the title of Bacch. 6, ολυμ^π appears for Ὀλυμπ(ία). Cf. BM Pap. 1185 (a list of Olympic victors; *GMAW*² no. 65),

where ethnics and titles of events are abbreviated with final letter suspended to mark the start of the abbreviation: τεθρ^ι for τεθρι(ππων), πα^ι^δ for παιδ(ων), and so on.

¹⁰ Maehler I.1 36–37.

¹¹ Maehler (2004) 10, n. 15.

¹² Carey (1983); cf. Lowe (2007) 170 n. 16.

¹³ Maehler I.1 36–7; Lowe (2007) 170–71 for the distinction between the multiple honorands of odes 1–7 and the single honorands of the remainder; Rutherford (2001) 159, n. 5; cf. Negri (2004) 161–69. Odes 8–13 celebrate athletic victories at the other three less-prestigious stephanitic games; ode 14 (title preserved) commemorated a Thessalian victory at the epichoric games of Poseidon Petraios at Tempe.

¹⁴ It would have been shorter than Pindar's *Olympians* or *Pythians*, but longer than the *Nemeans*. *P.Oxy.* 2363 adds at least two columns to the 35 of the London Bacchylides. Moreover, Carey does not take sufficient account of the poem's opening invocation of Hestia, only paralleled in Pindar and Bacchylides in *Nem.* 11. Pindar and Bacchylides refer to ἐστία elsewhere: Bacch. 4.14 (possibly: corrupt, but not from an invocation); Pind., *Ol.* 1.11, 12.14; *Pyth.* 5.11, 11.13; *Isthm.* 4.17; *Pae.* 2.10, but all in Slater's sense (a), 'home, hearth'.

14B, such poems would have commemorated other non-stephanitic victors, or miscellaneous achievements that were not exclusively equestrian or athletic. Even within the constraints of a single book of Bacchylidean epinikia, the Alexandrians were sufficiently pragmatic and flexible to manage when a diverse body of material presented itself; the edition of Simonides' epinikia shows this kind of sensitivity, and it reminds us of the rich output of the choral lyric poets, even in works *eis anthrôpous*.¹⁵

Maehler's interpretation is also papyrologically superior to Carey's. Below is an image (FIG. 1) of the relevant portion of *P.Oxy.* 2363, with an approximation of the spacing of Maehler's reconstruction of the title. This provides an elegant and economical two-line solution. Also below, Carey's reconstruction (FIG. 2).

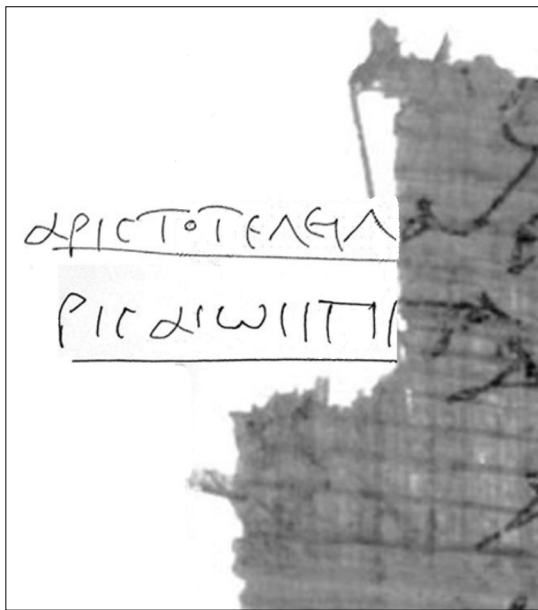


FIG. 1. The relevant portion of *P.Oxy.* 2363, with an approximation of the spacing of Maehler's reconstruction of the title

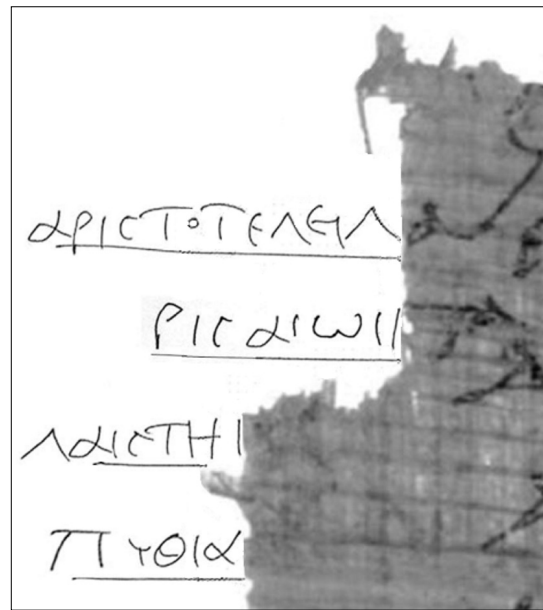


FIG. 2. The relevant portion of *P.Oxy.* 2363, with an approximation of the spacing of Carey's reconstruction of the title

¹⁵ On Simonides, see Lobel (1959) 89; Obbink (2001) 75–77; cf. Lowe (2007) 175. D'Alessio (1997) 52 has convincingly argued that arrangement of his epinikian books by event would allow for a greater number of epichoric victories (see Obbink (2001) 75, n. 40 for a less convincing alternative). Lack of venues in the poems' titles is easily solved by the supposition that individual books were divided up venue by venue, with each poem then specifying the precise event. That Σ *Ar.*, *Equ.* 405 cites Simonides' *Four-Horse Chariot Races* as a title would then indicate (*contra* Lobel (1959) 89; Obbink (2001) 76) a separate book – plausible enough given the preservation of far more

Pindaric chariot-racing poems than other equestrian compositions. D'Alessio's view grants proper credence to Alexandrian classificatory sensitivity (cf. Schröder (1999) 123); moreover, it takes seriously the likelihood that more material was transmitted than could be shoehorned into a small number of categories. The Simonidean edition was therefore in tune – however accidentally – with the diversity of the Archaic and Classical milieu. We do not know how many thematically miscellaneous poems Simonides composed, though the number may have been large; this may account for the Σύμμικτα (Sim. 540 *PMG*), though Obbink (2001) 78 supposes a metrical miscellany.

