

PINDAR
VICTORY ODES

Olympians 2, 7, 11; *Nemean* 4;
Isthmians 3, 4, 7

EDITED BY
M. M. WILLCOCK



Published by the Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge CB2 1RP
40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA
10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, Melbourne 3166, Australia

© Cambridge University Press 1995

First published 1995

Printed in Great Britain at the University Press, Cambridge

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress cataloguing in publication data

Pindar.

Victory odes: Olympians 2, 7, and 11; Nemean 4; Isthmians 3, 4,
and 7 / Pindar; edited by M. M. Willcock.

p. cm. — (Cambridge Greek and Latin classics)

In Greek, with pref., introd., and commentary in English.

Includes bibliographical references (p. 175) and index.

ISBN 0 521 43055 0 (hardback). — ISBN 0 521 43636 2 (paperback)

1. Mythology, Greek — Poetry. 2. Heroes — Greece — Poetry. 3. Odes.

I. Willcock, Malcolm M. II. Title. III. Series.

PA4274.A5 1995

884'.01 — dc20 94-13996

CIP

ISBN 0 521 43055 0 hardback

ISBN 0 521 43636 2 paperback

AO

CONTENTS

<i>Preface</i>	<i>page vii</i>
Introduction	1
1 <i>Greek lyric poetry</i>	1
2 <i>Pindar's life and works</i>	1
3 <i>The games</i>	4
4 <i>The victors</i>	10
5 <i>The genre</i>	12
6 <i>Pindar's thought</i>	15
7 <i>Pindar's style</i>	20
8 <i>Pindar's language</i>	22
9 <i>Metrical form</i>	24
10 <i>The text and scholia</i>	26
 PINDAR: VICTORY ODES	 31
The Eleventh Olympian	33
The Seventh Isthmian	34
The Fourth Isthmian	36
The Third Isthmian	39
The Fourth Nemean	40
The Seventh Olympian	44
The Second Olympian	49
 Commentary	 55
<i>Appendix A: Homer, Iliad 2.653–70</i>	<i>167</i>
<i>Appendix B: Homer, Odyssey 4.561–9; Hesiod, Works and Days</i> 166–73a; Pindar, frs. 129, 130, 133	<i>169</i>

<i>Bibliography</i>	175
<i>Indexes</i>	179
1 <i>General</i>	179
2 <i>Greek words</i>	181

PREFACE

The forty-five surviving victory odes of Pindar may for convenience be divided into categories: (*a*) short poems, mostly without a myth; (*b*) those composed for victors from the island of Aegina, (*c*) those for the tyrants of Syracuse and Akragas, and the king of Cyrene; (*d*) other show-pieces, or *tours de force*, in which I include the Sixth, Seventh, Ninth and Thirteenth Olympian, the Ninth Pythian and the Tenth Nemean; (*e*) others. From these categories, I have selected (*a*) *O.* 11, *I.* 3; (*b*) *N.* 4; (*c*) *O.* 2; (*d*) *O.* 7; (*e*) *I.* 4, *I.* 7.

As to the order of presentation, it is sensible to begin with the more straightforward poems and progress towards the more complex. This is not the usual practice; indeed surprisingly often it is assumed that the student should begin with the First Olympian, or even the First Pythian. Nor is there any great merit in presenting the odes chronologically, in so far as their dates are known. This would be too close to the now discredited biographical approach. The selection begins therefore with the Eleventh Olympian, and proceeds by level of difficulty (apart from treating the Third Isthmian as an appendage to the Fourth, which it obviously in some sense is) to the Second Olympian. This has the added advantage that the Second Olympian, with its description of the destiny of the soul in the afterlife, gives the opportunity to add some fragments from one of the lost books, the *Threni* or *Dirges*. These are presented in Appendix B.

It is impossible to achieve consistency in the spelling of Greek proper names. The practice that has seemed natural in this book has been to write the names of those mentioned in the odes (victors and their relations, mythological figures) in transliterated Greek (Hagesidamos, Neoptolemos), while keeping the familiar Latin names for Greek authors and later scholars (Herodotus, Aristarchus), and the Latinised, or in some cases Anglicised, forms for many of the place-names (Aegina, the Isthmus, Thebes).

It is a pleasant duty to record my indebtedness to a number of scholars: in the first place to Professor P. E. Easterling, the Greek editor of the Series, and Dr R. D. Dawe, both of whom have gone through the text with the greatest care and consideration, and resolved many difficulties; to Professor E. J. Kenney and Dr S. J. Instone, who

also read every word of the typescript and sent detailed comments; to Mr M. G. Balme, who read the Introduction, and Dr P. Kingsley, who advised me on Empedocles and Pythagoreanism in connection with the Second Olympian; and to those who have given swift and helpful answers to particular questions: E. Gebhard, D. E. Gerber, D. W. Macdonald, H. G. T. Maehler, C. O. Pavese, W. Raschke and R. W. Sharples. Finally, I express my warm appreciation of the attention given to the typescript by Susan Moore, copy-editor at the Cambridge University Press; she has greatly improved the consistency of both text and commentary.

University College London

M. M. Willcock

INTRODUCTION

1. GREEK LYRIC POETRY

The main period of lyric poetry in Greece lies roughly between those of epic and tragedy, from about 650 to 450 BC. The poems are commonly divided into two types: personal lyric of the kind composed by Sappho, Alcaeus, Anacreon; and choral lyric, more remote from modern experience, consisting of poems sung and danced by a choir for a civic and/or religious occasion. This genre is associated particularly with the names of Alcman in the seventh century, Stesichorus in the sixth (though the exceptional length of this poet's compositions, confirmed by new finds, has caused experts to question the likelihood of choral performance),¹ Simonides, most famous poet in Greece at the time of the Persian wars, his nephew Bacchylides, and, greatest of all, Pindar. Until recently, little of the voluminous works of these poets survived apart from the epinician odes of Pindar, composed to celebrate victors in the great athletic games of Greece. But finds on papyrus since the late nineteenth century have restored to us a strange and attractive partheneion by Alcman, substantial remains of Bacchylides' epinicians and dithyrambs, and parts of Pindar's book of paeans. In recent years more has been found, including enough of Stesichorus to confirm his ancient reputation for treating extended stories from mythology in lyric verse. The main gap remains Simonides, whose ancient reputation was very high; among other achievements he is believed to have established the genre of epinician poetry, and so to have been Pindar's most important predecessor in this field.

2. PINDAR'S LIFE AND WORKS

Pindar was born in 518 BC. His earliest dated poem is the Tenth Pythian of 498, written for a young man connected with the Aleuadai, a powerful family in Thessaly. The last dated poem is the Eighth Pythian of 446 for a victor from Aegina, a poem that seems reflective

¹ M. L. West in *C.Q.* 21 (1971) 307–14, C. Segal, in *The Cambridge history of classical literature* 1 (Cambridge 1985) 187.

and melancholy. By then he would be aged 72. He probably died not long after. He was born in a village close to Thebes, where he later made his home. He is said to have received training as a choral poet in Athens.

The period of his activity thus falls in the first half of the fifth century BC, a period whose history is covered for us by Herodotus and the first book of Thucydides. Relatively little is known about his life, and such anecdotes as appear in the ancient *Lives* are clearly fictitious. He seems to have been present at the Olympic games of 476 (*O.* 10.99–105), and to have visited Sicily in that same year (*O.* 1.16–17, *P.* 1.17–28). He must indeed have travelled widely in the Greek world, both to the games and to the cities of the victors. The highest concentration of his victory odes is in the 470s, including some of the finest and greatest, among them those for the Sicilian tyrants Hieron and Theron. Five of the seven poems in the present collection are dated to that decade.

When we look back in history, we judge that the most important developments from the Greek point of view in the first half of the fifth century were (a) the two Persian invasions, leading to the battles of Marathon in 490 and Salamis and Plataea in 480/479, and (b) the growth of the power of the new democratic Athens in the following years. A deep embarrassment for Pindar personally must have been the fact that his city of Thebes, proud and ancient, but fatally exposed to the invader from the north, took the Persian side in the second invasion: and, although a Theban contingent served with the small Greek force under Leonidas at Thermopylae, the city became Mardonius' headquarters during the winter of 480/479, and its forces fought bravely on the Persian side at Plataea (*Hdt.* 9.67–9). After the Greeks led by the Spartan king Pausanias had defeated the Persians, they punished Thebes by the execution of some of its leaders. These facts imply fierce tensions of divided loyalty within the city, and traumatic unhappiness for any patriot, especially one like Pindar whose horizons had expanded to include the whole of the Greek world.

It is of course dangerous to deduce the poet's personal feelings from what we read in the odes (see p. 19), but some facts are worth recording. First, he never mentions the battle of Marathon, which for him is the site of minor local games (*O.* 9.89, *O.* 13.110, *P.* 8.79). Perhaps the rest of Greece did not share the Athenian belief in the earth-shaking

significance of what happened there. As to the second Persian attack, the Eighth Isthmian, probably for a victory in 478, seems to include a cautious reference, saying that 'we' have been released from great misery (6) and that a god has removed the stone of Tantalus from above 'our' heads (9–10). In the Fifth Isthmian of not much later he gives warm praise to the Aeginetan sailors who helped to win the battle of Salamis; and in the First Pythian of 470, with greater detachment, he speaks of Salamis and Plataea as great victories, to be credited to Athens and Sparta respectively (*P.* 1.76–8).

That however is all. Attempts by scholars such as Bowra to find hostile allusions to Athens in later poems have been shown to be erroneous (on *I.* 7, see p. 67); nor are occasional apparently political comments, about tyranny, aristocracy, democracy (*P.* 2.87–8, *P.* 11.52) to be used as evidence. While accepting that Pindar as an individual lived in the real world, we must take the odes for themselves, and not try to deduce his personal experiences and opinions from sentences that appear in them.

The Alexandrian edition of Pindar's poems produced by Aristophanes of Byzantium (p. 26) contained seventeen books: one of hymns, one of paeans, two of dithyrambs, two of prosodia, three of partheneia, two of hyporchemata, one of encomia, one of threni, and four of epinicia.² Paeans were addressed to Apollo, dithyrambs to Dionysus; prosodia were processional hymns, partheneia compositions for choirs of girls, hyporchemata a combination of dance and song. The encomia, in praise of individuals, included also skolia, or drinking songs; the threni were funeral dirges. The first six categories were addressed to gods, the last three to men. A selection made in the second century AD had the consequence that the books of epinician odes alone survived, and from that time fewer quotations are found from the other books. Before then, the epinicians were not more frequently quoted than the others. Pindar was always a deeply admired poet,³ and in addition to the direct transmission of the epinicians, over three hundred quotations from the lost material have been found in ancient authors and grammarians, some of them assigned to particular books, others of uncertain provenance. Of these fragments, three from the

² *Vita Ambrosiana*, Drachmann 1, p. 3.

³ Cf. Horace, *Odes* 4.2 *Pindarum quisquis studet aemulari*, etc.

threni appear in Appendix B, for comparison with part of the Second Olympian. In the last century, as stated above, extensive parts of the book of paeans were recovered on papyrus, and more recently additions have been made to the dithyrambs and the threni.⁴

The epinicians have come down to us almost complete. The Alexandrian editor arranged them in books according to the games where the victory had been won, the order of books following the relative importance of the games: first came the *Olympians* (fourteen odes), then the *Pythians* (twelve), the *Isthmians* (at least nine), and the *Nemeans* (eight). Three odes which did not fit into this scheme were added to the end of the *Nemeans*. At a later date the last two books were interchanged, and still later the end of the *Isthmians* was lost.

Within each book the order of poems is in general according to the importance of the event (chariot victories first), and of the victors (priority to tyrants and kings). An exception to the former principle is provided by the first poem in the collection (*O.* 1), which is for a horse race and precedes those (*O.* 2 and *O.* 3) for a chariot race. But the exception was made for an easily understood reason, that *O.* 1 begins famously with glorification of the Olympic games (the lines are quoted on pp. 21–2), and later includes as part of its myth the chariot race of Pelops and Oenomaus, which was their model in myth. Elsewhere, the desire to put together poems for the same victor, as in *P.* 1–3 and *I.* 3–4, has disturbed the strict application of the principles.

3. THE GAMES

The Greeks were as fascinated by athletics as is the modern world. An appreciation of the spirit of competition enlivens the funeral games of Patroklos in the twenty-third book of the *Iliad*; these also illustrate the origin of such public competitions in funeral celebrations.⁵ From such an origin, they developed in Greece into a central feature of national culture. The successful athlete brought great glory to his home city, was widely admired, and given lasting honours.

Four national festivals had each its particular basis in religion and

⁴ Pindarus, *Pars II Fragmenta*, ed. Maehler, Leipzig 1989.

⁵ L. Malten, 'Leichenspiel und Totenkult', *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts (Römische Abteilung)* 38/9 (1923–4) 300–40.

supposed foundation in myth. The greatest was that at Olympia in the north-west Peloponnese, believed to have been founded in 776 BC, and held every fourth year for a thousand years, until it was abolished by the emperor Theodosius in AD 393. These games played such an important role in the Greek world that their sequence was later used at Athens for chronology, and a historian would write, 'in the third year of the eightieth Olympiad', meaning the year we call 458/7 BC. The games were held in the late summer; Zeus was the presiding god, Herakles the founder, and Pelops was buried in the sanctuary. Second were those at Delphi, called the Pythian games, in honour of the god Apollo. From 582 BC they were held every four years, alternating at two-year intervals with the Olympics; according to Pindar, Neoptolemos, son of Achilles, was buried in the sanctuary there (*N.* 7.44–7). The Isthmian games, at Corinth, also began in 582, presumably a few months before the definitive establishment of the Pythian athletic festival,⁶ and took place every second year in honour of Poseidon, god of the sea. The baby Melikertes, child of Ino/Leukothea (see *O.* 2.28–30n.) had an altar there.⁷ And finally the Nemean games were held in a quiet valley of the north-east Peloponnese, the scene of Herakles' first labour, by which he won for himself the lion-skin which he wore thereafter. These games began in 573, and were biennial like the Isthmians, and in honour of Zeus like the Olympians; they were supposedly first held at the funeral of the baby Opheltes, also called Archemoros, killed by a snake as the army of the Seven passed that way on its march to Thebes.⁸

These four were the 'sacred games', where the prize was merely a wreath of leaves, but the prestige of victory colossal. The athlete who had won at all four was called a *periodonikes*, like one who wins the Grand Slam in modern tennis. Among Pindar's clients (patrons), Diagoras of Rhodes, the boxer for whom the Seventh Olympian was written, had this distinction.

⁶ E. R. Gebhard, 'The evolution of a pan-Hellenic sanctuary: from archaeology towards history at Isthmia', in *Greek sanctuaries: new approaches*, ed. N. Marinatos and R. Hägg (London 1993).

⁷ Apollodorus, *Biblioth.* 3.4.3.

⁸ Apollod. *Biblioth.* 3.6.4; the story is told at some length in the fourth to sixth books of Statius' *Thebaid*.

The following table⁹ illustrates the sequence of the festivals (the Attic year began in June/July, after the summer solstice, and this marked the change from one Olympiad to the next):

Ol. 75.1	Olympia	August 480
75.2	Nemea	July 479
	Isthmus	April 478
75.3	Delphi	August 478
75.4	Nemea	July 477
	Isthmus	April 476
76.1	Olympia	August 476

In addition there were numerous local games in which these athletes also took part, where prizes of local manufacture were often on offer. We hear of these in the odes when the victor or one of his relatives has won local victories worth recording. Melissos, for whom the Fourth Isthmian was composed, had won three times at the Herakleia in Thebes; Timasarchos (*N.* 4) had won at Athens and Thebes, and his family counted an Olympic victory in the past and an Isthmian one quite recently; Diagoras (*O.* 7) had a very long list of previous successes for Pindar to record. In two cases (and possibly also in the Second Pythian) Pindar's ode is for a victory in such local games: the Ninth Nemean for one at Sikyon, the Tenth Nemean for one at Argos.

The events in the games, as we see them in the odes, are as follows: Equestrian: four-horse chariot; wagon drawn by a pair of mules; single horse.

Contact sports: boxing; wrestling; pancration.

Track events: sprints, *stadion* (about 200 metres) and *diaulos* (about 400 metres); long distance, *dolichos* (about 5,000 metres); race in armour.

Mixed: pentathlon (long jump, sprint, discus, javelin, wrestling).

Musical (at Delphi): pipe-playing.

In some events there were separate classifications for boys as well as adults; and at Nemea and the Isthmus there was an intermediate category of *agenioi* (lit. 'beardless'). When Pindar celebrates a boy victor, he regularly introduces the name of the trainer.

The odes in the present selection are for victors in four of these

⁹ It is ultimately based on G. F. Unger in *Philologus* 37 (1877) 42.

events, chariot race, boxing, wrestling and pancration. Pindar does not in practice describe the victory in the manner of a sports reporter (as Homer does in the twenty-third book of the *Iliad*); nevertheless he pays attention to the particular discipline in which the victory was won, by his choice of imagery, and sometimes his choice of myth. It may be of interest therefore to set down some details about these four.

Chariot Race

Won by Melissos of Thebes at Nemea (*I.* 3), and probably previously at the Isthmus (*I.* 4); and by Theron of Akragas at Olympia (*O.* 2).

Whereas in most events the victor himself had borne the strain of competition, the equestrian events were rather different. The victor for whom Pindar composed the ode was normally, in modern terms, the owner, who employed a trainer and a charioteer. When Herodotos of Thebes himself drove the winning chariot, Pindar draws attention to the fact (ἀνία δ' ἄλλοτριῶν οὐ χερσὶ νωμάσαντ' *I.* 1.15). Consequently, Pindar's praise of his client cannot usually include personal athletic prowess, and he concentrates on the tremendous glory that has been won, and on the victor's wealth (necessary for keeping a stable of horses), and his willingness to spend it in a good cause (cf. p. 15).

The four-horse chariot race was the most magnificent spectacle of all. In *Iliad* 23, the chariot race comes first in the description of the funeral games of Patroklos, and it takes up more space in the narrative than all the other events put together. There the chariots are drawn by two horses each, and they race one lap, out into the country, round a turning-post, and back to the starting-point. In the Olympic chariot race, the distance was twelve laps of the hippodrome, with turning-posts at each end of the course (δυωδεκάδρομων *O.* 2.50; cf. *O.* 3.33, *O.* 6.75, *P.* 5.33).¹⁰ There is uncertainty about the length of the race, because the ancient hippodrome, which was to the south of the surviving stadium, has been totally obliterated by changes in the course of the river Alpheius during the intervening millennia. But the indications are that it was very long, perhaps nearly nine miles,¹¹ a distance

¹⁰ H. M. Lee in *A.J.P.* 107 (1986) 162–74.

¹¹ H. Schöne in *J.D.A.I.* 12 (1897) 150–60, improved by J. Ebert in *Nikephoros* 2 (1989) 89–107.

not impossible, but unheard-of nowadays, when two or three miles are normal for a horse race, with the Grand National (over hurdles) a little over four miles. The scholia to Pindar tell us that later in the ancient world the number of laps was reduced to six (Σ *O.* 2.92a).

The races were dangerous, with so many horses for the drivers to control. There were frequent crashes, illustrated in the false messenger speech in Sophocles' *Electra* 698–756, the most critical moments being when the chariots rounded the turning-posts at the ends of the course (Nestor concentrates on this moment when he gives advice to his son Antilochos before the start of the *Iliad* race). Pindar tells us that Karrhotos, King Arkesilas' brother-in-law, who drove for him in 462, kept his chariot intact when forty others crashed (*P.* 5.49–51).

Boxing

Won by Hagesidamos of Epizephyrian Locri in the boys' event at Olympia (*O.* 11), and by Diagoras of Rhodes in the men's event (*O.* 7).

This was a more reputable activity than one might expect. Apollo himself was patron of boxers, and Pollux (Polydeukes), the demigod, was an expert. The poets were fond of describing his contest with Amykos, king of the Bebrycians. In the *Iliadic* games, the winner was a man of the people, Epeios, builder later of the wooden horse, his opponent Euryalos, one of the leaders of the contingent from Argos. The result was a clean knock-out (*Il.* 23.689–94).

The main differences from modern boxing were that there was no ring, although the space for the contestants might be restricted; and no rounds, the fight going on until one or other had won. The competitors wound leather thongs round their forearms down to their hands; these are mentioned already in the *Iliad*. Later in the ancient world, harder leather thongs were used, with a cutting edge; and still later the dreadful Roman *caestus* came into use, with metal sewn into the leather. The stance of the boxers, as shown in vase paintings, was upright, with the arms held high. It seems that they aimed at the head, body blows being less considered. There were no divisions by weight, so that the successful boxer, like Diagoras, would be a heavyweight in modern terms.

Wrestling

Won by Timasarchos of Aegina at Nemea (*N.* 4).

This was always one of the most popular events. Indeed the palaestra, or wrestling school, was a feature of social life, the natural place of recreation for young men. The technicalities of the sport were widely known, and metaphors taken from it common in the language. There are very many representations of the art in vase painting. A wrestler lost if his back or shoulders touched the ground. Thus much of the bout would take place with the contestants on their feet, in contrast to the pancration, although they would continue the fight on the ground if neither was on his back. It is disputed whether the winner was the first to achieve three successful throws or the one who won the best of three.¹² In the *Iliad* there is a wrestling contest between the great figures Odysseus and Aias, but it is inconclusive; they fall to the ground once, with Odysseus on top and Aias on his back (*Il.* 23.727–8), but can achieve nothing further, and the result is a draw.

Pancration

Won by Strepsiadidas of Thebes (*I.* 7), and by Melissos of Thebes in his younger days (*I.* 4).

This, which was more like a martial art, or unarmed combat, than either straight boxing or wrestling, was a late addition to the events at the games. It does not appear among the contests in the *Iliad*. It is sometimes described as a mixture of boxing and wrestling, but that does not give the right picture. Kicks were used, as in modern karate; and we are told that the only things forbidden were biting and gouging the eyes. The mythical model was Herakles, especially in his fight with the giant Antaios (cf. *I.* 4.52–7), and with the Nemean lion. Much of the work was done on the ground, as in judo, and the smaller contestant might very well go to ground from the beginning, to neutralise his opponent's advantage in size and weight (*I.* 4.47n.) The contest went on until one of them indicated submission by raising a hand or a finger. It was considered the supreme test of strength, skill and resolution.

¹² See LSJ under τριάζω.

4. THE VICTORS

Pindar's clients were from wealthy and locally influential families. In consequence we get a reflection of the society of the archaic period before the intellectual domination of Athens. The festivals where the games were held were truly Panhellenic; competitors came from all over the Greek world.

We might not have expected the western Greeks to be so strongly represented. But they were the 'new world' from the point of view of mainland Greece, and such colonial representatives naturally wished to preserve their connections with the old country. No fewer than seventeen of Pindar's forty-five odes are for western Greeks, among them seven for Syracusans and five for citizens of Akragas. Cyrene also, in North Africa, provides three major poems. At home, the largest single block is for the small island of Aegina (eleven odes, all but two of which are for victories at the relatively minor games of the Isthmus and Nemea); this was a time when that island was prosperous as a maritime trading nation and politically competitive in the Greek world. It produced wrestlers particularly. Pindar obviously favours it and has friends there. He sees it as closely allied to his own city of Thebes, from which not surprisingly four victors come, sponsoring five odes, three of them in the present selection. Nine odes are left, each for a single representative of a city. There is none for a Spartan, and only one specifically for an Athenian (*P.* 7); he however is, not surprisingly, a member of the powerful Alcmaeonid family.

Generally, though less so in the case of the young men of Aegina, it was the great men of the cities who competed for the honour particularly of Olympic or Pythian victories, and if successful commissioned Pindar to compose a victory ode. The powerful tyrants (military dictators) of the two richest cities in Sicily, Hieron of Syracuse and Theron of Akragas, each gave him opportunities to compose works of great complexity, in which the victory is certainly the occasion of the ode, and is duly glorified, but much else is included. These odes are placed at the head of the collection, the first three of the *Olympians* and the first three of the *Pythians*. Each of the two tyrants in due course won the highest prize of all, the chariot race at Olympia. The Second Olympian is for Theron's success there in 476; in Hieron's case, we have his Pythian chariot victory celebrated in *P.* 1, together with the founda-

tion of a new city on the slopes of Mt Etna; but when he won at Olympia in 468, it was Bacchylides who received the commission to write the celebratory poem, which in fact we have (*Bacch.* 3). Another ruler for whom Pindar wrote was the king of Cyrene, Arkesilas. For him he composed the quite exceptional Fourth Pythian, 299 lines long, containing as its myth the longest extant treatment of the Argonautic story until we come to the Hellenistic age and Apollonius Rhodius. Melissos (*I.* 3 and *I.* 4) was of an old aristocratic family at Thebes; Diagoras (*O.* 7) of one on Rhodes. Among those not appearing in the present selection, Chromios (*N.* 1, *N.* 9) was Hieron's general, Xenokrates (*P.* 6, *I.* 2) Theron's brother.

Pindar's relations with these often very powerful men are represented by him as personal, and on a level of equality. The formal term is *xenia*. The victors were his *xenoi* in foreign cities, his hosts if he visited them there. Isocrates (*Panegyricus* 43) says that the *panegyreis* ('great public festivals') were occasions to meet friends and form new friendships; and this applied to Pindar particularly. He speaks specifically of Thrasyboulos as his *xenos* (*I.* 2.48), and of Hieron (*O.* 1.103, *P.* 3.69), Thorax, head of the Thessalian Aleuadai (*P.* 10.64), and Thearion, father of an Aeginetan victor (*N.* 7.61).¹³ Such 'guest-friendship' was found in the heroic world, for example between Oineus and Bellerophon, referred to by Diomedes at *Il.* 6.215–25, and this is an aspect where the world of myth may be used to mirror Pindar's own day; for example, in *I.* 6, written by Pindar, a Theban, for Lampon of Aegina, to celebrate the victory of his son Phylakidas, we see the Theban Herakles visiting the Aeginetan Telamon, and prophesying the glory of his son Aias.

Furthermore, Pindar sees his own function as poet as complementary to that of his athletic patron. His world too is competitive; there are similar difficulties to overcome (*N.* 4.36–43); similar qualities are needed for success. And in the end, it is he, with the generosity of his praise, who puts the final glory on the victor's achievement. Thus he freely compares himself with the victor (e.g. *O.* 1.115–16, *O.* 11.10, *I.* 5.53–4).

¹³ G. Herman, *Ritualised friendship and the Greek city* (Cambridge 1987) esp. p. 45 and Appendix A.

5. THE GENRE

We have forty-five poems in four books for victors in the games. Though each poem is individual, and related to its particular circumstances, it is nevertheless easy to see patterns in the structure and content, and thus to conceive the idea of a 'typical' ode. Some control is provided by the epinicia of Bacchylides, Pindar's younger contemporary, the remains of fourteen of which have been recovered on papyrus, some of them of considerable length. There are however differences of style and thought between the two poets; and for Pindar it is preferable to draw information from his own composition.

In content, the odes consist essentially of three ingredients:

1. Factual details about the victor, his victory, his family, and so on. These are clearly essential if Pindar is to fulfil his contract.
2. The use of myth. This happens in two ways, either by the telling of a story from mythology as the main ornament of the poem, or by brief mythological parallels to illustrate moral points. In the Seventh Isthmian, the first triad has the former function, references in 32-3 and 44-7 the latter. Johnson, in *The vanity of human wishes* 222, makes this distinction with characteristic clarity - 'to point a moral or adorn a tale'.
3. Moralising or proverbial reflections arising mostly from the consideration of athletic success. We use the terms 'gnomic' and 'gnome'.

The 'typical' ode is structured in five parts. First comes a striking, attention-demanding, opening. Pindar, who shows an interest in discussing his own poetic art (cf. *O.* 2.83-8), says at the beginning of the Sixth Olympian that the beginning of a work of poetry should be vivid and impressive like the pillared entrance to a great house. Set normally in the centre of the ode comes, as illustration or ornament, the telling of an appropriate story from mythology. Before and after this are placed the factual details, i.e. the specific information about the victor and his victory, interspersed with the gnomic comment described above as the third ingredient of the content. Finally, and perhaps unexpectedly, the striking opening is balanced by a quiet, throw-away, close. The pattern is thus:

A Striking opening

B Circumstantial information intermixed with moralising

C Myth

D More circumstantial information and moralising

E Quiet close.

Of course this pattern is far from invariable; some of the shorter odes (such as *O.* 11 and *I.* 3 here) have no room for a myth; in others, the myth itself may form the striking opening (*I.* 7) or fill the last part of the ode (*N.* 10). But it does appear with some frequency, particularly in the largest unified group of poems in the collection, the eleven odes for victors from Aegina, which include *N.* 4 here; and it may be recognised quite easily in our Fourth Isthmian and Seventh Olympian.

Pindar shows his power and originality in his selection of a theme for the opening, section A. When it comes to B and D, the requirement from him may rather be a kind of ingenuity, to provide in poetical language and suitable imagery the factual details demanded by the occasion and his client. For the moralising comments, see the later section on 'Pindar's thought'. As to the myth, which more than anything gives atmosphere and tone to the poem, selection of an appropriate story was certainly not random. There is always some relevance, even if we cannot assess it for sure. Most commonly the myth is derived from the legends of the victor's home city, thus supporting the local patriotism of the occasion. This is without exception true of the Aeginetan odes (see *N.* 4, introduction). In other cases, and especially for Sicilian victors, the relevance may be rather to the games themselves, particularly in relation to those at Olympia (see the myths of *O.* 1, *O.* 3, *O.* 10). Occasionally the myth seems to be chosen to reflect the experience of victory itself (*P.* 10),¹⁴ or the personal circumstances of the victor (*P.* 3).

Even when the five-part structure described above applies with precision, the parts are not separate blocks of lines crudely juxtaposed. Pindar is adept at providing transitions from part to part. Often this is achieved by a 'gnome' facing, as it were, both ways, applicable to the content of the section coming to an end, and also introducing the new one (e.g. *N.* 4.91-2); sometimes, particularly in the transition to the myth, he simply and ingeniously achieves the change of topic by means of a relative pronoun, leading from the passing mention of a hero

¹⁴ Köhnken 181-7.

or place into his chosen myth (e.g. *N.* 4.25), as if the connection of thought is natural and conversational. On other occasions, usually at the end of the myth, he employs what is called a 'break-off formula', alleging (in a gnomic way) that he must not go on too long, that it is not possible for him to tell all details of the story, that there is some danger even of boring the listeners. At this point he favours nautical metaphors – the ship is off course, there are hidden rocks (e.g. *N.* 4.69–72).¹⁶

The public performance of the ode normally took place after the victor returned home, so that Pindar had a reasonable time to prepare. In some cases, however, we seem to have compositions separately performed at the games themselves after the announcement of victory.¹⁶ It has been assumed from at least the time of the ancient scholia that the odes were choral, i.e. sung by a choir for whom Pindar had composed the music and dance as well as the words. Recently this view has been called into question by Lefkowitz and Heath, who argue that they were sung by a solo voice (of Pindar or his representative) as part of a general *kōmos*, or band of youths brought together to celebrate the victory.¹⁷ Their argument is based primarily on the frequency of first-person-singular statements in the odes referring to Pindar himself,¹⁸ and the direct instruction at *O.* 1.17 to 'take down the Dorian lyre from its hook', implying (if taken literally) that Pindar was performing a solo at Hieron's court. C. Carey, however, has reasserted the traditional view, that these are compositions performed by a choir.¹⁹ He supports this by arguments from metre and language, and by some passages in the odes, particularly *N.* 3.3–9 and 65–6. The expression in *O.* 1.17 has then to be treated as a conventional fiction, deriving perhaps from the arrangements made for Demodokos at *Od.* 8.67–9; and the first-person statements by Pindar himself (which we see at *I.* 7.37–42, *O.* 2.89–92, etc.) are also part of the conventions of the genre, accepted by the listeners, even though they were sung by a choir of many voices.

¹⁶ Cf. Péron 312–13.

¹⁶ See *O.* 11 introduction and the article by Gelzer referred to there.

¹⁷ See under Lefkowitz and Heath in the Bibliography.

¹⁸ Lefkowitz 1963.

¹⁹ See Carey 1989 and 1991.

6. PINDAR'S THOUGHT

Mention has been made of the gnomic sentences which commonly punctuate the factual information in sections B and D of the typical ode, or appear in transitions between sections. The general source of these reflections is the occasion of the ode, i.e. victory in the games. Pindar seems to have identified four requirements for victory, and to see three important consequences.

The requirements are (1) natural ability (*φύα*), (2) hard work (*πόνος*), (3) wealth, together with a willingness to spend it (*πλοῦτος*, *δαπάνη*), (4) divine favour (*θεός*). The first two would be generally agreed to apply equally in modern athletics; the third, which is mentioned by Pindar mostly, though not exclusively, in relation to equestrian events, simply means that the athlete and his family can afford to engage in this activity. As to the fourth, this is what we, in a less religious age, would class as 'luck', or 'things going well on the day'; for Pindar is still affected by the archaic world of Homer, where there was no concept of chance, and all extraordinary achievement was assumed to imply the support and help of a god.

φύα: belief in inborn ability is typically aristocratic; i.e. that quality comes from birth, not training. Pindar argues that the person who has had to learn will never achieve the superiority of the natural athlete (or indeed the natural poet, *O.* 2.86–7). All the same, he does not deny the benefit of experience and practice (see *δαέντι* at *O.* 7.53). A clear statement of principle is found at *O.* 9.100–2, *τὸ δὲ φύϊ κράτιστον ἀπαν· πολλοὶ δὲ διδασκαῖς | ἀνθρώπων ἀρεταῖς κλέος | ὥρουσαν ἀρέσθαι* 'all that is from nature is best; but many people have strained to win a reputation by acquired skills.' In our selection, see *O.* 11.19–20, *I.* 3.13–14.

πόνος: the need for effort and endurance is well understood, particularly in the harder disciplines such as boxing and wrestling. This by no means welcome requirement is closely associated in Pindar's mind with his function as poet (see below). The victory song is both reward and compensation for the strain and exhaustion of competition. See *O.* 11.4, *I.* 3.17b, *N.* 4.1–2.

πλοῦτος, *δαπάνη*: the aristocratic assumption that wealth is in itself meritorious certainly affects Pindar's judgement. It informs also his relationship with the victor, for the wealthier and more generous his

patrons, the better for the poet. In *O.* 2.53–4 (cf. *P.* 5.1) *πλοῦτος* even acquires a kind of mystical value. Without generosity of mind, however, leading to free expenditure, *πλοῦτος* on its own will not succeed. The general point is made at *I.* 1.67–8 *εἰ δέ τις ἔνδον νέμει πλοῦτον κρυφαῖον, | ... ψυχὰν ἄιδαι τελέων οὐ φράζεται δόξας ἀνευθεῖν* ‘but if a man keeps his wealth hidden in his house ... he fails to perceive that he commits his soul to death without glory’. See *I.* 4.29, *I.* 3.2, 17b, and especially *O.* 2.53–6 with the note.

θεός: nothing happens in the archaic world without the will of god; and certainly something as important as victory in the major games implies divine favour, probably identified as coming from the god of the games, Zeus (*N.* 4.9), Apollo, or Poseidon (*I.* 4.19–23). See *O.* 11.10, *I.* 3.4, *O.* 7.87–90.

When through the application of these prerequisites the athlete has won his victory, Pindar describes it as an achievement that is out of this world; often he uses the metaphor of the pillars of Herakles, the ultimate limit of human endeavour; in the Tenth Pythian he speaks of the journey to the Hyperboreans, who live beyond the north wind, as an allegory of the experience of victory; and, most famously, in his last extant poem, he says, *ἐπάμεροι· τί δέ τις; τί δ’ οὐ τις; σκιᾶς ὄναρ | ἀνθρώπος. ἀλλ’ ὅταν αἴγλα διόσδοτος ἔλθῃ, | λαμπρὸν φέγγος ἔπεστιν ἀνδρῶν καὶ μέλιχος αἰών* ‘Creatures of a day! What is man? What is he not? Man is a dream of a shadow. But when god-sent illumination falls on him, bright is the light of men and pleasant their life’ (*P.* 8.95–7). Victory is like a transfiguration. However, he also analyses the situation rationally, and sees three consequences of victory to draw to the attention of the victor, and of the listeners. These may be briefly stated as ‘divine jealousy’ (*φθόνος θεῶν*), ‘human envy’ (*φθόνος ἀνδρῶν*), and ‘fame through poetry’ (*ὕμνος*).

φθόνος θεῶν: human beings cannot, and should not, expect unbroken success. This principle is valid today also; they may become overconfident, or find that for other reasons their run of success comes to an end. To the mind of Pindar’s time it was natural to suppose that the gods resented spectacular human achievements, perhaps as bringing the humans a little too close to Olympos. The gods, then, are jealous gods, casting down the mighty from their seats, as in many tales in Herodotus; cf. Hdt. 1.32.1 *ἐπιστάμενον τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἐὼν φθονερόν τε καὶ παραχῶδες* ‘understanding that everything that is in the sphere of

the gods is jealous and dangerous’. This is the negative side of the parallel with the pillars of Herakles; not only has the victor achieved the ultimate, but he should realise that it is dangerous to try to go further. See *I.* 7.43–4, *I.* 4.11–13, *N.* 4.69; *ἀθανάτων φθόνος* is specifically mentioned at *I.* 7.39.

φθόνος ἀνδρῶν: this is rather different, envy in contrast to jealousy. One’s fellow citizens, human nature being what it is, do not feel unmixed pleasure at one’s successes; they mutter and whisper in secret. This may be seen as typical Greek realism, and found at *N.* 4.39, *O.* 2.95. All the same, human envy is not usually dangerous, as divine jealousy is; Pindar says elsewhere (*P.* 1.85) *κρέσσον γὰρ οἰκτιρμοῦ φθόνος* ‘envy is better than pity’. Its disadvantage is rather that it makes the poet’s task harder; he must overcome this human tendency to belittle fine deeds (*N.* 4.36–43, *O.* 2.95–8).

ὕμνος: the immortalising power of poetry was known already to Homer (*Il.* 6.357–8 *ὥς καὶ ὀπίσσω | ἀνθρώποισι πελώμεθ’ αἰδίμοι ἐσσομένοι* ‘so that we may be subjects of song even for future generations’). By Pindar’s time it was a commonplace and one very relevant to his professional relationship with his clients. What he can offer to the victor is twofold: initially, reward and compensation for superhuman efforts; in the long run, a reputation that will continue after death. And indeed this is true. Who now would have heard of Hagesidamos of Epizephyrian Locri, or Melissos of Thebes, if it were not for the honeyed flow of Pindar’s verse? This is, not surprisingly, the commonest of Pindar’s gnomic themes, appearing in virtually every ode. Statements of the immediate effect (reward, compensation) will be found at *I.* 4.3, *I.* 3.7, and particularly *N.* 4.2–5, of the long-term effect (immortal glory) at *O.* 11.4–6, *I.* 7.16–19, *I.* 4.40–2, *N.* 4.6, 83–5, *O.* 2.89.

Just as there is a wealth of association in words such as *φύα*, *πόνος*, *ὕμνος*, so Pindar has some other terms of central significance to his mental approach. Two of them, common in the more difficult expressions elsewhere, and implying balance, selectivity, good judgement, hardly appear in our present selection. They are *καῖρός* and *μέτρον*.²⁰

²⁰ For *καῖρός*, see *O.* 2.53–4n., with references there, and R. W. B. Burton, *Pindar’s Pythian odes* (Oxford 1962) 46–8; for *μέτρον*, R. A. Prier in *C.W.* 70 (1976) 161–9.

We do however meet some other words full of meaning – κόπος, χάρις, χρυσός, ἀρετά.

κόπος is the dissatisfaction that comes from having too much of a thing, from not being able to cope with such affluence. No English word satisfactorily translates this, as we do not use 'satiety' in this way, and 'boredom', 'tedium', are not quite the same. There is a statement about κόπος at *O.* 2.95–8 (where it comes close to φθόνος), and see also *I.* 3.2. The idea is often implicit in a break-off formula at the end of a myth (e.g. *N.* 4.69–72).

χάρις is much commoner, and singularly difficult to tie down. It means 'grace'; the three Χάριτες or Graces were worshipped at Orchomenos, and for that reason are addressed in *O.* 14, for a victor from that city. But 'grace' is not an easy or unified concept in English either; and for Pindar the word is often connected with his view of poetry. In this context it denotes the charm and beauty of poetry, in contrast with σοφία, which indicates the technical skill of the poet. See *I.* 4.72b, *I.* 3.8, *N.* 4.7, *O.* 7.11;²¹ in other contexts it means rather 'popularity within one's city', as at *O.* 7.89, *O.* 2.10.

One might expect χρυσός 'gold' to be a subdivision of πλοῦτος, as at *O.* 1.2 (quoted on p. 21). But that is not usually so. For Pindar, gold is rather a symbol of the world of the gods. Bresson explains this by the fact that gold does not deteriorate with time, and that it has a unique brightness, caused by its not reflecting other colours, but only red.²² It is used in the odes to enhance a description, often indicating the world of the gods. Even things which are not golden, such as the olive leaves of the crown of victory at Olympia, may be described as χρύσεα. In our selection we find gold representing divinity at *I.* 7.49, *I.* 4.60, *O.* 7.32, 64, cf. *I.* 7.5; see also the wreath of golden olive at *O.* 11.13 and the golden flowers on the Isle of the Blest, *O.* 2.72.

Finally, ἀρετά. The English language has no satisfactory translation of this word either. It is used by Pindar both for the abilities that lead to success or achievement (e.g. *N.* 4.41) and for the achievements themselves (e.g. *O.* 11.6). It is commonly translated 'virtue', as in later

Greek, but with the conventional warning that 'ἀρετά is not a moral term in archaic thought'. Thus, in *O.* 2.53, πλοῦτος ἀρεταῖσι δεδαιδαλμένος does not imply a wealthy man who is also virtuous, except in a special sense of 'virtuous', i.e. a wealthy man who has the talents (decisiveness, commitment, ability) that lead to success. All the same, moral implications are not absent; good deeds are the work of a person with ἀρετά, and Theron, the possessor in *O.* 2 of πλοῦτος ἀρεταῖσι δεδαιδαλμένος, is later praised as a benefactor (εὐεργέτας 94).

All these – requirements for victory, consequences of victory, καιρός, κόπος, χάρις, χρυσός, ἀρετά – constitute part of a closed world of thought surrounding the occasion of an epinician ode. And Pindar finds ever new ways to make these points, coining variations on well-worn themes. Sometimes, for the very reason that the variations are far-sought, his expressions have bewildered those in the modern world who were not quite on his wavelength, and have been a major cause of his reputation for obscurity. Consequently there grew up a habit of finding hidden meanings in obscure comments, and relating them to Pindar's personal life or political views, or the historical events we know about from his time. The culmination of this approach came in the book *Pindaros* by Wilamowitz, where he treated the surviving poems and fragments as source material for an attempt to sketch a biography of the poet. Bowra's book *Pindar* was in the same tradition.

This came to an end in 1962, with the publication of two very influential pamphlets by the American scholar E. L. Bundy, called *Studia Pindarica*, I and II. Bundy saw the odes as much more conventional than had most previous interpreters, and set his face firmly against the discovery in them of private opinions or beliefs of the poet; he insisted that everything in an ode was there for one purpose and one purpose only, the praise of the victor and his victory. What appear to be personal views are not those of Pindar the citizen of Thebes, but of Pindar the poet, privileged to praise this extraordinary achievement. Even apparently unhappy or sombre expressions are there for the purpose of praise, as a kind of 'foil', enhancing the brightness of the rest. Difficulties that Pindar seems to claim to be in his way and threatening to impede his aims merely represent another way of extolling the victor; acting as a pair, the poet and his client will overcome this hypothetical opposition (*N.* 4.36–43).

Thummer's edition of the *Isthmians* (1968–9) whole-heartedly

²¹ Also G. F. Gianotti, *Per una poetica Pindarica* (Turin 1975) 68–83, Verdenius 103–6.

²² A. Bresson, *Mythe et contradiction: analyse de la VIIe Olympique de Pindare* (Paris 1979) 104.

followed Bundy's approach. Since then there has been a little relaxation of the strict dogma. Interpreters such as Köhnken are not quite persuaded that absolutely everything is for praise and no personal references are made. But the personal references they find relate to the victor and the occasion, not to the poet. The consequence of all this is that the odes have regained a feeling of unity of composition which they were in danger of losing when it was thought that Pindar habitually introduced his own concerns when he felt like it. There are still odes for which we are not sure that we have the key (especially the Second Pythian and the Seventh Nemean); but in general, as will be seen in the reading of the seven poems in the present selection, each poem is an individual work of art, planned for a particular occasion, and structured and composed by the poet with absolute confidence and skill.

7. PINDAR'S STYLE

The 'colour' of Pindar's poetry is achieved in part by the brilliance and boldness of his metaphors. Attention is drawn to two in the first poem studied here, *O.* 11; ποιμαίνειν (9) 'to care for like a shepherd', of the poet's attitude to the victories which he celebrates, and ἀνθεῖ (10) 'flowers', of human success when a god helps, and to the striking mixed metaphor at *I.* 7.17–19, 'people are liable to forget anything that fails to reach the *downy surface* of poetic skill, *yoked* to fame-bringing *streams* of words', meaning that poetry is a permanent record of achievement. Such invention is constant in the poems. A particularly attractive metaphorical figure may be called 'genealogical': at *O.* 11.3 raindrops are 'watery children of the cloud', at *N.* 4.3 songs are 'daughters of the Muses', at *O.* 2.17 time is 'the father of all' (cf. also *O.* 7.70, *O.* 2.32). Other metaphors are taken from the discipline in which the athlete has been victorious. No doubt this is an intuitive result of Pindar's thinking about his contract. So, for example, the Fourth Nemean, for a wrestler, is full of terminology taken from wrestling: 36–7 'though the waters of the sea *hold you by the waist*', 57–8 Peleus experienced 'the *skilful tricks* of Akastos' wife', 93–6 a poet wishing to praise the trainer Melesias 'would *twist and turn in the struggle*, *intertwining* his words, invincible in the *tug* of the argument'.²³

²³ Köhnken 206, 208, 219, P. A. Bernadini in *Q.U.C.C.* 25 (1977) 133–40.

As to his use of language, it is not easy to compare Pindar with any other ancient author. The ancient critics included him among writers characterised as 'austere', i.e. stiff and archaic, with Aeschylus and Thucydides. But he is not particularly like Aeschylus, although contemporary; rather perhaps, in the simplicity, clarity and splendour of his phraseology he is like the Authorised Version of the Old Testament. Consider the following sentences: *I.* 4.83 (of bonfires at an all-night festival at Thebes) τοῖσιν ἐν θυμαῖσιν αὐγὰν φλόξ ἀνατελλομένα συνεχὲς παννυχίζει, *N.* 4.52–3 (of the scenery in north-west Greece) βουβόται τόθι πρῶνες ἔσοχοι κατάκεινται | Δωδῶναθεν ἀρχόμενοι πρὸς Ἴόνιον πόρον, *O.* 7.38 (of the cosmic shock of the sight and sound of the birth of Athena) Οὐρανὸς δ' ἔφριξε νιν καὶ Γαῖα μᾶτηρ, *O.* 2.62–5 (the existence of the righteous after death) ἀπονέστερον | ἔσλοῖ δέκονται βίοντον, οὐ χθόνα ταρασσόντες ἐν χερὸς ἀκμᾷ | οὐδὲ πόντιον ὕδωρ | κενεὰν παρὰ δαίταν.

It has often been noticed that Pindar habitually repeats words, as if they are echoes, in his poems. An extended list for *O.* 7 is given in the introduction to that ode. In the very carefully composed *O.* 2, parallels may be found, for example, at 2 with 100 (establishing a kind of ring-composition in the poem), 39 with 96, 62 with 94, and so on. And the sound of the words may well have a secondary effect, beyond their meaning; see the note on ἀκραντα γαρύετον at *O.* 2.87. Furthermore, it is clear that in his choice of expressions he avoids monotony as far as possible, and aims for variety. This can lead to complexity, and sometimes to modern disputes about the text. The grammar of *I.* 3.11–12, for example, is strained, a dative participle being balanced by a finite verb for the two victories of Melissos: ἐν βάσσαισιν Ἰσθμοῦ δεξαμένωι στεφάνους, τὰ δὲ κοῖλαι λέοντος | ἐν βαθυστέρνου νάπαι κάρυξε Θήβαν; and cf. *I.* 4.45–7, *O.* 7.5, with notes.

Two other features may be mentioned, the form of expression called a 'priamel', and the 'encomiastic future'. A priamel is defined by Bundy (15) as 'a focusing device, in which one or more terms serve as foil for the point of particular interest'. In other words, a priamel is a list, the earlier items of which are there primarily to prepare for the final one. The most famous example in the odes is at *O.* 1.1–7, the opening of the first poem in the collection, a poem placed there indeed for reasons which include this extravaganza. To extol the uniqueness of the Olympic games, the poet reflects on other things that are unique in their fields: 'Water is best! and gold, shining like fire in the night, is

the supreme form of wealth; but – if we are discussing games – there is nothing hotter than the sun during the day, and [finally!] there is no athletic festival to compare with that at Olympia.’ A simpler example forms the opening of *O.* 11 (‘Some need the winds; some need rain; but the successful athlete needs the poet’s song’); and some see it in the ‘god, hero, man’ sequence at the beginning of *O.* 2.²⁴

Bundy also pointed out (1 21–2), discussing *O.* 11, the frequency of what he called the ‘encomiastic future’, a future tense used in the ode of the poet’s intention when composing it (‘I will sing’ meaning ‘I am singing’); this is found at lines 14 and 16 of that poem (κελαδήσω, ἐγγυάσομαι), and at *I.* 7.39, *I.* 4.72b, *O.* 7.20, *O.* 2.2, 92.

