Greek lyric Kunstsprache between pan-Hellenism and epichoric influence : two case studies

II

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GREEK LYRIC *KUNSTSPRACHE* BETWEEN PAN-HELLENISM AND EPICHORIC INFLUENCE

TWO CASE-STUDIES

ABSTRACT

The interconnectedness of two linguistic registers, the 'vernacular' and the 'more-than-local' or 'pan-Hellenic', is a well-known characteristic of the *Kunstsprache* of Greek lyric. The two case-studies considered in this paper, Pindar's *Olympian* 1 and a roughly contemporary Boeotian stone epigram of local production (*CEG* 114), exemplify opposite poles within the spectrum of linguistic possibilities available to the poets of archaic and classical Greece.

Texts, oral and written, are always conveyors of cultural dissemination. The fluid processes of transmission and reception, and especially the tension between the inherent 'insularity' of a literary text and, at the same time, its being an item within broader communicative economies, are elements which help to construct, with varying degrees of flexibility, the identity of the text itself. In the last two decades important literary studies on Greek lyric have explored this interplay between the local concerns raised by the

text (the poet's, the patron's and the audience's) and the more-
than-local diffusion of the song, both as encoded in the per-
formative language of the text itself and as the product of its
later reception, including, above all, its re-performances.[1] This
literary interest has been matched by an ever increasing schol-
arly alertness to the composite nature, diachronically and syn-
chronically, of the Greek lyric *Kunstsprache*, both at the point of
composition (the interplay between inherited poetic traditions
across genres and isolated epichoric influences, be they written
or spoken) and reception (the superimposed editorial 'choices'
of Alexandrian scholarship and previous traditions and the con-
sequent 'interpretations' of the later grammatical tradition).[2]

In particular, recent studies have reminded us of the degree
of linguistic cross-fertilization that existed not only between
different genres (monodic and choral)[3] but also within
the same genre in the case of local performances or indeed

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[1] Cf. now the concise survey in BUDELMANN (2018) 18-19. Performance
studies have highlighted the importance of local and supra-local re-performances
for the survival of lyric poetry through the ages and the process of canon-formation.
On Pindaric epinician performances and re-performances, see e.g. the several
installments by CURRIE (2004), (2011), and (2017); MORRISON (2007); and
most recently SPELMAN (2018); cf. also HUBBARD (2011) on re-performances of
non-epinician lyric; YATROMANOLAKIS (2007) on Sappho; CAREY (2011) on the
dissemination and transmission of Alcman's poetry; RAWLES (2018) on Simonides'
early reception; and more generally the collection of essays in HUNTER / RUTHER-
FORD (2009) and HUNTER / UHLIG (2017).

[2] For full-scale synchronic studies of the language of Greek lyric in general,
see NÖTHIGER (1971) (esp. focused on Stesichorus and Ibycus) and FELSENTHAL
(1980); updated critical surveys highlighting the main editorial problems posed
by the transmission of Greek lyric poets are to be found in D'ALESSIO (2009);
TRIBULATO (2010); (²2016); and CASSIO (²2016b). On the Aeolic features of
Greek choral lyric, see CASSIO (2005). On the *Textgeschichte* of Alcman and Stesi-
chorus from a dialectal point of view, see respectively CASSIO (1993a), (2007) and
HINGE 2006 (Alcman), and CASSIO (1999) and WILLI (2008) 51-90 (Stesichorus).
On Pindar, see FORSSMAN (1966), supplemented by UCCIARDELLO (2012); on
Ibycus, UCCIARDELLO (2005). On the conceptual framework of ancient gram-
marians when dealing with literary dialectal texts, see CASSIO (1993b).

[3] See esp. the recent contribution by D'ALESSIO (2016), who shows that the
Atticizing veneer that colours the lyric *koinê* of some of Bacchylides' sympotic
songs (BACCH. frs. 17, 18, 19, 20A, 20F, and 20G M.) is best understood not as
the result of the process of transmission (Atticization of the lyric *koinê*) but as an
original feature going back to the compositional stage: that is, sympotic songs

re-performances.[4] This paper will attempt to reconsider some examples that showcase the complex linguistic and literary dynamics underlying the fact that Greek lyric poets addressed local audiences while at the same time promising pan-Hellenic renown. My focus will be on the interplay between local dialects and literary language and the often intricate and at times irrecoverable ways in which the co-presence of these elements is channeled into our transmission (oral and/or written). I have selected two case-studies that, though obviously different in terms of the written media used, are interrelated in that they both cast a light on the degree of linguistic 'locality' which can be expected in a literary text in both a pan-Hellenic and an epichoric context: (1) the presence of what modern scholarship seems unanimously to consider as rare but 'certain' examples of Boeotian dialect features in Pindar, namely the interrogative τά at *Ol.* 1, 82 and the word αἱμακουρίαι at *Ol.* 1, 90; and (2) the presence of a non-Homeric Aeolic feature (a feminine participle in -οισα) in a Boeotian stone epigram of the fifth century BC (*CEG* 114). Although I do not have a new general interpretative framework to offer, I hope that fresh attention to well-known specific cases may help to highlight the overall complexity of the phenomenon under consideration and illustrate how only a case-by-case approach can do justice to the different constellations of the linguistic and literary problems involved.

1. Pindar the 'Boeotian'

Like ancient scholars, modern ones, though with different motivations,[5] also recognize that every Greek literary language or dialect is "rich in both variants and supra-regional forms,

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meant for an Ionic and, more specifically, Athenian audience in the wake of the Anacreontic tradition of banquet songs.

[4] This aspect has been recently discussed by CURRIE (2017) (esp. 188 and 204 on how pan-Hellenism need not exclude locality) from a pragmatic point of view (inclusiveness and/or exclusiveness of Pindaric epinician language).

[5] See CASSIO (1993b).

[…] but nevertheless rooted in one particular primary dialect". Hence, distinctive or 'deviant' features in a given author are usually explained "through linguistic innovations, literary models from other genres, allusions, and the *spoken dialect forms of the author's home and elsewhere*".[6] This last element, the assumption of the presence of vernacular idioms traced back to the spoken dialect of the hometown of a given poet, is an interpretative tool that goes back at least to the very beginning of Alexandrian philology.[7] In ancient and Byzantine sources Pindar figures either as the model-author of literary Doric, that is, the literary *Kunstsprache* of Greek choral lyric,[8] or, less frequently, as the representative of the κοινή *tout court*. This latter view, though anachronistic, makes perfect sense insofar as it sanctions Pindar's perceived linguistic excellence as *the lyric poet* within the Greek canon of οἱ πραττόμενοι.[9] Although it is generally acknowledged that Pindar's use of features of his native Boeotian dialect is very sparse, if not almost entirely absent, in his poems,[10] both ancients and moderns have occasionally identified such features in the extant works.[11] What counts as 'Boeotian' in

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[6] Both quotations are from FORSSMAN (2004) 1019 (italics are mine).

[7] See e.g. ARISTOPH. BYZ. fr. 19 Slater on Lycophron's use of ἐσχάζοσαν (a Euboian/Chalcidian feature) at *Alex.* 21.

[8] See Pausanias' well-known statement about Pindar using "the Doric dialect" (τῇ φωνῇ τῇ Δωρίδι) at PAUS. 9, 22, 3 (*vs.* Corinna's Boeotian dialect). For Pindar writing δωρικῶς, cf. e.g. the Geneva *Scholia in Il.* 23, 361 and EUST. *In Il.* 1, 162, 20 van der Valk. Cf. also NEGRI (2000) 111-112. It is worth remembering, however, that in the grammatical tradition the equation Pindar = Doric emerged quite late: it is entirely absent, e.g., from Apollonius Dyscolus and Herodian: see already the remarks on the subject by AHRENS (1843) 25.

[9] See NEGRI (2000) 108-112 and (1998) 541 with n. 7. Pindar as champion of the *koinê*: *Schol. in Dion. Thr.* (schol. Marc.) 309, 33-35 (cf. also IOH. PHIL. p. 99 Consani) and 567, 38 (*commentariol. Byz.*); [GREG. COR.] Περὶ διαλέκτων 12 Schäfer (on the probable spuriousness of this passage, see NEGRI [2000] 113 n. 3); EUST. *Prooem. comm. in Pind.* 8, 1-3 (for the expression λόγῳ κοινῆς, see KAMBYLIS [1991] 34-35 and NEGRI [2000] 108-112).

[10] See e.g. THUMB / SCHERER ([2]1959) 12.

[11] On ancient dialectal interest in the Pindaric scholia, see DRACHMANN III, pp. 355-356 *s.v.* "dialecti". Among modern scholars, cf. e.g. WILAMOWITZ (1922) 99 (and also WILAMOWITZ [1900] 48-49); FARNELL (1932) xx-xxi (mostly following DONALDSON [1846] lvi-vii); IRIGOIN (1952) 26-27; BUCK ([2]1955) 300; CASEVITZ

Pindaric studies has undergone considerable change since, e.g., Farnell's excursus on 'Boeotian influences' in our poet, and it would not be entirely deprived of interest to go through these interpretative shifts.[12] Wilamowitz even posited the existence of a specifically Boeotian edition of Pindar's *opera omnia* on the basis of the transmitted οὐρανῶ at *Nem.* 3, 10, which he, correctly I think, interpreted as a genitive singular (modern editors print οὐρανοῦ).[13] Yet, Irigoin cogently argued that the presence in the manuscript tradition of *Nem.* 3 of two short accusatives in -ος (l. 24 ὑπερόχος (codd. omnes), l. 29 ἐσλός in VⁱBˡDᶜˡ) "montre que cette hypothèse est trop précise".[14] In what follows, however, I shall limit myself to a detailed examination of what is commonly described in handbooks as the only *certain* cases of "ausgesprochener Boeotismus"[15] in Pindar: the interrogative τά in *Ol.* 1, 82 and the word αἱμακουρίαι at l. 90 of the same ode.