This is unsatisfactory for two papyrological reasons: first, it provides an oddly short second line; second, and more seriously, the amount of blank space in the margin to the lower left of the remaining letters forces Carey's third and fourth lines to jut out rather untidily to the left.¹⁶ The title cannot have referred to a site of victory (reserved for the last word of the title elsewhere in Bacchylides' epinikia), since no such supplement can successfully interpret the two remaining letters of the second line. Maehler's interpretation alone meets the structural and papyrological requirements; Bacchylides 14B did not celebrate a Pythian, or indeed any other kind of, victory.¹⁷

Epinikion is an artificial genre, invented by Alexandrian editors who recognized the problems of classification but were also able to respond to the material presented to them rather more creatively than is often assumed. We can continue to term Bacchylides 14B and Pindar's *Nemean* 11 as epinikia so long as we accept some Alexandrian flexibility, understanding genre as an artificial compromise based on slippery criteria and centuries-old contexts and traditions.¹⁸ We are entitled to ask what fifth-century audiences would have thought. Originally, such poems would probably have been considered komastic songs (therefore overlapping terminologically with *enkomia* as well as *aidai* and *hymnoi*).¹⁹ A suitably varied picture emerges from Pindaric self-reference. Though Pindar's ἐπινικίσιον ᾠδαῖς ('epinikian songs', *Nemean* 4.78) has been of particular interest recently,²⁰ *Pythian* 10.6 has ἐπικώμιαν ἀνδρῶν κλυτὰν ὄπα ('the noble voice of men in revelry'). *Nemean* 8.50 has ἐπικώμιος ὕμνος ('song of revelry'); and *Nemean* 6.32 has ἴδια ... ἐπικώμια ('their own songs of revelry'), with πολλὸν ὕμνον ('much singing') in line 33.²¹ Audiences would have judged poems individually according to the contexts in which they were first received, and genre at this period should be thought of in terms of a negotiation between poetic authority and audience expectations, something which admits of a good deal of creativity and flexibility, especially with poetic patronage in a live performance culture.²² Generic terminology is, then, useful only up to a point: we need to stretch beyond it and back, to gain insights into what enkomiastc poetry could do in discrete environments.

Though Carey's interpretation of the title of Bacchylides 14B is not ultimately compelling, his intervention is useful because it invites us to think hard about how close Bacchylides 14B is to *Nemean* 11, and to investigate the ways in which enkomiastc poems can relate athletic success and civic office.

¹⁶ Compare the neat marginal titles elsewhere in the London Bacchylides, where shorter lines appear centred beneath longer ones: for example, Bacch. 3 (col. 6), Bacch. 6 (col. 16), Bacch. 9 (col. 18), Bacch. 11 (col. 23) and Bacch. 14 (col. 35); also the title of Pind., *Pae.* 6 (D6 Rutherford) in *P.Oxy.* 841 col. 22, or the title of Pind., *Dith.* 2 in *P.Oxy.* 1604 col. 2. Personal inspection of *P.Oxy.* 2363 confirms that no surface is missing in the blank marginal space to the lower left.

¹⁷ The assumption of Hornblower (2004) 172 that the poem celebrates a Pythian victory neglects structural and papyrological issues, not recognizing that the victories in lines 7–10 must be previous victories.

¹⁸ Cf. Lowe (2007) 167–68.

¹⁹ Enkomia: Harvey (1955) 163–64; Cingano (1990) 223; (2003), critical of van Groningen (1960). The difference between epinikia and sympotic enkomia

(for example, Bacch., *fr.* 20C) is rather small; see also Currie (2004); Carey (2007); Morrison (2007) for the symposium as an important context for the performance as well as reperformance of epinikia; cf. Sim. 512 *PMG* for sympotic self-reference in an epinikion celebrating a chariot-race victory; also Ibykos' (probably sympotic) enkomia/epinikia, with Barron (1984).

²⁰ Hornblower (2007) 292; Lowe (2007) 168, n. 5; also ἄωτον ... ἐπινικόν, Pind., *Ol.* 8.75.

²¹ Also Slater s.v. ὕμνος for a column and a half of citations for ὕμνος ('song of praise') in Pindar's epinikia.

²² Cf. Carey (1995) 90–91; Currie (2005) 21–24 on Pindar; Rutherford (2001) 91 for paeans; Fearn (2007) 219–25 for Bacchylides' *Dithyrambs*. Also Irwin (2005) 160–64 on Solon; Mastronarde (1999–2000) 38–39 on Euripides; Silk (2000) on Aristophanes.

public wealth or benefits that accrue to it – including, for instance, the prestige and privileges pertaining to the development and maintenance of aristocratic networks – also fill their own coffers and maximize personal prestige, and are likely to have done so for some time.²⁷ The tone of the opening, where Bacchylides sings of the connection between Hestia and the *olbos* of the Agathokleadai, is, therefore, forcefully oligarchic.²⁸

Given Maehler's interpretation of Aristoteles as a Larisaian hipparkh, we need to consider exactly how close a parallel Bacchylides' poem is to Pindar's *Nemean* 11, which very clearly celebrates the inauguration of a *prytanis* in its opening lines. Carey is right that the remains of Bacchylides' poem do not specify a civic event. Celebration of Aristoteles' inauguration as hipparkh at any point in the poem would have provided a sufficient basis for the Alexandrian provision of a title; yet Bacchylides' other poems in this book – at least where openings are preserved – do not seem so backward in coming forward; and though some variation is permitted, in no case does mention of a previous victory or victories precede the principle achievement being commemorated.²⁹ So commemoration of an actual inauguration should remain speculative, and other options should be considered, while the connection with civic Hestia should retain its significance. *Nemean* 11 is not the only enkomiastic model for a link between success in the games and civic office.³⁰