8. PINDAR’S LANGUAGE

The genres of Greek poetry developed each its own artificial dialect, based on the areas where they had become popular, but with infusion of forms from other areas. Thus epic was composed in an amalgam of words and forms from several dialects, but with a predominantly Ionic flavour. Choral lyric was composed in ‘literary Doric’, an artificial dialect with a Doric flavour but containing also Aeolic forms from north Greece, and a very strong influence from Homer, which meant not only an addition of Ionic, but also archaic features such as the masculine genitive in -οιο. Pindar himself coming from Thebes, his natural language was the Aeolic of Boeotia, but little evidence of that has been found in his poems; and it is a striking fact that, superficially at least, one cannot find much difference between his language and that of Bacchylides, who was an Ionic speaker from the island of Ceos.

The most obvious feature of literary Doric to our eyes and ears is the preservation of the original long *alpha* which had become *eta* in Ionic (and so in Homer) and for the most part in Attic. This gives a pervasive tone to the poetry, as it does, much more surprisingly, to the choruses of Attic tragedy. Examples from our first poem (*O.* 11) are 3 νεφέλας, 4 μεγαίρνες, 5 ἀρχά, 8 ἀμετέρα, and so on.

Other linguistic features are noted here, the examples normally being the first to appear in the present selection.

²⁴ Cf. W. H. Race, *The classical priamel from Homer to Boethius*, Mnem. Suppl. 74 (1982).

Verbs

Present indicative, third person plural, in -ντι: *O.* 7.54 φαντί, *O.* 2.28 λέγοντι.

Present indicative, third person plural, in -οισι: *O.* 2.72 περιπνέοισιν.

Present and strong aorist participle feminine in -οισα: *O.* 2.25 ἀποθανοῖσα.

Weak aorist participle in -αις, -αισα: *I.* 4.38 ὀρθώσαις, *I.* 4.25 καρύξαισα.

Omission of augment in past tenses: *I.* 7.14 ἔλον, *I.* 4.23 πέσεν.

Shortened form of third person plural of long-vowel aorists: *I.* 4.38 ἔβαν.

Aorist subjunctive with short vowel: *O.* 7.3 δωρήσεται.

Infinitive in -μεν: *N.* 4.9 θέμεν, *N.* 4.35 θιγέμεν.

From the verb εἶμι, participle ἐών *I.* 4.27, infinitive ἔμμεναι *N.* 4.79, ἔμμεν *O.* 7.56.

Nouns

1st declension

Gen. plur. in -ᾶν: *I.* 7.10 ἀκαμαντολογχᾶν.

Dat. plur. in -αῖσι: *I.* 7.19 ῥοαῖσιν.

Gen. sing. masc. in -ᾶο: *I.* 7.8 Τειρεσίαο.

Gen. sing. masc. in -ᾶ: *I.* 4.45 Τελεσιάδα.

2nd declension

Gen. sing. in -οιο: *I.* 7.31 Διοδότιο.

Dat. plur. in -οῖσι: *I.* 7.23 Ἰοπλόκοισι.

3rd declension

Dat. plur. in -εσσι: *O.* 11.10 πραπίδεσσιν, *O.* 7.10 νικώντεσσιν.

Pronouns

ὁ, ἡ, τό used as a demonstrative: *O.* 11.8 τά.

ὁ, ἡ, τό used as a relative: *I.* 4.35b τάν.

Forms τοί, ταί for οἱ, αἱ: *I.* 4.7.

ἄμμι (*I.* 7.49) = ἡμῖν.

τύ (*I.* 7.31) = σύ; σέθεν (*I.* 7.15) = σοῦ; τεός (*O.* 11.12) = σός.

μιν/νιν (*O.* 11.17, *I.* 4.72) = αὐτόν, αὐτήν (epic μιν and Doric νιν seem to be used interchangeably, the choice perhaps being made for euphony; editors mostly follow the evidence of the manuscripts).²⁵

²⁵ Des Places 24.

οἱ (I. 4.64) = αὐτῶι, αὐτῇι.

σφισί (O. 7.50) = αὐτοῖς, αὐταῖς.

ἑός (O. 7.5) = αὐτοῦ 'his'.

Others

ἐς (I. 7.41) = εἰς.

ποτί (N. 4.70) = πρός.

ὦν (I. 4.7) = οὖν.

κε (N. 4.7) exactly equivalent to ἔν.

Apocope: O. 11.8 ἄγκειται, I. 7.5 ἀντεῖλας, I. 7.47 πάρ.

Tmesis: I. 7.30 ἀπὸ καὶ θανών, O. 2.37 ἐπὶ τι καὶ πῆμ' ἄγει.

Digamma in certain words, as in the Homeric epics, has the effect of obviating apparent hiatus: O. 11.20 Φῆθος, I. 4.15 Φάδον, O. 2.13 Φιανθείς, 42 Φοί, 86 Φειδώς, 93 Φετέων. (The digamma is not printed in the text.)

9. METRICAL FORM

The usual structure of a Pindaric ode is triadic: that is, it has a pattern of strophe/antistrophe/epode, in which the antistrophe repeats exactly the metrical scheme of the strophe, and the epode is different, though normally of a similar type. Each triad of a poem repeats the same metre. The odes of this kind contain from one triad (O. 11, I. 3) to five (O. 7, O. 2), apart from the unique Fourth Pythian which has thirteen triads. A few odes are monostrophic, not triadic; they are mostly among the shorter ones, but include N. 4, which has twelve metrically identical strophes.

All except one of the epinician odes fall into one of two types of metre: either 'dactylo-epitrite' or 'aeolic'. Dactylo-epitrite is verse of a powerful, almost martial, kind, involving closed dactyls, more correctly choriamb (—υυ—), commonly double (—υυ—υυ—), and cretics (—υ—), with usually a *syllaba anceps* (i.e. one that can be either short or long, though in practice more often long than short; it is marked — (if invariably long at that point in the poem) or υ in the schemes) separating the units. Aeolic lines are lighter, typically starting with a base of two syllables, in the form υ—, —υ or —, but never υυ, and containing an apparent choriamb. A common example is the glyconic: normally —υ—υυ—υ—; but there are very numerous possibilities. It has seemed easiest in this edition simply to set out the

sequence of long and short syllables in each line in the aeolic metrical schemes, without troubling the reader with disputable terminology.

Dactylo-epitrite is represented in our selection by O. 11, I. 4 with I. 3, and O. 7, aeolic by I. 7 and N. 4. Our seventh poem is the one exception mentioned above: O. 2 is composed in a kind of metre which may best be called 'paeonic', a paeon being a resolved cretic, either υυυ— or —υυυ. For more details of these metres, see the introductions to the individual odes.

The ancient colometry employed by Aristophanes of Byzantium (p. 26) presented quite short lines, or *cola*. A. Boeckh, however, in 1811, introduced a change, identifying (by word-end, hiatus, *brevis in longo* (i.e. where a short syllable stands in place of a long, a normal feature at the end of the line in Greek verse)) longer lines, usually made up of more than one Aristophanic *colon*. His principles are followed, with little variation, by all modern editors, the numeration of the *cola* however being still given on the right-hand side of the text, and used for reference to the ancient scholia.

Scansion is the same as in other Greek verse. It may be worth noting that epic correption (the scanning of a long vowel or diphthong as short in hiatus between words) is permitted (e.g. I. 4.47 ἀέτοῦ δ̄); and that whereas adjacent vowels within words are often left uncontracted as in epic (I. 7.32 αἰνέων), the two vowels nevertheless often coalesce metrically by synizesis (O. 11.13 χρυσέας), which comes to much the same thing as contraction.

On the relationship between form and content, Pindar exercises a relaxed control. Most odes that are longer than one triad show a clear symmetry of composition, reflecting their division into triads. See I. 4, symmetrical by the placing of the myth of Aias in the exact centre; N. 4, where the twelve strophes fall into groups of three, as if the ode were triadic after all, the six central strophes constituting the mythological section; O. 7, where there is a most clear division of the five triads, with three separate myths of Rhodes occupying the central three, and the rest of the necessary content occupying the first and last. In the central (mythical) triads of this poem, however, and in I. 7, Pindar seems to have avoided too precise an articulation of the content to fit the triads by slightly 'skewing' the form, so that it is symmetrical overall, but overlaps at the points of metrical division. Finally, O. 2, exceptional in so many ways, takes this freedom rather further, while still paying attention to the metrical divisions.

10. THE TEXT AND SCHOLIA²⁶

Behind the tidy presentation of the poems in our editions lies much accident and selection. The epinician odes were of course composed for particular occasions, and Pindar himself, while presumably keeping copies, did not publish them in book form. Their survival probably depended originally on his fame, and later on records kept among the victor's descendants or in his city. We can see in the plays of Aristophanes (*Clouds* especially) that some poems by the lyric poets had become well known in the second half of the fifth century, and were used in the education of the young, in music as well as in literature. After that time it is probable that a selection of Pindar's poems was available in book form in Athens, for Plato quotes him frequently. Such quotations are not for the most part from the epinician odes; indeed the most famous discussions by Plato are of one well-known poem beginning νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεύς (Pindar, fr. 169; Plato, *Gorgias* 484B), of unknown genre, but certainly not epinician, and the dirge (fr. 133) quoted in Appendix B, which we owe to Plato, *Meno* 81A-C. In the later fourth century libraries began to appear in Athens and Rhodes, which implies the collection and availability of texts; and King Ptolemy I of Egypt established the greatest library in the ancient world in the Museum at Alexandria from around 300 BC.

The scholars at that library in Alexandria made it their business to collect the works of the Greek poets from whatever source, and this must have been the time when poems previously surviving only in local collections were added. The great librarians worked on Pindar, Zenodotus (early in the third century) perhaps being responsible for collecting the material, and later the great Homeric critic Aristarchus (second century) writing a commentary. In between these two, Aristophanes of Byzantium, librarian for twenty years from about 200, did the most important work of all. He produced an edition in seventeen books (i.e. papyrus rolls) which became the vulgate text and which lies behind the later papyri and manuscripts. Aristophanes assigned the poems to the books, and established the order within them. Moreover, he employed a system of colometry, with short lines of uneven length,

²⁶ On the whole of this section, see Irigoin, *Histoire du texte de Pindare*; on the manuscripts see also Turyn, *Prolegomena* to his edition.

which was used for the poems in manuscripts and printed books until Boeckh's edition of 1811.

Having sketched the early history of the text from the time of the poet to the establishment of the Alexandrian edition, we must change the direction of our gaze, and look back from modern printed editions to their source in the medieval manuscripts which lay behind them. A dozen or so manuscripts, dating from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, and so protected by their date from any suspicion of interpolation by Triclinius or other Byzantine scholars who edited the text towards the end of that period, are used by modern editors. The majority, however, contain either the *Olympians* alone or the *Olympians* and *Pythians*; by the time we reach the *Isthmians*, there are only two sources from this group, manuscripts B and D. The following table is derived from the Preface to the Teubner edition of Snell-Maehler, and lists all the manuscripts which may be quoted in the apparatus to the text here.

		location	date	contents
Ambrosian recension				
A	Ambrosianus C 222 inf.	Milan	c. 1280	O. 1-O. 12
Vatican recension				
CNOV = ζ				
C	Parisinus Graecus 2774	Paris	c. 1300	O. 1-P. 5
N	Ambrosianus E 103 sup.	Milan	end of 13th cent.	O. 1-O. 14
O	Leidensis Q 4 B	Leiden	c. 1300	O. 1-O. 13
V	Parisinus Graecus 2403	Paris	end of 13th cent.	O. 1-N. 6
BDEGL = v				
B	Vaticanus Graecus 1312	Rome	end of 12th cent.	O. 1-I. 8
D	Laurentianus 32, 52	Florence	beg. of 14th cent.	O. 1-I. 9.8
E	Laurentianus 32, 37	Florence	c. 1300	O. 1-P. 12
G	Gotting. philol. 29	Göttingen	mid-13th cent.	O. 1-N. 3
L	Vaticanus Graecus 902	Rome	beg. of 14th cent.	O. 1-O. 10

The two recensions began as separate editions perhaps in the fourth/fifth century AD, their common ancestor being an edition of the second century, made soon after the decision by unknown scholars to select the four books of the epinicians from among the seventeen books, probably for teaching purposes. This is the time when similar selections appear among the plays of the tragedians. Irigoin suggests that the new edition may have coincided with the transfer of the texts of the poets from the old papyrus rolls to bound codex volumes; and that in this transfer, making a single codex out of what had been four rolls, the order was accidentally confused, and the *Nemean*s placed in front of the *Isthmians*, where they have remained.²⁷ At a later date, the end of the *Isthmians* was lost.

Earlier than any of the medieval manuscripts, small parts of the text are represented on papyrus. Those that give parts of the present selection are:

	<i>name</i>	<i>location</i>	<i>contents</i>
Π ¹	<i>Pap. Oxy.</i> 1614	Cambridge	<i>O.</i> 1.106–2.43, <i>O.</i> 6.72–7.21
Π ²	<i>Pap. Oxy.</i> 2092	Oxford	<i>O.</i> 2.16–28, 42–94
Π ²²	<i>PSI</i> 1277	Florence	<i>O.</i> 6.103–7.10

In the margins of the manuscripts are found scholia (Σ), the remains of ancient commentaries, going back most importantly to the work of Didymus, who lived in the time of Augustus, and often recorded the views of predecessors such as Aristarchus. These are of course invaluable, both for their evidence of ancient disputes about the text and for discussion of its meaning. They are available in three volumes edited by A. B. Drachmann.²⁸

The modern text of Pindar began with Boeckh at the beginning of the nineteenth century. He was followed in that century by Bergk (1843¹, 1878⁴), Mommsen (1864), Gildersleeve (*Olympians* and *Pythians*, 1885) and Christ (1896); and in the twentieth century by Schroeder (1900), the Teubner editions of Schroeder (from 1908), Snell (from 1953) and Maehler (from 1969), Bowra (the Oxford Classical Text, 1935) and Turyn (1952). The present edition follows these distinguished predecessors, making a choice when they occasionally

²⁷ Irigoin 98–100. ²⁸ 1903–27, repr. 1964.

disagree, but is based on Snell–Maehler and follows their numbering of the fragments.

It differs, however, in the following places:

	<i>Snell–Maehler 1987</i>	<i>This edition</i>
<i>O.</i> 11.17	ὕμιν	μή μιν
18	μήτ'	μηδ'
<i>I.</i> 7.28	†λοιγὸν ἀμύνων†	λοιγὸν ἀντὰ φέρων
40	ὅτι	ὅ τι
<i>I.</i> 4.18a	ποικίλα	ποικίλων
35a	τέχνα	τέχναι
51	ἀκμᾶι	αἰχμᾶι
56	βαθύκρημον	βαθυκρήμου
<i>I.</i> 3.8	χαρίτεσσιν	χαρίτεσσι
17a	λαβδακίδαισιν	λαβδακίδαισι
<i>N.</i> 4.16	ὕμνον	υἶόν
25	σύν	ξύν
31	συνιείς	ξυνιείς
37	ἐπιβουλίαις	ἐπιβουλίαι
39	ἄλλος	ἄλλος
60	Χίρων	Χείρων
64	καί	τε
67	τὰν	τᾶς
<i>O.</i> 7.10	κατέχωντ'	κατέχοντ'
76	μοίρας	μοῖραν
83	νιν	μιν
86	τ' Αἰγίνα	τ' Αἰγίνα
<i>O.</i> 2.26	νιν	μιν
54	†ἀγροτέραν	ἀγροτέραν
56	νιν	μιν
65	κεινάν	κενεᾶν
87	γαρυέτων	γαρύετον
97	θέλων	θέλων

There is different punctuation at *I.* 7.39, *I.* 4.33, 35b, *N.* 4.38, 41, 60, *O.* 7.14, 48, 74–5, *O.* 2.58.

Recent commentaries on separate books have been: *Olympians* Fernández-Galiano (1956), Lehnus (1981); *Isthmians* Thummer (1968–9), Privitera (1982).

PINDAR

OLYMPIAN 11; ISTHMIANS 7, 4 AND 3;
NEMEAN 4; OLYMPIANS 7 AND 2

ELEVENTH OLYMPIAN ODE
ΑΓΗΣΙΔΑΜΩΙ ΛΟΚΡΩΙ ΕΠΙΖΕΦΥΡΙΩΙ
ΠΑΙΔΙ ΠΥΚΤΗΙ

Ἔστιν ἀνθρώποις ἀνέμων ὅτε πλείστα
 χρησίς· ἔστιν δ' οὐρανίων ὑδάτων,
 ὀμβρίων παίδων νεφέλας·
 εἰ δὲ σὺν πόνῳ τις εὖ πράσσοι, μελιγάρυες ὕμνοι
 5 ὑστέρων ἀρχὰ λόγων 5
 τέλλεται καὶ πιστὸν ὄρκιον μεγάλαις ἀρεταῖς·
 — ἀφθόνητος δ' αἶνος Ὀλυμπιονίκαις
 οὗτος ἄγκειται. τὰ μὲν ἀμετέρα
 γλῶσσα ποιμαίνειν ἐθέλει,
 10 ἐκ θεοῦ δ' ἀνὴρ σοφαῖς ἀνθεῖ πραπίδεσσιν ὁμοίως. 10
 ἴσθι νῦν, Ἀρχεστράτου
 — παῖ, τεῆς, Ἀγησίδαμε, πυγμαχίας ἔνεκεν
 κόσμον ἐπὶ στεφάνῳ χρυσέας ἐλαίας
 ἀδυμελῇ κελαδήσω,
 15 Ζεφυρίων Λοκρῶν γενεὰν ἀλέγων. 15
 ἔνθα συγκωμάξαι· ἐγγυάσομαι
 μή μιν, ὦ Μοῖσαι, φυγόμενον στρατὸν
 μηδ' ἀπείρατον καλῶν
 ἀκρόσοφόν τε καὶ αἰχματὰν ἀφίξε-
 σθαι. τὸ γὰρ ἐμφυές οὔτ' αἰθῶν ἀλώπηξ
 20 οὔτ' ἐρίβρομοι λέοντες διαλλάξαιντο ἦθος. 20

8 ἄγκειται schol., Byz.: ἔγκειται codd. 10 ὁμοίως e schol. Leutsch: ὁμῶς ὦν
 ζ: om. Av 15 Ζεφυρίων Boehmer: τῶν ἐπιζεφυρίων codd. 17 μή μιν
 codd.: μή τιν' Thiersch: ὕμιν Bergk 18 μηδ' codd.: μήτ' Bergk 20
 διαλλάξαιντο codd.: διαλλάξαιντ' ἂν C (supra lineam): διαλλάξαντο Lehrs

SEVENTH ISTHMIAN ODE

ΣΤΡΕΨΙΑΔΑΙ ΘΗΒΑΙΩΙ ΠΑΓΚΡΑΤΙΩΙ

Α' Τίνι τῶν πάρος, ὦ μάκαιρα Θήβα,
 καλῶν ἐπιχωρίων μάλιστα θυμὸν τεόν
 εὐφραναι; ἦρα χαλκοκρότου πάρεδρον
 Δαμάτερος ἀνίκ' εὐρυχαίταν
 5 ἀντειλας Διόνυσον, ἣ χρυσῶι μεσονύκτιον
 νείφοντα δεξαμένα τὸν φέρτατον θεῶν,
 — ὅπότ' Ἀμφιτρύωνος ἐν θυρέτροις
 σταθῆις ἄλοχον μετῆλθεν Ἑρακλείοις γοναῖς;
 ἦ ἀμφὶ πυκναῖς Τειρεσίαο βουλαῖς;
 ἦ ἀμφ' Ἰόλαον ἱππότητην;
 10 ἦ Σπαρτῶν ἀκαμαντολογχᾶν; ἦ ὅτε καρτερᾶς
 Ἄδραστος ἐξ ἀλαλᾶς ἀμπεμψας ὀρφανόν
 — μυρίων ἐτάρων ἐς Ἄργος ἱππιον;
 ἦ Δωρίδ' ἀποικίαν οὐνεκεν ὀρθῶι
 ἔστασας ἐπὶ σφυρῶι
 Λακεδαιμονίων, ἔλον δ' Ἀμύκλας
 15 Αἰγεῖδαι σέθεν ἔκγονοι, μαντεύμασι Πυθίοις;
 ἀλλὰ παλαιὰ γάρ
 εὐδαι χάρις, ἀμνάμονες δὲ βροτοί,
)— Β' ὅ τι μὴ σοφίας ἄωτον ἄκρον
 κλυταῖς ἐπέων ῥοαῖσιν ἐξίκεται ζυγόν·
 20 κώμαζ' ἔπειτεν ἀδυμελεῖ σὺν ὕμνῳ
 καὶ Στρεψιάδαι· φέρει γὰρ Ἴσθμοι
 νίκαν παγκρατίου, σθένει τ' ἐκπαγλὸς ἰδεῖν τε μορ-
 φάεις, ἄγει τ' ἀρετὰν οὐκ αἴσχιον φυᾶς.
 — φλέγεται δὲ ἰοπλόκοισι Μοῖσαις,

8 ἢ Benedictus: ἦ δτ' codd. 9 ἢ Schmid: ἦ δτ' codd. 22 αἴσχιον B:
 αἴσχιον D: αἴσχιω Triclinius 23 δὲ ἰοπλόκοισι Bergk: δ' ἰοπλοκάμοισι
 codd.

μάτρῳ θ' ὁμωνύμῳ δέδωκε κοινὸν θάλας,
 25 χάλκασπις ὧι πότμον μὲν Ἄρης ἔμειξεν,
 τιμὰ δ' ἀγαθοῖσιν ἀντίκειται.
 ἴστω γὰρ σαφὲς ὅστις ἐν ταύται νεφέλαι χάλα-
 ζαν αἵματος πρὸ φίλας πάτρας ἀμύνεται,
 — λοιγὸν ἀντὰ φέρων ἐναντίῳ στρατῶι,
 ἀστῶν γενεᾷ μέγιστον κλέος αὖξων
 30 ζῶων τ' ἀπὸ καὶ θανῶν.
 τὺ δέ, Διοδότοιο παῖ, μαχατάν
 αἰνέων Μελέαγρον, αἰνέων δὲ καὶ Ἑκτορα
 Ἀμφιάραόν τε,
 εὐανθέ' ἀπέπνευσας ἀλικίαν
)— Γ' προμάχων ἀν' ὀμιλον, ἐνθ' ἄριστοι
 36 ἔσχον πολέμοιο νεῖκος ἐσχάταις ἐλπίσιν.
 15 ἔτλαν δὲ πένθος οὐ φατόν· ἀλλὰ νῦν μοι
 Γαῖόχοις εὐδίαν ὅπασσεν
 ἐκ χειμῶνος. αἰέσομαι χαίταν στεφάνοισιν ἀρ-
 μόζων. ὃ δ' ἀθανάτων μὴ θρασσέτω φθόνος.
 20 40 ὃ τι τερπνὸν ἐφάμερον διώκων
 ἔκαλος ἔπειμι γῆρας ἐς τε τὸν μόρσιμον
 αἰῶνα. θνάνισκομεν γὰρ ὁμῶς ἅπαντες·
 δαίμων δ' αἴσος· τὰ μακρὰ δ' εἴ τις
 25 παπταίνει, βραχὺς ἐξικέσθαι χαλκόπεδον θεῶν
 ἔδραν· ὃ τοι πτερόεις ἔρριψε Πάγασος
 — 45 δεσπότην ἐθέλοντ' ἐς οὐρανοῦ σταθμούς
 ἐλθεῖν μεθ' ὁμάγυριν Βελλεροφόνταν
 Ζηνός. τὸ δὲ πὰρ δίκαν
 γλυκὺ πικροτάτα μένει τελευτά.
 ἄμμι δ', ὦ χρυσέαι κόμαι θάλλων, πόρε, Λοξία,
 50 τεῖσιν ἀμίλλαισιν
 εὐανθέα καὶ Πυθοῖ στέφανον.

28 ἀντὰ φέρων Thiersch: ἀμύνων codd.

FOURTH ISTHMIAN ODE
ΜΕΛΙΣΣΩΙ ΘΗΒΑΙΩΙ ΙΠΠΟΙΣ

Α' Ἔστι μοι θεῶν ἑκατι μυρία παντᾶι κέλευθος,
ὦ Μέλισσ', εὐμαχανίαν γὰρ ἔφανα· Ἰσθμίους,
ὑμετέρας ἀρετὰς ὕμνῳ διώκειν·
αἴσι Κλεωνυμίδαι θάλλοντες αἰεὶ
5 σὺν θεῷ θνατὸν διέρχον-
ται βιότου τέλος. ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλοιός οὖρος
πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐπαῖσσαν ἐλαύνει.
τοὶ μὲν ὦν Θήβαισι τιμάντες ἀρχᾶθεν λέγονται
πρόξενοί τ' ἀμφικτιόνων κελαδενᾶς τ' ὄρφανοί
ὑβριοῦ· ὅσσα δ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους αἵται
10 μαρτύρια φθιμένων ζῶων τε φωτῶν
ἀπλέτου δόξας, ἐπέψαυ-
σαν κατὰ πᾶν τέλος· ἀνορέαις δ' ἐσχάταισιν
οἴκοθεν στάλαισιν ἄπτονθ' Ἡρακλείαις·
καὶ μηκέτι μακροτέραν σπεύδειν ἀρετάν·
ἵπποτρόφοι τ' ἐγένοντο,
15 χαλκέῳ τ' Ἄρει ἄδον.
ἀλλ' ἀμέραι γὰρ ἐν μιᾷ
17a τραχεῖα νιφὰς πολέμοιο τεσσάρων
b ἀνδρῶν ἐρήμωσεν μάκαιραν ἐστίαν·
18a νῦν δ' αὖ μετὰ χειμέριον ποικίλων μηνῶν ζόφον
b χθῶν ὥτε φοινικέοισιν ἀνθῆσεν ῥόδοις
)—
Β' δαιμόνων βουλαῖς. ὁ κινητὴρ δὲ γὰρ Ὀγχηστὸν οἰκέων
20 καὶ γέφυραν ποντιάδα πρὸ Κορίνθου τειχέων,
τόνδε πορῶν γενεᾶι θαυμαστὸν ὕμνον
ἐκ λεχέων ἀνάγει φάμαν παλαιάν
εὐκλέων ἔργων· ἐν ὕπνῳ
γὰρ πέσεν· ἀλλ' ἀνεγειρομένα χρῶτα λάμπει,

Inscr. ΙΠΠΟΙΣ Bowra, Privitera: ΠΑΓΚΡΑΤΙΩΙ edd. plerique 5 βιότου
Donaldson: βίου codd. 18 χειμέριον ποικίλων codd.: χειμερίων ποικίλα
Hartung

Ἄοσφόρος θαητὸς ὥς ἄστροις ἐν ἄλλοις·
25 ἃ τε κὰν γουνοῖς Ἀθανᾶν ἄρμα καρύξαισα νικᾶν
ἐν τ' Ἀδρασταίοις ἀέθλοις Σικυῶνος ὥπασεν
τοιάδε τῶν τότε ἑόντων φύλλ' αἰοιδᾶν.
οὐδὲ παναγυρίων ξυνᾶν ἀπείχον
καμπύλον δίφρον, Πανελλά-
νεσσι δ' ἐριζόμενοι δαπάναι χαῖρον ἵππων.
30 τῶν ἀπειράτων γὰρ ἄγνωστοι σιωπαί.
ἔστιν δ' ἀφάνεια τύχας καὶ μαρναμένων,
πρὶν τέλος ἄκρον ἰκέσθαι·
τῶν τε γὰρ καὶ τῶν διδοῖ
καὶ κρέσσον' ἀνδρῶν χειρόνων
35a ἔσφαλε τέχνη καταμάρψαισ'· ἴστε μάν
b Αἴαντος ἀλκὰν φοίνιον, τὰν ὀψίαι
36a ἐν νυκτὶ ταμῶν περὶ ὧι φασγάνῳ μομφὰν ἔχει
b παιδεσσιν Ἑλλάνων ὅσοι Τροίανδ' ἔβαν.
)—
Γ' ἀλλ' Ὀμηρὸς τοι τετίμακεν δι' ἀνθρώπων, ὅς αὐτοῦ
πᾶσαν ὀρθώσας ἀρετὴν κατὰ ῥάβδον ἔφρασεν
θεσπεσίῳ ἐπέῳ λοιποῖς ἀθύρειν.
40 τοῦτο γὰρ ἀθάνατον φωνᾶεν ἔρπει,
εἴ τις εὖ εἴπηι τι· καὶ πάγ-
καρπον ἐπὶ χθόνα καὶ διὰ πόντον βέβακεν
ἐργμάτων ἀκτὶς καλῶν ἀσβεστος αἰεὶ.
—
προφρόνων Μοισᾶν τύχοιμεν,
κεῖνον ἄψαι πυρσὸν ὕμνων
καὶ Μελίσσῳι, παγκρατίου στεφάνωμ' ἐπάξιον,
75 ἔρνεϊ Τελεσιάδᾳ. τόλμαι γὰρ εἰκὼς
θυμὸν ἐριβρεμετᾶν θηρῶν λεόντων
ἐν πόνῳ, μῆτιν δ' ἀλώπηξ,
αἰετοῦ ἃ τ' ἀναπιτναμένα ῥόμβον ἴσχει·

33 διδοῖ Triclin.: διδοῖ τέλος codd. 35 τέχνη B: τέχνα D 46 θυμὸν
codd.: θυμῷ Christ θηρῶν Heyne: θηρᾶν codd.: θηρᾶι e schol. Hermann

- χρη δὲ πᾶν ἔρδοντ' ἄμαυρῶσαι τὸν ἐχθρόν.
οὐ γὰρ φύσιν ὦαριωνεῖαν ἔλαχεν·
- 50 ἀλλ' ὄνοτός μὲν ἰδέσθαι,
συμπεσεῖν δ' αἰχμᾷ βαρύς.
καὶ τοί ποτ' Ἀνταίου δόμους
- 53a Θηβᾶν ἄπο Καδμεῖαν μορφὰν βραχύς,
b ψυχὰν δ' ἄκαμπτος, προσπαλαίσων ἦλθ' ἀνὴρ
- 54a τὰν πυροφόρον Λιβύαν, κρανίοις ὄφρα ξένων
b ναὸν Ποσειδάωνος ἐρέφοντα σχέθιοι,
)—
- Δ' υἱὸς Ἀλκμήνας· ὃς Οὐλυμπόνδ' ἔβα, γαίης τε πάσας
καὶ βαθυκρήνου πολιᾶς ἀλὸς ἐξευρών θέναρ,
ναυτιλίαισί τε πορθμὸν ἡμερώσας.
νῦν δὲ παρ' Αἰγίοχῳ κάλλιστον ὄλβον
ἄμφεπων ναίει, τετίμα-
ταί τε πρὸς ἀθανάτων φίλος, Ἦβαν τ' ὀπυῖει,
- 60 χρυσέων οἴκων ἄναξ καὶ γαμβρὸς Ἦρας.
— τῷ μὲν Ἀλεκτράν ὑπερθεὶν δαῖτα πορσύνοντες ἄστοι
καὶ νεόδματὰ στεφανώματα βωμῶν αὔξομεν
ἔμπυρα χαλκοαρᾶν ὀκτῶ θανόντων,
τοὺς Μεγάρα τέκε οἱ Κρεοντίς υἱούς·
- 65 τοῖσιν ἐν δυθμαῖσιν αὐγᾶν
φλόξ ἀνατελλομένη συνεχὲς παννυχίζει,
αἰθέρα κνισάεντι λακτίζουσα καπνῶι,
— καὶ δεύτερον ἄμαρ ἐτείων τέρμ' ἀέθλων
γίνεται, ἰσχύος ἔργον.
ἐνθα λευκωθείς κάρα
- 70 μύρτοις ὃδ' ἀνὴρ διπλόαν
71a νίκαν ἀνεφάνατο παίδων τε τρίταν
b πρόσθεν, κυβερνατῆρος οἰακοστρόφου
- 72a γινώμαι πεπιθὼν πολυβούλῳ· σὺν Ὀρσεῖ δέ νιν
b κωμάξομαι τερπνὰν ἐπιστάζων χάριν.

51 αἰχμᾷ codd.: ἀκμᾷ Pauw

71 τε Hermann: om. codd.

THIRD ISTHMIAN ODE

ΜΕΛΙΣΣΩΙ ΘΗΒΑΙΩΙ ΙΠΠΟΙΣ

85

Εἴ τις ἀνδρῶν εὐτυχήσας ἢ σὺν εὐδόξοις ἀέθλοις
ἢ σθένει πλούτου κατέχει φρασὶν αἰανῇ κόρον,
ἄξιος εὐλογίαις ἀστῶν μεμίχθαι.

5

90

Ζεῦ, μεγάλα δ' ἄρεταὶ θνατοῖς ἔπονται

5 ἐκ σέθεν· ζῶει δὲ μάσσων

ὄλβος ὀπιζομένων, πλαγίαις δὲ φρένεσσιν
οὐχ ὁμῶς πάντα χρόνον θάλλων ὀμιλεῖ.

10

95

εὐκλέων δ' ἔργων ὅποινα χρητὴν μὲν ὑμνῆσαι τὸν ἐσλόν,
χρητὴν δὲ κωμάζοντ' ἀγαναῖς χαρίτεσσι βαστάσαι.

15

100

ἔστι δὲ καὶ διδύμων ἀέθλων Μελίσσῳ

10 μοῖρα πρὸς εὐφροσύναν τρέψαι γλυκεῖαν

ἦτορ, ἐν βάσσασιν Ἰσθμοῦ

δεξαμένῳ στεφάνους, τὰ δὲ κοίλαι λέοντος

ἐν βαθυστέρνου νάπαι κάρυξε Θήβαν

20

105

— ἵπποδρομίαι κρατέων· ἀνδρῶν δ' ἄρετὰν

σύμφυτον οὐ κατελέγχει.

15 ἵστε μὲν Κλεωνύμου

δόξαν παλαιὰν ἄρμασιν·

25

110

17a καὶ ματρόθε Λαβδακίδαισι σύννομοι

b πλούτου διέστειχον τετραοριᾶν πόνους.

18a αἰὼν δὲ κυλινδομέναις ἀμέραις ἄλλ' ἄλλοτ' ἐξ-

30

115

b ἄλλαξεν. ἄτρωτοί γε μὲν παῖδες θεῶν.

120

8 χαρίτεσσι codd.: χαρίτεσσιν Er. Schmid 12 βαθυστέρνου codd.:
βαθυστέρνωι schol. (cf. N. 9.25) 17 Λαβδακίδαισι codd.: Λαβδακίδαισιν
Boeckh

FOURTH NEMEAN ODE

ΤΙΜΑΣΑΡΧΩΙ ΑΙΓΙΝΗΤΗ ΠΑΙΔΙ ΠΑΛΑΙΣΤΗ

- Α' Ἄριστος εὐφροσύνα πόνων κεκριμένων
 Ιατρός· αἱ δὲ σοφαί
 Μοισᾶν θύγατρες αἰοδαὶ θέλξαν νιν ἀπτόμεναι.
 οὐδὲ θερμὸν ὕδωρ τόσον γε μαλθακὰ τεύχει
 5 γυῖα, τόσσον εὐλογία φόρμιγγι συνάορος.
 ῥῆμα δ' ἐργμάτων χρονιώτερον βιοτεύει,
 ὃ τι κε σὺν Χαρίτων τύχαι
 γλῶσσα φρενὸς ἐξέλοι βαθείας.
- Β' τό μοι θέμεν Κρονίδαι τε Διὶ καὶ Νεμέαι
 10 Τιμασάρχου τε πάλαι
 ὕμνον προκώμιον εἴη· δέξαιτο δ' Αἰακιδᾶν
 ἡύπυργον ἔδος, δίκαι ξεναρκέϊ κοινόν
 φέγγος. εἰ δ' ἔτι ζαμενεῖ Τιμόκριτος ἀλῶι
 σὸς πατήρ ἐθάλπετο, ποικίλον κιθαρίζων
 15 θαμὰ κε, τῶιδε μέλει κλιθεῖς,
 υἱὸν κελάδησε καλλίνικον
- Γ' Κλεωναίου τ' ἀπ' ἀγῶνος ὄρμον στεφάνων
 πέμψαντα καὶ λιπαρᾶν
 εὐωνύμων ἀπ' Ἀθανᾶν, Θήβαις τ' ἐν ἑπταπύλοις
 20 οὔνεκ' Ἀμφιτρύωνος ἀγλαὸν παρὰ τύμβον
 Καδμεῖοί νιν οὐκ ἀέκοντες ἀνθεσι μείγνυνον,
 Αἰγίνας ἕκατι. φίλοισι γὰρ φίλος ἐλθὼν
 ξένιον ἄστυ κατέδρακεν
 Ἡρακλέος ὀλβίαν πρὸς αὐλάν.
- Δ' ξὺν ὧι ποτε Τροίαν κραταιὸς Τελαμών
 26 πόρθησε καὶ Μέροπας

FOURTH NEMEAN ODE

41

- καὶ τὸν μέγαν πολεμιστὰν ἔκπαγλον Ἀλκυονῇ,
 οὐ τετραορίας γε πρὶν δυώδεκα πέτρῳ
 45 ἥροάς τ' ἐπεμβεβαῶτας ἵπποδάμους ἔλεν
- 30 δις τόσους. ἀπειρομάχας ἑὼν κε φανείη
 λόγον ὃ μὴ ξυνείης· ἐπεὶ
 ῥέζοντά τι καὶ παθεῖν ἔοικεν.
- Ε' τὰ μακρὰ δ' ἐξενέπειν ἐρύκει με τεθμός
 ὦραί τ' ἐπειγόμεναι·
 55 ἱϋγγί δ' ἔλκομαι ἤτορ νεομηνίαι θιγέμεν.
 ἔμπα, καίπερ ἔχει βαθεῖα ποντιάς ἄλμα
 μέσσον, ἀντίτειν' ἐπιβουλίαι· σφόδρα δόξομεν
 60 δαΐων ὑπέρτεροι ἐν φάει καταβαίνειν.
 φθονερά δ' ἄλλος ἀνὴρ βλέπων
 40 γνῶμαν κενεὰν σκότῳ κυλίνδει
- Ζ' χαμαὶ πετοῖσαν· ἐμοὶ δ' ὁποῖαν ἀρετὰν
 ἔδωκε Πότμος ἄναξ,
 εὔ οἱδ' ὅτι χρόνος ἔρπων πεπρωμέναν τελέσει.
 70 ἐξύφαινε, γλυκεῖα, καὶ τόδ' αὐτίκα, φόρμιγξ,
 45 Λυδίαί σὺν ἀρμονίαι μέλος πεφιλημένον
 Οἰνῶναι τε καὶ Κύπρῳ, ἐνθα Τεῦκρος ἀπάρχει
 ὁ Τελαμωνιάδας· ἀτάρ
 Αἴας Σαλαμῖν' ἔχει πατρώϊαν·
- Ζ' ἐν δ' Εὐξείνῳι πελάγει φαεννὰν Ἀχιλεὺς
 80 νᾶσον· Θέτις δὲ κρατεῖ
 50 Φθίαι· Νεοπτόλεμος δ' ἀπείρῳι διαπρυσίαι,
 βουβόται τόθι πρῶνες ἔσοχοι κατάκεινται
 85 Δωδῶναθεν ἀρχόμενοι πρὸς Ἴόνιον πόρον.
 Παλίου δὲ πᾶρ ποδὶ λατρίαν Ἰαολκόν
 55 πολεμῖαι χερὶ προστραπῶν
 Πηλεὺς παρέδωκεν Αἰμόνεσιν

Inscr. ΠΑΙΔΙ add. Boeckh
 ὕμνον codd.

8 ἐξέλοι codd.: ἐξέλη Bergk

16 υἱὸν Bergk:

36 καίπερ codd.: καίπερ (i.e. καὶ εἴπερ) Christ
 ἐπιβουλῆς V

37 ἐπιβουλῆς BD:

- Η' δάμαρτος Ἴππολύτας Ἀκάστου δολίαις
τέχναισι χρησάμενος·
τᾷ Δαιδάλου δὲ μαχαίραι φύτευέ οἱ θάνατον
95
60 ἐκ λόχου Πελῖαο παῖς· ἄλλακε δὲ Χειρῶν.
καὶ τὸ μόρσιμον Διόθεν πεπρωμένον ἔκφερον·
100 πῦρ δὲ παγκρατὲς θρασυμαχάνων τε λεόντων
ὄνυχας ὀξύτάτους ἀκμάν
τε δεινотάτων σχάσαις ὁδόντων
—
Θ' ἔγαμεν ὑψιθρόνων μίαν Νηρείδων.
105 εἶδεν δ' εὐκυκλον ἔδραν,
τᾶς οὐρανοῦ βασιλῆες πόντου τ' ἐφεζόμενοι
δῶρα καὶ κράτος ἐξέφαναν ἐγγενὲς αὐτῶι.
Γαδείρων τὸ πρὸς ζόφον οὐ περατόν· ἀπότηρεπε
70 αὐτίς Εὐρώπην ποτὶ χέρσον ἔντεα ναός·
115 ἄπορα γὰρ λόγον Αἰακοῦ
παίδων τὸν ἅπαντά μοι διελθεῖν.
—
I' Θεανδρίδαισι δ' ἀεξιγυῖων ἀέθλων
κάρυξ ἐτοῖμος ἔβαν
120 75 Οὐλύμπιαι τε καὶ Ἴσθμοῖ Νεμέαι τε συνθέμενος,
ἐνθα πείραν ἔχοντες οἴκαδε κλυτοκάρπων
οὐ νέοντ' ἄνευ στεφάνων, πάτραν ἴν' ἀκούομεν,
125 Τιμάσαρχε, τῶν ἐπινικίοισιν ἀοιδαῖς
πρόπολον ἔμμεναι. εἰ δέ τοι
80 μάρτρωι μ' ἔτι Καλλικλεῖ κελεύεις
130
—
ΙΑ' στάλαν θέμεν Παρίου λίθου λευκοτέραν·
ὁ χρυσὸς ἐψόμενος
αὐγὰς ἔδειξεν ἀπάσας, ὕμνος δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν
135 ἐργμάτων βασιλεῦσιν ἰσοδαίμονα τεύχει
85 φῶτα· κείνος ἄμφ' Ἀχέροντι ναιετάων ἑμάν

59 Δαιδάλου codd.: δαιδάλωι Didymus 64 τε codd.: καὶ Ahlwardt
67 τᾶς codd.: τὰν Herwerden 68 ἐγγενὲς Rittershusius e schol.: ἐς γενέας
codd.: ἐς γένος Ursinus

- γλῶσσαν εὐρέτω κελαδῆτιν, Ὀρσοτριάινά
140 ἴν' ἐν ἀγῶνι βαρυκτύπου
θάλησε Κορινθίοις σελίνοις·
—
IB' τὸν Εὐφάνης ἐθέλων γεραιὸς προπάτρω
145 σὸς ἀεισέν ποτε, παῖ.
90 ἄλλοισι δ' ἄλικες ἄλλοι· τὰ δ' αὐτὸς ἀντιτύχηι,
ἔλπεταί τις ἕκαστος ἐξοχώτατα φάσθαι.
150 οἷον αἰνέων κε Μελησίαν ἔριδα στρέφοι,
ῥήματα πλέκων, ἀπάλαιστος ἐν λόγῳ ἔλκειν,
95 μαλακά μὲν φρονέων ἐσλοῖς,
155 τραχὺς δὲ παλιγκότοις ἐφεδρος.

90 σὸς ἀεισέν ποτε, παῖ Boeckh: ὁ σὸς ἀείσεται, παῖ codd.: ἀείσεται, παῖ, ὁ σὸς
Mommson

SEVENTH OLYMPIAN ODE
ΔΙΑΓΟΡΑΙ ΡΟΔΙΩΙ ΠΥΚΤΗΙ

Α' Φιάλαν ὥς εἴ τις ἀφνειᾷς ἀπὸ χειρὸς ἑλών
ἔνδον ἀμπέλου καυχάζοισαν δρόσωι
δωρήσεται
νεανίαι γαμβρῶι προπίνων
οἴκοθεν οἴκαδε, πάγχρυσον, κορυφὰν κτεάνων,
5 συμποσίου τε χάριν κᾶ-
δὸς τε τιμάσαις ἑόν, ἐν δὲ φίλων
παρεόντων θῆκε νιν ζαλωτὸν ὁμόφρονος εὐνᾶς·
καὶ ἐγὼ νέκταρ χυτόν, Μοισᾶν δόσιν, ἄεθλοφόροις
ἀνδράσιν πέμπων, γλυκὺν καρπὸν φρενός,
ἰλάσκομαι,
10 Ὀλυμπίαι Πυθοῖ τε νικῶν-
τεςσιν· ὁ δ' ὄλβιος, ὃν φᾶμαι κατέχοντ' ἀγαθαί·
ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλον ἐποπτεύ-
ει Χάρις ζωθάλμιος ἀδυμελεῖ
θαμὰ μὲν φόρμιγγι παμφώνοισι τ' ἐν ἔντεσιν αὐλῶν.
καὶ νυν ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων σὺν
Διαγόρῃ κατέβαν, τὰν ποντίαν
ὑμνέων παῖδ' Ἀφροδίτας
Ἀελιοῖό τε νύμφαν, Ῥόδον,
15 εὐθυμάχαν ὄφρα πελώριον ἄνδρα παρ' Ἀλ-
φειῶι στεφανωσάμενον
αἰνέσω πυγμᾶς ἄποινα
καὶ παρὰ Κασταλῖαι, πα-
τέρα τε Δαμάγητον ἄδόντα Δικαι,
Ἀσίας εὐρυχόρου τρίπολιν νᾶσον πέλας
ἐμβόλῳ ναίοντας Ἀργεῖαι σὺν αἰχμᾷ.
—
Β' ἔθελήσω τοῖσιν ἐξ ἀρχᾶς ἀπὸ Τλαπολέμου
21 ξυνὸν ἀγγέλλων διορθῶσαι λόγον,
Ἡρακλῆος

5 ἑόν codd.: νέον Bergk 10 κατέχοντ' codd.: κατέχωντ' Π²²

SEVENTH OLYMPIAN ODE

45

εὐρυσθενεῖ γένναι. τὸ μὲν γάρ
πατρόθεν ἐκ Διὸς εὐχονται· τὸ δ' Ἀμυντορίδαι
ματρόθεν Ἀστυδαμείας.
ἀμφὶ δ' ἀνθρώπων φρασὶν ἀμπλακίαι
25 ἀναρίθμητοι κρέμανται· τοῦτο δ' ἀμάχανον εὐρεῖν,
ὅτι νῦν ἐν καὶ τελευτᾷ φέρτατον ἀνδρὶ τυχεῖν.
καὶ γὰρ Ἀλκμήνας κασίγνητον νόθον
σκάπτῳ θενῶν
5 σκληρᾶς ἐλαίας ἔκτανεν Τι-
ρυνθὶ Λικύμνιον ἐλθόντ' ἐκ θαλάμων Μιδέας
30 τᾶσδ' ἐποτε χθονὸς οἴκι-
στήρ χολωθείς. αἱ δὲ φρενῶν ταραχαί
παρέπλαγξαν καὶ σοφόν. μαντεύσατο δ' ἐς θεὸν ἐλθῶν.
—
τῷ μὲν ὁ χρυσοκόμας εὐ-
15 ὠδεὸς ἐξ ἀδύτου ναῶν πλόον
εἶπε Λερναίας ἀπ' ἄκτᾶς
εὐθὺν ἐς ἀμφιθάλασσον νομόν,
ἔνθα ποτὲ βρέχε θεῶν βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας
20 χρυσέαις νιφάδεσσι πόλιν,
35 ἀνίχ' Ἀφαιστοῦ τέχναισιν
χαλκελάτῳ πελέκει πα-
τέρος Ἀθαναία κορυφὰν κατ' ἄκραν
ἀνορούσαις· ἀλλάλαξεν ὑπερμάκει βοᾷ.
Οὐρανὸς δ' ἔφριξέ νιν καὶ Γαῖα μάτηρ.
70 —
Γ' τότε καὶ φανσίμβροτος δαίμων Ὑπεριονίδας
40 μέλλον ἐντειλεν φυλάξασθαι χρέος
παισὶν φίλοις,
ὥς ἂν θεᾷ πρῶτοι κτίσαιεν
75 βωμόν ἐναργέα, καὶ σεμνὰν θυσίαν θέμενοι
πατρὶ τε θυμὸν ἰάναι-
ἐν κόραι τ' ἐγχειβρόμῳ. ἐν δ' ἄρετάν
ἔβαλεν καὶ χάρματ' ἀνθρώποισι προμαθέος αἰδῶς·
80 ἐπὶ μὲν βαίνει τι καὶ λάθας ἀτέκμαρτα νέφος,
45 καὶ παρέλκει πραγμάτων ὀρθὰν ὁδόν
ἔξω φρενῶν.
85

καὶ τοὶ γὰρ αἰθοίσας ἔχοντες
 σπέρμ' ἀνέβαν φλογὸς οὐ· τεύξαν δ' ἀπύροις ἱεροῖς
 ἄλσος ἐν ἀκροπόλει. κεί-
 νοῖσι μὲν ξανθὰν ἀγαγὼν νεφέλαν
 50 πολὺν ὕσε χρυσόν· αὐτὰ δὲ σφισιν ὥπασε τέχναν
 πᾶσαν ἐπιχθονίων Γλαυκ-
 ὤπις ἀριστοπόνους χερσὶ κρατεῖν.
 ἔργα δὲ ζωοῖσιν ἐρπόν-
 95 τεσσὶ θ' ὁμοῖα κέλευθοι φέρον·
 ἦν δὲ κλέος βαθύ. δαέντι δὲ καὶ σοφία
 μείζων ἄδολος τελέθει.
 φαντὶ δ' ἀνθρώπων παλαιαί
 55 ῥήσιες, οὐπω, ὅτε χθό-
 να δατέοντο Ζεὺς τε καὶ ἀθάνατοι,
 φανεράν ἐν πελάγει Ῥόδον ἔμμεν ποντίῳ,
 ἀλμυροῖς δ' ἐν βένθεσιν νᾶσον κεκρύφθαι.
 —
 Δ' ἀπεόντος δ' οὔτις ἐνδειξεν λάχος Ἀελίου·
 καὶ ῥά νιν χώρας ἀκλάρωτον λίπον,
 60 ἀγνὸν θεόν.
 μνασθέντι δὲ Ζεὺς ἄμπαλον μέλ-
 λεν θέμεν. ἀλλά νιν οὐκ εἶασεν· ἐπεὶ πολιᾶς
 εἶπέ τιν' αὐτὸς ὄρᾱν ἐν-
 δον θαλάσσης αὐξομένην πεδόθεν
 110 πολύβοσκον γαῖαν ἀνθρώποισι καὶ εὐφρονα μήλοισ.
 ἐκέλευσεν δ' αὐτίκα χρυσάμπυκα μὲν Λάχεσιν
 65 χεῖρας ἀντεῖναι, θεῶν δ' ὄρκον μέγαν
 μὴ παρφάμεν,
 120 ἀλλὰ Κρόνου σὺν παιδὶ νεῦσαι,
 φραεννὸν ἐς αἰθέρα μιν πεμφθεῖσαν ἑᾶ κεφαλαῖ
 ἐξοπίσω γέρας ἔσσε-
 σθαι. τελεύταθεν δὲ λόγων κορυφαί
 125 ἐν ἀλαθείαι πετοῖσαι· βλάστε μὲν ἐξ ἁλὸς ὕγρας

49 κείνοισι μὲν codd.: κείνοις ὁ μὲν Mingarelli νεφέλαν Byz.: νεφέλαν Ζεὺς codd.
 68 τελεύταθεν v.l. in codd.: τελεύτασαν codd.