(1972); Tovar (1974). On 'editorial' Boeotian forms in Pindaric papyri, mostly limited to toponyms and proper names (where the Boeotian veneer concerns morphematic endings, that is, those elements that are more subject to the linguistic attitude of the copyist), see Cassio (2002) 61-62 (on this issue see further § 1.2). The hunt for (pseudo-)Boeotisms in Hesiod, another 'Boeotian' poet, has its own interesting history: see recently Cassio (2009) 193-196.

[12] Even in less distant times, it has been suggested (very idiosyncratically) that the Boeotian dialect may be responsible for the prevalence in Pindar of forms without the third compensatory lengthening: see Nöthiger (1971) 32.

[13] Irigoin (1952) 27, referring to Wilamowitz (1900) 48-49 and (1922) 276 n. 2: *Nem.* 3, 10-11 ἄρχε δ' οὐρανῶ (mss) πολυνεφέλα κρέοντι, θύγατερ, / δόκιμον ὕμνον "but begin for the ruler of the cloud-covered sky, daughter, a proper hymn". Aristarchus, as we infer from the scholia on this passage, read οὐρανῷ. On the ancient exegesis of this passage, see Irigoin (1952) 26-27.

[14] Irigoin (1952) 27. This of course does not mean that certain odes, e.g. the Sicilian epinicians for the Deinomenids, may not have enjoyed at a certain point the privilege of a local 'Sicilian' collection or edition. Most interesting in this respect is the exegetic activity on Pindar by the historian Artemon of Pergamon (mid-2ⁿᵈ century BC): Artemon's name is quoted six times in the Pindaric scholia and it is clear that his interest in historical, geographical, and mythological features was limited only to Pindar's odes addressed to Sicilian patrons; on the exegetical method of Artemon, see Broggiato (2011). On Timaeus of Tauromenion having access to what looks like a collection of Pindar's Sicilian odes, see D'Alessio (1997) 52.

[15] Thus e.g. Thumb / Scherer (²1959) 12.

1.1. *Boeotisms in Pindar's* Olympian *1?*

As is well-known, *Olympian* 1 celebrates Hieron's Olympic victory in the single-horse race in 476 BC. The pan-Hellenic status of Hieron possibly contributed to the immediate success of the poem: it is perhaps not entirely due to chance that Pindar's hyporcheme fr. 105 M. and *Olympian* 1, both addressed to Hieron of Syracuse, are among Pindar's most famous poems already in fifth- and fourth-century BC Athens, to judge by the distribution of Pindaric quotations in this period.[16] The 'special' status of *Olympian* 1 is also confirmed by the editorial choice of Aristophanes of Byzantium to place the ode at the very beginning of Pindar's book of *Epinicians*, that is, out of the ordering sequence otherwise applied within the book itself (hierarchy of games followed by an internal hierarchy of sport disciplines, with chariot-races coming first).[17] Already in antiquity *Olympian* 1 was thus perceived as 'quintessentially' epinician *and* Pindaric, and for good reasons: it contained the praise of the Olympic games above any other game (*Ol.* 1, 7 μηδ' Ὀλυμπίας ἀγῶνα φέρτερον αὐδάσομεν "nor let us proclaim a contest greater than Olympia") as well as their aetiology (Pelops' victory against Oenomaus in the chariot-race), it celebrated the exalted status of the *laudandus* (the tyrant Hieron), and it set out Pindar's own pan-Hellenic aspirations (ll. 115-116 εἴη […] ἐμέ τε τοσσάδε νικαφόροις / ὁμιλεῖν πρόφαντον σοφίᾳ καθ' Ἕλλανας ἐόντα παντᾷ, "may I join victors whenever they win

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[16] For the particular popularity enjoyed by these odes as attested by their quotations and allusions in Aristophanes, Plato and Aristotle, see IRIGOIN (1952) 16-19.

[17] Cf. *Vita Thom.* (= DRACHMANN I p. 7, 14-17) ὁ δὲ ἐπινίκιος οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ, προτέτακται ὑπὸ Ἀριστοφάνους τοῦ συντάξαντος τὰ Πινδαρικὰ διὰ τὸ περιέχειν τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐγκώμιον καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦ Πέλοπος, ὃς πρῶτος ἐν Ἤλιδι ἠγωνίσατο "the epinician whose beginning is 'best is water' has been placed first by Aristophanes, who arranged Pindar's works, because it contains a panegyric of the games and the tale of Pelops, who was the first to compete in Elis". On Aristophanes of Byzantium foregrounding "an alleged Pindaric rationale for his own editorial activity", see now PRODI (2017) 553-560.

and be foremost in wisdom among Hellenes everywhere"). The ode addresses an international star, offering cultural cachet to a tyrant and colonial oikist who yearned to present himself in front of his Sicilian subjects and the Greek *oikoumenê* at large as the 'saviour' of the motherland, continental Greece.[18] If there ever was a pan-Hellenic ode, it is *Olympian* 1. The very references, within the ode, to Dorian *and* Aeolian modes (respectively at ll. 17-18 ἀλλὰ Δωρίαν ἀπὸ φόρμιγγα πασσάλου / λάμβαν' "Come, take the Dorian lyre from its peg" and ll. 100-102 ἐμὲ δὲ στεφανῶσαι / κεῖνον ἱππίῳ νόμῳ / Αἰοληΐδι μολπᾷ χρή "my duty is to crown that man with an equestrian tune in Aeolic song") have been interpreted by some scholars as the linguistic expression of "a synthesis of Aeolic and Doric tradition" *tout court*.[19]

1.2. Ol. *1, 90:* αἱμακουρίαι

Before addressing the linguistic problem represented by the alleged Boeotism τά of parts of the manuscript tradition at l. 82, let us first remember that ancient exegesis identified in *Olympian* 1 a Boeotian φωνή in the word αἱμακουρίαι at l. 90, where, in the transition from myth to present occasion, we are told that "now" (νῦν) Pelops is the recipient of blood sacrifices in his sanctuary at Olympia.[20] The scholium on *Ol.* 1, 146a (= I, p. 48, 10-12 Drachmann) tells us that αἱμακουρίαι

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[18] On the pan-Hellenic aspirations of Hieron of Syracuse as reflected in Pindar's epinicians, see MORGAN (2015) *passim*.

[19] NAGY (1990) 94. For the problematic interpretation, already in antiquity, of both Δωρίαν […] φόρμιγγα and Αἰοληΐδι μολπᾷ in *Ol.* 1, see PRAUSCELLO (2012) 77-79 with further bibliography.

[20] *Ol.* 1, 90-93 νῦν δ' ἐν αἱμακουρίαις / ἀγλααῖσι μέμικται, / Ἀλφεοῦ πόρῳ κλιθείς, / τύμβον ἀμφίπολον ἔχων πολυξενωτάτῳ παρὰ βωμῷ "And now he partakes / of splendid blood sacrifices / as he reclines by the course of the Alpheos, / having his much attended tomb beside the altar / thronged by visiting strangers". For the worship of Pelops at Olympia, see EKROTH (2002) 190-192.

is a Boeotian word used to indicate an offering of blood to the
dead:

> Σ *in Ol.* 1, 146a νῦν δ' ἐν αἱμακουρίαις· Βοιωτικὴ ἡ φωνή. Βοιω-
> τοὶ γὰρ αἱμακουρίας τὰ τῶν νεκρῶν ἐναγίσματα λέγουσιν.[21]
>
> "νῦν δ' ἐν αἱμακουρίαις: the word is Boeotian. For the Boeotians
> call αἱμακουρίας the sacrificial offerings for the dead."

The term, this time in the singular, occurs only in one other
passage, Plutarch's *Life of Aristides* 21, 6, and in later lexica.[22]
The Plutarchean passage informs us that Aristides, the hero of
Plataea, after the defeat of the Persians proposed a decree to the
effect, among other things, that deputies from *all* of Greece
should convene annually at Plataea (21, 1 ἔγραψεν Ἀριστείδης
ψήφισμα συνιέναι μὲν εἰς Πλαταιὰς καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ
τῆς Ἑλλάδος προβούλους καὶ θεωρούς). The Plataeans, for
their part, undertook to make funeral offerings annually for the
Greeks who had fallen in battle and lay buried there (21, 2-3
οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ὑπεδέξαντο τοῖς πεσοῦσι καὶ κειμένοις αὐτόθι
τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐναγίζειν). During this ceremony, which Plutarch
tells us takes place up to his own time (21, 6 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔτι
καὶ νῦν διαφυλάττουσιν οἱ Πλαταιεῖς), the chief magistrate of
Plataea summoned (παρακαλεῖ) those who had died for the
liberty of Greece "to the banquet and the sacrificial offerings of
blood" (ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον καὶ τὴν αἱμακουρίαν). What may we
then conclude about the dialectal status of αἱμακουρία(ι)?

Here I would like to make two observations. First, it is only
in the Pindaric scholium that the term αἱμακουρίαι is specifi-
cally explained as a Boeotian word; Plutarch, a renowned expert
in things Boeotian, is silent on the issue and evidently did

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[21] On the type of sacrificial offerings referred to as αἱμακουρίαι, see EKROTH
(2002) 171-172. On the possible etymology of the term, see GERBER (1982) 141
ad loc. and n. 24 below.