Alternatively, the poem may be more generally than specifically enkomiastic: Bacchylides 14B would then praise Aristoteles for simply holding office, while taking the opportunity to catalogue former victories not previously commemorated. Analogous would be Bacchylides *fr.* 20C, a sympotic enkomion for Hieron of Syracuse in which the tyrant and his *hippotrophia* are celebrated in general terms, along with references to previous victories (which, in that case, Bacchylides had celebrated).³¹ Another possible parallel is Pindar's *Nemean* 3 for Aristokleidas of Aigina, where the connections of the victor and his family to the Aiginetan Thearion (a cultic and political building near the Temple of Apollo in Aigina town) are celebrated on the back of athletic success – though that poem clearly celebrates a current victory, unlike our poem.³²

Whether or not Bacchylides 14B celebrated an actual inauguration, it is clear that Bacchylides' priority was to locate Aristoteles as close to the seat of power as possible. The natural assumption is that Aristoteles was himself an Agathoklead, and that the poem authorizes and augments the prestige of both family and individual to the greater glory of this oligarchic regime in the centre of Larisa. Accordingly, Aristoteles' two victories at Delphi would have been the latest in a line of victories there by Agathokleadai – the significance of 'Aristoteles too' (καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης) in line 7.³³ Victories by Aristoteles and by other members of his clan would form the perfect oligarchic background of prestige for the present celebration of Aristoteles as

²⁷ Cf. Herman (1987) 155–56 on élite networks; Berent (1998) 346.

²⁸ Larisa as oligarchic: *CPCInv.* 696 with Arist., *Pol.* V.6 1305b22–30, 1306a2030; cf. *CPCInv.* 1339. The Larisaian Agathokleadai were thus another aristocratic family in addition to the Aleuadai who staked claims to influence throughout Thessaly: Pind., *Pyth.* 10, with Sprawski (1999) 26–48; Stamatopoulou (2007) 309–13.

²⁹ Bacch. 1.6 (Isthmian victory); Bacch. 2.5–7 (same); Bacch. 3.5–7 (Olympic chariot victory); Bacch. 4.5–6 (same); Bacch. 6.1–3 (Olympic victory); Bacch. 7.3 (Olympia); Bacch. 9.4 (Nemea); Bacch. 11.9–14 (Pythian victory); Bacch. 12.8 (Nemean victory). Only in two extant cases is the principle commemoration delayed: in Bacch. 5, until 37–40 (after the extended eagle comparison); in Bacch. 14, until 20–22 (after

some extended moralizing).

³⁰ It is possible that there once existed poems invoking Hestia which celebrated a victorious athlete's civic *sitêsis*. The difficulty of reconstructing a reference to any victory in the title of Bacch. 14B seems, however, to rule out the possibility here.

³¹ Bacch., *fr.* 20C.7–11; cf. Pind., *fr.* 105ab, a fragmentary hyporcheme celebrating Hieron as *ktistor* of Aitna.

³² Esp. in lines 67–70; cf. *Nem.* 7.64–70; Currie (2005) 333–38.

³³ καὶ here may be thought more generally to introduce these victories as an instance of the general *olbos* of the Agathokleadai. However, in conjunction with κείθεν, καὶ surely specifies a particular kind of connection, so marked by the main verb στεφανώσατο.

Larisaian hipparkh.³⁴ Moreover, the rhetoric of the poem invites one to think that Hestia herself guarantees such success for the Agathokleadaí, supported by the grammar of the first four words. In these terms, oligarchic wealth authorizes office, and office fosters success in the games, success which accrues beneficially – and self-fulfillingly – to the current oligarchic administration of Larisa. In fifth-century Thessaly, almost a by-word for wealth and *hippotrophia*,³⁵ the office of hipparkh would have been high-ranking and prestigious, with civic as well as military responsibilities.³⁶ If, as seems most plausible, Aristoteles' former Pythian victories were equestrian, the poem would affirm aristocratic *hippotrophia*, competition and political power almost in the same breath, with ἄ]ναξίππου ('horse-ruling', line 10) indeed signifying this overlap between political office and hippotrophic competitive prowess.³⁷

The bold and elaborate way in which the poem's opening celebrates Hestia and the Agathokleadaí suggests that the poem was performed at a civic function connected with the central administrative chamber in Larisa. This may or may not have been the occasion of Aristoteles' inauguration as hipparkh, though the link between Aristoteles and Hestia seems at least to suggest that *hipparkhia* was conferred and controlled centrally. On these terms, Bacchylides' poem affirmed the administrative interests of one ruling family in Larisa, along with their own aristocratic aesthetic based upon poetry, games, and celebration.

III. *NEMEAN* 11

Tenedos, the island home of the *laudandus* Aristagoras and his family, was an Aiolic *polis* off the Western coast of the Troad near the entrance to the Hellespont on the trading route from the Black Sea; it was a staunch ally of Athens throughout the fifth and fourth centuries, a tribute-paying member of the Delian league – even when neighbours were rebelling from Athens – and an early member of the Second Athenian Confederacy.³⁸ The poem celebrates Aristagoras' inauguration as a *prytanis* (lines 1–3), and incorporates the thematics and symbolism of athletic competition into a broader political context.

³⁴ Alternatively, though much less likely, Aristoteles may be from a *different* aristocratic family, with καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης marking an attempt by Aristoteles to appeal to the ruling Agathokleadaí through continuity of aristocratic endeavour across family lines. A parallel might be the Thessalian *Pythian* 10, commemorating the Pythian victory of Hippokleas of Pelinna, though commissioned by the Aleuadaí of Larisa (see further Stamatopoulou (2007) 309–13). However, unlike at *Pyth.* 10.4–5, connecting Pelinna, Hippokleas and the Larisaian Aleuadaí, there are no markers in the opening lines of Bacch. 14B to highlight such an unusual situation, and no other Larisaian family is mentioned in what remains: we should have expected Bacchylides to have been much more explicit right away.