70 νᾶσος, ἔχει τέ μιν ὀξει-
 ᾶν ὁ γενέθλιος ἀκτίνων πατήρ,
 πῦρ πνεόντων ἀρχὸς ἵππων·
 130 ἔνθα Ῥόδῳ ποτὲ μιχθεὶς τέκεν
 ἐπτά σοφώτατα νοήματ' ἐπὶ προτέρων
 ἀνδρῶν παραδεξαμένους
 παῖδας, ὧν εἷς μὲν Κάμιρον
 135 πρεσβύτατόν τε Ἰάλυ-
 σον ἔτεκεν Λίνδον τ'· ἀπάτερθε δ' ἔχον,
 75 διὰ γαῖαν τρίχα δασσάμενοι πατρώϊαν,
 ἀστέων μοῖραν, κέκληνται δὲ σφιν ἔδραι.
 140 —
 Ε' τόθι λύτρον συμφορᾶς οἰκτρᾶς γλυκὺ Τλαπολέμῳ
 ἴσταται Τιρυνθίων ἀρχαγέται,
 ὥσπερ θεῶι,
 80 μήλων τε κνισάεσσα πομπὰ
 145 καὶ κρίσις ἀμφ' ἀέθλοις. τῶν ἀνθεσι Διαγόρας
 ἐστεφανώσατο δις, κλει-
 νᾶι τ' ἐν Ἰσθμῷ τετράκις εὐτυχέων,
 Νεμέαι τ' ἄλλαν ἐπ' ἄλλαι, καὶ κρανααῖς ἐν Ἀθήναις.
 150 —
 ὁ τ' ἐν Ἀργεὶ χαλκὸς ἔγνω μιν, τὰ τ' ἐν Ἀρκαδίαι
 ἔργα καὶ Θήβαις, ἀγῶνές τ' ἐννομοὶ
 85 Βοιωτίων,
 155 Πέλλανά τ' Αἰγίνα τε νικῶνθ'
 ἐξάκις ἐν Μεγάροισιν τ' οὐχ ἕτερον λιθίνα
 ψᾶφος ἔχει λόγον. ἀλλ' ὦ
 Ζεῦ πάτερ, νώτοισιν Ἀταβυρίου
 160 μεδέων, τίμα μὲν ὕμνου τεθμὸν Ὀλυμπιονίκαν,
 —
 90 ἀνδρα τε πύξ ἀρετὰν εὐ-
 ρόντα. δίδοι τέ οἱ αἰδοίαν χάριν
 165 καὶ ποτ' ἀστῶν καὶ ποτὶ ξεί-
 νων. ἐπεὶ ὕβριος ἐχθρὰν ὁδόν

76 μοῖραν codd.: μοίρας Meineke 86 Πέλλανά τ' Αἰγινά τε (vel Αἰγίνα τε)
 codd.: Πέλλανά τ'· Αἰγίνα τε Boeckh

εὐθυπορεῖ, σάφα δαεῖς ἅ τε οἱ πατέρων
 ὀρθαὶ φρένες ἐξ ἀγαθῶν
 ἔχρεον. μὴ κρύπτε κοινόν
 σπέρμ' ἀπὸ Καλλιάνακτος·
 Ἐρατιδᾶν τοι σὺν χαρίτεσσιν ἔχει
 θαλίας καὶ πόλιν· ἐν δὲ μιᾷ μοίραι χρόνου
 95 ἄλλοτ' ἄλλοῖαι διαιθύσσοισιν αὔραι.

92 ἔχρεον A: ἔχραον cett.

SECOND OLYMPIAN ODE

ΘΗΡΩΝΙ ΑΚΡΑΓΑΝΤΙΝΩΙ ΑΡΜΑΤΙ

170 Α' Ἀναξιφόρμιγγες ὕμνοι,
 τίνα θεόν, τίν' ἥρωα, τίνα δ' ἄνδρα κελαδήσομεν;
 ἦτοι Πίσσα μὲν Διός· Ὀλυμπιάδα
 δ' ἔστασεν Ἡρακλῆς 5
 ἀκρόθινα πολέμου·
 5 Θήρωνα δὲ τετραορίας ἔνεκα νικαφόρου
 γεγωνητέον, ὅππῃ δίκαιον ξένων, 10
 ἔρεισμ' Ἀκράγαντος,
 εὐωνύμων τε πατέρων ἅωτον ὀρθόπολιν·
 καμόντες οἱ πολλὰ θυμῷ 15
 ἱερὸν ἔσχον οἴκημα ποταμοῦ, Σικελίας τ' ἔσαν
 10 ὀφθαλμός, αἰὼν δ' ἔφεπε μόρσιμος,
 πλοῦτόν τε καὶ χάριν ἄγων 20
 γνησίαις ἐπ' ἀρεταῖς.
 ἀλλ' ὦ Κρόνιε παῖ Ῥέας, ἔδος Ὀλύμπου νέμων
 ἀέθλων τε κορυφὰν πόρον τ' Ἀλφειοῦ, 25
 ἱανθεῖς ἀοιδαῖς
 εὐφρων ἄρουραν ἔτι πατρίαν σφίσιν κόμισσον
 15 λοιπῷ γένει. τῶν δὲ πεπραγμένων
 ἐν δίκαι τε καὶ παρὰ δίκαν ἀποίητον οὐδ' ἄν 30
 Χρόνος ὁ πάντων πατήρ
 δύναιτο θέμεν ἔργων τέλος·
 λάθῃ δὲ πόντῳ σὺν εὐδαίμονι γένοιτ' ἄν.
 ἐσλῶν γὰρ ὑπὸ χαρμάτων πῆμα θνάσκει 35
 20 παλίγκοτον δαμασθέν,
) -

6 ὅππῃ codd., Π¹: ὅππῃ Hermann ξένων Hermann: ξένον codd., Π¹
 10 μόρσιμος codd.: μόρσιμος ὁ Hermann (metri gratia)

Β' ὅταν θεοῦ Μοῖρα πέμπῃ
 ἀνεκὰς ὄλβον ὑψηλόν. ἔπεται δὲ λόγος εὐθρόνοις
 Κάδμοιο κούραις, ἔπαθον αἱ μεγάλα·
 πένθος δὲ πίτνει βαρύ
 κρεσσόνων πρὸς ἀγαθῶν.
 25 ζῶει μὲν ἐν Ὀλυμπίοις ἀποθανοῖσα βρόμῳ
 κεραυνοῦ τανυθέιρα Σεμέλα, φιλεῖ
 δέ μιν Παλλὰς αἰεὶ
 καὶ Ζεὺς πατήρ, μάλα φιλεῖ δὲ παῖς ὁ κισσοφόρος·
 — λέγοντι δ' ἐν καὶ θαλάσσαι
 μετὰ κόραισι Νηρῆος ἀλίσαις βίοτον ἄφθιτον
 30 Ἴνοϊ τετάχθαι τὸν ὄλον ἀμφὶ χρόνον.
 ἦτοι βροτῶν γε κέκριται
 πείρας οὐ τι θανάτου,
 οὐδ' ἡσύχιμον ἀμέραν ὅποτε παῖδ' ἀλίου
 ἀτειρεῖ σὺν ἀγαθῶι τελευτάσομεν·
 ῥοαὶ δ' ἄλλοτ' ἄλλαι
 εὐθυμῖαν τε μέτα καὶ πόνων ἐς ἀνδρας ἔβαν.
 35 οὕτω δὲ Μοῖρ', ἅ τε πατρῴων
 τῶνδ' ἔχει τὸν εὐφρονα πότμον, θεόρτῳ σὺν ὄλβῳ
 ἐπὶ τι καὶ πῆμ' ἄγει,
 παλιντράπελον ἄλλῳ χρόνῳ·
 ἐξ οὐπερ ἔκτεινε Λαῖον μόριμος υἱός
 συναντόμενος, ἐν δὲ Πυθῶνι χρησθέν
 40 παλαίφατον τέλεσεν.
)— Γ' Ἰδοῖσα δ' ὄξεϊ' Ἐρινύς
 ἔπεφνέ οἱ σὺν ἀλλαλοφονίαι γένος ἀρήϊον·
 λείφθη δὲ Θέρσανδρος ἐριπέντι Πολυ-
 νείκει, νέοις ἐν ἀέθλοις
 ἐν μάχαις τε πολέμου

26 post hunc versum habent φιλέοντι δὲ Μοῖσαι codd.: secl. Aristophanes
 ἔπεφνε Triclinius: πέφνε(ν) codd.

42

45 τιμώμενος, Ἀδραστιδᾶν θάλος ἀρωγὸν δόμοις·
 ὅθεν σπέρματος ἔχοντα ῥίζαν πρέπει
 τὸν Αἰνησιδάμου
 ἐγκωμίων τε μελέων λυρᾶν τε τυγχανέμεν.
 Ὀλυμπίαι μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς
 45 γέρας ἔδεκτο, Πυθῶνι δ' ὁμόκλαρον ἐς ἀδελφεόν
 50 Ἴσθμοι τε κοιναὶ Χάριτες ἄνθεα τε-
 θρίππων δυωδεκαδρόμων
 ἀγαγον· τὸ δὲ τυχεῖν
 πειρώμενον ἀγωνίας δυσφρονᾶν παραλύει.
 ὁ μὲν πλοῦτος ἀρεταῖς δεδαιδαλμένος
 55 φέρει τῶν τε καὶ τῶν
 — καιρὸν βαθεῖαν ὑπέχων μέριμναν ἀγροτέραν,
 55 ἀστήρ ἀρίζηλος, ἐτυμώτατον
 ἀνδρὶ φέγγος· εἰ δέ μιν ἔχων τις οἶδεν τὸ μέλλον
 60 ὅτι θανόντων μὲν ἐν-
 θάδ' αὐτίκ' ἀπάλαμνοι φρένες
 105 ποινὰς ἔτεισαν, τὰ δ' ἐν ταῖδε Διὸς ἀρχαῖ
 ἄλιτρά κατὰ γᾶς δικάζει τις ἐχθραῖ
 60 λόγον φράσαις ἀνάγκαι·
 — Δ' ἴσαις δὲ νύκτεσσιν αἰεὶ,
 ἴσαις δ' ἀμέραις ἄλιον ἔχοντες, ἀπονέστερον
 70 ἔσλοὶ δέκονται βίοτον, οὐ χθόνα τα-
 ράσσοντες ἐν χερὸς ἀκμᾷ
 οὐδὲ πόντιον ὕδωρ
 115 65 κενεᾶν παρὰ δίκαιταν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ μὲν τιμίῳις
 θεῶν οἴτινες ἔχαιρον εὐορκίαις

45 Ἀδραστιδᾶν Tricl.: Ἀδραστείδαν vel -ειδῶν codd.: Ἀδραστίδων
 schol. 46 ἔχοντα v.l. in LEN: ἔχοντι codd., Π² 52 δυσφρονᾶν παραλύει
 Schroeder: δυσφροσύναν παραλύει codd.: παραλύει δυσφρόνων Moschopoulos:
 παραλύει δυσφρονᾶν Dindorf: ἀφροσύναν παραλύει Mommsen c schol.
 (ἀφροσυν[Π²]) 54 ἀγροτέραν codd.: ἀβροτέραν Stadtmüller (cf. P.
 8.89—92) 62 ἴσαις δ' Mommsen: ἴσαις δ' ἐν codd., Π² 63 δέκονται A:
 δέρονται cett. 65 κενεᾶν codd.: κεινᾶν Byz.

ἄδακρυν νέμονται
αἰῶνα, τοὶ δ' ἀπροσόρατον ὀκχέοντι πόνον.
— ὅσοι δ' ἐτόλμασαν ἑστρίς
ἐκατέρωθι μείναντες ἀπὸ πάμπαν ἀδίκων ἔχειν
70 ψυχάν, ἔτειλαν Διὸς ὁδὸν παρὰ Κρό-
νου τύρσιν· ἔνθα μακάρων
νᾶσον ὠκεανίδες
αὔραι περιπνέουσιν· ἀνθεμα δὲ χρυσοῦ φλέγει,
τὰ μὲν χερσόθεν ἀπ' ἀγλαῶν δενδρέων,
ὑδωρ δ' ἄλλα φέρβει,
— ὄρμοισι τῶν χέρας ἀναπλέκοντι καὶ στεφάνους
75 βουλαῖς ἐν ὀρθαῖσι Ῥαδαμάνθυος,
ὃν πατήρ ἔχει μέγας ἐτοῖμον αὐτῷ πάρεδρον,
πόσις ὁ πάντων Ῥέας
ὑπέρτατον ἐχοίσας θρόνον.
Πηλεὺς τε καὶ Κάδμος ἐν τοῖσιν ἀλέγονται·
Ἀχιλλέα τ' ἔνεικ', ἐπεὶ Ζηνὸς ἦτορ
80 λιταῖς ἔπεισε, μάτηρ·
— Ε' ὅς Ἔκτορα σφᾶλε, Τροίας
ἄμαχον ἀστραβῇ κίονα, Κύκνον τε θανάτῳ πόρεν,
Ἀοῦς τε παῖδ' Αἰθίοπα. πολλὰ μοι ὑπ'
ἀγκῶνος ὠκέα βέλη
ἐνδον ἐντὶ φαρέτρας
85 φωνάεντα συνετοῖσιν· ἔς δὲ τὸ πᾶν ἐρμανέων
χατίζει. σοφὸς ὁ πολλὰ εἰδὼς φυαῖ·
μαθόντες δὲ λάβροι
παγγλωσσαὶ κόρακες ὥς ἄκραντα γαρύετον
— Διὸς πρὸς ὄρνιχα θεῖον·
ἔπεχε νῦν σκοπῶι τόξον, ἄγε θυμέ· τίνα βάλλομεν

71 νᾶσον codd.: νᾶσος G 74 στεφάνους codd., Π²: στεφάνοις v.l. in codd. 76 μέγας Π²: γᾶς codd. 77 ὑπέρτατον ἐχοίσας Byz.: ὑπατον ἐχοίσας παῖς codd. 81 Ἔκτορα σφᾶλε A, Π²: Ἔκτορ' ἐσφαλε cett. 87 γαρύετον codd.: γαρυέτων Bergk

90 ἐκ μαλθακᾶς αὔτε φρενὸς εὐκλέας ὁ-
ῖστοὺς ἰέντες; ἐπὶ τοι
Ἀκράγαντι τανύσαις
165 αὐδάσομαι ἐνόρκιον λόγον ἀλαθεῖ νόωι,
τεκεῖν μὴ τιν' ἑκατόν γε ἑτέων πόλιν
φίλοις ἄνδρα μᾶλλον
170 εὐεργέταν πραπίσιν ἀφθονέστερόν τε χέρα
95 Θήρωνος. ἀλλ' αἶνον ἐπέβα κόρος
οὐ δίκαι συναντόμενος, ἀλλὰ μάργων ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν,
175 τὸ λαλαγῆσαι θέλων
κρυφὸν τιθέμεν ἐσλῶν καλοῖς
ἔργοις· ἐπεὶ ψάμμος ἀριθμὸν περιπέφυγεν,
καὶ κείνος ὅσα χάρματ' ἄλλοις ἔθηκεν,
180 τίς ἂν φράσαι δύναίτο;

97 θέλων codd.: θέλον Coppola κρυφὸν Aristarchus: κρύφιον codd. τιθέμεν Hermann: τε θέμεν codd. ἐσλῶν καλοῖς Aristarchus: ἐσ(θ)λὸν (ἐλῶν A) κακοῖς codd. 99 καὶ κείνος Mommsen: κάκεινος codd.

COMMENTARY

The Eleventh Olympian

In 476 BC, Hagesidamos, son of Archestratos, of the town of Epizephyrian Locri (a colony of the mainland Locrians on the east coast of the toe of Italy, named after the nearby Cape Zephyrium: *RE* xiii 1318.13, Pindar, fr. 140b.5) won the boys' boxing at Olympia. Pindar composed this poem probably for immediate celebration there, and later sent a full-length epinician (*O.* 10), which claims in its opening lines to be the delayed payment of a debt.

T. Gelzer, 'Μοῦσα αὐθιγενής, Bemerkungen zu einem Typ Pindarischer und Bacchylideischer Epinikien', *M.H.* 42 (1985) 95–120, concentrates on a group of poems, mostly short and without a myth, which appear to have been produced on the spot, at the games, rather than for later performance in the victor's home city. *O.* 11 is the most secure example of this, seeing that we also possess the full-length *O.* 10, explicitly sent later. Other cases where one of a pair of extant odes may well have fulfilled this function are *O.* 4 (cf. *O.* 5), Bacch. 2 (cf. Bacch. 1) and Bacch. 4 (cf. Pindar, *P.* 1). These odes typically contain all the documentation that is needed for immediate publicity – i.e. the name of the victor (line 12 here), his father's name (11), his home city (15), the place of the games (7), the event which he has won (12). Less certain examples proposed by Gelzer are *O.* 14, *P.* 6, *P.* 7, *N.* 2, Bacch. 6 (Maehler, who agrees about Bacch. 2 and 4, prefers Bacch. 7 to 6, as did Jebb in his 1905 commentary on the recently found Bacchylides). We shall find reason (p. 88) for considering whether *I.* 3 also should be assigned to this category.

O. 11 was chosen by E. L. Bundy as the first of the two on which he based his trail-blazing elucidation of Pindar's methods in *Studia Pindarica* (1962). Discussion of Pindar has not been the same since (see *Introd.* 19). Among other things he convincingly argues that the future tenses κελαθήσω 14 and ἐγγυάσομαι 16 do not constitute a promise of the Tenth Olympian to be sent later, but are a statement of the poet's intention in the present ode (Bundy 120–2; see 11–15n. below).

O. 11 has a generalised opening (1–6), central treatment of the victory (7–14), and ends with praise of the victor's homeland (15–20).

It is rich in figures of speech and conventional themes, enlivened by vivid imagination. Memorable features are the simple priamel at the beginning (1-6n.), the metaphors in ποιμαίνει 'shepherds', ἀνθεῖ 'flowers' in 9 and 10, the lavish praise of the Epizephyrian Locrians in 17-19, and the colourful animal imagery at the end.

Metre

Rather over half of Pindar's epinicians are in the so-called dactylo-epitrite metre. This is simpler than its name suggests, consisting in the varied use of a small number of metrical units, regularly connected with each other by a *syllaba anceps*, which is normally long. This is easy to present symbolically, and a notation proposed by P. Maas is virtually universal in modern editions. The units are:

(dactylic)	D	- - - - -
	d ¹	- - - - -
	d ²	- - - - -
(epitrite)	E	- - - - -
	e	- - - - -

Occasionally, as in Ep. 3 of O. 11, the first long of a cretic (- - - = e) is resolved into two shorts (- - - -). This is shown in the schemes as $\cup\cup e$.

O. 11 can in this way be encoded as:

Strophe/Antistrophe: | (1) e - D - | (2) e - D | (3) e - d¹ | (4) E - D - | (5) E | (6) E ∪ D ||
 Epode: | (1) D - e - | (2) D - | (3) $\cup\cup e$ - D | (4) E ∪ e | (5) E - e | (6) E | (7) D - e - D - e - | (8) E E - |||

1-6

'There are times [e.g. for sailors] when the prime requirement is wind; and times [for farmers] when it is rain; but for athletic achievements it is the song of the poet.' This form of expression has the name 'priamel' (Introd. 21). The effect, particularly in the opening of a poem, is one of simplicity and universality.

1 Ἔστιν . . . ὅτε 'there are times when'.

3 δμβρίων παίδων νεφέλας: the raindrops are 'watery children of the cloud'. Pindar favours this charming figure of speech (Introd. 20).

4-6 That the song of the poet is the lasting reward for the victor, and compensation for the effort and strain of competition, is the commonest of Pindar's moralising themes (Introd. 17). It occurs in virtually all of the odes in one form or another; the most striking example is the whole of the first strophe of N. 4. Here the expression is a mixed condition: 'If a man should succeed, the song of the poet is the starting-point of his later fame.'

σὺν πόνῳ: for πόνος, see Introd. 15.

τέλλεται: singular, in spite of the plural subject ὕμνοι, through attraction to the nearer noun ἀρχά. τέλλομαι is used, like the cognate πέλω, πέλομαι, as an auxiliary verb equivalent to γίγνομαι, εἰμι.

ἄρκιον: evidence as if on oath; cf. O. 2.92 αὐδάσομαι ἐνὸρκιον λόγον ἀλσθεῖ νόῳ.

ἀρεταῖς 'achievements', as often, besides the qualities of skill and courage that gave rise to them.

7-10

The thoughts are simple, but the expression elliptical: (5-6) poetry is the record and witness of athletic success; (7-8) this is pre-eminently true for Olympic victors; (8-9) to praise such victories is my favourite subject; (10) divine assistance applies to poets just as much as to athletes.

7-8 ἀφθόνητος 'unstinted'. There is no special reference to the theme of human envy, any more than at N. 3.9 τῶς ἀφθονίαν ὀπαζε μήτιος ἀμᾶς ἀπο 'Give (O Muse) a generous gift of poetry of my composition.'

ἄγκειται: for ἀνάκειται, which acts as the passive of ἀνατίθημι, 'is laid up', 'is put up' (like a dedicatory offering in a temple).

9 ποιμαίνειν: a bold metaphor from the shepherd, who takes care of his sheep.

10 ἐκ θεοῦ . . . ὁμοίως: a characteristically obscurely expressed gnomic statement: lit. 'from god a man flowers in wise thoughts equally.' If we begin from the understanding that in Pindar the adjective σοφός frequently refers to the poet, and σοφία to poetry (e.g. I. 7.18), and recall the psycho-religious assumption that supreme victory requires the help of a god (Introd. 16), it is not difficult to see that ὁμοίως equates the poet (referred to in ἀμετέρα γλῶσσα 8-9) with the victor, as requiring the favour of god to achieve excellence; cf. O.

9.28–9 ἀγαθοὶ δὲ καὶ σοφοὶ (i.e. victors and poets) κατὰ δαίμον' ἄνδρες
| ἐγένοντ'.

11–15

The factual details are presented concisely.

ἴσθι: imperative of οἶδα.

ἐνεκεν 'because of', following its noun, as often.

κόσμον . . . κελαδήσω: lit. 'I shall give voice to a musical decoration on your crown of golden olive.' κελαδήσω is an example of the 'encomiastic future' (Bundy 1 20–2). It refers to the present poem, not (as some have thought) to the later Tenth Olympian. Pindar is describing his intention as he writes or sings; cf. ἐγγυάσομαι 16, *I.* 7.39, *I.* 4.72b, *O.* 2.92.

κόσμον 'ornament' is an internal accusative with κελαδήσω. The singing of the epinician is an added glorification for Hagesidamos, in addition to his crown of victory.

χρυσέας: a crown of olive leaves was the victor's prize at Olympia. Pindar calls it golden, meaning that it is something immortal, divine; cf. *Introd.* 18.

Ζεφυρίων: the shorter form (for the regular Ἐπιζεφυρίων) is restored here by modern editors; cf. *O.* 10.13, *P.* 2.18.

ἀλέγων 'paying attention to'.

16–19

An address to the Muses, who are naturally present at the performance of the ode, invites them to share the celebration when Hagesidamos returns home. For the κῶμος, see Heath; Pindar uses the term for the public celebration of the victory after the victor has returned home, at which his ode was regularly performed by a choir.

ἐγγυάσομαι . . . ἀφίξεσθαι 'I can guarantee [encomiastic future, cf. κελαδήσω 14] that you will come to a people that is hospitable, prosperous, cultured and warlike.'

μή: the usual negative in a solemn assertion or oath; cf. *O.* 2.93.

μιν: 'anticipatory' is the term used by Gildersleeve of this use of μιν/νιν (on *O.* 13.69, which however is no longer considered an example); lit. 'that you will come to it [i.e. the nation of the Epizephyrian

Locrians] as to a people that is . . .' Cf. *N.* 5.38 ἐνθα μιν εὐφρονες Παι σὺν καλάμοιο βοᾷ θεὸν δέκονται 'where happy bands receive him with the sound of pipes as their god', *P.* 1.51–2 σὺν δ' ἀνάγκαι μιν φίλον | καὶ τις ἐὼν μεγαλάνωρ ἔσανεν 'under the pressure of necessity even an arrogant man fawns upon him as a friend'.

μή μιν is the reading of the manuscripts. Editors since Bergk (1866) have printed his emendation ὕμιν (originally mentioned, but only as a possibility, in the edition of de Jongh, 1865), 'I will guarantee to you, O Muses'. This introduces a type of expression found elsewhere in Pindar, where the first of a pair of negatives is omitted, and has to be retrospectively assumed from the second: *P.* 6.48 ἄδικον οὐθ' ὑπέροπλον, *P.* 10.29 ναυσὶ δ' οὔτε πεζός, *P.* 10.41 νόσοι δ' οὔτε γῆρας, fr. 104b.4, Aesch. *Agam.* 532. It further requires the change of μηδ' in 18 to μήτ', for the Greek language allows either μήτε . . . μήτε or μή . . . μηδέ, but not a mixture. It seems perverse to solve a difficulty by printing an emendation which adds one to a small list of examples of an unusual type of expression, and to be forced in consequence to change in the following line a word which otherwise there would be no reason to suspect.

Bergk and others argue that ὕμιν may have been in the Alexandrian text, because one of the two paraphrases in the scholia begins ἐγγυῶμαι ὑμῖν; but it continues μηδαμῶς . . . καὶ μή . . .; the other paraphrase is even clearer. Moreover, in the other cases of the figure 'A οὔτε B' in the epinicians (quoted above) the scholia pointedly restore the lost οὔτε in their paraphrase, which they do not do here. There is thus no reason to doubt that the Alexandrian text, on which the scholia are based, had μή . . . μηδ'.

μηδ' ἀπείρατον καλῶν 'and not unfamiliar with good things in life'.

ἀκρόσοφον: this refers to local poets; cf. *O.* 10.14–15 (describing the same Epizephyrian Locrians) μέλει τέ σφισι Καλλιόπῃ καὶ χάλκεος Ἄρης (cf. αἰχμαστὰν here); for σοφός, see 10n.

τε joins the new pair of epithets to the previous pair.

19–20

A gnomic expression with animal fable connections concludes the ode. The theme is the common Pindaric one of inborn quality (*Introd.* 15). The Locrians cannot change their nature any more than the common

examples of animal species, lions and foxes. These two are also adduced at *I.* 4.64–5, with the former exemplifying courage, the latter skill.

διαλλάξαινο ἦθος: the hiatus is justified by the original digamma of $\pi\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma$; see *Introd.* 24. More difficult is the potential optative without $\alpha\nu$. This is relatively common in Homer (e.g. *Il.* 19.321–2 οὐ μὲν γὰρ τι κακώτερον ἄλλο πάθοιμι, | οὐδ' εἴ κεν . . . πυθοίμην); and it is occasionally found in later Greek poetry (Jebb on *Soph. Ant.* 605). Many editors have favoured emendation (see *app. crit.*); Pindar seems however to use potential optative without $\alpha\nu$ in two other places: *O.* 3.45 κεινὸς εἶην, *N.* 6.65 ἴσον εἴποιμι Μελησίαν, both as it happens in the last sentence of their ode. It is better to leave the text alone.

The Seventh Isthmian

This widely admired poem combines vigorous expression with unusual structure. In place of a normal opening, it offers a list of the mythological glories of Thebes, the home of the victor Strepsiadas, who has won the pancration at the Isthmus; and in place of a mythological tale in the central position, it honours an uncle of the victor who died in battle fighting for his country. The third part is a sequence of gnomic expressions, and it concludes with the victor's hope of a future success. The structure is lightly skewed in relation to the triad divisions ('sinusoidal' says Privitera), with a four-line transitional gnomic sentence exactly linking the first and second triads, and the uncle's death falling over into the third triad by the same length (two lines) as that gnome occupies at the beginning of the second. The division is thus:

Triad 1: 1–17	1–15	Mythological glories of Thebes
Triad 2: 18–34	16–19 20–36	Transitional gnome Strepsiadas the victor, and his uncle of the same name
Triad 3: 35–51	37–48 49–51	Gnomic comments Prayer to Apollo

Pindar's own Theban loyalties are evident here, in both the catalogue of local pride and the praise of the uncle's patriotic death. The gnomic

phrases in 16–19 and 42–4 are particularly memorable, the latter introducing the mythological example of Bellerophon.

The date of the ode is unknown. Recent scholarship has brought to an end a previous orthodoxy based on misunderstanding of the import of two sentences, 16–17 having been thought to imply that Sparta had let Thebes down politically, and 41–2 that Pindar was growing old. Neither deduction is now thought valid, and the poem could in principle come from any period of the poet's life, the elder Strepsiadas having died in any of the numerous conflicts waged by his politically active home city. All the same, the battle of Oenophyta in 457 remains an attractive possibility (see 24–6n.), in which case the Isthmian games of April 454 may have been the occasion of the present victory, with a Pythian festival – implied in 51 – following in August of that year.

An important treatment of this ode by D. C. Young (see *Bibliography*) supplements the Isthmian editions of Thummer and Privitera.

Metre

The metre is aeolic (*Introd.* 24). For the common glyconic (–υ–υυ–υ–), see *Str.* 5, *Ep.* 1, 5; and sequences similar to the hendecasyllable favoured by Catullus (–υ–υυ–υ–υ–) are found at *Str.* 1, *Ep.* 4. The metrical scheme is:

Strophe/Antistrophe

1	υυ–υυ–υ–υ–			
2	υ–υυ–υ–	υ–υ–υ–		
3	–υ–υ–υ–υ–			
4	–υυ–υ–υ–			
5	–υ–υυ–υ–	–υυ–υ–	υ–υ–υυ–	–υ–υ–

Epode

1	–υ–υυ–υ–υ–
2	–υυ–υ–υυ–
3	–υυ–υ–
4	υυ–υυ–υ–υ–
5	–υ–υυ–υ– υ–υυ–υ–
6	–υυ–
7	–υυ–υ–υ–

1–15

In which of the mythological glories of Thebes has the city itself taken most pride? Pindar lists seven, (a) to (g) below. The opening of the Tenth Nemean, for a victor from Argos, is parallel, for there the poet lists Perseus, Epaphos, Hypermestra, Diomedes, Amphiaros, Alkmene, Danae, Talaos, Lynkeus and Amphitryon. Parallel also for Thebes was the opening of the first poem in the book of *Hymns*, a hymn to Zeus, of which some fragments survive. It began ‘Shall I sing of Ismenos, or Melia, or Kadmos, or the Spartoi, or the nymph Theba, or Herakles, or Dionysos, or Harmonia?’ And Thebes was indeed (as was Argos) the home of a wealth of mythology, showing, according to the principle convincingly enunciated by M. P. Nilsson in *The Mycenaean origin of Greek mythology* (California 1932), how important a place it had been in Mycenaean times.

1 **Θήβα:** the city of Thebes was also a nymph, daughter of the river Asopos, *I.* 8.17–18; it can thus be addressed as a person.

3–5 (a) Dionysos, born to Kadmos’ daughter Semele, is described as ‘with spreading hair’ (suggesting orgiastic dancing), and as ‘associate of bronze-clashing Demeter’. Dionysos was indeed associated with Demeter and Persephone in the mystery rites at Eleusis and perhaps in Thebes also; but the implication of *χαλκοκρότου* ‘worshipped with the sound of cymbals’ leads our thoughts rather to the Great Mother Goddess, Cybele, whose characteristics seem here to be affecting Demeter (B. Moreux, ‘Déméter et Dionysos dans la Septième Isthmique de Pindare’, *R.E.G.* 83 (1970) 1–14). *πάρεδρον* implies an associate of lower rank; cf. *O.* 2.76, where Rhadamanthys is said to be an assistant to Kronos on the Isle of the Blest (Capelle π 21).

ἦρα . . . ἀνίχ’ ‘was it the occasion when’ (*ἦρα* = *ἦ ἄρα*).

ἀντειλας = *ἀντέιλας*, from *ἀνατέλλω*; cf. *io* *ἀμπεμψας*.

5–7 (b) The birth of Herakles. There is an oddity here much stranger than calling Demeter *χαλκοκροτος*. For the story of the descent of Zeus in a shower of gold is always elsewhere associated with his visit to Danae (cf. *P.* 12.17), who became mother of Perseus, and nowhere else with his visit to Amphitryon’s wife Alkmene. Nor can a descent in a shower of gold easily be equated with the god standing in the doorway, unless they represent two successive stages of the epiphany.

νείφοντα: a bold extension of language; the greatest of gods was ‘snowing with gold’.

φέρτατον θεῶν: cf. *O.* 14.14 *θεῶν κράτιστον*.

μετῆλθεν ‘came for’.

γοναῖς: perhaps ambiguous, meaning both ‘for the birth’ and ‘with the seed’, but the latter predominates; it is paralleled by *σπέρμα . . . φέρων* of Zeus in the same situation at *N.* 10.17; and for such a use of *γοναί*, cf. *Soph. Ant.* 950 (*γονάς χρυσορύτους* received by Danae), *N.* 7.84 (*ματροδόκοις γοναῖς*), Hesiod, *WD* 733, Hdt. 3.101.2.

8 (c) The Theban prophet Teiresias, familiar from *Odyssey* 11 and Attic tragedy.

ἦ ‘or’.

9 (d) Iolaos, son of Herakles’ twin brother Iphikles, was a local Theban hero who acted as charioteer (cf. *ἱππόμητιν*) for his uncle.

10 (e) The Spartoi, or ‘sown men’, were those who grew from the dragon’s teeth sown by Kadmos to create autochthonous inhabitants for his city.

10–11 (f) In heroic poetry, as is clear both from Hesiod, *WD* 162–3 (see Appendix B, p. 169) and from the titles of the lost poems of the epic cycle (*Oedipodeia*, *Thebais*, *Epigoni*), the fame of Thebes rested primarily on the war of the Seven against Thebes, an expedition against the city led by Adrastus, king of Argos, in which the defending champions defeated every one of the seven attackers. *ὄρφανόν μυρίων ἐτάρων* indicates the destruction also of the army they brought with them; cf. *N.* 9.21–4.

ἱππιον: the plain of Argos was suitable for the rearing of horses; cf. *Ἄργος ἐς ἱππόβοτον Il.* 3.75.

12–15 (g) ‘or in the fact that you established [lit. set on a straight ankle] the Dorian occupation of Lakedaimon, when the Aigeidai your children took Amyklai, on the instructions of the Delphic oracle?’ The Aigeidai were a tribe connected with the early migrations, who originated in Thebes, moved on from there to Sparta, and took part in the colonisation of Thera (Hdt. 4.149), which was a stage in the founding of Cyrene; cf. *P.* 5.74–6, where Pindar names them again, calling them *ἐμοὶ πατέρες* (probably meaning Thebans of time past, though many have assumed that Pindar is saying that he himself belonged to that

clan. Krummen 130–41, however, believes that the expression ἐμοὶ πατέρες has nothing to do with Pindar, but relates to the chorus of Cyrenaean citizens who are singing that ode; cf. also G. D'Alessio in *B.I.C.S.* 39 (1994) 122–3).

Amyklai was an ancient town near Sparta; the reference is to the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnese around 1100 BC; cf. *P.* 1.65–6 ἔσχον δ' Ἀμύκλας ὀλβιοὶ | Πινδόθεν ὀρνύμενοι.

16–19

A transitional gnome on Pindar's favourite theme that only poetry can give a permanent record to great achievements (a theme memorably expressed by Horace in *Odes* 4.9.25–8 *uixere fortes ante Agamemnona | multi; sed omnes illacrimabiles | urgentur ignotique longa | nocte, carent quia uate sacro*) carries us from the past glories of Thebes to the new glory of the Isthmian victory. For the sleeping of the ancient brilliance (for χάρις, see Introd. 18), cf. *I.* 4.22–4, where it is reawakened as here by the new victory.

16 ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ implies an ellipse: 'but <these achievements do not have their rightful fame> because'; cf. *I.* 4.16.

18–19 δ τι μή: referring to an implied objective genitive with ἀμνάμονες; men forget 'what does not attain to the perfection of poetry, combined with glorious streams of song'. Cf. *N.* 7.12–13 ταὶ μεγάλαι γὰρ ἀλκαὶ | σκότον πολὺν ὕμνων ἔχοντι δεόμεναι.

σοφίας 'poetry' (*O.* 11.10n.).

ἄωτον: a favourite Pindaric word, seeming to indicate something of the highest quality. In origin it meant the downy surface of wool, and is thus used by Homer, e.g. *Od.* 9.434; R. A. Raman, *Glotta* 53 (1975) 195–207, M. S. Silk, *C.Q.* 33 (1983) 316–17.

ἐξίκεται: subjunctive in an indefinite clause, though without ἄν, as commonly in the poets.

ζυγέν: lit. 'yoked'. We may observe a characteristic mixing of metaphors: the victory is 'yoked', as if in a chariot, to 'streams' of song, and thus attains to the soft 'down' of poetry.

20–3

Strepsiadas and his Isthmian victory. This is the only part of the poem about him, apart from the prayer at the end.

20 κώμαζ': addressed to the city (and nymph) of Thebes (line 1), to join the victory celebration, just as the Muses were invited to do at *O.* 11.16.

ἔπειτεν = ἔπειτα, 'therefore'.

21 καὶ Στρεψιάδαι 'for Strepsiadas too'; his new glory is added to those of the past.

Ἰσθμοῖ: locative.

22–3 παγκρατίου: cf. Introd. 9.

σθένει . . . φῶας: Strepsiadas is extraordinarily strong, and good-looking, and as brave as he is handsome; cf. *N.* 3.19 εἰ δ' ἔων καλὸς ἔρδων τ' εἰκότα μορφᾷ, *O.* 8.19.

ἄγει 'he practises'.

αἴσχιον: adverb; lit., 'he practises courage no less nobly than good looks'. This is awkwardly expressed, and to that extent unlike Pindar; but it may stand. Triclinius' correction to αἰσχίω (= αἰσχίονα) is approved by a number of scholars, including Wilamowitz (411 n. 1); the contracted form of the comparative would have a parallel in *I.* 1.63 μέζω. Others have desperately tried to take αἴσχιον as a neuter accusative rather than an adverb ('as no worse thing').

φλέγεται 'he is illuminated', 'he is transfigured'; cf. *P.* 5.45 Ἀλεξιβιάδα, σὲ δ' ἠύκομοι φλέγοντι Χάριτες.

24–36

Strepsiadas shares his glory with his uncle, also called Strepsiadas, who died in battle. Pindar makes a general comment on patriots who fight and die in defence of their country (27–30), and then applies this to the elder Strepsiadas, with supporting mythological examples.

24–6 δέδωκε κοινὸν θάλας 'he has given a share of the crown'.

ἔμειξεν: the verb μέιγνυμι is used by Pindar for any kind of connection.

ἀντίκειται 'is established in return' (κεῖμαι as passive of τίθημι).

We cannot tell for certain what battle it was in which the elder Strepsiadas fell, nor even whether it was a victory for Thebes or a defeat, although the tone of 36–7 suggests the latter, and in a hoplite battle many more were killed on the losing side. Earlier scholars guessed Tanagra (457), where the Spartans and Thebans together

defeated the Athenians, or Oenophyta (later in the same year) where the Thebans on their own were defeated by the same enemy. The scholia indicate this period too, for they say that he fell ‘in the Peloponnesian war’, which term can be used of the conflict in 459–446 between the expansionist power of Athens and her Peloponnesian adversaries.

Young shows (*Pindar, Isthmian* 7 pp. 3–8, 19–25) that everything Pindar says about the circumstances of the uncle’s death can be paralleled in the martial poetry of Callinus and Tyrtaeus, and in grave inscriptions for the fallen in battle. Thus the expressions are conventional, and it is not surprising that no exact information is given.

27–30 ἴστω: with αὖξων (29); ‘let him know that he adds to’.

σαφές: adverbial.

ἐν ταύται νεφέλαι . . . ἀμύνεται ‘keeps off the hail of blood in such a cloud of battle in defence of his fatherland’. For description of battle as a wild storm, cf. *I.* 4.17 τραχέα νιφὰς πολέμοιο (where, as here at 38, Poseidon has by the new athletic victory given good weather after the storm), *I.* 5.49–50 ἐν πολυφθόρῳ Σαλαμὶς Διὸς ὄμβρῳ | ἀναρίθμῳ ἀνδρῶν χαλαζέεντι φόνῳ ‘Salamis, in the destructive rain of Zeus, in the hail of death for countless men’. The image of cloud, suggesting darkness and confusion, comes from Homer, e.g. *Il.* 17.243 πολέμοιο νέφος.

ἀντὰ φέρων: the manuscripts give ἀμύνων, probably from the previous line, and affected by the common Homeric formula λοιγὸν ἀμύνειν (ἀμύναι) ‘to keep disaster at bay’, used by Pindar at *N.* 9.37, but it neither fits nor scans here; the scholia paraphrase by ἐναντίον φέρων, which makes Thiersch’s emendation the most acceptable. For the sense, we may compare *N.* 9.37–9 παῦροι δὲ βουλευσάμενοι φόνου | παρποδίου νεφέλαν τρέψαι ποτὶ δυσμενέων ἀνδρῶν στίχας | . . . δυνατοί ‘few are capable of planning to turn the cloud of imminent death against the ranks of their enemies’.

ἀπό: with θανών, by tmesis, with a most unusual delayed καί.

31–6 τύ (Doric) = σύ.

αἰνέων ‘following the example of’, emulating, not praising, cf. *N.* 4.93.

Meleager, Hektor and Amphiaraos, heroes who died in battle, are always sympathetically treated by the poets. Meleager died young,

fighting for his city Calydon against its neighbours from Pleuron (*Il.* 9.529–99, Bacch. 5.68–154); Hektor was the great defender of Troy; Amphiaraos, warrior and seer, who knew his own fate in advance, was one of the Seven against Thebes (10–11n.), swallowed beneath the ground to become a local oracle. Pindar speaks warmly of him, *O.* 6.16–17, *N.* 9.24–7, *N.* 10.8–9.

εὐανθέ’ . . . ἐλπίσιν ‘you breathed out your young life in the tumult of the front line, where the bravest withstood the collision of battle at the edge of despair’. For ἔσχον πολέμοιο νείκος, Young well compares Tyrtaeus 12.22 (West) ἔσχεθε κύμα μάχης.

37–48

A sequence of conventional gnomic thought. Nothing is to be deduced from it about Pindar’s private opinions, his age, or his supposed attitude to the political ambitions of Athens. The thought connections are as follows: ‘The uncle’s death was a great grief; but the new victory is a kind of compensation. We can rejoice at it, but still must beware of divine jealousy. Let us aim for a quiet life till the end. Death is universal, but some achieve more than others. All the same, achievement for mortals is limited. Remember Bellerophon. Too much ambition comes to a bad end.’ Much of this moralising is put in the first person (ἔτλαν, μοι, αἰέσομαι, ἔπειμι). There has been wide discussion recently about what is meant when the first person singular appears in these odes for public performance. Does it mean Pindar himself, or the chorus, or perhaps the victor? The most convincing answer, at least for this passage, is that it is the voice of Pindar, but not Pindar the private citizen, rather Pindar the public mouthpiece of the Muse in a poem of praise. M. Lefkowitz uses the phrase, ‘the poet in his professional role’ (*H.S.C.P.* 84 (1980) 35).

37–9 The new victory, owed to Poseidon as god of the Isthmus, comes as good weather after (ἐκ) the wintry storm; cf. 27–30 above, and *I.* 4.18–19 (where the circumstances are very similar).

ἔτλαν: this could be third person plural (for ἔτλησαν), but the first person forms coming up, especially μοι, make first person singular (= ἔτλην) more probable. In spite of what was said above about the poet expressing himself in his professional role, we should not forget that Pindar too was a Theban.

39 Victory celebration is in order, but remember the importance of moderation. For the theme of divine jealousy, see *Intro.* 16.

ἀεισομαι: encomiastic future, cf. *O.* 11.14.

θρασσέτω = ταρασσέτω ‘may it not cause trouble’; cf. *O.* 6.97 μὴ θράσσοι χρόνος ὀλβον ἐφέρπων, *P.* 10.20–1.

φθόνος: the punctuation adopted here, with a full stop after this word, establishes a typically brief proverbial comment (*Young* 27 n. 89).

40–2 ‘pursuing what is pleasant from day to day, I move quietly towards old age and my allotted span.’ Commentators used to assume that only if Pindar was well into middle life could he write in these terms, and thus the sentence was used to date the ode. But such a statement is not personal; the poet is not speaking literally of himself; he is presenting a moral lesson in his own voice. Cf. *I.* 6.14–16 τοῖαισιν ὀργαῖς εὐχεται | ἀντιάσαις Ἄιδαν γῆράς τε δέξασθαι πολίων | ὁ Κλεονίκου παῖς, where also there is no need to assume that Lampon was of declining years.

γῆρας: direct object of ἔπειμι. There is no need for ἐξ to be taken ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with both nouns.

42–3 θνάισκομεν . . . ἄϊσος: all die, but some achieve success, particularly, in this context, victors in the games. The same sense is expressed at greater length at *N.* 7.30–2.

δαίμων: each person’s tutelary deity, or fate (*M. P. Nilsson, A history of Greek religion*² (Oxford 1949) 283).

43–4 τὰ μακρὰ . . . ἔδραν ‘if a person has his eyes on remote things [he is making a mistake because] he is too insignificant to make his way to Olympos’. For τὰ μακρὰ παπταίνει, cf. *P.* 3.21–2 ἔστι δὲ φύλον ἐν ἀνθρώποισι ματαιότατον, | ὅστις αἰσχύνων ἐπιχώρια παπταίνει τὰ πόρσω ‘there is a most empty-headed type among men, which scorns its surroundings and has its eyes on what is remote’. For βραχύς . . . ἔδραν, there are many parallels, the simplest and most direct being *I.* 5.14 μὴ μάτευσ Ζεὺς γενέσθαι ‘do not try to become Zeus’.

ἐξικέσθαι: infinitive depending on βραχύς (ἔστιν).

44–7 ὁ τοι . . . Ζηνός: the mythological example comes in most naturally, for Bellerophontes tried to do exactly what Pindar has just said is beyond human power; he tried to fly to heaven. He had been out-

standingly successful against the most varied and difficult opposition (chimaira, Solymoi, Amazons; *Il.* 6.179–86), winning (though Homer does not mention this) through a secret weapon, the winged horse Pegasus. But his end was miserable; he became overconfident, forgot the limitations of humanity, and thought he could exercise his newfound skill by flying Pegasus up to Olympos – an allegory of the overconfidence which in Pindar’s thought attracts the φθόνος of the gods (compare the similar story of Ikaros). Zeus threw a thunderbolt and cast him down to earth, where (*Il.* 6.200–2) he wandered about the Aleian plain, alone and mad. Pegasus, being of immortal birth, stayed with the gods. Pindar tells the tale at greater length at *O.* 13.87–92.

ἐς οὐρανοῦ σταθμούς ‘to the stables of heaven’. In *O.* 13.92 Pindar says ‘the mangers of Zeus received Pegasus’.

μεθ’ ‘to’, i.e. to join.

Βελλεροφόνταν | Ζηνός: Pindar’s habit of delaying proper names (cf. *I.* 4.55) has achieved an abrupt juxtaposition of the two.

47–8 τὸ δὲ . . . τελευτά: a gnomic comment on the story.

πάρ = παρὰ ‘contrary to’.