[22] HSCH. α 1939 Latte; *Et. Magn.* 35, 10 Gaisford. GREG. COR. Περὶ διαλέ-
κτων 215 Schäfer interprets the word as Doric; cf. also EUST. *Prooem. comm. in
Pind.* 21, 3. Note that neither Hesychius and *Et. Magn.* nor Gregory say anything
about the assumed Boeotian origin of the word.

not expect his readership to have difficulty understanding the meaning of αἱμακουρία. From a dialectal point of view, the term itself does not present any specifically Boeotian feature at either the phonological or the morphological level.[23] Secondly, the author of the Pindaric scholium may have had access to dialectal sources lost to us or he may simply have autoschedi-astically explained the word as a Boeotism, whether on the basis of the well-known commemoration taking place at Plataea or because Boeotia is the motherland of Pindar. Even assuming that αἱμακουρίαι *is* a specifically Boeotian word, given the Plataean context, the passage of Plutarch makes abundantly clear that the event is a yearly pan-Hellenic occasion where del-egates and *theôroi* from all over Greece convene. Thus, the word cannot be considered a Boeotism *stricto sensu*: the pan-Hellenic context of the event must have "enfranchised" αἱμακουρίαι to a supra-regional level from its very beginning. Furthermore, I would suggest that its use by Pindar only three years after the battle of Plataea is more pointed than is usually thought. The use of a word so strictly associated with an anti-barbarian context could not have failed to flatter Hieron: in Pindar's Sicilian odes the battle of Plataea is repeatedly associated/syn-chronized with Deinomenid victories.[24] So, even if αἱμακουρίαι was originally a Boeotian φωνή, it is its pan-Hellenic context of reference that justifies its use by Pindar in addressing Hieron of Syracuse and the Sicilian audience of both the première and subsequent re-performances.[25]

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[23] This consideration applies to both of the etymologies that have been pro-posed, deriving it either from αἷμα "blood" + κορέννυμι "to satiate" (CHANTRAINE [²1999] *s.v.* αἷμα, following the etymology proposed by *Schol. in Ol.* 1, 146d ἡ δὲ ἐτυμολογία ἀπὸ τοῦ κορέννυσθαι τὰς ψυχὰς αἵματος "the etymology derives from the practice of satiating the souls [of the dead] with blood") or from αἷμα + κουρά "cutting" (from κείρω) (FRISK [1960-1972] *Suppl. s.v.* κορέννυμι). BEEKES (2010) *s.v.* αἷμα does not refer to the word as Boeotian but as occurring in Pindar.

[24] On this association, see recently MORGAN (2015) 338-340. To the best of my knowledge this point has not been made with regard to the parallelism estab-lished by Pindar between Pelops and Hieron.

[25] The performance modality of the première of *Ol.* 1 (monodic or choral? at Syracuse or at Olympia?) has long been controversially discussed: see e.g. the

1.3. Ol. *1, 82*: τά

Let us now turn to what modern scholarship considers one of the very few certain examples of Boeotian influence on Pindar's poetic language: the interrogative τά instead of τί at *Ol.* 1, 82.[26] The passage (Pelops' appeal to Poseidon's previous favour in order to defeat Oenomaus in the chariot-race) is the following (ll. 81-84):

> ὁ μέγας δὲ κίνδυνος ἄναλκιν οὐ φῶτα λαμβάνει.
> θανεῖν δ' οἷσιν ἀνάγκα, **τά** κέ τις ἀνώνυμον
> γῆρας ἐν σκότῳ καθήμενος ἕψοι μάταν,
> ἁπάντων καλῶν ἄμμορος;

> "Great risk does not take hold of a cowardly man.
> But since men must die, why would anyone sit
> in darkness and coddle a nameless old age to no use,
> deprived of all noble deeds?"

The text given here is the one printed by Snell-Maehler. The manuscript tradition is divided: τά is the reading transmitted by A, the famous *codex Ambrosianus* now retrodated by Mazzucchi to the last decade of the 12th century,[27] C (= *Paris. Gr.* 2774, *c.* 1300) *ante correctionem*,[28] B (*Vat. Gr.* 1312, end of the

concise survey provided by ATHANASSAKI (2004) 337-339. I side with those who are in favour of a Syracusan première.

[26] Cf. e.g. SOLMSEN (1909) 112-113; WACKERNAGEL (1912) 267; WILAMOWITZ (1922) 99 (as Pindar's only concession to his local dialect *vs.* Corinna's "boeotische Mundart"); SCHWYZER (1939) 616 n. 8; THUMB / SCHERER (²1959) 12; CHANTRAINE (²1964) 136; CASEVITZ (1972) 24; TOVAR (1974) 54 n. 16; GERBER (1982) 127; BEEKES (2010) *s.v.* τις; CATENACCI in GENTILI (2013) 381 *ad loc.*; COLVIN (2007) 240 ("a very rare instance of Boe. dialect form in Pindar") but more cautiously in COLVIN (1999) 198 ("Cf. Pindar's τά "why" [Boeotian?]").

[27] MAZZUCCHI (2003). It is worth remembering that according to IRIGOIN (1952) 242-243, in the wake of Schröder's studies, the introduction, text, and scholia to *Ol.* 1 in A do not derive from the Ambrosian source but have been transcribed from an exemplar of the Parisian recension (ζ): see GENTILI (²1998) lxxxiv with n. 3. Let us also remember that MAZZUCCHI (2004) 418 has established that the owner and copyist of A had access to a copy of Gregory of Corinth's περὶ διαλέκτων.

[28] C belongs to the ζ family (the so-called Parisinian recension). The status of ζ is debated: GENTILI (²1998) lxxxviii-ix, in the wake of Maas, considers ζ a branch

12th century) *in linea* and by Greg. Cor. Περὶ διαλέκτων 212 Schäfer (under the heading "Doric") τὸ τί τὰ λέγουσι, Πίνδαρος· τά κέ τις κτλ. ("[the Dorians] say τά for τί; so Pindar τά κέ τις κτλ."); all the other codices have τί κε (*vel* καί). The reading τά has enjoyed, among Pindar scholars, a variable fortune: while the earliest editors almost unanimously preferred τί (e.g. Schmid, Heyne, Boeckh, Bergk, Schneidewin, Hartung, Christ, etc.), later editors have instead generally favoured τά (Tycho Mommsen,[29] Metzger, Gildersleeve, Schroeder, Bowra, Turyn, Snell-Maehler, Gentili). The use of τά (neuter plural) for τί (neuter sing.) in the sense of "why?", "in respect of which things?" is otherwise unattested (see below). One of the thorniest issues in assessing the evidence available is thus to pin down the possible source of Gregory of Corinth's claim.[30] The point of departure is usually considered to be a passage of Herodian commenting on the Megarian form σά (neuter plural). For the sake of clarity, I give here the two passages from the *Etymologicum Genuinum* which Lentz conflated together to make up his text of Herodian (see Lentz in the apparatus *ad loc.* in *Grammatici Graeci* III.1, 541, 25-31) and a related passage of Eustathius:

(1) *Et. Gen. s.v.* ἄσσα (1306) Lasserre / Livadaras (= 157, 45-50 Gaisford) ≃ *Et. Magn.* α 1960, *Et. Sym.* α 1481, ΣbT *ad* A 554c ἄσσ' ἐθέλησθα (A 554)· ἀλλὰ μάλ' εὔκηλος τὰ φράζεαι ἄσσ' ἐθέλησθα. οὕτως Ἀρίσταρχος (I p. 199, 25 Ludwich)· ὁ δὲ

independent of the Vatican recension and carrying genuine readings; TURYN (1932) and IRIGOIN (1952) consider ζ instead as the product of Byzantine conjectural activities (mainly by Planudes). For a concise but informative survey of modern scholarship on the role of the ζ family, see LIBERMAN (2004) 31-32.

[29] MOMMSEN in his 1864 edition and suppl. seems to have been the first, as far as I can tell, to have adopted τά in modern times (see esp. MOMMSEN [1864b] 8 *ad loc.*).

[30] Crucial here is also the dating of the activity of Gregory of Corinth and its relationship with Eustathius. Recent scholarship seems inclined to accept a date of the 11th/12th century for Gregory (previously considered an author of the 12th/13th century), see MONTANA (1995) xlix with previous bibliography. On Eustathius quoting Gregory's περὶ διαλέκτων in two passages of his commentary on the *Iliad*, see VAN DER VALK (1986); *contra* NEGRI (1995).

Σιδώνιος (p. 74 Blau) "ὅττι". φησὶν Ἀρίσταρχος τρία σημαί-
νειν τὴν λέξιν, τινά, ἅτινα, †ὅσα.[31] καὶ ἀεὶ ψιλοῦται πλὴν ὅτε
δηλοῖ τὸ ἅτινα δασύνεται. καὶ ἔστι **κατὰ Ἡρωδιανὸν** (3.1 541,
30) δύο μέρη λόγου· τὸ α, ἄρθρον, καὶ **τὸ σά, ὅ ἐστι Μεγα-
ρικὸν δηλοῦν τὸ τινά** κτλ.

"ἅσσ' ἐθέλῃσθα (A 554)· ἀλλὰ μάλ' εὔκηλος τὰ φράζεαι ἅσσ'
ἐθέλῃσθα. Thus Aristarchus; the Sidonian [i.e., Dionysius of
Sidon, second half of the 2nd century BC] reads ὅττι. Aristarchus
says that ἅσσα has three meanings: τινά, ἅτινα, and †ὅσα. The
word has always smooth breathing except that it is aspirated
when it means ἅτινα. According to Herodian it consists of two
parts of speech: α, that is, the article, and σα, which in Megarian
means τινά etc."