³⁵ Esp. Pl., *Men.* 70a–b; Spence (1993) 192.

³⁶ On the basis of a parallelism with Athenian *stratēgoi*. For involvement by Athenian hipparkhs in the oligarchic revolution, see Spence (1993) 216–17. For Athenian hipparkhs who became *stratēgoi*, see Spence (1993) 75, table 2. Cf. Thuc. 6.16.1–3 for Alkibiades' – essentially non-democratic – view of how *hippotrophia* should qualify him for the highest civic office in Athens;

Hornblower (2004) 259–60.

³⁷ For Thessalian hipparkhs and cavalry, see Helly (1995) 215–17; Spence (1993) 164; Hdt. 7.196 for the panhellenic preeminence of Thessalian cavalry.

³⁸ Hdt. 1.151.1–2; Thuc. 3.2.3 (hostility towards Lesbos); with Hornblower (1991) 383 *ad loc*; Strabo 13.1.46; *ATL* I.420–21; cf. II.83; Tod (1948) 222 on no. 175 = Rhodes-Osborne no. 72 (340/339 BC: an honorific Athenian decree), esp. lines 5–12; with Rhodes-Osborne 360–61; *CPCInv* 1015–16; Hornblower (2004) 143. For archaeology on Tenedos see *AR* (1998) 142; the ancient *polis* lay on the site of the modern Turkish settlement of Bozcaada; a variety of different types of burial, including cist graves, have been found in an ancient cemetery. See Rutishauser (2001) for the strategic significance of the island in the fourth century. We do not need to suppose that Athens needed to support Tenedos constitutionally in order for it to function as an important regional ally; even if she had her support, this need not imply that democratic pressure was exerted, let alone that such pressure (or resistance to it) should be detectable in *Nemean* 11. The romanticized view of Carne-Ross (1985) 168 is most unwarranted.

Nemean 11 shows a concern for wealth, pedigree and athletics, which, when brought into close relation with civic administration, bears all the hallmarks of oligarchy. The poem is conventionally dated to 446.³⁹ However, the arguments made in favour of this date are flimsy: they rest on false biography and perhaps also biased ancient scholarly emendation; the stylistic grounds are most uncertain.⁴⁰ We are therefore left free, as with a number of other Nemean and Isthmian poems, to date *Nemean* 11 across the entire range of Pindar's career, from 498 to 446 BC.⁴¹

Much modern discussion of *Nemean* 11 has focused on its moralizing themes, given the poem's lack of a myth and emphasis instead on reasons for Aristagoras' failure to compete in panhellenic athletics at Delphi and Olympia.⁴² It has often been thought most odd that Pindar should spend so much time emphasizing that, despite being a good athlete, Aristagoras was prevented by the hesitancy of his parents from competing in the panhellenic contests where, we are told, if he had competed surely he would have won (lines 22–32).⁴³

First, we need to unpick the basic rhetoric ('praise' plus 'foil');⁴⁴ we can then move ahead by considering the specific implications of its structure, not merely in formalist terms, but as contextually driven and politically effective. First 'praise'. A total of sixteen epichoric victories (lines 19–21) is not of itself unimpressive. Furthermore, no single citizen of Tenedos in antiquity prior to the Hellenistic period is recorded as having been victorious at Olympia or Delphi, or indeed at Nemea or the Isthmus.⁴⁵ Accordingly, the allusion to panhellenic athletics was designed to impress Tenedian audiences unaccustomed to the great heights of such success. In a context where entries into panhellenic competitions, let alone successes, were rare or even non-existent, a statement that Aristagoras could have *won* at Olympia and Delphi, had he been entered, should be taken as high praise. A poem like Bacchylides 9, for Automedes of Phleious, shows the extent to which epinikian success can be transformed into a civic and indeed quasi-mythical achievement when panhellenic victories by members of a given *polis* were rare.⁴⁶ Second, 'foil'. Pindar sets Aristagoras' former competitive shortcomings against the present celebration, using a technique relatively common in epinikia.⁴⁷ Lines 37–42 convey the idea that aristocratic excellence is contingent upon the vicissitudes of nature, as with the success of crops: 'Ancient greatness produces in alternation for generations of men their strength. In succession dark fields do not produce crops, and trees are not wont in every cycle of the years to bear fragrant flowers in equal abundance: such things vary'.

³⁹ For example, Bowra (1964) 413; ultimately, Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1922) 429–32.

⁴⁰ See Verdenius (1982) 16; (1988) 96; Hubbard (2002) 256–57, n. 3; Henry (2005) 119, 124–25 *ad loc.* 11. The connection between Aristagoras and Theoxenos, the supposed beloved of Pindar's old age, is groundless, based on an unnecessary identification of Theoxenos' father, Hagesilas, with Aristagoras' father (Arkesilas or Hagesilas: the manuscripts in *Nem.* 11.11 differ) first made by Gaspar (1900) 171, and on false biographical readings of the homoerotic topoi of sympotic enkomia. See also D'Alessio (1997) 54–55: *pace* Henry (2005) 125, n. 58, the identification of the fathers may well go back to a conjecture made by Dionysios of Phaselis, who introduced the name Hagesilas into *Nem.* 11 in order to make the poem fit his classificatory scheme, according to which *Nem.* 11 and the Theoxenos poem (Pind., *fr.* 123) could be grouped together as both sympotic *paroinia*. *Cf.* above with n. 5.

⁴¹ I cannot see how Henry (2005) 128 *ad loc.* 24–29 supposes that those lines offer any insight into the date of this poem.

⁴² See esp. Lefkowitz (1979); Carne-Ross (1985) 152–68; *cf.* Bowra (1964) 95.