49–51

The ode ends quietly and personally, as often. A prayer is made to Apollo, god of the Pythian games, for Strepsiadas to win also at his festival. No doubt he was already training for that. This is no excessive ambition, like that of Bellerophontes, but something close at hand.

ἄμμι = ἡμῖν: Pindar associates himself with the victor’s hopes.

χρυσέαι: for the significance of gold, see *Intro.* 18.

πόμε: imperative of ἔπορον, strong aorist of a defective verb.

Λοξία: cult title of Apollo.

καὶ Πυθό: by the word καί, he ends by reminding us of the present victory and celebration.

The Third and Fourth Isthmian Odes

These poems raise two difficult problems, the first of which has tended to overshadow their inherent qualities.

First, do they constitute one ode or two?

The strongest argument for unity is the fact that the metre of *I. 3* and *I. 4* is identical, and both are for the same athlete, Melissos of Thebes. There is no parallel in Pindar or Bacchylides for independent poems composed in the same metrical scheme.

The arguments against unity are more numerous. First, the manuscript tradition (B; the less accurate D makes no break between them, but this carries less weight as D fails to separate other poems also) and the ancient scholia treat them as separate poems, showing that they were so in the Alexandrian edition of Pindar. Secondly, *I. 3* celebrates a Nemean victory in addition to an Isthmian one, whereas *I. 4* mentions only (from the major games) an Isthmian victory. Thirdly, there is no continuity between the end of *I. 3* and the beginning of *I. 4*, indeed there is something of a clash, as *παῖδες θεῶν* (*I. 3.18b*) would be followed so immediately by *θεῶν ἕκαστι* (*I. 4.1*), and several features of *I. 3* are repeated in *I. 4* (chariot endeavours of the victor's ancestors, mixture of success and failure, formal naming of the victor) producing what would be a tautology unnatural in a single ode (Hamilton 111). Fourthly, and this is virtually decisive, W. S. Barrett showed in 1956 that a metrical feature of the first triad of *I. 4* (the appearance of short *ancipitia* in dactylo-epitrite verse) is consistent with Pindar's practice if this is the first triad of its poem, but would be wildly abnormal in a later triad (*Hermes* 84 (1956) 248–9, esp. 249 n. 1; cf. Schroeder, p. 355).

These arguments prove that *I. 3* and *I. 4* were not composed as one poem, and the scholars who have taken that view (Boeckh, Thummer) are wrong. Nevertheless, we cannot disregard the identical metrical scheme. A common view among scholars of the last hundred years has been that *I. 4* was composed for Melissos' Isthmian victory, but before it was performed he had won at Nemea as well, and Pindar added what we see as *I. 3* as an additional triad at the front. That copes with the second and fourth objections above, but is an unsatisfactory answer for the others; and the more one appreciates Pindar's skill and balance in the construction of his poems, the less it seems likely that he could tack on an extra section at the beginning without serious harm. In the light of this, the two recent scholars who have written most cogently on the subject, Köhnken and Privitera, argue for total independence, *I. 4* composed first, *I. 3* for a separate celebration when the Nemean victory was won. On the metrical identity, the answer has to be that

we do not know the circumstances; but it might be speculated that if *I. 3* was (like other short odes, cf. *O. 11*) composed for performance at the games themselves, perhaps a metrical repetition could be a reminder or echo of the earlier celebration.

Taking the view that the two poems are independent, we logically print *I. 4* before *I. 3*. But there is another problem: what was the event which Melissos won at the Isthmian games, celebrated in the Fourth Isthmian, and recalled in the Third?

At *I. 3.9–13*, Pindar says that Melissos has now won two important victories, a crown at the Isthmus and the new victory at Nemea in the chariot race: *ἔστι δὲ καὶ διδύμων ἀέθλων Μελίσσῳ | μοῖρα πρὸς εὐφροσύναν τρέψαι γλυκεῖαν | ἤτορ, ἐν βάσσαισιν Ἰσθμοῦ δεξαμένῳ στεφάνους, τὰ δὲ κοίλαι λέοντος | ἐν βαθυστέρνῳ νάπαι κάρυξε Θήβαν | ἵπποδρομίαι κρατέων*. If we did not have the Fourth Isthmian, we would have no difficulty in assuming that the Isthmian victory had been in the chariot race also, and this is in fact stated by the scholiast (*Σ I. 3.15* (end) τοῦτο οὖν λέγει ὡς καὶ Ἰσθμια καὶ Νέμεα νενικηκότος αὐτοῦ ἵπποδρομίαι). For, although there is variation in the reference to the two victories (he 'received a crown' at the Isthmus, but 'proclaimed Thebes for his chariot victory' at Nemea), it would surely be strange of the poet not to point out that the two were in different disciplines, if they were.

In *I. 4*, however, at lines 43–4, there is explicit mention of victory in the pancration: *προφρόνων Μοισᾶν τύχοιμεν, κείνον ἄψαι πυρσὸν ὕμνων | καὶ Μελίσσῳ, παγκρατίου στεφάνωμ' ἐπάξιον*; and the reader's clearest memory of that poem is likely to be of the colourful parallels in the third triad, of the fox and the eagle, and Herakles, both definitely referring to wrestling. Furthermore, wrestling imagery comes earlier in *I. 4* (35 *ἔσφαλε, καταμάρψαισα*), and Pindar has been shown to be fond of using imagery taken from the event he is celebrating (P. A. Bernadini, *Q.U.C.C.* 25 (1977) 135 n. 4, and in *Entret. Hardt* 31 (1985) 117–49). In consequence, almost all editors who separate the poems ascribe *I. 4* to an Isthmian victory in the pancration.

The latest editor, however, G. A. Privitera, in *Helikon* 18/19 (1978/9) 3–21 and in his 1982 edition, boldly offers the solution that the victory at the Isthmus was in the chariot race as at Nemea, and that this is the theme of the first half of the poem (see 14, 19–29), while the second half praises *earlier* victories of Melissos in the pancration in local games

at Thebes. Privitera is not totally on his own here; apart from the scholion on *I.* 3.15, quoted above, Bowra in the Oxford Text heads *I.* 4 'ΜΕΛΙΣΣΩΙ ΘΗΒΑΙΩΙ ΙΠΠΟΙΣ', and he repeats this in *Pindar* 408, though he offers no explanation; and Hamilton 109 n. 19 comes close to taking the same view, but veers away with the sophistry that Pindar allowed it to appear both in the first half of *I.* 4 and in the reference back in *I.* 3 that it had been a chariot victory, when it had not.

There seem to be two possibilities. Either the Isthmian victory was in the pancration, as *I.* 4.44 certainly seems to indicate, but Pindar implies a chariot victory when he alludes to previous attempts by the family and how this new success of Melissos reawakens their former glory (19–29), or the Isthmian victory was in the chariot race, as Privitera argues, and the pancration successes of Melissos were in the past, at the local Theban games, recorded as usual after the myth, and listed at 70–1.

Two reasons incline one to Privitera's view. First, a solution that depends on *suggestio falsi* by the poet in two separate odes is inherently improbable, and the idea that Pindar for rhetorical purposes allusively treated a pancration victory as if it were the chariot victory which would really have reawakened the former glories of the family is somewhat disparaging to Melissos; elsewhere the pancration at the Isthmus is the ultimate in achievement for the local boy (*I.* 7.20–3). Secondly, the common view that makes Melissos win the pancration at one festival and then, perhaps fifteen months later, the chariot race at another, involves a rapid change. Even allowing that the wealthy Melissos would not have driven the chariot himself, it is easier to suppose that a successful pancratiast in local games some years ago was now entering a chariot for races at the Isthmus and Nemea, than that he almost concurrently involved himself in two such different disciplines.

Lest the reader criticise Pindar for obscurity on this important matter, it should be pointed out that the uncertainty affects only us. The audience at the time knew perfectly well which event Melissos had won.

The Fourth Isthmian

This ode, of four triads, in the dactylo-epitrite metre, is for the victory of Melissos of Thebes, another fellow-citizen of Pindar, in the Isth-

mian games, probably some years after the battle of Plataea (479), which is likely to have been the occasion when four members of the victor's family died in battle on one day (16–17). This is why 474 was proposed by Wilamowitz 341 as the date of the victory. There are grounds for uncertainty about the discipline in which Melissos competed, i.e. whether it was the pancration or the chariot race; see discussion above (pp. 71–2) and notes on lines 14–18b, 28–9, 34–5a.

The ode falls into two halves, with the mythological example of Aias in the centre, exactly filling, with the transitional gnomes that introduce and conclude it, the second epode and the third strophe:

1–30 *The Kleonymidai*

Past successes and endeavours of the family have been reawakened, and disasters and failures compensated, by this new victory of Melissos.

31–42 *Myth of Aias*

Bad experiences at the end of the second triad; compensating fame through the poetry of Homer in the first lines of the third.

43–72 *Melissos*

His skill and success in the pancration, with the mythological parallel of Herakles; past victories in the Herakles games at Thebes.

It is easy to see that this simple and balanced structure would be adversely affected by the addition of the Third Isthmian at the front (see p. 70 above).

In addition to the recent editions of the *Isthmians* by Thummer and Privitera, this ode is discussed in detail by Köhnken 87–116 and Krummen 33–97.

Metre

Dactylo-epitrite. For the symbols, see on *O.* 11 p. 56.

Strophe/Antistrophe: | (1) E ∪ E – | (2) e – D ∪ e | (3) D (∪∪ for – in a proper name, 45) ∪ e – | (4) D ∪ e – | (5) E – Dd²e – | (6) E – e – ||

Epode: | (1) – D – d¹ | (2) D – | (3) E | (4) – E | (5) – D ∪ e | (6) – E ∪ e | (7) – DE | (8) – E (∪∪ for –, 54b) – e |||

The pure epitrite rhythm of the first and last lines of the strophe is notable, the former formally indistinguishable from the trochaic

tetrameter acatalectic (in Latin, trochaic octonarius) occasionally found in other genres of poetry.

Line numbering

From Boeckh's edition on, throughout the nineteenth century, ll. 5–6 and 7–8 of each epode were treated as two long lines, mainly because of the problem of accepting a line-break between ἐξ- and ἀλλάξεν in I. 3.18. The Teubner editors, however, since Schroeder (1900), have printed as four lines, but have not wished to introduce confusion by changing the traditional numbers. Following their example, we call them (e.g.) 17a, b, 18a, b.

1–5

To begin an epinician with a direct address to the victor is not paralleled in Pindar; but this is perhaps accidental, for reference to the victor in the third person in the opening sentence is quite common (O. 9, O. 10, P. 4, P. 9, I. 8).

1–3 'There are countless ways available to me, Melissos, to praise you and your family.' Bacchylides uses the same expression at 5.31–3 τῶς νῦν καὶ ἐμοὶ μυρία πάντα κέλευθος | ὑμετέραν ἀρετάν | ὑμνεῖν. Bacch. 5 is dated to 476, for the same victory as Pindar's O. 1; but this fact is no longer used as evidence to date our poem, because there are several other variations on this theme: Bacch. 9.48, 19.1; cf. I. 6.22, N. 6.45. Scholars are now agreed that it is a commonplace of praise poetry, and although Bacchylides says καὶ ἐμοὶ at 5.31, he is not echoing Pindar, nor is Pindar here imitating Bacchylides.

θεῶν ἕκατι 'by the favour of the gods'; cf. σὺν θεῶι 5.

ὑμετέρας 'your' in the plural, and so referring to Melissos' family, the Kleonymidai (4), not just to himself.

5 διέρχονται βίотου τέλος 'live their lives to the end'; cf. I. 7.41.

5–6

Transitional. Human life brings both good and bad. The metaphor, with οὖρος and ἐλαύνει, is of a ship at sea; cf. O. 7.94–5 ἐν δὲ μῆϊ μοῖραι χρόνου | ἄλλοτ' ἄλλοιαι διαθύσσοισιν αὔραι, P. 3.104–5.

7–29

The victor's family, the Kleonymidai, are of the ancient aristocracy of Thebes; they competed for glory in chariot races in the past, with local successes, but none in the great games, and fought in battle for their city, losing four members in a recent conflict. The victory of Melissos is some compensation for that loss, and a brilliant justification of their past endeavours.

7–11 They had been leading citizens of Thebes for a very long time, shown hospitality to visitors from neighbouring cities, and yet remained unspoilt. The word πρόξενος was used technically for a man with a semi-official appointment to represent visitors from another city, but that is unlikely to be the meaning here; rather, Pindar is speaking of the friendly local connections of the family. So Thummer and Privitera *ad loc.*; Wilamowitz 337, however, and G. W. Most, *G.R.B.S.* 26 (1985) 323–6, argue for official *proxenia*. Parallel passages are O. 9.83, N. 7.65.

κελαδενῆς ὄρφανοί | ὕβριος: a remarkable expression: 'they lacked [lit. were bereaved of] loud-voiced arrogance'.

δσσα . . . τέλος 'all the things that attest [lit. all the witness that is carried on the winds to men] to the boundless glory of men both living and dead, they have attained in every last detail'. The same meaning is similarly, but more simply, expressed at P. 10.28–9 δσαις δὲ βροτὸν ἔθνος ἀγλαίαις ἀπτόμεσθα, περαίνει πρὸς ἔσχατον | πλόον.

ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ἄηται 'are blown, come on the winds, to men', of fame, which is carried all over the world (Il. 11.21, N. 5.2–3); ἄηται is present passive of ἄημι.

11–13 ἀνορέαις . . . ἀρετάν: a common metaphorical expression for the ultimate achievement turns into a gnome, that you must not try to go any further. The Pillars of Herakles (Straits of Gibraltar), the limits of human sailing established by the hero (55–7n.), are used as here in O. 3.43–4, N. 3.21, and cf. N. 4.69, P. 10.28–9 (quoted on 7–11 above).

οἴκοθεν: i.e. starting from their home base.

ἄπτονθ' 'they touched', 'they reached'.

σπεύδειν 'aim for', infinitive for imperative, as commonly in Homer, though it comes rather awkwardly among the statements about the

family's past; cf. *O.* 1.114, *I.* 5.14. ἀρετά is 'achievement', 'success', *O.* 11.6. For the thought, cf. *I.* 7.44.

14–18b The chiasmic structure of these lines may give a clue to the event that Melissos has won. The family is famous for (a) chariot racing, (b) prowess in battle; but (b) four members died in war on one day, (a) now, however, with Melissos' victory, springtime has come after the dark of winter. Privitera reasonably argues that this would fit best with a victory in the chariot race.

ἔδον: from ἀνδάνω.

ἀλλ' . . . γάρ 'but <the favour of the god of battles did not help,> for . . .'; for the ellipse, cf. *I.* 7.16. Scholars assume that the battle where four members of this family died was Plataea (479), where the Thebans fought on the side of the Persians against their fellow-Greeks. Perhaps the awkwardness of the memory is betrayed by the bare reference here contrasting with the enthusiastic praise of the uncle Strepsiadidas in *I.* 7 (C. Gaspar, *Essai de chronologie Pindarique* (Brussels 1900) 82).

νιφάς πολέμοιο: for the metaphor, cf. *I.* 7.27 χάλαζαν αἵματος and the note there.

νῦν δ' αὖ . . . βόδοις: for the new victory bringing joy after sorrow, light after dark, cf. particularly *I.* 7.37–9, *P.* 5.10–11. Here the image is of the awakening of the earth and the blooming of bright flowers after the darkness of winter.

ποικίλων: so the manuscripts. Several recent scholars have followed Hartung and emended to ποικίλα, to go with χθών. Logically this may be right; but can we be sure that Pindar was not capable of 'the wintry darkness of the many-coloured months'?

19–24 The new Isthmian victory has restored the ancient glory of the family.

δαιμόνων βουλαῖς: these two words, which begin the second triad, both complete the last sentence of the first and also look forward to the mention of the particular god (Poseidon) whom we have to thank for Melissos' victory. The two words υἱὸς Ἀλκμήνας take the same position at the start of the fourth triad.

ὁ κινητήρ . . . γᾶς: Homeric ἐνοσίχθων, ἐννοσίγαιος, god of earthquakes as well as of the sea. Poseidon is described as dwelling in Onchestos (in Boeotia, not far from Thebes; *Il.* 2.506) and on 'the

bridge between the seas' – i.e. the isthmus which gave Corinth its unique situation – alluding of course to the Isthmian games held there.

τόνδε . . . θαυμαστὸν ὕμνον: not self-praise by the poet, but additional praise for the victor; his achievement is wonderful, and gives wonder to the celebration.

ἐκ λεχέων . . . ἐν ὕπνῳ . . . χρῶτα λάμπει: a sustained metaphor ('Shakespearean', says Dornseiff). The ancient glory has been asleep in bed, is now awakened, and meets the new dawn with a shining face; cf. *I.* 7.16–17 παλαιά . . . εὐδαι χάρις.

χρῶτα: accusative of respect, with λάμπει.

Ἄοσφόρος: the morning star, the planet Venus, brightest of the heavenly bodies after the sun and the moon.

ὥς 'like', accented as it follows the noun.

25–7 Past victories in minor games.

ἔ τε: i.e. the φάμα παλαιά. It had occasioned the announcement of victory at Athens, and the commissioning of a victory song at Sikyon.

ἐν γουνοῖς Ἀθανᾶν: the phrase occurs in the *Odyssey* at 11.323 ἐς γουνὸν Ἀθηναίων ἱεράων; the noun, probably connected with γόνυ 'knee', is assumed to refer to hilly ground.

ἔρμα . . . νικᾶν: accusative and infinitive, 'that the chariot was victorious'.

καρύξαισα: the heralds publicly announced the victor's name and the name of his city; cf. *I.* 3.12.

Ἀδραστείοις: at Sikyon, on the north coast of the Peloponnese, west of Corinth, there was a local cult of Adrastos, king there before he moved to Argos (Hdt. 5.67; for Adrastos at Argos, *I.* 7.10–11).

τοιάδε: i.e. like this one; cf. *I.* 5.54 καὶ τοιαῖδε τιμαί. 'Awarded them leaves of song like this, from the poets of those days'; epinician hymns, then, and not up to Pindar's standard. The metaphor in 'leaves of song' is of new growth, not (as we think of leaves, and cf. *Il.* 6.146–7) of falling; more strained is *I.* 8.42 νεϊκέων πέταλα 'petals of quarrels'.

28–9 Those earlier Kleonymidai competed also at the Panhellenic games in the chariot race, not grudging the expense (Introd. 15). They must have been unsuccessful, or Pindar would certainly have told us. Melissos' new victory makes up for it all; and, as Privitera argues, this works best if his victory is in the chariot race.

παναγυρίων ξυνᾶν: the four great national festivals; ξυνᾶν = κοινῶν.

30–5a

Three gnomic comments develop the thought from the unfulfilled ambitions of Melissos' forefathers to the suicide of Aias: 1. If you don't compete, you won't win. 2. Even if you do, something may go wrong. 3. Lesser men have been known to beat their betters by craft.

30 If you do not make the attempt, people will not have heard of you, and no poet will sing your praise. This sentiment is expressed by Pindar in five words.

31–3 A second gnome modifies what has just been said, and prepares for the mythical example of Aias. Even if you do compete, you may be unlucky, and not reach the finishing line first.

ἀφάνεια τύχας: a non-appearance, negation, of fortune.

μαρναμένων: the verb means 'fight', and is thus appropriate for the introduction of Aias. But Pindar uses it also for athletic competition: I. 5.54 μαρνάσθω τις ἔρδων 'let a man strive hard in action', where the reference is to athletes as well as the sailors at Salamis.

πρὶν 'before', not 'until'; Köhnken 101–3, with nn. 61 and 70.

τῶν τε . . . καὶ τῶν: partitive genitive with διδοῖ, which is an alternative form for δίδωσι, as if from a contracted verb; 'this and that', 'good and bad'. The subject is τύχα.

34–5a With τέχναι dative, the subject is still τύχα. She catches and trips the stronger competitor through the trickery of lesser men. ἔσφαλε is gnomic aorist.

The verbs here are particularly suited to the pancration (cf. σφῆλαι in the wrestling at *Il.* 23.719 and κατέμαρψεν in *N.* 3.35, of Peleus wrestling with Thetis in an ode for a pancration victor). This might be thought to weaken Privitera's theory that this ode is for a chariot victory, and the choice of words certainly looks forward to the praise of Melissos as a pancratiast in the second half. Privitera admits this, but points out that the image of πρὶν τέλος ἄκρον ἰκέσθαι in 32 fits better with a race. So the metaphors incline both ways.

This third gnome, after those in 30 and 31–3, moves us still closer to

Aias. He failed to get the arms of Achilles through the greater cleverness of a lesser man (Odysseus).

35a–9

The myth is of Aias, who committed suicide because the Greeks awarded the arms of Achilles to Odysseus. The story was told in the cyclic *Little Iliad* (Proclus, *Summary* p. 52, lines 3–5 Davies). Pindar mentions the unfairness of this judgement and the suicide of Aias in three of the odes (*N.* 7 and *N.* 8 as well as here), and each time he seems to write with strong feeling. 'The vast majority of people are blind, or Aias would never have killed himself for the loss of the arms' (*N.* 7.23–7); 'Envy and deceit existed in the old days also, and the Greeks gave their votes to Odysseus and Aias wrestled with death' (*N.* 8.21–34). Here, however, the hero is compensated by perennial fame, from the poet of the *Iliad*.

35a–6b ἴστε μὲν 'you surely know'.

ἀλκὰν φοίνιον 'his blood-stained valour'. Aias was a killer. In *N.* 8.28 Pindar points out that the wounds Aias inflicted on the flesh of the enemy were on a different scale from those inflicted by Odysseus.

Many editors take φοίνιον into the relative clause by placing the comma after ἀλκὰν. In that case, it will refer to Aias' bloody end.

τὰν . . . ταμῶν περὶ ᾧ φασγάνωι: colourful language; he cut through his own valour with the sword (τὰν = ἦν). For περὶ, cf. *Il.* 13.570 ὁ δ' ἐσπόμενος περὶ δουρί.

ὄψιαι ἐν νυκτί 'in the last part of the night', when dark things happen. Commentators point out the contrast of light and dark in the imagery of this ode (see 42 ἀκτίς, 43 πυρσόν).

μομφὰν ἔχει 'he reproaches', 'he blames'. Recent discussion has shown beyond doubt that this is what the words mean, and not 'he is blamed'; cf. Aesch. *PV* 445, Eur. *Or.* 1069.

παίδεσσιν Ἑλλάνων: i.e. the Greeks.

37–9 Justice has been done, however, in the end. Homer has given Aias the honour he deserved. This is true. Aias is the great bulwark and defence of the Achaeans during the Trojan attack in the long middle books of the *Iliad* – from 11 when three major leaders, Agamemnon, Diomedes and Odysseus, are wounded, to 17, when he

shepherds the return of the body of Patroklos to the Greek camp. The theme here, starting from unlucky failure, has turned into Pindar's commonest one, of the power of song to reward the victor.

ῥηθώσαις 'put on its feet', 'set straight'; cf. I. 7.12–13 and particularly O. 7.21 διορθῶσαι λόγον.

κατὰ ῥάβδον: this refers to the staff held by the rhapsode in the public performance of epic. In N. 2.2, on the other hand, where Pindar describes the followers of Homer as ῥαπτῶν ἐπέων . . . ᾠδοί, ῥαπτῶν 'stitched' indicates rather the continuity of the hexameter lines.

θεσπεσίων ἐπέων: to be taken with ῥάβδον.

λοιποῖς ἀθύρειν 'for later poets to make their entertainment from'. ἀθύρειν 'play' (of children) is used of poetic composition also at P. 5.23, Bacch. 9.87. For Homer as the source for later poets, compare the alleged statement of Aeschylus that his plays were 'slices from Homer's feast' (Athenaeus 8 347e).

40–2

Transitional. Gnostic comment on the world-wide diffusion of poetry transfers the thought from Homer to Pindar, whose works 'travel abroad on every boat that sails' (N. 5.2–3, cf. ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ἄηται 9).

εἰ . . . εἴπηι: the Homeric use of εἰ + subjunctive without ἄν was copied by later poets. Fennell on P. 8.13 gives the examples from Pindar's epinicians (C. A. M. Fennell, *Pindar: the Olympian and Pythian odes*² (Cambridge 1893)).

ἐπὶ 'over'.

ἀκτίς: the shining light of glorious deeds contrasts with the darkness of night when Aias killed himself; cf. the beacon of song which we are to light for Melissos in the next line, and the bonfires at 65.

43–71b

The principle just enunciated (wide-spreading fame achieved by poetry) is applied to the present victor. The ring-form structure of these lines is: (43–51) Melissos as pancratiast; (52–60) comparison with Herakles; (61–8) description of the festival of Herakles at Thebes, where (69–71b) Melissos won three times in the pancration.

43–51

Melissos, the expert competitor in the pancration.

43–5 προφρόνων Μοισᾶν τύχοιμεν: an appeal to the Muses marks the beginning of a new section, as often in Homer (e.g. *Il.* 2.484); τύχοιμεν is optative for a wish.

κεῖνον 'that one', i.e. the one we have just been speaking of, the bright light that goes all over the world.

ἄψαι 'to light'.

πυρσὸν ὕμνων 'beacon of song'. For the metaphor, see ἀκτίς above.

καὶ Μελίσσῳ: it is his turn now.

παγκρατίου: here is the nub of the problem of the victory for which this ode was composed. The words here certainly celebrate Melissos as a pancratiast, a thought which has been prepared by the metaphorical language in 35, and which continues in 45–55; but Privitera's theory is attractive too, that a chariot victory has in fact been won, and stated by implication in 14, 21–9; see p. 71. If we accept that argument, we must treat the praise of wrestling skills from here to the end of the ode as referring to the past, when Melissos was a pancratiast in his youth and not yet competing in chariot races. In that case Pindar is taking the opportunity of the new victory to include also the past achievements of a fellow Theban whom he doubtless knew personally (49–51n.); and indeed this part of the ode (section D, following the myth) is the regular place for the record of previous victories by the victor or his family (cf. N. 4, O. 7).

ἔρπει 'offspring'.

Τελεσιάδα: genitive (p. 23). Thus we know that Melissos' father was called Telesiadidas.

45–7 A colourful description of Melissos' skill at wrestling, probably in the past (cf. ἔλαχεν, aorist, in 49): 'He was similar in spirit to the aggressiveness of roaring wild lions, and in intelligence he was a fox, which spreads itself on the ground and withstands the swoop of the eagle.'

45–7 τόλμαι . . . ἀλώπηξ: the sense is clear, but the syntax so confusing that there was a vast amount of discussion and emendation by

nineteenth-century scholars. It is an example of Pindaric *variatio*. The two qualities possessed by Melissos as a pancratiast were τόλμα and μῆτις. The former appears in the dative, the latter as accusative of respect. There is an accusative of respect in the first part also, θυμόν, but although that is a natural word for the essential nature of lions (Plato, *Rep.* 588d–590b), the genitives of 46 are to be taken with τόλμαι, not with θυμόν, and it is τόλμαι, not θυμόν, that balances μῆτιν. εἰκώς ‘like’, with the dative, is found only here in Pindar, but has Homeric predecessors, e.g. *Il.* 1.47, 21.254.

ἐν πόνωι: cf. *Introd.* 15.

μῆτιν: accusative of respect.

47 αἰετοῦ . . . ἰσχει: so Melissos as pancratiast combined the strength and aggression of a lion with the cunning of a fox. And, as an example of the latter, again very colourful, Pindar claims that a fox, when attacked by an eagle, ‘spreads itself out’ on the ground, and thus frustrates the swoop of its enemy. Pindar had no doubt seen Melissos in action. The pancratiast who was not as big as his opponent (49–51) might well choose to go down to the ground as soon as possible, to minimise the other’s advantage.

According to G. Tembrock, ‘Das Verhalten des Rotfuchses’, *Handbuch der Zoologie* viii 10.15 (Berlin 1957), p. 7, attacks by eagles on foxes have often been observed in the Alps; as many as fifteen fox skulls have been found in an eagle’s nest in Germany.

ἀναπιτναμένα = ἀναπεταννυμένη ‘spread out’. The scholia gloss it by ἀνακλινομένη, and allege that a fox, on being attacked by an eagle, lies on its back (ὑπτία) on the ground, and keeps its adversary off with its feet (behaviour which is neither confirmed nor wholly denied by the beautiful photographs and drawings of foxes in D. W. Macdonald, *Running with the fox* (London 1987)).

There was a manoeuvre in ancient wrestling called ὑπτιασμός, described by E. N. Gardiner in *J.H.S.* 26 (1906) 20–1 as the same as the ‘Japanese stomach throw’ (common in judo today), whereby the wrestler, while holding his opponent’s arms, throws himself backwards on the floor, placing his foot in his adversary’s stomach, and propels him over his head. It must be doubtful, however, whether this is what Pindar has in mind.

ἰσχει ‘blocks’, ‘checks’.

48 Gnomonic comment, justifying the ‘foxy’ aspects of Melissos’ method.

49–51 Surprisingly uncomplimentary, especially line 50 (‘he is unimpressive to look at’). One gets the impression that there is humour here, perhaps a private joke between poet and victor, whom he no doubt knew personally. It carries on with the remarkable assertion that Herakles was a small man.

Ὠαριωνεῖαν: Orion was a giant, of magnificent physique (*Od.* 11.310, 572).

συμπεσεῖν: explanatory infinitive, ‘(heavy) to engage’.

αἰχμᾶι ‘in the fight’. This is a rough expression, for αἰχμή means the point of a spear, but often stands by synecdoche (the part for the whole) for a spear itself; it can be used by metonymy for a fight, and here for a wrestling bout. Editors, feeling that this is too much, have accepted the emendation ἀκμᾶι; but that too (‘at the peak of his skill’) is not wholly comfortable. The scholia gloss the word with κατὰ τοῦς ἀγῶνας, which is perhaps better as an interpretation of αἰχμᾶι than of ἀκμᾶι.

52–60

A second myth, most appositely, brings in Herakles, hero *par excellence*, born and brought up in Thebes and benefactor of the human race, in his most famous wrestling exploit and eventual deification.

52–5 Antaios, son of Poseidon like many other monstrous creatures, was a giant in Libya, who wrestled with and killed his guests. He had the advantage of deriving new strength from contact with his mother Earth (the giants being γηγενεῖς). Herakles, physically very strong, even if Pindar asserts he was a small man, held his opponent over his head, thus neutralising his advantage, and throttled him there. The tale seems to have been told by Pindar in a lost hyporcheme from which we have fr. 111; see G. Zuntz in *Hermes* 85 (1957) 401–13.

It is an interesting fact that, according to Pausanias 9.11.4, the labours of Herakles were sculpted on the temple in his sanctuary at Thebes where the festival and games of the Herakleia (61–8 below) took place; and that all twelve of the canonical labours were there except two, which were replaced by the wrestling with Antaios. This link with Pindar’s poem can hardly be accidental, even though

Pausanias attributes the sculptures that he saw to Praxiteles, a century after Pindar.

μορφὴν βραχύς: this is a surprise, and most commentators, together with the ancient scholia, persuade themselves that Pindar only means small in comparison with the giant. But heroes can be solidly built rather than tall, and Homer says that Tydeus was a small man (μικρὸς ἦν δέμας, *Il.* 5.801). For the reflection of a physical aspect of the victor into the myth, see *O.* 4.25–6, where the poet alleges that the Argonaut Erginos was prematurely grey-haired, presumably because the victor Psauis had that feature.

ῥοφῶν . . . σχέθαι ‘to stop him’. Ornamenting one’s roof, or here the roof of one’s father Poseidon’s temple, with the skulls of one’s victims is a sign of extreme barbarity, copied by Virgil in his description of the monster Cacus (*Aen.* 8.196–7).

υἱὸς Ἀλκμήνης: the identification of the small man who went to Libya to wrestle with the giant falls over, with powerful enjambment, into the new triad; the same effect was achieved by the words δαιμόνων βουλαῖς at the beginning of the second triad.

55–7 δς . . . ἡμερώσας: Herakles’ achievements in liberating the world from monsters brought immortality as a reward.

Ὀλύμπιονδ’ ‘to Olympus’.

γαῖαν τε . . . ἡμερώσας ‘having explored the surface of the whole earth, and of the grey sea with its steep cliffs, and cleared the routes for sailing’. This is what Herakles did, to the west, where he established his Pillars at the Straits of Gibraltar (12). Compare *N.* 3.21–6 ‘. . . the Pillars of Herakles, which the hero god placed as clear witnesses of the limits of sailing; he overcame huge monsters on the sea, and prospected on his own the currents in the shallow waters, when he reached the point from which he was to start his homeward journey; and he explored the land’.

θέναν: the palm of the hand, and so a flat surface.

58–60 His reward. Having toiled for the benefit of mankind during this mortal life, he was taken to heaven, where he lives with Zeus (‘the aegis-bearer’) and has Hebe, daughter of Zeus and Hera, as his wife. The same picture of Herakles’ final bliss is to be found at the end of the First Nemean (69–72).

ἀμφρέπων ‘occupying himself with’ (cf. *Il.* 6.321 περικαλλέα τεύχε’ ἔποντα), and so ‘enjoying’.

πρός + genitive ‘by’.

ὄπυιαι: present tense, like our ‘is married’; *Od.* 6.63 οἱ δὲ ὄπυιοντες.

χρυσέων: *Introd.* 18.

γαμβρὸς Ἥρας: she had been his great enemy during his life on earth; now he is her son-in-law.

61–8

The Herakleia at Thebes.

61–4 A smooth transition leads from the eternal bliss of Herakles to the festival at Thebes in his honour and that of his sons, at which we shall hear that Melissos won three times. Pausanias tells us (9.11.1–4) that by the Elektrai gate at Thebes there were to be seen Amphitryon’s house, a monument to the children of Herakles and Megara, and a Herakleion (shrine of the hero), beside which were a gymnasium and a stadium, all of which confirms Pindar’s words here.

ὑπερθεν ‘outside’, ‘beyond’; cf. note on κατέδρακεν *N.* 4.23.

δαῖτα πορσύνοντες ἄστοι καὶ νεόδματα στεφανώματα βωμῶν ‘we citizens [for Pindar too was a Theban] providing a feast for Herakles, and newly constructed piles of wood round the altars [in preparation for the all-night bonfires 65]’. So in effect Krummen 42–8. Others have offered other translations of the ambiguous words νεόδματα στεφανώματα βωμῶν: ‘a circle of newly-built altars’, ‘altars crowned with new garlands’, ‘newly-built altars crowned with garlands’. Krummen points out the use of στεφάνωμα πύργων at *Soph. Ant.* 122 of the crown of towers around a city.

αὔξομεν ‘build them up’.

ἔμπυρα χαλκοσραῖν ὀκτώ θανόντων: the piles of wood round the altars are for a sacrifice by fire to eight dead warriors, who we learn in the next line were the sons of Megara and Herakles. There is inconsistency here with the picture of the death of the children of Herakles and Megara in Euripides’ *Herakles*. There, Herakles, overcome by madness sent by Hera, kills his wife and their three small children. At the end of the play specific arrangements are made for the burial of the children

(1360), and the people of Thebes are invited to join in mourning them (1389–91). Given Euripides' habit of ending his plays with references to ongoing cults (*Medea*, *Hippolytus*), it is very probable that he is alluding to the festival here described by Pindar. On the other hand, by using the epithet χαλκοαρᾶν, Pindar denotes warriors ('armed in bronze'), and not the pathetic children of Euripides' play.

What seems to have happened (Schachter 1.11, Krummen 61–2) is that there was a traditional cult of a group of dead warriors at Thebes, called the Alkaidai (Σ I. 4.104 (end)), who were identified as sons of Herakles, who is himself given that title at *O.* 6.68 and probably *Paean* 20.4. The pathetic story of his madness and killing of his own children must have grown up at an early date, for it was referred to in the cyclic epic *Cypria*, where Nestor told in an excursus of the 'madness of Herakles' (Proclus, *Summary* p. 31, line 38 Davies), and Pausanias 9.11.1 makes a point of telling us that the Thebans gave the same cause of their death as did Stesichorus (the lyric poet) and Panyassis (the epic), i.e. the madness of their father. But Pausanias was six hundred years later, and Pindar's reference here must be to the cult as it stood in his own day, evidently retaining this point of difference from the established poetic tradition.

The scholia quote other variations on the story of the deaths of these sons of Herakles, giving names also to them, and varying their number between two and eight.

χαλκοαρᾶν: Homeric χαλκηρέων, from χαλκός and ἀραρίσκω, 'armed in bronze', 'bronze-clad' (M. Leumann, *Homeric Wörter* (Basel 1950) 66). Pindar uses the word of Memnon at *I.* 5.41.

Μεγάρα . . . Κρεοντίς: that Megara daughter of Kreon was Herakles' wife was already stated in the *Odyssey* (11.269–70).

65–8 More about the festival, called Herakleia, where annual games were held. On the first night there was a feast for Herakles and an all-night celebration; next day came the athletic events (Schachter 2.24–30, Krummen 75–9).

συνεχές 'continuously'.

αἰθέρα . . . καπνῶι 'kicking the sky with the smoke of burnt offerings'; the metaphor in λακτίζοισα is not unreasonably criticised by the scholia as somewhat harsh. Perhaps, as some argue, it is a metaphor taken again from the pancration (cf. 35).

δεύτερον ἄμαρ: probably subject of γίνεται, τέρμα predicate.

ἐτείων τέρμ' ἀέθλων 'the performance of annual games'.

τέρμ' = τέλος 'end', 'fulfilment'.

ισχύος ἔργον: in apposition to τέρμα.

69–71b

Melissos had celebrated three victories in these games, two as an adult and one as a junior.

λευκωθεὶς κάρα | μύρτοις: the victory crown was of myrtle, a shrub with small white flowers.

71b–2b

The ode ends with praise of the trainer, almost obligatory when a boy's victory is being celebrated, or (as here) referred to. The trainer is given credit also in *O.* 8, *O.* 10, *N.* 4, *N.* 5, *N.* 6, *I.* 5, most of which are known to have been for winners in boys' events. The place for praise of the trainer is regularly, as here, the end of the ode (cf. *N.* 4).

ολακοστρόφου: Pindar favours powerful imagery in his references to the trainer; cf. *N.* 4.93–6.

πεπιθών: reduplicated strong aorist, a Homeric feature; here it is intransitive, 'obedient to'.

Ὀρσέαι: Orseas is the trainer's name. Another reason for giving him credit now, evidently long after Melissos' victory as a boy, could be personal acquaintance. σύν Ὀρσέαι goes with κωμάξομαι; the past trainer and the present poet join together in the celebration of Melissos.

κωμάξομαι: encomiastic future; cf. *O.* 11.14.

ἐπιστάζων 'dripping', a metaphor perhaps from honey; cf. *O.* 10.98–9 μέλιτι | εὐάνορα πόλιν καταβρέχων.

χάριν: i.e. the present poem (cf. *Intro.* 18).

The Third Isthmian

This poem was composed when Melissos of Thebes added a Nemean victory in the chariot race to his previous success in the Isthmian games celebrated in *I.* 4. Thus, strictly speaking, it should have been

among the *Nemeans*, but the Alexandrian editor sensibly put it with *I. 4*, as it is for the same victor and in the same metre. The implication of 9 καὶ διδύμων is that the new victory followed soon after the previous one, and the identity of metre, however it is to be explained, supports this. If *I. 4* is tentatively dated to a victory in the Isthmian games of April 474 (see p. 73), *I. 3* could be for one in the Nemean games of July 473.

The ode consists of a single triad, and is thus comparable with other short odes, such as *O. 11*. Gelzer's article, referred to on p. 55, argued that short poems such as this were produced at the festival itself, and *I. 3* would fit that pattern. It contains all that is needed for immediate public impact, identifying the victor (9), his family (15–16), his home city (12), the place of the games (11–12), the god of the games (4), the event that he has won (13). What may make us hesitate, however, about performance at Nemea itself is the tense of the verb κάρυξε 12 (aorist, 'he caused to be proclaimed').

The structure is worth comparing with that of *O. 11*. We can sense Pindar's characteristic method for a short poem of celebration. He begins with an arresting statement ('There are times when men most need winds', 'Any successful man, whether in games or through the power of wealth'), and continues with such general reflections for the rest of the first strophe; the antistrophe turns to the victor and his victory; the epode to his family (in *O. 11*, to his fellow citizens), concluding with a further generalisation and an unexpected comparison. We may notice also that there are similar thoughts in Pindar's mind here and in *I. 4*, and we should not forget that these are Thebans known to him personally. They are an ancient aristocratic family, which has lived quietly and not striven for political power, but contented itself with its wealth and interest in horse-racing. To Pindar's mind it deserves its good image in the city, especially in view of the uncertainties of human life. These ideas are reflected in both poems. The four requirements for victory (Introd. 15) – inborn ability, hard work, wealth, and the help of a god – all appear in the brief compass of this ode (14, 17b, 2, 4).

Metre

The same as *I. 4*; see p. 73.

1–6

The man who is successful without becoming arrogant deserves public approval. Lasting achievements only come to those who honour the gods.

1–3 εὐτυχῆσαις: aorist participle.

σύν: instrumental, 'by means of'; we would say 'in'. Public success (εὐτυχῆσαις) is described here as being *either* in games *or* through wealth. Melissos wins both ways.

κατέχει . . . κόρον 'avoids [lit. holds down] hateful arrogance [cf. Introd. 18] in his heart' (φρασίν = φρεσίν); cf. *I. 4.8–9*, where the family are described as κελαιδενᾶς ὀρφανοί | ὕβριος. This obviously means much to Pindar.

μεμίχθαι: cf. *I. 7.25* and note.

4–6 Ζεῦ: god of the games at Nemea, as well as supreme god.

δ': the conjunction takes its position in the sentence without regard to the introductory vocative, as normal.

ἀρεταί 'achievements', *O. 11.6n*.

δλβος 'prosperity'. This sentence repeats the doublet of athletic victory and wealth in 1–2: ἀρεταί and δλβος here correspond to ἀέθλοις and πλούτου there.

ὀπιζομένων: those who have respect for the gods, i.e. the righteous.

πλαγίαις . . . ὀμιλεῖ: typically in a Greek writer, the other side of the picture is added as a balance. These are the non-ὀπιζόμενοι. It is assumed that they may be successful for a time.

7–13

We should join in praising Melissos, who is celebrating two victories, at the Isthmus and at Nemea, in the chariot race.

7–8 ἄποινα: internal accusative, representing the action of the verb (Barrett, *Hippolytus* p. 307); 'as a reward for'.

τὸν ἐσλόν: i.e. the victor; he is the object of ὑμνῆσαι and βαστάσαι. Pindar sees it as a general principle to ἐσλὸν αἰνεῖν (*N. 3.29*).

κωμάζοντ' 'as he holds his victory celebration' (*O. 11.16*).

χαρίτεσσι: i.e. the spirits of poetry; Introd. 18.
βαστάσαι 'raise up', 'honour'. 'glorify'.

9–13 Here we have the information about the two victories won by Melissos in the Panhellenic games.

διδύμων ἀέθλων: to be taken with μοῖρα; not so much 'twin prizes' as 'a second prize'. This is shown by the syntax, for δεξαμένωι (participle) is the verb describing the Isthmian victory which happened in the past, whereas the new victory is presented as a new fact (κάρυξε).

στεφάνους: the plural is often used for a single crown, e.g. *I.* 7.39. Pindar does not specify the event won at the Isthmus; but a natural assumption would be that it too was in the chariot race, in the words καὶ διδύμων which ought to make them a pair, and in the absence of any allusion to the striking fact (if it was one) of the same athlete being successful in two different disciplines. See discussion on pp. 71–2.

τὰ δέ 'and also', τὰ being adverbial accusative.

κοίλαι . . . νάπαι 'in the low-lying valley of the deep-chested lion', an evocative description of the secluded valley of Nemea where Herakles fought the lion in the first of his labours.

κάρυξε: cf. *I.* 4.25 and note.

13–18b

His family has been famous for competing with chariots. But nothing in human life is secure.

13–14 ἀνδρῶν . . . κατελέγχει: transition to the past endeavours of the family is achieved by reference to Melissos' inborn ability. The negative statement of οὐ κατελέγχει implies a strong positive, i.e. 'he enhances', 'adds lustre to'; A. Köhnken, 'Gebrauch und Funktion der Litotes bei Pindar', *Glotta* 54 (1976) 62–7, esp. 63.

15–17b Κλεωνύμου: Kleonymos was a direct ancestor of Melissos. The family are called Kleonymidai at *I.* 4.4.

ἄρμασιν: the dative qualifies the verbal implications of δόξαν; cf. *I.* 2.13 Ἴσθμῖαν ἵπποισι νίκαν.

Λαβδακίδαισι: on the female side they are descended from the royal family of Thebes, for Labdakos was the father of Laios (*O.* 2.38), and he of Oidipos.

πλούτου: with σύννομοι; 'and on their mother's side, sharing inherited wealth with the descendants of Labdakos, they lived their lives [lit. trod their path] in the efforts of chariot racing'.

18a–b ἄλλ' ἄλλοτ' ἐξ- | ἀλλαξεν: cf. *I.* 4.5 ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλοις οὔρος. The poem ends, as do *O.* 7, *P.* 12, with a reminder of the alternation of good and bad in human life. The point perhaps arises from the family bereavements mentioned in *I.* 4.16–17b, as well as their mixed fortune in athletics in the past (*I.* 4.25–33).

κυλινδομέναις ἀμέραις: a colourful variant of the Homeric περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν (*Il.* 2.551).

ἐξ- | ἀλλαξεν: a rare, but not unparalleled, example of a prefix separated from its verb by the end of a line; cf. *O.* 1.57 ὕπερ | κρέμασε, *O.* 6.53 ἐν | κέκρυπτο, and the note on *N.* 4.63 ἀκμάν | τε.

γε μάν 'well', 'at least' (cf. *P.* 7.19); here, in effect, 'only', contrasting the demigods with humankind (Denniston 348).

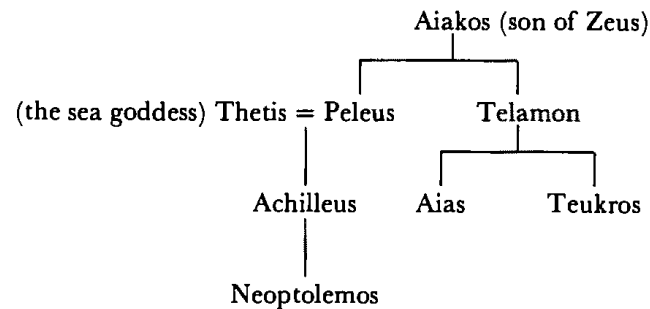
παῖδες θεῶν: this naturally means the demigods such as Herakles and Polydeukes (cf. *N.* 9.27 φεύγοντι καὶ παῖδες θεῶν). Because however those heroes were not free from human trials and tribulations, the scholia and many modern commentators argue that 'the children of the gods' must be a way of saying 'the gods', just as παῖδες Ἑλλάνων in *I.* 4.36b means 'the Greeks'. But Bowra 115 is surely right to question this; demigods like Herakles were certainly more immune than the rest of us.

The Fourth Nemean

The island of Aegina was a maritime Dorian community, long active in trade, and a serious obstacle to the expanding Athenian power in the first half of the fifth century, situated as it was in the centre of the Saronic gulf between Attica and the Peloponnese. There had been hostility between the two states before the Persian invasion; then for a short time they co-operated, and Aeginetan sailors received the prize for valour at Salamis (Hdt. 8.93, 122), while Athens contributed by far the biggest contingent to the Greek fleet. Hostilities however resumed, and eventually, in 457, the Athenians defeated their rival in a sea battle (Thuc. 1.105.2), landed on the island, and captured the city

after a siege. Later, in 431, they deported the surviving population and recolonised with their own people (Thuc. 2.27.1).

No fewer than eleven of the forty-five surviving epinician odes of Pindar, a quarter of the total, are for victors from this island. Though each poem is individual and special, they make a regular group. The victors are not particularly wealthy, unlike many of the others for whom Pindar wrote. Mostly they had won wrestling prizes at the relatively minor games of the Isthmus or Nemea. The odes in question are one Olympian (*O.* 8), one Pythian (*P.* 8), six Nemeans (*N.* 3–8) and three Isthmians (*I.* 5, 6 and 8). Typically they adhere to the structural pattern described in the Introduction, pp. 12–13. And in their central myths Pindar always chooses from the rich stories of their local heroes, the Aiakidai. These have a particular attraction for us because of Homer's *Iliad*, for, as this family tree shows, the Aiakidai had among their number the most famous of those who fought at Troy:



It is not easy for us to appreciate the intensity of local patriotism devoted to these heroes. They even had contemporary political significance, for the fact that they took a major part in the two attacks on Troy (Telamon with Herakles, and Achilles, Aias, Teukros and Neoptolemos with Agamemnon) was seen as symbolic of the opposition between the Greeks and the Persians. The point was made in sculpture also, for the great temple of Aphaia whose remains are the chief architectural glory of the island today was rebuilt just before this time, and the two expeditions against Troy, with the Aiakidai prominent, were shown on the east and west pediments. The sculptures are in the Glyptothek museum in Munich (D. Ohly, *Tempel und Heiligtum der Aphaia auf Ägina*³ (Munich 1981)). Pindar had a number of reasons

for favouring Aegina: he was evidently on friendly terms with his patrons there; he was pleased to show the great hero Herakles of Thebes associating with the Aiakidai of Aegina; and his favourite theme, of the immortalising power of poetry, is admirably demonstrated in their case, through the work of Homer, greatest of poets (cf. *I.* 4.37–9).

The date is quite uncertain. Scholars have tried to draw inferences from the complimentary reference to Athens at 18–19, and possible points of contact with other, more easily datable, odes. Most see it as from the 470s, the time of many of Pindar's greatest compositions, not far from the Third Nemean, which shows distinct similarities. The generally accepted dating puts *N.* 3 in 475, *N.* 4 in 473.