(2) *Et. Gen. s.v.* ἄττα (1378) Lasserre / Livadaras (= 167, 35ff.
Gaisford) ≃ *Et. Magn.* α 2055, *Et. Sym.* α 1542
ἄττα· οὐ τὸ ἐπίφθεγμα, ἀλλὰ τὸ Ἀττικὸν, ὅπερ ὁ ποιητὴς ἅσσα
εἶπεν, οἷον (K 208, 409) ἅσσά τε μητιόωσι μετὰ σφίσι. **τοῦτο
δὲ γέγονε ἀπὸ τοῦ τα Δωρικοῦ, τοῦ σημαίνοντος τὸ τινά,**
ὅπερ διπλασιασμῷ τοῦ σ μετὰ τοῦ α ψιλοῦ τρέπεται καὶ διὰ τῶν
δύο ττ λέγεται Ἀττικῶς· σημαίνει δὲ τὸ τινά ψιλούμενον, δασυ-
νόμενον δὲ τὸ ἅτινα

"ἄττα: not the interjection but the Attic ἄττα that the poet spelled
ἅσσα, for instance (K 208, 409) ἅσσά τε μητιόωσι μετὰ σφίσι.
This form derives from Doric τα, meaning τινά, which with redu-
plication of the *sigma* together with *alpha* with smooth breathing
turns [into ἅσσα] and through two *tau* [i.e., by spelling it with
double *tau* rather than Ionic double *sigma*] one has the Attic
form [sc. ἄττα]. When the form has smooth breathing it means
τινά, when rough breathing ἅτινα"

(3) **Eust.** *in Il.* 1, 148, 38-40 (vol. I, 228, 3-6 van der Valk; com-
menting on A 554) ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τὸ ἅσσα, ὃ δηλοῖ τὸ ἅτινα, ἐκ τοῦ
ἅ γίνεται, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἄρθρον οὐδέτερον ὑποτακτικὸν πληθυντικόν,
καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ **σα, ὃ δηλοῖ τὸ τινά Μεγαρικῶς καὶ Δωρικῶς**

"One should note that ἅσσα, which means ἅτινα, derives from ἅ,
that is, the neuter plural subordinating article [i.e., the relative
pronoun], and from σα, which means τινά in Megarian and
Doric"

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[31] The crux in LASSERRE / LIVADARAS is probably due to the fact that they
prefer the variant ὅσσα: see SCHIRONI (2004) 105, n. 2.

All three passages are concerned with the explanation of the Ionic and/or Attic nom.-acc. neuter plural of the indefinite and/or relative pronoun ἄσσα/ἄττα,[32] which is re-interpreted, with false segmentation of sequences like ΟΠΟΙΑΣΣΑ (originally ὁποῖά *σσα, reanalysed as ὁποῖ᾽ ἄσσα), as α + (σ)σα. Only the first passage (1) mentions explicitly Herodian as its source, from which it apparently also derived the explanation of σά as the Megarian form for τινά (indefinite). Passage (2) does not quote Herodian nor the Megarian σά, but ἄττα is explained as deriving from an otherwise unattested Doric form τά = Attic τινά (again indefinite).[33] Finally, Eustathius explains ἄσσα as deriving from α + σα, the latter being said to be the equivalent of τινά (indefinite) in both the Megarian dialect specifically and in Doric more generally. Van der Valk already noticed that Eustathius' "annotatio Δωρικῶς ex *EM* 167, 37", that is, Eustathius' explanation derives from our passage (2).[34]

Summing up so far, passage (1), the only one that quotes Herodian explicitly, mentions only σά (and not τά) and identifies it as a Megarian form; passage (2) does not mention Megarian σά but, if my interpretation of this highly compressed and brachylogic passage is correct, introduces the notion of a prototypically Doric τά meaning τινά, from which we get Ionic ἄσσα by reduplication of *sigma* and Attic ἄττα by reduplication of *tau*; and

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[32] For simplicity's sake, throughout this paper I shall write ἄσσα/ἄττα without rough breathing. On the breathings of ΑΣΣΑ/ΑΤΤΑ (rough and/or smooth), see SCHIRONI (2004) 105-109.

[33] As for τοῦτο δὲ γέγονε δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τα Δωρικοῦ κτλ. (present also in *Et. Sym.* 1542/40 Lasserre / Livadaras), my understanding is that τοῦτο refers back neither to ἄσσα just quoted nor to ἄττα of the lemma. Instead, I take τοῦτο as including all that has been said in the two lines of the entry: that is, τοῦτο refers to the prototypical form of the pronoun that exists independently from its two distinct dialectal realizations (the fact that one finds ἄττα in Attic *and* ἄσσα in Ionic). However, even if we take τοῦτο as referring to the previous ἄσσα, the above explanation still holds: the compiler might as well have implied that ἄσσα goes back to a form that is prototypical of the whole sequence, i.e., τά (not σα).

[34] This is further confirmed by the fact that a few lines later in passage (2) Eustathius quotes AR. fr. 617 K.-A., a passage cited also in *Et. Magn.* 167, 41-47 Gaisford (printed in Lasserre / Livadaras as *Et. Magn. Auctum s.v.* ἄττα 2055) together with DEM. *De fals. leg.* 304, 7 and PHERECR. fr. 161 K.-A.

passage (3) conflates and confuses (1) and (2) by interpreting σά as both Megarian and Doric (no mention of τά). The next question to be answered is thus how we should evaluate passage (2), the only one that brings into play a Doric τά = τινά. Theoretically, we have three possibilities: (*i*) passage (2) may rely on Herodian too, though he is not quoted; (*ii*) it may go back to a source unknown to us; or (*iii*) it is just making things up (autoschediasm), based on the common knowledge that Doric dialects usually preserved the archaic form of the definite article in the plural (τοί, ταί).[35] Hypothesis (*i*) cannot be entirely ruled out on the basis of our evidence, but the fact that passage (2) does not quote or refer to the same Iliadic passage as (1) and (3) do (A 554) but quotes instead a different Homeric line (K 208 = 409), together with its omission of the Megarian σά, seems to speak against the possibility that the compiler of (2) had as his direct source the very same passage of Herodian quoted in (1). Hypothesis (*ii*) can always be invoked *ex silentio* but we simply have no evidence to support it. On balance, hypothesis (*iii*) therefore seems most likely: passage (2) does not quote either Aristarchus or Herodian, as passage (1) does, nor does it need to, since what it propounds is a type of μεταβολή that is common enough in the grammatical tradition to explain various dialectal forms by deriving them from a given *prototypon*.

Let us then go back to what is the only passage explicitly mentioning Herodian, namely (1). What is the source of Herodian's comment on Megarian σά? Megarian dialectal forms are not otherwise attested in what is transmitted to us under Herodian's name.[36] Unless we suppose that Herodian had access to

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[35] This is of course not true for Cretan, which has οἰ, αἰ: see BUCK (²1955) 92 and 141. However, the Cretan dialect was hardly considered by ancient scholars to be representative of Doric since it was *not* a literary dialect.

[36] For a survey of dialectal glosses (of literary and non-literary provenance) in Hellenistic scholarship, see SCHIRONI (2009) 28-38. I could find only one case of a Megarian gloss, namely PHILETAS fr. 31 Spanoudakis = ATHEN. 11, 467c (ἄτακτοι γλῶσσαι) on γυάλα (a particular kind of drinking cup). Herodian knew Philetas' poetic work (he quotes frs. 5 and 11 Spanoudakis) but he does not quote from his grammatical oeuvre.

sources now lost to us, it must be the case, as is generally believed, that in passage (1) Herodian is referring to Aristophanes *Acharnians* 757 and 784 σά μάν (spoken by the Megarian farmer), which is glossed by the Aristophanic scholia as the equivalent of Attic τί μήν ("what else?", that is, "of course").[37] Here, σά is clearly interrogative and not indefinite: accentuation is obviously the first casualty of transmission, and it may well be that Herodian originally wrote τίνα and not τινά with reference to the Aristophanic passage.[38]

Modern scholarship is also divided on the syntactical interpretation of σά = τίνα as nom. acc. neuter plural of τίς, deriving from $*k^{w}i\text{-}h_2$.[39] Ahrens was the first to observe that "pluralis in ea interrogatione uulgo non usitatus est" but then he was quick to add that this should not in itself be prejudicial – "neque tamen per se habet cur reprehendatur". Even so, he insisted that "[p]arum recte Dorienses τά pro τί vel τινά dixisse traduntur", with reference to Gregory of Corinth on Pindar's τά and to our passage (2) of the *Etymologicum Genuinum*.[40] Wackernagel, picking up Ahrens's remark, objected more forcefully to the syntactical interpretation of σά as nom. acc. neuter plural, observing that this reconstruction, though formally possible, is never attested elsewhere ("niemals kommt τίνα [i.e., *die Pluralbildung*] für τί vor") and arguing the same also against the alleged equivalence of Lat. *quia* = *quae*.[41] He then concluded that we should rather interpret both Greek σά, τά and Lat. *quia* as adverbial formations going back to an Indo-European $*k^{w}já$ "why".[42]

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[37] See *Schol. vet. in Ach.* Wilson, **757b** σὰ μάν: ἀντὶ τοῦ τί μήν κτλ.; **757d** (Tr.) σὰ μάν:] τί μήν; Lh. These passages are commented upon also by GREG. COR. Περὶ διαλέκτων 236 Schäfer.

[38] Cf. AHRENS (1843) 277 and MOMMSEN (1864b) 8.

[39] In favour of this derivation of σά, cf. e.g. BRUGMANN (^{3}1900) 98 § 81, 4; WALDE / POKORNY (1930) I, 522, and in more recent times COLVIN (1999) 198 and (2007) 240.

[40] AHRENS (1843) 277 with n. 10.

[41] See WACKERNAGEL (1912) 267.

[42] WACKERNAGEL (1912) 267, whose proposal is followed by DES PLACES (1947) 102 and DUNKEL (2014) II, 454 and 463.