⁴³ Esp. Carne-Ross (1985) 156, 159–60.

⁴⁴ Following Maehler's formal analysis of Bacch. 11.24–36 at Maehler I.2 214.

⁴⁵ Nothing recorded for Tenedos in *CPCInv.* 1350–51. See Moretti no. 596 for Damokrates of Tenedos, a victorious Olympic wrestler in 204 BC, with Paus. 6.17.1 (with Maddoli et al. (1999) 301 *ad loc.*) and Ael., *Var. Hist.* 4.15; Polykrates, a brother of Damokrates, won the boxing at the Panathenaea in 198 BC: *IG* II².2313 lines 48–49.

⁴⁶ The only other Phliasian panhellenic victory recorded, by Timainetos, dates to 498, at the Pythian games: Paus. 10.7.7 (not a Nemean victory as reported by *CPCInv.* 613; *cf.* 1350); he may even be a relative of Automedes. See further Fearn (2003), esp. 348.

⁴⁷ See Thummer (1968–1969) I 79; Bacch. 11.24–36 with Maehler I.2 214 *ad loc.* See Silk (1974) 196–97 for the elaborate way in which the deprivation of athletic success in 19–32 is built up through the imagery of wrestling.

Recognition of this double rhetoric does not, however, tell us anything particularly specific about *Nemean* 11 or about Tenedos and its politics – except that Tenedos was not a great producer of ‘world-class’ athletes. We need therefore to consider the broader structure of Pindar’s enkomiastic agenda. For what is of particular interest here is the way in which an enkomiastic paradigm concerning athletics is applied, in context, to praise of a political inauguration: the success which is here made to stand out from the vicissitudes of an athletic background is very specific, right from the poem’s opening lines, with their direct praise of Hestia and the Tenedian *pyrtaneion*. We should also note how the first four stanzas go on to reveal the extent of overlap possible between political administration and aristocratic aesthetics. All the komastic trappings of athletic victory are here applied to political inauguration; the interests of Aristagoras, his family and his *hetairoi* coincide with those of the *polis*, and wider civic interests are subordinated to praise of Aristagoras. Lines 17–18, ‘in the words of his townsmen, kindly ones, he should be praised, and, glorified with honey-sounding songs, we should celebrate him’, serve as an introduction to the catalogue of these epichoric victories, but these lines are also socially and thematically equivalent to lines 1–9 on the atmosphere of intense festivity in the *pyrtaneion*. Aristagoras’ inauguration as civic magistrate is, in oligarchic conditions, the natural corollary of the celebration of his athletic prowess. The structural priority of politics over aristocratic athletics in this poem does not somehow indicate that athletics is now irrelevant for a civic Aristagoras; in fact, it is a fundamental part of Aristagoras’ civic identity, poetically, aesthetically and ideologically. In this poem the political inauguration takes the place of a recently-won victory, with standard epinikian rhetoric enforcing the ideological power of aristocratic political and cultural self-representation. The ideological and aesthetic investments of Aristagoras, his family and his *hetairoi*, coincide with and dominate civic interests.⁴⁸

The connection between the *pyrtaneion* and hospitality allows us again to consider the use of public buildings and civic institutions for the maintenance of aristocratic networks.⁴⁹ What is, however, particularly striking in the case of *Nemean* 11 is the way in which aristocratic *xenia* and *hetaireia* are themselves the principle element of praise as symbols of Aristagoras’ authority in office, rather than supplementary elements. Lines 33–37 give a clue to the kinds of international aristocratic ties that existed:

It was easy to conjecture the presence of the ancient blood of Peisandros from Sparta: from Amyklai he came with Orestes, bringing here by sea a bronze-armed force of Aiolians; blended, too, with that of his mother’s ancestor Melanippos from the streams of Ismenos.

These lines provide the present praise of Aristagoras with a suitably grand back-story; on his father’s side, his clan, perhaps in fact named Peisandridai, had its origin in Sparta; on his mother’s side, he is descended from the Theban Melanippos who fought against the Epigonoι. This brief mythological account fits Aristagoras’ family directly into the colonization of Tenedos from mainland Greece, as recorded in other sources.⁵⁰ Such connections associate Aristagoras’

⁴⁸ I cannot agree with the apolitical view of Henry (2005) 119, following Gschnitzer, *RE* suppl. 13.740.

⁴⁹ Compare above, on Bacch. 14B. See Currie (2005) 338, 340–43 with *Nem.* 7.64–70 for discussion of the Aiginetan Euxenidai, who were probably a family of priests and high-ranking officials with direct interest in and control of the Aiginetan Thearion. Cf. Burnett (2005) 15.

⁵⁰ Cf. Σ Pind., *Nem.* 11.43a (iii.189 Dr); also Σ *Nem.* 11.43 b (on Peisandros), with Hellanikos, fr. 32 *EGM* I (from his *Aiolika*); Vell. Pat. 1.2 for the colonization of Lesbos and the surrounding area by sons of Orestes. For

Thebes and Aiolian colonization, see Σ in Dionys. Perieg. 820 (Müller 454); Hall (1997) 43, 48–49 for the close relationship between Dorians and Aiolians in early Hellenic genealogy. See also the association between the Penthilidai, a ruling house in Mytilene, and the family of Orestes: Alkaios, fr. 70.6 V, on Pittakos; McGlew (1993) 160. We also have the tantalizing information that the notorious Athenian oligarch Kritias used a version of the mythology of the island in his tragedy, *Tennes* (the eponymous hero of Tenedos), implying aetiological connections between the island and the Troad *peraia*, whereby the island is to be founded on

pedigree with the colonization of the whole of Aiolia, and may therefore have provided aetiological support for the existence and maintenance of aristocratic networks via heredity through the *xenia* offered by the Tenedian *prytaneion*. Indeed, the Theban connection may be what brought Pindar to celebrate Aristagoras' inauguration.