Although monostrophic (see below under Metre), the ode virtually falls into triads, for the first three strophes contain the impressive opening and the first stage of information about the victor and his victory, the next six contain the myths, and the last three the second stage of family information and the conclusion, which is about the trainer Melesias. The mythic section shows an interesting pattern, found also in *N.* 3. Pindar starts an apparently regular myth, but soon breaks it off with complicated explanation and moralising, and only after that does he begin on what is obviously intended as the main myth of the poem. The first myth is of Telamon's assistance to Herakles in the first Trojan expedition. The second, in priamel form (Introd. 21), has a summary list of the various members of the Aiakidai followed by a special treatment of Peleus. The sections of the ode are delineated by clearly marked transitions. The structure is thus:

A	1–8	Opening flourish
	9	Transition
B	9–24	Factual information
	25	Transition
C ¹	25–32	First myth
	33–35	Break-off formula
	36–43	Gnomic comment
	44–45	Transition
C ²	46–68	Second myth
	69–72	Break-off formula
	73–90	Family information
D	91–92	Transition
	93–96	Coda. The trainer Melesias.

Metaphorical expressions taken from the activity in which Timasarchos has been victorious are remarkably frequent in this ode. In addition to examples noted on p. 20 (taken from lines 36–7, 57–8, 93–6; and see the references there to discussion by Köhnken and Bernadini), the opening comparison of the victory ode with medical treatment and massage given to an exhausted athlete applies particularly to wrestling; the first myth matches Telamon with ‘the gigantic fighter Alkyoneus’ (27); and Peleus won his bride by a successful struggle against her various manifestations (62–4). All this gives a unity of tone to the poem, and is surely not accidental.

There have been several recent treatments of the Fourth Nemean: Köhnken 188–219, C. Carey in *Eranos* 78 (1980) 143–51 (on the myths), Williams 141–211, M. M. Willcock in *Greece & Rome* 29 (1982) 1–10, Bernadini 95–120.

Metre

This ode is not triadic, as are the others in our selection, but consists of twelve repeated strophes. Such monostrophic odes are relatively rare. The others are *P.* 6, *P.* 12, *N.* 2, *N.* 9, *I.* 8. The reason for the difference is not precisely understood; it is speculated that the performance of these odes was processional rather than static.

The metre is aeolic, cf. *I.* 7. Here too the familiar glyconic may easily be recognised, e.g. in lines 4 and 7, with variations elsewhere.

1	υ-υ-υυ-	υ-υυ-
2	υ-υ-υυ-	
3	--υ-υυ--	υ-υ-υυ-
4	-υ-υυ-υ-	υ-υυ--
5	-υ-υ-υυ-	υ-υυ-υ-
6	-υ-υ-υυ-	υ-υυ--
7	υυυ-υυ-υ-	
8	--υυ-υ-υ--	

1–8

The opening is typically vigorous. Pindar chooses his favourite theme, particularly appropriate for a victor in wrestling, that the song of the poet is the compensation for all the strain and effort that has gone into

training and competing (Introd. 17). In considering this, he creates an expanding threefold development of a medical metaphor. A wrestler may benefit after the event from treatment by a doctor, massage of bruised limbs, and soaking in a hot bath; Pindar claims that the psychological effect of victory is the best doctor, the song of the poet works like massage, and praise set to music is more effective than a hot bath.

1–5 εὐφροσύνα: the joy and satisfaction of victory (cf. *I.* 3.10), with also a more concrete suggestion of the victory celebration (the κῶμος) itself, as Bundy 12 points out.

κεκριμένων refers to the fact that a decision has been reached; somebody (Timasarchos) has won; cf. *I.* 5.11 κρίνεται δ' ἄλκᾳ διὰ δαίμονας ἀνδρῶν.

σοφαί: cf. *O.* 11.10n.

Μοισᾶν θύγατρες ἄοιδαί: for the pleasing conceit, cf. *O.* 11.3.

θέλξαν νιν ἀπτόμεναι: precisely the action of masseuses. θέλξαν is gnomic aorist.

νιν ‘him’, the victor, implied in πόνων κεκριμένων and indeed in the sense of the whole passage.

τόσσον: for ὅσον, relative.

6 A simple summary comment; the word (of the poet) lives longer than the deed.

7–8 ὃ τί κε . . . ἐξέλοι: potential optative within a relative clause, ‘whatever the tongue can draw’; the closest parallel in Homer is *Od.* 4.600 δῶρον δ', ὅττι κέ μοι δοίης, κειμήλιον ἔστω. ‘let any gift you may give me be something to keep’.

σὺν Χαρίτων τύχαι: for the Charites, see Introd. 18. Their presence (τύχαι) gives charm to the performance of song.

γλῶσσα . . . βαθείας: the tongue draws the words from the depths of the mind, as from a well.

The first tranche of circumstantial information includes the following essential features: Zeus, the god of the games; Nemea, their location; Timasarchos, the victor; Timokritos, his father; Aegina, his home; wrestling, the event he has won; previous victories at Athens and Thebes.

9–11 With the demonstrative τό, and ὕμνου προκώμιον, a transition is made from the opening flourish to the second part of the ode. ‘Let that be the opening of the hymn, for me to set in place for Zeus, etc.’

θέμεν = θείναι, exegetic (i.e. explanatory) infinitive.

11–13 δέξαιτο: for the important concept of ‘receiving the κῶμος’, which gods or cities are invited to do, cf. Heath 189 and *P.* 12.1–5.

Αἰακιδᾶν . . . ἔδος: Aegina, home of the Aiakidai.

δίκαι ξεναρχεῖ: in a merchant state the combined virtues of hospitality and fair treatment of foreigners were important; attention is drawn to these qualities also in other odes for Aegina.

κοινόν ‘universal’, i.e. common to all.

φέγγος ‘guiding light’; cf. *N.* 3.64, *O.* 2.56n.

13–16 Timasarchos’ father Timokritos is dead. The family had musical interests in the past (see also 77–9, 90). Pindar says that if Timokritos were still ‘warmed by the sun’ (ἐθάλπετο, imperfect), i.e. alive, he would have repeatedly accompanied this victory ode on the lyre. This statement gives rare evidence for the possible separate, and (it seems) non-choral, performance of Pindar’s poems (Heath 187 n. 18).

θαμά ‘frequently’.

κλιθεῖς ‘leaning on’, and so ‘accompanying’.

υἱόν: Bergk’s emendation for the manuscripts’ ὕμνον was adopted by all major editors until Snell’s fourth Teubner edition of 1964 (apart from Christ, who kept ὕμνον, but read πέμψαντι in 18 with Pauw). Although κελადέω regularly has a person as object (cf. *O.* 2.2 τίνα θεόν, τίν’ ἥρωα, τίνα δ’ ἄνδρα κελαδήσομεν;), there is no actual objection to ὕμνον κελάδησε (Snell adduces fr. 52h.10 κελαδήσαθ’ ὕμνους, and fr. 128e.2–3 ἰάλεμον κελαδήσατε; cf. also *O.* 11.13–14 (with note) κόσμον . . . ἄδυμέλη κελαδήσω; καλλίνικον can be used of the song (cf. *O.* 9.2) as well as the son; and the song could be said metaphorically to have transported (πέμψαντα 18) the cluster of victory crowns from Nemea, Athens and Thebes. The real problem lies in the third person pronoun νιν ‘him’ in 21, which clashes with σὸς πατήρ in 14 if there has not been a further reference (υἱόν) in the mean time. Indeed, without υἱόν, νιν would most naturally refer to Timokritos the father (Köhnen 215 n. 104).

17–19 Timasarchos has now won three times, at Nemea and previously at Athens and Thebes, the last-named providing Pindar with his means of transition to the mythic section.

Κλεωναίου ἀγῶνος: Kleonae was a town a few miles east of Nemea, and at this time the people there controlled the games (cf. *N.* 10.42).

δρμον στεφάνων | πέμψαντα: Timasarchos has brought back a string of garlands, evidence of his victories.

λιπαράν: a favourite epithet for Athens, combining the ideas of brilliance and affluence; perhaps, ‘resplendent’. Cf. the opening of Pindar’s famous dithyramb for that city, fr. 76, ὦ ται λιπαραί καὶ ἰοστέφανοι καὶ ἀοιδίμοι, | ‘Ελλάδος ἔρεισμα, κλειναὶ Ἀθῆναι, δαιμόνιον πτολίεθρον.

εὐωνύμων ‘famous’.

20 οὐνεκ ‘because’.

Ἀμφιτρώωνος ἀγλαὸν παρά τύμβον: Pausanias 9.23.1–2 tells us that there was a building outside the Proitides gate of Thebes called the Gymnasium of Iolaos (for whom see *I.* 7.9n.), a stadium beside it, and a hippodrome a little further on. This was where Amphitryon, Herakles’ earthly father, was buried (see *P.* 9.81–2). There are traces of ancient disagreement in the scholia here and elsewhere about whether there were games called Iolaeia distinct from the Herakleia held at the Herakleion outside the Elektra gate, at which Melissos had won three victories (*I.* 4.61–4n.). We are informed (*Σ N.* 4.32) that Didymus and another unnamed ancient authority stated that the two titles referred to the same games, some of the events of the Herakleia being held at the Iolaeion (cf. also *Σ O.* 7.153e, *Pap. Oxy.* 2451 fr. 1, col. ii, 25–6). This view is supported by Schachter 2.27, 65, who points out that all the evidence of inscriptions is for Herakleia, and none refer to Iolaeia. The two gates named by Pausanias are not too far apart, both being on the eastern side of the city.

21–2 Καδμεῖοι: the Thebans, from Kadmos, their first king.

οὐκ ἀέκοντες: for a negative statement implying a strong positive (litotes), cf. *I.* 3.13–14.

ἄνθεσι μείγνυον: i.e. gave him a crown. For μείγνυον, cf. *I.* 7.24–6n.

The good will between Thebes, Pindar’s home, and Aegina, the victor’s, is shown in a succession of expressions: οὐκ ἀέκοντες, Αἰγίνας ἕκατι, φίλοισι φίλος, ξένιον ἄστυ. At *I.* 8. 16–18 Pindar draws attention to the fact that Thebe and Aigina were sisters.

22–4 φίλοισι . . . αὐλάν: the expression is awkward, and is due to Pindar’s wish to bring in the name of Herakles at the end of the

sentence, so that he can move into the myth by way of a relative pronoun, as often. We take ξένιον ἄστν with ἐλθών, and πρὸς αὐλάν with κατέδρακεν (καταδέσκομαι).

‘Having come to the city of his hosts, as a friend to friends, he looked across at the rich court of Herakles’, i.e. at Thebes. The games, whether at the Herakleion or at the Iolaeion, were outside the city, on rising ground. ‘Ηρακλέος αὐλάν seems to refer to the city or part of it, where the house of Herakles was later pointed out. This is how the scholia (Σ *N.* 4.21c) understand the sentence; others identify ‘Ηρακλέος αὐλάν as the Herakleion itself (Schachter 2.25), or take ἄστν with κατέδρακεν, with consequent difficulty in the interpretation of πρὸς (Krummen 36, n. 6).

25–32

Proceeding from the mention of Herakles in relation to Timasarchos’ victory at Thebes, and continuing the theme of the Thebes/Aegina friendship, Pindar brings in the first Trojan expedition, led by Herakles, who had been cheated by Laomedon, Priam’s father, of the reward for killing the sea monster (*Il.* 20.146–8), but gives as much credit as he can to Telamon, the Aiakid who accompanied Herakles. The three exploits referred to – the sack of Troy, the destruction of the Meropes on Kos on the return journey, and the killing of the giant Alkyoneus – are told in the same order at *I.* 6.31–3; cf. Hesiod, *Cat.* fr. 43a.61–5 M–W.

25 ξύν: so the manuscripts, for σύν; also ξυνιείς 31.

Τροίαν . . . πόρθησε: *Il.* 5.640–2 ὃς ποτε δεῦρ’ ἐλθὼν ἔνεχ’ ἵππων Λαομέδοντος | ἐξ οἴης σὺν νηυσὶ καὶ ἀνδράσι παυροτέροισιν | Ἰλίου ἐξαλάπαξε πόλιν, χήρωσε δ’ ἀγυιάς.

26 Μέροπας: the word is found in Homer as a traditional epithet for humankind (μερόπων ἀνθρώπων), and as the name of the father of two leaders of a contingent of the Trojan allies (*Il.* 2.830–1, 11.329). Later it denotes, as here, the people of the island of Kos, whither Herakles was driven on his way back from Troy (as Homer knows, *Il.* 14.255, 15.28, cf. 2.679).

27 Alkyoneus was a giant herdsman (*I.* 6.32 τὸν βουβόταν οὐρεῖ ἴσον) killed by Herakles. The scholia locate him at the Isthmus of Corinth,

and say that the great stone (28) was still pointed out there; the Sixth Isthmian on the other hand placed him at Phlegra in Chalcidice (*I.* 6.33), where the battle of the gods and the Giants took place (*N.* 1.67).

28–30 Alkyoneus did much damage to Herakles’ army before he succumbed, killing twenty-four men, two per chariot.

ἐπεμβεβαῶτας: from ἐπεμβαίνω.

ἔλεν ‘killed’, as in Homer.

30–2 Pindar summarises with a general reflection: the eventual winner is likely to suffer setbacks.

ξυνιείς: from συνίημι ‘understand’.

ῥέζοντά τι καὶ παθεῖν ἔοικεν: the scholia quote a fragment of Sophocles, τὸν δρῶντα γὰρ τι καὶ παθεῖν ὀφείλεται (fr. 223b Radt); they assume, as do many moderns, that Timasarchos had had a hard struggle in the wrestling.

33–43

This, evidently a key part of the ode, has proved very difficult to interpret. Pindar breaks off the myth about Telamon, giving reasons, and then comments on some unnamed adversaries, and how he (or he and Timasarchos, δόξομεν 37) will overcome them. Here is a translation of the whole passage:

‘But the rules of my art and the pressure of time prevent me from giving the full version of this tale. And I am drawn at heart by a magical attraction to touch on the new-moon festival. All the same, though the deep salt sea holds you by the waist, resist the trickery of your opponents; we shall surely be seen to enter the competition with success, superior to our enemies. Another fellow, with envy in his eyes, pours out his empty opinions in the dark, and they fall to the ground; but, for myself, I know well that the passage of time will bring to its ordained fulfilment whatever skill controlling Destiny has bestowed on me.’

The convincing modern explanation of all this is that lines 33–5 are a common kind of ‘break-off formula’, exactly similar to lines 68–72 of this same ode, a means of returning from the myth to immediate concerns; 36–43, which raise hypothetical difficulties in the way of praise of Timasarchos, objections from malign or envious people, are an

example of what scholars writing in German (Thummer, Köhnken) call a *Hindernismotif*, and Bundy calls ‘foil’, i.e. the enhancement of the value of the praise of the victor by the invention of difficulties which the poet brilliantly overcomes.

33–5 The question is why Pindar should break off in this way from a myth which he has just begun, especially as he returns to the Aiakidai immediately after 43. The answer seems to be that he favoured, especially in these regular Aeginetan odes, a modification of the simple five-part structure. He starts a myth, then on whatever excuse breaks it off, moralises a little, and moves into his main myth. This may be seen in both the Third and the Fifth Nemean, where the break-off and moralising come at *N.* 3.26–32 and *N.* 5.14–18; and there is a similar sequence in the Eighth Pythian, where a myth is apparently about to start, but is broken off in terms similar to those used here (*P.* 8.29–34); there however the poet does not return to a full-scale myth. This is shown therefore to be an aspect of Pindar’s composition; it gives a kind of informality to his words, as if his thoughts are expressing themselves as they come. It would be a mistake however to take him literally, and believe that he feels any real constraint on his freedom of composition (Carey, *Five odes* 5, Miller 21–3).

Three reasons are given for stopping the mythological tale: *τεθμός* = *θεσμός* (1) is Pindar’s rule or method; the pressure of time (2) implies, as was no doubt the case, that the ode was due by a given date, presumably the new-moon festival (3), for which Pindar says that he feels a powerful attraction.

τὰ μακρὰ δ’ ἐξενέπειν: the danger of going on too long is that there could be unfavourable audience reaction, through *κόρος*; cf. 69–72n., *Introd.* 18.

τεθμός: cf. *I.* 6.20, where the same word is used for a more positive principle, namely to praise the Aiakidai when writing for Aegina.

ἵυγξ was a device used in love magic, representing a bird (a wryneck) spreadeagled on a wheel; see the incantation in Theocritus 2, ἵυγξ, ἔλκε τὴν τήνον ἐμόν ποτὶ δῶμα τὸν ἄνδρα, with Gow’s note on 2.17.

νεομηνίαι: festivals were held at the new moon. This would be the occasion when Pindar’s ode was to be performed on Aegina; cf. *N.* 3.2,

where that ode is expected for the anniversary of the victory, ἐν ἱερομηνίαι Νεμεάδι.

θιγέμεν: aorist infinitive of *θιγγάνω*.

36–43 Four sentences fall into two pairs.

36–8 The imagery (in ἔχει ... μέσσον, ἀντίτεινε, ὑπέρτεροι) is from wrestling. A metaphor from swimming in the sea is followed by one from entering the games.

‘Although the deep foam of the sea holds you by the waist’ – the poet is addressing himself, imagining himself in trouble. Cf. *P.* 2.79–80 ἄτε γὰρ ἐννάλιον πόνον ἐχούσας βαθύν | σκευᾶς ἐτέρας, ἀβάπτιστός εἰμι φελλὸς ὥς ὑπὲρ ἔρκος ἄλμας ‘as when the rest of the gear has deep trouble in the sea, I stay dry like a cork above the nets’.

καίπερ with a finite verb rather than a participle is almost unknown in Greek; to two references in LSJ, including this one, F. Scheidweiler (*Hermes* 83 (1955) 222) adds Arrian, *Anab.* 7.14.6, F. L. Williams (ad loc.) Theophrastus, *Char.* 2.3.

ἔχει . . . μέσσον: M. Poliakoff, *Studies in the terminology of Greek combat sports* (Königstein 1982) 40–53, says that μέσον λαμβάνειν, μέσον ἔχειν, are proper terms of the palaestra. With the sea, it makes a very mixed metaphor.

ποντιάς: feminine adjective, with ἄλμα (ἄλμη).

δόξομεν: probably generalised plural, ‘we’, ‘our side’.

ἐν φάει ‘with the light’, and so ‘with success’.

καταβαίνειν: the metaphor is from entering the lists for a contest at the games; *P.* 11.49 ἐπὶ στάδιον καταβάντες.

39–43 The ἄλλος ἀνὴρ, with his envious gaze, is contrasted with Pindar (ἐμοί). Thus ἄλλος ἀνὴρ is a type of a person who would not praise Timasarchos. For the human tendency to φθόνος, cf. *P.* 7.18–19, *P.* 11.29, *Introd.* 17.

φθονερά: internal accusative with βλέπων.

κυλίνδει: lit. ‘rolls out’.

πετοῖσαν = πεσοῦσαν.

Πότμος, πεπρωμέναν: Pindar sees his poetic genius as something given by a higher power, far above the petty jealousies of possible adversaries.

44–68

The main myth consists of (a) a catalogue of the Aiakidai with the places where they are honoured as heroes, 44–53; (b) the special exploits of Peleus, 54–68. There is a strikingly similar pattern in the myth section of the Fifth Isthmian, where a list of other heroes with their geographical locations leads in priamel fashion to the Aiakidai of Aegina and in particular to Achilleus.

44–6

An address to the lyre marks the start of the new section.

ἐξύφαινε: metaphor of weaving, for poetical composition; cf. Bacch. 5.9–10 ὑφάνας | ὕμνον.

καὶ τόδ’ . . . **μέλος** ‘this song now’. There is no necessary reference in the word καὶ to the fact that there has already been another myth; for καὶ does not have to mean ‘also’; it can simply specify or emphasise (Race (1990) 97 n. 33, Slater 258–9).

Λυδαίαι σὺν ἁρμονίαι: Greek music had a number of ‘harmonies’ or modes, six of them named by Plato at *Republic* 398e–9a. Each was thought to have its own ethical and emotional effect on the hearers. The Lydian mode, we are told by Aristotle, was suitable for educational purposes, and appropriate for boys (*Politics* 1342b30–3). For Pindar and Greek music, cf. Croiset 71–85.

πεφιλημένον | Οἰνῶναι ‘dear to Aegina’, Oenone being an old name for the island. Thus Pindar leads into the mythological and geographical list.

46–53

A catalogue of the younger Aiakidai, and the places where they are now worshipped as local heroes. Telamon has already appeared in the poem; and Peleus will complete the list in the passage that follows.

46–7 Teukros, Aias’ half-brother, was not welcomed by his stern father Telamon when he returned from the war without his brother, and went into exile (ἀπάρχει) to found a new Salamis on Cyprus. The story may have been found in the cyclic *Nosti* (Kullmann 131 and n. 1).

48 ἔχει: i.e. has heroic honours there. Pausanias 1.35.3 records a shrine (ναός) of Aias on Salamis.

49–50 The adjective φαεινόν for the island in the Black Sea alludes to its name Λευκή, the White Island. Thetis was said to have taken Achilleus’ body there after his death (Proclus’ summary of the *Aithiopsis*, p. 47, line 28 Davies).

50–1 There was a Thetideion, sanctuary of Thetis, in Phthia, her married home.

51–3 Neoptolemos, Achilleus’ son, did not get back to his own birth-place of Skyros after the war, nor to his parental home in Phthia, but was driven by the winds to north-west Greece, Molossia, later Epirus, where he founded a new dynasty (*Paean* 6.109–10, *N.* 7.36–9).

The geographical list comes to a climax with a longer sentence and a scenic description not common in Greek poetry, ‘where high cattle-grazing hills slope down from Dodona to the Ionian sea’. From the central Pindus mountain range, lower hills do indeed slope down to the western sea; the area is described as from Dodona (Mt Tomaros in the Sixth Paean) to the coast (Ephyra in the Seventh Nemean). The *Companion guide to mainland Greece* (London 1983) 381 gives a similar description of the country a little further south: ‘[from Zalongo] undulating grasslands shelve down past Nicopolis to the Ambracian gulf’.

ἀπείρωι διαπρυσαί ‘on the continuous mainland’, in contrast to the islands occupied by most of the others.

54–68

Peleus has a special position in Pindar’s mythology, as the most righteous of heroes (εὐσεβέστατον *I.* 8.40). When the gods learned that Thetis was fated to have a son more powerful than his father, they decided that it was expedient that she should be given in marriage to a mortal (the story is told in the Eighth Isthmian 27–47 and in Aeschylus’ *Prometheus vincetus*), and Peleus was chosen for that honour. Here we are told of three of his exploits: his escape from an ambush set for him by Akastos, king of Iolkos, who was acting on false information from his wife Hippolyta; his revenge on Akastos by taking and sacking

his city; and his wrestling with the sea goddess Thetis that preceded their marriage. Pindar tells the first two in reverse order.

We hear more details in the Third and Fifth Nemeans; (*N.* 3.34–6) he captured Iolkos on his own without an army, and after a struggle he caught the sea goddess Thetis; (*N.* 5.22–37) the Muses sang at the wedding, accompanied by Apollo on the lyre, of how Hippolyta wanted to trap him, by falsely claiming that he had tried to seduce her, whereas in fact it was the other way round, and he had refused her, for which virtuous behaviour Zeus and Poseidon had agreed that he should marry the sea goddess. Cf. also Hesiod, *Cat. frs.* 211.1–6, 212b.7 M–W.

54–8 ‘Having attacked Iolkos by the foot of Mt Pelion with hostile hand, Peleus handed it over in servitude to the Thessalians, after he experienced the crooked tricks of Hippolyta, wife of Akastos.’

λατρίαν: to be taken predicatively with παρέδωκεν.

προστραπών: intransitive; ‘having turned to them with hostile intent’, and so ‘having attacked’.

Αιμόνεσσιν ‘Thessalians’ (Strabo 9.5.23). Latin poets use *Haemonia* for Thessaly.

59–60 ‘The son of Pelias tried to bring about his death from ambush by the sword of Daidalos; but Cheiron protected him.’ In the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, the story was that Peleus owned a *sword* made by Hephaistos; and that Akastos, wanting to kill him, tricked him into going hunting with him on Mt Pelion, where he hid his famous sword, and left him to be prey to marauding *centaurs*. We owe these lines (*Cat. fr.* 209) to their quotation in the scholia here:

ἦδε δέ οἱ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀρίστη φαίνεται βουλή·
αὐτὸν μὲν σχέσθαι, κρύψαι δ’ ἀδόκητα μάχαιραν
καλήν, ἣν οἱ ἔτευξε περικλυτὸς Ἀμφιγυήεις,
ὥς τήν μαστεύων οἷος κατὰ Πήλιον αἰπύ
αἶψ’ ὑπὸ Κενταύροισιν ὄρεσκόωσισι δαμείη.

‘This seemed the best plan to his mind, to do nothing himself, but secretly to hide the sword, the lovely one which the famous lame god had made for him, so that as he searched for it on his own on high Pelion he should soon be overcome by the mountain Centaurs.’

Pindar refers to a sword and a centaur, but in different relationships.

The sword is called ‘the sword of Daidalos’ (assuming that the text is correct; Didymus tried to remove the difficulty by introducing the descriptive adjective δαιδάλῳ ‘decorated’, ‘ornate’ instead), and his centaur is the philanthropic Cheiron, who saved Peleus from death. We cannot be sure whether he is quoting a different version or is innovating. The latter is more likely, however; cf. *I.* 7.5, where he has transferred the visit of Zeus in a shower of gold from Danae to Alkmene.

Δαιδάλου: the great craftsman, with Cretan connections (*Il.* 18.592). We have no other knowledge, however, of a ‘sword of Daidalos’.

φύττει: conative imperfect; ‘he tried to kill him’.

Πελίᾳο παῖς: Akastos was son of Pelias, the king of Iolkos who sent Jason on the quest for the Golden Fleece.

Χείρων: the kindly centaur (*P.* 3.1).

61 The subject of ἔκφερεν is Peleus. He was the subject from 54 to 58, and continues so in 62–6. ‘He fulfilled the fate destined for him by Zeus’ (as Pindar is confident that he also will do, 41–3), by successfully wrestling with Thetis. Others have taken either Cheiron or τὸ μόρσιμον as subject.

62–5 Peleus had to wrestle with his bride on the sea shore. Sea gods and goddesses are polymorphous (cf. Proteus in *Od.* 4.455–9); he had to hold on as she changed shape.

ἀκμάν | τε: an enclitic placed at the beginning of a line would seem in principle to destroy the line division (*P. Maas in Sokrates* 47 (1921) 17). See however *I.* 3.18, where the opposite has occurred, a prefix before the line break. The text here is defended by C. Carey in *Dionysiacs* (ed. R. D. Dawe and others, Cambridge 1978) 41 n. 40.

σχάσαις: from σχάζω ‘stopped’.

μίαν Νηρείδων: Thetis, of course. For a stylistic explanation of this allusive reference to somebody who has been previously named, see *O.* 2.75–7n.

66–8 The wedding. We may if we wish imagine an ancient circle of stones, traditionally said to have been the seats of the gods when they came to the marriage of Peleus and Thetis. In the Third Pythian at 88–95 Pindar expatiates on the two most famous weddings in mytho-

logy, when humans married goddesses and the gods were among the guests – Peleus and Thetis, Kadmos and Harmonia. And the same image is in his mind there (93–5), καὶ θεοὶ δαΐσαντο παρ’ ἀμφοτέροις, | καὶ Κρόνου παῖδας βασιλῆας ἴδον χρυσέαις ἐν ἔδραις, ἔδνα τε | δέξαντο.

τᾷς ‘on which’; the genitive depends on the ἐπὶ in ἐφεζόμενοι.

ἐξέφαναν: they *displayed* their gifts and *revealed* the greatness of his descendants (Achilleus and Neoptolemos).

69–72

A break-off formula of a common type. The poet affects to fear that the mythological section of the ode is in danger of going on too long, and he must get back to the family material which is part of his contract. Comparable passages are found at *P.* 4.247–8, *P.* 10.51–4, *P.* 11.38–40, *N.* 3.26–7, as well as already at 33–4 of this ode. The imagery is often nautical (‘we are off course’, ‘beware of the rocks’, etc.); cf. Péron 45–6, 81–4, 312–13.

Γαδείρων τὸ πρὸς ζόφον: this is a variant of the common image of the Pillars of Herakles as the furthest limits of travel for humans (*I.* 4.11–13 with note). Gadeira (Cadiz) is north-west of Gibraltar.

οὐ περατόν ‘one may not pass’; cf. *P.* 10.27, *I.* 7.43–4 with note.

Εὐρώπαν ποτὶ χέρσον ‘to the mainland of Europe’.

ἔντεα ναός: as we might say, ‘turn back your sails’.

ἄπορα ‘it is impossible’. Neuter plural is a common alternative to neuter singular in this kind of expression.

73–90

The fourth section of the ode gives circumstantial information about athletic successes of the victor’s family, the Theandridai. They have had three victories at the great games, including the present one; and also have a tradition of poetical composition, as we saw with Timokritos at 14–15.

73–5 ἀξιγυίων: ‘where limbs grow strong,’ ‘... grow muscular’; the adjective is probably Pindar’s own creation.

κάρυξ . . . συνθέμενος: he has come ready to proclaim the victories

of the family, as part of his contract (συνθέμενος); cf. *P.* 11.41–2 Μοῖσα, τὸ δὲ τεόν, εἰ μισθοῖο συνέθεν παρέχειν | φωνᾶν ὑπάργυρον, . . . ‘Muse, it is your task, if you have entered into a contract to produce a professional voice for hire . . .’

76–9 πεῖραν ἔχοντες ‘having made the attempt’; cf. *I.* 4.30 τῶν ἀπειράτων, *O.* 2.52 πειρώμενον.

οἴκαδε . . . στεφάνων ‘they do not come home without the glorious produce of crowns’, an engaging way of describing the habit of victory.

πάτρην ‘family’, ‘clan’.

ἔν ‘where’, referring to οἴκαδε.

πρόπολον ‘servant’, i.e. ‘devoted to’. This, with 14 and 90, stresses the poetical activity of this family.

79–90 He turns to the previous generation. Kallikles, the victor’s uncle on his mother’s side, had won at the Isthmus, a victory celebrated at the time by his father Euphanes. For some reason we do not hear details about the family’s Olympian victory (75).

79–81 ‘If you bid me to set up a pillar whiter than Parian marble for Kallikles —’; this protasis does not have a formal apodosis, though the theme of praise continues; cf. *O.* 2.56.

Praise from a poet is like a public monument; cf. *P.* 6.7–8 ὕμνων θησαυρός, Hor. *Odes* 3.30.1 *exegi monumentum*.

82–5 In parenthesis comes the gnomic statement, expressed paratactically, i.e. the comparison is not subordinated, but made into a parallel statement: ‘Gold when it is refined shows forth all its brightness, *and* the song of praise for fine deeds puts a man on a level with kings’, instead of ‘*Just as* gold . . ., *so* the song of praise . . .’ For the comparison with the refining of gold, cf. *P.* 10.67; for parataxis, that passage also, and *O.* 2.98–100.

85–8 Kallikles is now dead. May he even in the underworld hear Pindar’s voice recalling his Isthmian victory.

κελαδῆτιν . . . ἔν ‘singing of where’.

Ὀρσοτρίαινα: genitive.

σελίνοισι: the crown of victory at the Isthmus was of wild celery.

89–90 As emended by Boeckh, σὸς αἰσέν ποτε, παῖ is a factual statement. Euphanes once sang with satisfaction (ἐθέλων) about his son’s

victory. The manuscripts, however, and the scholia read a future verb: ὁ σὸς αἰσεται, παῖ, indicating that Euphanes *will sing* of his son's victory in the underworld, presumably when he hears Pindar's voice. This however does not scan correctly, and the idea is a little strange.

προπάτωρ σός 'your grandfather', i.e. the father of your uncle.

91–2

A general statement, arising from the recollection of Euphanes' songs of old, acts as a transition from the family history to the final section of the poem, which is devoted to the praise of the trainer Melesias. 'Different generations have different contemporaries; but each man expects to describe as the greatest achievements those that he himself has met with.' This moves from Euphanes to Pindar. For the implication that he has a relatively low opinion of the poetry of the past, cf. *I.* 4.27 τοιάδε τῶν τότε ἔόντων φύλλ' αἰοῖδ'.

τὰ . . . ἀντιτύχηι indefinite clause without ἔν, as in *I.* 7.18–19.

93–6

Appreciation of Melesias, the trainer. Because it is regular to praise the trainer in boys' events (cf. *I.* 4.71b n. on Orseas), and because of the word παῖ in 90, modern editors assume that Timasarchos competed at that level, and add ΠΑΙΔΙ to the heading of the ode.

Pindar uses wrestling terminology (στρέφοι, πλέκων, ἀπάλαιστος, ἔλκειν) in praise of the wrestling trainer, as is pointed out by the scholiast (*Σ N.* 4.153 ἀπὸ τῶν παλαιόντων δὲ πάλιν ἡ μεταφορά, καὶ τροπικαὶ αἱ λέξεις ἀπὸ τῆς ἀθλήσεως). In ingenious language he avers that the person finding words to praise Melesias (i.e. Pindar or another) would metaphorically have to take on the skills of the wrestling trainer himself.

93 οἶον 'for example'.

αἰνέων can mean not only 'praising', but also 'emulating', 'following the example of', as at *I.* 7.32 αἰνέων Μελέαγρον. So, 'showing his appreciation of Melesias'.

Μελησίαν: Melesias, who also trained the Aeginetan victors celebrated in *O.* 8 (54–66) and *N.* 6 (64–6), was an Athenian according to

the scholion on line 95, as was Menandros, the trainer of the victor in *N.* 5 (48–9). Wade-Gery ingeniously argued that he was identical with the father of the Athenian politician of the mid-fifth century 'Thucydides son of Melesias'. The argument is based on wrestling terminology used of that Thucydides by Aristophanes at *Ach.* 704, 710 (συμπλακέντα, κατεπάλαισε), and in Plutarch's *Life of Pericles* 8.5, 11.1, as well as the unexpected statement in Plato, *Meno* 94c that the politician Thucydides had had his own two sons trained by the best wrestling trainers available. (H. T. Wade-Gery, *J.H.S.* 52 (1932) 208–11, repr. in *Essays in Greek history* (Oxford 1958) 243–7; see also R. S. Bluck, *Plato's Meno*, pp. 377–80.) In the aristocratic world of Greek athletics there is no reason why the trainer should not have been of good family. The identification remains an attractive speculation.

κε . . . ἔριδα στρέφοι: the subject is the poet of today implied in 92, i.e. Pindar himself.

ἔριδα: object of στρέφοι; tr. 'in the contest'.

στρέφοι: the word is technical in wrestling; 'would twist and turn'.

94 ἀπάλαιστος ἐν λόγῳ ἔλκειν 'unbeatable in the tug of the argument'. ἔλκειν is an epexegetic infinitive.

95–6 μαλακά . . . ἔφεδρος: with considerable ingenuity Pindar combines praise of Melesias with implications about his own practice as a poet, for he is αἰνέων Μελησίαν 93. The trainer shows his ability in the different way he handles different pupils; Pindar also favours the good (*N.* 3.29 ἐσλὸν αἰνεῖν, cf. *I.* 3.7), but is uncompromising towards the ill-intentioned (the φθονερά βλέπων of 39).

ἔφεδρος: technically this is the competitor who has got a bye in a round, and is sitting there fresh and ready to take on the winner; here, therefore, a waiting opponent.

The Seventh Olympian

In 464 BC two outstandingly successful and wealthy athletes won at the Olympic games, and each gave the now established national poet Pindar the commission to compose a victory ode. They were Xenophon of Corinth, who won both the stadion and the pentathlon, and Diagoras of Rhodes, who won the boxing. The odes are the Thirteenth and the Seventh Olympians. In both cases Pindar directs his attention

to the home city of the victor, including as the myths the legends which gave it the most Panhellenic fame. In each case also he had to face the requirement to include a large number of previous successes.

Diagoras was perhaps the most famous boxer of the ancient world. Coming from a leading family in the town of Ialysos on Rhodes, he won at all four of the great games; and his family continued to be successful at the highest level. His three sons all won at Olympia: Akousilaos the boxing, Damagetos (called after his grandfather, cf. *O.* 7.17) the pancration, and Dorieus the pancration on no fewer than three successive occasions. In addition two grandchildren, sons of Diagoras' daughters, called Eukles and Peisirrhodos, won the same Olympic event as their grandfather, the latter in the boys' class. Pausanias tells us all this at 6.7.1–2, when he is describing the statues to be seen at Olympia in his day, for Diagoras' family put up a group of six statues to him, his three sons and two grandsons. In the modern excavations at Olympia fragments of the inscriptions for Diagoras, Damagetos, Dorieus and Eukles were found to the east of the temple of Zeus (W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold, *Olympia v, Die Inschriften* (Berlin 1896), nos. 151, 152, 153, 159).

Dorieus played a significant role in the turbulent later years of the Peloponnesian war (Thuc. 8.35.1, 84.2; cf. *Anth. Pal.* 13.11). He and his nephew Peisirrhodos were living in exile at Thurii in Italy when they won their athletic victories. Later he returned, and was eventually put to death by the Spartans, having been previously spared that fate by the Athenians. The last we hear of the family is of a massacre of the Diagoras party on Rhodes by democrats supported by Athens in 395 BC (*Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* 15.2).

Diagoras was of course a heavyweight (Introd. 8). According to the scholia he was '4 cubits and 5 dactyls tall' (i.e. well over 6 ft); Pindar uses the adjective *πελώριος* (15). Various anecdotes were told of him and his family. Worth repeating, because so much in tune with Pindar's frequent gnomic comments on the limits of human achievement, is a tale told by Cicero and Plutarch, and alluded to by Pausanias at 6.7.3. As told by Cicero (*Tusc.* 1.111), a Spartan present at Olympia when Diagoras had seen two of his sons victorious in the games on the same day, said to him, 'Die, Diagoras! for you cannot mount to heaven' (*morere, Diagora; non enim ad caelum ascensurus es*); cf. Plut. *Vita Pelopidae* 34, and the note on Bellerophon, *I.* 7.44–7.

The Seventh Olympian may be considered the most classically perfect of all Pindar's odes. Its form fits exactly the pattern described at Introd. 12. In the first of the five triads there is a memorable extended simile, likening the present occasion of the presentation of the poem by Pindar to the gift by a rich man of a gold cup to his son-in-law at the betrothal. The strophe describes that splendid scene, the antistrophe draws the parallel with Pindar and his poem, and the epode turns to Diagoras for the first stage of circumstantial information. The three central triads tell three myths about Rhodes, arranged in a subtle and intriguing way (see below). The fifth returns to Diagoras, listing his very numerous previous victories, and building up to a prayer to Zeus on his behalf. The poem ends with as quiet and anticlimactic a sentence as can be found in any of the odes. So the five-part structure described as typical on p. 12 is here:

A	Opening	1–12
B	Circumstances	13–19
C	Myths	20–76
D	Circumstances	77–94
E	Close	94–95

Lines 10–12 form a gnomic 'glide' from section A to section B. At line 20 a demonstrative pronoun (*τοῖσιν*) introduces the myths; similarly at 77 another demonstrative pronoun (*τόθι*) brings us back to the present day, while 77–80 constitute a transition from the world of myth to the world of athletics. Lines 92–4 form a transition from section D to section E.

The three myths fill the exact centre of the ode, the second, third and fourth triads. They do not fill an exact triad each, however, but cross the boundaries. Tlepolemos, who killed his great-uncle, but became founder of Rhodes, occupies 20 to 33; the Heliadae (sons of the Sun god), who forgot to make burnt offerings to Athena, but nevertheless received great benefits from her and her father for the offerings that they did make, 34 to 53; the god Helios himself, who was absent when the primeval division of the earth was made, but became tutelary deity of Rhodes, 54 to 71. Then we rapidly return in reverse order (71–9) from the Sun god to his sons the Heliadae to Tlepolemos. As many commentators have pointed out, there are progressions in the myths. Each tells of an act that seemed harmful at the time, but led to

good in the end; they move backwards in time, from the heroic age to the period of the first inhabitants on the island to the beginning of the world; and as they move back into the sphere of the gods, so the responsibility for the fault or error diminishes, from murder to forgetfulness to absence.

The effect of it all is of a bright, clear, past for the island of the Sun. Tlepolemos' commission of homicide is an undeniable blot in the picture, but sanctioned by having appeared in the *Iliad* itself. The second myth (of the Heliadae) is evidently a local one, aetiological, explaining an unusual custom in Athena's temple; the third has a clear and simple beauty, with the island growing from the bottom of the sea like a plant (ρόδον is the Greek for a rose), seen by the Sun god high in the sky, and chosen by him for his domain. Wilamowitz 361 expressed the view that the poet's art is at its highest here, but his heart is not involved ('Die Kunst steht auf der Höhe. Aber sie bleibt kühl; das Herz des Dichters ist unbeteiligt'). One can see what he meant; some of the greatest art, e.g. high Renaissance architecture, has a perfection of form without sentiment, and that may be true here.

The Seventh Olympian gives an opportunity to illustrate a practice found frequently in Pindar's compositions, but to varying extents: this is the clustering of verbal repetitions, which enrich the effect without necessarily having logical significance. This is another kind of art, probably subliminal, intuitive. Here is a select list of verbal echoes in the poem, which surely have their part to play in the effect it has on its hearers:

- 4 πάγχρυσον, 32 χρυσοκόμας, 34 χρυσέαις, 50 χρυσόν, 64 χρυσάμπυκα
 4 κορυφάν, 36 κορυφαί, 68 κορυφαί
 5 χάριν, 11 Χάρις, 89 χάριν, 93 σύν χαρίτεσσιν
 5 τιμάσαις, 88 τίμα
 8 πέμπων, 67 πεμφθείσαν, 80 πομπά
 11 ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλον, 95 ἄλλοτ' ἄλλοῖαι
 15 εὐθυμάχαν, 91 εὐθυπορεῖ
 15 στεφανώσάμενον, 81 ἐστεφανώσατο
 20 Τλαπολέμου, 77 Τλαπολέμωι
 21 ξυνόν, 92 κοινόν
 21 διορθῶσαι, 46 ὀρθάν ὀδόν, 91 ὀρθαὶ φρένες
 24 φρασίν, 30 φρενῶν, 47 φρενῶν, 91 φρένες

- 26 ἐν καὶ τελευτᾷ, 68 τελεύταθεν
 29 Τίρυνθι, 78 Τίρυνθίων
 31 σοφόν, 53 σοφία, 72 σοφώτατα
 33 νομόν, 84 ἔννομοι
 44 αἰδώς, 89 αἰδοίαν χάριν
 48 σπέρμ' ... φλογός, 92-3 κοινόν | σπέρμ'
 53 δαέντι, 91 δαείς
 55 δατέοντο, 75 δασσάμενοι
 76 ἀστέων μοῖραν, 94 μοίραι χρόνου

Metre

Dactylo-epitrite. See on O. 11, p. 56. There is a singularity in the third line of the epode, but schematic presentation is possible even there, as in Snell-Maehler:

Strophe/Antistrophe: | (1) d² - e - D | (2) e ∪ E | (3) - e | (4) ∪ E -
 D - D | (5) D - e - D | (6) d² - e - D - ||
 Epode: | (1) D - D - e | (2) E - D e | (3) d¹ ∪ ∪ e d² d² - D | (4) E - |
 (5) D ∪ ∪ e - D | (6) d² D - e | (7) E - e - |||

(See U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Griechische Verskunst* (Berlin 1921) 432-3, R. Führer, *Gött. Nachr.* 1976, 206 n. 283, West 73.)

I-12

In a perfectly balanced opening, a simile fills the first strophe, while the situation to which it is parallel follows in the antistrophe. Pindar compares the poem that he presents to the victor with a gold cup foaming with wine, presented by a rich man to his son-in-law as a gift to mark the wedding that will join their two houses. The cup is the poem, the wine the poetry. The joy of the wedding parallels the joy of victory, both being occasions for public and family celebration. Pindar is the generous giver, Diagoras the young man who is the centre of attention (Bowra 24-6, Young, *Three odes* 73-5, Verdenius 40-2).

1-4 Φιάλαν 'a cup'; the key word starts the ode.

ἀφνειᾶς ἀπὸ χειρός 'generously', 'with a rich gesture'. This phrase has caused unnecessary trouble. The hand is the hand of the donor; it is wealthy because he is wealthy. If we speak grammatically, the prepositional phrase should be taken with δωρήσεται, not ἔλῶν.

ἐλών . . . δωρήσεται . . . προπίνων: he takes the cup and, with a toast, presents it to his son-in-law. The aorist tense of ἐλών is natural, marking the time relationship with the main verb; δωρήσεται is aorist subjunctive (with short vowel, *Introd.* 23), subjunctive in a simile being a Homeric feature (*Chantraine, Grammaire homérique* II 253), e.g. *Il.* 9.481; προπίνων is to be taken closely with δωρήσεται; for the combination of tenses in the three verbs, cf. *Il.* 3.424-5 τῇ δ' ἄρα δίφρον ἑλοῦσα φιλομειδῆς Ἀφροδίτῃ | ἀντί' Ἀλεξάνδροιο θεὰ κατέθηκε φέρουσα 'The goddess laughter-loving Aphrodite took up a chair for her, and bringing it set it down opposite Alexandros.'

ἀμπέλου . . . δρόσωι: periphrasis for wine.

καχλάζοισαν 'bubbling', 'foaming'; an onomatopoeic word, from the sound of pouring.

οἴκοθεν οἶκαδε: marking the union of the two houses.

κορυφάν κτεάνων: he gives what is most precious to him, like Menelaos in *Od.* 4.614.

5-6 συμποσίου τε χάριν: probably χάριν is adverbial as often, 'for the sake of the gathering', 'to mark the occasion'. This adverbial expression is joined by τε . . . τε to the participial phrase κᾶδος τιμάσας ἐόν, by a *variatio* attractive to Pindar (*Introd.* 21). Recent discussion however has preferred to treat χάριν as a noun, object of τιμάσας, joined in a regular way to κᾶδος ἐόν as a second object. N. F. Rubin, at *Hermes* 108 (1980) 250, points out that the second appearance of this verb, τίμα at line 88, has two objects there, τίμα μὲν ὕμνου τεθμόν 'Ὀλυμπιονίκαν, | ἄνδρα τε πύξ ἀρετάν εὐρόντα. In that case, we would translate, 'showing appreciation of the friendly atmosphere of the symposium'.

συμποσίου: in normal Greek practice this would be a men-only affair; the bride would not be present. As Braswell points out, it is not so much a wedding as a betrothal.

κᾶδος . . . ἐόν: his new family connection; it is not merely a periphrasis for κηδεστήν ἐόν 'his son-in-law', as Verdenius claims. ἐόν = ὄν 'his', as in Homeric Greek.

ἐν: this is not an example of tmesis (the verb is ἔθηκε, not ἐνέθηκε), but must be adverbial. In spite of some tautology with the genitive absolute φίλων παρόντων, the meaning 'among them' gives better sense than 'in addition' (Verdenius) or 'by that act' (Braswell).

Fernández-Galiano quotes *Il.* 2.588 ἐν δ' αὐτὸς (sc. Menelaos) κίεν ἥισι προθυμίῃσι πεποιθώς.

θῆκε: gnomic aorist, a little surprising after the indefinite aorist subjunctive δωρήσεται with which Pindar introduced the simile. He is now treating the picture he has created as real, no longer a subordinate comparison.

ζαλωτόν 'lucky him!', say the friends at the betrothal.

ὁμόφρονος εὐνᾶς: genitive of cause with ζαλωτόν. Braswell 241 n. 27 argues that the ὁμοφροσύνη is between the two men, the father of the bride and the bridegroom, and this fits well with Greek attitudes. Many however take a more romantic view, seeing in ὁμόφρονος an echo of the famous words of Odysseus to Nausikaa at *Od.* 6.182-4 about the harmony between a husband and wife in a happy marriage, οὐ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ γε κρείσσον καὶ ἀρειον, | ἢ δὲ ὁμόφρονέοντε νοήμασιν οἶκον ἐχρητον | ἀνὴρ ἡδὲ γυνή.

7-10 καὶ ἐγώ: as if it were ὡς καὶ ἐγώ, οὕτω καὶ ἐγώ, introducing the response to the simile.

νέκταρ: Pindar can compare his poem to a drink, often a refreshing drink for the victor (*N.* 3.76-9, *I.* 6.2-3); and he can use 'nectar' by metonymy for wine (fr. 94b.76, *I.* 6.37). But there is also the fact that nectar is the drink of the gods, and when given to mortals confers immortality (*O.* 1.62-4), which is what in a sense Pindar also does. As he says, the 'nectar' that he gives is the gift of the Muses (Μοισᾶν δόσιν).

χυτόν: simply 'poured out', and thus ready to drink.

πέμπων: we cannot deduce from this whether he 'sent' the poem for the celebration on this occasion, or accompanied it; cf. κατέβαν 13 with note.

γλυκὺν καρπὸν φρενός: in the word καρπὸν he keeps up the image of the grapes that became wine. For the poet's φρῆν as the immediate source of his poetry, cf. *N.* 4.7-8 ὁ τι κε σὺν Χαρίτων τύχαι | γλῶσσα φρενὸς ἐξέλοι βαθείας.

ἰλάσκομαι: this is a very strong word to describe a relationship with human beings, for it is normally used of gaining the favour of the gods by appropriate offerings or sacrifice. Verdenius compares *Hdt.* 8.112.3, where the Parians avoided the attentions of the Greek fleet by giving a bribe to Themistokles (χρήμασι ἰλασάμενοι). Tr. 'I give satisfaction'.