Whatever syntactical interpretation one adopts for σά in the Aristophanic passage (nom. acc. neuter plural or adverbial formation in -ᾰ), it still holds that Herodian commented only on σά and not on a supposed Doric τά. We have also seen that passage (2) of the *Etymologicum Genuinum* is unlikely to depend on Herodian and that its interpretation of a prototypic Doric τά yielding -σσα (ἄσσα) by reduplication of *sigma* in Ionic and -ττα (ἄττα) by reduplication of *tau* in Attic is easily explainable within the doctrine of πάθη that was common currency in the ancient grammatical tradition. In saying that τά is the Doric form for τί and quoting as an example *Ol.* 1, 82, Gregory of Corinth may have depended on passage (2) of the *Etymologicum Genuinum*, or he may even have had access to Eustathius (passage (3)) if we accept the lower date for his chronology. No other example of τά for τί is preserved in extant Greek literature beside the Pindaric instance quoted by Gregory.[43]

What, then, should we do with the transmitted τά of parts of the manuscript tradition in *Ol.* 1, 82? How are we to explain the genesis of the *lectio difficilior*, if not *difficillima*, τά instead of τί? In the third edition of Stephanus' *Thesaurus*, Casaubon, after quoting the passages of the *Etymologicum Genuinum* and Gregory discussed above (according to which the Dorians used τά instead of τί), observed that "Verum ibi hodie τί legitur, non τά; quod tamen non facile censuerim esse mutandum".[44] This may be the case but the opposite change (from an original ΤΙ to ΤΑ) is not very difficult to explain if we look at what immediately precedes our interrogative (*Ol.* 1, 82): θανεῖν δ᾽ οἷσιν **ΑΝΑΓΚΑ ΤΑ** κέ τις κτλ. Before ΤΑ we have three syllables

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[43] WILAMOWITZ (1907) 27 (*in app.* on the scholium of col. i, 11) and (1922) 99 thought that he could read τινα in the right margin of the Berlin papyrus preserving CORINNA fr. 654 PMG col. i, 11, and he explained this as a gloss of a supposed Boeotian (τ)τά swallowed up by the corresponding lacuna on the left, but subsequent scholars have questioned his reading: WEST (1996) 22 personally confirmed Crönert's χιονα (adopted also by Page), though adding that Wilamowitz's τινα remains "possible". The Corinna passage is thus too uncertain to provide any reliable evidence.

[44] Cited by MOMMSEN (1864b) 8 *ad loc.*

with *alpha* as the only vowel: it is not, I think, unreasonable to assume that a scribe wrote τά instead of the original τί by assimilating the ending of the interrogative to that of the previous word (ἀνάγκα). This change must have happened at a relatively early stage of the tradition, during or before the transliteration from capital into minuscule but after the formation of the scholia. In fact, it is worth noting that the Pindaric scholia on *Ol.* 1, 82 seem to have read τί κε κτλ. The text of the relevant scholia (Σ *in Ol.* 1, 131a-b and f = I, p. 46, 16 ff. Drachmann) is the following:

> **131a** θανεῖν δ᾽ οἷς ἀνάγκα· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, οἷς ἐξ ἀνάγκης τὸ θανεῖν, **διὰ τί** δή τις ἄδοξον τὸ γῆρας ἐν ἀφανείᾳ καὶ ἀδοξίᾳ καθεζόμενος τήκει καὶ καταναλίσκει μάτην, πάντων τῶν καλῶν ἀμέτοχος ὑπάρχων; **131b** ἄλλως· οἷς ἀποθανεῖν ἀνάγκη, **τί καί** τις καθεζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνωνύμου γήρως ἔψοιτο; [...] **131f** ἄλλως· ἐπειδὴ πρόκειται τὸ ἀποθανεῖν, **διὰ τί** μὴ μετὰ δόξης τελευτῶμεν, γενναῖόν τι τολμῶντες;

> "**131a** θανεῖν δ᾽ οἷς ἀνάγκα: why among men who must inevitably die there is someone who, sitting in darkness and lack of repute wastes away fameless his old age and consumes it in vain, without a share of all that is noble? **131b** or: since men must day, why is there anyone who sitting boils away an inglorious old age? [...] **131f** or: since death lies before us, for what reason do we not die gloriously, daring some noble deed?"

We would not expect the scholia to import a rare form into a paraphrase, but the very fact that they do not comment on τά in any way and gloss the passage with either τί or διὰ τί, where elsewhere they are keen to highlight dialectal features (at times in a fanciful way), seems indeed to suggest, even though indirectly, that our scholiasts had a Pindaric text where τί κέ τις was the transmitted reading.[45] This is admittedly an argument *ex silentio*, but still a legitimate one. Furthermore, in extant Greek literature the *iunctura* τί κέ τις occurs only one more time and again in Pindar (*Dith.* fr. 70d(b), 11 M. (= *fr. 19 Lavecchia)

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[45] For comments on dialectal features in the Pindaric scholia, see Drachmann's index *s.v.* dialecti (as already cited above, n. 12).

τί κέ τις εσχ[(*P.Oxy.* 2445, our sole witness, has an acute accent on τί).[46] We should also ask ourselves why Pindar would have used a specifically Boeotian (and not just generally Doric[47]) form of the interrogative to formulate a generic traditional gnome (life is short; mortals should aim at achieving something notable in their lives) in the mythic section of an ode praising the self-styled pan-Hellenic tyrant Hieron of Syracuse.[48] Unlike in the case of αἱμακουρίαι (§ 1.1), we do not have here any contextual rationale that could explain such a choice, and the choice of just a tiny monosyllabic word. Nor would it do to invoke some 'editorial intervention' as in the (plausible) case of Pindar fr. 333 (a) M., where "we find the genitives Πυθαγγέλω and Ὀρχομενῶ (fr. 333(a), 6 and 8 Maehler), which are far from obvious in Pindar […] but very appropriate for a Boeotian *laudandus* and a Boeotian place-name".[49] Furthermore in the Syracusan authors Epicharmus and Sophron (indirect tradition) we twice find τί μάν and not τά μάν: cf. Epicharm. fr. 147, 1 K.-A. and Sophr. fr. 55 K.-A.[50] The proposal of seeing in the supposedly Boeotian τά the influence, on Pindar's "Athenian

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[46] I owe this observation to Giambattista D'Alessio. Cf. also PIND. *Pyth.* 8, 95 τί δέ τις; τί δ' οὔ τις. I therefore do not agree with GERBER (1982) 127, according to whom "[p]erhaps the sound of τά appealed more to Pindar's ear because of the assonance with ἀνάγκα, or he may have wished to avoid τί … τίς […], or possibly some passage from Boeotian poetry containing a similar idea to that expressed here served as his model and influenced his choice of language".

[47] Since the Doric dialects, with the exception of (late) Cretan, do assibilate (-σσ-; cf. BUCK [²1955] 65-66), (τ)τά can only be either Boeotian or Cretan (obviously excluding Attic). For the same reason it would instead have been easy for the ancient grammarians to understand Megarian σά as Doric: Cretan hardly counted as a dialect because it did not have a literary tradition.

[48] See GERBER (1982) 127.

[49] CASSIO (2002) 61-62. For a detailed study of PIND. fr. 333 (a-b) M., see D'ALESSIO (2000), who persuasively argues for a Pindaric authorship of these fragments on linguistic, historical, and literary grounds.

[50] It is also relevant that τί μάν / τί μήν is a marked colloquialism: see COLVIN (1999) 198 and already DITTENBERGER (1881) 232-337. BOECKH (1811) 350 *ad loc.* objected to τά in *Ol.* 1, 82 also for stylistic reasons: "quod non nego certo quodam loco τά uulgari sermone usitatum fuisse sed a Pindari dialecto alienum iudico etc".

text", of "a performance tradition in neighbouring Boeotia"[51] seems equally unlikely to me.

To sum up, although absolute certainty is not attainable in this case, on balance it seems most plausible, in terms of the processes of transmission, to interpret the transmitted τά at *Ol.* 1, 82 as a scribal mistake that entered the tradition during or before the transliteration from capital to minuscule;[52] in this context, the absence of this variant from the Pindaric scholia is to be noted. The scribal mistake was then re-interpreted by the late grammatical tradition (Gregory of Corinth) as a Doric feature. As Ahrens already saw, "bonus episcopus pro Doricis uenditat, quaecumque apud Pindarum et Theocritum inuenit".[53] This explanation seems more economical than to assume the survival, in one of Pindar's most pronouncedly pan-Hellenic odes, of a rare (and presumably colloquial?) monosyllabic Boeotian form of the interrogative pronoun.

2. *CEG* 114: 'literary Boeotian' in the fifth century BC?

The need to shy away from rash and prejudicial conclusions based on linguistic arguments is also illustrated by our second case-study, which equally focuses on Boeotia but does so from a rather different angle. In a previous contribution I tried to bridge the gap between linguistic and literary studies on Corinna by challenging some long-held views on Corinna's poetic language.[54] In particular, I questioned Page's *a priori* assumption that Corinna could not possibly have used non-Homeric Aeolic

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[51] Thus tentatively COLVIN (2007) 240.

[52] As observed above (n. 27), in the case of *Ol.* 1, the text and scholia in A do not seem to go back to a genuine Ambrosian tradition but to a source akin to ζ. Independently from the position of ζ in the Pindaric stemma, the distribution of τά in the manuscripts suggests a transmission of variants through horizontal contamination.

[53] AHRENS (1843) 25.

[54] See PRAUSCELLO (2017).

features in her poetry (that is, Corinna could not have bor-
rowed linguistic elements from the Lesbian tradition), in con-
trast to the poetic practice of the nine canonical lyric poets.[55]
Page's reason for denying Corinna the degree of linguistic 'lit-
erariness' that is allowed to the πραττόμενοι was the supposedly
limited capacity of literary appreciation of her Boeotian audience.
In doing so, Page explicitly drew a strict line between Corinna's
poetry and that of Pindar:[56]

> "She does not admit features of the Lesbian or West Greek
> dialects, as the Choral dialect of Simonides and Pindar does.
> Her audience is not so cultured: it expects the Epic dialect, with
> which every Boeotian is familiar, pronounced – and spelt, if it is
> written – in the Boeotian manner; and it sees no cause for indig-
> nation if a few features of its local speech intrude."

Since I have argued in the first part of this paper that similar
'local intrusions' are indeed even less present in Pindar than is
widely believed, one might initially think that, if anything, the
contrast set up by Page becomes even starker. However, there
is one interesting piece of evidence, unduly neglected by me in
my earlier critique of Page's ideas, which further undermineds
the notion of an undifferentiated 'Boeotian audience' whose
literary expectations are necessarily provincial and limited, and
which therefore reduces the 'distance' between the literary
worlds of Pindar and Corinna by adjusting things at the latter
end as well. This piece of evidence, *CEG* 114, is a funerary
epigram from Kopai dated on palaeographical grounds to the
first half of the fifth century BC.[57] The epigram was first pub-
lished in 1969 by Koumanoudes, who erroneously tried to fit
the preserved lines into three elegiac couplets; Peek in 1970 was
the first to recognize that we are dealing with four hexameters.