Nemean 11 surely received its premiere at the Tenedian *prytaneion*, with the references to the music of the lyre, banqueting and hospitality in lines 7–9 performatively tying the poem into ongoing aristocratic traditions. The current administration of Tenedos is thus underpinned by affirmation of aristocratic aesthetics and culture, from the top down, as well as out from the centre.

IV. POLITICS

Hestia is the patron deity of the oligarchic regimes of both Larisa and Tenedos, according to her representation in the two poems under discussion. Although it may be unwarranted to draw a precise parallel between the two poems as supposed celebrations of political inauguration, they nevertheless share the concern with connecting personal aristocratic achievement to civic administration that is a signature of oligarchy.⁵¹ This is in perfect harmony with the relation between wealth, civic administration and oligarchy identified by Aristotle in the *Politics* (II.11 1273a26; III.8 1279b17–18). Athletic and civic success, commemorated in high-status lyric song, is perfectly in keeping with the oligarchic concern for the quality of achievements through wealth, also noted by Aristotle (*Politics* IV.12 1296b31–33).⁵² We now need to ask how different the two poems' presentation of oligarchy is, given the diversity of political organizations that the term covered.⁵³ Bacchylides 14B presents a view of oligarchy that is bold indeed, asserting Hestia's natural ability to increase the wealth of the Larisaian Agathokleadai, and almost making civic Hestia into a personal cult of this one family. This is in tune with what we hear from other sources about the nature of Larisaian oligarchy. From Pindar's *Pythian* 10 it is clear that the Aleuadai, a rival Larisaian family, were keen to extend their claims over the whole of Thessaly, with Larisa as their power-base.⁵⁴ According to Herodotos, the invitation of the Aleuadai to Xerxes to invade Greece was at odds with the views of other Thessalians; the Thucydidean picture tends to corroborate this view of Thessaly as a place characterized by aristocratic rivalry, thus promoting destabilization and leading to unrest.⁵⁵ Bacchylides 14B, at least from its opening lines, represents oligarchy in a particularly aggressive and conservative manifestation. The Aleuadai maintained their position of prominence in the politics of Thessaly.⁵⁶ By contrast, Bacchylides' poem preserves the single extant Classical reference to the Larisaian Agathokleadai:⁵⁷ their oligarchic prime is best thought of as short-lived.

Apolline terms with *aulos*-playing rejected: Wilson (2003) 188–89. As Peter Wilson suggests to me, the play may have portrayed Tenedos as politically congenial to Kritias.

⁵¹ Here and elsewhere I talk of 'oligarchy' and 'aristocracy' in the same breath, on the basis that, though in its ideal form aristocracy is rather different from oligarchy according to Aristotle's definition (governance according to merit as well as wealth, *Pol.* IV.7 1293b9–12, as opposed to governance according to wealth alone, *Pol.* II.11 1273a26), Aristotle notes that the two forms are often confused (*Pol.* V.7 1306b24–26) and that oligarchy is properly understood as a corruption of aristocracy (where the men with wealth rule, assuming that they are 'the best'): *Pol.* III.7 1279b5; cf. III.15 1286b4–16; IV.7 1293b20–22. Aristotle seems in fact to doubt whether 'aristocracy' properly ever exists

except in oligarchic form: III.5 1278a15–25. Cf. Megabyzos' view at Hdt. 3.81.3; Brock and Hodkinson (2002a) 18; also Thuc. 3.82.8; 8.64.3.

⁵² Also *Pol.* IV.4 1290a30–b3; IV.8 1294a10–12; III.8 1279b40–1280a3; III.7 1279b8; cf. VI.3 1318a19–20. In general, Ostwald (2000), esp. 69.

⁵³ Brock and Hodkinson (2002a) 17.

⁵⁴ Stamatopoulou (2007), esp. 313, n. 30, 317.

⁵⁵ Hdt. 7.6 with 7.130 and 7.172; Thuc. 4.78.3 (Brasidas exploiting Thessalian oligarchic disunity); also Archibald (2002); Morgan (2003) 86–87; Stamatopoulou (2007) 338.

⁵⁶ *CPCInv.* 696; cf. Arist., *Pol.* V.6 1306a26–30 for Simos the Aleuad ca. 360, with Dem. 18.48; the Aleuadai are named among the most prominent Thessalian patrons of lyric poetry at Theokr. 16.34–9.

⁵⁷ *LGNP* III.B 2.

In the case of *Nemean* 11, though the structural force of the epinikian rhetoric celebrates oligarchic administrative power in place of a current victory, both athletic competitiveness and administrative ambition are toned down. The poem's tracing of Aristagoras' pedigree back to the colonization of Aiolia may suggest that this oligarchic regime was of the hereditary variety identified by Aristotle.⁵⁸ Yet it is also eager to affirm that Aristagoras' time in office will be short-lived as well as trouble-free: 'but may he pass through his twelve-month term with distinction and with heart unscathed' (lines 9–10). This latter wish is likely to be a warning against *stasis*, with Aristagoras as an exemplar for other aristocrats. The twelve-month term of office, along with the notion of distinguished public service, is expressive of oligarchic *eunomia*, limiting societal breakdown caused by aristocratic inter-familial strife (through *philotimia* and *phthonos*), conforming with Aristotle's own view of how oligarchic regimes attempted to avoid tyranny.⁵⁹ This does not mean, however, that the strategy of the poem is to bring back together aristocratic and demotic interests understood as already separate.⁶⁰

Oligarchic administrative restraint has its analogue in the way that lines 22–29 mention Olympic and Pythian competition only in order to inform their audience that Aristagoras did not compete at these two most prestigious festivals. Parental hesitancy (line 22) is a delicate way of suggesting that Olympic and Pythian athletics was a step too far for Tenedian hereditary oligarchs, one which carried with it the dangers of societal breakdown through overreaching. The extended moralizing of lines 37 and following, promoting the themes of change and transience, thus has a special political force in addition to its universal truths about mortal limitations. We should suppose that Aristagoras' very commissioning of Pindar to sing his praises was designed to make a very strong impression on local audiences, in a context which may have been relatively unfamiliar with epinikian poetry (given the seeming non-existence of panhellenic athletic successes in the Classical period). One might also suppose that Pindaric *kleos* was enacted through reperformances of the ode within the family, ones which to some degree might have pulled against the force of the twelve-month restriction (see τέλος, line 10) of civic office which the poem commemorates. However, it is also important to recognize the force of the continual emphasis on restraint throughout *Nemean* 11, which marks out the poem itself as the furthest limit to which Tenedian aristocrats could aspire, one which preserves for all time Aristagoras' deference to the political structures of his *polis*.