Ὀλυμπίαι Πυθοὶ τε: these are the greatest games, and Diagoras has won at both (15–17).

10–12 δ δ' ὀλβιος . . . αὐλῶν: a generalising gnomic comment on athletic victors and Pindar's activity in relation to them acts as a transition from the simile to Diagoras.

δ δ' . . . ἀγαθαί 'happy the man whom good fame possesses', 'the man of good report'. This follows naturally from the previous sentence.

(It has seemed better to retain the indicative *κατέχοντ'* (*κατέχουσι*) of the MS tradition rather than adopt the subjunctive *κατέχωντ'* found in the fragmentary papyrus. Editors have changed to *κατέχωντ'* since the publication of the papyrus in 1948, but some commentators have recently begun to question it. In proverbial statements beginning *ὀλβιος* (*vel sim.*) *δοτις*, either indicative or subjunctive may be used, the indicative more specific, the subjunctive more general. For the indicative, cf. fr. 137.1 *ὀλβιος δοτις ἰδὼν κείν' εἶσ' ὑπὸ χθόνα.*)

ἄλλοτε δ' . . . ζωθάλμιος 'The life-enhancing power of poetry (for Χάρις cf. Introd. 18) looks now on one man, now on another.' Pindar returns to this instability of fortune at the end of the ode (95). Diagoras is the victor now, others on other days; cf. *P.* 11.41–2, where he tells his Muse that as she is generally available for commissions she must activate herself in different directions on different occasions (*Μοῖσα, τὸ δὲ τέον, εἰ μισθοῖο συνέθεν παρέχειν | φωνὰν ὑπάργυρον, ἄλλοτ' ἄλλαι ταρασσέμεν*).

ζωθάλμιος: from *ζωή* and *θάλλω*, 'making life blossom', 'life-enhancing'; cf. Shakespeare, Sonnet 18, 'So long as men can breathe or eye can see, | So long lives this, and this gives life to thee.'

θαμά 'often'.

μὲν . . . τ': a quite common collocation for Pindar; cf. 88–9. Verdenius, following Gildersleeve, comments that *μὲν* balances, while *τε* adds.

φόρμιγγι: dative. There is no need to offer the explanation that it is governed by *ἐν* in an *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* construction. Pindar is quite capable of coupling a dative with a prepositional phrase.

φόρμιγγι . . . αὐλῶν: the lyre and the pipe are associated as here at *O.* 3.8, *O.* 10.93–4, *N.* 9.8, *I.* 5.27. It seems that Pindar used a combination of these instruments in the performance of his choral odes (J. M. Snyder, 'Aulos and kithara on the Greek stage', in *Panathenaia* (ed. T. E. Gregory and A. J. Podlecki, Kansas 1979) esp. 84–6).

ἐν ἔντεσιν αὐλῶν: the word *ἐντεα* can be used because the pipe is a composite instrument, made of fitted parts.

13–19

The second section of the poem turns, as regularly, to the victor, the event he has won, his father, his home.

13–14 καὶ νυν: Pindar uses this expression to turn to his specific subject after generalities.

ὑπ' 'to the accompaniment of'; *ὑπὸ* often has this musical connotation.

κατέβαν: we cannot be sure that Pindar himself went to Rhodes for the performance of the poem. The implied journey may be symbolic; cf. *N.* 4.74 *κάρυξ ἐτοῖμος ἔβαν*, *I.* 5.21 *ἔμολον*, *I.* 6.57 *ἦλθον*.

τὰν ποντίαν . . . Ῥόδον: Rhodes is both island and nymph; cf. the beautiful address to Aegina, also island and nymph, at *Paean* 6.124–40. She is in the sea, child of Aphrodite and bride of the Sun. For the latter relationship, see the third myth. As to her being child of Aphrodite, Wilamowitz 364 suggests that this is momentary invention, because of the beauty of the island; the scholia quote a commentator who assumed that the father would be Poseidon.

15–17 ὄφρα: with the subjunctive (*αἰνέσω*), for purpose.

εὐθυμάχαν: cf. *εὐθυπορεῖ* 91.

πελώριον: an Iliadic epithet. So Achilles seemed *πελώριος* to both Priam and Hektor as he approached (*Il.* 21.527, 22.92, examples of what is now called 'focalization'; cf. I. J. F. de Jong, *Narrators and focalizers* (Amsterdam 1987) 130, 142).

παρ' Ἀλφειῷ . . . παρὰ Κασταλῖαι: i.e. at Olympia and Delphi, identified by the waters at each.

στεφανωσάμενον: middle, 'had himself crowned', and so equivalent to the passive 'was crowned'; the word recurs at 81.

πυγμᾶς ἅποινα: the praise is the reward for his boxing, *ἅποινα* being an internal accusative with the verb; cf. *I.* 3.7.

ἄδόντα Δίκαι 'pleasing to Justice', i.e. just. It is reasonable to suppose with Verdenius that this refers to some magistracy held by Diagoras' father in his city.

18–19 'dwelling in an island with three cities near the promontory of broad Asia, with an Argive host'.

τρ(πολιν: this is an essential fact about Rhodes; cf. 73-4 below, and *Il.* 2.655-6, quoted in Appendix A.

ἐμβόλωι: lit. 'jutting-out bit'; a glance at a map will show the accuracy of this description.

Ἀργεῖαι σὺν αἰχμαῖ 'with an Argive force', referring to the Argives who came with Tlepolemos from Tiryns and colonised the island. This makes a natural lead-in to the first myth.

20-33

The first myth is of the colonisation of Rhodes by the hero Tlepolemos. The story is told in the Catalogue of Ships at *Il.* 2.653-70, quoted in Appendix A. Pindar evidently models himself on the *Iliad*, adding some corroborative details for verisimilitude, and one or two modifications (the name of Tlepolemos' mother, different occasion and nature of the 'rain of gold'), perhaps from another source.

20-1 ἐθελήσω: encomiastic future (Introd. 22).

τοῖσιν 'for them', i.e. for Diagoras and his father; and, as the sentence develops, for their whole family, descended as they are from Tlepolemos and his father Herakles ('Ἡρακλῆος . . . γένναι 22-3).

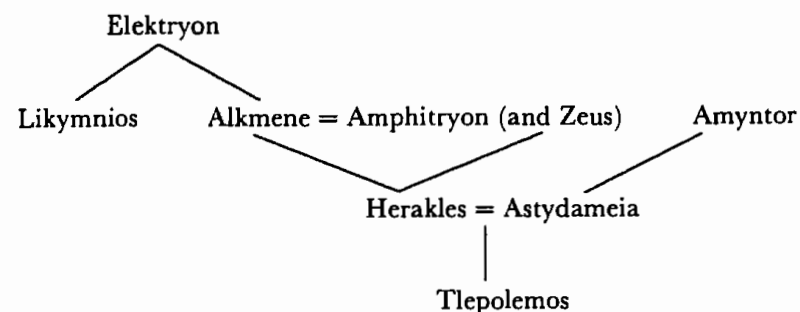
ἀπὸ Τλαπολέμου: further specifying what is meant by ἐξ ἀρχᾶς. Tlepolemos, leader of the Rhodians in the *Iliad*, has a small contingent in the Catalogue, of only seven ships, appropriate to a recent foundation. His one appearance later in the epic is in book 5, when he meets the Lycian Sarpedon, who came from the mainland opposite his island, in what seems to be a grudge fight; for they throw their spears simultaneously, not waiting for their turn, and Tlepolemos is killed, Sarpedon badly wounded (*Il.* 5.628-62).

ξυνὸν . . . λόγον: a story of concern to the whole community, a public or national legend. For this meaning of ξυνός (=κοινός) cf. *P.* 9.93 τὸ γ' ἐν ξυνῶι πεποναμένον εὔ | μὴ κρυπτέτω 'let him not obscure a thing done well in the public domain', *I.* 6.69.

διορθῶσαι 'put in order', 'set out straight'. Many scholars (Verdenius, O. Smith, and especially J. Defradas in *Serta Turyriana* (Urbana 1974) 34-50) argue that it means more than that, i.e. 'correct', pointing out Pindar's habit of correcting myths that in his opinion cast a poor light on gods and heroes, e.g. in *O.* 1.25-53, *P.* 3.27-9; cf. M. C.

van der Kolf, *Quaeritur quomodo Pindarus fabulas tractaverit quidque in eis mutarit* (Rotterdam 1923) 11-19 (van der Kolf does not however share the opinion that Pindar has made such changes in the Rhodian myths here; see p. 106 of her book). Having decided that Pindar is claiming in the word διορθῶσαι to correct the myth, these scholars look with care at the details in which he differs from Homer. A different name for Tlepolemos' mother is not a significant improvement, though it suggests that Pindar has another source additional to *Il.* 2. That he went to Delphi for advice is a real difference, for in Homer the exile was forced on Tlepolemos by blood guilt and the threats of the relatives of his victim; here he is wise (σοφὸν 31), and shows commendable piety by going to Delphi; and the encouragement of Apollo sets the foundation of Rhodes in the pattern of other colonisation stories. To that extent Pindar may be said to have 'corrected' the story. Other new details add colour (σκάπτωι σκληρᾶς ἐλαίας, ἐκ θαλάμων Μιδέας, χολωθεῖς), but are hardly corrections. We should not put too much weight on the word διορθῶσαι.

22-4 The family relations are:



τὸ μὲν . . . τὸ δ' 'on the one side . . . on the other'.

εὖχονται: understand εἶναι.

τὸ δ' . . . Ἀστυδαμείας 'they are descended from Amyntor on the side of Tlepolemos' mother Astydameia'. Amyntor, son of Ormenos, who lived in northern Greece, was the father of Phoinix, Achilles' tutor (*Il.* 9.448) and once the owner of the famous boar's-tusk helmet according to *Il.* 10.266. There is a difference here from the genealogy in the *Iliad*, for there Tlepolemos' mother was Astyocheia, and from Ephrya in the far north-west.

24–6 This is the first of four gnomic comments which punctuate the first two mythic sections (the others are 30–1, 43–7, 53). This one could be seen as the common moral for all three myths, though more appropriately so for the first two, as in the third gods, not humans, are involved. It is a universal comment on experience gained in life: mistakes are made; but you cannot tell what will in the end turn out for the best.

ἀμπλακίαι ‘errors’, ‘mistakes’.

κρέμανται: i.e. they hang in the air round men’s minds; cf. *I.* 2.43 φθονεραὶ θνατῶν φρένας ἀμφικρέμανται ἐλπίδες, *I.* 8.14 δόλιος γὰρ αἰὼν ἐπ’ ἀνδράσι κρέμαται.

τοῦτο: antecedent of ὅτι.

ἐν καὶ τελευτᾷ: for the rare position of καὶ, cf. *I.* 7.30 ἀπὸ καὶ θανῶν (Slater p. 260).

φέρτατον ἀνδρὶ τυχεῖν: lit. ‘is best to happen to a man’.

27–30 Tlepolemos killed his great-uncle Likymnios, illegitimate brother of his grandmother Alkmene, at Tiryns in a fit of anger, Likymnios having emerged ‘from the chambers of Midea’.

καὶ γάρ: introducing an example to illustrate the generalisation.

ἐκ θαλάμων Μιδέας: this makes most sense as a reference to the important Mycenaean fortress of Midea, above Dendra, not far from Tiryns (cf. Pausanias 2.16.2). Elektryon is said to have been king there (Paus. 2.25.8); and at *O.* 10.66 Likymnios’ son Oionos came from Midea to compete in the first Olympic games.

The alternative interpretation, however, strangely favoured by both scholia and commentators, is that Midea was the name of Elektryon’s concubine, mother of the illegitimate Likymnios. No doubt the reason for this is the word θαλάμων, which is often used of the women’s quarters in the house. But Likymnios himself cannot have been young, as he was Tlepolemos’ grandmother’s brother (ἤδη γηράσκοντα, says Homer); his own mother would be unlikely to be still alive. It is notorious that the scholia and their sources often give as factual information what is no more than a guess derived from the context. θαλάμων should be taken simply as ‘halls’, as in *P.* 4.160 πρὸς Αἰήτα θαλάμους.

χολωθείς: a natural assumption. One is reminded of the reason given for Idas’ attack on Kastor at *N.* 10.60, ἀμφὶ βουσὶν πῶς χολωθείς.

30–1 αἱ δὲ . . . σοφόν: a comment on the effect of anger; mental disturbance can lead even an intelligent person astray. Achilles said the same thing to his mother at *Il.* 18.108, καὶ χόλος, ὅς τ’ ἐφθήκε πολυφρονά περ χαλεπῆναι; cf. 9.553–4.

παρέπλαγξεν: gnomic aorist.

καὶ σοφόν: meaning that Tlepolemos was no thoughtless killer. And now he took (according to Pindar, though not to Homer) the sensible step of consulting the Delphic oracle about what he should do.

31–3 In Homer, Tlepolemos had to leave his home and go into exile because of the threats of the other children of Herakles. Blood guilt, often for the killing of a relative, was a ready explanation for migration of individuals or tribes in heroic legend. In the *Iliad*, as well as Tlepolemos, we find Medon, Lykophron, Epeigeus and Patroklos himself; in the *Odyssey*, there is Theoklymenos (*Il.* 13.696, 15.432, 16.573, 23.87, *Od.* 15.272). Pindar changes the tone by bringing in the well-known function of the Delphic oracle in relation to the founding of colonies (cf. *P.* 5.68–72, H. W. Parke and D. E. Wormell, *The Delphic oracle* (Oxford 1956) 149–81).

χρυσοκόμας: for the divine connotations of gold, see Introd. 18.

εὐώδεις: referring to the smell of incense in the sanctuary at Delphi (Plutarch, *De def. or.* 50 ὁ γὰρ οἶκος [i.e. the temple] . . . εὐωδίας ἀναπίμπλαται).

ναῶν πλόον | εἶπε . . . εὐθὺν ἐς . . . ‘spoke of a sailing of ships, direct to . . .’

Λερναίαις: Lerna was a very ancient port south of Argos. Neither Midea (29) nor Lerna is to be found in the *Iliad*.

ἀμφιθάλασσον: meaning that it was an island.

νομόν ‘pasture’; cf. 63 εὐφρονα μήλοις.

34–55

The second myth takes us back to the time of the first inhabitants of the island, the children of the Sun god. When Athena was born from her father’s head, Helios told his sons to be the first to worship her. This they did, but in their haste they forgot to bring fire for the burnt offering. This is obviously a local myth to explain a custom of fireless sacrifice at Athena’s altar.

Pindar presents the story in four parts:

- 34 (leading from Tlepolemos' arrival on the island) *where once*
 (ἐνθα ποτέ) Zeus rained gold on the city –
 35–8 *when* (ὅνικα) Athena was born from her father's head –
 39–49 *then* (τότε) Helios told his sons to worship the new goddess;
 they did, but forgot fire;
 49–53 Zeus rained gold on them, and Athena gave them advanced
 technical skills.

Apart from the fireless sacrifice, the most interesting thing that has happened here is that a metaphorical expression in the *Iliad* (2.670 καὶ σφιν θεσπέσιον πλοῦτον κατέχευε Κρονίων, see Appendix A) has become a myth of a real, magical, shower of gold, perhaps in Pindar's own mind, perhaps through local story-tellers; cf. Strabo 14.2.10 οἱ δ' εἰς μῦθον ἀνήγαγον τὸ ἔπος καὶ χρυσὸν ὑσθῆναι φασιν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ κατὰ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶς γένεσιν ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Διός, ὡς εἶρηκε Πίνδαρος 'others have turned the epic expression into a myth, and say that it rained gold on the island at the time of the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus, as Pindar says'; Philostratus, *Imag.* 2.27.3, also quotes this myth. It may have been helped by Zeus's connection with a shower of gold in the story of Danae (*P.* 12.17) and (in Pindar's version) in that of Alkmene (*I.* 7.5), although the meaning of those stories is hardly the same. Here the shower of gold reflects the wealth and prosperity of the island in early days, as the metaphorical expression did in Homer. It has however been pushed further back in history, from the time of Tlepolemos' new colony in the *Iliad* to the period of the first inhabitants, the Heliadae.

For a time in the 1960s and 1970s some commentators (e.g. Verdenius) argued that Pindar describes two separate showers of gold, one at the time of the birth of Athena, and another after the flawed sacrifice of the sons of Helios. It is now however accepted that there was just one shower, and Pindar's presentation follows a common stylistic habit of his, whereby he begins with the end result of a myth and then tells the tale from the beginning until he reaches that moment again; cf. *P.* 3.8–11/38, *P.* 9.5–6/68, *N.* 10.55–9/90, L. Illig, *Zur Form der pindarischen Erzählung* (Berlin 1932) 31–2, 49, 57 n. 2. For *O.* 7, cf. Cantilena 1, who shows that it is necessary to take ὅνικα (35) generally, not as a precise indication of time.

34 ποτέ 'once upon a time'.

35–8 The birth of Athena. When Zeus's wife Metis ('Intelligence') was pregnant with Athena, Zeus swallowed her, on the advice according to Hesiod (*Theog.* 891) of the primeval gods Gaia and Ouranos. The child was in consequence born from his body, significantly from his head. She appeared fully armed (a detail first added to the story by Stesichorus according to the Scholia to Ap. Rhod. 4.1310; cf. Stesich. fr. 56 Page), for Athena was a war goddess (as in the *Iliad*) as well as goddess of arts and skills.

That Hephaistos the smith god stood by with an axe to assist parturition (found also in Pindar at fr. 34 δὲ καὶ τυπεῖς ἄγνῳι πελέκει τέκετο ξανθὰν Ἀθάναν) is bound to seem grotesque to us, and was an easy target for the satire of Lucian (*Dialogues of the gods* 12, in vol. IV (Macleod) pp. 288–91).

ὅνικα 'when'. The conjunction is not however to be taken as a precise temporal indication (34–55n.). The shower of gold, as told by Pindar, did happen in the general context of the birth of Athena, but not immediately; cf. the ambiguous ἐπεὶ at *O.* 1.26 (D. E. Gerber, *Pindar's Olympian One: a commentary* (Toronto 1982) pp. 55–6).

κορυφάν κατ' ἄκραν: not 'from', but 'on' the top of his head.

ἀλάλαξεν 'gave the war-cry'; cf. fr. 78 for an invocation of a personified Ἀλαλά.

Οὐρανὸς . . . καὶ Γαῖα: perhaps the mention of them as reacting to the sight comes from their involvement earlier in the story as related by Hesiod (see above). But that Heaven and Earth should quake is appropriate to such a cosmic event.

39–43 The advice of Helios to his sons.

τότε καὶ 'at that time', sc. when Athena was born.

Ὑπεριονίδας: in Homer Hyperion is usually a title of the Sun, as indeed is suggested by the apparent meaning of the word (ὑπερ-ίων 'travelling above', notwithstanding the long ι in the name); but in Hesiod it is the name of his father, a Titan (*Theog.* 134, 371–4). Pindar, in using the patronymic, is following Hesiod.

μέλλον . . . χρέος 'the obligation [to worship the new goddess] that was about to appear'.

παισιν φίλοις: the same who appear at the end of the third myth, at 71-3.

ὥς ἄν + optative, of purpose; cf. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique* II 272; *Il.* 19.328-32 πρὶν μὲν γάρ μοι θυμὸς ... ἐώλπει | ... σε ... Φθίηνδε νέεσθαι, | ὥς ἄν μοι τὸν παῖδα θοῇ ἐνὶ νηὶ μελαίνῃ | Σκυρόθεν ἔξαγάγοις, *Od.* 17.362.

πρῶτοι: i.e. that they should be the first to do this. It implies a legend of a contest for priority between the Rhodians and the Athenians; cf. 49-52n.

ἐναργέα: i.e. in the open air.

θυμὸν ἰάναιεν 'warm the heart', 'please'. For ἰαίνω, cf. J. Latacz, *Zum Wortfeld 'Freude' in der Sprache Homers* (Heidelberg 1966) 220-31.

ἐγχειβρόμῳ repeats the point of her emergence in full armour from the head of Zeus.

43-7 A gnomic comment, in two contrasting statements: the exercise of forethought brings both success and satisfaction; but an inexplicable cloud of forgetfulness tends to get in the way.

43-4 ἐν δ' ... ἔβαλεν = ἐνέβαλεν δέ, gnomic aorist. ἀνθρώποισι is indirect object.

προμαθέος αἰδώς: an extremely difficult expression, such as is sometimes found in gnomic remarks. Five interpretations have been proposed. The most probable is that it means (1) 'a sense of respect for the person who has shown foreknowledge', referring to the information given by Helios and the natural wish of his sons to do as he told them. αἰδώς is used with an objective genitive like this for the honour due from children to their parents at *P.* 4.218 τοκέων αἰδῶ; and προμάθεια is an essential aspect of proper teaching at *O.* 8.59-61 (about the trainer Melesias) τὸ διδάσασθαι δέ τοι | εἰδότε ῥαίτερον· ἄγνωμον δέ τὸ μὴ προμαθεῖν· | κουφότεροι γὰρ ἀπειράτων φρένες 'Teaching is easier for the expert; not to have acquired knowledge first is ignorant; for the ideas of inexperienced people are less effective.'

This explanation, taking προμαθέος as objective genitive referring to the person who has given informed advice, in this case Helios, was proposed by Schroeder *ad loc.*; it is preferable to (2) treating it as genitive neuter, in the manner of Thucydides and Plato, whereby τὸ προμηθές (actually found at Thuc. 4.92.2) is the concept of foreknowledge, and thus the phrase would mean 'respect for foresight'; and

marginally preferable to (3) subjective genitive, i.e. 'the sense of respect felt by the person who has been forewarned'.

Two other explanations, each of them ingenious, have their supporters. A number of scholars have wished to see (4) a connection with the mythological figure Prometheus, and so would write Προμαθέος αἰδώς, either metonymically, meaning the quality alluded to in his name, cf. Aesch. *PV* 86 αὐτὸν γὰρ σε δεῖ προμαθέως, or actually, because of the later reference (48) to σπέρμα φλογός, the seed of fire; for that was what Prometheus stole from heaven and brought down to mankind in a fennel stalk (Hesiod, *WD* 50-2). However, the point of Pindar's story is that the Heliadai forgot fire, and thus a reference to the exploit of Prometheus would be too subtle, as well as introducing the gift of fire too early to be intelligible.

Finally, it has been suggested (by W. Christ, followed by others) (5) that these words are another example of Pindar's fondness for the 'genealogical' figure of speech (Introd. 20), and mean 'Respect, daughter of Forethought', with the ready comparison of *P.* 5. 27-8 τὰν Ἐπιμαθέος ... θυγατέρα Πρόφασιν 'Excuse, daughter of Afterthought'. This is attractive, but the lack of a word meaning 'child' is a serious drawback; and the sense is not so appropriate as in our preferred interpretation. (For fuller discussion, see C. von Erffa, *Αἰδῶς und verwandte Begriffe in ihrer Entwicklung von Homer bis Demokritos*, *Philologus Suppl.* 30.2 (Leipzig 1937) 77-8.)

45-7 The reverse side of the balanced gnome.

ἐπί: in tmesis with βαίνει.

μάν 'however', strongly adversative.

ἀτέκμαρτα: adverb, 'insensibly'.

παρέλκει 'displaces'.

48-9 The forgetfulness of the Heliadai.

καὶ ... γάρ: giving an example of the principle just enunciated, as at 27.

τοί 'they'.

ἀνέβαν 'went up', i.e. to the acropolis at Lindos, where later there was a famous temple of Athena.

οὐ: emphatically placed at the end of the sentence. This position for the negative is found in Greek with μὲν and δέ (μὲν οὐ, δ' οὐ), but not commonly otherwise. This example is unique in Pindar.

τεῦξαν . . . ἄλσος 'they made a sanctuary'.

ἀπύροις ἱεροῖς 'with sacrifices that did not involve fire'. Contrast the all-night fires of *I.* 4.62–6. In fact, offerings of fruit, cakes, etc. were not rare in Greek religion. The point of fire was for animal sacrifice. The story as given here is found also in Diodorus Siculus 5.56.6–7.

49–52 In spite of the carelessness of the Heliadai, both Zeus and his daughter gave great gifts to the islanders. Pindar does not draw attention to what must have been the original conclusion to the myth, namely that Athena chose to make her home in Athens, where the right sacrifices had been made, rather than in Rhodes (Diodorus 5.56.6, Philostratus 2.27.3, Σ *O.* 7.73). This is hardly the place to stress that aspect.

49–50 We have reached the golden cloud again, with which Pindar started this tale. That Zeus sent it was stated there (34); so he may be assumed as subject of ἀγαγών and ὕσε. The ellipse of the subject, however, is awkward, and explains why somebody at an early stage added Ζεύς at the end of 49, which, though contrary to the metre, is found in all the older MSS. Mingarelli's κείνοις ὁ μὲν for κείνοισι μὲν has the same intention, and is attractive in the light of the following αὐτὰ δέ; it is printed by a number of editors, including Maehler in the most recent Teubner edition.

50–1 Athena for her part gave them extraordinary technical skill. According to Diodorus 5.55.2, the Rhodians were the first to make statues of the gods.

ἐπιχθονίων: best taken with ἀριστοπόνοισι, 'best of all upon earth'.

Γλαυκῶπις: her title in epic, 'grey-eyed', or 'owl-eyed'.

κρατεῖν: epexegetic infinitive; she gave them skills 'to excel'.

52 'Figures like living and moving things went along the roads.' Such robots or androids are reminiscent of the works of Hephaistos in the *Iliad* (*Il.* 18.417–8). It appears that Pindar is alluding here to the Telchines, mythical craftsmen of Rhodes, who had a reputation as magicians (Diodorus 5.55, Strabo 14.2.7).

53 The last of the comments interspersed in the myths is another difficult one. 'They became very famous, but . . .' But what? 'To the expert [i.e. the man of real experience] skill without deception is better.'

This is apparently a reflection on the primitive magicians who have not been named, but have been alluded to in the description of the skills given to the Heliadai. Probably Pindar is thinking also of the art of poetry (σοφία) and his own straightforward genius, in contrast to the deceptions imposed by others (*N.* 7.23 σοφία δὲ κλέπτει παράγοισα μύθοις).

δαέντι: from ἐδάην, aorist of a defective verb meaning 'learn'; cf. εἰδῶτι at *O.* 8.60, quoted on 43–4 above.

καί: take with the whole phrase, 'it is also true that'.

μείζων ἄδολος τελέθει: interpreters disagree whether μείζων or ἄδολος is predicative with the verb τελέθει (= ἐστί), the other being a descriptive epithet with σοφία. A majority prefer to translate, 'even superior skill is free from guile'. But μέγας, μείζων are commonly predicative (*O.* 1.113, *P.* 1.87, *P.* 3.107), and ἄδολος more naturally descriptive; so 'skill without guile is greater'. Thus P. von der Mühll, *M.H.* 20 (1963) 200, and Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* v 2.33 n. 2 (though he changed his mind later, in *Pindaros* 367).

54–71

The third myth has a clear and bright simplicity welcome after the obscurities of the second. We move back in time to the beginning of the world, when the gods shared out their future prerogatives; cf. *Il.* 15.189–92, where Poseidon describes the main division between his brothers Zeus and Hades and himself:

τριχθὰ δὲ πάντα δέδασται, ἕκαστος δ' ἔμμορε τιμῆς·
ἦ τοι ἐγὼν ἔλαχον πολιὴν ἅλα ναιέμεν αἶψα
παλλομένων, Ἀΐδης δ' ἔλαχε ζόφον ἡρόεντα,
Ζεὺς δ' ἔλαχ' οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἐν αἰθέρι καὶ νεφέλῃσι.

54–7 φαντί . . . ῥήσιες: although the scholia say that this story was not recorded before Pindar, it is likely enough that it was a local tradition. For Helios, the Sun god, was indeed the god of the island of Rhodes. One of the seven wonders of the ancient world, built a century and a half after Pindar, was a gigantic bronze statue of Helios towering over the harbour of the city, called the Colossus of Rhodes; and his image was on the coins of the island.

φαντί = φασί.

ἔμμεν = εἶναι.

58–60 ἀπεόντος . . . Ἑλίου: with λάχος. No doubt the sun was absent performing his daily journey across the sky from east to west, giving light to gods and (in the future) to men (*Il.* 11.2).

λάχος: the right to draw a lot. κλήρος (in ἀκλάρωτον) is the lot itself.

καί ῥα ‘and the next thing was that’ (*P.* 3.45, *P.* 4.134); ῥα = ἄρα.

ἄγνόν ‘pure’, ‘holy’; cf. *Soph. El.* 86 ὦ φῶς ἄγνόν.

61–3 μνασθέντι: Helios drew attention to the oversight; and Zeus, father of gods and men, was immediately ready to repeat the whole process of allocation.

ἄμπαλον = ἀνάπαλον, a verbal noun formed from ἀναπάλλω; lit. ‘a reshaking [of the lots]’.

αὐτὸς ὄρᾱν: naturally! The sun sees all that there is to see (*Il.* 3.277), and can look vertically down into the ocean.

ἔνδον: with the genitive.

αὐξομένην πεδόθεν ‘growing from the sea-bed’. This is geologically accurate. The islands of the southern Aegean are the tops of ancient volcanoes. ‘The sea is 10,600 feet deep east of Rhodes, with Mount Atabyron [mentioned by Pindar at 87] rising 4069 feet above the sea level’ (naval handbook quoted by Lawrence Durrell in *Reflections on a marine Venus* (London 1953) 48).

μήλοισ ‘flocks’; Cf. νομόν 33.

64–8 Helios takes the initiative.

χρυσάμπυκα ‘with golden headband’, being a divinity (Introd. 18).

Λάχεσιν: appropriately, as the one of the three Fates who ‘allots’.

χειρας ἀντεῖναι: a gesture of oath or prayer (ἀντεῖναι = ἀνατεῖναι).

θεῶν . . . ὄρκον μέγαν: by the Styx. That was the greatest oath of the gods (*Il.* 15.37–8).

μὴ παρφάμεν ‘to swear, and not to swear falsely’ (παρφάμεν = παραφάναι).

μιν πεμφθεῖσαν ‘it, when it had come’.

ἐᾷ κεφαλαῖ ‘for his person’, ‘for himself’; cf. *Soph. Ant.* 1 ἴσμήνης κάρα.

ἐξοπίσω ‘for the future’.

68–71 τελεύταθεν = ἐτελευτήθησαν.

λόγων κορυφαί: not so much ‘the essentials of his words’, as ‘his significant words’; cf. *P.* 3.80 εἰ δὲ λόγων συνέμεν κορυφάν, Ἴέρων, ὀρθάν ἐπίσται.

ἐν ἀλαθείαι πετοῖσαι: they fell like seeds in a fruitful (truthful) place (πετοῖσαι = πεσοῦσαι).

βλάστε ‘grew’ like a plant. Commentators draw attention to the fact that ῥόδον is the Greek for a rose.

ὀξειᾶν ‘darting’, ‘bright’.

ἄκτινων πατήρ: another of Pindar’s genealogical figures (Introd. 20).

πῦρ πνεόντων ἀρχὸς ἵππων: the Sun was conceived as driving a four-horse chariot across the sky, the horses breathing fire. The story of Phaethon illustrates how difficult they were to control for anyone except their regular driver.

71–80

The conclusion of the mythic section reverses the time direction, moving forward again to the sons and grandsons of Helios (71–6), and then to Tlepolemos (77–80).

71–6 Ῥόδωι: Pindar habitually makes no difference between island and nymph (13–14n.).

μιχθείς: of sexual union; cf. *O.* 6.29 and frequently.

ἐπτά . . . παῖδας, ὧν εἷς . . . : seven children (the Heliadae of the second myth), of whom one (called, we are told elsewhere, Kerkaphos) himself had three sons, the eponymous founders of the three ancient Rhodian cities, Lindos, Ialysos and Kameiros (*Il.* 2.656).

πρεσβύτατον: perhaps given this distinction because it was the home of Diagoras’ family.

ἀπάτερθε δ’ ἔχον: with ἀστέων μοῖραν 76. They ‘held separately’ their share of cities, i.e. one each.

διά: in tmesis with δασσάμενοι.

τρίχα: cf. *Il.* 2.655 διὰ τρίχα κοσμηθέντες. The threefold division here relates to the three cities; it is long before the coming of the Dorians with their three tribes (Appendix A, with note on 655, 668).

κέκληνται . . . ἔδραι ‘their seats [i.e. the cities] take their name from

them'; cf. *P.* 3.67 τινά Λατοίδα κεκλημένον 'somebody with the name of son of Leto's son'; i.e. a son of Apollo.

77–80 λύτρον συμφορᾶς: is the συμφορὰ murder or exile? Probably both. Tlepolemos got compensation for his whole unhappy experience.

Τιρυνθίων 'those from Tiryns' (his home).

ὥσπερ θεῶν: we hear of the hero cult of a city founder at *P.* 5.95 (Battos at Cyrene), and in the historians; see Hdt. 6.38 for Miltiades in the Chersonnese and Thuc. 5.11.1 for Brasidas at Amphipolis.

κνισάεσσα: referring to the smoke of the fat of burnt offerings.

πομπά 'procession'.

κρίσις ἀμφ' ἀέθλοις 'competition in games' (which, we are told, were called the Tlepolemeia). This leads naturally into the victory list.

80–7

Diagoras was one of the most successful athletes for whom Pindar wrote. So there are many previous victories to record. We have already heard of those at Olympia and Delphi (15–17); now, in addition to two at the Tlepolemeia, there have been four at the Isthmus and at least two at Nemea; and others at Athens, Argos, Arcadia, Thebes, in local Boeotian games, at Pellene, Aegina and Megara. Pindar has to do what he can to introduce some variety into this potentially wearisome list.

80–2 τῶν ἀνθεσι: meaning the victory crown at those games; cf. *N.* 4.21.

ἔστεφανώσατο: middle, but in effect passive; 'he was crowned' (cf. 15).

ἄλλαν ἐπ' ἄλλαι: understand νίκαν. It would be strange if Pindar meant to indicate an indeterminate number, 'one after another', 'too many to count', especially as this is Nemea, one of the big four. So the scholia and modern commentators assume that he means two in succession, consecutive victories.

83–7 Minor games. The expression changes at this point, with Diagoras now the object of the verb. 'The bronze at Argos has known him', etc. Twice here he refers to the prize, for away from the prestigious great games material prizes were often on offer, a bronze shield

at Argos, bronze artifacts (probably tripods) in Arcadia and at Thebes.

ἀγῶνες τ' ἔννομοι | Βοιωτίων: this must be elsewhere than at Thebes, which has already been mentioned. ἔννομοι might mean 'fixed in the calendar', 'annual', from νόμος 'custom' (Verdenius), or 'local', from νομός as in 32.

Πέλλανα τ' Αἰγίνα τε: the text is uncertain. According to Schroeder and Turyn, most of the older MSS have these place names in the nominative, with varying accents. The scansion required is – – υ – υ – υ, which means that Πέλλανα is being given a short final α and Αἰγίνα a long one, contrary to the normal Πελλάνᾱ (= Πελλήνη) and Αἰγινᾶ.

Editors take different views: some (Bergk, Gildersleeve; Pavese 53–4) print as here, pointing out that Πέλλανα has a short final α at *O.* 13.109 (described by Gildersleeve as 'Aeolic shortening'), and that an isolated Αἰγίνη is found at *H.Ap.* 31; some (Schroeder, Verdenius), relying on the fact that irregularity of responsion seems to be permitted with proper names (see *I.* 4.45), accept Πέλλανᾶ, but print the normal Αἰγινᾶ, allowing a choriamb – υ υ – (– γῖνᾶ τέ νῖκ–) in place of what they call an iambic metron υ – υ – (e.g. 80 – ᾱῖσσαν πῶμπ–); others finally (Bowra, Snell–Maehler) accept Boeckh's proposal of Αἰγίνα in the dative, which assumes that Pindar has employed a mild anacoluthon for the sake of variety; this would produce 'and Pellene; and victorious six times on Aegina'.

λιθίνα | ψᾶφος 'the decision recorded on stone', i.e. on an inscription at the place of the games.

87–95

Prayer to Zeus; eulogy of Diagoras; quiet close.

87–9 Ἀταβυρίου: the highest mountain on the island, and thus a natural place for a sanctuary of Zeus, who was regularly worshipped on mountains (Olympos, Ida).

μὲν . . . τε: cf. 12n. 'Honour the convention of victory song, and a man who has won success with his fists.'

πύξ: adverbial.

89–90 δίδου: a form of the imperative, = δίδου.

οἱ ‘to him’.

αἰδοῖαν χάριν ‘respect and favour’; i.e. make him admired and popular at home, both among the citizens and with resident foreigners. This expression explains a strikingly similar one at the end of the long list of previous victories in the contemporary O. 13, at line 115, Ζεῦ τέλει, αἰδῶ δίδοι ‘Zeus, god of fulfilment, grant him the admiration of his fellow-citizens.’ The phrase αἰδοῖα χάρις is found also at O. 6.76.

ποτ’, ποτί = πρόσ; with the genitive, it means ‘from’.

90–2 ἐπεὶ . . . εὐθυπορεῖ ‘he follows a straight path that detests arrogance’. Cf. ὀρφανοί | ὕβριος of Melissos’ family at I. 4.8–9.

σάφα δαίς ‘knowing clearly’; for the participle, cf. 53.

ἃ τε . . . ἔχρεον: the ὀρθαὶ φρένες are those of Diagoras, inherited from his ancestors.

ἔχρεον: a form of the imperfect of χράω, a verb used for oracular responses; ‘declared’.

92–3 ‘Do not hide the common seed of Kallianax.’ The poet is now addressing Diagoras. The scholia assume that Kallianax was the name of one of his ancestors, and most moderns have followed them. It is quite common for Pindar to turn to the addressee at this point near the end of the ode; cf. I. 2.43–5, where, after praising the now dead victor Xenokrates, Pindar turns to give instructions to Thrasyboulos, Xenokrates’ son, μή νυν, ὅτι φθονεραὶ θνατῶν φρένας ἀμφικρέμανται ἐλπίδες, | μήτ’ ἀρετὰν ποτε σιγάτω πατρώϊαν, | μηδὲ τούσδ’ ὕμνους, O. 1.114, P. 1.86.

Some have thought that the instruction μή κρύπτε is addressed to Zeus, as were the two previous imperatives τίμα and δίδοι. However, if Kallianax was an ancestor of Diagoras, the σπέρμα ἀπὸ Καλλιάνακτος is his family in general, the Eratidai named in the next sentence. In what sense would Zeus be asked not to hide them? Perhaps one could argue that κρύπτειν is merely the negative of τιμᾶν, and thus μή κρύπτε = τίμα. But even then what do we make of κοινόν? If the addressee is Zeus, then κοινόν must associate him with Diagoras’ family, and we are back with the first colonisation of the island, by Tlepolemos, son of Herakles, son of Zeus. But in that case ἀπὸ Καλλιάνακτος introduces too small a time scale.

It is surely better to take μή κρύπτε as addressed to Diagoras, like μή . . . σιγάτω sent as an instruction to Thrasyboulos at I. 2.43–4 quoted

above. Diagoras is being told not to hide his light under a bushel. This fits well with the comment that follows; and with the gnomic phrase which ends the poem.

One or two scholars have been attracted by the information given by Pausanias at 6.6.1 and 6.7.1, that the husband of Diagoras’ daughter Kallipateira, and father of that Eukles who carried the family’s Olympic victories into the third generation (p. 110), was called Kallianax. Pouilloux argues that he is the Kallianax referred to here, and that the poem is actually for the betrothal of Kallipateira to Kallianax, the opening simile being an allusion to these circumstances, and these words a prayer for fruitfulness in the young couple; the seed would be κοινόν as coming from the union of the two families. However, μη κρύπτε σπέρμα, addressed to Zeus (as it would have to be in this case) would surely be an uncomfortable way to say ‘bless their union’.

κοινόν: belonging to the whole family; cf. 21 ξυνόν and note.

93–4 ‘With the celebrations of the Eratidai the city too holds festival.’ This is the only evidence that Diagoras’ family were called the Eratidai. It has been thought that they may have claimed descent from king Eratos of Argos (on whom see Pausanias 2.36.5).

Taking this sentence with the previous one, we may deduce that Pindar is urging Diagoras (as he urges Hieron and Theron) to accept his position in the state, and trust to his popularity with the people.

94–5 ‘In one period of time different breezes blow.’ This is a characteristically anticlimactic ending, probably aiming to lessen the dangers incurred by excessive praise. The reflection is common enough in Pindar: victory is indeed glorious, but remember also that nothing in human life is secure. We have heard it already in this ode at line 11; and previously at I. 4.5 and I. 3.18.

The Second Olympian

It would not be an unreasonable judgement that the three greatest products of Pindar’s genius that have survived to us are the Second Olympian and the First and Third Pythians. All three were composed for tyrants of the most powerful and wealthy cities of Sicily, Theron of Akragas and Hieron of Syracuse. Of these, the Third Pythian is easiest

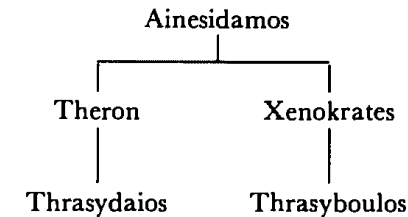
for us to appreciate, the First Pythian the most difficult; the Second Olympian comes somewhere in between. It is most memorable for the vision of the afterlife which takes the place of a regular myth, and for the extraordinary lines which precede and follow that excursus.

Akragas, now Agrigento, half-way along the south coast of Sicily, was a beautiful city, at this time second only to Syracuse in power. It had been founded from Gela in about 580 BC, with a population partly derived from Rhodes (Σ O. 2.15a–d, with Pindar fr. 119 quoted there). In the early days it was notorious for the cruelty of the tyrant Phalaris, referred to by Pindar at *P.* 1.95–6, who roasted his enemies in a brazen bull. Theron's ancestors had been leading citizens of the town, and according to Σ O. 3.68 his grandfather or great-grandfather was among those who removed Phalaris. Theron himself became tyrant in 488, and ruled till his death in 472. In 476 he commissioned this ode from Pindar, to celebrate his victory in the greatest of all athletic events, the chariot race at Olympia.

While Theron was tyrant of Akragas, his contemporaries at Syracuse were Gelon until 478, and then Gelon's brother Hieron. The information that we have for the detailed history of this period comes from chapters 38, 48–9, and 53 of book 11 of the historian Diodorus Siculus (first century BC), supplemented for Theron and Akragas by very obscure and unconfirmed material in the scholia to the Second Olympian and the Sixth Pythian. There were tensions between the tyrants of the two cities, patched up to some extent by dynastic marriages. But the real enemies of the western Greeks were, on land, the Carthaginians, who occupied much of Sicily, and, on sea, the Etruscans to the north. (In those days the emergent city of Rome had just thrown off the rule of her Etruscan kings.) In 480, the same year in which the mainland Greeks defeated the Persians at Salamis, Gelon and Theron won a great victory over the Carthaginians at Himera in the north-east of the island (Hdt. 7.165–7; cf. *P.* 1.79–80). From this came a great accession of wealth and slaves to their cities, and Theron used both to beautify Akragas with new temples of the gods. In *P.* 12, for a citizen called Midas, Pindar describes Akragas as καλλίστα βροτέων πόλιν, | Φερσεφόνας ἔδος, ἃ τ' ὄχθαις ἐπὶ μηλοβότου | ναίεις 'Ακράγαντος εὐδματον κολώναν 'most beautiful of human cities, home of Persephone, occupying the fine site of a hill beside the bank of the sheep-rearing river Akragas' (*P.* 12.1–3) The town, as this quotation

shows, had a sanctuary of Persephone, goddess of the underworld, to whom in mythology Zeus had given Sicily (*N.* 1.13–14).

Through his personal friendship with the tyrant's nephew Thrasyboulos, Pindar was on close terms with the family of the Emmenidai, whose members that we know of from his day were:



We have two odes for the present victory of Theron, *O.* 2 and *O.* 3, of which the latter seems to have been composed for a festival in honour of Helen and the Dioscuri (Kastor and Polydeukes), while our ode was probably the official epinician; and odes celebrating chariot victories of Xenokrates in earlier days, at Delphi in 490 (*P.* 6) and at the Isthmus at an uncertain date, but prior to this ode (*I.* 2); both however are addressed to Thrasyboulos as representative of his father, and *I.* 2 was written some years after the event, when Xenokrates was no longer alive. We also have several stanzas of a pleasing drinking song written by Pindar for Thrasyboulos (frs. 124a and b, discussed by B. A. van Groningen in *Pindare au banquet* (Leiden 1960) 84–103, under the heading 'Les illusions de l'ivresse').

The family's position in Akragas did not last after Theron's death in 472. His son Thrasydaios took over, behaved violently and tyrannically, got into a war with Hieron, was driven out, and fled to Megara in mainland Greece, where he was put to death. Akragas reverted to democracy (Diodorus 11.53).

Structure

It may be helpful to set this out schematically first, and then expand on it:

A	Striking opening	1–7
B	Circumstances of the celebration	5–51
	Transitional gnomes	51–6

c	'Myth' (presented here in the form of a picture of the afterlife)	56-83
	Transitional gnomes	83-8
d	Circumstances: the victor	89-95
	Gnomic comment	95-8
e	Quiet close	98-100

One should notice that there is an overlap in 5-7, lines which simultaneously conclude section A and begin section B. After the magniloquent opening question 'Songs that rule the lyre, what god, what hero, what man shall we sing?', Pindar answers in the order given, coming last to the man. And of course it is Theron. So he completes the first part. But naming him begins the second part also, which is in the form of 'ring-composition', being a set of variations on the theme of alternation in human happiness, good eventually coming after pain, the final and newest good being Theron's present victory, to which we return at line 48, having begun with it at line 5. The following is an analysis of this carefully constructed section:

B 1	Theron and his victory	5-7
2	His immediate forefathers at Akragas	8-15
	Gnomic comment: bad memories may be forgotten when good follows	15-22
3	First mythological example: Semele and Ino, ancient heroines of Thebes	22-30
	Gnomic comment: the unpredictability of human affairs	30-4
4	Second mythological example: Oidipous, Polyneikes, Thersandros, ancestors of Theron	35-45
5	From them comes Theron, who has won this victory	46-51

Thus Pindar presents three examples of the alternation of good and bad in human experience: Theron's predecessors at Akragas, the daughters of Kadmos at Thebes, and the family of Oidipous. Whether Theron himself had suffered dangers and misfortunes, as we might wish to deduce from the examples and the powerful moralising comments, is not made explicit, but likely enough. The new victory, however, is the good that makes all right in the end, as in *I.* 7 and *I.* 4.

In 51-6, obscurely expressed moralising introduces the description

of the afterlife (discussed below), and from 83 to 88 powerfully expressed, but difficult, break-off lines bring us back to the occasion of the ode; the rest is praise of Theron, as a benefactor of the human race.

Rewards and punishments after death

In 56 to 83 Pindar describes three *post mortem* (θανόντων 57) states. First comes that of those who have lived good lives in this world (66 οἵτινες ἔχαιπον εὐορκίαις). In an undefined place, underground (59 κατὰ γᾶς), they have a peaceful existence without labour or tears. Even the weather is perfect. The wicked however go to a place of horrible punishment. The third state, beginning in 68, provides the first appearance in extant literature, apart from an ironic reference to Pythagoras' doctrines in Xenophanes B7 DK, of the doctrine of reincarnation or metempsychosis, i.e. that the souls of the dead are born again in new bodies; this is implied in the statement that those who have lived without sin 'three times on either side' (68-9) go to the 'Isle of the Blest'. They therefore escape from the cycle of birth and rebirth, and go to an eternity of bliss.

This threefold description of a continuation of existence after death takes the place of a normal myth in our poem, and has naturally led to extensive discussion by those interested in ancient philosophy and religion, as well as Pindaric scholars. The first two states may be thought to be ultimately a development of what is seen in *Odyssey* 11, where an unstructured, but painless, continuing existence is shown for the mass of souls, but eternal punishment for certain great sinners. In the intervening two or more centuries since the *Odyssey*, more of a moral dimension has appeared. The sinners in Homer were not so much bad men as famous figures from mythology who had in some way infringed the prerogatives of the gods (cf. in Pindar *O.* 1.54-64 (Tantalos), *P.* 2.21-48 (Ixion)). Now, there is a clearer division of the souls of the dead into the good and the bad, the sheep and the goats, and the latter have to face their judge (59). The thought behind this derives from popular religion, encouraging righteous behaviour in this life, and promising a reward after death to those who have not found it on earth; promising also that those who are known to have lived wickedly and yet prospered will not escape justice.

The place of the good is pictured also in fr. 129 (Appendix B), and is usually, there and elsewhere, a meadow, where the dead occupy

themselves with such activities as horse-riding, gymnastics, board games and music. Here the pleasures of that place are perhaps underplayed by Pindar, because he has the problem of distinguishing two states of bliss, of which the second must be the more blissful. As for the place of punishment, he gets over it in five words. No doubt an epinician ode is not the place to go into detail. In fr. 130 also, so far as we can see, the description of hell is allusive rather than factual. Popular belief however has always filled out the picture of the torments of the damned, as we may see reflected in *Aeneid* 6.548–627, Dante's *Inferno*, and frescoes in north Italian churches.

But what is most striking, indeed astonishing, is the third state, when those who have lived lives free from sin three times on both sides, i.e. both here and in the underworld, go to the Isle of the Blest. The source of this doctrine of rebirth seems to have been the Pythagoreans, who had communities at this time in south Italy; and there is a very probable connection with Empedocles, the Presocratic philosopher, who was growing up in this very city of Akragas at the time when Theron won his victory and Pindar wrote the ode. Parallels are also found in the myths in the dialogues of Plato, on whom the influence of western Pythagoreanism is well documented.