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[55] In some later sources Corinna was mentioned as the tenth πραττομένη (cf.
e.g. *Schol. in Dion. Thr.* in *Grammatici Graeci* I.3, 21, 19-20 Hilgard).

[56] PAGE (1953) 80.

[57] A detailed palaeographical analysis can be found in FOSSEY (1991) 270-271.
The stone is now in the Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Θηβών.

Apart from minor contributions, mainly interested in pinning down the (probable) battle on the river Asopos mentioned at l. 1 (the battle of Plataea in 479 and that of Oinophyta in 458 BC having been the main candidates),[58] only Hansen and Fossey have studied in detail the language of this inscription.[59] I give here first (1) the text as printed by Hansen; then (2) Fossey's text, which includes a slightly fuller version of l. 2 based on an earlier autopsy as well as his *exempli gratia* supplements to give a more immediate sense of what the narrative structure of the epigram may have been; and (3) Peek's drawing:

(1) HANSEN, *CEG* 114

[– ‿‿ – μ' ἔθ]ραφσεν, ἐπ' Ἀσοποῖ δὲ δαμασθὲς
[···· – ‿‿ – ‿‿ ¦ – ‿‿ – –·· θ]ρε͂νον ἔθεκα,
ℎὲ τόδ' ἐπέστ[ασε ‿‿ – ‿‿ ¦ – ‿‿ – –].
[————————····]οισα τὸν ℎυιὸν Καφι[···· ————]

"… reared me; subdued at the Asopos
… I caused mourning …
… she erected this …
… -ing the son Kephi[…"

(2) FOSSEY (1991) 274

[name μ' ἔθ]ραφσεν · ἐπ' Ἀσοποῖ δὲ δαμασθὲς
[μάχῃ ματέρ' ἐμᾶι πένθος πολύ]θρενον ἔθεκα,
ℎὲ τόδ' ἐπέστ[εσε σε͂μα ‿‿ – ‿‿ – ‿]
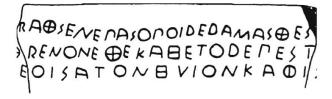[– ‿‿ δακρύ]οισα[60] τὸν ℎυιὸν Καφι[σόδορον]

"X reared me; but I, subdued in battle
at the Asopus, caused to my mother a much-wailing grief.
She erected this tomb ….
[cr]ying her son Kephi[sodorus"

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[58] For a fuller range of possibilities and further bibliography, see FOSSEY (1991) 175-179.

[59] FOSSEY (1991) 169 expressed surprise about "how little attention has been paid this epigram". Even the otherwise fundamental article by MICKEY (1981) on the literary language of archaic inscriptional epigrams fails to fully appreciate the import of this epigram for reconstructing "the record of early Boeotian poetry" (FOSSEY [1991] 180).

[60] FOSSEY (1991) 174 prints δακρυ]οῖσα, no doubt a typo.

(3) PEEK (1970) 88

The stone was part of a private (that is, non-civic) funerary monument through which the death in battle of a son (presumably called Kaphisodorus, a Boeotian name common enough in Kopais) was commemorated by a female relative, possibly his mother. Much about this epigram remains uncertain (including, *in primis*, whether the writer was a Boeotian) and depends on what supplements one is inclined to accept (l. 3 ἐπέστ[ασε with West or ἐπέστ[εσε with the other editors[61]) – hence the cautious formulation in Hansen's apparatus, "quatenus auctor lingua Boeotica usus sit non constat". Fossey compared the text with another roughly contemporary Boeotian funerary epigram that also commemorates a war victim, *CEG* 112 (= *IG* VII 2247, *c.* 500?, from Thisbe: ἀστοῖ[ς] καὶ χσένοισι Φάνες φίλος [ἐνθάδε κεῖται] /, [hό]ς ποτ' ἀρισστεύον ἐν προμάχοις [ἔπεσε] "here lies Phanes, dear both to his fellow-citizens and strangers, he who fell excelling among the foremost fighters"), and he rightly pointed out the superior literary quality of our epigram in terms of both diction and construction.[62]

In her 1981 study on the language of inscriptional epigrams, Mickey mentions our inscription only once and with reference to what she identifies as the only exception, in her survey, to the otherwise notable lack of 'self-conscious' Ionisms in the (then) extant archaic stone epigrams collected by Hansen: the demonstrative *hέ* at l. 3 (with 'Ionic' η < inherited ᾱ).[63] This is indeed

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[61] I do not understand Fossey's scansion hὲ τόδ' ἐπέστ[εσε σὲμα ◡◡ – ◡◡ – ◡ (*sic* in FOSSEY [1991] 274), nor his μάχη at the beginning of line 2.

[62] FOSSEY (1991) 174-175. For δαμασθείς at the end of a hexameter, cf. e.g. *Il.* 16, 816 δουρὶ δαμασθείς, 22, 55 Ἀχιλῆϊ δαμασθείς, and HDT. 6, 77 δουρὶ δαμασθείς (oracle).

[63] MICKEY (1981) 59 n. 11, based on HANSEN (1975).

a remarkable feature (the graphic sign of aspiration ⊟ before E being clear enough on the stone) and has led West, for instance, to suggest that we should perhaps read *hε̄* = "ubi".[64] By contrast, the vocalism α in καφι[at l. 4 is a Boeotian as well as Doric feature and the form ἔθ]ραφσεν, if this is what we have to read at the beginning of l. 1,[65] points again towards a feature that is generally shared by the Doric dialects and theoretically possible also in Boeotian (though otherwise unattested there so far).

But the most interesting feature of our epigram is the presence of a thematic feminine participle in -οισα at l. 4,[66] an Aeolic trait that is notoriously absent from Homeric epic and that can only be interpreted as deriving from the lyric tradition.[67] Obviously Page could not know of the existence of this epigram, since it was first published only in 1969. Yet, the presence in a hexametric line of a non-Homeric Aeolic feature, that is, a feature proper to the lyric tradition, testifies to the 'more-than-local' linguistic veneer that was evidently appreciated by the 'local' Boeotian audience of a small and relatively marginal town like Kopai in the fifth century BC. While many things remain uncertain about *CEG* 114, its importance for reconstructing the linguistic and literary expectations of a Boeotian provincial audience in the fifth century BC is thus beyond doubt. If a 'local' poet, or at any rate a poet who, whatever his provenance, received a commission from a Boeotian client, could use a thematic feminine participle in -οισα in a hexameter, the *a priori* verdict that Corinna could never have considered

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[64] West *apud* Hansen.

[65] KOUMANOUDES (1969) 82-83 suggested an improbable μ' ἔγ]ραφσεν, which he thought would refer to a painted stele with a picture of the dead at the top of the whole monument. Against this contrived hypothesis, see the objections of FOSSEY (1991) 175.

[66] MICKEY (1981) 49 strangely does not refer to our inscription when she lists the possible 'Aeolic elements' identifiable in the epigraphic poetic corpus.

[67] On this form of prestige in Greek choral lyric, see CASSIO (2005). Peek supplemented e.g. κλέ]οισα, Fossey e.g. δακρύ]οισα. Other supplements are of course possible (e.g. παθοῖσα etc.).

the Aeolic tradition as a possible reservoir for her linguistic experimentation seems to be ill-judged.

3. Conclusions

The two case-studies considered in this paper, Pindar's *Olympian* 1 and a Boeotian stone epigram of 'local' production, both roughly contemporary, may be seen as representing, in terms of both *Überlieferungsgeschichte* (written medium) and linguistic texture, the two opposite ends of a broader continuum within the literary communicative economies of ancient Greece: the self-consciously pan-Hellenic (an ode celebrating an Olympic victory of the tyrant Hieron of Syracuse and composed by, arguably, the greatest Greek lyric poet of any time) and the epichoric (a funerary epigram locally commissioned in the small and remote Boeotian town of Kopai, perhaps in the aftermath of the Persian Wars).

In the former case (*Olympian* 1), I have argued that what has so far been interpreted as Boeotian linguistic features (the interrogative τά of parts of the manuscript tradition at l. 82 and the word αἱμακουρίαι at l. 90) does not stand closer scrutiny and that the evidence at our disposal can be read more productively in another way. Firstly, the word αἱμακουρία does not present any Boeotian element (whether morphological or phonological), and even if we accept a Boeotian context at its *origin* (viz., the commemoration of the battle of Plataea *at Plataea*, as referred to by Plut. *Arist.* 21, 6), the intrinsic pan-Hellenic nature of the event must have contributed from the very start to enfranchising the word to a supra-regional status. Secondly, as for τά at *Ol.* 1, 82, I have claimed that the virtual absence of this form as a Boeotian equivalent to interrogative τί in the grammatical tradition prior to Gregory of Corinth, when taken together with other evidence (scholia etc.), strongly suggests that τά is a scribal mistake that penetrated into the Pindaric tradition after the consolidation of the Pindaric scholia as we have them and

during or before the transliteration of the text into minuscule writing.

In the latter case (*CEG* 114), I have shown that even in the markedly local context of provincial Kopai there was mileage, already at an early age, in the poetic use of a non-Homeric Aeolic feature (a feminine participle in -οισα). Obviously, both of these are only specific case-studies, from which no rash generalization must be made about the interconnectedness of the 'vernacular' and the 'more-than-local' poetic register. Even so, they are important witnesses to the spectrum of linguistic possibilities that was available to the poets of archaic and classical Greece as they addressed their audiences.