Though the two poems appear similar in important respects as oligarchic compositions invoking Hestia, the specific brand of oligarchy espoused in the respective *poleis* was, on this evidence, rather different. We now need to factor in these findings to modern formulations of the role of Hestia in the civic life of Greek *poleis*, and the socio-political contextualization of enkomiast poetry. The evidence so far presented will suggest that certain positions are in need of modification and more detailed contextual nuancing.

Among anthropological studies of Hestia as a civic divinity, the work of Louis Gernet and Jean-Pierre Vernant looms large. According to the view of Vernant, who relies on Gernet's theory of a socially-collectivist rearticulation of survivals from pre-*polis* institutions, Hestia in her civic manifestation retains the memory of the regal, familial hearth; at the centre of a civic community, she symbolizes the hearths of individual houses which together constitute that community, thus

⁵⁸ *Pol.* IV.5 1292b4–7 and IV.6 1293a27–30; cf. Brock and Hodkinson (2002a) 17, n. 46.

⁵⁹ Arist., *Pol.* V.8 1308a19–24. The natural supposition that the office of *prytanis* could be the source of tyranny is confirmed in the historical case of Miletos by Arist., *Pol.* V.5 1305a15–18.

⁶⁰ Other earlier Aiolic sources provide evidence for

demotic support of aristocratic *stasis*. See Alkaios on Pittakos, with comparison with how the Akhaians should have killed the hubristic Aias, at Alk., *fr.* 298 V, and the implication that inter-aristocratic conflict could be predicated on supposed demotic support; cf. too Alk., *fr.* 70.12–13, 129.20 V; also Arist., *Pol.* III.14 1285a35–b1 = Alk., *fr.* 348 V; Thomas (2007) 147–48.

transforming hierarchical modes of social differentiation into homogeneous *égalité*.⁶¹ It should be clear from the oligarchic evidence presented above, especially in the Larisaian case of Bacchylides 14B, that this developmental model of political community, according to which pre-political and familial aspects are remembered only through their absence in a new civic transformation, is insufficient. Rather, the poetic evidence reveals the slippage between private and public that makes Hestia an oligarchically powerful deity: Vernant's vertically diachronic model now becomes a horizontally and geographically synchronic one admitting of much greater political diversity across Archaic and Classical Greece. Here, Gernet's own formulation may be more useful (though perhaps only because of its rather idealistic non-specificity about 'community'):

Dans ce symbole intentionnellement administré, la pensée qui s'attache au Foyer commun reste une pensée communautaire: ce qui s'exprime d'emblée, et du fait même qu'il y a un Foyer de la cité comme il y en a un de chaque famille, c'est cette solidarité concrète qui fait du bien de tous le bien de chacun, c'est ce caractère constitutif de la cité...⁶²

Gernet's view of Hestia as somehow at the very heart of the notion of the *polis*, symbolizing the relation between familial and civic, does fit oligarchic conditions better, despite its abstract, rather Athenocentric, generality, and though its socialist model of community still seems forced.⁶³ Nevertheless, such anthropological models were ground-breaking because of their attunement to fundamental questions about Greek socio-political structure; their influence is still felt, including in modern theories of enkomiastic poetry.⁶⁴

Of contemporary politicizing readings of enkomiastic poetry, much the most significant is that offered by Leslie Kurke: hugely influential because of its successful side-stepping of the Bundyist impasse and its fundamentally correct insistence on the need for a Pindar deeply embedded within the politics of his own time, rather than somehow ahistorical, or socially backward and out-of-touch.⁶⁵ Kurke's model of the quasi-liturgical epinikian virtue of *megalo-prepeia* is openly indebted to Gernet's anthropology.⁶⁶ Kurke admits that this model is drawn exclusively from Athenian sources, yet proceeds to read it in to a wide range of contextually diverse poetry.⁶⁷ Such Athenocentrism renders the methodology too rigid to deal with the diversity of socio-political contexts in which the patrons of Pindar, Bacchylides and Simonides, lived out their lives, especially given Athens' highly unrepresentative political structure.⁶⁸

⁶¹ Vernant (1985b) 241; cf. (1985a) 185–87. For 'royal religion' see Gernet (1968) 387, n. 8, following Farnell (1896–1909) v.345–73 on Hestia.

⁶² Gernet (1968) 397.

⁶³ See Humphreys (1978) 94 for Gernet's post-war, anti-fascist defence of collectivism against totalitarianism.

⁶⁴ See also Malkin (1987) 114–34, reliant upon Gernet for the symbolism of civic Hestia at 124–25.

⁶⁵ The outline of previous scholarship at Kurke (1991) 163–65 reveals how much Pindarists of today owe her. Of other influential recent approaches, Krummen (1990) focuses on festival performance. Currie (2005) follows Krummen's performative lead, but returns to Kurke for ideological underpinnings. Nicholson (2005) on athletic training, and Stenger (2004) on Bacchylides, both follow Kurke closely. The contributions in Hornblower and Morgan (2007) are generally historicist in tone, following in Kurke's wake to a greater or lesser extent, with some contributions squarely hostile and others more in favour; see also Hornblower (2004). Also now Kowalzig (2007) for a highly contextualized,

squarely historical study of choral lyric as a social phenomenon, dependent upon a wide range of modern sociological approaches; cf. Stehle (1997).