Herodotus says that the doctrine of the immortal soul which is reborn in another living creature was originally Egyptian (2.123). After three thousand years, he says, having moved up through the animal kingdom, it finally returns to a human body. And he continues that there were Greeks, 'some at an earlier time, some later', who took over this doctrine. He declines to tell us who they were, but Long 22 argues for Pythagoras and Empedocles, cf. Burkert 126 n. 38. For one of the most definitive of Pythagoras' teachings was that the soul was reborn in another creature; while from the numerous fragments preserved of the two hexameter poems of Empedocles, 'On nature' and 'Purifications', difficult though his thought is for us to understand, and cryptic his expression, it is none the less clear that he admired Pythagoras (B129 DK), and that he embraced the doctrine of metempsychosis (B115, 117, 127, 146). We have evidence then for someone in Theron's own city, not long after Theron's time, expressing just this idea.

Pythagorean influence is known to have been strong on Plato from the time of his first visit to Italy and Sicily before 387, where he be-

came a friend of the Pythagorean Archytas of Tarentum (Seventh Letter); and references to the afterlife and rebirth of souls are common in the myths in his dialogues; for the judgement after death, the meadow in the underworld, and the Isles of the Blest, we may look at *Gorgias* 523E–524A; for reincarnation, the myth of Er at the end of the *Republic* and particularly *Phaedo* 70C and *Phaedrus* 248E–249 C. In the last of these he writes rather similarly to Pindar's 68–71, saying that if somebody pursues a philosophic life three times in a row, each period (from one sojourn upon earth to the next) lasting a thousand years, his soul will sprout wings and leave this sphere. The passage is quoted at 68–70n.

Thus we may see a sequence in our information about the doctrine of metempsychosis from Pythagoras (perhaps 570–500 BC) to Pindar (O. 2 in 476) to Empedocles (perhaps 495 to 435; J. Barnes, *Early Greek Philosophy* (Harmondsworth 1987) 161) to Plato (428–349), the common connection being the Pythagorean communities in south Italy. On all of this, see Long, and Burkert 125–36. What demands explanation is how Pindar came by this view, which is unique in the epinicians, though there are parallels in the *Threni*, some of the fragments of which are given in Appendix B. Indeed, the concept of an immortal soul may be said to be inconsistent with the poet's normal view of human life. 'The only way we know', he says (N. 7.14–16), 'to provide a mirror for fine deeds is through poetry'; apart from that, death is the end (N. 11.15–16). It is reasonably assumed that the isolated assertion of such a doctrine in O. 2 has more to do with Theron than with Pindar; and the connection with Empedocles supports that. Such ideas being current in the west, perhaps we are hearing an echo of a local cult in Akragas. In O. 3.41, in reference to the worship of the Dioscuri, the piety of Theron's family, the Emmenidai, is stressed (εὐσεβεῖ γινώμει φυλάσσοντες μακάρων τελετάς). Beyond this we cannot easily go. What we should however note is that, apart from the content of lines 68–70, the picture in the ode is not so much religious (doctrinal) as literary. The Isle of the Blest, a haven for the elect, owes most to *Odyssey* 4.561–9 (Elysium) and Hesiod, *WD* 166–73 (Isles of the Blest), passages which are quoted in Appendix B; and when Pindar moves on to name those who inhabit the state of bliss, he no longer speaks of three lives free from sin, but is back among his regular mythological

heroes, with Kadmos, Peleus and Achilleus. The credentials of the last of these in 81–3 are a close repetition of *I.* 5.39–41, in a very normal epinician.

Metre

Just as the eschatology of the second half of *O.* 2 is unique in Pindar's epinicians, so also is the metre, which is of a type found for certain elsewhere only at fr. 108 and Bacchylides 17. It is described by the Teubner editors, following Wilamowitz, *Griechische Verskunst* (Berlin 1921) 309–10, as '*metrum ex iambis ortum*', 'a metre derived from *iambi*'. But this description, although approved by West 68–9, does not help much. P. Maas, *Greek metre* (tr. H. Lloyd-Jones, Oxford 1962) 42 austere defines it as a metre that has *longa* in ones or twos, *brevia* in ones or threes, and *ancipitia* only at the beginning of periods. In truth, the most evidently recurring feature is the cretic, which can be resolved into the first or fourth paeon (–υ– resolvable into υυυ or υυυ–). The reason why repeated cretics (paeons) can be seen as iambic in origin by the distinguished metricians named is that they are prepared to see a cretic as a syncopated iambic metron (i.e. –υ– as a syncopated form of υ–υ–); and certainly the final line of the epode does have a very iambic appearance (see below).

R. Merkelbach, 'Päonische Strophen bei Pindar und Bakchylides', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 12 (1973) 45–55, advocates a description which includes the expansion of cretics in much the same way as choriambic are expanded in the so-called dactylo-epitrite metre (see on *O.* 11). He offers basic units as follows, with the longs in principle resolvable into two shorts:

–υ–	p
–υ–υ–	p ¹
–υ–υ–υ–	p ²

His scheme is given below, following a presentation which describes essentially the first triad; in other triads, a paeon may correspond to a cretic here, and vice versa.

Strophe/Antistrophe

1	υ–υ–υ–
2	υυυ–υ–υυυ–υυυ–υ–
3	–υ–υ–υυυ–υυυ– –υ–υ–υ–

4	–υ–υυυ–
5	υ–υυυ–υ–υυυ–υ–
6	υ–υυυ–υ–υ–υ– υ–υ–υ–
7	–υ–υυυ–υ–υ–υυ–

(Merkelbach)

1–2	υ 7p
3	– 3p – 2p
4	2p
5–6	υ 3p p ¹ 2p p ¹ p –
7	– p p ² d ² (d ² = υυ–; cf. <i>O.</i> 11)

Epode

1	–υ–υ–υ–υ–
2	–υ–υ–υυυ–υ–υ–
3	υυυ–υ–υ–υυυ–υ–
4	–υ–υ–υ–υυυ–
5	υ–υυυ–υ–υ–
6	υ–υ–υ–

(Merkelbach)

1	– 3p
2	2p ¹ p –
3	p p ¹ 2p
4	– 3p –
5–6	υ 3p p ² –

Lines which cause some difficulty here are Str. 1, Str. 7 and Ep. 6, exactly those that are going to have the greatest impact, being in the opening and closing positions. Str. 1 υ–υ–υ– does not feel very paeonic, still less iambic (antispastic rather, but we do not allow such a category; C. M. Bowra, in *C.Q.* 30 (1936) 95, is reduced by this line to describing the metre as a combination of iambic and trochaic elements!). That it is no accident is shown by the fact that the same sequence opens fr. 108 (θεοῦ δὲ δειξάντος ἀρχάν). In Str. 7, the unexpected appearance of two short syllables near the close of the stanza, contrary to the ruling of Maas quoted above, forces Merkelbach to borrow a unit from dactylo-epitrite. The effect, whatever it is, must be intended. And in Ep. 6 what appears as υ–υ–υ– would in other surroundings be taken as an iambic dimeter catalectic. Again, the

effect at the end of the stanza must be intended, like a clausula. The final, quiet, line of the whole ode (τίς ἄν φράσαι δύναίτο) benefits from the simplicity of this rhythm.

Apart from Merkelbach, Wilamowitz, Maas and West quoted above, there is very careful discussion in R. Führer, 'Beiträge zur Metrik und Textkritik der griechischen Lyriker', *Gött. Nachr.* 1976, 234-43.

1-7

The 'striking opening' (cf. p. 12) fills the first strophe, as it does in *N.* 4. Nothing could be simpler or more suitable than this. 'What god, what hero, what man?' And the answer comes, 'Zeus, god of these games, Herakles who founded them, and Theron who has now won the most glorious event in them.' Without the danger of equating mortal man with god or hero, Pindar has nevertheless implied that Theron is the greatest on earth. For beginning an ode with a question, cf. *I.* 7.

1-2 ἀναξιοφόρμιγγες: the hymn 'rules' the lyre, i.e. the words are more important than the music. This is some satisfaction to us, as we have totally lost the accompaniment.

κελαδήσομεν: future; 'shall we celebrate'.

3-7 An expanding tricolon, from Zeus (three words), to Herakles (six) to Theron (sixteen).

3-4 Πίσα: the area of Elis where Olympia lay. The ι is short at this period, later long.

ἔστασεν = ἔστησεν, transitive.

Ἡρακλῆς: he does not recur in this ode, perhaps because his founding of the Olympic games is the subject of the myth in the companion poem *O.* 3.

ἀκρόθινα πολέμου: in general apposition to 'Ολυμπιάδα. The story of the first athletic festival at Olympia, set up by Herakles, is told in the Tenth Olympian (the full-length poem for Hagesidamos, for whom we have also *O.* 11); it followed his war with Augeias, king of Elis, who cheated him of payment for cleaning the stables; cf. *O.* 10.56-8.

5-7 The ἀνὴρ is Theron, to whom the whole opening flourish has been leading.

γεγωνητέον: verbal adjective, 'one must proclaim'.

ὅπι δίκαιον ξένων 'righteous in his regard for guests'. The text is uncertain (see apparatus), and this the least uncomfortable reading. ὅπι is dative of a noun ὅπις, with long ι as in Homeric μήτῃ from μήτις (*Il.* 23.315-8). For the theme of justice to strangers, cf. *N.* 4.12-13 δίκαι ξεναρκεῖ κοινὸν φέγγος; for the hospitality of the Sicilian tyrants, *O.* 1.16-17.

ἔρεισμ' 'bulwark', 'support'; cf. Hektor 'the pillar of Troy', 81-2.

εὐωνύμων . . . ὀρθόπολιν 'the culminating glory of his famous forefathers, who keeps the city straight'; for ἄωτος, cf. *I.* 7.18n.

8-51

For the structure of this second section, see p. 136. It is there pointed out that lines 5 to 7 about Theron simultaneously conclude the proem and begin the second part, forming a 'ring-composition' with 48-51, where the poet comes back for a second time to the victory.

In between there are three examples of harsh fortune that was out-balanced by good in the end (not quite the same theme as in *O.* 7, for there it is the misfortune itself which in due course turned out for the best). The repeated moralising in connection with these examples from the past stresses the alternation of bad and good in human experience:

8	καμόντες	10	πλοῦτον καὶ χάριν
18	πῆμα	18	ἔσλων
23	πένθος	24	ἀγαθῶν
34	πόνων	34	εὐθυμῖαν
37	πῆμα	36	ὀλβωι

The ancient scholia, followed until recently by modern scholars, saw here allusion to political and personal difficulties of Theron (rebellious subjects, an unsatisfactory son, threatening relations with Hieron, old age, coming death). But if these troubles were in Pindar's mind, he hides them in generalities. It is wrong in principle to search the ode for hints and allusions, cross-referring to such historical information as we happen to possess. The immediate application to Theron is simpler, and one that we have seen before in *I.* 7 and *I.* 4, that victory in the games compensates for any troubles or unhappiness that have gone before.

8-15

Theron's family has been influential in Akragas from the earliest days. The scholia give recondite information, including a quotation from a lost *Encomion* written for Theron, referring to the foundation of the city (fr. 119).

8-11 καμόντες οἱ πολλὰ θυμῶι: referring to the difficulties that had to be faced before they were established in the city. Σ O. 2.15b guesses, πρὸς τινὰς βαρβάρους πολεμήσαντες ἔκτισαν τὴν πόλιν.

οἶκημα ποταμοῦ: Akragas was on a river of the same name; cf. P. 12.2-3, quoted on p. 134.

Σικελίας . . . ὀφθαλμός 'the eye of Sicily', meaning the vision, the light, the glory.

αἰὼν δ' ἔφρεπε μόρσιμος: not, as might be supposed, 'they died', as in I. 7.41-2 ἔξ τε τὸν μόρσιμον | αἰῶνα, but 'their due status came to them'.

πλοῦτον . . . ἀρεταῖς 'bringing wealth and popular favour [cf. O. 7.89] to crown [ἐπ'] their inborn abilities'.

12-15 A prayer to Zeus for the continuing prosperity of the family. By a sort of *variatio* (see on Kronos, 75-7n.), Zeus, who has already been named as god of the games (3), is now referred to allusively as son of Kronos and Rhea; these two gods reappear in the description of the Isle of the Blest (70, 76-7), so perhaps Pindar has a poetic purpose in naming them now.

ἔδος Ὀλύμπου: Olympus, the mountain in north Greece, home of Zeus and the other gods.

ἀέθλων . . . κορυφάν: Olympia, greatest of games.

πόρον 'course', not 'ford', of the river.

ἱανθείς: cf. O. 7.43. Digamma at the beginning of this word deflects the apparent hiatus after Ἀλφειοῦ; Introd. 24.

ᾠδαῖς: i.e. by this song.

εὖφρων: predicative, as is usual with this word.

κόμισον 'preserve'; cf. P. 8.98-9, addressing the nymph Aigina, ἐλευθέρωι στόλῳ | πόλιν τάνδε κόμιζε.

15-22

The first sequence of gnomic comment arises from the trials and difficulties of Theron's family during the period since they have been at

Akragas. One cannot undo the past, says the poet; but one may forget past troubles in the light of present prosperity. The thought applies also to Kadmos' daughters, who come next. So the reflection acts also as a glide or transition.

15-17 'Not even Time, father of all things, could undo the results of past actions good and bad.'

ἐν δίκαι τε καὶ παρὰ δίκαν: this includes the whole range of past actions. Specific allusion to unsavoury episodes in Theron's career, as assumed in the scholia, is improbable.

Χρόνος δὲ πάντων πατήρ: this is a striking example of the genealogical imagery favoured by Pindar (Introd. 20); see also 32 below, where a day is the child of the sun. E. S. McCartney (*C.Ph.* 23 (1928) 187-8) suggested that here we may have the origin of the modern expression 'Father Time'. There is however nothing surprising about it; as many poets have said, Time brings all things to birth and to fruition.

θέμεν = θεῖναι.

19-20 ἐσλῶν = ἐσθλῶν.

ὑπὸ χαρμάτων: ὑπό with the genitive for the agent with a passive verb is used here because of the metaphorical personification of πῆμα; it dies, overcome by the reasons for joy and satisfaction.

παλίγκοτον 'hostile', 'adverse'; in medical terminology, 'malignant', i.e. liable to break out again. The word, which we have seen in Pindar also at N. 4.96, where it refers to resentful, difficult, adversaries, is not just a descriptive adjective with πῆμα, but should be taken predicatively with δαμασθέν. The πῆμα is overcome in spite of its hostility; 'reluctantly conquered' (Fitzgerald 55).

21-22 'when fortune sent from god sends a man's prosperity up [ἀνεκὰς] on high'. The image is probably from the scale of a balance, as in Il. 8.69-74, when Zeus puts the fates of the Greeks and the Trojans in his golden scales, and the Trojans' fate lifts up to heaven (cf. also Il. 22.209-13).

22-30

The first mythological example illustrates the principle just enunciated, that fortune sent from god raises mortals to the heights from out of previous unhappiness. Pindar is very sympathetic to the daughters

of Kadmos, both because of the pathos of their experiences and because they were fellow Thebans. Kadmos and Peleus were the most fortunate humans who ever lived (cf. 78), and the gods attended their weddings, to Harmonia and Thetis respectively (*N.* 4.66–8n.). But mortals have to pay for transcendent good fortune, and both suffered through their children. Peleus had one son, short-lived; Kadmos four daughters – Semele, Ino, Agave, Autonoe – each of whom suffered dreadfully; but in compensation two of them, the two highlighted here, became goddesses. This is all in the Third Pythian, lines 86–103. For their Theban connection, cf. *P.* 11.1–2.

The scholia assume that a further reason for Kadmos and his daughters appearing in this poem is that they, like Oidipous and the others in the second mythological example (cf. 46), were ancestors of Theron. *Σ O.* 2.70f speaks of thirteen generations from Kadmos to Theron. Pindar himself however says nothing of that, and the other reasons would be sufficient, as they are in *P.* 3.

23–4 *πίτνει* = *πίπτει*.

κρεσσόνων = *κρείσσόνων*; *πρός* with the genitive here means ‘by’, ‘in consequence of’, rather like *ὑπό* in 19.

25–7 Semele. She died in the conflagration of the thunder-blast (see any dictionary of mythology); but she was mother by Zeus of Dionysos, and she was raised to heaven. That Zeus and Dionysos (the ‘ivy-carrier’) should love her is natural; why Athena is singled out as joining them is not immediately obvious. Perhaps it is because she is the great goddess welcoming the newcomer; cf. *I.* 4.59 for Herakles’ apotheosis, where honoured acceptance by the gods is stressed; and, for a minor goddess welcomed by the great ones, Thetis by Athena and Hera at *Il.* 24.100–2.

μάλα φιλεῖ δέ: cf. *Il.* 10.229 *ἤθελε Μηριόνης, μάλα δ’ ἤθελε Νέστορος υἱός*.

κισσοφόρος: ivy was associated with Dionysos, as a god of vegetation, its evergreen nature symbolic of everlasting life (Dodds on Eur. *Bacch.* 81).

28–30 Ino. In the common version of the story, pursued by her deranged husband Athamas, she leapt into the sea with her child Melikertes, and became the goddess Leukothea, a nymph among the Nereids. She helps Odysseus at *Od.* 5.333–5.

τὸν δλον ἀμφὶ χρόνον: the bliss of these immortal women is eternal; cf. 26 *αἰεῖ*, 29 *βίοτον ἀφθιτον*.

30–4

Another transitional gnome leads from the eternal life of two of the daughters of Kadmos to the temporal disasters of Laios and his family, which also received compensation in later good fortune.

30–3 Pindar begins with the commonplace that life is uncertain, and we cannot guarantee happiness even to the evening of the day.

κέκριται ‘has been fixed’.

πείρας οὐ τι θανάτου ‘no final point for death’, reflecting the Homeric *τέλος θανάτοιο* (‘the end consisting in death’, i.e. ‘death’). Pindar is not saying that death is not the end, as some recent scholars have believed, because of the eschatology later in the ode, but merely that we cannot know in advance when it will come; cf. *N.* 6.6–7 *καίπερ ἐφαμερίαν οὐκ εἰδότες οὐδὲ μετὰ νύκτας | ἄμμε πότμος | ἄντιν’ ἔγραψε δραμεῖν ποτὶ στάθμαν*, Alcman, *Parth.* 37–9, Eur. *Alc.* 783–4.

παῖδ’ ἀλίου: for this notion, cf. 17n.

33–4 *ῥοαὶ δ’ ἄλλοι’ ἄλλαι*: cf. *I.* 4.5 *ἄλλοτε δ’ ἄλλοιός οὔρος*, *I.* 3.18 *αἰών . . . ἄλλ’ ἄλλοι’ ἐξ-|ἄλλαξεν*, *O.* 7.95. *ῥοαί* = ‘streams’, ‘currents’.

ἐς ἄνδρας ‘to humans’.

ἔβαν = *ἐβησαν*: gnomic aorist.

35–45

Application of the gnome to Theron’s family, and then, for the second mythological example, back to his remote ancestors. Laios was killed by his son Oidipous, and Oidipous’ two sons Eteokles and Polyneikes committed mutual fratricide; however, Polyneikes’ son Thersandros survived, to gain glory himself and to found the line which has come down to Theron.

35–7 *τῶνδ’*: i.e. of the Emmenidai, Theron’s family.

ἔχει ‘controls’

θεόρτωι: cf. 21 *θεοῦ*.

ἐπὶ . . . ἄγει = *ἐπάγει* (tnesis).

παλιντρέπελον ἄλλωι χρόνῳι 'that turns back again at another time'; good fortune turns to bad, and bad again to good.

38-42 ἐξ οὗπερ 'from the time when'.

μόριμος 'fated', 'foretold by fate'; cf. αἰὼν μόριμος 10, and the emphasis on Μοῖρα at 21 and 35.

συναντόμενος: at the famous fork in the road; Soph. *O.T.* 716, 730.

ἐν Πυθῶνι 'at Delphi'.

χρησθὲν παλαίφατον: this is the oracle received by Laios, that if he had a son that son would kill him (Hypothesis to Soph. *O.T.*, Eur. *Phoen.* 17-20, Paus. 9.5.5). Pindar says nothing about Oidipous marrying his mother, though that was known to the *Odyssey* poet (11.272-3).

Ἐρινύς: the spirit that avenges crimes against the family. In tragedy, the death of the sons comes from their father's curse (Soph. *O.C.*); in Pindar it is a punishment by the Erinyes for his patricide. So in the *Odyssey* the later misery of Oidipous is caused by the Erinyes of his mother (11.280). Herodotus (4.149.2) tells of a temple to the Erinyes of Laios and Oidipous, founded in Sparta by the Aigeidai, their descendants (on whom see *I.* 7.15n.).

οἱ: possessive dative, 'for him', 'his'.

συν ἄλλαλοφονίαι: the story is well known from tragedy (Aesch. *Sept.*, Eur. *Phoen.*), how in the war of the Seven against Thebes the hatred between the two sons of Oidipous was so great that they fought and killed each other at one of the gates of the city.

43-5 Thersandros is less familiar to us. His story is told by Pausanias at 9.5.7. After taking part in the war of the Epigoni (the sons of the Seven, who defeated and destroyed Thebes in the next generation, *Il.* 4.405-8), he became king of Thebes, in time for the Trojan war. He took part in the first, abortive, expedition, which went to Mysia by mistake, and there, one of the bravest of the Greeks, he was killed by Telephos, the local king.

νέοις ἐν ἀέθλοις: i.e. in games competed for by young men.

ἐν ἀέθλοις | ἐν μάχαις τε: that Thersandros was honoured in athletics as well as in war makes him a very suitable prototype for Theron, who has now added his Olympic victory to the glory of the defeat of the Carthaginians at Himera.

Ἀδραστιδᾶν 'of the children of Adrastus'; genitive plural masculine.

This word introduces the other side of Thersandros' family, for Polyneikes, when in exile from Thebes, had married Argeia, daughter of Adrastus king of Argos. Adrastus himself became leader of the expedition of the Seven.

(The scholia prefer to read the feminine plural Ἀδραστιδῶν 'of the daughters of Adrastus', alluding to Thersandros' mother Argeia, either as a generalising plural or with her sister Deipyle, whom Tydeus, another exile, had married. Traces of this reading are found in the manuscripts. Pavese 40-4.)

θάλος 'new growth', 'offspring'; cf. ἔρνεϊ Τελεσιάδα *I.* 4.45.

ἄρωγόν: the sons of the Seven, Thersandros being one, and Diomedes and Sthenelos others, avenged the disaster of the earlier expedition, and thus brought comfort to the house of Adrastus.

46-51

The long reflections on the vicissitudes of human life conclude with a return to Theron and his victory, coupled with those of his brother Xenokrates. These lines are at the centre of the ode.

46-7 ὅθεν: the relative pronoun is used to bring us back to the present day, as often.

ἔχοντα: the manuscript tradition has ἔχοντι, misunderstood by the scholia as a third person plural on the authority of Didymus. It must however be dative of the participle, and if we print it we have to accept that the dative is then picked up by an accusative as in *I.* 6.20-1 τέθμιόν μοι φαμί . . . | τάνδ' ἐπιστείχοντα νᾶσον; but this would be a much more difficult example, with dative of the participle first and then the noun in the accusative. The change to ἔχοντα is slight.

πρέπει 'it is fitting that', here with accusative and infinitive.

τὸν Αἰνησιδάμου: Theron.

τυγχάνεμεν = τυγχάνειν, taking the genitive as usual.

48-51 ἔδεκτο: Homeric aorist of δέχομαι.

Πυθῶνι . . . ἄγαγον 'at Pytho [cf. 39] and at the Isthmus, shared poetic celebrations [for Χάριτες, see Introd. 18] presented the victory crown in the twelve-lap chariot race to his equally successful brother'. ὁμόκλαρον and κοινὰ (and indeed the contrast with αὐτός in 48) associate Theron with Xenokrates' victories; and it is interesting that

the scholia (87e) tell us that in the Pythian lists collected by Aristotle Theron, and not Xenokrates, was recorded as the victor in the Pythian race of 490.

We have poems by Pindar for both these victories, but both are addressed to Xenokrates' son Thrasyboulos: the Sixth Pythian (490) and the Second Isthmian (written perhaps in 470, though the victory must have been earlier than 476, for it to be referred to here). Simonides wrote an *enkōmion* for Xenokrates, in which he mentioned both the victories, as we are told by Σ I. 2. inscr.

δυσωδεκαδρόμων: for the length of the race, see Introd. 7–8.

51–6

The generalising transition begins with a summary comment on agonistic success, arising naturally from what has just been said. Then, tied to it by the prerequisite of wealth for success in equestrian events, comes the most outrageously difficult sentence in all the epinician odes; and this acts as a lead-in to the picture of the life after death.

51–2 'Success in an attempt at the games relieves a man of unhappy thoughts.' This is of course an expression of the familiar theme that victory in the games compensates for past labours, the theme which was found strikingly in Ν. 4.1–8, where line 1 (ἄριστος εὐφροσύνα πόνων κεκριμένων Ιατρός) is a positive statement of what is expressed negatively here (τὸ δὲ τυχεῖν | πειρώμενον ἀγωνίας δυσφρονᾶν παραλύει).

δυσφρονᾶν παραλύει: the manuscript tradition has δυσφροσύναν [acc.] παραλύει; but this does not scan, as the rhythm in all the other strophes and antistrophes is 000–00–. Already the Byzantine editor Moschopoulos seems to have made the change to παραλύει δυσφρόνων, the latter word being genitive plural of δύσφρων, i.e. 'unhappy things'. This was modified in 1836 by W. Dindorf to παραλύει δυσφρονᾶν, introducing the genitive plural of a supposed contracted form δυσφρόνη for δυσφροσύνη, like εὐφρόνη ('night') for εὐφροσύνη. Schroeder accepted Dindorf's emendation, but reverted to the word order of the manuscripts, believing that paeon and cretic may respond to each other in this metre, and so –0–000– is acceptable in response to 000–00–.

The scholia, however, while at one point (Σ O. 2.93f) implying δυσφροσυνᾶν, for the most part reflect a reading ἀφροσυνᾶν (000–), which was placed in the text by Mommsen in 1864, and has more recently been found on the papyrus (which of course antedates all existing manuscripts). The majority of editors and critics since this new evidence appeared have followed Mommsen and the papyrus. However, the sense is not wholly satisfactory, for ἀφροσύνη means 'foolishness', not 'unhappiness'. The scholia are not unaware of this problem, and offer the explanation that 'foolishness' reflects the opinion of other people about the man who spends his time and money on athletic endeavour. In that case Pindar is saying that success is a complete answer to such criticism.

This is not at all convincing, and in spite of an apparent parallel at Theognis 589–90 τῷ δὲ καλῶς ποιεῦντι θεὸς περὶ πάντα τίθησιν | συντυχίην ἀγαθὴν, ἔκλυσιν ἀφροσύνης, it makes better sense to retain 'victory brings an end to gloomy thoughts'. The extended discussion in the scholia shows that both readings were represented in antiquity. Pavese 44–5 offers another solution, that we read ἀφροσυνᾶν, but treat it as equivalent in meaning to δυσφροσυνᾶν, i.e. not 'foolishness', but 'negative thinking'.

53–6 The individual phrases here, especially 54 βαθεῖαν ὑπέχων μέριμναν ἀγροτέραν, have been most variously interpreted. It seems best for the commentator to begin by stating his own view. Literally, then, 'To be sure, wealth, if it is embellished with "virtues" [for ἀρεταί, see Introd. 18], brings the opportunity for all sorts of things, supporting deeply held ambitious thoughts. It is a clear-seen star, the truest light for men.'

Such lavish praise of wealth may surprise us (but see Introd. 15). Pindar, having in mind Theron, tyrant of a beautiful city, with immense power and wealth, but (as he, composing a poem of praise, sees it) a great and good man, asserts that wealth itself sets Theron off from most of mankind, giving him the opportunity to achieve things beyond the reach of others, such as an Olympic chariot victory. However, the wealth must be used well.

μάν: Attic μῆν; used in strong assertions.

πλοῦτος ἀρεταῖς δεδαιδαλμένος: the same point is made at P. 5.1–3 ὁ πλοῦτος εὐρυσθενής, | ὅταν τις ἀρεταῖ κεκραμένον καθαρᾷ | ...

αὐτὸν ἀνάγῃ 'Wealth has wide powers, when a man applies it mixed with honest virtue.' The scholia quote Sappho, fr. 148 L-P δ πλοῦτος ἀνευ ἀρετᾶς οὐκ ἀσίνης πάροικος | ἃ δ' ἀμφοτέρων κρᾶσις εὐδαιμονίας ἔχει τὸ ἄκρον. The text is uncertain, but the sense clear: 'Wealth without virtue is not a harmless house-guest; but the combination of the two brings the peak of prosperity.'

Hampe 53 points out that πλοῦτος is less often mentioned by Pindar for victors in the running and contact sports, but is regular in equestrian celebrations; for example, *P.* 5, the opening of which is quoted above, was for the chariot victory of the king of Cyrene. Obviously, then as now one had to be very rich to keep a stable of horses and enter them for major events.

φέρει 'brings'; cf. *P.* 7.21 τὰ καὶ τὰ φέρεσθαι. Some (e.g. Wilamowitz) have tried 'endures', but it gives no satisfactory sense.

τῶν τε καὶ τῶν: cf. *I.* 4.33; but it is not so much 'good and bad' here, as 'this and that', 'all sorts of things' (cf. W. H. Race in *A.J.P.* 104 (1983) 178-82 on the very similar *P.* 5.55 ὄλβος . . . τὰ καὶ τὰ νέμων).

καιρόν: as a result of discussion by H. Fränkel, *Early Greek poetry and philosophy* (Engl. trans., Oxford 1975) 447-8 and n. 14, it has become orthodox to define καιρός in Pindar as not having its later meaning of 'fitting time', 'opportunity', but as embodying a principle of making a right choice (cf. Bundy in *C.S.C.A.* 5 (1972) 82 n. 100). Here however the two come very close together, and there seems to be no objection to translating 'opportunity'.

βαθεῖαν: the two adjectives with μέριμναν are both descriptive; βαθύς 'deep' is used of the mind at *N.* 4.8.

ὑπέχων: a verb not found elsewhere in Pindar. Literally, it should mean 'holding beneath'. For the implication of 'supporting', 'upholding', cf. Bacch. fr. 208.10 (of the grandiose thoughts that come with inebriation) ἀνδράσι δ' ὑποτάτω πέμπει μερίμνας.

μέριμναν: this word on the other hand is quite common, and means private thoughts, whether they are anxieties or (as here) preoccupations. The closest to our passage comes in a poem for a similar victor and in the same year as *O.* 2, i.e. *O.* 1.106-8 θεὸς ἐπίτροπος ἔων τεαῖσι μῆδεται | . . . , 'ἴρων, | μερίμναισιν, meaning that a divine power watches over Hieron's personal ambition (to win the greatest crown of all, which Theron has now won).

ἀγροτέραν: this, the hardest word in this hard sentence, and in the

whole ode, is an epithet frequently applied to Artemis, and associated with both ἀγρός the countryside and ἄγρα the hunt. We can only assume that the connotation here is the second, and that the word means 'hunting', 'questing', and thus 'ambitious'. The closest parallel is *N.* 6.13-14, where it is said of the victor νῦν πέφανται | οὐκ ἄμμορος ἀμφὶ πάλαι κυναγέτας 'he has now been shown to be no unsuccessful huntsman in relation to wrestling'.

So line 54 means that wealth supports deeply held racing ambitions. This is agreed by the more persuasive recent commentators, P. von der Mühl in *M.H.* 11 (1954) 55-6, H. Erbse in *Hermes* 88 (1960) 27-31, Pavese 45-6. For the suggestion of G. Norwood in *Pindar* (California 1945) 131, that in choosing the word ἀγροτέραν Pindar was making a pun on Θήρων the victor and θηρῶν 'hunting', cf. the note on ἀκραντα γαρύετον 87.

(Because ἀγροτέραν is so difficult to interpret, Wilamowitz 246 n. 3 supported ἀβροτέραν from ἀβρός ('soft', 'luxurious', Lat. mollis), which had been proposed by H. Stadtmüller in 1902, and was later preferred by H. Gundert, *Pindar und sein Dichterberuf* (Frankfurt 1935) 115 n. 81 and Perosa 46 n. 1. There is a superficially attractive parallel at *P.* 8.88-92, including the words ἀβρός, πλοῦτος and μέριμνα, in somewhat different relationships: ὁ δὲ καλὸν τι νέον λαχὼν | ἀβρότατος ἐπὶ μεγάλας | ἐξ ἐλπίδος πέταται | ὑποπτέροις ἀνορέαις, ἔχων | κρέσσονα πλούτου μέριμναν 'the person who has won a new success soars to the height of well-being from the fulfilment of his hopes, on wings of achievement, his thoughts above the consideration of wealth'; and ἀβρός is almost a favourite word of Pindar, cf. *P.* 3.110 πλοῦτον ἀβρόν, *N.* 7.32 ἀβρόν λόγον, *I.* 1.50 κῦδος ἀβρόν. This is an easier adjective, but the interpretation of the whole phrase is not thereby clarified. Even if the new reading may lead to the meaning 'suggesting intensely euphoric reflections', the clear sense of 53-6, that wealth provides the opportunity for great achievements, is not improved by the use of an adjective which implies that the achievement has already been fulfilled.)

ἄστήρ . . . φέγγος: wealth embellished by virtues is a star to navigate by and a shining light. Shakespeare has the image of Love as 'the star to every wandering bark' (Sonnet 116); and φέγγος 'light' is a favourite enhancing term for Pindar, e.g. *N.* 4.12-13 δίκαι ξεναρκέϊ κοινόν | φέγγος. All the same, 'star' and 'shining light' may seem

exaggerated descriptions of wealth, even when embellished with virtues. Those scholars who feel that there is here some echo of mystic terminology, anticipating the picture just coming, can point to the appearance of both terms in the song of the initiates in the underworld in Aristophanes' *Frogs* 341–3 ἰαχ', ὦ ἰαχ' | νυκτέρου τελετῆς φώσφορος ἀστήρ. | φλογὶ φέγγεται δὲ λειμῶν (E. Maass, *Orpheus* (Munich 1895) 273 and n. 58, E. Norden, *Vergilius Aeneis VI*^a (Stuttgart 1957) 38–40, N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*² (Oxford 1979) 318); cf. also the balancing mystical language in 85, after the eschatological section.

56–60

Introductory statement of the description of the afterlife, which takes the place of a myth in this poem.

56 εἰ δέ . . . τὸ μέλλον 'but if a man, possessing it [i.e. wealth adorned with virtues], knows the future, namely that . . . ' We never come to an apodosis of this condition, but we are unlikely to notice, because the word ὅτι in 57 introduces a description which develops and continues all the way to line 83. There is no reason to treat this as a grammatical oddity. A conditional clause without a specific apodosis is found at *N.* 4.79–81 (*q.v.*), and cf. *Il.* 1.135, 580, 21. 487, and (in a way closest to our passage) 6.150, where Glaucos says to Diomedes, 'but, if you want to hear my genealogy', and goes off on a long excursus about Bellero-phontes which stands in the place of the apodosis 'I will tell it you.' The implication here is surely that if the man who combines wealth and virtue also knows about future rewards and punishments, then all will be well for him. Pavese (*Q.U.C.C.* 20 (1975) 81) perceptively points out that the underlying thought is the same as that in a fragment from the book of *Threni* referring to those who have been initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries, ὁλβιος ὅστις ἰδὼν κείν' εἶσ' ὑπὸ χθόνα 'lucky the man who goes beneath the earth after seeing those things' (fr. 137).

57–60 Wilamowitz 248 n. 1, following Mommsen and Rohde, saw the meaning of these lines very clearly. The universal situation after death is described twice, from the point of view of the deceased and

from that of the judge: 'of those who die in this world, the helpless spirits immediately pay the penalty; and a judge beneath the earth judges sins committed in this realm of Zeus, giving his verdict with harsh compulsion'.

Among the very numerous scholia on these lines, several take this view, which is described as the more straightforward one (ἀπλούστερον). But both Aristarchus and Didymus are quoted as taking a much more complicated line, that we have already here an indication of the belief in rebirth which will come at 68, and that what Pindar is saying is that sins of the dead are paid for here on earth, and sins committed here are punished down below. This, relying rather heavily on the contrast between μέν and δέ in 57–8, was accepted by Dieterich and other scholars at the end of the nineteenth century, and found its way into Gildersleeve's influential commentary. Most recent critics agree with Wilamowitz, although wilder speculations still have not been absent; for example, Lloyd-Jones 254 argues that death itself is the penalty (θανόντων αὐτίκ' . . . ποινὰς ἔτεισαν).

μέν: there are various occurrences of δέ which could be taken to respond to this; but most probably we should look to that in 68, the general situation beneath the earth after death being contrasted with the escape of some souls to the Isle of the Blest (so Rohde II 208–9 n. 3 = English version 442–3 n. 35).

ἐνθάδ': with θανόντων.

ἀπάλαμνοι 'defenceless', 'without resource', not 'wicked' as many have argued, nor quite the same as the 'strengthless' (ἀμνηνᾶ) heads of the dead in the *Odyssey*. Rather, the dead before their judge have no means of evasion; cf. the Christian hymn *Dies irae* 19–21 *Quid sum miser tum dicturus, | quem patronum rogaturus, | dum vix iustus sit securus?* This is also the meaning of ἀπάλαμος at *O.* 1.59.

ἔτεισαν: gnomic aorist.

ἐν ταῖδε Διὸς ἀρχαῖ: i.e. here on earth.

τις: there is a judge in the underworld at *Odyssey* 11.568–71, namely Minos; but he is not judging men's lives, but merely (like others) continuing down there the activity of his own previous life, and deciding disputes among the dead. The judge here is probably Hades; Aesch. *Suppl.* 230–1 is equally imprecise: κακεῖ δικάζει τὰμπλακῆμαθ', ὡς λόγος, | Ζεὺς ἄλλος.

61–7

The picture of the afterlife concentrates on the place of the righteous, those who have behaved well on earth, with a brief reference at the end to the punishment of the wicked. For the general picture, cf. frs. 129 and 130 (Appendix B).

ἴσαις . . . ἔχοντες ‘having the sun in equal nights and equal days’. Different views have been held about this. Is it (a) continuous sunshine, or (b) nights and days equal and opposite to ours, the sun shining down there during our night, as in fr. 129.1–2 τοῖσι λάμπει μὲν μένος ἀελίου | τὰν ἐνθάδε νύκτα κάτω, or (c) a perpetual equinox? The last is the most convincing, the detail being poetical and imaginative, of a place where there are no seasonal changes, where there is eternal spring (Capelle II 35, L. Woodbury, ‘Equinox in Akragas’, *T.A.P.A.* 97 (1966) 597–616).

ἀπονέστερον ‘without toil’. The comparative does not need to be stressed. The form is irregular, as if from an adjective ἀπονής; cf. ἀφθονέστερον 94.

δέκονται = δέχονται.

οὐ χθόνα . . . ὕδαρ: they do not have to labour for their daily bread, as farmers on land or sailors at sea. For the natural examples from agriculture and navigation, cf. O. 11.1–2.

ἐν χερὸς ἀκμῇ ‘in the strength of their hands’.

κενεὰν παρὰ δίαίταν ‘for a meagre livelihood’, as they did on earth.

παρὰ . . . τιμίῳις | θεῶν ‘with the honoured among the gods’; there are divinities in that place where the righteous live. Pindar does not specify, any more than he specified the judge in 59. It could be Hades and Persephone.

οἵτινες ἔχαιρον εὐδοκίαις: cf. Psalm 24.3–4 ‘Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord? and who shall stand in his holy place? He that hath clean hands, and a pure heart; who hath not lifted up his soul unto vanity, nor sworn deceitfully.’ Honesty, keeping one’s word, is the quality identified with the righteous. ἔχαιρον means ‘used to rejoice’, i.e. in the course of their earthly life. This is the natural interpretation of these words, not (as e.g. M. L. West, *The Orphic poems* (Oxford 1983) 110 n. 82) ‘with the honoured among gods, who have not perjured themselves’, which would have Orphic implications.

ἄδακρυ: it has been pointed out by Solmsen 504 that the picture

given of the abode of the righteous is, apart from the sunshine, negative rather than positive. We are told that there is no toil there, and no tears. The reason, as he explains, is that Pindar saves the positive happiness for the second state of bliss, on the Isle of the Blest.

νέμονται ‘live’.

τοὶ δὲ . . . πόνον ‘but those others endure a punishment too horrible to look upon’. Pindar is understandably less expansive about the fate of the wicked, in an ode of celebration. Even Virgil kept Aeneas away from Tartarus. τοὶ = οἱ.

ὀκχέοντι = ὀκχοῦσι ‘bear’.

68–83

The sudden introduction of a state of permanent bliss for those who have persevered in righteousness during several lives alters the picture given by 61–7. There are now three possible states in the afterlife, and implicit in the third is the doctrine of reincarnation, which the scholia say is Pythagorean, a view shared by modern scholars, especially Long and Burkert 120–47. The term Orphism has also been used, but this is more shadowy, for although there is quite a large amount of poetry surviving attributed to Orpheus, and speaking of the soul, and Persephone, and the afterlife (see M. L. West, *The Orphic poems* (Oxford 1983)), little information is available about Orphic sects or an Orphic religion (see Burkert 125–33; and, most recently, L. Zhmud, ‘Orphism and graffiti from Olbia’, *Hermes* 120 (1992) 159–68).

Associated in some way with these beliefs about continuing life after death, at least for the initiated, and probably also with Orphism, are inscriptions on a number of gold leaves found since the early years of this century in tombs in Italy and the Greek world, giving directions and instructions to the soul when it reaches the further place. For a collection of these writings, including what was then the very important new one discovered at ancient Hipponion in Calabria, see G. Pugliese Carratelli in *La Parola del Passato* 29 (1974) 108–26; since then more have been found (R. Merkelbach in *Σ.P.E.* 25 (1977) 276, K. Tsantsanoglou and G. M. Parássoglou in *Hellenica* 38 (1987) 3–16).

The details of Pindar’s picture owe much to passages in Homer and Hesiod, quoted in Appendix B. At *Od.* 4.561–9, Menelaos is told that he will not die in the normal way at home, but the gods will send him

to 'Elysium' (a word whose etymology and origin are still unknown, in spite of W. Burkert in *Glotta* 39 (1961) 208–13), defined as a place where the weather is mild, the west wind blows from ocean, and Rhadamanthys is king. Hesiod, *WD* 166–73, ascribes a similar experience to the heroes of the fourth age, those who fought at Troy and Thebes; they were placed by Zeus on the (plural) Islands of the Blest at the end of the earth by the river Ocean; and again there is a perfect climate.

It should not surprise us that the details of Pindar's description of this hypothetical future state of bliss are poetic in origin rather than mystical.

68–70 *The journey*

ἐτόλμασαν 'have had the courage to'.

ἐστρίς | ἐκατέρωθι μείναντες: three times on earth and three in Hades. The number three tends to recur in such schemes; cf. Plato, *Phaedrus* 249A (of the philosophic souls) αὐταὶ δὲ τρίτῃ περιόδῳ τῇ χιλιέτει, ἂν ἔλονται τρίς ἐφεξῆς τὸν βίον τοῦτον, οὕτω πτερωθεῖσαι τρισχιλιοστῷ ἔτει ἀπέρχονται 'But these, in their third thousand-year period, if they have chosen this kind of life three times in succession, grow wings in the three-thousandth year, and depart.'

There has been a persistent wish on the part of some scholars to do away with the picture of three perfect lives on each side of the grave, partly because they have not seen how one could commit injustice in the underworld, and partly because the even total of lives would mean departure for the Isle of the Blest from Hades rather than from this earth, which is thought unsatisfactory in itself and also inconsistent with what is said in fr. 133 (also in Appendix B). Thus Mommsen suggested that Pindar really means three in all, two here and one there, a view that has surprisingly found adherents in Gildersleeve, Long and van Leeuwen. Once again, as in 57–60, it is best to accept the natural meaning of the Greek words, and not try to analyse the statement too logically, nor to expect exact correspondence between what is said here and what is said in fr. 133.

ἀπὸ . . . ἔχειν: for ἀπέχειν (tnesis).

ἔτειλαν . . . τύρσιν 'follow the road of Zeus to the tower of Kronos' (ἔτειλαν = gnomic aorist). The words have a mystical flavour, but no precise connotations are known. Different ὁδοί or paths appear in descriptions of what happens after death; for example, in Plutarch's quo-

tations from the *Threnos* which contained the passages in frs. 129 and 130, he refers to the way to the place of damnation as the τρίτῃ ὁδῷ (Plut. *De lat. viv.* 7 (1130C–D)); and the words ὁδὸν . . . ἱερὰν 'the holy way' appear at lines 15–16 of the gold leaf from Hipponion (see above, 68–83n.; and B. Feyerabend, 'Zur Wegmetaphorik beim Goldblättchen aus Hipponion und dem Proömium des Parmenides', *Rh.M.* 127 (1984) 1–22). But the 'way of Zeus' is not really understood, and neither is the 'tower of Kronos', though there must surely be a connection with Kronos' kingship on the Island (76–7).

70–4 *Description of the Island of the Blest*

The details are colourful. 'Ocean breezes blow round it [as in the *Odyssey* and in Hesiod; Appendix B]; golden flowers bloom, some on the land from glorious trees, others grow in the water; with garlands of these they wreath their wrists and make crowns for their hair.'

ἐνθα 'there'.

μακάρων | νᾶσον: the μάκαρες were presumably in origin the gods (Capelle 1 247) and this island must originally have been a place for them. But the term came to be used for those who live on the island, who came to include the beatified dead; cf. West on Hesiod, *WD* 171.

νᾶσον: there is one island here, but elsewhere a plurality, as in Hesiod. One manuscript offers the Doric accusative plural νᾶσος; but examples of this feature in Pindar are insecure (A. Morpurgo-Davies, *Glotta* 42 (1964) 152 n. 3; W. F. Wyatt, *T.A.P.A.* 97 (1966) 619 n. 5; most interesting is the possible ἡμενος for ἡμένους at *N.* 10.62).

χρυσοῦ: signifying nearness to the gods and immortality (Introd. 18).

τῶν: relative pronoun.

χέρας ἀναπλέκοντι καὶ στεφάνους: a harsh zeugma; they entwine (ἀναπλέκοντι) their wrists, and they weave (πλέκοντι) crowns.

75–7 *The government of the island*

Rhadamanthys, Cretan and brother of Minos, was a righteous judge, with the exotic aura of foreign royalty. His presence is a central feature of the *Odyssey* passage (Appendix B); cf. Malten, Capelle II 17–27.

Kronos, once ruler of the Golden Age (Hesiod, *WD* 111), ousted from power by his son Zeus, has his place here at the end of the world (in other tales he is in Tartarus far below the earth with the Titans; *Il.*

8.479–81). He is named at Hesiod, *WD* 173a, but in a line which has virtually no MS authority, and whose addition to the Hesiodic passage cannot be dated (see Appendix B).

It is not immediately clear why Kronos is referred to allusively, as ‘husband of Rhea, of her who has the highest throne of all’; but something similar was found at line 12, where Zeus is allusively identified by the names of his parents Kronos and Rhea. F. J. Nisetich, *Pindar and Homer* (Baltimore 1989) 85 n. 15, suggests that Pindar has a stylistic objection to the simple repetition of a proper name; Kronos was previously named in 70, Zeus in 3. One may compare the similar situation with Thetis at *N.* 4.65 μίαν Νηρεΐδων, she having been named at *N.* 4.50.

βουλαῖς ἐν δρθαῖσι ‘under the just decisions’.

πάρεδρον: one who sits beside, as an assistant; cf. *I.* 7.3.

78–83 *The heroes who are to be found on the island*

The tenor of the description brings us back to Pindar’s normal heroic mythology. Kadmos and Peleus, greatest of mortals who ever lived (see 22–30n. above) are firm favourites, as is Achilles, hero particularly of the Aeginetan odes. In *Odyssey* 4 (Appendix B) it was Menelaos who was promised a place, and then not for exceptional merit, but because he was a marriage relation of the gods (which is true of these three also).

ἐν τοῖσιν ‘among them’.

ἀλέγονται ‘are counted’.

ἐπεὶ Ζηνὸς ἤτορ | λιταῖς ἔπεισε: Pindar feels he should give a reason. In *N.* 4.49, Achilles lives on the White Island (Λευκή) in the Black Sea. In the *Odyssey*, he is found with the others in the underworld, dissatisfied with his lot (*Od.* 11.467–540). To justify his presence on the Isle of the Blest, Pindar makes his divine mother act characteristically (as she does in *Iliad* 1), ‘persuading the heart of Zeus by her prayers’.

ὅς Ἑκτορα . . . Αἰθίοπα: the heroic achievements of Achilles: Hektor, Kyknos and Memnon all killed; cf. *I.* 5.39–41 λέγε, τίνες Κύκνον, τίνες Ἑκτορα πέφνον, | καὶ στρατάρχον Αἰθιόπων ἄφοβον | Μέμνονα χαλκοάραν. Hektor was of course the great defender (‘pillar’) of Troy; cf. *Il.* 24.730. The other two were Achilles’ first and last victims. Kyknos son of Poseidon, not to be confused with Kyknos son

of Ares (whom Herakles fought and killed, *O.* 10.15), perished in the fighting at the Greeks’ first landing (Proclus’ summary of the *Cypria*, p. 32 line 70 Davies); Memnon, son of Eos, the goddess of the dawn, was the hero of the *Aithiopsis*, which followed the *Iliad* in the Epic Cycle. σφᾶλε ‘brought low’, with augment omitted.