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DISCUSSION

O. Tribulato: I am absolutely persuaded that you are right in ruling out τά as an original Boeotian form in Pindar. The evidence that you gave us for the non-existence of τά in the grammatical tradition prior to Gregory of Corinth is very strong, or even decisive. I find this an important conclusion of yours and one which will force authors of dialectological handbooks to revise their information on Pindar (and Boeotian). But quite apart from that your argument gives us the opportunity to discuss and evaluate the role of the ancient and Byzantine grammarians in our assessment of many elements of the Greek poetic language. The original τί corrupted into τά was taken seriously by Gregory of Corinth and as a consequence many modern interpreters have found it too good to have a Boeotian feature in Pindar to actually bother to doubt this set of information. What we should always bear in mind when we approach the ancient grammarians is the pervasive analogical thinking that rules their reasoning: this applies to a lot of other 'dialectal' elements which one finds described in ancient grammar and then retroactively attributed to the text of the lyric poets by modern editors – think for instance of strange athematic forms of the *uerba uocalia* (on which you yourself have written an important paper). But this is a twofold process: some analogical forms theorized early on, for instance by Herodian, seem to have permeated the text of the lyric poets and once they entered the text later grammarians had no reason not to consider these forms authentic. A good example is the dipthongized -αι- for /a:/ which we so often find in the papyri of Sappho: it is obviously a result of analogy on forms with compensatory lengthening, but once they are transmitted in the text of Sappho later grammarians such as Gregory of Corinth

derive an overall rule telling us that all masculine nouns in -ας end in -αις in Aeolic.

L. Prauscello: You are right in highlighting the importance of analogical thinking in ancient grammarians (from the very beginning onwards) and the twofold process of this phenomenon. The main difference, for me, between the diphtongized forms in -αι- in Lesbian poetry and the case of the Pindaric τά for τί is that whereas the former feature is widespread in our direct tradition (papyri), for the latter we have no sound evidence before Gregory of Corinth.

O. Tribulato: Concerning *CEG* 114, a general reflection that this example induces is that scholars (especially those from some decades ago) seemed all too ready to deny 'marginal' regions such as Boeotia any possibility to know, appreciate, and imitate (sometimes even in a refined manner) the poetic tradition. I do not see why a local poet (be he an epigrammatist or Corinna herself) would not be acquainted with Lesbian lyric and would not want to imitate it. And regarding the -οισα participle itself, something that I would personally wish we had is a comprehensive overview of such lyric elements in the language of stone epigrams *also* taking into account those of the 4th and 3rd centuries. I think it would give us some interesting information about what (if any) prestige these elements had outside literary language proper. An example that comes to my mind is a later epigram from Polyrrhenia (Crete: *SEG* XVI 532) where a participle in -οισα is used to characterize the mother of a deceased girl, in an epigram that uses Doric features (some of them specifically Cretan) as well as epic elements such as ἀέλιος.

L. Prauscello: Very many thanks for this further example of -οισα in an epigram marked by both local and poetic features. The date is much lower (second/first century BC) but I agree, the operating principle is the same.

A. Willi: Both of your illuminating case studies basically speak *against* a substantial trend towards 'localizing' lyric poetry by linguistic means. Even so, there seem to be instances where it is difficult to avoid the impression; I am thinking here, for example, of Stesichorus' use of an infinitive εῖν which, for all we know, does not seem to be due to his usual linguistic sources, the traditions of epic and choral lyric language. If we come across cases like this, what do we do with them? Should we treat them as mere 'slips' by the poets, who inadvertently introduced some jarring note, or should we try to assign special significance to them – and if the latter, why then do we not find them rather more frequently?

L. Prauscello: Your question touches the very heart of the issue of epichoric linguistic features in Greek lyric and I am afraid that I do not have a comprehensive answer to offer to your important question, certainly not one explaining *all* the possible scenarios. If there is anything to be learnt from the examples I presented (Pindar's *Olympian* 1 and *CEG* 114), it is that each case is specific and deserves individual treatment. The case of Stesichorus' εῖν is indeed puzzling but every attempt at normalization of the relevant passage is doomed to be wrong because the Euboian εῖν is metrically guaranteed. In this case we are not dealing with 'superficial' features (e.g. morphematic endings) that can be easily subject to editorial manipulation. We should also remember that in the case of Stesichorus a 'local' performative context, where Euboian linguistic elements are at home (the dialect of Himera at the time of Stesichorus was a *mélange* of Syracusan and western Ionic; it is only after *c.* 480 BC that any trace of the Euboian dialect and script disappears at Himera), cannot be ruled out. My impression is that the presence of epichoric linguistic features in Greek lyric should not *per se* surprise us exceedingly – what is instead very difficult to gauge is why these features appear exactly *where* they do and not elsewhere. Performance context may be one of the reasons, but certainly not the only one. In the case of *Ol.* 1

I have argued that: (*i*) the word αἱμακουρίαι does not exhibit any Boeotian morphological or phonetic feature and that even assuming a Boeotian original context its use almost immediately acquired a pan-Hellenic 'value'; (*ii*) the near non-existence of Boeotian τά in the grammatical tradition prior to Gregory of Corinth should make us suspicious. In this case we do have circumstantial evidence that justifies scepticism. Other cases can be entirely different. My impression is that we have to do with a partially submerged phenomenon that could be motivated by multiple, concurrent factors: addressee (see e.g. the Corinthian spelling Ποτειδᾶνος for Poseidon in *Ol.* 13, whose *laudandus* is from Corinth), performance context, metrical reasons, editorial intervention and so on.

A. Willi: It seems to me that the passage in *Et. Gen. s.v.* ἅττα is rather intriguing. As it stands, the argument in it does not seem to me to flow very naturally when it says τοῦτο (i.e., ἅσσα) δὲ γέγονε ἀπὸ τοῦ τα Δωρικοῦ, τοῦ σημαίνοντος τὸ τινα, ὅπερ διπλασιασμῷ τοῦ σ μετὰ τοῦ α ψιλοῦ τρέπεται κτλ.: How can one say that τα "changes [into ἅσσα] *by doubling of the sigma* and addition of an unaspirated *alpha*" when there is no *sigma* in it? In other words, I wonder if we need not assume that something has gone wrong in the transmission here and that the text originally said ἀπὸ τοῦ σα Δωρικοῦ – for it does make sense to say that σα "changes [into ἅσσα] by doubling of the *sigma* and addition of an unaspirated *alpha*". In that case, this *Et. Gen.* entry would be more in line with the one *s.v.* ἅσσα, and the Eusthatius passage could then perhaps merely combine the two. Plus, quite importantly, 'Doric' τα would then *only* be attested by Gregory of Corinth, making its reality even more questionable.

L. Prauscello: Your proposal of emending the transmitted τά into σά is very ingenious and would give a much better sense to the whole passage that is indeed brachylogic and hence difficult to understand. The only reservation I have is that if we

emend τά into σά, we would have to emend also the following Δωρικοῦ, since σά is otherwise recognized as a Megarian form in the *Et. Gen.* (unless, of course, we suppose a further confusion/conflation *ab origine*, which is a possibility). According to my interpretation the referent of τοῦτο would not be the ἄσσα of the Homeric quotation just mentioned, nor the initial ἄττα but the whole reasoning of the first lines: that is, τοῦτο would refer to the whole state of affairs, that is, to the prototypical form existing independently from the two dialectal realizations (the fact that we have ἄττα in Attic *and* ἄσσα in Ionic). Your interpretation would considerably improve the syntax; on the other hand brachylogy is a frequent feature in the *Etymologica* and I feel hesitant correcting the only attestation of τά as Dorian before Gregory of Corinth.

L. Huitink: At one point in your paper you quote a number of passages from scholia and other late commentators which suggest that Pindar is the main representative of the κοινή *tout court* (as, apparently, Homer is of Ionic, Aristophanes of Attic, etc.). You write that, while this may seem surprising to us, it makes "perfect sense insofar as it sanctions Pindar's perceived linguistic excellence as the lyric poet within the Greek canon of οἱ πραττόμενοι". I wonder about this. First of all, is the link between κοινή and 'excellence' an obvious one in a tradition of commentators that often seems preoccupied with reconstructing the 'pure' ancient dialects? Secondly, in the passages you quote, does κοινή not imply that Pindar used *all* the other dialects mixed together in some way or other? And if there is mileage in that suggestion, does that have implications for your wider argument, in particular the shape of ancient texts of Pindar and the amount of dialectical variation perceived (and allowed) in them?

L. Prauscello: To answer both questions together: in the grammatical tradition (starting with Apollonius Dyscolus and Herodian up to Gregory of Corinth, Eustathius and the scholia to

Dionysius Thrax etc.) κοινή is *at the same time* the standard spo-
ken and written language of the cultivated people of their time,
seen in an atemporal dimension, and the result of the 'proper'
mixing of different dialectal features. The two features are not
seen as contradictory or mutually exclusive. As it is, Boeotian is
never mentioned as one of the 'literary' languages that are part of
this commonly shared linguistic reservoir. Ucciardello (2012)
has made a good case for the possibility that Pindaric papyri
might present us with a text provided with many more dialectal
features than those passed down in the medieval tradition.
Nevertheless none of these cases involves Boeotian dialect.

S.D. Olson: You may well be right to argue that τί rather
than τά should be printed at *Ol.* 1, 82, and I defer to your
expertise and that of our other colleagues in regard to the history
of the Greek dialects. It nonetheless seems to me that some of
the arguments you have advanced to justify your choice of
reading on other grounds are less compelling than they might
be. I raise these points not because I believe that I understand
the history of the text of Pindar better than you do (which is
certainly not true), but out of a conviction that some of the
methodological issues raised below deserve explicit considera-
tion in this connection. You make five main points separate
from the question of whether τά for common τί is a legitimate
Doric form: (1) the error is easy explainable; (2) the *scholia*
seem to have read τί; (3) the separate fact that the scholia do
not comment on τά is striking, given their general interest in
dialectal peculiarities; (4) D'Alessio's observation that τί κέ τις
is attested only once more and in Pindar (*Dith.* fr. 70d(b) l. 11
Maehler); and (5) the question of "why Pindar would have
used a specific Boeotian (and not just generally Doric) form of
the interrogative to formulate a generic traditional gnome".
Most of these strike me as problematic approaches to the issue
at hand.