⁶⁶ Kurke (1991) 169, n. 16.

⁶⁷ Kurke (1991) 171, 182.

⁶⁸ Brock and Hodkinson (2002a) 9–10; cf. also Hammer (2004), esp. 504–06, for a recent critique of Kurke's methodology that fits well with the thrust of the present discussion. Even with Athens, epinikian and other sources may reveal a complexity for which the theoretical model cannot sufficiently account: see Bacch. 10, for an unidentified Athenian victor of the Oineis tribe (line 18: note that Kimon and Miltiades were Oineidai; Rhodes (2002) for Athenian oligarchs); lines 47–52 on envy and the great power of aristocratic wealth, τὸ μὲν κάλλιστον, ἐσθλόν / ἄνδρα πολλῶν ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων πολυζήλωτον εἶμεν / οἶδα καὶ πλούτου μέγαν δύνασιν / ἃ καὶ τ[ὸ]ν ἀχρεῖον τ[ι]θησ[ι] / χρηστόν, may be an aristocratic response to rival Athenian discourse separating wealth and ethical distinction (for which see esp. Solon, *fr.* 15 W = Plut., *Sol.* 3.2). The possibility of an allusion to this

Established theoretical modelling for the role of Hestia in ancient Greek *poleis* is either too vague or too sociologically communitarian to account for cases where oligarchic texts *exploit* the relation between familial and civic Hestia for their own purposes. Communitarian interpretations of symbolic reciprocity between victors and communities – particularly with respect to victors’ civic honours – risk oversimplifying the relation between ‘aristocratic victor’ and ‘community’ since it is not at all clear that epinikian rhetoric must mediate between two distinct interests or entities.⁶⁹ That enkomiastic rhetoric thrives on the self-confident assertiveness of oligarchic political self-representation is a factor which communitarian readings fail sufficiently to address. Taking oligarchic politics into consideration necessitates a renegotiation of the idea – itself too decontextualized or Athenocentric – that aristocracy was under threat in a new communitarian world of the Classical *polis*. Oligarchic self-representation could disregard others’ interests if it wished; elsewhere, a community would not necessarily have felt itself excluded by oligarchic administration.⁷⁰ Fifth-century oligarchies and tyrannies, as well as democracies, came and went according to the pressures and aspirations of individual epichoric circumstances.⁷¹ The use of athletics for aristocratic interests is neither outdated, Western Greek or simply tyrannical, but a widespread feature of Greek oligarchy.⁷² Bacchylides 14B and Pindar’s *Nemean* 11 represent only a small fraction of the evidence, yet their focus on Hestia and thus civic administration highlights the issues of political methodology incisively.

V. CONCLUSION

The importance of enkomiastic poetry for oligarchic administration that these poems clearly reveal, in two different *polis* contexts, reminds us of the degree of contextual specificity of which enkomiastic poetry was capable. These texts reveal no strict division between ‘political’ or ‘public’ discourse on the one hand and ‘personal’ or ‘private’ on the other.⁷³ On Tenedos, élite sympotic festivity in the administrative heart of a relatively well-ordered oligarchic *polis* need not be at odds with the community precisely because of aristocratic controlling interests; in Larisa, aristocratic festivity shuts out broader society. Writ large, the ‘house’ of which Hestia is the centrepiece and guardian in both these cases *is* the oligarchic *polis*.

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text in Perikles’ funeral oration at Thuc. 2.40.2, especially after Bacchylides’ prolonged discussion of men’s active interests in different fields in lines 35–45 which Perikles appropriates (itself a Solonian topos, for which *fr.* 13.43–58 W), would confirm the complexity of Athenian rhetoric. As an ideologically multifaceted amalgam of Athenian Solonian and epinikian impulses, Perikles’ rhetoric would render a straightforwardly democratic orientation oversimplistic.

⁶⁹ Kurke (1993) 141, 155 on Xenoph., *fr.* 2 W; Nicholson (2005) 16, 67–68; see now critiques by Hornblower (2004) 28–30; Thomas (2007) 142–43. Brock and Hodkinson (2002a) 10 on oligarchy here.

⁷⁰ Kurke (1993) 153; (1991) 260.

⁷¹ Cf. Macleod (1996 [1979]) 58, n. 43 on the way in which the characteristic weakness of oligarchy as identified by Thucydides and others (private ambition) feeds *stasis* in a range of conditions and at a range of different times according in part to opportunity and the frailties of human nature: Thuc. 8.89.3; 2.65.7; 3.82.3;

cf. Hdt. 3.82.3; Isok. 3.18; Xen., *Mem.* 2.6.20; Arist., *Pol.* V.6 1306a12–19; V.7 1306b22–27. For epinikian commemoration and the vicissitudes of *stasis*, see Pind., *Ol.* 12, with Barrett (1973); Hornblower (2004) 77, 158–59, 262; Berent (1998) for *stasis* in general. For constitutional instability as a feature of Classical Greece outside of Athens, see Brock and Hodkinson (2002a) 12.

⁷² The position outlined by Mann (2001) 48–49 is therefore insufficient. See also Hornblower (2004) 259–60 on the circumstances of Alkibiades’ equestrian victories in the later fifth century, not representing Thucydidean anachronism.

⁷³ For similar views on the symposium, a plausible context for the premieres of both these poems, see esp. Levine (1985) on Theognis; *cf.* Pellizer (1990), esp. 177–78. The present argument enhances the position of Schmitt-Pantel (1990) 25. *Cf.* Stehle (1997) 25 on the use of choral performance by aristocratic families to stage ‘their centrality in the community and their right to speak for it, to identify its interest with their own’.

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