83–8

Transitional passage from the ‘myth’ back to the direct praise of the victor. As often, Pindar employs an abrupt break-off formula.

83–4 ‘I have many swift arrows in the quiver under my arm.’ These are the different possible methods of praise. The quiver, as the scholia say, is the poet’s mind; the target is Theron. In 89, after obscurely expressed reflections on the nature of his poetic art, he reaches the need to decide where to shoot his arrow. There is the same metaphor in the break-off formula of *I.* 5, πολλὰ μὲν ἄρτιεπής | γλώσσᾳ μοι τοξεύματ’ ἔχει περὶ κείνων (the Aeginetans) | κελადέσαι (*I.* 5.46–8); for the claim by Pindar that he has an *embarras de richesse*, we may compare *O.* 11.7–8, and particularly *I.* 4.1.

ἐντί = εἰσί.

85–6 φωνάεντα συνετοῖσιν · ἐς δὲ τὸ πᾶν ἑρμανέων | χατίζει ‘that have a voice for those who understand; but in general they lack interpreters’. This famous statement has led to much discussion. The first half of what is obviously a contrast is straightforward, the second extremely obscure.

συνετοῖσιν ‘those who understand’, rather than ‘the intelligent’; cf. *N.* 4.31 λόγον ὃ μὴ ξυνιείς. The choice of word, as of ἑρμανέων later, probably arises from mystical terminology associated with the eschatology just finished; cf. *Orphicorum fragmenta* (Kern) 334 αἰσω συνετοῖσι. Pindar is not however at this point presenting Pythagorean or Orphic beliefs; it is merely that his language is coloured by his subject matter.

ἐς δὲ τὸ πᾶν: for the contrast with συνετοῖσιν, readers since ancient times have naturally wished to understand this as ‘for the masses’, the proud Theban poet showing his disdain for the unlettered crowd (Hor. *Odes* 3.1.1 *odi profanum uulgus et arceo*); and there is the tempting parallel of Hamlet’s ‘The play, I remember, pleased not the million; ’twas

caviare to the general' (*Hamlet* II 2.427–9). But recent critics, particularly Perosa 52 n. 1 and Most 306–8, have insisted that this use of τὸ πᾶν is unparalleled; the closest seems to be Thuc. 8.93.3 τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος, where πλῆθος makes all the difference. ἐς τὸ πᾶν is found quite frequently in Aeschylus, meaning either 'altogether' or 'for ever'; and the former is probably the meaning here. We could say 'in general'.

ἐρμάνεων | χατίζει: ἐρμάνεῖς are 'interpreters' (Herodotus, Aeschylus); and, as Most 304 points out, the translation 'they need interpreters' is attractive to commentators because that is precisely the function that they are trying to perform. But, even allowing that the choice of the word ἐρμάνεῖς may have arisen from the mystical ambience of the fourth triad, what ἐρμάνεῖς could Pindar conceivably have been envisaging? He lived before commentaries. And to those who say that he means himself, we might answer that he does not try over-hard to explain. It is better, with Verdenius (*Mnem.* 42 (1989) 79–82), to translate χατίζει as 'lack', rather than 'need'. The secrets of Pindaric composition are not generally understood. His arrows speak to those with understanding, but there is no overall appreciation of his poetry. This means that we are back with the masses, but not as a translation of τὸ πᾶν; rather, the common people come in as the reverse of the συνετοί; for, as he says elsewhere, the general run of people has a blind heart (*N.* 7.23–4 τυφλὸν δ' ἔχει | ἦτορ ὁμιλος ἀνδρῶν ὁ πλεῖστος).

86–8 'Wise is the man who understands many things intuitively; but those who have learned, undisciplined in their flow of words, chatter ineffectively like a pair of crows against the divine bird of Zeus.' The essential gnomic point, familiar from other passages of Pindar, is of the superiority of natural ability to acquired learning (Introd. 15). There is thus no problem in the first seven words here, σοφὸς ὁ πολλὰ εἰδὼς φυᾷ μαθόντες δέ, especially as we are already familiar with the use of σοφός for the poet (*O.* 11.10). Nor is the contrast between eagles and low-flying birds a difficult image. The notorious difficulty lies in the dual γάρυετον.

This passage has been subjected to an immense amount of discussion; after which, only two possibilities now need to be taken into consideration – either that the poetasters who have had to learn their art are two, or that the crows are. (The supposed third person plural

imperative γάρυετων 'let them sing', proposed by Bergk (who however had not claimed it as a plural, but as dual imperative) has been favoured by Teubner editors since the nineteenth century; it has been called into question many times (the normal form would be γαρύοντων), initially by Jebb in his *Bacchylides* (Cambridge 1905) p. 17 n. 1, and no recent commentator supports it. There is a full discussion by G. M. Kirkwood in *C.Q.* 31 (1981) 240–3.)

The scholia assume that Pindar is making a hit at certain poetic rivals; and, if a pair of rivals is in question, who (they suggest) more likely than the Cean uncle and nephew, Simonides and Bacchylides, who competed with Pindar for the favour of the Sicilian tyrants? Many scholars are still prepared to accept this explanation, and they can point to phrases in Bacchylides, particularly Bacch. 3.85 φρονέοντι συνετὰ γάρυω, which can be interpreted as reflections of Pindar's supposed attack (cf. Jebb, *Bacchylides* 15–22 (still a very judicious treatment of the whole passage), B. Gentili, *Bacchilide, Studi* (Urbino 1958) 24–8, J. Carrière, *Pallas* 11 (1962) 42–4, van Leeuwen *ad loc.*).

Recent scholarship, however, since Bundy, has in general set its face against references in the odes to Pindar's personal concerns; and that Pindar should have used this sublime poem for an attack on Bacchylides and his uncle has been thought undignified and unlikely. The view has been growing that the pair referred to in the dual is merely a couple of birds, set against the single eagle, with no implication of two particular rival poets. There is evidence from the ancient world that crows (or ravens or jackdaws; the species are not carefully distinguished) were thought of as appearing in pairs; the Alexandrian poet Aratus indeed uses dual participles for these birds at *Phaen.* 968 κόρακες . . . κρώξαντε and 1023 ὄψε βοῶντε κολοιοί. And we may recall the old Scottish ballad 'The twa corbies'. As the language is here like that of an animal fable (cf. *O.* 11.19–20), we may not find it difficult to imagine a pair of crows screeching at the eagle. It is true that the subject of γάρυετον is μαθόντες, referring to humans, and γάρυω itself is used of the human voice, not of bird cries (Pavese 48); but we may allow Pindar this amount of interaction between the 'vehicle' and the 'tenor' of his simile (Kirkwood (*op. cit.* above) 243; for the terms, see M. S. Silk, *Interaction in poetic imagery* (Cambridge 1974)). For this interpretation, see also M. Lefkowitz in *H.S.C.P.* 73 (1969) 55 n. 13, Lloyd-Jones in *Entr. Hardt* 31 (1985) 258, Köhnken, *ibid.* 281.

φυᾶι: cf. O. 9.100–2 τὸ δὲ φυᾶι κράτιστον ἅπαν· πολλοὶ δὲ διδασκαῖς | ἀνθρώπων ἀρεταῖς κλέος | ὥρουναν ἀρέσθαι.

ἄκραντα: neuter plural, ‘things unfulfilled’.

ἄκραντα γαρύετον: it is remotely possible that this unusual expression is a play on the sound of Ἀκράγαντα (an idea suggested in discussion by Dr Daniel Ogden). Pindar plays with the sound and meaning of Hieron in fr. 105, of Sogenes in the invocation of Eleithyia at the beginning of N. 7, and perhaps even of Theron (θηρῶν ‘hunter’) in the word ἀγροτέρων at line 54 of this ode.

γαρύετον: third person dual, present tense; for discussion, see above.

Διὸς πρὸς ὄρνια θεῖον: Pindar, with proud self-consciousness, habitually refers to himself as an eagle. This is because that bird is not earth-bound, but can soar at will into the sky, which is of course why it is the bird of Zeus. The image is very clear also at N. 3.80–2 ἔστι δ’ αἰετὸς ὥκυσ ἐν ποτανοῖς, | ὃς ἔλαβεν αἶψα, τηλόθε μεταμαιόμενος, δαφοινὸν ἄγραν ποσίν· | κραγέται δὲ κολοιοὶ ταπεινὰ νέμονται ‘The eagle is swift among birds; swooping from afar, it instantaneously snatches the tawny prey in its claws; cawing jackdaws occupy the lower regions.’ Cf. also N. 5.21.

89–95

The expected eulogy of Theron.

89–91 The metaphor of shooting at a target with a choice of many arrows (83–4) is picked up again. Pindar asks what target he is to choose, and replies that the Akragas direction is indicated.

ἄγε θυμέ ‘come on, my heart’.

βάλλομεν: a present with immediate future meaning, as at Il. 4.55–6 εἴ περ γὰρ φθονέω τε καὶ οὐκ εἰώ διαπέρσαι, | οὐκ ἀνύω φθονέουσ’.

ἐκ μαλθακάς . . . φρενός ‘from a gentle mind’, i.e. ‘with friendly intent’, in contrast to the usual mental attitude when shooting. For the φρήν as the immediate source of his poetry, cf. N. 4.8, O. 7.8.

αὐτε ‘this time’, he has shot his arrows for others in the past; cf. O. 7.11.

εὐκλέας δίστους: the arrows bring fame.

λέντες: the verb ἵημι is regular for shooting or throwing in the *Iliad*.

τανύσαις = τανύσας, ‘aiming’.

92–5 Here comes the arrow! He makes a statement on oath.

αὐδάσομαι: encomiastic future (Introd. 22).

μή τιν’: μή because this is an oath, cf. O. 11.17n. τινά is to be taken with ἄνδρα, rather than with πόλιν, the point being that there has been no man in a hundred years rather than no city; cf. O. 1.103–4 πέποιθα δὲ ξένον | μή τιν’ . . .

ἑκατόν γε ἑτέων: Akragas was founded from Gela about 580 BC (Thuc. 6.4.4, T. J. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks* (Oxford 1948) 310), and so has in fact been in existence for just over a hundred years. The genitive is of time ‘within which’.

φίλοις ‘to his friends’; not to be taken with πρᾶπσις, which is feminine.

εὐεργέταν ‘a benefactor’; cf. Hampe 46–52. That Theron was popularly seen as a εὐεργέτης is shown by the heroic honours accorded to him after his death, as they were also to Gelon and Hieron (Diodorus 11.53.2; cf. 38.5, 66.4).

ἀφθονέστερον: for the irregular form, cf. 62 ἀπρονέστερον.

χέρα: accusative of respect; tr. ‘in his generosity’.

Θήρωνος: strikingly placed as first word of the final stanza.

95–8

Eulogy must not go on too long or it becomes counter-productive, and merely annoys the listeners; cf. N. 10.20 ἔστι δὲ καὶ κόρος ἀνθρώπων βαρὺς ἀντιάσαι, P. 1.81–4, P. 8.29–32, N. 7.52–3, Introd. 18. The commonplace is expressed in difficult language, as so often, and the text is not secure. One thing, however, should be understood: expressed caution about excessive praise is itself another way of praising (Bundy II 40–1). So this is little more than ‘foil’ (Bundy’s term); and Pindar proceeds to the end of the ode with unqualified laudation.

‘But disapproval overtakes praise, not meeting it fairly, but coming from ill-disciplined men; it has a wish to place irrelevant chatter as a block on the memory of the noble deeds of the good.’ The awkwardness of the expression comes from the personification of κόρος, and the rare verbal noun κρυφός. There is some parallel with the description of the second-rate poets in 86–7, who are λάβροι παγγλωσσῖαι; here the κόρος, coming from μάργοι ἄνδρες, shows itself in idle chatter (τὸ λαλαγήσαι).

αἶνον = ἔπαινον 'praise'.

ἐπέβα: gnomic aorist.

κόρος: dissatisfaction arising from having too much of a thing; cf. I. 3.2.

μάργων ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν: as if κόρος is a passive concept, which in a sense it is.

τὸ λαλαγήσαι: this is the chattering and muttering of disaffected listeners; cf. P. 11.28 κακολόγοι δὲ πολῖται, P. 1.84.

κρυφόν 'secrecy', a rare verbal noun, like O. 7.61 ἀμπαλον. Pavese 49–50 thinks the image is either from the occultation of a star (so Aristarchus) or from a prison (*nascondiglio, oubliette*).

τιθέμεν: it is virtually impossible to accept the MSS reading τε θέμεν, which requires θέλων to govern two infinitives, one with the article and one without.

98–100

The anticlimactic ending is formed by a paratactic simile (cf. N. 4.82–4): 'The grains of sand are beyond counting; and who could enumerate the benefits which that man has conferred on others?'

100 τίς ἂν φράσαι δύναιτο: a sublimely quiet question ends this magnificent poem, balancing the trumpeting questions (τίνα θεόν, τίν' ἥρωα, τίνα δ' ἄνδρα) with which it began.

APPENDIX A

Homer, Iliad 2.653–70

This is the entry of the contingent from Rhodes in the Catalogue of Ships in the second book of the *Iliad*. It is quoted here as the main source of O. 7.27–34.

Τληπόλεμος δ' Ἡρακλείδης ἡὺς τε μέγας τε
 ἐκ Ῥόδου ἐννέα νῆας ἄγεν Ῥοδίων ἀγερώχων,
 οἱ Ῥόδον ἀμφενέμοντο διὰ τρίχα κοσμηθέντες, 655
 Λίνδον Ἰηλυσόν τε καὶ ἀργινόνετα Κάμειρον.
 τῶν μὲν Τληπόλεμος δουρικλυτὸς ἡγεμόνευεν,
 ὃν τέκεν Ἀστυόχεια βίηι Ἡρακλείῃ
 τήν ἄγετ' ἐξ Ἐφύρης ποταμοῦ ἄπο Σελλήεντος, 660
 πέρσας ἄστεα πολλὰ διοτρεφῶν αἰζηῶν.
 Τληπόλεμος δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν τράφ' ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ εὐπτήκτῳ,
 αὐτίκα πατὴρ ἐοῖο φίλον μήτρωα κατέκτα
 ἤδη γηράσκοντα Λικύμνιον ὄζον Ἄρης·
 αἶψα δὲ νῆας ἔπηξε, πολὺν δ' ὁ γε λαὸν ἀγείρας 665
 βῆ φεύγων ἐπὶ πόντον· ἀπείλησαν γάρ οἱ ἄλλοι
 υἷες υἰωνοὶ τε βίης Ἡρακλείδης.
 αὐτὰρ ὁ γ' ἐς Ῥόδον ἴξεν ἀλώμενος, ἄλγεα πάσχων·
 τριχθὰ δὲ ὠικηθεν καταφυλαδόν, ἥδ' ἐφίληθεν
 ἐκ Διός, ὃς τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισιν ἀνάσσει.
 καὶ σφιν θεσπέσιον πλοῦτον κατέχευε Κρονίων. 670

Herakles' son Tlepolemos the huge and mighty
 led from Rhodes nine ships with the proud men of Rhodes aboard
 them,

those who dwelt about Rhodes and were ordered in triple division, 655
 Ialysos and Lindos and silver-shining Kameiros.

Of all these Tlepolemos the spear-famed was leader,
 he whom Astyocheia bore to the strength of Herakles.

Herakles brought her from Ephyra and the river Selleëis

after he sacked many cities of strong, god-supported fighters. 660

Now when Tlepolemos was grown in the strong-built mansion,
 he struck to death his own father's beloved uncle,
 Likymnios, scion of Ares, a man already aging.

At once he put ships together and assembled a host of people
and went fugitive over the sea, since the others threatened,
the rest of the sons and grandsons of the strength of Herakles.
And he came to Rhodes a wanderer, a man of misfortune,
and they settled there in triple division by tribes, beloved
of Zeus himself, who is lord over all gods and all men,
Kronos' son, who showered the wonder of wealth upon them.
(Trans. R. Lattimore)

665

670

Note

655, 668: for the triple division of the Rhodians, cf. A. Momigliano in *Riv. di Fil.* 64 (1936) 61–2. It is referred to twice. The former reference, like that at *O.* 7.75, is clearly not tribal, but refers to the three cities named in the next line. In 668, however, the words *τριχθὰ δὲ ὠικηθεν καταφυλαδόν* do suggest the characteristic Dorian division into three tribes, the Hylloi, Dymanes and Pamphiloι. It is a notable fact that the only references or allusions to Dorians in the Homeric poems are in connection with the islands to the south-east, which were indeed Dorian in classical times: Dorians are uniquely named as one of the nations inhabiting Crete at *Od.* 19.177 (where they are given the epithet *τριχάϊκες*), and children of Herakles are ruling on Rhodes here and on Cos and other islands at *Il.* 2.679.

APPENDIX B

Passages relating to the afterlife, for comparison with *O.* 2.56–83.

1. *Homer, Odyssey 4.561–9*

This is a prophecy given by Proteus, the old man of the sea, to Menelaos, and quoted by him to Telemachos.

σοὶ δ' οὐ θέσφατόν ἐστι, διοτρεφὲς ὦ Μενέλαε,
Ἄργει ἐν ἵπποβότῳ θανέειν καὶ πότμον ἐπισπεῖν,
ἀλλὰ σ' ἐς Ἥλύσιον πεδίον καὶ πείρατα γαίης
ἀθάνατοι πέμπουσιν, ὅθι ξανθὸς Ῥαδάμανθυς,
τῇ περ ῥήϊστη βιοτὴ πέλει ἀνθρώποισιν·
οὐ νιφετός, οὐτ' ἄρ χειμῶν πολὺς οὔτε ποτ' ὄμβρος,
ἀλλ' αἰεὶ Ζεφύροιο λιγὺ πνείοντος ἀήτας
ᾧ κεανὸς ἀνῆσιν ἀναψύχειν ἀνθρώπους,
οὐνεκ' ἔχεις Ἑλένην καὶ σφιν γαμβρὸς Διὸς ἐσσι.

365

It is not however decreed for you, god-nurtured Menelaos, to die and meet your fate in horse-rearing Argos; but the immortals will send you to the Elysian plain and the ends of the earth, where is fair-haired Rhadamanthys, where life is easiest for men; there is no snow, no great storm, nor ever rain, but always the Ocean sends the breezes of the shrill blowing west wind to refresh the people, because you are Helen's husband, and they see you as son-in-law of Zeus.

2. *Hesiod, Works and days 166–73a*

The final home of the fourth age of men (after the Golden, Silver and Bronze ages), the heroes who fought at Troy and Thebes:

ἐνθ' ἣ τοι τοὺς μὲν θανάτου τέλος ἀμφεκάλυπεν·
τοῖς δὲ δίχ' ἀνθρώπων βίον καὶ ἦθε' ὀπάσσας
Ζεὺς Κρονίδης κατένασσε πατὴρ ἐν πείρασι γαίης·
καὶ τοὶ μὲν ναίουσιν ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες
ἐν μακάρων νήσοισι παρ' ᾧ κεανὸν βαθυδίνην,
ὄλβιοι ἥρωες, τοῖσιν μελιτῆδέα καρπὸν
τρὶς ἔτεος θάλλοντα φέρει ζεῖδωρος ἄρουρα
[τῆλοῦ ἀπ' ἀθανάτων· τοῖσιν Κρόνος ἐμβασιλεύει].

168

170

173a

Then the end, which is death, covered them over. And Zeus the father, son of Kronos, gave them a place to live apart from humankind, and established them at the ends of the earth. And they live there with hearts free of care on the Islands of the Blest by the deep waters of Ocean, blessed heroes, for whom the fertile soil bears honey-sweet fruit, cropping three times in the year [far from the gods, and Kronos is their king].

Note

173a: this line was at one time accepted in the text as line 169. But it occurs in no early manuscript, and was known only from the scholia, where it is described as spurious. However, it has been found, with some additional lines, after 173 in one papyrus (Π³⁸), and probably occurred, though now lost, at that place in another (Π⁸), though not in a third (Π⁴³). It is difficult to guess when it may have been associated with the Hesiodic description; some scholars (e.g. Hampe 57) think that its addition may have been earlier than Pindar.

3. *Pindar, frs. 129, 130*

Fragments of a *Threnos* quoted by Plutarch on two occasions include a description of meadows outside a city where the righteous have an enjoyable existence, followed by a statement that 'the third way' leads to a hell for the wicked.

Plutarch, *Consolatio ad Apollonium* 35 (120c):

λέγεται δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ μελικοῦ Πινδάρου ταυτὶ περὶ τῶν εὐσεβῶν ἐν Ἄιδου·

[fr. 129] τοῖσι λάμπει μὲν μένος αἰλίου
τὰν ἐνθάδε νύκτα κάτω·
φοινικορόδοις δ' ἐνὶ λειμώνεσσι προάστιον αὐτῶν
καὶ λιβάνωι σκιαρᾷ
καὶ χρυσοκάρποισιν βέβριθε δενδρέοις.
καὶ τοὶ μὲν ἵπποις γυμνασίοις τε, τοὶ δὲ πεσσοῖς,
τοὶ δὲ φορμίγγεσσι τέρπονται, παρὰ δὲ σφισιν
εὐανθῆς ἀπας τέθαλεν ὄλβος·
ὁδμὰ δ' ἐρατὸν κατὰ χῶρον κίδναται
αἰεὶ θύματα μειγνύντων πυρὶ τηλεφανεῖ
παντοῖα θεῶν ἐπὶ βωμοῖς.

5

10

The first three lines, (to λειμώνεσσι) are quoted also in Plutarch, *De latenter vivendo* 7 (1130c), which, after further description, continues:

ἡ δὲ τρίτη τῶν ἀνοσίως βεβιωκότων καὶ παρανόμων ὁδὸς ἐστίν,
εἰς ἔρεβός τι καὶ βάραθρον ὠθοῦσα τὰς ψυχάς,

[fr. 130] ἐνθεν τὸν ἀπειρον ἐρεύγονται σκότον
βληχροὶ δνοφερᾶς νυκτὸς ποταμοί.

(For the text, see Maehler pp. 118–19, Cannatà Fera, pp. 89–90. The metre is dactylo-epitrite. A papyrus fragment (Π³² = *Pap. Oxy.* 2447, fr. 38) has letters from the middle of lines 7–8, and continues with some letters from five more lines. It omitted line 10.)

The following is said by the lyric poet Pindar about the righteous in Hades:

[fr. 129] 'For them the might of the sun shines down below during our night; and in meadows with purple roses the outskirts of their city are thick with shady incense trees and trees with golden fruit. And some enjoy themselves with riding and gymnastics, others with board games, others with stringed instruments. Among them every happiness flowers and blooms. A fragrance spreads over that lovely land, as they continually burn offerings of every kind in blazing fire on the altars of the gods.'

* * * * *

But the third way is that of those who have lived impiously and lawlessly, forcing their souls to hell and the pit:

[fr. 130] 'From where sluggish rivers of black night belch forth their limitless gloom.'

Note

The most obvious question raised by these fragments as presented by Plutarch is, what was the πρώτη ὁδός? For the picture in fr. 129 was presumably the 'second way', the road to hell being the third.

Wilamowitz 497–500, in a brilliant discussion, argued that the three ὁδοὶ correspond with the three future states in the Second Olympian, and that therefore the πρώτη ὁδός was that taken by saints and demi-gods who go to eternal life (in *O.* 2, the Isle of the Blest); he suggested that this was also the 'way of Zeus' (Διὸς ὁδόν *O.* 2.70). Basing his

argument on Varro, *Sat. Menipp.* fr. 560, he defined it as the route taken by Herakles when he became a god (cf. *I.* 4.55). The quotation from Varro (in Serv. Auct. *ad Verg. Georg.* 1.34, and see F. Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles*, vii Herakleides Pontikos, fr. 94) runs as follows: *Varro tamen ait se legisse Empedotimo cuidam Syracusano a quadam potestate diuina mortalem aspectum detersum, eumque inter cetera tres portas uidisse tresque uias: unam ad signum scorpionis, qua Hercules ad deos isse diceretur; alteram per limitem qui est inter leonem et cancrum; tertiam esse inter aquarium et pisces* 'Varro however says that he has read that a certain Empedotimus of Syracuse had his human sight wiped clean by some supernatural power, and that he saw (among other things) three gates and three "ways": one towards the sign of the scorpion by which Hercules was said to have journeyed to the gods; a second through the corridor between the lion and the crab; the third between Aquarius and Pisces.'

The Teubner editors Snell and Maehler follow Wilamowitz, putting at the head of fr. 129 the words *'tres sunt animarum post mortem viae: una qua Hercules ad deos peruenit (?) , altera quae ducit ad εὐσεβῶν χῶρον'*, 'There are three paths for souls after death: one by which Hercules made his way to the gods (?), a second which leads to the place of the righteous.' One would hardly guess from the bracketed question mark how speculative this is.

E. Reiner, *Die rituelle Totenklage der Griechen* (Stuttgart-Berlin 1938) 85, took a different view, that the first way was to the undifferentiated continued existence of the mass of the dead, as in *Od.* 11, who had been neither very righteous nor very wicked, while fr. 129 describes the place of certain initiates (εὐσεβεῖς); this view was accepted by Solmsen 505-6. Cannata Fera 171-2 thinks rather that all the dead initially follow the same path, which is the πρώτη δδός, which divides into two ways at a τρίδος in the underworld at the place of judgement, as described by Plato at *Gorg.* 524A: οὗτοι οὖν [sc. Minos, Rhadamanthys, Aiaikos] ἐπειδὴν τελευτήσωσι, δικάσουσιν ἐν τῷ λειμῶνι, ἐν τῇι τρίδῳ ἐξ ἧς φέρετον τῷ ὁδῷ, ἡ μὲν εἰς μακάρων νήσους, ἡ δ' εἰς Τάρταρον, 'These, then, when they have died, will judge in the meadow, at the fork in the road from which go two ways, the one to the Isles of the Blest, the other to Tartarus' (cf. also Virgil, *Aen.* 6.540-3).

This last is attractive, but ἡ πρώτη δδός is perhaps not a natural description of one of the branches of a single road which has bifurcated. Thus the choice lies between Wilamowitz (or some modification of his view) and Reiner.

4. Pindar, fr. 133

These lines are quoted by Plato in *Meno* 81B-C, as evidence for the view of poets such as Pindar that the soul of man is immortal and later reborn in a new body. This is consistent with *O.* 2.68-70, except that the nine-year period seems very brief.

οἷσι δὲ Φερσεφόνα ποινὰν παλαιοῦ πένθεος
δέξεται, ἐς τὸν ὑπερθεὺς ἄλιον κείνων ἐνάτῳ ἔτει
ἀνδιδόῃ ψυχὰς πάλιν· ἐκ τῶν βασιλῆες ἀγαυοί
καὶ σθένει κραιπνοὶ σοφίαι τε μέγιστοι
ἄνδρες αὖξουσ'· ἐς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἥρωες ἀγνοὶ
πρὸς ἀνθρώπων καλέονται.

5

(For the text, see R. S. Bluck, *Plato's Meno* (Cambridge 1961) 167, 277-86, Maehler p. 119. The metre is dactylo-epitrite.)

But those from whom Persephone accepts the penalty for an ancient grief – she sends back their souls to the sun up above in the ninth year; from them grow noble kings and men swift in strength and outstanding in wisdom, and for the rest of time they are called holy heroes by mankind.

Notes

For the content, cf. Empedocles, fr. 146 εἰς δὲ τέλος μάντιες τε καὶ ὕμνοπόλοι καὶ ἰητροί | καὶ πρόμοι ἀνθρώποισιν ἐπιχθονίοισι πέλονται, | ἐνθεν ἀναβλαστοῦσι θεοὶ τιμῆσι φέριστοι 'Finally they become prophets and poets and healers and rulers for men upon the earth, and from them (?) arise gods mightiest in honour.'

1 ποινὰν παλαιοῦ πένθεος: one would dearly like to know the implication of this splendid phrase, 'the penalty for an ancient grief'. Is it *her* grief? And, if she accepts the penalty from some, presumably there are others who are not so fortunate. As with the implied πρώτη δδός in fr. 129, three interpretations have been offered. Rohde II 208 n. 2 (= English version 442 n. 34) envisaged Persephone as grieving for men's wickedness, a concept which others have criticised as too close to Christianity. Others (e.g. Dieterich 109-11, Pavese, *Q.U.C.C.* 20 (1975) 81) think the grief is rather that of the sinners, i.e. a sense of guilt. This is the likeliest explanation, and may be how Virgil understood the words: *Aen.* 6.739-40 *ueterumque malorum | supplicia expendunt*.

The third explanation is more esoteric. H. J. Rose, in *Greek poetry and*

life (Essays presented to Gilbert Murray, Oxford 1936) 79–96, repeated a view first put forward by P. Tannery in *R.Ph.* 23 (1899) 129, that the grief of Persephone was for her son Dionysos/Zagreus, killed and eaten by the Titans, who were then destroyed by Zeus with a thunderbolt, and from their ashes humans were born. This is believed to have been Orphic doctrine (cf. *Orphicorum fragmenta* (Kern) 210), and makes mankind partly responsible for the death of Dionysos, thus introducing an idea akin to original sin. It has been particularly attractive to mythologists and historians of religion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. EDITIONS

- Bergk, T. *Pindari carmina*⁴ (Leipzig 1878)
 Boeckh, A. *Pindari opera* (3 vols., Leipzig 1811–21)
 Bowra, C. M. *Pindari carmina*² (Oxford 1947)
 Cannatà Fera, M. *Pindarus, Threnorum fragmenta* (Rome 1990)
 Christ, W. *Pindari carmina* (Leipzig 1896)
 Drachmann, A. B. *Scholia vetera in Pindari carmina* (3 vols., Leipzig 1903–27)
 Fernández-Galiano, M. *Pindaro, Olimpicas*² (Madrid 1956)
 Gildersleeve, B. L. *Pindar, the Olympian and Pythian odes*² (New York 1890)
 Lehnus, L. *Pindaro, Olimpiche* (Milan 1981)
 Maehler, H. *Pindarus, II Fragmenta* (Leipzig 1989)
 Mommsen, T. *Pindari carmina* (Berlin 1864)
 Privitera, A. *Pindaro, le Istmiche* (Milan 1982)
 Schroeder, O. *Pindari carmina*² (Leipzig 1923)
 Snell, B. and Maehler, H. *Pindarus, I Epinicia*⁸ (Leipzig 1987), II *Fragmenta*⁴ (Leipzig 1975)
 Thummer, E. *Pindar, die Isthmischen Gedichte* (2 vols., Heidelberg 1968–9)
 Turyn, A. *Pindari carmina*² (Oxford 1952)

2. OTHER WORKS

- Bernadini, P. A. *Mito e attualità nelle odi di Pindaro: la Nemea 4, l'Olimpica 9, l'Olimpica 7* (Rome 1983)
 Bollack, J. 'L'or des rois: le mythe dans la deuxième Olympique', *R.Ph.* 37 (1963) 234–53
 Bowra, C. M. *Pindar* (Oxford 1964)
 Braswell, B. K. 'Notes on the prooemium of Pindar's seventh Olympian ode', *Mnemosyne* 29 (1976) 233–42
 Bundy, E. L. *Studia Pindarica*, I *The Eleventh Olympian Ode*, II *The First Isthmian Ode* (University of California Publications in Classical Philology, vol. 18, 1 and 2, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1962)

- Burkert, W. *Lore and science in ancient Pythagoreanism* (Harvard 1972)
- Cantilena, M. 'Due studi sulla VII Olimpica di Pindaro: 1. Quando cadde la pioggia d'oro', *Prometheus* 13 (1987) 209–16, '2. I significati della pioggia d'oro', *ibid.* 16 (1990) 111–35
- Capelle, P. 'Elysium und Inseln der Seligen', I *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 25 (1927) 245–64, II *ibid.* 26 (1928) 17–40
- Carey, C. *A commentary on five odes of Pindar* (New Hampshire 1981)
- 'The performance of the victory ode', *A.J.P.* 110 (1989) 545–65
- 'The victory ode in performance: the case for the chorus', *C.Ph.* 86 (1991) 192–200
- Carlisky de Pozzi, D. 'Sobre la Olímpica II', *Anales de Filología Clásica* 9 (1964–5) 5–21
- Croiset, A. *La Poésie de Pindare et les lois du lyrisme grec* (Paris 1880)
- Davies, M. *Epicorum Graecorum fragmenta* (Göttingen 1988)
- 'Monody, choral lyric, and the tyranny of the handbook', *C.Q.* 38 (1988) 52–64
- Denniston, J. D. *The Greek particles*² (Oxford 1954)
- Des Places, E. *Le Pronom chez Pindare* (Paris 1947)
- Diels, H. and Kranz, W. *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*⁸ (3 vols., Berlin 1951–2)
- Dieterich, A. *Nekyia*² (Leipzig 1913)
- Dornseiff, F. *Pindars Stil* (Berlin 1921)
- Fitzgerald, W. 'Pindar's Second Olympian', *Helios* 10 (1983) 49–70
- Gardiner, E. N. *Greek athletic sports and festivals* (London 1910)
- Gerber D. E. *A bibliography of Pindar 1513–1966* (Cleveland 1969)
- Emendations in Pindar 1513–1972* (Amsterdam 1976)
- 'Pindar and Bacchylides 1934–1987', I *Lustrum* 31 (1989) 97–269, II *Lustrum* 32 (1990) 7–98
- Gianotti, G. F. 'Sull'Olimpica seconda di Pindaro', *Riv. di Fil.* 99 (1971) 26–52
- Hamilton, R. *Epinikion* (The Hague 1974)
- Hampe, R. 'Zur Eschatologie in Pindars zweite Olympischen Ode', in *Hermeneia* (Festschrift O. Regenbogen, Heidelberg 1952) 46–65
- Heath, M. 'Receiving the κῶμος: the context and performance of epinician', *A.J.P.* 109 (1988) 180–95
- Heath, M. and Lefkowitz, M. 'Epinician performance', *C.Ph.* 86 (1991) 173–91
- Irigoin, J. *Histoire du texte de Pindare* (Paris 1952)
- Kirkwood, G. M. *Selections from Pindar* (California 1982)

- Köhnken, A. *Die Funktion des Mythos bei Pindar* (Berlin 1971)
- Koniaris, G. I. 'On Pindar's Olympian II: ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥΣ, and much more', *Hellenika* 39 (1988) 237–69
- Krummen, E. *Pyrros hymnon* (Berlin 1990)
- Kühner, R. and Gerth, B. *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache, II Satzlehre*³ (2 vols., Hanover 1898–1904)
- Kullmann, W. *Die Quellen der Ilias* (Wiesbaden 1960)
- van Leeuwen, J. *Pindarus' tweede Olympische ode* (2 vols., Assen 1964)
- Lefkowitz, M. 'ΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΕΓΩ: the first person in Pindar', *H.S.C.P.* 67 (1963) 177–253
- 'Who sang Pindar's victory odes?', *A.J.P.* 109 (1988) 1–11
- Lloyd-Jones, H. 'Pindar and the afterlife', *Entretiens Hardt* 31 (1985) 245–83
- Long, H. S. *A study of the doctrine of metempsychosis in Greece from Pythagoras to Plato* (Princeton 1948)
- LSJ = *A Greek-English lexicon*, eds. H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, H. Stuart Jones, R. Mackenzie (9th edn, Oxford 1940, with supplement 1968)
- Machler, H. *Die Lieder des Bakchylides*, I *Die Siegeslieder* (2 vols., Leiden 1982)
- Malten, L. 'Elysium und Rhadamanthys', *Jahrb. des deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 28 (1913) 35–51
- McGibbon, D. 'Metempsychosis in Pindar', *Phronesis* 9 (1964) 5–11
- Merkelbach, R. and West, M. L. *Fragmenta Hesiodica* (Oxford 1967)
- Miller, A. M. 'Pindaric mimesis: the associative mode', *C.J.* 89 (1993) 21–53
- Most, G. W. 'Pindar, O. 2.83–90', *C.Q.* 36 (1986) 304–16
- Nisetich, F. J. 'Immortality in Akragas', *C.Ph.* 83 (1988) 1–19
- Norwood, G. *Pindar* (California 1945)
- Pavese, C. O. 'Pindarica II', *EIKASMOS* 1 (1990) 37–82
- Péron, J. *Les Images maritimes de Pindare* (Paris 1974)
- Perosa, A. 'La seconda ode Olimpica di Pindaro', *S.I.F.C.* 18 (1941) 25–53
- Poliakoff, M. B. *Combat sports in the ancient world* (New Haven 1987)
- Pouilloux, J. 'Callianax, gendre de Diagoras de Rhodes', *Rev. de Phil.* 44 (1970) 206–14
- Race, W. H. *Pindar* (Boston 1986)
- Style and rhetoric in Pindar's odes* (Atlanta 1990)
- RE = *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, eds.

- G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, K. Mittelhaus and K. Ziegler (Stuttgart 1893–1980)
- Rohde, E. *Psyche: Seelenkult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen* (10th edn, Tübingen 1925); English version from the 8th edn: *Psyche: the cult of souls and belief in immortality among the Greeks*, tr. W. B. Hillis (London 1925)
- Schachter, A. *Cults of Boeotia, B.I.C.S. Suppl.* 38.1 (London 1981), 38.2 (London 1986)
- Schadewaldt, W. *Der Aufbau des pindarischen Epinikion* (Halle 1928)
- Slater, W. J. *Lexicon to Pindar* (Berlin 1969)
- Smith, O. 'An interpretation of Pindar's Seventh Olympian ode', *Class. et Med.* 28 (1967) 172–85
- Solmsen, F. 'Two Pindaric passages on the hereafter', *Hermes* 96 (1968) 503–6
- Thumb, A. and Scherer, A. *Handbuch des griechischen Dialekte II* (Heidelberg 1959)
- Verdenius, W. J. *Commentaries on Pindar, 1 Olympian odes 3, 7, 12, 14, Mnem. Suppl.* 97 (Leiden 1987)
- West, M. L. *Greek metre* (Oxford 1982)
- Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U. von *Pindaros* (Berlin 1922)
- Williams, F. L. *A critical edition of Nemean odes 1–4 of Pindar* (Ann Arbor 1982)
- Young, D. C. *Three odes of Pindar: a literary study of Pythian 11, Pythian 3, and Olympian 7, Mnem. Suppl.* 9 (Leiden 1968)
- Pindar, Isthmian 7, myth and exempla, Mnem. Suppl.* 15 (Leiden 1971)
- Zuntz, G. *Persephone* (Oxford 1971)

INDEXES

I General

- Achilleus, *N.* 4.49, *O.* 2.79
- Adrastos, *I.* 7.10, *I.* 4.26, *O.* 2.45
- Aegina, pp. 10, 91–3, *N.* 4.22, 46, *O.* 7.86
- Aiakidai, p. 92, *N.* 4.11, 71–2
- Aias, *I.* 4.35b, *N.* 4.48
- Aigeidai, *I.* 7.15, *O.* 2.38–42n.
- Akastos, *N.* 4.57
- Akragas, pp. 134–5, *O.* 2.6, 91
- Alkmene, *O.* 7.27
- Alkyoneus, *N.* 4.27
- Amphiaraos, *I.* 7.33
- Amphitryon, *I.* 7.6, *N.* 4.20
- Amyklai, *I.* 7.14
- Amyntor, *O.* 7.23
- Antaios, *I.* 4.52
- Aphrodite, *O.* 7.14
- Apollo, *I.* 7.49
- Arcadia, *O.* 7.83
- Ares, *I.* 7.25, *I.* 4.15
- Argos, *I.* 7.11, *O.* 7.83
- Aristarchus, pp. 26, 28, *O.* 2.57–60n., 95–8n.
- Aristophanes of Byzantium, pp. 3, 25, 26
- Athene, *O.* 7.36, 43, 51, *O.* 2.26
- Athens, pp. 2, 3, *I.* 4.25, *N.* 4.19, *O.* 7.82
- Bacchylides, pp. 1, 11, 12, 140, *I.* 4.1–3n., *O.* 2.86–8n.
- Bellerophon, *I.* 7.46
- blood-guilt, *O.* 7.20–1n.
- Boeotia, *O.* 7.85
- boxing, p. 8, *O.* 11.12, *O.* 7.16, 89
- break-off formula, p. 14, *N.* 4.33–43n., 69–72n., *O.* 2.83–8n.
- Bundy, E. L., pp. 19, 21, 22, 55, *O.* 2.53–6n., 86–8n., 95–8n.
- chariot race, p. 7, *I.* 4.14, 25, 28–9, *I.* 3.13, *O.* 2.5, 50
- Cheiron, *N.* 4.60
- Corinth, *I.* 4.20, *N.* 4.88
- Cyprus, *N.* 4.46
- Daidalos, *N.* 4.59
- Demeter, *I.* 7.4
- Didymus, p. 28, *O.* 2.46–7n., 57–60n.
- Digamma, p. 24
- Dionysos, *I.* 7.5
- Dodona, *N.* 4.53
- Elektra gate of Thebes, *I.* 4.61
- Elysium, *O.* 2.68–83n., Appendix B.1
- Empedocles, pp. 138–9, Appendix B.4
- encomiastic future, p. 22
- Euxine sea, *N.* 4.49
- Gadeira (Cadiz), *N.* 4.69
- Gaia, *O.* 7.38
- Gela, p. 134
- Gelon, p. 134
- genealogical metaphors, p. 20, *O.* 7.43–4n.
- gnomic comment, pp. 12, 15–19
- gold leaves, *O.* 2.68–83n.
- Haimones, *N.* 4.56
- Hektor, *I.* 7.32, *O.* 2.81
- Helios, *O.* 7.14, 39, 58, 70
- Hephaistos, *O.* 7.35
- Hera, *I.* 4.60
- Herakles, *I.* 7.7, *I.* 4.55, 61–4n., *N.* 4.24, *O.* 7.22, *O.* 2.3, Appendix A
- hero cult, *O.* 7.77–80n., *O.* 2.92–5n.
- Hieron, pp. 134–5

- Hippolyte, *N.* 4.57
Homer, *I.* 4.37
- Ialysos, *O.* 7.74, Appendix A
Ino, *O.* 2.30
Iolaos, *I.* 7.9, *N.* 4.20n.
Iolkos, *N.* 4.54
Ionian sea, *N.* 4.53
Isle(s) of the Blest, *O.* 2.70–1, Appendix B.2
Isthmian games, p. 5, *I.* 7.21, *I.* 4.2, *I.* 3.11, *N.* 4.75, *O.* 7.81, *O.* 2.50
- Kadmean, *I.* 4.53a, *N.* 4.21
Kadmos, *O.* 2.23, 78
Kameiros, *O.* 7.73, Appendix A
Kleonai, *N.* 4.17
Kronos, *N.* 4.9, *O.* 7.67, *O.* 2.12, 70, 76, Appendix B.2
Kykno, *O.* 2.82
- Labdakos, *I.* 3.17a
Lachesis, *O.* 7.64
Laios, *O.* 2.38
Lerna, *O.* 7.33
Libya, *I.* 4.54a
Likymnios, *O.* 7.29, Appendix A
Lindos, *O.* 7.74, Appendix A
litotes, *I.* 3.13–14n.
Locrians (Epizephyrian), p. 55, *O.* 11.15
- Megara (wife of Herakles), *I.* 4.64
Megara (town), *O.* 7.86
Meleagros, *I.* 7.32
Melesias, *N.* 4.93
Memnon, *O.* 2.83
Meropes, *N.* 4.26
metaphors from the event, pp. 20, 71, 94, *I.* 4.34–5a n., *N.* 4.36–8n., 93–6n.
metempsychosis, pp. 137–40, Appendix B.4
Midea, *O.* 7.29
Muses, *O.* 11.17, *I.* 7.23, *I.* 4.43, *N.* 4.3, *O.* 7.7
- Nemean games, p. 5, *I.* 3.11–12, *N.* 4.9, 75, *O.* 7.82
Neoptolemos, *N.* 4.51
Nereus, *N.* 4.65, *O.* 2.29
- Oidipous, *O.* 2.38
Olympian games, p. 5, *O.* 11.7, *N.* 4.75, *O.* 7.10, 15, 88, *O.* 2.3, 48
Olympos, *I.* 4.55, *O.* 2.12, 25
Orion, *I.* 4.49
Orphism, *O.* 2.61–7n., 68–83n., Appendix B.4
Ouranos, *O.* 7.38
- Pancration, p. 9, *I.* 7.22, *I.* 4.44, 70–1
parataxis, *N.* 4.82–5n., *O.* 2.98–100n.
Pegasos, *I.* 7.44
Peleus, *N.* 4.56, *O.* 2.78
Pelias, *N.* 4.60
Pelion, *N.* 4.54
Pellene, *O.* 7.86
Persephone, p. 135, Appendix B.4
Phthia, *N.* 4.51
Pillars of Herakles, p. 16, *I.* 4.12, 55–7n., *N.* 4.69–72n.
Pisa, *O.* 2.3
Plato, pp. 26, 138–9, *O.* 2.68–70n., Appendix B.3, 4
Polynikes, *O.* 2.43
Poseidon, *I.* 7.38, *I.* 4.19, 54b, *N.* 4.86
priamel, pp. 21, 93, *O.* 11.1–6n., *N.* 4.44–68n.
Pythagoras, pp. 137–9, Pythagoreans, pp. 138–9, *O.* 2.68–83n.
Pythian games, p. 5, *I.* 7.51, *O.* 7.10, 17, *O.* 2.49
Pythian oracle, *I.* 7.15, *O.* 7.31–2, *O.* 2.39
- Rhadamanthys, *O.* 2.75, Appendix B.1
Rhea, *O.* 2.12, 77

- Rhodes, p. 134, *O.* 7.14, 56, 61–3n., 71
- Salamis, *N.* 4.48
scholia, p. 28
Semele, *O.* 2.26
Sicily, *O.* 2.9
Sikyon, *I.* 4.26
Spartoi, *I.* 7.10
- Teiresias, *I.* 7.8
Telamon, *N.* 4.25, 47
Telchines, *O.* 7.52n.
- Teukros, *N.* 4.46
Thebes, p. 2, *I.* 7.1, *I.* 4.7, 53a, *I.* 3.12, *N.* 4.19, *O.* 7.84
Theron, pp. 133–5
Thersandros, *O.* 2.43
Thetis, *N.* 4.50, 65, *O.* 2.80
Thrasyboulos, p. 135
Tiryns, *O.* 7.29, 78
Tlepolemos, *O.* 7.20, 77, Appendix A
trainer, *I.* 4.71b–2b, *N.* 4.93–6
Troy, *I.* 4.36b, *N.* 4.25, *O.* 2.81
- wrestling, p. 9, *N.* 4.10

2 Greek words

- αἰδώς, *O.* 7.44, 89
αἰνέω, *I.* 7.32, *N.* 4.93
ἀρετή, p. 18, *O.* 11.6, *I.* 7.22, *I.* 4.3, 13, 38, *I.* 3.4, 13, *N.* 4.41, *O.* 7.43, 89, *O.* 2.11, 53
ἄωτος, *I.* 7.18, *O.* 2.7
- δαπάνα, p. 15, *I.* 4.29
δίκαια, *N.* 4.12, *O.* 7.17, *O.* 2.6
- ἐδάτην, *O.* 7.53, 91
εὐφρων, *O.* 7.63, *O.* 2.14, 36
ἐφεδρος, *N.* 4.96
- θεός, p. 16, *O.* 11.10, *I.* 7.44, *I.* 4.1, 5, 19, *I.* 3.18b, *O.* 2.21, 66
- καιρός, p. 17, *O.* 2.54
κλῆρος, *O.* 7.59
κοινός, *see* ξυνός
- κόρος, p. 18, *I.* 3.2, *N.* 4.33–43n., *O.* 2.95
κῶμος, *O.* 11.16, *I.* 7.20, *I.* 4.72b, *I.* 3.8, *N.* 4.11
- λάχος, *O.* 7.58
- μείγνυμι, *I.* 7.25, *I.* 3.3, *N.* 4.21, *O.* 7.71
μέριμνα, *O.* 2.54
μέτρον, p. 17
- ξενία, p. 11, *N.* 4.12, 23, *O.* 7.90, *O.* 2.6
ξυνός (κοινός), *I.* 7.24, *I.* 4.28, *N.* 4.12, *O.* 7.21, 92, *O.* 2.50
- πάρεδρος, *I.* 7.3, *O.* 2.76
πελώριος, *O.* 7.15
πλοῦτος, p. 15, *I.* 3.2, 17b, *O.* 2.10, 53
πόνος, p. 15, *O.* 11.4, *I.* 4.47, *I.* 3.17b, *N.* 4.1, *O.* 2.34, 67
- σοφία, *O.* 11.10, 19, *I.* 7.18, *N.* 4.2, *O.* 7.53, 72, *O.* 2.86
- ὑμνος, p. 17, *O.* 11.4, *I.* 7.20, *I.* 4.3, 21, 43, *I.* 3.7, *N.* 4.11, 83, *O.* 7.14, 88, *O.* 2.1
- φθόνος (ἄνδρῶν), p. 17, *N.* 4.39
φθόνος (θεῶν), p. 16, *I.* 7.39
φυά, p. 15, *O.* 11.19–20n., *I.* 3.13–14n., *O.* 2.86
- χάρις, χάριτες, p. 18, *I.* 7.17, *I.* 4.72b, *I.* 3.8, *N.* 4.7, *O.* 7.11, 89, 93, *O.* 2.10, 50
χρυσός, p. 18, *O.* 11.13, *I.* 7.5, 49, *I.* 4.60, *N.* 4.82, *O.* 7.32, 34, 50, 64, *O.* 2.72