(1) If Pindar wrote τί and a number of the most important
manuscripts have τά, something has gone wrong in the tradition.

But the fact that an error was made at some point by an anonymous scribe or editor is different from saying that the error is easily explained. Most simple errors on the scale of the one seemingly in question at *Ol.* 1, 82 are a result of a confusion of similar characters (Π written for ΓΙ, for example, or Δ for A), of dittography or haplography, or of easy spontaneous 'corrections' that yield superficially reasonable sense even if actual nonsense; in all these cases one can speak of an "easy and obvious palaeographic error". This is not the situation here; the final *alpha* on ΑΝΑΓΚΑ creates no obvious incentive to write ΤΑ rather than ΤΙ after it, and (as you argue eloquently on other grounds) ΤΑ would appear on most counts to make no sense. This does not mean that a scribe could not make the mistake – and probably one did – but that is a different matter.

(2) This is a divided tradition, and the fact that the *scholia* side with one part of the tradition (and thus read τί) tells us nothing about what should be read (since they may well be based on the part of the tradition that is corrupt).

(3) The lack of a dialectal gloss in the scholia treating τά once again shows us only that the manuscripts on which the scholia are based read τί (as noted in (2)). At the same time, this is an argument from silence, and we are all properly trained to be wary of such arguments as inherently misleading.

(4) D'Alessio's observation that τί κέ τις occurs in Pindar only in extant Greek literature is based on one other example. Better put, if τά is right at *Ol.* 1, 82 (which most editors for a century have believed), D'Alessio's claim is false, making the argument circular in any case.

(5) Why Pindar may have used a specifically Boeotian form in a nominally pan-Hellenic poem is an interpretative question rather a textual one, nor is it difficult to generate a number of possible answers (e.g. he wanted the sentiment to sound like a "homely, local saying", or he wanted to place a dialectal *sphragis* on his poem). The question nicely sharpens our sense of the large issues in play here. But it provides us with no ground for deciding what Pindar wrote, which is a different matter. I stress

again that these concerns have less to do with your conclusions themselves than with how you justify your conclusions.

L. Prauscello: First of all, I would like to emphasize that my main argument for preferring τί over τά, an argument that you simply brush aside, is the near non-existence of τά in the grammatical tradition prior to Gregory of Corinth. All the other arguments that I adduce are subsidiary and should be considered as circumstantial evidence and hence taken additionally and cumulatively. As to your point (1), I am not saying that the corruption of TI into TA is an easy one, nor am I invoking mechanic palaeographical criteria. All I am saying is that this type of corruption is well within the attested range of scribal mistakes that we find in every kind of manuscript tradition: phonetic assimilation (by the way, I do not simply speak of assimilation on the basis of the final *alpha* of ἀνάγκα: I am speaking of a sequence of three syllables all with *alpha* as the only vowel, which is something considerably different). That the resulting mistake due to phonetic assimilation does not generate good sense is not something that particularly bothers scribes, as countless examples testify. As to your points (2) and (3), I myself am the first to recognize that this is an argument *ex silentio*, yet I would say that it is a strong argument *ex silentio* if ever there was one. Furthermore, you are ignoring the chronological axis: whatever date we are inclined to assume for the formation of the Pindaric scholia, we have no comment on τά prior to Gregory of Corinth. How do you explain this silence compared with the other comments scattered in the scholia on real or supposed dialectal features in Pindar? Point (4): D'Alessio simply pointed out what is, at the very least, a very remarkable coincidence: in the whole extant Greek literature of any time the syntagm τί κέ τις is attested only one more time apart from *Ol.* 1, 82 (according to some manuscripts), and it is in Pindar. Just mere chance? Furthermore the play with τι/τις in Pind. *Pyth.* 8, 95 τί δέ τις; τί δ' οὔ τις shows at the very least that Pindar did not eschew such assonances, as Gerber would

like to have it. As to (5), it seems to me that the choice of τί or τά, given the split manuscript tradition, is *both* a textual *and* an interpretative problem. Your suggestion of seeing a *sphragis* (that is a seal *recognizable* as such by his audience) in a mono-syllabic word, that is, a word with minimal phonic weight, and within a gnomic sentence, strikes me as highly unlikely and unparalleled within the Pindaric corpus.

A. Cassio: You rightly emphasized the importance of the pan-Hellenic status of *Olympian* 1, which makes very implau-sible that Pindar used a provincial Boeotian form precisely in that victory ode. As you reminded us in your talk, in his 1971 dissertation on the language of Stesichorus and Ibycus M. Nöthiger (pp. 31-32) regarded the Boeotian dialect as responsible for the prevalence in Pindar of forms without the third compensatory lengthening, which is far from carrying conviction. Develop-ments of the κᾰ.λϝός > κᾰ.λός type became pervasive from rela-tively early times: κᾰλός is securely attested in Hesiod, *Works and Days* 63, παρθενικῆς κᾰλόν εἶδος ἐπήρατον, Sappho 1, 9 (ἄρ] μ' ὑπασδε[ύξαισα· κάλοι δέ σ' ἆγον) and elsewhere, the Doric dialect of Hieron's Syracuse (ἐκκεκόμβωται κᾰλώς |, Epicharm. fr. 7 K.-A., μόσχον κᾰλάν, fr. 134 K.-A.) and obviously fifth-century BC Attic (κᾰλός is standard in Attic tragedy). This innovation (the old form obviously being κᾱλός < κᾰλ.ϝός) became pervasive at a remarkably early stage; the fact that in Homer only κᾱλός is attested does not reflect seventh-century BC usage, but is one of the many traditional features of that text (κᾱλός being in its turn a heir to epic songs where the original form κᾰλ.ϝός was certainly used at an early stage). The lack of the third compensatory lengthening in Pindar's text is far from being a provincial Boeotianism: it belongs to a series of innova-tions that may have proudly been perceived as 'modern' – and pan-Hellenic, as they were to become soon.

L. Prauscello: Your explanation seems to me entirely con-vincing. Already Meister, in his *Kunstsprache* (p. 208), argued

that 'contemporary' Ionic already had, for instance, the form ξένος and that ξεῖνος (i.e. ξῆνος) is just an adaptation of pre-Homeric and traditional ξένϝος. Somehow in modern scholarship there seems to be lingering resistance to admitting this possibility, perhaps because of the majority view that forms like ξεῖνος must *all* necessarily be due to East-Ionic singers.

A. Cassio: A note on αἱμακουρίαι: Chantraine's *Dictionnaire étymologique*, *s.v.* κορε- (p. 566), basically accepts the etymology already offered by the scholion on Pindar *Ol.* 1, 90 (ἀπὸ τοῦ κορέννυσθαι τὰς ψυχὰς αἵματος), only adding "la diphthongue inattendue [-ου-] peut être due à l'analogie de κουρά". I am by no means certain that the second member of this compound is based on κορέννυμι "to satiate", whereas it seems highly likely to me that the root of κείρω "to shear, cut down, slaughter" (cf. κούρειον "sacrificial victim") played a key role in its formation. In the *Poetics* Aristotle deals at some point (1457b6 ff.) with the μεταφορὰ ἀπ᾽ εἴδους ἐπὶ εἶδος and quotes χαλκῷ ἀπὸ ψυχὴν ἀρύσας "drawing off soul/life" and τεμὼν ταναήκεϊ χαλκῷ from unspecified hexametric poetry, which modern scholars attribute to Empedocles' *Katharmoi* (fr. 138 D.-K. = 125 Wright). Aristotle adds (1457b14 ff.) ἐνταῦθα γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἀρύσαι ταμεῖν, τὸ δὲ ταμεῖν ἀρύσαι εἴρηκεν. At first sight this exchange of meaning between ταμεῖν and ἀρύσαι might look as due to some poetic manipulation, especially because of the artificial-looking concept of "drawing off" a soul, but in fact in a context of animal sacrifice "cutting" the throat is immediately followed by "drawing off" blood, so that the concept of "cutting blood" may have sounded as a natural association. If this is accepted there is no need of an etymology from κορέννυμι: it is easy to explain -κουρία as derived, like κουρά, from *kors-* (cf. κόρση), the *-o-* grade version of *kers-* (cf. e.g. ἀκερσεκόμης), which must be postulated in order to explain various Greek forms related to κείρω "to shear" (see Chantraine, *Dict. Etym.*, p. 510). It simply means "cutting of blood". Obviously enough -ου- in κουρά and -κουρία is the outcome of the compensatory

lengthening of *kors-a/-ia*, yet -ου- shows that it cannot be a Boeotian development, which should have been *-χωρία. I cannot see why Beekes in his *Etymological Dictionary of Greek, s.v.* κουρά, speaks of αἱμακουρία having a "faded second member".

L. Prauscello: I too think that the etymology of αἱμακουρίαι is better explained as derived from αἷμα + κουρά "cutting" < κείρω, and the passage of Aristotle you quote is absolutely spot on. That the ancients too could perceive this etymon in αἱμα-κουρίαι is confirmed by an unpublished gloss recently discovered by Giuseppe Ucciardello in an orthographical collection preserved in the *codex Laur. pl.* 59, 49 (= L, probably to be dated to the 12ᵗʰ century), one of the most important manuscripts of Cyrillus' *Lexicon*. This is the lemma (κουρεῖον): L f. 123r> (ed. pr. Ucciardello) κο‹υ›ρεῖον· εῑ· ὡς βυρσεῖον, χαλκεῖον· κουρεὺς γὰρ καὶ βυρσεὺς καὶ χαλκεύς. κουρεῖον· τόπος τοῦ κουρέως· καὶ ‹κούρειον› θῦμα ὥς φησι Πίνδαρος ἐν αἱμακουρίαις (*Ol.* 1, 90). For more Pindar in L one should consult Ucciardello (forthcoming).